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1450 TO 1789

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF THE EARLY MODERN WORLD



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ENCYCLOPEDIA OF THE EARLY MODERN WORLD

Volume 1
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Jonathan Dewald, Editor in Chief



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**Europe 1450 to 1789:
Encyclopedia of the Early Modern World**

Jonathan Dewald, Editor in Chief

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USING THE ENCYCLOPEDIA

Tables of contents. Each volume contains a table of contents for the entire *Encyclopedia*. Volume 1 has a single listing of all volumes' contents. Volumes 2 through 6 contain "Contents of This Volume" followed by "Contents of Other Volumes."

Maps of Europe. The front of each volume contains a set of maps showing Europe's political divisions at six important stages from 1453 to 1795.

Alphabetical arrangement. Entries are arranged in alphabetical order. Biographical articles are generally listed by the subject's last name (with some exceptions, e.g., Leonardo da Vinci).

Royalty and foreign names. In most cases, the names of rulers of French, German, and Spanish rulers have been anglicized. Thus, Francis, not François; Charles, not Carlos. Monarchs of the same name are listed first by their country, and then numerically. Thus, Henry VII and Henry VIII of England precede Henry II of France.

Measurements appear in the English system according to United States usage, though they are often followed by metric equivalents in parentheses. Following are approximate metric equivalents for the most common units:

| | |
|-----------------|-----------------------|
| 1 foot = | 30 centimeters |
| 1 mile = | 1.6 kilometers |
| 1 acre = | 0.4 hectares |
| 1 square mile = | 2.6 square kilometers |
| 1 pound = | 0.45 kilograms |
| 1 gallon = | 3.8 liters |

Cross-references. At the end of each article is a list of related articles for further study. Readers may also consult the table of contents and the index for titles and keywords of interest.

Bibliography. Each article contains a list of sources for further reading, usually divided into Primary Sources and Secondary Sources.

Systematic outline of contents. After the last article in volume 6 is an outline that provides a general overview of the conceptual scheme of the *Encyclopedia*, listing the title of each entry.

Directory of contributors. Following the systematic outline of contents is a listing, in alphabetical order, of all contributors to the *Encyclopedia*, with affiliation and the titles of his or her article(s).

Index. Volume 6 concludes with a comprehensive, alphabetically arranged index covering all articles, as well as prominent figures, geographical names, events, institutions, publications, works of art, and all major concepts that are discussed in volumes 1 through 6.



PREFACE

Between 1450 and 1789, Europe witnessed some of the most dramatic events of its history. These years included Europeans' first encounter with the Americas, the invention of printing, and the first widespread use of gunpowder in warfare. Ideas about the natural world shifted dramatically, and assumptions about the divine order and the purposes of human life underwent wrenching challenges. The period was marked by political revolutions, and it ended with the great French Revolution of 1789. How people lived and related to one another also changed, more subtly but with momentous consequences. The period included moments of terrible violence, as in the French Wars of Religion and the German Thirty Years' War, but it also must be counted among the most creative in the human record. What Europeans did and thought during those years continues to shape our twenty-first-century world.

Europe 1450 to 1789: Encyclopedia of the Early Modern World offers an accessible account of this complicated, crucial phase of European history. Some 450 biographical articles present such leading figures of the period as Peter the Great, Galileo, Rembrandt, Louis XIV, Shakespeare, and Madame de Pompadour, discussing both their lives and the significance of their achievements; other articles summarize the period's wars, revolutions, and other notable events. But this *Encyclopedia* gives as much attention to broad processes as to specific facts. Major articles explore topics like medicine, monarchy, agriculture, the Enlightenment, and the military, and others provide overviews of individual national histories. We have also sought to examine basic mechanisms of early modern life, with articles explicating the workings of business, family, religious practice, and a variety of related topics.

In addressing these questions, the *Encyclopedia* defines Europe broadly, giving extensive attention to Russia, eastern Europe, and the Ottoman Empire, as well as to western Europe. We have sought to make clear the multiplicity of European cultures and social arrangements in these years, the fact that Europe included Muslims, Jews, and Orthodox Christians, as well as Protestants and Catholics. Despite the geographical distances and cultural animosities that set these groups apart from one another, contacts among them were frequent and fruitful. Early modern men and women moved far more often and over greater distances than historians once believed, and they brought with them products, beliefs, and practices.

Similarly, the *Encyclopedia* places European experiences within a context of world history. No events of the period mattered more than those that changed Europe's relations with other regions of the globe. In 1450, Europeans and Americans had no idea of one another's existence, and only intermittent exchanges linked Europe with Asia and Africa. By the late eighteenth century, European imperial regimes dominated the Americas and parts of Asia and Africa, and intense commercial activity bound much of the world together in the first global economy. In eighteenth-century Europe even the poor regularly bought fabrics and tea from Asia and sugar, coffee, and tobacco from the Americas; and they benefited from the forced labor of African slaves, who produced colonial goods cheaply. Partly because Asia, Africa, and the Americas had acquired such importance for the European economy, eighteenth-century European wars included combat in the Caribbean, India, and North America, as well as in Europe itself. The first global economy was accompanied by the world's first experience of global warfare.

Already in the eighteenth century, Europeans debated among themselves the costs and benefits of this globalization. They knew that as they visited other parts of the globe, they brought with them vicious new forms of colonial exploitation and new diseases; in the Americas they caused what may have been the worst population disaster in human history. But the European impact on the rest of the world was not only destructive. For better and for worse, Europe exported its culture as well as its power and microbes, spreading its military techniques, livestock, and churches, and leaving Europe and the rest of the world inextricably entangled. Europeans imported culture as well—hesitantly in the sixteenth century, enthusiastically in the eighteenth. By this time, the varied social arrangements that they encountered elsewhere in the world had become a standing challenge to their assessment of their own civilization and an encouragement to radical social thought. This *Encyclopedia* explores these complex changes in a series of major articles on relations between Europe and other regions of the world. Unavoidably, a history of Europe during these years is also an examination of the “early modern world.”

Only since World War II have historians regularly used the term “early modern” to describe these centuries of European history. They have used this new term in part to replace the more traditional division of the period into Renaissance, Reformation, and Enlightenment, and in part to supplement these older concepts. With these other chronological labels available, it may be asked, why have historians added “early modern” to their vocabulary? One reason is that the term has allowed them to draw attention to unities across these different periods, and to see the slow processes of change that extended from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries. More important, however, this change in historians' terminology reflects changes in the subject matter of their researches. Such terms as Renaissance, Reformation, and Enlightenment refer most directly to cultural history, and all three terms imply cultural progress. Both “Renaissance” (meaning literally ‘rebirth’) and “Enlightenment” were coined during the early modern period itself, to express contemporary intellectuals' belief that they had revived European culture after long periods of darkness. In recent years, however, historians have increasingly asked how ordinary Europeans lived and thought. This interest in ordinary people and ordinary doings has led to the development of entirely new fields of study, such as women's history and the history of popular culture, and it has brought new interpretations to long-established fields of inquiry. Military historians have given new attention to the experiences of ordi-

nary soldiers, thus changing our understanding of how battles were won and lost; intellectual historians have explored the career ambitions that moved the great thinkers of the period, and in some cases understanding these social contexts has changed our interpretations of even its loftiest ideas.

These new topics and new approaches to old topics have not fitted well with inherited chronological categories. European women, some historians have argued, simply did not have a Renaissance, excluded as they were from many of the cultural institutions of the age; and their freedoms actually diminished after 1500. Likewise, European peasants—in most regions, 90 percent of the population—were little touched by either Renaissance or Enlightenment. The religious changes brought on by the Reformations *did* affect these ordinary Europeans, but often in ways that surprised and angered religious leaders like Martin Luther. For these and many similar groups, it has proved helpful to view the period through the wide-angle lens of an early modern period, extending from the crises of the late Middle Ages to the French Revolution of 1789. These groups are mainly bystanders in the narratives of cultural renewal suggested by such terms as “Renaissance,” with its focus on intellectuals and artists, but they are central players in a history of the early modern period.

This new terminology, however, also raises its own new and difficult questions. The late John Hale, a distinguished historian of the Renaissance, once complained that the concept of an early modern period is bland and neutral, lacking the interpretive clarity of such terms as Renaissance and Enlightenment. In fact, ambiguity is built into the phrase. It points both to the elements of modernity that can be seen emerging during these years and to the contemporaneous persistence of medieval values and ways of living; to speak of “early modernity” is to suggest the hesitations and complexities of historical progress. Evaluating these two sides of the period, setting its modernities against its forms of backwardness, has been a central theme of research and one that emerges repeatedly in the articles that follow. With regard to some topics, addressing this question involves comparing different regions of Europe. Historians have spoken of the seventeenth-century Netherlands, for instance, as “the first modern economy,” whereas parts of rural France during the same years had changed little since the Middle Ages. But ambiguity also reigned within individual minds during the early modern period. The sixteenth-century French politician and philosopher Jean Bodin counts among the founders of modern political and economic theory—but he also wrote a tract on the dangers of witchcraft, urging the authorities to take violent measures to stamp out this satanic threat. Making sense of this interplay between medieval and modern ideas remains a central task of early modern studies and is one of the attractions that the period has had for those who study it. Early modern people seem at once very like us and very different from us.

Early modern Europe has attracted an enormous amount of scholarly attention since World War II, completely transforming our understanding of the period. Much of this abundant research has still not been made accessible to nonspecialists, and bridging the gap between researchers and nonspecialist readers is one of the main tasks that we have set for ourselves in bringing together the *Encyclopedia*. Articles have been written with the assumption that many readers will have no background knowledge about the period, and authors have avoided technical language, obscure allusions, and narrow scholarly debates. A chronology of the period opens the book, allowing readers to situate people, cultural achievements,

and events in relation to one another; and a detailed index is designed to make it easy for readers to locate articles on specific topics. Numerous maps offer further guidance, and about five hundred illustrations provide some sense of how the world looked to men and women of the time.

But historical study is as much about interpreting facts as assembling them, and this *Encyclopedia* is meant to be a guide to interpretations as well as a summary of what happened. The articles here supply concise summaries of current scholarly views on the problems they address—appropriately, because many of our authors have played leading roles in creating current scholarly views. Given the importance of interpretation to historical research, readers should not expect bland uniformity of opinion in these articles. Our authors come from many different countries and a variety of academic disciplines. Not surprisingly, they emphasize different aspects of the problems they address, and they bring different interpretations to the same sets of facts. Readers may thus encounter differences of emphasis among the articles here, but they also will receive guidance and encouragement in exploring alternative views through the *Encyclopedia's* system of cross-references. Articles on monarchy, absolutism, divine right, and state and bureaucracy, for instance, present the views of four different authors on topics that overlap, but each article refers readers to the others.

Here then are our hopes for this book: Readers will find in it reliable information about the most important people and events of an important historical era, and they will also find examples of sophisticated historical interpretation, presented in direct, nontechnical language. They will encounter the thoughts of distinguished scholars writing about basic questions, in some cases disagreeing, but together producing a richer, larger description of the period than any single scholar could offer. Ultimately, they will encounter some of the reality of early modern lives—complex, distant, yet also deeply connected to ourselves.

Early modern intellectuals often described themselves as members of a Republic of Letters, an intellectual community that spread across national and confessional boundaries. That community rested mainly on correspondence and books; many of its members never met face to face, yet they viewed themselves as close friends and allies. Editing this *Encyclopedia* has made me aware how fully alive the Republic of Letters remains in today's world. It has been a particular honor to collaborate with the members of the editorial board, distinguished scholars whose work I have long admired and who have put enormous effort into the project. It has been an equal pleasure to work with the authors who have contributed articles, some of them old friends, many more encountered only through their writings or through the recommendation of other scholars. At Scribners Mark LaFlaur, Frank Menchaca, Georgia Maas, Carol Schwartz, Joann Cerrito, Kelly Baiseley, and John Fitzpatrick made the project possible, and made working on it enjoyable as well; and the project also owes a great deal to the contributions of Stephen Wagley, Timothy DeWerff, and Patricia Marino. The dedication acknowledges the intellectual influence of four leading scholars of the period, whose thinking continues to shape the development of early modern studies both in America and in the world at large, and whose kindness has touched many of us in the field.

JONATHAN DEWALD
BUFFALO, JULY 2003



INTRODUCTION

THE EARLY MODERN PERIOD

Historians' terminology conceals acts of interpretation. When they designate long stretches of human activity as "late antiquity," "feudal society," "the Renaissance," and "the Age of Louis XIV," they implicitly assert the fundamental unity of those periods and emphasize differences between what happened in them and what came before and after. The editors of this encyclopedia are no exception. In titling the work *Europe 1450 to 1789: Encyclopedia of the Early Modern World*, we are suggesting ways of looking at a long and complicated period of history. Our title draws attention to common qualities that linked these centuries together, and it indicates the importance of the mid-fifteenth and late eighteenth centuries as historical turning points, separating this period from the Middle Ages on the one side and the modern era on the other. This introduction explores some important themes within the early modern centuries and explains our attention to them. It suggests reasons for viewing these years as a coherent historical era, and for giving them the label "early modern." (Please see the Preface for a fuller account of this term's origins and use.)

BETWEEN TWO CRISES

Defined as the years from 1450 to 1789, the early modern period falls between two major crises in European history, each a time of terrible suffering for millions of people, but each also a time of intense creativity. To observers in the years around 1450, destruction was more visible than innovation. Over the previous century, Europe had experienced devastating warfare, harvest failures, and the return

of bubonic plague, which had been unknown there during the Middle Ages. Social disruptions in turn fostered political instability: in England, Castile, and France, rivals fought for the crown, and there were popular rebellions as well. Christianity itself seemed shaken in these years. Between 1378 and 1415 rival popes claimed sovereign authority over the Roman Catholic Church, and some contemporaries suggested that only changes in church governance could repair the damage. Threats came from outside Christendom as well: the Ottoman Turks had begun advancing into formerly Christian territories in the eastern Mediterranean, and in 1453 they conquered Constantinople, once the capital of eastern Christianity, now renamed Istanbul.

Yet amid these uncertainties the mid-fifteenth century also included a burst of technological innovation, and this too formed part of the early modern period's opening phase. Printing appeared in the Rhineland in the 1440s, and its importance was immediately recognized; by 1500 there were printing presses in every major European city, and a large mass of printed books had become available. At about the same time a cluster of inventions changed the nature of European seafaring, and the effects of these innovations also were quickly visible. By the 1450s Portuguese sailors were exploring the coast of Africa; by the early sixteenth century, they had gone around Africa to India, and a series of expeditions had reached North and South America. Finally, the technology associated with gunpowder first became a significant military factor late in the Hundred Years' War (1337–1453) between France and England. In 1494 French

armies made extensive use of artillery in their march through Italy, and their easy success advertised to all that a new era of European warfare had opened.

The early modern period ended as it began, in crisis. Political upheavals in North America and Holland were followed in 1789 by revolution in France, which soon spread to the rest of Europe. In the ensuing wars, French armies conquered neighboring countries and imposed new institutions on them; other areas found themselves forced to respond to the French threat by ending serfdom, promulgating written constitutions, and liberalizing economic life. Despite the controversy it inspired, this trend toward democracy set the norms for European political life during the nineteenth century, and the movement was especially strong because it coincided with dramatic economic and technological changes. Late-twentieth-century scholarship has made the industrial revolution seem less cataclysmic than it once did, but even revisionist historians view industrialization as bringing extraordinary changes to European life. These began in Britain and had the most immediate impact there, but they quickly spread to continental Europe, with implications for agriculture as well as for manufacturing. Railways and steamships now transported agricultural products from the Americas to Europe, forcing once-isolated European peasants to compete in global markets, and new technologies enhanced agricultural productivity. Some historians have described the changes of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries as the most important experienced by mankind since the invention of agriculture in about 4000 B.C.E. However excessive, this evaluation suggests how completely the early modern period ended; after 1789, European society evolved in fundamentally new ways.

TEXTURES OF EARLY MODERN LIFE

By modern standards Europe was relatively empty during the years between these two great crises. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, England had a population of about 50 million. Its population in 1500 was only about 3.1 million, and in 1801, after several decades of industrial development, the country's first census still showed only 8.7 million inhabitants. Other regions, such as France and northern Italy, were more populous,

but still far below the levels they would reach in the nineteenth century. In this more sparsely populated world, distance was an enemy: travelers moved through landscapes that were frightening in their isolation, the haunts of thieves, wild animals, and marauding soldiers. Most people lived in small settlements of a few hundred inhabitants.

Population remained low for a variety of reasons, some of them obvious, some discovered only in the course of research since World War II. Life expectancies were short and subject to a variety of threats. The plague remained endemic in most parts of Europe until the later seventeenth century, with one last, terrible outbreak in Marseille in 1719–1720; other diseases were less destructive but still extremely serious. The very young were especially vulnerable to both disease and malnutrition. About one-fourth of infants died before their first birthday, a number that seems not to have improved much over the period. The inadequacies of European agriculture ensured that hunger remained a constant problem. In France people starved during the terrible winter of 1708–1709, and food shortages continued through the Revolution; elsewhere, famine continued into the nineteenth century. Since the great Dutch historian Johan Huizinga (1872–1945) first took up this theme in 1919, numerous historians have explored the psychological and cultural consequences of these facts. Europeans throughout the early modern era lived with insecurity and anxiety, their lives marked by repeated disruptions. Huizinga believed that these experiences created internal instabilities, making the early moderns prone to violence and emotional extremes. Today historians are less sure because modes of behavior seem to have changed even while conditions of life remained so insecure. Infant mortality, for instance, remained very high in the eighteenth century, but in these years contemporaries began to speak with new warmth of children and family life.

But if there was no revolution in material life during the early modern centuries, everywhere there was some progress, and in a few regions progress was very substantial. Agricultural productivity in England, the Netherlands, and northern Italy advanced greatly: England experienced its last famine in the mid-seventeenth century, and thereafter a variety of technological improvements

allowed it to become an exporter of foodstuffs. Still earlier, the Dutch took advantage of their location on the North Sea to develop a specialized commercial agriculture. Because the Netherlands could easily import grain from eastern Europe, Dutch farmers could concentrate on dairy production, developing new techniques and enjoying the efficiencies of specialization. In the seventeenth century, they established a system of canals that made transporting bulky agricultural goods still cheaper. In these regions, the early modern period experienced a circumstance new to European history: the necessities of life were reliably available at low prices.

No such triumph over want occurred in most other regions, but elsewhere incremental advances in farming methods and transportation nonetheless brought significant improvements. As a result, early modern society was not so immobile as historians once believed. Despite the persistence of disease and shortages, there was a trend toward demographic and economic growth over the period, a striking vitality even in the face of crisis and destruction. This increase in prosperity did not occur evenly over time. There was rapid growth in the sixteenth century, as Europe recovered from the crises of the fifteenth century, then stagnation in the mid-seventeenth century, before growth resumed in the mid-eighteenth century. But the economic depression of the 1600s involved only a pause, rather than anything like the collapse that had marked the 1400s. Horrific warfare and the plague's continued virulence (at least 30,000 people died in the Milanese plague of 1630, and about 100,000 in the London plague of 1665–1666) only briefly interrupted a general upward movement in population.

One consequence was a limited but steady trend of urbanization. In 1750, 85 percent of Europeans lived in the countryside, and most worked in agriculture. But urban life became more important in these years, both because cities themselves grew and because their influence over society as a whole intensified. In many ways this process only continued medieval developments. Europe's urban network had already emerged in the twelfth century, and few new cities were created in the early modern period; many long-established cities changed little during these centuries. Urbanization

during these years thus did not mean the expansion of urban life everywhere, but rather the dramatic growth of some cities and the intensified activity of many, a process brilliantly described by the historian Jan de Vries. In 1500, he has shown, only four European cities had as many as 80,000 inhabitants, and none had as many as 160,000; with about 50,000, London typified the capital cities of the age, while Madrid and Berlin scarcely existed. By 1700, however, there were fifteen cities with 80,000 inhabitants and two with more than 300,000. These were cities on a modern scale, and by 1800 London had reached one million inhabitants. Such growth resulted above all from political developments; the great cities of the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were political capitals and benefited from the tax revenues and people who streamed into them. Partly because they housed the political classes, these cities offered their residents an expanding array of urban amenities: theaters, taverns, coffeehouses, shops; carefully designed plazas, parks, and boulevards; street lighting and policing. By this point, the cities formed focal points of a much larger consumer revolution that touched villagers as well as city dwellers. In villages as in the cities, a new range of cheap luxury goods was now available, ranging from tobacco and coffee to small books, prints, and mirrors. From the period's abundant probate records, historians have established that ordinary people bought increasing numbers of these goods, even in times of economic difficulties.

EUROPE AND THE WORLD

If Europe's economic life showed more resiliency during the early modern period than during the late Middle Ages, despite the Continent's continuing agricultural backwardness and the continuing threat of epidemic disease, one reason lay in the resources that Europeans now drew from the rest of the world. Europe's encounter with the Americas in 1492 had led quickly to imperial exploitation. Having established plantation economies in the Caribbean during the first decades of the sixteenth century, the Spanish conquered Mexico in 1519 and the Inca empire of Peru in the 1530s; precious metals had from the outset been one objective of these conquests, and in the mid-sixteenth century silver mines were duly discovered, producing a rising flow of silver until the early seventeenth

century, when shipments began to ebb. Other colonial economies only became important during the seventeenth century. In 1602 the Dutch established the East India Company, and its system of Asian trading posts produced occasionally spectacular profits; later in the century the British began importing tobacco from the Chesapeake Bay region of North America and cotton fabrics from India. Sugar cultivation based on slave labor had already begun, but it became especially important in the eighteenth century, with Britain, France, Portugal, the Netherlands, and Spain all holding sugar colonies. In the mid-nineteenth century, Karl Marx (1818–1883) argued that profits from these ventures formed the foundation for what became known as Europe’s industrial revolution. Few historians still share this view, but most agree that colonial products transformed the character of European economic life in another way, by showing the profits to be made from cheap luxury goods like sugar, tobacco, and cotton textiles. Products like these were among the first to demonstrate the economic potential of mass markets.

Historians also remain divided about the sources of Europe’s imperial successes. Some have drawn attention to religious values, which encouraged Europeans to spread Christianity to distant places and gave them the remarkable self-confidence they displayed when they got there. Others have noted the importance of Europe’s harshly competitive state system, whose relative balance encouraged individual governments to seek advantages in overseas territories—and whose endless warfare had trained Europeans to be especially savage in dealing with other peoples. As important as these cultural and political sources of European success, though, was European military technology. Their possession of weapons using gunpowder allowed Europeans to conquer the Americas; conversely, Asian states quickly adopted the new weaponry for themselves and successfully held off European invaders.

How to evaluate the peoples and societies they encountered elsewhere became a central problem for European thinkers of the early modern period. Many shared the view of the Spanish King Philip II (ruled 1556–1598) that imperial conquest demonstrated God’s favor, and some questioned whether the newly discovered Americans were sufficiently

human to deserve Christianization. In the long run, however, the opposing view—first laid out by the French nobleman Michel de Montaigne (1533–1592) in the 1570s—proved far more potent: Montaigne argued that native Americans fully shared the Europeans’ humanity, and that native American culture, despite its peculiarities, was the equal of the Europeans’ own. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a surprising collection of writers amplified these views. Jesuit missionaries advocated toleration for the cultural differences they encountered in both Asia and the Americas, while such Enlightenment philosophers as Charles-Louis de Secondat de Montesquieu (1689–1755), Denis Diderot (1713–1784), and Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778) used other cultures as models in their criticism of western Christendom. To missionaries and philosophers alike, the encounter with other societies fostered the emergence of the idea of cultural relativism.

But relativism did not necessarily imply cultural doubt, and ultimately Europeans’ encounter with the rest of the world encouraged self-confidence. They relished the fact that no other peoples had established empires comparable to theirs, and in making this comparison they included the Greeks and Romans, whose geographers had not even imagined the existence of the Americas. Past wisdom, it seemed, could not be much of a guide for life in the present; and even the most tolerant Europeans noted their society’s material superiority to that of other civilizations. In 1689 John Locke (1632–1704) argued that a native American king “feeds, lodges, and is clad worse than a day-labourer in England.” He viewed the native Americans’ failure fully to develop their lands as justification for European conquest. Furthermore, as Montaigne had asked in the sixteenth century, who knew what further worlds were still to be discovered? By the eighteenth century, Europe’s intellectuals took for granted a vision of social and intellectual progress that placed Europe at the top of a hierarchy of the world’s societies.

MODES OF CULTURAL CHANGE

These lessons from the New World paralleled other cultural developments, which both enhanced European self-confidence and raised doubts about traditional beliefs. Cultural change was probably

inevitable in the early modern period because the invention of printing produced an explosion in the quantity of cultural goods available. From the outset, printed books were cheaper than manuscripts had ever been, and costs only dropped thereafter. After 1600 some printers turned to mass marketing and developed offerings specifically oriented to popular audiences: books of prayers, home remedies, proverbs, old-fashioned tales. Education advanced also, in part as a response to the overlapping political and ideological struggles of the age. In the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, competing governments established universities as a form of self-advertisement; in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, rival religions struggled as both Protestants and Catholics sought to explain their faiths and ensure that believers held the proper doctrines; in the eighteenth century, secular purposes again predominated as governments became convinced that well-schooled populations would supply the foundation for economic development—and therefore for state power. These diverse efforts combined to produce a startling increase in European literacy. By the mid-eighteenth century, half of all French men and 60 percent of English men could read and write; women's literacy was significantly lower, with 27 percent of French women and 40 percent of English women literate. Other new media, such as commercial theaters and engraving, supplemented printing's impact.

The culture that these media brought to the public included multiple elements, which interacted in surprising ways and allowed Europeans to hold views that moderns often find contradictory. Despite growing doubts about the ancients' scientific knowledge, for most intellectuals the foundations of cultural life lay in the close study of the literature and philosophy of Greece and Rome. In the Italian city-states of the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, Greek and Roman literature had seemed to offer the best training for wealthy young men destined to participate in public life, providing them with the rhetorical skills and historical examples that they would need in political debate. In the years after 1500, this humanist educational program (as historians have usually termed it) was transplanted to the rest of Europe, where its emphasis on the virtues of public life appealed to

the growing number of lawyers and civil servants. There was nothing necessarily secularizing about humanism. Religious colleges like those of the Jesuits made it the basis of their training, and religious leaders like Philipp Melancthon (1497–1560) and John Calvin (1509–1564) doubled as distinguished Latinists. But in fact, study of the ancient world appears to have loosened religious belief by drawing attention to the virtues and great deeds of a non-Christian culture and by offering pagan ideas as basic reference points for reasoning about the contemporary, Christian world.

A second strand of early modern culture was scientific, for the period abounded in both scientific theorizing and factual discoveries. The medieval universities had sponsored a good deal of scientific reflection, and medieval technology had been abundant in innovations. But the sixteenth century brought much more attention to scientific questions, notably in the areas of medicine, astronomy, and physics. By the early seventeenth century, contemporaries knew that they lived in an era of scientific revolution; old scientific theories were being rendered irrelevant and new objects of study were constantly appearing. In around 1600 the English poet John Donne (1572–1631) famously complained that the new science “throws all in doubt,” but a century later, with the popularity of Isaac Newton's (1642–1727) writings, anxiety had been replaced by smug self-confidence. The English poet Alexander Pope (1688–1744) wrote that since Newton, “all was light,” and Montesquieu described the achievements of Europe's scientists as a fundamental difference between Europe and the rest of the world; science had become a measure of societal development. By this point it had also become a matter of popular interest, rather than the preserve of trained specialists. The Florentine scientist Galileo Galilei (1564–1642) wrote in Italian rather than the learned Latin, with the aim of reaching a popular audience, and scientific discussion groups emerged in Florence and Rome; northern European imitators appeared in 1662, with the English Royal Society, and 1666, with the French Royal Academy of Sciences. In eighteenth-century cities, entrepreneurs established museums of scientific marvels, and it was expected that these would attract women as well as men.

The causes of this scientific revolution remain difficult to sort out. In a brilliant book, the historian Elizabeth Eisenstein underlined the role of printing as one source of scientific change: unlike any medieval scientists, those of the sixteenth century could find in their libraries all previous learning on the topics they studied because printed materials were more easily available and more reliable than manuscripts. If printing helped theorizing, technology supplied a stream of new problems for theorists to consider. Gunpowder artillery posed new questions about momentum and measurement; new mining and metallurgical techniques eventually turned up in studies of chemistry. Travelers returned with a stream of marvels that scientists needed to consider, and these reports stimulated scientists as well as geographers to dismiss the ancients' learning and insist on the value of innovation. Late in the seventeenth century, in the "quarrel of the ancients and the moderns," French intellectuals generalized this idea of progress; for the first time in European history, some intellectuals argued that *all* modern achievements, in the arts and literature as well as in the sciences, surpassed those that Europe had inherited from the ancient world.

For all the secularizing force of humanism and science, European culture during these years remained deeply religious. The fifteenth century was already a period of intense reflection on the meanings of the Christian religion, among both ordinary people and intellectuals. In 1517, publication of the Ninety-Five Theses of the German theologian Martin Luther (1483–1546) transformed this diffuse religious ferment into sharp differences of doctrine. With dissemination made possible by the printing press, Luther's ideas quickly became the basis for breakaway churches in Germany, Britain, Scandinavia, and Switzerland, often with sufficiently sharp differences over doctrine to create institutional divisions among the Protestants themselves. The Catholic Church responded by clarifying its own doctrines in a series of major councils and by determined efforts to win back Protestant converts. Both sides in this ideological struggle saw violence as a legitimate tool, and religious warfare flared repeatedly from the 1530s until the end of the Thirty Years' War in 1648.

This experience of religious fragmentation helps account for the particular tension that sur-

rounded intellectual life in these years and that probably made the early modern centuries more dangerous for dissenting intellectuals than the Middle Ages had been. With printing presses and rising literacy allowing ideas to spread more quickly and to wider social groups, authorities intensified their efforts to control ideas, for new ideas had demonstrated their capacity to produce institutional revolutions. Secular governments established systems for censoring printed books. The Catholic Church established its Index of Prohibited Books in 1559 and refurbished the Inquisition to examine those suspected of heretical views. Protestants were no more tolerant of religious dissidence. Calvin successfully urged the Genevan authorities to execute the Spanish theologian Michael Servetus (1511–1553) for arguing against the doctrine of the Trinity, and the main Protestant churches were unsparing in their persecution of such breakaway groups as the Anabaptists and Quakers. Such persecutions eased somewhat after about 1660 as intellectuals and political leaders increasingly adopted the doubts that Montaigne had expressed in the later sixteenth century: human intellectual fallibility, Montaigne had argued, simply did not allow the kind of certainty that persecution required. But if persecution became less frequent and less flamboyant, it remained a reality in most parts of Europe. Before the eighteenth century, only the Netherlands and some regions of Eastern Europe allowed their inhabitants an approximation of intellectual freedom.

Given Europeans' readiness to kill over religious differences, it is a paradox of the age that amid their bitter disputes Catholics and Protestants shared so many assumptions and objectives. Catholic and Protestant churches alike sought to create a more educated laity, who could understand and reflect on religious teachings. Both churches functioned as forces for literacy, and leaders on both sides undertook broader campaigns of cultural development, seeking to uproot the popular superstitions they encountered among villagers and the urban poor. As important, Catholics and Protestants both sought to establish forms of piety that met the needs of educated Christians living in the secular world. This effort was central to Luther's conception of "the priesthood of all believers," but the Jesuits taught a similar idea. Their schools became the training ground for Europe's Catholic

elites, and Jesuit advisors worked closely with politically powerful figures. In both contexts, the Jesuits sought to attune Christian ethical standards with the real needs of people in power, reconciling spirituality with the demands of worldly life. In keeping with this aim, Jesuit schools taught not only religion but dancing, etiquette, and classical literature. They also taught science, illustrating another paradox of early modern culture, for the Jesuits had played an important role in one of the period's most dramatic moments of intellectual persecution, the Catholic Church's condemnation of Galileo in 1633 for his denial that the earth was the center of the universe. The condemnation frightened intellectuals, and to some extent it inhibited intellectual life in Catholic states. But its intellectual effects were less dramatic than historians once thought, and Catholic regions continued to make fundamental contributions to the development of European science and philosophy. Even religious warfare had not destroyed the fundamental unity of European cultural life, a unity reinforced by the readiness of students, intellectuals, and artists to travel around the Continent and to share ideas with both Catholics and Protestants.

FORMS OF STATE POWER

Something similar may be said of Europe's political evolution during the early modern period: differences among European governments mattered less than their structural similarities. Differences there certainly were, the most important having to do with the functioning of monarchy and with the restraints that monarchs would accept on their powers. At one extreme stood the United Provinces of the Netherlands, Europe's most successful economy in the seventeenth century. From the start of their long and ultimately successful rebellion against Spanish overlordship, the United Provinces functioned without kings. They confided the state's legislative powers to a representative institution, the Estates, in which each province had one vote and an effective veto power. Such executive powers as leading the army and representing the country in foreign affairs fell mainly to the princes of the House of Orange, who inherited the position of stadtholder (lieutenant); but they remained formally agents of the Estates, and during most of the period they accepted that limited role. Following the violent upheavals of the seventeenth

century, legislation in England too required Parliament's participation, and there were clear limits on what any king might do against Parliament's wishes. In most other countries, on the other hand, representative institutions tended to decay as the period advanced, leaving kings with few formal restrictions on their actions. During the late Middle Ages, France, the Iberian kingdoms, and much of Germany had active representative institutions; the richest regions of Italy had been city republics, governed by councils of the leading citizens. By 1600, in contrast, representative institutions in most of these regions had lost their functions, and in some regions they ceased meeting altogether.

These divergent paths of constitutional development, toward vigorous parliamentary government in England and the Netherlands, and toward more absolute royal power in most other regions, impressed contemporaries, and some historians have seen the contrast as the most important fact of early modern political history. But scholarship since the 1970s has tended to soften this classic contrast between parliamentary and absolutist states and to draw attention to how much they shared, even in the eighteenth century. Some degree of sharing was inevitable, given the competitive nature of the early modern state system; states tended to evolve in similar directions because they coped with similar challenges. For most of the period, competition took the form of nearly constant warfare, crudely aimed at territorial conquest; only after 1715 did acquiring new territories lose some of its legitimacy as a motive for war. Military techniques evolved dramatically during the early modern period, primarily because of gunpowder. In response to the new technology, armies became larger and more reliant on infantry; fortifications and equipment became more complex and expensive; and both officers and common soldiers needed more training. Historians disagree on the timing and some of the implications of the "military revolution" that these changes brought about, but there is no disagreement about its long-term effects: by 1700 states had to recruit, train, and equip immense armies at immense costs. Competition for colonial possessions added another layer of costs, especially in the form of enormously expensive warships.

Whether absolutist or parliamentary, all governments had to raise the large sums of money that

armies required; and they needed a growing number of officials to collect this money and manage its expenditure. Taxation was not unknown in the late Middle Ages, of course, but it was viewed as a temporary expedient rather than a normal practice; kings were expected to cover most government expenses from their domain revenues rather than by imposing on their subjects. In this respect the early modern period represented a fundamental revolution in government. Taxation already represented a significant burden on citizens in the sixteenth century, and in the seventeenth—the most war-filled of the period—it rose dramatically. Under these circumstances, even parliamentary governments like that in England saw a rapid expansion in the number of government officials and in their intrusiveness. In the eighteenth century, England in fact had a higher per capita tax rate than France.

If England and Holland experienced much-expanded and more domineering governments as the period advanced, apparently absolute monarchies like France retained more elements of consultative government than contemporary rhetoric suggested. One reason was practical. Lacking easy methods of communication, early modern central governments could not unilaterally impose their will on distant provinces; they needed local cooperation, and to secure it they needed to respect local needs and traditions. Monarchs thus governed partly through negotiation and patronage, favoring the interests of local elites, listening closely to their concerns, and furthering projects that appealed to them. These practical considerations help explain another paradox of the period, the fact that the princes of very small states came closest to putting absolutist ideals into practice. In larger states, distance made real absolutism impossible.

As states' financial needs grew, another consideration further limited monarchical power. To finance their international ambitions, governments needed to borrow money, and claims to absolute power made this difficult; bankers insisted on usurious interest rates from rulers who viewed themselves as unbound by any contract. Governments were slow to learn this lesson, and during the sixteenth century both French and Spanish monarchs repudiated their debts on several occasions. In the seventeenth century, the French kings more care-

fully disguised their bankruptcies, arresting creditors on grounds of excessive profiteering, but the practical disadvantages of such tactics were becoming apparent. Much smaller states such as Holland and England could match French military spending because lenders trusted parliamentary governments to treat them fairly. Consultative government had proved a source of power, rather than of weakness, and in the eighteenth century governments retreated from absolutist behavior; just before the Revolution the French monarchy even sought to restore local representative institutions.

THE CHARACTER OF AN AGE: UNITIES OF TIME AND SPACE

Was the early modern period a single historical era? European life changed significantly over the period, this essay has argued, and contemporaries were acutely aware of change. The eighteenth century was far less violent than earlier centuries, and eighteenth-century Europeans enjoyed previously unknown amenities. The bubonic plague disappeared after 1720, and though warfare continued, soldiers inflicted much less misery on civilian populations. Harvest failures became less catastrophic, and new consumer goods appeared even in small-town markets. The pessimism of the fifteenth century had been replaced by extreme self-confidence, as Europeans compared their own achievements favorably to those of earlier generations and of other societies.

European society was thus far from static during the early modern period. Yet it remains possible to speak of this as a unified historical era. In the eighteenth century as in the fifteenth, European society was primarily agricultural and aristocratic, and its technology still changed slowly. Government remained primarily monarchical, and most kings still saw themselves as God's agents on earth. Eighteenth-century Europeans, it can be argued, were still wrestling with the ideas and social forces that had emerged in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, with their sequence of discoveries, inventions, and religious conflicts. This process was not easy, and the term "early modern" suggests the poignancy of the period's inner contradictions. Even as they prided themselves on the novelty of their accomplishments, the early moderns turned anxiously to the study of ancient cultural and religious authorities. Dissent was harshly repressed in

these years, even as it became more frequent and more daring; monarchs vacillated in their self-depictions, sometimes stressing their divine right to authority, at other times stressing their duty to rule in society's interests. The late eighteenth-century age of revolutions, with its explosive mix of political, economic, and technological changes, brought many of these contradictions to an end. Like the late fifteenth century, these years reshaped the framework of European society and set before it a collection of new problems—the problems of modernity that, two centuries later, we have not yet fully resolved.

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JONATHAN DEWALD



MAPS OF EUROPE, 1453 TO 1795

The maps on the pages that follow show political boundaries within Europe at six important stages in the roughly three hundred and fifty years covered by this *Encyclopedia*: 1453, 1520, 1648, 1715, 1763, and 1795.



1453. In the years around 1450, Europe settled into relative political stability, following the crises of the late Middle Ages. France and England concluded the Hundred Years' War in 1453; the Ottoman Turks conquered Constantinople in the same year and established it as the capital of their empire; and in 1454 the Treaty of Lodi normalized relations among the principal Italian states, establishing a peaceful balance of power among Venice, Florence, the duchy of Milan, the Papal States, and the Kingdom of Naples.



1520. In 1520, the Habsburg prince Charles V was elected Holy Roman emperor, uniting in his person lordship over central Europe, Spain, the Low Countries, parts of Italy, and the newly conquered Spanish territories in the Americas. For the next century, this overwhelming accumulation of territories in the hands of a single dynasty would remain the most important fact in European international politics. But in 1520 Habsburg power already faced one of its most troublesome challenges: Martin Luther's Reformation, first attracting widespread notice in 1517, would repeatedly disrupt Habsburg efforts to unify their territories.



1648. The 1648 Peace of Westphalia ended the Thirty Years' War, one of the most destructive wars in European history. The peace treaty formally acknowledged the independence of the Dutch Republic and the Swiss Confederation, and it established the practical autonomy of the German principalities—including the right to establish their own religious policies. Conversely, the Holy Roman Empire lost much of its direct power; although its institutions continued to play some role in German affairs through the eighteenth century, the emperors' power now rested overwhelmingly on the Habsburg domain lands in Austria, Bohemia, and eastern Europe.



1715. The Peace of Utrecht (1713) ended the War of the Spanish Succession, the last and most destructive of the wars of the French king Louis XIV. The treaty ended Spain's control over present-day Belgium and over parts of Italy, and it marked the end of French hegemony within Europe. In the eighteenth century, France would be only one of five leading powers.



1763. The 1763 Treaty of Paris ended the Seven Years' War, a war that involved all the major European powers and included significant campaigns in North America and southern Asia, as well as in Europe. The war made clear the arrival of Prussia as a great power, at least the equal of Austria in central and eastern Europe.



1795. By 1795, French armies had repelled an attempted invasion by Prussia, Austria, and England, and France had begun annexing territories in Belgium and western Germany. These military successes ensured the continuation of the French Revolution, but they also meant that European warfare would continue until 1815, when the modern borders of France were largely established. Warfare with France did not prevent the other European powers from conducting business as usual elsewhere: with agreements in 1793 and 1795, Prussia, Austria, and Russia completed their absorption of Poland.



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COMMON ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THIS WORK

| | | | |
|-----------|---|-------|--|
| A.D. | <i>Anno Domini</i> , in the year of the Lord | MS. | manuscript (pl. MSS.) |
| A.H. | <i>Anno Hegirae</i> , in the year of the Hegira | n.d. | no date |
| b. | born | no. | number (pl., nos.) |
| B.C. | before Christ | n.s. | new series |
| B.C.E. | before the common era (= B.C.) | N.S. | new style, according to the Gregorian calendar |
| c. | <i>circa</i> , about, approximately | O.S. | old style, according to the Julian calendar |
| C.E. | common era (= A.D.) | p. | page (pl., pp.) |
| ch. | chapter | rev. | revised |
| d. | died | S. | <i>san, sanctus, santo</i> , male saint |
| ed. | editor (pl., eds.), edition | SS. | saints |
| e.g. | <i>exempli gratia</i> , for example | Sta. | <i>sancta, santa</i> , female saint |
| et al. | <i>et alii</i> , and others | supp. | supplement |
| etc. | <i>et cetera</i> , and so forth | vol. | volume |
| exh. cat. | exhibition catalogue | ? | uncertain, possibly, perhaps |
| fl. | <i>floruit</i> , flourished | | |
| i.e. | <i>id est</i> , that is | | |



CHRONOLOGY

The Chronology is arranged year by year from 1450 to 1789 (and a little beyond) and is organized under six major headings to cover the *Encyclopedia's* scope thematically and over time. Most items listed below are discussed in articles within the *Encyclopædia*, and can be located by referring to the Table of Contents and the Index.

Works first published in Latin, French, German, Italian, or Spanish are given in their original titles; translations are supplied for works first published in less commonly known languages.

Rulers and popes are identified at the beginning of their reign, with inclusive dates of rule. For example, at 1558: "Elizabeth I (England) 1558–1603."

Because the section headings are not always mutually exclusive, certain subjects may be listed under more than one heading. For instance, a philosopher may sometimes be listed under Literature and Scholarship as well as under Religion and Philosophy.

Works and events in mathematics and statistics are listed under Science and Technology.

Abbreviations:

- co. = company (pl., cos.)
- d. = died
- est. = established
- fd. = founded
- ft. = fort
- HRE = Holy Roman Emperor/Empire
- incl. = included, including
- mt. = mount, mountain (pl., mts.)
- publ. = published
- r. = ruled, reigned
- Tr. = treaty

| DATE | POLITICS AND SOCIETY | RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY | SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY |
|------|--|--|------------------------|
| 1450 | Francesco Sforza, duke of Milan, 1450–1466 | | |
| 1451 | Mehmed II (Ottoman Empire), 1451–1481 | | |
| 1452 | Frederick III (HRE), 1452–1493, first Habsburg | | |
| 1453 | Hundred Years' War ends; Turks capture Constantinople; Millet system est. by Sultan Mehmed II | | |
| 1454 | Henry IV (Castile), 1454–1474; Peace of Lodi; Thirteen Years' War between Poland and Russia, 1454–1466 | | |
| 1455 | Wars of the Roses (England), 1455–1485; Portuguese fleets reach Senegal River, begin to exchange slaves and manufactured gifts for gold | Pope Callistus, 1455–1458; d. Zygmunt Oleśnicki, cardinal and Polish regent, 1434–1447 | |
| 1456 | d. János Hunyadi | | |
| 1457 | Christian I of Denmark reigns as king of Sweden, 1457–1464 | | |
| 1458 | Turks sack the Acropolis; George of Podebrady (Bohemia), 1458–1471; Matthias Corvinus (Hungary), 1458–1490; John II (Spain), 1458–1479; Portuguese occupy Ksar as-Saghir on Moroccan coast | Pope Pius II, 1458–1464 | |

| ART AND ARCHITECTURE | DRAMA AND MUSIC | LITERATURE AND SCHOLARSHIP | DATE |
|----------------------|-----------------|----------------------------|------|
|----------------------|-----------------|----------------------------|------|

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|--|--|--------------------------|------|
| | | 1450 Vatican Library fd. | 1450 |
|--|--|--------------------------|------|

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|--|--|------------------------|------|
| | | Glasgow University fd. | 1451 |
|--|--|------------------------|------|

| | | | |
|--|--|--|------|
| Leon Battista Alberti, <i>De Re Aedificatoria</i> ; Lorenzo Ghiberti completes Gates of Paradise | | | 1452 |
|--|--|--|------|

| | | | |
|--|--|---------------------------------|------|
| | | Johannes Gutenberg prints Bible | 1453 |
|--|--|---------------------------------|------|

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|--|--|--|------|
| | | | 1454 |
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|---|--|-----------------|------|
| d. Fra Angelico; d. Lorenzo Ghiberti; d. Antonio Pisano, il Pisanello | | d. Juan de Mena | 1455 |
|---|--|-----------------|------|

| | | | |
|--|--|--|------|
| | | | 1456 |
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|--|--|------------------|------|
| | | d. Lorenzo Valla | 1457 |
|--|--|------------------|------|

| | | | |
|--|--|--|------|
| | | | 1458 |
|--|--|--|------|

| DATE | POLITICS AND SOCIETY | RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY | SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY |
|------|---|---|--|
| 1459 | | | Fra Mauro creates world map for Portuguese king Afonso V |
| 1460 | d. Prince Henry the Navigator (Portugal); James III (Scotland), 1460–1488 | | |
| 1461 | Edward IV (England), 1461–1470; Louis XI (France), 1461–1483 | | |
| 1462 | Ivan III (Muscovy), 1462–1505, first to called himself tsar of all Rus’ | First Monte di Pietà est. by Franciscans in Perugia | |
| 1463 | | d. Catherine of Bologna | |
| 1464 | Piero I de’ Medici, ruler of Florence, 1464–1469; Charles XIII (Sweden), 1464–1465; Postal service est. in France by Louis XI | d. Nicholas of Cusa; Pope Paul II, 1464–1471 | |
| 1465 | Christian I of Denmark reigns as king of Sweden, 1465–1467 | | |
| 1466 | Peace of Toruń ends Thirteen Years’ War between Poland and Russia; Teutonic Knights return conquered territories to Poland | | Leon Battista Alberti invents cypher disk system |
| 1467 | Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy, 1467–1477; Charles VIII (Sweden), 1467–1470 | | |
| 1468 | | | |

| ART AND ARCHITECTURE | DRAMA AND MUSIC | LITERATURE AND SCHOLARSHIP | DATE |
|----------------------|-----------------|----------------------------|------|
|----------------------|-----------------|----------------------------|------|

| | | | |
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| | | d. Gian Francesco Poggio Bracciolini | 1459 |
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| | | d. Guarino Guarini | 1460 |
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| | | Platonic Academy est. by Marsilio Ficino | 1462 |
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| | | d. François Villon | 1463 |
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| Antonio del Pollaiuolo, <i>Battle of the Nudes</i> ; Andrea del Verrocchio, <i>Christ and Doubting Thomas</i> , 1465–1483 | | | 1465 |
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| d. Donatello | | | 1466 |
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| | | d. Johannes Gutenberg | 1468 |
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| DATE | POLITICS AND SOCIETY | RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY | SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY |
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| 1469 | Marriage of Ferdinand of Aragón and Isabella of Castile lays groundwork for unification of Spain; Lorenzo de' Medici, ruler of Florence, 1469–1492 | | |
| 1470 | Henry VI (England), 1470–1471; Portuguese arrive in São Tomé, Ano Bom, and Príncipe | | |
| 1471 | Vladislav II (Bohemia), 1471–1516; Edward VI (England), 1471–1483; Sten Stur the Elder, regent of Sweden, 1471–1497; Portuguese occupy Arzilla and Tangier; Italian city-states begin striking coins known as “testons” | d. Thomas à Kempis (author of <i>Imitation of Christ</i>); Pope Sixtus IV, 1471–1484 | |
| 1472 | Ivan III of Muscovy marries Sofia (Zoë) Paleologue | d. Cardinal Bessarion; d. Janus Pannonius | |
| 1473 | | | |
| 1474 | Isabella, queen of Castile, 1474–1504; Ferdinand serves as king consort (as Ferdinand V, 1474–1504) | | |
| 1475 | Cologne recognized as an imperial free city by HRE Frederick III; Crimean Khanate accepts vassalage to Ottoman sultan | | |
| 1476 | | | d. Regiomontanus (Johann Müller) |

| ART AND ARCHITECTURE | DRAMA AND MUSIC | LITERATURE AND SCHOLARSHIP | DATE |
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| d. Filarete (Antonio di Pietro Averlino); d. Fra Filippo Lippi | | | 1469 |
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| | | Sir John Fortescue, <i>De Laudibus Legum Angliae</i> ; First printing press in Paris est. by Guillaume Fichet and Johann Heynlin | 1470 |
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| | | d. Thomas Malory; Lorenzo Valla, <i>Elegantiae Linguae Latinae Libri Sex</i> | 1471 |
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| d. Leon Battista Alberti | | d. Peter Luder | 1472 |
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| | | Printing press est. at Lyon | 1473 |
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| | d. Guillaume Dufay | | 1474 |
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| Dormition Cathedral constructed by Aristotele Fioravanti in Moscow Kremlin, 1475–1479 | | | 1475 |
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| Hugo van der Goes, <i>Adoration of the Magi</i> altarpiece, 1476–1478 (commissioned by Tomasso Portinari for church of St. Egidio) | | William Caxton sets up printing press at Westminster | 1476 |
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| DATE | POLITICS AND SOCIETY | RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY | SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY |
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| 1477 | Burgundy divided between France and HRE after death of Duke Charles the Bold | | |
| 1478 | Megli Giray, Crimean khan, 1478–1515; Novgorod conquered by Muscovy; Pazzi conspiracy in Florence | Spanish Inquisition est. | |
| 1479 | Ferdinand II becomes king of Aragón, 1479–1516, rules Aragón and Castile jointly with Isabella; Tr. of Alcacovas | | |
| 1480 | Ivan III confronts Golden Horde, ending Mongol supremacy in Russia; Ludovico Sforza, duke of Milan, 1480–1499 | | |
| 1481 | Bayezid II (Ottoman Empire), 1481–1512; John II (Portugal), 1481–1495; Agreement of Stans guarantees internal autonomy and mutual support of Swiss cantons | | |
| 1482 | Peace of Arras; Kiev plundered by Mengli Giray; d. Federico da Montefeltro; Fort of São Jorge da Mina (Ghana) est. by Portuguese | | |
| 1483 | John (Denmark and Norway), 1483–1513; Edward V (England), 1483, followed by Richard III, 1483–1485; Charles VIII (France), 1483–1498 | | |
| 1484 | Portuguese arrive at Congo River | Pope Innocent VIII, 1484–1492 | |

| ART AND ARCHITECTURE | DRAMA AND MUSIC | LITERATURE AND SCHOLARSHIP | DATE |
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| Sandro Botticelli, <i>La Primavera</i> | Johannes Tinctoris, <i>Liber de Arte Contrapuncti</i> | University of Uppsala fd. | 1477 |
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| | | Copenhagen University fd.; d. John Fortescue | 1479 |
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| | | d. Jan Długosz, after completing <i>Historia Polonica</i> | 1480 |
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| d. Jean Fouquet | | | 1481 |
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| d. Luca Della Robbia | | | 1482 |
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| Annunciation Cathedral built as Kremlin palace church, 1484–1489; Sandro Botticelli, <i>Birth of Venus</i> | | | 1484 |
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| DATE | POLITICS AND SOCIETY | RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY | SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY |
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| 1485 | Battle of Bosworth field; Henry VII (England), 1485–1509, first Tudor king; Portuguese reach Angola; Saxony divided by dukes Albert and Ernest | | |
| 1486 | Maximilian I becomes coregent with his father, HRE Frederick III; Frederick III “the Wise,” elector of Saxony, 1486–1525 | | |
| 1487 | | | |
| 1488 | James IV (Scotland), 1488–1513 | | |
| 1489 | | | |
| 1490 | Vladislas I (Hungary), 1490–1516, king of Bohemia (as Vladislav II) from 1471 | | |
| 1491 | Anne of Brittany becomes queen of France by marriage to Charles VIII, 1491–1498 | | |
| 1492 | Piero II, ruler of Florence, 1492–1494; John I Albert (Poland), 1492–1501; Alexander, grand duke of Lithuania, 1492–1506; Ivan III of Muscovy invades Lithuania, 1492–1494; Capitulation of Granada to Spain; Jews expelled from Spain; first voyage of Christopher Columbus, 1492–1493 | Pope Alexander VI, 1492–1503 | Martin Behaim’s globe (omits America) |

| ART AND ARCHITECTURE | DRAMA AND MUSIC | LITERATURE AND SCHOLARSHIP | DATE |
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| | | Thomas Malory, <i>Le morte d'Arthur</i> | 1485 |
| | | Pico della Mirandola, <i>De Hominis Dignitatis Oratio</i> | 1486 |
| Faceted Palace built in Moscow Kremlin, 1487– 1491 | | | 1487 |
| d. Andrea del Verrocchio | | | 1488 |
| Michelangelo Buonarroti, <i>Madonna of the Stairs</i> , 1489–1492 | | | 1489 |
| | | | 1490 |
| | | d. William Caxton | 1491 |
| d. Piero della Francesca | | | 1492 |

| DATE | POLITICS AND SOCIETY | RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY | SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY |
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| 1493 | Maximilian I (HRE), 1493–1519; Pope Alexander VI issues bulls <i>Inter Caetera</i> , dividing New World between Spain and Portugal; second voyage of Christopher Columbus, 1493–1496 | | |
| 1494 | Habsburg-Valois conflict (Italian Wars), 1494–1559; French invade Italy; Medici exiled from Florence, republican rule 1494–1512; Tr. of Tordesillas | | |
| 1495 | Charles VIII of France enters Naples; Diet of Worms; Manuel I (Portugal), 1495–1521 | | |
| 1496 | City of Santo Domingo fd. by Christopher Columbus | Isaac Abravanel, <i>Wellsprings of Salvation</i> | |
| 1497 | Cabot's voyage to Canada; Vasco da Gama begins voyage to India; Muscovite law code (<i>Sudebnik</i>) promulgated; Spanish doubloon introduced, becomes common gold coin of international trade; John of Denmark reigns as John II of Sweden, 1497–1501 | Oratory of Divine Love fd. in Genoa by Ettore Vernazza | |
| 1498 | d. John Cabot; third voyage of Christopher Columbus, 1498–1500; Louis XII (France), 1498–1515; Vasco da Gama reaches Malabar coast (southwest) of India | d. Girolamo Savonarola (burned at the stake for heresy); d. Tomás de Torquemada | |

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DATE

Nuremberg Chronicle printed 1493

d. Domenico Ghirlandaio

Sebastian Brant, *Das Narrenschiff*; d. Pico della Mirandola; d. Angelo Poliziano 1494

Hieronymus Bosch, *The Garden of Earthly Delights*;
Leonardo da Vinci, *The Last Supper*, 1495–1498

Aldus Manutius the Elder's Aldine Press issues first book (*Erotemata* of Constantine Lascaris) 1495

d. Filippo Buonaccorsi (Callimachus) 1496

1497

d. Antonio Pollaiuolo

d. Giulio Pomponio Leto 1498

| DATE | POLITICS AND SOCIETY | RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY | SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY |
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| 1499 | Anne of Brittany marries Louis XII, becoming queen of France for the second time, 1499–1514; Amerigo Vespucci voyages to America; Perkin Warbeck executed | | |
| 1500 | Álvares Pedro Cabral reaches Brazil; Fort of Cabo das Redes est. by Portuguese; d. Bartolomeu Dias; Second Muscovite-Lithuanian War, 1500–1503 | | |
| 1501 | Alexander (Poland), 1501–1506; Sten Stur the Elder, regent of Sweden, 1501–1503 | | |
| 1502 | Last voyage of Christopher Columbus, 1502–1504 | | |
| 1503 | d. Sofia Paleologue; Seville becomes center of Spanish commerce with the Americas; Spanish rule in Naples begins | Desiderius Erasmus, <i>Enchiridion Militis Christiani</i> , Pope Julius II, 1503–1513 | |
| 1504 | Tr. of Lyon; Joanna I, “the Mad” (Spain), 1504–1555, queen of Castile from 1504 and Aragón from 1516 (until 1506 power exercised by husband Philip I, until 1516 by father Ferdinand II, and thereafter by son Charles I); Spain takes over Kingdom of Naples (until 1713); Svante Nilsson, regent of Sweden, 1504–1512 | “Judaizers” condemned and executed in Russia | |

| ART AND ARCHITECTURE | DRAMA AND MUSIC | LITERATURE AND SCHOLARSHIP | DATE |
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| Michelangelo Buonarroti, <i>Pietà</i> | | University of Alcalá de Hanares fd. by Cardinal Cisneros; d. Marsilio Ficino; Aldus Manutius prints illustrated edition of Francesco Colonna's <i>Hypnerotomachia Poliphili</i> | 1499 |
| Hieronymus Bosch, <i>Ship of Fools</i> ; Lucas Cranach the Elder, <i>Crucifixion</i> | | Aldus Manutius (Venice) introduces octavo format for printed books; University of Valencia fd. | 1500 |
| Michelangelo Buonarroti, <i>David</i> , 1501–1504 | | | 1501 |
| d. Francesco di Giorgio Martini; Leonardo da Vinci, <i>Virgin and Child with St. Anne</i> , c. 1502–1516 | | Konrad Celtis (Pickel), <i>Quattuor Libri Amorum</i> ; Estienne Press est.; University of Wittenberg fd. | 1502 |
| Raphael, <i>Coronation of the Virgin</i> ; Leonardo da Vinci, <i>La Gioconda (Mona Lisa)</i> and <i>Battle of Anghiari</i> , c. 1503–1506 | | | 1503 |
| | | Jacopo Sannazaro, <i>Arcadia</i> ; University of Santiago de Compostela fd. | 1504 |

| DATE | POLITICS AND SOCIETY | RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY | SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY |
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| 1505 | Francisco d'Almeida razes Swahili coastal city of Kilwa; Vasili III (Muscovy), 1505–1533 | | |
| 1506 | d. Christopher Columbus; Sigismund I (Poland), 1506–1548 | | |
| 1507 | d. Cesare Borgia; Portuguese occupy Safi and Azemmur on Moroccan coast, 1507–1513 | Tommaso de Vio (Cajetan) writes commentary on <i>Summa Theologica</i> of Thomas Aquinas, 1507–1520 | Martin Waldseemüller, <i>Cosmographia Introductio</i> |
| 1508 | League of Cambrai | d. Isaac Abravanel; d. Nil Sorskii | |
| 1509 | Henry VIII (England) 1509–1547; Portuguese reach Malacca | | |
| 1510 | Muscovy annexes Pskov; Portuguese conquer Goa | d. St. Catherine of Genoa | |
| 1511 | Portuguese conquer Melaka (Malay peninsula) | King of France and HRE convene council at Pisa to force reforms on Pope Julius II; Johannes Reuchlin, <i>Augenspiegel</i> | |
| 1512 | HRE adopts official title “Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation”; Third Muscovite-Lithuanian War, 1512–1522; Selim I (Ottoman Empire), 1512–1520; Sten Stur the Younger, regent of Sweden, 1512–1520; d. Amerigo Vespucci | Fifth Lateran Council, 1512–1517 | |

| ART AND ARCHITECTURE | DRAMA AND MUSIC | LITERATURE AND SCHOLARSHIP | DATE |
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| Giorgione, <i>The Tempest</i> ; Raphael, <i>The Grand Duke's Madonna</i> | | | 1505 |
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| <i>Laocöon</i> discovered; d. Andrea Mantegna | | University of Frankfurt an der Oder fd. | 1506 |
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1507

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| Michelangelo paints Sistine Chapel ceiling, 1508–1512; Raphael, frescoes in the Stanza della Segnatura in Vatican papal apartments, incl. <i>The School of Athens</i> , 1508–1511 | | Guillaume Budé, <i>Annotationes in Pandectas</i> , d. Konrad Celtis (Pickel) | 1508 |
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| | | St. Paul's School fd. in London by John Colet | 1509 |
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| d. Sandro Botticelli; Giorgione, <i>Sleeping Venus</i> ; d. Giorgione | <i>Everyman</i> first performed | | 1510 |
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| | d. Johannes Tinctoris | Erasmus, <i>Moriae Encomium</i> | 1511 |
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1512

| DATE | POLITICS AND SOCIETY | RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY | SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY |
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| 1513 | Christian II (Denmark and Norway), 1513–1523; James V (Scotland), 1513–1542; Vasco Nuñez de Balboa crosses Isthmus of Panama to reach Pacific Ocean; Juan Ponce de León discovers Florida | Pope Leo X, 1513–1521 | |
| 1514 | d. Anne of Brittany; Peasant uprising in Hungary, led by György Dózsa; Muscovites capture Smolensk | Roman Oratory fd. | |
| 1515 | d. Alfonso de Albuquerque, first Portuguese governor general of Goa; Francis I (France), 1515–1547; Milan annexed by France; Cardinal Thomas Wolsey, lord chancellor of England, 1515–1529 | d. Joseph of Volokolamsk | |
| 1516 | Louis II (Bohemia and Hungary), 1516–1526; Charles I (Spain), from 1519 HRE as Charles V, 1516–1556 | Concordat of Bologna rescinds 1438 Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges; Gasparo Contarini, <i>On the Office of Bishop</i> ; Desiderius Erasmus publishes new Latin version of New Testament | |
| 1517 | | d. Cardinal Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros, Spanish Franciscan reformer; Martin Luther's Ninety-Five Theses | |
| 1518 | Mercurio de Gattinara, chancellor to HRE Charles V, 1518–1530 | Huldrych Zwingli begins preaching in Zurich | First book on coded messages published; Royal College of Physicians fd. |

| ART AND ARCHITECTURE | DRAMA AND MUSIC | LITERATURE AND SCHOLARSHIP | DATE |
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| Albrecht Dürer, <i>Knight, Death, and the Devil</i> , <i>St. Jerome in His Study</i> , and <i>Melancholia I</i> | | Niccolò Machiavelli writes <i>The Prince</i> and the <i>Discourses on the First Ten Books of Titus Livy</i> | 1513 |
| d. Donato Bramante | | | 1514 |
| Château of Blois built in Loire Valley, 1515–1524 | | Guillaume Budé, <i>De Asse et Partibus Ejus</i> ; <i>Ein kurzveilig Lesen von Till Eulenspiegel</i> ; Lateran Council forbids printing of books without approval of Roman Catholic authorities; d. Aldus Manutius the Elder | 1515 |
| d. Giovanni Bellini; d. Hieronymus Bosch; Raphael, <i>Sistine Madonna</i> ; Titian, <i>The Assumption</i> , 1516–1518 | | Ludovico Ariosto, <i>Orlando Furioso</i> ; Desiderius Erasmus, <i>Institutio Principis Christiani</i> ; Sir Thomas More, <i>Utopia</i> ; d. Baptista Spagnoli (Mantuanus) | 1516 |
| d. Fra Bartolomeo della Porta; Raphael, <i>The Transfiguration</i> ; Andrea del Sarto, <i>Madonna of the Harpies</i> | | Maciej of Miechów, <i>Tractatus de Duabus Sarmatiis</i> | 1517 |
| | | Desiderius Erasmus, <i>Colloquia</i> | 1518 |

| DATE | POLITICS AND SOCIETY | RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY | SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY |
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| 1519 | d. Lucrezia Borgia; Charles V (HRE), 1519–1556; Hernán Cortés’s expedition to Mexico; Fuggerei, first welfare housing project, fd. by Jakob II Fugger; Ferdinand Magellan sails around the world, through tip of South America (Strait of Magellan), to Philippine Islands, 1519–1521; <i>Joachimstaler</i> coins (<i>talers</i> or dollars) first produced | d. John Colet | |
| 1520 | <i>Comuneros</i> Revolt, 1520–1521; Christian II of Denmark rules as king of Sweden, 1520–1521; Field of the Cloth of Gold; Suleiman the Magnificent (Ottoman Empire), 1520–1566 | King Henry VIII of England, <i>Defense of the Seven Sacraments</i> ; Martin Luther, <i>An den christlichen Adel deutscher Nation</i> and <i>Von der Freiheit eines Christenmenschen</i> ; Sigismund I of Poland bans Lutheran books | |
| 1521 | Turks capture Belgrade; Diet of Worms; Parma becomes part of Papal States; John III (Portugal), 1521–1557; Hernán Cortés conquers Tenochtitlán; d. Ferdinand Magellan | Pope Leo X excommunicates Martin Luther (<i>Decet Romanum Pontificem</i>); Henry VIII named “Defender of the Faith”; Philipp Melanchthon, <i>Loci Communes</i> | |
| 1522 | Milan taken from France by HRE; Turks capture Rhodes; Francis I introduces bonds (<i>rentes</i>) guaranteed by Paris city government and est. bureau to sell state offices | Pope Adrian VI, 1522–1523; Martin Luther publishes German translation of New Testament; Complutensian Polyglot Bible | |
| 1523 | Kalmar Union between Denmark, Sweden, and Norway dissolved; Frederick I (Denmark and Norway), 1523–1533; Gustav I Vasa (Sweden), 1523–1560 | Pope Clement VII, 1523–1534 | Schöner’s map (includes both American continents) |

| ART AND ARCHITECTURE | DRAMA AND MUSIC | LITERATURE AND SCHOLARSHIP | DATE |
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| Château of Chambord built in Loire valley, 1519–1550; d. Leonardo da Vinci | | d. John Colet; Maciej of Miechów, <i>Chronica Polonorum</i> ; Claude de Seyssel, <i>La grant monarchie de France</i> | 1519 |
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| d. Raphael Sanzio; Titian, <i>Bacchus and Ariadne</i> , 1520–1523 | | d. Henry Estienne the Elder; Pico della Mirandola, <i>Examem Vanitatis</i> | 1520 |
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| d. Piero di Cosimo | d. Josquin des Prez | d. Sebastian Brant; Niccolò Machiavelli, <i>Arte della guerra</i> | 1521 |
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| | d. Jean Mouton | Biernat of Lublin, versified Aesop; d. Johann Reuchlin | 1522 |
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| Hans Holbein the Younger, <i>Erasmus of Rotterdam</i> ; d. Perugino; d. Luca Signorelli | | Mikołaj Hussowczyk (Hussovianus), <i>Carmen de Statura, Feritate, ac Venatione Bisontis</i> ; Hans Sachs, <i>Der Wittenbergisch Nachtigall</i> ; Juan Luis Vives, <i>De Ratione Studii Puerilis</i> | 1523 |
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| DATE | POLITICS AND SOCIETY | RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY | SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY |
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| 1524 | German Peasants' War, 1524–1525; Council of the Indies est. to govern Spanish colonies in America; d. Vasco da Gama | | d. Nicolò Leoniceno, scholar of medicine |
| 1525 | Battle of Pavia; Francis I taken prisoner; Albert of Brandenburg, grand master of Teutonic order, converts East Prussia into secular duchy; d. Jakob II Fugger, “the Rich” | d. Thomas Müntzer; William Tyndale publishes English translation of Bible | |
| 1526 | Battle of Mohács; d. Louis II (Bohemia and Hungary); Ferdinand I (Bohemia and Hungary), 1526–1564, HRE from 1556; János Zápolya (Szápolyai), 1526–1540, rival to Ferdinand I of Habsburg as king of Hungary; Spanish conquest of Yucatán, 1526–1546 | New Testament translated into Swedish by Laurentius and Olaus Petri involved | |
| 1527 | Henry VIII seeks annulment of marriage to Catherine of Aragón to marry Anne Boleyn; Sack of Rome by HRE Charles V's troops | | |
| 1528 | Francis I makes Paris his principal place of residence | | |
| 1529 | Turks besiege Vienna; First Lithuanian Statute | Colloquy of Marburg | |

| ART AND ARCHITECTURE | DRAMA AND MUSIC | LITERATURE AND SCHOLARSHIP | DATE |
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| d. Hans Holbein the Elder | Gian Giorgio Trissino, <i>Sofonisba</i> | Pietro Aretino, “Aretino’s Postures” | 1524 |
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| | | Galeazzo Flavio Capella, “On the Excellence and Dignity of Women” | 1525 |
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| Correggio (Antonio Allegri), <i>Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine</i> ; Jacopo da Pontormo, <i>Deposition</i> | | | 1526 |
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| | | Bartolomé de Las Casas begins <i>Historia apologética</i> , preface to <i>Historia de las Indias</i> ; d. Niccolò Machiavelli | 1527 |
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| d. Albrecht Dürer; Galerie François I built at Fontainebleau; d. Matthias Grünewald; d. Jacopo Palma (Vecchio) | | Baldassare Castiglione, <i>Il cortegiano</i> | 1528 |
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| | | Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa, “On the Nobility and Excellence of the Feminine Sex”; Guillaume Budé, <i>Commentarii Linguae Graecae</i> ; d. Baldassare Castiglione; Collège de France fd.; d. John Skelton | 1529 |
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| DATE | POLITICS AND SOCIETY | RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY | SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY |
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| 1530 | Imperial Diet at Augsburg; Medici return to Florence; Polish monarchy becomes elective; Francisco Pizarro begins conquest of Peru; d. Cardinal Thomas Wolsey | Augsburg Confession; Ignatius of Loyola, <i>Spiritual Exercises</i> | |
| 1531 | Schmalkaldic League formed by Lutheran princes; Stock exchange est. at Antwerp; Portuguese est. trading post at Sena on Zambezi River (Mozambique) | Sebastian Franck, <i>Chronica: Zeitbuch und Geschichtsbibel</i> ; Politian, translation of Epictetus's <i>Enchiridion</i> (Handbook); d. Huldrych Zwingli, at Battle of Kappel; Second Religious Peace of Kappel provides for religious coexistence in Switzerland | |
| 1532 | Thomas Cromwell becomes principal advisor to Henry VIII, 1532–1540 | Solomon Molcho (Diogo Pires) burned at the stake for heresy | Otto Brunfels, <i>Herbarum Vivae Eicones</i> |
| 1533 | Ivan IV, “the Terrible” (Russia), 1533–1584; Cuzco conquered by Francisco Pizarro | | |
| 1534 | Affair of the Placards in France; Jacques Cartier sets out to explore Gulf and River of St. Lawrence; Christian III (Denmark and Norway), 1534–1559 | Act of Supremacy passed in England; Anabaptist rule in Münster, 1534–1535; Martin Luther publishes German translation of Bible; Pope Paul III, 1534–1549 | d. Otto Brunfels |
| 1535 | Lima fd. by Francisco Pizarro; Spain absorbs Duchy of Milan after death of Francesco II Sforza | Company of St. Ursula fd. by Angela Merici; Miles Coverdale prints first complete English Bible; d. Jan van Leyden (executed) | |
| 1536 | Buenos Aires fd.; Gonzaga family of Mantua acquires Montferrat | John Calvin, <i>Institutes of the Christian Religion</i> ; First Helvetic Confession; Inquisition est. in Portugal; d. Jacques Lefèvre d’Étaples; d. William Tyndale (executed) | Paracelsus, <i>Great Surgery Book</i> |

| ART AND ARCHITECTURE | DRAMA AND MUSIC | LITERATURE AND SCHOLARSHIP | DATE |
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| Lucas Cranach the Elder, <i>The Judgment of Paris</i> | | Collegium Trilinguae (or Collège Royale, later Collège de France) fd. by Francis I; d. Jacopo Sannazaro | 1530 |
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| d. Vincenzo Catena | | Jan Amos Comenius, <i>Janua Liguarum Reserata</i> ; Robert Estienne, <i>Dictionarium Seu Linguae Latinae Thesaurus</i> ; University of Granada fd. | 1531 |
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| | | François Rabelais's <i>Gargantua and Pantagruel</i> stories appear, 1532–1564 | 1532 |
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| d. Veit Stoss | | d. Ludovico Ariosto | 1533 |
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| d. Correggio (Antonio Allegri); Titian, <i>Venus and Adonis</i> , 1553–1554 | | | 1534 |
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| Hans Holbein the Younger, <i>Henry VIII</i> | | d. Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa of Nettesheim; Guillaume Budé, <i>De Transitu Hellenismi ad Christianismum</i> ; d. Sir Thomas More | 1535 |
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| | | d. Desiderius Erasmus; Francesco Guicciardini writes <i>Storia d'Italia</i> , 1536–1540 | 1536 |
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| DATE | POLITICS AND SOCIETY | RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY | SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY |
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| 1537 | Cosimo I de' Medici, duke of Florence, 1537–1574 | <i>Consilium de Emendanda Ecclesia</i> , Pope Paul III condemns enslavement of American natives | |
| 1538 | Holy League against Ottomans, 1538–1540; Secret treaty of Nagyvárad divides Hungary | King Henry VIII of England excommunicated by Pope Paul III; d. David Reuveni | |
| 1539 | | Six Articles define Anglican faith | Olaus Magnus produces a map of the world |
| 1540 | Thomas Cromwell executed; Milan given to Philip of Spain; Tr. between Venice and Turkey | Edict of Fontainebleau defines heresy as treason against God and king; Philipp Melanchthon, <i>Variata</i> ; d. Angela Merici | |
| 1541 | d. Francisco Pizarro | Gustav Vasa's Bible (complete Swedish version); New Testament translated into Hungarian; Society of Jesus approved by Pope Paul III; d. Juan de Valdés | d. Paracelsus |
| 1542 | “Great Debasement” of coinage in England; Mary (Stuart), Queen of Scots, 1542–1567; New Laws stipulate that <i>encomienda</i> in Spanish America cannot be a hereditary grant | d. Gasparo Contarini; d. Sebastian Franck; Roman Inquisition (Holy Office) est. | Leonhard Fuchs, <i>De Historia Stirpium</i> |
| 1543 | | d. Gian Matteo Giberti; Petrus Ramus, <i>Dialecticae Institutiones</i> and <i>Aristotelicae Aminadversiones</i> | Nicolaus Copernicus, <i>De Revolutionibus Orbium Coelestium</i> ; d. Copernicus; Andreas Vesalius, <i>De Humani Corporis Fabrica</i> ; First university botanical gardens fd. at Pisa |
| 1544 | | | Sebastian Münster, <i>Cosmographia</i> |

| ART AND ARCHITECTURE | DRAMA AND MUSIC | LITERATURE AND SCHOLARSHIP | DATE |
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| Sebastiano Serlio, <i>Trattato di architettura</i> | d. Gil Vicente | d. Andrzej Krzycki (Cricius) | 1537 |
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| d. Albrecht Altdorfer; Titian, <i>Venus of Urbino</i> | | Juan Luis Vives, <i>De Anima et Vita Libri Tres</i> | 1538 |
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1539

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| Il Bronzino, <i>Eleonora of Toledo and Her Son Giovanni de' Medici</i> ; d. Jean Clouet; d. Giovanni Battista di Jacopo, il Rosso Fiorentino; d. Parmigianino | | d. Guillaume Budé; d. Francesco Guicciardini; d. Juan Luis Vives | 1540 |
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| Hôtel Grand Ferrare built by Sebastiano Serlio, 1541–1548 | Giambattista Giraldi, <i>Orbecche</i> ; d. Fernando de Rojas | | 1541 |
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| d. Hans Holbein the Younger | | d. Klemens Janicki (Janicius) | 1543 |
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| | | University of Königsberg fd.; d. Clément Marot; printing press brought to Mexico | 1544 |
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| DATE | POLITICS AND SOCIETY | RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY | SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY |
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| 1545 | Duchy of Parma and Piacenza created by Pope Paul III; Pier Luigi Farnese becomes duke, 1545–1547; Silver deposits discovered at Potosí, Peru | Council of Trent, 1545–1563; Bartolomé de Las Casas, <i>Confesionario</i> | Botanical gardens fd. at University of Padua |
| 1546 | Schmalkaldic War, 1546–1547 | d. Martin Luther; d. Francisco de Vitoria | |
| 1547 | d. Francisco de los Cobos; d. Hernán Cortés; Edward VI (England), 1547–1553; Henry II (France), 1547–1559; Ivan IV crowned tsar of Russia; Moscow destroyed by fire; right to plead before royal courts in England restricted to students of the Inns of Court | Catechism of Martynas Mažvydas printed (first printed book in Lithuanian); d. Jacopo Sadoletto; d. Tommaso de Vio Cajetan | |
| 1548 | Sigismund II Augustus (Poland), 1548–1572; Gonzalo Pizarro executed; pure-blood statute first imposed in Toledo | HRE Charles V issues <i>Interim</i> | |
| 1549 | | Book of Common Prayer authorized for use in Church of England; Jesuits arrive in Brazil; Francis Xavier arrives in Japan to found Jesuit mission | |
| 1550 | New Russian law code (<i>Sudebnik</i>) issued | Pope Julius III, 1550–1555 | |

| ART AND ARCHITECTURE | DRAMA AND MUSIC | LITERATURE AND SCHOLARSHIP | DATE |
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| Benvenuto Cellini, <i>Perseus and Medusa</i> , 1545–1554 | First documented commedia dell'arte troupe of actors for hire formed in Padua | Conrad Gessner, <i>Bibliotheca Universalis</i> | 1545 |
| Il Bronzino, <i>Allegory of Venus</i> | | | 1546 |
| d. Sebastiano del Piombo; Tintoretto, <i>San Marco Freeing the Slave</i> | | d. Pietro Bembo; d. Vittoria Colonna; Marguerite de Navarre, <i>Les Marguerites de la Marguerite des princesses</i> ; d. Jacopo Sadoletto | 1547 |
| Sinan completes Sehzade mosque; Titian, <i>Charles V on Horseback</i> | | John Bale, <i>Illustrium Maioris Britanniae Scriptorum</i> ; d. Jan Dantyszek (Dantiscus); first Jesuit school opens in Messina, Sicily | 1548 |
| | | Joachim Du Bellay, <i>Défense et illustration de langue française</i> ; d. Marguerite de Navarre | 1549 |
| Andrea Palladio, Villa Rotonda, near Vicenza; Sinan, mosque of Suleiman I in Istanbul, 1550–1557; Giorgio Vasari, <i>Lives of the Artists</i> ; Villa d'Este built near Tivoli | Hans Sachs, <i>Der farent Schüler im Paradeis</i> | d. Andrea Alciati; Girolamo Muzio, <i>Il duello</i> ; Pierre de Ronsard, <i>Odes</i> ; Gianfrancesco Straparola, <i>Piacevoli notti</i> ; d. Gian Giorgio Trissino | 1550 |

| DATE | POLITICS AND SOCIETY | RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY | SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY |
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| 1551 | Henry II est. first mechanized mint in Paris | d. Martin Bucer; Council of Russian Orthodox Church enacts Hundred Chapters; Luigi Lippomano, <i>Sanctorum Priscorum Patrum Vitae</i> , 1551–1560 | Conrad Gessner, <i>Historiae Animalium</i> , 1551–1587 |
| 1552 | Kazan' conquered by Moscow | Polish Diet vacates decisions of ecclesiastical courts against heretics and tithe-resisters; d. Francis Xavier | d. Sebastian Münster |
| 1553 | Jane (England) (Lady Jane Grey), 1553; Mary I Tudor (England), 1553–1558; English expedition to White Sea, reaches Archangel'sk and est. trade links with Moscow | | |
| 1554 | Mary I Tudor marries Philip of Spain; Jane Grey executed | | |
| 1555 | Religious Peace of Augsburg; Philip II of Spain inherits Southern Netherlands; English Muscovy Company est. by Sebastian Cabot and London merchants; Havana sacked by French pirates | Pope Marcellus II, 1555; Pope Paul IV, 1555–1559 | |

| ART AND ARCHITECTURE | DRAMA AND MUSIC | LITERATURE AND SCHOLARSHIP | DATE |
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| Titian, <i>Philip II</i> | | Collegio Romano fd.; Andrzej Frycz Modrzewski, <i>Commentarium de Republic Emendenda Libri Quinque</i> ; University of Lima, Peru, est.; d. Joachim Watt (Vadianus) | 1551 |
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| Titian, <i>Self-Portrait</i> | | Marcin Kromer, <i>De Origine et Rebus Gestis Polonorum Libri XXX</i> | 1552 |
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| d. Lucas Cranach the Elder; Titian, <i>Danaë</i> | | University of Mexico est.; d. François Rabelais | 1553 |
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| Arezzeria Medicea fd. (to produce tapestries); Cathedral of St. Basil the Blessed built in Moscow, 1554–1556; d. Sebastiano Serlio; Giorgio Vasari appointed court architect and painter in Florence | | d. Gaspara Stampa | 1554 |
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| Tintoretto, <i>St. George and the Dragon</i> | | François Billon, <i>Le fort inexpugnable de l'honneur du sexe féminin</i> ; Johannes Magnus, <i>Historia de Omnibus Gothorum Sueonumque Regibus</i> ; Olaus Magnus, <i>Historia de Gentibus Septentrionalibus</i> ; Johannes Sleidanus, <i>De Statu Religionis et Republicae Carlo Quinto Caesare Commentarii</i> ; d. Johannes Sleidanus | 1555 |
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| DATE | POLITICS AND SOCIETY | RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY | SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY |
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| 1556 | Ivan IV conquers Astrakhan; Ferdinand I (HRE), 1556–1564; Philip II (Spain) 1556–1598 | Thomas Cranmer executed; d. Ignatius of Loyola; Peresopnytsia Gospel (Church Slavonic/Ukrainian), 1556–1561 | |
| 1557 | Livonian War, 1557–1583; Sebastian I (Portugal), 1557–1578 | New Testament of Geneva Bible; Serbian patriarchate restored at Peć by Ottomans | |
| 1558 | Elizabeth I (England), 1558–1603 | | Giambattista della Porta, <i>Magiae Naturalis</i> |
| 1559 | Francis II (France), 1559–1560, with Catherine de Médicis as regent, 1559–1589; Tr. of Cateau-Cambrésis ends Habsburg-Valois (Italian) Wars; Frederick II (Denmark and Norway), 1559–1588 | Calvinist Genevan Academy fd.; Pope Pius IV, 1559–1565; Index of Prohibited Books issued; Sigismund II Augustus of Poland grants religious liberty to Prussian towns | |
| 1560 | d. Andrea Doria; Charles IX (France), 1560–1574; John Sigismund, rival to Habsburgs as king of Hungary, 1540–1570; Eric XIV (Sweden), 1560–1568; Michel de L'Hôpital becomes chancellor of France, 1560–1568 | Complete Geneva Bible (English translation); d. Melchior Cano; d. Philipp Melanchthon; Scottish parliament introduces Presbyterian Confession of Faith, inspired by John Knox | |
| 1561 | Philip II moves Spanish court to Madrid; Livonian Order secularized and territory granted to Poland | Colloquy of Poissy; d. Menno Simons | |

| ART AND ARCHITECTURE | DRAMA AND MUSIC | LITERATURE AND SCHOLARSHIP | DATE |
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| d. Lorenzo Lotto | | d. Pietro Aretino; Matthias Falcius Illyricus, <i>Catalogus Testium Veritatis</i> ; d. Tinódi Lantos; John Ponet, <i>A Short Treatise of Politic Power</i> | 1556 |
| Michelangelo Buonarroti works on dome of St. Peter's in Rome, 1557–1561; d. Jacopo da Pontormo | | Stationers' Company chartered in England to issue licenses to print; d. Gianfrancesco Straparola | 1557 |
| | | Christopher Goodman, <i>How Superior Powers Ought to Be Obeyed</i> ; Marguerite de Navarre, <i>Heptameron</i> , 1558–1559; Mikołaj Rej, <i>Proper Likeness of the Life of the Honorable Man</i> ; d. Julius Caesar Scaliger | 1558 |
| Pieter Bruegel the Elder, <i>Battle of Carnival and Lent</i> | | Jacques Amyot's translation popularizes Plutarch's <i>Lives</i> ; d. Robert Estienne; University of Geneva fd. | 1559 |
| Galleria degli Uffizi built in Florence, 1560–1580 | | d. Joachim Du Bellay | 1560 |
| | | d. Claude Garamond | 1561 |

| DATE | POLITICS AND SOCIETY | RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY | SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY |
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| 1562 | Toleration granted to Huguenots in some areas of France by edict of Catherine de Médicis; Wars of Religion (France), 1562–1598 | Second Helvetic Confession; St. Teresa of Ávila writes her <i>Life</i> (1562–1564), founds order of Discalced Carmelites | |
| 1563 | François, duke of Guise (leader of Ultra-Catholic party in France) assassinated; Statute of Artificers in England; plague spreads across Europe | John Foxe, <i>Book of Martyrs</i> ; d. Martynas Mažvydas; Thirty-Nine Articles of Church of England | |
| 1564 | Maximilian II (HRE), 1564–1576 | d. John Calvin; Théodore de Bèze becomes head of Company of Pastors; Council of Trent ends; Tridentine Index of Prohibited Books issued; Tridentine Profession of Faith proclaimed; Congregation of the Council est.; d. Bartolomé de Las Casas | d. Andreas Vesalius |
| 1565 | <i>Oprichnina</i> , 1565–1572; Miguel López de Legazpi founds Cebu, Philippines | Jesuits introduced into Poland by Bishop Stanisław Hosius | d. Conrad Gessner |
| 1566 | Netherlands revolt against Spanish rule, 1566–1648; d. Diane de Poitiers; Selim II (Ottoman Empire), 1566–1574; Sultan declares Transylvania an autonomous principality under Ottoman suzerainty; Second Lithuanian Statute; unauthorized dueling declared a capital offense in France | Pope Pius V, 1566–1572; Standard catechism issued by Catholic Church | d. Nostradamus |

| ART AND ARCHITECTURE | DRAMA AND MUSIC | LITERATURE AND SCHOLARSHIP | DATE |
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| Benvenuto Cellini, <i>Autobiography</i> ; François Clouet, <i>Diane de Poitiers</i> | | Mikołaj Rej, <i>Menagerie</i> | 1562 |
| Pieter Bruegel the Elder, <i>Tower of Babel</i> ; Escorial built, 1563–1567; Florentine Accademia di Disegno est.; Germain Pilon designs tomb of Henry II and Catherine de Médicis, 1563–1570 | | d. Étienne de La Boétie | 1563 |
| d. Michelangelo Buonarroti; Tuileries constructed, 1564–1572 | | | 1564 |
| Tintoretto, <i>Crucifixion</i> , <i>Flight into Egypt</i> | | | 1565 |
| | | Jean Bodin, <i>Methodus ad Facilem Historiarum Cognitionem</i> ; Łukasz Górnicki, <i>Polish Courtier</i> ; d. Charles Du Moulin; d. Stanisław Orzechowski | 1566 |

| DATE | POLITICS AND SOCIETY | RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY | SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY |
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| 1567 | Spanish army under Duke of Alba invades Netherlands and establishes Council of Troubles; James VI (Scotland), 1567–1625, becomes James I of England in 1603 | | |
| 1568 | John III (Sweden), 1568–1592 | Uniform Breviary issued by Catholic Church | |
| 1569 | Union of Lublin; Philip II suppresses revolt of Moriscos in Spain | Moscow Metropolitan Filipp murdered by Ivan IV, “the Terrible”; Petrus Ramus, <i>Scholae in Liberales Artes</i> | |
| 1570 | Holy League formed by Spain, Venice, and the papacy against the Turks; Massacre in Novgorod by Ivan IV | Queen Elizabeth of England excommunicated by Pope Pius V; Roman missal issued by Catholic Church; Sandomierz synod unites Lutherans, Calvinists, and Czech Brethren in Poland; Laurentius Surius, <i>De Probatis Sanctorum Historiis</i> , 1570–1573 | First English translation of Euclid’s <i>Elements</i> edited by John Dee |
| 1571 | Battle of Lepanto; Nicosia and Famagusta (Cyprus) fall to the Turks; Manila fd.; Portuguese crown gives land south of Kwanza River (Angola) to Paulo Dias de Novais | Congregation of the Index est.; Moses ben Israel Isserles, <i>Mappa</i> | |

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| | | François Hotman, <i>Anti-Tribonian</i> | 1567 |
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| Giorgio Vasari, <i>Lives of the Artists</i> (rev. ed.) | | Jan van der Noot, <i>Theater for Voluptuous Worldlings</i> | 1568 |
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| Pieter Bruegel the Elder, <i>The Blind Leading the Blind</i> ; d. Pieter Bruegel the Elder; Sinan, mosque of Selim in Edirne, 1569–1578 | | Philip Marnix van St. Aldegonde, <i>The Beehive of the Roman Church</i> ; d. Mikołaj Rej, first literary writer in Polish vernacular | 1569 |
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| d. Philibert Delorme; d. Jacopo Sansovino; Andrea Palladio, <i>Il quattro libri dell'architettura</i> ; d. Francesco Primaticcio | Académie de Poésie et de Musique fd. | d. Jan Amos Comenius | 1570 |
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| d. Benvenuto Cellini | | d. Robert Estienne the Younger; Harrow School chartered | 1571 |
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| DATE | POLITICS AND SOCIETY | RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY | SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY |
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| 1572 | Henry of Navarre (later Henry IV) marries Marguerite of Valois, daughter of Catherine de Médicis; Admiral Gaspard (II) de Coligny assassinated; St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre; d. Sigismund II Augustus; end of Jagiellon dynasty in Poland; Polish monarchy becomes elective by all nobles | Szymon Budny prints Ruthenian catechism at Nesvizh; Pope Gregory XIII, 1572–1585; d. Moses Isserles; d. John Knox; d. Isaac ben Solomon Luria; d. Petrus Ramus | Leonard Fioravanti, <i>Dello specchio di scientia universale</i> |
| 1573 | d. Michel de L'Hôpital; Henry Valois elected king of Poland; Henrician Articles; d. Ruy Gómez de Silva, prince of Éboli | Compact of Warsaw confirms official religious toleration in Commonwealth of Poland-Lithuania | |
| 1574 | Henry III (France), 1574–1589; Murad III (Ottoman Empire), 1574–1595; Tunis falls to the Turks | | Ulisse Aldrovandi, <i>Antidotarii Bononiensis Epitome</i> |
| 1575 | Stephen Báthory, king of Poland, 1575–1586; First Portuguese settlement in Angola est. at Luanda Bay; Monetary reform in France; silver <i>franc</i> and copper <i>denier</i> (penny) introduced | Confessio Bohemica; d. Heinrich Bullinger | |
| 1576 | Rudolf II (HRE), 1576–1612; Martin Frobisher's voyages to Canada begin; dueling deemed treasonous in France | Ostrih Academy fd. by Kostiantyn Ostrozky | |

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| d. François Clouet | Andrea Gabrieli, <i>Primus Liber Missarum</i> | Henri Estienne, <i>Thesaurus Graecae Linguae</i> ; Luís Vaz de Camões, <i>Os Lusíadas</i> ; d. Andrzej Frycz Modrzewski; Ducal Library at Wolfenbüttel opens | 1572 |
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| Paolo Veronese, <i>Adoration of the Kings; Feast in the House of Levi</i> | d. Giambattista Giraldi | François Hotman, <i>Francogallia</i> | 1573 |
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| d. Giorgio Vasari | | University of Berlin fd.; Théodore de Bèze, <i>De Jure Magistratum; Le reveille-matin</i> | 1574 |
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| | | d. Anna Bijns; University of Leiden fd. | 1575 |
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| d. Titian (Tiziano Vecelli) | d. Hans Sachs | Jean Bodin, <i>Six livres de la république; Mémoires de l'estat de France sous Charles neuvième</i> published, incl. Étienne de La Boétie's <i>Discours de la servitude volontaire</i> ; Imperial Library in Vienna reorganized; University of Warsaw fd. | 1576 |
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| DATE | POLITICS AND SOCIETY | RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY | SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY |
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| 1577 | Francis Drake begins voyage around the world | | |
| 1578 | d. Don Juan de Austria; Alexander Farnese, duke of Parma, becomes governor general of the Netherlands; Henry (Portugal), 1578–1580 | | |
| 1579 | Union of Utrecht formed by seven northern provinces of Netherlands, led by Holland and Zeeland; William of Orange. “the Silent”, stadtholder; Walloon provinces and Walloon towns in Flanders form Union of Arras; d. Joseph Nasi, duke of Naxos | Akbar, Mughal ruler of India, requests Jesuits to explain Christian faith; d. Stanisław Hosius | François Viète, <i>Canon Mathematicus Seu ad Triangula</i> |
| 1580 | d. King Henry of Portugal; Philip II of Spain inherits Portuguese throne; Buenos Aires refd. | Théodore de Bèze, <i>Histoire ecclésiastique</i> | |
| 1581 | United Provinces of the Netherlands formed, declaring independence from Spain | Church Slavonic Bible published at Ostrih | |
| 1582 | d. Fernando Álvarez de Toledo, duke of Alba; Tr. of Iam Zapol’skii; Ermak Timofeevich’s Cossack expedition conquers Sibir; beginning of Russian conquest of Siberia; Free and Imperial Cities acquire voting rights in HRE Diet | d. St. Teresa of Ávila | Gregorian calendar promulgated (accepted in Catholic countries that year or within the following few years) |

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| Accademia di San Luca fd. in Rome | | Raphael Holinshed, <i>Chronicles of England, Scotlande, and Irelande</i> ; Marcin Kromer, <i>Polonia, Sive de Situ, Populis, Moribus, Magistratibus et Republica Regni Polonici Libri Duo</i> | 1577 |
| | Jan Kochanowski, <i>The Dismissal of the Grecian Envoys</i> | | 1578 |
| | John Lyly, <i>Euphues</i> | George Buchanan, <i>De Jure Regni apud Scotos</i> ; Philippe Duplessis-Mornay, <i>Vindiciae contra Tyrannos</i> ; Frankfurt book fair comes under supervision of imperial censors; Edmund Spenser, <i>Shepherd's Calendar</i> | 1579 |
| Giambologna, <i>Mercury</i> ; d. Andrea Palladio | | d. Raphael Holinshed; Jan Kochanowski, <i>Laments</i> ; Michel de Montaigne, <i>Essais</i> ; d. Luís Vaz de Camões | 1580 |
| | | Torquato Tasso, <i>Gerusalemme Liberata</i> | 1581 |
| | | George Buchanan, <i>Rerum Scoticarum Historia</i> ; Crusca Academy fd. in Florence; University of Edinburgh fd.; Richard Hakluyt, <i>Divers Voyages Touching the Discoverie of America</i> | 1582 |

| DATE | POLITICS AND SOCIETY | RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY | SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY |
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| 1583 | | d. Thomas Erastus | |
| 1584 | Fedor I (Russia), 1584–1598, last Rurikid ruler of Russia; Holy Catholic League organized by Henry, duke of Guise | d. Carlo Borromeo, cardinal and archbishop of Milan; Justus Lipsius, <i>De Constantia</i> (On Constancy) | |
| 1585 | Antwerp surrenders to Spanish forces under duke of Parma | Pope Sixtus V, 1585–1590; Latvian catechism printed at Vilnius | |
| 1586 | Johan van Oldenbarneveldt becomes Holland's <i>landsadvocaat</i> , 1586–1618 | Robert Bellarmine, <i>The Controversies</i> , 1586–1593 | |
| 1587 | Mary Stuart executed; Sigismund III Vasa (Poland), 1587–1632; United Provinces vest sovereignty in States General | d. John Foxe; Vatican Press fd.; d. Baltramiejus Vilentas | |
| 1588 | Christian IV (Denmark and Norway), 1588–1648; Henri, duke of Guise, and Louis II, cardinal of Guise, assassinated; Spanish armada defeated; d. Álvaro de Bazán, first marquis of Santa Cruz, Spanish admiral; Duke of Medina Sidonia becomes Captain General of the Ocean Sea; Third Lithuanian Statute; first stock exchange in German territory opened in Hamburg | Luis de Molina, <i>Concordia Liberi Arbitrii cum Gratiae Donia</i> | d. Bernardino Telesio |

| ART AND ARCHITECTURE | DRAMA AND MUSIC | LITERATURE AND SCHOLARSHIP | DATE |
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| Giambologna, <i>Rape of the Sabine Women</i> ; Tintoretto, <i>Annunciation</i> , 1583–1587 | Queen's Company of Players formed | Elzevier Press est.; Josephus Justus Scaliger, <i>Opus de emendatione tempore</i> ; Luis de León, <i>De los nombres de Cristo</i> (1583–1585); Sir Thomas Smith, <i>De Republica Anglorum</i> | 1583 |
| | Orlando di Lasso, <i>Psalmi Davidis Poenitentiales</i> | Escorial library fd. in Spain; d. Jan Kochanowski | 1584 |
| Bologna Academy of Art fd. by Carraccis | | d. Pierre de Ronsard | 1585 |
| d. Lucas Cranach the Younger | d. Andrea Gabrieli | Dirk Coornhert, <i>Ethics, That Is, The Art of Living Well</i> ; d. Sir Philip Sidney | 1586 |
| Vatican Library constructed by Domenico Fontana, 1587–1590 | Andrea Gabrieli, <i>Magnificat</i> (published posthumously); Christopher Marlowe, <i>Tamburlaine the Great</i> | François de La Noue, <i>Discours politiques et militaires</i> | 1587 |
| El Greco, <i>Burial of the Conde de Orgaz</i> ; d. Sinan; d. Paolo Veronese | | University of Jena fd. | 1588 |

| DATE | POLITICS AND SOCIETY | RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY | SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY |
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| 1589 | Henry III and Henry of Guise (chief of Catholic party) assassinated; Navarre becomes part of France; Valois dynasty ends; Henry IV, first Bourbon king of France, 1589–1610 | Justus Lipsius, <i>Politicorum Libri Sex</i> ; Lorenzo Scupoli, <i>Combattimento spirituale</i> ; Metropolitan of Moscow becomes patriarch | |
| 1590 | d. Sir Francis Walsingham | Pope Urban VII, 1590; Pope Gregory XIV, 1590–1591 | d. Ambroise Paré |
| 1591 | d. Tsarevich Dmitrii; Ottoman-Habsburg War, 1591–1606 | Giordano Bruno, <i>Frankfurt Trilogy</i> ; Pope Innocent IX, 1591; Richard Hooker, <i>Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity</i> ; d. St. John of the Cross | François Viète, <i>In Artem Analyticem Isagoge</i> |
| 1592 | d. Alexander Farnese, duke of Parma, governor general of the Netherlands; Ranuccio I, duke of Parma and Piacenza, 1592–1622; Sigismund (Sweden), 1592–1599, also king of Poland | New edition of Vulgate Bible issued by Catholic Church; Pope Clement VIII, 1592–1605 | Galileo, <i>Della scienza meccanica</i> |
| 1593 | Henry IV (France) converts to Catholicism | d. Szymon Budny | |
| 1594 | Willem Barents sets out to find northeast route through Arctic Ocean to Asia; First Dutch ships leave for East Indies; d. Martin Frobisher | | d. Gerardus Mercator |
| 1595 | Mehmed III (Ottoman Empire), 1595–1603 | Mikalojus Daukša prints Lithuanian translation of Diego de Ledesma's Catholic catechism | Jan Huyghen van Linschoten publishes maps and sailing directions for spice trade in Asia; Gerardus Mercator's atlas published |

| ART AND ARCHITECTURE | DRAMA AND MUSIC | LITERATURE AND SCHOLARSHIP | DATE |
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| | William Shakespeare, <i>Henry VI</i> | d. Christophe Plantin; Jean Boucher, <i>De Justa Henrici Tertii Abdicatione</i> | 1589 |
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| d. Germain Pilon | Christopher Marlowe, <i>Jew of Malta</i> | d. Dirk Coornhert; d. François Hotman; Edmund Spenser, <i>Faerie Queen</i> | 1590 |
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| | | John Lyly, <i>Endymion</i> ; Philip Sidney, <i>Astrophel and Stella</i> ; Trinity College, Dublin, fd. | 1591 |
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| d. Jacopo Bassano | Thomas Kyd, <i>Spanish Tragedy</i> ; Christopher Marlowe, <i>Edward the Second</i> ; William Shakespeare, <i>Richard III</i> and <i>Comedy of Errors</i> | Juan de Mariana, <i>Historiae de Rebus Hispaniae</i> ; d. Michel de Montaigne | 1592 |
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| Caravaggio, <i>Bacchus</i> ; El Greco, <i>Crucifixion</i> ; d. Giuseppe Arcimboldo | London theaters closed due to plague; Christopher Marlowe, <i>Doctor Faustus</i> ; d. Christopher Marlowe; William Shakespeare, <i>Taming of the Shrew</i> | d. Jacques Amyot | 1593 |
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| d. Tintoretto | d. Thomas Kyd; d. Orlando di Lasso; London theaters reopened; d. Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina; William Shakespeare, <i>Romeo and Juliet</i> | d. Bálint Balassi | 1594 |
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| | William Shakespeare, <i>Richard II</i> and <i>A Midsummer Night's Dream</i> | d. Torquato Tasso | 1595 |
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| DATE | POLITICS AND SOCIETY | RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY | SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY |
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| 1596 | d. Francis Drake | Union of Brest; Clementine Index of Prohibited Books | Galileo invents thermometer; Johannes Kepler publishes defense of heliocentrism |
| 1597 | d. Willem Barents; Maximilian I, duke of Bavaria, 1597–1651 | Piotr Skarga, <i>Sermons before the Diet</i> | |
| 1598 | Edict of Nantes; Tr. of Vervins; Philip II bestows Netherlands on Isabel Clara Eugenia and Albert of Habsburg; Philip III (Spain), 1598–1621; Fernando Sandoval Rojas, duke of Lerma, advisor to Philip III of Spain, 1598–1618; Boris Godunov (Russia), 1598–1605; Time of Troubles in Russia, 1598–1613; d. William Cecil | | |
| 1599 | Charles IX, regent of Sweden, 1599–1604 | First Polish translation of Bible by Jakub Wujek | |
| 1600 | Sir Edward Coke, <i>Reports</i> , 1600–1615; English East India Company fd.; Linköping Bloodbath | Giordano Bruno executed for heresy; d. Richard Hooker; d. Abraham ben-Eliezer ha-Levi Berukim; d. Luis de Molina | William Gilbert, <i>De Magnete, Magneticisque Corporibus, et de Magno Magnete Tellure</i> |
| 1601 | Poor Law (England); Fedor Nikitich Romanov (later Patriarch Filaret) exiled by Boris Godunov | | d. Tycho Brahe |
| 1602 | Dutch East India Company fd.; Perot Rocaguinarda, Spanish bandit, first appears | d. Jonas Bretkunas | |

| ART AND ARCHITECTURE | DRAMA AND MUSIC | LITERATURE AND SCHOLARSHIP | DATE |
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| Caravaggio, <i>Lute Player</i> | William Shakespeare, <i>The Merchant of Venice</i> | d. Jean Bodin | 1596 |
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| Lodovico Cardi Cigoli, <i>Martyrdom of St. Stephen</i> | Giovanni Gabrieli, <i>Sacrae Symphoniae</i> | d. Aldus Manutius the Younger; first Piarist school (“Pious School”) for working-class boys opened in Rome by José Calasanz | 1597 |
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| Caravaggio, <i>The Calling of St. Matthew</i> and <i>The Martyrdom of St. Matthew</i> for Contarelli chapel, 1598–1601; Jan Brueghel the Elder, <i>Adoration of the Magi</i> | William Shakespeare, <i>Much Ado about Nothing</i> and <i>Henry V</i> | d. Henry Estienne the Younger; Richard Hakluyt, <i>Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffics, and Discoveries of the English Nation</i> ; Juan de Mariana, <i>De Rege et Regis Institutione</i> | 1598 |
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| Globe Theater opened; William Shakespeare, <i>Julius Caesar</i> and <i>As You Like It</i> , 1599–1600 | Jesuit <i>Ratio Studiorum</i> issued; d. Edmund Spenser | 1599 |
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| William Shakespeare, <i>Hamlet</i> | Lucrezia Marinella, <i>The Nobility and Excellence of Women and the Defects and Failings of Men</i> | 1600 |
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| Caravaggio, <i>Conversion of St. Paul</i> | d. Thomas Nashe; William Shakespeare, <i>Twelfth Night</i> | John Donne writes the <i>Holy Sonnets</i> , 1601–1615; University of Parma and school for noble boys fd.; Mikołaj Sęp Szarzyński, <i>Rhythms, or Polish Verses</i> | 1601 |
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| d. Agostino Carracci | Bodleian Library opens at Oxford; Tommaso Campanella, <i>La città de sole</i> | 1602 |
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| DATE | POLITICS AND SOCIETY | RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY | SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY |
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| 1603 | d. Elizabeth I (England); Union of Crowns between England and Scotland; James I (England), 1603–1625; Ahmed I (Ottoman Empire), 1603–1617; Samuel de Champlain explores St. Lawrence River and Great Lakes | Matteo Ricci, <i>The True Meaning of the Lord of Heaven</i> | Accademia dei Lincei est.; d. William Gilbert; d. François Viète |
| 1604 | French settlement est. in Acadia; Charles IX, king of Sweden, 1604–1611 | Justus Lipsius, <i>Manductionis ad Stoicam Philosophiam and Physiologiae Stoicorum</i> | Johannes Kepler, <i>Optics</i> |
| 1605 | Gunpowder Plot; Fedor II (Russia); First False Dmitrii rules as tsar in Moscow, 1605–1606; d. Jan Zamoyski | Antitrinitarian confession of faith adopted at Raków; Johann Arndt, <i>Vier Bücher vom wahren Christentum</i> , 1605–1609; d. Théodore de Bèze; Pope Paul V, 1605–1621 | d. Ulisse Aldrovandi |
| 1606 | Guy Fawkes executed; Vasilii Shuiskii (Russia), 1606–1610; first False Dmitrii overthrown; Treaties of Vienna and Zsitvatorok; Zebrzydowski rebellion in Poland, 1606–1607 | | |
| 1607 | English colony est. at Jamestown, Virginia | d. Cardinal Cesare Baronio; Héribert Rosweyde, <i>Fasti Sanctorum Quorum Vitae in Belgicis Bibliotecis Manuscriptae</i> | |
| 1608 | d. Kostiantyn Ostrozky; Protestant Union fd., led by Frederick V, elector palatine; French fd. Quebec; Mughal Emperor Jahangir grants English East India Company permission to trade at Surat; Amsterdam Exchange est. | | d. John Dee |

| ART AND ARCHITECTURE | DRAMA AND MUSIC | LITERATURE AND SCHOLARSHIP | DATE |
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| | | Johannes Althusius, <i>Politica Methodice Digesta</i> | 1603 |
| | Orlando di Lasso, <i>Magnum Opus Musicum</i> ; William Shakespeare, <i>Othello</i> | | 1604 |
| | William Shakespeare, <i>King Lear</i> and <i>Macbeth</i> ; Tomás Luis de Victoria, <i>Requiem</i> | Miguel de Cervantes, <i>Don Quixote</i> ; Guy Coquille, <i>Coutumes du pays et duché de Nivernais</i> | 1605 |
| | Ben Jonson, <i>Volpone, or the Fox</i> | Bartholomäus Keckermann, <i>Systema Disciplinae Politicae</i> ; d. Justus Lipsius | 1606 |
| Caravaggio, <i>Seven Works of Mercy</i> and <i>Beheading of St. John the Baptist</i> ; d. Domenico Fontana | Claudio Monteverdi, <i>Orfeo</i> | Antoine Loisel, <i>Customary Institutes</i> | 1607 |
| d. Giambologna | | Charles Loyseau, <i>Traité des seigneuries</i> | 1608 |

| DATE | POLITICS AND SOCIETY | RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY | SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY |
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| 1609 | Catholic League fd., led by Maximilian I of Bavaria; Twelve Years' Truce partitions Netherlands between Dutch Republic (north) and Spanish Netherlands (south); Spanish fd. Santa Fe; Bank of Amsterdam est. | Moriscos driven out of Valencia, Aragón, and Castile, 1609–1614; François de Sales, <i>Introduction to a Devout Life</i> | Johannes Kepler, <i>The New Astronomy</i> ; Telescope built by Galileo Galilei |
| 1610 | Henry IV (France) assassinated; Marie de Médicis becomes regent; Louis XIII (France), 1610–1643; Frederick V, elector palatine, 1610–1623; Polish forces in Moscow after overthrow of Tsar Vasiliï Shuiskii, 1610–1612 | d. Matteo Ricci; Meletii Smotrytskyi, <i>Threnody</i> ; Visitation of Holy Mary order of nuns fd. by Jeanne de Chantal and François de Sales | Galileo Galilei, <i>Siderius Nuncius</i> ; Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc discovers Orion Nebula |
| 1611 | English Parliament dissolved; d. Henry Hudson (?); Gustavus II Adolphus (Sweden), 1611–1632 | King James Bible; Oratory of Jesus and Mary fd. by Pierre de Bérulle | Johannes Kepler, <i>Dioptrics</i> |
| 1612 | d. Robert Cecil; Mathias (HRE), 1612–1619; Axel Oxenstierna, chancellor of Sweden, 1612–1654 | d. Piotr Skarga | |
| 1613 | Michael Romanov, first Romanov tsar of Russia, 1613–1645 | Gallicanism condemned by Pope Paul V; Péter Pázmány, <i>Guide to Divine Truth</i> | |
| 1614 | Danish East India Company fd.; Estates General called by Marie de Médicis; Hohenzollerns inherit Cleves on Rhine | Christianity outlawed in Japan; <i>Fama Fraternitatis</i> inspires Rosicrucian movement; Jews driven out of Frankfurt | John Napier discovers logarithms |
| 1615 | | Kiev Academy fd. | Galileo faces Inquisition; d. Giambattista della Porta |

| ART AND ARCHITECTURE | DRAMA AND MUSIC | LITERATURE AND SCHOLARSHIP | DATE |
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| d. Annibale Carracci | Lope de Vega, <i>El arte nuevo de hacer comedias en este tiempo</i> | Ambrosiana library opens in Milan; Étienne Pasquier, <i>Interpretation of the Institutes of Justinian</i> ; Josephus Justus Scaliger, <i>Thesaurus Temporum</i> ; William Shakespeare, <i>Sonnets</i> ; d. Josephus Justus Scaliger | 1609 |
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| d. Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio | Ben Jonson, <i>The Alchemist</i> | Henning Arnisaecus, <i>De Jure Majestatis</i> ; Paolo Sarpi, <i>History of the Council of Trent</i> , 1610–1618 | 1610 |
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| Peter Paul Rubens, <i>Descent from the Cross</i> | William Shakespeare, <i>The Tempest</i> ; d. Tomás Luis de Victoria | John Donne, <i>Anniversaries</i> , 1611–1612; University of Rome fd. | 1611 |
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| El Greco, <i>Baptism of Christ</i> | d. Giovanni Gabrieli; John Webster, <i>The White Devil</i> | Francisco Suárez, <i>De Legibus</i> | 1612 |
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| Guido Reni, <i>Aurora</i> , 1613–1614 | Globe Theater burns; John Webster, <i>The Duchess of Malfi</i> | Luis de Góngora y Argote, <i>Soledades</i> | 1613 |
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| d. El Greco; d. Robert Smythson, English architect | Ben Jonson, <i>Bartholomew Fayre</i> | d. Isaac Casaubon; Walter Raleigh, <i>History of the World</i> ; University of Groningen fd. | 1614 |
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| | | d. Étienne Pasquier | 1615 |
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| DATE | POLITICS AND SOCIETY | RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY | SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY |
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| 1616 | Dutch ship rounds southern tip of South America | Cosmology of Galileo Galilei condemned by papacy; Meletii Smotrytskyi translated Church Slavonic Homiliary Gospel into Ruthenian | Galileo forbidden to pursue scientific work |
| 1617 | Jan Pieterszoon Coen, governor general of Dutch East India Co., 1617–1629; Louis XIII assumes personal power, end of regency of Marie de Médicis; Mustafa I (Ottoman Empire), 1617–1618 | d. Francisco Suárez | d. John Napier |
| 1618 | Defenestration of Prague; Thirty Years' War, 1618–1648; Osman II (Ottoman Empire), 1618–1622; Tr. of Deulino between Russia and Poland; Hohenzollern elector of Brandenburg inherits Duchy of Prussia; Walter Raleigh executed; Dutch West African Company fd. | Synod of Dort (Dordrecht), 1618–1619 | Johannes Kepler, <i>Epitome Astronomiae Copernicae</i> , 1618–1621 |
| 1619 | Ferdinand II (HRE), 1619–1637; Estates of Bohemia depose Ferdinand II and elect Frederick V, elector palatine; d. Alonso Pérez de Guzmán, duke of Medina Sidonia; Johan van Oldenbarneveldt executed; Batavia (Jakarta) fd.; first African slaves brought to Virginia; Germany's first merchant bank fd. in Hamburg | d. Antoine Arnauld, “the lawyer”; Patriarch Filaret (Russia), 1619–1633 | Johannes Kepler, <i>Harmonice Mundi</i> |
| 1620 | Battle of the White Mountain; Plymouth Colony fd. in Massachusetts | Orthodox hierarchy restored in Ukraine | |

| ART AND ARCHITECTURE | DRAMA AND MUSIC | LITERATURE AND SCHOLARSHIP | DATE |
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| | d. Francis Beaumont; d. William Shakespeare | George Chapman's translation of <i>Odyssey</i> ; d. Miguel de Cervantes; d. Richard Hakluyt; University fd. at Altdorf, near Nuremberg | 1616 |
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| | Gerbrand Bredero, <i>The Spanish Brabanter</i> | d. Louis Elzevier | 1617 |
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| d. Antonio Carracci | Farnese Theater est. in Parma | Christoph Besold, <i>Politicorum Libri Duo</i> | 1618 |
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| d. Ludovico Carracci; d. Nicholas Hilliard; Inigo Jones, Banqueting House at Whitehall, 1619–1622 | d. Richard Burbage | Meletii Smotrytskyi, grammar of Old Church Slavonic | 1619 |
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| Artemisia Gentileschi, <i>Judith and Holofernes</i> ; Peter Paul Rubens, <i>Christ on the Cross (Le coup de lance)</i> ; d. John Thorpe, English architect | | Francis Bacon, <i>Novum Organum</i> | 1620 |
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| DATE | POLITICS AND SOCIETY | RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY | SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY |
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| 1621 | Protestant Union dissolved; Philip IV (Spain), 1621–1665; d. Albert of Habsburg, archduke of Austria; Dutch West India Company est. | d. Robert Bellarmine; Pope Gregory XV, 1621–1623; Piarist order fd. | d. Thomas Harriot |
| 1622 | Mustafa I (Ottoman Empire), 1622–1623 | Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith fd. by papacy; d. St. François de Sales | |
| 1623 | Murad IV (Ottoman Empire) 1623–1640; Gaspar de Guzmán y Pimentel, Count of Olivares, becomes chief minister to Philip IV (1623–1643) after death of Don Baltasar de Zúñiga | Pope Urban VIII, 1623–1644; Council of the Chief Lithuanian Jewish Communities (<i>vaad</i>) est. | |
| 1624 | Cardinal Richelieu becomes chief minister to Louis XIII | d. Jacob Boehme; Lord Herbert of Cherbury, <i>De Veritate</i> | |
| 1625 | A. W. E. von Wallenstein appointed head of all HRE forces; Breda surrenders to Spanish troops; Charles I (England), 1625–1649; French colony est. on St. Kitts | | |
| 1626 | “Union of Arms” among Spanish kingdoms proposed by Count of Olivares; Catalonia refuses; New Amsterdam fd.; d. Roger Davies | | |
| 1627 | Bohemia receives constitutional charter from HRE; Huguenot rebellion in La Rochelle, led by Duke of Rohan | Last urban Protestant church in Poland destroyed at Lublin | |

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| | | Robert Burton, <i>Anatomy of Melancholy</i> ; Étienne Pasquier, <i>Recherches de la France</i> ; University of Strasbourg fd. | 1621 |
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| Gian Lorenzo Bernini, <i>Apollo and Daphne</i> , 1622–1624; d. Francesco Carracci | | Marie de Gournay, <i>Equality of Men and Women</i> ; Kasiian Sakovych, <i>Verses on the Sorrowful Funeral of the Noble Knight Petro Sahaidachnyi</i> | 1622 |
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| Gian Lorenzo Bernini, <i>David</i> | | Francis Bacon, <i>The Advancement of Learning</i> ; John Donne, <i>Devotions upon Emergent Occasions</i> ; d. Paolo Sarpi | 1623 |
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| Frans Hals, <i>Laughing Cavalier</i> ; Nicolas Poussin, <i>Rape of the Sabine Women</i> | | d. Juan de Mariana; Martin Opitz, <i>Buch von der deutschen Poeterey</i> | 1624 |
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| d. Sofonisba Anguissola; d. Jan Brueghel the Elder; d. Paolo Carracci | d. John Fletcher; d. Orlando Gibbons; Joost van der Vondel, <i>Palamedes</i> ; d. John Webster | Hugo Grotius, <i>De Jure Belli ac Pacis</i> ; University of Mantua fd.; d. Giambattista Marino | 1625 |
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| | | d. Francis Bacon | 1626 |
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| Rembrandt van Rijn, <i>The Money Changer</i> | Heinrich Schütz, <i>Dafne</i> | Francis Bacon, <i>New Atlantis</i> ; d. Luis de Góngora y Argote; d. Francisco Suárez | 1627 |
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| DATE | POLITICS AND SOCIETY | RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY | SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY |
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| 1628 | Siege of La Rochelle, Louis XIII and Cardinal Richelieu defeat Huguenots; War of the Mantuan Succession between France and Spain, after Gonzaga dynasty dies out, 1628–1631; Petition of Right; Sir Edward Coke, <i>Institutes of the Laws of England</i> , 1628–1644; Portuguese East India Company, 1628–1633 | | William Harvey, <i>On the Movement of the Heart and the Blood</i> |
| 1629 | Edict of Restitution returns secularized property to Catholic Church; Peace of Alais; Code Michau; Peace of Lübeck | d. Pierre de Bérulle | |
| 1630 | A. W. E. von Wallenstein forced to resign as commander of HRE troops; Gustavus II Adolphus lands army on Pomeranian coast; Day of Dupes in France; Plague in northern Italy kills quarter of population; Statuta Valachorum; Dutch West India Company occupies northeastern Brazil, 1630–1654 | | d. Johannes Kepler |
| 1631 | Siege and sack of Magdeburg; Battle of Breitenfeld | d. Edmond Richer, chief proponent of Gallicanism | |
| 1632 | Battle of Lützen; Gustavus II Adolphus killed; Johann Tserclaes Tilly fatally wounded; Christina (Sweden), 1632–1654; Władysław IV (Poland), 1632–1648; Smolensk War, 1632–1634; d. Michel de Marillac | Arminians and Catholics tolerated in Dutch Republic; Colony of Maryland est. in North America as haven for English Catholics | |

| ART AND ARCHITECTURE | DRAMA AND MUSIC | LITERATURE AND SCHOLARSHIP | DATE |
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| Frans Hals, <i>The Merry Toper</i> | | d. Fulke Greville | 1628 |
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| Peter Paul Rubens, <i>Allegory of Peace and War</i> | | Konstantinas Sirvydas, <i>Dictionarium Trium Linguarum</i> ; d. Szymon Szymonowicz | 1629 |
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| Inigo Jones designs Covent Garden | | | 1630 |
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| | | d. John Donne | 1631 |
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| Jacques Callot, <i>Miseries of War</i> ; Anthony Van Dyck arrives in London, appointed court painter to Charles I; Rembrandt van Rijn, <i>Anatomy Lesson of Dr. Tulp</i> | | d. Giambattista Basile' Cardin Le Bret, <i>De la souveraineté du Roi</i> ; Jacob Cats, <i>Mirror of Old and New Times</i> ; University of Dorpat, Sweden, fd. | 1632 |
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| DATE | POLITICS AND SOCIETY | RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY | SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY |
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| 1633 | d. Isabel Clara Eugenia | Cosmology of Galileo Galilei condemned by papacy; d. Patriarch Filaret; William Laud, archbishop of Canterbury, 1633–1645; Peter Mohyla becomes Orthodox metropolitan of Kiev; d. Meletii Smotrytskyi; Polish king recognizes legality of Orthodox and Uniate hierarchies in Poland | |
| 1634 | A. W. E. von Wallenstein assassinated on orders of HRE; Swedes defeated at Nördlingen; Form of Government adopted in Sweden; d. Sir Edward Coke | | <i>Atlas Novus (Theatrum Orbis Terrarum)</i> published by Willem and Joan Blaeu, 1634–1662 |
| 1635 | Peace of Prague; Catholic League dissolved; France declares war on Spain; French claim Martinique and Guadeloupe; Construction of Belgorod Line, 1635–1658 | | Académie Parisienne formed by Marin Mersenne |
| 1636 | HRE declares war on France; Anthony van Diemen, governor general of Dutch East India Co., 1636–1645 | | |
| 1637 | Ferdinand III (HRE), 1637–1657; Portuguese fort of Mina taken by Dutch; Ship-money case in England; Tulip bubble bursts | René Descartes, <i>Discours de la méthode</i> ; d. Péter Pázmány | |
| 1638 | Scottish Revolution; Portuguese fort of Arguim taken by Dutch | Antitrinitarian center at Raków destroyed; d. Cornelius Otto Jansen | d. Willem Blaeu |

| ART AND ARCHITECTURE | DRAMA AND MUSIC | LITERATURE AND SCHOLARSHIP | DATE |
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| Anthony Van Dyck, <i>Charles I</i> | | Wojciech Dębołęcki, <i>Genealogy</i> ; d. George Herbert; Herbert's <i>The Temple: Sacred Poems and Private Ejaculations</i> publ. posthumously | 1633 |
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| | | Giambattista Basile, <i>Lo cunto de li cunti</i> ; d. George Chapman; University of Utrecht fd. | 1634 |
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| d. Jacques Callot; Claude Lorrain (Gellée), <i>Liber Veritatis</i> ; Peter Paul Rubens, <i>Venus and Adonis</i> | Pedro Calderón de La Barca, <i>El médico de su honora</i> and <i>La vida es sueño</i> ; Tirso de Molina, <i>El burlador de Sevilla</i> ; d. Lope de Vega | Académie Française fd.; University of Budapest fd. | 1635 |
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| Rembrandt van Rijn, <i>Danaë</i> | d. Johannes Messenius | Harvard College fd. | 1636 |
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| | Pierre Corneille, <i>Le Cid</i> ; d. Ben Jonson | d. Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc; John Milton, <i>Lycidas</i> | 1637 |
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| Francesco Borromini, S. Carlo alle Quattro Fontane, 1638–1641; d. Pieter Breughel the Younger | | | 1638 |
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| DATE | POLITICS AND SOCIETY | RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY | SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY |
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| 1639 | Battle of the Downs; First Bishops' War; Japan expels Portuguese | Marie de l'Incarnation founds first Ursuline convent in North America; Pope Urban VIII condemns enslavement of natives in the Americas | |
| 1640 | Catalonian revolt against Castilian rule; Portuguese War of Restoration, 1640–1668; John IV (Portugal), 1640–1656; “Long Parliament” in England, 1640–1653; Second Bishops' War; Ibrahim I (Ottoman Empire), 1640–1648; Dutch navy defeats Spain near Recife, Brazil; Frederick William (Brandenburg-Prussia), known as “the Great Elector,” 1640–1688 | Cornelius Otto Jansen, <i>Augustinus</i> ; Peter Mohyla composes <i>Orthodox Confession of the Faith</i> | John Wilkins, <i>Discourse concerning a New Planet</i> |
| 1641 | Massacre of Protestant settlers in Ulster; Star Chamber abolished by Long Parliament; Japanese expel all Europeans except Dutch, and confine Dutch to island near Nagasaki | d. St. Jeanne de Chantal; René Descartes, <i>Meditationes de Prima Philosophia</i> | |
| 1642 | English Civil War, 1642–1649; d. Marie de Médicis; d. Cardinal Richelieu; Cardinal Mazarin becomes chief minister; d. Henri Coeffier-Ruzé d'Effiat, marquis de Cinq-Mars | | Sir Thomas Browne, <i>Religio Medici</i> ; d. Galileo Galilei; Raimondo Montecuccoli, <i>Sulle battaglie</i> |

| ART AND ARCHITECTURE | DRAMA AND MUSIC | LITERATURE AND SCHOLARSHIP | DATE |
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| Peter Paul Rubens, <i>Judgment of Paris</i> | | d. Tommaso Campanella; d. Martin Opitz | 1639 |
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| Construction of Hôtel Lambert begun by Louis Le Vau; Rembrandt van Rijn, <i>Self-Portrait</i> and <i>The Night Watch</i> ; d. Peter Paul Rubens | Pedro Calderón de la Barca, <i>El alcalde de Zalamea</i> | Academy fd. at Åbo, Sweden; Imprimerie Royale fd.; d. Maciej Kazimierz Sarbiewski (Sarbievius) | 1640 |
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| d. Anthony Van Dyck | Claudio Monteverdi, <i>Il ritorno di Ulisse in patria</i> | Samuel Hartlib, <i>Macaria</i> ; Anna Maria van Schurmann, <i>Dissertation on the Aptitude of the Female Understanding for Science and Letters</i> | 1641 |
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| Château of Maisons built by François Mansart; d. Guido Reni | Claudio Monteverdi, <i>L'incoronazione di Poppea</i> ; Theaters closed in England | Thomas Hobbes, <i>De Cive</i> ; Pieter Hooft, <i>Dutch Histories</i> | 1642 |
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| DATE | POLITICS AND SOCIETY | RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY | SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY |
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| 1643 | Louis XIV (France), 1643–1715; Anne of Austria serves as regent (officially until 1651), with Cardinal Mazarin; Solemn League and Covenant between English Parliamentarians and Scots; War between Denmark and Sweden, 1643–1645; Count of Olivares falls from power | Jesuits publish <i>Acta Sanctorum</i> , 1643–1794; Antoine Arnauld, <i>De la fréquente communion</i> | Barometer invented |
| 1644 | Queen Christina of Sweden begins personal rule | Pope Innocent X, 1644–1655; <i>A Directory for Publique Worship in the Three Kingdoms</i> issued in Britain | d. Jean Baptiste van Helmont; Marin Mersenne presents research on “Mersenne numbers” |
| 1645 | Battle of Jankov; Peace of Brömsebro ends Swedish war against Denmark; Leveller movement arises in England; d. Gaspar de Guzmán y Pimentel, Count of Olivares; Alexis I Mikhailovich (Russia), 1645–1676; War between Venice and Ottoman Empire, 1645–1670 | d. William Laud (executed) | |
| 1646 | Russian landowners required to enter names of all peasants in government registers; peasants regarded as attached to estates | d. Peter Mohyla | |
| 1647 | Levellers issue <i>An Agreement of the People</i> ; Revolt of Naples, begun under leadership of Masaniello, 1647–1648 | Samuel Hartlib, <i>Considerations Tending to the Happy Accomplishment of England’s Reformation in Church and State</i> | |

| ART AND ARCHITECTURE | DRAMA AND MUSIC | LITERATURE AND SCHOLARSHIP | DATE |
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| | d. Claudio Monteverdi | Philip Hunton, <i>A Treatise of Monarchy</i> ; John Milton, <i>Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce</i> ; William Prynne, <i>The Sovereign Power of Parliaments and Kingdomes</i> | 1643 |
| d. Bernardo Strozzi | | John Milton, <i>Areopagitica</i> and <i>Of Education</i> | 1644 |
| Gian Lorenzo Bernini, <i>The Ecstasy of St. Teresa</i> , 1645–1652; Georges de La Tour, <i>St. Joseph and the Carpenter</i> | | d. Hugo Grotius; d. Francisco de Quevedo | 1645 |
| | Andreas Gryphius, <i>Leo Armenius</i> | Richard Overton, <i>An Arrow against All Tyrants</i> | 1646 |
| | Folio edition of <i>Comedies and Tragedies Written by Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, Gentlemen</i> ; d. Pieter Hooft | | 1647 |

| DATE | POLITICS AND SOCIETY | RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY | SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY |
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| 1648 | Peace of Westphalia ends Thirty Years' War; Bohdan Khmelnytsky's Cossack uprising, 1648–1654; Parlement of Paris insists on right to pronounce edicts unconstitutional; Wars of the Fronde, 1648–1653; Frederick III (Denmark and Norway), 1648–1670; Mehmed IV (Ottoman Empire), 1648–1687; John II Casimir (Poland), 1648–1668 | d. Edward Herbert, Lord Cherbury; Shabbetai Tzevi proclaims himself messiah | d. Marin Mersenne; John Wilkins, <i>Mathematical Magic</i> |
| 1649 | King Charles I of England executed; Commonwealth declared in England; Cossack Hetmanate fd.; Russian Law Code (<i>Ulozhenie</i>); Time limitations on returning fugitive serfs abolished in Russia | | |
| 1650 | d. William II, stadtholder of Holland, no new stadtholder elected for twenty-two years; hearsay evidence no longer admissible in English courts; sugar cane brought into West Indies; beginnings of plantation economy | d. René Descartes | |
| 1651 | English Royalists routed at Worcester; Charles II leaves England; Navigation Act; end of Anne of Austria's regency in France; Ferdinand, elector of Bavaria, 1651–1679; Bohdan Khmelnytsky formally accepts Ottoman suzerainty over Cossacks | | |

| ART AND ARCHITECTURE | DRAMA AND MUSIC | LITERATURE AND SCHOLARSHIP | DATE |
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| d. Antoine and Louis Le Nain; Nicolas Poussin, <i>Holy Family on the Steps</i> ; Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture fd. in France | d. Tirso de Molina | | 1648 |
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| Diego Velázquez, <i>Pope Innocent X</i> ; d. Simon Vouet | | d. Richard Crashaw; John Milton, <i>Tenure of Kings and Magistrates</i> ; Madeleine de Scudéry, <i>Artamème, ou Le Grand Cyrus</i> , 1649–1653 | 1649 |
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| | | Thomas Hobbes, <i>Leviathan</i> ; John Milton, <i>Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio</i> ; Miklós Zríny, <i>Siege of Sziget</i> | 1651 |
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| DATE | POLITICS AND SOCIETY | RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY | SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY |
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| 1652 | First Anglo-Dutch War, 1652–1654; Castilians reconquer Catalonia; Dutch capture Cape of Good Hope from Portuguese, est. post at Cape Town; Polish Sejm broken up by <i>liberum veto</i> for the first time | Patriarch Nikon begins reforms of Russian liturgy and ritual, 1652–1666; Old Believer movement arises in response | |
| 1653 | Instrument of Government adopted; Oliver Cromwell becomes Lord Protector; Johan de Witt, grand pensionary of Holland, 1653–1672 | d. Sir Robert Filmer; Jansenism condemned by Pope Innocent X | |
| 1654 | Queen Christina of Sweden converts to Catholicism and abdicates; Charles X Gustav (Sweden), 1654–1660; d. Axel Oxenstierna; Pereiaslav Agreement; Tr. of Westminster ends first Anglo-Dutch War | d. Johann Valentin Andreaä | |
| 1655 | First Northern War, between Poland and Sweden, 1655–1660 | Pope Alexander VII, 1655–1667; d. Pierre Gassendi; St. François de Sales canonized | |
| 1656 | Koprülü Mehmed Pasha, grand vizier under Ottoman sultan Mehmed IV, 1656–1661; Afonso VI (Portugal), 1656–1667; Plague in southern Italy, kills quarter of population (half of population of Naples), 1656–1657 | d. Roberto de' Nobili, Jesuit missionary in India; Blaise Pascal, <i>Lettres provinciales</i> , 1656–1657 | |
| 1657 | d. John Lilburne, leader of Levellers; Period of “Ruin” in Ukraine, 1657–1686 | | Accademia del Cimento, Florence; d. William Harvey |

| ART AND ARCHITECTURE | DRAMA AND MUSIC | LITERATURE AND SCHOLARSHIP | DATE |
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| d. Inigo Jones; d. Jusepe de Ribera; d. Georges de La Tour | | | 1652 |
| Rembrandt van Rijn, <i>Aristotle Contemplating the Bust of Homer</i> | Pedro Calderón de la Barca, <i>La hija del aire</i> | Izaak Walton, <i>The Compleat Angler</i> | 1653 |
| d. Bernardo Cavallino; d. Artemisia Gentileschi; d. Massimo Stanzione | Joost van der Vondel, <i>Lucifer</i> | Madeleine de Scudéry, <i>Clélie</i> , 1654–1660 | 1654 |
| | | Thomas Stanley, <i>History of Philosophy</i> , 1655–1662; d. Savinien Cyrano de Bergerac | 1655 |
| Public square and colonnade of St. Peter's in Rome designed by Gian Lorenzo Bernini; Diego Velázquez, <i>The Maids of Honor</i> | | James Harrington, <i>The Commonwealth of Oceana</i> | 1656 |
| | Andreas Gryphius, <i>Carolus Stuardus</i> | | 1657 |

| DATE | POLITICS AND SOCIETY | RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY | SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY |
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| 1658 | d. Oliver Cromwell; Richard Cromwell becomes Lord Protector; Hadiach agreement; Leopold I (HRE), 1658–1705 | Russian patriarch Nikon retires to monastery | Pierre Gassendi, <i>Syntagma Philosophicum</i> |
| 1659 | Richard Cromwell resigns; Peace of the Pyrenees ends war between France and Spain (began in 1635) | d. János Apáczai Csere | Christiaan Huygens discovers shape of rings of Saturn |
| 1660 | Duchy of Prussia becomes independent of Polish crown; Long Parliament dissolved; Charles II (England), 1660–1685; Charles XI (Sweden), 1660–1697 | Henry More, <i>An Explanation of the Grand Mystery of Godliness</i> ; d. St. Vincent de Paul | Royal Society of London for the Advancement of Natural Knowledge fd. |
| 1661 | d. Cardinal Mazarin; Louis XIV assumes power personally; Jean-Baptiste Colbert becomes senior Intendant of Finances; Koprülü Fazil Ahmed Pasha, grand vizier under Mehmed IV, 1661–1676; Cavalier Parliament convenes | d. Jacqueline-Marie-Angélique Arnauld | Marcello Malpighi uses microscope to discover capillaries, confirming William Harvey’s findings |
| 1662 | Copper revolt in Moscow; Act of Settlement (England), decentralizes administration of Poor Law | Book of Common Prayer revised; d. Blaise Pascal | Boyle’s law; John Graunt, <i>Natural and Political Observations . . . Made upon the Bills of Mortality</i> ; Sir William Petty, <i>Treatise on Taxes and Contributions</i> |
| 1663 | Perpetual Diet at Regensburg begins; Turkish armies begin to move up the Danube | Société des Mission Étrangères (Society of Foreign Missions) fd. in Paris | Henry Oldenburg becomes secretary of Royal Society |
| 1664 | British take New Amsterdam, renamed New York; French East India and West India Companies fd.; Turks accept twenty-year truce | | |

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| Jan Vermeer, <i>Girl with a Water Jug</i> | | Georg Stiernhielm, <i>Hercules</i> | 1658 |
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| Art academy fd. in Seville by Bartolomé Esteban Murillo and Francisco de Herrera the Younger; d. Diego Velázquez | Molière, <i>Les précieuses ridicules</i> | d. Jacob Cats; Samuel Pepys keeps diary, 1660–1669 | 1660 |
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| Jan Vermeer, <i>View of Delft</i> ; Reconstruction of Versailles, 1661–1710 | Académie Royale de Danse fd. in France | French Royal Library reorganized under Jean-Baptiste Colbert | 1661 |
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| Academy of Arts fd. at Nuremberg (first in Germany) | Jean-Baptiste Lully becomes music master to the French royal family | d. Samuel Hartlib; François de La Rochefoucauld, <i>Mémoires</i> | 1662 |
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| Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture (France) reorganized by Jean-Baptiste Colbert | Andreas Gryphius, <i>Peter Squentz</i> ; Molière, <i>L'école des femmes</i> | | 1663 |
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| Rembrandt van Rijn, <i>Jewish Bride</i> ; d. Francisco de Zurbarán | d. Andreas Gryphius; Molière, <i>Le Tartuffe</i> ; Heinrich Schütz, <i>Christmas Oratorio</i> ; Joost van der Vondel, <i>Adam in Exile</i> | d. Mikós Zrínyi | 1664 |
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| DATE | POLITICS AND SOCIETY | RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY | SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY |
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| 1665 | Second Anglo-Dutch War, 1665–1667; Great Plague in London, 1665–1666; Charles II (Spain), 1665–1700 | | d. Pierre de Fermat; Robert Hooke, <i>Micrographia</i> ; <i>Philosophical Transactions</i> fd. (journal of Royal Society in London) |
| 1666 | Great Fire in London | Council of Russian Orthodox Church, 1666–1667; Patriarch Nikon deposed; Old Belief declared schismatic; Avvakum Petrovich excommunicated and exiled | Marcello Malpighi is first to see red blood cells; Royal Academy of Sciences fd. in France |
| 1667 | Andrusovo Truce; Tr. of Breda ends second Anglo-Dutch War; War of Devolution, 1667–1668; London Rebuilding Act; Pedro II (Portugal), 1667–1706, deposes brother Afonso VI; Stepan Razin’s uprising, 1667–1671 | Pope Clement IX, 1667–1669 | Paris Observatory est. |
| 1668 | Petro Doroshenko, Cossack hetman of Right-Bank Ukraine, allies with Ottomans; Spain recognizes independence of Portugal | Henry More, <i>Divine Dialogues</i> | |
| 1669 | Michael Wisniowiecki (Poland), 1669–1673 | | Marcello Malpighi investigates structure and development of the silkworm; Nicolaus Steno, <i>De Solido intra Solidum Naturaliter Contento Dissertationis Prodrromus</i> |

| ART AND ARCHITECTURE | DRAMA AND MUSIC | LITERATURE AND SCHOLARSHIP | DATE |
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| Murillo, <i>Rest on the Flight into Egypt</i> ; d. Nicolas Poussin; Jan Vermeer, <i>Allegory of Painting</i> | Molière, <i>Don Juan</i> | <i>Journal des sçavans</i> fd.; François de La Rochefoucauld, <i>Maximes</i> | 1665 |
| French Academy at Rome fd. by Charles Le Brun; Prix de Rome est.; d. Frans Hals; d. François Mansart | Molière, <i>Le misanthrope</i> | John Dryden, <i>Annus Mirabilis</i> | 1666 |
| d. Francesco Borromini; First public display of works by artists of Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture in Paris; Jan Vermeer, <i>Girl with a Red Hat</i> | Jean Racine, <i>Andromaque</i> ; Joost van der Vondel, <i>Noah</i> | Margaret Cavendish, <i>The Life of the Thrice-Noble Prince William Cavendish</i> ; John Milton, <i>Paradise Lost</i> ; Samuel Pufendorf, <i>De Statu Imperii Germanici</i> ; Thomas Sprat, <i>History of the Royal Society of London</i> | 1667 |
| Rembrandt van Rijn, <i>Self-Portrait</i> , 1668–1669 | | John Dryden, <i>Of Dramatick Poesie, an Essay</i> ; John Dryden becomes English poet laureate, 1668–1688; Jean de La Fontaine, <i>Fables</i> , 1668, 1678–1679, 1694; <i>Giornale dei letterati</i> fd. (Rome); University of Lund, Sweden, fd.; François de La Mothe le Vayer, <i>Du peu de certitude qu'il y a dans l'histoire</i> | 1668 |
| d. Pierre le Muet, French architect; d. Rembrandt van Rijn; Jan Vermeer, <i>The Geographer</i> ; Christopher Wren becomes royal surveyor of works | Royal Academy of Music fd. in France | H. J. C. von Grimmelshausen, <i>Simplicissimus</i> ; d. Lars Wivallius | 1669 |

| DATE | POLITICS AND SOCIETY | RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY | SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY |
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| 1670 | Secret Tr. of Dover between Charles II (England) and Louis XIV (France), agreeing that England would aid French against Dutch; Hudson's Bay Company fd.; French Company for the Levant fd.; Christian V (Denmark and Norway), 1670–1699 | Pope Clement X, 1670–1676; Blaise Pascal, <i>Pensées</i> ; Baruch Spinoza, <i>Tractatus Theologico-Politicus</i> | Hôtel des Invalides fd. in Paris |
| 1671 | Stepan Razin executed | Henry More, <i>Enchiridion Metaphysicum</i> | Johan de Witt, <i>The Worth of Life Annuities Compared to Redemption Bonds</i> |
| 1672 | d. Johan de Witt and Cornelis de Witt, murdered by a Dutch mob; “Dutch War”; Louis XIV attacks Netherlands, occupies three provinces, 1672–1678; French receive Indian coastal town of Pondicherry; British Royal African Company est.; Charles XI (Sweden), 1672–1697 | d. Marie de l’Incarnation; Avvakum Petrovich, autobiography, 1672–1673 | Robert Hooke describes phenomenon of diffraction; Sir William Petty, <i>Essays in Political Arithmetic</i> ; d. John Wilkins |
| 1673 | Dutch provinces vote to make stadtholderate hereditary in House of Orange; William III becomes stadtholder; Jacques Marquette and Louis Joliet explore interior of North America | Test Act | Christiaan Huygens, <i>Horologium Oscillatorum</i> |
| 1674 | John III Sobieski (Poland), 1674–1696 | | d. John Graunt; Antoni van Leeuwenhoek begins to observe bacteria and protozoa under a microscope |

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| Christopher Wren, St. Paul's Cathedral, London, 1670–1711; d. Louis Le Vau | Molière, <i>Le bourgeois gentilhomme</i> | | 1670 |
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| French Royal Academy of Architecture fd. | | John Milton, <i>Paradise Regained</i> and <i>Samson Agonistes</i> ; Marie de Sévigné composes most of her letters to her daughter, Mme de Grignan, 1671–1678 | 1671 |
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| | Molière, <i>Les femmes savantes</i> ; d. Heinrich Schütz | Clarendon Press fd. at Oxford; College of censors est. in France; d. François de La Mothe le Vayer; <i>Mercurie galant</i> fd.; Samuel Pufendorf, <i>De Jure Naturae et Gentium</i> ; d. Georg Stiernhielm | 1672 |
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| d. Salvatore Rosa | d. Molière | d. Joan Blaeu; François Poulain de la Barre, <i>On the Equality of the Two Sexes</i> ; d. Margaret Cavendish | 1673 |
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| | | Nicolas Boileau-Despréaux, <i>L'art poétique</i> ; Samuel Columbus, <i>Odae Sueticae</i> ; d. Robert Herrick; d. Lars Johannson (Lucidor); d. John Milton; Anthony Wood, <i>Historia et Antiquitates Universitatis Oxoniensis</i> | 1674 |
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| DATE | POLITICS AND SOCIETY | RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY | SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY |
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| 1675 | Russian serf owners allowed to sell serfs independently of land; Heneage Finch, earl of Nottingham, lord chancellor of Britain, 1675–1682; Victor Amadeus II, ruler of Savoy, 1675–1730 | d. Boiarynia Morozova; Philipp Jakob Spener, <i>Pia Desideria</i> ; Baruch Spinoza, <i>Ethica</i> (completed) | Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz discovers integral and differential calculus |
| 1676 | Fedor III (Russia), 1676–1682 | Pope Innocent XI, 1676–1689; d. Shabbetai Tzevi | |
| 1677 | François-Michel Le Tellier, marquis de Louvois, secretary of state for war under Louis XIV, 1677–1691; Fort of São João Baptista de Ajudá est. in Dahomey by Portuguese, 1677–1680 | d. Francis Glisson; d. Baruch Spinoza | d. Henry Oldenburg |
| 1678 | Tr. of Nijmegen; Sieur de La Salle explores interior of North America | | Robert Hooke states inverse square law of planetary motion |
| 1679 | Affair of the Poisons; Exclusion Bill; Maximilian II, elector of Bavaria, 1679–1726; Plague in Vienna kills one-third of population; Louis Hennepin explores interior of North America | d. Anne Conway | |

| ART AND ARCHITECTURE | DRAMA AND MUSIC | LITERATURE AND SCHOLARSHIP | DATE |
|---|----------------------------|--|------|
| d. Jan Vermeer | | | 1675 |
| Dome of the Hôtel des Invalides constructed by Jules Hardouin-Mansart | | d. H. J. C. von Grimmelshausen; d. Matthew Hale | 1676 |
| d. Mathieu Le Nain | Jean Racine, <i>Phèdre</i> | Nicolas Boileau-Despréaux and Jean Racine become historiographers to Louis XIV; d. James Harrington | 1677 |
| d. Jan Brueghel the Younger; d. Cosimo Fanzago | | John Bunyan, <i>The Pilgrim's Progress</i> ; Seigneur du Cange, <i>Glossarium ad Scriptores Mediae et Infimae Latinitatis</i> ; Marie-Madeleine de La Fayette, <i>La princesse de Clèves</i> ; d. Andrew Marvell; Elena Lucrezia Cornaro Piscopia receives doctorate of philosophy from Padua; Richard Simon, <i>Critical History of the Old Testament</i> | 1678 |
| d. Jan Steen | d. Joost van der Vondel | d. Thomas Hobbes | 1679 |

| DATE | POLITICS AND SOCIETY | RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY | SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY |
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| 1680 | | Sir Robert Filmer, <i>Patriarcha</i> ; d. Joseph Glanvill; d. Athanasius Kircher; Nicolas Malebranche, <i>Traité de la nature et de la grâce</i> | d. Jan Swammerdam |
| 1681 | Sir Josiah Child becomes governor general of English East India Company; Louis XIV's troops occupy Strasbourg | Colony of Pennsylvania est. in North America as haven for Quakers | Denis Papin invents steam-powered piston device |
| 1682 | Peter I, "the Great," tsar of Russia, 1682–1725, co-ruler with Ivan V, 1682–1696; Sofia Alekseevna, regent, 1682–1689; Louis XIV moves royal court from Paris Louvre to Versailles; Bantam (Indonesia) becomes Dutch East India Company colony | Four Gallican Articles adopted; Louis XIV issues edict condemning belief and practice of magic; d. Avvakum Petrovich, burned at the stake | d. Sir Thomas Browne; Halley's Comet identified by Edmund Halley |
| 1683 | d. Jean-Baptiste Colbert; War of the Holy League against the Ottomans, 1683–1699; Turks defeated at Vienna after siege; d. Anthony Ashley Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury | d. Benjamin Whichcote | First drawing of bacteria (by Antoni van Leeuwenhoek) appears in London Royal Society's <i>Philosophical Transactions</i> |
| 1684 | War between Venice and Ottoman Empire, 1684–1699; Delegation from Siam arrives in Paris | d. Louis-Isaac Le Maistre de Sacy | |
| 1685 | Edict of Nantes revoked by Louis XIV; Code Noir est. basic legal principles of French Caribbean slave society; James II (England), 1685–1688 | | |

| ART AND ARCHITECTURE | DRAMA AND MUSIC | LITERATURE AND SCHOLARSHIP | DATE |
|---|---------------------------------|--|------|
| d. Gian Lorenzo Bernini; d. Sir Peter Lely | Comédie Française formed | d. Samuel Butler; Henry Neville, <i>Plato Redivivus</i> ; d. Simeon Polotskii; d. François de La Rochefoucauld; Madeleine de Scudéry, <i>Conversations sur divers sujets</i> | 1680 |
| | d. Pedro Calderón de la Barca | John Dryden, <i>Absalom and Achitophel</i> ; Jean Mabillon, <i>De Re Diplomatica</i> , est. science of diplomatics | 1681 |
| d. Claude Lorrain (Gellée); d. Bartolomé Esteban Murillo | | | 1682 |
| | d. Daniel Caspar von Lohenstein | d. Algernon Sidney (executed); d. Isaak Walton | 1683 |
| | d. Pierre Corneille | <i>Nouvelles de la république des lettres</i> est. by Pierre Bayle; d. Elena Lucrezia Cornaro Piscopia | 1684 |
| | | Haquin Spigel, <i>God's Work and Rest</i> | 1685 |

| DATE | POLITICS AND SOCIETY | RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY | SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY |
|------|---|--|--|
| 1686 | League of Augsburg formed; “Eternal peace” between Poland and Russia; Turks driven out of Hungary; d. Louis II de Bourbon, prince of Condé | Hermann August Francke opens Bible study, Leipzig; Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, <i>Discours de métaphysique</i> | John Ray, <i>Historia Plantarum</i> , 1686–1704 |
| 1687 | Ivan Mazepa, Cossack hetman, 1687–1709; Suleiman II (Ottoman Empire), 1687–1691 | d. Henry More | Isaac Newton, <i>Philosophiae Naturalis Principia Mathematica</i> ; d. Sir William Petty |
| 1688 | Frederick III, elector of Brandenburg (after 1701 as Frederick I, king in Prussia), 1688–1713; “Glorious Revolution” in England; Turks driven out of Belgrade; War of the League of Augsburg, 1688–1697 | Christian Thomasius, <i>Institutiones Jurisprudentiae Divinae</i> and <i>Introductio ad Philosophiam Aulicam</i> ; d. Ralph Cudworth | |

| ART AND ARCHITECTURE | DRAMA AND MUSIC | LITERATURE AND SCHOLARSHIP | DATE |
|-------------------------|------------------------|--|------|
| | | <i>Bibliothèque universelle et historique</i> est. by Jean Leclerc, 1686–1693; Official censorship of printed materials est. in Sweden | 1686 |
| | d. Jean-Baptiste Lully | John Dryden, <i>The Hind and the Panther</i> ; d. Constantijn Huygens; Slavonic-Greek-Latin Academy fd. in Russia by Patriarch Ioakim; d. Edmund Waller | 1687 |
| | | Aphra Behn, <i>Oroonoko, or the History of the Royal Slave</i> ; Jean de La Bruyère, <i>Les Caractères de Théophraste traduits du grec avec les caractères ou les moeurs de ce siècle</i> ; d. John Bunyan; Seigneur du Cange, <i>Glossarium ad Scriptores Mediae et Infimae Graecitatis</i> ; d. Seigneur du Cange; Christian Thomasius issues periodical <i>Entertaining and Serious, Rational and Unsophisticated Ideas on All Kinds of Agreeable and Useful Books and Subjects</i> | 1688 |

| DATE | POLITICS AND SOCIETY | RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY | SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY |
|------|---|---|--|
| 1689 | William III and Mary II (England), 1689–1702; Bill of Rights, Toleration Act enacted by Parliament; Tr. of Nerchinsk between Russia and China; Peter the Great ousts regent Sofia Alekseevna to assume personal rule of Russia; Koprülü Fazil Mustafa Pasha, grand vizier, 1689–1691; Ottoman armies under Fazil Mustafa recapture Belgrade and Niş; d. Christina, former queen of Sweden | Pope Alexander VIII, 1689–1691; Pierre-Daniel Huet, <i>Censura Philosophiae Cartesianae</i> ; John Locke, <i>Letter on Toleration</i> and <i>Essay concerning Human Understanding</i> | d. Nicolaus Steno |
| 1690 | Battle of the Boyne; William III defeats Jacobite army led by former king James II | John Locke, <i>Two Treatises on Government</i> | Christiaan Huygens, <i>Treatise on Light</i> |
| 1691 | Ahmed II (Ottoman Empire), 1691–1695; Irish Jacobites defeated at siege of Limerick | d. Richard Baxter; Balthasar Bekker, <i>World Bewitched</i> ; d. George Fox, founder of Quakers; d. Lo Wen-tsoo (Gregorio López), first Chinese bishop; Pope Innocent XII, 1691–1700 | d. Robert Boyle |
| 1692 | Massacre of MacDonalds by Campbells at Glencoe, Scotland | | |
| 1693 | Famine in France, 1693–1694 | | |
| 1694 | Bank of England est.; British national debt created; Frederick Augustus I, elector of Saxony, 1694–1733, King Augustus II of Poland from 1697 | d. Antoine Arnauld | d. Marcello Malpighi |

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DATE

Henry Purcell, *Dido and Aeneas*; d. Aphra Behn

1689

d. Charles Le Brun

Sir William Temple, *Essay upon Ancient and Modern Learning*

1690

Richard Bentley, *Epistola ad Joannem Millium*

1691

Henry Purcell, *The Fairy Queen* (for *A Midsummer Night's Dream*)

French Royal Library opens to the public

1692

d. Marie-Madeleine de La Fayette; John Locke, *Some Thoughts concerning Education*; d. Jan Andrzej Morsztyn

1693

Dreifaltigkeitskirche (Salzburg) by Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach, 1694–1702

d. Samuel Pufendorf; William Wotton, *Reflections upon Ancient and Modern Learning*

1694

| DATE | POLITICS AND SOCIETY | RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY | SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY |
|------|--|--|---|
| 1695 | Capitation (poll tax) introduced in France; Mustafa II (Ottoman Empire), 1695–1703 | Official Swedish hymnbook by Joseph Swedberg | d. Christiaan Huygens |
| 1696 | d. Ivan V, co-tsar with Peter the Great; fall of Ottoman fortress of Azov to Russia | | |
| 1697 | Peter the Great visits western Europe, 1697–1698; Peace of Ryswick ends War of the League of Augsburg; Augustus II, “the Strong” (elector of Saxony), king of Poland, 1697–1704, 1709–1733; Charles XII (Sweden), 1697–1718; Battle of Zenta; Prince Eugene of Savoy drives Turks out of Hungary | François Fénelon, <i>Explication des maximes des saints sur la vie intérieure</i> ; d. Miguel de Molinos | |
| 1698 | Omanis conquer Mombasa and Kilwa from Portuguese | | |
| 1699 | Peace of Karlowitz; Frederick IV (Denmark and Norway), 1699–1730; Louisiana est. by French | | |
| 1700 | d. John Cecil; Great Northern War between Russia and Sweden, 1700–1721; Battle of Narva, forces of Charles XII defeat Peter the Great; Philip V (Spain), 1700–1746 | d. Patriarch Adrian of Russia; patriarchate left vacant; Pope Clement XI, 1700–1721 | Gregorian calendar accepted in Protestant German states; remaining United Provinces accept it 1700–1701 |

| ART AND ARCHITECTURE | DRAMA AND MUSIC | LITERATURE AND SCHOLARSHIP | DATE |
|--|---|--|------|
| Winter palace of Prince Eugene of Savoy built by Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach, 1695–1711 | d. Henry Purcell | d. Jean de La Fontaine; England and Wales end pre-publication censorship of written materials when Licensing Act lapses; Wespazjan Kochowski, <i>Polish Psalmody</i> | 1695 |
| Kollegienkirche (Salzburg) by Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach, 1696–1707 | | d. Jean de La Bruyère; d. Marie de Sévigné | 1696 |
| | | Mary Astell, <i>A Serious Proposal to Ladies</i> ; Marie-Catherine d'Aulnoy, <i>Contes de fées</i> ; Pierre Bayle, <i>Dictionnaire historique et critique</i> ; Gunno (Eurelius) Dahlstierna, <i>Hymn to the King</i> ; Charles Perrault, <i>Contes de ma mère l'oye</i> | 1697 |
| | | Richard Bentley, <i>Dissertation upon the Epistles of Phalaris</i> ; Algernon Sidney, <i>Discourses concerning Government</i> ; Society for the Reformation of Manners fd. in London | 1698 |
| | d. Jean Racine | François Fénelon, <i>Les aventures de Télémaque</i> | 1699 |
| d. André Le Nôtre, French garden designer | Raoul-Auger Feuillet, <i>Chorégraphie</i> | d. John Dryden; Kit-Kat Club fd. in London by Jacob Tonson | 1700 |

| DATE | POLITICS AND SOCIETY | RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY | SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY |
|------|---|-------------------------|---|
| 1701 | Act of Settlement stipulates that no Catholic may be king of England; Capitation (poll tax) permanently reintroduced in France; Frederick I (Prussia), 1701–1713 (Frederick III of Brandenburg becomes king in Prussia); War of the Spanish Succession, 1701–1714 | | Thomas Newcomen builds steam engine, widely employed to pump water from coal pits |
| 1702 | Anne (England), 1702–1714; Camisard Revolt, 1702–1705 | | |
| 1703 | Ahmed III (Ottoman Empire), 1703–1730; “Tulip Period” of Ottoman Empire; Rebellion in Hungary led by Prince Ferenc II Rákóczi, 1703–1711; Buda and Pest made royal free cities within HRE | | d. Robert Hooke |
| 1704 | Battle of Blenheim; Stanisław I Leszczyński, king of Poland, 1704–1709, while Augustus II the Strong deposed | d. John Locke | Isaac Newton, <i>Optics</i> |
| 1705 | Joseph I (HRE), 1705–1711 | | Maria Sybilla Merian, <i>Metamorphosis Insectorum Surinamensium</i> ; d. John Ray |
| 1706 | John V (Portugal), 1706–1750; Battle of Turin; Austria replaces Spain as ruler of Lombardy | | d. Walter Charleton |
| 1707 | United Kingdom of Great Britain est. by union of England and Scotland; Mantua incorporated into Austrian Empire after last Gonzaga duke exiled | | |

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DATE

d. Madeleine de Scudéry 1701

Petersburg fortress built 1702

d. Charles Perrault; 1703
d. Samuel Pepys; First
Russian newspaper,
Vedomosti

Blenheim Palace built, 1704–1725; French Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture exhibitions moved to Grande Galerie of Louvre; Rachel Ruysch, *Flowers* Antoine Galland, *Les mille et une nuits*, 1704–1717 (French adaptation of the *Thousand and One Nights*); d. Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet 1704

d. Luca Giordano 1705

Jean-Philippe Rameau, first book of harpsichord music; d. Johann Pachelbel d. Pierre Bayle 1706

d. Dieterich Buxtehude; Isaac Watts, *Hymns and Spiritual Songs* 1707

| DATE | POLITICS AND SOCIETY | RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY | SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY |
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| 1708 | Hetman Ivan Mazepa and Cossacks join Swedes against Russians; United English East India Company formed by merger of Britain's two rival East India Companies | | Herman Boerhaave, <i>Institutiones Medicae</i> |
| 1709 | Battle of Poltava; d. Ivan Mazepa; Augustus II the Strong regains throne of Poland, 1709–1733 | | Herman Boerhaave, <i>Aphorismi de Cognoscendis et Curandi Morbis</i> |
| 1710 | <i>Dixième</i> tax on personal income introduced (in effect until 1721); Robert Harley, chancellor of the Exchequer, 1710–1714; Plague in Stockholm kills one-third of population; Turkey enters Great Northern War against Russia, 1710–1711 | First Hasidic community fd. by Dov Baer; George Berkeley, <i>Treatise concerning the Principles of Human Knowledge</i> ; Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, <i>Théodicée</i> | |
| 1711 | Charles VI (HRE), 1711–1740; Peter the Great replaces Boyar Duma with Senate; South Sea Company fd.; Peace of Szatmár ends Hungarian rebellion | | |
| 1712 | Plague outbreak in Hamburg, 1712–1713; Toleration Act (Great Britain) | | |

| ART AND ARCHITECTURE | DRAMA AND MUSIC | LITERATURE AND SCHOLARSHIP | DATE |
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| | | Bernard de Montfaucon, guide to Greek paleography | 1708 |
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| Johann Friedrich Böttger discovers technique for making porcelain | | Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet, <i>Politique tirée des propres paroles de l'écriture sainte</i> ; First Copyright Act in England; <i>The Tatler</i> published by Richard Steele, 1709–1711 | 1709 |
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| Porcelain manufacturing est. at Meissen | | | 1710 |
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| d. Hans Georg Asam; Schönbrunn Palace in Vienna completed | Rev. Arthur Bedford, <i>Great Abuse of Musick</i> | d. Nicolas Boileau- Despréaux; Alexander Pope, <i>Essay on Criticism</i> ; <i>The Spectator</i> published by Richard Steele and Joseph Addison, 1711–1712 | 1711 |
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| | | d. Jan Luyken; Alexander Pope, <i>The Rape of the Lock</i> , 1712–1714 | 1712 |
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| DATE | POLITICS AND SOCIETY | RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY | SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY |
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| 1713 | Russo-Ottoman War ends; Pragmatic Sanction est. Habsburg Monarchy's indivisibility and right of female succession; Frederick William I (Prussia), 1713–1740; Treaties of Utrecht (1713) and Rastadt (1714) conclude War of Spanish Succession; by Tr. of Rastadt, Austria annexes Spanish Netherlands, Milan, Naples; Britain receives <i>asiento</i> (privilege of providing Spanish America with African slaves); French lose Acadia to British | George Berkeley, <i>Three Dialogues between Hylas and Philonous</i> ; <i>Unigenitus Dei Filius</i> (Pope Clement XI) denounces Jansenism | |
| 1714 | George I (England), 1714–1727, first Hanoverian monarch; Isabel Farnese marries Philip V to become queen of Spain; War between Venice and Ottoman Empire, 1714–1715 | Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, <i>Monadologia</i> | |
| 1715 | Louis XV (France), 1715–1774, under regency of Duke of Orléans; Jacobite rebellion in Scotland | d. Archbishop François Salignac de la Mothe-Fénelon; Nicolas Malebranche | Emanuel Swedenborg begins publishing <i>Daedalus Hyperboreus</i> , first Swedish scientific journal |
| 1716 | John Law est. central bank in France | d. Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz | |

| ART AND ARCHITECTURE | DRAMA AND MUSIC | LITERATURE AND SCHOLARSHIP | DATE |
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| | | Matthew Hale, <i>History of the Common Law</i> ; <i>Hamburger Vernunftler</i> fd. (first German weekly); Royal Spanish Academy fd.; d. Thomas Sprat | 1713 |
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| Great Palace built at Peterhof, 1714–1728 | | Bernard de Mandeville, <i>Fable of the Bees</i> ; Madame du Tencin opens her salon | 1714 |
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| d. François Girardon | | | 1715 |
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| Weltenburg Monastery (Asam family), 1716–1735 | | | 1716 |
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| DATE | POLITICS AND SOCIETY | RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY | SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY |
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| 1717 | Mughal Emperor Farrukhsiyar grants firman to English East India Company, regularizing status, privileges, and trading terms throughout Mughal empire; Casa de Contratación est. in Cádiz to administer Spanish monopoly on trade with Americas; French <i>Compagnie d'Occident</i> (Mississippi Company) fd. for trade with Louisiana | | d. Maria Sybilla Merian; Smallpox inoculation introduced into England from Turkey by Lady Mary Wortley Montagu |
| 1718 | New Orleans est.; Tr. of Passarowitz; Peter the Great has his son Alexis put to death; Ulrika Eleonora (Sweden), 1718–1720; War of the Quadruple Alliance, 1718–1720 | | |
| 1719 | | d. Pasquier Quesnel | |
| 1720 | Sicily reunited with Naples; South Sea Bubble and Mississippi Bubble break; Frederick I (Sweden), 1720–1751 | Feofan Prokopovich draws up <i>Spiritual Regulation</i> | |
| 1721 | Tr. of Nystad ends Great Northern War; Robert Walpole, British prime minister, 1721–1742; d. Louis Dominique Cartouche, Parisian highway robber | d. Bishop Pierre-Daniel Huet; Russian patriarchate abolished by Peter the Great; replaced by Holy Synod; Pope Innocent XIII, 1721–1724 | |

| ART AND ARCHITECTURE | DRAMA AND MUSIC | LITERATURE AND SCHOLARSHIP | DATE |
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| Antoine Watteau, <i>Pilgrimage to Cythera</i> | George Frideric Handel, <i>Water Music</i> | First Masonic Grand Lodge est. in London | 1717 |
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1718

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| Balthasar Neumann begins work on Residenz in Würzburg | | d. Joseph Addison; Daniel Defoe, <i>Robinson Crusoe</i> | 1719 |
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1720

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| Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach, <i>Entwurf einer historischen Architektur</i> ; Esterházy palace built; Antoine Watteau, <i>The Signboard of Gersaint</i> ; d. Antoine Watteau | | Charles-Louis de Secondat de Montesquieu, <i>Lettres persanes</i> | 1721 |
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| DATE | POLITICS AND SOCIETY | RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY | SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY |
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| 1722 | d. John Churchill, duke of Marlborough; office of Cossack hetman abolished; Peter the Great changes law of succession in Russia; tsar may name successor; introduces Table of Ranks; Jacob Roggeveen discovers Easter Island | Last known execution for witchcraft in Europe takes place in Scotland; d. John Toland | |
| 1723 | Louis-Henri, prince of Condé, becomes chief minister to Louis XV, 1723–1726 | Bishop Pierre Daniel Huet, <i>Traité de la faiblesse de l'esprit humaine</i> | d. Antoni van Leeuwenhoek |
| 1724 | d. Robert Harley; Paris stock exchange est. | Pope Benedict XIII, 1724–1730 | Herman Boerhaave, <i>Elementa Chemicæ</i> |
| 1725 | Catherine I (Russia), 1725–1727 | | St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences fd. |
| 1726 | Charles Albert, elector of Bavaria, 1726–1745, HRE from 1742 (as Charles VII); Cardinal Fleury, chief minister to Louis XV, 1726–1743; José Patiño y Morales becomes leading minister in Spain, 1726–1736 | | |
| 1727 | Autonomy of Cossack hetmanate restored; Peter II (Russia), 1727–1730; George II (England), 1727–1760 | Brotherly Agreement of Herrnhut outlines communal ideal of Moravian settlements; d. Hermann August Francke | d. Isaac Newton |
| 1728 | Vitus Bering sets out from Russia in search of northeast passage; Spanish Royal Compañía Guipuzcoana fd. | d. Christian Thomasius | |

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| | Johann Sebastian Bach, <i>The Well-Tempered Clavier</i> , 1722–1744; <i>Critica Musica</i> published by Johann Mattheson in Hamburg, 1722–1725; Jean-Philippe Rameau, <i>Traité de l'harmonie</i> | Daniel Defoe, <i>Moll Flanders</i> ; <i>Spectateur français</i> fd. | 1722 |
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| d. Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach; d. Godfrey Kneller; d. Christopher Wren | Johann Sebastian Bach, <i>St. John Passion</i> | Ludovico Antonio Muratori, <i>Rerum Italiacarum Scriptores</i> | 1723 |
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| | | d. Glueckel of Hameln; Professorships of modern history est. at Oxford and Cambridge | 1724 |
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| Duc d'Antin mounts 10-day painting exhibition in Grand Salon of Louvre | Prague opera house opens | Antoine Manasses de Pas, <i>Mémoires sur la guerre</i> ; Benito Feijoo, <i>Teatro crítico de errores communes</i> ; Giovanni Battista Vico, <i>Scientia nuova</i> | 1725 |
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| | | Imperial Library in Vienna opens to the public; Jonathan Swift, <i>Gulliver's Travels</i> | 1726 |
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| | d. Alessandro Scarlatti | | 1727 |
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| | | Alexander Pope, <i>Dunciad</i> ; Ephraim Chambers, <i>Cyclopaedia</i> | 1728 |
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| DATE | POLITICS AND SOCIETY | RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY | SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY |
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| 1729 | | John Nepomuk canonized | |
| 1730 | Anna (Russia), 1730–1740; Christian VI (Denmark and Norway), 1730–1746; Patrona Halil uprising in Istanbul; Ahmed III deposed and replaced by Mahmud I, 1730–1754 | d. Jakob Amman; Pope Clement XII, 1730–1740 | |
| 1731 | Parma incorporated into HRE after Farnese dynasty dies out; Swedish East India Co. est. | | |
| 1732 | | | |
| 1733 | War of the Polish Succession, 1733–1738; Frederick Augustus II, elector of Saxony and King Augustus III of Poland, 1733–1763 | | |
| 1734 | Kingdom of the Two Sicilies formed; Charles III rules 1734–1759; New law code adopted in Sweden | | Emanuel Swedenborg, <i>Opera Philosophica et Mineralia</i> |

| ART AND ARCHITECTURE | DRAMA AND MUSIC | LITERATURE AND SCHOLARSHIP | DATE |
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| Church of St. Johann Nepomuk, Munich, 1729–1745 | Johann Sebastian Bach, <i>St. Matthew Passion</i> and <i>Brandenburg Concertos</i> | d. Richard Steele | 1729 |
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1730

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| | | d. Mary Astell; Corps of Cadets fd. in Russia; d. Daniel Defoe; <i>Gentleman's Magazine</i> (London); <i>De Hollandsche Spectator</i> , 1731–1735; Abbé Prévost, <i>Manon Lescaut</i> ; Royal Dublin Society fd. | 1731 |
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| William Hogarth begins <i>Rake's Progress</i> | Covent Garden opera house opens in London | Laura Bassi teaches at University of Bologna, 1732–1778; Maurice de Saxe, <i>Reveries on the Art of War</i> ; <i>The Swedish Argus</i> published by Olof von Dalin, 1732–1733 | 1732 |
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| | | d. Bernard de Mandeville; Alexander Pope, <i>Essay on Man</i> | 1733 |
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| | | Pietro Giannone, <i>Il triregno, ossia del regno del cielo, della terro, e del papa</i> ; George Sale translates Koran into English; Charles-Louis de Secondat de Montesquieu, <i>Considérations sur les causes de la grandeur des Romains et de leur décadence</i> ; Voltaire, <i>Lettres philosophiques</i> | 1734 |
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| DATE | POLITICS AND SOCIETY | RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY | SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY |
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| 1735 | Ottoman war on Russia and Austria, 1735–1739; Preliminary peace of Vienna between France and Austria | | Carl Linnaeus, <i>Systema Naturae</i> |
| 1736 | d. Eugene of Savoy; d. José Patiño y Morales | d. Feofan Prokopovich; Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf banished from Saxony | |
| 1737 | Tuscany incorporated into HRE after Medici dynasty dies out; Philip Yorke, earl of Hardwicke, lord chancellor of Britain, 1737–1756 | | |
| 1738 | Tr. of Vienna ends War of the Polish Succession | Freemasonry condemned by Pope Clement XII (bull <i>In Eminenti</i>); John Wesley draws up Rules of the Band Societies | d. Herman Boerhaave |
| 1739 | Peace of Belgrade; d. Dick Turpin, English bandit (executed); War of Jenkins' Ear between England and Spain, 1739–1748 | David Hume, <i>A Treatise of Human Nature</i> | |
| 1740 | Maria Theresa, archduchess of Austria and queen of Hungary, 1740–1780; Frederick II the Great (Prussia), 1740–1786; War of the Austrian Succession, 1740–1748; Frederick the Great invades Silesia; Ivan VI (Russia), 1740–1741, under regency of Johann Ernst Biron and then Anna Leopoldovna | “Great Awakening” in American British colonies; Pope Benedict XIV, 1740–1758 | Berlin Academy of Sciences fd. by Frederick the Great; Emanuel Swedenborg, <i>Oeconomia Regni Animalis</i> |
| 1741 | Elizabeth (Russia), 1741–1762 | | |

| ART AND ARCHITECTURE | DRAMA AND MUSIC | LITERATURE AND SCHOLARSHIP | DATE |
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| Engravers' Copyright Act (Britain) | | Vasilii Trediakovskii, <i>New and Concise Method for the Composition of Russian Verses</i> | 1735 |
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| Ursulinenkirche at Straubing (Asam family), 1736–1739 | | | 1736 |
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| Salons initiated in France by Philibert Orry | | University of Göttingen fd. | 1737 |
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| Excavations begin at Herculaneum | Johann Sebastian Bach, <i>Mass in B Minor</i> | | 1738 |
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| d. Cosmas Damian Asam | | Louis de Rouvroy Saint-Simon begins his <i>Memoirs</i> | 1739 |
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| | | Olof von Dalin, <i>The Tale of the Horse</i> ; Samuel Richardson, <i>Pamela</i> | 1740 |
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| | George Frideric Handel, <i>Messiah</i> ; d. Antonio Vivaldi | | 1741 |
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| DATE | POLITICS AND SOCIETY | RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY | SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY |
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| 1742 | Charles VII (HRE), 1742–1745 (Elector Charles Albert of Bavaria); Charles Theodore, elector palatine, 1742–1799; Joseph-François Dupleix appointed governor-general of all French establishments in India, 1742–1754 | | |
| 1743 | Marqués de la Ensenada becomes prime minister to Spanish king, 1743–1754; d. Cardinal Fleury | | Jean-Baptiste Bourguignon d’Anville, <i>Atlas général</i> |
| 1744 | | | |
| 1745 | Tr. of Dresden; Austria concedes Silesia to Prussia; Francis I (HRE), 1745–1765; Maximilian III, elector of Bavaria, 1745–1777; Jeanne-Antoinette Poisson presented at court and made marquise de Pompadour by Louis XV; Jacobite rebellion: Charles Edward Stuart (“Bonnie Prince Charlie”) invades Scotland; d. Robert Walpole | | |
| 1746 | Ferdinand VI (Spain), 1746–1759; Frederick V (Denmark and Norway), 1746–1766 | d. Francis Hutcheson | |
| 1747 | | | Julien Offroy de La Mettrie, <i>L’homme machine</i> ; School est. for roadbuilding engineers in France |

| ART AND ARCHITECTURE | DRAMA AND MUSIC | LITERATURE AND SCHOLARSHIP | DATE |
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| | | d. Richard Bentley; Henry Fielding, <i>Joseph Andrews</i> | 1742 |
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| Balthasar Neumann, church of Vierzehnheiligen at Lichtenfels, 1743–1753 | | | |
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| | | Benjamin Franklin fd. American Philosophical Society | 1743 |
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| Medici art collection given to Florence | | | |
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| | d. Aleksandr Sumarokov | | |
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| | | d. Antiokh Dmitrievich Kantemir; d. Alexander Pope; d. Giovanni Battista Vico | 1744 |
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| Giovanni Battista Piranesi, <i>Prisons</i> ; Sans Souci Palace built in Potsdam, 1745–1747 | | | |
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| | | d. Jonathan Swift | 1745 |
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| | | Étienne Bonnot de Condillac, <i>Essai sur l'origine des connaissances humaines</i> | 1746 |
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| d. Francesco Solimena | | | |
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| | | Zaluski Library opens in Warsaw | 1747 |
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| DATE | POLITICS AND SOCIETY | RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY | SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY |
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| 1748 | Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle ends War of Austrian Succession | David Hume, <i>Enquiry concerning Human Understanding</i> | Leonhard Euler, <i>Introductio in Analysin Infinitorum</i> |
| 1749 | Bohemia's constitutional charter revoked; Ferdinand VI replaces Castile's historic kingdoms with 24 provinces; Ohio Company est. by British | | |
| 1750 | José I (Portugal), 1750–1777 | Beginnings of Hasidism, fd. by Ba'al Shem Tov (Israel ben Eliezer) | |
| 1751 | Adolph Frederick (Sweden), 1751–1771 | Freemasonry condemned by Pope Benedict XIV | Ferdinando Galiani, <i>Della moneta</i> ; d. Julien Offroy de La Mettrie |
| 1752 | | | England accepts Gregorian calendar |
| 1753 | Wenzel Anton von Kaunitz, Austrian state chancellor, 1753–1792 | d. George Berkeley | Carl Linnaeus, <i>Species Plantarum</i> |

| ART AND ARCHITECTURE | DRAMA AND MUSIC | LITERATURE AND SCHOLARSHIP | DATE |
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| Excavations begin at Pompeii | Jean-Philippe Rameau, <i>Pygmalion</i> ; d. Isaac Watts | John Cleland, <i>Fanny Hill, or Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure</i> ; Marie-Thérèse de Geoffrin opens her salon; d. Pietro Giannone; Montesquieu, <i>Esprit des lois</i> ; Samuel Richardson, <i>Clarissa</i> ; Tobias Smollett, <i>Adventures of Roderick Random</i> | 1748 |
| | George Frideric Handel, <i>Music for the Royal Fireworks</i> | d. Mátyás Bél; Henry Fielding, <i>Tom Jones</i> ; Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock, <i>The Messiah</i> , 1749–1770; d. Claudine Aléxandrine du Tencin | 1749 |
| d. Egid Quirin Asam; Thomas Gainsborough, <i>Mr. and Mrs. Andrews</i> ; Giovanni Battista Tiepolo, <i>The Banquet of Antony and Cleopatra</i> ; d. Rachel Ruysch | d. Johann Sebastian Bach | d. Ludovico Muratori; Jean-Jacques Rousseau, <i>Discours sur les sciences et les arts</i> | 1750 |
| Palace at Tsarskoe Selo remodeled, Amber Room built | | Denis Diderot and Jean Le Rond d’Alembert, <i>Encyclopédie</i> , 1751–1768; École Militaire fd. | 1751 |
| Johann Joachim Winckelmann, <i>Gedanken über die Nachahmung der griechischen Werke in der Malerei und Bildhauerkunst</i> | <i>Querelle des Bouffons</i> in Paris, 1752–1754 | | 1752 |
| British Museum est.; d. Marc-Antoine Laugier, <i>Essai sur l’architecture</i> (Essay on architecture); d. Balthasar Neumann, German rococo architect | | British Library est.; Friedrich Melchior von Grimm begins publishing biweekly newsletter on French culture; Academy of Letters fd. in Sweden; “Thought Builders” literary society est. by Swedish poets | 1753 |

| DATE | POLITICS AND SOCIETY | RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY | SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY |
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| 1754 | Albany Plan of Union proposed; Joseph-François Duplex, French governor general in India, recalled to Paris; Osman III (Ottoman Empire), 1754–1757 | d. Christian Wolff | Dorothea Erxleben becomes first woman medical doctor in Germany |
| 1755 | Robert Clive's first governorship of Bengal, 1755–1760; Earthquake in Lisbon; d. Robert Mandrin, French bandit | | |
| 1756 | Seven Years' War, 1756–1763; Suraja Dowla expels British from Calcutta | | |
| 1757 | Mustafa III (Ottoman Empire), 1757–1774; Battle of Plassey | | Albrecht von Haller, <i>Elementa Physiologiae Corporis Humani</i> , 1757–1766 |
| 1758 | British take Ft. Duquesne and Louisbourg; Magdalen Hospital fd. in London | Pope Clement XIII, 1758–1769; Emanuel Swedenborg, <i>On Heaven and Its Wonders and on Hell</i> | François Quesnay, <i>Tableau économique</i> |

| ART AND ARCHITECTURE | DRAMA AND MUSIC | LITERATURE AND SCHOLARSHIP | DATE |
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| Winter Palace built in St. Petersburg, 1754–1762 | | Étienne Bonnot de Condillac, <i>Traité des sensations</i> ; Benedykt Chmielowski, <i>New Athens, or the Academy Full of Every Sort of Science</i> ; d. Henry Fielding; Antonio Genovese holds first university chair in Mechanical Arts and Commerce (political economy) at Naples; Royal Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce fd. in Britain; Lancelot Turpin de Crissé, <i>Essai sur l'art de la guerre</i> | 1754 |
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| | | Samuel Johnson, <i>Dictionary of the English Language</i> ; d. Montesquieu; Moscow University fd.; Jean-Jacques Rousseau, <i>Discours sur l'origine et le fondements de l'inégalité parmi les hommes</i> ; d. Louis de Rouvroy Saint-Simon | 1755 |
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| Manufacture Royale de Porcelaine moved from Vincennes to Sèvres; Giovanni Battista Piranesi, <i>Le antichità romane</i> ; Venetian Academy of Painting and Sculpture fd. | | Voltaire, <i>Essai sur les moeurs</i> | 1756 |
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| Academy of Arts est. in Russia; d. Rosalba Carriera | d. Domenico Scarlatti | Edmund Burke, <i>A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origins of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful</i> | 1757 |
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| | | Mikhail Lomonosov, <i>Preface on the Use of Church Books in Russian Literature</i> | 1758 |
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| DATE | POLITICS AND SOCIETY | RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY | SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY |
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| 1759 | Charles III (Spain), 1759–1788; Battle of Plains of Abraham; Quebec falls to British | Adam Smith, <i>Theory of Moral Sentiments</i> | |
| 1760 | George III (England), 1760–1820 | d. Ba'al Shem Tov (Israel ben Eliezer); d. Nikolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf | |
| 1761 | William Pitt the Elder, prime minister of Britain, 1756–1761 | | |
| 1762 | Peter III (Russia) frees Russian nobility from compulsory service; overthrown by Catherine II the Great (Russia), 1762–1796 | Trial of Jean Calas | |
| 1763 | Famine in Naples and Sicily, 1763–1764; Peace of Paris between Britain and France; Peace of Hubertusburg between Austria and Prussia | Justinus Febronius, <i>De Statu Ecclesiae et Legitima Potestae Romani Pontificis</i> | |
| 1764 | Robert Clive's second governorship of Bengal, 1764–1767; Cossack Hetmanate abolished; d. Madame de Pompadour (Jeanne-Antoinette Poisson); Stamp Act; Stanisław II Augustus Poniatowski (Poland), 1764–1795; John Wilkes expelled from House of Commons | Monastic lands confiscated by state in Russia | |

| ART AND ARCHITECTURE | DRAMA AND MUSIC | LITERATURE AND SCHOLARSHIP | DATE |
|---|---|---|------|
| British Museum opens to the public | d. George Frideric Handel | Claude-Adrien Helvétius, <i>De l'esprit</i> ; <i>Journal des dames</i> fd.; Voltaire, <i>Candide</i> | 1759 |
| First public exhibition of art at Society of Artists of Great Britain, London | | Jean-Jacques Rousseau, <i>Julie, ou la nouvelle Héloïse</i> | 1760 |
| Jean-Baptiste Greuze, <i>The Village Betrothal</i> | Carlo Goldoni, <i>L'amore delle tre melarance</i> | d. Kelemen Mikes; d. Samuel Richardson | 1761 |
| Anton Raphael Mengs, <i>Reflections on Beauty and Taste in Painting</i> | Christoph Willibald von Gluck, <i>Orfeo ed Euridice</i> | Denis Diderot, <i>Le neveu de Rameau</i> ; d. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu; Jean-Jacques Rousseau, <i>Du contrat social</i> and <i>Émile</i> ; John Wilkes publishes <i>The North Britons</i> | 1762 |
| | | Louis René de Caradeuc de la Chalotais, <i>Essai d'éducation nationale</i> ; d. Olof von Dalin; Samuel Johnson meets James Boswell; d. Hedvig Charlotta Nordenflycht; d. Abbé Prévost; Voltaire, <i>Traité sur la tolérance</i> | 1763 |
| Esterházy palace expanded, 1764–1784; d. William Hogarth; Johann Joachim Winckelmann, <i>Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums</i> | d. Jean-Philippe Rameau | Cesare Beccaria, <i>Dei delitti e dei pene</i> ; Samuel Johnson forms literary club; Mme. Necker and Julie Lespinasse open salons in Paris; Voltaire, <i>Dictionnaire philosophique</i> | 1764 |

| DATE | POLITICS AND SOCIETY | RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY | SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY |
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| 1765 | Joseph II (HRE), 1765–1790, co-ruler with Maria Theresa of Austrian Habsburg dominions, 1765–1780, sole ruler, 1780–1790; Leopold, grand duke of Tuscany, 1765–1790 | | Free Economic Society est. in Russia |
| 1766 | Louis-Antoine de Bougainville sails around the world, 1766–1769; d. Isabel Farnese, former queen of Spain; Count of Floridablanca becomes chief minister of Spain; Frederick VI (Denmark and Norway), 1766–1808; Stamp Act repealed | Peć patriarchate abolished by Ottomans, replaced by metropolitanate of Sremski Karlovci in Croatia | |
| 1767 | Legislative Commission convened by Catherine the Great; Maria Theresa limits peasant labor services; First Mysore War, 1767–1769; Samuel Wallis and Louis Antoine de Bougainville reach Tahiti (separately) | Moses Mendelssohn, <i>Phädon, oder über die Unsterblichkeit der Seele</i> | |
| 1768 | Confederation of Bar, 1768–1772; James Cook makes first voyage to Pacific; Corsica purchased by France from Genoa; Russo-Turkish War, 1768–1774 | | François Quesnay, <i>Physiocratie</i> |
| 1769 | Daniel Boone explores Kentucky; French East India Company dissolved due to bankruptcy; José Ortega reaches San Francisco Bay; John Wilkes fd. Supporters of the Bill of Rights | Pope Clement XIV, 1769–1774; d. Gerrit Tersteegen | Sir Richard Arkwright invents water frame; James Watt invents steam engine |

| ART AND ARCHITECTURE | DRAMA AND MUSIC | LITERATURE AND SCHOLARSHIP | DATE |
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| Jean-Baptiste Greuze, <i>The Father's Curse</i> and <i>The Prodigal Son</i> | | d. Elżbieta Drużbacka; d. Mikhail Vasilievich Lomonosov; Patriotic Society of Hamburg fd.; Horace Walpole, <i>The Castle of Otranto</i> | 1765 |
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| Jean-Honoré Fragonard, <i>The Swing</i> | | Sir William Blackstone, <i>Commentaries on the Laws of England</i> , 1765–1769; Péter Bod, <i>Hungarian Athenaeum</i> ; Adam Ferguson, <i>Essay on the History of Civil Society</i> ; Christoph Martin Wieland, <i>Geschichte des Agathon</i> | 1766 |
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| | Christoph Willibald von Gluck, <i>Alceste</i> ; Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, <i>Minna von Barnhelm</i> ; <i>Hamburgische Dramaturgie</i> , 1767–1768; d. Georg Philipp Telemann | Laurence Sterne, <i>Tristram Shandy</i> | 1767 |
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| d. Giovanni Antonio Canaletto; Royal Academy fd. in Britain; d. Johann Joachim Winckelmann | | Society for the Translation of Foreign Books est. in Russia; d. Laurence Sterne; d. Vasilii Kirillovich Trediakovskii | 1768 |
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| | | Catherine the Great est. literary journal <i>Bits of This and That</i> ; Nikolai Novikov est. journal <i>The Drone</i> | 1769 |
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| DATE | POLITICS AND SOCIETY | RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY | SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY |
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| 1770 | Marie Antoinette married to the future Louis XVI; Lord North, British prime minister, 1770–1782; Johan Friedrich von Struensee, chief minister of Denmark, 1770–1772 | | |
| 1771 | Gustav III (Sweden), 1771–1792; René-Nicolas-Charles-Augustin de Maupeou, chancellor of France, 1771–1774; Parlements stripped of power to block reform, magistrates exiled; Stock exchange est. at Vienna | d. Johann Heinrich Gottlob von Justi; Emanuel Swedenborg, <i>True Christian Religion</i> | |
| 1772 | First Partition of Poland; James Cook's second voyage (1772–1775) proves that southern continent does not exist | Hasidim excommunicated by Elijah ben Solomon, Gaon of Vilna; d. Emanuel Swedenborg | Jacques de Guibert, <i>Essai général de tactique</i> ; Joseph Priestley, <i>Experiments and Observations on Different Kinds of Air</i> |
| 1773 | Boston Tea Party; London Stock Exchange est.; Pugachev's rebellion, 1773–1775; Regulating Act for India; Warren Hastings, governor general of British East India Company possessions in India, 1773–1785 | Jesuit order suppressed by Pope Clement XIV | |

| ART AND ARCHITECTURE | DRAMA AND MUSIC | LITERATURE AND SCHOLARSHIP | DATE |
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| d. François Boucher; Thomas Gainsborough, <i>The Blue Boy</i> ; d. Giovanni Battista Tiepolo | | Baron d'Holbach, <i>Système de la nature</i> ; Nikolai Novikov est. <i>The Tatler</i> | 1770 |
| Anton Raphael Mengs, <i>Parnassus</i> (fresco at Villa Albani, Rome) | | <i>Encyclopaedia Britannica</i> , first ed.; d. Claude-Adrien Helvétius; Mikhail Matveevich Kheraskov, <i>Rossiada</i> , 1771–1779; Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock, <i>Odes</i> ; Tobias Smollett, <i>Expedition of Humphry Clinker</i> ; d. Tobias Smollett | 1771 |
| | Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, <i>Emilia Galotti</i> | Commission for National Education set up in Poland; Nikolai Novikov est. <i>The Painter</i> | 1772 |
| d. Luigi Vanvitelli | | Christoph Martin Wieland est. literary periodical <i>Der teutsche Merkur</i> ; Commission of National Education est. in Poland | 1773 |

| DATE | POLITICS AND SOCIETY | RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY | SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY |
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| 1774 | Abdülhamid I (Ottoman Empire), 1774–1789; Tr. of Kuchuk Kainarji; Grigorii Potemkin becomes lover of Catherine the Great; Louis XVI (France) restores powers and privileges of parlements, 1774–1793; d. François Quesnay; Anne-Robert-Jacques Turgot, finance minister in France, 1774–1776; Britain revokes charter of Massachusetts; d. Robert Clive | | |
| 1775 | First Maratha War, 1775–1782; Provincial Reform divides Russia into <i>guberniias</i> ; Tariff union of Bohemia, Moravia, and Austrian duchies; War of American Independence, 1775–1783 | Pope Pius VI, 1775–1799 | Johann Kaspar Lavater, <i>Essays on Physiognomy</i> , 1775–1778; Franz Anton Mesmer presents theory of “animal magnetism” |
| 1776 | James Cook sails on third voyage; North American colonies declare independence from Britain; Turgot introduces Six Edicts, incl. abolition of guilds and <i>corvée</i> ; Turgot dismissed after failure; Viceroyalty of Río de la Plata carved out of Spain’s Viceroyalty of Peru | d. David Hume | |
| 1777 | Charles Theodore (elector palatine since 1742), elector of Bavaria, 1777–1799; Bavarian and Palatine Wittelsbachs reunited; Maria I (Portugal), 1777–1816; Jacques Necker, French director of finances, dismissed; replaced by Charles-Alexandre de Calonne; Treaties of San Ildefonso and El Pardo | | d. Albrecht von Haller |

| ART AND ARCHITECTURE | DRAMA AND MUSIC | LITERATURE AND SCHOLARSHIP | DATE |
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| | Christoph Willibald von Gluck, <i>Iphigénie en Aulide</i> | Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, <i>Die Leiden des jungen Werthers</i> ; Maria Theresa mandates grammar schools in every parish of Austrian empire | 1774 |
| | Pierre-Augustin Caron de Beaumarchais, <i>Le barbier de Séville</i> | Ignacy Krasicki, <i>Mouse-eat</i> | 1775 |
| | | Edward Gibbon, <i>Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire</i> , 1776–1788; Ignacy Krasicki, <i>Adventures of Nicholas Experience</i> ; Thomas Paine, <i>Common Sense</i> ; Adam Smith, <i>Enquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations</i> | 1776 |
| Giovanni Battista Piranesi, prints of Greek temples at Paestum | Richard Brinsley Sheridan, <i>The School for Scandal</i> | d. Marie-Thérèse Geoffrin; Nikolai Novikov publishes journal <i>Morning Light</i> , 1777–1780 | 1777 |

| DATE | POLITICS AND SOCIETY | RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY | SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY |
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| 1778 | France allies with American colonists and declares war on Great Britain; James Cook reaches Hawaii; War of the Bavarian Succession, 1778–1779 | | d. Carl Linnaeus |
| 1779 | d. James Cook | David Hume, <i>Dialogues concerning Natural Religion</i> | |
| 1780 | d. William Blackstone; d. Maria Theresa; Dutch enter American War of Independence on side of Americans, 1780–1784; Second Mysore War, 1780–1784; Movement of county associations est. in England to promote change in electoral system; Wall constructed around Paris to aid in tax collection; Judicial torture abolished in France | | |
| 1781 | Joseph II abolishes serfdom in Bohemia; Anonymous pamphlet <i>To the People of the Netherlands</i> (by Joan Derk van der Capellen tot de Pol) appears; d. Jacques Turgot | Edict of Toleration issued by HRE Joseph II; Immanuel Kant, <i>Kritik der reinen Vernunft</i> | |
| 1782 | William Pitt the Younger, prime minister in Britain, 1782–1806 | | |

| ART AND ARCHITECTURE | DRAMA AND MUSIC | LITERATURE AND SCHOLARSHIP | DATE |
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| d. Giovanni Battista Piranesi | | Comte de Buffon, <i>Les époques de la nature</i> ; Fanny Burney, <i>Evelina</i> ; Ignacy Krasicki, <i>Monachomachia</i> ; Nikolai Novikov takes out 10-year lease on Moscow University Press; d. Jean-Jacques Rousseau; d. Voltaire | 1778 |
| Antonio Canova, <i>Daedalus and Icarus</i> ; d. Jean Baptiste Siméon Chardin; d. Anton Raphael Mengs | Christoph Willibald von Gluck, <i>Iphigénie en Tauride</i> ; Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, <i>Nathan der Weise</i> | | 1779 |
| Medici Museum at Uffizi modernized by Luigi Lanzi | | Gaetano Filangieri, <i>Science of Legislation</i> , 1780–1785; Christoph Martin Wieland, <i>Oberon</i> | 1780 |
| | Johann Christoph Friedrich von Schiller, <i>Die Räuber</i> | Christian Wilhelm von Dohm, <i>Über die bürgerliche Verbesserung der Juden</i> ; d. Gotthold Ephraim Lessing; Jean-Jacques Rousseau, <i>Confessions</i> ; Christoph Martin Wieland, <i>Geschichte des Abderiten</i> | 1781 |
| Étienne-Maurice Falconet, <i>Bronze Horseman</i> (St. Petersburg); Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun, <i>Self-Portrait in a Straw Hat</i> | Vittorio Alfieri, <i>Saul</i> ; d. Farinelli (Carlo Broschi); d. Pietro Metastasio | Aagje Deken and Betje Wolff, <i>The History of Miss Sara Burgerhart</i> ; Choderlos de Laclos, <i>Les liaisons dangereuses</i> | 1782 |

| DATE | POLITICS AND SOCIETY | RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY | SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY |
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| 1783 | Tr. of Paris ends American War of Independence; Russia annexes Crimea | Moses Mendelssohn, <i>Jerusalem oder über die religiöse Macht und Judentum</i> | d. Leonhard Euler; First hot-air balloon, launched by Joseph and Étienne Montgolfier |
| 1784 | India office created in British ministry | | Royal commission investigates Franz Anton Mesmer |
| 1785 | Affair of the Diamond Necklace; Charter to the Nobility, Charter to the Towns (Russia); Joseph II abolishes personal subordination of peasants to lords in entire Austrian empire; Dutch stadtholder flees The Hague | Immanuel Kant, <i>Grundlegung zur Metaphysik der Sitten</i> ; William Paley, <i>The Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy</i> | Coulomb force described by Charles-Augustin de Coulomb |
| 1786 | Frederick William II (Prussia), 1786–1797; Patriot Revolution in Dutch Republic, 1786–1787 | Illuminati suppressed in Bavaria; d. Moses Mendelssohn | |
| 1787 | Orangist regime restored in Dutch Republic; Assembly of Notables convened in attempt to reform French fiscal system; <i>Junta de estado</i> (cabinet) est. in Spain; Constitution of the United States; Russo-Turkish War, 1787–1792 | | Antoine Lavoisier, <i>Méthode de nomenclature chimique</i> |

| ART AND ARCHITECTURE | DRAMA AND MUSIC | LITERATURE AND SCHOLARSHIP | DATE |
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| | d. Antonio Soler | d. Jean Le Rond d'Alembert; Catherine the Great allows private ownership and operation of printing presses; Russian Academy of Letters fd.; Princess Catherine Dashkova becomes first president; First Hebrew press in Lithuania est. at Shklov | 1783 |
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| Jacques-Louis David, <i>Oath of the Horatii</i> | Pierre-Augustin Caron de Beaumarchais, <i>Le mariage de Figaro</i> | d. Denis Diderot; Johann Gottfried Herder, <i>Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit</i> , 1784–1791; d. Samuel Johnson; Immanuel Kant, “Was ist Aufklärung?” | 1784 |
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| Claude-Nicolas Ledoux builds toll houses around Paris, 1785–1789 | Franz Joseph Haydn, <i>Paris Symphonies</i> , 1785–1786 | <i>Cabinet des fées</i> , 1785–1789; d. Gustav Philip Creutz | 1785 |
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| | Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, <i>Le nozze di Figaro</i> | Swedish Academy est. | 1786 |
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| | d. Christoph Willibald von Gluck; Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, <i>Don Giovanni</i> and <i>Eine Kleine Nachtmusik</i> | Dorothea Schlözer becomes first woman to receive Ph.D. from a German university (Göttingen); Thomas Paine returns to Europe | 1787 |
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| DATE | POLITICS AND SOCIETY | RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY | SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY |
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| 1788 | Austro-Ottoman War, 1788–1791; Charles IV (Spain), 1788–1808; Four-Year Sejm in Poland, 1788–1792 | Immanuel Kant, <i>Kritik der praktischen Vernunft</i> ; Thomas Reid, <i>Essays on the Active Powers of Man</i> | Joseph-Louis Lagrange, <i>Analytic Mechanics</i> |
| 1789 | French Revolution begins: Estates-General convened, Bastille stormed, privileges abolished, Declaration of Rights of Man and Citizen issued; Alexander Mackenzie crosses Rocky Mts.; Mutiny on the <i>Bounty</i> ; Selim III (Ottoman Empire), 1789–1807; United Belgian States proclaimed in revolt against HRE Joseph II | Jeremy Bentham, <i>Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation</i> ; church property confiscated in France | Antoine Lavoisier, <i>Traité élémentaire de chimie</i> |
| 1790 | Leopold II (HRE), 1790–1792; Third Mysore War, 1790–1792 | Civil Constitution of the Clergy (France); Immanuel Kant, <i>Kritik der Urteilskraft</i> | d. William Cullen |
| 1791 | Louis XVI arrested at Varennes; Declaration of Pillnitz; New constitution of France est. constitutional monarchy; 3 May Constitution in Poland; Bill of Rights added to U.S. Constitution; d. Grigori Potemkin; Slave revolt in French colony of St. Domingue | French Republic annexes Avignon and Comtat Venaissin from Papal States; d. John Wesley | Luigi Galvani, <i>De Viribus Electricitatis in Motu Musculari Commentarius</i> |

| ART AND ARCHITECTURE | DRAMA AND MUSIC | LITERATURE AND SCHOLARSHIP | DATE |
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| d. Thomas Gainsborough | d. Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach; Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, <i>Symphony No. 40 in G Minor</i> and <i>Symphony No. 41 in C Major (Jupiter)</i> | d. Georges Louis Leclerc, comte de Buffon; First (incomplete) version of Louis de Rouvroy Saint-Simon's <i>Mémoires</i> published | 1788 |
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| | | d. Baron d'Holbach; Abbé Siéyès, <i>Qu'est-ce que le tiers état?</i> | 1789 |
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| | Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, <i>Così fan tutte</i> | Carl Michael Bellman, <i>Fredman's Letters</i> ; Edmund Burke, <i>Reflections on the Revolution in France</i> ; Hugo Kołłataj, <i>Political Rights of the Polish Nation</i> ; Aleksandr Radishchev, <i>Journey from St. Petersburg to Moscow</i> ; d. Adam Smith | 1790 |
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| | Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, <i>Die Zauberflöte</i> ; d. Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart | Carl Michael Bellman, <i>Fredman's Songs</i> ; James Boswell, <i>Life of Samuel Johnson</i> ; Olympe de Gouges, <i>Rights of Woman</i> ; Thomas Paine, <i>Rights of Man</i> ; Marquis de Sade, <i>Justine</i> | 1791 |
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| DATE | POLITICS AND SOCIETY | RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY | SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY |
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| 1792 | Confederation of Targowica in Poland; Kaunitz resigns as Austrian state chancellor; Francis II, last HRE, 1792–1806; Gustav IV Adolf (Sweden), 1792–1809; Tr. of Jassy ends Russo-Ottoman War; France declares war on Austria and Revolutionary wars begin; French Republic proclaimed; George Vancouver explores northwest coast of North America | | |
| 1793 | Terror in France, 1793–1794; Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette guillotined; France declares war on British and Dutch; Second Partition of Poland; Slaves of St. Domingue emancipated; George Lord Macartney’s mission to China | Immanuel Kant, <i>Die Religion innerhalb der Grenzen der blossen Vernunft</i> | |
| 1794 | Kościuszko insurrection; Odessa est.; Prussian Civil Code; Slavery declared illegal in all French territories | | d. Antoine Lavoisier |
| 1795 | Third Partition of Poland; Poland disappears from the map; France annexes Belgium; Directory in France, 1795–1799 | | |
| 1796 | Paul I (Russia), 1796–1801; Princess Catherine Dashkova forced to leave St. Petersburg | d. Thomas Reid | |

| ART AND ARCHITECTURE | DRAMA AND MUSIC | LITERATURE AND SCHOLARSHIP | DATE |
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| Bank of England building (Sir John Soane), 1792–1793; d. Joshua Reynolds | | Nikolai Karamzin, <i>Letters of a Russian Traveler</i> , 1789–1790; Nikolai Novikov arrested; Mary Wollstonecraft, <i>Vindication of the Rights of Woman</i> | 1792 |
| Jacques-Louis David, <i>À Marat</i> | d. Carlo Goldoni | Marie-Jean Caritat, marquis de Condorcet, <i>Esquisse d'un tableau historique des progrès de l'esprit humaine</i> ; d. William Robertson | 1793 |
| Franz Anton Maulbertsch, frescoes at Strahov, Prague | | d. Cesare Beccaria; d. Marie-Jean Caritat de Condorcet; d. Camille Desmoulins; d. Edward Gibbon | 1794 |
| d. Josiah Wedgwood | | d. James Boswell; d. Carl Michael Bellman; Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, <i>Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre</i> ; d. Johan Henrik Kellgren | 1795 |
| d. Franz Anton Maulbertsch | | d. Robert Burns | 1796 |

| DATE | POLITICS AND SOCIETY | RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY | SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY |
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| 1797 | Tr. of Campo Formio; 1797; Frederick William III (Prussia), 1797–1840; Paul I of Russia decrees succession in male line; d. John Wilkes | | |
| 1798 | Batavian Republic est.; Irish uprising | | |
| 1799 | Napoleon Bonaparte’s coup; Consulate, 1799–1804; Fourth Mysore War | | |
| 1800 | | | |
| 1801 | Act of Union est. United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland; Paul I (Russia) assassinated in favor of his son Alexander I (r. 1801– 1825) | | |
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| 1806 | Francis II abdicates, HRE abolished | | |

| ART AND ARCHITECTURE | DRAMA AND MUSIC | LITERATURE AND SCHOLARSHIP | DATE |
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| Francisco de Goya, <i>Caprichos</i> , 1797–1798 | Franz Joseph Haydn, <i>Die Schöpfung</i> | d. Edmund Burke; d. Horace Walpole | 1797 |
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| | | d. Giovanni Giacomo Casanova | 1798 |
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| | | Novalis, <i>Geistliche Lieder</i> | 1799 |
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| | Johann Christoph Friedrich von Schiller, <i>Wallenstein</i> trilogy, 1800–1801 | Novalis, <i>Hymnen an die Nacht</i> | 1800 |
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| | Johann Christoph Friedrich von Schiller, <i>Wilhelm Tell</i> | | 1804 |
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EUROPE

1450 TO 1789

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF THE EARLY MODERN WORLD



ABSOLUTISM. Early modern European princes liked to promulgate the myth that they held “absolute power.” For modern observers, both words create confusion. In contemporary English, the word *absolute* defines a dichotomy of this or that: a king would either have “absolute power,” or he would not. Early modern Europeans lived in a world of accepted ambiguity: they believed the sovereign prince’s power to be both “absolute” and “limited.” Nothing could be further in spirit from the sovereign prince’s “absolute power” than the modern idea that “absolute” means “unlimited.”

ABSOLUTISM, DESPOTISM, TYRANNY

The term *absolutism*, first used in a political sense in various European languages between 1796 (French) and 1830 (English), became popular through the work of late-nineteenth-century historians proselytizing for modern republicanism. The American John Motley’s use of it in *The Rise of the Dutch Republic* (1856) offers a perfect illustration: he quotes Cardinal Granville, chief minister of Philip II of Spain (ruled 1556–1598), who wrote to the king that “I shall never be able to fulfill the obligations of slave which I owe to your Majesty.” Motley concludes: “[Granville] was a strict absolutist. His deference to arbitrary power was profound and slavish.”

Motley’s treatment of Philip and his father (Emperor Charles V, ruled 1519–1556) as “despots” enables us to trace the roots of the confusion among several pejorative terms. He juxtaposes *absolutism* and *despotism* in a way that has lasted into

the present: modern specialists of the eighteenth-century monarchies of east central Europe speak of *enlightened absolutism*, but outside that field the older term *enlightened despotism* is used instead. Dictionaries follow Motley’s lead: a *despot* is a “ruler with absolute power” or a “tyrant.” Making despot, tyrant, and absolute monarch synonymous concepts, however, completely misrepresents the political order of early modern Europe.

The myth of absolutism contains a kernel of truth. The prince’s prerogatives enabled him to act in an arbitrary, even extralegal manner, but within certain well-defined limits. Few questioned the exclusive right of kings to the regalian powers conceptually inherited from the Roman Empire: to coin money, to act as the supreme judge in the kingdom, to declare war and make peace. Two other such powers, making law and taxing, had an ambiguous status. Medieval Europeans believed that God had made the law; the king merely “discovered” it. They also insisted on the necessity of consent for state taxation, another sharp variance with Imperial Rome. Even in the military sphere, the constant outbreak of civil disturbances illustrates the unwillingness of early modern elites to accept the state’s monopoly of organized violence.

Most European states emphasized the contrast between a monarchy, a legitimate form of “commonwealth” (or “republic”) in which one man ruled in the interest of all, and its illegitimate mirror image, tyranny, in which one man ruled in his own interest. In the vocabulary of early modern Europe, the state chancery defined a king as a legitimate ruler

simply by calling him a “monarch.” Political theorists adopted the classic republican comparison of the state to a ship: the citizens were its owners, the king merely its captain. The king/captain had “absolute power” in moments of crisis (battle or storm), but the citizens/owners regained full control once the crisis passed. In the perpetual crisis of the late sixteenth century, some European kings sought to take advantage of the tempests by making “absolute power” permanent. States traditionally had a mixed form of commonwealth, combining legitimate rule by one person (monarchy), by a few people (aristocracy), and by many (timocracy). (The categories came from Aristotle, for whom—as for early modern Europeans—the word *democracy* did not mean legitimate rule by the many, as it does today, but anarchy.) In the late sixteenth century, however, princes sought, in the name of order, to create an unfettered monarchy.

AUTHORITY, POWER, RULERSHIP

The nineteenth-century substitution of “absolutism” for “absolute power” also blurred the distinction between power and authority. From the Middle Ages onward, Europeans spoke of the king’s “absolute power” (Latin, *potestas*) but rarely of his “absolute authority” (Latin, *auctoritas*—the supreme source of legitimacy in the polity). For them, God alone had absolute authority: *auctoritas* rested with their sovereign prince only when he acted in accordance with divine law, in a just government. In the late seventeenth century, however, monarchs and their apologists, such as Bishop Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet (1627–1704) in France and Robert Filmer (c. 1588–1653) in England, tried to claim “absolute authority,” based on the king’s divine right. Far from being a coherent theory of government, the divine right of kings was an incoherent, desperate attempt to salvage royal authority. Works such as Bossuet’s *Politique tirée des propres paroles de l’écriture sainte* (1709; *Politics drawn from the Holy Scriptures*) were riddled with inconsistencies and anachronisms, a fact gleefully seized upon by their opponents.

Yet the central premise of a Bossuet or a Filmer—the connection of God and ruler—permeated even the humblest official publications. The 1768 catechism sent by the Prussian government to local schools summed it up succinctly:

Q: From whence comes the power held by the ruler?

A: This power comes from God. . . .

Q: What does it mean to resist authority?

A: To resist authority is to rebel against the divine order.

The problem for eighteenth-century monarchies was that however much they might push such ideas with ordinary people, elites had rejected them. This division reflected larger cultural currents: while eighteenth-century elites bought secular books, peasants who became literate invariably bought religious ones. The religious cosmology of rural dwellers propagated the sacred element of monarchy at the same moment that the increasingly secular cosmology of urban elites rejected it.

Three different elements of rulership—*potestas* (‘power’), *auctoritas* (‘supreme legitimizing authority’), and *imperio* (‘rulership’)—overlapped in early modern political theory. *Auctoritas* could not be divided, because it emanated solely from God. Power and rulership could be divided: tens of thousands of European nobles had their own courts, which tried the cases of tens of millions of peasants. To Europeans, as the Prussian catechism says, the just monarch mediated divine authority, providing legitimacy to the power and rulership carried out by many. The Reformation destroyed this neat arrangement, because a Protestant subject naturally did not accept the idea that a Catholic king mediated God’s will, so monarchs had to find new tools to reforge the connection. The 1768 catechism, created for Catholic students living in a Protestant state ruled by a deist king, is evidence more of that earlier failure than of “absolutism.”

The French legal philosopher Jean Bodin (1530–1596) created the new political synthesis that undergirded the new monarchies by redefining sovereignty in *Les six livres de la République* (1576; *The six books of the commonwealth*). Bodin made sovereign power into the perpetual, inalienable, and indivisible supreme lawmaking authority in the state: “The first mark of the sovereign prince is the power to give law to all in general and to each in particular.” Subsequent European political theorists, like Samuel Pufendorf (1632–1694) in Germany and Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679) and John Locke (1632–1704) in England, took up Bodin’s definition of sovereignty.

Monarchies adopted the idea that sovereignty rested with the lawmaking prince, giving us one measure of the anachronism of Bossuet's claim that the king was chiefly a judge, discovering laws that were "sacred and inviolable." Bossuet's master, Louis XIV (ruled 1643–1715), stripped his chief law courts, the parlements, of their right to the title "sovereign court," precisely because he rejected the idea that his sovereign power to make law could be shared with anyone. A century later Louis XV, speaking to the Parlement of Paris (1766), spelled out the monarchy's underlying premise: "The sovereign power resides in my person only . . . my courts derive . . . their authority from me alone . . . to me alone belongs the legislative power." His subjects disagreed: the Parlement of Paris, in the name of the "nation," sent remonstrances to Louis XV insisting that his arrest of a high royal official, on grounds of "a law of the state," meant that "all orders of birth and distinction, all bodies [corporations], all ranks, all dignities must henceforth fear the imperious force of absolute power." This exchange pointed out the obvious contradiction between defense of the interests of the nation and of the privileges of the few.

LIMITATIONS ON "ABSOLUTE" RULERS

Bodin's original definition of sovereignty had limited the "absolute" sovereign prince in two ways. First, "all the Princes of the Earth are subject to the laws of God and of nature, and to many human laws common to all people." Second, the sovereign had "absolute" power only in the realm of public law; the citizens had control of private law. Theory and practice struggled most at those points, such as taxation and religion, where private and public law intersected. Bodin believed the king had no right to taxation without citizens' consent; Bossuet urged the king to act justly but gave the subjects no right of consent. All European states struggled with the question of whether or not religious choice was a matter of individual conscience, and hence private, or of social concord, thus public. The French case here demonstrates the extraordinary meaning of arbitrary power: Henry IV issued the Edict of Nantes (1598), which defined religion as a matter of conscience and thus permitted Protestants to worship; his grandson Louis XIV revoked it (1685), claiming to defend public order, and thus made Protestantism illegal in most parts of his kingdom. Waves of

persecution and massacres of Protestants, as well as a mass emigration, soon followed.

So-called "absolute" rulers found themselves limited in many ways. They had unlimited right to make public law but no right to touch private law, or "custom." Privilege ("private law") protected virtually every powerful member of every European society. Nobles everywhere had special rights, special courts, and a wide array of inviolable legal rights (according to their view) or privileges (according to the prince). Citizens of towns had many of the same privileges, and clergymen (especially in Catholic regions) had their own laws and courts and exemptions. Provincial customs almost everywhere in Europe, except in England, governed property transfers such as inheritances. "Absolute" rulers like Louis XIV of France and Joseph II of Austria (ruled 1780–1790) had no legitimate authority to change such customs, which governed even weights and measures.

THE DECLINE OF THE COMMONWEALTH AND THE RISE OF ABSOLUTISM

Modern discussions of "absolutism" often forget the direct connection between the breakdown of religious unity and the creation of a new theory of "absolute power" in the 1570s. The old theories, with their direct ties to *auctoritas* and thus to laws promulgated by the prince but authorized by God, were not likely to convince a Protestant subject to obey a Catholic king, or vice versa. Political discourse everywhere in Europe moved away from the time-honored concept of "the public good," embodied in a commonwealth, and toward "the good of the king's service" in a monarchical state.

Most Europeans lived in a commonwealth—a political society based on citizens—between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries. These citizens, as in an ancient Greek city, formed a small percentage of the adult male population: only nobles and certain wealthy commoners (above all urban elites) participated in governance. Almost all participation in governance happened at the local level, usually in a town; when sixteenth-century townsmen spoke of being "citizens," they invariably meant citizens of their town. These commonwealths usually relied on a mixed constitution (*forma mixta*, an ideal Europeans took from the ancient historian Polybius), in which a prince, the aristocracy, and the broader

group of prominent men shared power. In the last third of the sixteenth century, however, a Europe-wide constitutional crisis destroyed most of the commonwealths.

The flirtation of European monarchies with “absolutes” had two stages. In the first, defensive stage during the seventeenth century, monarchs from the tsar of Russia to the king of Spain claimed “absolute power” to remedy the chaos around them. Many of their subjects, hungry for order, went along with them. In the second, offensive stage, states claimed absolute authority to act on behalf of the community. The sixteenth-century commonwealths had collapsed constitutionally because of the conflicts between the ruler and the common good, above all with regard to religion. In restoring civil order, seventeenth-century monarchs sought to consolidate power, and they did so in a long, bloody, socially disruptive process that destroyed the civic order.

In the late seventeenth century, however, the old distinction between power and authority became more fluid. The great monarchies claimed an implied “absolute” authority in the name of public utility. Whereas citizens had once protected the common good through governance, with oversight and assistance from a small state apparatus, now the state became its guardian. In France, urban elites and some nobles shared power through the state apparatus, deliberately shunning the republican mechanisms (representative assemblies, elected judges, elected financial officials) proposed by the provincial nobility in the 1560s and 1570s. By the eighteenth century, secure in the identification of the state and the common good, officials sought to “reform” society, relying on the “absolute” authority of the ruler. Moreover, that authority had become progressively more secular, as cultural currents desacralized the monarchy in the eyes of elites.

ABSOLUTISM IN PRACTICE

In German lands, this transition from the old state of orders, the *Standestaat*, to a state of laws, or *Rechtstaat*, relied on cameralist and Pietist philosophers such as Johann Heinrich Gottlob von Justi (1717–1771) and Christian Wolff (1679–1754). Cameralism and Pietism provided secular and religious rationales for a philosophy of social action, carried out by the only universal social organ: the

state. Everywhere in German lands, rulers sought to create the well-ordered police state, through laws promulgated by an “enlightened” state, under the “absolute” authority of the prince. In Austria, for example, Maria Theresa signed an edict (1774) mandating the creation of grammar schools in every parish in her empire; the edict also created an upper school and a training school for teachers in each provincial capital.

The uneven implementation of the 1774 edict illustrates the reality of “absolutism.” Maria Theresa’s empire had many nationalities and religions. Some groups viewed the creation of state-run schools as an attack on their ethnic or religious identity, but other ethnic groups used the schools for their own ends. Bohemia implemented the edict so thoroughly that two-thirds of its children enrolled in grammar schools by 1790, while Hungary enrolled virtually no one. Even in Austrian lands, school attendance rates ranged from 30 to 70 percent, in all cases a significant improvement, but evidence of radically different local responses to central action.

Prussia also tried to implement broader schooling. Johann Felbinger, the driving force behind these reforms in both places, voiced the same frustrations as any French or Russian bureaucrat when he wrote of the Prussian reform in 1768: “It is almost beyond comprehension that the express commands of such a powerful monarch, commands which a royal minister and two provincial chambers have sought to execute for the past several years, have had so little effect.” Practical realities placed great limits on the real exercise of power. News and royal orders traveled at a horseman’s pace, armies even more slowly. It could take months to move troops from one part of France or the Habsburg Empire to another. Early modern monarchies had to mediate the interests of kings and local elites, creating a compromise that preserved their common interests, in order to accomplish anything.

Princes in the post-commonwealth monarchies, having destroyed civic society during the search for order, boldly challenged the traditional limits on their prerogatives in the second, offensive phase of development. Monarchs could carry out grandiose personal projects, like Versailles or the Schönbrunn palace, or even construct a new capital city, as in the

case of St. Petersburg. In wartime, rulers could trample on the most precious privileges of the powerful: in 1695 Louis XIV created the *capitation*, a tax on all French people, including otherwise exempt nobles, clergy, and urban elites. He created the tax by his simple will, even in provinces that still had Estates, which were legally subject only to voted taxes. Monarchs did not use this greater authority simply to levy taxes or build fancy palaces, however; European states became more involved in education, health care, poor relief, and transportation and communications. Above all, states created new laws. In France, the process began in earnest with Francis I (ruled 1515–1547), who issued more edicts and ordinances than all his predecessors combined. In German lands after 1680, cameralist ideas led to the promulgation of staggeringly detailed “police ordinances” that regulated every conceivable aspect of daily life. In England, Oliver Cromwell’s Puritan Commonwealth (1649–1660), acting just as “absolutely” as any monarchy, even outlawed Christmas.

In the final stage of the assault, monarchs such as Joseph II of Austria attacked the holy of holies, customary property rights. Using the new calculus of utility to revive an idea of the commonwealth days, both Joseph (1781) and the French Revolutionaries (1790) confiscated church property in the name of the “public good” and abolished contemplative monasteries and convents as “useless.” Joseph eliminated a third of all abbeys and secularized 40 percent of the monks and nuns in his lands. He also attacked lay property, “abolishing” in 1781 many of the personal restrictions on serfs, allowing them to marry, move freely, and choose their professions, and trying to legislate reductions in the forced labor (*robot*) they performed as rent for their lands. The most notable response to his efforts was a peasant uprising in Transylvania, where Romanian rebels burned noble manors and murdered their oppressive Hungarian lords. Joseph sent troops to butcher the rebels, whose leaders were drawn and quartered, their body parts publicly displayed. Joseph wrote to the governor: “I never imagined that such a terrible thing could happen . . . after the advice which I have given so often and so assiduously to promote the general good and general security.”

In the eighteenth century, three developments changed the relationship among the monarch, the state, and society. First, the social and economic system became more capitalistic, abetting profound cultural shifts, such as a greater level of literacy and the creation of a broader and more vocal public opinion. Second, the state apparatus grew exponentially, enabling the state to interfere in everyday life in ways unimaginable in earlier times. Third, European elites demanded greater accountability from their rulers. In England, that meant more power for Parliament; in France, it meant a vigorous intellectual challenge to the established order by writers such as Charles-Louis de Secondat de Montesquieu (1689–1755), Voltaire (1694–1778), and Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778). In east central Europe monarchs like Joseph II or Frederick II the Great of Prussia (ruled 1740–1786) unilaterally implemented “enlightened” ideas.

Such action attacked the rights of the citizens (almost all of them nobles) in the name of public utility. Only those with privileges, like the Hungarian nobility with its powerful diet, could stand up against this new state offensive. The tumultuous events of 1789 in France bear witness to the strains on the new relationship. One of the Revolutionary leaders, Honoré-Gabriel Riqueti, the count of Mirabeau, aptly remarked (August 1789) that “privileges are essential as a defense against despotism, but [are] an abomination used against the nation.” The great conflict between monarchies and citizens at the end of the eighteenth century became a cataclysm, because the states made their assault on the old citizenry at precisely the moment when a new, more inclusive definition of citizen came into being. Thus people like Mirabeau could support the Parlement of Paris in its conflict with the king in 1788, because they viewed the Parlement as the protector of “rights” against a “despot,” yet could demand the abolition of that same Parlement a year later, because the French Revolution had placed political power in the hands of the nation, making the Parlement, as a defender of “privileges,” an anachronism.

CONCLUSION

Early modern political vocabulary used words like *absolute* or *commonwealth* to mean different things than they do today. Modern dictionaries define a

republic or *commonwealth* as “a political order whose head of state is not a monarch,” yet most sixteenth-century Europeans, like Bodin, viewed monarchy as the best form for a commonwealth. The seventeenth-century linguistic shift, in which *republic* and *monarchy* became antonyms, informs us about fundamental changes in the nature of European monarchies. Sixteenth-century documents often refer to rulers as “sovereign seigneurs,” showing the ambiguity of the prince’s status. Those petitioning the ruler called themselves “loyal and very faithful servants” of the prince. Seventeenth-century documents speak of the “sovereign” and of “very humble and very obedient subjects.” The citizens of the states that preserved the old commonwealths, such as the United Provinces of the Netherlands or Venice or the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, described the “sovereign” princes of their neighbors as “despots,” because in their view these rulers had broken the covenant with the citizens.

“Absolutism” exists as a term to define, in largely pejorative ways, a given phase of European monarchies. Nineteenth-century liberal historians, spokesmen for a middle class struggling for political power in a secular state, created it to bludgeon defenders of the old order into submission. Little wonder that it is not an effective description of early modern monarchies. Many European states evolved in three stages from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries. In the commonwealth stage, various levels of government shared sovereignty, both theoretically and practically. Starting in the late sixteenth century, political theory defined sovereignty as indivisible, making the old divided sovereignty intellectually obsolete. These sovereign monarchies struggled throughout the seventeenth century to establish the internal order that would enable them to use indivisible sovereignty to expand the central state’s power. By the 1690s European states of every kind sought to regulate even private life. Peter I the Great of Russia (ruled 1682–1725) could force his boyars to cut their beards, while the English Society for the Reformation of Manners could convince the government rigorously to prosecute swearing. Given the reality of such state interference in daily life, and the massive extension of the sphere of public law, monarchies in which the prince had no theoretical

limits to his right to make public law posed a profound threat to elites.

The theoretical powers of a monarch changed very little from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries; the states ruled by those monarchs, however, underwent fundamental transformation. Lying on his deathbed in 1715, Louis XIV remarked, “I am going, but the state will remain.” Louis understood that the state had begun to supersede the monarch, which made all the more urgent what Gouverneur Morris, a member of the American Constitutional Convention, rightly identified from Paris in February 1789 as “the great Question, shall [France] hereafter have a Constitution or shall Will continue to be Law.” Because of the far greater power of the central state and because of its claims, increasingly derived from secular foundations, to universal authority in society, European elites could no longer allow a political system in which one man’s will made the law.

See also **Autocracy; Divine Right Kingship; Enlightened Despotism; Equality and Inequality; Monarchy; Representative Institutions; Sovereignty, Theory of; State and Bureaucracy; Tyranny, Theory of.**

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JAMES B. COLLINS

ACADEMIES, LEARNED. At the beginning of the 1750s, four French academies—the local academies at Nancy and Pau in 1751, at Montauban in 1753, and the prestigious French Academy in Paris in 1755—advertised competitions for the best essay on different versions of the following question: Had academies advanced learning and the arts and was the multiplication of learned societies a good thing for society? In the decade following Jean-Jacques Rousseau’s prize-winning essay (1750) for the Dijon Academy, in which he famously argued against the utility of the arts and sciences in improving the condition of mankind, no one was really sure if academies were a good thing or not. But their ubiquity made them a key feature of the institutional and cultural landscape of early modern Europe.

By the middle of the eighteenth century the number of learned academies and societies in Europe and its overseas colonies was in the hundreds, and many academies had come and gone in the preceding two centuries. Capital cities such as Paris, London, Berlin, Rome, Florence, Madrid, and St. Petersburg boasted multiple academies, often funded by royal patronage as well as private initiative, that organized virtually every imaginable form of knowledge, invention, and artistic endeavor. Smaller cities and towns typically had one or two academies to promote knowledge as both a cultural and utilitarian endeavor; such academies were typically founded by leading citizens who considered the academy a civic necessity. Colonial outposts such as Philadelphia, Boston, Richmond, Rio de Janeiro, Mexico City, and Cap François formed their own academies, whose members were in correspondence with European academicians. Bernard le Bovier de Fontenelle, perpetual secretary to the Paris Academy of Sciences (founded 1666), dubbed the late seventeenth and the eighteenth century the

age of academies. He was absolutely right in his assessment that academies had become a crucial means of making knowledge a social endeavor that increasingly promoted the public good.

The eighteenth-century image of the academy as a nucleus of the Republic of Letters was a far cry from the academy’s origins as a fifteenth-century reinvention of Plato’s famous lyceum in ancient Athens. Prior to 1530, we can identify no more than twelve academies, all of them closely associated with the humanistic revival of ancient knowledge and the arts in Renaissance Italy. The term *academy* first appeared in the mid-fifteenth century as a means of describing associations of learned men who were devoted to revival of the values of Greco-Roman antiquity in one form or another. Most famous was the Platonic Academy, established in 1462 by the philosopher and physician Marsilio Ficino under the patronage of the Florentine ruler Cosimo de’ Medici, which celebrated and disseminated the works of Plato and other Greek authors through translations of important manuscripts. During the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries there were many informal gatherings of scholars who never made their meetings part of any official organization. By contrast, the desire to give one’s group a name, write up statutes that described the scope of its activities, elect a head of the academy, vote on candidates for new membership, appoint a secretary to record minutes, and create publications that celebrated its activities represented a different stage in the evolution of institutions of learning—the establishment of an alternative to the university as a structure dedicated to the promotion of knowledge. The academy, in other words, was a self-conscious scholarly community.

In the second half of the sixteenth century, academies multiplied rapidly, especially in the Italian city-states. On the Italian peninsula, 367 academies were founded before 1600. We can also find a few academies in northern Europe by the late sixteenth century, such as the Palace Academy of Henry III of France (ruled 1547–1559). During this period the key characteristics of the Renaissance academy emerged. These early academies were largely private gatherings of men and occasionally a few women who met to share their mutual interest in culture and conversation, often under the sponsorship of a “prince” who held a position of power

within the local community. In such settings, scholars assessed new ideas in relation to more established traditions of learning. Whether attacking Aristotelian learning, debating the merits of Dante over Petrarch, or arguing for (or against) Tuscan as the preferred literary language of the Italian peninsula, Renaissance academicians came together to display their wit and erudition in public. Often such academies were encyclopedic rather than focused in their intellectual goals. The kind of wide-ranging, highly rhetorical learned dialogue described by Baldassare Castiglione in his best-selling *Book of the Courtier* (1528)—a fictionalized reflection of the culture of conversation at the court of Urbino—became the model for how an academician should speak about ideas.

Many Renaissance academies lasted not more than a decade, sometimes even just a few years, because they were not truly institutions but creations of individual patrons who wished to promote learning; they were private rather than public organizations. One key exception to this general rule was the Florentine Academy, which was founded informally by a group of Florentine scholars in 1540 and subsequently enjoyed official sponsorship of Cosimo I de' Medici; its goal was the preservation and dissemination of Tuscan literature and language. In this instance, we can speak of the early state-sponsored academy whose cultural mission was deeply political, since it played an important role in resolving the debate about literary Italian in favor of the Tuscan vernacular. Its successor, the Accademia della Crusca (founded 1582), created a series of important etymological dictionaries in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that standardized this language and its usage. The success of Tuscan academies of science, art, and culture inspired other states to think of the academy as more than just a private association of scholars. French scholars explicitly invoked the Medicean model in urging their monarchs and ministers to found royal academies such as the Académie Française (founded 1635), Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres (founded 1663), and the Académie Royale des Sciences (founded 1666). This last offered paid stipends and living quarters to Europe's most talented astronomers, mathematicians, and natural philosophers, essentially making them employees of the state.

During the seventeenth century a new kind of academy came into existence that had greater longevity than its predecessors and reflected the new intellectual concerns of the period. The Italian and French academies devoted to language and culture gave way to a succession of academies whose members often explicitly declared that they would put aside religious and political differences in order to make common cause in the study of nature. Beginning with the Accademia dei Lincei (1603–1630), founded by a Roman noble, Federico Cesi, and counting the Florentine mathematician and philosopher Galileo Galilei among its members, the idea of the scientific academy promoted the centrality of natural knowledge to early modern society. The Lincei was followed by the Accademia del Cimento (1657–1667), a Florentine academy of followers of Galileo devoted to the pursuit of experimental knowledge, as well as more permanent endeavors such as the Royal Society of London (founded 1660), which included such figures as Robert Boyle, Robert Hooke, John Locke, and Isaac Newton among its early members. The Royal Society engaged in international correspondence with other philosophers, collected natural specimens, perfected instruments such as the air pump and the microscope, and published the results of experiments, reports of intriguing natural phenomena, and book reviews in *Philosophical Transactions* (established 1665), the first periodical published by an academy. Francis Bacon had dreamed about the idea of a scientific society in his posthumously published *New Atlantis* (1627), and this dream was now on the verge of becoming a reality. While lacking the kind of financial support enjoyed by the Académie Royale des Sciences, the Royal Society nonetheless could claim royal patronage and an earlier and more successful publication program that was widely discussed in many countries.

Between 1660 and 1793 approximately seventy scientific academies and societies were founded, invoking either London or Paris as their model. The German philosopher Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz found himself realizing Bacon's fantasy of advising rulers about how to make science central to the state when he helped to design the academies of science in Berlin for the Electress Sophie Charlotte (founded 1700) and in St. Petersburg for Tsar Peter I the Great (founded 1725). At the beginning of

the eighteenth century scientific academies such as the Istituto delle Scienze of Bologna (founded 1711) had an explicitly pedagogical purpose that made their utility more explicit. While King Charles II of England (ruled 1660–1685) never quite figured out whether Boyle’s air pump experiments were good for anything, enlightened patrons of academies did not share his confusion about the promise of science. The founder of the Istituto delle Scienze, Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli, created professorships in subjects such as physics, chemistry, astronomy, natural history, cartography, and military science because the university curriculum did not adequately cover these subjects. He had the Istituto’s professors offer lessons at hours that did not conflict with the university curriculum in order to ensure that students could take advantage of both courses of study. He created an astronomical observatory in his academy and filled the rooms with specimens and instruments. Visitors thought it was the New Atlantis realized.

Marsigli’s idea of the academy as an alternative educational institution reached its fulfillment at mid-century when the majority of new academies and societies were founded on the premise of making knowledge available to a broader public. The academy became associated with the idea of progress and increasingly focused on subjects designed to produce this result. The Patriotic Society of Hamburg (founded 1765) described itself as a “Society for the Promotion of Manufactures, Arts, and Useful Trades,” drawing inspiration from French and British models of learned associations that emphasized the role of such organizations in improving society through knowledge. The members of the Patriotic Society envisioned literate farmers and artisans as their potential audience. The Royal Dublin Society (founded 1731)—which published a weekly column in the *Dublin News Letter* in order to ensure a wider circulation of practical knowledge on a wide variety of subjects (“Husbandry, Manufactures, and Other Useful Arts,” as the full academy name enumerated)—had a similar target audience, as did Britain’s Royal Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce (founded 1754), on a national level. The concern of such groups was the application of learning to key problems of society, among them the creation of an agricultural science, the development of better machines and instruments, and the appli-

cation of scientific principles to the political, moral, and economic problems of the day. The academy was no longer a closed world of experts talking primarily to each other, but was now a site for enlightened citizenship. These new societies, as they were more often called to distinguish them from earlier academies, no longer favored Latin as the language of learning. Instead they preferred to communicate in the local vernacular, on the premise that their audience was no longer the international Republic of Letters, already well served by the seventeenth-century learned academies, but local citizens who needed to be persuaded that learning might improve their lives.

The more academicians argued for the utility of academies, the more they also wondered how useful they really were. As academies became true institutions, housed in buildings stocked with well-furnished libraries and collections of natural specimens, instruments, and models of machines and bodies to stimulate the curiosity of their members, and as they became sufficiently endowed to sponsor prizes and publications, academies more readily facilitated the global exchange of knowledge within the Republic of Letters. Provincial scholars throughout Europe and the Americas found books, periodicals, and pamphlets in plentiful supply, and academies served to legitimize the idea that a knowing person was a productive, perhaps even patriotic citizen who could collaborate with others in solving society’s problems. But did knowing more make one think better of humanity? A young Rousseau, responding to the Dijon Academy’s question in 1750, was quite pessimistic about what the age of academies had wrought. Therein lay the paradox of the new system of knowledge that early modern Europeans had created.

See also Art: Artistic Patronage; Citizenship; Classicism; Communication, Scientific; Enlightenment; Humanists and Humanism; Renaissance; Republic of Letters; Scientific Revolution; Universities.

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PAULA FINDLEN

ACADEMIES OF ART. Academies of art were either private or official institutions. During the early modern period both kinds were part of the development of academies in general.

PRIVATE ACADEMIES

The first and most numerous art academies were privately organized. Following the example of the many other academies of the time, they were formed as voluntary societies for mutually satisfactory interaction. But artists’ academies centered on communal drawing, after sculpture or a live model. The first instance in which drawing appears as the content of an academy occurs in an engraving bearing the date 1531 and an inscription that identifies a gathering of artists working by candlelight as the “Accademia” in Rome of the sculptor Baccio Bandinelli (1493?–1560). By the end of the century, the number of academies had increased, as had the range of the recorded activities. Drawing remained the main purpose of these academies, but as the common name *accademia del nudo* (‘academy of the nude’) indicates, the focus was drawing from

a live model. Drawing after sculpture and casts continued, and lectures on geometry, perspective, and anatomy were occasionally mentioned, as were convivial events. The costs of space, lights, and model fees were shared among a group of artists or paid for by a single master or a wealthy patron. A patron sometimes also provided prizes for the winners of drawing competitions. But, however the academies were financed, the core function of instruction remained the same.

Meetings took place outside working hours, participation was voluntary, and members interacted as equals regardless of their status in the outside world. As did academies generally, artists’ academies sometimes chose a name and an emblem (*impresa*) to identify themselves, adopted rules to regulate behavior, and chose officers to carry them out. Unfortunately, little of this kind of information has survived. Knowledge of even the best-known of such academies, that founded by the Carracci at Bologna in 1583, is sketchy at best, but because of the range of its activities, this academy has often been assimilated to the much better documented academies of the second kind.

OFFICIAL ACADEMIES

The second type of artists’ academy was the result not of private initiative, but of official policy. Rather than providing artists with opportunities for sociability and personal profit, it aimed at promoting and disciplining the profession. Such academies typically restricted membership in some way, and because they were created under authority of law, they had both privileges and responsibilities. The first officially established academy was the Florentine Accademia del Disegno (1563; Academy of Drawing). It was proposed by a group of artists, led by Giorgio Vasari (1511–1574), who sought to remake the artists’ Company or Confraternity of St. Luke into an academy along the lines of the already established Accademia Fiorentina. The organization chartered by the duke of Florence, Cosimo I, in 1563 was two-tiered, with authority over the body of the artists—the Compagnia—invested in a “choice of the best,” who constituted the Accademia. Although bound to their several traditional guild affiliations, painters, sculptors, and architects were now united in a single institution, which in 1571 was reintegrated into the existing

system by being incorporated as a guild. Its hybrid structure and history have generated considerable controversy over the extent to which the academy's goals and practices anticipated those of later academies. Its guild functions and an apparent failure to fully implement its educational program tell against it, whereas its intent to intervene in artistic training and to elevate the status of art and artist by supplementing practice with theory argue in its favor. The mere fact of the academy's existence and its exalted patronage ensured its fame and its importance as a model.

In the Roman Academy of St. Luke something of the same pattern repeated itself. Once again the academy was placed over the minor arts, and once again its statutes charged the members with educating the young, in this case in the interest of religion and the papacy. In Rome, as in Florence, this program was put into practice only sporadically. Following an initial burst of activity in the 1590s under the leadership of Federico Zuccaro (c. 1540–1609), only in the second half of the seventeenth century did the round of lectures, life drawing, and student competitions with prizes take on a regular rhythm, and by this time the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture in Paris had emerged as the dominant arts institution in Europe.

The Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture in Paris owed its foundation in 1648 to a number of artists who sought to escape guild rule by placing themselves under royal patronage. After a rocky start, its fortunes rose with the end of the Fronde and the consolidation of royal power in the mid-1650s. From the 1660s, under the direction of the king's minister, Jean-Baptiste Colbert, and his first painter, Charles Le Brun (1619–1690), the Royal Academy set the model for later academies. In the service of the state, the academicians were to train young artists, as well as articulate and maintain a collective set of standards that mediated between artist and patron. Following the example of the academies in Florence and Rome, drawing remained the core of instruction in Paris. From 1666 winners of the competitions were sent to Rome for a period of study at the French Academy there, which with drawing from casts reinforced the value attached to ancient Roman and modern Italian art. Public lectures stimulated theory and criticism and

with the initiation of public exhibitions made the academy answerable for its privileges and work.

Although by the end of the seventeenth century the Royal Academy's program had lost much of its rigor, it remained important for the training and recognition of artists, and, after 1737, when the public exhibitions, or salons, which were restricted to members, became regular events, it regained some of its luster. Moreover, if not the only model, the Royal Academy's marriage of state and artists' interests had an enormous influence on what became an explosive growth of academies and schools of art across Europe. By 1790 over one hundred such royal and national institutions had been established in cities ranging from Madrid to Vienna and from Naples to London, Copenhagen, and St. Petersburg.

See also Britain, Art in; Carracci Family; Colbert, Jean-Baptiste; Florence, Art in; France, Art in; Rome, Art in; Vasari, Giorgio.

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ACCOUNTING AND BOOKKEEPING. Early modern Europe witnessed a gradual diffusion of sophisticated techniques of accounting. The breeding ground for innovation was Italy, where commercially sophisticated states had been involved for centuries in business and long-distance trade. Evidence already exists in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries of systematic calculation of profits, distinct from the primitive forms of tabulation used in medieval manorial accounts.

The most important Italian innovation was double entry bookkeeping. Scholars disagree about



Accounting and Bookkeeping. *The Money Changer* by Quentin Metsys (1466–1530). THE ART ARCHIVE/FINE ART MUSEUM BILBAO/DAGLI ORTI (A)

when and where it began. The first undisputed example is in the accounts of treasury officials of the city of Genoa in 1340. By the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries double entry had been widely adopted in Italy. The great Florentine international merchant banking house of Francesco Datini (1335–1410) and the Medici bankers of Florence used it, as did their counterparts in Milan, Genoa, Pisa, and Venice.

The great German writer Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749–1832) has one of his characters in *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre* (1796) call double entry “among the finest inventions of the human mind.” The technique provided a rational way of figuring accounts through careful calculation of assets and liabilities and determination of profits and losses. Each transaction was recorded twice, as both a debit and a credit. The debits and credits were then cross-indexed to corresponding accounts in a ledger and then balanced. The method was well suited to partnerships and permanent commercial associations, which dealt in credit and had numerous customers

in foreign markets. Double entry differed markedly from single entry “charge and discharge” techniques, which recorded the flow of goods but did not measure profit and loss. It made cheating more difficult and facilitated efficient management.

The Venetian form of double entry is perhaps the most famous. Merchants kept their accounts in “bilateral” form (*alla veneziana*), with debits recorded on the left side of the page across from credits. The extant books of the merchant Andrea Barbarigo (1418–1449) are typical of the style. They point to a highly evolved system, using several books, carefully cross-indexed and coordinated to form a coherent whole. Practices differed, however, from one region to another. Tuscan bankers, for example, drew up regular (often yearly) balance sheets, which gave a snapshot of assets, liabilities, and profits.

It was primarily the Venetian method that was disseminated to the rest of Europe. It radiated out from the city via foreign merchants and through the work of Luca Pacioli (c. 1445–1517), a Franciscan monk, mathematician, and university teacher, who served as tutor to the sons of a rich Venetian merchant. In 1494, Pacioli published *Summa de Arithmetica*, a discursive treatise that contained a short section on Venetian-style double entry. Pacioli described the use of three books: a *memoriale*, a ledger, and a journal. Each transaction was first noted in the *memoriale*, then listed in debit and credit form in the journal, and then posted in the ledger. Pacioli is revered today as “the father of modern accounting.” In 1994, the five-hundredth anniversary of the publication of his book, accountants from all over the world gathered at Pacioli’s birthplace in the town of San Sepulcro to honor him.

Pacioli’s work inspired others. Domenico Manzoni published *Quaderno Doppio* in 1540. It was essentially a restatement of Pacioli, though it clarified some of the earlier writer’s points. Dutch merchant Jan Christoffels Ympyn wrote a treatise on double entry, which appeared simultaneously in Flemish and in French in 1543 and four years later in English. A German treatise, fashioned after both Pacioli and Manzoni, was published by the merchant Wolfgang Schweicker in 1549.

Double entry made especially notable headway in southern Germany. It was probably introduced

there in the early fifteenth century by merchants from Nuremberg who traded in Venice. Johann Gottlieb's two treatises, *Ein Teutsch Verstandig*, published in 1531, and *Buchhalten Zwey Kunstliche*, published in 1546, helped popularize the method. Matthaus Schwarz, a bookkeeper for the great Fugger bank of Augsburg, introduced the technique to that company after learning it as an apprentice in Italy. The Fugger bank added safeguards and even sent auditors to bank branches to examine accounts and check inventories.

The use of double entry spread elsewhere in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Spanish banking houses of Ruiz, Miguel, and Garcia of Salamanca kept their accounts in double entry, as did the English draper Thomas Howell. Sebastian Gammersfelder, a schoolmaster in Danzig, helped introduce the method to northern Germany with the publication of a book on the subject in 1570.

But the adoption of the method was generally slow in northern Europe and did not keep pace with the growing complexity and volume of business there. Merchants were just as likely to continue using older, simplistic but more familiar methods. Despite the high volume of their trade, Hanseatic merchants preferred rudimentary tabular accounts. In northern Holland, the records of an anonymous trader show claims and debts recorded in random order. In England, double entry was restricted to a handful of merchants. Government offices used a system of single entry until the nineteenth century. There is no evidence of double entry in Scotland before the seventeenth century. Even in Italy the technique was not universally adopted. The Milanese bankers the del Maino did not use double entry. It was, indeed, possible to keep orderly accounts and undertake rational planning without recourse to double entry. The northern German merchant Johann Pisz eschewed the method but arranged his books using a sophisticated and effective single entry alternative.

Scholars have debated the significance of double entry. To some it constitutes a driving force in the transformation of Europe from a feudal to a capitalistic society. To others, it is merely a business method that helped manage accounts and minimize fraud, with no broader significance. An intriguing recent interpretation has it that double entry re-

flected not a secular capitalistic ethic, but a Christian one that emphasized a measured approach to the accumulation of wealth.

See also **Banking and Credit; Capitalism; Commerce and Markets; Money and Coinage; Venice.**

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ACOUSTICS. When he first mentioned the "Acoustique Art" in his *Advancement of Learning* (1605), Francis Bacon (1561–1626) was drawing a distinction between the physical acoustics he expanded in the *Sylva Sylvarum* (1627) and the harmonics of the Pythagorean mathematical tradition. The Pythagorean tradition still survived in Bacon's time in the works of such diverse people as Gioseffo Zarlino (1517–1590), René Descartes (1596–1650), and Johannes Kepler (1571–1630). In Bacon's words: "The nature of sounds, in some sort, [hath been with some diligence inquired,] as far as concerneth music. But the nature of sounds in general hath been superficially observed. It is one of the subtlest pieces of nature" (Bacon, p. 390).

Bacon's "Acoustique Art" was therefore concerned with the study of "immusical sounds" and with experiments in the "majoration in sounds" (p. 451), that is, the harnessing of sounds in buildings (architectural acoustics) by their "enclosure"

in artificial channels inside the walls or in the environment (hydraulic acoustics). The aim of Baconian acoustics was to catalog, quantify, and shape human space by means of sound. This stemmed from the *echometria*, an early modern tradition of literature on echo, as studied by the mathematicians Giuseppe Biancani (1566–1624), Marin Mersenne (1588–1648), and Daniello Bartoli (1608–1685), in which the model of optics was applied in acoustics to the behavior of sound. It was in a sense a historical antecedent to Isaac Newton's (1642–1727) analogy between colors and musical tones in *Opticks* (1704). Athanasius Kircher's (1601–1680) *Phonurgia Nova* of 1673 was the outcome of this tradition. Attacking British acoustics traditions, Kircher argued that the "origin of the Acoustical Art" (p. 111) lay in his own earlier experiments with sounding tubes at the Collegio Romano in 1649 and sketched the ideology of a Christian baroque science of acoustics designed to dominate the world by exploiting the "boundless powers of sound" (p. 2).

Seventeenth-century empirical observations and mathematical explanations of the simultaneous vibrations of a string at different frequencies were important in the development of modern experimental acoustics. The earliest contribution in this branch of acoustics was made by Mersenne, who derived the mathematical law governing the physics of a vibrating string. Around 1673 Christiaan Huygens (1629–1695) estimated its absolute frequency, and in 1677 John Wallis (1616–1703) published a report of experiments on the overtones of a vibrating string. In 1692 Francis Robartes (1650–1718) followed with similar findings.

These achievements paved the way for the eighteenth-century *acoustique* of Joseph Sauveur (1653–1716) and for the work of Brook Taylor (1685–1731), Leonhard Euler (1707–1783), Jean Le Rond d'Alembert (1717–1783), Daniel Bernoulli (1700–1782), and Giordani Riccati (1709–1790), who all attempted to determine mathematically the fundamental tone and the overtones of a sonorous body. Modern experimental acoustics sought in nature, as a physical law of the sounding body, the perfect harmony that in the Pythagorean tradition sprang from the mind of the "geometrizing God." Experimental epistemology in acoustics also influenced the studies of the anat-

omy and physiology of hearing, especially the work of Joseph-Guichard Duverney (1648–1730) and Antonio Maria Valsalva (1666–1723), that in the nineteenth century gave rise to physiological and psychological acoustics.

See also **Alembert, Jean Le Rond d'; Bacon, Francis; Euler, Leonhard; Huygens Family; Kircher, Athanasius; Mersenne, Marin; Newton, Isaac; Physics; Scientific Revolution.**

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PAOLO GOZZA

ACTIVE POWERS. *See* Matter, Theories of.

ADDISON, JOSEPH (1672–1719), English poet, essayist, and critic. Addison helped to elevate the literary status of English prose while holding important political offices for the Whig party. He was born in 1672 at Milston, Wiltshire. His father, the Reverend Launcelot Addison, was the dean of Lichfield, Staffordshire, and Addison attended Lichfield Grammar School and then, in 1686, Charterhouse School in London, where he met Richard Steele. Addison's study of classical poetry and his Latin poems at Queen's College, Oxford, won him a demy (scholarship) in the 1690s to Magdalen College, where he took his M.A. and was a fellow from 1697 to 1711. His classical scholarly knowledge, especially on the Roman idea of citizenship, informs the moral beliefs in his writing.

Addison's passionate interest in and deep knowledge of Roman poetry and history are evident

in his early prose works evaluating the best Roman poets, his translations of such poets as Virgil and Ovid (1694 and 1717), and his own highly praised imitations of Latin poets such as Horace. He modeled his own prose style after the formal elegance and familiar diction of Latin poetry, which he praised. After writing a celebratory poem on John Dryden—"To Mr. Dryden"—he wrote an introductory essay on Virgil for Dryden's translation of the *Georgics* in 1697. Addison's own translations provided English readers with an accessible text through adding explanatory commentaries and replacing obscure allusions with familiar ones. Eight of Addison's Latin poems were included in an anthology he edited at Oxford in 1699, *Musarum Anglicarum Analecta* (An assembly of English muses).

One poem, "Pax Gulielmi Auspiciis Europae Reddita" (Peace returned to Europe under William's auspices), compliments William III's ability as a monarch and celebrates the 1697 Treaty of Ryswick, which ended the War of the Grand Alliance. A partisan of Protestantism and the Whigs, Addison in his earliest poetry supported the Protestant succession of William of Orange and Mary. "Poem to his Majesty" was dedicated to John Somers, an important Whig, and "William's Peace" was dedicated to Charles Montagu, Lord Halifax, the Whig treasurer. Montagu became Addison's patron and secured him a pension of £200 to undertake a grand tour on the Continent between 1699 and 1704. Addison toured several countries and studied French neoclassical literary theorists; his itinerary, particularly to places of classical literary interest, is recorded in *Remarks upon Several Parts of Italy*, published in 1705.

Addison's eulogy on John Churchill, duke of Marlborough's victory over the French at Blenheim in his poem "The Campaign" in 1704 secured him a position as excise commissioner of appeals and brought him increasing popularity. His involvement with the Kit-Kat Club, a political and literary society for Whig writers and politicians, renewed his friendship with Steele, and he contributed to Steele's play *The Tender Husband* (1705). Commissioned to write an English opera to counter the trend for Italian opera, he produced the unsuccessful *Rosamond* in 1707. Meanwhile, the status of his politically administrative appointments increased because of

his anti-Jacobite pamphlets such as "The Present State of the War." He became a prominent spokesman for the Whigs, progressing from undersecretary of state to Charles Spencer, earl of Sunderland, in 1706 to chief secretary to the earl of Wharton, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, in 1709.

Assisting Steele in his editorship of the *London Gazette* in 1708, Addison then wrote forty-nine issues of *The Tatler*, the successful periodical established by Steele, moving between England and Ireland in 1709 and 1710. His essays focus on the classics, character types, and natural religion and oscillate between a witty, humorous tone and a moral seriousness, making reference to classical antecedents. His support of Whig policies continued with his writing five issues of the *Whig Examiner* during the elections of 1710, and becoming member of Parliament for Malmesbury, Wiltshire. Addison's essays in *The Spectator*, which appeared six days a week from March 1711 to December 1712, established his reputation for popularizing literary theory and new philosophies in a carefully poised, accessible, and sustained format. He wrote a series of essays on English tragedy, on the opera, on John Milton's poem *Paradise Lost*, and on the imagination, all designed to enlighten and improve the common reader. Addison later revived *The Spectator* briefly to support George I.

In 1713, his tragedy *Cato* ran for thirty nights at Drury Lane Theatre. A story of the struggle of a Roman republican, the play's political overtones ensured its success. It was praised by Voltaire as the first English "rational tragedy" and translated into French, Spanish, Italian, and Latin. Awaiting the accession of Prince George of Hanover, Addison was appointed secretary of the Regency in 1714. He published the periodical *The Freeholder, or Political Essays* (1715–1716) supporting George I during the Jacobite rebellion. His most prestigious political appointment was secretary of state in 1717. His last play, the comedy *The Drummer*, in 1716, was a failure. The same year he married the Countess of Warwick and lived in Holland House in London. Along with his increasing ill health, Addison quarreled with former friends such as Alexander Pope, over a rival translation of the *Iliad*, and Richard Steele, over the restriction of hereditary peers in the peerage bill. Addison died, estranged from Steele, on 17 June 1719.

See also **English Literature and Language; Jacobitism; Pope, Alexander; Steele, Richard.**

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MAX FINCHER

ADVICE AND ETIQUETTE BOOKS.

Advice and etiquette books have many names: courtesy books, books of conduct, books of manners, and books that teach “civility.” They are different from practical “how to” books of advice, the manuals that taught Europeans how to cook, how to duel, and how to conceive a male child. Advice and etiquette books had other goals. They set forth the inherent or acquired qualities which the gentleman or gentlewoman must possess. They described the education, interests, and amusements that formed the ideal gentleman and gentlewoman. They discussed social conduct, what the individual should and should not do in the society of others. And the manuals emphasized moderation: nothing should be done in excess. The golden rule was to follow the mean. Advice and etiquette books also had a moral

dimension and a high tone. The authors believed that individuals who followed their advice would grow in moral probity with benefits for all of society.

Advice and etiquette books were written and read throughout Europe. The most popular works were quickly translated from Latin into vernacular languages, or from one vernacular language to another, and widely sold and read. Many were written for both men and women but focused primarily on the behavior of men and boys. A growing number of works intended exclusively for women appeared over time, especially in eighteenth-century England.

The Renaissance was the golden age of advice books. It produced many, including the three most influential works of the period 1500 to 1800. The first was *Il cortegiano* (1528; The book of the courtier) of Baldassare Castiglione (1478–1529). It is far more than a courtesy book. It is a rounded, subtle, evocative, idealized but also equivocal picture of the high-ranking men and women who comprised the court of the small north Italian Renaissance principedom of Urbino between 1506 and 1508. It delves into profound philosophical issues and has some off-color humor, which later editors sometimes expurgated. It is a beautifully written classic of Italian literature.

But later readers viewed it as an advice and etiquette manual describing the qualities that a successful courtier should have in order to get ahead. These included a sound education to be worn lightly, many social accomplishments such as dancing and swordsmanship, and the ability to engage in graceful conversation. Above all, the courtier had to perform with grace and without seeming effort, with what Castiglione called *sprezzatura*. The book’s appearance at a propitious moment in the evolution of European politics ensured popular success. The city-state republican government, in which a range of citizens from merchant and professional ranks participated, was giving way to a Europe of principedoms and monarchies, in which winning favor from those higher in politics and society was all-important. Castiglione’s book seemed to offer the ideal training for getting ahead in this new world of the courts of princes and kings. Later editors and translators stressed this aspect. By the seventeenth century, *The Book of the Courtier* was

increasingly seen as a guide to civilized behavior for Europe's noble classes and those who wanted to join them. The original Italian text and translations into English, French, German, Dutch, Spanish, and Latin reached a total of 150 editions by 1750, and it had many imitations.

In 1530 Desiderius Erasmus (1466?–1536) published a short work called *De Civilitate Morum Puerilium* (On good manners for boys). While addressed to boys, it told parents and tutors what they should strive to achieve in their sons and pupils. The book dealt with proper appearance, posture, table manners, dress, behavior in church and at banquets, ways of meeting people respectfully, appropriate games, and admonitions to pardon the shortcomings of others. It was a manual of external behavior for boys based on the belief that the molded boy would become the polished man. It did not deal with the complex issues found in Castiglione's classic. The third Renaissance manual of deportment with wide influence was *Il Galateo* (published 1558) of Giovanni Della Casa (1503–1556). The subtitle announced that it was a treatise of manners, customs, and the uses of conversation. It dealt with manners in the limited meaning of table manners and external social behavior. It described how one might to get along and rise in a world of superiors and inferiors. An adroit combination of education and social graces would help the individual survive the buffets of fortune. These two works also had many printings, translations, and imitations.

Advice and etiquette books in the next two-and-one-half centuries echoed, refined, and modified the advice found in the earlier works without challenging their basic principles. The new ones summarized or expanded the material and adapted it to social circumstances. Many had a more overt moralizing tone. Some new manuals were specifically directed to those who would serve monarchs and princes.

In France treatises on *l'honnête homme*, the gentleman who was well bred, courteous, honorable, civil, polite, and moderate, and knew how to please at court, began to appear in the middle of the seventeenth century. Sometimes the advice was reduced to pithy epigrams. For example, the Spanish Jesuit priest Baltasar Gracián (1601–1658) published his *Oráculo manual y arte de prudencia* (Oracle manual

and the art of prudence) in 1647. It summarized correct behavior in epigrams such as “Avoid victories over your superior. . . . Conceal your purpose. . . . Know how to be all things to all men.” While it conveyed much of the same advice as other advice and etiquette books, its tone was darker. It also was translated into English, French, Italian, Latin, and Hungarian and had considerable influence.

Books of advice and etiquette intended for women, especially gentlewomen, were particularly numerous in eighteenth-century England. These books wanted women to have a broad but not deep education, including French, drawing, sewing, and the ability to sing or play a musical instrument. Women should know how to dance. The books emphasized the importance of a polite tongue to be employed in useful and pleasing conversation. Laughter and wit were encouraged, but should not be so loud as to give offense or so sharp as to hurt others. Women should avoid vanity, behave modestly, and guard their chastity. Above all, good character led to good deportment and manners. Good manners reflected an inner good nature, which was a mix of good will and pleasant behavior incorporating refined taste and discrimination. The heroines of the novels of Jane Austen (1775–1817) almost always embodied the ideals of eighteenth-century English courtesy books for women. Fortunately, Austen's heroines displayed far more wit, humor, and perception, along with proper behavior, than did the manuals.

Advice and etiquette books were extraordinarily popular throughout the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries because they met a need. Men and women wanted advice about how to behave well and how to maintain self-respect while climbing the ladder of success or holding to high rungs. Advice and etiquette books seldom dealt with the unpleasant tradeoffs between success and honor.

See also **Aristocracy and Gentry; Castiglione, Baldassare; Court and Courtiers; Erasmus, Desiderius; Gentleman.**

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AESTHETICS. See Art: Art Theory, Criticism, and Historiography.

AFFAIR OF THE POISONS. See Poisons, Affair of the.

AFRICA

This entry contains two subentries:

NORTH AFRICA

SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

NORTH AFRICA

The three dynastic successors to the empire of the Almohads in North Africa (Maghrib)—the Hafsiids of Tunis, the Zayyanids of Tlemcen, and the Marinids/Wattasids of Fez—continued to experience internal political and economic fragmentation in the fifteenth century as a result of the decline of their established trade routes and the extension of the *Reconquista* to Muslim North Africa. The Treaty of Alcaçovas of 1479 recognized the exclusive rights of Portugal over the Atlantic coast of Morocco and its hinterland as far as Fez and of Castile over the Mediterranean coastline from Melilla to Tunis. Portuguese and Castilian efforts to dominate the Maghrib and its commerce intensified after the fall of Granada in 1492 and culminated with the establish-

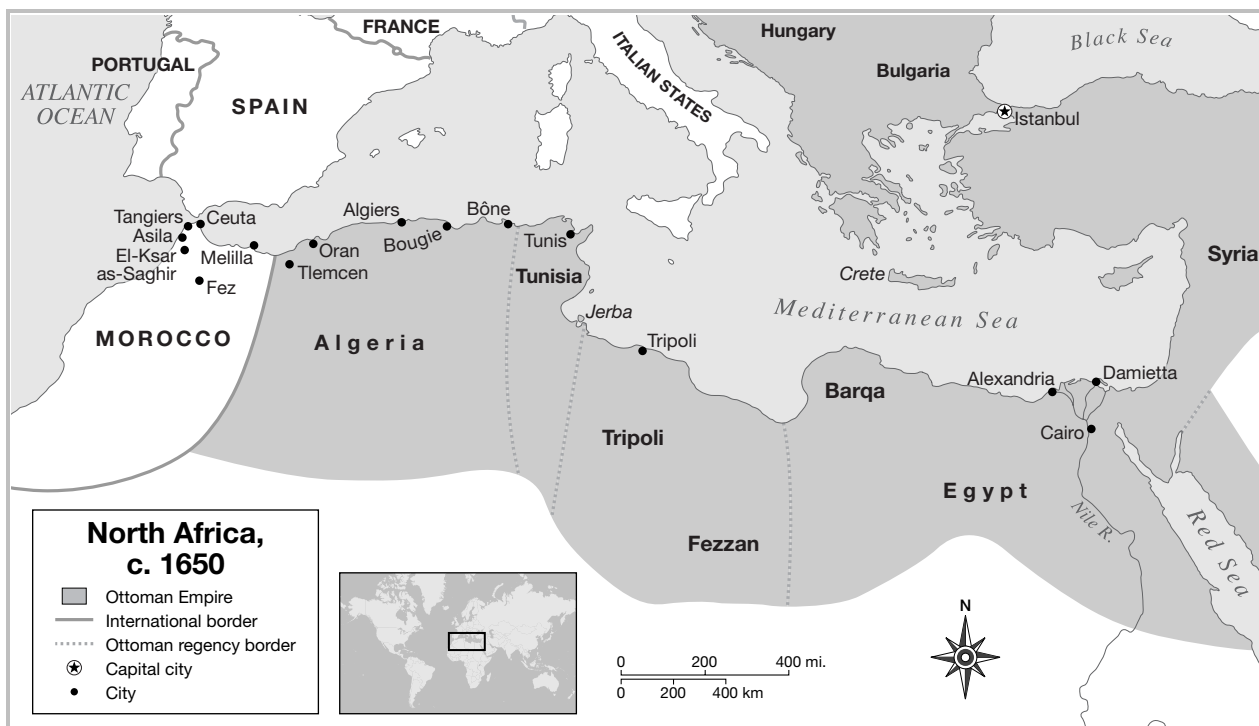
ment of a number of naval bases on the Atlantic and Mediterranean coasts. The “African Crusade” provoked a powerful military response from the rising Ottoman Empire, which further threatened the survival of Maghribi polities already in the midst of profound social transformations.

The eclipse of Almohad power in the late thirteenth century unsettled the traditional solidarities between state and society in Andalusia and the Maghrib and mobilized a religious resurgence that challenged local governing elites. As the Almohad state deteriorated politically and economically, provincial Sufi notables and confraternities assumed essential sociopolitical functions in order to meet the needs of their communities and organize the defense of the collapsing Muslim frontier. The history of the Maghrib from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries was thus dominated by the regional confrontations between Europeans, Ottomans, and local Muslim dynasties and impressed by the varying degrees of contest and accommodation between the rulers of the post-Almohad states and fractious Sufi-led forces.

THE SHARIFIAN DYNASTIES OF MOROCCO

The Portuguese offensive concentrated on the Atlantic Straits and coastline of Morocco, and by 1495, six maritime enclaves (*fronteiras*) had been established in the realm of the Wattasids. The attacks aggravated the dire economic condition of the Wattasid regime, and the latter invariably submitted to tributary arrangements with the *fronteiras*. Local Sufi leaders condemned the manner in which the war against the Christians was being waged. They exhorted their followers to transfer their allegiance from the Wattasid sultan to revered descendants of the Prophet (sharifs) who, by virtue of their saintly lineage and moral rectitude, were more certain to conduct a successful war against Portugal. Between 1515 and 1537, the domestic balance of power shifted irreversibly in favor of the Saadi sharifs as their coalition scored a succession of military victories against the Portuguese and the Wattasids. By 1554 the Saadis had captured the Wattasid seat of Fez and reduced the Portuguese presence to the garrisons of el-Ksar as-Saghir, Tangiers, Asila, and Ceuta.

With the Saadis, prophetic descent became a pillar of political legitimacy in Morocco. Hence-



forth, the authority of Moroccan sovereigns was confirmed by investing their political practices with symbols and rituals of divine grace (*baraka*). The Saadi claim to sharifian descent was contested by the Ottoman Empire. Firmly established in Egypt after 1517, the Ottomans' continuing expansion in the western Mediterranean carried them to the Moroccan border by 1545. The Ottoman threat remained a determining factor in Saadi politics for the rest of the century. Encircled by Ottomans, Spaniards, and Portuguese, Morocco grew isolated from the larger Muslim world, and its rulers survived by playing off their regional rivals, often allying themselves with the Christian powers against the Ottomans. The divisive politics of the Saadis culminated in August 1578, when the Ottomans defeated the Saadi caliph and his Portuguese allies in the Battle of the Three Kings. However, the confrontation also eliminated the Ottoman contender to the Saadi throne, thereby providing al-Mansur, the new sovereign, with respite to consolidate his authority and reduce his dependence on any regional power.

Al-Mansur modernized his army and, in 1591, launched a military expedition targeting the salt and gold mines of Songhay. With the influx of Sudanese gold, al-Mansur promoted commercial and diplomatic ties with Europe, joining briefly with England

in a compact against Spanish interests in the western Mediterranean. Finally, he established alliances of patronage and service with “tribal” confederations in order to extend the reach of his central administration (*al-makhzan*) to the remoter provinces (*al-siba*). His death in 1603 marked a turning point in the history of Morocco as internecine battles fragmented the country into several contending entities. Still, the political commitment to sacred authority remained steadfast, and in 1631, a realignment of provincial Sufi forces carried another sharifian family to power. The Alawi sharifs reunited Morocco between 1659 and 1677, and under Mawlay Ismail (ruled 1672–1727) further reduced the influence of Portugal and Spain by developing diplomatic and commercial relations with Italy, France, Holland, and England. At the death of Ismail, the generals of his self-perpetuating army of slaves seized power, and much of provincial Morocco broke away from government control anew. The Alawi rulers regained political autonomy from the slave generals by 1757, largely as a result of their sustained efforts to reform the tax system, reestablish commercial contacts with Europe, and conscript “native” elements into the army. The unremitting opposition of provincial Morocco to the centralizing tendencies of the state after 1727

would provide the main thrust of anticolonial resistances in the nineteenth century and would contribute to the colonial division of Morocco after 1912 into “useful” *makhzan* and “unruly” *siba*.

THE OTTOMAN REGENCY OF ALGIERS

The Habsburgs began their military offensive in the central Maghrib in 1505 with the capture of Mers al-Kabir, followed by Oran, Bougie, and Tripoli (1509–1510). Algiers agreed to pay tribute to the Spaniards, who built a presidio (el Peñón) on the largest of the four islets outlining the city’s harbor. In 1516, the notables of Algiers solicited the succor of the privateer brothers Aruj and Khayr al-Din. Khayr al-Din Barbarossa took control of the city in 1519 and swore allegiance to the Ottoman sultan, who named him regent (Beylerbey) of North Africa, and sent him a military contingent of two thousand artillerymen and four thousand janissaries. With the reinforcements, Barbarossa consolidated his hold over the surrounding territories and towns, defeated a Habsburg counteroffensive, razed the Peñón in 1529, and established Algiers as his base for naval operations in the Mediterranean. By the time he was promoted to admiral-in-chief of the Ottoman navy in 1533, Barbarossa had erected the primary institutions that governed the regency until the French conquest of 1830.

Given the paucity of resources in the middle Maghrib, the political and economic viability of the Regency of Algiers depended on the Ottoman capital for the continued renewal of its administrative personnel and military contingent, and on external sources of revenue (namely, maritime trade, piracy, and privateering) for the replenishment of its state coffers. Sociopolitical stability was thus tied to the activities of two military institutions: the corps of janissaries that was committed to the defense of the Sultan’s territorial possessions, but was also central to the tax-collecting operations of the local government, and the corporation of the captains of the fleet that protected Algerian commerce and merchant ships, and raided European harbors and vessels in search of captives and spoils. The janissary corps was a highly restricted ethnic military caste that safeguarded its privileges through the executive council (*diwan*). By 1556, the corps and council constituted the most cohesive political institution in the regency. Yet the overall economic welfare of

Algiers hinged upon the continued success of the privateer captains in ensuring the inflow of supplementary revenue and capital. The ability of the regent to remunerate his janissaries and exercise authority depended on the effectiveness of the privateer captains in pouring wealth and plunder into the local economy.

The janissaries exercised direct control over the city and environs of Algiers, and delegated the administration of the provinces to governors (beys) who were instructed to maintain order and collect taxes in their districts (*beyliks*) with the help of local Sufi and tribal notables. The central administration rarely extended beyond the district governorates and was regularly checked at the boundaries by pastoral and seminomadic communities that did not submit to Ottoman sovereignty. By relying heavily on native intermediaries and clients, the provincial administration gradually acquired an “Algerian” character. Beys intermarried locally and founded hereditary Turco-Algerian dynasties. In 1586, Istanbul started appointing its own governors (pashas) to Algiers in an unsuccessful attempt to curtail the growing political autonomy of the *diwan*. In 1659, the janissaries secured the consent of the imperial government in selecting their commanding officer (*agha*) as head of state. With the *aghas*, the political power of the janissaries reached its apogee, but its success coincided with the repeated inability of the state to remunerate its troops due to the growing importance of European navies and mercantile concessions in the Mediterranean.

The subordination of political considerations to the economic predicament of Algiers culminated in 1671 when the janissary corps transferred executive power to the admiral of the fleet and conferred upon him the title of dey. The deys attempted to enforce more balanced policies of fiscal extraction, and attained a modicum of equilibrium between 1710 and 1750 by exploiting Tunisian resources and commerce, and reducing the size of the janissary contingent and the corporation of captains. Still, deteriorating relations with European states and a series of inadequate agricultural harvests and fatal epidemics after 1787 deepened the structural imbalances in the political economy. Unprecedented encroachments by official tax collectors were met in the impoverished provinces with Sufi-led insurgencies that paralyzed their levying operations

and forced the dey to develop alternative sources of political support. A fundamental realignment in the urban politics of the regency was effected in 1817 when Dey Ali Khodja broke free from the hold of the janissaries and transferred the public treasury to the citadel (*al-qasbah*) of Algiers. After the defeat of the janissaries, the reign of Husayn Dey (1818–1830) heralded the emergence of social and political structures that reflected the more equitable distribution of power between Algiers and the provinces. The decade preceding the French conquest in 1830 was thus marked by a gradual “de-Turkification” of the administration, driven by the ascendancy of the native-born Turco-Algerians, and by the greater avenues of participation for provincial notables.

HAFSID AND HUSAYNID TUNIS

Unlike Morocco or Algeria, Hafsid Tunis could rely on its productive urban agricultural economy, lucrative commerce with Europe, and competent rulers to weather the political crises of the post-Almohad period. In 1510, Spain began to control Hafsid trade from its enclaves in Bougie and Tripoli. For the next half-century, Tunis remained at the center of the strategic struggle between Habsburgs and Ottomans for hegemony in the western Mediterranean. When the Ottomans finally dislodged the Spaniards from Tunis in 1574, they organized their new possession along the same lines as the regency of Algiers: a central authority in Tunis headed by an appointed pasha, assisted by beys in the provinces, and supported by a corps of janissaries under the command of deys. Senior military officers formed a *diwan* that acted as executive council. Yet the janissary contingent in Tunis did not grow overly dependent on privateering and continued to derive its main income from agricultural surpluses and international trade. Despite its incorporation into the Ottoman realm, Tunisia preserved its traditional institutions, and local notables remained involved in administrative decision making.

In 1590–1591, the janissaries reacted to the “nativization” of the administration and forced the pasha to recognize their dey as chief executive. This, however, did not impede or restrict the access of provincial beys to local resources, and they continued to recruit and employ Tunisian elements in their administration and army. Sufi and mainstream

religious establishments also resisted bureaucratic centralization and united with the beys. Gradually, there emerged a Turco-Tunisian dynasty of beys that was widely regarded as “native” to Tunisia. The devolution of power to the provinces was confirmed in 1612 when the Ottoman sultan recognized Murad Bey as pasha, and granted him the right to transmit the title to his descendants. In 1671, the Muradids deposed the dey and transferred their seat to Tunis. They were themselves overthrown in 1702, following a military coup that reinstated temporarily the office of dey. The restored regime soon collapsed in defeat at the hands of invading Algerian troops. In the provinces, resistance to the Algerians was led by a coalition of Sufi elements and the remnants of the Turco-Tunisian notability. Husayn ibn Ali repelled the invaders and invested Tunis in 1705, thereby instating a dynasty that would rule Tunisia until 1957. Political stability under the Husaynids generated economic prosperity, and commercial treaties were concluded with France, England, Spain, Holland, and Austria. After 1784, however, Tunisia was again weakened by military incursions from Algeria and, more importantly, by a considerable deterioration of its terms of trade with Europe, a process that would reorient its economy in the next century toward cash-crop exports and dependence on European markets.

See also Habsburg Dynasty: Austria; Ottoman Empire; Spain.

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SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

By 1450, sub-Saharan Africa was characterized by kingdoms, federations, and decentralized lineage-based polities loosely linked to different environ-

mental, economic, and geographic configurations. In the Sahel region immediately south of the Sahara, the kingdoms of Mali and Songhay thrived off the trans-Saharan trade in gold, slaves, salt, and forest produce. On the fertile Ethiopian highlands, the royal Solomonid dynasty traced its ancestry to the biblical union between King Solomon and the Queen of Sheba. Peoples of the rainforests of central and west Africa, by contrast, organized themselves in decentralized units led by “big men.” On the



savannah, south and east of the rainforest, rulers of centralized polities prospered from gold, iron, and copper production; the vast herds of cattle that they managed to amass measured their wealth and status. On the east African littoral, elegant Swahili towns had ties with Persia, south Asia, and China.

Contact between these African polities and Europeans increased dramatically from the fifteenth to the eighteenth centuries. While the Atlantic slave trade is the best-known aspect of the early modern European-African encounter, recent historical research suggests that ties were diverse and complicated. Only in the eighteenth century did exports of slaves begin to dominate trade and define the political, economic, and cultural encounter.

EXTENT AND ITEMS OF TRADE

Prince Henry the Navigator of Portugal (1394–1460) pioneered ties with the Sahel and west Africa to spread Christian rule and to gain access to African gold. Legends of vast quantities of African gold were common since stories of the Malian King Mansa Musa's (ruled 1307–1332) fabulous riches, displayed during his pilgrimage to Mecca (1324–1325), circulated around the Mediterranean world. Portuguese fleets reached the Senegal River in 1445 and began to exchange slaves and manufactured goods for gold with Akan and Guinea Coast gold traders. By 1455 Portugal declared a monopoly over the west African trade routes, a policy that was further elaborated in the papal treaties of Alcaçovas (1479) and Tordesillas (1494).

In 1498 the Portuguese Captain Vasco da Gama (c. 1460–1524) reached India after Swahili navigators instructed him on the use of the Indian Ocean monsoon winds. King Manuel I of Portugal (ruled 1495–1521), who declared himself “Lord of Conquest and Commerce of India and all Adjacent Lands,” sent a number of expeditions to establish

trading centers on the east African coast that would help to monopolize trade between India and Europe and would also benefit from existing Indian Ocean trade networks. In 1505 Dom Francisco d'Almeida and his fleet razed the Swahili coastal entrepôt of Kilwa, leading to the surrender of a string of Swahili coastal towns and the establishment of Portuguese naval bases at Sofala, Mozambique, Zanzibar, and Mombasa. Huge and overloaded Portuguese trading vessels participating in the eighteen-month round voyage between Lisbon to Goa, termed the *carreira da India*, frequently shipwrecked off the dangerous southeastern African coast. In 1698 Omanis conquered Mombasa and Kilwa and precipitated the decline of Portuguese authority on the central and northeastern African coast. The Portuguese turned to the slave and ivory trade from the southeastern port of Sofala and the Zambezi base of Tete.

In the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the extent and intensity of the Atlantic slave trade increased with the involvement of English, French, Dutch, and Portuguese trading companies in the lucrative “triangular trade” between Africa, Europe, and the Americas. The trade in slaves typically took place between European ships and African or Euro-African middlemen at coastal entrepôts that received slaves from a chain of trading connections reaching into the African interior. Several West African kingdoms like Benin, Kongo, Oyo, Asante, and Dahomey taxed the trade in slaves, and in some cases were able to limit its deleterious effects on their own subjects. However, rulers who sought to monopolize access to sought-after commodities became increasingly dependent on Atlantic and Indian Ocean trade goods—such as textiles, metals, alcohol, tobacco, gunpowder, and manufactured goods—to secure the economic patronage

TABLE 1

| Estimated Slave Exports from Africa | | | | | | | | |
|-------------------------------------|-----------|-------|-----------|-------|-----------|-------|------------|----|
| Export Region | 1500–1600 | % | 1600–1700 | % | 1700–1800 | % | Total | % |
| Red Sea | 100,000 | 9.3 | 100,000 | 4.4 | 200,000 | 3.0 | 400,000 | 3 |
| Trans-Sahara | 550,000 | 51.0 | 700,000 | 31.1 | 700,000 | 9.5 | 1,950,000 | 18 |
| East Africa | 100,000 | 9.3 | 100,000 | 4.4 | 400,000 | 5.5 | 600,000 | 6 |
| Trans-Atlantic | 328,000 | 30.4 | 1,348,000 | 60.0 | 6,090,000 | 82.0 | 7,766,000 | 73 |
| Total | 1,078,000 | 100.0 | 2,248,000 | 100.0 | 7,390,000 | 100.0 | 10,716,000 | |

TABLE 2

| Atlantic Slave Trade by National Carrier, 1701–1800 | | |
|--|-------------------------|----------|
| National Carrier | Number of Slaves | % |
| English | 2,468,000 | 40.5 |
| Portuguese | 1,888,000 | 31.0 |
| French | 1,104,000 | 18.1 |
| Dutch | 349,000 | 5.7 |
| North American | 206,000 | 3.4 |
| Danish | 66,000 | 1.0 |
| Other | 10,000 | 0.2 |
| Total | 6,091,000 | |

networks upon which their political authority rested.

The demographic, political, and economic impact of the export of slaves and import of various European, American, and Asian goods is a subject of lively historical debate. It is estimated that at least thirty million slaves were captured as part of the Atlantic slave trade (although only eleven or twelve million were exported), with many more killed through slave-related raiding and warfare. While imports of foreign commodities at times challenged African productive capacity, African producers were also able to innovate and adapt to the influx of new trade goods.

TREATIES, EMISSARIES, AND SCHOLARS

In the fifteenth century, African emissaries to the royal courts of Europe were more frequent than European emissaries to Africa. The Christian emperors of Ethiopia sent embassies to southern Europe to forge Christian solidarity in the face of Muslim expansion and to hire European artisans.

TABLE 3

| Regional Origin of Slaves in Eighteenth-Century Atlantic Trade (Dutch, British, French, and Portuguese) | | |
|--|------------------|----------|
| Region | 1700–1800 | % |
| West-Central | 2,331,800 | 38 |
| Benin | 1,223,200 | 21 |
| Biafra | 901,100 | 16 |
| Gold Coast | 881,200 | 14 |
| Upper West | 689,000 | 11 |
| Total | 6,089,700 | |

SOURCE: Paul Lovejoy, *Transformations in Slavery: A History of Slavery in Africa* (47, 48, 51).

Portuguese aid for the Ethiopians against coastal Muslims in the early sixteenth century helped to narrow the rift between the Ethiopian and the Latin Christian churches; but the intransigence of dispatched papal officials toward Ethiopian Christianity led the Ethiopians to renounce papal decrees in the early 1630s.

In the 1480s, Portuguese ships brought a number of African royal emissaries to Lisbon, including those from the Kongo kingdom (1484), the kingdom of Benin (1486), and the Wolof kingdom (1487); a second Kongolese delegation set up a center for African studies where Kongolese learned European culture and religion and European missionaries were instructed in Kongolese culture and language. One outcome of this encounter was the conversion of the Kongolese royalty to Christianity and, over the next century, the spread of Christian ideas and icons throughout the central African kingdom.

A number of African scholars trained and taught at European universities. In 1652 the Ethiopian priest Abba Gregoryos studied with the German scholar Job Ludolf, whom he tutored in Ethiopian languages. Anton Wilhelm Amo, who was born on the Gold Coast, lectured in philosophy at German universities and was a participant in the German Enlightenment before he returned to his childhood home in 1748. Jacobus E. J. Capitein (1717–1747) defended his dissertation at the University of Leiden in 1742; in eloquent Latin he argued that slavery was compatible with Christianity since servitude of the body should not hinder freedom of the soul. By contrast, while not a scholarly tract, the freed slave Olaudah Equiano's autobiography, first published in 1789, was crucial in promoting the abolitionist cause.

PERCEPTIONS OF THE OTHER

By the sixteenth century, southern Europeans had extensive contact with peoples of sub-Saharan Africa—Africans made up an estimated 10 percent of Lisbon and 7.5 percent of Seville's population. Iberian perceptions of Africans were mediated by religious discourses and only gave way to racial understandings of difference in the eighteenth century. The Portuguese termed Africans of Islamic faith "Moors" whether they dwelt in the west African Sudan or on the Swahili coast. The Portuguese and

Dutch used the term *kaffir*, adapted from Arabic, for Africans who did not follow Christianity or Islam.

Africans were less accustomed to Europeans, who were generally confined to the coast and rarely lived among them. Perceptions of white-skinned Europeans seem to have been ambivalent; Africans accused them of being wizards, cannibals, or ancestors returned from the dead; but they often welcomed them, if only to acquire their valued goods. Africans described Europeans with particular words that referred to their oceanic origins, peculiar dress, itinerancy, and cunning trade tactics.

See also Slavery and the Slave Trade; Triangular Trade Pattern.

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DAVID M. GORDON

AGRICULTURE. In 1500, between two-thirds and three-quarters of European adults worked primarily in agriculture. The number who lived in the countryside and worked occasionally on farms was even higher—over 90 percent of the population in parts of eastern Europe. The numbers were still large in 1750, when agriculture employed half or two-thirds of the working population in many European countries.

Most Europeans had to labor on farms because agricultural technology was, by modern standards, rudimentary and agriculture itself unproductive. The majority of the population therefore toiled in fields and pastures to feed the minority who lived in manors and cities. Food shortages were common, at least for the poor, and bad harvests triggered food riots and sent the hungry roaming across the land in search of something to eat. In times of dearth, government officials diverted food to cities to prevent urban disturbances and sometimes even barred hungry paupers at city gates.

Agriculture was important for other reasons as well. Military leaders worried about feeding armies and providing them with horses, and with reason; otherwise soldiers would ransack homes. Farms were also a major source of income for the rich and powerful, who lived on the income from agricultural properties. The revenue might take the form of rent, of seignorial dues, or, in regions where serfdom still existed, of obligatory labor on noble estates. On top of all this, peasants paid the tithe to the church and taxes to fund the wars waged by early modern states.

Increasing the meager productivity of European agriculture became a great concern in the eighteenth century, when government officials and agricultural reformers argued about what would make farms produce more. Although there was no extraordinary technological revolution in farming until the nineteenth century, certain regions (such as Catalonia and the German North Sea Coast in the sixteenth century, or the Paris Basin and the wine-growing province of Beaujolais in the eighteenth) did experience increases in agricultural productivity in the early modern period. Two countries—England and the Netherlands—managed to forge ahead of the rest. Why farming advanced in England and the Netherlands, while most other European

AGNOSTICISM. *See Atheism.*



Agriculture. *Summer* by Francesco Bassano, c. 1570–1580. In this pastoral scene, Bassano presents images of typical activities: shearing of sheep and harvesting of grain. ©ALEXANDER BURKATOWSKI/CORBIS

countries lagged behind, has been debated for over two hundred years, but new answers to this age-old question have begun to emerge from recent scholarship.

WHO OWNED THE LAND, WHO FARMED IT, AND WHO HAD RIGHTS TO IT

In most of early modern Europe, farmland was subject to a variety of rights and claims that made ownership complex. Technically, the land often belonged to aristocratic landlords (nobles, ecclesiastical institutions, or even merchants or officials), but, particularly in western Europe (eastern Europe was quite different), their rights were frequently limited to collecting insignificant fixed rents and relatively small dues and fees due them as seignorial lords. There were certainly exceptions to this rule, and most aristocratic landlords did have some plots—

the demesne on their seignorial estates—that they could rent out for their full value. But it was the farmers themselves who exercised effective ownership of much of the agricultural land in western Europe, and what they did not own they usually rented. They had to pay the seignorial lord his dues and fees, use his mill, oven, or court; and perhaps provide him with a small amount of underpaid or forced labor. Typically, however, they could sell the land they possessed, bequeath it to their heirs, or sublease it. If they were tenants (rather than de facto owners), they would, of course, be unable to dispose of the property, and they would have to pay significant rent, perhaps to the seignorial lord (if, say, he were leasing out part of the demesne), or perhaps to some other landowner. Whatever the situation, how to farm the land was still their decision.

Most often these farmers were peasants. The most substantial ones had to amass large amounts of capital even if they were tenant farmers. They owned sheep, oxen or horses, plows and other implements, seed grain for planting, and money to hire workers or pay rent, and they saved so that their sons and daughters could be prosperous farmers, too. Other farmers had much less and could not even afford to pay cash rent. With no land of their own, they might enter into a sharecropping contract with a landlord, who would provide livestock, implements, and seed for farming in return for a large share of the crop (typically one-half) as rent. Nearly all the farmers (except for the most prosperous ones, who assumed the role of farm managers) worked on their own farms. They employed family labor, too—women milked cows, tended gardens, and cared for poultry, while even children helped bring in the grain harvest—and often hired long-term servants and temporary workers as well.

In eastern Europe, in contrast, the situation was almost reversed: there landlords managed to impose what is sometimes called a “second serfdom” on peasants during the early modern period. Peasants in much of the region (this is true in particular for what is now Poland, eastern Germany, western Hungary, and the Czech Republic) had exercised effective landownership and enjoyed considerable independence well into the fifteenth century. Thereafter, however, they lost their land to seignorial lords who incorporated it into their demesne, and much of their independence vanished, too. The landlords imposed heavy seignorial dues, forced the peasants to spend much of their time working for little or no pay on seignorial demesnes, and used their political and legal powers to keep them from fleeing or moving away. By the early seventeenth century, peasants in parts of eastern Germany had to work three days a week for their seignorial lords, while an average Polish peasant family might have to furnish two workers and oxen for the same amount of time every week.

Throughout Europe, peasant villages also exercised rights over the land. Villages often controlled access to pastures, waste, or unplowed fields that could be used for grazing. They could bar farmers from entering fields and vineyards to protect ripening crops from damage or theft, and they often determined when harvesting began. In eastern Eu-

rope, landlords weakened the villages when they imposed the second serfdom, but in western Europe the communities were strong enough to defend peasants’ communal grazing rights against encroaching landlords. In doing so, the western villages often asserted that they were defending poorer villagers, who relied on the communal grazing rights because they had little or no land. Their claims were sometimes hollow, for in some instances the communal grazing land was the preserve of the community’s richest peasants, who masked their monopoly in the language of concern for the poor.

AGRICULTURAL PRACTICES AND TECHNOLOGY

Bread was a staple of the European diet, grain was a major crop, and much European farmland was therefore devoted to growing wheat and rye, alongside oats for horses and barley for beer or soup. Even in major grain-producing areas, though, as much as a third of what farmers produced (after they fed the livestock) came from animals—in particular, wool and lamb from the herds of sheep that were sent to graze on fallow fields to fertilize them. In pastoral regions (such as Scandinavia, western parts of France and of Great Britain, and nearly any place where there were mountains), animals were even more important for the value of the products they provided: not only sheep, but herds of cattle, which were a source of beef, hides, and cheese. Nearly all farms, even small ones, had poultry in courtyards and pigs rooting for acorns in forests. Olives and fruit trees were important near the Mediterranean, and vineyards grew on hillsides and rocky soil even in northern climates. Even in areas that moved toward specialization in crops other than grain—parts of Normandy, for instance, which had shifted toward producing livestock—land was still often reserved for growing some wheat, rye, or oats. High transportation costs (particularly when there were no navigable waterways nearby) made it cheaper for most peasants to grow grain for their own consumption rather than specialize completely in stock raising or viticulture and then buying their food.

In much of Europe grains were grown in a three-year crop cycle known as the three-field system. Cultivation began with a year of fallow, when the land was fertilized with the manure of pasturing sheep and then plowed to rid it of weeds and incor-

porate organic matter into the soil. In the second year, wheat or rye was sowed, followed, in the third year, by barley, oats, or a fodder crop such as vetch or peas. The land thus produced crops two years out of three. If land was abundant, or if the topsoil was thin or infertile, then the fallow, with its fertilizing and plowing, might repeat every second year, yielding crops one year out of two—what was called the two-field system. In some instances, the fallow might last even longer, and weeds and brush that choked the field would be burned before cultivation resumed.

Where the three-field system predominated—as in much of northwestern Europe—fields were often unfenced and open in order to allow animals to pasture. Fencing would have, in any case, been extremely costly because many peasants farmed narrow strips of land scattered through the various fields: several strips in the field sown in wheat, for instance, several more in the oat field, and still others in the fallow. Open fields were common in some regions of two-field agriculture, too, though not in all. On average (there were exceptions to this rule when soil was fertile or agriculture relatively advanced) the fields ended up producing perhaps only four or five times the seed sown, a tenth of the yield today. The meager yields were one reason so many early modern Europeans had to work in agriculture; another was the enormous amount of labor required to bring in the harvest in an era before mechanical reapers. Armies of men, women, and children invaded the fields to cut the grain with sickles, gather it up, and stack it for drying and storage. The demand would drive up wages in summertime and draw workers from cities. Even then the work was not over, for the grain still had to be threshed before it could be ground into flour. Once the harvest was over, many of the hands would be idle, and that was part of the appeal of rural industry, which provided work doing tasks such as spinning.

The practices of early modern farmers were condemned by eighteenth-century agricultural reformers and, more recently, by modern historians. Most of the critics believe that early modern farmers were wasteful or could have produced more. Some have argued, for instance, that early modern farmers could have replaced the two-field system with the three-field one, which would have yielded crops two

years out of three instead of just one year in two, or they could have planted fodder crops (such as alfalfa, sainfoin, or clover) on the fallow fields, which were supposed to add nutrients to the soil and support larger herds of animals, thereby increasing the supply of fertilizer for the grain fields. But these criticisms often fail to take costs and technical difficulties into account. Often the fodder crops did not suit the soil or pay for the additional costs they entailed, and the two-field system was usually a reasonable response to soil conditions or a relatively lower price of land. Shifting to a three-field system would actually have been wasteful or have diminished yields. Similarly, critics might ask why peasants reaped wheat with sickles, when scythes, which had long been used to mow grass or harvest oats, could do the task in much less time. However, the scythe required considerable strength, and even in the hands of a man it tended to knock the kernels off the wheat stalks. Only skilled reapers could wield it successfully, and it was cheaper to employ women, children, and unskilled men, who sawed wheat with sickles. Early modern farmers did not have our knowledge or technology, but they were certainly not wasteful.

THE SUCCESS OF AGRICULTURE IN ENGLAND AND THE NETHERLANDS

Although early modern yields were low, agricultural productivity did jump in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in two countries—the Netherlands and England. Although the increase, particularly in England, has often been termed an agricultural revolution, it would probably be better to reserve that term for the truly revolutionary changes—such as chemical fertilizers or the mechanical reaper—that transformed farming in the nineteenth century. Still, there is no denying that agricultural productivity did surge in the Netherlands and England. Perhaps the best measure is an index of what the average farmworker produced in each country, in which all farm products, from grain to meat, are lumped together. This index, constructed by the economic historian Robert Allen, shows that in 1750 Dutch and English farmworkers were producing between 59 and 175 percent more than their counterparts in all European countries but one. The one exception was the southern Netherlands—roughly speaking modern-day Belgium—where farmworkers had



Agriculture. *Summer* by Pieter Breughel the Younger. This painting, which depicts workers harvesting grain, was done from a 1568 drawing by Pieter Bruegel the Elder. ©CHRISTIE'S IMAGES/CORBIS

reached the same high level of productivity back in 1400.

Judging the productivity of whole countries has the disadvantage of glossing over great regional variations. France as a whole had lower agricultural productivity than England or the Netherlands, but there were parts of the country, such as the Paris Basin, where farms were just as productive as those anywhere in Europe. Similar statements could be made about the German North Sea Coast, Catalonia on the Iberian Peninsula, and parts of Italy. Still, whether one focuses on regions or whole countries, why agricultural productivity was so much higher in some places than in others must still be explained. The issue has attracted the most historical attention in England, for it was the first country to industrialize. Yet, back in 1600 its agricultural productivity (the Netherlands's too) was no

different from that of most other European countries.

One common explanation traces England's success back to capitalist landlords, who remade the countryside in what were called enclosures. The enclosures involved putting an end to village control of farming practices, creating large farms by consolidating scattered fields, and fencing in open fields so that new crops could be planted on the fallow or arable land converted to pasture. The enclosures, historians have argued, boosted agricultural productivity by changing property rights, enlarging the scale of farming, and putting capitalist landlords who understood agricultural technology in charge. Elsewhere in Europe, agriculture remained in the hands of peasants, whose farms were too small and who resisted new crops and enclosures, either because they were fearful or ignorant or because

poorer villagers wanted to protect their communal grazing rights. For one school of historians, it is population growth that kept most European farms too small and in the hands of backward peasants. For another, it was politics and the strength of the landlord class, for population growth was the same in England as in countries such as France, where agriculture lagged behind.

Recent work, however, casts doubt on these arguments. Enclosures did not boost agricultural productivity much in England, or on the rare occasions when they were tried in France. Bigger farms did not matter much either. They may have helped economize on labor, but most of the increase in English agricultural productivity came not from capitalist landlords, but from yeomen, who were really large-scale peasants, operating farms of sixty acres or so. Peasants as a whole were quite receptive to new agricultural techniques and they adopted them when it paid to do so. Similarly, overlapping property rights and village control of agriculture were less of an obstacle than historians thought. There were problems when land had to be drained or irrigated, but drainage and irrigation cannot account for the difference between French and English agriculture.

Excessive rent, taxes, and seignorial dues depressed agricultural productivity in some parts of Europe, but the damage they did was probably not as great as some historians imagined. Particular rental contracts, such as sharecropping, were less a cause of agricultural stagnation than a way for landlords to lend capital to poverty-stricken tenants. If rent, taxes, and seignorial dues together took less than a third of what a farmer produced, then they probably did not harm agricultural productivity either. If, however, they increased above a third, or if they dulled a farmer's incentives, then they could injure farming. That was a likely cause for the dismal agricultural performance in eastern Europe, where the second serfdom discouraged peasants' initiative and effort, and in Spain, where high taxes drove peasants to sell their property to nobles, who had little reason to farm well.

Warfare also did enormous harm to early modern agriculture. Beyond seizing food and horses, troops disrupted trade, and when frightened peasants fled from advancing armies, fields grew over

before it was safe to return, necessitating months or even years of plowing and land clearance before fields could be cultivated again.

England (but not the Netherlands) escaped the worst army, at least on its own soil, but both countries had the added advantage of excellent transportation. The Netherlands built a great network of canals, and England constructed both canals and roads. In other countries, a road might be built to move troops, but in England and the Netherlands the infrastructure facilitated trade. Trade, whether by land or water, encouraged great agricultural specialization in the two countries, and, in turn, specialization increased productivity as farmers adapted crops to soil and prices and worked harder to buy new consumer goods available on the market. This specialization goes a long way toward explaining why agriculture in England and the Netherlands was productive and more innovative than in the rest of early modern Europe.

See also Daily Life; Economic Crises; Enclosure; Feudalism; Food and Drink; Food Riots; Laborers; Landholding; Peasantry; Physiocrats and Physiocracy; Poverty; Serfdom; Serfdom in East Central Europe; Serfdom in Russia; Technology; Transportation; Villages; Women.

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ALBA, FERNANDO ÁLVAREZ DE TOLEDO, DUKE OF (also Alba; 1507–1582), Spanish general and statesman. Fernando Álvarez de Toledo was born 29 October 1507 at Piedrahita, one of his family's estates. Three years later his father died fighting the Muslims in North Africa, and he was raised by his grandfather, Fadrique, second Duke of Alba, who gave him a military education. His tutors included Juan Boscán, who translated Castiglione's *The Book of the Courtier* (1528) into Castilian, and the poet Garcilaso de la Vega. At sixteen Fernando fought at the siege of Fuenterrabía against French forces. After inheriting his grandfather's title in 1531, he served the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V (ruled 1519–1558; king of Spain, ruled 1516–1556 as Charles I) in the campaigns of Vienna, Tunis, Provence, and Algiers. With the beginning of the emperor's wars against the Protestant German Schmalkaldic League in 1546, Alba became the emperor's chief military advisor and played a major role in the victory at Mühlberg in 1547.

Alba returned to Spain in 1548 as Prince Philip's chief of household. He used this position to create a court faction based upon his own extended family and a group of royal secretaries associated with the imperial secretary, Francisco de los Cobos. The royal chamberlain, Ruy Gómez de Silva, developed a rival faction based on his wife's Mendoza relatives and the group of royal secretaries loyal to Cardinal Espinosa (the Inquisitor-General).

As chief of household, Alba went to England with Philip II (ruled 1556–1598) in 1554. When Charles V abdicated, Alba served Philip briefly as



Fernando Álvarez de Toledo. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

viceroy of Milan and then of Naples, where, in 1556–1557, he conducted a successful war against Pope Paul IV and the duke of Guise. When the Habsburg-Valois struggle ended in 1559, Alba helped negotiate the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis before returning to Spain as a member of the Council of State. There, his sharp tongue and haughty disposition made him unpopular, but Philip relied upon his military expertise and trusted his religious orthodoxy to the point of consulting him on ecclesiastical appointments.

After 1562, Alba's glorified ideas of royal authority and hatred of heresy made him the court's leading opponent of compromise with the Netherlanders, who were growing restive under Spanish rule. Both he and the king regarded the rioting and iconoclasm of 1566 as rebellion. Philip, with the duke's knowledge, devised a strategy that would send Alba to the Netherlands to crush the opposition. Philip would then claim that his captain-general had exceeded his instructions, go to the Nether-

lands in person, and mollify its inhabitants with a general pardon. The plan was supported by Alba's enemies, who hoped to discredit him while he was out of the country.

In 1567, the duke led an army of Spanish veterans to the Low Countries, where he established a political court, known as the Council of Troubles, to prosecute dissidents. The Council declared the counts of Egmont and Hoorn guilty of high treason, as presumed leaders of the revolt, and executed them. These harsh measures caused William of Orange and other leaders of the Gueux (a sixteenth-century revolutionary party) to flee to foreign countries. When William of Orange then invaded the Netherlands with an army of German mercenaries, Alba easily defeated him, and by 1568 had pacified the entire country. It was time for the king to come, but the death of his heir, Don Carlos, and the revolt of the Moriscos in southern Spain prevented him from doing so.

Alba remained in the Netherlands for four more years in the face of growing resentment. He used his time to complete ecclesiastical reforms that had been halted since 1560 and to install fourteen new bishops. He also promulgated the first uniform criminal code in Netherlandish history, but, when he attempted in 1572 to impose the Tenth Penny, a sales tax based on the Spanish *alcabala*, the towns rose in revolt. Although Alba's campaign against them was at first successful, his policy of reprisals led to prolonged sieges at Haarlem and Alkmaar, and the king finally recalled him to Spain in 1573. Though Alba retained his seat on the Council of State, his position at court was now far weaker than it had been before he was sent to the Netherlands. Philip imprisoned him briefly in 1579, over the unauthorized marriage of his son Fadrique, but released him in the following year to lead Spain's army in the annexation of Portugal. Here his touch was more subtle and successful than it had been in the Netherlands. He died at Tomar in Portugal in 1582.

Contemporaries thought Alba the greatest soldier of his age. His ideas on warfare were popularized by a school of military writers who had served under his command, and they continued to influence Spanish military practice until the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648). He was capable of successful

diplomacy, but as Philip II's governor in the Netherlands he failed. The duke's harshness and insensitivity to local conditions provoked a full-scale insurrection, and he bears much responsibility for Spain's eventual loss of the northern Netherlands.

See also Cateau-Cambrésis (1559); Charles I (Spain); Charles V (Holy Roman Empire); Dutch Republic; Dutch Revolt (1568–1648); Guise Family; Habsburg-Valois Wars; Inquisition, Spanish; Moriscos; Netherlands, Southern; Philip II (Spain); Schmalkaldic War (1546–1547); William of Orange.

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WILLIAM S. MALTBY

ALCHEMY. In the early modern period the term “alchemy” did not refer solely to the transmutation of metals. A variety of laboratory procedures, including the separation of metals, sublimations, and distillations, were generally described in alchemical terms, and alchemy had already for a long time been associated with making medicines. In this regard the medieval tradition of separating from substances a fifth essence, or *quinta essentia*, underscored later attempts among Hermeticists and Paracelsians to extract a celestial, life-giving force from plants, animals, and metals that, in turn, could perfect specific bodies. The sulfur-mercury theory, based in Aristotelian natural philosophy and further articulated by Arab scholars, in which all metals were believed to be composed of an original sulfur and mercury in various degrees of purity, also continued to provide a basis for some alchemical discussions. The extent to which Aristotelian principles continued to influence practical alchemical procedures is well illustrated by a text called *Alchemia* written in 1597 by a German physician, chemist, and schoolmaster named Andreas Libau (c. 1550–1616). Libau's book looks very modern, and has been referred to as the first textbook of modern chemistry. It teaches, among many other things, how to analyze minerals, metals, and mineral waters, how to make use of assaying techniques, and

how to prepare medicines from metals and minerals. It describes analytical reactions, presents quantitative methods for determining alloys, and gives precise instructions on how to build a variety of laboratory furnaces and vessels. It also describes extracts and essences at the same time that it provides evidence for various sorts of transmutation. All of this falls under the heading of alchemy.

HERMETICISM AND PARACELSUS

At the same time as some alchemists were being led by older theories to create new chemical technologies, others were inspired by more spiritual traditions, especially by the legacy of Neoplatonism and by the discovery in the second half of the fifteenth century of texts reputed to have been written by an ancient sage named Hermes Trismegistus. The tradition that followed, called Renaissance Hermeticism, viewed the celestial bodies, sometimes through the mediation of a cosmic spirit (*spiritus mundi*), as the link between God and terrestrial things. Divine virtues penetrated everything in nature, and the Hermetic alchemist sought to extract such powers and virtues particularly for the purpose of making useful medicines. A very similar idea prompted the thinking of an especially significant figure in the history of early modern alchemy, Paracelsus (1493/94–1541). Paracelsus described the creation of the physical universe and the processes that maintained the life of the body in essentially alchemical terms. All of nature stemmed from an initial separation of light from dark, earth from water, and so on, and the body operated by means of an “inner alchemist,” called the *archeus*, which separated that which was pure and helpful to the maintenance of life from that which was not. Regarding transmutation, Paracelsus, like many others, thought in embracive terms. In a work called *De Natura Rerum* (On the nature of things) he notes, “transmutation is when a thing loses its form or shape and is transformed so that it no longer displays at all its initial form and substance. . . . When a metal becomes glass or stone . . . when wood becomes charcoal . . . [or] . . . when cloth becomes paper . . . all of that is the transmutation of natural things.” By this definition almost everyone in the early modern period was engaged in alchemy. “Nature,” Paracelsus adds, “brings nothing to light which is completed in itself, rather, human beings have to do the completing. This completing is called

alchemy.” To complete the work of nature and to delve into her secrets Paracelsus recommended the processes of distillation, calcination (producing a powdery calx, or oxide, usually by heating a metal), and sublimation (heating to a gaseous state and then condensing a vapor into solid form). Through these one could separate the elements and discover the healing and perfecting tinctures, *magisteria* (substances whose external impurities had been removed and which were then said to be exalted or ennobled), and *arcana* (divine secrets) within things, and learn about the generative qualities associated with the first principles of creation, the so-called *tria prima*: salt, sulfur, and mercury.

The art of separation was, for Paracelsus and his followers, the key to knowledge of both natural philosophy and medicine; in this regard Paracelsus distinguished between what he called *alchemia transmutatoria* and *alchemia medica*. Both types of alchemy involved looking for a powerful agent capable of perfecting or healing. That agent had long gone by several names, including elixir, grand magisterium, or philosophers’ stone, and in the early modern period different traditions traced this agent to specific material origins. One tradition linked to Paracelsus sought to prepare the elixir or stone from “vitriol.” Others, who followed in the tradition of an alchemical writer named Michael Sendivogius (1566–1636), referred to niter. A third tradition, which included the authors Jean d’Espagnet, Alexander von Suchten, Gaston DuClo, and Eirenaeus Philalethes (a pseudonym for George Starchy), pursued processes involving vitriol (sometimes called the remedy of the Green Lion) and mercury.

Works by an author using the name Basilius Valentinus directed attention to the use of antimony in alchemical operations, and those writings supplied seventeenth-century chemical physicians with much information about compounding medicines from antimony. Panaceas of various sorts boasted alchemical heritage; one of the most famous was the drinkable gold (*aurum potabile*) described, among others, by Angelo Sala, Francis Anthony, and Johann Rudolf Glauber (1604–1668). Producing medicines by means of chemical synthesis was a direct outgrowth of alchemical and Paracelsian practices. Both came together as a university subject early in the seventeenth century when Johannes Hartmann (1568–1631) was appointed



Alchemy. Woodcut from a c. 1580 edition of Paracelsus's works depicts Azoth, believed by some early alchemists to be the life-generating spirit inherent in the three essential substances: salt, sulfur, and mercury. FORTEAN PICTURE LIBRARY

public professor of *chemiatria* (chemical medicine) at the University of Marburg. Hartmann's patron, the German prince Moritz, landgrave of Hesse-Kassel (ruled 1592–1627), was one of a number of European potentates, including several Medici princes and the Holy Roman emperor Rudolf II (ruled 1576–1612), at whose courts alchemical projects served economic, political, and aesthetic ambitions. In England, traditions of alchemy and Paracelsianism came together in the hands of social critics and educational reformers. Samuel Hartlib (c. 1600–1662), Jan Amos Comenius (1592–1670), and the dramatist John Webster (c. 1580–c. 1625) each acknowledged the practical results of alchemical labors. Webster especially concluded that the traditions of medieval alchemy and Paracelsus should

find a place within the university as an “art that doth help more truly and radically to . . . discover the secret principles and operations of nature.” Outside the court and academy, alchemy in various forms continued to be part of the everyday business of popular culture, reflected in vernacular pharmacy books, books of secrets, and a variety of household manuals.

The Bible itself could be read as an alchemical text. One frequent reference was to the book of Exodus, where Moses grinds up the golden calf and gives it (as a kind of *aurum potabile*) to the children of Israel to drink. The knowledge of Moses, received from Egyptian priests, reflected, many thought, a *prisca sapientia*, an ancient pure wisdom that had been corrupted over time, but which, through the comparison of texts with experience, might be discovered again.

ALCHEMY AND MODERN SCIENCE

As an artifact of the early modern period, alchemy continued to exert an influence throughout the scientific revolution. Robert Boyle (1627–1691) and Isaac Newton (1642–1727) both pursued alchemical programs. That Boyle accepted the reality of transmutation and the validity of claims about the powers of the philosophers' stone is clear from an unpublished dialogue on the transmutation of metals. There opponents of transmutation are soundly refuted with the report of an “anti-elixir” that, when projected onto molten gold, transmutes it into base metal. Among Boyle's papers are hundreds of pages of laboratory processes, many related to metallic transmutations and largely written in code. In one instance he wrote a precise account of a transmutation that he had personally witnessed. To Boyle, the corpuscular philosophy, which defined matter as composed of tiny particles, was not at all inconsistent with alchemical ideas. Transmutations took place, he argued, when changes took place in the sizes, shapes, and motions of the particles of an original matter.

Another adherent of alchemy and corpuscularianism was Isaac Newton. The largest particles of every sort of matter, he theorized, were composed of very subtle sulfurous or acid particles surrounded by larger earthy or mercurial particles, the latter piled up like rings or shells around the volatile center. Every substance, he held, was composed of par-

ticles analogous to tiny universes. Transmutation resulted when the larger particles of a substance were reduced to smaller particles and then rearranged. Newton was also fond of ancient texts, especially those related to the Egyptian magus Hermes, and he collected bits and pieces of alchemical wisdom in the form of transcriptions, extracts, and collations of ancient, medieval, and contemporary alchemical authorities. He labored over the construction of an *index chemicus*, an inventory of chemical and alchemical writing arranged by topic that, in its final form, comprised a volume of more than a hundred pages, with 879 separate headings. Another text of “Notable Opinions” consisted of quotations from seventy-five printed and handwritten alchemical sources. The alchemist George Starchy described to him the concept of chemical mediation (the means by which two unsociable bodies are made sociable by means of a third) and recounted also for Newton procedures for making philosophical mercury and for preparing an antimonial amalgam called the “star regulus.” Accepting the presence of spiritual agents in nature, Newton thought that metals could both grow and decay as part of a cycle of creation in which the return to chaos gave rise to new substances.

See also **Hermeticism; Magic; Matter, Theories of; Paracelsus; Scientific Revolution.**

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ALDROVANDI, ULISSE (1522–1605). Bolognese naturalist and collector. Known as the “Bolognese Aristotle,” Ulisse Aldrovandi belonged to the generation of Renaissance physicians and

apothecaries who rediscovered the importance of empirical study of the natural world. The son of a Bolognese notary, Aldrovandi worked as a notary and studied law before discovering the pleasures of science. He studied philosophy and mathematics at the University of Padua (1548–1549) and, after a narrow escape from the Inquisition, wrote a guidebook to ancient statuary in Rome. He received a medical degree at the University of Bologna in 1553.

By the late 1540s, Aldrovandi had discovered natural history. During his trip to Rome, he met the French naturalist Guillaume Rondelet, then researching ichthyology. He subsequently developed a close relationship with the Italian naturalist Luca Ghini, who held the first professorship in “medicinal simples” at both Bologna and Pisa and who founded the Pisan botanical garden in 1543. Ghini encouraged medical students to take the study of the natural world seriously, inviting them on summer botanical expeditions, demonstrating plants in gardens, collecting natural specimens, and illustrating them with the help of artists. Aldrovandi’s image of natural history was especially influenced by the practices of his mentor Ghini. He succeeded Ghini as professor of natural history at the University of Bologna in 1556, inaugurating its botanical garden in 1568.

Aldrovandi increased the significance and scope of natural history over the next few decades. He gave natural history some degree of autonomy from medicine by arguing that it was also an important part of natural philosophy. This approach to natural history was evident, for example, in Aldrovandi’s choice of subjects for his publications. Rather than writing a new *materia medica*, in the tradition of the ancient Greek physician Dioscorides, Aldrovandi chose instead to follow Aristotle and contemporaries such as the Swiss naturalist Conrad Gessner; he wrote about animals because of his intrinsic interest in their anatomy, physiology, and habits rather than their medicinal uses. Similarly, his work on plants and minerals attempted to describe each specimen comprehensively, in keeping with Aldrovandi’s vision of natural history as an encyclopedic project.

Aldrovandi published very little of his research in his lifetime. The first volume of his *Natural History*, the *Ornithology* (1599–1603), did not appear

until shortly before his death. The technical difficulties of creating a comprehensive textual and visual portrait of each natural object demanded not simply the skills of a single naturalist but the collaboration of an entire community of collectors, transcribers, and artists devoted to the project of reconstructing nature. Aldrovandi's reputation as a great naturalist was based more on the materials he accumulated in his study than on what he published. His collection of animals, plants, minerals, curiosities, and antiquities was one of the most famous collections of curiosities in western Europe. Visitors described the museum as the eighth wonder of the world. Aldrovandi conceived of his collection not only as the raw ingredients for the writing of natural history but as an experimental laboratory in which to anatomize and archive nature. Princes, popes, and scholars all vied with each other to contribute interesting specimens to his collection.

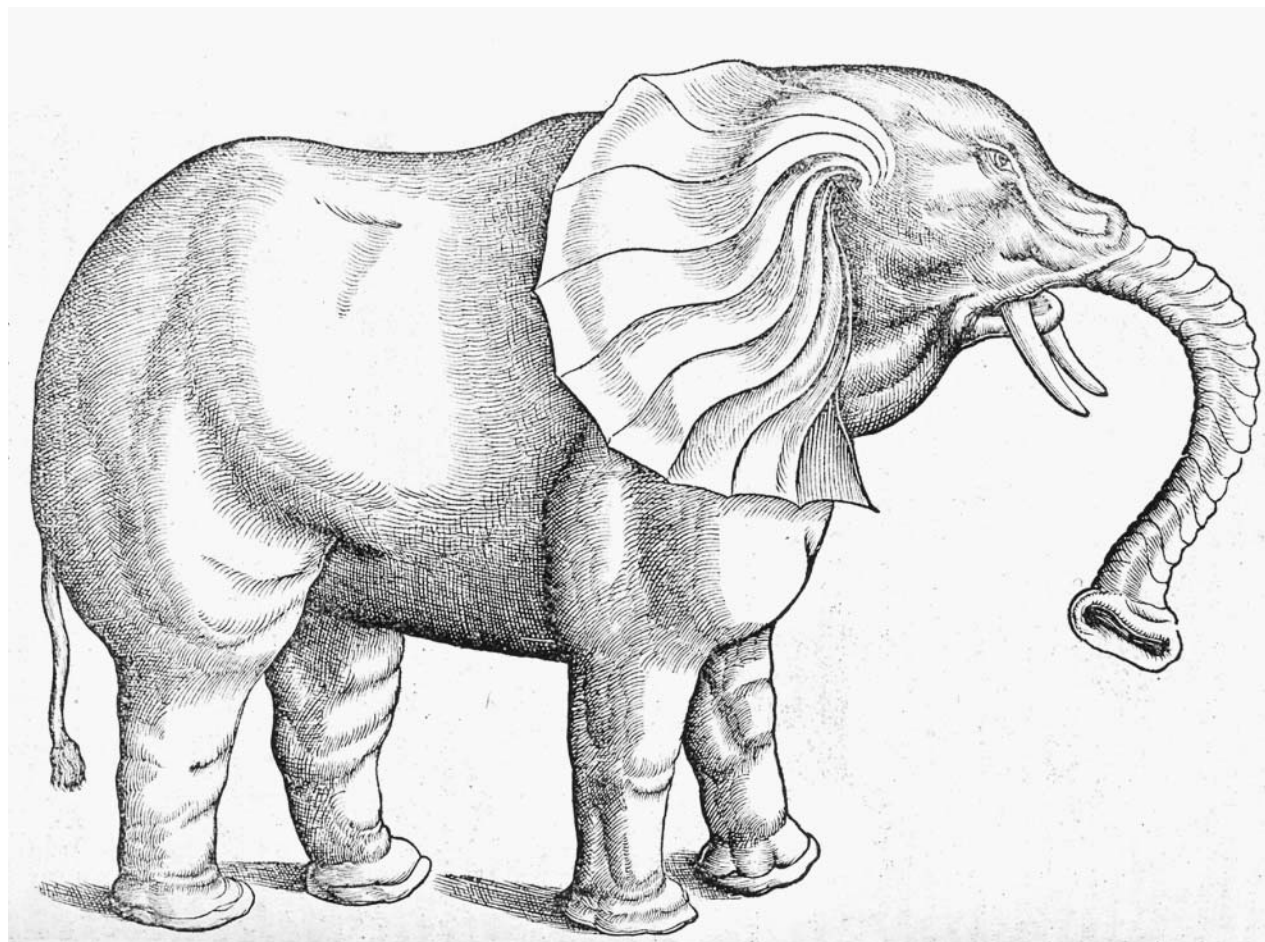
In 1603 Aldrovandi wrote a will donating his collection to the senate of Bologna in return for their agreement to appoint a custodian who would teach natural history using the materials in the Studio Aldrovandi and to continue to publish his unfinished *Natural History* (ten more volumes appeared between 1606 and 1668). In 1742 the collection was disbanded and its ingredients incorporated into the new museum of the Institute for Sciences in Bologna.

See also **Gessner, Conrad; Museums; Natural History; Renaissance; Scientific Revolution.**

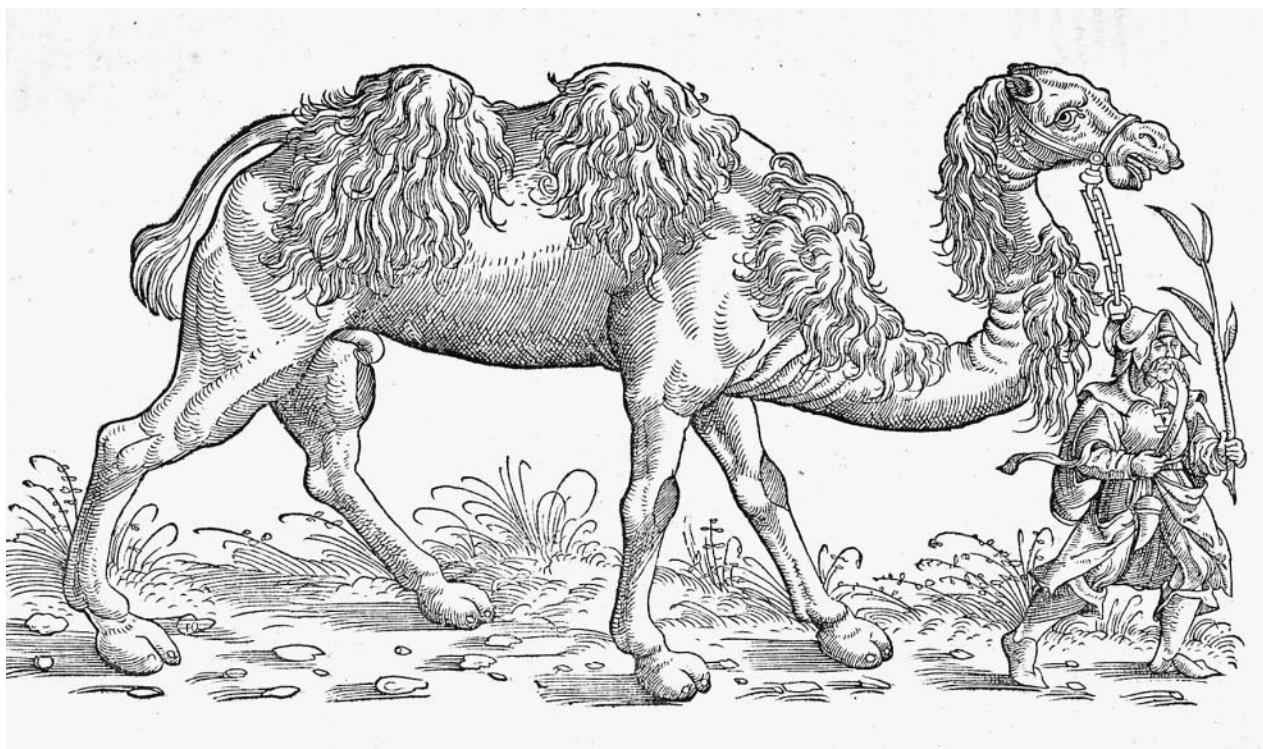
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Ulisse Aldrovandi. Drawing of an elephant from Aldrovandi's *Natural History*. ©ENZO & PAOLO RAGAZZINI/CORBIS



Ulisse Aldrovandi. Drawing of a man leading a camel from Aldrovandi's *Natural History*. ©ENZO & PAOLO RAGAZZINI/CORBIS

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PAULA FINDLEN

ALEMBERT, JEAN LE ROND D' (1717–1783), French mathematician, scientist, philosopher, and writer. Born 17 November 1717,

Jean Le Rond d'Alembert was the illegitimate son of the famous Claudine Alexandrine Guérin, marquise de Tencin, and an artillery officer, Louis-Camus Destouches. Abandoned on the steps of Saint-Jean-Le-Rond in Paris, he was taken to the Foundling Home and named after the church where he was discovered. Through his father's efforts he was placed with a foster mother, Mme. Rousseau, to whom he remained devoted. His father also saw to it that his son received a good education; he attended first a private school, then the Collège des Quatre-Nations. After three years studying law and medicine, it became clear to d'Alembert that mathematics was his true vocation. In 1741 he was named an *adjoint* (adjunct) at the Academy of Sciences, and in 1743 he published his most important mathematical work, the *Traité de dynamique* (Treatise on dynamics). In addition to six other major scientific treatises, his 1752 *Éléments de musique, théorique et pratique, suivant les principes de Rameau* (Elements of practical and theoretical music following Rameau's principles) is noteworthy as a lucid exposition of Rameau's hugely influential harmonic theory.



Jean Le Rond d'Alembert. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Today d'Alembert is somewhat undervalued, remembered mostly as coeditor of the *Encyclopédie*, although even in that enterprise he was eclipsed by Denis Diderot (1713–1784). In his day d'Alembert was esteemed second only to Voltaire (1694–1778) in leading the philosophe movement, the very core of Enlightenment ideology. Through his role in the French Academy, to which he was elected in 1754, and of which he became permanent secretary in 1772, the discreet and cautious d'Alembert was able to confer legitimacy on many of the philosophes' deepest concerns while remaining immune to the imprisonments and exiles that punctuated the lives of so many of his colleagues.

Largely because of his scientific reputation, but also because he was a popular, brilliant participant in Parisian salons, d'Alembert was asked as early as 1745 to participate in the production of the *Encyclopédie*; in 1747 he was named coeditor with Diderot and was charged primarily with the mathematical and scientific articles. His nonscientific entry, the infamous “Genève,” created a controversy with Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778) and then with

Genevan Protestants, leading d'Alembert to resign from his editorial post in 1758.

The desire to avoid scandal at all costs, which led to his resignation, was consistent with the public comportment d'Alembert adopted for the rest of his career. Although he shared many of the goals of the other philosophes, his correspondence (in particular with Voltaire) consistently shows not only a refusal to jeopardize his career and freedom to remain in Paris but also an unflinching conviction that enlightenment must be a gradual and tactful process of persuasion rather than a series of attacks, whether open or anonymous. He thought he could best serve that end by promoting the philosophe party at large and especially in the Academy, by mediating disputes within the group and by functioning as a de facto public relations manager as a foil to the polemical outpourings from Voltaire at Ferney and from numerous other quarters (most notably the baron Paul Thiry, baron d'Holbach; 1723–1789). Indeed, it had long been Voltaire's wish that when he died, d'Alembert would succeed him as leader of the philosophes. Much of d'Alembert's immense stature in the eighteenth century, then, came not from his writings but from his ceaseless efforts to unite and promote his colleagues and advance their mutual cause.

In 1759 he laid out his philosophical principles and methodology in his *Essai sur les éléments de philosophie: ou sur les principes des connaissances humaines* (Essay on the elements of philosophy, or on the principles of human knowledge). In this work he provides a synthesis of his prior thought in epistemology, metaphysics, language theory, science, and aesthetics. The *Éclaircissements* (Explanations), added in 1767, round out the *Essay*, forming a composite that represents the ambitious scope of d'Alembert's empiricist philosophy.

However, his most important work is without doubt the 1751 *Preliminary Discourse to the Encyclopédie*. In this concise and occasionally flawed but often brilliant document, d'Alembert seeks to justify the encyclopedic enterprise in a Lockean vein, by showing the unity of all thought from its sensorial origins (in “direct” and “reflected” ideas deriving from corporeal impressions). However, he also attempts to provide a rational, scientific method for the mapping of human knowledge as well as a

historical account of the evolution of human thought. The result is not merely an apology for the ends as well as the means of the *Encyclopédie*, it is also a superb summation of Enlightenment empirical and sensualist thought, a forceful rejection of Cartesian metaphysics (if not Cartesian method, which d'Alembert admired), and a valorization of the scientific method of Francis Bacon (1561–1626) and (particularly) Isaac Newton (1642–1727). In the *Discourse*, d'Alembert succeeds in showing the intimate connection between the spirit of the *Encyclopédie* and the concerns of the Enlightenment generally, in a way that is not always obvious to the reader of the encyclopedia's articles themselves.

D'Alembert's last important work, the fifth volume of *Mélanges de littérature, d'histoire, et de philosophie*, was published in 1767. From that point on, his health became increasingly fragile. In his last years he wrote little, instead concentrating on his duties as permanent secretary of the French Academy. As the result of his refusal of an operation (without which his doctors informed him he would not survive) for a painful bladder ailment he had had for years, d'Alembert died on 29 October 1783.

See also **Diderot, Denis**; *Encyclopédie*; **Enlightenment**; **Mathematics**; **Philosophes**; **Voltaire**.

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PATRICK RILEY, JR.

ALEXIS I (RUSSIA) (1629–1676; ruled 1645–1676), tsar of Russia. Alexis Mikhailovich came to the throne at the age of sixteen in 1645. His long and eventful reign saw the beginnings of the rise of Russia's power and the earliest phases of the Europeanization of its culture. At first he ruled under the influence of his former tutor, the boyar Boris Morozov. Morozov tried to pay for the defenses of the southern frontier and other outlays by changing the tax system, introducing a new tax on salt and other burdens in place of the older general sales tax and tavern monopoly. He consolidated his power at court in January 1648, when Alexis married Maria Miloslavskaja and Morozov her sister Anna. The tax measures led to increasing discontent and ultimately to a revolt in Moscow in June 1648, which led to the temporary eclipse of Morozov. Gentry discontent added to urban unrest, and the outcome was the Assembly of the Land of 1649, which compiled the first systematic Russian law code, printed by order of the tsar. Morozov was able to come back to power, seconded by the boyar Ilia Miloslavskii, Alexis's father-in-law, and other boyar allies. Discontent in towns and border fortresses led to a further series of revolts (Novgorod and Pskov, 1650).

Alexis also brought to power in the church a group of reformist priests led by his chaplain Stefan Vonifat'ev, who argued for a stricter moral code (for instance, that taverns should be closed on Sundays), changes in the liturgy to make the words more accessible, and preaching. The appointment of Nikon in 1652 to the patriarchal throne made possible the adoption of the program and brought a new and powerful figure to court.

Domestic concerns soon gave way to war with Poland. In 1648 the Ukrainian Cossacks in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, led by Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky, rose against the state and nobility, in defense of Orthodoxy against forced union with Rome and for the rights of Cossacks and peasants. They immediately sent an embassy asking for help from Alexis, but Russia was reluctant to exchange its budding friendship with Poland for an alliance with Cossack and peasant rebels. The urban revolts also complicated the situation. By early 1653, however, Khmelnytsky offered to come under the tsar's "high hand," and Alexis agreed to



Alexis I. Eighteenth-century portrait. THE ART ARCHIVE/RUSSIAN HISTORICAL MUSEUM MOSCOW/DAGLI ORTI (A)

fight Poland, calling an Assembly of the Land to ratify the decision. In 1654 Alexis concluded the Pereyaslav treaty with the Cossacks, making them a sort of vassal state to Russia.

The war at first went well for Russia. In 1654–1655 Alexis conquered Smolensk and almost all of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. At the same time Sweden entered the war, overrunning much of western Poland. In 1656 Alexis made a truce with Poland, apparently afraid that a complete Polish collapse was undesirable, and declared war on Sweden, continuing without success until 1661. Revived Polish fortunes after the 1660 peace with Sweden led to a standoff, draining Russian resources and resulting in the copper revolt of 1662 in Moscow, a response to adulterated currency. Peace negotiations under Afanasii Lavrentevich Ordin-Nashchokin ended in 1667 with the treaty of Andrusovo.

In the treaty Russia returned Lithuania but received Smolensk and its territory, the Cossack Ukraine east of the Dnieper and the city of Kiev, for two years, which Russia retained after the time was

up. The treaty signified a fundamental shift of power away from Poland toward Russia and also gave Russia a southern border much closer to the Crimea and the Ottomans. Those powers and the Ukrainian hetmans were the main concerns for Alexis from then on. He relied on Ordin-Nashchokin to conduct foreign affairs, but the latter's failures in Ukraine led to the rise of Artamon Matveev, from 1671 the tsar's principal favorite. The death of Morozov in 1661 and of Iliia Miloslavskii, Tsaritsa Mariia, and Alexis's eldest son (1669) opened the political field but also endangered the succession. Alexis married Nataliia Naryshkina, the daughter of a musketeer colonel, in 1671. The birth of Peter (later Peter the Great) in 1672 ensured the succession and reinforced the importance of Matveev, Nataliia's ally, to the end of Alexis's reign.

Patriarch Nikon pursued reform in the church, correcting the liturgical texts to agree with the Greek versions. These changes brought forth protests from his former allies, chiefly the archpriest Avvakum Petrovich, who claimed they were incorrect and harmful to the faith. Avvakum and his followers were sent into exile in Siberia and the far north. Meanwhile Nikon's relations with the tsar deteriorated, as Nikon also built up patriarchal power in the church. In 1658 a clash over precedence caused Nikon to leave his duties and retire to the nearby Voskresenskii monastery. As he did not abdicate his office, the church had no head for the next eight years. Attempts to solve the dispute failed, and simultaneously opposition to Nikon's liturgical reforms spread. At a church council in 1666–1667 Nikon was formally deposed and the opposition to the liturgical reforms declared schismatic. The church hierarchy returned to normal, but dissent continued to spread and deepen. The selection of Ioakim (1674) brought to the patriarchate a powerful advocate of the new liturgy, the education of the clergy, and patriarchal power, leading to clashes with Alexis in his last years.

The reforms in the church inspired the invitation of Ukrainian clerics to Moscow. The Ukrainians had studied at the Kievan Academy (founded 1633), which taught a European curriculum in Latin on Jesuit models but with Orthodox faith. Epifanii Slavnetskii (died 1675) made new translations of the church fathers and the liturgy and preached sermons in and around the court. In 1664

Simeon Polotskii (1629–1680) was tutor to Alexis's sons and the first Russian court poet as well as preacher. Among the boyar elite knowledge of Polish and some Latin began to spread, as did interest in the religious culture of Kiev, centered on the baroque sermon. The foreign community of Moscow ("the German suburb"), largely composed of German, Dutch, English, and Scottish merchants and mercenary officers, contributed other Western elements. Alexis established the first theater in Russia at his court in 1672, using a Lutheran pastor for his playwright and the boys from the German school as actors. Alexis acquired Western paintings, a telescope, and other new things.

Alexis also began the reform of the Russian army, substituting infantry armed with muskets and drilling in the Western manner for the gentry cavalry and undrilled musketeers of earlier times. This army allowed him to win against Poland, but it was very expensive, and after 1667 formations of the new type were much less numerous. Russia maintained extensive trade with England and Holland through Arkhangel'sk, though Alexis tried to favor Russian merchants. He revoked the English Muscovy Company's privileges in 1649, using the execution of Charles I as a pretext, and decreed mildly protectionist toll rates. At the same time he gave privileges to the Dutch to set up iron and munitions works. During these years Russia's agrarian base expanded enormously, in spite of serfdom, through colonization of the southern steppe and Volga basin. The reign of Alexis saw the further consolidation of the Russian state and society, important cultural and religious changes, and the rise of Russian power. It laid the foundation for the far-reaching changes wrought by his son Peter.

See also Andrusovo, Truce of (1667); Avvakum Petrovich; Cossacks; Khmelnytsky, Bohdan; Khmelnytsky Uprising; Law: Russian; Michael Romanov (Russia); Nikon, patriarch; Old Believers; Peter I (Russia); Russia; Russia, Architecture in; Russia, Art in; Russian Literature and Language; Russo-Polish Wars; Serfdom in Russia; Sofii Alekseevna; Ukraine.

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PAUL BUSHKOVITCH

ALLEGRI, ANTONIO. *See* Correggio (Antonio Allegri).

ÁLVARO DE BAZÁN, FIRST MARQUIS OF SANTA CRUZ. *See* Santa Cruz, Álvaro de Bazán, first marquis of.

AMERICA. *See* British Colonies; Dutch Colonies; French Colonies; Portuguese Colonies; Spanish Colonies.

AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE, WAR OF (1775–1783). The War of American Independence began on 19 April 1775 with firefights at Lexington and Concord, Massachusetts. It ended on 28 June 1783, when a British force ceased operations against the French, who were aiding rebels in southern India. Barring Vietnam, it was the longest war in the history of the United States to the twenty-first century. It involved most European powers as either belligerents or watchful observers. In one way or another it touched every part of what had been British America, including not only the thirteen east coast colonies but also Canada and Native American country as well as the West Indies and the open Atlantic. The war destroyed one empire and created another.

The war was not synonymous with the American Revolution. That larger civil, cultural, social, and economic transformation sprawled over a quarter century between the first colonial challenges to British authority in 1764 and the implementation of the U.S. Constitution in 1789. Unlike the later Southern war to preserve slavery and destroy the United States, it does not have a military narrative strong enough to carry the whole story of the Amer-

ican Republic's creation. But the war was central to the Revolution's process and its outcome.

Two myths about the war need dismissal. One, long favored in patriotic annals, is that virtuous citizen-soldiers put down their plows, threw off tyranny, and returned to daily life. The other is that British power was so overwhelming as to render American victory almost inexplicable. Americans did believe they fought in a good cause, but there were many dissenters. The fiercest fighting pitted white colonials, black people, and Natives in a melee that engulfed them all. For patriot whites the war did end in triumph. Loyalist whites emigrated at the war's end in larger percentages than those in which people left revolutionary France. The war shook slavery severely, and thousands of former slaves also departed with the British. Though most Indians had no reason to count themselves among the war's losers, it ended in disaster for virtually all of them.

THREE PHASES

With hindsight the North American story has three phases. In the first, for roughly a year following Lexington, Britain attempted a police action to contain and put down a local rebellion. The goal was to combine a show of force with relative lenience. This phase is associated primarily with General Thomas Gage (1721-1787), who in 1775 was both civil governor of Massachusetts and commander in chief in North America. But the hope of reconciliation carried over to his successors, the brothers Admiral Lord Richard Howe (1726-1799) and General Sir William Howe (1729-1814), whose appointments made them peace commissioners as well as joint commanders.

From the spring of 1776 until the autumn of 1778 both Britons and Americans understood the confrontation in terms of conventional European warfare. Nonetheless there was a difference. The Howes sought control of American cities. They abandoned Boston (17 March 1776) when Americans placed artillery on Dorchester Heights and made the town indefensible. The British regrouped at Halifax, Nova Scotia, marshaled their largest seaborne force prior to the twentieth century, and seized New York City (15 September 1776). It remained in British hands until 1783. Their forces included regiments of hired German "Hessians,"

named for the principality of Hesse that supplied them.

The American commander in chief George Washington (1732-1799) realized after losing New York that his primary task was to keep his army in existence while it acquired strength, skill, and weapons. Washington bolstered American morale with winter victories at Trenton and Princeton, New Jersey (26 December 1776 and 3 January 1777). The major outcome of this phase was the defeat and capture at Saratoga (17 October 1777), in upstate New York, of a British army led by General John Burgoyne (1722-1792). Burgoyne's goal had been to seize the Champlain-Hudson corridor between Montreal and New York City. The American commander at Saratoga, Horatio Gates (c. 1728-1806), was a former British officer who once had served with Burgoyne. Burgoyne had not expected serious help from Sir William Howe, who was moving on Philadelphia, which he captured from Washington's forces (26 September 1777). Howe's successor, Sir Henry Clinton (1738-1795), evacuated the nominal American capital the following spring to concentrate his forces in New York.

Partisan war marked the third phase. In 1777 civil war broke out in what now is western New York, pitting regular soldiers, settlers turned guerrilla fighters, and Indians against one another on both sides. The same configuration appeared after the British invaded Georgia in 1779 and South Carolina in 1780. These conflicts saw the disintegration of both white and Native communities, with the added element in the South of slaves who sought their freedom where they could find it. The Americans tried to put down the Iroquois country conflict with a conventional invasion in 1779, and the British used the same strategy in the South. Neither effort was successful. The war in northern Indian country spread into modern Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. Though it ended with Iroquois fragmentation and defeat, Shawnees and others farther west remained powerful enough to resist the United States for a decade.

AMERICAN VICTORY, THANKS TO THE FRENCH

The mainland war ended with a set-piece siege at Yorktown, Virginia (9-18 October 1781). Yorktown became possible for many reasons. Initially the

British invasion of South Carolina in 1780 seemed successful. At Charles Town (Charleston after 1783) Clinton's invaders captured the American army of Benjamin Lincoln (1733–1810), more than five thousand troops. Redressing Saratoga, Clinton's army defeated Americans led by Gates at Camden, South Carolina (16 August 1780), bringing the entire province under British control. Clinton returned to New York, leaving Major General Lord Charles Cornwallis (1738–1805) to complete southern pacification on the assumption that most Americans would welcome the invaders.

Cornwallis moved into North Carolina, where a new American army under Nathanael Greene (1742–1786) inflicted major damage on him at Guilford Court House (15 March 1781). Resistance popped up everywhere as soon as Cornwallis's redcoats pushed on, despite ferocious action against the militiamen by British and Loyalist cavalry under Banastre Tarleton (1754–1833). Nonetheless Cornwallis moved his army north again to subdue Virginia. He had no better luck there and finally took up position at Yorktown (1 August 1781) to await seaborne supplies and possible reinforcements.

The relief never came. Instead, a combined Franco-American force besieged and captured Cornwallis's entire force. Yorktown proved the major strategic consequence of the fact that France had entered the war in 1778. Clandestine aid had begun arriving even prior to American independence via the government-sponsored trading firm Hortalez et Cie of Bordeaux. French matériel and monetary assistance were of great importance to the American army's ability to remain in the field, and after 1778 the French could provide soldiers and a fleet. Cooperation was not always good. French supply officers had as much difficulty as their American and British counterparts in obtaining foodstuffs from reluctant farmers and profit-seeking merchants.

Washington's main goal from the alliance was to recapture New York City, which he could not do without French naval support. Nonetheless, when he learned that Cornwallis was in the Chesapeake and that a French fleet was en route there from the Caribbean, he and the French commander, Jean de Vimeur, comte de Rochambeau (1725–1807),

agreed to move south. It was a gamble, because there was no guarantee that the French admiral, François-Joseph-Paul de Grasse, comte de Grasse (1722–1788), could gain control of the Chesapeake entrance. Grasse did stave off a British fleet outside the Virginia capes (10 September 1781), taking control of the great Chesapeake Bay and making it possible to move both a French siege train and the combined American and French forces into position around Cornwallis. Grasse returned to the West Indies, and Washington returned to the Hudson Valley, where he continued to plan New York's recapture. But the loss of Cornwallis's entire army at Yorktown broke Britain's political will to continue the North American struggle. The ministry of Frederick North (Lord North, 1732–1792), in power since 1770, fell, and British offensive operations in North America ended.

THE LARGER WAR

The larger war did not end. As early as 1779 British policymakers began to think that the Americans could not be defeated. Thanks to the involvement of France and of Spain as a French ally, Britain's naval resources were stretched thin. In 1779 there was real danger that a Franco-Spanish fleet and army would invade Britain. Every Caribbean island, including Jamaica, was vulnerable, and there were not enough ships to protect them all. That risk finally ended at the Battle of the Saints, fought between the Leeward Islands of Dominica and Îles des Saintes (12 April 1782), when a British fleet under Admiral Sir George Rodney (1718–1792) captured Grasse himself. But Britain did lose Minorca to Spain and came close to losing Gibraltar.

Despite its enormous might, Britain faced great disadvantages during the American war. In diplomatic terms it was virtually isolated. France became an American ally, Spain was an ally of France, and the Dutch were so pro-American that Britain declared war against the Dutch at the end of 1780. Led by Catherine the Great (ruled 1762–1796), empress of Russia, who entertained visions of mediating the conflict, other European powers formed the League of Armed Neutrality, which stretched from Russia to Sicily. That development favored the American cause indirectly by securing Baltic naval stores for France and Spain. Britain, long dependent on American sources for the wood, tar, and hemp its

fleets needed, had the advantage only that more of its ships were copper-bottomed to resist fouling and therefore faster and more maneuverable at sea. Although North's ministry was politically secure until the loss of Yorktown, it could not raise enough troops in Britain and Ireland both to fight overseas and to maintain home defense. That was the main reason for hiring the German Hessian regiments.

Sheer distance proved another problem for British policymakers and generals. The thirty thousand troops who arrived in New York harbor with the Howe brothers in July 1776 were an enormous force. But every soldier, whether British or German, was virtually irreplaceable. Despite short enlistments and great suffering in the Continental army, it seemed there always were more Americans. New England's original pickup army inflicted heavy casualties before losing Bunker Hill (actually Breed's Hill) overlooking Boston (17 June 1775). Britain could not afford more such Pyrrhic victories. That may be why the Howe brothers did not pursue their advantage after they trapped Washington's half-trained and demoralized Continentals on Long Island (27 August 1776), allowing them to fall back first to Manhattan, then into Westchester County north of New York City, and finally to New Jersey. Washington's capture of Hessian regiments at Trenton and Princeton and the capitulation of Burgoyne's entire seven-thousand-man army at Saratoga in October 1777 presented the British with losses that were difficult to fill. The British never succeeded in supplying themselves from the American countryside, despite constant foraging. After 1776 New York City was virtually impregnable against recapture, but virtually every tree and fence on Manhattan Island had to be chopped for firewood, and the city needed constant reprovisioning from across the ocean. The same became true in the other two secure British enclaves, Charles Town and Savannah, Georgia.

British strategy assumed that "good Americans" would rally to "government" given any chance. Many did, particularly on Long Island and Staten Island, New York, which were securely loyal, and in New Jersey and South Carolina, where the Revolution virtually collapsed after redcoats arrived. There was strong Loyalism plus neutral "disaffection" in New York's Hudson and Mohawk Valleys, on Maryland's Eastern Shore (between Chesapeake

Bay and the sea), and in much of the country where advancing white settlement met Indian resistance. But except for Long Island and Staten Island, Britain never secured its hold over potentially Loyalist country.

Enough Virginia slaves rallied to the offer of freedom in November 1775 made by the royal governor, John Murray, Lord Dunmore (1732-1809), to form his "Aethiopian Regiment." (Most of them died in the smallpox epidemic that broke out that year and swept across most of the continent by 1782.) Clinton repeated that offer when British strategy turned south, with significant results. But Britain never tried to rouse all the slaves, and north of the Carolinas black men could find freedom by serving in the Continental ranks. North and south alike, many Indians recognized Britain as their best hope. However, two of the six Iroquois nations (as well as others) chose the American side, and Americans forced the Cherokee to abandon the British cause in 1779. Finally, though Britain sent the best generals it could find to America, none was of the first rank. Both William Howe and Burgoyne joined the parliamentary opposition after they returned from their American service.

The initial American expectation was that virtuous militiamen could defeat professionals and mercenaries. Early events seemed to support that belief. These included the heavy losses the British expeditionary force suffered on the way back to Boston from Lexington and Concord; the massive redcoat casualties and light American losses at Bunker Hill; the American capture of Fort Ticonderoga on Lake Champlain (10 May 1775), which yielded the artillery that eventually was emplaced overlooking Boston; and the nearly successful invasion of Canada in the winter of 1775-1776. In fact militiamen and part-time soldiers were important throughout the war. Without them the Americans could not have outnumbered and trapped the British at Saratoga, and they did important duty controlling Loyalists, guarding coastlines, and serving as skirmishers. Irregulars did most of the frontier fighting on both sides.

But when Washington assumed command at Boston (3 July 1775), his goal was to create a dependable, disciplined regular army. He could draw on an American tradition of one-year service, which

was more than ad hoc militia duty but less than European-style long-term enlistment. The officer corps that assembled around him began imagining itself as composed of “gentlemen” with privileges common soldiers could not have. The fact that some American officers, including Generals Richard Montgomery (1736–1775), Charles Lee (1731–1782), and Gates, had borne commissions in the class-riven British army added to that sense. So did the advent of aristocratic and pseudo-aristocratic European volunteers, including the Marquis de Lafayette (1757–1834), who became an instant American major general; Thomas Conway (1735–1800); Count Kazimierz Pulaski (Casimir Pulaski, 1747–1779); and Baron Friedrich Wilhelm Augustin von Steuben (1730–1794), who became the Continental army’s drillmaster. Continental officers came to command troops who were serving “for the duration.” These mostly were young, single men of the sort that might have enlisted for the long-term service and tough discipline of a European army in the absence of any better choice.

OLD-STYLE WAR, REVOLUTIONARY WAR

For the British this was the last war of the *ancien régime*. But for Americans the war was revolutionary. Virtually every American community saw conflict and disruption. In addition to shaking slavery and drastically weakening Indian power, it changed women’s understanding of themselves as they learned to deal with businesses their men previously had monopolized. “Your farm” became “our farm” and eventually “my farm.” Though the preservation of the Continental army was central to the outcome, militiamen fighting a “people’s war” often made the difference at critical moments. The war created both a national elite and a national economy, and these were the basis for the movement that led to the U.S. Constitution in 1787–1788. For the British the war’s course led from excessive optimism to humiliation, but otherwise it left them unchanged. For the Americans the war transformed almost everything.

See also **British Colonies; North America; England; Enlightenment; Liberty; Military; Revolutions, Age of.**

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EDWARD COUNTRYMAN

AMSTERDAM. With a population of around 11,000 in 1514, Amsterdam ranked among the middling towns of Europe at the close of the Middle Ages. Two hundred years later, the city was the fourth largest in Europe, with an estimated population of 200,000. Most of this growth had occurred between 1585 and 1650. It was all the more remarkable because, among Europe’s ten largest cities, Amsterdam was the only one that was not a state capital; its expansion was a commercial phenomenon.

Situated on the confluence of the River Amstel, which gave the city its name, and an arm of the sea called the IJ, Amsterdam’s location provided a deep



Amsterdam. The many ships depicted in the busy harbor of Amsterdam on Carel Allard's late-seventeenth-century map attest to the importance of the city as a commercial center. After the Spanish capture of Antwerp in 1585, much of the trade formerly concentrated in that city moved to Amsterdam, and by the end of the Dutch Revolt (1568–1648) Amsterdam was the economic and cultural capital of Europe. MAP COLLECTION, STERLING MEMORIAL LIBRARY, YALE UNIVERSITY

and safe natural harbor for international shipping. In the sixteenth century the city was able to capture a substantial share of the expanding trade between Holland and the Baltic, which helped feed the city's waterlogged hinterland. Amsterdam became the most significant of Antwerp's satellite ports in the northern Low Countries.

Amsterdam's position changed dramatically in the course of the Dutch Revolt. Initially loyal to the Spanish king, the city was blockaded for years before it decided to join the rebel side in 1578. Then, in 1585, Antwerp was reconquered by the Spaniards,

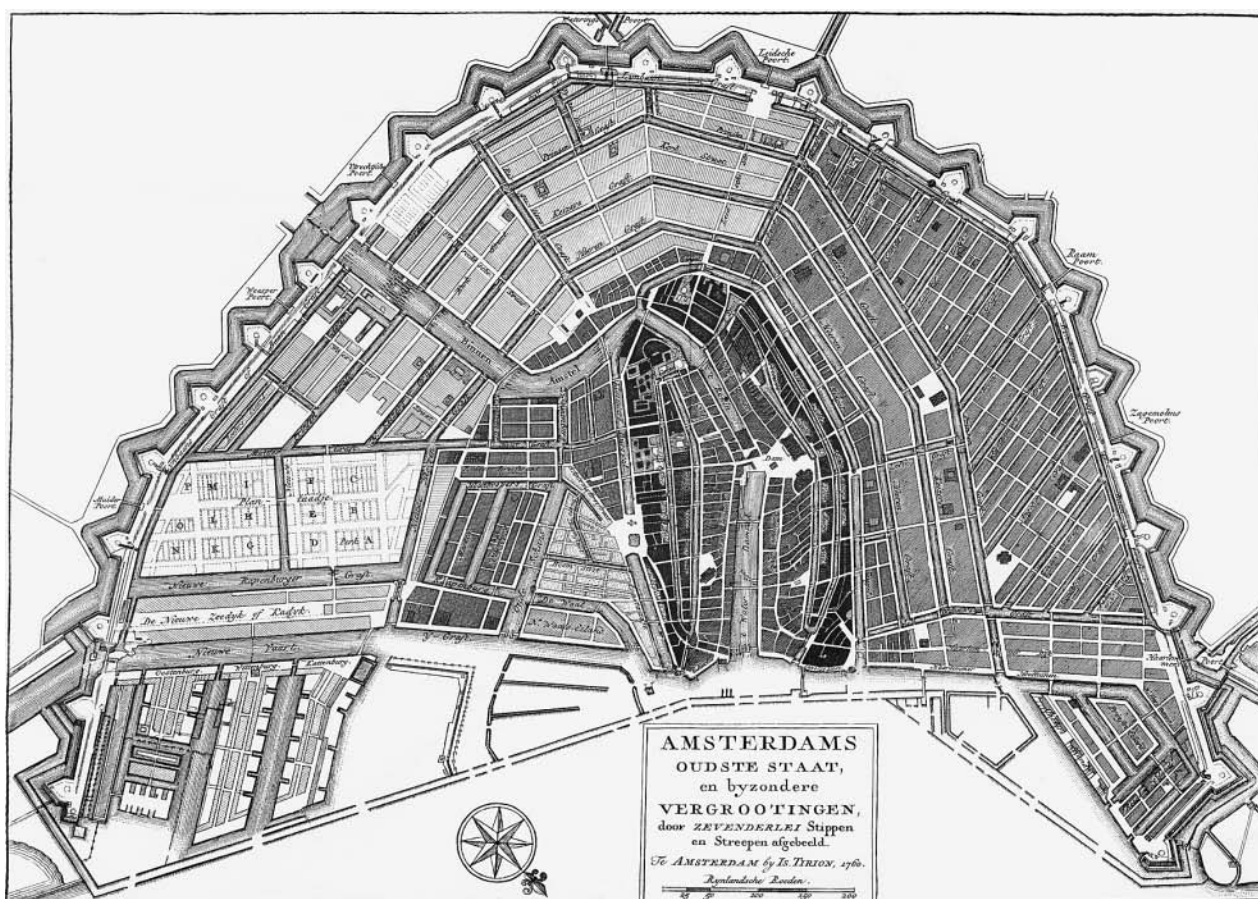
and in retaliation the rebels cut off shipping on the River Scheldt. Antwerp's merchant community dispersed, with many eventually settling in Amsterdam. Together with the local merchants they initiated a remarkable boom. Already in the 1590s Amsterdam merchants fitted out ships to explore various routes to the East Indies. Their success led to the establishment of the Dutch East India Company (Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie, or VOC) in 1602, with Amsterdam merchants providing more than half of the initial capital. When the Dutch West India Company (West-Indische Compagnie, or WIC) was established in 1621, Amster-

dam merchants were again the most important providers of capital. During the first half of the seventeenth century Amsterdam developed into the “staple” of western Europe, where every conceivable product available on the world market was sold.

The economic boom attracted large numbers of people to Amsterdam, both from within the Dutch Republic and from other countries. During the seventeenth century roughly one third of Amsterdam’s population was of foreign origin, while another third had migrated to the city from within the Dutch borders. To make room for all these newcomers, the city’s territory had to be expanded. The most significant additions were made in two stages during the 1610s and the 1660s, when Amsterdam obtained its characteristic shape. The old city center was surrounded by a ring of three main canals, de-

signed especially with the newly rich merchant class in mind. The canals were in turn enveloped by a ring of cheaper housing for artisan and working-class households. These two expansions also thwarted the development of suburbs and ensured that all of Amsterdam’s population remained firmly under the control of the city’s institutions.

Within the confederate Dutch Republic, Amsterdam enjoyed much autonomy. Its politicians, mostly recruited from the merchant community, were also indirectly involved in determining national priorities, ensuring, for example, that Amsterdam’s trade interests in the Baltic remained well protected. Amsterdam’s four burgomasters, three of whom were replaced each year, were sometimes considered as the most powerful men in the country. The defense of the town’s political indepen-



Amsterdam. A plan of Amsterdam by Isaac Tirion from Jan Wagenaar’s pictorial history of the city published in 1760. The different types of shading, or hatching, illustrate the planned growth of the city out from its medieval core around a dam on the Amstel River near its confluence with the IJ River. Concentric canals give Amsterdam its characteristic shape and divide the city into small islands linked by bridges. MAP COLLECTION, STERLING MEMORIAL LIBRARY, YALE UNIVERSITY

dence was of great importance to them. The burgo-masters ruled Amsterdam itself with the help of a great many corporate institutions. The guilds, for example, were and remained very important in the local economy. During the seventeenth century their number doubled, and they organized as much as a third of the population. Public order was maintained with the help of the civic militias.

The city's culture reflected this emphasis on civic institutions. In 1648 work began on the building of a new town hall, which was to be the largest purely civic building created in seventeenth-century Europe. Its magnificent design in fashionable Dutch classicism, lavishly decorated with monumental sculpture and paintings, was a monument to Amsterdam's achievements. The central hall was significantly known as the Citizens' Hall. Civic virtue was also a central theme in what was to become the most famous painting of Amsterdam's Golden Age, Rembrandt's *Nightwatch* (1642), which depicts the officers of a militia company guarding the town at night. This, and numerous similar collective portraits of militia officers, were created to be displayed in public.

Amsterdam's political independence, and the commercial attitude of its leading citizens, also helped create a tolerant religious climate, most significantly expressed in the treatment of Jewish immigrants. Holland did not have a Jewish community before the end of the sixteenth century, and when the first Jews arrived from Portugal in the 1590s the authorities were very open-minded about their settlement in Amsterdam. Jewish residents could obtain citizenship rights, albeit on restricted conditions. In the course of the seventeenth century two large synagogues were built in Amsterdam. Although a Jewish neighborhood developed in Amsterdam, it was not a ghetto, and Jews were permitted to live throughout the city.

Economic prosperity lasted longer in Amsterdam than in any of the other Dutch towns. However, in the course of the eighteenth century it became clear that Amsterdam's heyday was over. Most tellingly, the growth of its population, already slackening in the second half of the seventeenth century, was really over by 1740. The extra space that had been added by the extension of the 1660s remained partly unoccupied. The merchants, once the most

dynamic force of the city, became conservative in their outlook, and many families retired from business altogether. Banking became the most significant element of the city's service sector, but it did little in terms of local employment. Poverty skyrocketed, especially during the 1780s and 1790s, when ultimately one in five families depended on poor relief. By then, the glory days of the Golden Age were still treasured by the small part of the population fortunate—and wealthy—enough to live on one of the main canals. Elsewhere, in the narrow back alleys where whole families were crowded into a single room or cellar, Amsterdam had come to look like any other European city.

See also **Dutch Literature and Language; Dutch Republic; Dutch Revolt (1568–1648); Guilds; Netherlands, Art in the; Rembrandt van Rijn; Trading Companies.**

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MAARTEN PRAK

ANABAPTISM. Anabaptism is the name for several related branches of continental European lay Protestantism. These groups first began emerging after 1525 and were most prominent in (but not limited to) German- and Dutch-speaking territories. In German and Dutch the terms *Wiedertäufer* and *wederdooper* (rebaptizers) carry old, negative connotations. By contrast, *Täufer* or *dooper* (baptists), *Taufgesinnten* or *doopsgezinden* (the baptism-minded), and Mennonites (strictly speaking a group-specific term that is sometimes applied loosely as an umbrella category for all later Anabaptists except the Hutterites) are used more widely today. In current scholarly English the name Anabaptist (“one who baptizes again”) is widely accepted as a neutral term that has lost its older, polemical sense. While the first Anabaptists were often baptized twice, once as infants in the medieval church and again as adults in the early years of the Reformation, the overwhelming majority throughout the early modern era were baptized only once as adults, after first confessing their faith publicly.

There were some features common to most Anabaptist groups throughout the early modern period. Like other Protestants, Anabaptists rejected papal authority in favor of biblical authority. However, while most other Protestants began establishing new professional clerical elites soon after the initial ferment of the Reformation, Anabaptists maintained their reliance on lay leadership much longer, and it was not uncommon among early groups to believe that ordinary men and women could receive direct inspiration from the Holy Spirit. Like other Protestants, Anabaptists emphasized the importance of grace for salvation, but they also placed a great deal of emphasis on the need for true faith to result in the transformation of believers’ lives. And like other Protestants, Anabaptists accepted only two sacraments, communion and baptism. Their symbolic, commemorative understanding of communion was similar to that held by Reformed Protestants. But unlike the majority of other major Christian communities, Anabaptists re-

jected child baptism in favor of believers’ baptism as practiced by the earliest Christian communities.

INTERPRETING ANABAPTISM

One of the dominant twentieth-century interpretations of Anabaptist history was outlined by the Mennonite historian Harold Bender in an influential essay from 1944 entitled “The Anabaptist Vision.” In it he argued that “Anabaptism proper” had a single point of origin (Zurich) and an unchanging core of ethical features (discipleship, brotherhood, and nonresistance) that defined it. The reason for this narrow definition was to establish a clear distinction between true and false Anabaptists. The latter were those who, although they practiced believers’ baptism, also participated in revolutionary politics and/or held mystical, spiritualist beliefs. From the point of view of church historians trying to establish an appropriate pedigree for modern Mennonites, these kinds of “fanatics” were not appropriate forebears.

By contrast, nineteenth- and twentieth-century Marxist historians were among the first sympathetic interpreters to raise the theme of radical politics to prominence in Anabaptist studies. They were interested in Anabaptists as defenders of an ideology of the poor at a crucial stage of the Reformation when mainstream reformers were allying themselves with the interests of capital and the feudal ruling class. Few historians of Anabaptism today are Marxists, but issues the Marxists addressed—the social character of Anabaptist groups and the centrality of revolutionary events like the German Peasants’ War of 1525 and the period of Anabaptist rule in Münster from 1534 to 1535—continue to be prominent.

Scholars since the 1960s and 1970s have generally rejected these interpretations. If the older Mennonite scholarship has influence today, it is mainly in the general interest in ethics and beliefs. Scholars since the later twentieth century have continued to investigate these themes, usually without imposing modern denominational assumptions about “Anabaptism proper.” In part because of the influence of Marxist research, most acknowledge today that the first Anabaptists held a wide range of views about the use of force, as well as the proper relationship between believers and secular rulers. The newer social and intellectual history has shown that re-

gional diversity was one of the hallmarks of Anabaptism. The way ideas spread among Anabaptist groups plus the important role of women in early Anabaptist groups have also received more attention in recent scholarship.

At the beginning of the twenty-first century it was common to write about Anabaptism as part of the “Radical Reformation.” In the 1960s George Williams had defined this term in contrast to the “Magisterial Reformation” and the “Counter-Reformation” and gave it a meaning that emphasized intellectual and theological features. By contrast, in the 1970s the German historian Hans-Jürgen Goertz had proposed defining as “radical” those groups and individuals who broke with the social, political, and ecclesiastical norms of their day. In Goertz’s interpretation, anticlericalism and laicism were key impulses shared by the first reforming movements in the early 1520s. By the mid-1520s rifts developed among reformers. Those who founded mainstream Protestant churches moderated their once radical positions when it became possible to establish alliances with secular authorities. Anabaptist groups were among the early campaigners for radical reforms who refused to compromise with authorities and therefore eventually found themselves forced to the margins of society. The early coalitions of radicals included not only Anabaptists, but also spiritualist opponents of child baptism. While leaders at first could campaign for a complete Anabaptist reformation of society, separatism became the main option left open to those proponents of adult baptism who were active a few years after the Peasants’ War and the period of Anabaptist rule in Münster. The focus on radical reform is significant, because it integrates Anabaptist history into the main currents of early Reformation studies.

After the first stage of the Reformation, Anabaptist groups underwent a transformation from dynamic early reforming movements to more established communities. The concentration of Anabaptist and Radical Reformation studies on the period until about 1550 has meant that the character of institutionalized Anabaptism of the early modern period remains largely unexplored.

EARLY ANABAPTIST GROUPS

Throughout Europe the first generation of Anabaptists included men and women from a wide range of social backgrounds. University-educated scholars, former priests and monks, and artisans and other commoners were among their first leaders. Even the educated, many of whom quickly fell victim to executioners, tended to hold anti-intellectual prejudices, preferring the simplicity of a life lived according to Christ’s example to the intricacies of academic theology. Like medieval dissenters and reformers, most early Anabaptists emphasized active holiness and ascetically disciplined lives as prerequisites for salvation, and they frequently held apocalyptic, prophetic, spiritualistic, mystical, and anti-institutional understandings of their connections with God. Radical reformers like Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt, Thomas Müntzer, and Kaspar Schwenckfeld von Ossig were among those who rejected child baptism before 1525. Although they never baptized adults, their influence on Anabaptist groups was strong.

Ever since Klaus Depperman, Werner Packull, and James Stayer published the essay “From Monogenesis to Polygenesis” in 1975, it has been common to make distinctions among three regional forms of Anabaptism: Swiss, southern German and Austrian, and northern German and Dutch. The authors’ further research has shown that there were many interactions and exchanges connecting groups, especially in Swiss, southern German, and Austrian territories. Nonetheless, it remains useful to chart differences, as well as interactions, between regional cultures of Anabaptism.

In Swiss, southern German, and Austrian territories there was a strong affinity between the Peasants’ War and Anabaptism. In the aftermath of the conflicts of 1525, disillusioned activists sought to give religious expression to the ideals that the peasants and commoners had fought for earlier. The Anabaptist practice of community of goods emerged as a result.

The first adult baptisms began in Swiss territories in early 1525. The Swiss Brethren included many of Huldrych Zwingli’s early supporters, who had become dissatisfied with his conservative turn. Key leaders in this branch included Konrad Grebel (1498–1526), Balthasar Hubmaier (1485–1528), Felix Mantz (1498–1527), and Wilhelm Reublin

(c. 1484–after 1559). Their Christianity tended to be legalistic, literal, and scriptural in character. The Schleithem Articles of 1527 are a famous expression of Swiss Anabaptism in its most radically separatist mode.

Compared to Swiss Anabaptists, southern German and Austrian Anabaptist groups were influenced much more strongly by Thomas Müntzer's brand of spiritualism and mysticism. Apocalyptic expectations among believers were also especially strong into the later 1520s. Key leaders in this branch included Hans Denck (c. 1500–1527), Hans Hut (d. 1527), Pilgram Marpeck (1492–1556), and Melchior Rinck (c. 1493–1553?). After the 1520s these groups became indistinguishable from the Swiss—except for Marpeck's group, which was prominent for publishing ventures in which writings by such diverse figures as Luther and Schwenckfeld were edited to serve Anabaptist doctrinal objectives.

Anabaptists were faced with often severe persecution. From an anti-Anabaptist point of view, the baptism of adults was an anti-Christian rebaptism that threatened to disrupt unity and order in the Christian polity. Thus, sixteenth-century rulers tended to interpret the act of baptizing adults as an act of rebellion and heresy. Although Anabaptists amounted to only a small minority in most territories, the attention paid them by authorities meant that their impact was much greater than their numbers might suggest. At the 1529 Diet of Speyer rebaptism was declared a capital crime in the territories of the Holy Roman Empire. Both Catholic and Protestant governments executed unrepentant Anabaptist men and women.

Anabaptist responses to persecution varied. In the immediate aftermath of the Peasants' War a small minority chose to fight back, though futilely. Some believers recanted when threatened with punishment, while others stayed steadfast in the face of hardship, hoping for rescue upon Christ's imminent return. When confronted with the choice, some preferred martyrdom over the betrayal of their faith; about two thousand died for their faith, about as many as the martyrs drawn from the far more numerous Protestant churches. Another option was Nicodemism, hiding their forbidden faith from cen-

tral authorities while pretending to conform. Many chose exile.

One region where persecution was particularly intense was the Catholic Habsburg Tyrol. Here Anabaptism in the late 1520s was the main form of popular reform. Jakob Hutter (d. 1536) and other leaders arranged the relocation of large numbers of believers from the Tyrol to Moravia, where some members of the local nobility were willing to provide the Anabaptists with land to live in peace. The relative safety of Moravia also attracted many refugees from Switzerland and southern Germany. In the Moravian sanctuaries, competing branches melded into new hybrid forms of Anabaptism.

In Dutch and northern German territories, where the Peasants' War was of little consequence, Anabaptism had a largely (although not entirely) separate history. Melchior Hofmann (c. 1495–1543/1544) began baptizing believers in these territories in 1530. In 1531, after harsh repression, he decided to suspend baptisms until the End Times, which he felt were then soon approaching. The suspension of adult baptism did not halt the movement's spread. A turning point came in February 1534, when an Anabaptist faction won elections in the Westphalian city of Münster. By that time the city had become a New Jerusalem for believers from the surrounding region and the Netherlands after baptisms had resumed. Catholic and Protestant authorities in neighboring territories reacted by laying siege to the city. Under the stresses of the siege, community of goods and polygamy were practiced. The siege armies broke through the city's walls in June 1535. The captured leaders, including Jan van Leyden, the self-styled Anabaptist king, were executed in gruesome fashion.

Dutch and northern German Anabaptists after 1535 had to come to terms with the shock of the Münster years. Melchior Hofmann's distinctive belief in Christ's nature untainted by human corruption remained a characteristic of successor groups for many decades. A number of leaders vied for influence among the Melchiorite remnant after 1535. These included Jan van Battenburg, who led a militant minority; David Joris (1501/1502–1556), whose brand of spiritualism attracted many adherents before 1540; and Menno Simons (1496–1561), a former Catholic priest who advocated the



Anabaptism. *Anabaptist Anneken Hendriks Being Hoisted to the Fire.* This illustration by Jan Luykens appeared in the 1660 *Martyrs Mirror* by Thieleman Janszoon van Braght; the book collects writings concerning Protestants of various sects who were persecuted for their beliefs during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. ©BETTMANN/CORBIS

formation of disciplined, separatist communities of nonresistant believers as an alternative to the excesses of Münster. The Mennonites were the most successful faction after about 1540.

LATER DEVELOPMENTS

The character of Anabaptist groups went through some significant transformations over the course of the early modern era. While the first Anabaptists were voluntary converts to the new faith, most Anabaptists after the middle of the sixteenth century were born into established communities of faith. They accepted both adult baptism and political discrimination as part of their inheritance. It was only after the first generation of the Reformation that

nonresistance (which denominational historians emphasized in their interpretations) rose to the central position that it enjoyed throughout most of the rest of the early modern period. Over the course of the sixteenth century the separatist Anabaptists' radical rejection of mainstream society diminished, and secular governments tended to be more accepting of the peaceful, withdrawn dissenters the Anabaptists had become.

In southern territories, persecution forced believers to relocate from cities and towns to the more secluded countryside. Anabaptists in the Swiss highlands were hunted by authorities until the middle of the eighteenth century. The Amish, followers of Jakob Amman (c. 1644–c. 1730), formed in the

1690s, in part to try to establish pure communities of the faithful without any compromises. Many emigrated eventually to North America. Unlike the single-family households the Swiss Brethren preferred, a unique feature of Moravian Anabaptism was that a portion of its members organized themselves in large social, religious, and economic cooperatives that have remained typical of Hutterite communities (named after Jakob Hutter) to the present day. Hutterites thrived in Moravia beside other non-communitarian Anabaptist groups until the beginning of the Thirty Years' War, when they lost noble protection and migrated to new havens in Slovakia, after which they were driven farther east, until in the late nineteenth century they joined the wave of Russian emigration to North America.

Anabaptist groups thrived in the Protestant Netherlands and northern German territories, largely because they had received special privileges from secular authorities after the 1570s. Mennonites, the dominant group of Anabaptists in these regions, had strong communities in the Dutch countryside (as in Friesland) and in urban centers like Amsterdam, and even as far east as Danzig (Gdańsk). Under the stresses of war and persecution, Anabaptists had left the southern Low Countries in the sixteenth century for the relative safety of Protestant-controlled territories to the north. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, new Anabaptist communities formed. These included groups known as Waterlanders, Flemish, Frisians, and High Germans, and later also Lamists and Zonists. Although their ecclesiastical affairs were organized mainly locally and congregationally, conferences or synodal structures did emerge in the seventeenth century to link communities. The Dutch and northern German Mennonites were the first Anabaptists to employ professional, university-trained clergymen.

Most Mennonites were what we might call “conforming nonconformists.” They were religious nonconformists in their unique practice of believers’ baptism, as well as in their refusal to swear oaths or bear arms. In the seventeenth century, they (like other Protestant groups) commonly expressed their desire to preserve a unique confessional identity by using confessions of faith. In these statements, they also typically emphasized their adherence to the basic doctrines of the Christian creeds, and their politi-

cally conformist view that true Christians were obedient subjects. As communities they paid taxes, even war taxes. In some jurisdictions Mennonites held minor political offices, but in most cases they accepted exclusion from positions of public authority.

Early modern Mennonites were instrumental in creating a sense of pan-Anabaptist identity. They argued that their Anabaptist forebears were not fanatics, heretics, or rebels, as many Catholic and mainstream Protestant polemicists alleged. Rather, they were believers who had been especially faithful to Christ’s teachings. A rich martyrological tradition emerged in which Mennonite writers memorialized executed believers from groups all across Europe. Significant numbers of Mennonites prospered economically in the early modern era, and some were able to establish substantial merchant enterprises. They used part of their wealth to support coreligionists suffering hardships in other regions.

In the eighteenth century, Dutch Mennonites tended to be well integrated into their societies, and some even participated in Pietist or Enlightenment circles. In the 1780s a significant proportion were active in the Dutch Patriot Movement during its rebellion against the Orange regime. Some even gave up the principle of nonresistance to bear arms against the government. After the early nineteenth century this radical phase was eagerly forgotten.

See also **Leyden, Jan van; Münster; Patriot Revolution; Peasants’ War, German; Pietism; Reformation, Protestant; Zwingli, Huldrych.**

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MICHAEL D. DRIEDGER

ANATOMY AND PHYSIOLOGY. The spread of dissection at the end of the thirteenth century—in itself quite unusual and remarkable given religious and anthropological prohibitions—is closely linked to the growing demand for surgical intervention, the increase of postmortem inspections for legal purposes, the epistemological need to provide medical practice with a rational basis founded on ocular demonstrations, and the related use of public anatomies as a means of self-advertisement and of gaining institutional legitimacy against the claims of unlicensed practitioners. Mondino de' Liuzzi's *Anatomy*, written in 1316, indicates that anatomically based inquiries had become part of university medical education. By the fifteenth century, annual anatomies were established as a part of the academic curriculum in the more important universities of Europe. The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries witnessed a shift in the function of dissection from a predominantly educational device providing visual validation for textual knowledge to an independent method of investigation and a source of anatomical and physiological information. It

should be noted that the practice of human dissection was more the business of the physician than of the surgeon. As a consequence of long-established institutional constraints, surgeons were not allowed to practice internal medicine (and therefore to anatomize the so-called three cavities: abdomen, thorax, and head) and their anatomical skill was largely confined to the limbs.

THE DECLINE OF GALENISM

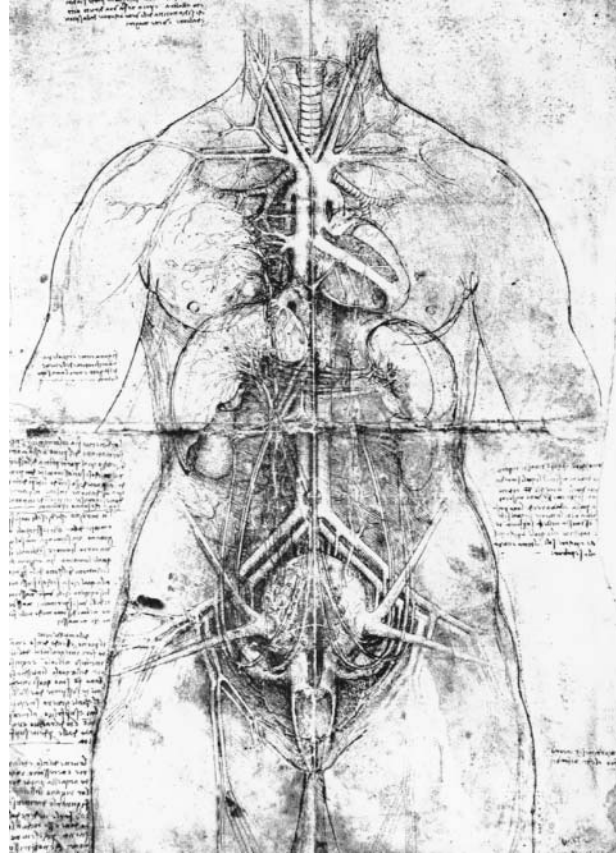
In the Middle Ages, the diffusion of anatomical and physiological knowledge was initially conveyed by the interpretation of authoritative texts rather than by the practice of dissection. Such works as Avicenna's *Canon*, Rhazes's *Almansor*, and Averroes's *Colliget* contained introductory sections on systematic anatomical description. The revival of Galenic texts, first in Bologna, Montpellier, and Paris in the fourteenth century, and then in the rest of the major European universities, contributed to the renewed interest in human dissection. The development of medical humanism (that is, the recovery of the ancients' medical legacy through a critical and philological restoration of their literary achievements) was a key factor in reviving anatomical inquiry. As also in the case of law, greater care for and attention to the ancient legacy generated over time a more critical attitude toward it and so ironically the reconstruction of the Galenic corpus, by bringing to light a series of discrepancies between authoritative text and dissected body, precipitated the decline of Galenism.

It is important to remember that Galen's medical system maintained a certain vitality (and some explanatory flexibility) until the end of the seventeenth century. Eclecticism and syncretism were a more frequent response among early modern practitioners than one might expect, above all because the therapeutic side of medicine continued to be conducted along traditional lines. The decline of Galenic anatomo-physiology among medical humanists and by anatomical investigators such as Andreas Vesalius (1514–1564), Michael Servetus (1511–1553), Realdo Colombo (1516?–1559), and Girolamo Fabrizi d'Aquapendente (c. 1533–1619) was an incremental process and involved the interpretation of specific discoveries.

A crucial watershed in the development of the new anatomy and physiology was William Harvey's

(1578–1657) discovery of the circulation of the blood. In most physiological accounts prior to Harvey's discovery, the functions of pulse, respiration, and nutrition were interwoven into a coherent and self-contained system in which the venous apparatus and the liver constituted a sanguineous and nutritive system and the arterial apparatus and the heart a pneumatic system with the main function of maintaining the body's innate heat and of distributing its effects throughout the body by means of respiration and ventilation. The redefinition of vital functions resulting from Harvey's theory of circulation severed the long-accepted links between the movement of the blood, the nutrition of the parts, and the production of the innate heat. Further anatomical discoveries, such as Gasparo Aselli's lacteals (1622), Jean Pecquet's thoracic duct (1651), and Thomas Bartholin's lymphatics (1653), complemented Harvey's work on the heart and the circulatory system by delineating a separate vascular system in which the chyle was delivered not to the liver but directly to the vena cava and then to the heart. This anatomical research dispossessed several organs (principally the liver and the lungs) of their traditional functions. The discovery of the circulation of the blood, therefore, was only the first of a series of discoveries of various, related "circulations" and their description: the circulation of the nutritive fluid, the circulation of the lymph, and the circulation of the "nervous juice."

With respect to the relationship between anatomy and surgical practice, the status of surgery underwent a dramatic change during the eighteenth century. Surgeons pioneered new techniques and rose in professional standing. In keeping with the Enlightenment emphasis on the benefits of practical knowledge, surgery became a separate science, with a particular emphasis on experimentation. The development of surgery, especially in France, consolidated the association between anatomic-pathology (the view that diseases are anatomically localized), bedside teaching, and the modern hospital. The reunification of surgery with medicine was also facilitated by the fact that during the eighteenth century, for a number of social and institutional reasons, anatomical studies could rely on a more abundant supply of corpses (bodies of criminals, lunatics, and paupers).



Anatomy and Physiology. An anatomical study of the human torso by Leonardo da Vinci. This is one of the many da Vinci drawings housed in Windsor Castle, Berkshire, England. ©BETTMANN/CORBIS

PHILOSOPHICAL ALTERNATIVES

With the collapse of Aristotelian natural philosophy within the domain of the physical sciences, the philosophical synthesis of Aristotelianism, Hippocratism, and Galenism, which had represented the theoretical framework of the medical sciences for centuries, also began to lose its hegemonic status and was confronted with an array of new philosophical perspectives. Various lines of anatomical and physiological inquiry spread throughout the seventeenth century, founded on different strands of mechanical philosophy, varieties of corpuscularianism, and forms of chemical naturalism. Systems of medical explanation arose with the ambition of accounting for every manifestation of life, from the absorption of food to the circulation of the blood, from the processes of secretion and excretion to muscular activity, and from respiration to sensation. The two prevailing approaches came to be known as iatro-

chemistry and iatrophysics (being the application, respectively, of chemistry and mechanics to the study of the body). Of course, iatrochemistry and iatrophysics were not entirely discrete systems and it would be difficult to find a purely iatrochemical or iatrophysical account of the body in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Authors as different as Giovanni Alfonso Borelli (1608–1679), René Descartes (1596–1650), and Thomas Willis (1621–1675) made use of chemical explanations to account for the production of the vital energy underlying physiological processes. An example of theoretical versatility was Franciscus de la Boë (called Sylvius; 1614–1672), a determined supporter of Harvey's doctrine who emphasized the importance of the chemical processes of fermentation and effervescence and managed to graft a chemical and circulatory physiology onto an originally Galenic framework.

Respiration was another physiological domain in which the chemical approach proved to be particularly fruitful. The long series of experiments conducted by Robert Boyle (1627–1691), John Mayow (c. 1641–1679), Joseph Black (1728–1799), and Joseph Priestley (1733–1804) led eventually to the final identification of the “vital air” as oxygen by Antoine-Laurent Lavoisier (1743–1794), who also demonstrated that some of the vital air was taken into the blood and had a decisive role in combustion and the maintenance of animal life. Although Georg Ernst Stahl (1660–1734), professor of medicine at the University of Halle, was no anatomist and rejected the findings of microscopic anatomy, he was concerned with the chemical composition of the body, and his chemical views had a certain influence on contemporary physiologists, especially those teaching at Montpellier. He distinguished the immaterial principle of life (the soul) from the body. However, despite obvious similarities to Descartes's dualism, Stahl's identification of the soul with the purposeful activity of nature was characteristic of the medical tradition rather than the Cartesian idea of the mind as a principle of consciousness. Stahl maintained that an organism was a living unit fundamentally different from a mere mechanism and that its material components were instrumental parts controlled by the immaterial soul.

Inspired by the new philosophies of nature advocated by Descartes, Galileo Galilei (1564–1642),

Boyle, and Pierre Gassendi (1592–1655), and in contrast with the iatrochemical emphasis on the vital nature of the inner workings of the body, iatrophysical physiologists held the view that medicine, both in theory and in practice, was based upon purely mechanical principles, namely, matter and motion, particles (whether indivisible atoms or indefinitely divisible corpuscles), action by contact, and movement through pores. The demise of the old belief that anatomical structures and physiological functions were regulated by purposeful tendencies caused a radical change in the explanatory framework of physiology: secretion and excretion were accounted for without resorting to attractive faculties; the function of the lungs became the mixing of the component parts of the blood; digestion was interpreted as a process of grinding and mincing food; and health and disease were considered to depend on the movement, obstruction, or stagnation of the various fluids running throughout the body. With Isaac Newton's (1642–1727) theory of gravitation and Boyle's experiments on air, attention shifted from gross to fine structures, from the paradigm of the clockwork mechanism formulated in rudimentary mechanical terms to a more sophisticated model of hydraulic and pneumatic engineering that came to be understood as an integrated network of vessels regulated by quantitative laws. In addition, with the publication of Newton's *Opticks* (1704), physiologists were encouraged to use the notions of ether and extremely subtle spirituous effluvia in their accounts of physiological operations.

Iatrophysical anatomy was greatly assisted by developments in microscopic observation. Robert Hooke (1635–1703), in his influential *Micrographia* (1665), argued that with the use of the microscope, many so-called “occult properties” might be interpreted as elementary contrivances of nature. Following Galileo's suggestion in *Il sagggiatore* (1623; The assayer) that living beings could be seen as assemblages of small machines, Marcello Malpighi (1628–1694) applied the microscope in his anatomical investigations to observe the smallest sections of animal and plant organs. Antoni van Leeuwenhoek's (1632–1723) expertise in the use of the microscope further confirmed the particulate structure of matter.

The most influential synthesis of iatrophysics was Hermann Boerhaave's (1668–1738) system of medicine. Teaching at the University of Leiden, he explained the physiological operations of the body in mechanical terms. He dismissed the question of the connection between the body and the mind as irrelevant from a physiological point of view. His characterization of the relationship between the body and the soul was reminiscent of Spinoza's philosophy, in which the substantial attributes—thought and matter—were conceived of as two parallel manifestations of one substance; consequently Boerhaave argued that everything that involves extension, impenetrability, or motion had to be referred to the body.

THE EMERGENCE OF MODERN PHYSIOLOGY

Pre-modern physiology was based on a set of fundamental concepts established during centuries of interpretations, translations, and appropriations of Aristotelian and Galenic notions, such as complexion (the specific balance of the primary qualities characterizing each individual), humors (the bodily fluids governing specific functions), faculties (the inherent powers of the different parts of the body), and spirits (the vehicles of natural, vital, and animal operations).

Whereas throughout the Middle Ages anatomy was subordinate to a form of highly theoretical physiology, in the early modern period the relationship was reversed: anatomy became the experimental and observational point of reference on which physiological theorizing was based. This resulted in a steadily growing interest in the investigation of the material basis of life, independently of whether this basis could be explained in mechanical or vital terms. The most remarkable difference from past approaches was that the distinction between living and non-living bodies was viewed less as a result of the activity of the soul than as a function of the internal organization of matter. The so-called vitalist reaction in the eighteenth century was not so much a return to the notion of the soul (although Stahl's "animism" had a certain influence on medical theories at the time) as an affirmation of the specific vital nature of matter. The mechanical approach to the investigation of vital phenomena in the seventeenth century, especially in its Cartesian version, had effaced the concept of life itself by



Anatomy and Physiology. Anatomical studies of the muscles of the head and upper torso by Leonardo da Vinci, now housed in Windsor Castle, Berkshire, England.

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claiming that the manifestations of life were merely the result of various dispositions of inert matter. Eighteenth-century vitalism, therefore, can be seen as the expression of a latent materialism rather than as a form of animism.

Eighteenth-century anatomical investigations into the finer structures of the body placed particular emphasis on study of the nervous system. This, in turn, brought a greater awareness of the interdependence of living organisms and their environment, highlighting the ability of living structures to respond purposefully to their external milieu. It is no accident, then, that the study of the various forms of irritability became a central topic in the eighteenth century. In the second half of the seventeenth century, drawing on Harvey's speculations about the living and sentient nature of the blood, Francis Glisson (1597–1677) elaborated a comprehensive the-

ory of irritability based on the notion of matter as a living and sentient principle. By irritability, Glisson meant the specific properties of the bodily fibers in perceiving and reacting to irritation.

The Swiss physiologist Albrecht von Haller (1708–1777), who taught at the University of Göttingen, adopted Glisson's theory of irritability but attributed the ability to react to external stimuli only to the fibers of the body and not to an allegedly perceptive power inherent in matter. In *Elementa Physiologiae Corporis Humani* (1757–1766; Elements of the physiology of the human body), he characterized the organs of the body as interwoven fibers. Muscles, as any other fibrous part, were deemed to be endowed with a general contractile tendency that he called *vis mortua* (dead power). Active muscular contraction depended on an immanent power that he called irritability. In the famous essay “De Partibus Corporis Humani Sensibilibus et Irritabilibus” (1752), translated into English in 1755 as “On the sensible and irritable parts of animals,” he distinguished between irritability (muscular contraction) and sensibility (nerve impulse). He called a part irritable when it contracted upon being touched, sensible when the contact produced an impression in the mind. A great number of physiologists and naturalists working on the irritable properties of living bodies were inspired by Haller's research. William Cullen (1710–1790), professor of medicine at Edinburgh University, defined life as a function of the nervous power and insisted on the importance of the tonic contraction of the muscles. John Brown (1735–1788) maintained, more speculatively, that life was not a spontaneous state but one maintained by continuous stimulation or “excitement”; health was supposed to consist in maintaining the right proportion between them. While never popular in England or France, Brown's system (Brunonianism) was enthusiastically taken up in Italy, Germany, and the United States, where Benjamin Rush (1745–1813) became one of the most vocal supporters of Brown's ideas. Working on gland secretions, Théophile de Bordeu (1722–1776), professor at Montpellier, argued that each organ was naturally endowed with an inherent capacity to respond to external stimuli. A whole series of experiments on generation and regeneration (that is, the capability manifested by plants and some lower animals to grow again after

some parts had been severed) performed by René-Antoine Réaumur (1683–1757), Abraham Trembley (1710–1784), Charles Bonnet (1720–1793), and Lazzaro Spallanzani (1729–1799), among others, provided further evidence for the existence of active vital powers in matter.

At the end of the century, the dominant discourse in physiology was vitalistic. Johann Friedrich Blumenbach's (1752–1840) idea of a “life-force” driving toward regeneration, John Hunter's (1728–1793) belief in a “life-principle” distinguishing living organisms from inanimate matter, and Erasmus Darwin's (1731–1802) notion of an intrinsic motility embedded in the fibers of living beings are only some of the many eighteenth-century conceptions of an original power of life not reducible to the mechanical powers of matter.

See also Boerhaave, Herman; Boyle, Robert; Cullen, William; Descartes, René; Galileo Galilei; Gassendi, Pierre; Haller, Albrecht von; Harvey, William; Hooke, Robert; Leeuwenhoek, Antoni van; Malpighi, Marcello; Matter, Theories of; Medicine; Priestley, Joseph; Scientific Method; Vesalius, Andreas.

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GUIDO GIGLIONI

ANCIEN RÉGIME. The term *ancien régime* (Old Regime) came into use in the late summer of 1789 as participants in the French Revolution realized how great a rupture they had made from the recent past. “*Ancien régime*” therefore came into existence only after the *ancien régime* was finished. No one was ever very specific about when it began. Sometimes revolutionaries implied that the term referred to the entire past of France at least from medieval times onward. At other times, it meant simply the recent pre-revolutionary past.

The term itself evolved during the Revolution. According to the preamble to the Constitution of 1791, the Revolution had abolished hereditary and feudal nobility, venality of office, the guilds, monastic vows, and all privileges. The text says nothing about the monarchy, the abolition of the tithe, and the ending of the church’s corporate existence, and it mentions seigneurialism only by allusion. Undoubtedly, the reason was that when the Constitution was promulgated, these issues were not entirely settled. When the monarchy was abolished and the Republic founded (September 1792), the term took on a much more aggressive meaning; republican politicians portrayed the *ancien régime* as uniformly oppressive and claimed that the Revolution had liberated the countryside from noble domination, clerical superstition, and a cruel monarchy. Early revolutionaries believed that they had reestablished liberty and equality before the law. For the Jacobins, escaping the *ancien régime* was a physical and spiritual emancipation.

Historians like Alexis de Tocqueville in the nineteenth century questioned this assumption that the Revolution was a violent break in national history. Instead, said Tocqueville, it witnessed the culmination of the construction of the centralized state. For modern historians, *ancien régime* is a convenient shorthand. It generally means the period in French history from about 1650 to 1789. It defines a France ruled by divine-right absolute monarchy, accompanied by a society based upon privileges for individuals, groups, corporations, provinces, towns, and so on; and capped by a monopoly of public worship reserved for the Catholic Church. The new regime, by contrast, was a constitutional monarchy based upon the rule of law, religious toleration, and equality of rights.

See also **Divine Right Kingship; France; Monarchy; Revolutions, Age of.**

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DONALD SUTHERLAND

ANCIENT WORLD. During the Renaissance, many Europeans were intensely fascinated with the ancient world, that is, the civilizations of ancient Greece and Rome. This fascination is quite understandable. The physical remains of these civilizations—amphitheaters, theaters, triumphal columns and arches, as well as the ruins of many other structures that had been visible since the fall of the Roman Empire—dotted the entire Mediterranean landscape. An awareness of these civilizations, of course, had persisted throughout the Middle Ages because of these physical remains, popular memory, and the surviving writings of the ancient authors. It was not until the Renaissance, however, that the ancient world was studied with renewed vigor. Spearheaded primarily by humanists, artists, and antiquarians, a broad cultural movement emerged that came to regard the ancient world as the peak of civilization and the medieval world as barbarous. It was these groups that sought to restore much of the splendor of the ancient world.

In the Middle Ages, the ancient world was appreciated mainly because it had provided the stage for the birth of Christ and the early development and spread of Christianity. Much of the ancient world remained a mystery, and the glory of ancient Rome was all but forgotten. The famous Forum in Rome, the economic and political hub of the ancient city, had been reduced to a cow pasture. Some of Rome’s grandest buildings had been confused and misidentified in medieval imaginations. The fate of the surviving writings of the ancient authors was little different. Many texts were lost or incomplete. The relationship between the buildings and monuments mentioned in these writings and their

ruins was largely a mystery. Moreover, since there was virtually no knowledge of Greek, most of the Greek authors, both pagan and Christian, were unknown, including Homer, the author of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. The renewed interest in the ancient world originated in the Italian peninsula during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Italy was the first region in Europe to recover economically and culturally from the devastation wrought by the disintegration of the Roman Empire in the fifth century C.E. Humanists, artists, and architects began to look back upon the ancient world for inspiration in order to give expression to the pride of the thriving and burgeoning Italian city-states and principalities. Civic pride fueled the race to link the individual regions with the glory of the ancient world, both Christian and pagan. In the Middle Ages, the cities were proud of their saints and of the bones and relics in their churches. In the Renaissance, the Italian cities began again to remember their ancient pagan citizens and inhabitants. Naples, perhaps, had never forgotten its tomb of Virgil (70–19 B.C.E.), since a kind of mythical halo had become attached to the name. When in 1274 the skeleton of a warrior inside a lead coffin was brought to light during excavations in Padua, the remains were thought to be those of Antenor, the Trojan soldier believed to have been the mythical founder of the city, as attested by Virgil in the *Aeneid* (1.242–249). The Paduans claimed to have the remains not only of Antenor but also of the historian Livy. Como claimed both the Plinys for its own, and at the end of the fifteenth century erected statues in their honor upon the facade of the cathedral. In this way the evolving social and political history of the various Italian city-states became anchored within the grand framework of the ongoing mystique of the Roman Empire.

Renaissance humanists played a significant role in the attempt to recover, restore, and revive the culture of classical antiquity. Their most significant contribution was in the field of classical scholarship, that is, the intensive study of the literary and material remains of Greek and Roman civilization. Some of the major scholars in this field were Petrarch, Poggio Bracciolini, Coluccio Salutati, Nicholas of Cusa, and Desiderius Erasmus. Lost works of Latin literature, including Cicero's speeches and letters to Atticus, Quintilian's treatise on rhetoric, twelve new

play by Plautus, and the works of the Roman historian Tacitus, were discovered in monasteries throughout Europe. Unfortunately many of the texts that had survived were filled with scribal errors. The humanists produced critical editions of these texts by comparing the readings found in different manuscripts or by making educated guesses as to what the original text must have been. With the invention of the printing press in the mid-fifteenth century, these texts could be made available to a much wider audience than before—a far cry from the time-consuming process of copying out a manuscript by hand, as practiced throughout the Middle Ages. By the middle of the sixteenth century, most of the surviving literature of classical Greece and Rome, both pagan and Christian, was available in a variety of printed editions at prices, moreover, that most scholars could afford. By means of these texts, the humanists gained a fuller understanding of the classical world and could identify many of the ruins and their abbreviated inscriptions. Classical authors continued to exert an influence on the chief literary figures of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, who peppered their works with numerous allusions to classical literature. Many of the important genres of history, drama, biography, the essay, and the novel bear a classical imprint.

The ancient world also inspired artists and architects. Artists drew their inspiration from the Bible, from the literary works of ancient Greek and Roman authors, from the landscape, and from the material remains of the ancient world. Unlike painting, of which few classical examples had survived, many types of sculpture and architecture filled the Mediterranean world. As in literature, lost works of art and sculpture were discovered, such as the famous Laocoön found in Rome in 1506. Sculptors and architects did more than just imitate classical models; they produced a new architectural style to serve the needs of Renaissance society. Renaissance art, sculpture, and architecture served multiple purposes: it provided a public expression of civic pride, it was instructive since it often depicted biblical or classical scenes, and it served to enhance the reputation of the patron.

The fascination with the ancient world declined with the discoveries of the New World and of the scientific revolution. After all, the Roman Empire was relatively small compared with the global em-

pires of the Spanish, French, and English. Furthermore, in terms of science and technology, Europeans had surpassed the ancients. Nevertheless, the presence of the ancient world continued to shape the imaginations of Europeans.

See also Archaeology; City-State; Erasmus, Desiderius; Humanists and Humanism; Italy; Renaissance; Rome, Architecture in; Rome, Art in.

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MILTON KOOISTRA

ANCIENTS AND MODERNS. The quarrel between the ancients and moderns is a recurrent theme in the history of ideas. It was already being argued in the later days of the Roman Empire as an increasing nostalgia for the past developed. The dialogue on oratory attributed to Tacitus is a good example of this burgeoning contest. During the Middle Ages it took a different turn as much of the classical world became obscure, although a keen rivalry developed in Scholasticism between the self-styled *antiqui* and *moderni*, neither of whom was in fact very ancient. It was only with the Renaissance and the deliberate recovery of classical antiquity that the quarrel grew to a head. The authority of the ancients was exalted, and a canon of authors and

artists was established that was to reign throughout the early modern period. The only question was how far and to what extent imitation should be carried. (See the famous 1528 "Ciceronianus" dialogue of Desiderius Erasmus, where the issue was formally debated.)

However, modern inventions, such as gunpowder, the compass, and the printing press, soon began to stimulate arguments for the new; and scientists and philosophers like Francis Bacon, Thomas Hobbes, and René Descartes began to affirm their self-conscious modernity. Some efforts were made to tote up the achievements on both sides, as in the works of Alessandro Tassoni (*Pensieri diversi*, 1612), who inclined toward the moderns, and Guido Pancirolli, who defended the ancients in his Latin *History of Many Memorable Things Lost* (1612; English translation 1715). Later in the seventeenth century an explicit rivalry arose between the new science of the Royal Society and the older Aristotelian philosophy that was still installed in the universities. But even Isaac Newton himself continued to believe, against the moderns, in an ancient wisdom reaching back to Moses and Hermes Trismegistus, who had together foreshadowed all that was later to come.

The quarrel was renewed and widened at the end of the century in England and France while all Europe looked on. In England the contest was labeled "The Battle of the Books" by Jonathan Swift, who, with his literary friends Alexander Pope and John Arbuthnot, took the side of the ancients, employing satire as their chief weapon. Swift was defending his patron, Sir William Temple, who had started up the quarrel with a little *Essay upon Ancient and Modern Learning* in 1690. He was answered by William Wotton four years later with a large book that he called *Reflections on Ancient and Modern Learning*. Wotton tried to show that there was a profound difference between those human achievements that depended on imitation and those that had developed by accumulation. Among the first he included the fine and literary arts, including poetry, oratory, and history, as the Renaissance humanists had long proposed. Wotton admitted that the ancients had reached a perfection in those matters that could only be imitated, and perhaps equaled, though not surpassed. Among the moderns he included the whole range of the sciences and

philosophy. In all those things the latest were the best since they were able to build upon earlier achievements by collaboration and addition—in a familiar phrase, like dwarfs standing on the shoulders of giants. Here progress was both possible and attainable. Newton's work alone—and despite himself—seemed to prove the point. For the most part this balanced view triumphed during the eighteenth century.

Meanwhile in France a similar quarrel came to a boil almost simultaneously. Charles Perrault recited a poem in 1687 and followed it with some essays in which he extolled the French achievement under Louis XIV and forthrightly challenged the ancients in everything. His work was answered at once by the most celebrated writers in the French academy, among them Nicholas Boileau-Despréaux and Jean Baptiste Racine, who defended the ancients. After the first skirmish, the issue narrowed to the question of the primacy of Homer as the prince of poets. Was he the greatest writer of all time, who could only be imitated but never surpassed? Or was he simply a poet among many who could be improved and modernized (as in the abridged translation by Houdart de la Motte)? Anne Dacier and her husband, André, led the ancients, and their arguments were largely repeated in England by Pope in his translations of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. This contest also ended in a draw, though it had pregnant consequences, for example in Naples, where Giambattista Vico used it as a stimulus for his new science of history.

For a time the neoclassical movement in the visual arts and literature reinforced the claims of the ancients in literature and the visual arts, and it was still possible in 1766 to defend their primacy in philosophy and science, as in Louis Duten's *An Inquiry into the Origin of the Discoveries attributed to the Moderns: Wherein it is demonstrated, That our most Celebrated Philosophers have, for the most part, taken what they advance from the Works of the Ancients*. Nevertheless, by the end of the eighteenth century, the new sciences, natural and historical, aided by a developing philology and archaeology, were able to undermine further the precedence of antiquity. Philology had been at the nub of the original contest when it was claimed for the moderns by Wotton and his great scholar friend Richard Bentley. It was Bentley's exposure of the *Epistles* of

the ancient Greek tyrant Phalaris as a forgery that particularly alarmed the defenders of the ancients, and they ganged up on him in a deliberate attempt to defend the ancient work. For a time they withstood the challenge of modern scholarship, much as the Anglican community was just then trying to withstand the textual criticism of the Bible, but eventually both failed. Scholars showed what Bentley and Vico had suspected all along, that the Homeric poems were composed in an oral tradition long after the events, and they threw doubt on both the authorship of the works and the authenticity of their history. (So too the consistency and integrity of the Bible was simultaneously being challenged.) Meanwhile, the Romantics and their successors rebelled against the whole idea of imitation, and the modernist movement at the end of the nineteenth century may be seen a revolt against the long and restrictive authority of the ancients. New and more radical moderns had replaced the old, while the defense of antiquity receded under the impact of a deeper knowledge of the ancient and pre-ancient worlds, distancing them and estranging them from contemporary use. The classics were largely abandoned in the schools and in public life where they had long reigned. The long quarrel between ancients and moderns was pretty much over.

See also Boileau-Despréaux, Nicolas; Erasmus, Desiderius; Neoclassicism; Perrault, Charles; Pope, Alexander; Racine, Jean; Swift, Jonathan; Vico, Giovanni Battista.

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ANDRUSOVO, TRUCE OF (1667).

The treaty between Russia and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, ending the Thirteen Years' War and, with it, decades of strife over Ukraine was signed at Andrusovo early in 1667. The tsar's representative at the peace negotiations in 1664, Afanasy Lavrentyevich Ordyn-Nashchokin, hoped they would lead to a permanent peace and perhaps even an alliance with the Commonwealth against the Ottomans. Neither of these goals was achieved. But the protocol signed on 30 January 1667 established an armistice for thirteen years, to June 1680, on terms more favorable to Muscovy than to the Commonwealth. Muscovy was required to restore Lithuania, Livonia, and Belarus to the Commonwealth and to recognize Right Bank Ukraine from the Dnieper to the San River as a Commonwealth possession, but the Poles were in turn obliged to cede their claims to Smolensk and Chernigov (lands they had wrested from Muscovy during the Time of Troubles), to surrender part of the Vitebsk Palatinate, and to acknowledge Left Bank Ukraine as a permanent Muscovite protectorate. Moscow was permitted to lease Kiev for two years. Subsequent requests to evacuate Kiev were rebuffed, on the grounds of the Polish crown's inability to protect Right Bank Ukraine from the Turks; the Poles finally relinquished their claim to Kiev in the "eternal peace" signed in 1686.

The Commonwealth and Muscovy remained at peace with each other after 1667, but more from fear of the Turks than from satisfaction with the mutual spheres of influence the armistice had established. The Turks continued to intervene in Ukraine in the 1670s. The permanent division of Ukraine into Left Bank and Right Bank hetmanates was deeply disappointing to the Cossack populations of both banks and led to further war between their hetmans.

See also Alexis I (Russia); Cossacks; Poland-Lithuania, Commonwealth of, 1569–1795; Time of Troubles (Russia); Ukraine.

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BRIAN DAVIES

ANGLICANISM. *See* Church of England.

ANGLO-DUTCH NAVAL WARS.

England and the Dutch Republic fought a series of three wars (in 1652–1654; 1665–1667; 1672–1674) that took place predominantly in the North Sea and the English Channel and its approaches. A fourth conflict (1780–1784) was part of the War of American Independence (1775–1783).

The first three Anglo-Dutch wars involved economic rivalry between two similar states. Because of that theme, their main location, and their close occurrence in time they have been lumped together, but overemphasis on these factors obscures their different causes and contexts. These three wars are unusual in that neither opponent was able to launch a major amphibious or land campaign to complement the naval actions at sea. In naval history the wars mark the beginning of the "Age of Sail," which lasted through 1815 and during which the large oceangoing sailing warship was the predominant vessel as well as the most potent symbol of national power. At the same time the wars mark the early stage in the 150-year period that began the gradual professionalization of the naval officers corps, the creation of the battle fleet and the specialization of warship design for this purpose, the usage of formal line-of-battle tactics, and the growth of bureaucratic control over state navies.

THE FIRST WAR (1652–1654)

By the mid-seventeenth century the Dutch Republic was at its zenith as the predominant maritime economic and naval power in Europe. The English had lost much trade to Dutch competition. The Dutch Republic was in its first "stadtholderless period." At the same time England was in the "commonwealth period." The long-term causes of the First Anglo-Dutch War are the subject of scholarly

debate over the relative importance of maritime trade, factional internal politics relating to the character of the opposing governments, and the ideological differences of the two governments in religion and politics.

The immediate events leading up to the war began when Oliver St. John (1598?–1673) and Walter Strickland (d. 1676) arrived at The Hague in March 1651 to demand that the Dutch Republic enter into an alliance and union with England. In October 1651 Parliament passed the Navigation Act to stop Dutch competition in southern European and colonial trade. Despite ongoing negotiations, war preparations began, and incidents occurred, first off Start Point on 22 May 1652 and then when Maarten Tromp (1598–1653) fought the English fleet under Robert Blake (1599–1657) off Dover on 29 May 1652. The Dutch and English both entered the war in June without any clear strategic concept, overestimating their own abilities and underestimating the enemy.

In the major actions Blake attacked Dutch shipping in July, and Sir George Ayscue (d. 1671) fought Michiel de Ruyter (1607–1676) in the English Channel in August. At the Kentish Knock on 8 October, Blake heavily damaged the Dutch under Admiral Witte de With (1600–1658), but on 10 December, Tromp won a major strategic victory over Blake off Dungeness, forcing the English to retreat from the Channel and defend their southern coast. In February 1653 Tromp took a convoy into the Bay of Biscay. On Tromp's return passage, Blake intercepted him in a running battle, 28 February to 2 March. Blake's victory in the Channel fight inflicted heavy damage on the Dutch, forcing them to seek shelter at Calais and leaving England in control of the Channel. Following this battle the English issued tactical instructions that became the initial basis for eighteenth-century tactics. On 12 June 1653 George Monck (1608–1670) defeated Tromp at the Gabbard shoal, the most decisive battle of the war. Monck then blockaded the Dutch coast and immobilized Dutch trade. Challenging the blockade, Tromp was killed off The Texel on 10 August.

Peace negotiations began in March 1653 and were concluded in the Treaty of Westminster a year later. The first war secured Commonwealth England, forced the Dutch to replace some twelve

hundred vessels lost in the war, and indirectly caused the end of the Dutch West India Company's Brazil venture.

THE SECOND WAR (1665–1667)

Tensions resurfaced a decade later, following the restoration of the monarchy in England. James, duke of York (later James II; ruled 1685–1688), and other like-minded courtiers and merchants believed that resumption of war would increase English trade and help unite the country. In 1664 Sir Robert Holmes (1622–1692) captured a number of Dutch ships and all but one of the Dutch forts in West Africa, but de Ruyter quickly recovered them. Meanwhile Colonel Richard Nicolls (1624–1672) captured New Amsterdam in August 1664 and renamed it New York, and Sir Thomas Allin (1612–1685) attacked the Dutch Smyrna convoy in December 1664.

War was finally declared in February 1665. The Dutch capture of the English Hamburg convoy in March was offset by the English victory at Lowestoft on 13 June, which the English failed to follow up. As part of an attempt to get Danish and Swedish support, Edward Montagu (1625–1672), earl of Sandwich, made an unsuccessful attack on a Dutch merchant fleet at Bergen, Norway.

In January 1666, after French diplomacy failed to halt the war, Louis XIV (ruled 1643–1715) reluctantly declared war against England under the Franco-Dutch Alliance of 1662, but he awaited the outcome of further naval engagements before committing the French fleet to action. This Four Days' Fight with de Ruyter against Monck (now duke of Albemarle) and Prince Rupert (1619–1682) occurred on 11 through 14 June and was the bloodiest English defeat during the four wars. Five weeks later the English won a victory on Saint James's Day, 3 August, by using line-ahead tactics. A Dutch merchant fleet was destroyed at Terschelling in "Holmes's Bonfire." The Dutch successfully blockaded southeast England, and de Ruyter raided the Medway River on 22 June 1667, capturing the flagship *Royal Charles* and burning others. In the West Indies the English captured several colonies.

In July 1667 the Peace Treaty of Breda gave the advantage to the Dutch. While New York remained English, the Dutch obtained and recovered posses-

sions in West Africa, the West Indies, and the East Indies.

THE THIRD WAR (1672–1674)

Trade was the pretext for a new war that masked a secret agreement between Charles II (ruled 1660–1685) and Louis XIV in the 1670 Treaty of Dover to overwhelm the Dutch Republic. Holmes again led an attack before war was declared, this time on the Dutch Smyrna convoy in the Channel on 23 March 1672. On 27 March, Charles II declared war. In the Dutch Republic the de Witt brothers, Johan (1625–1672) and Cornelis (1623–1672) were losing their effectiveness and were murdered as William III (stadtholder 1672–1702; king of England 1689–1702) reactivated the stadtholdership.

The first phase of the sea war involved bringing the French and English fleets to operate together. Attempting to strike a blow before they could organize, de Ruyter attacked the allied fleet under the duke of York and Jean d’Estrées (1624–1707) in Sole Bay (Southwold Bay) on 7 June 1672. Sandwich died in the action, and only light winds prevented a sweeping Dutch victory. The Dutch withdrew, leaving the allies in control of the North Sea as naval guns and men were needed ashore to defend against the French invasion.

The allies planned a coherent naval strategy for 1673. However, as the English approached de Ruyter in his anchorage at the Schooneveld, de Ruyter attacked them on 7 June and again on 14 June, preventing them from carrying out the blockade and amphibious landing they envisaged. After the allies withdrew, the Dutch attempted to blockade them in the Thames, and Charles II would not authorize further attacks on the Dutch coast. In July a small Dutch squadron under Cornelis Evertsen the youngest (1642–1706) retook New York. Another Dutch victory between Kijkduin and Texel on 21 August proved decisive not by tactics but by the resulting English public opinion criticizing the French performance.

This criticism helped undermine the king’s pro-French alliance, and Parliament refused to support operations. In October, Louis XIV declared war on Spain, threatening to draw England into a wider war. On 19 February 1674 Charles II concluded a separate peace with the Dutch and withdrew from

the war. New York reverted to England, but in most other areas Dutch demands were met.

THE FOURTH WAR (1780–1784)

The Dutch Republic initially attempted to remain neutral in the War of American Independence, but merchants and politicians saw advantages in siding with France as British power grew in the Far East and the West Indies. Soon the Dutch showed complicity with the Americans. Just as the republic joined the League of Armed Neutrality in 1780, Britain declared war, confident it could take Dutch overseas territory to offset other losses. Sir George Rodney (1718–1792) captured Saint Eustatius on 3 February 1781. The only fleet engagement, fought off Dogger Bank between convoy escort squadrons under Sir Hyde Parker (1714–1782) and Johan Zoutman (1724–1793) on 3 August 1781, was a tactical draw but a strategic success for Britain. The Dutch were included in the January 1783 cease-fire with the French, Spanish, and Americans, but the war did not formally end until Britain and the Dutch Republic signed the separate Treaty of Paris in May 1784.

See also American Independence, War of (1775–1783); Dutch Colonies: The Americas; Dutch Colonies: The East Indies; Dutch Republic; Dutch War (1672–1678); Louis XIV (France); William and Mary; Witt, Johan and Cornelis de.

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ANGUISSOLA, SOFONISBA (c. 1532–1625), Italian portrait painter. The daughter of Amilcare Anguissola and Bianca Ponzone of Cremona, Sofonisba Anguissola enjoyed international recognition during her lifetime. In the history of art her name has appeared with regularity since Marco Girolamo Vida counted her, at age fifteen, among the most significant painters in *Cremonensium Orationes III Adversus Papienses in Controversia Principatus* (1550), and Giorgio Vasari praised her as “miraculous” in the second edition of *The Lives of the Most Eminent Painters, Sculptors and Architects* (1568). Her known works include small devotional pictures, such as the *Holy Family* (1559, Accademia Carrara, Bergamo); numerous portraits, like the life-size *Portrait of Isabel Valoise* (c. 1565, Prado, Madrid); more than a dozen self-portraits, which date principally to her youth; and paintings and finished drawings of her family. Within this corpus, the images depicting her family hold special significance. The intimacy, wit, and captured spontaneity seen in paintings like *The Artist's Sisters Playing Chess* (c. 1555, Muzeum Narodowe, Poznań) and the drawing *Young Girl Teaching an Old Woman the Alphabet* (mid-1550s, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence), were unprecedented, making Anguissola the innovator of what has come to be called “the conversation piece.”

Sofonisba Anguissola was the oldest in a family of six daughters and a son. It has been reasonably suggested that her father, who became her most ambitious promoter, decided to provide her and her sisters with a humanist education and artistic training in the hope of alleviating some of the monetary strain of financing six dowries. The rationale, which proved correct, was that the exceptionality of female artists ensured the rarity and desirability of their

work. In her early teens, Sofonisba, together with her sister Elena (who died after 1584), was sent to study painting with Bernardino Campi. If the association, which lasted from c. 1546–1549, was not typically that of apprentice to master but resembled more the relationship of paying guest to instructional host, the actual artistic training Anguissola received seems to have followed conventional lines. She was taught the fundamentals of materials and techniques, and instructed to copy the works of her teacher and other masters. Anguissola's small panel painting of the *Pietà* (after 1560, Pinacoteca Brera, Milan), which depends clearly on Campi's *Deposition* (Pinacoteca Brera, Milan), as well as her *Nursing Madonna* (1588, Szepmusveseti Muzeum, Budapest), which replicates the style and composition of works by the Genoese master Luca Cambiaso, indicate that she continued to learn in this way long after her departure from Campi's workshop and even after her subsequent period of study (1549–c. 1552) with Benardino Gatti (1495–1576), called Il Sojaro, had ended.

Throughout this period, Anguissola's father corresponded with an array of influential humanists and potential patrons. Extant letters to Michelangelo Buonarroti reveal Amilcare Anguissola's zeal in seeking the best possible guidance for his artist daughter. In one letter, dated 7 May 1557, he thanks the great master for the "innate courtesy and goodness" that prompted him "in the past to introduce her to art" and requests Michelangelo "to guide her again." Although no image has been securely identified with this correspondence, Anguissola's drawing *Asdrubale Bitten by a Crayfish* (late 1550s, Museo di Campodimonte, Naples), has linked her name to that of Michelangelo since 1562. A considerable number of Anguissola's self-portraits date to this decade. These works, which are very small in scale and somber in tonality, were in all likelihood promotional gifts. Sofonisba presents herself at the keyboard, seated before an easel holding a brush and palette, and even as the subject of a portrait painted by her first teacher, Bernardino Campi. Whether through the efforts of her father, the dissemination of her self-portraits, or both, Anguissola's fame spread within and outside the borders of the Italian peninsula. Her paintings were requested by, and subsequently entered the collec-



Sofonisba Anguissola. *Self-Portrait* (1554). ©ALI MEYER/
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tions of, Pope Julius III and members of the Este, Farnese, Medici, and Borghese families.

In 1559, Anguissola entered the Spanish court as lady-in-waiting and portrait painter to the queen, Isabel of Valois. She remained in Spain until 1573, sharing with Anthonis Mor and Alonso Sánchez Coello the prestige of being a member of the triumvirate of Spanish court painters. While Anguissola executed a few devotional panels during her tenure in Spain, most of her time was devoted to painting portraits of members of the royal court and family. In keeping with the decorum of courtly taste and reflecting the austerity of the religious climate, these portraits, like those by Mor and Coello, are marked by an almost formulaic restraint in composition, color, and light. Despite the reserved formality, poised elegance, and almost petrified stiffness of Anguissola's Spanish subjects, the physiognomies she recorded reveal distinctive personalities. In this

respect, Anguissola's roots in the Lombard tradition, specifically the mimetic melding of stark naturalism with a calculated style made popular by Moretto da Brescia and Giovanni Moroni, are clearly evident.

Sometime after August 1569 and through the intervention of King Philip II of Spain, Anguissola married Don Fabrizio de Moncada, the brother of the viceroy of Sicily. Following her return to Italy in 1573, she resided in Palermo. In 1579 or 1580, she remarried, wedding Orazio Lomellino, a Genoese gentleman. By October 1583 she was living in Genoa. An inscribed portrait sketch of Anguissola by Anthony Van Dyck (British Museum, London) confirms that she had returned to Palermo by 1624. Early sources indicate that her late oeuvre consisted primarily of devotional works. Although many of these paintings have yet to be securely identified, those that are known, such as *Holy Family with Saint Anne and the Young John the Baptist* (1592, Lowe Art Museum, Coral Gables), suggest that she responded to the impress of Counter-Reformation sobriety and the influence of Cambiaso's use of modeling and nocturnal luminosity. As is the case with her early works, her later paintings attest to an awareness of current trends in art theory. In accordance with the dictates of Cardinal Gabriele Paleotti's *Discorso intorno alle imagini sacre e profane*, 1582, Anguissola rendered her subjects in a manner that "delights," "teaches," and "moves" the viewer to feelings of contemplative devotion.

See also Vasari, Giorgio; Women and Art.

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FREDRIKA H. JACOBS

ANIMISM. See Matter, Theories of.

ANNA (RUSSIA) (1693–1740, ruled 1730–1740), empress of Russia. Anna Ivanovna (or Ioannovna) was the second crowned female ruler of Russia, after Catherine I. The daughter of Peter the Great's half brother and co-tsar for seven years, Ivan V, she spent her adult life residing alternately in St. Petersburg and in the duchy of Courland. Married to the duke of Courland, Friedrich Wilhelm, in 1710, she was soon widowed when he died in the following year. She returned to St. Petersburg for the next six years, after which Peter the Great sent her back to Courland in 1717. Although bereft of any formal authority, Anna maintained a court in Mitau (Jelgava), subsidized by the Russian court and by contributions from local magnates. Her presence provided an anchor for the growing Russian presence in the eastern Baltic, and her retainers doubled as agents of the Russian court.

Anna ascended the Russian throne largely by accident, when the reigning emperor, the fourteen-year-old Peter II, died unexpectedly on 29 January 1730 (18 January o.s.), on the eve of his wedding and less than three years into his rule. Because the law at that time stipulated that the sitting monarch named his or her successor, the unexpected or premature death of a ruler invariably led to a succession crisis, typically resolved by parties at court backed by the powerful guards' regiments. The 1730 succession crisis is particularly noteworthy, because it took place at a time when much of Russia's political elite had assembled in Moscow awaiting Peter II's wedding. His unexpected death left the throne without a designated heir and with relatively few good candidates. Under the guidance of the Supreme Privy Council, a largely aristocratic body established a few years earlier to advise Catherine I, the assembled elite quickly agreed to offer the throne to Anna.

Over the next several weeks, however, a crisis arose over the terms under which she would reign. The Privy Council had prevailed upon her to accept significant restrictions on her authority, in essence obliging her to seek its approval before issuing decrees. These conditions, as they were termed, provoked a storm of protest among the resident nobility at large (the *generalitet* or *shliakhetstvo* as it was officially called), and this larger group prevailed upon the Privy Council to assemble groups to discuss the terms of Anna's rule, as well as to air grievances left over from the Petrine and immediate post-Petrine era. Had the "conditions" remained in place, they would have constituted the first quasi-constitutional limitations on the sovereignty of a Russian ruler. However, competition among the powerful clan networks at court, through which access to position and influence had flowed for generations, quickly overwhelmed the Supreme Privy Council's position. Fearful that the clans represented in the council would gain a permanent advantage, the nobility demanded that there be no conditions, a demand to which Anna readily acceded.

Anna's reign is often seen as unpopular and defined by a vulgarity and arrogance at court, marked by the presence of a large number of Baltic German advisers, most notoriously Count Ernst Johann Bühren (Biron in Russian), after whom the entire experience is named ("*bironovshchina*"). Although the unpopularity and tactlessness of this German clique is undeniable, some scholars have argued that Anna's reign was hardly an era of darkness, as the nationalist tradition would have it. She abolished the unpopular Privy Council and severely punished most of its members. More to the point, her closest advisers included several Russians such as Prince Aleksei Mikhailovich Cherkasskii and Gavriil Ivanovich Golovkin. It was during her reign that the Imperial Academy of Sciences established its visibility within Russian society, both through its Russian-language press and through its classes, and within international science through the publication of its scientific monographs. Her reign saw the beginnings of the Corps of Cadets, the elite military academies, as well as the legislation that ultimately led to the establishment of a network of Latin-based religious seminaries. In foreign affairs, Russian interests prevailed over French ones in the war of Polish

Succession in 1733–1735, and Russia made noteworthy, if temporary, gains in Moldova at the expense of Austria and the Ottoman Empire in 1739.

Endeavoring to make her line of the Romanov clan preeminent, and without any offspring of her own, Anna named her infant grand nephew (her deceased sister Catherine's grandson) Ivan Antonovich as heir, with Bühren as regent. The strategy failed, however, as Ivan VI remained on the throne less than two years and was replaced in a coup by Peter the Great's daughter, Elizabeth. Bühren—and the entire German party—fell even sooner, replaced as regent after several months by Ivan's mother, Anna Leopoldovna.

See also **Elizabeth (Russia); Peter I (Russia); Queens and Empresses; Russia.**

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GARY MARKER

ANNE (ENGLAND) (1665–1714; ruled 1702–1714), queen of Great Britain and Ireland. The last Stuart monarch, Anne was the second daughter of James II (ruled 1685–1688) and his first wife, Anne Hyde. Married to the Protestant Prince George (1653–1708) of Denmark in 1683, Anne opposed her by then Catholic father in 1688–1689, when he was overthrown by her brother-in-law William III (ruled 1689–1702) of Orange. This betrayal greatly upset both James and Anne. Anne succeeded to the throne after the death of William, whose coruler, Anne's elder sister Mary (ruled 1689–1694), had died in 1694.

Anne has been reevaluated as an able and independent monarch, less dependent on her courtiers

than was previously believed. Leading politicians could not hope for the physical proximity to the monarch that was possible under a king, and the court was less important politically than it had been under earlier monarchs. But that did not mean that Anne lacked weight. She also sought to take a prominent role, modeling herself on Elizabeth I (ruled 1558–1603). However, as she had no domestic program of change, Anne was a relatively uncontroversial figure, and political criticism in her reign was centered on ministers, not monarch. Anne followed William III in sustaining the Grand Alliance created to fight Louis XIV (ruled 1643–1715) of France. In 1701–1714 Britain took a leading and successful role in the War of the Spanish Succession with France, and John Churchill (1650–1722) won great glory as well as promotion in the peerage to the dukedom of Marlborough by triumphing at a series of battles, including Blenheim (1704), Ramillies (1706), Oudenaarde (1708), and Malplaquet (1709). Other British forces captured Gibraltar, Minorca, and Nova Scotia. British conquests abroad under Anne were celebrated in the renaming of the French base in Nova Scotia as Annapolis Royal.

By 1709–1710 Anne realized that a compromise peace would have to be negotiated. Her sense that the war was unpopular and that the vital war goals had already been obtained played a major role in weakening the Whig ministry, which wanted to fight on. Anne had also wearied of her favorite, the increasingly possessive and headstrong Sarah Churchill (1660–1744), duchess of Marlborough, and turned to a new Tory favorite. Without the support of the crown, the Whigs did badly in the 1710 election. Conversely, Anne supported their Tory successors, Robert Harley (1661–1724), earl of Oxford, and Henry St. John (1678–1751), viscount Bolingbroke, in their contentious task of negotiating peace, and was willing to create Tory peers to ensure that the peace preliminaries passed the House of Lords. The Peace of Utrecht of 1713 was seen as a triumph for Britain.

A keen supporter of the Church of England, Anne revived ceremonial and touched for scrofula, the skin complaint known as king's evil, which many believed could be cured by the royal touch. She was personally unhappy in large part because of her failure to have any of her many children live to

adulthood. Anne became pregnant eighteen times, but these led to twelve miscarriages, three neonatal deaths, and three children who lived to only seven months, nineteen months, and eleven years respectively. The last, William, duke of Gloucester, died in 1700. As a result, the Act of Settlement of 1701, which had designated the Hanoverian descendants of James I (ruled 1603–1625) as her successors, came into effect when she died. Her last years were affected by severe ill health caused by dropsy, gout, and rheumatism. Ill health led to her heavy dependence on opium in the form of laudanum. She was also much affected by the death of her asthmatic husband in 1708. She had been close to him, and she was left very lonely. Anne would have been happy to be succeeded by her half brother James Edward (James Francis Edward Stuart, 1688–1766), James II's son in his second marriage. But she wanted him to accept Protestantism, and he was unwilling to do so.

See also Churchill, John, duke of Marlborough; James II (England); Spanish Succession, War of the (1701–1714); Stuart Dynasty (England and Scotland); Utrecht, Peace of (1713); William and Mary.

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JEREMY BLACK

ANNE OF AUSTRIA (1601–1666), queen of France. Anne of Austria, the eldest daughter of Philip III of Spain (ruled 1598–1621), married King Louis XIII of France (ruled 1610–1643) in 1615. After Louis's death, she became regent of the realm from 1643 to 1654 under the minority of her son Louis XIV (ruled 1643–1715). Her destiny illustrates how difficult the life of an early modern princess could be. Her wedding to the French king was a political tool used to strengthen the political and religious ties between the Spaniards and the French. The bride and groom were barely fourteen years old, and their characters were close to incompatible. Anne rarely if ever received a nightly visit

from her husband for the four years that followed their wedding. But they became closer, and the queen was pregnant in 1622. A miscarriage due to her carelessness—she fell while running through the Louvre with her two closest friends—drew them apart. Louis became suspicious of his wife. As they had to fulfil their political and religious duties, they continued to have a marital life marked by other miscarriages and finally the births of two sons.

Anne, who wanted to play a political role in France, never won the trust of her husband and his principal minister, Cardinal Richelieu (1585–1642). Things went from bad to worse when the duke of Buckingham, a favorite of the English king, fell in love with the queen. Deeply offended, Louis decreed that henceforth no male could visit her quarters unless he was present. Their relationship deteriorated as Louis tried to take control of the queen's entourage. In answer Anne involved herself in political plots. As a Spanish princess, she was especially outraged by the anti-Habsburg policy of Louis and Richelieu. France and Spain were at war, but she developed a secret correspondence with her brother, King Philip IV of Spain (ruled 1621–1665). Although she did not reveal any political secrets, she did write some strong anti-French sentiments. This was close to treason, and Anne narrowly escaped repudiation in 1637. Louis forgave her, and Anne gave birth to their first son on 5 September 1638.

Anne's priorities changed with the birth of the future Louis XIV and, two years later, the birth of her second son Philip. Afraid she could be deprived of their care, she grew closer to the policies adopted by her husband's government. This was too little too late, as the king did not have complete confidence in his wife. As he neared death, Louis XIII tried to limit her grip on power, bequeathing to Anne a regency council whose votes were to be binding. When Louis XIII died, she had his will broken by the Parlement of Paris. For the next ten years she governed France with the help of Cardinal Jules Mazarin (1602–1661), who succeeded Richelieu as principal minister.

Anne inherited a disastrous financial situation. She also had to face a political crisis as many *grande*s who had fled the authoritarian rule of the previous government came back to France. The



Anne of Austria. Portrait by Peter Paul Rubens. ©ARCHIVO ICONOGRAFICO, S.A./CORBIS

regent had to satisfy their pleas to return to some benefits while satisfying as well the demands of those who had served her late husband. The number of solicitors was simply too large for what the regent had to offer. A movement nicknamed the “cabal of the important” loudly voiced the indignation of its adherents. Anne reacted quickly by arresting its leader, the duke of Beaufort. She thereby demonstrated that she had a strong will and that she intended to keep France on track for Louis XIV.

To the surprise of many, the Spanish regent and her Italian minister continued the financial and political policies of Louis XIII and Richelieu. Although everyone prayed for a peace with Spain, Anne was not ready to sacrifice her son's interests in favor of her Spanish relatives. Despite increased tensions within the realm, she raised old taxes and created new ones to meet the country's military needs. In doing so she was not afraid to attack some of the privileged members of French society. This policy had its dangers, and a period of civil wars known as the Fronde plagued the kingdom from 1648 to 1652. Even though the rebels' principal

target was Cardinal Mazarin, Anne was not spared by her enemies. Nevertheless the two managed to put an end to the conflict. The return of peace within the kingdom allowed the queen to educate her son politically, and the war with Spain finally came to an end in 1659. With the help of Mazarin, Anne distilled in Louis's mind the idea of a king's greatness. A shaky marriage to a man who was indifferent toward her, an attachment to her native land, and the difficulties she had faced in the Fronde, during which she never failed France, did not prevent this Spanish princess from passing France's heritage to the Sun King.

See also France; Fronde; Louis XIII (France); Louis XIV (France); Mazarin, Jules; Richelieu, Armand-Jean Du Plessis, cardinal.

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MICHEL DE WAELE

ANNE OF BRITTANY (1477–1514; ruled 1491–1498, 1499–1514), queen of France. Duchess of Brittany and twice queen of France, Anne was the daughter of Francis II (1435–1488) of Brittany and Marguerite de Foix. She was eleven when a French army defeated her father in the Fools' War in August 1488. Francis died a month after, and Anne inherited the duchy as the elder of his two daughters. Her hand in marriage became a valuable prize. In hopes of preventing the duchy from falling under direct French rule, Archduke Maximilian of Austria (later Holy Roman emperor; ruled 1493–1519), King Henry VII of England, and King Ferdinand of Aragon supported her against the French, and she agreed to marry Maximilian. In 1490 they were married by proxy, but the archduke delayed coming to Brittany. In 1491 French forces entered her capital of Rennes, and she was pressed to marry Charles VIII (ruled 1483–1498) of France. Convinced by her confessor that she was free to marry him, Anne agreed to a marriage contract that stipulated she would have to marry Charles's successor in default of a son from their marriage. The marriage took place at Rennes in December 1491.

Anne's marriage contract with Charles also stipulated that she would remain the ruling duchess of Brittany, and she always took a deep interest in its affairs while living at the French court, although it appears that she could not speak Breton. On several occasions she spent months away from her husband directing the affairs of her duchy. Those absences and that of her husband for sixteen months during the first French invasion of Italy (1494–1495) reduced the opportunities for Anne to become pregnant. She gave birth to a son, Charles Orland, a year after her marriage, but he died of measles at age three. Two more pregnancies resulted in a stillbirth and a son who died after five weeks.

When Charles VIII died suddenly in April 1498, Anne became a widow at age twenty-one. Her obligation to marry his successor, Charles's cousin Louis of Orléans (ruled 1498–1515), was complicated by his marriage to Jeanne of France, the daughter of Louis XI. Louis of Orléans requested an annulment from Pope Alexander VI on the grounds of coercion and nonconsummation. After his son Cesare Borgia was properly rewarded with French titles and treasure, Alexander granted the annulment. In January 1499 Anne and Louis XII were married, making her queen of France for a second time, the only woman for whom that was true. Their marriage contract stipulated that Brittany would continue to be governed separately from France and that it would go to the second son from the marriage or, in default of sons, the second daughter. In the absence of any children, it would go to Anne's closest relative. She was determined to maintain the duchy's autonomy from the French monarchy.

During her marriage to Louis, Anne was a key adviser to her husband, and she served as regent for him during his several Italian expeditions and a serious illness of 1505. The primary duty of the queen, however, was producing a male heir. In that respect Anne was unsuccessful. From at least five pregnancies, two daughters, Claude (born 1499) and Rénée (born 1510) alone survived. Anne strongly supported the betrothal of her young daughter Claude to Charles of Austria in 1503. She was sharply opposed to the proposed marriage between Claude and Francis of Angoulême (ruled 1515–1547), the successor to the French throne in default of any sons from Louis. Anne despised Francis's mother Louise

of Savoy (1476–1531) and was eager to maintain Brittany’s autonomy, which she perceived would be easier to do with a foreign prince as its duke. Much to her anger, Louis wrote a will in 1505 that repudiated the marriage between Claude and Charles and required their daughter to marry Francis. It was only after Anne’s death in 1514 that Claude married Francis. Louis quickly remarried, to Mary Tudor, Henry VIII’s sister, but he died in 1515 without having a child with her. Francis, Louis’s son-in-law and cousin, became king, and he undid Anne’s determined efforts to keep Brittany autonomous by making his heir its duke in 1534, thereby absorbing it into the royal domain.

Anne was a patron of artists and writers. Her most notable commission was for the splendid funeral monument for her father at Nantes.

See also Brittany; Charles VIII (France).

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ANTARCTIC. *See* Arctic and Antarctic.

ANTICLERICALISM. The idea of “anticlericalism” as such does not belong to early modern Europe. The word describes a range of attitudes and behaviors toward clergy, ranging from mild criticism to loud protest and violence. Anticlericalism was in evidence both in the Middle Ages and the early modern era; it was expressed by laity and clergy alike, whether Catholic or Protestant; and it arose in response to actions, policies, and attitudes perceived as contrary to the ideals and duties of the clerical profession. By the eighteenth century, in France especially, anticlericalism developed into a hostile, self-conscious reaction against the Catholic Church, culminating in the Civil Constitution of the Clergy (1790), which subordinated the church to the

French state. In the nineteenth century anticlericalism led liberal movements to abolish the church as a state institution.

Anticlerical criticisms in early modern Europe arose from various sources, including the clergy’s insistence on its social superiority, privileges, prerogatives, tax exemptions, immunities from civil jurisdiction, and the payment of tithes and contributions. Other causes included resentment of the demand for blind acceptance of clerical direction and of measures to enforce orthodoxy or punish social, political, and sexual behavior seen as objectionable. Still other causes were clerics’ intellectual arrogance, the punitive withholding of the sacraments, widespread clerical ignorance, theological rigidity, or lay hostility toward the papacy. In some cases, anticlericalism arose in response to outright ecclesiastical abuses such as simony, plurality of benefices, absenteeism, concubinage, nepotism, and scandalous or extravagant behavior.

Anticlericalism was not restricted to laypeople, as the clergy themselves often vented anticlerical sentiments toward fellow clergy whom they perceived as acting contrary to their calling. Such forms of anticlericalism ran the gamut from explicit, public denunciations to indirectly censorious and benignly tacit comments. Examples of the latter tactic are St. Francis of Assisi’s (1182–1226) admonition to his friars that they not judge others for their luxurious raiment or choice foods and drink, but instead judge themselves (*The Later Rule*, ch. 2), or Ignatius of Loyola’s (1491–1556) “Rules for Thinking with the Church,” which urged his fellow Jesuits to be more ready to approve and praise the commands, recommendations, and behavior of their superiors than to criticize them.

In the early modern era, as in every other, Scripture proposed a standard of clerical comportment and at the same time drew attention to clerical shortcomings. In the gospel of Matthew, for instance, Jesus stated, “You received without payment; give without payment. Take no gold or silver, or copper in your belts . . .” (Matt. 10:8–9). Many other biblical passages, especially in Luke’s Gospel, suggested that Jesus lived poorly and eschewed the haughty attitudes of priestly superiority in his judgments against the Temple priesthood in Jerusalem; these passages were used to reproach ostentatious

and inappropriate clerical behavior and displays of pomp, wealth, or exclusivity.

The various medieval antecedents of early modern anticlericalism have roots in the early church, as do ecclesiastical efforts to reform clergy to thwart criticisms and hostilities. Some bishops set forth norms of clerical behavior that were cited throughout the early modern era. The motto of Pope Gregory I (reigned 590–604), “the servant of the servants of God,” expressed the attitude that the highest ecclesiastical dignity should be understood as an obligation to serve. Gregory’s *Regulae pastoralis liber* (c. 591; Pastoral care) required that clergy value service, humility, and poverty and be single-minded about the things of God. Despite efforts to maintain these ideals, anticlerical attitudes escalated in the High Middle Ages, coinciding with the commercial revolution in Europe and the Crusades. Much anticlericalism was directed at the church’s rapaciousness. The Franciscan movement spawned numerous offshoots that made poverty the foundation of Christian life. After the Black Death (1348–1350), deepening hostilities to clerical life and practices arose, which continued unabated into the Reformation era. The fourteenth-century humanist Petrarch (1304–1374) used biblical texts and imagery to lament clerical abuses of wealth and power at papal Avignon. In England the Lollards, followers of John Wycliffe (c. 1330–1384), were fiercely hostile to the institutional church and anticipated the Reformation in their demands.

On the eve of the Reformation, anticlerical sentiments were endemic throughout Europe, mostly from clergymen themselves. François Rabelais’s *Pantagruel* (1532) and *Gargantua and Pantagruel* (1532–1564) and many works of Desiderius Erasmus (1466–1536), including *Colloquies*, *Handbook of the Militant Christian*, *In Praise of Folly*, and *Julius Exclusus*, are perhaps the best-known anticlerical works. Ulrich von Hutten (1488–1523), Martin Luther (1483–1546), and many other Protestants wrote devastating attacks on the papacy and the Catholic Church, while numerous sympathizers chimed in with books, pamphlets, woodcuts, and poetry castigating the clergy for their ignorance, ineptitude, wealth, dereliction of duty, and dissolute behavior. The Protestant Reformation’s criticisms against the clergy were further fueled by Luther’s reframing of the very idea of a “clergy” in *An*

Appeal to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation (1520), which denied to the clergy their special “indelible character” or status. Luther and other Reformers’ writings were enormously assisted by the printing industry, which made anticlerical writings and woodcuts widely available throughout Germany.

Ironically, much of the Reformers’ criticism fell in line with criticisms voiced by high-ranking clergy and religious who sincerely wished to reform the behavior of fellow clergy. Such criticisms often led to church synods and councils where corrective action was taken, as at the Council of Trent (1545–1563), which looked into the reformation of doctrine and discipline. In the post-Reformation era, Roman Catholic authorities, aware of the damage incurred through public criticism of the church, intervened to quash it. Ignatius of Loyola’s “Rules for Thinking with the Church” reflect these efforts, as do the establishment of the Roman Inquisition (1542) and the Index of Prohibited Books (1559).

Nonetheless, anticlericalism persisted unabated into the Enlightenment. This was especially the case among the educated elites in France, with the relaxation of censorship following the death of Louis XIV (ruled 1643–1715). Criticism of the church increasingly hardened into a secular stance among the philosophes, who polemicized against the dominance of the church in every area of life. Chief among these antagonists were Denis Diderot (1713–1784), Voltaire (François Marie Arouet; 1694–1778), and Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778).

See also Diderot, Denis; Enlightenment; Erasmus, Desiderius; Ignatius of Loyola; Luther, Martin; Rabelais, François; Reformation, Catholic; Reformation, Protestant; Rousseau, Jean-Jacques; Trent, Council of; Voltaire.

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FREDERICK J. MCGINNESS

ANTI-SEMITISM. *See* Jews, Attitudes toward.

ANTWERP. Few early modern cities experienced such profound changes as Antwerp. The city on the River Scheldt was transformed from a sixteenth-century commercial metropolis to a small town of only regional importance by the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In the same period, Antwerp changed from an open cosmopolitan city with strong Protestant influences into a bulwark of the Catholic Reformation.

In the first half of the sixteenth century, the Low Countries were fully integrated into the vast Habsburg empire and the international economy. Antwerp profited greatly from this situation, experiencing unparalleled economic and population growth. Its commercial expansion was based on the convergence of important international trade in English cloth, Portuguese spices, and South German copper and silver. Although this “foreign” under-

pinning made the Antwerp world market vulnerable, by the mid-sixteenth century the indigenous Antwerp merchants had gained considerable influence. Commercial expansion stimulated existing industries and attracted new ones. In addition, art production boomed, and many printers, publishers, and booksellers—there were at least 271 in the sixteenth century—traded on the international market. The city also experienced extraordinary demographic growth. The Antwerp population more than doubled within half a century, from around 40,000 in 1496 to 100,000 in 1566. A small mercantile elite owned an overwhelming percentage of the city’s wealth, reflecting a social polarization during Antwerp’s golden age. Nevertheless, there are strong indications for the existence of a broad urban middle class that profited from the booming economy, socially and culturally. Among other things, this new middle class benefited from Antwerp’s well-developed and highly laicized educational system, which included schools for both boys and girls.

The new religious ideas that divided sixteenth-century Europe easily penetrated Antwerp’s cosmopolitan community, and the city became a center of Protestantism in the Netherlands. An eclectic evangelical movement in the 1520s and 1530s gave way to Anabaptist and Calvinist communities in the 1550s. For economic reasons, the Antwerp city



Antwerp. *View of Antwerp from the River Schelde* by Jan Wildens (1586–1653). PRIVATE COLLECTION/BRIDGEMAN ART LIBRARY

magistrate (the main political body of the city) cautiously adopted the central heresy placards (legislation to counteract and punish the Protestants), focusing their repression on the poorer Anabaptists. From the 1560s onwards, the fortunes of Protestantism were closely linked with political resistance to central government policy. In 1566, Calvinists and Lutherans were allowed to organize a church; the Calvinist leaders even tried to seize power. The arrival of the duke of Alba in the summer of 1567 ushered in a period of severe repression. The Antwerp city government was put under custody and rebels and heretics were systematically prosecuted. Alba's policy, and the fortunes of war in general, were detrimental to the vulnerable Antwerp metropolis. Anti-Spanish sentiment flourished after the "Spanish Fury," which began on 4 November 1576. Spanish soldiers ransacked the city and killed about 8,000 people. From 1577 onwards, the Antwerp city government supported the politics of William of Orange (William the Silent) and the rebellious States-General. In 1579, the Calvinists gained control of the city administration, two years later proscribing the public exercise of the Catholic religion. Antwerp became a Protestant stronghold of international importance and a backbone of the Dutch Revolt.

The year 1585 was a watershed in Antwerp's history. In August of that year, following a long and brutal siege, the Antwerp city fathers were forced to surrender to Alexander Farnese, duke of Parma, and his Spanish troops. Many people fled the city for religious, political, or economic reasons. In four years, the population halved, falling to only 42,000 inhabitants by 1589. Among the emigrants were merchants, artists, intellectuals, and skilled craftsmen who contributed significantly to the economy and culture of their new homelands, especially the towns in Holland and Zeeland. After 1585, ecclesiastical and civil authorities closely collaborated to build up a new Catholic Church. New religious orders, such as the Jesuits, played a key role in this process of Catholic Reformation, which possessed a clear anti-Protestant stamp.

After a severe crisis in the late 1580s and 1590s, the Antwerp economy experienced an Indian summer. The closure of the Scheldt to navigation after 1585 notwithstanding, the resourceful Antwerp merchants managed to integrate the city into the

Iberian trade system. A number of luxury industries recovered, and art production profited highly from the strong demand created by the construction and redecoration of churches. Artists such as Peter Paul Rubens turned Antwerp into an international center of baroque art. Yet, in the second half of the seventeenth and even more in the first half of the eighteenth century, the Antwerp economy declined. The closure of the Scheldt was confirmed by the Peace of Westphalia (1648), and the position of the port was further wounded by the mercantilist measures of the mighty European states. Furthermore, shifts within the economy of the Southern Netherlands were unfavorable for Antwerp and transformed the once thriving city into a provincial town.

See also Alba, Fernando Álvarez de Toledo, duke of; Dutch Republic; Dutch Revolt (1568–1648); Netherlands, Southern; Parma, Alexander Farnese, duke of; Rubens, Peter Paul; Westphalia, Peace of (1648); William of Orange.

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GUIDO MARNEF

APOCALYPTICISM. A religious outlook regarding the "last things"—hence a form of eschatology—characterized by a sense of universal crisis and by expectation of a divinely preordained triumph of good over evil, apocalypticism originated among the Jewish prophets around 200 B.C.E. It was a critical aspect of early Christianity, and became an integral though often latent element in the Judeo-Christian tradition. This outlook combines prophetic themes of warning and consolation with the quest for saving knowledge, insight into the divine plan.

The term covers a broad array of beliefs about the imminent end of the world, inevitable conflicts, disasters and tribulations, and a future millennial kingdom, or final age of perfection. Serious contemporary scholarship avoids the assumption that the sociopolitical implications of apocalypticism are inherently violent or revolutionary, noting instead that such thinking has undergirded a wide range of political positions. Yet apocalyptic conceptions were crucial both to the formation of social identities and to the broader transformation of worldviews in the early modern age.

LATE MEDIEVAL AND RENAISSANCE ANXIETY

Medieval ecclesiastical culture generally discouraged apocalyptic expectancy by de-emphasizing historical change and highlighting the fate of individuals at death. Prophetic interests had begun to expand in the high medieval period, but the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries brought a dramatic intensification of such concerns. Upheavals brought on by famine, plague, and war, together with shifting economic conditions and the novelties of urban life, caused heightened anxiety among Europeans and evoked new forms of fear and hope. Social dislocation and suffering became grounds for outbreaks of revolutionary millenarianism, such as that of the Taborites (a group of radical Hussites) in Bohemia. But even millenarian forms of apocalypticism, which foresaw the coming of Christ's temporal rule, could function as conservative political myths by giving established powers a role in preparing for the new age.

The late-medieval apocalyptic ferment drew not only on key biblical texts such as the books of Daniel and Revelation, but also on thinkers such as the Calabrian Cistercian Joachim of Fiore (c. 1135–1202), in whose scheme the ages of the Father (Old Testament) and the Son (New Testament) would be followed by the age of the Holy Spirit, a final period of spiritual fulfillment. Among other influential prophetic sources were ancient textual clusters such as the Sibylline Oracles (collections of ancient Jewish and Christian verses, reputedly by pagan prophetesses), the visions of inspired figures such as Saint Birgitta of Sweden (1303–1373), and classical divinatory methods such as astrology, an art undergoing a powerful revival during the Renaissance.

Together these traditions produced a paradoxical brew of terror and hope.

By the late fifteenth century the printing press was helping to articulate and disseminate a general expectancy, local forms of which included the hair-raising preaching of Girolamo Savonarola in Florence, the prophetically charged journeys of Columbus, and German nightmares of a bloodbath at the hands of the Turks, who were commonly seen as the satanic forces of Gog and Magog (Revelation 20: 8) sent to scourge Christendom before the Last Judgment. Despite the persistence of popular hopes for a final world-reform by a messianic emperor or an angelic pope, fearful dread often predominated. Early in the sixteenth century, for instance, astrologically inspired predictions of a second universal flood to come in 1524 sent waves of panic through central Europe.

MARTIN LUTHER AND REFORMATION EXPECTANCY

This rising expectancy posed severe threats to the established religious culture and formed a central current in the sixteenth-century Reformations, especially among those movements that regarded the papacy as the biblical Antichrist, now unmasked in the last times. Here the prophetic discoveries of Martin Luther were central. Although he by no means escaped late-medieval influences (for example, the assumption of world-historical decline since the Creation), Luther decisively rejected as unbiblical all dreams about messianic emperors, world reform, and a millennial paradise. For him the ultimate reality was a universal struggle between God and the devil that would continue until the Last Judgment. Luther and most of his sixteenth-century heirs saw the recovery of the purified gospel as evidence that the end was imminent. By discrediting many medieval beliefs and ritual practices that had dampened personal anxiety, effectively propagandizing against the newly revealed Roman Antichrist, and directing the religious imagination to scriptural promises of disaster and deliverance, Protestantism focused and intensified the apocalyptic tendencies in European culture.

Millenarian hopes, though marginalized, did not disappear from the early Reformation scene. Many Anabaptists and other radicals held views that were at least quasi-millenarian, and chiliasm, the

belief in a literal thousand-year rule of Christ on earth (Revelation 20), gained scattered adherents. But such beliefs tended to be fluid; it is often difficult to pin down the apocalyptic conceptions of radical leaders such as Thomas Müntzer (c. 1488–1525) or Melchior Hoffmann (c. 1500–1543). Again, no necessary link can be found between millenarian hopes and the radicalism of such violent episodes as the German Peasants' War (1524–1525) or the Anabaptist rising at Münster (1534–1535). What distinguished radicals such as Müntzer was mainly their conviction that God's people had an active and immediate role to play in fulfilling the divine plan. This sort of apocalyptic preaching was regarded as threatening to political and ecclesiastical establishments throughout the early modern age.

LATE REFORMATION VARIATIONS

In the late Reformation era (c. 1560–1620), evangelicals in Germany and elsewhere sought to bolster their prophetic faith and sense of confessional identity through strident end-time preaching, searching far and wide for evidence to complement biblical prophecies of the nearing judgment. Apocalyptic expectancy thus propelled inquiry into such realms as historical chronology, natural wonders, and celestial observation. While some evangelical leaders continued to stress the necessary obscurity of all prophetic details, an increasingly eclectic apocalypticism fed rapidly on itself and formed a basic context for the pansophic striving of that era, the quest for universal insight, for a magical key to the secrets of creation.

Early Reformed Protestants proved more hesitant to engage in apocalyptic reckoning, partly because of John Calvin's (1509–1564) pronounced reserve in such matters. Yet Calvinism would prove fertile ground for the revival of millenarianism from the late sixteenth century on. Their confidence in God's promises to the elect led Calvinist thinkers to seize on biblical passages suggesting a final spiritual triumph before the close of time. On the continent, scholars such as Johann Heinrich Alsted (1588–1638) could combine this brand of prophetic confidence with expansive pedagogical ambitions to form visions of a breathtakingly transformed human future. But it was in England that Calvinist millenarianism would have its most pervasive influence. Here, Elizabethan images of England as an elect

nation gained urgency in the political conflicts of the seventeenth century, which seemed in many eyes the final struggle against the Antichrist. The Civil War and Interregnum of the 1640s and 1650s brought to full boil the Puritan dream of a godly society, which exploded into various radical movements, from those of the Quakers, Levellers, and Diggers to Fifth Monarchists, all sharing the sense that a final spiritual outpouring was underway.

Among Catholics, the sacred and social realms remained integrated in ways alien to Protestantism; hence, the impulse to direct fears and hopes toward the historical horizon remained relatively muted. In addition, clerical authorities worked to restrict the spread of popular apocalyptic expectancy. Still, Catholic Europe was affected by the general unease brought on by the rapid changes of the Reformation era. The French Wars of Religion spurred a strain of Catholic apocalyptic preaching against the rise of satanic heresy. Medieval traditions such as hope for a messianic emperor retained currency, as did various forms of Joachimist belief in a final time of earthly perfection. Major religious orders such as the Jesuits and the Franciscans continued to harbor visions of millennial triumph that renewed or reinforced a sense of mission in Catholic Europe, against Protestant heretics, and in the New World.

PROGRESSIVE FAITH AND SKEPTICAL DESPAIR

Especially in northern Europe, tense waverings between hope and terror characterized the early to mid-seventeenth century, when fearfully violent persecution of witches could accompany dreams of the conversion of the Jews and a return to Edenic peace. Yet at the same time, inherited outlooks were evolving in new directions. On one hand, the apocalyptically inspired quest for insight into the patterns of nature and history, seasoned with millennial hope, could spawn highly sanguine visions of human progress. The rise of Baconian science, for example, needs to be regarded in this light, as do early moves to institutionalize the investigation of nature by groups such as the Royal Society in England (founded 1660). Modern notions about the ongoing amelioration of the human condition through the mastery of nature can thus be traced at least partly to Christian faith in a divine plan for collective spiritual fulfillment.



Apocalypticism. *The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse*, woodcut by Albrecht Dürer, 1498. ©BETTMANN/CORBIS

On the other hand, apocalyptic fears of divine wrath, of human helplessness in the face of inevitable disasters, suffering, and death, were at least one major source for the practical skepticism and agnosticism that grew increasingly evident in the seventeenth century. Among evangelicals, the revelation of the true gospel had from the start meant not only a positive awakening, but also profound disillusionment in regard to humanly invented myths, along with heightened critical awareness and distilled strains of anxiety. With spreading wars, economic dislocations, witch hunts, and general confusion, many Protestants who had felt the nearness of Christ's return, but who were repeatedly and forcefully reminded of their own incapacity to understand or influence God's plan, retreated from the pursuit of apocalyptic insight and turned toward lives of simple practicality. One dramatic mid-seventeenth-century example is offered by the Dutch Collegiants, radical Protestant millenarians whose fervent hopes were consistently disappointed, and who came to accept human reasoning as a necessary if provisional guide during whatever time remained before the divinely wrought transformation of the world.

NATURAL LAW AND PROPHEPIC SCIENCE

Apocalyptic hope and despair thus led toward the awkward Enlightenment juxtaposition of progressive faith and skeptical reason. But outwardly at least, the later seventeenth century witnessed a waning of expectancy. Among European elites, the main thrust of intellectual inquiry shifted away from time and history to the seemingly more concrete realm of nature and her timeless patterns, a trend that suited the prevailing desire for order and stability in all aspects of life. Ultimately more significant than the new heliocentric cosmology was the spreading belief in universal, ahistorical laws that were potentially within reason's full grasp. The sort of rational religion proposed by Lord Herbert of Cherbury (c. 1583–1648), which dismissed as superstitious virtually all belief in historical revelation or prophecy, was spreading far and fast by 1700. Moreover, time's terrors seemed to fade in this age of boundless potential wealth and new methods of insurance.

Yet even as apocalyptic expectancy became less visible and its popular expressions came to be de-

nounced as "enthusiasm," European thinkers continued to speculate in ways that revealed their deep hopes and fears. Especially among educated Protestants, scripturally based calculations of the closeness of the Last Judgment or the advent of an earthly millennium remained a serious preoccupation. Indeed these reckonings were commonly pursued as a quasi-scientific enterprise—a rational effort to uncover the divinely determined laws of universal history. Isaac Newton (1642–1727) was among those who devoted energies to the careful analysis of biblical prophecy, calculating likely dates for the destruction of Christ's enemies and the realization of the millennium.

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY MOVEMENTS

Apocalyptic conceptions continued to serve diverse political interests, including those of conservative Anglican bishops, of urbanites who spurned the established churches for "Philadelphian" societies promoting a final worldwide blossoming of love, and of the radical "Camisards" who carried on a guerrilla war against the French monarchy in the years after 1700. In the 1730s a movement of prophetic opposition to the worldliness of the French church was led by the Jansenist "Convulsionaries," who saw themselves as witnesses to the final spiritual outpouring foreseen by the prophet Joel. Yet similar themes would be adopted by the Jansenists' most consistent enemies, the Jesuits, after their suppression by Pope Clement XIV (reigned 1769–1774) in 1773.

If in France millenarian prophecies were often deployed in opposition to established power, in Germany they more commonly cast existing authorities in a positive light, as instruments in God's work to complete the movement of history. German Pietist leaders such as Philipp Jakob Spener (1635–1705) anticipated the fall of the papacy, the conversion of the Jews, and a worldwide reign of peace before the Last Judgment. Pietist thinkers tended more and more toward a progressive outlook verging on nonapocalyptic historical meliorism. Meanwhile, in England the great popular movement of Methodism was driven by widely shared convictions of Christ's imminent advent; the same mood of expectancy leaped the ocean to help fuel a Great Awakening in the New World.

By the second half of the eighteenth century, Christian postmillennialism (expectation of Christ's personal return only after an age of spiritual purity) had become closely intertwined with Enlightenment optimism. In the schemes of learned figures such as Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, historical progress was ongoing and inevitable. But expectations marked by a more pronounced sense of imminence and urgency, while often kept out of public view, remained pervasive. Moreover, with the outbreak of the French Revolution in 1789, the entire storehouse of late medieval and early modern apocalyptic imagery was reopened and thoroughly ransacked in efforts to make sense of a manifestly world-historical upheaval. For revolutionary supporters, these events would mark nothing less than the advent of a new historical dispensation, a millennium of reason and freedom.

Throughout the early modern period, both elites and common folk were influenced by visions of current crisis and future resolution. Such concepts had no consistent sociopolitical implications, but they did function centrally in the formation of various confessional, national, and missionary identities. Apocalyptic outlooks inspired Europeans to intense efforts to understand their experiences in relation to a universal scheme. The modern myth of progress as well as modern skepticism and agnosticism had central roots in apocalyptic perceptions. In no sense a fringe phenomenon, apocalyptic expectancy was a crucial element of early modern European life and thought.

See also **Anabaptism; Calvin, John; Calvinism; Camisard Revolt; Enlightenment; Jansenism; Jesuits; Luther, Martin; Lutheranism; Methodism; Pietism; Reformation, Protestant; Revolutions, Age of; Witchcraft.**

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ROBIN B. BARNES

APOTHECARIES. The apothecary struggled throughout early modern times to attain a measure of independence. He first had to free himself from

his traditional origins and associations with spicers and grocers. In London it was not until 1617 that the apothecaries of the city were able to break away from the Company of Grocers and establish the Worshipful Society of Apothecaries. In Paris it was 1777 before a royal decree finally separated the apothecaries from the spicers and established the Collège de Pharmacie. Prestigious apothecary corporations had been established even earlier—in Rome, Barcelona, and Nuremberg, for example—but the medical establishment had never conceded independence to the apothecary. The *Collegio medicum*, the prestigious association of the physicians in a particular jurisdiction, which was a fixture of the continental city, usually dominated. In addition, the apothecary was subject to strict controls by civil authority, ubiquitous municipal ordinances, royal decrees, and monopoly-granting court or church *privilegia* (grants, usually hereditary, which gave an apothecary sole right to practice in a given jurisdiction). In England, there was little control; in the provinces, the “surgeon-apothecary” found very little other than the mixed trade guild to which he belonged to impinge upon his practice.

THE APOTHECARY AS PHARMACIST

The work of the apothecary was essentially pharmaceutical. He could identify the drugs, knew how to take care of them, knew how to manipulate the mechanical and chemical apparatus, and became aware of the purported therapeutic qualities of the drug. Given the shortcomings of the medicine of the age, the long tradition of herbal therapeutics to which the apothecary was heir, and the impact of the chemical therapeutics of Paracelsianism with its alchemical basis to which the apothecary was also heir, he became the health provider of the first resort for the general population. Physicians were few in number and expensive. Moreover, the nature of the work of the apothecary inevitably led to diagnosis and prescribing, and the apothecary was often actively encroaching on the prerogatives of the physician. Therein lay the basis for a long and vituperative quarrel between the two.

In France and England the quarrel seemed endless. In a tract war, begun in Paris about 1513, the two groups cast aspersions on each other’s abilities and traded insults. The pamphlet war soon spread to England and Germany. Still at odds in 1625,

Parisian doctors put out *Le Médecin charitable*, a do-it-yourself pharmaceutical handbook, and sought to put the apothecary out of business. The apothecary withstood the onslaught, becoming officially, in the late eighteenth century, *pharmacien* rather than *apothicaire*, a change reflecting the lampooning of the *apothicaire* as the administrator of clysters (enemas) in literature and art. In London, the Royal College of Physicians was in conflict with the apothecaries long before the Society of Apothecaries was founded, for there, and in the provinces, the apothecary had unabashedly become the primary medical practitioner. As in Paris, the physicians sought to destroy the apothecary and chose to do so by establishing, from 1698 to 1725, dispensaries in London where the poor could get their medicines “in penny doses.” Again, the apothecaries survived, but in a way unique to England: the House of Lords, in the case of William Rose in 1703, found that prohibiting prescribing by apothecaries was contrary to custom and contrary to public interest, given the small number of physicians. Thereafter, apothecaries in Great Britain became general practitioners of medicine; the “chemist and druggist” took over the practice of pharmacy.

THE APOTHECARY AS SCIENTIST

Toward the end of the fifteenth century, a body of literature directed at, and later written by, the apothecary began to appear. The first of the pharmaceutical handbooks, volumes of formulas, procedures, and expositions, was the *Compendium Aromatariorum of Saladin di Asculi* published in Bologna in 1488. A very popular work, it was soon followed by other such texts, three written by apothecaries in Italy, Spain, and France. In the late seventeenth and throughout the eighteenth century, the *Dispensatory*, a British specialty, became the textbook of pharmacy, but again, it was the work of physicians, not apothecaries.

The apothecary also needed a formulary, or pharmacopoeia, and although the first of these, the Florentine *Nuovo Receptario* that appeared in 1499, was the work of the guild of physicians and apothecaries, apothecaries did not take part in the compiling of a pharmacopoeia until the very end of the eighteenth century. The medical establishment saw the pharmacopoeia as an instrument of control over the apothecary.



Apothecaries. Illustration of an apothecary and a doctor from *Brunschwing Buch der Chirurgy* (Brunschwing's Book of Surgery), c. late fifteenth century. ©BETTMANN/CORBIS



Apothecaries. Woodcut of a pharmacy, sixteenth century. ©CORBIS

Similarly, the interest of the apothecary in botany awaited the pioneering efforts of others. For a knowledge of plants he resorted to the ubiquitous herbals (which by 1483 were illustrated) and to the work of Dioscorides, particularly in the many versions issued by Matteoli. Apothecaries were, of course, involved in the establishment of herb gardens, and, among others, two of them, Basilius Besler in Germany and John Parkinson in England, issued large and copiously illustrated botanical works.

In the eighteenth century several apothecaries made distinctive contributions to botany. The Moravian Georg Joseph Kamel was the first European to describe the flora and fauna of the Philippines; the German Arthur Ernsting's work with pollens paved the way for the discovery of cross-fertiliza-

tion; the Swede Friedrich Erhart made advances in botanic systemization and is noted for his studies of lichen.

While these contributions to botanical science were important, those that the apothecary made to chemistry were more fundamental to the development of the science and were more far-reaching in their influence. The apothecary had always been involved in chemical manipulation. Chemical procedures, learned from the alchemists, were part of the "mystery" of the art of the apothecary.

The ground breaking was again done by others—the seventeenth-century works of Oswald Croll, Jean Beguin, and Jean Baptiste van Helmont, for example. But the apothecary was already gaining recognition as chemist. The first chair in chemistry

was held by the apothecary Johannes Hartmann in Marburg in 1609. A series of lectures in chemistry for the public at the Jardin des Plantes in Paris were delivered by a succession of apothecaries, LeFevre, Charas, and Rouelle, among them. Nicaise LeFevre first published his *Traité* (later *Cours*) *de chymie* in 1660. It appeared also in English and German. Nicolas Lémery's *Cours de chymie*, which first appeared in 1675, was reputed to be the most widely used chemistry textbook in Europe for a century. In Germany, the apothecary Caspar Neumann became professor of *Chymiae* practice at the Collegium Medico-Chirurgicum in Berlin in 1724.

The apothecary's contributions to chemistry were seminal. Sixteen of the elements were discovered by five apothecaries between 1750 and 1803. Foremost among them were Carl Wilhelm Scheele, who, in his little shop in Köping, Sweden, discovered seven of the elements (including oxygen, before Priestley's much more publicized achievement), and Martin Heinrich Klaproth of Berlin, considered the founder of modern quantitative analysis, who discovered seven others. Scheele is also credited with the introduction of a long list of organic and inorganic acids into chemistry.

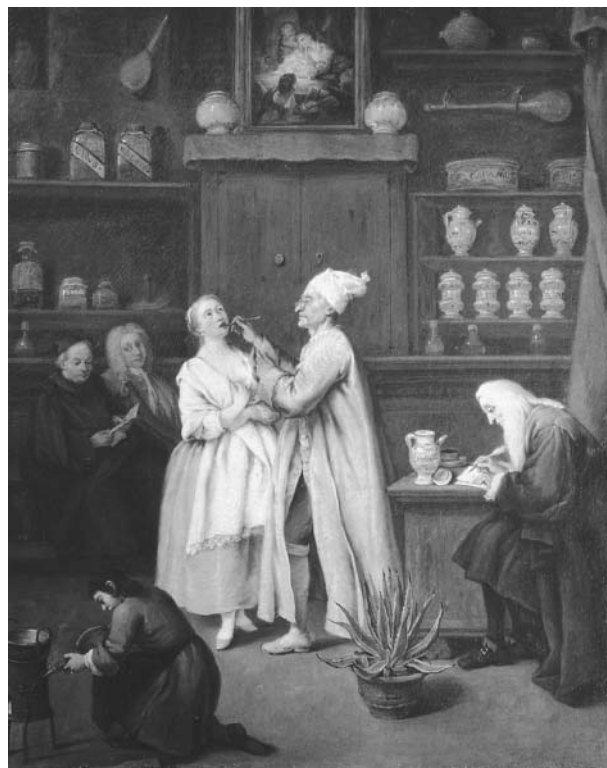
While Scheele's work was basic to the development of the chemical industry, the work of Andreas Marggraf in Germany was the foundation of the beet sugar industry, and it was no coincidence that in Germany, France, and England, it was an apothecary who developed porcelain out of the local clay and who created the porcelain industries in those countries.

The apothecary thus played important roles in early modern history. He was, first of all, the primary provider of health care, and his contributions to science, especially chemistry, were often seminal to the science and significant to the economy and life of the times.

See also **Alchemy; Medicine; Paracelsus; Priestley, Joseph.**

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DAVID L. COWEN

APPRENTICESHIP. *See Youth.*

ARCHAEOLOGY. The modern discipline of interpreting the human past by means of material remains is built upon five centuries of antiquarian and scholarly pursuits. Study of the physical remains of the Greco-Roman past complemented the ardent search for classical texts during the Italian Renaissance, since artifacts and monuments provide a visible, tangible, authoritative (and sometimes alternative) past. Early humanists such as Petrarch and Boccaccio studied coins and inscriptions along with their philological inquiries, and Vitruvius's (first century B.C.E.) treatise on architecture stimulated surveys of architectural remains and the topography of Rome by architects such as Leon Battista Alberti (1404–1471), Andrea Palladio (1508–1580), and Pirro Ligorio (1510–1583). Cyriacus of Ancona (1391–c. 1452) recorded ancient inscriptions and buildings during extensive travels in Italy, Greece, Egypt, and the Levant. In Rome, spectacular chance finds of sculpture like the Laocoön (in 1506) and paintings like those in Nero's Domus Aurea (Golden House, 65–68 C.E.) profoundly affected artists, including Michelangelo and Raphael, and augmented papal collections. A lucrative market in antiquities encouraged random digging that sometimes yielded new information, but excavation for the sake of answering historical questions was slow to develop.

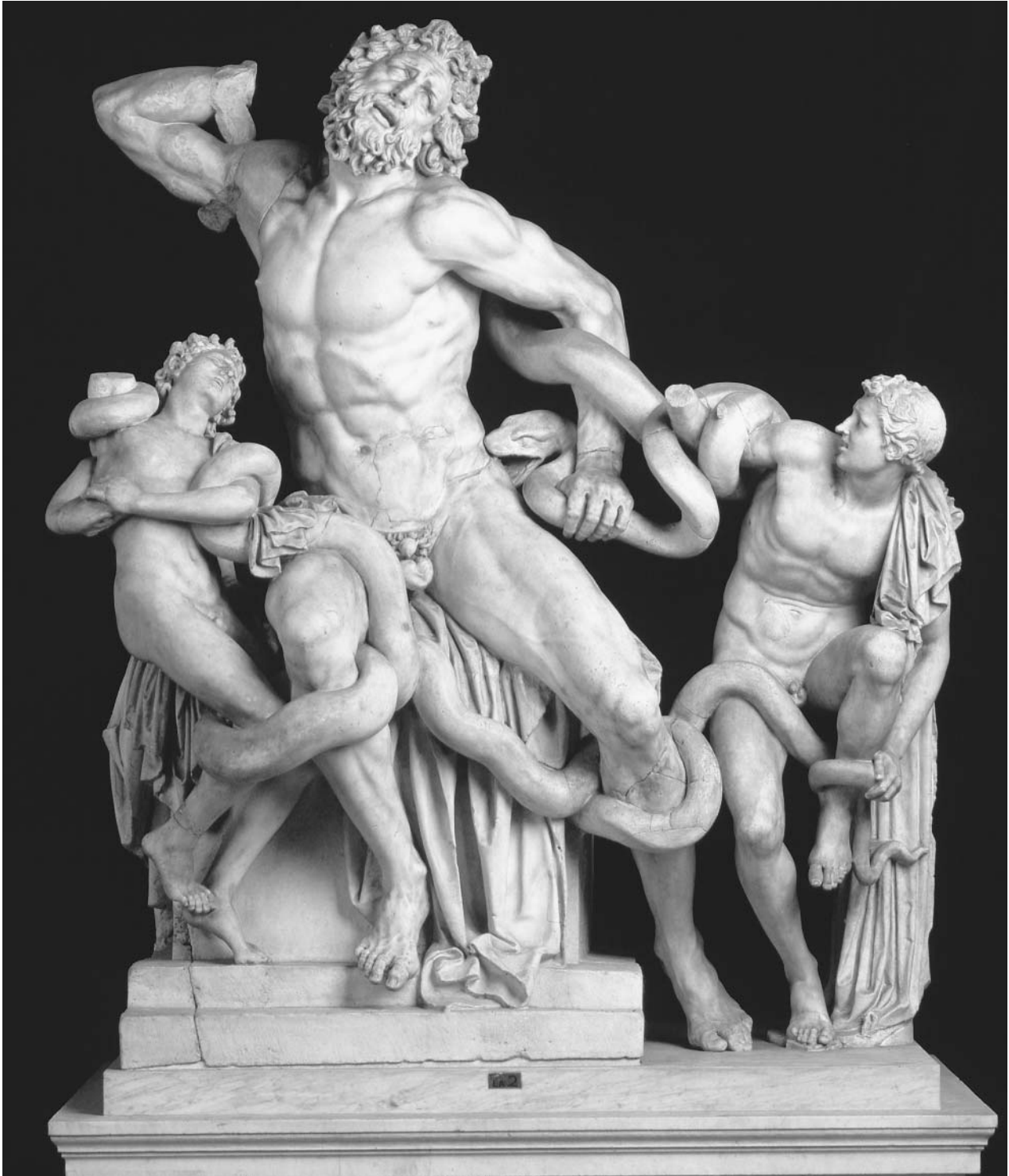
During the eighteenth century the grand tour led to Rome as a primary destination, and the enhanced awareness of antiquities and classical topography stimulated further collecting and shaped fashionable tastes. The typical tour was extended to Naples after the discovery of Herculaneum (1709; excavations began 1738) and Pompeii (1748), investigated initially by destructive tunneling in the search for treasures until more systematic efforts be-

gan in 1750 under the direction of Karl Weber (1712–1764). Architects visited the temples of Paestum (Giovanni Battista Piranesi) and Sicily and Greece (James Stuart and Nicholas Revett), recording them as antiquities and as models for contemporary practice, while Johann Joachim Winckelmann's publications shifted antiquarianism toward the discipline of art history. The collections of antiquities that bestowed status on wealthy families eventually became central to national collections in the public museums founded in the nineteenth century.

Antiquarians in England (William Camden, John Aubrey, William Stukeley), France (the Comte de Caylus), and Germany and Scandinavia (Olaus Magnus, Ole Worm) focused on regional histories that could be recovered through close observation, walking surveys, and even some deliberate excavation of henges, megaliths, tumuli, barrows, and urn fields. They sought to merge the distinctive local histories attested by such findings with both the Roman past, using appropriate texts, and biblical antecedents, but biblical chronology constrained their efforts. Nonetheless their meticulous drawings and records and their use of hypotheses based on fieldwork set new standards, and they initiated archaeological investigations of cultures predating the Greco-Roman era.

The documentation of Egyptian antiquities during Napoleon's invasion of Egypt (1798) opened the new field of Egyptology and led to further exploration of the Near East. Soon thereafter developments in stratigraphic geology, paleontology, and especially the theory of evolution led to a more scientific and rigorous archaeology. The antiquarians, however, had successfully applied philological methods to the interpretation of inscriptions and physical remains, and their illustrated publications of Greek and Roman antiquities deeply influenced contemporary art and architecture, interior decoration, and consumer items. Their studies contributed a broader understanding of cultural history, creating taxonomies and typologies still in use and important records of material now lost.

See also Ancient World; Architecture; Classicism; Grand Tour; Neoclassicism; Palladio, Andrea, and Palladianism; Piranesi, Giovanni Battista; Pompeii and Herculaneum; Rome, Architecture in; Winckelmann, Johann Joachim.



Archaeology. *Laocoön*. Rediscovered in 1506, this Roman sculpture from the Hellenistic period (323–27 B.C.E.) portrays a scene from the *Aeneid* in which the sons of a Trojan priest are crushed by snakes. It was widely viewed as an unparalleled depiction of human suffering and influenced the work of a number of Renaissance artists, including Michelangelo. ©ARALDO DE LUCA/CORBIS

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MARGARET M. MILES

ARCHITECTURE. The monumental inventions of early modern European architecture still mark the modern built environment. Vast boulevards and formal gardens focusing on public buildings denote the capital city everywhere. Domes dominate the skyline in Rome, London, and Washington. Uniform palaces and house facades define the squares of Paris and London, the canals of Amsterdam and St. Petersburg. Churches modeled on imperial Roman baths and basilicas seem to reach outwards, with spectacular baroque facades and multiple columns extending into public space, like the twin columns (inspired by Trajan's Column in Rome) of Vienna's Karlskirche (Fischer von Erlach, 1715–1738), or the colonnades that define the piazza of St. Peter's in Rome (Gian Lorenzo Bernini, 1656–1667). The countryside, too, is transformed by villas and great houses in their landscaped grounds, and in the most famous case, Versailles (Louis Leveau and J. H. Mansart, 1668–1689), the out-of-town retreat became the capital of an absolute monarch.

The language of all these buildings is classical, using the columns, arches, cornices, vaults, and triangular pediments still visible in the ruins of ancient Rome, integrating them according to the ancient

treatise of Vitruvius, and in some cases directly imitating the few ancient buildings that survived, such as the Pantheon and the Colosseum. But this language was transformed in several ways, going beyond the accomplishments of the Renaissance. In its baroque form, space becomes more complex, and surfaces more agitated and ornate; straight moldings and flat walls curve and break apart, columns spiral, circles turn into ovals, ceilings dissolve into vast trompe l'oeil paintings that seem open to heaven, and solid ornament imitates the movement of angels or the sudden burst of light. Secular buildings undergo the same transformation, especially in their ceremonial staircases and uniform suites of reception rooms that create the impression of infinite power. The best of these designs is orderly and monumental rather than capricious or excessive, yet periodically architects reacted against the baroque, instigating a calmer and more rational classicism. A well-known example is Palladianism, a revival of the late Renaissance architect Andrea Palladio (1508–1580) that came to dominate English country house design in the eighteenth century in reaction to the ornate formality of Versailles and its English baroque rival, John Vanbrugh's Blenheim (1705–1716).

Individual buildings and urban spaces conveyed a powerful message of confidence and control through new forms and crystalline geometry even when they were not very large. Thus Francesco Borromini's (1599–1667) church of San Carlo alle Quattro Fontane in Rome (1634–1667), though only the size of one of the piers of St. Peter's, created a stir among visitors and critics who praised its curved facade and oval dome—or execrated them in equal measure. Sant' Ivo (1642–1660), Borromini's Star of David-shaped chapel for the University of Rome, dazzled with its breathless spiral tower that altered the role of the adjacent Pantheon's dome. Borromini's fastidiousness for building materials and moldings was matched by his French contemporary François Mansart, but the latter's trademark at country houses such as Château Maisons near Paris (1642) and the Orleans wing of the royal palace at Blois (1635) was a limpid and austere classicism. Pietro da Cortona's (1596–1669) facade for Santa Maria della Pace (1656–1659) in Rome applied theatricality to urban design, placing a lavishly columned and curved portico

in a small space that caught unprepared visitors by surprise. Paris, Turin, London, and Bath were endowed with geometrical open spaces framed with uniform porticoes and houses, to whose shapes the English word “square” fails to do justice: rather, they were triangular (Place Dauphine), circular (Place des Victoires, Jules Hardouin-Mansart, 1685; the Circus, John Wood, 1754), rectangular (Piazza San Carlo, Carlo di Castellamonte, 1620), hexagonal (Place Vendôme, Mansart, 1698), and elliptical (Royal Crescent, John Wood, Jr., 1767–1777). Countering these residential “squares” were the public spaces of Rome, such as Piazza Navona (Four Rivers fountain by Bernini, 1647–1651), the Spanish Steps (Francesco de Sanctis, 1723–1726), and the Trevi fountain (Nicola Salvi, 1762), each animated by generous displays of statuary, water, terraces, and views. This festive quality of the best early modern urban design was enhanced with additional ornaments, including innumerable triumphal arches, imprinting the city with commemorative meaning.

THE ARCHITECTURAL CITY

The innovations of the Italian Renaissance provided an ample foundation for the developments in architecture of the late sixteenth, the seventeenth, and the first half of the eighteenth centuries. This inheritance was enhanced by the innovations of military defense, altered social and political organizations, and new forms of organized religion. Yet despite significant research in church form and extensive construction of places of worship, the period is marked by a secularization of architecture and urban space.

The seventeenth century was an urban century, whose great cities—defined by the size of the population (according to Giovanni Botero) and the magnificence of their rulers—constituted its new wealth. A large population can be attained through prosperity and security, and the architecture of the early modern era defined the prosperity of the social order and ensured its safety in the face of enemies. Distinguished buildings, significant historical inheritance, artistic collections, and public safety attracted visitors to the great city. Thus consumerism and tourism developed in tandem with the early modern city and its architectural expression.

This was accompanied by the widespread acceptance and application of the revived classical style of architecture in places outside the Italian peninsula—in France, England, the Netherlands, the Germanic states, Sweden, Russia, and the British colonies in the Americas. A specifically Counter-Reformation style of classical architecture, emphasizing massive, ornate spaces and animated forms that propagate the faith by captivating the audience, was disseminated in the colonial towns of Spanish and Portuguese settlers, and in the missionary convents of religious orders in Central and South America, on the western coast of Africa, and on the Indian subcontinent.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, architecture became an instrument of state control and organization, not only signifying the cultural advantages of its sponsors (as in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries) but also assuming a defining role in the identity of nascent national states. Thus secularized, classicized, and politicized, architecture transformed the early modern city. The architectural product continued to be defined through three types of design—church, palace, and public square—but each underwent extensive refinement and redefinition. We have cathedrals, parish churches, and monastic churches as before, though now competing for attention through the offer of urban amenities such as colonnades, fountains, and elaborately decorated facades, transformed by the worldly social agenda of the Counter-Reformation. The palace building type came to encompass not only aristocratic town residences (called *hôtels* in France) and the communal homes of religious orders, but also the state agencies of control, management, and reform (such as prisons, almshouses, hospitals, and city halls). The open spaces of the city surrounded by this evolving set of buildings (housing new functions and organized into streets and squares more or less geometrically defined and ordered) became the principal sites of urban meaning. The definition of urban architecture was ultimately achieved through the enclosure of a city within a fortification belt (walls, bastions, outworks, and gateways) that effectively created the separation between town and country and allowed each to develop firm boundaries.

This defining separation was the major contribution of military urbanism. Other military-



Architecture. An aerial view of the Château de Versailles by Pierre Patel. Built by Louis XIV as a royal residence, the chateau later became the seat of the French government and served as the model for palaces across the continent. (See also cover of volume 6.) ©ARCHIVO ICONOGRAFICO, S.A./CORBIS

influenced architectural features were the triumphal arch, the pentagonal citadel, the wide, uniformly framed straight boulevard, and the equestrian statue of the victorious ruler placed at the center of squares used for parades and festivities. The pacification brought about by military architecture encouraged the development of the rural palace or agrarian villa. Palladio's urbane villas (such as the Rotonda outside Vicenza, 1566–1569, and the Villa Barbaro at Maser, 1554–1558) offered a residential type that resonates throughout early modern architecture. Modeled on the French royal chateau, the palaces at Blenheim, Tsarskoe Selo (Bartolomeo Rastrelli, 1749–1756), and Schönbrunn (Fischer von Erlach, 1696–1711) are among the most prominent examples of the “Versailles syndrome” that swept through eighteenth-century Europe.

This new understanding of architecture, urbane even in its country houses, was promoted through the burgeoning medium of print: illustrated books, single sheets, and specialized studies turned the newly defined city and its buildings into a subject of study, and were collected by all those with pretensions to learning: for the first time in the history of Western civilization, the achievements of architects could be appreciated, studied, and imitated without leaving home. Nonetheless, this graphic documentation stimulated travel in the pursuit of architectural education, making Rome—then Paris, London, and Amsterdam—the destinations for nonreligious pilgrimage.

BAROQUE ROME AND BEYOND

The issues involved in large building operations—budget, conflicting interests of patrons, and variable

design talents of architects—can best be illustrated by the seemingly interminable reconstruction of St. Peter's in Rome. Its dome, completed (Michelangelo and Giacomo della Porta, 1590) after nearly a century of indecision and uncertainty, the much desired Renaissance plan of the ideal church as centrally planned—promoted by Bramante (1506) and Michelangelo (c. 1546), the two most acclaimed architects of the sixteenth century—was definitively abandoned. The extension of the church by Carlo Maderno (1607–1612), and the immense facade designed by him, completed the body of the church proper. This signified the coming importance of building elevations in a development that has been labeled *facadism*—countering the Renaissance's failure to complete the public front of important religious and secular buildings (the facade of San Lorenzo in Florence, for example, whose interior includes Michelangelo's Medicean library and chapel, remains unclad). The elliptical space before St. Peter's, defined by a carefully planted forest of columns, was not completed until the late 1660s by Bernini. The area framed by the facade and colonnade, where pilgrims to Rome were taken to the bosom of the church and whose center was defined by the largest Egyptian obelisk in Rome, represented the epitome of baroque space. The placement of the obelisk under the direction of Domenico Fontana in 1586 marks an important achievement in the history of engineering, considered by architectural historians to be the most influential moment of early modern city planning and a spur to later developments. *Facadism* then is a crucial element of the concern with the appearance of public space that dominates Western architectural design in the seventeenth century.

Like Florence in the fifteenth century, Rome in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was an artistic hub of the highest order. The papal government (with its huge numbers of retainers and accompanying families), the missionary orders that made their headquarters in the city, and the large numbers of pilgrims constituted the elements of a varied and rich patronage system that attracted the best artists to the city. Milan and Naples, Rome's most important rivals in wealth and size of population, were dominated by the Spanish viceroys, whose cultural contributions were more modest; Spanish monarchs beginning with Philip II concentrated their archi-

tectural patronage on the remote palace-monastery El Escorial (Juan de Herrera, 1568–1584). Architects came to work in Rome, but they also came to study, forming “national” groupings lodged among their compatriots in distinct parts of the multicultural city.

By the end of the seventeenth century the Italian tour, though highly recommended, was no longer a requirement for a successful career in architecture. Thus Christopher Wren and Jules Hardouin-Mansart, unlike their predecessors Inigo Jones and Jacques Lemercier, built highly visible religious monuments—St Paul's in London (1675–1711) and the Invalides church in Paris (1679–1691)—modeled on St. Peter's without setting foot in the old city. Inigo Jones put his Italian experience to work designing the queen's house in Greenwich (1616–1635, outside London), a royal villa that later became the centerpiece of Wren's naval hospital (1696–1716), and the Whitehall Banqueting House (1619–1622), which emulated the urban palaces of Palladio in Vicenza. Although his buildings were few, he sowed the seeds of Palladianism, the single most significant classicizing movement in England, whose influence continued through the eighteenth century in the houses designed by John Wood in Bath and Lord Burlington, William Kent, and Robert Adam in the British countryside near London (Chiswick, Syon) and East Anglia (Holkham Hall).

The Dutch version of classicism turned Amsterdam into a Venice of the north and provided the stimulation for the design of St. Petersburg. Russian neoclassicism in the later eighteenth century was leavened by the presence of both Charles Cameron and Giacomo Quarenghi, whose cool white and stripped-down temples and pavilions for the empress Catherine were rooted in the more recent archaeology of the mid-century. Architects at the French Academy in Rome made an inestimable contribution to neoclassicism: they measured and drew antiquities, offering the most accurately reproduced illustrations for those unwilling to travel. By anatomizing antiquities, they acquired a familiarity with the classical forms that led to the transformation of this inheritance, stripping it of baroque accretions.

ARCHITECTURAL ACHIEVEMENTS

Architecture in this period solved problems that had been researched for centuries: how to express the status and ambitions of the patron and how to connect the buildings' public and private functions. Thus the formation of palace facades in Rome, Turin, Venice, Paris, and Vienna can be seen as billboards that explicate the position of their owners. This meant articulating the relation between the exterior (the street or garden facade) and the interior, which in turn must be divided into entry, passage, principal reception room, and private apartments.

While palace and church elevations had been recognized as essential areas of relation between public and interior space (and as carriers of meaning), the formal manipulation of these surfaces was determined by concerns for the appearance of dignity and sobriety. The baroque facade became strongly articulated and richly ornamented with the entire arsenal of architectural vocabulary available to designers. While the liveliness of church facades was meant to stimulate a Counter-Reformation participation, the facades of palaces became essential elements in the highly ritualized definition of power exchanges.

The major architectural innovations—St. Peter's in Rome, Palladio's villas, the Louvre in Paris (1666), and the palace at Versailles—soon acquired the authority earlier associated with ancient Roman and Greek buildings such as the Parthenon, the Pantheon, the Colosseum, and the ancient theater. The new standards were serially emulated, though not always with distinguished results. Thus St. Peter's was the source not only for Mansart's Invalides in Paris and Wren's St. Paul's in London, but also for Jacques-Germain Soufflot's Panthéon (1755–1780) in Paris, stretching as far as the nineteenth-century capitol buildings in Washington and in Providence, Rhode Island. Versailles, itself distantly modeled on the Escorial, spawned numerous imitations in the German principalities and in Vienna, as well as in Sweden and Russia. Palladio's villa designs, capable of absorbing variations in scale, were the basis (through Inigo Jones) for innumerable British country houses, and for Thomas Jefferson's influential Monticello. Bernini's designs for the Louvre, and the realized version by Louis Le Vau and Claude Perrault, drew upon the Farnese palace

in Rome, the grandest of Renaissance homes, and propagated countless urban houses, from Guarino Guarini's Carignano palace (1679–1683) in Turin to Viennese town palaces of the eighteenth century.

See also **Baroque**; **Bernini, Gian Lorenzo**; **Borromini, Francesco**; **Britain, Architecture in**; **City Planning**; **Estates and Country Houses**; **France, Architecture in**; **Gardens and Parks**; **Mansart, François**; **Neoclassicism**; **Palladio, Andrea, and Palladianism**; **Rome, Architecture in**; **Wren, Christopher**.

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MARTHA POLLAK

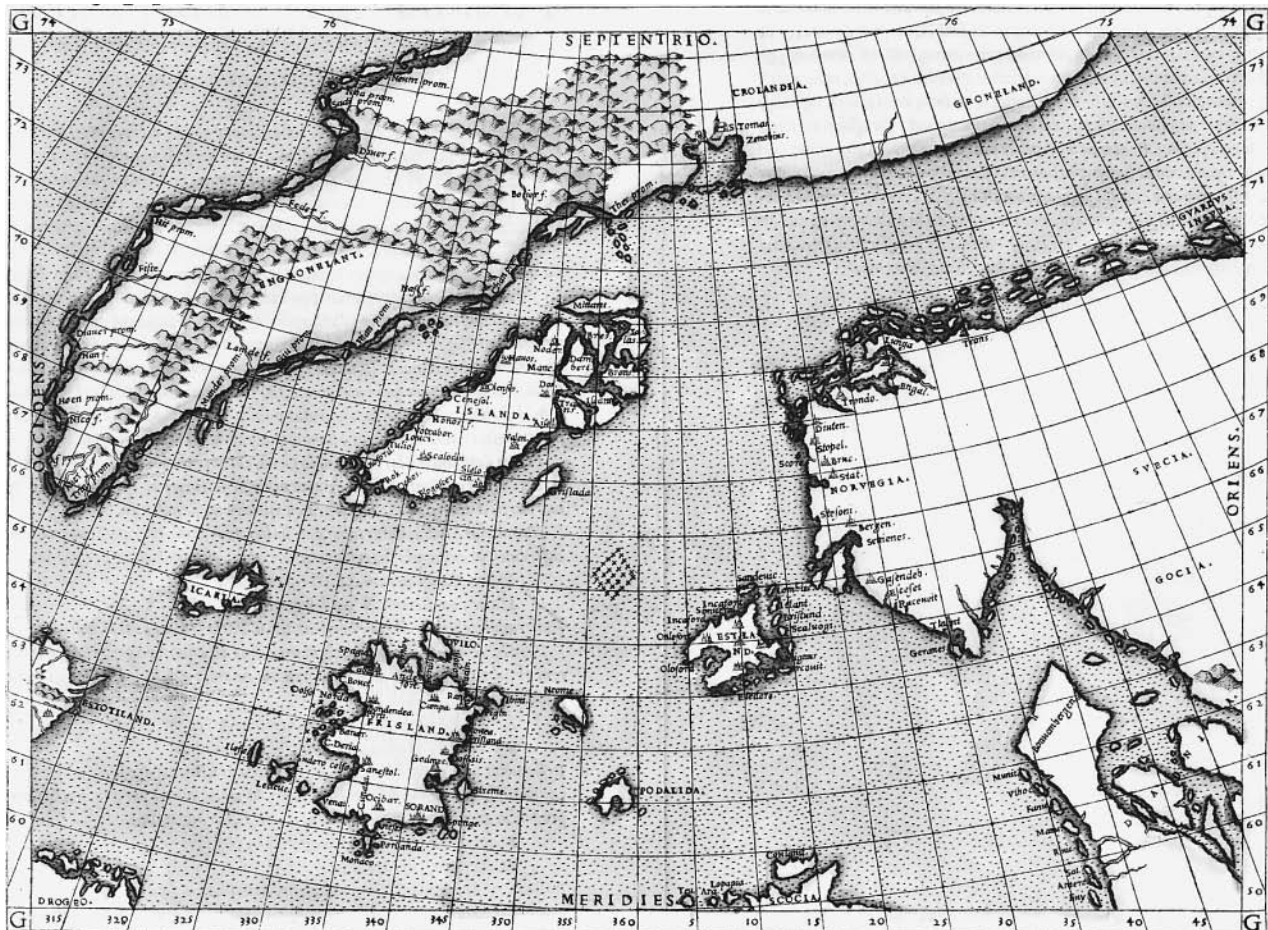
ARCTIC AND ANTARCTIC.

Geographers, explorers, fisherfolk, and entrepreneurs had very different attitudes toward the extreme north and extreme south in the early modern period. Neither pole was seen as inhabitable, although interactions with Inuit and Lapps from the sixteenth century on caused Europeans to modify this view. The northern area was most often seen as

a path to Cathay and the Far East, while the south was completely unknown and only glimpsed by circumnavigators like Ferdinand Magellan (Fernão de Magalhães; c. 1480–1521) and Sir Francis Drake (1540 or 1543–1596).

Theories of the globe changed during the early modern period, affected first by the rediscovery of ancient geographical knowledge and later by exploration reports. From Aristotle and Ptolemy, most Greek and Roman commentators as well as medieval geographers believed that there was simply one continent, or *oikoumene*, that consisted of the known world. For Ptolemy, this *oikoumene* was quite large, from the prime meridian, passing through the Blessed Isles to longitude 180° east; and from 63° north latitude to 16°25' south lati-

tude. This encompassed the civilized world as Ptolemy knew it and he implied that the world and its map were complete. From 1406, with the rediscovery of Ptolemy's *Geographia*, and with it the longitude and latitude coordinate system, Ptolemaic maps once again appeared. The *oikoumene* remained an important visual depiction of the globe, used for example by Gregor Reisch in *Margarita philosophica* (1504). Throughout the sixteenth century this map was modified, first by the addition of America by Martin Waldseemüller in 1507, but it was not until the world map of Gerhard Mercator, produced in Antwerp in 1569, followed by that of Abraham Oertel (Abraham Ortelius), produced in Antwerp in 1570, that a large northern and southern continent appeared.



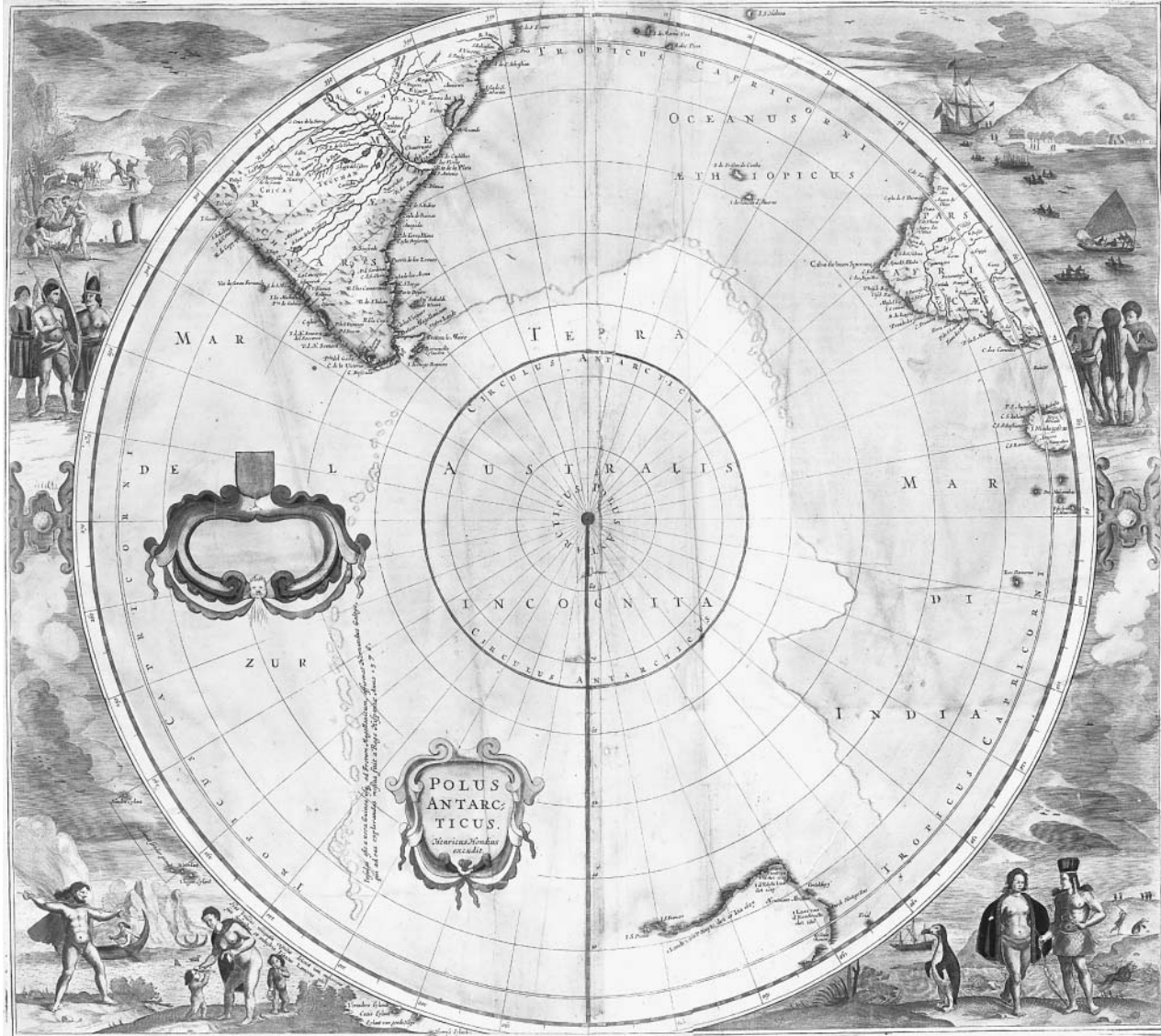
Arctic and Antarctic. A largely imaginary map of the northern Atlantic Ocean by Nicolo Zeno that Girolamo Ruscelli included in his 1561 edition of Ptolemy's *Geography*. Based on the supposed travels of Zeno's ancestors in the North Atlantic circa 1380, the map includes a number of fictitious islands such as Frisland, Icaria, and Estotiland. The map was taken seriously by many at the time of the *Geography's* publication, and these nonexistent places remained on maps for centuries afterward. MAP COLLECTION, STERLING MEMORIAL LIBRARY, YALE UNIVERSITY



Arctic and Antarctic. Gerhard Mercator's famous 1595 map of the Arctic region, one of the first of that area, represents the late medieval concept of four rivers flowing into a central whirlpool around a large rock at the north pole, but also includes information gathered by polar explorers such as Martin Frobisher, John Davis, and Willem Barentz. The map also reflects the interest in finding a northwest passage between Europe and Asia, which lasted throughout the early modern period. MAP COLLECTION, STERLING MEMORIAL LIBRARY, YALE UNIVERSITY

At the same time, the Greek climatic theory remained important throughout the early modern period. Parmenides had postulated the existence of five climatic zones; the two polar zones were too cold to inhabit, and the torrid zone was likewise uninhabitable, leaving only the two temperate zones for human occupation. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, this theory was modified,

since explorers from Christopher Columbus on had demonstrated inhabitants in all regions. Rather, geographers claimed that climate affected temperament and that those living in the Far North were very aggressive, and lacking in culture, government, or laws. Thus, the Europeans from the temperate zone were believed better suited to manage the affairs of those both to the north and the south.



Arctic and Antarctic. On Henricus Hondius's map of the south polar regions, which first appeared in a Dutch atlas by Jan Jansson in 1637, the supposed outline of the unknown southern continent appears faintly around the top and right of the Antarctic Circle. The string of islands to the left of the title cartouche has text indicating their discovery by Magellan. A partial outline of the coast of newly discovered Australia appears at the bottom, with the names of early explorers noted. MAP COLLECTION, STERLING MEMORIAL LIBRARY, YALE UNIVERSITY

Between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries, Europeans expanded their knowledge of the globe through exploration. They discovered the Americas and, by the end of the period, had sailed to most inhabited regions of the world. Exploration of the Arctic was carried out by northern Europeans, especially Scandinavians, Dutch, French, and English. These northern nations had fishermen who had exploited the northern seas for generations, both in the waters north of Scandinavia and Mus-

covy, and west to the Grand Banks, where the fish were so plentiful that the catch was well worth the difficult voyage. Building on the success of these fishing expeditions, although usually with other trade and geographical goals in mind, explorers began to search the north for a passage to the most desired trading location of the early modern period: Cathay. They searched for both a northeast and a northwest passage and in the process, set up trading companies and some colonial outposts.

The search for the northeast passage led around Scandinavia to Archangel (Arkhangel'sk), and to the creation of the Dutch and English Muscovy Companies in the 1550s. Although some explorers believed they had discovered unicorn horns, indicating that they were on the right track, the passage to China was never discovered, and trade with Muscovy turned out to be easier across land. The northern waters were left to the whalers.

In the west, English and French explorers were limited to northern exploration by the powerful presence of the Spanish in the more temperate zones. They also sought the wealth that the Spanish and Portuguese were amassing, both through the discovery of gold and silver in Mesoamerica and through trade with China. Through necessity, then, they sailed north, and became convinced that there was a way through the continent in that direction. Some geographers argued that there was a large northern continent surrounding the pole, with a strait below it leading to China. This strait, labeled the Strait of Anián or of the "Three Brothers," appeared on Oertel's map of 1564 and was repeated on other maps well into the seventeenth century. A number of explorers looked for this strait, and occasionally found it. The English mariner Martin Frobisher, for example, was convinced that he was sailing into the strait, on his second voyage of 1577. Explorers such as Frobisher, John Davis, and Henry Hudson all searched for this passage, and while they developed maps of the region, they were ultimately unsuccessful in their quest.

In the south, interest in a polar continent was almost nonexistent until the end of this period. Both Magellan and Drake sailed south around the Americas and in the process saw what they thought might be a southern unknown continent. In 1520 Magellan proceeded through the strait that now bears his name, passing between mainland South America and Tierra del Fuego. He thought that the latter was the tip of a much larger continent, especially because geographers such as Mercator had argued that a southern continent would be necessary to balance the Eurasian landmass in the Northern Hemisphere. Magellan's interest, however, was not with this continent, but rather in the path to the Spice Islands (Moluccas). Drake's later circumnavigation, beginning in 1577, also passed through the Strait of Magellan and again, Drake believed Tierra

del Fuego to be part of a much larger landmass. After clearing the strait, however, Drake's ship was blown farther south, and it began to look as if there was a cape below, like that around Africa. The first search for Terra Australis Incognita was undertaken by the Dutch explorer Abel Janszoon Tasman (1603–1659), who in the 1640s explored the north coast of Australia and discovered Tasmania and New Zealand. The push to discover the great southern continent, however, did not begin until the eighteenth century.

The Arctic and Antarctic were not the primary focus of Europeans in this period, but rather a means to other ends. Voyages there were dangerous and not particularly prosperous. However, theories of the existence of these continents led to colonization and exploration in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. By then, the discoveries of the Pacific seemed more appealing than those in the Far North, and the southern continent gained attraction while the northwest passage became a less important quest.

See also Cartography and Geography; Exploration.

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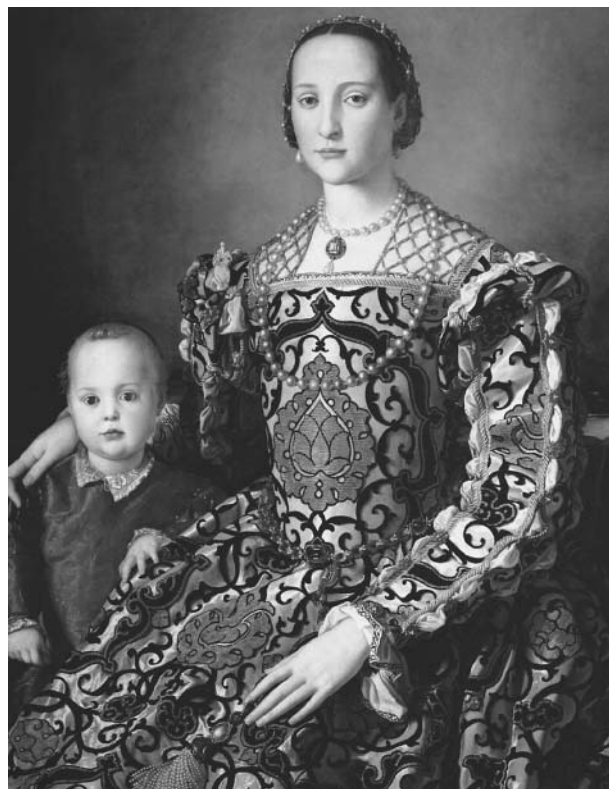
ARISTOCRACY AND GENTRY. In most European countries society and politics were dominated during the early modern period by the power and influence that nobles enjoyed, either as individuals or as a social group. Noble hegemony was not always uncontested, but by successfully adapting to political and cultural changes and by integrating competing social elites, nobles managed to maintain their dominant position in most cases

until the late eighteenth century. Although noble elites across Europe were defined according to distinct local and national customs and legal criteria, noble men and women from different countries nevertheless tended to recognize each other as members of the same social estate, if not necessarily as equals, united by a specific sense of honor and adherence to common values.

DEFINITIONS OF NOBLE STATUS

Noblemen and noblewomen can most easily be defined as members of a social group that enjoyed a hereditary claim to certain privileges and social status, a claim that was sustained by a specific way of life and social practices that were meant to ensure that non-nobles were excluded from the charmed circles of the elite. However, at the beginning of the early modern period, what distinguished the lower nobility—that is, simple gentlemen—from mere commoners was not necessarily a matter of clear legal distinctions. What made a man and his family noble was rather his or their ability to live according to a specific social code of conduct. In most European countries (the patrician urban elites of the Mediterranean world were, at least at the beginning of our period, a partial exception), noblemen were expected to own landed property, ideally as a fief, held as tenant-in-chief from the crown or a secular or ecclesiastical magnate. They were also expected to lead a life of comparative leisure or at least to refrain from commercial activities that were considered demeaning as, for example, retail trading. In many countries military prowess and the virtues of the warrior were important ideals governing the conduct of noblemen. Ancient lineage, real or sometimes invented, was certainly crucial to lend credibility to the social aspirations of a family. However, if a man bought a fief complete with castle or manor house and the concomitant rights of jurisdiction and lordship, married the right woman or ensured that at least his children married the right partners, and lived in appropriate style, his heirs would stand a fair chance of being accepted as noble by local society in due course. This was certainly true in the earlier sixteenth century in most countries.

Nevertheless, many monarchs and princes gradually tried to control access to noble status more tightly. To some extent this had become necessary



Aristocracy and Gentry. *Eleanora of Toledo with Her Son* by Agnolo Bronzino. This is one of Bronzino's most renowned portraits; his works are characterized in particular by the sense of aristocratic detachment conveyed by their subjects.
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because the increasing tax burden had made noble status (which often brought freedom from direct taxation) dangerously attractive, all the more so as the feudal obligation to perform personal military service for the crown at times of war had largely become obsolete in an age when battles were no longer fought by the feudal host but by armies of professional soldiers. In France a royal ordinance stated in 1579 that men of non-noble origin who bought noble fiefs should in future remain members of the Third Estate; the silent elevation to the status of nobleman was thereby declared illegal. Admittedly, it took several decades to enforce this legislation. In fact it was not until the reign of Louis XIV, in the 1660s, that systematic investigations were undertaken to weed out false from true nobles. Such nationwide controls of social status were more difficult to implement in other countries. Nevertheless, the tendency to move from a notion of nobility that was based on custom and informal criteria of social

prestige to an idea of nobility conceived in terms of written proofs of noble lineage or based on royal letters of ennoblement was visible elsewhere as well. However, outside France it was often not the monarch but noble corporations such as cathedral chapters or the assemblies of Estates (or those sections of these assemblies that represented the nobility) that took the lead in erecting barriers to social newcomers and defining noble status more narrowly. While noble corporations tried to exclude newly ennobled families, titles granted by kings and sovereign princes, especially in moments of political or fiscal crisis, undermined the idea of a natural nobility that did not require a royal or princely grant or confirmation to be valid.

Whereas both the aristocracy and the lower nobility in most European countries were increasingly defined by clear legal criteria, the English gentry formed an exception to this rule. Partly because gentlemen had to pay the same taxes as other royal subjects, the crown had no great interest in restricting access to gentry status and would have lacked the power to do so in any case. Essentially, a man could assume the title “gentleman” or possibly even “esquire” if he felt that he was sufficiently wealthy and powerful to get away with such a claim without exposing himself to ridicule. In the eighteenth century the title “gentleman” became ever more widespread and was used widely by members of the respectable urban middle classes, even sometimes by wealthy shopkeepers.

THE LANDSCAPE OF NOBLE SOCIETY

The contrast between the English gentry and its continental counterparts is only one example of the heterogeneity of noble society in early modern Europe. To start with, the number of noble families per head of population varied greatly. At the European periphery, in Poland, Hungary, and Castile, nobles and their families made up between 5 and 10 percent of the population in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The percentage sometimes rose to 25 or more in regions such as Asturias in northern Spain or Mazowia in Poland, which had been marked by prolonged periods of warfare in the high or late Middle Ages; in these areas, freeholders who would have been simple peasants elsewhere often became part of the nobility or had special military privileges. In central Europe, in Germany

and France, and also in England (if one includes the gentry), between 1 and 2, or at most 3, percent of all men and women could claim noble status. This was more or less the European norm; regions such as southern Italy, Scandinavia, and Bohemia (where the lower nobility almost disappeared after 1620) had a lower density of noblemen, about 0.5 percent of the population in the eighteenth century.

Areas with numerous nobility were obviously also those that had the greatest number of impoverished noble families in the early modern period. This applies not only to the regions just mentioned but also to parts of France such as Brittany or the southwest, or countries such as Scotland. Partible inheritance did not help either, as it created a great number of noble heirs who stubbornly clung to their status and their inherited privileges, even though the ancient family fortune had long been diminished. Primogeniture, on the other hand, which was valid in England for the peerage and also for gentry families, tended to create an elite of limited size but comparatively solid wealth. Those younger sons who no longer owned enough real estate simply dropped out of the elite and became members of the urban or rural middle classes unless they managed to pursue successful careers as officeholders, lawyers, or soldiers (or sometimes even as merchants), which might give them sufficient wealth and prestige to remain members of the elite.

During the early modern period many noble families tried to defend their economic position against the dangers of mismanagement and waste by introducing forms of inheritance designed to ensure that real estate could neither be sold at will nor divided among several heirs. The strict settlement in England, the *mayorazgo* in Spain, and the *Fideikommiss* (‘entail’) in Germany and the Habsburg Monarchy stipulated as a rule that younger sons received only stipends and cash payments or, at best, smaller estates not included in the entail. Daughters received dowries; the bulk of the family fortune went to the eldest son, who could not, however, sell the property. Such special forms of inheritance became increasingly popular in the seventeenth century in particular among the high aristocracy. The enormous fortunes of the Spanish *grandes*, the magnates of Austria and Bohemia, and many English peers were protected by such arrangements, although



Aristocracy and Gentry. *Lords John and Bernard Stuart* by Anthony Van Dyck. The official portraitist for Charles I of England, Van Dyck was renowned for his ability to subtly enhance the noble bearing of his subjects. ©NATIONAL GALLERY COLLECTION; BY KIND PERMISSION OF THE TRUSTEES OF THE NATIONAL GALLERY, LONDON/CORBIS

mismanagement by a succession of spendthrift heirs could still spell doom for aristocratic dynasties.

The difference between these magnates and the rank and file of the lower nobility, both in power and in cultural terms, was striking. Although the size of aristocratic households, and in particular the number of male servants, declined somewhat in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, some magnates still employed several hundred servants and retainers, whereas many simple country gentlemen could only afford one or two.

In the sixteenth century both magnates and simple gentlemen tended to live in castles or manor houses in the country, outside the towns and cities, in most European countries. Northern and central Italy and large areas of Spain—in particular the south—as well as southern France were, however, an exception to this rule. In fact, in northern Italy the social group that can most easily be classified as noble was the urban patriciate. The economic power base of this group had originally been trade and financial transactions, but later generations often tended to prefer a rentier existence that was unsoiled by visible business activities. In France and to a lesser extent elsewhere as well, a legal career offered special chances of ennoblement. Because most royal offices, including those in the highest courts of law, the parlements, could be bought and inherited, a class of hereditary officeholders was formed in the later sixteenth and the early seventeenth centuries that could lay some claim to noble status, the *noblesse de robe*. Although its members in many French provinces—perhaps less so in the capital—often came from the same families as the rural noblemen belonging to the *noblesse d'épée* (the military nobility), the *robins* had their own ethos and culture, which was distinct from that of the traditional nobility with its concentration on military virtue. The upper echelons of both elites tended to merge in the eighteenth century in social and cultural terms.

In general, the distinction between long-established urban and rural elites became gradually less marked in the course of the seventeenth and in the early eighteenth century. Urban patricians, such as the great families of Milan and Florence and, in the eighteenth century, the regents of Amsterdam, adopted the style of the old feudal nobility. They

bought fiefs, manors, and rights of jurisdiction, increasingly spoke and acted like courtiers, and had their sons serve as officers in the army. Meanwhile, the rural nobility, or at least its wealthier members, moved into town, where they built palatial houses in the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The great capitals such as London, Paris, and Vienna, and also smaller provincial cities, became centers of noble life, in particular during the winter months when life in the country was too dull and uncomfortable. Those rural gentlemen who lacked the means to leave their country houses and adopt the manners and style required by the sophisticated and refined culture of court and city were left isolated and resentful in their villages, cut off from the patronage networks that the noble magnates who were now mostly absent had provided in the past.

PRIVILEGES AND POWER

In most European countries nobles held more or less extensive right of jurisdiction at the local level, ranging from the right to adjudicate small disputes about property or to punish minor misdemeanors to the full authority to impose death sentences for capital crimes. Over time kings and princes tended to restrict noble jurisdiction or subject it to the control of their own courts of appeal. However, particularly in eastern and east central Europe (in Poland or Bohemia and Moravia for example, but also in Germany east of the Elbe River), noble seigneurs ruled their villages—and sometimes small agrarian towns as well—autocratically as late as the mid-eighteenth century and beyond. The peasants were often serfs or were at least subjected to severe restrictions on their personal freedom. They had to provide the lord of the manor with labor services and could not marry or leave their farms without his consent. This strict seignorial regime, which was designed to support the extensive home farms maintained by nobles, had no full equivalent in most parts of western and southern Europe. However, in the Spanish Habsburg Monarchy, the state's fiscal crisis in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries led to a large-scale alienation of royal rights of jurisdiction and taxation to noble magnates and rich financiers—who were subsequently often ennobled and integrated into the ancient nobility—that has been described as a process of refeudalization. In kingdoms such as Sicily, Naples, and Castile, the authority of the state was for a time eroded and



Aristocracy and Gentry. *Lady Elizabeth Thumbelby and Dorothy, Viscountess Andover*, portrait by Anthony van Dyck, c. 1637.
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replaced by that of great noblemen. Elsewhere, for example in France, the agents of a centralizing state, collecting taxes, dispensing justice, and enforcing religious conformity, were more successful in challenging the preeminence of nobles in the localities. Historians have often seen this process as the triumph of absolutism over noble power and liberty. However, the relationship between royal authority and noble power was not a zero-sum game, where the gain of one side was necessarily the loss of the other. Monarchs and their officeholders may have undermined the position of noble warlords—the

quintessential overmighty subjects—and taken a dim view of the protection rackets run by petty squires in remote provinces such as the Auvergne in France or Catalonia in Spain, but at least until the eighteenth century, the monarchical state also gave fresh legitimacy to the status, privileges, and honors enjoyed by nobles. In fact, important sections of the nobility took an active part in the state-building process and benefited from it either in the form of offices, pensions, and monopolies or because they were able to siphon off—officially or unofficially—a substantial part of the profits from taxation and

other public revenues. Admittedly, there had been times of deep tension and conflicts between monarchs and noblemen in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries in many countries, such as France and the Austrian Habsburg Monarchy. Religious divisions, tensions between competing noble factions at court, royal minorities, dynastic succession crises, and the failure of traditional political institutions such as the assemblies of Estates to integrate potential forces of opposition and to defuse conflicts all contributed to a series of violent confrontations, rebellions, and civil wars. When a new accommodation was achieved after about 1650, the traditional diets and provincial or national Estates, which had as a rule—next to the clergy—been dominated by nobles, were in terminal decline in many countries (they continued to thrive in England, Sweden, and parts of the Habsburg Monarchy as well as in the German ecclesiastical principalities). Nevertheless, a new accommodation between the noble quest for prestige and status and the demands of the state was achieved. Royal patronage managed to defuse the tensions between traditional notions of noble honor and the honors granted by the monarchical state to its servants. Not until the later eighteenth century was this new symbiosis to be challenged both by new non-noble elites and by enlightened nobles themselves.

See also Absolutism; Class, Status, and Order; Court and Courtiers; Duel; Estates and Country Houses; Honor; Inheritance and Wills; Monarchy; Rentiers.

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ARISTOTELIANISM. Aristotelianism in the early modern period was the philosophy taught in the schools, typically in the collegiate years preparatory to a bachelor’s degree. Thus Aristotelianism and Scholasticism were synonymous at the time, and one cannot talk about Aristotelianism without referring to the important changes in pedagogy that were initiated then. Many colleges and universities reorganized and standardized their curriculum; new teaching orders, such as the Oratory in France (founded 1564; established in France 1613) and the Doctrinaires in France and Italy (founded 1592), were instituted; and the Society of Jesus, which became a very powerful force in education, was established (in 1534), with the aim of using education to counter the effects of the Reformation.

Education during the first half of the seventeenth century became fairly uniform. Students took four or five years of humanities (French, Latin,

and Greek language and literature) followed by a year of rhetoric and then the collegiate curriculum, that is, two years of philosophy. The latter was an Aristotelian-based program of logic, ethics, physics, and metaphysics; it was thought necessary as preparation for the higher faculties of medicine, law, and theology. Jesuits covered the same collegiate curriculum in three years with the addition of a course in mathematics. Oratorians followed that pattern and taught a broadly Aristotelian set of philosophy courses. Perhaps because of the propensity of their founder, Pierre de Bérulle, for Platonic thought, the Aristotelianism of the Oratory differed slightly from that of the Jesuits and Doctrinaires. The Jesuits officially leaned toward Thomism, the version of Aristotelian philosophy propounded by St. Thomas Aquinas (1224 or 1225–1274) and his followers, though in practice they mixed their Thomism with other kinds of Scholastic thought, while the Doctrinaires seem to have taught Thomism exclusively.

In the Constitutions of the Society of Jesus, Ignatius of Loyola (1491–1556), founder of the Society, recommended that Jesuits follow the doctrines of Saint Thomas in theology and those of Aristotle in logic, natural philosophy, ethics, and metaphysics. After Loyola, the official position of the Society was further specified; Jesuits were supposed to teach “Aristotle and the true philosophy,” interpreted as Thomism. With the succession of Claudio Aquaviva as the fifth general of the Society (1581–1615), these issues took on a new vigor. The Society standardized its curriculum during this time. The Jesuits undertook extraordinary pedagogical discussions, ultimately leading to their *ratio studiorum* (uniform course of studies). The aim of this standardization was to enable Jesuits to propound a single philosophy that would maintain the Catholic faith; as Aquaviva said: “The primary goal in teaching should be to strengthen the faith and to develop piety. Therefore, no one shall teach anything not in conformity with the Church and received traditions, or that can diminish the vigor of the faith or the ardor of a solid piety.”

Together with these pedagogical innovations there was an explosion of Scholastic manuals. Among the widely read textbook authors at the time were the Coimbrans and Francisco Toletus. The Coimbrans (the Conimbricenses) were professors at

the Jesuit College at Coimbra (Portugal), who issued a series of encyclopedic commentaries on Aristotle’s works. Chief among them was Pedro da Fonseca, who wrote his own commentary on Aristotle’s *Metaphysics*. Toletus was a professor at the Jesuit Collegio Romano who also published commentaries on Aristotle’s works. The Coimbrans wrote volumes by committee, presenting the works of Aristotle that were taught in the curriculum; they followed the model of the great medieval commentaries, each volume treating a specific text (*Physics*, *On the Soul*, *On the Heavens*, etc.), but with an elaborate (post-Renaissance) scholarly apparatus, giving both Aristotle’s Greek text and its Latin translation, as well as Latin paraphrases and *quaestiones*, the resolution of questions relevant to the text under discussion. Other textbook writers generally followed this pattern, although textbooks like those of Toletus omitted the Greek versions of Aristotle. Ultimately, the Scholastic textbook even omitted Aristotle’s text itself. Eustachius a Sancto Paulo, in his *Summa Philosophiae Quadripartita* (Sum of philosophy in four parts, 1609), simply arranged the *quaestiones* in the order in which the curriculum would have presented them, doing so for all the Aristotelian sciences within the frame of the whole philosophy curriculum in a single volume. As their names generally indicated, these works were usually divided into four parts: ethics and logic, physics and metaphysics. However, the *Philosophy* (1644) by the Protestant Pierre du Moulin (whose logic text was also translated into English), was a three-part textbook, metaphysics having been omitted, while the *Philosophy* (1642) of Léonard Marandé added a fifth part: theology.

While the form of Scholastic teaching was fairly stable, its content was not. Aristotle’s philosophy dominated the schools in name, but the early modern era also witnessed a growing dissatisfaction with Aristotelian concepts. In fact, the differences among Aristotelians became so widespread that it is difficult to categorize thinkers as Aristotelians based on their doctrines alone. Scholars often regarded themselves as Aristotelians even when they departed from properly Aristotelian thought. One need only consider the case of Théophraste Bouju, whose 1614 textbook was subtitled: “All of it by demonstration and Aristotle’s authority, with explanations of his doctrine by Aristotle himself.” Despite the subtitle,

Bouju denied in his textbook that there is a sphere of fire and an absolute division between the sublunary and superlunary world. These, most would agree, were essential Aristotelian doctrines; dispensing with them would require one to rework substantially the Aristotelian theory of the four elements, of natural and violent motion, and of the heterogeneity of the sublunary and superlunary world. Many other theses that became canonical with later Aristotelians, such as the doctrine of substantial forms, also found early modern Scholastic critics. There were even textbook writers who proclaimed the compatibility of Aristotelian philosophy and atomism. Certainly, late Scholasticism was not “monolithic,” although such pejorative labels have been applied to it from the beginning.

Of course, not everyone thought that the differences among Aristotelians were significant. For example, René Descartes (1596–1650) asserted: “As for scholastic philosophy, I do not hold it as difficult to refute on account of the diversity of the scholastics’ opinions, for one can easily upset all the foundations about which they are in agreement among themselves; and that accomplished, all their particular disputes would appear inept.” For the Schoolmen, departures from properly Aristotelian doctrines were generally presented as elaborations of Aristotle’s intentions; outside the Schools they were often cited as objections to them. The situation naturally lent itself to rhetorical excesses on both sides. By the middle of the seventeenth century, accusations of in-fighting and philosophical inconsistency among the Schoolmen were near routine. Coinciding with this rising criticism, rival systems, such as those of Descartes, Pierre Gassendi (1592–1655), and Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679), were consciously developed as alternatives to traditional interpretations of Aristotelian physics and metaphysics. As a result, there were also thinkers who set out to mitigate the differences between the rival systems and others who self-consciously resolved to be eclectic, that is, to pick out what is best from the new and old philosophies. Naturally, the new philosophies also remained indebted, in varying degrees, to the tradition from which they attempted to break.

See also Descartes, René; Education; Gassendi, Pierre; Hobbes, Thomas; Jesuits; Philosophy; Scholasticism.

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ARMADA, SPANISH. Often called the “Invincible Armada,” the Spanish Armada was the invasion fleet launched against England in 1588 by Philip II of Spain. Its defeat left England Protestant, aided the Dutch Revolt, and compounded the tax burden on Spain’s strained economy.

In 1585 worsening relations between Philip II of Spain and Elizabeth I of England erupted into war. Elizabeth signed the Treaty of Nonesuch with the Dutch and permitted Sir Francis Drake to maraud in response to a Spanish embargo. Drake surprised Vigo, Spain, in October, then proceeded to the Caribbean and sacked Santo Domingo and Cartagena.

Philip ordered the marquis of Santa Cruz in Lisbon to form an armada of thirty-four ships to pursue and “punish” Drake. He also asked Santa Cruz and the duke of Parma, his commander in the Netherlands, to submit plans for the “Enterprise of England,” that is its invasion, for which he asked blessing and money from Pope Sixtus V. Parma thought that 35,000 men might cross in twelve hours with favorable weather and sufficient secrecy. He eventually collected over two hundred barges and eighty coasters.

Santa Cruz prepared a plan that called for some one hundred fifty fighting galleons and ships, six galleasses, forty galleys, and over three hundred other vessels large and small to transport fifty-five thousand infantry and sixteen hundred cavalry, artillery, and supplies. The troops would land in either Wales or Ireland. Considering the plans, Philip de-

cided on a smaller armada. When English land and sea forces responded to its landing force, Parma would invade Kent, overthrow Elizabeth, and establish a Catholic regime.

Santa Cruz assembled at Lisbon nine Portuguese galleons and another three dozen vessels. From Basque ports Juan Martínez de Recalde and Miguel de Oquendo would bring two dozen armed ships. At Cádiz, Pedro de Valdés assembled fifteen armed Indiamen, while another dozen great ships and four galleasses sailed from Italy with Alonso Martínez de Leyva.

Drake attacked Spain in April–May 1587, destroyed over twenty ships in Cádiz Bay, and disrupted coastal shipping. Too late, Santa Cruz sailed in pursuit. Storms pounded him on his return to Lisbon, where he found plans changed. He was to sail forthwith to the Strait of Dover, cover Parma's invasion of England, and deliver six thousand men. Communication between the armada and Parma, who had to be ready, posed an immediate problem. The Armada had no safe port where it might wait. Communication had so far been through Philip. Despite Philip's demands, Santa Cruz did not sail, prevented by damage, shortages, and weather. Ailing, he died 9 February 1588.

THE ARMADA CAMPAIGN

Philip appointed as successor the duke of Medina Sidonia, experienced in naval administration if not at sea. A council of war would assist him. Though reluctant to take command, the duke had the Armada's 130 vessels, 8,000 seamen, and 19,000 infantry to sea by the end of May. Storm struck off Cape Finisterre, forcing the Armada into La Coruña. On 21 July the repaired Armada sailed, reaching the English Channel on 28 July.

Ordered to join Parma and fight only if compelled, the Spaniards expected to find the English fleet in the Narrows. For battle, they would close, grapple, and board. The Armada's sixty fighting ships were big but bulky, loaded with men and stores; their guns were of mixed sizes and quality, and trained shipboard gunners were scarce. The remaining ships were transports or small craft.

Elizabeth's navy, under Lord Admiral Charles Howard of Effingham, with Drake as vice admiral and Martin Frobisher and John Hawkins commanding squadrons, chose not to wait in the Narrows. Over sixty galleons and great ships, and forty smaller, concentrated at Plymouth, leaving some three dozen under Lord Henry Seymour to watch Parma. Aware of the Spaniards' advantage in ship-



Spanish Armada. *The Defeat of the Spanish Armada, 1588: The Fifth Day, 1739 engraving.* The Spanish ships are shown at center, flanked by British ships. THE GRANGER COLLECTION

board infantry, the English hoped to gain the weather gauge and use their handier ships and superior gunnery to avoid boarding and defeat any invasion attempt. When the Armada reached the Channel, Howard put to sea.

Leyva and Recalde urged Medina Sidonia to assault Plymouth. Prompted by Philip's orders and Diego Flores de Valdés, his chief of staff, Medina Sidonia refused and held course. Using the cover of night, the English by daybreak of 31 July gained the weather gauge. The Armada assumed battle formation, with two wings of twenty strong vessels each, and a main force of another three dozen, behind which sailed the transports. Howard and Drake formed two lines and pounded the Armada, doing little damage. But that evening, collisions and an explosion cost the Armada two big ships. Flores de Valdés persuaded Medina Sidonia to abandon them and hold course, a decision that many argued hurt morale and lost a chance for a boarding action.

The Armada kept course the next three days and sparred with the English, who could not break its formation. Lacking news of Parma, Medina Sidonia sought haven in the lee of the Isle of Wight. In a daylong battle on 4 August, the English kept the Armada from its aim and forced it toward Flanders. Late on 6 August the Armada anchored off Calais, to discover that Parma, who only learned on 2 August that the Armada was in the Channel, required several days to embark his army. Parma needed the Armada's protection against both the English and a Dutch blockade. On the night of 7/8 August, Howard sent eight fire ships blazing on breeze and tide toward the Armada, whose captains cut anchor cables and put out in disarray. A galleass grounded. On 8 August the English fleet, nearly 150 in number but with three dozen doing the fighting, attacked, employing their guns at closer range. It was mid-afternoon before the thirty outgunned ships that did the Armada's fighting recovered formation. One ship sank, two galleons beached, and eight hundred men were killed. With shifting winds the Armada cleared the Flemish banks and reached the North Sea. Its commanders agreed to return to Spain around Scotland and Ireland. Many damaged ships wrecked on the Irish coast; others succumbed to storm at sea. Perhaps sixty-five reached Spanish ports, while a few hired Hanseatic hulks returned home. Over half the crews were lost to battle, ship-

wreck, and disease. While the English lost no ships, hundreds of seamen perished of sickness.

Elizabeth and the Dutch hailed God's favor, Philip accepted God's punishment, although Flores de Valdés was court-martialed to placate military critics. The Enterprise had too many flaws, while the English wisely counted on gunnery. In 1596 and in 1597 other armadas sailed against England, to be stopped by storm. Peace came only in 1604, after Philip and Elizabeth were dead.

See also Elizabeth I (England); Medina Sidonia, Alonso Pérez de Guzmán, 7th duke of; Parma, Alexander Farnese, duke of; Philip II (Spain); Santa Cruz, Álvaro de Bazán, first marquis of.

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PETER PIERSON

ARNAULD FAMILY. Three generations of the Arnauld family played significant roles in the political, religious, philosophical, and literary worlds of the seventeenth century. A parliamentary family, they were well-known figures of the *noblesse de robe* ('nobility of the robe'), a class of hereditary nobles in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century France who acquired their rank by holding high

state offices. The Arnaulds were prominently associated with Port-Royal des Champs ('Port-Royal of the Fields'), a convent of Cistercian nuns near Versailles, and members of the Jansenist movement. The Jansenists, under the guidance of Jean Duvergier de Hauranne, abbot of Saint-Cyran, constituted the Augustinian current of the Catholic Counter-Reformation, and read the *Augustinus* (1640) of Jansenius, bishop of Ypres, as a faithful translation of Augustinian doctrine.

The first generation was that of Antoine Arnauld (1560–1619), called the "lawyer," who married Catherine Marion. In July 1594, after an assassination attempt against Henry IV, he represented the University of Paris and pleaded against the Jesuits before the Parlement of Paris. A second assassination attempt by Jean Chastel on Henry IV led to the expulsion of the Jesuits from the jurisdiction of the Parlement of Paris in December of that year. The Arnaulds thus became known as important figures in the Parliamentarian and Gallican (Church of France) worlds, both intensely opposed to the influence of the Jesuits, the main instruments of Vatican policy and doctrine in France.

Antoine Arnauld and Catherine Marion had twenty children, of whom ten survived. The eldest of these was Robert Arnauld d'Andilly (1589–1674). Although his political ambitions were dampened by Cardinal Richelieu, he was a prominent figure at court, and much appreciated by Anne of Austria, Louis XIV's mother. After joining the Solitaires (hermits devoted to study) at Port-Royal, he translated the Church Fathers. Alceste, in Molière's *Le misanthrope*, is probably a caricature of this courtier who "preached solitude in the midst of the court" and led a number of influential ladies (Mme. de Longueville, the Princess de Guémené [Louise de Montbazou], Mme. de Sablé, Mme. de Caumartin, and others) to take an interest in the affairs of Port-Royal.

The second child of Antoine Arnauld and Catherine Marion was Catherine (1590–1651), who married Isaac Le Maistre; their sons were to become famous as Solitaires of Port-Royal. The third child, Jacqueline (1591–1661), was to become a famous abbess of Port-Royal under the name of Mère Angélique. It was she who, in 1609, inspired the return of Port-Royal to the strict observance of mo-

nastic discipline. Her sister Jeanne (1593–1671), fifth child and third daughter, also became abbess of Port-Royal, while three other daughters became nuns there. Their brother Henri (1597–1692) became bishop of Angers and played a prominent role in the opposition of the Port-Royalist movement to the obligation, imposed by the archbishop of Paris and the ecclesiastical hierarchy, to sign the formulary, a formal denunciation of the heresy of Jansenius.

The youngest son and twentieth child of Antoine Arnauld was named Antoine (1612–1694). Known as the "great Arnauld," he was the theologian of Port-Royal, a vigorous enemy of the Jesuits, and the philosophical opponent of Malebranche (1638–1715), the Oratorian philosopher. His defense of the Jansenists led to his exclusion from the Faculty of Theology at the Sorbonne, and, thus, indirectly to the campaign of the *Provincial Letters* written by his friend Blaise Pascal (under the pseudonym Montalte) against Jesuit theological and moral doctrines. In 1668, Antoine Arnauld successfully negotiated the "Peace of the Church," a momentary lull in the persecution of Port-Royal, which allowed him and his colleague Pierre Nicole to devote their energies to anti-Protestant controversy.

The death of Mme. de Longueville in 1679, however, brought an end to her protection of the monastery. When Louis XIV let it be known that he planned to put an end to the Jansenist movement, Arnauld and Nicole fled to the Netherlands. Nicole was to negotiate his return a few years later, but Arnauld refused any compromise. He traveled incognito and pursued his writings: religious polemics against the Jesuits and philosophical treatises against Malebranche. Jurieu's violent tract, *L'esprit de M. Arnauld* (1684; The spirit of Mr. Arnauld), had silenced Arnauld in anti-Protestant controversy, but the harm was done, and the Edict of Nantes was revoked the following year. Arnauld died in exile in 1694, and his heart was brought back to Port-Royal des Champs.

The history of the following generation concerns two families: the children of Robert Arnauld d'Andilly and those of Catherine Arnauld by Isaac Le Maistre. Arnauld d'Andilly had ten children, of whom five daughters were to become nuns at Port-Royal. A sixth was raised at the same monastery.



Arnauld Family. Mother Catherine Agnès Arnauld (Mother Agnès de Saint-Paul) and Sister Catherine of St. Susan, painting by Philippe de Champaigne, 1622.

The most famous of his daughters was Angélique de Saint-Jean (1624–1684), who became abbess of Port-Royal. His two eldest sons, Antoine (1616–1698), later known as the Abbot Arnauld, and Simon (1618–1699), marquis de Pomponne, were educated by Martin de Barcos, nephew of Saint-Cyran and, like his uncle, abbot at Saint-Cyran. Their father gave marked preference to Simon, who inherited the family estate of Pomponne and became secretary of state for foreign affairs to Louis XIV. He fulfilled his father's political ambitions, played a prominent role in the life of the literary salons, invited Molière to perform his plays in his home, and maintained the allegiance of the Arnauld family to Port-Royal. His brother, the Abbot Arnauld, recorded his disappointment in his *Memoirs*, often published with those of his father. Their two brothers, Charles-Henry de Luzancy (1623–1684) and Jules-Armand de Villeneuve (1634–1657),

were both brought up in the *petites écoles* of Port-Royal, in the company of Jean Racine, the playwright, Pierre Le Pesant de Boisguilbert, the economist, and Pascal's nephew, Étienne Périer.

The five sons of Catherine Arnauld and Isaac Le Maistre all became Solitaires at Port-Royal. Antoine (1608–1658), a prominent attorney, was guided by Saint-Cyran and retired from public life in 1637. His life provides a striking example of the Port-Royalist conception of a life given to religious values, one incompatible with the social values of *honnêteté* ('politeness'). His example was followed by his brothers, Jean Le Maistre de Saint-Elme (c. 1609–c. 1690), Simon Le Maistre de Sérécourt (1612–1650), and Charles Le Maistre de Valmont (c. 1614–1652), all of whom remained laymen. Their brother Louis-Isaac Le Maistre de Saci (1613–1684), who had been guided, with his brother Antoine, by Saint-Cyran, became a priest

and confessor of Port-Royal in 1649. He inspired the great Port-Royal translation of the Bible and is also well known for his discussion with Pascal on his conception of apologetics: the *Entretien de Pascal avec M. de Sacy* (Pascal's discussion with Mr. de Sacy), in which Augustine provides the solution to the philosophical opposition between Epictetus the Stoic and Montaigne the skeptic.

More than thirty members of the Arnauld family played a role in the history of Port-Royal, and a number of them figured prominently in the political, theological, philosophical, and literary worlds of the seventeenth century; their lives illustrate the profound influence of Port-Royal Augustinianism on French culture in the classical age.

See also **Cartesianism; Henry IV (France); Jansenism; Jesuits; Louis XIV (France); Nantes, Edict of; Pascal, Blaise; Skepticism.**

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ANTONY MCKENNA

ART

This entry includes five subentries:

ART EXHIBITIONS

THE ART MARKET AND COLLECTING

ART THEORY, CRITICISM, AND HISTORIOGRAPHY

ARTISTIC PATRONAGE

THE CONCEPTION AND STATUS OF THE ARTIST

ART EXHIBITIONS

Italy and France were the countries that primarily fostered the development of public art exhibitions in early modern Europe.

ITALY

Rome: religious exhibitions. Art exhibitions in Rome were always closely tied to religious celebrations. During the first half of the seventeenth century, paintings began to be specially displayed within some churches on saints' feast days. During the Holy Years of 1650, 1675, and 1700, the lay society of the Congregazione Pontificia dei Virtuosi, composed mainly of artists, mounted juried exhibitions of paintings in the portico of their church, the Pantheon. Concurrently, great private collections of Old Master paintings were brought out of palazzi and displayed in church cloisters.

Florence and Rome: academic exhibitions. Art academies were founded in Florence and Rome in the later sixteenth century. In Florence, the Accademia del Disegno (founded 1562) authorized student exhibitions in its statutes of 1563, to be held in the church of the Compagnia di San Luca. In Rome, the Accademia di San Luca (founded 1577, opened 1593) began to hold student shows on St. Luke's Day starting in 1607; beginning in 1621, the academicians themselves also exhibited on that day for the public.

Venice. As in Rome, exhibitions were tied to religious observances. From the later sixteenth century on, paintings were shown on Ascension Day in the Piazza San Marco and the adjoining Piazzetta. Beginning in the late seventeenth century, the Church and Scuola of San Rocco became a focus of painting exhibitions. On the saint's feast day (and probably for a few days afterward), work by mostly contemporary artists was shown, hung on the exterior of the Scuola and adjacent buildings. By 1699 this was an annual event, recognized as a forum for young artists; it is vividly depicted in Canaletto's *The Doge Visiting the Church and Scuola di San Rocco* (c. 1735, National Gallery, London).

FRANCE

The early academy exhibitions. All developments concerning public art exhibitions in France took place in Paris. There, the Royal Academy of

Painting and Sculpture (founded in 1648) was reorganized in the early 1660s under the leadership of Jean-Baptiste Colbert, King Louis XIV's minister. Beginning in 1664, students' submissions for the Rome prize competition could be viewed annually on 25 August—the feast day of Saint Louis and the king's name day. As had been the case earlier in Florence and Rome, the first public art exhibitions in France were of students' work.

In 1667 the academy held its first public display of the academicians' production—a show of contemporary art, as was to develop later in Venice. The exhibition took place within the premises of the Hôtel de Brion and the courtyard of the Palais Royal, of which the *hôtel* was a part. Later academy displays were held in these locales in 1669, 1671, 1673, 1675, 1681, 1683. In 1699 and 1704 the exhibitions were moved to the Grande Galerie of the Louvre. Unlike the short-lived Italian displays, the academy shows usually lasted one to three weeks. Sponsored by the academy—an extension of the monarchy—the exhibitions were sometimes linked to royal events and presided over by royal and official portraits.

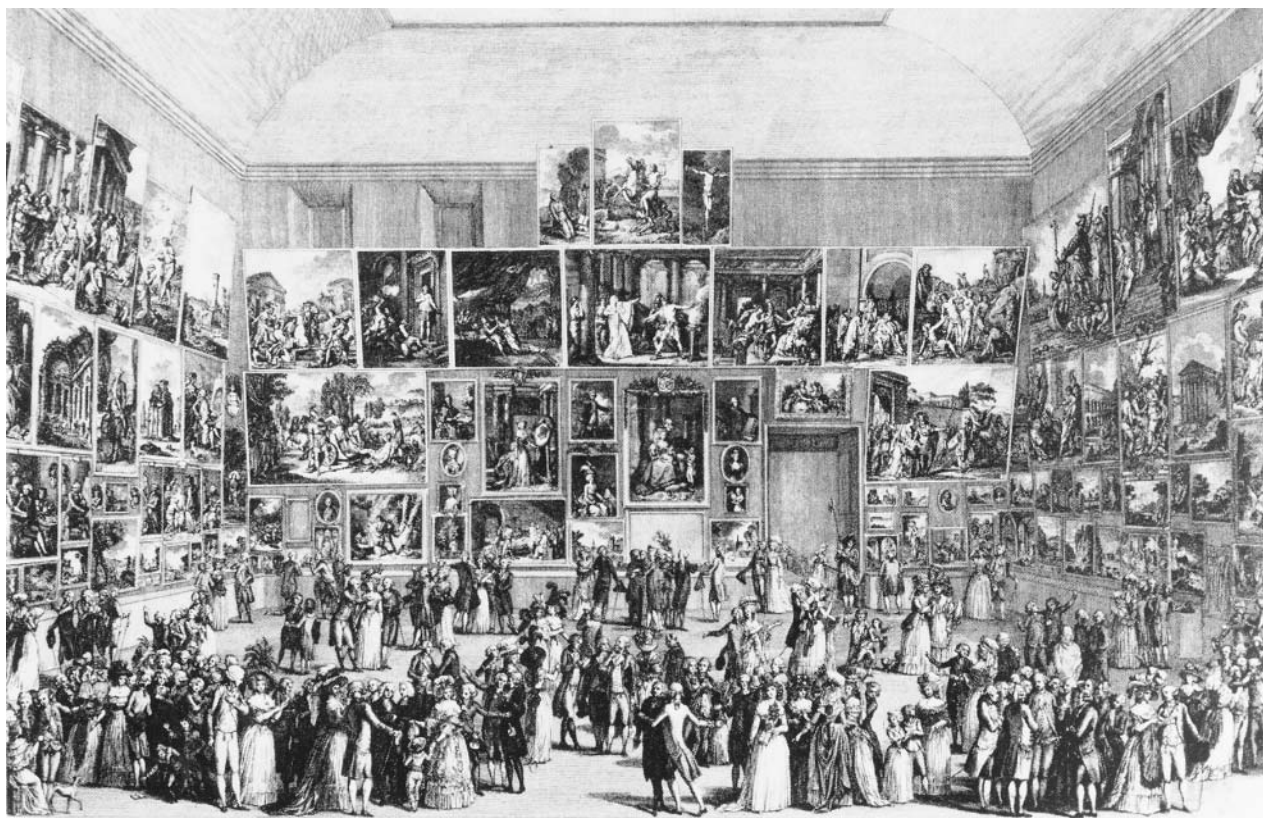
The Place Dauphine exhibitions. The economic distress within France at the end of the Sun King's reign put an end to these exhibitions until 1725, but the artistic void was filled in part by exhibitions held in the Place Dauphine and on the adjoining Pont Neuf. These were an outgrowth of Corpus Christi Day processions, when pictures were hung along the processional route (a practice documented from at least 1644). The Place Dauphine/Pont Neuf exhibits were held on the mornings of Corpus Christi Day and the following Thursday (the Octave); they evolved during the eighteenth century from displays of paintings by Old Masters and established academicians to those featuring young painters and women artists, the latter group having been largely excluded from the academy. After the establishment of the salons in 1737, this outdoor exhibition (now called Exposition de la Jeunesse) continued in diminished form until 1788; a final one was held indoors in 1791.

The Duc d'Antin's initiatives. The annual two-morning Place Dauphine shows were felt to be too brief, and a demand arose for more extended public viewing of contemporary art. The Duc d'Antin (su-

perintendent of the king's buildings since 1708)—perhaps in response to a suggestion made by the academy's director, Louis de Boullongne the Younger—used the occasion of the marriage of King Louis XV to Marie Leszczyńska in 1725 to mount a ten-day painting exhibition in the Grand Salon (Salon Carré) of the Louvre. The older academicians abstained from this show in deference to young artists recently admitted to the academy. The success of the exhibition led to the competition of 1727, again initiated by the Duc d'Antin. This event was held among academy history painters (the highest class of artists at the academy), and the paintings were placed on easels (an innovation in exhibition history) in another room at the Louvre, the Gallery of Apollo. The paintings remained on public view for almost two months.

The salons. Despite the public success of the Salon Carré show and the crown's purchase of three entries, academy exhibitions lapsed until the following decade. In 1735 the academy, on the election of its new officers, held a small exhibition of paintings by some of its senior professors in the Louvre space. Although closed to the general public, the display was visited by connoisseurs and art lovers, as reported in the *Mercure de France* (June 1735), which appealed for a public academy exhibition, noting that none had been held for a very long time. The next year an even smaller closed exhibition was held in the academy, and the *Mercure* reported “a considerable crowd of collectors” who again were able to gain access. These shows were proof of a widespread desire among academicians to resume exhibitions, and the publicity generated for these shows by the *Mercure*, as well as the publication's strong appeal for public showings, led in 1737 to the initiation of the salon tradition.

The first salon was the initiative of Philibert Orry, director-general of buildings, controller-general of finances, and vice-protector of the academy. It was mounted in the Salon Carré of the Louvre (previously used for the exhibition of 1725), which gave its name to these shows, always held in that space. The salons occurred annually until 1751 (although there were none in 1744 and 1749), thereafter continuing in odd-numbered years. Only members of the academy could display their works at these exhibitions, which always included sculpture, drawings, and engravings as well as paintings.



Art Exhibitions. *Exhibition in the Salon of the Louvre, 1787*, engraving by Pietro Antonio Martini. ©FOTO MARBURG/ART RESOURCE, N.Y.

Beginning in 1748, a jury of academicians selected the works to be exhibited by majority vote. The first salon was held from 18 August to 1 September; later ones remained open three to six weeks. Access was available to the general public and free of charge, regardless of class, wealth, profession, or gender; the doors to the salon were open from 9 A.M. to the late afternoon. All evidence indicates that the salons were heavily attended throughout the eighteenth century, providing a cultural event of high entertainment value. They were decisive in promoting the rise of a new art-world phenomenon—the freelance journalist-critic. Gabriel-Jacques de Saint-Aubin’s etching *View of the Salon* (1753) shows how the paintings being exhibited were closely hung in stacked registers, but it also conveys the public’s animation and excitement when attending the salons.

See also Academies of Art; Florence, Art in; France, Art in; Rome, Art in; Venice, Art in.

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ROBERT W. BERGER

THE ART MARKET AND COLLECTING

The art market and art collecting, while distinct phenomena, are closely interlinked in the early modern period. The fourteenth through the eighteenth centuries witnessed the creation of a number of social institutions related to both, including the professionalization of art critics and art dealers, an international art market, large-scale private collections, and the first institutional museums.

THE ART MARKET

The art market, as distinct from art patronage, involves the sale (or resale) and distribution of works of art—including but not limited to antiquities, paintings, sculpture, tapestries, works on paper, ceramics, and metalwork—independent of direct commissions. The nascent early modern art market operated alongside a preexisting patronage system, with the result that many artists produced works both by contract and speculatively, in anticipation

of future sales. Similarly, many early modern collections held works acquired by a variety of means, including direct commission, market purchase, inheritance, and as gifts.

The rise of humanism in the late fourteenth century, with its strong emphasis on the revival of classical culture, was a spur to the creation of an art market. Princes, prelates, and scholars avidly collected antique statues, architectural fragments, coins, and other Roman or Greek artifacts. As demand for such objects increased, a class of brokers and dealers arose to facilitate acquisition. The rapid rise in prices for antiquities in the fifteenth century attests to the establishment of effective market mechanisms. Humanism also facilitated the growth of a market for contemporary works of art. Historical and critical literature based on classical models, beginning with Petrarch and Boccaccio, praised artists such as Giotto di Bondone or Simone Martini on stylistic grounds, promoting an interest in individual artistic personalities and a desire to own works by celebrated artists. In turn this led to the practice of signing works or employing signature styles or techniques. More specialized books on art, such as *De pictura* (1435; On painting) by architect Leon Battista Alberti (1404–1472) or *Lives of the Most Eminent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects* (commonly referred to as *Lives of the Artists*; 1550) by painter Giorgio Vasari (1511–1574), addressed the needs and interests of collectors and amateurs at least as much as they did professional artists.

In the north, the fifteenth-century Burgundian court provided a similar impetus for the production, sale, and collection of works of art. The Burgundians, especially under Dukes Philip the Good (1396–1467) and Charles the Bold (1433–1477), set a standard of magnificence and splendor for all of Europe. Courtiers, diplomats, merchants, and bankers who wished to participate effectively at court were obliged to become patrons of its material culture. The high nobility particularly favored tapestries, precious metalwork, illuminated manuscripts, and jewelry. For others, painting was a more affordable option. It is noteworthy that court artist Jan van Eyck appears to have produced paintings only for middle-class clients, with Philip the Good requiring his services for more ephemeral projects.



The Art Market and Collecting. *The Signboard of Gersaint*, by Jean Antoine Watteau, 1720. E. F. Gersaint was a Parisian art dealer and a friend of Watteau; the latter painted this view of the interior of Gersaint's shop for use as a signboard. ©ERICH LESSING/ART RESOURCE, N.Y.

Although the art market often deals in elite objects produced or procured for an elite clientele, it also encompassed more prosaic and functional objects. Antwerp, a major artistic center during the sixteenth century, already had in the late fifteenth century an established site (Our Lady Pand convent) for the sale of ready-made devotional and liturgical paintings and sculpture. Annual fairs, especially the Frankfurt book fair for works on paper, offered another venue for artists to hawk their wares. Paintings, tapestries, and illuminated books formed a substantial component of luxury goods produced in Bruges, Antwerp, Brussels, and Amsterdam for the export market. Such objects were distributed as far away as Turkey, India, and New Spain.

Artists producing works for the market inevitably attempted to secure market niches through specialization, which could take different forms. One approach was to create works to be sold to clients of different means. Thus seventeenth-century Dutch artist Jan van Goyen (1596–1656) developed a technique for quickly producing landscape paintings that could then be sold at comparatively low

prices. Countrymen such as Gerrit Dou (1613–1675) or Jan Vermeer (1632–1675) commanded the art market's highest prices for their very finely crafted paintings. Dou is an interesting case in this regard. Through the royal agent Pieter Spiering, Dou was affiliated with the Swedish crown. He continued to produce paintings speculatively, but received an annual stipend from Sweden for the right of first refusal. At the end of the seventeenth century, painter Adriaen van der Werff (1659–1722) stood in a similar relationship to the Düsseldorf court. Another competitive strategy was specialization in subject matter. From the mid-sixteenth century onward, artists throughout Europe developed reputations as practitioners of individual genres. Their areas of specialization could be highly particularized. The painter Pieter Aertsen (1508–1575) for example, was renowned for his paintings of kitchen interiors, while Dutch artist Paulus Potter (1625–1654) concentrated on landscape scenes with cattle.

By the end of the seventeenth century, professional art dealers appeared to cater to the needs of a diverse range of clientele, especially in Paris. There

the *marchands-merciers* offered paintings, sculpture, tapestries, and furniture for sale. One dealer, Edmé-François Gersaint (1694–1750), brought the sale of art to a form recognizably similar to the modern market through the publication of sales catalogues and catalogues raisonnés for individual artists. The shop sign that Antoine Watteau (1684–1721) painted in 1720 for Gersaint shows the range of art works and clients to be found in such establishments.

ART COLLECTING

The phenomenon of art collecting had diverse origins. Medieval churches and monasteries accumulated considerable numbers of sculpture, paintings, metalwork, and jewelry. As indicated in the accounts of Abbot Suger (c. 1081–1151), these objects were prized for their aesthetic qualities as well as their functionality. Princely houses in the late medieval period also assembled vast collections of artworks, including tapestries, paintings, metalwork, armor, and jewelry. Until the sixteenth century, most of these artifacts were either in daily use within the household or held in the treasure rooms as items of sumptuous display that could also be converted into ready cash should the need arise. The market for antiquities spurred by humanism, mentioned above, provided another stimulus to the collecting of art.

During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, an international court culture promulgated art collecting as an index of political, economic, and cultural status. The sumptuous visual culture of the Burgundian courts set a model for the rest of Europe. The Medici in Florence placed more specific emphasis on the collection of paintings, while Pope Julius II (reigned 1503–1513) commissioned works on a virtually unprecedented scale, from masters such as Bramante, Michelangelo, and Raphael. Humanist culture also promoted an ethos of collecting. The new practices of historical archaeology and philology respectively encouraged gathering classical statuary and coins (valued especially for their inscriptions).

The primary type of collection in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was the *Wunderkammer* (cabinet of curiosities) in northern Europe, known as the *studiolo* in Italy. These early collections contained a diverse range of objects, including *natu-*

ralia ('natural objects'), *artificialia* ('things made by human hands'), *technologia* ('mechanical devices'), and *mirabilia* ('wondrous or monstrous things'). They contained objects gathered from the farthest reaches of the globe and aspired to the representation of the world at large. Works of art served a variety of functions within the curiosity cabinet since they could represent the myriad things of the natural and human worlds and could also provide aesthetic pleasure through their supreme craftsmanship. As microcosms, these collections, especially those of princes, were simultaneously displays of wealth and erudition, active research laboratories, sites for constructing familial, institutional, or state histories, and repositories of practical technologies. The curiosity cabinet was thus the ancestor of the modern museums of art, natural history, history, and technology. Both the Habsburg collections in Vienna and the Romanov collections in St. Petersburg were converted in the nineteenth century into modern institutional museum complexes.

See also **Aristocracy and Gentry; Art: Artistic Patronage; Class, Status, and Order; Habsburg Dynasty: Austria; Marvels and Wonders; Museums; Romanov Dynasty (Russia).**

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MARK A. MEADOW

ART THEORY, CRITICISM,
AND HISTORIOGRAPHY

Questions that remain relevant and disputed today in art history and theory were first explored at length during the early modern period: What is art? How do images communicate differently from words? What is artistic genius? How does art originate in and reveal an artist's character? How does art change with time and place? How does art reflect society and construct its collective identity? How does one date and attribute paintings?

SOURCES

In 1924 Julius von Schlosser published the bibliographic bible on the literature of art from antiquity to the nineteenth century: *Die Kunstliteratur*. It was not the first free-standing bibliography—that honor goes to Angelo Comolli (1788–1792)—nor was it the oldest published bibliography (Antonio Possevino, 1593). (Full references to source material in this entry can be found in Schlosser.) But it became the definitive one, especially after its updating by Otto Kurz for the third Italian edition in 1964, *La letteratura artistica*. Since then, many early modern manuscripts and pamphlets on art have been discovered and published; many fewer books devoted to art have been rediscovered. However, none have the canonical status of the books listed by Schlosser. Schlosser was more than a diligent bibliographer; his greatest contribution was a judicious analysis of the content of individual works and the historical development of the genre generally.

New approaches require some revision of Schlosser's ideas. Reader-response theory encouraged the study of marginalia, where the reader objects to the text with telegraphic comments, as did the Carracci, Federico Zuccaro, and Sebastiano Resta in their copies of Giorgio Vasari's *Vite* (Perini). Focused reception histories of individual texts have been analyzed (Sohm; Grassman), as has the literary reception of individual paintings (Colantuono). Studies on language have been particularly fruitful: on rhetoric, poetics, and art theory (Lee; Baxandall; Summers; Sohm), and on biography as art criticism (Barolsky). Older histories of ideas (Panofsky) have been revised by important studies on the social contexts of art literature (Crow; Cropper; Goldberg; Wrigley; Ames-Lewis) and the production of theory in the academies (Montagu; Goldstein; Barzman).

Still the most essential category of scholarship is the author-based monograph, and here the advances are particularly impressive even when limited to the English language (Brusati; Cropper; Gibson-Wood; Melion; Muller; Puttfarken; Summerscale; Vries; Warwick).

Schlosser's categories of art literature are: (1) historical and biographical, (2) theoretical and technical, and (3) topographic. Because he established these on the basis of Renaissance art literature, new early modern forms and topics of art writing are often submerged in inappropriate categories, having no other place. The connoisseur's manual, for example, is a mix of the historical, technical, and theoretical. It was first essayed by Giulio Mancini (c. 1617–1621), a physician who autopsied painting surfaces (*craquelure*, varnish, brushwork) much as he did bodies in his medical practice. Although not published until 1956, the manuscript was widely circulated in the seventeenth century as an indispensable guide for art collectors and led eventually to Jonathan Richardson's famous *Connoisseur* (1719). Another new genre was the institutional history of art academies, starting with Romano Alberti's history and lecture synopses from the Accademia di San Luca (1599) and continued by Henri Testelin (1648–1664, Académie Royale de Peinture et Sculpture) and Giampietro Zanotti (1739, Accademia Clementina). The art dictionary originated with Filippo Baldinucci, whose *Vocabolario Toscano dell'arte del disegno* (1681) responded to an expanding, nonprofessional readership of art books. Baldinucci's served as the model for later dictionaries by Roger de Piles (in Charles-Alphonse Dufresnoy, 1667), Jacques Lacombe (1752), A. Pernety (1757), Claude Henri de Watelet (1792), and Francesco Milizia (1797). The biographical dictionary started by Pellegrino Antonio Orlandi in 1704, *Abecedario pittorico* (Pictorial primer), saw many editions and proved in its brevity and alphabetic order to be a format that survives today.

NATIONAL AND CHRONOLOGICAL TRENDS

Using Schlosser's categories and bibliography (but excluding books not devoted entirely or mostly to art), it is interesting to delineate the changing contours of published art literature between 1550, when Vasari first published his *Vite de' pittori*,

scultori ed architetti (Lives of the painters, sculptors and architects), and 1752, when Johann Joachim Winckelmann's new nonbiographical historiography was published as *Gedanken über die Nachahmung der griechischen Werke* (Reflections on the imitation of Greek works in painting and sculpture).

Italian writers dominated art literature of all kinds and at all times. In terms of artistic practice, Italy's hegemony in Europe began to erode in the mid-seventeenth century; and by the eighteenth century, it was on its way to becoming a cultural backwater, renowned more for its illustrious past than its modern production. In terms of art literature, however, Italy held its ground between 1650 and 1750 because it remained Europe's art center by virtue of its antiquities and Renaissance Old Masters. European artists and amateurs generally made pilgrimages to Italy and even learned Italian.

There was a steady rise in the number of publications between 1550 and 1650, and a sustained explosion thereafter. Art books published outside of Italy before 1650 were, by comparison, few. In France the watershed year, especially in the category of theory, was 1648 when the Académie Royale de Peinture et Sculpture was founded. Germany and England did not become publishing centers until the eighteenth century; Spain produced few art books throughout the early modern period.

Distribution patterns within the categories can also be observed. Whereas the Italians produced roughly the same number of books on theory and history/biography, in France theory overwhelmed history by more than 3:1. This is not simply the result of having fewer historical works of international importance to write about since the ratio in England was 2:1, and for Germany and England it was even less (3:2). Instead, it is a true measure of French interests and achievements in theory (Dufresnoy; Chambray; De Piles). It is not until the eighteenth century that German and English books with a comparable international audience were published. In only one area, not separated by Schlosser as a separate category, were the French, Germans, and English at a par with or even more productive than the Italians: books on artistic techniques, either instructional manuals, drawing pattern books, or historical accounts (Italy: 8; Germany: 7; France: 5; England: 12).

Italy was the greatest exporter of texts by virtue of its famous Renaissance backlog. Leonardo's notebooks appeared in translation in Paris (1651), Nuremberg (1724 and 1747), and Leipzig (1751). Pomponio Gaurico's treatise on sculpture appeared in Antwerp (1609), Leiden (1701), and Strasbourg (1622). Ludovico Dolce's treatise on painting appeared in Amsterdam (1756), Berlin (1757), and London (1770). Books by Benedetto Varchi, Vasari, Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo, Gabriele Paleotti, Resta, and Giovanni Michele Silos each received one or two translations. Just as Italy provided European artists with the "great works" from antiquity to the Renaissance masters, so too did Italian become the lingua franca of the art community. Italian art terminology survives even today in many languages: sfumato, chiaroscuro, fresco, contrapposto. The dominant form of art history (biography and periodized chronology) can also be traced back to Vasari's seminal *Lives*.

By comparison, the Italians were late and seemingly reluctant importers of foreign texts in translation: Dufresnoy (1713 and 1776), Charles Le Brun (1753), André Félibien (1755), De Piles (1769 and 1771), William Hogarth (1771), Sir Joshua Reynolds (1778), and Watelet (1777). The fact that virtually all these translations appeared after 1750 and frequently included seventeenth-century texts as part of a catch-up phase suggests how late it was when Italy reached parity with other European countries in terms of receptivity to international literary culture. A related measure revealing national taste concerns the frequency of reprinted or translated texts compared to original editions. In Italy the ratio was 5:1 (two hundred original texts; forty reprints or translations). In France it was 3:2. The reverse held true for Germany and England where reprints and translations outnumbered original texts by 4:3. Many Italian reprints cluster in the 1730s—Leonardo, 1733; Raffaele Borghini, 1730; Benvenuto Cellini, 1728 and 1731; Dolce, 1735; Giovanni Baglione, 1733, 1739, and 1743; Giovanni Pietro Bellori, 1728 and 1732—and mark an important moment of historicizing consciousness that also resulted in the reevaluations of Gothic and quattrocento art. The first book of artists' letters was published shortly thereafter by Giovanni Gaetano Bottari (1754) as a source primer for art history.

There is one final epidemiological curiosity: The most frequently translated text was Dufresnoy's *De arte graphica* (The art of painting; 1667, Paris), with translations into French (1673, 1684, 1688, 1751, and 1760), English (1695, 1716, 1728, 1750, and 1754), German (1699 and 1731), Italian (1713 and 1776), and Dutch (1733). No single explanation can account for this. Most art books, when not written by or for theologians, tended to be in the vernacular, and by the late seventeenth century art literature in Latin had become a rarity. Despite its secular content, a powerful mix of literary and artistic theories, *De arte graphica* was written in Latin as part of Dufresnoy's homage to Horace's *Ars poetica* (Art of poetry).

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY

Giorgio Vasari, the father of art history, wrote the first universal history of art from Egypt to his own time. It skimmed over the Middle Ages and mentioned non-Italian artists only if they visited Italy, but it remained the definitive work until Baldinucci expanded it (1681–1728) into a pan-European version. By the late sixteenth century when updates to Vasari began to be published (Borghini, 1584; Mancini, c. 1617; Baglione, 1642; Giovanni Battista Passeri, c. 1673), Vasari became a “modern Pliny.” He achieved canonical status for art writers in much the same way that his heroes, Michelangelo and Raphael, became the new ancients. Of the Italian Renaissance artists heroized by Vasari, only Correggio was “rediscovered” between 1550 and 1800. Many Italian art writers expressed irritation at Vasari's pro-Florentine stance, part of a Medicean strategy of cultural hegemony; after the next edition of Vasari appeared in print in 1647, many responded by writing alternative regional histories (Carlo Ridolfi, 1648; Marco Boschini, 1660; Carlo Cesare Malvasia, 1678; Raffaele Soprani, 1674). Outside of Italy, biographers like Karel van Mander (1604), Félibien (1666–1688), Joachim von Sandrart (1675), and Aglionby (1685) adapted Vasari's narratives and critical language in discussing the work of their native artists. Like their Italian counterparts, they remained ambivalent toward Vasari, poised between emulation and antagonism. Van Mander became the Vasari of the Netherlands, not just because he translated parts of Vasari into Dutch and used Vasari's template of artists' lives to write about Dutch and Flemish artists, but also because

his *Schilder-Boeck* (1604) became the seminal text for most later art literature in the Netherlands from Philip Angel (1642) to Arnold Houbraken (1718).

Art history originated as biography and dominated its practice for two centuries, a fact traditionally lamented by modernists, but as a historiographic genre, biography helped explain why painters painted the way they did by rendering an account of training, character, and circles of influence. Modernists have also overlooked the powerful developmental model that Vasari included in his three prefaces, each explaining the artistic characteristics and causes of the three ages of modern art (trecento, quattrocento, cinquecento). For Vasari, Mancini, and others, the stages of human life provided the pattern of the “birth, growth and death” of art. Early modern art literature is full of repeated patterns explained by metempsychosis, ontology, and human psychology. Historical recurrence gave history a structure and tied the past and present together in meaningful ways. The Renaissance was a new Antiquity, mannerism a new Gothic, baroque a new mannerism. Similarly, artists were often reborn masters: Michelangelo was a new Parrhasios, Bernini a new Michelangelo, Raphael a new Apelles, Guido Reni a new Raphael, Tiepolo a new Veronese.

Ancient art and its historical development shadowed discussions of early modern art. Just as artists advocated the study of antiquity as a means to achieve artistic excellence, so too did art writers develop their aesthetic, linguistic, and historical ideas from ancient literature, notably Pliny, Vitruvius, Lucian, Cicero, Quintilian, and various other rhetoricians. Vasari appended Giambattista Adriani's history of ancient art to his *Lives* as an orienting preface. All later histories of ancient art made reference to modern art: Felipe de Guevara (late sixteenth century), Franciscus Junius (1637), Carlo Dati (1667), and Winckelmann (1764). Winckelmann's seminal *The History of Ancient Art*, commonly described as the first nonbiographical book on art history, can also be read as a critique of baroque art.

THEORY AND PRACTICE

The Accademia della Crusca, a Florentine literary academy that published the first standard Italian dictionary in 1612, defined theory as “the specula-

tive science that gives rules to practice and restores reason to working.” The priority of theory over practice, or, as Leonardo da Vinci had put it, of “mental discourse” over “manual operation,” helped artists redefine their activities as a noble endeavor, thus taking art out of the workshop and into the academy, transforming it from a mechanical trade into a liberal art. It is no coincidence that Vasari wrote the first art historical account and at the same time helped found the first art academy (the Accademia del Disegno), both under the sponsorship of Cosimo I de’ Medici. Although Leon Battista Alberti (1432) first set the agenda of painting as a liberal art requiring knowledge of geometry, optics, history, and poetry, there was still some resistance to this idea when Vasari tried to institutionalize such a curriculum for artists in 1563. Vincenzo Borghini, a philologist and Cosimo’s representative at the Accademia, wanted it to be “an academy of making things not thinking about them.” He was on the losing side. Academies were founded in Rome (1577), Paris (1648), Berlin (1697), Bologna (1709), Madrid (1744), Copenhagen (1754), St. Petersburg (1757), and London (1768). Despite the Accademia della Crusca definition, practice did not passively receive its rules from theory. Michelangelo, who was often taken as the embodiment of theory in practice, rejected literary discourse in favor of practice. Theory is contained in practice.

The aspirations and claims of artists to be humanists were not realized in the form of their writing. Theory and other forms of art writing in Italy tended to be the preserve of theologians, physicians, philologists, and other humanists. During the sixteenth century, artists wrote only 30 percent of published books on art. In the seventeenth century this shrank to 24 percent, and in the eighteenth century a mere 11 percent of art books were written by artists. (We have not compiled comparable figures for the rest of Europe.) During the seventeenth century, there arose writers who fit neither category: amateur painters who wrote about art (Malvasia, Baldinucci, De Piles, Resta).

GRAVITATION OF ART THEORY TOWARD TWO COMPLEX ISSUES

(1) What relation should art have to nature? If art should improve upon natural appearance (the view of the majority), should the changes enhance beauty or expression? Should the changes be based on a

scientific method, on the imitation of ancient art and the Old Masters, or on a platonic Christian or personal ideal? These questions permeate most discussions on art, but some writers adopted them as their primary subject. Federico Zuccaro (1607), Giovanni Battista Agucchi (c. 1615), Fréart de Chambray (1664), and Bellori (1672) provided influential answers from the idealist point of view during the seventeenth century.

(2) Can great art be taught, or is it impervious to reason and rules? Academic curricula and writers on theory and technique invested themselves in an epistemology that favored objective standards of art production (Armenini; Le Brun). Creativity as a divine or innate spark was never denied, but being uncontrollable and ineffable, it was less subject to verbal scrutiny. De Piles’s tenure as director of the French Académie (1699) initiated a phase that was more attentive to problems of sense perception and subjectivity. Jean-Baptiste Du Bos (1710) made an equally compelling argument for sentiment in painting and poetry to the Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres. This can be seen as a turning point away from Le Brun’s emphasis as Académie director on art as instruction. Coloring, traditionally devalued as decorative or as a sensual appeal to the ignorant, was elevated almost to an intellectual par with the concepts of design and drawing.

EKPHRASIS

Ekphrasis originated in ancient rhetoric as a form of description, vividly detailing an event in order to persuade an audience of its truth. Philostratus and Lucian adopted the technique to describe paintings. Art books were not illustrated with reproductive prints until the late seventeenth century (Carla Patin, 1691), despite the earlier practice of illustrating instructional manuals (Giacomo Franco; Odoardo Fialetti), archaeological books (Bellori), and art theories in which visual systems of lighting and composition were diagrammed (Félibien; Giovanni Battista Volpato, c. 1685; Gérard de Lairesse, 1707; Baldassare Orsini, 1784). For analyses of existing paintings, however, verbal descriptions were essential. Vasari’s *ekphrases* tended to be prosopopoeic, that is, he assumed a transparency of representation so that describing what one sees through a picture frame was much the same as describing a scene

through a window frame. In the seventeenth century editorial comments about some artifice (impasto or foreshortening, for example) began to appear more often within the description itself. Bellori experimented with new forms of verbal description whose structure and syntax systematically move the reader through a visual grid. Poussin approved of this method because it resembled the visual strategy that he had proposed to Chantelou for “reading” his *Fall of the Manna*. Also in the seventeenth century, books of *ekphrases* began to appear describing real and sometimes imaginary paintings and statues (Giambattista Marino, 1619; Georges de Scudéry, 1646; Silos, 1673). The ekphrastic book and the systematic descriptions of Bellori and the French academicians led to a new type of art catalogue, the *salon livret*.

ART CRITICISM

Art criticism was an early modern invention that originated within the intricacies of the older genres of biography, theory, and ekphrasis. The self-proclaimed objectivity of theory and the historical perspective of biography yielded in art criticism to the immediate, subjective response of an individual viewer in front of a particular painting. Vasari wanted to separate the “good, better and best,” and the impulse to rank into hierarchies was deeply embedded in all critical practices. Is French painting superior to Italian? Is Poussin better than Rubens? Is modern art superior to ancient art? These divisive debates, like most forms of combative behavior, signaled political and personal allegiances as often as coherent philosophical positions.

A belief in objective standards dominated most early modern art criticism to the extent that Roger de Piles and Francesco Algarotti could write up report cards assigning numerical grades to the great masters, using the conventional categories of design, composition, coloring, and expression (Table 1). Other fixed hierarchies can be found in Jean Baptiste de Boyer’s comparison of French and Italian painters, in the ranking of pictorial genres, and in the prize systems at the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture (Paris) and the Accademia di San Luca (Rome). Nevertheless, guardians of artistic beauty during the seventeenth century felt that “each painter introduces precepts according to

TABLE 1

Roger de Piles, “La balance des peintres,” in *Cours de peinture par principes*, Paris, 1708.

| Names of Painters | Composition | Design and Drawing | Coloring | Expression |
|-------------------|-------------|--------------------|----------|------------|
| Albrecht Dürer | 8 | 10 | 10 | 8 |
| Andrea del Sarto | 12 | 16 | 9 | 8 |
| Jacopo Bassano | 6 | 8 | 17 | 0 |
| Giovanni Bellini | 4 | 6 | 14 | 0 |
| Ch. Le Brun | 16 | 16 | 8 | 16 |
| The Carracci | 15 | 17 | 13 | 13 |
| Correggio | 13 | 13 | 15 | 12 |
| Domenichino | 15 | 17 | 9 | 17 |
| Giorgione | 8 | 9 | 18 | 4 |
| Guercino | 18 | 10 | 10 | 4 |
| Guido Reni | | 13 | 9 | 12 |
| Holbein | 9 | 10 | 16 | 13 |
| Luca Giordano | 13 | 12 | 9 | 6 |
| Cesare d’Arpino | 10 | 10 | 6 | 2 |
| Giulio Romano | 15 | 16 | 4 | 14 |
| Lanfranco | 14 | 13 | 10 | 5 |
| Leonardo | 15 | 16 | 4 | 14 |
| Lucas van Leyden | 8 | 6 | 6 | 4 |
| Michelangelo | 8 | 17 | 4 | 8 |
| Caravaggio | 6 | 6 | 16 | 0 |
| Palma Vecchio | 5 | 6 | 16 | 0 |
| Parmigianino | 10 | 15 | 6 | 6 |
| Paolo Veronese | 15 | 10 | 16 | 3 |
| Perino del Vaga | 15 | 16 | 7 | 6 |
| Pietro da Cortona | 16 | 14 | 12 | 6 |
| Perugino | 4 | 12 | 10 | 4 |
| Poussin | 15 | 14 | 7 | 10 |
| Raphael | 17 | 18 | 12 | 18 |
| Rembrandt | 15 | 6 | 17 | 12 |
| Rubens | 18 | 13 | 17 | 17 |
| Franc. Salviati | 13 | 15 | 8 | 8 |
| Le Sueur | 15 | 15 | 4 | 15 |
| Tintoretto | 15 | 14 | 16 | 4 |
| Titian | 12 | 15 | 18 | 6 |
| Van Dyck | 15 | 10 | 17 | 13 |
| Federico Zuccaro | 10 | 13 | 8 | 8 |

his own genius” (Passeri), thereby “infecting painting . . . with many artistic heresies” (Agucchi).

If one wanted to arbitrarily establish a birthdate for art criticism as an independent literary genre, it would be in the lectures given by artists and amateurs at the Académie Royale de Peinture et Sculpture in the mid-seventeenth century. Individual paintings from the royal collection were brought before an assembly of academicians to be critiqued by a lead interpreter and then challenged by the audience; Félibien and Testelin published accounts of the proceedings in 1668 and 1680. Books and pamphlets on a single work or cycle of paintings

predate Le Brun's lecture of 1667 on Poussin's *Fall of the Manna*: Francesco Bocchi (1584), Genari (1632), and Malvasia (1652). In its prissy presumption of an individual response—the writer's response—Le Brun's fastidious explanation may seem far removed from Diderot's overtly politicized and moralizing discourse, but they share an academic context (the conferences and salons), a tendency to judge paintings as dramatic performances, and a concentration on individual paintings. As an outgrowth of in camera debates, starting in 1737, the Académie's salons were open to public scrutiny and thus initiated a new literary form: exhibition review pamphlets and articles.

Amateurs helped to advance the description of the emotional pleasures of art by writing in an accessible vernacular and relying on intuition. As public access to the art world broadened, the preserve of art authorities began to erode and with it a certain civility. In 1650 art discourse was relatively discreet, even polite; by 1750, especially in Paris, it had become contentious, vindictive in tone, and given to ad hominem attacks. One salon critic regarded art criticism in the 1750s as nothing other than a venting of "malignities." La Font de Saint-Yenne's review of the 1747 salon garnered greater notoriety than any painting in the salon itself and generated more rebuttals than all preceding salon publications (in total, thirty-three articles and pamphlets). In all these aspects—a demotic language of argot, sexual puns, and sensory evocations as well as opinionated attacks—the anomalous barcarole by Boschini (1660) anticipated such later developments.

See also **Academies of Art; Carracci Family; Diderot, Denis; Vasari, Giorgio; Winckelmann, Johann Joachim.**

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ARTISTIC PATRONAGE

The patron served a fundamental function in the development of art in early modern Europe. In addition to being an active consumer of art, he was its initiator, often dictating form and content. Art patronage functioned as proof of wealth, status, and power and could also serve purposes of propaganda and entertainment. Conversely, influential contacts were essential to an artist's well-being.

Patronage was formalized by contracts defining cost, materials, dimensions, artist's participation, content, and time line; a sketch of the project was often demanded. Alternatively, secular and religious princes could retain artists on a monthly allowance, offering them board and provisions as court residents.

In his explanation of cause and effect, Aristotle defined the position of the patron when he distinguished the efficient cause (the artist) and the formal cause (the art object) from the final cause (the patron). The patron offered forms of support that placed him beyond the level of customer, but the balance between patron and artist was never equal and was often a source of tension.

Patronage changed as early modern institutions such as the city, capitalism, and minted coinage developed, leading to an enlarged world of goods, social diffusion of taste, a variety of new forms, namely, to a broad expanse of material culture with a demand for durable goods. For a full understanding of a patron's extravagance, it is necessary to assemble an accounting from his largesse in church construction, desired prestige in palace construction, and temporary decorations for state visits, festivals, dynastic marriages, and political exchanges. Political and social pressures were factors in limiting lavish display. In Venice and Florence, merchants were restrained in their patronage by sumptuary laws, which went so far as to limit the cost and color of clothing and the amount of jewelry worn.

ORIGINS OF ART PATRONAGE

Art patronage in the early modern era had its origins in religious practices as expressed by the fourteenth-century Tuscan merchant Francesco di Marco Datini, who noted that pictures were meant to move a person's spirit to devotion. Thus, the patron who commissioned a painted or carved work of art intended it first and foremost as a devotional object. The portrait placed on an altar or a panel painting or sculpture for a chapel was important primarily as a means of earning grace for the patron in redeeming his soul from the torments of purgatory. In Florence the early patronage of the prominent Medici family took the form of religious projects.

The iconography of a painting, sculpture, church, or palace was often traditional, but circumstances of patronage can be enlightened by iconol-

ogy. For example, Gentile da Fabriano's *Adoration of the Magi*, of 1423, depicts a story of the Epiphany, a biblical narrative of doctrinal importance as representing Christ's first contact with the Gentiles. Interest in the subject for the painting's wealthy Florentine patron, Palla Strozzi, came from its courtly theme of the reception of ambassadors, and from the fact that Strozzi was a member of the Florentine confraternity of the Magi. The page removing a large gold spur from the foot of the central standing Magus signifies the end of the journey but also alludes to the patron, who was a Knight of the Golden Spur. The unusual subject of Masaccio's Florentine fresco *The Tribute Money* of c. 1427, in which Christ and the Apostles pay a gate tax to enter the city of Capharnaum may have been stimulated by the deliberations of its patron, Felice Brancacci, on the Florentine city council concerning the institution of a new *catasto*, or head tax. In 1472 Andrea del Verrocchio rested his double tomb for Piero I and Giovanni de' Medici on the backs of tortoises as a visual form of the Medici motto, *festina lente*, or "make haste slowly." It has green, white, and porphyry marble representing the Medici colors and family dedication to the theological virtues of faith, hope, and charity. Antonio del Pollaiuolo's bronze *Hercules and Antaeus* of the 1470s rests on a triangular base as a signifier of the Medici triplet identifying its patron.

Patrons are often portrayed in paintings of religious subjects, such as Jan van Eyck's *Madonna of the Canon van der Paele*, where the eponymous donor is depicted graphically at the proper left of the Madonna and Child. Portraiture emerged as an independent genre from such donor portraits. Here patron and work product are one and the same. Initially, donor portraits began as static, profile depictions, likely inspired by images of emperors on Roman coins, but also distancing the donor from the more animated, frontally displayed religious figures, as in Domenico Ghirlandaio's Sassetti Chapel frescoes of 1486, in Santa Maria Novella, Florence, where husband and wife appear in rigid profile surrounded by scenes of Francesco Sassetti's onomastic patron saint. Other donor portraits can include tomb effigies and equestrian monuments.

In the fifteenth century, guilds began to exert corporate patronage in completing the niches of the Florentine grain exchange, Orsanmichele, with stat-

ues of their patron saints and assumed responsibility for other commissions such as Lorenzo Ghiberti's doors for the baptistry of the cathedral of Florence. Pope Sixtus IV's commission in 1481 of wall frescoes to decorate his new Vatican chapel with stories from the lives of Moses and Jesus asserted the primacy of the papacy. His nephew would continue the practice after 1508 with Michelangelo's frescoes for the chapel's ceiling and Raphael's frescoes for the Vatican Stanze.

Patronage was often made for propagandistic purposes. Unlike modern approaches to propaganda as a form of advertising or self-promotion, in Renaissance usage, art honoring the ruling family usually increased in intensity and splendor as visitors approached the seat of power. Ambassadors were often received *in camera*, that is, in the private bedchamber of the ruling prince, as in the Ducal Palace at Mantua (see Andrea Mantegna's frescoes of 1465–1474). Other princely examples of patronage include Giulio Romano's designs for the Gonzaga's frescoed Hall of the Giants in the Palazzo del Te, Mantua, 1530–1532, where the presumptuous Titans attempt to scale Mount Olympus only to be beaten back with their world crashing around them—an object lesson, it would seem, to anyone attempting to overthrow legitimate authority.

In Colmar in 1515, the Antonite order commissioned a magnificent altarpiece from the limewood sculptor Nikolaus Hagenauer and the painter Matthias Grünewald with the function of offering hope and consolation to the amputees in their hospital wards suffering from the gangrenous effects of Saint Anthony's fire.

The emergence of print technology in the late fifteenth century, particularly engravings popularized by Mantegna and Albrecht Dürer, made art patronage more democratic, less expensive, and accessible to a broader public. Prints became a popular medium for expanding Renaissance values and Protestant propaganda. An esoteric middle-class audience began to collect small bronzes, prints, and eventually drawings. Works in multiples allowed the artist to substitute mass patronage for the singular patron, allowing volume on a small scale as an alternative to large, expensive commissions, as the European economy burgeoned, material culture grew, and artworks entered the world of durable goods.

In northern Europe, the Protestant Reformation led to civil disorder and the destruction of religious art, such as stained-glass windows, tomb sculpture, and altar panels. A new iconoclasm was founded on the conviction that devotion to such images verged on idolatry. Northern artists lost widespread church patronage, with artists such as Lucas Cranach, Albrecht Altdorfer, and Hans Holbein turning to other genres such as portraiture, landscape, and mythology to satisfy their secular patrons.

In Italy, a different kind of struggle took place between artist and patron as artists began to assert themselves. Humanist interests in central Italy in the writings of Pico della Mirandola on the dignity of man and the Pseudo-Dionysius on the primacy of the self formed the basis for the emergence of artistic personality. Artworks were generally credited to the patrons who commissioned them, as Pope Paul III reminded Benvenuto Cellini that without his patronage the sculptor was nothing. Artists could only counter such an evident claim by noting that their talent and inspiration were of divine origin.

Michelangelo was soon referred to as “Il Divino,” as were Raphael, then Federico Barocci later in the sixteenth century. Soon patrons began to request simply “a Michelangelo,” “a Raphael,” or “something from your hand” as a testament to an artist’s original style and talent. But in the sixteenth century patrons also began to reject commissions by artists who were too willful, such as Domenico Beccafumi or Pontormo, particularly with the emergence of mannerism, a style often marked by idiosyncrasy and overintellection, adopting approaches to traditional iconography that seemed to skirt heresy.

In Venice, patrician patronage became the provenance of Titian to the exclusion of his younger rivals, Tintoretto and Jacopo Bassano, who looked to the *Scuole*, or religious confraternities, for patrons. At the end of the century, Veronese developed an opulent style of great appeal to the Serenissima’s patrician class. In Florence, the ruling oligarchy consisted of four hundred merchant families who were responsible for all the artworks commissioned there. The most prominent among them included the Medici, Sassetti, Capponi, della Palla,

and Pucci. Although the Medici name stands out for its early association with churches, chapels, and palaces, for mythologies commissioned by Lorenzo de’ Pierfrancesco, and for works by Pontormo and Bronzino for Duke Cosimo I, the greatest patron family who continued to request works over several generations from such major artists as Titian, Correggio, Pontormo, Andrea del Sarto, Raphael, Parmigianino, and so forth, and whose history remains to be written, was the Pucci family.

A new type of patron to emerge at the end of the fifteenth century was the female patron, generally in the form of abbesses and widows. Isabella d’Este set the tone in Ferrara in the 1490s with her patronage of Mantegna and her pursuit of works by Giovanni Bellini and Leonardo da Vinci. There was also the confident abbess Gioanna da Piacenza for whom Correggio frescoed an esoteric classical program in about 1519. Widows who came to prominence largely due to dowry inflation in the sixteenth century included Atalanta de Galeotto Baglione, Elena Baiardi, Laura Bagaretto, Elena Orsini, and Maria Bufalini. They commissioned works from the most prominent painters such as Raphael, Andrea del Sarto, Correggio, Titian, Parmigianino, Daniele da Volterra, and Federico Barocci.

PATRONAGE IN AN AGE OF CONSOLIDATION

In the seventeenth century, an age of absolutism as the church and nation states began to consolidate their power, patronage became monopolized. The papacy used Gian Lorenzo Bernini to produce grand statements in his Vatican architecture and sculpture that by their splendor and scale affirmed the truth of the Roman Catholic faith. In Rome the Jesuits and other religious orders engaged Francesco Borromini, Pietro da Cortona, and Giovanni Battista Gaulli for large projects that expressed the confidence and expansive optimism of their patrons.

Patronage took other forms in the Protestant Netherlands as art entered the marketplace, where paintings were literally sold with meat, cheese, fish, and produce. Artists created new genres to solicit patronage from an emerging mercantile class. Popular themes included windmills, seascapes, still lifes, harbor scenes, church interiors, landscapes, and so forth. Jan Vermeer excelled in domestic interiors. Frans Hals produced group portraits, and Rem-



Artistic Patronage. *The Archduke Leopold Wilhelm in His Picture Gallery in Brussels* by David Teniers II, c. 1651. Teniers was the court painter for the archduke as well as curator of his extensive art collection; this is one of several views of the galleries painted by Teniers. ©ARCHIVO ICONOGRAFIO S.A./CORBIS

brandt catered to a sophisticated Amsterdam audience for his biblical subjects, portraits, and etchings.

In Flanders, the magnificent painter and courtier Peter Paul Rubens, like Bernini in Rome, moved with ease in courtly settings, but he also took commissions for church paintings. He served the Gonzagas in Mantua, then painted large cycles of family histories for Marie de Médicis in Paris and Charles I in London.

Patronage in France in the seventeenth century was dominated by Louis XIV, who established the arts to aggrandize the regime, with artists working in concert under the direction of Charles Le Brun and Jean-Baptiste Colbert, the king's minister of culture, with work delegated to specialists. In 1663

Colbert reorganized the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture, founded in 1648 under the guidance of its native son, Nicolas Poussin, to educate artists and dictate taste. The king moved the French court to Versailles, where he expanded his father's hunting lodge into a palatial flood plain with the contributions of François Mansart, Louis Le Vau, Jules Hardouin-Mansart, and André Le Nôtre. The Academy exerted its authority over the arts into the nineteenth century. Meanwhile, Poussin spent his career in Rome painting mythologies for a professional upper middle class.

In Spain, Philip IV engaged Diego Velázquez as the official painter of his court, whereas his contemporaries, Francisco de Zurbarán and Bartolomé

Esteban Murillo, sought patronage from religious orders.

On the death of Louis XIV in 1715, the court at Versailles dispersed with officials returning to Paris to commission modest hotels filled with entertaining paintings by Jean-Antoine Watteau, François Boucher, and Jean-Honoré Fragonard, while Jean-Siméon Chardin depicted morally uplifting genre scenes for a modest bourgeois patronage. Royal patronage persisted in Bavaria in palace decoration, with Domenico Tiepolo emerging as the major painter in several regal courts in Germany and Spain.

In Rome, as the church finally came to grips with papal nepotism at the end of the seventeenth century, patronage of the great cardinals became more modest. This was inevitable as many major churches and palaces had been constructed in the previous decades, and leading artists of the previous generation, such as Pietro da Cortona and Bernini, had died. Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni, as vice chancellor of the church, dominated patronage in Rome for half a century with his sponsorship of the Academy of the Arcadians, opera performances and oratorios by Alessandro Scarlatti and Arcangelo Corelli, and paintings by his resident artists, Francesco Trevisani and Sebastiano Conca. He dominated taste in Rome, eclipsing six popes beginning with the sixteen-month reign of his great-uncle Alexander VIII in 1689. Ottoboni preferred modest works of the Holy Family expressing tender religious sentiments given focus by strong lighting effects, characterized by the blue and white hues of his livery.

Another type of patronage emerged in Rome with the advent of the grand tour, as French and particularly English travelers to the Holy City commissioned souvenirs of their travels in the form of landscapes, portraits, and views of the great monuments of antiquity. On returning to his native country, each “Milord inglese” would commission portraits from Sir Joshua Reynolds and Thomas Gainsborough, or anecdotal tales from William Hogarth, or, in France, from Jean-Baptiste Greuze. The grand tour alerted visitors to Italy to the remains of Roman antiquity, dictating changes in taste to neoclassicism. This led to the commissioning of works of ancient history and mythology from such artists as Anton Raphael Mengs, Antonio

Canova, and Jacques-Louis David. In architecture, patron and artist became one when Lord Burlington designed his Chiswick House in London, and Thomas Jefferson his Monticello in Virginia.

See also Britain, Art in; Florence, Art in; France, Art in; Medici Family; Netherlands, Art in; Papacy and Papal States; Rome, Art in; Venice, Art in; Versailles; Women and Art.

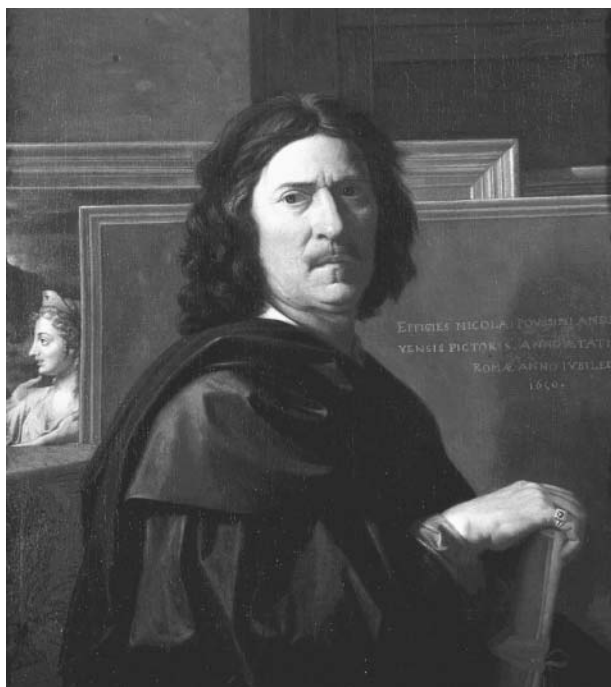
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EDWARD J. OLSZEWSKI

THE CONCEPTION AND STATUS OF THE ARTIST

In the Middle Ages all learnable skills—including what we today call “art”—were classified either as liberal (intellectual) or mechanical (manual). The seven liberal arts were divided into the trivium (three approaches) and the quadrivium (four approaches). The trivium comprised grammar, the study of language; rhetoric, the art of persuasion; and dialectics, the pursuit of philosophy, while the quadrivium included the mathematical disciplines



The Conception and Status of the Artist. *Self-Portrait*, 1650, by Nicolas Poussin. By the time this self-portrait was painted, Poussin had become renowned throughout Europe and was arguably the most famous painter of his time. The paintings in the background, with their highly allusive subjects, and his attire clearly suggest the nobility of his vocation, while his facial expression masterfully conveys a sense of world-weariness combined with a sustaining passion for art. THE ART ARCHIVE/MUSÉE DU LOUVRE PARIS/DAGLI ORTI

of arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music. The much less prestigious seven mechanical arts (today known as vocational pursuits) consisted of weaving, making armor, navigation, agriculture, hunting, medicine, and the living arts, or sports.

In early Renaissance Italy, an individual's standing in society depended on a number of factors, the most important of which was the rank attached either to birth or occupation. One's occupation was always evaluated on the basis of its proximity to, or distance from, physical labor. Even in antiquity the visual arts had belonged to the category defined as manual and hence in the Middle Ages were placed among the lowly mechanical arts. Poetry's greater intellectual prestige was based on its alliance with rhetoric in the trivium, while music was included in the quadrivium. Indeed, both poetry and music were included in the university curriculum, whereas instruction in the visual arts was confined to craftsmen's workshops until the rise, later, of the academies.

Thus, what we think of today as the creation of art was defined as the fabrication of artifacts, and the artist was characterized as a craftsman with a concomitantly low standing in society. The status of architecture was higher than that of painting and sculpture in that it was self-evidently based on the liberal arts of arithmetic and geometry and also required the greatest supervision of labor, which automatically made it the most socially acceptable. In short, the early history of the "artist" consisted in his struggle to get his manual craft accepted as sufficiently intellectual to be included among the liberal arts and, hence, to obtain a higher social standing. (The artist is here figured as exclusively male.)

Leon Battista Alberti (1404–1472) was the first to articulate in writing the case for the elevation of the visual arts above the level of the mechanical arts in his 1435 treatise *On Painting*. The visual arts needed, he thought, a firm theoretical foundation, by which he meant the mathematical disciplines of the quadrivium. The painter has to be as learned as possible, he said, "but I wish him above all to have a good knowledge of geometry." In order to demonstrate the "scientific" basis of painting, Alberti gave priority to mathematics, geometry, and the theory of proportions, and codified a method of one-point perspective that could be mastered by the practicing craftsman for whom he translated *On Painting* into Italian. Leonardo da Vinci (1452–1519), the most persistent advocate for the elevation of painting to a liberal art in his unpublished writings, also agreed that the "scientific" nature of painting lay in its mastery of the rules of linear perspective based on the laws of geometry.

The two components underlying the creation of a painting or sculpture, conception and execution, were characterized around 1400 by Cennino Cennini (c. 1370–c. 1440) as *fantasia* (imagination) and *operazione di mano* (handiwork), and by Giorgio Vasari (1511–1574) in 1568 as *il mio pensiero* (my considered judgment) and *le mie mani* (my hands). Renaissance society focused on the second component, the *arte* or, in Latin, *ars*, that signified the skill of hand or mastery of illusionism required to execute the work, a skill that could be mastered by practice. The artists themselves, on the other hand, emphasized the *ingegno* or *ingenium*, the inborn talent or creative power needed to conceive

the work in the first place, that could not be learned. For Vasari, a key element in the intellectual component of art lay in *disegno* (planning/drawing) which underlay the three “arts of design” (painting, sculpture, architecture). These principles were incorporated into the Florentine Academy of Design (founded 1563) which, although it did not replace the apprenticeship system, did much to elevate the status of artists.

One strategy in the artistic community’s campaign to reclassify art as liberal was to deny the role played by manual execution in its creation. “Painting is a mental occupation” (*pittura è una cosa mentale*), wrote Leonardo da Vinci, and Michelangelo Buonarroti (1475–1564) stated equally firmly, “We paint with our brain, not with our hands” (*si dipinge col ciervello et non con le mani*). Leonardo laid down the correct sequence in the creative cycle: the painter must work first in the mind (*mente*), then with the hands (*mani*). Promoting this union of ideation and labor, Vasari maintained that the trained hand mediated the idea born in the intellect, or, as Michelangelo put it in a famous sonnet, “the hand that obeys the intellect” (*la man che ubbidisce all’intelletto*), that is, the hand as an extension of the mind. It was not until the 1590s that one (highly idiosyncratic) artist felt sufficiently self-confident to mention the manual labor involved in artistic creation without first having recourse to its intellectual principles: “We must speak with our hands” (*habbiamo da parlare con le mani*), Annibale Carracci (1560–1609), founder of the Carracci Academy in Bologna, is reputed to have said, equating the artist’s hand with the poet’s voice for the first time. The writing of treatises was another aspect of the campaign to improve artistic and social status and, in the mid-sixteenth century, artists themselves not only wrote treatises—Paolo Pino (1548), Anton Francesco Doni (1549), Vasari (1550), Benvenuto Cellini (1560s), Pirro Ligorio (1570s), and Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo (1580s)—but some (Michelangelo through Ascanio Condivi in 1553; Cellini, and Vasari) also wrote autobiographies.

The speed of progress of the artistic community’s long-term struggle for professional and personal betterment differed from country to country in early modern Europe. In Italy artists had, by the seventeenth century, succeeded dramatically in re-

negotiating the standing and value of both artifact and maker. The idea developed that skill should be rewarded, and rates of pay accordingly improved. Many of the artifacts, taking on a heightened aesthetic character and a mystique of greatness, were redefined as “art,” and a number of craftsmen succeeded in reinventing themselves as “artists” to be venerated for their godlike powers. The example of Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528) in the North and the “divine” Michelangelo in the South, both of whose works were perceived by contemporaries and successors as belonging to a new realm that transcended ordinary cultural production, were especially important in bringing about this profound shift in the cultural values attached to the visual arts.

See also Academies of Art; Cellini, Benvenuto; Dürer, Albrecht; Leonardo da Vinci; Michelangelo Buonarroti; Vasari, Giorgio.

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JOANNA WOODS-MARSDEN

ARTILLERY. *See Military: Battle Tactics and Campaign Strategy.*

ARTISANS. What is an artisan? Traditionally, historians answered this question simply, saying that

artisans were members of guilds, skilled men who fashioned artifacts with their hands and tools in autonomous workshops without the aid of powered machinery—the classic handicraftsmen. Now, in the light of recent research, our answer is more complex. Historians now broaden the definition and place artisans on a spectrum with apprentices and journeymen working for wages or piece rates at one end, and at the other entrepreneurial masters, almost indistinguishable from merchants, no longer working primarily with their hands, spending most of their time wholesaling products or managing their enterprises. Moreover, the boundaries at each end of the spectrum were porous, with men and, notably, women, sliding into and out of what we think of as artisanal activity. The definition of *artisan* has also become more complex in another way, for traditional institutional and economic frameworks are no longer sufficient to analyze important aspects of the experience of the groups of people—men and women—we label “artisans.” Not every such person belonged to a guild (few women did in their own right), nor were tanners (as they would be the first to tell us) simply men or women who happened to cure leather, or shoemakers simply men or women who happened to make footwear. In other words, an adequate definition of *artisan* must also grasp the sense that these men and women had of themselves and that others had of them.

ARTISANS AND THE CRAFT ECONOMY

Historians have long known that the European population stabilized during the first half of the fifteenth century and in the second half entered a sustained period of growth that lasted well into the first half of the seventeenth century and increased Europe’s total population by about 20 percent, to about 100 million souls. Population growth was joined by economic growth, although capital tended to concentrate increasingly in the coffers of a wealthy elite of landowners, rentiers, merchants, lawyers, government officials, and some artisans. After 1650 population growth slowed dramatically for a century, and even though the agricultural sector of the economy plunged into recession, a consumer revolution centered on luxury products and on inexpensive manufactured items nonetheless took off, as real wages rose among city dwellers and disposable income increased for many.

Surging demand for an increasingly wide variety of artisanal products triggered significant developments in the community of urban artisans. Artisans everywhere represented a substantial percentage of the stable urban population throughout the early modern centuries, generally ranging from 20 percent (as in Montpellier, France) to 50 percent (as in Cuenca, Spain), although in some places, like Nördlingen in Germany, four out of five taxed inhabitants were craftsmen. Not surprisingly, the numbers of artisans in the construction and luxury trades often registered the greatest increases, and those in textiles the sharpest decreases (as they lost out to accelerating rural production). Behind these percentages, however, a proliferation of various kinds of artisans was taking place, above all in Europe’s growing cities (as rural artisans tended to be less specialized). Indeed, the most noteworthy feature of early modern manufacturing is its decentralization. Unlike modern “economies of scale,” in which high-volume, standardized, and concentrated production is the rule, the vast majority of early modern urban artisans worked according to the logic of “constant returns to scale,” an economic rationale whereby “growth of output required proportional growth of the inputs of labor and raw materials” (de Vries, 91). Increased demand, then, would be accommodated by decentralization, diversification, and specialization, not by concentration or expansion of the physical plant or technological innovation. A look at the division of labor within the early modern urban craft economy amply confirms this.

First, we see everywhere that trades came and went as demand grew and shifted to new products. To take but one example, in the middling French city of Dijon between 1464 and 1750 the number of crafts increased from 81 to 102, but fully 67 new ones had appeared and 45 had vanished. Second, everywhere complex systems of subcontracting became ever more common, so that few items were finished in the shops where their production had begun, and the street resembled an early modern version of an assembly line. As early as 1300 in London, for instance, we find a saddle being produced by a joiner who made the saddle tree, a lorimer who made the leather covering, and painters who did the decoration. The master saddler coordinated the operation, providing the in-



Artisans. *Interior of a Tailor's Shop*, detail, fifteenth-century fresco in the Castle di Issogne, Aosta Valley, Italy. ©ARCHIVO ICONOGRAFICO, S.A./CORBIS

vestment capital and retailing the finished product. In sixteenth-century Augsburg, to take another example of subcontracting, some master furniture makers arranged with lesser masters of their trade to produce component parts of furniture that would then be assembled in the workshop of the contracting master. By the eighteenth century many a European city was like Birmingham or Sheffield, a matrix of small, interconnected, and interdependent workshops. A third response to the vagaries of demand, and consistent with the logic of constant return to scale, master artisans hired and fired workers, retaining only a core of journeymen full-time, and meeting business orders by hiring from a vast and populous periphery of semi-skilled and often transient workers.

Hidden from traditional accounts of European craft folk are female artisans. Until recently historians thought that the early modern family economy and the market economy operated in separate spheres, and because women were central to the former, they were absent from the latter. Recent research has blurred these distinctions, and a consensus is emerging that women participated significantly in the market economy outside the household. Indeed, despite legal exclusion of women from most guilds nearly everywhere in Europe during the early modern centuries, many women practiced artisanal trades in most of Europe's cities. There were female dyers in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Flemish towns and female glovers, shoemakers, and tailors in sixteenth-century Ox-

ford. There were also female needle and thimble makers in sixteenth-century German cities, and joiners, curriers, and pewterers in York at the same time. Despite this diversity, however, a trend was emerging that would increasingly concentrate women in clothing and textile trades, so that by the eighteenth century a much more rigid gendered division of labor had taken hold.

GUILDS, DISCIPLINE, AND RESISTANCE

During the Middle Ages theologians embraced the idea that labor was a penance imposed on humankind for the original sin. After the Fall, man was commanded to work henceforth “by the sweat of his brow,” not to nurture the fruits of nature, but to redeem himself for salvation. The value of labor was not, therefore, its productive capacity, but rather its moral force. During the early modern period this theological notion was elaborated under the spreading influence of the writings of St. Augustine, with their emphasis on obedience and servitude to the commands of God. Work, in the minds of learned men, became a spiritual discipline, and idleness, rank rebellion against God and society. It followed that labor was a bulwark against social disorder, while it protected the soul from the assault of evil. As late medieval and early modern society became increasingly organized across the intersecting axes of hierarchy and subordination, artisans were expected to know their place and stay in it. The sign of this place was labor, and the key institution created to regulate it was the guild. Guilds drafted regulatory statutes that were sanctioned by public authorities. As such, they were fundamentally about disciplining the world of labor.

The triumph of hierarchy in the early modern political world resulted in the growing dominance of an oligarchy within guilds and the progressive exclusion of artisans from the world of municipal governance. Increasingly guilds were dominated by the wealthier craftsmen, the same families tending to run the affairs of their guilds for generations. The composition of the political community varied from one town to the next, with more guildsmen included in some places than in others. During the early modern centuries, however, the trend everywhere was toward control by a patriciate of merchants, legal professionals, and in some places royal officials, and the exclusion of guildsmen. The exclu-

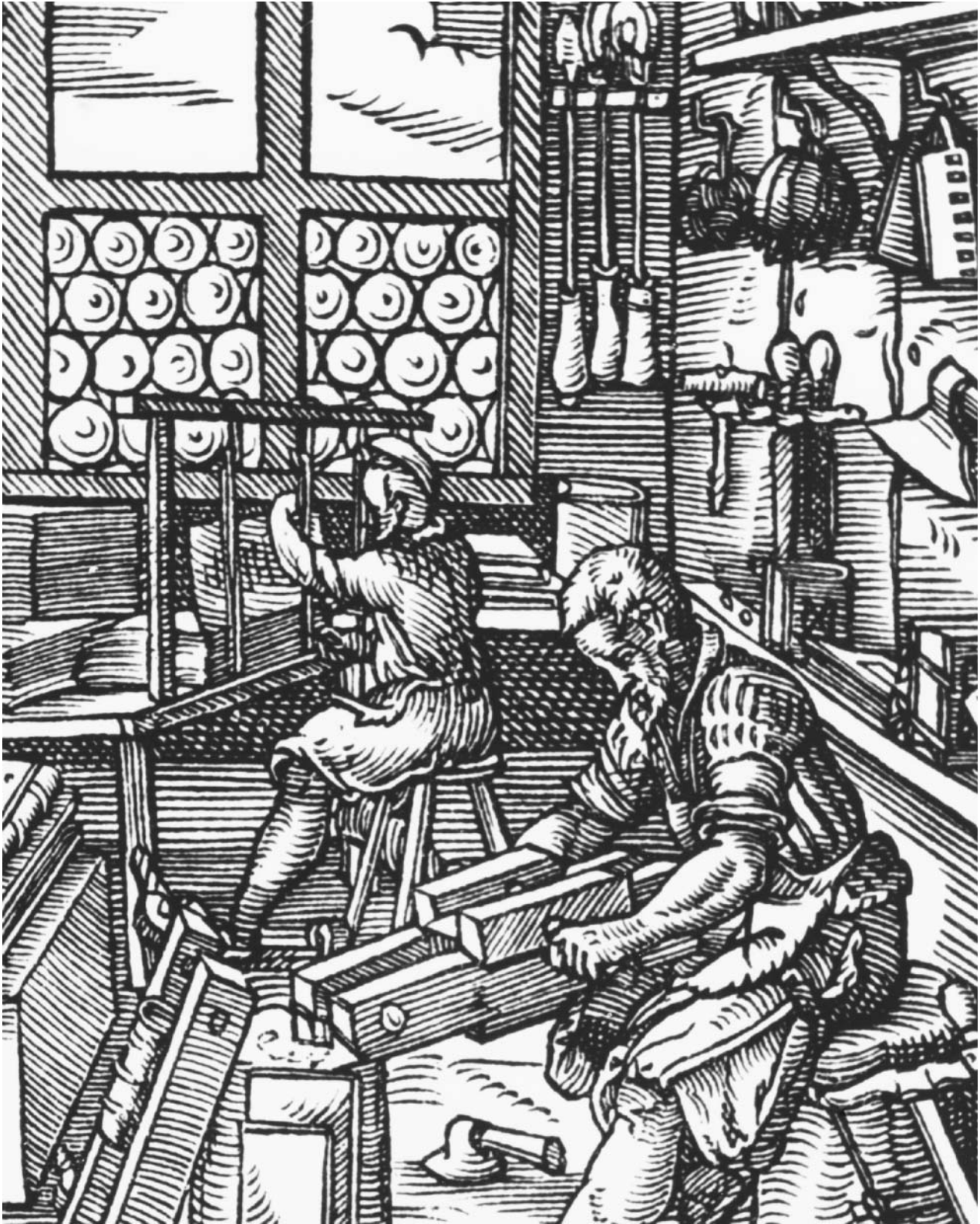
sion occurred first in Renaissance Italy, but by the eighteenth century European artisans rarely possessed the constitutional rights of political participation that they had often enjoyed in the cities and towns of the High Middle Ages. The only political action left to them was the threat or act of rebellion.

Hundreds of artisanal rebellions erupted in Europe’s cities from the Late Middle Ages to about 1700. These centered on two interrelated concerns—overtaxation and fiscal maladministration by the municipal elite. From one perspective artisanal rebellions were dismal failures, for none permanently altered the constitutional arrangement of cities or realms, but from another perspective one can see that rebellious artisans were warning the ruling elite that too great a disregard for artisanal interests and concerns would ignite violence. Often the spark for rebellion was fiscal, but the fact that antitax sentiments or concerns about fiscal maladministration leapt to constitutional levels about artisanal participation in politics so quickly suggests that artisans were also deeply concerned about issues that went beyond their pocketbooks and reached the level of the structure and maintenance of the community. How well the government secured the kind of order that artisans needed to maintain the security of their place in the community—their status—was an issue worth fighting over. Medieval and early modern artisanal rebellions, then, were very much about the maintenance of a stratified community and of the artisan’s place within it.

STATUS AND HONOR

Artisans from the Late Middle Ages well into the nineteenth century were defined and defined themselves not primarily as producers, as their labels may suggest, but rather as members of an *état*, a rank or “degree,” a *Stand*. They designated themselves (and were so designated by the authorities) by occupational labels not just because these described what they did (it often did not), but rather because it was the sign of status. Everywhere late medieval and early modern Europeans divided themselves more and more into a series of graduated ranks. Sometimes this was done formally by institutions authorized by political authorities (for example, guilds), sometimes informally.

As society’s elites increasingly distanced themselves from the craftsmen, artisans in turn became



Artisans. Sixteenth-century woodcut of bookbinders in a workshop by Jost Amman. ©CHRISTEL GERSTENBERG/CORBIS

increasingly keen on defining the distance between themselves and their inferiors. The early modern hierarchical system of distinction and difference was animated by a concern for subordination and discipline of inferiors. This preoccupied men at all levels of society, including artisans, be they guild masters, journeymen, or apprentices. From a master's perspective, breach of discipline by journeymen or apprentices reflected not only instability in the labor market, but also, and more dramatically, a perceived threat to hierarchy and to the principle of distinction itself. Masters were deeply sensitive to insubordination by journeymen, and journeymen were keen, in turn, on maintaining the inferiority of apprentices and nonguild wageworkers beneath them.

One's all-important place in this system was signaled by status. At all social levels, this process of

dissociation was visualized by cultural markers, and the key badge of status, for artisans no less than anyone else, was honor. This swung on the hinge of respectability, but beyond that it could be expressed in a variety of ways. For the master craftsman it could be economic solvency and heading one's own reputable business and respectable household, while for a journeyman it surely was being subject to no one's discipline, with no restrictions on one's freedom of movement.

ARTISANS AND INDUSTRIALIZATION

The labor historian Christopher Johnson has observed that "a good deal of our work as historians of the industrial transition has concerned the ways in which that vast, amorphous, and ill-defined category of handworkers called 'artisans' experienced the profound legal and economic changes of the



Artisans. Engraving of tailor's workshop, France, 1770, from the *Dictionary of Sciences*. ©HISTORICAL PICTURE ARCHIVE/CORBIS

age” (p. 1047). Scholars have recently discovered that the industrial transition did not immediately destroy small-scale artisanal production as was once thought, but rather for a time (late into the nineteenth century) created a whole new set of possibilities for small commodity producers. Only in the last quarter of the century, even later in some parts of Europe, did mechanized, factory production, in a quantum sense, overwhelm the master’s shop. Still, beginning, clearly, in the second half of the eighteenth century, artisans everywhere were affected by the gradual transition to industrial capitalism. Some sank into wage work in the new factories, but many more retained their own shops, working in the interstices of large-scale industry or mass marketing or directing their energies toward neighborhood provisioning. Capitalistic mechanized industries like sawmilling, ironmaking, and eventually steelmaking generated an increase in work for the small workshop of the machinist or toolmaker. Likewise steam-driven sawmills turned out wood that still had to be fashioned in the carpenters’ and furnituremakers’ shops, while the enormous furnaces of the Black Country in England provided large quantities of material to thousands of local smiths toiling in their own shops. These shops were organized in the traditional manner, with masters taking on or laying off workers and journeymen (labor was abundant due to galloping population growth after 1750) as industrial output and the pace of demand dictated.

Yet beneath the similarities with the Old Regime there lurked a difference, for the seeming independence of artisans was built increasingly on a foundation of dependency. No longer did masters, or shopkeepers for that matter, have much control over access to their materials, now provided by merchant industrialists, factors, and wholesalers. Moreover, masters came to rely on a steady flow of orders, often from only a few middlemen or owners of factories. The same can be said of access to credit and to markets, which was increasingly controlled by merchant operations. Of course, even in the Old Regime masters were not entirely independent, especially in emerging economies of scale and those, like textiles, organized around the putting-out system. But the early modern urban master tailor, shoemaker, cabinetmaker, cutler, butcher, or baker was not as encumbered by these dependencies as his

descendants experiencing the transition to industrialism would be.

The transformation that we call industrialization occurred in production, processing, and retailing, enabled by regularization of demand, which was smoothed by dramatic changes in transport and communication, price elasticity, and capital-intensive and increasingly standardized production. Amid such changes, artisans did not suddenly disappear, but they did become something altogether different, gradually but ineluctably more integrated into production and distribution networks that were controlled by large capital. Intensive subdivision of tasks and subcontracting continued apace, but independence became increasingly a chimera, and artisans gradually evolved into mechanics, shopkeepers, or waged workers.

See also **Capitalism; Commerce and Markets; Guilds; Industrial Revolution; Industry; Laborers; Proto-Industry; Textile Industry; Women; Youth.**

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JAMES R. FARR

ASAM FAMILY. The most important members of this family of German architects, painters, sculptors, and stucco workers are Cosmas Damian (1686–1739) and Egid Quirin (1692–1750). Both initially trained with their father, the fresco painter Hans Georg (1649–1711). Cosmas Damian then studied painting at the Accademia di San Luca in Rome, probably 1711–1713; Egid Quirin apprenticed with sculptor Andreas Faistenberger 1711–1716 in Munich, perhaps visiting Rome in 1716.

The brothers worked extensively in fresco and sculpture (primarily Cosmas Damian), and stucco (primarily Egid Quirin), and were involved with a dozen church projects. The interiors, which combine inventive creations of architectural space and light shaped by fresco, sculpture, and stucco in the service of complex religious programs, are their most distinctive and brilliant achievements. They integrated architecture and the arts within settings that were simultaneously emotional and rational, sensual and compassionate, and that pitted victor against vanquished and the marvelous against nature. They also employed contrasts of light and dark as well as stillness and movement. The tensions of encounter and confrontation within these interiors were intended to embrace the churchgoer in a dazzling display of persuasion. The brothers would have seen work produced during the seventeenth century in Rome by such artists as Bernini and Cortona that explored a visual rhetoric for Counter-Reformation purposes, but the scale, brilliance, and sweep of their own creations produced a very different experiential realm.

Immediately upon completing their training, the brothers began work on what would turn out to

be two of their greatest projects. In 1716 Cosmas Damian designed the church for the Benedictine monastery at Weltenburg bei Kelheim, located on the Danube west of Regensburg; the following year at nearby Rohr, Egid Quirin produced the Augustinian priory church and its spectacular high altar of the Assumption of Mary.

Weltenburg (1716–1735) was a collaborative work, to which Egid Quirin contributed the stucco and over-life-sized altar sculpture. Within the oval plan, bracketed by a rectangular space for the entrance and organ balcony at one end, and at the opposite end by a similar rectangle (with apse) for the choir, the brothers dramatically transformed the interior by means of chapels, sculpture, paintings, frescoes, contrasts of color and light, a dome that opens to an illusionistic fresco above it, and a choir composed as a proscenium stage. This space, complete with loggia boxes and an architectural stage set, features a St. George astride a spirited horse, lancing the dragon to his right and rescuing the princess to his left, and a fresco on the rearward apse wall ablaze in light. All of these media and effects are orchestrated to bring the history and legends of St. Benedict to life, and celebrate the glory of the church.

At Rohr, Egid Quirin designed a traditional Latin cross basilica, the shape of which was determined in part by existing foundations and sections of wall from the medieval church it replaced. But Egid Quirin also employed this deliberately old-fashioned interior to contrast with the dazzling vision of Mary's ascension that overwhelms the choir and visually determines the interior. Located well behind altar and choir stalls, and staged within a setting of richly colored architecture, complete with sarcophagus and tapestry, the sculptural reenactment of the Assumption employs figures of porcelain white with gilt highlights who witness Mary's ascension into a blaze of golden light and cloud.

Several years later, in 1725, Egid Quirin designed a project for a centralized chapel dedicated to the Holy Spirit that is as audacious as Rohr was conservative; a drawing shows the project in elevation and section. The lively exterior contains an extraordinary, multilevel architecture inside: free-standing stairs curve up to a balcony covered by small half domes, and they in turn support an inter-



Asam Family. The altar of Kloster Weltenburg, built by Cosmas Damian Asam in 1718, with altarpiece of St. George and the dragon by Egid Quirin Asam. ©ADAM WOOLFITT/CORBIS

nal dome broadly cut away to reveal a fresco above. The extreme animation of the architecture, and the multilevel spatial experience of the airy, openwork forms inside, suggest a revolutionary architecture in which solid elements are honed to thin surfaces and linear elements set within an interior of stunning spatial complexity. Later centralized churches by the brothers, such as that for St. Ursula in Straubing (1736–1741), did not attain the audacity of this project.

The brothers were also involved with several longitudinal but unitary buildings, of which two stand out. One, a monumental version of a house chapel, is in Munich, dedicated to St. Johann Nepomuk and known as the Asam Church since they built it for themselves at their own expense. The other is Freising Cathedral, a remodeling of the

interior of the existing medieval building. Despite the very different physical conditions and sizes of these buildings, the brothers transformed both interiors through the illusionistic use of stucco and fresco, and the orchestration of light from multiple sources.

See also **Architecture; Baroque.**

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CHRISTIAN OTTO

ASIA. Three centuries separate the missions of Vasco da Gama to India in 1498 and George Macartney to China in 1793. Da Gama opened a new sea route to the Orient; Lord Macartney, ambassador of Great Britain, sought to renegotiate the terms of trade with the Qing (Manchu) empire. During the course of the intervening centuries, successive waves of Europeans sailed into Asia—after the Portuguese came the Dutch, English, Spanish, and French. Their experiences taught them that there was more than one Asia. In south and east Asia, there were the powerful and expansive continental empires of the Mughals and the Manchus. In northeast Asia, there were the secluded kingdoms of Korea and Japan. But initially, for the Europeans, there was above all the Asia of the Indian Ocean trading network.

EUROPE ENTERS THE ASIAN TRADE NETWORK

The Indian Ocean network consisted of three interlocking circuits—the Arabian Seas, the Bay of Bengal, and Indonesia—east Asia. It was in this Asia that European merchantmen established small but permanent bases stretching around the entire Indian Ocean littoral, from the port of Mombasa in the west to Nagasaki in the east. From those bases, Europeans pressed for monopoly control over the spices, silks, porcelain, and other products that crossed the Indian Ocean's trading network. Until

1850, European ambitions in Asia raced ahead of their limited resource bases. Before the industrial revolution and the European drive for expansion, European states lacked both the financial means and the military power to effect any grand design in Asia.

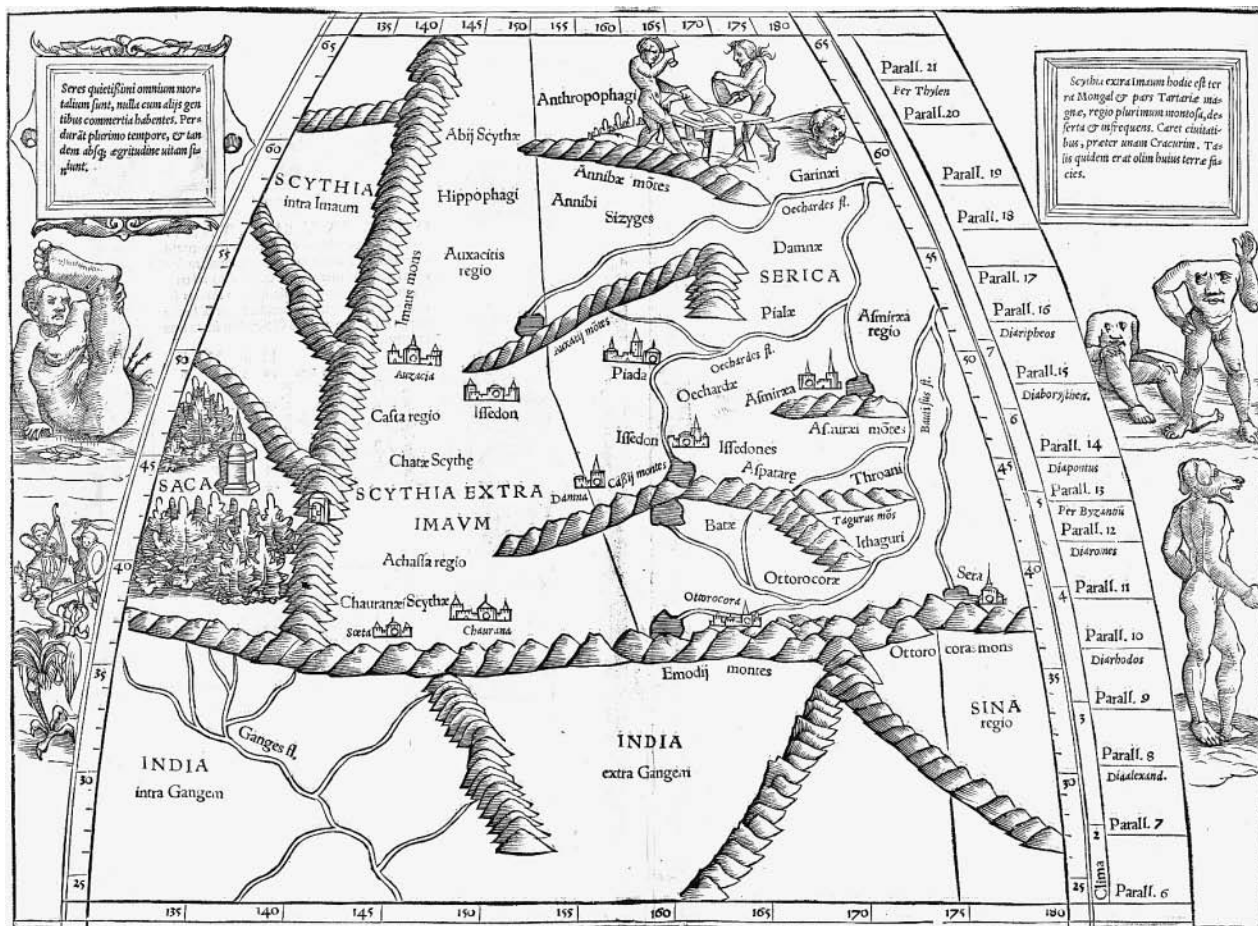
As the first to arrive in Asian waters via the sea route around Africa, the Portuguese established a trading empire in the Arabian Seas circuit and maintained partial control over it for most of the sixteenth century. A century later the Dutch constructed the first colonial empire in Asia and revolutionized almost every dimension of the Indian Ocean trading system—from how it was organized to how business was transacted. The English East India Company arrived on the scene contemporaneously with the Dutch but did not become a major force in Asian trade until after the latter went into decline, between 1680 and 1720. Over the course of the remainder of the eighteenth century, the English developed a passion for empire, first in India and then in China. After 1720 they pushed first the Dutch and subsequently the late-arriving French East India Company aside and established themselves as the dominant European trader in Asian waters. Concurrently, they commenced building an empire on the subcontinent of Asia, and in 1793, with the Macartney mission to China, inaugurated a clash between the expanding empires of England and Qing China in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Two facets of the early modern history of European empire building in the Indian Ocean deserve to be emphasized. First is the intra-Asian or “country trade,” to call it by its eighteenth-century name. From the Asian perspective, the emergence of three great Muslim empires (Ottoman, Safavid, and Mughal) by the sixteenth century and the unprecedented growth of the Kiangnan region in the lower Yangtze valley of the Ming-Qing empire greatly stimulated the expansion of the intra-Asian regional trade, and with it, a nascent consumer culture in Asia. From the European perspective, it was Europe’s good fortune to arrive at the moment the Asian system was undergoing a period of unprecedented growth. Once the Europeans learned how the system operated and the role Asian merchants played in it, they sought out partnerships with those merchants. For their part, the European traders

contributed to the further expansion of the system by linking the “country trade” to the long-distance Atlantic trade routes that carried Asian products to Europe’s own emergent consumer culture. Thus, over time, these partnerships, such as those between Portuguese and Gujarati merchants or between Dutch and Chinese traders, became one of the central features of the system. The English, too, were attuned to the importance of such partnerships and made a series of them during their eighteenth-century rise to dominance. It is worth repeating that Asian-European partnerships were a key feature of the Indian Ocean trading system and played an important role in its continued growth. From a world-historical perspective, some historians identify this as the “age of partnership” and interpret it as part of the deeper integration and globalization of trade linked to an emergent consumer culture in both East and West.

Alongside the intra-Asian trade, European initiatives came to be central to early modern European empire building in Asia. The collective effect of these initiatives transformed the Asian system of trade. These initiatives came in two chronological waves, the first in the sixteenth century and the second in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The first wave was primarily Portuguese in origin and included the opening of the Atlantic sea route around Africa to the Orient and the linkage of the intra-Asian regional trade routes to the Atlantic route; the introduction of the large ships called armed merchantmen; and the emergence of cultural intermediaries, the first of whom were Jesuit missionaries. In later centuries, sea voyagers and official embassies from various European countries greatly expanded the fund of European knowledge about Asia.

The Dutch and English sponsored the second wave of initiatives. These initiatives were truly revolutionary in terms of their impact on the Indian Ocean trading networks. Over a two-century period (1600–1800) they fundamentally transformed the Asian trading system. The two most important of these second-wave initiatives were the transplantation of a novel form of business organization (the joint stock company) into Asia and the fusion of private merchant interests and state policy. Ranking close behind these two initiatives in significance were the systematization of the intra-Asian carrying



Asia. Sebastian Münster's map of Central Asia and India, from a 1545 edition of Ptolemy's *Geographia*, is noted for its depiction of mythical creatures thought to exist in that part of the world. The creatures were based on reports dating from the early age of European travel to the East prior to Marco Polo's thirteenth-century journeys to Asia. MAP COLLECTION, STERLING MEMORIAL LIBRARY, YALE UNIVERSITY

trade and its transference to European control after 1700; the shift of the center of trade from the west coast of India (the Arabian Seas circuit) to the Bay of Bengal and Indonesian circuits; and the altered composition of the trade, from spices and porcelains to “drug foods” (such as sugar, coffee, tea, and opium) and cotton textiles.

By the mid-eighteenth century, the combined effects of these initiatives were transforming not just Euro-Asian relations but also the world economy. Regarding the former, partnerships more and more resembled patron-client relationships, and Asians west of Guangzhou (Canton) were the clients. Regarding the European initiatives, by about 1750 they had begun to shift the center of gravity of the world economy away from the shores of the Indian Ocean to those of Atlantic Europe. In other words,

the important economic decisions were more often made in Amsterdam and London rather than in Surat or Melaka or Guangzhou. Nonetheless, this shift was incremental. Although still incomplete by the time Lord Macartney undertook his mission to China in 1793, it eventually culminated in an armed confrontation between the expanding British and Qing empires over trade and sovereignty.

THE PORTUGUESE, THE DUTCH, AND THE SPICE TRADE

In 1498, all of this, of course, lay in the future. Neither Vasco da Gama nor his immediate successors, especially Afonso de Albuquerque (1453–1515), the chief architect of the Portuguese empire in Asia, entertained the slightest notion of creating partnerships with Asian merchants. Their intent was

to establish trade monopolies and redirect the spice trade away from the Levantine caravan routes, with their links to the Arabian Seas circuit. Between 1500 and 1515, from their base at Goa, the Portuguese used their superior naval forces to effect a significant measure of control over most of this circuit, which included the Malabar Coast of western India, the Persian Gulf, the Red Sea, and the related caravan routes of Persia and the Tigris-Euphrates valley. During that brief period, they identified and then captured control of many of the major choke points of the Indian Ocean, such as strategically located entrepôts of Hormuz at the entrance of the Persian Gulf and Melaka on the Straits of Melaka. The latter controlled the trade of the Far Eastern circuit of the Indian Ocean. However, the Portuguese failed to capture Aden, located at the entrance of the Red Sea. That failure meant that the Levantine trade routes via the Red Sea remained open, and Portugal could not and did not establish a complete monopoly over the spice trade.

The *Estado da India* nonetheless remitted handsome profits from the pepper trade back to Lisbon for most of the sixteenth century. *Estado* officials and private Portuguese traders realized that even greater profits could be made through partnerships with Asian merchants. Together they continued to expand the trade of the Indian Ocean, linked some of its commerce to the new sea route around Africa, and grew wealthy servicing the expanding intra-Asian trade with silver, tin, copper, spices, and horses. By the mid-sixteenth century, the Portuguese had also become involved in the lucrative trade of the Far Eastern circuit. In fact, between about 1550 and 1637, Portuguese merchantmen had linked together all three trading circuits of the Indian Ocean, moving a variety of goods between its major entrepôts.

In 1637, a seemingly minor event in Japan—the decision of the military government to expel the Portuguese for meddling in Japanese politics—set in motion a series of events that undermined the Portuguese in east Asian waters, opened the way for Dutch competitors to displace them, and all but eliminated Japanese participation in intra-Asian trade until the 1860s. In any case, the Portuguese crown had received little if any of the profits from the intra-Asian trade; they primarily flowed into the pockets of corrupt *Estado* officials and private Por-

tuguese merchants and their Asian partners. Thus, within a half-century of the Portuguese seizure of Goa and Melaka, Asians had assimilated most Portuguese into their social world, or, in the case of the Japanese, had expelled them. By about 1600 Asia was looking very much as it had before the Portuguese arrival in 1498.

In Europe, in spite or more likely because of the Wars of Religion, the Dutch seized the opportunity to enter the Asian market. With their powerful market economy, the Dutch were well positioned to enter the arena of long-distance trading. They possessed an astonishingly rich resource base and a working knowledge of Asian waters. Jan Huyghen van Linschoten provided the latter. In 1594, he returned to Holland after serving the Portuguese for ten years, six of them in Goa. Using van Linschoten's maps, sailing directions, and detailed information about the spice trade, separate groups of Dutch merchants posted sixty-five ships to Asian waters between 1595 and 1602. As anticipated, the ships returned with cargoes of fine spices—mace, cloves, and nutmeg—that earned their sponsors handsome profits.

These unplanned ventures came at a cost, a marketplace glutted with spices. In order to remedy this situation, several groups of Dutch merchants agreed to pool their resources to create a unique commercial organization, the United East India Company (*Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie*, or VOC, founded in 1602). Its initial capitalization was an astounding 6.5 million guildens. What made the VOC unique was the separation of investors from the company's professional managers. In the early years of this experiment in business organization, the VOC usually paid between 25 and 30 percent dividends on shares in the company. The Dutch creation would soon be known as a “joint stock” company, a revolutionary business structure that had revolutionary consequences for Asian trade.

THE DUTCH EMPIRE IN INDONESIA

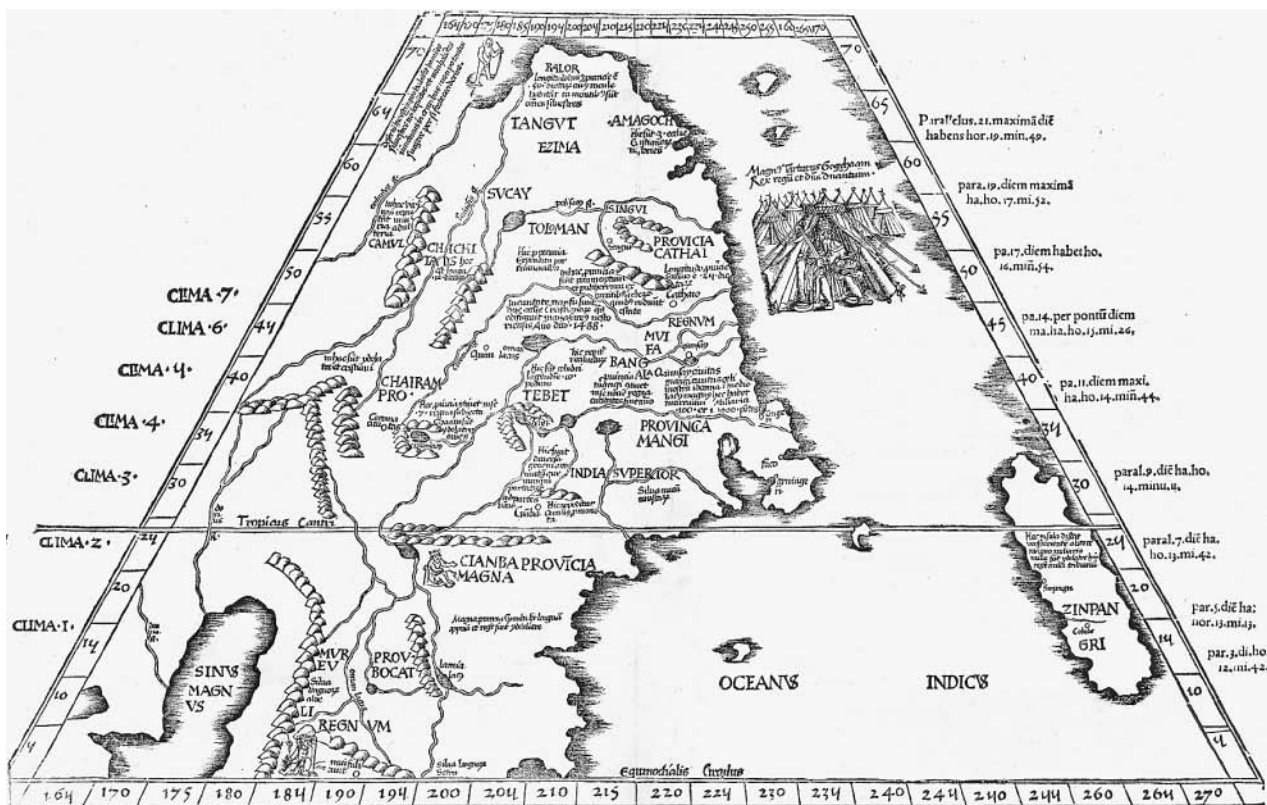
Among the most successful of the first generation of VOC managers were Governors-General Jan Pieterszoon Coen (served 1617–1629) and his able successor Anthony van Diemen (served 1636–1645). Over the course of the seventeenth century,

they and their successors fundamentally restructured the Indian Ocean trading network.

When Coen arrived in Asian waters, he discovered that the Spice Islands (the Moluccas) were not only a source of wealth but also stood at the crossroads of trade between India, China, and Japan. He decided that the center of trade had to be moved from the Arabian Seas circuit to the Indonesia–east Asia circuit. This meant abandoning the idea of a trading empire in favor of the establishment of an overseas capital, strategically located in Indonesia. From Indonesia he could deploy superior Dutch naval power, westward toward the Coromandel coast of India and the Bay of Bengal and eastward toward Japan and China. The navy would also be used to maintain control of the Spice Islands themselves.

As a first step, in 1619, Governor-General Coen seized the Javanese port of Jakarta and renamed it

Batavia, the Roman name of Holland; it became the “major naval base, shipbuilding center, and entrepôt for the Dutch East India Company” (Ringrose, p. 158). Coen found local allies in the large Chinese community of Batavia. His two chief Chinese collaborators were Su Minggang, a godfather figure in the Chinese community, and his chief aide Jan Con, whose primary function was to recruit laborers from the southeastern coastal province of Fujian. Su and Jan also advised Coen and van Diemen on market conditions in the two eastern circuits of the Indian Ocean and, on their own initiative, developed the hinterland of Batavia. The Chinese established sugar plantations and harvested the timber resources of Java. In both cases, they used the labor of Fujianese coolies. Coen’s collaboration with the Chinese points to an important reality about Batavia, that it was from the outset both a Dutch and a Chinese town. With the passage of time, the Chinese community became more and



Asia. A woodcut map of China and Japan by Lorenz Fries that was originally published in a 1522 edition of Ptolemy’s *Geographia*. Considered the first modern map of the area, it is based on the accounts of Marco Polo’s journeys to China. The Great Khan is pictured in the upper right. Japan is shown at the far right, based on information Polo got from the Chinese. The existence of Japan was not confirmed to Europeans until 1542 when the Portuguese landed there. MAP COLLECTION, STERLING MEMORIAL LIBRARY, YALE UNIVERSITY

more robust at the expense of the Dutch. Finally, in the mid-eighteenth century, the Dutch turned on the Chinese residents (their former collaborators), massacring ten thousand of them and looting their homes and businesses.

Shocking as this massacre may seem, the Dutch had long before acquired a reputation for cruelty in their empire building. In fact, the systematic use of naval power was a basic tactic in Coen's strategy to create a "ring of force" around the Moluccas and the other Spice Islands (Fernandez-Armesto, p. 326). In pursuit of that goal, the Dutch used maximum force on a number of occasions. For example, in 1621 Dutch forces either killed or deported as slaves the entire population of the island of Banda. When the Ceramese rebelled against Dutch policy and killed 160 Dutch in 1651, the Dutch in retaliation forcibly resettled twelve thousand Ceramese from Ceram Island to Amboina and Manipa.

The Dutch completed their ring of force around the Spice Islands in 1669, when they reduced Makassar (Ujung Pandang), the most powerful of the Indonesian states, to a colony. The defeat of Makassar gave the Dutch a world monopoly over the production of spices. Only Bantam maintained a semblance of independence from the Dutch, but by 1682 it, too, had become a VOC colony. The isolated and fragmented island polities of Indonesia were simply no match for the powerful Dutch navy and the VOC's single-minded drive to control spice production.

Was the spice monopoly worth the price? Most historians would agree that an Asian market for spices remained very active throughout this period, while European spice consumption was declining. Only the growing mid-eighteenth-century popularity of cinnamon from Ceylon increased the total VOC revenue from spices. Still, the question persists, and it may well be that the VOC's spice monopoly was not profitable in the long run. First, it limited the ability of the VOC to maneuver in a changing world market. Although spices were a safe source of profit, they had little potential for growth, at least in Europe. Meanwhile, a consumer culture had emerged in Europe and Asia that was demanding such goods as textiles, tea, and coffee. The VOC seemed incapable of responding to these new demands, because its labyrinthine bureaucratic struc-

ture was tied to the flow of spices. The VOC's chief rival, the English East India Company (EEIC), founded in 1600, had already decided that these new commodities had a much larger potential market than spices. Furthermore, the cost of maintaining a naval force large enough to enforce the VOC's monopoly was enormous. In other words, the cost of empire may ultimately have exceeded its profits. The Dutch were able to reduce the gap between cost and profit only by introducing the cultivation of coffee in the eighteenth century.

Creating a ring of force around the fine spices in Indonesia was but one aspect of the Dutch presence in Asia. Indeed, the largest part of seventeenth-century VOC activity was in the "country trade" of the Indian Ocean. In the 1630s and 1640s the company derived its largest profits from its monopoly over the sale of spices within Asia and its transportation of Japanese silver to China. More importantly, in carving out a major role for the VOC in the "country trade," the Dutch fundamentally altered the intraregional trading system. The revolutionary organizational structure of the VOC allowed the Dutch to systematize the intra-Asian carrying trade in a way never before possible, and, in the process, displace Asian merchants. By 1700, VOC managers through the organizational efficiencies of their company were transforming once-independent Asian merchants into their clients. The decline of the Asian merchants' status continued into the eighteenth century as the Dutch (and later the English) came to control more and more of the country trade through their joint stock companies.

THE RISE OF THE ENGLISH IN ASIA

The decline of the VOC relative to its European competitors, primarily the EEIC, can be placed somewhere between 1680 and 1720. It has been attributed to three factors: excessive dividends; the high cost of maintaining the spice monopoly; and the inflexibility of VOC, which rendered it unable to respond to the demands of new consumer cultures of Europe and Asia. Although the VOC remained a viable economic force in Asia throughout the eighteenth century, the EEIC was also slowly displacing it as the dominant European trader in Asia.

In 1600, no one could have predicted that England would become Europe's most successful em-

pire builder in Asia. The earlier achievements of the Portuguese and Dutch and those of the late-arriving French pale in comparison with English successes of the eighteenth century. In a matter of a half-century, from about 1750 to about 1800, the English had become masters of most of the Indian subcontinent, and in 1793 they were prepared to push farther east and challenge the mighty Qing empire for sovereignty and power in east Asia.

What historical pushes and pulls transformed the English East India Company from its seventeenth-century status as beggar at the court of the great Mughal emperors to that of masters of a British India in the eighteenth century? In 1600, the English did indeed beg the Mughals of India for a *farman*, an imperial directive that would grant England regular trading privileges throughout the Mughal empire and, with it, access to the markets of south Asia. In 1608 Captain William Hawkins (c. 1560–1613), the first of the English East India Company's envoys, received permission for the company to trade at Surat, but the Mughal emperor offered no *farman* encompassing the whole empire. Other envoys followed, Sir Thomas Roe in 1618 and William Hedges in 1682. The latter's mission is particularly revealing of the EEIC's status in late-seventeenth-century Mughal India.

EEIC officials in Bengal and the company's governor in London, Sir Josiah Child, interfered with Hughes's mission, causing Emperor Aurangzeb ('Ālamgir; ruled 1658–1707) to break off the negotiations. Challenged, or, perhaps embarrassed, Child decided on war with the Mughals. "Child's War," 1686–1690, ended in disaster for the English. In 1689 the Mughal fleet commanded by the African Sidi Yakub took Bombay, which had been an English entrepôt since 1668. After a year of resistance, the English surrendered, and in 1690 the company sent envoys to Aurangzeb's camp to plead for a pardon. The company's envoys had to prostrate themselves before the emperor, pay an enormous indemnity, and promise better behavior in the future. The emperor withdrew his troops and the company subsequently reestablished itself in Bombay and set up a new base in Calcutta.

The 1690s were the start of a period of economic expansion for the EEIC in Asia. Only Bombay on the subcontinent's west coast did not

share in the general expansion of the company's other major entrepôts, Madras and Calcutta, on the east coast. Bombay's trade suffered because the Marathan admiral Kanhoji Angria targeted its shipping, and until the 1730s, the advantage lay with Kanhoji. Meanwhile, Madras and Calcutta prospered as the volume of trade grew exponentially in such items as cotton textiles, silks, molasses, and saltpeter. Although the tea trade had its origins back in the 1660s, it was not until the turn of the century that it began to take hold as the preferred beverage among English of all social strata; the boom in tea profits had to wait until the eighteenth century. Meanwhile, American silver paid for the bulk of English imports, including tea. London critics denounced the outflow of bullion for Asian goods, but handsome dividends had a way of silencing mercantilist rhetoric.

Beginning in the 1690s and reaching into the 1750s, the EEIC started shedding its beggar status and laying claim to a loftier standing within the Asian trading world. Neither the EEIC nor its ally, the English government, had decided on a course of empire building in Asia. Rather, the convergence of a number of historical developments in the mid-eighteenth century not only made empire building possible but also invited it. First, the EEIC encouraged its servants and free traders to pursue trade aggressively within the intra-Asian trading system. This policy allowed men like the country trader Thomas Pitt, who later became governor of Madras, to earn vast fortunes. A second development was the company's merger with the many private syndicates operating in Asian waters. These syndicates, called "interlopers," had regularly disregarded the EEIC's legal monopoly over Asian trade. The merger resulted in the heavy recapitalization of the EEIC (at about 3.2 million pounds) and its renaming in 1708 as the United East India Company. Third, concurrent with the merger with the "interloper" syndicates was the systematization of the company's bureaucracy. Its streamlined organization gave it a competitive edge over the VOC and Indian-operated shipping. The effects of this combination—heavy English investment and an efficiently functioning bureaucracy—were almost immediately visible. English shipping interests pushed the Dutch aside and greatly reduced Indian participation in the intra-Asian trade of the Indian Ocean. Fourth, the

early successes of the EEIC depended upon alliances with Indian merchants, like the house of Jagat Seth. By the mid-eighteenth century, however, the Indian partners had already begun the long slide into dependency on the company. Such dependencies would become a feature of English-Indian relations after 1750, as partnerships gave way to client status for Indian merchants. In this regard, the eighteenth-century English experience in Asia paralleled to a great extent that of the Dutch in Indonesia.

The English East India Company's continued fortunes in south Asia ultimately turned on its ability to obtain an empire-wide *farman* from the now declining Mughal overlords of India. After another English ambassador in 1701 had failed to obtain the elusive guarantee, a new mission to Delhi headed by John Surman threatened to withdraw the company's factors from Surat and its other establishments in Gujarat unless it was granted. Because the company's economic stake in this western region of India generated a significant amount of revenue for the Mughals, the emperor, Farrukhsiyar, relented. He granted a *farman* on 31 December 1716, little realizing the far-reaching consequences of his action. EEIC officials now resembled other imperial officeholders of the Mughal empire. More importantly, under the terms of the directive, the EEIC could take action against anyone infringing on its rights. It was this aspect of the *farman* that opened the way for future intervention in the political affairs of India, and intervention over the course of the eighteenth century eventually led to the incorporation of India into a British empire.

Was English intervention after 1716 a result of an alliance struck between the company and wealthy and powerful Indian merchants, such as the house of Jagat Seth? Was the company drawn into Indian politics in order to safeguard its own growing economic, political, and territorial investments? Was conquest the result of the transplantation of eighteenth-century Anglo-French rivalries into Asian waters, a rivalry that carried over into Indian politics? These are some of the questions historians are presently debating regarding the British conquest of India. The debate continues; the best that can be offered here is a brief account of the stages of the conquest, with an eye toward Macartney's 1793 mission to China.

Eighteenth-century English expansion into India falls into three periods. The first was a period in which the company agents and private traders found their way into "a lively market in commercial, fiscal and military opportunities" (Keay, p. 377). This was the "market opportunities" stage, 1716–1748. "Colonial imperialism" made its appearance in the 1740s. Beginning in that decade, the English and French engaged in a series of wars for empire. In India, the most famous protagonists of these conflicts were Joseph-François Dupleix and Charles de Bussy-Castelnau on the French side and Robert Clive and Charles Watson on the English side. Victory ultimately came to the English in the 1760s because of three factors: the decisive leadership of men like Clive, Watson, and William Pitt, the architect of victory in the Seven Years' War (1756–1763); the superior ability of the English to pay for Indian allies and Indian troops (called sepoys); and finally an appetite for empire, which had begun to emerge during the course of the Seven Years' War in India. Certainly Robert Clive was its first proponent, and almost all of his late-eighteenth-century successors, especially Richard Wellesley, shared Pitt's and Clive's imperial ambitions.

The period between 1764 and the end of the century marked the true beginnings of British dominion in India. The French had been defeated. However, before the English could truly lay claim to the title of *raj*, they had to overcome stiff Indian resistance. In addition to the Four Mysore wars (1767–1804), the three Maratha wars (1780–1803), and the two Sikh wars (c. 1840–1856), there were a host of lesser battles fought and won. The English may not have had a plan of conquest for India, but this succession of wars strongly suggests that their appetite for empire grew with the eating of the Indian pudding. Seen from this perspective, the mission of Macartney to China was but a further extension of England's expanding Asian empire.

Before the Macartney mission, English East Indiamen had been trading on the South China coast since the second decade of the eighteenth century. What had attracted them was tea, a product for which there was an expanding consumer market in the Atlantic world. By the 1780s, Western demand had grown to a point where it was causing balance of payment problems for English merchantmen. As

mercantilists they parted reluctantly with their silver, but that was precisely what the Chinese demanded for their tea. Secondly, English traders chafed under Qing empire-imposed restrictions requiring that all commerce must be conducted at the port of Canton (Guangzhou) and through designated Chinese merchants. It was in hopes of ending these trade restrictions and opening markets for English manufactured products as a way to solve the balance of payments problem that the British government dispatched Macartney to China in 1793.

ASIA IN THE EUROPEAN IMAGINATION

By the time Ambassador Macartney sailed for China, Eurocentrically imagined Asians had become familiar figures on the European scene. During the nearly three centuries since Vasco da Gama had made landfall on the Malabar coast, a large body of literature about Asia and Asians had accumulated. Contributors included Jesuit missionaries, land and sea voyagers, official embassies, fictional writers, and “Asianist” scholars of several varieties, none of whom had ever visited any part of Asia, but who still wrote “knowingly” about it. From the fifteenth-century beginnings of Europe’s contacts with Asia, Asia became whatever suited the needs of the Western imagination. More importantly, the Western perspective on Asia shifted over time. The shift occurred very late in the early modern period, around the 1770s. Until then an idealized Asia prevailed. At some indeterminate moment in the late seventeenth century China came to represent this idealized Asia. Asia (read China) was a land of wisdom, moral philosophy, and good government by a cultured elite. China was everything Europe should be. The idealization culminated in the eighteenth-century China vogue known as *chinoiserie*. In France, it expressed itself in a cult of Confucius, and in England it influenced everything from art to architecture to garden designs.

Suddenly, in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, this particular Eurocentrically idealized imagine of Asia came crashing down. Those who brought it down were men of the high Enlightenment, the Daniel Defoes, Horace Walpoles, Montesquieu, and Voltaires. Aided by a new “scientific” approach to history, the philosophes discovered that Asia (read China) was backward, despotic, and intellectually stagnant, and that Asians

were physically inferior. From the vantage point of this new perspective, Europeans believed that they had little to learn from Asians, but that Asians had much to learn from progressive, modern Europeans. It was this perspective that Macartney took with him when he met the Qing emperor in 1793. It has been this perspective that has informed much of the writings about Europe’s contact with Asia since then. It was only in the last twenty years or so of the twentieth century that a rising generation of historians has sought to revise this Eurocentrically imagined perspective of Asia and reimagine Eurasia in a global setting.

See also **British Colonies: India; Cartography and Geography; Colonialism; Dutch Colonies: The East Indies; Europe and the World; Exploration; French Colonies: India; Gama, Vasco da; Goa; Portuguese Colonies: The Indian Ocean and Asia; Trading Companies.**

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CHARLES LILLEY

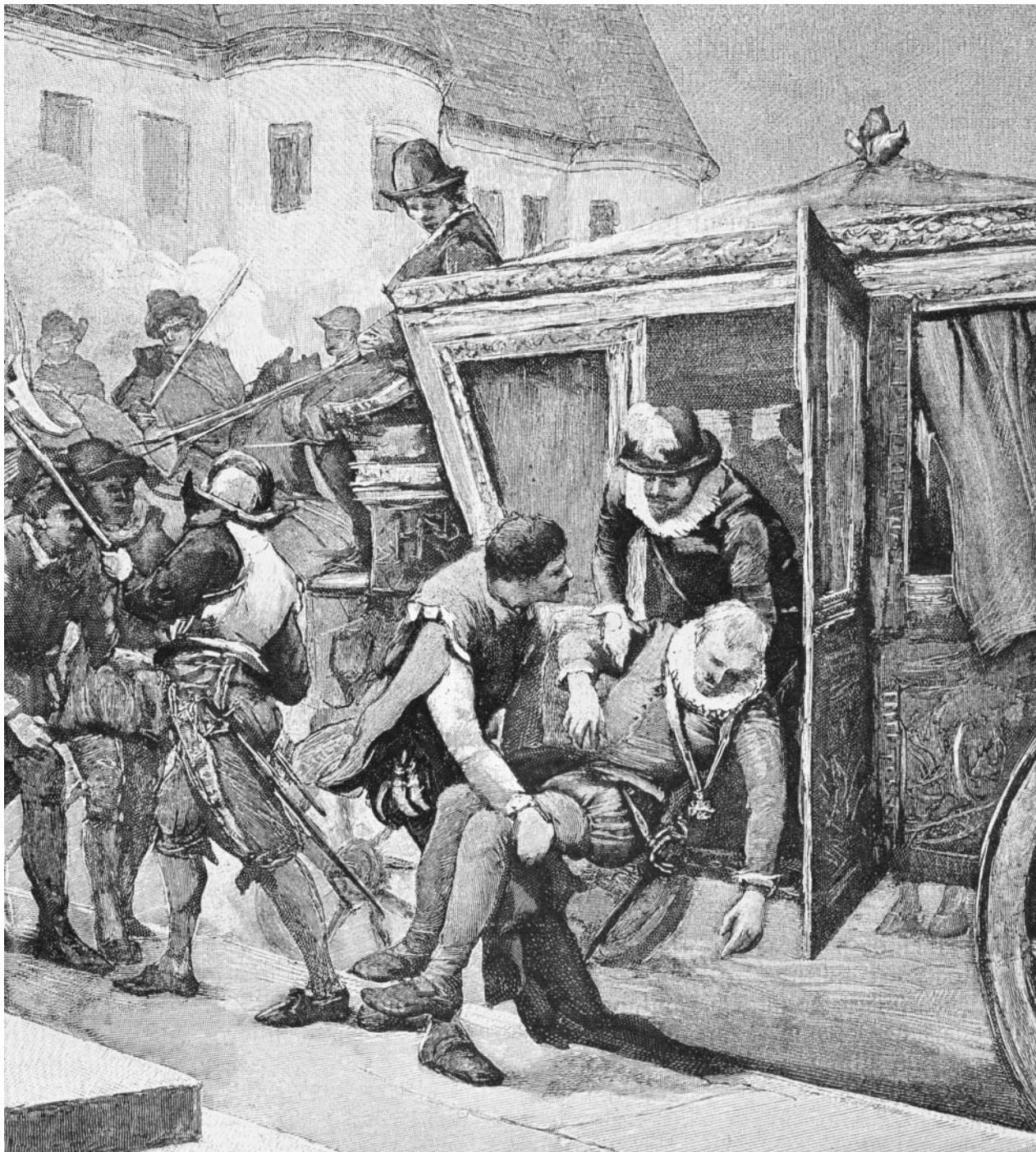
ASSASSINATION. Assassination, according to Franklin L. Ford, "is the intentional killing of a specified victim or group of victims, perpetrated for a reason related to his (her, their) public prominence and undertaken with a political purpose in view." It is usually an answer to an alleged political crime, the latter being generally defined as an offense by which the criminal betrays his allegiance to principles or persons that bind the political order, or by which the criminal challenges or hinders the political authority.

Early modern societies were predominantly Christian, thus it might seem strange to find so many instances of assassination during that time. After all, murder is prohibited under divine, and humane, law. But there were religious motives behind many of these killings. Assassinations were partly justified by arguments taken from the Old Testament, in which many kings accused of tyranny were killed: Eglon, Absalom, Joram, Holophernes, to name a few. Works of famous Greek philosophers, such as Aristotle, and medieval theologians, such as John of Salisbury or Thomas Aquinas, were also used to vindicate political murders.

It would be an exaggeration to say that every assassination that occurred during 1450–1789 was religiously motivated. For instance, in 1483 in the last stages of the War of the Roses, Richard Duke of Gloucester murdered the twelve-year-old Edward V and his younger brother and was himself crowned Richard III. In 1762, Tsar Peter III was killed, which allowed his wife Catherine to come to power. But more often than not, from 1500 to 1650, when the mortality rate among political leaders was very high, religion played a central role in the events.

During the era of religious wars, many theorists from both sides alleged that a prince who embraced a false religion forfeited his subjects' allegiance. According to the radical George Buchanan, when war was declared between a ruler and his people in such a manner, everybody has the right to kill the enemy. Early in the fifteenth century, the French theologian Jean Petit said that it was "lawful for any subject, without any order or command, according to moral, divine, and natural law, to kill or cause to be killed a traitor and disloyal tyrant." Catholics—one of them a monk—stabbed to death two French kings, Henry III in 1589 and Henry IV in 1610, because they thought the kings were secretly working for the victory of the Protestant cause. In 1634, sectarian hatreds also played a role in the assassination of Albrecht von Wallenstein, a Protestant turned Catholic who had become the supreme commander of the imperial forces during the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648). His reluctance to implement religious measures designed to strengthen the grip of Catholicism in Germany created some suspicions. Convinced of his treason, the emperor Ferdinand II ordered that he be caught dead or alive. On the night of 25 February 1634, von Wallenstein was stabbed to death, along with his closest collaborators.

The early modern political scene was therefore quite violent, especially in comparison to the medieval period, when Christians made every effort to control political violence. Religion was no longer used to forbid assassination. On the contrary, it became an excuse to murder. Popes celebrated the deaths of Protestant princes such as William the Silent, who was killed in 1584 in Holland. Jesuit theologians such as Juan de Mariana and Francisco Suárez wrote texts in which they defended tyrannicide. Protestant leaders like John Calvin and Eliz-



Assassination. A drawing depicts Henry IV of France after his stabbing on 14 May 1610 by the Catholic François Ravallac.
©STEFANO BIANCHETTI/CORBIS

abeth I also resorted to violence when they wanted to be rid of an enemy. The years 1500–1650 witnessed a great number of civil wars. The end of these wars and the consolidation of states meant that, generally speaking, Damocles' swords were no

longer lingering over the princes' head. This quiet came to an end with the revolutionary era of the 1790s.

See also **Crime and Punishment; Monarchy; Revolutions, Age of; Violence; Wallenstein, A. W. E. von.**

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MICHEL DE WAELE

ASTROLOGY. Defining early modern astrology is a thorny issue. The early modern distinction between “natural” and “judicial” astrology, still widely used among scholars, served to express moral and religious qualifications. Hence, its meaning was highly localized. A more useful starting point is obtained from astrology’s status as an academic discipline, which endowed it with more universal pedagogical narratives. Following Hellenistic and Arabic antecedents, Italian professors such as Peter of Abano (1257–c. 1315) distinguished between a “science of motions” and a “science of judgments.” While this distinction roughly mirrors that between our “astronomy” and “astrology,” a closer look reveals important overlaps. For instance, late medieval astronomical textbooks often included considerations of the distances and size of celestial bodies, astrological aspects, planetary conjunctions, eclipses, and lunar mansions. It is therefore best to approach late medieval astrology as a “science of the stars” that comprised both celestial motions and judgments. Paraphrasing Gervasius Marsteller (1549), we might define our topic as follows: “Astrology aims at predicting and/or studying the power of celestial bodies on earth and measures their positions by means of astronomy.”

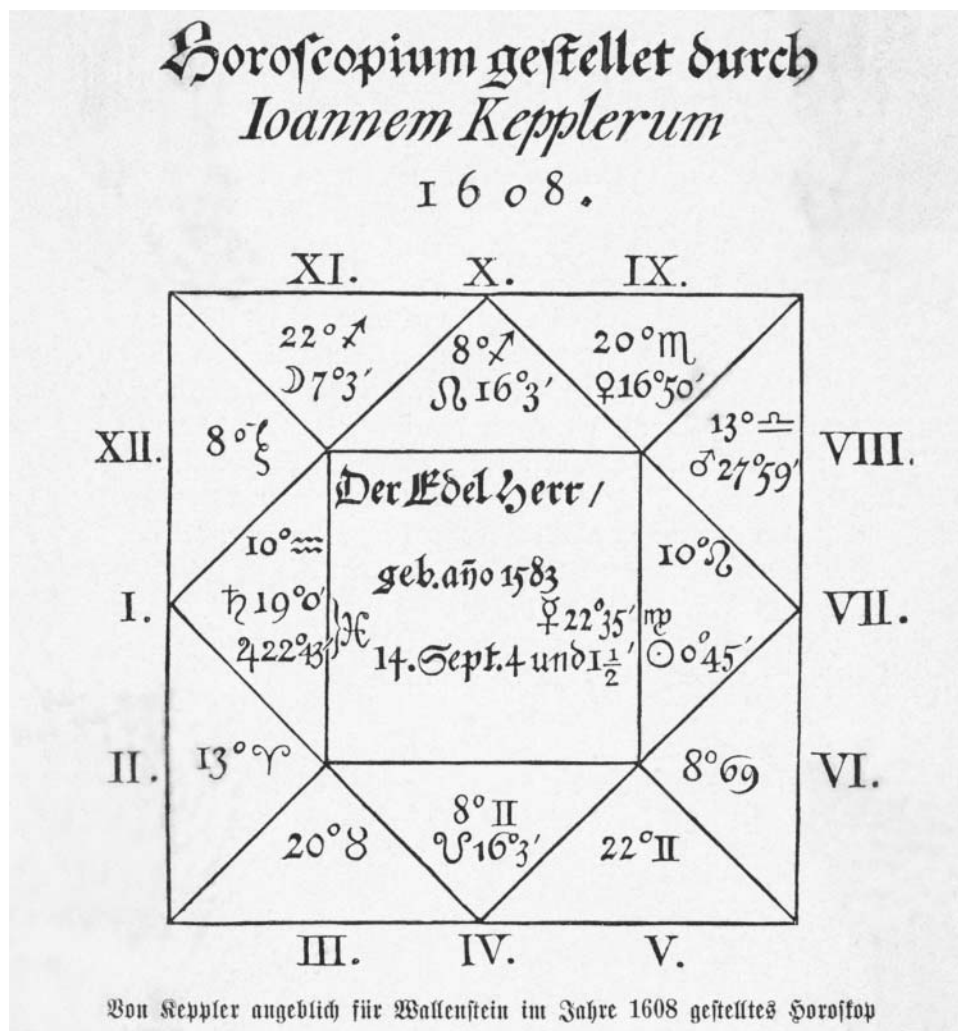
This definition reflects astrology’s position within the disciplinary hierarchies of the late medieval university. The emphasis on prediction reveals the simple fact that astrology was mostly taught as an auxiliary tool for medical prognosis. A practical ability to calculate astronomical data and assess concomitant celestial effects was widely expected from medical graduates. The reference to a more “theoretical” study of celestial effects reflects the pervasive influence of Aristotelian logic, epistemology, and physics, which was institutionalized in the arts faculties. Just like medical physiological textbooks, most introductions to astrology (typically Ptolemy or Alcabitius) sought to express basic parameters

like planetary effects, or the nature of zodiacal signs, in terms of Aristotle’s four manifest qualities (hot, cold, wet, dry). When this proved unconvincing, astrological effects were counted as “influences,” based on “occult qualities”: one could perceive their results on earth, but not their manifest action in the celestial bodies. This did not necessarily undermine astrology’s academic status. Cardinal Pierre d’Ailly (1350–1420), for instance, promoted a “concordance of astrology and theology” that proved highly successful in several universities.

Many developments in the early modern period can be interpreted as attempts to safeguard astrology’s status as it branched out beyond the university. Most academic astrologers were trained to perform a wide range of astrological tasks: they discussed large-scale predictions (mundane astrology), individual fates (natal astrology), or even particular events (horary astrology, subdivided into elections and interrogations). Courts and local town authorities increasingly drew upon political astrological consulting in the late Middle Ages. Beginning in the 1470s, print technology brought these political particulars to a wider, predominantly urban, audience through a new astrological genre: the annual prognostication. The propagandistic value of such initiatives contributed to the formation of close alliances between prognosticators and court culture in Italy, France, Germany, Poland, and the Low Countries in the late fifteenth century.

Such alliances proved to be a liability in times of political or religious crisis. The self-fulfillment of popular prognostications, and their ability to stir unrest, provoked several astrological debates, where both prognosticators and their university learning came under attack. Undoubtedly the most influential example of such criticism was Giovanni Pico’s massive *Disputations against Divinatory Astrology* (1494). By the early sixteenth century, humanistic astrologers in both Italy and northern Europe addressed the Piconian challenge through reform proposals. These were often, but not exclusively, directed at the courtly audience that supported the rise of the prognosticators.

In the course of the sixteenth century, astrological reformers accomplished two significant feats. By advocating a return to ancient, mostly Ptolemaic astrology, they inaugurated a departure from the



Astrology. A horoscope chart drawn by Johannes Kepler for Albrecht von Wallenstein, 1608.
©BETTMANN/CORBIS

Arabic traditions that dominated the late medieval “science of judgments.” And by tackling both astronomical and astrological reform, they legitimized a gradual change in the definition of astronomy. For example, it is now becoming clear that the astronomical innovations of Nicolaus Copernicus, Tycho Brahe, and Johannes Kepler can be interpreted within the framework of Pico’s attack. Their reversal of the traditional subordination of mathematics to natural philosophy seems to flow from an attempt to rescue the physical basis of astrology. Likewise, educational reformers like Philipp Melanchthon (1497–1560) strongly emphasized astrology as a part of physics.

This development also provoked a gradual separation of the “science of motions” and “science of judgments.” Although Copernican astronomy also presented theological challenges, these were easier to negotiate than the social and religious problems of astrological judgment. As a result, reformers gradually abandoned public astrological predictions: first horary astrology, then natal astrology, and finally weather prediction and some forms of medical astrology. Likewise, “astrological” prediction was gradually ousted from official university curricula. After the 1560s, and well into the second half of the seventeenth century, Catholic and Protestant church authorities issued numerous condem-

nations of “judicial” or “superstitious” astrology. The “science of motions,” on the other hand, was flourishing. It is important to realize that this emerging “astronomy” retained several astrological interests, such as the nature of the heavens, the size and distance of celestial bodies, and the origins of comets.

The pace at which such changes occurred depended on local circumstances. In England, central licensing through the Stationers Company (1603), the absence of strong academic links, and the subsequent explosion of astrological consulting during the Civil War propelled astrological reform projects into the late eighteenth century. Possibly due to local academic structures, Italian medical astrology also seems to have enjoyed a longer lease on life than elsewhere on the Continent. In the seventeenth century, influential astrologers Simon Forman, William Lilly, and Jean-Baptiste Morin remained highly visible, while astrological almanacs even outsold the Bible.

But although extraordinary phenomena like eclipses (1652, 1654) or comets (1664–1665) still provoked general unease, a gradual popularization of astrology occurred in the second half of the seventeenth century. The new royal scientific societies rejected astrology from their research agendas. The upper class no longer found its way to reputed astrological practitioners by the late seventeenth century. After 1650, ecclesiastics and university physicians increasingly left the writing of popular almanacs to surveyors, engineers, or local teachers. Their products became increasingly pseudonymous or anonymous, showed a rapid decline in astrological content, and were mainly distributed in rural areas by peddlers. By the early eighteenth century, the middle class and the nobility were closing ranks in the condemnation of an “irrational” astrology, which, at the same time, became socially innocuous. Paradoxically, this situation may have contributed to the survival of local pockets of astrological beliefs, both “traditional” (such as Ebenezer Sibly) and “modernized” (for example, among British colonial army doctors).

See also Astronomy; Brahe, Tycho; Copernicus, Nicolaus; Dissemination of Knowledge; Kepler, Johannes; Melancthon, Philipp; Occult; Philosophy; Popular Culture; Universities.

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STEVEN VANDEN BROECKE

ASTRONOMY. The movement of the stars and planets has fascinated humans for thousands of years. For the vast majority of ancient astronomers, the stars seemed to be equally distant from Earth in what was an Earth-centered (or “geocentric”) cosmos. The ancient Greeks observed that the stars revolved westward around the north celestial pole every twenty-three hours and fifty-six minutes, thus constituting a kind of objective clock. Most envisaged these revolving stars to be located on a sphere, composing an incorruptible, celestial orb that could easily be contrasted with the world of change, generation, and corruption on Earth (to which irregular meteorological phenomena such as comets were also understood to belong). Against the backdrop of this outer sphere, the Sun was seen to move along a path termed the ecliptic, while the planets moved within eight degrees of this path. These usually moved eastward, though occasionally they moved in the opposite direction, thus exhibiting retrograde

motion. Many Greek astronomers suggested that the Sun could be placed on the equator of an inner sphere that revolved once a year, hence constituting a second sphere in addition to the stellar orb. Following the theories of the fourth-century-B.C.E. scholar Eudoxus, astronomers and natural philosophers became increasingly committed to the idea that the motions of each planet could be accounted for by means of their own specific, homocentric spheres.

DEFENDING AN EARTH-CENTERED UNIVERSE

The retrograde motion of the planets offended against the apparent simplicity of heavenly motions, as well as the dictum that their orbits were circular. From the third century B.C.E., astronomers began to conceive of planets rotating in small circles (epicycles) around a point that moved on a carrier orbit (or deferent). This accounted for the apparent motions of the planets, including their retrograde motion, although others followed Aristotle in positing the existence of homocentric spheres. After Ptolemy's composition of the *Almagest* in the second century C.E., the movements of the planets could be accurately represented by means of techniques involving the use of epicycles, deferents, eccentrics (whereby planetary motion is conceived as circular with respect to a point displaced from Earth), and equants (a device that posits a constant angular rate of rotation with respect to a point displaced from Earth). These approaches, and arguments over the reality of the celestial orbs, continued to be refined in the following centuries by first Muslim and then Christian astronomers. The geocentric cosmos was readily appropriated by Christians, many of whom believed that God existed outside the stellar sphere and (as evidenced by Dante's fourteenth-century poem *Divine Comedy*) that angels turned the epicycles and spheres in the intervening spaces.

Astronomy had a primarily practical function, and by the thirteenth century it played a central role in determining the dates of religious festivals. Ptolemy's mathematically sophisticated *Almagest*, with various commentaries, formed the basis for advanced astronomy in university curricula from this period onward. In the late fifteenth century, the arrival of the printing press coincided with the transmission to western Europe of a number of important Greek mathematical and astronomical manu-

scripts. These became a new focal point for doing astronomy, as ancient texts could be seen and assessed in their original form (as opposed to being translated into Latin from Syriac or Arabic). Georg von Peurbach (1423–1461) and his pupil Regiomontanus produced important works that formed the basis of astronomical training for the next century.

Astronomy was equally significant for providing data from which astrological predictions could be made (judicial astrology). The effects that heavenly actions had on earthly events, and the manner in which they were carried out, constituted a problem for most human societies. Astrology was a major part of both daily life and intellectual culture, and was deeply implicated in politics, medicine, and agriculture. However, its use was increasingly questioned by elites in the late sixteenth century; both Catholics and Protestants argued that the notion that the relations between stars and planets influenced or governed human behavior detracted from the primary Christian belief in free will. Nevertheless, this argument was often expressed as a condemnation of *bad* astrology, the implication being that astrology was a credible art or science that could be reformed. However, although it was still taken seriously by Johannes Kepler at the beginning of the seventeenth century, it was almost universally despised by social elites a hundred years later.

In Aristotle's *De Caelo*, heavenly bodies were treated as physical objects and thus as a branch of natural philosophy, or physics. Astronomy thus enjoyed a somewhat bifurcated position within the university system, taught partly in tandem with medicine and astrology, and partly as a higher-level, more technically difficult mathematical enterprise. This mirrored the scholarly distinction between the treatment of the physical reality of the supposedly "crystalline" spheres and such ideas as the epicycles, the actual existence of which was debatable. When Nicolaus Copernicus (1473–1543) published his heliocentric (Sun-centered) *De Revolutionibus Orbium Coelestium* (On the revolutions of the heavenly orbs) of 1543, a number of astronomers believed that his system could be treated as another convenient set of devices for explaining the celestial phenomena without any commitment to the reality of the general cosmology and physics that was prominent in the first part of the book. Indeed, the

Lutheran theologian Andreas Osiander (1498–1552) reassured readers in an anonymous preface to the work that Copernicus had merely devised “hypotheses” that facilitated the calculation of celestial positions.

THE COPERNICAN REVOLUTION

However, Copernicus had indeed upset the standard disciplinary division in universities, and he implied that a mathematical astronomer was entitled to speak about the physical nature of things—the traditional preserve of the more prestigious role of the natural philosopher. Not only did he offer the first modern heliocentric system (although he appealed to the authority of ancient heliocentric systems such as that of Pythagoras), but he asserted that the demonstrations in his work could only be understood by mathematically competent astronomers. He condemned the uncertainty of the calendar, and also of the inability of astronomers to determine the precise motions of the heavenly bodies. He lambasted the inconsistent use of homocentric circles and epicycles, and argued that the systems produced by recent astronomers lacked aesthetic credibility. Instead, with all the different techniques and philosophies in play, they had produced a sort of astronomical “monster.”

Although he retained epicycles, Copernicus dispensed with the equant and showed that retrograde motion could be explained by means of a heliocentric system. Indeed, contra Osiander, he could hardly have been more assertive about the truth of his Sun-centered cosmos. He proffered tentative physical explanations of why objects on a revolving earth would not be ejected into the heavens, and argued that the stellar sphere had to be an enormous distance further away than that accepted by traditional astronomers. This meant that his inability to detect stellar parallax (the feature by which the apparent position of a star would vary depending on the time of year, since an observer on Earth would view it from a different position) would not be an argument against his system. Ominously, he also suggested that biblical passages that appeared to support geocentricity were the result of the author “accommodating” his discourse to the capacities of ordinary people. Momentous as it now seems, Copernicus’s system had only a handful of adherents in the sixteenth century, although Erasmus Reinhold’s

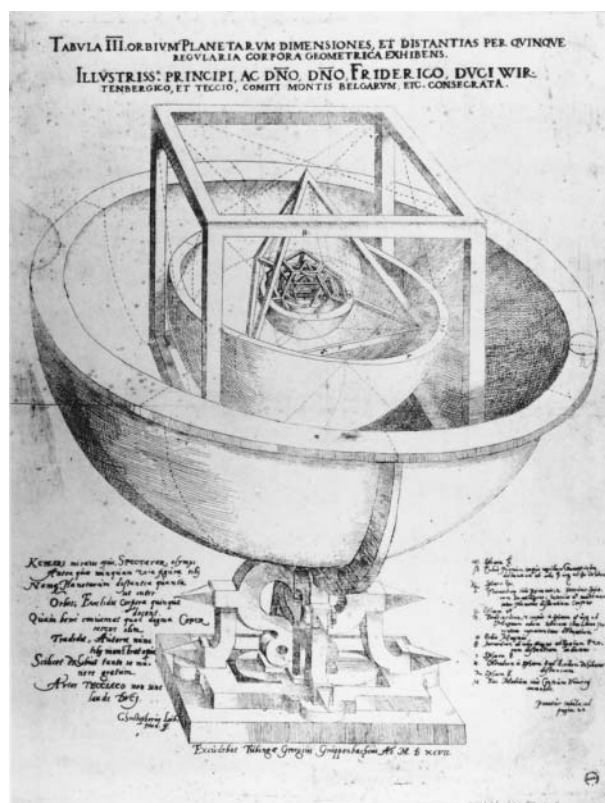
Prutenic Tables of 1551, which were based on methods pioneered by Copernicus, were used to produce the Gregorian calendar (decreed by Pope Gregory XIII) in 1582.

In the last three decades of the sixteenth century, the Danish astronomer Tycho Brahe (1546–1601) was single-handedly responsible for two major initiatives in astronomy. First, he devised a “geoheliocentric” system that, for the half-century before Copernicus’s system was broadly accepted, provided the major alternative to a geocentric cosmos. In this, the Sun again revolved around the Earth, with the five planets (not including the Moon) revolving around the Sun; since the Martian and solar orbits intersected, this system could not accommodate the reality of the spheres. Tycho rejected a heliocentric system, partly because he could not abide the massive distances required by Copernicus’s system, partly because he could not find stellar parallax, and partly because he was strongly opposed to heliocentrism on scriptural grounds.

Most important, Tycho made a series of naked-eye observations, conducted from 1574 as part of a monumental observation program at his observatory (Uraniborg) on the island of Hven. He designed and made new instruments that were as much as ten times more accurate than those of his predecessors. He also conceived of a means of using each of his devices to cross-check results obtained from other instruments in his collection. His instruments were less cumbersome than previous examples and he introduced new techniques for more precisely dividing them into minutes and seconds of a degree. He turned himself and his workplace—which had its own printing press—into the hub of an extensive network of correspondents, and he used this and personal contacts to train a number of the best astronomers of the next generation. Two of his measurements, linked to exceptional celestial events in the 1570s, demonstrated the precision of his observations. First, he determined the extreme distance from Earth of the terrifying supernova of 1572, and second, he showed for the first time that the comet of 1577 existed beyond the lunar sphere and hence was technically part of the heavens. Independent of any implications of *De Revolutionibus*, both seemed to suggest that the celestial sphere could no longer be considered immutable.

As Tycho's work came to a close, Johannes Kepler (1571–1630) burst on to the stage with his heliocentric *Mysterium Cosmographicum* (The secret of the universe) of 1596. Kepler was trained at Tübingen by the pro-Copernican Michael Mästlin (1550–1631), and throughout his adult life remained committed to a heliocentric system. In the *Mysterium* he famously attempted to show that the distances between the planets could be represented by nested regular solids, although this ultimately failed to fit the astronomical data produced by Tycho and his colleagues. At the end of 1600 Kepler traveled to Prague to work with Tycho, who had only recently been appointed imperial mathematician to Rudolf II. When Tycho died within the year, Kepler gained access to his data concerning the orbit of Mars. Tycho had observed the Martian orbit with astonishing accuracy, finding a discrepancy between the observed orbit and an ideal circular trajectory of eight feet that could not be explained by instrument error, and Kepler sought strenuously over the next few years to provide a harmonious and geometrically satisfying orbit to fit these observations. After many different shapes had been tried, he decided that Mars and the other planets traveled in ellipses, one of whose foci was the Sun, and that each planet swept out equal areas in equal times (considering the area to be drawn out by a line linking the planet to the Sun).

Kepler published his first two laws of planetary motion in his *Astronomia Nova* (New astronomy) of 1609, although they are merely a handful of many mathematical relations that he posed for planetary orbits. In this work he also appealed to the magnetic philosophy devised by the English physicist William Gilbert in his *De Magnete* (On the magnet) of 1600, in order to explain the physical causes of heavenly motion. He suggested that the planets, which all traveled in the same direction and (virtually) in the same plane, were controlled by a motive force emanating from the Sun. His third and final law, first enunciated in his *Harmonice Mundi* (Harmony of the world) of 1619, is more complicated and states that the square of the mean orbital period of a planet is proportional to the cube of its mean distance from the Sun. Kepler combined a Platonic-Pythagorean concern for the reality of harmonies and ratios with a magnetic physics, but from a disciplinary point of view he was explicitly assert-



Astronomy. An illustration from Kepler's *Mysterium Cosmographicum*, 1596, in which he suggested that the irregular spacing of the planets could be represented as a series of geometric forms inscribed one within another. NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY PICTURE COLLECTION

ing the right of an astronomer such as himself to produce a “celestial physics” that gave the true (non-Aristotelian) causes of heavenly motion. In a work on astrology of 1601, he also attempted to uncover the physical causes underlying the influence that planetary conjunctions had on earthly activities.

THE SCIENTIFIC REVOLUTION

In 1609, the same year that Kepler published his first two laws, Galileo Galilei (1564–1642) used a combination of lenses to look at the heavens, having heard of a similar invention that had been introduced the year before. Within weeks, he had deduced that the Moon had mountains and valleys (and was thus not perfectly smooth), had noted that the Milky Way was actually composed of numerous stars, and proposed that Jupiter possessed four satellites that revolved around it as the Moon revolved around Earth. For his extraordinary discoveries, which appeared in *Sidereus Nuncius* (Starry messen-

ger) of 1610, he was rewarded with the position of court philosopher to his onetime pupil, Cosimo de' Medici (Cosimo II), grand duke of Tuscany. Galileo was now a court intellectual to rival Johannes Kepler, who had succeeded Tycho Brahe as imperial mathematician to Rudolf II. Given the courtly locations of both Kepler and Galileo, twentieth- and twenty-first-century historians have pointed to the prevalence of nonuniversity locations as the most important settings for innovative astronomy. Kepler's friendly stance toward Galileo (he wrote a book praising Galileo's discoveries within months of the work appearing) ensured that there was minimal animosity between them, although this may have been helped by Galileo's apparent complete ignorance of Kepler's own discoveries.

In the next two and a half decades, adherence to the Copernican system met with determined opposition and, notoriously, René Descartes felt obliged to suppress his not sufficiently anti-Copernican *Le monde* (The world) in 1633 soon after Galileo's pro-Copernican *Dialogue* had been condemned by the Roman Inquisition in July. However, the vast majority of astronomers and natural philosophers were avowed Copernicans by the middle of the seventeenth century, and even those, such as the Jesuits, who were slow to accept the Copernican worldview, made substantial contributions to astronomy. Indeed, Galileo's successes can be overstated as contributions to the demise of the notion of a perfect celestial sphere, for previous events and observations had begun to shake confidence in heavenly incorrigibility. Of all his discoveries, only his sightings of the phases of Venus provided overt support for Copernicus's system, although Tycho's system could also account for them. Nevertheless, Galileo's visually striking discoveries—and their implications—were easily understood by a new audience of scholars and gentlemen, and they had a dramatic impact on writers and poets such as John Donne (1572–1631).

It is important to note, as Allan Chapman has properly argued, that the great theoretical advances in cosmology achieved by Kepler, Isaac Newton, and others were facilitated and indeed made possible by improvements in angular astronomical measurement and not by superior visual acuity. Tycho's advances in instrument design and observational accuracy were made possible by the cadre of excellent

craftsmen he had at his disposal, and similarly, John Flamsteed, the first British astronomer royal, whose observations were to prove crucial for Newton's enunciation of universal gravitation, had innovative and highly skilled instrument makers working with him. Only with patient astronomy of this sort could precise measurements be made of celestial magnitudes such as distance and size.

In the 1660s telescopic sights were added to quadrants and a zenith sector in the attempt by the French to measure the length of a degree of meridian in France. In Restoration England a number of episodes occurred that acted as a spur to creating an alliance between accurate measurement and theoretical innovation. The Royal Society of London was founded in 1660, followed by the Royal Greenwich Observatory—founded to aid navigation and the determination of longitude by improving astronomy—in 1675. The Observatory was badly stocked with instruments at first, but gradually, with some private support and with the help of occasionally brilliant suggestions from Robert Hooke (1635–1703) for automating observations, Flamsteed was able to build up a stock of the best instruments then available. By the 1690s he had a degree clock that allowed star positions to be measured with extraordinary accuracy, and the ten-to-twelve-seconds error of his mural arc (that is, a large quadrant set on a wall) was a sixfold improvement on the accuracy of Tycho's instruments. Flamsteed used telescopic sights on his instruments but also a filar micrometer, that is, a system of thin wires, minutely movable by means of a carefully graduated screw, that could be placed inside a telescope to finesse its accuracy.

Isaac Newton (1642–1727) developed an early interest in astronomy and became famous initially because of his development of a reflecting telescope in the late 1660s. Flamsteed's data was crucial for Newton in the winter of 1684–1685, when the latter was trying to determine what mutual influence Jupiter and Saturn might have on each other, and again in late 1685, when Newton wanted three items of data (accurate to a minute) on the path of the Great Comet of 1680–1681. This data would constitute crucial evidence for the cosmological system that Newton published in his momentous *Principia Mathematica* (The mathematical principles of natural philosophy) of 1687, for he could now ana-

lyze observed deviations from perfect elliptical orbits by means of his concept of universal gravitation. Perhaps of equal significance were the observations Flamsteed put his way in 1694–1695 when Newton had another go at the Moon. This ultimately unprofitable endeavor was part of an effort to solve the (insoluble) three-body problem of the mutual interactions of Sun, Moon, and Earth, all of which Newton later described as the most difficult science he ever did. The pair fell out irreconcilably soon after this, and Newton behaved abominably toward the astronomer royal, practically stealing Flamsteed's laboriously crafted star catalog by claiming it as the property of the state. Not the least of Newton's actions was to downgrade and even efface (in his *Principia*) the contributions made by Flamsteed, who had generously provided the observations that allowed Newton to corroborate and then rework his supreme theory. Whatever his personal dealings with others, Newton's theory provided the basic theory of the heavens that we now take to be true, and his achievements included the recognition that some comets travel in periodic elliptical orbits.

By the early eighteenth century, the London instrument-making trade was widely held to produce the highest quality instruments; Pierre-Louis Moreau de Maupertuis (1698–1759), for example, took a zenith sector and clock constructed by the outstanding London instrument maker George Graham (1673–1751) to Lapland in 1736–1737. It was this expedition that went furthest in determining the shape of Earth, confirming Newton's calculation that it was an oblate spheroid (flattened at the poles). In England, Graham and others made instruments for the astronomers royal who followed Flamsteed, namely Edmond Halley (in 1720) and James Bradley (in 1742). Bradley, who discovered stellar aberration in 1727 and who confirmed Newton's analysis of the extent of the nutation of Earth's axis in the 1740s, combined access to the best instruments of the day with an obsession for accuracy. By the middle of the eighteenth century, measurements were confined to the meridian, and, among other activities, experiments were being undertaken to better ascertain longitude and latitude—an activity seen by the British, the French, and many other naval powers as essential for improving navigation. With massively expensive instrumentation that only large institutions could afford, astronomy had

changed beyond all recognition from the medieval period. Religious and other value systems no longer placed barriers on believing in and publishing particular accounts of the cosmos, and all serious intellectuals were heliocentrists.

See also Aristotelianism; Astrology; Brahe, Tycho; Calendar; Copernicus, Nicolaus; Cosmology; Descartes, René; Galileo Galilei; Kepler, Johannes; Newton, Isaac; Scientific Instruments; Scientific Revolution.

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ROB ILIFFE

ATHEISM. The early modern period in Europe has been called an age of unbelief, with its materialist and mechanistic view of the world in natural philosophy, increased liberalism and toleration in political thought, and advances in the secularization of culture. Early modern atheistic thinkers are supposed to have laid the philosophical groundwork for much of later irreligion.

Early modern Christian writers often failed to distinguish between non-belief in “the true God” and non-belief in a supreme being per se, and atheism usually meant the assertion of the non-existence of the Judeo-Christian God. Strictly speaking, however, atheism is the denial of the existence of a divinity. As such, it is different from agnosticism (a suspension of belief on the question of God’s existence) or simple theological heterodoxy. In the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries, however, the term *atheist* was used without great precision, even carelessly. The epithet was applied to religious dissidents, political enemies, and debauched libertines, usually with little concern for a person’s real beliefs on the question of God’s existence. Thus, when the sixteenth-century French cleric and writer François Rabelais (c. 1494–1553) was accused of being an atheist because of the fun had at religion’s expense in his comic novels *Gargantua and Pantagruel*, he lost no time in returning the charge at his sectarian opponents. Agnostics and religious skeptics; rationalists, deists, pantheists, materialists, members of dissenting religious sects, or those belonging to no recognized confessional religion; moral, religious, and political subversives; and general non-conformists as well as true unbelievers were all called atheists. In this respect, the early modern period was no different from earlier historical eras. As Socrates himself had discovered, “atheist” was a convenient label for any person who did not believe what everyone else believed and who showed independent, critical, and iconoclastic tendencies.

It is thus difficult to determine who in this (or any) period was, in fact, an atheist and who was

simply unorthodox or annoying. Few individuals actually proclaimed themselves atheists or argued explicitly against the belief in God, and many people caught in the dragnet were undoubtedly innocent of the charge. On the other hand, despite this rhetorical laxity and consequent confusion in the use of the term, the historian Lucien Febvre’s claim that before the end of the seventeenth century a true systematic atheism was impossible, and that “atheist” was nothing more than a widely used but nearly meaningless insult, cannot be accepted.

Early modern thinkers distinguished between theoretical or speculative atheism and practical atheism. The theoretical atheist was someone who claimed to believe that there was no God, but for whom this belief had no real pragmatic consequences. It was a philosophical position, not a moral, social, or devotional one, and it had little effect on his behavior. The practical atheist, on the other hand, was someone who, while probably not really denying “in his heart” the existence of God, nevertheless led a dissolute and immoral life and engaged in the overt mockery of religion. While there were undeniably many such libertines in early modern Europe, there was great debate at the time over whether there were, in fact, any sincere theoretical atheists. The idea of a providential God, some asserted, is innate in the human mind. René Descartes (1596–1650) argued as much in his *Meditationes de Prima Philosophia* (1641; *Meditations on first philosophy*). Although the concept of God may become obscured by the more vivid and compelling material from the senses, ultimately—in dire circumstances or as the end of life approached—all professed atheists were said to acknowledge God.

Another recognized category was the indirect atheist. Although probably not a nonbeliever himself, the indirect atheist was someone whose ideas, if taken to their logical conclusion, led to atheism. Descartes, with his employment of hyperbolic skepticism and, according to his critics, allegedly fallacious demonstrations of God’s existence, was often considered a proto-atheist in this sense.

The long list of real and alleged atheists in the early modern period includes, besides Rabelais, the Italian Lucilio Vanini (1585–1619), the English materialist and political philosopher Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679), the Dutch-Jewish philoso-

pher Baruch Spinoza (1632–1677), and numerous French philosophes of the eighteenth century, including Julien Offroy de La Mettrie (1709–1751); Paul Thiry, baron d’Holbach (1723–1789); and the *encyclopédiste* Denis Diderot (1713–1784). While some of these and other figures were indeed atheists in the strict sense of the term, there is nothing that they really have in common other than unorthodox beliefs about God and religion and the fact that they generated a good deal of concern among ecclesiastical and political authorities.

Italy enjoyed perhaps the greatest reputation in the seventeenth century as a congenial home for atheism. This perception was fostered by the presence of thinkers like Vanini, an open and avowed atheist who denied the possibility of an immaterial God creating a material world and communicating with embodied beings. Religion, Vanini insisted, was a fiction, and the only true worship was that of nature. He was burned at the stake for his “blasphemous” beliefs.

Hobbes is often cited by his seventeenth-century contemporaries as one of the period’s leading atheists, but his case is a vexed one. His materialism explicitly rules out the possibility of any incorporeal substance (including the human soul and God), and he seems to have had an ambivalent attitude at best toward Christian doctrine. He claims that it is wrong to attribute any human properties to God and thus rules out the personal God of Western religion. But Hobbes nowhere denies God’s existence; in fact, he explicitly affirms it, and adds that God should be worshiped. Moreover, he advocated Christianity as the proper civil religion for England. But this did not prevent his critics (including Samuel Clarke) from reading his *Leviathan* (1651) and other works—probably correctly—as expressions of an atheistic philosophy.

Practically all major discussions of atheism in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, however, centered on the ideas and influence of one figure: Spinoza. The excommunicated Jewish thinker was considered to be the most dangerous atheist of his time. The great French philosopher and man of letters Pierre Bayle called him “the greatest atheist who ever lived.” However, Bayle also believed Spinoza to be a perfect example of a theoretical atheist: despite his denial of a providen-

tial God and his promotion of a view seen as corrupting of others, Spinoza was, Bayle insists, a man of outstanding character and conduct who led an exemplary life.

In his *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus* (1670; Theological-political treatise), Spinoza argued that the Bible is not literally the word of God but simply a collection of human writings. He also believed that while the prophets were men with highly active imaginations, they were not intellectually superior to ordinary human beings and had no privileged access to any kind of divine communication. It is in his *Ethica* (1663, 1677; Ethics), however, that the real nature of Spinoza’s atheism appears. Spinoza denies the providential God of Scripture. There is no wise, benevolent, all-knowing, just God governing the world and standing in judgment over us. Such an anthropomorphizing of God, he argues, can lead only to superstition and a life of bondage to the passions of hope and fear. In fact, Spinoza denies that there is a transcendent God at all. Rather, God is nature; or, more accurately, God is equivalent to the most universal, active causal principles in nature, which cover all phenomena. In a famous phrase, Spinoza speaks of “God, or Nature” (*Deus, sive Natura*), and it is clear that his goal is not to deify nature but to completely naturalize God and reduce the divinity to the same laws that govern everything that happens in nature.

Spinoza thus denies the supernatural, and consequently any theology, sectarian religion, or morality that depends upon it. This is not to say that he rejects all religion. Rather, he insists that the true religion consists in the observance of some basic moral principles, above all, love of one’s fellow human beings. If what was essential to early modern atheism was the denial of the existence of a transcendent God, a rejection of the creation of the world, and the elimination of any divine foundation for morality, then Spinoza’s philosophy, if any, was indeed atheistic. Many thinkers in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were caught up in the controversies around Spinoza, and the term *Spinozist* became synonymous with *atheist* in the period.

In early-eighteenth-century France there was a good deal of “atheism” in the many clandestine manuscripts that circulated in society and especially

in the unregulated discussions that took place in the salons and cafés of Paris. Here could be found diverse libertines, radicals, and freethinkers expressing doubts about Christian dogma (including the divinity of Christ) and mocking religious beliefs in general. Many of them (including the declared atheist Nicolas Fréret) were influenced by the writings of Henri de Boulainvilliers (1658–1722), a nobleman who, by the end of his life, was a devout Spinozist. In his *Essai de métaphysique* (c. 1700; *Essay on metaphysics*), which circulated in manuscript form, Boulainvilliers insisted that the divine creation of the world was impossible, and that nature was governed not by providence but by necessary laws. Above all, he rejected the notion of a transcendent, personal God endowed with the usual moral and psychological characteristics.

An equally great cause of concern for eighteenth-century theists lay in the radical materialism of such thinkers as La Mettrie. In his work *L'homme machine* (1747; *Man, a machine*), La Mettrie, who was a physician, rejected even the progressive, dualist scientific philosophy of the Cartesians and presented an extreme mechanistic account of the human being, doing away with an incorporeal soul and any non-material causes in nature. Fancying himself a Spinozist, he argued that there was no evidence in nature to support the belief in a transcendent, intelligent, and providential deity. Although La Mettrie has disparaging words to say about atheism—he calls it a “strange opinion”—there can be no question that it is his own position. He undoubtedly agreed with his colleague Holbach, like Vanini one of the few self-proclaimed atheists of the time, who said in his *Système de la nature* (1770; *System of nature*) that “sacred opinions are the real source of evils among human beings. . . . An atheist . . . is a man who destroys chimeræ harmful to the human race, in order to lead men back to nature, to experience, and to reason, which has no need of recourse to ideal powers to explain the operations of nature.” Holbach justified atheism not merely on its truth, but also its utility; he insisted that the doctrine was clearly the most conducive to human happiness and tranquility.

The early modern period's attitude toward atheism was complex. On the one hand, the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were, in important respects, an era of rationalism and enlightenment.

Descartes, Locke, Leibniz, Newton, and others all argued for the separation of philosophy and science from religion, and believed in the general toleration of new or heterodox ideas. But none of these figures was willing to do without the traditional Judeo-Christian conception of God; in fact, all of them devoted a good deal of effort to demonstrating God's existence. (It should be noted, though, that offering a proof for God's existence was not, by itself, sufficient evidence that a thinker was not an atheist. As the case of Spinoza shows, it all depended on what one meant by “God.”) The English chemist Robert Boyle sought to counter atheism by appealing to the argument from design, while the French priest and philosopher Pierre Gassendi was concerned to show that the ancient atomism of Epicurus and Democritus could be purified of its atheistic elements and made consistent with Christianity. But as forerunners and leaders of the Enlightenment, they were committed at least in a general way to certain liberal values, including (for the sake of philosophical and scientific progress itself) the free expression of ideas.

And yet there were certain ideas that not even these progressive thinkers were willing to tolerate. Locke, for one, drew the line at atheism. He argued strenuously for the toleration of different religions. But “atheism and epicurism” were not religions, he insisted, and in his *Third Letter for Toleration* (1692) he argued in favor of “the magistrate's power to restrain and suppress them.” The intellectual world of early modern Europe had its radical currents, fueled in some cases by atheism, which in turn generated a backlash from its more moderate wing.

See also Anticlericalism; Deism; Descartes, René; Diderot, Denis; Enlightenment; Hobbes, Thomas; Holbach, Paul Thiry, baron d'; La Mettrie, Julien Offroy de; Rabelais, François; Reason; Scientific Revolution; Skepticism: Academic and Pyrrhonian; Spinoza, Baruch.

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ATLANTIC OCEAN. The emergence of a new world shaped by contact across and around the Atlantic is one of the single most significant historical developments of the early modern period. Before 1492 the Atlantic Ocean was bookended by two isolated hemispheres, one comprising Europe, Asia, and Africa, and the other, North and South America. Despite Norse settlements in Newfoundland and North America, and myths of Welsh and Irish voyages by Prince Madoc (also Madog ab Owain Gwynedd; 1170) and St. Brendan in 565–573, there was no sustained and meaningful contact across the Atlantic before Christopher Columbus's (1451–1506) momentous voyage in 1492. In that year, a world of vertical connections was transformed into one of horizontal connections: the ensuing circulation of people, pathogens, commodities, and ideas created the Atlantic Ocean and transformed the four continents surrounding it. As a unit of analysis, the Atlantic Ocean transcends the geographic space of those regions literally touched by the sea itself. People who lived far from the ocean were affected by the new transatlantic and circumatlantic interactions of coastal regions. For example, despite location on the Pacific coast, California and Peru were drawn into an Atlantic world, as were African villages hundreds of miles from the coast when inhabitants were ensnared by the slave trade. By the late eighteenth century, the four continents surrounding the ocean were linked by any number of measures: European nations claimed dominion over most parts of the Americas; Europeans and Africans migrated across the Atlantic in the mil-

lions; American commodities transformed the economies of Europe and diets around the world. What happened in one corner of the Atlantic affected people and events elsewhere.

Before the fifteenth century, natural barriers impeded contact within and across the Atlantic. The Canary Current is a north-south flow that separates the Mediterranean from Africa. Its strong movement is mirrored in the winds, which blow in the same direction. As a consequence, while Europeans might sail to West Africa, they could not easily get themselves home again, and the currents and winds provided an impediment to any African voyages north. There were, similarly, strong westerly currents, such as the Equatorial Current from Senegambia to the Caribbean. This current made a western trip across the Atlantic quick, but getting home was a challenge without ships that could sail into the winds. Only with ways to circumvent these natural barriers could sustained contact and exchange develop.

Navigational and technological breakthroughs came first in the eastern Atlantic, as the Portuguese endeavored to develop sea routes to Asia and, closer to home, to west and central Africa. The impulse was trade: gold, salt, ivory, fabrics, and spices—all goods customarily carried by expensive land routes. Improvements in ship construction, most notably the use of triangular sails, enabled ships to tack more adeptly and to sail unconstrained by adverse winds. Navigational instruments, particularly compasses and astrolabes, assisted mariners in determining where they were, how far they had traveled, and how they might return home. These developments enabled mariners to travel off the coast for long distances, and ultimately brought Europeans not only to new places, but also more cheaply and quickly to places that were previously known. The process of European expansion began with the islands of the Atlantic: the Canary Islands (discovered in the 1320s and developed by the Spanish), and the Azores (discovered between 1427 and 1431), Madeira (first visited some time in the fourteenth century, and settled after 1420), and Cape Verde (discovered in the late fifteenth century), all colonized by the Portuguese, were exploited as agricultural colonies, valued particularly for sugar production. In Africa, the Portuguese established São Jorge de Mina (Elmina), off the coast of modern



Ghana, in 1482 as a factory or trading post. This proved to be the model for most European engagement with Africa: Europeans reached the continent as supplicants, able to trade only with the permission of indigenous rulers who distributed monopolies and privileges in return for the benefits (in prestige, wealth, power, and commodities) they might accrue.

Columbus's momentous voyage in 1492 and the three voyages that followed can best be understood within this context of Portuguese maritime and commercial activity, although Columbus actu-

ally sailed with Spanish support. The Atlantic was shaped by Europeans' prior experiences elsewhere—in the Mediterranean, in Africa, and in the Atlantic islands—and came to take on its own distinct characteristics. If Europeans were motivated to explore the ocean for reasons of trade—to discover new routes to familiar destinations, to find new treasures, and to identify regions suitable for the cultivation of export crops—trade alone did not dictate the ultimate appearance of the transformed Atlantic. And if it was Europeans who had the initial impulse to explore the ocean and to chart not only its winds

and currents but also the material and mineral wealth of the people who lived within and around it, the Atlantic Ocean that emerged was created by the people of four continents—Europeans, Africans, and Americans—and by the many cultural convergences and innovations that accompanied trade and conquest. The Atlantic Ocean was characterized by its discontinuities as well as by its coherence.

EUROPE AND AMERICA: UNDERSTANDING, ASSIMILATING, CLAIMING, COMPETING

Soon after Columbus's voyages, one of the first challenges for Europeans was to assimilate intellectually the new people of the Americas. From a world characterized by a dichotomy between Christian and infidel, Europeans were forced through their interaction with Americans to find new categories and typologies. The American "savage" emerged as a secular version of the Old World's infidel. The struggle to devise appropriate ways of treating these new people occupied the attention of rulers and intellectuals, and was most vividly signaled in the 1550 debate in Valladolid between Bartolomé de Las Casas (1474–1566) and Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda (1490–1572 or 1573) over the status of the people of the Americas. Some Europeans attempted to assimilate these new people through their conversion to Catholicism. Missionaries followed and accompanied voyages of discovery and conquest, and the sixteenth century was a time of particular vigor for the Catholic Church in America, even as it suffered assault in Europe. Indigenous people, for their part, assimilated Christianity in distinctive ways, echoing the process of syncretism that had accompanied the spread of Christianity in Europe. Christian saints acquired the personality traits of indigenous gods, for example, and some Christian holidays received disproportionate emphasis among New World converts because of their close correlation with pre-Columbian belief systems, as was the case for All Souls' Day, or the Day of the Dead, still observed in parts of central America and the southwestern United States.

The assimilation of new people accompanied the gradual process of charting the New World and its many wonders on maps. The Dutch emerged as the great cartographers of the period, but precise delineation of the Atlantic was a protracted affair. Early cartographers filled empty spaces with sea monsters and descriptive text, allowing fanciful fig-

ures to mask ignorance. Cartographic schemes collided during the conquest of America, as illustrated most effectively in the *Relaciones Geográficas*, the questionnaires and accompanying maps compiled in New Spain for the Spanish crown in the 1570s and 1580s. Indigenous cartographers drafted 65 percent of these maps and employed their own conventions to delineate space, time, and history. They marked these events and places with toponyms, while Spanish clerks added Spanish text. These indigenous and European maps indicate that, for both Europeans and Americans, the process of assimilation and especially of real understanding of the New World was incomplete and hesitant.

Spain and, to a lesser extent, Portugal dominated the Atlantic for the first century of European engagement in the ocean. Bolstered by papal authority, Spain conquered and claimed the major islands of the Caribbean and the great former empires of the mainland, centered in the viceroyalties of New Spain and Peru. The Portuguese claimed Brazil, although they sustained challenges from the French and Dutch. The northern European powers were slower to enter the western Atlantic, hindered in part by the dominance of Spain both in the Americas and in Europe and distracted by internal political and religious crises. Europeans also pursued profit in the Atlantic in ways other than settlement or conquest: fishing in the North Atlantic, for example, was a vital economic activity. When they did elect to settle colonies, they clung near the fringes of Spanish settlement. They sought their own great empires, but no Tenochtitlán or Cuzco awaited them. Instead of cities with buildings plated with silver and full of treasure, the French, Dutch, English, and Swedes who sought to establish colonies in North America and the Caribbean found for the most part semisedentary indigenous people, whose economies were poorly prepared to accommodate newcomers and whose cultures revealed little of apparent wealth that Europeans were able to identify. The perilous location of many of the colonies of Spain's rivals led to their destruction by the Spanish (as in the case of the French settlement at Fort Caroline in Florida in the 1560s) or to their abandonment because of problems of isolated location. Colonies were precarious enterprises, requiring good fortune, a favorable disease environment, generous financial support from the metropole, an

ample supply of colonists, and a viable economy, whether based on agricultural production or trade. Easily one-half of all colonies were failures in the first two centuries of European settlement. Some colonies were lost through conquest, others were abandoned, especially because of indigenous resistance, while still others, such as the English settlement at Roanoke, simply disappeared.

By the eighteenth century a variety of colonial styles had emerged in the Atlantic. Trade factories (particularly in regions where indigenous economies provided desirable goods), plantations, and town and urban settlements were scattered around the western part of the Atlantic Ocean. In some of these settlements, Europeans were dependent on amicable relations with indigenous people in order to secure commodities. Europeans had displaced indigenous rulers, and in some regions indigenous people themselves had disappeared, replaced by Europeans and especially by Africans. These mature colonial societies had in most places established their own viable institutional lives, with churches, schools, colleges, social organizations, and institutions of governance in place to allow Creole elites to shape their own colonial world, although still under the regulation (either attentive or neglectful) of metropolitan governments.

THE COLUMBIAN EXCHANGE: PATHOGENS, PLANTS, ANIMALS

With the very first vessels of exploration there traveled pathogens that ultimately transformed the societies of the Atlantic Ocean. European incursions were violent affairs, yet disease explains the diminished populations of the Americas more fully than does the brutality of conquest. The people of the Americas had been isolated for thousands of years not only from the Eurasian land mass, but also from many of the endemic and epidemic diseases familiar to Europeans and generally endured in childhood—smallpox, chicken pox, mumps, measles—all of which were transported by European mariners, soldiers, and merchants. Columbus's second voyage brought an epidemic to the Caribbean; a smallpox epidemic ravaged Tenochtitlán in 1519 and facilitated Hernán Cortés's (1485–1547) conquest of Mexico; an epidemic similarly disorganized the Inca empire before Francisco Pizarro's (c. 1475–1541) assault in the 1530s. Disease also preempted conflict: a smallpox epidemic in southern New England

in 1633–1634 so ravaged the Algonquins of the region that the Massachusetts governor John Winthrop interpreted the disease and its consequence of emptying the land of human habitation as a sign of God's favor for English colonization. When epidemics hit, an infected population might plummet as much as 90 percent. Epidemic diseases dramatically reshaped American societies. They facilitated European conquest, encouraged Americans to convert to Christianity, shattered connections to local traditions and histories, and caused the demise of some tribes and ethnicities altogether and the reformulation of others.

But pathogens were not the only travelers on European ships across the Atlantic. Plants and animals wreaked their own havoc. Pigs, cows, sheep, goats, and horses all damaged native crops that had not previously required protection from large domestic animals. America, in return, offered new food crops to the rest of the world. Maize, tomatoes, peppers, gourds, peanuts, and beans were American crops that transformed diets worldwide. Although American populations plummeted in the wake of contact, the diffusion of American food crops ultimately led to an increase in the world's population. And, finally, insects traveled across the Atlantic, none more destructive than disease-bearers such as the *Aedes aegypti* or the *Anopheles* mosquitoes, both of which flourished in the transformed arable lands of the tropics and among populations of newly arrived Europeans.

COMMODITIES AND TRADE

Europeans did not venture across the Atlantic Ocean in search of the potato: they initially sought routes to the coveted markets of Asia, but once they realized the geographic constraints of their world, they hoped to find in the Americas readily identifiable commodities for sale in Europe. The most precious commodities were minerals: the discovery of silver mines at Potosí in Peru (in present-day Bolivia) and at Zacatecas in Mexico in the 1540s brought unprecedented liquid wealth to the Spanish crown, which in turn catapulted Spain to a position of political dominance in Europe and inspired envy among European rivals. The Spanish fleet system, which saw all the riches of America travel to Spain in a convoy of ships, flaunted this wealth for all to see. The discovery of gold in Brazil at Minas Gerais in

the 1690s similarly tantalized people with the promise of quick riches. Other commodities, especially food crops such as sugar, rice, and grains; luxury consumables such as tobacco and chocolate; dye goods such as indigo, madder, and cochineal; naval stores; and pelts, while less immediately lucrative, were in the long run of considerable economic and cultural value. These commodities transformed European tastes, diets, and economies; reoriented indigenous economies; depleted environmental and human resources; and generated enormous labor demands. The vital trades that emerged contributed to new cities in America: Kingston, Bridgetown, Charleston, Newport, Philadelphia, Cartagena, and Havana. In Europe cities grew as a direct result of the wealth and activity of Atlantic trade, as was true for Seville, Glasgow (an important tobacco trading center), Bristol, Liverpool, and Nantes.

Some commodities, such as sugar, created new worlds of their own. Sugar did not require the Atlantic Ocean for familiarity among Europeans, who encountered it as a luxury commodity used as a spice from their first forays to the eastern Mediterranean. But sugar's migration out of the Mediterranean and into areas of the south Atlantic well suited for its cultivation and modified to enhance the environment for production—particularly Brazil and the Caribbean—meant that the crop moved from a luxury to a staple. Sugar, moreover, demanded laborers who could be forced to work around the clock to satisfy sugar's cycle: with sugar came slaves.

For other commodities, such as pelts or dyewood, Europeans initially tried to trade with indigenous people. It is easy to overestimate the power of European traders and the appeal of their commodities. While much that Europeans offered was useful, in semisedentary societies there was a natural limit to the number of goods people wanted to transport with them from one home to another. Moreover, recipients of trade goods altered their function: whereas fabric and knives and axes might be put to familiar use, other commodities were acquired for their social, not utilitarian, value, and have been found by archaeologists in burial sites in North America. Indigenous people did not trade unthinkingly. European weaponry, for example, had limited utility in some conditions of indigenous conflict. A musket would not fire in the rain; at night, a musket flash would reveal the location of a

hidden attacker. And weapons required constant maintenance. Thus indigenous people adapted European commodities for their own use. When the barter economy no longer enabled Europeans to extract the commodities and, later, the plantation labor they required, they resorted to slavery, as was the case in Brazil.

The range of commodities identified in the Americas was great, and the extraction of some commodities prompted profound environmental and social transformations. In Peru, Indians were compelled to toil in the silver mines, a debilitating and deadly labor. In North America, the French quest for pelts altered indigenous cultures and economies. Among the Montagnais of North America, for example, women produced 65 percent of daily calories through their farming activities, and held a significant position in society because of the value of the food they produced. The Montagnais, moreover, were matrilineal. But as hunters, men controlled access to furs, and thus controlled trade with Europeans. Through trade, they acquired goods—such as alcohol and metal tools—that conferred social prestige. Christianity, with its insistence on patriarchal family arrangements, likewise elevated the authority of men. Thus European trade and culture could alter indigenous gender conventions and cultural practices. Hunters also pushed farther inland in search of animals, not only encroaching on territory claimed by others—leading to overt conflicts, made more deadly with new European weapons—but also depleting the supply of animals.

While the impact of European trade demands in the Americas could be enormous, historians continue to debate the impact of European trade with Africa. African rulers were able to dictate the terms of trade. Goods were produced specifically for export to European markets. Disease vectors inhibited European incursions inland, and only in Angola and at the Cape were Europeans able to claim any real political control. Yet the trade in Africa was not only for fabrics, salt, ivory, bronze, and gold, but also for people—millions of captives, whose great suffering complicates any discussion of the balance of power in European and African relations.

MIGRATION

The transmission of commodities and pathogens was only one type of circulation in this period. This

TABLE 1

| Migrants to the Americas, 1500–1800 | | |
|---|---------------|-------------|
| Country of Origin/ Region of Departure | Number | Date |
| Europeans (Country of Origin) | | |
| Spain | 437,000 | 1500–1650 |
| Portugal | 100,000 | 1500–1700 |
| Britain | 400,000 | 1607–1700 |
| Britain ¹ | 322,000 | 1700–1780 |
| France | 51,000 | 1608–1760 |
| “Germany” ² | 100,000 | 1683–1783 |
| Total Europeans | 1,410,000 | 1500–1783 |
| Africans (Region of Departure) | | |
| Senegambia | 384,000 | 1519–1800 |
| Sierra Leone | 226,500 | 1519–1800 |
| Windward Coast | 144,000 | 1519–1800 |
| Gold Coast | 974,200 | 1519–1800 |
| Bight of Benin | 1,488,100 | 1519–1800 |
| Bight of Biafra | 1,058,800 | 1519–1800 |
| West Central Africa | 3,261,000 | 1519–1800 |
| Southeast Africa | 78,400 | 1519–1800 |
| Total Africans | 7,615,000 | 1519–1800 |

1. Includes between 190,000 and 25,000 Scots and Irish.

2. “Germany” refers to emigrants from southwestern Germany and the German-speaking cantons of Switzerland and Alsace-Lorraine.

SOURCE: For Europeans, this table reproduces Table 1.1 in Ida Altman and James Horn, eds., *To Make America* (Berkeley, Calif., 1991), 3; for Africans, Table 2 in David Eltis, “The Volume and Structure of the Transatlantic Slave Trade: A Reassessment,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 58 (January 2001): 44.

was literally a world in motion, symbolized by the migration of millions of people across the Atlantic. Most generally cast as a European story, in fact migration was dominated by Africans. Before 1800 an estimated 1.4 million Europeans migrated west across the Atlantic. They were joined by millions of enslaved Africans: an estimated 7.6 million departed Africa before 1800, out of a total through 1867 estimated at 11 million. The numbers of Africans and their American destinations on plantations in the tropics remind us that Atlantic migration was largely a story of Africans, sugar, violence, and coercion, focused on the Caribbean and Brazil.

High mortality in the Americas dictated these high rates of migration, particularly in the sugar plantations on which so many enslaved workers labored. High mortality also determined that some places in the Atlantic remained migrant societies for

the entirety of the early modern period, shaped by successive waves of newcomers who always outnumbered the native-born population. Elsewhere, locally born people—called Creoles if they were of European or African descent—predominated.

Most Northern Europeans migrated across the Atlantic in a dependent status. They traveled as bound laborers (indentured servants or *engagés*) from France and Britain, and as redemptioners from the Holy Roman Empire. Many acquired this status reluctantly: one study of late-seventeenth-century London found that people might wait in the metropolis a full year, first seeking employment in the city, before resigning themselves to failure at home and, in desperation, boarding ships for the colonies as servants. Some were seduced on board ships with promises of opportunity in the New World. Others were tricked and kidnapped—the term “Barbadosed” was coined to describe these illegal methods of procuring servants. Real opportunity was rare except for those servants who ventured to salubrious disease environments and who found good fortune and available land. For many, an early death ended the term of service. Migration was defined by its demographic peculiarities, which joined with early death to hinder the growth of colonial societies: migrants tended to be young and male, as much as 90 percent male for indentured migrants from France and England in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

These aggregates by nation, or by region of departure in Africa, obscure the dominance in any single settlement of particular regions within European nations or of particular ethnic groups among Africans. The story of cultural encounters within the Atlantic is a story of the creation of ethnicity and of nationality: people developed heightened senses of who or what they were when they met those unlike themselves. Historians continue to debate the ability of people to sustain and transmit home cultures from the eastern Atlantic across the ocean to the western Atlantic. In some instances, cultural attributes were muted, in others they disappeared altogether. But in those places where people might settle (by force or by preference) among others from the same region, they were able to continue cultural practices, whether in the form of language, music, worship, diet, dress, construction of homes, or—where political circumstances permitted—the im-

position of legal and political forms that shaped emerging colonial societies. At the same time that migrants endeavored to transport familiar cultural practices, residence in the western Atlantic forced and created cultural hybridity. We can see these contrasting trajectories in the development of new languages and the continued dominance of some Old World languages. In parts of eighteenth-century Saint Domingue, for example, the language of Kongo became the lingua franca because of the dominance of slaves from there. Elsewhere, pidgins emerged, as in the case of Gullah and Geechee in the Sea Islands of North America.

Native Americans, too, became migrants in this reconfigured world, although their experience as migrants has largely been overshadowed by their ordeal with the invasion of pathogens and Europeans. Some Americans fled Europe as refugees and exiles, others migrated toward them for purposes of trade and alliances, and still others were forced into labor requirements that took them far from home. These patterns of migration had varied effects on indigenous cultures and economies. In communities where religious beliefs were intimately connected to the physical space of home, religious foundations were fundamentally challenged, facilitating the appeal of elements of Christianity. New communities and ethnicities emerged out of amalgams of newcomers and old-timers in a process that was repeated throughout the Americas. Migration for all people—European, indigenous, and African—induced patterns of cultural adaptability, flexibility, and ultimately hybridity, in the same way that the circulation of commodities, information, and technology transformed all societies that surrounded the Atlantic Ocean.

HYBRIDITY

With the very first appearance of Europeans and Africans in the Americas emerged new social and sexual relations and new mixed-race populations. These relationships generally reflected the power dynamics of conquest and colonial societies, with European men claiming rights to women's sexuality as well as to the material riches of a conquered society. Indigenous and enslaved women occasionally derived benefits from these alliances as well, especially for their children. These unions also furthered political and diplomatic goals. European

traders in Africa sought alliances with prominent families through marriage or informal unions. The first Spanish conquistadors likewise secured their power and legitimacy in conquered territory in America through alliances with noblewomen. Isabel Montezuma, the daughter of Montezuma II, became a useful pawn for Cortés, who arranged for her to marry first her uncle and then a succession of Spaniards. Her marriage alliances established a pervasive pattern. The marriage of John Rolfe (1585–1622) and Pocahontas (c. 1595?–1617) in Virginia in 1614 suggested that the English might follow the same example, but, ultimately, English sexual alliances with indigenous women tended to be informal. Whether officially sanctioned or not, throughout the Americas and in Africa, European men found sexual partners among indigenous women, many of whom, along with their mixed-race children, came to play important roles as cultural mediators. This population of *castas*, or mixed-race people, grew over time. In New Spain in the seventeenth century, 5 percent of the population were classified as *castas*; that percentage grew to 22 percent by the end of the eighteenth century, and a 1792 census in Peru revealed a comparable ratio, with 27 percent described as *castas*. Throughout the Americas, a complex battery of racial classifications developed to describe these different combinations. In most parts of the Americas, moreover, a peculiar logic was at work that suggested that privileges should be available to people in accordance with their percentage of European blood: thus a person who was half-African and half-European had greater legal privileges than an African.

Demographic patterns within migration flows explain some of the varied unions and new populations that emerged in the Americas, but it is important not to disregard the importance of cultural factors. Different nations and empires integrated these unions and their offspring into colonial polities in a variety of ways. In almost every part of the Americas, the children of enslaved women and European or Creole men could be legally and socially recognized by their fathers. Sometimes they were freed; sometimes they were educated. Thus by the eighteenth century the most violent slave societies, including Jamaica, Brazil, and Saint Domingue, contained small but growing populations of free people of color, who participated in colonial society

despite a range of legal and social encumbrances that hindered full participation. By the late eighteenth century, the free people of color of Saint Domingue constituted 5.2 percent of the colony's population, held one-quarter of the colony's slaves, and owned one-quarter of the real estate. The single notable exception to acceptance of these interracial unions was British North America, and is best witnessed in the actions of Thomas Jefferson (1743–1826), the Creole revolutionary and later third president of the United States, who, DNA evidence, documentary sources, and oral tradition strongly indicate, had a long-term relationship with his deceased wife's half-sister, the slave Sally Hemings (1773–1835), herself a product of two generations of such unions and, in the terminology of the time, a quadroon. Jefferson's public disavowal of this liaison, and his white descendants' bitter rejection of it, stand in contrast to the conduct of planters in other parts of the British Atlantic world and elsewhere in the Americas.

WAR, REVOLUTION, AND PERIODIZATION

The movement and displacement of people, their connections with each other, the emergence of hybrid cultural forms and of new populations altogether—all point to the ways in which the Atlantic Ocean contained a new kind of culture by 1800, one whose hemispheres were no longer in isolation. One of the most visible symbols of the interconnections within the Atlantic came during times of conflict. War, for example, contributed to migration, as religious refugees and exiles (including Jews, Huguenots, Puritans, and pietists and other Protestants from the Holy Roman Empire) joined defeated (and enslaved) enemies and those displaced by the upheaval of wars in the Americas. Moreover, all European conflicts had their manifestations in the Americas. Thus from the beginning of European dominion in America, Spain's rivals targeted both Spanish settlements, attacked by privateers and more formal armies, and the Spanish fleet, most famously the one seized by Piet Hein (1577–1629) in 1628, an event celebrated to this day in song by football fans in the Netherlands.

Conflict in the western Atlantic also included formal battles. The eighteenth century was a particularly violent period, wracked by several major European wars, all of which had their manifestations in

European holdings around the Atlantic. Particularly affected were those regions where multiple empires claimed territory in close proximity: the Caribbean, with adjacent islands held by rivals, and in some cases single islands shared between powers; the southeastern part of North America, where the French, Spanish, and English held adjacent territories; and the northeastern region of North America, where the French and English shared a volatile border. Often, the diplomatic resolution of wars in Europe left colonial issues unresolved, resulting in lingering resentments and unclear borders, which facilitated subsequent hostilities. Residents of the Americas found themselves at the center of global conflicts, however remote from Europe their settlements might seem. For some, these conflicts could be advantageous. Thus the Spanish governor of Florida enticed slaves from the British colonies to escape to his jurisdiction, promising them freedom and legal privileges should they do so. And indigenous tribes could manipulate these rivalries to their own advantages when Europeans needed to court allies. But international conflicts could also increase the precariousness of existence in border regions. The northern frontier of New England, for example, was the repeated target of French and allied Indian attacks, with regular raids on small frontier settlements. In 1704, French and Abenaki warriors destroyed one-third of the houses in tiny Deerfield, Massachusetts, during Queen Anne's War. The Atlantic world's biggest conflict—the Seven Years' War (1756–1763)—commenced in North America in 1754 in a frontier dispute called the French and Indian War. The Seven Years' War culminated in imperial reforms in all the Atlantic empires, French, Portuguese, Spanish, and British, which illustrated their increased commonalities and their efforts to seek common remedies to European financial, political, diplomatic, and strategic concerns in their American holdings.

Although the histories of early modern Europe and of the Atlantic world are intertwined, the Atlantic requires its own periodization. If early modern Europe's terminus is 1789, that date dissects the Atlantic world's age of revolution at a critical moment. The Atlantic's age of revolution began in the British Atlantic world in the 1770s with the revolution that created the first republic in the Atlantic. It continued through the revolutions in France and

Saint Domingue, the thwarted uprising of the United Irishmen, and into the early nineteenth century with the wars for independence in Latin America. Accompanying these revolutions were a number of resistance movements and aborted slave rebellions and conspiracies that were shaped by the diffusion of revolutionary sentiments and the opportunities for rebellion afforded by colonial conflicts. To separate these different episodes by ending the early modern period in 1789 is to deny the important connections that shaped revolutionary activity. A catechism of the United Irishmen from 1797 conveys this process of transmission and illustrates the ways in which the Atlantic world had become a single zone of exchange by the end of the eighteenth century.

What is that in your hand?
It is a branch.
Of What?
Of the Tree of Liberty.
Where did it first grow?
In America.
Where does it bloom?
In France.
Where did the seeds fall?
In Ireland.
Where are you going to plant it?
In the Crown of Great Britain.
(quoted in *Whelan*, p. 1)

Thus the standard political terminus for early modern Europe leaves the history of the Atlantic Ocean in the middle of a violent and transformative period, one that witnessed the disintegration of European empires, the creation of new republics (in France, the United States, and Haiti), the dispersal of new political ideas that empowered Creole elites, the creation of circumstances that facilitated the rebellion of slaves, the emergence of a formal and vigorous abolition movement, and the creation of colonies in Africa expressly dedicated to the provision of haven for former slaves. All of these events were connected and in some cases interdependent. By 1800, the Atlantic Ocean was circumscribed by four linked continents in the process of reformulation.

See also **British Colonies; Colonialism; Columbus, Christopher; Europe and the World; Exploration; Portuguese Colonies; Shipbuilding and Navigation; Shipping; Slavery and the Slave Trade; Spanish Colonies; Triangular Trade Pattern.**

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ALISON GAMES

ATOMISM. See Matter, Theories of.

AUGSBURG. During the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, the free and imperial city of Augsburg entered its golden age as a financial and cultural center. One of the largest of the early modern German cities, Augsburg’s population approached thirty thousand in 1500, growing to its highest level of forty thousand around 1618. Augsburg’s geographic position between the Lech and Wertach rivers contributed to the development of a strong textile industry after the Lech was diverted into a series of canals running through the city.

Domestic developments and international trade connections enabled Augsburg’s guilds (*Zünfte*), most significantly the merchants (*Kaufleute*), weavers (*Weber*), and goldsmiths (*Goldschmiede*), to grow strong politically and economically. From its establishment following a guild rebellion in 1368 until 1548 (when Emperor Charles V laid siege to the city), Augsburg’s “guild constitution” (*Zunftverfassung*) provided that the seventeen craft guilds were to send twelve representatives each to the Great Council and thirty-four guild masters (after 1478) to the Small Council. The guilds thus shared power with the patricians, who retained one of the two positions of mayor and fifteen representatives in the Small Council.

In the late fifteenth century, merchant families, most importantly the Baumgartners, Herwarts, Höchstetters, Fuggers, and Welsers, diversified their regional manufacturing interests into banking and credit. Close associations with trading and banking houses in Venice and Antwerp launched Augsburg merchants into Europe-wide recognition and international trade. The Fugger and the Welser

trade routes and business connections extended throughout the Holy Roman Empire, Central Europe, and Italy and through the Netherlands, Spain, and Portugal into Africa, India, the West Indies, and Venezuela. Close financial relationship between the Fuggers and the Habsburg emperors, particularly Maximilian I (ruled 1493–1519), contributed to Augsburg’s growing importance in imperial politics, as is evident in the fact that Augsburg hosted twelve of thirty-five imperial diets held between 1500 and 1600. Among the most important of these diets were Martin Luther’s meeting with the papal legate Cajetan (1518), the Augsburg Confession (1530), the Augsburg Interim (1547–1548), and the Religious Peace of Augsburg (1555). Jacob Fugger “the Rich” (1459–1525) amassed a fortune, which he used to finance the imperial election of Charles V in 1519 and to found the Fuggerei for poor Catholics, the first welfare housing project in the world, in 1516.

In the early sixteenth century, book production and book collection formed the backbone of intellectual development in Augsburg; individuals such as the humanist Conrad Peutinger (1465–1547), who served on the imperial council and as city council secretary, amassed large personal libraries. Between 1468 and 1555, the Augsburg publishing houses produced around 5,900 works, making Augsburg one of the most significant German printing centers during the Reformation era, second only to Wittenberg in printing Luther’s works. Augsburg painters and woodcut engravers—Hans Holbein the Elder (1465?–1524), Jörg Breu (c. 1475–1537), Hans Burgkmair (1473–c. 1531), and Leonhard Beck (c. 1480–1542)—produced numerous early Renaissance paintings and woodcuts that graced books as well as local churches. The foundation of the Latin school at St. Anna in 1531 ensured a continued tradition of humanist education within Augsburg, especially visible in its establishment of the city library in 1537.

A strong ecclesiastical and episcopal presence—including the bishop, cathedral chapter, and seventeen monasteries and convents—dominated late medieval religious life in Augsburg. Christoph von Stadion, the humanist-minded bishop of Augsburg (1478–1543), made an early attempt at ecclesiastical reform with his accession in 1517, but Martin Luther’s hearing before the papal legate Cajetan



Augsburg. The Fuggerei. The first low-income housing project, established in 1516 by Jacob Fugger, it comprises 52 houses.
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(1469–1534) in 1518 brought the Reformation directly to Augsburg. Between 1521 and 1534, the Augsburg city council, unwilling to accept the Reformation for economic and political reasons, maintained a policy, designed by Conrad Peutinger, of outward compliance to episcopal and imperial mandates while avoiding direct interference in the growing evangelical movement among the populace and clergy. Ample evidence of the need for this policy can be seen in the July 1524 Schilling Uprising resulting from a city council attempt to banish the evangelical preacher Johannes Schilling. Anabaptist and Zwinglian influences grew in the late 1520s and early 1530s under the leadership of Michael Keller (c. 1500–1548), Hans Denck (c. 1495–1527), and Balthasar Hubmaier (1485–1528), culminating in the “Martyr’s Synod,” an important gathering of southern German Anabaptist leaders on 24 August 1527. Beginning in 1534, Augsburg’s city council introduced a Zwinglian-styled reformation that was

favored by the guilds; it was completed in 1537 with the publication of a reformed church order.

During the Augsburg Interim (1547–1548), Emperor Charles V reestablished the rights of Catholics in Augsburg by dissolving the guilds and altering the city constitution to promote a leadership shared between the Catholic and Protestant patricians. After a brief period of shifting power, the Religious Peace of Augsburg (1555) established Augsburg as one of a few fully biconfessional cities. Guild unrest in Augsburg in 1584 known as the *Kalenderstreit*, ‘calendar struggle’, ostensibly over the imperial acceptance of the Gregorian calendar in 1582, provides evidence that the Catholic and Protestant communities did not always enjoy a harmonious coexistence, either socially or politically. In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the Augsburg city council maintained a confessionally neutral policy and sought to diminish social tensions that could lead to guild unrest. The Peace of Westphalia (1648) established *Parität*, ‘parity’, in

Augsburg, splitting political power proportionally between Catholics and Lutherans. The confessional population distribution shifted from 70 percent Protestant in 1648 to approximately 60 percent Catholic by the mid-eighteenth century.

In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, Augsburg embarked on an ambitious civic building program, which included the creation of a series of public fountains, such as the Mercury and the Hercules bronzes (1596–1602) designed by Adriaan de Vries (c. 1560–1626), and the redesign of the *Rathaus* (City Hall) with its famous *Goldener Saal* (Golden Hall) as well as numerous public buildings by Elias Holl (1573–1646) during his tenure as the municipal builder between 1601 and 1635. Augsburg's early organization of civic medical and charitable institutions, such as the college of medicine (*Collegium Medicum Augustanum*, 1582) and city orphanage (1572) served as a model for other German cities.

Augsburg suffered a political and economic downturn in the mid-seventeenth century. The population decreased to a low of 16,422 in 1635 as a result of the effects of plague epidemics (9,000 died in the 1627–1628 outbreak alone) and the Thirty Years' War (5,000 died in the 1634–1635 siege) and recovered to about 20,000 in 1645 and 30,000 around 1770. In the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Augsburg economy recovered because of its export of decorative silver, the establishment of textile manufacturing, and the city's continuing role in banking and finance. The restoration of modest wealth allowed the continuation of a strong cultural development as seen in such baroque and rococo patrician palaces as the Schaezler Palace (1765–1770) and in the work of Augsburg artists Johann Heinrich Schönfeld (1609–1684) and Johann Ulrich Mayr (1630–1704) in the St. Ulrich, St. Anna, and Holy Cross churches. The Collegium Musicum, which was established in 1713, sponsored works of composers such as the Augsburg native Leopold Mozart (1719–1787). Augsburg attempted to maintain neutrality in the growing military conflicts in Europe, but this did not prevent the siege and occupation of the city in 1703–1704 by French and Bavarian troops in the War of the Spanish Succession nor its loss of independence when Augsburg was integrated into the Kingdom of Bavaria in 1806.

See also **Anabaptism; Augsburg, Religious Peace of (1555); Charles V (Holy Roman Empire); Free and Imperial Cities; Fugger Family; Guilds; Holy Roman Empire; Lutheranism; Reformation, Protestant.**

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AUGSBURG, RELIGIOUS PEACE OF (1555). Enacted by the imperial diet (the general assembly of the Estates of the Holy Roman Empire) at Augsburg in 1555, the Religious Peace was the most significant law created in the Holy Roman Empire between the Golden Bull of 1356 and the Peace of Westphalia of 1648. These three laws formed the empire's constitution until 1803. On 25 September 1555 at Augsburg, the imperial diet approved twenty-four paragraphs to govern the status of the Lutheran Confession of Augsburg and its adherents until such date as the religious schism

might be settled. The Religious Peace, which aimed to neutralize the danger of war that arose from the schism, governed official relations between the Catholic and Protestant imperial Estates until the opening of the Thirty Years' War in 1618. It was renewed with modifications by the Peace of Westphalia in 1648.

The Peace transferred the *ius reformandi* ("right of reformation") from the imperial to the territorial and municipal levels by means of a principle, first proclaimed by the Diet of Speyer in 1526, that until the church could settle the schism, each ruler should act in a way such that he would be responsible to God and the emperor. In 1586 Joachim Stephan (1544–1623), a Greifswald law professor, summarized this principle in a famous phrase, "whose the regime, his the religion" (*cuius regio, eius religio*). The Estates, the emperor's direct subjects, were to enjoy this right, which allowed them to force dissenting subjects to conform or emigrate, with four exceptions: (1) Calvinists, Anabaptists, and other dissenters were excluded from the Peace's terms and protection; (2) in imperial free cities where both religions were practiced, confessional parity in the regime was to be preserved and the right of each to exercise its religion assured; (3) if converted to the Protestant religion, ecclesiastical princes (bishops, abbots, abbesses) were forbidden to enforce the right of reformation on their temporal subjects, and they had to resign their offices (Ecclesiastical Reservation); (4) Protestant nobles and burghers in the temporal lands of ecclesiastical princes might continue to practice their religion (Ferdinandine Declaration). The Protestant Estates never formally recognized the third exception, which, if enforced, would have prohibited the conversion of episcopal and abbatial sees and lands to their faith. The Catholics did not recognize the fourth exception, which they considered a gross violation of the right of reformation confirmed to them by the Peace. Two other laws of 1555 restored the Empire's supreme court (the Imperial Chamber Court) and reformed the Imperial Circles, regional administrative organs for police, financial, and military affairs.

The Religious Peace was successful within limits. For sixty or more years it withstood pressures from the religious wars that erupted in the 1560s in France and in the Netherlands, as well as from the

rising confessional tensions caused by the Calvinist challenge to Lutheranism since the 1560s and the revival of Catholicism since 1580. These tensions caused a cessation of the diet after 1613 and crippled the Chamber Court and the Circles, the chief agencies for enforcing the Religious Peace. A series of violent incidents—Protestant attempts on the sees of Cologne and Strasbourg between 1583 and 1595 and provocations by both sides in the free cities—made clear that the two principal exceptions to the Religious Peace remained unsettled.

The Peace of Westphalia, a pair of treaties that ended the Thirty Years' War in 1648, restored the provisions of the Religious Peace with two important modifications: the Reformed (Calvinist) confession was included as a third licit religion; and princes could no longer force dissenting subjects to emigrate. The reform of the diet into a continuously sitting institution (1663), the suspension of majority rule in religious matters in favor of negotiations between two confessional caucuses of Estates (*itio in partes*), and the restoration of the Imperial Chamber Court at Wetzlar greatly reduced the religious schism as a source of public contention. The 10,500 Lutherans who in 1730–1731 left the archbishop of Salzburg's lands rather than conform to the Catholic religion, were the Empire's last (illegally expelled) religious exiles.

While an important conclusion to the first phase of the Reformation, the Religious Peace could not be enforced to a degree sufficient to spare the empire a second religious war. Even for its first quarter century, the Peace's importance as a symbol of a liberal irenicism, later destroyed by the Catholic Counter-Reformation, has sometimes been greatly exaggerated. It is more accurate to say that the Peace was exactly what it purported to be, a temporary agreement to last until the achievement of a settlement—which never came—to the religious schism. Only by removing the schism's effects from imperial public life, which happened after 1648, was the Empire's internal peace restored.

See also Charles V (Holy Roman Empire); Ferdinand I (Holy Roman Empire); Free and Imperial Cities; Holy Roman Empire; Holy Roman Empire Institutions; Reformation, Protestant; Westphalia, Peace of (1648).

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AUGUSTUS II THE STRONG (SAXONY AND POLAND) (1670–1733), Elector Frederick Augustus I of Saxony 1694–1733 and King Augustus II of Poland 1697–1704 and 1709–1733. Augustus's father, Elector John George III of Saxony, and his mother, Anna Sophie, daughter of King Frederick III of Denmark, married in 1666 to tie the Danish royal family to the Wettin dynasty of Saxony. At the time of Augustus's birth, his grandfather, John George II, ruled Saxony. Augustus's father, John George III, was only twenty-three and had already sired Augustus's elder brother, John George IV. There seemed little likelihood that Augustus would ever rule Saxony. Therefore, his general disinterest in formal study and an early marked inclination to pursue pleasure and to seek glory hunting, soldiering, and womanizing were tolerated.

After his grandfather died of plague (1680), his father of apoplexy (1691), and his brother of smallpox (April 1694), Augustus became elector. Seeking military glory, he assumed command of an imperial army in the war against the Turks. His campaigns on the Transylvanian front in 1695 and 1696 were failures, though part of the blame must fall on the Imperial War Council, to whom Augustus was ultimately subject.

Augustus spent lavishly and converted to Catholicism to ensure his electoral victory as king of the Commonwealth of Poland-Lithuania in 1697. He levied oppressive taxes upon his Saxon subjects,

the majority of whom were Lutheran, to finance the election. The Peace of Westphalia (1648) had contributed to the development of an international system that favored sovereign nation-states over territorial principalities like Saxony whose power was circumscribed by their inclusion in the fragmented empire. Notable German princes, in an effort to elevate themselves, raised armies, entered into European wars, and sought to become monarchs. The elector of Brandenburg had become king of Prussia, and George of Hanover would become king of England. It is against this background that Augustus's ambition must be viewed. While the election was costly, Augustus reasonably expected that Poland would provide lucrative markets for Saxon manufactured goods and was certain that his new title would enhance the status of the Wettin dynasty.

Augustus planned to seize Swedish Livonia to acquire ports for his new kingdom, and, to this end, he formed an anti-Swedish coalition with Denmark and Russia in 1699. Augustus's attack on Riga in February 1700 failed, highlighting his lack of power in Poland. Sweden defeated Russia at Narva, and Denmark sued for peace. Charles XII of Sweden (ruled 1697–1718) turned his mighty army against Augustus. In hindsight, Charles's determination to depose Augustus gave Russia a critical opportunity to rebuild and remold its army and ultimately to emerge victorious over Sweden. Augustus's forces in Poland suffered serious defeats, and he was deposed by the Swedes in January 1704 when a rump Polish parliament elected Charles's client as king. Augustus's Saxon troops continued to fight, suffering a terrible defeat at Fraustadt in February 1706. Swedish troops occupied Saxony for a year. Russia's eventual victory over Sweden enabled her to free Poland from Swedish influence in 1709, and Augustus was restored to the throne. In 1715 Russia thwarted a Polish anti-Saxon coalition opposed to Augustus's rash reforms, and in 1717 the "Dumb Parliament" agreed to Russian conditions that maintained Augustus in power. But Tsar Peter the Great controlled the diplomatic situation, and he took steps to prevent Augustus from turning the Polish monarchy into a hereditary one, and from passing the crown to his sole legitimate heir, Frederick August II of Saxony. Forever scheming, Augustus arranged the 1719 marriage of his heir to the daughter of the Holy Roman emperor, Joseph I, as



Augustus II the Strong. Equestrian statue by Ernst Friedrich Rietschel, Dresden. ©JACK FIELDS/CORBIS

part of an unfulfilled plan to transfer the imperial dignity to the House of Wettin.

Augustus was renowned as the most gallant ruler of his time, and his court in Dresden was characterized by fireworks displays, masquerades, tournaments, hunts, and annual celebrations, such as the famed Carnival. Augustus used these feasts, as did all baroque rulers, as occasions for enhancing his status and negotiating with high-ranking guests. Endowed with incredible physical strength, Augustus was rumored to have sired 354 illegitimate children with a series of mistresses, though the actual number was probably closer to ten. Augustus's ultimate failures in statecraft are mitigated, ironically, by the enduring value of the projects upon which he spent so lavishly. He established porcelain manufacturing in Meissen (1710) and initiated projects that transformed Dresden into a magnificent baroque capital—"the Florence of the Elbe." Augustus died

on 1 February 1733, of complications from diabetes, in Warsaw.

See also Baroque; Charles XII (Sweden); Dresden; Frederick I (Prussia); Peter I (Russia); Poland-Lithuania, Commonwealth of, 1569–1795; Saxony; Westphalia, Peace of (1648).

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AUSTRIA. A geographic term used to describe the two "archduchies" of Austria above and below the Enns River, "Austria" is also applied to all of the hereditary possessions of the German Habsburgs that were situated along the southeastern flank of the Holy Roman Empire. In addition, it is a political term for the diverse dynastic conglomerate ruled by the "House of Austria," including Bohemia and Hungary.

ORIGINS

This larger conglomeration of states, or *Gesamtstaat*, was formed during the lifetime of Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I (ruled 1493–1519), who forged a series of fortuitous dynastic alliances with the heiresses of Burgundy (1477), Spain (1496), and Hungary-Bohemia (1515). Maximilian's elder grandson succeeded him as Emperor Charles V (ruled 1519–1556) and ceded the Austrian lands to his brother Ferdinand, who was elected king of Bohemia (1526) and Hungary (1527) following the last Jagellon king's death after the Ottoman victory at Mohács (1526). His eventual election as Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand I (ruled 1558–1564) completed a division of the Habsburg dominions that left the dynasty's Bur-



gundian, Spanish, Italian, and vast American possessions in the hands of a “Spanish” branch ruled by Charles and his heirs, while a succession of “Austrian” Habsburg emperors ruled the largely contiguous Austro-Hungarian-Bohemian conglomerate.

Contemporaries attributed the dynasty’s success to Maximilian’s marriage policies, immortalized by the words “Let the strong fight wars. Thou, happy Austria, marry. What Mars bestows on others, Venus gives to thee!” But the key factor behind these alliances lay in the widespread appreciation of the Habsburgs’ role as a useful counterpoise to the dual threats posed by the Ottomans in the east and France in the west.

LANDS AND PEOPLES

The monarchy was linguistically and confessionally diverse. Whereas German dominated the Austrian

lands (with Slovene and Italian spoken in the south), it was a close second to Czech in the Bohemian lands, and, in Magyar-speaking Hungary, prevailed only in the towns. Moreover, the reconquest and resettlement of the Hungarian plain and Transylvania that began in the late seventeenth century added many South Slavs and Romanians. The acquisition of the formerly Spanish Netherlands and Italy (1714) added French, Flemish, and Italian, much as the annexation of Galicia (1772) and Bukovina (1775) contributed large numbers of Poles, Ukrainians, and Yiddish-speaking Jews. Whereas this linguistic kaleidoscope changed little over the centuries, the Reformation brought major changes in religion. By the mid-sixteenth century, Protestants constituted a majority in most areas of Habsburg domination. Catholicism reasserted itself during the Counter-Reformation, however, which left a 10–15 percent Lutheran minority in the Austrian and Bohemian lands, while Hungary split evenly between Catholics and a mix of Calvinist Magyars, Orthodox South Slavs, and German Lutherans.

The Austrian economy struck a balance between the prevailing agriculture (and animal husbandry in the Hungarian plain), substantial mining throughout the Alps and Carpathians, and industrial production in Bohemia, Upper Austria, and later in the Austrian Netherlands and northern Italian lands.

GOVERNMENT

Although the Habsburgs valued the imperial title and always visualized themselves as German princes, their inability to assert full sovereignty within the Holy Roman Empire gradually induced them to focus attention on developing their hereditary German (Austrian and Bohemian) lands, while treating Hungary more like a colony, at least until the eighteenth century. Beginning with Ferdinand I, the Habsburgs gradually coopted imperial institutions such as the Aulic Council (*Reichshofrat*), or shifted functions to competing bodies, including an exchequer (*Hofkammer*), war council (*Hofkriegsrat*), and “Austrian” chancery. They were less innovative in dealing with the Estates. Having acquired the Bohemian and Hungarian lands by inheritance and election, the Habsburgs were at pains to respect their corporate privileges and autonomy. Not to do

so risked passive resistance or outright rebellion, which could be assisted by foreign adversaries. As a result, the prevailing political culture favored reaching consensus with the Estates on major issues, a policy that helped sustain the Habsburg dominions' separate cultural, linguistic, and constitutional development.

INDIVIDUAL RULERS

Given the contrived construction of this central European *Gesamtstaat*, its common historical development owed much to the policies of individual rulers. Ferdinand I and his son Maximilian II (ruled 1564–1576) spent much of their reigns resisting the Ottoman seizure of most of Hungary, while attempting to peacefully accommodate the aspirations of the empire's emerging Protestant majority. The Spanish-educated sons of Maximilian II, Rudolf II (ruled 1576–1612) and Matthias (ruled 1612–1619), cautiously embraced the Counter-Reformation, which led to widespread armed resistance, most notably in Bohemia, where the Defenestration of Prague sparked the beginning of the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648). After Ferdinand II (ruled 1620–1637) and his foreign allies had crushed the Bohemian revolt at White Mountain (1620), he purged much of the kingdom's nobility and constitution to enhance royal authority. Systematic Catholicization was carried out there and in the Austrian lands by him and his son, Ferdinand III (ruled 1637–1657), even as they reluctantly accepted religious compromise in the rest of Germany. Leopold I (ruled 1658–1705) completed the process of creating a mutually reliant, trilateral ruling elite of crown, church, and nobility that found artistic expression in the flamboyant Austrian baroque. Catholic religious persecution, principally by Hungary's magnates, led to a major rebellion that was soon assisted by a massive Ottoman invasion and siege of Vienna (1683). The city was delivered by an Austro-German-Polish relief force commanded by Poland's King John III Sobieski (1629–1696), which crushed the Ottomans at the battle of Kahlenberg. Leopold followed up the city's relief by reconquering Hungary at the head of a Holy League (1684–1699). Hungary was also enjoined to revise its constitution in 1687, eliminating the electoral kingship and the nobility's right to resist royal authority (*jus resistendi*). Although Leopold reaffirmed Protestant religious freedom, renewed perse-

cution and heavy wartime taxation inspired the Rákóczi Revolt (1703–1711). Joseph I (ruled 1705–1711) eventually pacified the country militarily while granting generous terms in the 1711 treaty at Szatmár that essentially defined Hungary's status for the next two centuries. The martial exploits of Prince Eugene of Savoy (1663–1736) permitted Joseph to salvage the Italian and Dutch possessions from the dynasty's extinct senior line in the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1714) and enabled his brother Charles VI (ruled 1711–1740) to round off Hungary's frontiers with the acquisition of the Banat of Temesvár after another Turkish war (1716–1718). With the male line facing extinction, Charles issued the Pragmatic Sanction (1713), which established the monarchy's indivisibility and the right of female succession. His daughter Empress Maria Theresa (ruled 1740–1780) withstood a concerted attempt at partition in the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748) but lost the rich Bohemian crownland of Silesia to Prussia. A vain attempt to reconquer it in the Seven Years' War (1756–1763) was sandwiched between two great reform periods that marked the monarchy's transition from the ideology of the Counter-Reformation to a more rational governmental system based on the prevailing German fiscal-administrative science of cameralism and select European Enlightenment ideas. Attempts by Joseph II (ruled 1765–1790) to carry out more sweeping changes without the Estates' consent led to widespread resistance that his brother, Leopold II (ruled 1790–1792), quelled by repealing his most radical reforms. Nonetheless, a generation of political and cultural reform had prepared the Habsburg Monarchy for the ensuing tumult caused by the French Revolution. Indeed, the early modern period had witnessed the emergence and consolidation of both the House of Austria and the territorial conglomerate (*Gesamtstaat*) that it governed as major components of the European world.

See also Austrian Succession, War of the (1740–1748); Austro-Ottoman Wars; Ferdinand I (Holy Roman Empire); Ferdinand II (Holy Roman Empire); Ferdinand III (Holy Roman Empire); Habsburg Dynasty: Austria; Holy Roman Empire; Hungary; Joseph I (Holy Roman Empire); Joseph II (Holy Roman Empire); Leopold I (Holy Roman Empire); Maria Theresa (Holy Roman Empire); Maximilian I (Holy Roman Empire); Maximilian II (Holy Roman

Empire); Seven Years' War (1756–1763); Spanish Succession, War of the (1701–1714); Vienna.

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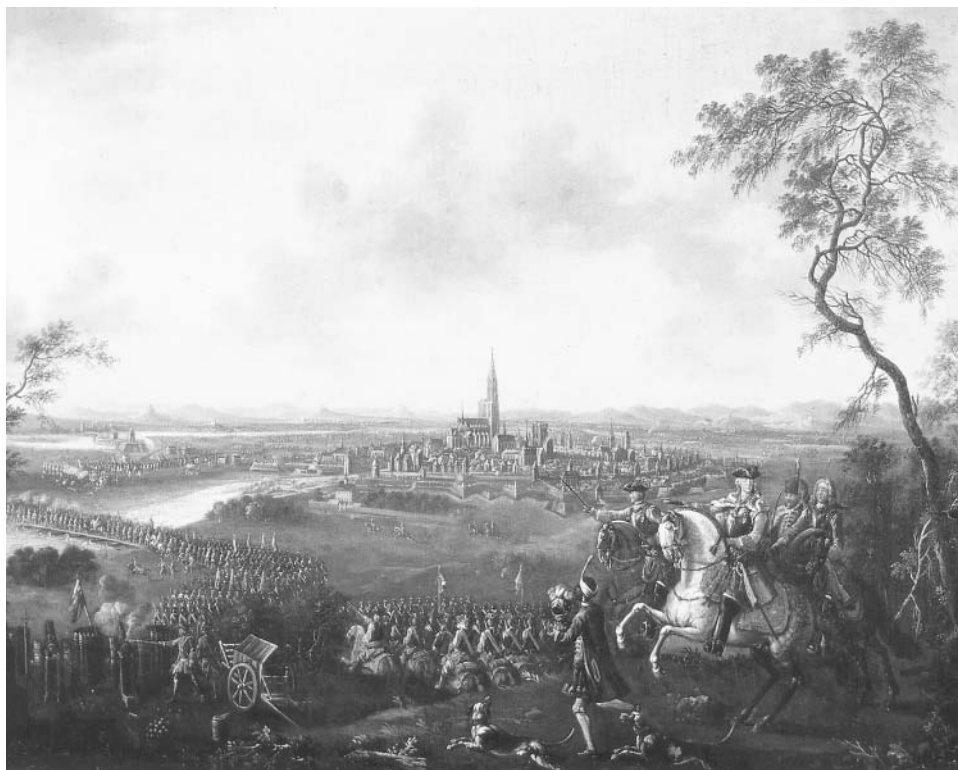
CHARLES INGRAO

AUSTRIAN SUCCESSION, WAR OF THE (1740–1748). On 20 October 1740 the death of the last male Habsburg, the Holy Roman emperor Charles VI (ruled 1711–1740), precipitated a major European war for the succession both to his territories and to the elected position of emperor. The lands over which Charles had ruled consisted of the Austrian duchies, the kingdom of Bohemia (including Silesia and Moravia), the kingdom of Hungary, the duchy of Milan, and the ten provinces of the southern Netherlands. Over the course of his reign he had sought political guarantees from the territorial princes of the empire and the other great powers that they would uphold the Pragmatic Sanction (an edict he had first promulgated in 1713) and ensure that the succession to the Habsburg lands would pass to his daughter Maria Theresa (b. 1717) in the absence of a son. There were, though, two rival claimants for Charles's inheritance, the daughters of his elder brother, the emperor Joseph I (ruled 1705–1711): Maria Josepha, married in 1719 to Crown Prince Augustus of Saxony, and Maria Amalia, who married Crown Prince Karl Albert of Bavaria in 1722. Despite the renunciations of all claims to the Habsburg inheritance made by the two archduchesses, this did not stop the Saxons and the Bavarians from intriguing

throughout the 1720s and 1730s to secure some or all of the lands upon Charles VI's eventual death. Moreover, the last three years of Charles's reign made a dismemberment of the Habsburg Monarchy all the more likely thanks to a massive increase in the state debt during an unsuccessful and demoralizing war against the Ottoman Empire, which had revealed to the rest of Europe serious deficiencies in the Habsburg military machine.

The War of the Austrian Succession was precipitated in December 1740 by the invasion of Silesia by Frederick II ("the Great") of Brandenburg-Prussia (ruled 1740–1786), who had himself succeeded to his throne only six months earlier on the death of his father, Frederick William I (ruled 1713–1740). Unlike Frederick William, the new Prussian monarch had little respect for imperial law and institutions if they stood in the way of securing his territories; and while Frederick's claims on Silesia had more justification than has sometimes been conceded, nevertheless it was an act that caused alarm across Europe. Following the invasion and Prussia's defeat of the Austrians at Mollwitz in April 1741, Maria Theresa's stubborn refusal to negotiate with Frederick almost cost her the rest of her lands: between May and September 1741 a coalition was assembled consisting of France, Spain, Prussia, Bavaria, and Saxony that intended to seize large parts of the Habsburg Monarchy. Maria Theresa's truce with Frederick II, the Convention of Klein-Schnellendorf in October 1741, came too late to prevent a Franco-Bavarian occupation of Bohemia the following month; and this was followed in January 1742 by the election of Karl Albert (elector of Bavaria since 1726) as the new Holy Roman emperor. However, at the same time that Karl Albert was acclaimed as Charles VII, Maria Theresa's army, consisting in large part of loyal Hungarians, turned the tide, capturing Munich, the new emperor's ducal capital, after liberating Upper Austria from Bavarian control. This was followed in June by the provisional peace of Breslau between Prussia and Maria Theresa, and the final expulsion of the French from Bohemia in December that year.

From then on, the war took on wider European and even global dimensions, as Britain-Hanover and France, ostensibly still neutral, confronted each other in western Germany and at sea. In 1743 the French were almost completely forced out of the



War of the Austrian Succession. Imperial troops under Charles, duke of Lorraine, penetrate Fench-held territories near Strasbourg, 1744. Painting by Zacharias Sonntag. THE ART ARCHIVE/MUSÉE HISTORIQUE STRASBOURG/DAGLI ORTI

empire, and in March and April 1744 Louis XV (ruled 1715–1774) formalized hostilities by declaring war first on Great Britain and then on Austria. For the previous four years Britain and Spain had already been at war over trade with the Spanish American empire. In Europe, Spain, for its part, had been trying to divest Maria Theresa of Lombardy in northern Italy since 1741, but faced the opposition of Charles Emmanuel III, king of Sardinia and ruler of Piedmont (ruled 1729–1773), and warfare in northern Italy remained indecisive throughout the period up to 1746. In spite of renewed Prussian hostilities toward Austria, when Frederick II signed a full alliance with France in June, the 1744 campaigns in the Low Countries and the empire were also inconclusive.

The death of Charles VII in January 1745 changed the political picture dramatically. Max Joseph, his successor as elector of Bavaria, aware of the impossibility of the Bavarian position, promised to vote for Maria Theresa's husband, Francis Stephen of Lorraine, grand duke of Tuscany, to be the next

emperor, which he accordingly became in October. But the military tide had not by any means turned, for French arms were proving dangerously triumphant in the Netherlands. On 11 May 1745 Maurice de Saxe, marshal of France, defeated the combined Anglo-Austrian-Dutch army at Fontenoy, and went on to capture a string of fortresses in Flanders stretching nearly as far as Antwerp by the end of the year. This was not least because the British contingent under the duke of Cumberland had been withdrawn to deal with the Jacobite rising in Scotland which was threatening to overcome the Hanoverian government of Cumberland's father George II (ruled 1727–1760). They were not to return in force to the continent until well into the following year. Meanwhile, Prussia forced Austria to sign the treaty of Dresden in December 1745, on broadly similar terms to that of Breslau three years earlier.

Nevertheless, Austrian fortunes still showed few signs of improving. Although Charles-Emmanuel largely succeeded in recovering and protecting his



own territories and those of Maria Theresa in Italy during 1746, the advantages continued to go France’s way in the Netherlands: in February, Saxe captured Brussels, while the following year saw him drive along the River Scheldt and into the Dutch Republic, capturing in September 1747 the seemingly impregnable fortress of Berg-op-Zoom. By now, however, a degree of exhaustion was setting in on all sides, symbolized by Saxe’s pyrrhic victory over Cumberland at Lawfeld in July 1747. Warfare in the Caribbean had proved largely uneventful, while the British colonial authorities in Massachusetts back in June 1745 had succeeded with the help of the Royal Navy in capturing the French fortress

of Louisbourg on Cape Breton Island, which Louis XV wanted back but could not regain by military and naval means. This was offset by the French capture of Madras from the British in September 1746, the only notable action in India.

The Peace of Aix-La-Chapelle of October–November 1748, which marked the end of the war, preserved most of the inheritance of Charles VI for Maria Theresa: she had formally conceded Silesia to Prussia in the December 1745 treaty of Dresden, and she now had to give up the western third of the duchy of Milan to Sardinia, and the duchies of Parma and Guastalla to Don Philip, half-brother of the Spanish king Ferdinand VI (ruled 1746–1759). But the price France paid for the return of Louisbourg and for Austrian concessions to the Spanish Bourbons was high: Louis XV returned to Austria all his conquests in the Netherlands, to the irritation of French public opinion. Aix-La-Chapelle was more of a truce than a definitive treaty, for even in Italy the creation of stability required another round of agreements in 1752. There was still plenty of unfinished business left over from the years 1739–1740, most notably Maria Theresa’s personal refusal to reconcile herself to the loss of Silesia, and the persistent friction between the British on the one hand, and the French and Spanish Bourbons on the other over colonial matters in the Americas and India. Further conflict was both likely and imminent.

See also Bavaria; Charles VI (Holy Roman Empire); Frederick II (Prussia); Frederick William I (Prussia); Habsburg Dynasty: Austria; Louis XV (France); Maria Theresa (Holy Roman Empire).

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GUY ROWLANDS

AUSTRO-OTTOMAN WARS. By the early sixteenth century, there was steady low-level

conflict in a border zone roughly defined by the Danube and Sava rivers between the Ottomans and European Christian rulers as a result of the Ottoman conquests of Balkan territory that began in the late fourteenth century. In 1520, a new Ottoman sultan, Suleiman I (also called Suleiman the Magnificent), took the throne. After the Ottomans secured control over Egypt by defeating the Mamluks and established an eastern border by defeating the Safavids of Iran at Chaldiran in 1514, attention turned back to the Balkans. When Louis II, king of Hungary and Bohemia (ruled 1506–1526), rejected Suleiman's demand for tribute, the sultan seized Belgrade and marched north, inflicting a severe defeat on a Hungarian army at Mohács on 28 August 1526. Hungary had been weakened by conflicts between various domestic groups as well as by competition between its ruler and the Holy Roman emperor. The Ottoman army pulled back from the Danube only after conquering Buda in December 1526.

King Louis II drowned as he was fleeing from the advancing Ottomans, which caused a succession crisis between the Habsburg Ferdinand (who later became Emperor Ferdinand I and ruled 1558–1564) and the local Transylvanian ruler, János Szapolyai. Suleiman installed Szapolyai at Buda but conceded the western third of Hungary to Ferdinand. The sultan tried to augment his conquests in Europe over the next few years and first laid siege to Vienna in September–October 1529 but had to retreat because of a snowfall.

THE OTTOMAN-HABSBURG WAR (1593–1606)

By 1568, the Ottomans controlled Transylvania as an autonomous principality, leaving western Hungary to the Habsburgs. For the next two decades, the Austrian-Ottoman border was quiet, but Christian refugees from Ottoman territory were resettled on the Habsburg side of the “military frontier.”

Hungary became divided into two parts: Royal Hungary, ruled by the Habsburgs, and Transylvania, ruled by the Ottomans. The Ottoman side of this border witnessed administrative instability and onerous, irregular financial demands made on the peasantry, but with considerable religious tolerance shown to various Christian sects. The Habsburgs maintained a more stable administration but showed little religious tolerance. This frontier expe-

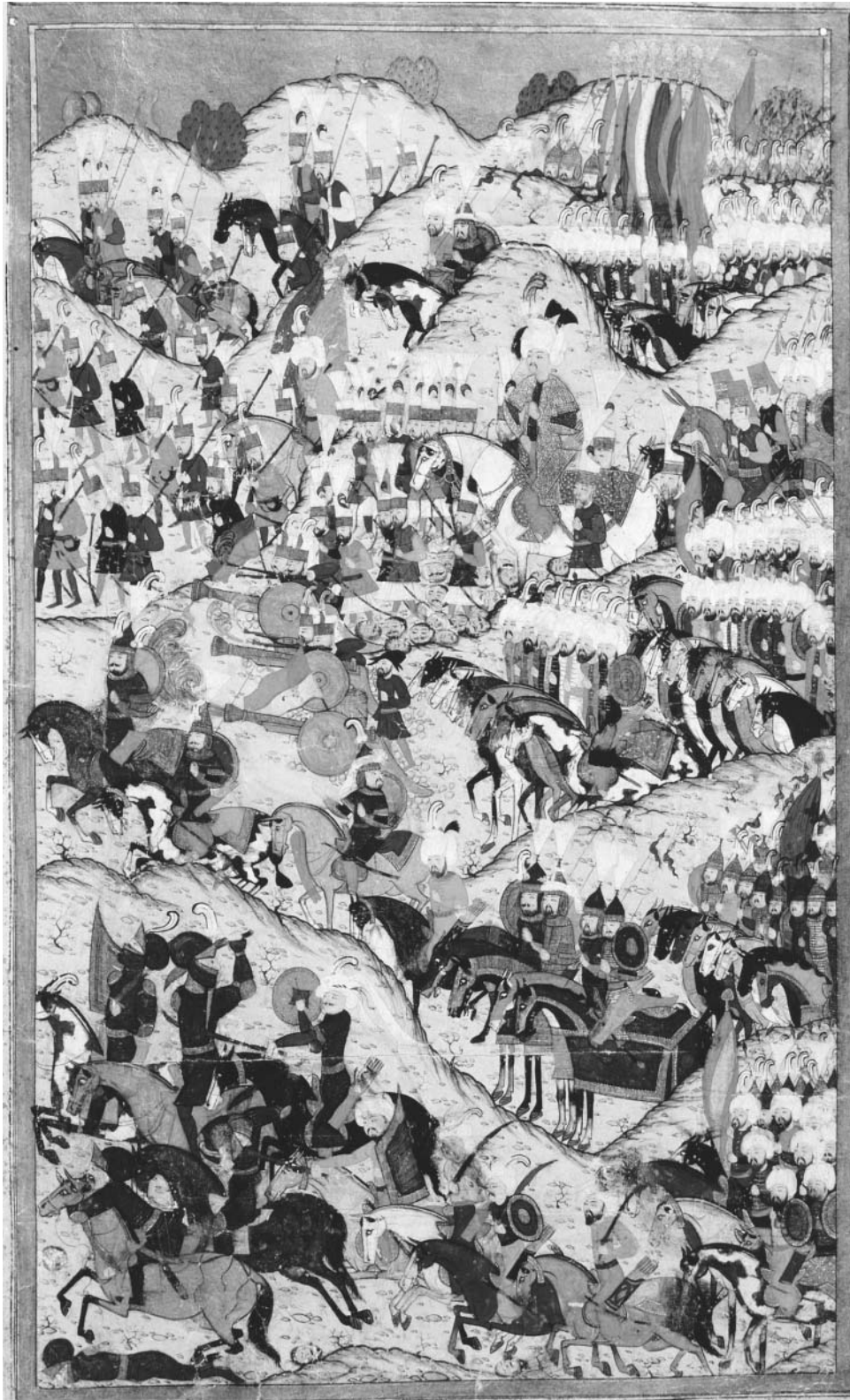
rienced a continuous low-level *Kleinkrieg*: a “little war” of incursions and raids by both sides.

Resentment against Habsburg religious intolerance finally exploded into the Fifteen Years' War (1591–1606), into which the Ottoman forces were drawn. Despite Catholic-Protestant animosity, the Ottoman threat to Europe came to be viewed as more serious than Christian sectarian conflicts. In this time of heightened religious tension, several strategic frontier provinces revolted against Ottoman rule. After several encounters in which the Ottomans and the Habsburgs traded fortresses back and forth, a marginal Ottoman victory at Mezö-Keresztes finally halted a major Austrian offensive. When István Bocskay, the ruler of Transylvania, shifted loyalty back to the Ottomans in 1605, Austrian momentum was reduced. In the end, the Habsburgs signed two peace agreements in 1606. The first was the Peace of Vienna, in which the Habsburg emperor, Rudolf II, guaranteed the rights of Hungarian Protestants. The second was the Peace of Zsitvatorok (11 November 1606), in which the existing Austro-Ottoman borders were recognized, although the sultan agreed to forgo Transylvania's tribute payments.

Small border skirmishes then resumed while the Ottomans became embroiled in conflict with Iran, and the Habsburgs focused on European affairs. Competition for control of the Mediterranean between the Ottoman Empire and European powers erupted into a war between Venice and the Ottomans' North African corsairs in 1638. This was the first of many confrontations between the navies of the Ottomans, Venice, and militant religious orders like the Knights of St. John of Malta. Naval skirmishes near Crete and Malta, as well as Dalmatian land battles in the 1640s, set the stage for the Ottoman conquest of Crete in 1669.

THE WAR OF THE HOLY LEAGUE (1683–1699)

With growing fears of Ottoman expansion in the Mediterranean along with reduced tension in Europe after the 1648 Treaty of Westphalia, which ended the Thirty Years' War, Pope Alexander VII formed a Holy League in the 1660s to coordinate a new campaign against the Ottomans. Plans for a showdown between the Ottomans and this European coalition evolved over the next two decades.



Austro-Ottoman Wars. Battle of Mohács, Hungary, 29 August 1526, from a 1588 Ottoman manuscript by Loqman known as the *Book of Accomplishments*. THE ART ARCHIVE/TOPKAPI MUSEUM ISTANBUL/DAGLI ORTI

Two key battles, at St. Gotthard in 1664 and at Chotin in 1673, revealed substantial Ottoman military weaknesses. In the 1670s, an ambitious young Ottoman commander, Kara Mustafa Pasha, developed a plan to achieve fame by seizing Vienna, an objective that had eluded his army for many years.

Because of a new round of conflict within Europe, only the Polish king John Sobieski would commit forces to defend Vienna. The Ottomans advanced to Vienna and placed it under siege on 14 July 1683. As in 1529, they were at a disadvantage because they had failed to bring any heavy artillery—a deficiency that they tried unsuccessfully to overcome by mining Vienna's walls. Vienna's defenders mounted several effective attacks on them and as the siege wore on, Ottoman morale diminished. On 4 September, just as Vienna was finally beginning to weaken under the siege, the Ottomans failed to prevent the arrival of Sobieski's relief force.

The superior armament and tactics of the Polish army forced the besiegers to leave Vienna after only one day. Kara Mustafa Pasha was strangled in Belgrade on the sultan's orders as a result of this retreat as Austrian forces pushed deep into Hungary to take Buda in 1686. The Ottoman army then mutinied and deposed Sultan Mehmed IV, while the Venetians secured territory along the Adriatic and in the Morea (in the Peloponnese of modern Greece).

The new Sultan, Suleiman II, appointed the well-respected Fazil Mustafa as grand vizier in 1689, recapturing Belgrad and Niš. The deaths of both men in 1691 left no effective successors until Sultan Mustafa II took power in 1695. At the same time, other European powers were pressuring Austria to make peace with the Ottomans so that Austrian forces could unite with them against Louis XIV of France. Meanwhile, as many Ottoman areas in Europe fell into anarchy because of administrative and fiscal problems, Mustafa II campaigned to reconquer Hungary in 1697, where his defeat led to the 1699 Treaty of Carlowitz.

THE TREATY OF CARLOWITZ (1699)

In January 1699, the Ottomans, Austrians, and Venetians signed a treaty ending their conflicts based on the idea of *uti possidetis*—whoever controlled a territory at that time would keep it. This marked the first comprehensive peace treaty between the Ottoman Empire and European powers. The Ottomans

relinquished Hungary and Transylvania to the Austrians; Dalmatia, the Morea, and some Ionian islands to Venice; and Podolia to Poland. This was the first written Ottoman acknowledgment of military defeat.

THE TREATY OF PASSAROWITZ (1718)

In conjunction with high Ottoman religious officials and the Orthodox patriarch of Constantinople (who had lost revenue from lands in the Morea because of the treaty of Carlowitz), Silahdar Ali Pasha, who had become grand vizier in 1713, started a war against the Venetians in 1715. When it appeared that the Ottomans threatened the Habsburgs in northern Dalmatia, Austria signed an alliance with Venice, which was then on the brink of financial collapse. In 1718, after numerous Austrian victories including Petrovaradin, the Ottomans, Austrians, and Venetians signed a treaty at Passarowitz. It gave the Banat of Temesvar, Lesser Walachia, northern Serbia, and northern Bosnia to Austria, but required Venice to return the Morea and Crete to the Ottomans, although Venice was allowed to keep its Ionian islands and the part of Dalmatia it had received at Carlowitz.

THE OTTOMAN WAR WITH RUSSIA AND AUSTRIA (1736–1739)

The Habsburg emperor Charles VI (ruled 1711–1740) agreed with the tsar in 1734 to cooperate secretly against the Ottomans. This agreement took effect when the Ottomans, encouraged by the French, declared war in May 1736 on both Austria and Russia to protest the placement of a pro-Russian candidate on the Polish throne. The Austrians tried to retake territory that they had given up at Passarowitz and captured Belgrade and Niš. Over the next two years, however, the Ottomans won a series of victories against them, leading them to sign the 1739 Treaty of Belgrade, which restored the border agreed upon at Carlowitz. The Russians, now deprived of the help of their Austrian allies, had to end their own hostilities with the Ottomans and soon signed a treaty that gave Azov back to the Ottomans.

AUSTRIA IN THE RUSSO-OTTOMAN WARS OF 1768–1774 AND 1787–1792

When a major war erupted between Russia and the Ottoman Empire in 1768 after a long period of peace, Austria at first stayed out of it because the

Habsburgs did not want to encourage Russian expansion plans. After Russian success against the Ottomans, however, the Austrians entered the conflict in time to mediate the 1774 treaty of Küçük Kaynarca, but gained little new territory.

Austria was again prodded into action in 1787 by Russia, whose previous success fueled dreams of southward expansion. A series of decisive Russian and Austrian victories left these two powers in possession of much new territory and poised to advance toward Constantinople in the spring of 1790. However, the unfolding French Revolution caused other European powers to put pressure on them to end this war, which the Austrians did at Sistova in August 1791, several months before the Russian-Ottoman peace treaty. With European mediation, Austria agreed to give back its recent conquests in Bosnia and Serbia.

See also Austria; Habsburg Dynasty: Austria; Habsburg Territories; Holy Leagues; Hungary; Ottoman Empire; Passarowitz, Peace of (1718); Russia; Russo-Ottoman Wars; Suleiman I.

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AUTHORITY, CONCEPT OF. From the Latin *auctoritas*, the term “authority” was first applied to the Roman emperors, indicating that the emperor not only had political dominion but was also perfect in his person in every respect and deserved obedience and imitation for that reason. In the medieval and early modern eras it had the meaning of identifying men who had predominance in the different areas of human society and were to be esteemed and complied with. In politics it was applied to the Holy Roman emperor; in religion, to the pope; in the family, to the father. All drew on the authority of God over creation. In the areas of culture and learning it referred to those men from the ancient world who were regarded as models in

the scholarly disciplines and the arts. Authority was deemed necessary for a well-ordered society, and challenges to authority in any sphere were met with fierce resistance. Authority could be and usually was delegated or transferred.

POLITICAL AUTHORITY

In the Middle Ages the title of emperor (from Latin *imperator*) held the sense of ‘possessing universal authority’, but whether that meant dominion over the entire world or just over Christendom was much debated. The emperor delegated a portion of his *plenitudo potestatis* (‘fullness of power’) to kings and princes to help him fulfill his duties of safeguarding the Catholic faith and maintaining peace and stability. When Charlemagne was crowned emperor of the West in 800, he was seen as the direct successor to the authority of the Roman emperors. The Holy Roman Empire thus created eventually became associated with Germany, and by 1500 the term “Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation” indicated the limited extent of the emperor’s jurisdiction. With their greater historical awareness, the Italian humanists recognized that the Roman Empire had ceased to exist with the Germanic invasions, and they discarded the Holy Roman emperor’s universalist pretensions. The kings of Europe also rejected them, following the lead of the French monarchs, who soon after 1300 were claiming to be “emperor in his own realm.” Under Charles V (ruled 1519–1556) with his vast ranges of domains, the emperor’s universalist claims were briefly resurrected, but by 1600 it was clear that political authority was held by a broad range of rulers of whom the emperor was only one, ruling lands in Central Europe. Although in parts of Europe, especially France with its Salic law (which restricted royal succession to males), the argument that women should not exercise political authority prevailed, blood right usually trumped gender rules, and early modern Europe had several female rulers who exercised *plenitudo potestatis*.

RELIGIOUS AUTHORITY

The papacy claimed authority in respect to religion. Christ had given the keys to the kingdom of heaven to St. Peter (Matthew 16: 18–19), and the popes, his successors as bishop of Rome, held them absolutely. The pope delegated authority to administer the local churches to the bishops, although he did

not necessarily choose them, and he empowered the theologians to interpret doctrine. Whether the pope had supremacy over the emperor or had coequal authority with him was a major point of contention throughout the Middle Ages. The papacy's victory over the emperor in the thirteenth century was undercut both by the rise of the national kingdoms and by the crisis in the papacy itself called the Great Schism (1378–1417). When the rival popes proved incapable of solving the split in the church, it was proposed that the general council was superior to the papacy and had the power to impose a solution. The Council of Constance in 1417 successfully ended the Great Schism, but the restored papacy prevailed over the theory of conciliarism (which held that the council had authority over the church) in the century between Constance and the beginning of the Reformation. Martin Luther (1483–1546) appealed to a free general council presided over by the emperor to settle the issues he had raised, but the papacy succeeded in preventing the meeting of a council that it did not control. The challenge to papal authority posed by Luther and by Protestantism in general, however, went far beyond embracing conciliarism. Only the Bible, *sola scriptura*, could serve as authority in religion. The papacy, the councils, the right to interpret doctrine delegated to the Scholastic theologians, were human traditions that had no basis in Scripture. Every individual human was capable of understanding Scripture if it was read with an open mind and a pure heart. The Catholic Church responded largely through the Council of Trent (1545–1563), which reaffirmed the traditional structure of authority in religion.

FAMILIAL AUTHORITY

The wielders of imperial and papal authority were always males. Their authority was often seen as analogous to or based upon the power of the father in the family. The father or the head of the household had authority over his wife, children, servants, and employees; they were expected to obey, honor, and submit to him. The exact nature of patriarchal authority was vigorously debated, but all agreed that the duty of the father, and secondarily of the mother, was first of all to teach children the true faith, how to be productive, thrifty, and cooperative, and to submit to higher authority. Also debated was whether a widow could serve as the head

of the household after her husband died. The argument that such authority was exclusively male was undercut by the practice of allowing widows in most of Europe to manage their households, including their sons until they married and formed their own households.

AUTHORITY IN CULTURE

Authority in the scholarly disciplines and the arts was different from political, religious, and familial authority in that it was not seen as based on divine and natural law. Certain ancients had reached the pinnacle of knowledge and expertise, and all that remained for those who followed was to understand and imitate their achievements. Plato and Aristotle both had that status in philosophy, creating tension between Platonists and Aristotelians. Other examples included Cicero for rhetoric, Virgil for epic poetry, Euclid for geometry, Galen for medicine, Ptolemy for astronomy, and Justinian's *Corpus juris civilis* for law. In art, however, there were rather few examples of ancient art to serve as models, and the names of the artists were largely unknown. The sixteenth century also saw many of these authorities come under attack. Petrus Ramus (1515–1572), for example, sought to displace Aristotle as the philosophical authority, while Nicolaus Copernicus (1473–1543) and Galileo Galilei (1564–1642) more successfully undermined Ptolemy's authority in astronomy, beginning the early modern intellectual revolution.

See also Divine Right Kingship; Family; Holy Roman Empire; Law; Papacy and Papal States; Reformation, Protestant; Sovereignty, Theory of; Theology.

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AUTOBIOGRAPHY. *See* Biography and Autobiography.

AUTOOCRACY. Autocracy is perhaps the concept most widely used to describe the political culture of the Russian state before 1917. Indeed, autocracy, understood as the unlimited rule of the monarch over his subjects, is often taken as the signature characteristic of Russian political culture in general. *Autocracy* is also the term used to describe early modern Russia by many professional historians, especially in the United States, but their understanding is far more nuanced. These historians see the political structure of Russia as essentially oligarchical, with power shared in a mutually beneficial way among various layers of the nobility and the government. This article will present autocracy in the relatively stable political culture from 1450 to 1650 and then will discuss the changes wrought in that culture by massive influences from western Europe under Peter I the Great (ruled 1682–1725) and his immediate predecessors.

Most responsible for the trope of total power of the Russian ruler over his subjects are the accounts of western European visitors to Russia from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries. They developed a fairly simple picture of Russian political life, positing a ruler with total power over his subjects, helped in his oppressive rule by his subjects' ignorance, a subservient church, and an ideology that made his orders the equivalent of God's will.

When we turn to evidence that reflects the way Russians themselves thought about politics, however, we find a slightly different picture. Lacking a literary model of abstract political theorizing, Muscovites expressed their political ideas in a wide variety of genres in various media, including saints' lives, chronicles, and other historical texts; icons, mural cycles, and even church building and other types of architecture. This varied body of evidence presents a fairly consistent set of interrelated political ideas. The ruler (grand prince until 1547, tsar thereafter) was understood to derive his political power directly from God. Russians saw their state as a kind of reincarnation of the ancient state of Israel, guided and protected by God so long as the people

kept their faith in God. The Russians' picture of the tsar resembled his picture of God himself: a stern but merciful ruler whose relationship to his subjects was essentially personal.

If the ruler was seen as "chosen by God," was he then free to rule utterly as he saw fit, with no restraints to his power? The answer, not surprising within the context of Christian doctrines of rulership, was "no." Texts, court rituals, and images alike agree that rulers had clear obligations: to be personally pious (and thus open to receive God's will), to preserve the institution and doctrines of the Orthodox Church, and to preserve the social hierarchy while protecting the innocent and vulnerable and punishing wrong-doers.

But what of a ruler who willfully disregarded these obligations? Unlike their counterparts in early modern Europe, Russian thinkers had not worked out an answer to this problem. Even advocates of royal power admitted that subjects had not only the right but the obligation to resist an evil ruler, whom they called a "tormentor" (*muchitel'*), the Slavonic translation of the Greek *tyrannos*. There is considerable evidence that Ivan IV (the Terrible, ruled 1533–1584) was regarded as a tormentor by the end of his reign. Several rulers during the Time of Troubles (a period of civil wars and foreign intervention, 1598–1613) were regarded in the same way. The problem was that since there was no organized mechanism for replacing a God-defying monarch with another, more godly ruler, the declaration that the current ruler was a tormentor could easily lead to the destruction of legitimate government altogether, and thus to chaos.

The monarch's advisers were the main mechanism for preventing this disastrous situation. Advisers were a standard attribute of good rulers in both literary and visual representations of monarchs. They were there to give godly advice to wise rulers or to correct sinful rulers through their counsel. But this theoretical function of providing wise advice remained a personal matter and was never given a legal or constitutional form. It was not firmly attached to the Boyar Duma, a consultative body of representatives of the most prominent aristocratic families and church hierarchs, which met frequently to advise the ruler throughout the early modern period up until the era of Peter the Great.

Although consultative assemblies played a major and necessary role in the seventeenth century, in effect ruling the country on the eve of the election of Michael Romanov as tsar in 1613, the dominance of a personalized, God-dependent theory of governance prevented these assemblies from having a permanent, legitimate role in Muscovite affairs.

Discussion of assemblies brings us into the realm of practical politics. How was real political power distributed in Muscovy? Again, the foreigners' trope of the unlimited power of the monarch has had to be modified. Although there is disagreement among historians, most experts take the view that the successful ruler ruled with and through his boyars and with members of the provincial gentry, and not in opposition to them. Whereas previous historians emphasized the horizontal, corporate divisions in Muscovite society, with power flowing downward from the ruler through a growing bureaucracy, many more recent historians have emphasized a different overlapping structure. Here the great aristocratic families surround the ruler like the protons around the nucleus of an atom, with vertical patronage networks connecting the court with distant corners of the realm. Thus society was bound by the horizontal ties of a hierarchical precedence system (*mestnichestvo*) and by a growing body of law enforced by a bureaucratic apparatus, as well as by vertical and personal patronage connections across the boundaries of these groupings. Most importantly, the crown and the nobles were more allies than rivals: the crown depended on nobles at all levels to run affairs in the countryside, while the nobles depended on the crown to run national affairs and to protect noble interests in the localities.

Thus, the political culture of Russia on the eve of the eighteenth century had serious vulnerabilities. The legitimacy of any ruler could be challenged (and was challenged, for example, by the Old Believers) on the grounds of failing to carry out God's will, however the latter was interpreted. The ruler was bound by the vaguely defined theoretical obligation to consult with wise advisers and by the very real and growing power of the great aristocratic clans, as well as by a provincial gentry whose power and self-confidence were also growing. Peter tried, with limited success, to resolve these questions.

Borrowing from Western theorists of absolutism and from limited changes in Muscovite political culture at the end of the seventeenth century, Peter and his political assistants substituted reason of state and the common good, as defined by the will of the monarch, for the all-too-vague will of God as the source of legitimate authority in Russia. To be sure, the monarch still claimed to be God's chosen ruler, but to question or even discuss the link between God and the actual ruler became a treasonous act. In spite of the continued use of religious rhetoric, the state changed from an imagined revival of the ancient Israelite theocracy into a self-contained secular system, in which the good order of the state—its military successes and its cultural and social reforms—became the goals of political action.

The relationship of the monarch to the aristocracy was not resolved with similar clarity, perhaps because it did not need resolution. Though he exercised great personal power, used the title "emperor" rather than "tsar" after his victory over the Swedes in 1721, replaced the Boyar Duma with a Senate (1711), and attempted to create an aristocracy of merit through a new Table of Ranks (1722), Peter did not resolve the relationship of the crown to its nobles. Indeed, the power of the aristocracy of birth continued to grow throughout the eighteenth century as it had in the seventeenth. Russian nobles continued to find it advantageous to support the "autocracy" of the ruler at the center, while the ruler gave the nobles ever widening powers in the localities and, in many cases, great informal influence at the center. Thus the contradiction between a rhetoric of "autocratic" rule by one person and an oligarchical political structure, which had misled foreign observers in the pre-Petrine era, continued to characterize the political culture of Russia.

See also Absolutism; Aristocracy and Gentry; Authority, Concept of; Divine Right Kingship; Duma; Ivan IV, "the Terrible" (Russia); Michael Romanov (Russia); Monarchy; Peter I (Russia); Representative Institutions; Romanov Dynasty (Russia); Russia; Sovereignty, Theory of; State and Bureaucracy; Time of Troubles (Russia); Tyranny, Theory of.

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DANIEL ROWLAND

AVVAKUM PETROVICH (1620–1682), Russian Orthodox archpriest who fought against the liturgical reforms of Patriarch Nikon. Avvakum is usually considered the principal leader of the early Old Believers. The apocalyptic teachings he developed in numerous writings formed the core of Old Believer ideology, and his strong moral convictions provided a heroic example for future generations of Old Believers.

Born into a family of village priests in a hamlet close to Nizhniy Novgorod on the Volga River, Avvakum became a church deacon in 1642 and a parish priest two years later. He quickly became known as a religious zealot for demanding moral discipline and regular church attendance from his parishioners. Avvakum’s sermons against drunkenness, gambling, and fornication as well as his attacks on minstrels and dancing bears brought him to the attention of Archpriest Stefan Vonifat’ev, confessor to Tsar Alexis Mikhailovich (ruled 1645–1676). Despite the Kremlin’s support (after 1647) for his campaigns, Avvakum suffered brutal assaults, and finally expulsion, at the hands of his angry parishioners. In 1652, the Kremlin rewarded Avvakum for his loyalty by making him archpriest of the unruly Volga town of Iurevets. He again fell victim to popular revolt and had to seek refuge in Moscow.

Avvakum quickly antagonized the newly elected Patriarch Nikon (reigned 1652–1666). Avvakum’s vita emphasizes that he opposed Nikon’s introduction of the three-finger sign of the cross (replacing the old two-finger sign) and other liturgical reforms, but his only surviving letter from this period (dated 14 September 1653) reveals that he primarily resented the patriarch’s secular priorities. On 16 September 1653 Avvakum was sent to Siberia after denouncing Patriarch Nikon as “a great deceiver

and the son of a whore” in a public sermon. In the Siberian capitol of Tobol’sk, Avvakum implemented rigorous disciplinary measures and continued to fight ecclesiastical corruption. In 1656, he joined a military expedition sent to convert the natives of Dauria (now the Lake Baikal region) to Russian Orthodoxy. After enduring many hardships, Avvakum returned to Moscow in 1664 as a fervent enemy of the established church, and only then did he begin to polemicize against the liturgical reforms of Patriarch Nikon.

Most of Avvakum’s polemical writings are dated after 1667, the year in which he was excommunicated and exiled by a church council to a remote prison colony beyond the Arctic circle. Glorifying the old Russian Orthodox rituals, his letters and treatises (including the *Book of Sermons* and *Book of Commentaries*) condemned the new sign of the cross, the new liturgical books, and many other innovations (such as three hallelujahs instead of two and changes in the wording of the Lord’s Prayer) as signs of the approaching apocalypse.

Avvakum was responsible for developing some of the principal ideas of the Old Believer movement. These included a belief that Russian society must be reshaped according to Orthodox moral teachings, and that all secular and foreign influences on the church should be rejected. Avvakum upheld the image of a mythological Russia that was holier than other world cultures. He condemned Patriarch Nikon and his successors as minions of the Antichrist but promised the coming Kingdom of God to those who remained loyal to pre-Nikonian Orthodoxy.

After Avvakum was burned at the stake in April 1682, his writings were carefully preserved and transmitted to later generations of Old Believers in widely copied manuscripts. The authenticity and originality of Avvakum’s work has yet to be fully investigated. Many scholars have assumed that Avvakum had a remarkable memory, because he quoted long passages from medieval church texts during his imprisonment without having access to book collections. However, there are significant similarities between Avvakum’s writings and those penned by other Old Believers, such as Deacon Fedor Ivanov and Archimandrite Spiridon Potemkin. A handful of scholars have therefore sug-

gested that some of the writings attributed to Avvakum may, in fact, be forgeries. Scholars have also pointed out that Avvakum left almost no trace in documentary records. Other early Old Believers, such as the now largely forgotten Nikita Dobrynin, left significant archival trails, since they were under constant surveillance by the authorities. It is also curious that Avvakum's writings provoked no response in the form of an official church polemic, whereas Dobrynin's *Supplication* generated several book-length rebuttals.

There is little doubt that Avvakum's vita (in its numerous redactions) became one of the most popular Old Believer texts, and no work of early Russian literature has been more frequently translated and published. Nineteenth-century Russian writers such as Fyodor Dostoyevski and Nikolay Leskov further popularized Avvakum's image, and Avvakum has re-

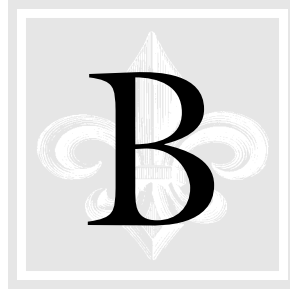
mained the dominant focus of Old Believer studies to this day.

See also Alexis I (Russia); Morozova, Boiarynia; Nikon, patriarch; Old Believers; Orthodoxy, Russian; Russian Literature and Language.

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GEORG MICHELS



BACH FAMILY. The Bach family was the most famous musical family of the early modern era. It was, however, only one of many such families that emerged in a specific social and cultural context. The territories of Saxony and Thuringia in central Germany, where the Bachs and other musical dynasties such as the Lämmerhirts and Wilckes emerged, were relatively highly urbanized, with a large number of small and medium-sized and some larger towns. Lutheranism was the official religion of the territories in this area. Music was an important part of the Lutheran liturgy, and there were hundreds of positions as cantor and organist in the region. The numerous towns and (mostly minor) courts provided a further institutional and financial framework, as well as boundless performance and composition opportunities. Saxon and Thuringian towns, courts, boys' schools, and the Universities of Leipzig, Wittenberg, and Jena provided formal and informal training.

The Bachs, who produced over seventy professional musicians, shared many characteristics of other musical families. They emerged in the sixteenth century, when Lutheran, urban, and court liturgical and institutional frameworks were established or overhauled, and declined by the end of the eighteenth, when those institutions also went into a decline. Most of the Bachs were active as instrumentalists rather than as composers. Positions as town or court musician were informally handed down among the various branches of the family, much as artisanal and professional careers were in



Bach Family. Portrait of Johann Sebastian Bach by Elias Gottlob Haussmann, 1746. ©BETTMANN/CORBIS

other families. The Bachs frequently intermarried with other families of musicians. Early musical training in the home made it more likely that talent would develop. Daughters were trained along with sons, often becoming proficient instrumentalists and singers. Most jobs and public performance venues were closed to daughters, however, and after



Bach Family. An undated portrait engraving of Carl Philip Emmanuel Bach. THE ART ARCHIVE/MUSEEN DER STADT WEIN/DAGLI ORTI (A)

marriage women were expected to devote most of their energies to their families.

Justly the most famous member of the Bach family was Johann Sebastian Bach (1685–1750). Born in Eisenach, Bach moved to the smaller town of Ohrdruf in 1695 to live with his older brother after the death of their parents. From 1703 to 1708, Bach briefly held positions as junior court musician at Weimar and as organist in the towns of Arnstadt and Mühlhausen. From 1708 to 1717 he was the court organist at Weimar; in 1717, he was appointed kapellmeister at the court of Prince Leopold of Anhalt-Cöthen. In 1723 he was appointed cantor of St. Thomas's Church in Leipzig, a position he held until his death. Bach was a multifaceted musician. He was a virtuoso performer on a variety of instruments, most famously the organ. He conducted in church and secular settings, and had a mastery of practical aspects of performance such as tuning instruments and working with the acoustics of a given space. He must also have possessed a great deal of organizational talent: for example, at least

sixty people, mostly students at St. Thomas, worked as copyists for Bach in Leipzig alone.

It is for his compositions, of course, that Bach is best known. These fall into several groups, including the sacred vocal works (especially the more than two hundred cantatas, the motets and oratorios, the *Mass in B Minor*, and the *St. John* and *St. Matthew Passions*); a smaller number of secular vocal works; compositions for the organ; and secular instrumental works for solo instruments (including the partitas for violin, cello, and harpsichord) as well as ensembles (for example, the *Brandenburg Concertos*). Working toward the end of the baroque era, he integrated a variety of approaches drawn from past and contemporary masters into his own style and stretched and gave new meaning to established forms. His style was characterized by an intricate interplay among vocal and instrumental lines, complex but formally clear structures, and underlining of textual meaning by way of melodic, instrumental, and harmonic motifs.

On balance, Bach's works represent a culmination more than they do a pointing to the future. In general, his sacred works, especially the cantatas, are now regarded as pulling together and capping previous traditions. This is true to a degree, and Bach largely stopped writing cantatas after 1729, perhaps partly because he felt that he had explored the possibilities of the genre. Still, the high baroque cantata itself had emerged fully only around 1700, was significantly developed by Bach himself, and was regarded as an innovative and even controversial musical form into the 1720s. "Bach the progressive," by contrast, is often regarded as being represented most clearly in his secular instrumental works. In these pieces, Bach most clearly emphasized his incorporation of new styles drawn from Italy and France. The social context of the performance of these pieces was also modern. The collegium musicum he directed from 1729 provided him with an innovative and highly talented amateur ensemble, mostly made up of university students. He led performances of the collegium in Leipzig coffeehouses, a new type of secular venue.

J. S. Bach married twice—first, in 1707, his cousin Maria Barbara Bach (1684–1720), and in 1721 Anna Magdalena Wilcke (1701–1760). Four of his children with Maria Barbara and six with Anna

Magdalena, in all three daughters and seven sons, survived infancy and early childhood. Little is known about the daughters. Four of the sons achieved renown as composers in the newly emerging styles of the rococo and Sturm und Drang, even pointing the way to early classical style: Wilhelm Friedemann (1710–1784), Carl Philipp Emanuel (1714–1788), Johann Christoph Friedrich (1732–1795), and Johann Christian (1735–1782). They became as well as or better known in their time than their father had in his. The sons were also the last generation of the Bach family to achieve prominence as musicians.

See also **Baroque; Buxtehude, Dieterich; Leipzig; Music; Music Criticism.**

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TANYA KEVORKIAN

BACON, FRANCIS (1561–1626), English natural philosopher, essayist, and statesman. Francis Bacon was the youngest son of Elizabeth I’s lord keeper, Sir Nicholas Bacon, and his second wife, Anne Cooke. Nephew by marriage to William Cecil, chief councillor to the queen, young Bacon was well positioned to succeed at court. Educated at Cam-

bridge from the age of twelve, Bacon in 1576 began the study of law at Gray’s Inn. He interrupted his legal studies that same year to accompany Sir Amias Paulet on a diplomatic mission to France. His father’s sudden death recalled him home after three years’ residence abroad. Because Sir Nicholas had not made adequate financial provisions for his youngest son, Francis now had to fend for himself financially. He continued his legal studies, becoming a bencher, or senior member, at Gray’s in 1586. In 1584 Bacon became a member of Parliament, but thereafter failed to secure the position of solicitor general despite the assistance of his patron, Robert Devereux, earl of Essex. In 1597 he published the first version of his *Essays*, which he continued to revise and augment in later years. During Elizabeth’s reign, Bacon only attained to the post of learned counsel extraordinary and the dubious honor of prosecuting his recalcitrant ex-patron, the earl of Essex, for his treasonous uprising in 1601.

James I’s ascension to the English monarchy in 1603 marked a decided turn in Bacon’s fortunes. Knighted and appointed to the position of king’s counsel, Bacon thereafter became solicitor general (1607), attorney general (1613), member of the privy council (1616), and lord keeper (1617). He married Alice Barnham in 1606. In 1618, he was created Baron Verulam, and became lord chancellor. From 1604 until 1621, when he was impeached for bribery, Bacon advised the king on religious, financial, administrative, parliamentary, judicial, and foreign policy matters, as well as advocating for the political union of England and Scotland. As lord chancellor, he wrote important judicial decisions and sought to reform English law.

During this period, Bacon wrote extensively about ameliorating the human condition through his plans for the advancement of natural philosophy. His *Advancement of Learning* appeared in 1605, his natural philosophic reinterpretation of Greek mythology, *De Sapientia Veterum*, in 1609, the *Novum Organum* in 1620, and the *Historia Ventorum* in 1622. After his impeachment, Bacon devoted his final years to scientific writing and experiments. He died childless in 1626 from pneumonia contracted after a foray into winter snows with a chicken carcass to conduct an experiment in refrigeration.



Francis Bacon. Portrait by Paul van Somer. ©BETTMANN/CORBIS

Bacon achieved an incisive grasp of the most significant philosophical, social, and political issues of early modernism. In *The Advancement of Learning*, he took the measure of the intellectual ferment that comprised the contemporary intellectual scene. Aristotelian natural philosophy had lost preeminence and now competed with Neoplatonism, empiricism, alchemy, and ancient atomism, among other philosophical theories, in the effort to explicate the natural world. Bacon articulated the weaknesses of each intellectual movement and reincorporated its strengths into his own philosophical program. For Bacon, natural philosophy should begin with empirical observation and the painstaking compilation of natural histories. Inductive inquiry and the noting of particulars would be followed by controlled experiments (under natural and artificial conditions), which would yield first-level axioms or generalizations. These, in turn, would be corrected and refined by further inductive inquiry and experimentation until higher-level axioms, which were capable of producing useful material effects, were attained. To ensure the validity of inductive and experimental findings, Bacon required the natural philosopher to eschew the four “Idols of the Mind,” those ways in which the human mind distorted knowledge through the peculiarities of na-

ture, nurture, language, and ungrounded theorizing.

Bacon tried to ensure that his program was politically practical. He designed his new science to fit within the institutional framework of a Jacobean monarchy purportedly interested in mutually beneficial relations with commercial and artisanal sectors. Bacon imagined the scientific enterprise as a grand public works project that would enlist the energies and ideas of broad sectors of society but would remain under the auspices of royal government. Bacon’s institution of natural philosophy would be to reconcile private intellectual ambitions with public interests to the benefit of civil society, as his scientific utopia, the *New Atlantis* (1627), envisioned.

Francis Bacon never gained financial or political support for his scientific program during his lifetime. His philosophic influence in England was negligible during the first third of the seventeenth century, although his importance was understood in the 1620s by Continental philosophers such as Pierre Gassendi, Marin Mersenne, René Descartes, Christiaan Huygens, and Isaac Beeckman. By mid-century, however, Bacon’s works were highly valued everywhere. In the 1640s, Protestant educational reformists led by Samuel Hartlib saw Bacon as a forerunner. John Wilkins, Seth Ward, and John Webster followed Bacon in attempting to devise an accurate scientific language. But Bacon’s greatest influence was on the early members of England’s Royal Society (est. 1662), who viewed him as their intellectual progenitor. Bacon’s star blazed bright into the eighteenth century, but was clouded in the nineteenth, when biographers charged him with perfidy in prosecuting his treasonous former patron, the earl of Essex. Nonetheless, the upsurge in published studies of Bacon’s life and work at the turn of the twenty-first century makes evident his status as a seminal figure in the history of early modern science.

See also Alchemy; Aristotelianism; Descartes, René; Elizabeth I (England); Empiricism; Gassendi, Pierre; Hartlib, Samuel; Huygens Family; James I and VI (England and Scotland); Mersenne, Marin; Neoplatonism; Wilkins, John.

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JULIE ROBIN SOLOMON

BALKANS. The term “Balkans” stems from the Ottoman Turkish word *balkan*, defined as a pass through wooded and rocky mountains. The designation is quite recent and, in fact, was not universally accepted until the end of the nineteenth century. Earlier European names for the peninsula included Hellenic peninsula, Greek peninsula, Illyrian peninsula, European Turkey, and *Haemus* peninsula. In English, names such as “Balkan Mountains” or “Great Balkans” appear as early as 1835, but the term “Balkan Peninsula” was first used in a book by J. G. C. Minchin on the post-1878 political situation in the region, published in 1886.

GEOGRAPHICAL BOUNDARIES AND TOPOGRAPHICAL FEATURES

The Balkan Peninsula is the easternmost of the three great European peninsulas. (The others are the Iberian and the Apennine Peninsulas.) Three of the peninsula’s geographical boundaries are maritime: the Black Sea in the east, the Aegean Sea in the south, and the Adriatic Sea in the west. In the north, from the mouth of the Kupa River into the Sava River, the northern boundary continues up the Sava Valley to the Ljubljana basin in Slovenia to the meeting point of the Dinarid range and the Alps. The westernmost part of the northern boundary is

clearly defined by the valley of the River Soca at the border between Slovenia and Italy.

A relief map of the Balkan Peninsula is notable for its three main mountain ranges: the Rhodope massif, the Dinarids, and the Pindus system, between which are the region’s main agricultural areas. These geographic features have had a great impact on the area’s history. The peninsula can be divided into four geographically defined areas: the Aegean, the east Balkans, the Morava-Vardar basin, and the Pindus-Dinarid areas. The Greek-Aegean coast, the Adriatic coast, parts of Albania, Macedonia, and Herzegovina enjoy a Mediterranean climate; the rest of the peninsula shares its weather with central Europe.

MAJOR CITIES AND HISTORICAL TERRITORIES

Most of the important cities in the Balkans during the early modern era—which coincides with Ottoman predominance on the peninsula—are still among its most important centers. Some of them date back to Roman antiquity, others are the product of early medieval times (Dubrovnik/Ragusa), and a few were founded under the aegis of the Ottomans (Sarajevo, Mostar) or the Habsburgs (Karlovac). The most important historical territories in the Balkan Peninsula are Greece, Bulgaria, Dobrudja, Albania, Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia, Macedonia, Dalmatia, Croatia, Slavonia, the Croatian and Slavonian military border, Dubrovnik, Istria, and Carinthia.

Today’s Greece was a part of the eastern Roman and Byzantine Empire for more than a thousand years (395–1460). During the Middle Ages Bulgaria, Serbia, and Bosnia were the important local powers, kingdoms, and tsardoms. Macedonia, despite its old historical name, never again reached the level of political independence and significance it had enjoyed in the times of Philip of Macedonia and Alexander the Great. However, its vast natural resources and more than perfect geographical position on the crossroads of the major roads and fluvial and maritime communications between Europe and the Near East made it a bone of contention for many polities. After periods of being a part of the Byzantine Empire and the Serbian Kingdom, from the mid-fourteenth century until 1430, it became an Ottoman dominion, and Thessalonica, its capital,



was one of the most important cities of the Ottoman Empire until the expelling of the Ottomans from the Balkans in 1912. Croatia was an independent kingdom that entered fairly early—at the beginning of the twelfth century—into union with the mighty Hungarian kingdom. Dalmatia's overlords in the period between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries were interchangeably Hungary and Venice. Carinthia was an old Slavonic dukedom, but it came quite early under the rule of various Austrian German rulers. Istria was divided between the counts of Gortz and later the Habsburgs on one side and Venice on the other. Parts of Albania were under Byzantine, Angevine, Serbian, and Venetian rule, but some mighty local dynasts enjoyed a high level of actual power during the Middle Ages. The Croatian military border was a creation of the early modern period. The Habsburgs instituted it in 1579 to

halt Ottoman advances into their territories. Dubrovnik (Ragusa) was a tiny aristocratic republic, the importance of which in the economic, social, and diplomatic history of the entire Mediterranean was belied by its minuscule territory and negligible military power.

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS AND CHANGES, 1450–1789

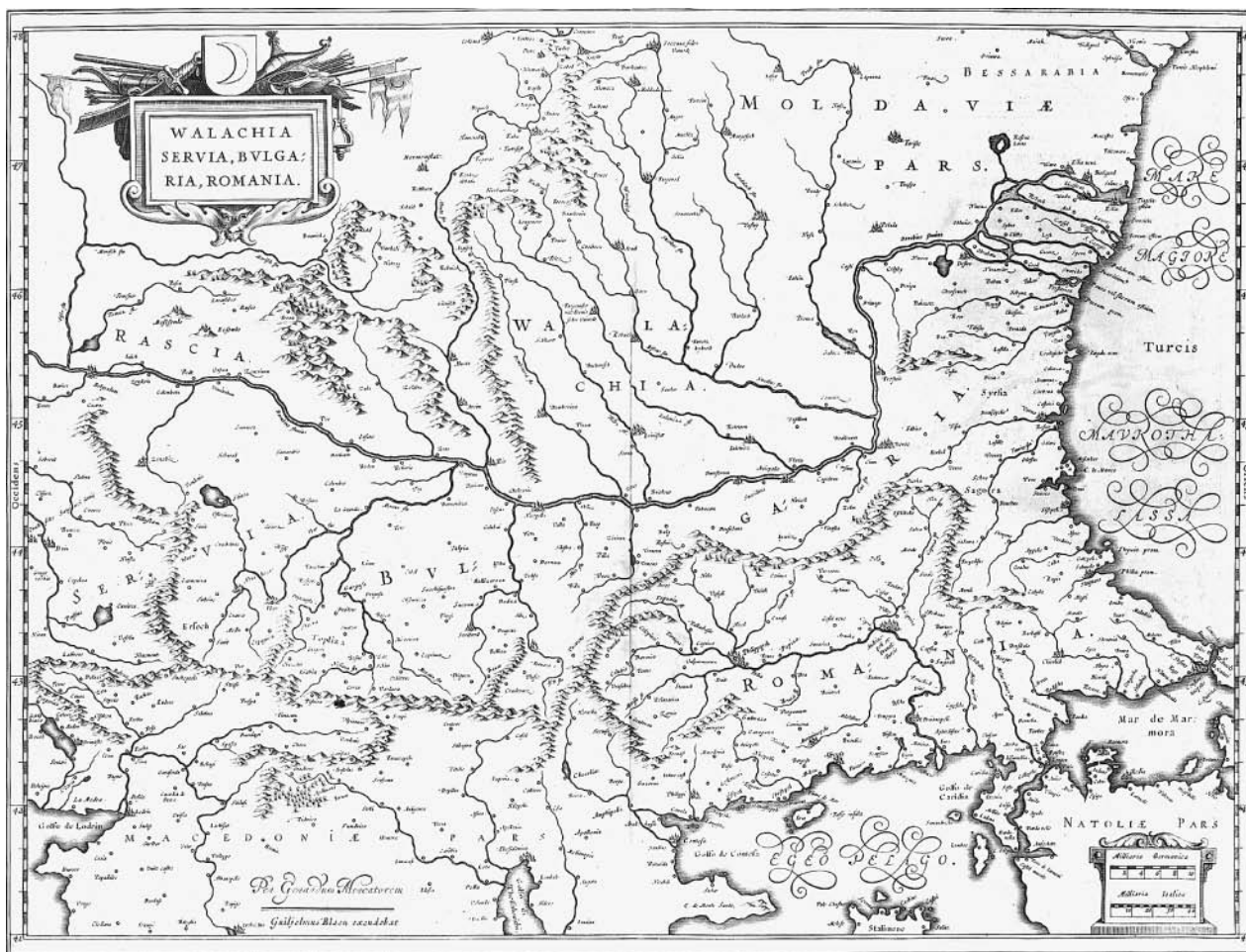
The main sources for the demographic history of the Balkans in the early modern period are the Ottoman tax registers, but it is sometimes possible to see continuities with the late Middle Ages by using late Byzantine and medieval Venetian registers of various kinds (*praktika*, *cattastici*). After the 1560s, in areas with a Catholic population, one can find valuable complementary sources in records of baptisms, marriages, and deaths and in reports by canonical

visitors. Estimates of demographic figures in the travel literature of the period are frequently unreliable. The leading authority on Ottoman historic demography, O. L. Barkan, estimated that the Ottoman Balkans in the period 1525–1530 contained some one million taxable households. (Barkan recommends adding at least 20 percent to any counted number to represent the tax-exempt population.)

During the sixteenth century, the major cities of the Balkans showed a dramatic rise in population. Fernand Braudel estimated the population of the Balkans around 1600 to have been around eight million. This number declined by the mid-eighteenth century to perhaps as few as three million. The main reasons for such a sharp decline were the many wars between the Ottomans and the

Habsburgs, Venice, and Muscovy (1683–1739) and repeated epidemics of plague and other contagious diseases. In the period 1700–1815 the number of Christians in the Balkans was constantly rising, while the Muslim population was in decline.

The original Ottoman conquests, beginning in the fourteenth century, coincided with substantial demographic changes. Any area the Ottomans planned to conquer was first subjected to repeated seasonal raids accompanied by large-scale enslavement of the local population. These raids caused great waves of migration in the late medieval period. For example, beginning in the fifteenth century, Serbs from Kosovo and eastern Serbia moved to Buda to escape Ottoman seasonal raids, while Catholic Albanians and Slavs crossed the Adriatic Sea and



Balkans. Willem Janszoon Blaeu's map of the southeastern Balkans, based on an earlier map by Mercator, was first published in his *Novus Atlas* of 1634. The region was under the control of the Ottoman Turks for most of the fifteenth through eighteenth centuries. However, a short-lived attempt at Romanian unity occurred under Michael the Brave (1593–1601), who defeated the Turks in 1600 and briefly ruled Walachia, Moldavia, and Transylvania. MAP COLLECTION, STERLING MEMORIAL LIBRARY, YALE UNIVERSITY

established colonies in the Papal States and in the kingdom of Naples. After the actual Ottoman conquest, many of the newly acquired areas were frequently subjected either to Turkish ethnic colonization or to population resettlement. The main areas of Turkish ethnic colonization in the Balkans were Bulgaria and Macedonia, with the *Bektashi* and *Halveti sufi* dervish orders playing a significant role.

In addition to the dervishes, the main agents of ethnic colonization were the Turkish tribes (Yürüks), who either resettled on their own, like the Yürüks from southwestern Anatolia in the period 1355–1400, or were expelled from Anatolia, as was the case with certain nomad groups of Mongol origins after 1416. The resettlement, both punitive and voluntary, of Balkan peoples also moved in the direction of old Ottoman centers in the Balkans, as well as Istanbul and even Anatolia. After the conquest of Bosnia, some Bosnian peasants were resettled to the vicinity of Edirne, where remnants of this group still survived in the seventeenth century. After the conquest of Belgrade in 1521, many of its citizens were transferred to Istanbul. They soon lost their language as they melted into the Greek community, but they left their trace in the topography of Istanbul where the area called the Belgrade Forest (*Belgrat ormani*) has been named after them. Serbian expellees from Srijem were resettled to the Gallipoli peninsula in the period between 1521–1528 and survived as a community, preserving their Slavonic tongue until 1912, when they were forced to migrate to Serbia after the Ottoman defeat in the first Balkan war. During the sixteenth century, waves of Sephardic Jews and Marranos of Sephardic origins entered the Ottoman Empire via Mediterranean ports. Soon afterward, they absorbed the old pre-Ottoman communities of Greek-speaking Romaniote Jews. These Sephardic Jews were joined in the mid-seventeenth century by Ashkenazi Jews from Poland and Ukraine, who were fleeing the Khmelnytsky pogroms.

In the eighteenth century, the Cincars, the last remnant of the Roman Balkan population, pushed by the persecution of local Albanian warlords, created a diaspora network of merchants from Moschopolis in today's Epirus to Vienna and Budapest. The Cincars were absorbed quickly into larger Orthodox communities, and some of them became the most fervent advocates of Greek, Serbian, Bul-

garian, and Romanian nationalism. In the period 1699–1717, a vast number of Muslim Slavonic speakers from the Ottoman Hungarian territories lost to the Habsburgs were forced to resettle in Bosnia, Serbia, Bulgaria, and Albania. In the same period, the male Balkan Muslim population, seeking work and social prestige, joined the janissary and mercenary regiments deployed throughout the empire, from Belgrade to Cairo. Two of the most famous Ottoman governors and warlords of the Arab provinces were Jezzar Ahmed Pasha of Syria, a Bosniak, and Kavalali Mehmed Ali Pasha of Egypt, an Albanian. Beside the dramatic and massive migrations caused by political and military factors, there were slow movements of population and micromigrations that caused structural changes in Balkan historical demography, and their importance in Balkan history cannot be underestimated.

CONVERSION

Even more important than forceful resettlement and ethnic migration was the Islamization of certain population groups, mainly in Bosnia, Albania, the Rhodope massif, and Crete. The period of Islamization was not the same everywhere. In Bosnia, the process developed predominantly in the period 1463–1600, while in Albania and on Crete the critical years were in the second half of the seventeenth century. In 1468 in Bosnia less than one percent of the population was Muslim; by about 1600 71 percent had been converted.

There are two main perspectives on this phenomenon. One view sees it as a result of a deliberate and forceful action of the Ottoman Islamic state and its Muslim society and citizens; the other stresses the supposed intrinsically tolerant character of the Ottoman state and society and sees conversion as the result of a deliberate choice of the converts themselves. It is undeniable that the inclusive character of Ottoman society and its toleration of subjects who did not subscribe to the belief of the ruler were higher than elsewhere in early modern Europe, with the exception of the United Provinces. Even in those Protestant countries, it was impossible to be a Muslim, while it was quite normal to be Christian, Jewish, and even Hindu in the Ottoman Empire. With the demise of the Bosnian church after the fall of the Bosnian Kingdom in 1463, the majority of its followers gradually converted to Islam, but some



Balkans. A map by Homann Heirs of the central Balkan peninsula, featuring the provinces of Macedonia, Thessaly, and Albania, from a German atlas of 1770. Through most of the early modern period, this area was part of the Ottoman Empire. MAP COLLECTION, STERLING MEMORIAL LIBRARY, YALE UNIVERSITY

Catholics and some Orthodox Christians converted as well.

In Albania, it is clear that the state was interested and directly involved in conversion. This happened especially during the second part of the seventeenth century when the Ottomans tried, through conversion, to suppress the Venetian reconquest of parts of Albania and Greece and to create a Muslim shield from northern Albania to Bosnia in order to halt possible Habsburg intrusions. The Ottoman archival data show how the central and local administration extended gifts in kind, objects, and money to the converts—certainly an incentive to conversion. Chronicles by Ibrahim Peçevi (d. 1649) and travel accounts by Evliya

Çelebi (d. after 1683) preserved reports of sporadic violence, especially in the big cities, which would end with the conversion of individuals or groups of people.

Jews also sometimes converted to Islam. A vivid document from the 1560s describes the troubles of a recently converted Jewish rabbi who was considered a professional threat by the local Muslim intelligentsia. They therefore questioned the sincerity of his conversion in a petition to the Sublime Porte. In addition to converts proper, there were communities of pseudoconverts or half-converts who kept their previous beliefs and customs, while adopting some Islamic ones. Many such communities were still alive in the mountains of northern Albania at

the end of the nineteenth century. The Dönmes of Salonika were a special case. They gradually lost their Sephardi Spanish idiom and became linguistically “Turkified,” while preserving many rites and customs of Judaism according to their own Sabbatean interpretations.

The story of conversion in the early modern Balkans does not end with the story of its Islamization. Especially in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, there were attempts at conversions of Orthodox Christians to Roman Catholicism, and vice versa. Whole zones in the Balkans fluctuated between the two Christian rites. The Habsburgs tried unsuccessfully to bring the Serbian Orthodox population into union with Rome, for example, but they quickly realized that if they wanted to preserve their military border system, they would have to cease proselytizing among their Serbian Orthodox subjects. Venice was even more cautious in that respect. Local missionary work, especially during famines, was more successful than deliberate state action. Some of the most successful conversions of the Orthodox Serbs to Catholicism were achieved by the Franciscans, who gave generous gifts of grain and other food.

OTTOMAN CONQUEST

The Ottoman drive into the Balkans began with the conquest of the insignificant fortress of Tzympe on the Gallipoli peninsula in 1352 and culminated in the seizure of the fortress of Gallipoli itself in 1354, mostly due to an earthquake’s destruction of the mighty walls of this key military port. Gallipoli enabled the Ottomans to control traffic between Europe and Asia and between the Aegean and Marmara Seas. In 1361 the Ottomans were already in Adrianople, which by the beginning of the fifteenth century (by then known as Edirne) became the main capital of the empire. The remnants of Byzantine rule in Thrace were almost obliterated by the early 1380s. The Ottomans fought two important battles, at Marica (1371) and Kosovo (1389), with coalitions of Serbian magnates. Bulgaria was subdued by 1394. In 1396 the Ottomans dealt a crushing defeat to the Hungarian and Franco-Burgundian Crusaders in the battle of Nicopolis. Significant parts of the Morea, Epirus, Albania, and Serbia were subdued by 1400.

A halt in these conquests occurred during the Ottoman interregnum between 1402–1422. Salonika, however, came into Ottoman hands in 1430 as one of their most important cities. Serbia was conquered in 1459, Bosnia in 1463, the last remnants of Herzegovina in 1482, Montenegro in 1499, and some important Venetian fortresses in Albania in 1501. The Hungarian banates of Srebrenik and Jajce were liquidated in 1517 and in 1528. The Hungarian defeat at Mohács in 1526 meant the opening of central Europe to the Ottomans. After experimentally installing a vassal kingdom as a buffer against the Habsburgs, the Ottomans took Buda and middle Hungary under their direct control in 1541. Further Ottoman advances in Hungary occurred in the period 1593–1606 and in the 1660s. Venetian territories and dependencies in the Aegean, the Morea, Albania, and Dalmatia diminished significantly, yielding to the Ottomans in the period 1501–1669. In 1669 Crete was finally conquered. The Ottomans twice tried to conquer Vienna without success—in 1529 and in 1683. The “Long War” between the Ottomans and Habsburgs (1593–1606) was exhausting and failed to achieve a breakthrough for either side.

Beginning in 1683, the Ottomans started to lose their territories in central and southeastern Europe. In peace treaties at Karlowitz (1699) and Passarowitz (1717) the Ottoman Empire recognized for the first time in its history significant territorial losses to the Habsburgs and Venetians (Hungary, Serbia, and Dalmatia, with its hinterland, the Morea). The situation was slightly stabilized with the Treaty of Belgrade (1739), when the River Sava was finally determined as the Balkan border between the Ottomans and the Habsburgs. The Treaty of Zistov in 1791 merely confirmed the Treaty of Belgrade, insofar as borders were concerned.

A series of unsuccessful wars with Russia began with disaster in the war of 1768–1774 and concluded with an unfavorable peace treaty for the Ottomans at Küçük Kaynarca. The majority of Russo-Ottoman wars were fought in the nineteenth century. The Napoleonic invasion of Italy in 1796 and the peace treaty between France and Austria signed in Campoformio in 1797 deleted the Republic of Venice from the map. Her territorial legacy was divided between Austria and Napoleonic France. In

1806 the French occupied, and in 1808 formally abolished, the Dubrovnik Republic. In 1804 the Serbs began a series of insurrections that resulted in autonomy, granted to them in 1815; the Greek fight for independence began in 1821. These events marked the end of the *ancien régime* in the Balkans and the beginning of the age of nationalism.

At the beginning of the Ottoman conquests, Thrace had unprecedented importance. It was a cradle of the Ottoman holy warriors who proceeded from it on their raids further west and south. While silver shortages were troubling Europe before the arrival of precious metals from the Americas, the importance of the newly discovered silver mines of Serbia and Bosnia led the Ottomans, always hungry for bullion, to aim their conquests toward these regions. For a long period, between 1459–1541, Serbia and Bosnia were the empire’s main Balkan provinces. This played an enormous role in the Ottoman advance toward central Europe. Serbia was on the main military road from Sofia, Edirne, and Constantinople toward Buda and Vienna, and any campaign formations had to pass through it on their way to battle. Bosnia was the repository of the auxiliary troops. Her Muslim population was entrusted with the permanent frontier *Kleinkrieg* (‘little war’) aimed at exhausting the Habsburgs and Venetians. By the 1480s Bosnian *akincis* (light armored mounted raider volunteers in the Ottoman army) made their raids as far as Friuli in the Venetian Terra Firma and into Carinthia and Styria in today’s Slovenia and Austria. In the period 1541–1699, Ottoman Hungary took over much of the border *Kleinkrieg* burden from Bosnia and Serbia. During the eighteenth century, a new Muslim military society came into being in Bosnia, and Albania became a source of irregular auxiliary military troops. Its ports harbored not only pirates but local merchants as well. In Serbia a whole new class of rural Orthodox bourgeoisie came into being in the period after 1739. They amassed wealth by exporting pigs and timber into Habsburg territories and would later be at the forefront of Serbian uprisings and quests for autonomy.

OTTOMAN ADMINISTRATION

From the second part of the fourteenth century until 1541 the Ottoman Balkans were unified in one great province, Rumelia (*Rum eli*—the ‘land of Ro-

mans’, as the Ottomans referred to the Byzantine Greeks), administered by the highest military commander in the European part of the Ottoman Empire, the *beglerbeyi* of Rumelia. Its subprovinces (*sancak*) were administered by *sancakbeyis*. In 1541, when large parts of Hungary came under direct Ottoman rule, some western Balkan *sancaks* were put under the supervision of the *beglerbeyi* of Buda. Finally, Bosnia, too, was elevated to a province, with subprovinces of its own. Generally, subprovinces were divided into judgeships (*kaza*, *kadilik*). The Ottoman judges (*kadi*) had, besides their responsibility for the court system, wide administrative duties (tax collecting, military reviews, state inspections, etc.). The smallest administrative units were called regions (*nahiye*).

By the beginning of the eighteenth century, the *kadis* were frequently rotated, and many of them saw a good deal of the empire during their careers. In the eighteenth century, many of the more lucrative judgeships were assigned to members of a narrow clique of scholarly aristocratic families in the capital. They preferred to stay in Istanbul and to sublease their appointments to substitutes who would either use them for themselves or resell them in the provinces. The judicial system, after the sixteenth century, started to acquire more organized features. Court registers were coming into use all around the empire by the mid-sixteenth century. Additionally, a specially assigned building for the court and judge (*mahkema*) was a frequent feature of Balkan towns as early as the seventeenth century. However, until the Tanzimat (the reforms of the state and society proclaimed in 1839), judges or deputy judges often adjudicated in the private space of their own homes. Not only Muslims but also non-Muslims, both men and women, made use of the Muslim *sharia* courts. This was especially true in cases of appeal or in the expectation of obtaining a more favorable decision than at their own communal court.

All these institutions were imperial, but the provinces also had institutions of a more local character. Such was the case with the office of ‘mayor’ (*şehir kethüda*), a local and informal administrative institution. The mayor’s main task was to protect the interests of cities and towns when Ottoman governors, their entourages, and the military were passing through. A mayor would make sure that

such travelers would not stay too long and become a local burden. Three days of hospitality, accompanied by food, lodging, and gifts, was considered enough. Other important administrative positions were those of guild wardens (*esnaf kethüda*). They took care of the interests of the crafts guilds vis-à-vis the state and individuals outside the guild. The religious composition of guilds varied from place to place and from guild to guild. Guild wardens, however, were predominantly Muslims.

RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATION AND IDENTITY

Islam and its body of religious scholars, teachers, and judges (*ulama*) grew together with the Ottoman Empire, and its religious canon was defined roughly by the 1550s. The religious endowments (*evkaf*; s. *vakif*) supported the provincial network of religious secondary and elementary schools (*medrese*, *mekteb*), mosques, dervish lodges (*tekke*), libraries, and other institutions. The patrons of these endowments were members of the imperial family, governors, local notables, and wealthy merchants. In poor areas, where there were no available patrons, the imperial administration would establish its own mosques and elementary religious schools. The sale, resale, lease, and sublease of religious posts occurred frequently in the period 1700–1839. Many lower-ranking religious officials had commercial and familial ties to the artisanal classes and the bazaar world, as was generally the case throughout the Ottoman Empire and in Iran at the time.

The main religious authorities among Balkan Muslim communities were jurisconsults (*mufti*), who issued legal opinions pertaining to the Islamic holy law. Any larger town had at least one jurisconsult, usually the most esteemed Islamic scholar in the region. Unlike jurisconsults, religious judges (*molla*, *kadi*, *naib*) were predominantly individuals who would not stay long in the places where they were appointed due to rotation rules. Because of their temporary position, they were bound to cooperate closely with local religious authorities, jurisconsults, and professors (*müderris*) of the religious schools. The lowest strata of the Islamic religious hierarchy were the prayer leaders and preachers in mosques (*imam*, *hatib*, *vaiz*).

The Ottomans allowed non-Muslim communities to regulate their own internal religious affairs. What the Ottoman state was interested in were the

taxes these communities were obliged to pay to the state treasury. The paying of these taxes was regulated in the form of long-term and short-term tax farms, and non-Muslim religious leaders were considered, from the point of view of the Ottoman administration, as tax farmers of the state revenues. A newly appointed Christian or Jewish religious leader was expected to pay an investiture fee for the diploma he was issued by the imperial council and to render yearly taxes to the state treasury in the name of the community. On the other hand, as a member of the ruling Ottoman military class, he could ride a horse, carry weapons publicly, and have personal armored guards, and he was also entitled to collect taxes from his flock for his own needs and those of his office.

The Ottoman authorities assisted these leaders in tax collecting. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the patriarch of Istanbul, for instance, asked the Imperial Council to assign him a number of Ottoman soldiers to help him while he was touring his dioceses in order to collect taxes. When the Serbian Patriarch Arsenije III Carnojevic was on his pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1680s, he was accompanied by a guard of four hundred mounted warriors.

The Greek Orthodox patriarchate continued its work immediately after the conquest of Constantinople. In 1557 the Serbian patriarchate, abolished in 1459 after the conquest of the despotate of Serbia, was reestablished. The first Serbian patriarch after its reestablishment was Makarije Sokolovic, a close cousin or, according to some reports, brother of the future grand vizier Sokollu Mehmed Pasha (d. 1579), and the reestablishment of this institution would not have been possible were it not for Mehmed Pasha's intercession.

The Balkan Catholic Church was in a far worse position, given that the Ottomans were much more suspicious toward the real or supposed spy role that Catholic clerics might have been playing. In addition, the popes never abandoned the rhetoric and politics of the Crusades and were staunch supporters of the Ottomans' rivals, the Habsburgs. The Franciscans in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries monopolized Catholicism in the Ottoman Balkans. By 1463, the Bosnian Franciscans had received privileges from Mehmed II, the Conqueror

(1451–1481), and by the end of the seventeenth century they were in charge of all aspects of the religious lives of Catholics in Bosnia, Croatia, Slavonia, Dalmatia, Hungary, and Bulgaria. Some small oases of the so-called Petrine hierarchy survived in parts of Croatia, Dalmatia, Hungary, and Albania. The Franciscans were extremely jealous of their achieved position, and they strenuously fought attempts by the Jesuits to gain strongholds in Belgrade in the mid-seventeenth century. The situation changed rapidly after 1699, as the Bosnian Franciscans lost control over the territories that the Ottomans were forced to cede to the Habsburgs and Venetians.

As far as Jewish institutions in the Balkans were concerned, in addition to Greece and Salonika (the greatest Jewish center in the empire), small, predominantly Sephardic communities existed in Bosnia (Sarajevo, Travnik), Serbia (Belgrade), Bulgaria (Ruscuk, Sofia, Plovdiv), Macedonia (Skoplje, Bitolj), Dalmatia (Split), Dubrovnik, and Albania (Valona, Skadar). After the Habsburg reconquest of Hungary in the period 1683–1699, many Hungarian Jews resettled in the Ottoman Balkans. The leaders of these communities were rabbis who were not only religious scholars, but also businessmen. Many Jews were physicians, apothecaries, or official translators.

Tensions between lay and religious leaders of non-Muslim communities were especially noticeable among Greeks and Serbs. The conflicts between local church boards, led by lay notables, and patriarchs, archbishops, and bishops took place daily. These conflicts were mostly over the control of the revenues of the church and church taxes, and how they were assessed.

THE MERCHANTS OF THE BALKANS

The Ottoman conquest of the Balkans facilitated a rapid rise in commerce, as it unified a vast territory and submitted it to a fairly unified administrative system. The Ottoman merchant came to be at home on both the Adriatic and the Red Seas. At first, Dubrovnik merchants controlled the empire's Balkan merchant networks, since they possessed the greatest investment capital and shipping capacity. They also controlled a huge network of merchant colonies throughout the Balkans, with Sarajevo, Belgrade, Nish, Skoplje, Sofia, Plovdiv, and Buda as

major centers. By the first half of the sixteenth century, however, archival records show local Balkan merchants beginning to appear at markets on both coasts of the Adriatic and elsewhere. The first among them appear to have been Muslim merchants. Ottoman, Dubrovnik, and Venetian archival records dispel an old myth about the alleged intrinsic Muslim lack of interest in commerce. At first, these merchants were unable to compete with the Dubrovnik merchants, but by the end of the sixteenth century, this was no longer true.

In the seventeenth century, the Dubrovnik and Muslim merchants were joined by Serbian Orthodox, Albanian, and Bosnian Catholic rivals. Bosnian Catholic merchants disappeared around the end of the century as the wars of 1683–1699 dealt a blow to their networks. Having been accused of plotting with the Habsburgs and the pope against the Ottomans, they either resettled to Habsburg territories or lost their wealth and became peasants and miners. On the other hand, the Serbian, Albanian (Muslim and Christian), and Bosnian Muslim commercial networks continued to flourish. While the Bosnian and Albanian Muslim merchants traded predominantly with Venice, Dubrovnik, and other parts of the Ottoman Empire, the Serbian, Bulgarian, Greek, Cincar, and Albanian Orthodox merchants began to migrate into Habsburg territories, a development the Austro-Ottoman Belgrade Treaty of 1739 promoted. These diasporas spread from Vienna to Trieste and Rijeka on one side and to Buda, Sopron, and Pressburg on the other. After the Russian annexation of Crimea in 1783 and the rise of Odessa as a port, these merchants moved into the extremely lucrative shipment of Ukrainian grain. The world of the merchant diasporas was crushed only with the rise of the railroads.

Jews were also present in Balkan commerce, with Salonika, Skoplje, Belgrade, Sarajevo, Dubrovnik, and Valona as their main centers. Jewish merchants were at the peak of their commercial success in the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries. In addition they were engaged in financial operations and moneylending, and in Bosnia and Albania they acquired large farms even before the Tanzimat reforms of 1839, which are usually considered the starting point of free non-Muslim investments in large landed properties.

All these merchant networks were grounded either in family ties or in ties resulting from local solidarity. Specific branches of commerce were monopolized by certain families and local communities. Also significant for Balkan commerce of the period were yearly fairs held all over the Balkans, such as those in Dolkjeni in Macedonia and in Uzuncaova in Bulgaria, which were visited by various merchants.

WESTERN EUROPEAN AND RUSSIAN INTEREST IN THE BALKANS

Western Europe never lost its interest in the Balkans. European interest in the Balkans during “Tourkokratia,” or Turkish rule, continued after focus shifted from Byzantium after the time of Charlemagne. Russian interest in the Balkans also predates the Ottoman conquest. The first interest in the Ottoman Balkans emerged in the framework of Crusading ideology. Two Crusades took place in the Ottoman Balkans (Nicopolis in 1396 and Varna in 1444), and smaller ones continued into the late sixteenth century. The kingdom of Hungary constructed its ideology around a view of itself as the bulwark of Christendom against the Ottoman peril. This ideology was clearly formulated by Sigismund von Luxemburg (ruled 1386–1437) and espoused by subsequent Hungarian kings, among whom Matthias Corvinus (ruled 1458–1490) was probably the most important. This was also the main ideology behind Habsburg, Venetian, Polish, and Russian engagement in war with the Ottomans in the period 1683–1699, and it would survive into the early eighteenth century.

The Habsburgs stressed that the Muslim population of the reconquered areas should either convert to Christianity or leave for Ottoman territories. Only Joseph II (ruled 1780–1790) proclaimed that in exchange for their loyalty, he would not force the Muslim populations of future conquered areas to convert. Out of the Crusading ideology arose the concept of the so-called Eastern Question, which can be viewed as its secularized variant, whose central goal was the destruction and division of the Ottoman Empire and the reconquest of Constantinople. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the houses of Savoy and Mantua, with papal approval, hired various adventurers who promised they would incite Balkan Christians to rebel. Most of these plans were quite unrealistic, but some of

them, especially in the period 1593–1606, gained some influence over the local Christian populations of Herzegovina, Montenegro, and Albania.

Russian interest in the Balkans appeared slowly and gradually during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In the beginning, the rulers of Muscovy acted as patrons of Orthodox religious institutions in the Balkans; some Balkan Orthodox monasteries got their first gifts from mid-sixteenth century Muscovite rulers. Soon, Balkan Orthodox monks and priests started to go to Muscovy, and later Russia, on long tours in search of alms. By the middle of the seventeenth century, the Russian tsar contacted a member of the Christian *sipahi* (a mounted warrior enjoying the prebend as pay for his service) community in Herzegovina, asking him for help in hiring experienced Balkan miners, as he wanted to improve the state of Russian mining. Peter I the Great (1672–1725) contacted Slavonic navigators living in the Venetian-held Boka Kotorska (Bocca di Cattaro) in order to procure skillful commanders and crews for his modern Russian navy. The division of the Ottoman Empire was put on the agenda by Catherine II the Great of Russia and Joseph II of the Holy Roman Empire during the 1770s and 1780s. The Balkans played a significant role in these partition plans, and spheres of interest were clearly defined. The western part of the Balkans was to be under Austrian rule, while the eastern was to go to the Russians. These division plans had a great impact on solutions proposed for the “Eastern Question” during the nineteenth century.

In the final Austro-Ottoman War (1787–1791) the Austrians mustered a significant number of the local Orthodox population in Serbia and Bosnia in special volunteer regiments (*Freikorps*). Although many of them were pardoned by the Ottomans in the 1790s, a majority of the leaders of the First Serbian Uprising (1804–1815) were actually men who acquired their military expertise while serving in the anti-Ottoman, Austrian-sponsored *Freikorps*.

The interests of Europe in the Balkans in the early modern era cannot be said to have been only military and political. The Ottoman-French alliance existed from 1530 to the French Revolution of 1789. That meant that many French diplomats, adventurers, antiquarians, and would-be missionaries crossed the Balkans heading toward Istanbul. Some

of their travelogues are very interesting sources on the Balkans as they appeared to outsiders. The first contact of the Habsburgs with the Ottomans dates to around 1500, even before the imperial family became the rulers of Hungary and Croatia. A plethora of Austrian spy reports, travelogues, and historical works on the Balkans survive as well. Venice was for a long time a place where the most reliable knowledge about the Ottoman Empire and the Ottoman Balkans could be found. The only premodern translation of a pagan Roman classic into any Islamic language, Cicero's *De Senectute*, was commissioned by the Venetian envoy to the High Porte, Marino Cavalli, as a presentation to Suleiman the Magnificent in the late 1550s, and it was translated by a Hungarian convert who worked as an official translator at the imperial council. Around 1600 an Ottoman Balkan chronicler reported that European diplomats were crossing the Balkans and stopping in Srijemska Mitrovica—formerly Sirmium, once one of the most important cities of the Late Roman Empire—to look for the Roman artifacts. This unique report showed how the curiosity of European humanists had been noticed and emulated by a local Muslim scholar.

See also **Habsburg Dynasty; Austria; Islam in the Ottoman Empire; Janissary; Porte; Russo-Ottoman Wars; Suleiman I.**

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NENAD FILIPOVIC

BALLOONS. “Get in a supply of taffeta and of cordage, quickly, and you will see one of the most astonishing sights in the world” (Gillispie, 1983, p, 17). These were the words of Joseph Montgolfier (1740–1810) to his brother Étienne (1745–1799) in 1782, and he was right: the hot-air balloon would soon astonish the world. It rose in public for the first time on 4 June 1783 in Annonay, a small town in southeastern France, and again before the royal family at Versailles on 19 September. Considerably larger than the original at 17.4 meters in height and 12.5 meters in diameter, this second model, equipped with a basket containing a sheep, a rooster, and a duck, reached an altitude of 470 meters and traveled about 3,300 meters. Astronomers armed with quadrants measured the flight, and veterinarians determined that the animals had not suffered ill effects during their ten-minute journey. On 21 November, with a huge crowd present, two “aeronauts” ushered in the era of manned flight. Contemporaries believed that men had acquired a new, visible mastery of the material world and thereby shortened the distance between themselves and the gods.

Joseph Montgolfier hailed from a substantial family of paper manufacturers, and hence it is not surprising that the Annonay balloon was a large bag of sackcloth lined with thin layers of paper. Whereas his brother Étienne was carefully educated in mechanics and mathematics, a sort of industrial architect “steeped in the science” of his craft, Joseph was a largely self-tutored visionary. Still, theirs was a technologically deft and ambitious family, who considered the “vast majority” of their fellow paper-makers as “simple workmen” hamstrung by “blind routine.” The Montgolfiers, however, experimented restlessly with their art and believed that they would find new technologies to improve their industry; the balloon did not arise from technological innocence. Moreover, the novel science of the day was also within the Montgolfiers’ grasp: Joseph was aware that Henry Cavendish had isolated inflammable air (hydrogen) in 1766 and that Joseph Priestley had detected dephlogisticated air (oxygen) eight years later.

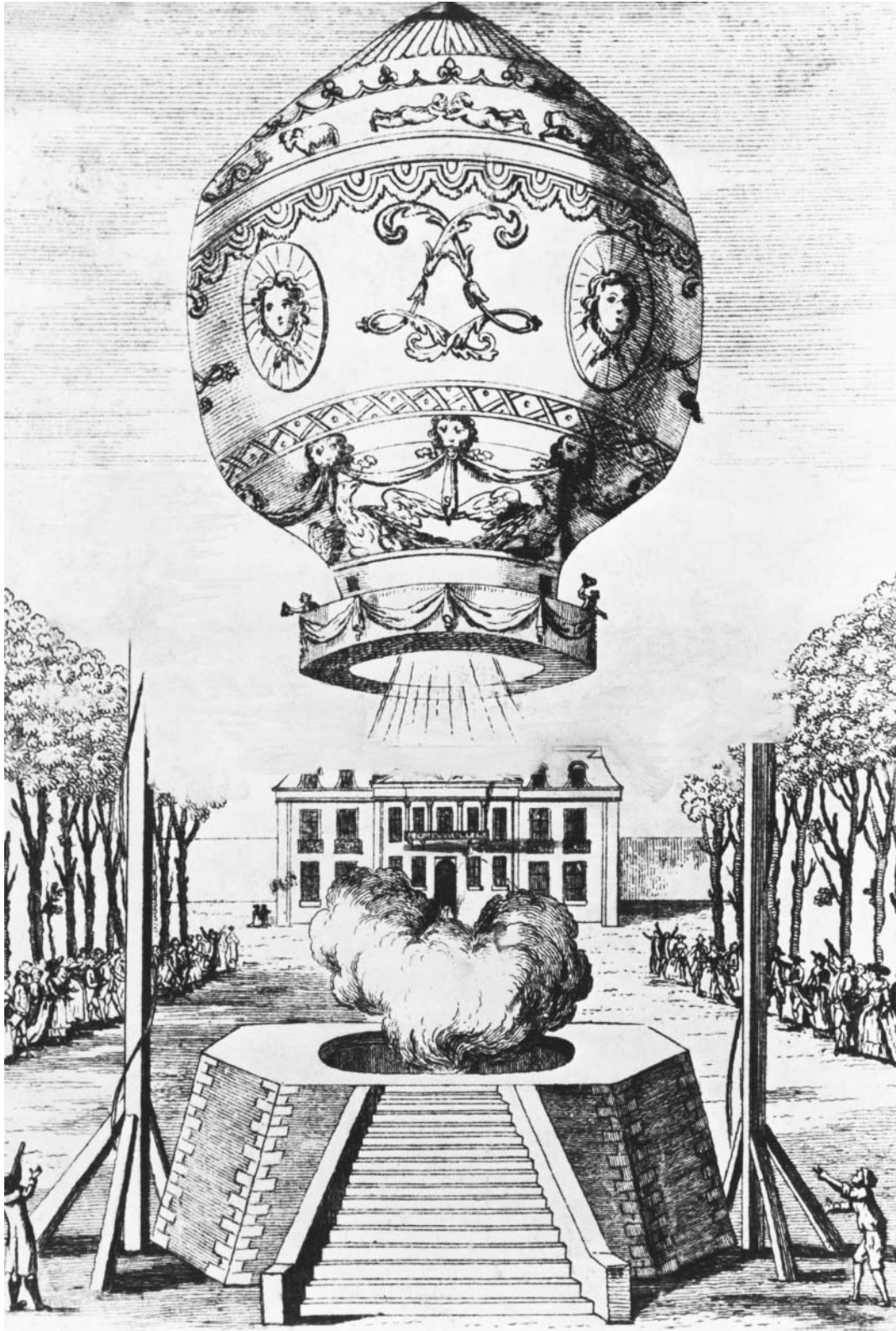
Invisible forces, including Isaac Newton’s gravity and Benjamin Franklin’s electricity, were in the air during the twilight of the Old Regime. But the Montgolfiers soon turned away from relatively expensive hydrogen to boost their device. Instead, their attention focused on heating the air until it was sufficiently rarefied to propel the balloon. (Joseph evidently believed that this process was accompanied by a chemical transformation, rather than simply by the expansive power of heat, which yielded a distinctively light, hence propulsive, gas.) Meanwhile, J.-A.-C. Charles, a popular lecturer in experimental physics, released a hydrogen balloon on the Champ de Mars in Paris on 27 August 1783. Mistakenly assuming that the Montgolfiers had also relied on hydrogen, Charles thought that he was merely replicating the brothers’ feat. But rather than a rarefied royal entourage, Charles’s device was subsidized by a subscription and its ascent witnessed by a throng of perhaps fifty thousand spectators. The balloon craze had taken off.

“One hundred thousand souls, at least,” supposedly wept, cheered, and fainted as a balloon levitated over Nantes in the summer of 1784. Already in December 1783, the chancellor of the Academy of Dijon warned his colleagues that “the public would be astonished that in a town which flourishes in the sciences and the arts, no one has

attempted to repeat the wonderful experiments of the Montgolfiers” (Gillespie, p. 259). Emboldened by a provincial zeal to emulate the capital’s achievements, the Dijon society sought funds for the construction of a balloon; on 25 April 1784, the chancellor and a companion floated triumphantly to an altitude of 3,200 meters over the city. A wave of barnstorming ensued, as men like J.-F. Blanchard, who raised the funds for his Parisian ascent through newspaper solicitations, capitalized on the craze. Blanchard, in fact, replicated his feat in Rouen, in England, and in North America. Even ballooning’s first two casualties, the victims of an attempt to cross the English Channel in 1785, took only some of the air out of the mania. And countless prints turned these men into martyrs, among technology’s first, while those aeronauts who returned home were paraded through town like conquering heroes.

They were conquerors. In the frenzy for lightning rods and balloon flight, awe was linked to mastery and uncoupled from fear. Whereas portents and prodigies once signaled the Lord’s ungovernable wrath, lightning rods, balloons, and the recent effective harnessing of water vapor as a source of motive power were expressions of growing human dominion over the earth and its forces, and of the power of untrammelled reason. This maturing capacity was celebrated in verse inspired by balloon flight. Meanwhile, the great mathematician Leonhard Euler’s last calculation explored the “laws of vertical motion of a globe rising in calm air in consequence of the upward force owing to its lightness” (Gillespie, 1983, p. 32): the earliest recorded mathematical rendering of the flight of aircraft.

Étienne Montgolfier’s dream of a commercial fleet of balloons did not materialize during his lifetime. English entrepreneurs largely ignored the device, leaving the field to adventurers and popular entertainment; nor was English science deeply concerned with ballooning. But the Paris Academy of Sciences, the central scientific institution in France, avidly considered principles and practices of aeronautical engineering, pursued effective and inexpensive gas fuels, and considered military applications. For these reasons, and even more the technological awe and optimism it helped to ignite, the Montgolfiers’ hot-air balloon deserves to be considered among the macroinventions of the first



Balloons. *First Ascent of Human Beings in a Balloon*, undated copper engraving. ©BETTMANN/CORBIS

industrial revolution, alongside the steam engine, the Jacquard loom, and gas lighting.

See also **Chemistry; Enlightenment; Technology.**

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LEONARD N. ROSEN BAND

BALTIC AND NORTH SEAS. Many of the coasts of the North and Baltic Seas are inhospitable and make for hard traveling. It was not easy to travel along the mountainous shores of the Norwegian fjords or the Scottish firths, or to cross the marshes that in places lay close to the German, Dutch, and English coasts. Early modern roads were often unpaved, and in bad weather or in the wrong season might be impassible. In places, however, natural waterways made the hinterlands easily accessible. This was the case, for instance, in the Dutch delta, which contributed to the strong position of the Dutch in trade. To these natural waterways, manmade canals were added, like the system of *trekvaarten* that linked Dutch towns in the coastal provinces from the 1630s or the system of

canals that opened up the center of Britain in the second half of the eighteenth century. By the end of the eighteenth century roads had much improved. Nevertheless, for the whole early modern period long-distance transport of people and goods over sea was generally much cheaper than over land. The waters of the North Sea and the Baltic thus acted not only as a natural border between states and a naval battleground for their conflicts, but also as a high road that connected the shores. Fishing, trade, labor migration, travel, pilgrimage, and warfare were among the reasons to cross the waters and to make contact with the inhabitants of other shores.

FISHING AS A CULTURE

Some fishing was a part-time occupation of farmers, but in other cases fishing was a specialized occupation. The coasts of the North and Baltic Seas were dotted with fishing villages. As fishing was governed by other economic laws than farming, fishing villages often lived with their back to the shore, facing the sea. Fishermen were drawn across the waters by fish such as herring, which live in huge shoals and had to be followed by fishing boats to ensure a good catch. Not only the fathers and sons who actually went fishing, but also their wives and sisters who repaired nets, sold fish, and ran the households without the men who were at sea, were attuned to a rhythm of life that differed from that farther ashore. If bad weather drove fishermen to strange shores, they would immediately understand the culture of a “strange” fishing village, and probably find themselves more at home there than in a farming village in their own region.

If fishermen would have recognized each other’s way of living, this does not mean that all fished in the same way. Technical innovations that were perfected in the course of the sixteenth century made Dutch salt herring a very competitive product throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The large Dutch fishing ships called *buizen* followed the herring out in the open sea, caught large quantities, and treated and salted the catch at sea, which enabled the boats to stay out for weeks on end. In the early sixteenth century, fishermen from all along the coast of the Wadden Sea in northern Germany and Denmark caught herring for the North Sea island of Helgoland. Fishermen met on the fishing grounds, and there was some migration

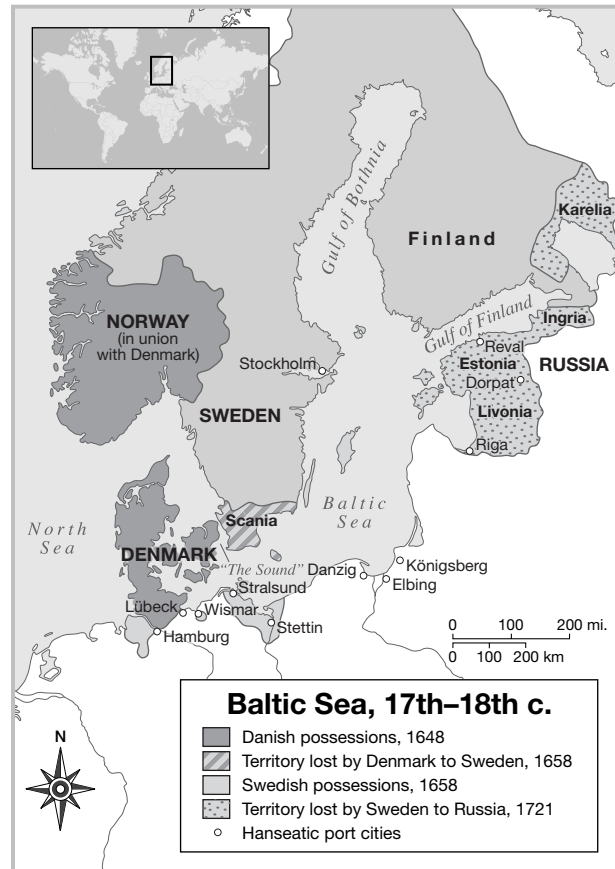
of fishermen from the south to Scandinavia, which may have led to cultural exchanges.

By 1562, when the Danish Sound Toll Registers supply us with information, the Dutch were the main importers of salt herring into the Baltic. In the 1570s and 1580s Norwegian fishermen from the coast of Bohuslen (in present-day Sweden, facing the Skagerrak) took over, only to be ousted from the Baltic market in the 1590s again by the Dutch—the most probable reason being that the fish had moved so far away from the coast that only the larger Dutch vessels could reach them. Dutch export of salt fish into the Baltic grew until the peak of Dutch fishing was reached around 1630. After that, decline set in, more rapidly after the beginning of the eighteenth century. Norwegian, British, and Scottish herring fishing grew in the second half of the seventeenth century. After 1700, Scottish herring drove Dutch herring out of the Baltic. Norwegian herring fishing boomed in 1740–1760.

NORTH SEA AND BALTIC CULTURAL UNITY

In all but the most urbanized coastal regions, by far the largest portion of the population was involved in subsistence farming and usually had cultural or economic contacts only within a quite small and well-circumscribed space, for instance a market town and its hinterland. Exchange between these regions took place through the middlemen who had dealings farther away: local elites who traveled for reasons of education, politics, or warfare, but also traders, sailors, and fishermen, as far as they fished on the open sea.

These smaller regions differed only gradually one from the next. In culture, dialect, and ways of living, one would notice change only gradually when traveling from one place to another. Traders going along the coasts from one of these small regions to another could easily communicate. Most of the languages spoken around the North Sea and southern and eastern Baltic are closely related. According to tradition, Frisians (from the Netherlands province of Friesland and the Frisian Islands in the North Sea) could speak their mother language with the local population in eastern England and in Norway. It is clear that Danish, Dutch, English, and German were considered separate languages long before the early modern period. For official contacts interpreters were needed. But even if people differ-



entiated between these languages, it does not follow that their boundaries were clear. Before the establishment of national standard languages and their implantation through state education, a national press, radio, and television in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the regional diversity of language was great. The dialects along the North Sea and Baltic coasts changed gradually from the one to the other and did not respect territorial borders, which in some places and times were fluctuating anyway. The same holds true for other cultural practices.

What would develop into national languages in this continuum of dialects depended on political developments. Eventually the dialects of regions that were dominant culturally or otherwise became the national languages. This development could be supported by national policy, for instance through the translation of the Bible. The translation in Dutch offers a good example. For the *Statenvertaling*, the translation of the Bible in Dutch financed by the States General and published in 1637, a committee

was formed that represented the leading dialects within the Netherlands. It discussed not only theological context, but also the linguistic choices to be made, and thus contributed to the formation of a standard Dutch language. If the young Dutch Republic had comprised other regions, other choices would have been made and another standard language would have developed. If the Dutch Republic had extended farther along the North Sea, use could have been made of the translation of the New Testament made by the West-Fleming Jan Utenhoven in Emden (in Lower Saxony, Germany) in 1553–1556. He designed a language that could have been understood from Flanders to the Baltic Sea. As Utenhoven's Bible translation shows, the variety of dialects on the eastern shores of the North Sea was bridgeable. There was more distance between English and the languages of the eastern shores of the North Sea than between those languages, but the dialects of English spoken along the North Sea coasts, especially north of King's Lynn, had more in common with other North Sea languages than did standard English, which is a southern dialect. English was harder to grasp for the inhabitants of the eastern North Sea shores than their dialects were mutually, but it was taught and learned. Along the southern shore of the Baltic the lingua franca was Low German, which was much closer to Dutch than is High German.

ECONOMIC IMPORTANCE OF THE NORTH SEA AND BALTIC

During the early modern period the most important centers of world trade bordered on the North Sea: Antwerp during much of the sixteenth century, Amsterdam in the seventeenth and eighteenth, and London in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. These cities traded with the whole known world, but in each of the three cases their position was partly based on nearby trade, within the North Sea area. This was especially true for Amsterdam.

The position of Amsterdam was based in the first place on the Baltic grain trade. This was partly paid for with bullion, but the Dutch actively sought return cargo. By 1630 Amsterdam had become the entrepôt for the whole of Europe, not only in grain, but also in wood, tar, and iron. The know-how developed in the bulk trade with the Baltic enabled the Dutch to transport goods cheaply elsewhere. The English resented the large part the Dutch took

in trade with the ports on their eastern shore. By the Acts of Navigation (1651, 1660, 1662, 1663, 1670, 1673) they tried to shield English trade from Dutch competition. By the beginning of the eighteenth century, Britain had become the dominant trading nation along the North Sea, and London had developed into the third consecutive center of world capitalism to be located on the North Sea. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the English turned away increasingly from the Baltic and North Sea markets to new opportunities in the Mediterranean and their colonies, especially across the Atlantic. However, reexports to northwestern Europe remained very important to British trade to the end of the eighteenth century. Throughout the early modern period, much of British and Dutch trade was with faraway markets. Goods like spices, coffee, tea, or calicos introduced new cultural practices in the North Sea area. With the relevant goods, these practices were first introduced in Amsterdam or London, then transported to other ports within the region and ultimately from the coasts inland. By the eighteenth century Hamburg developed into an important competitor of Amsterdam on the European mainland, receiving much British trade.

Not only the great centers but also the smaller towns on the North Sea profited from this trade. The town of Mandal in southern Norway, for instance, around 1700 had regular trade contacts with all North Sea coasts and the southern Baltic. Norway provided wood for shipbuilding and other construction work in England and Holland. Wood was essential to buildings, even buildings in stone. The Norwegian bishop Jens Bircherod is said to have remarked after the London fire of 1666 that many Norwegians had warmed themselves at this fire. In the soggy Dutch soils wooden piles were needed to support buildings made of stone and brick; 13,659 wooden piles were needed, for example, to support the new Amsterdam city hall in 1655. The Dutch poet Joost van den Vondel (1587–1679) wrote that if one turned Amsterdam upside down, one would discover a subterranean Norwegian forest.

Denmark exported grain and cattle to Holland and the north German cities. Denmark and Norway exported fish to the Baltic coasts, as did the Dutch. The fish trade carried the salt trade in its wake, which in its turn was followed by the trade in Mediterranean products. The Scottish lowlands and the

Shetlands depended on imports from England, Holland, and Scandinavia for many primary products. In exchange, the Shetlands exported fish to Bremen and Hamburg. Lowland Scotland exported grain to Norway and Rotterdam, coal (as did northern England) and salt to the whole of northern Europe, and coarse textiles, fish, and cattle. Even contacts between two not very developed areas such as Scotland and Denmark were extensive, although they were relatively unimportant in the system as a whole. The Baltic exported not only grain, but also Swedish iron and naval stores. Tar, pitch, flax (for linen canvas), and hemp (for rope) were essential to wooden sailing ships. The Baltic produced all of these, and access to its trade was therefore of strategic importance to the great maritime powers.

URBANIZATION AND CULTURE

The importance of trade in this system had several consequences. Perhaps the most prominent structural characteristic of the North Sea/Baltic area is urbanization, especially on its southern shores. The Hansa with its civic culture had extended over the North Sea and Baltic coasts. In succession the southern Netherlands, the northern Netherlands and—after 1800—England became the most urbanized areas of Europe.

Reading and writing were strongly stimulated by trade and thus flourished in trading cities. Therefore the North Sea shores saw the early spread of reading and writing. Literacy in Flanders, Holland, and England was already relatively high by 1500, before the printing press or the Reformation could have much influence. The percentage of literate women was also much higher in the northwest than in other parts of Europe.

For the early modern period, these literate town dwellers had a relatively rationalistic and individualistic outlook on life. Holland, with its wet soil, was forced to import bread grain from elsewhere and to specialize in commercial agriculture and other commercial ventures, which were integrated in a world market already before 1500. At this early date, an important number of rural and urban households in Holland were already dependent on wage labor. The provision of bread grain from northern Germany and Poland led to less dependence on local harvests and thus to less insecurity about survival. Trade risks were averted by sharing ships and by

developing commercial insurance. This supported a world view that learned to calculate risks. Borrowing against future income became another field that seemed to consist of calculable risks. In some cases financial techniques were borrowed at least to some extent by one North Sea state from the others. In this climate of relatively calculable risks, of increased security and rationality, the belief in witchcraft dwindled. Science prospered.

Protestant culture. Protestantism is an obvious characteristic of the North Sea/Baltic basin, as all coastal areas adopted it. The North Sea and Baltic coasts had already had a religious character of their own in the Middle Ages. In northwest France, on the British Isles, in the Netherlands (with the exception of the southern rim), in northern Germany, and in Scandinavia penance had become a private matter. Public expressions of guilt and penance had grown less important. Carnival had never taken root there. The merchants who carried the center of commercial capitalism from Antwerp to Amsterdam in 1585 were Protestants fleeing religious persecution. Arminian thinking traveled from the Dutch Republic to England. Puritans carried Reformed Pietist thinking in the opposite direction in the 1630s. These religious movements spread along trade routes over England, Scotland, and the Dutch Republic. From the North Sea basin they spread to other areas, both inside and outside Europe, but it is clear that their innovative center lay in English Puritan thought, and to a somewhat lesser extent in Dutch Reformed Pietism.

Migration and cultural exchange. Exchange between the North Sea and Baltic shores was also mediated by migration flows. In the period between 1600 and 1775 the core region of the Dutch Republic, the coastal province of Holland, attracted more than two million immigrants. The majority of these were from the continental coastal regions of the North Sea, especially before 1720. In the case of the Norwegian sailors and servant girls who migrated to the Dutch Republic, we know that they took back home cultural impulses from Holland, to the point of being considered “dutchified.” The largest flow of Norwegian youths went to Holland in the years 1680–1725. In peacetime, the Dutch Republic needed some 33,000 men to man its fleets in 1610, and between 44,000 and 50,000 men between 1630 and 1770. From the end of the

seventeenth century the English fleets required more men than the Dutch: 55,000 sailors in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, 70,000 by the middle of the eighteenth century, and 95,000 at the end of it. However, England could recruit these from a much larger population, as could other rival maritime powers. On a per capita basis, the Dutch required ten times as many sailors as France, and five times as many as England or Spain. Therefore, the Dutch had to rely on international recruitment to man their fleets. This created the largest international labor market northwest Europe had ever seen.

Diffusion of Dutch navigational knowledge.

Crews recruited for the Dutch fleet outside the Dutch Republic in the seventeenth century came mainly from other North Sea and Baltic coasts. This led to a diffusion of nautical knowledge. Dutch teachers and manuals in Dutch were very influential along the German, Scandinavian, and Baltic coasts. Their influence lasted well into the eighteenth, and even into the nineteenth century. Navigation was taught in Dutch in Hamburg from 1749, and in Mecklenburg and Emden from the 1780s. Many a mid-eighteenth century Scandinavian or German sea captain kept his log in Dutch. They certainly brought other Dutch customs home, too. However, by the second half of the eighteenth century Dutch trade had lost its lead, the Dutch fleet was shrinking, and the Dutch labor market had lost its magnetic force.

STRATEGIC CONSIDERATIONS

We already noticed the strategic importance of Baltic naval stores in the age of sail. As long as the Dutch could, they tried to prevent Denmark and Sweden from becoming so powerful that they could close the Sound and hinder Dutch trade with the Baltic. In 1644 and 1645 the Dutch navy escorted Dutch merchantmen through the Sound, preventing the Danish King Christian IV (ruled 1588–1648) from collecting the Sound tolls, and in 1658 it prevented Charles X Gustav of Sweden (ruled 1654–1660) from becoming dominant on both shores of the Sound.

In the seventeenth century the states around the North Sea and the Baltic led the so-called military revolution, with larger professional armies and large permanent, specialized, and therefore expensive

fleets. The Dutch Republic, which could raise an army or fleet by borrowing against future tax revenue, is a prime example of a capital-intensive manner of state building. Even if England was slightly more coercive and Denmark and Sweden even more so in their ways of collecting the necessary revenues, none of these states developed a full-blown case of military-bureaucratic absolutism like that of Prussia or France in the eighteenth century. In all four of these countries certain civil rights survived the military revolution. The Dutch bourgeois town regents class and the British Parliament maintained control over taxes and state finances, keeping interest rates low and enabling their respective states to borrow in times of war.

Money was needed for the ever larger armies and fleets that warfare required. England and the Dutch Republic fought three major wars on the North Sea in the seventeenth century and another in the eighteenth. The English claim to sovereignty over these seas lay at the bottom of the conflict. The Acts of Navigation of 1651 helped cause the first of these wars (1652–1654). In it the British employed larger and more heavily armed ships than ever before. These ships, fighting in line, managed to dominate the Dutch fleet, which still consisted partly of armed merchantmen. Already during the war the Dutch States General decided to build bigger and more heavily armed men-of-war. The second Anglo-Dutch War (1665–1667) showed that the Dutch had learned their lesson. Employing the same tactics that had brought the British success in the previous war, the Dutch managed to hold their own in the Four Day Battle in 1666, and successfully attacked the British fleet on the Medway River in 1667. The third war (1672–1674) brought no clear gain to either of the two maritime nations. With hindsight it is easy to see that Britain would have become the dominant trade and naval power even without these wars. Its size and geographical position would have prevailed anyway. But the Anglo-Dutch Wars were important because they fundamentally changed naval warfare, making it much more expensive. One of the first victims of this development was the Dutch Republic, which after 1714 could no longer afford to take part in any major war.

See also **Anglo-Dutch Naval Wars; Baltic Nations; Commerce and Markets; Communication and Transportation; Denmark; Dutch Republic; Dutch War**

(1672–1678); England; Hansa; Mobility, Geographic; Navigation Acts; Poland, Partitions of; Poland to 1569; Poland-Lithuania, Commonwealth of, 1569–1795; Russia; Serfdom in East Central Europe; Shipping; Sweden.

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LEX HEERMA VAN VOSS

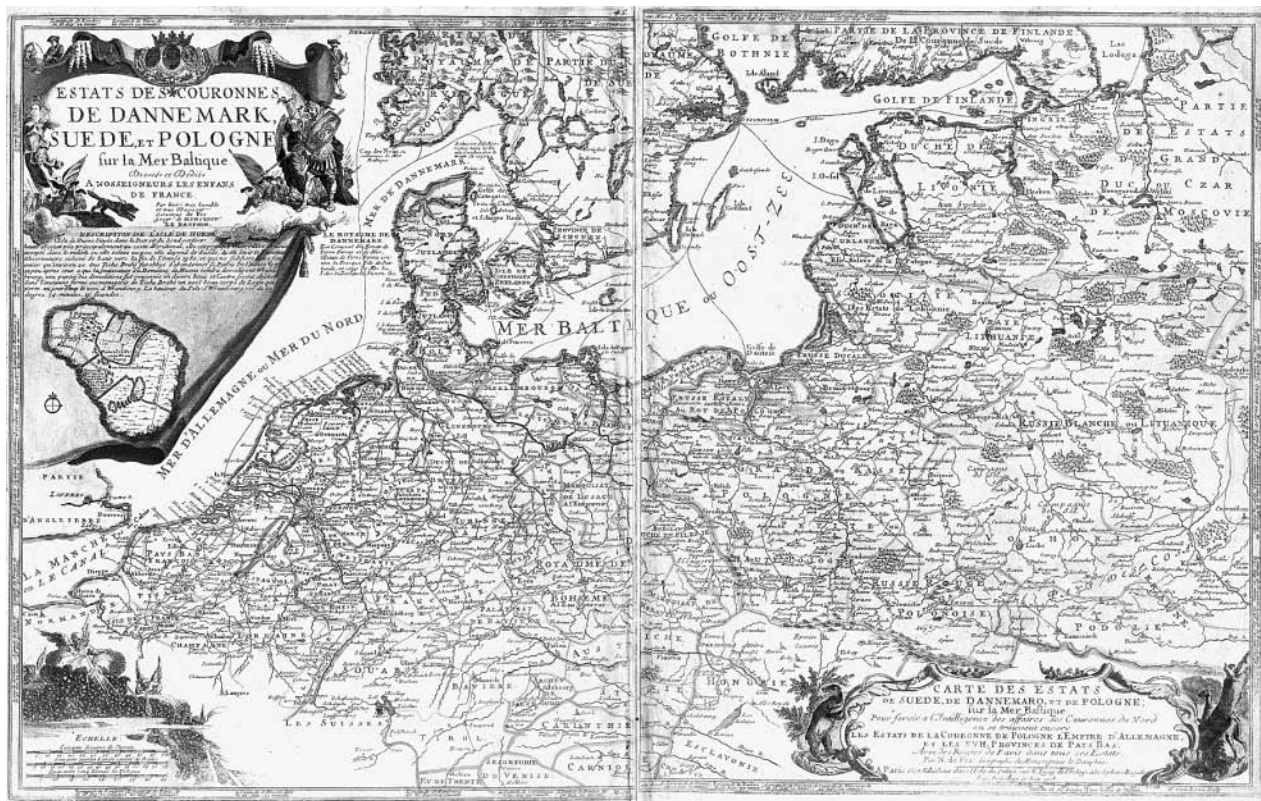
BALTIC NATIONS. The Baltic nations (Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania) are now seen as a unit, although they were not so historically. While Latvian, Lithuanian, and Prussian (a language that became extinct around 1700) are counted in the Baltic language group, Estonian belongs to the Finno-Ugrian language family. Estonians and Latvians (with the exception of the Latgallians) became Lutheran after the disintegration of the Knights of the Sword in the sixteenth century; Lithuanians, on the other hand, remained Catholic. In early modern times the history of Lithuania is closely connected with the history of Poland (Union of Lublin, 1569) and will be discussed there.

From the thirteenth century, colonists, mainly from northern Germany, came as knights, merchants, and craftsmen to Livonia and founded the basis of a German-speaking upper class. They settled in or near fortified castles, from which the territories were ruled. During the heyday of the Hansa, a league of towns that connected the merchant towns in northern Germany with the Baltic in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, many new places were founded along the Baltic Sea, including Riga, Reval/Tallinn, Dorpat/Tartu, Pernau/Pärnu, Wenden/Cēsis, and Windau/Ventspils. These played important roles in trade with the Belarusan up-country. The merchants from Riga, which is located at the mouth of the Dvina River, ranked first.

The towns were the centers of political life; the guilds, for example, the Brotherhood of the Blackheads, regulated education, production, and social life for their members. Throughout the modern period, the Baltic countries remained mainly an agrarian region with a conservative political structure of a privileged foreign upper class and native peasants without rights (serfdom).

Old Livonia was not a homogeneous state in the beginning of the sixteenth century; it combined six territories: the region of the Livonian knights, the municipal area of Riga, and the territories of the bishops of Riga, Courland, Dorpat, and Ösel-Wiek. Beginning in 1420 the *Landtag* (diet) served as the representative assembly of the country, with great political significance. Military pressure from the Muscovites led to war in the beginning of the sixteenth century.

The Reformation, coming in the 1520s via Prussia to the big Livonian towns, weakened the position of the already outmoded ideals of the crusading Livonian Order and the Catholic bishops. The movement did not encompass the whole population at once, but because of its desire to reach the local population in the vernacular, it helped to develop the native languages. The end of the sixteenth century was characterized by lively German-language chronicles by Balthasar Russow and Salomon Henning. The Lutheran University of Königsberg, founded in 1544 by Duke Albrecht of Hohenzollern, was important for students from the Baltic region as well. The Livonian diet voted for religious freedom of the individual in 1554.



Baltic Nations. A 1705 French map of the area bordering the Baltic and North Seas. Ingria (“Ingrie”), at the top right on the eastern end of the Gulf of Finland, was Swedish territory until captured by Peter the Great in 1702. The map is somewhat unusual in that it includes roads throughout the area, as well as a number of sea routes through the North, Danish, and Baltic Seas connecting the major trade centers of the early 1700s. MAP COLLECTION, STERLING MEMORIAL LIBRARY, YALE UNIVERSITY

The last grand master, Gotthard Kettler (ruled 1561–1587), secularized the order in 1561 and surrendered Livonia to the Polish king Sigismund II Augustus (ruled 1548–1572), retaining the Duchy of Courland and Semigallia, which included the Latvian region south of the Dvina River, for himself as a Polish vassal. In the *Pacta Subiectionis* the Polish king guaranteed the old liberties and the Lutheran confession to the Baltic nobility. The Union of Lublin in 1569, which constructed a real union between Poland and Lithuania, confirmed the situation in the Baltic. In 1558 the First Northern War with Tsar Ivan IV (ruled 1533–1584) started. By the peace of Iam Zapol’skii in 1582, northern Estonia came to Sweden, and Livonia, which included today’s southern Estonia and northern Latvia, to Poland. In Livonia the Jesuits started to work in the spirit of Counter-Reformation, but in the short period they stayed there (until the beginning of the seventeenth century) they could not achieve enduring success.

In 1592 the Polish king Sigismund III Vasa (ruled 1587–1632) inherited the Swedish throne, resulting in new struggles between the Catholic Vasa in Poland and the Lutheran Vasa in Sweden that involved Russia as well. The struggle for the *Dominium Maris Baltici* (Control of the Baltic Sea) was mainly fought in Livonia and Prussia. The Polish-Swedish War (1600–1629) ended with the truce of Altmark, by which Livonia fell to the victorious Swedish king Gustavus II Adolphus (ruled 1611–1632). He gained profitable port dues in the Baltic that enabled him to go on with the war in Germany. Poland-Lithuania kept its position on the Baltic only in Polish Livonia (until 1795), today’s eastern part of Latvia.

The Thirty Years’ War ended in Germany in 1648, but struggles continued as the Second Northern War (1655–1660) in Poland-Lithuania. Cossack uprisings in Ukraine (Bohdan Khmelnytsky’s revolt in 1648) weakened the country and

helped the Swedes to invade in the mid-1650s, reaching as far as Warsaw. Lithuanian nobles such as Janusz Radziwiłł (1612–1655) planned a union with the Swedes in 1655. Further struggles between Swedes and Russians were mainly fought in the Baltic. The peace treaty of Oliva in 1660 restored the status quo; the imprisoned duke of Courland obtained his duchy again.

The Duchy of Courland, which existed until the Third Polish Partition in 1795, was ruled by the duke and the nobles; policies were made at the assemblies of the *Landtag*. Though the noblemen did not deny the duke's position as a whole, domestic politics were characterized by lasting conflicts between the nobles and the duke. Since the *Formula Regiminis* in 1617, which created a noble oligarchy with a princely head, the noblemen had the right to appeal directly to the Polish king, which facilitated the king's intervention with the inner affairs of the duchy.

The energetic duke Jacob (ruled 1642–1682) was able to gain a strong economic and political position in the Baltic. A supporter of mercantilism, he built ships to bypass the dominant Dutch investors in the Baltic Sea and tried to win colonies (Gambia and Tobago). The heyday of the history of this small duchy ended in the seventeenth century. The last Kettler duke, Ferdinand (ruled 1711–1737), lived abroad in Danzig/Gdańsk. The following dynasty of the Biron was strongly influenced by Russian politics. Nevertheless, they showed some architectural initiative in the construction of castles in Mitau/Jelgava and Ruhental/Rundāle.

From 1629 to 1710, Livonia and Estonia were ruled by Swedish governors-general; the self-government of the nobles remained. The Baltic noblemen were represented over-proportionally in government services and in the Swedish army, where they made up one-third of the higher ranks; frequent ennoblement and distribution of estates followed. In the middle of the seventeenth century, half of the Baltic estates belonged to sixteen Swedish families, including the Oxenstierna, Baner, and De La Gardie. With the Reduction of Land of 1680, that is, the reclamation of royal states alienated illegally, King Charles XI (ruled 1672–1697) again nationalized these estates, weakening the Baltic (and Swedish) nobles. With the Swedish victory in

the Baltic, the Lutheran Church also gained. Schools were built, and in 1632 the Lutheran University in Dorpat/Tartu opened. Parts of the Bible were translated into Latvian (1689) and Estonian (1686), and pastors tried to increase education.

At Johann Reinhold von Patkul's (1660–1707) instigation, an anti-Swedish alliance was formed, sparking the Great Northern War (1700–1721) in the Baltic countries. After the defeat of the Swedish king Charles XII (ruled 1697–1718) in the battle of Poltava in 1709, all Swedish possessions in the Baltic countries were occupied by Russia. This situation was officially recognized in the peace treaty of Nystad in 1721. Livonia and Estonia received reasonable conditions from Tsar Peter I (ruled 1689–1725): all old privileges were confirmed, especially the system of justice and the Lutheran confession, states were returned to the nobles, and self-government of the noblemen was restored. Throughout the eighteenth century, the German-Baltic nobility retained its autonomy. Empress Catherine II (ruled 1762–1796), who traveled the Baltic countries in 1764, tried to cut the noblemen's rights during the so-called *Statthalterschaftszeit* (period of governorship), but in 1796 the old constitution was reestablished.

In the second half of the eighteenth century, ideas of Enlightenment came to the Baltic. Johann Gottfried von Herder (1744–1803), who worked in Riga from 1764 to 1769, rediscovered the poetry of the common people and encouraged the small nations to explore their identity. Friedrich Konrad Gadebusch (1719–1788) with the *Livländische Bibliothek* (Livonian library) and August Wilhelm Hupel (1737–1819) with the *Nordische Miscellaneen* (Nordic miscellanea) offered a place of debate for new points of view. People started to think about the situation of the local inhabitants. Garlieb Merkel (1769–1850) insisted in all of his publications on equal rights and liberties for the common natives of the Baltic countries. Pietism and the Herrnhut movement gained influence in Livonia, lending an emotional movement to the peasant community.

In their function as a bridge, the Baltic countries in the eighteenth century played an important part as cultural mediator, promoting the Europeanization of Russia. Baltic nobles played leading

roles in the Russian Empire in administration, diplomacy, and the military and contributed significantly to reforms and modernization in Russia. Hermann Karl Keyserlingk (1696–1765), for example, served as ambassador in Berlin, Vienna, and Warsaw, and Jakob Johann von Sievers (1731–1808), governor of Novgorod 1764–1776, worked on many reforms; both Baltic nobles were confidants of Catherine II.

See also Belarus; Catherine II (Russia); Gustavus II Adolphus; Northern Wars; Peter I (Russia); Poland to 1569; Poland-Lithuania, Commonwealth of, 1569–1795; Reformations in Eastern Europe: Protestant, Catholic, and Orthodox; Thirty Years' War (1618–1648); Vasa Dynasty (Sweden).

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ALMUT BUES

BANDITRY. Throughout the early modern period, especially in the seventeenth and eighteenth century, affluent travelers and merchants as well as peasants and farmers were afraid of banditry. The population shared with rulers and governments the general feeling that pilfering beggars and occasional stealers of food and wood among the local poor were something one knew how to deal with. Robber bands, however, as well as vagabonds and gypsies traveling in groups of varying sizes, were both more incalculable and more dangerous. Contemporaries regarded bandits as archenemies of the state and a threat to divine order, denying the state monopoly over the possession of arms and sinning against God's eighth commandment. The penal policy of the early modern state (public executions, large-scale patrols, printed lists of wanted persons) is a proof of this perennial threat.

THE IDEALIZATION OF CRIMINAL ROBBERS

The romanticization of banditry is a phenomenon that started with the popular ballads about prominent ringleaders such as Louis Dominique Cartouche in the eighteenth century. It gained momentum in the nineteenth century, and still persisted in twentieth-century historiography, when historians such as Carsten Küther interpreted preindustrial banditry as a counter-society. The absence of what Eric J. Hobsbawm has named "social banditry" in some territories led to the popular idealization of ordinary robbers, interpreting their deeds as a primitive form of social protest.

There can be no doubt that the discontent of the underprivileged, impoverished, and sometimes marginalized sectors of the population occasionally erupted into popular or mostly local food riots; but it also expressed itself on a smaller scale as "social

banditry.” It was a form of crime that rose out of political and social crisis, especially in areas over which the government could exercise only very little control, above all mountainous regions and often frontier zones. According to Hobsbawm, the characteristic feature of social bandits is that “they are peasant outlaws who the lord and state regard as criminals, but who remain within peasant society, and are considered by the people as heroes, as champions, avengers, fighters for justice, perhaps even leaders of liberation, and in any case as men to be admired, helped and supported” (p. 17). The late medieval legend of Robin Hood, who robbed the rich, switched clothes with beggars, and helped the poor, was popular not only in England but also in the rest of Europe for hundreds of years. All other bandit-heroes are much more recent, many of them living in the early modern period. There is, for example, Stenka Razin, the insurgent leader of the Russian poor in the seventeenth century. In Italy, the bandits also came from an agrarian background. Marco Sciarra, the famous Neapolitan brigand chief of the 1590s, declared himself a “scourge of God and envoy of God against usurers and the possessors of unproductive wealth” (quoted in Hobsbawm, p. 98). There is evidence that this popular bandit really practiced some kind of redistribution of wealth. For this reason he was highly esteemed by the poor of Naples.

Indeed, the records sometimes confirm the image, insofar as it represents reality and not wishful thinking on the one side and social prejudices on the other. There is ample proof, though hardly needed, that vagrants and social bandits were brothers in hardship and frequently mixed with each other. Impoverished day laborers and domestic servants often joined a gang where young beggars rubbed shoulders with old soldiers, deserters, murderers, ex-priests, and prostitutes. Social bandits did, in some cases, begin their career with some petty crime or offense that sooner or later brought them in contact with the itinerant underworld.

THE GEOGRAPHICAL DIMENSION

The major haunts of bandits in the early modern period were the Dalmatian highlands between Venice and Turkey, the vast frontier region of Hungary, Catalonia, the Pyrenees near the French border, and

some of the low mountain regions in the Holy Roman Empire (e.g., Spessart, Westerwald).

Spanish bandits of this period operated in many parts of the country, especially in Catalonia, Valencia, Murcia, and Castile. One of these bands was known as *los beatos de Cabrilla* (the holy ones of Cabrilla), because its members behaved like “gentlemen,” robbing their victims of only half of their goods. The peak of Catalan banditry was during the reign of Philip III (1598–1621). In mountainous areas of early modern Spain, banditry and brigandage remained a continual phenomenon throughout the period under discussion. In the early seventeenth century the most famous Spanish bandit was Perot Rocaguinarda. He started his criminal career in 1602 and even features in Cervantes’s *Don Quixote* (1605, 1615). His Italian counterpart was Marco Sciarra, who controlled the countryside around Rome in the 1590s. He was betrayed by a friend and was killed. Other Italian bandits never reached his fame as they lacked popular support. Violence and indiscriminate robberies alienated them from the peasantry.

In early-seventeenth-century France the region of Périgord was infested with bandits. The brigands found their victims mostly among rich merchants traveling through the forest in that part of France. The most famous French bandit of all times was Louis Dominique Cartouche (1693–1721), a celebrated Parisian outlaw, whose name became synonymous with “highway robber” to the French. His adventurous life is the subject of many novels, poems, and even movies. In the 1962 film classic *Cartouche*, Jean-Paul Belmondo plays the role of this infamous eighteenth-century French bandit. In the beginning he is portrayed as an ordinary criminal robbing from everyone in sight. Later Cartouche becomes a kind of Gallic Robin Hood. A beautiful gypsy by the name of Venus (Claudia Cardinale) sacrifices her own life to save Cartouche from harm. He vows to continue his activities in order to avenge her death, but still manages to have a good time doing so. This box-office success, which was later reissued under the completely inappropriate title *Sword of Blood*, is part of the ongoing popularization and romanticization of the premodern underworld. The other French bandit-hero of the eighteenth century, Robert Mandrin (1724–



Banditry. *Armed Attack in a Wood*, detail of painting by Paul Brill (Flemish, 1554–1626). THE ART ARCHIVE/MUSÉE DU LOUVRE PARIS/DAGLI ORTI

1755) was, as Hobsbawm has shown, a somewhat less suitable candidate for idealization.

In Anglo-American folklore Dick Turpin (1705–1739) is the English counterpart of Cartouche. Turpin's popular image entails many legends. He was born in 1706 in rural Essex, the son of John Turpin, a small farmer. Caught in the act of stealing two oxen, he fled into the depths of the Essex countryside to save himself. After a short time he left his hiding place and tried his hand at smuggling. He eventually settled on robbery. He and his gang invaded isolated farmhouses, terrorizing and torturing the female occupants into giving up their valuables. By 1735, London newspapers regularly reported the exploits of Turpin and his "Essex Gang." In 1739 he was finally brought to court and sentenced to death. Turpin is another fascinating

case of an early modern criminal whom history turned from a ruffian into a glamorous character.

The German equivalent to Dick Turpin is Johann Bückler (1783–1803), alias Schinderhannes (John the Knacker). He is still celebrated in German folklore, being idealized as a "social bandit." Modern research has tried to debunk this myth, but largely to no avail. Other famous bandits of the eighteenth century were Nickel List, who was active around 1700 in North Germany, and Lips Tullian, who committed most of his crimes in the Saxon region of Germany. Tullian and eleven of his associates were ultimately caught and executed.

In Ottoman times, the many wars in the Balkans left poverty and anarchy in their wake—suitable conditions for the work of brigands and bandits. In Serbian, Croatian, and Bosnian collective imagi-

nary, the so-called *haiduks* were men of the people who stood against the hegemony of foreign rulers and the exploitation of the poor by the nobility. However, in some cases it proves difficult to distinguish between ordinary bandits and politically minded heroic outlaws, fighting against the oppressor. In the Balkans, the recorded history of *haiduks* goes back to the fifteenth century, but popular ballads about their lives and deeds did not flourish before the middle of the eighteenth century.

RECRUITMENT

Recent research has revealed that bandits cannot be generally identified with the itinerant population. It was not the traveling life that led some persons to banditry. It was rather the other way round. According to German sources, three-quarters of Christian bandits whose parentage is known to us originated in the sedentary and integrated sectors of society. A particular feature of the German underworld of the eighteenth century is the rather high proportion of Jews among organized robbers. But for them, too, it is clear that the structure of their gangs was decisively shaped by people who had a permanent address. However, in half of the German gangs studied by Uwe Dancker, wayfaring people (among them ex-soldiers, beggars) were overrepresented.

Women played only a minor role in banditry. The women who shared the roving life of bandits normally did not step outside the generally accepted gender role. Despite the popular image, polygyny among bandits was the exception and not the rule. Female gang leaders were out of the question in early modern times, although some of the women associated with organized robbery, such as the famous German archthief named Alte Lisel, could well have commanded a band themselves. In banditry, women usually functioned as supporters and links with the outside world.

See also **Crime and Punishment; Vagrants and Beggars.**

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ROBERT JÜTTE

BANKING AND CREDIT. Early modern European banking had its origins in Italy. The profession grew out of the trade boom of the so-called commercial revolution of the High Middle Ages (1000–1350). The first bankers engaged in manual exchange of coins and did not extend credit. By the early modern period, however, banking spread throughout Europe and became complex and increasingly involved in credit transactions.

By the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries there were three basic types of banks: international merchant banks, local deposit banks, and pawnbroking establishments. The categories were not exclusive: the same businessmen sometimes engaged in two or all three types simultaneously.

INTERNATIONAL MERCHANT BANKS AND BILLS OF EXCHANGE

The international merchant banks were the largest and most sophisticated. They began as a Tuscan phenomenon, established by merchants to facilitate their long-distance trade and the transfer of funds across national boundaries. Several extremely large firms—what modern scholars have called “super companies”—developed in Florence. The second largest of them, the Peruzzi bank, had fifteen branches located throughout Europe and in North Africa. The bank collapsed suddenly in 1345, bringing down with it much of the Florentine banking industry. This demise resulted from a combination of unwise fiscal practices and bad market conditions. The companies organized themselves so that all branches were jointly owned by large extended families. There was no limited liability, and thus investors lost more than what they put into their companies. Whole family fortunes were lost.

The collapse was followed by a new generation of banks. The most famous was the great Medici firm, which lasted from 1397 to 1494. To avoid the calamity of its predecessors, the Medici bank configured itself in the manner of a modern holding company. Members of the family held controlling interest in the branches, but each branch was a separate partnership and thus a distinct legal entity with its own books. When one branch faltered, as the Geneva branch did in 1465, the whole structure did not fall. Investors lost only the amount of money they put into the particular branch.

A major obstacle to making money in the banking business was the church’s ban on usury. The basic position was taken from the Gospel of Luke and held that any interest beyond the principal constituted usury. It was therefore illegal for a bank to extend credit to its customers with the expectation of gain. Merchants found ways around the prohibition, the most ingenious of which was the bill of exchange. The bill evolved from letters of payment used at medieval trading fairs. It entailed a merchant lending money in one currency and receiving repayment in another, with the profit disguised in the exchange rate. Repayment could be effected only after the passage of a fixed amount of time, known as *usance*. This differed from town to town and depended on the amount of time it commonly took to travel between the places. For example, *usance*

between London and Venice was ninety days. Since exchange rates could fluctuate, the precise return on the bill was uncertain. This element of risk helped make the bills more palatable to some Scholastic thinkers, who argued that the uncertainty constituted a justification for profit. The bill often involved two banks. The taker would send it to an affiliate or branch to be repaid, while the drawer would instruct his correspondent to redeem the bill. The bill itself was a small rectangular piece of paper, which usually began with the words “in the name of God.”

Apart from its role as a credit instrument, the bill of exchange helped banks remit funds from one place to another and spared merchants the risk of transporting specie. This long remained an Italian phenomenon. Hanseatic merchants on the Baltic, for example, were at first suspicious of the bills and did not use them. But the bills progressively gained wide acceptance, particularly at trade fairs in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and at Antwerp, where the practice of endorsement widely expanded the use of the bills.

The Medici dealt a great deal in bills of exchange, speculating in the international money market. They diversified their business into other areas, notably tax farming and sale of commodities. They used their connections to help market wool cloths and silks produced by their industrial firms. But the Medici bank—and Florentine banking in general—owed its primacy to its connection with the papacy. From early on, the Medici banks served pontiffs in the post of “depository general,” the highest level of the pope’s financial hierarchy. Depository generals performed a wide array of services, including collection of tithes and other sources of revenue. They made money through lucrative tax farms. Papal bankers could also use their access to the pope to gain excommunications against recalcitrant borrowers. The chief drawback to serving the papacy, however, was that it often entailed lending large amounts of money to the popes themselves, who were notoriously bad at repaying loans. One of the counterparts of the Medici, the Spinelli bank, ran into serious fiscal difficulty in 1456 when Pope Calixtus III failed to pay back the principal on a loan for a proposed crusade against the Turks. But loans to popes were, like loans to secular rulers, the price of operating in the market.

The Florentine banking system fell into crisis in the sixteenth century, but Italians remained active in international banking into the seventeenth century. In the meantime, banking on the Italian model grew in southern Germany. The most notable of the firms was the great Fugger company of Augsburg. It derived from the trading activities of a fourteenth-century weaver, Hans Fugger. His son Jacob and grandson Jacob II (d. 1525) parlayed their inheritance into a banking and mercantile empire. Like the Medici, the Fugger banks engaged in a range of activities, including speculation in the money market and trade in commodities. More so than the Medici, however, the Fugger extended enormous amounts of credit to secular rulers. They virtually bankrolled the wars of the German Habsburgs. They lent large sums to Maximilian I (ruled 1493–1519) to sustain his armies and floated immense loans to Charles V (ruled 1519–1556) to help him secure his election as Holy Roman emperor. In return, the Fugger received lucrative tax farms as well as interests in and administration of royal monopolies. They dominated the trade in silver, copper, and mercury. Their operating capital at one point exceeded 2 million gulden, a figure that dwarfed the capital of the Medici in its heyday.

The Fugger bank maintained branches in other cities and also did business with the pope. It oversaw the sale of indulgences in Germany and Scandinavia, including that done by Johann Tetzel in Wittenberg, which moved Martin Luther to issue his famous Ninety-Five Theses (1517) against the practice. The Fugger took from Italian banks the use of double-entry bookkeeping and added the practice of sending auditors out to individual branches to check inventories and accounts. They engaged more forcefully than their predecessors in monopolistic practices. In addition to his control of mines in Tyrol and Hungary, Jacob II Fugger owned the plants that processed the ore. He set up his own merchant fleets and even built housing, the so-called Fuggerei, for his workers. Structurally, the Fugger bank remained a family business. Whereas the Medici brought in outside investors, the Fugger brought in few. The bank survived until the seventeenth century, when its practice of extending large loans finally brought it down.

DEPOSIT BANKS AND FRACTIONAL RESERVE

In addition to international merchant banks, local deposit banks existed in Europe. The first deposit banks arose in Genoa and Venice, where they were known as *giro* firms (from the Italian verb “to rotate”). They serviced merchants, taking in deposits and making transfers from one account to another (hence “rotate”). The transfers were strictly controlled and done in person by verbal order. In Venice and elsewhere, bankers began to invest some of their savings, thus creating “bank money.” The fourteenth-century Bruges moneychanger Guillaume Ruyelle kept only 30 percent in cash reserves; the Pisani bank of Venice in the sixteenth century invested savings in galley voyages and lent money for war.

The practice of fractional reserve proved very risky in the volatile business climate of the times. Deposit banks frequently failed. At the turn of the fifteenth century, three out of four such Venetian banks had gone out of business; their counterparts in the Low Countries had also disappeared by then. Similar difficulties were experienced by merchant banks, which were only slightly more stable. By the sixteenth century, only a handful of firms survived in Florence.

To stave off collapse, governments tried to restrict the practice of fractional reserve and transfer of funds. They became directly involved, initiating a species of publicly controlled deposit banks. The first, the so-called Taula de Canvi of Barcelona, appeared in 1401. It acted as fiscal agent for the city of Barcelona and for the kingdom of Catalonia. It accepted deposits from citizens, but could not lend to private individuals. It had to keep sufficient reserves to meet the demands of depositors. The Taula proved remarkably durable, and though it experienced numerous crises, it lasted until the nineteenth century, when it was absorbed by the Bank of Spain. A similar initiative undertaken in Genoa in 1408 was less successful. But public deposit banks gained momentum, particularly in the second half of the sixteenth century. The Spanish introduced several successful ones in southern Italy. The Genoese opened up the Cartulario d'oro in the sixteenth century to handle specie taken by Spain from the New World. This also did well. The most famous of the public banks, however, was the great Wisselbank founded in Amsterdam in 1609. It had a monopoly of trans-

actions involving gold and silver, received deposits in specie, made transfers, but could not lend money to private individuals. It did, however, lend to the government, including to the Dutch East India Company. Similar banks emerged in Middelberg in 1616 and Hamburg in 1619. The Hamburg bank had greater latitude in lending to private individuals.

In England, banking took a different route. It grew from goldsmiths, makers and sellers of plate and jewelry. The profession flourished after King Henry VIII (ruled 1509–1547) dissolved the monasteries in the 1530s, thereby increasing the amount of available gold. By 1640 goldsmiths were taking royal valuables on deposit for safekeeping. The English Civil War (1642–1648) and subsequent troubles broadened business, as members of the gentry placed deposits with the smiths. By 1677 there were forty-four goldsmith banks in London, which functioned essentially as deposit banks. They were known by contemporaries as “keepers of running cashes,” because they accepted money for safe custody and gave a receipt in return. They were the precursors of the Bank of England, a public institution that began in 1694.

BANKING, COMMERCIAL FAIRS, AND CREDIT INSTRUMENTS

Despite the restrictions on banks and the precarious nature of their business, the access to credit generally increased for European merchants during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Demographic expansion and the opening of the Atlantic helped quicken the pace of trade. International banking was always closely linked to trade, particularly to commercial fairs. The period saw the growth and development of major fairs in the cities of Lyon, Medina del Campo, Besançon, Frankfurt, and Piacenza. In 1531, the Antwerp bourse emerged as a permanent market that, unlike the seasonal fairs, met all year round. It became a critical exchange point, particularly among English merchants trading in cloth, with German merchants trading in copper and silver and Portuguese merchants trading in spices and sugar. Wars destroyed Antwerp’s pre-eminence in the late sixteenth century, and the mantle was passed to the city of Amsterdam.

Innovations occurred in the context of the fairs and the bourse. The bill of exchange, heretofore

used more as a means of transferring capital than as a credit instrument, was transformed by northern merchants into a versatile fiscal device. Endorsement of bills became common, especially at Antwerp, and diffused to other parts of Europe. There are scattered examples of endorsed bills as early as the fourteenth century, but the practice did not become widespread until the seventeenth century. At first, the original drawee remained responsible for the debt, thus limiting the utility of the device. But eventually the beneficiary became responsible for the bill. In the sixteenth century, merchants began discounting bills, that is, selling them to a third party before maturity for a smaller sum. This also became common in the Low Countries after the middle of the century. The Dutch expanded the access to credit even further when authorities passed a decree in 1540 making lending at interest legal. In Catholic France, laws against usury remained in place.

In London, goldsmiths, by the mid-1600s, began issuing convertible cash notes or promissory notes payable to the bearer as receipts for deposits. These receipts were initially used to reclaim the whole deposit, but soon came to be presentable for part payment and, eventually, assignable to others—thus these were the antecedents of the modern banknote. Clients could withdraw money by writing a note requesting a sum to be paid to a third party. In 1661 the Bank of Stockholm issued “letters of credit,” which were convertible into copper, an expedient undertaken when the government was at war and needed money. But the bank closed in 1664 when a panic broke out. In France in 1718, the Scottish immigrant John Law founded a bank that issued similar notes. The venture ended in disaster two years later and left in that country a lingering distrust of the banking business. A French central bank was not established until 1800.

PAWNBROKERS AND CONSUMER CREDIT

The system of banking and credit described thus far did not involve the ordinary consumer. When the common man sought credit, he did so not from merchant or deposit banks but from pawnbrokers. They offered short-term loans on pledges of personal property at high interest. The profession developed at the same time as the original money-changers, or earlier, and was, like that profession, an

Italian phenomenon. The term “Lombard” came to signify a pawnbroker. Jews, who were denied the right to own land in much of Europe, were also involved in the profession, but their numbers were always small in comparison to the number of Christians. Pawnbrokers represented the lower end of the banking profession. They constituted in the minds of the authorities a necessary evil, not unlike gambling and prostitution. Biblical law prevented Jews from charging each other interest, but there was no restriction on Christians. Christians, on the other hand, needed special sanction from local authorities to do the business.

Pawnbrokers could charge high interest, and in Italy there were purportedly rates of 70 percent. Concerns about gouging led Italian authorities to establish public pawnbroking firms, so-called *monti di pietà* (literally ‘mountains of piety’). They usually operated under the auspices of a religious house. This movement began in Italy in the fourteenth century and gained momentum throughout Europe in the later sixteenth century. Important public pawnbroking firms opened in the Netherlands and Sweden in the seventeenth century.

See also **Capitalism; Fugger Family; Medici Family; Money and Coinage.**

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BANKRUPTCY. Bankruptcy is formally understood as the condition in which a debtor, upon voluntary petition or one invoked by his or her creditors, is judged legally insolvent and whose remaining property is administered by those creditors or distributed among them. The condition seems relatively straightforward: bankruptcy is legally recognized insolvency. In early modern Europe, however, it was a far more ambiguous state, freighted with the suspicion of fraud, distinguished from simple indebtedness, and, in some places, limited in its prosecution to certain trades or professions.

BANKRUPTCY AND THE INDIVIDUAL

Some of the earliest criminal codes make these associations and distinctions clear. The Discipline Ordinance, promulgated in Augsburg in 1537, ordered arrest and imprisonment of any individual unable to pay debts in excess of two hundred guildens. Should the defaulter flee—a generally recognized indication of fraudulent intent—his creditors were authorized to seize his property and person by whatever means necessary. The results were often acrimonious and violent free-for-alls, as in the infamous Höchstetter bankruptcy of 1527, in which the bankrupts languished and died in prison. While the creditors scrambled to recover what they could, a few, like the Höchstetters’ partners the Fuggers, profited handsomely, but many others were ruined in the process.

Were a more mutually agreeable settlement reached, the bankrupt still faced a humiliating loss of status, a fatal derogation in an economy that functioned largely on the basis of personal relationships and reputation. The ordinance prescribed that he be stripped of his membership in the merchants’ corporation, that his stall be removed from the privileged position of honest merchants at the base of Augsburg’s watchtower, that he be prohibited from bearing arms in public, and that he be compelled to take his place with the women at the rear of public processions. Even his children could not escape his stigma: those born after the bankruptcy would be

forbidden to wear the gold chain that was the emblem of established Augsburg merchants. Bankruptcy ordinances in 1564, 1574, and 1580 retained this emphasis on punishing economic crime.

The presumed connection between bankruptcy and fraud was echoed in other sources and other places. The Imperial Discipline Ordinance of 1548 spoke of “ruined merchants” who engaged in insecure—and, hence, fraudulent—credit transactions and suffered bankruptcy because of carelessness or waste. They were to be treated as common thieves. In England, the Tudor Act Touching Orders for Bankrupts of 1571 limited the term to indicate “traders” or “merchants” who “craftily obtaining into their hands great substance of other men’s goods, do suddenly flee to parts unknown, or keep their houses, not minding to pay or restore to any their creditors, their debts and duties, but at their wills and pleasures, consume the substance obtained by credit of other men, for their own pleasure and delicate living, against all reason, equity and good conscience. . . .” Thus, bankruptcy existed in relationship to credit (which was considered a morally ambiguous entity), competence, and crime, all indicators of a crisis in the conduct and conception of business.

The passage of these laws constitutes a first response to the growing frequency of bankruptcies in early modern Europe. Beginning in the early sixteenth century, bankruptcy became a social evil that affected all levels of society and had extraordinary implications for both large and small economies. State profligacy, coupled with the unpredictable nature of economic growth, created conditions in which even the greatest commercial houses were not safe from default and failure. For the less well-connected or well-provided-for, insolvency and bankruptcy were common facts of life, the litigation of which left an unmistakable trail in most European archives. In 1560, the chronicler Paul Hektor Mair would record the names of twenty-six prominent Augsburg merchants who “became bankrupt and because of debts, sought sanctuary, fled the city, or suffered arrest until they settled and were released.” Between 1529 and 1580, that number would rise to at least sixty-three and perhaps as many as seventy of the “great and famous commercial houses” of that city. Over the entire early modern period, Augsburg witnessed over 250 bankruptcies and countless in-

solventcies. Nor was the problem geographically limited. In England, according to one historian, “debt litigation dominated pleading in the courts of King’s Bench and Common Pleas” from the mid-sixteenth to the mid-seventeenth century. From the mid-seventeenth to the mid-eighteenth century, no fewer than fifty-eight French merchants engaged in transatlantic trade suffered bankruptcy. Studies of the Parisian credit market for the same period reveal a noteworthy expansion of private borrowing coupled with periodic government defaults and interventions that would have resulted in waves of bankruptcies.

BANKRUPTCY AND GOVERNMENT

The relationship between public and private finance remains dimly understood, but the numbers and patterns of commercial or domestic failures in early modern Europe relate, in part, to a series of spectacular state bankruptcies. In an age when most princes struggled to live within their means, the monarchs of Spain and France, despite rising prices and ambitions, seemed to rule in virtual freedom from such limitations and developed extraordinary debts in pursuit of their policies. France declared bankruptcy in 1559 and defaulted on its short-term debts repeatedly during the reign of Louis XIV, subsisting otherwise on a fiscal system noted particularly for its corruption. Spain suffered bankruptcies in 1557, 1560, 1575, and 1596. The most spectacular, that of 1575, may be taken as emblematic of all. The decision of Philip II to suspend payments to his bankers can be seen as a watershed in his reign (and in Spanish power). The causes are not far to seek: the costs of political and military policies in the Mediterranean and the Netherlands during the 1560s and 1570s outstripped the crown’s financial resources. Rather than effect economies, renegotiate terms, or redistribute the burden, Philip and his financial advisers opted to default, forcing a conversion of short-term debt to long-term debt that involved favorable interest rates and the forgiveness of certain obligations. This was a favorite tactic not only of the Spanish crown but also of the French in the early modern period. But in dealing with the bankruptcy of 1575, Spain’s bankers (the Genoese above all) did not mildly concede as they did in 1560 (and, later, in 1596) but instead firmly resisted. They suspended all commercial credit to Castile, the fiscal heartland of Spain, and rejected the

king's proposed terms. Although the immediate consequences were not fatal, the bankruptcy may be said to mark the beginning of Spanish decline. The suspension of commercial credit within Spain, and especially within Castile, permanently affected trade and, consequently, taxes. The loss also impinged on the effectiveness of Spanish armies in Italy and the Netherlands and led, most immediately, to the sack of Antwerp in 1576, likely rendering any suppression of the Dutch Revolt of 1568–1648 impossible. As important as this bankruptcy may be for the political history of the period, its economic consequences reach far beyond Spain's borders. In the 1577 settlement that ended the bankruptcy and restored Spanish credit, the bankers managed to avoid the worst consequences by recouping or transferring their losses (by calling in other debts). This became apparent in a wave of private failures that mark the interconnections between public and private finance and between larger and smaller commercial enterprises. In Augsburg, for example, 39 of the 63 sixteenth-century bankruptcies cluster around the Spanish defaults: 13 between 1559 and 1561, 14 between 1573 and 1576. Though it is impossible to attribute these and many other failures strictly to the fiscal chicanery of Philip II, their timing cannot be purely coincidental. Bankruptcies marked a shortage of credit—a crisis in money markets—that potentially reached from state treasuries to commercial countinghouses and from powerful bankers to humble artisans.

FINANCIAL RELATIONSHIPS

Of course, bankruptcies illuminate much more than the interconnections of early modern finance; they reveal some aspects of business practice. Early modern merchants, entrepreneurs, and financiers operated in an age of money scarcity and relied, therefore, to a very large extent on credit. Indeed, these men often traded within systems of interlocking credit, owing money to their suppliers or lenders and owed money by their customers and clients. Such systems could be quite fragile; one default could cause others, rippling across the entire network of relationships. In addition, they operated in an economy that lacked legal and fiscal institutions to ensure and enforce credit transactions. As a result, merchants, entrepreneurs, and financiers relied upon personal relationships and personal knowledge to reduce the risk of default. Being a close-knit

community in most places, they often knew who was or was not a good credit source or credit risk. Where personal knowledge would not serve, intermediaries, such as notaries or goldsmiths, often arose, and used their own knowledge of persons (and their means) to mediate and facilitate credit exchange. Questions of reputation and risk, to say nothing of the issue of fraud, were a function of the transmission of information and touch the boundaries between economic and cultural history. They also touch the social history of economic life in early modern Europe. Merchants also depended on a wide range of organizations to reduce risk and reinforce reputations: they formed partnerships among themselves; they entered into collective agreements; they drew upon the resources of their families; they strengthened business agreements with confessional ties (by doing business with people of the same Christian creed). Finally, bankruptcies testify not just to the failures but also to the successes of early modern enterprise, a varying combination of fortune and misfortune, competence and incompetence, honesty and dishonesty. Bankruptcies give us a mirror image of business success; by showing us how merchants and manufacturers assessed risk and managed assets, we learn not only the circumstances of failure but also the conditions of success.

The early modern period supposedly witnessed what scholars have for more than a century generally described as the transition to modern capitalism. Insofar as this is true, bankruptcy reveals some of the continuities and discontinuities in an age of change. Credit played a central role in early modern bankruptcies, and the vitality and ubiquity of early modern money markets is one area in which modern capitalism differs less than expected from its pre-modern model. The personal nature of credit relations, given the institutional underdevelopment of early modern economies, constitutes a less well understood distinction from modern capitalistic practice. The interpretation of bankruptcy as a criminal act requiring restitution—which remained unaltered until the nineteenth century—raises fundamental questions about business reorganization and capital accumulation on the eve of the Industrial Revolution. The adversarial relationship between private and public finance, revealed strikingly in early modern state bankruptcies, may suggest that their modern symbiotic relationship had not devel-

oped. Bankruptcy teaches, finally, that “transition” may be too simple a term for what was a multifaceted, complex, and gradual process.

By the eighteenth century, the bankrupt replaces the monopolist as the quintessential image of ruthless, exploitative capitalism. Bankruptcies were common occurrences against which integrity offered no necessary protection. Yet moralizing tracts and popular periodicals elevated the bankrupt to the level of arch-villain of the local economy. It was a perfect measure of the ways economic principles had and had not caught up with economic practices. Given the importance of bankruptcy not only for the economic history of early modern Europe but also for its political, social, and cultural history, it is surprising that so little scholarship has been devoted to the topic.

See also **Banking and Credit; Capitalism; Commerce and Markets; Economic Crises; Interest; Taxation.**

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THOMAS MAX SAFLEY

BARCELONA. Barcelona, capital city of Catalonia, is located on the Mediterranean coast in northeastern Spain. The city is nestled on a plain between the Sierra de Collserola and the sea, in the

shadow of the promontory of Montjuïc, and is bordered to the north and south by the Besós and Llobregat rivers. Key to Barcelona's success as an important port in the fifteenth century was its geographic position within the crown of Aragón. The lack of navigable rivers in Catalonia limited interior trade to overland routes that converged at Barcelona's port. Barcelona served as a major node along the coastal trade route from southern France to Valencia and beyond, and together with the ports of Mallorca and Valencia, controlled the western end of the Mediterranean.

The city originated as a Roman fort constructed on a knoll, which has remained the religious and political center of the city. In the late Middle Ages, the city outgrew this fortification and expanded down to the sea. New perimeter fortifications were constructed, the seaside wall not being completed until 1536. The city's interior was renowned for its numerous religious and civic monuments. As the political seat of Catalonia, Barcelona housed in its center the palaces of the king and the Diputació del General, the principality's treasury. The city was governed from the palace of the Consell de Cent, a council of five executives and a jury of one hundred "honored citizens." The royal shipyard (the *drassanes*) dominated the western end of the port district, and the maritime merchant hall (*Llotja de Mar*) governed the busy port.

Barcelona's medieval prosperity was abruptly cut off by the civil war of 1462; ten years of violence tore apart the political, social, and economic fabric of the city, as well as damaging its international trade. By 1487, the contraction of trade was worsened by a rising of the Catalan peasantry and prosecutions of converted Jews by the Inquisition. By the end of the fifteenth century, Barcelona, with approximately 25,000 inhabitants, was the most densely populated city of Catalonia. Nonetheless, because of repeated waves of bubonic plague, the city's population rose only to about 29,000 by 1516.

The loss of Barcelona's Mediterranean markets was not compensated by the sixteenth-century exploration of the Americas, since this new market was dominated by Castile. Barcelona emerged from an unsuccessful rebellion against the Habsburgs in 1640–1652 with its traditional political privileges

intact. It lost those privileges by fighting against Spain's new Bourbon dynasty in the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1714). Moreover, the city's population, which stood at about 64,000 in 1657, had fallen to 37,000 by 1713. Economically, Barcelona recovered slowly from the war, but by the end of the eighteenth century, the city benefited from a flourishing industry in cotton textiles and the opening of trade to Spanish America.

See also **Catalonia; Catalonia, Revolt of (1640–1652); Spanish Succession, War of the (1701–1714).**

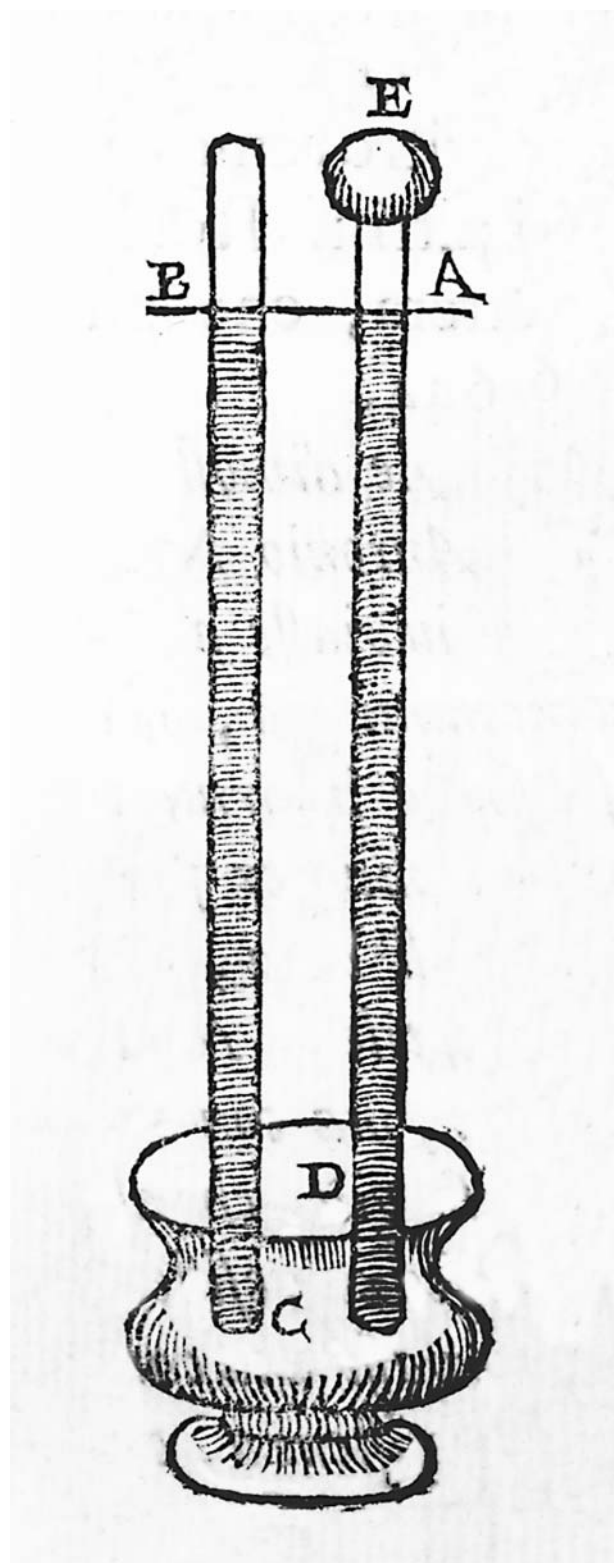
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SHELLEY E. ROFF

BAROMETER. The mercury barometer had its origins in the investigations being made in Italy during the early seventeenth century to discover why it was impossible to build a suction pump to raise water higher than about thirty feet (10 m). Once it was found that the height attainable was related to the density of the liquid, the experimenters exchanged their cumbersome metal tubes filled with water for shorter glass tubes with the heaviest fluid available—mercury—which was mined in Tuscany. The results of numerous experiments undertaken in Rome, Florence, and elsewhere were widely circulated and discussed.

The first apparatus generally accepted as a barometer was that set up in Florence in 1644 by Evangelista Torricelli (1608–1647), a mathematician and physicist. Torricelli filled a glass tube with mercury, sealed it at one end, and inverted it with its open end in a dish of mercury. The level always fell a short way down the tube, then settled at a height of about thirty inches. He concluded correctly that the mercury column was sustained by the weight of the



Barometer. Illustration of Torricelli's barometer. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

air pressing on the open surface of mercury, and further experiments convinced him that the space above the mercury in the tube was a vacuum. He noted that the level rose and fell with changing temperature, but he was unable to use his apparatus to measure variations in the weight of the atmosphere because he had not foreseen that temperature would affect the level of the mercury.

News of this experiment circulated quickly among European scientists, who hastened to replicate the experiment. Torricelli's conclusions were not universally accepted because some disputed whether the air had weight, while both Aristotle and the Catholic Church denied the possibility of a vacuum. In France, the philosopher René Descartes (1596–1650) seems to have been the first person, probably in 1647, to attach a graduated scale to the tube so that he could record any changes attributable to the weather. At around this time Duke Ferdinand II of Tuscany organized the first short-lived meteorological network among scientists in other Italian cities, gathering observations of pressure, temperature, humidity, wind direction, and state of the sky.

Descartes, the Minim friar Marin Mersenne (1588–1648), an important nexus for scientific communications, and physicist Blaise Pascal (1623–1662) also discussed whether the mercury column would be shorter if the experiment was performed at the top of a mountain where, presumably, the atmosphere weighed less. Around 1648 Pascal's brother-in-law Florin Perier (1605–1672) set up a tube at Clermont, where it stood at 26 inches $3\frac{1}{2}$ lines (the French line was one-twelfth of a French inch), and carried another tube to the summit of the Puy de Dôme, where the mercury stood at 23 inches 2 lines.

By 1648, the barometer was serving the three purposes that it continued to serve thereafter: as an apparatus for testing the laws of physics, as an instrument for measuring altitude, and as a weather monitor and, later, prognosticator. The words *baroscope* and *barometer*, meaning 'instrument for measuring weight', first used by Robert Boyle in the early 1660s, were soon adopted into the Latin, French, German, and Italian languages.

THE BAROMETER AS A PHYSICS APPARATUS

Numerous experiments using variations of Torricelli's apparatus were performed by members of the Accademia del Cimento (The Academy of Trial, or Experiment), a group of Florentine virtuosi active from 1657 to 1667, and published in its *Saggi di naturali esperienze fatti nell'Accademia del Cimento* (Examples of experiments in natural philosophy made by the academy) in 1667. They sought to discover if the space above the mercury was filled with vapor or air diffused through the glass, and what effect different shaped tubes would have if the dish of mercury, or the entire apparatus, was covered. Many of these experiments were inconclusive, the academicians being unable to interpret their findings. With Otto Guericke's invention of the air pump, the barometer served as a means of measuring the strength of the vacuum created for a whole series of related experiments.

A DIVERSITY OF SHAPES

By 1650, Pascal had probably devised the siphon barometer, which consisted simply of a sealed tube with its open end curved up at the bottom. In 1663, Robert Hooke, demonstrator to the Royal Society, devised the "wheel" barometer, in which a float on the open surface of mercury in a siphon tube was connected to a cord running over a pulley to a counterweight; a pointer on the pulley axle rotated on a large dial, amplifying the small daily variations in height. Many variations of form, usually to enhance portability or to amplify the scale, were proposed in the following century, often by people with no understanding of the glassblower's abilities or the problems of filling such tubes without admitting some air. Among the more practical forms, some of which still survive, were folded, conical, and angled tubes, and tubes with two liquids. By about 1670, the barometer had found its way into wealthier homes and various types could be bought in London and Paris.

In June 1668, Robert Boyle described and illustrated his "portable" siphon, fastened to a board on which a graduated scale was marked, the idea being to send examples to distant places, but he admitted the difficulty of filling such a tube. Credit for the first truly portable barometer is disputed: the barometer maker John Patrick (1654–1730) may have invented the method, and he opposed the patent of 1695 filed by the clockmaker Daniel Quare

(1648/9–1724). The tube was sealed into a box-wood cistern with a leather base; a movable plate driven by a screw pressed up on the bag until the mercury filled the tube, after which the instrument could be safely transported. Quare saw this as a means of making domestic barometers in London for sale to provincial customers, but this eminently practical device enabled the subsequent development of mountain and marine barometers.

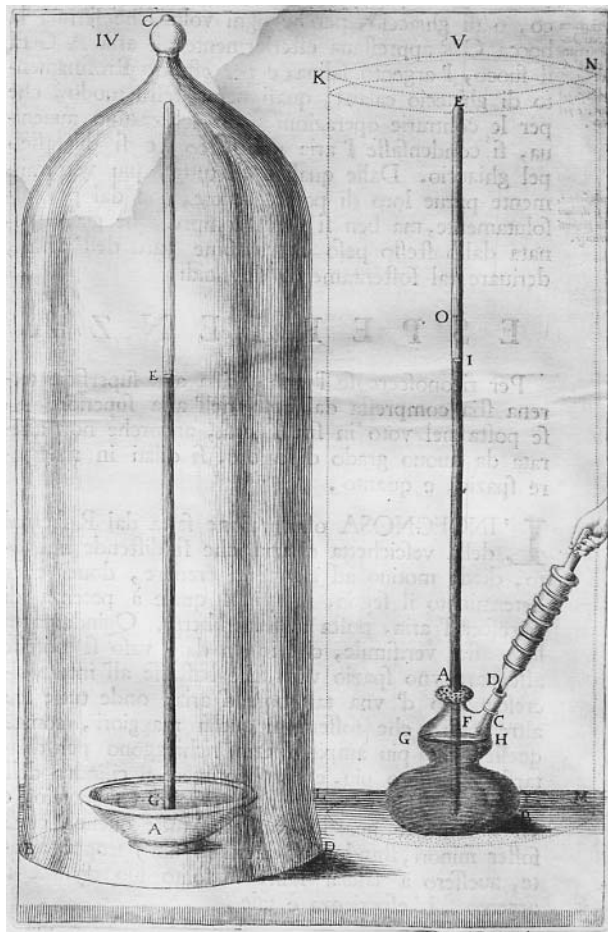
MOUNTAIN AND MARINE BAROMETERS

The first such measurement in England was probably that made in 1653 by Henry Power, a physician of Halifax, Yorkshire, who reported that the mercury reached only 26 inches at the summit of his local hill. Robert Boyle recognized that, as the mercury fell, even when ascending a church steeple, so it would rise if the barometer was taken down into a mine. In 1672, this observation was confirmed by George Sinclair, a Scottish mining surveyor.

In the early days, explorers and surveyors carried their glass tube, bowl, leather bag of mercury, and graduated rule, and assembled the barometer for each observation, a practice that extended into the eighteenth century, when French academicians sought to measure altitudes of the high Andean peaks, the highest mountains then known. The mathematical formula for the relationship between the altitude and height of mercury was difficult to establish, and astronomer Edmund Halley's 1685 proposal was only the first step on a complex path.

Although the portable domestic barometer became available in the late seventeenth century, the Genevan scientist Jean-André de Luc (1727–1818) was the first to design, around 1750, a robust apparatus consisting of a siphon tube, with thermometers and a plumb-bob, neatly packed in a wooden case. A scale was laid alongside both levels of mercury to measure the distance between that in the tube and that in the open arm. After taking the reading, the tube was tilted until mercury filled it; then, by closing an ivory tap in the siphon and draining off the surplus liquid, the instrument could be carried safely to the next station. The Genevan scientist Horace-Bénédict de Saussure (1740–1799) carried a de Luc barometer to the summit of Mont Blanc, Europe's highest mountain, in 1787.

De Luc's siphons were soon replaced by straight-tube barometers fitted with a leather bag



Barometer. An illustration from the 1667 *Saggi di naturali esperienze* shows two early experiments in measuring atmospheric pressure. On the left, the mercury tube is sealed in a bell jar; on the right, the tube is immersed in a jar of water. ©DAVID LEES/CORBIS

and portable screw, the whole being contained in a slender cylindrical case. In the higher mountains so much mercury descended from the tube, raising the level in the cistern, that the scale alongside the tube became inaccurate. Because the level in the cistern was invisible, a float was inserted in the cistern; as its protruding tip rose against a small graduated scale, the true distance between the two levels could be calculated from this reading.

In his *Discourse Concerning the Origins and Properties of Wind* (1671), Ralph Bohun (1639–1716) called for the use of a barometer to predict hurricanes, particularly at sea. On board a moving ship, however, the mercury oscillated in the tube and, on occasion, struck the top of the tube and

broke the glass. Numerous ineffective designs were proposed in France and England before the London instrument maker Edward Nairne (1725–1806) produced a tube whose central section was constricted to one-twentieth of an inch in diameter. This kept the mercury steady. The barometer, suspended in gimbals, performed satisfactorily on James Cook's second voyage of 1772–1775 and provided the model for marine barometers thereafter.

METEOROLOGY

The height of the mercury column was soon recognized as related to changes in the weather, but the first experimenters were surprised that the mercury fell on rainy days, when they supposed that the water-laden atmosphere was heavier. Soon, however, the correlation between high mercury and fine weather, and between falling or low mercury and rain, encouraged makers to add “Fair,” “Changeable,” and “Storm” to their scales. Because the mercury expanded and contracted with temperature, small thermometers were put on the frame to correct for this effect.

The barograph, or self-recording barometer, made a late appearance on the architect Sir Christopher Wren's somewhat improbable “Weather Clock.” Constructed in 1663, it consisted of several instruments, each of which registered by impressions on a paper chart moved by clockwork. Hooke added a barograph prior to 1681; from the description, he appears to have caused the pulley of a wheel barometer to make similar impressions on the chart. In 1765, the clockmaker Alexander Cumming (1733–1814) constructed a large and elegant continuously recording barograph for King George III (ruled 1760–1820); it was a siphon barometer, the float supporting a light frame carrying a pencil that marked a rotating circular chart. Within a few years similar instruments were being made in France.

See also Academies, Learned; Boyle, Robert; Clocks and Watches; Descartes, René; Ferdinand II (Holy Roman Empire); Hooke, Robert; Mersenne, Marin; Pascal, Blaise; Physics; Scientific Instruments; Technology; Weather and Climate; Wren, Christopher.

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ANITA MCCONNELL

BAROQUE. The baroque created confusion and dissension among its interpreters following its inception as an artistic term in the mid-eighteenth century. The origins of baroque (often capitalized) as a term are obscure, and once historians in the late nineteenth century began to question the derogatory meaning that had accrued to it, baroque became more contested than other period styles. During the mid-twentieth century, not long after it was used to characterize music, literature, and theater in addition to art history, a consensus developed that is still maintained in the popular press. By this account, baroque designates art and architecture from c. 1580 to c. 1750, and is a proselytizing Catholic art and grandiose power statement adopted by kings, emperors, popes, and other aspiring absolutists. Its multimedia forms were thought to be monumental, exuberant, unstable, theatrical, and metamorphic. Its psychology was self-aware, mystical, manipulative, melodramatic, and playful. Its subjects ranged from the abject to the sublime, from caricatures to idealized portraits, from sexualized ecstasies to bloody dismemberings. Its modes of expression were encomia, catafalques, and epithalamia; its key symbols the mask, the labyrinth, and the telescope and microscope.

This popular view holds much truth for many art forms, but in the second half of the twentieth century, scholars led by Ernst Curtius and Wolfgang Stechow began to question the legitimacy of the baroque as a period of style. They accepted *baroque* as a legitimate stylistic term that may be applied to some late Hellenistic, late Gothic, and other arts, but not *baroque* as a period style for the seventeenth

century. The new consensus today asserts that the baroque, like any period style, relies on an essentialist Hegelianism that was discredited along with other totalizing prejudices such as sexism, racism, and nationalism. Furthermore, it was questioned whether an originally pejorative term signifying deformation and mawkish emotionalism could fairly represent a heterogeneous phenomenon that included Carlo Dolci's pious quattrocentism, the limpid mist of Vermeer's rooms, and Cassiano Dal Pozzo's artists conscientiously recording, classifying, and reconstructing the ancient past. Like baroque ornaments that entwine buildings, the term *baroque* had spread too far, lately even to economics, and become so variously defined that its utility was lost. As a period style, this may be true, but baroque is currently enjoying a revival as an interpretive key to contemporary art.

ETYMOLOGIES

It seems fitting that for a style known for instability and mutation no secure etymology has been determined. Baroque as a term is shrouded in greater ambiguity than the etymologies of other period styles. Wherever its origins truly lie, one can safely say that *barocco* (Italian and Spanish), *Barock* (German), and *baroque* (French and English) are linguistic mutations and semantic grotesques, much like the style they describe.

The four principal etymologies are presented here, from the most to least frequently accepted definitions:

1. *Barroco*, the Portuguese word for 'deformed pearl' (in Spanish *barueca*), is the etymology preferred by art historians, not for any particular philological reason, but because it signifies a visual form. Just as a spherical unblemished pearl may signify classical perfection, so a baroque pearl signifies its flawed perversion. "Flawed" was a nineteenth-century opinion; in the seventeenth century "baroque" pearls were fashionable.
2. In Italian, a *baroco* was a false scholastic syllogism, a caricature of logic and hence a form of sophistry. Because it originated in rhetoric and language, it became the preferred etymology for literary historians from Benedetto Croce (1929) onward; among art historians, only the textually oriented Erwin Panofsky (1934) ac-



Baroque. *The Garden of Love* by Peter Paul Rubens. ©ALINARI/ART RESOURCE, N.Y.

cepted this as its primary meaning. During the seventeenth century, the French considered *barocco* to be an empty Italian form, identified with academies and devoid of original thought (Michel de Montaigne); Italians understood it more generally as sophistry (Francesco Fulvio Frugoni). *Baroco* was, like rococo, a form of baby talk or parrot chatter, where form is cut loose from its signifiers. Like the baroque pearl, baroque syllogism was not always viewed negatively in the seventeenth century but instead signified a form of wit, “an ingenious quibbling . . . playfully persuasive . . . based on metaphor” (Emanuele Tesauro). Whereas Croce and others regarded baroque syllogism as a “gnostic confusion” and an “empty game,” the seventeenth century equated it with an equivocating wit and the associative ambiguities of metaphor that lie at the center of genius and creativity.

3. *Baroccho* from the fourteenth through seven-

teenth centuries signified a type of usury, similar to pawnbroking, and hence by extension something illegitimate.

4. Erich Hubala proposed *baroquer*, used by French cabinet makers to signify turning and curving.
5. Generally unaccepted, but still enticing, proposed terms include *barraga* (Arabic for ‘to open one’s eyes’) and *bis-roca* (Latin for ‘twisted stone’).

ORIGINS OF A PERIOD STYLE

Otto Kurz, Bruno Migliorini, and Rossana Bossaglia have traced the earliest applications of *barocco*/*baroque*/*Barock* as an art or architectural term to the 1740s. In 1751 Denis Diderot’s encyclopedia entry defined *baroché* as “a painter’s term used to explain that the paintbrush did not cleanly delineate a contour and that it smeared colors.” At the same time, Charles Cochin and Charles de Brosses described baroque forms as twisted, winding, tortu-

ous, and confused. Others likened it to the plague, drowsy, and other diseases, to decadence and lunacy. Francesco Milizia (1768) likened the suicidal and “raving mad” Borromini to the “contagious architectural madness” of his buildings: “He went baroque.” De Brosses, picking up on a seventeenth-century epithet of Borromini as “a gothic ignoramous,” identified baroque art as neo-Gothic where clear structure is hidden behind “fussy trimmings” and where precious miniature decorations are inappropriately gigantic. Baroque was thus an Asiatic style of sophistry and indiscriminate ornament, and like the Asiatic, it was conceived as foreign. The baroque as Gothic is one example; other critics compared it to Islamic and Chinese decoration (Pompei, 1735; Milizia, 1768).

In these early usages, baroque was not explicitly a period style, not yet Baroque with a capital B, but only a recurring degraded style frequently found in the seventeenth century. Concurrently with the use of baroque as a stylistic quality, early-eighteenth-century critics began to reify the seventeenth century as a cultural unit, a discrete decadent period where the visual and literary arts shared defects of excess, exaggeration, and novelty: “Just as Marino . . . introduced without proper judgment new forms of thought and speech in poetry. . . . so too might be said of Borromini, Bernini, Pozzi and their contemporaries, enriching buildings with new ornaments and deviated from good practice and deforming it” (Pompei, 1735). Others created a baroque canon of the terrible “B’s” representing sculpture, architecture, and painting: Bernini, Borromini, and Berretini (that is, Pietro da Cortona). Johann Joachim Winckelmann, who wrote his seminal *The History of Ancient Art* (1764) partly as a critique of the baroque, saw it as a late “superfluous” style, the inevitable end of classicism, much like Late Hellenism and mannerism, all noisy, deformed, exaggerated, and corrupted.

RECOVERIES

The recovery of the baroque as a legitimate independent period style instead of a late bastardized form of the Renaissance began in late-nineteenth-century architectural studies (Wölfflin, 1888; Gurlitt; Riegl). For the architect Cornelius Gurlitt, this historical rehabilitation coincided with his architectural practice in a neo-baroque style. More

than any other scholar, Heinrich Wölfflin came to be associated with the rehabilitation of the baroque, first in *Renaissance and Baroque* (1888; based on his dissertation) and finally in the classic *Principles of Art History* (1915). In the latter, he proposed five paired morphological categories, intended to distinguish Renaissance from baroque but that became for early-twentieth-century art historians universal categories: linear/painter; plain/recession; closed/open form; multiplicity/unity; clearness/unclearness. Although now often dismissed as a “mere” formalist, Wölfflin, in his interest in the psychology of art and perception, influenced a younger generation of art historians (such as Wilhelm Worringer and Henri Focillon).

Many scholars starting in the 1930s resisted the formulation of the baroque as a period style, arguing instead that it should be seen as a perpetually renewing form (Focillon; Panofsky; D’Ors). Much like eighteenth-century critics of seventeenth-century art as a new Gothic (flamboyant Gothic and Spanish Plateresque) or as a new mannerism, they thought of the baroque as much as a recurring type as a chronologically limited period style. Curtius extended this view by showing how the perception of stylistic recurrences is partly a linguistic illusion, one that was created by the fixed rhetorical categories inherited by historians. This, in turn, helped lay the ground for a new historicism (White; Holly).

The German revisionists of the late nineteenth century assumed that the baroque originated in Italy and maintained its purest forms there. By the mid-twentieth century, however, a group of scholars (D’Ors; Francastel; Hatzfeld) proposed Spain and not Italy as its place of origin, partly because of the social control and mystical fervor of the Spanish church, partly because they thought of the baroque as an innately Spanish form of expression that can be traced back to Hispano-Latin writers like Lucan and Prudentius and to the Hispanic absorption of Islamic and North-African ornament. The Spanish origins of the baroque had actually been proposed much earlier, to little effect, by the literary historian Girolamo Tiraboschi (1782). A recent exhibition at the Guggenheim Museum in New York interpreted contemporary Brazilian art as a continuation of baroque traditions (Sullivan).

During the 1950s, a series of seminal studies were published in Italy questioning Croce's syllogistic baroque (*Retorica e Barocco*; Argan). They accepted Croce's baroque as an art of rhetoric, or sophistry as Croce had insisted, but rediscovered its original virtues of persuasion and provocation. Having been sensitized to the linguistic dimension of the baroque, scholars then began a serious exploration of its etymology in the early 1960s (Bossaglia; Kurz; Migliorini). This turn to language was paralleled by contemporary developments in mannerism scholarship.

From the 1970s on, new (but not always convincing) theories of the baroque have been restricted to literature, music, or theater; more promising are those emanating from cultural studies and philosophy (Maravall; Deleuze). Art historians not disenchanted with the viability of period styles have tended to recycle previous ideas.

BAROQUE AND MODERNITY

The rehabilitation of the baroque in the late nineteenth century coincided with the discovery of its modernity. Wölfflin stated this first: "One can hardly fail to recognise the affinity that our own age in particular bears to the Italian Baroque." Impressionism, art nouveau and liberty, symbolism, Richard Wagner's operas, and the philosophical treatises of Wagner's friend Friedrich Nietzsche offered new possibilities for appreciating the baroque. Nietzsche blamed pedants for mistaking the dionysian baroque for merely an irrational delirium. In Carlo Collodi's *Pinocchio* (1883) the metamorphosed *bamboccio* is sent off to an enchanted house of mirrors, the "Casa dei Barocchi," where men are transformed into asses, and it is in this unlikely place that Pinocchio finds his true path.

Not only have ideas on the baroque been reinterpreted in light of modern culture, but the baroque itself is seen as perennially modern. In 1934 Panofsky said the baroque was not the end of the Renaissance but "the beginning of a fourth era, which may be called 'Modern' with a capital 'M.'" More recently Jacques Lacan professed that his riotously polyvalent thought, like a "Borromean knot," was baroque, claiming that modern existence can be best understood through its equivocations. In later-twentieth-century Italian literature, the neo-baroque movement posed linguistic convolutions

to disorient readers. When asked why his literature must be so tortured, Carlo Gadda (one of the neo-barocchisti) responded: "I'm not baroque; the world is baroque." Omar Calabrese proposed the baroque as the best conceptual category for late-twentieth-century culture with its transgressions of pop culture into high art, its self-conscious referencing of the past, and its frenetic visual flux and its polymorphic media.

See also **Architecture; Art: Art Theory, Criticism, and Historiography.**

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PHILIP L. SOHM

BASQUE COUNTRY. The lands inhabited by Basque speakers extended between the Adouritz River in southwestern France and the Nervion River in northeastern Spain, comprising most of the western flanks of the Pyrenees Mountains. The Ebro River functioned as a traditional boundary between Basque lands and the kingdom of Castile.

On the Spanish side, Basque provinces included Araba (Alava), Biskaia (Vizcaya), Gipuzkoa (Guipúzcoa), and Nafarroa (Navarre in French, Navarra in Spanish). The provinces under French rule were Lapurdi (Labourd), Soule (Zuberoa), and Benafarroa (Basse-Navarre).

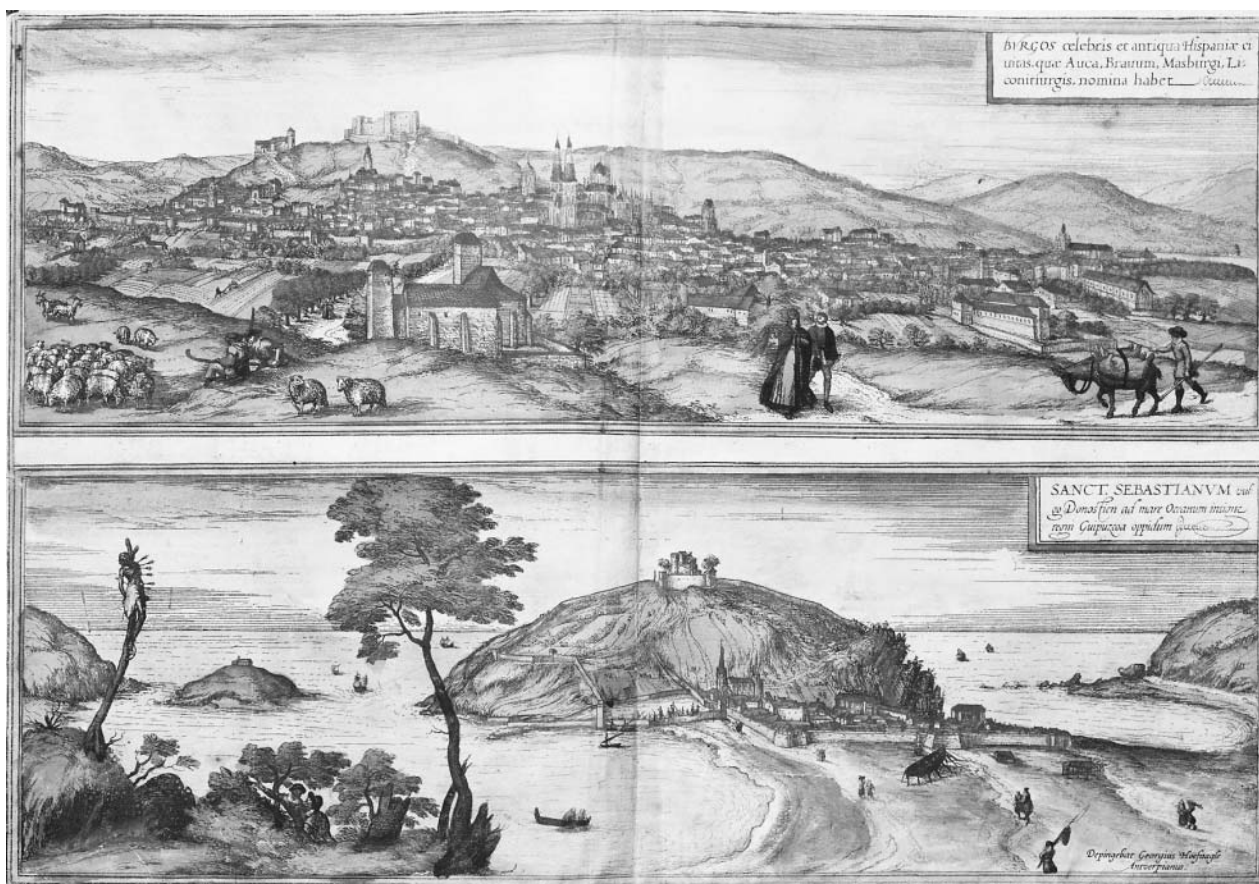
After the final annexation of Navarre to the Spanish crown in the 1510s, the Basque settlements consolidated their loyalty to either Castile or France, with the Bidasoa River as the natural border between the two monarchies. The borders between

France and Spain, however, remained particularly blurry in the Basque lands, where jurisdictional disputes arose at the ecclesiastic, provincial, and municipal levels.

Basque common law and political autonomy were traditionally recognized on both sides of the Bidasoa River. In 1452 and 1526 Bizkaian customary laws were recognized in the *Fuero Viejo* and *Fuero Nuevo*.

Each town or village had full autonomy and elected its own representatives every year in the churchyard or *anteiglesia*, with wide jurisdiction in economic, political, and military affairs. Rivalries between bordering villages were not unusual, especially regarding access to natural resources (stone, wood, coal, salt, water) and rights of use and exploitation in grazing lands.

The farmstead (*baserri* or *caserío*) was the most important institution in the Basque lands and func-



Basque Country. This page from *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, c. 1572–1618, by Braun and Hogenberg, features views of Burgos (above) and San Sebastian. ©ARCHIVO ICONOGRAFICO, S.A./CORBIS

tioned with economic and political autonomy. Farmsteads (*baserriak*) were small units of land farmed by men and women to produce and harvest corn, apples, fodder, wheat, milk, honey, poultry, and nuts. Outside the *baserri* boundaries, each unit normally raised sheep and goats and had the right to exploit municipal resources. *Baserriak* were deemed indivisible and therefore inherited by only one member of the family the following generation, according to traditional rules that varied across villages and regions.

The most important cities in the Basque area were the ports, given the mercantile and maritime character of Basque enterprises. Shipbuilding and trade with northern Europe and Spanish America were vital economic activities. From the sixteenth century on, Basque merchants traded silver, iron, sugar, and manufactured goods in a transatlantic circuit that extended from Belgium and France to Spanish America and the Philippines. Large-scale fishing, in particular whale and cod, comprised another important activity and required major investments, planning, and management. Bilbo (Bilbao), Donostia (San Sebastián), and Bayonne were the most important towns, and each developed strong local elites based upon a wide range of activities, from shipbuilding to colonial trade and whale fisheries.

Significant emigration to the Americas was a permanent feature in the Basque lands after 1492. Basques were prominent colonial merchants, soldiers, miners, royal officers, ecclesiastical authorities, scribes, lawyers, and doctors. They were also involved in rural enterprises, especially sugar and cacao production.

Basques also played a prominent role in the Spanish monarchy's European affairs, especially in the church, royal bureaucracy, and military. Prominent Basques in the early modern era could be found on all continents, starting with Ignatius of Loyola, founder of the Jesuits in Rome, Saint Francis Xavier, missionary in the Far East, Juan de Oñate and Francisco de Urdinola, colonizers of Northern Mexico and what became the southwestern United States, and Juan de Garay, refounder of Buenos Aires.

See also Ignatius of Loyola; Jesuits; Spain.

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JUAN JAVIER PESCADOR

BASSI, LAURA (1711–1778), Bolognese physicist, professor, and experimenter. Laura Bassi holds the unusual distinction of having been the first woman to pursue a paid scientific career. A lawyer's daughter, Bassi received her early education from the family physician, Gaetano Tacconi, who subsequently introduced her to the Bolognese scholarly community. With the encouragement of the archbishop of Bologna, Prospero Lambertini (Pope Benedict XIV, 1740–1758), Bassi's patrons proposed her as a candidate for a university degree in philosophy. Following a public defense of forty-nine philosophical theses on 17 April 1732, Bassi received her *laurea* (university degree) on 12 May—the second woman whose graduation we can document from any university. On 29 October 1732, she became professor of philosophy at the University of Bologna. She subsequently taught philosophy, mathematics, and physics there until her death in 1778. By the end of her life, Bassi held two other professorships—an appointment at the Collegio Montalto and, as of 1776, a professorship in experimental physics at the Academy of the Institute for Sciences in Bologna. In collaboration with her husband, the physician Giuseppe Veratti (1707–1793)—whom she married in 1738 and with whom she had eight children—Bassi offered private lessons in physics and performed experiments in her household. She was routinely celebrated throughout her lifetime for these accomplishments, not only by the Venetian philosopher Francesco Algarotti, who sketched a vignette of her in his *Newtonianism for Ladies* (1737), but also by well-known figures in the republic of letters such as the electrical experimenter Abbé Nollet (1700–1770), who visited her, Voltaire, who corresponded with her, and her cousin, the naturalist Lazzaro



Laura Bassi. PHOTO RESEARCHERS, INC.

Spallanzani (1729–1799), who claimed he never would have become an experimenter if he had not studied with her.

See also Women.

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PAULA FINDLEN

BAVARIA. The duchy of Bavaria, which became a prince-electorate in 1623, was one of the larger and more important territories of the Holy Roman Empire. In 1801 it covered about 590 square miles and had about 880,000 inhabitants. Unlike other territories, Bavaria was a nation rather than merely a random territorial unit. The Bavarian people had emerged in a process of ethnogenesis during the reign of the Ostrogoth king Theodoric the Great (c. 453–526; ruled 474/493–526) in the former Roman province of Noricum. From 1180 until it became a republic in 1918, it was ruled by the local Wittelsbach dynasty. After a period of dynastic divisions and succession wars following the reign of the Holy Roman emperor Louis IV "the Bavarian" (ruled 1314–1347), Bavaria became and remained unified at the beginning of the early modern period. This was a result of the law of primogeniture, which was introduced by Duke Albert IV "the Wise" (ruled 1465–1508) in 1506, accepted by the Bavarian Estates, and enshrined in the constitution (*Landesordnung*) of 1516. The Bavarian parliament (*Landschaft*) consisted of prelates, the nobility, and the towns. During the minority rule of William IV (ruled 1508–1550) the Estates in fact governed the country for several years, and afterwards they retained the right of taxation and the administration of finances. However, during the reign of Albert V (1550–1579) the relationship between the Estates and the ruler deteriorated because the higher nobility and parts of the citizenry of major towns like Munich adopted Protestantism and urged the duke to follow their example. However, this was a hopeless idea, since Duke Albert actually became a leader of the Catholic cause during the Council of Trent. When the Estates tried to use tax grants as a weapon in their struggle for religious liberation, it came to a showdown. The duke raided the castles of the most prominent Protestant nobles, Ladislaus von Fraunberg (1505–1566), Pankraz von Freyberg (1508–1565), Wolfdietrich von Maxlrain (1523–1586), and Count Joachim von Ortenburg (1530–1600). Their excellent contacts with Protestant no-

bles and princes in other parts of the empire, and throughout Europe, were labeled a conspiracy, and political Protestantism in the country was crushed in 1564. According to the Religious Peace of Augsburg of 1555, Protestants were forced to either reconvert or emigrate, and the emigration of Protestant burghers damaged the urban economy substantially.

By assuming leadership of the Counter-Reformation, the Bavarian dukes rose to European importance. In a deliberate program of reeducation, with the University of Ingolstadt as the headquarters of Jesuit influence and with a number of Jesuit high schools, Bavaria managed to shape the ideas of future Catholic elites. Commissioned by the dukes, Jesuits like Petrus Canisius, Gregory of Valencia, and Jacob Gretser molded the religious ideas of the next two generations of Catholic political leaders, including Holy Roman emperor Ferdinand III, and the generation of the Catholic League and of religious warfare in the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648). In 1568 Duke Albert forged an alliance with the house of Lorraine, the political leaders of the French Catholic League. Duke William V “the Pious” (ruled 1579–1597) and his wife Renata of Lorraine led the life of saints and brutally suppressed heresy and witchcraft. They also introduced new and highly popular forms of piety: new forms of prayer, of spirituality, and of religious practices like weekly processions; pilgrimages to Bavarian national shrines such as Mother Mary of Altötting; annual Corpus Christi processions in the capital; and monumental mystery plays. There were new religious brotherhoods such as the Marian Congregation and new religious orders like the female Jesuits of Mary Ward (1585–1645), an English emigrant from Yorkshire who was protected by the Bavarian dynasty even after formal recognition by the Jesuits and the pope had been denied her. Mother Mary was chosen the patroness of Bavaria, with widespread veneration, and Marian columns erected at the central places of all market towns. In 1583 the Bavarian rulers intervened in their first international conflict, sending an army to northwestern Germany to depose the archbishop of Cologne, prince-electors Gebhard Truchsess von Waldburg (ruled 1577–1583), who had converted to Protestantism. The Cologne War secured Catholic domination in the Holy Roman Empire since the

Catholic votes (Mainz, Cologne, Trier, and Bohemia) outweighed the Protestant ones (Saxony, Brandenburg, and the Palatinate). Furthermore, it secured the prince-electorate of Cologne for the Bavarian Wittelsbachs (1583–1761), who managed to control a complex of ecclesiastical lands in the north (Cologne, Münster, Hildesheim, Paderborn, Lüttich/Lièges, and the imperial abbeys of Stavelot and Malmédy) well into the mid-eighteenth century.

Bavaria's influence on an international level culminated under the powerful rule of Duke Maximilian I (ruled 1597–1651). Educated by leading Jesuits, married first to a Lorraine princess, and then to a Habsburg princess, he soon gained confidence, and assumed political leadership at the age of twenty-one. When he replaced his father, whose religious zeal had led the state close to bankruptcy, he had already gained the support of the Estates, the councillors, and the Catholic intellectuals. Within a few years of tight personal rule, advised by a group of most able councillors, Bavaria had an efficient government, an intact bureaucracy, healthy finances, and—despite accelerating Catholic reforms—a clearly defined supremacy of state interests, a dominance of the theory of reason of state. Based upon successful internal reforms, a firm Catholic ideology, and excellent political advisers, Maximilian gained the energy for his bold foreign policy. The weakness of Emperors Rudolf II (ruled 1576–1612) and Matthias (ruled 1612–1629) allowed Maximilian to usurp leadership of the Catholic party in the Holy Roman Empire and gather its forces in the Catholic League, using it as an instrument of Bavarian interests. From then Bavaria dominated Franconia and Eastern Swabia, both of which were annexed when the Holy Roman Empire eventually collapsed. Maximilian had already annexed the imperial city of Donauwörth in 1607 and the imperial lordship of Mindelheim in 1616. When the Bohemian Estates elected the Calvinist Elector Palatine Frederick V king of Bohemia in 1619, and Catholic preponderance in the Holy Roman Empire was once again endangered, Maximilian sent an army, defeating the Protestants in the Battle of the White Mountain in 1620. Bohemia remained under Habsburg rule, but Bavarian armies occupied the Palatinate and annexed the Upper Palatinate. Maximilian



Bavaria. Covering what are today parts of Germany, Austria, and the Czech Republic, this map was published in a mid-eighteenth-century history of England. It clearly shows the confusing patchwork of many small temporal and ecclesiastical principalities that was Germany under the Holy Roman Empire. The Duchy (to 1507) and Electorate of Bavaria (1507–1806) was a coveted prize and frequent battleground during the wars of the eighteenth century. MAP COLLECTION, STERLING MEMORIAL LIBRARY, YALE UNIVERSITY

gained the Palatine electoral vote for Bavaria, and the title of prince-elect for himself in 1623.

The Thirty Years' War (1618–1648), which had been triggered by Maximilian I of Bavaria, soon turned into Europe's first world war with the intervention of Spain, France, England, the Netherlands, the pope, and Sweden, but it was as much a catastrophe for Bavaria as for other parts of Central Europe. The country was sacked twice by Swedish troops, and yet "friendly" armies like the Spanish or the imperial armies had an equally devastating effect. Crop failure, famine, epidemics, and two waves

of bubonic plague in 1634 and in 1646 probably caused a population loss of more than 50 percent. A peasant uprising in 1633 showed the level of suffering from the politically induced hardship. The prince-elect now became more cautious, and to the dismay of religious zealots like his Jesuit confessor Adam Contzen (1571–1635), Bavaria supported the Peace of Prague (1635), and invested a lot of energy in forging the Peace of Westphalia (1648), even against the advice of the papacy. Secular interests once more triumphed over religious zeal. In his political testament Bavaria's great prince-elect advised his son to keep the peace, to

be a just and pious ruler, and to keep a close eye on finances (*pecunia nervus rerum*). Prince-elector Ferdinand Maria (ruled 1651–1679) supported baroque Catholic piety, but curbed Jesuit influence, and his wife Henriette Adelaide of Savoy (1635–1676) introduced members of the Italian Theatine order as court confessors. With a successful recovery from the Thirty Years' War, their son Maximilian II Emanuel (ruled 1679–1726) developed the ambition to extend Wittelsbach rule to Spain but was defeated in the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1714), and Bavaria was occupied by Austrian troops. A national uprising was crushed on Christmas Eve of 1705, the Bavarian peasant army being butchered after their surrender near the village of Sendling, remembered as the *Sendlinger Mordweihnacht* (Sendling Christmas Massacre). Elector Charles Albert (ruled 1726–1745) was another overambitious ruler who managed to get himself elected emperor as Charles VII in 1742, despite strong opposition from the Habsburgs, who again occupied Bavaria.

His successor Maximilian III Joseph (ruled 1745–1777) gave up this sort of ambitious foreign policy in the Peace of Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle) in 1748, which ended the War of the Austrian Succession, and focused on domestic policy. As an enlightened absolutist monarch he managed to split the clergy and cut down clericalism, to reform education, law, and the sciences, and to introduce road construction and moor draining. Secular intellectuals were encouraged, the Bavarian Academy of Sciences was founded, and journalism and literature were sponsored. Quite deliberately this ruler avoided wars and focused on interior reforms, and his rule was remembered with joy by his subjects. Remaining childless, he was succeeded by one of the Palatine Wittelsbachs, Charles Theodore (ruled 1777–1799), another enlightened prince. His autocratic attitudes made him less appreciated by his subjects, although he opened the “English Garden” in Munich to the public. He was also childless, and his successor Maximilian IV Joseph (ruled 1799–1825), from the Wittelsbach line Zweibrücken-Birkenfeld, became the founder of modern Bavaria. Like Maximilian I he had excellent councillors at his command, in particular Maximilian, count of Montgelas (1759–1838), a former member of the Illuminati, a kind of elitist Free-

mason secret society that had been suppressed by Charles Theodore. In order to escape this repression, Montgelas had emigrated to Zweibrücken-Birkenfeld, only to return as a prime minister. Still a radical reformer, Montgelas secularized the monasteries and reformed education (creating obligatory state schools) and law (abolishing torture). Maximilian and Montgelas forged a coalition with France and modeled the Bavarian administration after the French pattern as a centralized state, ruthlessly integrating all the newly acquired territories in Franconia and Swabia, several principalities and prince-bishoprics, and scores of counties, imperial cities, imperial abbacies, and lordships, assembling the Bavarian state in its present shape, and raising its status to a kingdom after the collapse of the Holy Roman Empire in 1806.

See also Austrian Succession, War of the (1740–1748); Holy Roman Empire; Munich; Spanish Succession, War of the (1701–1714); Thirty Years' War (1618–1648); Westphalia, Peace of (1648); Wittelsbach Dynasty (Bavaria).

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WOLFGANG BEHRINGER

BAXTER, RICHARD (1615–1691), English Protestant clergyman and writer. Richard Baxter was at the heart of seventeenth-century Puritanism despite not having held a significant office. Born near Shrewsbury, in Shropshire, England, Baxter was brought up to fear sin and love the Bible. Such early influences led him to pursue a clerical career, although he did not attend university. In 1638 he was ordained a deacon in the Church of England; it is unlikely that he ever received ordination to the full priesthood. In 1641 Baxter was appointed preacher at Kidderminster in Worcestershire. On the outbreak of the English Civil War

(1642–1649) he fled to Coventry, but he became a chaplain in the parliamentary army in 1645. Later he returned to Kidderminster and engaged in evangelical preaching and personal “conference” with his parishioners. By devoting Monday and Tuesday of each week to this counseling, he was able to erect a voluntary “discipline,” but only six hundred of eighteen hundred potential communicants agreed to submit to examination before admission to the sacrament of the Lord’s Supper. There was no tradition in the Church of England of giving an account to the minister of one’s belief and behavior before being allowed to receive the sacrament, and many resented this Puritan intrusion into their spiritual lives.

In 1652 Baxter formed the Worcestershire Association of Ministers to encourage catechizing and discipline, and ministers in several other counties followed suit. These initiatives brought together clergy of different denominations and were an effective response to the challenge of sects such as the Quakers. In the winter of 1654–1655, Baxter met Archbishop James Ussher and they agreed (allegedly within thirty minutes) on a modified form of episcopacy that ought to be acceptable to both Presbyterians and Episcopalians. Baxter’s prominence in moderate Puritan circles guaranteed that his views would be sought at the Restoration. He became a royal chaplain and prepared position papers for the Presbyterians, helping to argue their case at the Savoy Conference (1661) where the Episcopalians and Presbyterians failed to agree on revisions to the Prayer Book. Meanwhile the benefice of Kidderminster had been successfully reclaimed by its previous incumbent and, with the 1662 Act of Uniformity looming, Baxter retired from public preaching. Supported by his pious, resourceful, and wealthy wife Margaret, Baxter spent the 1660s in Acton outside London and attended the parish church while also preaching to his own circle. Under the royal indulgence of 1672, he began to preach publicly in London but suffered mounting persecution until in 1685 he was imprisoned for nearly two years. Old and frail, Baxter spent his last years indefatigably preaching and writing until his death on 8 December 1691.

Baxter’s significance stems from three sources: his acknowledged leadership of the moderate wing of dissent; his voluminous and diverse writings,

which numbered perhaps 111 publications; and his influence with respect to the way subsequent generations viewed the history and religion of seventeenth-century England. This last was a result of his controversial and practical works and even more importantly of *Reliquiae Baxterianae* (1696), his autobiography edited by Matthew Sylvester, which was in turn comprehensively rewritten by the English clergyman Edmund Calamy as *An Abridgement of Mr. Baxter’s History of His Life and Times* (1702). Baxter’s extensive correspondence, which has been cataloged, is housed at Dr. Williams’s Library, London. Thus we know more about Baxter the man than we do about most individuals of his era. Prickly, awkward, a hypochondriac, and deficient in tact, humor, and a sense of proportion, Baxter could also genuinely claim to have labored for forty-five years in the cause of mutual understanding and the promotion of basic Christian piety. His sincere ecumenism followed from his conviction that “practical” religion and pastoral work were at the heart of the Protestant ministry. His work at Kidderminster and a stream of books such as *The Saints’ Everlasting Rest* (1649), *The Reformed Pastor* (1656), and *The Christian Directory* (1673) manifest this belief, as does his repudiation of denominational labels in favor of such badges as “a mere Christian.”

Baxter’s pastoral focus had theological implications. He feared the antinomianism of the sects and the strict Calvinists on one hand and the superstition of “popery” on the other: his own theology could be described as a Puritan Arminianism. On several occasions he changed his view of the role of bishops and secular rulers in fostering godliness. Although he could accept a “reduced” episcopacy that would not circumscribe the pastoral efforts of the local minister, he soon turned against the lordly prelates who returned with the Church of England in 1662. He suspected that church of aiming at a French-style Catholicism under the authority of the monarchy. Although deeply worried by the proclivities of Charles II and James II, Baxter’s faith in “Christian magistracy” as a vehicle for religious reformation was strong under the Protectorate (1653–1659) and once again after the Glorious Revolution (1688–1689) under William III. Baxter exemplifies some of the deepest impulses of seventeenth-century nonsectarian Puritanism.

See also **Church of England; Clergy: Protestant Clergy; Dissenters, English; English Civil War and Interregnum; English Civil War Radicalism; Puritanism.**

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JOHN SPURR

BAYLE, PIERRE (1647–1706), French philosopher and critic. Pierre Bayle counts among the most influential and yet most enigmatic thinkers in history. Richard Popkin has described him as the key intellectual figure at the turn of the eighteenth century, and he has come to be known as the “Arsenal of the Enlightenment,” the source of its ideas on toleration, secularism, and a host of other issues. Despite the relative clarity of Bayle’s effect on his immediate successors, there is very little agreement on what Bayle himself might actually have believed. He is thus in the curious position of having an influence that he himself might not have fully recognized or intended.

Although he was to become one of the brightest luminaries of French culture, Bayle was born and raised far from its Parisian epicenter, in the foothills of the Pyrenees, and spent almost the whole of his adult life outside France, as a refugee. Conversion to Catholicism under his Jesuit schoolmasters shocked his staunchly Protestant family, but he reconverted upon completion of his studies. Thus regarded by the overwhelming Catholic majority as not just a heretic but a relapsed heretic, Bayle faced a nearly impossible life, and he fled France for Switzerland. Then, after a brief period spent clandestinely in Paris and at the Protestant Academy at Sedan, he fled

again, not long before the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, settling permanently in Rotterdam amid the relative freedom of the Netherlands. Through this early period he eked out an existence from menial teaching jobs, which, however necessary, kept him from the scholarly life that was his only interest (he was later to reject otherwise attractive offers of marriage and a university appointment as inconsistent with that life). The commercial success of his publications finally made total devotion to scholarship possible.

Bayle’s influence should not be surprising since he was both enormously prolific and widely read. Indeed, his *Historical and Critical Dictionary* was the most popular work of the eighteenth century. Shelf-counts of private libraries from the period show this work appearing far more frequently than anything from distant competitors such as Voltaire, Rousseau, Newton, or Locke. Accounting for its undeniable popularity, or even describing the nature of this work, is not easy. Its only principle of organization is the alphabetical order of its entries. Bayle wrote of people of every sort—philosophers, kings, clowns, some famous, many obscure, often real, of course, but sometimes from myth—and not just people, but rivers, islands, towns, everything under the sun, it would seem. And he did so in a way that furthers the uniqueness of the work. Almost all of his interesting writing occurs not in the actual text of the entries but in the double columns of smaller-print footnotes that occupy most, and sometimes all, of the pages. These notes often contain the utterly unrelated digressions into philosophy, church history, religious polemic, literary criticism, pornography, curious trivia, and other areas that so obviously delighted Bayle. Clearly, this was not a work to be read from cover to cover over its several in-folio volumes but to be dipped into for unconnected episodes of fascinating yet instructive entertainment. No wonder that it had a broad readership from Leibniz, Hume, Voltaire, and Jefferson to many lesser lights.

The *Dictionary* is a very long work that Bayle seemed prepared to expand indefinitely in further editions. But it represents less than half of his total output. The rest of his works are devoted almost entirely to religious polemic in defense of Protestantism’s attempted reform of Christianity against Catholicism’s Counter-Reformation and in defense

of his version of Calvinist Protestantism against his more conservative and more liberal coreligionists. A key to this work is Bayle's advocacy of toleration based on the inviolability of conscience even when objectively it is in error. Bayle discusses an actual case that had taken place in the next town from his birthplace; the wife of Martin Guerre is beyond blame and punishment in yielding to an impostor husband so long as she genuinely believes him to be her husband. What is true of her, moreover, is true *mutatis mutandis* of the religious heretic whose belief, though mistaken, is sincere. In neither case should conscience be forced.

In the history of philosophy, Bayle is typically regarded as a skeptic. But if he was a skeptic, he was not of the Pyrrhonian sort that advocates suspension of belief, for Bayle in his work expressed more beliefs than perhaps anyone in history. In addition, the texts in which he sets out skeptical arguments are very few in number (most notably in the *Dictionary* article on Pyrrho) and his attitude toward them is at best ambiguous. Nor does he seem to have been even a religious skeptic, however much his arguments on a number of topics might point in the direction of atheism. If anything, he practiced academic skepticism, whose defining feature is the virtue of intellectual integrity—of respecting perceived truth not only in one's own voice but also in reporting the views of others. Such a virtue might partially explain why it is that so many different and competing views come across on Bayle's work, which is otherwise so enigmatic.

See also **Philosophes; Skepticism: Academic and Pyrrhonian.**

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Pierre Bayle. Portrait from the *Dictionnaire historique et critique*, 1765. ©ARCHIVO ICONOGRAFICO, S.A./CORBIS

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THOMAS M. LENNON

FRANCIS BEAUMONT (1584/5–1616) and **JOHN FLETCHER** (1579–1625), the most famous collaboration in early modern English drama. Both men came from established families with strong writing traditions. Beaumont was born at Grace-Dieu, Leicestershire, the son of Francis Beaumont, a judge, and the brother of the poet John Beaumont. Fletcher was born on 20 December 1579, the son of Richard Fletcher, later bishop of London. Richard's brother, Giles Fletcher, was a

poet and diplomat, and father of the “Spenserian” poets Giles, Jr., and Phineas. Both Beaumont and Fletcher attended university: Beaumont entered Broadgates Hall, Oxford, in 1597, before proceeding to the Inner Temple in 1600; Fletcher probably entered Benet College (now Corpus Christi), his father’s old college, in 1591.

The collaboration between the two writers is first traced to *The Woman Hater*, written in 1606 for the Children of Paul’s (a children’s acting troupe). Beaumont had probably already written the erotic narrative poem *Salmacis and Hermaphroditus*, published in 1602. The pair moved from the Children of Paul’s to the Children of the Queen’s Revels, who first performed *Cupid’s Revenge* (1607–1608), *The Coxcomb* (1608–1610), and *The Scornful Lady* (1610). Separately, Beaumont and Fletcher wrote *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* (1607) and *The Faithful Shepherdess* (1608), respectively, for the same company; both plays seem originally to have failed in performance, perhaps because they were too avant-garde for the Blackfriars audience. The success of their collaborative plays, particularly *Cupid’s Revenge*, seems to have caught the attention of the King’s Men, for whom Beaumont and Fletcher wrote a series of highly successful collaborative plays: *Philaster* (or *Love Lies a’Bleeding*; c. 1609), *The Maid’s Tragedy* (c. 1610), and *A King and No King* (1611). Fletcher alone wrote the tragedies *Bonduca* (c. 1609–1614) and *Valentinian* (c. 1610), and the comedy *The Woman’s Prize* (or *The Tamer Tamed*; c. 1611), a mock-sequel to Shakespeare’s *Taming of the Shrew*.

In 1613 Beaumont married Ursula Isley and seems to have retired from the theater; his last surviving dramatic work is *The Masque of Gray’s Inn and the Inner Temple* (Gray’s Inn and Inner Temple are two of the four Inns of Court), written for the wedding of James I’s daughter Elizabeth in February 1613. It is possible that Beaumont’s health was already declining when he retired; he died on 6 March 1616 and was buried in Westminster Abbey. Fletcher, who seems to have preferred writing in collaboration, worked with Shakespeare on three plays for the King’s Men in 1612–1613: *Henry VIII*, *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, and the lost *Cardenio*. He also wrote with Nathan Field, firstly for the Lady Elizabeth’s Men, for whom Field was a leading actor (*The Honest Man’s Fortune* [1613],

Four Plays in One [c. 1614]), and later for the King’s Men, for whom Field acted from 1616 (*The Knight of Malta* [1616–1618] and *The Queen of Corinth* [1617]). This period also saw the first performances of Fletcher’s *Wit without Money* (1614), *The Chances* (c. 1617), and *Women Pleased* (c. 1618). After Field’s death in 1619, Fletcher formed a settled collaboration with Philip Massinger. Their best-known plays include *Sir John Van Olden Barnavelt* (1619), *The Custom of the Country* (c. 1619), and *The Sea Voyage* (1622). He also continued to write plays alone, including *The Humourous Lieutenant* (c. 1619), *The Island Princess* (1621), *The Wild Goose Chase* (1621), and *The Pilgrim* (c. 1621). Fletcher died of plague on 29 August 1625, and was buried at St. Mary Overy, Southwark.

The fame of the Beaumont and Fletcher collaboration is due in part to the publication in 1647 of a lavish folio edition of *Comedies and Tragedies Written by Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher Gentlemen*, in which the plays were accompanied by a series of dedicatory verses written by admirers of the two playwrights, many of which eulogized them as a perfect synthesis. George Lisle, for instance, wrote: “your fancies are so wov’n and knit, / ’Twas Francis Fletcher, or John Beaumont writ.” Continuing the tradition, John Aubrey wrote in *Brief Lives*: “They lived together on the Banke side, not far from the Play-house, both batchelors; lay together . . . had one wench in the house between them, which they did so admire; the same clothes and cloake, &c., between them.” However, the posthumous union between Beaumont and Fletcher was occasionally contested, and the contribution of Massinger recognized. Aston Cockayne protested that Beaumont would have “frown’d and blush’d” to see his name attached to plays in which he had no claim, and notes that it is Massinger, not Beaumont, who was buried in Fletcher’s grave: “So whom on earth nothing did part, beneath / Here (in their Fames) they lie, in spight of death.”

The plays of the “Beaumont and Fletcher” canon remained popular throughout the seventeenth century, and Fletcher was regarded as one of the greatest dramatists of the age. While tragicomedies such as *Philaster* and *A King and No King* had a great impact on early seventeenth-century drama, the comedies, particularly those written

with Massinger, had a shaping influence on the development of the Restoration theater.

See also **Drama; English; English Literature and Language; Renaissance; Shakespeare, William.**

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LUCY MUNRO

BECCARIA, CESARE BONESANA, MARQUIS OF (1738–1794), Italian economist and proponent of judicial reform. Cesare Beccaria was the author of the most famous Italian work of the Enlightenment, *On Crimes and Punishments* (1764). He was born into a noble family of the state of Milan, which was part of the Austrian Habsburg empire, and was schooled by the Jesuits in Parma. After receiving his law degree from the University of Pavia in 1758, he returned to live in Milan. Beccaria's twenties were the most important decade in his intellectual and emotional life. He was temperamentally inclined to lethargy and anxiety, but when young could also be galvanized by inspiration, and expressed his feelings in the language of Rousseau. He married his first wife in 1761, against strong resistance from his family, and wrote *On Crimes and Punishments* in 1763, when he was twenty-five. His friendships with Pietro Verri (1728–1797) and other ardent young Milanese reformers did not

however, outlast the 1760s, for in their eyes he seemed to lose all of his vitality and to settle into an arid and routine private life, which nevertheless allowed him to hold his melancholy at bay.

Beccaria assumed a prestigious public lecture-ship in the Scuola Palatine on "cameral sciences" (political economy) in 1768. He mastered the literature of the nascent science of economics, and his teaching was impregnated with the Enlightenment ideal of building a new science of humanity, understanding the evolution of human society, and improving the lives of entire populations. In 1771 Beccaria requested and was granted membership in a government council that dealt with economic affairs. Through a succession of such appointments he rose to become a senior member of the administration of the state of Milan, with responsibilities at various times for agriculture, industry, trade, civil and criminal justice, statistics, and public order.

Beccaria himself dated his discovery of the Enlightenment to 1761, when he began to read the works of the French and Scottish philosophes and discuss them with a circle of young friends led by Pietro Verri. In all the provinces of the Austrian empire, including Milan, absolutist reforms emanating from Vienna continued to encounter entrenched resistance from noble and ecclesiastical corporations and from the juridical culture of the *ancien régime*. Verri, Beccaria, and their cohort wished to modernize and rationalize the economy and the legal system in line with Enlightenment secular morality, and they supported governmental reform. *On Crimes and Punishments* was first published in 1764, with subsequent editions following rapidly. Beccaria prepared the edition now regarded as definitive in 1766. The work became known in France through the translation of André Morellet (1727–1819), who freely altered the Italian text (Beccaria for some reason never protested against this), and then it spread throughout Europe. It was attacked by conservatives everywhere and was defended by adherents of the Enlightenment. Voltaire composed a commentary on it. In October 1766 Verri and Beccaria journeyed to Paris to bask in the admiration of the philosophes there, but Beccaria quickly became despondent and fled back to Milan.



Cesare Beccaria. Undated portrait engraving. ©BETTMANN/CORBIS

On Crimes and Punishments combines elements from social contract theory with utilitarian positions. It touches on many aspects of law and justice in a rapid, impassioned style, completely abjuring legal technicalities. Criminal law ought to state clearly what is forbidden and what the penalties are and ought to be applied uniformly to all, with no room for discretionary interpretation by jurists or magistrates or gracious pardon from the sovereign. The penalties themselves should be carefully proportioned to the corresponding crimes and calibrated to deliver the minimum of punishment necessary. Beccaria sought in all cases to minimize or abolish the use of violence and the infliction of pain. He argued against the use of torture in the gathering of evidence, highlighting its absurdity, and against the death penalty, emphasizing its failure to deter. The thrust of the work was to guarantee the individual citizen against arbitrariness, delay, secrecy, and useless and excessive violence, in the codification of the law and the application of penal sanctions. Overall the book is a sustained attack on the juridical culture of the *ancien régime* as well as a sketch of the principles on which it ought to be

reformed so as to produce “the greatest happiness shared among the greatest number.”

Philosophers perhaps foremost among them Jeremy Bentham (1748–1832), statesmen including Thomas Jefferson (1743–1826), and sovereigns including Joseph II (1741–1790; ruled 1765–1790) of Austria and Catherine II of Russia (1729–1796; ruled 1762–1796), were influenced by *On Crimes and Punishments*. Judicial torture and the death penalty were abolished in a number of European states in a climate of public opinion that had been changed forever by Beccaria’s book.

See also **Crime and Punishment**; **Enlightenment**; **Law**.

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WILLIAM MCCUAIG

BEGGARS. See *Vagrants and Beggars*.

BEHN, APHRA (c. 1640–1689), English writer. Aphra Behn was the first female writer to produce a substantial dramatic canon and was also an innovator in prose fiction, and a highly accom-

plished poet. The details of her early life are unclear. Recent scholarship has concluded that she was probably baptized at Harbledown, near Canterbury, Kent, on 14 December 1640, the daughter of Bartholomew Johnson, a barber, and Elizabeth (née Denham). Her mother seems to have been employed as wet nurse to Sir Thomas Culpepper, who may have provided Behn with an introduction to the nobility and an entry into royalist circles.

Behn indicates in several of her works that she spent time in Surinam during her youth or early adulthood. Although posthumous accounts of her life claim that her father was appointed governor there, it seems more likely that she made her own way, perhaps in service or as a spy or agent. Returning to England around 1664, Behn married a man later described as “a merchant of Dutch extraction.” The marriage seems to have been brief, and Behn’s shadowy husband may have died in the savage outbreak of plague that took hold of London in 1665–1666.

A clearer picture of her career emerges only in the mid-1660s. In August 1666 Behn was sent to Antwerp on a spying mission, using the code name “Astrea.” She seems to have been recommended by Sir Thomas Killigrew, dramatist, theater manager, and sometime politician, perhaps indicating that she already had some involvement in the literary sphere. Whatever its political effects, the trip was financially disabling for Behn, and in 1668 she was forced to appeal directly to Killigrew and Charles II to preserve her from destitution.

On 20 September 1670 her first play, *The Forced Marriage*, was performed by the Duke of York’s Company at Lincoln’s Inn Fields, London. A total of nineteen plays have been attributed to Behn, the most famous of which include *The Rover; or, the Banished Cavaliers: Parts I and II* (1677, 1680), *The Feigned Courtesans; or, A Night’s Intrigue* (1679), *The City Heiress* (1682), *The Lucky Chance; or, An Alderman’s Bargain* (1686), and *The Emperor of the Moon* (1687). Although she experimented with tragicomedy and, in *Abdelazer; or the Moor’s Revenge* (1676), with tragedy, Behn’s characteristic mode was comedic. She frequently claimed an equal status as a writer with her male contemporaries. In a statement appended to *The Lucky Chance* she wrote: “had the Plays I have writ

come forth under any Mans Name, and never known to be mine; I appeal to all unbyast Judges of Sense, if they had not said that Person had made as many good Comedies, as any one Man that has writ in our Age; but a Devil on’t the Woman damns the Poet.” Rather than trying to claim a separate status as a female poet, however, Behn demanded that the “Masculine Part the Poet in me” be taken seriously.

Although she made her living from plays and nondramatic prose, like many writers she seems to have viewed poetry as the more prestigious form. Behn wrote in a variety of genres, many of them generally associated with male poets: erotic poetry, social poetry, and outspoken political verse. She was a staunch royalist, writing in “Pindaric on the Coronation of James II” of the need for her muse to celebrate “the *Royal HERO* . . . Thy *Godlike Patron*, and thy *Godlike King*.” Her poems and plays constantly reworked contemporary political issues and the recent past, notably *Sir Patient Fancy* (1678) and *The Roundheads; or, The Good Old Cause* (1681), both staged at times of great political ferment.

Her best-known nondramatic works are *Love-Letters Between a Noble-Man and his Sister* (1684) and *Oroonoko, or the History of the Royal Slave* (1688). The former is a risqué and edgy experiment with the epistolary form, probably based on the affair between Lady Henrietta Berkeley and her brother-in-law Forde, Lord Grey of Werke. The latter is an account of the life and death of the noble African prince Oroonoko, taken to work as a slave in Surinam.

Although her literary output remained prodigious, Behn’s health failed in the late 1680s; in an elegy to the poet Edmund Waller she presented herself as one “who by Toils of Sickness, am become / Almost as near as thou art to a Tomb.” She died on 16 April 1689, and was buried in Westminster Abbey, a tribute that would probably have pleased her. “I am not content to write for a Third day only,” she writes in *The Lucky Chance*, “I value Fame as much as if I had been born a *Hero*.”

See also **Drama: English; English Literature and Language.**

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LUCY MUNRO

BELARUS. From the decline of Kievan Rus' to the mid-fourteenth century, the Belarusian principalities were gradually taken over by Lithuanian princes. Initially, the Belarusian elites, who for a long time had shared with their Ukrainian counterparts a common Ruthenian identity, were an influential political and cultural force within the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Lithuanian princes often converted to Orthodoxy, accepted the Ruthenian language as the official language of their realm, and allowed many norms of the Rus' Law to function in their state. The Union of Lublin (1569) between the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, which created a Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, left the Belarusian territories within the borders of a semiautonomous Lithuania. It also brought Polish political and cultural influences into the region and opened it to Jewish emigration.

The advent of the Reformation, and especially the struggles over the church union adopted at the Brest Council of 1596 between Roman Catholic and Orthodox Christianity, spearheaded Ruthenian religious and cultural revival in the region. The new intellectual challenges also helped Belarusian elites develop a sense of distinct identity vis-à-vis their Polish and Lithuanian counterparts. The outbreak of the Russian-Polish war in 1654 turned Belarus into a battleground between the Muscovite, Polish-Lithuanian, and Ukrainian Cossack armies. According to the Russian-Polish treaties of 1667 and 1686, the commonwealth maintained its control over all of Belarusian territories except for the Smolensk

region, which passed over to Muscovite jurisdiction. In the eighteenth century, growing Polish cultural influences as well as the advance of Roman Catholicism and the Uniate Church helped to widen cultural differences between the inhabitants of Belarus and Russia. The partitions of Poland in 1772–1795 resulted in the incorporation of all Belarusian territories into the Russian Empire.

See also **Andrusovo, Truce of; Lithuania, Grand Duchy of, to 1569; Lithuanian Literature and Language; Poland-Lithuania, Commonwealth of, 1569–1795; Poland to 1569; Ukraine.**

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SERHII PLOKHYY

BELLARMINE, ROBERT (1542–1621), Jesuit theologian, spiritual writer, cardinal, and archbishop. Robert (Roberto Francesco Romolo) Bellarmine was born on 4 October 1542 in Montepulciano, Tuscany, to Vincenzo Bellarmine and Cintia Cervini. Attending the local Jesuit college, he proved himself to be an excellent student. During his studies, Bellarmine contemplated entering the Society of Jesus. Despite his father's initial opposition, he entered the novitiate at Rome in 1560. Upon the completion of his formation (immersion in the spirituality of the order) and his initial studies in philosophy, Bellarmine was sent in 1563 to the Jesuit colleges of Florence and Mondovì to teach classics. In 1567, he went to Padua to begin his theological studies. Completing his studies in Louvain, Bellarmine was ordained a priest in 1570.

In 1570, the Jesuits opened their own theological college at Louvain, where Bellarmine became its first Jesuit professor. Drawn into the religious controversies of the day, Bellarmine devoted his time to the study of Scripture, church history, and patristics. Utilizing the teachings of the church defined at the Council of Trent, Bellarmine's lectures were devoted to a defense of church doctrine against Luther and Calvin, whose theology he had studied.

Everard Mercurian, superior general of the Society of Jesus, established a professorship in controversial theology in 1576 at the Collegio Romano, to which he appointed Bellarmine. Pope Gregory XIII also requested that Bellarmine teach theology to the English and German missionary students at the college. These lectures became the foundation of his greatest work, *Disputationes de controversiis Christianae fidei huius temporis haereticos* (known as the *Controversies*), a three-volume synthesis of Catholic theology that appeared in 1586, 1588, and 1593. The *Controversies* was the most significant refutation of the theology of the reformers during the Reformation, and long remained Catholicism's most complete response to the issues raised by Protestantism. The *Controversies* avoids a polemical approach, presenting a balanced criticism of reform theology, pointing out both its strengths and its weaknesses.

At the end of 1589, Sixtus V named Bellarmine as theological advisor to Cardinal Enrico Gaetani, the pope's legate examining the conflict in the French church between those who supported the Huguenot king, Henry IV, and those who opposed his reign. This would be the first of several church-state disputes with which he would become involved.

Upon his return to Rome in 1590, Bellarmine resumed his responsibility as spiritual director within the Collegio Romano. In 1592, he was named rector of the college and was appointed to be a member of the commission established to draft a final version of the *Ratio Studiorum*, the outline of the curriculum for Jesuit schools. In 1594, Bellarmine was named provincial of the Jesuit province of Naples. He returned to Rome in 1597 as theological advisor to Pope Clement VIII, and published two catechisms, one designed for children and one designed for teachers.



Robert Bellarmine. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Clement VIII entrusted Bellarmine with the important task of revising the official text of the Latin Vulgate Bible begun by Pope Sixtus V. Bellarmine corrected Sixtus V's text, which became known as the Sixto-Clementine Vulgate (1592), and remained the official Latin Bible of the Catholic Church until the twentieth century.

The pope elevated Bellarmine to the rank of cardinal on 3 March 1599, appointing him to various Roman Congregations and commissions. On 21 April 1602 Clement VIII appointed him archbishop of Capua. Leaving Rome to take up residence in his diocese, Bellarmine took his duties as bishop seriously, preaching every Sunday, visiting the parishes, renewing the spiritual life of the religious communities, and providing for the poor.

Bellarmino was called back to Rome by Pope Paul V in 1605 to serve on various congregations. The most important of these was the Holy Office, which would lead to his involvement in the Galileo case in 1615. Both Galileo and Bellarmine agreed that there was no conflict between Scripture and scientific findings. However, Bellarmine insisted on

the literal interpretation of biblical passages. In 1616 he was chosen to deliver personally to Galileo the Holy Office's admonition forbidding him from teaching the heliocentric theory (that the earth circles the sun).

During his final years, Bellarmine wrote largely devotional treatises aimed at ordinary Christians that reflected his own personal prayer and piety, as well as the spirituality of the Catholic Reformation. The most popular of his ascetical treatises were *De Ascensione Mentis in Deum* (1614; The mind's ascent to God) and *De Arte Bene Moriendi* (1619; The art of dying well).

Robert Bellarmine died on 17 September 1621 in Rome. His life unfolded in the midst of the church's resolve to reform itself and to combat Protestantism. As the author of *The Controversies* and as a member of the Inquisition, he contributed to the fight against heresy. As a diligent reforming bishop and author of spiritual works, he contributed to the renewal of the church's life. In 1930 he was canonized by Pius XI and in the following year declared a Doctor of the Church, a title given to certain canonized ecclesiastical writers on account of the great advantage the church has gained from their doctrine.

See also **Galileo Galilei**; **Inquisition, Roman**; **Jesuits**; **Reformation, Catholic**.

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FRANCESCO C. CESAREO

BENEDICT XIV (POPE) (1675–1758; reigned 1740–1758), Italian pope. Born in Bologna as Prospero Lambertini into a patrician family of modest means on 31 March 1675, he earned a doctorate in theology and a double doctorate in canon and civil law in 1694. Lambertini then became a curial official, rising to important positions in the Congregation of the Council and Congregation of Rites. He was appointed archbishop of Ancona in 1727, made cardinal in 1728, and archbishop of Bologna in 1731. Lambertini was probably the most prolific papal scholar since the Middle Ages. His most enduring work was a four-volume study of the history of canonization (1734–1738), which proposed new procedures followed until the late twentieth century. He also wrote a history of episcopal synods, supporting their use (1748), and works in liturgy and canon law. The complete edition of his works appeared in twelve folio volumes between 1747 and 1751.

When Clement XII died on 6 February 1740, Lambertini was not considered a candidate for pope. But after six months of stalemate and negotiations, he was elected on the 255th ballot on 17 August 1740. Benedict XIV pursued policies of conciliation, moderation, and openness to contemporary intellectual trends. But he had to contend with war and Catholic monarchs determined to rule the church in their lands. Benedict XIV inherited state-church disputes with most of the Catholic monarchies of Europe; they demanded control over church appointments, that church properties be taxed, and that clergymen be subject to civil jurisdiction. Benedict concluded new concordats with Piedmont-Savoy (1741), the Kingdom of Naples (1741), Portugal (1745), Spain (1753), and Austria (1757). Because he was negotiating from weakness, he had to make substantial concessions. In the most

extreme case, he gave the Spanish crown the right of appointment to twelve thousand church positions in Spain, leaving the papacy with the right to appoint only fifty-two minor offices. Benedict was forced to concede much in order to retain Spain's support at a time when Austrian armies were ravaging Italy and the papal state during the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748). While he conceded rights of patronage, he probably increased the moral authority of papacy and earned goodwill.

Benedict also had to deal with Frederick II, king of Prussia and a nominal Protestant. Frederick annexed Catholic Silesia in 1741 and began to impose civil legislation on Silesia's Catholics in marriage laws, benefices, and jurisdiction. After lengthy negotiations, the pope and Frederick reached an uneasy accommodation in 1748, even though Frederick did not completely keep his word. Still, European public opinion praised Benedict for his willingness to seek accommodation with a Protestant and absolutist ruler. In internal church matters and administration of the papal state, Benedict had greater success. He emphasized the formation of the clergy and the obligation of residence and of regular pastoral visits to his bishops. He prohibited religious excesses by banning trumpets in church services and eliminating public flagellations and some feast days on which work was suspended. In 1742 he resolved a bitter dispute concerning the extent to which missionaries might include other traditions in church rites. Benedict curbed the Jesuit use of Chinese rites but permitted some accommodation to Indian culture ("Malabar rites").

Benedict XIV was open and sympathetic to the activities of some of the leading scholars of the century and enjoyed their company. He supported Ludovico Muratori (1672–1750), Italy's leading historian, some of whose positions on church-state matters displeased the papacy. He added new professorships to the universities of Rome and Bologna, enlarged the Vatican Library collections, and restored some of the monuments of Rome. He provided the money for the completion of the Trevi Fountain in 1742.

In 1745 Voltaire (1694–1778) wrote to Benedict to ask if he would accept the dedication of his play, *Mahomet*. Benedict agreed, and sent Voltaire some gold medals in return, as was the custom.



Pope Benedict XIV. The monument to Benedict XIV in St. Peter's Basilica, Vatican City. ©ALINARI/ART RESOURCE, N.Y.

After Voltaire made the correspondence known, Benedict received criticism for his friendly relations with the notorious anticlerical. He responded that it was important to have some links with a person of such importance in the world of letters. The gesture earned praise from partisans of the Enlightenment across Europe, including Protestant England.

However, the differences between the papacy and the Enlightenment remained strong. Benedict placed Montesquieu's *Esprit des lois* (Spirit of the laws) on the Index of Prohibited Books in 1752, and he renewed the church's condemnation of Freemasonry in 1751. Benedict XIV died on 3 May 1758.

Benedict XIV displayed an openness to Enlightenment thinkers and willingness to embrace change. Perhaps his greatest success was communication with writers and scholars, especially Italians. He negotiated concordats with Catholic rulers but was unable to improve substantially the position of the church. Probably no papal action would have staved off the assaults that began in the 1760s with

the suppression of the Jesuits and continued with the seizure of church properties and the suppression of Catholicism during the French Revolution. Benedict XIV stands as a pope who practiced openness and moderation in troubled times with mixed results.

See also **Austrian Succession, War of the (1740–1748); Enlightenment; Frederick II (Prussia); Muratori, Ludovico Antonio; Papacy and Papal States; Voltaire.**

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PAUL F. GRENDLER

BERKELEY, GEORGE (1685–1753), bishop of Cloyne, Anglo-Irish philosopher and cleric. Berkeley was born near Kilkenny; little is known of his parents, but they seem to have been minor gentry who claimed some allegiance to the powerful English aristocrats of the same name. In any case Berkeley went to good schools, studying first at Kilkenny College and then Trinity College, Dublin, where he took his B.A. (1704) and M.A. (1707) and became a junior fellow. In his early years at Trinity he wrote *An Essay towards a New Theory of Vision* (1709), in which he argues that our perception of depth is a matter of inference from experience, and the two works in which he expounds his “immaterialism,” *A Treatise concerning the Principles of Human Knowledge* (1710) and *Three Dialogues between Hylas and Philonous* (1713), the latter deploying the dialogue form to render his philosophy more attractive and accessible. In the years ahead Berkeley was often absent from Trinity, but he kept his fellowship, eventually becoming Doctor of Divinity (1721).

Berkeley left Ireland for the first time in 1713, spending time in London—where he was quickly drawn into literary circles by his countrymen, satirist Jonathan Swift (1667–1745) and essayist Richard Steele (1672–1729)—before embarking on extensive continental tours as a chaplain and tutor. Serious preferment within the church did not come until 1724, when he was appointed to the deanery of Derry, but by then Berkeley’s ambitions lay across the Atlantic. He was proposing to found and preside over a college in Bermuda to educate the sons of settler and indigenous families from throughout the English colonies, partly with an eye to better establishing the English Church in America. Berkeley raised considerable sums by public subscription, but a government grant promised by prime minister Robert Walpole (1676–1745) was not forthcoming.

In 1728, in an attempt to force Walpole’s hand, Berkeley sailed for America, where he was to live in Rhode Island for several years. Here he passed his time writing *Alciphron: or, the Minute Philosopher* (1732), an extended defense of Christianity, directed in part against the ethical writings of Anthony Ashley Cooper, 3rd earl of Shaftesbury (1671–1713) and Bernard de Mandeville (1670–1733). The Bermuda college was never built. In 1734, three years after his return to England, Berkeley was nominated to the bishopric of Cloyne, an impoverished see in the south of Ireland, where he spent the remainder of his life. His last major work was *Siris* (1744), an extremely popular medical essay, densely packed with maxims from ancient philosophy, which promoted tar-water as a panacea.

Berkeley is known for the concise and highly original, even idiosyncratic, metaphysical system expounded in the *Principles* and the *Three Dialogues* and usually referred to as “immaterialism.” This system is best understood as an intervention in late seventeenth-century doctrines of substance, reacting specifically to the thought of the English epistemologist and political theorist John Locke (1632–1704) and the French Cartesian philosopher Nicholas Malebranche (1638–1715). These philosophers adhered to a dualism that proposed two fundamentally different kinds of substance in the world—matter and spirit. They also accepted that our knowledge of material substances was tenuous at best: we have mind-dependent “ideas” that

might somehow represent external objects, but since we have no immediate access to those objects apart from our ideas, we can only surmise their existence. Berkeley proposed a radical simplification: there are only active minds and the passive ideas they entertain; material substances simply do not exist. Berkeley observed that there are ideas we make up ourselves—we can dream of a unicorn or imagine a tree—but there are also the more vivid and orderly ideas of sense experience—the ball we turn in our hands. Since ideas can only be the properties of mind, these potent ideas of sense must come from another, more powerful mind. For Berkeley, the only possible explanation is that our sense experience is a direct communication from the mind of God.

Berkeley vigorously defended immaterialism as vindicated by common sense: our ideas of things are surely sufficient for the business of life, in which we never make reference to the elusive material substances of philosophy. Alarmed by what he saw as the growing skepticism of his generation, he also promoted his theocentric system as an antidote to atheism. But despite all this, Berkeley won no adherents. An age that embraced the philosophy of John Locke and the physics of Isaac Newton (1642–1727) naturally found the elimination of matter difficult to digest. Many refused to take Berkeley seriously—literary critic Samuel Johnson (1709–1784) famously refuted immaterialism by kicking a stone—but English philosophers, notably David Hume (1711–1776) and John Stuart Mill (1806–1873), have studied Berkeley’s writings carefully and adapted many of his arguments, even as they refused to admit his conclusions.

See also Hume, David; Locke, John; Newton, Isaac.

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PETER WALMSLEY

BERLIN. Berlin rose to prominence through its partnership with the Hohenzollern dynasty to become the center of their Brandenburg-Prussian lands and, later, capital of the Prussian-dominated Second Reich after 1871. The city’s development benefited from its situation on the northeast bank of the Spree at the narrowest crossing over the river halfway between the castles of Spandau and Köpenick. Both these castles were eventually incorporated in the city, as was the nearby town of Cölln, on an island in the river that is now the district of Berlin-Mitte.

In the late Middle Ages, Berlin and Cölln felt threatened by mounting disorder in Brandenburg, particularly after the demise of the Ascanian dynasty in 1319. The two towns formed a defensive alliance in 1307 and collaborated with the Hohenzollerns, who became the new rulers of Brandenburg in 1415. Elector Frederick II (ruled 1440–1470) exploited internal divisions between the Berlin council and the guilds to assert his authority in 1442. A revolt known as the Berlin Indignation (1447–1448) failed to stem the growing Hohenzollern presence. The elector built the city palace on confiscated land 1443–1451 as his principal residence.

The Hohenzollerns introduced the Lutheran Reformation in 1539 with the help of the council, but seventy-five years later, most Berliners refused to follow the lead of Elector John Sigismund (ruled 1600–1620) and accept Calvinism (after 1613). The Calvinist minority in Berlin was swelled by the arrival of six thousand Huguenot refugees, welcomed from France by Frederick William, the Great Elector (ruled 1640–1688), after 1677. Jewish refugees also settled after 1670 but enjoyed fewer privileges than the Calvinists who became a thriving commercial community, numbering around a fifth of all Berliners by 1700. From six thousand inhabitants in 1450, Berlin’s population had more than doubled by the time the Thirty Years’ War came to Brandenburg in 1627. Imperial troops extorted money and supplies until displaced by the Swedes, who demanded the same. The departure of the elector and his family to Königsberg contributed to the economic depression, and the population fell to six thousand by 1648.

Recovery began under the Great Elector, who deliberately promoted Berlin as an economic and

political center, particularly through the construction of the Oder-Spree canal in 1662–1669, which improved access to the Baltic. State-sponsored enterprises were established in and around the city, notably the Lagerhaus cloth factory, founded in 1714, which was Germany's largest textile mill, employing 5,000 workers. Other important enterprises included the arms factory in Spandau run by the Splittgerber and Daum consortium (which supplied the Prussian army with small arms), glass and porcelain factories, and the city's first steam engine in 1795; an iron works opened in 1804. The population rose rapidly, already numbering 57,000 by 1710, and reaching 172,000 by 1800, making Berlin one of Germany's largest cities. New suburbs were laid out in Friedrichswerder, Dorotheenstadt, and Friedrichstadt, while Berlin and Cölln were formally merged on 18 January 1709. However, Berliners suffered from price rises and economic fluctuations throughout the eighteenth century. Many enterprises depended heavily on state subsidy and a real industrial takeoff did not start until the 1830s. The fortifications were razed in 1734 and replaced by a 14 km-long "tax wall" two years later to enforce collection of the excise imposed on goods entering and leaving the city. Though the remaining military installations were demolished after 1774, Berlin remained a garrison town. Soldiers and their dependants accounted for a fifth of all inhabitants throughout the eighteenth century, compared with under 3 percent in 1871. Wartime mobilization removed both customers and workers from the city's economy, as well as its defenders: Berlin was temporarily occupied by the Austrians and Russians in 1757 and 1760 during the Seven Years' War.

Elector Frederick III (ruled 1688–1713; king in Prussia as Frederick I, 1701–1713) embarked on an ambitious building program to make Berlin appear a worthy royal capital as part of his bid for a crown. The sculptor Andreas Schlüter (1659–1714) oversaw the construction of some of northern Germany's finest baroque buildings, including the Arsenal (1695) and the Charlottenburg palace (1705), while academies of arts (1696) and sciences (1700) were opened. This program faltered once the elector achieved his ambition in 1700 and stopped altogether under his son and successor, Frederick William I (ruled 1713–1740), who diverted money to expanding the army. War pre-

vented the full implementation of Frederick II's (ruled 1740–1786) ambitious plans to remodel the city after 1740, but an opera house was built (1740–1743), along with St. Hedwig's Cathedral, the Royal Library, and Prince Henry's palace, which was converted into the Humboldt University in 1810. Later public buildings, including the Brandenburg Gate (1788–1791), reflected the influence of Greek neoclassicism and contributed to making Berlin one of Germany's most impressive capitals.

See also **Brandenburg; Frederick I (Prussia); Frederick II (Prussia); Frederick William (Brandenburg); Frederick William I (Prussia); Hohenzollern Dynasty; Prussia.**

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BERNINI, GIAN LORENZO (1598–1680), Italian sculptor, architect, and painter. Bernini's work in Rome made him the most influential and famous Italian artist of his time. Born in Naples on 7 December 1598, the son of a Florentine sculptor, Bernini was the first artist whose life and its retelling were coordinated to fashion an ideal image. All of the literary motifs that had come to signify identity as an artist are to be found not only in the reports of his contemporaries but also in his practice. As with Giotto (1266/7 or 1276–1337), his genius is apparent at an early age; like Michelangelo (1475–1564), he became the master of paint-

ing, sculpture, and architecture; as with Titian (1488/90–1576), his art earned him a knighthood (1621) and exacted the same deference from popes and kings. When Queen Christina of Sweden (1626–1689), reprising the role of Alexander the Great, visited Bernini in his studio, he greeted her in the coarse sculptor's smock he wore when working, and she, far from being affronted by this *lèse-majesté*, sought to touch it with her own hand.

His father's work at the church of Santa Maria Maggiore brought Bernini to Rome at the age of seven or eight, and with the exception of a five-month trip to Paris in 1665, where he did an unexecuted, but variously imitated, design for the Louvre, he remained in Rome all his life. From his father he acquired the technique that would make marble as yielding as wax; from Hellenistic sculpture, the example of optical surfaces and a way of composing figures on a stagelike plinth with one dominant point of view; and from modern painters like Caravaggio (1573–1610), Annibale Carracci (1560–1609), and Guido Reni (1575–1642), an affective naturalism and psychological immediacy that effaced the boundaries between subject and viewer, art and life. All of these traits are to be seen to such startling effect in the life-size sculptures Bernini executed for Cardinal Scipione Borghese that contemporary reports of his earlier precocity seem entirely plausible. In the *Apollo and Daphne* (1622–1625), the nymph's transformation into root and bark, twig and leaf is no less astonishing to us than to the unsuspecting god; and in the *David* (1623), the grimly determined young hero prepares to loose his missile at a giant Goliath looming over the viewer's shoulder. The inescapable realism and emotional intensity of these works also characterize certain of his portraits, like the bust of Scipione Borghese (1632) or that of the artist's mistress, Costanza Buonarelli (1637–1638), which in its informality and unmeditated spontaneity reconfigures for the viewer Bernini's own lively and passionate response to his sitter.

Beginning in the reign of Pope Urban VIII (reigned 1623–1644) these exercises of personal virtuosity were complemented by equally impressive displays of large-scale organizing in which Bernini engaged the energies and skills of many other artists and craftsmen to realize his ideas. Within a year of the pope's elevation, he was commissioned to erect

a gilded bronze canopy, or baldachin, over the tomb of the saint in the then still largely undecorated church of St. Peter's. Commissions from Urban VIII and his successors for the decoration of the crossing and the nave, the tombs of Urban VIII and Alexander VII (reigned 1655–1667), the Sacrament Chapel, and the enormous apparition of Peter's throne in the apse of the church followed. Thus, with his designs for the angels holding the instruments of Christ's Passion on the bridge over the Tiber connecting the Vatican with the city and for the colonnades surmounted by saints fronting the church, visiting St. Peter's became, and remains, an experience largely shaped by Bernini's never surpassed exaltations of Catholic piety and papal authority.

Nevertheless, the originality and religious conviction of Bernini's art is perhaps more readily grasped in the Cornaro Chapel in church of Santa Maria della Vittoria (1647–1652). Here, as elsewhere, he harnesses all the arts to a single, overwhelming effect. The architecture, composed of multicolored marbles, breaks forward over the altar as if forced from within to disclose the white, marmoreal vision of Saint Teresa of Ávila (1515–1582), mysteriously lit from a hidden window above. Swooning in an ecstasy of divine love, which, in keeping with the eroticized imagery of her *Autobiography*, has been provoked by an angel piercing her heart with a flame-tipped spear, Teresa reclines on a bank of clouds, wholly lost in her rapture. Yet the visual metaphor of her wildly cascading drapery belies the quietude of her dangling limbs, parted lips, and half-closed eyes and betrays the depth and violence of her passion. On the floor of the chapel, skeletons in inlaid marble rise toward the light of the Holy Spirit that miraculously bursts through the ceiling and descends in a painted glory of angels. Thus in one apparently transitory image, Bernini merges and illustrates as never before the typically baroque themes of love (physical and spiritual), death (real and mystical), and salvation (Teresa's and the viewer's).

Although many criticized the clothing of the spiritual in the sensual, the persuasive power that resulted made Bernini's works definitive examples for those who sought to move their audience for religious and political ends. At its most aggressive, this desire to compel assent appears in the comedies



Gian Lorenzo Bernini. *The Ecstasy of St. Theresa*, marble, 1645–1652, Cornaro Chapel, Santa Maria della Vittoria, Rome. THE ART ARCHIVE/ALBUM/JOSEPH MARTIN

that from the 1640s the artist staged during the Carnival season before Lent. In these works a rush of strong emotion—astonishment, alarm, fear—bonded the audience to the fiction. In one, a great quantity of water broke through its dike and threatened to soak the spectators; in another, an accidental fire, kindled by the scripted carelessness of an actor, appeared to ignite the theater. Although ephemeral in effect, like his festive decorations and firework displays, a clear continuity exists between these theatrical devices and Bernini's permanent works of architecture, painting, and sculpture. In the *Triton Fountain* (1642–1643) and *Four Rivers Fountain* (1647–1651), the lack of architectural frames and the animation of sculpture and water enable them to take possession of the urban space, and in *San Andrea al Quirinale* (1658–1670) the figurative decorations are coextensive with and inhabit the space of the church. It was this ability to absorb the viewer into a spectacle that seemed to be unfolding before his eyes that made Bernini so influential during the early modern period.

See also **Baroque; Caricature and Cartoon; Rome, Architecture in; Rome, Art in.**

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GEORGE C. BAUER

writer and a main figure of the Catholic Reformation in his country. It was less by his writings than by his personal relationships, his political actions, and the diffusion of his thought through his disciples that he had such an impact on his contemporaries.

Born in 1575 of a noble family, and educated by the Jesuits and at the Sorbonne, Pierre de Bérulle was ordained in 1599 and became one of Louis XIII's chaplains. For a time, he considered entering the Society of Jesus, to whom he owed most of his education, but he decided against the idea because the Jesuits were still exiled from France at the time. This original link to the Jesuits is essential to understanding his activities as a Catholic reformer because he emulated the many-sided religious activism of the society, involving himself in controversies, education, and missions.

He helped Cardinal Jacques du Perron (1556–1618), a famous preacher and political essayist, in his controversies with the Protestants, but his aim was less to counteract Protestantism than to promote the Catholic Reformation. In particular, Bérulle wanted to remedy the mediocrity of the clergy. For him, the ideal priest should unite spiritual authority, knowledge, and holiness, all qualities too often found lacking among common priests. The Council of Trent promoted the establishment of seminaries to solve that problem, but its decrees, not yet “received” in France, could not be officially put into practice. This is why Bérulle founded the Oratory of Jesus and Mary in 1611—modeled on St. Carlo Borromeo's (1538–1584) Oblates of St. Ambrosius and St. Philip Neri's (1515–1595) Oratorio—whose main activity was the training of priests and the education of young people. The Oratorian communities expanded quickly throughout France (in 1630, seventy-three residences, including seventeen colleges and four seminaries; between 1631 and 1700, eleven colleges and seventeen seminaries were added). Like the Jesuits, their great rivals, the Oratorians ran colleges and organized many missions in the French countryside to instruct and convert the common people and improve the quality of their priests.

Bérulle also worked closely with the laity, particularly with the *dévots* (‘devout’) who met in his cousin Madame Acarie's (Barbe Avrillot, 1566–1618) salon. There, clerics and the *dévots* explored

BÉRULLE, PIERRE DE (1575–1629), French ecclesiastic. Founder of the French Oratory, Cardinal Pierre de Bérulle was a leading spiritual

the works of spiritual masters from the *Devotio moderna* (Modern devotion) to more modern authors and visitors to the salon, such as the Capuchins Benedict of Canfield (author of *La règle de perfection* [The rule of perfection]) and Archange of Pembroke, the Jesuit Peter Coton, and Bishop François de Sales. The aims, means, and practical achievements of the French Catholic Reformation were also intensively discussed by the group. For example, Madame Acarie's group encouraged the restoration of French nunneries and the establishment in Paris of two convents, that of the Spanish Carmel in 1604 and that of the Italian Ursulines in 1610.

Bérulle was also chosen for many diplomatic missions because of his considerable talents as a negotiator. For example, in 1619–1620, he was sent to Marie de Médicis (1573–1642), the fugitive queen mother, in order to make peace with young King Louis XIII (ruled 1610–1643), with whom she was at war (1617–1621). In 1624, Bérulle was chosen to negotiate with Pope Urban VIII the religious terms of the marriage between Henrietta of France, Louis XIII's young sister, and the future king of England, Charles I (ruled 1625–1649). Soon, however, Bérulle and the powerful Cardinal Richelieu clashed over the question of France's political alliances: Bérulle favored the alliance with Catholic Spain, while Richelieu preferred allying with Protestant England against the Habsburgs. As a result, Bérulle was dismissed from favor, but the pope, who held him in great esteem, made him cardinal in 1627, two years before his death.

Busy as he was, Bérulle did not write much: primarily short treatises, lectures, and letters on theology, piety, and mysticism, of which the best known, which deal with the incarnation of Jesus Christ, are *Discours de l'état et des grandeurs de Jésus* . . . (Discourse on the state and grandeurs of Jesus Christ [1623]) and *L'élévation à Jésus-Christ sur ses principaux états et mystères* (The elevation to Jesus Christ concerning his principal states and mysteries [1625]). In fact, Bérulle's influence exceeded the fame of his writings. Combining high spiritual experience, contemplation, and action, he gave a variety of people his support: he was in charge of the Carmel, he befriended the royal family, he encouraged René Descartes in his philosophical enterprise, and he taught people as opposed in views as Vincent de

Paul and the abbot of Saint-Cyran. Through the Oratory, his thought was spread, and his key ideas were taken over by the founders of the French seminaries and missionary congregations, such as Vincent de Paul (Lazarists or Vincentians), Jean Eudes (Eudists), and Jean-Jacques Olier (Sulpicians).

See also Borromeo, Carlo; Charles I (England); François de Sales; Jesuits; Louis XIII (France); Marie de Médicis; Reformation, Catholic; Richelieu, Armand-Jean Du Plessis, cardinal; Salons; Trent, Council of; Urban VIII (pope); Vincent de Paul.

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DOMINIQUE DESLANDRES

BÈZE, THÉODORE (Théodore Beza; 1516–1605), French theologian and poet. Théodore Bèze was born 24 June 1516 in Vézelay,

France; his father, Pierre Bèze, was the king's bailiff and a member of the lesser nobility. Bèze received a humanist education in Orléans, where he excelled in Latin, Greek, and poetry. Under the guidance of Melchior Wolmar, he was exposed to the ideas of the growing Reformed movement in France. Bèze finished his legal studies in 1539 in Orléans, where he first encountered John Calvin (1509–1564), who was briefly studying law there.

In 1539 Bèze moved to Paris to pursue a literary career. There he entered into a clandestine marriage with Claudine Denosse in 1544. Although he had been reading Reformed literature throughout his stay in Paris, an illness in 1548 precipitated a dramatic conversion experience. Abandoning his benefices and birthright, he fled Paris for Geneva and then became a professor at the University of Lausanne in 1549. In 1550 he was condemned as a heretic by the Parlement of Paris and was burned in effigy, so he began his life in exile within the Reformed movement. Calvin's presence in Geneva was the city's primary draw for Bèze. Geneva was also the home of Bèze's friend Jean Crespin (1520–1572), who had witnessed his secret marriage and who ran a publishing house that held the promise of opportunity. Bèze accepted an invitation from Pierre Viret (1511–1571) to teach Greek at the Lausanne academy, but at Calvin's request Bèze returned to Geneva in 1557 to assume the position of professor of Greek at the Genevan academy and to join the clergy. After Calvin's death in 1564, Bèze succeeded him as head of the Company of Pastors, making Bèze leader of the Genevan church and the chief counselor to the Reformed churches in France. He became one of the leading forces in the international spread of Calvinism. Bèze represented French Reformed churches in the important colloquies of Poissy (1561) and Saint-Germain (1562) and attended the synods of La Rochelle (1571) and Nîmes (1572). He also served as an adviser to Huguenot leaders such as Gaspard de Coligny (1519–1572) and Henry IV (Henry of Navarre) (ruled 1589–1610) during the Wars of Religion. Bèze attempted both in writing and in person to mend the increasing rift and hostility between the Lutheran and the Reformed churches, an effort that began in 1586 with the Colloquy of Montbéliard and ended in 1593 with a treatise on the Lord's Supper. Bèze served as head of the Company of

Pastors until 1580; he focused on his position as professor of theology until his retirement in 1599.

Bèze's writings can be divided into three categories: poetic, theological, and polemical-historical. He began his literary career as a poet, producing the collection *Juvenilia* in 1548 while he was still in Paris. Probably his most important poetic work, undertaken at the urging of Calvin in 1560, was the completion of the translation of the Psalms with commentary, begun by Clément Marot (1496?–1544), entitled *Les Psaumes de David* (1561; The psalms of David) and put into French rhyme. Throughout the collection, the plight of the Huguenots is equated with that of the embattled Israelites, sharing experiences of persecution, displacement, and the role of God's chosen people.

Second only to Calvin in terms of his influence as a theologian of the Calvinist Reform, Bèze devoted most of his work to the defense and expansion of Calvinist doctrine. He is especially known for his exegesis and translations of the Greek editions of the New Testament, which were used to produce later editions of the Geneva Bible.

Bèze's pen was also employed for polemical purposes, producing *De Haereticis a Civili Magistratu Puniendis* (1554; On the heretics who should be punished by a civil magistrate; published in French in 1560) and *Traité de l'autorité du magistrat* (1574; On the right of magistrates). *On the Heretics Who Should Be Punished by a Civil Magistrate*, written in defense of Calvin and the Genevan magistrates for the execution of Michael Servetus (1511–1553), establishes the right of magistrates to defend the "true" religion, laying the groundwork for his later work on resistance theory. *On the Right of Magistrates* provided a legal argument for the armed resistance of the Huguenot faction and created a type of constitutionalist doctrine of the state. Written after the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre, where the king sanctioned the wholesale killing of Huguenots, it legitimates resistance to a tyrant who has turned from God's word. To the question "Do subjects have any remedy against a legitimate sovereign who has become a notorious tyrant?" Bèze responds with a qualified yes. Subjects may rebel through their magistrates. The defense of the "true" religion is the obligation of the state, and if a

king represses this practice, then it is up to the lesser magistrates to defend it, with arms if necessary.

In conjunction with his polemical writings, Bèze edited a valuable *Histoire ecclésiastique* (1580; Ecclesiastical history) and wrote *La vie de Calvin* (1565; The life of Calvin), which paints a highly sympathetic picture of the reformer with intimate knowledge of the man, arguably the best contemporary portrait left to historians. The *Ecclesiastical History* had a different function and purpose. Using Eusebius's (c. 260–c. 339) *Ecclesiastical History* as a model, Bèze assembled a collection of accounts sent to him from Reformed communities and churches and placed them in a larger context, creating a narrative of the development and struggle of the faith. This work includes excerpts from Crespin's *Livre des martyrs* (1554; Book of martyrs) and Regnier de la Planche's *L'histoire d'état de France* (1576; History of France) along with some of Bèze's own *Life of Calvin* and some autobiographical pieces.

Bèze's role in the religious and political struggles of the Reformation was multilayered. A scholar, a religious leader, and a voice for the Huguenot struggle, he left a lasting legacy in both Geneva and France. Bèze died in Geneva on 7 October 1605 at the age of eighty-four.

See also **Calvin, John; Calvinism; Huguenots; Reformation, Protestant; Wars of Religion, French.**

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NIKKI SHEPARDSON

BIBLE

This entry includes two subentries:

INTERPRETATION

TRANSLATIONS AND EDITIONS

INTERPRETATION

The sixty-six “books” which together make the Bible have, more than any others in world history, demanded interpretation. At the start of the early modern period, interpreting the Bible changed radically and permanently. There were two revolutions. The first was firmly within the life and traditions of the church.

The thirty-nine ancient Hebrew books of the Jewish Bible, known to Christians as the Old Testament, have always received active reinterpretation, even as part of their earliest daily religious use. Thus the tradition of *midrashim*, written commentaries on every passage or word, exemplified argumentative, if reverential, discussion down through the centuries. Christians often add fourteen early books found in the Greek version (the Septuagint), not the Hebrew, either printed scattered through the Old Testament or put together between the Testaments as the “Apocrypha.”

The twenty-seven books of the New Testament were originally written in everyday (*koine*) Greek. They are dominated by the four Gospels and the thirteen Epistles, or letters, of Paul. The latter, of the greatest importance in the founding of Christian theology, do not set out to lay down a system, but rather to express the unique revelation of God in Christ by means of elaborate rhetoric, extensions of Hebrew expressiveness in image and symbol. Within those original Epistles, active interpretation is assumed by God's help in the light of the rest of Scripture and by that only. As has been said, Christianity was born in hermeneutics (the theory and methods of interpretation).

Humanist investigation, developed from the new philological scholarship in northern Italy (such as that of Lorenzo Valla, c. 1406–1457), worked toward establishing scholarly texts of the Hebrew and Greek originals. Soon printed editions of these were widely available, successfully challenging the Latin Vulgate, which was itself later revised. From these recently printed Hebrew, and then Greek,

Scriptures, printed translations of the whole Bible into the chief European vernaculars were accomplished by the late 1530s—in some countries, of which England was the chief, in the face of ruthless opposition by the church. The church maintained that the Bible, which was only to be known in short passages, was too difficult a book to be understood without the highest learning or a special grace of understanding given to priests. Wide dissemination of manuscripts of the whole Bible in English in the 1380s, under the aegis of the Oxford scholar John Wycliffe, triggered a violent response: the church denounced reading the Bible in the vernacular as a heresy. Such “heretics” were handed over to the civil authorities for the severest punishment, often to the extreme of burning them alive.

TEACHING AND PREACHING

Within the church, interpretation of the Bible was at two levels. Addressing the common people remained, as it had been for over a thousand years, subordinate to the liturgy of the church. The Bible had authority, but alongside traditions and practices, including the “unwritten verities.” The aim was—through the people’s attentive participation in ceremonies—to enable true penitence, lamentation for sins, and the healing brought by the seven sacraments (baptism, confirmation, the Eucharist, marriage, penance, holy orders, and extreme unction). These would strengthen the bulwark of thorough Christian conduct. To this end, small and digestible selections of the Bible called pericopes, read in Latin in the Catholic Mass, were used as a basis for translation and exposition in the vernacular. Such passages to be interpreted could be a few words, a verse or a short paragraph; they were occasionally longer treatments in cycles based on a particular book. The purpose was always to underpin existing practice. Such sermons reinforced, as aids to pious reflection, the presentation of key Bible events such as the story of Adam and Eve, Noah’s ark, and the Crucifixion and Resurrection in paintings on church walls and in stained glass windows, in occasional, and severely local, plays, and, for the wealthy, little books of piety. All these, as well as the readings (in Latin) in the liturgies, contained a great deal that was not in the Bible at all.

University lectures, printed Bible annotations and commentaries, and theological works (always in

Latin) also showed considerable movement. At the end of the fifteenth century, John Colet (1466/1467–1519) gave lectures in Oxford (they have not survived) on Paul’s Romans and 1 Corinthians. In them a corner had been turned in biblical interpretation, not because Colet dismissed the standard and hallowed method of allegory in Bible interpretation in favor of the literal Greek text (he did not, and in fact knew no Greek), but because he gave lectures on Paul at all and because he associated the apostle with the Christian life. His lectures were not, as could then have been assumed, on one of the basic theological works of the time, based largely on Scholastic method derived from Aristotle’s logic, such as the nonbiblical *Sentences* of the twelfth-century Italian theologian Peter Lombard. Though Colet’s Paul was on New Testament grounds unrecognizable, being mainly a moralist, he was at least present for himself in Scripture, and that was new. The chasm between medieval Scholasticism and exegesis was beginning to be crossed.

THE GREEK NEW TESTAMENT PRINTED

The great Dutch humanist scholar Desiderius Erasmus (1466?–1536) met and disputed with Colet while lodging in Magdalen College, Oxford. In the summer of 1504, in the Premonstratensian monastery at Louvain, Erasmus read Lorenzo Valla’s *Annotationes in Novum Testamentum* and discovered the possibility of a new humanist exegesis based on scientific philology (he caused that book to be reprinted in 1505). He had already found the commentaries of St. Jerome and the Egyptian Christian Origen’s great third-century parallel edition of six versions of the Hebrew Scriptures, his *Hexapla*. Erasmus awoke to his life’s work, to nourish moral and spiritual reform by the public renewal of biblical theology, based on scientific understanding of the original texts, linked to his fresh evaluations of the principal church fathers. The most influential result was his 1516 edition of the original Greek New Testament, the first ever printed.

The new philology set out to establish the original texts for study. In Spain Cardinal Francisco Ximénez de Cisneros gathered together the scholars who produced the remarkable four volumes of the Complutensian Polyglott, which printed the New Testament in Greek, and the Old Testament in Hebrew, Greek, and Aramaic alongside the Latin

Vulgate, with elaborate further commentary. The New Testament was ready by 1514, but not printed, lacking the pope's imprimatur, which was not given until 1522.

THE BIBLE AND REFORM

In 1530, the French Bible translation (from the Latin) made by the humanist scholar Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples (c. 1455–1536) in Paris was part of his larger intention of initiating Catholic reform through Bible preaching. He was attacked by the church authorities for giving the Word of God to “the humble,” a criticism compounded by his not being an academic theologian. One of a circle of Catholic reformers, he wrote in favor of the then novel (later accepted) idea that neither the penitent sinner who anointed Christ's feet (Luke 7:37) nor Mary the sister of Martha (Luke 10:38–42) should be identified with Mary Magdalen (Luke 8:2–3, 23:49, 24:10). His generally trenchant views, expressed in prefaces to his 1523 New Testament translation, led, in spite of his royal protection by Marguerite de Navarre, the sister of King Francis I, to his Bible translation later being put on the Index of Prohibited Books. In the Catholic University of Louvain, Frans Titelmans, a lecturer on Scripture, provided in 1533 for Thomas Herentals's *Den Speghel des kersten levens* (The mirror of the Christian life) to be printed with his own *Den Schat des kersten Gheloofs* (The treasure of the Christian faith) with marginal references newly indicating the biblical sources of Catholic teaching and practice. Lefèvre's earlier New Testament in French had been printed in Antwerp in 1525. Though from the Latin, it was condemned on 25 August 1525 by the Paris Faculty of Theology, together with Erasmus's 1516 new Latin translation, his *Novum Instrumentum*. The latter had caused wide offense by its many corrections of the Vulgate text of the New Testament—he dared to open St. John's Gospel (“In the beginning was the Word . . .”) with *sermo*, ‘everyday speech’, for the Word, instead of *verbum*, ‘declaration’. At Luke 10:21, Christ thanked the Father for revealing the secrets of the kingdom not to babes but to *stulti*, ‘fools’. These and many more caused scandal.

Yet the triumphant fulfilment of Erasmus's aims of reform came increasingly, and then overwhelmingly, outside the church, although that was some-

thing he did not wish. He unleashed the second revolution in Bible interpretation by printing in 1516 that New Testament in Greek noted above, setting it alongside his Latin New Testament to justify his many changes. Easily available to scholars throughout Europe, this work became at once the basis for quite fresh translations of the New Testament into all the vernaculars. Within twenty years, ordinary people could read for themselves, or hear read, the whole New Testament.

VERNACULAR BIBLES

In the chief vernaculars, Martin Luther was first in 1522: his large and beautiful German *Septembertestament* (September testament) became a best-seller. A Dutch New Testament followed in 1526, the same year as William Tyndale's very influential English New Testament, which had been printed in Worms and was smuggled into England. Pierre-Robert Olivétan's French Bible of 1535 included a New Testament from Erasmus's Greek. And so it continued.

Revised and always massively reprinted, in the first sixty years of the sixteenth century these and others rapidly widened the scope and shifted the methods and function of Bible interpretation and have never been seriously opposed since. The guiding principle was access to what the text says in the original language, as precisely as possible, rather than the elaborations, often fanciful, permitted by earlier hallowed doctrine or practice.

UNDERSTANDING THE WHOLE BIBLE

Opposing the pope and Catholic tradition as sole authorities, Protestants understood from Scripture itself that it should be expounded to all believers in their own language as a whole text. For Protestants the entire New Testament was paramount, particularly the Epistles of Paul. They declared that the New Testament authorized only two sacraments (the Lord's Supper and baptism), not seven, and that neither purgatory nor the concomitant system of indulgences was biblical. They believed that, following the model of the earliest congregations described in Acts and the Epistles, and newly visible to all readers, the Holy Spirit led the faithful into comprehension of Scripture without an intermediary priest. The words of Jesus were first addressed to the lowly: even plowboys were capable of understanding. The Bible was no longer in a remote language,

nor declared to be so difficult that only those lengthily educated (in Latin) could interpret small portions of it for the *parvuli*, the little people attending the liturgies. Preachers could assume in the hearers detailed knowledge of the whole Bible. That knowledge was the new element.

UNIVERSAL READING

The Protestant Reformation was university-led, but biblical theology in its new development was not, as before, consumed only within college walls. Erasmus wanted everyone to read and study the Scriptures—weavers, plowboys, Turks and Saracens, and even women. Erasmus's influential *Paraphrases of the New Testament* in English, published in the 1520s and 1530s and often reprinted, elucidating the Greek text for every New Testament book except the Apocalypse (Revelation), were, after 1549, by royal command to be placed in every English parish church, adjacent to an English Bible.

In Protestant Europe, the new vehicle of interpretation was the whole of Scripture in the vernacular for everyone (massively bought and studied) with prologues, marginal cross-references and commentaries, elaborate concordances, pictures, and maps. Theological teaching now focused on Paul, taken as a whole, with special emphasis on the sinner's justification by his own faith, without intermediary priest, but supported by his local congregation. Martin Luther's Paul in, for example, his Prologue to the Epistle to the Romans in successive New Testaments, or in his influential printed sermons in German, is indeed fully present, almost overwhelmingly, as the touchstone of all Christian faith. Luther's *Preface to Romans* in English was one of the two earliest Protestant documents circulating in England. He found in Paul not only "justification by faith alone" but the imperative to educate the German-speaking people in the new biblical theology, under the banner of *sola gratia, sola fides, sola scriptura* ('grace alone, faith alone, Scripture alone'). His huge output as a theological writer was matched by a similarly large readership.

Sixteenth-century leaders of Bible interpretation—Philipp Melanchthon, Martin Bucer, Huldrych Zwingli, Johannes Oecolampadius, and others—all wrote with the aim of elucidating Scripture. John Calvin (1509–1564) approached the Bible text as a lawyer: not for nothing was a Bible first

divided into verses in his Geneva, a convenience for identifying texts in a network of references internal to Scripture. More than Luther, Calvin was a linguist and scholar of ancient languages. The output of Bibles from Geneva in European languages was a response to the desire of Calvin and his colleagues to combine a scrupulous new accuracy of text and the widest popular dissemination.

Under Calvin, Luther's *sola scriptura* reached its full power. Every reader of Geneva Bibles, in French or English, was taught, by means of the marginal annotations and cross-referencing, that Scripture should only be interpreted in the light of Scripture. As Tyndale put it, the kingdom of heaven is the word of God. Calvin's greatest value lay in his insistence that theology, which now meant biblical theology, uniquely revealed not this church practice or that, but the overarching sovereignty of God.

ACCESSIBLE ILLUMINATION OF THE WHOLE

It is important to recognize that fresh interpretation of the Bible in early modern Europe was done, to by far the greatest extent, in the annotations in vernacular Bibles, read in vast numbers (well over a million English Bibles, mostly Geneva versions, were bought before 1640). Individual study, alone or in groups, at home, in the back of the church, or in the field, allowed absorption of marginal interpretation, which was almost entirely direct textual elucidation toward a literal understanding or internal cross-referencing.

See also Calvin, John; Calvinism; Church of England; Erasmus, Desiderius; Humanists and Humanism; Luther, Martin; Lutheranism; Melanchthon, Philipp; Reformation, Protestant; Zwingli, Huldrych.

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DAVID DANIELL

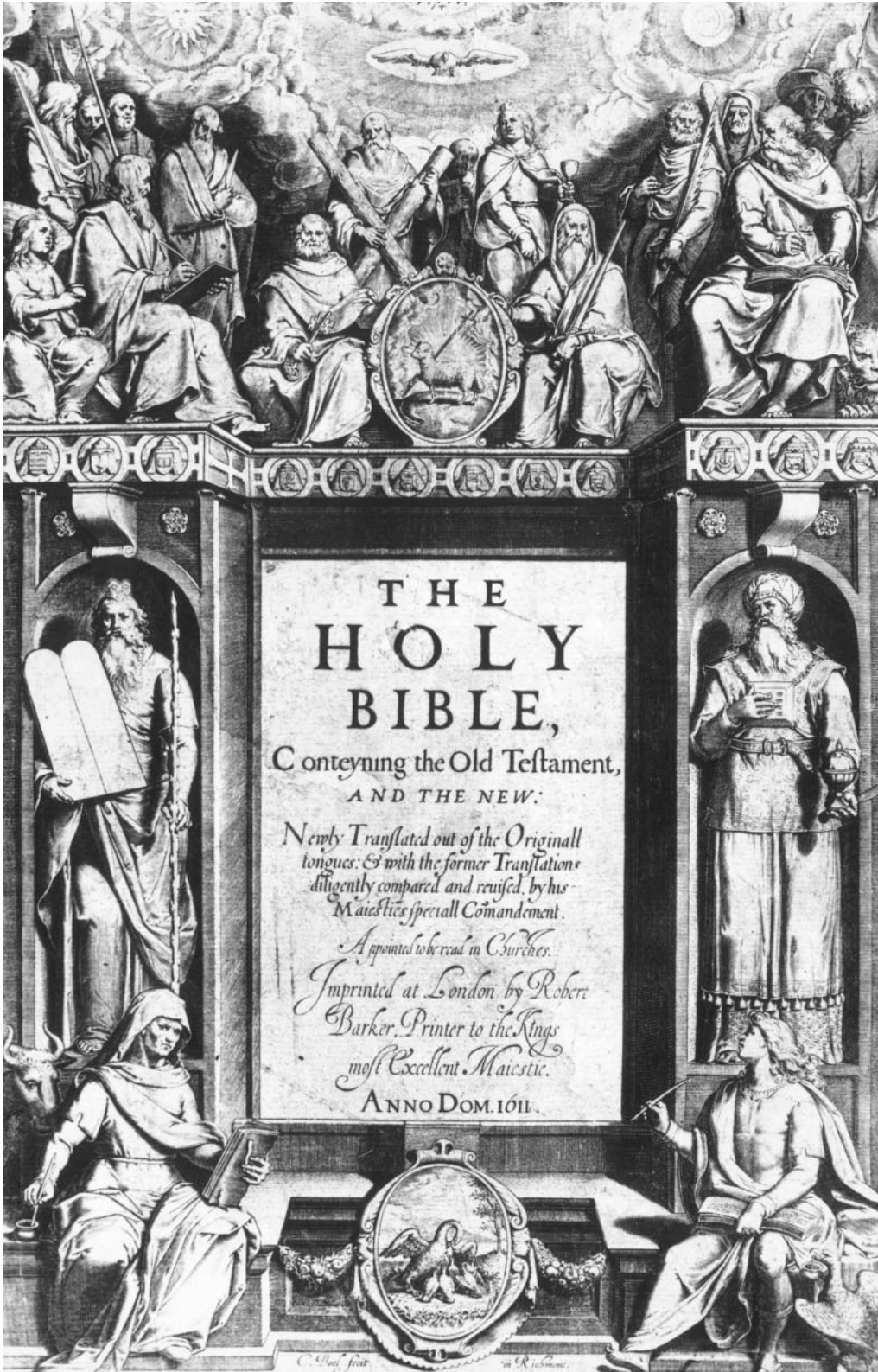
TRANSLATIONS AND EDITIONS

The New Testament was written in Greek. The Hebrew Bible (to Christians, the Old Testament) also reached the earliest known world in Greek, in a translation known as the Septuagint (from the Latin *septuaginta*, 'seventy', because it was traditionally thought to be the work of seventy-two Jewish scholars). The spread of the power of Rome led to the circulation in the Roman Empire of various translations into Latin of the Greek of both Testaments. St. Jerome's fourth-century Latin version (with the Old Testament translated from the original Hebrew) over time became the common one and was eventually christened the Vulgate (from the Latin *vulgata*, 'popular'). That it was not the original Bible text was, over the next thousand years, generally forgotten.

In sixteenth-century Europe, translations of classical texts into the chief European vernaculars, the result of the new humanist scholarship, were printed, and editions of the Greek and Hebrew originals of the Bible became newly available. Soon fresh translations from these were printed, often in large numbers. Cities such as Florence in northern Italy and Worms in Germany were centers of Hebrew scholarship, and Greek was taught in universities throughout Europe. The remarkable Complutensian Polyglott from Alcalá (Latin "Complutum") in Spain, published in 1522 under the aegis of Cardinal Francisco Ximénez de Cisneros of Toledo, printed the Old Testament in Hebrew (with commentary), Greek, and Latin and the New Testament in Greek and Latin.

Desiderius Erasmus (1466?–1536) published the first printed Greek New Testament with his new Latin translation in 1516. As a young monk, he had been inspired by reading Lorenzo Valla's *Adnotationes in Novum Testamentum* (c. 1450), where he found the new humanist philology that clarified the ancient text. Erasmus intended with his translation to correct the many inaccuracies in the Vulgate. His text was based on what Greek manuscripts he could lay his hands on and was, by modern standards, far from good. In places (for example, the last verses of the Apocalypse, also known as Revelation) he found the Greek missing, and made it up from the Latin. Nevertheless, by an accident of nomenclature (by the printer Robert Stephanus in a Geneva edition of 1550), Erasmus's Greek text became the revered *textus receptus* (received text). His translation was seized upon by scholars across Europe, was revised several times during his lifetime, and was unchallengeable for several centuries.

Martin Luther (1483–1546) believed that putting the Bible into the hands of the laity was the key to reform of the church. His *Septembertestament* of 1522, a German translation from the Greek with prologues, marginal notes, and fine woodcuts, had a wide readership that was a factor in unifying the language and thus the nation. Luther's work influenced William Tyndale (c. 1494–1536), an Oxford scholar with fine Greek who was forbidden to translate and print in England. He worked in Germany and in Worms in 1526 printed the first English New Testament translated from the Greek. Smuggled into England, with copies pirated in Antwerp, it was immediately bought in large numbers—and not only banned, but publicly burned, the owners being hunted down and punished. The ban on Bibles in English, set up by the church after the spread of the manuscripts of the English Bible made by followers of the Oxford scholar John Wycliffe in the 1380s, was still in force in the 1530s. The church authorized only the Latin Vulgate, to be expounded only by the learned and by priests. The church maintained that if the common people had access to a whole Bible, they would seriously misunderstand it. Tyndale's text gave to English speakers many common phrases, but above all a Bible language that has remained close to Christian hearts. It was the basis of all the sixteenth-century versions that followed (and indeed, the several thousand translations until



Bible: Translations and Editions. Frontispiece for the King James version of the Bible, 1611. GETTY IMAGES

the twenty-first century), and it provided over 80 percent of the King James Version of 1611.

In Germany, Tyndale learned Hebrew, virtually the first Englishman to do so. His 1530 Pentateuch, from Antwerp, resounded with new phrases: instead of *Fiat lux, et lux erat*, his readers and hearers found “Let there be light: and there was light.” Tyndale revised his New Testament in 1534. Another Englishman, Miles Coverdale (1488–1569), who had been in Antwerp at the same time, printed the first complete English Bible, again in Antwerp, in 1535, with notes revealing his pastoral intent. As he made clear, he worked from modern versions, not the originals, relying heavily on Tyndale and also using the Vulgate and Luther’s, as well as other, translations. Tyndale was executed as a heretic outside Brussels in October 1536. His work, by then including the Old Testament historical books, was edited and published by John Rogers in Antwerp in 1537, from where it was exported to England. This was the pseudonymous Matthew’s Bible, with a license from King Henry VIII (ruled 1509–1547). Coverdale edited his own version, with silent use of Tyndale’s work, as the king’s gift to the nation (the only Bible ever authorized), the Great Bible of 1539: a copy was to be placed in every one of the nearly nine thousand parish churches in England.

In France, the great French Bible of Pierre-Robert Olivétan (c. 1506–1538), translated from the original languages and published in 1535, became standard. In the Netherlands, Jacob van Liesvelt’s first complete Dutch Bible of 1526 was followed in 1528 by Willem Vorsterman’s lavish revision and others. A Danish New Testament was first printed in 1524, again followed by others. In Germany, Luther’s complete Bible of 1522 was steadily reprinted throughout the sixteenth century, virtually without rivals. It is striking that more Bible translations, of the whole or parts, usually from the original texts, were made in English than in any other European language.

In 1560, the Protestant English scholars who had been exiled to Geneva by the persecutions of Queen Mary Tudor (ruled 1553–1559) produced the first, and remarkable, Geneva English Bible. This finely made volume revised Tyndale and contained elucidatory marginal notes, prologues, commentaries, maps, pictures, concordances, and three

versions of the Psalms, all intended to support study. The second half of the Old Testament, consisting of difficult Hebrew poetry, was there translated into English for the first time by a handful of men now almost unknown, although their work was outstanding, and it endured. The Geneva New Testament was revised in 1576, and again in 1599. The Geneva Bible was enormously popular among the populace—at least a million copies were bought.

The official Bishops’ Bible of 1568 with few notes, although pressed on the country, translated Hebrew badly and never attained the popularity of the Geneva Bible. The Catholic English version of the New Testament from Reims in 1582, often silently using the “heretic” Tyndale, and rarely reprinted, was followed by the Douay Old Testament in 1609–1610. Under the influence of the third session (1562–1563) of the Council of Trent, the Latin Vulgate began to be revised.

On the accession of James I in 1603, the dominance of Geneva Bibles was halted for political reasons. The so-called King James Version was a revision of the Bishops’ Bible made by three panels of fifty-four scholars, and published in 1611. It was largely disliked for having no notes, which crippled understanding of the Hebrew. Influential in the English Civil War, the Geneva versions suffered commercial maneuverings, and were defeated by “King James” by 1660. With the return of the English monarchy in 1660 after the Civil War, the myth was fostered that the King James Version at its appearance in 1611 had been royally authorized. No evidence for such an act has ever been found. As the “Authorized Version,” this 1611 English Bible gained exalted status in the late eighteenth century. This version, either as “AV” or as “KJV,” has had enormous influence among English speakers throughout the world.

See also Church of England; Erasmus, Desiderius; Luther, Martin; Printing and Publishing; Reformation, Protestant.

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BIOGRAPHY AND AUTOBIOGRAPHY. Though the terms themselves appeared relatively late, “biography” in 1683 (first in English) and “autobiography” in 1789 (in German), writing “lives”—whether one’s own or other people’s—was practiced throughout the early modern period. A new interest in life narratives stemmed from major cultural changes witnessed by the Renaissance: new notions of the secular individual, an explosion of print culture, an emphasis on experience and on seeking truth in particulars, the development of Christian humanism, and the value attached to individual conscience and consciousness. Biography as a record of a life not merely used to celebrate ideal qualities or to discuss broader philosophical or religious issues but examined for its own sake came into its own in the seventeenth century.

Considered as part of history writing (Francis Bacon defined and encouraged it in *The Advancement of Learning* in 1605), biography was inspired by reading Tacitus, Suetonius, and especially Plutarch, whose *Parallel Lives* were popularized by Jacques Amyot’s 1559 translation. Historians such as Pierre de Bourdeille, seigneur de Brantôme (c. 1540–1614) and poets such as Giovanni Boccaccio (1313–1374) recounted lives of rulers, of illustrious men, and of beautiful or gallant women. Religious biographies such as Jean de Bolland’s *Acta Sanctorum* (from 1643) were inspired by medieval hagiographies and idealized the saints whose lives they told. Other writers, such as Pierre Bayle in his *Dictionnaire historique et critique* (1697), told the saints’ lives from a more critical perspective. Until the eighteenth century, however, such biographies started from similar presuppositions, whether in the form of funeral orations (Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet), religious lives (*The Life of M. Pascal* by his sister Gilberte Périer, 1684), rulers’ eulogies (Mme. de Motteville’s seventeenth-century *Mémoires pour*

servir à l’histoire d’Anne d’Autriche), salon portraits (also found in the baroque novel), or moral “characters” inspired by the ancient Greek philosopher Theophrastus. These biographies explained actions by preexisting virtues or vices and, although sometimes critical, sought to provide a moral lesson through examples, thus resulting in the creation of types rather than actual human beings.

Somewhat more open were short lives and portraits composed by diplomats, such as Ézéchiél Spanheim in his *Relation de la cour de France* (1699), where subtle psychological analysis of court figures grounded political speculation about the future. Realistic psychological analyses based on close observation appear as well in early modern aristocratic memoirs written in French, such as those of Jean-François-Paul de Gondi, cardinal de Retz; Roger de Rabutin, comte de Bussy; Anne-Marie-Louise Orléans, duchesse de Montpensier; and Louis de Rouvroy, duc de Saint-Simon.

Yet the first biographies based on thorough documentary research and an intrinsic interest in a person’s singularity were not developed until the eighteenth century: Samuel Johnson’s *Life of Savage* (1744) and *Lives of the Poets* (1779–1781), and James Boswell’s *Life of Samuel Johnson* (1791) are credited with seeking in their writing a more personal truth. In this respect biography developed alongside the eighteenth-century novel, which often took the form of a full-fledged fictional life and explored themes of interiority, social influence, and historicity. The Romantic sensibility brought about a blossoming of literary and historical life narratives.

Autobiography is considered a subspecies of biography since the life it narrates is the author’s own. Before Jean-Jacques Rousseau’s *Confessions* (1766–1770), which are considered the first autobiography in the modern sense, writing about the self was to be found in the essay form (Montaigne’s enormously influential *Essays* [1580, 1588]), in aristocratic memoirs—often titled “lives” by their authors (Giovanni Jacopo Casanova and the cardinal de Retz) and sometimes even written in the third person (Agrippa d’Aubigné, François de La Rochefoucauld), in journals such as the *Diary* of Samuel Pepys, or in letters. Scarce in the Middle Ages, the genre flourished in the Renaissance, inspired by antiquity (St. Augustine’s *Confessions* and Julius Cae-

sar's *Commentaries*) as well as by the humanist ambition of celebrating intelligence (Benvenuto Cellini and Geronimo Cardano) and of painting, through one's individual life, "the entire human condition" (Montaigne). Though early modern men and women could hold the Christian belief that the "self is despicable" (Pascal), they would set out to recount their life moved by spiritual reasons (Teresa of Avila and Mme. Guyon) or the need to illustrate their intellectual trajectory (René Descartes).

In personal memoirs, widely popular among the seventeenth-century French aristocracy, writing about the self stemmed from altogether different motives: the wish to bear witness to history because of the authors' high political rank (Mlle. de Montpensier, La Rochefoucauld, Cardinal de Richelieu), because of their proximity to power (Mme. de Motteville), or, conversely, due to imprisonment or solitude that prompted self-examination (François de Bassompierre and Saint-Simon). While steeped in an aristocratic conviction of personal worth, these writings presented the author as an intrinsically public, political being, and said little about his or her more intimate self: in spite of a distinct personal perspective, they focused on events rather than on the witness and gave priority to actions and words over reflections. They had no literary pretensions and sought mainly to redress history. Some other aspects, however, were more characteristic of autobiography: a wish to relive one's past, to give sense to one's life, a pleasure felt in writing that often comes as a surprise to the author, finally the presence of the genre's defining feature, what Philippe Lejeune calls the "autobiographical pact" made with the reader in which the promise to tell the truth is sealed by the author's name and signature. Other personal writings such as journals by English Puritans or dissenters (John Wesley, George Fox) would in their turn introduce the belief in the inherent dignity of all men as well as the introspective bent acquired through a regular religious practice of self-examination.

Rousseau's *Confessions*—part of his autobiographical writings, which also include the *Reveries of the Solitary Walker* and the *Dialogues* and which were published between 1781 and 1788, mostly posthumously—were the first to combine all these

features with two new ideas about the self: its uniqueness, irreducible to any social or religious identity, and its boundless mobility and capacity for transformation. The *Confessions* made the self and its quest for unity the principal object of writing. Together with narrating a unique individual life in its idiosyncrasy, they reflected the features attributed henceforth to the modern self: a tremendously enlarged scope of inner voice, a deeper inwardness, and a radical autonomy. The much-quoted opening lines of the *Confessions* proclaimed Rousseau's awareness of the revolutionary character of his project: "I am resolved on an undertaking that has no model and will have no imitator. I want to show my fellow-men a man in all the truth of nature; and this man is to be myself." Though rightly judging its importance, however, Rousseau was wrong about his posterity: at the close of the eighteenth century, the era of autobiography had only just begun.

See also Boswell, James; Diaries; Johnson, Samuel; La Rochefoucauld, François de; Montaigne, Michel de; Pepys, Samuel; Rousseau, Jean-Jacques; Saint-Simon, Louis de Rouvroy; Vasari, Giorgio.

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BIOLOGY. The science of biology as such did not exist in the early modern period; the term *biology* itself came into use only around 1800. Nonetheless, research in subjects now encompassed by biology was avidly pursued, principally by physicians but also by natural philosophers. The philosopher of science Francis Bacon (1561–1626) called for intensified descriptive study of physical forms (“natural history”) and the analytical study of their functions, classified as part of “physic.” Institutional sites for inquiry included the universities, with those in southern Europe dominant earlier and those in northern Europe later in the period. Private individuals often worked with the support of aristocratic, princely, and ecclesiastical patrons. In the seventeenth century omnibus scientific societies were founded in Rome and Florence. The Royal Society of London (founded 1660) and the Academy of Sciences in Paris (founded 1666) were highly influential. Specialized learned societies came into existence only at the end of the period. Instruments were less important than in physical science, but the microscope proved crucial to advances in knowledge. Much inquiry was tied to the pursuit of fine and technical arts (painting and sculpture, optics, printing and illustrating) and to collecting practices (“cabinets of curiosities”). Public gardens and zoological collections were essential to naturalists from the seventeenth century forward.

NATURAL PHILOSOPHY

At the beginning of the period the natural philosophy taught in the universities was dominated by Aristotelianism as recast by the late Scholastics to harmonize with Roman Catholic orthodoxy. Aristotelian philosophy established the linguistic and conceptual framework for inquiry and conveyed specific doctrines such as the “great chain of being,” a posited hierarchy of natural forms ranging from the simplest to the most complex. Aside from Aristotelian influence, medicine was dependent on the legacy of the Greek physician Hippocrates (460–c. 370 B.C.E.), especially the doctrine of the

humors, and of the Hellenistic surgeon and Roman court physician Galen (129/130–199/200 C.E.), whose general teleology and specific teachings in anatomy and physiology undergirded university-based medical training. Competing intellectual traditions derived from Plato (427–348/347 B.C.E.) as well as the occult sciences of the cabala, natural magic, hermeticism, astrology, and alchemy.

The greatest master of the occult sciences in medicine was Philippus Aureolus Theophrastus Bombast von Hohenheim, called Paracelsus (1493–1541). Paracelsus rejected the study of anatomy, basing pathology and therapeutics instead on the doctrine of correspondences between the macrocosm and the microcosm. His “ontological” theory of disease, which held that the “seeds” of all maladies are present in every organism, undermined humor theory and encouraged the search for specific remedies, especially new ones derived from metals. Paracelsianism spread most rapidly in Protestant lands and Protestant enclaves in Catholic Europe. Its diffusion contributed to the decline of Aristotelianism, which was, however, principally undermined by the emergent “mechanical philosophy.” Mechanism, which viewed living bodies as sophisticated machines, was dominant from the later seventeenth century until challenged around 1750 by vitalists who posited a distinctive “principle of life” or individuated vital “forces.” By the eighteenth century many investigators rejected all “systems” and embraced a scientific ethos based on observation and experimentation.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

European contact with the New World resulted in a challenge to existing conceptions of creation, the lineage of humankind, and the number and types of living creatures. Other influences included the continuing recovery of the heritage of Greco-Roman antiquity; the emergence of centralizing “new monarchies” and elaborated forms of princely and municipal government; and long-term economic revival from the ravages of the pandemic of plague that first struck Europe in 1348. In connection with these changes, new and fuller editions of the works of ancient philosophers and physicians appeared; the arts and sciences enjoyed expanded prestige and public patronage; and new commodities, both natural and manufactured, came into use. The Protes-

tant Reformation destroyed the religious unity of Europe and encouraged challenges to tradition. The absolutist state emergent in the seventeenth century established new guardians of orthodoxy but also provided new resources for learned inquiry. More powerful government, coupled with economic growth and differentiation, encouraged the spread of literacy and the extension of modes of communication and transportation. These combined forces unsettled social hierarchies based on bloodlines, corporate status, and gender. The self-styled “Enlightenment” of the eighteenth century was marked by a commitment to the methods and values of “science,” variously defined, and by a heightened critical spirit. Broader historical developments were linked both as cause and effect to changes in the world of learning that, by the period’s end, encouraged the emergence of modern life science.

ANATOMY AND PHYSIOLOGY

Because in Aristotelian-Galenic medicine the heart was considered central, many Renaissance-era inquirers were drawn to the study of this organ. Aristotle viewed the heart as the center of the body, the seat of the “vital heat” that empowered its functions. Galen delineated the structure and functions of the heart and other organs dominant in three body “centers” of head, chest, and abdomen. In his system, blood flowed only as part of an ebb and flow to and from the dominant organ to peripheral structures; arterial blood produced in the right ventricle of the heart seeped into the left ventricle via “pores” in the septum. In his anatomical atlas *De humani corporis fabrica* (1543), the anatomist and professor at Padua Andreas Vesalius (1514–1564) questioned the existence of the septal pores without challenging the overall outlines of Galenic physiology. After Vesalius, other investigators at Padua contributed to the study of the heart. Realdo Colombo (1510–1559) described the “lesser circulation” (the transit of blood from the right to the left side of the heart via the lungs), and Girolamo Fabrici (1533–1619) described the valves in the veins. The Padua tradition was crowned by the achievement of William Harvey (1578–1657), who studied with Fabrici. After taking his medical degree in 1602, Harvey returned to England, where he became a staff physician at St. Bartholomew’s Hospi-

tal, Fellow of the College of Physicians, and court physician to the Stuart kings.

A committed Aristotelian, Harvey upheld Aristotle’s conception of the heart as the vivifying center of the body and the principle of the perfection of the circle. Yet Harvey was also a powerful innovator methodologically and conceptually. He designed and performed experiments using a wide range of cold- and warm-blooded animals. He drew compelling analogies between the work of the heart and vessels and mechanical actions. Most tellingly, he quantified the amount of blood that passed through the body with each beat of the heart. Judging it too great to be produced by nutritional activity, he was convinced that the blood must move in one great circulatory motion throughout the body. This discovery was incorporated in his *Anatomical Treatise on the Movement of the Heart and Blood* (1628). Although the impact of Harvey’s work was delayed because of an entrenched Galenism, in time his findings revolutionized thinking about the heart and blood as well as general physiology. Harvey’s work also lent great prestige to the emergent “mechanical philosophy,” although Harvey himself was not a mechanist.

The chief intellectual force behind the body-machine analogy was the French philosopher René Descartes (1596–1650). Descartes’s cosmology sought to explain all known physical phenomena, including, in his posthumously published treatise *Man* (1664), mechanisms of digestion, respiration, reproduction, and other vital activities. Fruitful applications of mechanist thinking were found in works such as Giovanni Alfonso Borelli’s *On the Motions of Animals* (1680–1681), which explored the mechanics of the human muscular and skeletal systems. Mechanist thinking also had a profound impact on inquiry into the cluster of problems called “generation.”

THE PROBLEM OF GENERATION

Learned interest in processes of reproduction, including heredity, developed in response both to internal scientific dynamics and to sociocultural pressures for clarity in respect to family lineages, gender roles, and rules for inheritance. Aristotelian teaching posited a union in reproduction of male “form,” embodied in semen gathered from throughout the body, with female “matter” (men-

strual blood), presenting the male as the “perfect” result while the female was a continuously appearing “monster” of nature. A competing, Galenic account of generation posited two “semens,” one male and one female. Inspired by Aristotle, Fabrici and other inquirers at Padua pursued a comparative study of the embryos of horses, sheep, and other animals. Harvey conducted extensive experiments designed to elucidate developmental processes. The most famous was his dissection during and after mating season of does in whom he found no trace of male semen. His *Anatomical Treatise on the Generation of Animals* (1651) declared that “all living beings arise from eggs.” This was the beginning of “ovism,” which held that the female alone contributed materially to the embryo.

This view was contradicted by Antoni van Leeuwenhoek (1632–1723), who, using a microscope, identified the spermatozoon (“animalcule”) in 1677. Ensuing controversy pitted “ovists” against “animalculists,” who held that the male contributed all parts of the embryo. In most cases both ovists and animalculists rejected Aristotle’s view that the embryo developed in a process of epigenesis, the progressive elaboration of new structures. Both generally favored the “preformationist” view that each individual exists as a preformed miniature in the matter present at conception and develops through mechanical enlargement. The epigenesis-preformationist debate culminated in an exchange between the Swiss physiologist Albrecht von Haller (1708–1777) and the German naturalist Caspar Friedrich Wolff (1733–1794). Initially a preformationist, Haller converted to epigenesis after studying the discovery by Abraham Trembley (1710–1784) of the regenerative capacities of the freshwater polyp. He later settled on ovist preformationism, fearing the irreligious implications of epigenesis theories like that of Georges Louis Leclerc Buffon (1707–1788), who postulated an “interior mold” that shaped development and disregarded the role of the creator. Challenging Haller, Wolff argued for a *vis essentialis*, or essential force, responsible for patterns of differentiation evident in development. Wolff made extensive use of plants to study development and thus effected a juncture with this branch of natural history.

NATURAL HISTORY AND CLASSIFICATION

Early description and ordering of plants and animals was undertaken as an adjunct to both the search for remedies and the humanist effort to identify references in works of the ancients. Herbals based principally on classical, Arabic, and Medieval Latin sources were among the first printed books. Sixteenth-century naturalists such as Conrad Gessner (1516–1565) began organizing local collecting expeditions. Accurate description and representation of distinctive external characteristics of leaf, flower, and fruit were emphasized. The number of species described steadily increased until, in the 1680s, the English naturalist John Ray (1627–1705) described some eighteen thousand species.

Interest in the comparative structure of the parts of plants distinguished the work of Andrea Cesalpino (1519–1603), medical professor first at Pisa and then Rome. Cesalpino sought unifying principles of classification and, after an interval, was followed in that effort by Joachim Junge (1587–1657), also a medical professor. The quest for a “natural” system of classification culminated in the work of Carl Linneaus (1707–1778), the Swedish naturalist whose work formed the basis for modern taxonomy.

Animals were similarly the focus of joint artistic and learned pursuits. Leonardo da Vinci (1452–1519) did his own dissections and compared the structure of body parts in humans, horses, bears, cats, monkeys, and other animals. The humanist lexicographer William Turner (1508–1568) compiled existing accounts of birds and added observations of his own. French naturalists including Pierre Belon (1517–1564) and Guillaume Rondelet (1507–1566) undertook comparative studies of fish. Much seventeenth-century work on the comparative morphology of animals was tied to the investigations into generation discussed above.

The natural history of plants and animals was of keen interest to both trained investigators and the educated public by the late seventeenth century. Religious feeling was central to the popularity of “natural theology.” While the mechanical philosophy dispensed with direct intervention in nature by the deity, natural histories such as *Spectacle of Nature* (1732–1750), by Noël-Antoine, the Abbé Pluche, drew attention to the marvels of God’s creation. The most influential naturalists of the eigh-

teenth century, Linnaeus and Buffon, focused not on religious but scientific themes, especially the problem of how best to approach classification itself. Buffon's *Natural History*, a general history of the earth and living creatures, was published in many volumes beginning in 1749. Determinedly non-religious, it largely ignored biblical chronology and posited the passage of eons in which natural forms had altered.

HISTORIOGRAPHY

Conventional history of science divided the early modern era into the Renaissance (1400–1550), the scientific revolution (1550–1700), and the Enlightenment (1700–1800), and generally treated life science as peripheral to the revolutionary changes under way in physical science. An alternate scheme divides the era into two phases, roughly 1450–1670 and 1670–1800, more appropriate to biology, with the break marked by a decisive rejection of both Aristotelian thinking and competing occult traditions in favor of inquiry based first on deductive reasoning and, finally, modern inductive science.

Twentieth- and twenty-first-century scholarship has been much affected by the work of the French philosopher Michel Foucault (1926–1984), who overturned traditional labels and periodization. Historians following his lead have questioned presumed continuities with modern science, recovered texts and formulations previously regarded as merely “curious,” and investigated the interconnections between learned “discourses” and structures of power. Historical revisionism is also evident in the work of social “constructivists” who emphasize the social creation of knowledge rather than its emergence from autonomous intellectual dynamics.

See also Anatomy and Physiology; Aristotelianism; Buffon, Georges Louis Leclerc; Gessner, Conrad; Haller, Albrecht von; Harvey, William; Leeuwenhoek, Antoni van; Linnaeus, Carl; Mechanism; Medicine; Museums; Natural History; Paracelsus; Ray, John; Scientific Revolution; Vesalius, Andreas.

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BIRTH. *See* Obstetrics and Gynecology.

BLACK SEA STEPPE. The land above the northern coast of the Black Sea, bounded by the Prut River in the west and the Kuban River in the east, was of considerable potential economic and geopolitical value in the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries. Most of it was steppe land well suited to nomadic pastoralism but also offering

abundant, rich black soil (chernozem) for agriculture. The Don and Dnieper rivers had the potential to serve important trade routes, as they had in the distant past, linking the ancient trading towns of the Black Sea coast with the interior of eastern Europe. Hegemony over the Black Sea steppe was also seen as key to determining the political fate of Moldavia and Walachia in the west and the Caucasus in the east. But establishing such hegemony required that two great obstacles be surmounted. Turning the steppe over to large-scale agricultural exploitation required heavy plow technology and greater control over peasant tenant mobility; Russians began acquiring these techniques only from the middle of the seventeenth century. Furthermore, steppe colonization carried very heavy protection costs, because the steppe was long fiercely contested by the Crimean Khanate, the Ottoman Empire, Poland-Lithuania, and Russia.

Under Mengli Giray I (ruled 1468–1474 and 1476–1514) the Crimean Khanate, an offshoot of the disintegrating Great Horde, became a major military power claiming sovereignty over most of the Black Sea steppe. The khanate's power was reinforced by Ottoman protection, Mengli Giray I having accepted vassalage to the Ottoman sultan and having recognized Ottoman control over part of Crimea, as an *eyalet* of Kaffa. Some of his successors chafed at the terms of this vassalage and had to be dethroned, but on balance the khanate continued to perform two crucial services to the Ottoman Empire, at least to the end of the seventeenth century. Crimean Tatar cavalry played an important auxiliary role in Ottoman campaigns in Hungary and the Caucasus, while Crimean Tatar attacks on Muscovy and Poland-Lithuania served what Ottoman writers called the Stratagem of Selim I (ruled 1512–1520): that is, they could strike at either power, whichever seemed to be ascendant at the moment, while maintaining that the sultan had no responsibility for the attack. The khanate also was of great economic importance to the Ottomans, for Crimean Tatar slave-raiding into Muscovy and Poland-Lithuania provided the empire with cheap labor on an enormous scale.

Polish-Lithuanian colonization of the Ukrainian steppe made considerable inroads in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries because it was driven not merely by geopolitical concerns but especially

by magnate entrepreneurs responding to demand on the Baltic market for Ukrainian grain and livestock. But the seventeenth century saw the gradual rollback of Polish-Lithuanian power from most of Ukraine. This process began in the 1620s, when the Polish crown's repeated efforts to vassalize or annex Moldavia provoked the first of a series of Ottoman invasions, which eventually led to Ottoman annexation of Podolia and Ottoman attempts to vassalize the rest of western Ukraine. Because Poland's diet was so intent on minimizing royal expenditures and checking the growth of royal absolutism, the Commonwealth's strategy for the defense of Ukraine relied largely on the private armies of march-lord latifundists and on the Ukrainian Cossacks. This strategy broke down altogether in 1648, when the Ukrainian Cossacks rebelled against latifundist exploitation, the Uniate church, and the diet's refusal to reward Cossack service with registration and the king's bounty. By the end of the century the Commonwealth had lost Kiev and Ukraine east of the Dnieper to Muscovy; its control over the greatly depopulated Cossack Hetmanate of western Ukraine was only nominal; and what little remaining power the Polish crown retained under King John III Sobieski (ruled 1674–1696) was squandered on futile attempts to seize Moldavian territory in compensation.

Through most of the sixteenth century Muscovy's southern steppe frontier strategy had focused on protecting central Muscovy against Crimean Tatar invasions. The fortified lines and most of the new garrison towns built in this period were in the forest-steppe zone, not on the steppe, while Muscovite diplomacy aimed at splitting the Nogay tribes from the Crimean khans, maintaining friendly relations with the Ottomans, and offering to restrain Don Cossack raids on Ottoman territory in exchange for the sultans' promises to rein in the Crimean khans. The shift to a more aggressive southern strategy began in the mid-1630s, at the moment Polish-Lithuanian control over Ukraine began to slip, encouraging greater Crimean and Ottoman intervention in Ukraine. The construction of the new Belgorod Line (1635–1658) linking twenty-five southern garrison towns—many of them new and built on the steppe—made it possible to move the field army much farther south and to form large military manpower reserves in Kozlov, Belgorod,

and other districts. The 1660s–1690s saw a series of Muscovite military operations down the Don to blockade or capture Azov and other Ottoman fortresses; these operations had the additional purpose of tightening Moscow’s control over the Don Cossack host.

From 1654 to 1681 Muscovite armies mobilized from the Belgorod Line fought in Ukraine. In the Thirteen Years’ War (1654–1667) they secured Kiev and eastern Ukraine as a Muscovite protectorate; in the ensuing period of Ukraine’s “Ruin” (1669–1685) they defeated Ottoman efforts to use the vassal hetmans Petro Doroshenko, Iurii Khmelnytsky, and Gheorghe Duca to consolidate control of western Ukraine and conquer eastern Ukraine. The first significant direct Ottoman-Muscovite military conflict was at Chigirin, where large Ottoman and Muscovite armies fought to a stalemate in 1677 and 1678. The twenty-year Bakhchisaray Armistice (1681) ended this first Russo-Ottoman War on terms generally favorable for Moscow, as it obliged the Tatars and Turks to recognize Kiev and eastern Ukraine as Muscovite possessions. Meanwhile ethnic “herding” raids by Muscovite and eastern Ukrainian forces had so depopulated western Ukraine as to make it impossible for the Turks to consolidate their control of the steppe east of the Bug River. This encouraged the view in Moscow that the Bakhchisaray armistice could be abandoned and the problem of the khanate solved once and for all, especially after Emperor Leopold I (ruled 1658–1705) offered to bring Muscovy into the Holy League, giving it the mission of keeping the Crimean Tatars occupied while he campaigned against the Turks in Hungary and Poland’s king John III Sobieski invaded Moldavia. As part of its price for accepting this mission Moscow got the Poles to permanently cede Kiev, eastern Ukraine, and Zaporozhia in the 1686 Treaty of Eternal Peace.

In 1687 and 1689 the Muscovite generalissimus Vasilii Vasilievich Golitsyn led two huge expeditions against the Perekop isthmus, the gateway into Crimea. Neither succeeded in seizing Perekop, but the expeditions did demonstrate the scale of Muscovy’s commitment to the League and established Muscovite garrisons on the Samara River to exercise tighter control over the Zaporozhian Host. In 1695 and 1696 Tsar Peter I honored his commitment to the Holy League by conducting two great

sieges of the Ottoman fortress of Azov on the lower Don. The fall of Azov in 1696 significantly weakened the Crimean Khanate’s power east of the Kalka river, and the Crimean danger to Muscovy was further reduced (although not entirely eliminated) by the treaties of Karlowitz and Constantinople (1699, 1700), which required that the sultan suppress Crimean raiding activity in order to preserve the inviolability of the Porte’s new border with Muscovy. Thereafter Russian campaigns (1711, 1735–1739, 1768–1774) focused on the outright conquest of Crimea, the capture of the remaining Ottoman fortresses along the northeastern Black Sea coast, and the rollback of the Ottomans from Moldavia.

See also Cossacks; Imperial Expansion, Russia; Khmelnytsky Uprising; Ottoman Empire; Russo-Ottoman Wars; Ukraine.

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BODIN, JEAN (1529/30–1596), French political philosopher. Jean Bodin came from a comfortable family in Angers and received an excellent humanist education. He studied law and taught briefly at the University of Toulouse but was unable to obtain a permanent academic position. He was employed mostly in the royal administration and for a time was secretary to the Duke d’Alençon. A royalist at heart, Bodin was reformist and liberal in fiscal and social policy. He favored religious toleration as the most *politique* solution to the religious warfare that ravaged France in his time. In 1576, as a deputy of the third at the Estates-General of Blois, he staunchly opposed the grant of new taxation that the crown would have used to prosecute religious war.

Despite his occasional involvement in high politics, Bodin was an indefatigable humanist scholar who sought to encompass and synthesize all the learning of his time. He produced a corpus of extensive treatises on all the main subjects of his day,

including the methodology of history, economic theory, comparative public law and politics, witchcraft, comparative religion, natural philosophy, and ethics.

Bodin's *Methodus ad Facilem Historiarum Cognitionem* (1566; Method for the easy comprehension of history) is a guide to the reading of historians that outlined much of his later writing. But his best-known work and the most influential is his *Six livres de la république* (1576; Six books of a commonwealth), which is a massive treatise on comparative public law and policy. The first half of the book is the earliest modern treatise on public law. Its organizing principle is Bodin's pioneering analysis and construction of the concept of sovereignty as the juridical condition for the existence of a state. Bodin also argued, mistakenly, that sovereignty was indivisible, as well as absolute and juridically perpetual. He rejected the possibility of a mixed constitution in which supreme authority was divided between two or more agents, and thus he broke with the received opinion that the constitutions of Rome and other classical republics were mixed. On Bodin's reinterpretation they were either pure democracies or pure aristocracies with respect to the juridical locus of supreme authority, although not necessarily in the day-to-day conduct of affairs.

Most politically significant of all Bodin's revisions of received traditions, however, was his interpretation of the French constitution as a strictly absolute monarchy. He had once admitted and even approved at least some juridical limits on the king. But he was finally driven to absolutism not only by the logic of his position but by his deep-seated fears of anarchy. Bodin had never admitted the right of a people to resist a tyrant and thought, mistakenly, that he could exclude that right juridically by denying the people any authoritative role in government.

Appearances notwithstanding, his reformist views on taxation were technically consistent with his stand on nonresistance. Although he held that all kings, including the French, ordinarily required the consent of the Estates-General for levying new taxation, this was not a limitation that the people had imposed or could legally enforce. It followed directly from the law of nature by which the ruler was responsible to God alone. The need for con-

sent, moreover, did not apply in emergencies, and with Bodin's followers it was reduced to a mere counsel of wise governance.

Perhaps the most interesting of Bodin's works today is his *Colloquium Heptaplomeres de Rerum Sublimium Arcanis Abditis* (Colloquium of the seven about secrets of the sublime), which was written around 1588. Seven interlocutors, meeting in Venice, debated their competing claims as to the true religion and finally agreed to disagree in friendship. So heretical did this seem to Bodin himself and to succeeding generations who knew of it that it was not published until the middle of the nineteenth century. Indeed, the *Colloquium* is remarkable even now. In an arresting anticipation of modern religious pluralism, Bodin argued in effect that worship in any of the major religions was pleasing to God. Underlying all of them was a Neoplatonic natural religion of which all were variations that arose from adaptations to different climates and political circumstances. Each of Bodin's seven interlocutors represented a different religious viewpoint, and the inconclusive debate among them served to show that no positive system could sustain its claims to exclusive truth against the others. At times, however, Bodin seemed to be suggesting that Judaism is the oldest and the best. And it may well be that some form of philosophic Judaism was the ultimate outcome of Bodin's lifelong search for the true religion. The *Paradoxon* (1596), a treatise on ethics that was among Bodin's last endeavors, clearly indicates that Bodin, greatly influenced by the thought of Philo of Alexandria, had turned to a kind of Judaism. Bodin was buried as a Catholic, in accordance with his wishes. But many of his books were placed on the Index of Prohibited Books in a series of steps beginning in 1596.

Yet another contribution to modern thought was Bodin's brilliant 1568 essay, titled *Réponses aux paradoxes du sieur de Malestroict*, on the great European price inflation of the time. It was caused, he argued, not by debasement of the coinage, as was widely thought, but by the importation of bullion from America that lowered the value of gold and silver. This was the first application of the quantity theory of money. Another contribution was less enduring. Anticipating Montesquieu, Bodin tried to correlate climate and national character to illumine

not only political attitudes but religious tendencies as well.

Perhaps the least known of Bodin's works is his *Theatrum Naturae* (1596; The theater of nature), which is an encyclopedic collection of facts, observations, and principles of nature in the style of late Renaissance science. Its premodern view of nature supports a natural theology purporting to show God's concern for humanity in the natural order.

There are dark spots in Bodin's writing, of which his book on the detection and punishment of witches and warlocks (*La démonomanie des sorciers*), published in 1580, is a notorious example. But such superstitions of the time apart, his universal synthesis of knowledge, although in large part outdated, was a huge intellectual accomplishment.

See also **Absolutism; Authority, Concept of; Constitutionalism; Natural Law; Neoplatonism; Political Philosophy; Resistance, Theory of.**

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JULIAN H. FRANKLIN

BOEHME, JACOB (1575–1624), German mystic. Born in Alt Seidenberg, Lusatia, in eastern Germany in 1575, Jacob Boehme (or Böhme) was the fourth child of a successful farmer. The Boehme legend (established by friend and biographer Abraham von Franckenberg) emphasized his humble beginnings and his lack of education. It is clear, though, that his chosen trade of shoemaking was a success, and in Görlitz (where he moved around 1594 after his apprenticeship was finished), the young Jacob absorbed a rich and eclectic, if not particularly formal, education. In 1600, after severe depression over existential issues such as the place of God in an evil and fragmented world, he had a vision triggered by “the glint from a pewter dish.” In fifteen minutes, von Franckenberg claims, Boehme learned more about the relationship between God and nature than all the universities could teach. This vision inspired him to write, and in 1612 he produced a partially finished manuscript called *Aurora, oder die Morgenröte im Aufgang* (1656; Aurora: that is, the day-spring or dawning of the day).

The work was passed around among Boehme's friends, and eventually reached the hands of the local Lutheran pastor, Gregor Richter. Incensed at Boehme's seeming unorthodoxy, Richter influenced the town council of Görlitz to silence him. Boehme observed the ruling for six years, although clearly his mystical development continued unabated. He continued his contact with the followers of Paracelsus (1493–1541), Valentin Weigel (1533–1588), and Kaspar Schwenckfeld von Ossig (1489–1561), and by 1618 his enthusiastic friends convinced him to begin writing again. Between 1619 and his death on 15 November 1624 he wrote constantly, producing works that ranged from mystical (*Forty Questions concerning the Soul* [Vierzig Fragen von der Seele], *Six Theosophical Points* [Von sechs

Punchten]) to alchemical (*Signature Rerum* or *Von der Geburt und Bezeichnung aller Wesen*) to devotional (short writings collected as *The Way to Christ* [*Der Weg zu Christo*]) to theological (*Mysterium Magnum* or *Erklärung über das Erste Buch Mosis*) to polemical (*Apology to Balthasar Tylcken* [*Erst Schutzschrift gegen Balthasar Tilke*]).

DIALECTIC AND WILL

Boehme holds that there is a fundamental dialectic in the emergence of both God and nature. In the *Ungrund*, or primordial chaotic nothingness, forces or wills strive to manifestation. There are two kinds of wills: *Begierde* (craving or desire), an infinite multiplicity of unrealized wills, and *Lust* (free will), which flows through *Begierde* to bring them to order and manifestation. *Begierde* and *Lust* are nothing prior to their dialectical, cooperative emergence.

This emergence takes the form of “Yes and No,” an internal dialectical conflict that allows God to be the source and significance of everything natural, but not to be reducible to it. The two original principles, the No (dark, wrathful, or fire world) and Yes (light or love world), are joined by a third principle, that of movement and creation. These three are mutually causing, interpenetrating, and supporting. They emerge through seven “spirits” into what Boehme sometimes calls “eternal nature,” and this threefold dialectic exists at every level for him.

The natural world is the flowing through of the emerged God into the multifarious forces of *Begierde*. Here too there is a seven-stage development—the seven forms of nature. All nature partakes of the three worlds, which emerge from God, and to the extent they are manifest, they are good. This process has sometimes been seen as evolutionary, but Boehme was clear that the dialectical emergence from chaos to full manifestation is present at once within everything. Boehme believes that every existing thing made a choice to align itself with one principle. Only humanity still has the choice of which world to live in.

Boehme calls the result of manifestation *Weisheit*, or the Virgin Wisdom, which is within all the processes of life and creation, and is a mirror to God. The entire process of creation is folded into every existing thing, and is available to those who have eyes to see. The dialectical emergence of *Lust*

and *Begierde* results in containers, or husks, which both reveal and conceal the will within. Boehme’s mysticism explicates the deep spiritual structure of nature, unavailable to the common person using *Vernunft*, or discursive reason. If one has *Verstand* (intuitive reason), one can recognize the common life concealed within the husks, which all of nature shares. “Signatures” are the external evidence of this commonality—they make *Weisheit* visible to the human mind. Boehme uses the image of creation as an instrument, which was broken by the Fall, but repaired by the incarnation of Christ. The instrument is still out of tune, but when one knows how to listen, one will hear sympathetic vibrations through everything. All of nature resonates because it all has the same root. But some of the wills in *Begierde* do not cooperate with *Lust*. They still strive for manifestation and can only achieve this with the destruction of the manifest world. This is Boehme’s account of evil—a kind of uncreating.

Some look to Boehme as the inventor of modern dialectic. Some look to him as a theorist of freedom, others as one who introduced the idea of the objectification of the will, others as one who laid the ontological foundations for individuality, and still others as one who solved the problem of evil. Boehme is an heir to diverse intellectual traditions, ranging from Renaissance alchemy, hermeticism, and theosophy (via Paracelsus) to German mysticism (in the Rhineland tradition of writers such as Johannes Eckhart, c. 1260–?1327) to crypto-Calvinism to Lutheran theology. He is sometimes seen as part of a group of eastern German mystics that includes Schwenckfeld, Weigel, and Angelus Silesius (Johannes Scheffler, 1624–1677). But his influence surpassed all of them; Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770–1831) says of Boehme that it was “through him that philosophy first appeared in Germany with a character peculiar to itself.”

Boehme’s writings were particularly influential in England, where his followers were known as “Behmenists,” and in Holland, where many editions of his work were produced. He was also important for seventeenth- and early-eighteenth-century movements such as the Philadelphian Society (Jane Leade, John Pordage), the Quakers (George Fox), Pietism (through Philipp Jacob Spener), and Methodism (through William Law). His influence extended into France (Louis-Claude

de Saint-Martin, 1743–1803) and Russia (Vladimir Soloviev, 1853–1900). And he was read closely by later idealists and postidealists (Hegel, Friedrich Wilhelm von Schelling, Paul Johann von Feuerbach), Romantics (Franz von Baader, Novalis, William Blake, Samuel Taylor Coleridge), and existentialists (Martin Buber, Paul Johannes Tillich, Nikolay Berdyaev).

See also **Catholic Spirituality and Mysticism; Methodism; Paracelsus; Pietism; Quakers; Romanticism.**

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BRUCE B. JANZ

BOERHAAVE, HERMAN (1668–1738), Dutch professor of medicine, botany, and chemistry. Boerhaave began life as the son of a village minister and ended it as professor at Leiden University and *communis Europae praeceptor* ('teacher to all of Europe'). He lost his mother at five and his father at fifteen, which left his stepmother with nine children to care for. Widow and children moved to Leiden, where student lodgers helped pay the bills and Boerhaave pursued his studies of and love for chemistry.

Though Boerhaave hoped to follow his father's career path, local patronage steered him in a different direction. He graduated from Leiden in 1690 with a philosophy degree and had begun giving private mathematics lessons when he was offered a job cataloging an important book collection for the university library. The university milieu—especially Leiden's library and anatomy theater—fostered a growing interest in medicine, leading Boerhaave to take a medical degree at the University of Hardewijk in 1693. (Hardewijk was famous for the low cost of its degrees.) Patronage brought him back to Leiden University and he began teaching an introductory course for medical students in 1701.

Boerhaave introduced his students, via Hippocrates and Thomas Sydenham (an English physician known as the "Shakespeare of medicine" [1624–1689]), to medicine as a clinical profession. By 1703 he had announced his preference for iatromechanism (the mechanical theory of medicine) and in subsequent publications, such as *Institutiones Medicae* (Institutions of Medicine, 1708), he put his mechanical principles and faith in observation to work. Observation became even more important when Boerhaave became botany professor and director of Leiden's botanical garden in 1709. At his inaugural lecture, he codified his philosophy with the motto *simplex veri sigillum* ('simplicity is the sign of truth'). The more he pursued his work, however, the more of a challenge his creed became. The botanical garden, for example, was planted according to three different systems, and his efforts to bring order to Leiden's botanical collection (see the second volume of his *Index Plantarum* [Index of Plants], 1720), were only partially successful. It was his student, Carl Linnaeus, who first published a consistent botanical system in 1735.

Moving between simplicity of theory and specificity of medical treatment presented a further challenge. In 1714 the increasingly popular Boerhaave began teaching clinical medicine by taking students to visit patients at Leiden's Caecilia Hospital. Here, he and his students directly faced the tensions between theory and practice. On one hand, students learned diagnosis and care. On the other, they learned a systematic way to account for the human body's economy of health and disease. True to his mechanical views and his desire to consider human physiology in a simple manner—that is, apart from metaphysical questions about the relation between physical being and the cause of life—Boerhaave taught students to focus on the circulation of blood and other bodily fluids, along with involuntary functions such as breathing, sweating, heartbeat, and peristaltic motion.

This systematic mediation between theory and practice made Boerhaave's work enormously influential. As his students graduated, they took with them the tools necessary to make medical study and practice both dynamic and authoritative. Once his followers gained official positions, in Austria, for example, alternative forms of medical practice—such as that of Franz Anton Mesmer (1734–1815)—



Herman Boerhaave. The frontispiece to a 1715 collection of Boerhaave's lectures features an engraving of the author in the lecture hall. U.S. NATIONAL LIBRARY OF MEDICINE

were driven from court and country. In Edinburgh, Boerhaave's graduates staffed a medical school that eclipsed Leiden's popularity in the second half of the eighteenth century by offering the same kind of inspiring training for a fraction of the price. At the University of Göttingen, Albrecht von Haller (1708–1777) transformed his teacher's mechanical approach into a physiological research program by examining the differences between involuntary and apparently voluntary motion. Refusing to give in to vitalism (the doctrine that life cannot be explained scientifically), Haller argued for the distinction between muscular irritability and nervous sensibility. While Boerhaave and others like him separated theology from medicine out of intellectual modesty regarding divine purpose, and for the sake of clinical and experimental rigor, one former student made a philosophy of this separation. Taking the idea of mechanism to its extreme, Julien Offroy de La Mettrie (1709–1751) argued that humans are nothing but machines.

Boerhaave became Leiden's chemistry professor as well in 1718. His influential lectures presented chemistry's traditional elements (earth, water, air, and fire) as instruments of physical and chemical change. This gave chemistry a level of theoretical

simplicity in which theory served to organize increasingly complex laboratory practices (see his *Elementa Chemiae* [Elements of chemistry], 1732). In both medicine and chemistry, Boerhaave's strength lay in connecting theoretical considerations to the demands and challenges of practice. This, rather than any startlingly original discoveries, is what made him a popular and influential educator. He died in 1738.

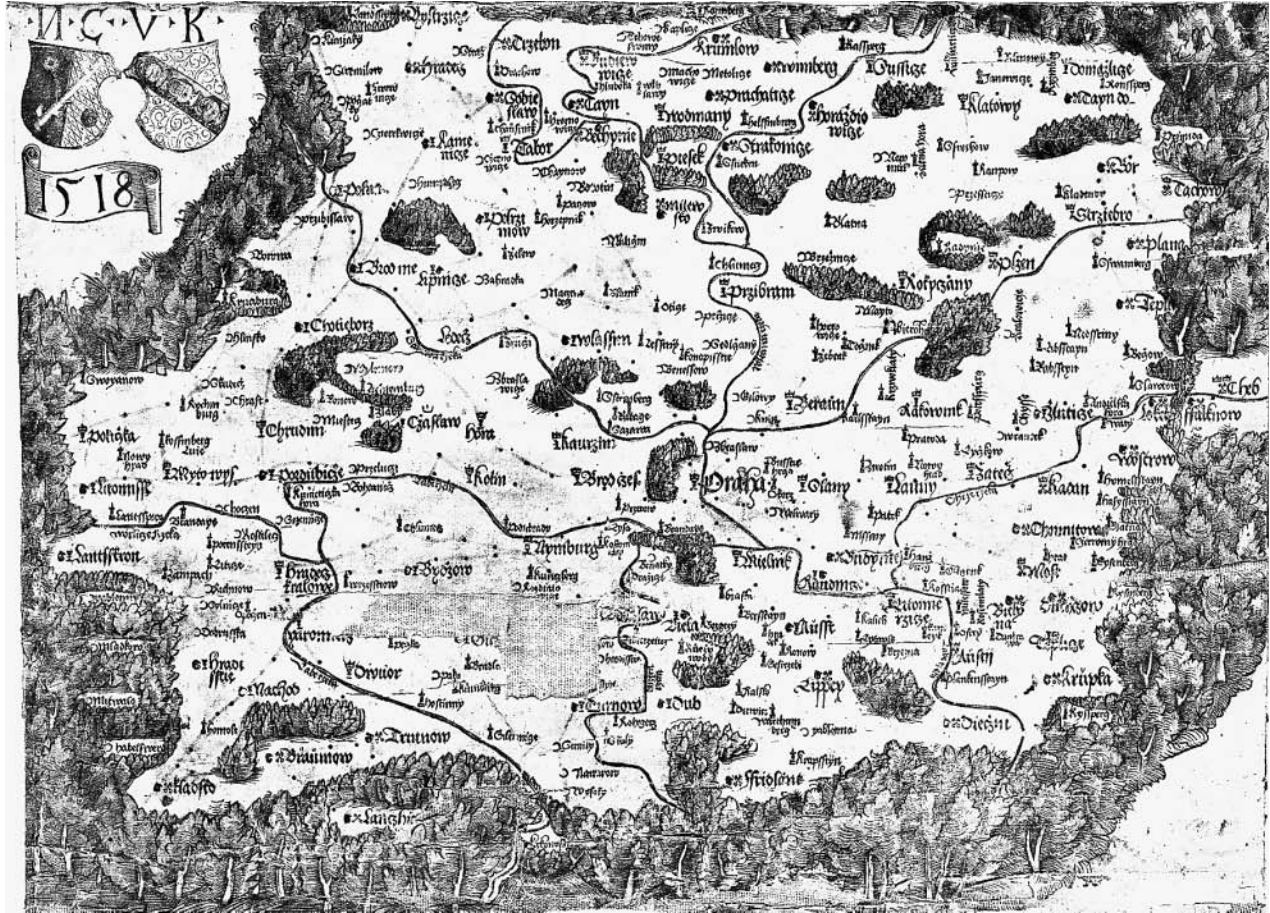
See also **Botany; Chemistry; Haller, Albrecht von; La Mettrie, Julien Offroy de; Linnaeus, Carl; Mechanism; Medicine; Mesmer, Franz Anton; Scientific Method; Universities.**

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LISSA ROBERTS

BOHEMIA. The crown lands of early modern Bohemia stretched across a significant portion of central Europe. Though centered on the kingdom of Bohemia proper and oriented administratively around its capital, Prague, they also included Upper and Lower Lusatia, the margravate of Moravia, and the assorted duchies of Silesia. There was little institutional cohesion among these territories; Saxony absorbed Lusatia in 1635, while Prussia seized nearly all of Silesia in 1742. Before the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648), Bohemia boasted a population of three million, more than that of contemporary England. The region was also blessed with an array of natural resources that supported a thriving economy. The Elbe River valley and the southern Moravian plain were fertile agricultural regions while the silver mines of Jihlava (Iglau), Kutná Hora (Kuttenberg) and the German settlement of Joachimsthal (Jáchymov) were known throughout Europe. Also important to the economy were the traditional Bohemian trades of brewing and fish farming combined with a textile industry that had a particularly strong base in Silesia with the commercial center of Breslau (Wrocław) as its most important hub.



Bohemia. A reproduction of the earliest printed map devoted wholly to Bohemia, drawn by Mikulass Klaudyán in 1518 and printed in Nuremberg. The original map is now in the State Regional Archives in Litomerice, Czech Republic. At the time this map was created Bohemia was ruled by the Jagiellon dynasty (1471 until 1526), but in the latter year Ferdinand I of Austria claimed the throne and established Habsburg rule over the country. MAP COLLECTION, STERLING MEMORIAL LIBRARY, YALE UNIVERSITY

RULERS AND RELIGIOUS REFORM

The crown of St. Wenceslas was elective, and power within the kingdom was divided between the royal court and the three Estates: the lords, the knights, and the burghers. Constitutionally, Bohemia's political status was solidified by Emperor Charles IV (ruled 1355–1378). In 1356 he established the kingdom as one of the empire's seven electoral principalities. Charles founded central Europe's first university in Prague, began an ambitious building program in the city, raised the bishopric to an archbishopric, and initiated a lively cultural exchange with Italy. Both Petrarch and Cola di Rienzo visited Bohemia.

Scholars traditionally date Bohemia's early modern period to the accession of the Habsburgs in 1526. The two most pressing problems the new

dynasty faced, however, had their origins in the previous century. Most serious was the issue of religion. Jan Hus (c. 1372/1373–1415) headed a reform movement that accelerated after his execution at the Council of Constance in 1415. Opposition to Rome crystallized around the Four Articles of Prague, which called for a general reform of clerical life and insisted upon the administration of the Eucharist in the form of both bread and wine. The Hussites successfully resisted five crusades and eventually won significant concessions that were negotiated at the Council of Basel in 1437. There were fissures, however, within the original reform movement. The radical contingent of the Hussite revolution would be crushed at the battle of Lipany in 1434. The Utraquists, representing a more conservative ecclesial tradition, would carry on Hus's leg-

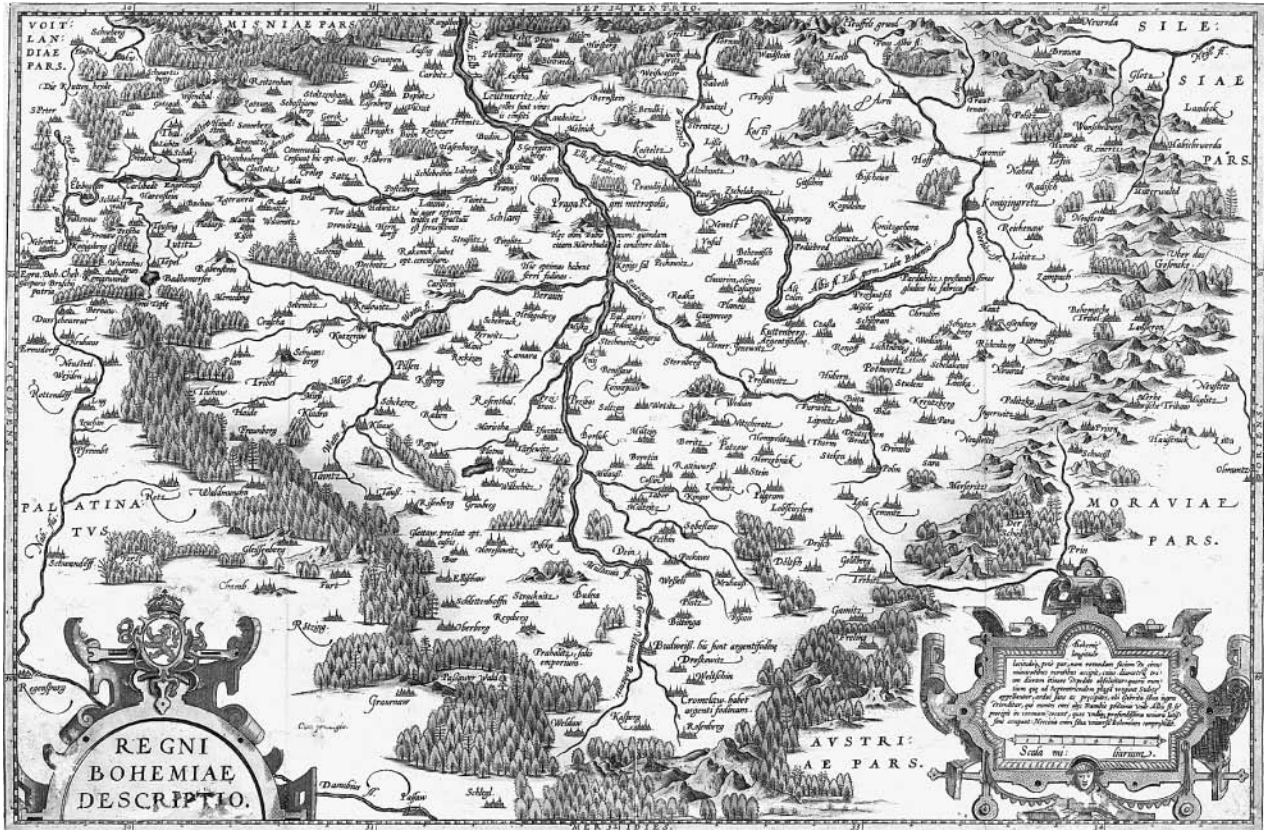
acy under the leadership of Jan Rokycana, a former master of the university. The Unity of Czech Brethren, a smaller group with a more biblicist orientation, would emerge as an independent body in the 1450s. The coming of the Reformation in the sixteenth century added further complexity to an already complex religious landscape. Lutheranism gained ground especially in German communities and among the nobility whereas Calvinism had a significant influence on the Czech Brethren. By the time Ferdinand I von Habsburg had ascended the throne, Bohemia had a well-established reputation as a homeland of heresy. The second problem from the Habsburg perspective was political. Their predecessors, the Jagiellonian kings, Władysław II and Ludvík (ruled 1471–1526), were relatively weak rulers. During their tenure the power of the Estates had grown at the expense of the crown.

Ferdinand's approach to these problems was initially gradual and indirect. In terms of politics, he worked around the Estates with his powers of patronage and appointment. He was able to select allies to staff such important positions as grand burgrave and chancellor. This gave him a freer hand at the conclusion of the Schmalkaldic War (1546–1547) to discipline the nobility who had joined the revolt. His response to the towns that had been allied with the rebels was even harsher. He deprived them of many of their traditional liberties and privileges. With regard to religion, Ferdinand, a devout Catholic, had even less room to maneuver. As Bohemia's king, he was constitutionally obligated to uphold the Compactata, those concessions the Utraquists had won at Basel, but he did provide the Catholic Church with an institutional framework upon which they could build. In 1561 he appointed Antonín Brus of Mohelnice as archbishop, a seat that had remained vacant ever since the defection of Konrad von Vechta to the Utraquists in 1421. Even more significantly, he invited the Jesuits to the Bohemian lands. Among their number was the young Edmund Campion (1540–1581), whose confessional rhetoric intensified divisions between the kingdom's various religious communities. The work of the Society of Jesus, especially in education, yielded handsome dividends within a generation.

Ferdinand's successors, Maximilian II (ruled 1564–1576) and Rudolf II (ruled 1576–1612), were more ambiguous confessionally, and Bohe-

mia's non-Catholics made substantial gains during their reigns. In 1575 the Utraquists and Brethren jointly issued a single confession, the *Confessio Bohemica*, to which Maximilian gave a verbal guarantee of acceptance. More substantial, however, was a written grant of toleration, the Letter of Majesty, that the estates were able to wring out of Rudolf in 1609 as a result of his famous quarrel with his brother and political rival, Matthias. Bohemia's Rudolfine era is far better known for the great flowering of Renaissance culture that developed under the emperor's aegis. Though Ferdinand had commissioned what is arguably Bohemia's most important Renaissance monument, the gracefully arcaded summer palace, Rudolf easily surpassed his predecessors as both patron and collector. The imperial court at Prague attracted artists from across the Continent, including the fascinating Italian Giuseppe Arcimboldo. Both Tycho Brahe and Johannes Kepler enjoyed Rudolf's patronage, while the emperor himself was deeply involved in the hermetic arts. Rudolf even showed an interest in Jewish learning, inviting Prague's most important Cabalist, Rabbi Loew, to an extended interview in the castle. Politically and confessionally, however, tensions were rising to a crisis level by the time Matthias officially ascended the throne.

In his feud with Rudolf, Matthias had supported the Protestants. He disappointed the Czech Estates as king, however, failing to address many of their grievances that had arisen from the growing political power of Bohemia's Catholics. The Estates eventually took matters into their own hands. Although the zealous Catholic, Ferdinand of Styria, had been elected Matthias's successor in 1617, matters quickly changed when, in the following year, leaders of the Estates announced their revolutionary intentions by throwing two imperial officials, along with their servant, from a high window of the Prague castle. Ferdinand II was quickly deposed and replaced by the Calvinist elector palatine, Frederick. As the estates appealed to the broader Protestant world for assistance, the Catholics rallied behind Ferdinand in this dramatic opening chapter of the Thirty Years' War. Bohemia's fate was quickly decided. On 9 November 1620, Catholic forces defeated Frederick's supporters on a chalky upland outside Prague.



Bohemia. This map of Bohemia, from Abraham Ortelius's *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, issued between 1570 and 1641, depicts what is today the western part of the Czech Republic. The Kingdom of Bohemia reached its height in the fourteenth century, but by the late 1500s was in gradual decline under the domination of the Habsburgs. The city of Prague is pictured at the top center of this map, straddling the Moldau River just below its confluence with the Elb. MAP COLLECTION, STERLING MEMORIAL LIBRARY, YALE UNIVERSITY

The imperial victory at White Mountain, a great turning point in Czech history, afforded Emperor Ferdinand II the opportunity to resolve definitively both the political and religious problems of the stubborn kingdom. First, the elective status of the Bohemian crown was abolished in 1624. Then, in 1627 the Renewed Constitution redistributed power and privilege. The Chancellery was moved to Vienna, and the clergy were officially recognized as a new estate. Before 1620 the Catholic community had constituted approximately ten percent of the population. Now, the nobility and townspeople had the option to either convert or leave the kingdom in exile. Nearly a quarter chose the latter. Bohemia also suffered directly from war with a significant population loss and the destruction of its once thriving network of small towns. Before 1618 there were nearly eight hundred towns in the Bohemian kingdom. After the war there were hardly more than two

hundred. Prague itself was occupied in 1631 by the Saxons, while the Swedes overran its left bank in 1648.

Stability slowly returned in the second half of the seventeenth century. The Peace of Westphalia (1648) ensured that Bohemia would remain firmly in the Habsburg orbit, while the suppression of a great peasant revolt in 1680 and the Turkish defeat of 1683 granted Bohemia a degree of security the kingdom had not known for many generations. It was also in this period that Bohemia's traditionally fractious nobility were more thoroughly domesticated. The Czech nobility came to play a substantial role in the governance of the empire. Although Albrecht von Wallenstein was an ambiguous Habsburg ally, there were others who exercised a quieter but important role in the imperial capital. The Lobkowitz, Liechtenstein, Černín, Kinsky, and

Dietrichstein families served the Habsburgs faithfully in a variety of functions. Ironically, it was Kaspar Kaplíř, a grandson of one of the Czech rebels executed by Ferdinand in 1621, who would help lead the defense of Vienna some sixty years later against the Ottomans. Religious issues, too, were more effectively resolved in the two generations after Westphalia. A confessional identity that was thoroughly Catholic but authentically Czech was fashioned in this period. The cults of older but neglected saints were revived while newer ones were established. The old pilgrimage route from Prague to Stará Boleslav, the site of the martyrdom of St. Wenceslas, once more became popular, and newer forms of devotion, such as that to the Infant of Prague, quickly found their place in the religious life of the region. The exuberant art and architecture of the Bohemian baroque reflected the new self-confidence of the secular and clerical elites. This period culminated in 1729 with the canonization of the immensely popular John Nepomuk, who in the fourteenth century had supposedly been thrown into the Moldau for refusing to betray the secrets of the confessional.

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The death of Emperor Charles VI in 1740 precipitated another crisis in Bohemia as the Bavarian elector, Charles Albert, challenged the claims of Charles's daughter, Maria Theresa. Although he was accepted as king by a narrow majority of the Bohemian nobility, support for the Bavarian was tepid, and after the military victories of the Austrians in Moravia and Bohemia (though not in Silesia), Maria Theresa assumed the reins of government without a major outcry from the nobility. She continued the process of political centralization. The last institutional reminder of an independent Bohemian kingdom was lost when the Bohemian Chancellery was merged with the Austrian in 1749. She also reorganized local government by reducing the Estates' role in its administration. Czechs, however, would continue to exert considerable influence at the imperial court, as best exemplified in the career of the Moravian noble, Prince Kaunitz, who directed Habsburg foreign policy from the 1750s to the 1790s. Economically, the policies of cameralism benefited the kingdom significantly. The Habsburgs focused their efforts on developing important centers of textile production in northern Bohemia

and southern Moravia. Financial prosperity would bring its own problems, for Bohemia bore 50 percent of the imperial tax burden, a figure that would increase even more by the 1730s.

Important intellectual and religious reforms came along with these economic changes. After White Mountain, the Jesuits held a virtual monopoly on education. Concerned that doctrinal error might slip back into the region, the Jesuits were cautious and frequently resistant to intellectual innovation. Ironically, reversing the pattern of the seventeenth century, it was the Habsburgs, beginning most notably with Joseph I (ruled 1705–1711), who would push for religious and educational reform within Bohemia. This process of liberalization would culminate with the enlightened policies of Maria Theresa's advisor, Gerhard van Swieten, and Joseph II (co-regent 1765–1780, ruled 1780–1790). Bohemia's first scientific society was founded in the 1770s. A chair of Czech language was established at the university in the 1790s. Most important, however, were the twin edicts of 1781 that abolished serfdom and granted religious toleration. Even the Jews won a series of new privileges. One of the oldest and largest settlements in central Europe, the Jewish community of Prague had experienced a wide range of conditions from Ferdinand I to Maria Theresa. With Joseph II they were allowed to move more freely in Christian society and even attend the university. Although the conservative Francis II (ruled 1792–1835) attempted to rescind many of the reforms of Joseph and his brother Leopold (ruled 1790–1792), the important changes they initiated survived and ultimately transformed Bohemia in the following century.

See also Habsburg Dynasty; Austria; Hussites; Maria Theresa (Holy Roman Empire); Prague, Defenestration of; Reformations in Eastern Europe; Protestant, Catholic, and Orthodox; Schmalkaldic War (1546–1547); Thirty Years' War (1618–1648).

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HOWARD LOUTHAN

BOHEMIAN BRETHREN. See *Moravian Brethren*.

BOILEAU-DESPRÉAUX, NICOLAS (1636–1711), French satirist, poet and poetic theoretician. Nicolas Boileau-Despréaux was the fifteenth child of a Parisian government scribe and the younger brother of Gilles Boileau (1631–1669), also a poet (the family possession of Despréaux was often added to Nicolas's name to distinguish him from Gilles). Destined for either the law or the

church, he found his talent lay in writing verse mocking societal ills and the popular writers of the time. The publication of the *Satires* in 1666 established his literary reputation, and his acceptance in the circle of President Lamoignon, the leader of the Parisian Parlement, gave him proper social status. He recognized early the talents of newer writers, such as Molière (1622–1673), Jean Baptiste Racine (1639–1699), and Jean de La Fontaine (1621–1695), who became his friends. As was typical in his age, he dismissed authors from the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. Wishing not only to follow Horatian poetic theory but to become the French Horace, he turned to writing poetic epistles and a verse *L'art poétique* (Art of poetry), which were published in 1674. In the same volume of collected works were a six-canto, mock-heroic poem "The Lectern" and a prose translation into French of the "Treatise on the Sublime" by the Greek theoretician Longinus (which some claimed was made by his brother Gilles, who had died in 1669). Apart from a few satires and epistles written later in his life, his literary production was limited to the 1660s and 1670s.

In 1677 Boileau and Racine became historiographers to Louis XIV. This was more an honorary title than a writing task, but both accompanied the king on some military campaigns. Elected to the French Academy in 1684, Boileau championed the ancients' cause in opposition to Charles Perrault (1628–1703). In the final decade of his life, having survived most of his fellow classical authors, he refined the exaggerated image of himself, which lasted for two centuries, as the Regent of Parnassus, whose rules defined good literary taste and maintained the aesthetic movement of French classicism.

His most popular and influential satires describe scenes from contemporary life (III, "The Ridiculous Meal" and VI, "The Obstacles of Paris") or literary critiques (II, "To Molière"; VII, "The Satiric Genre"; and IX, "To My Wit") which combine subjects and approaches from Horace (65–8 B.C.E.), Juvenal (c. 60–140 C.E.), and Mathurin Régnier (1573–1613). First read aloud in cabarets and literary gatherings, with different satiric targets substituted to fit the moment, Boileau's satires display oral techniques with a striking opening, rapid narration of events, and variety of verbal techniques to keep the crowd listening and laughing. With a bit



Nicolas Boileau-Despréaux. FRENCH CULTURAL SERVICES

of reported conversation and picturesque detail, the scene comes alive. His subject matter is bourgeois, whether people, places or concepts; he mocks baroque excess, exaggerated gallantry, and precious expression, but not the aristocracy. The epistles, which complement the satires by their moral and didactic intent of praising laudable people and actions, were not nearly as popular. Of interest, however, and concisely expressed, is “Epistle VII, To Racine.”

In his masterpiece, *The Art of Poetry*, Boileau distinguishes himself not by the theoretical argument of the content, but by the witty, succinct phrases that summarize concepts examined previously by others. Added to this are several satiric passages that ridicule those authors whose bad taste or poor judgment led them to stray from the ideals of order, simplicity, and reason. In the first of four cantos, general principles of versification and clarity of expression are developed, and the useful service a poet’s honest friend and critic can provide are described. The second canto provides the guidelines for the lesser genres, such as ode, elegy, satire, and

sonnet. The third canto presents rules for writing the major poetic genres: tragedy, epic, and comedy. The well-known classical principle of the three dramatic unities (time, place, and action) is stated in a memorable couplet. The final canto is general in scope, moving from satire of Perrault to praise for the king, who encourages poetry and civilized discourse.

In one of his last works, “Satire XII, On the Love of God” (1698), Boileau reveals a preference for the simplicity and rigor of Jansenism as he chastises the ambiguities and subtleties cherished by the Jesuits. In both this world and the next, he sought the order and harmony obtained by an adherence to doctrine.

Revered in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries only to be reviled in the twentieth, Boileau’s influence and importance have more recently been placed between these two extremes, in a classical “just middle” that recognizes the technical skill of his poetic ability and the role of the *Art of Poetry* as a commentary on, not a cause of, French classicism.

See also *Academies, Learned; Ancients and Moderns; Classicism; French Literature and Language; La Fontaine, Jean de; Molière; Perrault, Charles; Racine, Jean.*

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ALLEN G. WOOD

BOOKKEEPING. See *Accounting and Bookkeeping.*

BORDEAUX. Bordeaux, capital of the Guyenne in southwestern France, was part of the dowry of Eleanor of Aquitaine when she married Henry II of England in 1152. Consequently, Bor-



Bordeaux. View from the Château Trompette, 1759, by Claude Vernet. THE ART ARCHIVE/MUSÉE DE LA MARINE, PARIS/DAGLI ORTI

deaux and the Aquitaine were held as fief by the kings of England until 1451, near the end of the Hundred Years' War, when they were conquered by the French army and incorporated into the kingdom of France. Located on the Garonne River, Bordeaux was a port city and a key trading partner of England and Holland, both of which valued its fine wines, made from grapes grown in the premier vineyards of France. Bordeaux's commercial ties with the French West Indies and its role in the lucrative sugar and slave trade enhanced the city's economic and demographic importance in the eighteenth century. Between 1750 and 1790, Bordeaux's population nearly doubled, from 60,000 to around 111,000, making it the third largest city in France. Its wealth underwrote extensive urban renewal, especially under the Marquis of Tourny (in-

tendant of the Guyenne, 1743–1758), and intensified local pride.

Bordeaux was home to one of the twelve prestigious parlements, or sovereign courts of France, and its magistrates, along with the great wholesale merchants, dominated the city's political and cultural life. The political history of the city was turbulent, as its parlement and municipal authorities sought to maintain Bordeaux's traditional privileges and liberties in the face of encroachment by royal authorities. In 1548, the city participated in the uprising against the salt tax (*gabelle*), a revolt that was savagely repressed. Bordeaux also suffered during the Wars of Religion (1561–1593), as the violence and instability interfered with the city's lively commercial activity, but it remained officially loyal to the king. However, Bordeaux was a center of fierce un-

rest during the Fronde (1648–1652), when members of the Bordelais bourgeoisie formed the Ormée and unsuccessfully demanded reforms.

During the French Revolution, the city of Bordeaux contributed eloquent and influential deputies to the National and Legislative assemblies. Their supporters were called “Girondins” after the *département* in which Bordeaux was now located. Twenty-two of them went to the guillotine during the Reign of Terror. The Revolution and the subsequent Napoleonic Wars were disastrous for Bordeaux’s maritime and commercial economy, and the city never fully recovered the economic glory that it had enjoyed in the eighteenth century.

See also **France; Fronde; Wars of Religion, French.**

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CHRISTINE ADAMS

BORIS GODUNOV (RUSSIA) (c. 1551–1605; ruled 1598–1605), tsar of Russia. Boris Fedorovich Godunov rose to prominence at the Russian court in the time of Ivan IV the Terrible’s *oprichnina*. He married the daughter of a leading *oprichnik*, and his sister Irina became the wife of Tsar Ivan’s son Fedor (ruled 1584–1598). When the latter ascended the throne on Ivan’s death, Boris was one of the five-man regency for the weak tsar. By 1587 Boris had exiled many of his rivals and become the de facto ruler of Russia. Tsar Fedor’s younger brother Dmitrii was given an appanage in Uglich on the upper Volga, and his mysterious death in 1591 gave rise to rumors of Boris’s complicity.

Boris, in Fedor’s name, led Russia to victory over Sweden in 1590–1595 and recovered the Russian lands lost in the Livonian War. He laid the foundations for Russian expansion into Siberia and heavily strengthened the southern frontier. He con-

vinced the Orthodox patriarch of Constantinople to raise the metropolitan of Moscow to the rank of patriarch in 1589. Nevertheless, the reign of Fedor was a time of hardship. The wars of his father, Ivan IV, had undermined Russian agriculture and general prosperity, and Boris’s government issued the first decrees limiting peasant movement—the beginnings of serfdom. Though trade with the Dutch flourished, Russian towns only slowly rebuilt their trade and crafts.

In 1598 the death of Tsar Fedor brought to an end to the dynasty that had ruled the Moscow principality and Russia since the end of the thirteenth century. An Assembly of the Land representing the boyars, gentry, towns, and the church elected Boris tsar over other aristocrats and lesser relatives of the former dynasty. Even as tsar, Boris did not feel secure. In 1600 he exiled Fedor Nikitich Romanov (later Patriarch Filaret) and other members of his clan, as well as their relatives and allies, such as the princes Cherkasskii. Increasingly isolated from the ruling elite, he tried to raise his prestige through the marriage of his daughter to a prince of Denmark. In 1601–1603 bad harvests led to a famine throughout much of Russia. At the end of 1604 the first “false Dmitrii,” probably the monk Grigorii Bogdanovich Otrep’ev, appeared on the southern frontier. Supported by a number of Polish magnates, Otrep’ev claimed to be the tsarevich Dmitrii who had died in 1591, the legitimate heir to the throne, miraculously rescued by God. Boris’s army was at first able to contain the threat, but Boris suddenly died in April 1605, leaving the throne to his sixteen-year-old son Fedor. At the news of his death, resistance to the false Dmitrii collapsed. As the pretender moved north, the boyars in Moscow, led by the princes Golitsyn, overthrew and murdered Fedor and his mother.

Boris was at once a successful ruler, especially in foreign affairs, and a spectacular failure. The rivalries at his court rendered the state weak at its center in a time of rising social tension in the countryside and on the southern frontier. The result was the period of state collapse and anarchy known as the Time of Troubles.

See also **False Dmitrii, First; Ivan IV, “the Terrible” (Russia); Oprichnina; Russia; Time of Troubles (Russia).**

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PAUL BUSHKOVITCH

BORROMEIO, CARLO (1538–1584), cardinal, archbishop of Milan, and leader of the Catholic Reformation. Born on 2 October 1538 at Rocca d’Arona, Carlo Borromeo was the son of Count Giberto Borromeo and Margherita de’Medici. His early education took place in Milan under the tutor Francesco Alciati. In 1552 he went to the University of Pavia, receiving a doctorate in canon and civil law in 1559. On 25 December 1559 his uncle, Cardinal Giovanni Angelo de’ Medici, was elected Pope Pius IV. Shortly thereafter, Carlo was called to Rome by the pope, who bestowed upon him various offices and titles, including that of papal secretary of state. On 31 January 1560 he was created a cardinal, thus, as cardinal-nephew embodying the very system that had come under scrutiny and criticism at the Council of Trent, which the pope reconvened in 1560 at Borromeo’s urging. Borromeo assisted in formulating the council’s agenda, serving as middleman between the papal legates at the council and the pope, defending papal interests against those bishops who sought the reform of the papal institution.

The unexpected death of his older brother Francesco in 1562 marked a turning point in Borromeo’s life, shattering the world of patronage and prestige that he had grown accustomed to. Without a male heir, Carlo was urged by his family to marry but decided to pursue the priesthood, taking orders on 17 July 1563. A conversion had taken place that manifested itself in a life of austere piety. He renounced lavish living and collaborated in projects for the completion of the Council of Trent, such as the Roman Seminary and reforms in the missal, breviary, and sacred music, as well as the edition of the writings of the church fathers.

In May 1564, Borromeo was nominated archbishop of Milan. His understanding of the episcopal



Carlo Borromeo. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

office, in particular the obligation to reside in the diocese, was influenced by Trent. In 1565, he obtained Pius IV’s permission to leave Rome and take up residence in Milan, resigning all his curial offices except membership on the new Congregation of the Council. He entered Milan as archbishop on 23 September 1565.

Borromeo had an exalted opinion of episcopal authority. It was his belief that diocesan reform worked through the bishop. Soon after his arrival, he focused on reforming the diocese in accordance with Tridentine norms. During the nineteen years of his episcopacy, Borromeo convoked six provincial councils and eleven synods. The reform program that emerged from these synods was codified in the *Acta Ecclesiae Mediolanensis* (Acts of the church of Milan) in 1582, which treats such areas as preaching, reception of the sacraments, liturgical feasts, the exercise of eucharistic devotion, clerical deportment, and general parochial administration. Other bishops throughout Europe utilized the *Acta* to initiate reform within their dioceses. Besides leg-

isolation, Borromeo also undertook an annual systematic pastoral visitation of his diocese.

These various efforts provided Borromeo with the opportunity to renew the life of the church in Milan. However, the key to reform was a better-trained clergy. To accomplish this, Borromeo established a major seminary within the diocese, along with two smaller seminaries—one for preparing rural clergy and the other missionary priests. In 1578 Borromeo founded a new community of priests, the Oblates of St. Ambrose, who were charged with leading clerical reform. In addition, to assist priests in carrying out their preaching obligation, Borromeo issued his *Instructiones Praedicationis Verbi Dei* (Instructions for the preaching of the Word of God).

Borromeo was also concerned with the religious formation of the laity. Schools of Christian Doctrine, staffed by the laity, had been established throughout Milan prior to Borromeo's arrival. In his mind, the teaching of catechism was the prerogative of the clergy. While he eventually brought the schools under clerical direction, he did allow the laity to continue to teach catechism. By the time of his death, there were 740 such schools in Milan.

Borromeo did not focus all of his energies on the implementation of reform, but also showed himself to be a compassionate pastor. During the plague of 1576, he organized the clergy to care for the sick and dying, as well as to provide for the distribution of food. Carlo Borromeo died on 3 November 1584. Heralded as the model of the Tridentine bishop, he embodied and implemented the aspirations of the Council of Trent regarding the episcopacy. While he was a defender of the primacy of the papacy, he also defended the authority of the diocesan bishop. His efforts made Milan a testing ground for the implementation of Trent. Consequently, Borromeo may be considered a champion of the Catholic Reformation. He was canonized a saint on 1 November 1610.

See also **Reformation, Catholic; Trent, Council of.**

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FRANCESCO C. CESAREO

BORROMINI, FRANCESCO (Francesco Castelli; 1599–1667), Italian architect, born in Bissona, a fishing village on Lake Lugano, today in Swiss Canton Ticino. With Gian Lorenzo Bernini (1598–1680) and Pietro da Cortona (1596–1669), Borromini epitomizes the Roman baroque style in its most agitated form. Radical design originality characterizes his artistic personality. He went to Milan in 1608, where he gained apprenticeship as a stonemason on the continuing construction at the huge Gothic cathedral. There Borromini studied the unusual lobed plan and complex geometry of the late antique Basilica of San Lorenzo. These formative experiences served him as he later forged a new design language in Rome, where he arrived in 1619. At first working as a sculptor of architectural details on the nave interior of St. Peter's, Borromini soon assumed duties under Carlo Maderno (1556–1629), architect at the Basilica. During this time he developed his draftsmanship by copying details from the church's tribune designed by Michelangelo, whose anticlassical and sculptural vision of architecture thereafter became Borromini's ideal, and by studying the remains of ancient Roman architecture, particularly those with complicated curvilinear ground plans, swelling mural components,

and billowing vault systems, as exemplified by Hadrian's villa near Tivoli. The sinuous architectural forms he fashioned from these sources seemed in the estimation of some later generations to violate the essence of tectonic art, but his place in history is secured by a profound organicism derived from nature and a sculptural conception of design—both subsumed in a disciplined, geometrically based graphic procedure.

Upon Maderno's death in 1629 Borromini was retained to work under Bernini on the giant bronze altar canopy (*baldacchino*) being erected at Urban VIII's behest over the tomb of the apostle at St. Peter's. Borromini provided ornamental details and technical solutions to the daunting problem of scale, but chafed under the dominant figure of Bernini, whom he considered not competent in architecture. Borromini's anger at not receiving the credit due to him for his participation in the design resulted in a break with the powerful papal favorite and colored the remainder of Borromini's professional life. Owing to Bernini's hegemony and, perhaps, Borromini's misanthropic demeanor, the lat-

ter struggled for attention in Rome's competitive design environment. He nevertheless received important commissions from religious institutions and a few private patrons, most notably during the reign of Innocent X (1644–1655), when Bernini's star temporarily waned. All his works were either initiated by someone else, left unfinished, or altered after his death. In some cases he attracted patronage through his Spanish connections, by offering to work without compensation, or by personally guaranteeing structural integrity, but always by producing innovative designs. Despite the vicissitudes of his career, Borromini produced some of the most unusual buildings of the early modern period in Europe.

As a cultural figure of European significance, Borromini is important for his intense dedication to artistic originality and his sense of the supreme value of innovation in the professional practice of architecture. Like Galileo in scientific inquiry and Caravaggio in pictorial investigation, he was a radical naturalist and looked to nature as a validating source for discovery and truth. His synthesis of Gothic



Francesco Borromini. The domed ceiling of the church of San Carlo alle Quattro Fontane. ©ANGELO HORNAK/CORBIS

design principles, imperial Roman buildings, Michelangelesque architectural sculpture, and a determination to transcend rules and norms led him to the extreme boundaries of emotive content and rhetorical expressivity not seen in Western architecture before his time. He brought this persuasive architectural imagery to the service of a re-emergent Catholicism. In the delirium brought on by a fever, he threw himself on a sword and died in agony the next day, but only after having destroyed a large number of his drawings. He may be seen as the baroque prototype of the modern eccentric genius.

Almost all of Borromini's completed work is in Rome. The most important and characteristic examples are the church and monastic complex of San Carlo alle Quattro Fontane, the university chapel of S. Ivo, the Oratorio of the Filippini, the re-constructed nave and side aisles of the Lateran, the facade of the missionary college of the Propaganda Fide (with chapel), the external dome drum and bell tower of S. Andrea della Fratte, and the lower section of the church of S. Agnese. His buildings and published designs—but most of all his free-thinking design spirit—influenced the Theatine priest-architect Guarino Guarini (1624–1683) and two generations of Austrian and German architects, notably Johann Lucas von Hildebrandt, Kilian Ignaz Dientzenhofer, and Johann Balthasar Neumann. During the ascendancy of neoclassicism, critics condemned him as the fountainhead of undisciplined design. Some scholars have seen in his heterodox forms a consistent symbolic language, while recent interpretations have emphasized the importance of cultural context for assessing his imagery. Borromini's heritage has reemerged in the organic naturalism of a group of late-twentieth- and early-twenty-first-century architects, only without his geometrical rigor.

See also Bernini, Gian Lorenzo; Rome, Architecture in.

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JOHN BELDON SCOTT

BOSSUET, JACQUES-BÉNIGNE (1627–1704), French cleric, preacher, political philosopher, theologian, and writer. Bossuet's father was a magistrate in the parlements of Burgundy and Metz. Born and raised in Dijon, France, Bossuet began his classical studies at the Jesuit College of Godrans in Dijon and completed his education at the College of Navarre in Paris, where St. Vincent de Paul served as his mentor, influencing his education and early career. Once Bossuet completed his



Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

doctorate and was ordained in 1652, he became a canon in the diocese of Metz.

Although he remained in Metz, Bossuet traveled to Paris often and came to the attention of the royal family. As a result of his growing reputation as an eloquent preacher, he was invited to give the Lenten sermons for the royal family in 1662. In subsequent years, his fame as an orator spread and he provided moving funeral sermons for many members of the royal family including Henrietta Marie, queen of England (in 1669), her daughter Henrietta Anne of England (1670), Maria Theresa, queen of France and King Louis XIV's wife (1683), and the Princess Palatine, Anne de Gonzague (1685). He also gave the funeral sermons for other prominent figures such as Chancellor Michel Le Tellier (1685) and the Great Condé (1686). These sermons were eventually published under the title *Funeral Orations* and remain an important literary legacy.

In 1669 Bossuet became the bishop of Condom, but he resigned soon after his consecration in

1670, when Louis XIV named him tutor to his eldest son, the dauphin. As a result of his duties as the primary educator for the heir to the throne, he eventually published a book on world history, *Discourse on Universal History* (1681), one among many texts he wrote for his student, and was elected to the French Academy. When the marriage of his young charge ended his duties as tutor in 1681, Bossuet became bishop of Meaux. He took an active part as the primary ecclesiastical supervisor for the region, making visits to local parishes and bringing recalcitrant communities, such as the Benedictine Abbey at Jouarre, fully under his authority. He remained in this position until his death.

Bossuet was a great defender of the unity of the Catholic Church and throughout his life worked to this end, both in his dealings with internal Catholic controversies and in his relations with Protestants and Protestant communities. While at his first post in Metz, he sought to convert Protestants using debates, sermons, and writings such as *Refutation of the Catechism of Paul Ferry*, which came out of his debates with Ferry, a local Protestant minister. He also reportedly played a role in the conversion from Protestantism to Catholicism of the celebrated war hero, the duke of Turenne.

From 1679 until 1694, Bossuet corresponded with the philosopher Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646–1716). Their epistolary debates were part of his effort to reunify Christendom. Leibniz, a Lutheran and under the patronage of the electors of Hanover, also hoped to see an end to infighting among Christian groups and a reunion of all churches, Protestant and Catholic alike. Their exchanges explored possible terms of a reunion between Protestant and Catholic factions, but arrived at no concrete resolutions because Bossuet rejected all compromises that entailed altering existing Catholic doctrine.

Bossuet was also an important mediator between King Louis XIV and papal authority. He defended papal authority and doctrinal unity, but, at the same time, played a major part in the emergence of Gallicanism, policies that allowed the French king more control over some aspects of church institutions in France and increased independence from Rome, especially in regard to secular issues. In the early 1680s Bossuet served as an important negotia-

tor for Louis XIV and Pope Innocent XI when the king sought control over vacant dioceses and their revenues. In the Assembly of Clergy that met in 1682 to discuss the issue, Bossuet gave the opening sermon and also helped to draft the treatise of the four articles published by the assembly as their final ruling on the issue. The four articles contributed to Gallicanism by declaring the king's control over vacant sees and rejecting the pope's authority over secular issues.

The last decades of Bossuet's life, the late 1680s and 1690s, were dominated by the controversy over Quietism, a mystical and spiritual movement led by a French noblewoman, Madame Guyon. At the urging of King Louis XIV, a panel of French theologians that included Bossuet examined Madame Guyon's teachings and found them incompatible with orthodox Catholic doctrine and practice; they officially condemned her methods and writings in 1695. Bossuet's very public feud with fellow French cleric and theologian, François Fénelon (1651–1715), archbishop of Cambrai, followed on the heels of the initial Quietism controversy. Bossuet denounced Fénelon's writings that lauded some aspects of Quietism, such as the notion of "pure love." A papal brief issued in 1699 censured Fénelon's work and finally resolved their bitter public debate, which had been waged in books and pamphlets.

Today, Bossuet is best known for his work, *Politics Drawn from the Holy Scripture* (1709). In this treatise on political philosophy, he articulated the theory of divine-right kingship associated with King Louis XIV's reign, using passages from the Bible to support the theory of an absolute monarch and arguing that the king's political power came directly from God and was, therefore, sacred and indivisible. Under divine-right theory, Bossuet maintained that it was not only unlawful but also a sin to rebel against the king. At the same time, he urged the king to fulfill his duty to protect and care for his subjects in keeping with his godly charge.

See also **Condé Family**; **Divine Right Kingship**; **Fénelon, François**; **Gallicanism**; **Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm**; **Louis XIV (France)**; **Louvois, François Le Tellier, marquis de**; **Maria Theresa (Holy Roman Empire)**; **Quietism**; **Vincent de Paul**.

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SARA CHAPMAN

BOSTON. Founded in 1630 by a group of Puritans led by John Winthrop, Boston was intended to serve as an example to the Protestant world, especially to Anglicans. Boston was the initial settlement and the capital of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, whose towns spread rapidly west into the forests of Massachusetts.

Settled by families rather than soldiers or single men, Boston quickly established schools, churches, and social institutions, including a proto-democratic local government. The Great Migration, which brought more than twenty thousand Puritans to Massachusetts by 1640, contributed to the rapid growth of business, especially shipping and boat building. Like New York and Philadelphia, Boston engaged in extensive shipping and trade with England and the Caribbean. The rich forests of New England contributed wood for boat building, pitch and tar for repairs and export, and a variety of animal products. In addition, Bostonians were deeply involved in the shipping of rum, sugar, and slaves. Business was so successful, in fact, that by the end of the seventeenth century many Puritan leaders grew worried that material gain would weaken religious sentiment among the young.

By the middle of the eighteenth century, the "city on a hill" had indeed moved away from its Puritan roots. Populated by more than sixteen thousand literate, prosperous, politically active citizens of a variety of faiths, Boston became the earliest center of rebellion against Britain. The crown responded with a series of repressive measures, the

ultimate effect of which was to radicalize both the local population and other British North American colonies. While Philadelphia gave the Revolution documents, Boston gave men such as John and Samuel Adams, John Hancock, and Paul Revere.

Although Boston's successes were not those envisioned by its founders, it was a remarkable example of orderly colony building in British North America. Free of most disease, growing fast in families and wealth, replete with colleges, churches, artisans, and craftsmen, Boston was unique among early colonies.

See also **British Colonies: North America; New York; Philadelphia; Puritanism.**

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FIONA DEANS HALLORAN

BOSWELL, JAMES (1740–1795), Scottish biographer, lawyer, and man of letters. James Boswell is most famous as the author of the *Life of Samuel Johnson* (1791), perhaps the most celebrated biography in the English language. He was the eldest son of Alexander Boswell, judge and laird of Auchinleck, whose title came from the family estate in Ayrshire, western Scotland. Following his father's advice, Boswell agreed to study law at the universities of Edinburgh and Glasgow, but, lacking enthusiasm, in 1762 he traveled to London seeking a commission in the Foot Guards and, much to his father's disapproval, a more active and glamorous life in the higher echelons of the British army. Boswell's year living in London is recorded in his *London Journal 1762–1763*, a text that details Boswell's daily rounds of socializing, visiting prostitutes, going to the theater, and mixing with London's literary elite, including Samuel Johnson, to whom he was introduced on 16 May 1763 at Thomas Davies' book shop, and with whom he held a lifelong correspondence and friendship. Moving to Holland in 1763 to continue his study of law at Utrecht, Boswell was rewarded for following his father's career

advice with a grand tour through Germany, France, and Italy. Visiting Corsica in 1765, and befriending General Paoli, who was fighting for its independence, Boswell turned his experience of traveling to this island into a successful travel book, *An Account of Corsica* (1768), which established his literary reputation in London. In 1769 he married Margaret Montgomerie and, dividing his time between his Edinburgh home and Johnson's house in London, he began to collect material for an intended biography of Johnson, persuading his subject to take a tour of Scotland and the Hebrides with him in 1773, a journey he turned into a travel narrative, *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides*, which was published in 1785. Elected to Johnson's exclusive Literary Club in 1773, Boswell also contributed essays as "The Hypochondriak" to *The London Magazine* from 1777 to 1783 on subjects ranging from drinking to memory, but perhaps most famously on diary writing, which was a constant and, indeed, obsessive passion of his, causing him to write that "a man should not live more than he can record, as a farmer should not have a larger crop than he can gather in" ("On Diaries," 1783). Following the death of his father in 1782, Boswell spent more time at the family estate in Ayrshire, meeting Johnson for the last time in London in 1784.

After Johnson's death in 1784, Boswell began to work exclusively on the *Life*, assisted by his friend the Shakespearean scholar Edmond Malone in collecting and editing Johnson's voluminous papers and correspondence. The *Life* was finally published in 1791, eclipsing all other biographies of Johnson with its scope and liveliness, and silencing those who thought Boswell was not serious enough to produce a memoir of one of the period's most revered literary figures. In his final years, and despite recurring bouts of ill health, Boswell continued to practice law and to travel the country as "the Great Biographer." Boswell died in London in 1795 and his body was interred in the family vault at Auchinleck. His papers remained in the attic at the estate and were unread until rediscovered by Lord Talbot in 1905. Once uncovered, his papers were shipped to Talbot's estate in Ireland and, after many years of scholarly bidding, were finally collated by Yale University Library in 1949. Yale has since published Boswell's correspondence and journals, and the frankness of these texts reveals intimate details



James Boswell. Engraving after a portrait by Joshua Reynolds. GETTY IMAGES

about his own eventful life and documents fascinating details about literary society in eighteenth-century Britain.

See also **Biography and Autobiography; Diaries; Edinburgh; English Literature and Language; Johnson, Samuel; Scotland; Travel and Travel Literature.**

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ALISON STENTON

BOTANY. From antiquity into the late eighteenth century, the medical utility of plants provided the primary motive for studying them. However, from the late fifteenth century on, other reasons for the investigation of plants became increasingly important and gave botany a disciplinary and professional identity distinct from medicine. These included: explicating classical texts; portraying plants accurately in works of art; collecting rarities for natural history cabinets, gardens, and museums; exploiting natural resources; glorifying the wonders of creation; and satisfying the curiosity of natural philosophers. The primary thrust of botany in early modern Europe was plant identification, description, and classification, an effort that culminated in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries when systematics assimilated morphology, reproduction, anatomy, and geography.

LATE FIFTEENTH CENTURY TO MID-SIXTEENTH CENTURY

While editing the ancient authorities on medicinal plants—Pliny's *Natural History* and Dioscorides' *De Materia medica* (On the materials of medicine)—in the late fifteenth century, Italian humanists looked at living plants to resolve textual problems. In contrast to medieval doctors' dependence on illiterate herb-gatherers, medical humanists in the early sixteenth century strove to emulate Dioscorides' and Galen's firsthand experience with medicinal plants.

The lack of a shared vocabulary for plant description and nomenclature was circumvented by the addition of accurate, detailed, naturalistic woodcut illustrations to printed herbals—a key in-

novation introduced by Otto Brunfels's (1488–1534) *Herbarum Vivae Eicones* (Living images of plants, 1530) and Leonhard Fuchs's (1501–1534) *Historia Stirpium* (Notable commentaries on the history of plants, 1542), and imitated by virtually every herbal thereafter. The failure of Leonardo da Vinci's (1452–1519) superb drawings and observations of plant forms—unfinished at his death in 1519—to influence early modern botany underscores the scientific consequences of coupling the technology of printing to skill in depicting plants.

Beginning in the 1530s, medical schools at Padua, Pisa, Basel, and Montpellier established chairs of botany, required lectures, demonstrations, and field trips, and built botanical gardens. Students of Luca Ghini (1500–1556), professor of botany at Bologna and Pisa, spread his technique of preserving pressed, dried specimens throughout Europe.

MID-SIXTEENTH CENTURY TO EARLY SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

The humanist physicians' desire to prescribe the precise plants named by classical authorities spurred Pietro Andrea Mattioli (1501–1578), a Habsburg court physician, to prepare a voluminous illustrated commentary on Dioscorides (first edition, 1544), the best-selling herbal of the period. Its revisions and enlargements helped Renaissance botanists realize that they knew far more plants than their ancient counterparts.

The immense “universal” herbals of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century—published or projected by major botanists from most European countries, including William Turner (c. 1508–1568), Conrad Gessner (1516–1565), Ulisse Aldrovandi (1522–1605), Jacques Dalechamps (D'Aléchamps, Dalechampius, 1513–1588), Charles de L'Escluse (Clusius, 1526–1609), Matthias de L'Obel (Lobelius, 1538–1616), Rembert Dodoens (Dodonaeus, 1517–1585), Jean Bauhin (1541–1612), Caspar Bauhin (1560–1624), and John Gerard (1564–1637)—represented efforts to describe both long-familiar plants and the flood of new species. Plants entered European gardens and herbaria through the voyages of discovery and conquest and by exploration of local habitats. Informal networks of professional and amateur enthusiasts surmounted religious and political divisions and fostered a rapid international

exchange of specimens, books, pictures, and observations.

To organize their entries, most herbals used a pragmatic mixture of systems, grouping some plants by their uses, others by similarities of form or habitats. Some herbals, emblem books, and books on natural magic—reflecting astrology, Paracelsan chemistry, and the search for symbolic significance in nature—stressed plants' hidden, inner properties, manifested by distinctive external “signatures.” Appealing to Aristotle and Theophrastus's philosophical emphasis on growth and reproduction as the essential characteristics of the vegetative soul, Andrea Cesalpino (Caesalpinus, 1524–1603) stressed resemblances of seeds and fruits in grouping plants in his influential *De Plantis Libri XVI* (On plants, 1583).

EARLY SEVENTEENTH CENTURY TO LATE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Caspar Bauhin (1560–1624), professor of botany and anatomy at Basel, took the first critical step toward a single botanical lexicon of plant names: his *Pinax Theatri Botanici* (Pinax, i.e., Index, for the botanical realm, 1623) summarized the synonyms and literature for some six thousand plants—ten times the number in Dioscorides—and assigned them brief descriptive Latin names that emphasized their affinities. (*Pinax* remains an indispensable guide to identifying plants in earlier works.) An equally important step came from Joachim Jung's (1587–1657) astute analysis of plant parts, which reached John Ray (1627–1705)—English cleric, naturalist, natural philosopher, and fellow of the Royal Society—by 1660 in manuscript. Between 1660 and 1704, Ray linked taxonomy, nomenclature, morphology, and bibliography in a series of strictly botanical books that brought together first-hand accounts of many previously undescribed plants, new technical terminology (such as petal, calyx, cotyledon), close observations of growth and form, and deep reflection on method.

Ray spelled out the combinations of essential morphological features that defined natural classes of plants. While acknowledging natural groupings at least at the genus/species level (categories that went back to Aristotle), the French botanist, J. P. de Tournefort (1656–1708), countered with a convenient and widely adopted artificial system of classifi-

cation based primarily on the disposition of flower parts.

The chemical composition of plants and the form and function of plant parts, previously regarded as unimportant, came under the scrutiny of botanists trained in iatrochemistry—notably Guy de la Brosse (1586–1641), the founder of the Paris Jardin des Plantes in 1640—and in microscopy. Robert Hooke (1635–1703) and Nehemiah Grew (1641–1712) in England and Marcello Malpighi (1628–1694) in Italy reported to the Royal Society in the late seventeenth century on their experimental investigations of plant cells and tissue structures. Stephen Hales (1677–1761) in the 1720s and Joseph Priestley (1733–1804) and Jan Ingen-Housz (1730–1799) half a century later devised chemical and physical experiments to measure plant nutrition and metabolism.

The demonstration of sexual reproduction in flowering plants—in an obscure 1694 publication, *De Sexu Plantarum Epistola* (On the sex of plants), by Rudolf Jacob Camerer (Camerarius), professor of medicine at Tübingen—both resolved a long-standing question and provided the brilliant Swedish botanist Carl Linnaeus (1707–1778) with the basis of a taxonomic system that overrode all earlier proposals.

Believing that God had created species and genera, Linnaeus embedded their essential characters in his binomial nomenclature—henceforth giving the terms “genus” and “species” distinctive scientific meanings. Although Linnaeus clearly recognized larger natural groupings (plant families were methodically elucidated by the French botanists Antoine-Laurent de Jussieu [1748–1836] and Michel Adanson [1727–1806] in the late eighteenth century), his *Species Plantarum* (Species of plants, 1753) constructed a deliberately artificial system of classification, easily understood by anyone—even “ladies”—who could count the sexual parts of flowers. By imposing a common language and rational organization on the plant kingdom, Linnaeus made botany both a symbol of divine order and the epitome of Enlightenment science.

See also Aldrovandi, Ulisse; Biology; Boerhaave, Herman; Enlightenment; Gardens and Parks; Gessner, Conrad; Hooke, Robert; Leonardo da Vinci; Linnaeus, Carl; Malpighi, Marcello; Medicine; Museums; Natural History; Natural Philosophy; Nature; Para-

celsus; Priestley, Joseph; Ray, John; Scientific Illustration; Scientific Method.

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KAREN REEDS

BOUCHER, FRANÇOIS (1703–1770), French painter, draftsman, and etcher. Boucher was born and died in Paris, where he lived out his illustrious career as one of the preeminent figures of the European art world during the eighteenth century. His father, Nicolas Bouché, was an artisan-painter with connections to the Académie de Saint Luc—a vestige of the old guild system that was eventually suppressed and superseded by the more prestigious Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture. Boucher was celebrated for his gallant rococo mythologies and picturesque pastorals. Over the course of his career he would rise to the highest ranks of the academy: five years before his death he was named



François Boucher. *Madame de Pompadour*, lithograph after the painting by Boucher. ©HISTORICAL PICTURE ARCHIVE/CORBIS

its director and first painter to the King. It is probable that Boucher's father was his first teacher; however, the historical sources being regrettably laconic on the subject, little is known about his beginnings as an artist. In his youth he supported himself by working as an etcher and draftsman. He studied for a short time with the great colorist painter François Lemoyne and made the requisite trip to Italy to study after winning the Prix de Rome in 1723 (though without the official funding usually accorded to prizewinners). During his time in Italy, he seems to have attended most closely to the work of such baroque artists as Luca Giordano and Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione and learned particularly important lessons from the latter in terms of his subject matter and bravura brushwork. On Boucher's return to Paris about 1731, he set about the ambitious task of winning admission to the academy as a history painter, a goal he attained in 1734 with his reception piece *Rinaldo and Armida* (Musée du Louvre, Paris). By that time he had also made a

name for himself as a virtuoso painter of lusciously rendered mythological subjects, such as *Venus Asking Vulcan for Arms for Aeneas* (1732, Louvre), *Cephalus and Aurora* (1733, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Nancy) and *The Rape of Europa* (1732–1734, Wallace Collection, London).

Soon after his admission to the academy, Boucher began to receive official commissions from the crown and enjoyed unwavering support from the court and the academy until the end of his life. Though he had many prominent patrons, his name would become identified with that of the marquise de Pompadour, the longtime favorite of Louis XV, for whom he performed numerous functions, from painter of decorative ensembles, to portraitist, to drawing instructor. It was for the marquise that he produced some of his most spectacular canvases, including *The Rising and Setting of the Sun* (1753, Wallace Collection, London), and portraits such as the 1756 *Portrait of Pompadour*, now in Munich (Alte Pinakothek).

Boucher's association with Pompadour was one factor that fueled the increasingly hostile attitudes toward his work that began to be voiced by salon critics at midcentury, when he was at the height of his artistic powers and setting the example for many young painters of the French school. His connection to the marquise similarly affected the subsequent critical fortunes of this artist who, until recently, has been dismissed as little more than the favorite painter of frivolous and decadent aristocrats—especially of aristocratic women. Among other things, this has meant that Boucher's place in (rather than in opposition to) the culture of the Enlightenment has only recently begun to receive consideration.

The critical reaction against Boucher (and rococo art more generally) acquired its most definitive and eloquent expressions in the salons of the philosophe Denis Diderot (1713–1784), though these texts were not widely disseminated until the nineteenth century. Like earlier critics, Diderot objected to Boucher's unapologetically artificial colors, which were very often likened to women's cosmetics, and his tendency to use brilliant painterly effects and sensual subjects over substantive, edifying narrative. The painter's failure to heed the orthodoxies of aesthetic doctrines such as the hierarchy of genres

and *convenance* (agreement) between subject matter and mode of rendering also occasioned critical commentary. The critical reaction against Boucher, the emblematic rococo artist, was not purely an artistic matter, however, but was connected to a broader context of Enlightenment ideologies concerning class and gender.

In addition to his stunning prolixity (Boucher is supposed to have produced some ten thousand drawings), what is striking about this artist is his versatility. Sought-after as much for his talents as a “decorative” painter as for his cabinet pictures, Boucher produced designs for tapestries, sculptures, theatrical sets and costumes, and porcelain. An etcher and book illustrator, he sometimes tried his hand at pastel and fan painting and is even said to have once decorated Easter eggs for Louis XV. As a teacher he was well liked, respected, and influential—his most famous pupil was Jean-Honoré Fragonard (1732–1806).

See also Academies of Art; Diderot, Denis; Fragonard, Jean-Honoré; France, Art in; Pompadour, Jeanne-Antoinette Poisson; Rococo.

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MELISSA HYDE

BOURBON DYNASTY (FRANCE).

The Bourbon dynasty succeeded to the French throne in 1589, following the assassination of the last Valois king, the childless Henry III. Through the French Revolution two centuries later, there were only five Bourbon monarchs: Henry IV (ruled 1589–1610); Louis XIII (ruled 1610–1643); Louis XIV (ruled 1643–1715); Louis XV (ruled 1715–1774); and Louis XVI (ruled 1774–1792). The dy-

nasty returned to the throne in 1814, after the fall of Napoleon, but the last Bourbon king fled the Revolution of 1830, and was replaced by a cousin from the Orléans line.

The first three Bourbon reigns included civil wars in their early years, and the fourth opened with an unstable regency government; in each case, disorder resulted primarily from the dissatisfactions of wealthy aristocrats, some of them related to the dynasty itself. But the dynasty’s principal characteristic was its successful affirmation of strong kingship, compounded of military, bureaucratic, and ritual elements. With the exception of Louis XVI, all the Bourbon kings were able individuals, and at least through 1715 they all interested themselves in the details of government. They succeeded in improving government’s control over French society, and they temporarily restored French dominance within European power politics. With their encouragement, the apparatus of government expanded dramatically, as did the state’s investments in culture; the Bourbons showed themselves keenly aware of the propaganda value of artistic sponsorship, most dramatically in works associated with the palace of Versailles. They also insisted on the sacredness of kingship itself. Public acceptance of this idea diminished in the secular atmosphere of the eighteenth century, but like his predecessors, Louis XVI continued to view himself as a sacred being, rather than as a mere administrator of his country.

See also Divine Right Kingship; France; Henry IV (France); Louis XIII (France); Louis XIV (France); Louis XV (France); Louis XVI (France); Versailles.

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BOURBON DYNASTY (SPAIN).

The House of Bourbon, French in origin, was enthroned in Spain upon the death of Charles II, the last Habsburg monarch, who named as his heir to Spain and its overseas empire the duke of Anjou,

second son of Louis, the Grand Dauphin of France, and Maria Ana of Bavaria. As Philip V of Spain (1683–1746; reigned 1700–1724 and 1724–1746), the first Spanish Bourbon married Maria Luisa, daughter of the duke of Savoy (1688–1714), and, after her death, Isabel Farnese of the ducal House of Parma, aiming to reinforce Spain's presence in Italy. His abdication in 1724 made way for the brief reign of his eldest son Luis I (1707–1724; reigned 9 February–31 August 1724). Luis's marriage to the French princess Luisa Isabel of Orleans (1709–1742) had not produced children before the young sovereign's death so Philip V was able to resume his kingship without difficulty, despite the constitutional scruples raised by his return.

The most notable result of his dynastic identity was an alliance with France through the so-called Family Pacts (7 November 1733 and 25 October 1743), which gave Philip the support he needed to enthrone his son Charles in the Kingdom of Naples (1734), and his son Philip in the duchies of Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla (1748), thereby creating two new dynasties in Europe: the Bourbons of the Two Sicilies and the House of Bourbon-Parma. Philip V was followed on the throne of Spain by his son Ferdinand VI (1713–1759; reigned 1746–1759), who married Barbara of Braganza (1711–1758), daughter of the king of Portugal. The marriage proved childless, and Ferdinand was succeeded by his half-brother Charles, king of Naples (1716–1788; reigned in Naples, 1734–1759 and in Spain, 1759–1788), who ceded his Neapolitan throne to his third son Ferdinand, before leaving Naples to become Charles III of Spain. Abandoning the policy of neutrality regarding France and England that had marked the previous reign, Charles returned Spain to its alliance with France, with the third Family Pact of 15 August 1761. His marriage to Maria Amalia of Saxony (1724–1760), daughter of the prince elector and king of Poland, produced his heir Charles IV (1746–1819; king of Spain, 1788–1808), who married Maria Luisa of Bourbon-Parma (1751–1819) and had to confront the political upheavals occasioned by the French Revolution.

War against the regicide French government under the Convention (1793–1795) was followed by a new Spanish alliance with France, sealed by the Treaty of San Ildefonso (1796), which lasted de-

spite vicissitudes until the Napoleonic invasion of 1808. Prior to that, a palace intrigue had persuaded Charles IV to abdicate in favor of his son Ferdinand VII (1784–1833) on 19 March 1808, a decision he ratified on 5 May in the French city of Bayonne. Ferdinand in turn ceded the throne to Napoleon Bonaparte, who gave it to his brother Joseph and invaded Spain. This confusing episode led to an uprising of the Spanish people against Napoleon's army and a protracted war of independence that received crucial support from English forces under the duke of Wellington. After Napoleon's defeat, the Bourbons were restored in Spain in the person of Ferdinand VII. Surviving republican ousters in 1868–1871 and 1931–1936, and the dictatorship of Francisco Franco from 1939–1975, the Bourbon dynasty—in the person of Juan Carlos I—led Spain's democratic, constitutional monarchy into the twenty-first century.

See also Charles II (Spain); Charles III (Spain); Farnese, Isabel (Spain); Ferdinand VI (Spain); Philip V (Spain).

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CARLOS MARTÍNEZ-SHAW

(TRANSLATED FROM THE SPANISH BY CARLA RAHN PHILLIPS)

BOURGEOISIE. For much of the twentieth century, historians used the term “bourgeoisie” unselfconsciously to denote that rather vague middle group between the nobility and the masses of peasants and urban workers. The middle classes, the middling sort, the *Bürgertum*, the bourgeoisie; these terms were all used to describe the merchants, the guild members, the pensioners, and the elite non-nobles (professionals, financiers, and officials) who dominated much of the early modern urban landscape. They enter the European scene in the Middle Ages—the tradesmen and other urban figures who did not fit neatly into the idealized tripartite society of Three Orders: those who pray, those who fight, and those who work. These individuals worked, but they did not till the land like peasants. While some definitions of bourgeoisie include the artisan, most exclude those whose work soiled their hands. But these urban merchants and

manufacturers were economically useful; they dealt in goods, and they dealt in cash. They would become Max Weber's Protestant capitalist, imbued with an ethic of ascetic capitalism, and Karl Marx's budding bourgeois class, the owners of the means of production. We see hints of this nineteenth-century meaning of bourgeoisie in earlier times; workers referred to their employers as "bourgeois," and peasants used the same term for their urban landlords.

DIFFICULTIES OF DEFINITION

Historians of France have led the way in trying to better understand the character and function of the early modern bourgeoisie. Steeped in a Marxist historiography that termed the French Revolution a "bourgeois revolution" fueled by class conflict between a politically aspiring bourgeoisie and a moribund aristocracy, scholars have closely examined the social class structure of Old Regime France in search of an economic and political bourgeoisie that would seize control of the Revolution's direction. But revisionist historians since the early 1970s have worked to demolish the Marxist framework, the notion of a dynamic precapitalist bourgeoisie leading a world-historical Marxian revolution. The bourgeoisie, if it existed prior to the French Revolution, they argue, was risk-adverse and keener on social mobility than class power. As soon as they earned enough money, individuals wanted to leave the bourgeoisie to become part of the nobility. Members of this group were far more attached to the trappings of status than to the accumulation of capital, the fruits of profit. Furthermore, links between the upper reaches of the bourgeoisie and the nobility—who frequently intermarried, and socialized in the salons and academies—were so close as to render meaningless the notion of "class conflict" between aristocrat and bourgeois. The elite—noble and non-noble—was quite unified, certainly more unified than any amorphous "bourgeoisie."

This suggests the importance of social mobility to any definition of bourgeoisie. Traditionally, historians have differentiated between the upper, the middle, and the petty bourgeoisie. There was always some mobility within this group; an education and a profession, not to mention the accumulation of wealth, could move one from the ranks of the petty into the middle, or from the middle into the upper

bourgeoisie. But there was also movement from the upper reaches of the bourgeoisie into the ranks of the elite. As the numbers and power of old noble families began to decline in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in a number of western European countries, many wealthy bourgeois families moved in to take their place through the purchase of land, and eventually, the purchase of venal offices, some of which conferred noble title. Social mobility—up and down—blurs the boundaries between the bourgeoisie and other social groups.

These fuzzy boundaries complicate the picture considerably. Focusing on linguistic and cultural categories, Sarah Maza argues that there was no middle class—no "bourgeoisie" beyond a precise set of legal meanings—in pre-Revolutionary France. According to Maza, until there is an actual discourse about the middle class, until it is named and given a social, political, moral, or historical importance, it does not exist; and thus, it did not exist in early modern France. A similar argument has been made for early modern England and for other European countries. Nineteenth- and twentieth-century sociological definitions of the bourgeoisie fit uncomfortably in early modern society, which would not have recognized the categories we impose.

Furthermore, the bourgeoisie—composed of relatively comfortable urban dwellers—was a small segment of the population in any European country before the nineteenth century, seldom more than 10 percent of the total population, except in the commercial countries of Holland and England, where the total urban population surpassed 50 percent and 25 percent, respectively. About 20 to 30 percent of Londoners were members of the middle classes by the eighteenth century, with some 3 to 5 percent in the upper class. During the same period, about 8 percent of the French population could be considered bourgeois—but only about 2 percent of the population counted in the upper reaches of that group. In other words, the size of the upper bourgeoisie in France was roughly equivalent to that of the nobility. The same was true in the city of Nuremberg in the sixteenth century, where rough numerical parity existed between the rich merchants of the city and the aristocracy.

Moreover, lack of real class solidarity attenuated the political importance of the bourgeoisie. Even in Great Britain, which boasted perhaps the largest and proudest middle class in Europe by 1800, the aristocracy dominated the reins of government well into the nineteenth century. If “the middle classes are always rising,” as the old adage goes, their ascent had barely begun.

And yet, despite the admonitions of those who would consign the term “bourgeoisie” to the dustbin of history, historians continue to use it, as did early modern individuals themselves. But the sets of meaning that this term conveys are imprecise. Just as the boundaries between the bourgeoisie and other social classes are vague, the definition of “bourgeoisie” is equally so. Depending on context and assumptions, the historian conjures up sometimes radically different images when using the term. Definitions of “bourgeoisie” generally fall into one of four categories: legal, economic, political, and cultural.

LEGAL DEFINITION

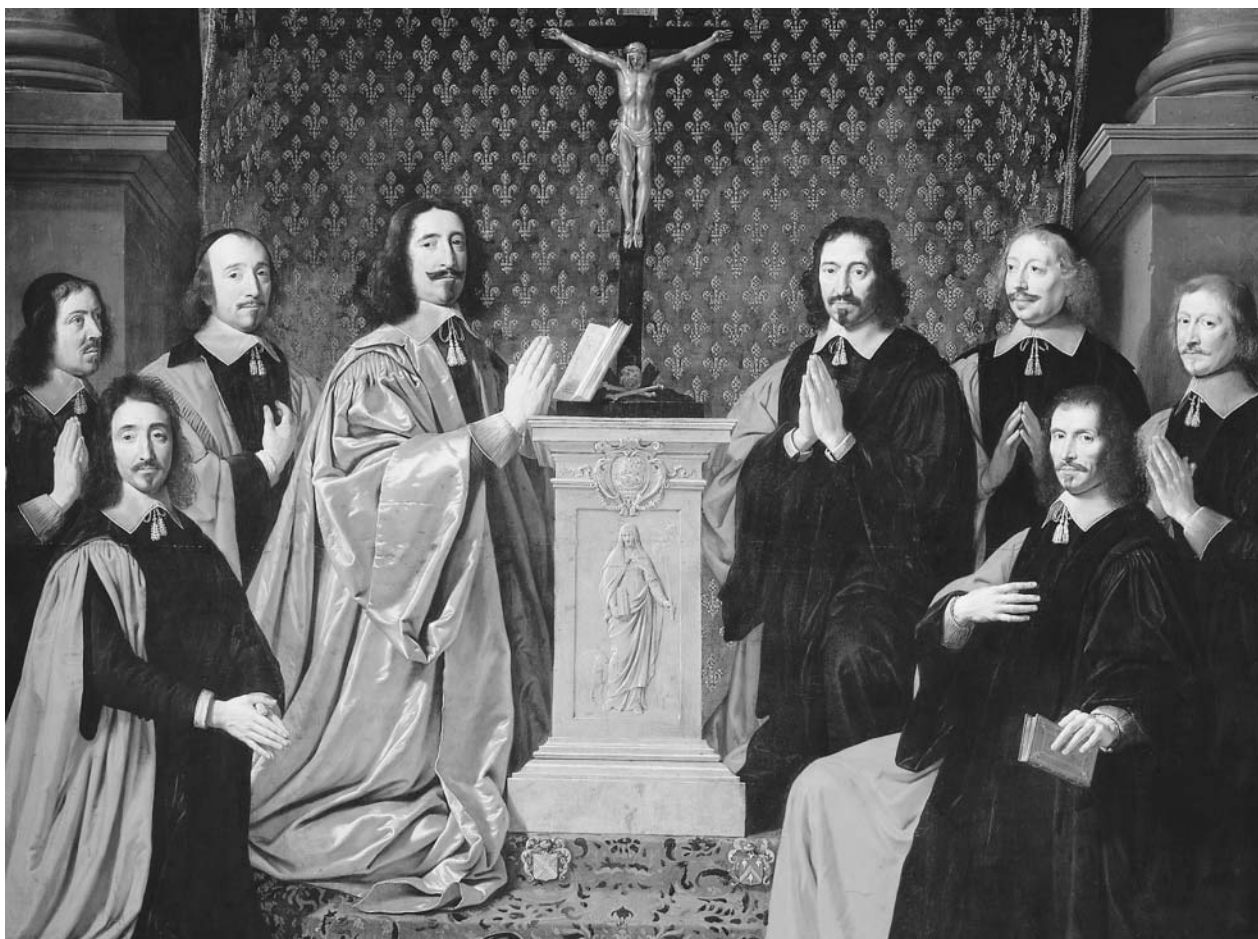
The legal definition of bourgeoisie is both the most precise (although it varied from place to place) and the most restrictive. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, *burgenses* was the term applied to the inhabitants of any seigneurial territory that was granted a written *coutume* or charter. This charter granted privileges to the inhabitants of that territory, but the specific privileges varied from place to place, and indeed, from country to country. Sometimes those privileges were quite narrow; for example, individuals enjoying the title “Bourgeois de Bordeaux” were allowed to bring their wine into the city free of duty and had the monopoly of retail sale within the city limits. Because the privileges associated with the legal title “bourgeois” could be quite specific and quite lucrative, it was not uncommon for nobles to seek the status of “bourgeois.” In general usage, however, the term “bourgeois,” from medieval times through the age of the French Revolution, referred to the non-noble inhabitants of towns, citizens who enjoyed the privileges associated with living in a particular place.

ECONOMIC POSITION

The economic definition, which emphasizes the economic activity and financial standing of the bourgeoisie, is both more contentious and more

compelling. It denotes the bourgeoisie as the capitalist class, the social group that emerged with towns and trade. A market-centered focus and control of commerce and capital made the bourgeoisie a potent rival to the aristocracy in a number of European countries, most notably England and the Dutch Netherlands. In the German states, the small to midsized towns, especially the trading cities on the coast, were also dominated by the merchant, craftsman, and financier. It was the rising power of the capitalist that foreshadowed the end to a European political and economic system governed by aristocrats barred from trade by the threat of *dérogation*—loss of noble title. The bourgeoisie pioneered the commercial capitalism of the early modern era in the same way that it would spearhead the industrial revolution of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

But not all “bourgeois” individuals were involved in trade and manufacture. The term encompasses lawyers, doctors, and non-noble officials, sometimes counted on the fringes of, or even at the center of, the elite. It also includes the so-called *bourgeois vivant noblement*, the “bourgeois living nobly” from the proceeds of investments and no longer required to labor for an income. While status in the early modern era was not invariably linked to wealth, wealth could go far in blurring the lines between middle class and elite, at least for those who were involved in the professions and not directly connected to the less noble function of trade. In many countries—most notably France and Spain—trade was considered a dishonorable profession, one that any person of fortune would try to leave behind as quickly as possible. It is this desire on the part of the bourgeoisie to move out of trade—the dynamic sector of the economy—and to invest in the more respectable lifestyle of land- or office-holding that calls into question Marx’s vision of the rising capitalist bourgeoisie, challenging the aristocracy for economic, political, and cultural supremacy. Some historians have blamed the status-seeking French bourgeoisie for the stagnant nature of the French economy in the eighteenth century as compared to the rapidly industrializing British economy where the middle classes were less eager to disinvest from the productive sectors of the economy.



Bourgeoisie. *The Prevost des Marchands and the Echevins of the City of Paris* by Philippe de Champaigne, 1648. ©ARCHIVO ICONOGRAFICO S.A./CORBIS

POLITICAL INFLUENCE

Still, the economic clout of the bourgeoisie as individuals and as a group could go far in conferring political power along with social status. Economic resources allowed bourgeois individuals to obtain professional expertise for their sons through education, as well as to purchase land from the weakened aristocracy. This phenomenon was particularly pronounced in England at the close of the Wars of the Roses (1455–1471), which had wiped out many of the most powerful baronial families, but it was repeated in other regions as well. The wealthy bourgeoisie, the *nouveaux riches*, embedded in business and administrative circles, moved into the positions of economic and political influence once held by the aristocracy and eventually supplanted them as the new aristocracy. This regeneration of the old elite with social climbers from the bourgeoisie is a common theme in early modern history. The aristocratic

diarist Saint-Simon railed at the tendency of Louis XIV of France (ruled 1643–1715) to choose bourgeois individuals, vile men “raised from the dust,” as his ministers at the expense of his traditional advisors, the nobility. Within a few generations, these “vile men” would hold sway as prestigious members of the court. A similar process took place in the Prussian bureaucracy under Frederick William I (ruled 1713–1740).

This would suggest a tight nexus between the rise of absolutism and the role of the bourgeoisie in early modern states. Kings bent on increasing their authority would turn to members of the bourgeoisie to serve the state and carry out the king’s will at the expense of the old feudal nobility, whose wealth and regional power bases made it a constant threat to central authority. Affluent commoners, ready for the peace, rationality, and business benefits a cen-

tralizing monarch could introduce into the operations of government, eagerly supported the king against the rapacious nobility, and their educated sons entered into royal service. Recent scholarship that indicates more mutual dependence between monarchs and their nobility throws this line of analysis into question, but certainly the perception of an aggressive bourgeoisie usurping aristocratic privileges and rights was a powerful one, as the writings of Saint-Simon indicate.

But another interpretation of the political role of the early modern bourgeoisie also undermines the notion of complicity between king and merchant. The traditional social interpretation of both the English Civil War of the 1640s and the French Revolution of 1789 painted a bourgeoisie confident in its commercial importance, seeking political power commensurate with its economic power. Jürgen Habermas cites the creation of a “bourgeois public sphere” in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in which a nascent public opinion called into question the monopoly of state and clergy over political discussion. This desire for a political voice brought the bourgeoisie into conflict with aristocracy and crown, both jealous and unwilling to sacrifice political control. Accordingly, a powerful, independent, and discontented bourgeoisie was essential in bringing about revolution or parliamentary democracy or both in countries like France and England; and the absence or weakness of that same class (as in Prussia or Russia) was responsible for the prolongation of absolutist dictatorship. In the words of Barrington Moore, Jr., “No bourgeois, no democracy.” The growing political awareness of the eighteenth-century bourgeoisie and the intense political partisanship linked to the effects of the French Revolution throughout Europe played a key role in shaping middle-class consciousness.

CULTURAL INTERPRETATIONS

But bourgeois identity also had important cultural roots that went beyond political activism, including a belief in property, virtue, and talent as the bases for social advancement, and attachment to religious values, frugality, a work ethic, public service, and especially material comfort. The bourgeoisie is also associated with an emphasis on the conjugal family and sentimental familial relations, in contrast to the focus on lineage associated with the aristocracy.

This sociocultural interpretation of the bourgeoisie, with its focus on values, attitudes, and rules of conduct, has dominated historical scholarship in recent years. This consciousness of difference, of cultural and moral superiority to the idle aristocracy and the lower-class masses, had appeared among the middle classes by the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, even if a clear-cut notion of class solidarity did not yet exist.

Still, “bourgeois values” were never uncontested, even in the nineteenth century, often heralded as the golden age of the western European bourgeoisie when its ideology triumphed across class lines. Aristocrats were notoriously contemptuous of the bourgeois values of thrift, acquisitiveness, and morality. They ridiculed the lack of culture and refinement, the crudeness, the avariciousness, the “shopkeeper mentality” of the bourgeoisie. They saved their sharpest barbs for the upwardly mobile, the individual who was trying to buy his way up the social ladder, but whose lack of blood and breeding would forever mark him as bourgeois. Molière’s *Le Bourgeois gentilhomme* (1671) underlines aristocratic disdain for the wealthy parvenu. And the lower classes, who might have looked to emulate certain characteristics of their bourgeois betters, saw them as calculating, exploitative, and cruel.

Those who give weight to the sociocultural interpretation of the bourgeoisie often underline gender relations within this social group. The ideology of domesticity, which emerged by the eighteenth century, emphasized the importance of harmonious familial relations, a moral private life, prescribed gender roles, and the celebration of the home as a haven from the rational, but heartless, world of the market. The consolidation of bourgeois class status was marked by the movement of women out of family businesses and into the home. Women were central to maintaining the standing of bourgeois families, in creating a moral center for the family and a suitable home with the necessary material comforts.

CONTRADICTIONS IN THE IMAGE OF THE EARLY MODERN BOURGEOISIE

The early modern bourgeoisie emerge as a contradictory group. They are the dynamic proto-capitalists, trading and running manufacturing enterprises, working as lawyers and doctors in the lib-

eral professions, running town and state as government officials; they are the status-conscious upwardly mobile, looking only to accumulate enough wealth to invest in land and venal offices and to withdraw from productive activity. They are toadies of absolute monarchs, imposing centralized governments throughout Europe; they are bold political actors, demanding an end to monarchical despotism and a role in the political process. They are a group that values thrift, order, religious principles, industriousness, gender-appropriate behavior, and material comforts; they are a small-minded, petty, and greedy group whose base roots can never be camouflaged, even if their wealth propels them into a higher social category. These contradictory images cannot be resolved, but contradictions are normal within a group as large and as loosely defined as the early modern bourgeoisie.

Despite the self-confidence and belief in the values of hard work and honesty that were part of bourgeois identity, anxiety also permeated the self-image of the early modern bourgeoisie. The status of these individuals was hard-won and was not undergirded by the security of noble title. While we focus on the success stories, downward mobility was at least as common a phenomenon as upward mobility. A merchant could lose his fortune; a lawyer could lose his clients; an official could face dismissal by his ruler. No social safety net existed to protect him. Work, frugality, and reputation were all that stood between the bourgeois and the downward slide to social oblivion. That anxiety may explain his attachment to the conservative values we consider “bourgeois,” often long after he had left the middle classes behind.

See also **Ancien Régime; Aristocracy; Capitalism; Cities and Urban Life; Class, Status, and Order; Law; Lawyers; Mobility, Social.**

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CHRISTINE ADAMS

BOYLE, ROBERT (1627–1691), natural philosopher and lay theologian. Boyle was born in Ireland, the youngest son of Richard Boyle (1566–1643), earl of Cork, and was raised as an aristocrat. After attending Eton, Robert Boyle embarked on a grand tour. When his travels were cut short as a result of the economic upheavals caused by the Irish Rebellion, he made his way back to England, where he found his sister, Katherine Ranelagh, living in London. After a brief stay with her (during which he became acquainted with the Puritan reformers of the Dury Circle), Boyle moved in 1645 to “Stalbridge,” the estate in Dorset he had inherited

from his father. There he wrote a number of ethical treatises and other moralistic pieces before becoming more interested in experimental philosophy. In 1649 he set up a laboratory at Stalbridge and began systematic studies in chemistry (and alchemy).

In 1655 or 1656 Boyle moved to Oxford, where he became a part of the experimental natural philosophy group. There he published some of his more important works in natural philosophy, including *New Experiments Physico-Mechanical Touching the Spring of Air and Its Effects* (1660), *The Sceptical Chymist* (1661), and *The Origin of Forms and Qualities according to the Corpuscular Philosophy* (1666). In 1668 Boyle moved back to London, where he became one of the founding members of the Royal Society of London. He established a laboratory in his sister's home and lived with her for the remainder of his life. Boyle continued his experiments and publications in natural philosophy and in addition published a number of works that were either primarily theological in nature or works in which it is impossible to separate his theological concerns from his work in natural philosophy. Among these are *The Excellency of Theology Compar'd with Natural Philosophy* (1674), *A Free Enquiry into the Vulgarly Receiv'd Notion of Nature* (1686), *A Discourse of Things above Reason* (1681), *A Disquisition about the Final Causes of Natural Things* (1688), and *The Christian Virtuoso* (1690).

As a natural philosopher, Boyle is best remembered for Boyle's Law, for advocating a corpuscularian matter theory, and for being extremely influential in the development of an empirical and experimental method. He had a marked aversion to speculative metaphysics, and in *Notion of Nature* argued against attributing any ontological status to either the Aristotelian notion of "nature" (as in "Nature abhors a vacuum") or to the "hylarchic principle" (or "plastick nature") of the Cambridge Platonists. Boyle argued that entities such as these are not needed to explain the phenomena and ought not be admitted into a theory of nature on the grounds of Ockham's razor (the principle that entities ought not to be multiplied beyond necessity).

Boyle is still honored in introductory chemistry texts as the "father of modern chemistry," the natural philosopher who successfully separated chemis-

try from its alchemical antecedents. This claim, however, is based on the fact that the work in which he is supposed to have done this, *The Sceptical Chymist*, was misinterpreted until the late twentieth century. Rather than being an attack on alchemy, the work is instead an attack only on certain practitioners and textbook writers—most specifically those who divorced alchemy from any theoretical underpinning. Indeed Boyle was quite involved in alchemical pursuits throughout his life, both in attempts to transmute base metals into gold and in the investigation of alchemical processes for medicinal purposes.

During his lifetime and after his death Boyle was honored as much for his piety as for his work as an experimental philosopher. Boyle considered the investigation of the world God created as a way of worshiping God, seeing the created world as a temple and the investigator of that world as a priest. He was painfully aware of the growing suspicion that the revival of Epicureanism (in the form of the corpuscular philosophy) might lead to a materialist worldview and an accompanying atheism, and he published work after work in which he attempted to show that the astute natural philosopher would become a more devout Christian rather than being led to question God's existence or providence. He advocated a natural theology that was typical of the time, showing that reason alone could prove God's existence and the immateriality of the soul.

Boyle was quite clear, however, that this natural philosophy was only the first step toward belief and that its main purpose was to serve as a bridge to revelation. As Boyle expressed it, knowing that God exists and having come to admire his workmanship, one naturally wants to learn more about the deity, and fortunately God has provided that knowledge via revelation. Boyle wrote extensively in an attempt to privilege the mysteries of Christianity from rational scrutiny, arguing that just as there are aspects of nature that human beings cannot (yet) understand, so too are there mysteries revealed in Scripture that human beings cannot (yet) understand. Indeed Boyle went so far as to argue that, where revelation is concerned, it is sometimes necessary for human reason to affirm apparently contradictory truths, such as God's prescience and human beings' free will (emphasizing that God, in his infinite wisdom,

understands how such apparent contradictions are in fact consistent).

The unity of Boyle's thought is revealed in his voluntarism (his emphasis on God's will and power rather than on God's goodness and reason). In Boyle's view God was free to create any world whatsoever. The only way to discover the nature of God's creation is to investigate it, and (because the world was created commensurate to God's infinite understanding rather than to finite human understanding), there will always be aspects of this world that humans are unable to comprehend. The same thing is true of the mysteries of Christianity. God has reserved a full understanding of both nature and theology for the afterlife, thereby providing an incentive for godly living and belief.

See also **Alchemy; Chemistry; Nature; Scientific Method; Scientific Revolution.**

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JAN W. WOJCIK

BRAHE, TYCHO (1546–1601), Danish astronomer and alchemist. Scion of the network of noble families that ruled Denmark in the sixteenth century, Tycho Brahe was heir to the lordship of the family seat, Knudstrup (in modern south Sweden). He entered the University of Copenhagen in 1559, but when it came time for him to travel and learn the ways and manners that would shape him into a noble warrior and statesman, he was sent abroad to Germany, where he studied at the universities of Leipzig, Wittenberg, Rostock, Basel (in Switzerland), and Augsburg. Mastering the fundamentals of mathematics and natural sciences, he was struck by the lack of precision in astronomy. While abroad he was also exposed to alchemy and the medical ideas of Paracelsus, the German religious enthusiast and physician whose ideas challenged the reigning academic medical establishment and were winning converts among members of Tycho's generation.

Tycho was recalled to Denmark when his father became mortally ill, in order to come into his inheritance and take his place among the feudal elite. Repelled by the life for which he had been bred, he sold his share of the family manor to his younger brother and moved in with his uncle at Herrevad manor, where he observed the stars and explored the nature of terrestrial matter in a small alchemical laboratory. He was walking to the main building from the laboratory in 1572 when he first spied a "new star" (*nova stella*) shining brightly in the constellation Cassiopeia, observation and consideration of which was to captivate his attention and change the course of his life. (It is now known as Tycho's star.)

According to the prevailing theory of the cosmos, drawn largely from Christian interpretations of the geocentric cosmology of Aristotle (384–322 B.C.E.), bodies in the heavens were per-



Tycho Brahe. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

manent and incorruptible; whatever transitory objects appeared in the sky, such as comets, lightning, and hail, were regarded as terrestrial phenomena, occurring in the air or in the zone of fire imagined to surround it. Tycho, however, showed that the nova did not exhibit any parallax, the daily change of angular measurement that characterizes objects near the Earth, and must therefore be celestial, creating a problem for traditional cosmology. As a result of the treatise he published on the nova, he was asked to undertake a series of lectures on astrology and astronomy at the University of Copenhagen in 1574, and eventually King Frederick II (ruled 1559–1588) offered him lordship over the island of Hven, where, in the summer of 1576, he laid the foundation stone for his new manor house, which he named Uraniborg—castle of the heavens.

Uraniborg was modest in size, but elaborately designed and expensively crafted. In the basement Tycho created what at the time was one of Europe's most lavish alchemical laboratories, equipped with sixteen kinds of ovens for heating and distilling various plant, animal, and mineral substances in order to concentrate their virtues and obtain their spiritual

essences. On the main floor were rooms for his family and guests, a kitchen, and a combination library and study. Each end of the second floor of the building housed an array of instruments located under removable roof sections. Tycho had ordered the first of his permanent instruments for measuring angles between celestial objects while in Augsburg and he added to his collection at Uraniborg, continuing to expand the sizes, designs, and materials of these instruments, building a special workshop nearby and employing trained craftsmen for this purpose. Finding that subtle movements of the instruments caused by the wind or by unsteady supports limited the accuracy of observations, Tycho built Stjerneborg ('castle of the stars'), an observatory comprising a central room surrounded by five pits dug into the ground, each of which was covered by a removable lid and housed a particular instrument that was set upon a stone foundation to reduce vibration. With large instruments of such quality, he attained unprecedented accuracy. Christian IV, however, succeeded Frederick II, assuming the throne in 1596, and began to cut Tycho's funding. In response, Tycho packed up his instruments and left Denmark in 1597, securing a position as imperial astronomer to the Holy Roman emperor Rudolf II, who provided him a castle near Prague in which to reestablish his research facilities, both astronomical and alchemical. At this point Tycho hired Johannes Kepler to assist him with the calculations necessary to establish a new astronomical theory on the basis of his accurate data—a theory that Tycho assumed would take a new form, with the Earth at the center of the movements of the Moon and Sun, but with the movements of the rest of the planets centered on the Sun. When Tycho died suddenly in the fall of 1601, Kepler was free to use the valuable data to create his own system, which laid the foundations for Newton's gravitational astronomy.

See also **Alchemy; Astronomy; Cosmology; Denmark; Kepler, Johannes; Paracelsus; Scientific Instruments.**

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BRANDENBURG. Brandenburg's importance stems from its position within the Holy Roman Empire and its association with Prussia and the Hohenzollern dynasty. The area that later became known as Brandenburg was conquered from the Slavs in 928, but was only loosely involved in imperial politics until the ruling Ascanian dynasty died out in 1320. Under imperial law, Brandenburg now reverted to the emperor's control, and it was entrusted first to the Wittelsbachs and then to the Luxembourgs as these families successively held the imperial title. Both used it to support their imperial ambitions, resulting in Brandenburg's elevation to an electorate in 1356, permitting its rulers to participate in the choice of all future emperors. As Luxembourg imperial rule crumbled in 1415, Emperor Sigismund gave Brandenburg to Frederick, burgrave of Nuremberg, who became Frederick I, elector and margrave of Brandenburg, initiating over five centuries of Hohenzollern rule.

Brandenburg covered 14,780 square miles (38,280 square kilometers) in northeastern Germany, and was divided into five "marches," or provinces. The Altmark lay west of the Elbe River and had its administrative center in the town of Stendal. The central Mittelmark stretched east from the Elbe to the Oder River and included the major towns of Berlin-Cölln, Frankfurt/Oder and Brandenburg itself. The province of Pignitz was to the northwest as far as the border with Mecklenburg and was governed from Perleberg. The Uckermark extended eastwards from Pignitz between the Mittelmark and the duchy of Pomerania and had its capital in Prenzlau. The fifth province, Neumark, lay east of the Oder and had few towns apart from the fortress of Küstrin (Kostrzyn).

The entire area was known as the "sandbox of the empire" because of its poor soil, which sustained only 250,000 inhabitants even by the mid-seventeenth century. Thanks to intensified land use and economic development, such as the digging of canals to improve riverine transportation to the Baltic and the North Sea, the population increased considerably in the eighteenth century, reaching 980,000. The people lived in 83 towns and 1,967 villages. One third of the latter were under the direct jurisdiction of the ruler and provided much of his total revenue. While urban magistrates exercised jurisdiction over a few of the other villages, most were controlled by the Brandenburg nobility who also dominated the territory's Estates, or representative assembly. Both the elector and the nobles introduced the manorial economy (*Gutswirtschaft*) from the early sixteenth century onwards, binding their dependent peasants to the land and requiring them to work two or more days a week on large fields of rye to produce cash crops for export to western European cities. While still profitable, this economy was reaching its natural limits by 1626 when it was plunged into deep crisis by Brandenburg's involvement in the Thirty Years' War. Berlin's population fell by 40 percent and that of the countryside by between 20 and 90 percent, depending on the region. Historians used to think that this situation uniformly benefited the nobility, who were able to create larger farms by seizing abandoned land. In fact, the shortage of labor increased the bargaining power of the surviving peasants, who demanded improved conditions, including wages for their obligatory work on their landlords' fields. The nobles were in a weak position when they negotiated with Elector Frederick William I, known as the "Great Elector" (ruled 1640–1688), at the territorial assembly in 1653. The resulting agreement, the Brandenburg Recess, confirmed rather than extended aristocratic power over serf labor in return for significant concessions to the elector, who ruthlessly consolidated his power over the next two decades.

The elector and his successors continued to protect the peasants against lordly exploitation, but their interest was primarily fiscal rather than humanitarian. They wanted a stable economic base of viable taxpayers, and they simply diverted profits from the lords' pockets into their own treasury. The

economy remained depressed because of renewed warfare after 1655. It recovered slowly from the 1680s, and the population returned to its pre-1618 level by 1713. The nobles derived only limited benefit from these developments, because the Hohenzollerns imposed a form of limited conscription, known as the canton system, by 1733, taking regular drafts of peasants to maintain their inflated military establishment.

Many nobles were reconciled by court, military, and administrative appointments that provided alternative sources of wealth and prestige. However, others continued to oppose Hohenzollern absolutism, not least because of Brandenburg's experience of the Reformation. Lutheranism arrived relatively late, in 1535, and was not fully accepted until the reign of John George (ruled 1571–1598), who secularized church property and introduced church ordinances modeled on those of Saxony to the south. This reflected Brandenburg's junior status in imperial politics where the elector generally followed the lead of his more prestigious Saxon colleague. Elector John Sigismund (ruled 1608–1619) announced a radical new course by converting to Calvinism on Christmas Day 1613. Having only recently adopted Lutheranism, few Brandenburg nobles were prepared to follow the elector's lead, and Calvinism remained restricted to those most closely associated with the electoral family. Unsure of his position at home, the elector abandoned his support for Calvinists elsewhere in the empire and swung behind Saxony's policy of neutrality during the Thirty Years' War. By the time circumstances forced Brandenburg into the war, the electorate was linked dynastically to Prussia, and its subsequent political history is more appropriately discussed under that heading.

See also Berlin; Frederick William (Brandenburg); Hohenzollern Dynasty; Holy Roman Empire; Prussia; Saxony; Thirty Years' War (1618–1648).

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PETER H. WILSON

BRANT, SEBASTIAN (1457–1521), German author and jurist. Sebastian Brant, the celebrated author of *Das Narrenschiff* (1494; Ship of fools), was born sometime in 1457 to Strasbourg innkeeper Diebold Brant and his wife, Barbara, née Picker. The eldest of three sons, Brant proved a talented pupil and, following his father's death in January 1468, his mother labored to provide him with private tutors. Beginning in 1475, he attended the University of Basel, where he developed a conservative brand of humanism under his mentor, the theologian Johannes Heynlin von Stein (a Lapide). After receiving his baccalaureate in 1477, Brant focused on legal studies, obtaining his licentiate in 1484 and becoming doctor of canon and civil law in 1489. At the same time, he continued his study of Latin authors and began teaching literature at the university around 1486. In 1485, he married Elisabeth Burg, the daughter of a Basel cutler. Together they had seven children.

With his deep piety and firm belief in the letter of the law, Brant applied his classical learning toward the preservation of social mores and political order. This underlying concern unites his diverse production of texts, not only those he wrote himself, but also the far more numerous works edited by

him for local printers, as many as one-third of all books printed in Basel at this time. He was furthermore a translator, producing German editions of Latin conduct literature throughout the 1490s. As a jurist, Brant wrote the highly successful *Expositiones* (1490), an introductory legal textbook that frequently appeared in later editions together with his turn-of-the-century redaction of Giovanni Battista di Gazalupis's *De Modo Studendi in Utroque Jure* (1467; On studying both civil and canon law). He also edited the *Decretum Gratiani* (1493), one of the cornerstones of canon law, and the proceedings of the Council of Basel (1499).

Beyond his work on folly, the literary production of Brant's Basel years consisted mainly of Latin verse. A volume of devotional poetry, *In laudem Marie Carmina* (Songs in praise of Mary), appeared in 1494, followed by the *Varia Carmina* (Various poems) of 1498. The latter volume reproduces much of the earlier collection, but additionally contains dedicatory verse created by Brant for editions of his own works or for those of friends and acquaintances. Further preserved are poems on meteors, freakish births, and other natural sensations. Brant regarded such wonders as divine portents with consequences for the Holy Roman Empire, and he sought to influence popular opinion by discussing the same events in German in several illustrated broadsides addressed to Emperor Maximilian I (ruled 1493–1519).

It is difficult to overstate the phenomenal success of Brant's lasting literary achievement, *Das Narrenschiff*. Published during Carnival by Johann Bergman von Olpe on 11 February 1494, the original edition presents in 112 brief chapters a veritable taxonomy of fools, each representing a particular human foible. The work moralizes against sins such as sloth and adultery, but also against indulgent parents, bad marksmen, and those who talk in church. Specific chapters touch upon contemporary issues, admonishing the German princes to support Maximilian (chapter 99), or, in the first literary reference to Columbus's discoveries, criticizing explorers who seek gold (chapter 66). The work went through nine German editions, some pirated, before Brant's former pupil Jacob Locher produced his Latin adaptation, *Stultifera Navis* (1497), which served as the basis for translations into French (1497), Dutch (1500), and English (1509).

Although many scholars find the *Narrenschiff*'s image of humanity still largely medieval, the design of the book belongs wholly to the Renaissance and its new medium, printing. Each chapter is prefaced by a three- to four-line motto and a large woodcut that illustrates or expands upon some aspect of the following text. Brant takes credit for the images in the work's preface, and it is likely that he collaborated with as many as five contributing artists on the illustrations. Based on stylistic analysis, it is nearly certain that Albrecht Dürer created the majority of the work's woodcuts during his period as journeyman in Basel (1492–1493). We know that Brant and Dürer collaborated on illustrations for a planned edition of Terence at this time.

In his later years, Brant returned to Strasbourg, becoming legal councillor to the city on 13 January 1501 and advancing to the position of municipal secretary two years later. He continued to edit a variety of texts, producing editions of Aesop (1501), Boethius (1501), Virgil (1502), and Terence (1503), as well as of the gnomic *Bescheidenheit* (1508; Prudence) by the thirteenth-century vernacular author Freidank. He further helped publish two practical law books, Ulrich Tengler's *Laienspiegel* (1509; Legal handbook for laymen) and the anonymous *Klagspiegel* (1516; Handbook of lawsuits), although his actual contribution to these editions is disputed. In 1512 and 1513, Brant directed performances of his "Hercules at the Crossroads"; the corresponding text, entitled *Tugend Spyl* (Play of virtue), appeared posthumously in 1554. Culminating Brant's multimedial collaborations is the so-called *Freiheitstafel* (c. 1513; Mural of freedom), a cycle of fifty-two poems accompanying a series of paintings in the Dreizehnerstube, the meeting room for the thirteen-member inner circle of Strasbourg's town council. The surviving manuscript contains Brant's instructions for an emblem-like pictorial program, a union of text and image not unlike that of the *Narrenschiff*, but serving explicit political ends much like the author's broadsides of the 1490s.

Brant died in Strasbourg on 10 May 1521.

See also Dürer, Albrecht; Erasmus, Desiderius; German Literature and Language; Humanists and Humanism; Maximilian I (Holy Roman Empire).

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GLENN EHRSTINE

BREAD RIOTS. *See* Food Riots.

BRITAIN, ARCHITECTURE IN. The history of architecture in England between 1500 and 1800 can be seen as a series of stages defined by the interests of patrons and, within the forms of the buildings themselves, by the variety of responses possible to the forms of Renaissance architecture in continental Europe. In such a history, England always had problems in its cultural and political relations with other countries, Italy in particular. In addition, there was the Reformation, which, after the early 1500s, led to an immediate decline in ecclesiastical architecture. Throughout this entire period, problems of royal patronage also existed. If in France or Italy new traditions of design had been established by those in authority, in England the parlous state of the finances of the monarchy, even

with two extremely active patrons, King Henry VIII and King Charles I, always severely limited what was built.

England is geographically far from Italy. Some of the early forms of Italian design were known almost immediately, but until the end of the sixteenth century most of what was built in England was still based on the local traditions of Gothic building. It was only later that there were sufficient masons and craftsmen trained in the ways of Renaissance architecture to know how to incorporate it effectively into whatever they built.

Of the architecture constructed for Henry VIII, the most important surviving example is Hampton Court, confiscated from Cardinal Thomas Wolsey in 1529 and then extended; most notable is its Great Hall, where the structure was still essentially Gothic but much of the ornamentation—the *putti*, scrolls, and balusters, as well as other details elsewhere in the palace—hinted at a newer style from Italy. At Nonsuch Palace in Surrey, begun in 1538, there was a clear attempt to rival Chambord, built by King Francis I a decade earlier; though the plan of two great courts there was traditional, for many of the decorative details foreign craftsmen were brought in, some of whom, like Nicholas Bellin, had worked at Fontainebleau in similar ways.

Tudor architecture was still largely Gothic. But the plans of the buildings, seen in historical context, tended now to be symmetrical; the blocks were seen as individual units, rather than being brought together under the form of linear patterning that had been so much a part of the older English style. To make the effect very different from what had been built even fifty years earlier, new forms of decoration also appeared: simple octagonal towers, polychrome brick, niches, plaques, and decorated chimneys. They may be observed at Barrington Court, Somerset (1515–1548), Compton Wyngates, Warwickshire (c. 1520), and Sutton Place, Surrey (1523–1527).

The next great period was that of Elizabethan architecture, as seen in the large manor houses and great courtly houses built from the 1560s onward, often by newly wealthy merchants or courtiers and ministers of state. Some important examples are Wollaton Hall, Nottinghamshire (1580–1588), Longleat Hall, Wiltshire (1572), Burghley House,



Architecture in Britain. An aerial view of Hardwick Hall, an Elizabethan manor house in Derbyshire, built 1590–1597. ©JASON HAWKES/CORBIS

Northamptonshire (1577–1585), and Hardwick Hall, Derbyshire (1590–1597). The style and plans of these houses, in their symmetry and details, were more clearly indebted to Renaissance architecture. If the windows now often took up much of the wall, the decorations around them, taken as much from Flanders as from Italy—the false niches and strap-work, the grotesques and broken columns—had a new visual power and seemed to mirror perfectly, as if in heraldry, the power and new wealth of their owners. It was also at this time that the first two English architects became known by name: Robert Smythson (1535–1614), the designer of Hardwick and Wollaton, and John Thorpe (1568–1620), many of whose drawings have survived. But still the play between native traditions of masonry building and new forms of Italian design took time to be worked out. Notable examples of this mixed style,

often referred to as Artisan Mannerism, can be seen at Hatfield House, Hertfordshire, begun in 1607; a collegiate building like Wadham College, Oxford, built from 1610–1613; and Swakeleys, Middlesex, built in 1638.

All of this was to change quickly with Inigo Jones and the patronage he received from King Charles I. Jones had been to Italy, and his books and notes show how well he learned the principles and practice of the new architecture. If in the end he was able to design only a few completed buildings, such as the Queen's House, Greenwich (1616–1639), and the Banqueting House, Whitehall (1616–1639), the simple classical style he used for them, based on the example of Andrea Palladio, was to transform completely the idea of architectural design in England. He also produced a number of designs, never built, for country houses, and these



Architecture in Britain. The Banqueting House, Whitehall, London, designed by Inigo Jones and completed in 1639. Jones transformed the idea of architecture in Britain with his simple classical style. ©PHILIPPA LEWIS; EDIFICE/CORBIS

are reflected in the plain, astylar (without columns) character of buildings like Thorpe Hall, Huntingdonshire (1653–1656), and Lees Court, Kent (c. 1640). And in the houses designed for the duke of Bedford at Covent Garden (begun in 1631), Jones established a style of urban architecture that was to influence much of what was built in cities in England for the next two centuries.

However, it was the work of Christopher Wren and that of the next generation of architects—Hugh May, Robert Hooke, and others—that finally fully established the style of classical architecture in England. And in Wren’s work, whether for colleges at Oxford and Cambridge, or at Greenwich, or again at Hampton Court, and then in numerous city churches and St. Paul’s Cathedral, a version of the baroque was brought to England, rich and grand enough to be comparable to what was available in the other countries of Europe.

A battle of styles was to nevertheless continue. After Wren, there was in the work of Nicholas Hawksmoor and Sir John Vanbrugh—as at Blenheim Palace, Oxfordshire (1704–1725), or St. Anne’s, Limehouse, London (1714–1724)—a grand classical style, in its effect recalling something of Elizabethan architecture, but against this was now set the Palladianism advocated by Lord Burlington. It effectively brought English architecture back to the classical roots of Palladio and the designs of Jones. Burlington was himself an architect and a powerful and tireless patron of art. At Chiswick House, London (begun in 1725), Wanstead House, Essex (1713–1720), and Holkham Hall, Norfolk (begun in 1734), he was able with the help of Colin Campbell and William Kent to define a tradition of apparently replicable, classicizing architecture that, with new ideas about the natural landscape taken from Rome and even China, gave both architects and new patrons alike firm ideas about

designing buildings and gardens that would be socially and intellectually acceptable.

However, all of this was happening at a time when familiar concepts of beauty were beginning to be questioned by philosophers like David Hume and Edmund Burke. And with the political and cultural changes taking place in Europe, classical buildings even beyond those of Italy were now accessible to anyone interested in travel and a fresh view of the history of architecture. In this regard, Greece was to become very important. Despite the fact that with figures like Sir William Chambers and Robert Adam, by the end of the eighteenth century, architects were working more professionally, with full offices and staffs, there were also many more theoretical disputes about the propriety of styles: whether the refined traditions of Italy should remain the model, or the simpler and more primitive styles of Greece were superior. The result, especially as the eighteenth century came to an end, was a mix of styles, with some architects like Chambers still working in an Italianate style, as at Somerset House, London (1776–1780), and others preferring a simpler Greek style, as at Dover House, London (1787), designed by Henry Holland. Other architects, such as Horace Walpole at Strawberry Hill, London (1748 onward), or James Wyatt at Fonthill Abbey, Wiltshire (1795–1807), developed a new version of the native Gothic style that elicited very different responses from those engendered by the purer, more rational classicism of the new Palladianism.

There was no one way to resolve these differences, especially when other stylistic elements were soon to appear, as in the garden buildings at Kew, designed in the 1770s and 1780s, and clearly influenced by the buildings of Moorish Spain, the architecture of India and China, and the Gothic past of England. The last great classical architect in England was Sir John Soane; in buildings like the Bank of England, London (1792–1793), or the library in his home at 12 Lincoln Inns Fields (1792), he suggested an architecture that was at once deeply individual, yet recalled the traditions of a native yet distinctly Roman style that had been used by Vanbrugh and Hawksmoor. This was a moment of stylistic eclecticism, but it was from these possibilities that architecture could develop as it did in the next century, using new materials of glass and iron,

and often for structures like bridges, railway stations, and factories, in a classical style, one completely different from what had developed when Renaissance architecture was first brought to England.

See also **Estates and Country Houses; Gardens and Parks; Jones, Inigo; London; Palladio, Andrea, and Palladianism; Wren, Christopher.**

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DAVID CAST

BRITAIN, ART IN. In the period between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, the visual arts in Britain underwent a significant change in status, closely connected to Britain's rising mercantile power and prosperity. Although the focus of patronage shifted from the court of the Tudor and Stuart dynasties to the bourgeois market of the eighteenth century, painters in Britain continued to find their main source of income in the field of portraiture. With the first public exhibitions of art in 1760 at the Society of Artists and the founding of the Royal Academy in 1768, artists in Britain achieved the professional organization necessary to foster the training of native-born talent.

Throughout this period, Britain was host to numerous foreign-born painters and craftsmen, many of whom had immigrated there to escape the religious and political turmoil of the Continent and to take advantage of the increasing wealth of Britons. The German Hans Holbein the Younger (1497?–1543) is the artist most closely associated with the reign of Henry VIII (1509–1547). After an initial visit from 1526 to 1528, during which he painted the portraits of Sir Thomas More (Frick Collection, New York) and his family, Holbein returned to



Art in Britain. Queen Elizabeth I, the “Pelican” portrait, c. 1574, by Nicholas Hilliard. The name is derived from the pelican pendant Elizabeth wears; associated in legend with self-sacrifice, the bird symbolizes Elizabeth’s devotion to her subjects. ©WALKER ART GALLERY, LIVERPOOL, MERSEYSIDE, U.K./ TRUSTEES OF THE NATIONAL MUSEUMS & GALLERIES ON MERSEYSIDE/ BRIDGEMAN ART LIBRARY

London in 1532. Henry’s break with the Catholic Church in Rome in 1533 necessitated the creation of a new royal imagery, and Holbein’s life-size portrayal of the king in 1536 emphasized his role as head of both church and state.

Another consequence of the founding of the Church of England was the necessary move away from religious imagery in sculpture. Inventories show that before the break with Rome, households owned more sculptural objects than paintings; however, these were mostly religious in function. From the 1530s onward, the staple of sculptural production was funerary monuments, which were protected by a 1560 proclamation of Elizabeth I.

With the accession of Queen Elizabeth in 1558, following the five-year reign of her Catholic half-sister Mary I, royal portraiture took on a new function: to bolster visually her decision to remain unmarried. Portraits of Elizabeth, dating from the

1570s, employ symbols tying her virtue to her country. For example, in William Seger’s portrait (c. 1597; Hatfield House, Hertfordshire) she appears with an ermine, a symbol of chastity, and in the famous “Ditchley” portrait (c. 1592; National Portrait Gallery, London), Elizabeth stands on a map of England.

Although the Ditchley portrait is full-length and life-size, the most significant contribution to the visual arts in Britain at this time was the miniature painting of Nicholas Hilliard (1547–1619). Called limning, miniature painting was related to manuscript illumination and often painted on vellum. The practice had been brought to England by the Flemish artist Lucas Hornebolte (c. 1490/95–1544), who had taught the method to Holbein. Hilliard praised Holbein and advanced his theories in a treatise entitled *A Treatise Concerning the Art of Limning*, advocating that miniature painting be limited to gentlemen and that the technique be kept secret. With images such as *Young Man among Roses*, probably Robert Devereux, second earl of Essex (c. 1587; Victoria and Albert Museum, London), Hilliard painted the visual equivalent of Elizabethan sonnets. Hilliard trained his son, Laurence, as well as his most successful follower, Isaac Oliver.

The succession in 1603 of James I, and with him the Stuart dynasty, saw a move away from the emblematic emphasis of Elizabethan royal portraiture. However, foreign artists such as Paul van Somer of Flanders continued to dominate. Among the artists who came to England from the Netherlands was Daniel Mytens the Elder (c. 1590–1647), who was granted an annual life pension of £50 by James I and appointed by Charles I to the position of “picture-drawer.”

The sculpture-lined hallways in Mytens’s portraits of Thomas Howard, earl of Arundel, and his wife (c. 1616; Arundel Castle) point to an important aspect of the arts during the reign of James I: the establishment of significant collections by courtiers such as Howard and George Villiers, the first and second dukes of Buckingham. Charles I’s decision to accumulate a great collection of Old Masters was formed on his 1623 trip to the court of Philip IV of Spain, where he was impressed by the prestige with which the great works of Titian (born Tiziano Vecelli), Veronese (born Guarino da

Verona), and other Italian masters endowed the Spanish monarch. Charles's most significant purchase was part of the collection of the Gonzaga family of Mantua, whereby he acquired some of the master works of Andrea Mantegna, Titian, Caravaggio (born Michelangelo Merisi), and Raphael (born Raffaello Sanzio), among others.

A second aspect of Charles's accumulation of art was his patronage of contemporary artists. On Peter Paul Rubens's diplomatic trip to England between June 1629 and March 1630, Charles commissioned the Flemish painter to decorate the ceiling of Inigo Jones's Italianate Banqueting Hall, Whitehall. The resulting *Apotheosis of James I* (1630–1634), a visual depiction of the Stuarts' allegiance to the notion of the divine right of kings, is considered the one full-fledged example of baroque painted decoration in England.

Rubens's star pupil, Anthony Van Dyck (1599–1641), made a brief trip to London in the winter of 1620–1621, probably on the recommendation of Arundel, who introduced him to James I. Van Dyck returned there permanently in 1632 and through his portraits gave Charles I and his court an image of natural authority. Charles anticipated the visual impact Van Dyck would have on the image of his reign; upon Van Dyck's return, the king knighted him, appointing him “principalle paynter in ordinary to their Majesties.”

In such full-length works as *Charles I on Horseback* (c. 1637; National Gallery, London) and *William Feilding, 1st Earl of Denbigh* (1633–1634; National Gallery, London), Van Dyck takes his subjects out of the confines of the rigid costume pieces that conveyed static permanence and into the lush natural environment. He infuses his sitters with movement, accentuated by the rich coloring he learned from Titian and Rubens. Van Dyck's role in the development of portraiture in Britain continued to endure long after his death in 1641.

Even during the unsettled years of the Civil War, the royal family and royalist officers continued to commission portraits. Between 1642 and 1646, English-born William Dobson (1611–1646) served the court, painting with a naturalism similar to that of Van Dyck, but with a less refined tenor suitable to the martial times.



Art in Britain. Equestrian portrait of Charles I by Anthony Van Dyck, c. 1637. ©NATIONAL GALLERY COLLECTION; BY KIND PERMISSION OF THE TRUSTEES OF THE NATIONAL GALLERY, LONDON/CORBIS

One of the most significant events in the art world during the commonwealth's interregnum was the sale of Charles I's collection. Charles's vast expenditure on art works from the Catholic Continent had been a source of widespread suspicion and discontent during his reign, seen as symbolic of his authoritarian tendencies. Its dispersal, however, severely set back the development of a royal or central art collection in Britain. The sale began in October 1649. In addition, the collections of Buckingham, Arundel, and Hamilton were contemporaneously sold.

Although the interregnum may seem a bleak period for painting in Britain, it was during this time that Sir Peter Lely (1618–1680) established a prosperous career in London after having received his training in Haarlem. Lely arrived in England in the early 1640s and his earliest known portrait of this period, from 1647, is of Charles I and the duke of York (duke of Northumberland, Syon House).

Nevertheless, Lely quickly adapted to the political climate of the commonwealth. His adaptability is seen once again during the Restoration with his appointment as principal painter.

In the 1660s Anne Hyde, duchess of York, commissioned Lely to create a series of the most beautiful women at court, now called the *Windsor Beauties*. It and his series of “Flagmen” at Greenwich exemplify his facility for different poses. Lely’s vast output was facilitated by studio assistants who would paint the backgrounds and draperies of his works, as well as copies of them. Lely dominated this period of British painting and was knighted in 1680.

The crown was also the most significant patron of the virtuoso wood-carver Grinling Gibbons (1648–1721). The best examples of his naturalistic depictions of flora, fauna, and textiles may be found in the Royal Apartments at Windsor Castle, where he worked between 1677 and 1682.

With Lely’s death at the end of 1680, Dutch-born Godfrey Kneller (1646–1723) dominated the portrait market. Kneller had trained with Ferdinand Bol in Amsterdam and, before his arrival in London in 1676, had traveled to Rome and Venice. By 1679 he was painting the portrait of Charles II. With the Glorious Revolution and the arrival of William III and Mary II in 1688, Kneller shared the position of principal painter with native-born portraitist John Riley. He was knighted in 1692 and made a baronet in 1715.

Kneller is best known for his series of portraits of the members of the Kit-Cat Club (painted 1700–1720). The format of these portraits, in which the sitter’s head, shoulders, and one or both hands were shown, was innovative, and the size was thereafter termed a “Kit-Cat.” Kneller’s popularity, like Lely’s, necessitated a large studio; the sometimes mediocre quality of its work did unfortunately undermine Kneller’s posthumous reputation. Kneller was also the first governor of an academy for painting and drawing, which opened in 1711.

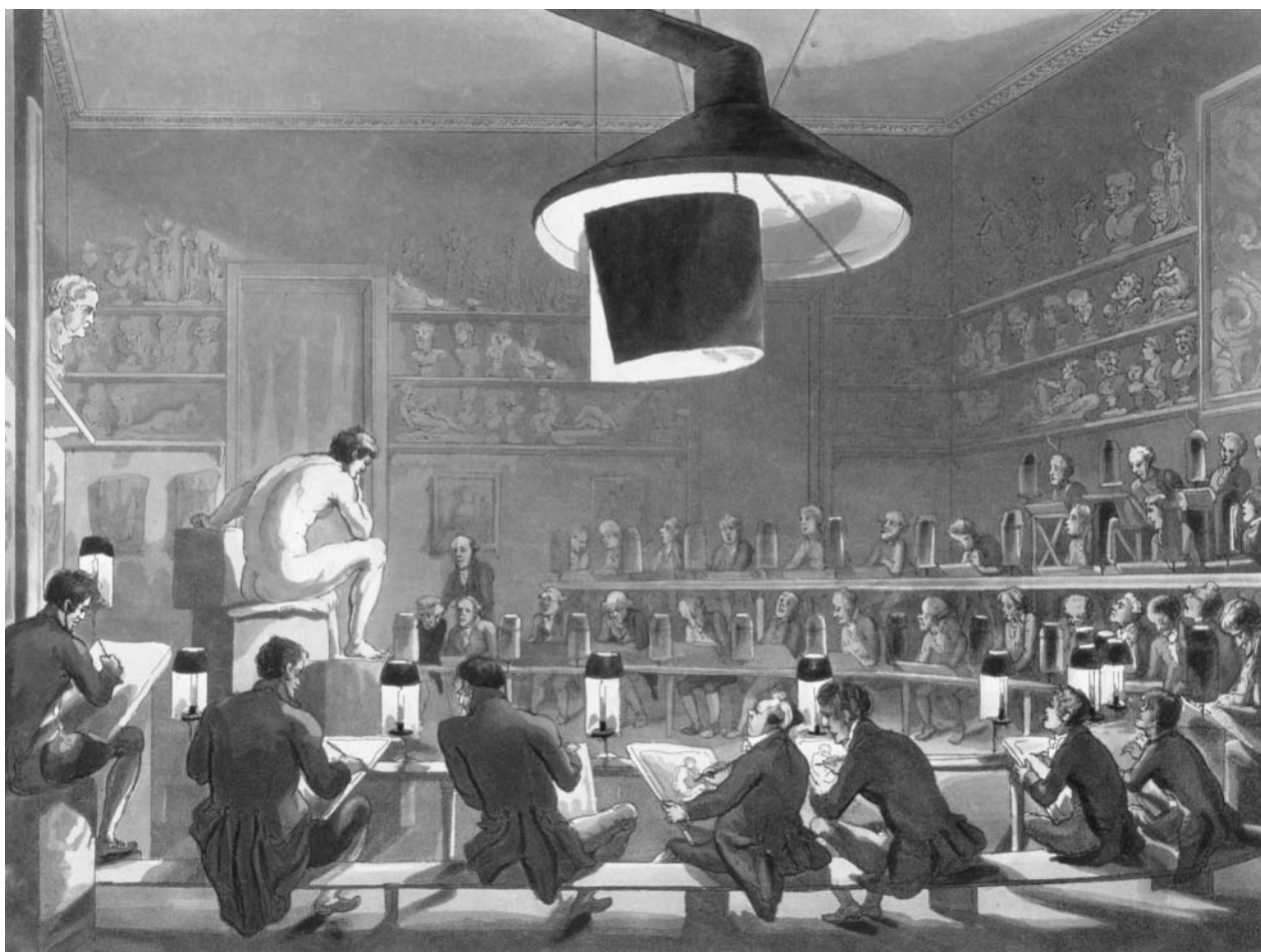
Contemporaneous with Kneller’s career was the vogue for decorative schemes in the great houses of Europe. Practitioners of this late baroque form came from Italy (for example, Antonio Verrio, Giovanni Antonio Pellegrini, and Sebastiano and Marco Ricci) and France (Louis Laguerre). Verrio’s illu-

sionistic, decorative work can be seen at the duke of Devonshire’s Chatsworth, where he painted various rooms and ceilings during the 1690s. However, the emergence of a nationalistic impulse can be seen in the competition for the decoration of St. Paul’s Cathedral. English-born James Thornhill (1676–1734) vigorously lobbied for this prestigious commission and worked on it from 1715 to 1717.

Thornhill’s nationalistic mantle was taken up by his son-in-law William Hogarth (1697–1764). Although Hogarth’s style showed a clear knowledge of French painting, he was vociferous in his antagonism toward English patronage of foreign artists, especially in the area of historical painting. His *Sigmunda* (1759; Tate Gallery, London) was an attempt to demonstrate the superiority of English historical painting after a supposed Correggio on the same subject was bought for over £400 at auction; however, his work was met with ridicule.

By then it had become customary for well-born Englishmen to finish their education by undertaking a grand tour of Europe. An important aspect of these travels was the purchase of works of art commemorating their visit. The Venetian view painter Canaletto (born Giovanni Antonio Canal; 1697–1768) was so popular with his English patrons that he came to London in 1746, staying until 1755. Landscape painting in Britain had been characterized by topographical accuracy used to detail the house and grounds of estates. Under the influence of seventeenth-century landscape painters Claude Lorrain (born Claude Gellée), Nicolas Poussin, and Salvator Rosa, Richard Wilson instead gave the English landscape a classical, idealized expression. Nevertheless, Wilson died in poverty, and Thomas Gainsborough famously complained that he could only support a family through the practice of portraiture.

Hogarth was instrumental in popularizing the small-scale group portrait called the conversation piece, a format that had been brought to England by Watteau’s follower Philippe Mercier. Hogarth’s own innovation of the “modern moral subject” was itself influential on the Continent, and his promotion of the Engravers’ Copyright Act of 1734 to protect artists’ engravings secured him an important source of income.



Art in Britain. *Life Drawing Class at the Royal Academy*, by Thomas Rowlandson, 1808. ©HISTORICAL PICTURE ARCHIVE/CORBIS

Hogarth's full-length portrait of Captain Thomas Coram (1740, Thomas Coram Foundation for Children, London) epitomizes the shifting sources of patronage in mid-eighteenth-century England. The increasingly prosperous merchant classes adopted the forms of aristocratic portraiture. Moreover, Coram had established the Foundling Hospital. Hogarth and other artists donated works to this charitable institution for orphans, and it became the first venue for the public display of paintings in England.

Although Hogarth had lobbied for a democratically structured academy for training artists, the official academy that was founded in 1768 was given a royal charter and had a strict hierarchy. Sir Joshua Reynolds's centrality in the art world of the eighteenth century was confirmed by his election as its first president. In his renowned fifteen *Discourses on*

Art, presented to the students and members of the academy during his tenure, he articulated his concern for raising the intellectual status of the artist in society. With its schools and annual exhibitions, the Royal Academy dominated the course British art was to follow for the next hundred years.

See also Academies of Art; Britain, Architecture in; England; Gainsborough, Thomas; Hogarth, William; Holbein, Hans, the Younger; Jones, Inigo; London; Portrait Miniatures; Reynolds, Joshua; Van Dyck, Anthony; Wren, Christopher.

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ELIZABETH A. PERGAM

BRITISH COLONIES*This entry includes three subentries:*

THE CARIBBEAN
INDIA
NORTH AMERICA

THE CARIBBEAN

The British Empire that ended in the twentieth century began at the very end of the sixteenth century with chartered commercial ventures in the East Indies to secure tropical spices and cotton cloth. Peace then allowed further private ventures into the Caribbean (which was called the West Indies) in the early seventeenth century; these expanded into settlements to grow further high-value tropical crops, initially tobacco, later cotton and indigo and then, from the 1640s, sugar cane. With the spread of the plantation economy in the Caribbean after about 1650, the need for cheap labor helped support a booming slave trade. England's new North American colonies then found a ready market for their lumber and foodstuffs.

BEGINNINGS

The Caribbean islands consist primarily of three major groups: the Bahama Islands, including the Turks and Caicos islands, the Greater Antilles (Cuba, Jamaica, Hispaniola, and Puerto Rico), and, southeast of Puerto Rico, the Lesser Antilles (Leeward Islands, Windward Islands, Barbados, Trinidad, and Tobago). European colonization of

the Caribbean islands started after Christopher Columbus landed on several of them in the 1490s and claimed the entire area for Spain. Foreign traders were also excluded. From the mid-sixteenth century, English ships' captains began to participate in the highly profitable smuggling trade that supplied the Spanish-American settlements and continued into the late 1570s. Then, as Europe's Counter-Reformation became increasingly bitter, Caribbean voyages, on which captains threatened local officials with violent attacks before they commenced trading in order to allow the officials to claim overwhelming force, became ventures for both commerce and raiding. These targeted the Spanish plate fleets as they traversed the Caribbean as well as local coasting traffic. English, French, and Dutch all participated. The institution of a grudging peace in the early seventeenth century allowed the resumption of the earlier smuggling trade. England, France, and the Netherlands all began establishing their own colonies in the Caribbean in the 1620s and 1630s.

The first year-round British settlements in the region were in South America; these were established to grow tobacco in the first decade of the seventeenth century in the Amazon delta and later along the coast of Guyana. None lasted long, each one being expelled by Spanish forces. The mixed motives for these early settlements—with planters hoping to grow lucrative tropical crops and ship captains seeking havens for contraband deals with Spanish colonists, as well as courtiers' profit-taking and the conflicting objectives of European policies—would all complicate the region's subsequent development.

The British settlements in the Leeward Islands (Anguilla, Barbuda, Dominica [which became part of the Windward Islands in the nineteenth century], Saint Christopher's, Nevis, Antigua, and Montserrat) and Barbados in the Windward Islands, proved in the 1620s and 1630s more permanent than those earlier footholds on the South American mainland. Colonies were founded in St. Kitts in 1623 and in Barbados in 1627. Settlers from St. Kitts expanded onto Nevis in 1628 and Antigua and Montserrat in 1632. These island colonies got their start in part because they were established when Spain was preoccupied in European wars, although local Spanish forces still staged some successful attacks. Another reason was that these islands were mostly

uninhabited, since the indigenous Carib tribes had been enslaved a century before or had fled to the Windward Islands (Dominica, Grenada, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent, and the Grenadines) where they defended their independence, and the Spanish had neglected the Leewards and set up colonies primarily in the Greater Antilles.

After the English began settling the islands as plantations, West Indian havens offered operation bases for seamen engaged in smuggling or in raiding Spanish towns and ships. In the early 1660s, some of the buccaneers on Tortuga, off Hispaniola, moved their operations to the recently won English colony of Jamaica (taken from the Spanish in 1655), where, besides bringing in sorely needed cash, their ships helped deter Spanish attacks. In the Bahamas, which were first settled by the English in 1646, pirates operated until the 1720s.

Early colonial populations on the islands were shaped by economic downturns and high death rates. Agricultural colonies such as Barbados began growing tobacco as an export crop, but, after the tobacco boom collapsed Barbados's planters, leaving them with only poor-quality tobacco to sell, they turned to experimenting with cotton, then with indigo. However, during the 1640s these commodities became early casualties of Britain's civil war, with the market for imports collapsing. The planters then welcomed Dutch merchants who gave easier credit, had access to shipments of slaves from West Africa, and helped teach them how to process sugar. The resulting "sugar revolution" transformed Barbados's society. Sugar promised a profitable crop, but setting up a sugar estate demanded sizable initial outlays for labor to gather the crop and for machinery to process the canes. Large estates benefited from economies of scale while small plantations could no longer compete. Large-scale planters then found it cheaper to buy out their neighbors than clear virgin land.

Whatever the crop, labor remained a pressing issue. From the first, planters aimed to control their workforces. They restricted their indentured servants' mobility, punished them for time lost to pregnancies or running away, and limited appeals against even the worst masters. These harsh "customs of the country" underlay the slave codes that were developed to deal with a type of property not dis-

cussed in English case law. To secure workers, the planters would grab whomever they could find. These included African slaves purchased from passing ships and some enslaved Native Americans. In the first stages of settlement, narrow profit margins left little room for extensive slave purchases. The early planters used white workers. Unemployment in Britain and Ireland during the 1630s produced a succession of English, Irish, and some Scots willing to mortgage their future labor in exchange for a passage to the West Indies and the hope of a new start at the end of their service. During the 1650s, prisoners of war or survivors from failed uprisings provided more field hands. However, during the late seventeenth century, recruitment shrank as Britain's demographic growth slowed, pushing up the price for individual contracts, while the cost of acquiring slaves from Africa fell. African slaves then comprised increasing proportions of the work gangs. These social transformations took place on different islands at different times. Barbados was generally the path-breaker while the Bahamas were spared the introduction of large-scale sugar estates.

New settlements provided new opportunities. Groups of colonists had leap-frogged out from St. Kitts to the other Leeward Islands in the 1630s. After the Surinam settlement was captured by the Dutch, the planters in Barbados helped promote settlement in South Carolina. In 1647 a religious split in the Bahamas pushed a puritan group to establish a settlement there, while in 1651 pro-royalist planters in Barbados established new plantations on the South American mainland along the Surinam River. An expedition sent out from England secured a footing in Jamaica in 1655 and the ousting of Jamaica's last Spanish holdouts in 1661 gave the newly restored king of England an excuse to retain the island. Later, in the 1680s, Jamaican merchants encouraged timber cutters on the coast of Central America (today's Belize). Local initiatives shaped English settlements in the West Indies through to the 1690s.

Natural disasters hampered development across the Caribbean during the late seventeenth century. Hurricanes—a term that English readers did not encounter until the mid-seventeenth century—further harmed the islands' fragile ecosystems, which had already been damaged by various droughts and floods and by erosion due to land

clearance. In the 1670s, a blight wiped out Jamaica's cacao plantations. Earthquakes and fires destroyed several towns and plantations. In the 1680s, yellow fever became prevalent, making a region already susceptible to outbreaks of other diseases still more inhospitable. By the 1690s yields were falling in the older settled islands.

Wars compounded the damage. As Britain fought conventional wars in Europe with the Netherlands and France, vicious local campaigns took place where governors allied with Carib warriors or undertook raids to seize slaves and burn plantations. Few major slave uprisings occurred, but all slaveholding societies feared that one such uprising might succeed and spread. The elaborate conspiracies discovered in almost every colony demonstrated how real the threat was. Defenses proved costly: erecting coastal fortifications, building barracks, paying garrisons of European regulars, and requiring frequent militia service from free resident males drained island economies. Some churches were built, but few schools were established. Successful planters who had initially sent their daughters "home" to England for an education now sent their sons back too, and planned to become absentees themselves.

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY DEVELOPMENTS

The social structures that were hammered out by 1690 shaped the region for the next century. Although punitive labor laws and slave codes received little revision, a number of other changes occurred. Changes in the islands' populations were the result of the higher than average death rates from yellow fever among European groups, the reduced opportunities faced by European immigrants after planters claimed land reserves and, above all, the increased numbers of slaves imported after the inefficient official monopoly on the British slave trade was ended in 1698. Most new slaves simply replaced the dead, as the region's birth rates did not sustain the population well into the nineteenth century. Because women comprised a large proportion of the field gangs, overwork kept slave reproduction rates low. In most colonies, island-born Creole populations remained a minority. Populations of free people of color also remained small and mostly urban, but their reproduction levels were higher than other groups. Among the white settlers, reproduction

rates were very low and population numbers fell. The makeup of this last group altered even more after England's 1707 Act of Union with Scotland, which joined the two kingdoms into the new United Kingdom of Great Britain. This union enabled Scotland to partake of free navigation and trade throughout the entire kingdom, including the British colonies. Thus, Scots from all social levels arrived in the Caribbean during the eighteenth century.

Regional political geographies also changed, as did the priorities of British politicians. Some helped the colonists by removing former local threats. In Jamaica, a 1739 treaty with the groups of free maroons there (fugitive black slaves and their descendants) ended forty years of skirmishing—and constrained slaves' options. In the eastern Caribbean, European colonization began on the Caribs' former island strongholds and grew to dominate each island. Meanwhile, threats from Europe grew. Military expeditions to the West Indies made conquest a real risk. Negotiators sometimes returned captured islands in peace treaties, but islands seized in the West Indies could be traded away for other imperial assets. After the Seven Years' War (1756–1763) Britain still acquired several new territories, securing Dominica, Saint Vincent, and Tobago, besides gaining Grenada in exchange for Saint Lucia. In this treaty Martinique and Guadeloupe were returned to France to end French claims to Canada. Afterward, a sizable proportion of British slave shipments to the West Indies carried slaves to the newly settled islands. Metropolitan schemes then extended further, as proposals to rein in slavery and the slave trade began to gain proponents among some senior colonial bureaucrats.

Whatever was intended, far broader social changes occurred during and after the American War of Independence (1775–1783). Only remarkable good fortune at the naval Battle of the Saints in 1782 allowed Britain to retain its West Indian colonies against the Americans' French and Spanish allies. The 1783 Peace of Paris that ended this war, where the British formally recognized their former American colonists' independence, also allowed the British to regain the eastern Caribbean islands seized by the French, along with the Bahamas, which the Spaniards had captured. Peace changed the British islands in the Caribbean, in part because

the subjects of King George III (ruled 1760–1820) were forbidden to do business with their former American trading partners, and Canadian lumber and English and Irish provisions offered poor substitutes. After hurricanes flattened slaves' provision grounds, several islands endured famines. Attempts to introduce new food crops, such as breadfruit in the late eighteenth century, were impressive, but still failed to compensate for the lack of cheap American grain. The process of change continued as North American loyalists resettled across the West Indies after the war. In the Bahamas, they transformed the character of the hitherto sparsely settled archipelago. Several African Americans, free and slave, had, during this migration, encountered the evangelical revivals that had spread across British North America, and the congregations they founded then survived to transform the slaveholding societies.

In 1790 the British West Indies appeared at the height of their prosperity and influence. In the early years of the French Revolutionary Wars (1792–1802), Britain poured half of its total military expenditure into West Indian campaigns. The failure to acquire Saint Domingue (Haiti) and the return of most British gains in the Treaty of Amiens that concluded the French Revolutionary Wars was a watershed in British policy making. The costs of prolonged warfare on the islands' economies and on planters' profit margins further undercut the influence of the West Indies lobby. Retaining slavery no longer appeared a clear asset. At the same time, the spread of humanitarian revulsion toward slavery in Britain increasingly diverged from the West Indian colonists' stridently asserted "English" values. Meanwhile, evangelical missionaries' visits to the islands and the contacts that local evangelicals, black and white, made with their British co-religionists encouraged the circulation of harsher reports of slaveholders' brutality.

The West Indian "sugar islands" would continue to prosper in the early nineteenth century. The West Indian political lobby had sufficient influence to veto proposals that Britain retain Martinique and Guadeloupe after the wars, for fear of the competition that these islands' output would offer to the existing British colonies, although the undeveloped Dutch mainland settlements of Demerara and Esquibo (modern Guyana) were

kept. But, after 1783, the defenders of West Indian slavery had lost the support of the North American planters when they argued their case to an increasingly skeptical British public. In the face of competition from "free sugar" from the East Indies and from sugar beet from continental Europe, West Indian profits declined. The debts remained. Profits from the first British empire helped to generate the capital that funded Britain's industrial revolution. Afterward, the claims offered by the West Indian planters that their brutal slave societies were "English" no longer appeared so persuasive in England. The societies that the seventeenth-century "sugar revolution" had produced still took a very long time to pass away.

See also American Independence, War of (1775–1783); Colonialism; Dutch Colonies: The Americas; French Colonies: The Caribbean; Mercantilism; Seven Years' War (1756–1763); Shipping; Slavery and the Slave Trade; Spanish Colonies: The Caribbean; Sugar; Tobacco; Trading Companies.

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JAMES ROBERTSON

INDIA

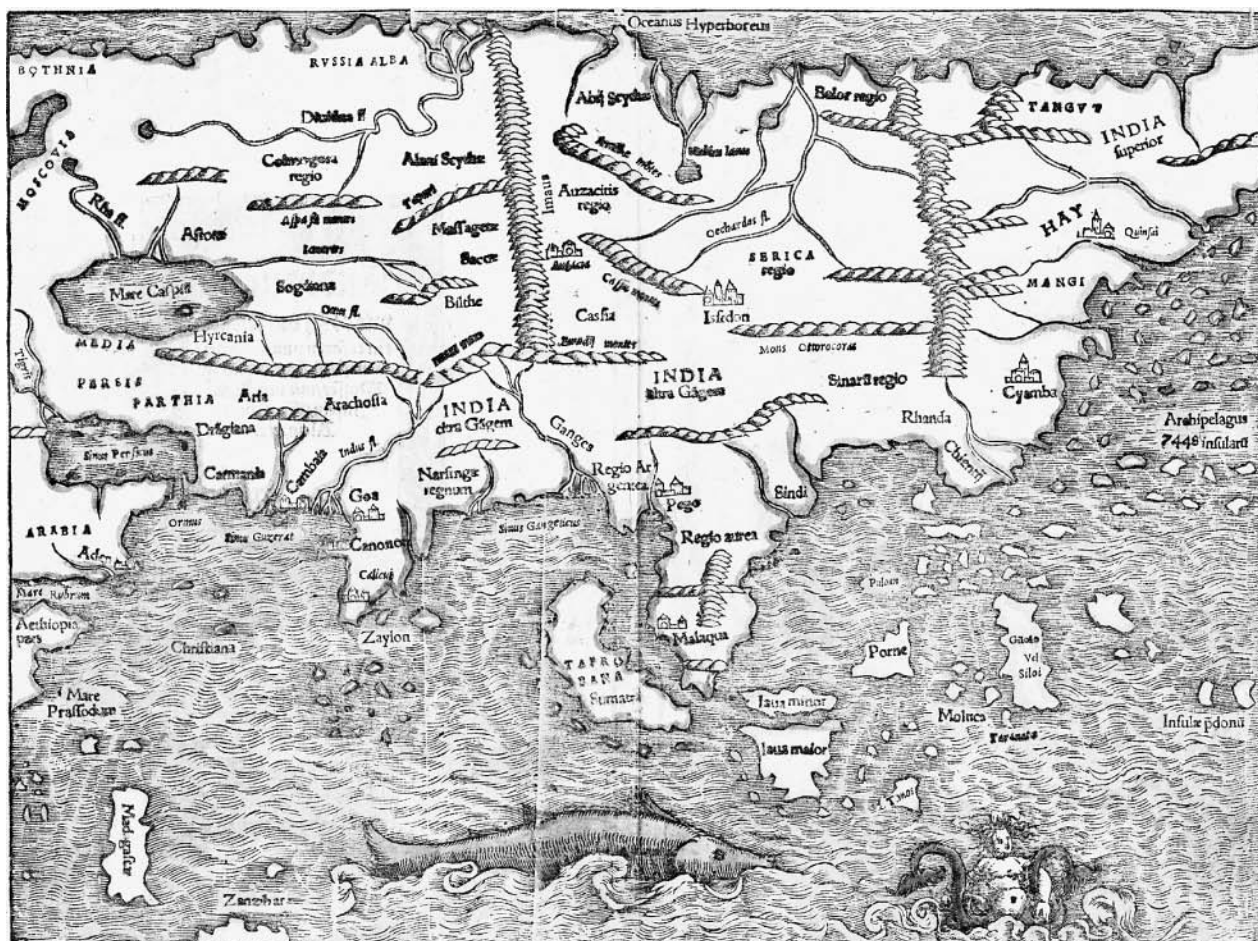
The establishment of a colonial relationship between Britain and India through the medium of a

trading company had a long gestation period of over a century and a half. The complete formalization of this relationship, with the British crown assuming direct responsibility for the Indian dominions, took yet another century.

It was on the last day of the year 1600 that a charter granted by Queen Elizabeth I incorporated some 219 members under the title of The Governor and Company of Merchants of London Trading into the East Indies. This was the body that came to be known as the East India Company. The trade carried on by the company between Europe and Asia increased rapidly, and by the end of the seventeenth century, the value of this trade almost equaled that carried on by its principal rival, the Dutch East India Company. By about 1740, the English had decisively forged ahead of the Dutch, a lead they retained through the rest of the eighteenth century. It was, however, only in 1765 that the company became the instrument for establishing a colonial relationship between Britain and India.

Like other Europeans, the principal interest of the English in the East, initially at least, was to procure pepper and other spices for the European market. The first two voyages were, therefore, directed at Bantam in Java, where a trading station was established in 1602. But given the strong presence of the Dutch East India Company in the Indonesian archipelago, the English found it prudent to move gradually out of the region and concentrate on India. An imperial edict conferring formal trading rights on the company was obtained from the Mughal emperor and a trading station established at Surat in Gujarat in 1613. A station had earlier been established in Masulipatnam on the southeast coast of India in 1611. The company’s trade extended into Bengal in the early 1650s with the establishment of a trading station at Hughli.

The spectacularly growing role of textiles and raw silk in the exports from Asia made India central to the company’s trade, accounting for as much as 90 percent of the total exports from Asia at the turn of the eighteenth century. While the company, by and large, concentrated on Euro-Asian trade, its servants, acting in their private capacity together with a limited number of British citizens residing in the company’s settlements in India, carried on a



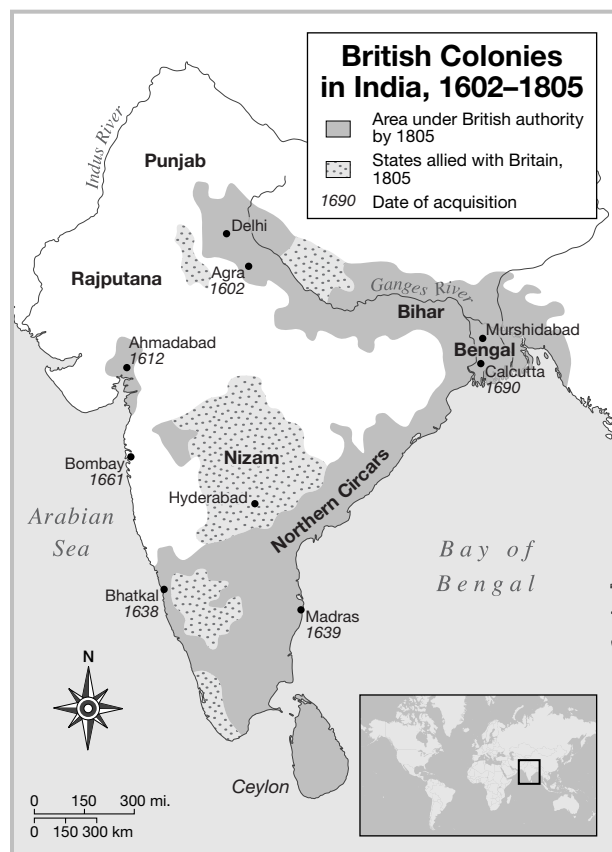
British Colonies: India. Sebastian Münster's rather primitive-looking sixteenth-century woodcut map of Asia was based on recent discoveries by Portuguese navigators. Shown in India are Calicut, where Da Gama landed in 1498, Goa, taken in 1510, and the settlement at Cannanore. The Portuguese trade monopoly did not last long, and by the 1600s had attracted British, Dutch, and French competition. MAP COLLECTION, STERLING MEMORIAL LIBRARY, YALE UNIVERSITY

substantial amount of port-to-port trade within Asia.

The increase in the output of textiles and the other export goods in the subcontinent in response to the rising demand for these goods by the English and other East India companies would seem to have been achieved through a reallocation of resources, a fuller utilization of existing productive capacity and an increase over time in the capacity itself. The English and other European companies' trade would thus have become a vehicle for an expansion in income, output, and employment in the subcontinent. The principal underlying circumstance behind this positive state of affairs was the fact that the relationship between the Indian intermediary merchants and artisans on the one hand and the

European trading companies including the English Company on the other had been entirely free of coercion and determined exclusively by the market forces of supply and demand. The growth of the Europeans' demand for Indian textiles and silk at a rate consistently higher than the rate of growth of their supply had increasingly turned the market into a sellers' market.

This scenario, however, underwent a substantive modification during the second half of the eighteenth century. It began when the English East India Company assumed political leverage in different parts of the subcontinent. The process began in southeastern India where the English and the French became allies of contestants for the succession of the Nawab of Arcot and the Nizam of



Hyderabad. War ebbed and flowed across southern India with little intermission from 1746 until complete English victory brought the fighting to an end in 1761. British victory meant that the territories of the English-backed Nawab of Arcot became a client state of the English East India Company. Much more fundamental in importance was the incorporation of Bengal as a province under actual British rule. The 1765 Treaty of Allahabad was an outcome of the battle of Plassey in 1757 and that of Buxar in 1764. According to this treaty, the Mughal emperor conferred on the East India Company the *diwani*, or the responsibility for the civil administration of Bengal; at the same time, the wazir of Awadh accepted a British alliance and a British garrison. This settlement gave the British rule over some 20 million people in Bengal, together with access to a revenue of about £3 million, and it brought British influence nearly up to Delhi.

The acquisition of political leverage by the East India Company brought to an end the level playing field that the intermediary merchants and artisans doing business with it had hitherto enjoyed.

Through an extensive misuse of its newly acquired political power, the company subjected suppliers and artisans to complete domination, imposing upon them unilaterally determined terms and conditions, which significantly cut into their margin of profit.

Seemingly paradoxically, while the East India Company's exports from India were undergoing a substantial increase during the second half of the eighteenth century, the import of bullion by the company into the subcontinent to pay for the goods purchased was practically coming to an end. The explanation lies in good measure in the substantial quantities of rupee receipts obtained by the company locally against bills of exchange issued to English and other private European traders, payable in London and other European capitals. Another source used for the purpose was the surplus from the provincial revenue of Bengal. Such a diversion of the revenue was obviously unethical, and indeed the Parliamentary Select Committee of 1783 indicted the company for these practices. By 1765, a sizeable territorial dominion had been established and the East India Company had become a regional Indian power of consequence. From this beginning, British power was to engulf the whole of the Indian subcontinent within a hundred years, with the crown assuming direct responsibility for the Indian dominions in 1858, following the Indian mutiny and the liquidation of the East India Company.

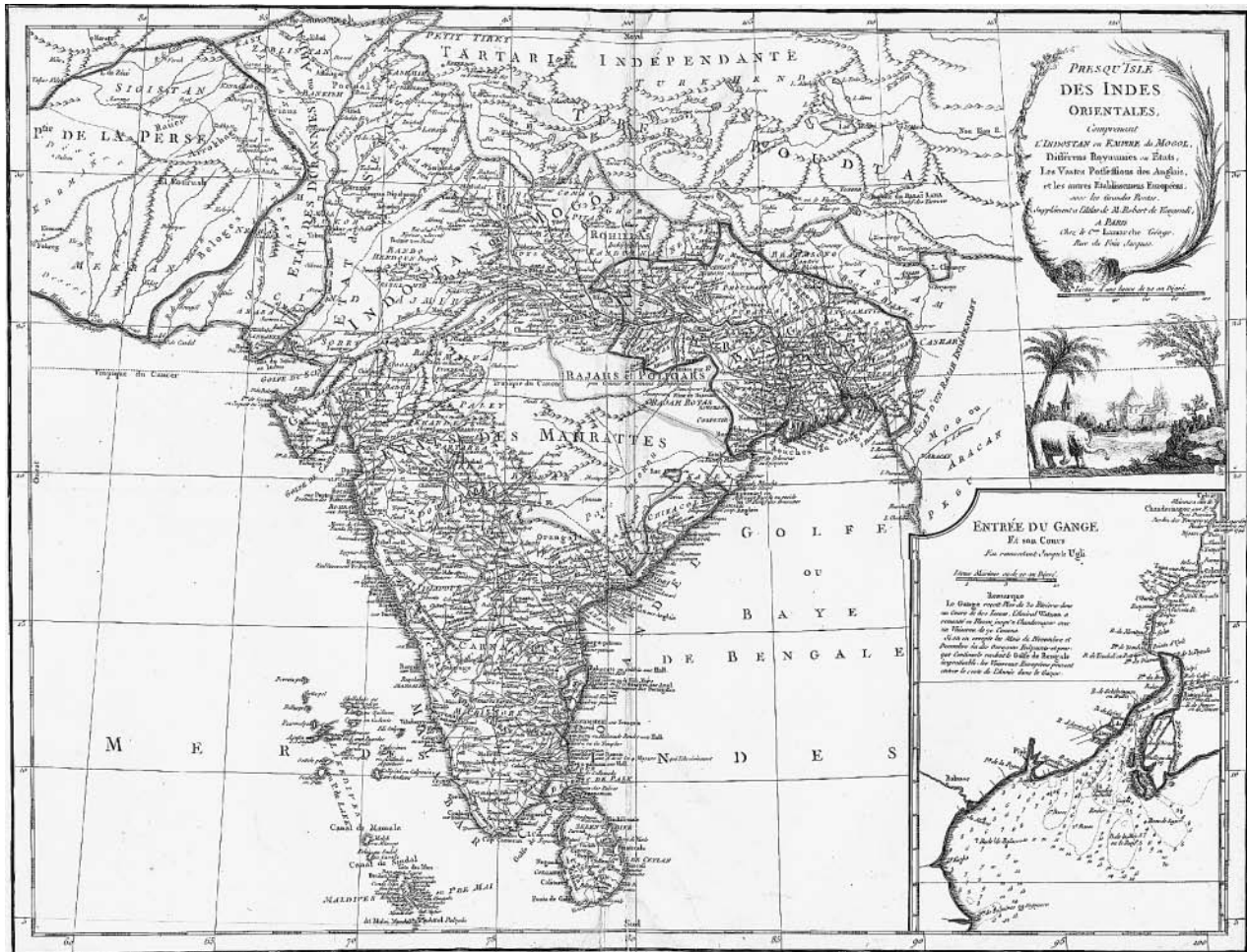
See also Colonialism; Commerce and Markets; Dutch Colonies: The East Indies.

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British Colonies: India. This French map of India appeared in Robert de Vaugondy's c. 1790 *Atlas Universel*. In the seventeenth century the British East India was content to dominate trade in the region and maintain peaceful relations with the Mughal empire. But when the empire was weakened in the eighteenth century, Britain and France fought for control of the area. British rule began with the defeat of the Nawab of Bengal in 1757 and by 1818 the British controlled most of India. MAP COLLECTION, STERLING MEMORIAL LIBRARY, YALE UNIVERSITY

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OM PRAKASH

NORTH AMERICA

English interest in North America began soon after Christopher Columbus's first discoveries when John Cabot (c. 1450–c. 1499), a Venetian sailor, was commissioned by Henry VII in 1497 to find a northwest route to the East. The voyage proved ineffectual and for the next seventy years England remained on the sidelines of westward exploration, largely because of political and religious divisions at

home. Interest did not really revive until the fourth quarter of the sixteenth century, when the success of the Spanish and Portuguese empires demonstrated the economic and strategic value of having colonies. Since the North American continent remained largely free of European settlement, the new advocates of colonization, notably English geographer Richard Hakluyt (c. 1552–1616), argued that the settling of these territories would allow the production of valuable tropical products like sugar, silk, olives, spices, hardwoods, and vines. These items had to be purchased from foreign rivals, resulting in a trade deficit and loss of bullion. In addition, Hakluyt argued, the possession of colonies would increase the maritime power of England, making

her a force to be reckoned with among the nation-states of Europe.

FIRST SETTLEMENTS

Since the crown lacked the resources for such ventures, it was initially left to individuals like Sir Walter Raleigh (1554–1618) to fulfill these dreams. Unfortunately, Raleigh's attempt to settle Roanoke Island along the North Carolina coast between 1585 and 1587 proved unsuccessful, mainly because he lacked the necessary resources. However, the development of joint stock companies promised to solve this problem by allowing funds to be pooled on a large scale. Not that these new entities found colonization easy, as the attempts of the Plymouth and Virginia companies proved. The former failed to establish its colony of Sagadahoc in 1607 on the coast of present-day Maine, while the latter had to struggle for twenty years to ensure the success of Jamestown, England's first permanent settlement on the mainland of North America. In reality, too little was known about the Chesapeake region when the first settlers arrived in 1607, and the project came close to collapse several times.

Despite these difficulties, other schemes duly followed, though the impulse was increasingly religious rather than commercial. England, like much of Europe, was experiencing religious turmoil, and America seemingly offered a refuge to those suffering persecution at home. Accordingly, in 1620 a group of Pilgrims led by the Separatist church leader William Brewster (1567–1644) set sail in the *Mayflower* to establish the Plymouth colony, while from 1629 to 1640 twenty thousand Puritans left England to establish the colonies of Massachusetts Bay in 1630, Rhode Island and Connecticut in 1636, and New Haven in 1637. Nor were Protestants alone in this exodus. In 1632 George Calvert, the first baron Baltimore (c. 1580–1632), obtained a charter from Charles I for a colony allowing religious toleration for Roman Catholics, which he called Maryland in honor of the queen.

Baltimore's charter differed from those granted to the Virginia and Massachusetts Bay Companies in that authority was vested in a single proprietor. Otherwise, both types of charter gave the grantees extensive powers, including authority to make local ordinances for the better government of their territories, providing such ordinances were consistent

with the laws of England. The crown also retained the right to a fifth of all precious minerals found in their settlements. However, in 1618 the Virginia Company decided to establish a local assembly as a more effective way of involving the inhabitants in the success of the venture. This pattern was soon adopted in other colonies, notably Massachusetts, not least because that colony's charter, based on the joint stock model, required its officers to be elected annually by the shareholders. Even the autocratic second baron Baltimore (Cecilius Calvert, 1605–1675) found it politic to give his settlers an assembly as a means of attracting support. The qualifications for voting varied. In Maryland and Virginia it was generally restricted to freeholders (meaning males with property), but in Massachusetts the Puritan leadership quickly substituted church membership as the criterion for participation in the affairs of the colony.

SECOND WAVE

Although English settlement of North America was interrupted at the outbreak of the English Civil War in 1641, the restoration of Charles II in 1660 allowed a second wave of colonization, beginning in 1664 with the conquest of the Dutch colony of New Netherland in present-day New York. It was seized partly for economic reasons, to secure entry to the northern fur trade; partly to create a patrimony for the duke of York, the king's younger brother; and partly as a strategy: to close a dangerous gap between the New England and Chesapeake Bay settlements. But even before the seizure of the Dutch colony, another scheme was afoot to settle the area south of Virginia. Here, too, the founding of the Carolinas was partly commercial, to tap the possibilities of exotic cash crops in a subtropical climate; partly strategic, to provide a buffer between Virginia and the Spanish in Florida; and partly an attempt to endow the eight proprietors sponsoring the scheme with the privileges of semifudal palatine princes. Not that religious considerations were entirely forgotten after 1660. In 1682 William Penn (1644–1718) secured a proprietary charter to provide a haven for the Society of Friends, or Quakers, as they were more commonly known. But as was the case with the Carolinas, the colonization of Pennsylvania had a strong economic rationale: to exploit the rich potential of the Delaware River area. It was

also intended to enhance the dynastic aspirations of the proprietary family.

For much of the seventeenth century, England's control of its burgeoning empire was necessarily weak, given the distance of the colonies from England and the confused state of the mother country. Compounding the problems was the fact that there was no common system of government in the various settlements. Virginia, the oldest colony, had a governor appointed by the crown, a council appointed by the governor, and an elective assembly representing the propertied classes, and this was to be the model most favored by the crown after 1689 as its best means of maintaining control. However, the New England colonies at this time were largely self-governing commonwealths, while the Carolinas, Pennsylvania, and New York were all under proprietary control.

Even so, the period was not without some tightening of the imperial reins. In 1651 the first Navigation Act was passed to protect England's growing trade with its empire in the West Indies and mainland North America, and this was followed by several similar such laws in the next twenty-five years. Then in 1680 New Hampshire was separated from Massachusetts and made into a royal colony on the Virginia model. More grandiosely, in the mid-1680s James II attempted to merge the northern colonies into one entity, the Dominion of New England, to allow a more effective defense and use of scarce resources. That scheme proved too unpopular and was discarded during England's 1689 Glorious Revolution, which limited sovereign power and ended the concept of the divine right of kings. Nevertheless, some changes were effected. Massachusetts now had to accept a charter on the Virginia model, albeit with the concession that the lower house still helped nominate the governor's council, as had been required under the old charter of 1629. The crown also had a further success in East and West Jersey in the early 1700s, when the proprietors decided to surrender their governmental rights over the territory. Finally, in the 1720s the crown, with Parliament's help, engineered a similar outcome in the Carolinas, after the proprietary government failed to defend those colonies successfully from Spanish and Indian attacks. However, Pennsylvania and Maryland remained proprietary colonies while Connecticut and Rhode Island anomalously re-

tained their corporate charters, which had originally been granted by Parliament during the English Civil War.

DENOMINATIONS AND DIVERSITY

During the seventeenth century the colonies' population was overwhelmingly English in origin, with only a few pockets of non-English stock, most importantly in Pennsylvania, where Penn settled a group of lower Rhineland Pietists at Germantown in 1686, and in New York, where the Dutch remained a distinct group. But already there was a growing number of African slaves, especially in the South, and this trend toward a more diverse population continued during the eighteenth century, aided by the absence of any restrictive immigration laws. In 1707 the Act of Union between England and Scotland officially opened the way to Scottish emigration, while the cessation of the War of the Spanish Succession in Europe in 1714 permitted further German emigration from the Palatinate and Rhineland areas. In addition, large numbers of Scots Irish began to arrive after 1717 following the termination of their leases in Ireland. All these European peoples came seeking a better life where land was plentiful and religious discrimination was minimal. Prior to 1715 the New England region had been uniformly Congregational, the South largely Anglican, with the Dutch Reformed and Society of Friends preeminent in the Hudson and Delaware Valleys. Now, outside New England, there were Presbyterians, Baptists, Moravians, and German Reformed and Lutheran churches, all adding to the multireligious and multicultural nature of the colonies and establishing a trend that has continued ever since.

ECONOMY

The economy of Britain's North American colonies was similarly varied, primarily as the result of differences in the climate and soil. The relatively temperate climate of the New England and Mid-Atlantic colonies allowed their inhabitants to practice European-style farming in cereals, root crops, and animal husbandry. And as in Europe, most northern farms relied on their families to meet their labor requirements. In the South, on the other hand, the longer and warmer growing season permitted the cultivation of more exotic cash crops like tobacco in the Chesapeake Bay area and Albemarle Sound region of North Carolina and rice in the lower part of

North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia (after 1733). Since these crops were labor-intensive, their production presented a problem, not least because most Native Americans refused to acculturate to European-style production methods and were in any case too few in number. Initially the labor problem was solved in the Chesapeake region by the system of indentured servitude. However, indentured servants served for only a few years, after which they were free to compete with their former masters. As a result, southern planters began increasingly to use African slave labor, especially when the cost of doing so dropped toward the end of the seventeenth century. The early settlers in South Carolina, in any case, deployed African slaves, being familiar with their use from their previous experience as sugar planters in Barbados.

Another difference between the northern and southern economies was the North's greater diversification. The northern colonies had no high-value commodities to export other than those obtained through the extractive pursuits of fishing and lumbering. Consequently, they had to be more self-sufficient, which led to the development of craft industries and the beginnings of manufacturing in pottery and iron ware. Shipbuilding was also widespread, and commerce generally flourished, which in turn stimulated urban growth. By the mid-eighteenth century, Boston, New York, and Philadelphia all had populations of more than ten thousand, with Philadelphia ranking as the second-largest city in the British Empire. The South, by contrast, had only one town of any consequence: Charleston in South Carolina.

By 1750 the thirteen British mainland colonies had a population around 1.5 million (including 250,000 persons of African descent) who provided a third of all British trade.

THE CAUSES OF REVOLT

Thus, although the British had been late to enter the race for overseas colonies (compared to Spain and Portugal), their settlements now constituted perhaps the most valuable possessions of any European nation. It was this realization that led Britain to attempt a strengthening of the imperial ties after the Seven Years' War (1756–1763). Among the more important initiatives were the Proclamation of 1763, which attempted to limit westward expan-

sion; the Sugar Act of 1764, to raise revenue and strengthen the laws of trade; and the Stamp Act of 1765, to raise additional revenue for the running of the empire. But far from strengthening imperial control, these measures antagonized the colonial population and led to disputes over the sovereignty of Parliament and the rights of the colonists, especially on matters of taxation. It was failure to resolve these issues, among others, that led to the Declaration of Independence in 1776 and creation of the United States, signaling an end to the first British Empire.

See also American Independence, War of (1775–1783); Boston; Charleston; Colonialism; Commerce and Markets; Divine Right Kingship; Dutch Colonies: The Americas; Exploration; Navigation Acts; New York; Philadelphia; Puritanism; Quakers; Slavery and the Slave Trade; Taxation; Triangular Trade Pattern.

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RICHARD MIDDLETON

BRITTANY. Jutting into the ocean, far from Paris's central state, Brittany had close economic and cultural ties to its Atlantic neighbors. Until 1550, when larger and more efficient Dutch ships displaced them, Breton fleets swarmed European coastal waters, carrying salt, linen, hemp, hides, grain, and wine to distant ports. They returned with oranges, leather, and silver from Spain, with herring, cheese, and naval stores from Holland, and with cloth from England, Holland, and Flanders. Brittany remained a bustling manufacturing power until 1680: its two million inhabitants gave it a population density matched in Europe only by the urban regions of the Low Countries.

In western Brittany, war between France and England disabled the manufacture of linen, crucial to the region's economy, at the end of the seventeenth century. This region lapsed into an enduring poverty, and became a leading center of emigration to Paris in the nineteenth century. Nantes followed a different path: it prospered mightily in colonial

trade, becoming the largest French slaving port, and reexporting West Indian sugar and coffee throughout Europe.

Brittany enjoyed a quasi-independent status until 1491, when the last Breton ruler, Duchess Anne (1477–1513), married Charles VIII of France (ruled 1483–1498). He died childless; she then married Louis XII (ruled 1498–1515). Their eldest daughter, Claude, married Francis I (ruled 1515–1547); Claude's son, Henry II (ruled 1547–1559) inherited the duchy, making it the personal property of subsequent kings of France.

Brittany until 1790 preserved its provincial Estates, which met annually until 1626 and biannually after 1630; a full complement of local courts, headed by the parlement at Rennes; its customary laws; and its tax system, run primarily by the Estates. These local institutions enabled the Breton nobility to maintain unusually tight control over the province: alone among early modern French peasant rebels, the Breton *bonnets rouges* ('red caps') in



Brittany. Seventeenth-century engraving of the island city of St. Malo. The site of a sixth-century monastery, St. Malo later became an important Breton seaport and during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries served as a base for privateers.

THE ART ARCHIVE/PRIVATE COLLECTION PARIS/DAGLI ORTI

1675 targeted noble landlords, rather than royal taxes.

Western Brittany stood out culturally because its inhabitants spoke Breton Gaelic. Many French speakers shared the views expressed by the marquis of Lavardin, lieutenant general of Brittany, in 1675: Celtic Brittany “is a rude and ferocious country, which produces inhabitants that resemble it. They poorly understand French and scarcely better reason.” The Catholic Church sent out “missionaries,” led by the Jesuit Julien Maunoir, to “convert” the nominally Catholic Bretons, whom it viewed as pagans. One of his hymns set forward the church’s view of peasant sociability: “Listen all of you [Bretons]/ The evil of your *veillées*,/ And your savage dances/ That the mad devil/ Has brought here/ To plunge young people/ Into eternal torments . . . From these dances/ Come lewd thoughts!” (The *veillées*, evening village gatherings, for storytelling, matchmaking, and general socializing, remained a staple of Breton life into the 1930s.)

Bretons left a visual legacy of their remarkably rich civilization in parish *clozes*, ensembles of churches, Calvary scenes, and ossuaries. The wealth produced by linen and livestock enabled the peasant-merchants of a St-Thégonnec or a Pleyben to commission magnificent statuary, often created by the workshop of Jean Dauré (1706?–1736/1747?) of Landerneau. Artists richly decorated the interiors of the rural churches, either with imaginative paintings on ceilings and pillars, or with stunning altars, as at Lampaul-Guimiliau, whose gilded fallen angels are based on a painting by Rubens (1577–1640). These masterpieces show the European dimension of early modern Breton civilization, and offer some of the richest rewards rural France has to entice the twenty-first-century visitor.

See also **Anne of Brittany; Charles VIII (France); France; Louis XII (France); Provincial Government.**

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JAMES B. COLLINS

BROWNE, THOMAS (1605–1682), English physician, naturalist, and essayist. Browne reflected and harmonized in his life and work many of the religious and scientific trends characteristic of the seventeenth century. He was born in London on 19 October 1605 and enjoyed a stable childhood among devout and devoted parents and four sisters, though his father, a cloth merchant, died when Thomas was eight. The elder Browne left a generous inheritance, however, which supported his son in his extensive education in England and abroad. Thomas entered Winchester College in 1616, where he studied classics and rhetoric and absorbed the Anglican and Royalist spirit of the place. He went on to Oxford in 1623, where his classical education was broadened and supplemented by training in the natural sciences. He received his B.A. in 1626 and his M.A. in 1629. Following graduation, having been inspired to become a physician, he departed for the Continent to seek the superior medical training available there. He went first to the University of Montpellier and then to Padua, where, a century before, Andreas Vesalius (1514–1564) had revolutionized the study of anatomy, where, twenty years earlier, Galileo Galilei (1564–1642) had first trained his telescope on the stars, and where William Harvey (1578–1657) had studied prior to his recent discovery of the circulation of the blood. Browne imbibed the unparalleled clinical instruction offered at Padua but soon moved on to Leiden for further study and obtained his M.D. there in 1633. After an apprenticeship in England, he acquired an M.D. from Oxford and in 1637 set up practice in the city of Norwich. He married Dorothy Mileham in 1641, and they had twelve children, only six of whom survived into adulthood.

Browne’s era was one of great political and religious unrest and scientific ferment. His first and most famous written work, *Religio Medici* (The religion of a doctor), appeared in 1642 at the onset of the English Civil War, or Puritan Revolution. In this work Browne offers a candid exploration of his elastic Anglican views, shaped by a mixture of traditional and contemporary ideas, regarding such issues as God’s relation to nature, the interplay of faith and reason, and the conciliatory effects of Christian charity and humility. Browne envisioned human beings as microcosms of the universe, and *Religio Medici* itself can be seen as an epitome of its

author, embodying his religious background, his classical and scientific education, and his humane tolerance acquired from wide experience of diverse national and religious cultures. Aside from its content, the poetic literary quality of the book, which displays a musical sensibility striking resonant chords along a scale between certitude and doubt, has long established Browne as one of the finest prose stylists in the history of English literature.

In addition to becoming a respected physician through decades of practice in Norwich, Browne was a recognized authority on the flora and fauna of East Anglia. He was intent on sorting out truth from error in natural history and general knowledge and in 1646 published his systematic inquiry into contemporary beliefs called *Pseudodoxia Epidemica*, which became commonly known as *Vulgar Errors*. In the spirit of Francis Bacon's *Advancement of Learning*, Browne assayed hundreds of presumed truths about the world, often utilizing the newly ascendant intellectual instruments of empirical observation and experimentation. This book, which was his longest, enjoyed great popularity and, like other works appearing near the dawn of modern science, helped foster critical and constructive modes of thought among its wide audience. Browne conducted diverse scientific investigations, was in contact with many leading scientific figures of his day, and was elected a fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, but he remained on the margins of the scientific community of seventeenth-century England and never became a fellow of the Royal Society.

Browne's other important literary and philosophical works include the companion essays *Hydriotaphia, or Urn Burial* and *The Garden of Cyrus*, which were published together in 1658. The first, which displays his antiquarian interests, is a meditation on death and decay prompted by the unearthing of ancient burial urns near Norwich. The second is an exploration of the "mystical mathematics" of the number five manifested in human designs and botanical life and reveals Browne's abiding Platonic belief that the visible world is but an image of an invisible order. He thought that the quintessence of human identity lies in living a sort of amphibious existence traversing those two worlds, and he tried passionately, in an age of shifting religious and scientific worldviews, to keep the two together.

Browne was knighted by Charles II in 1671 as an honor for Norwich's most distinguished citizen. Fittingly for a man whose favorite sacred symbol was the circle, Browne's life came to a close on the date of his birth in 1682.

See also **English Literature and Language; Mathematics; Philosophy; Scientific Method.**

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GORDON L. MILLER

BRUEGEL FAMILY. The Bruegels were a family of painters active from the mid-sixteenth century through the seventeenth century, primarily in Antwerp. The Bruegel family employed many spelling variants of their name, as was common in the early modern period. The spellings used in this article are those most frequently used by the particular artists concerned.

The origins of the Bruegel family are unclear; the earliest records concerning Pieter Bruegel the Elder date from his immigration to Antwerp. Ludovico Guicciardini, the Italian chronicler, and Karel van Mander, the painter-author of the first comprehensive history of artists from the Netherlands, both state that Bruegel came from or near Breda. He was born c. 1525–1530 and died in 1569.

Pieter Bruegel the Elder moved to Antwerp in the 1540s, perhaps to study with the painter Pieter Coecke van Aelst. He entered the St. Luke's Guild of painters in Antwerp in 1551 and soon afterward left for Italy. He journeyed via the Alps, which he

sketched during his travels and later incorporated into many of his compositions. Upon his return to Antwerp in 1555, Bruegel produced drawings for the Antwerp publisher Hieronymus Cock, including allegories in the style of Hieronymus Bosch, landscapes, and genre scenes. Partly on the basis of these early compositions, such as *Big Fish Eat Little Fish* (1556), Bruegel's earliest critical reputation was as a Bosch follower. Among his painted works, Bruegel's affinity with Bosch is seen in *Dulle Griet* (*Mad Meg*, c. 1562) and *The Fall of the Rebel Angels* (1562).

Bruegel's earliest signed works, the *Landscape with Christ on the Sea of Tiberius* (1553) and the *Landscape with the Parable of the Sower* (1557), are within the world-landscape tradition of Joachim Patinir. Starting in 1559–1560, Bruegel turned his attention to the folkloric subjects for which he is best known, with such painted compendia as the *Netherlandish Proverbs* (1559), *Battle of Carnival and Lent* (1559), and *Children's Games* (1560). In

1563 Bruegel married Mayken Cocks, the daughter of Pieter Coecke van Aelst. Mayken then resided in Brussels, to which Bruegel immigrated. Starting in 1562–1563, Bruegel extended his repertoire to include paintings depicting biblical history, often set in dramatic landscapes employing alpine scenery. Among these works are the *Suicide of Saul* (1562), the *Tower of Babel* (1563), *Landscape with Flight into Egypt* (1563), and *The Procession to Calvary* (1564), Bruegel's most complex composition.

In the latter 1560s, Bruegel again turned to vernacular subjects, producing a series of the year's months for Nicholas Jonghelinck, a local patrician. He also depicted peasant festivities in such works as the *Wedding Dance* (1566) and the *Peasant Wedding* (1568). In paintings like *The Cripples* (1568) and *The Parable of the Blind Leading the Blind* (1569), Bruegel returned to his earlier works to select details as the subjects for entire compositions. He died in 1569 at the age of forty-four. Bruegel was long critically regarded as a naïve artist originat-



Bruegel Family. *Peasant Dance* by Pieter Bruegel the Elder, c. 1567. ©FRANCIS G. MAYER/CORBIS

ing from the rural peasantry he portrayed. With the discovery of his close relationship with the geographer and humanist Abraham Ortelius, his reputation shifted to that of an accomplished intellectual. Most recently, scholars situate Bruegel within the culturally dynamic middle class of Antwerp.

Pieter Breughel the Younger (1564–1638), elder son of Pieter I, was only five years old when his father died. He probably received his earliest training from his grandmother Mayken Verhulst, an accomplished miniaturist, followed by an apprenticeship with the landscape artist Gillis van Coninxloo. He enrolled in the Antwerp painter's guild in 1584–1585. Pieter the Younger was a tireless, if uninspired, copyist of his father's works. These include numerous versions of the *Netherlandish Proverbs*, *The Census at Bethlehem*, and the *Winter Landscape with a Birdtrap*. Pieter the Younger's copies also provide visual access to some of the now lost works of his father, such as the *Crucifixion* (c. 1615) and *The Visit to the Farm* (c. 1620). Pieter the Younger also created works like the humorous *Peasant Lawyer* (1516) and *Egg Dance* (1620) that, although painted in the mode of his father, appear to be his own compositions. Pieter the Younger was also a landscape painter in his own right, as seen in the charming *Peasant Village with Dance around the May Tree* (1634). Pieter the Younger's eldest son, also named Pieter, entered the painter's guild in 1608, but little else is known of his career.

Jan Brueghel the Elder (1568–1625) was a more accomplished and financially successful artist than his brother. He traveled to Italy while still quite young, and his arrival in Naples by 1590 is documented. In 1592–1595 he resided in Rome, under the patronage of Cardinal Colonna, where he produced his earliest work, the *Bay with Warship*. By 1596 Jan had relocated to Milan to work for his lifelong patron, Cardinal Federico Borromeo. He entered the St. Luke's Guild in Antwerp in 1597. Jan's success as an artist is confirmed by his close relationship with the Brussels court, as a result of which he received special privileges from Archduke Albert, although he appears never to have received an official appointment as court painter. Jan died in 1625 during a cholera epidemic, together with three of his children.

Jan Brueghel employed a meticulous technique (earning him the nickname “Velvet Brueghel”), perhaps acquired from his maternal grandmother, the previously mentioned miniaturist Mayken Verhulst. He worked in a variety of genres, including landscapes, mythological scenes, hell scenes, floral still lifes, and allegories. Jan specialized in works on copper, such as his *Adoration of the Three Magi* (1598), utilizing the reflective ground to create images with brilliant color and the effect of light. These works were likely produced for princely collections, which he also thematized in his five *Allegories of the Senses* (now in Madrid). In addition, Jan collaborated with Peter Paul Rubens, Hendrik van Balen, and others to create works in which floral wreaths by Jan surround religious or mythological groups of figures by the other painters.

Jan Brueghel the Younger (1601–1678) was the only child from Jan the Elder's first marriage. Trained by his father, he was sent in 1622 to Italy, under the protection of Cardinal Borromeo. He traveled extensively, returning to Antwerp in 1625, whereupon he entered the painters' guild. He worked in his father's atelier, which he took over after his death. Jan Brueghel the Younger's work is firmly entrenched within his father's tradition, including landscapes and still lifes, with garlands surrounding devotional scenes.

Ambrosius Brueghel (1617–1675) was the son of Jan Brueghel the Elder by his second wife. His training possibly began with his father and continued under van Balen; he entered the St. Luke's Guild in 1647. The few works ascribed to Ambrosius, all oil on panel, are either landscapes loosely following his father's style, or symmetrically balanced floral still lifes.

Jan Peeter Brueghel (1628–1680) was the eldest son of Jan Brueghel the Younger. Registered with the St. Luke's Guild in Antwerp in 1646, he later traveled to Italy, where he remained until his death. His known works are all floral still lifes, either composed in vases or as wreaths surrounding devotional or narrative scenes.

Abraham Bruegel (1631–?1680), the second son of Jan the Younger, had already sold his first work, a small floral painting, by the age of fifteen. Like his brothers, he immigrated to Italy, residing in Rome as a member of the rowdy Schildersbent



Bruegel Family. A vase of flowers, painted by Jan Brueghel the Elder. ©ARCHIVO ICONOGRAFICO, S.A./CORBIS

group of expatriate Netherlandish artists. He produced elaborate still lifes in oil on canvas, such as the *Woman with Fruit Still Life* (1669). A third son of Jan the Younger, Jan Baptist Brueghel (1670–1710), also specialized in still lifes and resided in Rome.

See also **Netherlands, Art in.**

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MARK A. MEADOW

BRUNO, GIORDANO (1548–1600), Italian philosopher. Born to a military father, in Nola near Naples, in 1548, Bruno was baptized Filippo. He became Giordano in 1565 on entering the Dominican monastery in Naples. He was ordained a priest in 1573, but was soon in trouble for reading forbidden books. Bruno was forced to flee from Naples, and later from Rome, to escape an official enquiry.

Discarding his monk's habit, Bruno traveled north through Genoa and Venice, giving private lessons on cosmology. In 1579, he left Italy for Geneva, where he found work with the printers. Bruno repudiated John Calvin's radical concept of predestination, and was soon obliged to leave Geneva after publishing a libel, no longer extant, criticizing one of the city's most distinguished professors of philosophy. He fared better in France where, after two years teaching philosophy at the University of Toulouse, he arrived in Paris in 1581.

Bruno was soon noticed by the French king, Henry III, for his art of memory which linked the classical art, considered as a part of rhetoric, with the use of memory icons as a part of logic proposed by the thirteenth-century mystic, Ramon Lull. Appointed as one of the royal lecturers, Bruno published in Paris in 1582 his first surviving work, *De Umbris Idearum*, which explains his art of memory. In the same year, Bruno published in Italian the comedy *Candelaio*, which paints a vividly realistic picture of the corrupt activities of plebeian Naples. It is thought by some to have influenced major Elizabethan dramatists such as Shakespeare and Ben Jonson.

In the spring of 1583, Bruno left Paris for London, where he became a gentleman attendant on the French ambassador, Michel de Castelnau, who was secretly supporting the cause of the Catholic Mary, queen of Scots. With the ambassador, he visited the court of Queen Elizabeth I and the University of Oxford, where he later returned to lecture on cosmology. His attempt to propose Copernicus's heliocentric astronomy was a disaster.

Accused of plagiarism and treated with contempt, Bruno returned to London where, between 1584 and 1585, he wrote and published his six Italian dialogues, which argue for a post-Copernican, infinite universe in which each star is a sun, giving rise to an infinite number of solar systems similar to our own.

After returning to Paris in autumn 1585, Bruno wandered through central Europe teaching and publishing his philosophy in Wittenberg, Prague, Helmsted, and Frankfurt. In 1591, he published his Latin masterpiece, known as the *Frankfurt Trilogy*, prefixing his cosmological picture (*De Immenso*) with the first systematic modern treatise proposing an atomistic conception of matter (*De Triplici Minimo*). The second volume of the trilogy (*De Monade*) on Pythagorean number symbolism announces Bruno's final works, left unpublished at his death, which show an increased attention to magical and mystical themes in a Neoplatonic and Hermetic perspective.

Bruno returned to Italy in summer 1591, invited by a Venetian nobleman, Giovanni Mocenigo, to teach him his art of memory. In May 1592, Mocenigo denounced him to the Inquisition for heretical opinions. Bruno was arrested and tried in Venice until February 1593, when he was extradited to Rome. Refusing to recant, Bruno was burnt at the stake in Campo dei Fiori in Rome on 17 February 1600.

At the center of Bruno's philosophy lies his new picture of an infinite, homogeneous, atomistically articulated cosmos, full of infinite life. From this idea derives his concept of God as Monad, or the ineffable One whose seal or shadow is the infinite world; his refusal of the Christian incarnation on the basis that the whole universe, filled with the divine spirit, is an incarnation of God; his search for that God through a logical hunt that follows the traces of divine order observable within the natural universe; his idea of magic as filling the gap that opens up between the infinite whole and the finite mind of the philosopher, entrapped in time and space; his search for new mathematical and mnemonic arts capable of comprehending the infinite, universal whole.

Considered a precursor of major philosophers such as Baruch Spinoza or Friedrich Wilhelm Jo-



Giordano Bruno. Undated woodcut of the statue in the Piazza Navona, Rome. ©BETTMANN/CORBIS

seph von Schelling, Bruno was appreciated in the nineteenth century above all for his contribution to the scientific revolution and in the twentieth for his Hermetic magic and interest in the occult. The agenda for the new century appears oriented toward a more balanced and complete view of him as a thinker who amalgamated apparently conflicting doctrines of knowledge in a complex but rich oeuvre that Bruno himself referred to as “the Nolan philosophy.”

See also Academies, Learned; Cosmology; Magic; Philosophy; Scientific Revolution; Spinoza, Baruch.

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HILARY GATTI

BUDAPEST. Buda and Pest, which along with the rural borough of Óbuda (Old Buda) united in 1873 to form the modern Hungarian capital Budapest, were Hungary's geographical and economic centers in the early modern era. By the mid-fifteenth century Buda had become an economically and culturally vibrant royal city and seat of government. In 1541 it was conquered by Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent (ruled 1520–1566), and until its reconquest by the allied forces of the Holy League in 1686 it remained the center of the Ottoman Empire's northernmost province. From 1686 until 1703 Buda and Pest were under the jurisdiction of the Viennese Court Chamber (*Hofkammer*). In 1703 they regained their status as royal free cities, opening the way for their spectacular development within the Habsburg Monarchy. Buda, however, never regained its former status as the royal seat, for the Habsburgs ruled Hungary from Vienna, their imperial capital situated over 150 miles to the west.

The population of Buda at the end of the fifteenth century is estimated at twelve thousand, while that of Pest was around ten thousand; under Ottoman rule (1541–1686) Buda and Pest had, respectively, about eight thousand and twelve thousand inhabitants. As a result of Habsburg policy and immigration, the eighteenth century saw a spectacular population surge. By 1820 Pest had become Hungary's largest city, with more than fifty thousand inhabitants as compared to Buda's thirty thousand. In the fifteenth century the majority of Buda's inhabitants were Hungarians, and there were significant German and Jewish minorities. Under the Ottomans, Muslim Turks and Orthodox Slavs made up 50 to 75 percent of the population. By 1714 Germans constituted 52 percent of the population, followed by the Serbs (41 percent) and a tiny minority of Hungarians (5 percent). The relative proportions did not change significantly during the remainder of the century. Although at the beginning of the eighteenth century Hungarians had a plurality in Pest (40 percent), by mid-century Pest, too, had become a German city; in 1746, 67 percent of

its population was German, while Serbs and Hungarians made up 17 and 16 percent, respectively.

The administration and economic life of Buda from the 1420s until the Ottoman conquest was regulated by the *Ofner Stadtrecht* (Buda book of statutes). Under King Matthias I Corvinus (ruled 1458–1490) Buda became the center of the Hungarian Renaissance, contributing significantly to education and culture. The king's library, the Bibliotheca Corviniana, housed some three thousand volumes and was one of the richest libraries in Europe, equaled only by that of the Vatican. Under Ottoman rule, Buda and Pest acquired a clear Oriental character, with mosques and Turkish baths, several of which were still in use at the beginning of the twenty-first century. In the eighteenth century Buda and Pest regained their status as the country's political and cultural centers. New churches, monasteries, and schools were built by various religious orders—Jesuits, Franciscans, Poor Clares, Carmelites, Capuchins, and Augustinians. These new edifices, along with the baroque palace erected by Holy Roman Emperor Charles VI (ruled 1711–1740; king of Hungary as Charles III) and Maria Theresa (queen of Hungary, 1740–1780), gave the twin cities their distinct baroque look.

See also **Austro-Ottoman Wars**; **Habsburg Territories**; **Hungary**.

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GÁBOR ÁGOSTON

BUDÉ, GUILLAUME (1468–1540), French scholar. Budé was born into a prominent Paris bourgeois family with ties to the French crown and a large collection of books and manuscripts. He dropped out of law school but experienced a “conversion” around 1491, turning to a life of humanistic study and advocacy of *bonae literae* (good

letters). Calling himself self-taught and late-to-learn, he eventually became known for massive works of great erudition and complexity.

Budé was the preeminent humanist of the early years of the French Renaissance and the foremost European Hellenist of his time, famous for his encyclopedic knowledge of ancient law, monies and measures, and the Greek language. Considered on the level of Desiderius Erasmus, Budé was the very embodiment of a thesis dear to his heart: that leadership in literary culture was passing from Italy to France. Today he is remembered for his historical approach to law, economics, and politics, and for a ponderous prose style full of classical allusions, symbols, and metaphors. His advocacy of humanist learning influenced French cultural policy to some extent, although he cannot be said to have tempered the harsh reaction of the crown to the Reformation.

Budé held prominent political positions, beginning as a royal secretary to Charles VIII (ruled 1483–1498). His service to Francis I (ruled 1515–1547) began in 1517, when he corresponded with Erasmus about forming a French trilingual college. Their letters span a decade, but there was a falling-out after Budé judged Erasmus's lighter works “insignificant” and Erasmus found Budé's overly obscure and flowery. Budé corresponded with many other humanistically inclined persons, sometimes in Greek, occasionally engaging in controversies about humanist reputations.

Budé's active life included duties as *maître des requêtes* (master of requests of the royal household, a position he held for life, requiring considerable travel with the royal court), a term as *prévôt des marchands* (provost of Paris merchants, the most important royal officer in the city government), and *maître de la librairie du roi* (master of the king's library, another lifetime post). The humanist was considered an asset to the monarchy, and Budé welcomed such honors and duties as an opportunity for promoting the cause of letters and the foundation of a college of royal readers (later the Collège de France). However, he often complained that public responsibilities, personal affairs, and chronic poor health interfered with his study and writing.

His first major work was a historical study of excerpts from earlier jurists contained in Justinian's



Guillaume Budé. Portrait by Jean Clouet, c. 1535. ©RÉUNION DES MUSÉES NATIONAUX/ART RESOURCE, N.Y.

Corpus iuris civilis. The *Annotationes in Pandectas* (Annotations on the Pandects, 1508) included a scathing attack on traditional “Italian-style” legal scholarship; Budé was the main founder of the *mos gallicus* (French) school of legal humanism. This work is an early example of Budé’s philological practice, reading ancient texts mindful of their historical context. He expanded upon this method in later *Annotationes* (1526). The *De philologia* (On philology) and *De studio litterarum recte et commode instituendo* (On the proper institution of the study of letters) of 1532 extended his cultural and educational projects to include more spiritual pursuits.

Budé’s *De asse et partibus ejus* (On the pound and its parts), a vast inventory and study of ancient coinage and units of measure, appeared in 1515. Despite its prolix Latin style and rather polemical digressions on political economy and attacks on social and clerical abuses and the vanities of wealth, it was reedited five times during Budé’s life and was long the standard work on the subject.

Budé’s next works are associated with his career as an official and advisor of Francis I, who did not

read Latin. One was a manuscript compendium of translations from ancient sources with advice to the ruler (the *Institution du Prince*, presented to the king in 1519 but published only in 1547), another a French summary of *De asse* prepared for the king in 1522.

His *Comentarii linguae graecae* (Commentaries on the Greek language) of 1529, based on years of research, had a lasting influence on Greek language studies in the West; editions of this lexicographical work appeared the following year in Basel, Cologne, and Venice as well as after Budé’s death.

Budé’s role in Reformation controversies remains a subject of discussion by scholars. Although he was in a position to influence the king and to disarm hostility to the “good letters” that were increasingly linked to Reformation ideas, there is no evidence that he opposed the persecutions of reform-minded humanists. His final major work, *De Transitu Hellenismi ad Christianismum* (On the transition from Hellenism to Christianity) of 1535 reflects ambivalence and concern over the relationship of humanism to Reformation controversies. It calls for a moral regeneration through the pursuit of higher, Christian wisdom and has been viewed as a serious attempt to transcend the apparent conflict between sacred and profane knowledge. Writing in an atmosphere of hysteria over Protestant subversion, Budé condemned new religious doctrines in *De Transitu*.

Some have wondered about Budé’s true religious feelings, for he was buried unceremoniously at night, and his family moved to Protestant Geneva soon after his death. Surely his great love for classical philology was eclipsed by the Reformation crisis, and at the end of his life his enthusiasm for pagan learning waned in favor of more spiritual pursuits. His letters, philosophical works, and political ideas continue to interest students of the period, and his legendary reputation for encyclopedic erudition and philological expertise remains intact.

See also Erasmus, Desiderius; Francis I (France); Humanists and Humanism; Libraries.

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DAVID O. MCNEIL

BUENOS AIRES. The southernmost city in the Spanish colonial empire, Buenos Aires was first founded in 1536 and refounded in 1580. It was located on the edge of a large alluvial plain, the Pampas, where a wide estuary, the Río de la Plata, flows to the South Atlantic. Lacking a sedentary indigenous population or a climate suited for tropical export crops, the city languished on the fringes of empire. Although of moderate strategic importance because of its proximity to Portuguese Brazil, Buenos Aires was forbidden from participating in the official trade linking Spain and America. Consequently, the city survived as a contraband center, supplying slaves to the interior in exchange for silver smuggled from the mines of Alto Peru (now Bolivia).

In 1776 Spain carved the viceroyalty of Río de la Plata out of the viceroyalty of Peru; Buenos Aires became the viceregal capital. Included in its jurisdiction were present-day Bolivia, Paraguay, Uruguay, and Chile. Two years later, the city was allowed to participate in the new “free trade” network created by Spain. These dramatic changes produced rapid growth in the city's administrative and commercial sectors as well as an increase in the city's population.

Late-eighteenth-century warfare on the European continent greatly affected the city's legal trade. Because of Spain's involvement in those wars, the crown was periodically forced to permit trade with

neutrals, thus throwing the port of Buenos Aires open to non-Spanish trading partners. The English invaded the city twice (1806 and 1807) during the Napoleonic wars but were defeated by militia units composed of local residents. The new political climate born of the heady victories over the world's most powerful nation raised the city's political consciousness. In May 1810, in a town council meeting called to discuss the region's future, participants voted to depose the viceroy and create a ruling junta. Thus Buenos Aires became the first region successfully to declare itself free from Spanish rule, foreshadowing the revolutionary period that followed.

See also **Colonialism; Spanish Colonies: Peru**.

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SUSAN M. SOCOLOW

BUFFON, GEORGES LOUIS LECLERC (1707–1788), natural historian. Born to an aristocratic family in Montbard (Burgundy), where he also received his early education, Buffon was originally directed toward a bureaucratic career common for his class. A chance meeting with a young English nobleman in 1738 led to a continental tour through France, Italy, and England. During this year-long sojourn, Buffon studied natural history and the new philosophical positions of Isaac Newton (1642–1727), the influential English natural philosopher and was exposed to the work of John Ray (1627–1705), England's most important naturalist. When he returned to France, Buffon published translations of one of Newton's works along with a work on botany by Stephen Hales (1677–1761), and his new interest in the sciences was clear.



Georges Buffon. ©LEONARD DE SELVA/CORBIS

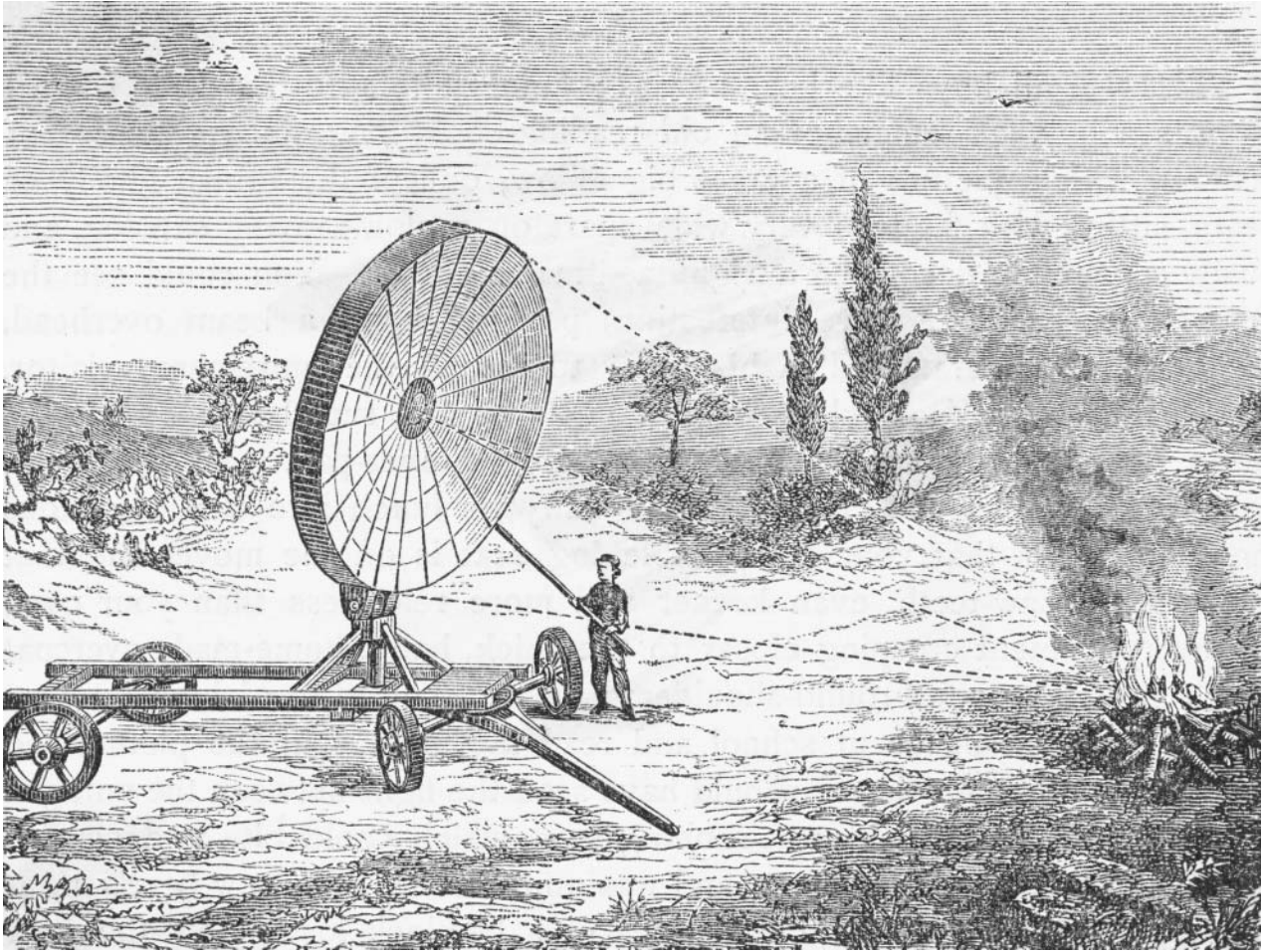
Privileged economically by birth, Buffon then turned his attention exclusively to natural philosophy. By 1739 he was made a member of the French Academy of Sciences and then appointed to direct the Jardin du Roi (now Jardin des Plantes) in Paris. As director, Buffon established himself as one of the most influential natural historians of the eighteenth century, one of the most important figures of the French Enlightenment, and one of the most politically and administratively powerful individuals in the French bureaucracy prior to the Revolution.

Buffon's first task at the Jardin was to build its collections and expand its physical size. Once these tasks were well underway, he dedicated himself to a large writing project, his multivolume work *Histoire naturelle, générale, et particulière* (1749–1788, 1789), along with a shorter introductory work describing the natural development of the Earth, *Les époques de la nature* (1778). Buffon's written work established him as the leading contributor to a thoroughly naturalistic interpretation of the formation of the Earth and all its botanical and zoological residents. His literary productions, lavishly illustrated and featuring the engaging and humanistic

style common among the philosophes of the Enlightenment, led to the spread of his fame throughout Europe, England, and the United States. By the end of his life, he had been elected as a member to most learned societies throughout the western world.

It is difficult to provide a simple description of Buffon's ideas about the natural world, since they developed over the course of his career. But essentially, Buffon attempted to adopt a Newtonian approach to natural history. That is, he aspired to describe the workings of nature as being under the control of natural forces. Although the exact nature of the forces was unknown, naturalists could observe their action through the effects they produced; that is, through the formation of the multitude of geological forms, botanical specimens, and zoological beings. With these force concepts, Buffon was completely freed from reliance on catastrophic events occurring over a short period of time, or miraculous events within the natural world, or to teleological explanations especially steeped in religious doctrine or divine intervention. His system was completely and unabashedly naturalistic and dynamic.

Central to Buffon's system for plants and animals was the notion of the *moule intérieur*, loosely defined as internal mold or pattern. This was a force concept he borrowed self-consciously from Newton. As such, it controlled the organization and operation of each specific organism. Thus, a horse took on the form and behavior of horses because it was endowed with "horse" *moule intérieur*. Just as gravity always produced the same result when it operated upon the same material, so Buffon's notion created order and regulation for nature's organic production. In practice, however, Buffon's ideas proved to be more problematic. Completely opposed to the fixed system of nature proposed by his Swedish contemporary, Carl Linnaeus (1707–1778), he ultimately was unable to describe systematically how the *moule intérieur* operated. Was this on the level of the individual species or was it on a higher level of organization? In other words, were all horses the same species or did a specific *moule* explain the great variation between the Shetland pony and the Arabian horse?



Georges Buffon. An undated engraving depicts Buffon's reflecting mirror. ©BETTMANN/CORBIS

Despite problems in applying his philosophical system to the collections at the Jardin, Buffon exerted a tremendous influence over natural history in the eighteenth century, an influence that lasted well into the nineteenth century with the work of Charles Darwin (1809–1882). After Buffon, it became impossible for naturalists to refer uncritically to nonnatural explanations for natural phenomena. Basing his philosophical position on the epochal work of Newton, Buffon demonstrated successfully that the natural world was a world controlled by natural forces, from the workings of the tides to the production of species. His arguments, presented in an elegant writing style, elevated Buffon to one of the most prominent positions in eighteenth-century science.

See also Bacon, Francis; Biology; Botany; Linnaeus, Carl; Natural History; Newton, Isaac; Ray, John; Zoology.

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KEITH R. BENSON

BULLINGER, HEINRICH (1504–1575), Swiss reformer, theologian, and church leader. Born in Bremgarten, the son of a priest, Bullinger was educated at Emmerich, where he came under the lasting influence of the Brethren of the Common Life. His move, at age fifteen, to the university at Cologne exposed him more fully to humanism and the study of the church fathers. He returned to his native land in 1523 to become a

teacher at the Cistercian monastery at Kappel, southwest of Zurich. Education and its provision were to be lifelong concerns for Bullinger, and in the 1520s he sought to reform the monastery along humanist lines. During this period he became acquainted with the Swiss theologian and reformer Huldrych Zwingli. From 1529 to 1531, during the height of Zwingli's influence in Zurich, Bullinger was the preacher in his native Bremgarten. A military force from Zurich, accompanied by Zwingli as chaplain, was surprised and defeated at Kappel by an army from the central cantons of the Swiss Confederation, also known as the Five Forest Cantons. Zwingli was killed in the battle (11 October 1531). Following the defeat at Kappel and Zwingli's death, Catholic forces expelled the evangelicals from Bremgarten, and Bullinger arrived in Zurich as a refugee. His teaching, writing, and preaching had already earned him a formidable reputation, and in 1531 he received separate calls to head the churches of Berne, Basle, and Zurich. Out of loyalty to Zurich, he accepted a call from the Council was elected head of the church on 13 December 1531.

After Zwingli's death Bullinger had to reconstruct the institutional basis of the Zurich church. This required him to balance conflicting principles. First, the Zurich magistrates and population were no longer prepared to tolerate an independent clergy who used *sola scriptura* ('Scripture alone', that is, the authority of the Bible as superior to all other authorities), to force political agendas contrary to will of the people—such as Zwingli's war against the Catholics in 1531. Yet Bullinger was not prepared to lead a church in which the clergy were not free to preach God's Word. The compromise, which shaped Bullinger's tenure as leader of the Zurich church, was built around an agreement that the council would give Bullinger a relatively free hand in running the church as long as he controlled the clergy and prevented them from either preaching on political matters or causing scandal through their sermons or in their personal lives. The agreement worked because Bullinger was trusted by the political leaders, with whom he had strong personal contacts, and, with few exceptions, contentious issues were hammered out behind closed doors.

Bullinger was a prodigious theologian, preacher, and historian. He regularly preached two or three times a week, and many of his sermons were

printed. As a theologian, his central concern was to demonstrate that the Reformed Church stood in line with the teachings of the early church. In the Zurich tradition, his theology was directed toward pastoral application, emphasized the clarity of Scripture and the role of the Spirit, and drew heavily from the Old Testament. He stressed the practical nature of Christianity and the doing of good works, although he did not accord them a salvific role. Bullinger saw himself primarily as an expositor of Scripture, and most of his major works took the form of sermons or biblical commentaries (*The Decades, Sermons on Revelation*). On the matter of the Eucharist he remained close to Zwingli, but the influence of Johannes Oecolampadius (1482–1531) and Philipp Melancthon (1497–1560) is now recognized in his writings. He worked closely with John Calvin (1509–1564) and played a crucial role in the latter's return to Geneva. Their relationship was not especially warm, but they understood the necessity of cooperation, as evidenced by their statement on the Lord's Supper of 1549 (*Consensus Tigurinus*).

Bullinger was committed to building the wider European community of the Reformed churches. The word "Reformed" was crucial as he had little faith that there would be reconciliation with Luther or Lutheran theology. The seismic split between Luther and Zwingli dominated Bullinger's life as head of the Zurich church. There were sporadic attempts at reconciliation, and Bullinger did have good relations with men such as Melancthon, but he felt honor bound to defend his predecessor. In contrast, he was an enthusiastic supporter of Reform movements in Eastern Europe, France, Italy, and, most famously, England. His surviving correspondence of around twelve thousand letters bears witness to his work on behalf of the international Reformation—all the more remarkable for a man who almost never ventured outside the walls of Zurich.

As leader of the Zurich church, Bullinger gathered in the city a group of humanists (Konrad Pellikan, Theodor Bibliander, Conrad Gessner) whose work on Scripture, history, education, and natural science made Zurich an intellectual center for Reformed Protestantism. Bullinger's own contribution, not sufficiently recognized, was as a historian. In addition, Bullinger's Zurich was also a cen-

ter for religious refugees from Italy, France, Netherlands, and England. Bullinger stood at the center of this international communication system and was in his day a leading figure of the European Reformation.

See also Calvin, John; Luther, Martin; Melancthon, Philipp; Reformation, Protestant; Zurich; Zwingli, Huldrych.

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BRUCE GORDON

BUNYAN, JOHN (1628–1688), English Nonconformist author. John Bunyan was born in Elstow, Bedfordshire, England, where his father, Thomas Bunyan, was a brazier. Educated at a petty school and perhaps briefly at a grammar school, John Bunyan served during the civil war in the parliamentary garrison at Newport Pagnell, Buckinghamshire, from November 1644 until about September 1646 and reenlisted briefly in 1647. By 1649 he had married, and his wife's dowry consisted of two books by Lewis Bayly and Arthur Dent that influenced Bunyan's religious development.

Following his spiritual awakening in 1650, Bunyan experienced recurring bouts of depression and spiritual doubt that lasted until late 1657 or early 1658, recounted in his spiritual autobiography, *Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners* (1666). During this period of crisis he joined the open-membership congregation at Bedford in 1655 and under its auspices began to preach. Among his earliest religious foes were "Ranters," by whom he meant antinomians and deniers of a physical Resur-

rection and external worship. He also challenged the Quakers, engaging in a literary dispute with Edward Burrough in 1656–1657, and he wrote a tract, now lost, against witchcraft. In the late 1650s he was influenced by the millenarian tenets of the Fifth Monarchists.

Refusing to cease preaching at the Restoration, Bunyan was arrested in November 1660. Although he would have been released had he promised to relinquish his preaching, he refused and was incarcerated in the Bedford county jail until the spring of 1672. Some of his time was spent making shoelaces to support his family, including his second wife, Elizabeth, whom he had married in 1659 following the death of his first wife the preceding year. In prison he continued to write, manifesting a discipline that enabled him to produce some sixty books during his career. His most important theological work, *The Doctrine of the Law and Grace Unfolded*, an exposition of covenant thought, had appeared in 1659, and his early prison writings included poetry, an attack on the Book of Common Prayer (*I Will Pray with the Spirit* [1662]), and a millenarian tract, *The Holy City* (1665). Following the completion of *Grace Abounding*, he turned in 1667 to a sermon about the Christian life, *The Heavenly Foot-Man* (1698).

While working on this sermon, Bunyan was inspired to write his famous allegory *The Pilgrim's Progress*, begun about March 1668 and completed three years later, though not published until 1678, partly because some colleagues deemed it insufficiently serious. The allegory was both a guide to the Christian life and a contribution to the debate over liberty of conscience that raged in the late 1660s and the 1670s. Drawing extensively on the Bible, Bunyan was also influenced by the pilgrimage theme in the Christian tradition and his own experience. The allegory denounced persecution and provided a critique of the Church of England, the restored monarchy, and society.

While still in prison, Bunyan entered the debate over church membership and baptism in *A Confession of My Faith* (1672), which sparked attacks from the Baptists Thomas Paul and John Denne. Bunyan defended himself in *Differences in Judgment about Water Baptism* (1673) and *Peaceable Principles* (1674); his position was that of an open-member-

ship Baptist. In the meantime he engaged the debate over justification by attacking Edward Fowler's *The Design of Christianity* (1671) in *A Defence of the Doctrine of Justification, by Faith* (1672), his last imprisonment work. Shortly before Bunyan's release, the Bedford church appointed him a pastor on 21 December 1671. When on 4 March 1675 a new warrant for his arrest was issued, accusing him of teaching at conventicles, he went into hiding. He was apprehended in December 1676 and was confined until June 1677.

As the nation divided over alleged Catholic conspiracy, the anticipated succession of James, duke of York (James II; ruled 1685–1688), allegations of arbitrary rule, and the treatment of dissenters, Bunyan wrote some of his best work. Those contributions include *The Life and Death of Mr. Badman* (1680), a searing critique of Restoration society; *The Holy War* (1682), a complex allegory about soteriology as well as an attack on Charles II (ruled 1660–1685) and the Tory-Anglicans; *Of Antichrist* (1692), a treatise criticizing the Stuarts, Catholicism, and the Church of England; and the second part of *The Pilgrim's Progress* (1684), which focuses on the dissenting pastor Great-heart and Christian's wife Christiana.

After James II introduced his policy of toleration, Bunyan was cautiously cooperative. Seven members of his church were named to the Bedford Corporation, and another was considered for appointment as a justice of the peace. On 31 August 1688 Bunyan died in London, and he was buried several days later in Bunhill Fields. He was survived by his wife, three sons, and two daughters; his blind daughter, Mary, had predeceased him. Transcending its polemical context, *The Pilgrim's Progress* became one of the most widely published works in history, reaching more than 1,300 editions by 1938.

See also **Dissenters, English; England; English Civil War and Interregnum.**

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RICHARD L. GREAVES

BURGUNDY. The early modern state of Burgundy was the product of a historical accident. When Charles the Bold (1433–1477), the last Valois duke of Burgundy (1467–1477), was murdered in 1477, his various and sundry lands and estates were divided up between the king of France and the Holy Roman emperor. While the large duchy of Burgundy was soon incorporated into the kingdom of France, the free county of Burgundy just across the Saône River (Franche-Comté) was quickly absorbed into the empire. Moreover, all the territories that made up the Burgundian Netherlands—the counties of Flanders, Holland, Zeeland, Hainaut, and Namur as well as the duchies of Brabant, Limburg, and Luxembourg—also swore allegiance to the emperor. Thus what had once been a politically powerful buffer state that separated France and the empire and stretched from the North Sea to the Franco-Swiss border was now divided between these two European powers. With its twin courts at Brussels and Dijon permanently separated, Burgundy's political influence was no longer as significant as it had once been, when it held the balance of power between England and France in the Hundred Years' War (1337–1453).

These Franco-Habsburg tensions intensified less than two decades after Charles the Bold's death, when the French king Charles VIII (ruled 1483–1498) invaded Italy in a dispute over the emperor's claim to the vacant duchy of Milan, starting the Habsburg-Valois Wars (1494–1559). Charles V (1519–1556), the grandson and heir of Maximilian I (ruled 1493–1519), later tried to reunite the duchy to the rest of the Burgundian state under Habsburg control. Having captured King Francis I of France (1515–1547) on the battlefield at Pavia in Italy in 1525, Charles succeeded in getting him to renounce the duchy of Burgundy as part of the deal to release him. Francis reneged on his promise once

he acquired his freedom, however, and the duchy remained in French hands. Moreover the Burgundian political elites of the duchy made it known to all that they were loyal Frenchmen and had no desire to be transferred to the sovereignty of the emperor to reunite with the other former Burgundian territories in the empire. Although neither Francis I nor Charles V managed to gain any permanent territorial advantage in Italy from the Habsburg-Valois Wars, this conflict served as a backdrop to the foreign policies of both states for the rest of the early modern period. Indeed even after the Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis formally ended the wars in 1559, Habsburg-Valois tensions continued to ferment, a situation not helped by the advent of Protestantism in both states.

With the coming of the Reformation in France, the duchy of Burgundy became a bastion for the traditional religion and a bulwark against the new Calvinist faith, which most Burgundians, like most French Catholics, tended to see as heresy. The royal governor of Burgundy from the 1530s to the 1590s was a member of the militantly Catholic Guise family, so the many patronage networks of the Guises worked long and hard in the province to prevent the spread of heresy. Calvinism nevertheless managed to gain a foothold in some of the principal Burgundian towns by 1560, and tensions between the two faiths broke out in violence, as it did in many towns throughout the kingdom in the early 1560s. Most Burgundians had supported the attempts of Kings Henry II (ruled 1547–1559) and Francis II (ruled 1559–1560) to suppress Protestantism, by force if necessary. But they were explicitly hostile to the edict of January 1562, since it gave legal recognition to the French Protestants for the first time. When the French Wars of Religion officially broke out in 1562, Burgundy fought against both the Protestants and the crown's continuous attempts to make peace with them over the next four decades. Burgundy remained a bastion of Catholicism and became a stronghold of the Catholic League after the death of the last Valois heir in 1584 made Henry of Navarre (Henry IV; ruled 1589–1610), the leader of the French Protestants, presumptive heir to the throne.

The battles with the crown over religion in the sixteenth century turned to politics in the seventeenth century. First Henry IV began to intervene in

local elections for mayor in several Burgundian towns in 1609, altering a process of independence that had originated under the Valois dukes. Then in the 1630s his son and successor, Louis XIII (ruled 1610–1643), attempted to take away the province's traditional right to assess and collect its own taxes through its provincial Estates. When Louis tried to suppress the Estates and replace them with royal tax officials, many in the province fought back. A band of citizens in Dijon—mainly winegrowers and artisans—actually burned down the houses of several members of Dijon's parlement (sovereign court) who spoke out in favor of the king's plan. Louis went in person to Dijon to punish the culprits as well as to chide the elites for not fully supporting his venture. By the time of the Fronde in 1648, Burgundy's elites had been won over to the crown's wishes on virtually all political matters, as the king continued to reward them handsomely for their cooperation. As a result there was no opposition to the crown in Burgundy when parlements in other regions revolted in 1648. And for the most part Burgundy's elites continued to support French kings right up to the Revolution of 1789.

Louis XIV (ruled 1643–1715) managed to reunite the free county of Burgundy with the duchy in 1674, when his troops occupied Franche-Comté and brought the county under French control. Thus the two Burgundies, as contemporaries were still referring to the duchy and the county, were both under the authority of one prince for the first time since 1477. Like their fellow subjects in the duchy, the elites of Franche-Comté tended for the most part to be willing, loyal subjects of the king of France in return for largesse, rewards, and perquisites. From one-time enemies of France during the Hundred Years' War, Burgundians by the late seventeenth century had become some of the most ardent defenders of the Catholic Church and the French crown.

See also Charles the Bold (Burgundy); Habsburg-Valois Wars; Holy Roman Empire; Valois Dynasty (France).

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MACK P. HOLT

BURKE, EDMUND (1729–1797), British statesman and orator. Born in Arran Quay, Dublin, Edmund Burke was educated at Trinity College, Dublin, and studied law briefly at the Inns of Court in London. He published two early books, *A Vindication of Natural Society* (1756) and *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (1757; expanded 1759), which caught the eye of David Hume, Samuel Johnson, and other illustrious contemporaries and established him as an author. Burke had shown from the first a strong interest in politics, informed by copious knowledge, and this led to his appointment in 1759 as private secretary to a member of Parliament, William Gerard Hamilton. He found a new position in 1765 as secretary to the marquess of Rockingham, the leader of a group of Whigs then pressing the House of Commons to assert its independence from the king. Given a seat in Parliament as the representative from Wendover, Burke distinguished himself as a strategist for the Rockingham administration of 1765–1766 and substantially assisted in its major achievement, the repeal of the stamp tax on the American colonies.

In the late 1760s an attempt by the king's ministers to prevent John Wilkes from taking his seat in Parliament led Burke and his party to concert a policy against the aggrandizement of the crown. Burke's reading of the constitution at this crisis emerged in his first major political work, *Thoughts on the Cause of the Present Discontents* (1770), a full-scale defense of the idea of a political party. An organized opposition, says Burke, is an indispensable bulwark of liberty, and the reasons for forming such a party are plain: "When bad men combine, the good must associate; else they will fall, one by one, an unpitied sacrifice in a contemptible struggle."

Whatever might change in his stance, Burke would continue to speak for political association against the privilege of court favorites or the

unchecked power of the people. He once said that he believed the principles of politics were only the principles of morality enlarged. Accordingly, Burke was skeptical of theories of the social contract that codified the rights of citizens. In the 1770s and 1780s, most of his energy was given to enlarging the liberty of the people by increasing the protections against monarchical abuse of power, and yet he was never a believer in popular government: statesmanship always carried for him a sense of the dignity and ceremony that should accompany great enterprises. Elected in 1774 as a member of Parliament from Bristol, Burke soon pleaded for a sympathetic reception of the American protests against taxation. His speech on conciliation with the American colonies (1775) urged a policy of concession to the point of disclaiming any further intention to tax the colonists. The three-hour speech has been considered from that day to this one of the greatest orations in the language. "An Englishman," Burke told his listeners, "is the unfittest person on earth to argue another Englishman into slavery." The right use of the American colonists, he asserted, was to cherish them as equal partners in trade and as allies in time of war. "Magnanimity in politics is not seldom the truest wisdom; and a great empire and little minds go ill together." He concluded that anything the colonists gave beyond their friendship should be freely given.

During his Bristol years, from 1774 to 1780, Burke stood out as a defender of free trade with Ireland, liberalization of the laws controlling imprisonment for debt, and the repeal of Catholic disabilities—all unpopular positions in a Protestant and mercantile city. When threatened with loss of his constituency in 1780, he gave an unswerving defense of his actions in his speech at Bristol guildhall: "I did not obey your instructions. No. I conformed to the instructions of truth and Nature, and maintained your interest, against your opinions, with a constancy that became me." Before reentering the House of Commons as the representative from Malton, he found the cause that would occupy the rest of his career: exposure of the injustices of the East India Company ("a government in the disguise of a merchant") and impeachment of the governor-general of Bengal, Warren Hastings.

Burke's own practical proposal, ventured in his speech on Fox's East India Bill (1783), was to reor-

ganize the company and place its officers under the direct control of Parliament. Rejection of this plan by the House of Commons precipitated the fall of the Fox-North coalition, with whose prospects Burke's own political fortunes were bound up. Nevertheless, he chose to pursue Hastings as a manager of his impeachment by the House of Commons in proceedings that lasted from 1788 to 1795. The process ended in acquittal. Yet Burke looked on his efforts to reform British India as his major accomplishment, "my monument."

A securer fame in his lifetime would come from his criticism of the French Revolution in a series of pamphlets of the 1790s, above all *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790). Burke warned against a great change in the spirit of society, from aristocratic to democratic manners and from the authority of an ancient landed nobility to that of a mobile commercial class. He speaks as a believer in precedent and prescription and a defender of natural feelings such as reverence for an established church and a hereditary nobility. Against the promise of a society based on contract, he offers his vision of a society based on trust—"a partnership not only between those who are living, but between those who are living, those who are dead, and those who are to be born." The onset of democracy, Burke supposed, would destroy that partnership. A democracy would be unable to correct the errors that a crowd in power would commit on a new and terrifying scale.

In 1794 Burke was awarded a pension by William Pitt and George III and retired to his estate in Beaconsfield. His final writings, the *Letters on a Regicide Peace* (1796–1797), were a sustained attempt to persuade England to fight a counterrevolutionary war against France. He died in 1797, ending as he began, in isolation. Burke's greatest political legacy may be the example of a statesman who uses his freedom of conscience to extend the public debate of public matters. In literature his influence has been deeper, though harder to trace. He was a historian and a prophet of the powers of sympathy and imagination by which people can be awakened to generous action.

See also **British Colonies: India; British Colonies: North America; Constitutionalism; Hastings, Warren; Monarchy; Parliament; Political Parties in England; Political Philosophy; Rhetoric; Sublime, Idea of the; Taxation.**

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DAVID BROMWICH

BURNEY, FRANCES (Mme. d'Arblay; 1752–1840), celebrated English novelist, diarist, playwright. The daughter of music historian Charles Burney, Frances was born in King's Lynn in Norfolk, but grew up in London, where her father associated with many famous literary figures including Samuel Johnson and his "Club" and members of the Blue Stocking Circle, an informal group of learned women who, during the 1750s, held receptions for important literary figures and met to discuss art and literature.

Burney started writing in 1768 when she began keeping a journal (addressed "to nobody") that she continued to keep for the rest of her life. In 1778, she published her first novel, *Evelina, or a Young Lady's Entrance into the World*, having written it in secret and arranged for it to be published anonymously. The story of a naïve and innocent young woman introduced into fashionable, and often eccentric, aristocratic London society, *Evelina* was an instant success. When the *London Review* reported that "there is much more merit, as well respecting stile, character & Incident, than is usually to be met with in modern Novels," Burney felt confident to confess to her father that she was its author, and she

was subsequently introduced into London literary society, with the help of Samuel Johnson's friend Hester Thrale, as an accomplished novelist.

Encouraged by her celebrated arrival on the literary scene, Burney's writing career took off. In 1782 she published her second novel, *Cecilia, or Memoirs of an Heiress*. The story of a young woman with a large fortune in search of a suitable husband, *Cecilia* was immensely successful, being an accurate reflection of the eighteenth-century marriage market. Having begun, and then abandoned, her first play, *The Wittlings*, in 1778, Burney was exhausted by the writing of *Cecilia* and did not complete any further novels or plays for six years.

In 1786, following a number of unsuccessful courtships, Burney was offered, and accepted, a position as second keeper of the robes to Queen Charlotte, moving into the queen's lodge in Windsor in June that year. Upholding this position until poor health forced her to retire in 1791, Burney dutifully recorded her years as a member of the royal household in her *Court Journals*. During this time she also wrote more plays, including the tragedy *Edwy and Elgiva*, which was staged at the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane in 1795, though it survived only one performance. Other plays quickly followed: *Hubert de Vere* and *The Siege of Pevensey* in 1790, and the incomplete *Elberta* in 1791.

Having left the royal household, Burney began a secret courtship with a French Catholic General, Alexander d'Arblay, who was living in exile in England. They married in 1793, and continued to live in England, during which time Burney completed and published (1796) her third novel, *Camilla, or a Picture of Youth*, which, like her two earlier novels, told the story of the entrance into society of a beautiful, intelligent, but inexperienced young woman. Two years later she wrote another play, this time a comedy, *Love and Fashion*, which was accepted for Covent Garden Theatre but never performed. In 1800 she wrote two more comic plays, *A Busy Day* and *The Woman-Hater*, neither of which were performed in her lifetime.

In 1802, when General d'Arblay felt it was safe to return home and recover his family estates, he and Burney moved to France, where they lived in Paris for ten years. During this time, Burney's health deteriorated and she realized she was suffering from

breast cancer. In 1811 she underwent a mastectomy without anesthetic, and, remarkably, lived to enjoy relative good health and record the details of her operation in a frank and extraordinary letter to her sister.

In 1812 Burney and her husband returned to England. Two years later she published her fourth and final novel, *The Wanderer, or Female Difficulties*, which did not enjoy anything like the success of her earlier works. The remainder of her life was spent in London and Bath; in 1832 she published the *Memoirs of Doctor Burney*, as well as her father's papers, and edited her own journals and letters in preparation for their likely publication after her death. She died in London in 1840, outliving most of her family and, to an extent, her literary reputation. *The Diaries and Letters of Madame D'Arblay (1778–1840)*, edited by her niece Charlotte Barrett, was published in seven volumes in London, 1842–1846, confirming her reputation as one of the eighteenth century's most important novelists, and her importance as an inspiration for later woman writers like Jane Austen, who greatly admired her works.

See also Defoe, Daniel; Diaries; Drama: English; English Literature and Language; Johnson, Samuel; Richardson, Samuel; Smollett, Tobias; Sterne, Laurence.

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ALISON STENTON

BUXTEHUDE, DIETERICH (also spelled "Dietrich"; c. 1637–1707), considered one of the most important seventeenth-century German composers and organists between the time of Heinrich Schütz (1585–1672) and Johann Sebastian Bach (1685–1750). Buxtehude was also the most highly respected church musician of his generation, and he contributed significantly to the development of middle baroque organ music. The exact place of Buxtehude's birth is unknown; he was probably born in Denmark, either in Helsingör (Elsinore) or Helsingborg (now part of Sweden), or else in Oldesloe, Germany.

At Skt. Olai Kirke in Helsingör, where his father worked (c. 1641–1671), Buxtehude studied organ and gained firsthand knowledge of organ building, and he probably also received formal musical training at the Latin school in Helsingör. By the age of twenty-five he was considered an expert in organ design and structure. It is possible that he continued his education in Copenhagen in the late 1650s. In late 1657 or early 1658 he accepted the position of organist at Skt. Maria Kirke in Helsingborg, where his father had previously worked, and remained there until 1660. From 1660 until 1668 he was employed at Sct. Mariae Kirke in Helsingör, after which he was appointed as organist, *Werkmeister* (church secretary and treasurer), and parish administrator at the Marienkirche in Lübeck, the most prestigious church-organ position in northern Germany and a post he held until his death. Shortly after moving to Lübeck, he married Anna Marga-

rethe Tunder, the youngest daughter of his predecessor, Franz Tunder. They had seven children, four of whom survived until adulthood.

The city of Lübeck was not as adversely affected by the Thirty Years' War as was the rest of central Europe. It did, however, suffer financially, and the city fathers worked to rebuild the local economy. In spite of this hardship, Lübeck maintained an excellent and well-paid band of musicians in its employ. The city also had a reputation as an important center of string playing, especially viola da gamba (bass viol). Buxtehude wrote two sets of sonatas for violin, viola da gamba, and harpsichord continuo (Op. 1, c. 1694, and Op. 2, 1696). These virtuosic and melodic compositions—the only instrumental works published during his lifetime—reflect the high level of instrumental performance in Lübeck.

Apart from his duties of providing music for church services, Buxtehude oversaw an annual concert series, the *Abendmusiken*, which was held on five Sundays in Trinity and Advent. As the director of the series, he raised money, wrote music, hired musicians, and conducted performances. Under Buxtehude, the *Abendmusik* concerts usually featured oratorios (dramatic sacred operas) that he had written based on biblical texts and lyrical poetry and, occasionally, programs of various choral and solo vocal music, as well as instrumental music. The musical forces that performed at *Abendmusik* concerts were substantial. Buxtehude demonstrated his business acumen in his administration of this series: he kept the concerts free to the public by soliciting funds from local businesses. The series continued until 1810 in Lübeck and served as a model that was imitated throughout Europe.

Buxtehude's reputation as an organist and improviser extended outside of Lübeck. George Frideric Handel (1685–1759) visited him in Lübeck in 1703, and in 1705 J. S. Bach walked from Arnstadt to Lübeck, more than 200 miles, to hear him perform. It is also possible that Bach made the trip to inquire about obtaining Buxtehude's position at the Marienkirche, after learning about the organist's impending retirement. But to be awarded the contractual title of *Werkmeister*, a prospective applicant was required to marry the master's eldest daughter, a tradition that Buxtehude had followed thirty-seven years earlier but that did

not appeal to Bach. When Buxtehude died in 1707, he was succeeded by Johann Christian Schieferdecker (1679–1732). Buxtehude was buried at the Marienkirche, next to his father and four daughters who had predeceased him.

Buxtehude's compositions encapsulate the seventeenth-century German baroque aesthetic. His instrumental works—especially the preludes for organ, with their dramatic rhapsodic passages, changing textures, and improvisational-sounding embellishments—make full use of the appropriately named *stylus phantasticus*, a freely improvisatory style favored by north German organists during that period, which Buxtehude often juxtaposed with short, contrasting sections of imitative counterpoint. His other keyboard works include canzonas, chorale settings, suites, and variation sets.

Although Buxtehude's position in Lübeck did not require him to write vocal music, he composed more works for voice than for keyboard or chamber ensemble. The two principal vocal genres he favored were the sacred concerto and the aria, both of which had been developed earlier in Germany by Michael Praetorius (1571–1621), Schütz, and others. Buxtehude's vocal concertos are set primarily to

biblical texts in German and Latin, and the majority of the arias within these works have strophic texts. Many concertos begin with an instrumental movement and conclude with a highly structured "Alleluia" or "Amen." His other vocal works include chorale settings and cantatas, most of which are four-voice settings based on a preexisting Lutheran hymn tune.

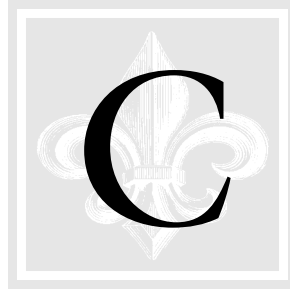
With the renewed interest in early music in recent decades, as well as the attention given to his compositions by J. S. Bach, Handel, and other composers, Buxtehude has been assured a permanent place in the organ and vocal repertory.

See also **Bach Family; Baroque; Handel, George Frideric; Hymns; Music; Schütz, Heinrich.**

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GREGORY MALDONADO



CABALA. The commonly used term for the mystical, magical, and theosophic teachings of Judaism from the twelfth century onward, the cabala (also cabbala, kabbala, or kabbalah) was considered the esoteric and unwritten portion of the revelation granted to Adam and again to Moses, while the Bible represented the exoteric revelation. (Although the term is often spelled with a ‘k’ when referring to the Jewish tradition and with a ‘c’ in the Christian version, it is spelled here with a ‘c’ for simplicity’s sake.) The word means “that which is received” or “tradition,” implying that the cabala was a body of knowledge that passed orally from generation to generation. A distinction is generally made between theoretical and practical cabala, the first dealing with theosophical issues, and the second with producing specific practical and eschatological effects (healing the sick, hastening the advent of the Messiah, attaining an ecstatic state) through the use of divine names and Hebrew letters.

The cabala proper developed from diverse esoteric and theosophical currents among Jews in Palestine and Egypt during the first Christian centuries. Early strands of Jewish apocalypticism and Merkabah (throne) and Hekhalot (palaces) mysticism were influenced by Hellenistic, Iranian, and gnostic thought, although scholars disagree about the extent and importance of these external influences. Merkabah and Hekhalot mysticism was devoted to descriptions of the dangerous ascent through various worlds and palaces that culminated

in the vision of the divine throne described in Ezekiel. The *Sefer Yetzirah* (Book of formation), a major source of later cabalistic speculation, belongs to the same period (second to sixth century). It describes the creative power of the twenty-two letters of the Hebrew alphabet and the ten *sefirot* (numbers or manifestations of God) through whom the world came into being.

During the Middle Ages these traditions of early Jewish mysticism were fused with Christian and Islamic (Sufism) mysticism and Islamic and Christian Neoplatonism to produce the German Hasidic movement (Ashkenazi Hasidism), which peaked between the eleventh and the thirteenth centuries. Its leading figures were Judah he-Hasid (d. 1217) and his pupil Eleazar of Worms (d. 1238), who produced popular works combining elements of Merkabah mysticism and theurgy with mystical speculations about letters and numbers.

The cabala originated simultaneously from these same sources in southern France in the twelfth century. Among its most important proponents were Rabbi Abraham ben David and his son Rabbi Isaac the Blind (d. c. 1235). The *Sefer ha-Bahir*, composed in the late twelfth century, circulated among these cabalists. It elaborated on the idea of the ten *sefirot*, describing them as divine powers emanating from the hidden God (*En Soph*). This became a dominant motif in later cabala. Cabalist centers developed in Burgos, Toledo, and Gerona. Azriel of Gerona applied Neoplatonic philosophy to cabalist concepts. For Gerona cabalists the highest human goal was to attain *Devekut* (communion

with God) through prayer and meditation on the *sefirot*. Nachmanides (c. 1194–1270) was the most famous member of this group. Many of the ideas of Ashkenazi Hasidism were absorbed by cabalists in Spain and southern France, who established new schools of cabala in Europe, Italy, and the East. Although there were considerable differences between the teachings of the various mystical and cabalistic groups in the medieval period, a common theme was the idea of the Godhead as a unity of dynamic forces.

A school of prophetic Cabala arose in connection with the teachings of Abraham Abulafia (c. 1240–1292), who devised “the science of combination,” a mystical technique of meditating on the divine names and the Hebrew letters in order to draw down the divine spirit and attain ecstatic experiences. The main product of Spanish Cabala, however, was the *Sefer ha-Zohar* (The book of splendor), written largely between 1280 and 1286. More of a library than a book, the *Zohar* consists of some twenty independent works. While it was attributed to the second-century Rabbi Simeon ben Yohai, a renowned sage of the school of Rabbi Akiva, the actual author was the contemporary Spanish cabalist Moses de Leon. The whole thrust of the *Zohar*, and the Cabala in general, is to understand the nature of God and man’s relation to him, but the picture that emerges is different from that found elsewhere in Judaism. Instead of the lawgiver and ruler of *halakhab* (Jewish law), the merciful father of *aggadah* (allegorical rabbinic literature), the awesome king of Merkabah and Hekhalot mysticism, or the necessary being of the philosophers, the *Zohar* envisions God as ten *sefirot* joined in a dynamic, organic unity. Each represents a distinct attribute of God, such as “wisdom,” “understanding,” “power,” “beauty,” “endurance,” and “majesty.”

Humanity is accorded tremendous power in the *Zohar*. Because people are made in the image of God and originate from the Godhead, they have the power to influence and act in the divine realm for good and ill. Through devotion in prayer and by fulfilling the commandments, people become active participants in the “mystery of unification” (*sod hayihud*), the process through which the divine forces are united, perfected, and return to their source. The notion that man can participate in the restoration, repair, and amendment of this world is stressed

throughout the *Zohar* in the notion of *Tikkun*, which literally means ‘restoration’.

In the sixteenth century a new form of Cabala appeared, derived from the teachings of Isaac Luria (1534–1572). Where the *Zohar* and earlier cabalistic works concentrated on cosmology, the Lurianic Cabala focused on exile, redemption, and the millennium. Luria reasoned that in order for there to be a place for the world, God had to withdraw from a part of himself. This doctrine of *Tsimsum* (withdrawal) was both profound and ambiguous. It provided a symbol of exile in the deepest sense, within the divinity itself, but it also implied that evil was intrinsic to the creation process and not attributable to man alone. Two other doctrines are crucial to Luria’s radical theology, the *Shevirat-ha-Kelim* (breaking of the vessels) and *Tikkun* (restoration). Both explain how the evil that emerged with creation represented a temporary state that would eventually end with the perfection of all things.

According to the complex mythology of the Lurianic cabala, after God withdrew from himself, traces of light were left in the void. These were formed into the image of the primordial man, Adam Kadmon, who was the first manifested configuration of the divine. However, at this point a catastrophe occurred. Further divine lights burst forth from Adam Kadmon, but the “vessels” meant to contain them shattered. With “the breaking of the vessels” evil came into the world as sparks of light (souls) became sunk in matter.

In the Lurianic cabala man is given an even more central role than in the *Zohar*, for it is only through human actions (observing the commandments, studying the Torah, and mystical meditation) that the souls, trapped among the shards of the broken vessels, can be reunited with the divine light. Luria viewed history as an ongoing struggle between the forces of good and evil played out by the same cast of characters, who experience repeated reincarnations (*Gilgul*) until they become perfect. Although the process of *Tikkun* will be long and arduous, restoration will eventually occur as each exiled being moves up the ladder of creation, becoming better and increasingly spiritual until finally freed from the cycle of rebirth. The Lurianic cabala transformed mysticism into an activist historical force, involving individuals in a cosmic mil-

lennial drama in which their every action counted. The Lurianic cabala was the first Jewish theology to envision perfection in terms of a future state, not in terms of some forfeited ideal past.

Gershom Scholem believed that the Lurianic cabala became “something like the true theologia mystica of Judaism” from 1630 onward (*Major Trends in Jewish Mysticism*, p. 284). He attributed the emergence of the heretical movement connected with Shabbetai Tzevi (also Sabbatai Sevi; 1626–1676) to the messianic ideas inherent in Lurianic cabala. In Scholem’s view, Shabbetai Tzevi’s eventual apostasy and conversion to Islam led to a crisis in Judaism that precipitated the *Haskalah*, or secular Enlightenment. The cabala thus played a key role in transforming Jewish history and culture. Not all scholars agree. Idel and others deny that Messianism was a significant element of Lurianic cabala. In their view the Sabbatean movement was an outgrowth of popular apocalyptic Messianism and secularization that was largely the result of increased social and intellectual contact with Christians.

The last stage in the development of Jewish cabala occurred with the emergence of the modern Hasidic movement, founded by Rabbi Israel Baal Shem Tov, in the mid-eighteenth century. This movement created a serious rift within Judaism between Hasids and their rationalist opponents (the *Mitnagedim*), who claimed that Hasidism ignored important aspects of the Jewish law, especially Torah study and prayer, and placed too much emphasis on the redeeming role of the Hasidic rabbi, or *Tsaddik* (holy one).

CHRISTIAN CABALA

Christian interest in the cabala emerged at the end of the fifteenth century in the Platonic Academy at the Medici court in Florence. The cabala was seen as a source for retrieving the *prisca theologia*, or ancient wisdom, but being Jewish and not pagan in origin, cabalistic writings were regarded as the purest source of this divine knowledge. This was the view of Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (1463–1494), who studied the cabala with the assistance of several Jewish teachers, Samuel ben Nissim Abulfaraj, Yoseph Alemano (1435–1504) and the converted Jew Raymond Moncada, also known as Flavius Mithradites (fl. 1470–1483). Pico’s cabalis-

tic studies were aimed at converting the Jews by showing them that their own ancient wisdom supported the truth of Christianity. Forty-seven of his famous nine hundred theses were taken directly from the cabala, while another seventy-two were based on his speculations about the cabala. As a result of his study, he concluded that “no science can better convince us of the divinity of Jesus Christ than magic and the cabala,” an opinion the Catholic Church condemned. Pico’s work influenced the German Christian Hebraist Johannes Reuchlin (1455–1522), who wrote *De Verbo Mirifico* (1494; On the miracle-working name) and *De Arte Cabalistica* (1517; On the science of the cabala). Reuchlin claimed that God revealed himself in three stages: first, to the Patriarchs through the three-letter name *Shaddai* (shin, dalet, yod); then in the Torah as the four-letter Tetragrammaton (yod, he, vav, he); and finally as the five-letter name *Yehoshua* (yod, he, shin, vav, he) or Jesus. Pico’s and Reuchlin’s work encouraged other Christians to explore the cabala. Cornelius Agrippa included discussions of the practical cabala in *De Occulta Philosophia* (1531), which led to the association of the cabala with magic and witchcraft. Cardinal Egidio da Viterbo (1465–1532) wrote a treatise on the Hebrew letters. The Franciscan Francesco di Giorgio (1460/66–1540) incorporated material from the *Zohar* in his *De Harmonia Mundi* (1525) and *Problemata* (1536). Guillaume Postel (1570–1581) translated the *Sefer Yetzirah* and parts of the *Zohar* into Latin with annotations. A fusion between the cabala and alchemy emerged in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, appearing in Heinrich Khunrath’s *Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Aeternae* (1609) and the writings of Robert Fludd (1574–1637) and Thomas Vaughan (1622–1666).

During the seventeenth century Jakob Boehme’s (1575–1624) work was noted for its affinity to the cabala, and the German Jesuit Athanasius Kircher drew a parallel between Adam Kadmon and Jesus. The most influential Christian cabalist, however, was Christian Knorr von Rosenroth (1636–1689), whose *Kabbala Deundata* (1677, 1684) offered the Latin-reading public the largest collection of cabalistic texts available before the nineteenth century. This collection was especially important because it included selections from the *Zohar* (with annotations and commentaries) and translations and syn-

opes of treatises written by Luria's disciples Hayyim Vital and Israel Sarug. Scholars have recently begun to investigate the way in which this work and the cabala in general influenced such thinkers as Henry More, Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, John Locke, and Isaac Newton, contributing to the modern idea of scientific progress and the concept of toleration. The German Pietists led by Friedrich Christoph Oetinger (1702–1782) were also influenced by von Rosenroth's translations, and he in turn influenced Franz von Baader, Martines de Pasqually, Louis-Claude de Saint-Martin, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, and Friedrich von Schelling. Georg von Welling published his popular *Opus Mago-Cabbalisticum et Theosophicum* in 1735. The last great work of Christian cabala was Franz Josef Molitor's (1779–1861) *Philosophie der Geschichte oder Ueber die Tradition*, which in spite of its Christological approach received high praise from Scholem, influencing his own view of the cabala. The theosophical systems of eighteenth-century Freemasons, Illuminati, and Rosicrucians also reflect cabalistic concepts and symbolism. This connection unfortunately played into the hands of anti-Semites, who claimed that a Jewish "cabale" of revolutionary Freemasons and cabalists were infiltrating European institutions and destroying them from within. The legacy of the cabala in Europe is thus Janus-faced: on the one hand it contributed to ideas at the heart of the Enlightenment: scientific progress, the ability of man to shape his own destiny, and religious toleration; on the other hand, it fed into the anti-Semitic rhetoric that laid the foundation for genocide.

See also **Catholic Spirituality and Mysticism; Enlightenment; Freemasonry; Haskalah (Jewish Enlightenment); Jews and Judaism; Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm; More, Henry; Newton, Isaac; Shabbetai Tzevi; Vaughan, Thomas.**

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ALLISON P. COUDERT

CABINETS OF CURIOSITIES. *See* Marvels and Wonders; Natural History

CÁDIZ. The Spanish city Cádiz is located in the southwestern corner of the Iberian Peninsula, close to the Strait of Gibraltar, between the Atlantic Ocean and the Mediterranean Sea. This location explains the historically strategic position of the city in international trade routes that linked Europe, Africa, and America. The commercial activities in the city started with the Phoenicians three thousand

years ago, and trade financed the first defensive walls built to protect the city against pirates in the Middle Ages. Commercial specialization was reinforced by the fact that land and water for agricultural purposes were scarce and by the large bay suitable for use by numerous heavy ships.

Between the thirteenth and the fifteenth centuries fishing and trade with North Africa were the main economic activities of the Cádiz inhabitants (1,255 in 1465). Both fishing and trade attracted merchants and fishermen from northern Spain (Biscay) and Italy (Genoa in particular). In the fifteenth century peace on the Iberian Peninsula and Castilian expansion into the Atlantic favored the transformation of a village of fishermen into a larger city. The end of the Granada War against Muslim Spain in 1492 and the Castilian conquest of the Canary Islands and America increased enormously the stra-



Cádiz. *English and Dutch Taking Cádiz, Spain, June–July 1596*, engraving by Hogenberg. After decades of conflict between England and Spain, in 1596 a combined English and Dutch fleet captured and partially destroyed the city. THE ART ARCHIVE/ UNIVERSITY LIBRARY GENEVA/DAGLI ORTI



Cádiz. A 1708 engraving. THE ART ARCHIVE/MUSEO DE LA TORRE DEL ORO SEVILLE/DAGLI ORTI

tegic and commercial importance of Cádiz in the crown of Castile.

Growing trade and wealth in the sixteenth century stimulated manufactures, guilds, religious and educational establishments, and cultural life. Commercial prosperity also spawned numerous attacks from Portuguese, North African, and British pirates or corsairs in the second half of the sixteenth century.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries merchants and institutions of Spanish American colonial trade moved from Seville to Cádiz because its geographical and commercial conditions were better adapted to increasing shipping tonnage and the value of commercial exchanges. Cádiz became the only legal center allowed to administer the Spanish monopoly of trade with America from the establishment in 1717 of the Casa de Contratación (House of Trade) and Consulado de Comercio (Mercantile Association). Despite the end of the legal monopoly after 1765 and 1778, Cádiz remained a major center of Spanish colonial trade until the last decade of the eighteenth century and

the first decades of the nineteenth century. Between 1778 and 1788 exports from Cádiz increased 400 percent and came to represent 72 percent of all legal exports sent from Spain to its American colonies. The crown protected colonial revenues by installing the military headquarters of the Capitanía General de Andalucía (a regional department of the Spanish army) in Cádiz in 1768.

The increasingly multicultural mercantile community of the city, composed of hundreds of merchants from the rest of Spain, France, Italy, Ireland, England, Germany, Russia, the Low Countries, Portugal, and the American territories, enjoyed religious and cultural protection from royal officers. Immigration increased the total population of a city characterized by low fertility rates and led to the city's demographic growth from 30,000 inhabitants in 1709 to 77,500 in 1791, with a density of nearly 9,000 inhabitants per square kilometer in 1791. Foreigners represented approximately 15 to 21 percent of the total population on average, most of them involved in colonial trade. Spanish merchants by and large worked as commissioners for foreign

merchants, who benefited most from Spanish colonial trade in the city. Nevertheless, research in notarial archives has revealed that important percentages of foreigners did not return to their countries with the profits from colonial trade but stayed in the city, married, and founded families who lived in Andalusia for several generations, thus reinvesting their wealth and maintaining commercial networks in Spain.

See also **Commerce and Markets; Spain.**

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PALOMA FERNÁNDEZ PÉREZ

CALDERÓN DE LA BARCA, PEDRO

(1600–1681), Spanish dramatist. Pedro Calderón de la Barca was one of the greatest dramatists of Spain's literary Golden Age. Born into a well-established Castilian family with ties to the court, Calderón received his early education at the Jesuit Imperial College of Madrid and went on to study logic, rhetoric, and mathematics at the University of Alcalá de Henares and canon law at the University of Salamanca. As a young man he lived an adventurous life in Madrid and gained the favor of King Philip IV (ruled 1621–1665), who rewarded him with knighthood in the Order of Santiago in 1636. Calderón also spent time in the military and earned a reputation for gallant service during the Revolt of Catalonia (1640–1652). Shortly thereafter he traded his weapons for a priest's vestments, taking

clerical orders in 1651 and eventually serving as chaplain to Philip IV.

Despite this rich and varied career, Calderón is best remembered as a dramatist. He began to write plays at an early age and continued to produce dramatic works of high quality until his death in 1681. As Lope de Vega (1562–1635) receives credit for developing early popular theater in Spain, so Calderón is recognized for bringing it to its artistic height. Whereas Lope's drama was lively and spontaneous, focusing on dynamic action, Calderón's was carefully crafted and intellectual, built on subtle constructions of symbolism and metaphor. During the 1630s and 1640s Calderón's writing consisted principally of *comedias*, secular three-act plays that drew on a wide variety of subject matter, both comic and tragic. Among these, the tragedies frequently dealt with themes such as the tension between free will and fate, the conflicts inspired by the obligations of honor, and the role of the individual in a web of social and political ties. His comedies, nearly always placed in contemporary Spanish settings, were known as cape-and-sword plays for plots that centered on nobles caught up in love, jealousy, intrigue, mistaken identities, and the ensuing complications thereof. Whether light or serious, Calderón's works for the public theater always engaged the salient religious, moral, and philosophical issues of his day.

Calderón's best-known works from this period include *La vida es sueño* (1635; *Life is a dream*) and *El médico de su honra* (1635; *The physician of his honor*). *La vida es sueño* deals with a young prince, isolated in a tower, whose father tests his abilities by giving him the chance to rule for a day. Failing the test, the prince is told that the entire experience was a dream. When a rebellion gives him the chance to rule again, he has learned to control himself regardless of the circumstances and demonstrates that he is a worthy successor to the crown. *El médico de su honra* features a husband who suspects his wife of betrayal; though the audience knows she is innocent, he ultimately has her murdered, with the approval of the king. In the first case, Calderón explores questions of illusions and reality, freedom and destiny, and the proper qualities and responsibilities of a ruler. In the second, he pursues the internal logic of honor to its most heartless extremes. Although Calderón had a predilection for



Pedro Calderón de la Barca. GETTY IMAGES

challenging themes and contemporary issues, scholars frequently disagree on whether he intended to defend or to criticize the existing social and political order.

After being ordained to the priesthood in 1651, Calderón was appointed official dramatist of the Spanish court. Whereas his earlier work was written for the wide audience of the public theaters, his later plays were often commissioned to celebrate birthdays and other festive occasions for a more limited audience in the royal theaters. Calderón's court drama dealt predominantly with allegorical themes from Greek mythology, such as the stories of Echo and Narcissus, Venus and Adonis, and Andromeda and Perseus. These plays were also more visually striking, taking advantage of the greater resources of court stages and scenery to produce elaborate effects and fantastical illusions. During this second stage in his career, Calderón also wrote *autos sacramentales*, short religious plays that were performed yearly for Madrid's Corpus Christi celebrations.

By the end of his life Calderón had produced over one hundred *comedias*, eighty *autos*, and

twenty minor theatrical pieces (including the musical *zarzuelas*). These were performed, published, and translated throughout Europe in the seventeenth century. Calderón was the last great writer of the seventeenth century in Spain, and his death in 1681 drew to a close the Golden Age of literature.

See also Drama: Spanish and Portuguese.

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JODI CAMPBELL

CALENDAR. It was widely recognized in the early sixteenth century that the calendar was inaccurate, but the question of how it should be reformed and who had the authority to do so raised fundamental issues. It was some two hundred and fifty years before all of Europe had changed.

The Christian Church had adopted the Julian calendar from the Roman Empire at the Council of Nicaea in 325 C.E.: the first general council of the church, its authority acknowledged thereafter by East and West, Protestants and Catholics. A slight error in the original Roman calculations had by 1500 accumulated to ten days, leaving the real spring equinox on 11 March instead of 21 March. What really bothered the Roman Catholic Church (though not, apparently, the Orthodox Church) was the error this produced in the date of Easter. This was supposed to fall on the Sunday on or after the full moon after 21 March, but it now often fell a month late relative to the real equinox. Nicolaus Copernicus's *De Revolutionibus Orbium Caelestium* (1543; On the revolutions of the celestial orbs) had originally been commissioned as a basis upon which to reform the calendar, but the intervening Refor-

mation and Copernicus's heretical views about the solar system overlaid the issue.

One of the last acts of the Counter-Reformation Council of Trent was to order a reform of the calendar, which it was hoped would provide a basic measure of agreement between Protestants and Catholics on at least one fundamental issue. The observations and calculations were undertaken by the Jesuit astronomer Christoph Clavius (1537–1612), and the results embodied in Pope Gregory XIII's bull of 1582. Ten days were to be removed from October 1582 to bring the calendar back in line with the seasons, and the system of leap years was modified to keep it on track; from then on there was to be a leap year only at the end of every fourth century, and not of every century as before. The old formula for calculating the date of Easter was modified but retained. The Gregorian reform was fundamentally religious rather than astronomical, and the Roman Catholic Church continued to reject Copernicus.

Only a handful of countries (Spain, Portugal, Poland, and parts of Italy) adopted the new Gregorian calendar on time, not least because the bull was promulgated so late. By 1585 most Roman Catholic countries had followed. Most Protestant states—including large parts of Switzerland, Germany, the Protestant Low Countries, Great Britain, and Scandinavia—retained the Julian calendar for another century or more, creating a patchwork of calendrical practice throughout Europe, particularly complex in the Holy Roman Empire. The key issue was not astronomical accuracy but papal authority. By accepting a papal bull, states would appear to be recognizing the authority of the pope not only to interfere in civil affairs but also to alter decisions of the early church; indeed, most Roman Catholic countries took care to adopt the new calendar by their own civil acts. In England, the mathematician and astrologer John Dee (1527–1608) argued that the time of Christ, rather than that of the early church, was the appropriate “radix of time” for Protestants, and proposed his own Elizabethan imperial calendar one day ahead of Rome, but his views were unwelcome to the authorities and in the end England did nothing.

In 1700, with the gap between the two calendars set to widen to eleven days, most Protestant

states followed a resolution of the imperial Diet of Regensburg and adopted a modified version of the Gregorian calendar. They did so using their own calculations, following the German astronomer Johannes Kepler (1571–1630), and substituting an astronomical Easter for the traditional version, to the same practical effect. In Britain, where antipopery remained strong, the new calendar was not adopted until September 1752, when eleven days were omitted and a third Easter calculation adopted, also to identical effect. Sweden pursued its own course, coming fully into line in 1753. The churches of the East remained unmoved, standing fast by the decisions of early Christendom; the fast-secularizing states of eastern Europe generally went Gregorian for civil purposes around the time of World War I.

PRACTICAL PROBLEMS

Did the calendar change create practical, as opposed to political, problems? Undoubtedly it did, especially in international communications and where Protestant and Catholic jurisdictions were interspersed, as in much of central Europe and the Low Countries. The modest disruption of the familiar relationship between the feasts of the church and the seasons was quite quickly overcome, but the actual details varied according to how the reform was implemented. In Britain in 1752, for example, the eleven days September 3–13 inclusive were omitted from the calendar, bringing human events eleven days forward in the natural year. Fairs however were left at the same place in the natural year, putting their calendar dates back by eleven days (although many fairs in practice moved forward). Financial payments too kept their full natural term, leaving the financial year ending on 5 April rather than the traditional 25 March. At the same time, the start of the legal year was altered from 25 March to 1 January. The arrival of the new Christmas Day eleven days early took many by surprise in a society that still reckoned by feasts and fairs as much as by dates and diaries. There was widespread resistance and resentment, although the tale that people rioted for their eleven lost days is a myth. In Bohemia and in Augsburg, though, there were several years of strife between Catholics and Protestants over the issue in the 1580s, known as the “Kalenderstreit.”

In navigating between old-style and new-style calendars, it is necessary to remember that in general Roman Catholic states were ten days ahead of Protestant and Orthodox states from 1583 until 1700. Care must be taken in the 1580s, and with Britain, Sweden, the Netherlands, and Switzerland. Catholic minorities in Protestant states may have adopted either calendar for religious purposes. For clarity, historians often note “O.S.” or “N.S.” after Julian and Gregorian dates respectively.

The issue of the calendar is a reminder that the reference points for the calculation of time express the most basic assumptions of society. The disputes it engendered were symptomatic of religious and political divisions in a world where nothing could be taken for granted.

See also Copernicus, Nicolaus; Dee, John; Kepler, Johannes; Time, Measurement of; Trent, Council of.

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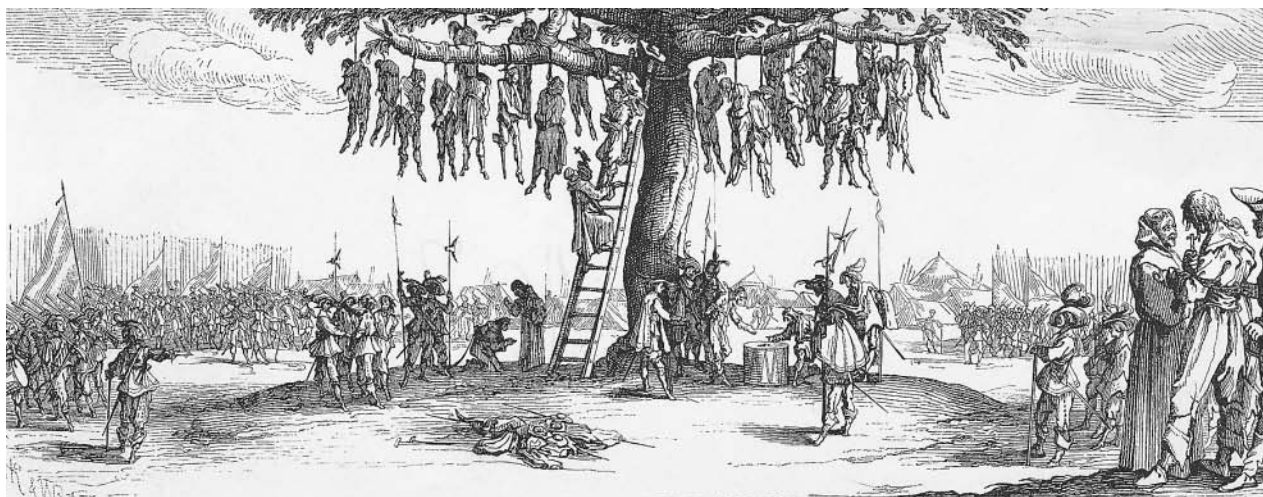
ROBERT POOLE

CALLOT, JACQUES (1592–1635), French (Lorraine) draftsman and printmaker. Born in Nancy, son of a herald-at-arms to Charles III, duke of Lorraine, Callot studied with a little-known court painter, Claude II Henriet, and a goldsmith, Demange Crocq. He departed for Italy in 1608, and continued his studies in Rome with the well-known printmaker Philippe Thomassin. In 1614 Callot moved to Florence, where he became an artist at the Medici court under Grand Duke Cosimo II, and he remained there for seven years. While in Florence, he honed his skill at using methods of perspective, probably during his studies with Giulio Parigi, the

court architect, engineer, and impresario. Callot established a reputation as an engraver through his many prints recording events at the ducal court (*Catafalque of Emperor Matthias*, 1619, and *Soliman*, 1620), and became known especially for his ability to represent vast scenes without sacrificing detail as in his *Fair at Impruneta*, 1620, which features more than a thousand active figures.

Callot returned to his native country in 1621, and in 1623 was appointed an artist to the court of Henri II, duke of Lorraine at the ducal capital of Nancy. Callot's later production included prints depicting genre scenes, religion (*The Temptation of St. Anthony*, 1635), and events at court (*Combat at the Barrier*, 1625, and the *Parterre de Nancy*, 1625). He also depicted the brutality of war in a series of etchings recording the horrors he witnessed during the Thirty Years' War (*The Miseries of War*, 1633), and in three vast multi-plate depictions of military sieges at Breda, The Netherlands, 1627, and at La Rochelle and nearby Saint-Martin-de-Ré, both 1630. However, despite his skill in seamlessly blending topographic precision with the more conventional genre of the battle scene, it is particularly noteworthy—and perhaps a reflection of his patriotism—that he politely but defiantly declined Louis XIII's commission to depict the Siege of Nancy in 1633.

Callot was one of the most prolific, creative, and influential draftsmen and printmakers of the seventeenth century. He made more than 1,400 prints and developed technical innovations, such as hard-ground etching, that became standard procedure for all Western printmakers. During his time in Lorraine, Callot visited Paris often and established a relationship with printmaker and publisher Israël Henriet (c. 1590–1661), who was also the son of his first teacher. The younger Henriet obtained hundreds of Callot's copper plates through both inheritance and purchase. To satisfy the unceasing demand for Callot's work, Henriet continued publishing them for years after his friend's death. Callot was also renowned for his drawings, about two thousand of which have survived. These were often studies for his many prints, and they reveal his enormous power of invention, his love of detail and the grotesque, his brilliant contrasts of tone, and the confident, fluid, swelling, and tapering late-man-



Jacques Callot. Engraving of the hanging of hostages during the Thirty Years' War, from *The Miseries of War*. ©BETTMANN/CORBIS

nerist line that made them, and his more widely proliferated etchings, internationally famous.

See also **Commedia dell'Arte; Mannerism; Prints and Popular Imagery; Thirty Years' War (1618–1648).**

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ALVIN L. CLARK, JR.

CALVIN, JOHN (Jean Cauvin; 1509–1564), French theologian and reformer. Calvin was the leading second-generation Protestant reformer, yielding only to Martin Luther in influence. He was born in Noyon, Picardy, a town under the rule of

the prince-bishop but one that also retained a medieval communal tradition. His father, despite his lack of formal advanced education, held several lay legal positions for local church bodies. His mother was from the family of a wealthy hotelkeeper. Calvin's early education was at a local school, and perhaps also in the company of the youth of the local high noble family that controlled the office of prince-bishop and several other ecclesiastical positions.

He received his university education in Paris, supported in part by church benefices his father had secured for him. Following his father's wishes, he initially aspired to a career in the church but then turned to Roman law, in which he received a degree after studying at Orléans and Bourges. In his university studies and the law studies he pursued at Orléans under the jurist Pierre de l'Estoile, Scholasticism was preponderant. However, he also acquired a strong grounding in humanism through his tutelage by the renowned pedagogue Mathurin Cordier and his attendance at lectures by leading lights of the newly formed Collège Royale in Paris and at those of the jurist Andrea Alciato at Bourges, as well as through more informal studies. Indeed his first major work, a commentary on the Stoic philosopher Seneca's *De clementia* (On clemency), shows him as a highly capable humanist scholar-commentator. It also reveals a young man filled with the desire to make a name for himself as a humanist literary figure, but ambivalent about this goal and uncomfortable

with the cultivation of elite patrons, then so necessary for the attainment of legal or literary success.

Until 1533, there is little to suggest that Calvin was more than a follower of the moderate religious reform exemplified by Desiderius Erasmus and Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples. On 1 November 1533 his friend Nicolas Cop, who had been elected rector of the University of Paris, gave an inaugural address containing a mixture of Lutheran and Erasmian ideas. But the monarchy of Francis I had turned against even moderate reform, and Cop had to flee Paris, as did Calvin himself. By early 1534 Calvin had turned from a spectator into an active reformer. By this time it had also become clear that the reception for his Seneca commentary did not fulfill his hopes. Protected for a few months at Nérac by Marguerite de Navarre (Marguerite d'Angoulême), the sister of Francis I, he soon gave up his minor benefices and moved to Basel and then to Geneva.

Central to Calvin's influence was his ability to define comprehensively the doctrine and liturgy of Christianity in the face of several alternative forms of Christianity. He confronted not only the Catholic Church but also conflicts among such reformers as Luther and Huldrych Zwingli, the recent German Peasants' movement with its more socially revolutionary understanding of Christianity, and the mostly pacifist but separatist movements known collectively as Anabaptism. Indeed, at about the time of his conversion, the most bizarre and uncharacteristically violent expression of Anabaptism was unfolding in Münster.

Calvin's first theological work, the *Psychopannychia* (written 1534), attacked a doctrine concerning the soul after bodily death, popular among some Anabaptists. By 1536, with the appearance of his most important work, the *Christianae Religionis Institutio* (Institutes of the Christian religion), Calvin had set out most of the fundamental tenets identified with his name. With Luther and Zwingli, he strongly advocated justification by faith alone and denied any role for one's own works in salvation (his insistence on predestination was a logical consequence of this doctrine). Like them, he retained only two of the Catholic Church's seven sacraments, baptism and Communion. He was more innovative in espousing a doctrine of the Eucharist that, in contradistinction to both

Luther and the Catholic Church, denied any physical presence of Christ in the Communion elements, yet, in opposition to Zwingli, accepted a spiritual but nevertheless very real presence of Christ. His rejection of a role for Christ's physical body was part of a larger mistrust of any role in worship for that which took physical form or was apprehended primarily through visualization. Thus he espoused a categorical opposition to religious images, including images of Christ, again in contrast to the German reformer. His view undermined the patronage of religious art, whether by groups or individuals, by clerics, nobles, or craftspeople.

By 1539 Calvin had formulated his doctrine of the calling, in which he counterposed godly productive work to work motivated by the pursuit of honor and usually involving flattery of highly placed or well-connected individuals. In practice those "called" were approved and regulated primarily by fellow members of the craft or profession in question, as evidenced by the appointment of ministers and by Calvin's doctrine of the lesser magistrate. Moreover, he associated godly work in one's calling with steady, persevering, disciplined emotions, while he linked the pursuit of fame and status to unsteady and turbulent emotions. This way of distinguishing sacred from profane experience harks back to his early interest in Stoicism (which also rejected the pursuit of fame). The emotional qualities he depicted as marks of the sacred also have a strong affinity with those accompanying disciplined scholarly reading, teaching, and writing, activities that predated his activity as a religious reformer.

Calvin also stands out in his attitude to secular authorities. While he asserted that individuals could not take up arms against even a tyrannical ruler, he also forbade those who found themselves in Catholic-dominated areas from participating in Catholic forms of worship; they could neither participate in the Catholic Eucharist nor show honor to religious images. He insisted that such practices were offensive to God, and he argued that such participation communicated to others affirmation of these practices, regardless of one's own private intent. Thus individuals caught in this predicament risked drawing the attention of the authorities but could not resist persecution with force. Their only alternatives were escape or the risk of martyrdom. However, Calvin allowed for resistance to evil rulers by other

recognized political authorities, the doctrine of the “lesser magistrate” (his examples included, from antiquity, the Spartan ephors, Roman tribunes, and Athenian demarchs, and, from his own day, the assemblies of the three Estates). In this way he provided an opening for active resistance to persecution—an opening that was elaborated by his followers during the religious wars of the later sixteenth century in France and elsewhere. The sources and impact of Calvin’s views on this and other subsequent religious and political conflicts continue to be lively areas of research.

Calvin distinguished the invisible church, which encompassed all those, living and dead, who had been elected to salvation, from the visible church. The visible church could and did include people who were not among the elect and only feigned Christian faith. The true visible church he distinguished from false churches by their preaching of correct doctrine and proper administration of the sacraments, and not by the moral perfection of their officers or members. Since the elect could be known only to God, all but people whose religious profession or moral behavior obviously denied Christ were included in the visible church. Thus an established, visible church could be coterminous with any existing political jurisdiction, as in Geneva. Yet in keeping with his doctrine of the calling, Calvin insisted upon the independence of the church from secular authorities in matters of doctrine and liturgy. In Geneva the church had four offices: pastors and teachers (their functions overlapped as both were involved in ascertaining and teaching doctrine, although teachers also had primary responsibility for education); elders, who were concerned with overseeing religious orthodoxy and moral discipline among Geneva’s citizens; and deacons, who were charged with care of the poor and sick. Calvin continually pressed for the independence of church leaders from the Genevan government, including the control of excommunication. He was initially rebuffed and expelled from Geneva and spent three years ministering in Strasbourg. But the Genevan rulers, concerned to end religious discord, called him back in 1541. Aided by the influx of French Protestants fleeing persecution in their homeland as well as by considerable local support, Calvin was able to defeat opposition from several powerful, interlinked Genevan families. By 1555 he had won for



John Calvin. Sixteenth-century portrait engraving. ©ARCHIVO ICONOGRAFICO, S.A./CORBIS

the consistory, the church body charged with surveillance of religious doctrine and morality, the right of excommunication, a powerful symbol of the church’s independence from secular authorities, although in Geneva civil authorities continued to hold key church functions. The factors involved in this dispute are an important area of current scholarship. With most of his contemporaries Calvin did not favor religious toleration; the most notorious example is his support for the execution of Michael Servetus for heterodox views on the Trinity in 1553. However, he favored noncapital penalties for those of less extreme heterodox views.

Although favoring a church embracing the entire community rather than the elect, Calvin, like the Anabaptists, sought to bring all members of the community into at least outward conformity with the religious beliefs and moral behavior he considered appropriate to Christians. Through the surveillance of the consistory, in which he was preeminent, he had considerable success in imposing a restrictive moral regime on Geneva’s inhabitants, excluding not only heterodox religious practices, but dancing and card playing as well as more commonly recog-

nized vices. Yet the consistory did not merely chastise moral failings; it frequently brought about reconciliation of the parties to familial and community conflicts.

Calvin's views regarding women are an important topic of current scholarship. The reformer allowed a role for women in public preaching only when suitably trained men were not available. It is a matter of current debate whether he excluded women because he believed that they were inherently less capable or because he thought it inappropriate to his own time. The consistory, over which Calvin presided, probably did not take women's heretical statements as seriously as those of men, but suspected women more often than men of Catholic practices. Like most other Protestants, Calvin allowed divorce; he limited it to grounds of adultery or desertion. During his tenure, the consistory applied the same criteria to rich and poor, women and men, in divorce cases before it. However, since separation was now deemed illicit, and cruelty was excluded as grounds for divorce, women were generally required to remain with abusive husbands. The death penalty was applied for particularly egregious cases of adultery, but Calvin probably did not take the lead in pressing for it. The ongoing publication and translation of the Genevan consistory records has shed much new light on this and many other aspects of the social history of Geneva, and no doubt will continue to do so.

In addition to his other activities, Calvin found the time to comment on almost all of the New Testament, on the Pentateuch, the Prophets, and several other books of the Hebrew Bible. In his commentaries he seeks to square the entirety of scripture with his doctrines. His commentaries on the Hebrew Bible reveal a tension that sometimes approaches the breaking point: Calvin displays a historical understanding of the Hebrews' beliefs and practices unsurpassed by other commentators of his time, an understanding derived from humanism; but he also displays a strong tendency to impute to the whole of Scripture, including the Hebrews, his particular understanding of Christian doctrine and practice, an ability rooted in the synthesizing, generalizing tendency of the medieval Roman law tradition in which he had been educated. The role of humanist and Scholastic assumptions in Calvin's in-

terpretive and teaching practices continues to be an important area of research.

Finally, using Geneva as a base, Calvin and his fellow members of the Genevan Company of Pastors advanced the cause of reform on an international scale, continually advising their confreres in France and elsewhere. By his death he had helped to organize a corps of highly educated and effective preachers who had succeeded in establishing a network of French churches and were making inroads elsewhere in Europe as well.

See also **Anabaptism; Calvinism; Geneva; Huguenots; Luther, Martin; Lutheranism; Münster; Reformation, Protestant; Women; Zwingli, Huldrych.**

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CALVINISM. Traditionally placed after Lutheranism as the second major part of magisterial Protestantism, "Calvinism" is now used by experts as a somewhat old-fashioned shorthand for something they prefer to call the Reformed theological tradition, which spawned a cluster of different but doctrinally related churches scattered across several disconnected parts of Europe and its colonies; it included many other Protestant theologians from several European countries, including places where this type of church never flourished. The Reformed tradition preceded John Calvin (1509–1564), who was simply its single most influential exponent; indeed, "Calvinist" was an insult coined in 1553 to describe Protestants who were willing to burn other non-Catholic Christians as heretics. Therefore, this entry will describe some of Calvin's achievements in his adopted city of Geneva, which certainly deserves its nickname of the "Calvinist Rome," and examine the various fates of Calvinism not only where it became the established religion (as in Scotland, New England, and the Netherlands), but also where it enjoyed only limited success, as in Calvin's native France, the German Empire, and England. Calvinism's enduring reputation as an unusually austere and highly disciplinarian form of Protestantism, notorious for an obsession with the problem of double predestination, seems at least partly justified.

Experts often prefer to begin the history of Calvinism not with Calvin himself, but with Huldrych Zwingli (1484–1531) and the early Re-

formed tradition in Switzerland. By the time Calvin became a Protestant theologian and reached Geneva, the Protestant movement begun in Zurich by Zwingli and continued by Heinrich Bullinger (1504–1575) after Zwingli's early death at the battle of Kappel in 1531 had deeply colored the theological and political backgrounds where Calvin worked. Bullinger's forty-four years in Zurich overlapped Calvin's ministry in Geneva (1536–1564) on both ends; fortunately for the Reformed church, his relations with Calvin were entirely amicable. Bullinger's influence on Calvin is difficult to assess: Bullinger's writings saw about three-fourths as many sixteenth-century editions as Calvin's; and Bullinger was a prodigious letter writer, with a corpus of about fifteen thousand extant letters (roughly three times as many as Calvin), so extensive that no scholar has yet managed to read all of them.

Although Calvin is most famous for his *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, which he reworked and expanded several times between 1536 and 1560, it was only one of his many published works. They were widely distributed across Europe, going through almost five hundred different editions in nine different languages between 1532 and 1600. Almost two hundred titles by Calvin were printed in his native French and over one hundred fifty more in Latin, the best vehicle for reaching educated people anywhere in Europe. Another sixty-six editions of Calvin's works appeared in English before 1600, and twenty-eight editions in German. However, the number of sixteenth-century vernacular editions of Calvin's works does not necessarily match the degree of success his ideas enjoyed; for example, there were only fifteen editions in Dutch, although Calvinism became the official state church of the Dutch Republic, barely exceeding his eleven editions in Italian, when Italy had no Calvinist churches whatsoever.

Calvin's emphasis on predestination bothered Bullinger and other fellow Protestant theologians, who agreed with most of the theory but thought it was imprudent to preach in public. However, this doctrine did not necessarily frighten Calvin's local audience. One of them, Michel Roset (1534–1613), a Genevan chronicler, claimed that "great and small spoke of the subject" and called it "a singular grace and counsel of God, who by this means made this subject of predestination (previ-

ously obscure and almost inaccessible for the most part) most familiar in this church for the consolation and assurance of its children, who know that their salvation is founded on his eternal and unchangeable judgement” (quoted in Benedict, p. 303). To an optimist, it provided a source of comfort, rather than anxiety, in troubled times.

DISCIPLINE AND THE CONSISTORY

The most famous institution associated with Calvin, the Genevan consistory, was undoubtedly central to his purpose of reforming Geneva’s inhabitants into correctly educated Christians who behaved as such. Bullinger, his indispensable ally in Zurich, expressed uneasiness about its “excessive sharpness” and its independence from the magistracy. Nevertheless, Calvin’s consistory was widely admired and copied because early Reformed churches needed some way to maintain discipline over their members so that the Lord’s Supper—their only important ceremony, usually celebrated only four times a year—could be properly administered. The elders, who staffed and implemented proper Christian discipline, comprised the third of Calvin’s four orders of a Reformed ministry, ranking behind the rather ill-defined teaching ministry and ahead of the deacons who were responsible primarily for social welfare. (The four orders are preachers, teachers, elders, and deacons.)

Geneva’s new consistory began work in February 1542, shortly after Geneva’s government had approved Calvin’s set of ecclesiastical ordinances. Lay elders always presided, but Calvin personally attended its meetings whenever he could; in the 1540s, he was frequently the only pastor present. Although its first ten cases concerned marriage promises and it soon handled a few divorce cases, such matters were never its principal concerns. Within a month, the consistory required people summoned before it to demonstrate a satisfactory knowledge of the Lord’s Prayer and a short version of the Apostles’ Creed in their spoken language, not “papist” Latin. By year’s end, although most people were summoned for faulty doctrine or failure to attend sermons, others were accused of quarreling in public, fornication, blasphemy, gambling, singing parodies of hymns, using superstitious cures, or even being disobedient to their parents. Although the consistory occasionally investigated doctrinal is-

sues, such behavioral problems preoccupied it by the mid-1540s and remained predominant until Voltaire’s day.

Only after a hard struggle in the mid-1550s was Calvin able to impose the consistory’s autonomous power to excommunicate obstinate sinners. Its activities multiplied prodigiously. At its statistical peak in the late 1560s, Geneva’s consistory summoned almost one adult in eight every year for reprimands. Nearby rural parishes, which were far slower to become “Calvinist,” saw many people excommunicated for superstition, dancing, singing lewd songs, or fornication. Urban misbehavior was different, mainly involving quarrels with family or neighbors and a huge range of “scandals,” including such trivial offenses as a woman urinating in a cooking pot or a man urinating in the street without turning his back. No other place in Europe, Protestant or Catholic, even remotely approached these levels of official moral surveillance.

Such extreme measures apparently got results. For example, some bits of statistical evidence support the claim of John Knox (c. 1510–1572) that Calvin’s Geneva became “the most perfect school of Christ seen on earth since the days of the apostles.” One indication comes from baptisms of illegitimate children, which were recorded throughout Europe in this era. At Geneva, they reached the lowest levels yet found by demographic historians: barely one illegitimate child per thousand live births, a ratio that seems unimaginably low anywhere in the world today. Another indication gains value because it comes from an extremely hostile source, an Italian Jesuit who visited Geneva in 1580. “What caused me some surprise,” he noted, “was that during the three days I was in Geneva, I never heard any blasphemy, swearing, or indecent language, which,” he hastened to add, “I attributed to diabolic cunning to deceive the simpleminded by having the appearance of a reformed life” (quoted in Benedict, p. 103).

THE MARKS OF CALVINISM

Calvinism and the Reformed tradition expanded rapidly after the mid-sixteenth century. From their original base in modern Switzerland (its early French-speaking strongholds, including Geneva, did not become Swiss cantons until the nineteenth century), they reached into most parts of European

Christendom, except Scandinavia, which remained entirely Lutheran, and Mediterranean Catholic countries with national Inquisitions (Spain, Portugal, and Italy), where its nascent movements were successfully repressed. Everywhere else—from southern France to Scotland in western Europe, through the Netherlands and scattered bits of the Holy Roman Empire, as far east as Poland and Hungary—networks of Reformed churches were established, decreeing professions of faith and organizing synods. Most of them also included disciplinary organizations modeled to some degree on Calvin's consistory.

Although no early “Calvinist” churches adopted exactly the same confession of faith, they shared many common features. One easy and simple way to distinguish them from other Protestants is by considering what sixteenth-century theologians called *notae*, or marks of the true church. Luther—and every other Protestant leader—insisted that preaching the Word of God correctly was the very first requirement. Nearly all of them added a second mark: the correct administration of the sacraments (Protestants agreed that there were only two, baptism and the Eucharist, but disagreed vehemently from the outset about how to perform them). Beyond these two, Luther occasionally mentioned other signs of a true church, including proper discipline; some of his more radical rivals added even more (the founder of the Mennonites had six, while other Anabaptists went up to a dozen). In general, churches within Calvin's Reformed tradition acknowledged only three *notae*, placing a correct form of church discipline immediately after correct preaching and administration of both sacraments. Interestingly, Calvin himself, despite the care he lavished on creating and maintaining Geneva's consistory, never insisted that discipline was a necessary mark of the true church. But many early official confessions of Reformed churches, including those made during Calvin's lifetime between 1560 and 1562 in Scotland, Belgium, and Hungary, made discipline their third and final mark. It was clearly a fundamental aspect of mainstream Calvinism and remained so.

THE SPREAD OF CALVINISM

In the Holy Roman Empire, the year 1555 saw the Religious Peace of Augsburg with its famous for-

mula *cuius regio, eius religio*—the religion of the prince determines the religion of his people. This was precisely the moment when Calvinism began spreading extremely rapidly across many parts of Europe, and its relative degree of success usually depended heavily on the ruler's attitudes toward the Reformed faith. For example, in France, Calvin's native land and Europe's largest kingdom, steadfast royal opposition prevented its triumph. In the Holy Roman Empire, only one important ruler adopted it: an electoral prince established Calvinism after 1563 much as a Saxon elector had established Lutheranism a generation earlier. Elsewhere, unusual circumstances did enable it to triumph twice despite a sovereign's opposition. In Scotland, an incompetent sovereign enabled Calvinism to become the official faith, while in England, a Protestant (but not Calvinist) sovereign struggled to tame it. In the Netherlands, a powerful but distant and unpopular sovereign ultimately failed to prevent Calvinism from triumphing in half of his lands—although not in the regions where it had originated.

In France, the Reformed faith grew with amazing rapidity in the late 1550s, establishing clandestine churches in towns throughout the kingdom and converting many noblemen, including some from princely houses. Starting in the 1560s, both France and the Netherlands experienced extremely long and bitter cycles of civil wars, which historians conventionally call the “Wars of Religion.” Much ink has been shed over how far the Reformed churches went, in both France and the Netherlands, in provoking revolts against legitimate rulers; it seems clear that they provided some of the logistical infrastructure as well as most of the propaganda for these risings, and they reaped the benefits of whatever successes the rebels enjoyed. Although French Huguenots lost both battles and members during the wars, the French crown repeatedly granted them some freedom of worship in order to stop the fighting. In the Netherlands, the rebels also lost most of the battles. However, after they gained a foothold in defensible northern positions after 1572, the greatest civilian mass migration in sixteenth-century Europe eventually brought dozens of thousands of Calvinists into the region. Although the rebels soon established the Reformed faith in Dutch provinces, historians have pointed out how few full members

these “official” churches actually had even in the mid-seventeenth century.

In the British Isles, the rapid success of Calvinism in Scotland, destined to become one of its major strongholds, was unexpected. But despite the popularity of both Calvin’s works and the Geneva Bible in England, it never dominated the doctrines of the established Protestant church there. In a way, both results connect to a notorious 1558 pamphlet against the “monstrous” rule of women by John Knox, the most famous English-speaking sixteenth-century Calvinist. Knox wrote a history of the Reformation in Scotland, recounting how he outmaneuvered and bullied Queen Mary Stuart until she lost her throne in 1567; however, Elizabeth I, who became England’s Protestant ruler in 1558, never trusted Knox or his followers afterward.

The conversion of an unusually studious German prince, the elector palatine Frederick III (ruled 1559–1576), provides our clearest example of a major Calvinist church established solely by the ruler’s will. In 1563, he issued a new church order that followed the Reformed manner of celebrating Communion and accompanied it with a relatively brief catechism that quickly provoked Lutheran wrath for upholding the “damnable sect” of Zwingli and Calvin. When other Protestant rulers had Frederick summoned in person to the 1566 imperial diet and questioned him about his religious beliefs, he solemnly swore before the emperor that he had read some of Luther’s writings but nothing by Calvin, and pointed out that he had signed the Augsburg Confession. This sufficed. The Palatinate, home of Germany’s oldest university at Heidelberg, became Germany’s first major Reformed state. It was also the only important one. On the eve of the Thirty Years’ War (1618–1648), the German empire counted about a dozen Reformed state churches (scattered among more than two hundred lay and ecclesiastical principalities) and four civic churches (among eighty free cities), plus two confessionally mixed regions in the far northwest. Overall, Reformed Protestants comprised only 6 percent of Germany’s population and controlled four of its twenty-six universities, including Heidelberg.

Isolation apparently increased Palatine aggressiveness. Frederick III intervened militarily to help French Huguenots; by grasping for the Bohemian crown in 1618, his successors ultimately devastated their possessions, although the Reformed church they built proved sufficiently sturdy to survive subsequent persecutions. In theological terms, they provided the Reformed faith with one of its major confessional documents, the Heidelberg Catechism; it was adopted by the synod of Emden, on the Dutch border, in 1571, and soon afterward by the Reformed churches of Hungary and Poland. In ecclesiological terms, the Palatinate created the largest network of consistorial discipline in central Europe; but it also produced the doctrine of Erastianism, the most extreme Protestant version of the subordination of church to state.

In eastern Europe, state power was far weaker, and the Reformed church acquired a different configuration. The widespread use of Latin among the nobility and literate minority enabled Calvin and Bullinger to get their message across in Polish- or Magyar-speaking lands. Calvin sent numerous letters to Poland’s king and leading noblemen in 1555, and local Protestant churches invited him to come and advise them. Before the tide began turning against them after 1580 and exposed the shallowness of their roots, over 250 Reformed churches had been established in Poland and another 225 in the Lithuanian parts of the kingdom; at that moment, Calvinists formed the largest single religious group in the Polish Senate. Meanwhile, Calvinism sank much deeper roots in the kingdom of Hungary, shattered by a Turkish victory that left Budapest under Ottoman occupation for 150 years. By 1600, the Reformed church claimed almost half of Hungary’s population, and they even proselytized among the Orthodox Romanians. Many of Hungary’s Reformed churches, like those in the Palatinate, managed to survive despite political persecutions in the seventeenth century.

SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY CALVINISM

The history of Calvinism changed dramatically in the seventeenth century. In Europe, it stopped growing through armed struggle with Catholic governments, and instead it lost ground in many places. In Poland-Lithuania, it disappeared entirely through a peaceful Catholic reconquest. Its only

new foundations, destined to become important in subsequent centuries, were in overseas colonies like New England or South Africa. Occasionally, Calvinism still seemed bellicose after 1600. Historians still debate the extent to which an international Calvinist conspiracy provoked the Thirty Years' War in 1618 by encouraging the ill-fated adventure of the elector palatine Frederick V, who became Bohemia's "Winter King." It was a last gasp, like the final Huguenot rebellion in France, which broke out in 1621 and ended with Cardinal Richelieu's capture of the greatest Huguenot stronghold, La Rochelle, in 1628. Ironically, the only successful military rising by seventeenth-century Calvinists came against a Protestant ruler, Charles I of England, in 1639. In places where it had become established, like the Netherlands or Scotland, Reformed church membership continued to increase, and Calvinism sank much deeper roots among the population. But elsewhere, it often receded into insignificance. Even in Calvin's native France, where the Reformed church seemed safely protected by the Edict of Nantes after 1598, its seventeenth-century membership eroded slowly before it was formally abolished by Louis XIV in 1685.

Most historians consider the seventeenth century the apogee of a "confessionalized" Europe, and Calvinism fits this pattern perfectly. From the beginning, all Reformed churches had demanded a properly trained clergy; at Calvin's insistence, Geneva had created a famous academy in 1559, and Dutch rebels founded a university at Leiden in 1575. By the time Harvard College was founded in Massachusetts in 1636, Reformed churches had created at least two dozen institutions of higher learning. After 1600, at least 95 percent of all Reformed pastors in the Netherlands or the Palatinate boasted university training in theology; most did even in the remotest Scottish isles. In such places as Scotland, Zweibrücken in Germany, or New England, a typical seventeenth-century Calvinist pastor owned over a hundred books, or about four times as many as their Catholic counterparts in northern Italy (Benedict, p. 450). Under such conditions, theology and ecclesiology, rather than politics, came to dominate its seventeenth-century history. Two major theological "summit conferences" were held, where issues about predestination dominated discussions, with questions about the proper organization of

church discipline close behind. Protestantism has always displayed a penchant for spinning off new branches. Even in places where it was established, seventeenth-century Calvinism splintered: Remonstrants opposed Counter-Remonstrants in the Netherlands; Presbyterians and Episcopalians quarreled violently in Scotland. New variants, most notably Congregationalism, emerged elsewhere.

The Synod of Dort (Dordrecht) in the Netherlands, summoned in order to resolve the conflict between Remonstrants and Counter-Remonstrants, offers the closest approximation to the Council of Trent within the Calvinist or Reformed tradition. It held no fewer than 154 official sessions between November 1618 and May 1619, and included nineteen voting colleges representing four national churches (the French Reformed church also tried to send delegates, but King Louis XIII forbade them to leave the country). A majority of the voting colleges represented the host nation: nine provincial synods, plus the Walloon churches and the theological faculties of Dutch universities, while the other eight colleges represented British, Swiss, and German churches. The Synod of Dort succeeded in its original purpose by marginalizing the Remonstrants (who included the world-famous jurist Hugo Grotius, already imprisoned before the synod met). Two details suggest its importance in the English-speaking world. John Robinson (c. 1575–1625), the theological leader behind the 1620 Plymouth Pilgrims, greatly admired it; King James I (ruled 1603–1625), who famously vowed to "harry [Puritans like Robinson] out of the land," forbade any public criticism of its resolutions.

The Synod of Dort canonized what subsequently became known as the five cardinal points of official Calvinism, which English-speaking followers memorized through the acronym TULIP: total depravity, unconditional election, limited atonement, irresistible grace, and the perseverance of the saints. Considering the importance—and now, the relative obscurity—of these doctrines, they deserve a bit of elaboration. "T" (also known through the famous rhyme in the *New England Primer*, "in Adam's fall/ we sinned all") means that ever since Adam and Eve were expelled from Eden, all of humanity has been in a state of corruption and helpless to obtain salvation. "U" asserts that election is founded on God's purpose "even before the beginning of the world."

“L” claims that Christ’s atonement applies only to the elect but not to the rest of corrupt humankind. “I” claims that the soul’s inner regeneration is entirely the “mysterious and ineffable” work of God. And “P” asserts that God will somehow preserve the elect from falling from grace, despite their occasional and inevitable lapses into sin.

A second and much longer lasting institution met during the Puritan revolution and eventually reshaped English-speaking Calvinism into its best-known forms. From July 1643 until February 1649, an Assembly of Divines held 1,163 sessions in Westminster Abbey. Of its 151 members, all but 30 were “learned, godly and judicious divines” hand-picked by the Long Parliament (three, who had settled in Massachusetts, declined the invitation); the remainder were themselves members of Parliament. The assembly prepared a book of discipline for the English church, providing a presbyterian form of discipline similar in essential aspects to arrangements among French and Dutch Calvinists. It then prepared a confession of faith, which essentially repeated the “LIP” parts of the Dort formula while avoiding the most abstract aspects of predestination. In 1647, it produced both shorter and longer versions of what we now call the Westminster Catechism.

Although created in England, the presbyterian system was essentially stillborn in its native land long before the Church of England was restored in 1660. Even in London, its greatest center of support, presbyteries were founded in only 64 of the city’s 108 parishes (Benedict, p. 402). However, its arrangements were enthusiastically adopted in Scotland, where they had a durable impact. Following a long episcopalian parenthesis after 1661, they were grudgingly reimposed in 1690 after a Dutch prince, William III, who believed in predestination and spoke about achieving consensus on terms “wherein all the Reformed churches do agree” (Benedict, p. 415), occupied the Scottish as well as the English throne.

In New England, a local “summit conference,” the Cambridge synod, which lasted from 1646 until 1648, also adopted the Westminster Assembly’s theological decrees. The preamble to its resolutions, which retained nominal authority in New England until about 1760, boasted of their doctrinal agree-

ment with “all the reformed churches of Christ in Europe.” But in Massachusetts, Westminster’s “presbyterian” decrees about polity and discipline were replaced by an entirely different system, stressing the complete autonomy of every parish. The Cambridge synod thus created a new branch of Calvinism, the one we now call Congregationalism, which became a de facto established church throughout most of New England.

New Englanders were the most famous Calvinists to settle in America before 1700, but they were certainly not the only ones. The Dutch settlers of New Amsterdam, later New York, had established their Reformed church by 1640 (by 1665, the Dutch had also established it in South Africa, which still remains a bastion of the Dutch Reformed church). After 1685, some two thousand Huguenots, fleeing France after Louis XIV revoked the Edict of Nantes, reestablished their Reformed churches after settling in places as far apart as Boston and South Carolina. Soon afterward, thousands of Scots-Irish colonists from Ulster (Northern Ireland) fled in order to escape Protestant persecution; they settled mostly in the middle colonies and formed their first presbytery at Philadelphia by 1706. Methodism, the largest neo-Calvinist Protestant church in America, arrived there by the mid-eighteenth century. As the history of Calvinist emigration to America testifies, such seventeenth-century intra-Protestant confessional quarrels were often high-stakes issues for laymen. They were even more so for clerics because public authorities quickly removed ministers from theologically incorrect factions. After 1619, Remonstrants were deprived throughout the Netherlands; in Scotland, many Episcopalians were deprived after 1639, and Presbyterians were deprived in about one-fourth of its thousand parishes after 1661. The situation was worst in Stuart England, which exceeded its previous pastoral purges under the Tudors in 1553 and 1559. During the Puritan Revolution, over two thousand of England’s nine thousand parishes lost Royalist pastors for being insufficiently Calvinist. After the Restoration of 1660 gave the Church of England a head (Charles II) who had once remarked that “Presbyterianism is not a religion for gentlemen,” two thousand more were removed as insufficiently Episcopalian. After the Glorious Revolution of 1688, another four hundred British clergy

were deposed for refusing to swear allegiance to William and Mary.

CALVINIST AUSTERITY

The most important features linking the practices of Europe's various "confessionalized" Reformed churches—and simultaneously separating them from other Protestant as well as Catholic traditions—revolved around their methods of disciplining church members for various forms of misbehavior. Wherever the Reformed faith became an official church, as in Scotland, the Netherlands, or the Palatinate, its organizations for ecclesiastical discipline operated hand in glove with public authorities. Records from such institutions in various parts of Europe enable us to form some general impressions about how Calvinist discipline actually worked in the heyday of confessionalism. The first thing to notice is that no established Reformed church even remotely approached the levels of investigation or punishments found in Calvin's Geneva. Consistories in Scotland or French Switzerland summoned between one adult in thirty and one in sixty each year, while those in Holland or France excommunicated no more than one adult in one hundred fifty each year; both ratios were roughly six times higher in Calvin's Geneva.

Another distinctive feature of Reformed Protestantism was its remarkably small number of official holidays. Calvin himself saw no need and no scriptural basis for any holiday other than Sunday, and Reformed Protestants usually celebrated extremely few of them. Their most austere churches, Geneva and Scotland (or seventeenth-century New England), observed none at all—not until Geneva's magistrates overruled their pastors and finally declared Christmas an official holiday in 1694. Such situations were, however, exceptional. The mainstream of established Calvinism, the Reformed churches of Zurich, Bern, France, the Netherlands, and the Palatinate, celebrated four holidays besides Sundays: Christmas, Easter, Ascension Day, and Pentecost; the Dutch and the Palatinate also added New Year's Day. Keeping only a handful of holy days marked an enormous departure from Catholic practices, which in most places celebrated anywhere from forty to sixty holidays each year. Other mainstream Protestants were far less radical than Calvinists: Lutherans kept a large number of holy days,

while the Church of England became a target for Puritan scorn by observing a total of twenty-seven holidays. Early Massachusetts went further and took the most extreme Calvinist position about the Christian calendar: not only did the colony ban all holidays, but its General Court briefly reformed the "pagan" names of the months as well, dating by "first month," "second month," and so forth.

Many Calvinists compensated for this paucity or absence of other holidays with a strict observance of Sunday, almost in an exact correlation. Scotland became Europe's most notorious example in 1579, when serious punishments were first threatened for Sabbath-breakers; by 1649, they had forbidden such practices as fishing on Sunday. Scotland's extremely rigid taboos about Sabbath observance lasted far into modern times; it has been suggested that "Thou Shalt Not" made the best title for a history of Scotland, with its longest chapter called "Never on Sunday." Another specifically Calvinist ritual was the special day of community fasting, proposed by pastors and decreed by secular authorities, usually intended to divert God's wrath at times of extraordinary danger. We find fast days observed as early as the 1560s by the beleaguered churches of the Low Countries or France, and later in seventeenth-century New England; they remained a feature of Genevan life until the nineteenth century.

CONCLUSION

Calvinism's distinctive cultural contributions to the modern world seem more problematic than they did fifty years ago, when historians confidently assumed that Reformed churches had consistently opposed tyranny and fostered individualism. They seem vastly more problematic than they did a century ago, when the German sociologist Max Weber asserted a causal connection between Calvinist self-discipline, which he called "other-worldly asceticism," and economic success. The best way to approach such major issues today is by noting that although Calvinism's various European branches were mostly stable or defensive after 1650, they remained dynamic in Europe's overseas colonies and former colonies until the twentieth century. The consequences seem peculiarly paradoxical in America, where advanced education has become entirely secular, while a crypto-Calvinist "salvation-

ist” evangelical Protestantism maintains an enduring hold over much of the population.

Few readers today will swallow the assertion that New England’s Calvinist Puritanism “produced a type of human being that no just and informed mind can think of without admiration” (McNeill, pp. 340–341). Nevertheless, Calvinism, argues its most prominent recent historian, “still merits a prominent role in certain metanarratives of Western modernization” (Benedict, p. 542). By shrinking beliefs about holy days and seasons to a minimum, it affected a more thorough, although incomplete, “disenchantment of the world” than its rivals, and its strict codes of individual conduct powerfully reinforced individual consciences.

See also Calvin, John; Dort, Synod of; Dutch Republic; Geneva; Grotius, Hugo; Huguenots; Knox, John; La Rochelle; Luther, Martin; Lutheranism; Methodism; Palatinate; Puritanism; Reformation, Protestant; Reformations in Eastern Europe: Protestant, Catholic, and Orthodox; Zwingli, Huldrych.

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Its fragmented history has often made Calvinism a topic for collective research in multinational contexts during the past generation. A slightly older example of this genre is Menna Prestwich, ed., *International Calvinism, 1541–1715* (Oxford, 1985). Three useful and relatively recent collections of documents and essays should also be mentioned: Alastair Duke, Gillian Lewis, and Andrew Pettegree, eds., *Calvinism in Europe, 1540–1610: A Collection of Documents* (Manchester, U.K., 1992); Andrew Pettegree, Alastair Duke and Gillian Lewis, eds., *Calvinism in Europe, 1540–1620* (Cambridge, U.K., 1994); and Raymond A. Mentzer, ed., *Sin and the Calvinists: Morals Control and the Consistory in the Reformed Tradition* (Sixteenth Century Essays & Studies, XXXII; Kirksville, Mo., 1994). Those who read French can enjoy a handsome coffee-table book: Pierre Chaunu, ed., *L’aventure de la Réforme: Le monde de Jean Calvin* (Paris, 1986); even those who cannot might enjoy its illustrations. There are some valuable essays in Karen Maag, ed., *The Reformation in Eastern and Central Europe* (Aldershot, U.K., 1997).

WILLIAM MONTER

CAMBRAI, LEAGUE OF (1508). The League of Cambrai was an alliance of European powers against the Venetian Republic signed on 10 December 1508. Named for the town in the Netherlands where the treaty was signed, the alliance against Venice included France, Spain, England, Germany, and the papacy, as well as the Italian states of Savoy, Ferrara, and Mantua. All swore to avenge the injuries, violations, and damages caused by the state of Venice.

The Venetian Republic offended the other European powers when it began to extend its empire on the Italian mainland. In the fifteenth century, the changing nature of the Venetian economy required such an expansion of territory. The Ottoman conquest of Constantinople in 1453 severely damaged Venice’s sea trade in the Mediterranean. In addition, Venetian trade in the Far East was threatened by Portuguese ships sailing around the newly discovered Cape of Good Hope. Thus, the Venetians had begun to transform themselves from a sea to a land power. Recent conquests in the Veneto, including the cities of Padua, Verona, and Friuli, raised alarm among the other European powers.

The League of Cambrai was orchestrated by Pope Julius II (reigned 1503–1513), who wanted to strengthen and extend the Papal States at the expense of Venice. But all of the members of the league had something to gain from the alliance, for the territories of Venice were to be divided between them. Desperately, Venice tried to pay the emperor Maximilian 200,000 Rhenish florins for his alliance, but to no avail. The onslaught arrived on 10 May 1509 at the battle of Agnadello, where the French army surrounded the Venetian forces with cavalry and Swiss pikemen. The Venetian forces were routed, and the defeat destroyed the morale of the troops, who were mainly mercenary soldiers with little loyalty to Venice. Within two months, Venice lost all of her territory on the mainland and was in fear of losing the islands themselves.

Fortunately for Venice, in the summer of 1509 several cities were beginning to rally to the side of their former lords, including Padua, Vicenza, and Verona. Diplomatically, the Venetians were able to ameliorate their situation as well. They reconciled with the papacy on 24 February 1510, and the League of Cambrai against Venice became the Holy

League, an alliance against France. Through the Holy League, Pope Julius II intended to force the “barbarians” out of Italy. The pope’s martial behavior was criticized by many pacifist humanists including Erasmus of Rotterdam, who penned the dialogue *Julius Excluded from Heaven* in 1513.

For Venice, the results of the League of Cambrai were devastating. Although the republic had survived and eventually managed to regain many of its territories on the mainland, it destroyed the dream of an empire on the Italian peninsula, or terra firma. The republic never regained the prestige, wealth, and military importance of earlier times. After the League of Cambrai, Venice relied on diplomatic maneuvering between the European powers rather than on military force for its survival in the early modern era.

See also **Julius II (pope); Venice.**

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REBECCA BOONE

CAMBRIDGE PLATONISTS. The Cambridge Platonists are so called because they were all educated at the University of Cambridge and were all indebted to Platonist philosophy. The senior member of the group was Benjamin Whichcote (1609–1683), and its most important philosophers were Henry More (1614–1687) and Ralph Cudworth (1617–1688). The group also included Peter Sterry (1613–1672), John Smith (1618–1652), Nathaniel Culverwel (1619–1651), and John Worthington (1618–1671). Their younger followers included George Rust (d. 1670), Anne Conway (1631–1679), and John Norris (1675–1711).

Cambridge Platonism may be defined not so much by a strict set of doctrines as by a loose framework of values and philosophical preferences. This Platonism was of the syncretic model familiar since the Renaissance, which was open to other strands of

thought, including, in this case, new developments in science and philosophy, in particular Cartesianism and the experimentalism of the Royal Society. While the Cambridge Platonists’ individual writings exhibit marked differences of emphasis and style, the major premise of their thinking is the compatibility of reason and faith and the view that the human mind is equipped with the principles of knowledge and morality. Their tolerant Protestantism, underpinned by a liberal theology of grace, is matched by an optimistic view of human nature, according to which human beings are capable of self-improvement through the exercise of reason and free will. These views set them in opposition to the dogmatic Calvinism of their day, as well as to the philosophical determinism of Thomas Hobbes and Baruch Spinoza. The main themes of their writings were the defense of the existence of God and of the immortality of the soul and the formulation of a practical ethics for Christian conduct. They propounded a philosophy of spirit, according to which mind or soul is antecedent to matter, the truths of the mind are superior to sense-knowledge, and spirit is the main principle of causal agency. The most distinctive accounts of the latter are More’s hypothesis of the spirit of nature and Cudworth’s analogous hypothesis of plastic nature. The fullest and most systematic exposition of their philosophy of spirit is set out in More’s *Of the Immortality of the Soul* (1659) and *Enchiridion Metaphysicum* (1671; Manual of metaphysics). Cudworth never completed his main work, *The True Intellectual System of the Universe* (1678). Nonetheless this substantial volume is a compendious philosophy of religion, which surveys ancient philosophy as a *philosophia perennis* (“perennial philosophy”). It broaches a number of themes more fully treated in Cudworth’s unpublished writings “On Liberty and Necessity” and his posthumously published *Treatise concerning Eternal and Immutable Morality* (1731). The *Treatise* is the most comprehensive statement of innate-idea epistemology by any seventeenth-century philosopher. The most accessible summary of the ethos and assumptions of Cambridge Platonism is John Smith’s posthumously published *Select Discourses* (1660). More also took care to communicate his philosophy in more popular works like his *Philosophical Poems* (1647) and *Divine Dialogues* (1668). Nathaniel Ingelo’s romance *Bentivolio and Urania*

(1660) contains an outline of their views for popular consumption.

Despite difficulties occasioned by the upheaval of contemporary political events, the legacy of the Cambridge Platonists was far-reaching. On the religious front, they inspired the Latitudinarians who adopted a nonrestrictive approach to matters of doctrine within the Church of England. In philosophy, More and Cudworth were read by Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, while their British adherents included Lord Shaftesbury, Richard Price, and Thomas Reid. The works of More, Cudworth, and Whichcote continued to be printed well into the eighteenth century.

See also **Cartesianism; Church of England; Descartes, René; Hobbes, Thomas; More, Henry; Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm; Spinoza, Baruch.**

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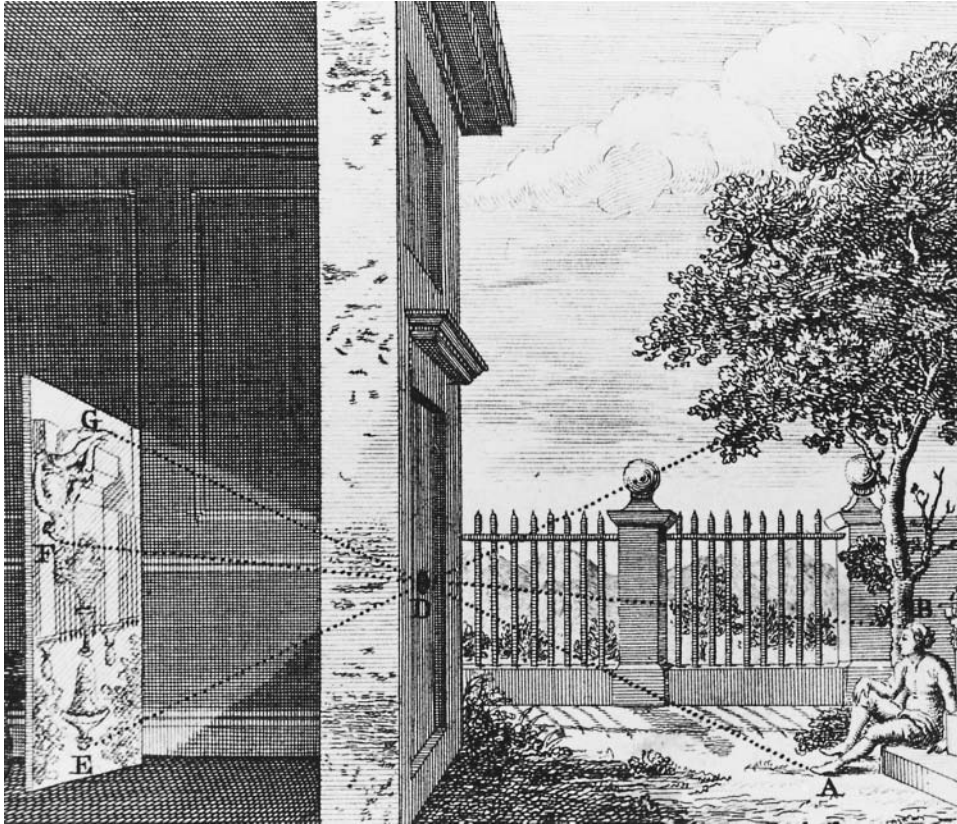
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SARAH HUTTON

CAMERA OBSCURA. The camera obscura is an optical instrument that was the forerunner of the modern photographic camera. It can range in size from a small tabletop device to a room-size chamber. The term is Latin for 'dark room', which describes the simplest form of the camera obscura, a darkened room into which light is admitted through a tiny opening in one of the walls or windows. An inverted image from the outside world appears against the wall or screen opposite the opening. The principle of the camera obscura has been known since ancient times, and the device was used for viewing astronomical phenomena such as solar eclipses from at least the thirteenth century. During the eighteenth century the camera obscura enjoyed widespread popularity, and large camera obscuras were constructed for use as public entertainments.

In the early modern period the camera obscura was used as a model of the structure and function of the eye and as a demonstration of theories of vision. Leonardo da Vinci (1452–1519) discussed the camera obscura in the context of the eye, but Giambattista della Porta (1535?–1615) was the first to suggest that the camera obscura could be used as a tool for artists. In his *Magiae naturalis* of 1558, della Porta suggested that artists and others could use the camera obscura for making drawings by projecting the image onto a sheet of paper and tracing it. Della Porta also suggested placing a lens in the opening, or aperture, of the camera obscura to improve the quality of the projected image, and this innovation contributed to the wider use of the device. Although many sixteenth- and seventeenth-



Camera Obscura. This is the simplest form, in which a room is darkened and light allowed in through one small hole. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

century writers noted that the camera obscura could serve as a useful tool for drawing, the question of whether and to what extent the instrument was utilized by early modern artists has long been a subject of debate among art historians. Very few written accounts describing the actual use of the camera obscura by artists exist prior to the eighteenth century, and therefore arguments about the use of the camera obscura by artists in earlier centuries have been based on internal evidence gleaned from paintings and drawings. The work of the famous Delft painter Jan Vermeer (1632–1675) has been the focus of much of this research, as many scholars believe that the extreme contrasts of perspective and thickly painted highlights present in the construction and composition in many of Vermeer's paintings are evidence of the use of an optical device. While the question of Vermeer's and other early modern artists' use of the camera obscura as a compositional aid has not been resolved, most scholars agree that many early modern artists were interested in optical devices and may

have been inspired by the visual effects produced by instruments such as the camera obscura. Other scholars have approached the camera obscura as a means of theorizing the nature of vision in the early modern period, interpreting the instrument as a metaphor for early modern—as opposed to modern or postmodern—modes of looking.

See also **Optics; Scientific Instruments.**

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CAMISARD REVOLT. The Camisard Revolt (1702–1704) began in the remote Cévennes mountains of southern France and spread from there to the plains bordering the cities of Montpellier, Nîmes, and Alès (formerly Alais). It resulted from efforts by the monarchy of Louis XIV to destroy orthodox Calvinism following the revocation in 1685 of the Edict of Nantes (1598), which had granted French Protestants limited tolerance. The monarchy proved successful in expelling or executing pastors and elders and dismantling the French Reformed Church, but its success inadvertently opened the way to less orthodox methods of religious expression in the mountains of the Cévennes. Episodes of popular prophetism resulted, and men, children, and especially women began to receive revelations directly from the Holy Spirit. For women, prophetism represented a new and powerful avenue by which they might exercise authority in their faith, and they formed the backbone of support and supply for the rebellion. A male prophet, Abraham Mazel, organized the first of several rebel bands in 1702 with explicit orders from the Holy Spirit to destroy the Catholic Church. Called "Camisards" after the *camisa*, or white smocks they wore, the rebels attacked and burned churches, killed priests and accused persecutors, and battled royal armies, winning several small victories.

The Camisards fought a strikingly modern guerrilla war, depending on the support of their native villages and intimate knowledge of familiar terrain to ambush royal detachments and disrupt communications. The commanders sent to crush the revolt were used to fighting a very different kind of war and proved incapable of finding and defeating the bands, which seemed to appear and disappear without trace. Convinced that the only way to stop the rebellion was to cut off its supplies, royal officials finally resorted to burning some five hun-

dred villages in the mountains and conducting murderous military pogroms aimed principally at the civilian population.

Still fired by apocalyptic prophetism, but losing popular support and lacking supplies, the rebellion began to fade when a new commander, the pragmatic Maréchal de Villars, employed amnesties to negotiate its end. Jean Cavalier, the most powerful and successful rebel chief, was the first to surrender. The death soon after of the rebellion's most charismatic leader, Roland Laporte, effectively finished the conflict. While some tiny groups of rebels persisted in the mountains for a few years, there were no more religious wars in France.

The Camisard rebellion demonstrated the classic conflict of faith and reason. The rebel prophets never understood the extent to which the church they hoped to destroy had merged with the monarchy to which they repeatedly declared their loyalty. Likewise, royal officials and generals, standing on the cusp of the Enlightenment, never grasped the apocalyptic and mystical nature of the prophetism that fired and motivated the rebellion. Despite its failure, the revolt did ensure that Protestantism would never be entirely rooted out of this region of France, and it laid the groundwork for the reestablishment of a more orthodox French Reformed Church in the years that followed.

See also Nantes, Edict of; Popular Protest and Rebellions; Reformation, Protestant.

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CAMÕES, LUÍS VAZ DE (c. 1525–1580), Portuguese poet. Luís Vaz de Camões, Portugal's first great poet, was probably born in Lisbon, and he died in that city on 10 June 1580. The author of his

country's national epic, *Os Lusíadas* (1572; *The Lusíads*), Camões was also a playwright—*Anfitriões* (*The Amphytrions*), *El-Rei Seleuco* (*King Seleucus*), and *Filodemo*—and a prolific lyric poet. His work in all the lyric genres of his age—odes, elegies, eclogues, songs, and sonnets—was collected and published posthumously in *Rhytmos* (1595; *Rhythms*).

Facts in Camões's biography are sparse, shadowy, and often indeterminate. It is thought that he came from a noble family from the north of Portugal, probably Galicia (now part of Spain). Because of specific geographical references in his writings as well as his obvious erudition, he was probably university trained, although tradition also has it that he left the University of Coimbra before completing his studies. As a nobleman he was received at court, and as a poet he was invited to aristocratic salons.

In 1546 Camões was banished from Lisbon, putatively because of his forbidden love for Catarina de Ataíde, a lady of the court (celebrated in poetry by Elizabeth Barrett Browning), or, even less likely, because of an indiscreet allusion to the king in his play *El-Rei Seleuco*. For two years, beginning in 1547, Camões was in military service in Ceuta, the Moroccan setting for the first Portuguese overseas victory in 1415. While there Camões suffered the loss of his right eye in a skirmish or fight. In 1553, back in Lisbon, King John III (ruled 1521–1557) pardoned him for wounding a royal officer in a street fight. At this time Camões was sent to India in the king's service. He spent the next seventeen years exiled from Lisbon, serving in Goa and in Macau (China), where tradition has it that he began to write *Os Lusíadas*. Evidence culled from his poetry seems to indicate that, during his time in the East, Camões participated in naval expeditions, fought in battles, suffered imprisonment, and survived shipwreck. His shipwreck survival in the Mekong Delta is enhanced by the legendary detail that he succeeded in swimming ashore while holding aloft the manuscript of his still-unfinished epic.

In 1570 Camões finally made it back to Lisbon, where two years later he published *Os Lusíadas*. In recompense for his poem or perhaps for services in the Far East, he was granted a small royal pension by the young and ill-fated King Sebastian (ruled 1557–1578). Tradition has it that, his pension notwithstanding, Camões died improvident in a Lisbon



Luís Vaz de Camões. GETTY IMAGES

poorhouse—a fate the American writer Herman Melville memorialized in poetry three centuries later.

Os Lusíadas, which was soon translated into several European languages, is considered Camões's masterwork. The first of many translations into English, Richard Fanshaw's *The Lusíad, or Portugals Historicall Poem*, appeared in 1655. The most truly national epic of the early modern era, *Os Lusíadas* has also been regarded as the first notable poetic apology for worldwide European mercantilism and empire. Born a generation after Vasco da Gama (c. 1460–1524) became the first Portuguese sailor to reach India by rounding the Cape of Good Hope (1497–1498), Camões constructed his poem celebrating the drama and glories of Portuguese history around the stages of Gama's voyage. Among Camões's most effective creations in this historical poem is Adamastor, the monstrous Spirit of the Cape who awaits the Portuguese mariners. The figure of Adamastor has suffered varied interpretations and adaptations. He has been transformed, particularly in southern Africa, into the sinister symbol of

Europe's own perfidy, betrayal, and violence in Africa.

Posthumously Camões's position as a lyric poet has been characterized by numerous attempts to enlarge the canon. The 65 poems attributed to Camões in 1595 were joined by 287 others by 1860. The vogue for Camões's lyrics reached its apogee with the spread of literary Romanticism throughout Europe. In the English-speaking world, Lord Strangford's loose and permissive translations in 1803 set the tone and laid the lines for the appreciation of the Portuguese poet for the rest of the century. Among Camões's most famous lyrics are the sonnet "Alma minha gentil" (Oh gentle spirit), his most frequently translated poem, and "Sobolossos que vão" (By the rivers of Babylon), a magnificent personal meditation. The latter, which Lope de Vega once called "the Pearl of all poetry," starts with a paraphrase of Psalm 137 of the Old Testament.

See also **Gama, Vasco da; Portugal; Portuguese Literature and Language.**

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CANALS. See **Communication and Transportation.**

CANON LAW. See **Law: Canon Law.**

CANOVA, ANTONIO (1757–1822), Italian sculptor. The leading proponent of neoclassi-

cism and Italy's last internationally famous artist, the sculptor Antonio Canova, born in the village of Possagno in 1757, rose to celebrity from humble origins. The son and grandson of provincial stonecarvers in the rural Veneto, he was brought up and trained by his paternal grandfather, Pasino Canova, after his father Pietro's death in 1761 and the almost immediate remarriage of his mother, Angela Zardo. He attracted the attention of members of the patrician Falier family and, with their help, moved to Venice, where he studied sculpture in the studio of Giuseppe Bernardi (c. 1696–1774). There he learned to work in a rococo naturalistic idiom that he quickly abandoned after his permanent move to Rome in 1780.

In Rome, the center of artistic innovation and birthplace of neoclassicism, Canova was supported by a pension from the Venetian senate and lodged with the Serene Republic's ambassador to the Holy See, Girolamo Zulian. It was a commission from Zulian, *Theseus and the Dead Minotaur* (1781–1783), that initially established Canova's reputation as a neoclassical sculptor of great promise. The success of the Zulian statue earned him the commission for the tomb of Pope Clement XIV Ganganelli (1783–1787) for the Roman basilica of the Holy Apostles and a second funerary monument to the Venetian Pope Clement XIII Rezzonico for Saint Peter's (1787–1792). Papal tombs, the most prestigious commissions possible for sculptors, were erected in public spaces and listed in guidebooks, facts that helped to promote Canova's reputation far beyond Rome.

The French invasion of the Papal States in 1796 and the collapse of the pontifical government of Pius VI in 1798 sent Canova home to the Austrian-ruled Veneto, where he lived in exile as an opponent of the French puppet Roman Republic (1798–1799). From Possagno, he journeyed to Vienna to help gain support for the deposed pope and received the commission for his most important tomb, the moving *Monument to the Archduchess Maria Christina of Austria*, erected in the church of the Augustinians in Vienna in 1805. His Austrian contacts led to additional commissions, including *Theseus Struggling with the Centaur* (1804–1819).

Despite wars and political upheaval, Canova was able to maintain a flourishing professional practice



Antonio Canova. *Theseus Struggling with the Centaur.* ©MASSIMO LISTRI/CORBIS

after 1800 because he refused to allow politics to determine his patrons. During the hegemony of Napoleon from 1800 to 1814, he often worked for members of the Bonaparte family, executing statues for Napoleon himself (*Napoleon as Mars the Peacemaker*, 1803–1806), for Bonaparte’s mother Letizia (*Madame Mère as Agrippina*, 1804–1807), and for the emperor’s sister Pauline (*Pauline Borghese as Venus Victrix*, 1804–1808), among others. As a conservative Catholic and Venetian patriot (the French had destroyed the political independence of Venice), Canova was essentially francophobic. The question of cynicism in working for the Bonapartes is still a matter of scholarly debate.

The sculptor’s admiration for Napoleon’s first wife, Joséphine, and his delight in working for her, however, are beyond dispute. She was an Old Regime aristocrat who wished only to have the best specimens of Canova’s chisel for her gallery at the château de Malmaison. Canova found her highly sympathetic and executed several works for her such as *Hebe* (1800–1805), *Dancer* (1805–1812), *Paris* (1807–1812), and *The Three Graces* (1812–1816). The Malmaison gallery briefly formed the finest private collection of Canova’s sculpture in existence and featured the graceful, elegant mythological figures that were the artist’s specialty. These statues passed into the Russian imperial collections after

Joséphine's death in 1814 and are still exhibited in the Hermitage in St. Petersburg.

Elegant, graceful, coyly erotic, and smooth-surfaced marble statues of mythological and literary figures were also extremely popular among Canova's British patrons, who formed the majority of the sculptor's clients, especially after 1814. He executed *Psyche* (1789–1792) for Henry Blundell, a second version of *The Three Graces* (1815–1817) for John Russell, sixth duke of Bedford, and *Mars and Venus* (1816–1821) for the Prince Regent George, who also commissioned *Monument to the Last Stuarts* (1817–1819) for Saint Peter's. While in London in 1815, Canova testified before the parliamentary committee in favor of the acquisition of the Elgin Marbles from the Parthenon in Athens. British assistance to Canova while he was in Paris in 1815 to oversee the repatriation from the former Musée Napoléon of stolen works of art was crucial to Italy's recovery of a highly significant part of its cultural patrimony.

Canova's last years were spent in executing commissions for various British patrons and in the construction and decoration of a parish church in Possagno, which still stands as a monument to his Catholic piety, fame, and neoclassical aesthetic. He died in Venice in 1822.

See also **Neoclassicism; Sculpture; Venice, Art in.**

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CAPITALISM. Europe went through remarkable economic transformations between 1500 and 1800, including agricultural change, urbanization, industrial development, commercial expansion, and growing financial sophistication. Capital was accumulated and productively invested; it helped to create (and became increasingly essential to) the new forms of social organization used to exploit economic opportunities. Labor became more of a

commodity to be bought and sold. Occupational diversification proceeded alongside a growing polarization of wealth, creating a large group of wage-dependent laborers and an emerging, but increasingly assertive, middle class that embraced the productive ideal.

These changes were once thought to be associated with a fundamental transition from one type of economic, social, and political form (feudalism) to another (capitalism). However, economic change in early modern Europe is better conceived as a changing balance between sectors and regions, some of which moved rapidly, others only slowly. Overlapping (if sometimes contradictory) forces helped Europe to become more capitalist over time, but noncapitalist forms existed alongside this trend and shaped the path it took.

Different degrees of capitalism coexisted in constantly changing alignments from the Middle Ages to the nineteenth century, and all regions of Europe had some dynamism at some periods. The richest “core” parts of Europe in 1500 were the lands ruled by the Habsburgs in Spain, northern Italy, southern Germany, and the Low Countries. Northern Europe was, by comparison, economically peripheral. By 1650 the economic hub of Europe had shifted irrevocably to the northwest seaboard, leaving the Mediterranean as the “periphery.”

COMMERCIAL CAPITALISM

At the end of the Middle Ages, Europe's largely subsistence economies were small, fragmented, and lacking dynamism. Demand was slack, and what trade existed was in foodstuffs and a few luxuries. Goods needed an expanding market, which extralocal commerce seemed to provide by short-circuiting some of the inherent constraints on economic growth. Thus began greater intra-European trade and, crucially, the voyages of discovery, which—for better or worse—brought Europeans into direct contact with the wider world. Supplies of new goods were brought to Europe, and new demands were created: for commodities like sugar, tea, and tobacco, and for semidurables like crockery or cotton and silk clothes. European manufactures found new markets abroad.

It was once thought that the profits so earned were concentrated in the hands of capitalists, who helped to fund further economic development. Di-

rect and indirect benefits accrued. Production for exchange rather than use became the norm, and with it a specialization of function, or “division of labor.” Successful merchants could diversify into industry. Transportation and transaction costs would be reduced by innovations in carrying. Ships had to be built, outfitted, and victualed, further stimulating production and technological innovation. Long-term credit, changes in the law on multiple ownership, which made possible “joint-stock companies,” and increasingly sophisticated exchange facilities (including banknotes) fostered the rational and systematic maximization of net returns, which is a keynote of capitalism.

Historians conventionally believed that international trade, especially with the New World, was the prime force behind the primitive accumulation of capital, leading eventually to the industrial and commercial revolutions of the nineteenth century. Certain significant mercantile groups in the towns of northwest Europe benefited, but the overall stimulus to early capitalism should not be exaggerated. Overseas commerce was a risky business involving no more than one percent of European production. Dynamic and glamorous as international trade may seem, more mundane aspects of early modern economic life need to be considered. In order of numbers employed, commerce came a long way behind agriculture and industry. Once thought less dynamic than trade, the agricultural world in particular had considerable potential for economic change because of the nature of social class relations in some areas of rural Europe.

AGRARIAN CAPITALISM

Social status and wealth in rural Europe were determined by the legal rights people had to the land they worked and consequently by their share of the surplus they extracted. Some parts of Europe had many peasant proprietors, but mostly the land was owned by a few rich people and worked by “tenant” farmers and landless or land-poor laborers. In France the political needs of the late-medieval French crown led it to foster peasant proprietorship. This created a substantial body of semi-independent peasantry, but they were generally poor, and the rural economy was relatively immobile. Scandinavia was similar. In contrast, the English peasantry was politically weaker, and independent freeholders

were gradually turned into tenant farmers. This facilitated subsequent social change (expropriation) and economic improvements (based ultimately on consolidation of holdings) required for capitalism. Ownership of the means of production became concentrated in fewer hands, landholding units became larger, and specialized techniques were introduced to raise yields. Thus, fluid social relations of production were adapted to capitalism, and other, increasingly capitalistic, means of raising net profitability were introduced.

This is true of parts of northwest Europe, notably England. Yet a simple imbalance of power relationships in favor of the owners of the means of production did not necessarily promote capitalist development. Powerful landowners east of the River Elbe reacted to growing western demands for grain during the sixteenth-century population expansion by exploiting more intensively their feudal privileges over serf labor. For example, the rights of Russian lords over their peasants were consolidated and extended by comprehensive laws passed in 1649. Serfdom in the east was characterized by restricted personal freedom and the exploitation of the peasantry by legal and political rather than purely economic means. Labor power had not been turned into a simple commodity for, in addition, the relation between capital and labor retained a personal dimension, and workers had means of support other than selling their labor. The experience of eastern Europe is a reminder that a commercialized economy is not the same as a capitalist economy. It also shows that economic change did not always bring with it more capitalistic forms of social organization and that a polarized society is not necessarily a capitalist one.

INDUSTRIAL CAPITALISM

Commercial explanations of capitalist development, which focus on extrinsic forces, may underestimate the internal dynamism of European agriculture, industry, and towns. Some regions of Europe had been net importers of food and exporters of finished products since the Middle Ages. The economically dynamic northern Italian city-states are an example in the late Middle Ages. During the sixteenth century, the Dutch imported as much as a third of their grain needs from the Baltic, allowing specialization within pastoral agriculture alongside a level of urbanization and industrial employment that would

have been unthinkable if their economy had been closed.

Just as some regions depended on trade, so too did most European families. Far from being merely self-sufficient, production for exchange was common. It is unlikely that most households made items such as clothes for their own use, because the manufacturing process from raw material to finished garment was far too complicated and time-consuming. Even in the more isolated economies there was a considerable degree of specialization and therefore exchange. Incomes fluctuated, but in good times there were surpluses to spend on marketplace purchases. Thus, there were opportunities for growth and change even within “traditional” economies.

Factories and capitalism are conventionally linked, but most early modern industrial production was located in the home and in the countryside: it is commonly known as “cottage industry.” Across northwest Europe between a sixth and a third of all men living in the countryside were primarily employed in nonagricultural jobs such as textile manufacture. These rural domestic producers were both independent artisans producing for local markets and dependent employees whose work might reach extralocal markets. The latter form is known as “putting-out,” and its advantage to capitalists was that it was cheap and flexible. Breaking free of guild restrictions on quality, price, and employment, urban merchant entrepreneurs were able to find plenty of eager workers among the underemployed poor of rural Europe. In the major cloth-producing areas such as Picardy in northeast France or the English West Country, these entrepreneurs bought raw wool or flax to be prepared and spun into yarn. They then gave the yarn to specialist weavers and bought back the cloth, which was taken for finishing and finally for selling, often in national or international markets. Urban specialists added more value to the product by dyeing cloth and tailoring it, but the majority of ordinary woolen and linen fabric was made in the countryside.

Putting-out thus embodied important capitalistic elements. Capital was controlled not by individual workers, but by entrepreneurs; the production process involved a clear division of labor; workers were paid wages, for, while some might own their own looms, the only commodity they

were selling was their labor; and goods were sold in nonlocal markets. Capitalism is ultimately defined, as Karl Marx (1818–1883) argued, not by the performance of an economy, but by its specific relations of production between capital and labor. However, small-scale production organized by master weavers rather than merchants continued to characterize the woolen-cloth industry of the seventeenth-century Low Countries. Even within a single English county like Yorkshire, putting-out and independent artisan cloth production coexisted. And rather than a linear progression from independence to dependence, workers sometimes moved back and forth between them.

URBAN CAPITALISM

It is understandable that historians searching for early modern capitalism focused on agrarian change and on the agricultural origins of industry. Most Europeans lived on the land and it provided not only their subsistence, but also most of the raw materials for industry (wood, leather, and fibers for making cloth); apart from wind and water, energy came mainly from organic rather than mineral sources. Some 8 percent of all Europeans lived in towns of 10,000 or more in 1600 and 10 percent in 1800. Most of this growth can be accounted for by a trebling in England’s proportion from under 6 percent to over 20 percent. London alone grew from 200,000 inhabitants to nearly 600,000 during the seventeenth century and to one million by 1800. As early as 1700 nearly a third of the Dutch lived in towns, but there and elsewhere in continental Europe the percentage did not grow any further. In eastern Europe the urban component remained minimal—as little as 3 percent in 1800.

Despite their often small size and low proportion of national population, towns were the motors of economic change. They functioned as centers of production (especially finishing and luxury goods), transportation and exchange; they provided legal, financial, and educational services; they served as bases for secular and ecclesiastical bureaucracies; they acted as communications nodes, providing verbal, written, and printed information; they offered increasingly sophisticated leisure facilities. Their impact was felt in all economic sectors. While productivity in French agriculture was generally low, the area around Paris had yields comparable with En-

gland; Dutch farming was highly advanced because of the large urban markets.

Towns and capitalism were not always connected. Towns helped to modernize the economies of northwestern Europe, but they had little effect on Russian agriculture, trade, and industry because they were simply military or administrative outposts in a sea of feudalism. Southern Italy had many towns, but they were essentially dormitories for farmers and did not offer the range of industrial, commercial, and service occupations found elsewhere in Europe. Some have even questioned whether the urban elites of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century France were “bourgeois” in any meaningful sense. Most aspired to belong to the nobility and, when able, tried to ape their social norms and economic behavior—including a disdain for trade and a preference for conspicuous consumption. Yet throughout the period there was a strong association between urbanization and the development of different stages of capitalism—in northern Italy, then the Netherlands, then England.

IDEOLOGIES OF CAPITALISM

Towns were hothouses of capitalist development, but other factors also nourished the acquisitive and productive ideal. From the mid-sixteenth century Calvinism appealed to those who believed that wealth was a sign of God’s favor and that glorifying God could be done through acquisition. Yet some Calvinists believed it was wrong to exploit other people, and different faiths have also been credited with fostering capitalism: for example, Jews had traditionally been untroubled by Christian reservations about charging interest. Nor was Catholicism an enemy of financial sophistication, for north Italian bankers dominated the commercial and public finances of the fifteenth-century Mediterranean world. Literacy and numeracy had also been high in this region, especially in the cities, during the Renaissance, but it was in the northwest of Europe that literacy developed most rapidly and extensively in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

In the eighteenth century secular intelligentsia took up the banner of capitalism. Enlightenment thinkers analyzed, celebrated, and promoted getting and spending, arguing that commercial intercourse was one way of promoting the social interaction that was the basis of personal and societal

improvement. Changes in attitude not only affected the owners of capital. An “industrious revolution,” marked by a growing propensity to work in order to consume, fueled the demand side of growth. For many people, incomes and consumption rose. Marx thought that workers would labor more just to stand still, but the capitalism that developed in early modern Europe was fed by a desire not for subsistence, but for betterment, not for “needs,” but for “wants.” The consolidation and glorification of private property that occurred in the West was an important precondition of an “industrious revolution.” In eastern Europe, by contrast, the idea of individual ownership of goods was subordinated to that of family or community interest.

While Enlightenment writers eventually functioned as the ideologues of nineteenth-century laissez-faire capitalism, they did not come from such an environment. A body of laws and assumptions about economic regulation, which were designed to promote social stability over individual gain, restricted the free market. At best, attitudes toward capitalism remained ambivalent. It was “virtuous” to engage in commerce, but only if market relations were equalized, competition was fair, and exchange therefore equitable. Throughout the early modern period, capitalism remained a contested terrain. Just as Calvinism had provided only contingent support for capitalism in the seventeenth century, Enlightenment thinkers saw property and gain entailing moral and civil obligations—both against a backdrop of enduring political support for intervention in support of a “moral economy.”

The increasingly centralized territorial states might facilitate, protect, and exploit economic expansion and consolidation, but when there were competing interests, political priorities almost invariably outweighed capitalist ones. Countries like Spain ruined themselves on imperial commitments, although warfare did help indirectly to promote certain aspects of the development of capitalism. Nor were economic and political advantage the only policy considerations. Alongside sometimes rampant economic individualism there existed a greater or lesser commitment to social collectivism. Government policy recognized and encouraged capitalism, but it also tried so to structure its development as to limit its most destructive effects. For its victims there were poor-relief schemes revised and aug-

mented from their medieval origins to cope with the many new vulnerabilities that capitalism brought.

CONCLUSION

Growth, decline, and stagnation coexisted in different sectors and regions of early modern Europe. The preconditions of and paths to progress differed, but the regions that did foster capitalism had shared characteristics. High levels of literacy and urbanization, sophisticated judicial systems, dense and long-established networks for exchanging goods and people, and technological advances unified the North Sea region and enabled it to progress at a faster rate. At the other end of the spectrum were southern and eastern Europe, where high production costs, inadequate transportation, extreme polarization of wealth, illiteracy, a small and undynamic urban sector, and heavy-handed political intervention inhibited economic change.

Change could also have very different implications. Involvement in European or world commerce was a social solvent in England and the Netherlands but involved a hardening of traditional relationships east of the Elbe. At every turn, existing social forms, cultural priorities, and political structures influenced the extent of economic change. Its effects were also contingent. Domestic arrangements and the cultural preferences that underlay them shaped the course of economic development at least as much as capitalism affected the family.

Incomplete as it was even in 1800, the development of a capitalist economy had progressed—albeit hesitantly—especially in and around the North Sea Basin. A proletariat, a class that had no means of subsistence other than wages, was emerging in town and country. From being a conglomeration of parceled regional economies, continent-wide exchanges of grain and of certain raw materials and manufactures helped to create a more unified entity. A rudimentary “world economy” was being founded. New products and new markets were outdating the mercantilist assumption of a “fixed cake.” Ideas of intervention and stasis were being replaced by laissez-faire and dynamic growth as the balance of attitudes shifted in favor of capitalism. Capital was being accumulated and used in an increasingly sophisticated and productive way. Technological change had not yet broken down the barriers within traditional economies, making possible

the exponential growth of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, but labor productivity was rising. A fully capitalist European economy was in the making.

See also **Agriculture; Banking and Credit; Commerce and Markets; Communication and Transportation; Economic Crises; Enlightenment; Feudalism; Industrial Revolution; Industry; Inflation; Laborers; Liberalism, Economic; Money and Coinage; Proto-Industry; Serfdom; Shipping; Stock Exchanges; Textile Industry.**

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CARAVAGGIO AND CARAVAGGISM. Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio (born 1571, Milan or Caravaggio; died 18 July 1610, Porto Ercole), called Caravaggio, was the most radical painter in post-Tridentine Italy. In his religious and mythological compositions, he mocked Roman classical tradition by depicting his models—“people in the street” rather than antique marbles—in an unidealized, naturalistic style. He staged his scenes

in the costumes and settings of contemporary society, not those of the ancient past. Even the Carracci, who in the 1580s had revolutionized Italian painting at their academy in Bologna, had not attacked tradition (the artificiality and precious classicism of late mannerism) so violently. Symptomatic of this same mentality was Caravaggio's elevation of still life painting (the lowest category of subject matter in the hierarchy of genres) to the level of history painting (the prime example is the *Still Life with a Basket of Fruit*, c. 1600–1601, Ambrosiana, Milan). Caravaggio had the audacity to announce to the Roman art world, for whom drawing the human figure with the beauty of Raphael and the antique was the *sine qua non* of great art, that “it was as difficult for him to make a good painting of flowers as one of figures.” For Caravaggio, the imitation of nature—not idealized nature—was the goal of art.

Caravaggio's most important innovation was the creation of a new vocabulary for depicting moments of divine revelation, conversion, or ecstasy by cloaking his scenes in a bold chiaroscuro (transparent shading) penetrated by a wave of bright light entering the composition from a high, unseen source. The drama of light and dark, always carefully integrated with the poignant gestures, postures, and facial expressions of his actors, gives Caravaggio's images a heightened realism and psychological depth unique to late Renaissance art. It also doubled as a powerful metaphor of divine agency. Caravaggio represents major themes of the Catholic Reformation—poverty and charity, death and redemption, doubt and faith—in a language that is at once populist, poetic, and spiritual.

EARLY COMMISSIONS AND CARAVAGGIO'S ROMAN PERIOD

The first child of Fermo Merisi (d. 1577) and his second wife Lucia Aratori (d. 1590), Caravaggio grew up under the protection of Francesco Sforza, Marchese di Caravaggio (d. 1583), for whom Fermo served as architect and majordomo. Sforza's widow, Costanza Colonna (d. 1622), provided the artist with introductions and protection throughout his life.

Caravaggio's earliest period, when he was apprenticed in Milan (c. 1584–1588) to the Bergamesque painter Simone Peterzano, a pupil of Titian, is still a mystery. No securely attributed works made

before Caravaggio moved to Rome have been discovered. But judging from the earliest known pictures, it is clear that he had studied numerous Lombard and Venetian masters: Savoldo, Moretto, and Moroni as well as Titian, Giorgione, Lotto, and Palma Vecchio. Caravaggio's debt to Leonardo, whose naturalism and *sfumato* (modeling through delicate shading) had transformed Lombard painting in the early sixteenth century, was significant. An early biographer (Bellori, 1672) states that in Milan Caravaggio earned a living making portraits. The strong visual and psychological bond Caravaggio's compositions create between protagonist and spectator no doubt springs in part from this early interest in portraiture. His practice, when executing narrative scenes, of painting directly from the model rather than working from drawings (the norm in Rome) may also stem from the same experiences.

By 1592, or 1593 at the latest, Caravaggio made his way to Rome. He took on menial work until being employed by the Cavalier d'Arpino (Giuseppe Cesari), the most sought-after fresco painter in the city. A practitioner of late *maniera* style, d'Arpino seems nonetheless to have appreciated Caravaggio's naturalistic gifts and hired him to paint flowers and fruits (whether these were independent still lifes by Caravaggio or details added to d'Arpino's larger compositions is unknown). Caravaggio's earliest pictures, such as the *Boy with a Basket of Fruit* or the *Bacchino Malato* (Sick Little Bacchus) of c. 1592–1593 (both Galleria Borghese, Rome) are dazzling displays of still life painting. Their half-length treatment of eroticized boys in off-the-shoulder, togalike costumes also attracted attention. Two collectors in particular, Cardinal Francesco Maria del Monte and his friend Marchese Vincenzo Giustiniani, both connoisseurs of music and painting, purchased or commissioned numerous works by Caravaggio in this mode. Del Monte, who hosted the artist in his palace in c. 1596–1600, owned at least ten paintings by him, including the *Concert of Youths* (c. 1595, Metropolitan Museum, New York). Giustiniani owned at least thirteen, including the *Lute Player* (c. 1596, Hermitage, St. Petersburg). The androgynous protagonists and their solicitous gazes have been interpreted in a homoerotic key by several scholars, who note Del Monte's reputation as a pederast. Many questions remain, however, about Caravaggio's own sexuality



Caravaggio. *The Calling of St. Matthew*, in the Contarelli Chapel, San Luigi dei Francesi, Rome. ©ARALDO DE LUCA/CORBIS

(or bisexuality), since there is ample evidence that he had relationships with women. Moreover, it is important to note that with few exceptions, such pictures cease once Caravaggio became known as a serious religious painter. In these provocative paintings, Caravaggio has taken a Venetian tradition of half-length, portraitlike images of sexy females posing as mythological goddesses and flipped the gender. A good example of this practice is the *Drunken Bacchus* of c. 1596 (Uffizi, Florence). The

fine line Caravaggio walks here between realism and parody is what makes his art so modern.

In 1599, Caravaggio's career took a major turn when he received his first commission for a public work. Left incomplete by d'Arpino, the task of decorating the Contarelli Chapel of the French national church, San Luigi dei Francesi, gave the young artist his first opportunity to paint site-specific works. His paintings (laterals) for the side walls, *The Calling of St. Matthew* and *The Martyrdom of St. Matthew*, are

exceptional in their clever compositional structure, skewing perspective axes so as to draw the spectator into the scene. His bridging of the space of the image and the space of the spectator—sometimes called “coextensive” space—would become a central feature of seventeenth-century painting. His treatment of light sources is also part of the integration of the work into its environment. Especially in the case of the *Calling*, we are to understand the light streaking across the wall behind Christ and Matthew as somehow connected with the natural source of illumination in the chapel—the window directly above the altar. He developed these ideas in his next public commission, in the Cerasi Chapel at S.M. del Popolo, where, in competition with Annibale Carracci’s robust, classicizing altarpiece, he painted laterals of the *Crucifixion of St. Peter* and the *Conversion of St. Paul* (c. 1600–1601). In the latter, Paul, set diagonally to the picture plane, seems nearly to fall out of the frame toward the viewer.

His first version of the altarpiece for the Contarelli Chapel, *The Inspiration of St. Matthew* (the date is disputed, 1599–1602; formerly Berlin, destroyed), was rejected, but, significantly, it was purchased by Giustiniani. Caravaggio was given another chance, and his second version, painted in 1602–1603, remains in situ. Much has been made of Caravaggio’s bad luck with religious patrons in Rome. Indeed, several other pictures were rejected (one or both of the Cerasi laterals) or removed from their original location (the *Madonna dei Palafrenieri*, Galleria Borghese, Rome). But only the *Death of the Virgin* (c. 1603, Louvre, Paris), an altarpiece for the Discalced Carmelites of S.M. della Scala, represents a clear-cut case of Caravaggio’s decorum-breaching, earthbound interpretations of divine mysteries meeting with the disapproval of ecclesiastical authorities. It has been suggested that Caravaggio’s violent behavior—his numerous run-ins with authorities for brawling, shouting insults, carrying a sword without a license—had so badly damaged his reputation that patrons no longer wanted his works in their churches. But this is a myth built loosely on the basis of negative remarks from biased critics. One biographer, his fellow painter Giovanni Baglione, sued Caravaggio for libel in 1603. Another, Giovanni Pietro Bellori, writing half a century after Caravaggio’s death, was a

partisan of the classicizing trend begun by the Carracci and developed by Domenichino, Poussin, and others.

FLIGHT FROM ROME AND LATE WORKS

Caravaggio’s Roman period came to an abrupt end when he murdered his former friend Ranuccio Tomassoni in a gang fight on 28 May 1606. He fled the Eternal City, never to return. The artist probably received shelter from the Colonna family in Paliano or nearby towns during the summer months before making his way to Naples—safely outside the jurisdiction of the papal authorities—by September 1606. In the nine months or so that he lived in the Spanish-controlled city, Caravaggio produced some of his most remarkable and influential altarpieces. Chief among these is *The Seven Works of Mercy*, completed by January 1607, for the charitable confraternity of the Pio Monte della Misericordia (in situ). Caravaggio’s palette, which had become significantly darker in the last works in Rome (such as the *Madonna of Loreto* altarpiece in Sant’Agostino of c. 1605–1606), now restricts itself almost exclusively to a simple, nearly monochromatic array of dark earth tones and silvery whites. The occasional flash of red or yellow nearly jumps off the canvas. Caravaggio’s brushwork is now noticeably looser and his models—poor, rough types culled from the Neapolitan streets—more realistically described than ever before.

By 12 July 1607 Caravaggio had made his way to the island of Malta, where he sought a knighthood from the Grandmaster of the Knights of St. John, Alof de Wignacourt (reigned 1601–1622). The artist painted a flattering full-length portrait of the Frenchman with one of his pages (Louvre, Paris). For the Oratory of San Giovanni Decollato annexed to the Church of St. John in Valletta, the Knights’ conventual church, Caravaggio painted what many regard as his supreme masterpiece, *The Beheading of St. John the Baptist* (in situ), in which the artist signed his name in the “blood” oozing from the saint’s severed neck. This is the only work, so far as we know, that he signed in his career. Though the artist fulfilled his one-year novitiate and received his title, he committed a crime and was imprisoned. He fled Malta in late September or early October 1608 and made his way to Syracuse.

He was defrocked in absentia by the Knights on 1 December 1608.

Caravaggio's brief Sicilian period, during which he moved from Syracuse to Messina and then to Palermo before returning to Naples in September or October of 1609, yielded some of his most moving altarpieces. His revolutionary compositional method developed in Malta, in which a concentrated group of figures is set into a cavernous space of which the top half is left almost completely unarticulated, is made even more expressive by the austerity and compactness of his Sicilian designs. In the *Burial of St. Lucy* for S. Lucia al Sepolcro, Syracuse (before December 1608), or the *Adoration of the Shepherds* of 1609 (Museo Regionale, Messina), Caravaggio compresses his figures into a single mass of humanity absorbed in a single action. Individuality has been reduced. Gestures are nearly eliminated. So thinly painted that large areas of the dark red ground are left exposed, these canvases begin a new trend that Caravaggio would not live to develop. The absorptive quality of his dark chiaroscuro in concert with the introspective glances of his actors generate a pathos unequaled in Italian painting.

Caravaggio's second Naples sojourn is not well documented other than a report of a near fatal slashing of his face by a group of armed men. Under the impression that one of his patrons had set the stage for him to receive a papal pardon, he set sail for Rome in the summer of 1610. However, upon arriving at Porto Ercole he was the victim of mistaken identity—his goods were seized and he was put in prison. Released two days later, he contracted a fever and died soon afterward, on 18 July.

CARAVAGGISM

Much to the dismay of classic-idealist theorists (such as Bellori), Caravaggio's incisive naturalism, genre-like treatment of history scenes, and ardent colorism and tenebrism (in which a painting's dark atmosphere is pierced by a beam of light) became more than a passing fad. Caravaggism, a modern term used to describe the international artistic movement generated by Caravaggio's style, had a considerable life until the early 1630s. It died out first in Rome, in the early 1620s, when the Bolognese Pope Gregory XV (reigned 1621–1623) made the Eternal City a mecca for the Carracci's

pupils and followers such as Domenichino, Lanfranco, and Guercino. Many of the Caravaggisti changed styles or left town (some did both). Caravaggism endured longest in Naples and Sicily, where the style, in its most humble, pietistic, and graphically violent form (for example, in the works of G. B. Caracciolo and especially Jusepe de Ribera), seems to have struck a particular chord in these Spanish-controlled populations. Even in Naples, however, the Bolognese eventually made major inroads. Caravaggio and his followers generally did not practice fresco painting. But many of the great commissions of the mature baroque era called for illusionistic ceiling and mural painting. Both in Rome and Naples, as the Counter-Reformation turned to a more "triumphalist" mode of thought and expression, Caravaggism increasingly must have seemed old-fashioned and dour. The church no longer wanted its saints to be shown as lower-class types with dirty feet, ragged clothes, and sunburned faces crouched on the floors of humble dwellings. Instead they promoted the billowing draperies, levitating bodies, and angel-filled light-and-cloud shows of Lanfranco and Cortona.

In most cases, Caravaggism is not really a style unto itself so much as the grafting of popular elements of Caravaggio's art (boys with plumed hats, hidden candles or lanterns in a murky room, low-class types impersonating mythological deities) on to other, sometimes even contradictory, styles. There were very few artists who imitated his homoeroticism or attempted to replicate the tension between faith and empirical knowledge that permeates all of Caravaggio's religious works.

Though there is scant evidence that Caravaggio maintained a genuine workshop in which he trained painters, there is no lack of proof of his early popularity. In Rome, Caravaggio's style caught on almost immediately. During his own lifetime, he was imitated by Orazio Gentileschi (c. 1562–c. 1647), Guido Reni (1575–1642), and Giovanni Baglione (c. 1573–1644). Each of these painters had a fully developed style of his own before experimenting with Caravaggism. Gentileschi's conversion, which began in earnest once Caravaggio had left Rome (June 1606), was the most profound and the most lasting (Reni's, by comparison, endured only about a year). In the second decade of the century, Orazio imparted his poetic brand of Caravaggism to his



Caravaggio and Caravaggism. *The Fortune Teller* by Georges de la Tour. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

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gifted daughter Artemisia Gentileschi (c. 1597–after 1651), who would develop the style in a unique direction, first in Rome and then in Florence and Naples. She is especially famous for her pictures of violent subjects and female heroines, such as *Judith and Holofernes* (c. 1618, Uffizi, Florence), a theme explored in an exemplary picture of c. 1599 by Caravaggio himself (National Gallery, Rome). All of these artists specialized in history paintings, but there was one Italian Caravaggist, Bartolomeo Manfredi, who, a full decade after Caravaggio had left Rome, seized on the market for genre paintings in the mode of Caravaggio’s exceedingly popular *Card Sharps* (c. 1594, Kimbell Art Museum, Fort Worth) and *Gypsy Fortune-Teller* (c. 1598, Louvre, Paris). Manfredi’s concepts and techniques were

more easily imitated than Caravaggio’s own; foreign artists (especially those from France and the Low Countries) working in Rome in c. 1615–1621 flocked to his studio and imitated what the seventeenth-century painter/biographer Joachim Sandrart called the “Manfredi manner.” In pictures such as the *Concert* (c. 1615–1621, Pitti, Florence), Manfredi takes motifs from Caravaggio’s early works and represents them in the dark colors and looser brushwork of Caravaggio’s post-Roman style. He also made numerous religious and mythological pictures, mining Caravaggio’s compositions for ideas.

The attraction of Caravaggism for northern Europeans was no doubt due to the fact that so much of their tradition—the naturalist ideal of Van Eyck,

Dürer, and Bruegel—was reflected and reborn in Caravaggio's art. A trio of Dutch painters from Utrecht, Dirck van Baburen, Gerrit van Honthorst, and Hendrick ter Brugghen, were active in Rome during the second and the beginning of the third decade. Their works are unsurpassed in their bold color and chiaroscuro, exotic costuming, and truly moving representations, whether of everyday life or religious subject matter. The return of these masters to Holland is an important link between Roman Caravaggism and the pictorial language of the young Rembrandt and Hals.

A number of French artists in Rome were also attracted to Manfredi's style, especially Simon Vouet, Nicolas Tournier, and Valentin de Boulogne. It used to be thought that the Caravaggists (especially the foreigners) worked mainly on the fringes of the art market. However, when one considers that Baburen, Honthorst, and Vouet all produced major works for Roman churches (as did Orazio Gentileschi and another Italian Caravaggist, Carlo Saraceni, who painted a replacement for the infamous *Death of the Virgin* commission), this old idea needs modification.

Caravaggism had practitioners in places like Siena (Rutilio Manetti) and Bologna (Leonello Spada), where the artist himself had never traveled and where his works were little known. Perhaps the most exceptional case is that of the Lorraine artist, Georges de la Tour. Poorly documented, La Tour may have visited Rome in 1640. He almost certainly knew Caravaggio's style in Lorraine through the works of the Utrecht school, especially Ter Brugghen. In pictures such as the *Penitent Magdalen* (c. 1639–1640, National Gallery, Washington, D.C.), La Tour transformed standard Caravaggesque tropes such as a candle flickering in a dark room into sublime meditations on Catholic faith and human frailty.

The phenomenal spread of Caravaggism was equaled by few movements in the history of art of the early modern period. However, unlike the baroque classicism of the Bolognese school (Reni and Guercino had a steady following straight through the eighteenth century), Caravaggism had virtually no "survivals" and only one or two strange revivals in the eighteenth century, in a handful of works by Jacques-Louis David and Joseph Wright of Derby.

See also Carracci Family; David, Jacques-Louis; Gentileschi, Artemisia; Netherlands, Art in; Painting; Rome, Art in.

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CARICATURE AND CARTOON.

Exaggerated imitation in the form of grotesques, mimicry, and satire has a long history, but graphic caricature in the modern sense as the distortion of specific persons for amusement and ridicule appears only in the late sixteenth century. It emerges as the ideas of civility and sociability, codified in the work of Baldassare Castiglione (1478–1529), Giovanni della Casa (1503–1556), and Stefano Guazzo (1530–1593), spread to include the relations among artists. As a visual form of wit, a then highly prized social skill, caricature became at once an expression of and a means of fostering mutually agreeable interactions among members of a group. Thus the Florentine painter Luigi Baccio del Bianco (1604–1657) is said to have dined out on his ability to render the company “as ridiculous as one could imagine,” and Gian Lorenzo Bernini’s (1598–1680) delight in caricaturing is said to have derived from the enjoyment it gave his noble victims. The highly abbreviated and comically distorted likenesses drawn by Bernini and others in the seventeenth century differed from earlier grotesque figures and faces by representing individuals rather than types, and from earlier satires of individuals by ridiculing persons rather than their corporate status. And in contrast to later social and political caricature, which acquired a wide and varied public, they were typically made and consumed in face-to-face encounters within a closed circle. That caricaturing originated among artists is confirmed by the earliest name for caricatures, *ritratti caricati*, that is, “loaded” or “charged portraits” (from the Italian *caricare*, ‘to weight, load, charge’: cf. the later French *portrait chargé*). This form follows that of *colori caricati*, the studio term for intense, deeply saturated colors. *Caricatura* first appears in print and in a letter by Bernini in the 1640s and, via the French *caricature*, gives us the English word.

The traditional view that caricature began in the Carracci workshop in the 1580s—though no examples are now certainly identified—is supported by its popularity among their followers, and it was naturalized in Rome by Bernini, for whom it became a typical expression of his artistic personality. With a few rapid strokes of his pen, the artist shrewdly threw into comic relief the distinctive features of such familiar faces as that of his patron, Cardinal Scipione Borghese (before 1633, Biblioteca Vati-

cana, Rome). By the early eighteenth century, caricature had become fashionable in Rome and was spreading elsewhere. Pier Leone Ghezzi (1674–1755), a Roman painter and portraitist, documented in more than two thousand amusing, gently mocking drawings the comings and goings of artists, opera singers and musicians, churchmen, and nobles of both sexes, all of whom readily consented to seeing themselves caricatured.

Caricature, evidently unknown in Paris when Bernini visited in 1665, was later occasionally practiced by Jean-Antoine Watteau (1684–1721) and others, and etchings after Ghezzi’s work became popular in Germany. But it was in England that the art was to have the greatest resonance. Enthusiastically embraced by amateurs of the aristocracy and the wealthy classes, who pursued it in the sociable spirit of its origins, caricaturing acquaintances became so fashionable that in 1762 a book appeared offering “young gentlemen and ladies” instruction in how to draw caricatures. It was, however, the more formidable resources of print and party that were responsible for the later explosion of English political and social caricature. In the 1750s George Townshend began to turn his talent for caricature to practical ends by printing ridiculing images of his political adversaries. Although widely decried, the factional use of portrait caricature was not to be denied and indeed was greatly strengthened by William Hogarth’s (1697–1764) reworking of the seventeenth-century northern tradition of satirical broadsides. In appealing to the high-art traditions of history painting, Hogarth’s engravings of such “modern moral subjects” as *A Harlot’s Progress* (1731) and *A Rake’s Progress* (1733–1734), *Marriage à la Mode* (1743), and *Industry and Idleness* (1747) provided later artists with not only brilliant examples of social criticism but models for the way in which composition, gesture, and symbol could be used to create vivid pictorial narratives. Thus, drawing on Hogarth’s inventions, later political prints are both inescapably personal and remarkably convincing, so that the mockery was all the more effective.

Any public person, the royal family not excepted, might be savaged in a scurrilous or libelous attack, often bought and paid for by an opponent, and an eager audience devoured the result. Such license was peculiarly English, and indeed caricature

adopted a decidedly nationalist cast with the French Revolution and the advent of the Napoleonic wars. James Gillray (1757–1815), who began making political cartoons in 1778, produced ferocious indictments of republicanism (*Un petit souper à la parisienne:—or—A Family of Sans Culottes Refreshing after the Fatigues of the Day* [1792], directed against the slaughter of the Swiss guards at the Tuileries), and later of Napoleon, his “Little Boney” making an appearance in forty-odd works. The French leader was also targeted by Isaac (1789–1856) and George (1792–1878) Cruikshank, but populist patriotism did not exempt the government and its policies from criticism. In Gillray’s *The Plum-pudding in Danger* (1805), William Pitt, the prime minister, happily joins Napoleon at table to slice up the globe, and when John Bull appears in print as the personification of the British people, he is as likely as not being victimized by those in charge.

Political satirists also turned their hand to social satire, on occasion even the rage for caricaturing, but typically the many fashions and foibles of a society coming to terms with its own luxury. Although sometimes aspiring to the moral seriousness of Hogarth and not without sharp edges, they tend to be altogether more tolerant of human nature. In his many drawings mixing exaggeration and likeness Thomas Rowlandson (1756–1827) does not so much castigate vice as expose the humorous aspects of urban and country life. For social criticism to equal the harshness of English political satire, one must turn to the work of Francisco de Goya e Lucientes (1746–1828) in Spain. In his *Caprichos* (1797–1798), Goya depicted such a darkly comic, frequently misogynist, view of human ignorance, superstition, and folly that there seems small hope it can be remedied under the lash of his satire.

See also Bernini, Gian Lorenzo; Carracci Family; Castiglione, Baldassare; Goya y Lucientes, Francisco de; Hogarth, William; Watteau, Antoine.

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CARNIVAL. Celebrated widely across Europe in the early modern period during the days preceding Lent, Carnival perpetuated pre-Christian rites of farmers and herders promoting the springtime renewal of life. The occurrence of such rites in ancient Greece and Rome is formally documented; and their widespread use by various Indo-European groups has been deduced from the many analogous practices surviving into historic times throughout the continent. The name “carnival,” which dates to medieval times, was probably based on the Latin *carne(m) levare* or the Italian *carnelevare*, ‘removal of flesh’, with “flesh” understood in both its alimentary and erotic meanings. It was also popularly interpreted to mean ‘carne vale’ or ‘flesh rules’.

Carnival included a range of activities that occurred singly or in combination and that varied with local customs and conditions. The struggle between the diminished sun of the old year and the returning sun of the new year was symbolized in a battle for a prize (a castle, a wife, a football) that resulted in the death of one contender, who sometimes miraculously revived. In many locales the battles involved teams and could take the form of a dance, while in others they were replaced by contests such as races. In other traditions the old year or winter was figured as an old woman.

Winter’s darkness and death, symbolized by ghostly, demonic, or deformed figures that stalked the community under the leadership of the king or queen of the dead, were frightened away by loud noise, bright colors, and fire in the form of bonfires or torches. The vitality of such activities also en-



Carnival. *The Battle Between Carnival and Lent* by Pieter Bruegel the Elder, 1559. ©FRANCIS G. MAYER/CORBIS

couraged the return of the sun and of life-sustaining plants and animals, evoked through the Wild Man and various representations of forest and domestic animals and vegetation. A wedding or sexual activity such as dancing that was actually or symbolically promiscuous expressed the connection between human and agricultural fertility.

Renewal of human society, based on the equality of all community members, took the form of criticism of injustice and behavioral transgressions, mock trials, and rites of misrule or inversion. Low-ranking members of society assumed positions of authority and what had been excluded or despised was temporarily exalted. These rites, which often involved tension-easing comedy and the truth-telling fool, were particularly practiced in sedentary and stratified societies, such as cities and monastic communities, in which superiors and inferiors lived close together.

Masks, which may have originally mimicked the casting off of the old plant's seedhull by the germinating bud of the new plant, were utilized in rituals of release. With personal identity obscured, community members, especially women, violated taboos without fear of sanction, acting in sexually provocative ways and intruding into areas usually prohibited to them. Such freedoms also contributed to an amalgamation of the community, as did the questing or procession throughout the communal space that often accompanied masking.

Food consumption received increasing emphasis with the passage of time and the contrasting of Carnival with the fasting and abstinence of Lent, itself perhaps originating in a pagan practice fostering germination. A community feast was organized in the teeth of late-winter shortages, often through a house-to-house search for ingredients, featuring the meat, eggs, butter, and milk that would soon be

prohibited. Special attention was paid to feeding the vulnerable, especially children and the poor. As the name indicates, the eating of meat, especially pork, became central to the festivities. In some locales festivities were concluded by the funeral of Carnival, conducted by the clergy or near the church.

A particularly vital period for Carnival was the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. The revival of humanistic learning and especially of classical theater, which in turn stimulated existing vernacular theater; the increase in population, which threatened the relative prosperity resulting from the great wave of plague and created a variety of social tensions; the discovery of new commercial routes and colonial territories, which benefited Atlantic states and harmed Mediterranean ones; and the revival of evangelical Christianity, which valued the poor and lowly—all contributed to an innovative use of Carnival and the carnivalesque that had begun with the rise of banking and manufacturing in Italy in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Theater, with its human presence and verbosity, offered many opportunities for lower-class characters to either criticize social authorities or to support them, as well as for them to propose inclusive social models and for upper-class characters to assert their control of the situation. The result was a flourishing theatrical scene, many of whose texts were disseminated and preserved through the new device of printing.

The celebration of Carnival was deeply affected by the religious reforms of the sixteenth century and later. With its emphasis on pageantry and the senses, Carnival slowly disappeared from Protestant areas, although it often left some vestigial food celebration. Even in Catholic areas, Carnival was chastened and Christianized in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Brought more under the purview of authorities, it tended to focus on magnificent ephemera such as elaborate floats. With the growing social openness of the eighteenth century, secular Carnival again flourished, producing some of its greatest theatrical achievements. A further development was its transplantation to the New World colonies, where, in a particularly apt turn of events, the French settlement in Louisiana was established on the eve of Mardi Gras, 2 March 1699. Many of the official European celebrations of Carnival ended with the end of the *ancien régime*.

Scholars have debated at length whether Carnival undermined or affirmed existing social authority. According to the first view, ritualized inversions and battles challenged social authority and proposed a new model incorporating those who had been excluded. In the second view, social authorities permitted Carnival as a safety valve that, through limited criticism, released enough tension to calm dissent and produce a return to the preexisting order. As the debate evolved, it became clear that the terms of Carnival are ambivalent and that the function of Carnival varied with social circumstances.

Particularly important was the strength of the social fabric: if it was too weak to contain dissent, a full-fledged revolt could develop. The function of Carnival also changed with time. The work of Victor Turner indicates that as the abundance of wealth produced by banking and manufacturing dismantled the agricultural cycle and the fixed social stratification upon which Carnival was based, the carnivalesque became suffused throughout society and the year and was more integrated into official values.

See also **Catholicism; Festivals; Folk Tales and Fairy Tales; Food and Drink; Games and Play.**

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LINDA L. CARROLL

CARRACCI FAMILY (Annibale, 1560–1609; Agostino, 1557–1602; Ludovico, 1555–1619), Italian painters. The careers of the Carracci family of painters from Bologna—the brothers Annibale and Agostino, and their elder cousin Ludovico, straddled the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries both chronologically and stylistically. Among the first generation of artists to come of age after Giorgio Vasari had published his history of Italian art, the Carracci were intensely conscious of their own positions within the stylistic progressions, local traditions, and pantheon of great painters set forth by Vasari. Collectively the Carracci are best known for reforming the tenets of painting, rejecting the frigid artificiality of late mannerism prevalent in Bologna, and introducing into their art emotional warmth and freedom of handling, a dynamic and nuanced treatment of light and color, as well as a commitment to direct observation of nature. They are credited with joining the previously immiscible qualities of light and color characteristic of northern Italian painting with the firmness of design and precision of drawing found in central Italian art.

The earliest years of the Carracci are poorly documented. Their biographers, the Bolognese Carlo Cesare Malvasia and the Roman Giovanni Pietro Bellori, are rich, but not unbiased, sources. In the early 1580s all three Carracci traveled to Parma and Venice, and Ludovico also visited Florence. By 1583 the Carracci had set up a workshop headed by Ludovico. Remarkably, they also established an academy in their quarters, first called the Accademia dei Desiderosi (‘desirous of learning and achievement’), and later the Accademia degli Incamminati (‘those who were on the way’). Although it was a private family academy, and oper-

ated rather informally, it was constituted with a serious pedagogical program and a commitment to the theory as well as practice of art. An emphasis on drawing from life was complemented by the study of optics, perspective, and anatomy. Incubated in the academy were new conceptions of genre painting, exemplified by Annibale’s broadly painted, caught-in-midaction *Bean Eater* (Rome, Colonna Gallery), and landscape painting, the latter fueled by drawings done on the spot, out-of-doors. Caricature is purported to have been invented by Annibale, and practiced in the academy, but the best surviving examples are by Agostino. While Agostino had first specialized as an engraver, and his production as a printmaker is important and extensive, he subsequently joined his family in their collective enterprise.

The young Carracci collaborated on numerous projects in Bologna, most notably the frescoed friezes of the story of Jason in the Palazzo Fava, about 1593, and the founding of Rome in the Palazzo Magnani, about 1590. When asked who had done each scene, the Carracci, having freely traded ideas and sketches, and having worked elbow to elbow, are claimed to have responded, “Ella e dei Carracci; L’abbiam fatto tutti noi” (It is by the Carracci, we did it together). Such intimate collaboration, in which the individual style was sublimated in favor of a seamless, lively, and highly illusionistic effect, is characteristic of the Carraccis’ early period. During this time each of the Carracci also painted several major altarpieces that opened the way for the baroque style of painting in northern Italy, among them Annibale’s *Baptism of Christ* (Parma), Agostino’s *Last Communion of St. Jerome* (Pinacoteca Nazionale, Bologna), and Ludovico’s *Vision of St. Hyacinth* (Louvre).

In 1595 Annibale moved to Rome, answering a request from Cardinal Odoardo Farnese for the Carracci to decorate his immense family palace. Agostino later joined his brother in the execution of Annibale’s greatest project, the frescoed vault of the Farnese Gallery. Annibale’s vivid evocation of a picture gallery on the theme of the loves of the gods is populated with nudes and classical statues come to life, and its architectural illusionism is irresistible. If its patron, Cardinal Farnese, failed to appreciate it fully, the ceiling nevertheless became one of the most highly esteemed works of art in Italy. Annibale



Carracci Family. *The Triumph of Bacchus and Ariadne*, part of the fresco cycle *Loves of the Gods* at the Palazzo Farnese, created c. 1597–1602 by Annibale Carracci. ©MASSIMO LISTRI/CORBIS

had developed an unsurpassed ability to draw the human figure, a skill enhanced in the Farnese by a new monumentality derived from his study of Raphael, Michelangelo, and the antique statuary newly available to him in Rome. Blossoming about 1600, Annibale's new synthesis proved the most compelling and enduring model for the entire century of Italian painting to follow. In his last years Annibale's mental state deteriorated, hindering his productivity, but he continued to create powerful works in an austere and tragic key, often assisted by his devoted pupils Francesco Albani, Domenichino, and Sisto Badalocchio. Agostino, whose talents also included music and poetry, and who, unlike Annibale, enjoyed court society, spent his last years on the fresco decoration of Duke Ranuccio Farnese's Palazzo del Giardino in Parma. His natural

son Antonio Carracci (1583?–1618) became a successful painter in Rome.

Ludovico, who remained in Bologna, was devoted to his teaching and to fostering a school of painting that would be the glory of Bologna. It was not by chance that his most important project, the painted cloister of San Michele in Bosco (ruined) was a showcase for the collaborative achievements of the family academy. Guido Reni, Domenichino, Francesco Albani, and Alessandro Algardi were among the major artists who passed through the academy, ensuring its place as the cradle of Italian baroque painting. Noted for his compositional and iconographic inventiveness, Ludovico's commitment to the naturalism of the early academy waned, and he had little use for Annibale's Roman classicist-

idealist idiom. Ludovico exploited the expressive effects of anatomical distortion and created images of intense and often irrational emotionalism. The sweet, diminutive figures of his earliest work gave way to an aggressive plasticity of forms deployed in dynamic compositions. His work grew ever more dramatic as he experimented with broken patterns of light and dark, and with what has been called his meteorological chiaroscuro. Ludovico's mature altarpieces filled the churches of Bologna and the surrounding region, eventually carrying the Carracci innovations throughout Italy.

See also Vasari, Giorgio.

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GAIL FEIGENBAUM

CARRIERA, ROSALBA (1675–1757), Italian painter, known for miniatures on ivory. The eighteenth-century Venetian painter Rosalba Carriera was the first woman painter in history to be credited by many with the initiation of a new style in art, even called by her contemporaries the *goût moderne*. Later negatively dubbed the rococo by Maurice Quai, a follower of the neoclassicist Jacques-Louis David, this style emphasized pastel colors; a free, spontaneous—almost impressionistic—brushstroke; and an elegance and charm that were highly praised by early-eighteenth-century patrons. Carriera also encouraged new approaches in media, which included miniature works in tempera on ivory and pastel on paper. For the rest of the century, elegant and sophisticated works in these

media, inspired by Carriera, were popular with artists and collectors alike.

Rosalba Carriera was born in Chioggia 7 October 1675, the daughter of Andrea Carriera, a government clerk, and the lacemaker Alba Foresti. Her first works were designs for lace patterns, but sometime before 1700 she was encouraged by the French painter Jean Steve to execute miniatures on ivory to decorate the lids of snuffboxes. The light and lively style of these works gained her much notoriety, leading to her acceptance at the prestigious Academy of St. Luke in Rome. For her *morceau de réception* (piece presented on her reception into the academy), she submitted *Young Girl with a Dove* (1705, Academy of St. Luke, Rome), a tempera on ivory miniature. Carriera continued to paint small-scale works until her failing eyesight made such work impossible.

Carriera is best known for popularizing finished works in pastel. She was introduced to this medium by Gian Antonio Lazzarini and Padre don Felice Ramelli. Other artists credited with teaching Carriera are Giuseppe Diamantini and Antonio Balestra. Ramelli and Balestra continued to play an important role in Carriera's life, as is indicated by her correspondence. These letters, as well as her will, a diary she kept in Paris, and brief autobiographical notes, are conserved in the Ashmolean Collection of the Laurentian Library, Florence.

The earliest known pastel portrait painted by Carriera depicts the connoisseur and collector Anton Maria Zanetti (1700, National Museum, Stockholm). Zanetti collected many works by Carriera and promoted their value to other collectors in his travels throughout Europe. He became friendly with the important Swedish collector Count Carl Gustaf Tessin, to whom he gave this early portrait.

The English consul in Venice, Joseph Smith, was another devoted patron. He amassed a sizable collection of Carriera's works, which were purchased in 1762 by King George III. This collection included one of many self-portraits executed by the artist (1744–1746, Windsor Castle). Carriera's best-known self-portrait, however, is the one she contributed to the Medici collection of self-portraits at the Uffizi. Characteristic of her self-portraits, this work (1709, Uffizi Gallery, Florence) does not idealize her plain features, which include round dark



Rosalba Carriera. *Self-Portrait with a Portrait of Her Sister*, 1715. ©ARTE & IMMAGINI SRL/CORBIS

eyes, a rather bulbous nose, thin lips, and a deep dimple in her chin. Although Carriera achieved fame by glamorizing her sitters, she is brutally honest in representing herself. The emphasis in this work is on her role as a portrait painter, since she appears holding a portrait of her sister Giovanna, who served as Rosalba's assistant. These two unmarried sisters lived with their widowed mother in a sizable residence and studio on the Grand Canal. Here the artist was visited by many international patrons, including Augustus III of Saxony and Poland, who counted over 150 of Carriera's works in his collection (many of these were destroyed during the bombing of Dresden in World War II).

Augustus III first became acquainted with Carriera in 1713 when he visited Venice as a young prince on grand tour. The following year he commissioned a portrait of himself in oil (1714, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna) and, subsequently, many other portraits and allegorical works that Carriera referred to as her "fancy pieces." These included a number of serial works, such as *The Four Seasons*, *The Four Elements*, and *The Four Continents*, which were once housed in his

"Rosalba Room." These allegories were usually represented by scantily clad beauties holding symbols that reference their meaning. In *The Four Seasons*, for example, *America* (1730, National Museum of Women in the Arts, Washington, D.C.) is represented as a dark-skinned, bare-breasted female wearing a feathered headdress and holding an arrow. These sexually alluring allegorical figures capture the spirit of moral freedom, elegance, and charm associated with the early Enlightenment.

Another visitor to Carriera's Venetian studio was the French banker Pierre Crozat, who convinced Carriera to stay with him in Paris from April 1720 until March 1721. While there, she was named a member of the French Royal Academy (1720) even though it had earlier banned (1706) female membership. Her Paris diary records visits with many artists, including Nicolas de Largillière, Antoine Coypel, Jean-François de Troy, and Hyacinthe Rigaud. She particularly admired the work of Antoine Watteau, whose portrait she executed twice (1720, Studdesches Institut, Frankfurt, and 1720–1721, Museo Civico, Treviso). She also executed two portraits of the ten-year-old King Louis XV, one a miniature on ivory, the other in pastel (1720, one version at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston). The positive reception afforded these works encouraged many requests for autographed copies and a number of French artists to work in pastel—most notably, Maurice Quentin de la Tour.

Although Carriera's style and media influenced many artists, she had only three known students. These were her sisters Giovanna and Angela (who married the painter Giovanni Pellegrini), and Felicità Sartori, who became court painter to Augustus III when Carriera declined the position. Sartori is believed to have posed for Carriera's *Allegory of Painting* (n.d., National Gallery, Washington, D.C.), although there is some question as to whether this work was in fact created by Carriera. It may be a self-portrait of Sartori, whose style was very similar to that of her teacher.

Carriera's fame and prestige made her a source of inspiration to many other women painters. The Scottish-born artist Catherine Read, called the "English Rosalba" by Horace Walpole, wrote to Carriera three times in the years just before her death. In that correspondence Read calls Carriera an

artist without equal and praises the honor that she brings to her sex. Read mentions a letter that she received from Carriera, but it was probably written by her then widowed sister Angela, since Rosalba was blind for the last ten years of her life and Giovanna died in 1737.

By the time of Carriera's death on 15 April 1757, the light, spontaneous rococo style that she helped popularize was fast going out of fashion. Nevertheless, the legend of the Great Rosalba would continue to inspire artists—particularly women artists—for the next two centuries.

See also **Portrait Miniatures; Rococo; Venice, Art in; Watteau, Antoine; Women and Art.**

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CARTESIANISM. Cartesianism was a set of philosophical theses, a scientific program, and a broad intellectual movement that dominated the European scene in the seventeenth century. The foremost philosophical paradigm of the period, it was the subject of passionate debate and strong opposition both within the universities and in society at large.

The philosophical theses of Cartesianism have their origins in the thought of René Descartes (1596–1650), who first sought in a systematic manner to replace the dominant Aristotelian philosophy of the Schools with a new philosophy, one wedded not to conformity with some ancient or medieval thinkers or a particular religious tradition but to a rationally justified confidence in our own natural cognitive faculties. The new philosophy would liberate society from unreflective obedience to authority, prejudice, and philosophical (and maybe even theological) dogma and contribute to scientific and social progress—not to mention material well-being—by advancing our understanding of nature and the universe

The most prominent and perhaps defining thesis of the Cartesian philosophy is what has come to be called "mind-body dualism." Descartes insisted on the real distinction between mind and matter. Mind (or soul) and matter (or body) are, according to Descartes, two essentially and radically different kinds of substance. Mind is unextended, indivisible, simple thinking. Its modes or properties are particular ideas or thoughts including beliefs, volitions, sensations, and emotions. Matter, on the other hand, is nothing but extension or dimensional space and is therefore divisible, its modes being shape, size, and mobility. There is nothing materialistic about the mind and nothing mental or spiritual about the body.

This doctrine is of great importance not only for understanding the nature of the human being, who is a composite—or, to use Descartes's phrase, a "substantial union"—of these two substances, but also for science. According to Descartes, the physical world is nothing but passive matter or extension, divisible ad infinitum into parts. This was, he believed, a great advance over the Aristotelian world picture. The spiritlike forms and qualities that were used by the Scholastics to explain the behaviors of physical bodies have been banished from nature. All natural phenomena, no matter how complex and regardless of whether they are terrestrial or celestial, are henceforth to be explained solely in terms of matter and the motion, rest, and impact of its parts. Descartes's separation of mind and matter was a crucial step in the scientific revolution of the seventeenth century, and laid the metaphysical foundations for the mechanical philosophy that dominated

the period until Newton. (Descartes also believed, at least as a matter of public record, that dualism offered the strongest possible foundation for the doctrine of the immortality of the soul, since the mind as a simple, thinking substance was not subject to the process of decay and destruction that brought about the demise of complex and divisible bodies.)

Descartes's philosophy bequeathed to his many devoted followers a host of difficult philosophical (and theological) problems. If mind and body are so radically different in nature, how do they causally engage one another and interact in the way they seem to do in a human being? If matter is nothing but inert, passive extension, what explains the motion, interaction, and dynamic behavior of bodies? Moreover, Descartes believed that, since matter is pure extension, body is not distinct from space, and a truly empty space (or vacuum) is therefore impossible in nature; the universe is a material plenum. How, then, does there arise a multiplicity of individual bodies, and how is their motion possible? Most distressing to religious authorities—and one of the issues that led to Descartes's works being placed by the Catholic Church on the Index of Prohibited Books in 1663—were the apparent consequences of Descartes's metaphysics for the Catholic dogma of the Eucharist. If any particular body (such as a piece of bread) is just a specific parcel of extension and there are no “real qualities” that are distinct and separable from an underlying substance, how can the Cartesian philosophy account for the miracle of transubstantiation? According to the traditional Aristotelian account adopted by the Church, at the moment of consecration the sensible qualities of the bread remain while its substance is replaced by the substance of Christ's body. Descartes has done away with such qualities, and a body is now just its extension; if the substance of Christ's body takes on the extended dimensions of bread, then, according to Descartes's metaphysics of body, it is just bread.

The first generation of Cartesians included men like Henricus Regius (1598–1679), Johannes de Raey (1672–1702), and Adriaan Heereboord (1614–1661). These Dutch academics' introduction of Cartesian principles into their university courses in medicine, physics, and even theology incited a bitter backlash from the authorities. The new philosophy was perceived as a threat to the established (Aristotelian) order. The Reformed the-

ologian and rector of the University of Utrecht, Gibertus Voetius (1589–1676), was only the most outspoken and determined of Descartes's numerous foes, and his institution was the first among many to issue condemnations of Cartesian philosophy and to prohibit its teaching. The controversy over Cartesianism in the Netherlands raged not only in the academy, but in the broader intellectual culture as well. It spilled over into the social and political realm and became enmeshed in the battles that deeply divided factions of the Reformed Church and opposing political camps of the Republic.

In France, the Saumur physician Louis de la Forge (1632–1666), one of Descartes's early and most faithful followers, produced an illustrated and annotated edition of Descartes's *Treatise on Man*, a work on the physiology of the human body, and supplemented it with his own *Treatise on Man's Soul* (1666), in which he explains, on strict Cartesian principles, the workings of the human mind and its relationship to the body. La Forge recognized some of the metaphysical problems inherent in Cartesian dualism and the physics of extended bodies and was among the first to defend a limited version of the doctrine called “occasionalism.” According to La Forge, the motion of extended bodies, which are intrinsically passive, is explained by the causal activity of God. The moving force of a body in motion is nothing but the divine will, which moves the body by recreating it in a different relative place from one moment to the next. Another occasionalist Cartesian, somewhat less orthodox in his fealty to Descartes than La Forge, was the Parisian lawyer Géraud de Cordemoy (1626–1684), who insisted—contrary to Descartes, for whom any parcel of extension, no matter how small, was in principle divisible—that there were atoms, or ultimately indivisible parts, in nature. The Dominican friar Robert Desgabets (1610–1678) pursued his own Cartesian program in the realm of theology and offered suggestions as to how to reconcile Descartes's metaphysics with the Eucharistic doctrine of “real presence.” The physicists Jacques Rohault (1620–1672) and Pierre-Sylvain Régis (1632–1707) sought the mechanistic explanations of natural phenomena, experimentally verified, in an attempt to complete those particular and more detailed aspects of physics that Descartes left open.

While united by their adherence to a broad philosophical program, these Cartesians did not constitute an organized group but worked independently to further what they saw as the right and progressive philosophy. By far the most important Cartesian of the seventeenth century, however, was a French Oratorian named Nicolas Malebranche (1638–1715). A bolder and more systematic thinker than the others, Malebranche was not afraid to modify and even depart from Descartes's ideas in highly unorthodox ways. His occasionalism was thoroughgoing: God is the only real causal agent in the universe. All finite things are created and sustained in being by God, and all events, whether mental or physical, are brought about by the divine will. Creatures and their states are only secondary causes, or “occasions,” for God to exercise genuine power. Malebranche also argued that the clear and distinct ideas that serve as the objects of human intellectual understanding are not modes or properties of the human mind but rather ideal archetypes in the divine understanding. With his theory of the Vision in God Malebranche sought to make human beings as dependent upon God for their knowledge as all creatures are dependent upon God for their being and activity. His doctrines were attacked by other Cartesians, most notably the Jansenist firebrand Antoine Arnauld (1612–1694), who thought Malebranche's ideas represented not only an unacceptable departure from the true principles of Descartes's philosophy, but also a serious threat to Christian faith.

By the third quarter of the century, Cartesianism, while vigorously condemned by leading religious and political authorities (in 1667 the French court prohibited a public funeral oration from being delivered at the ceremony for the reburial of his remains in Paris), enjoyed immense success. Nonetheless, it suffered from serious internal weaknesses and obvious explanatory failures. The advent of Newtonianism at the end of the century, with its alternative conception of scientific understanding, powerful mathematical presentation, and explicit critique of Cartesianism, brought about the final downfall of this formidable scientific paradigm.

See also **Aristotelianism**; **Descartes, René**; **Scholasticism**.

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STEVEN NADLER

CARTOGRAPHY AND GEOGRAPHY. The recovery and diffusion of ancient literary and mathematical writings on geography in fifteenth-century Europe gradually transformed cartographic practices in the later fifteenth century. Earlier models of ordering space lacked uniform standards of denoting terrestrial continuity in mathematically consistent terms—nautical portolan charts noted distance and direction on magnetic compass lines for sea travel, itineraries measured paths of land travel, zonal maps divided the globe, while symbolic *mappae mundi* situated Asia, Africa, and Europe in a circle centered, for theological reasons, at Jerusalem. Renaissance geographic maps, by contrast, plotted the inhabited world as an interrelated network of secular space, translating the spherical globe onto a measured and ordered two-dimensional surface of fixed directions and proportions, as devised by the second-century Greek geographer Ptolemy, to frame a geometrically continuous representation of space.

Ptolemy's system of terrestrial coordinates, which appeared in fifteenth-century world maps, continued to be used to denote position and directions even after inaccuracies in Ptolemy's own projections were corrected. Maps made for manuscripts of Ptolemy's *Guide to Geography* in the century after its translation in 1406 challenged the existence of unnavigable “torrid zones” as well as Aristotelian concentric spheres of elements (water, air, fire), positing instead a network of global relations by transferring the earth's surface to a graticule that divided the surface of the earth according to metric

indices. The large circular world map that the Venetian monk Fra Mauro designed for King Afonso V of Portugal in 1459 had combined fifteenth-century navigators' accounts of the coast of Africa and the Indian Ocean with Marco Polo's (1254–1324) ethnographic accounts without using metric indices, pictorially illustrating the wealth of the Far East and showing its potentates and exotic fauna. Fifteenth-century geographic maps defined space within a directional grid, and their depiction of a terraqueous globe with east-west parallels of latitude and north-south meridians of longitude may have led Christopher Columbus to contest the Aristotelian model of the earth before Spanish royal cosmographers, natural philosophers who specialized in the relation of cosmic and terrestrial spheres and based their claims on celestial observations, in 1483–1484. The fact that Ptolemy reduced the earth's circumference probably encouraged Columbus's plans to "sail the parallel" to cross the Atlantic in 1492.

Map projections situated place-names in an abstract grid, creating a record of space that could be easily modified in the face of new discoveries. Printed maps emphasized a geometric organization of the world's surface from 1477 to later maps that included national boundaries (1482), and to the modernized Ptolemaic projections (beginning in 1513) showing the Americas as an independent landmass. Geographic knowledge expanded as Europeans became more familiar with routes beyond the Mediterranean world. Maps were seen as increasingly authoritative and thus could serve to clarify questions of territorial jurisdiction as European powers began to expand overseas. For instance, a Portuguese planisphere showing the African coasts and the Indian Ocean (1502) marked the meridian—960 nautical miles west of Ptolemy's prime meridian at the Canary Islands—by which the Spanish and Portuguese divided the New World at the 1494 Treaty of Tordesillas. (In Ptolemaic maps the Indian Ocean had been depicted as landlocked.) Spanish cosmographers helped resolve the disputes that arose over Ferdinand Magellan's 1519–1521 voyage, due to the limited accuracy of determining position by compass bearings.

Maps also reflected political agendas and cultural attitudes. For example, the French royal mathematician Oronce Fine devised a cordiform (heart-shaped) projection on a central meridian around

1536 in order to foreground France's proximity to the New World. His projection inspired Gerardus Mercator to map the post-Ptolemaic world on parallel meridians "properly adapted for use in navigation" in 1569, allowing sailors to plot nautical direction along fixed latitudes. While not immediately adopted by navigators—Pedro Nuñez's *Defense of the Sea chart* (1537) counseled the use of hydrographic charts instead—Mercator's projection increased the apparent size of Europe and placed it at the center of a global network, thus symbolically expressing European preeminence in the world. Matteo Ricci, the Italian Jesuit missionary to China, had to confront the Mercator map's bias when he redesigned it in 1584–1602 for a Chinese audience; to please his hosts, he moved China to the map's center.

The use of projections to correlate terrestrial positions served as a framework to mediate new understandings of geography and encouraged the exchange of geographic information. While navigational charts long struggled to map the earth's spherical form onto a two-dimensional surface, new techniques of projection encouraged the growth of descriptive geography. The mathematician Gemma Frisius explained the construction of surveying techniques by means of triangulation in 1533, facilitating the integration of regional maps into continuous projections by means of land surveying. The expanding use of triangulated surveys—which served to define boundaries, lines of property, and military fortifications—together with terrestrial projections encouraged the development of techniques of descriptive geography. Detailed qualitative maps of cities and regions, known as chorographic maps, were gathered in over forty-three editions of Sebastian Münster's *Cosmographia* (1544). Although the rise of triangulation is usually interpreted as the origin of objective and nonpictorial cartography, maps continued to depict topography, costumes, and other cultural features. In the 1570s printers in Amsterdam and Antwerp compiled atlases of considerable elegance, assembling world, regional, and city maps of both the Old and New Worlds.

Despite their claims of detachment from social contexts, maps of the New World reflected political, economic, and ideological interests. J. B. Harley has called attention to how maps serve different rheto-

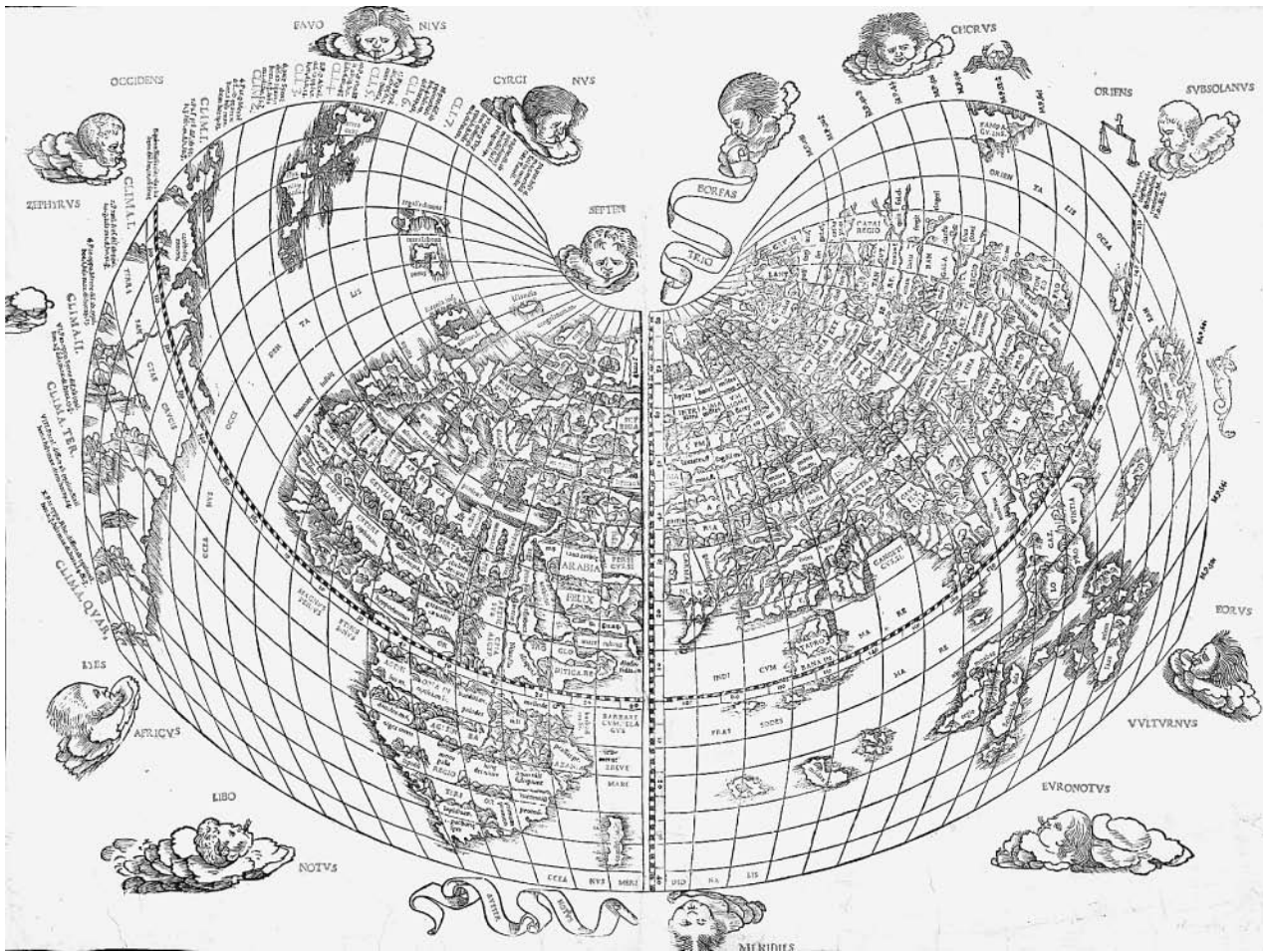
rical ends, by encoding relations of power, concealing information for political or economic reasons, and using allegorical decoration to further hidden agendas. For example, blank spaces in early maps of the Americas presented those territories as open to European conquest. Harley's arguments have stimulated scholarly work on the use of maps to assert claims of national identity in England and the Netherlands and to stake imperial claims in the New World. As Spain's overseas empire expanded, for example, a variety of maps served to demarcate boundaries of colonial jurisdiction and inscribe the relations of colonizer and colonized. Chorographies played a prominent role in images of frontiers, administrative maps, and military charts in both the Mediterranean and New World. The *Relaciones Geográficas* were commissioned by Philip II to map communities in the New World. The descriptive geographies of the Americas by Münster, Theodore de Bry (1590), and Jean de Léry (1578) glorified European conquest and helped foster a sense of European dominance, which was appealing to Europe's ruling classes.

From the late sixteenth century, mathematical geography included nautical charting. Geography became institutionalized as a tool for navigation and trade at the same time that the mastery of sea routes became a basis for staking national claims. This convergence of technological and political developments demonstrated the pragmatic uses of mapping the globe and thus encouraged wide interest in geography, while also promoting the acceptance of the Mercator projection despite its limited adoption by sailors. Martin Frobisher's search for the Northwest Passage in 1576–1578, Richard Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations, Voyages, and Discoveries of the English Nation* (1589; revised 1598–1600), and Edward Wright's (1561–1615) correction for magnetic variations in the North Sea all synthesized geography with navigation to promote England's imperial aspirations. Sir Walter Raleigh's use of explicitly commercial arguments in his 1596 protocol on the colonization of Guyana cemented the ties between geography and commerce. In response to competition from the Portuguese and the Spanish, state-owned concerns such as the Dutch East India Company (from 1602), the Dutch West India Company (founded 1621), and the Hudson Bay

Company (1670) protected their maps as economic and state secrets.

Yet since most maps were confined to coastal areas, and until 1700 considerable interest was directed to mapping navigational routes, much inland territory of the world remained unmapped. There was continued reliance on nautical charting and neglect of inland areas in much of North and South America, driven largely by interest in locating El Dorado or the Northwest Passage. Around 1560–1580, long after Magellan sailed through the tip of South America, the limits of nautical cartography in the Pacific led cartographers to posit a southern "Terra Australis," in order to balance landmasses on the globe; this cartographical fiction only disappeared from maps around 1775, with the voyages of Captain Cook. Inaccuracies in mapping the size of the Pacific continued into the mid-eighteenth century, although global standards of longitude were widely accepted by 1650. Although world maps had described Africa from ancient times, Abraham Ortelius's 1573 map showing the mythical kingdom of Prester John continued to be reprinted for two centuries, and the interior of Africa was not mapped until the late eighteenth century. Similarly, classical constructions like the ends of the earth, or Antipodes, remained in the early modern geographical imagination even as more and more of the world's surface was mapped. The expansion of ethnographic geography, meanwhile, was stimulated by the travels of Jesuit missionaries among the American Indians (1637–1673) as well as collections of missionaries' maps of China in *Description de l'Empire de Chine* (1735) and *Histoire générale du Chine* (1777–1785; translated 1788).

The rise of geography as a mode of assembling facts stimulated increased scrutiny of the sources of geographical knowledge and of the expressive use of cartographic conventions, which helped to redefine cartography as an exact science. The emphasis on the accurate determination of longitude in large-scale eighteenth-century maps exemplified geography's increasingly descriptive function of measuring the earth according to fixed standards. The Bolognese astronomer Gian Domenico Cassini was summoned to Paris to found the observatory in 1669 for Louis XIV by Jean-Baptiste Colbert; there he determined the Paris meridian as a basis for the first large-scale general map of the



Cartography and Geography. Bernardus Sylvanus included two world maps in his 1511 edition of Ptolemy's *Geographia*, one of them this unusual cordiform or heart-shaped map in which he tried to incorporate knowledge from the new discoveries of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. It shows the Caribbean islands of Cuba and Hispaniola as well as the coast of South America and, in the North Atlantic, an island labeled "Terra Laboratorus," possibly Newfoundland. MAP COLLECTION, STERLING MEMORIAL LIBRARY, YALE UNIVERSITY

nation. His successors provided similar large-scale topographic maps for political, military, and practical purposes. Official French maps inspired Peter the Great to plan the first map of the Russian empire in 1715, and in 1726 he commissioned French surveyors to map the country. In 1714 the British government, seeking a new tool to bolster its control of the seas, established a prize for the accurate determination of longitude at sea. The problem was finally solved in 1773.

Maps and atlases illustrated and organized power relations both in the home country and in its overseas imperial possessions while reflecting the increased precision of instruments. Atlases commissioned by gentry and nobility in eighteenth-century

England defined rigid hierarchies of land ownership up to the 1791 completion of the Ordnance Survey, the first comprehensive synthesis of the nation undertaken for military ends. London became a "clearinghouse" for maps of Britain's imperial system. The first extensive survey of Bengal on a graticule of meridians and parallels by the surveyor-general James Rennell in 1765–1771 stressed political geography, reflecting the competition between French and British interests vying to control the lands of the Mughal empire; his map of India of 1788 illustrated the limits of British dominion and defined the subcontinent as a coherent geographic entity for the first time. In the course of the French invasion of 1798, Napoleon Bonaparte undertook a survey of Egypt based on the Paris meridian, in his



Cartography and Geography. Sebastian Münsters's map of Europe, oriented with south at the top, is one of twenty-one "modern" maps he included in his 1540 edition of Ptolemy's *Geographia*. MAP COLLECTION, STERLING MEMORIAL LIBRARY, YALE UNIVERSITY

desire to gain territorial compensation for France's loss of overseas colonies.

Given the authority invested in maps, cartographic conventions and iconography provided states with the means to stake territorial claims and visually express national identity. The prestige of geography as a natural science led Charles-Louis de Secondat de Montesquieu (1689–1755) to classify Europe, Asia, and Africa as *continents*—a term foreign to ancient geographic writing—in order to explain their cultural differences. The discrepancies in cartographic standards, however, remained striking, given the increased accuracy and detail in maps and atlases that disseminated geographical knowledge to ever wider audiences. Whether geographic maps functioned to register spatial locations or to

depict objects of prestige, by 1800 they offered important tools for organizing and transmitting information within European empires and nation-states.

See also Colonialism; Europe and the World; Exploration; Islands; Shipbuilding and Navigation; Travel and Travel Literature.

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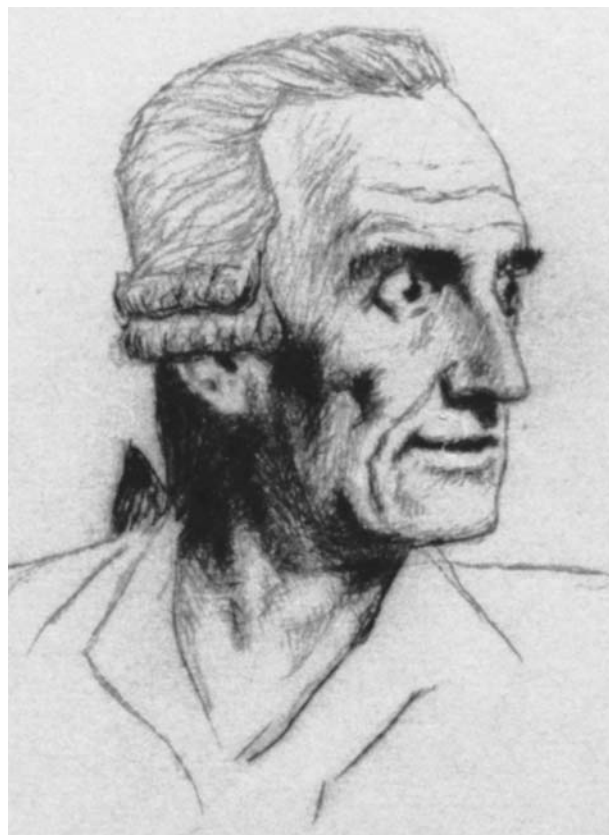
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DANIEL BROWNSTEIN



Casanova. GETTY IMAGES

CASANOVA, GIACOMO GIROLAMO (Jean-Jacques, Chevalier de Seingalt; 1725–1798), Italian adventurer, bon vivant, and author. Giacomo Girolamo Casanova, sometimes known as Giovanni Giacomo Casanova, was born in Venice to an actress mother. There is some question as to whether his father was her actor husband or her protector, a member of the patrician Grimani family. After being sent to Padua at an early age to prepare for legal studies, Casanova embarked on the adventurer's life. He was funded by wealthy patrons and questionable endeavors, particularly gambling, for which he showed a marked talent. Espousing a libertine philosophy, he pursued amorous encounters of every variety that eventually broke even the strictest taboos. He traveled widely in the Mediterranean, the Italian peninsula, and the Continent, often finding high-ranking patrons and employers. While in Switzerland he joined the Freemasons.

For a number of years Casanova succeeded in avoiding punishment for his transgressions. How-

ever, his use of occult practices to gain the favor and funds of Venetian patricians resulted in his arrest on suspicion of heresy by the Venetian Inquisition. In 1755 he was imprisoned in the dreaded Leads, cells so named for their location under the lead roof of the Ducal Palace. Despite their virtually impregnable location, he effected a harrowing escape in 1756 by studying the structure of the building and ruthlessly manipulating his jailer and cellmate to obtain their assistance. As he recognized, the confinement made him less sure of himself; it also made him more tyrannical and more cruel.

Fleeing the reprisal of the Venetian state, he traveled to the capitals of Europe and endeavored to have himself introduced to the ruling class. Instrumental in these efforts were the title Chevalier de Seingalt, which he conferred upon himself, and his familiarity with occult practices. As he made clear in his autobiography, he did not believe in such practices, but he found many aristocrats who sought his assistance in projects such as being reborn. In spite of some successes in aristocratic circles, he was ex-

pelled from host countries as a result of both true and false accusations of shady practices.

Eager to return to his homeland, Casanova wrote a defense of the Venetian system of governance that helped him achieve this goal in 1774. Hired as a spy for the Venetian Inquisition, he also cultivated the literary career to which he had long aspired. When a member of the Grimani family failed to support him in a dispute over money in 1782, he was unable to curb his pen. He wrote a fable (*Nè amori nè donne ovvero la stala ripulita* [Neither love affairs nor women, or the cleansing of the stable]) satirizing the vanity and weakness of the patriciate in general and the Grimani in particular; this resulted in his definitive exile.

Casanova passed his final years as the librarian to Count von Waldstein in Bohemia. His works include treatises on such matters as the troubles of the Polish state; poems; and a translation of the *Iliad* (1775). Some hold that he collaborated with Lorenzo da Ponte (1749–1838) on the libretto for Mozart's *Don Giovanni* (1787), or that he served as an inspiration for the Don. His twelve-volume autobiography, *Histoire de ma vie*, provides a densely detailed account of life in the Old Regime, including the privileges of powerful aristocrats, which he supported and appropriated as his entitlement, the expediencies by which many survived, the unpredictable disruptions wrought by disease and death, and the impulsive grasping of consolatory pleasures. Fascination with his life has given rise to Casanova Societies in many countries. Casanova's love affairs and adventures inspired numerous films, perhaps the most famous of which is Fellini's *Casanova* (1976). His surname has become a byword for the man who practices amorous license.

See also **Aristocracy and Gentry**.

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CASTIGLIONE, BALDASSARE (1478–1529), Italian writer and diplomat. The fame of Baldassare Castiglione rests with his dialogue-treatise *Il cortegiano* (*The Book of the Courtier*), first published in 1528 and immediately acclaimed in Italy and throughout Europe. For centuries it served as the model “courtesy” book, a guide, both ethical and aesthetic, for the social relations of gentlemen and ladies.

Castiglione was born in Casatico, near Mantua, on 6 November 1478, the son of Cristoforo, a professional soldier in the service of the Marquis of Mantua, and Aloisa Gonzaga, who was related to the ruling family. In 1490 he was sent to Milan to pursue humanistic studies. When his father died in 1499 he returned to Mantua and began a military and diplomatic career, first in the service of Gianfrancesco Gonzaga, then in 1504 with Guidobaldo Della Rovere, later with Francesco Della Rovere, dukes of Urbino. In 1516, he married a Bolognese noblewoman, Ippolita Torelli, who died in 1520 in childbirth. He had by then returned to the service of the duke of Mantua and in 1521 he took minor orders. In 1524 Clement VII named him papal nuncio to the court of Charles V in Spain, where he was received in 1525 and where he spent the rest of his life. The pope blamed him for not preventing the sack of Rome at the hands of imperial troops in 1527, but contemporaries tended to blame the vacillating Clement, who was unable to ally himself firmly with either the French or the Spanish. Castiglione died of plague fevers in Toledo on 8 February 1529.

Besides *The Courtier* (1528), Castiglione wrote a dramatic eclogue, the *Tirsi* (1506), for Carnival at Urbino in 1506 in which he also performed, a Latin letter in praise of his patron, the *De vita et gestis Guidubaldi Urbini Ducis* (The life and deeds of Guidobaldo, duke of Urbino; 1508), and the prologue, now lost, to the *Calandria* (1513), a comedy written by Bibbiena (Bernardo Dovizi), whose first performance he organized in Urbino. Castiglione also wrote conventional poetry in the Petrarchist

mode and humanistic verse in Latin. He left a large and important correspondence.

Castiglione had begun writing *The Courtier* by 1513–1514, and it occupied him for most of the rest of his life. The book is a dialogue that follows the classical models of Plato and Cicero, both in its proposal of an ideal type to be imitated, the perfect courtier, and in its choice of dialogic form, for which it is especially indebted to the Ciceronian model. Like Cicero, Castiglione chooses as interlocutors contemporary historical figures, known for the attitudes and actions they represent, who take different sides in the discussion of subjects of contemporary debate, thus lending verisimilitude to the dialogue and giving the conversations a lively, dramatic quality. The book is also autobiographical. The conversations it depicts are set at the court of Urbino in 1506, and the interlocutors are courtiers and ladies many of whom Castiglione met during the years he spent there. He remembers them and those days with nostalgia.

In Book 1 the assembled courtiers and ladies propose games for their entertainment and decide upon one in which they will have to “form in words a perfect courtier.” The courtier they envision must be a nobleman, whose principal profession is arms and who engages and excels in physical activities, always maintaining his dignity. He is a connoisseur and a practitioner of the arts and letters, who exhibits moderation in all he does, avoids affectation, and performs with grace (*grazia*) and seemingly without effort (with *sprezzatura*). Outward appearance is of the utmost importance. Book 1 includes digressions on the current debates regarding the vernacular language, on the relative importance of arms and of letters for the courtier, and on the question of the preeminence of painting or sculpture. Book 2 treats the ways and circumstances in which the ideal courtier might demonstrate his qualities and argues the importance of decorum and of conversational skills, especially his ability to entertain with humorous language. Examples are given that constitute a collection of witty stories and practical jokes. Book 3 imagines a suitable female companion for the courtier, who has many of his same qualities and talents, though physical beauty is more important for her, as is her good reputation. The virtue of women is both discussed and demonstrated through examples, ancient and modern,



Baldassare Castiglione. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

which provide another collection of entertaining stories. In Book 4 we come to the courtier’s *raison d’être*, his service to his prince, and after long discussion the topic of conversation turns to love, a theme introduced in Book 3, and centers on how the courtier, no longer young, should love. The theory of Neoplatonic love is proposed, following closely Marsilio Ficino’s Christianizing commentary on Plato’s *Symposium*.

Modern critical debate on *The Courtier* has centered on the ethics of its excessive concern with outward appearance, the author’s unwillingness to dwell on politics, and on some issues of coherence. However, no one disputes the status of *The Courtier* as a masterpiece, a brilliant original that was never surpassed by any of its many imitators, and a “portrait” of the culture of Italian Renaissance court society in the early sixteenth century.

See also **Advice and Etiquette Books; Court and Courtiers; Gentleman.**

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ELISSA B. WEAVER

CATALONIA. Catalonia is a land of mountains and seashores in the northeastern corner of Spain. The northern Pyrenees and the western Sierra de Cadi create the mountainous profile visible from the eastern stretch of the Mediterranean coast. The foothills of these mountains extend throughout the region, flattening only at the coastline. Rivers cut through the valleys, making their way to the Mediterranean and connecting the mercantile and industrial cities of the coast with the agricultural interior. To the south, only the flat, marshy delta of the Ebro River resists the Sierran uplift.

A province of approximately 300,000 people by the end of the fifteenth century, Catalonia was the political and economic force of the Crown of Aragón, wielding this power through its capital city, Barcelona. Catalonia was governed by the Corts, the parliament representing the province in dealings with the king, and by the Diputació del General, the treasury and tax-collecting agency of the Corts. The union of Isabella of Castile and Ferdinand of Aragón in 1469 brought the two crowns under one monarchy. Despite this union, Catalonia continued to govern itself, reflecting Ferdinand's vision of a

united Spain ruling over coexisting autonomous regions.

Catalonia did not share in Castile's "Golden Age" in the sixteenth century, which was fueled in large part by exploitation of Castile's American territories. Although Ferdinand repeatedly affirmed the Crown of Aragón's right to participate in transatlantic trade, several factors inhibited this. Seville was the official port for Spain's American empire and the most convenient port for the trade, which disadvantaged Mediterranean merchants. Moreover, Catalonia suffered from a lack of capital following a civil war (1462–1472) in addition to a contraction in population caused by repeated waves of plague from the fourteenth century onward. The population of mid-sixteenth century Catalonia (331,000) never reached one-twentieth that of Castile (6,300,000).

During the reign of Philip IV, as Spain faced economic depression and extraordinary expenses in the Thirty Years' War, the crown looked to Catalonia and other parts of its monarchy for increased tax revenues. The Catalans feared the loss of their traditional liberties and resisted the efforts of Philip IV's chief minister, the count-duke of Olivares, to raise their contributions to the Habsburgs' war efforts. Intransigence on both sides led to the Catalan rebellion of 1640–1652, which ended with a royal victory and a wise decision by the crown not to punish the rebels too harshly. Catalonia remained loyal to the Habsburgs when a Bourbon prince inherited the throne of Spain. When the Bourbons retained the throne after the hard-fought War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1714), they determined to bring Catalonia under closer central control. Nonetheless, Bourbon economic policies channeled resources into Catalan industry and commerce in the eighteenth century. Thanks to a boom in industries such as cotton manufacturing, and the opening of the American trade to all Spanish ports after 1765, Catalonia was arguably the most dynamic part of Spain at the end of the eighteenth century, with a population approaching one million. Efforts of French revolutionaries to incite another revolt in Catalonia against the Bourbon monarchy were not effective, and Catalonia shared the fate of the rest of Spain during the Napoleonic invasion and the subsequent war of independence against the French.

See also **Barcelona; Catalonia, Revolt of (1640–1652); Charles III (Spain); Ferdinand of Aragón; Isabella of Castile; Spanish Succession, War of the (1701–1714); Thirty Years' War (1618–1648).**

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CATALONIA, REVOLT OF (1640–1652). The Revolt of Catalonia, in which much of what is today eastern Spain revolted against the crown of Philip IV of Spain, was motivated by fiscal, political, and long-standing historical issues. Since the Middle Ages, Catalonia had been part of the former Crown of Aragon, which essentially was joined to the Crown of Castile in 1517 with the reign of Charles V, whose parents, Ferdinand and Isabella, were, respectively, monarchs of the two kingdoms. But though they were joined, with royal viceroys from Castile overseeing the territories, the two realms retained separate representative assemblies, and Catalonia did not pay taxes for the Spanish monarchy's imperial adventures. Castile and Catalonia also spoke different languages and had different political traditions; in particular, Catalan land tenure was closer to French feudalism than to the system that emerged from the Castilian Reconquest.

In the 1620s and 1630s, Philip IV and his chief minister, Gaspar de Guzmán, the Count-Duke of Olivares (1587–1645), gradually found themselves engaged in three European wars: the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648), a renewed fight with the Dutch (beginning in 1621), and in 1635, war with France. Olivares, determined to modernize the army and state finance, insisted that all of Spain, including Catalonia, pay its fair share and be subject to the same laws. In 1625 he proposed the Union of Arms, a military levy that would have drawn conscripts from throughout Spain and its possessions in Italy. The Catalonian representative assembly, the Corts, refused to comply.

After war broke out with France, Olivares tried again to squeeze men and money out of the Catalans, who felt more affinity with the French than with the increasingly demanding Castilians. Though men were conscripted from around the peninsula, the Catalans continued to resist, and Olivares, his threats having failed, decided to convert Catalonia itself into a theater of war. He launched attacks on France from Catalonia, impressing Catalan men and billeting Castilian troops, thus (he thought) ensuring the Catalans' loyalty.

France in 1639 captured the fort of Salses (Roussillon), and a long and bloody siege ensued, which the Catalans were told to finance as well as suffer. Spain finally won the siege on 6 January 1640, but lost Catalonia in the process. Horror at the behavior of the billeted troops, grief over the loss of thousands of men, and outrage as their traditional political rights were trampled made it easy work for patriots, many of them priests, to stir the population. Chief among these patriots was Pau Claris (1586–1641), the canon of Urgell, who became president of the Catalan government, the Generalitat, in 1638. In March 1640, the Spanish viceroy, the count of Santa Coloma, ordered the arrest of one of Claris's government colleagues. In response, armed rebels, many of them peasants, essentially took over the countryside, staging a series of attacks, including the 22 May 1640 release of the imprisoned deputy. Olivares saw that his heavy-handed approach had backfired and tried to mollify the Catalans, but it was too late. On 7 June Santa Coloma was beaten to death by a mob, and the Guerra dels Segadors, or the Reapers War, began.

The Revolt of the Catalans was really two wars at once: a social revolution pitting rich against poor and a political revolt pitting Catalans against Castilians. As the Catalan poor turned against the Catalan rich, the elites turned to France rather than seek common cause with their neighbors, Valencia and Aragon, with whom they shared a language and many traditions. In allying with France, however, Catalonia exchanged one master for another.

In January 1641 the combined military forces of France and Catalonia defeated the Castilian army of the marquis of los Vélez in the Battle of Montjuich (Barcelona). Claris died soon after, and no similarly charismatic leader stepped forward to unite the Cat-

alans. The aristocracy was no fonder of the French than of the Castilians, as the French Bourbon monarchy seemed even less interested in Catalan rights than the Spanish Habsburg Monarchy.

The count-duke fell from power in January 1643 and was replaced by his nephew Don Luis de Haro. In July 1644 the king swore to observe the Catalan Constitution. The following few years produced a military stalemate, but in 1648, when the Dutch Revolt ended (after eighty years) with the signing of the Treaty of Münster, and the Thirty Years' War ended with the Peace of Westphalia, Philip finally was free to devote his full attention to the home front.

Also in 1648, the Fronde broke out, forcing the French to withdraw from Catalonia, leaving the rebels to fight alone. By then, many of the leading Catalan aristocrats had reconciled with the Spanish crown, vastly preferring their Castilian peers to the Catalan rabble. Philip's illegitimate son, Don Juan of Austria, in 1651 initiated a siege of Barcelona; the city was starved into surrender on 13 October 1652.

Philip wisely decided not to humiliate the rebels. Instead, he issued an amnesty, and the Catalan laws and Corts were spared; they survived until yet another unsuccessful war against Madrid, the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1714), when Catalonia chose to fight with the Habsburgs and against the Bourbons, instead of the other way around. The new Spanish Bourbon king, Philip V, took long-lasting revenge after 1714, eradicating many of Catalonia's laws and liberties.

The Revolt of the Catalans was one of a series of convulsions (including the Fronde, the Thirty Years' War, the English Civil War, and revolts in Italy, Portugal, and Holland) that historians have regarded as indicative of a wider seventeenth-century crisis. These events have also been seen as parts of larger phenomena such as the final transition to capitalism, the collapse of the old aristocracy, the emergence of modern states, and the triumphant authority of centralizing monarchies.

The revolt weakened the Spanish monarchy when it was under attack on multiple fronts, and it inspired the Portuguese to stage an ultimately successful revolt in December 1640. Remarkably, though the monarchy lost wealth, territory, and power, it survived, demonstrating that its resources

and perhaps its very structure were more forgiving of crisis than has been thought. The revolt was one of the last tests of the flexibilities and peculiarities of the Spanish Habsburg Monarchy, a whole of many parts which, despite Olivares's intentions, was predicated upon considerable local autonomy and negotiation. The anthem of Catalonia to this day is "Els Segadors."

See also Dutch Revolt (1568–1648); English Civil War and Interregnum; Juan de Austria, Don; Olivares, Gaspar de Guzmán y Pimentel, count of; Philip IV (Spain); Restoration, Portuguese War of (1640–1648); Thirty Years' War (1618–1648).

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CATEAU-CAMBRÉSIS (1559). Cateau-Cambrésis is a town in northern France where a treaty was signed ending the last English foothold on the Continent. On 2 April 1559, Henry II of France (ruled 1547–1559) accepted terms that brought the Habsburg-Valois Wars to a close. After a truce in 1556, war had resumed in 1557 and subsequent successes helped determine the nature of the peace. The Spanish forces that invaded France from the Low Countries in 1557 won an important victory at Saint-Quentin (10 August 1557), when a relieving army for the besieged fortress was heavily defeated. In the battle, the Spaniards made effective use of their cavalry, especially of pistoleers, in which they outnumbered the French. Philip II of Spain (ruled 1556–1598) organized the campaign that led to this victory and followed it up by leading the successful storming of Arras.

The following January, however, French forces bombarded Calais, England's last foothold on mainland France, into surrender in a campaign characterized by bold French generalship: Mary Tudor, queen of England (ruled 1553–1558), was the wife of Philip II, and she had declared war on France in June 1557. The French pressed on to try to take Dunkirk by surprise attack, but they were defeated at Gravelines on 13 July 1558. The Spanish pistoleers again outnumbered their French counterparts; they both won the cavalry fight and hit the French pike, who were also affected by Spanish harquebus power.

Aside from being defeated in battle, Henry II was also bankrupted by the heavy cost of the war and alarmed by the spread of Protestantism in France. The ability of the Spaniards to advance into France meant that Henry could not finance his army by ravaging the Spanish Netherlands. The Religious Peace of Augsburg of 1555, in which Henry's German allies had settled their differences with the Habsburgs, had also weakened Henry's position. As a result, he accepted a treaty that left France bereft of what her monarchs had fought for since 1494. Spain was left in control of Milan, Naples, and Sicily, the key positions that established Spanish power in Italy, and that at a time when Italy was the center of the Christian world.

In addition, the French had to yield their positions in Tuscany, which was now securely dominated by the Medici rulers of Florence, allies of Spain, while Savoy and Piedmont, which France had seized in 1536, were returned to Duke Emanuel Philibert of Savoy, a Spanish client. The French, however, kept Calais, and this marked the end of the pursuit by English monarchs of territorial gains in France.

French failure ensured that there was no reversal in the Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis of the removal (by treaties in 1525 and 1529) of Artois and Flanders from the suzerainty of the French crown. This was the first major retreat of the French crown from the frontier originally designated in 843 when Charlemagne's inheritance was lastingly divided. The frontier between the Valois and Habsburg territories in the Low Countries had become that between France and the empire.

This settlement was not to be seriously challenged until the 1640s, in large part because of the weakness of the French monarchy after the death of Henry II following a jousting accident in 1559. This, indeed, ensures that Cateau-Cambrésis is well known, whereas earlier peaces between Philip II's father, Charles V, and French monarchs, such as the Treaty of Madrid (14 January 1526), the Treaty of Cambrai (3 August 1529), and the Peace of Crépy (18 September 1544), are largely forgotten. However, had Henry lived, or been succeeded by another vigorous monarch, France would have tried to contest the settlement. Indeed, in 1572, Gaspar de Coligny, the Huguenot leader, sought to unite France behind a plan for intervening against the Spaniards in the Netherlands. This was preempted when Charles IX turned against the Huguenots, but the policy was to be resumed by Henry IV (ruled 1589–1610). Cateau-Cambrésis should therefore be seen as a stage, not a definitive settlement.

See also Habsburg-Valois Wars; Henry II (France); Mary I (England); Philip II (Spain).

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CATHERINE II (RUSSIA) (1729–1796; ruled 1762–1796), empress of Russia. Catherine II, known as Catherine the Great, was born Princess Sophie in Stettin, Anhalt-Zerbst, a remote and poor German principality on the Baltic Sea. She was betrothed to the heir to the Russian throne, the future Peter III, in 1744. Upon her arrival in St. Petersburg, she converted to Russian Orthodoxy and was given the Russian name of Catherine Alekseevna, after Catherine I, Russia's first female crowned head and the mother of the reigning empress Elizabeth, Peter's aunt. Catherine remained in Russia for the rest of her life, and her stay can be divided into three unequal periods: as wife of the heir apparent (1745–1761), as consort to the emperor (six months in 1762), and as monarch (1762–1796).

WIFE AND CONSORT

By all available accounts—a mixture of personal court gossip, self-serving memoirs, and diplomatic

reports—Catherine’s marriage to Peter was an emotional disaster, and perhaps unconsummated. Catherine’s own narrative of these years (her vaunted memoirs, which remained unpublished until the mid-nineteenth century) described Peter as childish, tempestuous, unloving, and enamored of only three things: his mistress, his toy soldiers, and Prussia. Catherine spent these years relatively excluded from court, but she nevertheless gathered around herself a coterie of admirers and her early lovers, as well as significant figures in the guards’ regiments, many of whom found Peter’s behavior and his Prussophilia disturbing.

By the time Peter ascended the throne in 1762, he and Catherine were estranged, and by some accounts she was already preparing to replace him as monarch. Her moment came barely six months into his reign, in late June 1762, when several officers of the elite regiments swore allegiance to her, followed immediately by thousands of “cheering” troops. Confronted by this fait accompli, Peter is said to have surrendered meekly, requesting merely that he be allowed to keep his dog (agreed), his toys (agreed), and his mistress (denied). Whether by design or inadvertently, Peter was assassinated within days, thus bringing his bride to the throne as an unacknowledged regicide.

IDEOLOGY AND ENLIGHTENMENT

Once on the throne, Catherine aggressively represented herself as the quintessence of enlightened monarchy, the true heir of Peter the Great. This affinity was reproduced in countless ceremonies and visual images, most famously in Étienne-Maurice Falconet’s statue the Bronze Horseman, unveiled in 1782 with the inscription “Petro Primo—Catherina Secunda” (“To Peter the First from Catherine the Second”). Her highly public correspondences with Friedrich Melchior Grimm, Voltaire, Denis Diderot, and other leading *lumières* conveyed the message that Catherine and, through her, Russian statecraft, embodied the highest virtues of reason and order. Perhaps the clearest expression of these views came in her legislative writings, both the major laws and the famous Instruction (*Nakaz*) to the Legislative Commission, written in 1767. This latter text combined an explicit reconfirmation of absolutism with a categorical Europeaness (in the declaration that “Russia is a European state”)

and displayed a preoccupation with laws, citizenship, and human happiness that strongly suggested a desire to make Russia into a more orderly, law-driven polity. Historians remain divided whether quasi-liberal sentiments motivated these expressions or, conversely, whether they constituted an interventionist instinct for “a well-ordered police state.”

The Legislative Commission was a remarkable semipublic forum that brought representatives of all legally constituted social groups—save the serfs, who were deemed to be represented by landlords—and several ethnic minorities. Although it produced precious little actual legislation and never came close to generating a draft for a new fundamental law, the so-called Great Commission did enable a wide-ranging series of discussions on fundamental issues such as serfdom, social identity, trade, and education. Local deputies came to the sessions armed with instructions from their constituents, and recent research has shown that considerable consultation took place in drafting those instructions. Equally noteworthy, but less frequently acknowledged, is the Commission’s afterlife, which extended until the end of Catherine’s reign in the form of “particular” or private commissions that continued to discuss issues, albeit more privately and on a less grandiose level. Although these private commissions fell well short of an embryonic civil society, they did allow for an officially sanctioned and ongoing deliberation of law and policy outside of the narrow confines of state institutions.

DOMESTIC POLICY AND LEGISLATION

In the wake of the dangerous Pugachev revolt of 1773–1775 Catherine initiated a decade-long blizzard of important new legislation (sometimes dubbed “legislomania”), collectively designed to strengthen civil and moral order. The first of these statutes, the Provincial Reform of 1775, significantly increased the size of formal provincial government by creating thirty-five provinces with civil administrations that were considerably larger than previously and with a much broader set of responsibilities. The provincial reform gave local nobility every opportunity to take control of these new bodies, while making certain that the key figures, the governor and military governor, would be centrally appointed and chosen from among loyal and high-ranking individuals.



Catherine II. Portrait by Fyodor Rokotov, 1770. ©ARCHIVO ICONOGRAFICO, S.A./CORBIS

Major statutes on urban welfare and police (1782), public education (1782), private publishing (1783), and the Charters to the Nobility and to the Towns (both in 1785) soon ensued. These last two documents sought to codify the corporate status of the empress's subjects (something under ten percent of the total population) who were neither peasants nor legally inscribed ethnic minorities. A similar charter was drafted for the peasants but never enacted. In addition, the state began a major initiative to populate the area north of the Black Sea known as New Russia (Novorossia) and to develop the agricultural potential of this black-earth temperate zone. This policy encouraged immigration, both from other regions of the empire and from abroad, especially from impoverished German states. These policies enabled Russia to expand its already substantial export of raw materials, including grain, furs, and, by some accounts, large quantities of silver. The Russian economy grew correspondingly, equaling some of the highest rates of expansion in preindustrial Europe.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Bracketed by the end of the Seven Years' War at the beginning and the French Revolutionary wars at the end, Catherine's foreign policy was dominated by more immediate neighbors, the Ottoman Empire and the Commonwealth of Poland-Lithuania. The victory over the Ottomans that ended the protracted war of 1768–1774 led to the Treaty of Kuchuk Kainarji, which afforded Russia considerable access to the Black Sea, Crimea, and the Danubian provinces of Moldavia and Walachia. It also strengthened Russia's protectorate over Orthodox Christians in Ottoman territory. Russia's merchant fleet could now sail unimpeded through the Bosphorus into the open waters of the Mediterranean. As a result, Russia's Black Sea trade burgeoned, leading to the establishment of the port city of Odessa in 1794. As before, however, its warships were denied access to the Bosphorus, notwithstanding the rapid growth of Russia's Black Sea fleet.

With the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth the issues were different. Having achieved access to the Baltic and the North Sea earlier in the eighteenth century, Russia, along with Prussia and the Habsburg Monarchy, had been deeply involved in Polish politics, having bought off numerous Polish

magnates and placed more than one king on the Polish throne. By the early 1770s the Commonwealth's parliament, or Sejm, had lost any semblance of independence, and its principle of *liberum veto*, originally intended to protect the interests of poorer or remote regions, instead paralyzed the Sejm. The three neighboring states therefore partially partitioned Poland in 1772. The integration of the eastern lands of the Commonwealth (mainly modern Ukraine and Belarus) into the Russian empire proved to be a mixed blessing. Substantive political reform in Poland, leading to the Constitution of 3 May 1791, prompted the second partition by Prussia and Russia in 1793, and Tadeusz Kościuszko's nationalist rebellion of 1794 was crushed by a brutal assault from the Russian army. Soon followed the third partition (1795), by which the three powers eliminated the Polish-Lithuanian state altogether. Henceforth Polish identity defined itself largely in contradistinction to Russian. The partition of Poland also brought a large Jewish population into the Russian empire.

A NOTE ON CATHERINE'S SEXUALITY

Long consigned to prurient anecdotes, Catherine's sexual reputation and the contemporary responses to it have recently attracted serious scholarly attention. As far as is known, she had perhaps twelve lovers between 1752 and her death. One of the earliest, Sergei Saltykov, was almost certainly the biological father of her son, the future Paul I, and two others (Grigorii Orlov and Stanisław August Poniatowski) fathered two additional children, a boy and a girl, never publicly acknowledged. Although most of these men came from distinguished families and had noteworthy political careers (Poniatowski, for example, was elected king of Poland in 1764), none appears to have used his status to affect state policy, with the single and very noteworthy exception of Grigorii Potemkin, with whom Catherine was deeply in love in the mid-1770s and whom, an increasing number of specialists believe, she secretly wed in 1774. Whether true or not, the massive correspondence between the two overflows with affection and mutual respect, even after Potemkin ceased to be the empress's paramour.

Although private liaisons were commonplace for Europe's crowned heads, Catherine's experi-

ences hold particular interest for what they reveal about the implicit strictures of female rule in Russia. Like her predecessors, Catherine was obliged to rule unmarried, to be officially chaste irrespective of the realities of her private life. She could maintain open liaisons, even give birth if need be, but unlike male rulers, she could not remarry or be allowed a consort for fear, one assumes, of polluting the imaginary male line. Such tacit limitations meant that the sexuality of a female ruler would be unavoidably political in ways that a male ruler's would likely never be.

See also Black Sea Steppe; Elizabeth (Russia); Enlightened Despotism; Enlightenment; Imperial Expansion, Russia; Paul I (Russia); Poland, Partitions of; Poland-Lithuania, Commonwealth of, 1569–1795; Pugachev Revolt (1773–1775); Queens and Emperesses; Russia; Russian Literature and Language; Russo-Ottoman Wars.

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throne in France for three decades, has generated passionate opinions among contemporaries and historians alike. She was born in 1519 into one of the greatest Italian princely families: her father, Lorenzo de' Medici, was duke of Urbino, and her uncle was Pope Clement VII. Her mother, Madeleine de La Tour, was daughter of Jean, comte d'Auvergne, and Jeanne de Bourbon-Vendôme, both related to the French royal family.

Her marriage in 1533 to Henry, the younger son of Francis I, was a product of French dynastic ambitions in Italy. But the death of the second Medici pope, Clement VII, a year later, negated the political advantage of the match, and Catherine's isolation at court was increased by her husband's devotion to his mistress, Diane de Poitiers. When Henry acceded to the throne on his father's death in 1547, it was Diane who ruled as queen in all but name. Catherine's political role was limited to the production of children: four sons and a daughter survived into adulthood. Her husband's accidental death in 1559 did not at first usher her into the front rank of politics, but the weak Guise-dominated regime of her eldest son, Francis II, increasingly involved her in policy making in order to widen its base of support. Her real political career began at the age of forty-one with the death of Francis II on 5 December 1560 and her elevation as regent on the accession of the ten-year-old Charles IX.

Catherine faced the problem of combating Protestantism while monarchical authority was weak. She appointed Anthony of Bourbon, king of Navarre, as lieutenant-general of the kingdom and promoted a group of moderates to the royal council who were led by the chancellor, Michel de L'Hôpital. Under her aegis, they embarked on a policy of compromise, toning down the repression of heresy and promoting the cause of doctrinal reconciliation between the faiths, most notably at the Colloquy of Poissy (August 1561). When it was clear that doctrinal compromise was impossible, she hoped to foster stability and peace by establishing limited legal toleration of Protestantism, enshrined in the edict of January 1562. Her policies were anathema to many Catholics and as early as Easter 1561 a group of magnates, led by the duke of Guise and the constable of Montmorency, formed the Triumvirate to resist change. The king of Navarre's

CATHERINE DE MÉDICIS (1519–1589), queen of France. Wife of King Henry II, mother of Kings Francis II, Charles IX, and Henry III, Catherine de Médicis, the power behind the



Catherine de Médicis. Portrait by François Clouet.
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defection to the Triumvirate following the Edict of Toleration and the outbreak of civil war were a serious blow to Catherine's policy and left her at the mercy of the factions. The assassination of the duke of Guise by a Huguenot in March 1563 allowed her to broker peace anew and recommence the policy of compromise. During the four years of peace that followed, Catherine dominated government and worked hard to rebuild royal authority. To this end she embarked on a tour of France (1564–1566) with her son Charles. Yet during this period Catherine's commitment to toleration was put into question by her growing reliance on a group of Ultra-Catholic Italian advisors. Protestant suspicions of her motives at a meeting in 1566 with the Spanish envoy, the duke of Alba, were partly responsible for the recommencement of civil war in 1567.

Catherine was once again instrumental in negotiating peace in 1570, and to ensure its durability she arranged the marriage of her daughter, Marguerite, to the leader of the Protestants, Henri de Navarre. Her policy began to unravel when French Protestant intervention in the Low Countries

threatened to reignite civil war. Her role in the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre is contentious, but it seems likely that while she sanctioned the murder of the Protestant leader, Gaspard de Coligny, her responsibility for the popular massacre that followed is less certain. She now lost all credit with the Protestants and though her hold on power at court was as great as ever, the fortunes of the monarchy sank to ever lower depths. Until her death in 1589, Catherine continued to enjoy influence during the reign of her favorite son, Henry III, who came to the throne in 1574, most notably brokering a peace with the Protestants in 1578–1579 and attempting to reconcile her son with the rebel duke of Guise in 1585 and 1588. Catherine realized that civil war undermined royal authority, and she worked to reconcile factions, but her methods and motives were not always trusted, leaving her with the mostly unfair reputation of a Machiavellian plotter and conspirator.

See also Coligny Family; France; Guise Family; Poissy, Colloquy of; St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre; Valois Dynasty; Wars of Religion, French.

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CATHOLIC LEAGUE (FRANCE). The Catholic League originated in France in the 1560s, when communities formed local defense organizations to protect themselves against armed Protes-

tants and oppose the implementation of royal policies that gave legal recognition to Protestantism. In 1576, in the wake of the most tolerant royal edict so far, a union of Catholics was formed under the aegis of the nobility in a number of regions, most notably in Picardy, which swore to uphold the faith and protect provincial liberties. King Henry III was able to outmaneuver the nascent league and suppress it. However, in 1584 the death of Henry's younger brother left a Protestant, Henry of Navarre, as heir to the throne. The league was now revived, and its power derived from an alliance between the powerful Spanish-funded Guise family and a radical popular Catholic power base, notably in Paris. In 1588 the league mounted a putsch, seized Paris, and expelled Henry III. When Henry later had the Guise brothers assassinated, large parts of France revolted, dethroned him, and established a regime based on representative institutions and an elective monarchy. Failure to establish a viable administration was due to the financial realities of war against the supporters of Henry of Navarre, undermining the league's appeal as an antitax party. In 1593, internal divisions over the choice of a suitable Catholic king were exploited by Navarre's conversion, removing the major obstacle to his accession. After the loss of Paris the following year, the league slowly crumbled as its leadership was defeated by Navarre; its last strongholds succumbed in 1598.

See also **Guise Family**; **Henry III (France)**; **Henry IV (France)**.

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CATHOLIC REFORMATION. See Reformation, Catholic.

CATHOLIC SPIRITUALITY AND MYSTICISM.

Early modern spirituality was practical in orientation as it moved away from contemplation toward a more active apostolate. This resulted in an active spirituality among religious orders, as well as a lay-oriented spirituality that translated into charitable activities. The compulsion toward an active life of good works as a means toward personal sanctification, along with the revival of the sacramental life, the emergence of new forms of meditative prayer, and Eucharistic devotions, came to characterize the basic elements of Catholic spirituality during this period.

CENTERS OF SPIRITUALITY

Numerous men and women renowned for their sanctity, and new religious institutes dedicated either to the reform of the church or to charitable works, emerged in Italy. Oratories, lay or clerical confraternities whose purpose was the personal sanctification of its members, fostered an intense piety that translated into the care of orphans, the education of the poor, and the institution of hospitals. Notable among those who fostered this spirit were St. Catherine of Genoa (1447–1510), a laywoman whose work led to the founding of the Oratory of Divine Love; St. Philip Neri (1515–1595), founder of the Oratorians; St. Angela Merici (1474–1540), founder of the Ursulines; St. Anthony Zaccaria (1502–1539), founder of the Barnabites; and St. Camillus of Lellis (1550–1614), founder of the Ministers of the Sick, also called the Fathers of a Good Death.

Each of these figures sought an inner renewal that would foster reform on a social, institutional, and personal level. Most influential in developing

this aspect of Italian spirituality was *The Spiritual Combat* by Lorenzo Scupoli (1530–1610). Emerging from the context of ecclesiastical renewal and reform, this spiritual literature aimed first and foremost at conversion from sin and the cultivation of the interior life. For the Italian mystics of this period this interior perfection was lived out through a mission of social and religious reform.

A different emphasis was apparent in Spain, where spirituality was more scientific and academic. This is evident in the methods of prayer and meditation that came to be known as “spiritual exercises.” This new approach, with its systematic meditative form of mental prayer, was first seen as a vehicle for the reform of religious life. However, it was quickly adapted to meet the needs and situations of the laity. This method of prayer became one of the foundations of the new spirituality that spread throughout the church during this period. Highly individualistic in contrast to more communal or liturgical forms of prayer, this approach reflected the individualism of the age.

Sixteenth-century Spain gave birth to a wealth of spiritual literature and saints, most prominently Ignatius of Loyola, Teresa of Ávila, and John of the Cross. Ignatius of Loyola (1491–1556) presented in *The Spiritual Exercises* (1540) a systematic approach to prayer for the purpose of bringing about a personal renewal. For Ignatius, this form of prayer was not exclusive to those in religious life or those who have attained advanced stages of prayer but was open to all persons regardless of where they were spiritually.

St. Teresa of Ávila (1515–1582) occupies a prominent place because of her theology of prayer. In *The Interior Castle* (1588) she described prayer as a loving dialogue between friends and said that one’s progress in prayer was an indication of one’s progress in the spiritual life. Teresa’s view of prayer was not exclusively mystical, despite the predominance of mysticism in her doctrine. Nor did she view the entire spiritual life as flowing from prayer alone. She saw the reception of Communion, the cultivation of humility, fraternal charity, spiritual direction, spiritual friendships, and the apostolate as playing an equally important part in the spiritual life.

Complementing Teresa is St. John of the Cross (1542–1591). The fundamental principle of his

theology was that God was everything and the creature was nothing. If, then, one desired to attain perfect union with God, one was required to undergo a purgation of the body and the soul. John of the Cross developed this theology of purification in *The Ascent of Mount Carmel* and *The Dark Night of the Soul*. For St. John, the soul must be completely purified in all of its faculties and powers before it can be fully illuminated by the light of divine union. In the writings of both Teresa and John of the Cross there is less specific guidance on methods of prayer than on the Christian way of life in general.

France was also an important center of spirituality, particularly in the person of François de Sales (1567–1622). François brought the piety of the cloister into the world as he sought to show Christians that, whatever their place in society, their lives must be imbued with the religion they profess. In *The Introduction to the Devout Life*, he developed a complete program for the spiritual advancement of the laity that sought to provide a spirituality for those who remained in the world pursuing their professions and providing for their families.

DEVOTIONAL LIFE

The spirituality of the Catholic Reformation restored the Eucharist to a more central place in Christian life. Frequent Communion was encouraged and became a more common practice among devout laity, which reflected the changes that were taking place in Eucharistic piety. The worship of the Host in such devotions as Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament and Forty Hours exposition was a development of the Catholic Reformation.

Forty Hours devotion became a normative practice during this period. The uninterrupted exposition of the Blessed Sacrament for forty hours throughout a diocese, representing the number of hours that Christ’s body lay in the tomb, began in Milan between 1527 and 1537. This practice had been established in Rome by St. Philip Neri prior to 1550. In 1560, Pius IV issued a papal bull of approbation and in 1592, Clement VIII issued a constitution that established the Forty Hours devotion in Rome, granting a plenary indulgence to those who participated.

The time of prayer spent before the Blessed Sacrament during the Forty Hours devotion was oriented to the reform of the church and the Chris-

tian life. A spirit of reparation and penitence formed the context of the devotion that flowed out of a meditation on the passion and death of Christ. Through an examination of conscience the supplicant sought a disposition of heart that would lead to contrition, purification, and conversion.

Devotion to the Blessed Sacrament strongly influenced the cult of the Sacred Heart. The introduction of the feast of Corpus Christi in the thirteenth century underscored the close link between the Eucharist and the heart of Jesus, giving the devotion a Eucharistic dimension. The Eucharist was seen as a gift and an abiding presence of the loving heart of Jesus. From the thirteenth to the sixteenth century devotion to the Sacred Heart took on the character of a private, individual devotion rather than a popular devotion. In the sixteenth century, a noticeable shift began to take place as the devotion to the Sacred Heart moved from an exclusively private practice to one that assumed a public and official character within the whole church, especially due to the influence of St. John Eudes (1601–1680) and St. Marguerite-Marie Alacoque (1647–1690).

CONCLUSION

The period of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation marked a turning point in the history of spirituality. In general, a deeper interiority was emphasized. The spirituality of this period was highly sacramental, biblically oriented, and focused on the life and passion of Jesus. Both Protestants and Roman Catholics insisted that a deeply lived spiritual life was possible outside of the cloister, thereby fostering a spirituality oriented toward the laity, which represented a direction hitherto unseen.

See also **Ignatius of Loyola**; **Reformation, Catholic**; **Theology**; **Teresa of Ávila**.

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FRANCESCO C. CESAREO

CATHOLICISM. In 1520, Martin Luther (1483–1546) explained—in his famous open letter to Pope Leo X (reigned 1513–1521)—that he considered the Roman Curia “more corrupt than any Babylon or Sodom ever was,” and that it was “characterized by a completely depraved, hopeless and notorious godlessness.” For hundreds of years thereafter, Luther’s remarks were construed as an indictment not just of the Curia, but of the entire Catholic Church. With this picture of corruption and depravity, he established one side of a polemical divide over ways to describe Catholicism in early modern Europe that has endured to this very day. The argument over whether or not Luther’s picture of the church was realistic has been engaged by historians for generations, from Cesare Baronio (1518–1607) and Paolo Sarpi (1562–1623) in the late sixteenth century to Massimo Firpo and John W. O’Malley in the late twentieth century. The debate has been clouded by ahistorical commitments—at first simply religious, then political and cultural as well—that serve as an obstacle to a true

comprehension of the past. Since roughly 1945, the argument has turned on whether the terms “Counter-Reformation” or “Catholic Reform,” or any of a host of other related terms, can describe the period, or if something more innocuous, like “early modern Catholicism,” might be better. No matter where one stands on this battle over historical terminology, all agree that Catholicism in this era was variegated, fascinating in its complexity, and riddled with internal and external conflicts that make simple categorization of this institution quite impossible.

Catholicism between 1500 and 1789 has commonly been defined through the conflict between Protestant reformers and Christians who remained loyal to Rome. Luther, like John Calvin (1509–1564) and many Anglican and Anabaptist thinkers who followed, was not so different from medieval reformers who called for change in Christian practices. He may have insisted initially on reconsideration of the best way to explain the necessity of penitence, not just penance, in the process of salvation. The challenge to common church teaching expressed in his Ninety-Five Theses (1517), however, increasingly came to be understood as a threat to papal authority. This perception, which was reinforced by Luther’s own words in the three great Reformation treatises of 1520–1521 and by the rallying of other critical voices at his side, encouraged members of the Catholic hierarchy to see him as the latest in a long line of medieval reformers. They could then treat him, as they did his predecessors, as one who would eventually go away without leaving any substantial impact upon the structure of ecclesiastical authority.

THE PAPACY AND THE COUNCIL OF TRENT

The common definition of Catholicism in early modern Europe as hinging on the challenge of Luther and other Protestant reformers, and on Roman reaction to that challenge, has obscured the complexity and multiform nature of the institution. First, consider the complexity of the papacy itself. Popes from Alexander VI (1492–1503) through Pius VI (1775–1799) exhibited many characteristics, but consistency and uniformity were not among them. At the beginning of this era, the papacy was an institution competing for the loyalty of the European people against secular powers attempting to extend the reach of their authority.

Fifteenth-century papal claims to absolute power, both spiritual and temporal, were defined in practice during the pontificates of Julius II (1503–1513) and Leo X as an effort to secure the integrity and independence of the Papal State. They used both diplomatic and military resources to do so. By the end of the early modern era, however, the papacy had become quite ineffective in political terms, having been pushed to the periphery of contemporary political society. For example, Clement XIII (1758–1769) and Clement XIV (1769–1774) were unable to save one of the largest religious orders in the church, the Society of Jesus, from its European enemies. Early modern popes attempted to consolidate their religious and governmental authority in a rapidly changing world, but they did so with inconsistent policies and performance. The popular imagination of today often views early modern popes as warriors against heresy. This may have been true of popes like Paul IV (1555–1559) and Pius V (1566–1572), who personally presided over inquisitorial meetings. But later popes, like Innocent XI (1676–1689), saw devotional and theological developments like Jansenism and Quietism as dangerous and still disapproved of the use of force to deal with them. An even later pope, Benedict XIV (1740–1758), had no trouble reconciling the apparent contradiction between support for clerical education and scientific investigation on the one hand, while at the same time continuing prohibitions on reading with a new Index of Prohibited Books. Similar levels of inconsistency exist when examining the actions of popes in artistic patronage, in promotion of church reform, in support for scholarship, and in creation of public services for the Papal State.

Pope Paul III (1534–1549), an individual whose actions were filled with inconsistencies, might be seen as one who epitomized the early modern papacy. He is considered by many to be the first pope of the Catholic Reformation (or the Counter-Reformation). He not only appointed cardinals who presented him with a stinging indictment of the evils in the contemporary church, known as the *Consilium de Emendanda Ecclesia* (1537), but he also convened the Council of Trent in 1545. In addition, he procured the legitimization of three of the four children he fathered before becoming a priest and bestowed enormous ecclesiastical incomes and properties upon one son and upon the

two grandsons he appointed as cardinals. This unreformed approach to the enrichment of his family was contradicted by his generous artistic patronage and by his promotion of reform-minded clerics. Among the latter was a Spaniard, Ignatius of Loyola (1491–1556), whose new religious order, the Society of Jesus, Paul formally approved in 1540. Paul revived the Roman Inquisition in 1542, but designed it to operate with a lenience and moderation that some of his successors rejected. He was a pope like many others in this period: a “reformer” who could never fully break away from the traditions of corruption. They were richly human, defying simple categorization.

The Council of Trent (1545–1563), whose decrees—not to mention the drumbeat of anathema within them—epitomized Catholic reaction against Protestant thought, was a richly complicated event riddled with conflict. According to the standard interpretation, popes controlled the assembly through the papal legates who set the agenda for each session, and through Jesuit theologians who, over those eighteen years, ensured that doctrinal and disciplinary decrees were secured that were acceptable to the popes. From the very beginning, however, legates like Marcello Cervini (1501–1555), Giovan Maria de’ Ciochi del Monte (1487–1555), and Carlo Borromeo (1538–1584) struggled to persuade prelates to attend, to remain once they had arrived, and to get along, sometimes in ways that were much more practical than dogmatic. When they were not breaking up shoving matches among the bishops, legates mediated, rather than dictated, among members of the papal, imperial, and French factions that emerged at Trent, while attempting to promote papal plans. Popes themselves varied widely in their commitment to the gathering as a means to solve the problem facing the church. Paul III convened the council, but he clearly feared the conciliarist leanings of some of the prospective council members. Julius III (1550–1555) and Pius IV (1559–1565) moved the Tridentine assembly vigorously toward completion. In between those two, however, Paul IV insisted categorically that the meeting remain in suspension, convinced that he could carry out the reform on his own through the Roman Inquisition, over whose meetings he presided, and through his personal Index of Prohibited Books. In the end, the decrees were formulated by

conciliar bishops, who put themselves in charge of bringing the documents from Trent to life in Catholic practice.

IMPLEMENTING TRENT

Implementation of the decrees of the Council of Trent—a series of clarifications of doctrine, disciplinary decrees, and directives on such matters as clerical education—should have brought a uniform church into existence in short order, but local realities made this impossible. Papal authority was not strong enough to effect any change as broad-ranging as that outlined at Trent. In France, implementing the decrees was especially slow, as royal control restricted even the publication of the decrees. Bringing clerical behavior there into something resembling conformity with the decrees took centuries, not decades. Recent scholarship on the Netherlands reveals that seventeenth-century bishops faced opposition to their reform plans not just from local constituents, but from Rome as well. They engaged in especially complex negotiations to try to secure claustration of nuns, that Tridentine rule most often cited as evidence of effective, centralized, disciplining control, in local convents. In the end, Netherlandish nuns determined the characteristics of their own common life, apparently at least as much as bishops. In Italy, prelates had the example of Carlo Borromeo (1538–1584), archbishop of Milan, not to mention precedents like Gian Matteo Giberti (1495–1543) in Verona, Bartolomeo de Martyribus (1514–1590) in Braga, and Marcello Cervini in Gubbio, to follow. Borromeo became the model Tridentine bishop, holding diocesan synods, enhancing catechetical instruction, and conducting pastoral visits. But even in Italy the process was relatively slow, as bishops elsewhere butted up against the many cathedral chapters, and monastic institutions that asserted their independence from episcopal control and appealed to Rome any challenge to that independence.

Effective implementation of the decrees was a complicated matter. The process hinged not just on the ability of bishops to operate freely over those at least theoretically under their control, but also upon the determination of some rulers to control their national churches. The papal prerogative of simply naming bishops, let alone controlling their activity, was decidedly limited, especially in Spain, France,

and England. The tradition of royal leadership in religious matters in Spain continued throughout the early modern period and was already well established in 1478, when Ferdinand (ruled 1474–1516) and Isabella (ruled 1474–1504) convinced Rome of the need for a Spanish Inquisition controlled by the monarchs. Spanish monarchs retained the right to appoint bishops in the Netherlands, as well as across the so-called New World. Such an arrangement within France was created in the Concordat of Bologna (1516) between Leo X and King Francis I (ruled 1515–1547). Behind these and similar practices—such as monarchical control of appointments to ecclesiastical benefices in England—was a concern over the distribution of revenues that was more financial than religious. When viewed in the context of Tridentine decrees insisting on the appointment only of properly trained clerics who would take seriously the *cura animarum*, ‘care of souls’, these facts illustrate that Roman determination to control the reform process, as well as the practical ability to do so, varied considerably.

Some of those who drafted the Tridentine decree on seminaries may have desired a highly centralized clergy obedient to Roman doctrine and leadership, but recent research suggests implementation of this directive was desperately slow, and that any such desire went largely unfilled. In places like Milan, seminary training after Trent was anything but uniform. Many candidates studied in multiple institutions, and only some of those were under the control of the archbishop. Diocesan seminaries there were part of a larger system that included schools run by some of the new Catholic religious orders. In Fiesole, the first attempt to found a seminary did not occur until nearly a generation after the assembly at Trent completed its work. Formal seminary instruction in Fiesole did not commence until 1635. Even if trained, the reshaping of local priests into a professional class through episcopal visitations and instructions may have been the intention of early modern bishops, but they apparently made little progress in this era. In Milan, during the archiepiscopal administrations of Carlo and Federico Borromeo (1564–1631), the majority of priests resembled the superstitious, worldly, sinful laity they served far more than the confessional interrogators the archbishops had in mind.

RELIGIOUS REVIVAL

The intention of all Catholic reformers was to revive religious life generally, but locally support for revival and opposition to it were both common. Hence, real change was limited. Seminary education and pastoral visits were supposed to create a consistently well-educated and attentive clergy. Local records suggest that the members of the laity supported such an intention, but in practice, some established members of the clergy challenged the change. Giambattista Casale, a carpenter and late-sixteenth-century diarist in Milan, enthusiastically praised the reform work of Carlo Borromeo. Casale related popular support both for the attention Borromeo devoted to his personal pastoral responsibilities, and for his initiatives to improve the quality of local priests. Clerics there, however, were not so favorably impressed. In 1569 and 1570 they assaulted the archbishop, first verbally and then physically, as his reforming ideals were threatening their clerical positions and income. One can find many examples of ecclesiastical and civic leaders developing new institutions and enhancing the power of old ones, designed to enforce religious orthodoxy, proper notions of political sovereignty, and moral purity. At the same time, crime statistics, court records—including the recently opened central archive of the Roman Inquisition—and other forms of documentation all reveal that the goal of conformity was far from achieved. Archbishops and parishioners in the Netherlands in this era did not completely agree on what constituted a good pastor, but one thing was sure: neither were satisfied with those they observed. The well-noted crackdown on questionable belief and behavior among upper-ranking clerics did not preclude behavior by one—Reginald Pole (1500–1558, the cardinal archbishop of Canterbury and papal legate to the early sessions at Trent)—that led his most recent biographer to assert that he was, for all practical purposes, married to his longtime companion, the Venetian noble and cleric Alvise Priuli (d. 1560).

Where Catholic religious practice was effectively reformed in early modern Europe, it often came through leadership from members of a variety of religious orders. The members of long established orders, like the Franciscans, Benedictines, and Augustinians, initiated reforms to improve adherence to the religious rule each followed, but the

reform movements frequently resulted in division and the creation of new branches of these orders. This operation followed a well-established pattern in the Franciscan order, for example. The new Capuchin group founded by Matteo di Bassi (1495–1552) was not unlike the so-called spirituals from an earlier age in its call for stricter observance of the rule of Saint Francis. Their emphasis on preaching and identification with common people, especially in towns, contributed to the spread of reformed Catholicism. Angela Merici of Brescia (1474–1540) and Ignatius of Loyola founded brand new orders, the Ursulines and the Society of Jesus, respectively, whose inspiration turned as much on the goal of serving the needs of others as on the pursuit of perfection among its own members. The Ursulines became educators, especially in catechism, as well as servants of orphans and women in need of shelter. The Jesuits engaged in a wide variety of ministries, but like the Ursulines, their principal influence on the European community came through work in education. They were central to the development of secondary schools that prepared young men for university study, and to the beginnings of seminary education. These were just a few of the many new and newly reformed orders of the early modern period.

Members of the secular (that is, diocesan) clergy on the one hand, and members of religious orders (both clerics in religious orders and nuns) on the other, engaged in disputes that further complicate the picture of Catholicism in this age. In general terms, members of religious orders tended to assert their independence from episcopal control based upon their foundations and authorizations that came directly from the papacy. This was a traditional position for religious orders to take. But when they did so in the early modern period, especially after the Council of Trent, they butted up against bishops armed with the decrees of Trent. Many of these bishops intended to exercise their authority to examine clerics and grant permissions to preach and to hear confessions in their dioceses, whether they were secular or regular clergy. Members of religious orders could often, through appeals to the papacy, gain exemption from such episcopal authority. There was not, however, any general position of the papacy in favor of the independence of regular clergy. Paul IV, to take a notable example,

was decidedly suspicious of the devotional innovations designed by Ignatius of Loyola and the Jesuits to facilitate their pastoral activities. For a time, he even insisted that they recite the divine office in unison, in violation of the Jesuit constitutions established under preceding popes. We ought not to think of this distrust of religious orders as a position taken up exclusively by belligerent popes like Paul IV. When questions were raised concerning the propriety of the independence of the Ursulines and their activities outside the convent, the push to cloister them came not just from authorities in Rome, but also from parents of the sisters and other family members.

European members of both branches of the Catholic clergy increasingly engaged in preaching, a fact that undermines one of the most common stereotypes about Catholicism in this era. A common assumption is that, to the Catholic clergy of this period, preaching was either completely marginal or used only for unjust fundraising operations such as the sale of indulgences. But the historical record of preaching in the early modern period is much more complicated. At the beginning of the period, members of religious orders, like Franciscan and Dominican friars, were exceedingly popular preachers. They delivered well-attended sermons on a daily basis during Lent and Advent. In fact, civic leaders vied to secure the best known preachers among them. The popularity of these preachers was based, at least in part, on the lack of preaching by members of the secular clergy, who were largely absent from their pastoral duties. After the Council of Trent, short homilies within the Eucharistic celebration became increasingly common. There was a veritable explosion of publications related to preaching in the early modern period. The explosion included simple instructions by bishops, handbooks of forms for the composition of sermons, and collections of the work of celebrated preachers, in addition to formal treatises on the topic. This literature reveals that theorists recommended explicitly the utilization of humanist rhetorical ideals and clear explication of basic doctrine in sermons. Court preachers speaking before popes and heads of state retained the prominent characteristic of their medieval predecessors. Preaching held a central place in the religious culture of all early modern Europe, not just Protestant lands.

POPULAR PIETY

Preachers touched local Catholic communities whose common experience of the religion varied considerably. During the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, Milan was a very different place compared to a city in a Protestant territory, like Amsterdam. In the former, priests were on the lookout for both clerics and members of the laity who deviated from the newly defined norms of Trent. They spent the bulk of their time trying to form Catholic identity around those norms, often with minimal success. In the latter, and in many other towns and cities in the British Isles, the Holy Roman Empire, and the Dutch Republic, Catholics created religious spaces in places where such were officially proscribed, but in practice they were tolerated by neighbors and officials who knew well of their existence. At the turn of the eighteenth century, Catholics controlled twenty such semi-secret churches (*schuilkerk*) in Amsterdam. One was a narrow row house whose third-floor church could hold some 150 persons in pews and galleries. Catholics in early modern Spain probably experienced religion in a manner that was closer to that of the Milanese. They surely were the subjects of a plan for orthodox indoctrination. For some, especially in rural areas, their practice may have become outwardly Christian, even approaching Catholic, but it was mixed with appeals to the supernatural through spells and potions that illustrate the difficulty with which “pagan” superstitions died in this era. Moreover, the divide between Christians and Jews in European communities was often anything but complete. Paul IV set up an enclosed ghetto in Rome that is still widely seen as a precursor of Nazi versions in Eastern Europe. But emphasis on this episode encourages ignorance of the more tolerant policy that both preceded and followed his administration. It also hides the fact that, as recent scholarship has shown, Jews and members of the Catholic laity in Rome shared a good deal in common, and that the ghetto had few negative effects on the religious and cultural identity of Jews in Rome.

Believers, especially in urban areas, organized themselves into confraternities, a vast array of diverse organizations that belied the image of contemporary Catholicism as uniform. Confraternities had existed as devotional organizations promoting piety and social service, mainly in the towns of the

medieval period. In the early modern period, when centralizing tendencies in the organization of Catholicism allegedly held sway, such organizations and their independence from hierarchical control should, logically, have disappeared. They did not. Instead, they tended to become stronger. Whether their increased strength was based upon enhanced devotion to more clearly defined dogmas, on the Eucharist, or upon an increasing charitable need in contemporary cities is unclear. Some of these institutions seemed on the surface to cooperate with growing states and their centralization of charity. In some places, however, like Bologna, confraternities that took on a more political role allowed patricians to maintain secure hold on certain elements of administration in the Papal State (specifically over the prison system) against centralization under the papacy.

Individual Catholic believers, and not just those in confraternities, seem to have experienced religion much more through their devotional practices than through any conscious adherence to dogma, whether orthodox or heterodox. Popular religious practice varied widely despite the hope of some Catholic leaders to regularize devotional life. Throughout the sixteenth century, there is little evidence to suggest that instruction in dogma went far beyond practice in the memorization of basic prayers and foundational formulas like the Nicene Creed. Later, increasing expansion of the Confraternities of Christian Doctrine and the publication of the *Catechism of the Council of Trent* in 1566 surely facilitated the spread of the doctrines defined at Trent. But real work on that document did not begin at least until late in 1562, if not 1563. Once it was completed under Pius V in 1566, priests had to learn and translate the contents of the massive Latin edition before the process of explaining the ideas in terms accessible to common people could begin. Popular cults honoring the mostly unofficial but locally recognized patron saints continued. Pilgrimage sites that had developed in the Middle Ages, such as Loreto, location of the house in which Mary allegedly grew up—miraculously transported from Palestine to the Adriatic coast—maintained their popularity, along with the sacramentals that attended their use. Popular piety found expression throughout Europe, but frequently outside the confines of standard religious instruction, outside of

new Tridentine liturgical parameters, and outside of the sacraments. Processions were often more boisterous than devout, the majority of Catholics received Communion infrequently, and clerical reform rarely touched rural areas in large portions of Europe before 1650. Popular piety could be found in other forms, however, as in the well-attended theatrical productions presented in towns, especially the university towns, of northern Europe. Jesuit colleges were famous for presentations that dramatized the spiritual life with scenes of both angels and hell, and these remained popular, especially in southern Germany, through the middle of the eighteenth century. Some earlier religious dramas produced in the Low Countries during the reign of Emperor Charles V (ruled 1519–1556) included presentation of varying religious positions from contemporary theological debates.

MISSIONARY ACTIVITY

Efforts to spread the faith through missionary activity in Europe and beyond have received scant attention, but consideration of this activity exposes still more variations in the Catholic experience. The revival of Catholicism represented by reform initiatives that predate Luther, as well as those initiatives designed to counteract his work and that of other Protestant reformers, spurred action to spread Catholicism throughout Europe, not to mention the New World. The Jesuits led an attempt to recover believers in the German-speaking territory who were “lost” to the Protestant movement. They were active in cities like Cologne and Vienna in the Holy Roman Empire in the 1550s, where their schools enrolled large numbers and where they attempted to prepare better trained clergy who might help in the recovery process. They tried to do the same in Slavic-speaking lands at approximately the same time, but with much less success. The English crown attempted to thwart Jesuit efforts to spread Catholicism in Britain after the Reformation. Jesuit missionary work there was complicated by the political and theological controversy over the divine right of kings during the age of King James I (ruled 1603–1625). Catholic clerics from a number of religious orders took part in efforts to spread the faith in Spanish and Portuguese holdings in Asia, Africa, the Americas, and the Pacific islands. The standard image of these missionaries arriving on the heels of the conquistadors and forcing adherence to

the new religion, armed with an ideology that permitted coercion, is only partly true. While mass conversions were frequently carried out, missionaries often faced a hostile initial response from local populations, especially in Asia. When they did, some—like Francis Xavier (1506–1552), for example—simply moved on to other towns and regions where they hoped for better luck. Our image of the character of Catholic proselytism in this era must be able to explain not just the mass conversions, but also the retention of Roman doctrine over the long term. It must explain not just those instances where the value of native culture was discounted, but also Catholic missionary work that accommodated local practices. The latter was so extensive in China, for instance, that Jesuits there like Matteo Ricci (1552–1610) were considered promoters of paganism by some Roman authorities.

ART, SCIENCE, AND RELIGION

Perhaps the most enduring image of early modern Catholicism is that of an institution that systematically shut down emergent local culture and freedom of thought. Exploration of the activity of Catholics in art, literature, music, and science demonstrates the inadequacy of that image: the reality was far more complex. In the arts—including sculpture, painting, poetry, drama, prose, oratory, and music—there is no doubt that anti-Protestant ideology contributed to new Catholic production. The Protestant attack on art, not to mention the development of new notions of Christian heroism, certainly influenced the way biographers, preachers, painters, sculptors, and composers expressed themselves. But they looked for effective techniques and for attention-grabbing flourishes to impress audiences and to demand an active response. There is no doubt that rules for propriety in various forms of art, notably oratory and painting, reflect an attempt by church leaders to control. The Tridentine decree on sacred images from the twenty-fifth session (1563) and the discourse on sacred and profane images published in 1582 by Cardinal Gabriele Paleotti (1522–1597) are the texts most frequently cited to suggest that ecclesiastical repression in the world of art was effective. However, the assertion that the attempt was successful ignores a vast body of evidence. Evidence lies in the humanistic oratory of post-Tridentine preachers and funeral eulogists. It can be found in the intense painting and sculpture

created by artists like Agostino (1557–1602), Annibale (1560–1609), and Ludovico Carracci (1555–1619), as well as Gian Lorenzo Bernini (1598–1680) and Giambologna (1529–1608). The era was one of bold creativity that followed from humanistic innovations that were only partly subordinated to the goals of religious leaders. The works produced by popular Italian vernacular authors also serve as evidence. They offered everything from legal to occult texts, in addition to the orthodox religious publications associated with the post-Tridentine printing industry. Yet another example can be found in northern Europe. In Germany, Catholics, and even Jesuits, were behind an artistic revitalization that contributed to the survival of Catholicism there, but also to the emergence of the German baroque movement.

Early modern Catholicism allegedly had a stultifying effect on intellectual life, and especially on the development of science, but recent scholarship suggests that this view needs considerable revision. Intellectual historians have insisted that humanism remained a vital, dynamic intellectual movement in the seventeenth century throughout Europe, despite attempts by church authorities to refocus scholarship to support new confessional ideologies. Spanish intellectual life apparently was much more complex than historians in previous generations had thought. In Spain, humanism mixed with more traditional scholastic thought, and writers moved with considerable flexibility between methods: even Spanish inquisitorial records illustrate this reality. Something similar was largely true in Italy, especially in the age of Athanasius Kircher (1602–1680). Jesuits at the Roman College—some from Germany like Kircher, and others from elsewhere—showed considerable favor for the cosmology of Tycho Brahe (1546–1601), even though it stood in sharp contrast to the Aristotelian status quo. The “church,” both as an institution and literally as a structure, provided a great deal more support for the development of science, especially astronomy, than most would imagine, given the pervasive image of the struggle Galileo Galilei (1564–1642) had with the bureaucrats of the Roman Inquisition. Observations and calculations carried out in some of the principal cathedral churches of Europe, with the financial support of high-ranking prelates, paved the way for improve-

ments in observational astronomy. They also belie the image of the Catholic Church as an effective, let alone pervasive, barrier to the expansion of learning. However, extreme Catholic opposition to the Enlightenment movement also reared up toward the end of this period. Still, had counter-cultural efforts like these been effective on any significant level, historians would have considerably greater difficulty explaining the emergence of the jarring political revolutions of the late eighteenth century.

If, as the famous American lawmaker Tip O’Neill once said, “All politics is local,” then perhaps all history is local, too. The history of early modern Catholicism surely could stand as an example to defend such a thesis. Historians studying more distant ages in the past sometimes face a paucity of sources and data that makes generalization necessary. The early modern period was no such era. It was, on the contrary, the very age in which the passion for record keeping that we take for granted today first emerged. Such records, in their display of local circumstances and realities, illustrate a human complexity that defies categorization. When Martin Luther wrote his letter to Leo X, he set the pattern for consideration of early modern Catholicism, either demon or hero, that is only now being revised and seen with a human face. Further historical investigation will reveal even more wrinkles and complexities. Early modern Catholicism will take a good deal longer to describe, but the description will be closer to the human reality of that fascinating era.

See also Calvin, John; Clergy: Roman Catholic; Index of Prohibited Books; Inquisition; Jesuits; Luther, Martin; Missions and Missionaries; Papacy and Papal States; Reformation, Catholic; Reformation, Protestant; Religious Orders; Trent, Council of.

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WILLIAM V. HUDON

CAVALRY. See **Military: Battle Tactics and Campaign Strategy.**

CAVENDISH, MARGARET (1623–1673), duchess of Newcastle, English poet, playwright, natural philosopher, biographer, feminist utopianist, and eccentric. Margaret Cavendish was born Margaret Lucas, the youngest child of Thomas Lucas and Elizabeth Leighton Lucas of Colchester, Essex. The death of Thomas in 1625 left the Lucas estate in the hands of Elizabeth Leighton, who had a penchant for land management and advancing her children’s fortunes beyond the confines of the local county. Educated at home, Margaret spent much time in philosophical contemplation and day-dreaming. Alienated socially from the Essex gentry, the Lucases were High Church royalists whose Essex manor was looted during an antiroyalist riot of 22 August 1642. In late 1642 Margaret was sent from home to serve as maid of honor at Queen Henrietta Maria’s temporary court at Oxford. Shy and conversationally ill at ease, Margaret asked, but was refused, permission to return home. With the defeat of the royalist forces in the English Civil War, the queen and her court went into exile in Paris. In 1645, maternal foresight paid off when Margaret caught the eye of fifty-one-year-old William Cavendish, marquis of Newcastle. A womanizing aristocrat and royalist military commander, Cavendish came to Paris to repair his relations with the queen after his disastrous military defeat by parliamentary forces at Marston Moor. With savvy, Margaret managed a short courtship, marrying William Cavendish in December 1645.

Plagued by financial insecurity, ill health, and the failure of royalist aspirations during an extended exile in Paris and then Antwerp, Margaret sought



Margaret Cavendish. A frontispiece for *Philosophical and Physical Opinions* features a portrait of the author. MARY EVANS PICTURE LIBRARY

solace in writing. Inspired by the scientific interests of her brother-in-law, Sir Charles Cavendish, and encouraged by her husband, she published verse on natural philosophical atomism in *Poems and Fancies* (1653). A second collection of poetry, *Philosophicall Fancies* (1653), a philosophical treatise, *Philosophical and Physical Opinions* (1655), and two prose miscellanies, *The World's Olio* (1655) and *Nature's Pictures* (1656), followed shortly thereafter. With the restoration of Charles II in 1660, the Cavendishes returned to England. William was granted the title of duke, and Margaret, thereafter duchess of Newcastle, tried her hand at a variety of literary forms, including drama, poetry, romance, epistles, orations, biography, and autobiography, as well as natural philosophic reflection. The utopian scientific narrative *Description of a New World, called the*

Blazing World (1666) is her best-known literary work.

Clearly conscious of the limitations that marriage and social conventions placed on women, Margaret Cavendish sought a name for herself by playing the eccentric in public—dressing androgynously and behaving outlandishly. But she also sought fame in intellectual circles by debating the ideas of prominent male philosophers like Thomas Hobbes, René Descartes, and Robert Hooke in print. Strongly influenced by Hobbes's materialism, she rejected atomism in 1655 because it represented the world as intrinsically disordered—a viewpoint that conflicted with her political conservatism. Instead, she drew upon Neoplatonic and materialist ideas to construct a philosophical monism or vitalism that conceived all matter to be endowed

with elements of reason and spirit. An epistemological skeptic at heart, Cavendish criticized the Royal Society's reliance on empirical experimentalism, its misplaced faith in the accuracy of our fallible senses. Instead, she believed that natural philosophic inquiry could best proceed through rational and imaginative conjecture. She explained some of her antiexperimental ideas in *Observations upon Experimental Philosophy* (1666), in which she also took aim at Robert Hooke's *Micrographia* for its misguided enthusiasm for optical instruments. Cavendish's eccentricity, intellectual eclecticism, and gender led many of her contemporaries to discount her philosophical thought, although twentieth-century feminist scholars have revived interest in her work.

See also **Charles II (England); Descartes, René; English Civil War and Interregnum; Hobbes, Thomas; Hooke, Robert; Neoplatonism.**

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JULIE ROBIN SOLOMON

CAXTON, WILLIAM (c. 1422–1491), English printer and publisher. William Caxton, the first English printer, began his career as a London trader, becoming, after an apprenticeship, a freeman of the powerful Mercers Company. For about thirty years, from the mid-1440s until 1476, he lived for the most part in Flanders, as a merchant adventurer trading from Bruges. From 1462 to 1470 he was the governor of the English merchant adventurers, whose dominant members belonged to the Mercers Company. His responsibilities involved him at times in English diplomacy on matters of trade.

In 1470 Caxton resigned or was forced from the governorship. He moved to Cologne, where he lived in 1471–1472. Here he first encountered the new phenomenon of printing shops, although he may well, while in Bruges, have seen some early printed books imported from Mainz and Cologne. Direct contact with Cologne's expanding printed-book trade seems to have awakened new ambitions, for Caxton soon took financial control of one of the Cologne shops, and produced there three printed books, all in Latin. The first was the massive natural history encyclopedia of Bartholomaeus Anglicus, *De Proprietatibus Rerum* (1472; *On the properties of things*).

In 1473 Caxton returned to Bruges and set up a new printing shop. The first of some half-dozen books he produced was his own translation from the French of the chivalric romance *Recuyell of the Histories of Troy*, completed in late 1473 or early 1474. He dedicated it to Margaret, duchess of Burgundy and sister of King Edward IV. This was the first of a number of royal or noble dedications he made. Four of Caxton's Bruges books were in French and among the earliest to be printed in that language, making him a pioneer in both English and French vernacular printing.

In 1476 Caxton returned to England and set up his third printing shop, near the royal courts and Parliament, within the precincts of Westminster Abbey. He produced some hundred editions, ranging in size from single-leaf printed indulgences to his most substantial translation, Jacobus de Voragine's late thirteenth-century collection of saints' lives, the *Golden Legend* (1484), a large folio of almost nine hundred pages. Caxton's publishing program ranged widely, including school books, law books, and prayer books, but the central emphasis was on vernacular literature, chronicles, and works of popular edification. The discursive prologues and epilogues he contributed to many of the books give them a lively actuality that remains attractive and accessible. No other early printer, in any language, addressed himself so directly, personally, and often amusingly to his intended audience.

In Caxton's lifetime and for generations after, the major Latin works of learning and literature, such as were studied in Oxford and Cambridge, were imported to England from continental shops.

For readers of English, however, Caxton was the dominant figure in respect of both number and quality of publication. He produced the first editions of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* (1477; reprinted 1483 with woodcuts), of works by John Lydgate and John Gower, and of Sir Thomas Malory's *Morte d'Arthur* (1485). Among his many translations are *The Game and Play of Chess* (1474; reprinted 1483 with woodcuts), *Aesop's Fables* (1484, with woodcuts), *The History of Charlemagne* (1485), and *Reynard the Fox* (1481; reprinted 1489).

In 1478 and after, other printing shops were begun in London, Oxford, and Saint Albans; they all ceased operation around 1486, and their combined output amounted to little more than half of what Caxton produced.

From Caxton's death in 1491 to the end of the 1520s, as the quantity of English printing considerably expanded, two printing shops dominated: those of Wynkyn de Worde, Caxton's former workman, who succeeded to his master's shop and equipment; and of Richard Pynson, who once referred to Caxton as "my worshipful master," but whose direct connection with Caxton is less clear. Between them, until Pynson's death in 1529, they produced about three-quarters of all printing in England: about 1,350 out of some 1,800 editions. About two hundred more editions were printed in Paris, Antwerp, and other continental cities for export to the English market.

Although they overlapped, it appears that, by and large, de Worde and Pynson divided rather than competed for single control of the bookbuying market. De Worde specialized in cheap pamphlets of popular reading, often illustrated from his large stock of woodcuts, partly inherited from Caxton. He was also active in printing Latin schoolbooks. Pynson's publishing program was in general aimed at a more learned audience, with a particular specialty in books of English common law.

Apart from Caxton himself, almost all the personnel of the English printing shops came from the continent: de Worde was a native of Holland, and may well already have worked for Caxton in Bruges; Pynson was a native of Normandy. An Act of 1484, under Richard III, had specifically exempted "merchant strangers" from any restrictions on ei-

ther printing in England, or bringing in books from abroad. But the presence of foreigners was always unpopular in the turbulent London of this age, leading to many threats, personal attacks, and even riots. In 1534, under Henry VIII, a new act was passed, placing restrictions on the sale of foreign books and on printing within England by foreigners. A part of Henry's motivation was to exert tighter controls on books and printing at a time when Protestant pamphlet literature was spreading widely and clandestinely. The effects of the act, however, were also agreeable to London merchants in general, who were eager to see that it was enforced. The act of 1534 coincided closely with the death of Wynkyn de Worde. Within a few years, the printed-book trade of England was transformed from a primarily foreign occupation to one that was almost entirely native English.

See also **English Literature and Language; Printing and Publishing.**

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PAUL NEEDHAM

CECIL FAMILY. William Cecil (1520–1598) was born on 13 September 1520. After being educated at St. John's College, Cambridge, he trained as a lawyer. In 1542 he became an M.P. (member of Parliament), and soon afterward he began a long career in royal government. In 1547 he entered the service of Edward Seymour (c. 1500–1552), duke

of Somerset and protector of the young king Edward VI (ruled 1547–1553). In the duke's service Cecil identified himself with the protector's policy of uniting England and Scotland through a marriage between Edward and Mary, Queen of Scots (ruled 1542–1587), and with Protestant reform in England. Surviving his patron's fall from grace in 1550, Cecil ingratiated himself with John Dudley (1502–1553), earl of Warwick, and became secretary of state in 1550. Because he had supported Lady Jane Grey (1537–1554) in 1553, William, on the accession of Mary I (ruled 1553–1558), lost his place on the council. He continued, however, in public life, serving on embassies and as an M.P.

On the accession of Elizabeth I (ruled 1558–1603) in November 1558, Cecil was again appointed secretary of state and a member of the privy council. In 1571 he was created first baron Burghley, and the following year he became lord treasurer. Throughout his ascendancy Cecil struggled with the question of the succession. He used Parliament in an attempt to pressure Elizabeth into marrying or naming a successor, and he supported foreign suitors. In religion, although his own sympathies were probably with the more radical Protestants, he supported the queen's middle way between Puritanism and Catholicism. Cecil was unable, however, to follow a path of moderation as a succession of plots against Elizabeth led to harsh anti-Catholic laws and the execution of the queen's greatest dynastic rival, Mary, Queen of Scots, in 1587. His policy of keeping out of foreign wars also failed in 1585, when England went to war with Spain in support of the Dutch rebels. Toward the end of his life Cecil's preeminence was threatened by Robert Devereux (1566–1601), second earl of Essex, but with his son Robert Cecil, William Cecil was able to maintain his family's position as the leading royal servants. William Cecil died in London on 4 August 1598.

Robert Cecil (1563–1612) was William Cecil's eldest son from his second marriage, to Mildred Cooke. Like his father, Robert served his political apprenticeship in Parliament and on diplomatic missions to France and the Netherlands in the 1580s. In 1589 he began to assume his father's responsibilities as principal secretary and was appointed formally on William Cecil's death. This was achieved despite fierce opposition from Devereux, earl of



Cecil Family. William Cecil, Baron Burghley, from the *Memoirs of the Court of Queen Elizabeth* by Sarah, Countess of Essex. ©STAPLETON COLLECTION/CORBIS

Essex, with whom Robert Cecil had clashed in 1594 over the appointment of the attorney general. When Essex returned from Ireland in 1600, Cecil was among those appointed to try the disgraced peer. Essex's rebellion and subsequent execution in 1601 left Cecil's ascendancy unchallenged, and he was instrumental in securing the peaceful accession of James VI of Scotland (ruled Scotland 1567–1625; ruled Great Britain as James I, 1603–1625) to the English throne in 1603.

Cecil proved himself an able servant, and rewards and titles soon followed. In 1603 he was created baron Cecil, the following year viscount Cranbourne, and in 1607 the earl of Salisbury. In 1608 he began to turn his attentions to financial matters, and two years later, in an attempt to solve the crown's mounting debt problem, presented the so-called Great Contract to Parliament, whereby James would forego his feudal prerogatives in return for an annual income tax. This radical solution to the crown's fiscal plight collapsed, however, amid mutual suspicion. Like his father, Robert Cecil was



Cecil Family. Robert Cecil, First Earl of Salisbury, engraving by Renold Elstrack c. 1605–1608. ©HISTORICAL PICTURE ARCHIVE/CORBIS

eager to avoid expensive foreign wars, and in 1604 he ended the war with Spain. Nevertheless he failed to secure a marriage between Henry, Prince of Wales, and the sister of King Philip III (ruled 1598–1621) of Spain in 1611, and he linked England to the Protestant cause in Europe in 1612 by the marriage of Princess Elizabeth to Frederick, the elector palatine. Cecil's health deteriorated rapidly in 1612, probably as a result of scurvy rather than syphilis, and he died in Marlborough on 24 May that year.

Both Cecils amassed huge profits through royal service. William's most lucrative office was master of the wards, granted in 1562, which enabled him to accept bribes from suitors eager to escape the full weight of the crown's feudal prerogatives. Robert's avarice was even more marked; his underestimation of his taxable wealth was legendary. His physical deformity (Elizabeth called him "my little elf," while posthumously he was known as the "crookbacked earl") became a metaphor for his corruption and moral deficiency. The great mansion at Hatfield, built between 1607 and 1612, was the

most tangible evidence of Robert Cecil's great wealth.

See also Elizabeth I (England); James I and VI (England and Scotland); Mary I (England).

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DAVID GRUMMITT

CELLINI, BENVENUTO (1500–1571), Italian goldsmith, sculptor, and writer. Cellini was the son of Giovanni Cellini, a Florentine court musician, inventor, and minor engineer. A restless, competitive young man, he trained and worked as a goldsmith in Siena and Bologna (1516), Pisa (1517), Rome (1519–1521, 1523–1527), and Mantua (1527–1528), returning to Florence for brief or long stays after each of these periods. From June 1529 to January 1534, Cellini served as *incisore* at the papal mint; throughout the 1530s, he was known for his fine medals and coins. The artist was in Naples in 1534; in Padua, Ferrara, and Lyon in 1537; and back in Rome thereafter. After serving time in prison there for embezzlement, he traveled in 1540 to France, where he spent the next five years, working among the numerous Italian artists at the court of King Francis I (ruled 1515–1547). In 1545, Cellini returned to his native Florence, where he spent most of the remainder of his life, and where he carried out all of his late works.



Benvenuto Cellini. *Perseus and Medusa.* ©VANNI ARCHIVE/
CORBIS

Beginning in the 1550s, Cellini became active as a writer, first composing poetry (some of it in reply to encomiastic verses that had been written to his bronze *Perseus*), then an autobiography, then a pair of treatises on goldsmithery and sculpture (his only long works to be published in his lifetime), and a series of other discourses on the arts. Though the autobiography in particular is now admired especially for its low style and colorful language, all of the writings reveal Cellini's close association with academic movements in Florence, including the Accademia Fiorentina, to which Cellini briefly belonged in the late 1540s and which he probably aspired to rejoin in the 1560s, and the Accademia del Disegno, which Cellini tried to help shape after its founding in 1563. Cellini was a close friend of the painter and poet Agnolo Bronzino, the philosopher and historian Benedetto Varchi, and the court

physician Guido Guidi; he was a rival to the goldsmith Leone Leoni, the sculptor Baccio Bandinelli, and the painter and biographer Giorgio Vasari (1511–1574).

It was initially on account of his writings, rather than his art, that Cellini, who had been largely forgotten after his death, came to interest later authors. The *Autobiography*, which was first printed in Italian in 1728 (with a dedication to Richard Boyle), in English in 1771 (in a translation by Thomas Nugent), and in German in 1796 (in a translation by Goethe), went through countless editions in the nineteenth century. Cellini's dramatic accounts of chivalric quests, murders, a prison escape, and activities as a soldier made him seem, to Romantic writers, the paradigmatic Renaissance adventurer; he was the subject of a Berlioz opera and an Alexandre Dumas novel. As an artist, Cellini was also celebrated as an icon of Renaissance "universality." Major studies of Cellini as an artist by Eugène Plon (1883) and Friedrich Kriegbaum (1941), establishing the basis for what most people today regard as his oeuvre, clarified, without exactly overturning, this impression. While Cellini could no longer be connected with the enormous range of precious objects attributed to him in the nineteenth century, he could, by the mid-twentieth century, be appreciated as a marble sculptor, no less than as a metalworker. More recently, interest in mannerist art and in early art theory has lent Cellini a different sort of importance, as few artists who practiced his range of arts wrote as voluminously and as informatively about them as he did.

Cellini's major sculptural works include the *Saltcellar*, commissioned by Ippolito D'Este in Rome, completed for Francis at Fontainebleau, and now in Vienna; the decorations, including the surviving *Nymph* of Fontainebleau, intended to complement Francesco Primaticcio's frescoes for the Porte Dorée at Fontainebleau; the *Perseus and Medusa*, still in its original position in the Loggia de' Lanzi in Florence (though the original base has been moved to the Bargello, and replaced with a copy); a series of marble sculptures of classical subjects, most of them now in the Bargello; and the marble *Crucifix*, originally meant for his tomb, and now at the Escorial in Spain. As an artist, Cellini is probably most significant for having rejuvenated the production of monumental public bronze statuary in central Italy. A

number of the important sculptors in the generation after Cellini, including Pier Paolo Romano, Willem de Tetrode, Francesco Tadda, and Stoldo Lorenzi all spent time in Cellini's shop.

See also **Coins and Medals; Florence, Art in; Sculpture.**

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MICHAEL COLE

CENSORSHIP. Censorship began in the sixteenth century as the effort to prohibit religious ideas that were deemed heretical. From the beginning religious censorship was only possible when civil governments agreed that it was needed and provided the police authority for enforcement. In the following two centuries the state gradually took complete control, with little or no participation by clergymen. The effectiveness of censorship waxed and waned according to the perceived threat of alleged heretical, seditious, or immoral books as well as local circumstances. Censorship was strongest during the sixteenth century when Catholic and Protestant states sought to enforce religious uniformity, and weakest during the antireligious and politically liberal Enlightenment era of the eighteenth century. Nevertheless, censorship of books, speech, and theater never completely disappeared because almost all state and church authorities felt that it was a legitimate and necessary means of protecting the populace from destructive ideas.

THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION

Little censorship existed before the outbreak of the Protestant Reformation. Civil governments did not permit overt political criticism within the state, but they could do little about denunciations from beyond their borders. Because there was widespread agreement about the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, little censorship of religious and philosophical ideas existed.

The outbreak of the Protestant Reformation stimulated the beginning of religious censorship. Since Protestants promulgated their views through the printing press, and Catholics replied via the same medium, it was inevitable that both sides would try to control the press. But they waited until all hope of reconciliation ended in the middle of the sixteenth century before establishing censorship machinery. Then both sides developed similar policies.

Press censorship needed three components to be effective. First, an individual or a group had to determine which books, authors, and ideas were dangerous—a commission of experts had to prepare a list of objectionable previously published books. Second, prepublication censorship was needed to ensure that new books propagating heretical, seditious, or immoral ideas would not be published. Governments had to establish committees of readers, composed of clergymen and civil officials, to review manuscripts before issuing permissions to print. Prepublication censorship would become the most widespread and effective kind of censorship. Third, the civil authority used its police powers to keep banned books from entering the state and, if possible, to remove them from bookstores and libraries. This part of censorship was never very effective.

The papacy fulfilled the first requirement by promulgating a series of *Indexes of Prohibited Books*, the most important of which were the Tridentine Index of 1564, so called because the Council of Trent authorized it, and its successor, the Clementine Index of 1596, promulgated by Pope Clement VIII. Additional indexes followed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries at widely scattered intervals. Indexes listed authors and titles that could not be printed, read, or held, plus rules to guide those carrying out prepublication censorship and expurgation (elimination of objectionable passages

in books otherwise acceptable). Catholic state and church authorities cooperated relatively effectively in censorship actions despite numerous disagreements and jurisdictional conflicts. For example, France never accepted the papal indexes but still banned Protestant books and ideas.

Protestant censorship followed the same paths except that no supranational Protestant church existed to direct and coordinate censorship. Since Protestant religious leaders invested the state with substantial authority over the church, the state assumed the leading role in censorship. Each Protestant state had to decide which books to ban and how to censor. Protestant states banned the publication, importation, and ownership of Catholic works, and sometimes the works of other Protestants. They also condemned books considered immoral and critical of the government. Although Protestant censorship has been little studied, it is likely that England and the Calvinist canton of Geneva had the most effective Protestant censorship in the sixteenth century.

Both Catholic and Protestant churches and states regulated what was preached in the pulpit and taught in universities. Prepublication censors sometimes dictated that scholars accept unwelcome changes in their works. Authors exercised some degree of self-censorship. A few scholars in both Catholic and Protestant worlds lost university positions, or suffered worse, because of their religious views. Political censorship also intensified in the late sixteenth century as governments attempted to stem a flood of vitriolic anonymous political pamphlets criticizing rulers and supporting rebellion, especially in France.

STATE CENSORSHIP

Although censorship began as a result of the religious division of Europe, civil governments quickly took complete control of censorship of books and theater. France is a good example. Beginning in the 1530s the monarchy issued a series of decrees that sought to ban Protestant literature. By the early seventeenth century a multiplicity of censors existed. Hence, in 1672 the monarchy established a college of censors, a group of scholars appointed to read manuscripts intended for publication and to grant the publisher the right to print the book, called a *privilège*. By the eighteenth century the

number of French censors ranged from 150 to 200. The college exercised prepublication censorship and awarded exclusive publication rights to one publisher, thus protecting him from piracy by others.

English censorship of printed works began when Henry VIII (ruled 1509–1547) sought to protect the national church from other doctrines and his monarchy from attacks. Succeeding monarchs used censorship to enforce different religious establishments. Edward VI (ruled 1547–1553) allowed Protestant works, while Mary Tudor (ruled 1553–1558) banned them. Elizabeth I (ruled 1558–1603) passed numerous laws censoring the press and the theater to ensure that they respected her version of the English Church, did not publish Catholic views, and did not criticize the monarchy. In 1557 the crown created the Stationers' Company to issue licenses to print. The requirement that every book had to be licensed helped control the press. English monarchs continued a policy of state censorship over the next two centuries, although the purpose of censorship increasingly became that of shielding the monarchy from any criticism. Nevertheless, the shifting policies of the crown toward the national church, Puritanism, and Catholicism produced considerable variation from regime to regime in the seventeenth century, resulting in less effective censorship. Publishers of obscene, seditious, and blasphemous matter simply published without permission. So in 1695 England and Wales ended prepublication censorship of written materials. The practice of locating and destroying books and prosecuting publishers had always been difficult, and that also waned, but censorship of the stage remained.

Every other large and small political unit had similar censorship systems, sometimes including representatives of the local church. But the local nature of censorship, limited to the boundaries of the state or city, was its weakness. Authors and printers wishing to publish political or religious criticism only needed to go to the next state to publish their works. Then the international commercial network of the book trade, including book fairs at Frankfurt and elsewhere, distributed the books throughout Europe. Finally, newspapers in the late seventeenth century created a new publication that was difficult to censor. Because newspapers were local and ephemeral, any censorship had to be quick and local. The censorship machinery of the six-

teenth century was organized to censor learned works of religion, philosophy, and politics and could not adapt easily to newspapers, plus broadsides and other ephemeral matter, which were printed overnight on cheap paper, often without the names of author and printer, and were quickly distributed.

THE ENLIGHTENMENT

The Enlightenment of the eighteenth century, especially in the years from 1750 to 1789, significantly weakened but did not eliminate censorship. Many Enlightenment philosophes deplored it, especially religious censorship, partly because they wrote many antireligious works. Rulers such as Frederick the Great of Prussia (ruled 1740–1786), Empress Maria Theresa (ruled 1740–1780) and Joseph II (Holy Roman emperor, 1765–1790; king of Austria, 1780–1790), Empress Catherine II of Russia (ruled 1762–1796), and King Charles III of Spain (ruled 1759–1788), who were influenced by the ideas of the Enlightenment, permitted more religious and literary freedom of expression. However, when writers began to publish works criticizing absolutist government and demanding expanded political rights for citizens, the rulers again tightened censorship. But they did not, and could not, return censorship to its earlier state.

In France, Enlightenment pressures seriously weakened the *privilège* system, as censors permitted the publication of ideas that had previously been banned. Numerous publishers in smaller states just beyond the borders of France published many works without *privilèges*, then sent them into France. The loosening of censorship permitted an avalanche of political pamphlets critical of the monarchy and the church, which helped bring on the French Revolution.

See also Enlightenment; Index of Prohibited Books; Journalism, Newspapers, and Newssheets; Printing and Publishing; Reformation, Protestant.

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CENSUS. The word *census* is a Latin term, and efforts during the early modern period to conduct population surveys were historically descended from the Roman census process, which was based on sworn declarations of the age, number of family members, and property of individual households. Early modern political writers were impressed by the Roman state's ability to enumerate and assess its subject population. Because the equation of a commonwealth's population with its strength had by the later sixteenth century become a commonplace, enthusiastic recommendations of the census were made by a host of thinkers, including Jean Bodin (1576), Giovanni Botero (1588), Justus Lipsius (1589), and other political thinkers. Yet, if the historical memory of the Roman census had survived the collapse of the Roman Empire, the administrative ability to actually conduct one did not. As a result, full territorial enumerations were only sporadically carried out in most of Europe until the end of the eighteenth century.

The most significant exception to this generalization was Italy itself, where true censuses (as opposed to household listings and tax surveys) were already being carried out by the end of the Middle Ages. The Italian city-states were especially (and unsurprisingly) advanced in this regard, and censuses had already been carried out in Florence (1380), Treviso (1384), Padua (1411), Verona (1473), Reggio (1473), Palermo (1479), Brescia (1493),

Parma (1508), Venice (1509), and Rome (1526). Enumerations were also conducted in Italian territorial principalities, including the duchies of Ferrara (1431) and Mantua (1451), and in Sicily (1501). The mature administration of these censuses reflects the much greater sophistication of public administration in Italy than elsewhere in Europe, and early modern Italian censuses were much more than simple head counts. The Sicilian censuses, of which there were fourteen between 1501 and 1747, listed every individual by name and relationship to the head of the household, and separated out those males of arms-bearing age. By the sixteenth century, Italian censuses often recorded detailed information on the age structure of the population, and the exact age of every inhabitant was recorded at Pozzuoli (1489), Sorrento (1561), and Carpi (1591). By comparison, the English and American censuses did not list every individual by name until 1841 and 1850, respectively. It is also worth noting that the registration of births began in Siena in 1381, in Florence in 1450, and in Bologna in 1459, whereas parish registers do not survive before the mid- to late-sixteenth century in Protestant Europe, and before the seventeenth century in most of Catholic northern Europe.

Italian precocity did not mean, however, that the rest of Europe had ceased to carry out population surveys altogether, and the early modern period generated a mass of such material. Thus, population surveys begin to appear on monastic estates in France and Germany as early as the ninth century, and by the later Middle Ages full population counts were taken in several German cities, for example in Nuremberg (1449), Nördlingen (1459), and Strasbourg (1473), although these were not followed up on a regular basis.

Especially at the level of the local territory or community, a huge variety of other surveys were conducted with ever greater frequency during the early modern period. Muster rolls listing all men eligible for military service were drawn up on an irregular basis in various European communities. There was also a variety of specialized censuses, such as the Norwich Census of the Poor (1570) and the Castilian educational census of 1764, which was designed to determine the number of students who were attending various education institutions. In the Holy Roman Empire a number of territorial

authorities (for example, the Bishop of Speyer in 1530, and the monastery of Ottobeuren in 1548, 1556, 1564, and 1586) compiled *Leibeigenbücher*, 'serf registers', which recorded the free (or servile) status of every man, woman, and child in the territory. During the sixteenth century both Catholic and Protestant episcopal authorities began conducting parish-by-parish counts of the number of communicants (all persons over twelve to fourteen years of age), and these surveys became ever more detailed and systematic during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Still more detailed was the *liber status animarum*, or listing of each parish resident, which the papacy, in 1614, ordered every parish priest to maintain. These listings were less commonly compiled than the more familiar baptismal, marriage, and burial registers, but many seventeenth- and eighteenth-century parish listings have survived from Catholic Europe, and in a few areas (Malta after 1687, for example) complete listings have survived for every single parish. Similar records were maintained in many Protestant areas. In England, listings have survived from scattered locations from the later sixteenth century, although it is a rare parish where more than one such survey has survived. More systematic efforts were undertaken on the Continent, especially in Sweden, where parish registration had begun in 1686. In 1749, the Lutheran parish clergy in Sweden and Finland (then a Swedish possession) were further required to maintain a continuously updated list of parish residents and submit quinquennial tabulations to the *Tabellverket* (Tabulation Office) of population numbers broken down by sex, age, marital status, occupation, and social status, in addition to annual statistics of births, marriages, deaths, and (in the nineteenth century) migration.

By far the most common type of early modern enumeration, however, was a survey of hearths or heads of households, made almost always for fiscal reasons. As with the census itself, the earliest such territorial hearth tax surveys were carried out in Italy, as at Pavia (1250), Pistoia (1255), Perugia (1278), Padua (c. 1281), Reggio Emilia (1315), Florence (1351), Sicily (1374), and Venice (1379). The Florentine *catasto* (tax survey) of 1427 went so far as to record not only the name, age, marital status, and profession of the household head, but

also the number of other individuals in the family, the type of residence (owned or rented), the number and value of livestock, the value of private and public investments, and the capitalized value of real property.

Beyond Italy, England stands out as a kingdom of very early tax surveys. Because of its unusually centralized monarchy, national tax surveys began in England as early as 1086 (William I's famous Domesday Book), and were repeated with varying degrees of completeness in 1279–1280 (the Hundred Rolls), 1377 (Edward III's Poll Tax), 1524–1525 (Henry VIII's Lay Subsidy), and 1662–1674 (Charles II's Hearth Taxes). Elsewhere in Europe full territorial tax surveys were conducted in France (1328), the German lands of the Holy Roman Empire (1495), Portugal (1527), Bohemia (1653–1655), Moravia (1655–1657), Ireland (1659), and Austria (1749–1750). Before the eighteenth century these large-scale surveys were only infrequently attempted; thus in Portugal there was only a single national survey between 1527 and 1736, and this one (in 1636) was seriously inaccurate. Outside of Italy, perhaps the most regular set of national household surveys were conducted in Castile between 1528 and 1536, 1541, 1552, 1561, 1571, 1587, 1591, and 1596, and were supplemented by the so-called *relaciones topográficas* of 1575–1578, a set of questions about local customs, economic conditions, and institutional characteristics administered in each locality in the kingdom. Even then, the frequency of survey fell off in the following century.

Local hearth and household tax surveys were much more common than their national counterparts and grew in frequency over the course of the early modern period. Nevertheless, there were significant regional differences in detail. Thus, in northern France, local *taille* (direct property tax) rolls recorded little more than the payment made by each household (and even they are rare before 1650). By contrast, German tax surveys often itemized and valued each item of a household's property, and the level of its debts, as early as the beginning of the seventeenth century.

The close connection between census taking and taxation was, of course, recognized both by administrators and those they surveyed, and fears of excessive taxation would move the British Parlia-

ment to reject a census bill as late as 1753. Nevertheless, by the end of the eighteenth century the census was recognized as an essential tool of government, and regular population surveys were initiated (or at least attempted) in Norway (1769), France (1774, 1790), Denmark (1787), Belgium (1797), England (1801), Bavaria (1818), Saxony (1834), and Austria (1850).

See also Property; State and Bureaucracy; Taxation.

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CENTRAL EUROPE, ART IN. The fluctuating nature of the cultural and political geography of Europe, together with the actual extent of the physical surface of the continent from the Urals to the Atlantic, has meant that the notion of a European center has been diversely interpreted. In physical terms, since the continent is conventionally regarded as stretching from 10° west to 60° east longitude and 70° to 35° north latitude, its center is somewhere near the Polish city of Lublin. The site of the conception of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in 1569—the political alliance largely responsible for the political face of central European culture during the early modern era—the Lublin region ushered in the new age with the building of a model town according to an “ideal” plan by Chancellor Jan Zamoyski. At the center of major medieval north-south and east-west trading routes, this was Zamosc, designed by Bernardo Morando of Padua (late 1570s; built 1579–1640s). Within an octagon of walls and moats, Morando's interpretation of the Renaissance architectural theories of Serlio and Vignola saw the urban space divided into

regularized commercial and residential quarters whose axes were marked by the Zamoyski palace, collegiate church, academy, synagogue, town hall, and two marketplaces. The universalist vision of geometric harmony, which coincided with Zamoyski's inception of the Polish Republic of Nobles, also encompassed the building of Armenian, Jesuit, Greek, and Russian Orthodox churches.

Despite its location and integrative modern concept, Zamosc lies on the northeastern side of the hub of central European visual culture in the early modern period. This core is conventionally considered to comprise the territories around Moravia, the centers for developments in the visual arts being the court metropolises of Prague in the west, Vienna and Pressburg (Bratislava) in the south, and Cracow in the east. Beyond this ring, however, were other major centers of diverse size and artistic direction. Their spread ranged at least from Gdańsk, Königsberg (Kaliningrad), and Vilnius in the Baltic north, through a central belt that stretched from Augsburg and Dresden in the west to Buda and Lwów (Lviv) in the east and included Breslau (Wrocław) and Warsaw, to Agram (Zagreb), Laibach (Ljubljana), Venice, Dar al-Djihad (Belgrade), Sarajevo, and Ragusa (Dubrovnik) in the Adriatic south. Despite the prominence of these cities in the production of visual art during the early modern period, due to the terrain and feudal organization of society across the entire region, much art was produced outside of the major cities in smaller provincial centers and country estates.

In 1500 the cultural map of the area definable as central Europe was divided between three main powers: the Habsburgs, the Ottomans, and the Jagiellonians. Governance from Istanbul covered the provinces of Rumeli (the "Roman" Balkans, including Eflak [Wallachia] and Bosnia), and Macaristan and Bugdan (Hungary and Moldova). The Habsburg dominions included Austria, Styria, and considerable German territories. Jagiellonian power extended from Cracow, west into Bohemia, and east through the Kingdom of Poland to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Other powers were Venice, which controlled much of the Dalmatian coast, and the Germanic states, notably Saxony and Brandenburg.

By 1800 the Polish territories had switched from temporary control by the Swedish Vasa and were dominated by Russia, Prussia, and Austria. Hungary, Transylvania, and the Banat, following many years of Turkish rule, became Austrian. The political transitions of the turbulent period, often extremely bloody, were counterparts to religious and social upheaval. The intricate involvement of central Europe in the Protestant Reformation, Catholic Counter-Reformation, Catholic-Orthodox rivalry, Judaic discrimination and Islamicization, and the inherent strength of pagan traditions, meant that all these left indelible marks on the visual arts of the period.

Other principal influences on the development and appearance of the arts included the introduction of new or adapted technologies such as printing and faience; the establishment of major collections, such as the Czartoryski in Poland; and the development of secular education, literature, music, and theater. A further influence was the presence of multiple ethnic groups, many widely dispersed and nonindigenous yet with their own clearly marked traditions and identities, among them Jews, Armenians, and Germans.

THE VISUAL ARTS UNDER THE OTTOMANS

The appearance of Ottoman art in central Europe is dominated by architecture and the applied arts. In architecture, mosques (*djami*, *cami*), baths (*hamam* and *ilidje*), inns (caravansary and *han*), charitable foundations (*küllüye*), schools (*medrese*), mausolea (*türbe*), markets (*bedesten*), bridges, tents, and manors (*kule*) were the principal buildings, while the principal applied arts were textiles (kilim, kaftan, *ferace*), leatherwork, ceramics, and metalware. Garden and fountain art also was cultivated, as in Sarajevo on the right bank of the Miljacka River and the Feredjusha fountain (destroyed). The most luxurious townhouses (*konak*) were built for high officials. Their walls were often adorned with floral motifs and painted or tiled Arabic inscriptions whose exquisite calligraphic qualities made them one of the highest forms of visual art. Serbian examples survive in Djakovica, Vranje, Pristina, and Pec.

In Eflak the most remarkable bridge was constructed over the Neretva River at Mostar (1566, Mimar Hayreddin, destroyed 1993), during the reign of Suleiman I. Its emblematic narrow, pointed

vault linked the city's Moslem, Croatian, and Serbian quarters. The pile bridge over the Drava River near Osijek (1526) was designed by Suleiman's chief architect, Mimar Sinan, who also transformed Esztergom Cathedral into a mosque, adding a minaret.

The Svrzo House (sixteenth century) in Sarajevo, replete with its stalactite-vaulted entrance, is a fine example of Ottoman-style residential building (*kuca*). The essential rule of the Ottoman dwelling was that it not convey a sense of wealth or magnificence, either externally or internally. Furniture was sparse and included neither tables nor chairs; the only ornamentation was a few inscriptions (*yafte*) on the walls; household utensils were minimal. Post-and-pane construction was characteristic, with space organized according to gender divisions.

Turkish baths included the Ferizbei (Sarajevo, 1509), Kaplu (Király) and Veli bei (Császár) (both Buda, 1560s–1570s). The Buda thermal baths were built (and later beautified) by Pasha Mustafa Sokoly. Their impressive octagonal bathing rooms (*harara*) are surmounted by a dome supported by squat pillars. One of the finest caravansaries in central Europe was the Kursumli Han in Skopje, Macedonia, probably built by Ragusa merchants in the sixteenth century.

Mosques included the Gazi Husrev-begova (Sarajevo, 1530–1540), Gazi Kassim (Pécs, 1550s–1560s), Tombul (Shumla or Shumen, 1744), Ferhad Pasha (Banja Luka, 1576–1579, destroyed 1993), Aladza (Foca, 1550–1588, destroyed early 1990s), Yakovali Hassan (Pécs, sixteenth century), and Sinan Pasha (Prizren, 1615). According to the seventeenth-century Turkish traveller Evliya Çelebi, the beauty of the latter was unparalleled: “such impressiveness has not been achieved by any previous architect on the planet Earth.” The Gazi Husrev-begova, named after its founder, the enlightened and philanthropic governor of Bosnia, has a typical flattened dome on an octagonal drum surrounded by smaller half-domes. The large Ferhad mosque included in its inner court a *shadirvan* (fountain) surrounded by *türbe* of the founder and followers. A popular plan for the mosques, as witnessed, for example, in the Gazi Kassim at Pécs, was square with a central saucer dome on pendentives, conjoined with three lower smaller domes and minaret

that formed an antechamber. The northernmost Ottoman mosque was at Eger, Hungary (minaret extant, sixteenth century). The mid-eighteenth-century Tombul mosque complex built by Pasha Halil Sherif in Shumla is, as evinced through the internal decoration of its walls with polychromatic floral and geometric motifs and Islamic inscriptions, a fine example of a late flourishing in central Europe of Istanbul's “tulip” style.

Lodges (*tekke*) for the Sufi dervish orders could also be significant architectural monuments, such as that of Sersem Ali Baba at Tetova (Kalkandelen, Macedonia, eighteenth century), the Dollma *tekke* at Krujë, Albania, and the Sinan Pasha *tekke* in Sarajevo (1640). A fine example of a domed *medrese* with centralized arcaded courtyard and fountain is the Gazi Husrev-begova Kursunlu *medrese* in Sarajevo (1557). Shortly before the building of the *medrese*, Sarajevo gained one of Central Europe's best examples of a covered bazaar, the hexa-domed Brusa *bezistan* (1557). The Turks also built clock towers, including the Sahat-kula (seventeenth century) in Sarajevo.

Ottoman influence is also evident in the art of the nations connected with the Ottoman territories. Thus, from the seventeenth century colored floral and geometricized Turkish textile design, as well as Turkish fabrics, were incorporated into Polish liturgical vestments and carpets. Embroidered Turkish silk caparisons (*shabrack*) were frequently adopted by the Poles and sometimes converted into altar frontals. Other embroidered work of the Turks was remade into chasubles. Similar transferences were found in Polish and Transylvanian leatherwork (for example, embossed saddles and flasks). Furthermore, the east Serbian town of Pirot became renowned for its kilim production. Following capture as booty in the seventeenth century, the red silk Turkish tent, decorated with gold, silver, green, and light red floral arabesques, became a feature in Polish art, not least in its use during important ceremonial state occasions, official meetings, and garden parties. One of the most important manufactories for Turkish-style canvas tents and woolen carpets was the Konicpolskis at Brody. Fine ceramicware, including faience jugs, cups, and plates was imported from the Turkish Iznik and Kütahya workshops. This influenced the designs of Anabaptist Habaner majolica produced in Slovakian lands in

the late seventeenth century, with its range of stylized floral and architectural motifs, use of cobalt blue, and particular preference for the tulip.

In addition, Ottoman rule allowed for a certain multiculturalism. A synagogue and Orthodox cathedral (both extant) were built in Sarajevo in the sixteenth century. In Karadag (Montenegro) the Orthodox monastery of Moraca became a center for icon painting in the seventeenth century. Georgije Mitrofanović, a monk from Hilandar Monastery on Mount Athos who worked in a post-Byzantine style, led this movement. Further, baroque flourishes are to be seen in the eighteenth-century art of a group of painters from Kotor on the Adriatic coast, notably that of the church decorator Tripo Kokolja and the portrait painter Antun Mazarović. Following the restoration of the Serbian patriarchate at Peć in 1557, post-Byzantine fresco and icon painting revived, the greatest painters being Longin (Decani, Lomnica, and Piva monasteries, late sixteenth century) and Djordje Mitrofanovic (Moraca monastery, 1616–1617).

THE VISUAL ARTS UNDER THE JAGIELLONIANS AND THEIR SUCCESSORS: SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES

The Jagiellonian dynasty, descendants of the Lithuanian grand duke Jogaila (Władysław) and Jadwiga of Anjou, ruled the vast central European Polish and Lithuanian territories from 1386 through 1572 and were monarchs of Hungary and Bohemia from the late fifteenth century to 1526. Through marriage they were also connected to the subsequent rulers of Poland, the Transylvanian Stephen Báthory, and the Swedish Vasa house. Under their most prominent sixteenth-century kings, Sigismund I and Sigismund II Augustus (ruled 1506–1548 and 1548–1572, respectively) and Queen Anna (1575–1586), the arts flourished, and nowhere more so than in the heart of their kingdom, Wawel Castle in Cracow. Its rebuilding by the Florentine architect known as Francesco Fiorentino meant the creation of an inner arcaded courtyard (1507–1536) with steeply pitched “northern” tiled roof, two levels of round arches, and a high loggia marked by doubled classical columns. In the early 1530s an original form of decoration was applied to the coffered ceiling of the Ambassadors’ Hall, where 194 grotesquely expressive wooden heads, carved by the team of Sebastian Tauerbach of Breslau, represented the mix of Polish

society. The humanist range of the heads coincided with that revealed in the vision of Cracowian life presented in the illuminations of Balthazar Behem’s *Codex* (1505).

Nobles’ castles that followed the Jagiellonian Italianate style included the Piast family stronghold at Brieg (Brzeg, Silesia, c. 1550), the Leszczyński’s Baranów Sandomierski (Santi Gucci, 1591–1606), and the Krasicki’s Krasieczyn (Galeazzo Appiano, 1597–1630). Another arcaded structure (also castellated) is the town hall in Poznań (Giovanni Battista Quadro, 1550–1560), the scale and decoration of which emphasized the rapid rise of the city’s civic status and values.

Italian Renaissance convention was further introduced in the Sigismund Chapel (Kaplica Zygmuntońska, 1517–1533) of Wawel Cathedral by another Florentine, Bartolommeo Berrecci. This has a centralized plan with square base, octagonal drum, and dome. The interior glorification of the monarch and the Virgin Mary through a rich interplay of numerous symbols of harmonic authority is set by walls divided according to the principle of the Roman triumphal arch. All three monarchs are entombed here, their sarcophagi in Esztergom red marble (the latter two by Santi Gucci) featuring recumbent chivalric figures whose peaceful vitality creates a counterpoint to the grotesque wall ornamentation. The pentaptych, or five-panel altarpiece, was executed by Nuremberg artists (1531–1538). A miniature visual counterpart to the chapel was provided by Stanisław Samostrzelnik, illuminator of prayer books of Sigismund I and his wife Queen Bona Sforza (for example, the latter’s *Book of Hours*, 1528, Bodleian Library, Oxford). Simultaneously, Cracowian and other anonymous Polish religious painters began to paint in the style of Cranach, who was active in neighboring Saxony from 1505, after which he also worked for the Polish court.

The fashion for the Renaissance mausoleum grew, culminating in the Boim Chapel, Lwów (1609–1615, Andreas Bemer). Likewise, sepulchral sculpture in similar Renaissance style was to be created by Giovanni Maria Mosca (Il Padovano), as witnessed in the Tarnów Cathedral sarcophagi for the Tarnowski hetmans, and by Jan Michałowicz (for example, Bishop Padniewski’s tomb, Wawel Cathedral, c. 1575). Subsequently, a new dynamic

monumentalism was introduced and became common for Polish ecclesiastical architecture (such as SS. Peter and Paul, Cracow, 1596–1635, Giovanni Trevano).

A distinctive feature of the “Polish Renaissance” was the “Polish attic,” a rhythmical decorative crown that hid the roof and gave a rich accent to the upper levels of a variety of examples of urban architecture: the Cracow Cloth Hall (1557–1558), the town houses of Zamosc and Kazimierz Dolny (early seventeenth century), and Gdańsk Upper (Wyzynna) Gate (1586–1589), arsenal (1602–1605) and town hall (1587–1608). The latter acquired Netherlandish qualities as a result of the arrival of architects and decorators such as Anthonis van Opbergen and Willem, Abraham, and Isaak van den Blocke from the strife-torn Low Countries. While a sublimely tapering Bruges-style clock tower capped the town hall, its internal decoration was also highly ornate, the whole being conceived as part of a lavish civic and Calvinist iconographic program. At the same time in Lwów a new sophisticated blend of Byzantine and Renaissance language was attained in the Orthodox Wallachian Church of the Assumption (1591–1629, Paolo Dominici) and its Korniakta Tower (1572–1578, Pietro di Barbona), built for the Stauropegia Brotherhood.

The new regard for the individual and the societal witnessed in the Wawel and Zamosc was furthered by the development of portrait painting from the mid-sixteenth century. This included the formal, royal, and noble portraits attributed to the Silesian Marcin Kober, who created authoritative character images with figures set against neutral backgrounds, such as *King Stefan Batory* (1583, Wawel Collection, Cracow). The success of these led to his appointment in Prague as painter to Rudolf II. With the decentralization of culture ushered in by Lublin, after the turn of the seventeenth century the vogue for palaces with portrait galleries dedicated to noble family lineage became widespread. French chateau inspiration is revealed in the hetman’s castle at Podhorce, near Brody (1635–1640, Andrea dell’Agua, Guillaume de Beauplan), where Count Stanislaw Koniecpolski also established a major weaving manufactory, producing textiles in adapted Flemish and oriental styles.

Particularly fashionable among the Radziwills, Czartoryskis, Potockis, Lubomirskis, and their peers was an eastward-looking trend known as “Sarmatism.” In this the gentry articulated their deemed superiority by regarding themselves as the descendants of the ancient, conquering Sarmatians. They did so by orientalizing their costume and applied arts, from the addition of fur-lined *kontusz* overcoats with sashes to armor such as the *karabela* saber, and the luxurious interior decoration of their new houses. The *ktitor* (noble patron) portrait became especially popular. The apogee of the style was reached in elected King Jan III Sobieski’s Sarmatist court taste, as witnessed in its blending with the baroque at his main residence, Wilanow Palace, Warsaw (Augustine Locci, 1677–1696). The prime early exponent of the Sarmatist fashion for Sobieski’s predecessors, the Vasas, was Tommaso Dolabella, whose painting (portraits, historical, and religious cycles) had simultaneously introduced Italian baroque conventions. His Gdańsk contemporary Daniel Schultz revealed the osmotic relationship of the trends by painting a *Family Portrait* (1664, Hermitage, St. Petersburg) in the style of Rembrandt. In the eighteenth century Dolabella’s place was taken by the versatile Szymon Czechowicz.

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The election of the Saxon Wettin dukes, Augustus II the Strong (ruled 1697–1733) and his son Augustus III (ruled 1733–1763), to the Polish throne essentially meant rule from Dresden and a period of cultural provincialization for the Polish lands. However, some outstanding monuments and artists did appear, particularly those connected with the church. The “Saxon era” saw the building of St. George’s Cathedral as the seat of the Greek Catholic Uniate metropolis in Lwów (Bernard Meretini, 1744–1761), with a rococo plasticity that coincided with the dynamic, expressive sculptural work of Johann Georg Pinsel, one of its decorators. Prominent architects included the Fontanas, Jakub, Józef, and Pawel, who preferred twin-towered western facades and octagonal naves for their numerous churches, and built the Radzyn Podlaski house of the Potocki family in the French rococo style (1750–1758). Similar aristocratic taste was expressed in the ornate rebuilding and decoration of Choroszcz, the Bialystok palace of the Branickis by

the Saxon Sigismund Deybel (1728–1752). The painter best identified with the period was Rome-trained Tadeusz Kuntze, who excelled in a theatrical frivolity and sensuality.

In the same period the arts in Dresden flourished. The Wettin court, which had already seen the creation of the Palais im Grossen Garten (1679–1683, Johann Georg Starcke) in a hybrid Roman-Louis XIV style, became a center of festivities. Orchestrated by the elector-kings, a key venue for these was the extravagant baroque Zwinger palace (from 1709, Matthaüs Pöppelmann; sculpture by Balthasar Permoser). The monumental Roman Catholic Hofkirche (1737–1755, Gaetano Chiaveri) and Protestant Frauenkirche (1726–1743, Georg Bähr, destroyed), with their neo-Roman and neo-Greek plans, added an alternative vocabulary to the architectural and cultural dialogue. It was here that the antique sensibilities of the aesthete Johann Joachim Winckelmann and painter Anton Raphael Mengs were nurtured. Further, Wettin oriental taste brought about the manufacture of porcelain at Meissen from 1710. This coincided with a new era of art collecting that saw the creation of Augustus's Green Vaults decorative arts selection and the Stallhof gallery of Old Masters (1720s).

The reign of Poland's last king, Stanisław II Augustus Poniatowski (ruled 1764–1795), saw the introduction of neoclassicism in the visual arts, exemplified in architecture and gardening by the royal Lazienki palace and park complex in Warsaw (1775–1792, Domenico Merlini, Jan Christian Kamsetzer), and, on the magnates' estates, at the Potocki's Palladianist Tulczyn (1775–1785, Joseph Lacroix) and Czartoryski's Pulawy (1780s, Christian Piotr Aigner). It was to the latter that Jean-Pierre Norblin, the versatile and topical founder of the Polish national school of painting, emigrated from France. Norblin was also to work for Princess Helena Radziwill in the decoration of her ideal rustic paradise Arkadia (by Lowicz), where Simon Gottlieb Zug introduced a new romantic ambience by blending the neoclassical and neo-Gothic in the landscape architecture (1780–1798). Prior to Norblin, Marcello Bacciarelli, head of Stanisław's art studio in Warsaw Castle, brought new intimacy and elegance to Polish painting, while Bernardo Bellotto (Canaletto) introduced the city *vedute* during his extended stay.

THE VISUAL ARTS UNDER THE HABSBURGS: SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES

The visual arts in the Habsburg's central European lands developed most significantly after the accession of Ferdinand I, through his Jagiellonian marriage, to the Bohemian and Hungarian thrones in 1526. While small east Bohemian towns such as Pardubice, Nové Mesto nad Metuji, and Telc were rebuilt with regularized Renaissance plans and arcaded squares, Ferdinand's residence at Prague Castle (Hradcany) also acquired a new appearance. First the colonnaded Belvedere Palace (1534–1563, Paolo della Stella, Bonifaz Wohlmut) was created as a modern Italianate garden villa with a "singing" fountain and a hundred sandstone reliefs aggrandizing the Habsburgs. Then other structures by Wohlmut, such as the organ loft in St. Veit's Cathedral (1556–1561) and Ball Court (1567–1569) showed similar awareness of new Italian architectural theory.

Simultaneously, Bohemian and Moravian castles acquired regular plans, arcaded courtyards with superpositioned orders and lavish French Renaissance-style interior decoration, as at Moravsky Krumlov (1557–1562, Leone Garove da Bissone) and Bucovice (c. 1570–1580s), residences of the lord high marshal and steward of the kingdom, respectively. Assembly buildings and town halls followed suit, as at Graz, Brunn (Brno), and Pressburg. Sgraffito and gables of exaggerated forms characterized the exteriors of many of the new buildings across the region. Designer of court festivities and ceilings for Maximilian II and Rudolf II was Giuseppe Arcimboldo (c. 1530–1593), widely known for his painting of allegories in the form of composite heads crafted from animals and still-life objects.

With the establishment of Prague as the imperial capital by Rudolf II (ruled 1576–1612) came a dynamic new era for the visual arts. Chief city planner and architect was Giovanni Maria Filippi, the probable designer of the city's first baroque church, the Lutheran Church of the Holy Trinity (1609–1613). Artists of Netherlandish and German origins and Venetian or Tuscan training were attracted to the city, the Prague court circle that they formed eloquently working in a wide variety of media, genres, and styles. Alongside a new propensity for classical and biblical allegory, genres extended to

Habsburg-Ottoman battle paintings, the erotic, low-life, still-life, and landscape. Painters included Bartholomäus Spranger, Hans von Aachen, Joseph Heintz, and Roelandt Savery. Sculptors included Adriaen de Vries, who went on, in the post-1620 Counter-Reformation period, to decorate Count Albrecht Wallenstein's monumental new palace (1621–1623, Andrea Spezza). Rudolf also built up one of central Europe's most important art collections, the Prague *Kunstammer*.

The period after the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648), and particularly the reign of Leopold I (ruled 1655–1705), is most clearly identified with the central European early baroque. Palace architecture, in the wake of the Leopoldine Tract (1660–1666 and, later, Filiberto Lucchese) in the Viennese imperial residence, the Hofburg, became increasingly grandiose. The rise of the Jesuits had led during the second quarter of the century to the construction of new, frequently large-scale, Italianate twin-towered churches and colleges (as Palatine count Miklós Esterházy's Church of St. John, Tyrnau [Trnava], Upper Hungary, 1629–1637, Pietro Spezza; and the Clementium, Prague, 1644–1658, Carlo Lugaro), and militant Catholic *Mariensäule*, 'Mary columns', erected in thanksgiving to the Virgin Mary for deliverance from the threat of the Protestant Swedish forces (for example, 1646, Vienna). The latter anticipated the raising of a series of prominent Habsburg *Pestsäule*, 'plague columns', across the territories, such as the *Dreifaltigkeitssäule*, 'Trinity Column', in Vienna (1679–1694, Matthias Rauchmiller, Paul Strudel, Lodovico Ottavio Burnacini), erected after the 1683 defeat of the Turks at Vienna. The return to Bohemia from Italian exile of Karel Skreta, a painter capable of expressing intense, lyrical feeling in both portraits and votive images, helped lay the foundations of the Bohemian school of painting. His sensitive, Netherlands-trained, religious counterpart was Michael Willmann, an East Prussian who in 1660 established a highly influential painting workshop at the Cistercian monastery of Leubus, Silesia.

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The Habsburg imperial style (*Reichsstil*) was established around the turn of the eighteenth century, following the expulsion of the Turks from the northwestern central European territories. It coin-

cided with the establishment of the region's first art academy, initially as the Kaiserliche Akademie (1692–1714) in the house of the court painter Peter Strudel, and then, in 1725, as the Akademie der Maler, Bildhauer, und Baukünstler, under the Flemish portrait painter Jacob van Schuppen. The latter organized it according to the model of the Parisian Académie Royale. Early students included the architect Franz Hillebrandt, who subsequently became chief architect of the Hungarian Treasury, and the portrait painter Daniel Schmidely. Members included the fresco painters Paul Troger, his pupil Franz Anton Maulbertsch, and Michael Angelo Unterberger, all of whom emerged as influential teachers and the baroque image makers of "holy Austria."

The imperial style's leading architectural exponent was Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach, who initially participated in the creation of the Trinity Column and designed triumphal arches for Vienna celebrating victories over the Turks and the French and then built the Schönbrunn palace (1696–1711). During the reign of Charles VI, Fischer and his son also built the Viennese Hofbibliothek (Imperial Library, 1722–1735), the interior of which was painted by Daniel Gran according to the Habsburg programmatic conception of the triumph of enlightened civilization. In addition, Fischer designed the imperial Karlskirche (Charles Church, 1716–1737) in a composite style as a Christian, pagan, and masonic embodiment of universal harmony, hence its ovoid space, centralized plan, Roman and Hellenistic idioms, fresco painting by Johann Michael Rottmayr, and flanking by minaret-*evocative* victory columns. Concurrently, the Belvedere Palace (1714–1716 and 1721–1723, Vienna, Johann Lucas von Hildebrandt) was built for Prince Eugene of Savoy as a monumental, glorifying emblem of his successes against the Turks, replete with trophies and a Neopolitan-style ceiling painting of his apotheosis by Martino Altomonte.

The Austrian, Bohemian, and Hungarian realms saw the raising of numerous abbeys, churches, palaces, and new institutions with similar signification and articulation during the early eighteenth century. Primary examples included Melk Abbey (1702–1714, Jakob Prandtauer); the Ursuline Church of the Holy Trinity in Laibach (Ljubljana, 1718–1726, Carlo Martinuzzi); the Je-

suit Church of St. Ignatius in Ragusa (Dubrovnik, 1699–1725, Andrea Pozzo); and the Esterházy commissions in Hungary-Croatia, for example, the Franciscan Church (Frauenkirche, 1695–1702, Francesco Martinelli) and Lanschütz Palace (Cseklész, Bernolákovo, 1714–1733, Anton Erhard Martinelli).

Lanschütz, the residence of the Hungarian chancellor Ferenc Esterházy, was redesigned in the 1770s to include oriental features such as a Japanese pagoda and Chinese teahouse. The changes coincided with the reign of Maria Theresa (ruled 1740–1780), when the nearby city of Pressburg (Pozsony, Bratislava) became the Hungarian capital and, as such, site and disseminator of a late baroque boom. This was led by the projects of Hillebrandt, which included the reconstruction or completion of royal and noble palaces in Pozsony and Buda, and which was informed by the infusion of the baroque with a restrained neoclassical spirit as witnessed in the Roman Catholic Cathedral and Episcopal Palace at Grosswardein (Nagyvárad, Oradea) in the Banat; and the university at Tyrnau. Home of the Austrian vice-regents, Marie-Christine and Albert, son of Augustus III Wettin, Pozsony was also the site of the original Albertina art collection. The Primate's palace (1777–1781), built by Melchior Manyhért Hefele, professor of architecture at the Vienna Academy, for Archbishop Count József Batthyány, epitomized the classicizing tendencies of the new era. Adorned with a tetrastyle portico and pedimented cornice featuring an array of allegorical figures by the most expressive sculptor of the age, Franz Xaver Messerschmidt, the palace was complemented by the oval space of the St. Ladislaus chapel, with its painted ceiling dedicated to the glory and sanctification of the holy, chivalric Magyar king who had repelled the oriental Cumans in the eleventh century. It was the work of Maulbertsch, the "Austrian Tiepolo," the outstanding product of the Vienna Academy and central Europe's most sublime monumental painter in the late eighteenth century.

The rococo tendencies and emotional tension evinced by much of Maulbertsch's work brought him into conflict with the Vienna Academy, which, during the centralizing reign of Joseph II and thereafter, promulgated a more severe neoclassicism, as advocated by the director, Friedrich Heinrich Füger, a follower of Winckelmann and Mengs.

See also **Architecture**; **Baroque**; **Cracow**; **Dresden**; **Gdańsk**; **Habsburg Territories**; **Jagiellon Dynasty (Poland-Lithuania)**; **Maulbertsch, Franz Anton**; **Mengs, Anton Raphael**; **National Identity**; **Neoclassicism**; **Poland, Partitions of**; **Polish Succession, War of the (1733–1738)**; **Prague**; **Rococo**; **Sarmatism**; **Vienna**; **Winckelmann, Johann Joachim**.

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JEREMY HOWARD

CERAMICS, POTTERY, AND PORCELAIN. Pottery is made from clays taken from the ground and baked, or fired, in a kiln to a temperature of several hundred degrees. Pottery can take many forms but is best known for items thrown on a spinning wheel, where the potter uses centrifugal force to create a perfectly symmetrical round object. However, round pots and other items can also be made by coiling strips of clay together or by pressing clay into molds. Alternatively, it is, of course, possible to create an item entirely by hand modeling.

If a pot is fired and then covered in a layer of glass, or glaze, and fired again, it becomes nonporous and capable of holding liquids. Such low-fired pottery is called earthenware and can take many



Ceramics, Pottery, and Porcelain. Lead-glazed oval dish with serpent and lizards, school of Bernard Palissy. THE ART ARCHIVE/MUSÉE NATIONAL DE CÉRAMIQUES SÈVRES

forms. Pottery made in medieval Europe was in general of low status, considered inferior to items of metal, and used for storage or basic cookery. However, elaborate inlaid clay floor tiles are found in churches and royal palaces.

By the tenth century in Arab countries, tin oxide was being added to a lead-oxide glaze on earthenware, which turned the glaze white in the kiln to produce a pot with the appearance of porcelain. This could be painted in metallic oxides to produce a metallic layer, or luster, or alternatively in colored oxides to create a pictorial effect. In sixteenth-century Italy, painters of tin-glazed earthenware, or maiolica, such as Nicola da Urbino (d. 1537/1538) and Francesco Xanto Avelli (1487?–1542?) became extremely skillful in adapting prints after Renais-

sance artists such as Raphael (1483–1520) and Michelangelo (1475–1564) to produce ceramics that became independent works of art. More elaborate types, including ewers, basins, and vases, were made in the workshops of the Fontana family in Urbino. Meanwhile, in France the potter Bernard Palissy (c. 1510–1590) was making grottoes (artificial, ornamental caves) and large dishes decorated in colored lead glazes that exactly reproduced the forms of wildlife in imitation of the natural world.

A tougher form of earthenware called stoneware, which was fired to 1200° C, was made in Germany in the sixteenth century and glazed with the addition of salt thrown into the kiln during the firing (salt-glazed stoneware). Large tankards or beer mugs and jugs, suitable for tavern use, with

stamped or applied decoration were made at Cologne, Siegburg, Raeren, and the Westerwald, and exported across the whole of the Western world. German stonewares were copied by John Dwight (c. 1635–1703) at Fulham in London and by other potters elsewhere.

Porcelain is a fusion of two special clays, china clay (kaolin) and china stone, at temperatures in excess of 1300° C. Unlike most pottery, it is vitrified (glasslike) and translucent. It was first made in China in about the eighth century C.E. and was known in Europe by the fifteenth century. In the seventeenth century Chinese porcelain began to be imported in large quantities. It was generally decorated in underglaze blue, where gray-black cobalt oxide painted on the once-fired piece before glazing turns blue in the second firing process. Chinese porcelain was copied by tin-glazed earthenware makers at Delft in the Netherlands (Delftware), as well as in Frankfurt in Germany, and in London, Bristol, and Liverpool in England, Glasgow in Scotland, and

Dublin in Ireland. Whole rooms were decorated with Chinese and Japanese porcelain from the floor to the ceiling (china rooms).

An artificial, or soft-paste, porcelain, made from the ingredients of ground-up glass, was developed in the Medici workshops in Florence in the sixteenth century, and later in France. Meanwhile the secret of making true hard-paste porcelain like the Chinese had been discovered at Meissen near Dresden in Germany by the alchemist Johann Friedrich Böttger (1682–1719) in 1708. The factory produced vases, figures, and teawares, often decorated with European versions of Chinese scenes (*chinoiseries*) painted in overglaze enamel colors by the painter Johann Gregor Höroldt (1696–1775), and beautifully modeled figures of animals and humans, notably actors from the Italian *commedia dell'arte*, by the sculptor Johann Joachim Kändler (1706–1775). The latter were used to decorate the dining table during the dessert course.



Ceramics, Pottery, and Porcelain. Teapot, creamware with green stripes, Wedgwood, c. 1765. THE ART ARCHIVE/
STAFFORDSHIRE UNIVERSITY/SCHOOL OF ART, STAFFORDSHIRE UNIVERSITY

A porcelain factory soon became a status symbol for kings across Europe, and porcelain factories spread to Vienna in 1717 and to sites in Germany (Frankenthal, Nymphenburg, Berlin, Fürstenberg, Höchst). Their wares are visually very similar, though note must be taken of the great rococo modeler Franz Anton Bustelli (1723–1763) at Nymphenburg. There were also many other lesser factories, both in Germany and in Sweden, Denmark, the Netherlands, Switzerland, and Italy. Meanwhile, good-quality tin-glazed earthenware (faïence) that copied porcelain shapes and styles of decoration continued to be made in France and Germany.

French soft-paste factories continued to thrive under aristocratic and royal patronage. The wares made at Chantilly in the first half of the eighteenth century imitated the spare colors and white background of Japanese Kakiemon porcelain from the collection of the duc de Bourbon. The factory supported by Louis XV at Sèvres produced some of the most elaborate porcelain ever made, with rich gilding and ground or with background colors framing gold-bordered central panels that could be quite different in style from the rest of the painting (reserves). In England there were private soft-paste porcelain factories at Chelsea, Bow, Liverpool, and other locations; they imitated Meissen or Sèvres or Chinese porcelain, depending on the wealth of their clientele. The factory at Worcester developed decoration with pulls from copper-engraved plates, or transfer printing, which at Caughley became the basis of the Chinese-style willow pattern.

The county of Staffordshire in central England became a major producer of pottery in the eighteenth century, mostly with mass-produced slip cast wares (made by pouring clay into a mold and allowing it to set into a specific shape) for the middle market such as stoneware teapots, or wares in colored glazes based on fruit and vegetables. A more sophisticated taste developed with the work of the great potter Josiah Wedgwood (1730–1795), who used the neoclassical style of the later eighteenth century to sell pottery to the upper classes across Europe. He refined stoneware to create a tinted version in imitation of classical cameos called Jasperware and refined earthenware to produce the pale creamware for everyday use. His products, as well as those of other factories in Staffordshire and

Yorkshire, were to put many of the faïence makers of Europe out of business by the end of the century.

The Napoleonic Wars of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries created financial problems for many porcelain factories in Europe, and by 1815 the main surviving state-sponsored factories were at Sèvres, Berlin, Meissen, Vienna, and St. Petersburg. They all made wares in the strict neoclassical style. Meanwhile, Staffordshire continued to produce a vast quantity of wares in a huge variety of styles, both in toughened pottery (ironstone) and the new bone china, in which bone ash is added to hard-paste porcelain clays.

See also **Decorative Arts.**

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HOWARD COUTTS

CEREMONIAL. *See* **Ritual, Civic and Royal; Ritual, Religious.**

CERVANTES, MIGUEL DE (Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra; 1547–1616), Spanish novelist, dramatist, and poet. Cervantes is known especially for his novel *Don Quixote* (1605; 1615). Read largely as a funny book in Cervantes's time, the Romantics and their later brethren were to focus on Don Quixote's pathos and his quest for impossible dreams. The madman who tilted at windmills and read the world in accordance with the conventions of books of chivalry was to become a symbol of spiritual values and, in the case of Spain, the embodiment of a national ethos (Close, p. 246). Don Quixote has been called "the classic and purest model of the novel as genre" (Bakhtin, p. 325),

encompassing a diversity of voices, social speech types, and even languages (Bakhtin, pp. 262–269). Its antiauthoritarian bent has been a source of inspiration to scores of well-known writers, among them the Mexican novelist Carlos Fuentes, who has written eloquently on Cervantes’s critique of reading, and the Czech Milan Kundera, who reminds us that with Don Quixote the world ceases to be a given and becomes a problem.

Today, as cultural studies are increasingly marked by identity politics (race, gender, ethnicity), and issues of “alterity” and “hybridity” are brought to the fore, Cervantes’s writing has become a field of contention between critics who adhere to traditional humanist and/or historicist readings and those whose work is largely informed by avant-garde, poststructuralist theory. Overall, these battles (fought especially within the North American academy) have enriched the discussion surrounding Cervantes’s novelistic project and have had the effect of renewing interest in his *Los trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda* (1617; Trials of Persiles and Sigismunda), a Byzantine prose fiction narrative that used to be read largely as Christian allegory but is now seen by some as a kind of counternarrative of colonization (Wilson) and as a critique of utopias and religious orthodoxy.

In reading Cervantes’s novels and novellas one is treated to extraordinary storytelling skills and devices (multiple authors, narrators, and narratees), which contribute to the larger project of de-centering traditional loci of authority. His writing shows a high degree of self-reflexivity and constant testing of classical concepts of poetic discourse that run up against a narrative practice that resists adherence to rules. His experimental fiction incorporates virtually every written and oral genre known in his time: books of chivalry, pastoral romances, picaresque “lives,” Italianate novellas, epic narratives, ballads, folk tales, carnivalesque stories and situations, proverbs, masquerades, inquisitorial discourse, devotional and legal writing, and so on. Cervantes was also a poet and a playwright. As a lyric poet he wrote in the vein of Petrarch and Garcilaso de la Vega; as a playwright he was out of sync with Lope de Vega’s new theater (“new comedy”) which, by the early 1600s, had monopolized the public stage by playing up to the taste of an undiscriminating mass-receiver who internalized the



Miguel de Cervantes. Undated portrait.

myths propagated by this important vehicle of official culture. Perhaps for this reason Cervantes’s late plays, together with his comic *entremeses* (‘interludes’), are redirected to the private sphere of reading, inscribing within the written text a performance that is only realizable on stage in a distant future. Of his earlier plays one might make special mention of *Los tratos de Argel* (1582; Life in Algiers), a drama of captivity and discovery of self and other in the city of exchange between Islam and Christendom, and *La numancia* (1583; Numancia), a tragedy involving the collective suicide of a city in 133 B.C.E. in defiance of Scipio’s legions and Roman rule.

Cervantes’s writing drew from a wide range of cross-cultural experiences that went beyond the mediation of reading. He spent time in Italy (especially Rome and Naples) and resided in several Spanish cities, among them Madrid, Valladolid, and Seville, the quintessential city of trade and commerce. He fought in the victorious battle of Lepanto against the Turks (1571), where he lost the use of his left hand, and experienced the despair of captivity in

Algiers (1575–1580) followed by rejection and disillusionment upon his return to Spain, where the hero who had hoped for glory and rewards for the services rendered to his country now found himself a mere survivor. Unable to secure a bureaucratic position in the Indies (1590), he worked as a procurer of wheat for the Invincible Armada (1588); became a tax collector (1595); and landed temporarily in jail in Seville on charges of embezzlement (1597). Just a few years later he was to write (1602) and publish (1605) the first part of what is regarded by some as the greatest novel of all time: *Don Quixote de la Mancha*. Despite the commercial success of *Don Quixote* and the generosity of the 7th count of Lemos, his major patron, Cervantes and his family did not escape poverty.

It was largely during the last decade or so of his life that Cervantes was to give a totalizing artistic expression to his exceptional wealth of experiences. The chronology of his publications is telling: after the appearance of his pastoral prose fiction *La galatea* (1585), and a brief engagement as a practicing playwright toward the end of the sixteenth century, he was heard from again in 1605 when *Don Quixote* was published in Madrid. All of his other works appeared in print between 1613 and 1617: *Novelas ejemplares* (1613, Exemplary novellas); *Viaje del parnaso* (1614; Journey to Parnassus); *Don Quixote II* (1615); *Ocho comedias y ocho entremeses* (1615; Eight plays and eight interludes); and *Los trabajos de Persiles y Sigismunda* (1617; The Trials of Persiles and Sigismunda).

While the international success of *Don Quixote* is undeniable, this extraordinary novel belongs to a more complex project that encompasses Cervantes's entire discursive production, one that is marked by a continuous transgression of the limits of traditional genres, a transgression that constitutes a central point in his epistemological project. In the end, neither novel nor poetry nor theater can "double" the world, so that the metaphor of the mirror that is implied in the traditional theory of *imitatio* has to be substituted for that of the modern shattering glass (Spadaccini and Talens). Cervantes's influence on the development of the novel is substantial, and the universality of *Don Quixote* and Sancho is undeniable. Yet, equally significant is the manner in which his narratives incorporate the multiple and contradictory voices of his own age.

See also *Spanish Literature and Language*.

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NICHOLAS SPADACCINI

CHARDIN, JEAN-BAPTISTE-SIMÉON (1699–1779), French painter. During the first half of the eighteenth century, authors, artists, and intellectuals defined themselves by staking out a position on the central aesthetic question of the period: Should they model their cultural production on the ancients or strike out in new directions as moderns? On the controversy between ancients and moderns, Jean-Baptiste-Siméon Chardin was a modern. In *The Monkey as Antiquarian* (c. 1740, Chartres) he parodies the enthusiast of

antiquity by representing him as a foolish monkey scrutinizing an ancient coin through a magnifying glass, a type of image popularized by other moderns like David Teniers the Younger (Flemish, 1610–1690) and Jean-Antoine Watteau (1684–1721).

Chardin was born in Paris. His father was a master artisan who constructed billiard tables, and his mother's father crafted game racquets. His brother became a *marchand mercier* (a person who combined the functions of an antiques dealer and an interior decorator). Although he was trained in painting by Pierre Jacques Cazes (1676–1754) and Noël Nicolas Coypel (1690–1734), both members of the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture, Chardin joined the Parisian guild, the Académie de Saint-Luc, before applying for admission to the academy. His association with the guild suggests that, like his family, he originally intended to work within the orbit of the Parisian luxury trades.

In 1728, however, he deserted the guild for the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture, which received him as an artist with a specialty in “animals and fruits” on the basis of *The Ray* (c. 1725, Musée du Louvre, Paris) and *The Buffet* (1728, Louvre). At this time, the classifying system of the academy did not include a category for a modern life subject like *The Game of Billiards* (c. 1723; Musée Carnavalet, Paris), a painting in which Chardin represented a congenial group of elite, urbane men watching a billiard match. Paintings of hunting trophies and fruits or flowers, by contrast, had been recognized as legitimate subjects by the Royal Academy since its foundation.

Chardin painted a variety of subjects in an array of formats and manners. *Young Student Drawing* (c. 1734, Nationalmuseum, Stockholm) is a small wooden panel approximately seven inches square that can be held in the hand, but *A Lady Sealing a Letter* (1733, Schloss Charlottenburg, Berlin) is a large composition on canvas over five feet high designed for the wall. In *Rabbit, Copper Pot, Quince, and Two Chestnuts* (c. 1739, Stockholm) his handling of form is broad and rough, whereas in *The Butler's Table* (1756, Carcassonne) it is meticulous and detailed. He created portraits in oil like *Portrait of Charles Godefroy* (c. 1734, Louvre) and in pastel, such as *Self-Portrait Wearing Spectacles* (1771, Louvre). In 1732 he exhibited a trompe-



Jean-Baptiste-Siméon Chardin. *Grace at Table*, 1740.
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l'oeil painting of a bronze relief after a work by the Flemish artist François Duquesnoy (1597–1643), *Eight Children Playing with a Goat*, a motif also seen in the lower half of *The Attributes of the Arts* (1731, Musée Jacquemart-André, Paris). Although the relief looks classical, it is actually not antique but the work of a modern, for Duquesnoy lived in the seventeenth century. Duquesnoy's relief was reproduced by other modern painters, particularly Gerard Dou (Dutch, 1613–1675), with whom Chardin was compared by contemporaries.

Chardin's long and successful career unfolded within the bounds of the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture. He became an officer (*conseiller*) of the academy in 1743, pensioned by the crown in 1752, elected treasurer of the academy in 1755, and awarded a studio and lodging at the king's expense in the Louvre in 1757. In 1755 he was also entrusted with hanging the pictures and displaying the statues in the academy's public exhibition known as the salon, a position he retained until 1774. From the first regularly established salon, held in 1737, and for fourteen years thereafter, Chardin exhibited only figure paintings, mainly of modern life subjects

like *The Governess* (1738, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa). These compositions, and the engraved prints made after them, brought Chardin international fame. *Domestic Pleasures* (1746, Nationalmuseum, Stockholm) was commissioned by the crown princess of Sweden. The print made after the image was dedicated to a Swedish countess, and one of them hung, framed and under glass, in the Parisian residence of the marquise de Pompadour. Then Chardin reversed this exhibition pattern in 1753; excepting the late pastels, from 1753 to 1779 his offerings to the salon shifted to still-life subjects and an occasional re-exhibition or repetition of one of his then well-known figure paintings from the 1730s or 1740s.

Chardin confounds nineteenth-century notions of exceptionality by his frequent practice of repeating compositions and motifs. For example, three extant canvases of *The Return from Market* by Chardin's hand are signed and dated, making it impossible to ascertain which is the original (National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, 1738; Schloss Charlottenburg, Berlin, 1738; Louvre, 1739).

See also Art: Art Exhibitions; France, Art in.

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PAULA REA RADISICH

CHARITY AND POOR RELIEF. The practice of charity (*caritas*) was fundamentally transformed in early modern Europe. What had been largely a voluntary good work open to all and available to anyone in need became to a much greater extent institutional, regulatory, and coercive. The poor were examined, identified, categorized, assisted, and regulated. In some places this process was limited to the members of one's own community, one's neighbors, or one's coreligionists. In other places it was limited to certain kinds of poor persons, the orphaned, the sick, or the elderly.

In all places it sought greater efficiency in the administration of its resources and greater accuracy in the selection of its recipients. Poor relief materialized as a result.

By the late fifteenth century poverty had become a more visible and insistent presence in people's lives. The causes were complex. Social and economic change had rendered larger segments of the population vulnerable to poverty. The capitalization of agriculture reduced many peasants to dependency: freeholders became tenants; tenants became laborers. The industrialization of manufacturing had a similar impact on craftspeople: masters and journeymen lost control of production processes; they were reduced to wage labor under the direction of merchant entrepreneurs. Though the economy of the period was expanding, wages never managed to keep pace with prices. A larger proportion of the population lived on the margin, unable consistently to feed, clothe, and shelter themselves or their dependents. They were vulnerable to natural and human disasters. Crop failure or market inelasticity might drive them into poverty and onto the road. No less important than the material changes were cultural changes. As the poor washed over the land and flowed into cities in increasing numbers, attitudes toward them—toward their plight and its causes—seem to have changed, too. Contemporaries perceived that the poor, in their search for sustenance, were less humble and deferential. They seemed increasingly importunate, aggressive, and violent, a threat to personal safety and public order. Moreover, their need was not always genuine. As a result, the poor became not only more visible and insistent but also more ambiguous and dangerous. Their numbers and attitude posed a challenge to the voluntary, pious character and the existing, haphazard structure of charity. Quite apart from the individual handout, an array of institutions, offering a variety of alms or assistance, had come into being by the end of the fifteenth century. The wealthy created pious foundations for the support of the poor. Guilds established confraternities to assist needy members. Monastic orders occasionally fed and housed the hungry and homeless within their walls. Churches and cathedrals maintained tables from which food and money were distributed on Sundays. Towns assumed control of hospitals and founded other institutions to meet a variety of



Charity and Poor Relief. *Charitable Works of the Misericordia*, atelier of David Teniers II, seventeenth century. THE ART ARCHIVE/MUSÉE BARON MARTIN GRAY FRANCE/DAGLI ORTI

needs. Orphanages and sanitariums, foundling homes and pawnshops sprang up. Every town and city offered a variety of such institutions and services, a bazaarlike array of charities that competed for resources and shared responsibilities. The poor could pick and choose, shopping for charity within the same community. Yet as the numbers of poor people increased toward the end of the fifteenth century, they were increasingly turned away. Existing resources were not adequate to feed, clothe, or shelter all those in need. Cutbacks were required. What is more, the impious face of poverty, captured in the image of the sturdy beggar, who begged not out of need but for less legitimate reasons, seemed unworthy of assistance under the circumstances. Some form of discrimination became essential.

Distinguishing the deserving from the undeserving poor was not new in early modern Europe. Canon lawyers and Scholastic theologians had argued the fundamental difference between those who should and those who should not receive assistance since the twelfth century. Early modern au-

thorities, whether intellectual or political, took up these distinctions among the forms and degrees of poverty and made them the basis of administering poor relief. Those whose inability to support themselves might be considered innocent and permanent—the disabled, the elderly, the parentless—were the most easily recognized and least controversial. All agreed that widows, orphans, and cripples should receive assistance, as should the shamefaced poor, those whose poverty was legitimate but whose honor kept them from seeking aid. Those whose need was a matter of circumstance—the unemployed or the underemployed—were no less deserving but more complex because their situation might change and because they were fundamentally able. Most of the poor fell into this group, and the form and duration of their care was subject to vigorous debate and dramatic change.

The problem from the late fifteenth century onward was how to relieve the deserving and exclude the undeserving. Those whose poverty was feigned or voluntary—the sturdy poor—posed a



Charity and Poor Relief. *Anne of Austria and the Dauphin Visiting the Charity Hospital*, seventeenth-century engraving by Abraham Bosse. ©ARCHIVO ICONOGRAFICO, S.A./CORBIS

threat to communities and their charities. Their relief was no longer affordable, given the greater numbers of people in need. What was more, their relief was no longer tolerable, given the illegitimacy of their need and the impiety of their manner. Changes in the structure and function of poor relief in the early modern period can be seen as an effort to address these issues: What was affordable? What was tolerable?

Though often associated with the Reformation, the reform of poor relief actually began earlier and was not limited to Protestant cities and states. In Italy, Spain, and some parts of France, inspired by humanist tracts and political concerns, authorities extended administrative oversight to established charitable institutions in an effort to control the disbursement of resources and improve the efficiency of services. Where Protestantism was eventually adopted, the reforms were often part of a broader

effort to introduce evangelical religion. In reforming Christian worship, secular governments not only altered religious practice but also gained new jurisdiction. The relief of poverty became their responsibility as a Christian magistracy. In principle the changes were intended to be dramatic. In the earliest Protestant poor laws, such as those passed in Nuremberg (1522) and Ypres (Ieper) (1525), charitable institutions were placed under a single administrative authority, financial resources were disbursed from a “common chest,” specialization of services was introduced to avoid duplication, the poor were closely examined to determine their exact need and appropriate relief, and begging was prohibited as a public nuisance. In practice, however, continuity was the rule. Sweeping reform ordinances notwithstanding, individual institutions continued to exercise extensive administrative independence. The existence of a common fund for the

relief of poverty did not prevent these institutions from maintaining their own individual endowments. Omnicompetence—the provision of different kinds of relief for different kinds of poverty in a single institution—continued to be common. Certainly the poor were more closely examined, whether by state officials, as happened in most Protestant lands, or by institutional or ecclesiastical figures, as happened in Catholic lands, where the state's role was consultative rather than administrative. And begging continued despite prohibition or regulation. Confessional differences in poor relief have been somewhat exaggerated.

In the matter of begging, however, Protestants and Catholics parted company. Under the influence of the Reformation, all begging became suspect. Theologians rejected it as a fundamental misunderstanding of justification; no human works, including begging for or giving charity, could affect spiritual salvation. Nor did mendicancy in any way reflect the soul's relationship to God. Thus shorn of its religious signification, begging became a matter for the state to regulate. Protestant governments prohibited it. The poor were to be set to work, whether in the open air or in enclosed institutions. Made productive, they would to some extent compensate for their support and acquire the fixed habit of labor. Catholic authorities likewise opposed begging. They accepted readily the notion that the poor should be rendered self-supporting and disciplined to produce. Yet their policies remained ambiguous. Finally, for Catholics, begging remained a pious act, deeply imbedded in their religious tradition and practice. Some Catholic theologians, notably Domingo de Soto (1494–1560), argued that all persons, regardless of circumstance, should be allowed to beg as a devout undertaking. It could not be prohibited, but it could be controlled. Accordingly specifically defined groups—orphans or patients, for example—were permitted to beg at specific times and in specific places. Others were required to wear a sign that they had been examined and found authentically and honorably poor. Yet different approaches should not obscure similar results: regardless of intention, neither Protestant nor Catholic authorities possessed the means or the will to eradicate begging completely.

Whether indeed they sought to eliminate begging or merely to restrict it, the point was largely



Charity and Poor Relief. *Aiding the Poor*, from *The Venetians*, a series of eighteenth-century engravings by Grevenbroeck. THE ART ARCHIVE/MUSEO CORRER VENICE/DAGLI ORTI

the same. Poor relief might be rendered more efficient by directing charity where it would do the greatest good. This involved directing resources to those most in need and excluding all others, an end that unregulated begging prevented. Early modern poor relief ceased to be voluntary, therefore, and came to rely on principles of discrimination and exclusion. Authorities sought to discriminate according to the nature of a poor person's poverty. They examined the poor to determine the legitimacy of their need and the means to their relief, thus aiding the deserving and excluding the undeserving. Authorities also sought to discriminate according to membership in a community. Protestants restricted aid to needy residents in a government's jurisdiction or a church's parish. In either case poor relief turned on established membership in a narrowly defined secular or ecclesiastical community. All others—transients and foreigners—were refused. At best these unfortunates might expect a free meal and escort to the border. Catholics, too, insisted on membership in a community. Receipt of aid from charitable institutions

required proof of local residency, thus fixing the poor where they might be known, monitored, and supervised. Finally, authorities sought to discriminate according to the morality of a poor person's behavior. Assistance became tied to standards of comportment in Catholic and Protestant communities alike. The poor were required to submit obediently to local political authority, to conform piously to local religious practice, and to labor industriously in their own support. The immoral poor—the rebellious, the impious, and the indolent—were excluded from poor relief or subjected to social discipline. Catholic apologists claimed that, by requiring authenticity, residency, and legitimacy, Protestant restrictions drastically reduced the numbers of deserving poor. In fact, allowing once again for local and institutional variation, there was little difference in practice between the confessions. All imposed restrictions to discriminate among the poor and exclude some from relief.

It is this increasingly involuntary process of discrimination and exclusion that separated early modern poor relief from medieval charity. What had been an open ritual binding Christians became a compulsory function imposed on prescribed groups. Scholars have attended to this change and interpreted it variously. Since the beginning of the twentieth century and the writing of Max Weber (1864–1920), scholars generally have understood the establishment of poor relief as a turn from the personal and moral toward the bureaucratic and rational. His great work *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft* (1922; *Economy and society*) is the point of departure for any discussion of this historical process and its confluence of sacred and secular impulses. Weber envisioned an absolute distinction between what he called the “postulate of brotherly love” and “the loveless realities of the economic domain.” In the course of the early modern period and under the influence of Protestantism, “charity became a rationalized enterprise and its religious significance was eliminated or even transformed into the opposite significance” (Weber, p. 589). His argument has passed more or less intact into the modern historiography on early modern poor relief. Scholars following Otto Winckelmann (1914/15) located the beginning of the reorganization of poor relief in the Holy Roman Empire with the reform ordinances of 1522, presuming a clear association with the Refor-

mation, and identified a series of common features. Regardless of locale, relief was placed in the hands of political authorities, begging was prohibited by law, financial resources were centralized, and assistance was awarded according to individual circumstances. Robert Jütte (1984) separated the reorganization of poor relief from the Reformation, seeing the abandonment of charity as a consequence of a larger social, economic, and religious crisis of the late fifteenth century and the sixteenth century. Yet that reorganization proceeded true to form regardless of time, place, or confession: relief was centralized in civic hands; finances were centralized likewise; the poor were registered; work was required. Allowing for variations of degree and depending on local circumstances, rationalization and bureaucratization ran their course. Similar patterns of development—similar antitheses between traditional charity and modern rationality—were identified in the Netherlands by Catharina Lis and Hugo Soly (1979), in France by Natalie Davis (1975) and Jean-Pierre Gutton (1971), in Spain by Linda Martz (1983), and in Italy by Brian Pullan (1971). The rationalizing trend persisted, albeit with local variations and without confessional dependencies.

Other scholars have focused attention less on the reorganization of poor relief than on its purposes. Self-sufficiency—much less charity—ceased to be the goal. Rather than ameliorate poverty or demonstrate piety, poor relief rendered the lower strata of society docile and dependent by shaping their activities to the economic interests of the elite. According to this scholarship, much influenced by the theories of Karl Marx (1818–1883) and Michel Foucault (1926–1984), poverty is a consequence of the social relations of production. Capitalist enterprise requires state-sponsored support in order to police a reserve of labor and maintain its availability at the lowest possible price. Thus elites wish to preserve and control the poor for their own purposes. David Rothman (1971), Michael Ignatieff (1978), Margaret DeLacy (1986), and Sherrill Cohen (1992) have argued variously that charity, in the form of workhouses, prisons, hospitals, and orphanages, placed the poor in closely regulated regimes that attempted to promote industry, regularity, authority, and obedience in order to encourage economic dependence and social deference. Discrimination and exclusion may have served to

make poor relief more efficient, but they also served the more sinister ends of making poverty permanent. Historians of culture and religion, such as Lee Palmer Wandel (1990) and Ole Peter Grell (1997), have questioned these models and their linear trajectories from past to present, arguing instead for the enduring influence of religious and humanitarian ideals in caring for the needy. Allowing for some degree of local variation in accordance with local circumstances, the development of early modern poor relief displays a common pattern of development. State or lay engagement in the provision of poor relief expanded. Resources were regularized and centralized. Functions were standardized, made more efficient, in short, rationalized. None of this had much to do with the Reformation, however. The processes began far earlier. The reasons for change and the forms that change took were determined by local circumstance. Economic efficiency and social discipline were frequently mentioned, but so, too, were Christian charity and “brotherly love.” There is no reason to doubt the word of magistrates or laypeople, who claimed repeatedly that they were moved by all four. As a result scholars are coming to appreciate the variety of forms and the complexity of motives in early modern poor relief.

See also **Humanists and Humanism; Laborers; Poverty; Reformation, Protestant.**

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CHARIVARI. *See* Popular Culture.

CHARLES I (ENGLAND) (1600–1649; ruled 1625–1649), king of Great Britain and Ireland. Charles I was born in Dumfries Castle on 19 November 1600, the second son of James VI of Scotland (ruled 1567–1625; James I of England, ruled 1603–1625) and Anne of Denmark (1574–1619). Charles's childhood and adolescence were unhappy. He suffered from rickets and a severe stammer that bedeviled him almost until his death. His parents had little to do with him, while his elder brother, Prince Henry, the charismatic heir, teased him mercilessly.

On 6 November 1612, however, Henry died unexpectedly from typhoid fever. The new heir took the bereavement badly, and he was almost as upset when his elder sister Elizabeth married and left England to live in Germany. The death of Charles's mother in March 1619 and the fact that his father, James I, found his son a prudish irritation, much preferring the company of his homosexual lovers, did nothing to enhance the adolescent's self-confidence.

Ironically it was one of those lovers, George Villiers (1592–1628), later duke of Buckingham, who liberated the heir from his insecure youth. Villiers befriended Charles, who responded avidly, accepting him as a substitute elder brother. In the spring of 1623 the pair secretly went to Spain to woo Infanta Donna Maria, the sister of Philip IV (ruled 1621–1665). After the Spanish humiliatingly spurned his terms—notwithstanding major conces-

sions on his part—Charles angrily returned home. The trip to Spain not only exposed Charles to the work of artists such as Titian, Michelangelo, and Raphael but augmented both Villiers's influence and the authoritarian side of Charles's character. A year later Charles told William Laud (1573–1645), the future archbishop of Canterbury, "I cannot defend the bad, nor yield in a good cause."

RELATIONSHIP WITH PARLIAMENT

For three years after Charles succeeded to the throne on 27 March 1625, Villiers dominated English politics. He and Charles were involved in a number of military expeditions, first against Spain and then France. All were humiliating and expensive failures. To pay for his expeditions, Charles asked Parliament to vote taxes, which that body refused to do unless Charles dismissed Villiers. To protect his friend, Charles dismissed Parliament and collected taxes anyway. In July 1628 the constitutional crisis reached a climax, when Parliament passed the Petition of Right, a statement of their major grievances. Charles assented to the petition with such ill grace that relations between the king and the Commons continued to deteriorate.

A month later John Felton, a deranged army officer, assassinated Villiers. Charles was devastated; his subjects were jubilant. On 2 March 1629 the House of Commons, defying the king's orders to adjourn, passed three resolutions condemning those who supported Catholicism and all who had paid illegal taxes such as the Forced Loan. Outraged by this open defiance of his authority, Charles determined to rule on his own and dissolved Parliament.

CHARLES'S PERSONAL RULE

For the next eleven years, from 1629 to 1640, Charles retreated from the world of politics to that of his court. He came under the malign influence of his wife, Henrietta Maria (1609–1669), a French Catholic who wanted to restore England to Rome. Charles also created one of the finest art collections ever assembled by a British monarch. He purchased the collection of the Gonzaga dukes of Mantua, who were desperate for money. The collection included some of the best works by Raphael, Titian, Corregio (Antonio Allegri), and Andrea Mantegna. By the time of Charles's death, the royal collection totaled 1,760 paintings and nearly as many sculptures.



Charles I. Portrait depicting Charles at the hunt by Anthony Van Dyck. THE ART ARCHIVE/MUSÉE DU LOUVRE, PARIS

Charles's artistic taste and judgment were superb. At the age of twenty he knew enough to return a painting to Rubens because it was largely the work of an apprentice. He could also drive a hard bargain, reducing the price of a Van Dyck portrait by half. Nonetheless Charles's art did not come cheap. Parliament sold his collection in 1649 for £59,903. Its modern worth would be staggering.

Charles's art collection not only revealed his connoisseurship but shed light on his personality and policies. An example is the massive set of three paintings Rubens (1577–1640) did on the ceiling of the Banqueting Hall at Whitehall. Designed by Inigo Jones (1573–1652) in the Palladian style, Whitehall was the most significant building erected in England during the first half of the seventeenth century. Intended for the most important state occasions, such as the reception of ambassadors, its main themes were order and harmony. The interior's clean straight lines climaxed where the king sat on his throne. The central ceiling panel, *The Apotheosis of James I*, shows the old king as a divine right ruler ascending directly into heaven. The second panel praises James for uniting the crowns of England and Scotland, while the third acclaims him as a peacemaker and by implication supports Charles's refusal to get involved with the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648), which was ravaging the Continent.

Perhaps the most important portrait the king commissioned was Van Dyck's (1599–1641) *Charles I on Horseback*, which hangs in the National Gallery in London. The masterpiece shows the king not just as a divine right monarch but as an absolutist who brooks no limits on his power. He is the knight-errant, whose sword could be unsheathed at any time to right wrongs, punish the evil, and bring law and order. Fully in control of his powerful stallion, this happy warrior is also a philosopher king—the confident master of all he surveys.

THE CIVIL WAR

By 1639 Charles's policies were coming apart in Scotland. While the taxes, such as ship money, which the king had raised without parliamentary approval, were far from popular, they were not oppressive enough to make his subjects rebel, but his religious policies were.

Apart from their king, the English and the Scots had little in common. The former were Episcopalians, the latter were Calvinists. When Charles introduced a new prayer book into Scotland in 1637, the results were explosive. Congregations rioted. In 1638 hundred of thousands of Scots signed a covenant—some with their own blood—vowing to fight to keep their old religion and to resist the imposition of bishops. Convinced that they in fact were determined not merely to abolish bishops but the monarchy itself, Charles vowed, “I will rather die than yield to their impertinent and damnable demands.”

Charles fought two wars against the Scots. Although politically inconclusive, the First Bishops' War of 1639 forced the king to call the Short Parliament in April 1640. After impulsively dismissing this Parliament on 5 May, Charles fought the Second Bishops' War, which he lost. He thus had to call the Long Parliament that opened on 3 November 1640. For over a year the king and the Commons tried to compromise. Parliament wanted to control the crown; the king would accept no real limits on his powers. On 5 January 1642 Charles led a company of armed soldiers to the House of Commons to arrest the five ringleaders of parliamentary opposition, but just before he entered the house they escaped. The breach between the king and Parliament was irreparable. Both the king and Parliament collected arms and courted public opinion in a struggle to control the army raised to put down the revolt in Ireland that had broken out the previous October.

Soon after declaring war against his rebellious subjects on 22 August 1642, Charles raised an army that fought the parliamentary forces at Edgehill on 23 October. The two sides continued to spar during 1643. On 21 August 1643 Charles failed to lift the Siege of Gloucester, but he beat the parliamentarians at the First Battle of Newbury on 20 September. In 1644 the royalists were routed at Marston Moor (2 July), while the Roundheads (the Puritans) surrendered at Lostwithiel on 31 August. The year 1645 was decisive, for on 14 June, at the Battle of Naseby, the New Model Army of Oliver Cromwell (1599–1658) decisively beat the king's forces.

The fighting dragged on for over a year, but on 6 May 1646 Charles surrendered to the Scots army,

who on 30 January 1647 handed him over to Parliament. On 3 June 1647 the army seized the king, who on 11 November escaped to Carisbrooke Castle on the Isle of Wight. For the next two years Charles, hoping to divide and thus rule, bargained in bad faith with the Scots, the army, and Parliament. Instead of ruling he produced a second civil war, which was far more brutal than the first. As a result, on 19 December 1648 the army arrested the king and took him to London, where he was tried for treason. The result was inevitable. Charles was executed outside the Whitehall Banqueting Hall on 30 January 1649.

In a way the site was sublimely appropriate. The Banqueting Hall's magnificent ceiling painted by Rubens symbolized Charles's exquisite artistic tastes, which in turn were an excellent guide to his personality. The product of an oppressive childhood, Charles I was too much an authoritarian to deal with his subjects in good faith and too insecure to take decisive action. As Archbishop Laud bitterly concluded, he was "a mild and gracious prince, who knew not how to be, or be made great." For Charles, character was indeed fate.

See also Charles II (England); Church of England; Cromwell, Oliver; English Civil War and Interregnum; James I and VI (England and Scotland); Laud, William; Scotland; Stuart Dynasty (England and Scotland).

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CHARLES CARLTON

CHARLES II (ENGLAND) (1630–1685; ruled 1660–1685), king of England, Scotland, and Ireland. Charles II was the dominant royal figure in England, Scotland, and Ireland for most of the late seventeenth century. Born on 29 May 1630,



Charles II. Portrait by Marcellus Laroon the Younger. THE ART ARCHIVE/CHRIST'S HOSPITAL/EILEEN TWEEDY

Charles succeeded to the throne on 30 January 1649. He could hardly have become king in worse circumstances, for his father, Charles I, had been beheaded by English revolutionaries who then abolished the monarchy. Young Charles had fled to the Continent three years before, and heard the news in exile in Holland. Although his reign legally dates from the moment that his father died, he was left to wander in poverty around western Europe for the first eleven years of it, as the guest successively of the Dutch, the French, the Germans, and the Spanish. In England the republicans who had killed his father continued to provide the real government of the country, most powerfully in the person of Oliver Cromwell, who ruled as Lord Protector between 1654 and 1658. Charles plotted incessantly to regain his thrones by invasion or rebellion, and came closest in 1650–1651, when the Scots crowned him as their king and he invaded England with an army of them. That army, however, was destroyed at Worcester, leaving the English republicans to conquer Scotland and Charles to escape back to continental Europe by hiding in an oak tree and in vari-

ous country houses owned by royal supporters. When he was invited back to his three thrones in 1660, it was because the republican government had collapsed as a result of internal fighting among its members following the death of Cromwell (3 September 1658). Charles formally acceded to power in his three kingdoms on his thirtieth birthday, 29 May 1660, when he entered London to the cheers of huge crowds. He remarked dryly that he could not understand, in view of all this rejoicing, why none of the people applauding had done anything to help him until that point. The cynicism and suspicion of the remark is significant: always after his return, Charles never fully trusted the British nor felt secure among them.

On returning to his realms, he found many problems left in all three by two decades of war and revolution, but also great enthusiasm for the restoration of the monarchy. He must, therefore, take some blame for the fact that within three years he had become unpopular in England and was quarreling with its Parliament. This was partly due to his financial extravagance and adulterous habits; he married a Portuguese princess, Catherine of Braganza, in 1662 and then paraded his current mistress before her and the court. It was also because he tried to increase his own power over national religion by playing off against each other the newly restored national church and the Protestant dissenters who worshipped outside it. He only succeeded in disappointing both. Charles's response to this situation was to try to regain popularity with a reckless foreign adventure, an unprovoked attack on the Dutch that he thought would win riches and military glory. The resulting war ended in defeat in 1667, however, leaving him humiliated and heavily in debt. He tried to find his way out of these problems by a still more risky adventure, a secret agreement with France to launch another attack on the Dutch state that he believed would avenge his earlier defeat and leave him rich and powerful enough to disregard his critics in Parliament. The result, by 1674, was another defeat and the complete discrediting of his government.

He then hired a brilliant politician, the earl of Danby, to repair his finances and restore his reputation, and for four years this seemed to work. Danby managed Parliament carefully and projected an image of the king as a responsible and patriotic ruler

and defender of the Church of England. Charles, however, could not resist another secret deal to take money from the Catholic French as an insurance policy. When this was revealed to the public in 1678, Danby's government fell and for three years Charles repeatedly called and dissolved new Parliaments, finding himself unable to manage a working relationship with any. He steered his way out of the crisis very shrewdly, offering measured concessions to his critics, hiring new and talented ministers, and behaving responsibly. By the time of his sudden death on 6 February 1685, his government was stable and strong again at home, although he was still unable to work with a Parliament and thus could not wage war.

Two very different views of Charles appear in modern literature. One, found mostly in scholarly histories, emphasizes his weaknesses as a monarch: his dislike of paperwork and administration, his duplicity, his vindictive cruelty, his determination to keep his ministers feeling insecure and to set them against each other, and his taste for reckless gambling, in both foreign and domestic affairs. Popular biographies and works of creative literature (and cinema) emphasize his charm, accessibility, affability, wit, and love of novelty, which undoubtedly encouraged the growth of science, architecture, and theater in England. He introduced the ruling classes to yachting, croquet, and champagne, and fathered at least twelve illegitimate children by seven different mistresses. Both portraits are just, but in the last analysis a king is expected to rule, and his shortcomings as a political leader contributed significantly to the instability of the British Isles during his reign. He has enjoyed a popularity in the twentieth century that he never knew in the seventeenth.

See also **Anglo-Dutch Naval Wars; Charles I (England); Cromwell, Oliver; English Civil War and Interregnum; English Civil War Radicalism.**

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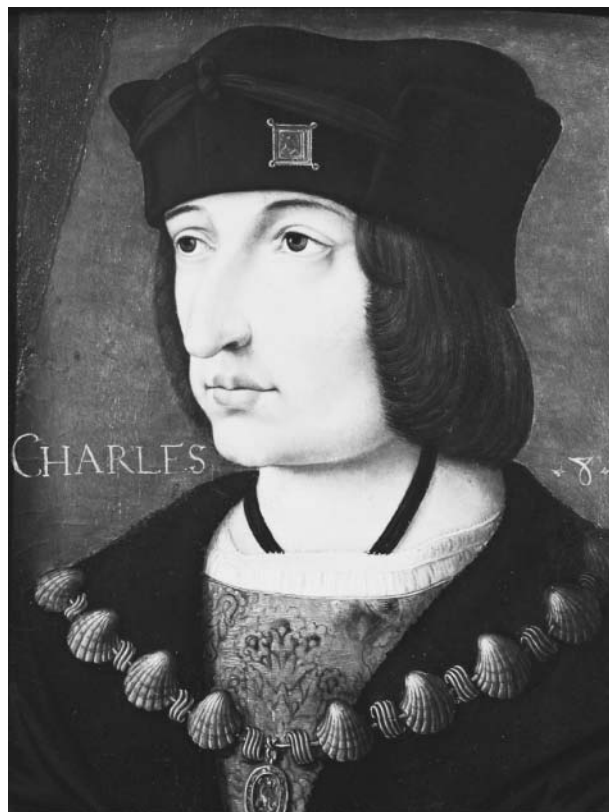
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RONALD HUTTON

CHARLES VIII (FRANCE) (1470–1498, ruled 1483–1498), king of France. Charles VIII was the last king of France in the direct line of the Valois dynasty. The only son of Louis XI (ruled 1461–1483) of France and Charlotte of Savoy, he was born on 30 June 1470. Because of his frailty as a child, Charles was not allowed to participate in vigorous activity, whether mental or physical. As a result he grew up with a limited education and little training in the arts of war and hunting. He became king at his father's death in 1483. Since he was ten months shy of being fourteen years old, he needed a regent to govern for him. A contentious struggle erupted over the regency between his older sister Anne of Beaujeu (1461–1522) and his cousin Louis of Orléans (ruled 1498–1515). It led to the convocation of the Estates-General in January 1484, which had the widest representation and most significant results of any meeting before 1789, most notably a powerful request for a reduction in taxes. The Estates-General, however, failed to designate a regent, and Charles turned fourteen without having one. Louis XI had designated Anne and her husband as his son's guardians, and they dominated the government for the next decade. Upset by the failure of his schemes, Louis of Orléans with his ally Duke Francis of Brittany (1435–1488) led a revolt known as the Fools' War. After their defeat in 1488, Louis was imprisoned and Francis died soon after. Francis's daughter, Anne (1477–1514), the new duchess of Brittany, had little choice but to agree to marry Charles. The marriage took place in December 1491, after Charles had repudiated his betrothal to Margaret of Austria, the daughter of Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I.

By then Charles had freed himself from the tutelage of his sister and had begun to rule in his own right. He began planning the expedition to



Charles VIII (France). ©ARCHIVO ICONOGRAFICO, S.A./CORBIS

seize control of southern Italy, known as the First French Invasion of Italy (1494–1495). The Valois claim to the kingdom of Naples dated to 1265, when the pope invested Charles of Anjou with the realm as a papal fief. In the decades after 1265 the French lost control of Naples to the royal family of Aragon. Charles VIII was eager to assert his right to Naples and use it as a base for a crusade against the Ottoman Turks, who had conquered Constantinople in 1453. Encouraged by Ludovico Sforza of Milan, who had his own dispute with King Alfonso of Naples, Charles led the French army into Italy in the spring of 1494. The army consisted of the royal companies of *gens d'armes*, the armored lancers still regarded as the best fighting men in Europe; infantry companies, including six thousand Swiss pikemen, the best foot soldiers of the era; and an artillery train of seventy large bronze cannon, also the best available. The quick reduction of several North Italian forts by the French cannons convinced the Italians that further resistance was futile, and the French marched down Italy to Naples as if

on parade. The Neapolitan king fled, and Charles entered Naples in triumph in March 1495.

The steps Charles had taken to secure the neutrality of France's neighbors broke down in light of his success, and Ferdinand of Aragón, determined to vindicate his family, organized a league of the major states of Europe and Italy against Charles. Recognizing that the league threatened to trap him in southern Italy, Charles retreated toward France with half of his army, leaving the rest to occupy Naples. His enemies forced him to give battle at Fornovo, south of the Po River, on 6 July 1495. The bloodiest battle of the expedition was a stalemate, but Charles gained an open route back to France, where he arrived in October 1495. His short time in Italy stimulated Charles's interest in Renaissance art and architecture. His most noteworthy project was the reconstruction of the château of Amboise using Italian artists and artisans, including the noted Fra Giocondo.

Charles and Anne had three children, but only one son survived the first month of life. His death at age three from measles was a devastating blow to the king. It convinced him to give up frivolous pleasures and reduce the tax burden on his people, as the Estates-General of 1484 had requested. Before he could begin to implement his new policies, he died at Amboise on 7 April 1498 after striking his head on a low doorframe. Whether he died from the blow or from aggravating a prior condition is unknown. He was succeeded by Louis of Orléans, who became Louis XII.

See also Anne of Brittany; France; Italian Wars (1494–1559); Louis XII (France); Naples, Kingdom of; Valois Dynasty (France).

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FREDERIC J. BAUMGARTNER

CHARLES V (HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE) (1500–1558; Holy Roman emperor,

1519–1556; king of Spain as Charles I, 1516–1556). Charles was born 24 February 1500 at Ghent, the son of Archduke Philip of Habsburg and Joanna I, daughter of Ferdinand of Aragón and Isabella of Castile. Philip's death in 1506 made Charles ruler of the Netherlands under the regency of his aunt, Margaret of Austria. Shortly thereafter, his mother succumbed to mental illness, making him king of Castile under another regency, which lasted until 1516. In that year his grandfather Ferdinand died, leaving him the kingdom of Aragon and its Italian possessions. By this time he had assumed rulership of the Netherlands in his own right. In 1519 the death of his paternal grandfather, the Emperor Maximilian I, brought him the Habsburg possessions in Austria and southwest Germany and made him a prime candidate for election as Holy Roman emperor. By year's end, Charles was unanimously elected emperor after a campaign involving large payments to the electors and veiled threats of force. In the next two decades, his Spanish subjects conquered Mexico and Peru, adding much of the New World to his already enormous inheritance.

The beneficiary of these deaths and conquests was a pale, unprepossessing youth who developed slowly into a conscientious ruler. His tutors, including Adrian of Utrecht (the future Pope Adrian VI), instilled in him a deep, if conventional, piety and a solid understanding of politics. His interests nevertheless remained practical rather than speculative, and though imperial propagandists at one point tried to develop a rationale for universal monarchy, Charles's goals were simpler. Throughout the reign his chief purpose was to preserve his family's patrimony and to protect the Catholic Church.

Even these modest goals faced three obstacles: the intractable hostility of Francis I of France (ruled 1515–1547), Ottoman expansion up the Danube valley and in the Mediterranean, and an ongoing crisis in Germany, which linked the religious Reformation begun by Martin Luther to the growth of princely autonomy. The causes of these problems differed, and each followed a different historical course, but the emperor and his advisors could rarely decide upon a policy in one area without considering its possible impact on the others. Moreover, his adversaries in each case were sometimes able to combine forces against him. Charles therefore spent most of his reign at war.

Charles achieved his greatest successes against Francis I, who disputed his claims in Italy and supported his enemies in the Netherlands. In the course of seven wars with France the emperor made good his claims to Naples, Sicily, and Milan, and consolidated his possessions in the Netherlands. But the French wars crippled his finances and distracted him from other causes that were closer to his heart. Among these was the war against the Turks. The expansion of the Ottoman Empire in the Danube valley brought Muslim armies to the gates of Vienna by 1529. In the Mediterranean, Muslim fleets sailing from the ports of North Africa raided his Spanish and Italian kingdoms, causing widespread suffering and loss. The crusading ideal appealed to Charles, but he had only partial success in turning back the Muslim threat. The Turks retreated from Vienna after Charles relieved the siege of 1532 largely because they had reached the limits of their logistics. In the Mediterranean, Charles captured Tunis in 1535, but failed in 1541 to seize Algiers. The raids continued, because the Christians could not in the long run control all of the North African towns or the hinterland that supported them.

The German problem proved even more difficult to resolve. As a devout Catholic, Charles believed that his duty as emperor compelled him to oppose the spread of Protestantism and to devise a program of imperial reform that would strengthen the empire's institutions, if necessary at the expense of princely independence. His condemnation of Martin Luther at the Diet of Worms in 1521 accomplished nothing. In 1530 at Augsburg and again in 1540 at Regensburg he attempted to achieve peaceful solutions to the religious issue, but in each case negotiations broke down. He defeated the Protestant Schmalkaldic League in 1546–1547, but their cause revived in 1552 with French assistance. In 1555 Charles reluctantly agreed to the Religious Peace of Augsburg, which recognized the right of German princes to determine the religion of their own territories and ensured that the empire would remain as it had always been, a loose federation dominated by the princes rather than by the emperor.

The legacy of Charles V was shaped largely within the context of these struggles. As the reign progressed, he became more dependent upon Spanish wealth and the Spanish army that formed the



Charles V. Portrait by Titian. ©GIANNI DAGLI ORTI/CORBIS

core of his military system. The cost of never-ending warfare forced him to raise taxes, especially in Spain and the Netherlands, and to borrow heavily in the international money markets against his projected Spanish revenues. His son and successor as king of Spain, Philip II (ruled 1556–1598), was forced to restructure this debt in ways that increased borrowing costs in the future, thereby setting a disastrous precedent. Otherwise, Charles made serious efforts to improve administration in each of his realms. Basing his efforts wherever possible on existing institutions, he developed an improved conciliar system of government in Spain and its possessions that lasted until the eighteenth century. In America he supported Spain's leading advocate for the In-

dians, Bartolomé de Las Casas, and made a sincere if only partially successful effort to protect the native population from exploitation by the colonists. In Naples and Sicily his viceroys maintained order with minimal offense to local sensibilities while Charles personally created a system of patronage that co-opted most of the princes and cities of the north, ensuring relative peace, if not prosperity, for years to come. Everywhere, he insisted on improved record keeping and the establishment of archives.

His impact on the Netherlands is more difficult to assess because the seventeen provinces rose in revolt under his successor. In the course of his reign Charles added Frisia, Utrecht, Gelderland, and a few smaller estates to his existing inheritance. His fiscal demands, perhaps ironically, led to a strengthening of provincial government that contributed to Dutch success in the eventual revolt. The provinces created an elaborate system of funded debt based primarily on new excise taxes, but those taxes caused widespread resentment. His religious policies, too, provoked widespread passive resistance. The emperor's determination to root out heresy at all costs led him to promulgate edicts or placards that, among other things, demanded the death penalty for Protestants. Local magistrates, who shared the more tolerant religious attitudes of their countrymen, often found ways to evade their provisions. Charles did not, however, provoke the Revolt of the Netherlands. When he died, heresy appeared to be under control and the monarchy retained the support of the Netherlandish elites, whose rights he had always been careful to protect. It was left to Philip II to squander whatever goodwill remained through policies that appeared to threaten the interests of nobles and townspeople alike. The resulting war of independence lasted more than eighty years (1568–1648) and resulted in the establishment of the Dutch Republic, though Spain recovered the ten southern provinces by 1585.

By 1550 the emperor's health began to fail, and he succumbed increasingly to paralyzing bouts of depression. He decided to abdicate his offices and retire, reopening the question of his succession. In 1531 he had secured the election of his younger brother Ferdinand as king of the Romans in return for his help in managing German affairs. Ferdinand could therefore expect to succeed his brother as emperor. Charles, who had always planned to leave

his Spanish and Italian possessions to his son Philip, began to worry that without Spanish arms Ferdinand could not protect the Netherlands against France or maintain order in Germany. Already in 1548 he had separated the Netherlands from the empire with the intention of leaving them to Philip. Now he proposed that Philip should have the empire as well. After a protracted and bitter family quarrel, it was decided that Philip should have Spain and the Netherlands, but that Ferdinand would become emperor as planned. It had become obvious in any case that Philip could not be elected.

This division of Charles's inheritance had profound consequences. Tying the Netherlands to Spain led to the revolt that exhausted Spanish finances and resulted in the establishment of the Dutch Republic. Ferdinand and his heirs devoted their best efforts to the creation of a Habsburg empire in eastern Europe that lasted until 1918. The Habsburgs preserved and expanded their inheritance, but Charles failed in his efforts to reform the empire or slow the spread of Protestantism, largely because, vast though his resources may have been, they were insufficient to meet his goals. Instead he created a world empire based on Spain that Spain, in the end, could not preserve. Depressed and exhausted, the emperor abdicated his offices in 1555–1556, and in 1557 retired to a small villa built for him on the grounds of the remote Spanish monastery of Yuste. He died in the following year from a fever of unknown origins.

See also Augsburg, Religious Peace of (1555); Dutch Republic; Dutch Revolt (1568–1648); Ferdinand of Aragón; Habsburg Dynasty: Spain; Holy Roman Empire; Isabella of Castile; Joanna I, "the Mad" (Spain); Netherlands, Southern; Philip II (Spain); Schmalkaldic War (1546–1547); Spain.

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WILLIAM S. MALTBY

CHARLES VI (HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE) (1685–1740; ruled 1711–1740), Holy Roman emperor and ruler of the Habsburg Monarchy. Charles VI's greatest claim to historical fame is his role as father to Maria Theresa (ruled 1740–1780), one of the great rulers of the eighteenth century. Historians often point to the Pragmatic Sanction of 1713, a document that guaranteed the succession of his daughter to the traditionally male Habsburg inheritance, as the issue that dominated his reign. This document had its roots in 1703 when Leopold I (ruled 1658–1705), Charles's father, wished to regulate the order of succession if his two sons, Charles and Joseph (ruled 1705–1711 as Joseph I), should have no male issue. In the early agreements, Joseph's female heirs were to succeed to Habsburg authority, but in 1713 Charles changed that to provide for the succession of his own daughters. By 1720 Charles had embarked on an extensive campaign to secure recognition for his daughter's succession first from his own crownlands and then from the European powers generally. He achieved that recognition, but upon his death Prussia, Bavaria, and France renounced their commitment to it. This renunciation was followed by the War of the Austrian Succession, which would, after considerable suffering, enhance the Europe-wide fame of and respect for Maria Theresa.

In his younger years, Charles had his own wars to fight. When the Spanish King Charles II died in 1700, Louis XIV of France laid claim to the Spanish throne, a prospect that frightened other great powers, already experienced in struggles against the ambitions of the Sun King. In the ensuing War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1714), the allied powers opposed to Louis (Britain, Austria, Holland, Prussia) adopted Charles as their candidate for the Spanish throne. Charles achieved some success in Catalonia, but, when his brother died in 1711, and he became ruler of the Habsburg possessions, the British and Dutch insisted that he abandon his claim to Spain, and he did so. He oversaw the Austrian role

in bringing the War of the Spanish Succession to a close.

Politically Charles fits into the group of late-seventeenth- and early-eighteenth-century monarchs who understood that success of the state depended upon administrative centralization and economic advancement. He was not a thoroughgoing reformer in the stamp of Louis XIV or Peter the Great of Russia, but he did introduce changes that he believed would enhance the development of his state. In Silesia and Bohemia cloth production increased, and he aided the city of Linz in reviving its woolen mills. In 1717 the first cotton plant opened in the town of Schwechat, near Vienna, and in 1718 Charles approved the establishment of a porcelain factory modeled on the Meissen plant that had opened in Dresden just a few years earlier.

To assist these and other establishments, Charles built new roads connecting some of the Habsburg cities, including those from Vienna to Prague and Vienna to Brno. Probably the most famous was the road over the Semmering Pass, which connected the Austrian heartland to Italy. In addition, he declared as free ports Fiume and Trieste, the principal Habsburg cities on the Adriatic Sea, in hopes that they could compete successfully with Venice for Adriatic and eventually Mediterranean trade. His most famous venture was the incorporation of the Ostend Company in his Belgian lands, which was designed to compete with the British and the Dutch for trade in East Africa and in the East and West Indies. This company enjoyed a few years of success until, under considerable pressure from the British and the Dutch, it was changed into a bank in the 1730s.

Charles was less aggressive in war and diplomacy, with the notable exception of his pursuit of recognition of the Pragmatic Sanction. Still, in 1716–1718 his armies, under the brilliant leadership of Europe's foremost military commander, Prince Eugene of Savoy, crushed the armies of the Ottoman Empire and in 1718 imposed upon the Turks the Peace of Passarowitz (Pozerevac), which ceded to the monarchy the mighty fortress of Belgrade at the confluence of the Sava and Danube rivers and its surrounding countryside. This acquisition left Austria poised to advance far into the Balkans, but the backwardness of the area gave Charles

and his advisers pause. From 1717 to 1737 the government invested considerable resources to develop Belgrade and the area north of the fortress, called the Banat, but the yields were disappointing, as were additional Habsburg efforts in the Banat in the 1760s and 1770s.

Charles's reign ended in disappointment. Austria entered another war against the Turks in 1737, this time not to win territory for itself but to curb the Balkan ambitions of its ally, Russia. Although the Ottomans were not formidable opponents, poor leadership, logistical problems, and missed opportunities led to the Austrian cession of Belgrade and the lands south of the Danube to the Ottomans. Charles hoped, however, that his success in securing recognition of the Pragmatic Sanction would atone for this defeat by guaranteeing the peaceful accession of his daughter. That accession, however, was far from peaceful.

See also Austrian Succession, War of the (1740–1748); Habsburg Dynasty: Austria; Holy Roman Empire; Maria Theresa (Holy Roman Empire); Passarowitz, Peace of (1718); Polish Succession, War of the (1733–1738); Spanish Succession, War of the (1701–1714).

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KARL A. ROIDER

CHARLES I (SPAIN). *See* Charles V (Holy Roman Empire).

CHARLES II (SPAIN) (1661–1700), king of Spain, Naples, and Sicily (1665–1700), son of Philip IV, and the last Habsburg ruler of Spain. From the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella in the fifteenth century through that of Philip IV in the mid-seventeenth century, Spain was the major power in western Europe, possessing a rich colonial empire and respected for its military prowess as well

as its literary and artistic accomplishments. The reign of Charles II is perhaps best known for the decline of this empire. Plagued by poor leadership, monetary inflation, bankruptcy, and a series of military defeats, Spain in the later seventeenth century surrendered its primacy on the European stage to France.

Charles as an individual was sadly symbolic of this decline, as he was known more for his physical infirmity and absence from government than for his accomplishments. The product of generations of inbreeding between the Spanish and Austrian branches of the Habsburg family, he was sickly, frail, and possibly epileptic. Given Charles's weak physical condition, it was generally assumed that he was lacking in intelligence as well, and little was required of him in the way of educational training. He was never able to read and write well, and did not master other basic courtly skills such as horsemanship and fencing. Even in adulthood he did not often attend the meetings of important government councils or countersign their deliberations; official documents generally bear a facsimile of his signature rather than the original. In the last years of his life he was rumored to be bewitched and underwent an exorcism to expel his demons.

Charles's reign was characterized by factionalism in which various figures in the court competed for control in the power vacuum left by the absence of a strong king. Charles inherited his throne in 1665 at the age of four. His mother, Mariana of Austria, acted as regent and relied on a series of favorites (including her confessor, Juan Everard Nithard, and Fernando de Valenzuela, the husband of one of her servants) to assist her in the tasks of government. When Charles came of age in 1676, he too depended on the assistance of others in the court. As a result, there was constant competition to gain access to the king, and factions developed around the individuals most likely to be able to control him. In addition to Mariana of Austria, the most significant of these were Charles's half-brother Don Juan José of Austria (an illegitimate son of Philip IV), a charismatic and popular figure in the court and a constant focus of opposition to the queen mother, and Charles's second wife, Mariana of Neuburg, whom he married in 1689. During the 1680s and 1690s, the king also relied on the assistance of a series of ministers. This practice increased



Charles II (Spain). LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

the influence of the aristocracy in the court, but because of factional conflicts, no single minister was able to accomplish much or to remain in power for more than a few years. Charles's final failure was his inability to leave an heir. Anticipating this, the other European powers, particularly France and Austria, spent much of his reign designing plans to partition Spain, and his death in 1700 resulted in the twelve-year War of the Spanish Succession.

Historians of Spain have paid little attention to the late seventeenth century, and those who have described Spain during the reign of Charles II reserve their harshest criticism for the king, associating his personal weaknesses with Spain's decline. Recent studies of the "decline of Spain" argument, however, have questioned whether Charles's reign was truly as disastrous as it appears. While the court in Madrid was preoccupied with its internal power struggles, other regions of Spain experienced a gradual recovery. Although military dominance in Europe clearly passed to the French, recent research indicates that within Spain, population growth, agricultural output, and textile manufacture all began to recover under the reign of Charles II. In fact,

much administrative and fiscal reform that has been attributed to the reign of the Bourbon kings in the eighteenth century may well have had its roots in the last decades of the seventeenth in the regions outside Castile. Even artistic production, which had declined in Castile because of a lack of court patronage, flourished in provincial cities such as Seville. Although Charles II is a king more often regretted than celebrated in the annals of Spanish history, the negative impact of his personal failings on Spain has been much exaggerated.

See also Habsburg Dynasty; Spain; Spanish Succession, War of the.

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JODI CAMPBELL

CHARLES III (SPAIN) (1716–1788; ruled 1759–1788), king of Spain. Born in Madrid on 20 January 1716, Charles III died in the same city on 14 December 1788. The son of Philip V of Spain (ruled 1700–1724, 1724–1746) and Isabella Farnese of Parma (1692–1766), he was duke of Parma (1731–1735) and king of Naples (1734–1759) before becoming king of Spain (1759–1788). Following family tradition, Charles III spent his first seven years under women's care (Isabel Ramírez, María Antonia de Salcedo) and afterward under the supervision of court noblemen appointed by his parents. During childhood he received training in geography, history, military strategy, mathematics, and foreign languages (French, Italian dialects). More than studying, he enjoyed hunting, shooting, and making small objects from wood and ivory. His relationship with his parents was close despite frequent absences and separations, according to their own testimonies in private letters that started when Charles was four years old and continued for almost forty years. The letters also reveal the enormous



Charles III (Spain). Engraving after the eighteenth-century painting by Andres de la Calleja. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

influence and inspiration of his parents on his religiosity, political priorities, and selection of a spouse (Amalia of Saxony). A prudent and sober reformist spirit inspired his government rather than revolution and change, as was also the case with other European kings and queens of the eighteenth century.

Charles III relied on his own judgment much more than did previous Spanish kings, who had relied on powerful ministers. Foreign policy was the greatest priority of his government because of his mother's influence, but above all because Spain was a world colonial power. Alliances with France, however, brought wars with Great Britain, and Spain lost territories (including Florida) and imperial strength during Charles's reign.

Charles III appointed pragmatic ministers whose missions were to reinforce the crown, improve the economy, and maintain a peaceful social order to achieve a strong and stable country from which they would obtain political strength and

wealth. In the first seven years of Charles's government, Italians served as the ministers of war, state, and finance, with Leopoldo di Gregorio, marquis of Squillace, and the marquis of Grimaldi as the outstanding figures above the ministers Charles inherited from his half brother Ferdinand VI (ruled 1746–1759). Fiscal reforms, the rise in prices following the introduction of free trade in grain, proposals to disentail properties of privileged sectors of society, and the law forbidding men to wear traditional broad hats and long capes aroused opposition against the Italian ministers. Sectors of the nobility, the clergy, and thousands of people from Madrid and other Spanish cities initiated riots in 1766 and generated fear of social upheaval and disorder. To restore internal stability and peace, Charles III dismissed his Italian ministers, expelled the Jesuits from Spain and the colonies (1767), and sought a new team of ministers from a group of university-trained Spanish lawyers, among them Pedro Rodríguez Campomanes y Perez (1723–1802), José Moñino y Redondo, count of Floridablanca (1728–1808), and José de Gálvez (1729–1787), who functioned as a team. With his new ministers, Charles III undertook reforms in administration, ecclesiastical policy, and some aspects of commercial and agrarian policies.

First, traditional royal councils were replaced with ministers who regularly met in a council of state, independent councillors were introduced into municipal governments of towns and villages, and the French system of intendants was implemented in the colonies to reinforce the crown's direct control. The final aim of administrative reforms was to impose the power of the crown at all administrative levels in Spain and its colonies and reduce to some extent the autonomy of high aristocrats, municipal councils, and viceroys.

The subordination of the church to the Bourbon monarchy was a second major goal of Charles III. Consequently he required royal authorization for the introduction of papal documents, expelled the Jesuits from all Spanish territories in 1767, and reduced the power of the Inquisition.

Economic reforms were less successful than administrative and religious reforms. The reduction of institutional obstacles to free trade in grain in the peninsula and to free trade between cities of the

Spanish Empire (1765–1778) did little to change structural limits to sustained economic growth. Mercantilist policies and privileges were the rule in Spain as in most other European countries, and they imposed similar limits to the growth of domestic and international trade. On the other hand, hunger, bad crops, and privileged ownership and distribution of land remained the norm in rural Spain. The entailed land of the nobility, the clergy, the municipal councils, and the crown, *mayorazgos*, *manos muertas*, *comunidades*, and *realengos* respectively, a fundamental obstacle to increased agricultural productivity, was never seriously questioned or reformed.

Charles III and his ministers reinforced the power of the crown and rationalized imperial administration as no other ruler had before in Spain. However, they left the traditional social order intact.

See also Farnese, Isabel (Queen of Spain); Ferdinand VI (Spain); Philip V (Spain); Spain.

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PALOMA FERNÁNDEZ PÉREZ

CHARLES X GUSTAV (SWEDEN)

(1622–1660; ruled 1654–1660), king of Sweden; son of John Casimir of Pfalz-Zweibrücken and Katherine, the half-sister of Gustavus II Adolphus. Charles X Gustav was born and grew up in Sweden. Tutored in history, politics, law, modern languages, and warfare, he spent nearly three years on a grand tour of the Continent. In 1642, he joined Swedish forces in Germany, where he gained military and diplomatic experience and took part in the campaign against Denmark in 1643–1645 (Torstensson's War), which resulted in Sweden's gaining Jämtland and Härjedalen in Norway, Halland on the west coast, and Gotland. Throughout his life he showed a remarkable capacity to work



Charles X Gustav. Portrait by Abraham Wuchters. THE ART ARCHIVE/GRIPSHOLM CASTLE SWEDEN/DAGLI ORTI (A)

hard at whatever challenge faced him. He was also prone to bouts of depression and excessively fond of food, drink, and women.

Charles figured importantly in the complex issue of succession. The male line of the Vasa dynasty ended with Gustavus II Adolphus. His daughter Christina, who was only six at his death, was his only legitimate heir. The council nobility took advantage of this situation to enhance its constitutional position, and the monarchy was in danger of becoming little more than symbolic. Christina opposed this trend, especially after reaching her majority in 1644, and viewed assuring the succession as vital. Marriage was the most obvious solution, and her cousin Charles was the most likely candidate. Christina encouraged this idea until sometime in 1645, when she made it clear she could not marry. Rejecting Charles as a possible husband did not mean rejecting him as her successor. He was welcome at court; she made him commander of the Swedish forces in Germany in 1648 and won the parliament's approval of his succession a year later. Following

Christina's coronation in 1650, Charles spent most of his time on his estates on Öland.

Charles X Gustav was crowned king on 6 June 1654, the same day that Christina stepped down and prepared to leave Sweden. He was the founder of the Pfalz/Wittelsbach dynasty, which also included Charles XI, Charles XII, and Ulrika Eleonora (1654–1720). Three themes dominated his short reign: war, state finances, and the constitutional balance between crown and nobility.

Charles X was primarily a warrior king. His foreign policy centered on maintaining the empire, which he viewed as essential to Sweden's security. Although Swedish power reached its peak during his reign, the country faced almost constant threats from Poland, Russia, the Habsburgs, Brandenburg, and Denmark. England, France, and the Netherlands also figured importantly in the complex diplomacy of the region. In 1655, he attacked Poland in what became a costly and largely fruitless conflict. Taking advantage of the situation, the Danes declared war on Sweden in 1657. Charles's campaign against them turned into one of the most daring (or luckiest) in Sweden's history. He easily occupied Jutland and then, due to an abnormally cold winter, was able to march his forces across the frozen Belts; take Fyn, Langeland, and Lolland; and cross to Sjaelland to attack Copenhagen. The Treaty of Roskilde (1658) cost Denmark all of its territories in southern Sweden (Skåne and Blekinge), plus Bohuslän on the Norwegian border, the island of Bornholm, and Trondheimsälän in Norway. A second campaign against Denmark was launched in late summer 1658, with the intention of destroying the country and absorbing it into the empire. This time, however, Copenhagen's heroic resistance, new problems in the eastern Baltic, and international concerns about the balance of power in northern Europe worked against Charles. Fate also intervened, as the king died in early 1660. Peace was reached in 1660, and Sweden was lucky to lose only Bornholm and Trondheimsälän. The zenith of empire had passed.

Charles X Gustav was a monarchist in the ongoing constitutional battle in Sweden. He supported Christina against the council nobles in the 1640s, and he used the economic troubles arising from the costs of empire and the social discontent

resulting from increasing tax burdens to attack the supporters of aristocratic constitutionalism and the vast gains some of the nobility had made in terms of land donations (alienation) from the crown's domain. Crucial in this struggle was the acceptance by the council and the parliament of a complex program to recover some of the lands alienated to the nobility since 1632, called the "quarter reduction," in 1655. War and the king's death prevented the program's full implementation. Twenty years later, a far-reaching reduction and the destruction of the council aristocracy's powers was completed by his son, Charles XI.

See also Christina (Sweden); Gustavus II Adolphus (Sweden); Oxenstierna, Axel; Sweden; Vasa Dynasty (Sweden).

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BYRON J. NORDSTROM

CHARLES XII (SWEDEN) (1682–1718; ruled 1697–1718), king of Sweden. The son of Charles XI of Sweden and Ulrika Eleonora of Denmark, Charles was raised in the context of Sweden's transition to absolutism. From a distinguished group of tutors he learned Latin, modern languages, history, mathematics, religion, military techniques, and Swedish politics and law. He was deeply religious, intense, tireless, self-assured, uncompromising, secretive, and fully committed to the ideas of Sweden's imperial greatness and divine right absolutism. Not yet fifteen when he his father died, he was recognized as ruling king by the parliament a few months later and wasted no time making it clear that Charles XI's absolutist system would continue. Throughout his reign he was in charge, aided by a handful of favorites including Carl Piper, Thomas Polus, and Georg H. von Görtz.

The first few years of Charles's reign were remarkable for their levity. The teenaged king enjoyed

culture, parties, food, drink, and hunting—and often mixed all of these in flights of decadence. The fun ended abruptly in 1700, when Frederick IV of Denmark, Augustus II the Strong of Poland-Saxony, and Peter the Great of Russia attacked Sweden's Baltic holdings from three directions. The Great Northern War (1700–1721) consumed the rest of Charles XII's life. It became his obsession, and it was in his conduct of this war that Charles's place in history was forged.

The coalition Sweden faced appeared insurmountable, but the nature of early modern alliances and warfare worked in Charles's favor. He did not have to defeat the combined forces of his enemies. He could deal with them individually. From 1700 to 1708, he was successful, and it was then that he earned a reputation for daring, command skills, and near invincibility. The Danes were forced out of the war in August 1700 (Treaty of Traventhal). The Russians lost the Battle of Narva in November 1700, but were not pursued or truly defeated. Charles's attention turned to Poland, then led by Augustus II the Strong of Saxony, where a series of campaigns and political intrigues spanning six years finally led to peace, concluded at Altranstädt in 1706.

In 1707, Charles launched a campaign against Russia. His plans to strike at Moscow were undone by the Russians' harassing tactics, failure of reinforcements to reach him, dwindling supplies, and the severe winter of 1708–1709. Charles was forced to turn south into the Ukraine. On 28 June 1709, he attacked the Russians at Poltava. The odds were against him. The Russians were well prepared, and the Swedes were outnumbered in every way. Charles, who had been wounded a few days earlier, could not direct the battle effectively, and he underestimated his enemy. Suffering horrible losses, the Swedes were forced to retreat. Two days later what was left of the army and its hangers-on surrendered at Perevolotjna, while Charles and a small body of supporters fled into the Ottoman Empire.

For over five years the war and affairs of state were conducted from exile, first at Bender in Bessarabia and then from Demotika west of Constantinople. Charles was a guest and then a prisoner of the Turks. He was allowed to leave in late 1714, going first to Stralsund and returning to Sweden a



Charles XII (Sweden). Detail of a portrait by David von Krafft, 1719. THE ART ARCHIVE/MUSÉE DU CHÂTEAU DE VERSAILLES/DAGLI ORTI

year later. During his absence, the coalition reformed and was joined by Brandenburg and Hanover. The Baltic provinces fell; Finland and the German territories were occupied. Charles refused to sue for peace and ordered new armies and new campaigns. The human and material costs to Sweden were enormous. A 1716 campaign against Norway failed. A new campaign began in 1718, when Fredriksten (Fredrikshald) fortress on the Norwegian-Swedish border was besieged and central Norway attacked. On the night of 30 November 1718, while inspecting the works, Charles was shot in the head and died instantly. Who killed him has remained a question ever since. The Norwegian forces were firing from the fortress and could have hit the king. Many have preferred the murder option and argued that he was shot by someone in his own party. Simple war-weariness could have been the motive, or it could have been part of a conspiracy to assure the succession of his sister, Ulrika Eleonora, and her husband Fredrik. In this ongoing debate serious historical research and folk legends have often merged. Whatever the truth, Sweden's age of empire died with Charles. A set of peace treaties

ended the war and stripped Sweden of most of its empire. A peaceful change of constitution ended absolutism.

See also **Augustus II the Strong (Saxony and Poland); Denmark; Northern Wars (1655–1660, 1700–1721); Sweden.**

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BYRON J. NORDSTROM

CHARLES THE BOLD (BURGUNDY) (1433–1477), duke of Burgundy. Charles was the last of the Valois dukes of Burgundy. The son of Duke Philip the Good and Isabella of Portugal, he was born in 1433. As a youngster he had a reputation for unbounded energy, a fierce temper, and a determination to win glory in battle. His impetuous nature in politics and battle led to his designation as Charles le Teméraire, "the Bold" but equally "the Rash." Because Charles was more absorbed in war than his father, Charles's court was less important as a center of art, but he had a fondness for music that helped create the Flemish School of Music. Two years before his father's death in 1467 he took control of the vast territories of the House of Burgundy—the duchy of Burgundy, Flanders, and Artois, lands in the kingdom of France; and the county of Burgundy (the Franche-Comté), Brabant, Friesland, Hainaut, Holland, Luxembourg, and Zeeland, units of the Holy Roman Empire. The two Burgundies were separated from his provinces in the Netherlands by Alsace and Lorraine, and one of his goals was uniting his lands by gaining control of the last two territories. Another was gaining the title of king so

he would be the equal of his rival, Louis XI of France.

As one of the peers of France, Charles involved himself in plots against Louis. He and his French allies in the League of the Public Weal were victorious over Louis in the Battle of Montlhéry in July 1465, but as they failed in a subsequent attack on Paris, little came of their victory. Charles began negotiations with Holy Roman Emperor Frederick III (ruled 1440–1493) to marry Mary, Charles's daughter with his first wife Isabelle de Bourbon, to Frederick's son Maximilian and to gain from him the title of king. In 1473 negotiations with Frederick over Charles's coronation broke down at the last minute, and Charles decided to win by arms what he could not by bargaining.

After arranging for Edward IV of England to invade France, Charles began a campaign to conquer Alsace and the Rhine Valley in 1474. The Swiss, frightened by Charles's pretensions of reestablishing the old kingdom of Burgundy that included much of western Switzerland, allied with Louis XI. The French paid the Swiss Confederation a substantial sum to wage war on Charles. Involved in Alsace, he was forced to leave the Swiss unpunished after they ravaged the county of Burgundy in 1474. When in 1475 Edward agreed to a truce with Louis instead of undertaking the joint campaign to divide up France with Charles, the latter turned his attention to the Swiss. Assembling the heavy lancers of Burgundy, regarded as the best cavalry in Europe; the cream of Europe's foot soldiers, who included Italian crossbowmen, English archers, and pikemen from the Low Countries; and the best artillery train yet seen, Charles led his forces into Switzerland in February 1476. A brief siege took the town of Grandson, and Charles hanged every defender as an example to the Swiss. As his army moved eastward, it ran into the Swiss forces that, as was their practice, were marching in battle order. Charles had little time to form his lines before the Swiss phalanxes were on top of his men. Desperately trying to rally them, the duke had to be dragged from the battlefield.

Undaunted by this defeat, Charles rebuilt his army with his usual energy. By June he was back in the field. While laying siege to Morat, Charles came under attack from the Swiss, who had rapidly reas-



Charles the Bold. Contemporary portrait painting.

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sembled. The ability of the Swiss to move quickly across a field of artillery fire allowed them to reach the Burgundian lines and rout them. While Charles got away, most of his men were slaughtered. Yet he once again assembled an army, although smaller than his previous ones. His wrath was especially directed at the duke of Lorraine, who had joined the Swiss at Morat. In late 1476 he moved into Lorraine and laid siege to Nancy. The Swiss arrived in early January and as usual moved immediately into battle. Badly outnumbering the Burgundians, the Swiss routed them on 5 January 1477 and killed Charles. His frozen body with its head cleaved “from crown to chin” by a halberd was found two days later.

Charles’s lands passed to Mary, his only child. Louis XI, who took advantage of Charles’s death to recover the duchy of Burgundy and Artois for the French crown, pressed her to marry his young son Charles. Being a Burgundian, however, she refused with disdain and married Maximilian of Austria (Holy Roman emperor; ruled 1493–1519). This was the first in the series of marriages that passed

much of Europe to Charles’s great-grandson Charles V (ruled 1519–1556), who was named for him.

See also **Burgundy; France; Switzerland; Valois Dynasty (France).**

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FREDERIC J. BAUMGARTNER

CHARLESTON. Founded by Englishmen from Barbados, Charleston was a port, a center of religious toleration, and a slave society, all from the very beginning. A part of the English colony of “Carolina,” which included what is today South Carolina, North Carolina, and Georgia, Charleston was first established (in 1670) on a swampy site several miles from its current location. In 1690 residents relocated to the current city, which is located on a peninsula between two rivers.

Charleston’s inhabitants were slave-owning planters intent on cultivating a staple crop. Although rates of disease were high and the land was initially difficult to cultivate, Charlestonians relied on the expertise of African slaves, whose labor built substantial trade in meat, rice, and (later) the dye-producing plant, indigo.

Included in John Locke’s 1669 charter for the colony was freedom of worship, noticeably absent in Boston and Virginia. Charleston had a small population of Jews, and in 1685, after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, numerous Huguenot families migrated to Charleston. In the eighteenth century, Scottish immigrants added to the diversity of the city and surrounding counties.

By 1742, Charleston was the fourth largest city in British North America. Although somewhat distant from other centers of colonial resistance, it furnished numerous Revolutionary leaders, including the president of the first Continental Congress and several signers of the Declaration of Independence. With a population of 12,000 in 1775,

Charleston was an appealing target for the British Navy during the War of American Independence. While an attack on Fort Moultrie failed in June of 1776, the city succumbed to a siege in May of 1780 and remained occupied until hostilities ended in 1782.

Charlestonians were ardent supporters of the Revolutionary ideals of liberty and equality, but their economic and cultural differences from the other new states, especially slavery, strained the unity forged in war. As the eighteenth century ended, sectional tensions emerged, foreshadowing the divide that would separate Charleston from other major cities in the nineteenth century.

See also American Independence, War of (1775–1783); Boston; British Colonies: North America; Huguenots; New York; Philadelphia; Slavery and the Slave Trade.

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FIONA DEANS HALLORAN

CHARLETON, WALTER (1620–1707), English physician and natural philosopher. Charleton was born in Shepton Mallet, Somerset, England, in 1619/20 and died in London in 1707. His tutor at Oxford, where Charleton earned a “doctor of physick” in 1643, was John Wilkins. His close relationship with the circle around William Harvey (1578–1657) influenced his thinking. He was appointed physician-in-ordinary to King Charles I, who was then at Oxford. He settled in London in 1650, remaining a loyal Royalist during the Interregnum, and was appointed physician to Charles II in 1660. During 1651 and 1652, he became acquainted with the new French natural philosophy of Pierre Gassendi (1592–1655) and René Descartes (1596–1650). Charleton was one of the original members of the Royal Society. Because of professional jealousy, he was not admitted to the College of Physicians until 1676, although he served as its president from 1689 to 1691. He served as senior censor in the College of Physicians

from 1698 to 1706 and delivered Harveian orations in 1702 and 1706. His medical practice eventually declined as his Royalist patients died off. Charleton died impoverished in London in 1707. His extensive writings included translations and paraphrases of some of J. B. van Helmont’s (1579–1644) medical books and of Gassendi’s Christianized Epicureanism, some original medical treatises, an explanation of Stonehenge, a biography of William Cavendish, duke of Newcastle, and an oration on the restoration of Charles II.

Charleton’s first published work, the *Spiritus Gorgonicus* (1650), is an account of the formation of stones in the body, based on Paracelsian and Helmontian sources. The *Ternary of Paradoxes* (1650) includes a translation of van Helmont’s *Magnetic Cure of Wounds*, a work describing the action of the weapon salve by which Paracelsian physicians claimed to be able to cure wounds across considerable distances, by treating the sword that inflicted the wound or other materials containing blood from the wound. The influence of Helmontian ideas remains evident in many of his later medical writings. During the 1650s, Charleton wrote several works, paraphrasing Gassendi’s attempt to Christianize Epicureanism. Like Gassendi, Charleton tried to incorporate it into providential Christianity so that it could serve as a theologically acceptable replacement for Aristotelianism. Charleton’s books were among the first and most important vehicles by which Epicurean thought came to Britain in the mid-seventeenth century.

The Darknes of Atheism, Dispelled by the Light of Nature (1652) is a self-proclaimed work on natural theology, closely following Gassendi’s arguments. Charleton gave an account of the natural world in *Physiologia Epicuro-Gassendo-Charltoniana: or A Fabrick of Science Natural, Upon the Hypothesis of Atoms, Founded by Epicurus, Repaired by Petrus Gassendus, Augmented by Walter Charleton* (1654), a paraphrase of Gassendi’s *Syntagma Philosophiae Epicuri* (1649). Like Gassendi, Charleton rejected the materialism of Epicurean atomism. The mechanization of the world was limited by the existence of incorporeal entities: God, angels, and the human soul. Accordingly, Charleton published a dialogue entitled *The Immortality of the Human Soul, Demonstrated by the Light of Nature* (1657). Charleton presented a modified version of Epicurean ethics in

his Introduction to *Epicurus' Morals* (1656). Although he accepted the basic tenets of a hedonistic ethics, Charleton objected to three of Epicurus' assertions: the mortality of the soul; the denial of providence and consequently the lack of obligation "to honour, revere, and worship God"; and the endorsement of suicide as "an Act of Heroick Fortitude in case of intollerable or otherwise inevitable Calamity." Charleton's Epicurean works were well known in the seventeenth century and were one source by which Robert Boyle, John Locke, and Isaac Newton became acquainted with Epicurean philosophy.

See also Boyle, Robert; Catholic Spirituality and Mysticism; Descartes, René; Gassendi, Pierre; Harvey, William; Helmont, Jean Baptiste van; Locke, John; Medicine; Newton, Isaac; Wilkins, John.

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MARGARET J. OSLER

CHEMISTRY. The history of early modern chemistry, understood as a body of ideas and practices related to compounding and decomposing material substances, takes us to alchemy and apothecary laboratories, artisans' workshops, metallurgists and manufacturers, scientific societies, arsenals, royal courts, and public squares. It should not be understood in terms of the victory of scientific theory over arcane beliefs, but of the changing employment of its various technologies and the contexts in and by which they were legitimized.

MATERIAL AND BODILY TECHNOLOGY

Chemistry's material technology—that is, its instruments and laboratory equipment—remained stable throughout most of the period, but was augmented by precision-oriented apparatus in the second half of the eighteenth century as the study of heat and gases, along with early industrial innovations, redir-

ected chemical investigations. Increasingly accurate measuring devices helped bring about standardization in manufacturing ventures (e.g. Josiah Wedgwood's pottery works) while feeding debates over how to organize chemistry as an investigative enterprise. Should the heterogeneous chemical world be disciplined by analyzing qualitative or quantitative data?

The way chemical operators and investigators used their own bodies was part of this historical development and debate. As long as chemical determination rested on examining colors, smells, tastes and textures, the human senses served as crucial chemical instruments. As experimental claims increasingly relied on precise measurements by the late eighteenth century (a hallmark of the chemical revolution), sense evidence became "subjective" and, hence, a questionable foundation for proof. Chemists continued to rely on their senses, but proof became increasingly a matter of quantitative determination.

THEORY AND PRACTICE

The question of what constituted a primary chemical element was not a part of practical chemists' daily routine. Neither, prior to the late eighteenth century, was there a direct correlation between one's theoretical views and how one actually carried out chemical procedures, which can be seen by examining the impact of the mechanical philosophy on chemistry. Textbook writers such as Nicolas Lémery (1645–1715) attributed a substance's qualities to the shape of particles that composed it. But authors left such explanations behind when dealing with actual chemical operations. Robert Boyle (1627–1691), often labeled a mechanical philosopher, made a bigger impact on chemistry through his interests in practical knowledge and alchemy. Even Isaac Newton's (1642–1727) mechanism, which married particles to short-range forces, hardly touched chemical practice—although theorists such as Georges-Louis Leclerc de Buffon (1707–1788) hoped chemical attraction (affinities) could be explained mathematically with Newtonian forces. Working chemists continued to learn their trade through apprenticeship and to be guided by practical recipes. Acquiring tacit knowledge and practical skills, then, were certainly as important for the his-

torical development of chemistry as theoretical knowledge.

It is, however, historically important that matter theory became linked to chemical research in an increasingly instrumental way by the eighteenth century. Paracelsus (1493–1541), who argued for the chemical foundation of medicine (iatrochemistry), claimed that Aristotle's four elements appeared in bodies as mercury, sulfur, and salt. Mercury was the principle of volatility and fusibility, sulfur of inflammability, and salt of incombustibility. Therefore, chemists might recognize a compound not only as heavy or wet, but also as liable to specific chemical processes.

Johann Joachim Becher (1635–1682) substituted three categories of earth for Paracelsus's principles and explained material change largely in terms of their combination with and release from compounds through processes such as combustion. His student George Ernst Stahl (1660–1734) further codified Becher's work, giving the name "phlogiston" (from the Greek verb "to inflame") to Becher's *terra pinguis* (the sulfur of inflammability) and teaching that phlogiston's presence was responsible for characteristics including metallicity, color, and inflammability. In France, the influential chemistry lecturer Guillaume François Rouelle (1703–1770) popularized the idea of phlogiston, associating it with fire. Others such as Joseph Priestley (1733–1804) identified it variously with electricity and hydrogen. Phlogiston was used to explain phenomena including combustion, calcination, and the quality of air, thereby organizing a number of research activities under a set of interconnecting theories and emphasizing the potential reversibility of chemical processes.

Others began considering the Aristotelian elements as material instruments. Stephen Hales (1677–1761) focused on the expansion of air and the way in which it could become "fixed" in bodies. Herman Boerhaave (1668–1738) went further, organizing his chemistry lectures largely around the investigative consequences of considering earth, water, air, and fire as instruments that afforded specific chemical processes. A Newtonian by public pronouncement, Boerhaave actually did much more to stimulate chemical research by focusing on the reactive effects of these elemental instruments. He

related fire (the substance of heat) to the primary processes of expansion and repulsion. He presented air and water as providing containers in which other particles were suspended. It wasn't long before these "instruments" themselves were subjected to chemical analysis, as investigators sought to understand whether their "instrumental" presence was chemically passive or active. Research in the second half of the eighteenth century was marked by investigations of newly discovered gases (qualitatively distinct "airs"), the role of heat, and, in the 1780s, the composition of water.

LITERARY TECHNOLOGY

Chemical theory and instrumental research practices were also linked in the way chemical knowledge came to be organized nomenclaturally and in analytical tables (chemistry's literary technology). Related to the heritage of alchemy and the various contexts in which chemical substances were discovered and used, chemical nomenclature was traditionally a colorfully unsystematic affair. Growing interest in chemical research in the second half of the eighteenth century, especially the investigation of a number of new "airs," led chemists to consider nomenclatural reform. Standard conventions for naming new substances would allow researchers from various communities to communicate. In 1787 Antoine Laurent Lavoisier (1743–1794), Louis Bernard Guyton de Morveau (1737–1816), Antoine François Fourcroy (1755–1809), and Claude Simon Berthollet (1748–1822) revamped chemistry's nomenclature totally, enunciating in their *Méthode de nomenclature chimique* a revolutionary way to structure chemistry's investigative knowledge and practices.

Oxygen's discovery and naming provides a good example. Recognized in the 1770s as a distinct "air" responsible for combustion, supporting respiration, and the process of calcination, it was variously named the "purest part of air," "fire air," "eminently respirable air," and "dephlogisticated air." Lavoisier focused on what he considered its most far-reaching characteristic and argued that it should be called "oxygen," the "generator" of acids. Not only did he use oxygen's causal properties to argue against the existence of phlogiston, he named the substance in a way that simultaneously reflected how the relation between these properties

ought to be understood and how chemists ought to pursue future research.

Traditionally, the secretive nature of many alchemical and artisanal practices had combined with chemistry's lack of institutional and disciplinary unity to work against the development of a public, systematic means of recording compositional data. This began changing when Étienne François Geoffroy (1672–1731) presented his “Table of the different relationships observed between different substances” to the French Academy of Sciences in 1718. Recording and publishing these relationships, often called affinities, provided a handy way for chemists to share and expand empirical knowledge without having to agree on their theoretical explanation. As the century progressed, affinity and solvent tables became more sophisticated (recording, for example, how relations were observed), leading chemists to hope that their field might thereby gain the certainty of a scientific discipline. As was true with nomenclatural reform, this was largely achieved by Lavoisier and his colleagues, with revolutionary results. Lavoisier's 1789 textbook *Traité élémentaire de chimie* included tables whose structures redirected research along the same lines as chemistry's new nomenclature.

Lavoisier began his textbook by arguing that humans live in a Condillacian world; chemists should therefore build their discipline on a foundation of sensible facts. Chemistry's nomenclature should express only what chemists actively observed; its basic elements should be defined by laboratory procedures. In fact, Lavoisier began his “table of simple substances” with five elements that could never be isolated, but which he made responsible for fundamental chemical processes. Oxygen “generates” acidity, hydrogen “generates” water. Caloric, the substance of heat, interacts with chemical affinities to regulate composition and decomposition. In place of affinity and solvent tables, Lavoisier filled his textbook with tables that simultaneously recorded and predicted the combinatorial powers of elements such as oxygen. Together they formed an integrated research program intended to discipline chemistry.

CHEMISTRY'S INSTRUMENTALIZATION

Lavoisier's laboratory practices reflected what appeared on the pages of his book, the last third of

which treated laboratory instruments. If primary elements couldn't be isolated, Lavoisier argued that their active presence could be quantitatively traced. Unmeasurable phlogiston was out, precision balances were in, as seen in his proof that water is compounded of hydrogen and oxygen. Affinities could not yet be quantified, but the effect of caloric on composition and decomposition could be quantitatively inferred by the melting of ice in an ice calorimeter—an instrument designed by Lavoisier. In general, nomenclature, instrumental theory, and measurement provided a research program for future chemists, in terms of both questions and methods for resolving them.

This culmination of chemistry's instrumentalization was, arguably, the essence of the chemical revolution. Whether others adopted Lavoisier's theories or followed the specifics of his research proposals, the modern discipline of chemistry was permanently marked by the instrumental bounds he prescribed.

See also Alchemy; Apothecaries; Boerhaave, Herman; Boyle, Robert; Lavoisier, Antoine; Paracelsus; Priestley, Joseph.

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LISSA ROBERTS

CHILDHOOD AND CHILDREARING. Children under sixteen constituted at least

one-third and as much as half of the population of early modern Europe at any given time. Despite that prominence, their thoughts and experiences only began to receive attention from historians in the late twentieth century. Early modern publications dealing with ideals of childhood and childrearing advice, by contrast, have long been much more accessible and therefore more fully scrutinized. After a brief summary of the relevant historiography, this article discusses both prescriptive and descriptive evidence on the experience of childhood and childrearing in the early modern era.

THE HISTORY OF CHILDHOOD

Until the second half of the twentieth century, historians of Europe generally neglected the history of childhood, assuming that such an endeavor was either impossible (because of source limitations) or pointless (because of the constancy of childish experience). The major turning point came in 1960 with the publication of Philippe Ariès's *Centuries of Childhood*, which famously made the provocative assertion that "in medieval society the idea of childhood did not exist" (Ariès, 1996). The worlds of adults and children, in other words, were not nearly as distinct as in modern times, and parents did not invest the amount of sentimental affection in their offspring that is typical of modern families. Since then a number of scholarly works have definitively established that this bold generalization is false, though to be fair to Ariès, the English translation of "idea" does not fully convey the sense of the original French "*sentiment*."

More important, Ariès's controversial work triggered a flood of publications over the next four decades that took on the history of childhood as a subject worthy of scholarly scrutiny. Initially historians accepted Ariès's thesis with minor modifications, focusing on the causes of what were generally considered progressive changes. By the end of the 1980s, though, scholarly consensus had shifted toward continuity from medieval to modern times, much of it biologically predetermined. During the last decade or so of the twentieth century emphasis shifted back toward the importance of different cultural contexts in the ideals and experiences of childhood. Consequently the current points of contention among early modern historians involve which aspects of either the concept or experience of Euro-

pean childhood did in fact change by the beginning of the nineteenth century as well as where, when, and why.

CHILDHOOD PRESCRIBED: IDEALS AND CHILDBEARING ADVICE

All debates about childhood during the early modern period revolved around two issues, namely the inherent nature of the child and the subsequent malleability of that nature. Roughly speaking, three approaches emerged in the prescriptive literature. One considered all children evil by nature and therefore in need of strong discipline; a second viewed children as essentially good but still in need of guidance; and a third conceived of children as largely blank slates, neither inherently good nor inherently evil and thus likewise requiring instruction. At the beginning of the early modern era, the first view dominated, but by the eighteenth century it had been mostly supplanted, at least among intellectuals and government leaders, by the second and third ways of thinking. A fourth, more radical, approach argued that education itself was the problem, but this theory had more of an immediate literary and philosophical than practical effect on childrearing.

The common emphasis of all but the most radical approach on the value and necessity of education was in fact a hallmark of the early modern period. Medieval authors, like their classical predecessors, tended to see an individual's childhood merely as indicative of his or her particular character and potential as an adult. This character was for the most part inherited and fixed, usually by social status. Talented individuals could further develop their talents through education, but no amount of training could overcome baseness of birth.

Christianity added an egalitarian aspect to the questions of universal human nature and the power of education, but the implications for childhood were ambivalent. On the one hand, Christian leaders since the time of Jesus had recognized the privileged place of childlike faith and innocence, evident in such Gospel passages as Mark 10:14–15: "Whosoever shall not receive the kingdom of God as a little child, he shall not enter therein." Some ancient authors believed that children had their own guardian angels, and in 374 the Christian emperors Valentinian, Valens, and Gratian made the common



Childhood and Childrearing. *The Children of Habert de Montfort* (councillor in the Paris parlement), painting by Philippe de Champaigne, 1649. THE ART ARCHIVE/MUSÉE SAINT DENIS REIMS/DAGLI ORTI

Roman practice of infanticide a capital offense. On the other hand, many of the church fathers, particularly in the West, stressed the immediate effects of original sin in all children. Saint Augustine (354–430) in particular refuted all notions of childish innocence, arguing that even the newborn infant possessed all of the selfish and lustful appetites that resulted from Adam and Eve’s Fall. Augustine’s influence was considerable, subsequently giving support to both theological arguments about limbo (a special part of hell reserved for unbaptized infants) and the case for infant baptism itself, a common practice by the early Middle Ages.

By the beginning of the early modern era, the tensions within this dualistic concept of childhood had led to two distinct ways of thinking about childrearing and therefore education. The Augustinian emphasis on the effects of original sin lay at the heart of the salvation process described by Martin Luther (1483–1546) and most other sixteenth-century Protestants. Luther often spoke affectionately about his own children and was devastated at two deaths

among them, yet he also acknowledged their inherently sinful nature, a universal theme in evangelical and Reformed publications. One German Protestant tract of the 1520s argued at length that all infant hearts craved “adultery, fornication, impure desires, lewdness, idol worship, belief in magic, hostility, quarrelling, passion, anger, strife, dissension, factiousness, hatred, murder, drunkenness, gluttony,” and so on. Many Catholics shared this dark view of childhood. A century later the superior of the Oratorian Order in France agreed that “childhood is the vilest and most abject of human nature, after that of death.”

Because all children were naturally inclined toward sin, such authors favored strict and constant discipline, usually including corporal punishment when necessary. Most of this training was to take place within the household, but clerical leaders often feared that fathers and mothers had not the time, inclination, or ability for proper religious instruction. In fact religious reformers frequently accused parents of spoiling and indulging their chil-

dren rather than breaking their stubborn and selfish wills. Universal education consequently became a high priority for Protestant and Catholic leaders alike. Following Luther's example in 1529, each of the major denominations issued its own catechism for the instruction of the young and others in matters of faith. Many secular authorities made catechism classes or Sunday school mandatory; some governments attempted the same for basic grammar school.

The results were mixed. On the one hand, the number of both Latin and vernacular schools went up dramatically during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In Lutheran Electoral Saxony, for instance, only 50 percent of parishes had schools for boys in 1580, and 10 percent had schools for girls. By 1675 the figures had risen to 94 percent and 40 percent respectively. Among Catholics, religious orders with special teaching missions, such as the Jesuits and the Ursulines, thrived, founding hundreds of secondary schools and colleges across Europe. At the same time attendance at such schools was uneven and in many instances almost nonexistent, especially at harvesttime, when the labor of the children was needed most. Visitation reports on various parishes also call into question just how much was learned at such schools, suggesting that initial attempts at both religious indoctrination and teaching literacy failed more than they succeeded. Even when numerous free elementary schools for the poor began to open in the late-seventeenth century, school attendance before the age of thirteen remained spotty until made compulsory almost two centuries later.

A second impetus for education of children outside the home came from a group of individuals with quite different ideas about human nature and childhood. From the fourteenth century on, Italian, and later northern, humanists conducted a literary campaign to promote education as a moral as well as a civic virtue. Human nature, they argued, was both essentially good and malleable. Fluency in the *ars humanitatis*, or humanities, provided the citizens of a republic such as Florence or Venice with the clarity of thinking and eloquence of expression that were essential in all political debates and decisions. The practical skills taught by humanist tutors, moreover, gave young students a leg up on many highly coveted government positions. Finally, a humanist

education, admittedly available to a privileged few, had a civilizing effect on young children, allowing them to fulfill the individual potential for good that its advocates saw in all individuals, regardless of birth.

Outside of Italy the humanist education of children took on a much greater moral significance. The Christian humanist Desiderius Erasmus (1466?–1536) elegantly encapsulated his childrearing philosophy in the series of books and pamphlets he published during the 1520s: “[A child] ought to imbibe, as it were, with the milk that he suckles, the nectar of education, [for] he will most certainly turn out to be an unproductive brute unless at once and without delay he is subjected to a process of intensive instruction.” Unlike Luther and other pessimists about human nature, Erasmus believed a child's nature was largely unformed, affected by original sin but not incapacitated by it. His method therefore comprised a mixture of play and learning as well as a noticeable absence of corporal punishment. Education—meaning manners as well as literacy and religious instruction—was the indispensable shaper of the adult to be. For Erasmus parental neglect of a child's education was a worse crime than infanticide, since it sentenced the unwitting offspring to a life of ignorance, depravity, and overall bestiality.

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries countless pamphlets, tracts, and books appeared on childhood and childrearing. Most took either a Lutheran or an Erasmian line on the subject of a child's nature and education. Among the most innovative publications were those written by English Puritan authors, who combined elements of both approaches. Though inherently inclined toward sin, they argued, the child's will could effectively be channeled rather than broken. Again the household was the ideal setting for this type of formation, and both parents shared a responsibility in childrearing as a whole—a task that predecessors consistently assigned primarily to the father. Puritan authors also displayed the most attention to the particular circumstances of childhood and the most successful methods of education.

By the time of the Enlightenment the negative view of childhood was in clear decline among the learned elites of Europe, though it never died out.

Two authors played especially important roles in this transformation. In *Some Thoughts concerning Education* (1693), the English philosopher John Locke (1632–1704) compared the mind of a child to a blank piece of paper or unformed piece of wax, possessing no innate tendencies toward good or evil. Rather, Locke argued, the responsibility for the child's future character lay with the parents, who could see that the child was well-educated in morality and letters or neglect it to malignant influences. Like Erasmus, Locke considered reason and play much more effective tools than the rod but deplored mothers who weakened their children by coddling them. A self-acknowledged disciple of Locke, Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778) went to the farthest extreme in his denial of the child's fallen nature, arguing in *Émile* (1762) that the very nature of the child was good and that society, including formalized education, corrupted that goodness. Rousseau's notion of a "natural" upbringing lent support to the contemporary maternal breast-feeding movement in Europe and likewise coincided with many social reformers' complaints about schools and other child institutions. Not until the nineteenth century, though, did his pedagogical philosophy have a significant impact on formal education.

CHILDHOOD EXPERIENCED: *INFANTIA* (BIRTH TO AGE TWO)

The first two years of a child's life, known as *infantia* in most early modern descriptions, were probably the most dangerous in terms of survival. In addition to a high rate of miscarriages and stillbirths, early modern Europe was characterized by an extremely high mortality rate for infants, at least by modern standards. Only seven or eight out of ten newborn babies would live to the age of one, and an additional two out of ten would die before reaching the age of ten. Many factors contributed to this predicament, including swaddling and other poor hygiene conditions, fatal childhood diseases (particularly smallpox, measles, and tuberculosis), and inadequate nourishment. Most of these causes were beyond any parent's control. Physicians could offer no effective cures for any of the deadly diseases and beyond that were unavailable to the great majority of the population, who instead relied on various home remedies, potions, ointments, regimens, and charms. Even a potentially harmful practice that was

deliberate, such as swaddling, had a basis in some practical concerns, such as keeping the infant warm and restrained while left unattended for long periods of time. The same good intentions were true of sharing a bed with an infant, which sometimes resulted in overlaying, or accidental suffocation of the baby. Consequently there was no discernible difference in infant mortality by social class until the eighteenth century and no significant improvement overall until the late nineteenth century.

Then as now, the subject of nourishment and breast-feeding in particular could be quite controversial. Whether by choice or necessity, most women apparently nursed their own children at home. This practice was endorsed by physicians as well as folk healers, who recognized mother's milk as the healthiest option, especially given the absence of pasteurized milk until the late nineteenth century. The age of weaning could be anytime between six months and two years, depending on various factors, such as the economic status of the parents, health of the mother, sex and size of the infant, local customs, and so forth. At the same time the practice of wet-nursing, or sending a child to another woman in the country, was also a common practice, particularly in large cities, such as Paris and Milan. An infant's chances of survival were three to four times greater if nursed by its own mother rather than a stranger, but not until the eighteenth century did wealthy women heed the advice of physicians on this question. Many poor working women, on the other hand, had no alternative to wet-nursing for their children and thus continued to send their infants to "baby farms," with their shockingly high rates of infant mortality, well into the nineteenth century.

Infant abandonment was also a fairly common phenomenon in early modern Europe. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the typical foundling (*enfant trouvé*, French; *expósito*, Spanish; *gettello*, Italian; *Findelkind*, German) was the product of an illicit union, abandoned by a single mother who feared the consequences to her reputation. Since, outside of Italy, the numbers were relatively small, and 80 to 90 percent of foundlings under the age of two died within a short period, various foundling homes, orphanages, and hospitals were generally able to cope with those infants who survived into childhood. The eighteenth century, how-

ever, witnessed a sharp increase in the number of abandoned children in Europe, particularly in large cities. In Paris, for instance, the annual abandonment rate more than tripled between 1700 and 1789, going from 1,700 to about 6,000 foundlings per year. By the end of the century, one in four babies was abandoned in the cities of Toulouse and Milan, a rate that continued to climb everywhere in Europe until the mid-nineteenth century. Most of the babies continued to be illegitimate, but married couples also increasingly abandoned their children, sometimes as a temporary child-care measure. Many local studies have established a close correlation between rising food prices (often due to famine) and increased abandonment.

The most extreme fate for an unwanted child was death by infanticide. Here too the majority of the perpetrators convicted during the early modern period were single mothers, usually domestic maids, who feared the reputational and economic consequences of giving birth to a bastard child. A number of new ordinances and legal codes during the sixteenth century, most notably the Holy Roman Empire's *Carolina* (1532), brought new attention to infanticide and prescribed precise measures for preventing, detecting, and punishing the crime. There is no basis for believing that such laws corresponded to an actual increase in infanticides. Their social impact, however, was undeniable. By the eighteenth century, infanticide had become the most common cause of female executions in Europe. Only a number of tracts by Enlightenment authors eventually roused pity for the situations of most of these women and led to the abolishment of capital punishment for infanticide.

Historians in the Ariès school have cited the unbearably high possibility of an infant's death as an argument that parents would invest few emotional or material resources in a child until at least the age of two. Here the historical evidence can offer no satisfactory resolution. Despite the obvious logic of withholding one's affections until it was safer as well as the frequent reuse of the names of dead babies, many parents clearly grieved greatly at the loss of an infant. At the same time abandonments that were fairly certain to end in the child's death continued to grow in number throughout the early modern period. No historical evidence is likely to resolve this paradox.

CHILDHOOD EXPERIENCED: *PUERITIA* (AGE TWO TO TWELVE)

Having survived infancy, an early modern child was freed to explore the world outside its crib. Toddlers and small children of the era probably experienced much less adult oversight than modern children—a fact clearly evident by the high number of accidental deaths recorded. In any event they spent the majority of their time with female relatives—mothers, sisters, aunts, grandmothers, nurses, or governesses. Of the major achievements of toddlerhood, walking upright was clearly valued the greatest, prompting parents to employ a variety of strings and props or—among middle- and upper-class families—backboards and iron collars for girls to speed the process. Toilet training, by contrast, often occurred late or haphazardly.

Above all, children under seven enjoyed relative immunity from the world of work. With the exception of a few small tasks requiring little strength or skill (for example, collecting firewood or feeding livestock), their time was devoted completely to play. Some of this entertainment might be provided by adults in the form of nursery rhymes, lullabies, riddles, counting games, and so on. The stories later known as fairy tales were likewise passed down from generation to generation, each invoking its own mixture of fantasy, humor, and monsters ranging from trolls and bogeymen to Turks and—during the Thirty Years' War—Swedes. Some common toys, such as dolls, marbles, and spinning tops, were manufactured, but most playthings were improvised until the proto-industrialization of the eighteenth century brought specialized toy shops selling jigsaw puzzles, board games, and miniature soldiers.

The age of seven marked a key transition in many respects. Until that point, for instance, children were usually dressed in unisex tunics or gowns. Afterward they began to wear clothing more appropriate to their genders, boys putting on breeches and possibly carrying a knife (or a sword among the nobility), girls wearing dresses and skirts. This symbolic joining of adult society usually corresponded to new life experiences for the child. The Catholic Church had long taught that seven was the age of reason (and therefore conscience); popular wisdom held that this was when children became teachable. On farms this meant full participation in the adult work as divided by gender. Occasionally a boy was

sent to an apprenticeship at this age, although that usually came more around the age of twelve to fourteen, as did domestic servitude for girls. If a family could afford it, a boy (and sometimes a girl) might be sent to a Latin grammar school, a vernacular school, or one of the unregulated and independent “corner schools.” Poor families in cities might send a child to beg in the streets at this age, when she or he was young enough to evoke pity and old enough to make the most of it. Finally, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries more and more children were employed in weaving and other forms of cottage industry, in some cases earning up to one-quarter of the household’s income. In general child labor was considered quite normal until the excesses of nineteenth-century industrialization.

The new gender specificity in work was also evident in recreation and leisure, with boys and girls gradually playing less with one another and instead separating into “gangs” of boys and smaller groups of girls. Games and pastimes included various forms of chasing, hunting, racing, daring, guessing, and pretending, with sports preferred among the older boys. Occasionally youth groups, especially boys, would engage in rough street games, petty thefts, pranks, and vandalism. In cities these gangs might also engage in violent confrontations with groups from other parishes or neighborhoods, each carving out its own “turf” against rivals. Secular authorities throughout Europe repeatedly complained of rowdy and unruly children in the streets, apparently to little effect.

There was no indisputable age when childhood ended, just as there was no universal age of reaching adulthood. Both transitions, rather, tended to be determined by relative degrees of independence from one’s parents and immediate family. By the age of sixteen, for instance, at least one-half of children had left their family homes to work as servants or apprentices, sometimes for relatives but normally for strangers. Usually this involved a written contract specifying the respective expectations of master and servant, including money paid by the child’s parent (for an apprenticeship) or by the employer (for a domestic servant). Ostensibly the main purpose of the arrangement, typically lasting three to seven years, was for a boy to learn certain marketable skills and for a girl to earn the money for her dowry. The sojourn away from home, however, also

had the effect of reducing a household’s expenditures while the child was away. Those teenagers who remained at home usually worked to contribute to the family’s income. For this reason education beyond the age of twelve or thirteen continued to be a rarity in early modern society. Even among nobles service as a page in another aristocratic household was considered essential to proper socialization and thus the norm until the eighteenth century, at which point formal education became more important. Proto-industrialization and industrialization also contributed to the decline of apprenticeships and servant placements among artisanal and lower-class families, since a youth’s labor was now an asset needed at home.

CONCLUSION

Within a relatively short span of forty years, the history of childhood has become a burgeoning field of research. Still, the knowledge of the ideals of childrearing far surpasses the understanding of the everyday experiences of early modern children. Like their adult counterparts, children were culturally diverse yet commonly bound by their era’s biological and technological “limits of the possible.” Apart from their great susceptibility to premature death or the relative primitiveness of their living conditions, they apparently shared more with modern children than not, at least until the age of seven. Even then a key social transformation was well under way by the close of the eighteenth century, with ever more children starting school rather than work. The abolition of child labor in Europe remained far off, but the foundations for modern childhood had been laid.

See also Education; Family; Gender; Motherhood and Childbearing; Orphans and Foundlings; Youth.

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CHRISTIANITY. See **Anabaptism; Calvinism; Catholicism; Church of England; Clergy; Huguenots; Lutheranism; Methodism; Orthodoxy, Greek; Orthodoxy, Russian; Papacy and Papal States; Puritanism.**

CHRISTINA (SWEDEN) (1626–1689; ruled 1632–1654), queen of Sweden. The daughter of Gustavus II Adolphus of Sweden and Maria Eleonora of Brandenburg, Christina was one of the most remarkable people in Sweden's early modern history. She was intellectually gifted, well educated, intensely interested in the ideas and culture of her period, clever, passionate, self-centered, and deeply troubled. Her life falls into three periods: childhood, when she was heir to the throne of Sweden and for twelve years under the control of a regency (1632–1644); her time as a governing queen (1644–1654); and the thirty-five years she lived as a former queen and cultural dilettante in Rome (1654–1689).

It is usually said that Christina's birth was a disappointment. Gustavus II Adolphus and Maria Eleonora had lost one infant daughter, and a second child was stillborn. Everyone hoped for a male heir, and when Christina was born, she was at first

thought to be a boy. The truth was quickly apparent. As the only surviving child of the royal couple, however, she was raised as heir to the throne. Following her father's death at the Battle of Lützen in 1632, her upbringing became the responsibility of a regency. She was soon separated from her mother, whose melancholy reached dangerous extremes, and raised in the family of her aunt, Katarina. She was educated as a male, learning to ride, fence, and shoot; early on she was exposed to the business of state. Her formal education was in modern and classical languages, the classics, theology, and history. Her passions were philosophy, art, and literature. Her tutor was Johannes Matthiae Gothus, and her mentor in politics was the chancellor, Axel Oxenstierna.

Her life as queen began in 1644 when she reached eighteen, the age of majority. Her ideas and desires put her in conflict with the chancellor and his colleagues in the Council of State. The conflict was both personal and political. The constitutional balance of power in Sweden, which involved the crown, council, nobility, and commons, had shifted with Gustavus II Adolphus's accession in 1611. Sweden seemed to be moving toward becoming an aristocracy, in which real power was in the hands of a few powerful nobles. Axel Oxenstierna was the main architect of these developments, and Christina rejected them.

Christina engaged in several Machiavellian political struggles, which included offsetting the power of the old council nobles, securing peace in Germany, and guaranteeing the survival of hereditary monarchy. She won them all. At court she used favorites, whom she rewarded with important offices, titles, and crown properties. The council swelled from twenty-five to nearly fifty members, and the nobility more than doubled in size. Her excessive donations of the crown properties (the assets of a domain state) shifted the property-owning balance, sapped the state's financial resources, and triggered serious social unrest among the commons.

In the matter of the Thirty Years' War, her wishes for peace were opposed by the chancellor and his supporters, who wanted the war to continue. Sweden was becoming a "warfare state," the costs of security were being paid by allies and ene-



Christina (Sweden). Portrait by Sebastien Bourdon. THE ART ARCHIVE/MUSEO DEL PRADO MADRID/ALBUM/JOSEPH MARTIN

mies, and the nobility benefited. The Peace of Westphalia in 1648 was a victory for Christina.

The succession issue was more complex, involving personal identity, religion, and politics. By 1650 Christina had made it clear she could not marry. This decision arose from her own identity struggles, which may have been complicated by psychological and physiological factors. She also became more discontented with what she thought of as the stifling Lutheran orthodoxy in Sweden, and she was increasingly attracted to Catholicism. Her sense of duty drove her to arrange the succession of her cousin Charles X Gustav of Pfalz-Zweibrücken and his heirs. To do so, she exploited the social and economic concerns of the commons, the tension between the lower nobility and the council aristocracy, and her personal favorites at court. Her abdication, departure from Sweden in 1654, and subsequent conversion to Catholicism followed naturally from these successes.

The longest period of her life, 1654–1689, was spent mostly in Rome. Sensationalizers gossiped about her as a meddler in international affairs, a murderer, and the lover of a cardinal during this

period. In fact, she was a minor player in European politics, most notably when she tried to secure the crown of Naples via an arrangement with France in 1656. The murder accusation arises from her prosecution and execution in 1657 of the Marquis Gian Rinaldo Monaldesco, who betrayed those negotiations to Spain. Her relationship with Cardinal Decio Azzolino was platonic.

Christina was intensely intellectual and wanted to bring mainstream European culture to Sweden. She collected works of art and books, and staged plays and ballets at court. She invited European scholars to Sweden. René Descartes died there while her guest. She also founded the first Swedish “academy.” When she left Sweden, this spirit and her collections went with her. Sweden became a poorer place as a result, while Rome benefited from her lifelong commitment to the arts and culture.

See also Charles X Gustav (Sweden); Gustavus II Adolphus (Sweden); Oxenstierna, Axel; Sweden; Thirty Years’ War (1618–1649); Vasa Dynasty (Sweden).

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BYRON J. NORDSTROM

CHRONOMETER. The design, construction, and successful replication of marine chronometers, or precision timekeepers, was one of the great scientific triumphs of the early modern period. This scientific instrument was crucial to the accurate determination of longitude (or east-west direction from a given meridian on the globe) to vessels at sea. Hence the development of marine chronometers was a pivotal factor in early modern European navigation, transport, trade, cartography, and colonial enterprise.

THE MAGNITUDE OF THE PROBLEM

Determining longitude remained the most persistent problem facing oceangoing vessels in the early

modern world. With the discovery of the New World, the expansion of trade, and the conquest of new territories, there soon followed an increased movement of men, precious metals, manufactured goods, and raw commodities. Hence, more and more was at stake for European ships traveling on the oceans. While scientists and mathematicians had proposed several methods to determine longitude at sea, none of these methods had yet proved practical. The best trained navigators relied on dead reckoning, a crude estimate of the speed and distance traveled, to learn their ship's longitude. In practicality, they could only hope for propitious winds and currents to get them to their ports or destinations safely. In 1707 four British warships under the command of Admiral Cloudisley Shovell crashed into the jagged rocks of the Scilly Isles off the southwest tip of England. As the warships sank, almost 2,000 men perished because of the navigational error. Less dramatic results of erroneous readings of longitude often resulted in protracted voyages, a not inconsiderable danger when scurvy and other disease could break out after ninety days of vitamin C deprivation. Sagging shipboard morale, exhausted food supplies, and even mutiny resulted from unexpected delays at sea.

THE SCIENTIFIC BACKGROUND

While a ship's latitude could be easily established at sea by measuring the height of the sun (or stars, particularly the North Star, above the horizon) with the aid of a good sextant, determining longitude proved a more stubborn problem. The best scientific minds of Europe wrestled with the problem. In 1530 the Flemish astronomer and mathematician Gemma Frisius (1508–1555) published a solution. He predicated that since the Earth rotates 360 degrees in 24 hours, or 15 degrees of longitude per hour, the mechanical clock might be the answer to the longitude problem. He suggested that if an accurate timekeeper were to record the local time of the ship's departure port, and if this were compared to the local time of the ship at noon, (determined by measuring the highest point of the sun in the sky), the difference could indicate longitude. Obviously the difference in hours would be multiplied by 15 degrees, with further refinements for minutes and seconds of time to get correct readings for minutes and seconds of arc. Frisius's solution would ultimately prove the basis of the solution, but innumer-

able practical problems intervened. How to build a clock that would keep accurate time in a rough sea or a pitching and rolling ship? Since ordinary clocks often became erroneous over time, the challenge of accuracy was paramount. Constructing a clock that would be unaffected by changes in humidity, gravity, and temperature presented further obstacles.

Although the clock method would ultimately prove the winner, the logic of this was not at all apparent to many talented scientific and mathematical minds of the early modern era. Rival theories abounded. Among those offered were Galileo Galilei's (1564–1642) proposal of measuring and using the motions of Jupiter's four moons as celestial clocks, and comparing the times when these moons eclipsed one another with the same astronomical event at his local time. While Galileo's method was theoretically correct, and proved useful for finding longitude on land once accurate predictive tables of the positions of Jupiter moons could be drawn up, it was ultimately useless at sea. While some astronomers, including the Danish Ole Roemer (1644–1710) and the Frenchman Jean Dominique Cassini (1625–1712) continued to refine Galileo's method after his death, other astronomers proposed alternate solutions. John Flamsteed (1646–1719) toiled in Greenwich to construct star tables to aid in the determination of longitude. Christiaan Huygens (1629–1695), an accomplished astronomer, worked on both the mechanical and astronomical methods simultaneously. However, not all solutions offered were high-minded. One, proposed by Humphry Ditton in 1713, suggested a series of anchored boats spaced 600 miles apart that would fire cannons to alert nearby vessels of their proximity to known positions of the great guns.

FAME AND MONEY PROVIDE INCENTIVE

In 1598 King Philip III of Spain (ruled 1598–1621) offered a considerable life pension to the discoverer of longitude. Louis XIV (ruled 1643–1715) of France spent considerable money and energy on the problem by erecting the Royal Observatory at Paris and attracting (and paying handsomely) the best minds of Europe to work there. In 1714 the English parliament offered a reward of 20,000 pounds for a solution that would prove no more than one-half degree of error after a six-week voyage at sea. The prize offered in 1714 did exactly

what its authors had hoped—it induced a wide array of talented men to labor doggedly at a new solution. The Longitude Act of 1714 established a committee to judge submissions and authorized the award of partial funds to stimulate further investigation of promising proposals. Members of the committee included the most outstanding astronomers and mathematicians of the time, including Edmund Halley, James Bradley, and Neville Maskelyne.

JOHN HARRISON'S CLOCKS

The production of the precision marine mechanical timekeeper was the accomplishment of a self-educated English clockmaker of modest origins, John Harrison (1693–1776). Starting his career by working on wooden clocks, in about 1720 Harrison designed and built a tower clock in Brocklesby Park. As early as 1722 he hit upon three solutions that he would incorporate in his later clocks. He used *lignum vitae*, a tropical wood that required no oiling since the hardwood naturally secreted its own grease. Eliminating lubricants eliminated the friction and errors introduced by changing viscosity. He also invented the gridiron pendulum, which used strips of two metals—steel and brass—to compensate for the shrinkage in metals caused by temperature changes in the atmosphere. He subsequently designed a new escapement to eliminate friction and wear on the teeth connecting the wheels and the oscillator and referred to his design as a “grasshopper escapement.” In his efforts to produce a winning precision scientific instrument, Harrison worked for thirty years and produced four prototypes, known to scientists as H-1, H-2, H-3, and H-4. Each model contained significant technical improvements. Each model earned him the grudging and slow respect of a series of influential friends, if not the commissioners of the Board of Longitude, who alone could award the prize money. Ever his own harshest critic, Harrison continued to scrutinize the defects of his own solutions and to correct them. He completed his final masterpiece, H-4, in 1759: His final solution was a large pocket watch, five inches in diameter, and weighing only three pounds.

TESTING THE CHRONOMETERS ON REAL VOYAGES

The acid test for the Board of Longitude was the accuracy of a timekeeper at sea over time. Harrison's

son and assistant, William Harrison, set forth in November 1761, with H-4, aboard the H.M.S. *Deptford* from the English port of Plymouth for Jamaica. William was expected to guard the watch, to wind it daily, and with astronomer John Robison to keep careful records and make astronomical observations of the longitude in Jamaica. During the three-month journey, the ship's captain several times chose to value Harrison's estimation of longitude over the ship's official navigator. Despite rough seas on the return voyage, the watch had lost just under two minutes outbound and homebound combined. Having met the margin of error specified in 1714, Harrison fully deserved the prize. However, machinations of opponents favoring the lunar distance method delayed his receiving the reward. Nathaniel Bliss, the presiding astronomer royal of 1763, declared that the accuracy of H-4 was a chance occurrence and demanded a second trial voyage. In 1764 William Harrison set forth on yet another trial voyage, this time to Barbados. Again the H-4 proved successful: Since it had an error of only 54 seconds over a period of 156 days, it had far exceeded the standards demanded. Delays, favoritism of the lunar distance method, and constant amending of the rules help explain why Harrison was so slow to be recognized the rightful winner of the prize. Required in 1765 to dismantle his watch piece by piece and to explain the function of each part, the board next asked Harrison to reassemble the watch, to surrender H-4 to the judges, and to build two replicas of the H-4 without using the original as a model. Finally awarded one half of the prize money, Harrison had precious little leverage to get the whole prize out of the committee.

REPLICATING AND IMPROVING THE CLOCK

In 1767, the Board, still reluctant to award John Harrison the full prize, hired the respected watchmaker Larcum Kendall to replicate H-4. The attempt to replicate the intricate timekeeper consumed two-and-a-half years of work from Kendall, who named his model K-1. By 1770, the aging Harrison had not yet finished building the first of the two watches the Board had ordered him to make (subsequently called H-5.) Eager for yet another opportunity to test the precious instrument on a long sea voyage, the Board entrusted Captain James Cook to take the K-1 with him on his voyage to Tahiti to observe the transit of Venus. Cook also

took with him three other timekeepers made by clockmaker John Arnold. By the time Cook returned to England in July 1775, the famous sea captain was full of praise for Kendall's replica of Harrison's H-4. Cook set an example for other ship captains when he prominently chose to carry the K-1 on his third expedition. Soon other watchmakers were producing accurate imitations of Harrison's H-4 and even improving on the design. John Arnold, Thomas Mudge, and an increasing number of nautical instrument makers were soon offering marine chronometers for sale. Increased precision in mapmaking, navigation, and ocean crossings resulted. Despite the widespread use today of satellite-informed Global Positioning Systems to give ships instant knowledge of their positions at sea, ships still carry chronometers as backup systems. They have proved reliable, simple, and astonishingly accurate.

See also Cartography and Geography; Clocks and Watches; Communication and Transportation; Exploration; Scientific Instruments; Shipbuilding and Navigation; Shipping.

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institutions and Christian denominations changed dramatically and varied widely in Europe during the early modern period (1450–1789). The variations in this relationship hinged largely on the characteristics of local government, or the “state,” and of local ecclesiastical institutions, or the “church.” Those variations depended also on the intentions and abilities of each to exert its will and have its way. Such variations, by definition, were local. The relationship between church and state in any local configuration in Europe was also affected by broader, long-term factors in the political, religious, and cultural development of Western civilization. Those factors included the tradition of caesaropapism, the early modern growth of both national states and monarchical power, the religious changes generally understood under the heading “Reformation,” and the cultural and political changes associated with the Enlightenment.

CAESAROPAPISM

Caesaropapism, the approach to government in which both royal and priestly powers are held, in their fullness, by one ruler, was a theory that stood behind attempts by leaders of church and state to exert sovereign control over territories in Europe. This traditional theory had a very long lineage. The term is typically applied to the sort of government created in the Byzantine Empire, with church subordinated to the state. As such, it has been viewed mainly as a relic of the past after the fall of Byzantium to the Ottoman Turks in the mid-fifteenth century. The concept, however, can arguably be found in descriptions of kingship from the earliest Western historical sources, including the *Epic of Gilgamesh*, a literary masterpiece from ancient Mesopotamia. The notion motivated much later efforts to establish complete control over European territories, and not just by secular rulers hoping to subordinate ecclesiastical persons and institutions. Some Christian leaders in early modern Europe had sought to create ecclesiastical control over governmental authorities.

Any explanation of the relationship between church and state in this era must be broad enough to account not just for caesaropapist political leaders in Italian communes and in Germany, Spain, France, England, and Germany, who had long claimed control over religion, but also for individu-

CHURCH AND STATE RELATIONS. The relationship between governmental

als like Martin Luther (1483–1546). He could insist that princely power was superior to ecclesiastical authority and, apparently, sense no implicit contradiction between that position and his view of individual religious conscience as being above the authority of either bishops or princes. In practical terms, he and other contemporary religious leaders, both Catholic and Protestant, often wrote like determined theocrats who felt comfortable defining truth. Luther rejected papal supremacy while asserting what should or should not be considered the Word of God. In Geneva, John Calvin (1509–1564) headed an aristocratic political system in which capital punishment, and other forms of restraint, could be meted out for holding anti-Trinitarian views. Divine right monarchy more in line with the standard definition of caesaropapism could be found in England under early Stuart rulers like James I (ruled 1603–1625) and Charles I (ruled 1625–1649), who argued that their power came directly from God. They demonstrated their commitment by making religious and political changes without recourse to Parliament or archbishops.

Caesaropapism remained a goal throughout the early modern period, but it was an increasingly unattainable goal, as the history of the papacy illustrates. Even today, one imagines the pope of this earlier period as possessing extraordinary political and religious power, and a determination to exert his against all opponents. This image remains despite the deep personal inconsistencies of prince-popes like Paul III. Although he reestablished the Roman Inquisition in 1542 and convened the Council of Trent in 1545, during his reign this tribunal demonstrated moderation toward those charged with heresy, and toward the control of suspicious religious texts. The legates Paul sent to Trent, moreover, exercised but limited control of the council's agenda. Popes like Pius V (reigned 1566–1572) and Paul V (reigned 1605–1621) were famous for their centralizing politics in the Papal States, and for their thunderous proclamations of religious and political right in controversies like the Gunpowder Plot in England (1605). Their plans did not have the effect of creating anything close to theocracy, however. Paul V attempted to centralize political control in Bologna during his reign, using client relationship with Bolognese nobles to do so. He was only partly successful, how-

ever, as family interests, both social and economic, were more important to those nobles than participation in papal-controlled government. Paul was no more successful in bringing the Venetian Republic to heel through his interdict in 1606 and 1607 than he was in convincing Catholics in England to reject the demand there for an oath of loyalty to the crown. By the third quarter of the seventeenth century, indirect challenges to papal authority fueled by Enlightenment thought culminated in political pressures that forced Clement XIV (reigned 1769–1774) to suppress the Jesuit religious order—the group popularly remembered as unchallenged enforcers of the papal Counter-Reformation—in 1773. The head of the Jesuit order, Lorenzo Ricci, died in the prison of Castel Sant'Angelo in 1775, and both Clement and his successor, Pius VI (reigned 1775–1799), were carried off to France as prisoners.

EARLY MODERN POLITICAL CHANGES

The expanding national states and growing monarchical powers came to dominate the relationship between church and state. The progressive extension of ecclesiastical jurisdiction in France, up until about the fourteenth century, was overcome at the beginning of the sixteenth with the 1516 Concordat of Bologna, which delivered to French monarchs control over episcopal appointments. In this, French kings like Francis I (ruled 1515–1547) exhibited the increasing tendency among such heads of state to assume responsibility for establishing and defending their local definition of “true” religion. In England, Henry VIII (ruled 1509–1547) reinforced plans to create full control over the church with the old medieval assertion that kings had to answer for the exercise of their authority to God alone. In doing so, he anticipated the full-fledged “divine right” argument elaborated by his Stuart successors, James I and Charles II. In other territories, especially within the Holy Roman Empire, princes and magistrates without monarchical claims sought to control religious behavior to a greater or lesser extent, and often for very practical reasons. Some found that toleration leading to relative religious pluralism was both financially profitable and politically necessary. More often, local rulers sought to advance state power into matters of human behavior—like marriage—earlier controlled by church courts. Some magistrates had begun to insist on the

right to such control as early as the later fourteenth century, but the action is probably best seen as consistent with government growth by extension of competence and by restriction of previous held immunities from secular law. Such extension characterized monarchical and magisterial governments in the early modern period. For some historians, this growth added up to “social disciplining” that was widespread and effective. While there certainly are some examples where the combination of church and state authority resulted in genuine behavioral change—as in the low rate of illegitimate births in Geneva between 1560 and 1580—whether or not the highly developed plans for social control were efficacious on any broad scale is yet to be determined. Instead, it might be better to view growing secular governments and their increasing control over church institutions as part of an established pattern going back to German kings who dominated the papacy in the tenth century. The increasingly successful attempts to exercise secular control over ecclesiastical institutions in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries targeted more than just the Roman Catholic denomination, of course, but the goal was strikingly similar to that of heads of state in earlier actions.

REFORMATION

The religious changes usually categorized under the term *Reformation* also had a profound but local effect on the relationship between church and state in the early modern period. Efforts to improve religious life and devotion across European society, plus the rejection of papal leadership as decisive in creating any such improvement, constituted the beginning—but only the beginning—of the dissolution of the idea that a Christian state had to be a religious and political unity. Writers from the age of Constantine (ruled 306–337 C.E.) all the way through Martin Luther and the age of Reformation took for granted that essential unity. During this early modern era, however, relative religious pluralism—most often in the form of varying Christian denominations—became a fact of life. That pluralism emerged due to increasing examples of the expression of religious dissent, with Luther’s Ninety-five Theses (1517) serving as the crucial instance of the amplification of such dissent. But dissent of this nature, delivered as it was in a context of presumed religious and political unity, was initially

unacceptable to both authoritative institutions, church and state. Surely the critique of priestly authority implied in much Reformation religious dissent served to enhance secular authorities who could claim moral superiority, at least to the Roman Church, but free expression of religious dissent required a consent from secular authorities that was not always forthcoming. Reformation-era religious dissidents were as likely to be charged with “insurrection” by secular governments as they were to be charged with “heresy” by religious tribunals.

The result was a decidedly limited sort of religious liberty and toleration, a toleration both created and restricted by the same ecclesiastical and secular leaders and institutions. The Religious Peace of Augsburg (1555), for example, delivered some religious liberty in German states, but only to rulers. It gave Lutheran princes all the jurisdiction in their own territories that had once been exercised by bishops. The subjects in these lands remained religious subjects: their religion was to be determined by their prince. Very few European governments allowed all Christian denominations without restrictions, and some that did were in unlikely places: Poland, for instance, after the Warsaw Confederation of 1573. Where papal authoritative structures were repudiated, freedom was not the result. Instead, structures designed to establish religious control were recreated in basically one of three ways: through consistories (local church councils) appointed by the secular government, through democratic bodies replacing church courts, or through royal institutions assuming traditional powers. Early on, Luther himself recognized the need of religious reformers for the assistance of secular governments, and not just for his own personal protection. In accusing Thomas Müntzer (c. 1491–1525) of heresy in 1525, Luther connected theological irregularities and civic disobedience. He increasingly called on secular authorities to intervene in ecclesiastical matters, and, of course, he recommended the slaying of German peasants who cited his ideas in order to secure relief from feudal restrictions. John Calvin, it must be remembered, presided over the repression of anti-Trinitarian thought utilizing various punishments—including capital punishment—carried out by civic authority. Overall, those who were initially vigorous in defending the right to express religious dissent

and who expressed such dissent themselves were just as likely to recommend and carry out the persecution of it as were those who initially rejected out of hand any such “right.”

THE ENLIGHTENMENT

During the eighteenth century, the intellectual, political, and cultural changes associated with the Enlightenment contributed to the continuing dissolution of the notion of a unified church and state, and had a long-term effect on the relationship between the two. As the leaders of an intellectual movement that encouraged the application of the scientific method to all aspects of human life and behavior, the philosophes who publicized and promoted Enlightenment thought conceived of the entire universe, including political institutions, as regulated by laws comprehensible through reason. They acknowledged a supreme being whose action in establishing these laws could be observed by finding order in nature. The philosophes, and in particular individuals like Voltaire (1694–1778), also aimed their criticism at what they considered unreasonable human behavior. Near the top of their list of targets were ecclesiastical institutions, and religious ways of thinking, that in their view promoted bigotry, intolerance, and violence—all unreasonable responses to the behavior of others. In Europe, Enlightenment thinkers—at least by implication—criticized all religious sects as prone, through their dogma, to intolerance and violence. In practice, European Christian denominations came under heaviest attack, and in particular, the Roman Catholic Church. Clerical misbehavior was identified and lampooned. Enlightenment authors also satirized dogma for creating meaningless distinctions that distracted the faithful. Such authors believed basic ethical standards to be the only worthwhile portion of religious thought—precisely because that portion was not especially religious—and insisted that it was common to all sects in Christianity, Judaism, and Islam. Protestant sectarianism that had contributed to political and religious violence, like Calvinism during the French version of the so-called Wars of Religion (1562–1598), or sectarianism that threatened to lead to further violence, at least for the philosophes, came under similar attack. Enlightenment thinkers idealized religious toleration, and even separation between the institutions of church and state, but these were not even consistently applied ideas, let

alone achievements in fact. Catholics, most frequently, were not included in Enlightenment definitions of religious and political toleration.

CONCLUSION

Some might suggest that it was the relationship between the Roman Catholic Church and the states of Europe that changed most at the end of eighteenth century. Such a position may be a serious oversimplification, and certainly does not take the institutions and events in the history of earlier eras into sufficient account. Throughout Western history, the relationship has been contentious, and characterized by claims for the supremacy of one or the other institution. Those claims have been largely unrealizable, as both institutions have relied, at least in part, on the buttress to their own authority provided by the political, moral, and religious influence of the other. In most instances throughout that history, secular political authorities have, in the main, been the dominant authorities. Locally, and in short-term instances, dominant authority has been in the hands of ecclesiastical institutions, both Roman Catholic and Protestant. In the early modern period, some halting steps toward genuine separation of church and state were taken by both lay and clerical leaders. But those steps often had more to do with attitudes toward the way political and ecclesiastical power ought to be held and exercised than with the actual holding and exercising. And these steps were not boldly creative, for they had precedents in medieval controversies like the eleventh-century investiture crisis and the fifteenth-century development of conciliarist thought. In the early modern period, both political and ecclesiastical institutions attempted to assert themselves, the one over the other. In the attempt, they utilized justifications for their authority that appealed ultimately to the existence of God, and to their own representation of the true will of God.

See also Augsburg, Religious Peace of (1555); Calvin, John; Calvinism; Divine Right Kingship; Henry VIII (England); Luther, Martin; Lutheranism; Papacy and Papal States; Reformation, Protestant; Trent, Council of.

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CHURCH OF ENGLAND. During the early modern period, the English church experienced major disruption and change. After long debates and a series of reformations, it emerged at the end of the sixteenth century as a national Protestant church with its own distinctive theology and liturgy. During the seventeenth century, differences of view about the nature of the church were a cause of the English Civil War (1642–1649) that resulted in the unpopular Puritan revolution of the 1640s and 1650s. Although a monopolistic church was re-

introduced soon after the restoration of the monarchy in 1660, it could not command the loyalty and obedience of all Protestants. Following the 1688 “Glorious Revolution” a Toleration Act was passed that granted freedom of worship to those Protestants whose consciences prevented them from attending Anglican services in parish churches.

THE LATE MEDIEVAL CHURCH: 1450–1530

The central theological beliefs of the late medieval Church were salvation through faith and works, the efficacy of grace transmitted through the sacraments, and transubstantiation.

The Catholic Church taught that while faith in Christ was essential for eternal life, individuals also had to do good works and regularly receive the sacrament of penance. Even then their souls did not usually go directly to heaven, but had to spend time in purgatory, where they would suffer punishment for sins committed on earth that had not been fully expiated through contrition and by penance. People who died without having done penance for mortal sin were damned to hell.

Besides penance there were six other Catholic sacraments: baptism, confirmation, ordination, marriage, extreme unction (the last rites), and the Eucharist, or Lord's Supper. The church taught that, at the celebration of the Eucharist in the Mass, the “substance” of the unleavened bread and wine was transformed into the body and blood of Christ at the moment of consecration by the priest. This miracle—the literal reenactment of Christ's sacrifice—was called transubstantiation and came about through the sacerdotal power of the priest. The ceremony was the most powerful form of intercession that could be offered to God as well as a channel of grace necessary for individual salvation. Lay people usually received the Eucharist annually, when they were offered “Communion in one kind” (the wafer but not the wine). Priests, however, regularly celebrated the Mass and consumed both the consecrated wafer and wine. The ceremony took place behind a rood screen in the chancel, while most of the congregation remained in the nave of the church. Nonetheless, the laity was expected to attend carefully and participate in the service.

The late medieval English Church was part of an international body with its center at Rome and the pope at its head. During the fifteenth century,

papal power in England was eroded as the monarch gained greater control over taxation and nominations to benefices. Nonetheless, the pope still taxed the English Church, heard judicial appeals, and retained his spiritual authority over the clergy and laity. The archbishoprics of Canterbury and York were separate provinces of the Roman Catholic Church, each with its own administrative structure and jurisdictions. Since the middle of the fourteenth century, Canterbury had taken precedence over York, and even today its archbishop is the primate of England. The archbishoprics were divided into the twenty-three dioceses of England and Wales, and each diocese was divided into archdeaconries, which were in turn divided into roughly nine thousand parishes. Bishops were responsible for conducting visitations throughout their diocese and supervising the church courts, which administered canon law and dealt with cases concerning moral and church discipline. The consistory courts of the diocese heard appeals from archdiaconal courts, which handled the bulk of cases and were administered by archdeacons.

The priest who served the parish was sometimes the rector, who was entitled to receive the tithe (a tenth of income or produce) from parishioners. But the rectors of over one-third of English parishes in 1500 were the heads of monastic houses and thus absentee. In these cases a vicar was appointed to perform the liturgy and fulfill pastoral obligations. Other parishes too had nonresident rectors, since about one-quarter of English livings were pluralist, meaning that one priest held two or more offices at the same time; here a curate received a small salary to do the work. The appointment of all these clerics rested primarily with the patron—lay or clerical—who had the right to appoint his candidate to the living (a right that was known as an advowson). Lay churchwardens, whose duties were to care for the building and ornaments of the church and to report deficiencies or clerical negligence to the ecclesiastical authorities, also served the parish community.

Historians now tend to agree that the late medieval church in England generally functioned well, and that the accusations of corruption made by later Protestant critics were greatly exaggerated. There is also a scholarly consensus that the number of heretics in England was small and that the vast majority of laypeople were deeply attached to the teachings

and liturgy of the Catholic Church. Historians, however, are less united in their views about the subject of “anticlericalism” on the eve of the Reformation. Some deny its existence while others maintain that a significant number of individuals, as well as interest groups (such as the common lawyers), were critical of clerical privileges and hostile to clerical immunities and jurisdiction.

THE ENGLISH REFORMATION

During the period known as the Reformation, the English Church broke with Rome and underwent major changes in doctrine and liturgy. This began as a top-down process that divided the country and created political instability.

Henry VIII’s (ruled 1509–1547) attack on the papacy began when Pope Clement VII (reigned 1523–1534) refused to grant an annulment of the king’s first marriage to Catherine of Aragon. Henry had always claimed rights of supremacy over the English church, but not at the expense of Rome. In the 1530s, however, Henry asserted that English kings were answerable to no earthly superior. In 1532, he forced his senior clergy to concede that convocation (the provincial assembly) could not make ecclesiastical law without royal assent. Over the next two years, a succession of parliamentary statutes whittled away papal power in England while recognizing the king’s right to reform the church, supervise canon law, and correct errors in doctrine. In 1534 the Act of Supremacy pronounced Henry’s status as the supreme head of the Church of England. The English church remained Catholic, but the pope was no longer its head—he was now simply the bishop of Rome.

As supreme head of the church, Henry introduced some notable changes. In 1536 and 1539 the English monasteries were dissolved by acts of Parliament, and a small portion of their revenues was diverted toward educational endowments and the creation of six new dioceses. With their demise, monastic advowsons and appropriation of tithes fell into lay hands. Henry also began an assault on the cult of saints and “superstitious” images, which led to the destruction of shrines and resulted in damage to some cathedrals. He commissioned a new English Bible that was supposed to be placed in each parish church. In 1544 an Exhortation and Litany to be said during processions was published in En-

glish; the following year, Henry authorized an English primer (a late medieval devotional book containing various prayers and psalms) that reduced the number of saints' and holy days in the calendar and omitted many traditional prayers.

Despite these innovations, Henry's "reformation" did not seriously challenge Catholic doctrine. With the exception of the denial of papal supremacy and expressions of skepticism about the existence of purgatory, Henry upheld all the central pillars of the Roman Catholic faith. In 1521 he had written an attack on Martin Luther; twenty years later he still considered Lutheran teachings on justification by faith alone, the sacraments, the priesthood, and the Mass to be dangerous and erroneous. For this reason Henry was able to carry with him the majority of his bishops, who continued to see the king as a bulwark against heresy. Others of his Catholic subjects, however, were less compliant. In late 1536 and early 1537, revolts, known as the Pilgrimage of Grace, erupted in Lincolnshire and northern England to demonstrate hostility to governmental policies such as the royal supremacy, the dissolutions of the monasteries, and the royal injunctions of 1536.

During the minority of Edward VI (ruled 1547–1553), England officially became Protestant. In 1547 the lord protector, Edward Seymour, duke of Somerset, prohibited processions and launched a nationwide campaign to destroy all religious images. The Parliament of 1547, meanwhile, repealed the heresy laws, permitted Communion in both kinds, and dissolved the chantries (chapels endowed for saying masses). In 1548 the government banned many traditional religious ceremonies, and the 1549 Parliament permitted clerics to marry. The same Parliament endorsed an English Book of Common Prayer, the work of Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury (1489–1556). Its liturgy simplified the traditional Sarum rite dating from thirteenth-century Salisbury and rejected many Catholic doctrines, although some ambiguity did remain.

A second revised prayer book was authorized by the Parliament of 1552. In producing it Archbishop Cranmer took advice from prominent Continental Protestant theologians, all of whom were influenced by the Zwinglian and Calvinist churches of southern Germany and Switzerland. The 1552 Book of Common Prayer was consequently far more radical than

its predecessor in its liturgy and underlying theology. The word "mass" disappeared entirely from the Communion service, clerical vestments were simplified, and ordinary bread replaced the wafer at the Eucharist. The wording of the administration of Communion no longer referred to the body and blood of Christ but emphasized instead the commemorative significance of the sacrament. The new prayer book also included a Communion instruction, later known as the "black rubric," which said that kneeling to receive Communion did not imply Christ's physical presence. In 1553 Cranmer presented the Edwardian church with a statement of faith, the Forty-Two Articles. These articles were uncompromisingly Protestant in their theology and condemned the Roman Catholic doctrines of transubstantiation, purgatory, intercession, and good works. On the main issues in dispute between the Lutheran and Swiss Reformed Churches, namely predestination and the Eucharist, they were closer to Calvinism than to anything else. During the last years of Edward's reign, parish churches and cathedrals were denuded of their altars, plate, bells, vestments, and stained glass.

Under Mary I (ruled 1553–1558), virtually all the changes introduced after 1529 were reversed. Although few monasteries and chantries were endowed and the worship of saints failed to regain popularity, Mary's reign did witness a spontaneous revival of many of the Catholic seasonal ceremonies banned under Edward VI as well as a restoration of altars and images to parish churches. Soon after Elizabeth I's accession in November 1558, all changed again. Despite strong opposition from bishops appointed by Mary, the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity passed through Parliament in April 1559. The former act gave Elizabeth a new title, "Supreme Governor" of the Church of England; the latter authorized the use of a Book of Common Prayer that was largely modeled on that of 1552. The main change came in the Communion service, which incorporated some of the wording from Edward VI's 1549 Book of Common Prayer and omitted the 1552 black rubric (although it was replaced—with some alterations—in 1662). The royal injunctions of 1559, moreover, enjoined that undecorated wafers should be used at communion rather than bread. The effect was a theological ambiguity about the presence of Christ: was he present

physically, spiritually, or not at all? The Thirty-Nine Articles of Faith of 1563 and 1571 attempted to clarify the theology when they asserted that Christ's body was taken in the Lord's Supper "after an heavenly and spiritual manner."

The Thirty-Nine Articles were less clear on predestination. Although they incorporated the Calvinist doctrine of election, no statement was made on assurance or the fate of the reprobate (a sinner condemned by God to eternal punishment). The 1559 prayer book, meanwhile, described the baptized child as "a member of Christ, the child of God, and an inheritor of the kingdom," a form of words that seemed to discount the possibility that the infant might have been born reprobate. Despite this imprecision, the official doctrines taught by the church after 1570 were predominantly predestinarian. In 1595, moreover, the archbishop of Canterbury, John Whitgift, endorsed the nine Lambeth Articles, an unequivocal assertion of the Calvinist position on grace and salvation. The evidence suggests, however, that despite access to a Calvinist catechism, many (possibly most) ordinary laypeople failed to absorb the doctrine of predestination and continued to believe that good deeds played some part in salvation.

Although the Elizabethan church was essentially Calvinist in its theology, some of its practices were traditional. Ministers were required to wear the surplice when officiating at morning and evening prayer and the more elaborate vestments of the alb and the cope for Communion. Although roods (the large crucifix dominating the nave), stone altars, and images were removed from churches, royal proclamations were issued to protect fonts and funeral monuments. Members of congregations were told to uncover their heads and bow at the uttering of the name of Jesus in church, and to use the sign of the cross in baptism, the ring in marriage, and other "popish remnants." At the same time, the diocesan and parochial structure of the church remained untouched, and no measures were put in place to reform the church courts, the tithe, advowsons, or canon law.

PURITANS AND ARMINIANS

Although most committed Protestants were disappointed with the 1559 settlement, they initially accepted it as an interim measure, expecting that fur-

ther changes would soon be introduced. During the mid-1560s, however, Elizabeth insisted that all clerics conform to the prayer book ceremonies and ornaments (including vestments) and ordered her bishops to suspend Nonconformists from their livings. Furthermore, Elizabeth scotched her bishops' reform initiatives in the 1563 Canterbury Convocation and the 1566 Parliament. For the most zealous Protestants this was a betrayal, and out of their frustration the Elizabethan Puritan movement was born.

Those who were labeled "Puritans" by their enemies preferred to call themselves "the godly." Contemporaries usually identified them by the intensity of their spirituality, for Puritans attended sermons during the week and devoted the Sabbath entirely to God. Puritans were also at the fore of the campaign for reform: they demanded frequent, high-quality preaching, insisted on significant changes in the 1559 Book of Common Prayer, and were critical of the church courts. Nonetheless, Puritans remained part of the Church of England, for they were reasonably satisfied with its Calvinist teachings on predestination and the Eucharist as well as its hostility to images. Largely because of their influence, Elizabeth was unable to eradicate a wide diversity of ceremonial practice in the church. James I (ruled 1603–1625) permitted this diversity to continue provided that Puritans rejected Presbyterianism (church government by presbyters or elders). In practice, therefore, many ministers continued to take Communion standing or sitting, rather than kneeling, and to use bread rather than wafers. Some ministers omitted those parts of the prayer book that they disliked and shortened the liturgy to leave more time for the sermon. While James I's reign brought no major changes in liturgical policy, it did see the publication of a new Authorised ("King James") Version of the Bible in 1611.

A strong defense of the Church of England against its Puritan critics was written in the 1590s by the theologian Richard Hooker (1554–1600), who justified its conservative governmental system and unique ceremonial style as a middle way between Roman Catholicism and Genevan Presbyterianism. Hooker's work, which also modified some contemporary predestinarian assumptions, became a source of inspiration for a number of early-seventeenth-century conservative clerics who were suspicious of

preaching and placed great stress on set prayer and the sacraments as sources of grace. These men also rejected the asceticism of Calvinist worship and favored what was called the “beauty of holiness.” Another influence on their thinking was the Dutch theologian Jacob Arminius (1560–1609), who argued against the rigidities of predestination. For this reason, these English divines have been misleadingly called “Arminians.” Some historians prefer to call them “Anti-Calvinists,” others “Laudians” after the Archbishop of Canterbury William Laud (1573–1645).

After Charles I’s accession in 1625, Arminians gained dominance in the English Church and implemented important changes. Predestinarian beliefs came under attack, and Laud, who was appointed bishop of London in 1628 and archbishop of Canterbury in 1633, initiated a new “altar policy.” Laud and other like-minded bishops pressured their parish clergy to acquire elaborate wooden tables, or preferably stone altars, and to position them permanently at the east end of the chancel, in a north-south, or “altarwise,” alignment. The bishops further insisted that chancels should be cordoned off by rails, and that Communion should be received kneeling, though not necessarily at the rails. Other parts of the Elizabethan prayer book that had been allowed to lapse in some communities were now rigorously enforced. Historians disagree about the extent of opposition to this theological and liturgical program. A few scholars claim that only a Puritan minority was outraged by the reforms, but the prevailing view is that the altar policy, at least, was widely resisted. There is also evidence that many mainstream Protestants abhorred the changes as the reintroduction of popery, and feared—albeit mistakenly—that Charles intended to return England to Rome. Few historians would dispute that the religious innovations under Charles I helped bring about the Civil War (1642–1649).

The parliamentary victory in the Civil War resulted in the triumph of Puritanism. In 1645 the prayer book was banned and replaced by a new *Directory of Worship* that contained instructions for the conduct of services and removed rites that Puritans had so long found offensive. The church courts ceased to function in the early 1640s, and in 1646 episcopacy was abolished. Godly observance of the

Sabbath was imposed and all feast days, including Christmas, Easter, and Whitsun (or Pentecost), were banned. The Puritans, however, failed to gain popular support, and throughout the late 1640s and 1650s large numbers of clergymen continued to conduct services according to the old prayer book liturgy. At the same time, freedom of worship was granted to Protestant sects, including Baptists and Congregationalists.

THE ANGLICAN CHURCH: 1660–1714

At the restoration of Charles II in 1660, the state church was fully reimposed with the return of episcopacy and the church courts. Its liturgy was based on the Elizabethan Book of Common Prayer of 1559 but included a number of Laudian practices. Altars were returned to many churches voluntarily; after 1680 they began to be imposed and by 1700 they were prevalent. The Act of Uniformity of 1662 demanded that the clergy accept every one of the Thirty-Nine Articles and every aspect of the new prayer book. Everyone was required to attend the Church of England, while the so-called Clarendon Code of the mid-1660s outlawed community worship by Protestant sects in chapels and meeting houses. In 1672 dissenters (Protestant Nonconformists) were also barred from holding civil office. Before the 1688 Revolution, many Dissenters practiced occasional conformity, but thousands of others—especially the Quakers—were subjected to harassment and imprisonment.

Both Charles II (ruled 1660–1685) and James II (ruled 1685–1688) proved unsuccessful in their attempts to broaden the Church of England and allow a measure of toleration for Protestant dissenters and for Roman Catholics. After Mary and William III became joint monarchs in 1689, however, a Toleration Act (1689) was passed that gave all Trinitarian Protestant dissenters the right to worship in their own chapels or meeting houses and permitted nonattendance at church. Thus began the split between church and chapel that marked the eighteenth century. Nonetheless, civil disabilities continued to affect those dissenters who refused to take Communion at least once annually. The Toleration Act, moreover, did not apply to Roman Catholics, who had to wait until the nineteenth century before securing freedom of worship.

Under William III (ruled 1689–1702) and Queen Anne (ruled 1702–1714) a group of churchmen, usually known as Latitudinarians or low churchmen, became prominent in the Church of England. They sought to reduce religious controversy by arguing that the core Christian doctrines were few and that the most contentious issues of the Reformation were “adiaphora” (not essential to salvation) and could be left to the individual conscience. They were therefore willing to embrace all those who conformed to the church no matter how occasionally they attended or took Communion. High churchmen criticized their approach as defeatist and demanded full enforcement of the 1673 Test Act, which required all officeholders to take the oaths of supremacy and allegiance to the king, to receive the sacraments of the Church of England, and to reject the doctrine of transubstantiation; they even tried (unsuccessfully) to extend civil disabilities to occasional conformists who might only take Anglican Communion annually. Despite clashes between low and high churchmen at the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Church of England settled down to operate as a strong, flourishing, and successful institution.

See also Bible; Dissenters, English; Edward VI (England); Elizabeth I (England); Henry VIII (England); Hooker, Richard; Laud, William; Mary I (England); Puritanism; Reformation, Protestant; Ritual, Religious; Toleration; William and Mary.

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SUSAN DORAN

CHURCHILL, JOHN, DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH (1650–1722), soldier and diplomat. Frequently described as early modern Britain’s greatest general, John Churchill was born on 26 May 1650, the son of Elizabeth Churchill and Sir Winston Churchill, an impoverished squire and member of Parliament. He attended Saint Paul’s School and then in 1665, due to his father’s influence, became page to the duke of York, later James II (ruled 1685–1688). On 14 September 1667 Churchill was commissioned into the army as an ensign in the Foot Guards. He served in Tangier from 1668 to 1670, saw duty with the allied fleet during the Third Dutch War (1672–1674), and was promoted to captain. In 1673 he accompanied the English contingent dispatched to assist Louis XIV (ruled 1643–1715) of France in Flanders and distinguished himself in military action at Maastricht (Maestricht, June 1673), his first major land battle. The following year he was appointed colonel of the English regiment operating abroad and performed gallantly at the battle of Sinzheim (1674).

In 1677 Churchill married Sarah Jennings (1660–1744), lady-in-waiting to Princess Anne, later Queen Anne (ruled 1702–1714). Churchill

advanced rapidly. He was created Baron Churchill of Aymouth (Scotland) on 21 December 1682, elevated to the peerage as Baron Sandridge in 1685 and, upon the accession of James II (1685), promoted to major general (3 July 1685) and subsequently lieutenant general (7 November 1688).

With the Glorious Revolution (1688), Churchill promptly changed his allegiance to the new Protestant sovereign William III (ruled 1689–1702), who in 1689 rewarded him with the earldom of Marlborough (after which point he is commonly known as Marlborough) and appointed him a privy councillor. Marlborough was also granted a succession of commands between 1689 and 1691 in Flanders and Ireland, in which he was uniformly successful. He also served for a while as governor of the Hudson's Bay Company. Increasingly opposed to William's excessive preferment of his Dutch associates, Marlborough suddenly fell out of favor. In 1692 he was dismissed from his posts and briefly was imprisoned in the Tower of London on suspicion of communicating with Jacobite agents in a plot to restore James II with the support of French military intervention. As these allegations proved groundless, Marlborough was released and, upon reconciling with William, was restored to favor in 1698. He was appointed governor to the duke of Gloucester, was readmitted to the Privy Council, and was returned to his former military rank (18 June 1698). In the face of growing tensions over the Spanish succession, Marlborough was named commander in chief of the Anglo-Dutch forces in Holland (June 1701) and participated in the negotiations held at The Hague to devise a compromise settlement that would satisfy the various claimants and prevent European war.

Following the death of William III on 8 March 1702 and the subsequent accession of Queen Anne, Marlborough reached the peak of his influence. He was appointed captain general of the forces and master general of the ordnance, while his closest ally, Sidney Godolphin, first earl of Godolphin (1645–1712), became lord treasurer. Other Tory supporters took the remaining great offices of state.

Once The Hague deliberations broke down and France's aggressive actions made conflict inevitable, the English, the Austrians, the Dutch, and minor German allies concluded the Grand Alliance (15

May 1702) with a combined army under Marlborough's supreme command. In his first campaign during the War of the Spanish Succession (June 1702) Marlborough relieved pressure on the Dutch by securing a base of operation against French-held fortresses to the south. Overcoming intra-alliance dissension, he successfully pressed on to take the great fortress of Liège (October 1702). For this service he was created duke with a pension of £5,000 a year. He then advanced on the Moselle River. Deceiving the enemy by a feint against Alsace, he swiftly moved to open a crossing of the Danube River at Donauwörth, thus impeding a possible junction of French forces and their Bavarian allies. On 13 August 1704 Marlborough and his confidant, the Austrian commander Prince Eugène (1663–1736), defeated the main French army at Blenheim—a spectacular victory. This was the first major military setback of Louis XIV's reign, and it forced France onto the defensive and saved Austria from near certain invasion. On 23 March 1706 Marlborough won another crushing victory at Ramillies, which led to the expulsion of enemy troops from Italy and the Southern Netherlands. Marlborough and Prince Eugène repulsed a French counteroffensive at Oudenaarde (July 1708) and cleared the road for a direct advance against France. These exploits earned Marlborough a military reputation matched in the eighteenth century only by Frederick the Great (ruled 1740–1786) of Prussia and later by Napoléon I (1769–1821). In recognition Marlborough was made a prince of the empire, and by royal command the magnificent palace of Blenheim was built for him.

Domestically, however, Marlborough's position weakened due to relentless party politics and the growing estrangement between his wife Sarah and Queen Anne, whose former friendship had provided a critical link tying the operational direction of the war to the source of executive power at court. Using a variety of pressure tactics, Marlborough and his ally Lord Treasurer Godolphin managed for a time to coerce the pro-Tory queen into (reluctantly) appointing those congenial Whig ministers who supported their policies. But Sarah became supplanted in Anne's favor by Abigail Masham (d. 1734), an influential Tory sympathizer, and in politics the queen turned for advice to the able Tory leader Robert Harley (1661–1724). Support for the

war rapidly declined. Moreover costs steadily mounted, as did war weariness on the allied side. Marlborough, increasingly isolated, was accused of continuing hostilities for personal profit and glory.

The parliamentary elections of 1710 brought in a new and powerful Tory ministry headed by Harley, which enabled Anne to dispense with the personally uncongenial Whig leaders and led to secret negotiations with France. Marlborough remained commander in chief until December 1711, when he was dismissed, falsely charged with corruption and forced into exile on the Continent. Although restored to favor with the accession of George I (ruled 1714–1727), Marlborough, prematurely aged by the strains of war, took no further part in public affairs. He lived in rural retirement until his death, following a paralytic stroke, on 16 June 1722. He was buried with great splendor at Westminster, though his body was later transferred to the chapel at Blenheim, where it was commemorated by an ornate mausoleum.

Bold, energetic, a superb tactician, and a gifted leader, Marlborough advocated swift, offensive action over elaborate maneuvers as the key to decisive victory. In this sense he transcended the military spirit of his age and foreshadowed the more innovative, energetic approach to war typical of the French revolutionary period. His urbanity and tact, discretion and diplomacy were further assets in defusing the inevitable tensions associated with coalition warfare and so made possible the unity essential for cooperation and victory.

See also *Anne (England)*; *Harley, Robert*; *Spanish Succession, War of the (1701–1714)*; *William and Mary*.

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KARL W. SCHWEIZER

CISNEROS, CARDINAL FRANCISCO JIMÉNEZ DE (1436–1517), cardinal and archbishop of Toledo, Franciscan friar, and principal adviser and confessor to Queen Isabella of Castille. Frustrated by circumstances, temperament, and worldly abilities, Cisneros sought a monastic life, but labored tirelessly in the secular world. Cisneros viewed rulers as indispensable in guiding their people toward salvation. He gravitated toward power and power gravitated toward him. A man of strong opinions, Cisneros was blunt and assertive and adamant in his will.

Little is known of Cisneros's family background. Born into an impoverished family of the lower nobility, he was sent to school at Alcalá de Henares, completed studies for the priesthood at the University of Salamanca, then went to Rome and returned with a papal bull appointing him to the first vacant benefice in Toledo. He claimed Uceda rather than cede it to the appointee, a relative of Toledo's archbishop, Alonso Carrillo. Cisneros was interred at an archiepiscopal prison—until Carrillo relented. In Sigüenza he became vicar to its largely absentee bishop, the royal first minister and cardinal, Pedro González de Mendoza. In 1484 he joined the Franciscan Observance and for eight years lived an ascetic life. Nonetheless, during that time he gained a great reputation for preaching and rose to become guardian of the convent of La Salceda.

When Hernando de Talavera became the first archbishop of Granada in 1492, Cisneros succeeded him as Queen Isabella's confessor at the suggestion of Cardinal Mendoza and, following Mendoza's death in 1495, Cisneros succeeded him as archbishop of Toledo, primate of Spain, and thereafter as first minister to the queen. As Isabella's health declined, she relied more heavily on Cisneros for both spiritual and political guidance. Both queen



Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros.

and minister sought to reform the people of Spain, beginning with the clergy. Cisneros moved Franciscan houses, despite resistance, from the looser Conventual to the more severe Observant rule, and laid plans to reform the secular clergy and to found a university at Alcalá de Hénares (1499), where the study of law, given primary place at the University of Salamanca, would rank below theology.

Then, in 1499, Cisneros went to Granada to speed the conversion of its Muslims to Christianity, and thereby remove a possible subversive element within Spain. Overriding Talavera's preference for persuasive indoctrination, Cisneros enforced conversion through mass baptism, threatened and jailed the recalcitrant, and provoked three years of guerrilla warfare throughout the former Muslim kingdom of Granada. At its end, a royal decree ordered all Muslims in Castile to convert or leave.

From Granada and in the wake of Columbus's discoveries in the New World, Cisneros took charge of evangelizing Native Americans, dispatching to Santo Domingo (now the Dominican Republic) six fellow Franciscans, men of proven ability who re-

ported to him on both religious and political matters. In the following years he chose, instructed, and sent to America more Franciscans, among them veterans of his Granadan evangelization. He influenced the Dominicans, who arrived in 1510, and as regent of Spain in 1516, he sent the Hieronymites to investigate the mistreatment of native peoples. While Isabella set formative Spanish policy in America, Cisneros greatly influenced these policies. Isabella's claim that the Indians were royal subjects who must be instructed in religion and "civilized ways" for the benefit of their souls reflected his own viewpoint.

After Isabella's death in 1504, Cisneros had a hand in brokering the concord with Ferdinand that left Philip of Austria to rule Spain for his ailing wife, Joanna. Cisneros advised Philip, and he became virtual regent after Philip's death in 1506. He was instrumental in resisting a strong party favoring the Habsburg Maximilian and in securing the return to power of Ferdinand, who had been forced to renounce his title of king of Castile upon Isabella's death. By then a cardinal, Cisneros sought to extend the Christian Spanish reconquest into North Africa, reputedly once held by the Visigoths, in 1509, personally leading an expedition that besieged and took Oran. Soon at odds with Ferdinand, Cisneros devoted himself to constructing the University of Alcalá de Hénares (1499) and to directing a group of scholars in producing the Complutensian Polyglot Bible, which restored what he considered the pristine Hebrew of the Old Testament and the Greek and Aramaic of the New Testament, together with the Latin of the Vulgate Bible in parallel columns. The Complutensian Bible was a monumental endeavor of critical scholarship.

Cisneros assumed the regency in 1516, appointed by Ferdinand during the absence of his heir and grandson, Charles of Ghent. At eighty, Cisneros raised an army, put down scattered urban revolts and a widespread uprising by dissident nobles, and forced their recognition of Charles as king. Prior to Charles's arrival in Spain in September of 1517, Cisneros, though in failing health, readied to meet and advise the new king, but died on his way to meet him. Cisneros was instrumental in ensuring that Spain entered the modern era with renewed commitment to conjoined religious and political ends.

See also Bible; Ferdinand of Aragón; Isabella of Castile.

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PEGGY LISS

CITIES AND URBAN LIFE. The names that come immediately to mind when one thinks of early modern cities are for the most part capitals or court cities or major colonial ports. They were grand places, of which much remains and, although smaller than they are today in both area and population, more populous than any city Catholic Europe had known in the Middle Ages (Orthodox Constantinople and Muslim Cordoba may have exceeded half a million inhabitants). However, only a small fraction of the urban population of Europe—itsself a fraction of the total—lived in any of them. So we shall first examine a more common type of town, which can tell us what life was like for townspeople and rural visitors alike.

Scattered over the map of Europe were literally thousands of these ordinary towns, ranging from fewer than 1,000 inhabitants to perhaps 20,000, anything larger being reckoned a fairly big city. How many we cannot really say. A legal definition of a town or city depends on the grant at some time of a charter. A functional definition implies a minimum population, an organized periodic market, or a range of occupations besides farming, forestry, or fishing. Even with better and more comprehensive data than we have, different places would qualify as towns according to the criterion chosen. In fact, students of Europe's urban system and its evolution over three centuries have adopted thresholds of at least 5,000 inhabitants. To the extent that large cities fared better than small ones in our period, leaving out the latter exaggerates the growth of the urban share.

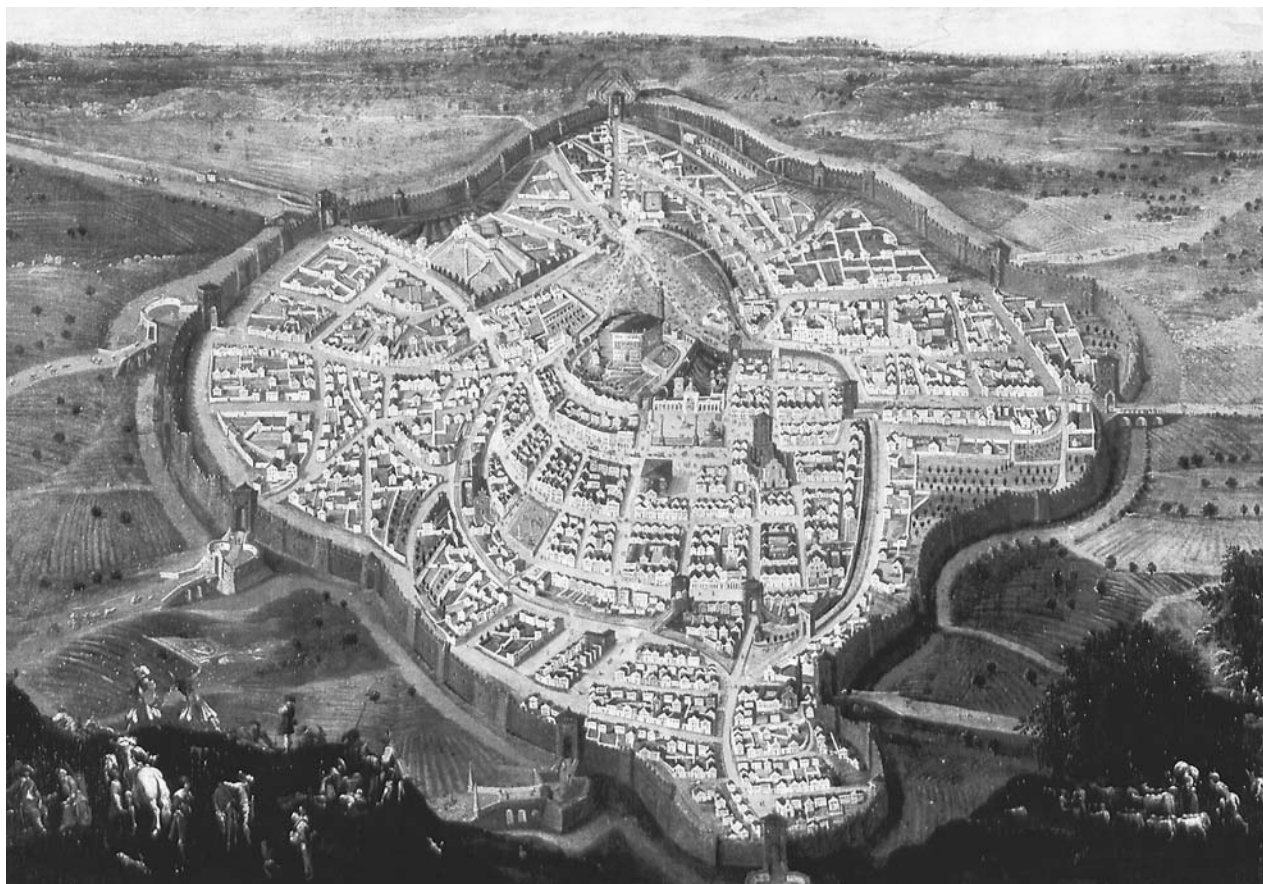
How large a share of Europe's population was urban? This varied between regions, and so does the precision of our estimates in this prestatistical era. Most scholars agree that barely one in ten Europeans lived in a sizable (>5,000) town in 1500—as

many as one in four in Flanders and in northern Italy, far fewer in most of northern and eastern Europe. Still, adding the smaller towns and those people who spent some time in a town, perhaps one in five persons experienced urban life as more than a visitor. Growth in the urban share was concentrated in regions that were underurbanized in 1500, while those with a high initial share actually became less urban. England stands out from the rest of Europe in the later eighteenth century because the mass urbanization associated with the industrial revolution was under way by 1760 or so. However, the European urban proportion changed little for the period as a whole, with any increase almost within the bounds of uncertainties in measurement.

THE SMALL CITY

What was the “typical” small town like? It was enclosed by a wall, and since building a wall was no small task, a growing town would put up with a lot of crowding before expanding the enclosed area. Conversely, losing population freed up space on which to graze animals or bleach cloth. The town plan could take many forms, a rough circle with four gates and two main roads crossing in the center being common, a neat design, such as a rectangular grid, less so. The plan, the style of the houses, and many other aspects of life had not changed much since the Middle Ages, when the town was founded, nor would highly visible changes take place until well into the industrial age, if then. The churches, the market—a hall or an open place—and a guild-hall or town hall were the dominant structures while a few larger dwellings such as a monastery, a noble house, or a ruined castle stood out from the rest in terms of size and style.

The population included officials of the municipality and the territorial authority, either lord or king. Local gentry might also reside in town all or part of the year. Clergy were numerous, especially in Catholic countries, and bishops could still rule cities. Most characteristically urban were craft occupations, often combined with retail trade. Master and journeyman now represented a fairly permanent status, more like modern-day employer and employee. Given the difficulties of travel to a larger city, the town might house a few professionals, such as an apothecary, a notary, and a barber surgeon. The largest category of working people,



Cities and Urban Life. A seventeenth-century view of the city of Udine, painted by Giovanni Giuseppe Cosattini. A market town in the northern Italian region of Friuli since the thirteenth century, Udine grew rapidly after becoming subject to Venice in 1420. The fortifications date from the period 1220–1440. In the early sixteenth century, following an earthquake, town planners undertook a program of development and modernization that included the erection of a new castle and plaza. ©ELIO CIOL/CORBIS

however, was made up of servants, day laborers, and apprentices—enough servants, in fact, that many larger towns had a female majority. House-keeping was labor-intensive, as were transport and construction, though they employed mostly men.

Women, many of the unskilled, and those who were not native to the town were denied citizenship. The status of citizen or burgher was valued even though self-government was often limited to an elite of merchants, nobles, and officials. Wealth or important skills could procure citizenship, most easily during recovery from some demographic catastrophe. The other outsiders, tolerated and indeed indispensable for many rough tasks, were, like the undocumented aliens in many Western cities today, hard to keep track of. They were less likely to marry and more likely to die at an early age than were citizens. They also had less claim on assistance and

protection, mostly dispensed by the church, than the native-born paupers, orphans, and infirm of the town.

Trades still clustered on particular streets although people might also live in neighborhoods defined by extended families, clans, or loyalty to a powerful man. The center of town was considered desirable (in bigger cities the wealthy were laying out whole districts for their elegant new houses), while the suburbs, outside the walls, lacked status. The countryside, on the other hand, furnished a whole string of necessities, from laborers and wet nurses to food, wood, straw, raw materials, and carting services. In turn, farmers found in town a market, credit, and a range of consumer goods to buy. Burghers earned income from rural property and mortgages, and rich ones often acquired a country estate as a means of entry into the aristo-

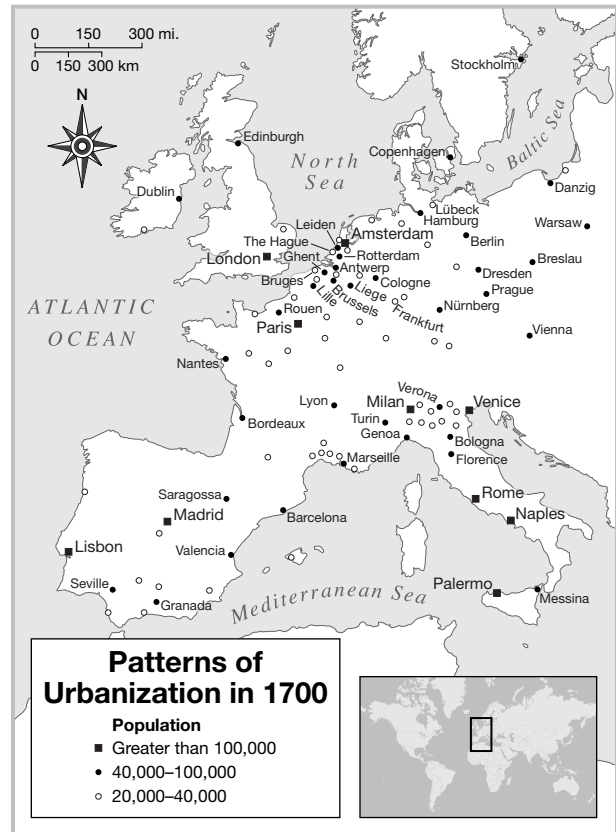
cracy (an alternative was to purchase a suitable royal appointment).

Day to day, the town's inhabitants dealt with one another, with the inhabitants of the surrounding countryside, and with those who passed through—peddlers and merchants, pilgrims and gypsies, soldiers and entertainers. But the larger world also impinged, more and more as time went on. A wider range of goods became common, including both colonial products and manufactures. Protoindustrial production could pit town against country, or merchants could enlist both to make and sell goods such as watches, textiles, or cutlery.

The spread of markets presaged the modern or capitalistic economy. But the wider world also affected our prototype town in the distant person of the sovereign, who regulated markets and demanded loyalty, service, and taxes. Since the king might farm out tax collection, and noble privileges and dues persisted, while the church also demanded payment of tithes, etc., the fiscal situation was almost always complicated and contested. Still, a hierarchy of administrative centers developed, with the royal capital at the apex and our little town a basic element. To sum up, towns played a critical role in the structuring of early modern society through both states and markets, coercion and commerce.

PERIODS OF GROWTH AND STAGNATION

Small towns grew in the sixteenth century when Europe finally regained (and surpassed) the population reached before the fourteenth-century crisis marked by the Black Death. Ports flourished along with market centers as the Atlantic Ocean joined the inland seas (Mediterranean, North, Baltic) and Europe's rivers as highways for trade. While regional and royal capitals changed relatively rarely, major ports competed strongly for leadership in commerce and finance. In the north, Bruges gave way to Antwerp and later to Amsterdam and London, while in the south, Genoa and Venice battled for supremacy, with Barcelona and Marseille also contesting for their share. Overall, however, the once-dominant Mediterranean was losing out to the Atlantic–North Sea region. Cities such as Bristol and Glasgow, Bordeaux and Nantes, Hamburg and Lübeck, Lisbon and Seville benefited from trade with the New World, whereas most Mediterranean ports stagnated after 1600.



By 1580, the urban renaissance showed signs of a slowdown. Small towns and free cities, such as Frankfurt and Cologne in Germany, saw their prosperity diminish. The turmoil of the next seventy years, centering on wars of religion, would concentrate growth in a relatively few large royal capitals (successful ports did not multiply their inhabitants to the same degree). Paris and London would at least double in population and surpass the half-million mark. Naples, despite weak trade, kept on growing. Newer capitals grew even faster in this period and the half century following. Madrid barely existed before it became the capital in 1567; by 1750 it had 123,000 souls. Berlin tripled its population after welcoming Huguenots expelled from France in 1685; and in 1703 Peter the Great began to drain a swamp for the Russian capital named after his patron saint. Similar stories can be told about Vienna, Stockholm, The Hague, court cities in Germany, and some subcapitals of empire, such as Brussels and Milan. On the periphery, colonial gateways such as Dublin, Charleston, and Lima combined trade with control by the home government.

The cycle turned again in the middle decades of the eighteenth century. With population growing, agriculture intensifying, and the first new industrial towns springing up, smaller places regained their share of urban growth. Even this reversal, however, did not stop many very small market centers from losing urban functions to nearby larger ones.

THE CAPITAL CITIES

How did a city grow so large merely because the monarch established her or his capital and court there, and what was life like in such a city? In this era of strong monarchy, the capital drew the many who served the sovereign directly. To rule is first of all to tax; hence there was a considerable fiscal apparatus. Senior judiciary and military officials also remained close to the seat of power. Elite military units—"household troops/regiments"—protected the monarch against riots and insurrection, which flourished in big cities, culminating in the Paris revolution of 1789.

Absolute monarchy meant a court, and many nobles added a house in the capital to their country residence. Of course, this additional source of expense added to the financial pressure on the nobility. Louis XIV of France consolidated his power by handing out a variety of pensions and profitable positions and requiring the candidates to stay at court. The more time they spent in Paris (where many nobles actually lived) or Versailles, the more need there was for royal patronage, and the more vital it was to stay around.

The system relied on pomp, ceremony, and festivities, so a court city needed a big working population "backstage." From pastry cooks to fencing masters, carriage makers to performers, lawyers, seamstresses, and chaise bearers, conspicuous consumption provided lots of employment. Along with individual craftsmen working to order, workshops near the demanding clientele produced an increasing range of manufactured luxury goods. Aristocrats and those who aspired to the aristocracy from all over soon looked to Paris or London for their furniture, clocks, ceramics, and bronzes. Monarchs also sponsored royal manufactures for porcelain, tapestries, and carpets or for military goods, where scale of production was important.

So much for the skilled trades. An army of servants, porters, and laborers helped craftsmen do

their work and helped the rich get through their festive rounds. Of course, even the most lavish court did not fully dominate a city of several hundred thousand. The same groups we encountered in our small town formed a community of burghers that mostly stood apart from the goings-on of the aristocracy. They merely had less voice, whether in governing the city or in determining its outward appearance. Finally, big cities attracted a substantial underside of society: shady characters who offered forbidden pleasures or peddled banned literature, stealthy or violent criminals, beggars and paupers.

The menials had a big job keeping dirt and congestion from overwhelming the city completely. Huge amounts of food and fuel had to be brought in, and considerable tonnages of waste removed. Potable water was in perennially short supply although water itself might be too abundant. Disease and fire were ever-present dangers. London experienced both in the 1660s but rose again, bigger and busier than ever. However, grandiose plans to rebuild with straight and wide avenues after the Great Fire were shelved. Like most cities, London retained its narrow, winding, sewerless streets. Crowding was the rule, with rickety stories piled on top of leaning houses.

The blunt truth is that investment in urban amenities and infrastructure, particularly in the splendid baroque capitals, badly failed to cope with the numbers who flocked in. In fact, a constant stream of migrants was required, not only to fuel growth but to make up for a substantial natural deficit. Many urban dwellers, clerics and servants for example, remained unmarried, and death rates, for infants and adults alike, were always high and subject to sharp peaks during epidemics. Did this flow stimulate the surrounding countryside or rob it of vital forces? Historians can't agree or at least find examples of both.

The occasional monumental construction, broad boulevard, or elegant new neighborhood of "hotels" or "city-palaces" (often at the western, or windward edge of the older districts), should not deceive us. Mud, dirt, darkness, and pollution were the lot of most people, not just the very poor, and so were crowding, violence, and disease. Yet many came and stayed, preferring the stimulating dangers

of the big city to the calm and relative safety of the smaller town or the farming village.

The urban share of the population may not have risen much, but European arts and letters—from the Italian Renaissance, to Dutch painting and Italian music, to the salons of Paris and the coffeehouses of London in the Enlightenment—became resolutely urban pursuits. Even the great country houses were designed and furnished in a fully urban style, and when the early Romantics looked to nature, it was very much from the point of view of city people. Yet unlike politics and culture, the big economic change on the horizon would not originate in the metropolitan cities, though it would eventually transform them. Even before 1800, the industrial revolution was actually being hatched in the countryside. However, cities would continue to dominate commerce and finance, as well as science and education, and in the nineteenth century industry would vastly expand existing towns and create sprawling agglomerations unlike any city before.

Finally, a word about technology. Early modern advances in production or transportation did little to change urban life. The horse remained supreme on land; building techniques did not change; and medicine remained largely powerless. However, two sets of inventions did make a difference to cities. The diffusion of printing and paper put books, newspapers, broadsides, and pamphlets in easy reach of town dwellers and facilitated literacy and schooling. Clocks and watches changed attitudes toward time and quickened the pace of social life and business.

See also Amsterdam; Antwerp; Barcelona; Berlin; City Planning; Cologne; Hamburg; London; Lübeck; Madrid; Naples; Nuremberg; Paris; St. Petersburg; Seville; Versailles.

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PAUL M. HOHENBERG

CITIZENSHIP. In the modern world, citizenship is a legal status that bestows uniform rights and duties upon all members of a state. Modern citizenship is associated with equality before the law, freedom from arbitrary rule, and a basic sense of human dignity bound up with the idea of human rights. It is a powerful term that evokes not only the rights that citizens may claim, but also the duties to which they are called, including dying for one's country. In early modern Europe, the status of citizen was far feebler and more varied in nature. At the dawn of this period, there were no centralized national states, and the vast majority of the population were servile peasants who lived under the rule of a local lord. The idea of citizenship, that is, a body of free people bound by a common law, was restricted to those who enjoyed full rights of membership in privileged towns, the burghers or bourgeois. There was no concept of universal rights of citizens. Rights took the form of privileges that were legitimated by tradition and distributed inequitably according to place, rank, and membership in other corporate bodies—guilds, parliaments, universities, and the like. Urban citizenship was thus just one form of juridical status that coexisted alongside a wide array of corporate groups entitling members to rights and privileges.

RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES

In general, the citizenship of towns offered several kinds of benefits. Only citizens could hold municipal office and perhaps engage in lucrative urban

trades. They enjoyed the privilege of being tried in a local court by their peers and were usually entitled to reduced taxes. Citizenship was commonly restricted to the propertied elite. Jean-Jacques Rousseau's Geneva, for example, was divided into an inner core of "citizens" and "bourgeois" who exercised full urban rights, and a wider tier of "inhabitants" and "natives," who had the right to live in the city but not to participate in the most profitable professions or hold municipal office.

The actual type and worth of rights conferred by urban citizenship varied by town. In Zurich and London citizenship was not prerequisite for access to the guilds. In fact, guild membership could be a way to acquire citizenship. In sixteenth-century Antwerp, it was not uncommon for members of the city council to register for citizenship just before taking office. In some cases, acquisition of citizenship was turned into a routine commercial transaction. In theory, the laws of sixteenth-century Bologna made it difficult for naturalized citizens to hold municipal office. In reality, citizens selected for office frequently designated a substitute to fill the post, a practice that amounted to a form of office selling. Nonetheless, urban citizenship might offer important advantages to its members. Citizens of Antwerp (*poorters*), for example, could not be arrested without cause and were exempt from torture. This was of little concern until the 1540s when the number of registrations for citizenship in Antwerp suddenly jumped. At that time, the town council began to use Antwerp's citizenship rights to protect persecuted Protestants.

Citizenship entailed responsibilities as well as rights. Citizens might be required to serve in the urban militia and to pay local taxes supporting the cost of communal self-government and fortifications. The status of citizen was usually inherited, but it could also be acquired by foreigners. Usually, naturalization required establishing a residence within the city for an extended period of time, paying specified taxes, and taking on other obligations of urban membership. Frequently, citizenship was associated with social and moral qualities. Many central European cities refused citizenship to adulterers and bastards.

Citizenship first became the object of more systematic theoretical reflection in self-governing Ital-

ian city-states during the early Renaissance. The recovery of Aristotle and other classical authors, combined with the struggle of Italian city-states to assert their independence from emperors and foreign invaders, stimulated thinkers to clarify the basis of political community. One important strand drew on the work of Bartolus of Sassoferrato and his pupil, Baldus de Ubaldis, the most influential jurists working in the Roman law tradition. They provided the first philosophical foundation for viewing the city-state as a fully independent, self-governing corporation of citizens.

A second important tradition drew on Florentine civic humanism. Humanists argued that the best form of government was elective, not monarchical, since elected rulers would best work to achieve the goals of the republic: to attain glory, sustain liberty, and preserve the common good. The civic humanist tradition culminated in the *Discourses* of Niccolò Machiavelli, who wrote in a period of tumult following the French invasion of Italy in 1494. Looking back to the tradition of the Roman Republic, Machiavelli urged his fellow citizens to prevent decline by practicing *virtù*. For Machiavelli, *virtù* meant the patriotic love of the republic that led citizens to place the welfare of the political community above individual interests. Good laws and institutions were also necessary to sustain *virtù*. Among the latter, the most important were civil religion to foster a spirit of unity and a citizen militia to encourage a spirit of self-sacrifice and bravery.

NATIVES AND FOREIGNERS

Given its classical, urban, and corporate roots, citizenship was not easily transferred to monarchical realms, where the king reputedly embodied the state and where vast aristocratic patron-client systems created webs of political obligation. A rudimentary idea of citizenship did distinguish native-born subjects of kingdoms (known as denizens in England, *regnicos* in France, and *naturales* in Spain) from foreigners, who suffered various kinds of disabilities. In Spain, only *naturales* of the five kingdoms of Aragón could hold offices in their respective kingdoms, engage in transatlantic commerce, or emigrate to the New World. In England, aliens could not vote in parliamentary elections, hold real property, own a British ship, or engage in the profitable colonial trade. In France, foreigners

or *aubains* (a term originally applied to outsiders moving into the jurisdiction of a feudal lord) paid special taxes, and the king could seize their property upon death. Naturalization removed these disabilities. Naturalization might require proof of assimilation into the national culture, as was the case in Spain, or merely be a routine bureaucratic procedure. In France, one had to do little more than offer evidence of Catholicity and French residence and pay the necessary fees. In England, aliens could apply to Parliament for a private naturalization act, a route that was generally closed to Jews, Catholics, and Dissenters. A lesser status of “free denizen,” which bestowed the right to participate in the colonial trade, could be purchased by those groups, but it did not grant exemption from steep alien custom duties.

In most cases, the status of a woman, whether at the municipal or national level, followed that of her husband. At times, however, foreign women married to foreign men seeking naturalization were required to be naturalized independently of their husbands. Because women generally could not hold office or practice lucrative trades, naturalization was of less worth to them than to men. Citizenship for women tended to remain a passive status that granted basic judicial protections, but did not authorize vital rights of political participation. Later, during the French Revolution, the secondary status of women was reconfirmed by the overt creation of “active” and “passive” categories of citizenship.

Throughout the early modern period, the quest for religious freedom and the evolution of citizenship remained closely tied. In the medieval world, the political community was also a closed community of Christian believers. Jews were outsiders, frequently banished, and allowed residence in certain countries only if they lived in specified locales, wore distinctive dress, paid special taxes, and the like. With the Reformation, Christian unity was shattered and states were “confessionalized,” so that the enjoyment of civil and political rights became tied to membership in the established church of the realm. Religious dissenters might be prohibited from holding office, bequeathing property, joining guilds, obtaining an education, marrying, bringing up their own children, and receiving a Christian burial. In certain cases, toleration was granted as a concession from the ruler or in limited form, such as

the right to private worship. Freedom of religion as a universal right of citizenship, however, was only conceptualized after natural law theory offered a nondoctrinal way of legitimating membership in the state.

FROM ABSOLUTE MONARCHY TO ENLIGHTENMENT

The period of religious revolt in the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was critical to the rise of absolutist citizenship. Rebellious subjects invoked rights of the “ancient constitution” against absolute monarchs, or cited resistance theories that vested sovereignty in the ambiguous notion of “the people.” The bloodshed of the period led royal theorists to define the citizen as a subject who owed unquestioned obedience to the sovereign in return for protection. In his *Six Books of the Commonwealth*, Jean Bodin stated that the citizen was “a free subject who is dependent on the sovereignty of another” (p. 19). Approximately a century later, in *De Cive, or, The Citizen* (1642), Thomas Hobbes presented a contractual theory of political society in which men voluntarily gave up the natural rights that they enjoyed in the bellicose state of nature to a ruler or ruling body in order to gain security: “. . . each citizen is called the subject of him who hath the chief command” (p. 68).

Despite Hobbes’s theorizing, subjects showed themselves determined to hold onto historic rights. After James II was ousted from the English throne during the Glorious Revolution of 1688, a Bill of Rights declared that hierarchically ordered “estates” would be maintained in their “ancient rights and liberties.” At the same time, John Locke’s *Second Treatise on Government* pointed the way toward a far more radical interpretation of rights as abstract, natural, and universal in scope. For Locke, rights were “inalienable,” derived from a free and egalitarian state of nature. Governments were not products of dynastic inheritance or divine will: they were artificial creations grounded in popular consent whose central purpose was to secure citizens’ rights. Popularized through tracts such as Cato’s *Letters*, a Lockean conception of rights ultimately became one of the major foundations of the American Declaration of Independence.

By the eighteenth century, then, the usage of the word “citizen” had begun to shed its absolutist

association with “subject” and break free from the idea of graded ranks and historically conditioned privileges. This transformation was part of a wider linguistic shift. Words connoting a vertical ordering of society organized by notions of deference and command were abandoned or took on new meaning. The word “king” became uncoupled from “nation,” which he had previously embodied. The word “society” no longer meant a business partnership, but a universal field of human relations. Social gradations still existed, but they were often described as classes, which implied productivity and individual effort, rather than as estates, orders, or corps, which suggested a preexisting, divinely sanctioned hierarchy. In the article “Citizen” in his *Encyclopedie*, Denis Diderot defined the citizen not in terms of participation in the privileges of a city, but as “a member of a free society . . . who partakes of the rights of that society and enjoys its privileges.”

Two moral qualities were particularly associated with the citizen: utility and virtue. Political economists spread the idea that the most powerful state was the one that counted the greatest number of “industrious” men. The pursuit of plenty, according to these thinkers, was not something to be scorned for its corruption of civic spirit, but to be praised for its ability to unleash national productive power. Utility did not necessarily negate hierarchy, but it did shift the justification for social ranks from innate qualities, like noble birth, to functional attributes available to any hardworking person.

Virtue continued to be defined by reference to classical republican qualities. In his *Spirit of the Laws*, Montesquieu spoke of virtue in terms of “the love of our country, of the thirst of true glory, of self-denial, of the sacrifice of our dearest interests, and of all those heroic virtues which we admire in the ancients” (Vol. I, Bk. III.5, p. 23). Yet virtue also acquired enlightened overtones of sociability and humanitarianism. Rousseau spoke of virtue not only in terms of patriotic self-sacrifice, but also of sensibility and pity revealed through the inner voice of the conscience. For Rousseau and others, virtue was a humanitarian sentiment most easily found among the common people. By imparting moral worth to ordinary people, virtue legitimated their quest to gain a political voice.

Many rejected the ideals of classical republicanism as a model for citizenship altogether. The direct democracy suitable to small, face-to-face societies like the ancient republics would not work in large, culturally diffuse states. Furthermore, too much popular participation had opened up ancient republics to constant factionalism. Rather than relying on direct democracy, men like Jean Louis de Lolme argued, it would be better to set up a passive system of representation and create institutional checks and balances to channel the interests of the people toward the common good. Ancient republics, furthermore, had practiced slavery, denigrated women and domestic life, spurned commercial development, and even permitted infanticide. Republican citizenship would have to be made compatible with the technological progress, commercial prosperity, and humane virtues that most enlightened elites endorsed.

THE SOCIAL CONTRACT

By the end of the eighteenth century, then, two visions of republican citizenship had emerged. One, often labeled “liberal,” was derived from a natural law tradition and emphasized the rights of individuals, representation, and material progress. It was concerned with checking arbitrary power and securing the conditions that would allow men and women to enjoy the fruits of their labor in peace. A second, more activist and communal strand inspired by classical republicanism appealed to civic virtues of self-sacrifice, public-spiritedness, and the constant vigilance of citizens against enemies of freedom.

Jean-Jacques Rousseau brought elements of both traditions together in *The Social Contract*, a treatise meant to serve as an ideal, not an actual blueprint, for society. According to Rousseau, men in their natural state were free and equal, but they were also amoral and governed by instinct. Men reached their full human potential only through the exercise of citizenship. In the social contract, each individual gave up his powers from the state of nature to everyone else in order to form a state. The essence of citizenship, then, was participation in the social contract, which created a state of morality, civil freedom, equality, and democratic participation. Citizens were bound by law, but remained free, because they imposed laws on themselves. Citizens were equal before the law, because everyone

came into the social contract under the same terms. The public interest or “general will” served as the ultimate source of law, because all individuals had sacrificed their private interests to become part of the state. For Rousseau, citizenship was a legal status, but not a passive one, as it implied moral duties and active participation.

The actual transition to a new form of citizenship stemmed from the practical need to make states more competitive in war. In France the monarchy contributed to a more egalitarian definition of society by attempting to tax privileged members of society. Royal reforming ministers and their allies argued that payment of taxes defined citizenship, because all members of society, even the privileged, owed the state taxes in return for protection. As the Physiocrat writer LeTrosne declared in his work on tax reform, ecclesiastical tax exemptions put the clergy “outside the class of citizens” and stripped them “of all right to civil protection” (p. 501). In reply, the most powerful corporate bodies in France, the sovereign courts known as parlements, stretched corporate politics to the breaking point and went beyond their traditional defense of “fundamental laws.” Claiming to speak for “the Nation,” the parlements stated that the nation had a right to consent to taxes and thereby made themselves virtual co-sovereigns with the king.

The bankruptcy of the French government in 1788 proved that a new organization of the state was necessary. Drawing on political economy and social contract theory, the Abbé Sieyès in *What Is the Third Estate?* laid out the terms of modern citizenship as a national, egalitarian, and utilitarian status. Citizens were members of the nation, that is, “a body of associates living under common laws” (p. 55). Since privileges were exemptions from the common law, all those who enjoyed privileges, notably the nobility, were noncitizens. Eventually, this logic was used to justify the execution of the king, since an absolute monarch stood outside the common law formed by the social contract and thus could be judged, as Saint Just argued in 1792, “not as a citizen, but as a rebel” (p. 123). Enshrined in “The Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen” of 1789, citizenship became synonymous with both the enjoyment of fundamental rights and a new vision of national sovereignty. Rather than being one legal status among many in a corporate

society, citizenship had become the primary status mediating all other juridical relationships in the state and the primary marker of human worth.

See also Bodin, Jean; *Cities and Urban Life; Class, Status, and Order; Democracy; Diderot, Denis; Enlightened Despotism; Hobbes, Thomas; Locke, John; Machiavelli, Niccolò; Monarchy; Montesquieu, Charles-Louis de Secondat de; Parlements; Political Philosophy; Political Secularization; Revolutions, Age of; Rousseau, Jean-Jacques.*

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GAIL BOSSENGA

CITY PLANNING. In early modern Europe city planning was not a profession, as it is today, but a function of public administration and the emerging profession of architecture. Plans for new cities, extensions, and redevelopment were made by monarchs, bureaucrats, municipal authorities, architects, military engineers, and amateurs. From the mid-fifteenth through the eighteenth centuries, the broad trend in the theory of city planning was increased understanding of cities as complex systems of interrelated elements having to do with public utility and beautification.

Planning was informed by practices established in the Middle Ages and memories of ancient Rome. The medieval legacy included municipal building regulations and a repertoire of urban design techniques and features, among which were plans based on grids, such as the *bastides* of France and Spain, and symbolically charged public spaces, such as the Piazza del Campo in Siena. Popes, such as Alexander VII (reigned 1655–1667); kings, such as Louis XIV (ruled 1643–1715); and even the governments of the French Revolution regarded imperial Rome as the supreme model for public administration and urban grandeur and vied to meet the standard of magnificence suggested by ancient ruins and descriptions in Roman literature.

Medieval rulers and artisans involved in planning cities drew on a variety of texts, including the treatise on architecture by the ancient Roman architect Vitruvius (first century B.C.E.), but they did not write systematically on the subject. This task was taken up in the fifteenth century by Italian authors, who, reinterpreting Vitruvius, addressed urban design within comprehensive treatises on architecture. Influential in this respect were Leon Battista Alberti (1404–1472), Filarete (Antonio di Pietro Averlino, c. 1400–c.1469), and Francesco di Giorgio Martini (1439–1502). They posited ideal cities shaped by theories of fortification, social order, and geometry. In their view, urban design was to follow the same compositional principles of hierarchy, symmetry, and regularity that governed architecture. Diagram-

matically, the ideal city was contained within walls forming a regular polygon. The street pattern was regular and could be a grid or a radial system. A public square with buildings housing secular and religious authority occupied the center. For over two hundred years, this model served for the planning of military garrison towns such as Palmanova, Italy (1593), and Neuf-Brisach, France (1698). In a few instances, such as Charleville (1608) in France and Zamość (c. 1579) in Poland, local princes adopted the model as an expression of prestige and cultural attainment.

The theoretical treatment of city planning in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries generally followed themes established earlier, but thinking about planning was hardly stagnant. Developments can be seen best in building regulations. Among the more notable legislative achievements were the Spanish Laws of the Indies, promulgated in 1573, which included many provisions addressing city planning in the New World; the Rebuilding Acts of 1667 and 1670 for the reconstruction of London after the Great Fire (1666); and the regulations governing the construction of St. Petersburg, issued from 1714 to 1737. The London ordinances, for example, addressed building materials and construction techniques, street widths, and standardized house types.

Beginning in the mid-eighteenth century, several new attitudes transformed city planning theory. Military engineering was increasingly regarded as a discrete profession, and the links between fortifications and urban design loosened. Authors such as the French architect Pierre Patte (1723–1814) promoted the creation of master plans that addressed traffic circulation, sewage, and street lighting among other functional and aesthetic concerns. In some settings, questions regarding city planning became matters of public debate. In Paris in 1748, the decision to create a square honoring Louis XV (now the Place de la Concorde) prompted an informal competition attracting amateurs as well as professionals. Other indications of increased public interest are books and pamphlets advocating the adoption of specific plans, such as John Gwynn's (1713–1786) proposal for London, published in 1766.

Urban populations increased significantly in early modern Europe, but most of the growth was

in existing cities. New cities were founded as instruments of specific state policies. In addition to garrison cities, specialized types included seaports (Livorno, Italy, 1576), cities supporting princely palaces (Versailles, France, 1660s–1680s), and manufacturing centers (Perm, Russia, 1723). In the second half of the eighteenth century, some designers, among them the French architect Claude-Nicolas Ledoux (1736–1806), regarded such foundations as opportunities for social as well as physical planning. New cities typically were modest in scope. An exception was St. Petersburg (fortress begun 1703), which Peter the Great (ruled 1682–1725) envisioned as a full-fledged capital rivaling Amsterdam, London, and Paris.

City planning throughout early modern Europe primarily addressed the extension, redevelopment, and reconstruction of existing cities. The primary compositional elements of urban design were grid-iron and radial street patterns, public squares, and broad, straight streets aligned with architectural monuments and framed, ideally, by buildings with uniform facades. These elements were refined in Italy during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, noted by travelers, and depicted in engravings and paintings. In Rome, influential examples included the improved streets linking major Christian monuments and the public squares designed by Michelangelo on the Capitoline Hill (begun 1538) and Gian Lorenzo Bernini at St. Peter's (1656). Among other celebrated works were Piazza San Marco in Venice (improvements begun 1537) and the extensions of Turin realized throughout the seventeenth century.

The crowded centers of medieval cities were enticing targets for redevelopment, but the high cost of land acquisition limited the scale of most projects. Disasters offered extraordinary opportunities for transformation, as was the case in Lisbon following the earthquake of 1755. In many instances, however, major changes to the street plan could not be implemented. Ambitious new plans by Christopher Wren (1632–1723) and others for London after the Great Fire were put aside in order to simplify reconstruction. Extensions offered the most frequent opportunity for planning. Their scope varied from piecemeal additions (eighteenth-century Berlin) to single plans more than doubling a city's land area (Nancy, France, 1588), and various

combinations of speculative and governmental interests drove them. Among the most spectacular examples are the extensions to London and Bath, England, realized by developers throughout the eighteenth century. A distinctive feature of their work was the use of squares, often containing a private park, framed by row houses embellished to a greater or lesser extent by classical details in accordance with the wealth of the intended occupants.

See also **Architecture**; **Bernini, Gian Lorenzo**; **Britain, Architecture in**; **Cities and Urban Life**; **Classicism**; **France, Architecture in**; **Ledoux, Claude-Nicolas**; **London**; **Paris**; **Peter I (Russia)**; **Rome, Architecture in**; **Russia, Architecture in**; **St. Petersburg**; **Venice, Architecture in**; **Versailles**; **Wren, Christopher**.

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CITY-STATE. City-states were autonomous, self-governing states led by a city. They controlled land outside the walls, from a few square miles, for many of the imperial free cities of Germany, to the huge land-and-sea empire of the Republic of Venice. All city-states had collective governments, usually a narrow or broad oligarchy. With the exception of the largely rural Swiss city-states, their economies were based on trade and manufacturing. A vital part of European politics, economy, and culture in 1500, city-states declined in importance in the next three centuries.

City-states rose in the Middle Ages in areas of Europe lacking strong territorial monarchies. North Italian towns won their independence from the Holy Roman Empire in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. Geographical remoteness and mountains protected the Swiss city-states from outside rule. In Germany many towns had achieved the status of imperial free city by the end of the Middle Ages. They governed themselves but were expected to follow the lead of the Holy Roman Empire in foreign policy and to provide financial support when necessary.

ITALIAN CITY-STATES

Venice, Genoa, Florence, Siena, and Lucca were the best known, largest, and most important Italian city-states. Venice and Genoa were the leading trading powers of the Mediterranean Sea in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and Venice remained important through the seventeenth century. Trade led to manufacturing and banking. Venice was a printing and glass manufacturing center, while Genoese bankers lent money to monarchs, especially Spain. Florence was a commercial and banking center and a renowned wool manufacturer. Siena was an influential commercial city in central Italy, and Lucca had an important silk industry.

All five Italian city-states had republican forms of government. They viewed themselves and their

institutions as the heirs of the city-states of ancient Rome and Greece, despite some considerable differences. A series of interlocking councils made major decisions in the Italian city-states. Leading adult male citizens, except for clergymen, were elected or chosen through lot to fill seats on executive and legislative councils. Terms of office ranged from two months to one year. The franchise and the right to hold office was broad but did not extend to all the inhabitants of the town. The Republic of Venice had a unique form of government. Only adult male nobles whose legitimate ancestry could be traced back to 1297 were eligible to hold office. But this still included about 2,000–2,500 men in a total population of about 175,000 in the late sixteenth century. The gerontocratic nature of Venetian politics further encouraged consensus. A young noble began the climb to high political office in his early twenties under the watchful eyes of his elders and, if found able, reached the most important councils in his mid-fifties. In Genoa a number of prominent families shared governmental responsibility. Both Venice and Genoa elected doges to be ceremonial heads of government with limited authority. Florence was more democratic. In the years between 1498 and 1512, about 3,000 adult males were eligible for public office in a population of about 70,000. The smaller Siena and Lucca were ruled by relatively broad oligarchies drawn from the leading citizens. However, none of the Italian republican city-states offered significant political rights to the inhabitants of their subject territories outside the capital city.

GERMAN CITY-STATES

Some sixty-five cities in what is now called Germany enjoyed the title and privileges of free imperial cities. Not ruled by prince or bishop, they were self-governing states who recognized only the remote overlordship of the Holy Roman emperor. Along with princes, prince-bishops, and knights, the free imperial cities had their own representation in the imperial diet, the consultative body which met periodically to discuss imperial affairs and to grant financial support to the emperor. The most important free cities were located in southwestern Germany. Augsburg had 50,000 people in the early sixteenth century and considerable importance as a commercial center, although its territory was small. Nuremberg had about 20,000 inhabitants inside the city

walls and another 20,000 in over 400 villages in the fields and forests ruled by Nuremberg. Other important free cities included Magdeburg, Cologne, Frankfurt am Main, and Strasbourg. Ulm, much smaller in population than Augsburg, controlled some 500 square miles of territory outside its walls. Hamburg, with 20,000 inhabitants in 1550, which rose to about 60,000 in the late seventeenth century, was the most important city-state in northern Germany and a center for shipping, publishing, textile production, and banking. The Hanseatic League cities of Lübeck, Bremen, and Gdańsk (Danzig) were also imperial free cities in northern Germany and Poland.

Oligarchical city councils dominated by leading merchants and professional men from wealthy established families governed the free cities. Although some cities had limited-franchise elections, seats in the city council were often hereditary: When a council member died, his son or nephew succeeded him. By the sixteenth century artisan guilds had almost no formal role in government. Nevertheless, artisans made their views known, and city council members took them into account, because they feared civil unrest. Because both wealthy merchants and modest artisans saw their personal well-being dependent on that of the city, German free cities had a strong communal identity.

SWISS CITY-STATES

The thirteen independent cantons of the Swiss Confederation made up the third group. The Swiss Confederation grew from the three original forest cantons of Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden, then added Lucerne (1332), Zurich (1351), Glarus (1352), Zug (1352), and Bern (1353). Solothurn and Fribourg were added in 1481, then Basel and Schaffhausen in 1501, and Appenzell in 1513. Geneva won its independence from the House of Savoy in the sixteenth century but did not become a member of the Swiss Confederation until the end of the eighteenth century. Swiss cities and towns were small in population: Geneva had 13,000 people, Basel had 10,000, and Zürich had 7,000 in the early sixteenth century. But compared with the German free cities, they controlled considerable surrounding territory. The cantons of Glarus, Grisons, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Uri, and Zug were rural, mountainous, and forested, with tiny, isolated populations.

Some cantons ruled additional lands outside their borders, while the Swiss Confederation as a whole also held land. However, the Confederation was only a loose association organized to pursue common interests, such as defense against invaders, rather than a central government. It could not prevent wars between cantons. By 1500 the Swiss cantons enjoyed de facto independence from the Holy Roman Empire, a condition recognized in 1648. Councils composed of prominent citizens, either elected or semi-hereditary, ruled individual cantons. The independent city-state of Geneva elected its officials.

RELIGION AND THE CITY-STATES

City-states approached religious matters collectively. Leaders and people believed that the entire city-state was responsible to God for the actions of its inhabitants. Plague, flood, and military defeat were seen as God's punishment on the city as a whole for its sins. Consequently, leaders and people sought agreement on religious issues.

This also meant that city-states approached the local church and its clergymen in a possessive way. They believed that the local church should be responsible to them more than to the papacy. In Italian city-states the leaders of the local church came from prominent local families. In Venice the Senate chose the Venetian patriarch, the leader of the local church. Occasionally the Senate chose a prominent member of the government, who, upon being designated patriarch, became a clergyman. Once in office, the patriarch was expected to follow the lead of the civil government in disputes with the papacy and matters affecting the civil government.

German and Swiss city-states had similar attitudes in different circumstances. Before the Protestant Reformation the bishop was often a non-resident outsider, rather than a member of the ruling group of the city. This produced disputes, anticlericalism, and a receptive audience for the first Protestant preachers. When townspeople began to support the preachers, city councils had to make decisions about the religious direction of the city-states. Since they wished to affirm the unity of the city-state before God and to keep the peace, they often moved the city-state into the Protestant camp. They moved cautiously, usually orchestrating a step-by-step, orderly, and reasonably

peaceful transition to Protestantism. German and Swiss city-states were among the first states to embrace the Protestant Reformation. Zurich and Nuremberg are much-studied examples. Geneva won its independence from the House of Savoy and its bishop in the mid-1520s, then became Protestant between 1532 and 1536.

However, as religious differences generated warfare between Protestant and Catholic states, the German free imperial cities were vulnerable. Religious and political warfare was a three-way struggle between empire, princes, and cities. The cities that became Protestant were obliged to form alliances with German Protestant princes, who ruled stronger states and commanded larger armies. These alliances also incurred the vengeance of the emperor, who retaliated against Protestant cities. The free cities that remained Catholic also became weaker, because they had to rely on the emperor for protection and were bled white to support him. After the sixty-year truce following the Religious Peace of Augsburg of 1555, the free cities again suffered during the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648). An imperial army brutally sacked the free city of Magdeburg and murdered twenty thousand of its inhabitants in 1631. Münster and Erfurt, not imperial free cities even though their bishops exercised no control, lost their independence to nearby princes, and Strasbourg came under French domination in the later seventeenth century. The Swiss city-states retained their independence because they were difficult to invade.

DECLINE

Some city-states were already losing their independence in the sixteenth century. In 1532 the Florentine Republic became the Duchy of Tuscany, ruled by the Medici family. Spain conquered Siena in 1555 and then sold the city to Florence in 1557. Genoa became a subservient ally of Spain in 1528, a move that enabled it to survive until 1798. By the eighteenth century the remaining independent city-states were fewer in number and weaker in every way compared with their condition in 1500. When the Holy Roman Empire was formally abolished in 1806, the free German city-states hardly existed except in law. Venice, the largest and most important city-state, lost Cyprus in 1571 and Crete and the rest of its eastern Mediterranean Empire in a

series of wars with the Turks between 1645 and 1718. But it remained independent and the ruler of a sizeable part of northeastern Italy. Although its commerce waned, Venice remained a major European cultural, intellectual, artistic, and musical center through the eighteenth century. Then in 1797 the twenty-eight-year-old Napoleon Bonaparte, no respecter of age, conquered the 1,000-year-old Most Serene Republic of Venice. The much smaller Lucca emerged from the Napoleonic period still an independent city-state in 1817, but it was ruled by members of the Bourbon family, until it voted to join the Kingdom of Italy in 1860. The Swiss city-states maintained their independence.

In 1500 the city-states played essential roles in European politics, economy, and culture. But they could not afford the money and manpower to defend themselves against aggressive territorial monarchies and princedoms. They could not compete against national economies. And with the exception of Venice, their artistic and intellectual greatness faded. The city-states were major losers in the centuries between the Renaissance and the French Revolution.

See also Cities and Urban Life; Florence; Frankfurt am Main; Free and Imperial Cities; Gdańsk; Geneva; Hamburg; Hansa; Holy Roman Empire; Lübeck; Nuremberg; Reformation, Protestant; Representative Institutions; State and Bureaucracy; Strasbourg; Switzerland; Thirty Years' War (1618–1648); Venice; Zurich.

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CIVIC RITUAL. *See* Ritual, Civic and Royal.

CIVIL ENGINEERING. *See* Engineering, Civil.

CIVIL WAR, ENGLISH. *See* English Civil War and Interregnum.

CLASS, STATUS, AND ORDER. All human societies require systems of classification. These systems straddle the imagined boundary between the ideal and the real, creating a standard by which society can assess, judge, and, if necessary, punish. Early modern Europeans inherited from their medieval ancestors a system of classification called the society of orders, yet they lived in a world increasingly structured by economic status, which modern societies have termed a society of classes. Historians long accepted three simple propositions about European social classification: The Middle Ages had a society of orders; the nineteenth and twentieth centuries had a society of classes; and early modern times had neither, forming a sort of battlefield in which “classes” overcame “orders.”

These primitive constructs, the first relying heavily on a sociolegal definition, and the second on often artificial economic categories, provide deceptive simplifications of the most complex human activity: social differentiation. Medieval writers described a society of three orders: prayers, fighters,

and workers. This description had real political meaning, because the three orders of so many European medieval representative bodies, like the Estates-General of the Low Countries, were the clergy, the nobility, and the towns.

This simplified general version of the society of orders, however, masked a far more complex system of classification, above all within the “workers,” those who were neither members of the clergy nor of noble status. The three-orders model suggested that a wealthy merchant or powerful judge belonged to the same social classification as a rural day laborer. Viewed from the perspective of a rich urban merchant, only an aristocratic snob could take seriously such a view, yet a noble rightly, and legally, could insist that one was either noble or commoner, that the distinction of social order mattered.

NOBILITY AND STATUS

The legal nobility of any European society typically included 1 or 2 percent of the population, but in kingdoms such as Castile or the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, 10 percent of the population held legal nobility. In western Europe, this group owned half or more of the land; in east central Europe, the nobility owned a far greater percentage. Within the nobility, four distinct categories stood out. Three-fourths of the nobility had little wealth. In east central Europe, such a noble might own a single village, or even part of a village; in western Europe, they would own neither a fief nor a château. In France, at the end of the seventeenth century, 80 percent of the nobility fell into this category. In Poland or Hungary, wealthy peasants sometimes enjoyed a much higher standard of living than poor nobles. The impoverished petty nobles of Castile, the *hidalgos*, provided many of the *conquistadores* for the Spanish Empire and even foot soldiers for the king’s army.

Next up the ladder came the local lords, who held rights of *Herrschaft* in German lands or of high justice in most of the rest of continental Europe. These people provided the state function in much of rural Europe. Politically, they often demanded “republican” institutions such as provincial estates and an elected local judiciary. They had enough wealth to live comfortably in the countryside; their courts, and their social prestige, made them the dominant social group in much of rural Europe. By

the seventeenth century, many of these people held state offices, such as royal judgeships, through which they controlled local society.

Although European political and social theorists and governments tried to maintain the fiction that this group of nobility provided a permanent, ordered social and political elite, in fact, in much of Europe this group had a steady influx of newcomers. Wealthy urban merchants and lawyers bought rural estates and gradually insinuated themselves into the nobility by means of marriage, social behavior, and political participation. Such permeability mattered little in a place like Poland, where nobles formed 10 percent of the population, so social mobility took place primarily within the nobility, not into it. In England or France, however, a constant flow of commoners became noble (France) or joined the gentry (England). In Lancashire, between 1600 and 1642, more than one third of the 750 gentry families disappeared and were replaced by a like number of newcomers. The carnage of the Hundred Years’ War (1337–1453) or of the sixteenth-century religious wars created massive shortages of nobles in England, France, the Holy Roman Empire, and the Low Countries. Each society had need of nobles in order to function; the new families replaced the ones who died out, casualties either of war or of demographic forces. Noble families also intermarried with wealthy commoners; above all, noble men married wealthy non-noble women.

The regional nobility, what some historians call the “second nobility,” provided the crucial link between the base of village lords and the great aristocrats. These second nobles served as clients of the great nobles, yet they provided patronage to those at the local level. Their families often held minor bishoprics or headed middling abbeys or convents; the men served in princely armies and commanded fortresses or local noble militias.

The great aristocratic families above them—families like the Esterházy in Hungary, the Schwartzenberg in Bohemia, the Furstemburg in the Holy Roman Empire, the Radziwill in Lithuania, the Corsini in Florence, the Mendoza in Castile, the Rohan in Brittany, the d’Arenberg in the Spanish Netherlands, and the dukes of Bedford in England—had fabulous resources. Even here, new families could join the highest ranks of the aristo-

cracy: Montmorency and Guise families rose to unprecedented heights in sixteenth-century France. Guise and Montmorency started the process of inflation of noble titles in France: They were the first people outside the royal family to obtain the title duke. Even so, France had only eleven duke-peers in 1589, as against forty-eight in 1715. This same inflation of titles happened everywhere in the West, whether in the proliferation of English “baronets” (a title invented by James I in 1611) or the tripling of titled nobles in Austrian lands between 1606 and 1657. The kingdom of Naples had ninety-nine titled nobles in 1528, but 649 in 1750; Spain had fifty-five titled nobles in 1520, but 528 in 1700.

These new titles undermined the status system, while simultaneously reinforcing it. Giving noble titles to prominent and successful commoners kept them from creating an alternative hierarchical system that would challenge the traditional one of the nobility. In those societies, like Holland, in which wealthy urban merchants did not seek to join the nobility, the merchants did, in fact, create a new social and political hierarchy, in which the nobles had virtually no role. In the Estates of Holland, the towns held twenty-four votes, while the collective nobility of the province had only one.

The aristocrats lived in stunning luxury. The Esterházy had their own private orchestra; Franz Joseph Haydn, in service to Prince Paul Anton Esterházy, wrote his *Farewell Symphony* to convince the prince not to leave the musicians behind when the family went on a summer visit to its great palace at Esterháza. Where a middling noble might own several lordships, the duke of Infantado (Mendoza family) held lordship over nearly eight hundred villages. In the kingdom of Naples, 95 percent of the communities lived under the legal jurisdiction of a feudal lord, a situation common in many other parts of Europe.

Income levels within the nobility varied sharply. A well-to-do provincial French noble in the sixteenth century might have an income of 2,000 French pounds; the greatest aristocrats, like the Guise, Bourbon, and Montmorency families, took in 150,000–200,000 pounds a year (the cardinal of Lorraine, a Guise, reached 300,000). Comfortable nobles in England might possess 100 acres, while the Russell family, dukes of Bedford, owned more

than 100,000. They got even wealthier in the eighteenth century, with the development of Russell Square in London, which survives as a lovely example of Georgian architecture. In Spain, the great aristocrats—Mendoza, Guzmán, Toledo—had landed revenues of 50,000–60,000 ducats a year; as in France or England, Spanish aristocrats, or those in the kingdom of Naples, had 100 times more income than a well-to-do country gentleman. Even these figures pale in comparison to the wealth of the magnates of the East; families like the Radziwiłł owned tens of thousands of villages. The humblest Spanish *hidalgo* held the same noble status as a Furstemburg or a Zamoyski, but the status conferred by wealth and political power made them effectively part of two different social groups.

COMMONERS AND SYSTEMS OF STATUS

The three-orders model common in French-speaking areas did not necessarily apply elsewhere. In England or the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the representative bodies had only two estates: Lords and Commons in England; Senate and Diet (nobility) in Poland-Lithuania. The English House of Commons or the lower house of the Polish Sejm or Hungarian Diet represented the same group of people, those whom the English termed the landed gentry. In continental Europe, unlike in England, these people held legal noble status. Other states, such as Sweden, had a Fourth Estate for the peasants.

The evolving representative bodies of the fourteenth through seventeenth centuries provide clear evidence as to the changing system of social differentiation. In the fourteenth century, in most parts of Europe the third order was simply the towns. No one really “represented” the peasants because they were not citizens, and only citizens could be represented. In the Holy Roman Empire, in parts of east central Europe, and in parts of France, these peasants were not free people: they were serfs, and thus could not possibly be citizens.

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, however, the third order often came to be called the Third Estate, and it explicitly included peasants. Flanders already had village assemblies in the fourteenth century. By the late sixteenth century, meetings of the French Estates-General gave rise to village assemblies, which elected deputies to bailiwick

assemblies, and which drew up lists of grievances for the king. The bailiwick assemblies elected deputies to the Estates-General and created regional grievance lists. Nobles or urban elites would certainly not have accepted the proposition that peasants were citizens, but peasant participation in the political process—the defining mark of citizenship—created uncomfortable ambiguity.

Moreover, peasant rebels, as in the German Peasants' Revolt of 1525, demanded freedom (abolition of serfdom) and a wide range of rights, such as the ability to elect their own pastors. The tie between “freedom” and citizenship was so strong that in England most towns referred to citizenship as “the freedom.” In Worcester and countless other English towns, no one could carry on any trade unless he held citizenship. Whether in England or in the towns of western Germany, urban citizenship could range as high as half the adult male population (York), or it could drop to 20 percent or less (Bristol). In early-sixteenth-century Italy, the great Humanists Niccolò Machiavelli (1469–1527) and Francesco Guicciardini (1483–1540) debated the proper proportion of citizens, with Machiavelli suggesting a more “democratic” system and Guicciardini opting for an aristocratic republic, such as that of Venice. Throughout Europe in the sixteenth century, towns took Guicciardini's advice; they became progressively more oligarchic, whether it was the *vroedschappen* of the Dutch cities or the consulates of the Italian ones.

Noble pretensions to the contrary notwithstanding, the status gap between a peasant and a member of the patriciate of Amsterdam, Augsburg, or any other major city mirrored that between a great aristocrat and a poor country noble. Peasants might have status within their village communities; outside them, they did not. Church authorities, drawn from the nobility and the urban elites, viewed the peasants as little better than pagans, sending out “missionaries” to convert these nominal Christians to the official brand of religion. Burghers, in contrast, had real political and economic clout; within their towns, they also had exalted social status. In the state, their social status remained contested; order-based conflict between nobles and commoners remained a norm of European life. That conflict should not obscure, however, the many other fault lines of European society. Status depended every-

where and at all times on one's relationship to others, and it thus took into account a wide array of factors. Because it depended on such relationships, status was also public: it had to be displayed in order to exist.

SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION

European societies attempted to legislate social distinction. Virtually every town and every state had its sumptuary laws, which carefully defined who could wear different sorts of clothing. In most places, only nobles could wear silk; only members of royal families could have gold or silver thread woven into their clothes; only princes could have certain precious furs line their collars. Sumptuary laws also defined socially appropriate colors, following the model of the famous imperial purple of the Byzantines. Naturally, everyone sought to wear the clothing restricted to the social group above them: Nobles tried to sneak gold thread into their clothes; merchants tried to wear silk.

Sumptuary laws sometimes defined what people had to wear, as well as what they could not. The authorities particularly singled out groups who were in one way or another outside of mainstream society. The group could be a religious minority like Jews, who often had to wear a Star of David or a yellow hat. It could be those who broke certain moral rules, like prostitutes, who sometimes had to display a sign of their profession and status. It could be lawbreakers: Criminals could wear their marks of distinction on their skin—a “V” for thief (*voleur*) in French-speaking lands, or the infamous scarlet “A” for an adulteress in England. A woman's or man's clothes invariably situated her or him within the known social order and thus provided the social transparency so beloved of the authorities. Almost all European states outlawed disguises and nicknames for that reason. Those who sought to subvert the social order could do so simply by putting on a costume, as at Carnival, or by using a sobriquet, a nearly universal practice among craft journeymen. Women, too, used these second, public names, clear evidence of their participation in the marketplace.

Everyone had to display his or her status publicly, especially on certain festive occasions. The public nature of status meant that elites *had* to engage in what we would call conspicuous consumption in order to express, and thus make mani-

fest, their status. A duke or a prince had to live in a great château, had to wear fine silk clothing, had to act as a generous benefactor to his loyal followers. A local lord had to maintain social distance with his neighbors, yet he had to bestow marks of his esteem on chosen servants: Lords and ladies often acted as godparents to children of wealthy peasant tenants. In Flemish or Italian or German towns, a rich merchant or wealth lawyer longed to be asked to do municipal service, just as a member of the English landed gentry obliged willingly when asked to sit as an unpaid judge at the Quarter Sessions.

Society sought differentiation through other means, such as food or language. In some cases, laws created restrictions on food, especially game: Deer in England or wild boar in France were “royal game,” which could be eaten only by royals or by royal permission. Throughout Europe, the right to hunt marked off a nobleman. Social differentiation by food, however, tended more often to rely on price. The most expensive bread in many European towns bore the name of “chapter bread,” so called because initially only the bakery of the rich cathedral chapter had the right to make it. Town governments spoke of bread fit for consumption “only by the country people,” whose coarseness was proverbial. Governments sought to limit access to imported spices. Increasingly, town dwellers differentiated themselves from rural people by the type of food they ate: Urban consumers ate more meat, especially “butcher’s meat” (beef and mutton) and wheat bread; peasants ate little meat (and then small game) and rye bread. Outside of wine-producing regions, urban consumers drank far more wine than rural ones, a distinction less evident in those regions where people drank beer or cider (apple or pear). Church authorities, too, interfered in diet: Butcher shops in Catholic areas had to close during Lent, when religious sanctions prevented meat consumption, and Jews everywhere in Europe faced strict dietary laws supervised by their rabbis.

The groups seeking to climb the social scale often tried to emulate their social “betters,” who, in turn, sought new ways to differentiate themselves. This process accelerated exponentially in the eighteenth century. “Proper” members of society adopted new manners, such as eating with forks, using porcelain plates, and creating individual “places” at a dinner table. When common people

began to use forks, too, the elite began a progressive differentiation of plates, utensils, and glassware, creating elaborate dinner settings that could not be duplicated by the middling and poor. Soon manuals of etiquette appeared in one language after another. Elites consumed new foods, such as vegetables and fruits introduced from the Americas or from Asia, or fancier wines, such as Champagne (France) or Tokai (Hungary). The world market provided elites with tea and coffee, and soon the coffee house/café sprang up in major European cities. Some of these houses, like the famous Demel in Vienna, still exist, selling fancy pastries to clients who linger to read the newspapers provided for the clients. These newspapers, another eighteenth-century innovation, also changed the rules of status, because they provided a new forum for public opinion.

Language offered another everyday, ubiquitous means of social differentiation. The first sentence out of one’s mouth invariably established social relationship: Landlords used the familiar second person (*du/tu/thou*) when speaking to peasants; the latter replied using the polite, plural form (*Sie/usted/vous/you*). In workshops, the master said “thou,” the journeyman or apprentice said “you.” Nobles insisted that they alone had a right to *madame/signora/pani* or their male equivalents; urban elites salivated at the prospect of hearing someone call them *madame* or *pan*.

In early modern societies, status affected an individual every time she or he appeared in public. Status determined how others spoke to you (and you to them), what you wore, where you sat, where (and even if) you marched in parades, where you stood in church—even where you were buried. The middling and lower status people of a village had to settle for the cemetery; the village elite were interred under the church floor. One’s status fluctuated at all times: Status depended on the status of those with whom you interacted, even at the highest levels of society. Spanish court etiquette was legendarily rigid, but Spanish practice spread to Austria and France. Commoners greatly resented the public manifestations of their lower status: The grievances prepared by the Third Estate’s regional assemblies for the French Estates-General of 1789 universally demanded that their deputies not suffer demeaning treatment. At the opening ceremonies, the stubborn sartorial resistance of some deputies of the

Third Estate, who violated court etiquette by donning their hats in the presence of the king, a privilege reserved for nobles, galvanized the Third Estate's collective resistance to the old order and provided a public display of commoner unity that helped set in motion the French Revolution.

Ordinary people had many opportunities to express their status, perhaps none so dramatic as parades or festivals. Two surviving festivals provide fascinating glimpses of the old ways. The Procession of the Holy Blood, at Bruges (Ascension Day), began in the thirteenth century. The parade presents a series of stories from the Christian Bible, beginning with the Old Testament, continuing through the life of Jesus, and ending with scenes from Flemish life. Just before the reliquary of the Holy Blood, the parade offers tables covered with the many goods one could buy in Bruges, from local cloth to Asian spices. In early modern times, the great guilds, like the weavers or the grain merchants, major monasteries, and the chief foreign communities (Italians and English) all had their own banners, which preceded floats; the minor guilds, like the shoemakers, had to settle for a place in a phalanx of a score or more such banners. Parades such as this one took place all over Europe, and every guild, every religious house, every quarter of the city fought valiantly to preserve its place in the order of march or its role in the festivals. Court records are filled with violent confrontations about group status, which often led to fatalities. Those same records tell a similar tale of personal status: Innumerable cases of violence began with verbal assaults on the status or honor of a neighbor.

European society contained many dichotomies: noble-commoner; ecclesiastical-laic; free-unfree; urban-rural; rich-poor; intellectual labor-manual labor; worthy-unworthy; female-male; educated-unlettered. Status in early modern Europe revolved around all of these distinctions, which frequently overlapped: Serfs usually lived in the countryside, worked with their hands, were commoners and mostly laic. Peasant farmers of a certain standing invariably viewed themselves as among the worthy people, yet those above them on the social scale rarely did so. That same dynamic operated in towns: Artisans' masters were certain they were among the worthy people (*gens de bien; los buenos*), but merchants and the professionals (lawyers and the like)

were just as certain that the artisans were not. The distinction between the worthy and the unworthy had profound practical consequences. Everywhere in Europe courts privileged the testimony of the worthy people, described in the records as witnesses "worthy of faith," and discredited the testimony of those "without attestation," that is, for whom no substantial member of the community could vouch.

Status played a much different role in early modern societies than it does today because they were self-policing. Local citizens had to make arrests and bring the accused to a local judge. Status thus came to play a critical role in the maintenance of local order. In almost all cases, local authorities had to rely on a combination of personal status and the implied threat of future force to make society work. Such status could come from a variety of sources. As in the Middle Ages, nobility could confer such status; royal office could confer status; wealth could confer status; family connections could confer status; personal ability could confer status; education could confer status. This last category is easily overlooked, but the power of the fully literate swimming in an ocean of illiterates was simply staggering in its practical and social implications.

Modern scholarship has often ignored the individual dimensions of status. Historians have debated the importance of "merit" in noble self-image, to cite but one example. The records of the time speak eloquently about the role of merit, of personal worth, as judged by the community. In early seventeenth-century Brittany, the duke of Brissac, lieutenant general of the king, marshal of France, held the universal esteem of his contemporaries. Brissac was a man of considerable abilities, and the documents reflect the status his achievements brought him. His son, duke of Brissac and lieutenant general of the king in his own time, although theoretically holding the same status, received none of the respect accorded his father. Contemporaries made disparaging (and accurate) remarks about his lack of ability; he did not succeed his father as marshal of France. Where the father had been a major power broker, the son had little influence.

Similar examples existed everywhere in early modern Europe, not simply among the aristocracy but among all levels of society. Within the frame-

work established by order, class, occupation, religion, education, gender, age, and many other factors, an individual, female or male, had considerable room to establish an individual status of her or his own. Merit, combined with money, could even enable a family, rarely an individual, to achieve considerable social mobility. The man who made a fortune could reasonably expect his children to rise to a new social level. In France, the great-great-grandson of a draper could become minister of war and the leader of the aristocratic faction at court. In Poland, the grandson of a petty local noble could even be elected king, as in the case of John III Sobieski (also Jan Sobieski, 1629–1696; ruled 1674–1696). Throughout Europe, the supposedly frozen world of the guilds, which historians long thought became progressively more restrictive in membership, in fact allowed constant mobility. In town after town, half or more of the artisan masters were immigrants, making for a staggering turnover in masterships over the course of several decades.

Neither classes nor orders offer a compelling analytical category for examining status in early modern society. Among other factors, status involved wealth, birth, gender, occupation, and education; moreover, any given person's status reflected a mixture of his or her personal standing and the standing of the family, and sometimes occupational group, of which he or she was a member. Status was thus individual and collective, which allowed many European societies to maintain the fiction of immobility—the group remained the “same”—while simultaneously permitting the social mobility, by individuals, necessary for any functioning human society.

See also Advice and Etiquette Books; Aristocracy and Gentry; Citizenship; Equality and Inequality; Mobility, Social; Sumptuary Laws.

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CLASSICISM. In general, *classicism* can be defined as a style in literature, visual art, music, or architecture that draws on the styles of ancient Greece and Rome, especially fifth- and fourth-century B.C.E. Athens and late Republican Augustan Rome. The term can be confusing, because it has taken on many other meanings. It can refer to a general aesthetic characterized by clarity, elegance, and symmetry, or to a style that is generally thought of as exemplifying greatness or perfection. For instance, most people would identify the Boston Pops as performers of “classical music” or John Steinbeck’s *Grapes of Wrath* as a “classic” of American literature, even though they have little to do with antiquity. Variations on the term, like *neoclassicism*, can furthermore refer to a specific school or style in a particular time period. Despite this confusion, the term is still useful in describing particular styles and impulses in literature and the arts from the Middle Ages to the eighteenth century.

The Middle Ages experienced two noteworthy revivals of the literature of antiquity that were inspired by and helped to promote classicism. The first is known as the Carolingian Renaissance, so called to recognize the flowering of learning under the reign of Charlemagne (ruled 768–814). The most famous figure of this period was the monk Alcuin (c. 732–804), who amassed a remarkable manuscript collection of classical works in the library of York. At the invitation of the emperor Alcuin developed an educational curriculum at the Palace School in Aachen that included readings of classical authors. He also developed the Carolingian miniscule, a clear script based on classical principles, and promoted the copying and distribution of classical texts. The achievements of the Carolingian age set the stage for the next classical revival, known as the *Renaissance of the Twelfth Century*, a term coined by Charles Homer Haskins (1870–1937) to describe the flowering of classical learning during this period. It was more far-reaching than the earlier revival and had implications beyond the field of literature, most importantly in architecture, the visual arts, and the revival of Roman law.

From the twelfth century on, classicism was the domain mainly of lawyers and churchmen, most notably in the papal curia (the circle of theologians and secretaries who carried on papal business),

where learned men could come together to share their interests in classical letters and style. It was in this environment at Avignon that Petrarch (1304–1374), the father of Italian humanism, first learned about and promoted classical learning. But it was in Florence, particularly among the patrician class, that Petrarch’s classicism was most strongly received, most notably through his friend and disciple Giovanni Boccaccio (1313–1375). Up to this point classicism had been mainly a literary pursuit that influenced the art of letter writing, poetry, and rhetoric. In the following generation, the Florentine chancellor Coluccio Salutati (1331–1406) helped turn classicism from a literary movement into a powerful tool for shaping politics and society on the Italian peninsula. It was in the works of the humanist historian Leonardo Bruni (c. 1370–1444) that classicism laid the foundation for a republican ideology.

The study of ancient Greek was virtually unknown in western Europe from the fifth century C.E. onward. Greek had been a fundamental part of the Roman educational system; any educated Roman would have known it and been able to quote from its most famous authors and orators, such as Demosthenes, Aristophanes, or Lucian. As humanists in Petrarch’s circle read more and more ancient authors they discovered that a full appreciation of their literature required a thorough background in the literature and culture of ancient Greece. Salutati invited the most celebrated Byzantine scholar of the times, Manuel Chrysoloras (c. 1353–1415), to teach in Florence. The revival of Greek learning was aided by growing contact between the Greek and Latin churches at the Council of Ferrara-Florence in 1438–1445 and also by the fall of Constantinople to the Turks in 1453, after which Greek émigrés fleeing the city took up residence in Italy and made a living by teaching Greek to Italian pupils. They also brought with them many Greek texts that had been virtually unknown and unread in western Europe since the fall of Rome. Cardinal Bessarion (1403–1472), a priest who converted from the Greek to the Latin church and was a tireless promoter of ancient Greek studies, bequeathed thousands of Greek manuscripts to the people of his adopted home of Venice, where they formed the nucleus of St. Mark’s Library. The works of Plato were especially influential, and a circle of Neoplatonic scholars

led by Marsilio Ficino (1433–1499) sought to fuse Christian thought with Platonic philosophy.

Classicism was also the foundation of the educational revolution of the Renaissance, which sought to revive the *studia humanitatis*, the educational system of ancient Rome as set out in the writings of classical authors like Cicero and Quintilian. The schoolmasters Gasparino da Barzizza (1360?–1430) and Guarino da Verona (1370/1374–1460) attracted wealthy students to study ancient literature and culture in their schools, and along with Bruni they wrote educational treatises that outlined their pedagogical method. Their disciples carried on their teachings—both in classrooms and in educational treatises and editions of classical works—and spread them throughout Italy and across the Alps into northern Europe. The introduction of printing in the latter part of the fifteenth century greatly propelled humanist learning, providing stable editions of classical texts to a far wider audience than could have been imagined in the earlier classical revivals of the Carolingian period or the twelfth century. The advent of printing is likely responsible for the permanent establishment of classicism as an integral part of Western civilization from the fourteenth century to the present day.

Classicism was embraced in many ways during the Renaissance in Italy, and it manifested itself in various pursuits. For example, Julius Pomponius Laetus (1428–1497) founded the Roman Academy, whose members took an active role in antiquarianism and the study of the ancient ruins of the city of Rome. They also embraced non-Christian ideas and revived ancient pagan ceremonies, which brought them under the scrutiny of church authorities. The collection and preservation of inscriptions, coins, and buildings by antiquarians were important in the historical reconstruction of the history of Rome, and these activities represented the early development of modern archaeology. Meanwhile, Lorenzo Valla (1407–1457) explored the linguistic aspects of ancient writers and gave the study of the Latin language a more scientific grounding. His most famous work, *Elegances of the Latin Language* (published 1471), was a practical style guide for writing and speaking the most elegant Latin, which he identified with the Latin of the “golden age” of Roman letters. By periodizing Latin style, Valla invented a philological method for the scientific study

of texts that was further developed by Christian humanists like Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam (1466?–1536), who used it to challenge the authenticity of the Vulgate Bible. This philological method also laid the foundation for modern textual criticism.

While the classicism of the Renaissance started as a literary pursuit, its most striking and accessible flourishing occurred in the visual arts and architecture at the beginning of the fifteenth century. The sculptor Filippo Brunelleschi (1377–1446) turned his talents to architecture and designed (or redesigned) many churches and palaces in a style that reflected his study of ancient buildings. He was particularly interested in the mathematical proportions behind the design of ancient Roman buildings and in developing engineering processes to build them. His slightly younger contemporary Donatello (c. 1386–1466) used the same principles to create statues that imitated the style of classical sculpture. Along with the painter Masaccio (1401–1428), who included classical elements in the content of his paintings and used newly developed techniques of perspective, these visual artists reflected what is known as the early Renaissance style. Its techniques were recorded and explained in treatises written in the vernacular by Leon Battista Alberti (1404–1472), who made the principles of perspective drawing and painting accessible to a wide variety of artists who wanted to learn this fashionable approach. The new style of art was funded by wealthy patrons, including businessmen, aristocrats, and the popes. Classical styles and themes continued to dominate the period of the High Renaissance in the work of the early-sixteenth-century masters Leonardo da Vinci (1452–1519), Michelangelo Buonarroti (1475–1564), and Raphael Sanzio (1483–1520).

If Italians played the lead role in the revival of antiquity in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, in the sixteenth century that role was assumed by northern Europe, where classicism particularly flourished among scholars in France, Germany, Switzerland, and England. While classicism had played a small role in medieval universities like Oxford and Paris, its influence had not been widespread. With the new availability of relatively inexpensive printed books and Italian-trained native teachers, however, the study of classical literature

became more accessible, and by the middle of the century it was the norm in most educational curricula.

The study of theology in the sixteenth century was completely overhauled as humanist scholars like Erasmus insisted that a thorough grounding in the three biblical languages (Hebrew, Greek, and Latin) was necessary to understand the Bible. Scholasticism, the prevailing school of theology that had its origins in the twelfth-century Paris schools, did not have any particular animosity toward classicism; indeed, a number of Scholastic theologians of the Middle Ages, such as Jean de Gerson (1363–1429), displayed interest in the classics. But Scholastic theologians did object strongly to the application of the philological method to the text of the Bible and to language study as the foundation of theological training. Humanists like Erasmus and Protestant reformers like Philipp Melancthon (1497–1560), himself a scholar of ancient Greek, argued that the theologians were hostile to their biblical studies because they disliked and were ignorant of classical literature, thus turning a debate over authority in theology into a debate over classical learning. By mid-century, classical literature was the foundation of the educational program both in Catholic countries, where the Jesuit order promoted classical learning, and in Protestant countries.

Another controversy that arose among classical scholars themselves was over the status and influence of the Roman orator Cicero. Most prominent in Rome, the Ciceronian faction promoted Cicero as the highest standard of Latin usage, and some, like the papal secretary Pietro Bembo (1470–1547), vowed never to use a word that did not appear in Cicero's writings. Erasmus wrote a famous dialogue mocking what he saw as the Ciceronians' slavish following of Cicero, and he argued for a broader-based standard for Latin usage. This debate continued into the seventeenth century as some scholars sought to dethrone Cicero. At the end of the sixteenth century the Dutch humanist and scholar Justus Lipsius (1547–1606) promoted the revival of the Stoic philosophy. Strongly influenced by the Roman philosopher Seneca, Lipsius promoted Stoicism as an alternative to Neoplatonism, which had been so influential in the earlier part of the century. A little later in France, the astronomer and mathematician Pierre Gassendi (1592–1655)

championed the revival of Epicureanism, a more materialist ancient philosophy that was more in tune with the rationalism that was gaining ground at the time.

The dramatic growth of vernacular literature in the sixteenth century hastened the abandonment of classical form in literature, though many of its stylistic attributes were adopted as conventions of vernacular style and content. This is visible in works of the group of sixteenth-century French poets known as La Pléiade, and it continues right through to the plays of William Shakespeare (1564–1616) at the beginning of the seventeenth century. In art classical themes and motifs remained the norm throughout the sixteenth century, but they were challenged late in the century by the emergence of baroque and rococo styles in art, architecture, and music. This movement away from classicism corresponded to a general shift away from the authority of the ancients and toward a greater emphasis on human reason and sense perception, as articulated most strongly in the *Discours de la méthode* (1637; Discourse on method) by René Descartes (1596–1650). In the arts this shift was reflected by a tendency to focus on human emotions and movement, while retaining the grandiose style and form more characteristic of Renaissance art. The Italian painter, sculptor, and architect Gian Lorenzo Bernini (1598–1680) exemplifies the baroque style by infusing classical style with intense emotion, as in his *Ecstasy of St. Theresa* (1645–1652). Likewise baroque music, exemplified by the compositions of Johann Sebastian Bach (1685–1750), retained the classical notion of music expressing the order of the universe but was at the same time lively and tuneful. “Neoclassical” is the name given to the style of art and architecture that prevailed from the middle of the eighteenth century through the nineteenth. In music, Franz Joseph Haydn (1732–1809) and Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756–1791) represent the tenets of classicism, emphasizing balance and proportion. But for Mozart, and even more so for Ludwig van Beethoven (1770–1827), classical elements were mixed with Romantic ones.

Classicism created a standard of civilization against which contemporary society could be judged, a standard that was prevalent in the early modern period. What began as an elitist literary hobby bloomed from the time of Petrarch and was

applied to all facets of life—from education and politics to music, visual art, and architecture. The classical ideal was something to strive for, and in striving for it adherents developed new methods to attain the ideal. Along the way they made advances in mathematics, engineering, linguistics, and design that in turn led to advances in other areas. Moreover, classicism was extremely flexible. It could temper the ascetic desires of a Carmelite monk like Baptista Spagnoli (Mantuanus; 1447–1516), known in his own time as the Christian Virgil, just as easily as it could feed the vanity of an artist like Benvenuto Cellini (1500–1571), who in his autobiography boasted of his own talents. The same style of architecture that the Americans used for their new capital in Washington, D.C., in order to present their sense of achievement in gaining independence from the British, had previously been used as a symbol of the opulence of the French nobility and crown at Versailles, and it also enshrined the gods of reason in the Pantheon in Paris. Because the classical world contained a spectrum of thought and style, classicism offered an almost endless variety of models and ideas. Though it continued to be strong in some quarters in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, classicism never again became as widespread as it had been in the previous five centuries. To a great extent, the discoveries of modern science began to show just how much the ancients had not known, as had been foreshadowed by the European discovery of the “New World” and by Galileo’s telescope. As a standard, at least, the ancients were eventually surpassed.

See also Academies, Learned; Ancient World; Ancients and Moderns; Archaeology; Architecture; Aristotelianism; Art: Art Theory, Criticism, and Historiography; Baroque; Bible; Enlightenment; Humanists and Humanism; Music; Neoclassicism; Neoplatonism; Reason; Renaissance; Republicanism; Rococo; Romanticism; Stoicism; Theology.

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CLAUDE LORRAIN (GELLÉE) (1600/05–1682), French painter, draftsman, and printmaker, active in Italy; recognized as one of the greatest landscape painters of the Western tradition. Claude Gellée—called le Lorrain, Claudio Lorenesse, Claude Lorrain, or simply Claude—infused the early sixteenth-century Venetian pastoral with his direct studies from nature, resulting in depictions of an ideal world where man and nature are integrated into a perfected balance harmonized by subtle effects of light. His contribution was critical to the development of Western landscape. He was so successful during his lifetime that he became one of the most expensive and highly sought-after painters in Rome, with innumerable commissions from members of the papal court, the city’s international community of diplomats and expatriate aristocrats, wealthy travelers to Italy, and royal courts across Europe.

After Claude’s parents died in 1612, he may have been sent from what was then the independent duchy of Lorraine to Freiburg-im-Breisgau to live with an older brother, who was probably his first teacher. It is more certain that he traveled to Italy with an older relative, arriving in Rome as early as 1617. Claude studied with German landscape painter Goffredo Wals (c. 1590/95–1638/40) in

Naples for two years sometime between 1618 and 1622, after which he returned to Rome and completed his training with Italian landscape painter and decorative artist Agostino Tassi (c. 1580–1644). Except for a brief return to Lorraine (1625–1627)—where he worked with the court painter Claude Déruet (c. 1588–1660) in the ducal palace at the capital of Nancy—and probable trips to other parts of Italy, he remained in Rome for the rest of his life. He became a member of the Accademia di San Luca in 1633, was offered (but declined) the post of “first rector” in 1654, and accepted the request to be in charge of all resident foreign members in 1669.

One of the key elements of Claude’s success with landscape was undeniably linked to his brilliance as a draftsman, which is revealed in more than a thousand extant drawings. During the 1630s and early 1640s, he often intentionally left his studio in order to go into the countryside and draw directly after nature, one of the first landscape artists known to have done so. In the keenly observed studies he made during these outings, he recorded animals, individual elements of foliage, rock formations, and the effects of light and shade in rapidly sketched bucolic scenes (as in *Pine Forest*, late 1630s, Teylers Museum, Haarlem). They clearly provided the raw material for more fully developed compositions done later in his atelier.

An ever-increasing number of forgeries of Claude’s work as early as the 1630s attest to his rapidly growing reputation. His response to this threat was to record the composition of each painting he made for the rest of his life in a highly finished drawing that he placed into what he referred to as his *Liber veritatis* (Book of truth), his own very personalized form of copyright. Inscriptions on the versos of these sheets often indicated the client for whom the work was made and, for the later works, the date. This group of drawings, often considered the pinnacle of Claude’s draftsmanship, remained nearly intact and protected from light until the middle of the last century. Because of their rare state of preservation, combined with the artist’s natural talent, these are regarded as among the most extraordinary European drawings of the seventeenth century that have been handed down to us. Claude’s *Pastoral Landscape* of 1644 (L.V. 85, British Museum, London), a record of a painting made

for an unknown Roman client (now in the Prado, Madrid), reveals aspects of the essence of Claude’s classicism: open, fluid designs with low horizon lines and architectural groupings or a variety of vegetation to mark one’s visual progress through the expanse of the juxtaposed diagonal planes of land or small winding rivers that gently recede into the distance.

Claude explored the potential of printmaking in two distinct periods of his career: 1626–1641 and 1651–1663. Not surprisingly, he chose the painter’s medium of etching, for, unlike the arduous manner of engraving that was often left to specialists, etching enabled him to draw on the copperplate in a manner akin to using a pen on paper. More than forty prints, such as his *Goatherd*, 1663 (Mannocci 44, second state, British Museum, London), where every stroke of the etching needle contributed to the atmospheric whole, provide eloquent testimony to Claude’s high level of success. These replicable records of his work also ensured that his new ideal and classicizing visual language spread swiftly to artists, amateurs, and collectors across Europe throughout his career.

Fortunately, more than 250 of Claude’s paintings have survived. One of his most elegant and important late canvases, painted in 1675 for Prince Lorenzo Onofrio Colonna, his principal patron during his later years, is *View of Carthage with Dido and Aeneas* (Hamburger Kunsthalle), which demonstrates Claude’s pivotal role in the history of seascapes and coastal scenes. It is also an excellent illustration of how his marvelous use of light both unifies a composition and imbues it with emotion. This painting also reveals how Claude increasingly varied his most common theme of shepherds tending their flocks with scenes from mythology, history, and religion in order to elevate the significance of the genre of landscape and to broaden the appeal of his work.

Claude’s distinguished contribution to humanity’s ongoing visual interpretation of its place in the natural world made him the most influential landscape painter in Western art. It is impossible to imagine the work of such later landscapists as Claude-Joseph Vernet (1714–1789), Thomas Gainsborough (1727–1788), John Constable (1776–1837), J. M. W. Turner (1775–1851),

Jean-Baptiste Camille Corot (1796–1875), or Caspar David Friedrich (1774–1840) without the precedent of his paintings, drawings, and prints, which conveyed the ideal beauty and grandeur of nature suffused with the infinite mysteries of light. It remains a legacy that artists continue to confront today.

See also **Gainsborough, Thomas; Lorraine, Duchy of; Painting; Prints and Popular Imagery; Rome, Art in.**

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ALVIN L. CLARK, JR.

CLERGY

This entry includes three subentries:

PROTESTANT CLERGY

ROMAN CATHOLIC CLERGY

RUSSIAN ORTHODOX CLERGY

PROTESTANT CLERGY

The Reformation did not produce a new style of clergy full-grown on its first emergence. It only gradually became clear that a radically new concept of the church and its ministry, distinct and separate from the Roman Catholic obedience, would come into being. The first leaders of the Reformation were in most cases already ordained to the Catholic priesthood. Rare but important exceptions were Philipp Melancthon, a lifelong layman, and John Calvin, who resigned his Catholic benefices before taking priestly orders. Both exerted immense influence as theologians and church leaders despite never being formally ordained.

THE CLERGY BEFORE THE REFORMATION

Those who had already become priests were trained through the traditional procedures of the pre-Reformation medieval church. Parish priests gave informal practical instruction to trainees who might be in minor orders, as acolytes or altar assistants. Toward the end of the Middle Ages, increasing numbers of schools were founded to train an elite of prospective priests, including some of the English schools like Winchester or Eton and the schools annexed to the houses of the Brethren of the Common Life in the Netherlands. Theological instruction, if received at all, was found in the universities or the *studia* of the orders of mendicants. Dominican friars held many of the most prominent positions in the theology faculties of the major universities of Europe except in Italy, where the universities taught little theology.

Diocesan bishops were expected to examine ordinands for their competence, morals, and conformity to canon law before conferring holy orders. In practice the absence of many bishops and the reliance on suffragans made this examination sometimes perfunctory. The provision requiring prospective priests already to have a title to a benefice was often by-passed, so large numbers of relatively indigent priests were ordained and eked out a meager

living as chaplains and mass-priests. Nevertheless, many bishops on the eve of the Reformation strove to improve the selection and quality of the priests in their dioceses. Surviving addresses to clergy, like those preached by William Melton, chancellor of York, in 1510 or by Bishop Christoph von Stadion of Augsburg in 1517, attest the ideal standards of the later medieval church.

CHANGES IN THE CONCEPT OF THE MINISTRY IN THE REFORMATION

Radical changes in the culture and theology of the post-Reformation church required, by their own inner logic, a different kind of clergy from those of the past. First of all, Martin Luther stripped away the theological rationale for the ritual and legal separateness of the clergy. Spiritual people, he argued in 1520, were not a separate class of mortals, ritually set apart by their orders; indeed, ordination was not a sacrament. Priestly celibacy was unnecessary, ungodly, and unrealistic. The legal immunities that protected the clergy from secular law and taxation were unjustified and should be removed. A priest was simply the representative of the community appointed and chosen to lead its spiritual life.

Secondly, the core theology of the Reformation shifted the emphasis in church ministry away from the sacraments and ritual ministrations toward preaching, teaching, and moral discipline. The abolition of private masses, celebrated in vast profusion in the churches, colleges, and chantries of the later Middle Ages, drastically reduced the number of clergy needed to conduct worship. A whole class of clerical proletariat effectively disappeared. In most Protestant countries, the clerical elite, including monks and friars as well as secular collegiate priests and canons of chapters, was either completely abolished or at least much reduced in size (for instance in England). The Reformation church required a less numerous, well-trained cadre of preaching ministers in the parishes. They were to be supervised by a small class of superintendents, whether committees or individuals, and whether called bishops or not. They were to be educated by their intellectual leaders in the universities and academies.

ADMINISTRATION, PATRONAGE, AND FUNDING

This new vision of a better-educated and more specialized ministry required money and challenged

the complex and disorderly endowment and patronage systems inherited from the past. Luther initially appeared to favor congregational election, but rapidly retreated from that stance and upheld the traditional systems of patronage at local level. Theory and political reality sometimes clashed. Protestant theologians often hankered after a church run autonomously by its members in their capacity as Christians, rather than as magistrates. In practice the secular power, whether urban, princely, or royal, normally assumed ultimate control over the endowments and resources used to pay the clergy. In Lutheran states a “consistory” functioned effectively as the prince’s department for religious affairs. In Zwinglian Zurich the clergy were managed by, and worked in close concert with, the city magistrates. Even in Geneva, despite Calvin’s strongly expressed aspirations for an independent self-governing church, the *Ecclesiastical Ordinances* of 1541 reserved ultimate authority over the church in the hands of the city council.

Funding the new style of clergy was a constant problem in the early years of the Reformation. In most countries the state or the municipality amalgamated the wealth of monastic foundations and of all sorts of charitable establishments into “common chests” or the ruler’s treasury. At least some of this wealth was to be used to enhance the livings of parish clergy. However, problems arose even in quite fully reformed countries. In Scotland, where the adoption of the Reformation was relatively sudden and bloodless, the vested interests of the old possessors of church benefices were largely protected. In 1561–1562 they were allowed to keep two-thirds of their income, and only one-third was assigned to the state to support new ministers. In England, uniquely among reformed countries, the entire medieval structure (apart from monasteries) stayed more or less intact. Many livings could not support preaching clergy; new anomalies were created when laymen bought tithe rights and church patronage along with monastic lands. In the century after the Reformation, reform-minded laypeople sometimes tried to use this flexibility to endow a better preaching ministry. They diverted revenue formerly assigned to monastic foundations to enrich vicarages, or set up additional “lectureships” for preaching sermons outside the structures of parochial ministry.

In some countries reformed clergy, especially in the reformed or “Calvinist” tradition and among all the non-established sects, were entirely unable to acquire any of the resources of the old church for their support. They might depend on the voluntary contributions of their congregations or (in France or parts of Eastern Europe) on the patronage of favorably disposed members of the nobility. Such support was, needless to say, precarious and fickle.

SOCIAL BACKGROUNDS AND ETHOS

Several detailed studies of the Protestant clergy in the early Reformation have agreed that ministers were usually drawn from the ranks of the mostly urban lower-middle classes. Aristocrats aspired to better careers or to none; most peasants could not attain the education required. Reformed parish clergy were publicly, legally, and almost without exception married. Their families, their education, their need for books, all ensured that they became the most cultivated and among the most wealthy inhabitants of many rural parishes. To sustain an acceptable standard of living, many had to exploit their parish lands or “glebe” to enhance their incomes. Sometimes clergy combined the role of minister with that of schoolmaster, though customs varied.

After a generation or two, however, there was a marked tendency for the ministry to propagate itself. Amongst the most learned and prestigious, whole dynasties of clergy might establish themselves. Examples include: in Lutheranism, the Osiander family, descended from the early reformer Andreas Osiander (1498–1552) of Nuremberg and Koenigsberg; in Calvinism, the Turretini family, theologians in Geneva through the era of orthodoxy (roughly 1560–1720). Cases have been found in England of not only parish ministers but even bishops being related through descent and by intermarriage as well as invisible lines of clientage. This increased cultural homogeneity must, to some extent, have made the reformed clergy a profession and a class apart. They became like each other and culturally different from the society around them to a degree not seen in the economically and intellectually diverse medieval priesthood.

EDUCATION AND FORMATION

A new approach to ministerial education greatly enhanced this cultural distinctiveness. Protestant min-

isters had to know their Scriptures and theology. While change came gradually, the trend in the early modern period was toward an all-graduate, or at least uniformly trained, body of ministers. In the first generation, the question was not how to train new recruits but how to remedy the often deplorable ignorance of those already in some form of parish ministry. Luther gained his first horrified insights into conditions on the visitation of the Saxon churches in 1527–1528. His response was to issue in 1529 two *Catechisms*, a shorter and a longer version, from which clergy and laity alike could learn. In Zwingli’s Zürich from 1525 regular meetings, known as the *Prophезеи*, were held in both the main city churches, in which Old and New Testament texts were expounded by the most learned town clergy for the edification of the remainder. In Calvin’s Geneva the “congregations” of clergy served a similar purpose, alongside many other available forms of instruction and exhortation. In Elizabethan England zealous clergy, laypeople, and some bishops held “lectures by combination,” “exercises,” and “prophesyings” to serve as continuous rolling seminars to teach Protestant theology and exegesis. These drew the ire of Queen Elizabeth, who ordered their suppression in 1577. Archbishop Edmund Grindal of Canterbury refused to cooperate and was suspended from his functions.

In Lutheran states of Germany and Scandinavia, the existing structures of schools and universities were reformed and re-shaped to serve the needs of the new churches. The duchy of Württemberg offers an interesting example. The ducal university at Tübingen was reformed, along with the rest of the duchy, when it embraced Protestantism after 1534. Monasteries were closed down; their buildings and endowments were used to create what became the “cloister schools,” boarding schools for future ministers. After at least ten years of study, pupils entered the ducal university with not only a strong grasp of Latin and religion but also a powerful cohesive group mentality.

Where a medieval university continued to function in a reformed country, its teaching had to be restructured to meet new demands. The reform of school and university curricula constituted one of the most vital and least recognized aspects of the Reformation. Philipp Melancthon earned the informal title of “Preceptor of Germany” for his tire-

less and polymathic work in generating new textbooks for higher education. He personally wrote new textbooks on logic, rhetoric, natural philosophy, and history as well as the definitive text of Lutheran theology, the *Loci Communes* (Common places). He gave his full support to a wide range of academic subjects, including a reformed Aristotelianism, against some anti-intellectual spirits who wished to have nothing taught but the Bible and theology.

In Britain the medieval universities were similarly reformed. In England, however, the process was more gradual. Old collegiate foundations persisted under their old charters. In Oxford and Cambridge colleges, even clerical celibacy survived until the nineteenth century, with the curious effect that many fellows of colleges served only a short term before moving out into parish ministry. Individual donors shaped the ideological cast of their foundations. Sidney Sussex and especially Emmanuel College in Cambridge, under its charismatic head Laurence Chaderton (c. 1536/1546–1640; head of Emmanuel 1584–1622), had a distinctly “puritan” character. Scotland’s three medieval universities were reformed in the late sixteenth century (St. Andrews, founded 1413; Glasgow, 1451; and Aberdeen, 1495), and a fourth, at Edinburgh, was added (1582).

In a number of countries it proved impossible to take over the medieval academic establishment. In Geneva and Zurich there was no university to reform. Here specialized academies for the training of future clergy were set up, though with varying degrees of success. One of the earliest and most influential was the academy or *Gymnasium* founded in 1538 at Strasbourg under the guiding hand of Johann Sturm (1489–1553), the educational theorist and reformer. Sturm inaugurated many educational practices (a hierarchical curriculum, tests to be passed at the end of each grade before progressing to the next) that later became normal practice. In the 1530s Zurich organized its ministerial training in what became known as the college or *Lectorium*. The famous academy of Geneva was inaugurated in 1559, partly as a result of the expulsion of teachers from nearby Lausanne (whose academy dated from 1537) following a dispute with the overlord, the city of Berne. It comprised a more junior Latin school or “private school” and the senior,

more famous “public school” to train ministers. Under Théodore de Bèze, its first rector and Calvin’s theological heir, it acquired immense prestige as the theological school of reformed Europe. However, it was controversial in the city itself: the magistrates wished it to become a quasi-university teaching the higher disciplines such as law and medicine, while Calvin wished it to focus on vocational training in theology. The academy did not award degrees, and attendance in the early years was often informal and brief, with students and ministers sometimes returning later to refresh their knowledge. Under Geneva’s influence, many of the towns of reformed France created academies to train their own reformed clergy, at Nîmes (1561), Orthez (1566), Montpellier, Montauban, and Saumur (all c. 1600).

Protestant clergy education tended to be inclusive and varied. Many future ministers studied at more than one university or academy. Except in strict confessional Lutheranism, churches rarely ensured that students only attended doctrinally homogeneous institutions. Calvinist students attended Lutheran universities without difficulty; Lutherans of one cast attended institutions of another. In the century after the Reformation, student travel became a common feature of Protestant Europe, contributing to the diversity and cosmopolitan culture that many of the reformed clergy acquired.

DISCIPLINE AND CONTROL

Once installed in ministry, Protestant clergy were subject to the oversight of their peers and superiors as to their orthodoxy and good conduct. Like contemporary Catholics, Protestant leaders wished to see more effective discipline than in the past. Usually some form of consistory or standing council was set up to perform this oversight. Whether independent of the state like the Company of Pastors of Geneva, or with lay participation and state control like the Zurich synod or the Wittenberg consistory, these bodies consisted chiefly of senior ministers and dealt with complaints as they arose.

Much recent research suggests that once the older generation that had been ordained as Catholics died off, the second generation of reformed ministers was generally dedicated and competent. Repeated disciplinary failings were rare: between 1532 and 1580 Zurich deposed only eleven minis-

ters, though a much larger number were more gently disciplined. In England, clergy discipline was more contentious, because more political. Under Archbishop John Whitgift (1583–1604) those over-zealous Protestant clergy who refused to use the Book of Common Prayer, or who repudiated the hierarchy or discipline of their church, were investigated and in many cases deprived of their places.

ANABAPTIST CHURCHES

All that has been said so far applies to the main established churches produced by the so-called “magisterial” Reformation. The reformers had no difficulty, theological or political, with the idea that a minister should be a highly trained expert individual distinguished by linguistic and intellectual gifts. In the early modern “radical” movements that believed the Holy Spirit guided the church directly, these assumptions did not hold. Leadership in the various Anabaptist churches was diverse and at times disputed. There was a suspicion of book learning, and sometimes outright hostility to the reformed educational establishment. Nevertheless, most Anabaptist communities had some identified spiritual leader or leaders. A few, like Georg Blaurock, Balthasar Hubmaier, or Menno Simons, were already ordained Catholic priests before their conversion. Among the highly communitarian Hutterites in Moravia, the “shepherd” or “servant of God’s Word” was chosen by a vote of the whole community, as was the “overseer” Leonhard Lanzenstiel, who served continuously from c. 1542 to 1565. There was also a “servant for temporal affairs” who managed community goods and property. However, the absence of a fixed hierarchy meant that schism and separation of the various groups of Anabaptists, especially the Dutch Mennonites, was a constant threat.

CONCLUSION

The clergy of Protestant Europe rapidly acquired a distinct cultural, social, and economic character. Ministers were marked off from the rest of society by their dress, their book learning, and their family and social contacts. While instances of all these kinds of distinctness had existed before, the rise of the Protestant clergy generated a clear trend toward the rise of a professional middle class. While many important details (celibacy, for instance) were quite different in Roman Catholicism, some of the same

broad lines of evolution occurred in that church also.

See also Anabaptism; Bèze, Théodore de; Bible; Calvin, John; Calvinism; Church of England; Geneva; Luther, Martin; Lutheranism; Melancthon, Philipp; Reformation, Protestant; Universities; Zurich; Zwingli, Huldrych.

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ROMAN CATHOLIC CLERGY

Roman Catholic clergy are those men who were assigned by the church’s hierarchy to supervise the faithful and to administer the sacraments. The term “clergy” has its roots in the Greek word *kleros*,

which expresses the idea of “lot” or “portion.” In the first centuries of the church’s existence, persons who administered liturgical functions became known as clerics, in contrast to the *laikos* or laity—the common people. Within clerical status there existed various ranks or “orders.” During the first centuries of the Christian Church, three orders developed, those of the deacon, priest, and bishop. By the high Middle Ages these orders had developed into seven specific offices with specific liturgical functions. The minor orders included the offices of porter (sacristan), lector, exorcist, and janitor. Major orders included subdeacon, deacon, and priest. Theologians debated as to whether the episcopacy, the office of bishop, was a separate order or the fullness of the presbyterial (priestly) state. Hence sources refer either to the ordination of a bishop or to his consecration.

The ecclesiastical use of the word *order* has its foundation in classical Roman civil vocabulary. In classical Rome those with orders, or rank, were distinct from the plebs, or common Roman citizens. Patristic authors used the term *ordo* to designate those with official duties who were set apart from the rest of the Christian population. Emperor Theodosius II (ruled 408–450) identified this separation when he spoke of the order of ecclesiastics in his code that became effective on 1 January 439. Two aspects of clerical life that evolved during the patristic period became consequential points of debate during the age of reforms: the separate nature of the cleric from that of the general body of believers and the role of the cleric, particularly one in a major order, as the sole dispenser of the Sacraments.

Some summary points must be made concerning the status of clerics by the beginning of the early modern period. Only men were clerics. In most cases clerics were immune from the jurisdiction of the civil courts and the obligation to pay taxes. Men attained clerical status by ordination (the instilling of an order) by a bishop. Those with minor orders could be married, but the promise of celibacy was required of those with major orders. The church established benefices to provide support for those within orders. A benefice, from the Latin for “good work,” was the income generated by property or goods assigned to a specific cleric. Frequently a benefice was assigned to a youth to support his education with the expectation that he would continue

his career in the church as a priest. John Calvin (1509–1564) was the recipient of such a benefice.

SECULARS AND REGULARS

Clerics (clergy) were referred to as either secular or regular. Secular clergy were directly under the jurisdiction of a bishop and did not profess the evangelical vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience. Seculars (those in major orders) took promises of celibacy and a promise of obedience to their bishop. Regulars, frequently referred to as “religious,” were members of religious orders who lived according to a specific way of life or rule and were governed by a religious superior. The term *regular* comes from the Latin *regula*, ‘rule’, which refers to a specific rule established by a founder of a religious community. Examples of such rules and their dates of official church approval are the Rule of Saint Benedict (c. 530–540), the Rule of Saint Dominic (1221), and Saint Ignatius’s rule for the Jesuits, the *Constitutions* (1558). Although all regulars lived under a rule, not all regulars were clerics. Some were members of an order who took the evangelical vows but were not ordained. These persons were frequently referred to as brothers. Since regulars took the vow of poverty, they were referred to as mendicants, from the Latin *mendicare*, ‘to beg.’ Franciscans and Dominicans were known particularly as *mendicates*, since they did not take a promise of stability to one specific house, as did the Benedictines. Since their areas of activity frequently overlapped, disputes occurred concerning the proper jurisdictions of the mendicants and the seculars. For example, could one go to a *mendicate* to fulfill the obligation of the annual confession, or did one have to confess to his or her parish priest? From whom did a dying person receive the correct final blessing?

Prior to the Council of Trent (1545–1563), the spiritual and academic formation of the clergy within religious orders was superior to that of the secular clergy. Although several prior church councils and synods had recognized the need for a moral and educated secular clergy, the general breakdown of church discipline caused by the Avignon papacy (c. 1308–c. 1378), the demographic collapse of the Black Death (1348), and the western schism (1378–1417) had an adverse effect on establishing norms for forming the clergy. By the end of the fifteenth century there were three possible programs

for formal education: monastic schools, episcopal schools, and universities. No specific regulation concerning the education of the secular clergy existed before the Council of Trent.

However, by the end of the late Middle Ages a growing number of clergy received their education at a major university. Ignatius of Loyola (1491–1556) and the first members of the Jesuit order demonstrate this point; they received their degrees from the University of Paris and with these credentials were ordained. University-educated priests set a high standard and perhaps created a sharp contrast with those clerics of limited education (the basic ability to read and write). Although many clerics at the beginning of the Reformation were more educated than ever, they stood in contrast to those with poor or nonexistent preparations for the clerical state. Both these situations created opportunities for abuse. Persons with basic skills and little or no theological training were usually assigned to the care of souls in a parish or recited masses, supported by a benefice. Benefices varied in amounts but provided enough incentive for some to take on clerical office with little regard for its spiritual and temporal duties. University-trained clerics received benefices for their education and usually multiple benefices upon arrival at their new positions. The consequence of this was pluralism, the practice of holding more than one benefice at a time. This created the problem of absenteeism, accepting a benefice without fulfilling the obligation of spiritual and temporal care of souls attached to the benefice. Before the English Reformation almost 25 percent of English parishes were served by an “absentee.” Celibacy was disregarded by many clerics as well.

REFORM OF THE CLERGY

Protestant and Catholic Reformers identified the lack of a well-trained clergy, sexual license, absenteeism, and simony (the selling of an office for profit) as the greatest scandals within clerical life. Desiderius Erasmus (1466?–1536) was particularly vehement in his castigation of both seculars and religious. Erasmus, however, was not alone in his desire for reform. A committee formed by Pope Paul III (reigned 1534–1549) in 1536 to identify the problems that beset the church acknowledged in its 1537 publication the ill-trained and immoral lives of religious and secular clerics, echoing many

of the concerns raised on both sides of the confessional divide.

During the first half of the sixteenth century, Catholic and evangelical reformers debated the nature and role of the cleric. No one during the age of reforms disputed that the life, death, and Resurrection of Jesus were fundamentally necessary for salvation; arguments instead centered on how the faithful acquired access to salvation. Catholic theologians, particularly in the Council of Trent, identified the priest, under the jurisdiction of a bishop, as the intermediary through whom the faithful experienced the saving grace of the Sacraments. Hence the priest, as the administrator of the Sacraments, was essential for salvation, and priestly reform was a necessary step in the reform of the entire church. The participants at Trent envisioned a bishop in residence supervising an educated and celibate clergy, each cleric in turn supervising and providing the Sacraments (the means of salvation) to the faithful registered in a parish. The council specifically noted that “it is of the highest import for the salvation of souls that parishes be governed by worthy and qualified men” (Trent, Session 24 canon 18, cited in Tanner, p. 770).

Even before the Council of Trent, Catholic Reformers identified problems within the clerical state and recommended means of reform. Ignatius of Loyola, following the recommendations of the committee appointed by Pope Paul III in 1536, established the first seminary, the German College (1552), as a residential training program for secular clerics, particularly Germans, to prepare them to “support the tottering and in some places collapsed church in Germany” (Ignatius of Loyola, 1959, p. 259). Other Reformers led the way toward a better-trained clergy. Cardinal Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros (1436–1517) of Spain, Cardinal Reginald Pole (1500–1558) of England, and Bishop Gian Matteo Giberti (1495–1543) of Verona argued for a better-trained clergy as the principal means of reform. Bartholomew Fernández (1514–1590), bishop of Braga, Portugal, advanced clerical reform in his dioceses and was instrumental in the reforms of the clerical state crafted in the twenty-third session (1563) of the Council of Trent. Legislation in that session condemned absenteeism, the giving of benefices to those under the age of fourteen, and simony. One of the most consequential

pieces of legislation for clerical formation was the recommendation of separate training for those interested in the priesthood. The council legislated that large dioceses were obliged to provide training for youths in preparation for the priesthood. These “seedbeds” or seminaries were to be strictly supervised by local bishops.

Seminary training, though legislated at Trent, was more the exception than the norm, however. Even one hundred years after the Council of Trent, most priests did not receive a seminary education. The diocese of Lyon, France, did not have a seminary until 1654, and until 1657 its bishop did not require a seminary education for its priests, which even then entailed only a ten- to fifteen-day retreat. A one-year seminary education was not required for those in major orders until the Lyon diocesan statutes of 1707 and 1715 (Hoffman, 1984, p. 77). In Fiesole, Italy, during the seventeenth century only 26 percent of the clergy were educated in a seminary. A seminary education did not lead to better church offices, as all the prestigious positions (bishop, notary, master of the chapel, and so forth) went to nonseminarians. Paris, with its a population of 400,000 persons and 472 parishes in the late seventeenth century, did not have a seminary until 1696.

There were important exceptions to this lack of seminary education. In 1564, the year after the Council of Trent adjourned, three seminaries were established. Cardinal Marcantonio Amulio (d. 1572) of Rieti, Italy, began the first Tridentine seminary in Italy. Cardinal Carlo Borromeo (1538–1584) opened a seminary in Milan with fourteen Jesuit faculty, thirty-four seminarians, and one hundred nonseminarians. Eight years later the number of seminarians increased to sixty. The first seminary in Germany began the same year in Eichstätt (Eichstadt), Bavaria. A year later Pope Paul IV (reigned 1555–1559) established the Roman Seminary and placed it under the jurisdiction of the Jesuits. In 1568 William Allen (1532–1594) established a seminary for English Catholic exiles in Douai, France. Bishops throughout Europe looked to the work of Borromeo, who called provincial councils and diocesan synods, created seminaries, and initiated extensive visitation of parishes, as an example for implementing clerical reform.

Although the church hierarchy of France did not accept Tridentine legislation until 1615, the country eventually became a model for the training of clerics and the implementation of Borromeo’s ideals. Earlier in the century requirements for a curé, the head of a parish, were meager: the ability to read and write and ownership of a Bible, a *Lives of the Saints*, the catechism of the Council of Trent, and the legislation of provincial synods. The young bishop of Luçon, France, Armand-Jean du Plessis (1585–1642), the future Cardinal Richelieu, created the first seminary in France in his diocese in 1612 and placed it under the supervision of the Oratorians. The advancement of a deeper spiritual life was the special object of attention of Pierre de Bérulle (1575–1629), founder of the French Oratory, an organization of priests modeled on the oratory of Philip Neri (1515–1595) in Rome.

Adrien Bourdoise (1584–1665) may be considered the principal initiator of clerical reform in France. Vincent de Paul (1581–1660) advanced the character of clerical life in France with conferences for priests and the establishment of seminaries. François de Sales (1567–1622), as bishop of Geneva, conducted conferences for existing priests and carefully screened those who applied for ordination. Jean Eudes (1601–1680) established a congregation of secular priests in 1643 to form educated and virtuous priests. His society of secular priests established seminaries in six French cities from 1644 to 1670.

Because so few clerics received their training in seminaries, other means developed to assure the training of priests as effective implementers of Tridentine Catholicism. The Jesuits established congregations for priests that aimed to develop the spiritual and academic lives of the secular priesthood. During weekly meetings, the Jesuits discussed “cases of conscience,” the application of church law to individual situations. So important were these meetings that the Roman diocese in 1721 ordered all priests living within the diocese to attend these or other such meetings. Similar groups met in different cities, especially where Jesuit colleges were located.

NUMBERS OF CLERGY

Enumerating the quantity of clergy, as David Gentilcore (1992) has demonstrated with his stud-

ies of southern Italy, is a difficult task. The Terra d'Otranto in southern Italy had 7,684 clerics for 41,980 hearths. But just less than half of these clerics were actually ordained priests. The kingdom of Naples in the mid-seventeenth century had a total of 58,597 clerics. Lecce at this same time had 404 clerics to its 154 priests, and Gallipoli had 203 clerics to its 139 priests and deacons (Gentilcore, 1992, p. 50). Since the designation of cleric included all those with any type of order (and its consequent benefice), discerning active priests among the total population of clerics necessitates a study of individual diocesan records—a daunting task. In pre-Reformation Europe it was not uncommon for clerics to make up 4 percent of the male population. Early sixteenth-century England maintained twenty to twenty-five thousand priests. Luçon, France, with a population of 100,000 in 1600, had 428 priests. Areas where Catholics were persecuted or were under restrictions have been better studied and hence have generated more statistics. During the reign of Elizabeth I (ruled 1558–1603) the number of priests in Wales was reduced from sixteen to four. In 1623 Scotland had thirteen secular priests. Ireland in 1731 had 1,445 parish priests and curates with an additional 700 religious priests for a Catholic population of 2,293,680.

See also **Jesuits; Reformation, Catholic; Religious Orders; Trent, Council of.**

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RUSSIAN ORTHODOX CLERGY

Clergy in this article is defined as priests, those churchmen ordained to conduct the liturgy (Mass) and administer the sacraments (deacons could

administer some sacraments but were not authorized to celebrate the liturgy). In Russian Orthodoxy priests are subdivided into “white” and “black” categories. Monk-priests, or hieromonks, called the black clergy because of the color of their robes, are ordained to conduct the liturgy in male or female monastic communities, and also in parish churches, as necessary (although that practice was discouraged in Muscovite Russia). While hieromonks are pledged to celibacy, the white clergy—parish, or secular priests (because they serve laymen)—are expected to be married. The focus of this article is on the parish clergy.

EDUCATION AND TRAINING

In Muscovite Russia (the principality of Moscow) in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, there was no systematic educational system, either ecclesiastic or secular. Schooling typically took place in the home of any priest or deacon willing to take in pupils for a fee. Priests’ sons commonly studied under their fathers, if not becoming truly literate, at least memorizing enough services in Church Slavonic, the archaic language of the church dating from the tenth century, to perform portions of the liturgy and other services. In the 1490s the learned Novgorod Archbishop Gennadii petitioned the Moscow metropolitan (head of the Muscovite Orthodox Church) and the Moscow grand prince to set up a school system, but nothing came of it. In the *Stoglav* (‘Hundred Chapters’), protocols of the Moscow Church Council of 1551, various remedies were decreed to rectify the situation: schools should be established in the homes of qualified priests, deacons, and readers; bishops should carefully examine candidates to the priesthood before ordaining them or appointing them to a parish; archpriests and priest supervisors should ensure that serving priests were qualified; and so forth. Despite *Stoglav* pronouncements, no discernable improvement in priests’ education and training is evident in contemporary sources. It was not until the reign of Peter I the Great (ruled 1682–1725) that bishops were required to introduce ecclesiastical schools and directed to fund them by taxing parish churches and monasteries. Only in the 1780s in the reign of Catherine II the Great (ruled 1762–1796) were seminaries actually functioning in every eparchy (the church was divided territorially into twenty-six eparchies, or dioceses, at that time).

Despite poor and unsystematic education, the parish priest was frequently the only literate or semi-literate person in a village and was frequently called upon to draft or copy various documents like wills, property transactions, and the like.

MARITAL STATUS

The question of whether parish priests should be married, single, or celibate is an old and controversial one in the history of Christianity. Byzantine canons stated that a priest could marry, but that he did not have to; in any case, he could marry only before his ordination. Still following Byzantine canons, if a priest’s wife died and the priest married for a second time, he could not serve in a church in any capacity whatsoever.

A preference for married secular clergy developed in Kievan times (tenth to thirteenth centuries). In Muscovy (fifteenth to seventeenth centuries) it was canonically ruled that secular priests had to be married, that they could marry only once, and that, in order for them to continue serving as parish priests, their wives had to be living. Whatever the rationale behind this requirement (one early sixteenth-century source explains that widower priests could not be trusted not to commit adultery), the Muscovite Church developed the policy that secular priests had to retire if their wives died. Various complementary rulings were issued: for example, that a widower priest could either take the tonsure and serve in a monastery as a hieromonk or remain in the secular world and serve in a church choir or as a reader.

Incentives for widower priests to avoid forced retirement must have been strong, and indeed there is evidence that many widower priests were able to continue serving or to take up service elsewhere. Church councils in 1503 and 1551 (the *Stoglav* Council) discussed and condemned various practices of widower priests to avoid forced retirement: for example, taking up with another woman, going to another eparchy, and pretending that the woman was his first wife; becoming ordained as a hieromonk and then taking up a regular appointment in a parish church; remarrying, hoping that the bishop’s agents would not detect the uncanonical second marriage, or that, if they did, their silence could be purchased. There are no quantifiable data on the number of hieromonks or twice-married

priests who were able to serve uncanonically in secular churches, but, judging by church councils' complaints and foreigners' accounts, the practice was common.

SELECTION, ORDINATION, APPOINTMENT, AND SUPERVISION

Secular priests were appointed to a parish either by a bishop or by the parishioners. Byzantine canons dictated that only a bishop could appoint a parish priest, but popular selection was tolerated in both Byzantine and Muscovite times. Popular election of parish clergy in the Muscovite church was facilitated by the fact that bishops lacked the administrative machinery and personnel to locate, train, and select qualified candidates, or to check thoroughly the qualifications of candidates proposed by parishioners. Nor were all bishops qualified to judge priest candidates. Not all bishops' assistants were above taking bribes. In addition to bishops' officials, who were typically laymen, priests were overseen by archpriests and senior priests although there is little evidence that the system worked, particularly outside cities.

The standard practice for a candidate for the priesthood was apparently the following: first he had to find a willing parish, and then he sought ordination and appointment by the local bishop. His arrangement with the parishioners might be concluded by a written contract, in which he promised to perform his duties over a stated period and parishioners promised to protect and support him; conditions were sometimes stated under which the priest could be dismissed by the parishioners. From his bishop the candidate purchased (or, canonically speaking, received in exchange for a donation) a charter of ordination and a charter of appointment. To the extent that parishioners exercised control over the process, the status of the priest might be no better than that of a parish employee who could be dismissed.

Bishops and their officials retained greater authority over priest appointments at those churches that were subsidized by the grand prince or, less often, by the church hierarchy. Such appointments could be a plum, and some bishops' officials were caught seeking kickbacks from appointees to subsidized churches.

Priests without appointments were effectively without income. Since the church made no provision for maintaining jobless clergymen, their only course was to search for a position, meanwhile begging or serving temporarily at any church or monastery that would accept them. In principle an unemployed priest could obtain (purchase) a charter of transfer or transience from a bishop. From the priest's point of view, the major consideration about charters of ordination, appointment, transfer, and transience was that all these documents cost him money. The legitimacy of allowing any fees at all, particularly for ordination, had long been debated, first in the Byzantine and then the Muscovite Church. By the time of the *Stoglav* Council in 1551, Muscovite practice was to allow fees but to admonish bishops that they should collect equal fees from all candidates and priests.

MEANS OF SUPPORT

The church did not pay priests—rather, it took money from them. Nor was a uniform policy established of how much parishioners were supposed to pay priests. In practice, priests had to exploit a number of sources of income and support, including the following: a plot of arable land set aside by the parish for the personal use of the priest and his family; income from teaching; donations and offerings in money and in kind from parishioners in return for special services like baptisms and memorial services; marriage fees (although, legally, marriage fees were supposed to be remitted in full to the bishop); fees for consecrating a church (more often beneficial to the clergy of large urban churches than of village parishes); whatever trade privileges and income-producing properties the parish church possessed (here, too, this applied more often to large urban churches or cathedrals than to village churches); and, finally, an annual stipend or subsidy from the grand prince's treasury, or, less often, from a bishop or from parishioners.

Although the potential income sources appear numerous, the fact remained that the secular clergy had little income security. In practice the village priest derived most of his support by farming the plot of land allotted to him by the parish; he was, typically, a barefoot peasant farmer, just like his parishioners (some parish contracts stipulate that the priest wear shoes in church when conducting the

divine liturgy). Most productive church landholdings belonged to monasteries, some to prelates, almost none to parish churches.

The apparent narrow margin between income and expenses prompted many secular priests to seek an annual stipend or subsidy from the grand prince's treasury (bishops were resistant to making such grants, and village parishes rarely had the means). Funds or goods granted as subsidy might be paid to the parish to defray expenses, or directly to the priest as a salary. One calculation for Novgorod in the sixteenth century numbers seven village churches and approximately fifty urban churches receiving an annual subsidy from the Moscow grand prince. An early seventeenth-century estimate indicates that some 1,500 churches throughout Russia were receiving subsidies. Annual subsidies from the grand prince were so desirable (though their continuance was not guaranteed) that large churches would set up secondary altars, appoint a priest to each, and then request a subsidy from the grand prince. In the seventeenth century, for which statistics become more available, urban churches typically had two or three secondary altars; the Moscow Kremlin Cathedral of the Archangel Michael had twelve altars.

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Some improvement in clerical education was achieved in seventeenth-century Muscovy when ecclesiastical schools were established in Moscow and Novgorod. Several members of the Zealots of Piety movement, who sought to reform the church and return it to authentic traditions, were educated secular clergy. In the Church Schism of the seventeenth century, when Old Believers rejected changes introduced by the official church, some Old Believer communities even went without priests because they could not accept priests ordained by the official church. To the extent that the church began publishing service books with some scholarly foundation, priests gained access to texts more standardized than those in previous hand-copied books.

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The secular clergy experienced profound changes in the eighteenth century. As government policies, beginning with Peter I the Great (ruled 1682–1725), placed the church increasingly under government control, the secular clergy became virtual

state employees, more under the authority of bishops and less dependent on parishes for appointments. For the first time in Russia, also beginning with Peter the Great, an ecclesiastical schooling system was begun throughout the country. One unfortunate aspect of the educational system, however, was the extent to which the curriculum was latinized (because of Ukrainian Orthodox influence) and unrelated to the Russian Church. On the plus side, secular priests received more systematic and formal training than ever before; on the negative side, the Latin-oriented educational system did not effectively train them to conduct services in Church Slavonic. Nevertheless, the secular clergy became something of a hereditary professional estate in the eighteenth century, and seminary education, even if one did not pursue an ecclesiastical career, was the best schooling available.

See also **Old Believers; Orthodoxy, Russian; Reformations in Eastern Europe: Protestant, Catholic, and Orthodox; Russia.**

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JACK KOLLMANN

CLIENTAGE. *See* Patronage.

CLIMATE. *See* Weather and Climate.

CLOCKS AND WATCHES. Historians have long pondered why the European world has so highly valued consciousness of time. Economic historian David Landes argues that time consciousness was a major "stimulus to the individualism that was an ever more salient aspect of Western civilization." His argument fits well with Max Weber's conten-

tion that in Protestant lands a new work ethic developed that contributed significantly to the rise of a new economic order. Unquestionably, the new work ethic included a heightened sense of the importance of time; this is likely the origin of the familiar saying “time is money.” Lewis Mumford put forth the more daring claim that in the modern industrial world, the clock made a more fundamental change than the steam engine. Indeed, the profusion of clocks and watches in the early modern world helped to reinforce a growing social consciousness of time, a consciousness we today take for granted. Clocks and watches prod us to use our time efficiently and are clearly instruments of organization and social control. They tell us when to get out of bed and when to go to work. It was in the urban early modern world that mechanical timekeepers came to replace the sun, the timekeeper of the rural, medieval world. Also in the early modern period, punctuality, along with regularity, temperance, reliability, restraint, and industriousness, was considered a great virtue and an emblem of a disciplined life. Hence, it is not surprising that many of the most talented men of early modern Europe worked to design and perfect clocks and watches.

Mechanical timekeepers were not an invention of the early modern European world, but the era did witness considerable advances in their design, accuracy, and diffusion of ownership. In this period craftsmen, jewelers, carpenters, mathematicians, metalsmiths, artists, and scientists all contributed to the refinement of these devices that dated from the crude tower clocks of the Middle Ages, which were probably invented in England around 1300. In the early modern era more elaborate, more beautiful, more accurate, sturdier, and miniaturized versions of clocks appeared. Far more than our timepieces today, early modern clocks and watches were items of luxury and affirmed the power and prestige of their owners. Gradually in this period clocks moved beyond ownership of prosperous towns and powerful princes to become domestic items available to a wider range of middle-class merchants and gentry. The advantages of mechanical timekeepers over sundials and water clocks were so great that the latter form almost vanished from Europe. Sundials, however, remained in use in Europe long after the clock had been improved—well into the eighteenth century.

TECHNOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENTS

Early tower clocks were subject to vagaries of cold and rainy weather. They were generally made of iron and hence were so big and heavy they could not be put in a house. As the clocksmiths began to use lighter metals—including brass, silver, and steel—smaller scaled clocks became possible. Two technological designs, the spring coil and the fusee, made even smaller scales possible. Thus the watch developed: a timepiece to be worn on the human body, intended to serve as both timekeeper and ornament. Although spring coils (developed around 1400) allowed for a lighter weight clock, the impetus they relayed to the gears and wheels decreased as the clock gradually unwound. Two other devices, the fusee wheel (an intermediary between the main-spring and the wheel train, conical in shape) and the stackfreed helped to equalize the force on the mechanism of the coiled spring as it was unwinding.

Before 1650, most clocks and watches were notoriously inaccurate, but by the mid-seventeenth century, scientists began to apply their talents to making the instruments more precise. Astronomers such as Galileo Galilei (1564–1642) and Ismael Bouillaud (1605–1694), the microscopist Robert Hooke (1635–1703), and the mathematician Christiaan Huygens (1629–1695) made theoretical breakthroughs on the design of clocks. A major development was the pendulum clock, which operated by a pendulum controlled by gravity. Like the coiled spring, the back-and-forth motion of the pendulum is performed in theoretically equal periods of time. The invention of the pendulum and its application to clocks has a curious history, not all of it known. Leonardo da Vinci (1452–1519) and Galileo were both intrigued by the pendulum. Galileo’s son Vincenzo made a drawing of a mechanism to maintain a pendulum in motion and may have built a model in 1649. But the oldest surviving pendulum clock was made in 1657 at The Hague by Salomon Coster, in response to the design of a fellow Dutchman, Christiaan Huygens, who published a definitive work on the theory of the pendulum. Within two years clock makers in Paris and London had read the Huygens treatise and were producing their own pendulum clocks. Soon afterward a flurry of technological designs improved the accuracy of the pendulum clock. Pinwheel escapements, anchor escapements, regulation of the

length of the pendulum, the balance spring, and dead-beat escapements followed quickly.

A second challenge for the greater precision of timekeeping instruments came from a desire to discover an accurate measurement of longitude at sea. When the British Parliament announced an irresistibly large cash prize, skilled clock makers, as well as mathematicians and scientists, invested considerable effort and energy to finding a solution. The prize would ultimately go to a clock maker, John Harrison.

THE MECHANICAL CLOCK AS METAPHOR

Despite its shortcomings, the mechanical clock in the early modern era was regarded as a triumph of human genius and invention. Clock makers had arranged its parts in a strict spatial and logical order. Causal connections linked the components and careful design had preceded each complex or simple operation. Hence for many Europeans living in a world of political, religious, and economic instability, the clock exemplified order, harmony, and rationality in the cosmos. Many came to regard the relationship between God and creation as analogous to that between the clock maker and the clock; others applied the analogy of the clock to the state where an absolute monarch presided and directed the parts of the machinery with order, rationality, and predictability. Hence, clocks frequently surfaced in figures of speech and metaphors in political, scientific, and religious writings. The astronomer Johannes Kepler (1571–1630), the chemist Robert Boyle (1627–1691), the poet John Donne (1572–1631), the political philosopher Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679), and absolutist King Frederick II of Prussia (ruled 1740–1786) all invoked the clockwork metaphor. Hence the diffusion of clocks helped thinkers of the early modern period to conceptualize and shape the social value of harmonious political and religious obedience.

GEOGRAPHICAL CENTERS OF CLOCK MAKING

Between 1550 and 1650 the unquestioned center of clock and watch manufacture was in Germany, specifically in the towns of Augsburg and Nuremberg. Long known for their self-governing craft guilds and high standards of metalwork, German towns enjoyed princely patronage and general prosperity. With the economic decline consequent to

the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648), leadership in clock making moved to France and England, notably to Paris and London, where scientists joined the efforts to improve accuracy and to promote technological improvements. By the eighteenth century, Geneva had enjoyed an influx of Huguenot craftsmen and became an important center of watch production.

THE PHYSICAL APPEARANCE OF CLOCKS AND WATCHES

Before 1650 many clocks were designed to illustrate astronomical information in addition to time. One historian of science, Derek de Solla Price, has argued that the mechanical clock originated from artistic attempts to imitate with mechanical devices the motions of the heavenly bodies, which also tell time. One such famous clock, the original 1574 astronomical clock of the Strasbourg cathedral was fitted with a celestial globe, an astrolabe, and other clock-driven mechanisms to represent the heavenly motions. Other clocks served as impressive works of art and craftsmanship. Some German princes owned elaborate automaton clocks that played music and presented sculptured figures such as soldiers or religious disciples who appeared from behind screens as the clock struck the hour. Goldsmiths and artisans of the highest quality produced such marvels.

The appearance of the pendulum clock strongly changed both the design and appearance of clocks. In general, the function of the clock became more exclusively that of timekeeping. Clock dials became more readable and less cluttered with extraneous information and sculpture. The 29-inch pendulum promoted by Hooke influenced the long case design (popularly referred to today as the grandfather clock design), although pendulum clocks were built as shelf or table clocks as well. The wooden case was originally designed to protect the movement and weights of the timekeeper from extraneous jolts or disturbances. But this also allowed the cabinet-maker to design a case as elaborate and as ornamented as any piece of furniture. Polished mahogany, brass finials, and painted figures of rocking ships or floral motifs abounded in the eighteenth century. In France decorative clocks produced during the reign of Louis XV (ruled 1715–1774) were elaborate and often rivaled contemporary furniture in craftsmanship. Clocks commonly outlasted furni-

ture since they were more prized as domestic ornaments.

A series of technical improvements, notably the freestanding going barrel developed by the French watchmaker Jean Antoine Lepine, allowed watches to be made considerably thinner. Further improvements introduced by Abraham Louis Breguet toward the end of the eighteenth century heightened the accuracy of the timekeeping and even allowed the owner to observe the state of winding and the temperature. Watches remained primarily pocket watches (with ladies' models worn at the neck or more rarely on the fingers in rings as ornaments) and did not move to the wrist until after the early modern era.

DIFFUSION OF OWNERSHIP

Early clocks were heavy and expensive and were owned either by wealthy monasteries or cathedrals, such as the earliest surviving one at Salisbury Cathedral in England. Many indicated time not by dials, but by striking bells. (The Modern English word "clock" comes from the Middle English *clockke*, 'bell'). In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries clocks were often made for public use and became important symbols of the towns that had commissioned them as public amenities. They regulated the opening and close of markets and had many economic and social functions in the municipality. As it became technologically feasible to build smaller clocks, princely courts became the major centers of patronage of clock makers. For example, Emperor Charles V (ruled 1519–1558) and all later Habsburgs employed the services of clock makers at their courts. The most well-known of these was Jost Burgi (1552–1632), who made uncommonly complicated and precise clocks at the courts of Landgrave Wilhelm IV at Kassel (1787–1867) and at the court of Rudolf II at Prague. Burgi produced clocks of remarkable regularity, introduced technical innovations, including the cross-beat escapement and *remontoire*, and he corresponded extensively with scientists and mathematicians of his day.

Clocks commonly appear in the portraits of German princes and often refer to the authoritarian order, a virtue shared by a well-governed state, a wise prince, and a well-crafted clock. In a society founded on princely patronage, early modern monarchs often presented clocks as gifts intended to

impress the recipient with the scientific expertise and mechanical ingenuity of the princely donor. In 1616 the Jesuit missionary Nicholas Trigault took mechanical clocks as well as scientific instruments to China to aid the Jesuit mission in earning the good will of Chinese dignitaries. Similarly, the Habsburgs repeatedly presented mechanical clocks, as well as gold, jewels, and precious textiles, to the Ottoman Porte in Constantinople as part of the annual tribute exacted of them for keeping Hungary. Thus, the presentation of clocks solidified political alliances and symbolized great esteem on the part of the donor or patron.

As clocks became more common, more portable, and less expensive, ownership expanded outside the princely court or the flourishing city. Gradually, well-to-do private citizens could buy clocks and watches; in *Tristram Shandy*, novelist Laurence Sterne has a large house clock appear as part of the domestic furniture of a country merchant whose regular monthly offices as a dutiful head of household included winding the clock and having sexual relations with his wife. By the eighteenth century the clockwork metaphor could be mocked as well as taken seriously. In any event, it was a metaphor with which a wide readership had become quite familiar.

See also Chronometer; Galileo Galilei; Huygens Family; Scientific Instruments; Time, Measurement of.

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MARTHA BALDWIN

CLOTHING. Clothing and fashion underwent several transformations in the early modern world, reflecting the changing social, political, religious, and economic forces of which they were a part and an expression. Though major shifts in patterns of production and consumption and the emergence of more varied fabrics and textiles had already taken place in the late Middle Ages, the fifteenth through seventeenth centuries represented a culmination of these trends as well as a distinct and dynamic period in which clothing became an innovative and rapidly changing style form in its own right. Reflecting a heightened clothes-consciousness, men and women constructed their identity by wearing garments that reshaped their bodies and created around them a fluid circulation of meanings. In this sense, clothing, as one writer put it, constituted a “worn world: a world of social relations put upon the wearer’s body.” At the same time, just as clothing served as a form of personal (if heavily restricted) self-inscription, larger historical developments of the time—changing warfare, the Protestant Reformation, even the emergence of national identity—influenced the choice of a slashed sleeve or a ballooning doublet.

**THE EARLY MODERN CULTURE INDUSTRY:
PRODUCTION, CONSUMPTION, AND
SUMPTUARY LAWS**

Though textile centers had existed throughout Europe since the Middle Ages, the birth of the fashion industry originated in the city-states of Italy, where international trade, commercial innovation, and economic growth had coalesced since the twelfth century. The Crusades had opened the way for contact with Asia and, with it, the importation of more varied and luxurious fabrics. In northern Italian states such as Venice and Florence, import-export businesses coexisted with centers of fabric production that created huge fortunes and an accompanying consumer class eager for personal, status-enhancing display. Beginning in the fifteenth century especially, the hedonistic desire to spend on the part of those with more disposable wealth combined with a business strategy of “planned obsolescence” to produce clothes of a distinct cut, piecing, and fit that could be adopted and discarded as “fashion” by wealthy elites who suddenly did not wish to be seen in garments that could be considered out-of-date and behind the style curve of their rivals.

Constraints were placed on the circulation of clothing, however. Though they extended back to the Bible, early modern sumptuary laws had been formulated in the late Middle Ages to regulate consumption of luxury items and to reinforce existing social, economic, and occupational divisions by narrowly delineating items such as clothing or jewelry that an individual could wear. Intended to counter extravagance—which could be loosely defined, though silk, velvet, and brocades were strictly off-limits to the lower classes—laws also served the purpose of encouraging domestic production and protecting the manufacturing sector of a given country while upholding self-proclaimed standards of morality and decency. As a method of social control, sumptuary legislation also upheld hierarchies in a world where class distinctions, at least at the higher levels, could become blurred at times. Wealthy mercantilists, for example, gained economic strength during the early modern period, and proceeded to express themselves in the outer trappings of wealth. The result was a kind of egalitarianism of extravagance, as expressed by the wife of Phillippe Le Bel, who is said to have exclaimed, “I thought I was the Queen, but I see there are hundreds.” In Tudor England, on the other hand, finer social distinctions were reinforced by injunctions, for example, that “None shall wear cloth of gold or silver, or silk of purpose color except Earls, all above that rank, and Knights of the King (and then only in their mantles).” Those on the margins—especially those on the margins—were also targeted for sartorial restriction: thus were Jews compelled to don either a star-shaped yellow badge or a yellow hat known as a *bareta*, while in Venice common prostitutes were required to proclaim their station through patches as well as bells, hats, or striped hoods. Sumptuary laws could be subverted or evaded, however, among those of the lower orders. To bypass the law that limited commoners to one color, some individuals as well as noblemen began to slash their garments—doublets, sleeves, hose—to expose the contrasting colors of the interior linings. Courtesans also could sometimes overcome such restrictions and, in fact, mimic the altogether more cloistered noblewomen with their own lavish stylings, down to the extreme shoes known as *chopines*, whose platforms could extend the length of three feet, elevating the woman to towering pro-

portions and requiring her to support her stride with two sturdy male handlers.

FASHION HIGH AND LOW

Sumptuary laws ensured that clothes reflected the age's social stratifications, with more variation occurring in the top ranks of society. Men as well as women were especially aware of the manipulative potentialities in dress and public image, and adorned themselves accordingly, but few did so with such notoriety and effect as Elizabeth I of England. Her astonishing wardrobe was a political expression in its own right, and a useful expedient: because much of her power came from projection—which was especially necessary when she witnessed no small number of threats to her throne, as well as limited funds in her treasury—her gowns were designed to impress with jewels and luxurious fabric, and could even be adapted to international fashion styles, depending on whose court—the French, an Italian city-state—she considered diplomatically useful at any one time. Elizabeth's dress in turn trickled down, at least to ladies of the more elevated class, with its status-enhancing ruffles, complicated bell-shaped sleeves, daunting underpinnings, heavily embroidered gowns, V-shaped waistlines, cinched, tight-fitting bodices, and choices of colors that ranged, in contemporary language, from Bristol Red to Puke and Popinjay Green. Men were equally influenced by Elizabeth's sartorial statements, adopting more elaborate embroidery motifs (including the Tudor rose) as well as rich fabrics and, of course, the ruff, which could extend to a foot outward. But male ornamentation—fanciful boots, rich materials, plentiful decoration—had preceded Elizabeth and been expressed most fully with her father, Henry VIII, whose own puffed styles borrowed from the Continent, most notably from the courts of Burgundy and France.

Among elites, shifts in styles occurred frequently over the course of the sixteenth century, moving from the relatively soft linearity of late Gothic and early Italian Renaissance clothing, when dress tended toward greater simplicity and consisted of a relatively restrained albeit beautifully tailored gown topped by huge sleeves, trailing skirts, and a square or rounded neckline. Headdresses completed the picture, and consisted of a sort of net or caul that seems to have contained the hair. Later on,

the farthingale, a bell-shaped hoop skirt, dominated women's fashion, contributing to an increasingly stiff female posture. As Aphra Behn wrote in *The Lady's Looking Glass*, "I have seen a Woman . . . [who] has screw'd her Body in so fine a Form, that she dares no more stir a Hand, lift up an Arm, or turn her Head aside, than if, for the Sin of such a Disorder, she were to be turn'd into a Pillar of Salt; the less stiff and fix'd Statue of the two." With the introduction in the century of the aforementioned ruff, which enshrouded the neck in starch and lace, the effect was to render women as well as men all the more remote and unapproachable in appearance.

From the mid-sixteenth century on, such aesthetic cues were increasingly appropriated from Spain, where clothes forsook the body's natural contours and instead subjected it to even more geometric silhouettes. Dark silks and velvets were especially valued among those who preferred the classical baroque style, for it allowed them to showcase more effectively the precious stones and jewelry with which they adorned themselves, and which were frequently sewn into the fabric itself. The Spanish style was especially evident among men, who could, nevertheless, vary their adornment in the quest to project masculinity, wealth, status, and sexual allure. The shirt undergarment worn by an early modern man tended to be fitted closer to the body than that worn by a peasant, in order to accommodate the nearly always white linen doublet; nether hose, or pants, were a significant shift from the more gowned medieval world, with men opting for knee-length Venetian breeches or what were known as slops, or paned breeches, which puffed at the thigh and were sometimes adorned with a codpiece. Doublets were jacketlike ensembles that were fastened down the front, tended to come with a high neckline, and were topped by a straight-collared, richly ornamented cloak, almost always worn by noblemen. Despite the encroachments of new fabrics, cuts, and silhouettes for the male body, however, gowns were not entirely obsolete, especially in the early period of the age, when they continued to distinguish their wearers as clergy, scholars, or old and respected gentlemen.

Among the lower orders, the standard apparel for women began with a linen undergarment known as a chemise, or shift, a rectangular smock with long sleeves, a low square neck, and a hem that extended

to the calf. Over this women wore one or two linen or wool skirts—cotton would not be mass-produced Europe until the eighteenth century—and supported the body and the garment with a snugly fitting (but not oppressively tight) vestlike bodice. Variations existed: for the Flemish market woman, for example, a linen undergarment was overlaid with a sleeveless kirtle—an open-fronted gown laced in the front—and a partlet, an item of clothing worn over the upper torso.

Surprisingly, more affordable dyestuffs ensured that colors could vary among the lower classes, ranging from pink, fawn, russet, peach, blue, green, and occasionally even bright red, though the latter was frequently associated solely with the upper classes. For a peasant man, on the other hand, the undergarment comprised a linen shirt similarly rectangular in cut—to prevent the linen from unraveling—with long cuffed sleeves and an optional collar. These were usually matched by knee-length breeches often finished with a loose, unstructured, and hip-length vest known as a jerkin, covered in the winter by a wool or linen cloak.

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENTS AND FASHION

Fashion among the elite tended to be international in scope, to the point where Thomas Dekker compared the “English-mans suit” to a traitor’s body: “the collar of his doublet and the belly in France; the wing and narrow sleeue in Italy; the shorte waist hangs over a Dutch botchers stall in Utrich; his huge sloppes speakes Spanish; Polonia [Poland] gives him his bootes; the blocke for his head alters faster than the feltmaker can fit him.” The emergence of firmer national boundaries and identities in the early modern period, however, also reflected itself in clothing and in shifting cultural centers, from the Italian city-states to Spain and on to France. During the reign of Louis XIV, and especially from 1660 on, France played an increasingly important role in setting fashion, with gaudiness prevailing in men’s dress and exemplified by tiny, open doublets and extremely baggy, knee-length trousers known as rhinegraves. Eventually rhinegraves fell out of fashion, though clothing continued to be decorated with such flourishes as ribbon bows.

Female fashion under Louis XIV was perhaps even more in flux, especially from the 1630s

through the 1660s, evolving from high-waisted to long-waisted gowns, low, wide, and horizontal or oval-shaped necklines trimmed in lace, and sleeves set low on the shoulder, opening into a full ruff that ended below the elbow. For all its flourishes, however, women’s dress in Louis’s France tended to be more subdued and elegant than that of the beribboned male, accentuating in its silhouette the beauty of the female form.

With the emergence of more permanent armies among states, standardized military uniforms began to resurface for the first time since the Roman era. Whereas previously soldiers had either served different armies or were expected to provide their own fighting gear, uniforms now were fashioned to adorn the fighter in times of peace as well as war. Large textile factories in France became increasingly capable of churning out mass quantities of uniformly colored fabric that was cut and decorated by buttons, braiding, and cords in an unvarying manner. Military uniforms also influenced male civilian dress, making the coat or jacket more tight-fitting, with tailored contours, and taming the sleeves into the tubular and simple proportions known today. The soldier’s broad-brimmed hat, or tricorne, became fashionable after the Thirty Years’ War ended in 1648, as did rows of buttons and broad collars. Because men after the 1650s began to wear their hair much longer, large lace collars were made smaller and then replaced by strips of fabric that were transformed into knotted cravats or silk ribbon bows in the 1670s and 1680s. Jackets were then finished off with a waistcoat called *la veste*, as well as a knee-length suit jacket called a *justaucorps* and breeches less voluminous than had existed before. Despite the substitution of uniformed infantry fighting for armored cavalry attacks, metal sheathings continued to flourish at court, taking on more elaborate engravings. During the mid-sixteenth century especially, armor design was increasingly based on the forms and ornament found in classical art. This renaissance of pseudo-antique armor is most invariably associated with the celebrated name of Filippo Negroli, who was to become the most innovative and celebrated of the renowned armorers of Milan. Though Leonardo da Vinci had earlier sketched his fantastic armor and Verrocchio represented armor in sculpture, Negroli and his Milanese family produced unsurpassed embossed and

damascened parade armors that entered into the collections (or perhaps even sheathed the bodies) of the dukes of Urbino as well as the Medici, who proclaimed a Negroli helmet “the greatest marvel.”

The Protestant Reformation also played an enormous role in shifting fashion, and while it was not uniquely Protestant to condemn the excesses of dress—sumptuary laws were reinforced earlier on the grounds of morality—groups such as Calvinists or Puritans were especially vehement on the subject. According to James Durham, “men’s minds are often infected with lascivious thoughts, and lustful inclinations, even by the use and sight of gaudy clothing; and light, loose, conceited minds discover themselves in nothing sooner than in their apparel, and fashions, and conceitedness in them.” Because God “commendeth modesty,” sobriety must prevail over clothes that “emasculateth or unmanneth” men and the “dressing of hair, powderings, washings, rings [and] jewels reproved in the daughters of Zion.”

The “hethen garments, & Romish rags” of Catholic clergy were also viewed as betraying the precepts—if not the fashion sense—of Jesus and the early apostles. Renaissance popes and cardinals such as Cardinal Francesco Gonzaga (1444–1483) had in fact been profligate, if not unsavory, in their spending habits and choice of dress, with their green or crimson damask gowns and silk slippers earning the ire of Girolamo Savonarola’s outraged sensibilities. In comparison to the popes, reformers such as Martin Luther or Thomas Cranmer appeared almost homely in their dark cassocks and simple girdles, while Calvinists or English Puritans took the “plain style” to its extremes, adopting a basic and austere black more appropriate to their religion. The issue of a priest’s vestments had in fact been a pressing question in the sixteenth-century clothing controversy in England, when clergy opposed wearing the cap and gown in daily life and the surplice in church; the issue was not a shallow one, as garments were thought to both influence identity and to even align the outer self with one’s inner faith.

Theatrical productions, albeit in more altered forms, continued to be accepted (and created) by Protestants, though the more radical among them could inveigh against frivolous masques and enter-

tainments. Clothing certainly contributed to the shaping of theater, and particularly English theater, which spent the greatest amount of its budget on costume. Sumptuous display ensured good box office; at the same time, the presence and circulation of clothes played a central role not only as dramatic devices within plays such as Thomas Middleton’s *Your Five Gallants*, but also situated the identity of central and supportive characters alike. Shakespeare’s *Twelfth Night*, with its sartorial transformations of Viola into Cesario, is perhaps the best-known example that utilizes the gender- and identity-shaping potentialities of clothing. Shakespeare, however, was borrowing from a rich theatrical tradition of transvestism, in which the so-called “woman beneath” or “man beneath” (or “boy beneath”) was hidden by the cover of clothes, voice, and gesture. Masques were also forums for such transgressions, and in the sequins and gilded costumes and elaborately patterned and stitched velvet masks, participants found a liberating refuge of subversion, akin to the costumed inversions that existed among the lower orders at Carnival time.

Contemporary clothing practices, of course, mutually influenced early modern attitudes toward the body, including ideals—sometimes blurred ideals—of beauty, ugliness, femininity, and masculinity. Emphasis on women’s full figures had prevailed in the earlier era, though the introduction of increasingly restrictive and breast-compressing whalebone bodices reflected or inspired a slimmer ideal, at least in the waist. Men were equally constrained by their own fashions, including the leg-emphasizing hose, the form-fitting doublet, or even the frequently exaggerated codpiece. In another sense, clothing also served the early modern religious consciousness as a reminder, in Martin Luther’s phrase, of the “wretched Fall”; though the nakedness of Adam and Eve was replaced by fig clothing and God-provided animal skins—the “robe[s] of righteousness,” according to John Milton—clothes nevertheless served for theologians as a constant evocation, a memory, of one’s sin, shame, and death.

See also Bible: Interpretation; Calvinism; Class, Status, and Order; Elizabeth I (England); Gender; Louis XIV (France); Puritanism; Sexuality and Sexual Behavior; Sumptuary Laws; Textile Industry; Women.

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SARAH COVINGTON

CLOUET, FRANÇOIS (c. 1515/20–1572), French portraitist, painter to the king. François Clouet was the most important French portraitist of the sixteenth century. He is best known for numerous drawings of the members of the late Valois court executed in a technique adopted from his father, Jean Clouet (c. 1485, Brussels?–1540, Paris). Of a fairly consistent uniformity of composition in which the sitter, sketched in black subtly enlivened with rusty red, is almost invariably depicted bust-length in three-quarter profile from the left, nearly all the drawings measure about 12 in. × 8 ½ in. Although the black medium is frequently referred to as chalk in English (more correctly in French, *crayon*, ‘pencil’), it was in fact derived from powdered slate (Zvereva, pp. 19–21). The red was made from clay. A sparing use of blue, yellow, and white pencil occasionally enhances the image. A few portraits were further elaborated with watercolor or white gouache. Although several of François Clouet’s drawings are preliminary studies for paintings, the vast majority were created as portraits in and of themselves. The most significant group, numbering in the hundreds, was commissioned or owned by Catherine de Médicis. One of the most remarkable documentary records of historical figures before the invention of photography, they make Renaissance France come to life while simultaneously constituting a final expression of chivalric art.

Jean Clouet (nicknamed Janet in his own time) was not the first French artist to use these media for portraits. Jean Fouquet used them too, and Jean Perréal is believed to have practiced a similar type of portraiture, possibly influenced by, or influencing, Leonardo da Vinci. Perréal or Leonardo may, in



François Clouet. Portrait of Elisabeth of Austria, wife of Charles IX, King of France, painted by Clouet c. 1570.

©BETTMANN/CORBIS

turn, have inspired Jean Clouet to create the delicate black-and-red portrait drawings that are overwhelmingly associated with the name Clouet, which then likely influenced Hans Holbein. Several artists were active in the workshops of the Clouets. Numerous versions or copies of some compositions are known, and the attributions of many drawings are still actively debated.

In 1540 or 1541, upon the death of Jean Clouet, François received his father’s appointment as court painter to King Francis I. Little is known of his career before that time. In 1541 he was described as having “well imitated” his father. In 1547, when the king died, Clouet modeled the death mask that was used in the funerary ceremonies around the wax effigy of the deceased ruler. Clouet then entered the service of Henry II, whose wife, Catherine de Médicis, developed an interest in portrait-drawings that quickly surpassed that of her father-in-law. At first she commissioned them from

Germain Le Mannier (active 1537–1559). In 1559, around the time of her daughter Elisabeth's marriage to Philip II of Spain, Catherine commissioned portraits of all the royal children from Clouet. During the celebrations of this union, Henry II was mortally wounded in a jousting accident, and Clouet fabricated his death mask. The documents pertaining to this commission have continually been associated with a terra-cotta of the king's suffering face (Louvre), but this tortured fragment is not a death mask. It is more likely Germain Pilon's preparatory study for the king's tomb in the basilica of St. Denis. Conversely, a series of large bronze portrait medallions (many in the Cabinet des Médailles, Bibliothèque Nationale de France), often erroneously attributed to Pilon, are instead virtual copies of Clouet's portraits.

At the end of 1559, Clouet became responsible for establishing the imagery of French coins. His only known dated work of art (1562) is a painting of his friend, the apothecary Pierre Quthe (Louvre). In its rich draperies and subtle suggestion of depth, it departs strikingly from the formula of the portrait-drawings. This suggests that by then Clouet may have become familiar with portraits by Titian (born Tiziano Vecelli) and Il Bronzino (born Agnolo di Cosimo), perhaps during a trip to Italy. *The Lady in the Bath* (National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.) also bears Clouet's name, as does a standing portrait of Charles IX (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna). A bust-length painting of the young king's wife, Elisabeth of Austria (Louvre), probably created around the time of their marriage in 1570, is usually attributed to Clouet. Beautifully nuanced in tonality and lavishly decorative with a multitude of regal embellishments, this is one of the loveliest portraits of the French Renaissance. *The Bath of Diana* (c. 1550–59?, Musée des Beaux Arts, Rouen) is also generally ascribed to Clouet. Around 1571, during negotiations to arrange the marriage of her favorite son, the future Henry III, to England's Queen Elizabeth, Catherine de Médicis sent his portrait by Clouet to the British monarch, commenting that the artist "had time only to do the face."

See also Catherine de Médicis; France, Art in.

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MARY L. LEVKOFF

COBOS, FRANCISCO DE LOS (c. 1477–1547), Holy Roman Emperor Charles V's most influential secretary. Born in Ubeda, Spain, descended from poor but noble stock, Cobos rose from humble bookkeeper to a position of remarkable wealth and preeminent power through his penchant for hard work, savvy clientage, and the unflinching trust of Charles V (ruled 1519–1556). In 1522 he married María de Mendoza, a member of the titled aristocracy, with whom he had two children, Diego and María.

In 1493 Cobos left Ubeda to assist an uncle who worked as an accountant for Queen Isabella (Castile, ruled 1474–1504). By 1503 he had entered the service of Hernando de Zafra, a secretary to the queen and chief accountant of Granada. At Zafra's death in 1507 Cobos inherited the Granada post and attached himself to the rising star of Lope Conchillos, secretary of the Indies. Conchillos's disgrace in 1518 again made Cobos heir to his patron's position. He would remain deeply involved in all issues pertaining to the Americas due to his one-percent share of the smelting of precious metals there. In 1510 Cobos took charge of all requests for royal grants, offices, and rewards, thus facilitating his creation of a network of loyal clients throughout the bureaucracy. He joined Charles's court in 1516 in Flanders, and by 1520 had been entrusted with the management of Castilian administration.

Cobos's influence permeated Charles's governmental reorganization (1523–1526), which shaped the Spanish bureaucracy in the early modern era. Cobos helped delimit the authority of many of the new governing councils as a personal secretary of the monarch and as secretary of the Council of

Finance and the Council of the Indies. Prior to these reforms, the responsibilities of the Royal Council were divided between domestic affairs, primarily judicial, and a “private” council for advice on foreign affairs. The former now became the Council of Castile and the latter became the Council of State. Though Charles appointed the Italian Mercurino de Gattinara as grand chancellor, he refused Gattinara’s demands that Cobos report to him about Castilian administration.

Initially, the secretary of the Council of State, the Burgundian Jean Lallemand, served directly under Chancellor Gattinara. A rift quickly developed between the two as Lallemand favored leniency with France and Gattinara pushed an anti-French policy centered on establishing Charles’s hegemony over Italy. Cobos supported the Burgundian’s faction, but Charles’s favor enabled him to survive the dismissal of Lallemand, whom he succeeded as secretary of state in 1529. With Gattinara’s death the next year, Charles abolished the position of grand chancellor and divided the responsibilities of the Council of State between Cobos, who managed the relations of Spain and Italy, and Nicholas Perrenot, lord of Granvelle, who did the same for the Low Countries and Germany. Both Cobos and Granvelle reported directly to Charles and accompanied the peripatetic emperor on his endless journeys. Cobos never subscribed fully to Charles’s grand policies, which meant committing Spanish resources to protect the emperor’s German and Italian territories. He preferred more limited, Castilian-centered objectives: a firm peace with France and the pacification of North Africa. Cobos’s influence in foreign affairs peaked with his personal involvement in the negotiation of the 1538 Peace of Nice with France.

After 1539 Cobos remained in Castile, perhaps frustrated that he could not alter Charles’s commitment to central Europe. He served in the regency governments of Prince Philip, but was most occupied with the difficult task of funding Charles’s continued conflicts with the Turks, France, and the Lutheran princes in Germany. Cobos negotiated and renegotiated loans with the great banking houses of Europe, hawked government bonds, sold off lands of the military orders of Castile, and, when the king’s share of American treasure proved insufficient, sequestered the gold and silver of transatlantic merchants. These Herculean efforts enabled

Charles to achieve his last glorious victory (over the Schmalkaldic League) at the Battle of Mühlberg in April 1547. By then Cobos had returned to Ubeda, where he died the following month. His greatest accomplishment may have been his restructuring of unprecedented budget deficits to avoid state bankruptcy.

Cobos’s biographer concludes that he instilled an esprit de corps in the Spanish bureaucracy based primarily on personal loyalty to their workaholic master. One must also add that loyalty to Cobos provided his servants with ample opportunities for self-enrichment at public expense. Only at the end of Cobos’s life, when he insisted that Spanish resources had run dry, did he begin to lose favor with Charles. Though a long-overdue investigation would substantially reduce the Cobos fortune after his death, the magnificent Chapel of San Salvador in Ubeda still stands as a testimony to the poor local boy who made good.

See also Charles V (Holy Roman Empire); Gattinara, Mercurino; Schmalkaldic War (1546–1547); Spain.

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DANIEL A. CREWS

COINAGE. *See Money and Coinage.*

COINS AND MEDALS. The coinage of the early modern period differs profoundly from that of the Middle Ages in fabric, artistic style, and technology of production. An innovation of this period unknown to the medieval or ancient world was medals having a purely commemorative purpose, por-

traying princes, artists, and other celebrities. Here we will examine each of these four developments in turn.

FABRIC

For most of the Middle Ages the feudal economy of Europe was served by a monometallic system of silver coins based on the penny, usually weighing less than 1.5 grams. With the increase in trade and urban life in the thirteenth century, the silver coins were supplemented by a new gold coinage, including the florin of Florence and the Venetian ducat, weighing 3.5 grams. These circulated throughout Europe as an international currency, inspiring many local imitations like the English noble, the French écu, and the gulden of various German states.

Beginning with Venice in 1471, the Italian city-states began striking heavier silver coins of 6 to 8 grams, known as testons, from the Italian *testone* ‘big head’, because they commonly bore the profile portrait of the reigning prince. King Louis XII introduced this coin to the French in 1514, and in England it was first struck by King Henry VII in 1504, where it came to be known as the shilling, worth 12 pence. An important factor leading to the emergence of large silver coins was a shortage of gold in Italy and northern Europe due to Portuguese expeditions along the west coast of Africa. The Iberian *caravels* diverted to Lisbon the gold of Guinea that had previously reached Italy overland through the Sahara and North Africa. At the same time, new sources of silver were discovered by the miners of Tyrol and Saxony, which made possible a large silver denomination capable of taking the place of florins and gulden. In 1519 Count Stephan of Schlick in Bohemia began to produce great quantities of coins of 30 grams from the newly discovered silver deposits of St. Joachimstal. These large *Joachimstaler* (which became known as *talers* or dollars) circulated throughout Europe and were widely imitated. The English dollar or crown, the Spanish peso or piece of eight (so called because it was worth eight of the old silver reals), and the French franc, first struck by King Henry III in 1575, were among the important large silver coins introduced to the markets of Europe in the sixteenth century.

A further innovation was the use of copper for fractional or “subsidiary” coinage, replacing the old

billon (debased silver) pennies, halfpennies, and farthings. In 1472 the Kingdom of Naples became the first state to strike a pure copper coin, and in 1575 King Henry III of France introduced the copper denier or penny, part of an overall reform of the monetary system that included the new silver franc. In England copper farthings (fourth-pennies) made their first appearance in 1613, followed by halfpennies in 1672, although the penny remained silver until 1797, when Matthew Boulton was commissioned to make copper pennies with his new steam-driven coin press. Thanks to new sources of gold from Guinea, and later from Mexico and Peru, the old florins, ducats, and gulden were replaced by larger pieces such as the gold sovereign or guinea of England. The Spanish doubloon, first minted at Seville in 1497 and worth two ducats, carried the facing portraits of King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella. This became the common gold coin of international trade from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century, thanks in part to the retention of the double portrait long after the death of the two monarchs, making it attractive to conservative bankers and merchants around the world.

STYLE

The Renaissance revival of classicism included the collecting and study of ancient Greek and Roman coins, beginning with Petrarch and other pioneer humanists of the fourteenth century. Under the influence of the antiquarians, the old medieval imagery of heraldic devices and symbolic effigies of rulers gave way to a new iconography of naturalistic portraits and allegorical scenes inspired by classical models. A very early example of this revivalism was the gold *augustales* of the Emperor Frederick II in 1231, which showed his profile bust in the manner of the ancient Roman Caesars, and on the reverse an imperial eagle. Most mint masters were too conservative to make radical changes in the appearance of their coins, however, until the coming of the new large silver pieces of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The Venetian teston of 1471 displayed the profile portrait of Doge Nicholas Tron, and the Roman silver piece was known as the *giulio* because of its fine portrait of Pope Julius II (reigned 1503–1513), who was the first to strike these coins. At the same time, medieval Gothic inscriptions were replaced by Roman letters.

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, a number of important artists produced dies for coins whose beauty and grace have never been surpassed. Benvenuto Cellini served as mint master for Pope Clement VII, and his rival Leone Leoni worked for Emperor Charles V. Leoni's classically inspired teston for Charles shows the emperor wearing a laurel wreath and on the reverse the figure of the goddess Pietas copied from a *sestertius* of Caligula. The silver crowns of King Charles II of England, designed by Thomas Simon, and the gold pieces of King Louis XIII, designed by Jean Varin, with their flowing hair and elegant drapery, are splendid examples of baroque portraiture.

TECHNOLOGY

The ancient and medieval technique of striking coins manually, using a hammer and handheld dies, resulted in coins with irregular edges, and their weight and thickness could vary considerably from the official norm. With the increased production of coins of all metals in the sixteenth century, especially the heavier pieces in gold and silver, mint masters recognized the necessity of maintaining uniformity of size and weight. This was achieved by the invention of the rolling mill for squeezing bullion into standardized sheets, the cutting press for punching out identical round blanks from the sheets, and the screw press for stamping the blanks. The first mechanized mint of this sort was established in Paris by King Henry II in 1551 in a water mill along the Seine. Henry's testons or *monnaies du moulin* were perfectly round and elegantly designed, demonstrating the superiority of the new methods. Due to resistance by conservative mint workers, however, the new technology was slow to catch on, but before the end of the seventeenth century most of the European states had adopted the mechanical production of coins, as well as machines for marking or "milling" their edges with grooves and other designs to prevent clipping.

THE ART OF THE MEDAL

The invention of the commemorative medal—a coinlike object created as a work of art to honor some special person or event—is traditionally attributed to Antonio Pisanello, an Italian painter working at the courts of Mantua and Verona in the 1430s and 1440s. Recent scholarship, however, has uncovered medieval precedents for Pisanello's medals,

including the large gold medallions with portraits of the emperors Constantine and Heraclius produced at the court of Jean de France, Duc de Berry, around 1400, although their intended purpose remains a mystery. Be that as it may, Pisanello established the prototype for the genre in his large (100 millimeters in diameter) bronze portrait medal of the Byzantine emperor John VIII Palaeologus, who came to Italy in 1438 to negotiate a reconciliation between the eastern and western churches. Pisanello's later medals of princes and warlords like Leonello d'Este and Sigismondo Malatesta helped spread the new technique throughout Italy. These early Renaissance medals established the standard format, namely a profile portrait on the obverse, and on the reverse an allegorical scene proclaiming the virtues or accomplishments of the subject.

In the sixteenth century the medal spread beyond Italy, and masters like Benvenuto Cellini, Leone Leoni, Giovanni Cavino, and Jacopo da Trezzo applied the classicism and elegance of the High Renaissance to the new art. Medals were produced in great quantities by sixteenth-century princes and by the admirers of poets, scholars, and artists such as Pietro Aretino and Michelangelo, and were often employed to convey propaganda during the religious and dynastic wars of the day. Leoni's medal of the Emperor Charles V represents him as Hercules overcoming his enemies, whereas da Trezzo's medal of Queen Mary Tudor shows her as the goddess Pax burning the arms of war and bringing peace to England. Because of their size, the early Renaissance medals were cast in molds rather than struck, but the screw press of the sixteenth century made it possible to produce large medallions from engraved dies, allowing more detail and complexity in the portraits and reverse scenes.

During the baroque period of the seventeenth century, the art of the medal reached a zenith of exuberant style and technical perfection. Guillaume Dupré, who worked for King Henry IV of France and Marie de Médicis, and Jean Varin, mint master of King Louis XIII and King Louis XIV, were the leaders of the genre. Varin's 1665 medal of Louis XIV, commemorating the building of the Louvre, portrays the Sun King with long flowing hair and an imperious expression. In Italy, Massimiliano Soldani-Benzi designed medals with scenes of athletic and vigorous gods and goddesses reminiscent

of the paintings and sculpture of Rubens and Bernini. An important innovation of this period was the striking of sets of medals summarizing the significant events of a ruler's career—so-called medallic histories—the first being a series of three hundred medals proclaiming the achievements and victories of Louis XIV, issued in 1702. This became the precedent for numerous medallic histories of monarchs, governments, and institutions, often bound together in booklike volumes with accompanying text, produced during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

See also **Cellini, Benvenuto**; **Money and Coinage**.

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JOHN CUNNALLY

COLBERT, JEAN-BAPTISTE (1619–1683), French statesman. Colbert, the leading minister during the initial decades of Louis XIV's (ruled 1643–1715) personal reign, was born at Reims, the son of a drapery merchant, on 29 August 1619. Exploiting familial ties with Michel le Tellier, Colbert obtained a royal appointment at a relatively young age in 1643. During the chaos of the Fronde (1648–1653), he served as agent for Jules Mazarin's (1602–1661) affairs while the cardinal was exiled from Paris (1651). Colbert's diligence and business acumen resulted in hefty rewards upon Mazarin's return. On his deathbed (1661), the cardinal recommended Colbert to Louis XIV. To secure his position with Louis, Colbert played a notable role in the denouement of Nicolas Fouquet (1615–1680), the powerful albeit corrupt superintendent of finance.

Colbert was a leading proponent of mercantilism. Among other things, this theory postulated a finite amount of wealth determined by the amount of bullion a country controlled; a positive flow of gold and silver could in turn be facilitated by a favorable balance of trade, especially in manufactured goods and overseas products, with the state heavily involved in both directing and encouraging such activities. From 1661 to 1665 Colbert utilized a *chambre de justice* to correct abuses in the French fiscal system and the collection of royal payments. Several thousand subjects were condemned by this tribunal, and these transgressors were relieved of their ill-gotten windfalls. Colbert also improved the level of crown debt by repudiating some obligations outright and paying off others at a discounted rate. At the same time he sought to increase the king's revenues by revising provisions of the main direct tax, the *taille*, while increasing indirect taxes. To assist the internal economy, Colbert granted subsidies to select industries. He also oversaw impressive infrastructure improvements involving roads and canals. To help French manufacturers compete against English and Dutch products, Colbert erected protectionist tariffs, particularly in 1667. He sought, generally without success, to abolish the onerous medieval system of internal tolls and tariffs that undermined the competitiveness of French manufactured goods. The so-called Five Great Farms constituted a marginal victory in this campaign. Thanks to these reforms, Louis XIV's revenues probably doubled between 1661 and 1672.

Colbert's mercantilist theories attached pivotal importance to securing a powerful position in European colonial competition in the New World and the Indian Ocean basin. To that end, as secretary of state for the navy (1665), he rebuilt the moribund French fleet from a force of less than a dozen ships to a powerful weapon of about 120 royal ships with thriving shipyards and arsenals at Brest, Toulon, and Rochefort. To accomplish this, he increased yearly expenditures on the navy from about 300,000 livres to nearly 13 million livres. To exploit overseas trade, Colbert also founded a series of state-backed monopoly joint-stock companies, including the East India Company (1664), the West India Company (1664), and the Company for the Levant (1670). Despite problems and competition with the Portuguese, Dutch, and English, these companies man-



Jean-Baptiste Colbert. Portrait by Claude Lefebvre.
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aged to entrench a French presence overseas, particularly in North America.

Colbert believed the arts and sciences existed in large part to pay homage to the “Grand Monarchy.” He formed the nucleus of the Academy of Royal Architecture (1667) by bringing together Louis Le Vau, Claude Perrault, François Mansart, and François Blondel. In painting he established a French academy in Rome and reorganized the academy of painting and sculpture of Cardinal Richelieu. Colbert also helped establish the Academy of Inscriptions and Medals (1663), the Academy of Sciences (1666), and the Academy of Music (1669). As superintendent for public buildings, he oversaw significant additions to the Louvre as well as the expansion of the palace complex at Versailles.

In these impressive achievements, Colbert demonstrated remarkable energy and industry. He was in fact the perfect bureaucrat for the growing Bourbon state. In public life his personality was indeed cold and dour, conforming to the dictum of Madame de Sévigné, who described him as “the North Star.” In private life, however, he revealed a more human side of his character. Colbert’s accomplish-

ments were undermined beginning with the Dutch War of 1672, a war he supported since it was directed against his arch commercial and imperial rival, the Dutch. Unfortunately, a glorious start in this war soon gave way to diplomatic and military setbacks. These problems forced Colbert to forsake many of his earlier reforms. Politically the shift to a bellicose foreign policy also witnessed the rise of his rival, the marquis de Louvois (François-Michel Le Tellier; 1639–1691). Created marquis de Seignelay, Colbert died in 1683 an extremely rich man with vast estates, leaving a significant legacy for Louis’s reign and France.

See also Academies, Learned; Academies of Art; Architecture; Louis XIV (France); Louvois, François Le Tellier, marquis de; Mazarin, Jules; Mercantilism; Trading Companies; Versailles.

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GLENN J. AMES

COLIGNY FAMILY. The Coligny brothers were among the most zealous and consistent aristocratic supporters of Protestantism in sixteenth-century France. Descended from a Burgundian lineage, they had an important landed base in Brittany and its marches. Gaspard de Coligny (1470–1522), seigneur of Châtillon, fought with distinction in the Italian Wars under kings Charles VIII, Louis XII, and Francis I, becoming marshal of France in 1516. He married Louise de Montmorency, sister of the constable of France; this union produced three sons: Odet de Coligny (1517–1571), count-bishop of Beauvais and cardinal of Châtillon; Gaspard II de Coligny (1519–1572), seigneur of Châtillon and admiral of France; and François de Coligny (1521–1569), seigneur of Andelot and colonel-general of the Royal Infantry.

The Colignys rose to prominence in the 1550s as a result of the patronage of their uncle, the constable Anne de Montmorency, who was the favorite of king Henry II. It was also during this period that the brothers converted to Protestantism. Their mother, Louise, had died in the Reformed faith in 1547. François, seigneur d'Andelot, had been exposed to Reformed ideas from his youth and was encouraged by John Calvin to profess the faith openly in 1556. This infuriated the conservative Henry II, and Andelot was briefly imprisoned in 1558. Gaspard converted during his captivity (1557–1559) following the defeat of the constable's army at Saint-Quentin by the Imperialists. His wife, Charlotte de Laval, played an important role in promoting the faith while he was away, and on his return to France in October 1559, they began to profess openly and frequented illegal Protestant meetings. Odet, cardinal of Châtillon, only adhered to the Reform party after 1561, and even then he refused to give up his benefices; he was destituted by the pope in 1563, and a year later he married Isabeau de Hauteville. He fled to England in 1568.

Gaspard de Coligny first became known as a leading member of the Reform party in 1560 when he submitted a petition to the king from the Protestants of Normandy demanding toleration. During the First War of Religion (1562–1563), he emerged as the most effective Protestant commander, while his brother Odet, cardinal of Châtillon, acted as the Protestant envoy to England. The assassination of François, duke of Guise, the leader of the Ultra-Catholic party, in 1563 sparked a vendetta with the Coligny that was to dominate politics for the next decade. The Guise blamed Admiral Coligny for the murder, and both sides mobilized their kinsmen in a dispute (1563–1566) that cut across the religious divide: Coligny was assured of the support of his Catholic Montmorency cousins; the Guise wooed Louis de Bourbon, prince of Condé, who was Coligny's rival as chief of the Protestant party. A royal declaration of Coligny's innocence in 1566 abated the feud, and allegiances once more coalesced along confessional lines.

Growing suspicion of the policies of King Charles IX's mother, Catherine de Médicis, and Spanish intervention in the Dutch Revolt caused the Protestant leaders to attempt to seize the king at Meaux in September 1567. The subsequent rec-

ommencement of the civil war once more placed the Coligny brothers at the forefront of political and military developments. Condé's death at the battle of Jarnac in 1569 left Gaspard in sole command of the Protestant forces, and despite being defeated at Moncontour (October 1569), his more mobile cavalry army was able to elude the larger royal forces. The war ended in stalemate. On the resumption of peace in 1570, Gaspard's Guise enemies were excluded from court, and he increasingly enjoyed influence with Charles IX. However, his demand that royal policy support the Protestant cause in the Low Countries was resisted by the royal council, and it was probably Gaspard's determination to send an expeditionary force to aid his coreligionists that led Catherine de Médicis to sanction the failed Guise assassination attempt on his life (22 August 1572). Charles IX initially offered Gaspard his protection and agreed to conduct an investigation, but he was forced by his mother, Catherine, and his council to order his murder on 24 August, an act that sparked the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre.



Coligny Family. Undated portrait of Gaspard de Coligny.
THE ART ARCHIVE/UNIVERSITY LIBRARY GENEVA/DAGLI ORTI

The descendants of the Coligny brothers continued to play an important role in the Protestant cause: Gaspard's daughter Louise (1555–1620) married William of Orange in 1583; and his son, François (1557–1591), was a notable captain during the later Wars of Religion and was counselor to Henry of Navarre (Henry IV). During the seventeenth century, the various members of the family gradually reconverted to Catholicism; Gaspard III de Coligny (1584–1646) enjoyed royal favor as marshal of France (1622) before abjuring Protestantism in 1643 in return for the elevation of the marquisate of Châtillon to a duchy.

See also Catherine de Médicis; Condé Family; Dutch Revolt (1568–1648); France; Guise Family; Henry II (France); Henry IV (France); Huguenots; St. Bar-

tholomew's Day Massacre; Wars of Religion, French.

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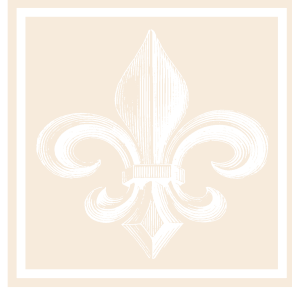
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STUART CARROLL

COLLEGES. *See* Education; Universities.



Sofonisba Anguissola. *The Artist's Sisters Playing Chess*, 1555. Lauded by Giorgio Vasari as "miraculous," Anguissola enjoyed international recognition during her lifetime and was praised in particular for the intimacy and wit of her portraits. ©Ali Meyer/Corbis



RIGHT: Architecture. San Carlo alle Quattro Fontane, 1634–1637, designed by Francesco Borromini. This church is widely regarded as the finest example of baroque architecture and incorporates a great number of Borromini's characteristic innovations, including a gracefully curving facade and a spectacular oval dome. ©NIMATALLAH/ART RESOURCE

BELOW: Architecture. A view of the Pont Neuf and the Louvre, 1680, by unknown painter of the French School. This view illustrates the dramatic presence of the palace, which was built as a medieval fortress and later greatly expanded by a succession of French monarchs who sought to create a residence that would reflect their power and dignity. The Louvre ceased to be a royal residence in 1682, when Louis XIV moved the court to the magnificent Palace of Versailles. THE ART ARCHIVE/MUSÉE CARNAVALET, PARIS/DAGLI ORTI (A)





Baroque. Detail showing Prudence and Dignity from the *Allegory of Divine Providence* by Pietro da Cortona, frescoes in the Villa Barberini, Rome. Painted on the vaulted ceiling of a two-story reception room of the villa, Cortona's mural exemplifies the baroque in its dynamism and its synthesis of religious and secular iconography. The dizzying upward motion of the fresco as a whole is only slightly suggested in this detail. ©ARALDO DE LUCA/CORBIS





BELOW: Gian Lorenzo Bernini. *Apollo and Daphne*. Bernini was the most renowned and influential Italian artist of his time, and his skill with marble is clearly demonstrated in the exquisite figures of this life-size sculpture, the last of four created for Cardinal Scipione Borghese between 1620 and 1625. THE ART ARCHIVE/GALLERIA BORGHESI ROME/DAGLI ORTI (A)

ABOVE RIGHT: Francesco Borromini. The Church of S. Agnese in Piazza Navona, Rome, completed 1666. This later work by Borromini, completed by others after his death, displays his characteristic concave facade. ©ALINARI/ART RESOURCE

BELOW RIGHT: François Boucher. *Venus Asking Vulcan for Arms for Aeneas*, 1732, in the Louvre Museum. Boucher is regarded as one of the most significant exemplars of rococo style, admired for his versatility as well as his skill. Adept at creating brilliantly colored and sensual paintings such as this, he also created tapestries, sculptures, theatrical sets and costumes, and porcelain pieces. ©ERICH LESSING/ART RESOURCE, N.Y.





OVAL: Art in Britain. *Young Man Leaning against Tree among Roses*, portrait miniature by Nicholas Hilliard. Hilliard's portrait miniatures are regarded as the most significant contribution to British visual art of the period, combining realism with outstanding lyrical beauty ©VICTORIA & ALBERT MUSEUM, LONDON/ART RESOURCE, N.Y.

LEFT: Bruegel Family. *Flowers*, by Jan Bruegel the Elder. Jan was the more successful of Pieter the Elder's two sons and is considered the finest painter of still-lives of the period. THE ART ARCHIVE/MUSÉE DES BEAUX ARTS STRASBOURG /DAGLI ORTI

BELOW: Bruegel Family. *Wedding Dance in the Open Air*, by Peter Bruegel the Elder. Bruegel is esteemed for his skillful, humorous, and realistic depictions of Flemish peasant life in the sixteenth century. His two sons, Pieter and Jan, also became accomplished painters, but neither is considered to have rivaled the skill of their father. ©FRANCIS G. MAYER/CORBIS





BELOW: Caravaggio and Caravaggism. *Death of the Virgin.* This painting demonstrates Caravaggio's innovative use of contemporary settings for biblical and classical subjects, as well as his use of a bright light entering the picture from above to suggest a divine presence. THE ART ARCHIVE/MUSÉE DU LOUVRE PARIS/DAGLI ORTI (A)

ABOVE RIGHT: Ceramics, Porcelain, and Pottery. Meissen Harlequin with jug by J. J. Kaendler, c. 1738. THE ART ARCHIVE/PRIVATE COLLECTION/EILEEN TWEEDY

BELOW RIGHT: Ceramics, Porcelain, and Pottery. Flask with Roman triumph scene, c. 1540–50, Fontana workshop, Urbino Italy. THE ART ARCHIVE/MUSÉE NATIONAL DE CÉRAMIQUES SÈVRES/DAGLI ORT





LEFT: **Charles V.** *The Emperor Charles V at the Battle of Mühlberg* by Titian. ©GIANNI DAGLI ORTI/CORBIS



BELOW: **Childhood and Childrearing.** *A Woman and Five Children*, 1642. This naturalistic family scene is generally attributed to Antoine Le Nain. It depicts a typical peasant mother and her children, with particular attention to the details of the style and condition of the children's clothing. THE ART ARCHIVE/NATIONAL GALLERY LONDON/EILEEN TWEEDY





RIGHT: François Clouet. Portrait of the pharmacist Pierre Quthe, 1562, from the Louvre, Paris. Clouet is best known for his portraits of the members of the Valois nobility, painted while he was the official court painter. This portrait of his friend differs from those in its rich draperies and subtle suggestion of depth, presaging the more sensitive works of his later years. ©SCALA/ART RESOURCE, N.Y.



BELOW: Claude Lorrain. *Sea Port with Setting Sun*, 1639. This painting is typical of Claude's subject matter of the 1630s, when he experimented with depicting the qualities of sunlight, and illustrates the skills that would make him arguably the most renowned and influential landscape painter of the Western tradition. THE ART ARCHIVE/MUSÉE DU LOUVRE PARIS/DAGLI ORTI



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USING THE ENCYCLOPEDIA

Tables of contents. Each volume contains a table of contents for the entire *Encyclopedia*. Volume 1 has a single listing of all volumes' contents. Volumes 2 through 6 contain "Contents of This Volume" followed by "Contents of Other Volumes."

Maps of Europe. The front of each volume contains a set of maps showing Europe's political divisions at six important stages from 1453 to 1795.

Alphabetical arrangement. Entries are arranged in alphabetical order. Biographical articles are generally listed by the subject's last name (with some exceptions, e.g., Leonardo da Vinci).

Royalty and foreign names. In most cases, the names of rulers of French, German, and Spanish rulers have been anglicized. Thus, Francis, not François; Charles, not Carlos. Monarchs of the same name are listed first by their country, and then numerically. Thus, Henry VII and Henry VIII of England precede Henry II of France.

Measurements appear in the English system according to United States usage, though they are often followed by metric equivalents in parentheses. Following are approximate metric equivalents for the most common units:

| | |
|-----------------|-----------------------|
| 1 foot = | 30 centimeters |
| 1 mile = | 1.6 kilometers |
| 1 acre = | 0.4 hectares |
| 1 square mile = | 2.6 square kilometers |
| 1 pound = | 0.45 kilograms |
| 1 gallon = | 3.8 liters |

Cross-references. At the end of each article is a list of related articles for further study. Readers may also consult the table of contents and the index for titles and keywords of interest.

Bibliography. Each article contains a list of sources for further reading, usually divided into Primary Sources and Secondary Sources.

Systematic outline of contents. After the last article in volume 6 is an outline that provides a general overview of the conceptual scheme of the *Encyclopedia*, listing the title of each entry.

Directory of contributors. Following the systematic outline of contents is a listing, in alphabetical order, of all contributors to the *Encyclopedia*, with affiliation and the titles of his or her article(s).

Index. Volume 6 concludes with a comprehensive, alphabetically arranged index covering all articles, as well as prominent figures, geographical names, events, institutions, publications, works of art, and all major concepts that are discussed in volumes 1 through 6.



MAPS OF EUROPE, 1453 TO 1795

The maps on the pages that follow show political boundaries within Europe at six important stages in the roughly three hundred and fifty years covered by this *Encyclopedia*: 1453, 1520, 1648, 1715, 1763, and 1795.



1520. In 1520, the Habsburg prince Charles V was elected Holy Roman emperor, uniting in his person lordship over central Europe, Spain, the Low Countries, parts of Italy, and the newly conquered Spanish territories in the Americas. For the next century, this overwhelming accumulation of territories in the hands of a single dynasty would remain the most important fact in European international politics. But in 1520 Habsburg power already faced one of its most troublesome challenges: Martin Luther's Reformation, first attracting widespread notice in 1517, would repeatedly disrupt Habsburg efforts to unify their territories.



1648. The 1648 Peace of Westphalia ended the Thirty Years' War, one of the most destructive wars in European history. The peace treaty formally acknowledged the independence of the Dutch Republic and the Swiss Confederation, and it established the practical autonomy of the German principalities—including the right to establish their own religious policies. Conversely, the Holy Roman Empire lost much of its direct power; although its institutions continued to play some role in German affairs through the eighteenth century, the emperors' power now rested overwhelmingly on the Habsburg domain lands in Austria, Bohemia, and eastern Europe.



1715. The Peace of Utrecht (1713) ended the War of the Spanish Succession, the last and most destructive of the wars of the French king Louis XIV. The treaty ended Spain's control over present-day Belgium and over parts of Italy, and it marked the end of French hegemony within Europe. In the eighteenth century, France would be only one of five leading powers.



1763. The 1763 Treaty of Paris ended the Seven Years' War, a war that involved all the major European powers and included significant campaigns in North America and southern Asia, as well as in Europe. The war made clear the arrival of Prussia as a great power, at least the equal of Austria in central and eastern Europe.



1795. By 1795, French armies had repelled an attempted invasion by Prussia, Austria, and England, and France had begun annexing territories in Belgium and western Germany. These military successes ensured the continuation of the French Revolution, but they also meant that European warfare would continue until 1815, when the modern borders of France were largely established. Warfare with France did not prevent the other European powers from conducting business as usual elsewhere: with agreements in 1793 and 1795, Prussia, Austria, and Russia completed their absorption of Poland.



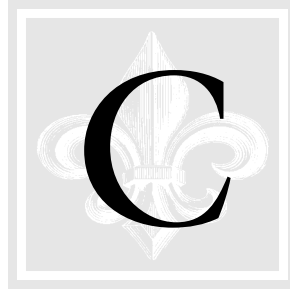
COMMON ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THIS WORK

| | | | |
|-----------|---|-------|--|
| A.D. | <i>Anno Domini</i> , in the year of the Lord | MS. | manuscript (pl. MSS.) |
| A.H. | <i>Anno Hegirae</i> , in the year of the Hegira | n.d. | no date |
| b. | born | no. | number (pl., nos.) |
| B.C. | before Christ | n.s. | new series |
| B.C.E. | before the common era (= B.C.) | N.S. | new style, according to the Gregorian calendar |
| c. | <i>circa</i> , about, approximately | O.S. | old style, according to the Julian calendar |
| C.E. | common era (= A.D.) | p. | page (pl., pp.) |
| ch. | chapter | rev. | revised |
| d. | died | S. | <i>san, sanctus, santo</i> , male saint |
| ed. | editor (pl., eds.), edition | SS. | saints |
| e.g. | <i>exempli gratia</i> , for example | Sta. | <i>sancta, santa</i> , female saint |
| et al. | <i>et alii</i> , and others | supp. | supplement |
| etc. | <i>et cetera</i> , and so forth | vol. | volume |
| exh. cat. | exhibition catalogue | ? | uncertain, possibly, perhaps |
| fl. | <i>floruit</i> , flourished | | |
| i.e. | <i>id est</i> , that is | | |

EUROPE

1450 TO 1789

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF THE EARLY MODERN WORLD



(CONTINUED)

COLOGNE. The city of Cologne (German Köln), recognized by Emperor Frederick III as an imperial free city in 1475, was an important center of trade, manufacturing, intellectual life, and religious life. Cologne, the largest of the imperial cities in early modern Germany, probably had a population between 35,000 and 40,000 people in the sixteenth century. The population declined in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries and recovered at the end of the eighteenth century.

The city's location on the left bank of the Rhine made it a center of trade, and it benefited by requiring Rhine shippers to offer goods for sale before they could pass through the city. Taxes on trade goods were a major source of income. Textile manufacturing was Cologne's most important industry, and the city was home to three women's textile guilds (yarn makers, silk makers, and gold spinners) as well as the more common men's craft organizations. Cologne also became an important printing center in the sixteenth century.

Cologne's political structure was established in 1396, when twenty-two political corporations (*Gaffeln*) agreed on a new constitution (*Verbundbrief*). The corporations elected representatives to the council, and two mayors were elected for staggered terms. This constitutional system, as formally amended in 1513, remained in effect until the French occupation of Cologne in 1794.

The relationship between the civic government and the power of the archbishop of Cologne was strained. The archbishop's residence was outside

the city, but archbishops always sought to assert authority over the city. While the city council maintained political authority, some elements of legal jurisdiction were shared between civic courts and archiepiscopal courts.

There were uprisings in Cologne in 1513 and 1525. The city adopted reforms, and reaffirmed its governmental structure. In 1513, dissatisfaction with the government's attempt to control the *Gaffeln* erupted into rebellion when city officials tried to arrest a member of the stonemasons' *Gaffel*, who had taken refuge in the convent church of St. Maria im Kapitol. Representatives of the *Gaffeln* united to reaffirm their rights. They elected a new city council, condemned corrupt city councillors, and arrested and executed the two mayors. The new council reaffirmed the constitution of 1396 (*Verbundbrief*) by attaching a new sworn document (the *Transfixbrief*), which reaffirmed the principles of the 1396 constitution. The new council of 1513 also reaffirmed the importance of the *Gaffeln* and condemned civic corruption.

While scholars disagree about whether the uprising of 1525 was influenced by the teachings of Luther, city officials in 1525 believed that the uprising that broke out in Cologne was directly related to the unrest in southern Germany. The uprising had a distinctly local cast, as rebels claimed their rights under the 1396 constitution and the 1513 *Transfixbrief*. The articles of the Cologne rebels included demands for both economic and religious reforms. The city government defused the uprising by agreeing in principle with almost everything the

rebels demanded, and by referring some of the religious demands to the archbishop. The city's 1525 decision to extend protection to the clergy in return for payment of taxes perhaps prevented anticlerical unrest during the sixteenth century.

During the Reformation, Cologne remained steadfastly Catholic, in spite of the efforts of two archbishops who had become Lutherans, Hermann von Wied (deposed 1546) and Gebhard Truchsess von Waldburg (deposed 1583), to impose Protestantism on the city. The city's nineteen parish churches, along with other churches, chapels, and religious foundations provided a wealth of religious resources. The cathedral housed the relics of the three Magi, and there were many confraternities and voluntary religious associations. The University of Cologne had a relatively conservative faculty, which publicly burned Luther's works in 1520. Recent scholarship suggests that there was also a significant humanist presence at the University of Cologne. The influence of the university extended to the city's parishes because university positions often carried associated prebends in parish churches.

Cologne was a stronghold of the Catholic reform movement. The Jesuits, under Peter Canisius, established a house in Cologne in 1543, and the Carthusian cloister also served as a center of Catholic reform.

In spite of the government's efforts to maintain religious purity, refugees from the Netherlands moved to Cologne, and the late sixteenth century saw the establishment of an illegal but permanent Protestant community. Protestants did not gain full civil rights until 1797. In 1632, Swedish troops occupied the city of Deutz, across the Rhine, but aside from bombarding Deutz, Cologne did not participate actively in the Thirty Years' War or suffer significant damage. During the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it suffered more seriously from repeated outbreaks of plague and a general decline in economic condition. The city was occupied by French Revolutionary armies in 1794.

See also **Frederick III (Holy Roman Empire); Free and Imperial Cities; Peasants' War, German.**

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COLONIAL MISSIONS. See **Missions and Missionaries.**

COLONIALISM. European powers and persons representing them undertook a vast program of overseas colonization extending throughout the early modern period, which had the effects of energizing a world economy by encompassing the New World within it and of stimulating a massive emigration of Europeans.

THE ATLANTIC ISLANDS

In the course of the fifteenth century, the Portuguese and the Spaniards discovered, conquered, colonized, and administered a series of island possessions that became early experiments in imperialism. In the 1480s and 1490s, the Spanish crown conquered Gran Canaria, Tenerife, and La Palma, the richest of the seven Canary Islands. The administrative apparatus set up to govern the colony anticipated aspects of the administration of the future empire. First there was a survey and apportionment of land in a *repartimiento*; there was no dividing up of natives—the form that *repartimiento* later took in the New World. Each island was considered a municipality, administered by a *cabildo*, or 'city council'. The islands were settled by soldiers and by immigrants from Castile and Andalusia, many of them single men who married indigenous women. The economy of the Canaries in the sixteenth century was based on sugar, a monoculture.

The Portuguese had a papal grant to settle Madeira, an uninhabited island, in 1425. Its prosperity after the middle years of the fifteenth century

was based on the production of sugar, wheat, and wine good enough to be exported. Henry the Navigator (1394–1460) was authorized to settle the Azores in 1439, by which time the Portuguese had already placed sheep on several islands to provide food for passing ships. By the end of the 1440s, the island of Santa Maria was already exporting wheat to Portugal. The colonization of the central and western isles took longer. Foreigners, particularly Flemings, were recruited to settle there in the 1460s and 1470s. Pico, one of the westernmost islands, became a leading wine producer and was important in the three-cornered trade with North America and the West Indies of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the key products of which were New England barrel staves, Caribbean molasses, and Atlantic Island wine.

Italians in the service of the Portuguese crown sailing off West Africa discovered the arid Cape Verde islands. The Portuguese established a plantation and pastoral economy run by slaves from Africa and a small group of white colonists as landlords, merchants, and civil and church officials. After the discovery of the New World, the Portuguese islands served as nodal points in the great web of interoceanic shipping routes that soon developed.

SPANISH COLONIZATION

The Spaniards' strategy of colonization in the New World was to found cities: They founded 190 towns and cities by 1620. These were built uniformly on a Roman grid plan. They were self-governing entities governed by *cabildos*, had scant commercial functions, were populated by plantation owners and an Indian underclass, and had no industry to speak of. The most important cities were viceregal capitals such as Mexico and Lima. In 1630, 58 percent of the Spanish population of the Audiencia of New Spain lived in Mexico City, and 55 percent of the population of the Audiencia of Lima lived in Lima City. Exploration and settlement of the interior regions were organized from viceregal capitals such as Mexico, Lima, and Bogotá. The Spanish New World colonies were hypercentralized because the crown ruled the territories directly and created appropriate institutions of control, issuing some 400,000 decrees pertaining to American colonial affairs between 1492 and 1635, or around 2,500 annually. In an administrative sense, they were not

colonies but kingdoms; hence they were governed by viceroys.

This urban colonial network required large numbers of settlers. A total of at least 150,000 persons moved from Spain to America before 1550. Throughout the sixteenth century, between 250,000 and 300,000 Spaniards emigrated. The Amerindians were forced, through the *repartimiento* system, to work in enterprises (either farming or mining) called *encomiendas*, feudal estates that were inheritable. Africans came as slaves, first from Europe, then, by the mid-1550s, imported directly from Africa for service on sugar plantations or in the mines.

Spanish colonization efforts in Asia centered upon Manila, the center both of trade with China and Japan and of the effort to Christianize the Filipinos. Evangelization was made easier by the political decentralization of Philippine society, which made armed resistance to Spain all but impossible. The Spanish colonists, a few thousand people in the seventeenth century, lived off the Manila galleon trade and left the direction of the country mainly to missionaries and a few bureaucrats.

PORTUGUESE COLONIZATION

The most striking aspect of the Portuguese seaborne empire was its extreme dispersion in chains of forts along various continental coastlines and islands. By the time of Prince Henry's death in 1460, the Portuguese had reached Sierra Leone, which was 1,500 miles down the west African coast. There they established fortified trading posts, *feitorias*, close to the sea, guarded by caravels bearing canons. This style of settlement, which the Portuguese later introduced into Asia, required few settlers and was designed to facilitate trade.

Brazil was settled in the sixteenth century (after 1530) by a mixed feudal-commercial system wherein coastal lands were placed under the control of hereditary proprietors. Settlers were taken there and introduced cattle raising and sugar cultivation. Sugar was the ideal crop for coastal Brazil, which had quick access to Europe and the capacity to outprice the Atlantic islands. Thousands of Portuguese arrived as settlers, attracted by quick money in the sugar industry. When the Amerindians of the coast, who had been conscripted to work on sugar plantations, perished, they were replaced by African

slaves who were already resistant to most Old World diseases.

The Portuguese crown began to take back governance of Brazil from the hereditary landholders as early as 1549, when it reacquired the Bahia captaincy and named a governor general. Settlements were widely dispersed, with a Portuguese population of only 30,000 in 1600, scattered among fourteen captaincies along 4,000 miles of coastline.

The Portuguese empire in Asia was established between 1509 and 1515 by capturing the sea passages leading to and from the Indian Ocean. Goa, on the Malabar coast of India, was the main naval base, followed in importance by Macão, off the Chinese mainland near Canton. The Portuguese empire in Asia was tiny in extent, consisting of only a few strategic islands and coastal trading posts that controlled most Asian trade routes. The territory of a trading post was negotiated with local authorities to achieve a form of colonization, but one of a purely commercial nature. The Portuguese settled near the centers of production and markets and at the intersection of trade routes, taking advantage of trading networks already established before their arrival. This system could run efficiently with few settlers, who did not require an infrastructure of public services, and it left local trade in the hands of the indigenous communities. The majority of Portuguese settlers in Asia were soldiers, while the Spanish empire, after the conquests of Mexico and Peru, was by and large a civilian empire.

COLONIES IN THE CARIBBEAN

Europeans of different origins established colonies of different styles. Spanish settlements in Cuba, Puerto Rico, and Santo Domingo were based on ranching, mining, and, in the seventeenth century, sugar. The English and French established plantations on their islands to produce labor-intensive crops like sugarcane, worked by indentured servants and, later, African slaves. The Dutch established trading posts, such as Curaçao. In 1600, all New World settlements were still Spanish. The English and French begin to colonize in the first quarter of the seventeenth century in part because the Dutch Navy in the Caribbean protected them from the Spanish. At the same time, the British began to colonize the outer islands, starting with St. Kitts and Barbados, which served as bases for further expan-

sion. The French then established a *Compagnie des Isles d'Amérique* and settled Martinique and Guadeloupe in 1635. It was easy (both for French and English settlers) to obtain grants because the islands were thought fairly worthless before sugar was introduced. In the first phase of settlement, tobacco and cotton were the main crops.

BRITISH COLONIZATION

British colonial development in the New World was focused both on the Caribbean and the North American mainland. The disinterest of the English government in direct management of the colonies was matched by the penchant of settlers in the thirteen colonies for self-government, inasmuch as distaste for central authority had played an important role in their decision to emigrate. The economic life of the colonies was differentiated early on, with plantations in the south, which grew cereals, cotton, and, later, tobacco, and a more varied economy in the north, characterized in New England by commercial shipping, fishing, and timber. In the eighteenth century, large numbers of immigrants, first from Germany and later from Ireland, were attracted by the prosperity of the British colonies, only to submit to the lure of the frontier once they had arrived.

The British had a colonial stake in Asia since the formation in 1600 of the East India Company, a trading organization whose business grew steadily at the expense of the Portuguese. In the eighteenth century the company had its own army; its rapacious rule in Bengal stimulated Parliament to appoint a governor general in 1773. Over the next half century the British steadily occupied the whole of India, but the company continued in an administrative capacity until it was finally dissolved in 1858.

FRENCH COLONIZATION

In 1534, Jacques Cartier (1491–1557) established a fort on the site of what is now Quebec City. The French settled Acadia in 1604 and Quebec in 1608. The entire early French enterprise in Canada was based on a single product: fur. Beaver pelts, the best material for hat felt, could not be found in France, were light in weight, had a high value relative to bulk, and were easily transported. Quebec was organized along feudal lines, divided into huge rural estates, or *seigneuries*, many of which persisted after the British absorbed the colony in 1763. Further

south the French established plantations along the Mississippi River in Louisiana, a colony that prospered from the late seventeenth century (with an interval of Spanish rule) until the Louisiana Purchase in 1803. A number of French efforts to establish trading colonies in Brazil (Fort Coligny/Rio de Janeiro in 1555–1560, Ibiapaba in 1590–1604, and São Luis do Maranhão in 1612–1615) were all squelched by Portugal.

DUTCH COLONIZATION

Dutch expansion was slow, steady, and on the whole peaceful. The Dutch East India Company, chartered in 1602, acted like a state within a state and imposed sole control over Holland's Asian interests. The first solid Dutch base was obtained in 1605 with the capture of the Portuguese fortress at Amboyna in the Moluccas. In 1619, the Dutch founded the city of Batavia (now Jakarta, on Java), which became the center of Dutch power in Asia. The Dutch also acquired a series of factories on the Indian coast and in 1638 a foothold in Ceylon, which they called the "Cinnamon Isle." By 1661 the Dutch were effectively in control of the entire island. The Dutch empire, like the Portuguese one it largely replaced, was protected by its very size and the way it was scattered all over the map.

Between 1624 and 1664 the Dutch established a colony in the Hudson Valley, called Nieuw Netherlands, with its capital at Nieuw Amsterdam, on Manhattan island; it was a shipping and farming colony whose total population reached 10,000 persons. In 1657, the Dutch established Cape Colony at the southern tip of Africa, to protect its seas lanes to Asia. It was a tiny colony, reaching a population of 15,000 only in the eighteenth century. Less successful was the colony of New Sweden along the South River in Delaware, which had been established by a joint stock company in 1632 and was overrun by the Dutch in the early 1650s. In 1624, the Dutch Company temporarily acquired a huge empire in the Brazilian "bulge" when they captured Bahia, which they held for thirty years.

A COMPARATIVE OVERVIEW

In comparative perspective, British and Dutch empires were decentralized and heavily privatized. Companies were the preferred form of colonization. The Spanish empire, whose colonial administration was highly centralized, was just the opposite. The

Portuguese liked the centralization model but lacked the administrative infrastructure to overcome the problems created by distance (Asia) and scale (Brazil). The French were unsuccessful for political reasons and because of the weakness of their navy compared to those of the English and Dutch. Where possible, they established plantations (Louisiana, the Caribbean) or feudal-like domains (the Quebec *seigneuries*). They were out-manuevered in North America and lost the richest of their Caribbean islands, Saint Domingue (now Haiti), to a revolution. In economic terms the Spanish colonies constituted a kind of experiment in mercantilism whereby colonies were to become productive entities that trade with the motherland. The Portuguese and Dutch colonies were purely economic outposts, with only a few exceptions like Brazil or the Cape Colony. The southern colonies of the future United States were, in their inception, plantation economies organized by companies; the northern colonies were increasingly drawn into commercial shipping networks of the New World economy.

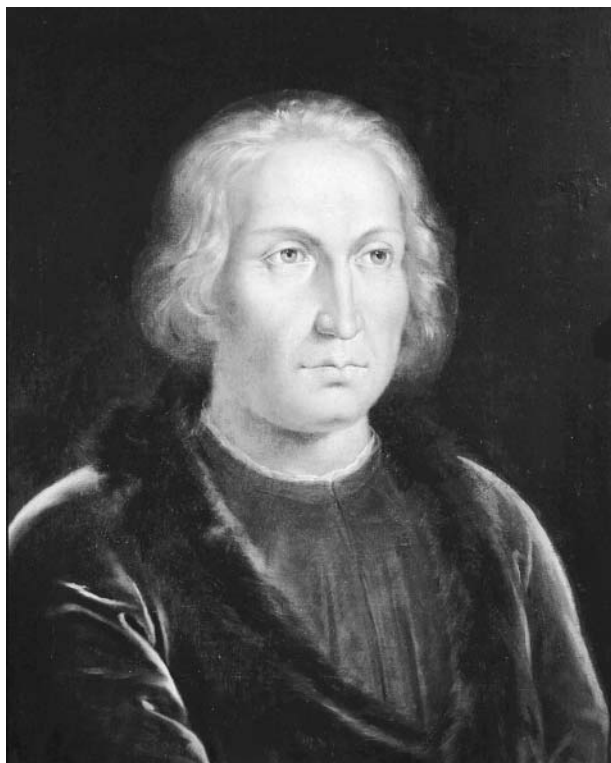
See also **British Colonies; Columbus, Christopher; Dutch Colonies; Europe and the World; French Colonies; Magellan, Ferdinand; Missions and Missionaries; Portuguese Colonies; Spanish Colonies; Sugar; Tobacco; Trading Companies.**

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COLUMBUS, CHRISTOPHER (Cristofor Colombo, 1451–1506), explorer. Born in the Italian republic of Genoa, Columbus acted as a mariner in the Mediterranean and joined the Italian merchant colony in Lisbon in the 1470s. From Portugal, he sailed north to England, Ireland, and possibly Iceland. He also visited Madeira and the Canary Islands and sailed down the African coast to São Jorge da Mina. By his marriage to Felipa



Christopher Columbus. Portrait by an unknown artist. THE ART ARCHIVE/NAVAL MUSEUM MADRID/DAGLI ORTI (A)

Perestrello e Moniz, member of an Italian-Portuguese noble family, he gained access to the Portuguese and Castilian royal courts.

Columbus became convinced that Asia could be reached by sailing west from Europe, based on rumors of undiscovered islands in the Atlantic, unusual objects found on Atlantic shores, and a wide reading of geography and other sources. He believed that the Earth's circumference was smaller than it is and that Asia would not be too far west from Europe.

After failing to interest the Portuguese king John II in his scheme for a westward passage to Asia, Columbus went to Spain. The Spanish monarchs, Isabella and Ferdinand, assigned experts to investigate the feasibility of a westward voyage. They disputed Columbus's flawed geography, but the spherical shape of the world was never in question. In early 1492, the monarchs, disregarding the skepticism of their experts, agreed to help support Columbus's first voyage at a modest financial risk. They promised to grant him noble status and the titles of

admiral, viceroy, and governor-general for any lands he might discover.

With the support of the prominent mariner Martín Alonso Pinzón, Columbus outfitted three vessels for the voyage: the *Niña*, *Pinta*, and *Mariagalante* (*Santa María*). Leaving in early August of 1492, the fleet sailed first to the Canary Islands and then headed westward with following winds. Columbus and the other pilots in the fleet navigated by dead reckoning, estimating direction by compass, time by sand clock, and speed by eye and feel to plot their course and position.

Early on 12 October the fleet dropped anchor at an island that Columbus renamed San Salvador. Believing they were in Asia, the crew called the natives "Indians." Shortly thereafter, Martín Alonso Pinzón took the *Pinta* and sailed off to explore and trade on his own. Columbus visited Cuba, vainly seeking the vast commerce and rich ports of Asia, and then sailed to the island he named Hispaniola and explored its northern coast. After the *Mariagalante* ran aground and wrecked, Columbus founded a settlement for the thirty-nine men he left behind. After Pinzón returned, the *Niña* and *Pinta* set sail for Spain, with seven captured Indians aboard.

Columbus made three other voyages to the Caribbean islands and the mainland of Central and South America. During the second and third he was required to act as a colonial administrator as well as an explorer; his limited administrative skills contributed to growing chaos. A royal investigator arrested Columbus and sent him back to Spain, thus ending his third voyage. The Spanish monarchs allowed him to keep his property, but his titles were thereafter devoid of authority, as the monarchs established a new colonial administration.

On his fourth and final voyage, Columbus mainly explored the coast of Central America, where he encountered fierce local resistance. Turning back, he grounded his two remaining worn-out vessels on the Jamaican coast and spent a miserable year before being rescued. Broken in health, he arrived in Spain on 7 November 1504.

Columbus made every effort to have all his grants and titles restored. Even without them, he was a wealthy man, but he felt betrayed and slighted by his royal patrons. For their part, the Spanish

sovereigns justified their withdrawal of support by citing Columbus's mismanagement. Surrounded by family and friends, Columbus died in 1506, rich but dissatisfied. As a man of his time, Columbus was strongly influenced by contemporary norms and beliefs about commerce, religion, and science. Deeply religious, he hoped to supply funds to recapture Jerusalem from the Muslims, in fulfillment of Christian crusading ideas and millenarian prophecies. At the same time, he was a shrewd businessman and used geographical and scientific works in newly available printed editions, making scientific observations of sea and wind and flora and fauna. He attempted to calculate longitude, noted the difference between true and magnetic north, and accurately predicted a lunar eclipse. Instead of finding a new route to Asia, Columbus made the lands and peoples of the Western Hemisphere known to Europeans and set in motion a chain of events that engendered today's close connections among all the world's societies.

See also Cartography and Geography; Colonialism; Europe and the World; Exploration; Shipbuilding and Navigation; Spanish Colonies: The Caribbean.

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COMENIUS, JAN AMOS (Jan Ámos Komenský; 1592–1670), Czech theologian, educator, and encyclopedic philosopher. Comenius's influence on later centuries is even greater than it was during his lifetime. He was born in Moravia, and would later describe himself as “from Nivnice” as well as “from Uherský Brod.” He was taught by the Community of Brethren, acquiring both an excellent knowledge of Latin and powerful protectors. Destined to serve in the clergy of the Brethren, he

was sent to complete his education at Herborn and Heidelberg. He returned to Moravia in 1614, was ordained a pastor in 1616, and promoted to head teacher of the school at Fulnek in 1618. In the Bohemian crisis of that year, Comenius sided with the confederate estates and, with the disastrous defeat of their forces two years later, was forced to take shelter while his wife and two sons died of plague and his books were publicly burned in the town square of Fulnek in May 1623. Comenius's early works from this period have only partially survived. Among them is *The Labyrinth of the World and the Paradise of the Heart* (*Labyrint světa a ráj srdce*), a masterpiece of Czech literature that centered on the gulf between human folly and capacity for good.

In the late 1620s and 1630s, now based at Leszno in Poland and a Senior of the Brethren, Comenius completed the Czech version of the *Didactics*, his first important vision of a universal educational system, one that drew on the innate interest of the learner through innovative textbooks, games, and interactive learning. His textbooks turned out to be his greatest success. That on the teaching of Latin (the *Janua linguarum reserata* [Gateway of languages opened]) abandoned memorization of texts in favor of a direct explanation of vocabulary drawing on daily life. This was followed by an even more elementary textbook for the beginner, first published in 1633, the *Vestibulum linguarum* (Antechamber of languages). These regularly reprinted works earned Comenius his wider reputation. Behind these publications lay a bigger project for a *Janua rerum* (Gateway of things), an encyclopedia of the physical world intended to unite our understanding of the physical world with that of God. Comenius termed this project *pansophia* (“pansophy”), and a sketch of his ideas that he sent to a correspondent in England, Samuel Hartlib, was published there in 1637.

This publication resulted in an eight-month visit to London in 1641–1642. There, he outlined the reform of society through a process of learning that he described by means of the metaphor of light in *Via lucis* (The way of light). But, unable to pursue his studies in the midst of the Civil War, he left for the Netherlands and eventually settled in Elblag, then part of the newly acquired Swedish empire, and refined his method of language instruction. It was during this period that he began to write

his most ambitious work, *De rerum humanarum emendatione consultatio catholica* (General discourse on the emendation of human affairs, or *Consultatio*).

The decade from 1648 to 1658 was a sequence of personal defeats and catastrophes for Comenius that he interpreted in an increasingly millennial light. It was accompanied by a stream of writings. The pictorial version of his language-teaching method, the *Orbis sensualium pictus* (The world in pictures)—written in Sárospatak but only finally published in Nuremberg in 1658—was one of his most enduring and successful legacies.

Comenius eventually retired to Amsterdam and spent the last fourteen years of his life under the protection of the de Geer family. His productivity in these last years was remarkable. He published a compendium of his educational writings and set about rewriting the *Consultatio*, the first two volumes of which were printed in his lifetime. In the preface, Comenius addressed himself to the Republic of Letters of his day, seeking a profound reform of the organization of human affairs through a right philosophy, religion, and method that would produce harmony and enlightenment rather than division and chaos. The remainder of the work remained in manuscript and was only rediscovered in 1935, a remarkable testimony to the complex, universalist tendencies of Renaissance thought that had survived the Reformation.

See also **Czech Literature and Language; Education; Hartlib, Samuel; Moravian Brethren; Renaissance; Republic of Letters.**

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MARK GREENGRASS

COMMEDIA DELL'ARTE. *Commedia dell'arte* is a term applied to both the early Italian commercial theater in general and to a format institutionalized by sixteenth-century professional actors' improvisations on a three-act scenario. The scenarios were constructed from a repertoire of plot types and movable parts (theatergrams) drawn primarily from novellas and scripted "erudite" comedies, set in contemporary city squares and representing love stories complicated by mistakes, deceptions, parental opposition, and family separations.

In addition to singing and dancing, the players could counterfeit regional dialects and double in several roles while specializing in one of them. A standard troupe would include two pairs of lovers speaking Tuscan; several masked characters, including the old Venetian merchant Pantalone, the Bolognese Doctor Gratiano, at least two zanyes, such as



Commedia dell'Arte. An eighteenth-century engraving of commedia dell'arte actors on stage. The central pair are the Lovers, flanked by comic characters, or *zanni*. ©BETTMANN/CORBIS

Bergamask Arlecchino, Fritellino, or later Neapolitan Pulcinella, Scaramuccia, and their like; boastful captains with bellicose names, such as Rodomonte, Spavento, or Matamoros; and a couple of maidservants. Innkeepers, Germans, gypsies, Turks, magicians, peddlers, and other occasional roles were added according to plot.

The first documented actors' troupe-for-hire was formed in Padua in 1545; by 1560 companies included women, and in the early 1570s several were touring abroad. Among the constantly merging prominent troupes were the Gelosi, the Desiosi, the Fedeli, the Confidenti, and the Uniti, at different times featuring leading performers of the day, the Andreini and Martinelli families, Diana Ponti, Vittoria Piissimi, and Flaminio Scala.

The professional troupes and their improvising style influenced the development of Italian drama and established a symbiosis with literary drama: the actors also memorized and performed five-act

erudite comedies, tragedies, and pastoral plays, from which they borrowed for scenarios on which to improvise. Sometimes they even wrote in this format, while many literary dramatists enlivened their own works by drawing upon the commedia dell'arte's stock types, theatricality, movement, stage business, and gags, both verbal and visual.

The most successful players gained high patronage in Italian and related European academic and court circles, often traveling to France, Spain, and England in the late sixteenth century. For nearly two hundred years thereafter the commedia dell'arte in various permutations was a vital theatrical force throughout Europe. Its presence in France from the 1570s on constituted a significant chapter in French theater history. Visits to the royal court in Paris were followed by the establishment of the Comédie-Italienne and, after its suppression in 1697, by a revival in 1716 by Luigi Riccoboni. The Italian companies influenced Molière (1622–1673) and eventually Marivaux (1688–1763), nurtured

French versions of stock roles like Mezzetin, Scaramouche, or Scapin and Gallic additions, from Turlupin and Captain Fracasse to Pierrot and Pierrette, as well as leaving a memory in Watteau's painting.

Long sojourns in Madrid not only influenced Lope de Vega (1562–1635), but also made the commedia dell'arte a primary transmitter of Spanish drama to Italy through adaptations and translations of Calderón and other Golden Age dramatists. The connection with England has been harder to document, but scrutiny of Shakespeare's theatrical practice and associations reveals his savvy awareness of Italian theater technology in general and of the professional players in particular.

In the mid-seventeenth century, the first two creative generations of the commedia dell'arte—represented by Francesco, Isabella, and G. B. Andreini, P. M. Cecchini, and Niccolo Barbieri—were replaced by a less versatile, bureaucratized profession. The troupes, which employed an increasingly fixed repertoire of masks and farcical plots, became dependent on the market economy of theater-owners and impresarios. The popularity of the commedia dell'arte continued to grow, however, and its characters and style prospered everywhere, with especial brilliance in Naples and Venice, and were imitated by cultivated amateurs in private theatricals.

In the course of the eighteenth century, the commedia dell'arte was widely perceived to have hardened into clichés and, despite the imaginative continuation of Carlo Gozzi, it declined as Carlo Goldoni's reforms moved the Italian theater toward realism.

By the nineteenth century the commedia dell'arte had become a vestigial element in opera and a subject for romanticizing scholarship.

See also Calderón de la Barca, Pedro; Drama: Italian; Goldini, Carlo; Humor; Molière (Jean-Baptiste Poquelin); Opera; Popular Culture; Shakespeare, William; Vega, Lope de.

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LOUISE GEORGE CLUBB

COMMERCE AND MARKETS.

“Commerce” refers primarily to the exchange of the products of nature or art, that is, of merchandise, through buying and selling. This activity of exchange takes place in “markets”—“not any particular market place in which things are bought and sold, but the whole of any region in which buyers and sellers are in such free intercourse with one another that the prices of the same goods tend to equality easily and quickly” (Marshall). If the defining characteristic of these more abstract markets—as opposed to marketplaces—is a tendency for the same price to be paid for the same good at the same time in all parts of the market, then some scholars would argue that markets have existed in Europe since at least the twelfth century C.E. Early modern Europe witnessed an extension and intensification of commerce and markets to the point that a worldwide system emerged from which fewer and fewer people were excluded.

The “exchange of the products of nature or art” is probably as old as human civilization, dating at least from the time of the first settled communities, when it became necessary somehow to link the production and consumption of a wide variety of goods. The ancient Greeks made use of an exchange of gifts between households or communities with dissimilar resources to expand consumption and promote specialization. Yet, gift-giving relied on a sense of reciprocity in which social honor resided in giving and a social burden attached to receiving. Herodotus (c. 484—between 430 and 420 B.C.E.) observed that the Persians had no marketplaces but rather a vast system of tribute payments, which imperial authorities collected and redistributed. The same may have applied to wide regions of early medieval Europe, where dues paid in kind to feudal or manorial lords fueled production and consumption. What separates commerce and markets from

these other systems of exchange is that goods and services are traded not out of a sense of social prestige or political duty but rather in pursuit of economic profit.

The origins of markets are usually located in trade fairs. These temporary markets, held at regular intervals and fixed locations, brought buyers and sellers together to exchange goods, demonstrate crafts, and trade ideas. Fixtures of the Roman Empire, they survived its collapse to gain new prominence under the Carolingians (seventh to tenth centuries), and grew where trade routes crossed or people congregated, providing a crucible for the refinement of business practice and law. The fair at Saint-Denis, near Paris, had achieved international importance by the seventh century C.E., but it was joined and eventually surpassed over time by others: the Easter fairs at Cologne in the eleventh century, the great fairs of Champagne in the twelfth century, the fall fairs at Frankfurt am Main in the fifteenth century, and the fairs at Leipzig in the seventeenth century. In addition to these great international fairs, where products from all over Europe as well as Asia, Africa, and, eventually, America might be inspected and traded, there were regional markets of great importance, such as those of Lyon in France, Geneva in Switzerland, and Stourbridge in England. Every town and city in Europe held weekly or yearly fairs, where local producers brought surplus or cash crops to sell or barter for the needs they could not satisfy at home. As towns and cities grew to the point that the demands of their populations required daily markets, as transportation was organized and improved to the point that supplies became more regular and varied, and as commerce itself evolved toward increased standardization of goods, quality, and prices, fairs became less important. Ironically, specialty fairs, known as trade or industrial fairs, breast this tide to become more important over time as a means of stimulating demand and consumption for new products and technologies.

TRADE CIRCUITS AND POLES

Fairs and markets tended to grow where goods flowed and people gathered—at the junctions of established trade routes or near the walls of great cities. When goods traveled, they increased in price the farther they went; the obstacles presented by the transportation system were always expensive and in-

flexible. Thus, all commodities moved the least distance possible between one point of sale and the next, and all commodities, but especially those of greater weight and less value, such as grain or lumber, traveled most expeditiously by water. It is not surprising that routes tended to be dictated by geography, given the relatively primitive means of transportation. Only luxury goods assured profits that could bear the relatively high cost of long-distance overland transport. Coasts and rivers were favored, therefore, and valleys, plains, and passes served as needed. In the Carolingian Empire, the most heavily used routes ran along the coasts of the Mediterranean, North, and Baltic Seas as well as the Atlantic Ocean and along the courses of the Rhone and Marne, Rhine and Danube, and Dnieper and Volga Rivers. Such overland routes as existed—the road from Pavia north over the Alps to the Rhine or the one from Mainz east through the central forests to Prague—were less heavily traveled. All this changed with the slow growth of cities and the intensification of commerce. By the sixteenth century a relatively dense network of interlocking local, regional, and international routes had arisen to supplement those in use for centuries.

Augsburg, for example, was certainly one of the premier industrial, commercial, and financial centers of the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Like the other great market centers of Europe, it stood at a confluence of ways. Its advantage resided partially in the essential role its magistrates and merchants could play in the expedition of goods along north-south and east-west axes. Bulk commodities reached it via the Lech River—a relatively modest waterway but still sufficient to transport a great city's grain and lumber—which flowed north from the city until it joined the Danube. Past the city's walls and gates ran several important routes linking Prague and Vienna with Lyon, Paris, and Seville and, even more important, linking Venice with Antwerp. The ancient salt highway ran from Salzburg via Munich. Augsburg's merchants regularly traveled the roads south, to Innsbruck via the Brenner Pass to the mining fields around Merano, Bolzano, and Trent, to Verona, and finally east to the great entrepôt of Venice. Another route followed the Roman Via Claudia through Upper Swabia and its imperial cities of Memmingen, Kempten, and Lindau on Lake Constance, thence to St. Gall and



Commerce and Markets. Sixteenth-century painting of a town market by Hendrik van Steenwyk. THE ART ARCHIVE/MUSÉE GRANET AIX-EN-PROVENCE/DAGLI ORTI

Chur in the Swiss Confederation, and via the St. Bernhard Pass to Lugano and the great manufacturing metropolis of Milan. Trade with France and Spain took a western road via Ulm, Constance, Zurich, Bern, Lausanne, and Geneva to arrive at the great fairs of Lyon, a center for German merchants trading with colleagues in France. From Lausanne, a route ran north to Dijon and Troyes in Burgundy and onward to Paris. From Lyon, the Rhone River Valley provided a convenient highway south to Marseilles, the Mediterranean, and Spain.

To reach the other great entrepôt of the sixteenth century, Antwerp, merchants and merchandise started north or west from Augsburg, traveling to Donauwörth or Ulm and thence to Nuremberg and Würzburg or to the Rhenish cities of Speyer, Worms, and Mainz respectively. Both routes then headed to Frankfurt with its important fall fairs and onward via Cologne to Maastricht and Antwerp. From Nuremberg, via the northward route, two branches increased in importance over the course of the early modern period. A route from Prague across the Bohemian Plain to Nuremberg and south provided cattle for the butchers and tanners of

Augsburg, and a route from Leipzig in Saxony, through the metallurgical centers of Freiberg, Schneeberg, and Zwickau, and south via Nuremberg kept the merchant financiers of Augsburg in close touch with their mining interests. This bewildering complex of highways and stopovers was typical of any major market, whether Augsburg, Lyon, or Milan. Yet, it was far from stable. As the economy evolved between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries, the relative importance of these routes and the markets they served, measured in terms of the volume and value of commerce that flowed along and among them, shifted.

The relative weight of commerce and markets shifted away from those routes that had served the principal Mediterranean ports—Barcelona, Marseilles, Genoa and, above all, Venice—since the Middle Ages and toward those connected to the Atlantic Ocean and the growing volume of global trade—Seville, Amsterdam and, ultimately, London. Initially, overland routes from Venice across the Alps to Antwerp and to the Hanseatic cities of Bremen, Hamburg, and Lübeck connected the main commercial poles of Europe. Along these cir-

cuits, goods from Italy and the east flowed north: luxuries, such as silks, spices, and gems; essentials, such as cotton, alum, and dyestuffs; and manufactured goods, such as cotton cloth, glass wares, and metal goods. Merchants in Venice gathered these commodities from Italian markets but also from an overseas circuit that extended east into the Mediterranean, connecting the Levantine ports of Tripoli, Acre, and Jaffa with Famagusta in Cyprus, Candia on Crete, Istanbul and Caffa on the Black Sea, Bari and Ragusa on the Adriatic Coast, and, finally, Venice at its head. Against the northward stream bulk items flowed south from Scandinavia, Poland, and Russia—grain, timber, iron, and furs—carried by Hanseatic merchants from a connecting circuit that extended from the North Sea through the Jutland Straits to the Baltic ports of Copenhagen, Gdańsk (Danzig), and Riga. From Antwerp came textiles: the “new draperies,” brought from England and the Low Countries. This admittedly over-simplified summation—it ignores, for example, the circuit that connected that commercial colossus Genoa to the North African ports of Tunis and Ceuta, across the Gulf of Lion to Marseilles and Barcelona or along the Ligurian and Tyrrhenian Coasts of Italy to Pisa, Naples, and Messina—must, finally, include the annual arrival in Antwerp of the Portuguese spice ships from South and Southeast Asia via Lisbon. From the late fifteenth until the late sixteenth century, the disembarkation of pepper in Lisbon and Antwerp marked the economic calendar for all of Europe. It stimulated the flow of capital and set the pace for the commodity exchange throughout the continent. It allowed debts to be paid and enterprises to be undertaken; in short, it set the financial, industrial, and commercial wheels of Europe in motion.

THE EMERGENCE AND EFFECTS OF OVERSEAS COMMERCE

The spice ships mark a development that altered the commercial activities of Europe. One must be careful not to overstate the rise of the Atlantic economies; Mediterranean commerce did not suddenly lose all value and significance. Yet, between the late fifteenth and the late eighteenth centuries, the balance of economic and political power moved west to those countries with immediate access to global commerce.

What drove Europeans to push beyond the boundaries of their known world? Historians traditionally emphasize three factors, to all of which the explorers and conquerors themselves attested: gold, glory, and the Gospel. All played a role, but one was paramount. The voyages were driven by the desire for profit, and “discoveries” were seen through the lens of commodities and exchange. They captured the European imagination, spreading an awareness of a wider world and a conviction in the possibility of limitless profit. They expressed as well the European circumstance, drawing on the resources of a burgeoning economy and utilizing the advantages of new transportation technology.

Seagoing merchant-explorers relied on a series of innovations in shipbuilding, without which the growth of worldwide commercial networks would probably have taken a much different course. The fifteenth century witnessed extraordinary developments in the hulls and rigging of ships. Throughout the Middle Ages, ocean-going trade had been dominated by two types of ships: the Mediterranean galley, powered by oars and triangular “lateen” sails, and the northern round ship or “cog,” powered by a single square sail. Though swift and maneuverable, the galley was not seaworthy except in calm weather; the cog could carry large cargoes, though its single sail made it neither handy nor maneuverable. These two types began to merge in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century, yielding a revolutionary moment in early modern shipbuilding. By 1450, three-masted ships, known as “carracks,” were beginning to dominate the sea lanes of the world. These full-rigged ships had a number of advantages: their larger hulls could hold larger crews and cargoes for longer voyages; their higher sides made them more easily defensible; and their multiple masts and triangular sails made possible better, safer handling.

Seaworthy ships alone did not suffice; navigation was improved as well. Traditional methods, devised for the relatively sheltered waters of the Mediterranean Sea or the continental shelf, required the proximity of a coast and were, therefore, inappropriate for the blue-water sailing required for trade with markets on the far side of the world. The Portuguese Prince Henry the Navigator (1394–1460), patronized master cartographers, astronomers, and mathematicians in order to extend his



Commerce and Markets. A market in Germany, eighteenth-century engraving. THE ART ARCHIVE/MUSÉE DU LOUVRE PARIS/DAGLI ORTI

state's shipping to the Azores and down the western coast of Africa. Master James of Majorca (probably the Jewish scholar, Jefuda Cresques), helped develop a new method of navigation, called "running down the latitude." With knowledge of the destination's latitude, a navigator merely had to find it by sailing north or south through the open sea and then to set course east or west until land was sighted. This required that early modern voyagers accurately determine latitudes, which they accomplished by determining the height of a celestial body, initially the pole star, from the horizon. During the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the quadrant was used for this purpose, followed and surpassed by the sea-astrolabe and the cross-staff. In addition to latitude, navigators had to measure the distance sailed. Early charts showed the north-south lines, today called longitudes, as parallel, thus mis-

representing east-west distance, as sailors learned from hard experience. A ship's easting or westing remained an insoluble problem until the second half of the eighteenth century, when John Harrison (1693–1776) invented a reliable navigational clock.

By the fifteenth century these developments in shipbuilding and navigation combined to encourage European merchants to seek direct trading connections with the Far East. Until the fifteenth century, the Mediterranean had served as Europe's primary commercial circuit to a wider world. Seeking greater profits, the Europeans wished to circumvent the Mediterranean middlemen. Moreover, the rise of the Ottoman Empire, sealed by its conquest of Constantinople in 1453 and its invasion of the Balkans shortly thereafter, made the established routes less secure and the search for direct routes to

the East imperative. Such was the cost and risk, however, that only the largest merchant-bankers of the day, located in Italy and Germany, could afford to underwrite the efforts of those states that formally sponsored exploration. Two maritime routes suggested themselves. The more conservative involved coasting south along the continent of Africa, turning east around its tip, and sailing on to China. Portugal took up this challenge. It outfitted fleets of ships to explore the coast of Africa and establish points of supply. By 1498 the investment paid dividends. Vasco da Gama (c. 1460–1524) sailed around the southern tip of Africa, the Cape of Good Hope, and followed the coast north again via Sofala and Kenya before striking across the Indian Ocean to a landfall near Calicut in India. The Portuguese came neither to conquer nor to colonize but only to secure trading rights, especially for pepper. The profits were extraordinary. Yet, however great the profits, the costs for Portugal were too much over time. Lacking human and material resources, it could not maintain a far-flung trading empire and so was forced in the course of the seventeenth century to yield its foothold in Asia to more aggressive competitors, first the Dutch, then the English.

The other, far bolder route to the Indies involved sailing west. The Genoese merchant and sailor Christopher Columbus (1451–1506) offered this route to Ferdinand of Aragón and Isabella of Castile. Spanish advisors argued against the risk of a voyage into uncharted seas, the distance across which was totally unknown. Yet the potential profits were staggering, and the costs were minimal. Rather than a painstakingly gradual process of exploration and experimentation, in the Portuguese manner, Columbus projected a single voyage with three ships. In return, he asked only 10 percent of the profits and the governorship of any conquered territories. In 1492, he and his tiny fleet landed in the Bahamas.

That the Spanish crown was minimally involved in the early stages of exploration and conquest had to do with the risks inherent in the western route. It also had to do with the nature of the discoveries. Initially, they were less profitable. The Americas did not initially offer the Oriental luxuries that Europeans demanded: no pepper or silk. Great wealth came not through trade but rather through conquest, colonization, and development, winning for

Spain a more durable empire, if not a more lasting fortune. Genoese bankers would see to it that the wealth of the Indies, as it became known, would flow through Spain into a quickening European economy, and Dutch and English merchants would eventually draw a great deal of the trade in commodities into their hands. In place of Antwerp and Seville, Amsterdam and London eventually arose as the great poles of world commerce.

Well into the seventeenth century, however, the landing of the American treasure fleet—galleons bearing cargoes of precious metals and exotic goods—made Seville the beating economic heart of Europe that Antwerp had been less than a century earlier. Pierre Chaunu attributes great importance to the so-called *carrera de India*, the circuit of commerce that ran from Seville out via the Canary Islands to the Americas and back again via the Azores to Seville. As he puts it, “Waiting for the European products bound for the Indies was one of the principal preoccupations of the merchants of Seville when the ships were due to sail” (p. 260, n. 2; p. 293, n. 1.). Trade with the world, in a sense, mobilized an ever greater proportion of the financial and industrial resources of Europe from the sixteenth century onward, the existence of political empires notwithstanding. To that exact proportion, it makes less and less sense to speak of a European economy.

The discoveries of overseas routes to a wider world had staggering consequences affecting both economic and cultural life. Contact, conquest, and colonization filled the markets of Europe with a vast array of precious metals and exotic goods. The influx of gold and silver swept away old economic relations and created new social tensions. Most of the silver was minted into coin, the increased circulation of which allowed commerce to function at a higher rate and volume—throughout the sixteenth century chronic inflation resulted. The expansion of commerce created opportunities that encouraged investment and indebtedness, favoring those with disposable incomes and oppressing those on fixed incomes.

A stunning array of hitherto unknown commodities likewise transformed patterns of production and consumption. Tastes changed under the influence of new consumer goods. Coffee and sugar are two striking examples. Industries evolved to ab-

sorb new materials and supply new markets. Particularly worthy of mention is industrial slave labor. The slave trade was not unknown in medieval Europe, with well-established markets in North Africa and the Levant. Apart from occasional appearances in European courts and households, however, African slaves had played a limited role in the European economy until the development of sugar plantations in the Canary Islands. The importance of slaves—and therewith the commerce in them—increased greatly with the discovery of the Americas and the growth there of industrial farming in sugar, coffee, cotton, and tobacco.

New sources of wealth altered as well the old balance of power. From the sixteenth century onward, political power was increasingly measured in terms of colonies and commerce. Portugal and Spain were but the first of a series of empires that drew their financial and therefore political power from the control of the new worlds.

THE GLOBAL COMMERCIAL NETWORK

The development of overseas trade encouraged further expansion and intensification in European commerce. As the traffic grew between markets in the Old World and the New, exotic goods eventually penetrated to even the most remote areas of the Continent, and the commercial circuits in Europe gradually merged into a single network. Cities and their economic catchment areas—those surrounding areas from which they acquired material, human, and financial resources and to which they sold their goods and commodities—formed the nodal points of this vast global network. Smaller and larger catchment areas, local and regional circuits, were linked together and connected to that emergent network of international commerce. These linkages extended well beyond the economic ties of purchase and sale that could exist between neighboring markets. Urban merchants established regular ties with rural producers and suppliers, ties that were often strengthened and made permanent through the purchase of landed estates and noble titles. Local governments competed and cooperated in matters of commercial and industrial regulation. Commercial enterprises developed networks of representatives or factors, connections often made more intimate and reliable through ties of blood or marriage.

Business practices and organizations. Unlike trade routes, which have an independent existence of their own, trade circuits and the larger commercial networks of which they are part express the activities of commercial agents. Without merchants at various points who exchange goods, communicate information, and compete or cooperate as circumstances dictate, they cease to exist. Early modern merchants moved daily, either in person or via correspondence, along these circuits and networks, buying and selling myriad goods. An ideal typical exchange might involve as many as four individual transactions: buying domestic goods for resale abroad; exchanging these goods for cash or other commodities; buying foreign goods for resale at home; exchanging them for cash. Profits could only be calculated at the close of the entire series. Obviously, such complex trading required a number of arrangements, which might be summarized as compensation, cooperation, and communication.

Merchants had to have secure means of moving specie or its equivalent value across large, often dangerous geographic spaces. They needed associates who would enter into transactions with them or facilitate their trading far from home. They also had to have a clear sense of prevailing market conditions at home as well as abroad; they needed to know what would sell and for how much. In an age that lacked the legal and political institutions to enforce business conduct efficiently, early modern merchants resorted to a number of different types of business practices and organizations to promote reliable, successful exchange.

Though merchants continued to move silver and occasionally gold coin from market to market—indeed, the commerce in precious metals has received less attention than other commodities, such as textiles—the favored mechanism for transferring money and paying debts was the bill of exchange. In its simplest form, the bill involved the payment of money in one market and an agreement to repay that money, often in different coinage and at a prearranged exchange rate, in another. Thus, a traveling merchant with business to transact in a distant market might turn to another merchant who had factors or associates in that distant market for a bill of exchange. The first merchant would pay a given amount to the second for which he would receive a document, the bill itself, redeemable by the second

merchant's representative for the amount specified. Having to carry only the bill, the traveler was spared the inconvenience, expense, and risk of transporting coin. By the early modern period, the resort to bills of exchange had become commonplace. They often functioned not only as means of compensation but also as instruments of credit. The church forbade Christian merchants to charge interest on loans, except under restricted circumstances, but bills of exchange allowed the interest to be disguised as part of the exchange rate. They also became a commodity in themselves, a fungible instrument that could be discounted, bought, and sold. Although payment in coin constituted the initial act in the creation of any bill of exchange, their increasing tendency to circulate independently constituted a small step toward a fiduciary system of paper money.

The presence of representatives in distant markets—whether employees, partners, or colleagues—was a response to the necessity of cooperation in a commercial network that was characterized by slow transportation and imperfect information. Without the state, or some other uninvolved party, to enforce contracts, guarantee transactions, and provide information, merchants needed reliable associates to serve as go-betweens, mediators, facilitators, and informants. Only thus could bills of exchange be redeemed, market conditions assessed, or goods exchanged over greater and greater distances. The challenge, of course, was to assure reliability. The family firm, in which partners and associates at home and abroad were related by ties of blood and marriage, sought to reinforce economic interests through social connections. Common as it was in early modern Europe, the family firm was not the only possibility. Many firms resorted to a more authoritarian model that made use of factors who were simple employees, hired and fired as suited the principals. The Fugger family of Augsburg (mid-fifteenth to mid-sixteenth century) is thought to have been the pioneer in this business model, but other prominent companies made use of it as well. Lucas Rem, whose diary from the period 1494–1541 survives as one of the most important ego-documents of the age, served for nearly two decades (1499–1518) as the employed factor of the Welser Company, another enterprise with commercial and financial connections that spanned Europe and extended to the New World, before leaving it to begin

a highly successful trading company of his own. In the fifteenth century the Medici developed a unique system in which their factors in foreign markets were organized as quasi-independent branches or subsidiaries that could be separated from the parent firm in case of emergency, an ingenious method of protecting assets in one place from debt or bankruptcy in another.

By the sixteenth century, other more flexible and less costly forms of business organization were becoming commonplace. Most merchants came to rely on commission agents rather than employed factors; these agents, themselves merchants, would take a small percentage of deals they negotiated or transacted on behalf of other parties. There was an element of reciprocity in all this, each side acting on commission for the other as circumstances dictated. Matheus Miller, one of the wealthiest merchants of Augsburg in the second half of the seventeenth century, relied almost entirely on commission agents in Venice, Leipzig, Frankfurt, and Amsterdam and thus spared himself the expense of maintaining a widespread network of employees and the inconvenience of traveling to distant markets. Another short-term, practical business arrangement that became more common was “participation,” a partnership limited to a single enterprise, for example, a single overseas voyage. Once the enterprise was complete, accounts would be settled and the partnership dissolved.

What is remarkable about the use of representatives, whatever form that representation happened to take, is the ethos it required. Reciprocity was expected. Solidarity was essential. One had to be able to rely without question on one's agents abroad to provide accurate information and to act in good faith. Indeed, foreigners in any market were completely dependent on the good faith of their native agents and associates. Well-known examples are the Spanish *metedores* and *cargadores*, who ran or accompanied Dutch cargoes on board the Spanish fleets that traded between Cadiz and the New World at the height of the Dutch Revolt (1570s and 1580s) against the Spanish Empire. Merchants had to rely on agents; agents had to be reliable. This did not prevent cutthroat competition, even among merchants who occasionally cooperated, but it limited the practice of open duplicity or dishonesty. Reputation was, to a very large extent, fortune in

commerce. A reputation for hard but honest dealing assured a merchant access to financial resources, essential in an age of money scarcity. A reputation for reliability assured the cooperation of others, encouraging them to act on commission or enter into partnership. A reputation for probity assured access to news of current events and market conditions that might affect business fortunes.

Communication. Like compensation and cooperation, communication was an essential component of early modern commerce and markets. News and ideas—the invisible but invaluable cargo of merchants, teamsters, and peddlers alike—always flowed along trade routes. For merchants, factors or agents were consistent and reliable sources of information, given their intimate familiarity with the markets in which they worked. They could provide up-to-date news about which goods were plentiful or rare, indicating which goods were to be bought, being in good supply and therefore cheap, and which goods were to be sold, being in short supply and therefore dear. Yet, the intensification and extension of commerce spurred developments in commercial communication as well. It seems probable, though finally indeterminable, that business correspondence intensified and expanded with the system in which it functioned. Businesses, especially those engaged in international or overseas commerce, likely invested more human and financial resources on correspondence with contacts and employees in distant markets. Likewise, the need for general information about distant places and peoples would have grown with the emergence of a global commercial network. The quickening literary interest in travel accounts of new worlds may have derived in part from a more than casual interest in their commercial potential.

Commerce might have had a hand in new forms of communication as well. The so-called *Fuggerzeitung* may be one of the first, if not the first, periodical news publications. It contained information—regarding politics, weather, transportation, and prices, among other things—gathered out of nearly forty thousand reports sent to Philipp Eduard and Octavian Fugger by their factors during the period 1568–1605 and disseminated to all their agents and associates with information of events or developments that could affect markets where they did business. Commerce demanded daily reading and writ-

ing. Accounts had to be kept; contracts had to be negotiated; correspondence had to be read. The increase in autobiographical writing, which seems to have begun in the fifteenth century, has been attributed to European merchants, both as readers and as writers. Thus, just as commerce helped to promote an increase in communication through an insatiable appetite for information, so it helped to spread literacy through the propagation and valuation of reading and writing.

The emergence of global commerce, a network of traffic and transactions that bound the world together with greater and greater immediacy, gradually changed the organization and practice of commerce itself. Nor were these refinements limited to commerce. The global network introduced new commodities, and the taste for material goods changed. It brought Europeans into contact with strange and unexpected peoples and places, and the sense of Europe's place in the world began to shift. Finally, commerce with a wider world fostered new skills and values, of which literacy was but one, that extended far beyond the business world.

SUPPLY AND DEMAND

Behind all of these developments operated the ubiquitous forces of supply and demand. Markets exist and commerce occurs to supply the goods and services that people demand. As abstractions, supply and demand are readily defined as the relationship between the quantity of any good or service that producers wish to sell at a certain price and the quantity that consumers wish to buy. The market functions to equate the two through the price mechanism: if buyers wish to purchase more of a given good than is available at a certain price, their demand will bid that price up; if buyers wish to purchase less, suppliers will bid the price down. As historical realities, however, these things are more difficult to isolate and examine. It has been noted by more than one economist or historian that there is no supply without demand and no demand without supply. Together, they produce exchange and are produced by it, simultaneously cause and effect. Nor do they exist in economic isolation. Supply and demand are subject to extramarket forces. Climate, politics, and culture can all work to alter the value attached to goods and services by affecting their supply or the demand for them.

The vagaries of supply and demand stand at the center of efforts to understand the early modern economy as a whole. What caused it to grow and to change? For centuries, economists and historians insisted that supply was, until the eighteenth century, an insignificant factor, marked by inelasticity, unresponsive to demand. Still, historians believed until recently that changes in supply led the economy of Europe into its modern phase, beginning in the eighteenth century in Britain, for example. Traditional explanations of early industrialization concentrate on changes in organization or technology that resulted in massive increases of supply and decreases of price. In the last decade, however, attention has shifted to demand. Jan de Vries has argued for an “industrious revolution” rather than an industrial revolution, whereby European consumers came to desire a better, more comfortable standard of living and were willing to work longer and harder to achieve it. The demand for more consumer goods prompted an increase in supply that, finally, could only be sustained by the development of new production technologies.

Whatever the outcome of this debate, it recalls a simple truth. Commerce and markets are products of the societies that create them. Supply and demand are, indeed, connected, and arise out of the perception of need. Changes in patterns of consumption are complex events that involve relationships to material goods, patterns of values as well as patterns of behavior. These reflections recall the truth of Fernand Braudel’s observation that “the economy is only a ‘sub-division’ of social life” (p. 226).

See also **Banking and Credit; Capitalism; Colonialism; Fugger Family; Hansa; Industrial Revolution; Industry; Liberalism, Economic; Mercantilism; Money and Coinage; Shipbuilding and Navigation; Shipping; Slavery and the Slave Trade; Smith, Adam; Trading Companies; Triangular Trade Pattern.**

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THOMAS MAX SAFLEY

COMMONPLACE BOOKS. See *Diaries*.

COMMUNICATION, SCIENTIFIC.

The traditional arena for communicating natural philosophical knowledge was the university. Within a system called Scholasticism, professors lectured on authoritative texts whose study was stipulated by the regulations. All texts were written in Latin and all communication by professors and students was carried out in Latin. The disputation was a formal way of arguing an issue—a question was posed, and the pros and cons were debated by citing authorities. Many of the texts used were Latin translations of Arabic versions of ancient writings.

By the end of the fifteenth century, humanism had begun to influence the university curriculum. Humanists aimed to rediscover ancient Greek and Latin texts and to edit and translate them, removing what they considered the barbarisms of medieval Latin. Humanists often worked outside the universities in the employ of princes and oligarchs in the courts and cities of Europe. They influenced the development of natural philosophy and other topics that today fall under the rubric of “science” by rediscovering key ancient texts, editing or translating them, and debating their contents. The rediscovery of *On the Nature of Things* by Lucretius influenced the early modern development of atomism. The study and editing of Pliny the Elder’s *Natural History* resulted in a debate about the accuracy of Pliny’s conclusions in topics such as botany. The study and editing of texts by Ptolemy influenced thought about cosmology and geography. Marsilio Ficino’s translation of the writings of Plato and Neoplatonist authors, along with his other writings, greatly influenced European thought, including ideas about the cosmos and the natural world.

The printing press, invented about 1450, exerted a great influence on communication within the natural and experimental sciences because with it numerous copies of the same work could be produced and distributed at relatively low cost. Although all historians admit the fundamental importance of printing, they debate its precise influence. Elizabeth Eisenstein argued that printing was fundamental to the development of scientific and technical literature because it allowed the wide distribution of a “fixed” text that remained the same from one copy to the next, and of fixed images, for example, of plants and animals. Critics of this view have

suggested that scribal culture used specific techniques to produce accurate texts and that the “fixity” of early modern printed works left much to be desired. The nature of the influence of printing on the development of early modern sciences continues to be debated.

New forms of organization developed in the seventeenth century and were accompanied by new ways of communicating. The establishment of natural history collections and museums led to much correspondence among collectors pertaining to specimens. Such collections became sites for learned discussion on numerous topics related to natural history and other sciences. Similarly, the new scientific societies of the seventeenth century functioned as centers for both experimentation and communication. Scientific societies proliferated throughout Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Meetings entailed intense discussions, all manner of reports, and experiments. The new societies also discussed their conclusions with the wider public. Some academies consisted of formal entities with charters and bylaws, while others were informal associations. All were instrumental in encouraging experiment and other forms of investigation and in communicating results and ideas to like-minded members and visitors.

In the seventeenth century, letter writing became a crucially important form of communication among individuals interested in the sciences. Some historians suggest that the first half of the century can be characterized by private societies and correspondence networks, while the second half is marked by the emergence of formal academies and printed journals. If this characterization is accurate, its details need far more investigation. Throughout the century great networks of letter writing crossed political and religious boundaries. Letters could be delivered relatively quickly and were relatively free from censorship and other forms of interference. Some individuals, or “intelligencers” as they called themselves, played key roles as unofficial correspondents in the Republic of Letters. For example, Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc (1580–1637), an experimenter, dissector, and investigator of astronomy and optics, corresponded with people of similar interests who lived all over Europe. At his death in 1637, he left behind between 10,000 and 14,000 letters. Marin Mersenne (1588–1648), a friar and

mathematician, met with an informal group to discuss natural philosophy and mathematics and corresponded with hundreds of individuals, dominating epistolary communication in the second half of the seventeenth century. Other great correspondents included Samuel Hartlib, Ismaël Boulliau, and Henry Oldenburg, first secretary of the Royal Society of London.

The 1660s marked the appearance of two important scientific journals, the *Philosophical Transactions*, sponsored by the Royal Society, and the *Journal des sçavans*, the official organ of the Parisian Academy of Sciences. Both journals played central roles in communicating results of experiments, reviewing new relevant literature, reporting on instruments, and publishing reports of new findings from investigations throughout Europe. They became models for (and rivals of) numerous other journals that appeared in the eighteenth century.

The encyclopedia entailed a very different form of communication that included the natural sciences. Compendia that communicated a wide range of learning, including natural knowledge, originated in antiquity. The genre became highly significant in the early modern era. Compendia of knowledge bore a variety of names, such as “theatrum,” “systema,” and “thesaurus,” and, after 1500, “encyclopedia.” While it had many precedents, the *Encyclopédie* of Denis Diderot (1713–1748) and Jean Le Rond d’Alembert (c. 1750) is justly famous for its treatment of mathematics, the natural sciences, medicine, and the trades.

See also Academies, Learned; Ancient World; Dictionaries and Encyclopedias; Diderot, Denis; Dissemination of Knowledge; *Encyclopédie*; Hartlib, Samuel; Mersenne, Marin; Natural History; Oldenburg, Henry; Peiresc, Nicolas-Claude Fabri de; Printing and Publishing; Republic of Letters; Scholasticism; Universities.

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PAMELA O. LONG

COMMUNICATION AND TRANSPORTATION. Transportation and communication are central to the development of any society and its economy, and early modern Europe was no exception. Despite some significant advances in the engineering and construction of roads and canals between 1450 and 1750, as well as the construction of ships and, to a much lesser extent, of carriages and wagons, for the most part European travel and, therefore communication, remained as it had been in the Middle Ages, tied to the speeds of man and horse on land, and of wind and current on water. Oceanic transport made the greatest leaps forward during this period. Europeans constructed ships capable of sailing the open seas, and navigational devices and techniques capable of guiding them on these long-distance voyages. As a result, they succeeded in circumnavigating Africa to reach Asia, and in crossing the Atlantic to reach the New World. These voyages of “discovery” opened up vast new

markets and sources of labor and products that greatly boosted Europe's wealth and power. Inland commerce during this period, however, always commanded a much greater share in the European economy than long-distance trade, and thus inland transportation, by land or water routes, remained far more important in the lives of most people than oceanic navigation.

It is ironic, therefore, in light of the revolutionary changes in oceanic travel and trade, that for most of the early modern period prior to the eighteenth century, rulers lacked either the will or the funds to revolutionize inland transportation, and the high price tag of the changes that were made is an indication of the enormous mobilization of resources that would have been required to do the job well. The significance of inland transportation is evident in the growing gap by the end of the eighteenth century between nations and regions that devoted resources to upgrading their roads and inland waterways and those that did not. It is not by accident that Europe's most advanced economies at the end of the early modern period, England, France, and the Netherlands, also possessed the best transportation infrastructures, and those less advanced, Poland, Spain, and Germany, for example, lagged far behind.

Communication was tied closely to transportation as, in the absence of electronic communications, it depended on the speed and efficiency of transportation. Messages had to be carried, orally or in writing, from one place to another, and most traveled in the same vehicles as passengers and merchandise. Communications, therefore, were also tied to the speed of horse, oxen, barge, or a man on foot. People, information, ideas, and products did travel extensively in early modern Europe, probably much more than people imagine today. But they traveled much more slowly and laboriously, and at a higher cost, which makes the volume of movement against so many obstacles that much more impressive.

COMMUNICATION

Early modern communication took place in three main modes: spoken words, manuscript writing—especially letters—and print. Oral communication was the oldest of these three, and in many ways early modern society was still primarily an oral society.

Although literacy increased enormously during this period, most people, especially among the lower classes, possessed limited reading and writing skills and relied heavily on memory and speech for preserving and transmitting information. Poets and writers in other genres still composed their works with the assumption that they would be read or sung to their audiences. The most popular form of cheap print for the masses produced in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was ballads, many of them updated editions of songs that had been around for centuries. Another common print purchase among the lower classes was woodcut pictures with, at the most, only a few sentences included to explain the image.

Yet the early modern era was a society in transition, and as literacy spread, so did the importance of writing in people's lives. In this the Reformation played an important role because the ability to read the Bible and the Psalms was essential to a Protestant education, so much so that Martin Luther and John Calvin alike, and most Protestant rulers, made a great although not wholly successful effort to expand educational opportunities for the masses to ensure that the population possessed at least minimal reading skills and a basic knowledge of the Bible. Literacy also increased in Catholic countries, however, indicating that factors other than religion encouraged its spread. Among the most important of these no doubt was the growing use of written contracts in commerce. Merchants needed to be able to write, read, and digest voluminous commercial correspondence. Business letters were the means whereby merchants exchanged vital information such as exchange rates, the availability of products, the level of demand in various markets, and threats to shipping. In fact, early modern postal services, while created to serve the needs of governments, mostly drew their clientele from the business community. Commercial centers like Amsterdam became nexuses of information, much of it in the form of letters. It is thus also no accident that the most literate populations tended to be found in cities and regions with a high concentration of commerce or industry that brought much of the population into regular contact with the market.

Beginning in the Renaissance, writing developed as an important form of personal expression, especially among the erudite and the upper classes.

The letter was central to the development of humanism, and most were written with the expectation that they would be read and discussed by a much wider audience than the intended recipient. Moreover, in the style of the ancient *ars dictaminis* or art of letter writing, in which Renaissance humanists consciously emulated great classical letter writers such as Cicero, scholars discussed philosophy while practicing rhetoric in lengthy, highly stylized letters. Rhetoric formed an intrinsic part of these letters because they were meant to be quasi-public documents, to be read aloud as well as silently. The spread of humanism north of the Alps in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and its inclusion in the education of the upper classes, meant that effective letter-writing skills became a necessity for well-bred ladies and gentlemen. Yet writing also brought unforeseen and unsettling consequences to the lives of European elites, because they increasingly used letters not only to express ideas and information suitable for public consumption, but also to explore and articulate private musings and passions. Nobles wrote for pleasure, as a way of developing richer inner lives, nurturing intimacy with close friends and family, and distinguishing themselves from the classes below them, who might be literate but rarely had the time or inclination to write for anything other than utilitarian purposes. Merchants did also write personal as well as business letters. The correspondence between Magdalena and Balthasar Paumgartner, a merchant couple living in sixteenth-century Nuremberg, discusses both business and personal concerns such as their own and their son's illnesses and family gossip. Their letters evince the Paumgartners' tender regard for each other, although they are written in the formal style common to the early modern period. But their letters were rarely as lengthy or reflective as those of eighteenth-century nobles. Finally, it should be noted that letters played a significant role in disseminating information during the scientific revolution, particularly before the various scientific academies began the practice of printing and distributing their members' papers and treatises.

Print was the newest medium of the three, and brought revolutionary change to early modern society. The volume of printed works available for purchase expanded considerably between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries, although most lower-class

Europeans were lucky if they could afford cheap woodcuts, pamphlets, or broadsides, let alone a book. If they did own a book, it was most likely to be religious, a Bible in Protestant countries, a prayer book or hagiography in Catholic ones. Reprints of classical works also were popular. Increasingly the printing press became a means to communicate information, less in the form of newspapers, which did not become common until the eighteenth century, than in the form of almanacs and gazettes filled with practical knowledge. Enterprising publishers began printing handbooks for merchants containing explanations of specialized techniques and business practices, such as double-entry bookkeeping, maritime insurance, and bills of exchange.

TRAVEL

News, whether spoken, handwritten, or printed, traveled from place to place within Europe via roads or waterways, the two forms of inland travel. Travel by water was always cheaper than land routes, simply because more weight could be carried on water than on land. Water transport circulated more slowly than land travel, however, which meant that it was suitable for hauling large, bulky freight, but much less so for moving smaller, more expensive items or any cargo or passengers needing to reach a destination quickly. Sizable companies specializing in water transport began to appear in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, although most merchants relied on individual haulers or ship captains or, in the case of coastal or transoceanic shipping, purchased their own ship or a share in a jointly owned vessel.

Inland water traffic had another drawback; it was restricted to navigable waterways, and although they increased in number during the early modern period, they remained far scarcer than roads. Moreover, waterways were not always reliable, since they were often non-navigable due to low water levels in summer, flooding or freezing in winter, and silting or obstructions in the waterway, such as sunken ships, watermills, fish weirs, and sandbars year round. They frequently were encumbered with tolls as well. On heavily traveled routes, barges could easily get backed up for days or more at locks while waiting for obstructions to be cleared.

Land routes had their own hazards, including the poor state of most roads, especially prior to the



Communication and Transportation. *Travelers Refreshing Themselves at a Riverside Tavern*, painting by Isack van Ostade, 1644. ©CHRISTIE'S IMAGES/CORBIS

eighteenth century. Roads tended to follow waterways, and thus to meander. Wagons got stuck up to their axles in mud since very few roads were paved or engineered with the latest techniques to keep water from seeping in and undermining the roadbed. On the other hand, the very fact that most roads, and especially smaller ones, were really little more than paths meant that vehicles could simply drive around obstructions that would have halted water traffic. Land transport was costly primarily because even the hardiest teams of oxen or horses could move far less than a barge. Thus inland transportation depended on both land and water travel, and the two were closely intertwined in early modern European transport networks. By the same token, inland transport intersected with saltwater navigation, as many of the same small vessels that plied the coasts and carried coastal exports around Eu-

rope also sailed inland waterways. And products imported from abroad had to be transhipped onto these smaller vessels or onto wagons for transport to their final destinations.

CANALS AND INLAND WATERWAYS

The early modern period saw a significant expansion of navigable waterways. Much of the traffic on these waterways moved via towpaths, in which horses walking on a footpath that followed the waterway dragged barges from place to place. Towpaths were especially vital for canals or rivers in flat areas that lacked a strong current to carry the vessels. Needless to say, low-lying regions blessed with abundant rivers and streams, such as the Low Countries, had an advantage on this score, whereas mountainous regions remained dependent on mules or human carriers until the advent of the railroad and automo-

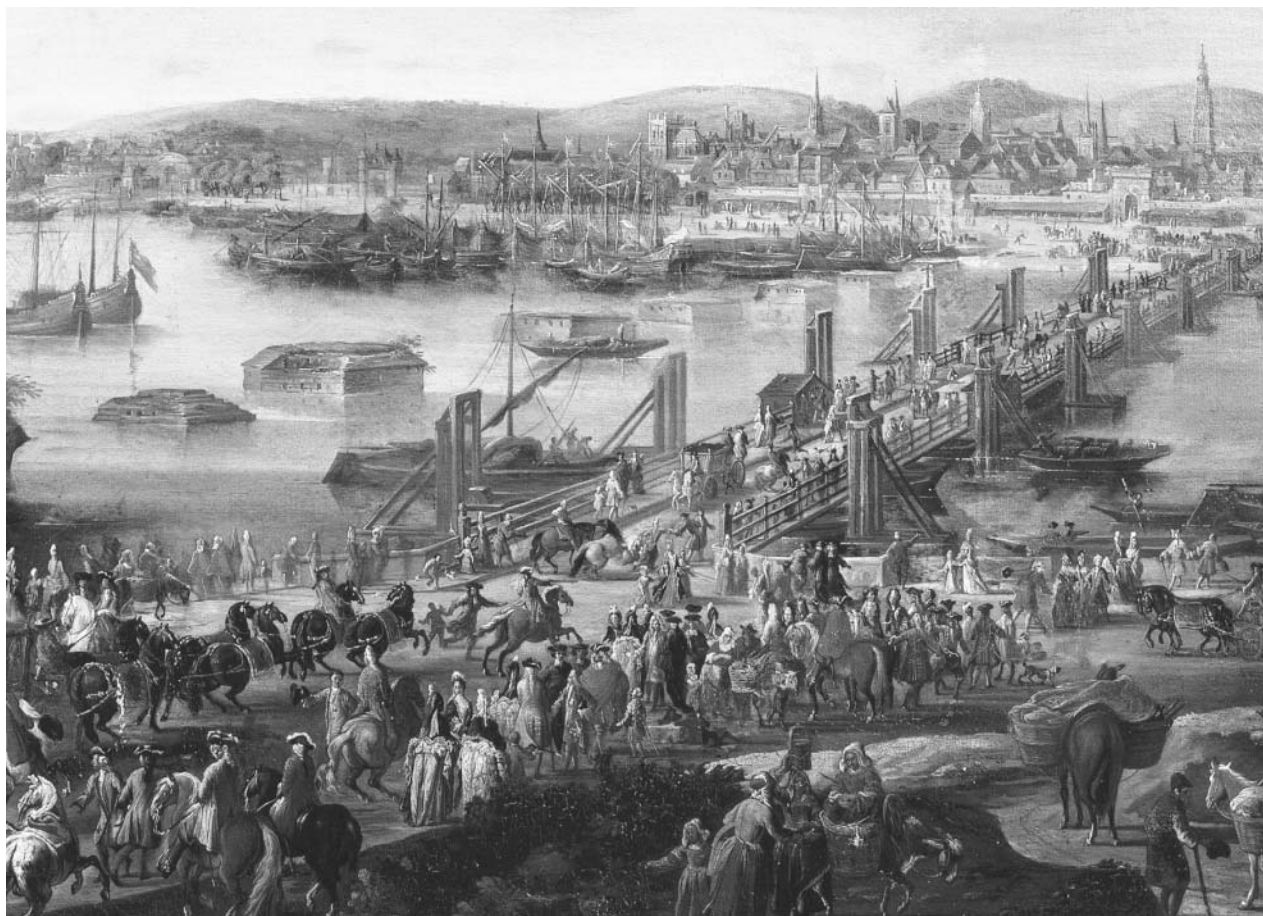
bile. Still, the needs of commerce and government administration, and the will and ability of the state or private entrepreneurs to spend the capital required to build or improve waterways, determined which countries and regions saw the greatest expansion in inland waterways, and which lagged behind. The Spanish crown, for example, squandered the opportunity to invest the bonanza of wealth it drew from New World silver mines in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in building badly needed infrastructure to stimulate its economy at home. In general, nations with either a powerful, centralizing royal government, or a burgeoning mercantile class, or both, were most likely to build roads and waterways. Regions with weak centralized governments, such as Germany, or a small pool of merchants and few cities, such as Poland, ended the early modern period with poor transportation infrastructures. The result was often a vicious circle, because bad transportation impeded the development of places such as grain-rich Sicily and Poland, which possessed resources but no way to get them to market efficiently. Regions lacking in transport tended also to have underdeveloped economies and to be weaker politically and militarily than their neighbors.

Building waterways was an expensive undertaking, particularly in hilly regions where numerous locks were required. Ideally a natural waterway would already be present, which might be canalized (widened, deepened, or straightened in its route with locks added where needed). In the absence of a preexisting river or stream, however, early modern governments, in what would be called today a “public-private partnership” with entrepreneurs, financed impressive canal-building projects. The most famous of these was the Canal du Midi in France, linking the Mediterranean and the Atlantic via Toulouse and the Garonne River. It was opened for navigation 15 May 1681. Louis XIV’s great minister Jean-Baptiste Colbert was the moving spirit behind the project, and in 1664 he joined with the energetic financier Pierre-Paul Riquet, baron of Bonrepos, who worked tirelessly to engineer and secure financing for the project. The undertaking was enormous, requiring 119 locks, numerous artificial basins, and dams, and even a tunnel under a mountain, not to mention the construction of a new port, called Sète. The canal is uniformly six-and-a-half feet deep despite the fact that it rises to

620 feet above sea level. The total cost of the 150-mile (240 kilometer) canal was 17,179,330 livres, over four million of which Riquet contributed himself, with the rest borne equally by the crown and the Estates of Languedoc. It was an impressive engineering achievement when it was completed in 1691. Although it is still in use today, the canal never lived up to expectations. Maintenance costs were rarely built into the money allocated for early modern road and canal building, and silting and wear and tear on the locks soon made many stretches of the Canal du Midi unserviceable.

France built other canals in the early modern period, the most successful of which were those that, like the Canal de Briare, begun by Henry IV’s minister the duc de Sully in 1605 and completed in 1640, were designed to link Paris with the ever-expanding hinterland the great city required to feed its population. The Canal de Briare was typical in another way, in that it too was financed and completed not by the crown, but by a private company that planned to recoup its investment by charging tolls for its use. By the end of the Old Regime, France had about 625 miles (1,000 kilometers) of canals, far fewer than England, but at least 5,000 miles (8,000 kilometers) of navigable rivers, streams, or canals.

Germany was blessed with good rivers, the foremost of which, the Rhine, acted as a veritable pipeline connecting the North Sea and the Baltic with Switzerland. The Danube provided an equally important route to the grain-producing regions of Central and Eastern Europe and, eventually, the Black Sea. The Elbe, the Oder, the Weser, and the Vistula were also vital to Germany’s transportation network. Not surprisingly, German urban networks were tied closely to rivers. On the other hand, Germany possessed by the end of the early modern period only three hundred miles of canals or canalized rivers, compared to the seven hundred miles constructed in England between 1600 and 1760 alone. Some canals were built in Germany, however, including the canal linking the commercial cities of Lübeck and Hamburg, which could get so backed up that barges often took three weeks to make the relatively short trip. The Frederick William Canal was opened in Prussia in 1669. The lack of centralized government made water travel in Germany expensive, however, because without state interven-

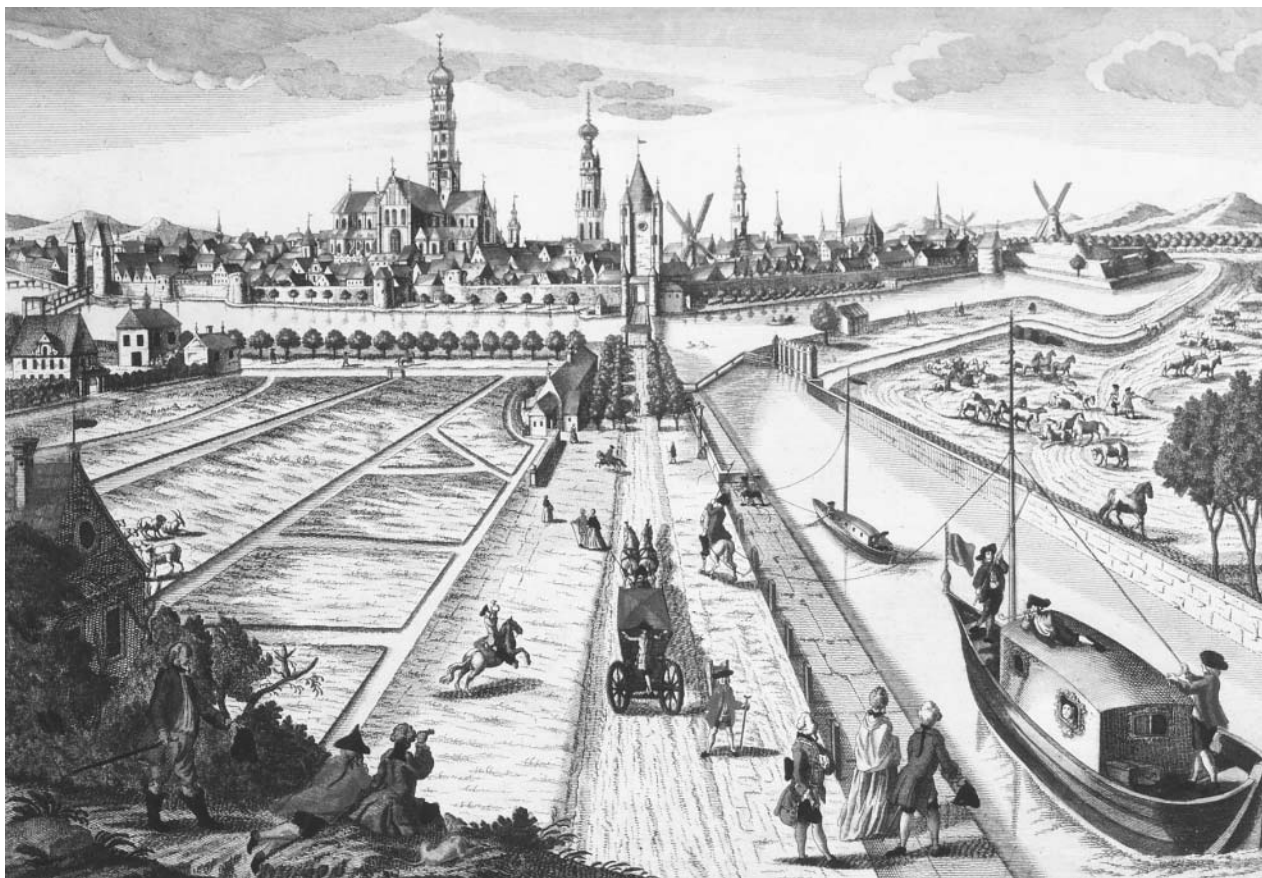


Communication and Transportation. *Rouen, France, Seen from Saint-Sever*, detail of a painting by Martin des Batailles (1659–1735). THE ART ARCHIVE/MUSÉE DES BEAUX ARTS ROUEN/DAGLI ORTI

tion there was no power able to prune the many tolls and duties cities along waterways had levied since the Middle Ages.

England and Holland were the most aggressive canal builders of Europe, most likely because their economies, and especially that of the Dutch, were heavily dependent on commerce and industry. The Dutch began first, and pioneered engineering techniques others later adopted. The growth of Dutch commercial centers, and especially of the predominant city of Amsterdam, required the reduction of transportation costs and a predictable, dependable supply of goods. The expansion of peat-digging (peat was used for fuel) was another impetus to the growth of Dutch canals, because the bulky commodity could best be brought from the inland areas where it was found to the cities where it was needed via water. The Dutch began using locks on canals in the fifteenth century. In 1529 the first *beurtveer*

(regulated transportation service) was established between the cities of Amsterdam and Hoorn. Boats and their skippers were licensed to carry passengers and required to keep regular departure schedules regardless of whether they were fully loaded. The schedules were published and enforced. This afforded passengers and those freighting cargoes on these boats and barges an assurance that they and their goods would arrive in a dependable and timely fashion. This service spread throughout the Netherlands in the sixteenth century and became linked to wagon routes, thus bringing towns not reachable by water into the network. The barges traveled slowly, on average only at about seven kilometers (about 4.5 miles) per hour. But their dependability was such that cities throughout Holland built canals with towpaths to ensure that they were linked with Amsterdam and from there to the wider world. Soon “night barges” were added, allowing passen-



Communication and Transportation. *View of the canal in Haarlem, Netherlands, eighteenth-century engraving.* THE ART ARCHIVE/HANDEL MUSEUM HALLE/DAGLI ORTI (A)

gers to save even more time by sleeping for part of the journey. These towpath canals carried literally hundreds of thousands of passengers annually between Holland's major cities in the seventeenth century.

The English too were aggressive canal builders, and also went about draining swamps and fens such as those of East Anglia by making cuts that were then used for canals. By the end of the Old Regime, England was second only to Holland in the number of canals built, despite the fact that England was much smaller than France, Spain, or Germany.

LAND TRANSPORT

Although it is true that many more roads were built between the end of the fifteenth century and 1789, probably the major change in land transport in the early modern period was state intervention to construct postal routes and stations, and to ensure some

regularity of transport service, especially for passengers and mail via stagecoaches. Here the English made the most progress with their famous turnpikes, surpassing even the Dutch, although the French under Colbert and his successors also advanced. The French and English approaches to the problem of funding well-engineered roads were quite different, however, with the French favoring much greater state control, in part because the primary motivation of French road building was to enhance the ability of the central government to communicate with, and control, the provinces, whereas the English left road building mostly in the hands of private entrepreneurs who received government concessions to build and maintain toll roads. One result of this divergence was that whereas, then as now, the French transportation network converged often inconveniently on Paris, the English network served first and foremost the

needs of commerce and was thus much more evenly distributed geographically.

At the beginning of the early modern period, almost all transportation was in private hands. Merchants contracted on an individual basis with haulers, the majority of whom were peasants working part-time as carriers. Their labor was seasonal, an inconvenience to be sure, but the plentiful supply of labor meant that competition kept rates fairly low. Similarly, most barge traffic was also in the hands of self-employed individuals who owned their own vessels and contracted on a job-by-job basis. Private messengers carried all but the most important government mail. Letters frequently reached their recipients through informal carriers. Balthasar Paumgartner often sent his letters to his wife Magdalena via a friend or fellow German merchant who happened to be traveling to Nuremberg, in return, no doubt, for performing the same service himself at other times.

By the seventeenth century the needs of government and business began to outstrip this informal system, however. Private mail and carriage by no means disappeared, but governments, especially in the most "absolutist" states, began to build and maintain roads, set up post offices and state coach services, and eventually to open those services, at first reserved for government business, to private citizens. These postal services began as relay stations or "rest stops" where messengers could exchange tired horses for fresh ones, refresh themselves, and continue their journey. Because carriers did not have to stop frequently to rest their horses, mail could travel much more quickly. Such services were similar to the American Pony Express system, and since they were also often located in inns, with the innkeeper contracted with the government to provide the horses, they doubled as stagecoach stops as well. By the eighteenth century regularly scheduled stage services were available, permitting travelers to begin or end a journey at almost any stage along the route.

In France, Colbert was again the moving force behind the expansion of France's road system. He desired a truly national and integrated transportation network linking the provinces of France to Paris. Before the roads could be built, however, the state had to create a system to finance and adminis-

trate them. This Colbert and his successors found difficult to do and even more difficult to sustain. In the mid-seventeenth century, the budget of the bureau of Ponts et Chaussées (bridges and roads), the branch of the French government responsible for building and maintaining roads, bridges, and canals, represented less than one percent of the state budget. Only in the eighteenth century did it rise significantly, mostly to fund the postal routes that became the heart of French overland transportation. Moreover, in the 1740s the crown authorized the creation of a school, L'École des Ingénieurs (School of engineers), capable of training the engineers needed to build the transportation routes the government intended to commission. The results were striking. By the dawn of the French Revolution in 1789, at least 25,000 miles (40,000 kilometers) of new roads had been constructed.

Transportation remained slow throughout the early modern period, although the improvements of the eighteenth century did speed things up. The trip up the Seine from Rouen to Paris, which today takes one to two hours by train, could take anywhere from ten days to a month (going downstream from Paris to Rouen was usually faster, about three or four days). The voyage by coach and canal from Paris to Lyon fell from ten to eleven days in 1664 to about six days in 1760. Thus the speed of travel nearly doubled, from about twenty-five or thirty miles a day to over fifty. It took fifteen days to get to Paris from Bordeaux in 1660, and only five or six days to make the same trip in 1789. Away from main thoroughfares, however, travel speeds fell precipitously. Merchandise circulated especially slowly, and even under the best conditions rarely moved more than twenty-five miles (forty kilometers) per day. In adverse conditions it moved much slower. Thus for most travelers and their cargoes, unless they were traveling on the best-maintained roads linking France's regional capitals to Paris, there was very little improvement in transport speeds during the Old Regime. Moreover, because most cities had no post offices, French provincial mail usually had to go to Paris before it reached its recipient, even though this entailed a significant delay.

England developed a similar postal service that was opened to the public in 1635. England's greatest innovation was the development of the turnpike system, wherein private investors received royal li-

censes to build and maintain roads. They recouped their investment by charging tolls. The important innovation was the provision this system made for maintaining roads, in contrast to the French system, in which beautifully engineered roads were built, but then only sporadically maintained despite the use of the *corvée* (forced labor) drawn from local peasant populations. And England, like France, saw a similar rise in the speed of overland transport, so that a trip from London to Exeter that required eight to twelve days in the mid-seventeenth century took half that time in 1760. The rest of Europe, including even the Dutch, lagged far behind the French and English in the quantity and quality of their roads.

Although there were some innovations in carriages in the early modern period, travel for the most part remained decidedly uncomfortable for passengers. Most of the improvements in the design of carriages and wagons were less for the sake of comfort than to make them faster and more maneuverable, although glass windows and suspension systems, first in the form of leather straps, and then springs, were introduced into public and private coaches in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Iron tires affixed to carriage wheels improved durability but accelerated the deterioration of roads, which in turn helped to spur improvements such as cobblestone, graded crushed stone sealed with sand, and eventually paving. “Fifth wheel” or turning front carriages, which improved steering and stability, were developed in Germany. Even so, stagecoaches especially, which traveled very fast, remained dangerous on the narrow dirt roads over which they usually moved.

CONCLUSION

There is no doubt that significant improvement to Europe’s transportation and communication networks was achieved in the early modern era. Still, the magnitude of that progress in the lives of ordinary people was not that great. To be sure, travel speeds increased, but only for those who could afford the cost. Most people and most information moved at the end of the Old Regime at a rate very similar to that of the Renaissance. A letter took about the same amount of time—six or seven weeks—to reach Venice in 1765 as it had in 1500, although it is true that more efficient transport net-

works meant that it cost less for it to reach its destination. Transportation and communication thus acted as a brake on the growth of the European economy until the advent of steam-powered locomotives and ships in the nineteenth century.

See also **Communication, Scientific; Literacy and Reading; Shipping; Travel and Travel Literature.**

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COMUNEROS REVOLT (1520–1521). The *Comuneros* Revolt was originally fomented by some of the eighteen cities in the crown of Castile represented in the Castilian Cortes. The immediate cause of discontent was the new heir to the throne, the Habsburg Charles of Ghent. When the young Charles I made his first visit to Spain in 1517, he spoke little Spanish and was dominated by the Flemish courtiers of his native country, many of whom obtained lucrative Castilian appointments. Then, in 1519, Charles was elected to succeed his paternal grandfather Maximilian as Holy Roman emperor, an honor that alarmed many Castilians, who foresaw an absentee ruler and a greater involvement in European affairs that would drain money, resources, and manpower from Castile. Charles, anxious to secure his new title and in need of cash to do so, convened two meetings of the Castilian Cortes in April and May of 1520. His heavy-handed efforts to force the deputies to vote him a large subsidy, and his impending absence from Castile, many of whose cities he had never visited, caused still more resentments. When Charles departed Spain in May of 1520, leaving a foreigner, Adrian of Utrecht (later Pope Adrian VI), as regent, the rebellion had already begun in several cities.

When a city declared for the *comunero* cause, a commune was established, the crown-appointed *corregidor* was exiled, and the taxes usually remitted to the crown were kept by the rebels. Many *comunero* leaders formed part of the minor nobility. In the active *comunero* city of Toledo, for example, the leaders included Pedro Laso de la Vega and Juan de Padilla, both *regidores* (‘town councillors’) and members of notable families; many clerics of the cathedral chapter and of the regular religious orders also favored the rebellion. Not all the city’s leaders

supported the *comunero* cause, but those who actively represented the Royalist party were exiled.

Adrian tried to put down the rebellion by calling out an army, but as the Royalists attempted to take ordnance at Medina del Campo, the city was burned, inspiring still more adherents to the *comunero* cause. The *comuneros* formed a national council, the Santa Junta, which took charge of organizing events and fielding an army. They also sought to legitimize their actions by gaining the support of Charles’s mother, the mentally unstable Queen Joanna, confined in the town of Tordesillas. The *comuneros* gained control of the town and the queen, but she refused to sign any documents for them. With this threat to his authority, and with the *comunero* forces increasing and winning battles, Charles wisely appointed two Castilian grandees, the constable and the admiral of Castile, to govern with Adrian. Eventually the Royalist party assembled an army of experienced veterans.

Meanwhile, schisms regarding leadership and goals occurred in the *comunero* ranks. The moderates, such as Pedro Laso de la Vega, lost to the extremists, who favored attacks against the aristocracy. With this threat to the established social order, the *comunero* revolt lost whatever support it might have had among the titled aristocracy. The issue was ultimately resolved on the battlefield where the *comuneros* were no match for the royalist forces led by the constable. On 23 April 1521, the *comuneros* were defeated at Villalar; captains Juan de Padilla and Juan Bravo, from Segovia, were executed the following day.

After the defeat at Villalar, many cities and towns were eager to return to the royal fold. Toledo, however, held out, thanks to two resolute leaders. One was the warrior bishop of Zamora, Antonio de Acuña, who led his own army of two thousand men in defense of the *comunero* cause. With the death of the young Fleming Charles had appointed as archbishop of Toledo, Acuña determined that he would occupy the see and marched his army south. After a few skirmishes in the region, Acuña had himself installed as archbishop, but when news of the defeat at Villalar reached Toledo, the prelate again took to the road and was captured by Royalist forces. Still Toledo still did not surrender, thanks to the formidable María Pacheco, widow of

the recently executed Juan de Padilla. While a truce was implemented in October 1521, it was not until February 1522, when María Pacheco sought refuge in Portugal, that the *comunero* revolt ended in Toledo.

Whether the *comunero* movement was a true revolution or a mere revolt, as well as the causes and long-term effects of the uprising, are much-debated questions. But it was the last uprising against the Habsburgs in the crown of Castile.

See also Charles I (Spain); Charles V (Holy Roman Empire).

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LINDA MARTZ

CONCORDAT. *See* Church and State Relations.

CONCUBINAGE. While most early modern people married, a small number established semipermanent, nonmarital unions. Called concubinage in religious and legal terminology, these alliances were usually identified in everyday speech by the term for the woman, for example, “mistress” in England, and “*femina*” in northern Italy. Although not married to each other, the participants might be married to others. Long-established legal acceptance was on the wane by the late fifteenth century as church and state invested legitimate marriage with increased responsibilities for social and moral order. Concubinage nonetheless persisted for it met many needs, offering participants flexibility in their family lives and opportunities for social improvement, although it could also disrupt legitimate marriages. Some priests also kept concubines in defiance

of the laws of celibacy, a practice known as clerical concubinage, which lies outside the scope of this entry.

LEGAL ASPECTS

In the Middle Ages concubinage between two unmarried lay people enjoyed legal tolerance, in part based on traditions of second-class marriage, such as morganatic marriage, in which children were unable to inherit from their father, and ancient Roman and Germanic concubinage. A concubine differed from a prostitute in the exclusivity and long duration of her relationship with one man. In theory alliances involving a married person were considered not concubinage but adultery and were punishable as such. In practice, however, these relationships sometimes met tolerance almost equal to a relationship between two unmarried people.

The church had always favored marriage over concubinage and urged couples to marry, but the conviction that marriage was based on the consent of the parties had helped give concubinage between unmarried people legitimacy. Following impulses for moral reform, however, the Fifth Lateran Council in 1514 and the Council of Trent in 1563 declared all concubinage illegal, the latter singling out married men who kept concubines. Protestant territories similarly pursued and prosecuted unmarried couples.

Secular law took into account concubinage of both married and unmarried men, for example, listing concubines among the people—including their wives—whom men could punish physically and detailing what kinds of gifts concubines could receive. In fourteenth-century Italy some patrons and concubines spelled out their obligations in written contracts. In the late fourteenth century, however, a few cities, including Cremona and Würzburg, made concubinage a crime. In the fifteenth century many more, such as Avignon, Basel, and Bergamo, followed, with adulterous relationships receiving harsher punishments. At the same time there was a substantial increase in the legal disabilities of concubines and their children, who were considered illegitimate and had limited inheritance and other rights, especially in France.

SOCIAL ASPECTS

Although it became less common, people from all social classes continued to practice concubinage throughout the period because it met many needs. In a common pattern an elite man kept a low-status woman—often a servant or tenant—as his concubine, although a few higher-status women became the concubines of dukes, princes, or kings. Concubinage enabled male aristocrats in arranged marriages to find emotionally satisfying relationships outside of them. For aristocratic men who were not yet married, who were widowed, or whose families decided they should not marry, concubinage offered a semblance of family life without the threats to family alliance and inheritance strategies that legitimate children would have posed.

People also used concubinage in strategies of social advancement. Elite men demonstrated their wealth and power by dressing their concubines well, keeping them in separate households, and openly defying conventional morality. Lower-status women (and their families) were attracted by alliances with wealthy and powerful men—who, tradition dictated, would raise any children—and to the frequent final benefit of a dowry and a marriage to a man of her social class. Arranging marriages of former concubines and illegitimate children was a way to maintain clientage networks and to demonstrate control over society. Increasingly, however, people found aristocratic men's open flouting of convention troubling, particularly when the men kept married women as their concubines, shaming their husbands, or when the men's relationships took resources from their legitimate families.

Low-status people might also live together in concubinage, although often for different reasons and in a manner that more closely resembled legitimate marriage. Some men sought to avoid producing legitimate children; others lived with one woman until they could find a better one to marry. Usually, however, commoner couples lived in non-marital unions because they could not legally marry each other. One or both might already be married, or they might be too closely related to marry. Others, lacking the financial resources necessary to marriage, lived together unmarried until they could accumulate them.

See also Family; Marriage; Sexuality and Sexual Behavior; Women.

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EMLYN EISENACH

CONDÉ FAMILY. The leading aristocratic house of *ancien régime* France, the Condé were a cadet branch of the Bourbon dynasty that ruled France from 1589 to the Revolution. The title derived from the principality of Condé-sur-l'Escaut in Flanders which, with the seigneurie of Enghien in the Île-de-France, was the dowry that François de Bourbon, count of Vendôme received from his wife, Marie de Luxembourg, in 1487. Then, as later, the Condé family depended on wealthy marriages for its survival. François de Bourbon was the founder of the Condé dynasty, whose fortunes came to mirror those of the French monarchy itself.

In the sixteenth century, the Condé family was the epitome of the “duty” among aristocratic princes to lead opposition to the French crown. Louis I de Bourbon, first prince of Condé (1530–1569), the youngest male heir of Charles de Bourbon, duke of Vendôme (d. 1538) and Françoise d'Alençon, grew up under the shadow of the revolt of his uncle, the Constable de Bourbon. A fortunate marriage to Eleonore de Roye, niece of the Constable Anne de Montmorency, in 1551 brought him lands in Picardy and Brie and prominent positions in the royal armies. Her conversion to Protestantism, and the influence of her uncle, Gaspard de Coligny, led to his emergence as a political leader of French Protestantism. At the same time, the death of the French king Henry II (ruled 1547–1559) began a decade of royal minority rule in which Condé championed the rights of the princes of the blood against the rival aristocratic house of Guise. In 1560, Condé's hand was evident in an organized plot for a



Condé Family. Bronze bust of the Grand Condé (Louis II de Bourbon) by Antoine Coysevox, 1688. ©RÉUNION DES MUSÉES NATIONAUX/ART RESOURCE, N.Y.

group of discontented noblemen to wrest control of the young king, Francis II (ruled 1559–1560), known as the Conspiracy of Amboise. Condé feigned indignation but was tried and convicted of treason, making his first public declaration of Protestantism while in prison. The death of the king, five days before his execution, saved his life and he went on to deploy his extraordinary energies and boldness to mobilize an army, partially around his aristocratic affinity, proclaiming the duty of a prince to liberate a young king in chains and protect the liberty to practice the true faith in the first civil wars (1562–1563; 1567–1568; 1568–1570). The thinking heads of the Protestant movement privately distrusted his adventurism and deplored his marital infidelities, but publicly mourned his death in battle at Jarnac, near Angoulême, in 1569. His son, Henry I de Bourbon, second prince of Condé (1552–1588) followed in his father’s footsteps, devouring the considerable wealth of his spouse, Charlotte-Catherine de La Trémoille, to fund his

checkered career as “governor and protector” of the French Protestant churches in the 1570s before being overshadowed by the formidable political and military talents of his cousin, Henry of Navarre (later Henry IV of France [ruled 1589–1610]).

The accession of Henry IV to the French throne in 1589 changed the dynamics of the Condé family’s relationships with the crown, but not immediately. Henry II de Bourbon, third prince of Condé (1588–1646) only enjoyed the preeminence of being heir to the throne during his childhood. Relegated to a subordinate position by the birth of the future Louis XIII (reigned 1610–1643) in 1601 and that of the first prince of the blood Gaston d’Orléans in 1608, he returned to the family traditions of revolt (albeit shorn of Protestant affiliations—he ended his life as opposed to Huguenots as to Jansenists) in 1615 before being arrested and imprisoned for three years. It was only after 1626 that the fruits of close cooperation with a strengthened royal authority became clear. His marriage to Charlotte-Marguerite de Montmorency in 1609 led eventually to his being rewarded by Louis XIII and Cardinal Richelieu for his loyalty with most of Montmorency’s vast wealth, following the revolt and execution of her brother, Henry II de Montmorency in 1632. As Katia Béguin has recently demonstrated, the essential elements of the Condé landed fortune, clientèle, and authority were consolidated at this juncture.

Louis II de Bourbon, fourth prince of Condé (1621–1686) earned his reputation as “le Grand Condé” or “le Héros” on the battlefield, although his Jesuit tutors had already discovered the keen intellect of a student who could write and speak elegant Latin as well as show more mastery of history, mathematics, and law than was expected of an aristocratic prince. His precocious military career was immortalized early on in the victory over the Spanish forces at Rocroi in 1643, and he went on to demonstrate his considerable strategic ability and stubborn determination in grueling campaigns in the Rhineland and Flanders, his success in the latter being crucial to securing Spanish compliance with the peace terms at Westphalia in 1648. His loyalty in the early years of the Fronde (1648–1649) proved critical. His later, resourceful resistance to Cardinal Mazarin, which led to imprisonment, revolt, and exile (1650–1659), proved to be an object lesson

for the young Louis XIV in how to handle, but also restrain, the pretensions of a prince of the blood. After Mazarin's death, Condé became the perfect courtier, an enthusiastic patron of letters and a loyal general.

The extensive clientèle patterns of the Condé house enjoyed a remarkable stability and continuity during the remainder of the *ancien régime*, especially under Henri-Jules de Bourbon, fifth prince of Condé (1643–1709). The last of the house of Condé was Louis-Henri-Joseph de Bourbon (1756–1830), who died in mysterious circumstances, hanging from his château window at St-Leu. The château at Chantilly, north of Paris, rebuilt in the later nineteenth century, contains many of the family's monuments and its archives.

See also Bourbon Dynasty (France); France; Fronde; Henry IV (France); Huguenots; Louis XIII (France); Louis XIV (France); Mazarin, Jules; Richelieu, Armand-Jean Du Plessis, cardinal; Wars of Religion (France).

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MARK GREENGRASS

CONDORCET, MARIE-JEAN CARITAT, MARQUIS DE (full name Marie Jean-Antoine Nicolas de Caritat; 1743–1794), French Enlightenment philosopher and mathematician, and radical politician during the French Revolution. Scion of a provincial noble fam-

ily (he was raised by his pious widowed mother in the Picardy region of northern France), Condorcet was arguably the most important member of the last generation of Enlightenment philosophers.

First educated by the Reims Jesuits, whose physical and psychological cruelty he detested, he nevertheless was a brilliant student. In 1758 he entered the College of Navarre of the University of Paris, celebrated for mathematics and experimental physics. Condorcet was mentored by Girault de Kérondon, a gifted teacher of natural philosophy who encouraged his talent for abstract mathematics. Condorcet defended his thesis in 1759 before the great mathematician d'Alembert (1717–1783), who became his second mentor. His first major mathematical paper was accepted in 1764 by the Academy of Sciences (which accepted him in 1769) and brought him quick recognition from the scientific community.

Condorcet's life, however, was not limited to pure mathematics. From 1770 on, he was one of the philosophers trying to reshape the French state. With Julie de l'Espinasse, the celebrated salon hostess, d'Alembert introduced him to the community of the encyclopedists. Condorcet was elected to the Académie Française in 1782 and in 1786 married his beloved Sophie de Grouchy. Convention attributes his ferocious sense of injustice and his dedication to secular public schooling to the intolerance of his noble relatives and the cruelty of the Jesuits, but they also came from his pitiless logical analysis of the events around him. A protégé of Turgot, finance minister of Louis XVI, Condorcet worked tirelessly to reform the financial system of France according to the principles of free trade; following Voltaire, he argued against the injustice of the French legal system and for the abolition of slavery and capital punishment. In the 1780s the violent struggles between the parlements and the monarch led him to develop a "Political Arithmetic": mathematically argued papers on topics of public import. The last gasp of the Enlightenment, rationalizing the interactions between political agents, it was an antithesis to Montesquieu's *Spirit of the Laws* or Rousseau's *Social Contract*. "Concerning Elections" argues, for example, that elections should create statistical consensus concerning the logic of judicial propositions, this democracy depending on a public education

grounded in a perfected language forcing people to react according to logic and not personal interest.

During the French Revolution, Condorcet was an active public figure. In the final years of the *ancien régime*, his refusal to compromise philosophical principles for political expediency had made him many enemies. His international reputation nevertheless enabled him to serve various finance ministers and to be a member of the Committee on Public Instruction, which produced the first systematic proposal for the secular public schooling he considered the bedrock of a functioning republic. He supported the abolition of titles and of the monarchy and the creation of a French Republic. Elected to the Legislative Assembly in 1791 and the Constitutional Convention in 1792, he wrote a daring constitution that was never adopted, as the Jacobins feared its consequences for their own election prospects.

Detested by the Right as a traitor and by the Left as a threat, Condorcet was finally proscribed by the Committee on Public Safety in July 1793. Hidden by an elderly widow in Paris, ill, and in a state of moral dejection, he wrote, at Sophie's request, his most famous work, the *Sketch of a Historical Table of the Progress of the Human Spirit*, a brilliant history of intellectual development in the great Enlightenment tradition of Buffon, and a vision of unlimited human social progress. In March of 1794, fearing the house was to be searched, he fled to the countryside. He was captured and found dead two days later in his cell. Some believe he was murdered; still others believe he committed suicide or that, suffering from exposure, he died of a stroke.

A martyr to the Terror, Condorcet was nonetheless a founding father of republican France. Many of his political principles made their way into later constitutions. The French civil service, as heart of the state, owes its soul to his idea that civil servants function correctly when their education induces them to perceive the logical procedures shared by all human beings and to put them into the service of that same totality, the public. The balance between individual liberty and the particularly French notion of "solidarity" here finds its source in Condorcet's mathematization of social and political concepts.

See also Buffon, Georges Louis Leclerc; Enlightenment; Montesquieu, Charles-Louis de Secondat de; Revolutions, Age of; Rousseau, Jean-Jacques; Voltaire.

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WILDA CHRISTINE ANDERSON

CONFRATERNITIES. Literally "brotherhoods," these were corporate groups found in various religious traditions that organized the devotional and charitable life of lay believers around the model of ritual kinship. They ranged in size from a few dozen to a few hundred members and were active in practically every urban center and in many rural districts. Venice had 120 confraternities in c. 1500 and 387 by c. 1700; almost 20 percent of the population of mid-seventeenth century Antwerp belonged to a brotherhood, a proportion found in most European cities. By the late eighteenth century 70 percent of rural parishes in Trier had a confraternity, as did almost all rural villages in Spain, where a 1771 government census reported 25,038 brotherhoods. Membership conferred spiritual, social, and charitable benefits, and individuals might belong to one or more groups according to need or preference. In the Catholic world of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, they became critical agents of a process of "christianization" that

involved catechetical education, moral discipline, intense devotional exercises, and dramatic public processions. By the eighteenth century, a new generation of Catholic reformers criticized their wealth, materialist piety, and often self-serving charity, and successfully advocated reforms by which state governments across Europe suppressed confraternities and directed their resources to charitable purposes.

MEDIEVAL AND RENAISSANCE FORMS

Voluntary kin groups were active in the early church and in the Carolingian period, but confraternities first expanded rapidly with the mendicant urban missions of the thirteenth century, when they emphasized peacemaking, mutual support, and egalitarian brotherhood. Into the early modern period, their individual and collective religious exercises adapted mendicant models to lay life, and included praise singing, penitential flagellation, processions, funerary and requiem services, and charity exercised to members and the urban poor. Their administration followed guild models, and most guarded their autonomy from the clergy. In larger cities, confraternities organized members according to devotional preference, trade, nationality, neighborhood, or charitable activity, and took on extensive social responsibilities as a result. Theirs was a distinctly local piety, and confraternities were often the custodians of local shrines, the organizers of civic religious rituals, and the administrators of local hospitals, orphanages, and hostels. They were the lay face of the church, and most of what passed for social welfare was organized and run by the brotherhoods.

CONFRATERNITIES AND CATHOLIC REFORM

From the late fifteenth century, lay and clerical Catholic reformers advocated renewal of the church based on the works of physical and spiritual charity and on expanded devotional exercises centered on prayer and the sacraments. They saw the confraternities as vehicles for organizing and spreading this activity among the laity and built many aspects of their reform programs around the brotherhoods: confraternity members worked in prisons, established hospitals, offered dowries and loans to the poor, and opened shelters for orphans, prostitutes, and widows. At the same time, some clerical reformers believed that confraternities' traditional emphasis on lay autonomy left them vulnerable to

heresies and undermined the authority of priests and bishops. They advocated closer clerical supervision of the groups. There had been no canon law governing confraternities in the middle ages, but in Session XXII (1562), the Council of Trent empowered bishops to review statutes, supervise worship, and audit accounts in regular visitations (canons VIII and IX). Many confraternities resisted, but in 1604 Clement VIII issued the bull *Quaecumque*, which required episcopal approval for all new foundations.

The regulatory process ordered by Trent and *Quaecumque* took hold slowly, particularly in rural areas, but the potential of confraternities to realize Catholic reform objectives led secular and regular clergy to establish brotherhoods that had a standard form, specific function, and uniform statutes. At the parish and diocesan level, two early-sixteenth-century innovations that multiplied after Trent were the Holy Sacrament confraternities dedicated to eucharistic devotion and the Christian Doctrine confraternities dedicated to catechetical instruction. Reforming bishops such as Carlo Borromeo (1538–1584) of Milan and Gabrielle Paleotti (1528–1597) of Bologna believed eucharistic devotion to be the touchstone of the Catholic faith and aimed to have a Holy Sacrament confraternity in every parish. Both wrote standard statutes that confirmed their status as parish auxiliaries under the priest's authority. Members brought the Eucharist to sick parishioners in their homes, held Corpus Domini processions that took the Host around the city, and organized the Forty Hour devotions, which drew believers into chapels to pray before it for that period of time. Members of Christian Doctrine confraternities taught reading, writing, and religion to boys and girls in Sunday afternoon sessions, working with specially adapted textbooks. Another innovation, which promoted standardized rules and clerical control and directed lay attention to Rome, was the emergence of archconfraternities from the 1530s. Based initially in Rome, these received extraordinary papal privileges and indulgences that they shared with brotherhoods in other localities. Confraternities aggregating to the archconfraternity pledged to adopt its statutes and practices and sent members on pilgrimages to Rome, where the archconfraternity hosted them.

CONFRATERNAL NETWORKS

New and existing religious orders made confraternities a central element in their mission outreach. Many of the new orders began as confraternities, chiefly the Jesuits, Theatines, Ursulines, Visitation, Barnabites, Piarists, and Oratorians, and all employed confraternities to gather and socialize their recruits and to underwrite their charitable and mission outreach. Organization as a confraternity allowed the French Daughters of Charity to live communally but avoid enclosure, and so continue working openly in schools and hospitals. The Dominican James Sprenger founded a Confraternity of the Holy Rosary in Cologne in 1475; Dominicans subsequently established branches across Europe to promote the new devotion, particularly among the illiterate, and claimed a million members by the eve of the Reformation. The Theatines and Oratory of Divine Love established brotherhoods of nobles to work with the sick and the poor in hospitals.

Of all religious orders, the Jesuits relied most heavily on confraternities, called Marian sodalities, to promote and underwrite their missions and charitable institutions. These first emerged in the Roman College in 1563, and as Jesuit colleges multiplied, they moved out beyond students and alumni to enroll elites across Catholic Europe. Their devotions were conventional, but by establishing separate groups for professionals and nobles, students, and artisans, the Jesuits ensured that they would foster more intense socialization and greater cohesion than traditional confraternities. They grew rapidly in numbers, activity, and influence through the seventeenth century, sometimes as public and sometimes as secret bodies. Among the latter was the French Company of the Holy Sacrament, established in 1629. It grew to sixty-two provincial congregations before suppression in 1667 and enrolled royal courtiers, judges, bishops, bureaucrats, and merchants who were dedicated to the promotion of the monarchy, Catholic missions, personal devotions, and charity. Much of the administrative elite of expanding states had been trained in Jesuit colleges, and lifelong membership in the Marian sodalities preserved and extended their personal networks and created a governing class committed to this work of “christianization.”

This merging of church and state in the form of networked elite confraternities that served political

and religious purposes was an early modern characteristic that extended beyond the Jesuits. During the French Wars of Religion, Catholic royalists promoted confraternities of the Holy Ghost and the Holy Name of Jesus to challenge both Protestantism and those who advocated religious toleration on political grounds.

Portugal’s dowager Queen Leonor founded the Lisbon *Misericórdia* as a charitable agency in 1498, and under royal patronage *Misericórdia* confraternities soon spread across the nation and to the Azores and the Madeiras before tracking Portugal’s expansion to Macau, Brazil, and North Africa. The Lisbon *Misericórdia* statutes, first printed in 1516, were usually adopted by these local groups, whose upper-class members exercised the works of corporal and spiritual mercy toward the poor. A succession of royal privileges through the sixteenth century set the *Misericórdia* confraternities ahead of all local counterparts in charitable activity and beyond the control of episcopal authorities in all but cultic worship. A virtual monopoly on alms gathering gradually brought most charitable hospitals under their control and, combined with tax concessions, generated a patrimony, which patrician administrators employed in lavish public devotions or lent on generous terms to their peers. The Portuguese *Misericórdias* enjoyed local autonomy and exercised considerable political, social, and even judicial authority until the later eighteenth century, when political opposition to their privileges, combined with the rise of devotional alternatives (particularly the Third Orders), undercut their powers, resources, and influence.

CONFRATERNITIES IN ASIA AND LATIN AMERICA

The *Misericórdia* confraternities helped administer Portugal’s empire, and much of Catholic expansion overseas employed confraternities as agents of missions, charity, and political and social control. The Jesuits founded indigenous confraternities in Japan, and in the space of three decades, the brotherhoods had won 215,000 converts. In an area with few missionaries, they provided the main contact with Christianity and were the key to its rapid spread. Japanese confraternities organized festivals, charity, and mutual assistance, and became the core of an underground church once persecution began in 1587. A parallel situation developed some decades

later in China. The Jesuit mission there had initially concentrated on court and intellectual circles, but when persecution in 1616–1620 led these members to drop away, the Jesuits concentrated on planting confraternities among merchants and peasants. Numbers rose from 60,000 in the 1640s to 300,000 by 1700.

Confraternities were even more important to Catholic colonizers in the Americas, where the Spanish and Portuguese used them to build the fabric of the Catholic Church and also to control indigenous groups and slaves. Groups like the Portuguese *Misericórdias* took the lead in building the bulwark of churches and hospitals, processions and rituals that sheltered European cultural identity for colonial settlers. They were also the main means of spreading Catholic doctrine and ritual among indigenous groups in the Americas from the time that the first one was established in Mexico City in 1526 or 1527, and they multiplied rapidly. Mexico City had possibly three hundred indigenous confraternities by 1585, and the most dramatic expansion across Central and South America occurred in the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Most Latin American confraternities grew out of the missions of the religious orders. The Jesuits in Brazil initially aimed to gather believers of diverse racial backgrounds into single local confraternities in order to demonstrate the unity of Church universal against Dutch and French Protestants who were trying to establish settlements in Brazil. Yet the logic of the Jesuits' own hierarchical model, the racism of colonial society, and the possibilities of resistance soon altered the situation, so that in Brazil and across Latin America there were distinct groups for aboriginals, for African slaves, for Spanish or Portuguese settlers, and for the expanding mestizo population. Dominicans joined the Jesuits in actively promoting racially distinct groups, and black confraternities in particular.

The parallel brotherhoods for different racial groups became vehicles for maintaining, albeit in syncretized form, West African and pre-Columbian religious and political practices. While intended to promote christianization, in some cases these groups became protected shelters of indigenous cultural identity in a context that suppressed all other non-Catholic or non-Hispanic cultural institutions.

African and mestizo fraternities in Brazil exercised limited legal powers within their communities and sometimes countered Portuguese overlords by challenging cruel slave owners in court and by lending members money to buy their freedom. Aztec, Mayan, and Incan confraternities drew members through charity and sociability and frequently preserved indigenous forms of kin-based social organization. Beyond this, Catholic devotions often appealed because they resonated well with pre-Columbian religious practices, particularly the rituals of respect and care for the dead, and the practice of penitential flagellation.

CONFRATERNITIES OUTSIDE CATHOLICISM

Examples of confraternities crossing confessional boundaries occur in Europe as well, where most combined political, charitable, and cultic functions, and developed into semiautonomous governing structures for expatriate, subordinate, or marginalized communities. In Venice, the San Niccolò confraternity gathered the Greek Orthodox community from 1498. It taxed Greek merchants to underwrite burials, dowries, and poor relief for members; it constructed the Church of San Giorgio dei Greci (1539–1573); and it sent aid to Orthodox hospitals, convents, and monasteries throughout the Venetian empire. Orthodox believers in the Ukraine used confraternities (called *bratstva*) to preserve Slavic cultural, religious, and political identity against the Polish state and, from 1596, against the Eastern Rite Catholic Church. The brotherhoods initially organized charity, worship, and discipline, but soon extended their reach to political protest, education, and judicial discipline of members. They remained active into the twentieth century. Jewish confraternities began emerging in Italy as racial tensions increased in the early sixteenth century, and then expanded more rapidly with the establishment of ghettos in Venice (1516) and Rome (1555). Jewish fraternalism was shaped in part through a dynamic with Catholic forms and initially focused on helping the old, sick, and needy, and on burying the dead. Fraternities of teachers and students prefigured the yeshiva, and in cities where declining populations forced the closing of synagogues, the confraternities multiplied in number, members, and cultic activities. Moving into the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Jewish confraternities demonstrated some of the

same social patterns observed in contemporary Catholic confraternities, particularly an increasing pietism, more gender distinctions, and the development of mutual aid from charity towards insurance.

CHALLENGES AND SUPPRESSIONS

The later seventeenth century was the high point of confraternal activity and influence, and by the mid-eighteenth century these organizations were being challenged by reform movements rooted in Jansenism and Enlightenment values. Their organization mirrored the stratified social hierarchy of the *ancien régime*, ranging from a small number of exclusive groups that enjoyed significant wealth and special privileges to a broader range of occupational, parochial, and charitable groups that aimed to adapt popular piety to the rhythm of Catholic orthodoxy. Both sides expressed their faith in dramatic rituals such as public flagellation, in lavish processions, and in periodic feasts. Tintoretto, Rubens, and El Greco were among the famous artists commissioned to adorn the quarters of elite confraternities, while a host of minor talents designed ornate chapels and oratories or painted the elaborate banners, altarpieces, and images that brought the “devotional consumption” of baroque piety to local streets and village chapels.

By the 1750s, a growing chorus of critics within and outside the Catholic church found confraternal piety to be wasteful, corrupt, tasteless, and superstitious, and called for worship characterized by moderation, simplicity, inner devotion, and charity. Political authorities resented the confraternities’ autonomies and untaxed patrimonies. New ritual kin groups such as the Masons offered fraternity without flagellation and grew at confraternities’ expense, particularly in France. The political elites who once had favored and patronized the confraternities now deliberately dismantled them. In Austria, Joseph II suppressed the confraternities in 1782. In Grand Ducal Tuscany, a 1783 census paved the way for suppression of all but a handful of charitable groups in 1785. In both instances, expropriated properties and possessions were to be redistributed to the poor. In Spain, mounting criticism from the 1750s led to a royal census of confraternal wealth in 1768–1771, followed by suppression of all but charitable and religious groups in 1784, the disentanglement of confraternal property in 1798, and

a final expropriation of remaining resources in 1841. Though confraternities eventually revived as devotional groups in the nineteenth century, they never regained the social and political influence that they had enjoyed in the *ancien régime*.

See also Catholicism; Jesuits; Missions and Missionaries; Reformation, Catholic; Religious Orders.

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NICHOLAS TERPSTRA

CONSCRIPTION. *See* Military: Armies; Recruitment, Organization, and Social Composition

CONSTANTINOPLE. The city of Constantinople, called Kostantaniyye in Arabic and in formal Ottoman usage and Istanbul in the vernacular, was the most cosmopolitan city in the Mediterra-

nean world and the Middle East during the early modern period. Its geographic location—it connected Asia and Europe as well as the Black Sea and the Mediterranean—enhanced its importance during the Byzantine and Ottoman periods. In addition, its natural beauty, monumental architecture (Byzantine and Ottoman), size, and commercial importance surpassed former Ottoman and Islamic capitals like Bursa, Cairo, and Isfahan in the early modern period. European visitors to the Ottoman capital have left numerous accounts and hundreds of sketches of its beautiful panorama, its magnificent Byzantine and Ottoman monuments, and the colorful daily life of its residents, including women, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. According to Lady Mary Montagu, the wife of the English ambassador to the Ottoman Empire in 1717–1718, Istanbul surpassed European cities like London and Paris in size in the eighteenth century. It was the most exotic and yet familiar city for visiting Europeans who lived among local Greeks, Armenians, and Jews in the European neighborhood of Pera in the eighteenth century.

THE CONQUEST OF CONSTANTINOPLE AND THE MAKING OF ISTANBUL

The Ottoman conquest of Constantinople by Mehmed II (ruled 1444–1446, 1451–1481) on 29 May 1453 led initially to its physical devastation as a result of a two-month siege and violent takeover by the Ottoman troops, who pounded the walls with heavy cannon fire. A good number of its residents fled the city during the siege, reducing the defending force to only seven thousand men, which included Venetian and Genoese volunteers. Lack of unity among its Greek residents, who defied Byzantine Emperor Constantine XI's (ruled 1449–1453) call for union with Rome, combined with the superior force of the Ottoman army, which numbered eighty thousand men, made possible the conquest of the city. The sultan assumed the title of Conqueror (*Fatih*) after this victory, which marked the end of Byzantium and the beginning of an imperial age for the Ottomans.

After witnessing the looting and pillaging of the city by his soldiers, Mehmed II immediately set out to rebuild Constantinople and convert it to an Ottoman-Islamic capital. He first granted amnesty to former residents who had fled and pressed Greeks and Turks from all over the empire to settle in the

city in return for tax relief. In the process of occupation and resettlement, many former residents who had survived lost their property to the new settlers. The sultan entered the great Cathedral of Haghia Sophia (Turkish, *aya sofya*) mounted on his horse and ordered the erection of a minaret and the construction of a pulpit (*mimber*) and an ornamental niche (*mibrab*) indicating the direction of Mecca. The magnificent mosaics were obscured by plaster in accordance with the orthodox Islamic ban on human imagery. Many Greek and Armenian churches fell into ruin or were converted into mosques, symbolizing the new status of Islam under the Ottomans. Mehmed II ordered the construction of a new palace, the Topkapi Sarayi, next to the Aya Sofya mosque on the first Hill, which replaced the old palace on the third Hill and became the residence of the dynasty and the center of government until the late eighteenth century. The imperial harem, the residence of the Ottoman household, and its dependents became part of the Topkapi Palace. Mehmed II also ordered the construction of a royal mosque (*Fatih Camii*) complex with a commercial district that became known as the covered bazaar (*Kapali Çarşı*) at the heart of the city on the third Hill to revive the economy and promote trade. He commanded the members of the ruling class to set up similar religious and charitable foundations in the vicinity of his mosque.

The city was divided into four districts: Eyüp, which contained the tomb of Abu Ayyub (*Eyüp*) al-Ansari, one of the companions of the Prophet Muhammed who had taken part in the first Muslim siege in the seventh century; Galata, the Genoese town; Istanbul, the walled royal district; and Usküdar, on the Asiatic shore. Galata and Istanbul were the most populated towns. The city expanded beyond the walls and on both shores of the Bosphorus in the eighteenth century. In the absence of detailed and regular surveys, it is impossible to reach any firm conclusions about demographic trends in the city before the nineteenth century. The earliest Ottoman census for the two districts of Galata and *intra muros* Istanbul in 1477 records a civilian population of 16,324 tax-paying households, 9,486 of them Muslim, 3,743 Greek Orthodox, 1,647 Jewish, 434 Armenian, 332 European, 31 Gypsy (Roma), and various others (İnalçik, 1973, p. 141). According to some estimates, the



Constantinople. Seventeenth-century engraving. THE ART ARCHIVE/MARINE MUSEUM LISBON/DAGLI ORTI

population of the city, including its immediate suburbs, rose from 80,000 or so in the late fifteenth century to 500,000 in the sixteenth century. Foreign travelers estimated the population of the city to have been anywhere from 300,000 to 700,000 in the mid-eighteenth century, with Muslims making up 58 percent of the population. Orthodox Greeks continued to be the most dominant non-Muslim element in the capital as in the empire as a whole. Jews made up about 10 percent of the population of Istanbul in the eighteenth century. The Latin Catholic population of Galata is said to have numbered around 3,000 in 1714. Several hundred French households resided in the neighborhood of Bereket-zade in Pera, the neighborhood above Galata, in the eighteenth century.

The fires, plague, and earthquakes so often recorded in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries periodically reduced the population and destroyed whole neighborhoods. Rural migration, however, more than restored demographic balance. The state had to impose limits on rural migration to the city

and deported unemployed single men regularly in the eighteenth century. The first formal census survey estimated the population of greater Istanbul to be around 359,000 people in the early decades of the nineteenth century. It rose to 1,077,000 in 1897. The population of greater Galata alone reached 291,406 persons (49.8 percent Muslim) in 1927.

CONSTRUCTING AN ISLAMIC CAPITAL

The Ottoman dynasty played an important role in the physical and economic development of the city. The sultan ordered the members of his household and his grandees to endow pious foundations (*vakf*) all over the city and particularly in the district of Istanbul, which became the residence of the dynasty. The female members of the Ottoman dynasty, like *valide-sultans* ('queen mothers') and princesses of the blood, also played an important role in founding the new complexes. These *vakf* complexes provided religious services, education, health care, shelter, and food for the population. The income to support the



Constantinople. This dramatic map of the Ottoman capital is from an early-nineteenth-century German atlas. The main part of the map, with its small-scale plan of the city, illustrates its strategic position on the Bosphorus. Below the map is a view of the city from the north, with a key to numbered buildings, including the Seraglio, Hagia Sophia, and other mosques. Many of these impressive buildings were erected in the sixteenth century. MAP COLLECTION, STERLING MEMORIAL LIBRARY, YALE UNIVERSITY

foundations came largely from commercial properties attached to these complexes. Philanthropy through *vakf* also enhanced the legitimacy of the dynasty and integrated the city physically, socially, and economically. The Süleymaniye mosque in the district of Istanbul on the seventh Hill and the Hürrem Sultan (d. 1558) mosque in Usküdar, built by Sultan Süleiman (1520–1566) and Hürrem, his beloved wife, are two outstanding examples of such *vakf* complexes.

The city was divided into thirteen districts (*nahiye*), each subdivided further into neighbor-

hoods (*mahalle*). Every district, with the exception of one, was named after a mosque complex established by sultans and viziers, for example, Süleymaniye, Mahmud Pasha, Fatih, Beyazit, Aya Sofya, and so on. The districts were mixed in their ethnic and religious makeup while individual *mahalles* developed around mosques, churches, and synagogues.

The non-Muslim community was generally forbidden from building new churches and synagogues but received permission from the state to repair religious buildings, particularly after major fires.

Sometimes the state urged communities to move and settle in new neighborhoods after major fires. In the late seventeenth century, the Jewish community of Bahçe Kapi was forced to move after a major fire to clear the way for the construction of a new imperial mosque, Yeni Cami. The displaced Jews were resettled in Hasköy, on the Golden Horn (an estuary that divides European Istanbul). The district of Galata housed Greeks, Armenians, Jews, and European communities. The Muslims settled in increasing numbers in the neighborhoods of Kasım Pasha and Tophane in the same district. Rural migrants and other single men settled in the bachelor lodges (*bekar odalari*) in these two neighborhoods, where jobs were available in the arsenal and the cannon foundry. The villages along the Bosphorus, Beşiktaş, Ortaköy, Arnavütköy, Bebek, Kuskunçuk, and so on also remained mixed in their ethnic composition. The neighborhoods enjoyed great autonomy and were usually divided along religious lines. Religious strife and tension, however, rarely undermined the harmony of intercommunal life. The city had become more cosmopolitan with the settlement of a growing number of western European merchants and visitors in Pera.

COMMERCIAL LIFE AND URBAN GROWTH

Istanbul had become an important center of commerce between the Middle East, western Europe, and Russia in early modern Europe. Its commerce with western Europe, particularly with France, expanded greatly in the eighteenth century. The European merchants exchanged bullion, woolen textiles, sugar, coffee from the colonies, and other luxurious goods for Russian furs, Iranian silks, carpets, hides, and cotton textiles. The Greek, Jewish, and Armenian merchants played an important intermediary role in trade with western Europe and Russia. The neighborhood of Pera, on the northern hills of Galata, the former Genoese colony, became the residence of western European diplomats and merchants. Galata and Pera also emerged as the center of banking and international commerce in the eighteenth century, overshadowing the traditional commercial center, the bazaar in the old district of Istanbul. This shift also symbolized the incorporation of the Ottoman Empire into the world economy and the dominance of Western trade in the economic life of the city. The new urban bourgeoisie composed of Greeks, Armenians, and, to a lesser extent,

Jews and members of the Muslim elite, who enjoyed strong ties to European houses of commerce and credit networks, set up business in fashionable shops in Pera, later known as Beyoğlu.

The royal household also moved out of the old district and settled in newly built palaces like the Dolmabahçe and the Yıldız Palace on the European shores of the Bosphorus. These palaces displayed European artistic and architectural influences like the baroque and rococo of the eighteenth century. In addition, the members of the dynasty, particularly the Ottoman princesses like Fatma Sultan, the daughter of Ahmed III (ruled 1703–1730) and wife of the Tulip era grand vizier Nevşehirli Ibrahim, built public parks and gardens and erected public fountains to supply water for the new neighborhoods. An air of leisure and festivity dominated the private and public lives of the Ottoman ruling class and, to some extent, that of the masses during the Tulip period (1718–1730). The royal household took every occasion to celebrate publicly new victories in the Morea (1715) and Tabriz (1725), the birth and circumcision of Ottoman princes, and the weddings of Ottoman princesses. This period came to an end with the Patrona Halil rebellion in September 1730 that led to the overthrow of Ahmed III and his grand vizier Ibrahim. The rebels, led by disgruntled janissaries and guildsmen, also destroyed the Sa'dabâd palace in Kağıthane and numerous others to express their resentment of ruling-class frivolities and perceived decadence.

Despite frequent outbreaks of popular discontent, the city continued to grow and attract rural migrants and Western visitors. Because inflation and food shortages caused numerous riots in the city (1687, 1703, 1730, and 1740), the provisioning of the Ottoman capital assumed a central importance in the urban administration. The courts sentenced bakers to the galleys for short-weighting and violating official prices of bread in the eighteenth century. The police department, which primarily consisted of the janissary corps, expanded its authority to reach into hitherto autonomous quarters of the city. Community policing under the control of the local Muslim, Christian, and Jewish religious authorities and notables also assumed greater importance in keeping the criminal elements, the unemployed, and single rural migrants out of residential neighborhoods. The ruralization of Istanbul, how-

ever, continued at a regular pace during the nineteenth century. The Tanzimat reforms of 1839–1868 led to the physical and administrative reorganization and centralization of the city along European lines such as the widening of streets, construction of pavements, street gas-lighting, the establishment of municipal councils, and a mayorship to enforce new municipal regulations.

See also **Architecture; Commerce and Markets; Harem; Holy Roman Empire; Islam in the Ottoman Empire; Janissary; Jews and Judaism; Mehmed II (Ottoman Empire); Mercantilism; Ottoman Dynasty; Ottoman Empire; Sulaiman I; Sultan; Topkapi Palace; Tulip Era (Ottoman Empire); Turkish Literature and Language; Vizier; Women.**

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FARIBA ZARINEBAF

CONSTITUTIONALISM. The modern concept of constitutionalism involves a political system of checks and balances, regulated by law and designed to protect the liberty of individuals and enable their participation in politics. A constitution may take written form, as in the American constitution of 1787, or it may consist of an assemblage of legal statutes and precedents collected over time, as in the United Kingdom. The word "constitutionalism" did not exist in early modern Europe, but most of the ideas behind it were frequently expressed. A constitution generally meant the creation of a law or statute. However, political institutions and individual liberty were long seen as the products of custom rather than deliberate lawmaking. Checks and balances were thought to be embodied in a limited monarchy or mixture of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy. The idea of the separation of legislative, executive, and judicial powers did not become clear until the eighteenth century.

FRANCE

Claude de Seyssel's *La grant monarchie de France* (1519; The great monarchy of France) was representative of early French constitutional thought. Seyssel (c. 1450–1520) was a bishop and a jurist high in the counsels of Louis XII (ruled 1498–1515), and his book was intended as a guide for the next king, Francis I (ruled 1515–1547). He insisted that the king must observe what he called *la police*, meaning the institutional structure of the realm, which included such fundamental laws as the rules of royal succession and the inalienability of the royal domain. The king was restricted by two other "bridles" (*freins*), religion and justice. The clergy and the high court of the parlement were supposed to advise the king accordingly. In practice the regime of Francis I became increasingly authoritarian, and constitutional ideas were seldom voiced until the monarchy proved unable to cope with the civil and religious conflicts of the second half of the sixteenth century.

An important jurist who did not align himself with those who extolled the rights of the king was Charles Du Moulin (1500–1566). He agreed with Seyssel about the fundamental laws and demanded that the royal administration serve the cause of justice. Looking to remote Carolingian precedents, Du Moulin found supreme authority in early Frankish

assemblies of the realm, and while he respected the royal authority, he saw the king's function as primarily administrative. His main interest lay in customary law, which he regarded as the result of consensual and contractual agreements. Property and private laws were distinct from public or enacted law. Du Moulin was at the center of a movement to record and standardize the multiple bodies of private customary law.

Another jurist of great distinction who stressed the importance of ancient custom was the Calvinist François Hotman (1524–1590), but, unlike Du Moulin, he placed it in the realm of public law. The radical message of his constitutional history of France, *Francogallia* (1573), was that French political institutions were derived from the customs of the Franks who had liberated Gaul from the Romans in the fifth century. Frankish assemblies had been the custodians of the fundamental laws and had had supreme authority over kings. The perfect and mixed constitution had long endured, but it had gradually been corrupted and ought, according to Hotman, to be restored. This message was adopted by Huguenot pamphleteers during the Wars of Religion, and it belonged more to polemical resistance theory than to objective constitutionalism.

In the late sixteenth century, concepts of the absolute sovereignty of the king were developed in opposition to doctrines of resistance. Constitutional ideas did not entirely disappear, however. They were expressed by the jurist Étienne Pasquier (1529–1615), who defended the authority of the crown while claiming the right of the so-called sovereign courts to review royal legislation. His *Recherches de la France* (Researches on France, published serially from 1560; first complete edition, 1621) held the parlement to be the true descendant of the Frankish assemblies and denied the role of the representative Estates-General, thought by Hotman to have inherited supreme power in the state from the Franks. Another jurist, Guy Coquille (1523–1603), presented a particularist kind of constitutionalism. Solicitor general in the duchy of Nevers, he defended and compared local rights and privileges enshrined in provincial codes of customary law. His *Coutumes du pays et duché de Nivernais* (1605; Customs of the region and duchy of Nivernais) and *Questions et réponses sur les articles*

des coutumes de France (1611; Questions and answers on the articles of the customs of France) were widely respected.

SPAIN

The existence of representative assemblies (Cortes) and specified liberties (*fueros*) in the Iberian peninsula suggested a measure of constitutional balance, but an increasingly centralized royal bureaucracy tended to negate these institutions. For the most part constitutional thought in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries was general and speculative. Among such theorists were the Dominican Domingo de Soto (1495–1560) and the Jesuits Luis de Molina (1535–1600), Juan de Mariana (1536–1624), and Francisco Suárez (1548–1617). They all followed Scholastic tradition and held chairs of theology at Spanish or Portuguese universities. They were agreed that monarchical authority had originally been created by some kind of irrevocable communal contract, but only Mariana believed that this made the king the delegate of the people. While supporting royal authority, they thought that consent was needed for taxation. However, in his work *De Legibus* (1612; Concerning the laws) Suárez stated that the king could break the *fueros* in the interest of the common good. He admitted that in some states the community could reserve certain powers under the original contract and thereby create a mixed monarchy, but this was not the case with the Spanish crown. In contrast, Mariana placed greater restrictions on the king and even endorsed tyrannicide in his *De Rege et Regis Institutione* (1599; On the king and his education). He illustrated these limitations in his *Historiae de Rebus Hispaniae* (1592; Histories of the affairs of Spain).

GERMANY

Complex as were the institutions of Castile and the more contractual arrangements in Aragón, Catalonia, and Valencia, they were simplicity itself when compared with the tortuous organization of the German empire. Tensions between the emperor and the seven electoral princes, together with disputes between the non-electoral princes and the free cities, who formed the other two houses of the representative diet, were complicated by local leagues, administrative circles, and a double system of justice. During the conflicts of the Reformation

some arguments were made in terms of constitutional law, but no theorist was able to rationalize the constitution of the empire as a coherent whole. In the seventeenth century various jurists tried to adapt the definition of sovereignty offered by Jean Bodin (1530–1596) to Germany, but this produced more heat than light. The only persuasive solution was advanced by Samuel Pufendorf (1632–1694), who was a professor of law at Heidelberg and later at Lund before becoming court historiographer at Stockholm and then at Berlin. Law and history complemented each other in a mind that adjusted political taxonomy to change over time. His *De Jure Naturae et Gentium* (1672; Law of nature and of nations) was comparable to the celebrated work of an earlier Dutch jurist and historian, Hugo Grotius (1583–1645), *De Jure Belli ac Pacis* (1625; On the law of war and peace). Law and history were combined in Pufendorf's *De Statu Imperii Germanici* (1667; On the constitution of the German empire). There he combined the concept of a federal state, similar to the constitution of the Netherlands, with a distinction between regular and irregular forms of government. The empire “constituted itself from a regular form of monarchy and an irregular form of state, which is no longer a limited monarchy, whatever appearance of such it may have, but nor is it a federation of several states, since it represents something between the two.” Pufendorf preferred monarchy and abhorred radical resistance theory, but he approved of the English Revolution of 1688.

ENGLAND

The settlement after the Revolution of 1688 was the culmination of political conflict and constitutional speculation. The main issues had been the relationship between the monarch and the other two components of Parliament, the Lords and the Commons, together with a peculiarly English concept of the common law as the controlling element in the constitution. England was usually seen as a mixed or tempered monarchy that allowed the ruler a special prerogative but gave supreme authority to the king in Parliament. On the one hand Parliament's function was regarded as the making of positive law; on the other it was viewed as a high court that found and declared ancient customary law.

In the fifteenth century Sir John Fortescue (c. 1394–c. 1476), chief justice of the common law

court, the King's Bench, declared in his *De Laudibus Legum Angliae* (first printed 1537; Praises of the laws of England) that statutes were made by the will of the king with the assent of the realm represented in Parliament, and that England was governed by a participatory and regal system (*dominium politicum et regale*), in contrast with the pure monarchy (*politicum regale*) in France. With the assumption of royal power over the church by the Tudors during the Reformation the idea of legislative sovereignty in a nation-state came near to realization. Sir Thomas Smith (1513–1577), a jurist, diplomat, and secretary of state, declared in *De Republica Anglorum* (1583; On the commonwealth of the English) that Parliament was “the most high and absolute power in the realm.” At the same time Smith was a vigorous defender of the royal extra-parliamentary prerogative.

With the advent of the first two Stuart kings (James I, ruled 1603–1625; Charles I, ruled 1625–1649) the crown adopted the theory of the divine right of kings and asserted royal authority over Parliament. At the same time the common lawyers claimed the supremacy of immemorial customary law. Their leader was Sir Edward Coke (1552–1634), who, after his dismissal as chief justice of the King's Bench in 1616, became a member of the Commons and a defender of parliamentary privilege. As a judge he was even prepared to disallow a statute if, in his view, it contravened common law. After governing without Parliament for eleven years, Charles I gradually yielded ground and agreed to such measures as the attainder and execution of his first minister and the abolition of the conciliar courts established under the Tudors as rivals of the common law courts.

Just before the outbreak of civil war in 1642, Parliament presented the king with nineteen propositions further restricting his rule. In reply moderate advisers of the king made the tactical error of admitting that the constitution was indeed a mixed one, and that the Lords and Commons held coordinate, instead of subordinate, power with the crown. For its part Parliament did not try to depose the king at this point but tried to attract moderate opinion by asserting a difference between the office and person of the king and its right to exercise the former while he remained under the influence of so-called “malignants.” After the civil wars Charles I

was tried and executed. England became a republic while a series of constitutional experiments were attempted under the aegis of the parliamentary general, Oliver Cromwell (1599–1658). There were even some radical proposals, never implemented, to create manhood suffrage and annual parliaments.

The civil wars were accompanied by a vast polemical literature supporting the royal and parliamentary causes. A more detached commentary on the constitution was written by an obscure Wiltshire clergyman, Philip Hunton (c. 1604–1682). His *Treatise of Monarchy* (1643) favored Parliament while treating the crown with respect. Established by a fundamental contract, the constitution of England was a mixed monarchy wherein the king controlled the executive while king, Lords, and Commons shared legislative power. In a mixed monarchy the ruler was limited by definition, but a limited monarchy need not be mixed if the contract gave authority to the crown alone but limited it by fundamental laws. Since Charles I had invaded the rights of the two houses, Parliament was acting in defense of the constitution, but there could be no superior tribunal to judge the king, else England would not be a monarchy at all. Despite its moderate tone, *A Treatise of Monarchy* provoked much royalist criticism and was republished during the political troubles of Charles II (ruled 1660–1685).

Under the Restoration the constitution resumed the forms it had taken before the civil wars, including some of the concessions made by Charles I. The struggle to exclude from the succession the king's Roman Catholic brother, the future James II (ruled 1685–1688), stimulated the composition of two works that were later assumed to justify the so-called Glorious Revolution of 1688: *Discourses concerning Government* (first published 1698) by the republican statesman Algernon Sidney (1622–1683) and *Two Treatises of Government* (1690) by the physician and philosopher John Locke (1632–1704). Sidney, who was well-read in the resistance literature of the French Wars of Religion, popularized the so-called “Gothic” theory of ancient European institutions, based on Hotman's idea in *Franco-gallia* that the Germanic tribes invading the Roman empire had brought with them admirable constitutions. Locke based his political theory on the protection of indefeasible individual rights of life, liberty, and property enjoyed in a sociable but

inconvenient state of nature. By an original contract individuals had set up a community in which the majority were empowered to set up a form of government. The outcome was rather similar to Hunton's constitutionalism, since power was divided between an executive and a shared legislature. Locke added a third element, the “federative,” by which he meant power to protect the state against external enemies. The community had no right to resist the established powers, but if the government collapsed through its own divisions, society had a constituent right to set up a new regime.

The final element in early modern constitutionalism was the separation of powers doctrine, hinted at but not developed by Hunton, Locke, and others. It was defined by Charles-Louis de Secondat, baron de Montesquieu (1689–1755) in the eleventh book of his *De l'esprit des lois* (1748; *Spirit of the laws*). To complete the system of checks and balances Montesquieu added the judicial element to the legislative and executive, thus incorporating the shade of the English common law myth. He also repeated the legend of the Gothic constitution, declaring that the origin of the most satisfactory kind of government was to be found in the forests of Germany. Although seen by some as conservative and aristocratic, Montesquieu's theory was to influence the written constitutions of the American and French Revolutions.

See also Absolutism; Authority, Concept of; Bodin, Jean; Democracy; Divine Right Kingship; English Civil War and Interregnum; Grotius, Hugo; Law; Liberty; Locke, John; Mariana, Juan de; Monarchy; Montesquieu, Charles-Louis de Secondat de; Natural Law; Political Philosophy; Republicanism; Sovereignty, Theory of; Tyranny, Theory of.

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J. H. M. SALMON

The most significant variables in this general pattern, the growth of consumerism, were class and geography. Those in the uppermost social strata had always been, to some extent, consumers. Even through the Middle Ages they purchased luxury items such as rare and exotic spices, silks and jewels, aromatic perfumes, and wine, but the range of goods available was fairly limited and they were always prohibitively expensive. City dwellers, despite expendable income, did not have many opportunities to indulge themselves. There simply was not that much to buy, and most Europeans did not have access to these goods due to the limitations of geography, poor roads, and scant international trade.

How and why early modern Europeans made the transition from a relatively meager material culture to one in which a significant number of people enjoyed true opulence depended on a number of factors. The growth of world trade, market-oriented agriculture, demographic growth and inflation, and urbanization were all key factors. So, too, was social mobility. Put simply, more people with lucrative professions had money to spend, and goods arrived more frequently and in greater volume. Competition among the ascendant classes and emulation of courtiers forced the elite to refashion themselves constantly and to invent new tastes in food, clothing, and luxury items. These extravagances kept both them and their tastes distinct from their social inferiors. Thus, fashions changed ever more quickly and high culture was definitively separated from popular culture.

A perfect example of this process was the popularity of spices such as cinnamon, nutmeg, cloves, and sugar. Originating in what is now Indonesia and India, and passing through the hands of many middlemen, such spices were extremely expensive, making them a perfect symbol of wealth to be consumed, literally. After direct trade routes to Asia were established by the Portuguese, spices were imported in much greater volume. The price did not come down as much as one might expect, however, because such things were rigidly controlled by the state, and the Venetian and Genoese merchants trading in the Mediterranean were not put out of business as quickly as is generally supposed. In any case, more people had access to spices and this significantly diminished their efficacy as markers of social status. The use of cinnamon and sugar, espe-

CONSUMPTION. It is not coincidental that the Latin word *consumere*, 'to use up', referring chiefly to food, has come to stand for the act of purchasing and using all variety of goods. This meaning developed at the same time that merchants succeeded in changing the nature of consumption in the course of the early modern period. In the early sixteenth century, consumption for the vast majority of people meant almost exclusively eating food, on which the bulk of most people's household income was spent. By the end of the eighteenth century a much greater proportion of people had become consumers in the modern sense of the word: 'those who use their income to purchase products for the satisfaction of desires beyond immediate needs'.

cially after the latter was grown commercially in the New World, was no longer the exclusive domain of the most wealthy and powerful. By the mid-seventeenth century, spices began to go out of fashion in elite cookbooks, and by the eighteenth they were increasingly banished to sweet desserts. Only pepper retained its status as a universal seasoning, but, like the other spices and sugar, it, too, eventually came down in price.

The growth of cities also had a major impact on patterns of consumption. The rural peasant dependent on subsistence agriculture was increasingly replaced by the entrepreneurial farmer who used capital-intensive methods to grow food for the market. The small holder was either converted into a wage laborer, in which case he became a consumer rather than a direct producer, or, in another context, he joined the teeming ranks of people who fled the countryside to seek work in cities. Cities are, by their very nature, consumer-oriented. In areas of urban concentration such as the Low Countries and Northern Italy, and around major cities such as London and Paris, the trade in foodstuffs was brisk due to the great demand. Just supplying cities with bread was a major industry and shortages could lead to riots. To prevent this, the state routinely fixed the prices of bread, passed laws to discourage grain speculation, and did everything it could to ensure a regular supply. In years of crop failure or famine, which struck nearly every decade, their efforts often proved futile.

These conditions were only exacerbated by demographic pressure. With the exception of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, most of Europe experienced a steady rise in population throughout the early modern period. This in turn put pressure on resources, driving prices higher and giving further incentives to food producers to expand their operations by moving onto marginal land and hillsides, draining marshes, applying fertilizers, and using crop-rotation systems. All these factors helped to make agriculture more commercial in nature, and, of course, fed the growing cities. Inflation also forced average consumers to spend a growing proportion of their household income on basic staples such as grains, making the average diet relatively poor in protein.

Cities were regularly supplied with meat and vegetables from the surrounding countryside, however. Imperishable items such as stockfish, cheeses, cured hams and sausages, dried pulses, and wine could all be imported from farther afield. In Northern Europe beer was increasingly brewed commercially and on a large scale rather than in the home, and was consumed in public houses or taverns. For poorer city dwellers, the bulk of the diet consisted of bread and starches, dairy products, and relatively durable vegetables such as cabbages and onions. Fresh meat, fruits, and vegetables were comparatively expensive and continued to be so throughout the period despite the growth of intensive cattle rearing and market gardening. Vegetables such as artichokes and asparagus, melons, and all manner of fresh fish retained their association as foods fit for nobles, and in Catholic countries, where Lenten restrictions were still in force, these could be extremely costly. Fresh game was also a valuable commodity, and small birds, rabbits, and the occasional boar or deer were highly esteemed foods served only on the best of tables.

What constituted good taste in refined circles also shifted dramatically in the course of the early modern period. In the beginning, a profusion of spices and a preference for sweet-and-sour dishes inherited from the Middle Ages still held sway. Variety and a great abundance of food served in multiple courses was the accepted way to impress guests. These features gradually gave way to smaller dishes, elegantly garnished and accompanied by sauces intended to accent rather than contrast with the main ingredient. The invention of a flour and fat-based roux lies at the core of what would eventually evolve into classic French haute cuisine in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Naturally, maintaining a kitchen staff with the requisite expertise and equipment also became necessary for anyone with a pretense to dining *savoir faire*.

The discovery of the Americas and linking markets around the globe also had a great impact on patterns of consumption. We tend to think first of American foods, such as potatoes, tomatoes, and peppers (capsicums), which would eventually transform European diet and food culture, but their use was limited until the late eighteenth century. Corn (maize) is the only possible exception to this rule as it caught on fairly quickly and was grown extensively

in Southern Europe. More important were the luxuries introduced in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries: chocolate, tobacco, and, from Asia, coffee and tea. All these, along with the requisite utensils, became standard consumables in fashionable society. It has been suggested that hot caffeine-laden drinks were ideally suited to Protestant Northern Europe, where sobriety and working long hours were culturally embedded ideals. Whether this is the case or not, coffee and tea did eventually replace alcoholic beverages as the typical morning and midday drinks of choice, first among the wealthy and then, increasingly, among the working classes.

Colonial possessions of the Spanish and Portuguese in the Americas and Asia, and, in the seventeenth century, those of the Dutch, French, and English, provided markets for manufactured goods and also supplied raw materials to the mother country. Whether it was sugar grown on an enormous scale in the Caribbean or Brazil with slave labor, or cotton and rice in the English colonies, these products now entered the European markets. American drugs like cinchona bark and sassafras and dyes like cochineal also became valuable commodities. From Africa came gold, ivory, and slaves and, from Asia, along with spices, rare porcelain, which became the rage until Europeans discovered how to make it themselves in the eighteenth century.

Even the advent of table manners influenced patterns of consumption. Although adopted slowly and sporadically, the fork was eventually considered indispensable. Matching sets of silverware soon replaced the mismatched spoons and knives that diners often carried with them. Along with these developments, individual place settings replaced the more common platters from which medieval diners had plucked food with their fingers. Rather than a slice of bread or wooden trencher, plates of pewter, earthenware, porcelain, or, later, silver became significant investments for the average household. Wealthier homes would also have a collection of platters, basins, ewers for water and wine, and a great variety of serving vessels. Although matching sets were rare, the possession of these items conferred status on the owner, and they could, of course, always be pawned or, if silver, melted down in case of emergency. Napkins, which were usually large and draped across the shoulder, and table-

cloths were also becoming ever more typical items among those who chose to dine politely.

Household furniture also proliferated in number and delicacy throughout the early modern period. From a rough bench and literally a “board” set on wooden trestles that could be moved from room to room, there soon appeared permanently fixed tables with turned legs, and elegant sideboards and cupboards on which to display the family tableware. Elaborate candelabra also became necessary as the time for dinner as the main meal of the day gradually shifted from midday to early evening. The dining room itself, as a separate, intimate room with one function, is an invention of the early modern period.

Beyond the dining room, the bedstead, linens, and chests—often containing the wife’s dowry—were also highly valued possessions. They were almost always listed in wills and household inventories, and their deposition after death was very carefully monitored. Even the pillows, bolsters, and blankets, sometimes the most valuable items listed in inventories, would be carefully preserved for the use of heirs.

Clothes, too, were considered important articles of property. While the average peasant or laborer might own only a few sets of clothing and only one suitable for special occasions, wealthy people could invest a serious fortune in doublets, hose, and starched ruffs for men, or jewel-studded brocades and silks for women. Domestically produced velvet, damasks, and satins were even exported to Asia. The fabric as well as the dyes used, not to mention the workmanship, made these extremely expensive items. The fur lining in the finest cloaks, something its possessors were proud to show off in portraits, may not have been merely a fashion statement. Unusually cold and erratic weather—what has been called the Little Ice Age—beginning in the late sixteenth century and extending into the eighteenth, may have actually made such items necessary.

One can see the small but expensive consumables that so entranced our early modern forebears by looking at still life paintings of the period. Beyond the lush vessels and glasses prized for their radiance, clocks, mirrors, books, writing implements, and musical instruments often clutter these canvases. Although they often figured some way in

the memento mori ('remembrance of death') theme of these paintings, they were also possessions that people wanted to show off. So, too, were paintings themselves: whether portraits, devotional images, or genre scenes, they were something anyone with enough money sought to commission. Tapestries were also typical and valuable household items that served both as decoration and a way to prevent drafts. What is perhaps unique about the way such items were purchased and kept is that they became true collections. Some people sought out antique statues or cameos, others bronzes or strange and marvelous beasts that were amassed into "cabinets of curiosities." Connoisseurship became the true test of the refined gentleman, and, on the requisite grand tour, young men would begin their collections by scrounging up books and manuscripts, paintings, and other souvenirs from their trip through Europe. Ironically, just as the military role of the nobility was being ceded to the professional soldier, collecting arms and armor became one way to preserve one's heritage.

The growth of consumerism was fostered by several fiscal innovations that undoubtedly played a major role in the increased volume of trade. Although only fully functional toward the end of the early modern period, joint stock companies and stock exchanges, legally guaranteed limited partnerships and contracts, and insurance, not to mention more accessible forms of credit, all made trade a more reliable business venture. Trade became less of a wild gamble or "adventure" than a steady source of regular income. All this meant that more and more goods were available and affordable for the average consumer, but it would still be premature to label this society as consumer-oriented.

Among the factors that prevented this from becoming a truly consumerist society, perhaps the most important were the mental constructs of the period and the basic tenets of mercantilist theory and state policy based on them. Working under the assumption that wealth can only be generated by carrying goods abroad to obtain the highest price and having a favorable balance of exports over imports, European states imposed stiff restrictions and duties to check domestic consumption. Only if manufactured goods were sold abroad, they reasoned, would money flow into the country, bullion (precious metals) being the index of national

wealth. To produce and consume goods domestically might shift the money around, but it could never generate wealth. By this logic, governments offered incentives to have goods shipped abroad, from surplus grain to woollens to cutlery and manufactured items. This effectively kept the supply low and prices high at home. Governments stimulated external trade by granting monopolies, chartering companies with exclusive privileges (the East India Companies are a good example of these, as are the colonial settlement charters), and by financing mercantile wars. Compounded with demographic pressure and inflation, this meant that most people never became full consumers until the industrial age, and that the goods that were consumed tended to remain expensive imported luxury items. For the wealthy few, Europe offered real opulence to which an increasingly large number of people had access, but for most people it would not be until the late nineteenth or early twentieth century that they became true consumers.

See also **Capitalism; Class, Status, and Order; Clothing; Commerce and Markets; Food and Drink; Grand Tour; Industrial Revolution; Industry; Mercantilism; Monopoly; Trading Companies.**

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KEN ALBALA

CONTRACEPTION. *See* Sexuality and Sexual Behavior.

CONVERSOS. The Jews of Spain who converted to Christianity are usually called *conversos*, although they are also known as Marranos or New Christians to distinguish them from the more numerous Old Christians. Some Jews converted voluntarily. Two of the best known are Abner of Burgos and Pablo de Santa María, both of whom were baptized in the fourteenth century and inspired others to follow their lead. Other Jews were forced to convert to save their lives during the massacres and mob violence motivated by a rising tide of anti-Semitism that was most perceptible in the late fourteenth century and continued on through the fifteenth century. However conversion was accomplished, integration of this ethnic minority into the majority Old Christian culture was a much debated and uncertain issue from the fifteenth through the seventeenth century.

Conversion brought with it certain benefits, such as the opportunity to occupy church and state offices prohibited to Jews, and the new converts began to fill these offices. *Conversos* played an important role in the Castilian economy and administration, as treasurers, merchants, money managers, secretaries, and record keepers. Some of these highly placed royal servants chose to marry their daughters into the Old Christian nobility, thus forming a new group of mixed ethnic origins. If these developments argue for successful assimilation at court, matters were not so positive in some urban

centers, where the appearance of wealthy *conversos* in city and church councils and as tax collectors caused resentments. In the city of Toledo, for example, battles between *conversos* and Old Christians occurred in 1449 and again in 1467. In these two rebellions, the animosities felt by some Old Christians were formulated in “pure-blood” statutes, which stripped *conversos* of their municipal offices on grounds of their tainted or impure lineage, that is, their Jewish ancestry. Some converts were also accused of continuing to practice Judaism. *Conversos* were soon restored to their offices and the pure-blood statutes rescinded, but relations between the two ethnic groups, frequently referred to as “the two lineages,” remained unstable in many towns of the realm.

The Catholic monarchs determined to resolve the *converso* problem. To this end, they founded the Spanish Inquisition, which was to ensure that the new converts did indeed observe the tenets of Christianity and abandon the customs, traditions, and beliefs of their ancestors. In its early years, the Inquisition struck a savage blow to the *converso* community, as few families escaped punishment. These same monarchs also expelled the Jews from their realms, and one of the motives for this expulsion was to protect *conversos* from any temptation to revert to their old religion.

Any *conversos* who remained in Spain after the Inquisition was established would have to observe at least the exterior forms of Christianity or risk being burned at the stake. And most *conversos* did try to observe these forms. From 1508, when the heresy known as “The Coming of the Messiah” was finally put to rest, mass punishments and executions of *conversos* subsided. The Toledo Inquisition still kept track of *conversos*, however, through the compilation of detailed genealogical records, and by having the name and crime of anyone punished by the Inquisition publicly displayed in his or her parish church.

Despite this surveillance and public humiliation, some *conversos* prospered and attained an impressive upward mobility during the first half of the sixteenth century. This was an era of population and economic growth within the crown of Castile and of imperial expansion, developments that favored the skills and talents of entrepreneurial-minded *con-*

versos, many of whom amassed substantial fortunes. Others trained in bookkeeping, law, or writing found employment in the ever-expanding bureaucracy of the realm as secretaries, treasurers, or accountants. Many who made their fortune through business and trade were able to buy a seat in a municipal governing council or place a son in the cathedral chapter, and some, not all, married their daughters to spouses outside the *converso* community, just as they had done before the Inquisition was established.

The city of Toledo serves as an example of some of these generalizations. Aside from a crown-appointed *corregidor*, the city was governed by a council of *regidores* (aldermen) and an advisory, nonvoting council of *jurados* (parish representatives). In the first half of the sixteenth century, *conversos* were especially visible as *jurados* and as *regidores* who sat on the citizens' bench, rather than on the more prestigious nobles' bench. Many of the *converso* citizen *regidores* were money managers, such as tax farmers, or wholesalers who dealt in wool, silk, and other products in the Indies, Italy, and the Iberian Peninsula. Active in the city council from the 1530s to the 1560s, the citizen *regidores* and the *jurados* were instrumental in advancing the city's textile industries by supplying them with raw materials and distributing their products. They also organized and set up the credit mechanisms needed to purchase large quantities of grain during a subsistence crisis of 1557–1558.

All this apparent acceptance and integration was to change in mid-century when the doctrine of pure blood reappeared. In Toledo, a pure-blood statute was first imposed on the cathedral chapter by Cardinal-Archbishop Juan Martínez Silíceo in 1548, and this statute was approved by the pope in 1555 and the crown in 1556. Then, in 1566, a similar statute was imposed on the citizens' bench of the city council. Not only were the citizen *regidores* to be of pure blood, their numbers (theoretically twelve) were to be reduced, while the seats on the nobles' bench were augmented. The noble *regidores* suffered no genealogical scrutiny, although they were supposed to have inherited their nobility, as opposed to buying it, and were not to be involved in any base occupations.

Many *conversos* fought the pure-blood statutes, but with their acceptance by both the crown and the papacy, opponents faced formidable obstacles. If *conversos* could meet the demand of becoming good Christians, they could hardly manage to escape their ancestry and meet the pure-blood qualifications. So *conversos* dissimulated, falsifying lineage, changing names and birthplaces, and paying for false testimony. Some were wealthy enough to buy their way into the nobility, by marrying a daughter to an impoverished aristocrat, by buying a village that would enable their heirs to claim nobility, or by having their nobility approved by a chancellery court. In the Toledo city council, many of the citizen *regidores* first attempted to have their lineage approved locally, and then, if they could afford it, to upgrade their seating arrangements by moving from the citizens' to the nobles' bench. For example, the *converso* Vaca de Herrera brothers, who farmed royal taxes in the 1580s and 1590s, managed to secure three city council seats, and all the brothers ended up on the nobles' bench. They also had their nobility confirmed in the chancellery court of Valladolid.

With the death of Philip II in 1598, public debates about pure-blood statutes resurfaced. Modifications were urged by deputies of the Castilian Cortes and by others of more prestige, such as cardinal-archbishops of Toledo and of Seville. Little was done, however, until 1623, when the count-duke of Olivares, the favorite of Philip IV, did moderate the statutes. His reforms, which limited the genealogical inquiry of candidates to two generations and took into consideration pure-blood certificates held by other family members, helped some *conversos* to move up the social scale. Given the inflation of honors that occurred over time, what wealthy merchants and financiers sought in the seventeenth century was a habit in a military order, and Olivares's reforms allowed many to achieve this goal. It is an irony that Olivares should complain of the lack of merchants in Spain, when during his rule the citizens' bench of the Toledo city council, long the bastion of *converso* merchants and entrepreneurs, was finally phased out—not because *conversos* had disappeared, but because those who lasted until 1639 had some sort of pure-blood pedigree that disqualified them from mercantile activities and qualified them as nobles.

Thus, in addition to fostering perjury and a blatant hypocrisy, the pure-blood statutes accelerated movement from the middle ranks to the nobility. This upward passage had been going on for some time, of course, and was not unique to Spain, but the values implicit in pure-blood statutes certainly encouraged wealthy *conversos* to abandon commerce and trade, activities associated with Jews, and to seek a title of some sort, a post in the royal bureaucracy or in the church, or to live on their investments. The economic downturn in the seventeenth century also discouraged mercantile ventures and encouraged investments in rural lands, rents, and offices.

If, in the end, the crown won its battle against the *conversos*, most of whom abandoned their traditional activities and values and spent their wealth in acquiring an acceptable pedigree for themselves or their children, it also lost, or at least rechanneled, the dynamism and skills of a hard-working, talented minority. The myth of pure blood carried the day, and those unwilling to do lip service to the doctrine suffered.

See also **Inquisition; Jews, Attitudes toward; Jews, Expulsion of (Spain; Portugal); Spain; Toledo.**

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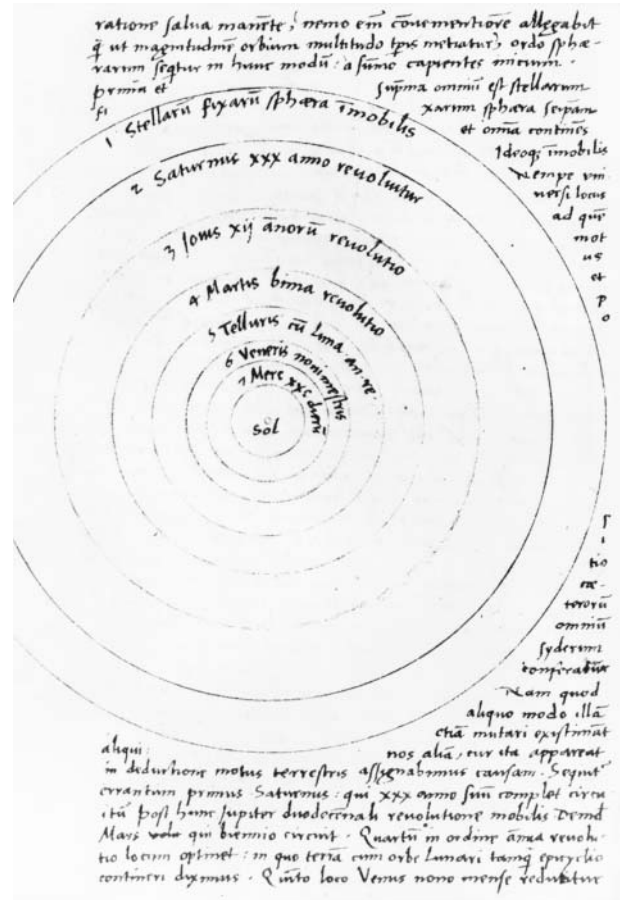
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LINDA MARTZ

COPERNICUS, NICOLAUS (1473–1543), Polish astronomer, born in Thorn (Torun), West Prussia, a province subject to the king of Poland. In about 1485, after his father’s death, Nicolaus came under the care and patronage of his maternal uncle, who shortly afterward became bishop of Varmia (Ermland).



Nicolaus Copernicus. An illustration from *De Revolutionibus Orbium Coelestium* shows Copernicus's heliocentric system. GETTY IMAGES

EDUCATION AND CAREER

Beginning in 1491, Copernicus enrolled successively at the universities of Cracow, Bologna, and Padua, where he studied, respectively, mathematics and astronomy, canon and civil law, and medicine. He was elected a canon of the cathedral chapter of Varmia in 1497, providing him with a lifetime income. In 1503 he was awarded a doctorate in canon law from the University of Ferrara.

In 1610 Copernicus settled in Frauenburg (Frombork), near the Baltic Sea. There he carried out his canonical duties, practiced medicine, administered the holdings of the Varmia chapter, wrote on the problem of the debasement of the silver coinage of Royal Prussia, and continued to work intensively at improving the astronomical ideas he had begun to develop earlier.

As a student, Copernicus had become aware of the dichotomy between Aristotelian principles and the techniques employed by Claudius Ptolemy (c. 100–c. 170), the greatest astronomer of antiquity. For Aristotle (384–322 B.C.E.) the motionless Earth at the center of the universe was surrounded by uniformly rotating homocentric spheres carrying the Moon, Sun, and planets. The task of astronomy was to devise geometrical means for calculating the apparent positions of the celestial bodies, which neither moved uniformly nor maintained a constant distance from Earth. The planets, moreover, periodically moved with retrograde motion.

Some time after 1502, Copernicus circulated among a few individuals an anonymous treatise, subsequently titled *Commentariolus* (Brief commentary), an early stage in the development of his heliocentric system. He shortly afterward began *De revolutionibus* (On the revolutions), his detailed exposition of this system.

In 1539 Georg Joachim Rheticus (1514–1574) of the University of Wittenberg visited Copernicus. Impressed by Copernicus's theory, Rheticus tested the waters for the publication of Copernicus's almost completed work by publishing in 1540 his own account of it, *Narratio prima* (First account). Its reception encouraged Copernicus to publish his own work, a copy of which reached Copernicus as he lay dying in 1543.

Andreas Osiander (1498–1552), a Lutheran minister, oversaw the printing of the latter part of Copernicus's book and inserted an anonymous preface asserting, contrary to Copernicus's opinion, that the work represented only calculating devices and not the true constitution of the universe.

THE COPERNICAN SYSTEM

Copernicus's heliocentrism possessed several advantages over Ptolemaic astronomy. The apparent retrograde motions of the planets could now be accounted for by the revolution of Earth, dispensing with Ptolemaic astronomy's traditional geometric devices. Copernicus eliminated the Ptolemaic equant, a point not at the center of Earth about which the planets moved uniformly, and substituted a technique earlier used by a Muslim astronomer. Corrections to the apparent distances of the Moon also had Arabic roots. The relative distances of the planets from the Sun could now be determined as

fractions or multiples of the distance from Earth to the Sun. Above all, Copernicus had created an integrated astronomical system, contrary to the independent sets of geometrical techniques for each of the planets characteristic of Ptolemaic astronomy. This was undoubtedly the prime consideration for the creation of his system.

Despite its advantages, heliocentrism was not without physical, observational, and theological problems. A revolving and rotating Earth violated several long-established Aristotelian principles, including the tendency of dropped bodies to fall to Earth at the center of the universe. Copernicus held that bodies fell because they tended to rejoin the spherical bodies of which they had been a part. For the Peripatetics, objects on a rotating Earth would be flung off, and objects thrown aloft should then land to the west of the point from which they were thrown. Copernicus responded that bodies on Earth or above it share in its circular motion. To the charge that observations made from an orbiting Earth should show stellar parallax, a change in the apparent position of the stars in the course of a year, Copernicus answered that a parallax could not be observed because the stars were much farther than had been believed.

RECEPTION AND INFLUENCE

In 1551 Erasmus Reinhold (1511–1553) published the *Tabulae Prutenicae* (Prutenic Tables) based on Copernicus's work. They were more accurate than the tables commonly in use, and they helped sustain interest in the Copernican theory. In particular, astronomers at the University of Wittenberg thought the Copernican theory was superior to that of Ptolemy in a number of respects, but they did not accept its heliocentrism. Throughout Europe a few astronomers were open to the validity of Copernicanism's fundamental hypothesis, but hardly any accepted it fully.

However, successive challenges to Aristotelian concepts, based on precise observations, began to remove some objections to Copernicanism. Tycho Brahe (1546–1601), whose astronomical observations were more accurate than any previously recorded, rejected heliocentrism, as did a few others, in favor of a geoheliocentric system, in which the planets circled the Sun, while the Sun revolved about the motionless Earth. Johannes Kepler

(1571–1630), using Brahe’s data, modified Copernicus’s system significantly in 1609. Kepler placed the Sun in one of the foci of each of his elliptical planetary orbits, which were traversed with non-uniform motion. This led to a significant improvement in the prediction of planetary positions.

Galileo Galilei’s (1564–1642) observations with the telescope beginning in 1609, as well as his subsequent publications on the nature of motion, were most important in the removal of Aristotelian objections to a moving Earth and to the size of the solar system. The placing of Copernicus’s *De revolutionibus* on the Index of Prohibited Books in 1616 and Galileo’s subsequent trial for heresy had little effect. With the work of Kepler and Galileo, as well as the influence of Cartesianism, heliocentrism became increasingly accepted; most astronomers were won over by the middle of the seventeenth century.

Copernicanism marked a turning point in the history of astronomy and provided a foundation for the remarkable achievements in related sciences in the seventeenth century. Copernicus’s heliocentrism played a significant role in debates about the cause of planetary motion, and the nature of space, matter, and motion, and was thus a significant component of and stimulus to the scientific revolution.

See also Astronomy; Brahe, Tycho; Cartesianism; Galileo Galilei; Index of Prohibited Books; Kepler, Johannes; Scientific Revolution.

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WILBUR APPLEBAUM

CORNARO PISCOPIA, ELENA LUCREZIA

(1646–1684), first female university graduate. Elena Lucrezia Cornaro Piscopia, born into a prominent Venetian noble family, was the first female to graduate from a university. She early manifested her learning and piety and studied theology and philosophy with tutors in Venice for many years. After performing brilliantly in a public disputation, an academic debate in which the disputant defended arguments against all comers, in Venice on 30 May 1677 she asked, with her father’s support, to be examined for the doctorate of theology from the University of Padua because Italian universities did not confer bachelor’s degrees. Obtaining a degree by examination without attending university lectures was unusual but possible in the Italian university system. A number of men, including the famous humanist Desiderius Erasmus at the University of Turin in 1506, had done the same. The archbishop of Padua, chancellor of the university and the person who conferred degrees, objected, but agreed that she might be examined for a doctorate of philosophy. The College of Doctors of Arts and Medicine examined her; she discussed issues based on Aristotle’s *Posterior Analytics* and *Physics*, the required university texts in logic and natural philosophy on which professors lectured and on which doctoral examinations were based. The college voted unanimously in her favor, and she received the doctorate of philosophy on 25 June 1678. But she did not establish a precedent to be followed. A Paduan professor immediately asked if his daughter might be examined for the doctorate of philosophy, but she was rebuffed. Cornaro Piscopia wrote a number of works on religious and philosophical topics and poetry, always in Latin. But ill health soon limited her studies. She died in 1684.

A large modern statue of Cornaro Piscopia in the entrance of the main university building in Padua, where her doctoral examination was held, commemorates her accomplishment. She represents

the highest academic achievement of a woman to that point in history, as well as the limits imposed by society. The next female university graduate was Laura Bassi (1711–1778), a highborn Bolognese woman, who obtained a doctorate of philosophy from the University of Bologna on 12 May 1732 and taught at the university there from 1732 to 1738. She was the first woman to teach at a university. The third was Maria Pellegrina Amoretti, who earned a doctorate in law from the University of Pavia on 25 June 1777.

See also Bassi, Laura; Universities.

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PAUL F. GRENDLER

CORNEILLE, PIERRE (1606–1684), French dramatist and theoretician. Often considered the first major modern French playwright, Corneille was born and raised in Rouen, in Normandy, where his father was a lawyer. Little is known about his early life, except that he was a good student who studied law, but supposedly practiced only briefly. In 1625 his brother Thomas, who became a popular and respected (although now mostly forgotten) playwright, was born. Pierre's first play, *Mélite*, a comedy of manners, was staged in Paris in either 1629 or 1630, and during the next few years he wrote a number of comedies, including the fanciful *L'illusion comique* (1635–1636), and enjoyed the patronage of Cardinal Richelieu. In 1637 his most famous play, the tragicomedy *Le Cid*, was performed; it was immensely popular with audiences and yet drew critical controversy.

The proponents of the newly emerging classical aesthetic in the 1630s criticized many of the “irregularities” in the popular play and strove to reduce its influence and prevent it from serving as a precedent for imitators. During the “Quarrel of *Le Cid*,” critics found that the duels and the battle with the Moors stretched the credibility of the unity of

time (one day), the various scenes set around the city stretched the unity of place (one locale), and the presence of the king's daughter (L'Infante) who loved Rodrigue was considered a subplot, thus destroying the unity of action (one plot line). The play mixes the genres of tragedy (death) and comedy (marriage) in a tragi-comedy, a popular form that classicism rejected. Also, the play was set in medieval Spain, that is, in a Christian context, whereas the rules of classicism held that tragic actions should be set in pagan times, ideally in ancient Greece or Rome.

In Corneille's play the young Rodrigue and Chimène love each other but are torn apart by their duty to family. In order to avenge the honor of his frail father, Rodrigue fights a duel (to the death) with the offender, who is Chimène's father. Rodrigue kills him and discovers that Chimène, despite her continued love, which she keeps secret, seeks either justice from the king or revenge from other suitors. The Moors attack, and Rodrigue, showing great skill in battle, saves the country and is recognized by the enemy as the leader, “le Cid.” The king is satisfied that Rodrigue has risked his life and served his people, but Chimène still publicly seeks revenge. For her to acquiesce would be to lose honor. The king finally allows one decisive duel between Dom Sanche and Rodrigue; Rodrigue is again victorious, but he spares the life of his opponent. The play ends with plans for a marriage between Chimène and Rodrigue one year later, after she can grieve her father's death and *Le Cid* can further serve his country.

Corneille's next play, the more technically unified tragedy *Horace*, was performed in 1640, followed by *Cinna* (1641) and a Christian tragedy *Polyeucte* (1642–1643); these four plays formed the traditional group of his masterpieces that were esteemed in theaters and classrooms for three centuries. In 1641 Corneille married Marie de Lampérière, and the couple had six children. After several failed attempts, he was elected to the French Academy in 1647. Throughout the 1640s he was a fairly prolific playwright (*Le Menteur*, 1643; *Rodogune*, 1645; and several less successful works). In 1651, however, after the failure of his tragedy *Pertharite*, he renounced the theater for eight years. In 1660 he published an edition of his complete plays, which included three “Discourses on Dra-



Pierre Corneille. NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY PICTURE COLLECTION

matic Poetry” in which he explained contemporary stage theory. The plays he wrote in the 1660s and 1670s had varying success, but they did not equal his earlier triumphs. His last work was a tragedy, *Suréna*, in 1674. He spent the final years of his life working on another edition of his theatrical works, and on a translation of the *De Imitatione Christi* by Thomas à Kempis (1379 or 1380–1471).

Le Cid shows many distinguishing elements found in Corneille’s other great works (*Horace*, *Cinna*, *Polyeucte*). The characters are torn by an internal division between duty (to family, country, or religion) and love. Because they choose reason and honor rather than succumbing to passion, the characters are praiseworthy, yet they are somewhat remote and inhuman in their renunciations. The poetry is noble and memorable, often quoted by critics and writers who nonetheless praised the dramatic techniques of the younger Jean Racine (1639–1699), who adhered more strictly to the tenets of classicism and whose characters were all too human, renouncing reason for their passions. It was Cor-

neille, however, who gave French theater heroes whom the public could admire rather than pity.

See also **French Literature and Language**; **Racine, Jean**.

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ALLEN G. WOOD

CORREGGIO (Antonio Allegri; 1489/94–1534), Italian painter and draftsman. In the sixteenth century, Giorgio Vasari hailed Antonio Allegri (called Correggio) in his *Lives of the Artists* (1550), as the first Lombard artist to paint in the modern style. Although he worked in north Italian towns, such as his native Correggio and nearby Parma, rather than major artistic centers, he had a tremendous impact on later pictorial developments. His theatrical illusionism, rich coloring, and feathery brushwork were so widely imitated in the seventeenth century that he is often considered a precursor to the baroque.

Correggio’s early career remains largely undocumented, including his year of birth (debated, c. 1489/c. 1494). He presumably learned the rudiments from his uncle Lorenzo Allegri and the Modenese painter Francesco Bianchi Ferrari, but

found his first true inspiration in Andrea Mantegna (1431–1506). The convincing attribution of frescoes in Mantua (roundels from the church of Sant'Andrea, now in the Museo Diocesano) to the young Correggio supports a direct connection with this master and his workshop. The *Madonna of Saint Francis* (1514–1515; Dresden, Gemäldegalerie), Correggio's earliest extant documented picture, reveals the formative influence of Leonardo as well as Mantegna.

In Parma, around 1518–1519, Correggio decorated for Abbess Giovanna da Piacenza a small room in the Benedictine convent of San Paolo. The frescoes in the so-called Camera di San Paolo depict Diana, the goddess of chastity and the chase, and transform the ceiling into a verdant trellis populated by boisterous putti with hunting accoutrements. The unity of design, with its vocabulary of clas-

sicizing and more monumental forms, heralds the artist's mature style. Despite Vasari's claim that Correggio never traveled to Rome, it is now generally assumed, on stylistic grounds, that he took at least one such trip, probably before painting this chamber (c. 1518).

Correggio's success with the Camera di San Paolo soon led to other work in Parma, including two major fresco programs. In 1520, Correggio was commissioned to paint the dome, apse, and choir, followed by the nave frieze, of the Benedictine church of San Giovanni Evangelista, a project that occupied him (and his assistants) for four years (he received his final payment in January 1524). *The Vision of Saint John the Evangelist on Patmos* (c. 1522), depicted in the cupola, is indebted to both Michelangelo (Sistine Chapel ceiling, 1508–



Correggio. Frescoes in the cupola of the Camera di San Paolo. ©MASSIMO LISTRI/CORBIS.

1512) and Raphael (*Transfiguration*, c. 1519–1520).

In November 1522, Correggio secured a contract for a vast campaign of mural decoration in Parma Cathedral, which he began some years later, but only partly completed (cupola and pendentives, c. 1524–1530). The dizzying illusionism of the cupola frescoes, in which a whirlwind of foreshortened angels and saints accompany the Virgin's Assumption, served as a fundamental point of reference for later experiments in baroque ceiling decoration.

Throughout his career, Correggio painted easel pictures of religious and mythological themes, but apparently few portraits. The altarpieces he made for patrons in Parma and nearby towns during the 1520s and 1530s reveal his ability to create poetic, strikingly original compositions. For example, the *Adoration of the Shepherds* (so-called *Notte*, contracted 1522, finished by 1530; Dresden, Gemäldegalerie) is a dramatic yet intimate nocturnal scene, in which a radiant infant dazzles the onlookers. No less inventive, if very different in subject matter, are the Loves of Jupiter commissioned by Federigo Gonzaga as a gift for Emperor Charles V. Correggio's sensuous handling of paint—as in the vaporous gray cloud enveloping the pearly nymph in *Jupiter and Io* (c. 1530–1534; Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum)—heightens the erotic content.

Although he applauded Correggio's unrivaled use of color, Vasari pointed out (perhaps unfairly) the artist's inadequacy in drawing. His designs can be untidy in appearance, but others are extraordinarily beautiful in their coloristic effects. Moreover, Correggio's known graphic oeuvre suggests that he probably drew compulsively in the planning of his paintings, producing numerous preliminary sketches, of which a mere fraction have survived.

Vasari described Correggio as, literally, self-effacing and noted that his likeness could not be found to illustrate the *Lives*. The phenomenal rise in Correggio's reputation in the following centuries generated great interest in his biography and art. Alleged portraits of the artist began to circulate, and the Vasarian characterization of a talented but timid provincial painter who had failed to visit Rome came under direct attack. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Correggio's prestige was second only to that of Raphael.

See also Vasari, Giorgio.

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MARY VACCARO

CORSICA. The mountainous island of Corsica is visible from the nearby islands of Elba and Sardinia, themselves not far from Italy. Handicapped by a small population and few economic resources, Corsica during the Middle Ages was ruled by or associated with various Italian states. Corsica's proximity to Italy has also made it strategically of interest to such maritime powers as France, Spain, and Britain. Though not without rich soil, Corsica was plagued until the late twentieth century by malaria, causing the inhabitants to live for the most part in hilltop towns and villages considered safer and also easier to defend against endemic raids from the Barbary States. Not until the nineteenth century were any significant roads built. Thus Corsica's history has been continuously linked with that of other states, and since 1814 the island has been incorporated into France.

From 1447 until the eighteenth century Corsica was mainly under Genoese control. Until 1552 peace allowed population growth and agricultural development. Maritime commerce flourished, Calvi emerged as a major center, and Corsicans in Genoese service made their marks as far away as America. The Genoese began building solid and defensible watchtowers at points on the coast to limit the depredations of the Barbary corsairs, a program that continued all through the Genoese period. Peace and a degree of prosperity produced an increase in population mirrored by the rise in the

number of Corsicans in Genoese, Venetian, papal, and French service.

After 1552, however, French warfare and higher taxes stimulated agitation against Genoese rule. A Corsican distinguished in his many years of service in the French army, Sampiero Corso (1498–1567), with limited support from Catherine de Médicis (1519–1589), landed in Corsica in June 1564, but the effort to expel the Genoese collapsed after Corso's death in an ambush in 1567. Two years later Genoa proclaimed an amnesty and discussed a list of Corsican complaints. Corsicans continued to find employment in France. Corso's son and grandson both reached the rank of marshal of France under the name of d'Ornano.

Having been challenged by the Corsicans, the Genoese never trusted them again and systematically excluded them from the administration of the island and from various professions. The reservation of these positions for the Genoese, who were often unprepared and who benefited from nepotism and corruption, increased Corsican alienation from Genoa. The island's poverty encouraged considerable emigration (including to Sardinia and, for fishermen, to Algeria) of Corsicans seeking service in the armies of various states as well as those pursuing commerce in regions not controlled by the Genoese. Particularly notable over the centuries has been the settlement of Corsicans in Marseilles. To compensate for this depopulation, the Genoese planted six hundred Greeks in Corsica, where they met a hostile reception but, with difficulty, survived. On the positive side, efforts were made to stimulate agriculture, though without much success. Some success was reached in introducing vines, olives, figs, chestnuts, and silk production to areas that had neglected them, but profits went mainly to the Genoese, whose regime at this time can be described as "colonial." The growth of cities, especially Bastia, Ajaccio, and Calvi, demonstrates increasing commercial activity, but one result was the appearance of an expanding Corsican bourgeoisie, though handicapped, in competition with the Genoese. Banditry flourished, and the murder rate averaged nine hundred a year.

The early eighteenth century brought full-scale rebellion against Genoese rule. A series of bad harvests culminated in two particularly bad years in

1728 and 1729, the latter year coinciding with new taxes. The rural population attacked some large estates but notably attacked the cities, taking over Bastia, Saint-Florent, and Algajola. Austrian military intervention restored Genoese rule, but new rebellions followed in 1733. The War of the Polish Succession (1733–1738) and the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748) prevented the great powers from intervening and opened a window of opportunity for the rebels. A sort of provisional government was set up in Corte with the support of a *consulta* or 'assembly' presided over by Giacinto (or Hyacinth) Paoli (1690–1768) and two other Corsican notables. To their aid in March 1736, totally unexpectedly, came a German adventurer, Theodor von Neuhof (1694–1756), bringing weapons and possibly British approval. In rapid succession Neuhof accepted the crown as king, distributed titles, ran out of money and support, withdrew (November 1736), and eventually died in a debtor's prison in London.

The Genoese turned to France. Troops landed in February 1738 and left in September 1741. A new Corsican insurrection followed. A coalition of Britain, Austria, and Sardinia fighting France, Spain, and their dependent Genoa in the course of the War of the Austrian Succession attempted to capture Bastia and succeeded briefly in 1745. A second attempt failed in 1748. In May 1748 French troops landed and imposed peace, but the commander, General Séraphin-Marie Rioult de Donilly, marquis de Cursay, emphasized conciliation. This displeased the Genoese and led to Cursay's recall and the departure of the French in April 1753. A fourth insurrection, headed by Jean-Pierre Gaffori (1710–1753), who was assassinated in October 1753, brought a period in which no single leader established dominance.

In contrast, the years from 1755 to 1769, when Pasquale Paoli (1725–1807) dominated, appear as a golden age, largely because of the favorable press he received as a thoughtful man of the Enlightenment and because of the heroic Corsican resistance to the French invasion of 1768–1769 that provoked enthusiasm across Europe and especially in America. Accounts of Paoli by James Boswell (1740–1795) and other travelers and comments about him by Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778) and Voltaire (1694–1778) helped create his legend. Undoubted

accomplishments help explain his success: the foundation (1765) of the university at Corte, a written constitution allowing for a degree of representation, the application of severe justice to reduce the rate of banditry and murder, a degree of accommodation with the church, the development of L'Île Rousse as a port not controlled by the French or the Genoese, and a degree of naval success culminating in the capture from Genoa of the island of Capraia (1767).

But Paoli was handicapped by financial shortages, bad harvests, and the opposition of major Corsican families. He would have been content to negotiate a benevolent protectorate with France, but the French minister Étienne-François de Choiseul (1719–1785) wanted control. By the treaties of Compiègne (1754, 1764), Genoa entrusted the major ports to France, thus limiting Paoli to the interior of the island. In the end the weight of French forces was too great. With the Treaty of Versailles (1768), Genoa handed over control to France.

From 1769 to 1789 the French regime attempted reforms much like those earlier attempted by Genoa, including improvements in agriculture, draining of the marshes, and repression of banditry by harsh measures (including repression of rebellions fomented by numerous exiles). Though some offices and estates were entrusted to Corsican supporters of France, in general the French benefited from government generosity at the expense of Corsicans, thus building up resentment. The university was abolished, though in an attempt at assimilation some Corsicans received scholarships for education and training in France.

The outbreak of the French Revolution brought new political upheavals. Although the French National Assembly voted that Corsica was part of France, Corsicans tried to expel French officials and succeeded in driving out Corsican supporters of the *ancien régime*. Paoli returned from exile in England in 1790 and reestablished a moral ascendancy over the island that left political power in his hands. Squabbles among minor figures for political office and their spoils became conflated with the major issues of the time. Thus the denunciation of Paoli as a friend of Britain shortly after the war against Austria was extended to Britain in 1793 may be seen as a political maneuver by Corsicans, who thought they could gain by his elimination. The belief that he

could not receive justice in the Paris of the guillotine prompted separation and independence. Since there had been no effective administration in Corsica since 1789, there were no resources. A full-scale European war was in full flow, and to prevent another French invasion, Paoli (who feared the return of Genoa) invited British protection. The result was the Anglo-Corsican Kingdom (1794–1796). This arrangement gave Britain valuable naval bases, but British priorities in the Caribbean and South Africa had precedence, leading to inadequate military resources to defend the island once Spain joined France and Napoléon I (1769–1821) overran Italy.

Fighting a world war, Britain had inadequate finances to subsidize Corsica as Paoli and many Corsicans had hoped. Thus the constitution, parliamentary system, and proposed reforms weighed little compared to the necessity to make Corsica pay for itself, and necessarily unpopular taxes, one cause of incipient revolt, were reintroduced. Napoléon reconquered the island as the British withdrew, and in 1814, at the Congress of Vienna, Corsica was incorporated into France.

See also France; Genoa; Revolutions, Age of.

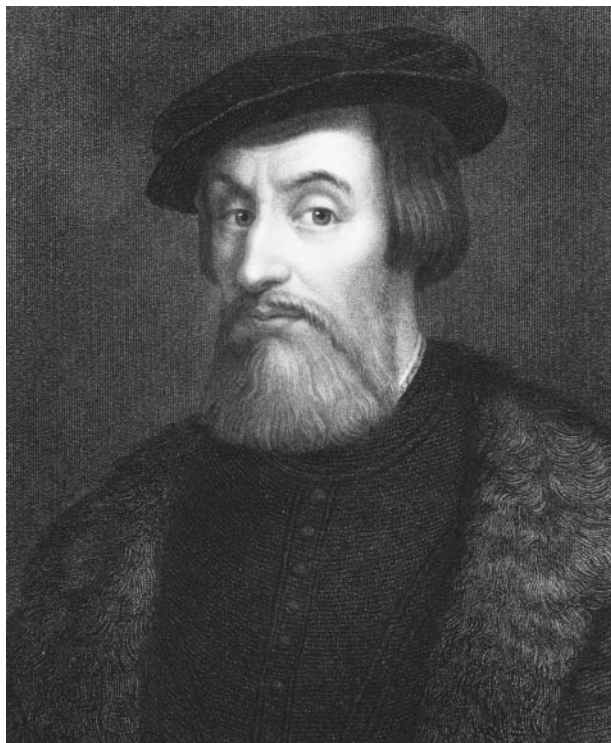
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CORTÉS, HERNÁN (c. 1485–1547), Spanish explorer and conqueror of Mexico. The son of Martín Cortés de Monroy and Catalina Pizarro Altamirano, Hernán Cortés was born in Medellín, in southwestern Spain. His father sent him at age fourteen to study law at the University of Salamanca, but Hernán had little taste for academic life. He was drawn instead to adventure and in 1504 sailed for the Caribbean, where he won lasting fame by conquering Aztec Mexico.

On Hispaniola, Cortés served briefly as a notary and then assisted Diego Velázquez in the conquest of Cuba. He received an *encomienda* (grant of indigenous tribute) and claimed several gold mines.



Hernán Cortés. Undated engraving by Holl. ©BETTMANN/CORBIS

Around 1515 Cortés married Catalina Suárez Marcaida. Velázquez, governor of Cuba, appointed him to lead an exploratory and trading expedition to the Yucatán. Before Cortés sailed in late 1518, however, Velázquez grew suspicious of his protégé's loyalty and tried to block his departure.

Cortés departed anyway, having personally financed much of the expedition of 11 ships, 508 soldiers, and 16 horses. His men responded enthusiastically to his energy, charisma, and seriousness of purpose. They landed at Cozumel in mid-February 1519 and then moved westward around the Yucatán, fighting and trading as they went. At one town they received a gift of twenty women, including one, La Malinche or Doña Marina, who became Cortés's mistress. More important, she spoke both Maya and Nahuatl and, after learning Spanish, proved invaluable to Cortés as both a translator and a cultural interpreter.

By April 1519 Cortés had become aware of the rich, powerful Aztec empire and its ruler Montezuma (Motecuhzoma II). Cortés disbanded his expedition and founded the city of Veracruz on the

Mexican coast. He and his men then organized a town government (*cabildo*), which appointed him to invade the Aztec empire and conquer it for Spain. This was a clever strategy by Cortés to free him from subordination to Velázquez.

In late summer 1519, Cortés marched inland toward the Aztec capital of Tenochtitlán. When the Spaniards arrived at Tlaxcala, bitter fighting erupted. The Tlaxcalans suspected that Cortés was an ally of their enemy Montezuma. Eventually, the Spaniards and the Tlaxcalans broke off battle and became allies themselves, seeing in each other potential help against the Aztecs. This proved crucial to the conquest: the Tlaxcalans provided manpower, food, and other logistical support and remained loyal, even during Spanish setbacks.

In November 1519, Cortés reached the densely populated valley of Central Mexico. Tenochtitlán lay on an island in Lake Texcoco, connected by causeways to the shore, and the other large cities "seemed like an enchanted vision from the tale of Amadis." Montezuma welcomed Cortés to the capital, and the Spaniards seized the Aztec ruler and held him prisoner. For a while, Cortés managed to rule through Montezuma. Meanwhile, Velázquez sent a force under Pánfilo de Narváez to Veracruz to arrest Cortés. Leaving some of his men in Tenochtitlán under Pedro de Alvarado, Cortés returned to the coast, defeated Narváez, and persuaded many of his men to join in the campaign against the Aztecs. Returned to Tenochtitlán, however, Cortés discovered the populace in an uproar: Alvarado, fearing an attack, had massacred Aztecs participating in a public celebration. Besieged in the capital, Cortés fought his way out during the Noche Triste (Sorrowful Night), 30 June 1520. Montezuma was killed. Cortés lost hundreds of Spaniards and thousands of his indigenous allies, but managed to retreat to Tlaxcala and regroup.

Ever resourceful, Cortés gathered reinforcements and supplies, fabricated thirteen small ships to protect his men on the lake, and then returned to Tenochtitlán. During his absence, smallpox devastated the valley, weakening Aztec military might. Nonetheless, Cortés had to besiege the city from May to August 1521 before finally conquering the Aztecs and capturing their new ruler, Cuauhtémoc. To win the king's support, Cortés sent to Spain gold



Hernán Cortés. Cortés entering Tenochtitlán, undated illustration. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

and feathered shields received as gifts from the Aztecs, along with reports of his exploits.

The conquest made Cortés a heroic figure, wealthy and powerful, yet his victory proved difficult to consolidate. He worked vigorously to subjugate other regions of Mexico and zealously pushed for the conversion of the indigenous population to Catholicism. From 1524 to 1526, he campaigned in Central America, trying to assert his right to Guatemala and Honduras. In his absence, chaos enveloped Mexico as factions struggled to control the spoils of conquest, especially when a rumor spread that Cortés had died. In 1527 he went to Spain and obtained from Charles I the title of Marquis of the Valley of Oaxaca, along with a vast encomienda. But the king was suspicious of Cortés's power in Mexico and stripped him of political command. A marriage to Juana de Zúñiga produced Martín, his heir. The conqueror returned to Mexico for a few years in the 1530s but in a further attempt to defend his estate

and actions went back to Spain, where he died at Castilleja de la Cuesta near Seville in 1547.

See also Colonialism; Exploration; Spanish Colonies; Mexico.

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COSMOLOGY. During the fifteenth century, the cosmological systems of the Epicurean atomists, Plato, and the Stoics were known from antiquity, but the cosmology that was taught in universities throughout Europe was that of Aristotle, as augmented by Ptolemy. By the beginning of the eighteenth century a new cosmology, associated with the names of Copernicus, Kepler, Galileo, Descartes, and Newton, had almost completely replaced the earlier consensus. The present article considers the cosmologies of these main figures and reviews changes in historians' understanding of the causes of the scientific revolution.

ARISTOTLE'S COSMOS

Aristotle's cosmos was finite, spherical, and full. Its outer boundary was a sphere carrying the fixed stars. Its center was the Earth, and the sphere carrying the Moon divided the cosmos into a terrestrial portion and a celestial portion. The region beneath the Moon consisted of four elements, each endowed with the tendency to return to its natural place by a motion along a radius of the cosmos. The element Earth tended to seek the center; water moved naturally to a sphere surrounding the central globe of Earth; air sought a sphere concentric to water, and fire, which in its pure form was quite transparent, would naturally move to the region above the air and beneath the Moon. The general structure of the world reflected its elementary constitution, with most earth covered by water and both inner elements covered by air. Only the sphere of fire was not directly observable, although it was a theoretical necessity. Mixing and transmutation created complex combinations of elements, such as people, plants, and animals. Changes in the proportions of the four elements explained terrestrial change, especially growth and decay.

By contrast, the heavens consisted of a single element, ether, which was already in its natural place, and moved naturally in a circle, at constant speed, around the central earth. Deprived of the opportunity for transmutation or mixing of elements, the heavens were incapable of physical change. The order of the heavenly bodies was determined partly by observation and partly by convention. Eclipses and occultations made it clear that the Moon was the closest heavenly body and the fixed stars were the most distant. Mars, Jupiter, and Sat-

urn could be ordered according to their periods of return, with the longest being the farthest away. However, the periods of return for the remaining planets and the Sun were not distinguishable. The locations of the five known planets were divided by the zone occupied by the Sun, and, beyond the Moon, an ordering of Mercury, followed by Venus, followed by the sun became conventional.

The heavens consisted of nested concentric shells. A single heavenly body was confined within and carried by each shell. Physically, the heavenly bodies were believed to be denser regions in the ether. During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, followers of Averroes (Ibn Rushd) and Ptolemy violently disagreed over the inner structure of these shells.

In the *Almagest* Ptolemy had introduced a system of moving circles carrying other circles to explain the details of planetary motion. In the *Planetary Hypotheses* he introduced a corresponding set of physical models, which Arabic commentators presented as sets of hollow orbs carrying smaller spheres within them. These, in turn, carried individual planets. Ptolemaic astronomers assumed that the orb clusters for different planets fitted perfectly inside one another, and were thereby able to calculate the distances of planets, including the Sun, and their relative sizes. But most importantly, Ptolemy's mathematical apparatus allowed the calculation of planetary positions with an accuracy sufficient, for example, to predict eclipses of the Sun and Moon, and approximate conjunctions and other planetary alignments important in astrology. These models were presented in Georg Peurbach's *Theoricae novae planetarum* (c. 1474), which rapidly became a standard text. Averroists objected to the eccentric circles and epicycles used by their rivals on the grounds that they were not strictly centered on the Earth. They proposed that planets were carried by a series of nested orbs, exactly concentric to the Earth, but, as late as the 1530s, attempts to construct predictive models failed. Copernicus was exposed to both viewpoints during his education.

THE NEW COSMOLOGIES

Motivated by a desire to establish an absolute order for the planets, Copernicus moved the center of the cosmos to the Sun (*On the Revolutions of the Heavenly Spheres*, 1543). In other respects, his cosmology

was conservative. He continued to assume that the planets were carried by orbs and that the sphere of fixed stars was the boundary of a finite universe, although his shift of center created large and inexplicable gaps between orbs, and especially between the outermost planet, Saturn, and the fixed stars. These gaps were later explained by Kepler using the geometrical construction introduced in the *Mysterium Cosmographicum* (1596). The immediate reaction, led by astronomers at the Lutheran University of Wittenberg, was to adapt Copernicus's new models to an Earth-centered system and to reject his cosmology on physical and scriptural grounds.

To remove Aristotle's cosmology, it was necessary to undermine his account of the construction of the heavens. Two major factors began this process: the revival of Stoic physics and precise observations of comets. Aristotle had taught that comets, which appeared and vanished at irregular intervals, must be long-lasting fires in the region below the Moon, because there could be no change in the heavens. In 1572 a nova suggested that change did occur in the heavens. Attempts to measure comets' distances placed them in the heavens. At the same time, the revival of Stoic physics suggested that the heavens might be filled by a continuous fluid rather than Aristotle's solid spheres. Tycho Brahe in Denmark and Michael Maestlin in Germany both measured precise distances for a comet that appeared in 1577. Both concluded that the comet had moved through a series of Aristotle's Earth-centered spheres and that any spheres must be centered on the Sun. Maestlin became a Copernican, later teaching his ideas to Johannes Kepler. But Brahe was unable to accept the motion of the Earth and developed a new cosmology in which the Earth remained the center, the Moon and Sun circled the Earth, and the remaining planets circled the Sun. To avoid the overlap his system created between the orbs of Mars and the Sun, Brahe adopted fluid heavens in which celestial spheres were no more than geometrical boundaries.

Today, Johannes Kepler is credited with discovering the three laws of planetary motion that bear his name, but his innovations were not generally accepted until Isaac Newton showed that they followed from his own theory. Kepler introduced the modern concept of an orbit, located the cause of planetary motion in the Sun, and replaced the circles

of traditional astronomy with ellipses, but he continued to regard the fixed stars as the boundary of a finite universe. Like Tycho, he adopted a theory that made the substance of the heavens a fluid. The unprecedented accuracy of his astronomical tables advertised the importance of his insights after his death in 1630.

Galileo Galilei, by contrast, preserved many features of traditional cosmology. He never adopted Kepler's ellipses and denied that comets were celestial objects. However, his telescopic discoveries offered a host of new observational evidence supporting Copernicus. Jupiter's moons showed that the Averroists were wrong in demanding a single center of rotation for the cosmos. Sunspots and the observation of terrestrial features on the Moon showed that the heavens were not changeless and suggested that a single physics should embrace both heavens and Earth. The cycle of phases displayed by Venus showed that it, at least, circled the Sun. It was possible to accommodate all of these innovations in a modified Aristotelian scheme (as postulated by Du Chevreul in 1623), but the motions of comets and their implications for the substance of the heavens were unaccounted for. In the climate created by the Catholic Church's condemnation of Copernicanism in 1616 and 1633, Tycho Brahe's system became the most attractive option to anyone wishing to reconcile religious orthodoxy, traditional physics, and new astronomical discoveries. Jesuits exported it to China, and it was taught in Northern European universities into the eighteenth century.

Galileo's later work helped revive the ancient theory that matter was composed of atoms, a viewpoint that was being developed by Beeckman, Gassendi, and Descartes. The latter delayed publishing an atomistic cosmology because of Galileo's condemnation. In *Le Monde*, finished in 1633, but not published until 1664, Descartes described a cosmos filled by vortices of atoms. Stars naturally formed at the center of each vortex, while matter falling onto their surface caused sunspots. A large enough quantity of infalling material formed a crust over the entire star, which then became free of its vortex and wandered through the heavens, appearing as a comet. When finally captured by another vortex, the comet became a planet. Descartes therefore explained many new discoveries in a single scheme that was inherently heliocentric, although the sun

was now just one among many vortex centers scattered throughout space.

Newton's synthesis (1689) provided a detailed mathematical physics that unified the heavens and the Earth. The planets were now held in place not by vortices, but by universal gravitation. Comets were divided into returning and nonreturning, and the reappearance of Halley's comet in 1758 was a highly visible success. With the general acceptance of Newton's system, cosmology assumed a form that persisted until the early twentieth century. As with Descartes, the Sun was identified as a star. The planets with their attendant satellites were bound to the Sun, but were not unique; other stars were assumed to be the centers of other planetary systems. Comets were definitely celestial, although only the determination of the numerical value of Newton's Universal Gravitational Constant allowed the recognition of their diminutive mass in comparison to planets or stars. Newton's First Law required that inertial motion continue indefinitely and implied a universe that was infinite in space.

THE NATURE OF THE SCIENTIFIC REVOLUTION

The changes in cosmology just described have often been taken as the centerpiece of an event known as the scientific revolution, usually described as the replacement of Aristotle's scientific system with modern mathematical physics, based on experimental evidence. But recent historiography has tended to emphasize continuity with earlier achievements. It is now clear that the modern conception of experiment developed over a long period, with important changes beginning in the sixteenth century with the work of astronomers and early mathematical physicists. Kepler's unification of physics and mathematical astronomy became an important precedent, although it was more important with hindsight, after the development of new mathematical techniques for doing physics by Descartes, Newton, and their contemporaries. The work of Boyle and other members of the early Royal Society, as well as members of similar institutions in France and Italy, also contributed, although the modern conception of experiment did not emerge until the power of the new mathematical methods had been reconciled with the empiricism advocated by Bacon, a process that continued from Newton's career through the development of mathematical physics in France during

the Enlightenment. Galileo's use of experiment resembles the earlier, rather than the later, concept. He was clearly not the originator of the experimental method, and modern research also demonstrates that his ideas on physics and scientific method in general were transformations of existing ideas rather than complete novelties.

Recent historians also give a more equal role to noncanonical sciences such as alchemy and astrology in the development of modern science. Alchemy clearly contributed to the replacement of Aristotle's theory of the terrestrial elements. Astrology remained important as the main motive for the study of astronomy and cosmology because of applications including medical diagnosis and treatment, weather prediction, and political planning. Although most practitioners followed the great Lutheran reformer and educator Philipp Melanchthon in believing that the heavens predisposed rather than compelled terrestrial events, casting horoscopes was a professional skill prized by the patrons of Tycho Brahe, Kepler, and Galileo. Alchemy was gradually transformed, first into the phlogiston theories of Stahl and his contemporaries, and then into the modern discipline of chemistry at the hands of Lavoisier. The disappearance of astrology lacks a generally agreed explanation. In England, at least, its public suppression may have had less to do with the development of the new science and new scientific societies after the Civil War than with the fact that its supporters were on the losing side after the Restoration of Charles II.

The supposed warfare between science and religion is now recognized to be largely a fiction of late-nineteenth-century historiography. Both Catholic and Protestant churches were active in supporting and sometimes opposing the new science. During the sixteenth century, for example, followers of Melanchthon arranged for the publication of Copernicus's work and actively spread his ideas, although, initially, they accepted his mathematical astronomy and rejected his cosmology. The trial of Galileo in 1633 cannot be attributed solely to his defense of Sun-centered cosmology. Other factors may include the dynamics of patronage (Galileo's patron Ciampoli offended the pope; other supporters had died) and internal church politics (the potential rebellion of a Spanish faction over the pope's handling of the Counter-Reformation). The con-

demnation of Copernicanism, and especially the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War in 1618, created new difficulties, but the Jesuit order of the Catholic Church remained at the forefront of scientific research. Kepler and Newton both saw their religious beliefs as integral to, rather than separable from, their scientific work.

The importance of new career paths and new scientific institutions has qualified earlier accounts of the scientific revolution. Copernicus was a lowly member of the Catholic hierarchy, who, until almost the end of his life, pursued his research essentially in private. His earliest supporters were university teachers, like Melanchthon's followers at Wittenberg and Maestlin at Tübingen. But his most important successors were courtiers whose research was supported by patronage. Tycho Brahe was financed by the king of Denmark, and later the Holy Roman emperor, who also supported his successor Kepler. Galileo moved from a university post to the court of the Medici in Florence, where he did his most important work. The first scientific societies appeared during the seventeenth century and provided new avenues of scientific communication, including published proceedings and journals, and new forms of support for scientists. In later life, Newton dominated the Royal Society of London. But the acceptance of Newton's system in Germany, and especially in France, followed the adoption of the new science as an intellectual fashion by the upper classes throughout Europe. This process depended upon the ascendancy of another social forum, the salon, where, for the first time since antiquity, women made major contributions to science.

The scientific revolution was not the work of a few great men, nor the result of changes that occurred only in the mathematical sciences, or in sciences that still exist today. It was not the result of the sudden appearance of the modern conception of experiment, nor did it come about because of any early separation between science and religion. There are profound differences between the content, method, and structure of the sciences from the origin to the close of the early modern period, but these changes are now regarded as the result of a complex combination of intellectual, theological, social, and institutional causes.

See also **Alchemy; Aristotelianism; Astrology; Bacon, Francis; Boyle, Robert; Brahe, Tycho; Charles II**

(England); Copernicus, Nicolaus; Descartes, René; Enlightenment; Galileo Galilei; Gassendi, Pierre; Kepler, Johannes; Lavoisier, Antoine; Medici Family; Melanchthon, Philipp; Newton, Isaac; Scientific Revolution; Stoicism; Thirty Years' War (1618–1648)

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PETER BARKER

COSSACKS. Frontierpeople between the Slavic and Turkic worlds, the Cossacks (name derived from the Turkic *kazak*, 'free person') emerged by the fifteenth century as military servitors. In the sixteenth century, a wider strata of the Slavic-borderland foragers and fishers took on the name Cossacks. They were especially numerous in the Ukrainian territories along the Dnieper River of the Polish-Lithuanian state and somewhat later along the Don River on the periphery of the Muscovite state, where they developed skill in building small boats and navigating the Black Sea. The Lithuanian state (after 1569 the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth) enlisted the Cossacks in defending its long steppe frontier with the Crimean Khanate. Border officials often served as leaders of the Cossacks who defended grand ducal (later royal) castles. By the second half of the century, Cossacks established strongholds or *siches* beneath rapids in the lower Dnieper beyond the reach of the authorities (hence the name Zaporozhian, from the Ukrainian *za porohy*, 'beyond the rapids'). Increasingly the Zaporozhians became an autonomous force, often conducting raids on the Black Sea against the Ottomans. The commonwealth enlisted some Cossacks in its service (the registered Cossacks), but the regis-

ter never encompassed more than a small part of the Ukrainian Cossacks.

The spread of the manorial serf economy into central Ukraine in the late sixteenth century and the early seventeenth century increasingly threatened the Cossack way of life and status as free people. Starting in the 1590s, Cossacks led revolts in Ukraine, with the authorities suppressing them in time of peace and seeking their support in time of war. Thus the magnates and court enlisted them in invading Muscovy in the early seventeenth century and in fighting the Turks in 1619–1621. Yet when Warsaw wanted peace with the Ottomans, it found the Cossack naval raids troublesome. After the Union of Brest (1596) established Orthodox union with Rome, the Cossacks resisted the religious change, and by the 1620s they played a major role in Ukrainian religious and cultural life. Cossack revolts in the 1620s and 1630s were put down by the Polish authorities, but the entire political and social order of Ukraine was overthrown by the Khmelnytsky Uprising (1648), in which the Zaporozhian Host was transformed into the civil administration, much of the Ukrainian population "Cossackicized," and Cossacks became the major social Estate. In 1654 the Ukrainian hetman took an oath to the Russian tsar, and while the Cossacks changed their sovereigns frequently in the wars of the century, they ultimately came under Russian rule.

Out of the revolt two Cossack polities emerged, the Zaporozhian Host and the Hetmanate. The Zaporozhian Host, centered on the old *sich*, long retained the character of old Cossackdom in the unsettled steppe and remained autonomous of neighboring rulers. In the eighteenth century it came under Russian control and was destroyed by the Russian imperial forces in 1775. Its Cossacks were dispersed to other Black Sea areas (eventually the Kuban). The Hetmanate, known as Little Russia in the eighteenth century, developed into a complex society with a Ukrainian Cossack culture and identity controlled by the Cossack officers, who evolved into a nobiliary elite. The office of hetman was abolished in 1764, and the autonomy of the region was abolished in 1781. Cossack social strata were absorbed into the Russian imperial social structure. An outcropping of Ukrainian Cossack formations was established in parts of Muscovy by Cossack

emigrants in the mid-seventeenth century and became known as Sloboda Ukraine.

In the Muscovite and Russian state the Cossacks remained a borderland phenomenon. They intervened in Russian affairs in times of weakness, such as the Time of Troubles of the late sixteenth century and early seventeenth century. Major revolts, such as those of Stepan Razin (died 1671) in 1670–1671, Kondratii Bulavin (c. 1660–1708) in 1707–1709, and Emilian Pugachev (1726–1775) in 1773–1775, were launched by Don, Iaik, and other Cossacks. The Don Cossacks, who like the Zaporozhians conducted sea raids in the early seventeenth century, came under more direct rule of Moscow in the eighteenth century and lost their autonomy in 1775. They were integrated into Russian military structures, as was the Kuban Host that formed near them in 1792. The Cossacks Hosts of the Terek and Iaik played a major role in the conquest of the Caucasus and Siberia and then were integrated into Russian imperial military structures.

See also Black Sea Steppe; Khmelnytsky, Bohdan; Khmelnytsky Uprising; Poland-Lithuania, Commonwealth of; Time of Troubles (Russia); Ukraine; Union of Brest (1596).

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FRANK E. SYSYN

COST OF LIVING. *See* Inflation.

COULOMB, CHARLES-AUGUSTIN DE (1736–1806), one of France's greatest engineers, who also made major contributions to the field of physics. Not only did he establish “Coulomb's laws”—by showing experimentally that the force between two electric charges, and similarly be-

tween two magnetic poles, is inversely proportional to the square of the distance between them—he played a key role more generally in the transformation of physics in the years around 1800 from a qualitative science into a quantitative, mathematical one. Coulomb was born at Angoulême on 14 June 1736, the son of a petty government official. After studying for a time in Paris and in Montpellier, he was briefly an adjunct member of the mathematical section of the Montpellier Academy of Sciences before entering the best engineering school in Europe, the *École du génie* at Mézières, in 1760. Upon graduation in November 1761, he became an officer in the French army's engineering corps.

Coulomb spent the years from 1764 to 1772 in the French West Indian colony of Martinique, successfully supervising the construction of major new fortifications to replace those destroyed by the British during the Seven Years' War. A series of postings followed in France itself, during which Coulomb had sufficient free time to write up his analyses of various traditional problems in structural mechanics, building on his experiences in Martinique. His paper created a very favorable impression when he presented it to the Académie Royale des Sciences in Paris in 1773, and in the following year he was appointed a *correspondant* (corresponding member) of the academy.

In his paper, Coulomb studied the role of friction and cohesion in several traditional problems of structural engineering. His analyses, in which he pioneered the use of variational calculus in engineering theory, were a significant advance over anything that had been previously achieved. He arrived at general solutions that, as more engineers became familiar with mathematics, became part of the standard approach to the subject. His analysis of the pressure on retaining walls led him to “Coulomb's equation,” which remains the starting point of scientific soil mechanics.

During the next few years, Coulomb contributed a number of other papers on engineering topics to the Académie Royale des Sciences. In addition, beginning with work reported in a prizewinning essay on magnetic compasses submitted to the academy in 1777, he extended his research into the realm of physics. Success in 1781 in another of the academy's prize competitions, this

time on friction between sliding and rolling surfaces, consolidated his reputation, and on 12 December of that year he was elected a member of the academy's section for mechanics.

In his investigation of friction, Coulomb combined quantitative experimental research with mathematical analysis in a way that was highly unusual at the time but that was characteristic of all his work. His paper was of immediate relevance to engineering practice, and his analysis became, for over a century, the starting point for all serious studies of friction.

Central to Coulomb's 1777 essay on magnetic compasses was his decision to suspend the compass needle from a thread, rather than mounting it on a pivot, as had traditionally been done. This led him to undertake a general investigation of torsion in threads and wires, which in turn provided him with the basis for his most famous invention, the torsion balance, which measures very small forces by the amount of twist they produce in a suspended thread or wire. The new balance was the tool with which Coulomb established the laws of electric and magnetic action in experiments that he reported to the academy between 1785 and 1791.

As a member of the Académie Royale des Sciences and also, from 1784, as superintendent of water supplies to the royal estates in and around Paris, Coulomb was one of the leading technocrats of late-eighteenth-century France. When the academy was abolished in the revolutionary fervor of 1793, Coulomb retired for safety to his house in the country. He became a member of the new Institut de France at its foundation in 1795, and for the next few years, despite declining health, continued to present papers regularly.

Throughout his career, Coulomb espoused a characteristically eighteenth-century view of nature according to which material corpuscles were bound together by short-range forces such as cohesion and elasticity. Much of his groundbreaking research into friction, torsion, and the strength of materials was concerned with the limits of action of these forces. He was one of the chief architects of the "two-fluid" theories of electricity and magnetism that dominated these fields throughout the nineteenth century.

See also **Engineering; Physics.**

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R. W. HOME

COUNTER-REFORMATION. *See* **Reformation, Catholic.**

COUNTRY HOUSES. *See* **Estates and Country Houses.**

COURT AND COURTIERS. The royal and princely courts of early modern Europe were important centers of culture, politics, and patronage. New codes of conduct were developed at and for the court. The court was often criticized by contemporaries as a place where corruption, moral depravity, and political intrigues as well as waste, ostentation, and luxury reigned supreme. Nevertheless, court culture, which was centered on the cult of majesty, had an enormous impact on elite culture in early modern Europe.

THE COURTIER AND THE NEW CODE OF CIVILITY

Italy was the first European country in which life at court was systematically analyzed and where a whole series of books of advice for the future courtier was published. The work that laid the foundation for this sort of literature and thereby created a new literary genre was Baldassare Castiglione's (1478–1529) *Il Cortegiano*, a dialogue written between 1513 and 1524 and published in 1528. Castiglione's courtier appears as a true *uomo universale*, a perfect human being, learned, civilized, elegant, well dressed, courageous, and a good fighter both in

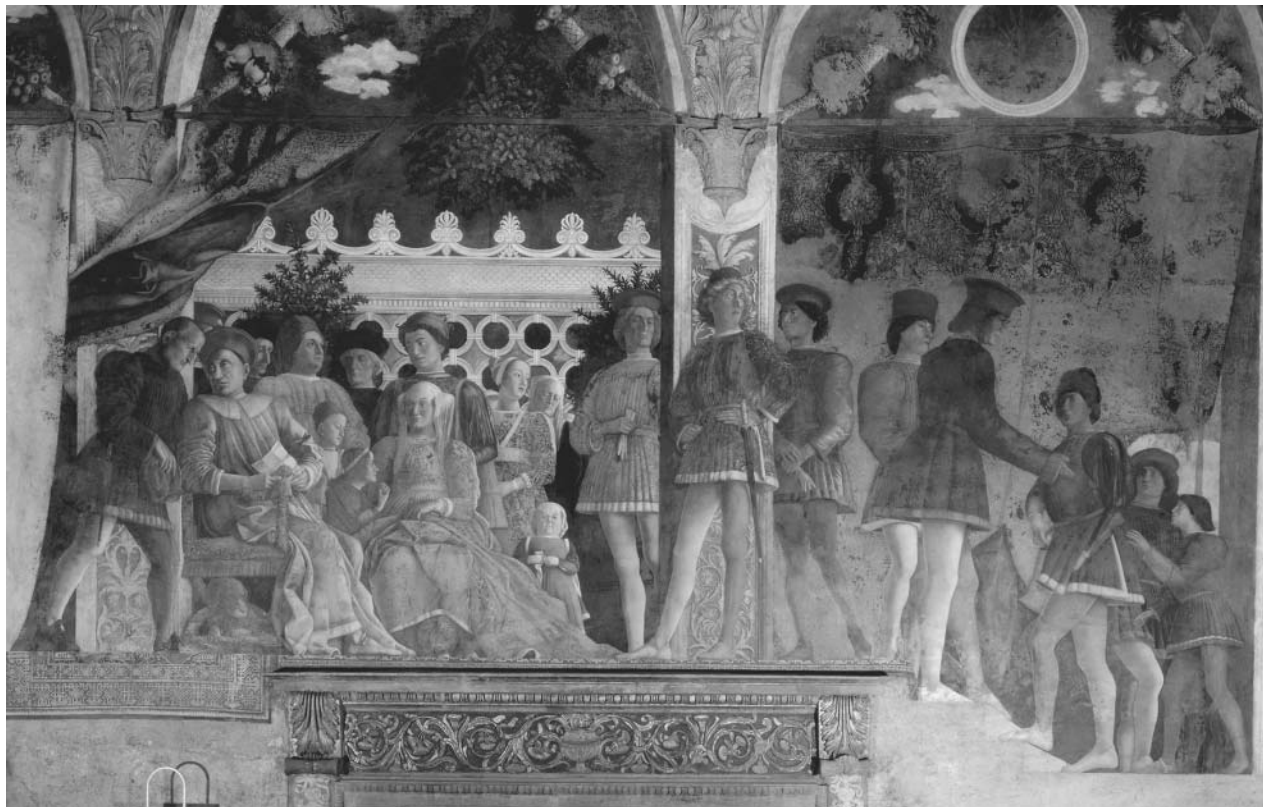
battle and in duels. The courtier has to be a man of many parts, at home in war as well as in peace, a man who will cut a good figure in an elegant conversation or when courting a lady. But it is impossible to reduce the courtier to any of his many roles; the feature that really defines him is none of his individual accomplishments but *grazia* ('grace'). An essential part of the "grace" or charm that marks the true courtier is that everything he does should appear natural and effortless. For this ease and naturalness in appearance and behavior, Castiglione coined the term *sprezzatura* (a certain nonchalance combining self-confidence with understatement and also spontaneity); this catchword was to become famous, and it remained a key term in later tracts on the courtier. It was an ideal that deeply influenced the way nobles in general, even outside the confines of the court, tried to appear to society.

Later tracts on the court were more skeptical with regard to the role of the courtier. The political style cultivated by princes who saw themselves as absolute rulers left little room for the courtier to act as the prince's instructor or as his partner in conversation; he was now seen rather as a potential favorite who had to win the ruler's favor by all means fair or foul and was advised to conceal his real thoughts behind an impenetrable facade consisting of perfect manners and absolute self-control, as in the writings of the Spanish Jesuit Baltasar Gracían (1601–1658). French tracts on the court, such as Nicolas Faret's *L'honnête homme, ou l'art de plaire à la cour* (1630), however, were more pragmatic. Faret's *honnête homme* seeks a compromise between virtue and the need to please the prince and other courtiers, between his own personality and social constraints. In the following decades, the ideal of the *honnête homme*, refined in the salons of Paris and by the noble Frondeurs whose political ambitions had been shipwrecked in the early 1650s, lost its connection with the court. The *honnête homme*, who had been a courtier seeking social advancement and a career in Faret's treatise, increasingly became a man of honor, though not necessarily of high morals in any conventional sense, cultivating his own personality in polite conversation in order to drive away the boredom that was the price he had to pay for the life of leisure that was such an essential precondition for his cultural achievements. Thus, in France as in Italy, but much later, a particular style

of conduct that had been developed for the court at the court became a more general and extremely influential model of behavior in upper-class society. At times its aesthetic or ethical implications would make it almost incompatible with the real life of a courtier.

THE POLITICAL CULTURE OF THE COURT

In the early modern period and, in particular, in the seventeenth century, the court was at the center of a process that redefined the notion of honor in many continental monarchies. The honor and status of a nobleman no longer depended primarily on the informal respect of his equals or his betters, as it had still done in the early sixteenth century, but rather on the formal recognition of his rank and title by the prince and his legal agents. No early modern ruler could overturn the existing social hierarchy, but sovereign rulers increasingly claimed the authority to define status groups within this hierarchy and to endorse or reject claims of privileged positions in the existing system. And the court, more than anywhere else, was the place where these claims of status were assessed. At the same time the political culture of the early modern court offered a pronounced contrast with important political and administrative developments of the same period, which are often seen as specifically modern. The tendency to transform informal political and social relationships based on mutual trust into fixed legal structures based on contracts and laws and the development of more bureaucratic administrative institutions—so important for the development of the state in the early modern period—never really affected the rules of political life at court. Here conflicts were resolved in a much more informal way than in the courts of law, the conciliar bodies of the central administration, or the assemblies of Estates. In fact, one of the most important features of the court's political culture was the lack of formalized legal procedures—apart, of course, from the court ceremonial. The relationship between prince and courtier was never a contractual one: the courtier could not confront his lord with legal claims if he wished to be rewarded for his loyalty. On the other hand, he did not, qua courtier, receive orders, but was expected to adapt all his actions to the wishes of the prince without any formal command. When he received gifts and grants, these were a reward not for a specific service but for his loyalty and friendship.



Court and Courtiers. *Ludovico Gonzaga, His Family, and Court*, by Andrea Mantegna, 1471–1474. The Gonzaga family ruled the city of Mantua from 1328 to 1707. ©ARTE & IMMAGINI SRL/CORBIS

Certainly there were voices even at the time warning noblemen against subjecting themselves to the servitude of life at court. Against such arguments, defenders of the court, such as the Italian writer Matteo Peregrini (1595–1652) in his *Difesa del savio in corte* (1634; *Defense of the wise man at court*), replied that courtiers, by their nature, were the ruler's friends, not his servants, because they benefited from their position at court and received grants and gifts as a reward for their loyalty. A mere slave or unfree servant could never expect any reward at all. Gifts and grants were indeed extremely important for giving court society the coherence that other forms of social interaction, such as conversation and sociability, could no longer provide in the later seventeenth century, when the idea that courtiers could be the ruler's instructors had lost all credibility. The distribution of grants at court, which was the foremost center of patronage in the monarchical state, was therefore never exclusively a means to satisfy the desire of courtiers for material rewards. It was also a means of enhancing the status

of the recipient and of creating a social bond between the ruler and the nobles attending his court.

EUROPEAN COURTS BETWEEN RENAISSANCE AND ENLIGHTENMENT

In the first half of the sixteenth century, Italian courts such as that of the Medici in Florence, the Gonzaga in Mantua, and the papal court in Rome had set standards of magnificence and artistic patronage that rulers outside the peninsula, such as Francis I (ruled 1515–1547) of France, eagerly tried to emulate. In the later sixteenth and early seventeenth century, the Spanish court was probably the most important among the royal courts of Europe. It was dominated by a strict ceremonial, introduced by Charles I (ruled 1516–1556; ruled 1519–1556 as Holy Roman Emperor Charles V), that made the king almost inaccessible—a clear contrast to the more easygoing way of the French court—and probably reached its greatest splendor under Philip III (ruled 1598–1621) and Philip IV (ruled 1621–1665) when Spain's political hege-

mony in Europe was already under attack and when the monarchy was often on the brink of insolvency. However, foreign visitors were deeply impressed by the works of art, the ceremonial, and the aura of dignity and royal authority that were the hallmark of the Spanish court.

In the greatest Protestant monarchy of the time, in England, the political and cultural impact of the court both under the later Tudors and under the Stuarts was limited, not least by financial problems. Elizabeth I (ruled 1558–1603), who was celebrated by her courtiers as the Virgin Queen, at once chaste and erotically attractive, successfully exploited the revival of chivalry in the late sixteenth century to create a culture of loyalty to the monarchy and of commitment to the Protestant faith, and had her nobles pay for many festivals and courtly pageants out of their own pockets. She prudently refrained from any extensive building activities. Her successors James I (ruled 1603–1625) and even more so Charles I (ruled 1625–1649) were more ambitious in their artistic patronage and wanted to emulate the cultural achievements of late Renaissance Italy and Spain. Their controversial policies and the religious divisions of the age, however, made it difficult to contain faction fights at court and to fully integrate the provincial elites into the political and cultural system of the court—something Louis XIV (ruled 1643–1715) was to achieve with great success in France after 1660. After the Restoration of the monarchy in England (1660), the court had to compete with Parliament as the center of politics. The court's cultural milieu offered a clear contrast to the discipline and self-restraint preached by strictly Protestant clergymen whose ideals—after the regicide of 1649—were now marked by the taint of republicanism. Sexual libertinage and a tendency for violent excesses, which could manifest themselves in duels as much as in attacks on social inferiors, therefore found a fertile breeding ground in the cosmopolitan and anti-Puritan culture of the Restoration court.

Whereas the English court was to some extent replaced by Parliament as the real center of political power in the eighteenth century, the imperial court in Vienna saw its apogee in the decades after the successful defense of the Habsburg capital against the Ottoman Empire in 1683. Great noblemen from the entire monarchy now moved to the capital,

where they built palatial residences. The emperors themselves remained more parsimonious in their building activities and relied less on extensive and costly artistic patronage than on the unrivaled dignity of their position as Europe's highest-ranking monarchs and on the cultural and aesthetic power of the Counter-Reformation church to legitimize their claim to authority. Not until the mid-eighteenth century did the palace of Schönbrunn just outside Vienna become the dynasty's principal residence, replacing at least in summer the rather old-fashioned and unassuming Hofburg in the heart of the capital. Even then the palace did not attain the gigantic dimensions Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach (1656–1723), the great baroque architect, had once dreamt of in 1690, when he had hopes of surpassing Versailles. In fact, in the Holy Roman Empire of the eighteenth century, it was often lesser princes, who could not hope to create a powerful army, who continued to subscribe to the ideals of the baroque court culture and spent most of their income on building new palaces and maintaining oversized courts, a habit that was now increasingly criticized by enlightened intellectuals.

VERSAILLES: THE QUINTESSENTIAL BAROQUE COURT

Such criticism was much more muted in the seventeenth century when Versailles, the palace built by Louis XIV after 1660 near Paris to house his court, became for a time the almost unrivaled center of European court culture. Versailles has become a byword for the splendor of the baroque monarchy and also for its alleged ability to manipulate and tame the ancient nobility. The palace certainly differed from earlier royal residences in providing accommodation not just for the king's immediate household, but also for most of the more important government departments and for many high-ranking noblemen, including many who did not hold any office. Moreover, the art produced at and for the court, the courtiers' manners and style of conduct, the fashions adopted by court society, and the language spoken at court all set cultural standards to which provincial society more or less eagerly tried to conform in the late seventeenth century. In this sense Louis XIV's court certainly had a much greater impact on society than that of any of his predecessors despite, or perhaps because of, the fact that the king no longer went on progress through

the provinces—unless he paid a visit to his troops in wartime. On the other hand, one should not overestimate the role of the court as an instrument of absolutism, as many older accounts have done. Louis XIV allegedly kept his nobles busy at court by an unbroken series of festivals and entertainments and by having them concentrate all their energies on receiving empty symbols of rank and precedence from the monarch's hand. While the members of the ancient nobility spent their time on such inane pursuits, men from families of far lesser status occupied the positions of power as secretaries of state, as officeholders, and as judges. However, this image, which rests to a considerable extent on the account given by Louis de Rouvroy, the duke of Saint-Simon (1675–1755), in his multivolume memoirs, completed long after the king's death, is at least partly misleading. It is indeed true that great nobles who in the past had often resided for long periods of time in the provinces now increasingly moved to the court. Those who did not show that they were eager to serve the king in person could hardly hope for his favor. However, far from being generally idle and without influence, many courtiers pursued military careers. In fact, employment in the royal household or in the guard units attached to it was often an important, if not indispensable, steppingstone for such a career.

Versailles is associated with the splendid festivals and pageants celebrating Louis XIV as the Sun King. However, the splendor of court life was gradually toned down at the very time when the royal household settled permanently in Versailles in 1682. Great festivals and entertainments became rarer and less exuberant, and many observers now felt that life at court was rather boring. In addition, whereas the sculptures and paintings created for Versailles in the early years in the 1660s and 1670s had used the language of ancient mythology and celebrated the king as Apollo or Helios, the later decor concentrated directly on his political achievements. With the ambiguity of the mythological language gone, the cult of the monarch became much less enigmatic and more blunt in its message, but also easier to attack by critics of the regime. Court culture was therefore arguably already in decline when the king died in 1715 and never entirely recovered even when the ministers of Louis XV (ruled 1715–1774) moved the royal residence back to

Versailles after the end of the regency in 1722. Louis XV and his successor Louis XVI (ruled 1774–1792) remained ill at ease in the enormous palace and came to resent the constraints imposed on them by the elaborate court ceremonial, whereas the aristocracy preferred to live in Paris, often paying only short visits to the court unless they had charges in the royal household. Nevertheless, the court and its culture were to survive in Versailles until the Revolution.

See also Advice and Etiquette Books; Aristocracy and Gentry; Castiglione, Baldassare; Elizabeth I (England); Louis XIV (France); Monarchy; Patronage; Philip III (Spain); Philip IV (Spain); Saint-Simon, Louis de Rouvroy; Versailles; Vienna.

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COURTS OF LAW. *See* Law: Courts.

CRACOW (Polish, Kraków; German, Krakau). Cracow arose on the left bank of the upper Vistula in the southern region of the Polish state known as Little Poland, at the intersection of trade routes linking Gdańsk and the Baltic with Hungary and Germany and Bohemia with Kievan Rus' and the Crimea. From 1000 it was a bishopric attached to the primatial see at Gniezno. Cracow received the Magdeburg Law for municipal self-government in 1257 and became the capital of a rising Polish kingdom by 1320, with a royal residence in the Wawel Castle. Poland's oldest university, established here in 1364, reached its peak in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, attracting humanists such as the scholar Callimachus (Filippo Buonaccorsi, 1437–1496) and the German neo-Latin poet Conrad Celtis (1459–1508), around whom a *sodalitas litteraria vistulana* grew up.

The early sixteenth century was the city's golden age, witnessing growth in architecture, literature, and printing. The first printed sheet dates

from 1474. In 1491 Szwajpolt Fiol (d. 1525/1526) published the world's first Church Slavonic liturgical book. Jan Haller established Cracow's first permanent printing house in 1505, and Florian Ungler issued perhaps the oldest book in the Polish language in the years 1513–1514; these and other German immigrants predominated at the beginning and played important roles in establishing a Polish literary standard. By 1580 eight of the seventeen printing offices functioning in Poland-Lithuania were located in Cracow. Printers produced books in Latin, Church Slavonic, Polish, and German for Catholic, Calvinist, Arian, Orthodox, and Uniate readers.

German burghers and Jews arrived in numbers beginning in the fourteenth century. Conflicts arose between largely German artisans and patricians and a largely Polish commonality. By the sixteenth century, through social advancement of Polish burghers and the Polonization of Germans, the patriciate had become Polish-speaking. Germans remained important in many trades. Over the course of the sixteenth century, Italian, Hungarian, Walloon, Flemish, and Scottish immigrants joined the mix.

Cracow was for centuries home to one of Europe's most important Jewish communities. Increasing conflicts with local burghers over the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries led to the expulsion of the Jews in 1495 from within the old town and their reestablishment in the walled suburb-city of Kazimierz (named for Casimir III the Great, ruled 1333–1370) adjacent to Cracow on the south. By the 1570s there were some 2,000 Jews in Kazimierz, and by 1644 seven main synagogues and a number of yeshivas, making Cracow an important center of Jewish learning and printing and the leading Jewish community in the Kingdom of Poland.

Although an early center of the Polish Reformation, Cracow was quickly won for the Counter-Reformation. Arian and Calvinist churches destroyed in tumults of 1574 and 1591 were not rebuilt. By 1627 only Roman Catholics could achieve citizenship.

The city's golden age began to come to a close in the later sixteenth century with the decline of the university, the development of a rural manor economy based largely on the grain trade, a general ne-

glect of Polish-Lithuanian cities, and the permanent establishment of the king's residence in Warsaw (1611). Cracow would remain the capital and coronation city until the end of the Commonwealth, but the absence of the court and parliament, together with a series of invasions (the Swedish occupations of 1655 and 1702), fires, and plagues over the later seventeenth and throughout the eighteenth centuries contributed to the ruin and neglect that would make it impossible for Poland's last king, Stanisław II August Poniatowski (ruled 1764–1795), to be crowned there. With the first partition of Poland in 1772, Cracow became a Polish border outpost, and with the third, in 1795, a provincial town in the Austrian Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria.

See also **Jews and Judaism; Jews, Attitudes toward; Poland-Lithuania, Commonwealth of, 1569–1795; Poland to 1569.**

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DAVID FRICK

CRANACH FAMILY. Lucas Cranach the Elder (1472–1553), Saxon court painter and printmaker, Wittenberg city alderman (1519–1545) and mayor (1537/38, 1540/41, and 1543/44), owner of a Wittenberg printing business, apothecary and book shops, and a wine monopoly, was the most important member of this six-generation dynasty. Son of Hans Maler ("Hans the Painter," 1448–1528), presumably his first teacher, and grandson of Lucas Maler (1420–1488), Cranach was first employed in the ducal fortress at Coburg in 1500. By early 1502 he had settled in Vienna, painting portraits of the young rector of the university, Johannes Cuspinian, and his bride Anna (both 1502, Winterthur Museum) and designing woodcuts for Cuspinian's publisher Johannes Winterburger. In 1505 he became court painter to the saxon elector Frederick III (called the Wise, ruled 1486–1525),

working in his castles at Wittenberg, Torgau, and Lochau, and designing woodcuts for the illustrated catalog of Frederick's extensive collection of holy relics. On 6 January 1508 he received a personal coat of arms featuring a winged dragon. Cranach also served Frederick's successors Johan the Steadfast (ruled 1525–1532) and Johan Frederick the Magnanimous (ruled 1532–1547), a tenure of office unique in the history of European court painting. Cranach was succeeded by his son Lucas the Younger (1515–1586).

The grand house in Wittenberg, where the exiled king Christian II of Denmark had been a guest (1523) and where Katharina von Bora lived before her marriage to Martin Luther, remained the family home as the dynasty continued under Lucas the Younger's son Augustin (1554–1595) and grandson Lucas III (1586–1645).

The elder Cranach, described by the reformer Andreas Karlstadt as an excellent Latinist, was sent by Frederick on a secret diplomatic mission to the Netherlands, where he saw paintings by Quinten Metsys and Hieronymus Bosch that influenced some of his later work. His marriage in 1512 to Barbara Brengbier (d. 1540), the daughter of a Gotha city councilman, produced three daughters, Barbara, Anna, and Ursula, in addition to sons Hans (1513?–1537) and Lucas, whom he trained to assist him in the workshop, where there were also at times as many as a dozen apprentices. When his last employer, Johan Frederick, at the head of the Schmalkaldic League, was defeated by the imperial army of Charles V and imprisoned, Cranach temporarily resigned his position as court painter, but resumed it at the Augsburg meeting of the Reichstag (1550), since Charles had brought along his own court painter, Titian (in Augsburg 1548–1551). Cranach's portrait of Titian has been lost, but his portrait of Charles survives. When the imperial army was defeated in battle by the new elector, Moritz of Saxony (1552), who freed Johan Frederick, Cranach followed Johan Frederick to his new residence in Weimar, remaining there until his death at eighty-one.

Best known today for the many versions of his coquettish nude nymphs and Venuses, and for the various "power of women" paintings designed for the bridal suites of Frederick's successors, it was the

elder Cranach's personal friendship with Martin Luther, professor of biblical theology at Wittenberg University, that was most important in his own day. Luther was godfather to Cranach's daughter Anna (b. 1520), and wrote to him immediately after the Reichstag at Worms (1521), hinting at his planned disappearance. Cranach was one of the few whom Luther visited in his disguise as "Junker Jörg" on his surprise trip to Wittenberg from his refuge in the Wartburg (1522). Cranach and his wife were witnesses at Luther's wedding in 1525, and Cranach was godfather to the couple's first child, Hans (1526). Cranach also lent his printing equipment for Luther's early publications (1523–1525). Their friendship may account for Luther's relatively moderate attitude toward religious works of art. However, Cranach also fulfilled commissions for Luther's foremost opponents, Cardinal Albrecht of Brandenburg and Duke George the Bearded of Saxony, and made devotional works for Frederick the Wise, who never abandoned his Catholic faith.

Representative works by Lucas the Elder include the *Crucifixion* (1503, Munich), a *Rest on the Flight to Egypt* (1504, Berlin), the first dated chiaroscuro woodcut (St. Christopher, 1506), portraits of Duke Henry the Pious and his wife Catherine (1514, both Dresden), the Torgau altarpiece (1509, Frankfurt), *The Nymph of the Well* (1518, Leipzig), *Venus and Cupid as a Honey Thief* (a theme from Theocritus, 1521, Nuremberg), the Altarpiece of the Princes (1510, Dessau), *The Fountain of Youth* (1546, Berlin), and numerous portraits of both Luther and his wife in various media.

See also **Art: Artistic Patronage; Luther, Martin; Prints and Popular Imagery.**

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CREDIT. See **Banking and Credit.**

CRIME AND PUNISHMENT. The occurrence and types of crime, as well as the development of institutions of trial and punishment during

the years 1500–1800, may be described as moving along lines integral to general trends in the making of early modern Europe: the formation of stratified societies based on elements of class and patronage and the development of centralized states. It is easier to arrive at some general conclusions toward the end of the period than at its beginning.

STATE JURISDICTION

By 1500 the power to define crimes had all but moved out of the realms of religion, family, and clan into a new and separate sphere, that of the state. Acts amounting to crime were increasingly determined, not by aggrieved parties arguing their case before some form of public assemblage, but by monarchs and princes assisted by combinations of trained professionals and appointed amateurs, operating ever more efficient bureaucratic institutions. Likewise, punishments were constituted in formal law codes and meted out according to standards reflective of societies constituted by groups of unequal individuals. People guilty of the commission of crimes were no longer viewed as ordinary members of society who had gone beyond acceptable behavioral limits acknowledged by religion and tradition (sinners), but as types of people whose lifestyle of poverty predisposed them to a life of crime, creating and spreading an “underworld” of deviants who threatened to overturn decent society. The function of the legal and punitive apparatus, therefore, was changing from capture, trial, punishment, and resolution to deterrence, surveillance, suppression, and exclusion.

At the beginning of the period, definitions of “crime” varied among a multiplicity of locales, regions, states, and between various jurisdictions—communal, seigneurial, ecclesiastical, and royal. There existed no uniformity of opinion as to what kinds of acts should be construed as crimes; therefore, the definitions of “crime” were as various as the many locations where it occurred. In areas where urbanization was the rule, as in northern and central Italy, large and small towns had criminal statutes on their books inherited from the Middle Ages, when communal governments had won their freedom from the jurisdiction of either the papacy or the Holy Roman Empire. Particularly in northern Italy, these laws derived from tribal law (Lombard Law), the criminal codes of Justinian, and the stat-

utes deemed appropriate by local officials. To these were added, by the sixteenth century, the decrees of the princes, ruling over territorial states in increasing number, a power deriving from the Roman emperors. In other societies of Europe as well, tribal law was enshrined in written codes as customary law, along with the statutes of local officials with criminal jurisdictions, to which were added the laws of kings and princes.

This new sphere of state jurisdiction expanded considerably, squeezing to the margins ecclesiastical jurisdictions, its medieval predecessor in the definition and trial of most crime. From the sixteenth century on, ecclesiastical courts only exercised authority over transgressions such as, in England, for example (prior to the dissolution of the monasteries by Henry VIII in 1536), working on feast days and sexual misconduct (fornication), earning them the nickname of the “bawdy courts.” After the Reformation reduced the size and scope of the Catholic clergy, it was only in Catholic countries that the church retained jurisdiction over its personnel, in Italy, for example, exempting them from trial in secular tribunals.

Despite the increasing authority and judicial power of the developing state, it would be a mistake to say that the law reflected only the interests and desires of princes. Even though members of the royal family and the princely inner circle were not tried and punished in the legal system for their transgressions, because to admit to bad behavior that the princes were attempting to discourage (in part by their comportment and that of their peers) among their subjects weakened their efforts to lead by example, their professed social values were often identical to those of their subjects. Everyone agreed that theft, assault, rape, and murder, for example, were not to be tolerated because all were disruptive of the conduct of everyday life. Likewise, laws that punished those who sold grain at exorbitant prices during famine should be punished (on the basis that such practice was a form of usury).

On the other hand, many laws clearly did protect the interests of the aristocracy at the expense of the masses of people. In the Tuscan Grand Ducal State, for example, the Medici grand dukes criminalized hunting and fishing in most of their state for everyone but themselves and their aristocratic com-

rades. Those others caught hunting or fishing could be punished by a series of fines. Clearly, from the sixteenth century on, from the anti-hunting and fishing provisions of the Medici to the infamous “Waltham Black Act” of 1723 in Britain—a series of about a hundred forest laws based in Windsor that prohibited the poor from hunting there under pain of execution—the power to define crime passed into the hands of the princes, becoming a matter of state.

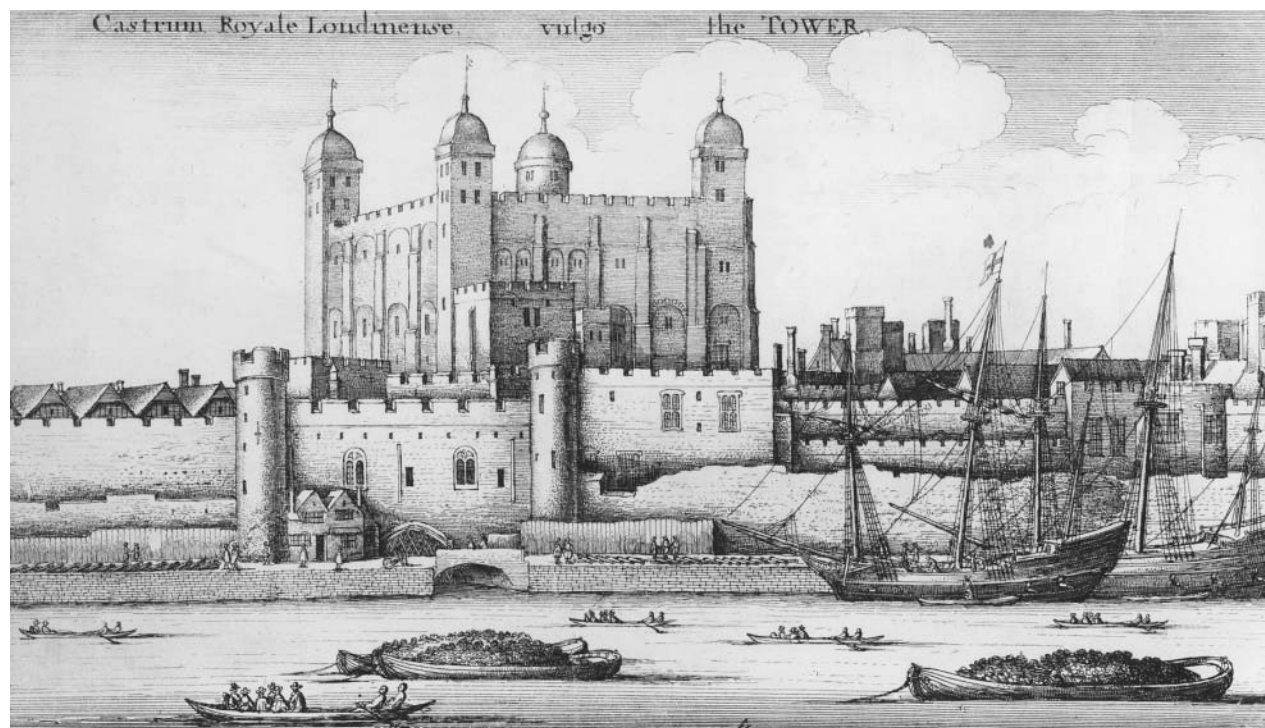
THE TYPOLOGY OF CRIME

A list and discussion of all types of crimes is impossible, but two significant trends in the typology of crime can be addressed: property crimes and crimes against persons, violent and otherwise, and the incidence of these crimes in rural, compared to urban, environments. Historians of crime influenced by Marxist economic theory have argued that these conjoined issues ride atop the deeper and more profound current then transforming Europe from the medieval to the modern: the development of industrial capitalism. Because the economy of medieval Europe did not produce a plenitude of goods available for theft, nor were the means of production in this agrarian society concentrated in the hands of a few capitalists (thus causing widespread poverty and the need to steal to survive), these historians argue, the majority of crimes were crimes of violence against persons. The onset of capitalist society reversed the situation in early modern Europe, multiplying many times the availability of goods and the extent of poverty, so that the broad typology of crime switched from crimes of violence to crimes against the property of the rich and well-to-do committed by the desperate poor. The agrarian society of the medieval period, with its population scattered across a pastoral landscape, concentrated its violence in its few crowded and noisome cities. Conclusions based on the research of historians of crime since the 1970s, however, disprove this thesis.

More recently, historians of crime have produced research supporting a new thesis that requires a new explanation. Crimes of violence seem to diminish dramatically in frequency in the seventeenth century, but the trend in crimes against property seems to remain stable. So, while Europe became a much less violent place, the rates of property crime remained level. What is surprising is the conclusion

that cities were not the locations for the majority of violent crime; that honor goes to the countryside. To explain this conclusion, historians of crime have resurrected Norbert Elias’s arguments in *The Civilizing Process* (1939), which seem to better explain their results. Elias argued for the centrality of the royal courts in promoting the domestication of society from the sixteenth century on. The princes and their peers at court not only set the example for acceptable behavior, emphasizing self-restraint, but rulers also monopolized the means to commit violence within society. Consequently, increasingly complex European societies became peaceful on the domestic level, with low incidences of violent crime. (During this same period, it is also true that Europe engaged in vastly increased levels of violence in wars between its societies and in the larger world.)

Feuds and family honor. Explanation of the types and incidence of violent crime entails explication of a number of important social, political, and economic factors. One reason behind the incidence of violent crime is that assaults and murder were usually the result of the social importance of honor, particularly in Mediterranean Europe. Family and clan were the foundation of European society well past the sixteenth century, but these organizations of people were held together by more than ties of mutual affection: often these groups adhered together to achieve economic and political goals that also tested their mutual loyalty. Fulfillment of basic male roles—son, father, husband, and loyal friend—was required: these men were aggressive, out in society, and politically engaged. Females submitted to the protection and direction of their male relatives. Women were assigned more passive roles as daughters, mothers, and wives, even though many worked in agriculture, business, and industry (cloth workers in Florence, for example). These roles were defined by tradition and by religion; there is nothing surprising here. The reason for going briefly over this familiar ground is that these roles and their constraints shaped the reasons for and the participants in violent crime. Incidences of assault, murder, and rape (another violent, not sexual, crime even then) were overwhelmingly the provenance of males. Violence was often required in the fulfillment of male roles in defense of the honor (read: family or male honor) of women. Violence was necessary to achieve the political and economic



Crime and Punishment. A seventeenth-century engraving of the Tower of London by Wenceslaus Hollar. Built as a fortress in the medieval period, it later served as a prison for royalty and other notable captives. THE ART ARCHIVE

goals of the family or clan, and this was true at every level of society excepting the most destitute in rural areas, whose poverty and lack of connections excluded them from the action.

In the Mediterranean region of Europe, family and clan competition, which extended across political borders as well as the physically defined lines between city and countryside, produced the endemic violence of the feud. In urban and in rural areas family- and clan-based feuding was both political and economic in nature. Political goals were often pursued through violence, while economic relations were also protected with violent means, especially in border regions. The cataclysmic episodes of violence that shook many of Italy's major cities during the Renaissance are legendary. By the sixteenth century, however, these violent eruptions, which usually paralyzed political life, had come to an end in the larger cities. In the smaller towns and centers of rural society, located in mountainous border regions, and at the borders of major territorial states, however, episodes of feuding continued to occur, even into the modern period. Feuding was endemic into the seventeenth century in the hinter-

land of the Tuscan Grand Duchy, periodically roiling the towns of the Romagna. In the mountains of Genoa, feuding continued on the fringes of the Genoese state, coming to an end only with the immigration to America of a significant portion of the population in the nineteenth century. The causes for feuding in these regions were economic and cultural: economic, because the poor quality of land available for agricultural production, and the remoteness from seaports where trade might have been engaged in, meant that subsistence was impossible without the supplemental activity of smuggling, which occurred over routes for which clans fought each other for control; cultural, in that honor came into play in these contests, and honor could only be defended with violence. In the major cities, consolidation of the ruling classes, achieved as a group as in Venice, or more commonly behind one family, as with the Medici of Florence, and the increasingly useful and more peaceful alternative of litigation, worked together to suppress this type of violence. Real and perceived slights continued to occur, but they were contested at a different level of violence.

Very little violence in early modern Europe was unstructured. The tensions, the competitions, the affairs of honor were always present but were pursued in low-intensity conflicts, constituting the larger explosions as the proverbial tip of the iceberg. Explosions of feuding broke out as individual incidents piled up or when a particularly heinous violation occurred or an important person was aggrieved. Even when pacification occurred, individuals and small groups continued to confront each other in the streets of major cities. Efforts to control this type of violence and to limit its effects, with the potential for rupturing the solidarity of the aristocratic class, were focused on supplying an alternative, the ceremonial duel. Historians of dueling agree that they were more often written and theorized about by princes than they were tolerated in actuality. Most famously, the France of Louis XIII, with Cardinal Richelieu as enforcer, absolutely forbade participation in the duel. Likewise, the Medici wrote more about dueling than they tolerated participation in it by their fellow aristocrats. Instead, systematic examination of criminal records in Florence demonstrates that men from good families confronted each other informally in armed street brawls, structurally squeezed into the space between the formal duel, the large-scale combat of earlier times, and the alternative of litigation. Honor would be satisfied, but the story does not end here. In smaller towns, incidents of insulting language and acts—rape, assault, and murder—were usually linked to a level of clan feuding that occurred below the notice of officials. It is easy to see why this was the case: these factions existed in social spaces so small that it was impossible for them to avoid seeing each other on a daily basis. There were, however, other sources of violence.

Aristocratic retainers, whether in urban or rural settings, were responsible for some assaults. If the particular lord whom they served happened to be a protected resident in a foreign town while in exile, his bravos may even have been formally exempt from punishment for their violence under local statutes. At home they were usually likewise protected. These men usually showed off their status and honor by roughing up local townspeople or peasants while they roamed about city streets or country lanes. Soldiers and militiamen were another source of violent behavior. Soldiers may have been com-

pletely exempt until the professionalization of armies in the eighteenth century; militiamen were punished in special court sessions in Tuscany.

Still less structured forms of violence, for example, commissioned assassinations, were carried out by men who may have been professional killers with more than one crime in their résumé, but they could just as likely be well-known ruffians who killed when the right price was offered to them. Rape was mostly a group experience in the city, when it did not involve slave and servant women, but was committed by lone assailants in the countryside. In either case, the primary motive was the exercise of controlling power over vulnerable women, not lust. At times, a rape was another expression of low-intensity feuding.

Banditry: theft and violence. The activities of robber bands, constituting a different type of gang violence, also occurred in rural areas far from the seat of centralized power from the sixteenth century on into the nineteenth. In form, banditry had its medieval antecedents in the robberies and kidnappings of merchants as they passed on roads beneath some lord's castle, and in the freebooting mercenary armies of the fourteenth century. These men have been lauded as "primitive rebels," the precursors of modern political revolutionaries, who robbed the rich while protecting the poor, who sang their praises.

But the targets of most bandits in the early modern period were not the rich. For example, in the Austrian Netherlands, the Bokkeryders (the Goat Riders, after a medieval myth), active in the Lower Meuse in the 1730s to 1770s, the politically fragmented area of northeastern Maastricht, were organized around a core group of skinnners and ironworkers whom unemployment had hit hard. These men had ties to local elites, as bandits usually did, and preyed on local churches and peasants. In Italy, bandit groups were composed of a core of men who had literally been banned from their home areas as contumacious of criminal charges. Banditry attracted a lot of attention from state officials and princes in the early modern period, as their depredations combined a high level of violence with theft and destruction of property.

A neat distinction between violence and theft is not possible in every case, because theft is often ac-

accompanied by violence. In early modern Europe, violence usually accompanied theft in the countryside, where highwaymen employed at least the threat of violence by showing a weapon, along with actual violence. In cities, however, violence seldom accompanied thefts. The category of nonviolent crime consisted of a variety of offenses against various forms of property (everything from trade or farming implements, to money, merchandise, and land with and without buildings), the accumulation of which both determined a person's qualification to participate in political life and conferred social position, if not quite personhood, especially on the bourgeoisie. As the accumulation of wealth came to assume a major place in European society among bourgeois and noble alike, thieves became subject to punishment by capital penalties, even for crimes as petty and necessary as the theft of a fish from the market.

Common types of theft included pickpocketing, burglary of homes and businesses, and theft from markets. The first two were usually the work of professionals, who were constantly on the move between one location and another, although, on occasion, the records reveal the existence of a criminal gang led by a young rogue aristocrat. They disposed of their pilfered items through fences, often Jewish merchants operating secondhand clothes shops or shops where other items, such as weapons, could be sold. Ideally, the stolen items were taken to such a shop for sale in a different locale than that where the theft had occurred; otherwise, the chance that an item might be recognized by its owner was too great. In Florence and elsewhere dealers in secondhand merchandise were subject to regulation because of their role in dispersing the fruits of thefts. At times the poor stole edible goods to ward off hunger, or were accused by neighbors of stealing farm implements.

Other, more sophisticated forms of theft occurred in the world of business. Usury, for example, was both a crime and a sin. Because profit was the inevitable outcome of a good business transaction, merchants devised numerous clever schemes for hiding profits that rose above the levels deemed acceptable by medieval churchmen. At times, bankruptcies of businesses were criminalized because there was always the possibility that what was really going on was concealment from one's associates or

creditors of the intention of making off with what remained of the value of an enterprise in financial trouble. Hoarding grain for sale at higher-than-allowed prices during famine or dearth was another form of usury. From the sixteenth century on, the focus on what constituted a criminal act turned to crimes committed by the poor.

ASSOCIATING POVERTY AND CRIME

In both medieval and early modern Europe it was believed that the poor and crime would always be present in society because of the inherent misfortunes of life and the defective character of human beings. Yet the early modern period witnessed the advent of a decisive and telling sociological change in perception of the poor and of crime that more closely associated the two than before. The medieval poor were the holy poor: women whom fortune had deprived of a husband, children similarly deprived of one or both parents, and the blind or crippled of both sexes. It was the church that ministered to the needs of these unfortunate few, by the early modern period in partnership with the state. Symptomatically, prostitution, which many came to regard as a moral crime in the sixteenth century (everywhere but in Italy, where it remained merely regulated), was tolerantly viewed by the medieval church as the inevitable resort of lone women without a man to financially support them.

From 1500 on, the perceptual gulf between rich and poor widened. One of the reasons, but by no means the only one, was the development of a new self-concept among the wealthy: the rich were coming to see themselves as self-composed, restrained in their behavior and appearance, which reflected their superior inner worth, while the condition, behavior, and appearance of the poor similarly demonstrated their lack of worth. Various religions as well as governments began to note what they described as a great increase in the number of wretched poor flooding the cities.

Historians are not yet certain about the reality of the alleged increase in numbers or about what might have been the cause if the cited rise was, in fact, a reality. There would have been a notable increase in population from the post-Black Death lows reached around 1450, but the curve would not reach its highest point until 1600. It can be argued that city dwellers in particular were seeing two

things: first, a real increase in the number of people, many of them poor. But they were also becoming aware of a new phenomenon, the existence of persistent poverty among the working poor and the unemployed. Composed of able-bodied men, this group, which had come into existence during the medieval period, stood out among the growing crowd of holy poor.

Partnerships between the state and religious organizations, both Protestant and Catholic, formed in the sixteenth century in an attempt to find solutions to the problem of the teeming masses of poor people clogging city streets and flowing along country byways. Efforts were made to keep the poor in their home areas, dispensing aid to them there; no one wanted to bear the burden of supporting the nonnative poor. Numbers of wandering poor had been present in medieval Europe, too, which included an uncertain percentage of rogues, people banned from their home areas who had naturally gravitated to a style of life on the fringes of society. The image of the wandering rogue was a common motif of medieval literature.

By the sixteenth century, this image was apparently broadened and applied to explain the character and existence of larger numbers of able-bodied poor men, many of whom were not wandering rogues at all but were, in Florence, for example, recognized by churchmen as being unemployed and in need of assistance. However, in most areas of Europe they did not receive this help; the new state- and religion-based systems of assistance focused instead on the traditional holy poor and single women, marginalizing, sometimes criminalizing, unemployed men. Sir Thomas More, in the introduction to his *Utopia*, recognized that these men, many of whom were crippled war veterans, were in need of help and posed no threat to society. Unfortunately, this view did not then prevail: the increasing numbers of vagabonds were viewed as threats to rural and urban society alike in an age of warfare and suspicion that produced a demand for order above all else.

In this way, the association between systematic poverty and crime came into existence. But more was needed to produce this newly negative evaluation of the poor; more was needed to create the sociological concepts of “poverty” and “criminal-

ity” to replace the poor and those who violated the law but could be brought back into society. Poverty had come to be perceived as a “style of life” voluntarily adopted by those who were too lazy to work. In fact, the records reveal that, in the eyes of merchants and government officials, there was a widespread belief that the working poor abandoned their jobs because they had discovered that they could gather more money by begging in the streets. Criminality was thus characterized as the occupation of lazy men and women who made the decision to obtain money illicitly by disguising themselves as the deserving poor, depriving them of alms and deceiving those who provided those alms. Thus, dishonesty and immorality were learned and taught to the young by those who lacked stable family structures, the primary place where morality was taught during this period. As a result of such thinking, the concept of criminality as a self-replicating style of life that would corrode the underpinnings of decent society if it were allowed to spread unchecked appeared to spring into existence.

The sixteenth century also witnessed the birth of a fascination with the existence of a criminal “underworld,” a topic that has also enthralled some historians of the poor and of crime. Some records of police interrogations of beggars from the period have been found, most notably for sixteenth-century Rome. In them, elaborate structures of this underworld of criminal beggars were outlined. By the seventeenth century, particularly in Spain, popular literary motifs of shady characters inhabiting this underworld became widespread. Police interrogations of frightened poor people were likely to produce confirmations of what the interrogators expected to hear. This is just as true of the images of the elaborately imagined structure of the underworld of beggars, where each type of begging scam was taught and practiced by members of something like craft guilds, who then federated together, as it is of the testimonies of women tried as witches, who confessed to truly incredible practices and occurrences under pressure. In this period and later, historians have also found evidence of special “languages” used by criminals to set themselves off from decent people. While this evidence cannot be completely disregarded, in criminal records assembled and examined by historians of crime, no proof of such an underworld exists. One must never

underestimate the ability of literary motifs to affect the expectations and actions of educated elites. This was as true of the witchcraft phenomenon of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, where elite expectations were shaped by the fifteenth-century *Malleus Malificarum*, as it was of the documents confirming the expectations of the literate regarding the existence of a criminal underworld. One was as true, in fact, as the other.

SYSTEMS OF CAPTURE, TRIAL, AND PUNISHMENT

The police. Not much is known about the police in early modern Europe. In large part this is due to the informality of policing, often an ancillary responsibility of kings and lesser nobles, whose job it was to provide order in the realm. Italy led the way in forming urban and rural police agencies in the medieval period to deal with crime, while Great Britain joined in at the end of the period. Thematically there is a dual focus: on their effectiveness in capturing violators, and on the issue of police corruption, or what might be called the moral quality of officers.

The Italian cities displayed several different types of police units from the later medieval period. The main force, which was not large in number, was organized as a military unit under a captain of police (*capitano del bargello* or *il bargello*, in Florence), with one or more lieutenants under him and a number of men in squads. In emergency situations they might be aided in the capture of malefactors, or in suppressing crowd violence, by members of the military guard of nobles, which were routinely stationed outside palaces. These military units patrolled the city at night, carried various documents from the criminal courts and magistracies, and made arrests as necessary. To carry out these functions, they had to have achieved some level of literacy. The police captain, at least, kept his ear to the ground by maintaining close familiarity with a number of questionable personalities who served as informers. (Even this early in their history, the police faced the absolute necessity of relying on informants to make arrests.) Very small constabularies were established in the small towns of the countryside. In France, a marshal was established to control crime outside of the cities, while in Paris from 1667 on a lieutenant, a powerful official, was responsible for the control of crime. Great Britain formed centralized “French”

police units in London with the establishment in 1770 of the Bow Street Foot Patrol in London, with a contingent also to patrol the countryside, and a similar force for Westminster.

Other squads specialized in the operation of the many jails (including debtors’ jails) that the cities established with the extension of municipal control over what had been, in the high medieval period, privately operated places of detention. The most common purpose of jails was to hold suspects during lengthy periods of pretrial detention, which, in early modern Florence, averaged six months. There is some question as to how effectively the guard kept watch over inmates; the reason that Florentine government took over administration of jails was to stop the many successful escapes. Making the owners of these jails liable for financial reimbursement to the city for escapees had not served as an effective deterrent. Escapes still occurred, sometimes under mysterious circumstances. Guards often had contact with prisoners because they not only provided security but also sold food, bedding, and other items to those few who could afford them while they were being held. Prisoners or their families were responsible for meeting the costs associated with maintaining a person in confinement, so the better off the person was, the better he or she lived. The others—the vast majority—starved or marginally survived on meager alms provided by reluctant princes.

The last type of policing was directed at controlling banditry and vagabondage. In Italy banditry was dealt with by ad hoc militia units that conducted campaigns against bandit gangs, hanging as many culprits as they could catch. These campaigns were temporary because of their great expense. Vagabondage was controlled by local police forces: in France, for example, the marshals were charged with controlling vagabondage in the countryside.

Many experts on crime and punishment are harsh in their judgment of the effectiveness and corruptibility of the police in the early modern period, but they were too few and lacking in the technological advantages to match the effectiveness of modern police in the detection of crime and criminals and in the capture of malefactors. Many people charged with crimes simply left the area, becoming contumacious rather than submit themselves to the possibility of detention and punishment. Policemen were

paid very little at that time. In fact, the state spent very little on the support of the entire system of criminal justice. As a consequence, the prison situation was designed to provide the police with opportunities to supplement their salaries with the proceeds of legitimate graft. Legitimate graft easily crossed over into illegitimate territory, however, when the police accepted payment for abetting the occasional escape, in falsely imprisoning women on charges of prostitution and then collecting payments to release them, and so forth.

Conversely, others were clearly dedicated to service. There are accounts, for example, of rural policemen who pursued men who had come into the center of towns and small cities to engage in the violence associated with feuding, increasingly using harquebuses (heavy portable matchlock guns) from the sixteenth century on, even though they were outnumbered and outgunned. Because the nature of their work allows them the sanctioned exercise of violence and restraint—thus, the job will attract some persons of questionable morals—and because they are too few in number (but who wishes to live in a police state?) and poorly paid (some police will succumb to opportunities for corruption) policing the police will always be a difficult challenge.

Trial. Many types of courts, tribunals, and magistracies exercised jurisdiction over the adjudication of early modern crime. Although centralization was occurring, it was not achieved in Europe's early modern period. Some courts were professionalized, in that they were staffed with actual judges trained in the law; others were not, as in the English system, where quarter sessions and assize courts were staffed with justices of the peace appointed from the merchant class. Some magistracies, like the Eight on Public Safety in Grand Ducal Tuscany, while having wide but not exclusive criminal jurisdiction, were staffed by selected citizens with no juridical background at all. In Catholic countries, the church retained jurisdiction over its personnel. Finally, some bureaucracies regularly convened as magistracies to adjudicate violations of their own regulations.

Procedure in criminal cases exhibited some important similarities across Europe, despite the simultaneous persistence of differences. Cases were initiated through either accusatorial or inquisitorial process. In the first and older of the two, a case

commenced with a private denunciation; in the latter, developed in the medieval period by the church to investigate and adjudicate cases of heresy, the process was initiated by magistrates. Though both types of process existed side by side after 1500, inquisitorial procedure dominated on the Continent—in Spain, primarily in Aragón, in northern Italy, in Sweden, France, and Germany—by the middle of the century. Legislation of special interest occurs in the *Carolina* of 1532 in the German Empire, in the Royal Ordinance of 1539 in France, and in the Criminal Ordinance of 1570 in the Spanish Netherlands.

England was different in not adopting the inquisitorial process but developed instead, in the Marian Statutes of 1554–1555, its own process initiated by magistrates. The advantage to inquisitorial procedure was the investigative initiative and power conferred on magistrates who were appointed by princes. One need not wait for a complaint from an alleged victim to begin investigating a suspected crime, during the course of which witnesses and suspected culprits were held in jail if they could not make bond. Of course, the vast majority was poor people, who could not afford bond, or political enemies of the princes, who were held secretly. An important point to make is that inquisitorial process had its longer, more complex form, requiring the expertise of jurists, but it also had an abbreviated form that could be utilized by ordinary citizen-magistrates, appointed by the Grand Dukes, and advised only by a lawyer, as was the case with the Florentine Eight on Public Safety. One must be careful, therefore, not to automatically assume that the inception of the inquisition process indicated unidirectional progress toward modernity in every case. In Florence the medieval system, which relied on trained jurists acting as judges, was more “modern,” while the early modern system, centered in the city, represents several steps away from professionalization.

Detention was a part of the trial procedure, as was some degree of torture. Defense lawyers were participants when the accused could afford them. Questioning was conducted while torture was being administered, then confirmed with the accused once it had ceased. Those found innocent were either freed without prejudice or provisionally acquitted with the state retaining the option of recharging

them in perpetuity, even after their death. Most of those suspected of serious crimes simply fled, entering the state of contumacy despite the severity of the penalties that were statutorily applied in that instance. This was a good strategy, because the state was willing to negotiate lesser penalties with the contumacious in return for submitting themselves to justice.

Punishment. Punishment was effected through afflictive and pecuniary penalties, and forms of penal servitude, with increasing application of a fourth, incarceration and outright expulsion, depending on the polity and the time period. England is the easiest to discuss because, for the sixteenth through the seventeenth centuries, it relied heavily on capital penalties as punishment for a wide variety of crimes, from theft to murder. Great Britain relied on using capital penalties to terrify potential criminals as a deterrent because it did not have police forces to catch violators, and would not have them until the late eighteenth century.

In the Mediterranean countries, pecuniary penalties and forms of penal servitude predominated. In sixteenth-century Florence, imposition of afflictive penalties was heralded as an equalizing reform, because the rich would not be able to lessen the impact of justice by using their wealth. In fact, what occurred in Grand Ducal Tuscany, and in Spain, was the increasing reliance on forms of penal servitude as punishment. Penal servitude derived from the *opus publicum* ('public works') of antiquity, giving it a long history. Its common form in Italy was in galley service, or service in the mercenary armies that Italian princes were obliged to raise to support the northern wars of their Habsburg masters. The Florentines added internal exile, another punishment with an antique heritage, sending many convicts to reside in Livorno, then a pestilent swamp that the grand dukes would turn into their only port to the Mediterranean. The Spanish also employed convicts in galley service, adding service in mercury mines at Almadén, and *presidios* ('hard labor prisons') in North Africa and in their American possessions. By 1748 they had abolished galley service in favor of sentences in *presidios* as the most common type of punishment. The motivation for these types of punishment was the need for manpower to serve the needs of war and of empire.

REFORM

The Enlightenment produced an interest in the reform of criminal justice and punishment. The most influential reformer was Cesare Beccaria, the Milanese dilettante. In *Of Crimes and Punishments* (1764), he proposed standardizing sentences in proportion to the seriousness of the crime without later modifying them, leaving aside consideration of the social differences between victim and culprit if there were any, and ending the practice of judicial torture and the infliction of capital penalties. The inflexible imposition of sentences would convince any potential criminal to weigh the likely result of committing a crime against the unlikely benefits, a calculation that Beccaria was confident would deter potential criminals. As a mode of punishment, he preferred penal servitude in the public interest: why should criminals not be put to use in making restitution to society for the losses caused by their violations? The barbarity of the old system, exemplified above all else by gruesome public executions, had to be brought to an end by a civilized society. During this same period, the English began to rely on a system of imprisonment in the decaying hulks of ships, before turning to a new system, expelling prisoners from Great Britain and Ireland to Australia, America, and Tasmania between 1787 and the end of the practice in 1868. The French also employed a system of expelling criminals to penal colonies in the Americas during roughly the same period.

The development of early modern crime and punishment ends with increasing reliance on excluding undesirable people from decent society. Commission of a crime had come to define an individual for life; exclusion was the proper response before the idea of reforming the criminal took hold in the nineteenth century. This is not to say that disciplinary institutions did not previously exist; the first prisons (as workhouses) were founded in the mid-sixteenth century, but the general adoption of the modern prison and its ideology of reform was not the teleological result of trends in the reform of criminal justice but the result of changes in the way that crime came to be conceptualized as criminality, and violators as criminals.

See also Authority, Concept of; Banditry; Beccaria, Cesare Bonesana, marquis of; Capitalism; Charity and Poor Relief; Church and State Relations; Cities and Urban Life; City-State; Class, Status, and Order; Duel;

Equality and Inequality; Food Riots; Honor; Hunting; Inquisition; Landholding; Liberty; Mobility, Social; Peasantry; Police; Poverty; Property; Prostitution; Refugees, Exiles, and Emigrés; Serfdom; Torture; Utopia; Vagrants and Beggars; Villages; Widows and Widowhood; Witchcraft; Women.

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JOHN K. BRACKETT

CRISIS OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY. Echoing contemporary diarists and chroniclers, recent historians have depicted the seventeenth century as particularly troubled. Two essays that appeared in the British journal *Past and Present* during the 1950s have proved particularly influential. Though based on different premises and propounding distinct interpretations, both portrayed a systemic Europe-wide “general crisis”

rooted in common economic distress and political unrest but producing a variety of outcomes.

Eric J. Hobsbawm’s essay (printed in two parts in 1954, as “The General Crisis of the European Economy in the Seventeenth Century” and “The Crisis of the Seventeenth Century, II”) addressed the then heated debate on the transition to capitalism. Whereas many participants held that the feudal economy had collapsed at the time of the Black Death, Hobsbawm argued that much of the old socioeconomic order had been perpetuated during the booming “long sixteenth century.” By the end of that period, however, the feudal elements fatally obstructed growth. The ensuing broad and deep “retrogression” created opportunities for structural change, a possibility realized most completely in England, where political revolution removed obstacles to profound economic transformation.

Hugh Trevor-Roper (1959; “The General Crisis of the Seventeenth Century”) instead focused on confrontations that pitted the Renaissance fiscal, political, intellectual, and moral system (“court”) against reform-minded opponents (“country”). This “crisis in the relations between society and the State” eventually spawned both the Enlightenment and a range of radical, stabilizing, and indecisive political initiatives.

Both articles inspired searching critiques as well as widespread approval. Early modernists have questioned the generality, severity, and duration of crisis proposed in each hypothesis. The Soviet historian A. D. Lublinskaya contended that the heterogeneity of economic structures and trends across Europe (or even within individual states) precluded the appearance of general crisis on any level. Like Roger B. Merriman, whose earlier *Six Contemporaneous Revolutions* (1938) found that only chronology linked mid-seventeenth-century revolts, more recent scholars posit discrete clusters of movements generated by highly specific conflicts and following diverse trajectories. Rather than a general seventeenth-century movement drawing on common sources and exhibiting similar patterns, they suggest, a multiplicity of crises occurred in numerous places at different times. Nor did all social groups experience crisis: wage-earners, for example, saw their living standards improve. The gravity of the purported crisis has also been disputed. Immanuel

Wallerstein maintains that economic downturn represented only a phase of contraction and consolidation within a capitalist world-system that had already substantially come into existence during the sixteenth century. Many Dutch historians minimize the extent of distress faced by the Dutch Republic during its “Golden Age,” and England’s economic—as opposed to political—problems have been presented as relatively mild and short-lived.

A period of difficulties extending across a century or more strikes some scholars as too protracted to be usefully characterized as a crisis (usually understood as an abrupt and dramatic turning point), especially when stagnation and instability rather than deep depression typified much of the time, with open revolt grouped in just a few decades. John Elliott has claimed that the sixteenth century saw more rebellions than the seventeenth century, and that those occurring in the 1560s were more severe than in any subsequent decade. Taking a longer view has convinced some historians, in fact, that crisis was endemic to the early modern period as a whole rather than uniquely defining any single century.

More prevalent are amplifications and refinements of the crisis idea. Drawing on Paul Hazard’s description of intellectual ferment in the years around 1700 and Roland Mousnier’s identification of a broad “century of crisis,” Theodore Rabb outlines an era of turmoil, insecurity, and uncertainty extending from the early sixteenth to the mid-seventeenth century that was resolved by institutional transformation and intellectual reorientation exemplified by the “scientific revolution.” Scholars of central Europe have reassessed the Thirty Years’ War, previously regarded as an aggravating rather than basic causal factor of seventeenth-century troubles. They have reinstated that conflagration as both a principal agent of crisis throughout Europe, due to the enormous growth of taxes it provoked in all states involved, and—thanks to its severity, duration, and expense—the fulcrum for far-reaching institutional innovation.

The crisis theory has also helped illuminate critical aspects of seventeenth-century history in places slighted in the original essays. Some of these have been European peripheries—for example, Scotland and Muscovy—while others have been areas, such

as Italy and Iberia, usually regarded as especially hard hit yet little altered by seventeenth-century developments. Still others have been located outside Europe. Hobsbawm proposed that overseas colonies participated in a Europe-centered crisis and considered the creation of fresh plantations and settlements one of its crucial effects. But he discussed this “new form of colonialism” only in terms of markets for manufactures that provided dynamism for metropolitan European economic growth. Nevertheless, historians of New Spain have employed the idea of crisis to illuminate Latin American economic history, though no consensus yet obtains among them. Elsewhere, Jack Goldstone holds that a concatenation of government bankruptcies, elite discontent, and popular rebellions against a background of long-term demographic pressure and price inflation culminated in “state breakdown” in absolutist states across Eurasia—including the Ottoman Empire and China as well as France. In contrast, while acknowledging a 1630s–1640s subsistence crisis that stretched from Atlantic to Pacific, Niels Steensgaard claims that the location, course, and consequences of the larger and longer crisis signaled a European “new departure.”

Numerous empirical and theoretical aspects of the seventeenth-century crisis therefore remain subject to debate. Moreover, neither Hobsbawm’s Marxist teleological stage theory of economic development nor Trevor-Roper’s court/country distinction command much assent today. But the concept has been widely if selectively appropriated and—like all intellectually fecund theorizations—continues to stimulate new research and new explanations of existing data. As a result, the outlines of a new interpretation are beginning to appear. It emphasizes continuities—for example, the acceleration of previously initiated regional differentiation, agrarian specialization and commercialization, and ruralization of industry. And, while not denying that significant retrenchment was forced on states and economies, it highlights concomitant opportunities, adjustments, and adaptations to new conditions. Thereby it contributes to a more discriminating understanding of both the significance of the seventeenth century and the nature of crisis in the early modern world.

See also **Capitalism; Economic Crises; English Civil War and Interregnum; Historiography; Scientific Revolution; Thirty Years' War (1618–1648).**

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CRITICISM, ART THEORY AND.

See **Art: Art Theory, Criticism, and Historiography.**

CRITICISM, DRAMATIC. See **English Literature and Language; Drama: English; and other "Literature and Language" and "Drama" entries for individual countries.**

CRITICISM, LITERARY. See **English Literature and Language; Drama: English; and other "Literature and Language" and "Drama" entries for individual countries.**

CRITICISM, MUSIC. See **Music Criticism.**

CROMWELL, OLIVER (1599–1658), military leader and ruler of England. Cromwell, Lord Protector of England, Scotland, and Ireland, was a descendant of Henry VIII's great minister Thomas Cromwell. A native of Huntingdon, he married Elizabeth Bourchier, the daughter of a London merchant, in 1620. Through her he established connections with the London merchant community and with leading Puritans in Essex. His long, stable marriage produced nine children.

In 1628 he was elected to Parliament for Huntingdon. At about the same time, he underwent a spiritual crisis and religious conversion, from being a conventional Protestant to a passionate, "born-again" Puritan, that shaped the rest of his life. By 1631, however, he had fallen on hard times, and had to move to smaller quarters in St. Ives, where he worked as a yeoman farmer for several years. In 1636 he inherited substantial property, and with this dramatic increase in his income he resumed the status of a minor country gentleman.

CIVIL WAR

In 1640 Cromwell was returned as member of Parliament (M.P.) for the borough of Cambridge. He quickly made his mark in the Long Parliament, serving on eighteen important committees. When in August 1642 civil war broke out, he went back to Cambridge to recruit a troop of cavalry. Soon he was promoted from captain to colonel and effectively became the senior army officer in East Anglia. Devoid of military experience, he nevertheless devised a strategic plan for the defense of the region and made it work. In recruiting he insisted that no test except that of godliness be applied to those volunteering for service. "If you choose godly men to be captains of horse," he wrote to the Suffolk committee, "honest men will follow them . . . I had



Oliver Cromwell. Equestrian portrait engraving after a painting by Anthony van Dyck, c. 1648. ©BETTMANN/CORBIS

rather have a plain, russet-coated captain that knows what he fights for, and loves what he knows, than that which you call a gentleman and is nothing else” (Carlyle, letter XVI, September 1643). In minor engagements Cromwell developed the ability to lead a cavalry charge and then regroup his men and lead them a second and third time against the foe. This would stand him in good stead later at Marston Moor and Naseby.

In August 1643 the Long Parliament created an army in East Anglia under the command of the earl of Manchester. Cromwell was named lieutenant general of the cavalry and Manchester’s second-in-command. Early in 1644 he was appointed to the Committee of Both Kingdoms, the chief executive body in charge of the war against the king. His star was on the rise.

At the end of June 1644 the combined armies of the English Parliament and the Scottish Estates

laid siege to York. When the king’s main field army under Prince Rupert arrived to raise the siege, the result was the greatest of the battles of the civil war, Marston Moor (2 July 1644). Cromwell commanded the left wing of the 28,000-strong allied army and directed the final, decisive charge, scattering the royalist army and killing over four thousand of them. “God made them as stubble to our swords,” he wrote afterward. (Carlyle, letter XXI).

The aristocratic generals on the parliamentary side were strangely reluctant to follow up this stunning victory. Open feuding erupted between Essex and Manchester on the one side, and Cromwell and his radical parliamentary allies on the other. The way out of the impasse was a resolution of self-denial (9 December 1644) under which all members of both houses were required to surrender their commissions and make way for new commanders. At the same time the Commons proceeded to construct a new army under centralized command and with solid financing on the ruins of the three older armies of Essex, Manchester, and Waller. By June 1645, on the eve of the battle of Naseby, the post of lieutenant-general of the cavalry of the New Model Army was still vacant. At the insistence of the commander-in-chief, Sir Thomas Fairfax, Cromwell was allowed to fill the post in defiance of the Self-Denying Ordinance.

He rode onto the battlefield at Naseby on 13 June 1645, and the outcome of the English Civil War was decided the next day in the space of two hours. Cromwell scattered the royalist cavalry facing him and then regrouped to assist Fairfax in shattering the royalist infantry in a great coordinated charge. The next twelve months were little more than a mopping-up operation culminating in the surrender of the royalist headquarters at Oxford and the king’s flight to the Scots army.

For Cromwell the New Model Army’s unbroken chain of victories was the incontestable proof that the sun of God’s favor shone upon them. He used the army’s successes to plead for the cause closest to his heart: liberty of conscience. Parliament’s response was to thank him for his pains, but to ignore his heartfelt pleas. In June 1646 he returned to his seat in Westminster to join his war party friends in the struggle to win the peace.

When the Presbyterian peace party decided to disband most of the New Model Army and pack the rest off to Ireland to fight the rebels there, Cromwell threw in his lot with the officers and rank-and-file who chose to rebel rather than submit. The king was seized and removed to army headquarters; London was invaded and the Presbyterian ringleaders in Parliament expelled. Charles was offered a settlement—The Heads of the Proposals—more generous than any terms Parliament had put on the table. He chose instead to make a secret agreement with the Scots to renew the war for his English kingdom.

Meanwhile, at Putney, Cromwell and his son-in-law Henry Ireton faced a challenge from Leveller-inspired soldiers and officers disenchanted with his prolonged dallying with the king. With great difficulty he prevented the Army Council from adopting the radically democratic Agreement of the People as the army's preferred constitution for England.

Further political argument was curtailed by the second civil war, which broke out in early 1648. Before setting off to snuff out the brushfires of royalist discontent, Cromwell attended the officers' three-day prayer meeting at Windsor. His call to repentance unleashed a flood of bitter tears from his comrades over the army's failure to follow the ways of God. They then bound themselves to call "Charles Stuart, that man of blood" to account for all his mischief (Allen, p. 5). After quelling the revolts in Wales Cromwell marched north to link up with Lambert, who was guarding the northern approaches against a Scottish invasion. Together they fell upon the Scots at Preston, completely liquidating their dispirited army (17 August 1648). It was the first major battle in which Cromwell had been commander-in-chief.

REGICIDE AND REPUBLIC

By the time he arrived back in London the army had published its demand for the king's trial and purged the House of Commons (6 December 1648) for persisting in negotiations with the "man of blood." Cromwell supported these measures, and while he may initially have hoped that the king could be forced to abdicate, when this proved unfeasible he accepted the "cruel necessity" of regicide. No one was more zealous in rounding up signatures for the king's death warrant, and seeing that the beheading

actually took place, than Cromwell. King Charles I was beheaded on 30 January 1649.

For the next decade Cromwell was continually torn between a yearning for constitutional respectability on the one hand and a hunger for godly reformation on the other. With Fairfax he marched to Burford in May 1649 to suppress a Leveller-inspired army mutiny. Passionately committed to the suppression of the Catholic rebellion in Ireland and the elimination of support for Charles II, he led an expedition there in August. Despite his ruthless massacres at Drogheda and Wexford, the Irish were not subdued until 1652. Cromwell was forced to abandon the siege of Waterford, and at Clonmel he lost two thousand men. Before Ireland's subjugation could be accomplished he was recalled to England to prepare for the military threat from the Scots who had crowned Charles II king.

Marching north he met Leslie's army at Dunbar (3 September 1650), where he won his most sensational victory, in no small part because of his willingness to be guided by his brilliant major-general, John Lambert. The following year (to the day) he crushed Charles II and the last remnants of armed royalism at Worcester.

Back in London he found that Parliament was making no progress toward either constitutional settlement or godly reformation. When at last it was on the verge of passing a bill that would have excluded army officers from future Parliaments while erecting few safeguards against the election of conservatives or royalists, Cromwell expelled the members (20 April 1653), replacing them with a nominated assembly of "saints," that is, Puritan "godly men," commonly known as the Barebones Parliament. Their radicalism proved to be alarming, and within months they were prevailed upon to dissolve themselves.

THE PROTECTORATE

Next came a written constitution, the Instrument of Government (December 1653), which provided for a single-chamber Parliament, an elected council of state, and a lord protector. Although he was named to that post for life, Cromwell still had to meet his Parliaments, and he had little control over the makeup of the councils. Far from being a military dictator, and chastened by his many political setbacks, he now described himself as a good consta-



Oliver Cromwell. Cromwell dissolves the Rump Parliament, Dutch print, 1653. ©HULTON-DEUTSCH COLLECTION/CORBIS

ble, set to keep the peace of the parish. During the tenure of the protectorate he formally readmitted the Jews to England, while also leaving Catholics undisturbed in the exercise of their religion. The main thrust of his foreign policy was hostility to Spain. When the expedition to seize Hispaniola ended in failure, Jamaica was taken as the consolation prize (1655).

In 1657, under the Humble Petition and Advice, an upper house was reestablished and Cromwell empowered to name his successor. But with an eye to army opinion and to God, he refused to accept the title of king. By the time he died (3 September 1658), of malaria complicated by pneumonia, the nation was weary of constitutional uncertainty, large standing armies, burdensome taxation, and a bankrupt exchequer. Although Cromwell was one of England's three or four military geniuses, a religious visionary, and a man of

towering integrity, in the end he was an indifferent statesman.

Cromwell appears to have nominated his eldest son Richard (1626–1712) as his successor only hours before his death. A man of little military or political experience, Richard lacked totally the forceful personality of his father. He was eventually brought down by the intractable problems he inherited. Politically he found himself thwarted by the radical republicans in Parliament and the grandees in the army. When it came to a trial of strength with the grandees in April 1659, the grandees won hands down. Richard retired to private life, living in exile from 1660 to 1680.

See also Charles I (England); Charles II (England); Cromwell, Thomas; English Civil War and Interregnum; English Civil War Radicalism; Military: Battle Tactics and Campaign Strategy; Parliament; Puritanism; Reformation, Protestant.

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IAN GENTLES



Thomas Cromwell. Portrait by Hans Holbein. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

CROMWELL, THOMAS (c. 1485–1540), English royal minister. Thomas Cromwell, earl of Essex, was principal secretary and chief minister to Henry VIII (ruled 1509–1547) and supervised the process by which the king became supreme head of the church in England. Born in Putney, in the county of Surrey, Cromwell was the son of a blacksmith, brewer, and cloth merchant. (The great-grandson of his nephew Richard, who took on his uncle's surname, was the Lord Protector, Oliver Cromwell [1599–1658].)

After an apparently unruly adolescence, the young Thomas Cromwell spent several years traveling on the Continent before establishing himself in London as a successful merchant and business agent, which included some legal work. By the early 1520s, he had begun to act for clients in a number of important suits, several of which brought him to the attention of Cardinal Thomas Wolsey (c. 1475–1530). In 1523, he was elected to the House of Commons and the following year was appointed to Wolsey's staff. Here he managed the dissolution of nearly thirty monasteries to fund the cardinal's

building projects in Oxford and Ipswich and came to supervise much of his legal work. When Wolsey fell from power in October 1529, Cromwell obtained a seat in the new Parliament and traveled to court on several occasions to represent the interests of the disgraced cardinal. He increasingly obtained Henry's confidence and, from June 1530, managed the receipt of Wolsey's college lands by the crown. The cardinal's death on 29 November 1530 enabled Cromwell to undertake further royal administrative and legal work, and he joined the king's council at some point toward the end of the year.

A skilled parliamentary draftsman, by autumn 1531 Cromwell had taken control of the king's legal and parliamentary affairs. Although others formulated the policy relating to the king's divorce, Cromwell was responsible for much of its execution. He played a pivotal role in achieving the submission of the clergy in 1532 and secured parliamentary legitimacy for the royal supremacy through the management of Parliament and by supervising the drafting of all the major legislation, including the

Act in Restraint of Appeals (1533) and the Act of Supremacy (1534). In 1532, he was also appointed master of the jewels, the first of many offices he accumulated, including clerk of the hanaper (1532), chancellor of the exchequer (1533), principal secretary (1534), master of the rolls (1534), lord privy seal (1536), and lord great chamberlain (1540).

When Henry confirmed him as his principal secretary and chief minister in April 1534, Cromwell's main priority was the enforcement of policy. All the king's subjects had to swear to the act of succession, and those in religious life were required to either swear oaths or make declarations indicating their acceptance of the royal supremacy. His appointment as the king's vicegerent, or vicar-general, in January 1535 also substantially increased his power over the church. Cromwell was not the butcher he has sometimes been characterized as, though he was not above manipulating the legal process to remove dissenters viewed as a particular threat, most notably Sir Thomas More, who was beheaded in 1535.

As vicegerent, Cromwell ordered two commissions, one to determine the lands and revenues of the church (*Valor Ecclesiasticus*, 1535) and another to investigate monastic life (the so-called *comperta*, 1535–1536). The latter included grossly exaggerated reports of corruption and vice in the nation's smaller religious houses and was used to justify the suppression of most of these in early 1536. Yet while Queen Anne Boleyn shared the evangelical convictions that Cromwell had held since at least the beginning of the decade, she was furious that the proceeds were not to be used for charitable purposes. Recognizing the serious threat to his position, Cromwell levied an almost certainly groundless charge of adultery against her, which led to the trial for treason and the execution of Anne and several of her closest supporters in May 1536.

Cromwell was now at the height of his powers, but the remaining four years of his life were to represent a constant struggle against conservative opponents at court. Working closely with archbishop of Canterbury Thomas Cranmer (1489–1556), he sought to introduce an increasingly radical series of evangelical reforms, principally the Ten Articles (1536), two sets of royal injunctions (1536 and 1538), and the introduction of the English Great Bible (1540). Although Cromwell had

Henry's complete support when he became a principal target of those who rebelled in the Pilgrimage of Grace (1536), there were signs from early in 1538 that the king was becoming uncomfortable about the pace of reform. The Act of Six Articles passed the following year was unambiguously conservative.

Cromwell managed to discredit or remove many of his religious and political opponents (as in the judicial killing of the Courtenay and Pole families in 1538). But he was fatally weakened by his masterminding of the king's disastrous marriage to Anne of Cleves in 1539 (Henry abhorred her physically), which Cromwell believed would increase the prospect of an alliance with the Schmalkaldic League of Lutheran princes. Despite Henry's initial support, Cromwell's conservative enemies, led by Thomas Howard, duke of Norfolk, and Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, managed to persuade the king of the minister's treachery and heresy. After a dramatic arrest in the council chamber, Cromwell was condemned without a trial by parliamentary act of attainder (ironically, his favored means of dispatching opponents), and executed on 28 July 1540.

An efficient and pragmatic administrator, Cromwell's main function as chief minister was the execution and enforcement of the royal supremacy, and he was first and foremost the king's loyal servant. However, by using the influence this situation provided, he was able to introduce a number of reforms, both social and religious, and significantly advanced the evangelical cause during the 1530s.

See also Church of England; England; Henry VIII (England); More, Thomas; Reformation, Protestant; Tudor Dynasty (England).

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HOWARD LEITHEAD

CULLEN, WILLIAM (1710–1790), British scientist and academic physician. Cullen was born in Hamilton, Lanarkshire, Scotland, the second oldest son of a steward working for the duke of Hamilton. His mother was a Robertson of Whistlebury. In 1741 he married Anna Johnstone, daughter of the minister of Kilbarchan, and they had seven sons and four daughters.

Cullen began his education at the Hamilton Grammar School and went on in 1727 to the University of Glasgow; he also served an apprenticeship with a well-known surgeon, John Paisley. At age nineteen, he went to London, where he obtained an appointment as a ship's surgeon on a merchant vessel bound for the West Indies. On his return, Cullen apprenticed with a London apothecary, going home in 1730 to settle family affairs and briefly practice in the parish of Shotts. Two years later, he resumed his studies, then attended medical courses at the University of Edinburgh during the winter sessions of 1734–1735 and 1735–1736 before starting surgical practice in Hamilton. Employed by the duke and duchess of Hamilton and other prominent families, Cullen became involved in local agriculture and manufacturing issues and developed interests in chemistry and linen bleaching.

After obtaining his M.D. degree from the University of Glasgow in 1740, Cullen remained in that city in 1744 and began teaching medicine as an extramural lecturer. Two years later, the university appointed him to teach both medicine and materia medica, and in 1747 offered him an independent lectureship in chemistry together with a research laboratory. Cullen's academic career in Glasgow culminated in 1751 with his appointment to the chair of medicine. Lack of resources and advancement prompted him to leave for Edinburgh, where

the Town Council in 1755 appointed him professor of chemistry and medicine at the local university. A year later, he also agreed to teach botany and materia medica. His teaching soon attracted many students and solidified his reputation.

Cullen's penchant for explaining the phenomena of health and disease with the aid of speculative medical theories that challenged the Boerhaavian system then in vogue created tensions among Edinburgh academics and their sponsors. This led to his appointment in 1766 to the chair of medical theory instead of medical practice. However, Cullen and the new incumbent, John Gregory (1724–1773), agreed to give alternate courses in the theory and in the practice of medicine, an arrangement that lasted until Gregory's death in 1773. Until his retirement in 1789, Cullen remained the University of Edinburgh's incumbent professor of Practice of Physic.

In Scotland, Cullen was an important pioneer in the transformation of chemistry into an independent scientific discipline by separating it from its close relationship with medicine. On the theoretical side, he was quite interested in theories of heat, the phenomenon of evaporation, and the property of salts, but he experimented and published little. Instead, Cullen was instrumental in promoting the practical value of chemistry for Scottish agriculture, mining, and brewing, also making useful proposals for the manufacture and purification of common salt and the bleaching of linens. In medicine, he was also known as a systematist, promoting a coherent theory of human physiology and pathology. His scheme was an eclectic combination of previous mechanical and chemical explanations of bodily functioning, now placed under the direction of the nervous system.

Among Cullen's major works was the *Synopsis Nosologiae Methodicae*, published in 1769, a useful and widely employed classification of diseases based on clinical symptoms and signs. He considered it a heuristic device useful to practitioners and students. His most important publication was the *First Lines of the Practice of Physic*, published and expanded to include four volumes between 1776 and 1784. It was translated into several languages and made him an authority in medical practice throughout Europe and America.

Cullen was a transitional figure. As with other system builders before him, his medical theories became rapidly obsolete as new anatomical and physiological views transformed our understanding of the human body. Likewise, his disease classification was soon replaced by other schemes based on new criteria such as pathological changes discovered in human tissues and organs. Nevertheless, Cullen was widely admired and remembered as a gifted teacher, one of the first to lecture in the vernacular. He was the architect of clinical teaching in Edinburgh, and his reputation attracted students from around the globe.

See also **Boerhaave, Herman; Chemistry; Medicine.**

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GUENTER B. RISSE

CURIOSITIES. See **Marvels and Wonders; Natural History.**

CZECH LITERATURE AND LANGUAGE. The story of Czech language and literature in the early modern period (in fact, up to the very end of the eighteenth century) is one of a struggle to survive as a literary language that is more often frustrated and denied than rewarded. The primary reason for this is that geographically and demographically, the Czechs were more exposed to the pressures of a numerous and expansionist Germanism than other Slavs during the fifteenth through eighteenth centuries.

Bohemia was among those Slavic areas that had received Greco-Slavonic literacy and culture from Sts. Cyril and Methodius in the ninth century, after which it underwent a Catholic Latinization, which was subsequently reinforced by the thirteenth-century arrival of the Franciscan and Dominican orders in Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia. Literature at this time and into the fourteenth century was dominated by liturgical composition in Latin. Midway

through the thirteenth century, some prayers were translated from Latin into Czech. The first original works in Czech, such as songs, prayers, epic poems, and legends in verse, began to appear. One of the earliest and best known is “The Song of Ostrov” (composed 1260–1290), which celebrates Christ’s incarnation. Czech prose writing also began around the same time, in the form of hagiographies written by usually anonymous authors. While most early writing was religious in nature, there also survive some few examples of profane literature, once numerous folk songs, chivalrous love poetry, and chronicles. All of this Old Czech literature shows in its forms and content the considerable influence of the Latin West, although it also reveals the survival of some early Slavonic traditions, which will later on reemerge. It does contradict a supposition that thirteenth-century literary life in Bohemia was already predominantly Germanic.

The reign of Charles IV in Bohemia (1346–1378) spread the influence of Italian humanism. Charles himself was familiar with at least the works of Petrarch, Cicero, and Seneca. Charles was also interested in historical chronicles, and commissioned the writing of several histories of Bohemia, which were also translated into Czech. A particular characteristic of fourteenth-century Czech humanism is the *Devotio Moderna*, a movement based on a more personal connection with one’s God. This led to the production of numerous pious works written in the vernacular, including Czech translations of the Bible.

The successor of Charles IV, Wenceslas (ruled in Bohemia 1378–1419), allowed political infighting between the higher nobility and lower Estates to dominate the years of his reign, to the detriment of intellectual and cultural life. He also presided over a decline in the moral standing of the church, which was particularly wealthy and privileged in Bohemia. This led to the further growth of a reformism that had already taken root under Charles IV. Jan Hus was a product of these times and tensions. Born around 1371 in Husinec in Southern Bohemia, Hus was ordained a priest in 1400 and became rector of the University of Prague in 1402. Distressed by the corruption of the church around him, while he himself lived an unimpeachably clean life, Hus was attracted to the teachings of the reformer John Wycliffe. He espe-

cially liked Wycliffe's reforms in church practices. While not agreeing with all of Wycliffe's proposed doctrinal changes, Hus preferred Wycliffe's universalism to the nominalism that was embraced by the German professors at the University of Prague. When in 1409 King Wenceslas decreed that the Czech language should become the official language of the university, most of the German professors left the university, which lost its reputation as an intellectual center and gained one as a center for heresy. Hus himself came under increasing attack and was finally excommunicated in 1411, imprisoned in 1414, and executed in 1415. The Hussite Wars of 1420–1436 further disrupted intellectual and cultural life.

Hus's impact on Czech language and literature was great. He wrote his most important and influential works, letters, and essays to explain his positions between 1412 and 1415. He wrote in the vernacular language of Prague, simultaneously modernizing, creating orthographic reforms, and making the language more phonetic. Humanism continued to develop in both Bohemia and Moravia, where Hussitism was less prevalent and Catholicism dominated, through the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, despite the disintegration that followed the Hussite Wars. In 1468, printing was introduced into Bohemia. Of those who wrote in the Czech language, Bishop John Blahoslav (1523–1571) of the Unity of Czech Brethren was clearly the most important for the development of the literary language. Not only did he translate the New Testament into Czech, he also wrote a Czech grammar. Stylistically, he carried the language forward into a new, more expressive form. In 1588, a committee of the Unity of Czech Brethren translated the entire Bible, which was published in Moravia.

In the late sixteenth century, literature in the Czech language was promoted by a publisher, Daniel Adam of Veleslavín (1546–1599), who sought out and published religious works, geographies, chronicles, histories, lexicographies, and translations of all types. While some have called this an early "golden age" of Czech literature because of the quantity and variety of publications, others have pointed out that there was little of exceptional quality or originality among them.

Still, the late sixteenth century must have appeared indeed as a golden age after the Battle of White Mountain in 1620 destroyed the old Czech Protestant nobility and resulted in a thoroughgoing Germanization of all intellectual and bureaucratic life in Bohemia. For the Czechs of Bohemia, the seventeenth century was one of utter ruin, politically, economically, and nationally. Some Czech scholars continued to work abroad, either in Western Slovakia or, as in the case of John Amos Comenius (Comenius, 1592–1670), in Poland. Among his best-known and influential works are *Janua Linguarum* (an encyclopedia/grammar), *The Labyrinth of the World*, *Orbis Sensualium Pictus* (a children's picture book), and *Pansophia*.

The Counter-Reformation did not produce much in the way of original or memorable literature in the Czech lands. However, a publishing group founded in 1670, The Heritage of St. Wenceslas, did play an important role in ensuring the survival of the written Czech language by publishing religious works in Czech for simple people. History writing was also popular under the Jesuits. For example, in 1677, Bohuslav Balbín (1621–1688) published *Epitome Rerum Bohemicarum*. However, Czech linguistic patriotism was badly reduced by the end of the seventeenth century. The destruction of the Czech Protestant nobility, the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648), the reduction in Czech population, balanced by aggressive German colonization and the domination of German language among the Habsburgs, all took its inevitable toll. In 1774 German was made the official language of instruction in Bohemia, and Czech was all but lost as a literary language.

The eighteenth century did not bring relief to the Czech cultural patriots until it was nearly over. The War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748) was especially hard on the Czechs. Only toward the end of the century, under the influence of Enlightenment thinking, and especially that of Joseph II (ruled in Bohemia 1780–1790), did the Czechs begin to regain some ground. The popularity of Johann Gottfried von Herder's "folk nationalism" helped to advance the cause of national cultures. In 1784 the Royal Bohemian Society of Science was founded, heralding a new age of Czech intellectualism. Joseph's brother, Leopold II (ruled 1790–1792) founded a chair of Czech language at the

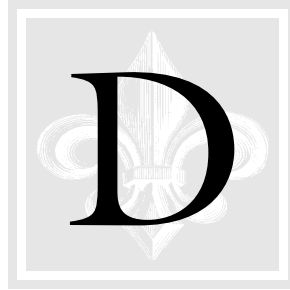
otherwise still Germanized University of Prague. He had also chosen to be crowned with, among others, the crown of King Wenceslas. As the nineteenth century opened, Czech language and literature were poised for a comeback from the dark days of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

See also Austrian Succession, War of the (1740–1748); Bohemia; Comenius, Jan Amos; Habsburg Dynasty: Austria; Herder, Johann Gottfried von; Hussites; Thirty Years' War (1618–1648).

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ANITA SHELTON



DAILY LIFE. Until the mid-twentieth century, professional historians often ignored the details of everyday life as antiquarian, in the sense of mundane, instead concentrating their narrative efforts on the wars and machinations of the powerful. The new legitimacy of the study of daily life derives from the growing concern with social history, beginning around the middle of the twentieth century, with its focus on mentalities, social classes, and ideas. This outlook argues that continuity and evolution are more significant than dramatic events like wars and dynastic upheaval, and asserts the validity of the study of, literally, the mundane—conditions of material life, and modes of work and play, for instance.

A major step was the publication in 1977 of Lawrence Stone's *Family, Sex, and Marriage in England, 1500–1800*, which argued that the early modern era saw the traditional extended family evolve into a recognizably modern nuclear family of individuals connected by affect. Beginning in the 1970s, the use of the computer to compile, organize, and sort large amounts of data enabled historians to detect subtle changes and long-term continuities. In their influential work *Tuscans and Their Families*, David Herlihy and Christiane Klapisch-Zuber digitized the wealth of detail in the 1427 *catasto* ('tax census') of Florence, which described the wealth, ages, size, and composition of families. The recent boom in women's and gender history has also contributed to the study of daily life by demanding the inclusion in the story of all members of society, not only prominent males.

Also vital to understanding this topic are the material conditions of life: what people ate, the diseases that sickened them, their sexual habits, how they worked, where and under what conditions they lived, their manners, even changes in their size. Although the material conditions of daily life varied according to factors like social class and geography, Europeans also shared commonalities, like exposure to diseases and, with the exception of the Jews, Christianity. Life in this era remained dependent on farming; not until the industrial revolution's agricultural surpluses and paid work in factories would the urban population boom. This new historical focus is documenting the economic, religious, and even climatic factors that influenced the evolution of daily life in early modern Europe.

FAMILY LIFE

An understanding of daily life in early modern Europe begins with the family. Recent research has revised the thesis of Philippe Ariès, who maintained that parents did not bond with their children because of high child mortality rates; both art, like Agnolo Bronzino's sensitive portrait (c. 1549) of Giovanni de' Medici as a baby, and documents reveal the deep love parents felt even for infants and their appreciation of childhood as a separate, formative stage of life.

While maintaining that marriage is licit and intended (by the Christian deity) for procreation, the Catholic Church upheld the superiority of celibacy. A licit marriage was one undertaken freely by the two parties, although males continued to arrange

marriages for dependent females. Most marriages included a dowry, often payable on consummation of the union. The Protestant Reformation, however, wrought a dramatic change. Martin Luther (1483–1546) declared that hardly one woman in ten thousand could keep a vow of celibacy, and that marriage and parenthood were the wholesome, divinely ordained destiny of human beings. He also urged women to become pregnant as often as possible, for doing so fulfilled God's will. Intercourse between spouses, therefore, was a spiritual duty, and Luther recommended it twice a week. Failure to produce offspring could lead to suspicion of witchcraft or vicious ridicule of the husband's lack of sexual prowess, and, in Catholic areas, be considered grounds for annulment.

Spouses were supposed to remain faithful. For males, however, this ideal was often honored in the breach: in Protestant Zurich, about 40 percent of divorce suits claimed that the husband had been unfaithful. Zurich retained its brothel, while Catholic Florence registered prostitutes. Male-male sexual activity was common in late Renaissance Florence despite anti-sodomy laws.

Advice literature stressed careful household management and childrearing, Protestant handbooks likened the father to God, lovingly correcting his wife and children, setting an example through his own disciplined life, and supporting the household. The good wife counseled her husband when asked, obeyed him, and oversaw the household with wisdom and thrift. Handbooks frequently admonished husbands not to mistreat their wives and children. This wholesome Christian family was to mirror the wholesome state, in which the monarch ruled his people as a loving father ruled his family.

Fathers hoped for sons. The sculptor Benvenuto Cellini (1500–1571) related that his mother, having borne a girl after several miscarriages, believed that her next pregnancy signaled another girl. When the newborn proved to be male, the ecstatic father named him Benvenuto ('welcome'), for his sex was a delightful surprise. The writer Pietro Aretino (1492–1556), however, reported that, although he had wished for a son, his infant daughter had filled him with tenderness and love at first sight. Still, adult reminiscences of beatings by parents or

schoolmasters indicate the frequency of harsh discipline.

The middle and upper classes tended to seek wet nurses for infants, despite the high rate of mortality from this practice and exhortations to mothers from advice manuals to nurse their own children. The recourse to wet nurses may have resulted from the sexual demands of husbands, for intercourse was believed to ruin a mother's milk; canon law called for new parents to remain celibate during nursing.

FOOD, DIET, AND HEALTH

The German saying "*Der Mensch ist was er isst*" ('a man is what he eats') was a social truth, for the prosperous could be recognized by their regular consumption of meat. Still, early modern Europeans generally consumed more meat than their contemporaries elsewhere. Economic and demographic change, however, meant less meat during the seventeenth century; in one French town, the number of butchers declined from eighteen in 1550 to two in 1660 to one a century later. Not until the industrial revolution did the meat consumption of average Europeans increase. The poor appear to have been increasingly prevented from hunting, as the aristocracy made game preserves off-limits to all but themselves, yet the growing exploitation of the fishing banks off North America gave Europeans a plentiful, cheap source of protein.

Vegetable foods, including grains, were the staff of daily life for Europeans. Only in Ireland and parts of Germany did the American potato become a significant foodstuff. Maize was cultivated as early as the sixteenth century, but made its way to the Danube only in the nineteenth. Guild rules governed the quality, weight, and ingredients of bread, but ample evidence shows frequent evasion of these regulations. Individuals also baked bread, but pressure from bakers led to attempts, as in Geneva in 1673, to forbid the practice. The poor ate darker, coarse bread, while consumption of white bread signaled a prosperous household. The social distinction was not lost in Florence, where a charity offered symbolic white bread to its clientele, the "shamed poor"—innocent paupers willing, but unable, to earn their livelihood.

Hard alcohol was used mostly for medicinal purposes until the eighteenth century, but wine was a staple in Europe, even more so than in the present:

in the early seventeenth century, for instance, Germans cultivated four times today's vinifera acreage. The addition of brandy to Portuguese wines during fermentation allowed for more stability during shipping, and slaked the English thirst for sweet wines at a time when the crown imposed high taxes on imported French wines. Connoisseurship emerged, with one sixteenth-century Tuscan oenophile identifying the best vineyards and varietals. The grand dukes of Tuscany attempted to ensure quality by regulating the grape harvest. To stave off drunkenness among youths, they cracked down on taverns. The growing use of hops increased the popularity of beer, especially in non-wine-growing areas.

Products from Asia and the Americas changed everyday life. Coffee and tea became fashionable in the seventeenth century; the scientist, diplomat, and epicure Lorenzo Magalotti (1637–1712) suggested drinking coffee as an aid to health, digestion, and wakefulness. The first coffehouse in London dates to 1650, and such establishments soon became so popular as places to exchange news and gossip that a royal attempt in 1675 to close them came to nothing. Chocolate, too, won favor, and was made into a hot, sweetened drink (Magalotti collected a recipe on his travels). Tobacco, brought back from the Americas by Christopher Columbus (1451–1506), was at first a botanical and medicinal curiosity. By the late sixteenth century, it was cultivated in Spain, Italy, the Balkans, and elsewhere in response to the European demand to chew, smoke, and sniff it. England attempted to prohibit its use in 1604, but in vain; governments taxed it instead.

The seventeenth century witnessed several wars and a “little ice age,” resulting in poor harvests. According to a Tuscan report of 1767, of the previous 316 years there had been 111 years of dearth and only sixteen of bounty. The abbess of the French convent of Port-Royal wrote in 1649 that marauding soldiers had seized the crops, refusing to give anything to the locals. A 1651 account of St. Quentin, Normandy, claimed that the starving inhabitants had little to eat other than mice, roots, and bread made from straw and earth.

Early modern governments felt both concern for and fear of the poor. Begging, supplemented by occasional work, theft, pawning, and alms, formed part of a strategy of day-to-day survival for the

lowest classes. Complaints proliferated about wandering, masterless men whose numbers increased as landlords enclosed formerly common land. An English law, drafted in 1536, complained that the able-bodied begged instead of working, depriving the honest, deserving poor of alms. Bavaria, among other areas of Europe, granted begging licenses only to inhabitants; outsiders were arrested or driven away.

HEALTH, DISEASE, AND MEDICINE

Recent research has shown that the average adult male in seventeenth-century France was short—under 5 feet, 4 inches (about 1,617 mm). The same study proved a strong correlation between average height and quality and quantity of harvest, and showed a trend to greater height with the waning of the “little ice age.” Social class correlated with height: the sons of cloth workers were about 1.4 inches (36 mm) shorter, on average, than the sons of the upper classes. Class also helped determine lifespan. While between 30 and 50 percent of children died before age five, 70 percent of children of the ruling classes survived to age fifteen in the sixteenth century, a much better ratio than for the lower classes. Aside from plague, malaria, measles, smallpox, and the like, children suffered from worms, infections, dysentery, and other ailments. They learned about mortality early, both from the diseases that struck them and their relatives and from public executions.

Diseases, including smallpox, ravaged early modern Europe, but none was more feared than the plague. Not until the late seventeenth century did its threat recede. Some cities in northern Italy created health boards charged with detecting outbreaks of plague, issuing health passports, and preventing the disease's spread. In sixteenth-century Tuscany, the Medici dukes attempted to ensure the availability of physicians and pharmacists even in remote areas.

Written and archaeological evidence suggests that Columbus's sailors introduced syphilis from the Americas to the unexposed population of Europe. A 1496 woodcut by Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528) depicted the gruesome, shocking symptoms. Two years later, a Viennese illustration hinted at the cause of infection by showing a naked couple, pocked with sores, being treated in a bedroom.

Contemporary accounts described a rapid, horrifying progression of disfiguring lesions, madness, and death. Likely victims of syphilis included Henry VIII of England (ruled 1509–1547), Charles VIII (ruled 1483–1498) and Francis I (ruled 1515–1547) of France, and Pope Alexander VI (1492–1503).

Though the sick who could afford it consulted physicians, a leading British physician of the late eighteenth century complained that almost nothing was known of the nature and prevention of contagion. The first defense against a contagious disease arrived in the late eighteenth century with Edward Jenner's vaccinations—met with great skepticism—against smallpox. Some herbal remedies, like digitalis, from the foxglove plant, were effective, but others ranged from ineffective to dangerous.

Few of the sick sought care in hospitals, which treated the indigent. The Spedale degli Innocenti ('foundling hospital') of Florence enjoyed a lower mortality rate in the sixteenth century than some Parisian hospitals in the eighteenth. In 1776, Brussels, with 70,000 inhabitants, had only one hospital with seventy-seven beds; Antwerp, with 50,000 people and ninety-six beds, fared little better. Massive migration to the cities beginning in the mid-eighteenth century led to a worsening of living conditions and invited the spread of disease.

Personal hygiene varied widely. In some parts of Europe, curative baths were popular. Magalotti suggested cleaning the teeth with a paste containing spices and then rinsing with wine. The *ricordi* ('family memoirs and accounts') of one Florentine of the late sixteenth century included regular payments to barbers for haircuts, shaves, and shampoos. Other *ricordi* list the considerable expenses incurred in purchasing drugs to treat illnesses.

EDUCATION AND CIVILITY

By the sixteenth century, the middle class sought larger living quarters and more privacy, and had adopted good manners to distinguish itself socially from those beneath it. The humanist Desiderius Erasmus's (c. 1466?–1536) best-seller, *On Civility in Children*, taught the young that those who seized the choicest morsels from the common dish and overate behaved like peasants. Table cutlery grew in popularity, and middle-class Italians had begun to

use forks by the late fifteenth century. Not until the next century did the rest of Europe embrace them: the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V (ruled 1519–1558) owned only a dozen.

The importance of good manners in climbing the social ladder reached its zenith at the court of Versailles during the reign of Louis XIV (ruled 1643–1715). There, nobles vied for the opportunity to be present at the king's rising and retiring each day. They learned that, to win the attention of the monarch and to rise above their peers, they had to master a byzantine etiquette that included bowing to the king's dinner as it was carried past. Still, merchants' manners and aspirations to nobility were bitingly parodied in the playwright Molière's (1622–1673) *Self-Made Gentleman* (*Le bourgeois gentilhomme*).

Some 25 percent of Florentine boys may have acquired basic literacy in the fifteenth century. Vittorino da Feltre's (1397–1446) school in Mantua accepted boys and girls, children of the nobility, and poor scholarship students. In general, however, education of girls aimed at instilling virtue and rudimentary literacy; embroidery and needlecraft taught them discipline and patience. Of course, the daughters of the upper classes often received a much better education from some of the outstanding teachers of the day. Education included religious instruction, with children memorizing their catechisms' questions and answers.

THE ECONOMY AND DAILY LIFE

In general, prices rose steadily over the course of the sixteenth century, apparently the result of the devaluation of silver currency. In 1540, for instance, Henry VIII of England took the silver shillings that he had collected in taxes, melted them down, mixed them with copper, and returned many more of these now-debased shillings to circulation. But rising prices also created opportunities for peasants with surplus crops, landowners who took in-kind rents, and some shopkeepers and merchants.

By the late sixteenth century, guilds controlled matriculation and standards in most skilled trades and professions, though their attempts to prevent the exodus of skilled workers—symptomatic of their waning power—crumbled before the prospect of higher wages elsewhere. In Rouen, they managed to prohibit the manufacture of a cheap cloth de-

signed to compete with silk. In response, merchant-entrepreneurs simply moved production to the countryside, installing looms in peasants' cottages. Weaving cloth in the putting-out system, in which workers received wages per piece, offered country dwellers a source of cash income, which led to changes in buying habits and in consumer demand. The impact of international trade can be seen in northern still-life paintings, which, by the mid-sixteenth century, depicted such novelties as turkeys and North Atlantic lobsters. The 1640s witnessed the tulip mania in Holland, one of the first Western consumer fads.

See also **Charity and Poor Relief; Childhood and Child-rearing; Cities and Urban Life; City Planning; Class, Status, and Order; Clothing; Consumption; Death and Dying; Divorce; Economic Crises; Education; Environment; Equality and Inequality; Family; Food and Drink; Games and Play; Gender; Hospitals; Housing; Industrial Revolution; Industry; Laborers; Marriage; Medicine; Midwives; Mobility, Geographic; Mobility, Social; Motherhood and Childbearing; Patriarchy and Paternalism; Peasantry; Plague; Police; Popular Culture; Poverty; Property; Public Health; Sanitation; Serfdom; Vagrants and Beggars; Villages; Violence; Wages; Weather and Climate; Widows and Widowhood; Women; Youth.**

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CAROL M. BRESNAHAN

D'ALEMBERT, JEAN LE ROND. See Alembert, Jean Le Rond d'.

DANCE. Between the sixteenth and the eighteenth centuries, European dance existed widely within different social contexts and groups. Admittedly, religious dance no longer existed, save for rare local examples such as "The Dance of the Six" (El baile de los seises) in the Seville cathedral, since the Roman Catholic Church had refused to integrate such practices into its rituals. But secular dance, done as much as a ball as within the theater, underwent a deep renewal during this time, occupying a privileged place in court society. While the paintings of Pieter Bruegel the Elder suggest popular forms of dancing in the 1560s, there is no evidence of this style of dance in technical or aesthetic treatises. What has been studied in the history of Western dance have been those dances reserved for social elites, from which blossomed what became known as *belle danse* based on noble style.



Dance. Marguerite de Valois dancing La Volta at the Valois Court, anonymous sixteenth-century painting. (See also cover of Volume 2.) ©GIRAUDON/ART RESOURCE, N.Y.

Western dance originated first and foremost in the Renaissance of fifteenth-century Italy and subsequently was favored by the leadership of the Council of Trent (1545–1563) and the Counter-Reformation. It became associated both with music and with poetry, becoming an indispensable element within sumptuous feasts organized to lionize princely patrons, and it developed its own masters and traditions of apprenticeship. These masters not only taught the rules of their art, but also shaped acclaimed styles of choreography to which monarchs and courtiers themselves danced. The most renowned masters circulated chiefly between the great families in Mantua, Ferrara, Milan, and Florence, establishing a highly elaborated, refined, and stylized art that was a pleasure to dance and to see. These men wrote the first treatises on dance, books designed to serve both practice and theory. In the second half of the sixteenth century their work spread all over Europe, as their methods, styles, and terminology were adapted in new places, most prominently of all in France.

Dance crossed the Alps thanks to the Italian wars of Francis I after 1525 and the marriage of Henry II to Catherine de Médicis in 1533. Though the Valois had been accustomed to a more spontaneous form of dance, the court appropriated Italian practices in its own fashion. In the course of the seventeenth century, French masters established a new style of dance that made noble carriage and deportment, elegance, and ease the standard for all people of quality. Moreover, with its emphasis on suppleness and agility, dance was closely linked with fencing, horsemanship, and indeed with military training in general. It thereby became a necessary part of the education of the proper gentleman, the *honnête homme*, as much in Jesuit as in military academies. In a world where social success depended upon knowing how to comport oneself, the dance master was expected to teach his students appropriate attitude and gesture and thereby how to function on the highest levels of society. Under Louis XIII (ruled 1610–1643) and Louis XIV (ruled 1643–1715), it was indispensable for a man

of quality to know how to dance, in order to participate in dignified fashion in the company of the king and his courtiers in the balls and the ballets.

Born at the end of the Valois reign in the 1580s, *ballet de cour* became central to Bourbon cultural leadership. Louis XIII used it as a seat of authority; Richelieu manipulated it as part of his new style of glorifying the monarch; and Louis XIV made it a centerpiece of his search for Europe-wide cultural prominence. Indeed, *ballet de cour* spread in related forms to Savoy, England, the Netherlands, Sweden, and Russia.

A transformation began in the dance when in 1670 Louis XIV withdrew from participating in it. The creation of the Académie Royale de Danse (Royal Dance Academy) in 1661 generated a movement of new thinking in both theory and practice among the French masters. Raoul-Auger Feuillet founded a system of notating dance movement, published in his *Chorégraphie* in 1700, that rapidly became standard practice Europe-wide for *belle danse*. Seventeenth-century choreographers applied the classicist outlook dominant in the court to notions of dancing with symmetry, equilibrium, clarity, and measure. Moreover, the academy led to a professional order of dance, in fact the first institutionalized ballet troupe, in the Académie Royale de Musique (Royal Music Academy), which was founded in 1669. The original restriction to men was dropped with the addition of women in 1681. During the second half of the seventeenth century, dance was integrated into the performance of all operatic genres, as well as some dramatic ones, and the Académie Royale de Musique, also called the Opéra (with the protection of Louis XIV and the dauphin and under the direction of Jean-Baptiste Lully), became the most prestigious hall of entertainment in Paris.

French theatrical dance proceeded to spread all over Europe in the early eighteenth century as artists started dance companies and schools. Dance styles—heroic or serious, half-serious (*demi-caractère*), comic or grotesque—and performers became specialized, just as standards of virtuosity and expressiveness expanded for both male and female dancers. In England in the 1710s there arose a new kind of theatrical dance called *ballet d'action*, or ballet pantomime, that would tell a story without

words or singing. Such shows became diffused throughout the main theaters in Germany, Austria, Italy, Russia, and France during the second half of the eighteenth century. Theatrical dance raised vigorous theoretical debates over claims that it rendered mimesis as an art of imitation in Aristotelian terms, as an interpretation of the totality of human experience. In the 1760s ballet began to gain independence from opera. In London, Paris, and Vienna a ballet pantomime was given on its own after an opera, though usually it was on a related theme. In Paris the practice first occurred at the highly innovative Opéra Comique in the 1760s and then at the Opéra in the 1780s. Owing to the mingling of pantomime and dance in this period, performers were required to be both mimes and dancers.

From the Renaissance to the Enlightenment, dance was not simply a distraction. Created by masters, who were almost always musicians as well as dancers, it was closely linked to the musical idioms for which it was designed—dance genres such as the pavane, galliard, branle, courante, minuet, saraband, chaconne, rigadon, or contredanse. Musicologists have in fact discovered that these idioms influenced many aspects of what went on in operatic and instrumental music of the eighteenth century. That is why when spectators entered the Opéra, they brought with them deep knowledge of complex interpretive aspects of dance and music, all of which was the fruit of an ancient European cultural tradition.

See also **Class, Status, and Order; France; Gentleman; Louis XIV (France); Lully, Jean-Baptiste; Music; Opera; Renaissance; Ritual, Civic and Royal.**

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NATHALIE LECOMTE

DASHKOVA, PRINCESS CATHERINE (1743–1810), confidante of Catherine the Great and educator. Princess Catherine Dashkova, a contemporary and confidante of Catherine the Great (ruled 1762–1796), in which capacity she is sometimes termed “Catherine the Small,” was born into one of the most prominent noble and diplomatic families of eighteenth-century Russia, the Vorontsovs. Known for their Anglophilia (two of her brothers served as ambassador to the Court of St. James), the Vorontsov family created a tone of sociability that enabled Catherine to participate relatively comfortably in the salons and intellectual life of Catherinian Russia. It also enabled her, almost alone among women of her era, to have a career in public service, first as the president of the new Russian Academy of Arts (1783), and in the same year as the director of the Academy of Arts and Sciences.

As director of the Academy of Arts and Sciences she had relatively little impact on scholarship. But she did strengthen the academy’s financial footing, leaving it with a healthy surplus when she stepped down in 1794, embittered by the conservative tone of Russian politics in direct reaction to the growing radicalization of the French Revolution. She also presided over a significant growth in the academy’s output of literary journals.

Dashkova’s activities in the Russian Academy were rather different. Modeled after the French Academy, or L’Académie française, the Russian Academy’s primary agenda was to compose an authoritative dictionary of the Russian language. Between 1789 and 1794 the academy published six large volumes listing over 40,000 words. Although the dictionary never had the prescriptive power of its French counterpart, it did constitute a significant cultural achievement, marking the rapid evolution of vernacular Russian and the emergence of an eighteenth-century literary language.

Dashkova, along with her patroness the empress, was one of a veritable handful of eighteenth-century Russian women to compose a memoir. Written in French and entrusted to her friend

Martha Wilmot, an Anglo-Irish woman who spent five years in Russia, the memoir was first published in English translation in 1857 in Alexander Herzen’s émigré journal, the *Polar Star*. Some scholars have questioned the authenticity of the memoir and suggested that Martha Wilmot and her sister may have at least significantly rewritten it. Most specialists, though, accept the text as Dashkova’s own. It provides an insider’s account of some of the most important political events of the day, including the coup that brought Catherine the Great to power in 1762 and much of the intrigue so characteristic of everyday life at the Russian court. If one takes her at her word, she spent most of her time interacting with the leading men of state and foreign dignitaries, much in the manner of male courtiers, rather than with their wives, daughters, or ladies-in-waiting. Dashkova also wrote and translated a great deal, including plays, poetry, and moralistic essays.

Like most of the empress’s entourage, Dashkova quickly lost influence once Paul I (ruled 1796–1801) ascended the throne. Seeing her, not unreasonably, as an enemy of his late father, Peter III, he exiled her to a distant estate and only later allowed her to return to her primary estate of Troitskoe. Like several other wealthy nobles, male and female, she became an active, even domineering, presence on her own estate, acting very much as an absolute lord of the manor in her own private estate-within-a-state.

See also **Academies, Learned; Catherine II (Russia); Dictionaries and Encyclopedias; Russian Literature and Language; Women.**

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GARY MARKER

DAVID, JACQUES-LOUIS (1748–1825), French painter. David was born in Paris to a middle-class family of merchants. He was related to the famous rococo painter François Boucher (1703–1770). He attended the Collège des Quatre Nations and studied art with the neoclassical painter Joseph-Marie Vien at the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture. As a student, David lived in the Louvre with his tutor, Michel Sedaine, who was secretary of the Royal Academy of Architecture in addition to being a playwright. Through Sedaine, David came into contact with Enlightenment intellectuals such as Denis Diderot (1713–1784) who influenced his aesthetic development and ideas. David won the coveted Roman fellowship prize the Prix de Rome in 1774 and lived and studied at the French Academy in Rome until 1779. In Rome he interacted with an international community of artists and intellectuals as he studied history, aesthetics, anatomy, and perspective. He drew extensively from antique sculpture as well as celebrated Renaissance and baroque religious paintings and sculptures that he encountered in churches in Rome and numerous other Italian cities.

Through Vien, who had become director of the French Academy in Rome, David received his first major commission, to paint *St. Roch Interceding for the Plague-Stricken* (1780–1781), a monumental religious work made for the chapel of the plague hospital in Marseilles and exhibited with great success at the Paris Salon of 1781. He followed this with another monumental religious painting, *Christ on the Cross*, commissioned by the Maréchale de Noailles and exhibited at the Salon of 1782. Although David, like his contemporaries, prepared for a career in which religious commissions would be expected, aesthetic developments and political events led him to represent primarily antique themes and contemporary history.

Influenced by the neoclassical movement in art and culture, toward the end of his fellowship in Rome David executed a monumental drawing, a frieze in the antique style, depicting the *Funeral of a Hero* (1778–1780). The contour style and emphasis on corporeal expression that dominate this composition became the hallmark of his great masterpieces of the 1780s. Works that were acclaimed at the Salon exhibitions in Paris include *Belisarius Re-*

ceiving Alms (1781), *Andromache Mourning Hector* (1783), and the *Oath of the Horatii* (1784–1785). *The Oath*, which David painted on a return visit to Rome in 1784, with its depiction of heroic and powerful human figures naturalistically rendered and its emphasis on gesture and corporeal form, transformed French and European art. David was a philhellene and in the 1780s became part of the intellectual circle of the Trudaine brothers, owners of one of the largest classical libraries in Europe. Inspired by Plato's writings, in 1787 David painted the complex and meditative *Death of Socrates* for Michel Trudaine de la Sablière. Due to illness he did not complete its pendant, the *Love of Paris and Helen*, until 1789. Both of these paintings had a direct impact on the development of romantic Hellenism in French art.

David's monumental *The Lictors Returning to Brutus the Bodies of his Sons* was exhibited at the Salon of 1789 shortly after the beginning of the Revolution. The problematics and ambiguities of this work, which questions the morality of politics when it conflicts with the family sphere, were forgotten during the early 1790s when the painting was understood as an exemplum of personal and familial sacrifice for the good of the country. David embraced the cause of the Revolution and the Republic, serving as a deputy to the national convention from 1792 to 1794. During this time he planned, promoted, and organized revolutionary festivals and funerals, designing temporary monuments, costumes, and emblems for these vast parades. He also contributed paintings to the revolutionary cause, including a large-scale sketch for *The Oath of the Tennis Court* (1791, never executed due to political vicissitudes), and to the martyrs of revolution, *Lepelletier de St. Fargeau* (1793) and *The Death of Marat* (1793), which became an icon of the Revolution, and *Bara* (1794).

In 1794 and again in 1795 David was imprisoned for his political role, and there began work on his next monumental history painting, the *Intervention of the Sabine Women* (1799), a remarkable encomium to the heroic women who ensured the founding of Rome by rushing onto the battlefield with their infants and children in order to end an internecine war between the Romans and the Sabines. Its pendant, *Leonidas at Thermopylae* (1814), represents the king of Sparta and his private army of



Jacques-Louis David. *Intervention of the Sabine Women*, 1799. ©RÉUNION DES MUSÉES NATIONAUX/ART RESOURCE, N.Y.

three hundred men about to give up their lives by defending the pass at Thermopylae against the vast Persian army, thereby ensuring victory for the Greeks. Together, these works constitute a meditation on the precarious enterprise of founding and preserving Western civilization.

As Napoleon rose to power he called upon David to promote his heroic image and the ceremonies of empire. After painting the great equestrian portrait of *Bonaparte Crossing the Alps* (1800) David was named first painter to the emperor (1804) and completed two of four vast compositions, *The Coronation of the Emperor Napoleon I* (1806–1807) and the *Distribution of the Eagles* (1810). *The Coronation* commemorates the event during which Napoleon established himself as emperor and inaugurated his newly appointed court. David depicted himself along with family and

friends as spectators but also lavished attention on the pope and his retinue at the crossing of Notre Dame Cathedral. In the *Distribution of the Eagles* David reveals his growing dissatisfaction with the empire by depicting the emperor as a diminutive figure and emphasizing the energy and vitality of the armies over Napoleon himself.

When Louis XVIII became king in 1816, thereby restoring the Bourbons after Napoleon's fall, David was sent into exile in Brussels along with many fellow regicides who had voted for the death of Louis XVI in 1792. While in Brussels, David created a series of monumental mythological paintings that constitute a new direction in his art and are among the most surprising—and strange—works of his entire career. Using stylistic and compositional innovations, David explored the complex psychology of love, eros, and eroticism in *Amor and*

Psyche (1817), *The Farewell of Telemachus and Eucharis* (1818), *The Anger of Achilles* (1819), and *Mars Disarmed by Venus and the Graces* (1824). In these works, continuing a trend begun early in his career, David was inspired by multiple literary and visual sources but created new subjects or episodes that differed from precedents.

In exile David continued to paint portraits, creating masterpieces of the genre in such works as *Sieyès* (1817), *Madame Morel de Tangry and her Daughters* (c. 1820), and *Zénaïde and Charlotte Bonaparte* (1821). In these penetrating works David continued his exploration of the psychology of personality begun in portraits completed at the height of his earlier career, such as the famous *Lavoisier and His Wife* (1788), *Pope Pius VII* (1805), and *Napoleon in his Study* (1812), among many others.

David was celebrated as a dedicated teacher and trained vast numbers of students, including some of the major artists of the early nineteenth century such as Antoine-Jean Gros, François-Pascal-Simon Gérard, Anne-Louis Girodet de Roucy, Jean-Auguste-Dominic Ingres, and the sculptor Pierre-Jean David d'Angers.

See also Diderot, Denis; France, Art in; Painting; Revolutions, Age of; Salons.

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DOROTHY JOHNSON

DAY OF DUPES (FRANCE). See Richelieu, Armand-Jean Du Plessis, cardinal.

DEATH AND DYING. The certainty of death is something we share with our early modern

ancestors, but they were more likely than we to die young and to experience throughout their lives a sequence of bereavements. Average life expectancy was shockingly low by modern (Western) standards: barely thirty in the seventeenth century. The averages are brought down by high infant mortality: around a quarter of children died in their first year, and barely half made it to their tenth birthday. For adults, remarriage after the death of a partner was commonplace. Nonetheless, suggestions that early modern people were somehow inured to death, making little emotional investment in young children, have been largely rejected by modern scholarship: there is plenty of evidence for deeply felt grief.

Throughout the period, epidemic disease was a major killer. Early modern Europe witnessed no pandemic on the scale of the “Black Death” of 1348–1349, but plague was a recurrent visitor, wiping out a quarter of London’s population in 1563 and nearly half of Marseilles’s in 1720. Plague disappeared from Western Europe in the early eighteenth century, but there was little protection against other virulent diseases—typhoid, dysentery, smallpox, influenza. In urban centers the death rate invariably exceeded the birth rate, and towns relied on immigration to sustain their populations. Periodic harvest failure and famine exacerbated the impact of disease. The 1590s were years of hunger across Europe, as were the 1660s and 1690s (when a third of Finland’s population died). The “mortality regime” was punitive and changed little over the course of the early modern period.

RITUAL AND REFORMATION

If death was frequent and unpredictable, it was also highly ritualized. The late medieval church stressed the importance of a good death; pious texts taught the *ars moriendi*, the “art of dying.” On the deathbed Christians felt particularly vulnerable to the wiles of the Devil, who might tempt them to despair and damnation. An elaborate sequence of “last rites”—confession, communion, and anointing by a priest—offered some protection, though the moment of death remained fraught with danger, and “sudden death,” with no opportunity to make amends for sin, was widely feared. Successful navigation of the deathbed was only the first stage toward eternal life with God in heaven. It was believed that since the ordinary good person could

perform only a fraction of the penance due for their sins, the remainder would have to be paid off after their death, in purgatory. Images of fire and torment filled descriptions of purgatory, though it is unclear whether people typically lived in fear of the prospect or stoically accepted it as their lot. In any case, it was possible to ease the pains of souls there and hasten their passage to heaven by performing good works on their behalf, particularly by having masses said for them. A great deal of pre-Reformation religion was driven by a “commemorative impulse”: the bequeathing of lands and goods in order to be remembered, and thus prayed for. For some reason, purgatory and intercessory prayer appear to have been a more marked feature of north European than of Mediterranean lands in the century before the Reformation.

The Protestant revolt against medieval Catholicism was from the outset deeply concerned with issues of death. Martin Luther’s Ninety-Five Theses of 1517 questioned the pope’s authority to issue indulgences (certificates remitting “time” spent in purgatory), and by 1530 Luther, with other reformers, had denounced the doctrine of purgatory itself. Purgatory offended Protestants because they could not find it in Scripture and because it seemed to undermine Christ’s sacrifice upon the cross, making human beings active participants in the business of salvation. The doctrine of predestination held that God had from time eternal assigned all people to one of two destinations: heaven or hell. There was no room for a “middle place” and no possibility for the living to change the dead’s preordained fate. In territories where the Reformation took hold, institutions (chantries and monasteries) whose purpose had been to intercede for the dead were dissolved, and requiem masses were abolished. Death-bed rituals were radically simplified, and the presence of a clergyman became less necessary. Most Protestant theologians taught, contrary to the medieval theory, that infants dying before baptism could still be admitted to heaven. In Catholic Europe, by contrast, the cult of the “holy souls” in purgatory was emphasized in the Counter-Reformation period.

Yet the dramatic changes of the Reformation were accompanied by underlying continuities. Protestants continued to display a concern with the “good death,” and *ars moriendi* literature remained

popular in both Catholic and Protestant societies. (To believers in predestination, appropriate death-bed demeanor might be an indication of “election.”) Though Protestants were barred from praying for the dead, the impulse to commemorate them remained strong, finding expression in monuments and epitaphs and in a profusion of printed funeral sermons. The Reformation undoubtedly changed the relationship between the living and the dead, but it did not end it. Most evidence concerns the social elite, but it is at the level of popular belief that continuities were most marked. Though Protestant theologians taught that the souls of the dead could never return (and Catholic theologians imposed strict limitations on it), belief in ghosts was widespread. Indeed, some burial practices may have been concerned not so much with commemorating the dead as with providing protection against them. This was the case with the bodies of those committing suicide—the ultimate “bad death”—which were often staked and interred at crossroads.

DEATH AND THE SOCIAL ORDER

Moralists, Catholic and Protestant, presented death as a leveler—the artistic motif of the “Dance of Death” depicted popes, princes, and beggars linked by their common fate. Both before and after the Reformation, however, the delineation of rank was a major concern of funerary rites. This was particularly apparent in the case of royal funerals: the ritual was most elaborate in France, where it involved an eerily lifelike effigy of the deceased monarch—a symbolic assertion of the survival of the king’s “social body.” Extravagant aristocratic funerals, involving vast amounts of black cloth, hundreds of mourners, and lavish distributions of charity sent out messages about the location of power in local communities. The poor were typically carried to the grave with little ceremony. Burial practices, too, reflected social status. In London, Paris, and some other urban centers, pressure on space led to the repositioning of cemeteries in suburban locations away from churches—a process under way throughout the period. But across much of Europe traditional patterns persisted: the elites could expect burial within the church building; the masses had to be content with the churchyard outside, where graves rarely received permanent markers and bones were periodically dug up to be stored in charnel houses. Those who had died “dishonorable” deaths (e.g.,

by execution) were refused burial in the churchyard and were often interred under the gallows or in other dishonored places. In Calvinist Scotland the authorities forbade church burial as “superstitious,” but landowners got around the ban by erecting elaborate “burial aisles” on the side of churches. Early modern Europeans were unequal in death, as in so much else.

See also **Medicine; Plague; Reformation, Protestant.**

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PETER MARSHALL

DECORATIVE ARTS. Broadly understood, the decorative arts comprise objects that possess artistic qualities and were created by skilled makers, but do not belong to the general categories of painting, sculpture, or architecture. They include, but are not limited to, the decoration and furnishing of interiors, personal adornment (costume and jewelry), and, later, with the rise of industrialization, product design. From its origin in the mid-nineteenth century, methodology in decorative arts studies concentrated on connoisseurship—dating, attribution, establishment of formal and regional categories—which became increasingly specialized, usually divided by medium and country of origin (French porcelain, English furniture, German pewter, etc.). Since the 1970s, the field has been enriched by trends adapted from social and economic history (patronage and consumption) and anthropology (material culture and behavioral studies) to form a multifaceted investigation of the objects themselves within their context as part of the history of visual culture.

TYPES AND MATERIALS

For the greater part of the early modern period, textiles, especially pictorial tapestries, were the most valuable and valued items of interior decoration. Made of wool, silk, cotton, and linen, patterned flat weaves, velvets, brocades, and damasks were used to cover walls, floors, and furniture, while other fabric was made into clothing. Due to wear and their fragile nature, however, a disproportionately small number of historical textiles survive, which has led to their relative underrepresentation in art historical studies. Related to textiles, costume history examines the development of forms and techniques of dress and body ornament, which from the beginning, but especially since the eighteenth century, focused increasingly on female dress.

Furniture, made of a variety of woods according to regional availability and preference, forms another basic category, with tables, chairs, beds, case furniture (chests, cupboards, commodes, etc.), and frames representing the major types. Plain, carved, or painted, frequently inlaid (intarsia) or veneered (marquetry) in patterns or pictures with a variety of materials, or at times gilt and embellished with metal mounts, furniture could range from the mundane to the highly sophisticated in design and manufacture.

Ceramics, one of the most ancient crafts, also experienced an increase in variety, artistic attention, and refinement. Continuing a medieval tradition, the German Rhineland (Cologne, Raeren, Siegburg) and, later, Staffordshire in England produced prized stoneware, often with elaborate allegorical—sometimes even political—relief decoration, while southern Europe (Spain, Italy, and France) excelled in earthenware (faience, majolica) using painting with metallic oxide pigments on tin glazes for colorful pictorial scenes (*istoriato*) or shimmering metallic effects (lusterware). Seeking to emulate costly imported Asian porcelain, technical experiments led to a number of imitations of it—for example, Medici porcelain from Florence (c. 1575–1587), a highly vitreous substance, or the blue and white earthenware of Delft, Holland, from the mid-seventeenth century on—culminating in the “invention” of soft- and, later, hard-paste porcelain at the manufactories of Meissen, Germany, in 1709 and Vincennes-Sèvres, France (established 1738).

Major categories of metalwork are associated with cooking and the table, arms and armor, liturgical objects, lighting and heating, and jewelry. Depending on the rarity and qualities of the materials used, such works comprised utilitarian objects (bronze, brass, iron, steel, pewter) as well as more decorative ones (gold, silver, gilt silver, gilt bronze), intended mainly, but not exclusively, for show and status. Because of their high value, works in gold and silver received particular artistic attention, leading to an extraordinary sophistication of all the related techniques: the raising of sheet through embossing and chasing; the successful casting of detailed models, large and small, as well as natural objects; the development of hollow lost wax casting to achieve series of identical pieces; and enameling in translucent and opaque colors on flat (*champlevé*, *basse taille*, painted enamel) and round (*en ronde bosse*) surfaces.

The art of glass, retained in Europe since the Roman Empire, flourished anew from the early sixteenth century in particular in Venice, where clear crystal glass was rediscovered and fashioned into vessels, stemware, and mirrors (backed with an amalgam of mercury and tin). Centers in northern and central Europe (Nuremberg, Munich, Potsdam, Prague, Dresden, Switzerland) continued to produce stained glass and hard crystal suitable for etching and engraving (the latter a specialty in Holland) while geometric cut glass decoration was developed in England in the mid-eighteenth century and widely manufactured in Ireland (Cork, Waterford), Germany, and Bohemia.

PATRONAGE, MANUFACTURE, AND CONSUMPTION

Among the works preserved today, those made for the wealthy elite far outnumber those made for less economically strong consumers. This situation (putting aside the question of artistic value) has resulted in a less intensive investigation of objects made for the middle and lower classes, especially those from the beginning of the early modern period. In the sixteenth century, monarchs, court society, and the church provided most of the advanced patronage, while civic groups in the mercantile city-states and humanist circles played a somewhat lesser role. As patrons and consumers, the absolutist rulers of the seventeenth century were role models for the aristocracy and the growing patrician and merchant

classes, who imitated them as best they could. A greater diffusion of wealth, erudition, and interest in the course of the eighteenth century led to a broadening of the consumer base, but high quality decorative arts were still the focus of the luxury trade. Although production was tailored in an increasingly commercial way toward demand and changing fashion, consumption was massed in the upper social classes, which set the tone for others.

With the growing self-awareness of artists during the Renaissance, the medieval guild system, which guaranteed the quality of products and protected makers but also circumscribed their activities, was gradually weakened in favor of greater freedom of involvement by individuals in different crafts. In the course of the sixteenth century, court artists were exempted from guild rules by their royal or princely patrons. The first court workshops in Florence under the Medici and in Prague under Rudolf II inspired the development of better structured royal manufactories in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Among the most famous were the Gobelins under Louis XIV and the porcelain factories of Meissen under August the Strong of Saxony and Sèvres under Louis XV. Concurrent with the rise of the mercantile middle class, independent entrepreneurs in the eighteenth century established the first commercial enterprises, for example the potteries of Josiah Wedgwood (1730–1795) in Staffordshire (established 1759), the furniture works of David Roentgen (1743–1807) near Coblenz (established 1750), or the luxury merchants (*marchands merciers*) of Paris, such as Lazare Duvau (1709–1758) and Dominique Daguerre (fl. 1787–1795). The official abolition of the guilds and corporations in post-Revolutionary France in 1791 was a signal event; after the Napoleonic wars, European guilds never again regained their former power.

STYLE

While certain regional preferences remained, the early modern period is generally characterized by increasing internationalism in terms of style and innovation. This development was promoted by two factors: traveling artists seeking their fortunes at different courts or mercantile centers, and the explosive rise of the print medium, which disseminated artistic ideas with precision and ease.

The humanist-influenced Renaissance brought a renewed and self-conscious review of the classical past. On objects it expressed itself in dense and colorful decoration with a multitude of figural and ornamental motifs derived from antiquity. Figures in classical drapery with well-defined anatomy, subject matter from mythology or Roman history, allegory, and personifications provided a rich canon to draw from. Other ornament was derived mainly from architecture: elaborate moldings, meanders, scrolling vines, acanthus leaves, rosettes, egg-and-dart and beaded bands, gadrooning, and grotesques, named after the excavations of grottos (most notably the Domus Aurea) in Rome in the early sixteenth century.

Architecture and sculpture also provided important impulses for baroque decorative arts: shapes of weightier proportions, massive S-scrolls, gilt ornament, and layered moldings; and energized, active, and emotionally expressive figures, animals, and mythological creatures. A particular development was the predilection for elaborate floral and vegetal ornament and patterns that can be found in almost all media of seventeenth-century decorative arts.

By the eighteenth century, France (and especially Paris) was the leading center for new taste and design. The essence of the rococo originated in French decorative arts, first apparent in the 1730s in silver and wood carvings (*boiseries*) and stucco decorations in interiors: swirling asymmetrical designs (opposed, irregular C-scrolls, shapes derived from rocks and shells, lines from water and waves), new naturalism (flowers, birds, and other realistic plants and animals), pastel colors, and fascination with the exotic Near and Far East. In a conscious backlash, the late 1750s brought back clearer, more rigid geometric principles derived from a new, more archaeologically based reception of antiquity. This neoclassicism evolved into more attenuated and richly ornamented forms in the 1770s and 1780s, and by the late 1810s resolved itself into an ever more rapid succession of revivals during the nineteenth century, from the neo-Gothic of the 1830s to the neo-Renaissance in the 1840s and 1850s, and the other historical styles that followed.

ARTISTS AND DESIGNERS

The number of anonymous masters in the decorative arts remains far greater than that of known artists, although recent research is uncovering more names of notable figures. Most textile weavers are unknown, while the designers, especially of tapestries, include many famous painters, such as Raphael (1483–1520), Bernard van Orley (1492–1542), and Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640).

There are hardly any known furniture makers in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, although Jacques Androuet du Cerceau the Elder (1510/1512–1585) and Hans Vredeman de Vries (1527–1606) must be mentioned for their influential prints of furniture designs. The first names and careers emerge in the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: foremost among the group of Netherlandish and German émigrés working in France was André-Charles Boulle (1642–1732), who became famous for his delicate inlays of brass, tortoiseshell, and pewter (Boulle marquetry) and is credited with inventing the commode. The factories of Abraham Roentgen (1711–1793) and his son David produced furniture with the finest pictorial marquetry and ingenious mechanical features, pieces which they exported from Neuwied near Coblenz to all the major cities in Europe. Thomas Chippendale (1718–1779), whose name is synonymous with mahogany furniture carved in a late rococo or “Chinese” style, was the most influential maker, designer, and businessman for furniture in England. He published the first comprehensive book of designs, *The Gentleman and Cabinet Maker’s Director* (1st edition, 1754), which cleverly addressed both his potential clients and fellow craftsmen.

In the field of ceramics, Johann Friedrich Böttger (1682–1719) stands out as the inventor of European hard-paste porcelain at Meissen, while Johann Joachim Kändler (1706–1775) was the factory’s widely imitated modeler of animals and figures. In England, the great technical innovator and entrepreneur was Wedgwood, who revolutionized the manufacture, style, and marketing of his attractive pottery, especially his cameolike jasperware in muted opaque colors with applied delicate white reliefs.

It is remarkable how many of the great Renaissance sculptors began their careers as goldsmiths:



Decorative Arts. The “Mazarine” commode: tortoiseshell and copper marquetry on ebony, engraved and gilded bronze, top of marble griotte, executed c. 1708–1709 for the bedroom of Louis XIV in the Grand Trianon by André Charles Boulle. ©RÉUNION DES MUSÉES NATIONAUX/ART RESOURCE, N.Y.

the most famous is Benvenuto Cellini (1500–1571), whose renowned saltcellar, made for Francis I, perfectly combines sculpture and goldsmith’s work, but the list also includes Filippo Brunelleschi (1377–1446), Lorenzo Ghiberti (c. 1381–1455), Donatello (c. 1386–1466), and the painter Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528). Other innovative and noteworthy artists in gold and silver include Wenzel Jamnitzer (1508–1585, Nuremberg), Paulus van Vianen (c. 1570–1613, active in Utrecht, Munich, and Prague), and Juste-Aurèle Meissonnier (1695–1750, Turin and Paris).

The seventeenth century saw the evolution of the designer as a distinct artist, a development that was instrumental for the gradually emerging notion

of a stylistically unified interior. Most often trained as an architect or a painter, the designer worked mainly as a draftsman and often subcontracted or supervised other specialist craftsmen. Among the earliest are Gian Lorenzo Bernini (1598–1680) and Giovanni Paolo Schor (1615–1674) in Rome, who in turn inspired Charles Lebrun (1619–1690), the first and most important director of the French Gobelins, which furnished Versailles and the other palaces of Louis XIV. The outstanding architect-designer of England was undoubtedly Robert Adam (1728–1792), who gave his name to a whole class of neoclassical buildings, interiors, and furnishings. Charles Percier (1764–1838) and Pierre-François-Léonard Fontaine (1762–1853) were jointly responsible for the enduring late neoclassical style of

furniture and interiors, often referred to as the empire.

DECORATIVE ARTS AS VISUAL CULTURE

The early modern period lacked the hierarchical division of fine and decorative arts, which was only established in the mid-nineteenth century. Textiles, furniture, and gold and silver, for example, were seen as entirely equal in artistic value and were generally more expensive than paintings or sculpture. The decorative arts played an important role in the often scripted life of the higher echelons of society that was imitated by others. Records of objects' placement and meticulous descriptions illustrate their multifaceted functions. They articulated a space, defined the actors in it, and participated in the rituals and actions of daily life. Understood in this manner, decorative arts can provide a particularly immediate and detailed window into the past.

See also **Artisans; Baroque; Ceramics, Pottery, and Porcelain; Jewelry; Prints and Popular Imagery; Rococo; Textile Industry.**

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STEFANIE WALKER

DEE, JOHN (1527–1609), polymath English mathematician, natural philosopher, and consultant to the court of Queen Elizabeth. Dee was born in London, of Welsh descent. His father, Rowland, who had a minor position in Henry VIII's court, fostered Dee's education and laid the foundation for his later position in the Tudor court. Dee studied at St. John's College Cambridge for the B.A. (1546) and the M.A. (1548) degrees. Dee also studied at Paris and most importantly at Louvain with Gemma Frisius and others of Gemma's circle including Gerardus Mercator, Antonius Gogava and Gaspar à Mirica. Subsequently, he maintained contact and collaboration with scholars throughout Europe, including assisting with Federico Commandino's publication of *De Superficierum Divisionibus Liber* (On the division of surfaces).

Dee forged diverse roles as a scholar and public intellectual. At his house at Mortlake, outside London, he taught, consulted, and studied in one of the earliest experimental households. Here he built a personal library, reputed to be the largest of his day, rich in mathematics, sciences of all sorts, and philosophy, reflected both in the ancient texts prized in the Renaissance but also in unusually large numbers of medieval texts. He vigorously promoted the practical application of mathematics and the sciences through his service as consultant on navigation to the Muscovy Company and other voyages of navigation and through his contribution of the "Mathematicall Praeface" and extensive additions and annotations to the first English edition of Euclid's *Elements* of geometry (1570). In his private consultations he was one of the earliest to introduce Paracelsus in England. Dee enjoyed the patronage of Elizabeth and other Tudor courtiers and played an active role at court, advising on the reform of the calendar and other scientific issues and bolstering with his expertise the advocacy of British political and imperial expansion. In all these capacities Dee applied his scholarly skills to making available to Elizabeth and her counselors, navigators, explorers, and other writers and thinkers the information and wisdom of his personal library for the formation of policy and the solution of practical problems. Dee also pursued patronage at the courts of Wilhelm IV of Hessen-Kassel and Rudolf II at Prague, where he promoted his angelical, cabalistic, and alchemical

vision of nature, religious reform, and political conciliation.

Like others in the Renaissance, he sought new insights into the natural world as a reflection of divinity and to achieve personal spiritual insight. His inspiration was primarily Roger Bacon (c. 1214/20–c. 1292), enhanced by ancient, medieval, and Renaissance magical texts. In the *Propaedeumata Aphoristica* (Introductory aphorisms, 1558 and 1568) Dee developed a mathematically based optical theory of astrological causation and astral magic founded on Bacon's concept of the multiplication of species. His *Monas Hieroglyphica* (Hieroglyphic monad, 1564) presents an unusual blend of alchemy, astrology, Cabala, and magic that is as much an allegory of spiritual ascent as a study of nature. Later, he became increasingly absorbed in "spiritual exercises" in a quest for direct spiritual insight from angels contacted through a crystal gazer.

See also Alchemy; Astrology; Cabala; Calendar; Elizabeth I (England); Exploration; Mathematics; Paracelsus; Shipbuilding and Navigation.

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NICHOLAS H. CLULEE

DEFENESTRATION OF PRAGUE.

See Prague, Defenestration of.

DEFOE, DANIEL (1660–1731), English journalist, economist, and travel writer, often considered to be the first English novelist. Daniel Defoe wrote approximately 560 books, pamphlets, and journal articles, many of which were anonymously or pseudonymously published. Little is known about his early life other than that he was the first son of James Foe, a tallow chandler in the City of London (the family changed its name to Defoe

c. 1695). The Foes were Puritans, and, because they were Dissenters (or Nonconformists), the 1662 Act of Uniformity forbade them to practice their religion or educate their children. Nevertheless, Daniel was schooled at Morton's Academy for Dissenters in Newington Green, North London, and considered becoming a Nonconformist minister himself before eventually deciding to follow his father into the City of London. He started his career as a hosiery merchant in 1681. He married Mary Tuffley c. 1683/1684, and in 1685 left London to join the Duke of Monmouth's rebellion, probably fighting in the Battle of Sedgemoor. Defoe produced his first piece of published writing in 1688, a pamphlet denouncing the reigning monarch, James II (ruled 1685–1688).

With the accession of William of Orange in 1688 (William III; ruled 1688–1702), Defoe began a career as a political pamphleteer, but he also independently traded wine, spirits, tobacco, and textiles. His enterprises being unsuccessful, however, he was declared bankrupt in 1692, and was subsequently imprisoned in the Fleet and King's Bench Prisons for insolvency. Turning to pamphleteering for a living, in 1700 Defoe published "The True-Born Englishman," a satiric verse defending the Dutch King William III, and detailing England's multicultural past. Defoe was again imprisoned for six months in 1703 for another controversial pamphlet, "The Shortest Way with Dissenters," which ironically demanded the savage suppression of Nonconformists. In 1707 he began publishing the triweekly *A Review of the State of the British Nation*, which ran until 1713. Enjoying a busy career as a journalist, in 1704 he was employed by the secretary of state, Robert Harley, on a secret mission to tour England and Wales, ostensibly to report on the development of trade, but covertly to monitor and report back on any cells of Jacobite rebellion. During this period of traveling, Defoe gathered material for his extraordinary travel book, *A Tour through the Whole Island of Great Britain* (3 vols., 1724), which describes the people, places, and trades of the nation in great detail (though sections of the text were plagiarized from earlier travel books). *The Tour* was supplemented in 1746 with a *Tour thro' that Part of Great-Britain called Scotland*.

Defoe's first foray into fiction came in 1719 when, at the age of sixty, he anonymously published

Robinson Crusoe, which describes the life of a shipwrecked mariner, to some extent based on the real-life experiences of the Scottish sailor Alexander Selkirk. *Robinson Crusoe* was an immediate success for Defoe, and its publication initiated a prolific period of fiction writing including *Captain Singleton* (1720), an adventure story, and, in 1722, Defoe's second success, *Moll Flanders*, which purported to be an autobiography of a resourceful pickpocket who lived in London and on the plantations of Virginia. Also in 1722 Defoe published *The History of Peter the Great*, *Colonel Jack*, and the historical fiction, *A Journal of the Plague Year*, which claimed to be an eyewitness account of events during the 1664–1665 Great Plague in London. In 1724 Defoe published his last, and possibly his darkest, fiction, *Roxana*, whose eponymous, tragic heroine dies in a debtors' prison after living a life of deception, which Defoe suggests was the result of her marrying a profligate man who abandoned her and their children. Defoe's fiction, which often drew on his own experiences of speculative enterprise, being in debt, and struggling to reconcile real life with a spiritual life, blended spiritual autobiography, journalism, and travel writing, and was original for its realistic subject matter and powerful, plain prose. Often regarded as the first novelist, Defoe certainly set a pattern for similar fiction writing, especially the novels of mid-century writers Samuel Richardson, Henry Fielding, and Laurence Sterne.

In his final years, Defoe published two economic texts, *The Complete English Tradesman* (1725) and *Augusta Triumphans: A Plan of the English Commerce* (1728). Ironically, despite his personal interest in trade, and his successes as a best-selling pamphleteer and writer of fiction, Defoe died in poverty in his lodgings in Ropemaker's Alley, in Moorfields, London.

See also **Dissenters, English; English Literature and Language; Fielding, Henry; Jacobitism; James II (England); Richardson, Samuel; Smollett, Tobias; Sterne, Laurence; William and Mary.**

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ALISON STENTON

DEISM. A form of religious nonconformity upholding the view that human beings can know the truths of theology by rational methods, deism excludes any appeal to supernatural or revealed experience. Although some scholars have found anticipations of deism in various Greek and Roman schools of philosophy, deist ideas strictly speaking originated in early modern Europe. Coined as a term of derision in a Calvinist tract published in 1564, *deist* lost its pejorative sense over the course of the seventeenth century and was embraced by a wide range of thinkers before and during the Enlightenment. At the same time, deism encountered severe criticism both from defenders of conventional faith and from more skeptical and rigorously rational schools of thought.

The prehistory of deism is perhaps best encapsulated in the writings of the Roman philosopher and statesman Marcus Tullius Cicero (106 B.C.E.–43 B.C.E.). In various philosophical dialogues, including *De natura deorum* and *De legibus*, Cicero emphasized that divinity and its works can be known through the application of reason and, indeed, that reason itself constitutes the true divine spark or seed within humanity. Drawing heavily on an eclectic Romanized stoicism, Cicero articulated a coherent account of a rational religion, leading at least some scholars to proclaim him the “father of deism.” Moreover, because Cicero’s writings (including *De natura deorum*) enjoyed a large audience in later antiquity as well as medieval and Renaissance Europe, they may have inspired some thinkers associated with a more self-consciously constructed school of deist thought during early modern times.

The origins of deism properly speaking, especially in England, cannot be separated from a range of other nonconformist movements during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, such as Unitarianism, anticlericalism, Erastianism, Arminianism, and Socinianism. Generally speaking, the early thinkers associated with deism were engaged in a broad revolt against authority. Among the leading figures—who did not, however, consistently identify themselves as deists—were Edward Herbert of Cherbury (1583–1648), Charles Blount (1654–1693), and John Toland (1670–1722), all of whom were at the forefront of European religious

nonconformity and freethinking. In their wake came a number of lesser deists whose commitments to the doctrine varied widely. The deists shared in the British trend toward nonconformism by challenging central premises of enforced unity of belief, by doubting the rational demonstrability of major tenets of Christian theology, by asserting the distortion and perversion of religious faith by clerics and ecclesiastical institutions, and by establishing the complicity between church authorities and secular rulers in maintaining religious conformity in the interests of the powerful.

Deists starting with Lord Herbert had argued for a set of natural and universal principles common to all religions; to the extent that any system of belief embodied these tenets, it had a presumptive claim to validity. They praised expressions of religiosity that reflected those elements consonant with natural human worship of divinity. The common principles (laid down in Lord Herbert’s 1624 treatise *De Veritate*) embraced acceptance of a single supreme God; insistence upon the worship of that God, achieved in particular by virtuous and pious deeds; expectation of remorse and contrition for one’s sins; and acknowledgment of both temporal and extra-temporal divine dispensation of rewards and penalties. Such precepts are universally accessible by human reason, rendering revelation of secondary or derivative significance. Consequently, deists also subscribed to the principle that human nature was the same and inalterable throughout the world.

One of the favorite themes of the seventeenth-century deists was the postulation of a sort of ur-religion, a primitive piety that had been erased by the introduction of formal religious worship. In his *De Religione Gentilium* (1663; *Religion of the Gentiles*), Herbert declared that before religious rites, ceremonies, scripture, and so on were created, the worship of God occurred in an entirely rational manner. For Herbert and his successors, religion as practiced by contemporary human beings, burdened with unnecessary accretions, departed greatly from original, natural belief. Superstition and idolatry, complex systems of guilt and its expiation, and the creation of a professional priesthood all marked religion’s distance from true reverence for the divine.

Thus, deism did not merely defend the authority of human reason in religious matters, but it also proposed a brief against the system of power that conventionally supported institutionalized religion. Two important claims made by the deist case against religion should be highlighted: that priests manipulate superstition and ritual to implant a fear of God in human beings, and that the authority of churches rests upon a spurious claim that priests are uniquely competent to interpose themselves between human beings and divinity and to dictate to people (against their natural inclination and reason) how they shall live. Deists thereby equate religion with the creation of human misery, conflict, and immorality.

The British deists explained the course of institutional religion (modern as well as ancient) in terms of “priestcraft,” that is, the erection and dissemination of false ideas, practices, and superstitions in order to enhance the interests of priests themselves. Blount asserted that theological doctrines were propagated in the most mysterious and obscure manner not because truths about divinity were complex, but in order to confuse and therefore control the laity. Toland went so far as to say that the distinction between religions resulted from the machinations of priests, designed to serve their baser worldly ambitions. Much of the substance of deistic anticlericalism was directed toward debunking the trappings of priestly superiority that cloaked less esteemed motives.

In the place of organized and ritualized religious practices, the deists recommended natural worship, best performed by sound moral action. Herbert and Toland both maintained that the means of salvation might be sought in the rational practice of virtue, piety, and faithfulness. Subsequent deists regarded this position as a defense of the purity of “heathen virtue” as distinct from the idolatry of more recent times. In the deist view, heathens were perhaps less encumbered by the cheats of religion than latter-day Christians—and certainly no more so. Hence, the practice of natural worship might be guided more by “heathen virtue” than by the more recent teachings of Christian (or Islamic or Judaic) religion.

Scholars have commonly ascribed a connection between religious nonconformity in England and republican political conviction. To what extent the

bond between the two is judged necessary or inextricable remains an open question. Some authors with openly deist sympathies also subscribed to Toryism and royalism. Hence, it may be the case that the connection between deism and republicanism was in fact looser than scholarship often claims.

Although England may perhaps be regarded as the cradle of deism, the writings and ideas of the early deists spread to the Continent and infected some of the leading figures of the early Enlightenment. While France, for instance, had its share of nonconforming thinkers during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries—Pierre Charron, Michel de Montaigne, René Descartes, and Pierre Bayle among them—deism received perhaps its most visible and influential statement there from Voltaire (1694–1778). Both in France and during an exile to England, Voltaire encountered deist thinkers and began to propound their views. Voltaire himself used the term *theist*, but the nomenclature is inconsequential. He advocated a notion of natural religion based on reason, defending the existence of a single God but assailing priestcraft and ecclesiastical corruption.

Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778), who was profoundly influenced by Voltaire’s important statement of deism, the *Lettres philosophiques* (1734; Philosophical letters), seems to have adapted deist views in his own *Émile* (1762). But Rousseau’s version of deism was less rationalistic, and less politically charged, than Voltaire’s. Rousseau postulated a divine goodness that degenerated in human hands when artificially represented through rites and ceremonies. He called on his readers to adopt a natural religion by finding God in their own hearts and imitating the pure justice that the deity instills in every member of humankind. Conscience, according to Rousseau, was the greatest teacher of religious truths and the most faithful way of honoring God.

During the reign of Frederick II the Great of Prussia (ruled 1740–1786), the work of the British deists was imported into Germany through more widely circulated translations and editions. Several thinkers identified themselves with the deist cause, perhaps most prominently Hermann Samuel Reimarus (1694–1768). His defense of deism,

composed in 1754, was directed with equal force against the materialist and atheistic claims of the most extreme proponents of Enlightenment and against narrow interpretations of Christianity. Indeed, Reimarus's work embodied the intellectual problem of deism throughout Europe: the orthodox suspected that deists were secretly atheists, while the more extreme critics of deism regarded it to be insufficiently critical of religious superstition. Other German thinkers grazed on the edges of deism. Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (1729–1781) did not fit the mold of a typical deist, but he and his friend Moses Mendelssohn (1729–1786) maintained views that echoed important deist themes. More significantly, Immanuel Kant (1724–1804) advocated a vision of Christian deism, most notably in his work *Die Religion innerhalb der Grenzen der blossen Vernunft* (1793; Religion within the limits of reason alone), that cannot be understood apart from the deist doctrines of earlier times. Kant's overriding project for the liberation of the human mind from "tutelage" through the exercise of reason coincides neatly with the deist cause.

The deists also enjoyed a substantial following in North America among some of the leading intellectual lights of the colonial and Revolutionary eras. Benjamin Franklin, George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, and the cosmopolitan Thomas Paine all identified in writings or public pronouncements with key deistic doctrines. When he was just twenty-two years old, Franklin (1706–1790) composed a statement of "Articles of Belief and Acts of Religion" (1728), which formed a virtual manifesto of deism and to which he apparently subscribed for the rest of his life. Likewise, Jefferson (1743–1826) created his own carefully expurgated version of the Bible out of snippets of the New Testament Gospels, his selections overtly informed by deistic beliefs. The quality of American deism was, however, far different from its European counterpart. The virulent attacks on priestcraft and clerical corruption so common among British and continental deists were largely absent from the American scene. Indeed, figures such as Washington and Jefferson were in public conventionally pious churchgoers even as they maintained unorthodox beliefs in private. Thus, American deism lacked overtones of anticlericalism. On the other hand, the imputed connection between republican political convictions and deist

doctrines was sustained by the American wing of deism.

Ironically, even as deism was spreading throughout continental Europe and North America in the later half of the eighteenth century, it was coming under serious scrutiny in its cradle, the British Isles. On one side, the form of religious enthusiasm preached by John Wesley (1703–1791) was directed explicitly against the rationalism of deistic thought. Wesley emphasized the personal, inward-dwelling, and supernatural aspects of religious experience that deism had consciously sought to expel. On the other side, the Scottish philosopher David Hume (1711–1776) ridiculed deistic teachings for their intellectual bankruptcy. Hume produced a series of tracts, culminating in the posthumously published *Dialogues concerning Natural Religion* (1779), which demonstrated how skepticism was the inescapable consequence of subscribing to deism, given the fundamental unsoundness of its logical, epistemological, and metaphysical assumptions. In England, Hume's basic stance was seconded by authors such as George Berkeley and Joseph Butler.

Deism also received a challenge in France from the even more extreme camp of atheistic materialists who constituted a large share of the philosophes and their Enlightenment fellow travelers. Jean Le Rond d'Alembert and Denis Diderot, Étienne Bonnot de Condillac and Marie-Jean Caritat, marquis de Condorcet, and most others in the leading circles of the French Enlightenment found deism to be intellectually disreputable or simply disingenuous—a faint-hearted attempt to preserve the hope of salvation while dispensing with the more overtly superstitious or corrupt features of organized religion. Yet nowhere did deism completely die out. Edmund Burke's declaration of the passing of deism in 1790 was premature, as the school of thought enjoyed both intellectual support and a popular following (especially in America) well into the nineteenth century.

See also Anticlericalism; Atheism; Enlightenment; Hume, David; Kant, Immanuel; Reason; Rousseau, Jean-Jacques; Skepticism: Academic and Pyrrhonian; Voltaire.

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CARY J. NEDERMAN

DEMOCRACY. A literal translation of the Greek *dēmokratia*, democracy means rule of the people, or government by the people. It was understood by the ancients as the direct participation of the citizen body in the government of the political community. The political and social institutions that originally gave rise to democracy both as a form of government and as a tool of political analysis soon died out, but democracy as an idea or an ideal persisted in various permutations through the survival or recovery of classical political thought.

CONVENTIONAL FORMS OF GOVERNMENT

In the classical and conventional typology of constitutions or forms of government, as in Aristotle (384–322 B.C.E.) and Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274), democracy is viewed as an unlawful or unjust form of rule. There are three legitimate forms of rule: monarchy, aristocracy, and polity—the rule of one, the few, or the many in the public interest. The corresponding illegitimate forms are tyranny, oligarchy, and democracy—the rule of one, the few, or the many in their own interest. Thus, democracy

originally was understood as government conducted in the interest of the poor rather than in the public interest. Democracy did not shed these negative class incrustations until late in the nineteenth century, when it came increasingly to be equated with representative and liberal (constitutional) government.

The feudal and monarchical structures of the medieval West reinforced this tradition. Yet three major historical movements signaled the disintegration of the traditional order, and spawned new political ideas that, although not in themselves democratic, led to the rise of democracy. The first are the Renaissance, the Protestant (especially Puritan) Reformation, and the Enlightenment; the latter are republicanism and social contract theory.

RENAISSANCE AND REPUBLICANISM

The rise of the Italian city-states brought a radical change in political practice and political theory. Popular political institutions emerged, and government by the people was shown to be possible and desirable. These city-states, and the political thought they produced, contributed significantly to the history of modern democratic thought and practice. A renewal of interest in ancient history and culture, especially in historians such as Polybius (c. 200–c. 118 B.C.E.), Sallust (c. 86–35 or 34 B.C.E.), and Tacitus (c. 56–c. 120 C.E.), combined with the political experience of the Italian city-republics, produced a political literature focused on the problems of popular government, and on its relation to liberty and equality. For the first time since the ancients, arguments in favor of popular rule were articulated. Niccolò Machiavelli (1469–1527) is the culmination of this tradition. His thought links popular government, political liberty, and civic and political equality with the socio-economic health and military strength of the body politic. Government by the people is deemed necessary to the pursuit of the public interest, and the other governmental forms are therefore seen as inferior. Machiavelli is thus a watershed in the history of democratic theory and practice. As such, his thought was mined by subsequent thinkers such as James Harrington (1611–1677), Charles-Louis de Secondat de Montesquieu (1689–1755), and Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778).

New attitudes. The waning of the Middle Ages, the Protestant Reformation, the dissolution of feudal ties, and the disintegration of a unified religious view, along with profound economic change and painful social dislocations, led to new attitudes, both in the way people perceived themselves and in the way they saw politics and society. The increase in knowledge and wealth, and the spread of literacy and printing, contributed to rapid political and social transformation. The English Civil War and the Glorious Revolution signaled the rise and growing importance of these new attitudes. The execution and deposition of kings exploded the traditional belief in the passive acceptance of political power, showing that the basis for that power is human will and action. Major political theorists such as Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679), Hugo Grotius (1583–1645), Samuel von Pufendorf (1632–1694), and John Locke (1632–1704) responded to these economic, political, and intellectual changes by redefining and redirecting traditional ideas of natural law, human nature, and government. Hobbes in particular, with his absolute individualism and radical skepticism, expresses the breakdown of traditional forms of community and legitimate government, and their reconstitution by human reason and will.

Contemporary with Hobbes and with the Puritan revolution there developed in Britain a pamphlet literature in which some authors articulated definite arguments for democratic ideas. Chief among these were the Levellers, whose leader, John Lilburne (c. 1614–1657), located sovereignty in the common people as represented in Parliament. The Levellers developed the first truly modern conception of democratic government, proposing such ideas as universal manhood suffrage, equal representation of electoral districts, equality under law, freedom of expression, and biannual election of Parliaments. English republicanism, as enunciated by James Harrington, John Milton (1608–1674), and Algernon Sidney (1622–1683), also looked to the sovereignty of the people to ensure the public interest. Although not strictly democratic, it was concerned with electoral and political devices that later democrats addressed.

Dutch republicanism contributed significant strands to democratic thought and practice. Weaving together ancient Roman historians, Italian re-

publicanism (especially Machiavelli), and the work of René Descartes (1596–1650) and Hobbes, thinkers such as Pieter de la Court (c. 1618–1685) and his brother Johan (also Jan) de la Court (1622–1660), Baruch Spinoza (1632–1677), and Pufendorf elaborated a theory of the state in which the individual interests and passions of both ruler and people would be subordinated to the common good. Spinoza and the de la Courts believed that a (more or less) democratic system would enable individuals to obey the will of the government and at the same time obey their own will, which in a democratic system is an element of the government's will. Spinoza, especially, thought that of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy, the last was the most natural as well as the most rational.

English political thought, whether republican or contractualist, was much more concerned with individual rights than with the rights of the sovereign. Even Hobbes, who obligated the individual to obey an absolute sovereign, nevertheless recognized the absolute and sovereign rights of the individual in the natural state. It was John Locke, though, who integrated the rights of the individual in civil society with the power of the sovereign. His notion of government as a popular trust placed supreme power with a legislature representative of the people, who never alienated their right to change the constitution. Natural right, contract, and political obligation were important ideas; yet they were not necessarily democratic. Most early modern thinkers defined the notion of the people quite narrowly. But they did offer a defense of legislative supremacy, mixed government, and constitutionalism against the traditional and paternalistic claims of absolute monarchy.

In France, Montesquieu combined English ideas of mixed government and parliamentary rights with republican and Machiavellian ideas of the balanced constitution to criticize the despotic tendencies of the French monarchy. The classical sixfold classification of governments he reduced to three: despotism, monarchy, and republic. The latter, in a manner reminiscent of Florentine republican ideas, he further subdivided into aristocratic and democratic. Montesquieu's theory of despotism and his doctrine of the separation of powers were important influences on liberal constitutionalism and on the theory of limited government, but his preferences

for limited monarchy and aristocratic government made his ideas undemocratic.

ENLIGHTENMENT AND SOCIAL CONTRACT THEORY

The Enlightenment, with its emphasis on human rationality and the efficacy of scientific inquiry, and with its belief in the human capacity for growth (or what Condorcet and Rousseau call “perfectibility”), undermined the religious, cultural, and customary underpinnings of the social and political order. Voltaire (1694–1778) and Denis Diderot (1713–1784) in France, like David Hume (1711–1776) and Jeremy Bentham (1748–1832) in Britain, explored the human and temporal bases of governmental power. The freedom of thought and expression so necessary for cultural, scientific, and moral development was intimately interwoven with political and civil liberties. In France especially these ideas constituted a thoroughgoing critique of church and state. These thinkers prepared the ground for democracy’s future emergence as an actual system of government.

It was Rousseau, product and critic of the Enlightenment, who took the disparate ideas of both the ancients and the moderns (Plato and Aristotle, Roman writers, Machiavelli, Locke, Montesquieu) and made a truly original contribution to democratic theory. Rousseau’s thought weds the ancients’ concern with the primacy of political activity to the moderns’ emphasis on political sociology. Humanity is defined by its capacity for liberty, and liberty means to be the author of one’s actions. Thus, in Rousseau, liberty and equality presuppose each other, such that the people, when they come together as the sovereign body, look to the general and common interest of the community. The people acting together as equals in the pursuit of the public good generate the general will. Liberty, equality, and popular sovereignty are embodied in the citizen body as it makes laws for itself through the general will. By returning to the ancient polis, in which the public sphere is the realm of liberty, and in which equal citizens form an indivisible community, Rousseau formulated a novel theory of democracy.

Early modern Europe, from the Renaissance through the Reformation to the Enlightenment, was a transitional stage characterized by political,

social, and intellectual/cultural transformation. It established the conditions that would, with the American and the French Revolutions, make possible the birth of the modern. It germinated and brought together ways of thinking and acting that would later form modern democracy. Ideas such as legislative supremacy, representation, constitutionalism, majority rule, and liberty and equality as indefeasible political rights were elaborated during this critical stage of European history. As a result, the basis of political legitimacy was radically transformed: all political power must issue, or appear to issue, from the people.

See also Condorcet, Marie-Jean Caritat, marquis de; Descartes, René; Diderot, Denis; English Civil War Radicalism; Enlightenment; Grotius, Hugo; Harrington, James; Hobbes, Thomas; Hume, David; Liberty; Locke, John; Machiavelli, Niccolò; Milton, John; Montesquieu, Charles-Louis de Secondat de; Natural Law; Reformation, Protestant; Renaissance; Representative Institutions; Republicanism; Revolutions, Age of; Rousseau, Jean-Jacques; Spinoza, Baruch; Voltaire.

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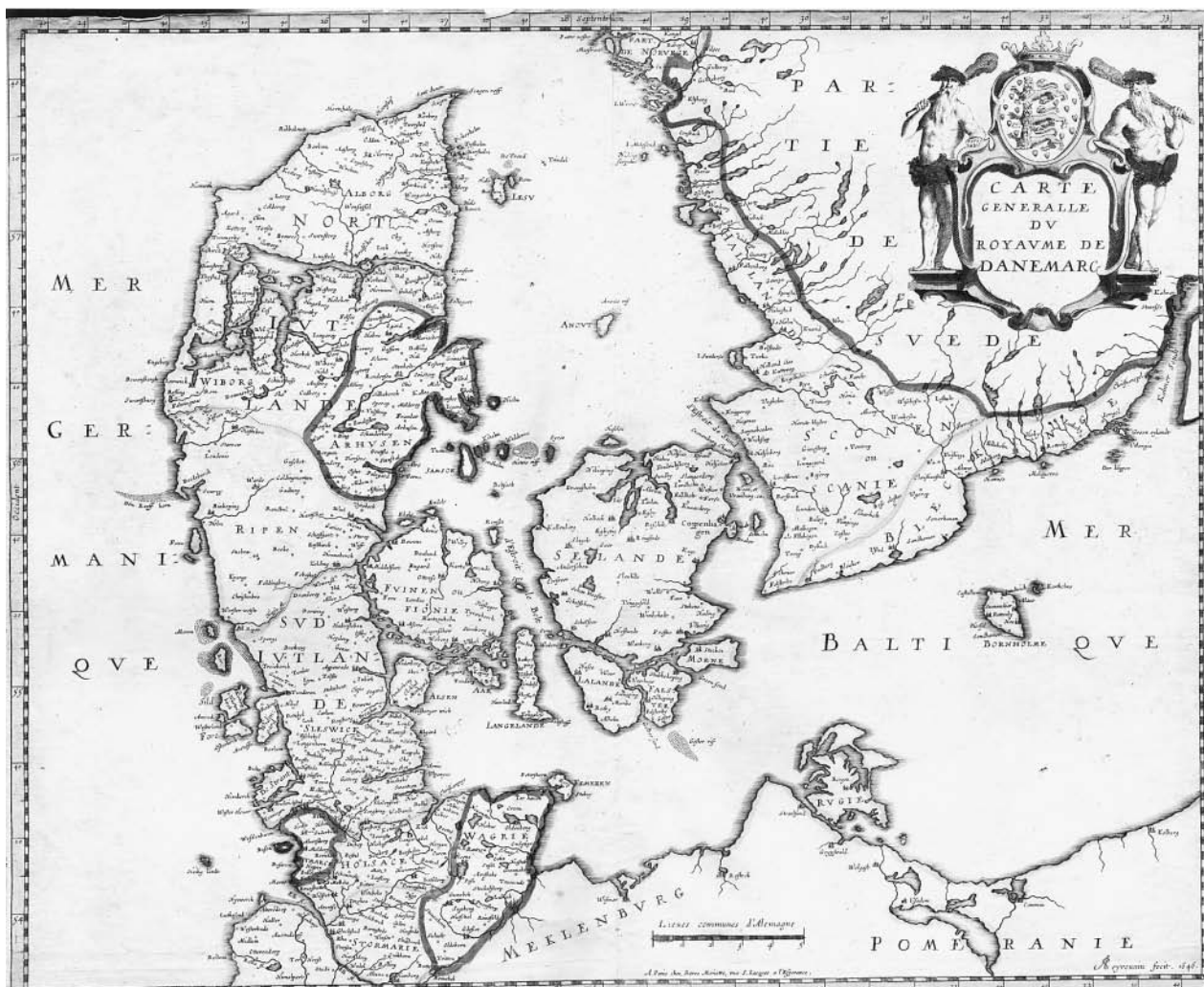
DEMOGRAPHY. See **Mobility, Geographic; Mobility, Social.**

DENMARK. Denmark was an expansive, sparsely populated kingdom. It embraced Denmark itself, the Scanian provinces at the southern tip of the Scandinavian peninsula (until 1660), the kingdom of Norway and its vassal state, Iceland, the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein-Segeberg, the Færoe Islands, and the Baltic island of Bornholm. Its aggregate population in 1600 numbered around 1.5 million, but territorial losses incurred in 1658–1660 reduced that number somewhat. Although not a wealthy state, at its height it produced and exported substantial quantities of grain, hides, timber, fish, and cattle. Its main source of wealth and power came from its position astride the Sound and the Belts, which gave Denmark control over maritime traffic entering or leaving the Baltic. From 1426, the kings of Denmark collected the Sound Dues, a commercial duty on shipping passing through the Sound at Helsingør. The Sound Dues became the monarchy's single most important source of revenue, and command of the Sound gave Denmark prestige and influence disproportionate to its small population and resource base.

Before 1660, the system of government was a conciliar, elective monarchy under the rule of the Oldenburg dynasty, with its administrative center at Copenhagen. The kings shared power with the Council of State (*Rigsråd*), whose membership was drawn from a handful of aristocratic families. Diets and popular assemblies were generally insignificant

at the national level. From 1536 to 1660, Norway, with its vassal state Iceland, was a mere province of Denmark, while the “duchies” of Schleswig and Holstein were the monarch's personal patrimony. The kings' dual identities as Scandinavian sovereigns and as princes of the Holy Roman Empire ensured that Denmark would enjoy close commercial and cultural ties with the German lands.

The sixteenth century witnessed a considerable expansion of royal and state power in Denmark. At the beginning of the century, Denmark was still linked to both Norway and Sweden by the Kalmar Union of 1397, but separatist tendencies in Sweden had rendered the union meaningless before its dissolution in 1523. The autocratic and centralizing rule of Christian II (ruled 1513–1523) sparked a national uprising in Sweden in 1520, leading to Sweden's independence three years later. The king's policies, which favored mercantile and peasant interests over those of the nobility, likewise stirred discontent within Denmark and led to his deposition in 1523. The council replaced Christian II with his more passive uncle, Frederick I (ruled 1523–1533), who paved the way for the Protestant Reformation by his toleration for Lutheran preaching. Civil war—the so-called “Count's War” (1534–1536)—broke out when Frederick died, as the king's son, the avowedly Lutheran Christian of Holstein, and the exiled Christian II fought over the throne. Ultimately, Christian of Holstein was victorious and was crowned Christian III (ruled 1536–1559). Christian III introduced Lutheranism as the state religion, and, although he brought greater power and wealth (the latter through the confiscation of church properties) to the central authority, he maintained good relations with the great magnates and kept the realm at peace for his entire reign. His enviable record in this regard was shattered by his son, Frederick II (ruled 1559–1588), who conquered the Ditmarschen region in Holstein (1559) and brought Denmark to war with Sweden in the Seven Years' War of the North (1563–1570). Denmark proved unable to vanquish Sweden, but the bloody conflict severely disrupted Baltic trade and thus drew the attention of all Europe. The remainder of Frederick II's reign was peaceful, and after 1570 the king devoted himself to ecclesiastical reform, endeavoring as well to craft an international Protestant alliance. Denmark was at the height of its



Denmark. This 1646 French map of the Kingdom of Denmark, published near the end of the long reign of Christian IV (1596–1648), omits Norway, which was under Danish rule until the nineteenth century. MAP COLLECTION, STERLING MEMORIAL LIBRARY, YALE UNIVERSITY

power and cultural influence: the navy was, in 1588, the equal of the Elizabethan fleet, and the monarchy supported such luminaries as the theologian Niels Hemmingsen (1513–1600) and the astronomer Tycho Brahe (1546–1601).

TRANSITION TO ABSOLUTISM

The central event in seventeenth-century Denmark was the transition to absolute monarchy. Following a difficult regency, Frederick II's ambitious son came to the throne as Christian IV (ruled 1596–1648). Christian IV sought to expand Denmark's dominance in Baltic and north German affairs, taking control of several secularized bishoprics in the

Holy Roman Empire, challenging the waning commercial power of the Hanseatic League, initiating a trade monopoly in Iceland, and trying without success to conquer Sweden (the Kalmar War, 1611–1613). The king's fears of Habsburg aggression prompted him to take up the leadership of a Protestant coalition and to intervene directly in the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648). Denmark's intervention, called the "Lower Saxon War" (1625–1629), proved calamitous. Denmark escaped utter destruction through a lenient peace treaty (Lübeck, 1629), but the war bankrupted the state, damaged Denmark's international reputation, and wrecked the relationship between king and council.

Christian IV's efforts to reassert his influence in German affairs, and to sidestep the opposition in the council, exacerbated the split between king and aristocracy. Sweden's invasion of Denmark near the end of his reign (the Torstensson War, 1643–1645) effectively ended Christian's political career. Christian's son and successor, Frederick III (ruled 1648–1670), was initially almost powerless because of the aristocratic reaction that followed his father's death. His attempt at revenge against Sweden (the Charles Gustav Wars, 1657–1660) was an abject failure; Swedish armies invaded Denmark and compelled the conclusion of a humiliating peace (Roskilde, 1658, and Copenhagen, 1660). Only Dutch intervention prevented the Swedish king Charles X Gustav (ruled 1654–1660) from partitioning Denmark. Denmark lost the Scanian provinces and much of Norway, and, thereby, control over the Sound.

The crushing defeat, a huge national debt, and a popular antiaristocratic backlash spurred a royalist revolution in the autumn of 1660. Frederick III accepted the diet's offer of hereditary and absolute kingship, confirmed by the Royal Law (*Lex Regia*) of 1665, Europe's only formal absolutist constitution. Under absolutism, which would survive until the revolutionary upheavals of 1848–1849, Denmark would gain a measure of order and efficiency, but it would never again attain the status of a major power. The old administration was replaced gradually by a collegial system, topped by a privy council; the nobility lost its tax-exempt status. During the reign of Christian V (ruled 1670–1699), the king and his chief ministers (notably Peder Schumacher Griffenfeld [1635–1699]) initiated a flurry of reforms and commercial endeavors, including the introduction of ranking in the noble estate (1671), the creation of the West Indies Company (1671), and a standardized law code (1683). Denmark had recovered sufficiently from the disasters of 1657–1660 to undertake an offensive war against Sweden (the Scanian War, 1675–1679), although all of the territories conquered by Danish forces were returned to Sweden as the result of French diplomatic pressure. Christian V's attempts to subjugate Hamburg and Holstein-Gottorp in the 1680s proved similarly fruitless.

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The eighteenth century started with a new king (Frederick IV, ruled 1699–1730) and a new war. Denmark's resentment of its powerful neighbor Sweden continued unabated, and in 1700 Frederick IV attacked Sweden's ally Holstein-Gottorp in conjunction with offensives launched by Poland-Saxony and Russia (the Great Northern War, 1700–1721). The young Swedish warrior-king, Charles XII (ruled 1697–1718), easily defeated Denmark and forced it out of the war within weeks. Although temporarily cowed, Frederick renewed the war after Charles XII's 1709 defeat at Poltava (in what is now the Ukraine), managing some limited territorial gains. The war continued in earnest after Charles XII returned in 1714 from his lengthy exile in Turkey but ground to a halt after the Swedish king's death in battle in Norway (1718). Although there were serious international crises involving Sweden in the 1740s and Russia in the 1760s, Denmark did not go to war again for the remainder of the century.

During the first half of the eighteenth century, the kings (Frederick IV, ruled 1699–1730; Christian VI, ruled 1730–1746; and Frederick V, ruled 1746–1766) steadily exerted greater control over Danish society while favoring the mercantile elite. The peasantry, already suffering the effects of falling grain prices, felt the most pressure: the creation of a national militia in 1701 restored to the landowning nobility considerable control over the lives of the peasants; to sustain the militia, further decrees enacted in 1733 restricted the movement of male peasants of military age. The trading companies—especially the West Indies-Guinea Company, which managed the lucrative sugar exports from Denmark's colonies in the Caribbean (the present-day U.S. Virgin Islands)—prospered, as did Copenhagen, the staple-town of several trade monopolies.

The Enlightenment had as profound an impact on Danish politics and society as it did on intellectual life. Mid-century witnessed the blossoming of literature and the arts in Denmark, as evidenced by the career of the author Ludvig Holberg (1684–1754). Though the last two kings of the century (Frederick V, 1746–1766; Christian VII, 1766–1808) were mediocrities at best, a series of ministers and royal favorites—Adam Gottlob Moltke (1710–1792), Andreas Peter Bernstorff (1735–1797),



Denmark. The shape of Copenhagen, Denmark's capital, as depicted on this eighteenth-century British plan by Thomas Kitchin, owed much to King Christian IV. The "Architect King" was responsible for the canal network, the fortification surrounding the town, and many impressive edifices that still remain. Many of the buildings identified on this map were erected after a disastrous fire in 1728 that destroyed large parts of the old city. MAP COLLECTION, STERLING MEMORIAL LIBRARY, YALE UNIVERSITY

Johann Friedrich Struensee (1737–1773), and Ove Høegh-Guldberg (1731–1808)—introduced typical "enlightened" reforms, aimed primarily at increasing agricultural productivity while improving the brutal living conditions of the peasantry. Struensee was personally responsible for sweeping reforms, including freedom of the press, but his unchecked ambition and scandalous affair with Queen Caroline Mathilde, the sister of King George III (ruled 1760–1820) of England, brought an end to both his career and his life in 1772. Reforms continued despite this setback, cul-

minating in the abolition of serfdom in 1788. At the close of the early modern period, Denmark was a prosperous, stable, and well-ordered state, but no longer a significant participant in international politics.

See also Absolutism; Aristocracy and Gentry; Baltic and North Seas; Baltic Nations; Brahe, Tycho; Charles X Gustav (Sweden); Charles XII (Sweden); Enlightenment; Habsburg Territories; Holy Roman Empire; Kalmar, Union of; Luther, Martin; Lutheranism; Northern Wars; Popular Protest and Rebellions; Serfdom; Sweden; Thirty Years' War (1618–1648); Trading Companies.

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PAUL DOUGLAS LOCKHART

DEPRESSIONS. See *Economic Crises*.

DESCARTES, RENÉ (1596–1650), French philosopher, mathematician, and scientist. Descartes was one of the most important intellectual figures of seventeenth-century Europe. His thought, often regarded as ushering in the "modern" period of philosophy, represented a revolutionary attempt to break from the restrictive and tradition-bound medieval Scholastic model that governed the universities and that was dominated

by the method and categories of Aristotelian philosophy. By the time of his death, Descartes's influence extended across Europe and into various intellectual domains, including theology, medicine, and even rhetoric.

In 1633 Descartes, who had already written a treatise on method, *Regulae ad Directionem Ingenii* (Rules for the direction of the mind), was ready to publish a book on cosmology and physics, *Le Monde* (The world). But Galileo's condemnation that year by the church for propounding scientific ideas very much like what Descartes was about to present, including a heliocentric picture of the universe and a purely mechanistic account of nature's operations, caused him to withhold the work. He first came to public attention with the publication of his *Discours de la méthode pour bien conduire sa raison et chercher la vérité dans les sciences* (1637; Discourse on the method of rightly conducting one's reason and reaching the truth in the sciences) and the groundbreaking essays in geometry, optics, and meteorology that it accompanied. The *Meditationes de Prima Philosophiae* (1641; Meditations on first philosophy), often regarded as Descartes's philosophical masterpiece, is a short work in epistemology and metaphysics. It was not until his magisterial *Principia Philosophiae* (1644; Principles of philosophy) that Descartes offered a complete and systematic presentation of his metaphysical and scientific views; he hoped that the work would become a standard textbook in university curricula and supplant the Aristotelian Scholastic works then in use.

Descartes lived most of his adult life in the Netherlands, having left France in search of peace and solitude to pursue his inquiries. His fame led to an invitation to Sweden by Queen Christina in 1649; with misgivings about giving up his quiet, familiar life in the Dutch countryside, he reluctantly joined her court. It was not long, however, before he fell ill from the rigors of the routine imposed upon him in the harsh Swedish winter and died of pneumonia.

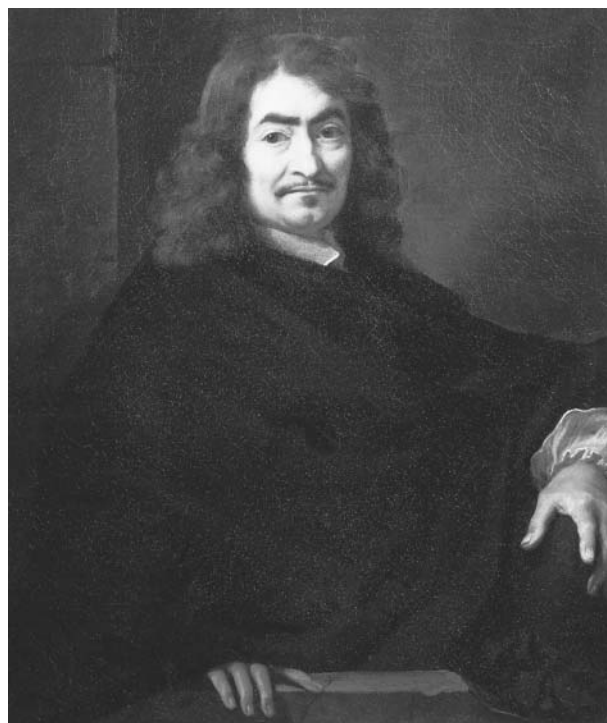
Philosophy, for Descartes, encompasses the whole of human knowledge, systematically ordered, and can be compared to a tree. Its roots are metaphysics, or "first philosophy" (including the theory of knowledge); its trunk is physics; and its branches are all of the particular sciences (medicine, ethics,

mechanics) that depend on the most general physical principles. Certainty in philosophy or science can be achieved only if one proceeds methodically from well-established first principles to explanations in the particular disciplines by means of a proven method.

In the *Meditations*, Descartes begins by taking the reader on a journey of intellectual self-discovery. His goal is to determine what exactly can be known for certain, not just about the world around us but especially about ourselves. Even under the most adverse skeptical assumptions about the reliability of our senses and our rational faculties, we can always be absolutely certain of our own existence. As he so famously expresses it in the *Discourse on Method*, the reasoning represented by the proposition “I think, therefore I am” (*Cogito ergo sum*) can never be doubted. This single epistemological nugget can serve as the foundation for a host of other certainties. For once I know my own existence and my nature as a thinking being—endowed with certain thoughts or clear and distinct ideas—I can establish not only that God, an absolutely perfect being, exists and cannot be a deceiver, but also that this benevolent God created me with my rational faculties. Thus, to the extent that I use those faculties properly and give my assent only to what I clearly and distinctly perceive, I cannot go wrong and will obtain true beliefs about myself and about the external world.

Among the truths I will thereby discover is the real distinction between mind and matter. One of Descartes’s most important and lasting legacies to philosophy is the doctrine that has come to be known as “dualism.” Mind and matter (or body), according to Descartes, are two essentially and radically different kinds of substance. Mind is unextended, indivisible, simple thinking; its modes or properties are ideas or thoughts. Matter, on the other hand, is nothing but extension or dimensional space, and is therefore divisible; its modes are shape, size, and mobility. There is nothing materialistic about the mind, and nothing mental or spiritual about the body.

This doctrine is of great importance not only for understanding the nature of the human being, who is a composite—or, to use Descartes’s phrase, a “substantial union”—of these two substances, but



René Descartes. Portrait by Sebastien Bourdon, c. 1640.
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also for science. According to Descartes, the physical world is nothing but passive matter or extension, divisible ad infinitum into material parts. The active, spiritlike “forms” of the Aristotelian world picture have been banished from nature. All natural phenomena, no matter how complex, and regardless of whether they are terrestrial or celestial, are henceforth to be explained solely in terms of matter and the motion, rest and impact of its parts. Descartes’s separation of mind and matter was a crucial step in the scientific revolution of the seventeenth century and laid the metaphysical foundations for the mechanical philosophy that dominated the period until Isaac Newton (1642–1727).

See also **Aristotelianism; Cartesianism; Galileo Galilei; Philosophy; Scholasticism; Scientific Revolution.**

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STEVEN NADLER

DESIGN. The idea that the natural world exhibits evidence of design is very ancient, finding its first formal expression in the writings of the Greek philosophers. Plato (c. 428–347 B.C.E.) asserted that inert matter is incapable of motion and that movement and change in an orderly cosmos are suggestive of a supreme, superintending mind. His pupil Aristotle (384–322 B.C.E.) agreed that there is goal-directed activity in nature, but attributed this activity to the inherent tendencies of objects to fulfill their natural ends. These immanent “final causes” are thus suggestive of purpose or “teleology” in nature, but this purpose is non-deliberative and does not call for a divine designer. In the thirteenth century these two strands of argument were woven together by Saint Thomas Aquinas (c. 1226–1274), who established the position that was to become normative for the later Middle Ages and much of the early modern period. Aquinas adopted the Aristotelian view that natural objects exhibit goal-directed activity, but followed Plato in asserting that such purposefulness in the world has its origin in a creative, intelligent being—now identified as the Christian God.

DESIGN AND THE NEW SCIENCE

The early modern period witnessed a significant revival of interest in the argument from design. It came to provide an important foundation for natural history and natural philosophy and assumed a

central role in theological arguments for God’s existence. Many figures prominent in the Scientific Revolution made reference to design in nature, but it was English scientists in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries who proved most enthusiastic in their endorsement of the idea. Robert Boyle (1627–1691), one of the founders of modern chemistry and a champion of the new mechanical philosophy, argued that no robust explanation of natural phenomena could omit reference to divine purposes. An account of a watch would be incomplete if mention were made only of the mechanical dispositions and motions of the parts without reference to the use that the maker intended the watch to serve. Similar considerations, Boyle insisted, applied in the sphere of nature. The analogy of the divine watchmaker subsequently became a commonplace in both natural theology and natural history, receiving its definitive articulation in William Paley’s classic *Natural Theology* (1802). Given the intimate connection between the new science and the idea of design, it is fitting that the greatest scientist of the period, Isaac Newton (1642–1727), should have included the design argument in a later edition of his masterwork, *Mathematical Principles of Natural Philosophy* (1687). Here he observed that the beautiful arrangement of the sun, planets, and comets could only have proceeded from the wisdom and power of an intelligent being.

If the earliest works on design had tended to focus on the clockwork of the cosmos, from the eighteenth century attention turned toward the remarkable adaptations or “contrivances” of living things. John Ray (1627–1705), a pioneering taxonomist and natural historian, wrote *The Wisdom of God Manifested in the Works of Creation* in 1691, establishing a pattern that other naturalists would follow for the next hundred and fifty years. In this work he listed numerous instances of the adaptations of living things, arguing that they could not have been the products of chance and thus constituted evidence of divine wisdom. While the concept of design was important primarily in the natural sciences, it also came to assume a role in the social sciences. Scottish moral philosopher and political economist Adam Smith (1723–1790) thus saw evidence of design in the propensities with which human beings had been endowed, for the pursuit of individual interests led to unintended social goods.

DESIGN AND NATURAL THEOLOGY

In the eighteenth century the notion of design became the prevailing paradigm in both natural history and natural theology. In addition to providing an ordering principle for the study of nature, the idea of design also provided a theological sanction for the new scientific enterprises. In the sphere of natural theology, the design argument all but displaced the other two classical arguments for God's existence—the ontological and cosmological arguments. These came to be regarded as abstract and logically complex. Unlike the design argument, they were not based on induction and hence did not mesh with the methods of the sciences. The dominant form of natural theology in the eighteenth century thus became known as “physicotheology,” a combination of physics (in the broad sense of the study of nature) and theology.

This admixture of natural science and theology was not without its critics. In the seventeenth century both Francis Bacon (1561–1626) and René Descartes (1596–1650) had opposed the incorporation of final causes into scientific explanation—Bacon because he thought that explanation in terms of purposes hindered the quest for physical causes, Descartes because he thought God's purposes were ultimately unknowable. Boyle's arguments in favor of physicotheological explanations were partly intended as a response to Descartes. Subsequently, the Scottish philosopher David Hume (1711–1776) highlighted fundamental weaknesses in the analogical aspects of the argument from design in his *Dialogues concerning Natural Religion*, posthumously published in 1779. Hume's arguments did not have a major impact on either popular or scientific audiences, no doubt due to the lack of alternative explanations for the adaptations of living things. Such an alternative had to await the appearance in 1859 of Charles Darwin's *Origin of Species*, which enumerated a number of possible mechanisms for organic adaptation, including natural selection.

ANTHROPOCENTRISM, TELEOLOGY, AND FINAL CAUSES

There are three common confusions about the idea of design in the early modern period. First is the mistaken view that the design argument is essentially anthropocentric—asserting that all things in nature were designed for human use. In fact most early modern advocates of the design argument

readily conceded that certain features of nature had not been designed solely for human use. Second, “teleology” and “design” are commonly regarded as synonymous, but they are not. Aristotle posited teleology without design, and some nineteenth-century zoologists were to propose design without teleology. Third, and related to the previous point, “final causes” may be understood as immanent in natural objects, or as transcendent divine purposes. Final causes in the first sense had many trenchant critics in the early modern period, but most were willing to admit final causes in the second sense. Confusion on this last point contributed to seventeenth-century debates about the propriety of invoking final causes in natural history and natural philosophy.

The prominence of the idea of design in the early modern period is indicative of the mutual support of theology and natural science characteristic of the era. By the same token, it has been argued that the reduction of natural theology to a single set of inductive arguments paradoxically played a role in the emergence of a secular view of nature. So much had been invested in a single physicotheological argument that the triumph of natural selection as an alternative explanation of organic adaptation dealt a telling blow to theological interpretations of nature.

See also Bacon, Francis; Boyle, Robert; Descartes, René; Hume, David; Natural History; Natural Philosophy; Newton, Isaac; Ray, John; Scientific Revolution; Smith, Adam.

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PETER HARRISON

DETERMINISM. Determinism is a doctrine about causes and effects, some version of which has been in contention at almost every period in Western philosophy. In logic, a thing is said to be "determined" or "determinate" (from Latin *determinatus*) in its properties if, for each generic property, it has a fully specified property of that sort. A cat cannot simply be feline; it must be Siamese, slender, long-legged, raucous, and so forth. Nor can it be simply colored; it must be black, or white, or ginger, or teal. Most philosophers have held that actual concrete individuals are completely determined.

An efficient cause is said to be determined in its effects by prior causes if its action, and therefore its effects, are entirely determined by those causes. The most important case for early modern philosophers was the human will. The will in choosing can be inclined toward this or that choice by passion, sentiment, or reason: on that, almost all early modern philosophers agreed. According to some it is always determined by the totality of causes acting upon it. Others held that no combination of prior causes ever suffices: however "inclined" the will may be toward one alternative, it is never necessary that it should act thus, even given all the causes acting upon it.

Determinism, then, is the conjunction of two claims: that given the totality of causes that have combined to produce a certain effect, that effect cannot but occur (causes "necessitate" their effects), and that the action of a cause is fully determined by the prior causes that have set it in motion. The action of one billiard ball on another when colliding with it is not merely to make it move somehow, but to make it move in a precise direction with a precise speed (René Descartes [1596–1650] called the direction of a motion its "determination"). The word *determinism* was seldom used by

early modern philosophers. David Hume (1711–1776) referred to the "doctrine of necessity" in his discussion of free will; Antoine Arnauld (1612–1694), objecting to Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz's (1646–1716) version of determinism, said that it imposed a "more than fatal necessity" on human action. We may distinguish in early modern thought a theological and a physical determinism.

THEOLOGICAL DETERMINISM

According to theological determinism, everything that occurs in the world has been entirely determined by the creative act of God, the "first cause." Being omniscient, God knows timelessly all there is to know about his creation. Since (in the predominant view) God not only creates the world but continues to cooperate with every "second" cause, God knows timelessly not only what he does but also what every created thing will do. In particular the acts of the human will are, if not determined by God (here opinions differed), known to him eternally insofar as they are determined by causes acting upon the will. Since causes (including God) necessitate their effects, even what we regard as "free" choices are extrinsically determined.

Theological determinism was by no means a new doctrine. Medieval philosophers had dealt with it at length. During the Reformation it received new impetus from debates on predestination, debates renewed in the seventeenth century by the Jansenist controversy. Among early modern philosophers, some tried to limit divine knowledge, holding that before the fact God does not know what a free will chooses (Luis de Molina [1535–1600]). Others, including Descartes, denied that the determination implied by divine foreknowledge is inconsistent with freedom (Sixth Response). Baruch Spinoza (1632–1677) and Leibniz, on the other hand, held that although the will does not have the "freedom of election," which consists in being able to choose otherwise than it actually chooses, it does have the "freedom of autonomy," which consists in an agent's acts being determined by that agent's own nature rather than by extrinsic causes.

Leibniz, whose God is the traditional omniscient creator of the world, agreed that all acts, including acts of will, are determined (Leibniz uses the term "certain"). But he denied that those acts are "necessary": God could have created a different

possible world, and his will in creating the actual world was only inclined, not necessitated, by the aim that it should be the best of all possible worlds. Moreover, the human mind, like every individual substance, is utterly autonomous in its acts, since no substance ever genuinely affects another.

Spinoza, who identified God with the entirety of the world, held that all things occur of necessity. In particular the will has no freedom of election: what I do I must do. The human mind may, however, aspire to freedom of autonomy by virtue of acting according to reason, which is to say, out of what belongs most properly to its nature.

PHYSICAL DETERMINISM

Although some ancient philosophers had entertained notions of physical determinism, the predominantly Aristotelian philosophy of the sixteenth century did not seriously raise the question. Natural causes—the active powers of nature—act, in the usual phrase, “always or for the most part”: generally speaking, it was thought that there was a certain indeterminacy in their action; indeed, for some philosophers that indeterminacy provided an argument on behalf of divine concurrence or cooperation with natural causes, determining the precise nature of their effects.

With Galileo Galilei (1564–1642) and Descartes, natural philosophy began to take as fundamental the notion of a “law of nature.” A law of nature admits no exceptions; causes acting according to laws of nature not only necessitate but wholly determine their effects. Physical determinism received its definitive statement in the *Théorie analytique des probabilités* (Analytical theory of probabilities) of Pierre-Simon de Laplace (1749–1827):

An intelligence which, for a given instant, knew all the forces by which nature is animated and the respective situation of the beings that compose it, and if it were, moreover, vast enough to submit all these data to Analysis, would embrace in one formula the movements of the largest bodies in the universe and those of the smallest atom: nothing would be uncertain for it, and the future, like the past, would be present to its eyes. (pp. vi–ix)

A world in which all causal interactions are governed by immutable, universal laws is a world from which, it would seem, not only freedom of election but even freedom of autonomy is excluded. If physics is in principle sufficient to explain the motions

and qualities of material things, and if all my acts have—eventually as one traces back the chain of causes leading up to them—causes extrinsic to me, then the will is not only determined in its acts but determined extrinsically.

Freedom of election is an artifact of our ignorance of the springs of human action. Spinoza and Hume agreed in this diagnosis. But Spinoza, as we have seen, held that we can aspire, as reasonless beings cannot, to freedom of autonomy insofar as knowledge of causes and effects and of our own nature renders our will independent of the usual causes acting on it—the passions, for example. Hume, writing after the enormous success of Newtonian physics, deterministic through and through, offered a different sort of freedom or “liberty,” which he regarded as sufficient to the purposes of moral judgment—in particular, the attribution of responsibility for our actions. An agent is “at liberty” if not physically or mentally constrained: not, that is, in chains or drunk or hypnotized. The prior determination of the will by whatever unknown, and perhaps unknowable, causes typically act on it does not constitute constraint.

Immanuel Kant’s (1724–1804) view of physical nature, or the “world of phenomena,” much resembled that of Laplace. Like Hume, he did not seek theological backing for the necessity pertaining to the laws of nature; unlike Hume (but in certain respects in agreement with Hume’s analysis of causal reasoning), Kant regarded the universality and necessity of the laws of nature as a prerequisite for understanding natural phenomena. Merely probable laws are not laws at all. The human being is, with respect to its existence in the natural world, subject to the same lawful necessity that governs all things. It is therefore determined in its motions. Whether that entails the determination of its volitions is another matter. A rational will is a will governed not by the laws of nature but by the moral law, a law which the will freely legislates for itself in accordance with reason. The result is that in considering ourselves as capable of moral action, and therefore as having freedom of autonomy (because the moral law, if it governs our will, does so according to our nature as rational agents), we must somehow think of ourselves as if we were not also things in the natural world (pp. 124–125). Kant admitted that it is not easy to see how the two “standpoints”

can be maintained simultaneously. What keeps the standpoint of freedom from collapsing into the natural standpoint is the distinction between “subjectivity,” the self experienced as part of nature and governed by its laws, and moral “objectivity,” the self considered according to its own nature, capable of choosing on the basis of reasons, independently of the natural causes that would influence it.

See also **Arnauld Family**; **Descartes, René**; **Enlightenment**; **Galileo Galilei**; **Hume, David**; **Jansenism**; **Kant, Immanuel**; **Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm**; **Logic**; **Moral Philosophy and Ethics**; **Natural Law**; **Spinoza, Baruch**.

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DENNIS DES CHENE

erful rival became overwhelming. Though dynastic convention would grant the inheritance of the entire Spanish monarchy to the male heir of Philip IV, Louis's jurists argued that local custom in parts of the Spanish Netherlands granted shares in an inheritance to the female heirs by a previous marriage. Because the Spanish had never paid Marie-Thérèse's dowry, it was claimed that her renunciation of rights to the Spanish inheritance was void, and that the private law of the Netherlands could thus be applied to territory coveted by the French king. This legal sophistry proved sufficient to justify Louis's aggressive designs, and in May 1667 three armies totaling 70,000 men poured across the frontiers of the Spanish Netherlands. Defensive capacity had been depleted since 1659 as many troops had been transferred back to the Iberian Peninsula to sustain the failing struggle against Portuguese independence. The French offensive was overwhelming: more major cities and fortresses fell to the French in a single campaign than in the previous twenty-five years of war.

However, the scale of this success concerned other European powers. Although the Dutch had previously been allies of the French, the prospect that the Spanish Netherlands would be entirely absorbed by Louis's armies caused them to join with the English and Swedish, committed if necessary to forcing France back to her 1659 frontiers. This Triple Alliance was ratified in January 1668. The French response was further military activity—the occupation of Spanish Franche-Comté. Yet shortly after this Louis XIV and his ministers agreed to the modest peace settlement of Aix-la-Chapelle (2 May 1668). The critical factor in the settlement was the secret partition treaty for the division of the entire Spanish inheritance, drawn up in January 1668 between Louis and the Habsburg emperor, Leopold I (ruled 1655–1705), and based upon the assumption that Charles II would not survive his minority. Leopold had little doubt that he would then inherit the entire Spanish Empire but did not believe that he could make good his rights against a powerful France that would be nervous about a reunited Habsburg Empire. Hence a partition was arranged, giving France the Spanish Netherlands, Franche-Comté, Naples and Sicily, the Philippines, and Navarre, in return for accepting the emperor's succession to the rest of the empire. The partition treaty

DEVOLUTION, WAR OF (1667–1668). The Franco-Spanish Treaty of the Pyrenees (1659) brought France modest territorial gains. The peace was sealed by a marriage in 1660 between the young Louis XIV (ruled 1643–1715) and the daughter of Philip IV, Marie-Thérèse (1638–1683). If both powers regarded the 1659 settlement as a welcome escape from twenty-five years of indecisive conflict, by the mid 1660s perceptions had hardened that France was the dominant military and political force in Europe, while the Spanish monarchy was locked into a spiral of instability, weakness, and diminishing resources. With Philip IV's death in 1665 and the minority of the young and sickly Charles II (ruled 1665–1700), the temptation for Louis XIV to exploit his once-pow-



War of Devolution. Tapestry from the series *The History of the King* shows Louis XIV at the Battle of Douai, part of Louis's 1667 offensive against Spanish-held territories. ©FRANCIS G. MAYER/CORBIS

had the desired effect on Louis XIV, persuading him that a rapid settlement of the outstanding Netherlands conflict would facilitate the orderly acquisition of a greater prize than even the most successful military campaign in 1668 would offer.

See also **Leopold I (Holy Roman Empire); Louis XIV (France); Military; Netherlands, Southern; Pyrenees, Peace of the (1659).**

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DAVID PARROTT

DIAMOND NECKLACE, AFFAIR OF THE. Though ostensibly unconnected to serious politics, the Affair of the Diamond Necklace damaged the French monarchy's standing in public

opinion and thus constituted an important step toward the Revolution of 1789. The case centered on a series of deceptions. In 1785 a young woman living at Versailles persuaded Louis de Rohan, a leading courtier and churchman, that Queen Marie Antoinette (1755–1793) wished him to purchase on her behalf a famous and fabulously expensive necklace. He would have to make the purchase secretly since King Louis XVI (ruled 1774–1792) had previously indicated his disapproval. Forged letters and a brief appearance by a prostitute disguised as the queen had already softened Rohan for a request of this kind; he acquired the jewels and handed them to the plotters, who promptly sold them abroad. When the deception became known, he proclaimed himself an innocent dupe, but the outraged king and queen insisted that he be tried for fraud. Despite their efforts, in 1786 France's highest court, the Parlement of Paris, voted narrowly for Rohan's acquittal, a public rebuke to the monarch.

Historians have emphasized the widespread public discussion the case generated and the impact that such discussions had on eighteenth-century politics. Contemporaries from all levels of society eagerly bought pamphlets and lawyers' memoranda retelling the story; and many of these defended Rohan and the plotters by suggesting Marie Antoinette's involvement with all of them. These pamphlets attracted readers, it appears, because they expressed widespread fears about royal despotism and about women's influence over the monarchy. The affair made the queen seem greedy and possibly promiscuous, the king weak yet vengeful. From 1785, such images would increasingly dominate public discussion of the monarchy.

See also Louis XVI (France); Marie Antoinette.

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JONATHAN DEWALD

DIARIES. Contemporary diaries and journals offer one of the most important sources of evidence for the social, economic, and cultural life of early modern Europe. An immense range of different types of serial memoranda were produced at a time when the personal memoir had not yet crystallized into its modern forms, the private diary and the autobiography. Taken as a whole, those diaries that have survived represent most segments of the European population except for the very young and the very poor. Both sexes kept diaries and journals, with authors ranging in age from teenagers like Sebald Welser, a Nuremberg Lutheran who recorded a semester at the Catholic University of Louvain in 1577, to "ancient" matrons like Sarah Savage, an English Nonconformist who continued to add entries to her spiritual diary at over eighty years of age. Although the bulk of personal memoranda from this period were composed by the educated elite, we have many examples from the middling sort and a few from the laboring classes, like the sporadic memoirs of Mary Hurl, a poor lacemaker's apprentice.

Among the earliest types of diary to have survived is the travel journal, generated by the voyages of explorers like Christopher Columbus (1492–1493) or Antonio Pigafetta (1519–1522), who accompanied Magellan on his circumnavigation of the globe. In subsequent years, European explorers, missionaries, diplomats, merchants, colonial settlers, and tourists of all kinds set down memoranda of journeys that ranged as far away as Africa and central Asia, North and South America, the Far East and Australia, and the Pacific Ocean. By the seventeenth century, female as well as male travelers had begun to offer accounts of their experiences. Celia Fiennes wrote detailed descriptions of the people, places, and material objects she encountered in her sightseeing trips around the length and breadth of England (c. 1682–1712), providing valuable information for economic and cultural historians.

Professional and occupational journals offer insight into the daily lives of a diverse group of men and women. Work diaries were kept by farmers and shopkeepers, physicians and midwives, politicians and civil servants, clerics and missionaries, artists and musicians, and a cluster of miscellaneous occupations and avocations. The Elizabethan theater

manager Philip Henslowe noted particulars of the dramatic productions he supervised, while in the eighteenth century Humfrey Wanley, librarian to the first and second earls of Oxford, recorded book purchases and prices (1715–1726). Military diaries offer participants' views of early modern warfare both on land and at sea. Scholars have utilized parliamentary diaries and other private political memoranda to supplement, confirm, or contradict records generated by official bodies. Some sources, such as the diaries of Pierre de Blanchefort in France (1576) and Roger Morrice in England (1677–1691) offer information about parliamentary debates and political alliances that would otherwise have been inaccessible to historians.

Several prominent seventeenth-century scientists kept diaries that include a great deal of scientific observation and commentary, among them John Dee, Samuel Hartlib, Robert Boyle, and Robert Hooke. The “work-diaries” of Robert Boyle, which include notes on experiments, observations and measurements, travelers' reports, and other sporadic memoranda, are a valuable source of information about Boyle's evolving scientific interests and details of his experimental method. Robert Hooke, who kept a diary from 1672 until 1692, seems to have regarded his own day-to-day experiences as an object of research to be recorded as a species of scientific experiment.

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the most popular type of serial memoir was the religious diary, widely employed by a broad spectrum of the populace as a means of practicing the pious virtue of godly self-examination. Such diaries were most common in Protestant localities, where they fulfilled much the same purpose as auricular confession to a priest in Catholic areas. In England and other countries where literacy rates were relatively high (for example, in late-seventeenth-century London over half the female population could sign their names), great numbers of men and women kept spiritual journals and other occasional memoranda that were inspired by religious motives. Advice manuals offered instruction on why and how to keep a spiritual journal, like that of the cleric John Beadle, whose *The Journal or Diary of a Thankful Christian* (1656) became a best-seller. Beadle's neighbor Mary Rich, the pious countess of Warwick, was among those who followed his guidelines with dili-

gence and discipline. From 1668 until her death in 1678 the countess made daily notations about her spiritual and secular life, resulting in five large manuscript volumes of diary entries.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the spiritual diary evolved along with various hybrid genres into two modern forms of serial memoranda, the secular personal diary and the financial journal or account book. Although Dame Sarah Cowper began her diary in 1700 avowedly for religious reasons, her daily entries over a sixteen-year period devote far more attention to familial and political concerns than to purely spiritual matters. Other early modern diarists transferred the model of daily spiritual self-examination from the religious to the material and fiscal realm. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, bookkeeping techniques that had been developed for Italian merchants as early as the thirteenth century spread widely throughout the European populace. In 1666, the businessman and moneylender William Smart began keeping a detailed financial journal in addition to his bookkeeping accounts, often transferring information from account books to personal diary and vice versa.

Some diarists combined the models of spiritual self-examination and fiscal accounting, transforming the resulting amalgam into a medium for expressing insights into their own individual identity vis-à-vis the world at large. Of the descriptive and introspective personal diaries produced during the early modern period, the greatest and most famous is that of Samuel Pepys (1633–1703), an English civil servant who eventually became secretary of the admiralty. Written in cipher (a form of shorthand), the diary was deciphered in the nineteenth century, but was not printed in full until the definitive eleven-volume edition by Robert Latham and William Matthews (published 1970–1983), which took more than thirty years to complete. Pepys' diary provides the ultimate insider's view of every aspect of seventeenth-century London life, offering as vivid, detailed, and comprehensive a picture of early modern England and its human inhabitants as we are ever likely to get from any single source.

See also Biography and Autobiography; Pepys, Samuel.

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DICTIONARIES AND ENCYCLOPEDIAS.

The early modern period fostered the publication and use of a wide range of dictionaries and encyclopedias, starting with medieval texts that continued to be printed in the sixteenth century and culminating with works that set the modern standards for these genres, notably Samuel Johnson’s *Dictionary of the English Language* (1755), the *Encyclopédie* of Diderot and d’Alembert (1751–1775), and the *Encyclopedia Britannica* (1768–1771).

DICTIONARIES

The term *dictionary* is first attested in the thirteenth century to designate a collection of Latin words, often hard or specialized, meant for study. The first such lists were arranged thematically, but the *Catholicon* (1286) of the Dominican Giovanni Balbi of Genoa already offered an alphabetical listing of Latin words with definitions; it was one of the first printed books produced by Johannes Gutenberg in 1460 and was reprinted down to 1520. In a parallel line of development, medieval glossaries were antecedents to the polyglot dictionary. They started as Latin-to-vernacular translations until the Dominican friar known as Geoffrey the Gram-

marian first switched the traditional order to compile an English-to-Latin *Promptorium* in 1440, printed in 1499. In the sixteenth century, the term *dictionary* entered English and French, with Thomas Elyot’s alphabetical *Latin-English Dictionary* (1538) and Robert Estienne’s *Dictionnaire français-latin* (1539), which clustered proverbs and expressions under keywords ordered alphabetically. Henri Estienne’s *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae*, still valued today for its Greek philological scholarship, clustered Greek terms according to their root and ordered the roots alphabetically. But thematic arrangements persisted too, as in John Withals’s *Latin Shorte Dictionarie for Yonge Begynners* (1553).

The humanist focus on practicing and teaching precision in Latin expression fueled the career of the longest-running dictionary of the early modern period: the *Dictionary* of the Augustinian friar Ambrogio Calepino (1435–1511). First published in 1502 as a Latin-Latin alphabetical dictionary, it included illustrative quotations from classical texts for many terms. The Calepino went through 150 editions down to 1785, with many variations and additions made by editors and printers along the way. It grew by accretion to include translations of the Latin terms in up to eleven languages (in the edition of 1590) and, though the Calepino included some proper names, it was often published with a separate dictionary for proper names, Conrad Gesner’s *Onomasticon*, first published in 1544. The work was so well known and so widely distributed that *calepino* came to be used as a generic term for dictionary and spawned the current French word for the appointment book (*calepin*). One seventeenth-century author, Gabriel Naudé, described how teachers especially relied on the Calepino and similar reference books to lift material for the commentaries on assigned classical texts that they would dictate to their students in class (*Advis pour dresser une bibliothèque*, 1627, p. 51).

But outside higher education, Latin was steadily losing ground in all areas of culture. Polyglot dictionaries spanned an ever wider array of languages—European (for example, Polish [1564], Welsh [1632], or Danish [1634]) and non-European, as increasingly encountered by merchants and missionaries: from Arabic (1505) to Amerindian languages (Nahuatl, 1555) to Japanese (1595) or Malay (1603). Within Europe the rise of national

vernaculars was consolidated by the formation of the first two language academies: the Accademia della Crusca, which in 1582 made official the informal meetings of a group of Florentine intellectuals, and the Académie française, founded in 1635 by Louis XIII and his minister, Cardinal de Richelieu. Each of these academies set to work on producing a monolingual vernacular dictionary that would be normative of proper usage. The Crusca's *Vocabulario* appeared in 1612, while the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie française* appeared only in 1694, after the publication of other major French dictionaries, such as the *Dictionnaire* [sic] *universel* of Antoine Furetière (1690) and the *Dictionnaire françois* of Pierre Richelet (1680). These dictionaries were prescriptive in that they did not include words that their authors considered in poor taste, for example, because they were old-fashioned, vulgar, or excessively technical.

When Samuel Johnson (1709–1784) designed his *Dictionary of the English Language* (1755) to rival the great French dictionaries, he created a new descriptive model to replace the prescriptive one. Drawing only on authors who were dead to avoid acrimony among the living, Johnson provided quotations to illustrate usage and numbered the different meanings, or senses, of a term. In these ways Johnson's *Dictionary* became the model for the modern dictionary in use today.

LATIN ENCYCLOPEDIAS

The term *encyclopedia* was coined almost simultaneously in many languages in the sixteenth century and attests to the widespread enthusiasm during the Renaissance for the ideal of a “circle of learning,” which was thought to be the etymological meaning of the term. This long-traditional etymology is now considered spurious; the correct derivation is from the late antique notion of *enkyklios paideia* or common education/culture. *Encyclopaedia* was not often used as the title of a reference work before the eighteenth century, when it became commonplace. Nonetheless the term can serve as a convenient category in which to group together works that have a variety of titles (including such colorful ones as “forest,” “mirror,” “theater,” “pearl,” or “cornucopia”) and that functioned as encyclopedic reference works in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The first encyclopedias to be printed were medieval texts, especially Bartholomaeus Anglicus's *De Proprietatibus Rerum* (On the properties of things; 1230s, with 14 editions prior to 1500 and the last printing in 1601) and Vincent of Beauvais's *Speculum Maius* (Great mirror; 1255, first printed 1473, then as late as 1624). These large folio volumes gathered information from written sources and oral culture on a vast array of topics, especially the natural world and humankind, with additional books on world history, the disciplines, and moral philosophy in the *Speculum Maius*. Vincent of Beauvais explains his motivation in terms of constraints of time, memory, and overabundance of information that ring familiar today: “Since the multitude of books, the shortness of time and the slipperiness of memory do not allow all things which are written to be equally retained in the mind, I decided to reduce in one volume in a compendium and in summary order some flowers selected according to my talents from all the authors I was able to read” (*Speculum Naturale*, author's prologue). The presentation in short numbered chapters with topical headings arranged systematically in numbered books facilitated finding specific passages, particularly given such extra features as running heads, tables of contents, and alphabetical indexes present in both manuscript and printed versions.

An alternative encyclopedic tradition with roots in late antiquity (for example, Martianus Capella) was organized according to the disciplines. The *Margarita Philosophica* (Philosophical pearl, 1503) of the Carthusian Gregor Reisch (d. 1525) treated the traditional seven liberal arts—the trivium (grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic) and the quadrivium (arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music)—with five additional books on natural and moral philosophy. The most fully developed encyclopedia in this genre is Johann Heinrich Alsted's *Encyclopaedia* of 1630. Alsted (1588–1638) was a professor of philosophy and then theology at the Calvinist academy of Herborn in the duchy of Nassau. In this four-volume folio work he devised his own division of the disciplines and offered a short textbook for each in turn, including, after the preparatory disciplines of the liberal arts, the three higher faculties (law, medicine, theology), the mechanical arts, and a large “farrago” or medley of the “composite arts,” many of them designated for the first

time by terms of Alsted's own invention, from *apodemica*, or the art of travel, to *stratagematographia*, or the art of war strategy. Alongside this systematic presentation, Alsted also provided an alphabetical index, which combined related entries under a single keyword, much as indexes do today.

Another major reference genre that flourished in the early modern period from medieval origins is the florilegium. First developed in the thirteenth century as an aid to preachers, florilegia presented quotations and examples sorted under theological headings (such as the vices and virtues) to facilitate retrieval of material, for example, in composing a sermon on a particular theme. The headings in medieval, Renaissance, and early modern florilegia were typically arranged alphabetically. The humanist *Polyanthea* of Domenico Nani Mirabelli (1503, with at least 26 editions down to 1686) included classical authors, including poets, in addition to the traditional biblical quotations and church fathers. Through its long career, including a revised edition by the Lutheran Josephus Langius, the *Polyanthea* acquired new headings that moved away from the traditional theological ones to include the various disciplines (arithmetic, astronomy) and aspects of the natural world, and new quotations, notably long excerpts from Petrarch. The florilegium was primarily an engine for Latin rhetoric, a storehouse of readily available quotations with which to ornament a text and to prove one's standing as a person of learning.

One reference genre that was peculiar to the Renaissance and without medieval antecedent is the miscellaneous commentary, composed especially by humanist professors, who would gather in one book the fruits of their philological research and reading of ancient texts. Some were primarily linguistic commentaries, like the *Commentarii Linguae Graecae* of Guillaume Budé (Commentaries on the Greek language, 1529) or the *Commentarii Linguae Latinae* by Etienne Dolet (Commentaries on the Latin language, 1536–1538). Others offered encyclopedic historical and cultural commentary, like the *Cornucopiae* of Niccolò Perotti (1489), where commentary on a two-line epigram of Martial could run to sixty folio pages; the *Lectiones Antiquae* (Ancient readings, 1516) of Caelius Rhodiginus (Ludovico Ricchieri); or, most famously, the *Adages* of Desiderius Erasmus (1500, much ex-

panded in 1508, then 158 editions down to 1696). These authors were inspired by ancient models such as Aulus Gellius's *Attic Nights* (c. 180) and prided themselves on the pleasure provided in the diversity and unpredictable succession of topics. Nonetheless these texts consistently contained alphabetical indexes that also made possible a focused consultation on a particular word or theme.

Also without medieval precedent, at the other extreme of orderliness, was the genre of the systematic commonplace book. Theodor Zwinger's *Theatrum Humanæ Vitæ* (Theater of human life; 1565, revised and enlarged to 4,500 pages in 1586) gathered tens of thousands of examples of human behavior excerpted from accounts of human history from all times and places, and from which Zwinger exhorted the reader to draw lessons for moral conduct. Zwinger used typographical symbols and different fonts to delineate a multilayered hierarchy of headings and subheadings and expended particular care on elaborate dichotomous diagrams, often continued over multiple pages, in which he presented the material for each book in tabular form. One can find such diagrams in Reisch and Nanni already, but the extensive use of this mode of presentation was given particular impetus, especially in Protestant contexts, by the influence of the Calvinist pedagogue and dialectician Petrus Ramus (Pierre de La Ramée; 1515–1572) who taught that through the careful subdivision of a subject in a tabular chart one could acquire a rapid understanding of it. Alsted, also a Calvinist, made considerable use of these charts in his *Encyclopedia* of 1630, but when Zwinger's *Theatrum* was reworked and expanded into the *Magnum Theatrum Humanæ Vitæ* (Great theater of human life; 1631, 8,000 pages in eight folio volumes), the charts and the systematic arrangement were dropped in favor of an alphabetical ordering of headings, in the style of a *polyanthea*.

VERNACULAR ENCYCLOPEDIAS

Disciplinary encyclopedias, florilegia, miscellanies, and commonplace books offered ready-made the kinds of notes—quotations selected from one's reading or abridgments from longer treatises—that students and teachers were expected to take and rely on in their work of reading and composing texts. Zwinger also describes the utility of his work for those too occupied with serious matters (for exam-

ple, government) to have time to study. These works were in Latin in order to provide the fruits of study that carried authoritative status in the Renaissance and late Renaissance. Before 1650 only a few subject encyclopedias appeared in the vernacular, for example in cosmography (Sebastian Münster's *Cosmographia*, printed in German in 1544, and André Thévet's *Cosmographie universelle*, 1575) and agriculture (Charles Estienne's *Agriculture et maison rustique* [Agriculture and rustic home], 1566, and Olivier de Serres's *Théâtre d'agriculture*, 1603). Vernacular titles equivalent to those of the Latin miscellaneous commentaries appear in the genre initiated by the *Silva de varia lection* of Pedro Mexia (1540), which was widely printed, translated, and imitated. These miscellaneous arranged collections of memorable stories and anecdotes, from both bookish and oral sources, overlapped to a certain extent with the contents of learned collections, but without the philological discussions, citations, and alphabetical indexes that gave the latter scholarly utility.

Francis Bacon (1561–1626) and Jan Amos Comenius (1592–1670) were among the first to envision encyclopedic projects in the vernacular, though they were never realized. Comenius's project of a *Great Didactic* called for abridgments of all important literature, but his most influential work was a kind of illustrated encyclopedia for beginning readers: the *Orbis Pictus Sensualis* (1658). The linguistic tide in scholarship had turned by the last quarter of the seventeenth century under the impact of national institutions like the academies and of a new science often but not exclusively composed in the vernacular (from René Descartes to Robert Boyle, though not Isaac Newton), and driven by expanding markets of educated men and women without proficiency or interest in Latin. Alongside the great vernacular language dictionaries, two new kinds of vernacular reference books appeared—the biographical dictionary and the dictionary of arts and sciences.

The biographical dictionary in the vernacular was imitated from Latin antecedents (such as John Bale, Johann Freher): the *Grand dictionnaire historique* (1674) by Louis Moréri and especially the work it inspired to correct its mistakes, Pierre Bayle's *Dictionnaire historique et critique* (1697). Bayle studded his entries with two levels of

footnotes, one to cite the sources of his exacting scholarship and the other to offer critical interpretation of the behaviors reported there, from the misdeeds of Old Testament figures to the virtues of his contemporary Baruch Spinoza (1632–1677). This widely owned reference work played a special role in the diffusion of early Enlightenment thought and established a model for a critical encyclopedia that was followed by Diderot. The largest offshoot of the biographical genre was the 64-volume *Universalexikon* (1732–1750) of Johann Heinrich Zedler.

The dictionaries of arts and sciences like John Harris's *Lexicon Technicum* (1704) or Ephraim Chambers's *Cyclopaedia* (1728) focused instead on presenting the developments of the new science: they were especially concerned to stay abreast of the latest work and strove to offer coherent summaries of entire disciplines, so that although they were alphabetically arranged, cross-references between entries and long synthetic articles would enable the reader to read closely and methodically through a subject. The project of translating Chambers' *Cyclopaedia* into French, which an ambitious publisher commissioned of the struggling author Denis Diderot, resulted in the famous Enlightenment *Encyclopédie*. Funded by subscription, the project rapidly expanded far beyond Chambers's original, with articles commissioned of 250 contributors filling seventeen volumes of text and eleven volumes of plates; it appeared over twenty-five years (1750–1775), including delays due to the objections of the French book censors. The work is alphabetically arranged, but the ideal of connecting all knowledge systematically survives through the abundant use of cross-references and in the Preliminary Discourse of Jean Le Rond d'Alembert, which offers a table charting the relations between the disciplines. The *Encyclopédie* triggered an explosion of works of that title in a variety of fields and set the pattern for the encyclopedia as a multivolume, multiauthor, illustrated alphabetized reference work that is still predominant today. Its first imitator was the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, published in 100 weekly installments in 1768–1771, by two Scottish publishers as a response to the perceived godlessness of the French Enlightenment. While the *Encyclopédie* was not reprinted beyond the eighteenth century, the *Encyclopedia Britannica* became the most successful

encyclopedia of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

See also **Alembert, Jean Le Rond d'**; **Bacon, Francis**; **Bayle, Pierre**; **Budé, Guillaume**; **Comenius, Jan Amos**; **Diderot, Denis**; *Encyclopédie*; **Enlightenment**; **Humanists and Humanism**; **Latin**; **Ramus, Petrus**.

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ANN BLAIR

DIDEROT, DENIS (1713–1784), philosophe and encyclopedist. Denis Diderot was born in Langres on 5 October 1713, the son of Didier Diderot, a master cutler. Although Diderot's fate will forever be linked to his role as general editor with Jean Le Rond d'Alembert of the *Encyclopédie* (1751–1772), he was perhaps the French Enlightenment's most profound thinker and most innovative writer, making remarkable contributions in the domains of philosophy, art criticism, theater, the essay, and prose fiction. Some of Diderot's greatest works, however, were not published until as late as 1830; he is simultaneously one of the most brilliant and (in his time) one of the most overlooked writers of the eighteenth century.

Educated by the Jesuits first in Langres, then in Paris at the Collège d'Harcourt or the Collège

Louis-le-Grand (or both; biographers are uncertain), Diderot showed great intellectual talent from an early age. Following his studies, he was encouraged by his father to pursue a career in law, but Diderot, whose heart was devoted to humanistic study, was unwilling to commit himself to mercenary aims. His father refused to support him in undertaking a life without financial security, and the young Diderot had no choice but to subsist by his own lights, independent but poor.

Diderot frequented cafés such as the fabled Procope and the Café de la Régence, making the acquaintance of the day's Parisian luminaries. He surreptitiously married Antoinette Champion in 1743; the only surviving child of that unhappy marriage, Angélique, would later write Diderot's memoirs. In 1746 he published his first major work, the *Philosophical Thoughts*, in which he embraced theological skepticism; the later *Addition to the Philosophical Thoughts* (1762) is a far more vehement critique of the church and of Christian dogma.

It was also in 1746 that Diderot was commissioned, with d'Alembert, to edit a translation of Ephraim Chambers's *Cyclopaedia* (1728). This initial project developed over the years into the *Encyclopédie*, the Enlightenment's most audacious attempt not only at mapping but at restructuring human knowledge in a secular and often rabidly anticlerical schema. It was part polemic and part a summa of existing knowledge, drawing on Baconian organization. Perhaps because of Diderot's artisanal and provincial family background, the *Encyclopédie* paid special attention to the mechanical as well as the liberal arts, to agriculture as much as philosophy, and to the rapidly expanding bourgeois economy as much as theology and mathematics. The fourteen years it took to produce the seventeen volumes of text, and the further seven to produce eleven volumes of plates (other editors added additional volumes of text, plates, and an index, so that by 1780 the *Encyclopédie* stood at thirty-five volumes), saw d'Alembert's abandonment of the project in 1758, condemnations and revocations of the work's royal privilege, and countless hours of Diderot's labor. In the end it was to become the Enlightenment's single greatest monument, in spite of heavy-handed censorship, which was circumvented in part by an elaborate system of subversive cross-references.

In 1749 Diderot was imprisoned for three months at Vincennes, primarily for his *Letter on the Blind*. In 1755 he met Sophie Volland, who became the love of his life and with whom he maintained a brilliant correspondence; indeed, some of Diderot's finest sentences are to be found in his letters to her. She remained his lover and intellectual interlocutor until her death in February 1784, five months before Diderot's on 21 July.

Much of Diderot's work appeared only posthumously. His writings that were known to his contemporaries were generally undervalued, and Jean-Jacques Rousseau, despite a bitter break with his friend in 1757, later wrote that Diderot's genius would only be understood in centuries to come. Diderot's contributions to philosophy and literature are many. In the theory and practice of the theater, he rejected the rigidity of classical forms, proposing instead *le drame bourgeois* (bourgeois drama), a form of theater abandoning both the aristocratic values and the Aristotelian formality of the previous century. His play *The Natural Son* (1757), and the analytical texts *Commentaries on the Natural Son* (1757), the *Discourse on Dramatic Poetry* (1758), and the *Paradox on the Actor* (published 1830), articulated his new vision of the theater, which was to have a profound impact on the Romantics of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Diderot is also widely hailed as the first modern art critic, with his *Salons* (1759–1781), written for Friedrich Melchior von Grimm's *Literary Correspondence* (1753–1790), his 1766 *Essays on Painting*, and his 1776–1781 *Detached Thoughts on Painting*. In his fiction Diderot experimented with dialogic and conversational forms (most remarkably in *Rameau's Nephew*, published in 1821, retranslated from German), and with narrative style in *Jacques the Fatalist and His Master* (published 1796), which was heavily influenced by Laurence Sterne's *Tristram Shandy* (1759–1767). Diderot's philosophy finds its richest and most mature expression in *D'Alembert's Dream* (written 1769, published 1830), in which he proposed a biological "continuism," arguing for the connection between all forms of matter, prefiguring, but also more radical than, Darwinism and modern genetics. The scientific experimentalism of his *Letter on the Blind*, considered the first scientific treatise on blindness, and *Letter on the Deaf and Dumb* (1751), supports

a materialism far bolder than that suggested in the *Philosophical Thoughts*, resulting in a worldview marked not only by the deep unity of matter but in which there seems little place for God or Christian morality. Materialism therefore naturally posed moral questions: In a society in which Christian dogma may well be obsolete, how is one to account for ethical behavior? Diderot concluded that one is simply "well or ill born": morality is also a function of matter. In the *Supplement to Bougainville's Voyage* (1796), he showed the arbitrariness of Western sexual mores, pointing to the factitious quality of any morality not deriving from the natural system, and adumbrating the more radical materialism and rejection of conventional morality of Donatien-Alphonse-François de Sade (1740–1814). Considering the inventive audacity of his works, it is understandable that Diderot preferred to keep many of them relatively private until after his death.

See also **Alembert, Jean Le Rond d'**; *Encyclopédie*; **Enlightenment**; **French Literature and Language**; **Philosophes**.

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PATRICK RILEY, JR.

DIENTZENHOFER FAMILY.

Architects active in Bavaria and Bohemia, six members of this extended family are associated with over 250 buildings: the five brothers, Georg (1643–1689), Wolfgang (1648–1706), Christoph (1655–1727), Johann Leonhard (1660–1707), and Johann (1663–1726); and Christoph’s son, Kilian Ignaz (1689–1751). In the churches that dominate their oeuvre, they created spatial sequences by means of curved, open forms in which plan, elevation, and vaults are woven into works of complex counterpoint.

Georg built the large Cistercian monastery and church at Waldsassen, the pilgrimage church nearby known as the Kappel bei Waldsassen, and St. Martin in Bamberg. The Kappel (1684–1689) consists of three apses, a triangular vault, three campanili, and a low ambulatory. Inside, the three curved spatial units are united into a centralized whole. Drawing on a broad architectural inheritance of medieval, Slavic, and folk traditions, Georg’s exploration of architectural space produced an original achievement that set the tone for his brothers’ buildings.

Wolfgang was responsible for brilliantly stuccoed wallpier churches in Bavaria, among them Michelfeld, Speinshart, and the pilgrimage church Maria Hilf in Amberg. The wallpier, a buttress drawn into the body of the church, permitted a skeletal structure and thin, nonsupporting walls as the bases for spatialized interiors. His tentative explorations of this potential would be developed by Christoph.

Leonhard served as court architect in Bamberg, designing large complexes such as the new Residenz, and the monasteries at Ebrach and Banz. His severe if precise elevations, reminiscent of work from the 1670s and 1680s in Prague and Vienna,

suggest a conservative architectural attitude. On the other hand, his projects for centralized churches exhibit a lively, inventive approach to design.

Johann was responsible for the cathedral and palace in Fulda, and the imposing palace at Pommersfelden; he was appointed Bamberg court architect after Leonhard’s death, and built the church at Banz. Johann, the only brother to receive a formal architectural education, later traveled to Rome for further study. At Banz, he employed transverse ovals, curved entablatures and vault ribs, and narrow and wide bays arranged in counterpoint to the vaults, to develop a range of spatial possibilities. The distinctive feature of the great palace at Pommersfelden is its dominant, projecting center, which contains a grand staircase and imperial hall above. This architectonic assertion of ritual and prestige would resonate in Middle European palace architecture, as at Neumann’s Würzburg Residenz.

Christoph and Kilian Ignaz, father and son, worked primarily in Prague, where their two churches of St. Nicholas, one in the Lesser Town and one in the Old Town, remain decisive shapers of the urban setting. In many of his churches, Christoph centralized longitudinal plans. For the monastery church of St. Margaret at Brevnov (on the outskirts of Prague), he employed two transverse ovals bracketed by smaller ovals and extended at one end by a choir. The bays in elevation and vault are reversed in relation to one another, the vault is interpreted as two shells (one open to the other), piers and entablatures curve into the space, and walls are thin, curved planes. The whole, including the vault frescoes and liturgical furniture, is lucid and transparent, a spatial complexity realized with consummate ease.

Among Kilian Ignaz’s many centralized churches, St. Nicholas in Prague is extraordinary. Set on a narrow site in the heart of town, the flank is treated as a two-towered facade with an idiosyncratic entrance and polygonal dome. At right angles and to one side of the flank is the main entrance, to the other the choir apse. Inside, piers, chapels, balcony, and pendentives are organized vertically below the octagonal dome, forming a dominant centralized counterpoint to the strong horizontal axis running from entrance to altar. Here the duality of center and path, of skeletonized forms and multiple

sources of light, create an intensely expressive architecture.

Both father and son worked on St. Nicholas in the Prague Lesser Town. Christoph designed the facade and nave, Kilian Ignaz the choir. The nave is defined by deep wallpiers, chapels, and gallery. Pilasters on the pier faces are placed obliquely to support vault arches that twist across the nave, so that the reading of a bay established in elevation is reversed in the vault. These spatial dynamics were made more unusual when, shortly after completion, the ribs were removed and the vault transformed into a single undulating surface for an extensive fresco. Kilian Ignaz further expanded the interior by adding a huge dome supported on paired columns and vertical pendentives, extended on three sides by shallow transepts and choir. Part of a large Jesuit complex, the church stood within a large space. Christoph's undulating facade dominated the square on one side, while on the choir end, overlooking the Charles Bridge and the Old Town, Kilian Ignaz constructed a bell tower, asymmetrically, next to the dome. This unique combination creates an urban ensemble in which dome and tower dance about one another as they are experienced from different locations within the city.

See also **Architecture; Baroque; Neumann, Balthasar.**

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CHRISTIAN OTTO

became more complex as the political entities became better organized and more tightly controlled.

THE ORIGIN AND TESTING OF EARLY MODERN DIPLOMACY

By the middle of the fifteenth century the principal city-states of Renaissance Italy had reached a tenuous balance of power and began establishing more permanent diplomatic relations with one another through the instrument of resident embassies. Resident ambassadors were accredited representatives of one government to another, assigned for an extended period of time for the purposes of negotiating, providing a constant source of important information to the home government, and safeguarding the honor and prestige of the ruler they represented. Primary negotiations of treaties and alliances, as well as other specific assignments, were still carried out by special envoys sent with plenipotentiary powers for that purpose, but the more permanent resident became an additional aid in this process.

The system in the early modern period was far less structured than it was later to become. In the first place, not everyone was convinced that it was the safest or wisest course to follow. Rulers, especially, were reluctant to have representatives of other states snooping around their capital, randomly inquiring about matters that they would just as soon the ambassadors not know. But that led to one of the key dictums of diplomacy, *quid pro quo* ("something for something"), interpreted to mean that the best way to get information is to give it. Diplomats needed to be well informed so they could exchange their own information for equally or more valuable information possessed by someone else. Even the shrewd Cardinal Richelieu (1585–1642) advised, "A great prince should sooner put in jeopardy both his own interests and even those of the state than break his word." This advice was not often followed, especially by Richelieu, and agents had to be constantly on the alert not to reveal more than they received. By the seventeenth century it was becoming evident that honesty was the best policy for diplomats because honesty inspired confidence and that, more than anything else, gave credibility to what an ambassador was trying to accomplish. The counsel of Charles Colbert, Marquis de Croissy (1625–1696), French secretary of state for foreign affairs, to his son who was leaving for an

DIPLOMACY. Diplomacy in one form or another has had a long history, dating back to the beginning of political states. Since the nature, size, and composition of these states varied, so did the system of relations between them. Usually such relations were simple and personal, but in time they

embassy to Portugal in 1684, “to gain the reputation as a perfectly honorable man, and deserve it,” was good advice, even though it was not always followed.

The testing period came in the second half of the sixteenth century when Europe was split into hostile camps as a result of the Reformation and the Wars of Religion. “The religious wars,” wrote Garrett Mattingly, the authority on early diplomatic history, “nearly wrecked the diplomatic institutions with which Europe had been trying to adjust its quarrels. . . . Successful diplomatic negotiations require that parties involved can at least imagine a mutually satisfactory settlement, . . . But the clash of ideological absolutes drives diplomacy from the field” (pp. 195–196). Nevertheless, diplomacy was not driven from the field. Compromises and adjustments continued to be made, and some states, especially France under the cautious Catherine de Médicis (1518–1589), found ways to balance ideology and necessity with theory and practice and to give early modern diplomacy a valuable new impulse.

EARLY MODERN DIPLOMATS AT WAR

By the seventeenth century the machinery of diplomatic relations had reached an impressive level of organization. This is not to say that it operated in a totally logical and systematic way, but many of the misgivings associated with its earlier years were being worked out as diplomacy was increasingly applied to European rulers’ changing needs.

The selection of ambassadors was determined by several factors: birth, political and family connections, loyalty to the government, and the likelihood of acceptance by the government to which they were being sent. Depending on where he was going, an ambassador of noble rank was usually chosen; sometimes a man of the cloth was preferred, although this was less likely in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries than it had been in the sixteenth. A man’s experience in negotiation and familiarity with the political affairs of the country to which he was being sent also made a difference. Language proficiency was another factor in such a selection. Several Italian dialects were used effectively during the Renaissance, but Latin was the most common language of diplomacy, especially for written correspondence and treaties. After the mid-

dle of the seventeenth century, when the court of Louis XIV (1638–1715) set the tone for European culture, French became more widely used, and in the next century it became the *lingua franca* of diplomatic discourse. What rulers wanted most in their ambassadors, however, was loyalty and dedication to the cause they represented.

Ambassadors were accompanied by—or they recruited after arrival at their assigned post—a number of lesser officials: secretaries, scribes, stewards, grooms, and assorted personnel. These were normally paid for by the ambassador himself, although by the eighteenth century, the principal embassy secretaries were being appointed and paid by their home governments.

Once a selection was made, there were several steps that had to be taken before the new ambassador embarked on his assignment: ambassadorial staff and other household affairs were arranged and approved, and sometimes negotiation over salary and expenses took time. If the new ambassador was not well acquainted with the court to which he was assigned, or was unfamiliar with the policies preferred by his home government, he had to take the time and effort to acquaint himself with them. He also needed to learn as much as he could about the people, policies, and preferences of his host government, as well as other sources of information he might be able to tap. Then, after receiving his letters of appointment, introduction, instructions, credentials, passport and safe-conduct, cipher keys, and any other documents or household goods, he was ready to depart.

The arrival of an ambassador at his new assignment was the occasion for elaborate ceremony and ritual, beginning with an impressive procession of troops, carriages, and musicians escorting the ambassador through the streets of the city to a reception spot where he would be received and welcomed by an official responsible for receiving ambassadors. Following a second procession to court, the ambassador presented his letters of credence and instruction to the sovereign and delivered his formal oration. The ceremonial entry was simplified in the eighteenth century, and the ambassador was sometimes received at court to present his credentials without prior processions. However, the entry ceremony continued to play a large role both for resi-

dent ambassadors and for special agents and ambassadors extraordinary.

Maintenance of ambassadors at foreign posts was traditionally the responsibility of the government to which they were assigned and depended upon the rank and importance of the envoy and the respect due his government. Because this added to the problem of precedence that plagued the ceremonial practices of diplomacy, it gradually became more common for the home government to provide for the maintenance of its embassies abroad. On the periphery of Europe, however, governments continued to provide maintenance allowances to foreign ambassadors and, of course, expected the same consideration for their own representatives abroad. The victory of the concept of extraterritoriality (meaning that the ambassador carried with him the laws of his own country) reduced the issue of maintenance by recognizing the prime responsibility of the home government for maintaining its diplomats.

Along with the principle of extraterritoriality came the comparable assumption of diplomatic immunity. Some degree of immunity had been claimed for embassy personnel since before the Renaissance, but its general approval was less broadly accepted. Through the next three centuries legal immunity of diplomats became more clearly defined and recognized. Consequently, problems and disputes over immunity declined as people came to agree that ambassadors and their staff were entitled to extensive immunity from both civil and criminal litigation and that they were specifically allowed to practice their own religion even though it clashed with that of their host. Sometimes diplomats abused this right of immunity, but by the end of the eighteenth century it was an accepted principle.

Salaries and other payments to ambassadors by the home government varied a great deal during the early modern period. In most cases an agreement was reached before embarking on the mission as to the amount and kind of compensation to be received. But this was sometimes vague and almost never followed completely. Papal nuncios were among the first to receive a monthly allowance, but it was usually insufficient, and the nuncio was expected to supplement this allowance with money from benefices he held. Likewise, secular agents, with or

without specific salaries, were expected to get by partly on their own initiative and the promises of future compensation, usually in the form of titles, land, or other symbols of value.

But these did not pay for current needs. Ambassadors' letters to their home governments related sorrowful stories of their financial problems and pleas for assistance. François de Noailles, for example, wrote to the French king in November 1562: "I humbly beseech Your Majesty to please remember that for nine or ten years I have been almost constantly in your service, during which time I have never shrunk from giving freely of my money, labor, or industry, nor of the resources of my friends and parents, or employing all my means of credit for Your Majesty's service. . . . But my present need is such that serious damage could be done to both my desire and my duty." There follows a marginal note about his creditors closing in on him, and then a concluding plea: "Which moves me to beseech Your Majesty . . . to assist me in whatever way you can . . . before my true poverty is discovered here in Italy and the dignity and grandeur and honor of Your Majesty's name suffers incalculable damage." ("Lettres inédites de François de Noailles, évêque de Dax," *Revue de Gascogne*, VI (1865): 87–88).

Had it not been for the custom of giving a departing gift to ambassadors when they completed their missions, their plight would have been greater. The amount or value of such donations depended on so many variables—the rank of the recipient ambassador, the length of his service, the evaluation of his accomplishments—it is unlikely that all parties to the transaction were equally satisfied. The most common gifts were gilt plate, gold chains, jewelry, or any item of recognized worth. As the office of ambassador became more professional, the number of such presents declined although there were many other occasions when gratuities were still granted.

AMBASSADORIAL DUTIES

The primary duty of resident ambassadors was to obtain and transmit information. This was done in many ways and varied greatly in extent, reliability, and difficulty. The most open method, which had many drawbacks as far as reliability is concerned, was direct interviews with the sovereign or with leading ministers. When at court, the ambassador could pick up information from other agents, but

this too might be laced with misinformation and lies; tapping many such sources increased the chances of getting good intelligence. As printed newsletters and newspapers began to appear in the eighteenth century, it became easier to acquire overt information. For more vital and furtive intelligence, ambassadors still relied on paid informants and spies, although the complex implementation of international espionage was increasingly conducted through contacts outside the official diplomatic system.

To communicate this variously gathered intelligence to his home government, the early modern diplomat used the methods available to him: national post, paid couriers, commercial caravans, and private messengers. More confidential communications were put into increasingly complex ciphers. Duplicates and triplicates of important messages were often sent by different routes to insure the delivery of at least one. On occasions demanding extreme secrecy, messages, or parts of them, were given verbally to a courier or other confidant who then delivered the message orally to the proper authority. Such precautions were felt to be necessary because, with increasing frequency, written communications were intercepted and ciphers broken.

By the mid-seventeenth century, London postal officials were routinely opening and copying many of the dispatches intended for foreign diplomats. A secret office was established in 1653 for such activities and by the end of the eighteenth century, it maintained an active staff of semi-undercover employees who deciphered and read foreign correspondence. The same thing was happening in France, where the *cabinet noir* (black chamber) conducted a similar type of surveillance during the *ancien régime*. Other countries had their appropriate procedures.

NEGOTIATION

Early modern diplomats were involved in many functions other than information gathering. They might be assigned to important negotiations, according to the powers and instructions given by their home government. Normally, negotiation was the primary duty of special representatives with precise powers for that purpose, but resident diplomats were also involved in a variety of negotiations, especially at major diplomatic conferences and con-

gresses. After four tortuous years of negotiation, the major settlement ending the Thirty Years' War took place in 1648 at two locations in Westphalia: at Münster, where ambassadors and other representatives of the Holy Roman emperor, France, Spain, Portugal, the Netherlands, and delegates of the German Electoral College met; and at Osnabrück, where other emissaries of Sweden, the emperor, France, several German principalities, and others also convened. The total number of delegates at these two locations reached one hundred thirty-five, the largest assemblage of diplomats ever seen by that time.

The resulting Treaty of Westphalia marked a new direction in the political composition of Europe toward secularly oriented, sovereign, almost absolute states. The various states of the empire were given territorial sovereignty under the nominal authority of the emperor. Calvinism was officially recognized along with Lutheranism. Sweden was given a voice in the imperial councils and a vote in the Diet. France emerged as the leading power in Europe as imperial unity disintegrated and Habsburg Spain declined. Switzerland and the Dutch Netherlands were both declared free and sovereign. Similar congresses met at Nijmegen in 1676–1679 following the Dutch Wars, at Ryswick in 1696–1697 at the conclusion of the War of the League of Augsburg, and at Utrecht in 1712–1713 after the War of the Spanish Succession. The Treaty of Utrecht, especially, created a new order in Europe based on an “equilibrium of power” among the leading states. Belief in this balance of power became a recurring feature of eighteenth-century diplomacy.

Negotiation included far more than treaty arrangements. It also comprised a large range of topics and goals set out by the home government, including interpretation of the rules of trade, persuading a sovereign to follow agreements previously made, convincing the sovereign to pursue policies favorable to the ambassador's master, and in general trying to maintain good relations between the two governments. A good diplomat might be involved in negotiations over many issues, from alliances, boundary disputes, and commercial regulation, to territorial treaties and usurped property.

CEREMONIAL

Another duty of early modern diplomats was to represent their ruler as if he were present. The ambassador stood in the place of his master and therefore represented both his person and prestige. If an ambassador failed to receive, or assert, the proper respect for his ruler, he was held accountable. But not everyone recognized the same hierarchy of station, and therefore ambassadors were locked in a rivalry of rank at public functions, especially those offering high visibility, such as official state gatherings and processions. Public entries of new ambassadors still served to reflect the power and importance of the states they represented, and no expense was spared to make the carriages and horses magnificent and the dress of the ambassador brilliant. Assertions of precedence at such occasions frequently led to awkward dilemmas or even open conflict. In London in October 1661, for example, the Spanish ambassador, thinking he merited a more honored position than the French ambassador, tried to overtake and pass the French coach in a state procession through London. In the ensuing fray several people were killed.

Following the elaborate first audience, proper etiquette still had to be maintained at subsequent official visits of the ambassador to the head of state and to the diplomats of other nations, being especially careful to visit those of highest rank first. Throughout his tour of duty the ambassador was expected to participate in many public functions, from state banquets and weddings to frequent funerals of prestigious persons. Even at these gatherings the issue of precedence continued to arise and sometimes awakened strong feelings and even disputes among diplomats. "Points of honour, rank, and precedence are the most delicate articles of political faith," wrote Rousset de Missy in 1746. How could it be otherwise in an age when hereditary differences in the social orders were universally justified and even considered essential to the survival of any state? The maintenance of that same social stability on the international level was thought to be just as fundamental to the existence of international sociality.

THE THEORY OF EARLY MODERN DIPLOMACY

The theory and practice of diplomacy did not always correspond in real life. Diplomatic practice contin-

ued along lines determined primarily by precedent and practicality rather than by the suppositions of political theorists. Still, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries their correspondence was closer than it had ever been, due in part to the fact that it was practical diplomats themselves who wrote most insightfully about diplomatic theory.

The first of these practitioner/theorists was Juan Antonio de Vera, a distinguished Spanish nobleman and diplomat who published his *El embajador* (The ambassador) at Seville in 1620, better known in its French version of 1642 as *Le parfait ambassadeur* (The perfect ambassador). In this dialogue de Vera talks about the conduct of embassies, privileges of ambassadors, diplomatic procedures, and the qualities needed for success. The leading prerequisite, he insisted, was moral virtue, which meant not only obeying the letter and objectives of his master, but also being true and honest in his dealings with the ruler to whom he was assigned. The illustrious Dutch lawyer and diplomat Hugo Grotius (1583–1645) provided a reasoned repertory of maxims in his 1625 *De Jure Belli ac Pacis* (On the law of war and peace), allowing for the compatibility of a world of sovereign states committed to their own self-interest and yet consistent with the notion of peace and justice. He also argued convincingly for the extraterritoriality and diplomatic immunity of accredited ambassadors. Another Dutch writer, Abraham de Wicquefort, published his widely popular book on practical diplomacy, called *L'ambassadeur et ses fonctions* (The ambassador and his functions), in 1681. In this diplomatic manual Wicquefort abandoned the myth of a "perfect ambassador" and supplied diplomatic examples, especially contemporary, of how diplomacy operated in the late seventeenth century. In 1716 an important treatise appeared in Paris, written by a man who had spent his life in the service of Louis XIV's diplomatic business. *De la manière de négocier avec les souverains* (On the manner of negotiating with princes), by François de Callières, was another book of reflections on the principles and conditions of successful diplomacy, arguing in favor of the careful selection and specialized training of career diplomats rather than relying on the erratic behavior of capricious nobles.

EXPANSION AND SPECIALIZATION OF DIPLOMACY

Although much in the operation of eighteenth-century diplomacy was still reminiscent of the procedures and attitudes of earlier times, many changes had taken place and gradual modification continued. Notable among these was the expansion of diplomatic activity. In the time of Louis XIV, European diplomatic relations were still concentrated in western Europe, with fewer continuous contacts with the Ottoman Empire, Poland and eastern Europe, and tsarist Russia. The eighteenth century saw notable expansion of these contacts. Relations between Moscow and the West increased dramatically during the reign of Tsar Peter I (1684–1725) as reciprocal diplomatic representation was established with western states from Vienna to London. Similarly, connections were expanded between Europe and the Turkish Empire, and even China, although not as fast nor as completely as with Russia. More permanent relations were also established with Scandinavia and with eastern Europe.

In the eighteenth century budding foreign offices also began to appear as the need for greater continuity and order required more specialized effort. Developing out of the earlier royal chanceries, the foreign office became the principal department for handling relations with other states and for dispatching ambassadors to them. Such offices were still small and rudimentary but indicated the direction of later growth. In France the secretary of state for foreign affairs became one of the chief ministers of the government. England and other states also developed more effective machinery for the conduct of foreign affairs. To operate this new diplomatic machinery, a more professional bureaucracy slowly emerged. This gradual growth of professionalism in the management of foreign affairs was one of the marks of more modern times.

See also **Grotius, Hugo**; **Law: International**; **Louis XIV (France)**; **Military**; **Richelieu, Armand-Jean Du Plessis, cardinal**; **Wars of Religion, French**; **Westphalia, Peace of (1648)**.

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DE LAMAR JENSEN

DISEASE. See **Medicine**; **Public Health**.

DISSEMINATION OF KNOWLEDGE. Between 1450 and 1800 the focus of European intellectual life shifted away from the traditional university centers to become diffused across a much greater geographical and social spectrum. The advent of printing radically changed the exchange of knowledge and ideas in Europe and facilitated an additional move away from the communication of knowledge at local levels—universities, courts, early humanist academies—to international communication among the self-proclaimed “republic of letters.” Oral and manuscript communication nonetheless remained vibrant through the end of the eighteenth century at both institutional and informal levels of dissemination.

UNIVERSITIES

Building on strong medieval foundations, the university as an institution continued to expand throughout the early modern period. Thus, while the importance of the university as an instrument for the communication of knowledge fluctuated greatly, it continued to fulfill its essential social and cultural function of creating educated elites. It would be this corps of university-trained personnel who provided both actors and audiences for new ideas and new forms of communication from the Renaissance to the Enlightenment.

The staple of university education was the public lecture, dependent on the oral delivery of information. Through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries university lectures increasingly made use of printed books. Students used two principal methods of recording lectures: either in manuscript notebooks or through annotation of printed texts. Many university lectures, commentaries, and entire year-long courses also circulated in manuscript. Private teaching was equally important to the dissemination of knowledge within the universities. At Cambridge and Oxford private teaching was carried out within the confines of the college system, roughly equivalent to the modern tutorial. Elsewhere, particularly in central and southern Europe where the college system was less developed, students were offered group instruction in the houses of university faculty members, for which professors were paid directly by the student. Much of this kind of teaching at the college and private levels was preparatory teaching, using drills and exercises to enable students to mas-

ter core university subjects and techniques (for example, in declamation, disputation, and even letter-writing). The informal, largely unregulated nature of such teaching also meant that it was often responsive to intellectual trends and new currents of learning well in advance of formal university lecture courses. In some areas of Europe and particularly in the North—the Netherlands and Germany—the university remained a pivotal part of intellectual life. In other areas—England and France, for example—major new intellectual movements such as the scientific revolution and the Enlightenment evolved more or less independently of the university.

ACADEMIES

The earliest and most clearly defined rival to the intellectual authority of the university came from the academy. With their origins in fifteenth-century Italy, the academies spread only gradually elsewhere in the sixteenth century before rising to positions of considerable importance over the next two centuries. Academies could be either informal gatherings, usually centered around one or two scholars of prominence, or—as they generally were after 1650—institutions with established rules and procedures. Most academies established intellectual discussion and the discovery and communication of knowledge as their guiding principles and were usually devoted to the pursuit of specific branches of knowledge: for example, natural philosophy (the Royal Society of London and the Académie des sciences in Paris) or language (the Accademia della Crusca in Florence and the Académie française in Paris). By the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, academies contributed greatly to the professionalization of science and scholarship. Academies readily followed the winds of intellectual fashion. Eventually they created not simply a new forum for intellectual exchange, but a new public role for science and scholarship more generally. In England, France, and Italy they existed largely independent of local university culture, while in Germany their constituencies often overlapped with that of the universities. Related to the academies are the salons of the eighteenth century. More informal in nature and with strong ties to aristocratic culture, they were more socially exclusive. Nonetheless they frequently functioned to bridge rigid social boundaries. It was largely through salons that women actively participated in the communication of knowledge, and sa-

lons served as jumping boards to intellectual respectability for those to whom advancement in the republic of letters was otherwise blocked.

CORRESPONDENCE

Much of the real work of early modern scholars, antiquarians, natural philosophers, and other members of the republic of letters was carried out using one of the most traditional instruments of communication: the manuscript letter. Despite the traditional form of the letter—a genre of communication well known to antiquity and the Middle Ages—epistolary exchange in the early modern period attained a new level of abstraction in the exchange of information. Letters between scholars from the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries most closely resemble the political reports and diplomatic dispatches of the period: communication was informal, direct, and frequently candid. As such, this was a new mechanism of intellectual exchange based on a constantly shifting balance of social standing, patronage, and common intellectual interests. Networks of like-minded investigators, even if they had never met, used correspondence to share information, work through problems, and disseminate their own “findings” well in advance of—and in many instances in place of—print publication. The Latin letter was capable of overcoming linguistic and, to a certain extent, social barriers to the exchange of knowledge. It was also not uncommon for correspondents to assume a basic understanding of the two dominant vernacular languages of intellectual exchange, French and Italian. The manuscript letter was also key to keeping lines of intellectual communication open across the confessional divide that separated—and isolated—Protestant and Catholic investigators in the officially regulated world of print. Some astute early modern scholars—Desiderius Erasmus (1466?–1536), for example, or Justus Lipsius (1547–1606)—carefully orchestrated their epistolary exchange and edited their correspondence for publication in their own lifetime. To a great degree it was the letter, rather than publication in print, that was key to achieving fame in the republic of letters.

PRINTING

Books for members of the professions, university professors, and scholars were printed in the major centers of Paris, Venice, Rome, Florence, Geneva,

Cologne, Frankfurt, and other locations of slightly lesser importance. Sixteenth-century printers were quick to capitalize on international as well as established regional markets for Latin imprints, a development that would only really change with the market dominance of vernacular imprints in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. One of the greatest material innovations in print production was the use of the small octavo format for printed books by Aldus Manutius in Venice around 1500. While this did not immediately have an effect on the price of books, it did influence their portability at the level of both distribution and readership. Eventually, prices for octavo texts would be much lower than for larger formats.

Knowing about books was almost as important as knowing what was in them. There were many informal mechanisms within the print world for the dissemination of this kind of information. Booksellers frequently posted lists of books for sale outside their shops (in many areas of Europe they were required to do so by local censorship laws). The practice of printing such lists was well established by the end of the sixteenth century, and book lists entered into wider and wider circulation. Bookshops also served as meeting places for those concerned with the latest developments of the print world. News of books could be exchanged, and frequently books could be read as well. The major forum for the international book trade was the Frankfurt book fair, held twice a year in the spring and the fall. Here, printers and publishers from across Europe gathered to exchange wares and settle accounts. By the end of the sixteenth century, the Frankfurt fair regularly printed its biannual catalogs. Book lists also circulated informally among various networks of scholars, and many libraries jealously guarded their collections of book lists, catalogs, and other bibliographical ephemera. By the late sixteenth century institutional libraries began to print their catalogs, although the practice would remain restricted until the eighteenth century. Auction catalogs of private libraries were also printed beginning in the Netherlands in 1599, and the practice was well-established elsewhere in Europe—notably in Germany, England, and France—by the third quarter of the seventeenth century.

PERIODICAL PUBLICATIONS

By the end of the seventeenth century, printed periodical publications assumed a major role in the communication of knowledge. Many journals were closely associated with academies. The first journal aimed directly at the world of learning was the Parisian *Journal des Sçavants* (1665), closely allied to the Académie française; it was followed quickly by the *Philosophical Transactions* (1665) of the Royal Society of London. The main business of the Paris *Journal* was reviews of books published in France and abroad. Reviews were initially less important for the *Philosophical Transactions*, which instead described the scientific experiments of the members of the Royal Society. But in this the *Transactions* was almost unique: reviews would remain the staple of the learned journal for the next two hundred years. Such was the case, for example, with the *Giornale de' letterati* (Rome 1668), Pierre Bayle's *Nouvelles de la république des lettres* (Rotterdam, 1684), and Jean Le Clerc's *Bibliothèque universelle et historique* (Amsterdam, 1686). Along with such well-established publications that enjoyed lengthy runs, there were a considerable number of periodical ventures that produced only a few issues. The length and tenor of reviews varied from short and descriptive to long critical assessments of major works of science and learning. More or less up-to-date news on ideas in print was thus available to a wide and increasingly diverse audience. The rise of the periodical publication not only facilitated communication between like-minded scholars but also disseminated the fruits of learning to a much broader, and eventually even a popular, audience. These review journals bridged many divides: linguistic—between Latin and the vernacular and between the dominant vernacular idioms of the republic of letters (French, Italian, English, and German); religious—between Protestant and Catholic; and geographical—both in contributing to the creation of a cosmopolitan public forum for knowledge and ideas and in opening channels of communication between national intellectual centers and regional peripheries. The eighteenth century offered the reading public a dense thicket of review publications. Perhaps most representative of the new popular appeal of the review journal was the *Gentleman's Magazine* (London, 1731), which became an institution in its own right. Where the early reviews were affiliated with learned academies and scientific societies, the later, more popular journals

were rooted in the intellectual culture of the coffee-house and the gentleman's club.

See also **Academies, Learned**; **Education**; **Journalism, Newspapers, and Newsheets**; **Journals, Literary**; **Printing and Publishing**; **Republic of Letters**; **Universities**.

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DISSENTERS, ENGLISH. The dissenters were those English Protestants who refused to conform to the doctrine, discipline, and worship of the Church of England as laid down in the 1662 Act of Uniformity. They were persecuted, especially during the reign of Charles II (ruled 1660–1685), and were legally excluded from full participation in the country's civil and political life until the nineteenth century. Although broadly speaking the dissenters were the heirs of the English Puritans, they were divided into several occasionally antagonistic denominations. Common suffering encouraged them to move toward cooperation, but they had difficulty sustaining even these initiatives in the more tolerant atmosphere that prevailed after the Toleration Act of 1689. In the next century, industrialization and urbanization were to transform dissent and pave the way for its considerable political influence in Victorian and Edwardian Britain. But the roots of the tradition lay in Tudor and Stuart England.

DISSENT

In 1662 the dissenters were a diverse group. English Puritanism had splintered into several denomina-

tions and sects during the Civil Wars and Interregnum (1642–1660). Yet as a consequence of the Uniformity Act and the Clarendon Code, a raft of penal legislation aimed at non-Anglicans, all these factions were classed as “dissenters.” Although sectaries, Quakers, Baptists, Independents, and Presbyterians might now all fall into the same legal category, they had little else in common: learned, university-educated, and socially conservative ministers shared nothing with itinerant lay preachers. And they resented being lumped together: “It is a palpable injury to burden us with the various parties with whom we are now herded by our ejection in the general state of Dissenters” (Corbet, p. 27). The author of this complaint saw himself as a “Nonconformist”—a subtle but significant distinction. This was the label preferred by those, mainly the Presbyterians, who could not bring themselves to conform to the national church as it now stood, but who hoped it might be further reformed. Prominent in this grouping were the ministers who had lost their parish livings on St Bartholomew’s Day, 24 August 1662, and yet still attended the Church of England’s services as laymen. They would often hold additional private meetings with godly neighbors for Bible study, prayer, and impromptu preaching. There were many shades of conformity in Restoration England, and some of the laypeople who attended these godly meetings were also conforming Anglicans. Other dissenters, however, were determined to separate entirely from the national church. Congregationalists believed in the principle of autonomous congregations formed by men and women who could offer testimony of their conversion at the hands of God. Quakers and other sects suspected all churches as formalist and domineering institutions.

There were several notable individuals among the dissenters. Eminent preachers and divines like John Owen and Richard Baxter maintained their spiritual leadership through publications, correspondence, and, when political circumstances allowed, the pulpit. Two very different dissenters, the Baptist ex-tinker John Bunyan and the great poet and radical John Milton, used the printing press to give literary voice to the aspirations and experience of the godly. All dissenters, however, shared a Word-centred piety, an introspective concern with the sufferings of the godly, and an acute sensitivity

to the dangers posed by hypocrisy, popery, and profanity.

PERSECUTION AND POLITICS

The persecution of dissenters was a sporadic business. It varied from year to year, place to place, and denomination to denomination. Although the Quakers suffered extensive and prolonged persecution, the “sober” Presbyterians might experience little more than minor harassment. Much depended upon the zeal of local magistrates and the perceived political threat posed by dissent. General persecution reached its height in the mid-1660s and again in the early 1680s. Historians now believe that the majority of the English had little appetite for persecution. Their Anglican neighbors may have disparaged dissenters as “fanatics,” “enthusiasts,” or “sectaries,” but they did not relish the activities of professional informers or the jailing of pious fellow Protestants.

The “dissenting interest” was thought to be strongest among the artisan and merchant classes of the towns and cities. There was significant support for dissenters in places like Bristol, Norwich, and the City of London. Inevitably this was translated into political influence. There were Presbyterian and Independent sympathizers among both M.P.s and peers in the Cavalier Parliament (1661–1679). Yet opportunities to improve dissent’s legal position were squandered because dissenters lacked a common goal: some aspired to “comprehension” or reunion with the Church of England, while others were interested only in religious toleration.

Dissent also suffered by its association with radical politics. Tainted by its Cromwellian past, dissent was suspect in the eyes of the government and subject to persecution on grounds of subversion and disloyalty. Radical elements among dissent, including Baptists and Independents, did exploit the Exclusion Crisis to plot the overthrow of Charles II and/or his brother. The conspiracies exposed by the investigation of the supposed Rye House Plot in 1683 and the Monmouth Rebellion of 1685 against James II (ruled 1685–1688) confirmed this extreme wing within dissent.

In the later 1680s James II courted the dissenters in the hope that they would support a religious toleration for Roman Catholics and Protestants. Once again, dissent was divided over strategy.

Was it desirable or even safe to ally with an idolatrous false religion like popery in pursuit of their own religious freedom? While some dissenters offered their thanks for the 1687 Declaration of Indulgence, the majority rallied to the Protestant cause and reaped their reward after the Glorious Revolution of 1688.

TOLERATION

The Toleration Act of 1689 confirmed the legal identity of “dissent” by providing freedom of worship for all non-Anglican Protestants. The future of dissenters lay outside the national church. Although national collaborative initiatives like the Common Fund and “Happy Union” failed, other local ventures, between Presbyterians, Congregationalists (as Independents were increasingly known), and Baptists, flourished. But the sharing of meeting halls or costs was only part of the story. Many of the denominations seem to have suffered from growing apathy among their followers. Perhaps like the national church before them, they were succumbing to formality. They were also plagued by theological disputes over fundamental issues such as the Trinity, justification, and predestination. By the early eighteenth century, there were ominous signs that dissenters were no longer the spiritually fervent, evangelical force that they had been in the previous century.

See also Baxter, Richard; Bunyan, John; Church of England; England; English Civil War and Interregnum; English Civil War Radicalism; Exclusion Crisis; Glorious Revolution (Britain); Milton, John; Persecution; Quakers; Toleration.

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JOHN SPURR

DIVINE RIGHT KINGSHIP. The belief that kings are related to gods, if not actually gods themselves, and derive their authority from this sta-

tus has been a remarkably enduring feature of human societies. Monotheism challenged it, but in Europe the belief lost power only very gradually, as European society slowly became Christianized. Christian doctrine identified Christ as the divine king, Son of God the Father, who was incarnated once for all in order to rule over the souls of men. It thus set in train the separation between the spiritual and temporal realms that would eventually allow for the secular, or “constitutional” kingships characteristic of modern European monarchies. Christian kings could, and from the time of Charlemagne (742–814) did, claim to rule *dei gratia*: by the grace of God, by his gift and permission. As such they were God’s representatives on earth. They might even possess God-given miraculous healing powers that attested to their sacred status. By the twelfth century both English and French kings regularly touched for scrofula, a tuberculous infection of the skin of the neck that, left untreated, produces draining sores. The kings’ ability to heal the condition through the laying on of hands led to the condition being known as the “King’s Evil.” That supernatural power, and the view of kingship as quasi-divine that informed it, survived the abolition of kingship in both countries brought about by the English and French revolutions, ceasing only in the early nineteenth century. Kings could thus claim to have a quality of divinity, but Christian doctrine insisted that they themselves could not be divine. It is, as A. M. Hocart remarked (p. 16), “a very fine distinction between a king who is the incarnation of the Deity and one who is only His representative”—but it proved to be a decisive one in the European history of kingship.

CULT OF KINGSHIP

Over the sixteenth and the first half of the seventeenth century, religious reformation led men to wrestle with this distinction in ways that enhanced the absolute power of the king. At first sight, paradoxically, these theoretical developments constituted an important staging post in that longer-term secularization process. By 1450 the main features of divine right kingship were well established. Monarchy as a form of government was ordained by God. Kings ruled by divine right, as individuals and as a caste, and they were accountable to God alone. Their right was indefeasible: inalienable and, once created, irremovable. Subjects’ duty was to obey

their kings, even as they would do God himself. In reality, however, regal power was not so absolute. Even in those western European countries where centralization was well advanced, monarchical claims were pressed in no small measure in an attempt to define the king as categorically distinct from and superior to the nobility. This state-building exercise occurred in a European political context that was increasingly dominated by efforts to reform the Roman Catholic Church, in the first instance by limiting or rejecting papal claims to supreme power of jurisdiction over Christian society. The concurrence of these two endeavors led opponents of papal authority—humanists, and later especially Protestant reformers—to define territorial kingdoms as sovereign empires. This meant that they did not and never had recognized any “foreign” superior power, including that of the pope, in jurisdictional matters. But it also encouraged a reconsideration of the nature of kingly power. Might it be the case that the king, rather than the pope, inherited Christ’s powers as priest? If this were the case, then the king, not the bishop of Rome, might claim *plenitudo potestatis*: supreme authority in all matters, spiritual as well as temporal.

Throughout the first half of the sixteenth century French and English theorists explored this terrain, in movements associated with Gallicanism in France and with the Henrician Reformation in England. Both presented monarchical absolutism as the only effective barrier against papal pretensions, and buttressed it by emphasizing the supernatural character of kingship. The French jurist Charles de Grassaille argued the case for French sovereignty by stating that the French king is “above all other kings.” His superiority was attested to by his title of “most Christian”—that is, most Christlike—king, and by his ability to work miracles (*Regalium Franciae libri duo*, 1545). In England, the cult of kingship flourished as the break with Rome made Henry VIII priest-king of the English church. Writing in 1539 Richard Morison identified Henry VIII as “our king, our ruler by the will and ordinance of God”; he, not the pope, was “God’s minister” (*An Exhortation*, 1539). This cult of kingship continued to flourish throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, reaching its apogee in the reign of Louis XIV, the Sun King (ruled 1643–1715). But in England it coexisted uneasily with reforming

Protestantism, the other legacy of Henry VIII’s break with Rome. It raised fears that the Church of England over which such a supreme head presided harbored idolatry at its heart—the same charge that fueled attacks on Roman Catholicism. This tension reached a breaking point in 1649, when Charles I was executed, and kingship abolished, in expectation of the immediate reign of Christ, the True King.

ABSOLUTIST CLAIMS

The late sixteenth century witnessed new claims concerning the divine right of kings as a consequence of confessional polarization. Both England and France aimed at religious uniformity. Yet both contained sizeable Protestant and Catholic populations and, by the late sixteenth century, significant numbers of religious militants on both sides. From the mid-sixteenth century inflammatory and influential “resistance theories” circulated widely. These argued that subjects must put loyalty to God above their obedience to worldly rulers. It was a duty as much as a right to resist, even if necessary to kill, a ruler deemed ungodly. Ungodliness consisted, in the first instance, of embracing, or appearing to embrace, the “wrong” religion. At the same time both countries experienced succession crises. The ending of the Tudor and Valois lines brought James Stuart, King of Scotland, to the English throne as James I in 1603, shortly after another “foreigner,” Henry of Bourbon, king of Navarre, inherited the French throne as Henry IV. Unsurprisingly, in this political climate, both claimed the right to inherit on the basis of blood entitlement alone, despite their religious orthodoxy. (James I was Protestant, and Henry IV rapidly converted to Catholicism, famously proclaiming that “Paris is worth a mass.”) These circumstances produced what G. R. Elton called the “final logical elaboration” of the doctrine of divine right kingship (vol. 2, p. 204). This was the identification of indefeasible divine right with hereditary succession in the legitimate bloodline. In this view the king is God-ordained through his possession of absolute blood right. At any given time there is only one true king, whether or not he ever occupies the throne, and he is his predecessor’s legitimate heir. This elaboration constituted an effective counter to religious militants—Protestant and Catholic—who would restrict the right to rule, and subjects’ unconditional obedience, to a king

who was, in effect if not in actuality, elected to the office due to the public perception of his religious credentials. But this final development also removed the “get-out” clause that had allowed people to accept the theory of divine right rule, yet invest that right in individual kings, not necessarily their dynasties. From the early seventeenth century, in both England and France, the survival of divine right kingship was immediately attached to unconditional acceptance of the personal claims of the king and the dynasty that he represented.

See also **Absolutism; Bourbon Dynasty (France); Church of England; Feudalism; Glorious Revolution (Britain); Monarchy; Resistance, Theory of; Revolutions, Age of; Stuart Dynasty (England and Scotland); Tudor Dynasty (England); Valois Dynasty (France).**

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DIVORCE. Prior to the Protestant Reformation in the mid-sixteenth century, legal divorce, in the sense of complete dissolution of the marriage bond with the right to remarry, was impossible anywhere in Europe because the Catholic Church, which governed marriage formation, considered marriage a sacrament dissoluble only by the death of one of the spouses. Unhappy couples did, however, sometimes divorce informally. While the Reformation made di-

vorce theoretically possible in most Protestant regions, judges’ reluctance to grant divorces, coupled with economic barriers, meant that not until the late eighteenth century did more than a small number of couples divorce legally.

CATHOLIC EUROPE

Throughout the early modern period, canon law offered only two avenues for Catholics unhappy with their marriages: separation or annulment. A separation from bed and board (*separatio a mensa et thoro*) granted a spouse who could prove the other spouse’s adultery or excessive cruelty (or, infrequently, heresy) permission to live separately and separated the spouses’ finances, often giving the innocent spouse possession of the wife’s dowry. Neither spouse could remarry, however, because the marriage bond remained intact. In contrast, an annulment allowed remarriage because it declared the marriage had never existed. It did so on the basis of one or more legal impediments to the union, primarily if the spouses were too closely related either by blood or by marriage or if one spouse had contracted an earlier and valid marriage, had taken religious vows, was under the age of twelve for girls or fourteen for boys at the time of the marriage, or had married under duress. Despite earlier claims, scholars have come to agree that the use of annulments as quasi-divorces was not widespread. Indeed, convinced that marriage preserved moral order by containing sexual activity, ecclesiastical courts made obtaining separations and annulments quite difficult by imposing strict formal and evidentiary standards.

People from all economic levels brought suits, but separations and annulments were most necessary for the wealthy, for whom marriage, as a union of property and families more than of individuals, needed clear legal resolution. Only annulment would allow subsequent legal marriage with legitimate children and enforceable property and political arrangements—as in the case of Henry VIII (1491–1547), who in 1527 sought an annulment of his eighteen-year marriage to Catherine of Aragon (1485–1536) to marry Anne Boleyn (1507?–1536). People, particularly women, tended to use legal separations to confirm an already existing situation and to improve their legal and financial positions. For example, a wealthy woman who had already left her financially irresponsible, adulterous,

and physically abusive husband might seek a legal separation to gain control of her dowry as well as to keep her husband from compelling her return. A poor couple generally only sought a separation or annulment when their marital situation caused a scandal and authorities intervened.

Unhappy spouses with little property, such as wage laborers, had an alternative to court: informal divorce. Authorities condemned these customs but could do little to stop them. Communities informally policed troubled marriages, enforcing conventional standards of marital behavior by sanctioning inordinately abusive or lazy husbands, disobedient wives, and adulterers of both sexes with penalties ranging from gossip to charivari, or ritual shaming. Neighbors acting as go-betweens might try to reconcile spouses, but they also might support spouses, and particularly abused wives, who left their marriages.

Desertion, sometimes by mutual agreement, was the most common means of dissolving a marriage. Poor communication exacerbated the lack of effective official oversight, enabling a spouse willing to start a new life in a distant location to make a new (though bigamous) marriage. The deserted spouse traditionally had to wait seven years for the absent spouse to be presumed dead before remarrying, but in practice many seem to have remarried much sooner, driven by economic needs. It appears that some communities condoned almost immediate remarriage, particularly when there were no children and multiple attempts at reconciliation had failed. Some couples lived separately in the same community, but they generally could not remarry. However, some people in isolated rural areas, such as seventeenth-century northern Spain, conceived of marriage as a contract that could be broken by the consent of the parties, who could then remarry at will.

As much as legal constraints, material circumstances severely limited both formal and informal marriage dissolution throughout the period, even where divorce became legal. Dissolving a marriage meant dissolving an economic unit outside of which it was difficult to survive. Both sexes initiated informal or formal dissolutions, but men more commonly did so, because they had wider employment opportunities. People who lived by working the

land probably found it most difficult to separate or divorce. The association of military service and deserting a wife was well recognized, but some husbands deserted by finding jobs in distant cities. Women's well-known difficulty in supporting themselves without a husband, particularly if they had children, probably encouraged many wives to persevere in troubled marriages, sometimes despite life-threatening violence. Deserted wives, along with widows, appeared frequently on poor rolls.

RELIGIOUS REFORM

Rejecting church control of marriage, and with it the sacramentality and indissolubility of marriage, the Reformation legalized divorce with remarriage in most of Protestant Europe (with the major exception of England) by the mid-sixteenth century. For the next two centuries, however, divorce remained largely theoretical and unobtainable for most people.

Protestant joint lay-ecclesiastical courts, perhaps even more than their Catholic predecessors, sought to preserve marriage to promote its primary purposes of saving people from the sin of wantonness and social disorder. They made legal separation difficult and granted divorces only in cases of adultery or desertion, which struck at the heart of marriage in their eyes, never on the grounds of incompatibility and only rarely for extreme cruelty. Judges granted few divorces and frequently forced couples to reconcile. Scottish courts between 1658 and 1707, for example, granted a total of thirty-five divorces, fewer than one per year.

Divorce was punitive: usually only the innocent party could remarry and received custody of any children and control of most financial resources. A divorce suit often led to criminal prosecution for an adulterer, who could be punished with imprisonment or even death, as in Calvinist Geneva. In part because wives were subject to a stricter definition of adultery than husbands, men requested and received more divorces than women.

The Council of Trent's reconfirmation of marital indissolubility in 1563 meant that in areas that remained Catholic, legal divorce continued to be impossible. Despite this basic difference, sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Protestant and Catholic authorities approached the problems of marital breakdown and informal dissolution with similar ef-

forts at control and with similarly limited success. Linking marital harmony to social order, Catholic priests and Protestant pastors chastised spouses living apart privately and publicly at church, while magistrates of both confessions levied fines and even imprisoned those who refused to cohabit. Parish priests investigated the marital status of outsiders seeking to marry their parishioners, making bigamous remarriage after desertion more difficult. In Spain the Inquisition focused on rooting out bigamy, meting out one hundred lashes and three to five years in the galleys to men and banishment to women found guilty. A few Protestant and Catholic regimes for a time even created de facto divorce for adultery when they pursued and executed adulterers. Civic and religious institutions also developed to help unhappily married women, known in Italy as the *malmaritate*, offering refuge from abusive husbands and even assistance in seeking legal separations.

The effects of these efforts on actual behavior remain unclear. People still dissolved their marriages as before and even devised new ways. Some spouses in seventeenth-century Switzerland used notaries and written acts to divide their property and separate, while some eighteenth-century English husbands engaged in the infamous “wife selling” by “auctioning off” their wives on market day to prearranged “buyers.”

SECULARIZATION

The eighteenth century, especially the latter half, saw the secularization of control of marriage in both Protestant and Catholic Europe, as civil powers eroded ecclesiastical control of marriage. In Catholic lands change was primarily institutional, leaving the content of the law largely unchanged, as in France where the monarchy claimed jurisdiction over such matters as marriages of minor children, bigamy, and separation. These institutional changes did, however, lay the groundwork for the French Revolution’s legalization of divorce in 1792.

In Protestant regions encroachment of secular institutions eroded the influence of churchmen and with it their conception of marriage as a union based on duty, opening the way for a softer official attitude toward divorce. Sweden, for example, placed divorce under secular jurisdiction in 1734. Secular judges, influenced by Enlightenment ideas that

love, respect, and companionship were central to marriage, became more willing to grant divorces and separations when these qualities were lacking, namely in cases of cruelty or even incompatibility. These broader grounds made legal divorce a possibility for many more people, particularly for women, who began to seek divorces in much larger numbers. At the same time proto-industrialization and urbanization loosened household economic ties, making it possible for more spouses, and especially wives, to dissolve their marriages.

See also **Concubinage; Family; Gender; Marriage; Sexuality and Sexual Behavior; Women.**

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EMLYN EISENACH

DMITRII, FALSE. *See* **False Dmitrii, First.**

DONNE, JOHN (1572–1631), English poet and divine. Donne was born in London sometime between 24 January and 19 June 1572, the son of John Donne, an ironmonger, and Elizabeth, daughter of the epigrammatist and playwright John Heywood and the great-niece of Sir Thomas More. Donne’s mother’s family were staunch Roman Catholics: his maternal uncle Jasper headed a Jesuit mission to England in 1581–1583, and was imprisoned and later exiled; Donne’s younger brother Henry died from the plague in 1593 while being

held in Newgate Prison, accused of harboring a seminary priest.

Donne entered Hart Hall, Oxford, in October 1584, and according to some accounts, also studied at Cambridge. He may have spent time on the Continent with Jasper Heywood. In May 1592 he entered Lincoln's Inn after a period of preliminary study at Thavies Inn. He took part in the English expeditions to Cádiz and the Azores in 1596 and 1597 and worked as secretary to Sir Thomas Egerton, lord keeper of England. Most of his *Satires* and a number of other poems, including the *Elegies*, are thought to have been written in the 1590s, although the dating of most of Donne's poetry is extremely slippery. The *Satires* and *Elegies* play with the image of a young man in a glittering but seedy London and present Donne's poetic personae in a variety of social and sexual situations.

Donne served as M.P. for Brackley in the Parliament of October–December 1601, but his public career was irrevocably damaged by his secret marriage in December 1601 to Anne More, daughter of Egerton's brother-in-law, Sir George More. More seems to have objected to his new son-in-law's Catholic background, to his presumptuous behavior, and possibly to Donne's own rakish reputation. When the marriage became publicly known, Donne and the friends who had helped him were briefly imprisoned, and Donne lost his employment with Egerton. His subsequent attempts to find state employment were consistently unsuccessful, although he accompanied Sir Robert Drury to the Continent in 1611–1612, and served as M.P. for Taunton in 1614. He had earlier converted from Catholicism to Anglicanism, avowedly as a result of sustained intellectual consideration, but the prohibitions against Catholics in English society may also have had a contributory effect. The majority of his verse letters, occasional poems, and holy sonnets date from these years of frustration, and he also produced a series of religious tracts: *The Pseudo-Martyr* (published 1610), in which he urged English Catholics to submit to the oath of allegiance, *Ignatius His Conclave* (1611), and the study of suicide, *Biathanatos* (not published until 1647). Two of his poems, the disjunctive and often disturbing *Anniversaries*, written to commemorate the life of Drury's daughter Elizabeth, were printed in 1611–1612.

On 23 January 1615 Donne was ordained in the Church of England. This decision clearly met with favor from the king, and he was appointed as a royal chaplain only a few weeks after his ordination. He was presented with a series of lucrative livings, and held the divinity readership at Lincoln's Inn from October 1616. Anne Donne died in August 1617, and in May 1619 Donne went to Germany as chaplain to Viscount Doncaster, returning in January 1620. On 22 November 1621 he was elected dean of St. Paul's Cathedral, an office that he held until his death. He was widely regarded as the most eloquent and learned of preachers. Reflecting this fame, his sermons were printed from 1622, and in 1624 he published *Devotions upon Emergent Occasions*, inspired by a recent illness. Although his prose works are not today as familiar to readers as his poems, the *Devotions* and *Sermons* display a similar controlled power, stylistic experimentation, and intellectual focus.

Donne's best-known sermon is his last, "Death's Duel," preached at court only a month before his death. "Death's Duel" is a typically brilliant piece, drawing its power from its combination of biblical exegesis, linguistic control, and the quasi-theatrical display of the dying preacher's body. Donne died on 31 March 1631, and was buried in St. Paul's Cathedral. His tomb, for which—according to his early biographer Izaak Walton—he posed in the months prior to his death, wearing his shroud and standing on a funeral urn, survived the fire of 1666 and can be seen in Christopher Wren's cathedral, completed in 1710.

Donne's public reputation during his lifetime was based mainly on his church career and the wide circulation of his prose works, especially his sermons. He began to be reconfigured as a poet, however, after his son John collected his poems in print for the first time in 1633. The volume was prefaced with elegies on the author; these elegies and Walton's biography, published with *LXXX Sermons* (1640), disseminated two images of Donne, the youthful, rakish poet "Jack Donne" and the older and wiser Reverend Dr. Donne, dean of St. Paul's. Close examination of his career and writing does not fully sustain these starkly divided personae. Donne was already publishing religious polemic before his ordination, and he continued to compose poetry until at least 1625. His career in fact demon-

strates the impossibility of maintaining clear divisions between the secular and the sacred in early modern England.

See also **Church of England; Clergy: Protestant; English Literature and Language; Herbert, George; Puritanism.**

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LUCY MUNRO

DORT, SYNOD OF. Convened in 1618 in the Dutch city of Dordrecht, the Synod of Dort met to settle the Arminian, or Remonstrant, controversy within the Reformed Church of the Netherlands. This controversy, which had developed over the course of a decade, centered around the Calvinist doctrine of predestination. Other issues, including the precise confessional status of the Belgic Confession (an early doctrinal statement of the Reformed churches in the Low Countries) in the church and the relationship between civil and ecclesiastical authority, also played a role in the controversy. The synod included delegates from the Dutch Reformed Church as well as representatives from other Reformed churches throughout Europe. With the presence of foreign delegates, the synod took on an international character and represented an important step in defining and codifying seventeenth-century Calvinism. Meeting over the course of 180 sessions, the delegates examined and rejected the central doctrines of the Arminian party and confirmed the doctrine of double predestination along with a number of its corollaries, including the sovereignty of God, irresistible grace, and the perseverance of the saints. These doctrinal decisions, formulated in the Canons of Dort, gave the Reformed Church of the Netherlands greater coherence but also made it clear that the Arminian position would not be accepted within the Dutch Reformed Church. After the synod ended in May 1619, the Remonstrants were expelled from the church and faced persecution within the Dutch Republic. The Canons of Dort became one of the confessional standards of the Dutch Reformed Church and gained general acceptance throughout the Reformed churches of Europe as a clear expression of Calvinist orthodoxy.

See also **Calvinism; Dutch Republic; Oldenbarneveldt, Johan van.**

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MICHAEL A. HAKKENBERG

DRAGONNADES. See *Huguenots*.

DRAMA

This entry includes four subentries:

ENGLISH

GERMAN

ITALIAN

SPANISH AND PORTUGUESE

ENGLISH

In the fifteenth century, drama in England was dominated by modes now thought of as characteristically “medieval”: cycles of liturgical mystery plays, morality plays—of which *Mankind* (c. 1465), and *Everyman* (c. 1509–1519) are among the best-known examples—and secular interludes such as Henry Medwall’s *Fulgens and Lucrece* (c. 1497) and John Heywood’s *The Four Ps* (c. 1520–1530). By the end of the eighteenth century, the stage would have been almost unrecognizable to Medwall or Heywood. A tradition of performance based within communities was gradually supplemented by commercial structures; this new tradition was in its turn broken by the order that the public theaters be closed on the outbreak of the Civil War in 1642. Although dramatic activities did not cease—private and surreptitious performances continued and a wide variety of dramatic texts were aimed at readers—there was a break with the pre-Civil War stage and with many of its conventions.

CHANGING THEATERS

In the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, drama was performed mainly in the houses of the nobility, in civic venues such as town halls or churches, or in educational establishments such as schools, universities, and the Inns of Court, where law students were educated. In the later period, large-scale open-air amphitheaters or innyard conversions were developed, with which settled companies became established: the best-known include the Red Lion (1567), the Theatre (1576), the Rose (1592), the Globe (1599), and the Red Bull (c. 1604). Other, smaller, commercial theaters were constructed in indoor venues; they were used in the first place by the children’s companies that had devolved from performances by the choir schools of St. Paul’s and

the Chapel Royal. By 1610, an adult company, the King’s Men, had started to perform at the indoor Blackfriars Theatre, and by the end of the seventeenth century Continental-style proscenium arch theaters had supplanted the amphitheaters.

Perhaps the greatest change was in the nature of performers: professional actors rose from the level of vagrants to become substantial landowners and celebrities—Edward Alleyn, Richard Burbage, Thomas Betterton, and David Garrick are only the most famous. The Restoration (1660–1685) also saw the introduction of the first professional female performers, of whom the most celebrated include Elizabeth Barry, Anne Bracegirdle, and Anne Oldfield. This was also the period when women began to write for the commercial stages; the best-known of these writers include Aphra Behn, Mary Pix, and Susanna Centlivre.

KINDS OF DRAMA

In the early to mid-sixteenth century, classical influences began to intersect with folk and morality play influences, notably in plays such as *Ralph Roister Doister* (c. 1552) by Nicholas Udall, and *Gammer Gurton’s Needle* (1566), often attributed to William Stevenson. The universities (*Gammer Gurton* was first performed at Cambridge) and the Inns of Court saw plays in English and Latin. Particularly noteworthy is the performance of the first English blank-verse tragedy, Thomas Norton and Thomas Sackville’s *Gorboduc or Ferrex and Porrex*, at the Inner Temple in 1562.

Tragedy. Influential tragedies included Christopher Marlowe’s opulent and exotic two-part tragedy *Tamburlaine* (c. 1587–1589), Thomas Kyd’s hugely popular revenge tragedy *The Spanish Tragedy* (c. 1589), William Shakespeare’s romantic tragedy *Romeo and Juliet* (c. 1595), and Thomas Heywood’s domestic tragedy *A Woman Killed With Kindness* (c. 1603). These models for tragic drama were developed throughout the period by writers including George Chapman, John Webster, John Ford, Philip Massinger, and James Shirley. A related line of historical drama can be traced from John Bale’s moral history *King Johan* (c. 1539) through Marlowe’s *Edward II* (c. 1592), Shakespeare’s first (*Henry VI, Part One*; *Henry VI, Part Two*; *Henry VI, Part Three*; and *Richard III*) and second (*Richard II*; *Henry IV, Part One*; *Henry IV,*

Part Two; and *Henry V*) tetralogies, Shakespeare and John Fletcher's *Henry VIII* (1613), and Ford's *Perkin Warbeck* (1634).

"Closet" tragedy (intended primarily to be read, not staged) was more closely associated with classical and continental traditions: notable examples include Mary Sidney's version of Robert Garnier's *Antonius* (1595), Fulke Greville's *Mustapha* (1596) and *Alaham* (1600), and Elizabeth Cary's *Tragedy of Mariam* (1613), the first original English play written by a woman. A heavily classicist form of tragedy pioneered on the public stage by Ben Jonson in *Sejanus* (1603) and *Catiline* (1611) was unsuccessful in its own day.

It left its mark, however, on tragedies of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries such as John Dryden's *All for Love* (1678) and Joseph Addison's *Cato* (1713). These tragedies are often also termed "heroic drama": the mode is exemplified by Dryden's *Conquest of Granada* (1670) and Thomas Otway's *Venice Preserved* (1682) and parodied in George Villiers, duke of Buckingham's *The Rehearsal* (printed 1672) and Henry Fielding's *Tom Thumb* (1730). This period also saw a revival of domestic tragedy in George Lillo's *The London Merchant* (1731) and the revival and adaptation of many of Shakespeare's tragedies. Notable examples include Nahum Tate's versions of *King Lear* (1681), *Richard II (The Sicilian Usurper)*, (1681), and *Coriolanus (The Ingratitude of a Commonwealth)*, (1681), Colley Cibber's *Richard III* (1700), and Garrick's adaptations of *Romeo and Juliet* (1748) and *Hamlet* (1771), in which he also acted.

Comedy. Comedies such as *Campaspe* (1583) and *Sappho and Phao* (1584), written by John Lyly for the children's companies, combined classical settings with topical allusion to court and country in witty antithetical structures (Lyly's technique is often termed "euphuism" after the title of his best-selling prose romance, *Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit*, published in 1578). The romantic comedies of the next generation of writers, including those of Shakespeare, were heavily influenced by Lyly's work. Another important mode was comedy portraying the city, exemplified by Thomas Dekker's *The Shoemaker's Holiday* (1599), Ben Jonson's *Volpone* (1605) and *The Alchemist* (1610), John Marston's *The Dutch Courtesan* (1605), Thomas

Middleton's *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside* (1613), Massinger's *A New Way to Pay Old Debts* (1625), and Richard Brome's *The Weeding of Covent Garden* (c. 1632). In the mid-Jacobean period, the mixed genre of tragicomedy came to prominence, largely through plays written by Shakespeare and by Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher. Both of these modes were quickly revived in the 1660s, and they exercised a shaping influence on the comedies of Behn, Centlivre, William Congreve, George Etherege, George Farquhar, John Vanbrugh, and William Wycherley. The plays of these dramatists constitute what is usually known as "Restoration Comedy": social satires that simultaneously criticized and enjoyed excessive behavior. Famous examples include Behn's *The Rover* (in two parts, 1677–1681), Wycherley's *The Country Wife* (1675), Etherege's *The Man of Mode* (1676), Vanbrugh's *The Relapse* (1676), Congreve's *The Way of the World* (1700), and Farquhar's *The Beaux' Stratagem* (1707). Later, Richard Steele's *The Conscious Lovers* (1722) pioneered "sentimental" comedy, reacting against the supposedly immoral tone of Restoration comedies. A return to irreverence can be found in Fielding's 1730s farces, and in Oliver Goldsmith's *She Stoops to Conquer* (1773) and Richard Brinsley Sheridan's *The School for Scandal* (1777) and *The Critic* (1779).

Occasional drama. The early modern period also saw a flourishing tradition of occasional drama. Court theater included lavish entertainments under Elizabeth I—such as the entertainment at Kenilworth (1575), Philip Sidney's *The Lady of May* (1578), and the Elvetham Entertainment (1591)—and the masques on which Ben Jonson collaborated with the architect Inigo Jones during the reigns of James I and Charles I. Other occasional drama included Thomas Nashe's *Summer's Last Will and Testament* (1592), John Milton's *Masque at Ludlow* (better known as *Comus*, 1634), and the earliest English opera, *The Siege of Rhodes* (1656), with a libretto by William Davenant and music (now lost) by Henry Lawes, Matthew Locke, Henry Cooke, George Hudson, and Edward Coleman. *The Siege of Rhodes* is also notable for featuring the first use in England of perspective scenery, designed by John Webb, and one of the earliest appearances by a female performer, Mistress Coleman. Major cities such as London, Coventry, Norwich, and York had

their own tradition of plays, shows, and pageants, many of them organized by the trades guilds to mark religious festivals, the accession or entry to a city of monarchs, or the appointment of civic leaders. Other popular dramatic modes included puppet shows and, later, pantomimes.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL THEMES

Drama was throughout the early modern period a socially and politically engaged form. John Skelton's *Magnificence*, performed around 1519, launched a devastating critique on Cardinal Thomas Wolsey, chief adviser to Henry VIII, and on Henry's young courtiers. Nicholas Udall's *Respublica* (1553) was a political allegory lauding the accession of Mary I and the restoration of the Roman Catholic Church in England. A decade later, Sackville and Norton wrote *Gorboduc* to advise Elizabeth I about the succession. Middleton's *A Game at Chess* (1624), performed for nine days consecutively at the Globe Theatre, allegorized Anglo-Spanish relations and caused a public scandal by representing on the stage real people such as the Spanish ambassador, Don Diego Sarmiento de Acuña, marquis de Gondomar. During the Civil War (1642–1649) and Commonwealth (1649–1660), printed drama was highly prevalent in political polemic, including plays and dramatic dialogues such as *A New Play Called Canterbury His Change of Diet* (1641), *Crafty Cromwell* (1648), and *Cromwell's Conspiracy* (1660). These political playlets were published anonymously or under pseudonyms such as Mercurius Melancholicus (*Crafty Cromwell*) and Mercurius Pragmaticus (*Cromwell's Conspiracy*). Toward the end of the period, John Gay's *The Beggar's Opera* (1728) focused on the inhabitants of Newgate, the famous London prison, and the career of the highwayman Macheath. It launched a new form of socially aware drama, and, drawing on genres such as the ballad, re-inscribed the stage's associations with other areas of popular culture.

The Beggar's Opera seems to be a world away from the civic religious drama of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. However, in spite of the many changes in performance location, casting, and dramatic style, the theater continued to exist in relation to society and the communities in which it was performed.

See also Beaumont and Fletcher; Behn, Aphra; English Literature and Language; Jonson, Ben; Marlowe, Christopher; Shakespeare, William; Sheridan, Richard Brinsley.

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FRENCH

See **French Literature and Language**.

GERMAN

Germany as a nation did not exist in minds or on the map during the early modern era. Each territory of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation (*Das Heilige Römische Reich deutscher Nation*) was its own entity with unique traditions driven by cultural imperatives, politics, religion, and other social variables, to include language. Drama and theater arts in the German territories saw a proliferation of forms derived from the reception of various literary traditions. By 1780, modern German drama came into its own, but the transition leading to that result was complex. Those forms and traditions that were discarded along the way constitute the story of early modern drama in Germany.

The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries saw dramatic forms linked to liturgical uses and ecclesiastical traditions. Oral rituals of the Latin mass were linked to the celebratory cycle of the Christian calendar, to the Christmas and Easter messages of birth, death, and salvation. Dramatic enactment served as an entertaining vehicle reinforcing wondrous truths. Raucous and salacious Shrovetide or Carnival plays (*Fastnachtspiele*) by the likes of Hans Rosenplüt and Hans Folz, warned Carnival revelers in Nuremberg of the foolishness of their excess just prior to Lent.

The recovery in 1493 of plays in Latin modeled after those of the Roman playwright Terence (c. 190–159? B.C.E.) by the tenth-century Saxon nun Hroswitha von Gandersheim legitimized and coincided with the rise of the humanist tradition of

the *Schuldrama* (dramas for schools), plays performed by schoolboy actors and university students so as to hone rhetorical skill and Latin fluency. Philipp Melanchthon's 1516 edition of Terence provided an authoritative textual base for both dramatic form and literary language and served as a catalyst for translation of the plays from Latin into German (1540), thereby assuring the spread of classical models. Whether written in German or Latin, *Schuldrama* was a constant; theater in Germany remained nonprofessional until the eighteenth century.

Martin Luther (1483–1546) was leery both of the diversions of medieval pageantry and the pre-Christian worldliness of Greek and Roman plays. His mentor Melanchthon, however, convinced him of the efficacy of placing drama in the service of the Reformation. While some playwrights pilloried the Roman Catholic Church, Luther encouraged the production of plays based on biblical sources. Prodigal Son plays, for example, defined the exemplary Christian life grounded in the precepts of faith-alone theology, while Judith dramas portrayed heroic piety confronting blasphemous tyranny, Judith versus Holofernes representing the Lutheran versus the Roman Church. Lutheran schoolmasters and pastors cranked out German-language plays, spreading a Protestant message to cultural centers (notably Strasbourg) and to most corners of the empire and Switzerland. The Catholic religious orders, but especially Jesuit playwrights such as Jakob Bidermann and Jakob Masen, countered, producing Neo-Latin works, the theatricality of which influenced playwrights well into the seventeenth century.

The most prolific playwright of the sixteenth century was Hans Sachs (1494–1576). Often parodied because of his unrelenting German-language doggerel, the Nuremberg author absorbed classical and medieval literary and historical sources, authoring 128 tragedies and comedies as well as 80 *Fastnachtspiele*. Not only did he transmit a version of Terence's *Eunuch* or the medieval romance *Tristan und Isolde* to the German imagination, but his *Fastnachtspiele* toned down the blatant profanity of his predecessors, deploying the Shrovetide message of excess just prior to Lent firmly in the service of Reformation instruction. By the early seventeenth century, Sachs was passé, yet he had written

the only texts from the era that are still produced in modern Germany.

During the late sixteenth century, German playwrights also derived inspiration from the Italian *commedia dell'arte* and from traveling troupes of English professional players who toured cities and princely courts throughout the empire. The brand of theater was decidedly histrionic, focused more on slapstick action than on the word. Nicodemus Frischlin's *Caminarius* in the court-centered play *Julius Redivivus* (1585) was a lascivious commedia-type. Duke Heinrich Julius von Braunschweig's braggart soldier in the courtly piece named for him, *Vincentius Ladislaus* (1592), was as indebted to Shakespearean and Italian models as to classical sources. Also set at a court, Ludwig Hollonius's king-for-a-day play, *Somnium Vitae Humanae* (1605), drew on French sources. Each drama documents the derivative nature of German drama as well as the significance of princely court festival culture in the era; indeed, the first theater building in the empire was constructed by a Hessian prince for his court in Kassel (1604–1605).

Comedy, as Cicero had written, was a mirror of laughable life, while tragedy ended sadly. Such views were hardly complex or subtle, and with the variegated dramatic conventions competing for the German stage, what was lacking was a coherent theoretical base. A treatise by Martin Opitz (1597–1639), *Das Buch von der Teutschen Poeterey* (1624; The book concerning German poetics) filled the void. The author was a culturally patriotic student of Italian Renaissance poetics who simply translated Julius Caesar Scaliger's (1484–1558) definitions verbatim into German. Opitz's work became authoritative, spawning a host of learned theoretical publications. Playwrights after Opitz knew exactly what was expected of them and wrote accordingly.

Andreas Gryphius (1616–1664) was honored as the consummate practitioner of literary art. His five tragedies and two comedies, along with lesser-known dramas, established him as the exemplar of the era's sensibility. *Leo Armenius oder Fürstenmord* (1657; Leo Armenius or regicide) is a case in point. Set in ninth-century Byzantium, the tragedy's text documents the playwright's indebtedness to both Jesuit and Netherlandic drama, even as the action cast in stately Alexandrine lines (iambic hexameter)

expresses the theme of human transience (*Vergänglichkeit*) coupled with a decidedly Lutheran philosophy of history. The drama explored a sociopolitical issue especially pertinent to seventeenth-century European absolutism: regicide, the *Fürstenmord* of the title. Subsequent dramas by Gryphius addressed the tragic fate of figures from both the distant and the recent past, for example, that of the English King Charles I, who was beheaded in 1649. In *Ermorderte Majestät oder Carolus Stuardus* (1657; Murdered majesty or Charles Stuart), Gryphius reconfigured the regicide as a martyrdom; the king became a latter-day Christ, a spin reflecting both the playwright's agenda and the political ideology of the absolutist era.

Gryphius's *Absurda Comica oder Herr Peter Squentz* (1658; Comic absurdities or Mr. Peter Squentz), seems to be a takeoff on *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, with the protagonist being a German Peter Quince from Shakespeare's "Pyramus and Thisbe" play within a play. Yet research has shown that Gryphius could not have known Shakespeare's text directly, even as he dramatized the tragic comedy of errors derived from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. Instead, Gryphius explicitly satirized the ineptness of Hans Sachs, even as he dissembled Opitz's rigid definition of comedy. The oft-performed tragicomedy argued for the admissibility of chaotic absurdity on the German stage. On the other hand, *Horribilicribrifax* (1663), featuring two preposterous braggart soldiers, was more in line with Greek and Roman comedy, with *commedia dell'arte* traditions, and with the German conventions of the form. As a result of the cessation of hostilities, the pair is down on its luck and now in pursuit of eligible ladies. The happy-end marriage, a comedic process of reintegration, dramatized pertinent issues after the conclusion of the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648).

The six tragedies by Daniel Casper von Lohenstein (1635–1683) focused on protagonists of the Roman, Egyptian, and Turkish past, on exotic figures such as Nero, Cleopatra, and Sultan Sulieman. Grand passions, explicit eroticism, and absolute power drove both the action and the highly charged literary language. Such extravagance commented on and echoed the absolutism of the German empire and marked Lohenstein as a tragedian of skeptical rationalism, the antithesis of a reli-

gious playwright. During the eighteenth century, Lohenstein was censured, while a lesser literary talent, the schoolmaster-playwright Christian Weise (1642–1708) authored eighteen comedies and four tragedies in the tradition of the *Schuldrama*, plays that anticipated eighteenth-century trends of theater in the service of the Enlightenment.

The publication of Johann Christoph Gottsched's (1700–1766) *Versuch einer kritischen Dichtkunst vor die Deutschen* (1730; Attempt at a critical poetics for the Germans) a century after Opitz's treatise signaled the shift to thinking in line with the Enlightenment. Opitz had repeated sixteenth-century Italian descriptions of drama. Gottsched looked to French playwrights for his models: to the tragedies of Pierre Corneille (1606–1684) and Jean Racine (1639–1699), to the comedies of Philippe Destouches (1680–1754) and Charles Dufresny (1648–1724). Gottsched's definitions of comedy and tragedy were proscriptive (rather than merely descriptive), arguing for the adherence to French-inspired classicist form as well as for the moral function of theater.

It was in the *sächsische Typenkomödie* (Saxon comedy) that Gottsched's moralizing views were realized. For the playwrights from the territory of Saxony, a comic figure's laughable fixation—for example, hypochondria—was considered to be directly related to the character's lack of rationality. Comedy was not laughter for laughter's sake; the play presented both the irrational trait and the process leading to its abandonment. The members of the audience laughed knowingly about the failing and reveled in its correction, a notion in line with the optimistic rationality of the Enlightenment era (*Aufklärung*).

Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (1728–1781), Germany's prototypical *Aufklärer*, well knew the moral intent of Saxon comedy. In *Der junge Gelehrte* (1748; The young scholar), his first truly popular play, he satirized his own precocious intellect. Yet Lessing was also attuned to the effect of “sentimental comedy” as practiced by the English, the French, and by Christian Fürchtegott Gellert (1715–1769). If the audience could be moved to tears (*comédie larmoyante*), this too might effect moral betterment. In this variant, comedy became ever more earnest, and nowhere more profoundly

than in Lessing's play *Minna von Barnhelm oder das Soldatenglück* (1767; Minna von Barnhelm or the soldier's fortune). The protagonists, the lovers Minna and Tellheim, were not only laughable types (Tellheim, a braggart soldier), but also individuals movingly caught up in a near tragic comedy.

With Lessing, German drama came into its own. In 1755, he published *Miss Sara Sampson*, a sentimental bourgeois tragedy indebted to an English text. His 17. *Literaturbrief* (1759; Seventeenth literary letter) delivered a massive critique of Gottsched and the French playwrights, even as he championed Shakespeare. With the tragedy *Emilia Galotti* (1772), he took on the depravity of an absolutist prince bent on the seduction of middle-class Emilia. That the tragedy was first performed at a prince's court assured its impact and Lessing's notoriety. Like Gryphius, he did not shrink from criticizing sociopolitical institutions even as he sought to advance the greatest goal of the Enlightenment, the education of humanity. *Nathan der Weise* (1779; Nathan the wise) presented his vision of religious tolerance between Jews, Christians, and Muslims in dramatic form.

The era of the Enlightenment in Germany experienced a refinement of literary language. With the exception of the blank verse in *Nathan*, all of Lessing's dramas were written in prose, it being true to life. During the same period, German theater gradually became professional. The itinerant troupes of players, generally thought of as vagrants, were hired for residence at this court or that. Even though the permanent establishment of a *Nationaltheater* in Hamburg failed, actors and actresses gained a footing. Furthermore, the Hamburg experiment yielded Lessing's *Hamburgische Dramaturgie* (1767–1769; The Hamburg dramaturgy), a compilation of reviews of stage performances in Hamburg and essays on the nature of drama and theater. Most importantly, Lessing took on Aristotle's theory of tragedy, redefining the genre in terms of the Enlightenment: tragedy was to effect not only an emotional response, but also a moral change in the viewers.

Lessing's death in 1781 marked the transition from early modern to modern drama. He had introduced Germany to future directions; it has been argued that *Sturm und Drang* (Storm and Stress)

drama was a radicalized extension of the Enlightenment. Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749–1832) expressed his admiration of Shakespeare in 1771 and went on to write *Götz von Berlichingen* (1773). Goethe purposefully transgressed against the norms of French classicism, as he passionately depicted the titanic proportions of a very Shakespearean Götz. Friedrich Schiller (1759–1805) championed rebellious youth in *Die Räuber* (1781; The robbers), later updating Lessing in the bourgeois tragedy *Kabale und Liebe* (1784; Intrigue and love), like Lessing's *Emilia Galotti* an indictment of the depravity of absolutism in Germany. Finally, Schiller's essay *Die Schaubühne als moralische Anstalt betrachtet* (1785; The stage as a moral institution) went both Gottsched and Lessing one better, laying the groundwork for what was soon to become the drama and theater of the German Klassik.

See also **Dutch Literature and Language; German Literature and Language; Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von; Klopstock, Friedrich Gottlieb; Lessing, Gotthold Ephraim; Luther, Martin; Melanchthon, Philipp; Schiller, Johann Christoph Friedrich von.**

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ITALIAN

The rediscovery of classical drama and the flourishing of popular comedic forms in the fifteenth century contributed to the exponential growth of theater in sixteenth-century Italy. Interest in theater was also fed by the many social and political problems facing Italian states and their citizens, especially a series of wars that they eventually lost. Theater served both as an instrument of catharsis for powerful emotions and as a laboratory in which to experiment with solutions. With the second half of the century, tragedy grew in importance, and restraints were placed on comedy. Aristotelian norms were developed that called for clearly defined genres and character types. Toward the close of the century, as audiences tired of predictability, mixed genres grew in popularity, as did the pastoral. Seventeenth-century theater saw the predominance of the commedia dell'arte and of melodrama. During the eighteenth century, plays participated in the conflict between the old hierarchical system of social

authority and the growing recognition of the value of each member of society.

COMEDY AND TRAGEDY: REVIVAL OF THE ANCIENTS AND CREATION OF NEW GENRES

In the early sixteenth century, a new genre took shape: the erudite or regular comedy. Inspired by Roman comedy, this genre was also influenced by Giovanni Boccaccio's *Decameron* (1348–1353). Written in Italian, erudite comedy focused on contemporary issues and characters, chiefly conflicts between the generations about money and love. Important plays include *La cassaria* (The coffer), *I suppositi* (The pretenders), and *Il negromante* (The necromancer or The magician) by Ludovico Ariosto; *La mandragola* (The mandrake root), *Andria* (Woman from Andros), and *Clizia* by Niccolò Machiavelli; and *Calandria* (The follies of Calandro) by Bernardo Dovizi (Il Bibbiena).

Comedy soon departed from strict erudite norms. In the works of Sieneese playwrights and those of Angelo Beolco (Il Ruzante), who wrote between about 1516 and 1536, Arcadian shepherds mingled with real peasants who spoke rural dialects. When wars, famine, and plague ravaged Italy in the late 1520s, Beolco's plays depicted the terrible sufferings inflicted on peasants. Ariosto's *Lena* (1528), which was probably influenced by Beolco, presents a bleak picture of lower-class urban life, while Pietro Aretino's comedies *La corte Giana* (1525; The courtesan) and *Il marescalco* (1526–1527; The stablemaster) satirize courtly life. The anonymous *La veneziana* (The Venetian woman) explores the hidden and transgressive amorous activities of Venetian patrician women.

The rediscovery of Aristotle's *Poetics*, first translated into Latin in 1498 and into Italian in 1549, sparked a lively debate about comedy and tragedy. From Aristotle's observations on art as imitation and on appropriate plot, character, sentiment, and diction choices for each genre, theorists derived laws about dramatic form. These laws included the famous unities of time, place, and action (plot) that confined the play to a single action occurring in one location on a single day and, adding Roman theories of dramatic structure, the division into five progressive acts. Gian Giorgio Trissino's *Poetics* began the debate with the first part (1529) and closed it with the second part (1563).

Respect for tragedy was fostered by Aristotle's belief that its subject matter (rulers) and the emotions it generated (horror and compassion) made it superior to comedy. Comedy's purpose was to reform behavior by showing the undesirable consequences of ridiculous actions; comic characters were from the lower classes. While observing the strict rules governing tragedy prescribed by classical theoreticians, Renaissance authors incorporated contemporary life into their plays. The first regular tragedies were written during the War of the League of Cambrai (1509–1517): Gian Giorgio Trissino's *Sophonisba* (1515), depicting the suicide of a queen defeated by the Romans, and Giovanni Rucellai's *Rosmunda*. The first vernacular tragedy, Giambattista Giraldi Cinzio's *Orbecche*, was staged at the Este court in Ferrara in 1541. The 1542 performance of Sperone Speroni's *Canace* was postponed by Beolco's death and eventually abandoned because of the controversy it generated. In the first generation of staged tragedy much blood was shed, and rulers and their families were depicted as depraved tyrants who committed murder and incest, causing distress among tragedy's aristocratic audiences.

At the same time that plays acquired fixed structures, theatrical presentations acquired fixed venues, with a permanent theater becoming a necessary feature of a signorial palazzo.

THE LATE SIXTEENTH CENTURY: VARIATIONS ON ESTABLISHED THEMES

Once Aristotelian norms had been established, it was no longer acceptable to laugh at upper-class characters. A new comic genre was born, the *commedia dell'arte*, performed by professional troupes rather than courtiers. These troupes worked not with scripts but with nonaristocratic typed characters and plot devices. Only Venice and Florence, with their republican traditions, maintained a robust written comedy, in the works of playwrights such as Andrea Calmo and Anton Francesco Grazzini. The pastoral, epitomized by Tasso's *Aminta* (1573), offered an acceptable courtly alternative, and erudite plays written early in the century continued to be staged.

Rigid Aristotelian distinctions, which audiences did not favor, were later softened. Comedy returned, written in a vernacular that was both subver-

sive and deformed and with more lower-class and female characters. Exemplifying these developments are the comedies (1589–1601) of Giambattista Della Porta and *The Candlebearer* (1582) by Giordano Bruno. After a short hiatus, tragedy developed in more moderate directions, including the new genre of the tragedy with a happy ending. In these plays, kings owed their ill deeds to councillors rather than their own defects, and unpalatable actions occurred offstage. The pastoral reappeared in Ferrara with Giovanni Battista Guarini's *Faithful Shepherd*, written in a tragicomic style. Other blended forms such as the melodrama and the serious or dark comedy enjoyed popularity.

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Theatrical activity flourished in the seventeenth century, with the *commedia dell'arte*, mixed genres, and melodrama dominating the stage. To make performance a profitable enterprise, large theaters were built and the public was charged an entrance fee. The leading family acting troupes such as the Andreini received public acclaim.

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY: COMEDY AND TRAGEDY

During the eighteenth century much literary energy was directed toward the stage. These achievements were epitomized in the works of the great Venetian playwright Carlo Goldoni, born in 1707. Although he began his career when the *commedia dell'arte* was dominant, Goldoni soon followed his audiences' interests and his own inclination toward realism. His plays increasingly included worthy characters of the middle and lower classes who spoke in dialect, and an unusually large number and variety of roles for women, including economically powerful women of the working classes. Goldoni's reform provoked an attack by Pietro Chiari, a Venetian cleric and playwright; their dispute resulted in the censure of the theater by Venetian authorities, who on a number of occasions required Goldoni to rewrite plays. Carlo Gozzi, an impoverished member of the upper class, led aristocrats in criticism of Goldoni for supposedly inverting the social order. Gozzi created a dramatic alternative that audiences favored: exotic tales set in a world of wealth and privilege. In 1762 Goldoni left for Paris, where he worked with the *commedia dell'arte* and wrote his memoirs in French.

A desire to overthrow the tyranny of outside powers over the states of the Italian peninsula inspired the tragedies of Vittorio Alfieri. After extensive travels abroad, Alfieri settled in Florence, dedicating himself to exposing the defects of tyrannical rule in his plays and his 1777 treatise *Of Tyranny*. Yet Alfieri showed signs of a lingering attachment to the old order, choosing the most conservative, aristocratic genre and never showing a ruler deposed. In his masterpiece, *Saul*, King Saul maintains his dignity despite his struggle with the knowledge that the mantle of leadership will soon pass to David.

See also **Commedia dell'Arte; Goldoni, Carlo; Italian Literature and Language.**

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SPANISH AND PORTUGUESE

The early modern period was a time of significant developments in the quality, quantity, and popularity of dramatic literature and performance across Europe. For Spain and Portugal, this period is known as the Golden Age of drama, when the works of hundreds of playwrights were performed daily to

great acclaim on urban stages and by traveling companies all over the peninsula. Although plays were a popular form of entertainment throughout the Iberian Peninsula, the greatest playwrights and dramatic works are associated with Spain, and particularly Madrid, which became a cultural and artistic center after the court settled there in 1561. The best-known Spanish writers included Félix Lope de Vega Carpio (Lope de Vega; 1562–1635), who did the most to popularize drama and claimed to have written well over a thousand plays, and Pedro Calderón de la Barca (1600–1681), whose death is often considered the end of the Golden Age. For Portugal, the single outstanding figure was Gil Vicente (1465?–1537?), whose work defined court theater in the early sixteenth century.

Golden Age drama drew on a range of native medieval traditions including vernacular folk ritual, Christian liturgical ceremony, and the secular pageantry of the elite. With the transition to the Renaissance, Italian traditions became influential as well, as scholars revived the elements of classical Latin drama. Many early Spanish Golden Age dramatic texts were drawn from Italian translations of Latin plays (particularly those of Plautus, Terence, and Seneca), and Spanish actors also borrowed from the Italian improvisational *commedia dell'arte*. Beginning in the sixteenth century, Spanish and Portuguese playwrights emerged to make their own contributions; Juan del Encina and Bartolomé de Torres Naharro were the most influential of these early playwrights in establishing the structure and form of Golden Age drama.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, drama evolved into genres distinguished by content and setting. One form was the theater of the court, performed in the various royal residences of Portugal and Spain by professional actors and by the members of the court themselves. These spectacle plays often drew on classical and allegorical themes and featured elaborate scenery and stage machinery. Another genre was that of the *auto sacramental*, a brief one-act play with religious themes performed in the streets during the yearly Corpus Christi celebrations. Others included the *zarzuela*, a musical play which later evolved into the nineteenth-century operetta, and the *loa* and *entremés*, short dramatic pieces that served as preludes and interludes to accompany a full-length play.

By far the most popular and influential form of drama was the *comedia*, a uniquely Spanish genre established largely through the contributions of Lope de Vega and his treatise, *The New Art of Writing Plays in Our Time*, published in 1609. The *comedia* was a secular play in three acts, usually around 3,000 lines long, that blurred the classical distinction between tragedy and comedy. It drew on a wide range of subject matter from history, mythology, biblical stories, medieval epics, folklore, saints' lives, and contemporary Spanish life. Regardless of the setting in time or place, its most consistent characteristic was its reflection of contemporary language, customs, and relationships. The dramatic tension was usually caused by conflicts between love, honor, and the expectations and obligations connected to one's position in the social structure. To this end, rather than developing individual personalities, the *comedia* tended to portray stock figures that represented the different elements of society, and many significant characters were identified more readily by title or position than by name: the governor of Ocaña, the mayor of Zalamea, the knight from Olmedo. The *comedia* cast always included a young male protagonist (*galán*); one or more leading ladies (*damas*); an older, more powerful man (the *viejo*, a king, captain, or father figure); occasionally a peasant or other representative of rural life; and always a comic figure (*gracioso*), usually the servant of the *galán*.

The Golden Age *comedia* was dedicated to the tastes and interests of the broad cross-section of Spanish society that attended the plays. Before the sixteenth century, dramatic production had depended on the patronage of the nobility, the court, or the church. By the 1540s, playwrights and actors began to appeal to wider public audiences, as traveling companies of actors made their way across the peninsula performing in city marketplaces, taverns, inns, and public plazas. The number of these acting companies grew and, in the 1560s, charitable brotherhoods in Madrid and other cities began to hire them for regular fund-raising performances. The success of these ventures depended on drawing in large audiences, so plays ceased to be linked to particular occasions or messages, and turned more toward broader themes not limited by region or social class. Plays were appreciated by everyone from the king to the humblest laborer, and *comedia* per-

performances in Madrid alone could draw in audiences of a quarter of a million each year.

By the turn of the seventeenth century, most major Spanish cities had established permanent public theaters, such as the Príncipe and the Cruz in Madrid, and authors wrote *comedias* with these spaces in mind. Because even the most established theaters were still open-air spaces with a simple platform for a stage, the most important factor in any performance was the text itself; unlike those of court drama, the props, costumes, and stage effects of the *comedia* were extremely simple. Often, after plays had gone through a series of performances, they would be published in Spain and throughout Europe, demonstrating their popularity as textual pieces as well.

During its height in the early seventeenth century, Spanish drama was widely known and imitated across Europe. However, by the end of the century, its quality declined. In the eighteenth century, with the transition from the Habsburg to the Bourbon dynasty, literary preferences shifted from baroque drama to neoclassic essays and poetry. Within the realm of drama, the Spanish *comedia* lost the originality that had led to its success, and became more derivative of French styles; with these changes, the curtain closed on the Golden Age.

See also Calderón de la Barca, Pedro; *Commedia dell'Arte*; Portuguese Literature and Language; Renaissance; Spanish Literature and Language; Vega, Lope de.

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JODI CAMPBELL

DRESDEN. Dresden's development was determined by its rulers. In 1485 what had been a small market town on the River Elbe became the perma-

nent residence of the Albertine Dukes of Saxony. Under Duke George the Bearded (ruled 1500–1539), an opponent of the Reformation, the city began to expand. On his death in 1539 Dresden became Lutheran. In 1547, at the Battle of Mühlberg, Duke Maurice (ruled 1541–1553) wrested the title of elector of Saxony from the Ernestine branch of the family. Dresden was now the capital of a large and politically important Lutheran territory. Under Maurice it expanded to include the settlement on the northern bank of the Elbe, the so-called New Town. In 1549 forty-seven trade guilds were recorded with 707 master craftsmen. Maurice's brother Augustus (ruled 1553–1586) continued his efforts to create an Italianate Renaissance palace and to fortify the city according to the latest Netherlandish and Italian techniques. Augustus also built up important collections of books, scientific instruments, and curiosities. Between 1500 and 1600 the population trebled in size to fifteen thousand.

Dresden's importance as a musical center was confirmed when Heinrich Schütz (1585–1672) was appointed Kapellmeister to John George I (ruled 1611–1656) in 1615. During the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648) Dresden was not occupied but suffered from famine, plague, and economic stagnation. John George II (ruled 1656–1680) led the city's economic recovery after the war by encouraging trade and manufacture. In 1676 he began to lay out the park known as the Grosse Garten (Great Garden), in which he built a baroque palace (1678–1683) designed by Johann Georg Starcke (1640–1695).

His grandson Frederick Augustus I (known as Augustus the Strong, ruled 1694–1733) succeeded unexpectedly to the electorship in 1694. He was elected king of Poland in 1697 as Augustus II, having converted to Catholicism. This estranged him from his wife and his Saxon subjects and meant that he spent years at a time in Poland. It also led to the Northern War (1700–1721), which had serious economic consequences. Augustus was a noted patron of the arts, particularly the exquisite goldsmith work by the Dinglinger brothers, Johann Melchior (1664–1731), Georg Friedrich (1666–1720), and Georg Christoph (1668–1746). He also collected Far Eastern porcelain, encouraged the rediscovery of porcelain manufacture by Johann Friedrich



Dresden. The Old Market Square seen from the Schlosstrasse, 1751, by Canaletto. THE ART ARCHIVE/GEMÄLDEGALERIE DRESDEN

Böttger (1682–1719) and Ehrenfried Walther von Tschirnhaus (1651–1708) and reorganized the Dresden art collections. He built the Taschenberg Palace between 1707 and 1711 to designs by Johann Friedrich Karcher (1650–1726) and Matthäus Daniel Pöppelmann (1662–1736); the Zwinger (1709–1732), by Pöppelmann and the sculptor Balthasar Permoser (1651–1732); the Dutch (later Japanese) Palace (1715), also by Pöppelmann; and the new Opera House inaugurated in 1719 (no longer extant).

Augustus II's only legitimate son, Frederick Augustus II (ruled 1733–1763), also converted to Catholicism. He was elected king of Poland as Augustus III on his father's death. In 1719 he had married the Catholic Habsburg princess Maria Josepha. As a restatement of their Lutheran allegiance, the people of Dresden funded the building of the Frauenkirche (Church of Our Lady), which seated 3,500 worshippers. Begun in 1726 to a design by George Bähr (1666–1738), it was completed in 1743. As a counterblast to the Frauenkirche, between 1738 and 1754 Augustus III and Maria Josepha built the Catholic Court Church of the Holy Trinity (by the Italian architect Gaetano Chiaveri

[1689–1770]) in a dominant position in front of the electoral palace. Augustus III greatly augmented the art collection by buying one hundred paintings from the duke of Modena in 1745/1746 and Raphael's *Sistine Madonna* in 1754. He also had a passion for music. Johann Adolf Hasse (1699–1783) was his Kapellmeister from 1731 to 1763.

In August 1756 Frederick II, king of Prussia, marched into Saxony and took up residence in Dresden. Augustus and his court fled to Warsaw, and the Seven Years' War began. In 1758 and 1759 whole suburbs were burned down by the Prussians. In September 1760 they bombarded Dresden, destroying five hundred buildings. When the war was over, Saxony had to pay heavy reparations to Prussia. It took sixty years for the city's population of 63,000 to return to what it had been before the war.

See also Augustus II the Strong (Saxony and Poland); Frederick II (Prussia); Northern Wars; Prussia; Saxony; Schütz, Heinrich; Seven Years' War (1756–1763).

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HELEN WATANABE-O’KELLY

DRYDEN, JOHN (1631–1700), English poet, playwright, critic, and translator. Dryden was born on 9 August 1631 at Aldwinkle, Northamptonshire, the son of Erasmus Dryden and Mary (nee Pickering). He was educated at Westminster School, London, and Trinity College, Cambridge. His first poem was an elegy published in *Lachrymae Musarum* (1649), a collection mourning the death of Henry, Lord Hastings. Although his family had Parliamentary allegiances, Dryden was taught at Westminster by the charismatic Royalist Richard Busby, whose influence is evident in this early elegy.

The death of his father in 1654 left Dryden in need of a regular income to maintain himself in London. From 1658 he was employed by Cromwell’s government; he also worked for the publisher Henry Herringman. On Cromwell’s death he published “Heroic Stanzas” in *Three Poems upon the Death of his Late Highness Oliver* (1659), but he was probably more comfortable with *Astraea Redux* (1660) and *To his Sacred Majesty, A Panegyric on his Coronation* (1661), written after the return of Charles II. In 1662 Dryden was elected a fellow of the Royal Society, and in 1663 he married Elizabeth Howard, daughter of the earl of Berkshire and sister of Sir Robert Howard, with whom he lodged in the early 1660s.

Howard probably introduced his brother-in-law to the King’s Company, who produced Dryden’s first comedy, *The Wild Gallant*, at the Theatre Royal, Vere Street, on 5 February 1663. Although this play failed, *The Indian Queen* (1664), a collaboration with Howard, was a success, and Dryden began to write regularly for the King’s Company, of whom he became a shareholder in 1668. Of his twenty-seven plays, the best known include the two-part heroic play *The Conquest of Granada* (December 1670/January 1671), the sparkling *Marriage A-la-Mode* (1671), the heroic tragedy *Aureng-Zebe* (1675), *All For Love* (1677), the finest neoclassical tragedy of its day, and the late tragicomedy *Don Sebastian* (1689). He also wrote

in collaboration with Sir William Davenant a highly popular adaptation of Shakespeare’s *The Tempest* (1667). Less successful was *The State of Innocence*, his 1674 attempt to adapt his former colleague John Milton’s *Paradise Lost* as an opera, which the King’s Company could not afford to stage. Dryden also wrote substantial works of poetic and dramatic theory, notably *Of Dramatic Poesy: An Essay* (1667).

Following the publication of his mythologizing account of King Charles in *Annus Mirabilis: The Year of Wonders, 1666* (1667), Dryden was appointed poet laureate on 13 April 1668. On 18 August 1670 he was appointed historiographer royal. He kept both offices until the accession of William and Mary in January 1689. Despite his public honors, Dryden’s career was rarely free from aesthetic, political, or religious controversy. He squabbled with Howard over the merits of rhyme, was satirized as Mr. Bayes in the duke of Buckingham’s play *The Rehearsal* (1671), and was physically assaulted by unknown assailants in 1679, perhaps as a result of an exchange with the earl of Rochester. His feud with Thomas Shadwell over the theory of comedy escalated into personal abuse. Lampooned in Shadwell’s comedy *The Virtuoso* (1676), Dryden responded with the mock panegyric *Mac Flecknoe*, which satirized Shadwell and Richard Flecknoe (printed 1682).

Absalom and Achitophel (1681) is one of the greatest political poems of the period. It was inspired by the Exclusion Crisis, a period of political and religious turmoil seemingly sparked by a parliamentary attempt, led by the earl of Shaftesbury, to exclude Charles’s Catholic brother James, duke of York, from the succession in favor of the king’s illegitimate son, James, duke of Monmouth, who was Protestant. Dryden depicts Monmouth as Absalom, the rebellious son of David (King Charles) and satirizes Shaftesbury as the evil counselor Achitophel. *The Medal* (1682) was a further attack on Shaftesbury, and Dryden mined similar themes in *The Duke of Guise* (1682), a collaboration with Nathaniel Lee. His conversion to Catholicism in 1685 occasioned a number of attacks; Dryden defended himself and his coreligionists in *The Hind and the Panther* (1687). Following the revolution of December 1688, plays such as *King Arthur* (1691) and *Love Triumphant* (1694) are marked by a covert Jacobinism.

In his later years Dryden wrote fine occasional verse and a number of pindaric odes, notably *Threnodia Augustalis* (1685), *To the Pious Memory . . . of Mrs Ann Killigrew* (1686), and *Alexander's Feast; Or the Power of Music* (1697). He also turned increasingly to translation, notably *The Satires of Juvenal and Persius* (1693), *The Works of Virgil* (1697), and *Fables Ancient and Modern* (1700), which also included original works such as "The Secular Masque." Dryden died on 1 May 1700, and was at first buried in St Anne's, Soho; he was reinterred in Westminster Abbey on 13 May.

See also **Drama: English; English Literature and Language.**

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LUCY MUNRO

DUALISM. See **Cartesianism.**

DUBLIN. The rapid physical, economic, and demographic expansion of Dublin in the late Middle Ages came to an end in the mid-fourteenth century. The most striking feature of the long period of stagnation that ensued—which lasted until the early seventeenth century—was the cessation of the suburban growth previously promoted by the Anglo-Norman monastic foundations. As a result, the city's core remained within the old walled settlement, which was located on the south side of the River Liffey, nearly a mile from where the river met the sea at Dublin Bay. In keeping with its position as Ireland's main port and the administrative capital of

the English lordship, the city was secure against contraction. Even disruptive changes such as were caused in the 1530s by the dissolution of religious houses as part of Henry VIII's efforts to promote a Protestant Reformation could be turned to at least partial advantage; it encouraged some redevelopment and contributed to the emergence of the wealthy Catholic Old English elite that exercised a dominant command of civic politics in the second half of the sixteenth century. By this time also, the city had recovered from the devastating effects of the Black Death (1348), though its population continued to suffer the effects of epidemic disease. According to contemporary estimates, 3,000 people, or one-third of the city's population, then reckoned at 9,000, succumbed to plague in 1575. Modern assessments, however, put the city's population around that time at a more modest 5,500 to 8,000.

The condition of the city improved greatly from the early seventeenth century as, following the decisive military defeat of the native Irish, a new ruling elite—the New English—comprising soldiers, officials, settlers, and artisans, who arrived in substantial numbers from England, displaced the previously dominant Catholic patrician families. Dublin grew rapidly as a commercial, administrative, and industrial center as a result. This was not without interruption, notably during the war-torn 1640s, but the setbacks experienced then were soon reversed, as the growth of the city's population from about 20,000 in the 1660s to 45,000 in 1685 attests. Propelled by the immigration of English and French Protestants (Huguenots), the population had doubled again by 1730 when it exceeded 90,000. The city continued to grow rapidly, but the main engine of demographic growth thereafter was the in-migration of Catholics from the countryside, which pushed the population to 182,000 in 1798. The denominational character of the city was transformed in the process; in 1715, the city's population was nearly 70 percent Protestant, whereas in 1798 it was 70 percent Catholic.

Rural dwellers were drawn to the city in large numbers by the prospects of employment. One of the most vibrant sectors was construction, as the wealthy aristocratic elite (which also sustained a network of fine craftsmen, luxury goods sellers, and aesthetic, cultural, and intellectual endeavors) stimulated a building boom that transformed much of



Dublin. The entrance to one of the Parliament buildings in Dublin, built in the early eighteenth century. ©MICHAEL NICHOLSON/CORBIS

the city. As a result, not only were graceful town-houses and elegant public buildings introduced into the much reconfigured old city (to which the Wide Street Commission [1757] made an important contribution) but extended suburban development flourished as well, promoted by ambitious developers who oversaw the construction of classical Georgian squares and long streets of imposing houses with distinctive red-brick fronts to the southeast of the old city and north of the River Liffey. The relocation of the Custom House closer to the mouth of Dublin Bay was no less critical since, in tandem with a new easterly bridge, it moved the center of the city out of its old walled town and half a mile closer to the sea. It also linked the various major developments of the eighteenth century, which was critical to Dublin's emergence by the end of the eighteenth century as the "second city" of

the British Empire and one of the most improved cities in Europe.

See also *Cities and Urban Life*; Cromwell, Oliver; England; Ireland; Plague.

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JAMES KELLY

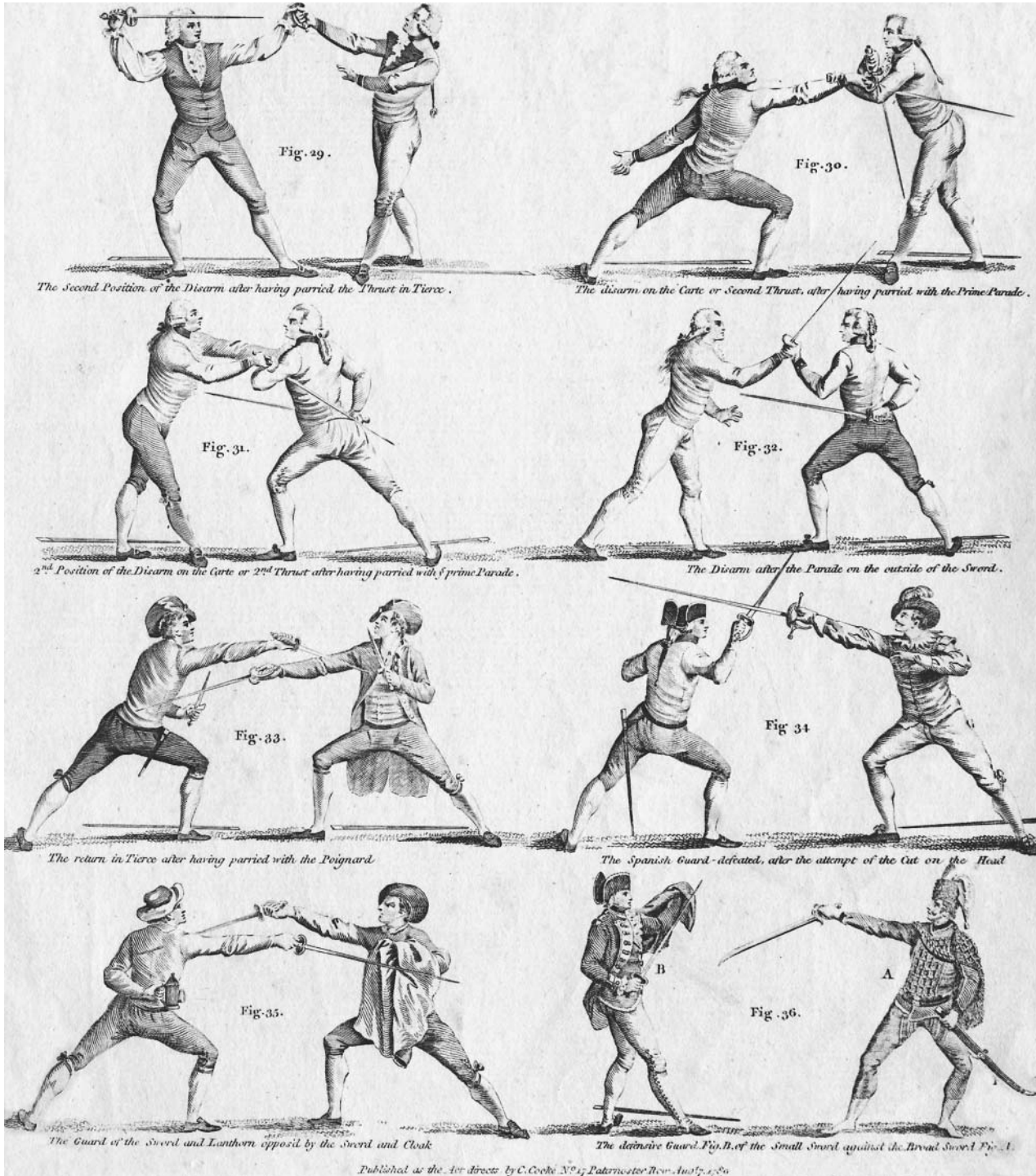
DUEL. Duels were a major source of disorder and crime in the early modern period. Of course, dueling has a history that transcends the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. Trial by combat was common in the Middle Ages and was frequently prescribed and sanctioned by authorities as a means of settling criminal cases. The practice continued well into the modern period, especially between military men and even between public officials. The French statesman of the early twentieth century, Georges Clemenceau, is credited with twenty-two duels.

RISE OF THE DUEL IN EARLY MODERN EUROPE

There are reasons for concluding, however, that dueling, defined as ritualized combat over affairs of honor, has a special place in the culture of early modern Europe. For one thing, it was then that the code of honor was established as a cornerstone of aristocratic life. Out of the Renaissance emerged understandings, derived ultimately from ancient notions of glory and heroism, that vaunted an exalted sense of the aristocratic self. Schooled in the precise etiquette of social interactions between gentlemen, noblemen were taught that honor aggrieved could only be satisfied with blood. The well-known legal scholar Andrea Alciati (Alciato) wrote an early code on the duel; Girolamo Muzio's *Il duello* (1550) was one of the most widely read treatises on the subject and spawned many imitations. Even Baldessare Castiglione, who expressed disapproval of the practice, acknowledged that, once committed to a duel, a gentleman must not fail to demonstrate his courage.

Another reason dueling was more of a problem in the early modern period is that, for technological reasons, it simply became easier for gentlemen to draw swords when provoked. By the mid-sixteenth century the rapier, an Italian invention, began to appear throughout Europe. Lightweight and deadly, this needlepoint sword allowed gentlemen to walk about with weapons at their sides that could be drawn at the slightest imprecation or insult. Encounters that might have ended in mutual exhaustion with cumbersome broadswords now turned instantly fatal with the merest thrust. Even courtiers and aristocratic fops with no military experience and little physical bearing were now armed and dangerous.

These factors alone, however, are not sufficient to explain the duel's prominence in the early modern period. The heart of the matter relates to the anxieties and sensitivities that prompted aristocrats to cross swords so readily. Without embracing the discredited notion of a "crisis of the aristocracy," it still can be argued that a heightened concern for their statuses and privileges led many gentlemen to the duel. Two factors seem most salient. One was the so-called military revolution that, generally speaking, challenged the aristocracy's traditional role in society, that of "those who fight," by replacing cavalry with infantry at the crux of battlefield tactics. Aristocrats continued to serve as officers in the military, but now they were forced to reconsider their role in an enterprise that increasingly valued esprit de corps over individualism, patient strategizing over brute impetuosity, leadership over heroism, and training over birthright. Another factor was the inflation of honors and the sale of offices, which greatly increased the pool of privileged elites. Under James I (ruled 1603–1625), England saw a dramatic inflation of honors, after the long depression of Elizabeth I's (1558–1603) reign, an upturn that indeed coincided with an outbreak of the dueling mania. In France new titles were distributed throughout the sixteenth century and especially during the religious wars. In addition, the nobility of the robe, the class of magistrates ennobled mostly through positions in the realms' sovereign courts, the parlements, more than doubled in the period. These magistrates not only added to the already crowded field of privileged elites, they also challenged traditional aristocrats of the sword with a different aristocratic ethos, one that emphasized learning, civility, and royal service. This did not mean they were immune to the duel. Pierre de L'Estoile recounted that a son of a robe official slew a gentleman who dared question his rank. It did mean, however, that, as with the military revolution, competition from parvenus and outsiders could provoke anxiety and uncertainty among aristocrats, prompting them to seek relief in a ritual that, if nothing else, reaffirmed their self-images as great men whose senses of honor and sensitivities to injury set them far above others. The Venetian ambassador observed that the duel formed the greatest bond between French noblemen, and his observation attests to the importance of this custom as a paradoxical feature of class solidarity.



Duel. Illustration from an eighteenth-century manual depicts sword maneuvers. ©BETTMANN/CORBIS

OPPOSITION TO THE DUEL

Authorities and critics bemoaned the dueling mania in part because de facto toleration of the practice seemed to concede that the nobility was above the law, subject to a code of conduct all its own. Dis-

turbors of the public peace, duelists were thus obstacles to the goal of imposing civility, comity, and legal uniformity on early modern societies, a crucial task of early modern state making. But the real cost of dueling in terms of civil disturbance and lives lost

was enough to make it a major concern. Precise figures are hard to come by, but it is clear that the bloodletting was significant. In the early seventeenth century the jurist Jean de Savaron commented that there were “few or no noble houses exempted from this carnage” (*Traicté contre les duels*, Paris, 1610, p. 49), while a preacher at the Estates-General in 1614 argued that dueling was responsible for twice as many deaths as the Wars of Religion. In Britain during the reign of George III (ruled 1760–1820) there were 172 reported duels, a somewhat modest figure except that 91 had fatal consequences. And if the comments of critics and reformers are any measure, dueling continued as a major source of criminality throughout the early modern period.

Attempts to curb the duel began in the mid-sixteenth century. The Council of Trent (1545–1563) condemned the practice. In 1566 unauthorized dueling was declared a capital offense in France; in 1576 it was deemed a treasonous act. James I, who had ample exposure to intramural brawling during his reign in Scotland, made extirpation of the duel a personal mission, even writing a treatise against it. Kings, however, often proved reluctant to prosecute a crime that stemmed from martial qualities they admired. Henry IV (1589–1610) of France was notoriously lax in backing up the royal ban. Cardinal Richelieu (1585–1642), on the other hand, encouraged Louis XIII (ruled 1610–1643) to remain steadfast in the execution of François de Montmorency-Bouteville (1530–1579), a well-known scion of one of the most prominent families in Europe, after he was convicted of breaking the law by dueling in broad daylight in a Parisian square. Religious reformers, secular moralists, and legal commentators continued to denounce the duel as a symptom of the egotism, lawlessness, irreligion, and other excesses, like drunkenness and libertinism, that seemed endemic to the aristocracy. In the Enlightenment, dueling, and especially the code of honor, came to be seen as a useless relic from a benighted age, unworthy of reasonable, truly sociable men. Charles-Louis de Secondat de Montesquieu (1689–1755), commenting on the practice of seconds in the duel, famously remarked on the folly of a “man who would have been reluctant to give someone else five pounds in order to save him from the

gallows . . . would make no bones about going to risk his life for him a thousand times over” (*Persian Letters*, no. 90, p. 172).

And yet even in the age of reason the duel had its apologists. Some writers waxed nostalgic for the martial, heroic values it seemed to embody, especially in a time when refinement and the influence of women were hallmarks of high society. Others simply maintained the justice of recourse to the duel as a necessary, if dangerous, means of defending one’s reputation in extremis. As Samuel Johnson (1709–1784) pronounced, “No, Sir, a man may shoot the man who invades his character, as he may shoot him who attempts to break into his house” (Boswell’s *Life of Johnson*, quoted by Kiernan, *The Duel*, pp. 179–180). If there was stubborn ambivalence with regard to the duel, this perhaps reflected the fact that the early modern period remained, despite all the changes, an aristocratic era dominated by notions of honor, a belief in the superiority of noble blood and lineage, and a sense of the legitimacy of private justice.

See also Honor.

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DUMA. The *duma* was the main institution of government in Russia from the fourteenth century to the 1690s. Often referred to as the “Boyars’ *Duma*” by modern historians, it was called either “*duma*” or “the boyars” in contemporary sources. It lacked any formal attributes of an institution beyond the name, though custom maintained it at the

center of government under the monarch for some four hundred years. The *duma* was the forum in which the boyar elite of the Moscow principality and later Russia influenced decision making and policy, and its history was closely bound up with the history of that elite.

The origins of the *duma* seem to lie in the fourteenth century, when the Moscow princes met frequently with the major landholders and warriors of the Moscow principality. Usually six to ten in number, they came from the major aristocratic clans and received the rank of boyar, a designation of honor and status, not administrative or military function. These numbers remained roughly constant until the end of the fifteenth century, when the numbers expanded slightly and a few received the rank of *okol'nichii*, a sort of junior boyar rank. Most boyars were untitled, but a few princes who moved to Moscow, such as the princes Patrikeev from Lithuania, received boyar rank in addition to their princely title. At the end of the fifteenth century and during the early sixteenth century, a number of princely clans from formerly independent princedoms entered the *duma*, joining the older families of untitled Moscow boyars.

There were no written rules that governed accession to boyar rank, but historians have reconstructed the governing principles from practice. In theory the prince could appoint anyone to the *duma*, but in reality he chose from among a relatively small number of aristocratic clans. Though the older males in the clan were normally chosen, not all senior males received the rank. Succession was collateral, that is, a given boyar's brother would acquire the rank ahead of the boyar's son. This meant that the operative family unit was really the aristocratic clan, not just a single lineage. The boyars and the state kept careful genealogical records and also records of service to the grand prince. These were necessary to maintain the system of precedence ranking (*Mestnichestvo*), which theoretically determined where boyars as well as lesser officials and landholders stood in the service hierarchy. The basic rule of precedence ranking was that a man could not serve at a lower position than his male ancestors. The system was necessarily complex and led to many disputes. From the time of Ivan IV the Terrible (ruled 1533–1584) onwards, tsars increas-

ingly had to suspend precedence ranking during military campaigns.

By the middle of the sixteenth century, the *duma* grew to some forty boyars and fifteen junior boyars. Most of these were great men, with large estates and luxurious houses, the great commanders of the army, and holders of most of the important administrative and court offices. Wherever their origins, their life now centered on Moscow and the court. They maintained estates around the capital, their houses were in or near the Kremlin, and when in Moscow they were in virtually daily attendance at court. Around them were lesser men who also had landed estates and made up the bulk of the tsar's army, holding the rank of Moscow gentleman. Still further down the ladder were the gentry who served in the army and elsewhere from provincial towns. From the middle of the sixteenth century, alongside the boyars the tsar appointed one or two of the chancellery secretaries to the rank of "duma secretary" as well as one or two of the Moscow gentlemen to the rank of "duma gentleman."

We know very little of the formal procedure of the *duma*. It met in the main room (the "Golden Hall") of the Kremlin palace. Its proceedings were never written down and in the seventeenth century were considered secret. Historical evidence of its actions comes from narrative sources and from laws with the formula: "the tsar decreed and the boyars assented." In the seventeenth century most legislation on taxation and other internal issues bore this formula, while military decisions were simply a matter of the tsar's decree. The *duma* also devoted much time to foreign policy, and indeed until 1667 the head of the ambassadorial office was not usually a boyar but a secretary, with the boyars retaining a sort of collective supervision, sending committees to meet with foreign emissaries. The *duma* was the seat of most of the court politics of the period and was at the center of the endless and murderous factional battles of the sixteenth century, influencing the relationships of the various factions to the monarch. The princes and tsars consulted regularly with the *duma* (sometimes with a small group within it) and it was an essential component of the theoretical autocracy of the tsars.

The *duma* stood at some thirty members before 1648, then increased to about sixty-five in the third

quarter of the seventeenth century. After the death of Tsar Alexis in 1676, a succession of weak rulers curried favor by granting *duma* rank. In 1690 there were some fifty boyars, fifty *okol'nichii*, forty *duma* gentlemen, and nine *duma* secretaries. Tsar Alexis had tried to regularize the meetings and assign certain days of the week to certain types of business, but this rule was hard to maintain. The abolition of precedence ranking in 1682 altered the meaning of the ranks, restricting their importance to *duma* service. In the 1690s Peter the Great gradually ceased to award the rank and called the *duma* together only infrequently. After 1700 it faded away, to be replaced by new institutions and new systems of rank.

See also **Aristocracy and Gentry; Autocracy; Ivan IV, "the Terrible"** (Russia); **Moscow; Peter I (Russia); Russia.**

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PAUL BUSHKOVITCH

DÜRER, ALBRECHT (1471–1528), German painter, printmaker, mathematician, and theorist. Dürer is the first Western artist for whom an entire era is named—the *Dürerzeit* (the Dürer Time, c. 1490–1528), as the transitional period from late medieval to Renaissance in Germany is called. First mastering both the northern European tradition of rendering objects and textures in meticulous detail, he visited Italy twice to learn the Italian secrets of one-point perspective and classical human proportion. His graphic art was marketed internationally by two sales agents whose contracts still survive, and it was eagerly acquired by other artists as well as by the humanists who were his contemporaries. He counted among his friends the classicist Willibald Pirckheimer (1470–1530); the imperial

poet laureate Conrad Celtis (1459–1508); the mathematicians Johannes Werner (1468–1522), developer of conic sections, and Niklas Kratzer (1486/7–1550), court astronomer to Henry VIII of England; the Lutheran reformers Lazarus Spengler (1479–1534) and Philipp Melanchthon (1497–1560); and the Augustinian vicar-general Johann von Staupitz (1468/9–1524), Martin Luther's (1483–1546) confessor. He owned sixteen of Luther's early pamphlets and sent Luther some of his own work as a gift. The Saxon elector Frederick the Wise (1463–1525), the Holy Roman emperor Maximilian I (1459–1519); Cardinal Albrecht of Brandenburg (1490–1545), archbishop of Mainz and primate of the empire; and the great humanist Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam (1466?–1536) were among his most famous patrons.

Dürer was born in Nuremberg on 21 May 1471, the third of eighteen children of the Hungarian-born goldsmith Albrecht Dürer the Elder (1427–1502) and his wife, Barbara (née Holper, 1442–1514), and was apprenticed to the leading Nuremberg painter-woodcut designer, Michael Wolgemut (1434–1519). Hoping to study engraving under Martin Schongauer (1445/50–1491), he went to Colmar on his bachelor's journey, only to find that Schongauer had died. He worked briefly in Basel as a book illustrator before returning to Nuremberg (1494) to marry Agnes Frey (1475–1539) and made his first trip to Italy soon afterward—a journey commemorated in a series of pioneering landscape watercolors.

Returning to Nuremberg in 1495, he opened his own workshop, with Frederick the Wise his first portrait sitter (1496). His most famous works include his *Self-Portrait* (1500, Alte Pinakothek, Munich), the *Fall of Man* (engraving, 1504); the altarpiece for the church of St. Bartholomew in Venice (1506, National Gallery, Prague), the three so-called Master Engravings—*Knight, Death, and the Devil* (1513), *Saint Jerome in His Study* (1514), and *Melencolia I* (1514), and his watercolor *The Wild Hare* (1502, Albertina, Vienna) and chiaroscuro drawing *Praying Hands* (1508, Albertina, a study for the lost Heller altarpiece), and the *Four Apostles* painted for the Nuremberg City Hall (1526, Alte Pinakothek, Munich). Underscored by quotations from the New Testament writings of Saints John, Peter, Mark, and Paul warning against the danger of following false prophets, this last work



Albrecht Dürer. *Knight, Death, and the Devil*, 1513. AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

was created in reaction against the violence of the German Peasants' War (1525).

Dürer made further trips abroad, to Venice (1505–1507), Switzerland (1517), and the Netherlands (1520–1521), attending the coronation of the new emperor, Charles V, in Aachen and making Antwerp his headquarters for a year. His experiences are recorded in his travel diary, and they include two dinners as the guest of Erasmus and his friend Peter Gillis (Aegidius: 1486–1533) and dinners with King Christian II of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden (1481–1559), the Portuguese consul, João Brandao (served 1514–1521), and the young Dutch artist Lucas van Leyden (1494–1533), and an audience with Margaret of Austria, regent of the Netherlands (1480–1530). He recorded his delight at viewing the golden objects from Mexico sent to court by Hernán Cortés, as well as his deep despair at hearing the false news of Luther's arrest after the Diet at Worms (entry of 17 May 1521). During his stay in the Netherlands, however, he contracted the lingering illness that ended his life seven years later. He died in Nuremberg on 6 April 1528, aged fifty-seven, having devoted his last years to the writing of his theoretical works the *Treatise on Measurement* (*Unterweysung der Messung*, 1525); the treatise on fortification (*Befestigungslehre*, 1527), and the *Four Books on Human Proportion*, edited after his death by his friend Pirckheimer in 1532 and published by the widowed Agnes.

In 1509 Dürer had bought the house previously owned by the mathematician-astronomer Bernhard Walther (now the Dürerhaus Museum), which still contained both its observatory and scientific library. His house, tomb, and the bronze portrait statue of Dürer by Christian Daniel Rauch (1777–1857) erected in 1840—the first such public monument to honor an artist—can still be seen in Nuremberg.

See also Erasmus, Desiderius; Luther, Martin; Melancthon, Philipp; Nuremberg; Peasants' War, German; Prints and Popular Imagery.

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JANE CAMPBELL HUTCHISON

DUTCH COLONIES

This entry includes two subentries:

THE AMERICAS

THE EAST INDIES

THE AMERICAS

The Dutch established virtually all their colonies in the Americas during the war with Habsburg Spain, known as the Dutch Revolt (1568–1648). Although most lands and islands appropriated were formally under Spanish jurisdiction, Dutch colonies were usually carved out deliberately in areas where there was no prior enemy presence. The only Spanish colonies that the Dutch actually conquered were Saint Martin and Curaçao, while their attempt to subdue Puerto Rico failed dismally. The most ambitious Dutch invasions, however, took place in Portuguese Brazil, where the capital city of Bahia (Salvador) was occupied for one year (1624–1625) and where the annexation of the northeastern captaincy of Pernambuco (now Recife; 1630) was the springboard for further conquests. At its height Dutch Brazil comprised all territory from Rio

Grande in the north to Cabo de Santo Agostinho in the south. The Dutch withstood Habsburg armies but could not check a local Portuguese revolt that never lost momentum, forcing the Dutch to surrender in 1654.

The Dutch colony in North America, New Netherland (fully settled 1624–1664), was made up of settlements on the Hudson, Delaware, and Connecticut Rivers and on Long Island. The Dutch presence on the Delaware received a strong boost after the conquest of New Sweden in 1655. The English takeover of 1664 was followed in 1673 by a successful Dutch capture that led to the proclamation of New Orange. After one year, however, the Dutch had to relinquish control again.

More enduring colonies were established on the Caribbean Islands and in northern South America. The Caribbean colonies included three Windward Islands, Curaçao (1634), Aruba (1636), and Bonaire (1636), just off the Venezuelan coast, and three Leeward Islands, Saint Martin (1631), Saba (1640s), and Saint Eustatius (1636). A Dutch colony on Saint Croix, begun in 1642, was overrun by English and Irish settlers of neighboring Saint Christopher (Saint Kitts) three years later. Similarly the Dutch settlers of Tobago (1628) surrendered to a Spanish military expedition in 1637. Despite the bloody nature of this encounter, which left forty-four unarmed Dutchmen dead, their compatriots returned to the island, where the Dutch maintained a presence until 1678.

Dutch colonization of Saint Martin was equally checkered. After the Dutch incorporation in 1631, it was lost to Spain (1633), only to be returned to the United Provinces at the Münster peace treaty (Peace of Westphalia, 1648), although the territory was immediately divided between Dutch and French settlers. In the next century and a half, Saint Martin, Saba, and Saint Eustatius frequently changed hands, but all eventually remained Dutch possessions. The last area of Dutch colonization was the “Wild Coast” or Guiana, the unsettled region between the Amazon and Orinoco Rivers. After Dutch trading posts were erected on the Amazon perhaps as early as the mid-1590s, permanent settlements arose along the Berbice, Essequibo, Demerara, and Suriname (1667) Rivers, where the thick forests receded as plantations were laid out to

accommodate cash crop production. The colonies founded in Pomeroun (1658–1666) and Cayenne (1658–1676) were soon vacated.

INHABITANTS OF THE COLONIES

Immigration to the Dutch colonies was modest compared to Spanish America, English America, or Brazil. Hopes of a massive immigration of farmers and farmhands from the Dutch Republic never materialized. The few settlers that did come usually intended to make their stay a temporary one. The ideal these transients shared was to strike it rich and then retire in the mother country. New Netherland’s population benefited from the influx of English citizens taking up residence in the Dutch part of Long Island (1642–1646) and people arriving from Dutch Brazil (lost in 1654), while the annexation of the Swedish colony in Delaware (1655) added Swedes and Finns to the colonial mix. A sudden rise in migration from the United Provinces after 1655 accounted for the doubling of New Netherland’s estimated population from 3,455 to over 7,000 by the time of the transition to English rule.

In Brazil the Dutch assumed control of the flourishing captaincy of Pernambuco, which in 1630 boasted a population of ninety-five thousand, concentrated in the valley of the Capibaribe River and in the regions of Goiana, Ipojuca, Serinhaém, and Rio Formoso. About forty thousand were blacks, forty thousand were whites, and fifteen thousand were Indians. Southward migration by members of these three groups to Bahia reduced that figure to about eighty-five thousand by 1640. The Dutch were always a minority, never numbering more than ten thousand.

The population increase of Suriname, captured from the English in 1667, reflected the emergence of a prospering plantation economy. After a difficult start—the European segment declined from fifteen hundred (1667) to five hundred (1679)—the numbers kept rising steadily until the late eighteenth century. The overall population grew from 3,984 (1684) to 27,264 (1744) and further to 58,120 (1791); the last two figures do not include Maroons (escaped slaves) or natives. The increase of whites (from 652 to 3,360) in this period paled in comparison with the increase of black slaves from 3,226 (81 percent) to 53,000 (91.2 percent).

The next most populous colony was Curaçao, where six hundred Europeans were counted in the mid-1660s, when the African segment was still small. By 1789 the number of whites was 4,410, whereas nonwhites numbered 16,578 persons. Slaves made up the bulk of the population (12,864 or 61.3 percent). An even more dramatic rise of the enslaved African population occurred in Essequibo, from 276 in 1691 to 21,259 one hundred years later. By then Essequibo's demographic weight in Dutch America was second only to Suriname. Slaves also outnumbered whites by a wide margin in Berbice, which helped the spread of a rebellion in 1763 and almost drove out the whites. The revolt ended after fourteen months with the execution of 128 blacks.

ECONOMIES OF THE COLONIES

Suriname and Essequibo were plantation economies that revolved around the production of one crop in particular: sugar. Planters in Suriname were inspired by the example of Dutch Brazil, where sugar had been cultivated on a large scale and in a highly modern fashion. However, sugar production in Brazil was severely disrupted by warfare between the Dutch and Portuguese. Suriname blossomed into an important plantation colony producing sugar, coffee, cacao, and cotton in spite of natural obstacles. The coastal strip where many plantations were located was flooded time and again by high tides. The planters succeeded, nevertheless, in making Suriname the colony with the highest productivity in the Americas. Massive drainage and irrigation helped increase the number of plantations from one hundred to four hundred in the course of the eighteenth century.

Since conditions for cash crop production were far from ideal in their Caribbean Islands, the Dutch transformed Curaçao and Saint Eustatius into entrepôts. The African slave trade propelled Curaçao to regional significance. From 1662 through 1716 the island functioned as an important way station between Africa and Spanish America. Curaçao owed its development in large part to its suitable position close to the Spanish Main and its excellent natural port, Willemstad. By 1700 it had become more than a slave-trading center. Large amounts of cocoa, tobacco, indigo, sugar, coffee, and hides were sent to the United Provinces; ships

were repaired, fitted out, bought, and sold; several financial facilities were available; and sailors were enlisted for voyages to all parts of the Caribbean.

The second quarter of the eighteenth century saw the rise of Saint Eustatius, an even smaller island than Curaçao, owing to its intensive trade with the French West Indies. Commercial relations with British North America expanded after mid-century, and the island reaped the full benefit of the disruptions caused by the American War of Independence, when the thirteen colonies were cut off from Great Britain and were in need of weapons and ammunition. By the end of 1775 daily shipments of Dutch and French gunpowder were sent from Saint Eustatius to ports in North America. The island paid a severe penalty in 1781, when a British attack left it in ruins.

After 1621 Dutch activities in the New World had been coordinated by the West India Company (WIC), which was founded as a joint-stock enterprise. A private company, the WIC also had the attributes of a state. The States-General not only granted the company a monopoly of trade and navigation in its domain, they officially allowed the WIC to administer justice, make treaties with foreign princes, and maintain an army. Apart from an occasional windfall, the financial performance of the West India Company was miserable. The war in Brazil, first with Habsburg Spain and then with local and Portuguese forces, was costly, and the supply of African slaves on credit to Portuguese planters led to the company's bankruptcy, which was finally declared in 1674. Thereafter the WIC was replaced by an organization that had little in common with its predecessor except the name. Having already lost most of its commercial monopolies in previous decades, it was dismantled as a military machine.

After 1628 the company encouraged private initiatives to stimulate migration to the Americas in an effort to economize on the expensive task of colonization. Patroonships were assigned to applicants, the so-called patroons, who were granted land in fief, which they were expected to people. Patroons were also entrusted with certain administrative and judicial powers. The Caribbean islands of Saint Martin and Saint Eustatius were delegated to patroons shortly after the Dutch took possession in

the 1630s, while Berbice was from the outset the private domain of the Van Pere family from Zeeland. North American patroonships were granted a short life, and the second WIC gained control of all three Dutch Leeward Islands in 1680. But the patroonship of Berbice survived until 1720, when the colony was passed on to a joint-stock company, the Society of Berbice. Suriname was never a patroonship. The Estates of Zeeland, which conquered the English colony, sold Suriname to the WIC, which entrusted it to a new joint-stock company, the Society of Suriname.

See also Colonialism; Dutch Republic; Dutch Revolt (1568–1648); Trading Companies.

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WIM KLOOSTER

THE EAST INDIES

In the context of the Eighty Years' War (Dutch Revolt), the general expansion of trade and shipping, and to a lesser extent, the missionary impulse of Calvinism, Dutch overseas expansion was spurred by a powerful combination of politico-economic, commercial, and religious motivations. The "first shipping" to Asia of 1595 was followed by the creation of "precompanies" in various cities of the northern Netherlands trading to the East. To curb internal competition and forge a military-diplomatic tool against the Spanish-Portuguese colonial possessions, these "precompanies" were combined into the United East India Company (or VOC after its Dutch initials). On 20 March 1602 the States-General of the Dutch Republic issued a charter, which was continuously renewed until 31 Decem-

ber 1799, when the charter lapsed and the possessions of the VOC were taken over by the Dutch government.

ORGANIZATION AND POLICY

According to its charter, the VOC was given the monopoly of all shipping "from the Republic east of the Cape of Good Hope and through Straits Magellan." The company's sphere of operation effectively covered the Indian Ocean basin from South Africa and Persia in the West, via India, Ceylon (Sri Lanka), Melaka, and the Indonesian Archipelago, to China and Japan in the Far East. The charter combined the existing organization of the "precompanies" with several new regulations. Six chambers were established in Amsterdam, Zeeland (Middelburg), Rotterdam, Delft, Hoorn, and Enkhuizen. The distribution of activities, such as the construction and equipping of ships or sale of return cargoes, was carefully apportioned: Amsterdam was accorded one-half, Zeeland one-quarter, and the four smaller chambers each one-sixteenth of a share. The total number of local directors was reduced to sixty: Amsterdam had twenty, Zeeland twelve, and Rotterdam, Delft, Hoorn, and Enkhuizen each seven. Each chamber twice or three times annually selected representatives, who deliberated for several weeks in Amsterdam or Middelburg to determine central policy. This board of directors or Gentlemen Seventeen (Heeren XVII) consisted of eight representatives from Amsterdam, four from Zeeland, one from each of the four smaller chambers, and a final member selected by Zeeland or one of the smaller chambers. The charter also granted the company delegated sovereign powers, including the right to appoint governors, build forts, maintain armies and fleets, and conclude treaties with or wage war against indigenous rulers.

A central Asian rendezvous and trade emporium was established at Jakarta, renamed Batavia, on the island of Java in 1619. Batavia was the seat of the high government, the governor-general, and the Council of the Indies, which coordinated activities of the company settlements in the East. In theory subject to the authority of the board of directors in the Dutch Republic, this formal subordination was often easily lost in practice in a distant Asian environment. The administration of the regional and local settlements in the East, subject to the author-



ity of the high government, replicated that of Batavia.

The “General Instruction” of the directors to the High Government in April 1650 specified that the company divide its trading operations in Asia into three categories, with their relative significance indicated by their respective designations. The Dutch East Indies consisted of twenty or more establishments of different character and function. The core consisted of those areas where the company enjoyed trade as an outcome of its “own conquest,” exercising its own jurisdiction. The majority of Dutch conquests was formed by either spice-producing areas or trade emporia, such as the “governments” of Ambon, Banda, Cape of Good Hope, Coromandel, Makassar, the northeast coast of Java, Taiwan, and Ternate. A second category contained those regions where the company conducted trade “by virtue of exclusive contracts” with indigenous rulers, giving it monopolistic or monopsonic rights on local exports or imports, such as the “commandments” of Malabar and the west

coast of Sumatra. The third category consisted of those regions where trade was conducted “by virtue of treaties.” There the company did not occupy any special position and found itself merely one among many merchant communities. This category included economically important establishments under a director, including Bengal, Surat, and Persia; part of powerful indigenous empires, such as Mughal India or Safavid Persia; and peripheral establishments under a resident, head, or chief, such as Banjarmasin, Ligor, or Tonkin.

ECONOMIC STRUCTURES AND TRENDS

Before the industrial revolution, trade between Europe and Asia was characterized by a structural trade imbalance. The deficit was supplemented via the remittance of bullion from Europe and the reimbursement of Asian bills of exchange in Europe along with profits earned in the intra-Asian or inter-country trade. The intra-Asian trade served the dual function of acquiring commodities directly for Europe and earning additional means of exchange to

finance Euro-Asian trade. The economic history of the VOC can be divided into three distinct periods: a monopolistic phase, 1600–1680; a competitive phase, 1680–1740; and disengagement and decline, 1740–1800 (for financial results, see Table 1).

Dutch dominance in world trade and shipping after 1590 revolutionized the world economic order and transformed the pattern of Europe's colonial expansion. Between 1600 and 1680 the company's trade was determined by the acquisition of monopolistic or monopsonistic positions in various commodities and markets. Pepper and the fine spices (nutmeg, mace, cloves, and cinnamon) were and remained the *raison d'être* of company activities, accounting for 57.4 percent of the triennial sales of the Amsterdam Chamber in 1668–1670 (see Table 2). The spice monopoly was achieved through the bloody conquest of spice-producing areas and trade emporia, such as the Banda Islands (1622), Malakka (1641), Ambon (1655), the Southwest Ceylon littoral (1656), Makassar (1667), Ternate (1677), and Bantam (1682). Despite the capture of the Portuguese strongholds on the Malabar coast (1663) and Bantam, along with the conclusion of exclusive agreements with indigenous rulers of Sumatra, the company was unable to acquire a similar monopoly in pepper. By default the Dutch after 1641 also became the only Europeans to reside in Japan, an important source for gold, silver, and copper. Other monopolistic or monopsonistic positions included the export of elephants from Ceylon and tin from the west coast of the Malaysian Peninsula. The VOC also attempted to monitor and tax the intra-Asian trade by issuing passes and levying protection rights, but by 1680 concluded that the "true force of the passes was dead" (cited in Vink, 1990) because of the widespread use of flags of convenience and other means by Asian traders and merchants.

Dutch world trade hegemony in the last decades of the seventeenth century was gradually eroded, and many signs of incipient decline were attributable to the growth of mercantilist forces elsewhere. After 1680 the Euro-Asian and intra-Asian trades entered a new, more competitive phase characterized by the diminishing importance of monopolistic commodities and monopsonistic positions. The highly lucrative fine spices from eastern

TABLE 1

| Expenditures and Sale Revenues of the Dutch East India Company, 1640–1795 | | |
|--|---------------------|----------------------|
| (in Millions of Guilders) | | |
| | Expenditures | Sale Revenues |
| 1640–1650 | 42.7 | 78.4 |
| 1650–1660 | 71.1 | 84.2 |
| 1660–1670 | 80.4 | 92.3 |
| 1670–1680 | 77.0 | 91.3 |
| 1680–1690 | 87.6 | 103.4 |
| 1690–1700 | 106.9 | 127.2 |
| 1700–1710 | 122.6 | 139.5 |
| 1710–1720 | 135.2 | 163.7 |
| 1720–1730 | 172.9 | 185.6 |
| 1730–1740 | 159.0 | 167.0 |
| 1740–1750 | 148.7 | 159.7 |
| 1750–1760 | 184.9 | 188.0 |
| 1760–1770 | 198.9 | 213.6 |
| 1770–1780 | 186.5 | 199.6 |
| 1780–1790 | 212.3 | 145.9 |
| 1790–1795 | 86.7 | 61.2 |

SOURCE: J.P. de Korte, *The Annual Accounting in the VOC, Dutch East India*. Amsterdam, 2000, Appendix 1.

Indonesia and Ceylon and minerals from Japan were gradually supplanted by less-profitable nontraditional products, such as textiles, coffee, and tea, available on the relatively open markets of India, Arabia, and China. The share of cloves, nutmeg, mace, and pepper in the sale value of the Amsterdam Chamber in 1738–1740 decreased to 35 percent, while that of the "new" commodities rose concomitantly to 28.3 percent (textiles and raw silk) and 24.9 percent (tea and coffee). This "era of afterglow" or "profitless growth" was also characterized by an increasing volume of trade but no corresponding economies of scale.

From the 1680s onward the company gradually extended its sway over parts of eastern Indonesia, Java, and Ceylon. In eastern Indonesia, the Pax Neerlandica in Maluku, firmly established in the 1660s, was consolidated by the assertion of supremacy over the sultanates of Ternate (1683) and Tidore (1689). On Java the VOC, starting in 1677, was drawn into a series of succession wars involving the interior sultanate of Mataram. On the island of Ceylon the company's attempt to extend control over the coastal areas led to growing tensions with the inland kingdom of Kandy. Expansion north and

TABLE 2

Homeward Cargoes in the Euro-Asian Trade: Analysis of Imports and Sales of Various Commodities at the Amsterdam Chamber in Selected Triennial Periods

(in Percentages)

| | 1648–1650 | 1668–1670 | 1698–1700 | 1738–1740 | 1778–1780 |
|------------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|
| Fine spices and pepper | 59.3 | 57.4 | 38.1 | 35.0 | 35.4 |
| Textiles and raw silk | 17.5 | 23.8 | 43.4 | 28.3 | 32.7 |
| Tea and coffee | 0 | 0 | 4.1 | 24.9 | 22.9 |
| Sugar | 8.8 | 2.0 | 0.2 | 3.0 | 0.6 |
| Drugs, perfumery, dye stuffs | 7.3 | 5.9 | 6.6 | 2.7 | 2.3 |
| Saltpeter | 4.3 | 7.6 | 4.0 | 3.6 | 2.8 |
| Metals | 0.7 | 3.0 | 2.9 | 0.6 | 1.4 |
| Sundries | 2.1 | 0.3 | 0.7 | 1.9 | 1.9 |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

SOURCE: Jaap R. Bruijn, Femme S. Gaastra, and Ivo Schöffer, *Dutch-Asiatic Shipping in the 17th and 18th Centuries*. Volume I: Introductory volume. Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën, Grote serie 165. The Hague 1987, p. 192; Kristof Glamann, *Dutch-Asiatic trade, 1620–1740*. The Hague 1981, pp. 12–14 and 269–278.

eastward into the Cape hinterland after 1717 was the work of the Boers, discharged company servants and European settler-farmer immigrants. While the company faced growing expenses in Asia, revenues declined as the fabric of intra-Asian trade started to unravel with the decline of the Mughals (after 1707), the fall of the Safavids (1722), and the increasing restrictive policies of the Tokugawa shogunate in Japan after 1685.

The period after 1740 was one of afterglow and final collapse of Dutch supremacy in world trade, marked by the commencement of the era of Franco-British global wars and a distinct decline in terms of the volume of Dutch trade and shipping. The last great period of Dutch trade extended from 1740 until the outbreak of the Fourth Anglo-Dutch War (1780–1784), when Dutch shipping and colonial trade were severely disrupted. During the last fifteen

TABLE 3

European, Free Asian, and Slave Populations of Various Establishments of the Dutch East Indies in the Late Seventeenth Century

(Estimates in Italics)

| | Company Servants | Total European Population | Free Asian Population | Slave Population | Total |
|------------------|------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------|------------------|---------|
| Ambon (1689) | 816 | 914 | 58,352 | 10,761 | 70,027 |
| Banda (1689) | 637 * | 1,103 | 1,912 | 3,619 | 6,634 |
| Batavia (1699)** | 3,853 *** | 6,119 | 44,820 | 25,614 | 72,700 |
| Cape (1693) | 473 | 1,632 | N.A. | 1,546 | N.A. |
| Ceylon (1684) | 3,055 | 4,000 | 278,859 | 2,363 **** | 290,000 |
| Makassar (1697) | 765 | 900 | 31,032 | 1,500 | 34,000 |
| Malabar (1686) | 641 | 698 | 679 | 745 | 2,122 |
| Malacca (1680) | 545 | 595 | | 1,134 | 4,624 |
| Ternate (1694) | 697 | 800 | 350 | 450 | 2,295 |

* This is the figure for 1687.
 ** Inside and outside the city of Batavia alone. An accurate estimate of the free Asian population in the Ommelanden is impossible to make.
 *** This is the figure for 1700. The total European population includes the 3,853 Company servants for 1700, plus the 2,266 Europeans listed for 1699 inside and outside Batavia.
 **** Company slaves only.

SOURCE: W. Philippus Coolhaas ed., *Generale missiven van gouverneurs-generaal en raden aan Heren XVII der Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie*. 9 vols. to date. The Hague 1960–ongoing, IV, V and VI, passim; Robert Carl-Heinz Shell, “Slavery at the Cape of Good Hope, 1680–1731. Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, pp. 486 and 491; VOC 1434, OBP 1688, fls. 263v–265v, Samentrekking huisgezinnen, 17.12.1687.

years of the Dutch Republic (1780–1795) and the subsequent French occupation, Dutch trade functioned at reduced levels compared with previous decades. Financial deficits in Asia assumed disastrous proportions. The creation of the Batavian Republic, in alliance with France, in 1795, precipitated a massive new British onslaught on Dutch shipping and commerce around the globe and initiated the collapse of the VOC on 31 December 1799. The loss of power and influence was most marked in the western Indian Ocean, where military setbacks contributed to the overall processes of disengagement and decline in India and the Persian Gulf. In addition the spice monopoly in eastern Indonesia was undermined by French and English activities after 1770. On Ceylon and Java the company, as a reluctant imperialist, was drawn into a creeping process of territorial expansion, evinced by the Treaties of Colombo (1766) and Gyanti (1755) respectively.

POPULATION SIZE AND TRENDS

The population of the Dutch East Indies was a typical plural society, with Europeans, the free Asian population, and slaves separated along religious, social, and linguistic lines (see Table 3). Typical of a trading post empire or militarized trade diaspora, the Dutch East Indies was concentrated around a relatively small number of central places scattered across the Indian Ocean basin. The major urban centers included Batavia, Cape Town, Cochin, Colombo, Kotah Ambon, Melaka, and Vlaardingen or Makassar (see Table 4).

Europeans consisted of company officials and free burghers. Company officials served as administrator-merchants, sailors, soldiers, craftspeople, clergy, medical practitioners, and other occupations in the settlements, in the intra-Asian trade, and aboard the homeward- and outward-bound ships. Their numbers increased from 7,700 in 1625 to 25,000 in 1700, peaked at 35,000 in 1750, and declined to 27,000 in 1780. The number of personnel on the Dutch East Indian establishments displayed a similar pattern with 3,000 employees in 1625, 18,000 in 1700, 25,000 in 1750, and 18,500 in 1780. About half were military, and one-third to one-fourth were seamen. The largest establishments were Java and Ceylon, each with 3,000 to 4,000 officials in the eighteenth century. A significant number of VOC servants came from abroad, espe-

TABLE 4

Population and Slave Population of Various Urban Settlements of the Dutch East Indies in the Late Seventeenth Century

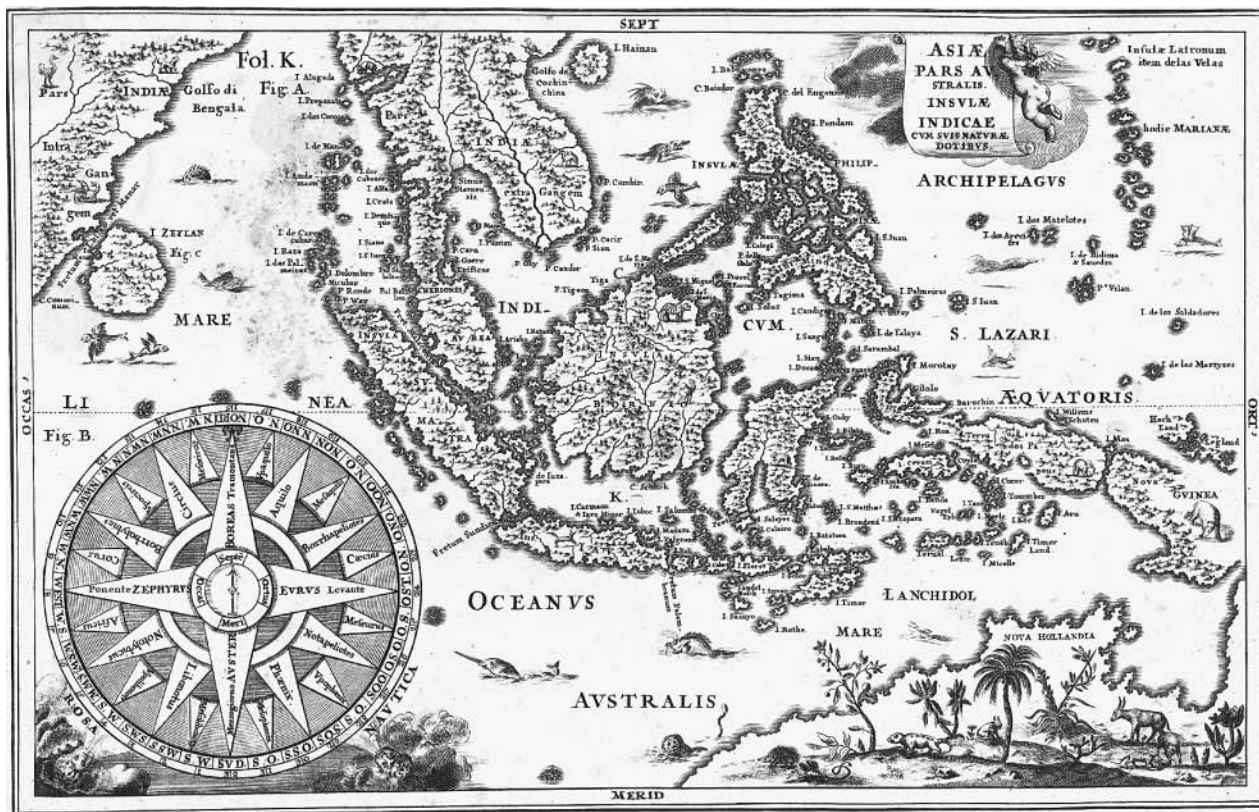
| Urban settlements | Year | Total Population | Slave Population | % |
|-------------------|------|------------------|------------------|-------|
| Batavia | 1673 | 27,068 | 13,278 | 49.05 |
| | 1679 | 32,124 | 16,695 | 51.97 |
| | 1699 | 21,966 | 12,505 | 56.93 |
| Cape Town | 1731 | 3,157 | 1,333 | 42.22 |
| | 1686 | 1,749 | 621 | 35.51 |
| Cochin | 1687 | 1,845 | 649 | 35.18 |
| | 1697 | 2,216 | 938 | 42.33 |
| | 1701 | 1,943 | 696 | 35.82 |
| | 1694 | 3,300 | 1,761 | 53.36 |
| Kotah Ambon | 1694 | 5,487 | 2,870 | 52.31 |
| Malacca | 1678 | 5,379 | 1,962 | 36.48 |
| | 1680 | 4,486 | 1,134 | 25.28 |
| | 1682 | 4,624 | 1,853 | 40.07 |
| Vlaardingen | 1676 | 1,384 | 921 | 66.55 |

SOURCE: Markus P. M. Vink, "‘The world’s oldest trade’: Dutch slavery and slave trade in the Indian Ocean in the seventeenth century," *Journal of World History* 14:2 (2003), forthcoming.

cially German states and principalities: 40 percent of the sailors and 60 percent of the soldiers were of foreign descent.

Free burghers or settlers consisted of time-expired company officials who decided to stay in the East Indies and, much less significant, married couples and families from Europe. Initial schemes to foster the settlement and growth of Dutch communities in the tropics proved abortive, with the notable exception of the Cape of Good Hope. High mortality rates, restrictive commercial policies, powerful Asian competition, and failure to induce respectable Dutch women to emigrate precluded the emergence of an equivalent of the large class of *casados* (married men) and *moradores* (settlers) in the Portuguese colonial empire. A significant portion (one-fourth to one-eighth) was Indo-European, born in Asia but of European or European-Asian descent (low-class or slave origins). The most popular occupations were in the service sector and agriculture, such as the *perkeniers*, who cultivated the nutmeg gardens, in Banda, the wheat and wine growers of the southwestern Cape, and the pastoral farmers of the Cape interior.

On Java and Ceylon the VOC also ruled over large populations of free Asians. On Java these included peoples from the archipelago, Chinese, in-



Dutch Colonies: The East Indies. This map of the East Indies, from Heinrich Scherer’s *Atlas Novus*, published in Munich circa 1710, features an exceptionally large and unusual compass rose or wind rose. Although Portuguese in pursuit of the spice trade were first into the Indies in the early sixteenth century, the Dutch soon followed. By 1610 they had ousted the Portuguese and, after several Anglo-Dutch conflicts (1610–1623), the English as well. MAP COLLECTION, STERLING MEMORIAL LIBRARY, YALE UNIVERSITY

indigenous Christians, and Indo-European mestizos. On Ceylon the company wielded jurisdiction over significant numbers of indigenous Christians, Hindu Tamils, Buddhist Sinhalese, and Muslims. At the Cape, Khoikhoi pastoralists and San hunter-gatherers were incorporated into the expanding pastoral economy. In accordance with preexisting practices, these indigenous groups were accorded a great degree of autonomy under their own officials or traditional heads.

All Dutch urban centers and their surroundings were true “slave societies,” in which slaves formed a significant proportion of the population (see Table 4). In the late seventeenth century there were about four thousand company slaves and perhaps sixty-six thousand total slaves in the various establishments of the Dutch East Indies, and their numbers increased in the eighteenth century. The Indian subcontinent remained the most important source of

forced labor until the 1660s. After 1660 relatively more slaves came from Southeast Asia, while the African mainland, Madagascar, and the Mascarene Islands became a more important catchment area in the eighteenth century. Slaves were general laborers used in a wide variety of occupations. Specialization, however, occurred in accordance with the size of the individual slave household and the particular position of the settlement within the company’s overall trade network. The majority of slaves acted as domestic servants, but significant numbers were also employed in agriculture, mining, fishing, shipping, trading, manufacturing, and the service sector.

THE END OF THE COMPANY

Historians have pointed to a number of problems in both Europe and Asia to explain the eventual demise of the company. Scholarship has criticized nontransparent bookkeeping practices, failing en-

preneurship, lesser-quality company servants, lack of coordination between the high government and local company establishments in Asia with the Gentlemen Seventeen, or increasing corruption and private trade of company officials in Asia. By the early twenty-first century, however, company historians qualified these interpretations and stressed several other factors. Among those factors are changes in consumption patterns of Asian products in Europe, declining sales of monopolistic commodities in Asia owing to company price policies, the narrow financial basis of the VOC and the resulting dependency on outside capital, and the disruptions caused by the Fourth Anglo-Dutch War (1780–1784). Similar to the English East India Company some fifty years later, the VOC fell victim to the ongoing processes of territorialization and subsequent rising administrative overhead costs along with the relative decline of the intra-Asian trade partly because of changes in the Asian politico-economic environment and the growing competition of British country traders.

See also **Amsterdam; Anglo-Dutch Naval Wars; Dutch Republic; Dutch Revolt (1568–1648).**

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MARKUS P. M. VINK

DUTCH LITERATURE AND LANGUAGE. From the end of the twelfth century onward, the Dutch language developed into a literary medium in chivalric romances, didactic poems (Jacob van Maerlant [1235–1300]), mystical works (Jan van Ruusbroec [1293–1381]), plays, and songs. The dialects of the wealthy southern provinces of Flanders and Brabant prevailed in literature. Around 1600 linguistic hegemony shifted to Holland and in the north as a result of important changes in the political and cultural landscape after the Dutch revolt against the Habsburg regime. In the course of the seventeenth century, a standard language was established that was based on the dialect of Holland with Brabantic influences. Grammar and orthography were regulated, and an active purist move-

ment fought against loan words from Latin and French.

RHETORICIANS

The *rederijkers*, ‘rhetoricians’, dominated public literary life in the vernacular from about 1450 to 1620. The groups originated in Flanders early in the fifteenth century and were inspired poetically by the French *arts de seconde rhétorique*. The rhetoricians aimed at an ornate language with a preference for the use of sonorous French loan words, a tendency mocked later by more purist poets such as Bredero. The *rederijkerskamers* or ‘chambers of rhetoric’ were urban organizations that played an important role in religious festivals, offered entertainment for their fellow citizens, and provided a public relations service for their towns by means of interurban contests in performing and reciting. Scholars differ in their opinions about the goals of these chambers: Did they, as Herman Pleij believes, represent an attempt of the urban elites to impose a civic morality on the citizens, or did they give voice to a common culture? In addition to collections of ballads (*refereinen*), nearly 600 of the rhetoricians’ plays have survived; they are mostly allegorical moralities and biblical stories but include historical and mythological dramas. The plays contain a great deal of arguing on ethical and religious issues intermingled with lively scenes from daily life. In Brussels a cycle of the *Seven Joys of Mary* was performed from 1441 to 1559. The best-known plays of the rhetoricians, *Den spyghel der saligheyt van Elckerlijc* (c. 1496; The mirror of salvation of everyman), the source of the English *The Summoning of Everyman* (1510), and *Mariken van Nieumeghen* (c. 1500), about a young woman seduced by the devil, are exceptional. *Mariken van Nieumeghen* is actually a prose text with extensive inserted dialogues to be read aloud, whereas *Elckerlijc* once won a prize at a dramatic contest in Brabant. But neither can be connected with a specific chamber of rhetoric. Nor did the most interesting “rhetorical” poet belong to a chamber: as a woman, the Antwerp schoolmistress Anna Bijns (1493–1575) was excluded from membership. Three collections of her ballads were printed under the protection of the local Franciscans. Bijns wrote in a pungent satirical vein against the rising tide of Lutheranism, but also on the subjects of love and marriage.

Given their interest in religious disputes, the chambers got into trouble when the Reformation gained a foothold in the Netherlands. During the repression of Protestant movements, several rhetoricians were executed on the charge of expressing heretical ideas, and most of the chambers’ activities were forbidden by the (Catholic) authorities in the 1560s. But from about 1580 most towns in the province of Holland, having liberated themselves from Habsburg rule, allowed the chambers to perform again, putting aside the objections of the Calvinist consistories against all theatrical performances. In Catholic Flanders and Brabant, the chambers flourished anew from 1609. Longstanding tradition and the conformity that was intrinsic in the collective production of literature delayed the acceptance of new Renaissance modes and granted the chambers a long life among the lower middle classes.

The Dutch Revolt, which broke out in 1568 and resulted in an eighty-year war against Spain, was accompanied by a large production of songs of protest and propaganda and others that gave accounts of military actions. The martyr songs, touching reports of the intrepidity of Anabaptist martyrs at the stake, are a special category. Calvinist polemics are found at their extreme in *Den Byencorff der H. Roomsche Kercke*, published by Philips van Marnix van St. Aldegonde in 1569, which was written in an exuberant Rabelaisian style and directed biting sarcasm at all aspects of Roman Catholicism (it was translated as *The Bee Hive of the Romish Church* by George Gilpin in 1579). The humanist Dirck Coornhert (1522–1590), who earned the reputation of “the apostle of tolerance,” can be seen as Marnix’s counterpart. His main work, *Zedekunst dat is Wellevenkunste* (Ethics, that is the art of living well; 1586), aimed at the training of human willpower led by true knowledge that was provided by reason. Coornhert’s ideas, related to the Neosticism of Justus Lipsius (1547–1606) (*De constantia*, Leiden, 1584; English translation, 1594)—whom Coornhert in some respects vigorously opposed—had a strong hold on the next generation of Amsterdam dramatists such as Hooft and Bredero.

RENEWAL

From about 1560 elements of international Renaissance literature were introduced into Dutch litera-

ture. Sonnets and odes gradually replaced the ballads and rondeaux of the rhetoricians, and the morality plays slowly gave way to tragedies and comedies. Petrarch and the poets of the Pléiade became models for the lyric poets, and Seneca, and later Aristotle, exerted an influence on drama. Freed from the relative anonymity of the rhetoricians, individual authors came to the forefront. The “Golden Age” of Dutch literature began with the generation of writers born around 1580, some decades before the birth of painters such as Rembrandt, Steen, and Vermeer, whose works represent the Golden Age of Dutch art. An earlier supporter of the new Renaissance ideals was Jan van der Noot from Antwerp, who adapted the style and themes of Pierre Ronsard for works in his mother tongue. A Calvinist refugee, van der Noot published *Het Theatre* (a collage of translations and his own prose and poetry) in London in 1568, followed by a French and then an English translation (partly by the young Edmund Spenser) in 1569, and a German translation in 1572.

After the surrender of Antwerp to the Spanish army in 1585, a massive emigration of highly qualified Protestants took place. Many of them settled in Amsterdam, which took over Antwerp’s role in book production. One of the specialties of the time was beautifully illustrated emblem books. In this very popular genre, image and text together expressed a deeper meaning in tripartite form: motto, image, and explanation. The *emblemata amatoria*, with their sophisticated erotic *concetti*, were introduced by a young Leiden Latinist, Daniel Heinsius, in 1601. The most successful specimen of this genre was *Silennus Alcibiadis, sive Proteus* (1618) by Jacob Cats (1577–1660). In each of his emblems a scene taken from daily life or the animal world contained a hidden meaning in erotic, moral, and religious matters respectively. It was explained in Dutch, Latin, and French epigrams and a prose commentary. Still more popular was Cats’s *Houwelick* (Marriage), a compendium of family life for the Dutch Calvinist burgher. It was published in 1625, and 50,000 copies were sold by 1655. An interesting development of the amatory emblems was the *amoris divini emblemata* in which the omnipresent Cupid was transformed into a personification of divine love. Such emblem books were particularly popular in the Catholic southern Netherlands. *Pia desideria*

(1624) by Herman Hugo became a European best-seller; during the seventeenth century Jesuits in Flanders and Brabant produced almost 250 religious emblem books.

In Holland the talented engraver and poet Jan Luyken (1649–1712) composed several fine emblem books pervaded with pietistic mysticism around 1700. He was one of the multitude of religious poets, Calvinist preachers, and dissenters who flocked to the Dutch book market in the seventeenth century. Many were simple rhymers for a nondiscerning public, but there were also outstanding poets, among them Dirck Rafaelszoon Camphuysen (1586–1627), Jacobus Revius (1586–1658), Stalpart van der Wiele (1579–1630), Jeremias De Decker (1609–1666), Heiman Dullaert (1636–1684), and Jodocus van Lodensteyn (1620–1677). The minor poet Jacob Steendam (1616–c. 1672/73) was rescued from total oblivion by being one of the first European poets on American soil.

LEADING FIGURES

Holland, the wealthiest and most powerful of the seven United Provinces constituting the Dutch Republic, was the breeding ground for the new poetry. Hooft, Bredero, and Vondel in Amsterdam, Heinsius in Leiden, and Huygens in The Hague set the standard. Hundreds of minor authors followed, stimulated by the demand of the most prosperous and most literate community of that age.

Pieter Hooft (1581–1647), son of an Amsterdam burgomaster, began his literary career as a member of the chamber of rhetoric called “De Eglentier” but soon outshone his fellow rhetoricians with his brilliant lyrics and “modern” tragedies. His love emblems, charming songs, and perfect sonnets, first published in 1611, played with variations on Petrarchan motifs; in his serious dramas, *Geeraert van Velsen* and *Baeto*, based on themes from Dutch legendary history, he tackled current political issues. In the last decades of his life Hooft turned to historiography, writing a voluminous history of the Dutch Revolt in the mode of Tacitus.

In the span of his short life, Gerbrand Bredero (1585–1618) was a prolific writer of popular lyrics and dramas. Best known for his farces and comedies, Bredero had a perfect ear for everyday language and

promoted its use in literature. His masterpiece is *Spaanschen Brabander* (The Spanish Brabanter) of 1617, based on the story of Lazarillo de Tormes but set amid the bustling city life of Amsterdam.

Joost van den Vondel (1587–1679) used a classical disguise in his *Palamedes* (1625) to condemn the execution of Johan van Oldenbarneveltdt, who had been the leading statesman of Holland for more than thirty years. Vondel wrote a number of satirical poems and songs around that time. It was, however, his poetic output in later years that earned him the reputation as one of the greatest poets of the European baroque. A lasting success on the stage was *Gysbreght van Aemstel* (1637), which was performed yearly in the Amsterdam theater until 1969! His immense oeuvre comprises twenty-four original dramas, translations of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, the complete works of Virgil, and several classical tragedies, poetic reactions to all of the major events of his lifetime, long panegyrics on Amsterdam trade and building activities, a religious epic, didactic poems in defense of Roman Catholic orthodoxy (the Menonite Vondel converted to Catholicism around 1639), and thousands of occasional and devotional poems—in short, all poetic genres except love songs. Vondel's mastery of language is astonishing on all levels, from light verse to the most sublime poetry; the profoundness of his handling of religious and ethical dilemmas in his tragedies has challenged successive generations of critics to new interpretations. Vondel's biblical dramas such as his trilogy *Lucifer, Adam in Ballingschap* (Adam in exile), and *Noah* deal with the great themes of Christianity. Other plays have Joseph, David, and Jephthah as their protagonists.

Constantijn Huygens (1596–1687), secretary to three successive princes of Orange, accomplished courtier, virtuoso on the lute and the clavichord, amateur scientist, polyglot (writing poems in Dutch, Latin, French, Italian, and English), a strict Calvinist, and father of the mathematician and astronomer Christiaan Huygens, presented his literary activities as modest “cornflowers” betwixt the wheat of his professional duties. He must have made the most of his free moments, for he left us thousands of epigrams and a collection of longer poems. An admirer and translator of John Donne, he strove in his poetry for density and a certain obscurity of expression despite the conversational tone in most

of them. His most important poem is “Hofwijck” (1651), an idealized description of his estate near The Hague. Its design mirrored the harmony of macrocosm and microcosm and led the poet to reflections on human life and death. This *hofdicht* (‘country-house poem’) had a lot of followers, especially in the eighteenth century. As a devotional poet Huygens wrote a string of sonnets on Christian holy days in which he expressed his deep sense of sinfulness. However, he also wrote a bawdy farce, *Trijntje Cornelis*—not meant for public performance.

WOMEN WRITERS

In the elite circles of Huygens and his friend Hooft, women played a prominent role but were regarded more as an adornment of refined society than as poets in their own right. Anna (1584–1651) and Maria (1594–1649) Tesselschade Visscher, daughters of Pieter Roemer Visscher, a respected poet of an earlier generation, received much admiration. Nevertheless, although several of their poems were published during their lifetimes, their names never appeared on any frontispiece. Anna, the better poet, put the learned eulogies of her masculine fellow poets in perspective with some self-mockery. Huygens and Cats also showered Anna Maria van Schurman (1607–1678) with compliments. One of the most learned women of her time and a scholar of Oriental languages, she at least got the chance to publish a dissertation (in Latin) about the capacity of the female mind for science and letters (1641; English translation 1659). In Flanders and Brabant, writings of religious women were published by Catholic priests for devotional purposes. Most remarkable is the autobiography (pub. 1681) of Maria Petyt (1623–1677), in which she gave a mercilessly honest account of her spiritual development. In the eighteenth century, women obtained a place on the Dutch Parnassus in their own right. Recent research has saved from oblivion more than 150 female writers of the years between 1550 and 1850, gleaning specimens of their work into an extensive anthology edited by Riet Schenkeveld-van der Dussen.

NOVELS

A lot of prose, for instance the extremely popular travel literature, appeared during the seventeenth century. However, almost no original novels were written, although many foreign novels were read in

Dutch translations. A minor but curious exception is a group of ten “libertine” novels from the last quarter of the century that occupy a special place in the international history of pornography. Several were translated into French, German, or English, among them *The London Jilt, or Politick Whore* (London, 1684), after *D’openhertige juffrouw, of d’Ontdeckte geveinsdheid* (The candid damsel, or hypocrisy revealed). The Dutch title is more explicit about the philosophy of the book, which focuses on plain truth and fighting hypocrisy. Recently, these novels have been associated with the early “Radical Enlightenment” of the Dutch Republic. They may be regarded as well as a reaction against the prudery and the pursuit of virtuousness of the classicist movement of those years.

CLASSICISM

In 1667 a group of Amsterdam intellectuals, with the Spinozist Lodewijk Meyer as one of their spokesmen, founded a literary society under the name “Nil Volentibus Arduum.” Their ambition was to raise the level of Dutch poetry, particularly in drama, by conforming it to international standards, which they found in French classicism as put forward by Pierre Corneille. They also shunned all kinds of indecency on the stage (which was a characteristic of the popular farces by Bredero and his followers) as well as any matter that could lead to political or religious controversy. They were not successful in every respect, but a spirit of regulation and pedantry gradually replaced the more exuberant, varied, and popular aspects of seventeenth-century poetry. It is, however, chiefly the lack of outstanding talents that is responsible for the mediocrity of the huge poetic and dramatic production between 1670 and 1770. Of course, there were some exceptions, such as the *comédies de mœurs* by Pieter Langendijk (1683–1756) and the elegant poetry of Hubert Poot (1689–1733).

For something new and fresh we must turn to prose. An interesting example is Hendrik Smeeks’s *Beschryvinge van het magtig Koninkryk Krinke Kesmes* (Description of the mighty kingdom Krinke Kesmes; 1708) about an imaginary continent where people discuss Cartesianism and religious tolerance. More important is nonfiction prose, especially in periodicals. Here we meet an animated climate of discussion on philosophical, political, religious,

moral, and aesthetic matters. Following the example of *The Tatler* and *The Spectator* of Joseph Addison and Richard Steele in England, Justus van Effen (1684–1735) founded the first journal of this kind on the European continent, *Le misantropie* (in French), in 1711. More important is his *De Hollandsche Spectator* (1731–1735), in its time the talk of the town. It generated more than forty imitations before 1800. Others tried to find a market for more satirical or scandalous papers, such as those of Jacob Campo Weyerman (1677–1747), who ended his life in prison. A lot of experimentation was taking place in fictional prose, but the novel was still not regarded as something worthy of serious attention. In the second part of the century, a change occurred when the novels of Samuel Richardson became better known in Holland. In the revolutionary 1780s political and literary discussions reached their peak. The main issue was the miserable condition of the once so successful Dutch Republic, including that of its literature. Hieronymus van Alphen and Rijklof Michael van Goens suggested remedies, pleading for originality and a new anticlassicist aesthetics, whereas the works of two collaborating female authors, Betje Wolff (1738–1804) and Aagje Deken (1741–1804), contributed effectively to recovery. In 1782 they published their epistolary novel *Historie van Mejuffrouw Sara Burgerhart*, a lively account, drawn with empathy and humor, of the coming of age of a young woman in an Amsterdam merchants’ milieu.

See also Amsterdam; Anabaptism; Antwerp; Calvinism; Dutch Republic; Dutch Revolt (1568–1648); Huygens Family; Netherlands, Art in the; Netherlands, Southern; Oldenbarneveldt, Johan van; Patriot Revolution.

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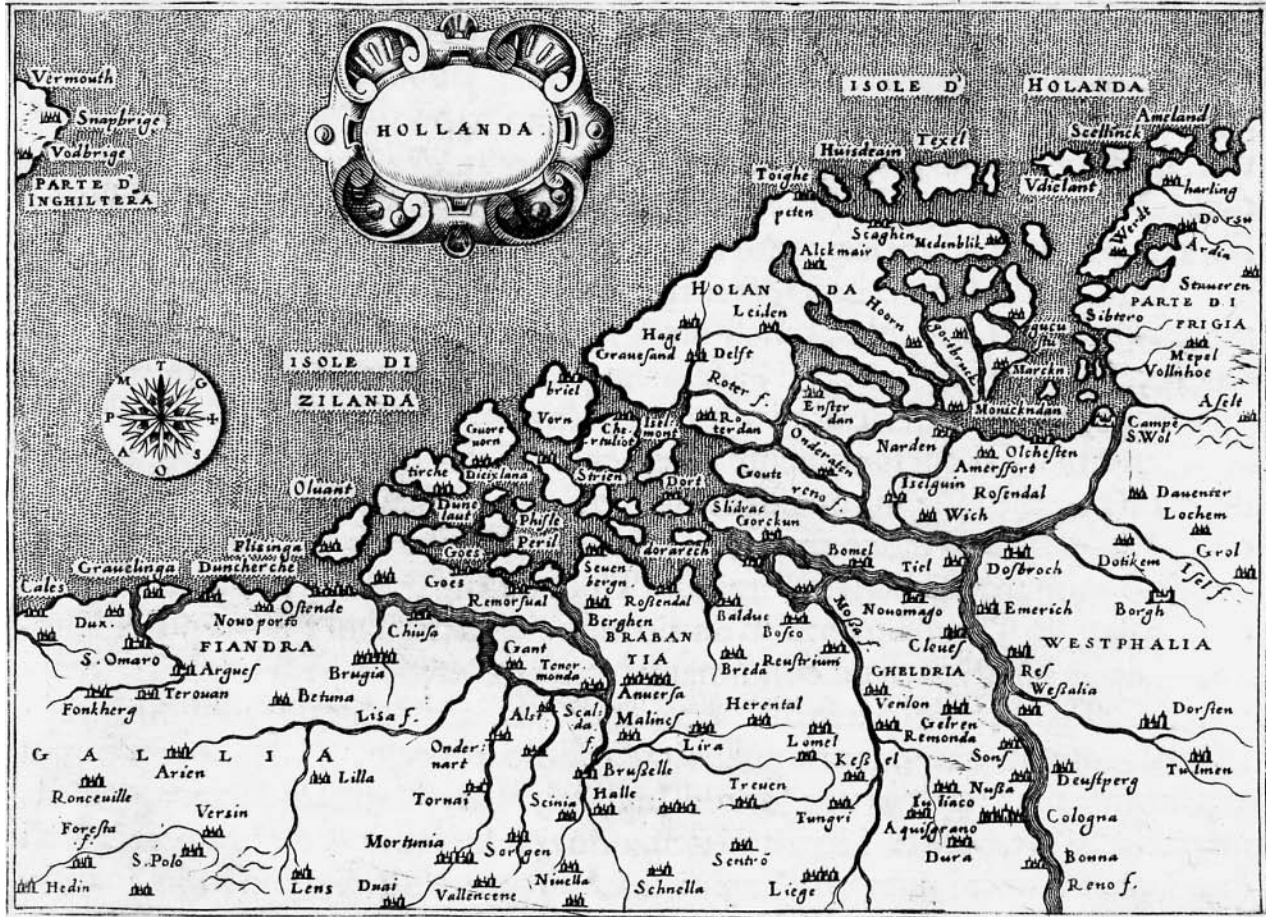
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EDDY K. GROOTES

DUTCH REPUBLIC. Sir William Temple, English ambassador to The Hague, famously described the Dutch Republic in 1673 as “the Envy of some, the Fear of others, and the Wonder of all their Neighbours.” How such a small country—“this undigested vomit of the sea,” as one of Sir William’s less charitable compatriots put it—a country that had not even existed a century earlier, could develop in such spectacular fashion is one of the marvels of the early modern era.

THE DUTCH REVOLT (1566–1648)

During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the Low Countries, occupying roughly the territory of present Belgium, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands, had first gained prominence as the northern counterparts of Renaissance Italy. As in Italy, more or less autonomous towns, like Bruges and Ghent, later also Antwerp, attracted droves of international merchants. Like Italy, the Low Countries were politically divided, into as many as seventeen quasi-independent territories. During the fourteenth century, the dukes of Burgundy first started to bring some of these territories under their rule, and this process continued and intensified under the Habsburgs when they inherited the Burgundy legacy in 1477. It took until 1543, however, before all seventeen territories of the Netherlands were united for the first time under the same ruler, the Habsburg emperor Charles V (ruled 1519–1556). By this time, the Reformation was already having an impact. In the heavily urbanized Low Countries, the new religious ideas spread quickly. Efforts to repress



Dutch Republic. This small map from Thomaso Porcacchi's *L'isole piu famose del mundo* ("The Most Famous Islands of the World") focuses on the historic province of Hollanda in the northwest part of the modern Netherlands. Hollanda was the center of the Dutch Revolt and along with six other northern provinces declared independence from Spanish rule in 1579. MAP COLLECTION, STERLING MEMORIAL LIBRARY, YALE UNIVERSITY

religious dissent soon followed, and this repression clashed with the regions' traditions of independence. In 1566 a revolt of the nobles coincided with mass protests against Catholic authority. Attempts to repress the rebellion came close to success at several points but failed every time, mainly because of competing commitments of the Spanish Habsburg crown elsewhere in Europe. In 1579 the rebel provinces formalized their collaboration against Spain in the Union of Utrecht, which later came to be seen as the founding document of the Dutch Republic. During the 1590s, while Spain was preoccupied with the Wars of Religion in France, the rebels consolidated their positions, and when the Spanish crown went bankrupt in 1607, the independence of the northern provinces was confirmed in a Twelve Years' Truce in 1609. Most other European

states now formally recognized the Republic of the Seven Netherlands, the Dutch Republic, as an independent state. In 1621 the war was resumed because neither the Spanish nor the Dutch could as yet face up to the implications of peace. The war, however, effectively ended halfway through the 1630s, when the lines of demarcation began to harden into proper borders. The Treaty of Münster, part of the 1648 pan-European Peace of Westphalia, which also ended the Thirty Years' War, brought the Dutch Revolt formally to an end. By then, all the characteristics of the Dutch Golden Age were in place.

THE DUTCH ECONOMY

The Golden Age was built on firm economic foundations. As a result of the unsuitability of its soils for

the growing of grain, the staple of late medieval agriculture, farmers in the western areas, notably the counties of Holland and Zeeland, had already turned to cash crops, such as flax and madder, as well as the cattle that were to determine the Dutch image abroad. Butter and hard cheeses, as well as beer and salted fish, were early export products of the northern Netherlands. The food deficit was made up by imports from France and especially from the Baltic region. To sustain this substantial trade in bulk products, the Dutch built a large merchant navy consisting of highly efficient, and constantly improving, vessels that were designed to reduce transport costs. This helped make the Dutch into the carriers of Europe. By 1530 Holland's merchant navy was larger than those of the French and the British combined.

During the sixteenth century, Dutch harbors, mainly in the provinces of Zeeland and Holland, had acted as satellites of a trade system dominated by Antwerp. Initially, Antwerp had been on the rebel side, but in 1585 it was conquered by Spanish troops. Meanwhile, the Dutch closed off the River Scheldt to prevent oceangoing vessels from reaching Antwerp's harbor. Merchants from Antwerp dispersed all over western Europe, but around 1590 a majority converged on Amsterdam, and, together with native merchants, they took new initiatives. Dutch ships sailed to the Mediterranean for the first time in 1589 to supply famine-stricken Italy with grain. They went to Venezuela in 1599 to fetch salt, necessary for curing herring. And most spectacularly, in 1594 a first group of ships left the republic for the East Indies. With Antwerp severely handicapped, Dutch towns, but especially Amsterdam, took over as the main middlemen of international trade. Throughout the world the Dutch guilder became accepted as currency.

Dutch European trade centered on the exchange of raw materials from northern Europe, such as wood, tar, and grain, for necessities such as salt, luxuries such as French wines, and the inevitable spices. Around 1600 Dutch merchants gained direct access to the Asian spice markets. They fetched salt from Venezuela, coffee and sugar from Brazil, and silk from the Middle East. Amsterdam became the center of European trade, the city where everything was supposed to be for sale. Financial institutions were created: the Amsterdam Exchange was

built in 1608–1611, and the Exchange Bank was founded in 1609. The availability of exotic products helped create new industries such as sugar refineries, tobacco factories, and silk weaving, all of which had been unknown in Holland before 1600. The number of guilds in the Dutch Republic almost doubled during the seventeenth century, from about 650 to more than 1,100, again testifying to the expansion of urban industries. Although guilds were later reckoned to be bad for the economy, they oversaw production in such highly successful industries as painting.

It has been claimed that Dutch economic success was predicated on its experience in bulk trade, but that underestimates the role of the so-called rich trades in wine, spices, and other valuables. It would, however, likewise be a mistake to see Amsterdam as a mere successor to Antwerp, from which many of these rich trades came to the north. The really innovative aspect of the Dutch economy was its level of integration between the agricultural, industrial, and service sectors. Numerous forward and backward linkages, for instance between trade, shipbuilding, and the cultivation of hemp, ensured that economic growth touched a wide area and cut deeply into Dutch society. It has been suggested that this must have made the Dutch economy “modern” at least a century before the industrial revolution. There is a substantial truth in this, but one has to keep in mind that in quantitative terms at least, Dutch growth figures, though impressive by the standards of the time, were very modest when compared to those of the industrial era.

THE OVERSEAS EMPIRE

One of the most remarkable results of Dutch commercial expansion was the establishment of Dutch culture across the globe. During the first stage of the “great discoveries,” the European world system had been dominated by the Mediterranean powers. In the late sixteenth century, northern Europe started to join in, and the Dutch were initially the most successful of these new competitors for the non-European riches. The first companies, established during the 1590s, were merged in 1602 into the Dutch East India Company, or *Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie* (VOC). Its prime target was the Indonesian spice islands, where the VOC established exclusive contracts with local princes. When

these proved impossible to enforce, the VOC started to police the islands, and in some places, notably in the Moluccas, displaced the whole population, converting the farms into plantations worked with slave labor. In 1618 Batavia (now Jakarta) was established as the VOC's headquarters in the Indonesian archipelago. The VOC was, however, much more than a regional trading company. Its monopoly charter, granted by the Dutch States General, extended from the Cape of Good Hope eastward, and to a remarkable degree, the VOC managed to implant itself in that vast area. By the third quarter of the seventeenth century, Dutch trading posts had been established on the Malabar and Coromandel coasts of India, while Ceylon (now Sri Lanka) had become an almost exclusive Dutch preserve. In China the VOC lost its initial foothold on the mainland but managed to hold out in Taiwan. From 1641 the VOC was the only foreign trader allowed to do business with Japan, albeit under severely restricted conditions. Between these various outposts a lively trade was conducted, and the VOC became as much an intra-Asian business as an export firm. During the 1680s it employed 11,500 Europeans in Asia, more than half of them soldiers, as well as 6,000 people recruited locally, including 2,400 slaves. Nonetheless, twenty to twenty-five ships sailed annually to the East Indies from Holland, and half of those made the return trip. But the deficit again underlines the importance of the trade within Asia itself. All those ships called at the Cape of Good Hope, where Cape Town was officially established in 1652 as a victualing station.

The VOC was a hugely successful enterprise, reputedly the largest firm of its times. By comparison, the Dutch West India Company, or West Indische Compagnie (WIC), was a sorry affair. It was created in 1621 after protracted protests from the Spanish, who considered the Americas their private fief. Because they and the Portuguese, who were also under Spanish rule at the time, were so well entrenched, the WIC found it much more difficult to establish a profitable business. In 1630 the WIC managed to conquer the northeastern corner of Brazil from the Portuguese, but the original European settlers started a guerrilla war and in the end managed to oust the company again in 1654. In 1634 several Caribbean islands were occupied, which are still part of the modern Kingdom of the



Netherlands. But they proved to be profitable mainly as trading posts, from which African slaves were forwarded to the French and English sugar islands and the Spanish colonies on the mainland. From the second half of the seventeenth century, Dutch planters in what was to become Surinam also bought slaves. To maintain its supply of slaves, the WIC had several forts on the West African coast. It has been estimated that Dutch traders handled no more than about 5 percent of the slave trade, but that still means an estimated three thousand individuals shipped year after year for about two centuries by Dutch merchants alone.

Compared to these activities in Central and South America, Dutch involvement in the European settlement of North America was modest. However, in 1609 Henry Hudson, in the service of the VOC, sailed up what is now known as the Hudson River while trying to find the Northwest Passage to Asia. In 1614 the first colonists arrived and in 1624 Fort Nassau was established on the site of present-day Albany in upstate New York. In 1626 the Dutch bought what later became known as

Manhattan, for the equivalent of sixty guilders in goods, and established New Amsterdam. Many place names in New York City, like Staten Island, the Bowery, Wall Street, Brooklyn, Flatbush, and Flushing, still testify to the Dutch presence, though the last Dutch governor, Peter Stuyvesant, had to hand over the colony to the English in 1664.

DUTCH SOCIETY

The “Dutch” colonies were by no means exclusively Dutch. There simply were not enough Dutch natives to conquer the whole world. Therefore, the WIC and VOC employed numerous immigrants. In this respect they were a mirror of Dutch society as a whole. During the seventeenth century, Dutch population increased from an estimated 1.5 million to a little under 2 million. During the eighteenth century, the increase was a mere 10 percent. Although we will never know the precise figure, there is no doubt that this population growth was mainly due to immigration. Around 1600 the majority of immigrants were refugees from the Southern Netherlands, people who for religious or economic reasons, or a combination, no longer wanted to live under Habsburg rule. In those same years a small group of Portuguese Jews also settled in the Dutch Republic, for a similar combination of reasons. From the 1620s onward, new groups of immigrants started to arrive. They came from all over Europe, but mainly from Scandinavia and the German territories, which had been ravaged by the Thirty Years’ War. Germans made up by far the most numerous group of foreigners in the republic during the seventeenth century, and this would continue into the eighteenth and indeed nineteenth centuries. Around 1685 another wave of refugees, thirty-five to fifty thousand strong, arrived from France, expelled by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The second half of the seventeenth century also saw the arrival of a substantial number of eastern European Jews, who began to outnumber those from the Iberian Peninsula.

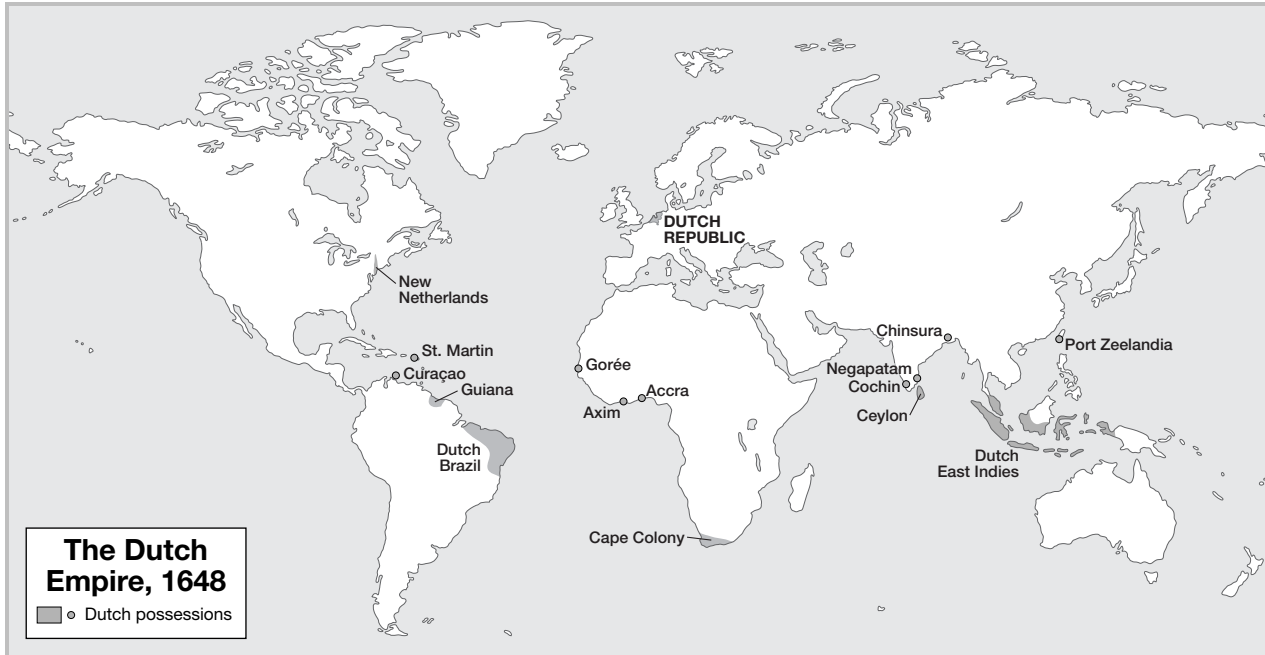
Immigrants who settled permanently in the republic did so overwhelmingly in the towns. In seventeenth-century Amsterdam, only one-third of those married (their places of origin are known) were natives of the city. Another third came from elsewhere in the republic, but the remaining third were immigrants from abroad. These figures almost

exactly match those of the late twentieth century. Amsterdam was particularly welcoming to foreigners, even granting citizenship rights to Jews. As a result, the city grew more than fourfold during the first half of the seventeenth century. But other towns received their fair share, too. The influx reinforced an already prominent feature of Dutch society, its remarkable degree of urbanization. Before the Dutch Revolt, the Low Countries had been, together with Italy, the most urbanized region of Europe. In the seventeenth century the Dutch Republic outstripped all other countries in this respect. In 1700 a third of the population lived in towns of ten thousand and over. There were no fewer than twenty towns of that size in the republic; in England, by comparison, there were only eleven. Thus the republic was not only urbanized to an unusual degree, but its urban population was also dispersed across a great many urban centers. In the middle of the seventeenth century, a network of special canals was dug, interconnecting most of these towns with regular towboat services which, in their day, were considered to be the pinnacle of public transport.

With the towns in the forefront, it was almost inevitable that the urban elite had a large impact on society as a whole. The mercantile community and the councillors of the enfranchised towns, who were known as “regents,” were the richest and most influential class in a society that has therefore often been described as “bourgeois.” Their homes lined the canals in Amsterdam and other towns of Holland. In the eastern part of the country, however, the old economy was still very much alive, as were the old social structures. Noble families dominated not only the countryside, but many towns as well. When not taking up office, they often served in the Dutch army, which was one of the largest in Europe.

A “STATE MONSTROSITY”

That is how the famous Dutch historian Johan Huizinga described the republic’s political structures in 1941. His verdict stood in a long line of condemnations, and it is true that the political legacy of the Dutch Revolt seemed at first glance less than straightforward. The 1579 Union of Utrecht had attempted to compromise between two conflicting principles. On the one hand, the struggle was supposed to restore the traditional autonomy of the provinces and cities that supported it. The result



of this was that the individual provinces gained quasi-independence; they spoke of each other as “allies.” Within the provinces, towns and nobles, the latter representing the countryside, shared power, albeit in varying degrees. In most provinces their votes were balanced, but in Holland the nobles held one vote against eighteen for the towns. Taxation was for the provinces to decide, and most provinces had their own university and their own legal system as well as their own currency. In many areas, regulation was left to individual communities. As a result, local authorities wielded wide-ranging powers.

The Union of Utrecht also stated that to continue the struggle, it was necessary to coordinate the defense of the country. The participants pledged to act in this respect “as if they were one province.” To that end, they cooperated in the States General, where each province held one vote, and decisions could be vetoed by any single province. The presidency of the States General rotated among the provinces, each holding the chair for one week at a time. Proposals in the States General were referred back to the provinces, which in turn referred them to the nobles and the towns. Thus, issues of war and peace were discussed in the town halls of both Amsterdam, representing its 200,000 inhabitants, and tiny Sloten, in Friesland, with 450 inhabitants. In

all, an estimated 2,000 individuals participated in the decisions of the States General.

The most important counterweight to the autonomy of local institutions was the stadtholder from the House of Orange. Under Habsburg rule the stadtholders were provincial governors, and William I of Orange, known as “William the Silent” (1533–1584) had been one of them. When he emerged as leader of the Dutch Revolt, it proved impossible to abandon the office, even after the abjuration of the king in whose name he had held it. After William’s death, the office was retained and coupled with the command of the navy and army of the young republic. The two northern provinces of Friesland and Groningen, however, continued to elect distant relatives of the Oranges as their stadtholder. Nonetheless, the Orange stadtholders, both because they served in several provinces at the same time and because their military offices gave them a special responsibility for national defense—William’s sons Maurice (1567–1625) and Frederick Henry (1584–1647), who both served as stadtholders, proved extremely capable generals—the stadtholders emerged as informal heads of state. During the minority of William III of Orange (1650–1702), however, Johan de Witt (1625–1672), the political leader of the province of Holland, emerged as a national leader.

RELIGIOUS PLURALISM

The Dutch Revolt had been a struggle for political autonomy and against the religious policies of the Habsburgs. As with the political structures, the religious outcome was deeply ambivalent. In the Union of Utrecht, freedom of conscience was promised to individual Dutchmen and -women, a highly significant step at a time when many Europeans were prepared to kill over religious issues. But at the same time, it was laid down that each province was entitled to create its own religious order, implying that the exercise of such freedoms might be seriously limited. This was indeed what happened. In the course of the revolt, the Calvinist church, well suited to the small-scale resistance and clandestine operations that typified the struggle, had emerged as the church of the revolt's leadership. Even William I of Orange, who had been a Lutheran and a Catholic before, and was a *politique* (one who favored a political solution to the religious conflicts) at heart, joined the Calvinists. During the 1580s, the activities of the Catholic Church were outlawed. Its buildings were handed over to the Calvinists, who were the only religious group allowed to practice their rites in public. Freedom of conscience had clearly become the liberty to believe, but certainly not the liberty to practice. The Calvinist church became the public church, and support of Calvinism became a precondition for political office. Nonetheless, only a small minority of the population initially joined the ranks of the Calvinists. In 1600 probably no more than 15 percent of the population were full members, with an unknown additional number coming to services without, however, joining the church. In part the Calvinists themselves were to blame for their lack of popular support. They set very high moral standards for their members and made it clear that only those who were willing to live by those standards would be made welcome. The authorities were halfhearted in their support of Calvinism, regularly accusing its ministers of religious extremism. They were also unwilling to risk a confrontation with the numerous non-Calvinists. And they persuaded themselves that tolerance was good for business.

Given the fierce competition between the towns of the Dutch Republic, this may well have been true. The Portuguese Jews, for example, who started to arrive around 1600, cleverly managed to

extract maximum concessions from local authorities by playing them off against each other. This strategy ultimately won them unprecedented freedom, notably in Amsterdam where they could even obtain citizenship rights, albeit under somewhat restricted conditions. Amsterdam was notoriously relaxed in its attitudes towards the "tolerated churches," even allowing the building of two Lutheran churches and two synagogues in the course of the seventeenth century. The Catholics, on the other hand, remained tarred as the church of the Spanish enemy. In the first half of the seventeenth century, much of the Catholic church organization had to be rebuilt clandestinely. Those efforts met with remarkable success, given Catholicism's illegal status. Catholics had to celebrate mass in so-called hidden churches and reckon with regular police raids. Nonetheless, by the end of the century, as much as a third of the Dutch population professed the Roman Catholic faith, not many fewer than the state-sponsored Calvinists who made up almost half the population. Equally remarkable perhaps was that, despite strong language from ministers and priests about their pernicious opponents, individual Dutchmen and -women were quite able to live in peace with neighbors and colleagues of a different persuasion.

It would be wrong, nonetheless, to think of the Dutch as a nation of innate tolerance. Zeeland and the northern provinces were almost completely Calvinist. In the eastern part of the country, the non-Calvinists had a hard time. In the course of the seventeenth century, Roman Catholics were excluded there from urban citizenship rights and therefore prohibited from joining a guild. Tolerance, in other words, was first and foremost a characteristic of the mercantile towns of the west.

THE "HOLLAND" SCHOOL OF PAINTING

The introduction of the Reformation, and the Dutch Revolt more generally, had led to a collapse of the traditional markets for the visual arts in the northern Netherlands. Nonetheless, many artists from the south were seeking refuge in the north. Desperate for work, they started to develop new subjects, hoping to please the newly rich middle classes. This led to the creation of what was later to become known as genre painting, scenes from everyday life, often enlivened with a pun or hidden moral. Painting became an exceedingly popular art.

Foreign visitors commented on the numbers of paintings in the homes of even modest Dutch families. It has been estimated that during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as many as five million paintings must have been produced in the Dutch Republic, perhaps even double that number.

As the new market expanded, Dutch artists specialized in a variety of subjects. One painted little else but landscapes (Jacob van Ruysdael, 1628/29–1682), another confined himself to winter scenes (Hendrik Avercamp, 1585–1634), or kitchen interiors (Gerard Dou, 1613–1675), or naval engagements (Willem van de Velde de Jonge 1633–1707). The great majority of the paintings produced during the Golden Age were cheap and fairly worthless from an aesthetic point of view, decoration rather than art. But some artists produced a stunning quality, taking the depiction of their modest subject matter to entirely new levels of craftsmanship. It was not just the still famous Frans Hals (1581/85–1666) of Haarlem or Johannes Vermeer (1632–1675) of Delft who excelled, but in fact a crowd of painters who still impress. Even in traditional subject matter such as scenes from ancient history and the Bible, Dutch painters, notably Rembrandt van Rijn (1606–1669), excelled.

After 1672, however, the domestic market for paintings collapsed. This was partly due to the great crisis of that year, when the Dutch Republic was attacked from various sides. The crisis seems to have precipitated a shift in taste, especially among well-to-do buyers, from contemporary masters to the established names from the first half of the century. But there was also the underlying problem of the secondhand market. The production of the previous half-century had been so abundant that the market was already awash with paintings of good quality, leaving little room for new work.

THE REPUBLIC IN DECLINE

After the Treaty of Münster in 1648, the future had looked very bright for the Dutch Republic. Its huge army could be reduced in size, promising a substantial peace dividend. The republic's neighbors, meanwhile, were in disarray. Germany was exhausted by the Thirty Years' War; the Civil War in England was in full swing, and in France the Fronde had revealed the precariousness of the monarchy during Louis XIV's minority. The twenty years of Johan De Witt's

leadership as grand pensionary of Holland (1653–1672) were generally prosperous and peaceful, even though punctuated by two naval wars with England (1652–1654 and 1665–1667) and several smaller skirmishes. But trouble was brewing. After Louis had taken power personally in 1662, he set his sights on the Spanish Netherlands. A division was proposed that would give the French and the Dutch both a share of the spoils. The Dutch, however, were weary of having France as a neighbor and declined the invitation. In 1670 France and England concluded a secret alliance and in 1672 they attacked the Dutch Republic, along with the bishops of Münster and Cologne. Even though the Dutch navy under Michiel Adriaanszoon de Ruyter (1607–1676) succeeded in preventing an English invasion, the French armies occupied a substantial part of the country. William III (1650–1702) became stadtholder and had to save the situation. Peace with England was concluded in 1674, but not with France until 1678 (Treaty of Nijmegen). The war proved to be the first in a series. To avert the danger of French hegemony, William invaded England, where he and his wife, Mary, who was the daughter of King James II, had claims to the throne. This resulted in the Glorious Revolution of 1689, which gave parliament ascendancy over the monarchy (now William and Mary), but gave William his Anglo-Dutch alliance. It also led to renewed war with France: the War of the League of Augsburg, which ended with the 1697 Peace of Rijswijk. In 1703 another war broke out, this time over the future of Spain. In this War of the Spanish Succession, the English and the Dutch fought together under the command of the duke of Marlborough. The allies won the war, but the Dutch lost the peace. The Treaty of Utrecht (1713) was a grave disappointment, and the republic was financially exhausted. Henceforth, it had to abstain from involvement in warfare.

Other European countries, meanwhile, were recovering from prolonged instability and imposing high tariffs on Dutch imports. The huge financial efforts of the forty years of war with France had eroded the competitive edge of the republic's merchants. Loss of great-power status meant the republic could no longer protect its overseas trade routes. By 1715, when the republic was temporarily unable to pay the interest on its national debt, it had become clear that the golden days were over. What

was left was an agonizing memory of those wonderful times. Throughout the eighteenth century proposals were launched, serious as well as fantastic, to bring them back, all to little avail. With the death of William III in 1702, the Orange dynasty became extinct. William left his inheritance, including the French principality of Orange, long occupied by Louis XIV, to his distant relatives, the Frisian stadtholders. But it was only when a new French invasion threatened in 1747 that the majority of the provinces actually accepted the Frisian stadtholder as their new leader under the name of William IV (1711–1751). The crisis also tempted them to give William unprecedented powers to interfere with local and provincial government. Under William IV and especially under his son William V (1748–1806), an elaborate network of political patronage, centered on the court in The Hague, was created, unifying the country, albeit it in an informal way.

THE END OF THE DUTCH REPUBLIC

In December 1782 as many as a third of the adult men in the city of Deventer in the eastern Netherlands signed a petition clamoring for reform, especially the restoration of the town's former autonomy. It was an action clearly aimed against the overwhelming control by the Orange court, and it mobilized not just the middle classes, but also disaffected sections of the ruling elite. The idea caught on, and for the next five years the Dutch Republic became deeply divided by this so-called Patriot movement that hoped to restore the country's former greatness by going back to the roots of the "ancient constitution" of 1579. In 1785 the stadtholder had to flee The Hague, becoming an exile in his own country. He ultimately had to be saved by his brother-in-law Frederick William II of Prussia from ignominious defeat by the Patriots in the fall of 1787. Thus the Prussians prevented the Dutch from upstaging the French Revolution of 1789. Many Patriots fled the country and went into refuge in France, where they witnessed the French Revolution firsthand. When they returned to their homeland in the winter of 1794–1795, to bring the revolution at long last, they had completely new ideas about the reforms that were needed. Instead of the federalism of the old republic, the newly created revolutionary Batavian Republic needed a unified government. A national assembly was created in 1795, but it took until 1798—and a radical coup

d'état with French backing—before a unitarist constitution could be forced upon a doubting (thoroughly purged) electorate. After that, the Dutch underwent several more regime changes before Napoléon's brother Louis (1778–1846) was appointed king in 1806. The Netherlands has been a monarchy ever since.

See also Amsterdam; Anglo-Dutch Naval Wars; Antwerp; Capitalism; Dutch Colonies; Dutch Literature and Language; Dutch Revolt (1568–1648); Dutch War (1672–1678); Habsburg Dynasty; League of Augsburg, War of the (1688–1697); Netherlands, Art in the; Netherlands, Southern; Oldenbarneveldt, Johan van; Patriot Revolution; Spanish Succession, War of the (1701–1714); Trading Companies; Tulips; William and Mary; William of Orange; Witt, Johan and Cornelis de.

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MAARTEN PRAK

Peace of Münster, which was part of the Peace of Westphalia, in 1648.

PRELUDE TO REVOLT: THE DISUNITY OF THE NETHERLANDS

The various provinces of the Low Countries (Netherlands) were never really united into a distinct country prior to the late sixteenth century. They were slowly and loosely brought under the control of the dukes of Burgundy in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries but were never more than a collection of counties and duchies. These territories each retained their customary laws and traditions, their so-called ancient liberties. In many respects this disunity of the provinces of the Low Countries ensured that particularist agendas would stand in the way of attempts by the rulers to create a centralized administration and unified country.

Whereas the Burgundian dukes did not move too quickly in the direction of expansion and centralization, their Habsburg successors certainly did. Probably the most important move toward centralization prior to the revolt was taken by Emperor Charles V (ruled 1519–1556) when he succeeded in having his “seventeen provinces” of the Netherlands united as a single entity by agreement of the States-General (parliament) to his Pragmatic Sanction in 1549. The Pragmatic Sanction outlined the way the succession would be regulated and provided that the seventeen provinces must always have the same ruler. It is not clear, however, if this meant that their liberties would be compromised.

THE FIRST REVOLT (1566–1568): THE SLIGHTED NOBILITY AND RELIGIOUS TENSIONS

Charles V's son Philip II of Spain (ruled 1556–1598) continued his father's policies, in particular suppressing heresy, but whereas the Ghent-born Charles V was a fairly popular figure, the Netherlanders always viewed the Spanish-born Philip as a foreigner. The great nobles of the Low Countries and delegates to the States-General disapproved of his reliance on officials sent from Spain. Soon the nobles, including William of Orange (1533–1584), Lamoraal, count of Egmont (1522–1568), and the count of Hoorne, Filips van Montmorency (1518–1568), became disenchanted with Philip's increasingly absolutist-tilting government in Brussels,

DUTCH REVOLT (1568–1648). The revolt of the Netherlands against Spanish rule, also known as the Eighty Years' War, is traditionally said to have begun in June 1568, when the Spanish executed Counts Egmont and Horne in Brussels. The tensions that led to open revolt, however, had much earlier origins. The revolt itself is best viewed as a series of related uprisings and wars that, taken together, constitute the Dutch Revolt. The eventual outcome of the revolt was decided for the most part by 1609, when the combatants agreed to the Twelve Years' Truce, but the war between the United Provinces of the Netherlands (Dutch Republic) and the Kingdom of Spain did not officially come to an end until both parties agreed to the

which was led by the unpopular Antoine Perrenot (1517–1586), the future Cardinal Granvelle.

The nobles' main argument was a constitutional one. They thought that government should be administered jointly by the prince (usually through his officials), the nobility, and the States-General. Thus the nobility had an important role to play in government. As Philip's chief official in the Netherlands and the champion of royal prerogative, Perrenot received the brunt of the nobility's ire. But rather than seek any kind of compromise, Philip's government insisted that the nobles swear an oath of allegiance (1567) to the king in which they would essentially be renouncing their traditional liberties. While many of the nobles accepted the change (with considerable grumbling), William of Orange and a few others refused.

These constitutional issues were being raised at a time of increasing religious tensions, due mostly to the ecclesiastical reforms—Philip II proposed to institute new bishoprics in the Low Countries—and also to an increase in the prosecution of “heretics.” With papal approval, Philip's plan called for the creation of several new bishoprics with a primate of the Netherlands in the person of the archbishop of Mechelen; to fill this position Perrenot was installed as Cardinal Granvelle. But it was the Habsburg obsession with rooting out heresy that is often associated with the uprising that occurred in 1566. Late in 1565 Philip's Council of State directed Inquisition officials to enforce anti-heresy laws.

For the nobility, this was one more affront to their authority. The great nobles considered resisting the government's religious policies, but it was the lower nobility that took action. The lower nobles, led mostly by Protestants or those with Protestant leanings, came together at Culemborch to form the Compromise of the Nobility, with the express intention of forcing Philip's regent (and half-sister), Margaret of Parma (1522–1586), to change the heresy law. By April 1566 as many as four hundred lesser nobles, all supporters of the Compromise, assembled at Brussels to present their petition to Margaret. One minister referred to these nobles not as petitioners, but as *les gueux*, ‘the Beggars’, a name that became a badge of honor.

The Beggars promised violence if Margaret failed to take action against the heresy laws. Al-

though she issued a decree of “moderation,” the damage had been done; Calvinists had already begun flouting the laws, and preaching in the Netherlands had reached a fever pitch by late spring 1566. The nobles soon lost control as Calvinist preachers urged their listeners to destroy the numerous religious images found in the churches of the Low Countries. This iconoclasm of the summer of 1566 was widespread, hitting Antwerp on 20 August, and Ghent, Amsterdam, Leiden, and Utrecht a few days later. A terrified Margaret acquiesced to the repeated demands of the Beggars and agreed to an “Accord” permitting Protestant worship in the parts of the Low Countries where it was already being practiced. Unfortunately the Compromise of the Nobility soon collapsed, leaving no one really in control. The iconoclasm continued, and Margaret had no choice but to raise an army to bring order to the provinces.

While Margaret was hard at work bringing the towns of the provinces to heel, Philip II weighed his options. By November 1566 he had decided to send an army to the Netherlands. But the Beggars had been raising troops in opposition to the government, so Margaret had to take action. This split the nobility, many of whom sided with the government. Margaret's troops had been successfully besieging Calvinist strongholds and on 13 March 1567 defeated the rebel troops at the Battle of Oosterweel. By May 1567 the Netherlands were back under the control of the regent. The next month Philip sent his Spanish army, under the leadership of the duke of Alba, to the Netherlands.

Once in the Netherlands, the Duke of Alba—Ferdinand Álvarez de Toledo (1508–1583)—set about rooting out heresy and, through the Council of Troubles, prosecuting individuals branded as traitors to the Spanish king. Of the almost nine thousand people found guilty of participating in the troubles of 1566–1567, including some well-known nobles, at least one thousand were executed, including Counts Egmont and Hoorne. Only the nobles who remained loyal to Philip survived unscathed. William of Orange emerged as the *de facto* leader of the opposition. His attempt to invade the Netherlands from his ancestral home in Germany with a force of some 30,000 men in October 1568 was no match for the Spanish forces. William's brother, Count Louis of Nassau (1538–1574), sent

ships out to get aid from exiled Calvinist communities in England, but it was too late and Louis's "Sea Beggars" (*Watergeuzen*) eventually turned to privateering. At the time William had no choice but to retreat. He spent the next year fighting for the Huguenots in France.

THE SECOND REVOLT (1568–1576): WILLIAM OF ORANGE AND THE DUKE OF ALBA

By 1569, it seemed that revolt in the Netherlands had been snuffed out and had little chance of reigniting. Alba set about instituting Philip's plans and policies for the Netherlands, including the ecclesiastical reforms. William of Orange and his supporters had been continuing to plan for an eventual invasion, but, perhaps because of the harshness of Alba's regime, he found few willing to rise up in the Netherlands. Help had to come from the outside. France was one obvious source of aid; the other was England. William thought he had support from both places. His plans for an invasion in 1572 included a thrust from the east with his German army and from the south by a Huguenot army with a naval assault from England by the unruly Sea Beggars. Coordination failed, and the Sea Beggars, who had been expelled from their English bases, moved too soon. They attacked Brill (Den Briel) on 1 April 1572, taking the port city without difficulty. By the end of April, Flushing was also in Beggar hands. Over the next few months the Beggars, usually aided by defectors in the towns, were able to take Gouda (21 June) and Dordrecht (25 June). By July, Haarlem (15 July), Leiden (23 July), and Rotterdam (25 July) also went over to the rebel side.

Most of the land-based forces could not take the field until July. A rebel army under Louis of Nassau managed to take Mons (Bergen) and other rebels took a few other towns, but the French force from the south was roundly defeated at St. Ghislain, and the French crown's changing attitudes toward the Huguenots meant that no more forces would be sent. William's own force stalled in the northeast. Alba succeeded in retaking the towns held by rebels, but the thought of a protracted war in Holland and Zeeland, places where William had many supporters, split the Spanish leadership, so in November 1573 Philip II replaced Alba with Don Luis de Requesens y Zúñiga (1528–1576).

William of Orange wasted no time in taking advantage of Spanish indecision by currying the support of the States of Holland and Zeeland. While not all of Holland and Zeeland could accept William's position (Amsterdam remained loyal to Philip), the two provinces united in the summer of 1575 with William of Orange as their leader. Meanwhile, Requesens had heeded Alba's advice and pressed into Holland and Zeeland. The Spanish successfully captured rebel cities such as Haarlem and Brill in 1573. The rebels were only able to hold out by flooding large areas in advance of the Spanish army. The floods kept the Spanish at bay, foiling their siege of Leiden in 1574.

The costs of this protracted war in the Netherlands were astronomical. It has been estimated that the war cost Spain more than the combined income from Castile and Spain's New World possessions. Due to lack of pay, the Spanish army mutinied several times, abandoning their garrisons and leaving them open to rebel forces. Philip was on the brink of bankruptcy. He ordered Requesens to open negotiations with the rebels. Requesens met with William at Breda in March 1575. The talks ended in failure, however, as neither side would back down on the religious issue. Within the year the financial crisis had become acute, Requesens had died, and despite a Spanish victory over Zierikzee in Zeeland, the Spanish could not make their payroll and the troops mutinied once again.

THE THIRD REVOLT (1576–1584): THE NETHERLANDS UNITED AND DIVIDED

The Spanish troop mutinies of 1576, more than anything else, brought the various provinces of the Low Countries together in common cause. When mutinous troops sacked the royalist town of Aalst, even Catholics loyal to Philip looked for some kind of common defensive arrangement. Talks between William's supporters and Catholic loyalists began at Ghent in October 1576. The participants in the Ghent meeting agreed to set aside their own religious differences by suspending the heresy laws and uniting to expel the Spanish. This agreement, called the "Pacification of Ghent," was quickly ratified by the various Provincial States in reaction to the "Spanish Fury," the violent mutiny of the Spanish troops at Antwerp on 4 November 1576, in which about eight thousand people were killed. The Pacification of Ghent did not, however, resolve the

problem of disunity in the Netherlands. What appeared to be unity of action was only temporary.

Philip appointed his half-brother, Don Juan of Austria (1547–1578), to replace Requesens as governor-general of the Netherlands. His charge was to find a temporary settlement with the rebels. Indeed the States-General was happy to recognize him as governor, provided he agreed to the provisions of the Pacification of Ghent. William of Orange remained mistrustful of Don Juan and urged the States-General to act cautiously. The States-General installed Don Juan as governor-general on 1 May 1577, over William's objections. William was right to be concerned about Don Juan's intentions. Don Juan attempted to neutralize the States-General and impose his own authority as soon as July 1577, when he captured Namur, unsuccessfully attacked Antwerp, and recalled the Spanish troops to the Low Countries. Because of this duplicity, the Catholic nobles from the southern Low Countries arranged for the Austrian Archduke Matthias (1557–1619) to replace Don Juan as governor-general, but this arrangement was never recognized by Philip II.

During all of this, Philip II had been preoccupied with the threat of the Ottoman Empire in the east. Once peace with the Turks was achieved after the Battle of Lepanto in 1571, Philip reacted decisively to the developments in the Netherlands. He sent his Spanish army back to the Low Countries under the leadership of Alexander Farnese (1555–1592), the prince and eventual duke of Parma. As soon as Parma and his army landed, they began a successful campaign, taking Gembloux on 31 January 1578, and Leuven on 13 February. Don Juan died of the plague in October, and Philip appointed Parma as governor of the Netherlands.

Despite military assistance from both France and England, infighting among the provinces precluded the possibility of united action. The division between the largely royalist Catholic provinces of the south and the independent-minded Calvinist provinces of the north tore the States-General apart. In January 1579 the northern provinces (Holland, Zeeland, Utrecht, Friesland, Gelderland, and Overijssel) concluded the Union of Utrecht, effectively establishing the United Provinces. The southern provinces of Hainault and Artois created the Union of Arras (later joined by Walloon Flanders),

which reconciled itself to the rule of Philip II on 6 April 1579. The provinces of the Union of Arras, together with the provinces already under Spanish control (Namur, Limburg, and Luxembourg), formed the basis for continued Spanish rule.

Continuing their move toward independence, the provinces of the Union of Utrecht deposed Philip II as sovereign of the Netherlands in the Act of Abjuration (26 July 1581). Who should replace him became the problem that the States-General would need to solve. In the end they turned to François de Valois (1556–1584), duke of Anjou, a French prince of the blood and a Catholic. He was never particularly popular and never received the dignities he expected, so he returned to France in the summer of 1583. When a royalist assassinated William of Orange in Delft on 10 July 1584, the United Provinces were left without a strong leader.

SURVIVAL: THE SPANISH NETHERLANDS AND THE 'TWELVE YEARS' TRUCE (1584–1609)

With William of Orange out of the picture, Parma began his campaign to reconquer the Netherlands. Ghent surrendered to Parma's army on 17 September 1584 and Brussels capitulated on 10 March 1585. The search for foreign help in the face of what was amounting to a Spanish reconquest brought the States-General's gaze, once again, to focus on England. An agreement, formalized in the Treaty of Nonsuch on 20 August 1585, was forged between the English and the States-General, allowing Elizabeth I to appoint a governor-general for the Netherlands and to send a large army to halt the Spanish advance. But Antwerp—Parma's greatest prize—had already fallen to the Spanish on 17 August.

Elizabeth I appointed Robert Dudley, the earl of Leicester (1532/33–1588), as governor-general, but she could not eliminate the disunity that plagued the Netherlands, and Leicester's attempts to impose his own ideas of centralized government were doomed to failure. In the end, Leicester had no choice but to return to England with his army. The Dutch then turned to one of their own to lead the revolt: Count Maurice of Nassau (1567–1625), the second son of William of Orange.

For Philip II the English involvement in the revolt could only be viewed as an act of war. In order to counter the English, and in part as a reac-



Dutch Revolt. *Feast on the Occasion of the Armistice of 1609*, painting by Adriaen Pietersz van de Venne, 1616, Louvre Museum, Paris. ©ERICH LESSING/ART RESOURCE, N.Y.

tion to English “piracy” against Spanish commerce with the New World, Philip dispatched an armada of over 100 ships to invade England in 1588. The fate of the Spanish Armada is well-known, but this naval defeat did not hamper Spanish abilities on land. Nevertheless, Spanish attention to the English problem and Spanish involvement in French wars gave the Dutch some breathing space. Maurice succeeded in recapturing many of the northern towns lost to Spain at just the time that Philip II ordered Parma’s army to intervene in the civil war in France, where Parma died in 1592.

Now the Spanish were left without a leader in the Netherlands. Eventually, Philip II appointed his nephew (and eventual son-in-law) Archduke Albert of Austria as governor-general in 1596. Albert had little success in consolidating Spanish power in the Netherlands, however, because of Spanish bankruptcy, troop mutinies, and desertions. The next several years witnessed an intense period of warfare that largely resulted in stalemate. By then Philip II

had died and his successor Philip III (ruled 1598–1621) saw no way to continue financing a war that had been draining the Spanish treasury for decades. The time had come for the peace process suggested by Henry IV of France (ruled 1589–1610): both sides agreed to a Twelve Years’ Truce in Antwerp on 9 April 1609.

ACCOMMODATION: THE LAST GASP OF WARFARE

The Twelve Years’ Truce worked more to the advantage of the Dutch than to that of the Spanish. The Dutch, freed of the need to fight an expensive war with Spain, were able to build up a powerful economy. Politically, however, the shape the Dutch Republic would ultimately take was still a matter of much debate, particularly the role the Reformed (Calvinist) Church would play. The fortunes of the Spanish Netherlands were flagging by the end of the truce. The commerce of Spain herself met with stiff competition from the Dutch, and the Dutch and the Spanish found each other drawn to differing

sides of the political developments of early-seventeenth-century Europe. The Dutch Revolt had merged into the greater European conflict of the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648).

By the time the Twelve Years' Truce finally expired in 1621, Philip III was dead, and pro-war factions on both sides called for renewed hostilities. But by then neither side expected to triumph over the other. Both sides were involved in the Thirty Years' War, and the Spanish in particular found it impossible to devote much attention to warfare in the Netherlands. The best course of action was to sue for peace. Negotiations were drawn out for several years, with the two combatants only slowly making concessions. Finally, on 30 January 1648, the Peace of Münster (later incorporated into the Peace of Westphalia of October 1648) ended the war between Spain and the United Provinces, making permanent the division of the Low Countries and guaranteeing the independence of the Dutch Republic.

See also Alba, Fernando Álvarez de Toledo, duke of; Charles V (Holy Roman Empire); Dutch Republic; Isabel Clara Eugenia and Albert of Habsburg; Juan de Austria, Don; Netherlands, Southern; Oldenbarneveldt, Johan van; Parma, Alexander Farnese, duke of; Philip II (Spain); Thirty Years' War (1618–1648); Westphalia, Peace of (1648); William of Orange.

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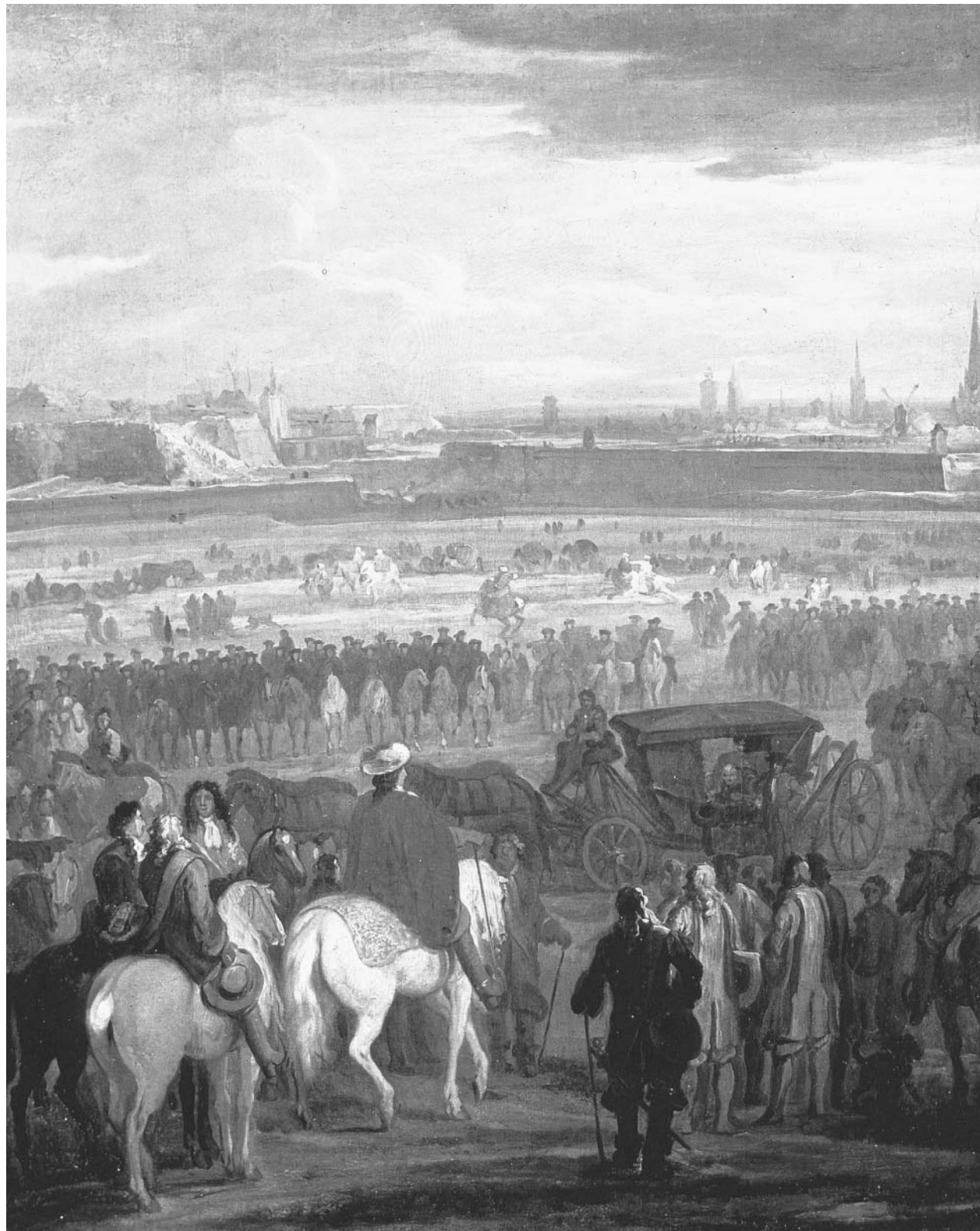
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DONALD J. HARRELD

DUTCH WAR (1672–1678). The treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (May 1668) ended the short Franco-Spanish war over territory in the Spanish Netherlands. Louis XIV (ruled 1643–1715) and his advisers had been concerned at the prospect of a coalition (the Triple Alliance) opposed to further French gains and had anticipated the enforcement of the secret partition treaty for the division of all the Spanish territories on the death of the young king, Charles II. But as Charles demonstrated unexpected vitality, and Louis was assured by his generals that a second campaign in 1668 would have conquered the whole of the Spanish Netherlands, Aix-la-Chapelle seemed an exasperating mistake. By 1669 Louis wanted another war, but his ministers were sharply divided as to whether this aggression should be directed once again at the Spanish Netherlands or toward powers likely to oppose this French expansion, most notably the Dutch Republic. Neither the secretary for foreign affairs, Hughes de Lionne (1611–1671), nor the finance minister, Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619–1683), favored war in the early 1670s, but both recognized that obstructing the king's will on this matter would play into the hands of their rivals. Lionne regarded further belligerence against the Spanish Netherlands as the option most likely to forge a coalition against France; Colbert reluctantly considered that a war against the Dutch would at least serve some of his mercantilist goals of acquiring a larger share of European trade for French merchants. Playing on Louis's resentment of Dutch "presumption" and "ingratitude," the ministers turned Louis away from the Spanish Netherlands, and constructed an apparently effective system of alliances to isolate the Dutch Republic.

Careful military planning ensured a rapid sweep across the Rhine and into the Dutch Republic in May 1672. The Dutch forces were ill-prepared and under strength; a frantic population lynched Johan and Cornelis de Witt, the principal directors of the States of Holland, and acclaimed William III of the House of Orange (1650–1702) as military leader



Dutch War. *Capture of the Citadel of Cambrai, 18 April 1677*, painting by Adam Frans van der Meulen. Held by the Spanish crown since 1595, Cambrai was part of the territory lost to the French during the campaigns of 1674–1678. THE ART ARCHIVE/MUSÉE DU CHÂTEAU DE VERSAILLES/DAGLI ORTI

and stadtholder. During the campaign of 1672 the French armies appeared unstoppable: Utrecht fell on 30 June, Nijmegen on 9 July. The Dutch offered generous terms for peace that would have abandoned any opposition to a French conquest of the Spanish Netherlands. But Louis now sought to destroy Dutch political autonomy and strip the Dutch of a swathe of landward territory extending northward to Utrecht. When the Dutch responded by flooding the land around Amsterdam and blocking the French advance, the rejection of the earlier Dutch peace proposals made both settlement and outright victory equally unattainable.

European alarm increased through the summer and autumn of 1672. Troops from Brandenburg intervened on behalf of the Dutch, but French forces drove them back in the last months of the year. More serious was the confrontational mood in Vienna, among many other princes in the Empire, and within Spain. In 1673, despite Louis's capture of the prestigious fortress of Maastricht, allied troops in Germany outmaneuvered the French and forced them onto the defensive. With supply lines to the Dutch Republic disrupted, Louis was obliged to evacuate all his troops from Dutch territory. Although French armies subsequently enjoyed piecemeal success and overran Franche-Comté for the second time in 1674, the war was now being fought in campaign theaters and for aims unconnected with original French war plans. Tax revolts at home and the worsening plight of the French economy indicated that the conflict was spiraling out of control. France was sustaining an unprecedented military burden of around 250,000 soldiers against a coalition that remained united in the face of military setbacks. Successive French campaigns alternated between years of military stagnation such as 1675, when the death of marshal Henri de La Tour d'Auvergne, vicomte de Turenne while leading his army led to the collapse of military activity in Germany, and years of impressive French military success such as 1678. Peace negotiations began at the Dutch city of Nijmegen as early as 1676, but they dragged on as the various powers surveyed the shifting balance of military advantage. When a series of

agreements were finally reached between August 1678 and February 1679, it was clear that French victories late in the war had helped gain considerable advantages for Louis XIV. But Spain, not the Dutch Republic, paid the price of the settlement with the loss of Franche-Comté and further territory in the Spanish Netherlands. The Dutch profited, gaining the abolition of punitive French trade tariffs imposed in 1667, and economic recovery from the war years followed rapidly in the 1680s. The political and military turnaround since 1672 had entrenched William in the republic, and until his death in 1702, Dutch foreign policy was shaped by William's implacable hostility to Louis XIV.

See also Dutch Republic; Louis XIV (France); Netherlands, Southern; William and Mary; Witt, Johan and Cornelis de.

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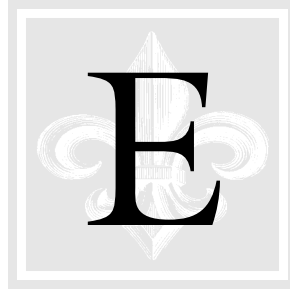
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DAVID PARROTT



EARLY MODERN PERIOD. *See*
Introduction, Volume 1.

**EARLY MODERN PERIOD: ART
HISTORICAL INTERPRETATIONS.**

The practice of critical evaluation in early modern art rests upon the foundations of biography, rhetoric, and poetics. Giorgio Vasari (1511–1574), Italian writer and artist, launched Renaissance art history with his *Lives of the Most Eminent Painters, Sculptors and Architects* (first edition, 1550), a compendium of biographical sketches. The language of rhetoric and poetics established the terms for writing about literature and the visual arts with the appearance of Cicero’s *De oratore* (On speaking), the first book published in Italy, and Aristotle’s *Poetics*, translated into Italian with extensive commentaries in 1576 by the critic Lodovico Castelvetro. While promoting an evolutionary model of generations of artists perfecting mimesis and approaching an ideal, Vasari wrote about individual genius, remarkable accomplishments, and Tuscan excellence and eloquence. The language of rhetoric and literature gave authors a vocabulary for appraising invention, composition, narrative, and style in the visual arts.

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY INTERPRETATIONS

By the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries, a reaction arose against both the poetic and rhetorical traditions, especially

as they were used by the Italians, while the biographical tradition retained its hold on readers’ expectations if not imaginations. The Franco-Italian debate that flared between the French writers Dominique Bouhours and Nicolas Boileau-Despréaux on the one hand, and Gian Gioseffo Orsi, the Italian intellectual and member of the Arcadian Academy, on the other, signaled both an attack on the Italians, their emphasis on conceits and baroque language, and an attempt on the part of the French to seize the leadership in culture, language, literature, and the visual arts from the Italians, whose hegemony in these areas had been unquestioned and untested for centuries. The result of this quarrel was to give greater currency to a new term in artistic evaluation—taste.

Good taste (*buon gusto*, *bon goût*) carried much of the weight that rhetorical terms had borne in the previous several centuries. The touting of *buon gusto* by the leading Italian intellectuals of the early eighteenth century had the effect of anathematizing the baroque and the Jesuit emphasis on the emotive image. Suddenly, the posthumous reputations of Gian Lorenzo Bernini, Francesco Borromini, and Pietro da Cortona were discounted, and the baroque style lost its prestige and luster. Spanish painters of the seventeenth century suffered a similar fate.

The birth of the word “baroque” (perhaps deriving from the Portuguese *barroco* ‘an irregularly shaped pearl’ and the so-called *ragione baroco*, a tendentious syllogistic form), describing a style in the visual arts, occurred at about the time that the

baroque was banished. The third edition of the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie* (1740) condemned the baroque style as ill-proportioned, bizarre, and irregular. The wide currency of the word “taste” in the eighteenth century generally conveyed values that were supportive of Renaissance art, but that depreciated “excess” fancy and invention. The short *Essay on Taste* by Voltaire (1694–1778) articulated this position (and by implication a dismissal of the Jesuit baroque style) when explaining how artists avoid the simplicity of nature and choose “uncommon paths.”

Johann Joachim Winckelmann’s original and innovative *Gedanken über die Nachahmung der griechischen Werke* (1755; Reflections on the imitation of Greek works) and his *Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums* (1764; History of ancient art) caused a radical shift in the concept of good taste. He wrote that good taste had its origins under a “Greek sky.” The German art historian accomplished several things with this statement: One was to redirect his contemporaries’ attention away from the art of Rome to that of Greece, which had been largely inaccessible to Europeans in the eighteenth century; the second “paradigm shift” that he prompted was to situate the visual arts within a culture. Winckelmann felt that it was only in Greece during the golden age that artists enjoyed the *Freiheit*, ‘freedom’, to create ideal art based on mythological subjects. In short, he made the first move in what is now called historicism. In this same text, he also initiated what was, in effect, a call to arms against the baroque (which he despised) and in favor of classicism, a concept that just then was in the process of formulation. He peddled the memorable phrase *edel Einfalt und stille Grösse*, ‘noble simplicity and quiet grandeur’, which meant, of course, that the Renaissance style would soon wear the mantle of classicism, whereas the baroque, nearly dead anyhow, was to receive another nail in its coffin. Because of Winckelmann’s text on ancient art, his position as commissioner of antiquities in Rome, and the development of archaeological techniques in the excavations at Herculaneum and Pompeii, neoclassicism became the primary artistic style of the second half of the eighteenth century.

NINETEENTH- AND TWENTIETH-CENTURY INTERPRETATIONS

The German philosopher Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770–1831) inherited from Winckelmann a love for the classical style and a philosophical penchant for historicism. He also devised a historical scheme that gave to early modern painting both a place in history and a distinctive capacity to convey the spirit of an age. Although Hegel’s aesthetics are notoriously complex, one can make a few observations that are pertinent to the reception and interpretation of early modern art. First of all, Hegel (like Vasari before him) enunciated a teleological scheme (one in which history is working toward a goal), although his did not cover just a few generations; rather, he believed that the “worldspirit” found its beginning in the earliest stages of Mediterranean history and spiraled through millennia, revealing itself with ever greater clarity. Works of art, which are symptoms of their times, follow inevitably the progress of the “spirit.” The prototype for Hegel’s first stage is architecture (symbolic), followed by sculpture (classic), and culminating in painting and music as phenomena of the Romantic stage. Hegel owed much to Winckelmann in his appreciation of classical beauty, which expressed itself best in sculpture. But painting, because of its reduced materiality, allowed the “spirit” to shine through with greater brilliance. Although Hegel did not single out either Renaissance or baroque painting, one can assume by implication that baroque religious painting, because of its shadows and search for the ineffable, fits his scheme perfectly. Hegel also validated painting of every period because of its necessary historical role. One may love the classical style, but owing to the dictates of history, one must accept every style as appropriate to its time and place.

The Swiss historian Jacob Burckhardt (1818–1897) fell under the sway of Hegel’s periodization but abandoned his assertion of historical progress. His *Die Cultur der Renaissance in Italien* (1860; Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy) treated Italian art of the fifteenth through the seventeenth century as part and parcel of Italian culture and values, the unique product of individual creativity married to cultural norms, with visual schemes inherited from antiquity. For all his love of the classical style, now firmly identified and associated with Italian Early and High Renaissance painting, sculpture,

and architecture, Burckhardt understood and valued the energies of the baroque. Although he interpreted visual art as a function or product of culture (for Burckhardt, art could have no existence outside of history), he nonetheless had such esteem for beauty in all its manifestations that he felt the history of art could be studied and taught on its own terms, as its own discipline. He also saw that artistic styles had certain quintessential qualities, calling Renaissance the “organic style” and baroque the “spatial style.” It remained for Heinrich Wölfflin (1864–1945), his student and successor as professor of history at the University of Basel, to describe and elaborate upon the organic and spatial as the “linear” and “painterly.”

Wölfflin created a huge stir in the discipline of art history with his publication in 1915 of the *Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe* (Principles of art history), which addressed both the psychology of style and the ways in which it gives expression to the individual artist as well as the nation and the age. But his main concern was with the deeply rooted visual schemes and modes of perception that he found distinguished sixteenth- from seventeenth-century European art. Baroque artists created masses and patches of color and form, whereas High Renaissance artists were more like draftsmen in their concern with surfaces, outlines, linear perspective, and the careful parallels in a sequence of planes. Vision has its own history, as he asserted, and the archetypes that undergird that particular history he called the linear and the painterly. Primarily because he wanted to see Renaissance and baroque styles as part of a *Zeitgeist*, ‘spirit of an age’, Wölfflin generally avoided the recognition that there is something original, general, and universal about these forms. And yet it soon became apparent to other art historians and critics that one could find these forms in many historical periods, from the Shang dynasty and its bronzes, to the Hellenistic period and its sculpture, and as Wölfflin himself pointed out, the late Gothic style in architecture.

Svetlana Alpers’s article “Describe or Narrate: A Problem in Pictorial Representation” proposes another prototype for seventeenth-century Italian and Dutch painting (the analysis of “description” developed in this article led to her *The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century* [1983]). Alpers writes about a method of description that

figures prominently in Dutch baroque painting (and in Caravaggio’s work) and that is at odds with the methods used to create energy, movement, and narration typical of the *istoria* (history painting) in Italian painting. The Dutch, she argues, did not inherit the Albertian tradition of narrative painting, and therefore tended to show scenes of suspended action, ones that do not suggest events leading up to the moment depicted, nor that which succeeds it. As a demonstration of its archetypal nature, Alpers also detects the descriptive approach operating in nineteenth-century French realism.

The literary critic and art historian Norman Bryson’s use of the terms “discourse” and “figure” provides us with yet another gambit in what at first glance may appear to be an archetypal analysis of early modern art. He takes as his point of departure a distinction similar to Alpers’s; that is, using semiotics, he differentiates between a textual meaning on the one hand and a tendency toward pure imagery on the other (which is fairly similar to narration versus description). Because of the strong tradition of history painting in the early modern period, one’s attention is necessarily drawn to texts that subtend the images. There are visual elements, just the same, in Renaissance and baroque painting that exceed the requirements of the stories and biblical passages on which these images are based. Unlike medieval art, Bryson argues, early modern imagery owes allegiance to both the text (discourse) and its own autonomy (figure). The sign is split, and it is linear perspective that, first of all, divides the signifier from the signified, the figural from the discursive. But Bryson also argues that early modern painting uses the figural to create the effect of a putative (although not true) realism, and this effect of realism has a tendency to hide the ideological element in visual representation.

Bryson takes his literary education and training in semiotics into the halls of art history and asserts that the only way to make sense of eighteenth-century French art (and he may as well have included Italian art of the same period) is to forget about archetypes of style and to concentrate instead on how the discursive and figural do battle with one another. And at the same time, they help, in their various permutations and combinations, give evidence to the artistic and ideological concerns of their times.

The tendency in the study of early modern art history (and indeed much of art history, for that matter) to associate styles with periods has led to sometimes unfortunate results, as in the naming of such categories as high baroque, high baroque classicism, baroque classicism, archaizing classicism, crypto-Romanticism, and so forth. And perhaps the other approach of focusing on genres and media of art—landscape, portrait, still life, painting, sculpture, architecture—tends to fracture the ages and ignore some of their unifying elements.

Similarly, the traditional reliance upon monographic studies—Vasari's biographical approach—has lost favor with scholars and, perhaps more important, publishers. Museum exhibitions that are thematically organized and somewhat eclectic in the kinds of objects that they bring together nonetheless have had a powerful impact (museum catalogues often sell better than more theoretically oriented texts) on the study of early modern art history in recent years. Bryson's call for greater attention to the semiotics of art (and especially early modern art) has not been heeded by art history's rank and file.

See also *Art: Art Theory, Criticism, and Historiography*; Vasari, Giorgio; Winckelmann, Johann Joachim.

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VERNON HYDE MINOR

EARTH, THEORIES OF THE.

Hundreds of works in search of "the theory of the Earth" were published for the general reader during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in the major countries and languages of Europe. Various writers attempted to construct an integrated and comprehensive vision of Earth's past (and often of its future), bringing to bear evidence drawn from diverse intellectual fields. Many were notable for other accomplishments as well, including René Descartes (1596–1650), Robert Hooke (1635–1702), Edmond Halley (c. 1656–1743), Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646–1716), Carl Linnaeus (1707–1778), Jean-Baptiste de Monet de Lamarck (1744–1829), and Georges Louis Leclerc Buffon (1707–1788). Histories of science sometimes portray early modern theories of the Earth as a sort of speculative prelude to geology. But as historian Jacques Roger argued in a classic analysis, such theories constituted a distinct genre, intelligible on its own terms. Notoriously evident incompatibilities among the multitudes of theories were symptomatic not so much of a failure to regulate scientific thinking as of the vitality of an ongoing dialogue aimed generally at integrating the resources widely considered most authoritative for a reliable account of the Earth. One outcome of this exchange was a significant contribution toward establishing historical ways of thinking about nature.

THE BURNET CONTROVERSY

Theories of the Earth draw this name from the ambitious and erudite work of the English scholar Thomas Burnet (c. 1635–1715). Published first in 1681 as *Telluris Theoria Sacra*, and subsequently in English and German as well as revised Latin editions, it gave an account of Earth's past, present, and future in terms of cosmic history interpreted through a framework of apocalyptic millennialism, fused with a version of Cartesian natural philosophy. Burnet sought to reconcile the physical mechanisms (cosmogony and crustal collapse) of Descartes's *Principia Philosophiae* (1644) with biblical chronol-

ogy and prophecy of the future conflagration of the world and the millennium, aided by corroborating evidence from classical texts. Although he adapted the phrase “theory of the Earth” from Descartes, Burnet’s work effectively established the interdisciplinary character of the tradition and provided a convenient and popular label for debate about the Earth. The large number of writers over the next century who singled him out (often referring to him as “the Theorist”) as a foil for airing their own views confirms the importance of the Burnet controversy.

Burnet came under attack for dismissing the first chapter of Genesis, which depicted a primitive earth complete with mountains and oceans. Against the hexameral commentary tradition, Burnet held that Earth’s present topographic features were not original, but rather derived from Noah’s Flood. Other critics faulted Burnet’s scheme as incompatible with natural philosophy or practical experience. In his *Essay toward a Natural History of the Earth* (1695), John Woodward (1665–1728) criticized Burnet on the basis of fossil evidence. William Whiston (1667–1752), in *New Theory of the Earth* (1696), used Newtonian cosmology to refute certain Cartesian aspects of Burnet’s theory. Theories such as *The Anatomy of the Earth* (1694) by Thomas Robinson (d. 1719) took both Burnet and Woodward to task on the basis of contemporary mining experience. John Keill (1671–1721) refuted Burnet and Whiston using Newtonian mathematics. Other writers invoked evidence from chemistry and medicine.

Along with many of his contemporaries, Burnet thought that a sound theory of the Earth must incorporate ancient learning recovered through scholarship. Dispute over the testimony of antiquity was practically guaranteed by apparently conflicting statements about the Earth in passages related to chronology, physical geography, natural philosophy, and even mythology. Theorists as diverse as Burnet and Whiston, and as late as John Whitehurst (1713–1788) in his *An Inquiry into the Original State and Formation of the Earth* (1778), regarded pronouncements in antique texts as obscure (although authoritative) remnants of an ancient code of wisdom—*prisca sapientia*—that new theories might successfully decipher. In an example of prevalent contention over textual interpretation, the Newtonian Keill launched a devastating critique of

Burnet’s *Theory* at the height of the “Battle of the Books” controversy in England in the late seventeenth century, and was hailed as a champion of the ancients for quelling the presumption of moderns like Burnet.

The tenacity of Burnet’s *Theory* as a target for dispute illustrates important features of the evolving theory of the Earth enterprise. Most parties to the controversy were in general agreement about Burnet’s trust in “Reason, Scripture, and Antiquity.” Many considered it essential to deploy one or another of the new natural philosophies, whether of the mechanical or chemical type. They took part in a learned culture steeped in biblical idiom, convinced of the centrality of a directional narrative to make sense of our Earth. Apocalyptic interests were common, although not universal. Similarly, the processes of the Creation and Flood, and their roles in explaining the present-day world, were frequently discussed, but with widely varying interpretation and emphasis. The critical attacks and responses were part of a public spectacle reflecting disparate motivations and standards of evidence.

CONCEPTUAL TYPES OF THE THEORY OF THE EARTH

During the controversies over Burnet, writers set contributions toward the theory of the Earth within a variety of analytical traditions, including works by Descartes, Athanasius Kircher (c. 1601–1680), Nicolaus Steno (1638–1686), and others going back much further. In his *Mémoire sur la théorie de la terre* (1729), the Swiss Huguenot Louis Bourguet (1678–1742) enlarged the pedigree of theories of the Earth, sketching the tradition’s origins by classifying theories into three major conceptual models: Platonic, Aristotelian, and Mosaic.

Platonic theories of the Earth posited a collapse of the world’s ancient surface, generating catastrophic earthquakes and floods as embodied in the Atlantis myth. Ignoring Leonardo da Vinci (whose theory of crustal collapse remained unknown) and Descartes (whose account of crustal collapse inspired Burnet), Bourguet pointed to the Renaissance Neoplatonist Francesco Patrizi da Cherso (1529–1597) as the founder of Platonic theories. Indeed, Patrizi was quoted by other theorists in the Burnet controversy, such as Bernardino Ramazzini (1633–1714) and Robert St. Clair (fl. 1697).

Aristotelian theories of the Earth emphasized the displacement of land and sea. Early modern theorists frequently drew upon Aristotle's *Meteorology* as a main point of departure. According to Bourguet, Aristotelian theories proposed that the ocean gradually displaces the land. This theory readily explains why one finds seashells far from their element. Since at least the fourteenth century, many Scholastics had explained the transposition of land and sea by shifts in the Earth's center of gravity. However, Bourguet attributed the founding of Aristotelian theories of the Earth to the *Discours admirables* (1580) of Bernard Palissy (c. 1510–c. 1589). Bourguet reported that in his own time, Aristotelian theories were taken up by Leibniz, Antonio Vallisnieri (1661–1730), and various French savants. One might note that because Aristotelian theories depict cyclic revolutions of an enduring terrestrial surface, they should not be described as cosmogonic. Rather, they were often perceived as tending toward eternalism, as in the case of the clandestinely circulated *Telliamed* of Benoît de Maillet (1656–1738). The Aristotelian sort of theory, Bourguet wrote, could be joined to the Platonic by combining gradual marine deposition with crustal collapse—a move that added a directional component to Earth history and allowed a more compressed timescale. Bourguet's examples included Steno, Whiston, Halley, and Henri Gautier (1660–1737).

Mosaic theories of the Earth envisioned a radical dissolution of the antediluvian world. Such a theory explains the watery Deluge as the unmaking of the world in a return to Chaos, as in the first days of Creation. Bourguet cited Woodward as an exemplar. Ancient authorities for such “dissolutions of the world” include Seneca's *Natural Questions*, one of the most-cited meteorological works in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and patristic expositors of Genesis such as Basil and Augustine. In these Stoic and hexameral traditions the world's dissolution back into the primordial Chaos might be accomplished through any combination of elemental transformations: loss of earthy cohesion, fiery conflagration, rarefaction into air, or condensation into a watery deluge. This vision could link Creation and Deluge with the eschatological end of the world.

Bourguet's simple three-fold taxonomy, which was reproduced almost unchanged by his countryman Élie Bertrand (1712–1790) in *Mémoires sur la structure intérieure de la terre* (1752), illustrates how theories of the Earth were not regarded as a conceptually homogenous genre. In addition to Bourguet's three types, Baron Georges Cuvier (1769–1832) cited Johannes Kepler (1571–1630) as a founder of animistic theories of the Earth. Additional categories include chemical theories of the Earth from Jean Baptiste van Helmont (1579–1644), Johann Joachim Becher (1635–1682), and Georg Ernst Stahl (1660–1734), and magnetic theories of the Earth such as that of Halley.

THE TRANSFORMATION OF THEORIES OF THE EARTH

The character and reputation of theories of the Earth passed into a new phase during the second half of the eighteenth century. To many observers the pivotal figure was Buffon, who opened the first volume (1749) of his magisterial *Histoire naturelle* with a theory of the Earth intended to frame the grandiose project of describing and explaining all living things, including mankind. In Buffon's work, the somewhat precarious balance between providential and mechanistic conceptions of the world was shifted to the distinct advantage of a system of matter and motion. Scandalized Sorbonne theologians quickly condemned Buffon's scheme, but his formal retractions were rightly understood as pro forma, and indeed he enjoyed something close to intellectual immunity as superintendent of the royal collections and garden. Buffon's discussion criticized many earlier theories as inadequately founded on experience, yet his invocation of a cometary collision with the Sun to account for Earth's origins was, unsurprisingly, seen by many as highly hypothetical. His 1749 theory, however, involved little effort to construct a directional account of Earth's history, dwelling instead on the ways that present-day (“actual”) processes are capable of explaining the order discernible in the Earth's visible features. Three decades later, Buffon placed in one of *Histoire naturelle's* supplementary volumes a second and far more historical-minded theory of the Earth (*Époques de la nature*, 1778), in which he teased out the implications of an Earth born out of cooling solar material and changing through an irreversible series of stages. Both of Buffon's theo-

ries enjoyed wide readership, not least because of his popularity as a literary artist. While Buffon, like Burnet before him, was the object of much criticism, his influence tended to favor empirical consideration of the Earth as a temporal production of natural processes.

In the year Buffon's *Époques* appeared, the Genevise naturalist Jean André Deluc (1727–1817), in *Lettres physiques et morales*, suggested using the word *géologie* to distinguish efforts to establish an empirically grounded science of the Earth from the necessarily more conjectural attempts to ascertain its origin. He did not think this meant abandoning the objective of attaining a true theory of the Earth, but it implied more stringently empirical criteria for judging success in the effort. Deluc's compatriot, the mountain traveler Horace Bénédicte de Saussure (1740–1799), seconded this view in the "Agenda" published in his *Voyages dans les Alpes* (1779–1796), a widely respected summation of the kinds of observations needed to achieve an enduring theory of the Earth. Contemporary theories of the Earth written in much the same spirit include those of Peter Simon Pallas (1741–1811), Abraham Gottlob Werner (1749–1817), Robert Jameson (1774–1854), Richard Kirwan (c. 1733–1812), Lamarck, and Cuvier.

An ultimately influential (but in certain ways anomalous) theory of the Earth was produced near the end of the eighteenth century by the Scottish philosopher James Hutton (1726–1797). During the nineteenth century, major parts of this theory's ingenious geological elements were detached from the deistic and teleological framework in which they were embedded, and Hutton became enshrined as a founder of British geology. Hutton's system, which appeared in Edinburgh as an abstract in 1785, an essay in 1788, and a much-enlarged two-volume treatise in 1795, examined terrestrial processes by which continental surfaces are cyclically renovated through erosion, sedimentary consolidation, and elevation. Hutton viewed the tenability of this life-sustaining set of processes in equilibrium as a test—successful, in his estimation—of the divine ordination of a benevolent physical order. That he was able to offer crucial field evidence in favor of key aspects of the scheme lent support to his vision of cyclic repetitions of geological processes operating over unimaginably long periods.

Hutton's advocacy of an enormously expanded timescale (he commented that from an empirical viewpoint the Earth showed "no vestige of a beginning, no prospect of an end") is often heralded as the launching of nineteenth-century theories of geology, leading in turn to evolutionary concepts. But Hutton and his contemporaries may also be understood as representing a last stand of the more inclusive inquiry of theories of the Earth. Hutton defined the theory of the Earth as research focused on how nature perpetuates a habitable world, thus ruling out Burnet- or Buffon-style cosmogenesis. Holding Hutton harmless, but with a baleful eye on Buffon, the geologist Charles Lyell (1797–1875) stipulated polemically that theories of the Earth were defined by their essentially cosmogonical character. In a different but equally misleading characterization, Cuvier stated that all theorists prior to himself had devoted themselves to explaining the totality of Earth history by reference to just two events, the Creation and Flood. Contradictory delineations such as these make clear that theories of the Earth were marked by conceptual disunity, were contested on many levels, and were a broader tradition than many of the participants wished to acknowledge. There was no abrupt cessation of the tradition, but during the generations of Cuvier and Lyell use of the phrase gradually subsided as parts of its objectives were differentiated into disciplines such as geology and cosmology and others were, at least temporarily, marginalized.

See also Astronomy; Buffon, Georges Louis Leclerc; Cosmology; Descartes, René; Geology; Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm; Nature; Steno, Nicolaus.

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KERRY V. MAGRUDER, KENNETH L. TAYLOR

ÉBOLI, RUY GÓMEZ DE SILVA, PRINCE OF

(c. 1516–1573), Iberian courtier and statesman. Ruy Gómez, the second son of middling Portuguese nobility, came to Castile in 1526 in the entourage of the princess Isabella, bride of Holy Roman emperor Charles V (ruled 1519–1556). He was assigned a place in the household of the infant Prince Philip (the future Philip II), serving as a page and becoming the prince's friend and confidant. His close relationship with Philip would form the basis of his political and personal rise. As regent of Spain from 1543, the prince entrusted a variety of diplomatic tasks to Ruy Gómez, who attained the office of *sumiller de corps* (privy steward) in the household reorganization of 1548. He accompanied Philip on his grand tour of central Europe and the Low Countries from 1548 to 1551 and was rewarded with an *encomienda* (commandery) in the military order of Calatrava. The prince's favor was instrumental as well in Ruy Gómez's 1553 marriage to Doña Ana de Mendoza y de la Cerda, the heiress of the counts of Mélito. This marriage established Ruy Gómez as a figure of substance among the Castilian aristocracy, particularly the wealthy and many-branched house of Mendoza.

When Philip went to England in 1554 to marry Mary Tudor, Ruy Gómez once again accompanied him. Along with Fernando Álvarez de Toledo, the

duke of Alba, he was one of Philip's principal advisers in England. He formed a close alliance with Francisco de Eraso, Charles V's secretary in Brussels, and the two men played key roles in the negotiations and plans leading up to the emperor's abdication. Philip became king in 1556, with Ruy Gómez predominant in the court as his *privado* (favorite) and Eraso acting as principal secretary to the councils. In the opening years of the reign, important assignments fell to Philip's *privado*: in 1557 Ruy Gómez returned to Castile to raise money and men and supervise their dispatch to the Low Countries for the campaigns leading to victory at St. Quentin and Gravelines; then, in 1558–1559, he served among Philip's commissioners in negotiations for the Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis. These services earned him the reward of a Neapolitan title, prince of Éboli. Observers remarked on his extraordinary place in Philip's regime: “[T]he main title everyone gives him is that of *rey* [king] Gómez, in place of Ruy Gómez, since it seems that no one has ever been so privy with a prince of such great power.”

While Éboli continued ascendant—especially in financial and patronage affairs—after the court's return to Castile in 1559, his position soon began to erode. Ruy Gómez's favor and influence with the king excited the rancorous jealousy of the duke of Alba, and all the court was polarized by the conflict between the Castilian grandee and the Portuguese upstart. Despite Éboli's higher standing in Philip's affections, Alba was the eventual victor. Ruy Gómez began to withdraw from public governmental prominence to his privy position in the household, and he was further weakened by the fall from grace of his ally Eraso, convicted of corruption in 1566. From 1564, he was also given the unenviable task of supervising Don Carlos, Philip's addled and erratic heir. Meanwhile, as the monarchy faced crises in the Mediterranean and the Low Countries, Éboli's great strengths of courtly subtlety and amiability were outmatched in Philip's estimation by Alba's military experience and the superior bureaucratic talents of Cardinal Diego de Espinosa.

Although he never withdrew his favor from Éboli, Philip II may also have come to see his *privado* as too self-serving in his counsel and his personal dealings. Certainly Ruy Gómez traded upon his privileged connections with the king's bankers in the process of acquiring the properties

and jurisdictions that became a hereditary duchy when Philip elevated Ruy Gómez to grandee status as duke of Pastrana in 1572. Thus when he died in July 1573, Ruy Gómez had succeeded in converting the ephemeral glory of courtly favor into a lasting Castilian patrimony of aristocratic wealth and status. Such an astounding rise through the grace of a king known more for fickleness than generosity accounts for Éboli's lasting reputation as a peerless courtier, lauded by his protégé, the secretary Antonio Pérez, as the “master of Favorites, and of the understanding of Kings,” and allegedly earning even from his bitter rival Alba the admission that he was “so great a master of affairs herein [in the privy chamber], and of the temper and disposition of Kings, that all the rest of us who pass through here have our heads where we think we are carrying our feet.”

See also Alba, Fernando Álvarez de Toledo, duke of; Cateau-Cambrésis (1559); Dutch Revolt (1568–1648); Philip II (Spain).

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ECONOMIC CRISES. Historians have identified many types of economic crises in the early modern or preindustrial period: financial, general long-term crises, regional, the permanent crises of lower-class poverty, and short-term crises of famine or of famine combined with temporary unemployment. The financial crises, often set off by governmental bankruptcies, destroyed banking houses but rarely caused generalized distress unless they coincided with other troubles. The Spanish bankruptcy of 1559 ruined the Fuggers of Augsburg, and the bankruptcy of 1575 destroyed Genoese bankers, while the Spanish bankruptcies during the Thirty

Years' War (1618–1648) amplified the economic dislocations that flowed from the war itself, the 1630 plague, and so on.

Historians once argued that preindustrial western Europe experienced at least two general economic crises, the first in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries in the era of the Black Death, and the second in the seventeenth century. These periods of economic dislocation, stagnation, and even contraction alternated, so it seemed, with eras of rapid and generalized demographic and economic growth in the thirteenth, the sixteenth, and the eighteenth centuries. Thomas Malthus, in *An Essay on the Principle of Population* (1798), expressed a common view when he stated that population tended to outstrip the available food supply and was brought back into balance only by war, famine, and disease.

It now seems clear that rather than alternating between periods of growth and periods of crisis in the centuries from 1300 to 1800, the economy of western Europe as a whole experienced a self-reinforcing process of growth in agricultural and industrial production, in commerce, in transportation, in banking, and in capital accumulation. There were significant technological improvements in shipping and in textile production, cost savings through division of labor in all sectors of the economy, very significant growth in total agricultural production, and so forth. The results were certainly not uniformly distributed across all of Europe, nor even within individual countries. There were marked regional contrasts. The cities of the densely urbanized and economically advanced Netherlands imported grain from less economically advanced and diversified regions such as northern France, Prussia, and



Economic Crises. *The Works of the Misericordia: Distribution of Bread*, by Pieter Breughel the Younger. Established in Florence in the thirteenth century, the Misericordia remained one of the most important charitable organizations in the early modern period. THE ART ARCHIVE/MUSEO DE ARTE ANTIGA LISBON/DAGLI ORTI (A)

Poland. The cities of northern Italy imported grain from southern Italy, Sicily, and North Africa. Wine flowed to northern Europe from the Mediterranean, while grain and salted fish flowed to southern Europe from the Baltic and the North Sea. For centuries, England supplied the more advanced textile cities of the Netherlands with wool, just as Spain supplied the textile cities of northern Italy. But there were also very backward areas in virtually every region of Europe that had at most modest local trade. Peasant villages in much of the French Massif Central often lived in virtual economic isolation even in the eighteenth century.

International trade linked together not only areas with different agricultural capacities, but also areas with significant differences in technology, wages, labor productivity, and general levels of development. Changes in textile production and commercial leadership in international trade shifted quite suddenly and produced dramatic regional crises of economic dislocation and adjustment. The prosperous cities of Flanders that produced luxury textiles collapsed in the early fourteenth century. A more diversified textile industry developed farther east, near Antwerp. Antwerp and Brabant developed into a powerhouse of international trade and finance in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but collapsed during the Dutch Revolt in the 1580s. Antwerp fell from the foremost city of trade and finance in northern Europe to a virtual ghost town overnight in 1585. Leadership passed to Amsterdam. Likewise, the implosion of the economy of the cities of northern Italy during the Thirty Years' War led to massive deindustrialization and even refeudalization. At the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century, Amsterdam and the Dutch provinces lost ground to England. In every instance there were multiple causes for these economic crises: warfare, rigid guild restrictions, technological changes in textile production, wage differences, the costs of transportation, changes in the makeup of the market, and others. The collapse of areas that had long enjoyed prosperity ushered in times of painful change. It was these extremely difficult phases of regional economic adjustment that historians once mistook for generalized crises in the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Whether a given country or region was at the forefront of economic performance, toward the

bottom, or somewhere in between, all experienced to a greater or lesser degree the intractable problems of unemployment, underemployment, periodic famines, and food riots. Preindustrial Europe lived in a state of permanent economic crisis that was rooted in generalized and massive lower-class poverty. There was no necessary correlation in Europe in the centuries from 1300 to 1800 between increases and decreases in population, in agricultural production, and in employment opportunities at living wages. Although progressive and self-reinforcing trends stimulated economic growth and development, these progressive forces were not sufficient to guarantee all a comfortable existence.

Those who lived in preindustrial Europe were well aware that something was amiss, and not just in the times of major economic crisis. Population, food, and jobs never seemed to be in balance even when times were good. The cities of northern Italy, most notably Florence, Milan, Venice, and Genoa, took on the financially and administratively onerous task of public food supply in the full flush of prosperity between 1280 and 1340 because markets left to themselves did not provide sufficient food at affordable prices. Public municipal granaries with the full array of price controls, public purchase, and stocking of grain were permanent features of urban life in northern Italy between 1300 and 1800, in good times and in bad. Cologne, Strasbourg, Nuremberg, and Frankfurt am Main established their municipal granaries in the fifteenth century and maintained them thereafter. The municipalities of Castile expanded and consolidated their elaborate food supply systems in Spain's Golden Age, the sixteenth century. The kingdom of Prussia established its public granaries in the eighteenth century.

In the first half of the sixteenth century, municipal governments in Catholic and Protestant states, driven by fear, compassion, and the supreme necessity of maintaining order, aggressively organized charitable institutions to care for the poor and the hungry. In England, Queen Elizabeth regularized a national system of welfare at the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century that made each parish responsible for its own poor and authorized a system of local taxes, the poor rates, to finance charity. In the wake of a particularly wrenching era of famine, disease, and unemployment that coincided with the Fronde (1648–1653), the mon-

archy in France established general hospitals to incarcerate the incorrigible poor. A little more than a century later, in the 1760s and 1770s, in far better economic times, the French monarchy established charity workshops for the able-bodied unemployed and poorhouses for the incorrigibles. Even a country as economically dynamic as England in the century before the industrial revolution, 1650–1750, still had at least a quarter of its total population mired in irremediable poverty.

To ensure public order, something had to be done to provide jobs and to secure food at affordable prices. The debates grew shrill, and governments became desperate. No matter what they did between 1300 and 1800, the problems would not go away. From the middle of the seventeenth century, mercantilist writers in England and cameralists in Germany encouraged governments to intervene in the economy with state-owned factories, subsidies, monopolies, and other mechanisms to increase national wealth and to provide work for the poor. Everywhere governments regulated the supply and the sale of basic grains and bread. After a century of experimenting with controls of all sorts to no avail, learned opinion swung in the opposite direction. From the mid-eighteenth century, the Physiocrats in France lashed out against mercantilist controls and coined the phrase “laissez faire.” In the British Isles, Adam Smith launched a full-scale attack on mercantilism in his free-trade classic, *Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (1776). But the experiment in free trade failed to solve the food supply problem, just as it failed to provide adequate jobs for the poor. Grain riots broke out all over Europe in the 1760s and 1770s. In 1788–1789, the collapse of the monarchy in France coincided with a famine and a general depression in employment in the textile industry. The French Revolution began with the most extensive wave of municipal bread riots and rural uprisings in French history. From the 1790s, most governments returned to food supply controls and employment schemes.

The most wrenching and volatile economic crises of the preindustrial period were famines, and especially the famines that occurred in the midst of commercial and industrial depressions. Famines came in the wake of bad weather that significantly reduced crops. They occurred at every level of pop-

ulation and agricultural development, in economically advanced as well as economically backward areas, in regions that regularly exported grain as well as in areas that regularly imported it. The crises of the 1340s, 1360s, and 1430s, as well as the crises of the 1590s, 1648–1652, the 1690s, the 1760s, and the 1770s revealed permanent, structural imbalances in preindustrial economies and societies, not just weaknesses in agriculture.

The fundamental problems were those of widespread poverty and economic underdevelopment, compounded by insufficiently advanced governments. Labor productivity among the semiskilled and unskilled workers was very low because of low levels of technology in the jobs the masses performed. Low labor productivity meant low wages. The numbers of landless, working poor increased dramatically between 1500 and 1800, and the sheer numbers of available workers depressed wages further. The entire preindustrial economy depended on the low-wage labor of the working poor. In good times, the working poor spent 60 percent or more of their incomes on basic foodstuffs, typically cheap bread, beans, peas, maize, buckwheat, and, increasingly, potatoes. Average or effective demand for these basic foodstuffs moved up and down with long-term trends in population and income but changed little in the short term. In the event of a significant crop failure, prices rose dramatically, less in the eighteenth century than earlier, thanks to improvements in administration and transportation, but still enough to make food unaffordable for the working poor. If the famine coincided with a downturn in the textile industry, additional millions had no income at all. Municipal governments did a better job than central governments in securing adequate supplies at affordable prices. Often rural areas were stripped of food supplies, and their inhabitants were left to riot and starve.

Governments did not understand fully the economic mechanisms at work. They addressed the immediate problems by attempting to secure adequate supplies at subsidized prices and by moving vigorously to restore order. More generally, they encouraged agricultural improvement and did what they could to promote employment and discourage idleness. The results were invariably disappointing.

The only way out was through generalized economic development. Across-the-board technological innovations raised labor productivity and eventually raised wages for the lower classes. With higher wages, the working poor improved their diet. The consequent changes in effective demand transformed agricultural production. Cheap breads grew to be less important in lower-class diets, and food expenditures bulked less large in budgets. Eventually, a significant shortfall in grain production caused only minor inconveniences. In short, the way out of famine and poverty was the industrial revolution.

See also **Agriculture; Banking and Credit; Bankruptcy; Charity and Poor Relief; Commerce and Markets; Food Riots; Industrial Revolution; Industry; Poverty.**

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ECONOMIC LIBERALISM. *See* Liberalism, Economic.

EDINBURGH. “Edinburgh, sir, is the metropolis of this ancient kingdom, the seat of law, the rendezvous of taste, and winter quarters of all our nobility who cannot afford to live in London.” In these terms a newspaper correspondent of 1767 summarized Scotland’s capital. To this list could be added the best educational facilities in Scotland—perhaps in Britain—including a fine university (founded in 1582) and a flourishing printing industry. Edinburgh had long been central to Scottish life. It had been the seat of the royal court until James VI (James I of England) moved to London in 1603, and the Scottish Parliament sat there until the

Union of 1707 saw it subsumed into that of Westminster. The popular (as distinct from the political) Reformation in Scotland began with Edinburgh merchants and professionals in the 1560s. Other Scottish revolutions (1637–1638 and 1689–1690) were made in the capital. Scotland’s cultural life concentrated there and much intellectual change originated there. Eighteenth-century Edinburgh was the cradle of the Scottish Enlightenment, a true “hotbed of genius” and a cultural hub of European significance.

Given a charter in the twelfth century, Edinburgh was a “royal burgh” with its own constitution or “set” and extensive trading privileges. At the time of the Reformation, Edinburgh and its suburbs or satellites had roughly 15–18,000 inhabitants; by the 1660s it contained 25–30,000 people and perhaps 45,000 by 1700: easily Scotland’s largest city and the second largest in Britain after London at these dates. Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Edinburgh was a compact settlement, perched on a narrow ridge leading east from the rock on which stood Edinburgh’s medieval castle. One main street ran for approximately 1,300 meters down this ridge from the castle to the royal palace of Holyrood. Nearly 300 steep and narrow “closes” and “wynds” (alleys) issued off this street, now known as the “Royal Mile.” Growing steadily from the fifteenth century, Edinburgh expanded rapidly in area and population from the mid-eighteenth century. Starting on the south side of the city, new neoclassical housing developments began in the 1750s, reaching their apogee in the celebrated northern “New Town” streets of the 1760s and beyond. By 1800 the expanded conurbation contained more than 80,000 people.

Edinburgh was easily the richest town in Scotland, and far more prosperous than its relative size would suggest. It was already Scotland’s first town in economic terms by the early sixteenth century, a position it consolidated in the following 200 years. Edinburgh paid a third of the taxation raised from all the royal burghs of Scotland in the later seventeenth century and an equal share of total excise revenue in the 1720s—this from a city with a 4 to 5 percent share of the population. Through its port at Leith, Edinburgh conducted an extensive coastal and foreign trade with the rest of Britain and the North Sea, Baltic, and Atlantic coastlines. Its occu-

pational structure was characterized by unusually large proportions of professionals (principally lawyers, but also medical men and educators) and of servants, testifying to its wealth and economic orientation. Among the rest of the seventeenth-century population, more than half were engaged in making textiles, clothes, or leather goods, about a quarter in building trades, and a sixth in food and drink. Edinburgh's less well documented suburbs may have been more concerned with manufacturing, but the capital was Scotland's principal service center. It was Scotland's undeniable economic leader until the late eighteenth century, when Glasgow outstripped it in both size and commercial dynamism, if not in social and cultural eminence.

See also **James I and VI (England and Scotland)**; **Knox, John**; **Scotland**; **Stuart Dynasty (England and Scotland)**.

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EDUCATION. European preuniversity education from 1500 to 1789 underwent three major developments. First, Renaissance humanists created the classical Latin curriculum, which dominated schools throughout these centuries. Second, church institutions, both Catholic and Protestant, took leading roles in organizing schools and providing teachers for the vast majority of schools from the late sixteenth century onward. Third, Enlightenment school reformers of the eighteenth century attacked the church's role in education and proposed state schools as an alternative. Their proposals did not win acceptance until after 1789.

THE ORGANIZATION OF SCHOOLING IN 1500

Renaissance Europe inherited from the Middle Ages an uncoordinated and diverse structure of

schools. Different kinds of schools competed with or complemented each other. One way to understand them is to note their sponsors—that is, the institution, entity, or person that governed or paid the expenses for a school. A single schoolmaster created an independent school, the equivalent of a “private school” in the twenty-first century. He typically opened a one-room school in his home or rented quarters. There he taught neighborhood pupils whose parents paid him fees to teach their sons. His only qualifications were his teaching skill and his ability to persuade parents to send their children. The teacher might possess a university degree, which meant facility in Latin and acquaintance with higher learning in rhetoric, philosophy, law, or theology. Or he might be only slightly better educated than his pupils.

The tutor was another independent schoolmaster. He lived and taught in the home of a noble or wealthy merchant or visited the household daily. In both cases he taught only the children of the household or two adjacent households. A few tutors were the constant guides and companions, at home or in travel, to single boys or youths of considerable wealth and social standing.

Other independent masters presided over their own boarding schools that housed, fed, and instructed children sent to them. This independent master became a substitute father to his charges. He taught boys in the classroom, chided their manners at table, and improved their morals throughout. At least parents hoped this happened. Some of the most famous humanistic schools of the Italian Renaissance operated by such famous pedagogues as Vittorino Ramboldoni da Feltre (1373/78–1446/47) and Guarino Guarini of Verona (1374–1460) were independent boarding schools.

The endowed school was an independent school that endured beyond the lifetime of a single teacher or founder. A wealthy individual left a sum of money for a school. Endowment income paid the master's salary and rent for a schoolroom or building where boys learned for free. In England before the Protestant Reformation, the master of an endowed school often had to be a priest so that he could celebrate daily a mass for the repose of the donor's soul. Schoolboys learned reading, Latin, and sometimes chant. A large endowment could

create a boarding school in which boys both studied and lived. An inadequate endowment might mean that boys had to pay supplementary fees. Sometimes endowed schools became municipal schools when the town council paid additional expenses and took over direction.

One group of endowed schools, the English public schools, occupied a unique place in the life of England. Despite the name, they were expensive private schools. The Renaissance and Reformation era saw the foundation of the most prestigious: seven boarding schools—Winchester (founded 1382), Eton (1440), Westminster (late sixteenth century), Shrewsbury (1552), Harrow (1571), Rugby (1576), and Charterhouse (1611)—and two day schools, St. Paul's, founded by the English humanist John Colet (1467–1519) in 1508, and Merchant Taylors (1561). But England added many more public schools over the centuries. The public schools educated boys from the highest ranks of society, many of whom went on to the universities of Oxford and Cambridge. The public schools of England produced a large number of clergymen, army officers, and members of government and became even more important in English life in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

The local civil authority, such as the town council, might sponsor a school. The town government chose and paid the master, sometimes imposed curricular directives, and sent a visitor to see that teacher and pupils performed satisfactorily. Sometimes municipal schools were free. But they never enrolled all the school-age boys of the town, and they seldom taught girls. The town government typically supported only one or two municipal teachers, who taught perhaps 50 or 60 percent of the town's school-age boys. Often the town permitted the municipal teacher to collect fees from the students to augment his modest salary. Universal public education, with or without fees, did not exist and only gradually won acceptance in the nineteenth century.

A third kind of school was the church school. An ecclesiastical authority or institution, such as a bishop, a cathedral chapter of canons, a monastery, or even the parish priest, opened a school. They were not numerous until the Protestant and Catholic Reformations of the sixteenth century created church schools, which dominated the educational

landscape in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Regardless of its sponsorship, the actual school was usually modest. It normally consisted of a single teacher instructing a group of boys of varying ages and abilities, anywhere from a half dozen to thirty, in a single room. If the teacher had forty pupils or more, he might have an assistant who drilled the younger boys in their lessons, such as Latin conjugations and declensions. The schoolroom might be in the teacher's home or a rented room outside it. It is unlikely that the school had an outdoor area for play or physical exercises. Drinking water and food had to be brought in. If the schoolroom had a stove, each pupil might be required to bring a stick of wood on cold days.

Only a minority of boys and a tiny minority of girls aged six to fifteen attended school. Probably about 28 percent of boys attended formal schools in Florence, Italy, in 1480, and 26 percent of boys attended formal schools in Venice in 1587. The girls' percentage was low, probably less than 1 percent. About 20 to 25 percent of boys and less than 5 percent of girls attended school in sixteenth-century England. About 40 percent of boys received enough schooling to become literate in the town of Cuenca (in Castile, Spain) in the sixteenth century. And perhaps 12 percent of Polish males attended school in the 1560s.

School attendance closely followed the hierarchies of wealth, occupation, and social status. Sons of nobles, wealthy merchants, and professionals, such as lawyers, physicians, notaries, high civil servants, university professors, and preuniversity teachers, were much more likely to attend school than sons of craftsmen, artisans, small shopkeepers, wool workers, laborers, and servants. The primary reason for the different schooling rates was that schooling almost always cost money. The social and occupational expectations of parents offered additional reasons.

Boys were far more likely than girls to attend school. They needed schooling, especially Latin schooling, to qualify for leadership positions in society. But such positions and all the learned professions were barred to women. Hence few parents believed that daughters needed formal education.

Some girls received informal teaching at home, but the number is impossible to estimate.

Urban dwellers were more likely to attend school than those who lived in the countryside or in farming villages, because more teachers were available in towns and cities. Rural areas had few resources to dedicate to schooling and few available teachers. The distances that students might have to walk to get to school and the exposure of the schoolroom to the elements, a serious consideration in northern Europe, also helped explain the lower schooling rate of rural children. In theory, schools taught all year. Of course numerous saints' days and civic holidays, long vacations at Christmas and Easter, and Carnival before Lent broke up the schedule. So did the need to work in the fields during harvest. And extremes of summer heat and winter cold shut down schools or kept children home.

THE CLASSICAL CURRICULUM OF THE RENAISSANCE

The most significant event in European schooling in these centuries was the adoption of a classical curriculum for the Latin schools in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Medieval Latin schools taught a mixture of manufactured verse texts of pious sentiments, grammar manuals and glossaries, and limited material from ancient classical texts. Renaissance humanists discarded the medieval curriculum in favor of the works of Virgil (70–19 B.C.E.), Cicero (106–43 B.C.E.), Terence (186/185?–159 B.C.E.), Julius Caesar (100–44 B.C.E.), and other ancient authors. These authors taught grammar, rhetoric, poetry, history, and moral philosophy, the famous humanistic studies that imparted virtue and eloquence to the free person, or so the Renaissance believed. Students learned to write Latin in the ornate and highly rhetorical style of Cicero's *Epistolae ad familiares* (Familiar letters), which was very different from the clear, functional, and sometimes graceless medieval Latin. They studied Virgil and Terence for poetry and Caesar and Valerius Maximus (fl. c. 30–40 C.E.) for history. Humanist pedagogues sought guidance on Latin rhetoric and ancient pedagogy generally from the *Institutio oratoria* (Institutes of oratory) of the ancient Roman teacher of rhetoric Quintilian (c. 35–c. 100). Italy adopted the classical Latin curriculum in the first half of the fifteenth century, and the rest of Europe followed in the early sixteenth century.

Attending a Latin school to learn classical Latin was the prerequisite for every professional career because Latin was the language of law, medicine, science, and theology into the eighteenth century and sometimes beyond. To mention one example among many, Isaac Newton (1642–1727) wrote his masterpiece, *Philosophiae Naturalis Principia Mathematica* (1687; Mathematical principles of natural philosophy) in Latin. All students who wished to go to the university had to learn Latin because the lectures, texts, disputations, and examinations were conducted in Latin. And even after Latin ceased to be the universal language for learning, pedagogues and parents believed the study of Latin and Greek grammar prepared the mind for any intellectual endeavor. Latin and Greek literature also conveyed high purpose and lofty moral sentiments that society and parents wanted leaders to emulate.

Social and intellectual consequences of the classical curriculum. The adoption of a classical humanistic curriculum had profound consequences. The division of European education into a classical Latin curriculum for the leaders of society and professionals and a vernacular education for the rest (see below) made schooling the key to social hierarchy. Certainly social divisions existed before the adoption of the classical curriculum and would have continued without it. But now a Latin classical education was crucial for anyone wishing to obtain or hold a certain position in society. Even a bright child could not learn Latin without long and difficult study. And only parents possessing a certain amount of income could afford the fees to send a son and occasionally a daughter to Latin schools for many years and to forgo the assistance and income that a working child brought to the family. From the Renaissance through the eighteenth century and beyond, the classical curriculum defined the academic secondary school, which divided the upper and middle classes from the working class. At the same time, using a classical education as the gateway to advancement also meant that boys, and later girls, of poor and humble origins might advance through merit if they could obtain a Latin education. Free Latin schools eventually became available to some children.

The adoption of a curriculum based on reading the ancient works was a remarkable but strange

decision with far-reaching consequences. The ancient world, culturally Greek, spiritually pagan, and politically united under a militaristic Rome, differed greatly from modern European civilization, which was Christian and politically divided into numerous states. Yet Europe's intellectuals and political leaders decided that future leaders of society should study the classics of ancient Rome and Greece in order to become eloquent and morally upright. They did not change their minds until the twentieth century.

The classical curriculum also imparted a secular spirit to European schooling. Even though western European civilization was profoundly otherworldly in its ultimate goal, the Latin classical curriculum emphasized education for this life. Neither Cicero, Virgil, nor any other ancient pagan text urged men and women to do what was morally right in order to enjoy union with the Christian God in the next world. Of course Renaissance educators were convinced that Christianity and the classics taught an identical morality of honesty, self-sacrifice for the common good, and perseverance. But the classics did not teach one to love either enemy or neighbor. Even though Catholic religious orders and Protestant divines added considerable religious content to the classical curriculum, the secular spirit of the classical curriculum remained a significant part of European education far beyond the Renaissance.

VERNACULAR SCHOOLS

Vernacular schools also existed in every region of Europe. Indeed all of Europe had two school systems, classical Latin and vernacular, throughout these centuries. For example, in the major commercial city of Venice, half the boys in school attended vernacular schools in 1587 and 1588. They taught reading and writing in the vernacular and often commercial mathematics to boys (and a small number of girls) destined for the world of work. This curriculum emerged from the practical experience and lay culture of the merchant community. Vernacular schools probably underwent little change during the Renaissance and beyond. Since church and state authorities did not hand down directives for vernacular schools, the teachers, who were almost always modest independent masters, taught what they pleased. Hence the children learned to read from the same adult books of popular culture

that their parents enjoyed. Indeed Venetian boys sometimes brought from home popular vernacular texts that parents wanted them to learn to read. The vernacular textbooks were a diverse lot, ranging from medieval saints' lives to Renaissance chivalric romances. Obviously they imparted conflicting moral values. Students would read about heroic saints who endured martyrdom for Christ, then read about knights who killed for revenge and ladies who committed adultery for love. Italian vernacular schools also taught advanced commercial mathematical skills and elementary bookkeeping. Vernacular schools in other parts of Renaissance Europe taught arithmetic but not the rest of the commercial curriculum of Italian vernacular schools.

German vernacular schools were called *Winkelschulen* ('backstreet' or 'corner schools') because they were located in out-of-the-way places, such as the back room of a shop or the attic of a crowded home, in larger towns or cities. There male and female teachers of modest backgrounds taught boys and some girls basic literacy and elementary arithmetic for small fees. The name also indicates the attitude of authorities, who saw them as unsupervised schools teaching questionable doctrines. A Prussian government evaluation of 1768 saw *Winkelschulen* as lacking method and discipline and as potential sources of depravity. The self-appointed teachers varied widely: members of dissident religious sects, unemployed preachers, would-be clergymen, artisans, injured soldiers, and women. Despite official disapproval, they continued through the eighteenth century and beyond in German states because they offered a service to a segment of the population that had little or no other access to schooling. Other European countries also had modest vernacular schools but on a more regular basis and enjoying better reputations.

PRINTING AND THE EXPANSION OF EDUCATION

Printing aided education by making available multiple copies of textbooks. The use of movable type began about 1450, and by the 1480s and 1490s publishers were producing significant numbers of reading primers and manuals of Latin syntax (the construction of sentences according to the rules governing the use of words) and morphology (the inflected forms of words). No longer would students have to rely on handwritten manuscripts avail-

able only to the teacher or to wealthy students. As the cost of printed books declined drastically in the sixteenth century, it is possible that most pupils had the resources to own a grammar manual and primer. Whether they did or not is impossible to determine.

Historians sometimes believe that more and cheaper printed books stimulated an increase in education and literacy. Rather, four factors working together probably increased the amount of schooling by 1600 and beyond: (1) inexpensive printed books, (2) greater availability of free or inexpensive schooling, (3) the desire of students and parents for more education, and (4) society's willingness to reward those who took the trouble to learn.

THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION AND EDUCATION

Martin Luther (1483–1546) argued for universal compulsory education, at least at the elementary level. And when German princes embraced the Reformation, Lutheran clergymen drafted new arrangements for the church and state that almost always included a *Schulordnung* ('school order'). Protestant school orders firmly placed the state (prince or city council) in charge of the schools. By the 1560s and 1570s Protestant school orders created a relatively integrated set of schools, beginning with an elementary school to teach reading and writing. Able students advanced to a higher school, which taught Latin, and the most gifted and socially privileged to an advanced secondary school, which led to university. The goals were twofold: (1) to train future clergymen and administrators of the state; and (2) to impart to a larger fraction of the male population enough reading and writing to function at an appropriate station in life. The students studied the same classical curriculum taught in Catholic lands along with a great deal of catechetical instruction in Lutheran Christianity. Protestant Germany and nearby border regions, such as Strasbourg, had some excellent secondary-level Latin schools.

It appears that the number and possibly the quality of schools increased during the age of the Protestant Reformation in Germany. But the Protestant Reformation did not mark the beginning of modern schooling. The goals were high, the results often modest. The level of instruction was not always elevated. The schools still often charged fees,

which poor parents could not afford. Sometimes parents could not even provide the stick of wood that a child was expected to bring for the school fire in winter. A school seldom enrolled all the boys in the village, and enrollments waxed and waned according to the work seasons. Even though the state was supposed to organize and direct schools, the *Winkelschulen* continued.

Nevertheless, the Reformation did provide some interesting developments. In 1560 the Scottish Calvinist leader John Knox (1513–1572) called for a system of parish schools in Scotland that developed over the next two hundred years. Legislation required landowners to appoint a schoolmaster for each parish, to pay him a small salary, and to build a schoolhouse. Parish schools enrolled both boys and girls, although girls' education emphasized reading and sewing rather than the broader range of academic skills imparted to boys. All children had to pay small fees, but the church or community paid the fees of poor children. Although parish schools were less numerous in remote and poorer regions of Scotland than in the affluent lowlands, it was a rudimentary national system of elementary education. By the eighteenth century Scotland had one of the highest schooling rates, especially for girls, in Europe.

Despite such local successes as Scotland, it seems unlikely that the Protestant Reformation made education more available than did Catholic Europe. Indeed because Protestantism abolished religious orders, it did not enjoy the access to the extensive networks of new schools that the religious orders of the Catholic Reformation provided. Nor can the thesis that Protestantism created a permanent expansion of schooling and literacy so that every individual could read the Bible be supported on the basis of current research. The only example in which the Protestant Reformation achieved almost total reading literacy occurred in Sweden in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. There the state Reformed (Lutheran) Church undertook to teach the entire population, male and female, how to read. Thanks to great effort and governmental threats (such as refusing permission to marry to those who failed to learn to read), the effort succeeded. It was an impressive achievement but unique. Nothing comparable occurred anywhere else in Protestant or Catholic Europe.

RELIGIOUS ORDER EDUCATION IN CATHOLIC EUROPE

The new Catholic Reformation religious orders of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries altered the educational landscape of Catholic Europe. The Society of Jesus (founded in 1540) and other religious orders that followed its pedagogical example created new schools and sometimes took control of existing municipal schools. Because they did not charge fees, the new schools of the Jesuits, Piarists, and other orders expanded educational opportunity and dominated education in Catholic countries in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Jesuit schools. The Jesuits had not intended to become educators. But in December 1547 the city government of Messina, firmly nudged by the Spanish viceroy who ruled Sicily for Spain, petitioned Ignatius Loyola (1491–1556) to send ten Jesuits to Messina, five to teach and the rest to undertake spiritual and charitable activities. The city government promised food, clothing, and a building. Recognizing this as an intriguing opportunity and knowing that one did not refuse a viceroy, Loyola managed to send seven Jesuits, including some of the ablest scholars of the young order. According to the agreement with the city, the Jesuit fathers would teach nine classes. In effect they created a classical Latin elementary and secondary school along with higher studies in philosophy. The city would erect a building, the people of Messina would support the Jesuits through freewill offerings, and the viceroy would also help. The school formally opened in October 1548. It was an immediate success, as two hundred boys enrolled by December. The school averaged an enrollment of about three hundred boys in the next two decades.

Free instruction largely explained the instant success of the Messina school. The Jesuits inaugurated the first systematic effort to provide free education for several hundred boys in a town, something entirely new for Italy and Europe. The opportunity must have seemed heaven-sent to boys and their parents. In addition the Jesuit fathers were learned scholars and teachers. Many other Jesuit schools followed.

The Jesuit schools offered the same Latin curriculum that the Italian humanists of the fifteenth century had created and that Desiderius Erasmus (1466?–1536) and other northern humanists pro-

moted. But they made several additions: prayers, religious training, and insistence that the boys attend mass, confess, and communicate; better pedagogical organization, including imaginative teaching techniques; and higher subjects, like philosophy, logic, mathematics, and theology.

The Jesuit schools soon refined their goals. Beginning in 1551 they phased out the introductory class that taught beginning reading and writing and the rudiments of Latin grammar. A boy had to learn these before entering a Jesuit school. And the Jesuits decided to concentrate their energies on those likely to stay in school for many years. With this decision, partly provoked by a shortage of teachers, the Jesuits narrowed their educational mission chronologically and socially: they taught the Latin humanities to upper- and middle-class boys aged ten to sixteen. Since the Jesuits followed the policy of free education until the nineteenth century, they sought and received financial support from wealthy lay or ecclesiastical leaders of the community and sometimes from the town government. The growth in the number of Jesuit schools was extraordinary. There were about 35 schools worldwide in 1556, 121 in 1575, 245 in 1599, 293 in 1607, 444 in 1626, 578 in 1679, 612 in 1710, and 669 in 1749. All but a few were in Europe, with the largest number in France and Italy.

A handful of Jesuit schools in large Italian cities, such as Rome and Milan, taught several hundred boys between the ages of ten and sixteen and a few older students. Jesuit schools in France, Germany, and Portugal often taught five hundred to fifteen hundred students. The largest and best-known Jesuit schools taught university-level philosophy, mathematics, and physics to the older and brighter students. At the same time the vast majority of Jesuit schools enrolled only one hundred to two hundred students who studied, under four or five teachers, the Latin humanities curriculum and religious instruction.

The Jesuit schools appealed to the community at large with their public programs. Students at Jesuit schools in Spain and Portugal began to give public performances with scenery, stagecraft, and music of Latin tragedies, both sacred and secular. They also presented what might be called achievement days, in which students orated, recited, and

debated before parents and dignitaries of the city. The schools of other Catholic Reformation teaching orders, such as the Barnabites (Clerics Regular of St. Paul) and Somaschans (Clerics Regular of Somascha), did the same.

Schools for nobles. Boarding schools limited to boys of verified noble lineage were a feature of the stratified society of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Princes and others founded boarding schools for noble boys who mixed with their peers from different parts of Europe. They entered between the ages of eleven and fourteen and might stay until the age of twenty. The schools for nobles supplemented the standard Latin curriculum with lessons in singing, dancing, designing fortifications, French, and above all, horsemanship. These schools cost a great deal. Ranuccio I Farnese (1569–1622, ruled 1592–1622), duke of Parma and Piacenza, founded a famous school for nobles in 1601 in Parma and gave the Jesuits direction of the school in 1604. It had a peak enrollment of 550 to 600 boys between 1670 and 1700, then began to decline. The Jesuits were the teachers in many noble schools and boarding schools with upper-class boys. Other religious orders followed their lead but to a lesser extent. Some schools for nobles also developed in Protestant lands.

France. In the early sixteenth century many French towns established Latin classical schools open to the boys of the town and staffed by teachers who had imbibed the Renaissance humanistic curriculum at Paris. Then the crown in the early seventeenth century encouraged the Jesuits and other orders to establish schools in the kingdom. Through financial subsidies or royal command, King Henry IV (ruled 1589–1610) persuaded the religious orders to take direction of the town schools. Sometimes the towns agreed because the schools were going poorly. The town could not provide enough funding, teachers were in short supply, enrollments were declining, academic standards were falling, and the students were disorderly. Under the protection of the crown, the new religious orders of the Catholic Reformation became the schoolmasters of France.

Numerous towns across France replaced their secular schoolmasters with the Jesuits, the French Congregation of the Oratory, and the Doctrinaires (Secular Priests of the Christian Doctrine). They

established some remarkable schools. In 1603 Henry IV gave the Jesuits a château in the town of La Flèche in the Loire Valley. Le Collège Henry IV at La Flèche (usually just called La Flèche) began with that gift. The king provided additional financial support in the following years and strongly encouraged members of his court to send their sons there. The school was an instant success, boasting an enrollment of twelve hundred to fourteen hundred students, of whom three hundred were boarders, in a few years. La Flèche's most famous pupil was René Descartes (1596–1650). Entering in 1606, Descartes spent nine years there, the first six studying Latin grammar, humanities, and rhetoric, the last three studying philosophy, which included mathematics, physics, and Galileo's telescope discoveries. Although he eventually rejected the philosophy learned there, Descartes in 1641 strongly endorsed La Flèche for the excellence of its instruction, its lively students from all over France, and the spirit of student equality the Jesuits fostered.

The Collège de Clermont (1560–1762), renamed the Collège Louis le Grand in 1682, was the Jesuit school in Paris. It enrolled boys aged twelve to twenty. The number of students steadily rose from fifteen hundred (including three hundred boarders) in 1619 to twenty-five hundred to three thousand students (including five hundred to six hundred boarders) in the late seventeenth century.

Students in the Jesuit schools and probably in most Latin schools in both Catholic and Protestant Europe were placed and promoted according to their achievement, not their ages. This meant that boys of many ages might be in a single class. For example, the rhetoric class at the Collège de Clermont in Paris had 160 pupils (obviously taught by more than one teacher) in 1677. One pupil was ten years old, three were eleven, eight were twelve, fifteen were thirteen, thirty-five were fourteen, thirty-seven were fifteen, twenty-five were sixteen, twenty-eight were seventeen, six were eighteen, two were nineteen, and one was twenty. While the rhetoric class normally took two years to complete, some pupils may have required more time.

Jesuit schools in Europe, Asia, and the Americas followed the program of studies minutely organized in the society's *Ratio Studiorum* (Plan of studies) of 1599. It prescribed texts, classroom procedures,

rules, and discipline. The *Ratio Studiorum* frowned on corporal punishment; if unavoidable, a non-Jesuit should administer it. Other Catholic religious order schools offering Latin education often copied Jesuit educational procedures to greater or lesser degree.

Piarist schools. Not all schools of the religious orders taught a Latin curriculum to middle- and upper-class boys. The Basque priest José Calasanz (c. 1557–1648) had the revolutionary idea of offering comprehensive free schooling to poor boys when he opened his first “pious school” in the working-class area of Trastevere, Rome, in 1597. The first pious school accepted only pupils presenting certificates of poverty issued by parish priests. It aimed to educate poor and working-class boys so they might earn a living in this life and attain salvation in the next. The school offered free instruction in vernacular reading, writing, and arithmetic plus some Latin to bright boys, an early attempt to combine the vernacular and Latin curricula. It also furnished books, paper, pens, ink, and on occasion food to needy pupils. Calasanz established a religious order, the Clerics Regular of the Mother of God of the Pious Schools (usually called the Piarists) in 1621 to carry on his work. In time the Piarists dropped the certificate of poverty as a prerequisite for enrollment and accepted students from the middle and upper classes. But they continued to see the poor as their primary student constituency. Their schools enabled poor boys to move up the social ladder, those who learned Latin into professional positions. The Piarists had over two hundred schools, the majority in Italy and Spain and a smaller number in central Europe, in 1784.

EDUCATION FOR GIRLS

Boys and girls almost always attended separate schools in both Catholic and Protestant Europe. A large number of female religious convents educated Catholic girls as long-term boarders. Parents sent a girl to a convent for several years to be educated and to learn sewing and manners. She emerged educated, virtuous, and ready to marry. Some girls decided to remain as nuns. Indeed professed nuns living in convents had a higher literacy rate and were consistently better educated than laywomen.

Church organizations also offered charity schools for poor girls. For example, in 1655 the

papacy contributed funding to hire numerous female teachers to staff free neighborhood schools for girls in Rome. Each schoolmistress taught vernacular reading and writing to any number, from a handful to more than seventy girls. These schools lasted until the Kingdom of Italy seized Rome in 1870. Catholic Europe also had an abundance of catechism schools (called Schools of Christian Doctrine), which taught the rudiments of Catholicism and a limited amount of reading, on Sundays and numerous religious holidays, to boys and girls in separate classes. Protestant Europe also had catechism classes or Sunday schools, about which less is known. And numerous clergymen lacking benefices, livings, or parishes in both Protestant and Catholic Europe supported themselves as schoolmasters.

THE ENLIGHTENMENT

Until the eighteenth century, central governments played no direct role in schooling, with the partial exception of state-church collaboration in some small German Protestant states. In the middle of the eighteenth century, educational reformers, strongly influenced by Enlightenment views, began to argue that church schools should be eliminated and the state should become the directing force in education.

State education and attacks on church schools. Enlightenment reformers, who always came from the upper ranks of society, believed that the absolutist state could and should improve men and women through reform from above. They accepted the psychology of John Locke (1632–1704), educated at the public school of Westminster and at Oxford University, who published two influential works on education, *An Essay concerning Human Understanding* (1690) and *Some Thoughts concerning Education* (1693). He held that the child was a *tabula rasa* (‘blank slate’) on which anything could be written. Thus the right early education would impart useful skills and would form the child with proper values, which included good manners and deference to authority. Children so formed would become useful and loyal citizens; if wrongly educated, they would not. Hence the central government, rather than the church or local authorities, should control schools and choose the teachers. Numerous En-

lightenment figures echoed or expanded Locke's views.

The attack on church education began in Catholic countries just as the ruling classes in Catholic Europe began to find fault with the most famous of the church schools, those of the Jesuits. For example, enrollment at La Flèche dropped to four hundred, of whom two hundred were boarders, by 1760. The reformers launched a general attack on the Society of Jesus for many reasons, of which their domination in education was one. The Jesuits were expelled from Portugal in 1759, from France in 1764, and from Spain in 1767. Their schools (105 in France) were closed or assigned to other religious congregations. Bowing to pressure from governments, the papacy suppressed the society in 1773. But needing to maintain educational institutions for their Catholic subjects, Frederick the Great (1712–1786) of Prussia and Catherine the Great (1729–1796) of Russia, neither of whom was Catholic, rejected the papal bull and welcomed the Jesuits in their realms.

State authorities across Europe also confiscated numerous church buildings and properties during the last years of the eighteenth century and in the nineteenth century, further weakening the capacity of church groups to support schools. Governments seldom succeeded in eliminating church schools in either Catholic or Protestant lands. But they seriously weakened churches as rivals to the central state governments as the chief force in schooling.

Numerous eighteenth-century school reformers filled with Enlightenment views fanned across Europe, offering schemes to replace church schools and to change preuniversity education. They offered advice to any ruler who showed an interest, however fleeting, in school reform. Their plans had many similarities, because they came from a common stock of Enlightenment principles and because the reformers borrowed from each other, helped by the fact that Europe's educated classes all read and spoke French.

The educational reform plan of Louis-René de Caradeuc de la Chalotais (1701–1785) attracted the most attention. As royal attorney for the parliament of his native Rennes, La Chalotais published an influential work against the Jesuits and their schools, *Comptes rendus des constitutions des jésuites*

(Report on the Constitution of the Jesuits) in 1761–1762. In 1763 he published his *Essai d'éducation nationale, ou plan d'études pour la jeunesse* (Essay on national education; or, a plan of studies for youth). Much of the treatise reiterated views held by others, but he added something new, the idea of national education.

La Chalotais's plan had several parts. He advocated the teaching of French while not eliminating Latin. He wanted children to learn national history, another difference from the classical schools. The state should ensure that children were taught good morals based on fundamental ethical truths, because good morals were essential for the well-being of society. La Chalotais allowed that churches might teach religion, but outside of the school. He also believed that girls should be educated, albeit with the substitution of needlework and like skills appropriate to their gender for some of the studies of boys. The most important part of the treatise was his belief that schools were a national concern, and therefore the state should organize schools, regulate studies, appoint teachers, and provide school buildings. This was revolutionary at a time when governments left the regulation of schools to local authorities and church institutions. But he did not advocate universal education; he thought there already were too many *collèges*, that is, secondary schools. Too many would entice working-class parents to send their children, who would become secretaries, thus depriving society of men for the manual trades, recruits for the navy, and other useful workers. Most Enlightenment reformers agreed; Voltaire (1694–1778), for example, congratulated La Chalotais for proposing to limit the number of *collèges*. La Chalotais even thought elementary education should not be too extensive: it was enough that some people learned how to use tools, he wrote.

Enlightenment school reformers held a hierarchical view of society that limited their commitment to universal education. Most other Enlightenment educational reformers agreed with La Chalotais on his major points. State schooling should be free for lower-class boys but limited to elementary education, ending at the ages of ten to twelve. Otherwise they would aspire to rise above their station, thus depriving society of their labor and upsetting the right order of things. By contrast, the sons of the ruling classes should avoid state

elementary schools and continue to study with tutors or attend elite schools. They should go on to secondary schools, including boarding schools, with their classical Latin and Greek curriculum.

Rulers in France, Prussia, Austria, Bavaria, Russia, Spain, Piedmont, Sweden, and elsewhere showed interest in reforming schools. Numerous reformers gave them advice; for example, Denis Diderot (1713–1784) advised Catherine the Great of Russia, and Étienne Bonnet de Condillac (1715–1780) advised the duke of Parma. They all agreed that the state, not the church, should control education and that education should aim to produce good citizens by teaching good morals. They wanted limited universal education, a contradiction in terms.

The results were negligible. Rulers promulgated sweeping school reform proposals but failed to support their proposals by providing more lay teachers, teacher training, school buildings, or even textbooks. Nor did they change the religious orientation of schools. Rulers offered halfhearted support for educational change because they feared that universal education would upset the social order. Most education remained in the hands of church institutions, except for the banished Society of Jesus.

Frederick the Great, king of Prussia from 1740 until his death in 1786, was typical. Declaring that uneducated citizens were like animals, he promulgated sweeping new school regulations for Prussia in 1763 and then forgot about them. Part of the reason was his fear that, if rural children learned more than reading and writing, they would run off to the city for higher occupations. The state needed peasants, laborers, and soldiers.

Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778), in his novel *Émile ou de l'éducation* (Emile, or about education) of 1762 offered the most radical educational approach. Totally opposed to Locke's views that basic ideas could be implanted in a boy and that he should be raised for a specific role or occupation in society, Rousseau believed the child should be allowed to develop his or her unique nature. Rousseau saw the child not as a small adult but as a developing person. He would postpone moral training until later and raise the child independently of religious doctrine or the influences of civilization. Rousseau's book stimulated great discussion but

had no discernible influence on contemporary education. Not until the French Revolution, the Napoleonic era (1789–1815), and the nineteenth century as a whole did some of the proposals from the school reforms of the eighteenth century come to fruition, and then only slowly.

CONCLUSION

Education was an integral part of the intellectual life and social fabric of Europe. Education divided the population into an educated elite, a middle group who received vernacular educations, and an unschooled or little-schooled third group. From their first days in the classroom children received different educations according to the social and economic position of a child's parent, usually the father, a child's intended position in society, and a child's gender. Education enabled some academically gifted individuals to rise.

From the Renaissance onward the classical secondary school was the center of European elite education. Educational leaders and probably the majority of society believed that learning ancient languages and literatures developed mental discipline and offered examples of the highest human culture in the original language. Skills learned in Latin classes shaped rhetorical patterns, moral attitudes, habits of thought, and even vernacular speech and writing. The study of Latin and Greek grammar developed mental discipline, while ancient Latin and Greek literature offered examples of the highest human culture in the original language. The classical curriculum also offered practical skills, since university education, law, the church, and government service required a knowledge of Latin. Children not destined for leadership roles attended vernacular schools. Despite the limitations, the organization and curricula of the schools of these centuries was surprisingly rich and varied.

See also **Enlightenment; Humanists and Humanism; Jesuits; Latin; Religious Orders; Universities.**

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PAUL F. GRENDLER

EDWARD VI (ENGLAND) (1537–1553; ruled 1547–1553), king of England. Edward was nine years old when he inherited the English throne in 1547. Though troubled by factional politics and provincial rebellion, his brief reign did much to determine England's future history as a Protestant nation. Edward was born on 12 October 1537, the only child of Henry VIII (ruled 1509–1547) and his third queen, Jane Seymour (c. 1509–1537), who died twelve days later. Catholic propagandists claimed, probably falsely, that he was cut out of his mother's womb. Here was the male heir for whom his father had yearned, and bells rang all over England in celebration. Far from the sickly boy of popular memory, Edward was robust and merry, delighting in music and archery. He was tutored in

Latin, Greek, and Scripture by the Cambridge humanists Richard Cox and John Cheke. But his upbringing was that of an aristocrat, not the Protestant saint of later legend. He studied French and geography and military engineering in company with other young nobles. From early 1547 he kept a chronicle of the political and military events of his reign, evidence of his academic ability and ordered thinking.

POLITICS AND RELIGION

Edward became king on 28 January 1547, on the death of his father. There was no regency; he ruled in person, at least in theory. But considerable power rested in the Privy Council, which swiftly contravened Henry VIII's wishes by electing Edward's maternal uncle, Edward Seymour (c. 1500–1552), to be lord protector during the king's minority. As duke of Somerset, Seymour effectively governed England until his downfall as the result of a coup in October 1549. Seymour's military priorities matched the young king's enthusiasm for fortifications and naval battles. In summer 1547 an army was sent into Scotland to enforce a marriage treaty between Edward and Mary, Queen of Scots (1542–1587); England won the Battle of Pinkie, but lost the war when Mary was conveyed to France to wed the dauphin, who became Francis II. In Edward's other kingdom of Ireland, garrisons were established in Leix and Offaly in an attempt to enforce English rule. Following Seymour's ejection from power, Edward's closest adviser was another soldier, John Dudley, duke of Northumberland and lord president of the council. By filling the privy chamber with his own adherents, Dudley achieved a powerful hold over the king, greater even than Seymour had enjoyed. A peace treaty in March 1550 restored Anglo-French relations, and in April 1551 Edward was elected to the French chivalric order of St. Michael, to his tremendous gratification. But the festivities could not conceal a growing crisis in the royal finances, aggravated by coinage debasement and embezzlement by crown officials.

Nothing is more controversial about Edward VI than the Protestant reforms carried forward in his name by Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury (1489–1556). In 1549 the Latin mass was replaced by matins, evensong, and Holy Communion in English. Confession was abandoned, purga-



Edward VI. Engraving after a portrait by Hans Holbein.
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tory denied, and chantries shut down. Priests were permitted to marry. The Catholic devotional world of the English parishes was fatally damaged as sacred images, wall paintings, and stained glass were defaced or destroyed; in their place came pulpits and preaching. Edward's own role in all this is not clear, but judging from a French treatise in which he denounced papal supremacy and from his avid patronage of sermons, he was a fervent Protestant. The alteration in religion sparked a major rebellion in Devon and Cornwall in summer 1549, which called for the restoration of the mass and traditional parish culture. The crown suppressed it with uncommon brutality by means of mercenaries. But Edward's reforms also laid the foundations for the 1559 church settlement of his sister Queen Elizabeth (ruled 1558–1603). The 1549 Book of Common Prayer, drawn up by Cranmer and authorized by the Act of Uniformity, has influenced centuries of English poetry and prose and remains the finest achievement of Edward's reign.

COURT AND KINGSHIP

Edward's youth was offset by the splendor of his court ceremonial. The king ranged between Whitehall, Greenwich, and Hampton Court, according to the season. He was a keen hunter and frequently played his part in masques and tilts. In 1552 Edward made a grand summer progress of England's southern counties. In the Chapel Royal, meanwhile, Thomas Tallis (c. 1505–1585) set the new English liturgy to music. Magnificence had strategic value, and foreign ambassadors were deeply impressed. Yet Edward also had a social conscience, pricked by the harvest failures and economic slump that afflicted his reign from 1549. Pressure on land provoked rural riots and, in July 1549, a popular uprising in East Anglia under Robert Kett. Though achievements lagged behind the rhetoric, Edward's concern for the commonwealth was a marked feature of his kingship. Enclosure commissions and grain surveys were supplemented by weekly church collections for the poor from 1552. Edward himself wrote a detailed memorandum to the council, advocating an English cloth "mart" to rival Antwerp. The king was drawing close to assuming independent rule of his dominions.

In February 1553 Edward caught a feverish cold that progressed into a pulmonary infection. Realizing that he was dying, he began his last great initiative, to deny the throne to his Catholic sister Mary. His "devise for the succession" declared his heir to be Jane Grey (1537–1554), the granddaughter of Henry VIII's sister Mary and a Protestant. John Dudley, whose son Guildford had recently married Jane, was a prime mover in this dubious scheme, but Edward also backed it with the last of his strength. When Edward died on 6 July 1553, Jane was duly proclaimed queen, although a pro-Mary uprising meant that she ruled for only nine days before being imprisoned and then executed for high treason.

Several outstanding portraits of Edward VI survive. The earliest, painted by Hans Holbein around 1538 (Mellon Collection, Washington, D.C.), portrays a sturdy and imperious young prince, sporting a scarlet hat; his golden rattle is held like a royal scepter. Surely the strangest is the 1546 painting by William Scrots, in which Edward appears in distorted perspective (anamorphosis) that is re-

solved only with the aid of a special viewing device. The Elizabethan picture known as *King Edward VI and the Pope* (c. 1570, National Portrait Gallery, London), in which the dying Henry VIII hands power to his son and the pope is crushed by "The Worde of the Lord," illustrates how Edward became a prized asset in Protestant propaganda after his death.

See also **Church of England; Elizabeth I (England); England; Henry VIII (England); Mary I (England); Tudor Dynasty (England).**

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J. P. D. COOPER

EL GRECO (Doménikos Theotokópoulos; 1541–1614), painter, sculptor, and architect. El Greco is usually classified as a Spanish artist, although he was born in Candia, Crete. He had one of the most unconventional career paths of any artist of his era. Initially active in Crete as an icon painter, he transformed his art in Italy through the independent study of works by leading Renaissance artists. Unsuccessful in Italy, he finally settled in Toledo, where his career was fostered by influential ecclesiastics. There, he developed a unique pictorial style, which synthesized aspects of Byzantine and Renaissance artistic traditions.

El Greco was first recorded as a "master painter" in 1563. The recently discovered *Dormition of the Virgin* (Church of the Dormition, Syros, before 1567) provides the most reliable indication of his early manner. Like other Cretan artists



El Greco. *The Burial of the Count of Orgaz*. ©ART RESOURCE

of the late sixteenth century, he introduced a few minor Italian decorative details into a composition, which otherwise adheres to traditional formulas. Characteristic features of the late Byzantine style include the gold background, the vertical organization of pictorial elements, and the simplified modeling of figures.

In late 1567 El Greco was recorded in Venice, the capital of the maritime empire that included Crete. Although many Cretan artists sought work in Venice, El Greco is the only one who substantially altered his style and working methods there. The bright, scintillating colors and the freely applied, roughly textured oil paint of *The Purification of the Temple* (before 1570, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.) reveal his mastery of the distinctive techniques of Titian (1487–1576) and Tintoretto (1518–1594). Most of the figures in this painting were “quoted” from famous Renaissance and ancient classical artworks. Before the end of 1570 he had arrived in Rome, where he lived in the palace of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese (1520–1589), a strong advocate of the Catholic Counter-Reformation. In 1572 El Greco was admitted to the Academy of Saint Luke as a miniature painter. The paintings of his Roman period, such as the *Christ Cleansing the Temple* (c. 1575, Minneapolis Institute of Arts), have a monumental force that belies their small size.

Unable to obtain significant commissions in Italy, in 1577 El Greco traveled to Spain, in the hope of procuring employment in the extensive royal decorative projects. Before the end of 1577, Don Diego de Castilla (1510–1584), dean of Toledo Cathedral, entrusted him with his first major project: an ensemble of nine altarpieces, five statues, and architectural frames for the convent church of Santo Domingo el Antiguo, Toledo. The main altarpiece, *The Assumption of the Virgin* (1577, Art Institute of Chicago), one of the largest pictures of his career, helped to establish his reputation as the leading artist in Toledo. He resolved to settle permanently in that city after the extreme dissatisfaction of Philip II with *The Martyrdom of Saint Maurice* (1580/2, El Escorial, Chapter House) forced him to abandon his aspiration to become a royal painter.

By the mid-1580s El Greco had established a profitable artistic practice, which produced statues and paintings for religious institutions throughout Spain. In 1586 he undertook *The Burial of the Count of Orgaz* (Santo Tomé, Toledo), his most famous painting, representing a miracle that occurred in 1323. In the lower section, he included naturalistic portraits of several contemporary Toledans among the mourners who witness Saints Augustine and Stephen lowering the count into his tomb. In the upper section, he depicted Christ and saints in a bold, expressionistic style, which anticipates his late work.

Between 1597 to 1607 (the most successful period of his career), he completed several major commissions for prominent religious institutions. In *The Crucifixion of Christ* (1597–1599, Museo del Prado, Madrid) and other altarpieces of this period, he utilized a style of great expressive power. Among the features contributing to the impact of these works are the elongated figures; stylized, but intense, facial expressions and gestures; vivid colors; strong illumination of limited areas against a dark background; and the exceptionally bold application of paint. His notes for an unpublished treatise reveal his unconventional ideas about architecture, but his works in that medium were limited to frames for altarpieces and temporary festival structures. In the monumental high altar of the church of the Hospital of Charity of Illescas (1603–1605), he utilized classical architectural elements in very novel ways. In addition to large-scale commissions, his workshop produced numerous images of Saint Francis and other popular religious subjects.

Between 1607 and 1608 he squandered his financial resources in a series of legal suits concerning payment for his work at the Hospital of Charity, Illescas. These suits left him impoverished, but they helped to inspire later Spanish artists to defend their interests vigorously. Although the extent of his production declined in his later years due to poor health, his creative powers were not diminished. Between 1607 and 1614 he produced some of his boldest paintings, including *The Laocoön* (National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.) and *The Apocalyptic Vision* (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York).

Best known as a religious painter, he also depicted most of the leading ecclesiastics and intellectuals of Toledo. Although enlivened by bold brushwork, his portraits are more naturalistic in conception and more sober in coloring than his religious works. The directness of such portraits as *Antonio de Covarrubias* (c. 1600, Musée du Louvre, Paris) and *Fray Hortensio Félix Paravicino* (1609, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston) evokes his close friendships with these individuals. His few portraits of women, including *Woman in a Fur Wrap* (c. 1580, Pollock House, Glasgow), express the dignity, intelligence, and beauty of the subjects.

By the time of his death, his distinctive style had fallen out of favor. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, several avant-garde artists, including Mary Cassatt (1844–1926) and Franz Marc (1880–1916), helped to promote international interest in his work. He remains one of the most popular of all old master painters. Throughout the twentieth century, numerous explanations—including astigmatism, psychological disorders, and mystical ecstasy—were devised to account for his individual style. In recent decades, scholars have recognized that his distinctive work eloquently fulfilled the requirements of the Counter-Reformation Church in Spain.

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RICHARD G. MANN

ELIZABETH I (ENGLAND) (1533–1603; ruled 1558–1603), queen of England and Ireland. The daughter of Henry VIII by his second wife, Anne Boleyn, Elizabeth was rendered a bastard by Henry's repudiation and execution of Anne in 1536. She was, however, reared as a princess and received the same education in the classical curriculum as her half-brother, Edward VI. In her father's will Elizabeth was placed third in succession to the throne after her two siblings, Mary and Edward. In her Catholic half-sister Mary's reign, Elizabeth fell under suspicion for her supposed Protestant sympathies and, in the wake of the 1554 revolt led by Sir Thomas Wyatt (in which she had refused to participate), she was imprisoned in the Tower of London. However, Philip II of Spain, Mary's husband, protected her. Freed from the tower and then confined at Woodstock House in Oxfordshire, she was finally released.

ELIZABETH'S RELIGIOUS POLICY

Elizabeth acceded to the throne on 17 November 1558. In her first Parliament she restored the Edwardian religious settlement reestablishing Protestant worship and doctrine, which the nation at large accepted, although many looked nostalgically to the past. Elizabeth, unwilling to force consciences, demanded only outward obedience, counting on the operation of time to dissolve old loyalties. This easygoing attitude continued until the Papal Bull of deposition (1570), the subsequent Jesuit missionary campaign, and plots against the queen's life led to harsh legislation, crushing fines on the Catholic laity, and prison or the scaffold for clerics. By 1603 all but a small percentage of the populace had accepted Protestantism, some with enthusiasm but many out of obedience to the regime.

For zealous Protestant reformers the queen's ecclesiastical policy was disappointing. For them the Edwardian program had been only half complete at the king's death. They looked in vain for further measures of change under his sister, but Elizabeth's prime concern was not for purity of doctrine or practice but public order, a goal that demanded religious uniformity. Continuing change in the religious establishment would unsettle the political order. The queen's opposition to further change led to (unavailing) Parliamentary agitation and ulti-

ELECTRICITY AND MAGNETISM.

See Gilbert, William; Physics.



Elizabeth I (England). Portrait by an unknown sixteenth-century painter. SUPERSTOCK

mately to the formed opposition of the Puritan movement.

ELIZABETH THE POLITICIAN

Elizabeth's greatest problem was, of course, male disbelief in the very possibility of a female sovereign. It was assumed she must find a husband to relieve her of an impossible burden by taking on the active exercise of rulership. For a while it looked as though she would respond to this call by marrying her favorite courtier, Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester (by her creation). This was unpopular in many circles. (Repeated Parliamentary appeals that she marry were skillfully evaded by the queen, and the match did not transpire.)

In the conduct of government Elizabeth showed her talent both in her choice of ministers and in their performance and the trust she reposed in them. Virtually all were to die in office, witness of her confidence and their ability. Although all of them felt the rough side of her tongue at times and wrung their hands at what they thought were wrong

decisions (or lack of them), the underlying respect on both sides was not shaken.

The lively court world—with its endless succession of masques, balls, plays, and jousting, all centered on a highly accessible royal presence—focused the social and political life of the English aristocracy, noble and gentle; but Elizabeth cultivated a wider public still. She reached out to the country at large in “progresses,” her annual visits to a succession of aristocratic country houses, displaying herself en route to the country and townsfolk of much of southern England. By 1570 there had grown up spontaneously local celebrations on 17 November, her accession day, with bonfires, fireworks, and general jollity—celebrations that would continue long after 1603.

This was the regime that shaped itself in the first ten years of the reign. It was at the end of the decade that a testing time came. Various causes contributed to a crisis—jealousy within the court of the dominant role of Sir William Cecil, the secretary of state, the alienation of the great northern earls, the Percies of Northumberland and the Nevilles of Westmoreland with their Catholic sympathies, but above all by the presence of the refugee queen of Scots, Mary Stuart, from May 1568.

At the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, Mary, then queen of France as the wife of Francis II, had asserted a claim to the English succession (if not to the throne itself), backed by a substantial French force in Scotland. Mary was the granddaughter of Henry VIII's sister Margaret Tudor, her descent untainted by the bastardy that her adherents claimed disqualified Elizabeth. That bid had been crushed by English arms. The widowed Mary's return to her homeland in 1562 had inaugurated a phase of uneasy but civil intercourse between the queens in which Elizabeth offered her favorite, Leicester, as a husband for Mary. When Mary's match to Henry, Lord Darnley, ended in bloody melodrama, she fled to England, hopefully seeking support for her restoration, but Elizabeth, faced with the dilemma of backing either Mary or the rebel regime in Edinburgh, chose the latter, retaining her unwanted guest in genteel confinement. Mary would spend the remaining nineteen years of her life in England. In 1572, she unwisely linked herself with the English malcontents, lending

herself to a scheme for marrying the premier noble, Thomas Howard, duke of Norfolk. Elizabeth scotched this plot, but Norfolk foolishly engaged himself in a replay of the same plan, thereby losing his head while Mary became the target of an enraged Parliament that was clamoring for hers. Previous to these events the two northern earls organized a rising in 1569 that appealed to Catholic sentiment. They got no response to their appeal and fled without striking a blow; their followers were duly punished. The event had proved the strength of the Elizabethan regime and the acceptance of the new religious order. There followed a long epoch of domestic peace.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

At the opening of the reign it was France that gave concern to the new government. In the 1540s Henry VIII had sought to match his son Edward with the infant queen of Scots. His “rough wooing”—successive invasions of Scotland—threw the Scots into the arms of the French; the young queen, spirited off to France, was married to the Dauphin, who succeeded his father as Francis II in 1559. As we saw above, the French then asserted Mary’s rights in the English succession, backed by a French army; it was imperative it be expelled. The opportunity arose when a consortium of Protestant Scottish lords took up arms and sought English aid. Elizabeth, reluctant to support rebels against a fellow sovereign, grudgingly agreed to send an army in 1560. The action was successful; the traditional Scottish alliance with France was broken, and a Protestant regime dependent on English support was established at Edinburgh.

The next encounter with France came in 1562 in response to a French Huguenot plea for aid. Elizabeth sent money and an army that occupied Le Havre, the latter to be held as a security, for the return of Calais, lost by England in Mary Tudor’s reign. The expedition was a failure. The Huguenots pocketed the English cash, reconciled themselves to the French crown and joined in expelling the English from Le Havre. This disaster confirmed the queen’s distaste for aid to Protestant rebels in her neighbors’ kingdoms. Henceforth she repelled emphatically all pleas to act as continental Protestantism’s protector.

From the 1560s France, embroiled in religious civil war, ceased to be a threat. Attention gradually shifted to Spain. Here the religious difference counted since Philip II, wholly committed to the Catholic faith, regarded the English regime with intolerance and looked for opportunities to overthrow it. In addition there were clashes of interest in two theaters—the Low Countries and the Spanish West Indies. The former area, already stirring with religious discontent, was the main center of English trade. The latter was the scene of unwelcome English expeditions, half slave trade, half piracy. When in 1572 Dutch rebels under William of Orange organized large-scale, sustained revolt, Elizabeth resolutely opposed open assistance to them but turned a blind eye to English volunteers and encouraged Sir Francis Drake and Sir William Hawkins in their exploits in the Spanish New World.

Matters came to a head when French intervention in the Low Countries, headed by François, duke of Alençon/Anjou, the French king’s brother, threatened. Elizabeth responded by encouraging the duke’s courtship, hoping to tie him to her leading strings. The proposal aroused opposition; Elizabeth yielded to popular opinion, abandoning the match. Then in 1585 the plight of the Dutch rebels became so desperate that she reluctantly agreed to a military alliance with them. Philip in turn began to prepare an invasion fleet, the Great Armada.

The invasion threat and conspiracies against the queen’s life brought patriotism to a pitch. Mary Stuart unwisely allowed herself to become involved in a plot against the queen. Its discovery led to a clamor for her death that Elizabeth found hard to resist. She sought to avoid signing Mary’s death warrant by vainly encouraging private assassination. Her desperate ministers seized a momentary yielding to their pleas and beheaded Mary before Elizabeth’s inevitable change of mind. All she could do was wither them with her impotent wrath.

In July 1588 the armada approached English shores; Elizabeth characteristically pushed herself to the fore, visiting her army stationed at Tilbury in Essex. Riding among her troops she addressed them, declaring herself to have the stomach of a king, “aye, and of a king of England.”

The English victory of 1588 was in many ways the climax of the reign. A burdensome war contin-

ued to be fought to its end, in the Low Countries, in France (assisting the beleaguered Henry IV) and in Ireland, where a major rebellion was crushed with difficulty. Taxes were at record heights; Parliament had to be coaxed into new levies while the Commons complained vigorously about fiscal practices, and the queen, in an adroit speech, politely acceded to some of their demands. Her own generation of familiars, the trusted councillors on whom she had relied for decades, was dying off. Finally there was the Essex affair. Robert Devereux, earl of Essex, the favorite of her declining years, betrayed her doting indulgence and ended on the headsman's block in 1601, an event that darkened the last phase of her life. It was also, however, in these last decades of her life that the flowering of English literature, dramatic and poetic, began, thanks in part to the patronage of the queen and her court.

Elizabeth, against the odds posed by her gender and by the formidable problems facing her kingdom in 1558, had reigned for almost half a century, triumphantly surmounting one challenge after another. Well aware of the liabilities posed by her gender, she fashioned a complex personality that at once awed and charmed her subjects and impressed on the English historical memory an image that is still vital after four centuries.

See also Cecil Family; Church of England; England; English Literature and Language; Henry VIII (England); Mary I (England); Puritanism; Stuart Dynasty (England and Scotland); Tudor Dynasty (England).

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WALLACE MACCAFFREY

ELIZABETH (RUSSIA) (1709–1762; ruled 1741–1762), empress of Russia. Elizabeth Petrovna, the daughter of Peter the Great and his second wife, Catherine, reigned as empress for over twenty years. She came to power on the back of a coup by guards' regiments after a decade of unpopular rule, comprising first, the period of Anna Ivanovna and then the year and a half reign of the infant Ivan VI. She benefited greatly from the direct association with her father and was able to proclaim herself to be ruling in his image and extending his legacy. Less celebrated, but nevertheless noteworthy, was the link to her mother, Catherine I, Russia's first crowned female ruler. Court panegyrists repeatedly used the formulation "the daughter of Peter the Great and Catherine I" when situating her lineage, and it is perhaps more than coincidence that the coup bringing her to power took place, as scheduled, on November 24, her mother's name day.

Like all of Russia's female rulers, Elizabeth ruled without an official spouse (although she may well have been married), and in her case as an official virgin queen (even though she had a series of lovers and almost certainly gave birth to a daughter). At the level of court and statecraft, the Elizabethan period was marked by several activities of note: the opening of Russia's first university, in Moscow (1755), and of several new or remodeled Cadet Academies and religious seminaries; the flourishing of theater and the appearance of Russia's first literary magazines; successful participation in the Seven Years' War that at one point brought Russian forces to the gates of Berlin; and the convening of a legislative commission that tried—and failed—to draft an updated body of fundamental law.

Under Elizabeth, Russia's export economy blossomed, which, beginning in the early 1740s, systematically expanded the sale of agricultural goods abroad. She also took steps to facilitate a unified domestic market by eliminating—albeit temporarily—several categories of excise tax and by establishing the first noble land bank (1753). This latter step reflected what might be termed the pro-nobility bias of her social and economic policies. Landlords could borrow money from the bank at below market rates, and, although it was hoped that they would plow the cash into their estates, they had no obligation to do so. Instead, many nobles, perpetually strapped for cash by the high expense of serving in the capital, used the loans to defray their expenses or to purchase luxury goods from abroad. Thus began a long-term pattern of de facto state subsidies to Russia's most prosperous elites, providing them easy money through loans, corruption, and inflation, a pattern that ultimately resulted in growing noble indebtedness, and, in the nineteenth century, bankruptcy. Her reign also saw the first tepid decrees against the corporal punishment of nobles. This spirit of humaneness toward the individual did not extend down the social ladder, however, and a series of laws tightened the bonds of serfdom, at least on paper, and further tied peasants specifically to noble landlords.

What did not change was the continued monopolization of high office by important families, notwithstanding the growing number of positions in state service and the hypothetical meritocracy of the Table of Ranks. As before, a handful of powerful



Empress Elizabeth of Russia. Equestrian portrait of the princess before her accession to the throne, by Georg-Christoph Grooth. THE ART ARCHIVE/RUSSIAN HISTORICAL MUSEUM MOSCOW/DAGLI ORTI (A)

clans continued to place their people in important positions and to close off access to parvenus.

See also Anna (Russia); Banking and Credit; Catherine II (Russia); Peter I (Russia); Russia; Russian Literature and Language; Seven Years' War (1756–1763); Universities.

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GARY MARKER

EMPIRES. *See* Colonialism.

EMPIRICISM. In broad terms, empiricism is the view that experience is the most important or even the only source of knowledge or sound belief. The term itself is of nineteenth-century origin, but the history of empiricism can be traced at least as far back as the ancient Greek philosopher Epicurus (341–270 B.C.E.). With the emergence of Christian civilization, however, belief in the cognitive importance of the senses was no more encouraged than was the pursuit of their pleasures. The Greek philosopher who seemed most consistent with religious belief was Plato, who thought that we needed to escape from the senses in order to achieve true knowledge or, for that matter, happiness. Though it was Aristotle who became “the Philosopher” in the medieval universities and monastic institutions, the empiricist strands in Aristotle’s thought were not taken up in any systematic way. One of the best known empiricist maxims, *Nihil est in intellectu quod non fuerit prius in sensu* (‘There is nothing in the mind that was not previously in the senses’) seems to have been first stated by the great medieval Aristotelian and theologian Thomas Aquinas (1224/1225–1274). But empiricism formed no part of his enterprise of reconciling revealed religion with an Aristotelian philosophy.

At the beginning of the early modern period empiricism was not generally regarded as an intellectually defensible position. The word *empiric*, indeed, was used as a term of abuse, one that referred particularly to quack doctors who rejected the medical orthodoxies of their day, preferring remedies that they claimed worked in experience. While it was acknowledged that everyone has to rely, to some extent, on their sense experiences, many philosophers believed that humans have a faculty of reason that enables them to avoid the errors of the senses. Well into the early modern period the prevalent theories of knowledge and the sciences were ones that have appropriately been called “rationalist” to reflect their stress on reason and abstract argument.

These “rationalist” philosophers were sometimes important figures in the history of the mathematical sciences. This was true of the French philosopher René Descartes (1596–1650), whose view that the essence of matter consists of its geometrical properties was highly influential in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The German

philosopher Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646–1716), co-inventor of the differential calculus, could also be counted among the “rationalists.” Leibniz accepted that animals learn from experience but thought that the “simple empiric” was no better than they were, insofar as he did not use his reason. For Leibniz, as for many “rationalist” philosophers, reason was the “divine spark” in humankind that set it apart from the rest of creation as capable of knowing the truths not only of mathematics but of morality and religion.

Empiricism was not an organized philosophical point of view at the beginning of the early modern period. It seems remarkable indeed that it developed at all, given the religiously motivated bias and the intellectual contempt felt for it. Yet not only did it develop, but by the eighteenth century it had become and was to remain the most widely accepted philosophy of the sciences.

FRANCIS BACON AND HIS INFLUENCE

The first early modern defender of what would now be called an organized “empiricism” was the English statesman and philosopher Francis Bacon (1561–1626). Bacon maintained that the true philosopher should be neither an empiricist nor a rationalist. The empiricist, he complained, is like an ant that collects much of value but does not put it into a coherent system. The rationalist, on the other hand, was like a spider, who spun wonderful constructions from within itself but whose thoughts did not connect with external reality. The true philosopher, Bacon wrote, should be like the bee that both collects much of value and puts it into an organized system.

What Bacon proposed were empirical methods of “induction,” the process of arguing from a collection of instances of a phenomenon to a general conclusion. In his *Novum Organum* of 1620, Bacon already went beyond the method Leibniz was to dismiss as that of the “simple empiric,” who notices resemblances between sequences of events (for instance, thunder repeatedly followed by rain) and arrives at a general conclusion on that basis (for instance, that thunder causes rain). Bacon stressed the importance of observing differences as well as similarities between sequences of events.

Bacon’s view of science was in many ways ahead of his time, for his critical empiricism was combined with the view that knowledge would gradually in-

crease and that its pursuit should be cooperative and free of sectarianism. His ideas were taken up by some of the founders of the Royal Society in England, such as Robert Boyle (1627–1691), who is sometimes called “the founder of modern chemistry,” and Robert Hooke (1635–1703). Indeed the very aims of the Royal Society as articulated by its first secretary, Henry Oldenburg, sound highly Baconian, especially in their opposition to mere speculation and commitment to exact observations and experiments. The achievements of the great English physicist Isaac Newton (1642–1727) added to the prestige not only of the Royal Society but also of the new “experimental philosophy” with which he was associated.

Bacon had an immense influence on the self-perception of British scientists well into the nineteenth century, and he was also held in wide esteem elsewhere in Europe, for instance by the editors of the *Encyclopédie* (1751–1765). In his *Discours préliminaire* (1751; Preliminary discourse) to the *Encyclopédie*, Jean Le Rond d’Alembert (1717–1783), an editor and leading contributor of scientific articles, referred to Bacon as the virtual founder of an experimental natural philosophy, and the *Encyclopédie* as a whole followed Bacon’s tripartite scheme of knowledge.

Empiricism was revived, to some extent independently, by Bacon’s younger French contemporary, Pierre Gassendi (1592–1655). Like Bacon, Gassendi was dissatisfied with the philosophical systems of his day, but he sought to avoid the extreme skepticism to which others were driven. Gassendi was inspired to a constructive philosophy by his study of Epicurus, whose philosophy he modified to cut out the points of conflict with Christianity (Gassendi was a priest). Gassendi insisted that our knowledge of the world comes only from experience, and he put forward a form of atomism as a hypothesis for explaining the world. This atomism was taken up by Robert Boyle, among others, and it was important in the development of seventeenth-century science.

JOHN LOCKE AND HIS INFLUENCE

Gassendi’s empiricism also influenced the English philosopher John Locke (1632–1704). In his *Essay concerning Human Understanding* (1690), Locke provided a sustained defense of the empiricist prin-

ciple that all our ideas come from experience. Prior to Locke it was widely assumed that humans were born with an innate knowledge of certain principles, for instance of right and wrong. His critique of such innate principles was particularly valued as a corrective to the kind of dogmatism that had tended to prevail in moral and religious matters.

The empiricism of Locke was criticized from two different quarters, from followers who thought he had not gone far enough and from critics who thought he had gone too far. To some of his followers the *Essay*, although it seemed to point in the right direction, was not empirical enough. Locke had included a “rationalist” defense of moral truths and of the existence of God, for instance, claiming for them the kind of knowledge reserved for mathematics. He also, against empiricist principles, allowed that the mind was capable of forming abstract general ideas. To some of his empiricist successors this seemed to reinstate some of the metaphysical abstractions Locke’s method and principles had managed to exclude. The Irish freethinker John Toland (1670–1722), for instance, attacked those mathematicians who turned to metaphysics in proposing such concepts as absolute space and time. For Toland the concept of a soul as an immaterial substance was another such untenable abstraction. Toland’s radical interpretation of Locke brought out the natural association of empiricism with materialism. Locke sought to dissociate himself from Toland, but he was not entirely able to do so.

Locke was by some measures the most influential philosopher of the eighteenth century, at any rate in Britain and France. There was some controversy between those who supported an empiricism like Locke’s and those who favored the more rationalist philosophies of Leibniz or the French priest Nicolas Malebranche (1638–1715). But for many the decision was not whether to be for or against Locke, but whether to support a more radical or a more conservative interpretation of his empiricism.

The more radical reading of Locke became very influential in France, where skepticism and materialism were attractive to a number of intellectuals or philosophes, as they were called. These included the aristocratic Voltaire (1694–1778), who was noted for his hostility to the ecclesiastical establishment and for his slogan *Écrasez l’infâme!* (“Crush

the infamous thing!"). In his *Lettres philosophiques* (1734; Letters on the English) Voltaire praised the new experimental method of Bacon, Locke, and Newton. This English trio was also adulated by many of those involved in the *Encyclopédie* project. The chief editor, Denis Diderot (1713–1784), was a freethinking empiricist and materialist.

Most British philosophers who followed Locke sought to interpret or modify his philosophy so that it would be compatible with religious belief. This was true of the Irish clergyman George Berkeley (1685–1753), who argued, in effect, that a more consistent empiricism than Locke's would undermine materialism. Berkeley argued that there were no "abstract general ideas," as Locke had allowed, but that the ideas we have are always particular. The concept of "matter" was a scholastic abstraction that was not needed in order to make sense of our experience. Berkeley's conclusion that the only substances in the world were God and spirits like ourselves was generally thought to be unbelievable. His analysis of the mathematical sciences foreshadows the "instrumentalism" common in twentieth century philosophies of physics. He allowed abstractions like "force" and "gravity" into theoretical formulae that were useful for making predictions, even though he did not think it should be supposed that anything answering to these abstractions exists in reality.

Berkeley's philosophy of the mathematical sciences was hardly acknowledged in the eighteenth century. This is surprising in view of the complaint, commonly made against empiricism, that it fails to do justice to the mathematical sciences. On an empiricist account, mathematical truths are only truths about the necessary relations between our ideas and not substantial truths about the world. Empiricism seemed for this reason an unsuccessful philosophy. The great German philosopher Immanuel Kant (1724–1804) accepted that our ideas arise in experience and that most of our knowledge is based on our senses. In his *Kritik der reinen Vernunft* (1781; Critique of pure reason), however, he argued that the truths of arithmetic and geometry were both necessary and substantial truths about the world, although empiricism cannot strictly allow them. Kant left a highly influential legacy of criticism of empiricism to subsequent philosophy.

THE EXTREME EMPIRICISM OF DAVID HUME

The empiricist philosopher to whom Kant was responding in his first *Critique* was the Scottish skeptic David Hume (1711–1776). Hume is generally regarded as the most thoroughgoing defender of empiricism and critic of abstract metaphysics of the early modern period. He accepted Berkeley's argument that we have no reason to believe in "material substances" that exist independently of our senses. But similar arguments, he thought, also brought into question the spiritual substances to which Berkeley gave pride of place. All we actually experience, according to Hume, are fleeting impressions. We are not strictly aware of the self. Hume's empiricism thus led him even further than Berkeley had gone from a commonsense position, though he sought to save the situation by arguing that we are bound to hold beliefs that are not strictly warranted by experience.

Hume claimed that he was extending the same experimental method to the sciences of human nature that Newton had shown to be so fruitful in natural philosophy. There is some dispute about how to interpret his deeply probing arguments. On the one hand, his empiricism seemed to lead him to undermine the fundamental principles of scientific inquiry. For instance, it is fundamental to empirical science to be able to assume that the future will be like the past—that we learn things from experience (such as that food nourishes us) and thus gain knowledge of the future or at least very strong grounds for belief about it. But what is the rational basis for such an assumption? An empiricist has to say that it is based on experience. But this simply begs the question. For it does not follow that, just because past experience has been a good guide to the future, it will continue to be reliable. Thus a rigorous empiricism, far from underpinning a scientific philosophy, appears to actually undermine it. Put another way, a rigorous empiricism appears to lead to skepticism. And this was an important part of Hume's legacy. At the same time Hume himself offered a way of avoiding a skeptical conclusion, maintaining that we are so constituted that we are bound to expect the future to be like the past. He even suggested, though perhaps not seriously, that nature was guiding us to the truth.

During the early modern period empiricism, despite the difficulties it entailed, gradually became the dominant theory of scientific rationality. The increased status of empirical science meant that philosophers began to frame their arguments in new ways. For instance, philosophers in the seventeenth century did not generally base their arguments for the existence of God or the immortality of the soul on experience. This was partly because they wished their conclusions to be demonstrated and not merely accepted as hypotheses. In the eighteenth century it became commonplace to accept that the existence of God was at best probable. The arguments for it were based on experience—in particular the experience of order in the universe, from which it was widely thought to be possible to infer the existence of an intelligent designer. These empirical arguments were increasingly favored by theologians. Hume himself took them seriously and examined them critically in his *Dialogues concerning Natural Religion* (1779). He suggested, however, that there were other, less obvious but equally plausible hypotheses that could be advanced to explain the evidence of order than the hypothesis of an intelligent creator.

A common commitment to empiricism did not lead everyone to the same conclusions, but it did settle the terms of debate, at least for many. One of the most widely read works of fiction of the eighteenth century was Voltaire's *Candide* (1759), whose hero perseveres in his "optimistic" belief that God has created the best of all possible worlds despite all the terrible misfortunes that befall him and those around him. In the book, *Candide* has been taught some theoretical basis (which he has forgotten) for his optimism by the German rationalist Pangloss. To those whose sympathies were on the side of Pangloss and who believed in a perfect providence, *Candide* would have been regarded as in very poor taste. It succeeded as a satire partly because the sympathies of enough readers were on the side of the author with regard to the existence, as an empirical fact, of massive unjustifiable evil in the world.

See also Bacon, Francis; Berkeley, George; *Encyclopédie*; Epistemology; Hume, David; Idealism; Kant, Immanuel; Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm; Locke, John; Mathematics; Newton, Isaac; Philosophy; Reason; Scientific Revolution; Voltaire.

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STUART BROWN

EMPRESSES. See Queens and Empresses.

ENCLOSURE. Common land was a key component of agriculture in many parts of early modern Europe. Those who enjoyed “common rights” could use specified resources from often extensive areas of permanently or temporarily uncultivated land, much of which was open country, such as the rough pasture or heathland associated with the modern expression “the common.” However, these rights were also exercised over much of the land that was normally cultivated in individual private plots. Common rights, most prominently the right to grazing, could be exercised when these areas lay fallow. Thus there were, broadly speaking, two forms of common land.

The uncultivated land provided pasture, building timber, and fuel, such as wood, turf, and peat. The ownership of the soil belonged either to the lord of the manor (as in England and northwestern France), the village commune (as was frequently found in southern Germany), or, in some cases, the state (as in Sweden and parts of Spain and Italy). However, the local commoners who regulated access to and exploitation of the commons enjoyed rights to the resources therein. The commoners only rarely comprised all of the population. More often than not they were manorial tenants (where the lords owned the commons) or those enjoying full citizenship rights in village communes. The collective management of the common was controlled by a village or lord’s court. These “waste” lands are referred to as “commons” in all European historiography.

The practice of pasturing livestock on fallow land outside of the period of cultivation is usually considered part of the system of “common land” only by English historians. However, throughout Europe this practice was usually managed by the same authorities that regulated the “common waste.” This system of fallow grazing could require communal regulation in districts of open fields where peasants held many scattered individual plots that were not fenced off from each other. To prevent trespassing and to facilitate the grazing herds, village authorities regulated when fields or meadows should be open, thus limiting the types of crops that could be grown and especially the cultivation of the fallow. This form of common rights was already prevalent in medieval times in midland England,

much of northern France, southern and central Germany, southern Sweden, parts of Italy, and, by 1600, the interior of Spain.

“Enclosure” is the English term for the dissolution of these common rights. It was often accompanied by the physical division of the land by walls or hedgerows, hence the term. However, this was not necessarily the case, and some districts of open fields (such as Kent in England) had never been subject to common rights. In continental historiography this process is often referred to as the dissolution or division of the common lands and the abolition of communal forms of land ownership. Previously common waste was allotted to new owners (often with a large share for the previous owner of the soil), and the scattered strips of the common fields were usually consolidated into blocks of discrete farms.

The colonization of the waste and its cultivation tended to reduce the amount of common land available from the medieval period onward. Conversion of arable land to pasture in eras of low grain prices could also remove communal grazing rights. Technically this constituted enclosure and could be found all over Europe, especially in periods of agricultural expansion during the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries.

The most famous process of enclosure, and one that came to serve as a model for other parts of Europe, occurred in England. By 1500, some 45 percent of England was enclosed or had never been subject to common rights. The late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries saw some enclosure of arable land by lords for conversion to pasture, taking advantage of high wool prices. This was perceived to cause settlement desertion and jeopardize food supplies and became a major cause of rural unrest. Changed economic circumstances and official disapproval prevented most further enclosure movements in the sixteenth century. However, a more prosperous farming class, along with improved demand for pastoral products and new farming techniques, led to rapid expansion of enclosure in the seventeenth century, largely achieved in a piecemeal fashion at a local level by agreement among landlords and tenants. Finally, between 1760 and 1820s, “Parliamentary enclosure” was carried out. Where the owners of 80 percent of the land involved approved of each proposed enclosure, an act

of Parliament could be passed requiring its implementation under the supervision of parliamentary commissioners. This allowed landowners to bypass the objections of more numerous smallholders who only, however, owned a small part of the proposed enclosure. By these means a final wave of enclosure completed the destruction of the common open fields of midland England. It was argued both by some contemporaries and by subsequent historians, among them Karl Marx, that the loss of common rights caused the destruction of a class of smallholders who had relied on the commons for cheap access to grazing and fuel. Although those with legally established rights were compensated for their loss, they often lacked the capital to make the newly enclosed lands allotted to them cultivable at competitive prices. As a result, it was frequently believed that Parliamentary enclosures contributed to a proletarianization of a workforce that was primed for work in the factories of the industrial revolution. Although local effects could be severe, it is now generally thought that the bulk of England's smallholdings had disappeared long before the period of Parliamentary enclosure.

In many parts of Europe, fallow land and common grazing were slow to disappear, persisting until the nineteenth century and even into the twentieth. However, the use of new fodder crops, such as turnips or clover, and stall-feeding of animals on their higher yields removed the need for pasture in the fields and prompted a decrease in the area of fallow. This in turn led to a gradual abandonment of common grazing on arable land in parts of northern and central Italy, France, the Low Countries, Denmark, and Germany during the late seventeenth, or, for the most part, the eighteenth century. On the northern coast of Spain, the abandonment of fallow was permitted by the introduction of maize during the seventeenth century.

Increasingly, and in part taking England as an example, agronomists and government came to see common property as an impediment to investment and innovation. This was not universally the case, as some were of the opinion (articulated most clearly in several small German states) that access to cheap resources on the commons encouraged population growth and thus taxable labor for domestic industry. During the eighteenth century, however, numerous governments attempted to force the disso-

lution of common rights and partition of the commons through national legislation. Such privatizations were not new on the European landscape. Claiming ownership of the wastes (*baldíos*), the Castilian government had, in a process peaking in the 1580s, sought to sell them off for fiscal reasons, with the land often passing into private ownership. These efforts were more pronounced toward the end of the *ancien régime*, especially under the influence of the Physiocrats. Laws encouraged or required the partition of common land in Sweden from 1749, Spain from 1768/1770, Austrian Brabant in 1772, Denmark in 1781, Baden in 1768, and in Prussian territories from the 1760s. French authorities encouraged partitions from the 1760s onward, though there was already a long tradition of lords usurping sections of the commons, especially where they could assert ownership of the soil.

However, responses were mixed. They depended on which groups could legally claim common rights and thus a right to compensation with an allotment of newly privatized land, and whether there was a realistic prospect of being able to farm the land profitably. Poorer groups welcomed the chance to obtain landholdings in some places, while they feared the loss of common resources in others. Similarly, some richer farmers desired the removal of encumbrances of communal management, while others valued common rights as a source of additional income for their workforce. Nearly everywhere change came slowly and was only systematically carried out in the Napoleonic period. In some regions common rights persisted until the twentieth century.

See also **Agriculture; Feudalism; Forests and Woodlands; Gardens and Parks; Industrial Revolution; Industry; Peasantry.**

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PAUL WARDE

ENCYCLOPEDIAS. See Dictionaries and Encyclopedias.

ENCYCLOPÉDIE. Beginning as a modest business venture, the *Encyclopédie* was planned to be simply a French translation of Ephraim Chambers's *Cyclopaedia*, published in England in 1728. Entrusted to Jean Le Rond d'Alembert (1717–1783) and Denis Diderot (1713–1784), the project quickly took on far vaster proportions, becoming ultimately one of the greatest commercial and intellectual enterprises of early modern French culture.

The encyclopedists' goal was to make available to the greatest number of readers the most complete account possible of all current knowledge. The first volume of the work appeared in Paris in 1751. When the project was completed two decades later, in 1772, the encyclopedists had produced the most massive single reference work in Europe to date. The *Encyclopédie* ran to seventeen folio volumes containing 71,818 articles, eleven folio volumes of 2,885 plates, and five supplemental volumes, published in 1776 and 1777 under editors other than Diderot. Sold by subscription to a readership in France and throughout Europe that totaled at least 4,500 individuals, the *Encyclopédie* was the product of more than 150 collaborators who worked under the sole editorship of Diderot after d'Alembert withdrew from the project in 1758. The *Encyclopédie* met with significant opposition, primarily from the Jesuit order and the antiphilosophie movement. It was placed on the Catholic Church's *Index librorum prohibitorum* (Index of forbidden books), and on two occasions the crown revoked (but soon restored) the work's *privilège* or royal authorization to publish. Five subsequent editions, either reprints or revisions, were produced in Switzerland and Italy prior to the French Revolution of 1789, and roughly half of these 25,000 copies went to readers in France.

In philosophical terms, the *Encyclopédie* reflected the most powerful tenet of the European Enlightenment, the belief in human reason as an individual and innate critical faculty. The world the encyclopedists represented was thoroughly subjected to the rule of reason. It was knowable, able to be ordered and mastered by the rational mind. The *Encyclopédie* thus contributed to consolidating the reformist values of the Enlightenment by testifying to the belief in the progressive and beneficial results of rational inquiry into all sectors of human activity. In the area of technology, the articles and plates devoted to the “mechanical arts”—including the crafts and trades, anatomy and surgery, the exact, natural, and military sciences—provided a remarkably complete account of eighteenth-century French technology, in a style aimed at a relatively broad readership. In this way the *Encyclopédie* spurred the development of French industry, which was lagging behind that of Britain.

The work's full title was *Encyclopédie, ou dictionnaire raisonné des arts, des sciences et des métiers*. As an analytic or descriptive dictionary, it was designed to compile and transmit as complete a version as possible of all existing human knowledge; as an encyclopedia, it was to reveal how that knowledge could be rationally ordered and the interrelations of its various parts displayed. Articles were arranged in alphabetical order, and each article was classified according to the category of knowledge to which it belonged. An extensive cross-reference system made explicit the linkages between articles. These cross-references were often employed to produce a subversive critique of established positions through the ironic juxtaposition of apparently unrelated articles, such as religion and mythology. The article “Aius Locutius,” for instance, which deals with a minor Roman god of speech, is referred to in another article on casuistry, which itself is linked to articles on certainty (*certitude*) and moral judgment (*cas de conscience*). This critique was part of the encyclopedists' overarching aim to have their readers think freely, to become “undeceived,” as Diderot put it. For him, this critical thinking involved resisting any authority, whether divine or human. Thus, in the area of religion the encyclopedists tirelessly denounced fanaticism in the name of religious tolerance, attacked Christian doctrine and the Catholic Church and its institutions, and presented other



Encyclopédie. An engraving by B.-L. Prevost after a drawing by Claude-Nicolas Cochin II served as the frontispiece. The draped figure represents Truth; she is surrounded by figures representing various academic disciplines.

beliefs more favorably. The encyclopedists reorganized the cognitive universe, rejecting the authority of all systems and institutions that claim to deliver up any absolute order of knowledge, and setting in their place more secular, empirical, and arbitrary ones, judged according to the values of technological productivity and social utility.

The best-known major contributors to the project were Diderot himself (with 10,000 articles), Louis de Jaucourt (17,395), d'Alembert (1,600), and Paul Thiry, baron d'Holbach (1723–1789) (425). Other significant contributors included Georges Louis Leclerc de Buffon (1707–1788), Louis-Jean-Marie Daubenton (1716–1800), Charles-Marie de La Condamine (1701–1774), Charles-Pinot Duclos (1704–1772), François Quesnay (1694–1774), Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778), and Anne Robert Jacques Turgot (1727–1781). Parisians, provincials, and foreigners, the encyclopedists were a heterogeneous group. They were not members of a revolutionary Third Estate, one of the three orders or “estates” that, along with that of the nobility and the clergy, reflected the political division of pre-Revolutionary France. Most were bourgeois, if not by source of income, then by lifestyle and by their conception of property and work. Jurists, doctors, professors, engineers, merchants, manufacturers, specialized technicians, upper civil servants, military officers, and philosophes, the encyclopedists played important roles in economic, cultural, and political institutions, from which they derived material benefits and prestige. This situation also allowed them a certain independence, both economic and intellectual, making it possible for them to imagine and promote other ways of thinking. Although the encyclopedists criticized arbitrary state power, they did not question the monarchical system.

See also **Alembert, Jean Le Rond d’; Buffon, Georges Louis Leclerc; Diderot, Denis; Dissemination of Knowledge; Enlightenment; Holbach, Paul Thiry, baron d’; Index of Prohibited Books; Philosophes; Rousseau, Jean-Jacques.**

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DANIEL BREWER

ENGINEERING

This entry contains two subentries:

CIVIL

MILITARY

CIVIL

Civil engineering, like military engineering, emerged in large part from the employments of Renaissance architects. Many Renaissance cities and regional princes engaged an architect-engineer to oversee the construction of all public works, including defensive structures, bridges, and maintenance of roads and waterways. Well into the eighteenth century, a number of engineers maintained versatile skills in both military and civil engineering, although men of more specialized backgrounds, such as surveyors, millwrights, and drainage engineers, always added expertise in the construction of public works and often fashioned themselves more broadly as engineers. Mathematicians, too, consulted on engineering works and helped develop the relationship between engineering and the emerging sciences of mechanics and hydrology. The rise of absolutism combined with growing capital interests to fund a broad range of city-planning, communica-

tion, and, above all, water-management programs. Civil engineers were those experts who rose to the challenges and the perquisites these projects offered.

CITIES AND VILLAS

The vision of the Renaissance city developed out of new conceptions of the role cities played and an idealized notion of classical urbanism. Building programs to reshape major capitals or plan new military strongholds created cityscapes that demonstrated the power of the rulers, but also served pedestrian traffic, the easy transport of goods (or munitions), water-supply needs, and public theaters and hospitals. The work of Domenico Fontana (1543–1607) for Sixtus V is emblematic: Fontana not only designed new, more convenient, traffic patterns for Rome, but he was involved in the vaulting of St. Peter’s cupola and is best known for his direction of the removal of a giant Egyptian obelisk from the site of the Circus Maximus and its reerection in the center of St. Peter’s piazza. The latter was itself a theatrical technological feat that involved massive scaffolding and numerous windlasses, tackles, and pulleys. It drew a huge audience of spectators, reportedly hushed under threat of death so that workers could hear the bell prompts.

STRUCTURAL ENGINEERING

Expertise with materials was largely a tacit knowledge among Renaissance architects and engineers. The astounding heights achieved by the domes and basilicas of the period tested artisanal acumen in the analysis of tensional stress and outward thrust. Filippo Brunelleschi’s (1377–1446) pioneering octagonal *duomo* atop Santa Maria dei Fiori in Florence featured a double-shelled dome, tapered walls that distributed stress to the thicker walls at the base, and a wooden chain that fortified the structure precisely at the point where tensional strain was greatest. A number of engineers consulted on the challenges posed by the even larger and higher circular dome of St. Peter’s in Rome, finally completed under Michelangelo Buonarroti (1475–1564). In designing St. Paul’s Cathedral in London, Christopher Wren (1632–1723) drew on structural ideas provided by the Royal Society’s curator, Robert Hooke (1635–1703). By the beginning of the eighteenth century, rules for the proportioning of a masonry dome were available through the Swiss architect

Carlo Fontana (1634–1714), and an easy geometrical construction for determining the thickness of abutments known as “Blondel’s Rule” widely applied. The French mathematician Philippe de la Hire (1640–1718) investigated dome equilibrium from the point of view of theoretical statics. Three mathematicians, hired to analyze the cracks in St. Peter’s dome in 1742–1743, partially employed de la Hire’s work, but it seems to have been little utilized by practicing engineers.

Arched bridges were also a favorite form for experimentation by early modern engineers. Their construction was detailed by technical experts from Leon Battista Alberti (1404–1472) to Jean Rodolphe Perronet (1708–1794). Some of the most acclaimed examples of early modern engineering are bridges, such as the Rialto Bridge in Venice (Antonio da Ponte, begun 1588), Santa Trinità in Florence (Bartolomeo Ammannati, begun 1567), and the Pont Neuf in Paris (Jacques Androuet and Guillaume Marchand, begun 1578).

Galileo Galilei (1564–1642), himself trained as a military engineer, attempted to address some of the problems posed by structural engineering mathematically in the first half of his *Discourses on Two New Sciences*, devoted to material strength. The “new” science presented ways of determining the tensile strength of beams and ways of proportioning machines in larger scales. Galileo also discussed the subject of centers of gravity, a subject that had been developed by mathematicians Luca Valerio (1552–1618) and Federico Commandino (1509–1575), as a key to determining the equilibrium of rigid systems. This approach, rooted both in engineering practice and the Archimedean revival so influential to Renaissance engineers, contrasted dramatically with the prevalent Aristotelian approach to materials.

Water supply and fountains. Water was supplied to city residents through aqueducts or pipes. Raising enough water from nearby river sources with pumps was a constant occupation of engineers. One of the most ingenious pumping stations was constructed in 1602 by the Flemish hydraulic engineer Jean Lintlaer, whose water-wheel-driven pump, constructed under the Pont Neuf, could rise and fall with the level of the river.

Lintlaer had been hired by Henry IV (ruled 1589–1610) not only on behalf of Paris, but because the king wanted to improve his gardens. The baroque fountains that engineers designed for the gardens of very wealthy houses across Europe were largely inspired by the work of the ancient engineer Hero of Alexandria. Hero had used the natural flow of water, the effects of air pressure and steam, and the creation of a vacuum to achieve delightful effects, such as the playing of music or operation of mechanical birds. Hero's *Pneumatica* was translated numerous times between 1575 and 1700, many vernacular editions brought out by engineers. The book not only inspired technological marvels, but set out a newly revived matter theory. Hero maintained that the air was elastic, and was composed of tiny bits of matter separated by *vacua*, a theory discounted by traditional Aristotelians.

WATER MANAGEMENT

The professions of water management assumed ever greater attention in the early modern period. Hydraulic engineering was necessary not only to raise water for drinking and fountains, but to drain and reclaim wetlands, dredge ports and harbors, build canals, and turn mills for industry. In Venice, a sea-empire into which several rivers flowed, nine out of ten patents were requested by inventors of machines that could control or utilize water. The various demands on waterways could also conflict. Too many mills constructed on a river would hinder commercial traffic, or even drinking water delivery. A river diverted to serve the needs of one town might render another town's waterways unnavigable.

The leaders in hydraulic engineering were the Dutch, who had developed their expertise through long experience maintaining their below-sea-level landscape with dykes, dredging machines, and canals. Regarding the interrelation of hydraulic works and Dutch government, the English poet Andrew Marvel quipped, "To make a bank, was a great plot of state/Invent a shov'l and be a Magistrate." Indeed, administrative skills were often an indispensable requisite for engineers who directed the huge labor force that large water management schemes demanded.

Land reclamation. Europeans began to drain the wetlands of alluvial plains beginning at least in the twelfth century. In the sixteenth century, the desire

to create productive land from the swampy river valleys was translated into capital investment. Olivier de Serres (1539–1619) gave full attention to the conversion of marshlands into arable rents in his *Théâtre d'Agriculture*. Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century land improvement schemes were carried out from Andalusia through Italy, the Languedoc, the lower Rhône, and the fens of England. The latter was a favorite project of James I (ruled 1603–1625) for which he hired the Dutch engineer Cornelius Vermuyden (1595?–1683). The reclaimed land fell to the control of regional noblemen and investors, and head engineers were sometimes given grants from them.

Ports, rivers, and canals. Rivers and tidal ports prone to silting required periodic dredging. This was usually accomplished with bucket or scraper dredgers. Ports often needed seawalls or the installation of locks. Salvage operations were also a matter of import to the state and to entrepreneurs, as wrecked ships blocked harbors. Sometimes, inventive but ultimately inefficacious schemes were conducted, such as the attempt of Bartolomeo Campi (1525–1573) to raise a sunken ship in the Venetian lagoon with a machine built on two caissons, on Archimedean hydrostatic principles suggested by the mathematician Niccolò Tartaglia (1500–1557). However, the use of diving bells and diving suits, such as those developed by the mathematicians Giovanni Alfonso Borelli (1608–1679) and Edmond Halley (1656–1742), were the more promising means of removing wreckage.

Rivers and their tributaries were constantly diverted, channeled, or dammed in order to irrigate land, avoid flood, or improve navigation. Engineers reinforced banks with piers and the planting of trees and straightened and deepened numerous tributaries. The greatest boon to intracontinental navigation was the development of canal locks.

The invention of the lock was of signal importance to commerce and communication. The construction of intercity turnpikes and well-drained roads did not accelerate until the second half of the eighteenth century. Systems of canals, however, greatly extended alluvial navigation beyond the paths of naturally navigable rivers, and made possible commercial transport between many more cit-

ies. Canal waters were also employed to turn the water wheels that powered numerous mills.

While single gates had been employed in regulating water flow, the first lock, with gates at either end of a short section of the canal, appears to have been constructed by Bertola da Novate in the mid 1450s. Bertola, commissioned by the Duke of Milan, Francesco Sforza (ruled 1450–1466), to enlarge the Berguardo Canal, devised the scheme by which boats could ascend or descend the elevation of the waterway in a step-wise way by lifting one gate to fill or empty to the level of the subsequent section of canal. In seventeenth-century Netherlands, where canals had defined the landscape since the Middle Ages, new intercity canals were dug that carried passenger traffic on horse-drawn boats. England almost doubled its river navigation in the second half of the century, from 685 miles to 1160 miles. In France, the ambitious project to connect the Mediterranean with the Atlantic by canal, originally promoted by Leonardo da Vinci in the service of Francis I, was half completed with the Canal du Midi in 1681. Beginning in 1642, the foodstuffs of the Loire Valley could be carried to Paris via a canal that included thirty-five locks, and featured a seven-rise staircase of consecutive locks. The fortifications chief, Sébastien le Prestre de Vauban (1633–1707), extended the canal system through Belgium.

Hydraulics and mathematicians. Attempts to systematize the artisanal knowledge of hydraulic engineering within a more learned framework were available by the seventeenth centuries in the work of Alvisé Cornaro (1484–1566) and Simon Stevin (1548–1620). Although Stevin was a preeminent mathematician, his hydraulics did not significantly depart from contemporary engineering practices. The work of Galileo's pupil Benedetto Castelli (1577–1644), in response to Papal plans to (re)divert the Reno into the Po flowing past Ferrara, extended the geometrical study of motion to waters. While Renaissance engineers like Leonardo had grappled with questions of water velocity, Castelli carved out new territory in his 1628 *On the Measurement of Running Waters (Della misura dell'acqua corrente)*. Castelli articulated the law of constant flow, that a river discharges equal quantities of water in equal times, regardless of the size of the cross-section. While this work had little direct effect on practice, the science of fluids was studied

intensively over the next century. Fluid mechanics was developed experimentally by the French physicist Edme Mariotte (1620–1684), and the mathematician Daniel Bernoulli (1700–1782) formulated the relationship between the density of fluid in a pipe, its speed and pressure. By the eighteenth century, figures such as the mathematical professor and hydraulic engineer/government administrator Giovanni Poleni (1683–1761) were not rare.

INDUSTRIAL MACHINES

Early modern engineers constantly designed and redesigned the wheeled machines that lifted stones for building; pumps that drained mines and swamps and raised water for drinking or ornamental fountains; and a vast array of machines that milled wheat, crushed minerals, lifted hammers, beat cloth, and operated the bellows of the new iron blast furnaces. Until the employment of the steam engine in the eighteenth century, the power of these machines was either a water wheel, a human-turned treadmill, winch, capstan, or crank, or an animal-turned device such as the horse whim. The cam, which translated rotational motion into vertical motion, was greatly developed by sixteenth-century engineers and was of huge industrial import. Printed machine books produced by Agostino Ramelli (1531–c. 1600), Jacques Besson (1540–1576), and Vittorio Zonca (b. c. 1580) demonstrate how combinations of toothed wheels, worm gears, crown gears, and lanterns might redirect motion in various ways. The treadmill that powered a sixteenth-century crane employed several men running on the inside of a huge wheel; due to gearing and other improvements, eighteenth-century cranes were smaller and could be turned externally with a crank.

With the mutually reinforcing developments of mining, metallurgy, and steam engines, the mechanical engineer had, literally, to retool. The new steam engines were first used in the drainage of mines; the new product of cast iron found one of its premier uses in the cylinders used on the steam engine. While engineers had increasingly employed metal in eighteenth-century machines, its wide adoption in the final years of the eighteenth century not only added strength, but also made precision, industrial tooling possible. The circle around the steam-engine moguls James Watt (1736–1819) and Matthew Boulton (1728–1809) procured

watchmakers and other artisans skilled in machining gears. With the invention of the industrial lathe in 1716 by Christopher Polhem (1661–1751) of Sweden, its development by Jacques de Vaucanson (1709–1782) and others, and the 1776 cylinder-boring machine of the ironmaster John Wilkinson (1728–1808), it became possible to produce machines that produced machines.

ENGINEERS, SCIENCE, AND PROFESSIONALISM

Throughout the early modern period, civil engineers were artisans of more and less learning, or mathematicians of more and less experience. The relationship between the practices of engineering and the new mathematical sciences of mechanics and hydraulics, however, was never unidirectional or static, nor was it easy to generalize. The engineer and machine book author Agostino Ramelli wrote an elaborate preface insisting on the necessity of mathematics as the foundation for machine design. On the other hand, practicing engineers often resisted the advice of mathematicians employed as consultants and sneered at theoreticians. In both cases, the relationship seems rhetorically constructed. Only in the eighteenth century did a more stable professional identity for engineers emerge, as technical education was formally organized and the social role of the technical expert more clearly defined. By that time, the sciences of rational mechanics and hydrology had developed within the framework of engineering problems.

John Smeaton (1724–1792) was the first Englishman to adopt the title “civil engineer.” Although he was trained, as were many engineers, as a millwright, Smeaton performed systematic experimentation on the superior efficiency of overshot waterwheels, engaged in investigations regarding Leibnizian and Newtonian mechanics, and advocated a more rigorous technical education. The leaders in the establishment of the latter were the French.

In keeping with the rational systematization of absolutist, Enlightenment France, the Corps de Ponts et Chaussées was founded in 1719 to organize the network of roads and waterways throughout the country. Members of the corps tested the bending of various materials and invented machines for compression tests on stone and mortar; Henri de

Pitot (1695–1771) invented the Pitot tube, by which the velocity of a current could be taken. The corps also founded a school. Cadets would have available to them the textbooks of Bernard Forest de Belidor (1697–1761), books reprinted so often that the copper plates wore out and had to be re-engraved in the early nineteenth century. There was nothing new or cutting-edge in these handbooks, but they offered both traditional guidelines of practice and the possibility of applying static and dynamic theorems to practical problems. The French engineering organizations were the apotheosis and production line for engineers who could combine knowledge, machines, and the organization of human labor in order to fulfill corporate demands for huge undertakings.

See also Architecture; Cities and Urban Life; City Planning; Communication and Transportation; Galileo Galilei; Henry IV (France); Hooke, Robert; James I and VI (England and Scotland); Leonardo da Vinci; Mathematics; Mechanism; Michelangelo Buonarroti; Newton, Isaac; Technology; Wren, Christopher.

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MARY HENNINGER-VOSS

MILITARY

Early modern military engineering co-evolved with the siege tactics that characterized European warfare from the late fifteenth to the mid-eighteenth centuries. By 1530 the assimilation of heavy gunpowder weapons was matched by the development of fortifications that could withstand cannonball bombardment. Campaigns usually focused on the taking of a city, although an aggressor's single most potent tactic was often to starve the inhabitants. Early modern siege warfare, precisely because of its relatively static, game-like quality, offered a broad stage for the activities of the engineer. Opportunities abounded for engineers who could maximize the capabilities of machines and gunpowder, effectively organize the immense workforce of trench diggers, ease the enormous burden of siege train baggage on campaign, or design an "impregnable" fortress in peacetime. As military engineers sought to define a science at the core of their new profession, the sphere of military engineering opened up an avenue of advancement both for men and for ideas about how the world of resisting walls and projectiles—matter and motion—worked.

THE NEW WEAPONS

Gunpowder weapons were known to Europe by the 1320s. The earliest "cannons" were usually large barrel- or pot-like receptacles made of forged metal, mounted on a cumbersome cart and charged with irregular balls or projectiles. By 1500 most of the innovations that were to determine the form of muzzle-loaded cannons had been introduced. Cannons were cast of bronze (and, shortly thereafter, iron) to specific lengths and calibers. These ranged from the very smallest falconet, at a barrel length of six feet and a caliber of just over two inches, to long slender culverins, to heavy four-ton cannons. (Mortars and, later, howitzers were also cast.) They were then mounted on specialized carriages on pivots (trunnions) that were placed at standardized distances from the rear of the cannon. Indeed, the invention of standardized trunnions, with the increased ease of aim and accuracy they allowed, has been credited as the secret behind the terrifying reputation of Charles VIII's artillery when in 1494

the French monarch swept through Italy from the Alpine border to Naples.

Even given the impressive advances of the sixteenth-century cannon over its precursors, cannons still presented numerous difficulties that added to the inherent unpredictability of warfare. Each cannon was unique, owing to inconsistencies in metallurgy, boring, and other factors of its production. Cannons shot differently, depending on the gunpowder and how hot they became. They might crack in battle or, worse, explode prematurely if they were handled improperly. The heaviest bombards required dozens of draft animals to haul them; legions of men, employed to maneuver and plant cannons, attended the artillery train.

Innovations in the design of ordnance that might ameliorate these conditions were usually owed to gun makers. Members of the Alberghetti family, for example, requested numerous patents over the generations in which they headed the foundry at the Venetian arsenal. The single greatest improvement to the cannon was effected by the boring machine invented by Jean Maritz (1680–1743) in the mid-eighteenth century. The cannon barrel was rotated by a machine powered by horses, while a bit was advanced into the front of the piece. Before this time, cannons were each cast in a unique mold with an earthen core to make the hollow. The hollow tube was then smoothed on a vertical reaming machine. The boring machine allowed many cannons to be cast from the same mold, thereby helping to standardize shots among cannons. Moreover, because the bore could more precisely fit the size of the cannonball, it nearly halved the space between the inside wall of the barrel and the cannonball moving through it (windage). This greatly increased accuracy and power.

MILITARY ARCHITECTURE

While a number of gunfounders, or their sons, became military engineers, the profession was much more rooted to the tasks of the Renaissance city architect. Architects had traditionally acted as the designers of fortifications and military machinery. Filippo Brunelleschi (1377–1446) had to take time off from the construction of the Duomo in Florence in order to follow troops at war with the nearby city of Lucca. Architect, engineer, painter, and sculptor Francesco di Giorgio (1439–1501) is credited with

the development of one of the most important innovations in defensive architecture, the angled bastion on which effective defensive fire could be mounted; Michelangelo (1475–1564) further developed its offensive capacity. Among the most active workshops in fortifications design were those of Antonio da San Gallo the Younger (1485–1546) and Michele Sanmicheli (1484–1559).

In the context of the decades-long Italian wars (1494–1559), in which huge armies and their siege trains battered Italy, the style of fortification that would dominate continental European warfare for the next two centuries emerged. Italian architects developed the main features of the *trace Italienne*, a polygonal circuit of walls with spade-like bastions built at each angle, by the early sixteenth century. The tall, crenellated walls of medieval fortifications had offered little resistance to cannon. Lower, thicker walls, reinforced by piling dirt against them (the “scarp,” which was sometimes faced with masonry) better deflected and absorbed cannonballs and permitted the use of defensive cannon fire. Bastions provided a platform for cannons that allowed defenders to rake the curtain walls with fire (enfilade) and cover neighboring bastions. By the middle of the century, platforms in the curtain walls (“cavaliers”) were added so that defenders could enfilade bastion walls, or fire into the bastion should it be taken by the enemy; a low flat wall outside the surrounding ditch, but fitted with parapets (“covered way”), enabled defenders to reconnoiter the activities of attackers and served as a staging area from which to conduct sorties.

In the course of the following 150 years, the depth of defensive works was developed enormously. Maurice of Nassau, prince of Orange (1567–1625), under the tutelage of the mathematician Simon Stevin (1548–1620), developed further outworks, particularly the ravelin, a fortified point that offered more angles for defensive fire outside the main walls. Fortification designs increasingly resembled star patterns, with a series of ditches, berms, and angled ravelins radiating from the polygonal perimeter of the city walls. The concern for depth of defensive works continued in the French corps of engineers and was brought to a baroque height by the followers of the great military engineer Sébastien le Prestre de Vauban (1633–1707).

Early modern fortifications systems were meant to act as a machine, each part interacting with another. By the onset of the seventeenth century, especially as the focus of European war was then centered on the struggles in the Netherlands, where broad flat land offered an empty canvas for the geometrical designs of engineers, the fortress was designed to take advantage of every possible angle from which any conceivable weapon could be employed. Built into the construction of a town wall and its outworks were plans for every foreseeable method of approach and point of breach by an enemy. Fortifications were tactics, but tactics that operated through a knowledge of mathematics, construction, and gunnery.

ON CAMPAIGNS

If, ideally, the role of the engineer in fortifications was to build into his design a retort to any plan of attack, the role of the engineer in the field was to alter the methods of attack in an unexpected and more efficacious way. It is for this reason that Vauban’s most significant contribution to the warfare of his age was not his fortification design, but his novel system of trenches, dug in a zigzag or parallel way so that assailants could reach within range of rampart walls while remaining under cover, and his use of the ricochet fire of mortars to scatter defenders within their own walls. Techniques for driving forward a sap were in themselves a sort of exercise in earthwork construction: trench diggers moved forward, placing baskets filled with earth or rocks (gabions) before them and building up earthen walls along their sides, so that attacking troops could be moved toward the walls, or mines could be laid at the fortification’s base. Ingenuity in this regard was considered so valuable that military men sometimes debated whether the shovel was not a more important instrument than the gun.

Management of guns and gunpowder devices was another of the main concerns of the military engineer. Engineers were usually attached to the artillery corps. Their skills in maneuvering machines that weighed anywhere from four hundred to eight thousand pounds were paramount. At the highest levels, engineers were artillery generals, although this rank was usually achieved by noble commanders trained in the engineers’ arts and sciences so that, at

least, they could command their forces and supervise the engineers under them.

THE SCIENCE OF MILITARY ENGINEERS

Military engineering was transformed into a new profession around the relatively new arts of gunpowder warfare, and many of its practitioners insisted that it was a practice founded on science. By the end of the sixteenth century, an extensive literature on the various practical and intellectual demands of artillery warfare had rolled off the presses. Mathematics and measure were central to the new science of military engineering. In part, this was so because of the mathematical practices traditionally used by architects in their surveying, reconnaissance, and design activities. Military engineers and those who served them were among the most prolific producers of mathematical instruments and practical mathematical knowledge in the early modern period.

Ratio and measure, in fact, appeared to govern most of the new technical tasks, from the recipes for gunpowder (saltpeter, sulfur, and charcoal), to the charge of the cannon (from one-half to two-thirds the weight of the ball), to the measure of range, to proportioning of fortifications. The book knowledge at new academies for the training of cadets, such as the Accademia Delia in Padua, centered around mathematics. Mathematicians began to intervene in the sphere of military engineering as teachers of foundational (and elementary) mathematical skills and as inventors of new mechanical and ballistic knowledge.

Nicolò Tartaglia (1500–1557) was the first mathematician to seek to regularize the unpredictable art of gunnery through mathematics. Galileo Galilei (1546–1642), a student and a sometime teacher of military engineers, also tackled questions that originated in gunnery, even if his solutions were universalized and reframed to address phenomena far outside it. Galileo's "geometrical and military compass" was inspired by the "problem of caliber" (by which one could figure out the proper ratios among weight of gunpowder charge, weight of ball, and bore size), but it could carry out a great number of computational tasks. His years-long study of projectile motion and materials strength culminated in the publication of his last work, *Discourses on Two New Sciences* (1638), and contained

his breakthrough formulations of kinematic motion. Ironically, the mathematical study of projectiles had yielded the philosophical marvel of a terrestrial physics compatible with Copernicanism, but, as Galileo recognized, it was not a useful guide to cannon shot since tables based on his work could not account for air resistance and other technical factors. One of Galileo's disciples, Evangelista Torricelli (1608–1647), did produce tables and instruments for mortar fire. Theoretically derived values are relatively accurate for these short-barreled, upward-shooting artillery pieces.

The problems of air resistance were taken up by Isaac Newton (1642–1727). Using Newton's work, Benjamin Robins (1707–1751) thoroughly investigated musket fire, both theoretically and experimentally. Robins's ballistic pendulum allowed him to demonstrate the dramatic effect of air resistance on the trajectory of a musket bullet and show that muzzle velocity is the most important parameter of artillery performance. However, although his work was translated by Leonard Euler (1707–1783) into German, with commentary, and into French, even engineers who knew Robins's work continued to use range as the significant parameter for another generation.

INSTITUTIONALIZATION AND REFORM

In the eighteenth century, technical schools were established for the development of national corps of military engineers. The French led, with formal engineering schools established by the artillery in 1720. These schools offered both practical and theoretical training, the latter again fashioned around a curriculum of mathematics. Graduates from the engineering schools in France became some of the country's leading scientists and political (or, at least, bureaucratic) leaders.

Meanwhile, European warfare began to move away from ponderous siegecraft. Armies had grown larger and more disciplined, and open battle, including more extensive use of field cannon, increased the mobility of warfare. While lighter field cannons had been experimented with since the sixteenth century, the effectiveness of light cannon in battle was dramatically demonstrated through the success of the Prussian army under Frederick II the Great (ruled 1740–1786). Following the successes of Frederick against the Habsburgs, Prince Joseph

Wenzel of Liechtenstein (1696–1772) commissioned a mathematics professor and captain in his artillery corps to redesign a system of guns that included cannons with shorter barrels and thinner walls on redesigned carriages. After the humiliating defeat of the French in the Seven Years' War (1756–1763), they looked to the experience of one of their engineers who had been in Austrian service, Jean Baptiste Vaquette de Gribeauval (1715–1789).

Gribeauval, eventually to become the first inspector-general of the artillery, instituted a number of reforms against the traditions of a much more developed system of military organization, artisanal production, and technical training than existed anywhere else in Europe. In the 1760s Gribeauval advocated similar technological reforms to those adopted in Austria. He also tried to establish the manufacture of gunlocks made with interchangeable parts and oversaw a revamping of the technical schools. The curriculum in engineering schools would teach algebraic analysis, Newtonian science, and the descriptive geometry of technical drawing. The values and mathematical emphasis of this education was foundational to the later establishment of the high *écoles*, models of technical education from the start and a source of French leaders to this day.

See also **Architecture**; **Charles VIII (France)**; **Firearms**; **Frederick II (Prussia)**; **Galileo Galilei**; **Leonardo da Vinci**; **Mathematics**; **Michelangelo Buonarroti**; **Military**; **Seven Years' War (1756–1763)**; **Technology**.

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MARY HENNINGER-VOSS

ENGLAND. At the level of world history, England between 1485 and 1789 is most important for the developments that helped usher in aspects of the modern world. Three, in particular, are worthy of note. First, the expansion of English power was such that, by 1700, England was the world's leading maritime power and the most important colonial power in North America; by the end of the Seven Years' War in 1763, England was the strongest state in the world. Second, the religious and political changes within England transformed the nature of its political culture and therefore ensured the character of the state that was to become the most important in the world, and, to a certain extent, contributed to that development. The most significant of these changes within England were the Protestant Reformation of the sixteenth century and the overthrow of Stuart authoritarianism in the seventeenth century and its replacement by a political system in which Parliament played a leading role. Third, the period saw the development of the English language. The vocabulary expanded, English replaced Latin and Norman French as the language of the Bible and the law respectively, and, with the plays of William Shakespeare (1564–1616), it reached new cultural heights.

CHRISTIANITY AND WITCHCRAFT

It is also important to draw attention to other aspects of the period that do not so readily accord with this account of modernization. In many profound ways, both the facts and details of life and the attitudes of the period were totally different from those today. This was a realm that was shadowed by a world of spirits, good and bad, and these spirits were seen and believed to intervene frequently in the life of humans. This belief brought together both Christian notions—in particular providentialism, a conviction of God's direct intervention in the life of individuals, the intercessory role of saints, sacraments, prayer and belief, the existence of heaven, purgatory, hell, and the devil, and a related and overlapping group of ideas, beliefs, and cus-

toms—that were partially Christianized but also testified to a mental world that was not explicable in terms of Christian theology. This was a world of good and evil, knowledge and magic, of fatalism, of the occult, and of astrology and alchemy. Such beliefs were widely held.

This fearful world could be only partially countered by Christianity, but the very sense of menace and danger helps to account for the energy devoted to religious issues in the sixteenth century and the fears encouraged by changes in church belief and practice, for example, the despoliation of shrines and the ending of pilgrimages. The true path of Christian virtue and salvation was challenged not only by false prophets laying claim to the word of Jesus, but also by a malevolent world presided over by the devil. Witches were prominent among the devil's followers, and concern about witches gained a new prominence in the sixteenth century. James I (reigned 1603–1625), for whose court Shakespeare wrote *Macbeth*, wrote against witches and was believed to be the target of their diabolical schemes, although he later recanted his opinions and, if anything, became a force for moderation in their treatment.

Witchcraft was not swept away by the Renaissance, the Reformation, or the supposed onset of the modern age. Indeed, belief in prediction, astrology, alchemy, and the occult was especially strong in the early seventeenth century. The last recorded witch trial in England occurred in 1717, and the Witchcraft Act of 1736 banned accusations of witchcraft and sorcery.

LIVING CONDITIONS IN EARLY MODERN ENGLAND

The sixteenth-century Protestant Reformation with its emphasis on a vernacular Bible ensured that good and evil became more literary and less oral and visual than hitherto, but that did not diminish the need for people to understand their world in terms of the struggle between the two. Evil, malevolence, and the inscrutable workings of the divine will seemed the only way to explain the sudden pitfalls of the human condition.

The average experience of life for the people of the period necessarily came at a younger age than for the average person today, and was shaped within a context of the ever-present threat of death, dis-



ease, injury, and pain. There was still joy and pleasure, exultation and exhilaration, but the demographics were chilling. Alongside individuals who lived to old age, there were lives quickly cut short—in the case of women, especially in childbirth. Child mortality figures continued to be high. Thirty-eight percent of the children born in Penrith in the north-west of England between 1650 and 1700 died before reaching the age of six. Defenses against disease remained flimsy, not least because of the limited nature of medical knowledge. Treatments such as blistering and mercury were often painful, dangerous, or enervating. Surgery was primitive and was performed without anesthesia. There was nothing akin to the modern expectation that there should be a medical cure for everything; people were forced to resort to quack medicines, folk remedies, and prayer. Typhus, typhoid, influenza, dysentery, chicken pox, measles, scarlet fever, and syphilis were all serious threats. Other conditions that can now be cured or held at bay were debilitating.

Living conditions contributed to the problem. Crowded housing, especially the sharing of beds, helped spread diseases, particularly respiratory infections. Most dwellings were neither warm nor dry,

and sanitary practices were a problem. There were few baths, washing in clean water was limited, and louse infestation was serious. Although outer clothes were worn for long periods and were not washable, those who could afford it wore linen or cotton shifts next to their skin, and these shifts could be regularly laundered. However, most people wore the same clothes for as long as they could. Bedbugs and rats were real horrors and, by modern standards, breath and skin must have been repellent. It is difficult to recreate an impression of the smell and dirt of the period. Ventilation was limited. Humans lived close to animals and dunghills, and this damaged health. Manure stored near buildings was hazardous and could contaminate the water supply, while effluent from undrained privies and animal pens came into houses through generally porous walls. Privies with open soil pits lay directly alongside dwellings and under bedrooms.

Poor nutrition lowered resistance to disease. Fruit and vegetables were expensive and played only a minor role in the diet of the urban poor, who were also generally ill clad. The poor ate less meat. Plant stocks had not been scientifically improved to resist disease and adverse weather conditions and to increase yields.

Agricultural labor was arduous, generally daylight to dusk in winter, and 6 A.M. to 6 P.M. in summer. Industrial employment was also hard—up to sixteen hours daily in the Yorkshire alum houses—and often dangerous. Each occupation had its own hazards. Millers worked in dusty and noisy circumstances, frequently suffered from lice, and often developed asthma, hernias, and chronic back problems. Disorders could result from the strain of unusual physical demands or postures, such as those required of tailors and weavers. Many places of work were damp, badly ventilated, and poorly lit. Work frequently involved exposure to dangerous substances such as arsenic, lead, and mercury or was dangerous in itself, particularly construction, fishing, and mining. Many industrial processes were dangerous to others besides the workers: dressing and tanning leather polluted water supplies.

At a more mundane level, uncertainty was a matter not only of demographics but also an aspect of the contemporary world of space, not least of

transport. This uncertainty, in comparison with modern life, was captured most vividly by the abrupt shift from light to darkness. The modern world can overcome the latter with electric lighting and, as far as travel and distance are concerned, navigation systems, but, in the early modern world, the dark was a world of uncertainty, danger, and menace. This was especially true for the traveler literally unable to see his routes.

TRANSPORTATION

In addition to the problems presented by the darkness, road surfaces were unreliable. They were greatly affected by rain, especially on clay soils. Travel through the heavily forested Weald in Kent, Surrey, and Sussex, in the southeast, posed particular problems, but heavy clays, for example in south Essex and the Vale of Berkeley (Gloucestershire), also created difficulties. Furthermore, standards of road maintenance were low. Upkeep was largely the responsibility of the local parish, and the resources for a speedy and effective response to deficiencies were lacking.

The situation did not improve greatly through the early modern period. Travel was not much easier in 1700 than it had been in 1500. Horses were the same, ships were still wooden and wind-powered, most roads were still dirt tracks, and the impact of the weather had not changed. The slowness of land travel, the difficulty of moving bulk goods on land, other than by river, and Britain's island character ensured that trade and travel by sea were more important than they are today. On land, a network of regular and reliable long-distance wagon services did not develop until the seventeenth century. The situation was worse at sea. Shipwreck and the problems of storm-tossed or, in contrast, becalmed journeys engaged the imagination of the age, as can be seen from the role of storms and shipwrecks in such Shakespeare plays as *The Tempest*, *The Merchant of Venice*, *Twelfth Night*, *Pericles*, *A Winter's Tale*, and *The Comedy of Errors*.

PLAGUE, POPULATION, AND URBAN EXPANSION

There were still virulent outbreaks of the plague, as in 1499–1500, 1518, 1538, 1563, and 1665, the last the Great Plague in which between seventy and one hundred thousand people died. Nevertheless, there was also a major rise in population. Prior to

the first national census in 1801, all figures are approximate, but the population of England and Wales seems to have increased from under 2.5 million in 1500 to over 4 million by 1603 and about 5 million by 1651. The impact of this change was accentuated because it followed a period of stagnation after the Black Death (1348–1350) and preceded another that lasted until the 1740s. The increase in population was due largely to a fall in mortality, but a rise in fertility stemming from a small decrease in the average age of women at marriage was probably also important.

The rise in population affected the structure of society by leading to overpopulation as far as the distribution of resources was concerned, certainly in comparison with the fifteenth century. This encouraged a persistent rise in prices in the sixteenth century. The demand for food caused the rents of agricultural land to rise proportionately more rapidly than wages. This hit both tenants and those with little or no land. In the volatile and tense situation, agrarian capitalism became more intense. Landlords tried to increase the yield of their customary estates and to destroy the system of customary tenure. Much of the peasantry lost status and became little different from poorly paid wage laborers. The growing number of paupers and vagrants greatly concerned successive governments, although more for reasons of law and order than because of concern about the poor.

Urban expansion was a product of the role of towns as centers of manufacturing, trade, government, and leisure. Yet all four were also pursued in the countryside, just as there was much market gardening within town walls, as well as orchards and pastures, the latter particularly for milk, which could not be refrigerated, treated, or preserved. With the exception of London, cities were small and the countryside was always nearby. In 1523, Worcester ranked sixteenth among England's towns by population, which was only about 4,000, and only about 6,000 in 1646. Evesham, the next biggest town in Worcestershire, had only about 1,400 people—the size of a modern village—in the mid-sixteenth century.

Rural fairs remained important to trade, their episodic character a reminder of the rhythm of seasonal activity that framed life. Much industry was

also located in the countryside, in part because of the importance of waterpower provided by fast-flowing rivers and tapped by the water wheels in mills.

ECONOMIC CHANGES

Alongside any emphasis on elements of continuity, it is necessary to draw attention to signs of economic change. This was both quantitative (increased production) and qualitative (new methods and routes). Both were important. A more integrated economy reflected the demands of a growing population and urban markets and the absence of internal tariffs. Trade increasingly linked distant areas. Northeastern coal was shipped from Newcastle to London. As national markets developed, the importance of transport links and capital availability increased. The processing of rural products—grain, meat, wool, wood, hides, hops—was central to industry throughout Britain. The cost and difficulty of transport encouraged the production of goods near the markets for which they were destined. Thus, rural Britain was dotted with breweries and mills.

Building reflected affluence and expenditure, as with the insertion of chimney stacks in many houses. The world of “things” increased over the early modern period. More artifacts survive from the sixteenth century than from the fifteenth, and other evidence, such as probate inventories, legal records, and literary references, also suggest a marked trend toward possessing more. Increasing material consumption also invited denunciation by moralists and was seen as the cause of what was regarded as a major rise in crime. The world of things had important cultural consequence. Craftsmanship flourished in the manufacture of many goods. The increase in the number of musical instruments, such as lutes, probably ensured that instrumental music came to play a prominent role, especially in genteel society. Songs were set to music, which it must be assumed people could readily play.

Books were an important part of this new world. Early beginnings in printing were less important than sustained growth in the production and consumption of books and other printed material in the sixteenth and later centuries. The availability of books helped to encourage literacy. It was important for its collective functions, especially the use of

the Bible and the Book of Common Prayer in church and the energizing of cultural production. But it also offered the possibility of a more private and individual culture than that provided by the conspicuous consumption and display of public ceremonial.

The publication of the vernacular Bible helped to validate both books and the use of English rather than Latin. Printing made writing more available in a standard form, creating a shared and repeatable culture that manuscripts could not generate. Print thus lent itself to the demands of a state that from the 1530s was legislating actively in lay and ecclesiastical matters.

As yet, however, the impact of popular literacy and the print revolution upon oral culture was limited. Most people could neither read nor afford books. Furthermore, most people lacked formal education. Thus, printing exacerbated social divisions and gave an extra dimension to the flow of orders, ideas, and models down the social hierarchy. The inability of the poor to express themselves was accentuated. Conversely, education, the world of print, the impact of government, and the role of London all encouraged the gentry increasingly to view politics and society in national terms.

The poverty of the majority was counterpointed by the growing comfort that characterized the wealthy. This contrast was also seen in political and religious change, with the bulk of the population neither consulted nor considered other than as objects of control. The absence of consultation was more disruptive than it had been ever since the Norman Conquest of 1066 because change was not simply a matter of monarchs and aristocratic factions competing for the spoils of power and privilege, but, with the Reformation, also a deep-seated and divisive change in the nation's ideology and culture. The extent of this has been largely overlooked because, from the reign of Elizabeth (1558–1603), the Reformation was seen as the national destiny and central to national identity. English became the language of God's work and the monarch was now head of the church. The assertion by the English Church that purgatory did not exist and the consequent abolition of prayers for the dead destroyed links between the communities of the living and the dead. The loss of the monasteries in

the 1530s brought much disruption, including, in many localities, the breakdown of poor and medical relief. Although in the short term monastic charity was ended, before long Protestant-influenced patterns of charitable giving developed. Instead of bequests going to masses for the dead and to chantry priests, they were now more frequently left for parish charities, educational provision, and almshouses.

RELIGION AND POLITICS

Henry VIII's use of Parliament in the 1530s and 1540s to legitimate his objectives increased its frequency and role. Nevertheless, the idea that there was a revolution in government in the 1530s is questionable: Henry's preference for direct control remained the dominant theme throughout his reign. He kept his grip on the domestic situation, helped by his clear right to the throne, his unwillingness to turn obviously to either religious option, and the selective use of terror. Henry retained control of the government, as well as of the aristocracy through their attendance at court, through the travels of the court itself, through shared participation in military activities and the hunt, and through patronage.

Under Edward VI (ruled 1547–1553), politics at the center and control of the localities were greatly complicated by religious disputes. They made it harder to ensure cooperation and consensus. During his reign, Edward was opened to the influence of Protestantism from the Continent, and there was a surge of state-supported and purposeful Protestant activity. Hostility to religious change played a major role in the widespread uprisings in the southwest in 1549, although the rising in Norfolk that year focused on opposition to landlords, especially the enclosure of common lands and their high rents, and to oppressive local governments. Although crushed, the risings in 1549 indicated the extent to which developments in the 1530s through the 1560s encouraged a degree of hostile popular response that menaced the political system and thus required the development of a new language and practice of apparent consultation within the political nation.

Similarly, under Mary (ruled 1553–1558), the failure of Wyatt's rising indicated the precarious nature of the regime, but also the problems affect-

ing rebellions. Mary, the daughter of Henry VIII and his first wife, Catherine of Aragón, was a devout Catholic who was determined to return England to the Catholic fold. A parliamentary statute declared her power identical to that of a male ruler. She persuaded Parliament to repeal Edward's religious legislation and her father's Act of Supremacy. She restored papal authority and Catholic practice, although a papal dispensation from Julius III allowed the retention of the former church lands by those who now held them. The reign of the sickly Mary was brief, and her chance of success in re-Catholicizing England and Wales was further victim of her failure to produce an heir, in spite of two phantom pregnancies. Mary is chiefly remembered as a persecutor ("Bloody Mary"). Nearly three hundred Protestants were burned at the stake, including many leaders. Her reign was also important because in 1558 the French retook Calais, the last English possession in mainland France: only the Channel Islands were left.

THE AGE OF ELIZABETH

Parliamentary management became more important during the long reign of Elizabeth (ruled 1558–1603). This was an aspect of a shift in the politics of the country away from a focus on relations between crown and aristocracy and, instead, toward relations between crown and gentry. At the center, although the royal court remained the major focus of politics, this led to a greater role for Parliament and a stress on ideas of representation, and in the localities to the growing importance of the gentry as justices of the peace. The rise of a numerous and independent gentry with a sense and obligation of public duty was linked to the failure of the peerage to be the prime beneficiary of the sociopolitical changes of the period. The creation of stronger links between crown and gentry was fundamental to the achievement of the Elizabethan period. Elizabeth was the most experienced politician in her kingdom, anxious to preserve the royal prerogative, but knowing when to yield without appearing weak. She had favorites but did not give them power, and she never married. Claiming that she was an exceptional woman because she was chosen by God as his instrument, Elizabeth was pragmatic and generally more successful in coping with, indeed exploiting, divisions among her advisers than Mary had been. She presented herself as "mere English."

Elizabeth's lengthy reign permitted the consolidation of a relatively conservative Protestant church settlement, and also contrasted both with the chaos of the preceding two reigns and with the disturbed situation in contemporary France, where the lengthy civil Wars of Religion (1552–1598) were soon to begin. Like her grandfather, Henry VII (ruled 1485–1509), Elizabeth was a skillful manipulator, not a zealot. In religion, she sought to avoid extremes and would have preferred a settlement closer to that of her father, Henry VIII: Catholicism without pope or monks. She was, nevertheless, a Protestant in the last analysis. Mary's ministers and favorites were mostly dismissed, and the domestic political situation led Elizabeth in a more Protestant direction, but the Protestant settlement she introduced was more conservative than that of the last years of Edward VI. Elizabeth also sought to prevent further change, and this led to disputes with the more radical Protestants, the Puritans.

Elizabeth's Protestant settlement aroused Catholic concern, and the situation became volatile in 1568 when her cousin, the Catholic Mary, Queen of Scots (1542–1587), fled to England, where she was next in line in the succession. Mary's presence acted as a focus for conspiracy, helping trigger the unsuccessful Northern Rising of 1569. Its failure was one of the major stages in the political unification of England, for it marked the end of any viable prospect of regional autonomy centered on a different political and/or religious agenda. This was important because the north was more religiously conservative than the south. Even in 1569, the rebellion had been intended to ensure a change in the policy of the central government. Thereafter, politics centered far more on nationwide attempts to influence the center, rather than local efforts to defy it.

The Northern Rising was followed by an escalation in tension between Elizabeth's government and Catholic Europe. In 1570, Pope Pius V excommunicated and deposed Elizabeth. This eased the path for a number of unsuccessful conspiracies designed to replace Elizabeth with Mary, Queen of Scots, which led in turn to the execution of the latter in 1587.

Two years earlier, English military support for Dutch Protestant rebels against Philip II of Spain, and English raids on Spanish trade and colonies,



especially those by Francis Drake (c. 1540–1596), had led to war between the two powers. This conflict was most famous for the Armada of 1588, a Spanish attempt to send a major fleet up the English Channel in order to cover an invasion of England from the Spanish Netherlands (modern Belgium) by the effective Spanish army of Flanders under the duke of Parma. This was thwarted by a combination of poor planning, a skillful English naval response, and the weather. The latter fueled the development of belief in a providential sanction for English Protestantism. To contemporaries, the unassailable nature of divine approval was clear.

Despite the defeat of the Armada, Elizabeth I's reign did not end on a triumphant note. Inflation and a lack of crown revenue created a difficult situation. Elizabeth preferred to cut public expenditure rather than reform the revenue system. Demands for additional taxation and attempts to raise funds by unpopular expedients—especially forced loans, ship money, and the sale of monopolies to manufacture or sell certain goods—led to bitter criticism in the Parliaments of 1597 and 1601. Tax demands were especially unwelcome because of harvest failures and related social tensions. There were problems—political, social, and economic—aplenty, the government had a stopgap feel to it, and Elizabeth

was less adept and tolerant in her last years than she had been earlier in the reign.

THE STUART SUCCESSION AND CIVIL WAR

Yet there was no civil war comparable to that in France, and the Stuart succession was inaugurated in 1603 without such a war. The increasing widespread politicization that was a feature of sixteenth-century England did not present insuperable problems. Instead, it contributed to a stronger national consciousness.

Thus, Parliament was a national body, whereas the nearest equivalent in France, the Estates-General, had less impact (and was not summoned between 1614 and 1789) than the regional Estates. As a unitary state, England could not be divided to suit the views of a ruler.

However, in the civil war that began in 1642, the country did split. The Royalists and the Parliamentarians had backing in every region and social group. Parliamentary support was strongest in the most economically advanced regions—in the south, the east, and the large towns—but in each of these regions there were also many Royalists, and the relationship between socioeconomic groups and religious and political beliefs were complex. The latter were important. Charles I (ruled 1625–1649) received much support as the focus for strong feelings

of honor, loyalty, and duty. There was also widespread disquiet about possible changes to church government. In contrast, Puritans were his firm opponents. As a consequence, much rivalry was within, rather than between, social and economic groups. The English Civil War was a terrible crisis. Britons fought against and killed other Britons as never before. More than half the total number of battles ever fought on English soil involving more than 5,000 men were fought between 1642 and 1651. Out of an English male population of about 1.5 million, over 80,000 died in combat and another 100,000 of other causes arising from the war, principally disease.

Charles's defeat and his execution led eventually to a republic in 1649, and, in 1653–1658, to a military regime under Oliver Cromwell that suppressed domestic opposition and projected its power abroad with considerable success. However, the Puritan cultural revolution failed. There was widespread anxiety about the overthrow of order in politics, religion, society, and the household. This anxiety was the background to the restoration, in 1660, of the Stuart monarchy in the person of Charles II (ruled 1660–1685). Despite uncertainty and opposition, Charles's reign was more stable than the previous quarter-century. This was important not only for recovery from the mid-century conflicts, but also for economic growth and development. Foreign trade rose during Charles's reign. Economic growth was modest, and the stagnant population was a damper on demand, but there was development in both agricultural and industrial production.

Monarchy, Parliament, the Church of England, and the position of the social elite were all seen as mutually reinforcing, but the Catholicism of Charles's brother and heir, James II (ruled 1685–1688), made this an elusive harmony. James inherited his father's worst characteristics—inflexibility and dogmatism—and pressed forward unpopular authoritarian changes designed to further his goals of greater royal authority and paving the way for re-Catholicization. The political culture of the age assumed deference in return for good kingship, expectations of political behavior that involved a measure of contractualism. James spurned these boundaries.

THE GLORIOUS REVOLUTION

James's base of support was narrow, and it collapsed in 1688 as a result of challenge from without by his nephew William III (ruled 1689–1702), stadtholder of the Dutch Republic and the husband of James's daughter Mary (ruled 1689–1694). William's invasion of England was quickly successful, in large part because he ably exploited James's failure of nerve. James was encouraged to flee and Parliament declared that James had abdicated, rather than adopting the more radical notion that he had been deposed. Parliament debarred Catholics from the succession and placed restrictions on royal power. The financial settlement left William with an ordinary revenue that was too small for his peacetime needs, obliging him to turn to Parliament for support. A standing army was prohibited unless permitted by Parliament. In other words, Parliament was by this time stronger than the monarchy.

As with the Tudor triumph in 1485, England had been successfully invaded. But in 1688 the political situation was very different for a number of reasons, not least the validating role of Parliament, and the need to ensure that Scotland and Ireland were brought in line. Nevertheless, there was also a fundamental continuity. Political issues were settled by conflict. Furthermore, the dynastic position was crucial: political legitimacy could not be divorced from the sovereign and the succession. Both these factors ensure that the elements of modernity suggested by the constitutional products of the 1688 invasion have to be qualified by reminders of more traditional features of the political structure.

What was to be termed by its supporters the Glorious Revolution was to play a central role in the Whiggish, heroic, self-congratulatory account of English development. It was clearly important in the growth of an effective parliamentary monarchy in which the constitutional role of Parliament served as the anchor of cooperation between the crown and the sociopolitical elite. Yet a less benign account is also possible, and not only from the perspective of the exiled James and his Jacobite supporters. The instability of the ministries of the period 1689–1721 suggests that the political environment necessary for an effective parliamentary monarchy had in some ways been hindered by the events of 1688–1689. A parliamentary monarchy could not simply be legislated into existence. It required the develop-

ment of conventions and patterns of political behavior that would permit a constructive resolution of contrary opinions. This took time and was not helped by the burdens of the lengthy and difficult wars with France—from 1689 to 1697 and 1702 to 1713—that followed the Glorious Revolution. William's seizure of power did not assist this process of resolution for other reasons: alongside praise for him as a Protestant and a providential blessing, there was criticism of him as a usurper. This criticism was marginalized because the circumstances of William's reign permitted him a political and polemical victory over his opponents. As a result, the Protestant and Whiggish vision associated with the victors eventually came to seem natural to the English. However, a tenuous link can be drawn between the willingness to conceive of new political structures and governmental arrangements—seen, for example, with the parliamentary Union of England and Scotland in 1707 and the foundation of the Bank of England in 1694—and the increased interest in taking an active role in first understanding the world and then seeking to profit from this understanding, which flowered with the scientific revolution.

See also Agriculture; Anne (England); Armada, Spanish; Bible: Translations and Editions; Capitalism; Charles I (England); Charles II (England); Church of England; Communication and Transportation; Cromwell, Oliver; Drama: English; Edward VI (England); Elizabeth I (England); Enclosure; English Civil War and Interregnum; English Literature and Language; Feudalism; George II (Great Britain); George III (Great Britain); Glorious Revolution; Hanoverian Dynasty (Great Britain); Henry VIII (England); Jacobitism; James I and VI (England and Scotland); James II (England); Laborers; Mary I (England); Printing and Publishing; Puritanism; Stuart Dynasty (England and Scotland); Tudor Dynasty (England); William and Mary; Witchcraft.

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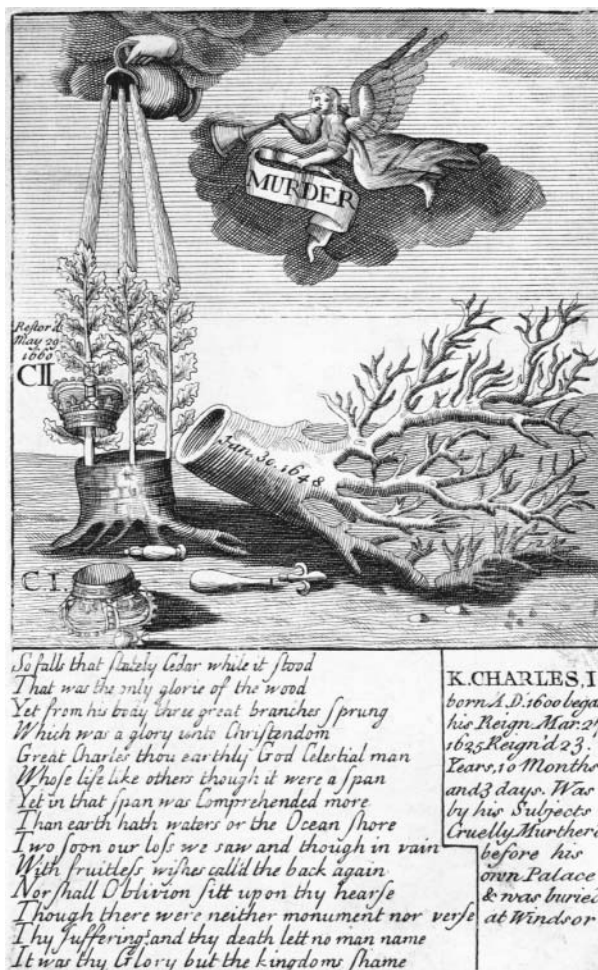
ENGLAND, CHURCH OF. See Church of England.

ENGLISH CIVIL WAR AND INTER-REGNUM. There was nothing inevitable about the armed conflict that broke out between King Charles I (ruled 1625–1649) and Parliament in 1642. That conflict was made possible in the first instance by the long-term weakness of the English monarchy. Lacking a standing army or a paid bureaucracy, the monarch was powerless to coerce his or her subjects. Without adequate income from legal sources, including parliamentary taxation, he or she lacked also financial power. The early Stuarts had attempted to augment their incomes by levying impositions (surcharges on existing customs duties), exacting forced loans, exploiting feudal fiscal privileges, and inventing a new form of non-parliamentary taxation known as ship money. These high-handed fiscal practices, combined with in-

creasing resort to arbitrary arrest and imprisonment and other absolutist practices, provoked resentment among large segments of the nobility, gentry, lawyers, and merchants who comprised the political nation.

Charles I found parliaments as exasperating as they found him. When in 1629 he dissolved his third Parliament, he promised himself that he would never call another. He might well have succeeded in his ambition to govern as an absolute king had it not been for the problem of multiple kingdoms. As well as being king of England, he was lord of Ireland and king of Scotland as well. During the ensuing decade he decided to bring Scottish religious practice into line with English by substituting an Anglican order of service for the Presbyterian directory of worship. In 1638 the Scots rose up and threw out the new service book. Charles's two attempts to subdue them by military force in the Bishops' Wars of 1639 and 1640 were abject failures. Revenues from the collection of ship money dried up, and his English soldiers deserted in droves. At the insistence of the nobility and with nowhere else to turn, he summoned Parliament. Once convened, the Commons refused him the taxes he desperately needed, voting instead what they termed a "brotherly assistance" to the Scots. Parliament then set about dismantling the apparatus of prerogative government by abolishing ship money and the prerogative courts of Star Chamber, High Commission and Wards, and the Council of the North. They also passed the Triennial Act requiring a new Parliament every three years (the present Parliament excepted), deprived the church courts of their punitive powers, and attainted Charles's chief minister, Thomas Wentworth, earl of Strafford (1593–1641), of treason. Charles ratified all these changes, including the beheading of Strafford, but with such ill grace that many doubted that he would keep his word.

Trust became a critical issue with the outbreak of rebellion in Ireland in the fall of 1641. As lord-lieutenant, Strafford had governed that realm with a heavy hand. When he departed for England in 1640 to advise Charles on his crisis with Scotland and Parliament, Strafford left behind a political vacuum. That combined with resentment over Charles's failure to guarantee the Catholic inhabitants security of tenure on their estates and fear of the resurgent strength of political Puritanism in England to set off



English Civil War and Interregnum. Cartoon Concerning the Execution of Charles I. An engraving from the 1660s pays homage to the king in verse and depicts the royal "tree" that has been felled with his execution sprouting anew with the help of Divine Providence. ©CORBIS

an explosion in the northern province of Ulster, which rapidly spread to the rest of Ireland. Wildly exaggerated reports of appalling atrocities and a Protestant death toll of 150,000 or more (in reality deaths were somewhere between 3,000 and 12,000) inflamed English opinion. There was universal agreement that an army should be mustered at once to put down the rebellion and exact vengeance, but there was no agreement about who should be entrusted with the command of that army—a general nominated by the king or by Parliament? Charles's attempt on 5 January 1642 to arrest five of the parliamentary ringleaders, whom he suspected of plotting to impeach the queen, together with the rumor that he had actually autho-

rized the Ulster Catholics to rise in rebellion only deepened parliamentary distrust toward him. Preparations for armed conflict had already begun when Parliament issued its ultimatum known as the Nineteen Propositions in June 1642. The demands included parliamentary control over appointments to the privy council and all other great offices of state, parliamentary control over the education and marriages of the king's children, denial of the right to vote for "popish Lords" in the House of Peers, no creation of peers without parliamentary consent, parliamentary direction of foreign policy, and parliamentary control of the army. It was nothing less than a demand for sovereignty and the reduction of Charles's status to that of constitutional monarch. His rejection of the Nineteen Propositions led directly to civil war in the fall of 1642.

THE CIVIL WAR, 1642–1646

Things had come to this pass largely because of the fear that the king could not be counted on to defend his kingdom against the military and political menace of international Catholicism. This menace was exemplified in English Protestant minds by the expulsion of the king's daughter and son-in-law from Bohemia (29 October 1620), and from the Palatinate Electorate (13 February 1623) and by the military pressure of a resurgent Counter-Reformation Catholicism on the United Provinces. Far from being the Protestant champion that the political classes expected, Charles was regarded by many as a cryptopapist. Legal and constitutional arguments about sovereignty therefore were inflamed by religious passion. Religion more than any other single factor brought thousands of men to rally to the standard of king or Parliament; to write, debate, and risk their lives; and to kill one another by the tens of thousands over the next decade.

If the civil wars were in one sense the last of Europe's wars of religion, they were also in their early phase a baronial conflict, a renewal under different emblems of the fifteenth-century Wars of the Roses. The earls of Essex, Warwick, Bedford, and Manchester, viscount Saye and Sele, and barons Wharton and Brooke all had their personal grievances against Charles and their reasons for striving to reduce his power as well as the power of the nobility who surrounded and sustained him. Until 1645 the parliamentary armies and navy were led by

aristocrats, and it was at all times the king's view that the nobility, in particular "the chief rebel" Robert Devereux, earl of Essex (1591–1646), had instigated the civil war.

THE NAVY AND LONDON: FACTORS IN PARLIAMENT'S VICTORY

Parliament got off to a quick start in preparing for war with the king. First it maneuvered him into accepting Robert Rich, earl of Warwick (1587–1658), instead of his own nominee for lord high admiral. Tough and popular with the seamen, Warwick acted decisively to take control of the navy for Parliament. As Edward Hyde, earl of Clarendon (1609–1674), later lamented, "This loss of the whole navy was of unspeakable ill consequence to the king's affairs" (*The History of the Rebellion and the Civil Wars in England*).

In addition, Parliament browbeat Charles into accepting its nominee for lieutenant of the Tower of London, the nation's chief fortress, arsenal, mint, and treasury. The City was also the scene of impassioned political activity from 1640 onward. In December of that year Londoners spearheaded the Root and Branch Petition demanding the radical reform of the church. Frequently between 1640 and 1642 urban crowds demonstrated outside the House of Lords, attempting to prevent bishops and moderate or royalist peers from sitting, denouncing the earl of Strafford, and intimidating others into passing legislation such as the bill on church reform. At the same time Charles's careless disregard of the economic interests of the City during the previous decade led to a victory for radical Parliamentarians in the municipal elections of December 1641. They gave sanctuary to the Five Members (John Pym, William Strode, Denzil Holles, John Hampden, and Sir Arthur Hesilrige) the following month and created a Committee of Safety to shield the City from royalist attack. Through their friends in Parliament they got Philip Skippon (d. 1660), a trusty commander with continental experience, commissioned as commander of the City Trained Bands. Through these measures London was won for Parliament before civil war broke out. Over the next several months London was an enthusiastic source of recruits. Before the first battle at Edgehill in October 1642, eight thousand citizens and apprentices enlisted in the earl of Essex's army.

London was the nation's leading port and an inexhaustible source of manpower. It was also an economic powerhouse, a "shop of war" as John Milton (1608–1674) termed it in *Areopagitica* (1644). London tradespeople and their employees manufactured tens of thousands of swords, muskets, pikes, shirts, shoes, socks, coats, and helmets for the parliamentary war effort. Thanks to the banking facilities of the great merchants, Parliament was able to reach into some deep pockets to finance these purchases. It was also able to take out vast loans, tap into the bulk of the customs revenue, and raise large sums from the excise and income taxes known as the assessments from the metropolis. As Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679) pithily observed in his *Behemoth*, "But for the city the Parliament never could have made the war" (p. 202).

BATTLE OF EDGEHILL, 23 OCTOBER 1642

By the time the two armies clashed in their first major battle, the king's strength was almost up to that of Parliament (fourteen thousand to about fifteen thousand respectively). In one respect the battle can be considered a draw since the armies fought each other to a standstill. More significant was Essex's withdrawal in the direction of Warwick, leaving the road to London open to the king. The royalist army pressed toward the capital, but the citizens, inspired by the personal recruiting of the earl of Essex, turned out en masse at Turnham Green, a few miles west of the capital, to stop its advance in November 1642.

The first taste of the horrors of war prompted many in the City and in Parliament to become advocates of peace. The alarming prospect of continuing bloodshed, rising unemployment, and a shivering winter owing to the cutting off of coal supplies from Newcastle helped to bring about the peace negotiations at Oxford in early 1643. The war party under John Pym (1584–1643) and William Fiennes, viscount Saye and Sele (1582–1662), was strong enough, however, to undermine these negotiations, and the war resumed.

For most of the war's second year, 1643, the royalists' armies fared better than Parliament's. Although Essex captured Reading in April, he failed to follow up his victory by besieging Oxford. In the north William Cavendish, marquis of Newcastle (1592–1676), mopped up much of Yorkshire and

North Lincolnshire. On 29 June 1643 he won a big victory at Adwalton Moor, Yorkshire, against the army of Ferdinando Lord Fairfax (1584–1648) and his son Thomas Fairfax (1612–1671). In the Southwest, Sir Ralph Hopton (1596–1652), later Lord Hopton, chalked up impressive territorial gains for the king while conducting a series of running engagements with Sir William Waller (c. 1597–1668), the emerging darling of the war party at Westminster. Finally, at Roundway Down near Devizes on 14 July 1643, Waller's army was completely routed, and the king had complete control of the West. The yielding of Bristol, the second port in the kingdom, by Lord Saye's son Nathaniel Fiennes (1608?–1669) completed the catalog of setbacks and threw the parliamentary war party into disarray. On the one hand they had become increasingly restive under Essex's lackluster leadership; on the other they were intensely embarrassed by the dismal showing of their own mascots, Waller and Fiennes. Moreover, in July the attempt to mobilize the London populace into a volunteer army under the banner of a "general rising" against the royalists was a flop. It took all the organizing genius of Pym and the war party to resist the mounting demands for peace in August and to secure support for new taxes and conscription to rehabilitate the parliamentary war effort.

THE SCOTTISH CONTRIBUTION: BATTLE OF MARSTON MOOR, 2 JULY 1644

What finally turned the tide for Parliament was Pym's supreme accomplishment: an alliance with Scotland. In return for a promise to introduce the Presbyterian form of church government into England, the Scots came to Parliament's aid with an army of 21,500 well-trained troops. The bargain was sealed in the Solemn League and Covenant in the fall of 1643, and the Scots army entered England early in 1644.

The king meanwhile gained no comparable benefit from the treaty he signed with the Irish confederates in September 1643. Several thousand Irish troops streamed across the Irish Sea in small contingents, but the only significant body was destroyed and dispersed by Sir Thomas Fairfax at Nantwich, Cheshire, in January 1644. From then on the royalists were constantly trying to shore up crumbling positions.

The decisive turning point of the first civil war was the Battle of Marston Moor, just outside York, on 2 July 1644. The Scots, having overrun the city of Newcastle, laid siege to the royalist garrison at York. The Fairfaxes were also there with their northern army, five thousand strong. They were joined by Edward Montagu, earl of Manchester (1602–1671), and Oliver Cromwell (1599–1658), who brought eight thousand men of the Eastern Association Army. These three armies made up a coalition force numbering about twenty-seven thousand soldiers. They were challenged by a royalist army of fourteen thousand under Prince Rupert (1619–1682) and four thousand under the marquis of Newcastle. The battle was an overwhelming Parliamentary-Scottish victory. The cream of the royalist infantry, Newcastle's Whitecoats, were wiped out, York surrendered within a fortnight, and the North was lost.

THE SELF-DENYING ORDINANCE AND THE NEW MODEL ARMY

Parliament, however, did not preserve the momentum of this great victory. A peculiar lethargy settled on the aristocratic generals. Manchester, appalled by the carnage of the battlefield, brooded that “if we fight [the king] 100 times and beat him 99 he will be King still, but if he beat us but once . . . we shall be hanged . . . and our posterities be undone” (*The Quarrel between the Earl of Manchester and Oliver Cromwell*, vol. 12, p. 93). Parliament's advantage was almost frittered away by Essex when he allowed his army to become trapped by Charles at Lostwithiel, Cornwall (September 1644). In the capital there were bitter recriminations and much political infighting in the wake of Essex's defeat. The shame of Lostwithiel extinguished almost all the political influence that remained to the earl. Waller's disgrace was almost as great on account of his sluggishness in coming to Essex's rescue. When at Newbury the combined forces of Essex, Waller, and Manchester failed again to deliver a knockout blow to the main royalist army, the war party's patience finally wore out. The voices became louder demanding a purge of Parliament's military leadership and the unification of its armies under a new, centralized command.

The Self-Denying Ordinance was introduced in Parliament by Zouch Tate, a Presbyterian supporter of the war party and member of the Committee for

the Army, in December 1644 but was not passed until the following April. Under its terms the members of both houses were required to surrender all commissions, military and civil. While its passage was stalled in the Lords, the war party in the Commons set about to pull the rug from under the old commanders by depriving their armies of funding and constructing a new army on the ruins of the old. The new army's commander in chief was Sir Thomas Fairfax, barely thirty-three years old but without the political baggage of his counterparts in the other armies.

Against the backdrop of these military preparations, the futility of the peace negotiations at Uxbridge was starkly exposed. Parliament demanded that the king should take the covenant, assent to the abolition of bishops and the Book of Common Prayer, and establish Presbyterianism in England. Parliament further demanded that the militia and the navy should be permanently under its control. Regarding Ireland, the treaty with the Irish Confederates was to be abrogated, and the war against the Irish was to be fought by Parliament alone. Parliament knew these demands were impossible for the king to accept. Not only had he promised his wife not to yield on the first two, he was at that very moment in secret talks with the insurgents to send him troops, promising in return to repeal the laws against Catholics. The Uxbridge negotiations wound up on 22 February, having achieved nothing.

Both sides continued to arm themselves for the new fighting season. Three months after the houses had approved his officer list, Fairfax also asked them to exempt Oliver Cromwell from the Self-Denying Ordinance so that he could fill the vacant post of lieutenant general of the cavalry. Cromwell rode into the camp of the New Model Army (so-called because it was “newly modeled” out of the three previous armies of Manchester, Essex, and Waller, although it was referred to in official documents as the Army of Sir Thomas Fairfax) the day before the Battle of Naseby (14 June 1645). In spite of the low opinion among royalists of the New Model Army, Rupert advised against giving battle, largely on account of the failure of George Goring (1608–1657) to obey orders to bring his five thousand cavalry from Taunton. Charles overruled Rupert in the belief that a battle could not be avoided. On Naseby

Field a royalist army of barely nine thousand faced a parliamentary force of fifteen thousand. In a little more than two hours the battle's outcome was decided. The royalist cavalry was routed, and most of its infantry surrendered.

More damaging to the king than the loss of his main army was the capture of his secret correspondence. Its contents were a time bomb that was detonated less than a month later with the publication of excerpts under the title *The Kings Cabinet Opened*. Charles's letters, many of them to or from his wife Henrietta Maria (1609–1669), filled readers with a thrill of horror as they read of his double-dealing and his pathetic desire to please his wife. The letters also brought into the full light of day Charles's tireless efforts to secure outside aid, including that of the Irish Catholic Confederation. Equally they exposed the king's deep distrust of his own people and documented his willingness to take away all penal laws against Catholics in order to recruit more soldiers for his cause. No longer would Protestants in England give credence to his assertions that he was the stout defender of their faith.

After Naseby the New Model Army mopped up the West, destroying Goring's cavalry at Langport in July and taking Bristol from Rupert in September. In Scotland, James Graham, marquis of Montrose (1612–1650), after winning five brilliant victories for the king, was decisively defeated at Philiphaugh. Over the succeeding months dozens of towns and garrisons fell like bowling pins before Fairfax's inexorable advance until, in June 1646, Oxford, the royalist headquarters, surrendered. Before that happened Charles disguised himself and rode to Newark, where he gave himself up to the Scots. He then embarked on a long policy of divide and rule among his victorious foes, which bore fruit in a secret engagement with the Scots in December 1647. Simultaneously the charade of peace negotiations was repeated, this time at Newcastle, where the Scots housed Charles. The parliamentary commissioners presented him with a long list of councillors, field officers, and bishops who were to be denied pardon and others who were to be barred from public office for life. Worse still, Parliament would have divided the nation into sheep and goats and created a resentful and embittered royalist faction that might have perpetuated itself indefinitely. Now that the king's capacity to do harm was gone, he

actually rose in public esteem, while at the same time the unprecedented weight of Parliament's taxation, the all-encompassing tyranny of its county committees, and the impact of its huge armies on the civil population across the breadth of England rendered it increasingly unpopular after six years of uninterrupted sitting.

As the barren talks at Newcastle wound to their foreordained conclusion, Parliament attempted to address the domestic problems that had made it so bitterly resented. The bishops' lands were put up for sale in the hope of paying off the Scots and replenishing the exhausted treasury. Denzil Holles (1599?–1680?) and Sir Philip Stapleton (1603–1647), the political heirs of Essex, who had died in September 1646, moved to disband the New Model Army with only a fraction of its arrears. Their goal was twofold—to relieve the tax burden and to eliminate the chief pillar of support for the war party, now called the Independents.

In the face of the New Model Army's imminent extinction, radical Independents in the metropolis, soon to be known as Levellers, tried to rally support for it. The peace party, or Presbyterians, however, remained intransigent, going so far as to declare any soldiers who petitioned for their arrears and against disbandment “enemies to the state.” By their hostility the Presbyterians provoked the army to revolt, seize the king, and invade London. All the while the senior officers struggled to moderate the revolutionary temper that had seized the army, but the Levellers sought to inflame it, egging on the rank and file to question their leaders' reluctance to force radical reform on Parliament. At Putney in October and November they succeeded in forcing a debate on their Agreement of the People, a draft constitution that would have established a republic, enlarged the franchise, enshrined freedom of conscience, and banned conscription for military service. With considerable difficulty, the Leveller challenge was put down.

THE SECOND CIVIL WAR, REVOLUTION, AND REGICIDE, 1648–1649

But this was not achieved before the king had dragged the country through a second harrowing experience of fire and the sword. In November 1647, while the army was thrashing out its internal differences and carrying on its argument with Parliament,

Charles escaped from custody and took refuge on the Isle of Wight, where Colonel Robert Hammond (1621–1654) placed him under a polite form of house arrest. It was there that Charles negotiated an Engagement (26 December 1647) with a segment of the Scottish nobility for military intervention to restore him to his throne in return for a three-year embrace of Presbyterianism. Once the Engagement was sealed, the signal was sent out to prepare supporting uprisings throughout England. There was enough resentment against “parliamentary tyranny” to make the ground fertile for the insemination of such conspiracies. The uprisings did occur—in Kent, Essex, East Anglia, Yorkshire, and Wales—but they were ill-coordinated and occurred several weeks and months before James, Duke of Hamilton (1606–1649), in the teeth of much clerical opposition, could bring his poorly equipped army across the border. Cromwell and Fairfax quickly doused the royalist brushfires in England and Wales, while Cromwell dealt a devastating blow to the combined English and Scottish royalist armies at Preston (17 August 1648).

To the army’s dismay, Parliament, rather than dictate terms to the twice-defeated monarch, reopened peace talks with him at Newport. Many of the officers had already made up their minds that Charles Stuart was a “man of blood” who should be put on trial for his crimes against the English people. At army headquarters Henry Ireton (1611–1651) drafted the Remonstrance of the Army, calling for the king’s trial, the abolition of the monarchy, and the adoption of the Leveller program. Parliament brushed aside the Remonstrance and carried on negotiations with the king. The army then occupied London, and on 6 December Colonel Thomas Pride (d. 1658) was sent with a company of soldiers to exclude those members of the Commons who had supported the drafted Newport Treaty. The purged house, soon to be known as the Rump, now set up the High Court of Justice to try the king. Charles refused either to plead or to acknowledge the court’s jurisdiction; had he done so he might have saved his head. Recalcitrant to the end, he was sentenced to die as “a tyrant, traitor and murderer” (*A Complete Collection of State Trials and Proceedings for High Treason*, vol. 1, p. 1041). His beheading took place in the early afternoon of 30 January 1649 in front of his Whitehall Ban-

queting House. A deep, involuntary groan rose from the packed crowd at the moment when the executioner’s axe severed his head from his body.

THE CONQUESTS OF IRELAND AND SCOTLAND, 1649–1651

A republic or “commonwealth” was now instituted, and the monarchy and House of Lords were abolished. The Council of State was created in place of the royal privy council. No member of Parliament (M.P.) who would not sign an Engagement to support the new regime was allowed to sit. Gradually those who had boycotted the Commons after Pride’s purge trickled back. The properties of crown and church as well as leading royalist “delinquents” were put up for sale. The crown lands went mostly to the army, the bishops’ lands to London merchants, and the other properties mostly to local landowners. By the time of the Restoration, the royalists had recovered most of their lands.

With its house now in order, the republic turned its attention outward. High on its agenda was the conquest of Ireland, not least because the king’s servant James Butler, marquis of Ormonde (1610–1688), had recently signed a treaty of mutual aid with the Catholic Confederation. Under the treaty Ireland would have enjoyed national autonomy, with full rights for Catholics, under English kingship. Had the treaty not been shattered by the Cromwellian conquest, it might have paved the way for an Ireland at peace with itself and with the rest of the world. The view from Westminster was different. Ireland was assumed to be a dependent kingdom and was viewed greedily as a field for colonization, while its popish religion was seen as nothing less than idolatry. Cromwell was given an army of twelve thousand troops and a handsome treasury with which to effect the conquest. When he landed near Dublin in mid-August, the commander of Dublin, Colonel Michael Jones (d. 1649), had already prepared the way for him by a great victory over Ormonde’s forces at Rathmines, just outside the city.

With Dublin secure, Cromwell moved against the garrison at Drogheda on the River Boyne. When the garrison refused to surrender, Cromwell ordered it to be stormed. In the heat of battle he ordered all who were in arms in the town put to the sword. The resulting massacre totaled over three

thousand soldiers, friars, and priests. He next moved south to Wexford, a base for privateering against English shipping. Owing to faulty communications, the city was stormed while negotiations for surrender were underway. The Irish death toll was about two thousand. Cromwell tried to assuage his guilty conscience for the massacres by expressing the hope that ruthlessness at the beginning would minimize bloodshed in the future. After an initial period of shock, however, the Irish kept on fighting. The country was devastated, with a death toll from hunger and disease reducing the population by about 20 percent. Ireland was not militarily subdued until the fall of 1652.

Cromwell was not there to witness Ireland's final surrender, for he had been recalled to England in May 1650. Because the Scots had hailed Charles II (ruled 1660–1685) as king of Scotland and England, the Council of State took the offensive by ordering an invasion of Scotland in order to forestall an invasion of England. Cromwell was given charge of the invasion force, numbering sixteen thousand men. Plagued by disease and desertion, his task was not easy. His sweeping victory at Dunbar (3 September 1650) was won against an army twice as large as his own. Between then and the summer of 1651 he extended his control over Scotland, which prompted Charles II to risk all on a desperate invasion of England. Cromwell caught up with him at Worcester and scattered his forces. The hapless king was lucky to escape with his life, spending a night in an oak tree before being led to the safety of a continental exile, where he spent the next nine years.

FROM COMMONWEALTH TO PROTECTORATE, 1652–1659

During all the time they had been away fighting the Commonwealth's wars, the army officers had not forgotten their expectations of religious and political reform. Victories had convinced them that they were the instruments of some tremendous divine destiny for which England had been singled out. The euphoria of the battlefield soon evaporated, however, as the army collided with the stubborn conservatism of the Rump Parliament. Interested less in reform than in waging a naval war against the Dutch, the Rump tried to balance its books by steadily whittling away the army's troop strength. As conditions worsened in London during the win-

ter of 1652–1653 thanks to the Dutch naval blockade, the army took steps to protect itself by forcing a dissolution of Parliament and new elections. The Rump attempted to head off this threat by preparing its own Bill of Dissolution, stipulating that no army officer could be elected to the next Parliament but omitting sufficient safeguards against the election of royalists. Foreseeing the army's destruction if this bill were passed, Cromwell took a party of musketeers and dissolved the house.

The dilemma of Cromwell and his officers was that while they did not wish to impose a military dictatorship they knew that even relatively free elections would result in the return of a royalist Parliament. There followed, over the next six years, a series of constitutional experiments designed to prevent the latter eventuality while seeking a measure of parliamentary government. First was the Nominated or "Bare-bones" Parliament, which sat from July to December 1653. It consisted of 140 representatives of the three kingdoms, handpicked by the officers for their commitment to "godly reformation"—the moral reform that, it was believed, would produce a truly godly society in which the Sabbath would be observed, all forms of debauchery, such as drunkenness, adultery, cock fighting, and bear baiting, would be suppressed, education would be promoted, and the poor looked after. When this body threatened property rights by moving to abolish tithes, its dissolution was quietly engineered.

Next came the Instrument of Government (1653), England's only written constitution, devised by General John Lambert (1619–1683) and the Council of Officers. It restored the concept of balance in the constitution with a lord protector, council, and Parliament. Executive power was vested in the first two, but the protector was bound, as kings had not been, to follow his council's advice. Appointed by Parliament, the council could not be dismissed by the protector. Far from being a military dictator, Cromwell, the first lord protector, was obliged to summon Parliament at least every three years and was allowed only limited veto power over parliamentary legislation. In one important area the instrument did give him greater power than it had given previous monarchs: he was endowed with a navy and a standing army of thirty thousand men. The franchise was broadened, and constituencies

were redistributed to reflect more accurately the population and wealth of the three kingdoms. Although Christianity was privileged as the public faith, there were no rigid doctrinal tests, and a large measure of de facto toleration prevailed. Cromwell's own toleration extended to the Jews, whom he readmitted to England in 1656 despite parliamentary opposition.

HOLLAND, FRANCE, AND SPAIN

This experiment in limited constitutional democracy ultimately failed, but not before England's military and diplomatic power had been projected as never before. Between 1652 and 1654 war was successfully waged against the United Provinces, the world's leading commercial power. The issue with Holland was the Navigation Act requiring that all goods shipped to or from English ports be carried either in English ships or those of the country where the goods originated. A triumphant English navy next proceeded to open up the Mediterranean to English commerce by clearing out the Barbary pirates. Dunkirk was then recaptured from France. Next it was Spain's turn. That country's hegemony in the New World was challenged with the invasion of Hispaniola. Repulsed there, Cromwell had to be content with Jamaica as a consolation prize.

In 1657 a group of influential citizens urged Cromwell to accept the crown and establish an Oliverian dynasty. Mindful of his officers' entrenched republicanism, he turned aside the offer, but in 1658 he did name his firstborn son Richard Cromwell (1626–1712) as his successor. When Oliver Cromwell died in September 1658, England's prestige was higher among the powers of Europe than at any time since the Hundred Years' War (1337–1453). Yet the regime of his son was soon to unravel. Within months Richard Cromwell, who lacked military experience, faced a coalition of army officers and republicans demanding the abolition of the protectorate and the recall of the Rump Parliament. Bowing to the inevitable, Richard resigned his protectorship, and "the Good Old Parliament" returned (*Humble Remonstrance* of 21 April 1659, cited in Woolrych, p. 723). But when the Rump tried to curb the power of the army grandees (the higher officers of the army), they struck back, dissolving the Rump a second time.

Confused and divided among themselves, the grandees did not know what to do next until the commander in Scotland, General George Monck (1608–1670), announced that enough was enough. The military should be subordinate to civilian authority, he proclaimed, and to enforce this principle he marched his army into England. All along the way to London he was besieged with petitions for a full and free Parliament, which everyone knew meant the restoration of the king. He kept his own counsel, first restoring the Rump, then bringing back the unpurged Long Parliament, and then encouraging it to dissolve itself in favor of fresh elections for a Convention Parliament. Carefully guiding events, he extracted from the exiled king at Breda in Holland a four-point declaration promising a general amnesty, payment of army arrears, religious toleration, and the confirmation of confiscated land sales. No one was to know that the king, driven by the Cavalier Parliament, would soon renege on all these promises except for the payment of the army. Charles II was proclaimed king on 8 May 1660 amid general jubilation.

CONCLUSION

How does one explain the bloodless Restoration of monarchy after eighteen years of civil war, revolution, and interregnum? Like other revolutionary regimes the Commonwealth collapsed from within. Revenue never kept up with expenditure, and by the end of the 1650s the state was bankrupt. For all its military exploits in Scotland, Ireland, and abroad, it had failed to win the respect of the people of the landed classes, who increasingly yearned for the rule of law under the old constitution of king, Lords, and Commons. Distrust of standing armies combined with fear of religious radicalism and social anarchy, which appeared to be united in the phenomena of Quakerism, Anabaptism, and Fifth Monarchism. (Adherents of Fifth Monarchism believed that the Second Coming of Christ was imminent because the overthrow of the fifth monarchy, of which Charles I was thought to be the last representative, had been prophesied in Scripture as the precursor of the return of the Messiah.) Republican rigidity in Parliament, when set beside the internal division and intellectual exhaustion of the army grandees, furnished a recipe for the revolution's self-destruction. By the spring of 1660 only the

monarchy could fill the political vacuum left by the Good Old Cause.

There was, however, a revolutionary legacy that was not extinguished at the Restoration. The constitutional changes of 1641 were preserved, the monarch's feudal and prerogative rights were not brought back, while the "divinity that doth hedge a king" had largely drained away (*Hamlet*). The legacy of radical thought, religious liberty, and parliamentary direction of the state was to reemerge in the Glorious Revolution of 1688–1689.

See also **Charles I (England); Charles II (England); Cromwell, Oliver; English Civil War Radicalism; Glorious Revolution (Britain); Ireland; Parliament; Scotland; Stuart Dynasty (England and Scotland); William and Mary.**

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IAN GENTLES

ENGLISH CIVIL WAR RADICALISM. Radicalism in the 1640s and 1650s was a fluid and dynamic phenomenon in which religious and secular ideas were often impossible to separate. Individuals frequently transferred their allegiance upon encountering a new and charismatic leader, while others broke away to forge their own individual paths. But from within this flux several more coherent movements emerged, and it is their stories we trace here.

BAPTISTS

The first of these movements to appear was that of the Baptists, a group whose origins can be traced back to a group of Puritan separatists who had fled to the Netherlands in 1608. Under the influence of Dutch Anabaptists, some of them quickly adopted the principle of adult (or believer's) baptism, and the principle of general redemption, which held that saving grace was available to all who accepted it through faith. Returning to England in 1612, they

founded the first General Baptist church in London. Some of the other refugees, still Calvinist, returned later to establish a semi-separatist church in the capital, and by 1638 some of its members had broken away to form a Particular (or Calvinist) Baptist congregation. The Baptists were thus divided from the beginning into two distinct movements, the General and Particular Baptists, each deeply suspicious of the other.

The religious freedom of the 1640s allowed both movements to expand rapidly, and in 1644 the Particular Baptists issued a Confession of Faith signed by representatives of seven London churches. By 1660 there were about 250 congregations, roughly 60 percent of them Particular Baptist, with perhaps 25,000 members in all. Particular and General Baptists agreed that baptism was only a valid sacrament for adult believers and should be administered by immersion in a river, following biblical precedent. They also agreed that each congregation should enjoy total independence. Both found recruits among artisans and small farmers, both attacked tithes and university learning, both found support in the New Model Army, and both nurtured millenarian dreams. But their fundamental division over the means of salvation outweighed these similarities.

The Particular Baptists, closer in spirit to the Independents, or Congregationalists, were always anxious to stress their respectability. The General Baptists, by contrast, more distant from the Puritan mainstream, were more anticlerical and more evangelical. Leaders such as Thomas Lambe (d. 1686), a soap boiler, preached to large crowds in London and toured southern England on missionary campaigns, often challenging the clergy to public debate in a manner that foreshadowed the Quaker movement of the 1650s. The Presbyterian polemicist Thomas Edwards (1599–1647) denounced Lambe and his kind as blasphemous anarchists. In reality, both Baptist movements were primarily concerned to secure religious toleration. While many individuals were drawn away by more radical groups, leaders such as William Kiffin (1616–1671), a Particular Baptist merchant, persuaded the majority to cooperate with the parliamentary regimes of the period.

LEVELLERS

The Leveller movement, which emerged toward the end of the civil war, was primarily political in spirit, but most of its leaders had roots in radical Puritanism, and the gathered churches provided a key recruiting ground. This movement developed from fears that a postwar settlement would bring few rewards for the common people. In particular, Leveller leaders such as “Freeborn John” Lilburne (c. 1614–1657), Richard Overton (c. 1625–1664), and William Walwyn (1600–1681) recoiled at the prospect of a rigid new uniformity under a national Presbyterian church. Using pamphlets and mass petitions, the Levellers pressed for both religious freedom and a range of social and economic reforms, including sweeping changes to the law, economic freedom for small tradesmen, and the removal of tithes and taxes. Their central demand, however, was a radically new political order to make government accountable for its actions. The Levellers saw authority flowing upward from the people, not downward from a divinely appointed king. Monarchy and a House of Lords had no place in their vision, and they demanded reforms to make popular sovereignty meaningful in practice as well as theory: a wide franchise (to include most male householders), annual elections, decentralization, elected local magistrates and judges, and a written constitution to guarantee basic human rights, especially religious freedom.

Parliament ignored their demands, and in 1647 the Levellers turned instead to the New Model Army, under Thomas Fairfax (1612–1671) and then Oliver Cromwell (1599–1658). The soldiers had mutinied in spring 1647, exasperated by Parliament’s attempt to disband them without meeting legitimate grievances over pay and indemnity. The Levellers secured considerable influence among them and believed that a “citizen army” could act as agents of the sovereign people to overthrow Parliament and establish the new political order. The soldiers’ representatives, or “Agitators,” presented the first “Agreement of the People,” an outline draft constitution, to the Army Council at Putney in October 1647. But as the country slid back toward a second civil war, the officers regained control and the Levellers found themselves outmaneuvered. Parliament took steps to meet many of the soldiers’ grievances, while the military coup of December

1648 (Pride's Purge), which led to the abolition of the monarchy and House of Lords, cut much of the ground from beneath their feet. Moreover, in March 1649 the Commons guaranteed religious freedom to the Baptists and other separatists, which prompted them henceforth to distance themselves from the Levellers. Though the Levellers railed at the "tyranny" of the new republican regime, they had run out of options and their program provided far too narrow a base to stand any real chance of success.

THE DIGGERS

Despite their nickname, the Levellers always protested their support for private property. By contrast, the Diggers, or "True Levellers," fully accepted the principle of economic equality and placed it at the very heart of their ideology. The Diggers had little impact on political events, and most of our information about them comes from the prolific writings of their leading theorist, Gerard Winstanley (1609–1676). A failed tradesman, Winstanley experienced a religious conversion that convinced him that a new age was dawning in which the inner spirit would restore men and women to Adam's perfection before the Fall. Winstanley saw the overthrow of Charles I (ruled 1625–1649) as proof that the new age was at hand, and on 1 April 1649, inspired by a vision, he persuaded a small band of disciples to establish a communist settlement at St. George's Hill, near Walton-on-Thames in Surrey.

To the Diggers, all freedoms depended on economic freedom, by which they meant freedom from want. Winstanley dreamed of a society in which there was neither money nor private property, with everyone working to produce food and goods freely available to all, as needed, from communal stores. Moreover, human nature would be transformed as the inner spirit drove out sin in each individual. In such a perfect moral commonwealth there would be little need for laws or coercion. Winstanley repudiated the use of force, insisting that the communes were to be voluntary, and the Diggers planted only on common or "waste" land, leaving private landowners free to enjoy their own properties. Communist and propertied societies could thus coexist in peace, he explained, though he clearly hoped and expected that mass migration to the new communes

would trigger the speedy collapse of private estates. At least nine other Digger communes sprang up across southern England and the midlands within the next few months, though little is known of their fate.

Winstanley's own settlement soon encountered problems. The Diggers had expected hostility from local gentlemen and clergy, but they were also viewed with deep suspicion by many ordinary folk who regarded the commons as a valuable asset for rough grazing and firewood. The settlement also prompted fears that an army of squatters would bring crime and violence in their wake. Repeated attacks forced the Diggers to shift to Cobham, a few miles away, by August 1649, and the settlement collapsed entirely in April 1650. That spelled the end of the movement. But Winstanley later published a defiant manifesto, *The True Law of Freedom* (1652), in which he revised and developed his utopian dream. Despite the recent disappointments, he stood by his faith in a classless, communist, agrarian society. He had lost his earlier millennial fervor, and he no longer looked for the sudden transformation of human nature. His text spelled out the laws and government that he now recognized as necessary bulwarks against tyranny and popular disorder alike. Winstanley dedicated the tract to Cromwell, with little expectation of any response, and the despairing verse that closes the work leaves little doubt that he was now writing for future generations rather than his own.

RANTERS

At one point the Digger commune had been interrupted by a group of Ranters, whom Winstanley condemned out of hand. The Ranters are the most difficult of all radicals to categorize; historian J. C. Davis has denied that any such "movement" ever existed. Contemporaries disagreed; radicals and conservatives alike described encountering Ranters over several years, and Parliament responded in 1650 with an act outlining and condemning their beliefs. Neither a sect nor a party, the Ranters are best described as a loose cluster of individual cells that held similar if not quite identical ideas and attitudes. Like many radicals, they anticipated an imminent millennial future. Abiezer Coppe (1619–1672), their most interesting pamphleteer, claimed that the overthrow of king and lords foreshadowed

a far greater revolution that would sweep away all hierarchy, privilege, and property. The Ranters, convinced (like Winstanley) that God's spirit was to be found within, proclaimed that to the pure, all things were pure. Such a principle could easily open the way to immorality of every kind, and Ranters were repeatedly condemned as promiscuous and blasphemous atheists. Some individuals did pursue the libertine implications of their creed. Others, especially Coppe, proclaimed a social gospel that echoed Christ's Sermon on the Mount, defining true religion as caring for the sick and destitute, and condemning the traditional Puritan preoccupations with sex, blasphemy, and "correct" forms of worship as mere hypocrisy. The real sins, Coppe insisted, were the pride and greed that sustained a social order both oppressive and unjust.

Most contemporaries reacted with horror to what they knew or heard of the Ranters. Their alleged "atheism," their rejection of heaven and hell, of all churches, and of traditional moral values, and their violent language and extreme behavior ensured that "Ranter" became a general term of opprobrium. With the Act of 1650, Ranter pamphlets were banned, but it is clear from Quaker and other radical writings that their ideas lived on throughout the 1650s.

FIFTH MONARCHISTS

The Fifth Monarchists, the most politicized of the religious movements of the period, took shape in 1651 in response to still unfulfilled millenarian expectations raised by the king's execution in 1649. Taking their name from the vision of four beasts or world empires from the seventh chapter of the Book of Daniel, they looked for an imminent fifth: the reign of Christ. Their first target was the "Rump" Parliament, which they blamed for blocking Christ's kingdom; they were delighted when Oliver Cromwell dissolved it in April 1653, under pressure from army officers and religious radicals. They also welcomed his decision to summon a nominated assembly of the godly ("Barebones Parliament"), instead of calling fresh elections. The assembly, which contained a dozen Fifth Monarchists and many other religious radicals, pushed for sweeping reforms, whereupon Cromwell took fright and assumed power himself, as lord protector, in December 1653. Viewing him no longer as a second Moses but

as the agent of the Antichrist, the Fifth Monarchists became his implacable enemies. They continued to demand a range of social reforms, which in many respects resembled those of other radical groups, including law reform, the abolition of taxes and tithes, and the relief of the poor. But taking the Old Testament as their model for the government, law, and society of the coming kingdom, the Fifth Monarchists looked for rule by a godly elite, "the visible saints," and they rejected outright the democratic values of the Levellers and Diggers. At the same time they insisted that biblical Israel had been a just society, and they guaranteed a better life to everyone willing to live quietly under the new order.

The Fifth Monarchists insisted on their right to take up arms against Cromwell, but in the event most proved reluctant to convert their violent rhetoric into open resistance. They were too weak to challenge the regime alone, and their attempts to subvert the army and build alliances with radical Baptists and republicans proved abortive. A bid by Thomas Venner (d. 1661), a cooper, and the congregation he led at Swan Alley, Coleman Street, to launch an uprising in London in April 1657 failed dismally. The collapse of the Protectorate in 1659 revived their hopes briefly, only to be dashed once more by the Stuart Restoration in 1660. Another attempted uprising by Venner's followers in 1661 was easily crushed, bloodily this time, and the movement gradually faded away as it became obvious that its millenarian expectations had been ill founded. Most Fifth Monarchists drifted back to the Independent or Baptist churches from which they had come.

QUAKERS

The Quakers, the last movement to arise, emerged in 1652–1653 in the north of England, a region largely untouched by religious radicalism. Spreading south in 1654–1655, they grew rapidly to number some 40,000 by 1660. Their leaders and evangelists, such as George Fox (1624–1691) and James Nayler (1618–1660), were mainly small farmers and tradesmen. Women played a far more prominent role in the Quakers than in any other radical movement. Quaker belief centered on the inner light, which they insisted was capable of transforming each individual in this life and securing salvation in the next. Their religion stressed personal experi-

ence and repudiated outward forms; they insisted that the “church” was a gathering of believers, not a building or institution. Quaker worship was spontaneous and emotional (hence their nickname), and they rejected all professional ministers and sacraments. They laid equal stress on the practical consequences of conversion; Quakers rejected all worldly vanities and pleasures and applied a strict ethical code to their daily lives. But only in 1661 did they adopt pacifism as a general principle; the early Quakers’ violent rhetoric prompted fears that they were subversive and dangerous, a suspicion reinforced by their refusal to observe conventional gestures of deference, such as doffing their hats. Their aggressive evangelism brought them enemies as well as converts; Quaker preachers, many women among them, often harangued crowds in the marketplace and interrupted church services. Moreover, their stress on the “Christ within” appeared blasphemous, and when James Nayler rode into Bristol on a donkey in 1656, imitating Christ’s entry into Jerusalem, a horrified Parliament sentenced him to be branded, bored through the tongue, and flogged—a sentence that was duly carried out. New laws on vagrancy and Sabbath observance in 1657 were aimed at the Quakers, and their outright refusal to pay tithes (rather than simply attacking them) led to numerous prosecutions. Roughly two thousand Quakers had been imprisoned by 1660.

Of all these groups, only the Baptists and Quakers (or Society of Friends) have survived. The radicals’ dreams failed to materialize, and fear of their extremism helped pave the way for the Restoration. Nevertheless they had a lasting significance, inspiring later generations and forming part of the Non-conformist bloc that successfully thwarted all attempts to reimpose a monolithic state church. The radicals thus helped to shape the pluralist values of individual freedom that define Western culture today.

See also **Anabaptism; Calvinism; Cromwell, Oliver; Dissenters; England; English Civil War and Interregnum; Parliament; Puritanism; Quakers; Utopia.**

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BERNARD CAPP

ENGLISH DISSENTERS. See **Dissenters, English.**

ENGLISH LITERATURE AND LANGUAGE. The nature and status of the English language underwent a profound transformation during the early modern period, and literature in English was also subject to many changes in its style and content. One of the most important develop-

ments, that of English drama, is covered separately in the article of that title; other literature is covered here, with separate sections on fictional prose, non-fictional prose, and poetry.

LANGUAGE

At the beginning of the period covered in this encyclopedia, English was a parochial and marginal tongue, eschewed as a literary medium by many of its own speakers and used by few outside the British Isles. In his *First Book of the Introduction of Knowledge* (written c. 1542, printed 1547), Andrew Boorde declared that it was “a base speche to other noble speeches.” By the end of the eighteenth century, however, most literary works in Britain were produced in English, the first major extraterritorial “English” outside of the British Isles was established in the Americas, and English was being spoken as far south as Australasia and the Cape of Good Hope. But, even as late as 1755, Samuel Johnson could lament the “perplexity,” “confusion,” “boundless variety,” and “adulteration” exhibited by English.

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, individual English literary traditions existed in England and in Scotland: writing about “English” is therefore inevitably problematic. There existed around 1500 two standard forms of literary English, one centered on London and the other, referred to by the Scottish writer Gavin Douglas (c. 1475–1522) as “Scottis,” on lowland Scotland. By the turn of the eighteenth century, however, the Scots tradition had fallen into neglect; it was later to be revived in another form by poets such as Allan Ramsey and Robert Burns. Throughout the early modern period, writing in English had an uneasy relationship with other literatures, notably pan-European Latin humanist culture and vernacular traditions in Welsh, Scottish Gaelic, and Irish Gaelic. Tensions were exacerbated by political conditions: successive English and British governments advocated linguistic colonization in Ireland, and in the wake of the 1745 Jacobite Rebellion, schools were founded in the Scottish Highlands in which teachers were forbidden to use Gaelic.

Political and religious tensions associated with the Reformation contributed to a debate over the place of English. Latin began to lose its preeminence, and writers in many parts of the British Isles

turned increasingly to the vernacular. In the early sixteenth century Sir Thomas More wrote his “literary” works—such as his *Epigrams* and *Utopia*—in Latin, and his polemical works in English; around the same time, however, Douglas was writing exclusively in Scots. By the turn of the seventeenth century many writers were writing solely in English, and English was even being used for prestigious literary genres such as the epic. A literary tradition of Neo-Latin works persisted—John Barclay’s popular Latin romance *Argenis*, for instance, was printed in 1621, and John Milton wrote many of his sonnets in Latin—but by the end of the seventeenth century, writers tended to use Latin only in certain circumstances.

Translations of the Bible—including William Tyndale’s New Testament (1525), the popular “Geneva” Bible (1560), and the “Authorized [or King James] Version” of 1611—helped to raise the status of English as a literary language. Religious translations were particularly important for female writers in the early part of the period, offering them a space for literary expression that was less contested than the writing of secular poetry or prose. Examples of women’s religious translations include the translation from Greek of a sermon by St. Basil by Mildred Cecil, Lady Burleigh (1526–1589), and translations from Italian and Latin of Bernardo Ochino’s sermons and John Jewel’s *Apology for the Church of England* by her sister Anne Bacon (c. 1528–1610); Anne Lok (c. 1535–after 1590) translated John Calvin’s sermons on the Song of Hezekiah from Latin, and her metrical paraphrase of the fifty-first Psalm, *A Meditation of a Penitent Sinner*, was published in 1560.

Translations of literature from other languages were, meanwhile, substantial literary works in their own right and exercised a shaping influence on original works in English. The works of classical authors such as Ovid, Homer, and Virgil were translated in successive editions: particularly notable are Arthur Golding’s translation of Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* (1567), the Homeric translations of George Chapman (*The Iliad*, 1598, 1611; *The Odyssey*, 1616) and later Alexander Pope (*The Iliad*, 1715–1720; *The Odyssey*, 1725–1726), and translations of Virgil’s *Aeneid* by Douglas (before 1522, printed 1553), Surrey (1557), Richard Stanyhurst (1582), and John Dryden (1697). Modern works were also

translated, including Thomas Hoby's translation of Baldassare Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano* (1561), John Harington's translation of Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* (1591), John Florio's translation of Montaigne's *Essays* (1603), Thomas Urquhart's translation of Rabelais (1653, 1693), and Tobias Smollett's translation of the works of Voltaire (1761). Translators of Cervantes' *Don Quixote* included Thomas Shelton (1612, 1620), Peter Motteux (1700), Charles Jervas (1742), and Smollett (1755).

The early modern period also saw an increasing interest in the codification of language. Bilingual dictionaries, published in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, were followed by English hard-word dictionaries, including Edmund Coote's *The English Schoolmaster* (1596), Robert Cawdry's *A Table Alphabetical* (1604), Thomas Blount's *Glossographia* (1656), and Elisha Coles's *English Dictionary* (1676). The largest and most famous of these early modern dictionaries was Samuel Johnson's *Dictionary of the English Language* (1755).

Related to this process of codification was a desire to regulate and standardize English. At the beginning of the period, there was a wide degree of variation in spelling and grammar, and a widespread uncertainty about vocabulary. Despite the efforts of sixteenth-century reformers such as John Cheke, Thomas Smith, and John Hart, Simon Daines could still lament in his *Orthoepia Anglicana* (1640) the "want of one uniforme and certain method" of speaking and writing English. However, the language did become gradually more standardized, at least in printed books, notwithstanding failed attempts to set up an academy to regulate English, which were supported by John Dryden and later by Daniel Defoe and Jonathan Swift.

The lexicon expanded a great deal during the early modern period, taking new material from a variety of sources: loan words from classical languages, especially from Latin, loan words from modern languages, and the revival of obsolete or archaic English words. These introductions often caused controversy. In *The Apology for Poetry* (written c. 1579–1580; printed 1595), Philip Sidney worried about the "old rustic language" of Edmund Spenser's *Shepherd's Calendar* (1579); Ben Jonson was more forthright, commenting in his "conversations" with William Drummond (1619)

that "Spenser, in affecting the ancients, writ no language." Jonson was not, however, any more enamored with Latin coinages: in *The Poetaster*, first performed in 1601, he satirized the neologisms of fellow playwright John Marston by having Marston's dramatic surrogate vomit out the outrageous words he had used throughout the play. The incorporation of words into English was still controversial in the 1660s, when Dryden wrote of Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, "I am apt to believe the English language in them arrived to its highest perfection: what words have since been taken in, are rather superfluous than necessary" (*Of Dramatick Poesie* [1668]).

PROSE

Like the language itself, English prose changed massively in the period from 1450 to 1789. The beginning of the period saw the publication of one of the quintessential late-medieval prose romances, Thomas Malory's *Morte d'Arthur* (1485); at the end we find the novel well established with works such as Henry Fielding's *Tom Jones* (1749), Laurence Sterne's *Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy* (1759–1767), and Frances Burney's *Evelina* (1778). The period was also notable for the breadth and ambition of its nonfictional prose.

Prose fiction. In the earlier centuries the most important mode of prose fiction was romance, which often carried political and social material under a veil of fantasy. Malory's *Morte d'Arthur* was followed by George Gascoigne's *The Adventures of Master F. J.* (1573), Sidney's *Arcadia* (written c. 1581 and c. 1583–1584, printed 1590), Robert Greene's *Pandosto* (1588) and *Menaphon* (1589), Thomas Lodge's *Rosalyme* (1590), Mary Wroth's *Urania* (1621), Richard Brathwait's *Panthalia; or, the Royal Romance* (1659), Percy Herbert's *Princess Cloria* (1661), and Roger Boyle's *Parthenissa* (1651–1656, 1669). The last three are all examples of political romance, written by royalist sympathizers during the Commonwealth and Restoration. In the same period, Margaret Cavendish, duchess of Newcastle's Utopian romance *The Description of a New World Called the Blazing World* (1666) addressed the oppression of women. An earlier political work, William Baldwin's *Beware the Cat* (c. 1554, printed 1570), features talking cats who witness the continued practice of forbidden Catho-

lic rituals; it is sometimes termed the first English novel and was one of the earliest pieces of original prose fiction. A social function can even be found in texts such as John Lyly's witty and stylized *Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit* (1578) and *Euphues and His England* (1580), which shaped the prose style of a generation.

From the end of the seventeenth century, romance began to be supplanted by the emergent novel, which combined the romance's narrative drive, exotic settings, and interest in sexuality with developing biographical and epistolary modes. Notable examples include Aphra Behn's *Love-Letters Between a Noble-Man and his Sister* (1684) and *Oroonoko, or the History of the Royal Slave* (1688), William Congreve's *Incognita* (1691), and Defoe's *Life and Strange and Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe* (1719). Both *Oroonoko* and *Robinson Crusoe* are additionally indebted to travel writing, another important early modern prose genre, which also influenced Swift's satirical *Gulliver's Travels* (1726). The influence of religious autobiography on the novel can be seen in works such as John Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress* (1678, 1684). The epistolary novel itself became an important mode in the early eighteenth century: notable examples include Samuel Richardson's *Pamela; or, Virtue Rewarded* (1740–1741) and *Clarissa* (1747–1749), Burney's *Evelina* (1778), and Smollett's *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker* (1771).

A related genre, the picaresque, focusing on the careers of likeable rogues in realistic or quasi-realistic settings, developed in Spanish narratives such as Diego Hurtado de Mendoza's *Lazarillo de Tormes* (1553) and Miguel Cervantes' *Don Quixote*; it is adapted in English in Thomas Nashe's *The Unfortunate Traveller; or, the Life of Jack Wilton* (1594). A related genre of rogue literature includes Thomas Harman's *A Caveat for Common Cursitors* (1566), Robert Greene's "cony catching" pamphlets (1592), and Thomas Dekker's *Lantern and Candlelight* (1608); Defoe's accounts of the careers of criminals such as Jack Sheppard and Jonathan Wild are later examples. A civic variation, focusing on the rise of hardworking tradesmen, can be found in Thomas Deloney's highly popular narratives: *Jack of Newberry* (1596), *The Gentle Craft* (1597), and *Thomas of Reading* (1598). From the early eighteenth century the picaresque eventually merged

with the novel, resulting in texts such as Defoe's *Fortunes and Misfortunes of the Famous Moll Flanders* (1722), Smollett's *Adventures of Roderick Random* (1748), John Cleland's *Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure*, also known as *Fanny Hill* (1748–1749), and Charlotte Lennox's *The Female Quixote* (1752).

Nonfiction prose. Probably the most important nonfictional prose genre was the sermon, of which notable examples include the works of John Fisher, Hugh Latimer, and Henry Smith in the sixteenth century, of Lancelot Andrewes and John Donne in the early seventeenth century, and of John Tillotson, Francis Atterbury, and John Wesley in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Reformation polemic and controversial literature includes William Tyndale's exchange of pamphlets with Sir Thomas More (1529–1532), the *Examinations of Anne Askew* (1546–1547), and John Foxe's Protestant hagiography, *Acts and Monuments of the English Martyrs* (1559, 1563). Other important religious and political prose works of the sixteenth century include Tyndale's *The Obedience of a Christian Man* (1529), John Knox's misjudged *First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women*, published not long before the death of Mary I and offensive to her successor Elizabeth I due to its criticism of female rule, Richard Hooker's *Of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* (1593, 1597) and the treatise on kingship, *Basilikon Doron* (1599), of James VI of Scotland (later James I of England).

The Civil War and Commonwealth period also saw an outpouring of various kinds of religious and political writing. Important texts range from Milton's attack on censorship, *Areopagitica* (1644), to Gerrard Winstanley's *The New Law of Righteousness* (1649) and the Diggers' manifesto, *The True Levelers Standard Advanced* (1649), to Thomas Hobbes' *Leviathan* (1651). Also noteworthy are accounts of religious experience and persecution, including Anna Trapnel's *A Legacy for the Saints* and *Anna Trapnel's Report and Plea, Or a Narrative of Her Journey from London into Cornwall* (both 1654), and the Quakers Katherine Evans and Sarah Cheevers's *Short Relation of Cruel Sufferings* (1662).

Significant political texts of the Restoration include William Penn's *The Great Case of Liberty of Conscience* (1671), Andrew Marvell's *The Rehearsal Transposed* (1672), John Locke's *Treatises of Government* (1690), and Mary Astell's *A Serious Proposal to the Ladies, For the Advancement of Their True and Greatest Interest* (1696). In the eighteenth century, Defoe's *The Shortest Way with Dissenters* (1702), Swift's *A Modest Proposal* (1729), David Hume's *Essays Moral and Political* (1741–1742) were landmarks in political prose; Thomas Paine's *Common Sense* (1776) and *The American Crisis* (1777) preceded *The Rights of Man* (1791) and *The Age of Reason* (1793). Debate about national identity is also reflected in the prominence of historical writing, from Raphael Holinshed's *Chronicles* (1577) to Edward Gibbon's *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (1776–1788).

Another important nonfiction genre, the biography and autobiography, also developed during the early modern period. The earliest examples of life writing are diaries and spiritual biographies, such as William Roper's *Life of Thomas More* (written c. 1535, published 1626), and the diaries of Grace Mildmay (1570–1619), Margaret Hoby (1599–1605), and Anne Clifford (1616–1619) in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Later biographical texts became more secular in focus. Important works include the diaries of Samuel Pepys (1660–1669) and John Evelyn (1620–1706), Thomas Fuller's *History of the Worthies of England* (1662), Lucy Hutchinson's *Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson* (a biography of her husband, John Hutchinson, a prominent parliamentarian, written c. 1664), Izaak Walton's lives of John Donne (1640), Henry Wotton (1651), Richard Hooker (1665), and George Herbert (1670) and John Aubrey's gossipy and anecdotal *Lives* (completed c. 1693).

Outstanding eighteenth-century biographies include Johnson's *Life of Richard Savage* (1774) and *The Lives of the English Poets* (1779–1781); Johnson was himself the focus of biographies, with Hester Lynch Thrale Piozzi's *Anecdotes of the Late Samuel Johnson* (1786) and John Hawkins's *Life* (1787) preceding James Boswell's masterpiece *The Life of Samuel Johnson* (1791). Letters also began to be published in large numbers: particularly interesting are the letters of Mary Wortley Montagu

(printed 1763), Philip Stanhope, earl of Chesterfield's letters to his son (printed 1774), and *The Letters of the Late Ignatius Sancho* (1782), one of the earliest examples of black British writing.

Related to biographical genres was travel writing. Important early examples of travel writing include the compilations published by Richard Hakluyt (*The Principal Navigations of 1589 and 1598–1600*) and Samuel Purchas (notably *Hakluytus Posthumous; or, Purchas His Pilgrims* of 1625). The genre became increasingly important in the eighteenth century and increasingly biographical in nature; it also began to encompass accounts written by colonized subjects about their experiences. Notable examples include Piozzi's *Observations and Reflections Made in the Course of a Journey through France, Italy, and Germany* (1789) and Olaudah Equiano's *Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano*, published in the same year. Travel writing also focused on “home” tours within the British Isles, reflecting contemporary interest in the nature of “Britain,” for instance, Boswell and Johnson's accounts of their travels in Scotland (printed in 1777 and 1775 respectively).

The early modern period also saw the rise of periodical literature. The first English newsbooks were published by Nicholas Butter and Thomas Archer (1621–1641), followed by Civil War publications such as John Berkenhead's *Mercurius Aulicus* (1643–1645), and its Parliamentary rival, Thomas Audley and Marchamont Needham's *Mercurius Britannicus* (1643–1646). The *Oxford Gazette*, often described as the first newspaper, was founded by Henry Muddiman in 1665. The eighteenth century saw the growth of periodical literature, including Joseph Addison and Richard Steele's *Tatler* (1709–1711), *Spectator* (1711–1712, revived 1714), and *Guardian* (1713), and Johnson's *Rambler* (1750–1752).

POETRY

Early modern poetry also demonstrates a huge variety of forms and subjects, from the range and ambition of politico-religious epics such as Spenser's *Faerie Queene* (1590, 1596) or Milton's *Paradise Lost* (1667) to the compact brevity of lyric and epigram.

The earliest works of the period demonstrate their descent from medieval works: Robert

Henryson's Scots poem *The Testament of Cresseid* (late fifteenth century), for example, picks up where Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde* (c. 1385–1390) left off; Henryson and his contemporaries, such as Gavin Douglas and William Dunbar, are often dubbed the "Scottish Chaucerians." A similar derivation can be seen in probably the most important poetic publication of the mid-sixteenth century, the *Mirror for Magistrates* (1559, 1563), originally planned by George Ferrers and William Baldwin as a continuation of John Lydgate's *The Fall of Princes*, itself a translation of a French version of Boccaccio's *De Casibus Virorum Illustrium*. Of the *Mirror*'s first-person narratives, Thomas Sackville's "Complaint of Buckingham" is the most famous.

Devotional poetry was, unsurprisingly, a major mode; the best-known religious poets of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries include John Donne, George Herbert, Thomas Traherne, and Henry Vaughan. The writing of these poets on religious and secular subjects is often characterized as "metaphysical," a term first used by Johnson in his *Lives of the Poets*, picking up Dryden's complaint in "A Discourse concerning the Original and Progress of Satire" (1693) that Donne "affects the metaphysics." Metaphysical poetry is usually thought to be characterized by tough wit and complexity of syntax, and by a tendency to use obscure or abstruse imagery to express abstract ideas and emotions.

Religious poetry also, however, provided a means of expression for poets who were otherwise marginalized within the sphere of literary production. These included sixteenth-century recusant poets (Roman Catholics who refused to attend Communion in the Church of England) such as Chidioc Tichborne and Robert Southwell; Ben Jonson reportedly commented to William Drummond that if he had written Southwell's "The Burning Babe," "he would have been content to destroy many of his." It also provided a place for female poets, ranging from Mary Sidney's versification of the Psalms (composed from c. 1585), Aemilia Lanyer's *Salve Deus Rex Judaeorum* (1611), and the witty metaphysical lyrics of Anne Southwell (written c. 1610–1630). Particularly notable is Lucy Hutchinson's epic poem *Order and Disorder* (written c. 1679), which bears comparison with Milton's *Paradise Lost*.

Other early modern poetry was closely related to public religious affairs. John Skelton's "Speak, Parrot" (c. 1521) and "Colin Clout" (c. 1521) were significant political poems, attacking the excesses of Henry VIII's chancellor Cardinal Thomas Wolsey, while John Heywood's *The Spider and the Fly* (1556), saw the Protestant spider eventually die at the hands of a divine housemaid, Mary I. The deliberate roughness of Skelton's political satire influenced generations of writers, notably George Wither (*Abuses Stript and Whipt*, 1613), Samuel Butler (*Hudibras*, 1663), and Jonathan Swift. Another "rough" form of satire can be seen in popular poems, ballads, and libels, circulated orally or in manuscript throughout the period. The earliest formal satires include those of Thomas Wyatt in the early sixteenth century; the mode was taken up by Donne, Everard Guilpin, Joseph Hall, Thomas Lodge, and John Marston. Some of the satires of these writers provoked the anger of the authorities and were ordered to be burned in 1599. The late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries are often thought to have been a golden age for satire: the most famous examples include Dryden's *MacFlecknoe* (1682) and *Absalom and Achitophel* (1682) and Pope's *The Dunciad* (1728, 1742). The reverse side of the satiric coin is the panegyric, or poem of praise, exemplified by Jonson's *Epigrams*, which combined satiric and panegyric modes (1616), Milton's Sonnet 16, "To the Lord General Cromwell, May 1652" (1652), Marvell's "Horatian Ode Upon Cromwell's Return" (written 1650), and the political verse of Restoration poets such as Aphra Behn.

A political edge can also be found in other early modern poetic modes. The love poetry of Wyatt is inescapably entwined with court politics under Henry VIII; similarly, the poems of Walter Raleigh and other courtier-poets in the 1580s and 1590s depicted ardent lovers confronting chilly and remote mistresses, with disquieting echoes of their own political relationships with Elizabeth I. This model, drawn in part from the verse of the fourteenth-century Italian poet Francesco Petrarca, also influenced the development of the English sonnet cycle, notably Sidney's *Astrophel and Stella* (written c. 1582, printed 1591), Samuel Daniel's *Delia* (1592) and Michael Drayton's *Idea's Mirror* (1593). Shakespeare's Sonnet 130, "My mistress'

eyes are nothing like the sun” (printed 1609) satirizes this tradition, while Mary Wroth’s “Pamphilia to Amphilanthus” (1621) turns the model on its head by having a female poet address a male love-object.

Other late-sixteenth-century poetry is far more explicit about sexual issues than is Petrarchan verse; examples are the outburst of Ovidian erotic narratives, including Lodge’s *Scyllae’s Metamorphosis* (1589), Marlowe’s *Hero and Leander* (c. 1593, printed 1598), Shakespeare’s *Venus and Adonis* (1593), and Marston’s *Metamorphosis of Pygmalion’s Image* (1598). Erotica edges closer to pornography in some manuscript poems, of which the most famous include Donne’s elegy “To His Mistress Going to Bed” (written c. 1593–1596) and Nashe’s *A Choice of Valentines* (written c. 1593–1597). The erotic mode moves briefly into the mainstream during the Restoration, most notably in Marvell’s “To His Coy Mistress” (printed 1681) or the witty and cheerfully obscene poetry of John Wilmot, earl of Rochester. Rochester himself drew on a tradition of erotic and political verse exemplified by the “Cavalier” poets of the mid-seventeenth century, notably Thomas Carew, Richard Lovelace, John Suckling, Robert Herrick, and Edmund Waller: exemplary poems include Lovelace’s “To Lucasta, Going to the Wars” (1649). Also indebted to this tradition was the poetry of Katherine Philips, “the Matchless Orinda,” who drew on Donne’s poetry in her heavily romanticized addresses to male and female friends, written in the 1650s and early 1660s.

Even genres such as pastoral, which at first look to be apolitical, could be used for political and polemical purposes. Spenser’s *Shepherd’s Calendar* and *Colin Clout’s Come Home Again* (printed 1595) were the model for a generation of “Spenserian” poets, who used pastoral forms to attack political and religious corruption; the tradition influenced the young John Milton, whose elegy *Lycidas* (1637) is indebted to this mode of writing. Pastoral is also associated with a wider tradition of topographical writing, which ranged from Michael Drayton’s massive survey of Britain, *Poly-Olbion* (published 1612–1622), to the country-house poems of Lanier, Jonson, and Marvell. Texts such as John Gay’s quirky *Trivia; Or, the Art of Walking the Streets of London* (1716) also reflect this interest in landscape

and locale. Thomas Gray’s “Elegy Written in a Country Church-yard” (1751) was the most successful example of the “graveyard” school, which also included Thomas Parnell’s “Night-Piece on Death” (1721) and Edward Young’s *Night Thoughts* (1742–1745). Toward the end of the early modern period, sentimental writings about landscape, such as James Thomson’s *The Seasons* (1726–1730) and Oliver Goldsmith’s *The Deserted Village* (1770) were highly popular; George Crabbe’s *The Village* (1783) reacted against the conventions of pastoral writing and painted a grim picture of rural poverty. Mixed attitudes toward the working poor could also be detected in the popularity of “laboring-class” poetry, such as Stephen Duck’s *The Thresher’s Labour* (1730) and Mary Collier’s *The Woman’s Labour* (1739). Other influential poets of the eighteenth century included William Collins—especially the “Ode to Evening” (1746)—William Cowper, and Robert Burns. William Blake’s *Songs of Innocence and Experience*, published in 1789, takes us into the beginning of the Romantic period.

See also Addison, Joseph; Beaumont and Fletcher; Behn, Aphra; Bible: Translations and Editions; Biography and Autobiography; Boswell, James; Burney, Frances; Classicism; Defoe, Daniel; Diaries; Dictionaries and Encyclopedias; Donne, John; Drama: English; Dryden, John; Elizabeth I (England); Fielding, Henry; Jacobitism; Johnson, Samuel; Jonson, Ben; Journalism, Newspapers, and Newsheets; Journals, Literary; Latin; Marlowe, Christopher; Milton, John; More, Thomas; Pepys, Samuel; Pope, Alexander; Richardson, Samuel; Shakespeare, William; Sheridan, Richard Brinsley; Smollett, Tobias; Spenser, Edmund; Steele, Richard; Sterne, Laurence; Swift, Jonathan; Travel and Travel Literature.

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ENLIGHTENED DESPOTISM. One must first clarify the origins of the term: today “enlightened absolutism” is more commonly used. But in its original form, the term as coined by eighteenth-century French thinkers—philosophers, philosophical popularizers, and social commentators, known collectively as philosophes—described the kind of government they felt was necessary to break through the complex of laws, attitudes, and habits that maintained a society of unjust privilege, stunted economic growth, and perpetuated governmental inefficiency and waste. What they (and their fellows in other countries) desired was a *despotisme éclairé*. But this had little to do with real despotism, which in the minds of western Europeans was associated with oriental regimes such as that of the Turks, on whose rulers there were, it was supposed, no checks of any kind. What they had in mind was simply monarchies possessing sufficient power to establish enlightened policies that would lead to a fairer, better, and more humane society.

THE “ENLIGHTENED DESPOTS” AND THEIR POLICIES

Apart from several rulers of small territories, especially in Germany, there were certain monarchs (or powerful ministers of state) of large states in the second half of the eighteenth century who appeared to fit the picture of strong rulers prepared to accomplish such a program. Frederick II of Prussia (ruled 1740–1786), Joseph II (ruled 1765–1790) and

Leopold II (ruled 1790–1792) of Austria, Catherine II (ruled 1762–1796) of Russia, Charles III (ruled 1759–1788) of Spain, and ministers such as the Marquis de Pombal in Portugal and Johann Frederick Struensee were frequently mentioned by the philosophes as models of enlightened governance. Their policies promoted religious tolerance, advocated full civil rights for religious minorities (including Jews), insisted on curbing wasteful governmental expenditures, sought in various ways to stimulate their economies, and attempted to liberate serfs from the feudal control of their noble lords. All of these reforms were seen by the philosophes as part of a long-planned program designed to lessen the power of traditionally entrenched groups such as the clergy, noble landlords, and corrupt officials in the name of greater equality and freedom. Similarly, their attempts to tax these groups directly (often for the first time), in combination with other measures such as new forms of taxation and the lessening of mercantilistic restrictions on economic life, were lauded as freeing their economies from the dead hand of the feudal past.

THE TIMING AND NATURE OF THE REFORMS

There is widespread agreement among historians today on the reasons for the timing of these reforms. The eighteenth century witnessed a number of wars that, in contrast to those of the previous century, were financed entirely by governments rather than largely by warlord-entrepreneurs who had extracted much of their costs from civilian populations through forced contributions and looting. The more controlled “polite” wars of the eighteenth century were a clear reaction against the barbaric and religious wars of the seventeenth century—but these were still long and very expensive wars. All states, but especially the larger ones, had to find new revenues to finance warfare and to cut expenditures in other areas by making their governmental operations more efficient. This was particularly true after the end of the longest and costliest war of the pre-Revolutionary period, the Seven Years’ War (1756–1763). It was in the thirty years or so following that war that enlightened despotism really flourished.

Taxing previously exempt groups such as the nobility and clergy was one means of enhancing revenues, but so was regularizing the practices of government to achieve greater control, through bu-

reaucratic and other reforms, over all of the subjects of a state. If it was true, as Leopold II of Austria put it, that monarchs were “drowning in the inkpot,” it was because the sheer volume of state business had now outstripped the ability of monarchs to handle it with the old-fashioned, personal bureaucratic structures they had inherited from the past. Monarchs moved to establish both new institutions and a set of guidelines for bureaucrats that were both clear and uniform—a group of codified policies and procedures designed to ensure that the goals established by the monarch were pursued as intended. What these amounted to were primitive constitutions that helped to pave the way for the constitutional monarchies of the nineteenth century. In the end, paradoxically, these policies helped to make the monarchs themselves less necessary to the functioning of the state apparatus by establishing public law as a standard for governance. To the extent that their reforms were successful, they may well have helped to prevent revolutionary disturbances such as those that came to France in 1789 and after.

TWO INTERPRETATIONS OF REFORM

It has been pointed out that nearly all of the reforms of this period fit the pattern of earlier reforms designed not to reform society but to strengthen the position of the monarch himself within the state apparatus. There is some merit in this view. The reigns of Joseph II’s mother Maria Theresa in Austria (ruled 1740–1780) and of Frederick II’s father in Prussia (Frederick William I; ruled 1713–1740) can be adduced as examples. And it is clear that any weakening of the powers of either the nobility or the clergy would create a kind of power vacuum into which the monarch himself could step, assuming powers previously held by both groups as competitors for the exercise of public power within the state. In this context, furthermore, the freeing of serfs, who now became direct subjects of the crown, could be seen not only as a weakening of the powers of their previous lords, but also, simultaneously, as the assumption of vast new powers over them by the state as personified in the monarch. Finally, from this perspective, any benefit to the economy from reform would presumably result in greater revenues for the state, as would any improvement in the operations of government through curbs on official corruption and the elimination of wasteful expenditures. Similarly, the promotion of religious tolerance would re-

move a potent cause of social unrest, which was both disruptive to the economy and socially divisive in societies that needed greater unity in this period of intensifying international competition.

Thus (this argument runs) the reforms associated with the enlightened despots really had little or nothing to do with the humanitarian sentiments of genuine enlightenment (in spite of the Enlightenment rhetoric employed by most of them) and everything to do with strengthening the state and the monarch's position within it. That these rulers desired no fundamental restructuring of society is shown by the fact that in no cases were the privileges of the nobility and the clergy entirely eliminated.

This interpretation, however, while accurate as far as it goes, misses some important points about enlightened absolutism. First, it ignores the personal culture of most of these rulers—a culture that was to a considerable extent shaped by Enlightenment norms. Most of them grew up in the full flowering of the Enlightenment: they had much contact with leading figures of the movement, and professed to share its values. To ignore this fact is to deny all possibility that their motivations may have involved genuine humanitarian sentiment, and to suggest that their basic motive was also, in a sense, their basest motive. Second, it ignores the opinions of the philosophes themselves, most of whom believed that the motives of the enlightened despots were shaped, to a considerable extent, by enlightened values. They reasoned that if the reforms the latter sponsored did not go as far as some of the former hoped they might, the rulers were also practical people who understood the difference between philosophical dreams and political realities—and were quite comfortable with incremental reform. As an example, almost none among them believed that it was either possible or desirable to eliminate entirely the “society of orders,” that is, a society in which the law was written differently for different groups, depending on their social rank. Finally, and perhaps most important, it ignores the fact that the reforms could serve both purposes simultaneously, making it unnecessary for contemporaries to draw this distinction. And in fact, they did not: most philosophes wanted monarchy strengthened just as much as did the rulers themselves (if indeed for somewhat different reasons) and saw the monarchs' work as beneficial to society.

THE HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF ENLIGHTENED DESPOTISM

In the end, enlightened despotism can be seen as the final stage of absolute monarchy, in which personal monarchical power indeed became stronger, but which also gave rise to a new conception of governmental power as rule by and under public law. This involved abandoning the theory of rule by “divine right,” by which monarchs held their office by the grace of God, and justifying power by a new utilitarian standard: the welfare of the community they served. When Frederick II referred to himself as merely “the first servant of the state,” he foreshadowed a wholly new concept of government—one that justified vast new powers for governments in the name and service of public welfare. Not all of the so-called enlightened despots achieved such results; of the major ones, Catherine II of Russia, who governed the most backward of states, achieved the least. France, interestingly, had no such ruler—until Napoleon.

See also Absolutism; Catherine II (Russia); Charles III (Spain); Divine Right Kingship; Enlightenment; Frederick II (Prussia); Joseph II (Holy Roman Empire); Serfdom in East Central Europe.

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JOHN G. GAGLIARDO

ENLIGHTENMENT. The term “Enlightenment” refers to a loosely organized intellectual movement, secular, rationalist, liberal, and egalitarian in outlook and values, which flourished in the middle decades of the eighteenth century. The name was self-bestowed, and the terminology of darkness and light was identical in the major European languages—“Enlightenment” for English speakers, *siècle des lumières* in France, *illuminismo* in Italy, *Aufklärung* for Germans and Austrians. Although it was international in scope, the center of gravity of the movement was in France, which assumed an unprecedented leadership in European intellectual life. Emblematically, the single most famous publication of the Enlightenment was the French *Encyclopédie, ou, Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts, et des métiers* (1751–1772; Encyclopedia, or, Rational dictionary of the sciences, arts, and professions), a massive compendium of theoretical and practical knowledge edited in Paris by Jean Le Rond d’Alembert and Denis Diderot. The cosmopolitanism of the Enlightenment was genuine, however. It was a German admirer of d’Alembert and Diderot, Immanuel Kant, who produced the most enduring definition of the movement. In a famous essay of 1784, Kant defined enlightenment as “emancipation from self-incurred tutelage” and declared that its motto should be *sapere aude*—“dare to know.” Writers and thinkers associated with the Enlightenment were certainly capable of profound disagreement among themselves. But the common aspiration defined by Kant—knowledge as liberation—is what permits us to see a unified movement amid much diversity.

ORIGINS

In a long-term perspective, the Enlightenment can be regarded as the third and last phase of the cumulative process by which European thought and intellectual life was “modernized” in the course of the early modern period. Its relation to the two earlier stages in this process—Renaissance and Reformation—was paradoxical. In a sense, the Enlightenment represented both their fulfillment and their cancellation. As the neoclassical architecture and republican politics of the late eighteenth century remind us, respect and admiration for classical antiquity persisted throughout the period. Yet the Enlightenment was clearly the moment at which the

spell of the Renaissance—the conviction of the absolute superiority of ancient over modern civilization—was broken once and for all in the West. The Enlightenment revolt against the intellectual and cultural authority of Christianity was even more dramatic. In effect, the Protestant critique of the Catholic church—condemned for exploitation of its charges by means of ideological delusion—was extended to Christianity, even religion itself. At the deepest level, this is what Kant meant by “emancipation from self-incurred tutelage”: the Enlightenment marked the moment at which the two most powerful sources of intellectual authority in Europe, Greco-Roman and Judeo-Christian, were decisively overthrown, at least for a vanguard of educated Europeans.

What made this intellectual liberation possible? The major thinkers of the Enlightenment were in fact very clear about the proximate origins of their own ideas, which they almost invariably traced to the works of a set of pioneers or founders from the mid-seventeenth century. First and foremost among these were figures now associated with the “scientific revolution”—above all, the English physicist Isaac Newton, who became the object of a great cult of veneration in the eighteenth century. Hardly less important were thinkers who are more typically classified as “philosophers” today, including the major figures of both the rationalist and the empiricist traditions—René Descartes, Baruch Spinoza, and Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz on the one hand, Francis Bacon, Thomas Hobbes, and John Locke on the other. Similarly honored were the founders of modern “natural rights” theory in political thought—Hugo Grotius, Hobbes, Locke, and Samuel Pufendorf. These thinkers did not see themselves as engaged in a common enterprise as did their successors in the Enlightenment. What they did share, however, was the sheer novelty of their ideas—the willingness to depart from tradition in one domain of thought after another. Nor is it an accident that this roster is dominated by Dutch and English names or careers. For the United Provinces and England were the two major states in which divine-right absolutism had been successfully defeated or overthrown in Europe. If the ideological idiom of the Dutch Revolt (1568–1648) and the English Revolutions (1640–1660, 1688) remained primarily religious, their success made possible a de-

gree of freedom of thought and expression enjoyed nowhere else in Europe. The result was to lay the intellectual foundations for the Enlightenment, which can be defined as the process by which the most advanced thought of the seventeenth century was popularized and disseminated in the course of the eighteenth.

GEOGRAPHY AND CHRONOLOGY

Logically enough, having supplied the great pioneers and precursors in the seventeenth century, neither the United Provinces nor England were to play a dominant role in the Enlightenment itself. What these countries did provide, however, was the indispensable staging ground for the central practical business of the movement, the publication of books. For most of the century, Amsterdam and London—together with the city-states of another zone of relative freedom, Switzerland—were home to the chief publishers of the Enlightenment, many of whom specialized in the printing of books for clandestine circulation in France.

For France was the leading producer and consumer of “enlightened” literature in the eighteenth century, occupying a dominant position in the movement comparable to that of Italy in the Renaissance or Germany in the Reformation. The reasons for this centrality lie in the unique position of France within the larger set of European nations at the end of the seventeenth century. At the end of the long reign of Louis XIV in 1715, Catholic France remained by far the most powerful absolute monarchy in Europe—yet one whose geopolitical ambitions had clearly been thwarted by the rise of two smaller, post-absolutist Protestant states, the United Provinces and Great Britain. The remote origins of the French Enlightenment can be traced precisely to the moment that the sense of having been overtaken by Dutch and English rivals became palpable. The key transitional work, the French Protestant Pierre Bayle’s *Dictionnaire historique et critique* (Critical and historical dictionary), was published from Dutch exile in 1697. As the Enlightenment unfolded in France, the promptings of international rivalry remained central. The major texts of its early phase, Charles-Louis de Secondat de Montesquieu’s *Lettres persanes* (1721; Persian letters) and Voltaire’s *Lettres philosophiques* (1734; Philosophical letters) both held up a critical mirror

to what was now theorized as “despotism” in France—an imaginary Muslim one in the case of the first, a very real English mirror in the second. The critical edge of the *Encyclopédie*, the collective enterprise that defined and dominated the French Enlightenment at its peak, came from a still more urgent sense that intellectual modernization was a matter of national priority—demonstrated dramatically, indeed, by the magnitude of French defeat in the Seven Years’ War (1756–1763). The last years of the French Enlightenment saw the emergence of a distinctive school of political economy, whose conscious purpose was to find means of restoring the economic and political fortunes of France, in the face of British competition.

By this point, the example of the French Enlightenment had long since inspired or provoked a sequence of other national “enlightenments,” according to a similar dynamic of international rivalry and influence. Second only to France in terms of its contribution to the Enlightenment was its perennial ally in political and cultural contention with England: Scotland—which, in fact, had been absorbed into political union with England in 1707. The first major thinker of the Scottish Enlightenment was David Hume, whose precocious *Treatise of Human Nature* was published in 1740. Hume’s subsequent turn to history and politics paved the way for the works of Adam Smith, Adam Ferguson, and John Millar in the 1760s and 1770s, which gave birth to modern economics and historical sociology—and whose common focus was precisely the issue of economic and social development across time. Italy, not surprisingly, as another zone of French influence, produced not a “national” but a great flowering of local “enlightenments,” the most important being the Milanese and the Neapolitan, both specializing in juridical thought and reform.

Beyond this western European core, the Enlightenment spread, in the second half of the century, to the western and eastern peripheries of European civilization. French and Scottish ideas were enthusiastically embraced in the English colonies of North America, and, with a slight lag, in the Spanish and Portuguese colonies in the South. As in France and Scotland, this was largely a spontaneous process, the work of an independent intelligentsia—even if some of the key figures of colonial “enlightenments” soon became statesmen them-

selves. In eastern Europe, by contrast, where the major absolute monarchies now reached their maturity, the Enlightenment tended to arrive with royal sponsorship: Frederick the Great's engagement of the services of Voltaire and Catherine the Great's of Diderot—or, for that matter, the Polish nobility's solicitation of advice from Jean-Jacques Rousseau—are the most famous gestures of what came to be known as “enlightened despotism.” In any case, the last flowering of the Enlightenment as a whole came in Germany, where it found a philosophical consummation in Kant's mature philosophy, completed during the years that the French monarchy fell victim to the revolution that ended the European Old Regime as a whole.

IDEAS: CONSENSUS AND DIVERGENCE

What were the key ideas of the Enlightenment, beyond the challenge to inherited intellectual authority noted by Kant? The Enlightenment never presented itself as a single theoretical system or unitary ideological doctrine—if nothing else, the necessities of adaptation to different national contexts made unity of that kind unlikely. But the variety of its ideas was not infinite. The best way to approach them is perhaps in terms of a sequence of domains of thought or “problem-areas,” in which a certain general consensus—often negative—can be discerned, together with a significant spectrum of differences of opinion.

Religion. No idea is more commonly associated with the Enlightenment than hostility toward established forms of religion—indeed, at least one major interpreter has characterized the movement in terms of “the rise of modern paganism” (Gay, 1966). It is certainly the case that the majority of adherents to the Enlightenment shared an intellectual aversion to theism in its inherited forms: specific objects of criticism included belief in miracles and other forms of divine intervention, the status accorded “holy” Scripture, and claims about the divinity of Jesus. At the same time, most Enlightenment thinkers regarded traditional churches, Catholic and Protestant, as engines of institutional exploitation and oppression. Hostility toward theism and a general anticlericalism did not, however, preclude an enormous variety of attitudes toward the supernatural and the “sacred” among followers of the Enlightenment. Fortright atheism did in-

deed make its public debut in Europe during the eighteenth century, in the works of figures such as Hume, Julien Offroy de La Mettrie, and Paul Thiry, baron d'Holbach. But this was a minority position. The bulk of Enlightened opinion opted for the compromise of “deism” or “natural religion,” which had the stamp of approval of Newton himself and which continued to attract a good deal of sincere devotion, in a wide variety of forms.

Science. It is a commonplace that the demotion of religion by the Enlightenment went hand in hand with the promotion of science—indeed, the very notion of a generic “science,” as a sphere of cognition distinct from religious “belief,” was undoubtedly a gift of the eighteenth century. The Enlightenment discovery or construction of science, in this sense, owed everything to the idea of a heroic age of scientific achievement just behind it, in the development of modern astronomy and physics from Nicolaus Copernicus to Newton. For all of the prestige that now attached to science, however, it would be a mistake to exaggerate agreement during the Enlightenment with regard to either its methods or findings. The philosophical heritage from the seventeenth century was far too various for that. Looking back at the eighteenth century, the last great philosopher of the Enlightenment, Kant, described an anarchic battlefield, divided ontologically between materialism and idealism and epistemologically between rationalism and empiricism. Moreover, there was also profound disagreement as to the social consequences of scientific advance, however defined. For every Condorcet, celebrating the beneficent effects of cognitive “progress” for liberty and prosperity, there was a Rousseau, decrying the contribution that science made to technological violence and social inequality.

Politics. The seventeenth century had seen a profound revolution in political thought, with the emergence of the modern “natural rights” tradition of Grotius, Hobbes, Locke, and Pufendorf. One of the major achievements of the early Enlightenment was to popularize and disseminate this tradition, via an endless array of translations, summaries, and commentaries. By the mid-eighteenth century, the basic conceptual vocabulary of the natural rights tradition—“natural rights,” “state of nature,” “civil society,” “social contract”—had entered the mainstream of Enlightenment political thought,

which embraced, nearly unanimously, the belief that the only legitimate basis of political authority was consent. The path toward the vindication of “inalienable natural rights” in the founding documents of the American and French Revolutions lay open. Still, beyond this basic agreement about legitimacy, the practical substance of Enlightenment political thought was extraordinarily various. Only one major thinker, Rousseau, actually produced a theory of republican legitimacy—but in a form so radically democratic as to preclude its widespread acceptance prior to the era of the French Revolution. In terms of practical politics, the majority of Enlightenment thinkers accepted a pragmatic accommodation with monarchy—overwhelmingly still the dominant state-form in Europe—and instead pursued what might be termed a program of “proto-liberalism,” concentrating on securing civil liberties of one kind or another—freedoms of religion, self-expression, and trade.

Social science. Meanwhile, the most influential work of political theory of the Enlightenment turned its back on natural rights theory altogether. In *De l'esprit des lois* (1748; *The spirit of the laws*), Montesquieu set forth a global taxonomy of state-forms, dividing the world into a West that had seen a transition from the martial republics of antiquity to the commercial monarchies of modern Europe, and an East dominated by unchanging “despotism.” A succeeding generation of French and Scottish thinkers then developed Montesquieu’s legacy in two different directions. One was the genre of “conjectural” or “stadial” history, which traced the historical development of societies through specific socioeconomic stages—hunter-gatherer, nomadic, agricultural, and commercial in the most famous of these, known retrospectively as the “four stages” theory. The other direction was toward an entirely new social science, that of economics or “political economy”—probably the most important single intellectual innovation of the Enlightenment. Within the ranks of “conjectural” historians and political economists, however, there was significant disagreement about the political and moral upshot of their findings. Thinkers as close in outlook as Adam Smith and Adam Ferguson could disagree profoundly about the effects of economic progress on political life. The field of political economy itself was sharply divided between two quite

different theoretical schools, French Physiocracy and the “system of liberty” set forth in Smith’s *Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (1776). Finally, more conventional narrative historiography, which underwent a great flowering in the Enlightenment in the work of practitioners such as Voltaire, Hume, and Edward Gibbon, showed a not dissimilar variety. In the face of every legend about the shallow optimism of the Enlightenment, it is worth noting that its historiographical masterpiece, Gibbon’s *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (1776–1788), recounted a tragedy of almost unimaginable proportions: the destruction of the classical world at the hands of “barbarism and religion.”

Imaginative literature. From the start, poetry, fiction, and plays provided natural vehicles for the expression of Enlightenment ideas. Here, above all, the watchword is variety. It is very striking that the two most enduring works of imaginative literature of the French Enlightenment should be so dark in outlook. Its earliest work, Montesquieu’s *Persian Letters*, is a stark parable about the lethal dangers of the pursuit of knowledge and freedom. Voltaire’s philosophical novella *Candide* (1759)—doubtless the most widely read eighteenth-century work today—is a caustic satire on the “optimism” of philosophical rationalism. At the other end of this spectrum, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart’s late operas, scarcely less popular with contemporary audiences, convey an infinitely sunnier sense of basic Enlightenment ideas—from the raucous celebration of social and gender egalitarianism in *Le nozze di Figaro* (1785; *The marriage of Figaro*), to the stately presentation of a stylized Freemasonry in *Die Zauberflöte* (1791; *The magic flute*). In fact, *The Marriage of Figaro* can be regarded as an emblem of Enlightenment cosmopolitanism—the incendiary play on which it is based the work of a French Protestant admirer of the American Revolution, its libretto furnished by an Italian Jew, its composer an Austrian Freemason.

THE ENLIGHTENMENT “PUBLIC SPHERE”: INSTITUTIONS AND IDENTITIES

Ideas naturally remain the primary focus of scholarly study of the Enlightenment. However, recent scholarship has devoted a steadily increasing amount of attention to what might be termed the

“social history” of the Enlightenment—the form in which its ideas were expressed, the institutions by means of which they circulated, and the identities of the people who produced and consumed them. The theoretical inspiration for much of this research has come from the German philosopher Jürgen Habermas’s early book, *Der Strukturwandel der Öffentlichkeit* (1962; The structural transformation of the public sphere), which traced the development of a “bourgeois public sphere” for the exchange of ideas and information, which reached its climax in the eighteenth century—indeed, was at one with the Enlightenment (Habermas, 1989; Melton, 2001).

Habermas’s analysis laid special stress on the socioeconomic developments in the early modern period that made the “public sphere” in this sense possible. The most crucial development of all, he suggested, was a revolution in reading and writing in the eighteenth century to match the original “print revolution” of the sixteenth. The suggestion has been amply confirmed by subsequent scholarship, which has focused on three specific changes in the “print culture” of the Enlightenment. One is simply a tremendous leap forward not just in literacy rates, but in the very meaning of literacy, as “reading” itself deepened and widened and as large numbers of women joined the ranks of the literate for the first time. Secondly, the Enlightenment saw a vast expansion not just in the volume of printed matter in Europe, but also in its variety: different genres of books, multiplying in every direction, were joined by a wide range of periodicals, as well as weekly and even daily newspapers. Finally, authorship itself finally started to be modernized during the Enlightenment, as first the idea and then the reality of literary property began to take hold—traceable in the careers of such major writers as Voltaire, Hume, and Rousseau.

Beyond this transformation of the literate “public,” Habermas also suggested that the eighteenth-century “public sphere” depended on certain characteristic social institutions, which shared a kind of family resemblance as sites for the expression of a specifically Enlightenment “sociability.” Most striking of all was the Enlightenment salon—periodic social gatherings of writers and intellectuals for the exchange of ideas, presentation of written material, and display of works of art, typically under

female leadership and direction. The salons of eighteenth-century Paris are the most famous, but those of London, Berlin, or Vienna contributed no less to the local circulation of Enlightened ideas. Secondly, there was a set of slightly more “public,” and certainly more masculine, establishments, part of whose allure depended on the consumption of intoxicants of one kind or another—the tavern, wine shop, and coffeehouse, pioneered in the United Provinces and Britain in the late seventeenth century and then widely imitated across Europe in the eighteenth. Finally, the propagation of Enlightenment ideas was a special concern of the network of Masonic lodges, again deriving from British origins, which then proliferated across the continent in the eighteenth century—the first secular, voluntary associations in modern Europe.

What was the social profile of those who attended Enlightenment salons, frequented eighteenth-century coffee shops, and joined Masonic lodges? In line with his Marxism, Habermas himself stressed the “bourgeois” or even capitalist origins and character of the “public sphere” of the Enlightenment. In fact, at its upper reaches, the movement was thoroughly mixed in social terms: the roster of its leading figures suggests a kind of united front between aristocrats—Montesquieu, Condorcet—and an emergent middle-class intelligentsia, typified by the careers of Voltaire or Diderot. Below this level, however, there is no doubt about the fundamentally bourgeois character of the Enlightenment, in the broadest sense of the term. In fact, one of the most important achievements of scholarship over the past thirty years has been the patient reconstruction of what the historian Robert Darnton called the “business of Enlightenment”—the commodification of Enlightenment ideas, in the book trade above all. Darnton has also been a pioneer in uncovering the diffusion of Enlightenment ideas down the social scale, far below the cosmopolitan elite of famous names, to what he termed the “Grub Street” journalism of an emergent popular culture (Darnton, 1979 and 1982).

As it happens, however, the liveliest sector of the current social history of the Enlightenment is concerned not with social rank but with gender. What was the role of women in the Enlightenment? The leading part taken by women in organizing and hosting salons, as well as the rising rate of female

literacy, points to one kind of answer—that the Enlightenment indeed marked a watershed in the history of female participation at the highest reaches of European intellectual life (Goodman, 1994). At the same time, the absence of feminine names from the canon of the major writers of the epoch also suggests some of the limits of this emancipation. Early feminist ideas were in circulation in Europe from the late-seventeenth century onward: the works of Mary Astell (1666–1731) are a major reference point today. But Astell, a deeply devoted Anglican, was far from an Enlightenment thinker. On the whole, the actual record of eighteenth-century thought on women and gender suggests a kind of confused collision between competing values: the egalitarianism of Enlightenment social sensibilities was counterbalanced by a robust naturalism emphasizing the biological differences between the sexes. Not a few of the most famous writers of the era—Rousseau is the most notorious—adopted positions that can only be described as antifeminist. It is very striking that the first great classic of feminist philosophy, Mary Wollstonecraft's *Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792), was written by an English radical who, while she identified very closely with the French Enlightenment and admired Rousseau, owed the publication of her work to a very different political context—that of the French Revolution.

REFORM AND REVOLUTION

This brings us in fact to an initial question about the place of the Enlightenment in the wider currents of European history. Its maturity as an intellectual movement coincided with the start of a cycle of political revolutions that ended, after a half-century of social convulsion and warfare, with the destruction of the Old Regime of early modern Europe. What was the relation between the Enlightenment and what the American historian R. R. Palmer called “the age of the democratic revolution”? For conservative critics of the French Revolution such as Edmund Burke or Joseph de Maistre, the answer was simple and dramatic: the Enlightenment caused the Revolution—Voltaire and Rousseau sketched a scenario for political transformation that was then willfully enacted by the Abbé Siéyès and Maximilien Robespierre. The idea is easy to dismiss in its hyperbolic or conspiratorial forms. But how in fact should we conceive of the relation between the intellectual

movement of the Enlightenment and the political revolutions that overthrew the Old Regime?

Many scholars have stressed the practical thrust of the Enlightenment critique of political, social, and religious institutions, which certainly appeared to express a desire not merely to analyze but to change the world. At the same time, it also seems clear that the basic orientation of this criticism was reformist and not revolutionary. No major Enlightenment thinker ever advocated “revolution,” in the sense of a conscious change of political regime, even by peaceful means—the memory of the last serious example of such a project, the failed Commonwealth that issued out of the English Civil War, was a potent warning against such presumption. On the whole, the practical political energies of the Enlightenment were devoted to a far more modest set of ends, the securing of a set of basic civil liberties—freedom of religion, self-expression, trade—nor did many thinkers contemplate the extension of these liberties beyond an elite minority of white male property owners. It is perfectly appropriate that the most celebrated examples of Enlightenment activism should be the one-man campaigns mounted by Voltaire to “crush the infamy,” as his motto put it, of anachronistic religious persecution. Of course, Voltaire was not the only Enlightenment thinker to become more directly involved with affairs of state, on occasion. But the oxymoron of “enlightened despotism” suggests the limits of such episodes. In eastern Europe, this was largely a matter of rendering the rule of divine-right absolutism more rational and efficient. In the West, experiments in the practical application of Enlightenment ideas—for example, efforts to deregulate the grain trade in France, inspired by Physiocracy—tended to be short-lived fiascoes.

The immediate origins of both the American and the French Revolutions can be traced, not to the conscious plans of revolutionaries dreaming of overthrowing regimes, but to fiscal crises brought on by debts incurred in international warfare—disputes over the escalating costs of imperial defense in the case of the first, state bankruptcy brought on by bankrolling the American revolt itself, in the case of the second. The Enlightenment cannot be said to have “caused” either, in any plausible sense of the term. This is not to deny any relation between them, however. On the contrary, if the Enlightenment

played a minimal role in the origins—largely spontaneous and contingent—of the American and French Revolutions, it was absolutely central to the processes of political and social reconstruction undertaken by both, once old regimes had collapsed. The various declarations of “natural rights” that accompanied every step of this saga, from Thomas Jefferson’s Declaration of Independence (1776) and the American state constitutions to the French Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen (1789) and the American Bill of Rights (1791) and beyond, tell their own story—so many variations on the basic civil libertarianism of the Enlightenment. Politically, the Age of Revolutions afforded opportunities for state construction beyond what any Enlightenment thinker had envisaged. But the ensuing experiments in republican constitution making were all conducted in self-conscious continuity with eighteenth-century political thought. The one great success story here, the American constitution of 1787, with its antidemocratic machinery of “checks and balances,” is notoriously a creature of the Enlightenment. Neither the French Revolution nor the wars of liberation in Latin America succeeded in creating comparably durable state structures, of course. But by far the most significant sociopolitical accomplishment of the former, the Napoleonic Civil Code (1804), was itself a straightforward expression of the egalitarian and rationalizing designs of the Enlightenment. Moreover, the fact that the restoration of monarchy that followed the overthrow of Napoleon was so unstable and short-lived is a testament to the long-term impact of the Enlightenment in altering the social and political expectations of Europeans. When the dust settled after another cycle of political revolutions a half-century later—unifying and modernizing Italy, Germany, the United States, and Japan by means of revolution “from above”—the social and political landscape to be seen in Europe and North America was very much in line with the hopes and aspirations of the Enlightenment.

THE INTELLECTUAL LEGACY OF THE ENLIGHTENMENT

In the long run, then, the Enlightenment can be said to have succeeded in changing the world, much as the Renaissance and the Reformation had before it—through a complicated interweaving of intended and unintended consequences. There is,

however, one important difference between the first two and the last of these episodes of intellectual “modernization.” On the whole, the great issues and passions of the Renaissance and the Reformation have long since receded into history, their very success having also canceled their actuality. There is no sign yet that the Enlightenment is “over” in the same sense. Despite the claims once made on behalf of Marxism or psychoanalysis in their heydays, the Enlightenment has yet to be coopted or surpassed by any later intellectual movement, in the way it did the Renaissance and Reformation.

There is no surer sign of this than its fate in twentieth-century scholarship. For alongside a massive professional literature on its thought, probably exceeding that devoted to the Renaissance, the Reformation, or the “scientific revolution,” the Enlightenment has inspired a polemical and philosophical commentary on it that is unprecedented in modern intellectual history. On the one hand, the movement has attracted a powerful series of advocates, concerned to defend its intellectual and political legacy, typically by straightforward identification with it. These include Ernst Cassirer, whose *Philosophie der Aufklärung* (Philosophy of the enlightenment), published on the eve of his exile from Nazi Germany in 1932, launched the serious academic study of its subject, and, above all, Peter Gay, whose two-volume study, *The Enlightenment: An Interpretation* (1966, 1969)—which ended with a ringing vindication of Enlightenment liberal humanism, still incarnated today in the American constitution—remains the most authoritative single synthesis of the field. On the other hand, the Enlightenment has also been the object of an endless series of polemical attacks in the twentieth century. What is perhaps most striking is that the greatest of these have not come from the right of the political spectrum, as in the tradition descending from Burke and Maistre to Friedrich Nietzsche and Martin Heidegger, but from its center—Carl Becker’s perennially popular *The Heavenly City of the Eighteenth-Century Philosophers*—as well as its far left—Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno’s classic of Western Marxism, *Dialektik der Aufklärung* (1947; Dialectic of enlightenment) and virtually the entire early oeuvre of the French historian Michel Foucault. For Becker, the fatal flaw of the Enlightenment was its naive utopianism, modeled on that of its ostensible

Christian opponents. Both Horkheimer and Adorno and Foucault regarded Enlightenment rationalism less as utopian than as inherently authoritarian in nature, its fundamental will to power plainly visible in twentieth-century fascism, Stalinism, and consumer capitalism alike.

Today this field remains divided between contemporary representatives of these positions. The descendents of Becker, Horkheimer and Adorno, and Foucault can be found among the major theorists of postmodernism, who continue to attack the Enlightenment both for its utopianism—its supposed addiction to “grand narratives” of progress and emancipation—and its intellectual authoritarianism, embodied in its various philosophical “essentialisms” or “foundationalisms.” If successors to Cassirer and Gay are somewhat less vocal today, it is perhaps precisely because the Enlightenment might not seem to require such strenuous advocacy, in a world dominated by a triumphant neoliberalism claiming direct descent from it. The contemporary politics of the Enlightenment remain unpredictable, however. Paradoxically, by far the most visible promoter of its values today is in fact the most famous living representative of the tradition of Horkheimer and Adorno—Jürgen Habermas, who has long urged the Left to embrace what he terms the “unfinished project” of the Enlightenment. The note of modesty, acknowledging the gap between goal and accomplishment, in fact captures the self-definition of the Enlightenment far better than any kind of self-congratulation. It was Kant himself who answered the question, “Do we now live in an enlightened age?” by saying: “No, but we live in an age of enlightenment”—a judgment that perhaps remains as true today as when it was first rendered.

See also Academies, Learned; Alembert, Jean Le Rond d'; American Independence, War of; Anticlericalism; Atheism; Bayle, Pierre; Burke, Edmund; Catherine II (Russia); Deism; Dictionaries and Encyclopedias; Diderot, Denis; Education; Empiricism; *Encyclopédie*; Enlightened Despotism; Equality and Inequality; Feminism; Frederick II (Prussia); Freemasonry; Gibbon, Edward; Holbach, Paul Thiry, baron d'; Hume, David; Journalism, Newspapers, and Newsheets; Journals, Literary; Kant, Immanuel; La Mettrie, Julien Offroy de; Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm; Liberty; Literacy and Reading; Montesquieu, Charles-Louis de Secondat de; Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus; Natural Law; Newton, Isaac;

Physocrats and Physiocracy; Political Philosophy; Printing and Publishing; Public Opinion; Reason; Republic of Letters; Revolutions, Age of; Rights, Natural; Rousseau, Jean-Jacques; Salons; Scientific Revolution; Smith, Adam; Voltaire.

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ENLIGHTENMENT, JEWISH. *See* Haskalah (Jewish Enlightenment).

ENSENADA, CENÓN DE SOMODEVILLA, MARQUÉS DE LA (1702–1781), minister to Philip V and Ferdinand VI of Spain. One of Spain's most powerful eighteenth-century ministers, Somodevilla was born into a poor *hidalgo*, 'noble', family in the small northern town of Alescano in the Rioja region. Little is known about his formative years. In 1720, at the age of eighteen, he was working as a civil servant for the navy in Cádiz, where his abilities gained the notice of the royal minister José Patiño y Morales (1666–1736), then the naval intendant general.

Groomed by Patiño, Somodevilla was promoted to numerous positions within the ministries of navy and war. He earned the title of marqués de la Ensenada in 1736 for his services to the navy in the Italian campaigns that made Philip V's (ruled 1700–1724; 1724–1746) son Charles the king of Naples, and he became a secretary of state and of war in 1741. When José de Campillo (1695–1743) died in 1743, Ensenada succeeded him as first secretary in four of the five secretariats of the Spanish crown: finance, war, navy, and the Indies.

Ensenada and José de Carvajal (1698–1754), first secretary of state, dominated the reign of Ferdinand VI (ruled 1746–1759). Ensenada's position exemplified the incredible power that individual ministers came to wield in Bourbon Spain as the crown reduced the historic power of the *Consejos* ('councils'), an institutional stronghold of the aristocracy under the Habsburgs.

Eighteenth-century Spain is often characterized as the century of Bourbon reform, in which successive kings oversaw efforts to centralize administration and to modernize and rationalize the state. The first Spanish Bourbons, Philip V and Ferdinand VI, were ineffectual rulers, but they promoted talented ministers who worked to reshape Spain as it recovered from the economic crises of the seventeenth century and the political fracture of the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1714). Melchor de Macanaz (1670–1760), Campillo, and Patiño instituted ambitious programs to stabilize and consolidate power in the first decades of Bourbon rule. Yet these early "reformers" did little to challenge Spain's traditional economic and social structures, and historians have identified Ensenada as the eighteenth century's first real innovator, one whose vision prefigured the more far-reaching projects of Charles III's reign (1759–1788).

Like his mentor Patiño, Ensenada recognized the importance of improving the military to protect Spain's interests throughout its empire, particularly its American colonies. He expanded the Spanish fleet and reformed an ailing naval infrastructure. He initiated civil engineering projects and asserted state control of public works at national, regional, and local levels. Dissatisfied with Spain's scientific and technological stagnation, he sent students abroad



Marqués de la Ensenada. Portrait by Jacopo Amigoni, c. 1750. ©ARCHIVO ICONOGRAFICO, S.A./CORBIS

and subsidized visits of prominent scientists and thinkers to Spain.

Perhaps Ensenada's most famous project was his plan to reform the tax system in Castile by eliminating various provincial taxes in favor of the *única contribución*, a single tax proportional to wealth and applied to every individual. To assess the tax, he directed a vast census, or *catastro*, of the communities, people, and properties of Castile. The single tax added a social component to economic reform, for the old provincial taxes largely exempted both nobility and church, placing an inordinate tax burden on the poor. The nobility fought and defeated the single tax, however, reacting to the threat that Ensenada and a new class of royal bureaucrats presented to traditional power and local privilege.

Ensenada created enemies within Spain for his policies of national reform, but his role in foreign affairs ultimately caused his downfall. His aggression against the competition of England and its ally Portugal in Atlantic trade, and his support of a strategic alliance with France, alienated pro-English and pro-Portuguese factions within the court and diverged from the policies of Carvajal, who pursued a more neutral course. This court factionalism came

to a head during the territorial dispute and subsequent treaty with Portugal over Paraguay in 1750. Ensenada opposed the unfavorable terms of the treaty for Spain, as did the Jesuits. Their protests did not prevent the treaty's ratification, and only heightened political resentment against them.

In the wake of the Paraguay crisis and Carvajal's death in 1754, Ensenada became an easy target for his enemies, despised for his vanity and feared for the disproportionate power he possessed. His fall was swift and he was banished that year to Medina del Campo, where he remained until Charles III restored him to court (though not to power) in 1760. He came under new scrutiny for his relationship with the Jesuits in the events leading to their 1767 expulsion from Spain, and he was again exiled to Medina del Campo, where he died in 1781.

See also **Bourbon Dynasty (Spain); Charles III (Spain); Ferdinand VI (Spain); Philip V (Spain); Spain; Spanish Succession, War of the (1701–1714).**

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JULIANNE GILLAND

ENTHUSIASM. From the sixteenth century to the nineteenth, “enthusiasm” was used in describing individuals or groups who claimed to have been the special recipients of divine inspiration. Originally having the neutral or positive meaning of “being possessed or inspired by a god” (from the Greek *enthousiasmos*), the term assumed negative connotations after the Reformation. Protestant Reformer Martin Luther (1483–1546) first used the word “Schwärmer” to describe such radical reformers as Thomas Müntzer (c. 1489–1525), Andreas Karlstadt (c. 1480–1541), and the Anabaptists, on account of their elevation of religious experience over the literal words of Scripture.

“Enthusiast” was the English equivalent, used to characterize those thought guilty of feigned inspiration, impostures, sectarianism, and extremes of religious passion. Enthusiasm was also associated

with sets of physical symptoms—convulsions, ecstatic dancing, prophesying, speaking in foreign tongues, and the “quaking” from which Quakers received their derisory designation. The expression was used of a variety of sects, including the original Anabaptists, Behmenists, Seekers, Familists, Ranters, Camisards, Quietists, and Quakers. However, the deployment of the term in the context of religious controversy meant that it was often applied indiscriminately. Puritans and Methodists could be referred to as enthusiasts. Luther called the pope an enthusiast, and even the rationalist philosopher René Descartes (1596–1650) attracted the label. Its more restricted technical sense was well expressed by Samuel Johnson (1709–1784) who defined it as “a vain confidence of Divine favour or communication.”

ENTHUSIASM AND RELIGIOUS AUTHORITY

In the West, Christian belief is grounded in a combination of four authorities: Scripture, tradition, reason, and experience. Whereas Catholics typically elevated the authority of tradition and Protestants that of Scripture, enthusiasts argued that private religious experience was paramount. This emphasis on individual inspiration meant that those designated enthusiasts were often regarded as a threat to the established civil and religious order. Private and heartfelt revelations unchecked by the external authority of Scripture, the universal strictures of common reason, or the institutionalized resources of ecclesiastical tradition arguably did present some challenges to social stability. Responsibility for the ill-fated German Peasants’ War (1524–1526) was laid on the shoulders of religious enthusiasts, not entirely without justification, for Müntzer’s apocalyptic visions had played a role in the later stages of the revolt. English critics of enthusiasm also came to regard the Great Rebellion (the English Civil War; 1642–1651) as an event that exemplified the dangers of unchecked religious zeal.

Most responses to the perceived problem of enthusiasm stressed the need for private religious experience to be moderated by reason or constrained by the authorities of tradition or Scripture. Of these, reason was the major beneficiary of the fear of enthusiastic excess. Champions of reason claimed that a reasonable religion suffered from neither the corruptions to which tradition was susceptible nor the

difficulties associated with the interpretation of Scripture. For its promoters, moreover, the religion of reason also promoted religious concord, for in its simplest form, it contained only fundamental doctrines on which all, at least in principle, could agree. The seventeenth-century tendency toward rational religion can be regarded, at least in part, as a reaction against the putative dangers of enthusiasm.

THEORIES OF ENTHUSIASM

Another response to enthusiasm was the attempt to analyze its natural causes. During the seventeenth century a number of writers set out to investigate the etiology of what was regarded as a religious distemper. In his classic work of psychopathology, *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621), Robert Burton (1577–1640) articulated the influential view that enthusiasm was one of two extreme forms of religious melancholy, the other being atheism. Both extremes were caused by various affects in the brain, and both were equally undesirable. Meric Casaubon (1599–1671), son of the famous classicist Isaac, devoted a complete work to the condition. In his *Treatise concerning Enthusiasm* (1655) he argued for a distinction between natural and supernatural enthusiasm. The former was caused by an excitation of the soul, spirits, or brain, the latter by divine or diabolical inspiration. Religious errors arose when natural or diabolical inspirations were mistakenly thought to have originated from God. The Cambridge Platonist Henry More (1614–1687) also focused on the natural causes of enthusiasm in his *Enthusiasmus Triumphatus* (1662). For More, enthusiasm resulted from a diseased imagination, which in turn had underlying physical causes. While it was essentially a physiological condition, it could be triggered by ascetic and monkish habits. By the same token, in human behaviors and attitudes lay the prospect for the control and cure of enthusiasm through cultivation of the habits of reasonableness, temperance, and humility.

These naturalistic treatments gave enthusiasm a significance that went beyond contemporary confessional polemic. As a generic form of mental pathology, its adverse affects were discovered in other spheres of human endeavor such as science and medicine. Followers of the medical and chemical reforms of Paracelsus (1493–1541) and Jan Baptist van Helmont (c. 1579–1644) were referred to

as “philosophical enthusiasts,” and theosophists and alchemists were similarly identified. More importantly, the emergence of this category in the early modern period gave a new shape to interpretations of religious history. Schismatic groups such as the early Christian Montanists and Donatists, and the medieval Waldensians and Cathars, were now retrospectively classified as enthusiasts. Enthusiasm was also given a role in the general history of religion. According to Henry More’s analysis, enthusiasm accounted for defections from the pure, simple, and rational religion that he and many others believed had been universally practiced in the first age of the world. Enthusiasm, in short, was said to account for the varieties of heresy and heathenism in the world and thus took on the status of a theory of religious pluralism.

Physiological accounts of enthusiasm and the application of the category to religious history are indicative of an important shift in Western understandings of the basis of religious belief. The quest for the natural causes of the diversity of religious beliefs, incipient in the treatments of Burton, Casaubon, and More, heralds the beginning of Enlightenment attempts to provide religious beliefs with natural, rather than supernatural, explanations. To a degree, these treatments also lessened the moral stigma associated with religious heterodoxy. Enthusiasm and its critics played a significant role in the secularization of European thought and culture.

See also Anabaptism; Cambridge Platonists; Descartes, René; Helmont, Jan Baptiste van; Johnson, Samuel; Luther, Martin; More, Henry; Paracelsus; Peasants’ War, German; Quakers.

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PETER HARRISON

ENTREPRENEURS. *See* Artisans; Commerce and Markets; Shops and Shopkeeping.

ENVIRONMENT. To reflect squarely upon the environment of early modern Europe, one needs to adopt a perspective shaped by the rise of environmentalism, a way of thinking that gained prominence in the 1960s and 1970s. This philosophy calls for a recognition of the intrinsic value of nature and a rejection of the view that humans are somehow outside of nature. Environmental historians are revisiting many of the issues familiar to historians of the early modern age through the perspective of environmentalism, balancing the traditional attention given to people and society with a focus on the environment itself—the natural and the man-made.

Early modern Europeans thought about the world they lived in. Most earned a precarious living directly from the land, and a minority had the leisure to reflect on the links between their society and the milieu it depended upon. Some worried about perceived changes to the natural world surrounding them, while others eagerly sought ways to improve or better control the features most relevant to economic or social life. Others immersed themselves in the study of nature and reflected upon the place of humankind in the universe. Voyages to very different lands, advances in science and technology, political clashes, and the sheer intellectual dynamism of the period from the Renaissance to the Enlightenment all contributed to the transformation of European thinking about the environment.

Early modern Europeans drained wetlands, tried to improve agricultural practices, and coped with the pollution associated with dense popula-

tions. They discovered new resources and worried about the depletion of forests. They sailed to the tropics and mapped their own lands, planted gardens, and fought diseases. All of this can be studied in the long-established fields of history: economic, political, social, and cultural. Other aspects of the period's environment can be explored in works on early modern agriculture and fisheries, mining, public works, urbanism, forestry, science, and medicine.

Not all environmental historians adopt the most rigorous tenets of environmentalism. Some simply share an attitude of respect for nature, perhaps founded on a new awareness of the intricacies and the fragility of ecosystems. Others remain attached to the deeply rooted concept of human stewardship of nature or, more uniquely, proclaim the hybrid character of much of the world around us. Many, in the end, cling to the centrality of human beings to life and, therefore, to history. Yet, however amenable it may be to a variety of interpretations, environmentalism represents an elemental reformulation of an enduring inquiry into the divide between nature and culture. It has led to a genuine broadening of historical research. The following sketch of the thematic and methodological wealth of early modern environmental history is structured around the three poles of the human experience of nature: first, its many and changing representations; second, the rich bodies of knowledge it has fostered; and third, the broad range of institutions and practices developed to guide our daily interactions with the natural world.

ENVIRONMENTAL HISTORY AND REPRESENTATIONS OF NATURE

The evolution of ideas about nature was first studied through textual analyses before cultural historians expanded this process to a quest for meaningful signs in countless objects. Long before the rise of environmentalism, historians of literature were drawn to the many meanings of the word *nature* and, distinctly, the quasi-universal explanatory power that it acquired in the eighteenth century. The early modern period soon emerged as a key stage in the evolution of European attitudes toward the natural world. The Renaissance and the scientific revolution advanced more materialistic, less religious, and certainly less magical interpretations of natural phenomena, even before enhancing human agency in these matters. The Enlightenment fur-

thered this positivist trend, readily extending its faith in the perfectibility of humans to society and to its surroundings, while new articulations of private and public interests prepared the way for radical changes in European economies. At the same time, an aesthetic revolution, precursor to the Romantic movement, encouraged a less instrumental, yet still anthropocentric, appreciation of nature. Unsurprisingly, studies of the impact of these key cultural currents upon the ways in which Europeans conceived of their place in the environment reflect regional disparities in their timing and relative strength.

Although for most authors the natural world generally remained just a background, incidental to or even deliberately drawn to advance a thesis, the wealth of early modern literature permits some wide-ranging inquiries. Asking new questions from well-known texts has, for example, identified a great shift in the significance of mountains to early modern society, from repulsive poles to objects of curiosity and, eventually, to a veritable cult rooted in a new appreciation of the sublime. In turn, mountains lent themselves to speculations on the relationship of humans with what must pass for, in a European context, wild spaces. Similar investigations enriched the history of many sciences, including ecology, and influential revisions have turned to social groups often ignored by scholars, revealing, most notably, the pertinence of gender to environmental history.

Students of literature have also invigorated historical research through their probes of the autonomy of a text from its surroundings and the multiplicity of its meanings. This late-twentieth-century trend allows for more critical readings of references to the cultural processes that made sense of the features of a natural milieu for its inhabitants. For instance, considerable work (enriched through collaboration with scientists) has taken place in areas such as the history of natural disasters and of animals, where written records proved singularly opaque because of their moral and exemplary style. More generally, the recent swell of cultural studies also irresistibly expanded the definition of the records likely to expose the mental images familiar to each society. A striking range of cultural manifestations and objects may now testify to the many meanings of various environments, be they obviously man-made, like a garden, or apparently more

natural, like a lake, as lasting as a rural landscape or as fleeting as a fair, as universal as bad weather or as singular as early modern tastes for monsters and fantastic lands. Environmental history has much to gain from this blossoming of cultural history since all societies tightly weave their “sites of memory” with their surroundings. Most notably, cultural history has carried the history of landscapes well beyond the social, economic, and agricultural mechanisms of their formation and evolution. It has also brought modes of perception other than the visual within the reach of investigations. Odors, sounds, and tastes now enrich our understanding of the clashes of modernity and tradition characteristic of early modern life, perhaps most evidently in the jumble of urban environments.

Detractors of this embrace of the cultural dimensions of all environments may regret a loss of the “natural,” turned into one of the dimensions of human experience rather than a fundamental and unique component of human experience as well as a reality outside of it. Indeed, a cultural analysis tends to present even very natural phenomena as hybrids. Yet, this juxtaposition of the natural and the artificial is precisely what is of interest to many historians when they turn to early modern Europe, because its preindustrial societies remained highly dependent upon environmental conditions while steadily expanding the range of tools available to control their fate.

The ambiguity of early modern stances vis-à-vis nature is perhaps most evident within the context of the great transoceanic expansion that created a frontier of tremendous economic and intellectual importance. This surge of European power, be it associated with the exploitation of tropical islands or the creation of “neo-Europes” by settlers, their animals, their crops, and their parasites, thoroughly challenged perspectives upon nature and the place of humans within their environments. The inquisitive mind of the Enlightenment entertained a great range of interpretations, from highly simplistic schemas to a nascent grasp of the interrelatedness of natural phenomena. Indeed, a loose parallel may be drawn between these intercontinental ventures and recent forays of environmental historians into the similarly unpredictable field of cultural history. Just as the former eventually fostered more relative assessments of the links between social structures and

environment, the latter are helping to wrench environmental history away from an overly “essentialist” penchant, most evident in many historical uses of geography and the field of climate history. Exposing the complexities, the vagaries, and the relative weight of the cultural and natural forces that shape identity has made it easier to resist the temptation to link identity and locale too tightly. This is important to the field of environmental history, never entirely free from the specter of determinism.

INTERDISCIPLINARY APPROACHES TO ENVIRONMENTAL HISTORY

The contribution of geographers to environmental history is more readily recognized than that of historians of literature. Indeed, it is fair to say that the key to the history of a region or a nation has repeatedly been sought in its geography.

The influence of the French *Annales* historical school is perhaps most telling in this regard. Starting after World War II, its many disciples were intent on expanding their investigations beyond the political and narrative history that had been common until then. They sought to show history in its social, economic, and geographical contexts by articulating the relationships between a society and its milieu around the concept of “possibilism,” that is, suggesting that throughout history, communities strove to make the most of the possibilities offered by a natural milieu while at the same time respecting their own priorities.

The range of closely or loosely *Annales*-inspired studies of interest to environmental historians is remarkable, in spite of a recognizable rural bias that was perhaps most evident in the early years of this movement. Cities have found the researchers they deserved, ordinary as well as exceptional settings have been treated, and syntheses were not long in appearing. Countless communities, from modest villages to great composite units such as the Mediterranean basin, have been firmly inscribed within their natural parameters, especially with regard to local symbioses between economic practices and resources. Nevertheless, many environmental historians will regret that, in these theses, the significance of a milieu resides precisely in the “thickness” of its links to the socioeconomic structures that it harbored. Environmental features less related to a community and its survival are likely to receive little

attention, and some significant fluctuations or even deteriorations of the natural systems surrounding it may remain hidden behind its adaptability.

Like studies of the *Annales* school, historical geographies of the early modern age may also be said at times to treat nature as a significant but passive background. Nonetheless, historically minded geographers continue to contribute to our knowledge of the evolution of urban and rural landscapes, the emergence of industrial clusters, the ever-changing map of commerce, patterns of land degradation or land reclamation, and so forth. Environmental historians will always profitably revisit such social and spatial arrangements, even if, in their call for a full recognition of the dynamics of a milieu, they choose to focus on the processes of greatest interest to them. They may, for instance, analyze the anthropization of a milieu, that is, the growing role played by humans in its evolution, or they may question its sustainability, seeking in effect a measure of the lasting power of the relationship between a society and its environment.

Many disciplines besides geography are contributing to the growth of environmental history. “Hard sciences,” such as medicine, botany, zoology, and ecology, are helping to decipher the material traces of earlier environments. Their contributions are most welcome with regard to prehistoric or particularly long periods with a lack of written sources. However, historians of the early modern age are also learning to use the data provided by ever-sharper scientific tools, to make sense of pollen deposits, animal remains, traces of contaminants, climate fluctuations, epidemics, or, less dramatically, diets. From the social sciences, disciplines such as anthropology, ethnology, archaeology, sociology, or economics, all familiar with the conceptualization of networks and practices that are frequently connected with the environment, also inform many inquiries of an environmental and historical nature. Indeed, the border between environmental history and neighboring fields such as economic history or historical demography ought to remain porous. After all, many productions severely taxed a region’s natural resources, and population levels often had a direct impact on European environments, notably in marginal regions. Historians of agriculture, technology, consumption patterns, the material world, military affairs, and many

others have much to say about early modern landscapes.

INSTITUTIONS AND PRACTICES

Because the early modern period is at the root of much of the institutional context of European life, the role played by various authorities in mediating the relations between rural or urban communities and their natural surroundings has, quite logically, attracted the attention of environmental historians. A first area of interest concerns the many regulations that anticipated the protection and conservation measures initiated in the twentieth century. Medieval and early modern controls of nuisances were intended to benefit human beings rather than the environment itself. Nonetheless, the range and coherence of the principles they invoked remain significant in the eyes of environmental historians. An array of edicts, intended to protect public health as well as property or the rights of corporate bodies, became law. In many different contexts across Europe, municipal, regional, or even royal powers reached deep into legal precedents to control the deeds of entrepreneurs. While never crafted to safeguard an environment for its own sake, these measures nonetheless tenaciously articulated its many values. Research in this area is often pursued within urban settings, a preference justified by the intricacies and intensities of the issues they raised and the records they left. Beyond the walls of cities, forests also receive considerable attention. Initial probes fueled a long polemic on the overexploitation and an eventual scarcity of wood before the age of coal. Thoughts then turned to the state’s intrusions in the relations between these territories and surrounding villages, and soon to the multitude of functions played by forests in the lives of these communities.

Environmental historians also explore the rich world of public works, the early modern period marking an important step in the affirmation of the will of Europeans to restructure their environment. From the great designs of the Renaissance to the sustained eighteenth-century focus on movement and exchanges, from dams to enclosures to land reclamation initiatives, environmental historians are reworking a field familiar to students of engineering, architecture, institutions or, again, agriculture and technology. Their goal is to direct attention

away from the heroes or even villains of these stories to the natural milieu where they competed, and their agendas are shaped by important regional distinctions in the timing and types of works undertaken.

Finally, major political landmarks often play a role in environmental histories. Most evidently, the great revolutions that concluded the early modern period were not without impact upon European environments, although it is now clear that in this area as in many others, continuities and changes are not easily sorted out. This truism simply recalls the fact that the early modern age was an age of transition. Then, as before, Europeans continued to reshape their environment without escaping its many imperatives. Yet their successes and failures are of particular interest to environmental historians because they prepared European societies for the radically more assertive attitudes of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

See also **Agriculture; Enlightenment; Industrial Revolution; Industry; Renaissance; Scientific Revolution; Weather and Climate.**

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PIERRE CLAUDE REYNARD

EPISTEMOLOGY. Epistemology means “theory of knowledge,” and sometimes more specifically “theory of the sciences.” As a term, *epistemology* (French, *épistémologie*, German, *Erkenntnistheorie*) entered European languages in the mid-nineteenth century. As a subject matter, it was present in ancient Greece, both in Plato’s discussions of knowledge in the *Meno* and *Theaetetus*, and in Aristotle’s characterizations in his logical works of “scientific” knowledge, that is, knowledge organized around basic principles from which other knowledge can be derived, or through which various facts can be explained. The root word *episteme* meant ‘knowledge’ in Greek; in early modern times the corresponding Latin word *scientia* meant ‘organized knowledge’, especially of a sort suitable for presentation as an ordered body of doctrine.

In early modern Europe, the theory of knowledge was examined and discussed in a variety of intellectual contexts. These included discussions of the methods and structure of knowledge in general, but especially of organized knowledge. The most important objects of knowledge included God and religious doctrines, the natural world as a whole as well as specific parts of it (as in astronomy, mechanics, or metallurgy), and knowledge of human nature, including the human body (in medicine and

physiology) and the soul or mind. These topics were discussed in university courses and the extensive literature they spawned, and in the works of individual philosophers outside universities, perhaps under princely or other wealthy patronage, but often not. European universities were church-related institutions that had been invigorated by the recovery of Aristotle's and other ancient works in the twelfth to sixteenth centuries. They provided a backdrop of theory, largely Aristotelian, of how knowledge is acquired and organized. Significant early modern thinkers such as Nicolaus Copernicus (1473–1543), Johannes Kepler (1571–1630), Galileo Galilei (1564–1642), Francis Bacon (1561–1626), René Descartes (1596–1650), Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679), Baruch Spinoza (1632–1677), Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646–1716), John Locke (1632–1704), George Berkeley (1685–1753), and David Hume (1711–1776) worked largely outside this setting. Of major early modern philosophers, only Immanuel Kant (1724–1804) enjoyed a career as a university professor.

THE NEW SCIENCE

The single most significant early modern epistemological episode was the rise of the “new science” in the period from 1500 to 1750. This episode is sometimes described as the “scientific revolution,” even though it took two hundred and fifty years to unfold and did not really constitute a unified revolution. Early results in astronomy (the Sun-centered solar system) and optics (the theory of lenses) fomented intellectual change and heralded the extension of human knowledge into new domains of the large and the small, through the telescope and microscope. The theory of vision exemplifies themes arising from this initial work. Relying on optical advances, Descartes developed a bold new conception of the physiological and cognitive bases of sight, which challenged Aristotelian orthodoxies concerning the physical and physiological operation of the senses, and formed part of his more general challenge to the Aristotelian theory of mind. In his fully developed system, Descartes appealed to purely rational considerations (epistemological rationalism) to ground his new theory of matter and of sensory properties such as light and color. Berkeley challenged Descartes's theory of vision in developing his own rival theory of knowledge, which denied any purely rational insight into the nature of

matter, and rendered sensory experience the sole basis for knowledge of the natural world (epistemological empiricism).

The most epistemologically impressive achievement of the new science was Newton's mechanics, which unified the celestial and terrestrial domains through the laws of motion and the inverse-square law of gravitational attraction. Isaac Newton (1642–1727) claimed that his new advances arose by turning away from rationalist philosophical systems such as that of Descartes (though Newton's work arose partly in direct response to Descartes's physical theories), and relying instead on observation and experiment. Indeed, the inverse-square law was established by fitting a single mathematical law to a diversity of empirical information about falling bodies and planetary motions. Further, Newton did not pretend to understand how gravity works. He simply claimed that bodies tend toward one another according to his law. His scientific achievements inspired subsequent philosophical analysis and were used to support epistemological empiricism.

COGNITION AND PSYCHOLOGY

Early modern theories typically explained the cognitive basis of knowledge through the powers of the human mind. In the Aristotelian scheme, various cognitive powers had been distinguished, including the senses, imagination, memory, and intellect. Later authors accepted these basic powers and focused epistemological debate on their mode of operation, scope, and limits. The intellect and senses were viewed as natural mental tools for the production of knowledge. Thus, the nature and possibility of knowledge might be investigated via the power and reliability of the human cognitive faculties. Rationalist epistemologists such as Descartes, Spinoza, and Leibniz agreed that the human intellect possesses the capacity by itself, without appeal to sensory experience, to discern the essence or nature of God, matter, and the human mind. Empiricist philosophers such as Locke and Hume denied such power to the human intellect, and sought to base all human knowledge of the natural world in sensory experience. Hume held that the human mind differs only in degree from the minds of other animals, and denied that the human cognitive faculties naturally confer rational justification on their products. Knowledge of significant matters of fact for him

reduced to cognitive habits produced by experiencing empirical regularities. Kant later created a distinction between the empirical psychological study of the mind (as in Hume), and the study of the logical or conceptual basis of knowledge. In this way he distinguished epistemology as a subject area from empirical psychology (even though he didn't possess the German word for "epistemology").

ORDER AND SYSTEM OF KNOWLEDGE

Early modern philosophers were presented an order of knowledge in university instruction, largely derived from the Aristotelian organization of the disciplines. Knowledge was divided into the theoretical (metaphysical and physical) and the practical (moral and political). Metaphysics studied the nature of being itself (the fundamental nature of reality, such as substance and its properties). Physics included the entire natural world, from the basic properties of bodies or matter through the study of living things (biology) to psychology. The eighteenth century articulated such systems, as in the *Encyclopédie* of Denis Diderot (1713–1784) and Jean Le Rond d'Alembert (1717–1783), and in the highly structured philosophical system of the German philosopher Christian Wolff (1679–1754). These later systems often agreed with Bacon in dividing knowledge relative to the cognitive faculties: history—which meant all collections of facts, whether about nature or about human society—was based in memory, poetry (and art more generally) was based in imagination, and philosophy—both theoretical, including what we would call natural science, and practical—was based in reason (or the intellect). Such classifications sometimes diverged. Thus, psychology was first classified under physics or the science of nature, later as a metaphysical science, then as a "moral science" (or "human science"), and later again as a natural science. Classification and reclassification of the disciplines continues.

SKEPTICISM AND LIMITS

In many accounts of early modern epistemology, the revival of ancient skepticism in the sixteenth century figures prominently. Skeptical writings did inspire discussion. In religious contexts, skepticism about human ability to understand the divine was used both to support the claim that organized religion must use its divinely sanctioned authority to teach the truth about God and religious topics, and

also to challenge whether anyone can claim to have the truth about such matters. Some philosophers, such as Francisco Sánchez (c. 1550–1623), skeptically questioned whether human theoretical knowledge could really uncover the nature of reality as in metaphysics, and suggested a more limited, experience-based goal for knowledge. Descartes used skepticism as a tool for achieving certainty in metaphysical knowledge, but did not himself take the skeptical threat seriously. Other philosophers, such as Spinoza and Locke, quickly dismissed skeptical arguments. Philosophical empiricists such as Hume developed a mitigated skepticism, permitting Newtonian-type knowledge of empirical regularities in nature, but denying human ability to go beyond such regularities to the existence of God or the alleged immateriality of the human soul or mind. Generally, early modern epistemology increasingly recognized limits to human knowledge, culminating in Kant's system of transcendental idealism, according to which knowledge of bare reality, the existence of God, or the soul's immateriality, lie beyond human capacity.

See also Alembert, Jean Le Rond d'; Aristotelianism; Bacon, Francis; Berkeley, George; Cartesianism; Copernicus, Nicolaus; Descartes, René; Diderot, Denis; Empiricism; *Encyclopédie*; Enlightenment; Galileo Galilei; Hobbes, Thomas; Hume, David; Kant, Immanuel; Kepler, Johannes; Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm; Locke, John; Logic; Natural Law; Newton, Isaac; Philosophes; Philosophy; Skepticism: Academic and Pyrrhonian; Spinoza, Baruch; Wolff, Christian.

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GARY HATFIELD

EQUALITY AND INEQUALITY.

“Triple is the house of God which is thought to be one: on Earth, some pray, others fight, still others work. . . . On the function of each the works of the others rest, each in turn assisting all.” So wrote the eleventh-century French bishop, Adalbero, as he formulated a representation of the social order that would deeply influence early modern social thought. According to this medieval Christian taxonomy, divine providence divided earthly society into three unequal orders, each of which was defined and ranked on the basis of its function. The clergy, who served God, occupied the first estate. The nobility, who defended the church and provided military protection for the community, constituted the second estate. Last (and certainly least), laborers, who toiled to feed and support the two superior orders, comprised the third estate. For society to function harmoniously, those born into the nobility and third estate and those who entered the priesthood were obligated to recognize their place in the social order and fulfill their prescribed duties.

The feudal paradigm of the three orders informed the social imagination of Europeans down to the eighteenth century, but other modes of social classification became equally important during the early modern period. Although early modern Europeans had little conception of social class in the modern sense of the term, they certainly understood wealth to be a determinant of social rank. The possession of land helped to fix the social position of much of the population, from the poorest peasant to the greatest aristocrat. Second, social difference was conceived in terms of status. In this case, the hierarchy was composed of multiple gradations in rank, each of which enjoyed a certain degree of honor or public esteem. Honor pervaded all levels of early modern society, but it was generally taken for granted that those who occupied certain ranks

and professions enjoyed more of it than others. Finally, it was imagined that the social order was organized on the basis of privilege. The word “privilege” referred to special legal rights (literally ‘private laws’) that entitled particular groups of individuals to advantages that other groups did not possess. Privilege added a legal dimension to conceptions of early modern hierarchy, as various corporate groups were marked juridically by the privileges they enjoyed.

SOCIAL INEQUALITY

In practice, wealth, status, and privilege were intimately related. Wealth could generate status, just as status could elicit privilege, and privilege, in turn, could produce wealth. There was no simple formula by which these three forms of inequality combined to determine social rank, but a brief tour of the early modern social hierarchy, starting with the nobility and working downward, will show how they worked together to stratify society.

While the clergy was granted pride of place in Adalbero’s tripartite conception of the temporal order, the nobility in fact dominated European society throughout the early modern period. This dominant position stemmed in large part from noble wealth. Although they comprised a small fraction of the European population, nobles possessed a grossly disproportionate share of the land. To take a particularly dramatic example, the English peerage, which numbered between sixty and two hundred individuals over the early modern period, owned approximately one-fourth of England’s territory. At the local level, nobles stood out like landed giants. Their economic superiority also allowed them to build extensive patronage networks through which they exercised influence at the regional and national level.

Land ownership alone, however, cannot fully explain the dominance of the nobility. Status also mattered. Nobles sat atop a steep hierarchy of status and expected to be treated with the respect that was their due. They were addressed deferentially, granted special roles in public ceremonies and processions, and given the highest positions in army, church, and government. High-ranking nobles also attended court, where a culture of civilized elegance enhanced their status and further distinguished them from lesser nobles and commoners. Although

in urbanized areas of Europe such as Italy and the Netherlands, court culture may not have taken such highly distinctive forms, nobles everywhere were afforded a great deal of public esteem.

Finally, historians emphasize that privilege reinforced noble wealth and status. Certain privileges, such as the rights of lordship, were feudal in origin. Many nobles were not merely landowners but lords as well, meaning they possessed rights to judge local disputes, exploit seigneurial monopolies, and, increasingly in early modern eastern Europe, bind serfs to the land and exact labor services from them. Lordship was on the decline in early modern western Europe, but other privileges remained intact or were even newly created. Honorific privileges, such as the right to wear a sword or display certain articles of luxury, gave symbolic expression to the superiority of noble status. Political privileges assured nobles a strong voice in Estates and other corporate bodies through which they defended their liberties. Fiscal privileges protected noble wealth. As state finance expanded to redistribute resources on a massive scale over the course of the early modern era, the privilege of tax exemption shielded nobles from ever-growing fiscal demands and became essential to the order's social prominence.

The domination of the nobility reveals a great deal about inequality in the early modern period, but the same forms of inequality that set the nobility apart molded the rest of the social hierarchy. The bourgeoisie or "middling sort" (merchants, shopkeepers, and professionals) stood well above the laboring majority but did not enjoy nearly the same degree of wealth, status, or privilege as the nobility. Although financiers could accumulate fortunes that rivaled those of great aristocrats, the middling classes in general could not match the wealth of the second order. Nor, in terms of status, could the bourgeoisie command the same degree of social esteem. While the merchant took pride in his respectable education, comfortable home, professional success, and civic standing, all of which distinguished him from the lower orders, his prestige was limited by representations of businesspeople as crass, self-interested, and incapable of noble thoughts and deeds. One need only recall Molière's "bourgeois gentilhomme" (in the 1670 play of the same title), whom the playwright depicted as a crude social-climbing buffoon. Finally, the bourgeois-

sie enjoyed a mixed bag of privileges. It possessed fewer honorific privileges than the nobility but did enjoy tax exemptions and the privileges of municipal citizenship.

Below the level of the bourgeoisie, there was the vast working population of Europe. In towns, where the world of work was populated mainly by artisans, both wealth and status depended heavily on a single type of privilege, that of guild membership. The master artisans who ran the guilds enjoyed a relatively high degree of status and economic security, whereas apprentices and journeymen were hemmed in by guild regulations concerning hiring, wages, working hours, and workplace discipline. Still, apprentices and journeymen were far better off than the growing population of incompletely trained and transient workers who enjoyed none of the status or security that came with guild membership. Day laborers outside the guilds lived in highly precarious circumstances. An unusually long stretch of unemployment or poor health could easily throw them into the floating (and, after 1650, increasingly numerous) underclass of homeless paupers and beggars.

In the countryside, the peasantry as a whole enjoyed little wealth and esteem and were entitled to few privileges. Yet not all peasants were equal. In sixteenth- and early-seventeenth-century central and western Europe, wealthier peasants took advantage of high grain prices and expanded their farms. Called yeomen in English, *laboureurs* in French, and *Vollbauer* in German, these peasant farmers formed local rural elites whose economic independence lent them a degree of respectability. The consolidation of land by the nobility and this upper tier of the peasantry spelled disaster for the middle- and lower-level peasants who constituted the majority of the European population. As the ranks of middling peasants thinned, the number of poor peasants who possessed mere scraps of land rose dramatically. Some took up cottage industry, but many smallholders and landless day laborers sank deeper into poverty. Like unskilled day laborers in the towns, the poorest peasants lacked the wealth, status, and privilege to protect them from falling into the outcast population of beggars and vagrants.

OTHER FORMS OF INEQUALITY

Although inequality in the early modern period stemmed principally from social stratification, research toward the end of the twentieth century began to emphasize that additional lines of inequality—based on age, gender, ethnicity, race, and religion—cut across the social hierarchy. Here too, however, the interplay of wealth, status, and privilege was important. In the patriarchal order of early modern Europe, legal restrictions (anti-privileges, in effect) severely limited women's ability to accumulate and control property. Common women, for example, were increasingly excluded from the privileges of guild membership, making it more difficult for them to earn money. Women were also afforded less esteem than men. Parents gave daughters inferior educations, and religious authorities throughout Reformation Europe enshrined the power of husbands over wives. To be sure, queens ruled a few countries, aristocratic women wielded influence at court, merchant wives helped manage business affairs, and widows carried on with the family craft or farm, but in general women enjoyed far less autonomy than men of the same social rank.

Similar forms of inequality resulted from distinctions in religion. Jews, where they had not been expelled, were subject to laws that narrowed their economic opportunities and political rights. In many areas, Jews could not own land or practice particular trades. In Italy, Germany, and eastern Europe, they were denied the rights of municipal citizenship and forced to live in isolated, often walled-off communities. In terms of status, they were seen as complete outsiders. Just as sumptuary laws attempted to create public signs of class distinction, municipal regulations in many towns forced Jews to wear marks of their religious identity on their clothing. Even Jews who became wealthy merchants or financiers could not rise above their inferior status, since they were often accused of being parasites who preyed on Christian communities. In this case, inequality based on religious identity limited the social advantages provided by wealth.

Religious and racial distinctions also fueled European slavery. In the sixteenth century, in the Iberian peninsula and throughout the Mediterranean, Christians enslaved Muslims and forced them into domestic service. As the Atlantic slave trade grew in the seventeenth and eighteenth century, Europeans

enslaved black Africans in numbers that far exceeded previous practices and forced them to work in the American colonies. In the colonial Atlantic, racism and proto-industrial production combined to produce the profound inequalities of plantation society.

EGALITARIAN CHALLENGES

The rigid inequalities of the early modern social order and the assumptions about hierarchy that underpinned it did not go unchallenged. Indeed, for all their wealth, prestige, and privilege, early modern elites presided over periods of great instability in which subversive movements and ideas arose.

The Protestant Reformation provided one context in which radical ideas developed. In the German Peasants' War of 1524–1525, the greatest popular revolt before 1789, tens of thousands of peasants in central and southern Germany rose up against their lords to attack the feudal order. In the “Twelve Articles of the Upper Swabian Peasants,” a famous list of grievances adopted by the peasants' parliament of Memmingen in March of 1525, peasants demanded the abolition of serfdom, lower feudal dues, freedom to hunt and fish, and a broad extension of communal rights. Although the immediate causes of the revolt were economic, the ideas of the Reformation played an important role in shaping peasants' demands. Claiming that the political and social order should conform to “godly law,” the peasants not only justified concrete grievances but attempted to institute a more egalitarian order in which “the common man” would receive economic relief and enjoy the same political and legal rights as nobles and prelates. The revolutionary implications of this attack on feudalism were clear to contemporaries: “If God so desires it,” reflected Elector Frederick III the Wise of Saxony (ruled 1486–1525), “then so it will come to pass that the common man will reign.” Other princes were less passive in the face of rebellion. With the support of Protestant theologians, they unified their armies to crush the popular insurrection.

Radical religious ideas also gave rise to egalitarian movements in seventeenth-century England, where Puritanism helped to fuel a constitutional conflict between king and Parliament. During the turmoil of the English Civil War (1642–1649), many radical groups emerged to call for sweeping

political and social changes. From 1647 to 1649, a loose coalition of radical activists and journalists, known derisively as the Levellers, attempted to persuade Parliament and the New Model Army to pursue a program of democratic political reform. While the Levellers pressed for a range of constitutional, legal, and fiscal reforms, their most extraordinary demand involved the electoral franchise of Parliament. In a document entitled *An Agreement of the People* (October 1647), the Levellers advocated popular sovereignty and demanded that Parliamentary elections be held on the basis of universal manhood suffrage. Although the Levellers conceded, in the Putney debates that followed, that paupers and domestic servants might be excluded from the franchise, their claim that all male heads of household should possess the right to vote was truly revolutionary. The notion that, as Thomas Rainborough put it, “the poorest he that is in England hath a life to live as the greatest he” and was therefore entitled to basic political rights constituted a direct challenge to the political predominance of the English landed gentry. Having failed to gain the support of the army, the Levellers did not realize their agenda, but simply formulating the idea of universal manhood suffrage and agitating for its incorporation into the English constitution represented a remarkable moment in the history of political equality.

After the Levellers pressed for political equality, another radical group, the Diggers or True Levellers, demanded economic equality. In 1649 Gerrard Winstanley and his followers began to dig and cultivate crops on the common wasteland of St. George’s Hill in Surrey, outside London. For the Diggers, this and similar acts in other towns symbolized the idea that the Earth was a “common treasury” to be shared by all. “The poorest man hath as true a title and just right to the land as the richest man,” Winstanley wrote, extending the political democracy of the Levellers to the economic realm. Private property and the inequalities that resulted from it, he argued, violated the egalitarian intentions of the creator. For historian Christopher Hill, the Diggers’ commitment to social equality made them the true revolutionaries of the English Civil War.

The atmosphere of crisis created by the English Civil War allowed groups like the Levellers and the Diggers to voice radically egalitarian ideas. Al-

though such voices were silenced when political authority was restored in 1660, some of the Levellers’ political propositions were revived by John Locke after the Glorious Revolution of 1688, while the social egalitarianism of the Diggers would resurface in a secularized form in the nineteenth century.

ENLIGHTENMENT AND THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

The first great secular challenge to early modern inequality occurred during the Enlightenment of the eighteenth century. In the wake of the scientific revolution of the seventeenth century, Enlightenment thinkers, known in France as philosophes, defied religious orthodoxy and began to develop a modern science of man and society. The philosophes were hardly radical egalitarians: most did not challenge the idea of private property or include women, common people, or non-Europeans in their discussions of the “rights of man.” But they did formulate a utilitarian philosophy that challenged the foundations of early modern inequality and ushered in a period of social reform.

First, the utilitarian thrust of the Enlightenment had important implications for privilege. Many Enlightenment writers saw little justification for privilege. Why, for example, were the French clergy and nobility entitled to tax exemptions when the state desperately needed revenue? Reason dictated that all citizens of a nation should be taxed equally, according to a uniform rate. Economic writers, meanwhile, attacked the monopolistic privileges of guilds and trading companies, suggesting that free trade would produce a more prosperous economy without such extremes of wealth and poverty. A freer economy, they argued, would engender a more fluid society in which articles of luxury and convenience would spread beyond the narrow circle of elites.

The philosophes also reconceptualized the problem of status. Status, they suggested, should not stem from the accident of birth but from social utility and personal merit. Those who contributed to society were to be esteemed, while those who selfishly took from it ought to be shunned. Such a utilitarian approach may not have led many philosophes to champion the cause of the working class, but it did encourage some to attack the idleness and arrogance of the aristocracy. In his novel *Candide*

(1759), Voltaire described one lord as addressing people “with the most noble disdain, tilting his nose so high in the air, raising his voice so mercilessly, adopting so imperious a tone, affecting so haughty a bearing, that everyone who met him wanted to beat him up.” Jean-Jacques Rousseau’s republican emphasis on simplicity and civic virtue also cast doubt on the moral condition of the high nobility.

In the second half of the eighteenth century, Enlightenment calls for reform and increasingly heated political conflicts between the French monarchy and various representative bodies prepared the way for the French Revolution. In 1789, the actions of revolutionary leaders in the National Assembly combined with popular insurrection to set the stage for landmark legislation that would establish equality before the law. On 4 August 1789 the National Assembly attacked the regime of privilege, abolishing feudal dues, tax exemptions, and church tithes and throwing open access to careers in the church, government, and military. Weeks later, on 27 August 1789, the Assembly issued the “Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen,” which proclaimed in its first article: “Men are born and remain free and equal in rights.” While this liberal period of the Revolution (1789–1791) witnessed the promotion of legal and political equality, revolutionaries during the radical phase known as the Terror (1793–1794) attempted to introduce greater economic equality. Hoping to quell urban unrest, legislators imposed price controls to make goods more accessible to workers and requisitioned grain from farmers in the countryside to feed the less fortunate. Although revolutionaries could not finally agree on how far the state should go to construct a society of equals, the French Revolution launched a debate on the relationship between political and social equality that would rage for the next two centuries.

See also Aristocracy and Gentry; Artisans; Bourgeoisie; Class, Status, and Order; Clergy; Enclosure; English Civil War Radicalism; Enlightenment; Feudalism; Gender; Guilds; Honor; Jews, Attitudes toward; Laborers; Mobility, Social; Peasantry; Peasants’ War, German; Race, Theories of; Reformation, Protestant; Revolutions, Age of; Serfdom; Slavery and the Slave Trade; Sumptuary Laws.

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MICHAEL KWASS

ERASMUS, DESIDERIUS (1466?–1536), Dutch humanist. The illegitimate son of a priest, Erasmus was born in Rotterdam c. 1466. After the premature death of his parents, his guardians persuaded him to enter an Augustinian monastery. On his request he was sent to the Collège de Montaigu in Paris in 1495, but he developed a strong distaste for the Scholastic brand of theology taught there and focused on the humanities instead. In 1499 he undertook the first of four journeys to England. The patronage of important men, foremost among them William Warham, archbishop of Canterbury

(c. 1450–1532), and the friendship of Thomas More (1478–1535) and John Colet (1467?–1519) opened doors for him and stimulated his interest in classical sources and biblical studies. Over the next two decades he made a name for himself through his collection of classical proverbs (*Adages*, first version 1500) and his elegant translations from the Greek (Euripides, Lucian, Plutarch, etc.). His jeu d'esprit, *The Praise of Folly* (*Encomium Moriae*; 1511), was an international bestseller and remains in print to the present day. From 1506 to 1509, Erasmus traveled in Italy, where he was awarded a doctorate in theology at the University of Turin (*per saltum*, that is, without the requisite examinations) and worked as a corrector for the famous Venetian printer Aldo Manuzio. After the accession of Henry VIII in 1509, he left for England and taught at the University of Cambridge, but he returned to the Continent when the hoped-for royal patronage was not forthcoming.

Two church benefices, which he converted into pensions, and an appointment as councillor to Prince Charles (later Emperor Charles V) gave him a certain measure of financial and scholarly independence. For Charles's guidance, Erasmus wrote an essay on statecraft, *The Education of a Christian Prince* (1516), as well as two position papers on war against the Turks and ways of ending the religious strife between Catholics and Protestants. Like Luther, Erasmus suggested that the Turks were the scourge of God and that spiritual reform must precede military action. His plan for peace among the religious factions rested on the idea of negotiation and compromise and the assumption that a future general synod would be able to formulate mutually acceptable doctrinal positions. To indicate that his advice was spiritual as much as political, Erasmus incorporated the pieces into Psalm commentaries (1530 and 1533). His position as councillor made it imperative for Erasmus to live in the Low Countries. From 1517 to 1521 he therefore resided in Louvain. After Charles's departure for Spain, he settled in Basel.

Erasmus's biblical studies aroused the opposition of conservative theologians. They objected to his application of the humanistic philological method to Scripture and protested against his plan to emend the Vulgate, then widely regarded as St. Jerome's translation, written with papal authoriza-

tion and under divine guidance. Erasmus had now collated numerous biblical manuscripts and studied the textual citations and exegesis of Greek and Latin fathers. He edited and translated a number of patristic works (Jerome, Augustine, Chrysostom, Origen, Theophylactus, and others). The most important fruit of his studies, however, was a critical Greek and Latin edition of the New Testament and annotations explaining the textual changes he proposed. First published by Johann Froben in Basel in 1516, the work went through five editions in Erasmus's lifetime. The annotations more than tripled in volume as Erasmus incorporated ongoing research and answered the attacks of Catholic theologians. According to his critics, Erasmus's changes laid the groundwork for heterodox interpretations and gave support to the Lutherans.

Erasmus initially sympathized with the reformers, but he withdrew his support after 1521



Desiderius Erasmus. Portrait by Hans Holbein.
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when it became apparent that their teaching was schismatic. The saying current at the time, “Erasmus laid the egg that Luther hatched,” reflects the fact that Erasmus sharply criticized the Catholic hierarchy in such works as *The Praise of Folly* and the *Colloquies* (first version 1518). His call for inner piety rather than external compliance with ceremonies, first formulated in *The Handbook of the Christian Soldier* (1503), and his emphasis on Scripture and the fathers created the impression that he

shared Luther’s platform. He differed sharply from Luther, however, in calling only for a reform of abuses and initiating no change in doctrine. As his polemic with the reformer in 1524 over the question of free will clearly showed, Erasmus respected the traditions of the church and accepted its teaching authority. Although he voiced doubts about certain doctrinal points, for example, the divine institution of the sacrament of penance, he expressly subjected his views to the verdict of the church.

Erasmus's approach to doctrinal questions may be described as "Catholic skepticism." He examined the evidence on both sides but relied on consensus and tradition as decision-making tools if the evidence was inconclusive. Schism therefore presented an epistemological challenge to Erasmus. Not surprisingly, he concentrated all his efforts on promoting a peaceful solution to the religious debate. Pacifism was also the watchword of *The Education of a Christian Prince* and the essays *The Complaint of Peace* (1517) and *War Is Sweet to Inexperienced Men* (1515). Erasmus's moderate and humane attitude earned him the enmity of partisans in both religious camps, who denounced him as a hypocrite and fence sitter. The decade before his death in 1536 was accordingly dominated by apologiae in which he attempted to justify his writings and protested against their retrointerpretation as "Lutheran."

Erasmus's contemporaries were uncertain how to classify him professionally. Many correspondents addressed him as "theologian," but the emphasis shifted in the mid-1520s. Philipp Melanchthon (1497–1560) famously contrasted Erasmus with Luther. In his opinion the latter was a true theologian, the former merely a humanist who taught good style and polite manners. The Louvain theologian Frans Titelmans flatly declared that "Erasmian" was synonymous with "humanistic." After the Council of Trent (1545–1563), the Catholic Church placed Erasmus's works on the Index of Prohibited Books; in Protestant countries, his textbooks (for example, *Copia*, 1512; *On Writing Letters*, 1522) and his anthologies continued to be used in schools, but it was clear that Erasmus now served only as a style model.

Interest in Erasmus revived during the Enlightenment when he was praised for his rationalism. In the literature of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries Erasmus is most often seen as a protagonist of pacifism. Such interpretations, however, present an unduly simplified version of Erasmus's ideas. His so-called rationalism does not meet modern criteria. It is tempered by religious sentiments and qualified by an unquestioning belief in the church. His pacifism is similarly misrepresented by writers who ignore its epistemological basis and reduce it to social concerns. Christian humanism, or as Erasmus himself called it, *docta pietas* ('learned piety'), remains the

best term to describe the ideal he admired and indeed exemplified.

See also Bible; Humanists and Humanism; Luther, Martin; Melanchthon, Philipp; More, Thomas; Reformation, Protestant.

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ERIKA RUMMEL

ESOTERIC SCIENCES. *See* Alchemy; Cabala; Magic.

ESPIONAGE. Early modern Europeans believed spying to be a necessary complement to both warfare and effective government. At home governments were continually on the lookout for dangerous opinions and plotting by their subjects. In dealing with foreign powers, they needed information on opponents' plans and resources: the sizes and movements of their armies, the state of their fortifications, the funds they had available. When campaigning in unfamiliar territory, generals needed informants who could describe local geography and alert them to its dangers and possibilities. All governments sought to provoke dissension among their enemies, encouraging rebellions and suborning rival commanders whenever possible, and as wars wound down, each combatant needed to know as much as possible about what the others would accept in an eventual peace treaty. After about 1650, as governments became more alert to the economic components of power, they also sought a better understanding of the economic conditions of their rivals.

MOTIVES AND PATTERNS OF ACTION

It has not been easy for historians to sort out the complex patterns of espionage that responded to these needs. Documentation concerning spying is inevitably difficult to interpret, and the best studies of early modern espionage have been close examinations of specific cases rather than general histories. Nonetheless, these case studies have established some elements of a general history of early modern espionage. They have shown, first, the remarkable range of opportunities that governments had for recruiting foreign informants at all levels of society. Before about 1650, ideas of patriotism and national loyalty remained weak, and many aristocrats held on to medieval ideas of their political autonomy; when aristocrats believed the state had mistreated them, it was often possible for a foreign government to secure their services. In 1587–1588 the English ambassador to France (a high aristocrat and relative of Queen Elizabeth I [ruled 1558–1603]) used his position to pass English secrets to Spain and send home misleading information about Spanish intentions—this as Spain was preparing to invade England. The ambassador was moved partly by greed and partly by the belief that he had been slighted in his pursuit of influence at court. Fifty years later the Spanish succeeded in securing the services of Henri Coeffier-Ruzé d'Effiat, marquis de Cinq-Mars (1620–1642), a favorite courtier (and possibly a lover) of the French king Louis XIII (ruled 1610–1643). Cinq-Mars was moved principally by ambition for a larger political role, which he found blocked by Cardinal Richelieu's (1585–1642) domination of French politics. Even when not moved by greed or ambition, aristocrats were logical targets for espionage efforts. Many had familial connections in other countries, creating divided loyalties and the frequent exchange of information, and it proved easy for well-dressed adventurers to make friendships in the highest social circles and to acquire political secrets in the process.

Farther down the social scale, there were other opportunities for recruiting spies. Political and military leaders were always surrounded by crowds of servants, secretaries, and dependents, many of them poorly paid yet with constant access to important documents. Presumably it was some such source that made possible the immediate diffusion of detailed plans for the Spanish Armada as it prepared to

invade Britain. The Spanish government understood the value of these plans and went to great lengths to keep them secret. Yet in 1586 one set of plans reached London within weeks of being drafted, and in 1588, as the armada was about to sail, illicit copies of its final arrangements reached pro-Spanish governments in Florence, Venice, and Rome. Merchants were another crucial source of information. Even the most savage early modern warfare rarely interrupted commercial relations between the combatants, allowing merchants to report regularly on ship movements, public opinion, and a variety of other topics of interest to rival governments. Indeed such reporting scarcely differed from the news reports that merchants drew up as part of their normal business practices. Among the peasantry, especially in border areas long used to smuggling, military commanders easily recruited guides to lead their troops through unfamiliar terrain. At these levels valuable information might cost governments very little money. Whereas it might cost huge sums to bribe important aristocrats, secretaries, merchants, and peasants were ready to supply information for the equivalent of a few days' wages.

GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATION

Because information was both so necessary and so readily available, spying remained a private enterprise through the eighteenth century; lords, generals, and politicians all paid for spies who reported directly to them. But over the period espionage services tended to become more centralized in a few government offices, where greater control could be exercised over their activities and greater professionalism could be enforced. In England, Elizabeth I's secretary of state Sir Francis Walsingham (c. 1532–1590) established a full-scale espionage service to deal with the Spanish threat. He had agents working throughout Europe and specialized messengers to collect their information. In Louis XIV's (ruled 1643–1715) France also, it came to be understood that espionage services reported to the secretary of state for foreign affairs. Techniques also were marked by this trend toward professionalization. Fourteenth-century governments already used cyphers and codes to keep their messages secret, and in 1466 the Florentine polymath Leon Battista Alberti (1404–1472) invented a cypher disk system that remained the basis for cryptography through the nineteenth century. The first printed book de-

voted to coded messages appeared in 1518, and later sixteenth-century publications spread advanced versions of these techniques throughout Europe. In turn governments devoted more resources to decoding one another's messages. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries they systematically opened diplomatic mail, copied it, and set trained specialists to decoding the contents. During the short span of the Seven Years' War (1756–1763), Britain accumulated at least twenty-seven large volumes of messages intercepted from other powers.

In establishing their networks, spymasters were aided by the growing assumption that governments should maintain representatives in one another's capitals. Permanent embassies were first employed by the Italian states of the fifteenth century; after 1500 the practice was taken up in northern Europe in response to the intensification of international rivalries during these years. Each country's embassy formed a pole around which spies clustered. Ambassadors of course were formally instructed to learn as much as possible about the country they resided in and were ready to bribe locals for that purpose. But host countries also acquired information from embassy staffs. In late-sixteenth-century London the wandering Italian philosopher and heretic Giordano Bruno (1548–1600) ingratiated himself with the Spanish ambassador, even taking up lodging in the ambassador's residence. He used this intimacy to uncover networks of Catholic missionaries in Britain, whom he promptly named to the English authorities.

Bruno's example illustrates the complex motives that might underlie early modern espionage. Most spies acted from self-interest, but Bruno and many others saw themselves as combatants in the great religious struggles that followed the Protestant Reformation. In Bruno's case this meant primarily hatred of the Catholic Church, which had persecuted him for heresy and would eventually have him burned at the stake in 1600, and a commitment to thwarting Catholic regimes wherever possible. After 1685, when Louis XIV expelled about 300,000 Protestants from his domains, France replaced Spain as the most visible threat to Protestantism's existence. In the face of these attempts at Catholic hegemony, religious exiles accepted the risks that spying entailed because of their sense that they were participants in a great ideologi-

cal struggle against evil opponents. From his Dutch exile, the Calvinist theology professor Pierre Jurieu (1637–1713) organized a network of spies to observe French ports and sought to encourage Protestant rebellion within France itself. (In turn the French government succeeded in placing an informer within this group and learned about most of its doings.) Jewish exiles, forced to leave Spain in 1492 and Portugal in 1580, were another group of potential informants, especially useful because many of them had contacts across Europe.

Because so much early modern European warfare concerned religion and because fomenting rebellion abroad was a normal tool of foreign policy, governments did not distinguish clearly between internal and external espionage. All maintained significant numbers of police spies to report on the opinions and doings of their own populations. The police spies of eighteenth-century Paris accumulated an enormous documentation on the "bad opinions" they overheard in taverns and other public spaces; such reports of disaffection commonly led to arrests and lengthy imprisonments. In Spain and Italy governmental policing of this kind was reinforced by the inquisitorial activities of the Catholic Church. In the late sixteenth century the Spanish Inquisition maintained a staff of about twenty thousand salaried "familiaris" charged with collecting information on their neighbors' opinions and practices.

How much did all this activity matter for the course of European international politics? For individuals the consequences of espionage might be dire. Walsingham's spies entrapped numerous Catholic plotters, many of whom were executed after being tortured to name accomplices. Walsingham's ability to intercept and decipher their correspondence with Mary Stuart (Mary, Queen of Scots; ruled 1542–1587) ensured her execution and thus had implications for British high politics. In the late seventeenth century, however, there developed something of an espionage stalemate among the European states. All governments had specialists proficient in code breaking and information gathering, and none gained much tactical advantage from them. Even earlier, their espionage successes had confronted states with another paradox: they now often found themselves burdened with too much

information without the capacity to organize it and act on it effectively.

See also **Diplomacy; Inquisition; Military; State and Bureaucracy.**

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JONATHAN DEWALD

ESTATES. See **Class, Status, and Order.**

ESTATES AND COUNTRY HOUSES. “Estate,” in the sense of landed property, entered English usage around 1790, while the term “country house” is of Elizabethan origin. This was not a farmhouse, a Roman *villa rustica*, but a substantial edifice, fully staffed and generally on a working estate with gardens, cropland, pastures, and woods. Country houses might serve for pure escape to bucolic surroundings or as sites to impress, house, and entertain friends and important guests.

Following the disintegration of the Roman Empire, endemic conflict demanded castles to defend domains and fiefs. Rulers were peripatetic, holding court in their own and their vassals’ castles, or in the few towns of their realms. Cities almost disappeared. Nobles lived in their castles, and rich townsmen kept to the safety of their walled towns. Around 1200 relative political stability returned to Europe, towns revived, and a conscious attitude ap-

peared that life in the country, rather than in town, was special and worthwhile. Such an attitude can be seen in the *Très riches heures* (1413–1416) of Jean de France, duc de Berry, with its depiction of his castles in the French countryside, and the pleasures of cavalcades and the hunt.

For wealthy townsmen, a country house served as an escape from crowds and cares, and for many, a conscious return to their rural roots. Some had retained family farmsteads, but their chief livelihood was commerce. For nobles, who usually possessed landed estates, it was a different matter. They became established in towns when towns came to dominate the neighboring countryside, built urban palaces, and entered urban politics. And when princely courts settled in a capital city, with the growth of the bureaucratic state, nobles also flocked to capitals to look after their interests. But their incomes mainly derived from their estates, and so they divided their year between town and country. At first they tended to make the ancestral castles they left behind more livable, but soon they began to build on their estates grand houses suited as much to pleasure as to estate management.

The interiors of country houses graduated during the era from the multipurpose great hall, around or above which were added family, guest and servant quarters, storerooms and stables, to more consciously articulated structures. Kitchens, storerooms, and servant quarters were put on the ground floor. On the principal floor stood a series of rooms both intimate and grand: halls for public business, parlors and salons for conversation and gaming, dining nooks, grand banquet halls, libraries, and ballrooms. Upper floors provided bedroom suites for family and guests, with attic rooms for personal servants. Water closets succeeded privies, and stables and barns were placed at a distance.

ITALIAN BEGINNINGS

What we might call a country house on its estate appeared first as villas in Renaissance Italy, where popes and cardinals had long escaped malarial Rome to grand retreats in the neighboring hills. Italians knew their Roman forebears escaped crowded cities to enjoy country life in splendid villas, extolled by Cicero, Virgil, and the younger Pliny, who had a villa near Ostia to which he could flee Rome in a few hours. As cities grew in northern Italy, many who



Estates and Country Houses. Villa Barbaro, Maser, Italy, designed by Palladio and built on the remains of a medieval manor house c. 1549–1558. ©G. E. KIDDER SMITH/CORBIS

migrated to them kept the farmsteads from which they came. Those who grew wealthy built on their rural holdings retreats with pleasant gardens. Boccaccio's *Decameron* (1351–1353) describes in detail the nearby country houses and gardens to which his storytellers fled the plague in Florence. By the 1400s the Medici and other rich Florentine families, whether of common or noble descent, prided themselves on their rural villas. The Tuscan countryside was agreeable, and attractive landscapes appear as background in paintings they commissioned. Nature's charms gained mention in poetry as the pastoral came into vogue. It became not only desirable but fashionable to escape the city in summer, and to go hunting in the fall. Landed estates and country houses provided the means, and for rich commoners throughout Europe gave access to noble status.

After 1530 Italy was largely at peace, and in the north the building of villas quickened. Many rivaled

urban palaces in grandeur. Some stood on hills with views over the surrounding countryside, others amid gardens on the outskirts of a town or village. Some were pure escapes, with no working estate. The Venetian elite generally invested in productive properties, where they enjoyed classical villas built by Andrea Palladio (1508–1580) and Vincenzo Scamozzi (1552–1616) that would provide the model for many later English and other European country houses, and Thomas Jefferson's Monticello in Virginia. On Lake Como, birthplace of Pliny, Cardinal Tolomeo Gallio began what is today the Villa d'Este. The Borromeo family of Milan built their villa on Isola Bella in Lago Maggiore, on the site of their medieval castle.

In the hills surrounding papal Rome new villas in Renaissance and baroque style proliferated. Perhaps the most famous was Cardinal Ippolito d'Este's 1550 villa with its playful fountains at

Tivoli. Near Viterbo, Vicino (Duke Pier Francesco) Orsini created a magical park on his family estate. The seaside also attracted building, such as the Villa Doria, originally two miles outside Genoa's walls, and the unfinished villa of Margaret, duchess of Parma, at Ortona.

The stark and bandit-ridden countryside of the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily did not prove conducive to the country villa, and the nobility at first did little more than modernize their castles, while maintaining palaces in or on the outskirts of Naples and Palermo. They visited their castles to collect rents and hunt in the fall. With the coming of the house of Bourbon to the throne in the eighteenth century seaside villas began to appear around the Bay of Naples, and at Bagheria, near Palermo.

THE SPREAD OF THE COUNTRY HOUSE IN THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES

The nobility of Spain, like that of southern Italy, became urban and built imposing residences in provincial capitals. Hilltop castles were abandoned, though castles that abutted towns survived and were transformed into residential palaces, such as those of the dukes of Medina Sidonia in Sanlúcar de Barrameda and the dukes of Feria at Zafra. Only a ruin remains of the castle at Alba de Tormes of the dukes of Alba, today owners of the 1770 Liria Palace in Madrid. For autumnal hunts, Spanish nobles erected pavilions or stayed in simple farmhouses (*fincas*). A *finca* usually proved satisfactory as an escape for wealthy townsmen. After the royal court settled in Madrid in 1562, many grandees and civil servants built palaces there. The marquis of Santa Cruz, an admiral who served long in Italy, proved a rare exception in 1564 when he built a Genoese-style palace with gardens at Viso del Marqués in remote La Mancha. If few Spanish nobles favored country houses, Spain's Habsburg and Bourbon rulers did. Philip II (1527–1598) often summered in the intimate Valsaín Palace in the woods of Segovia. Nearby, Philip V (1683–1746) built the elegant palace of La Granja, with its splendid fountains. The stiffness of Spanish Habsburg court etiquette and the presence of a royal alcazar in most cities limited occasions that Spanish rulers might stay in a noble's palace or country estate. Portugal proved similar to Spain. Its kings made Sintra their country escape.

North of the Alps, French kings and nobles began to transform their châteaux and manor houses into elegant country residences as peace and stability came in the late fifteenth century. Francis I (1494–1547), impressed by Italy, conceived Chambord as a country residence from the start, perhaps inspired by Leonardo da Vinci, who, following a life in busy Florence and Milan, retired to a house in the park of Amboise. French nobles, with country estates throughout the kingdom, built urban *hôtels* in Paris and provincial capitals as government expanded. With Louis XIV (1638–1715), the court concentrated at Versailles, which started as Louis XIII's hunting lodge amid extensive parks. Versailles expanded on a colossal scale to become the seat of government as well as a fount of pleasure. The château of superintendent of finance Nicolas Fouquet at Vaux-le-Vicomte provided Louis with the model and team of architect Louis Le Vau (1612–1670), decorator Charles Le Brun (1619–1690), and gardener André le Nôtre (1613–1700). Freed from attendance at Versailles after the death of Louis XIV, the French nobility established a routine of life between Paris or some provincial capital for the "season" from late fall till late spring, and their country châteaux for summertime and the hunt in autumn.

In England, while a few peers established residences in London, most nobles and squires improved their castles and ancestral halls, and began soon to build grand new country houses. Cardinal Wolsey's Late Gothic brick Hampton Court, whose builders included Italians, set the tone for the Tudor period. Queen Mary's councillor Lord William Paget built Beaudesert Hall in Staffordshire, while Queen Elizabeth's councillor William Cecil built Burghley House in Northamptonshire, and closer to London, Theobalds, scene of fabled festivities. Tudor and Stuart monarchs on a royal progress stayed at such great country houses and expected to be properly lodged and entertained. Rich Bess of Hardwick, countess of Shrewsbury, became famed for frenzied building, above all for Hardwick House, designed by Robert Smythson (c. 1535–1614). Using loot from piracy, Sir Francis Drake turned Buckland Abbey into a splendid country house.

In the reign of James I, Inigo Jones (1573–1652) introduced the Palladian style to England,



Estates and Country Houses. Hardwick Hall, Derbyshire, England, designed by Robert Smythson and built 1590–1597.
©ANGELO HORNAK/CORBIS

with a fine example the Queen's House at Greenwich. The Restoration saw monumental baroque extravaganzas such as the first duke of Devonshire's Chatsworth, as well as the work of Sir John Vanbrugh (1664–1726), Blenheim Palace for the duke of Marlborough and Castle Howard for the earl of Carlisle.

The country house also came to the Burgundian Netherlands. Regent Mary of Hungary had built at Binche a villa and park in the Italian manner that Henry II of France (1519–1559) in 1554 destroyed from spite. In the subsequent Spanish Netherlands the great families divided their time between Brussels and the countryside, where they both modernized old castles and built new châteaux in the baroque fashion. In the Dutch Republic, where landscapes and pictures of rural life first gained wide favor, wealthy burghers relished escaping big mercantile towns for the country, though space was limited and the terrain flat. They came by the late seventeenth century to favor Palladian style houses in parklike settings.

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

By the eighteenth century, country houses and villas, both great and modest, had come into full fashion, and extended into eastern Europe. Life for hosts and guests included rich meals, strolls in parks, cards at night, hunts in season, all respectful of social rank and station. Balls, musical concerts, and banquets marked great occasions. In living quarters, privacy had come to prevail. Childhood became a special and precious state for the privileged young, and the country house seemed a healthier and safer place for them when not at school. The work of the estate, as often as not, was left to professional managers and overseers. What impression the high life and pursuit of pleasure at a country house made on servants, peasants, and other commoners seldom proved of concern.

Nowhere did the country house become so important in the lives of the elite as in England. Ministers of state and members of parliament mingled not only to socialize but also to determine the affairs of the kingdom. The fourth duke of Devonshire entertained on a grand scale to sway elections. In architecture, Robert Boyle (1694–1753), Lord Burlington, revived the Palladian style with Burlington House, Chiswick, which stood in an “English” garden, its apparent naturalness in contrast to the geometric formal gardens of France and Italy. Whimsical structures such as Chinese pagodas, Grecian temples, and Roman ruins marked many gardens, such as those designed by Lancelot “Capability” Brown (1715–1783). The Adam brothers, Robert (1728–1792) and James (1730–1794), varied classic models in building and interiors, while Horace Walpole (1717–1797) took whimsy to a Gothic mode with Strawberry Hill, setting another fashion. Renovated castles and new country houses extended into Scotland and Ireland. Life in these houses ran the gamut from Henry Fielding's world of Squire Western in *Tom Jones* (1749) to that of Jane Austen's novels, where country dwellers mingled with the rich and powerful, who came from the city to find recreation in the great houses on their estates. For interiors and furnishings, Queen Anne, Georgian, Chippendale, and Pompeian styles competed with French fashions.

In France newly ennobled bourgeois and judges of the parlements built numerous country châteaux on a comfortable scale, and for pure relaxation, *mai-*

sons de plaisir without working estates. The high nobility aspired to have an apartment at Versailles, an imposing *hôtel* in Paris, and a nearby country château, and forsook provincial life. Versailles had become so grand that the Petit Trianon was built as an escape from it. Neither in France nor elsewhere, save Poland, did the country house play a political role comparable to that in England.

Peace and the country house came late to the fragmented German lands. Voltaire, an exile to the country at Ferney, satirized the German nobility in *Candide* with Baron Thunder-ten-Tronckh's rude Westphalian castle. But with recovery from the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648) and the repulse of the Turks following the 1683 siege of Vienna, building in the German lands revived, led by princes and bishops. Yet apart from Vienna, no capital was very big and nobles seldom had a long journey from castle or manor to whichever of the numerous courts was theirs. In the Habsburg realms, country

houses did begin to proliferate as magnates built urban palaces in Vienna, Prague, and later, Buda and Pest, and matched them with elegant constructions on their estates in the Austrian, Bohemian, and Hungarian countryside. The Habsburgs, with their Hofburg in Vienna, built Schönbrunn, intended to rival Versailles, two miles outside Vienna's walls. Closer, Prince Eugene of Savoy built his Belvedere Palace with its extensive garden. Prince Nicholas Eszterházy's country estate at Fertöd, fifty miles from Vienna, rivals the grandest in Europe. Franz Joseph Haydn provided Eszterházy's music with an orchestra of some two dozen players. Baroque yielded to neoclassical in architecture, while rococo and Louis XV and Louis XVI styles dominated interiors.

As Prussia grew in power, its nobles built palaces in Berlin and began to regard their estates as sites for country houses, though these tended to remain simple. When Frederick the Great built Sans



Estates and Country Houses. Aerial view of the Chateau Vaux-le-Vicomte, Seine-et-Marne, France, designed by Louis LeVau and Jules-Hardouin Mansart and built 1658–1661 for Nicholas Fouquet, finance minister to Louis XIV. ©YANN ARTHUS-BERTRAND/CORBIS

Souci at Potsdam, it became an alternate capital in the countryside. Court life in Munich and Dresden also separated Bavarian and Saxon nobles from their estates. For hunting Germans preferred male camaraderie in hunting lodges (*Jagdschlösser*) decorated with antlers. Matters in Denmark and Sweden proved similar.

As peace extended to Poland and Russia, great country houses for kings and tsars, magnates and wealthy bourgeois, quickly followed to dot the undulating plains stretching eastward. Poland had already acquired a taste for the baroque style before the eighteenth-century Saxon kings arrived from Dresden, and its magnates had established the pattern of an urban palace in Warsaw or Vilnius and a grand country estate. Just outside their new capital of St. Petersburg, the Russian tsars had their Tsarskoe Selo, and farther into the country, Peterhof. The writings of Leo Tolstoy and Alexander Pushkin make clear that, for the Russian elite, a life divided between urban palaces in winter and country houses on their estates in summer had become routine by the end of the eighteenth century.

The French Revolution threatened what appeared to be the increasingly carefree lifestyle of the nobility and the wealthy. In France, many châteaux were looted, and French armies carried revolutionary ardor into Italy and the German lands until it was tempered by Napoleon. With the restoration of 1815, the country house and estate embarked on a new era of popularity, though with somewhat more concern for public opinion.

See also **Aristocracy and Gentry; Court and Courtiers; Gardens and Parks; Jones, Inigo.**

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ESTATES-GENERAL, FRENCH

This entry includes two subentries:

ESTATES-GENERAL, 1614

ESTATES-GENERAL, 1789

ESTATES-GENERAL, 1614

The Estates-General of 1614 was the last meeting of that representative institution before the fateful meeting of 1789 on the eve of the French Revolution. During the Middle Ages, both the English Parliament and the French Estates-General developed out of the king's council. In England, Parliament assumed two functions of the council, serving as an advisory body and as a supreme court. In France, a permanently sitting body known as the parlement became the supreme court while the Estates-General, which met first in 1302, became an advisory body that met only occasionally.

An Estates-General was a meeting of elected representatives of the three estates (clergy, nobility, commoners). It met when summoned by the king, who called it only when he needed extraordinary income or special support (most recently in 1484, 1560, 1576, and 1588; the last three because of the Wars of Religion). Governments were reluctant to convoke an Estates-General because of the fear that it might become a regularly meeting body with well-defined powers.

Deputies were elected to an Estates-General through a complicated, several-layered system and appeared at the meeting with lists of grievances (*cahiers des doléances*) drawn up by those males who were electors. Traditionally, the government asked for support and money and, in return, promised to respond favorably to the grievances.

The Estates-General of 1614 was called in February of that year by the regency government headed by Marie de Médicis, the wife of Henry IV (who was assassinated in 1610) and mother of Louis XIII. The occasion was the uprising being organized by Louis II de Bourbon, the prince of

Condé. The purpose was to deny popular support to Condé and maintain the regency government until Louis XIII's thirteenth birthday, when he would, theoretically, be old enough to rule in his own name, and Condé's excuse of saving the minor king from bad advisors would disappear.

Marie de Médicis (counseled by several of Henry IV's former advisors) was successful in influencing the elections through a combination of pamphlet propaganda, bribery, and an extensive tour made by the young Louis. Of the 474 deputies who appeared at the meeting of the Estates-General in Paris, probably only nine were supporters of Condé.

To further minimize the possibility of revolt, the regency government used various excuses to postpone the meeting of the Estates until after the majority of the king was declared on 2 October and then to transfer the meeting place from Sens to Paris. The government wanted the deputies to condemn Condé and formally approve the actions of the former regency government of Marie de Médicis and the present personal government of Louis XIII. To do that, however, it had to allow the deputies of each of the three estates to draw up the traditional summary or general *cabiers*.

While the deputies of each estate were debating what to include in their general *cabier*, they consulted with each other about items of special interest. The clergy (First Estate) wanted all the deputies to ask for the acceptance in France of the reform decrees of the Council of Trent. The nobles (Second Estate) were particularly concerned about the sale of government offices, especially provisions that could make them hereditary, and about financial abuses. The Third Estate was especially interested in taxes, noble pensions, and growing royal control over local matters. Eventually, the deputies agreed to ask for limitations on heredity of offices, investigation of present and past financial abuses, and limitations on royal power in local matters.

From 15 December to 16 January, the business of the estates was hindered by the strong reaction of the First Estate to the item chosen by the Third Estate as the first article of its general *cabier*. This was a request that the king declare it a fundamental law that no one on earth but the king of France had any authority over his kingdom. Despite the sup-

port of parlement for the article, the royal government forced the Third Estate to remove it and present it separately to the king.

The reason for the action of the government was that it wanted to end the Estates-General quickly before any more questions were asked about past or present government policy or finances. The government pushed the deputies to finish their work and brought the meetings to an end on 23 February 1615. Most deputies remained in Paris hoping for an answer to their *cabiers*. On 24 March they were informed that their most important requests would be honored immediately: the number of royal offices would be reduced, the sale of royal offices would be halted, and hereditary rights to royal offices would be limited. Pensions would be regulated and financial abuses would be investigated. In fact, none of this was done.

The government sent letters throughout France stating, falsely, that the deputies were being sent home at their own request because their upkeep was costing too much and that the *cabiers* would be answered as soon as they had been studied carefully. That never happened because the government was primarily interested in survival, not reform.

The Estates-General of 1614 is usually judged a failure, and the deputies receive most of the blame because of the dissension among the three estates. There was dissension. The clergy wanted the acceptance of the decrees of the Council of Trent and protection for their benefices and tax privileges. The nobles wanted to reassert their feudal, honorary, and official privileges. The Third Estate wanted to assert the independence of France, hold the nobles in check, control local government, and spread the tax burden. Nevertheless, all three estates presented a program that called for reform of the Roman Catholic Church, charitable institutions, and education. They wanted the basic social structure to remain in place, but with a reduction in taxes and abolition of financial abuses. These issues would still be relevant when the Estates-General next met in 1789.

See also Absolutism; Class, Status, and Order; Condé Family; Henry IV (France); Louis XIII (France); Marie de Médicis; Richelieu, Armand-Jean Du Plessis, cardinal; Trent, Council of.

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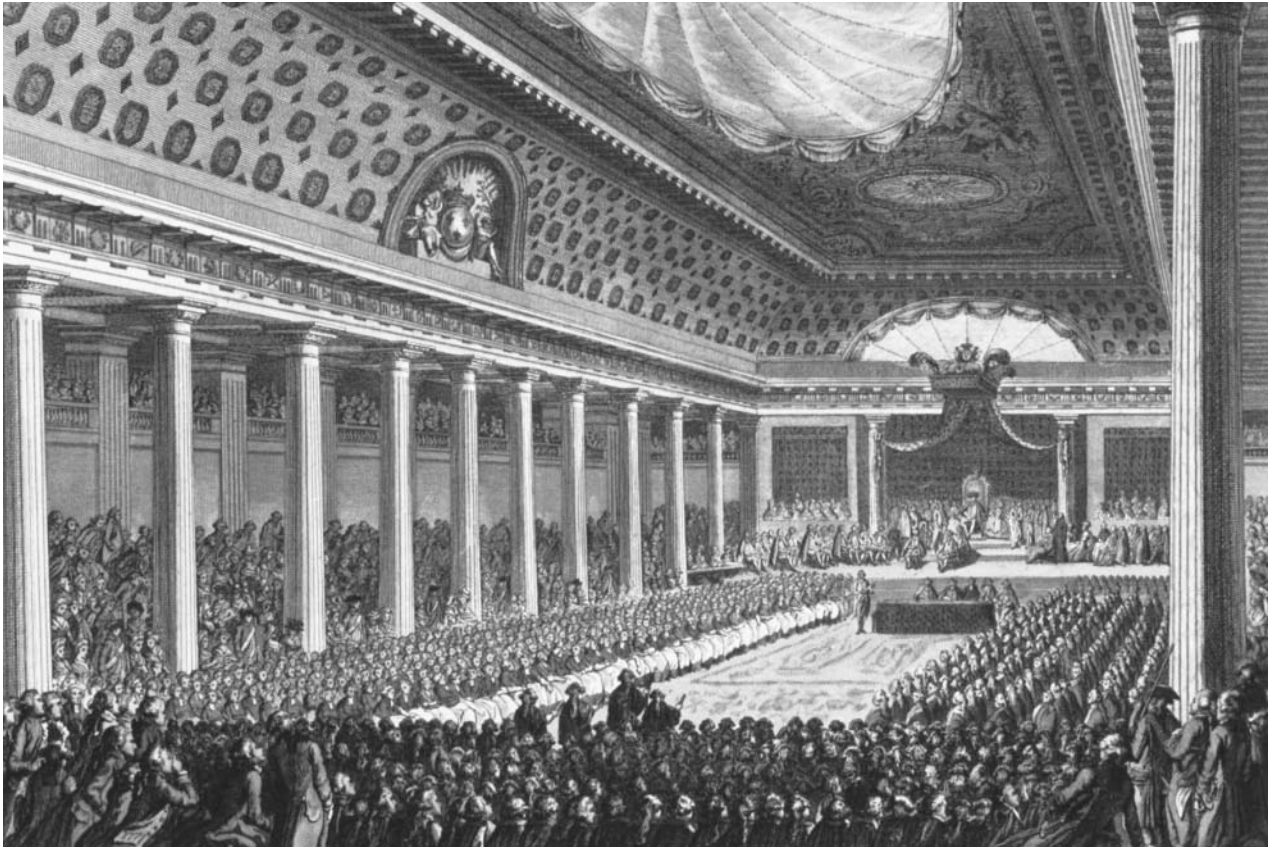
ESTATES-GENERAL, 1789

The Estates-General were a very old part of the governing system in France, but by 1789 they had not met for a hundred and fifty years. Despite some superficial resemblances, the Estates were not the French equivalent of an English Parliament. Instead, they were convoked on an irregular basis whenever the monarchy felt the need to seek the advice of its subjects. Consequently, the Estates-General in France had no institutional permanence, no clearly defined powers, and no archives. The one element that was constant was the requirement that they meet in three separate chambers, the First Estate, the clergy; the Second Estate, the nobility; and the Third Estate, everyone else. This reflected the assumption that society was divided into those who prayed, those who fought, and those who worked.

The calling of the Estates-General in 1789 took place in a context where many were worried that the crown's appetite for new revenues was limitless and that there were few defenses against it. That was the lesson many drew from the last fiscal controversy in the previous reign, the Maupeou crisis of the early 1770s. This had ballooned into a constitutional crisis over the fundamental laws of the kingdom, the accountability of ministers, and the right to tax. The regional sovereign courts, known as parlements, raised these issues and when they refused to back down, the crown abolished them in 1770–1771. Louis XVI restored the parlements in 1774 on his accession to the throne, but their general timidity afterward convinced many observers that they had lost the ability to constrain the crown's fiscal rapaciousness. Thus when the new financial crisis began after the American Revolutionary War (1775–1783) and following extravagant postwar

spending, many bodies throughout the kingdom began to call for an Estates-General. Both an Assembly of Notables (1787) and the Parlement of Paris claimed that only an Estates-General could consent to the government's demand for new taxes. The refusal of the parlement to register fiscal reforms and its publication of a new declaration of fundamental laws provoked the government into abolishing it once again in May 1788. The subsequent rioting in several important provincial towns like Rennes and Grenoble sapped the government's credit rating. By August, the government could no longer borrow and so promised to convoke an Estates-General for the following year.

At the same time, the public was being deluged with vast numbers of scandal stories about the court and its nefarious influence on national life. Suspicion of the court was hardly new but beginning with the reign of Louis XV (ruled 1715–1774), it took on a new life. The subject matter was the king and his mistresses, but the subtext was the emasculating influence of women in national life. Later, the stories told about Marie-Antoinette were utterly fantastic. The tales of her sexual debauchery extended the earlier themes of emasculation to a broad dialogue on how the court corrupted the nation. The Affair of the Diamond Necklace (1785), in which the aging Cardinal de Rohan was duped into buying a necklace to gain the queen's favor, illustrates this perfectly. Scurrilous pamphlets soon regaled the public with stories of clerical hypocrisy, sexual intrigue, and syphilitic queens. The broader lesson was that the nation itself had been corrupted by a decadent court. Indeed, for the writer Mathieu-François Pidansat de Mairobert, the themes of despotism and corruption were linked: the French were incapable of resisting tyranny because they were decadent. Even someone as sober as the Marquis de Lafayette partly believed this. According to him, ministers “think it their duty to preserve despotism. There are swarms of low and effeminate courtiers. The influence of women, and love of pleasure have abated the spirits of the Nation . . .” For some, therefore, the Estates General were supposed to regenerate the nation. For others, the problem of despotism was paramount, and the solution was a written constitution. For Lafayette, the financial crisis of the monarchy was an opportunity to impose a National Assembly. By the end of 1788, he was



Estates General, 1789. A contemporary engraving of the opening meeting on 5 May in the Salles des Menus Plaisirs at the Palace of Versailles. THE ART ARCHIVE/MARC CHARMET

endorsing a Bill of Rights, much like the American one. This implied an end of privilege and equality before the law. Others, soon to be called “patriots,” were moving in the same direction. The writer Honoré-Gabriel Riqueti, Count de Mirabeau, who became an important figure in the French Revolution, wrote, “Privileges are useful against kings, but they are detestable against nations, and ours will never have civic spirit so long as it is not delivered of them.” In the provinces, a talented Breton law professor, Jean-Denis Lanjuinais, who was a member of the Estates-General and the National Assembly, wrote, “. . . the nobility with its privileges, in its origin and in its nature, is only too often a militia armed against the citizens, only a parasitical corps living from the work of the people while sneering at them.”

Many hoped the Estates-General would thus be the device to effect a vast transformation. What stood in the way was the Parlement of Paris’s decla-

ration of 23 September 1788, that the Estates-General meet according to the forms of 1614; that is, any one of the three chambers could veto the actions of the other two. Thus began a furious pamphlet campaign for a doubling of the number of Third Estate deputies and for vote by head. The patriots’ strategy was to demand a single chamber with as many deputies in the Third Estate as in the other two combined. It was hoped this would produce a reliable majority for reform. As experience would prove, this was not always the case. The government conceded doubling in January 1789, but without vote by head. This meant little.

The elections to the Estates-General took place with this uncertainty, but the results did show the essential difference between the nobility and the upper Third Estate. At each stage in the multitiered electoral process, electors had to produce a *cahier de doléances*, or statement of grievances. An analysis of these statements illustrates the essential points of

conflict in the early Revolution. Nobles were willing to surrender their tax privileges. They did insist on keeping their monopolies of high office in church and state, while the upper Third Estate wanted a merit system. Other divisions were political. Nobles wanted vote by order; the Third Estate, vote by head. On many issues, like the importance of a periodic Estates-General with responsibility for fiscal matters, they agreed. Nonetheless, on the issue of civil equality and the shape of the future legislature, they were not in agreement.

It is often said that the crown was in a position to broker a compromise, but this is doubtful. When the Estates-General opened at Versailles on 5 May 1789, the crown showed it was interested in restoring finances and little else. The debate among the orders over vote by head or by estate continued for the next six weeks because neither the Second nor the Third Estate was willing to compromise. The Third broke the stalemate by declaring itself the National Assembly (June 17), declaring it would begin a roll call of all deputies of all three orders, and declaring in the Tennis Court Oath (June 20) that it had sovereign power to write a constitution. It also defied Louis XVI's suggestion in the Royal Session (June 23) that the Estates-General decide some issues by order and others by head. Finally, in order to gain time for a projected dissolution of the Estates-General, Louis XVI ordered the privileged orders to meet in common with the Third. But dissent and desertion in the army as well as the taking of the Bastille (July 14), which turned the entire capital over to the revolutionaries, forced the king to call off the coup. The now renamed Constituent Assembly would go on to produce the document that made the Revolution revolutionary: the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen (August 26).

See also Ancien Régime; Diamond Necklace, Affair of; France; Louis XVI (France); Marie-Antoinette (France); Revolutions, Age of.

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DONALD SUTHERLAND

ETHNOGRAPHY. Derived from the Greek *ethnos* ('nation or people') + *graphia* ('writing'), "ethnography" refers to the empirical and descriptive study of humanity in such large groups as communities or nations. Before about 1750, "anthropology" ('the study of man') referred to the study of human nature, that is, of the abstract individual. In the second half of the eighteenth century, philosophical speculation about human nature was replaced by the empirical study of particular historical nations, that is, anthropology became specific and collective, as the modern discipline of anthropology is today. The empirical study of specific historical nations did exist throughout the early modern era, but it is not called anthropology. The heading "ethnography" on this article indicates that early modern studies of nations are generally not recognized by modern anthropologists as sufficiently scientific. Most studies that we would call ethnographic were ad hoc reports of world travelers, missionaries, and explorers that encompassed far more than simply the various peoples encountered on the journey. Navigation, natural history, descriptions of climate, minerals, plants, and animals could all be included in a piece of travel writing.

The term "ethnography" came into use in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. The *Oxford English Dictionary's* first citation of the term is from the 1834 *Penny Cyclopaedia* (II, 97) which adopted it from German: "The term ethnography (nation-description) is sometimes used by German writers in the sense which we have given to anthropography." The first *OED* citation of "ethnology" comes from *Pritchard's Natural History of Man* (1842). Had the term been used in the early modern period, it would have been pejorative. From the fourteenth century to about the mid-eighteenth, "ethnic" (from Greek *ethnikos* 'heathen') referred to specifically foreign nations that were neither Christian nor Jewish, rather, pagan, heathen, or, by implication, "the other." Ethnography, therefore, was discourse about "Them" as opposed to "Us."

Attempts by Europeans to describe what they were seeing are as old as the voyages of discovery, even older. In antiquity, there were basically two ways of describing primitive human societies. Human history represented either a steady degeneration from a primitive golden age or progress from an initial rude and uncultivated condition. In the former case, primitives were portrayed as noble, free, and virtuous, as in the Greek geographer Strabo's descriptions of the Scythians; in the latter case, primitives were presented as cruel, ignorant, and evil, as in Book 7 of Pliny the Elder's *Natural History*.

When Europeans sailed off toward Elysium, the Islands of the Blessed, and the lands of the Hyperboreans (who were believed to live in a land of perpetual sunshine and abundance), they may not have expected to find monstrous people like the "blemmyes," whose heads were located below their shoulders, or incredible wealth in China as described by John Mandeville (d. 1372) and Marco Polo (c. 1254–1324). But when they encountered the apparently primitive inhabitants of Hispaniola and other Caribbean islands, what could they do but cast them in the classical terms they brought with them? Bartolomé de Las Casas reported that Columbus had carefully read and annotated Ptolemy's *Geography* and more recent geographic textbooks by Pope Pius II (reigned 1458–1464) and Pierre d'Ailly (1350–1420). Amerigo Vespucci (1454–1512) alternated between the Greek modes of golden age and savagery, here describing indigenous Americans as living naked in the forest with neither law nor religion and winning all they needed from the hand of nature, there describing a cannibal he met who had partaken of more than two hundred people. In his *New World Chronicles*, Peter Martyr d'Anghiera (1457–1526) compared parrots he had seen in the New World with descriptions by Pliny, and his account of society on Hispaniola resembled the golden age of Hesiod (fl. eighth century B.C.E.) and Virgil (70–19 B.C.E.). Thus it comes as little surprise that early modern Europeans described what they saw in terms similar to ancient Greeks and Romans, even when such language was misleading or prejudicial. Indeed, it was the only language they had.

As natural history emerged as a recognized genre of philosophical writing, ethnography was

frequently appended to accounts of climate, topography, minerals, flora, and fauna, as if peoples and their cultures were just another feature of the natural landscape. Here human beings could be studied on three levels. On the physical level, one might report on a people's relative size, shape, and color and also its material culture and food, which were determined by the natural environment. On the social level, the author described customs, manners, and political organization. And on the intellectual or cultural level, the author could address a nation's achievements in the arts and sciences and in religion or philosophy.

By the beginning of the eighteenth century, enough descriptive accounts of New World peoples had come in that ethnographers could offer detailed comparisons of New World peoples with the ancients. Joseph-François Lafitau's (1670–1740) comparison of the ancient Romans and Persians to the Americans of Louisiana is the most prominent example, and Lafitau represents the universalizing of an essential human nature. In the course of the eighteenth century, comparison gave way to classification, and classification meant the study of particulars and the drawing of distinctions. At this point we begin to see an ethnography that resembles modern anthropology, with each nation thoroughly unique and separate from the others. Naturalists could classify nations just as they classified minerals, plants, and animals. Humanity acquired its scientific designation as *Homo sapiens* in the eighteenth century from Carl Linnaeus (1707–1778), but that designation of humanity as "wise" did not come easily. In moral and theological terms it was clear enough which creatures were human and which animal. But when one tried to draw the line between the seldom-seen orangutan and the wild man of Borneo, things became murky. Linnaeus himself wrote that he could find no quantitative difference between ape and human. Nor was the Linnean system universally accepted as eternal truth. It was simply a system, formed in the process of international debate, and over the first ten editions of Linnaeus's *Systema Natura*, he experimented with different classifications of humanity, dividing the genus *Homo* into several species. Linnaeus's French rival, Georges Louis Leclerc, comte de Buffon (1707–1788), also divided humanity into two species—black and white.

Ultimately, human classification came down to the question of human origins. Did humanity originate in a single pair, male and female, either as told by the accounts in the Book of Genesis or by some other more naturalistic (perhaps evolutionary) process? Or did humanity represent several different and independent origins? If the former, then how could one account for the wide variety of color, stature, shape, and strength among global humanity, to say nothing of the differences in social organization, customs, manners, morals, and religion? Climate was one explanation. Montesquieu's explanation in Book 14 of *L'esprit des lois* (1748; The spirit of laws) is the most famous account of the effects of climate, but many others offered similar explanations. Like characterizations of primitives, the climate thesis reached back to antiquity in Polybius (204–123 B.C.E.) and Strabo. On its face, climate was convincing. It was known that plants and animals could be markedly transformed by their local environment, as when tropical plants were placed in European botanical gardens, or goldfish are kept in a ten-gallon tank. Europeans turned brown when exposed to the sun, and even within Europe there were degrees of color ranging from pale, blond Scandinavians to dark-haired, olive-skinned Spaniards.

Others noted that climate was not as effective as it was frequently taken to be. The short, dark-skinned Lapps neighbored the tall, fair Swedes. After four generations in Massachusetts, Africans were just as dark as they were in Africa. And Jews living on India's Malabar coast, supposedly since the Babylonian captivity in the sixth century B.C.E., were reported to look just like European Jews. Clearly some other force affected the physical attributes of human beings. If that force (Johann Friedrich Blumenbach [1752–1840] spoke of a teleological force contained in “genital liquid”) was so persistent, and if it was assumed that all of humanity descended from a single human pair, then how could one account for human diversity? Polygenesis was tempting, but because of its obvious moral implications, few Europeans dared to hold that position before the second half of the nineteenth century.

Indeed, morality has been a major issue in ethnography ever since the first voyages of discovery. What impressed Europeans about the New World

was not that it was inhabited by human societies but that those societies were so different from their own. Not only were they different, but they were understood to be inferior. It was Europeans who circumnavigated the globe to reach Tahiti, not Tahitians who, for all their navigational prowess, sailed to Europe. What should the relationship be between Europeans and their less-developed brethren? Certainly they had to be evangelized, and almost from the beginning Spaniards set out to convert Central, South, and North Americans to Christianity. But what means were appropriate? Could they be evangelized forcibly, as Charlemagne had converted the Saxons eight hundred years earlier? Could one justify purchasing enslaved individuals in Africa and forcing them to work on sugar plantations in the Caribbean, provided one treated them with restraint and attempted to care for their souls? All of these questions were explored in an ad hoc manner in accounts of the New World written by missionaries, traders, explorers, and planters in the early modern period.

There was unanimous agreement that, in technological terms, the *ethnoi* of the globe had not achieved what Europeans had. Less clear was whether that technological progress had been translated into any moral progress among Europeans themselves. Here was another use for ethnography. Michel de Montaigne (1533–1592) could point out that, despite accounts of human sacrifices and cannibalism in Central America, the real barbarians were the Europeans. That sentiment was echoed two centuries later by Georg Forster, one of Captain Cook's fellow travelers on his 1772–1775 voyage around the world, in a graphic account of cannibalism in New Zealand. And Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778) famously argued in his two *Discourses* that social inequalities were European constructs and that the progress of the arts and sciences had brought not any moral improvement but the contrary. Both of Rousseau's arguments were supported by a selective reading of travel narratives.

Rousseau, of course, never left Europe. Neither did Montaigne. Both, however, considered themselves authorities on non-European peoples purely on the basis of their reading of others' travel reports. Real travelers, like Georg Forster, did not believe one could come to an adequate understanding of

the *ethmoi* unless one visited them personally. On the other hand, scholars like Forster's nemesis Christoph Meiners (1747–1810), who disagreed with Forster on every level from the credibility of witnesses to the interpretation of evidence to the politics of the French Revolution, believed that visiting one or two places was insufficient for understanding humanity as a whole. Such knowledge one could only acquire through the comparative reading of others' travel accounts; no one could acquire firsthand knowledge of all the peoples of the globe. Thus began a debate over library research versus field research that persists in anthropology to the present day.

See also Class, Status, and Order; Colonialism; Exploration; Linnaeus, Carl; Montaigne, Michel de; Montesquieu, Charles-Louis de; Secondat de; Noble Savage; Rousseau, Jean-Jacques.

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MICHAEL CARHART

ETIQUETTE BOOKS. *See* Advice and Etiquette Books.

EUCCHARIST. *See* Ritual, Religious.

EULER, LEONHARD (1707–1783), the most prominent and productive mathematician of the Enlightenment, who laid the foundations for numerous new fields. Born in Basel to a Protestant minister and the daughter of another, Euler was destined for the clergy. His propensity for mathematics appeared early, however, and when he entered the University of Basel at the age of thirteen, he studied under the noted mathematician Johann I Bernoulli (1667–1748). He received his master's degree in philosophy in 1723 and joined the department of theology.

From the beginning, however, Euler worked hard to secure a position as a professional mathematician. His close association with the Bernoulli clan of mathematicians, which was to last throughout his life, proved invaluable in this. In 1727 he followed Johann I's two sons, Nikolaus II and Daniel, to the newly established St. Petersburg Academy of Sciences. Although initially invited to serve as professor of physiology, Euler ultimately succeeded Daniel Bernoulli as the academy's professor of mathematics in 1733. In the same year he married Katrina Gsell, daughter of a Swiss painter residing in St. Petersburg. During his years in St. Petersburg, Euler set the pattern for his subsequent career with a prodigious output of articles, treatises, and books on all aspects of mathematics. He was also active in various practical duties of the academy, including the mapping of Russian territories and studies of shipbuilding and navigation.

In 1741 Euler accepted the invitation of Frederick II of Prussia to join the newly reorganized Berlin Academy of Sciences. His twenty-five years in Berlin

were marked by his close association with the academy's president, Pierre-Louis Moreau de Maupertuis (1698–1759), as well by his active participation in several controversies that rocked the “Republic of Letters.” Most celebrated among these were a dispute on Leibnizian monads, which Euler vehemently opposed; a controversy about Maupertuis's “Principle of Least Action,” in which Euler supported his colleague against Johann Samuel König and Voltaire; and a prolonged debate with d'Alembert and Daniel Bernoulli on the equations describing vibrating strings, which drew in all the leading mathematicians in Europe.

After Maupertuis's death in 1759 Euler became the de facto leader and administrator of the Berlin Academy, but without the official title of president. His strained relations with Frederick II led him to accept an invitation from Catherine the Great to rejoin the St. Petersburg Academy. He returned to St. Petersburg in 1766 and remained there until his death in 1783.

Euler's mathematical output was prodigious, and his collected works include no less than 856 separate works, both published and unpublished. His contributions span all mathematical fields known in his time, as well as several that he founded himself. Euler wrote three textbooks on the differential and integral calculus, which included extensive discussions of differential equations and means to their solution: *Introductio in Analysin Infinitorum* (1748), *Institutiones Calculi Differentialis* (1755), and *Institutiones Calculi Integralis* (1768–1770). In these works Euler insists that the calculus is essentially a relationship between algebraic functions and is not based on geometry. He has no place for the traditional interpretation of differentials and integrals as determining the tangent of a curve or the area beneath it, and his calculus textbooks include none of those familiar graphics. The notion of “function” was a novel one at this time, and he defined it as any algebraic expression including variables and constants.

In the *Introductio* Euler presents the differential calculus as a special case of the calculus of finite differences when the difference reaches zero. At that point, the ratio between the difference in the value of the function $f(x)$ and the difference in the value of the variable x is $0/0$. Whereas most mathematicians

considered this expression to be more or less meaningless, according to Euler, it is the basis of the calculus and can take on any value whatsoever. The calculus, he argued, was a procedure to determine the specific value taken on by this ratio in each particular case.

Euler, along with Joseph-Louis Lagrange, founded the calculus of variations, which deals with the extremum characteristics of functions as a whole, rather than the point characteristics dealt with by the differential calculus. His work in this field played a crucial role in supporting Maupertuis during the controversy over his principle of least action. Using the calculus of variations, Euler demonstrated that the fundamental laws of motion were those that demonstrated the least amount of “action,” as defined by Maupertuis. Maupertuis viewed this result as a clear manifestation of God's infinite wisdom in designing the world. Although Euler himself did not present his work explicitly in such metaphysical terms, he remained Maupertuis's most important and loyal supporter throughout the controversy.

Euler was a principal founder of complex analysis, and the field's fundamental relationship, $ei\theta = \cos\theta + isin\theta$, is known today as “Euler's formula.” He contributed extensively to mathematical notation, introducing “ $f(x)$ ” for a function, “ e ” for the base of natural logarithms, “ i ” for the square root of -1 , and “ Σ ” for a sum. He worked extensively on number theory and many aspects of mathematical physics, including hydrodynamics and astronomy. Euler was a true polymath, and his deep mark on mathematics is evidenced today by the very numerous “Euler theorems” interspersed in a remarkably wide range of mathematical fields.

See also **Alembert, Jean Le Rond d'**; **Catherine II (Russia)**; **Frederick II (Prussia)**; **Lagrange, Joseph-Louis**; **Mathematics**; **Republic of Letters**; **Voltaire**.

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AMIR ALEXANDER

EUROPE AND THE WORLD. Between 1450 and 1789 the relationship between Europe and the rest of the world changed dramatically, as the inhabitants of what had been a poor, remote corner of Eurasia became poised to dominate the world politically, culturally, and economically. The nature and extent of this change can be traced in various ways. A world map of the mid-fifteenth century, for instance, is strikingly different from a mid-eighteenth-century map—not only because of the amount of information available to the later mapmaker, but also in the techniques employed to display that information. The effects of European wars on the world outside Europe also changed significantly during these centuries, as did the relationship between European Christendom and Islam, particularly the Ottoman Turks. Within Europe, new products and crops brought back from other continents significantly changed everyday life. Above all, by the mid-eighteenth century, Europeans controlled the sea, the size and extent of which had been unknown to them in the fifteenth century.

In 1459 Fra Mauro, a Camaldolese monk in Venice, produced a *mappa mundi*, or world map, at the request of King Afonso V of Portugal. This map, a disk six feet in diameter that was designed to be placed in a public space, followed the medieval tradition of showing the Earth's surface as almost entirely land and dividing it into three regions, Europe, Asia, and Africa. Fra Mauro's data came from a number of sources, both old and new. For example, his knowledge of Asia was drawn from the writings of Marco Polo (1254–1324) as well as those of a contemporary, Niccolò dei Conti (c. 1395–1469), who had visited India. The map contained not only geographical information, but historical and ethnographic information as well. Places of historical significance were emphasized, and various peoples were shown wearing their usual

dress. What the map did not do was provide guidance for a traveler on the road or at sea.

Europeans' knowledge about the world grew tremendously between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries, as new worlds were opened up and the shape of the previously known world could be determined more precisely. The contrast between Fra Mauro's map and an eighteenth-century map of the world is striking. Eighteenth-century maps illustrate a world that was known to be largely water. The landmasses that almost entirely filled Fra Mauro's map shrank, while new ones—the Americas—appeared. The newer maps located the surface of the Earth on a grid of latitude and longitude and provided a traveler, especially one at sea, with accurate information about distances. Unlike earlier maps, eighteenth-century maps paid careful attention to the outlines of the continents, because the information they contained often came from the reports of seamen. At the same time, eighteenth-century maps were plainer than earlier ones, because they concentrated on presenting geographical information and left blank areas as yet unexplored by Europeans. Historical, ethnographic, and other kinds of data included by Fra Mauro now appeared in books and journals rather than as an integral part of maps. As knowledge of the world expanded, maps shrank in size so that they could be folded up and inserted into books; unlike Fra Mauro's representation of the world, which had to remain in one place, these newer maps were portable.

Fra Mauro's map—despite the medieval cartographic conventions it employed—hinted at an important factor in the early modern transformation of the relationship between Europe and the rest of the world. The patron who requested the map, Afonso V of Portugal (ruled 1438–1481), was already involved in overseas expansion, continuing a Portuguese program of exploration down the west coast of Africa. His goal was a water route to Asia, via the west rather than the east, that would break the Muslim monopoly of trade with the Far East, even as the Turks were coming to dominate eastern Europe and the eastern Mediterranean. The turn to the west as a way of reaching Asia had several important consequences that radically changed the relationship of Europe to the world.

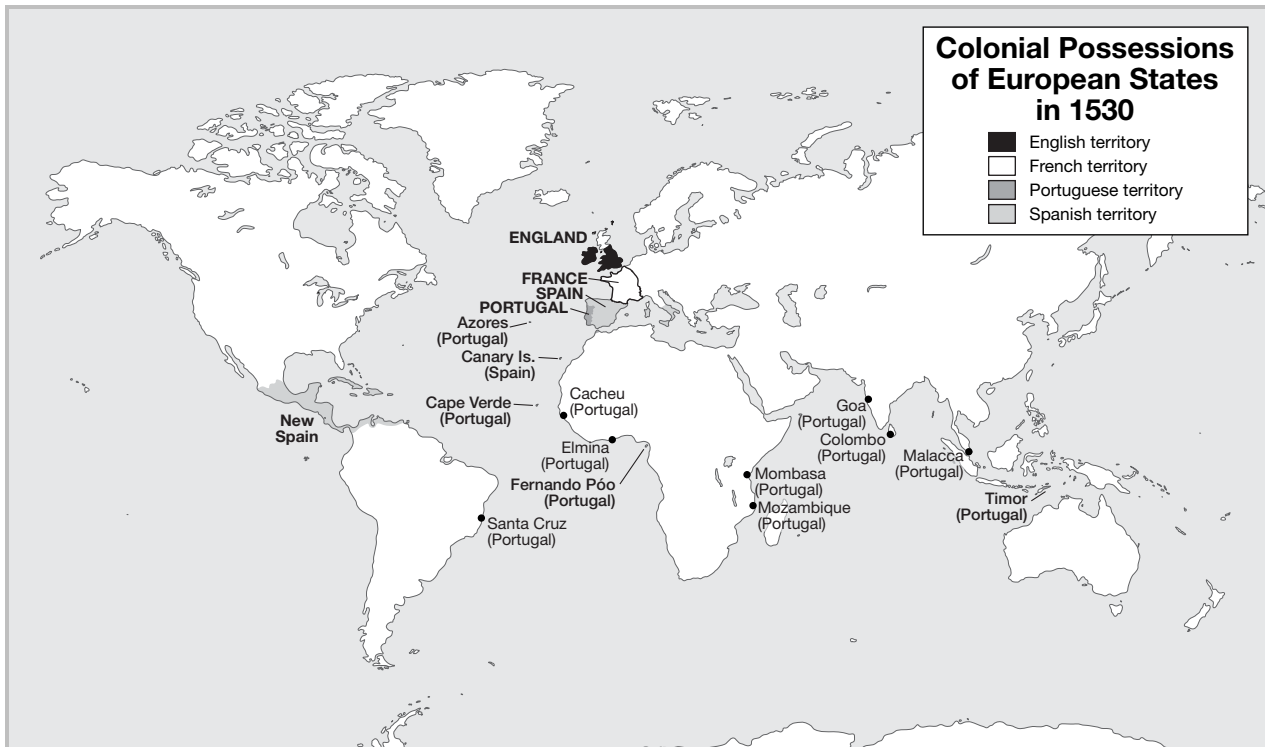


Europe and the World. From *Atlas Minor Geradi Mercatoris*, a miniature atlas edition of Mercator's maps prepared by Jodocus Hondius in 1607. The map uses symbols to indicate areas of the world where Christian, Muslim, and "idolatr[ous]" religions were most prevalent, and is one of the first examples of thematic mapping. MAP COLLECTION, STERLING MEMORIAL LIBRARY, YALE UNIVERSITY

By developing an Atlantic route to Asia, the Portuguese began the process that led to the discovery first of the Americas and then of the Pacific Ocean. These discoveries radically changed the European understanding of the surface of the Earth, demonstrating that it was largely water and that the Americas, a previously unknown landmass, huge and heavily populated, existed on the other side of the Atlantic. Initially, Europeans attempted to incorporate this new information into their existing worldview—the world as depicted by Fra Mauro—but gradually they became aware that this was not possible. The new information demanded a reexamination of the European conception of the Earth and its inhabitants.

A significant consequence of the turn to the west was the devastation of the peoples of the Americas, and subsequently those of many Pacific islands, as Europeans introduced diseases such as smallpox. The prior isolation of these populations left them prey to pathogens associated with Eurasian and African societies. At the same time, syphilis struck Europe in devastating fashion, suggesting to contemporary observers and many modern scholars that it came from the Americas.

Another consequence of European overseas expansion was the redirection westward of the African slave trade, long controlled by Arab traders supplying the Muslim world. The establishment of Portu-



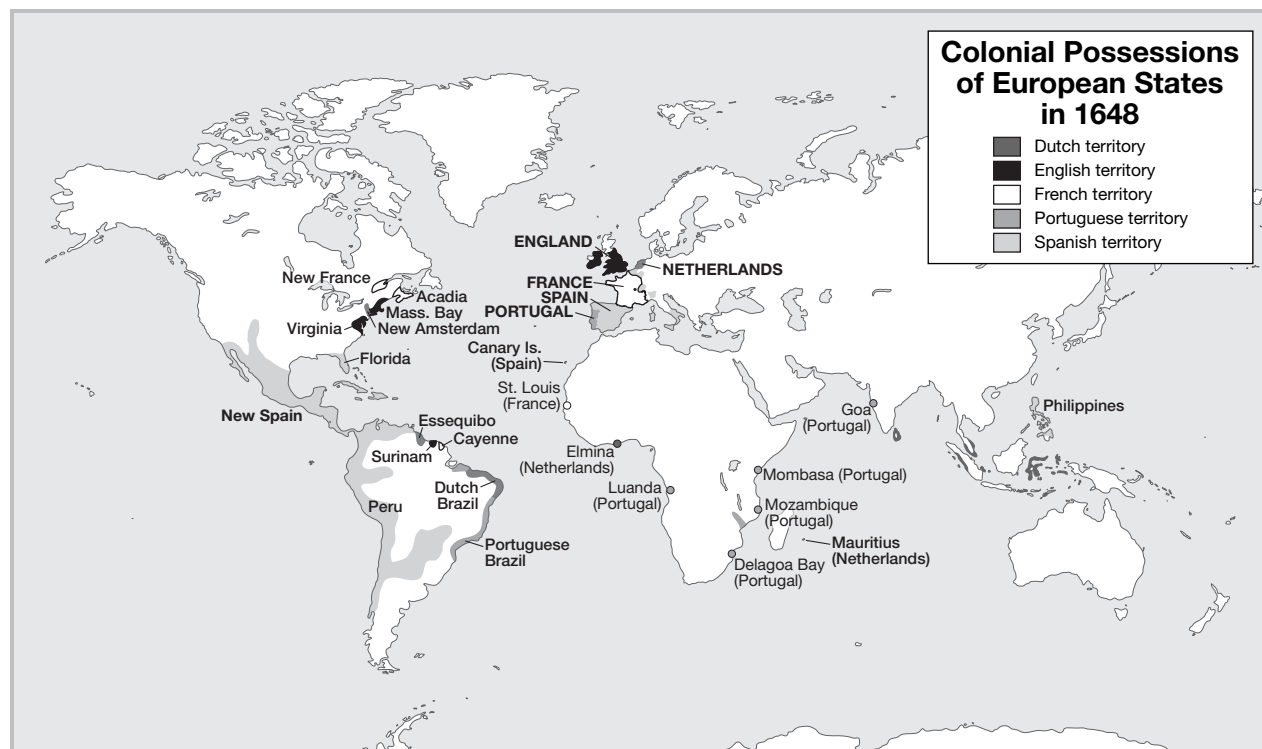
guese factories (trading posts) on the west coast of Africa provided a new outlet for slaves, who were sent to Portuguese plantations on the Atlantic islands. This new market was to increase in size as more European nations established settlements in the Americas and so required a supply of labor.

The European encounter with the wider world not only provided access to the spice markets of Asia—the original goal of the explorations—but also introduced Europeans to new products and crops. Sugar, long grown on the islands of the Mediterranean, became more available as the Portuguese grew it on the Atlantic and Caribbean islands. Potatoes and maize, both native to the Americas, became important elements of the European diet, contributing to the growth of the European population by providing an abundant supply of cheap, nutritious food, especially for the poorer classes.

From a military perspective, the most striking difference between Europe in 1450 and 1789 was in the relation of Europe to the Islamic world. In the mid-fifteenth century, Europe was encircled by a swath of Muslim states stretching from eastern Europe, through the Middle East, across North Africa, and into southern Spain, where the Muslim kingdom of Granada existed until 1492. From the fif-

teenth to the late-seventeenth century, the Ottoman Turks, the most aggressive Muslim society, advanced steadily through eastern Europe, capturing Constantinople in 1453, pushing up through the Balkans, conquering Hungary in 1526, and, in 1529, besieging Vienna for the first time. The Turks remained a constant threat to eastern Europe until their last, unsuccessful siege of Vienna in 1683. Defeated and exhausted, they began a withdrawal from eastern Europe during the eighteenth century, enabling Austria and Russia to expand in the Balkans and reversing the course of several hundred years of warfare. For the first time, the Ottomans were on the defensive against an expanding European world.

The impact of European warfare on the rest of the world also changed over the course of the early modern period. In 1453, the Hundred Years' War between France and England ended. The war had devastated France and helped to incite the subsequent Wars of the Roses (1455–1485) in England, but it had no significant consequences beyond Europe. In 1763, a new series of wars between France and England—sometimes collectively known as the Second Hundred Years' War—came to an end. These wars not only involved all of the major Euro-



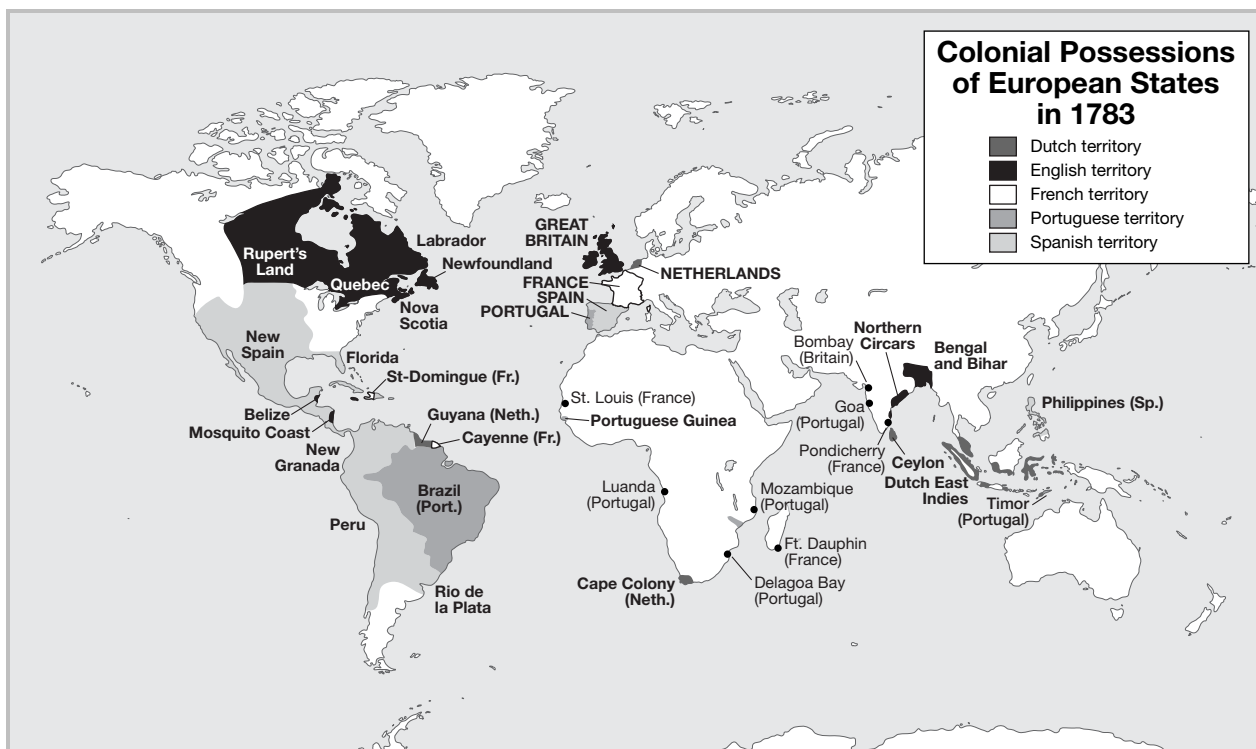
pean powers, they had repercussions throughout the world. In North America and India, indigenous allies of the French and English fought under European officers and with European weapons in order to achieve European rulers' goals. When the war ended, the British Empire had become the dominant power throughout the world, not because it had the largest army, but because it controlled and policed the seas and had learned how to manipulate local ethnic and cultural divisions in order to divide and rule.

Closely connected to the wars that spread from Europe to the rest of the world was the notion that all mankind could be organized within a single international legal order. As European sailors moved out into the larger world, they faced situations that came to require legal resolution. European states exploring new routes to Asia carried over into their new overseas possessions their long histories of border disputes. To prevent such conflicts, Pope Alexander VI in 1493 issued three bulls collectively known as *Inter Caetera*, which divided the New World between Spain and Portugal. Within their respective spheres, Spain and Portugal enjoyed a monopoly on trade with native inhabitants, but they were also responsible for supporting and protecting

Christian missionaries. Other nations that subsequently became interested in expansion—the English, French, and Dutch—refused to accept the papal solution to the problem of imperial conflict.

Several related legal questions revolved around the status of the inhabitants of the New World. How could the European conquest of the New World be justified legally and morally? Did the inhabitants of the Americas have the right to possess their lands in peace? Did they have to admit Christian missionaries? One consequence of these questions was the development of international law, a body of rules primarily regulating the relations among European nations, especially those involved in overseas activities, but also claiming jurisdiction over non-Europeans under some circumstances. These rules became the basis for constructing a legal order for all humankind.

In the final analysis, the discovery of the vast oceans and the ability of Europeans to dominate maritime trade routes were pivotal to Europe's changing relationship with the rest of the world. Unlike the land-based empires of ancient and medieval times, modern empires relied heavily on control of sea routes for economic and administrative purposes. As a result, small nations such as the Portu-



guese and the Dutch could establish profitable empires based on ships and sailors.

The European attitude toward the peoples of the rest of the world underwent a significant change between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries. In the fifteenth century, Europeans were intimidated by a seemingly unstoppable Islamic juggernaut and awed by the existence of the sophisticated Asian world Marco Polo described. By the end of the eighteenth century, however, the Turks had been repulsed and were clearly beginning to lose their empire, and much of the romantic mystery associated with the East was being dispelled as more and more Europeans reported on it. By 1789, Europeans were reaching a point where their fear and awe were beginning to give way to a sense of superiority. Europeans increasingly saw themselves as the summit of human development; others, they believed, ought to follow their example or submit to their rule.

See also Cartography and Geography; Colonialism; Dictionaries and Encyclopedias; Exploration; Shipbuilding and Navigation; Shipping; Slavery and the Slave Trade.

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JAMES MULDOON

EXCLUSION CRISIS. Exclusion Crisis was the name given to the crisis over the succession that

developed in England in the aftermath of Titus Oates's revelations in the summer of 1678 of a "popish plot" to murder Charles II (ruled 1660–1685) and massacre English Protestants. The plot was a fabrication, but because Charles had no legitimate children and the heir to the throne was his Catholic brother, James, duke of York, Oates's revelations provoked anxieties about what would happen should the king suddenly die and be succeeded by his brother. The English associated Catholic rule with religious persecution and tyrannical government.

SUCCESSION AND EXCLUSION

Concern over the possibility of a Catholic succession had been expressed before. In early 1674 a group of opposition peers, following the duke of York's public acknowledgment of his conversion to Catholicism and marriage to the Catholic Mary of Modena the previous year, had sought to introduce legislation providing for the education of York's children as Protestants and the exclusion from the succession of any prince of the blood in the future who married a Catholic without parliamentary consent, but backed down in the face of opposition from the bishops. However, the popish plot gave the issue an immediate intensity. Between 1679 and 1681 opponents of the Catholic succession (soon to be christened the Whigs) introduced three bills into successive Parliaments to exclude James from the throne. The first made it through the Commons on its second reading on 21 May 1679 by a vote of 207 to 128 (with 174 members being absent), but was lost to a royal prorogation later that month (and subsequent dissolution in July). The second made it to the Lords, where it was defeated by a vote of 70 to 30 on 15 November 1680, and the third was again lost in the Commons following the king's speedy dissolution of the short-lived Oxford Parliament of 21–28 March 1681.

The first Exclusion Bill stipulated that the succession should pass to the next lawful, Protestant heir—as if the duke of York were actually dead—thereby implying James's eldest daughter, Mary, who was married to Prince William of Orange. The second was initially more ambiguously worded so as to leave the way open for settling the throne on Charles II's eldest illegitimate son, James Scott, the duke of Monmouth, though subsequently modified

in committee to make it clear that Mary was the Commons' preferred successor. The third was again ambiguously worded but never made it to the committee stage.

An exclusion bill was not the only solution proposed for dealing with the possibility of a Catholic succession. Charles II and the court favored imposing limitations on a Catholic successor to make it impossible for York to do anything to undermine the Protestant establishment once king. This idea won some support among more radical Whigs like Algernon Sidney (1622–1683) and John Wildman (c. 1621–1693) because it seemed to bring England nearer to the status of a republic. But it was seen as a trap by most Whigs (who merely wanted to preserve Protestant monarchy in Britain and who thought that limitations could never be made binding) and was disliked not just by James but also by Mary's husband, the future William III (ruled 1689–1702). The earl of Shaftesbury, the leading champion of the Exclusion Bill in the Lords, also backed attempts to persuade Charles to divorce his barren wife and remarry, or to declare Monmouth legitimate, but to no avail. For this reason, some historians have suggested that the term Exclusion Crisis is not really appropriate, preferring instead Succession Crisis, although this seems somewhat pedantic. Indeed, Shaftesbury himself saw the remarriage and legitimization schemes as nothing more than other ways to exclude the Catholic heir should the Exclusion Bill fail.

PROPAGANDA AND POWER

The Whigs conducted their campaign against the duke of York not just in Parliament but also in the press, at the polls, and in the streets, whipping up popular anti-Catholic sentiment to try to convince Charles of the necessity of diverting the succession and organizing mass rallies and petitioning campaigns in support of their position, most famously the notorious pope-burning processions in London on 17 November, the anniversary of Elizabeth I's accession in 1558. Recalling the miseries that English Protestants had suffered under England's last Catholic monarch, Mary I (ruled 1553–1558), and pointing to the alleged tyrannies of Europe's leading Catholic monarch, the absolutist Louis XIV of France (ruled 1643–1715), they alleged that a Catholic successor would pose a threat to the lives,

liberties, and estates of English Protestants. In order to justify Parliament's ability to exclude James, they documented historical precedents for diverting the succession and also employed natural law arguments to insist that the people's representatives had the right to debar James from the throne in order to guarantee the safety of the people. Yet the Whigs were not just concerned about what might happen should James become king; they were also worried about developments under Charles II. Thus they complained of what they saw as a drift toward popery and arbitrary government not only in England but also in Scotland and Ireland, and were particularly critical of what they saw as an intolerant episcopalian establishment in the church. They accused the bishops and the high Anglican clergy (who opposed exclusion) of being papists in masquerade, and urged that the penal laws against Protestant nonconformists be relaxed so that Protestants of all stripes could unite against the perceived Catholic menace.

Charles was able to defeat the exclusion movement by refusing to call Parliament again after 1681. He also launched a rigorous legal onslaught against alleged political and religious enemies of the state with a cleverly crafted propaganda campaign designed to poison public opinion against the Whigs (who were represented as threatening to embroil the three kingdoms once more in civil war). Although a few radical Whigs continued to conspire to divert the succession, either by open revolt or by assassinating the royal brothers (the so-called Rye House Plot of 1682–1683, which was leaked to the government before the conspirators were able to attempt anything), public opinion had by now turned decisively against the Whigs. York succeeded to the throne upon the death of his brother in February 1685, and an ill-planned rebellion led by the duke of Monmouth that summer was easily put down by the government.

See also **Charles II (England); James II (England); Parliament; Political Parties in England; Republicanism.**

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TIM HARRIS

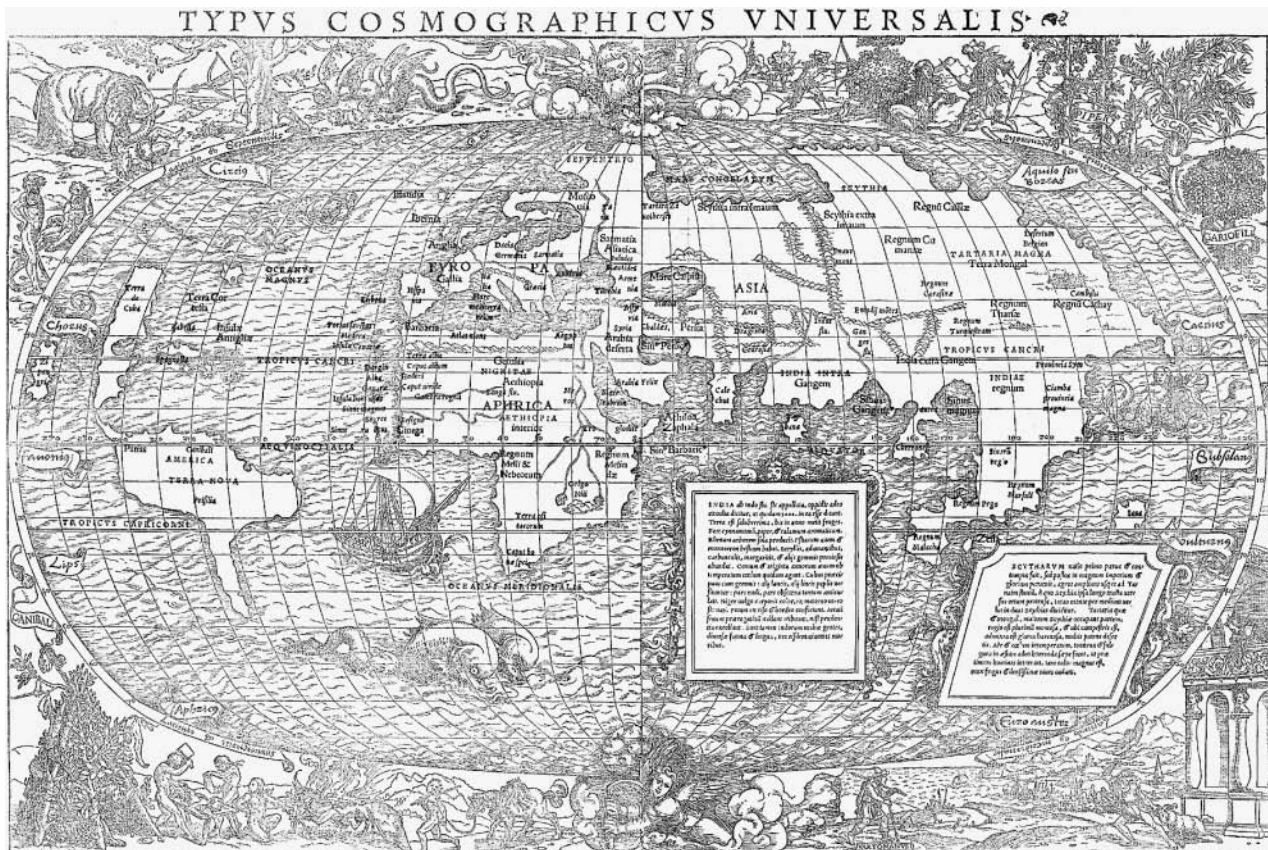
EXHIBITIONS, ART. *See* **Art: Art Exhibitions.**

EXPERIENCE AND EXPERIMENT.
See **Scientific Method; Scientific Revolution.**

EXPLORATION. The early modern period, in European usage, defined the centuries in which Europeans explored the rest of the world. The motivations of individual explorers and their sponsors varied, but taken collectively, their efforts greatly increased European knowledge about the world's lands and peoples and brought vast continents and their inhabitants into contact with Europe, for both good and ill.

RENAISSANCE BEGINNINGS OF EXPLORATION

The so-called Age of Discovery began in the late fifteenth century, but Europeans had been probing the known areas and boundaries of their world for several centuries before that, motivated by tales of fabulous riches in distant kingdoms in Africa and Asia. Christian missionaries and leaders of the Catholic Church in Rome had also sent emissaries into Asia in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, seeking to fulfill the biblical mandate to spread the message of Christianity. Later they sought allies against the growing power of Muslim rulers in the Middle East. Developments in the mid-fifteenth century added momentum to those efforts. Western Europe showed unmistakable signs of economic growth by 1450, as population and the economy recovered from the century of crisis that began in the early fourteenth century and was worsened by



Exploration. The cartography on this map from Simon Grynaeus's *Novus Orbis Regionum* has been attributed to Sebastian Munster. Published in 1532, the map may have been prepared before then, as the geographic information is somewhat dated. The mapmaker may have been unaware of Magellan's circumnavigation of the globe in 1522. The outline of Africa is reasonably accurate, but the shape of Asia is problematic and North America is shown as a narrow strip. MAP COLLECTION, STERLING MEMORIAL LIBRARY, YALE UNIVERSITY

waves of epidemic disease from 1348 on. In 1453 the Ottoman Turks conquered Constantinople, the heir to ancient Rome and capital of Orthodox Christianity, and brought it within the Muslim world. At about the same time, the invention of movable type (associated with Johannes Gutenberg) made it possible to reproduce written materials more cheaply and quickly. Reports on great events such as the fall of Constantinople, plus ancient treatises about geography and real or fanciful books about travel, inspired many Europeans to seek new venues for trade, spread the message of Christianity, and search for allies against Ottoman expansion.

Potential explorers sought out investors among wealthy merchant communities, and asked for sponsorship from the various national monarchies emerging in the climate of economic recovery that

marked the late fifteenth century. Portuguese explorers such as Gil Eanes, Nuno Tristão, and Alvisé da Cada Mosto had explored down the western coast of Africa in the 1430s, 1440s, and 1450s, respectively. After 1479 and a treaty with Castile that gave them exclusive rights to African exploration, Portuguese expeditions continued their search for trade opportunities and a sea route to India. The voyages of Diogo Cão, Bartolomeu Dias, and Vasco da Gama (1498) established that route by 1500. Castilian expeditions after 1479 explored westward in search of fabled islands, conquering the Canary Islands in the process. Isabella of Castile and her husband Ferdinand of Aragón also sponsored the four voyages of Christopher Columbus between 1492 and 1504 to search westward for Asia, as well as sponsoring voyages by other explorers in the same period.

By the Treaty of Tordesillas in 1494, Portugal and Castile agreed upon spheres of influence in lands discovered across the Ocean Sea (the Atlantic Ocean). Probing the treaty's limits, the Portuguese brothers Gaspar and Miguel Corte-Real explored a northern route across the Atlantic, staking a claim to rich fishing grounds near Labrador; Pedro Álvares Cabral touched the northeast coast of Brazil in 1500 on the way to India. The Italian father and son John and Sebastian Cabot and their associates aimed above all to find a northwest passage to Asia—an aim that would continue to inspire explorers thereafter. Henry VII of England (ruled 1485–1509) sponsored expeditions by the Cabots in the 1490s to explore toward the northwest, following up on presumed voyages from Bristol in the 1480s that left little or no trace in the records.

THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

In terms of sea and overland routes established and coastlines and hinterlands explored and mapped, Europeans probably accomplished more in the early sixteenth century than in any other half-century in history. In 1513 the Spaniard Vasco Núñez de Balboa crossed the Isthmus of Panama and saw the great western ocean that would be named the Pacific. That same year his compatriot Juan Ponce de León cruised around the southern tip of Florida. In 1519 the Portuguese Ferdinand Magellan, having quarreled with the king of Portugal, sailed under Spanish auspices to find a westward route to Asia that would challenge the south and eastward route pioneered by the Portuguese. Sailing south beyond the known coastlines of America, Magellan explored the treacherous strait that would bear his name and crossed the vast Pacific Ocean to the islands of East Asia, where the Portuguese were already established. Anxious to spread the Christian Gospel and support local allies, Magellan was killed in a skirmish in the islands later known as the Philippines. The remnant of his expedition finally made it back to Spain in 1522 under the leadership of Juan Sebastián de Elcano (del Cano), sailing ever westward around Africa and accomplishing the first voyage around the world.

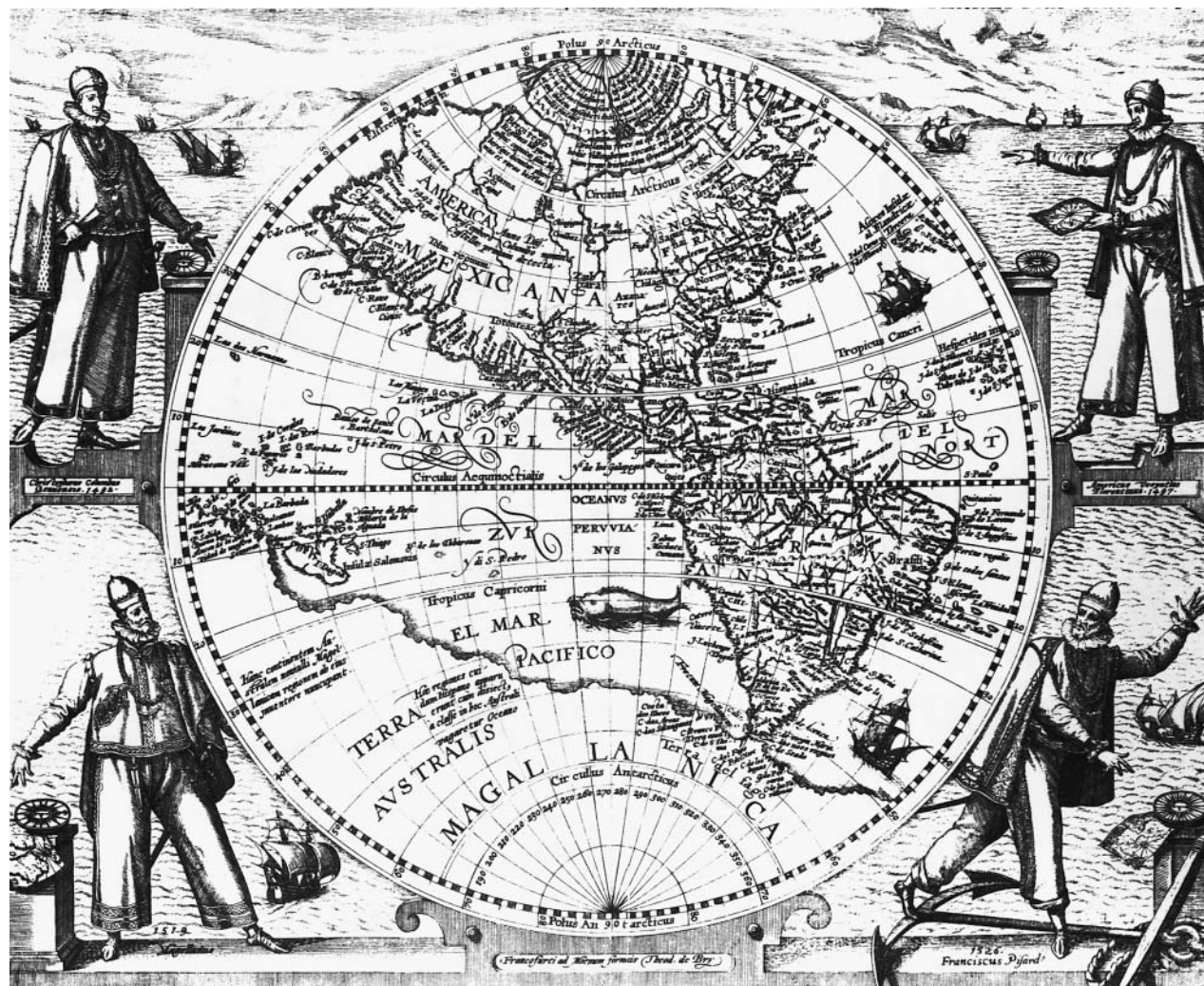
From the 1520s through the 1540s, Spaniards, Portuguese, and a few Germans, Frenchmen, and others probed the interior of the Americas, from the Rocky Mountains and Great Plains of North Amer-

ica to the great river and mountain systems of South America, mapping lands of stunning natural beauty and awesome physical challenges. In the process, Hernán Cortés (1485–1547) conquered the Aztec empire, Francisco Pizarro (c. 1475–1541) conquered the Inca empire, and numerous other explorers, conquerors, clerics, and officials working for the crown established the administrative structure of a Spanish empire in the Americas.

Francis I of France, the great rival of Spanish King and Holy Roman Emperor Charles V, supported several expeditions to North America. Among others, he sponsored the Italian Giovanni da Verrazano's discovery (1524) of New York Bay and Jacques Cartier's exploration (1534–1541) of the Gulf and river of St. Lawrence. Wherever Europeans went, they inadvertently brought with them the whole array of diseases that Europeans, Africans, and Asians had long endured, but which the native populations of the Americas had never experienced. The result was a demographic catastrophe for native populations. Many scholars argue that syphilis was transferred from the Americas to the Old World, with serious but not devastating effect.

The Portuguese established a basic administrative structure in Brazil, but their overseas efforts focused largely on Asia in the sixteenth century. Portuguese mariners learned how to navigate the trade routes of the Red Sea, the Indian Ocean, and the South China Sea—routes that were well known to local peoples but were new to Europeans. A Dutch expedition would find its way to East Asia in 1595, challenging the Portuguese thereafter. Although several expeditions sailed westward to Asia from America in the decades after Magellan, Spaniards did not discover the eastward route back across the Pacific until the voyage of Andrés de Urdaneta in 1565. Thereafter, they established a trading base at Manila, with regular voyages between New Spain (Mexico) and the Philippines, and discovered various other island groups in the South Pacific.

At the same time, English expeditions under Hugh Willoughby and Richard Chancellor (1553), and Arthur Pet and Charles Jackman (1580), plus a Dutch expedition under Willem Barents (1594–1597), tried to find a viable northeast route through the Arctic Ocean to Asia in the late sixteenth century. Russian fur-trading expeditions probed the



Exploration. Engraving by Theodore de Bry, 1596, depicts the New World, surrounded by portraits (clockwise from lower left) of Magellan, Columbus, Vespucci, and Pizarro. ©CORBIS

area as well; one of these expeditions, under the Cossack Ermak Timofeevich (1581–1582), began the exploration of Siberia. The continuing search for a northern passage to Asia inspired English efforts under Martin Frobisher (1576–1578) and John Davis (1585–1587), who sailed eastward, and Francis Drake (1577–1580), who sailed westward. By the late sixteenth century, some European mapmakers showed a clear understanding of the world's major coastlines and oceans, but others replicated antiquated or misleading information. Similarly, Europeans still knew little about the vast interior spaces of Africa, Asia, North America, and parts of South America.

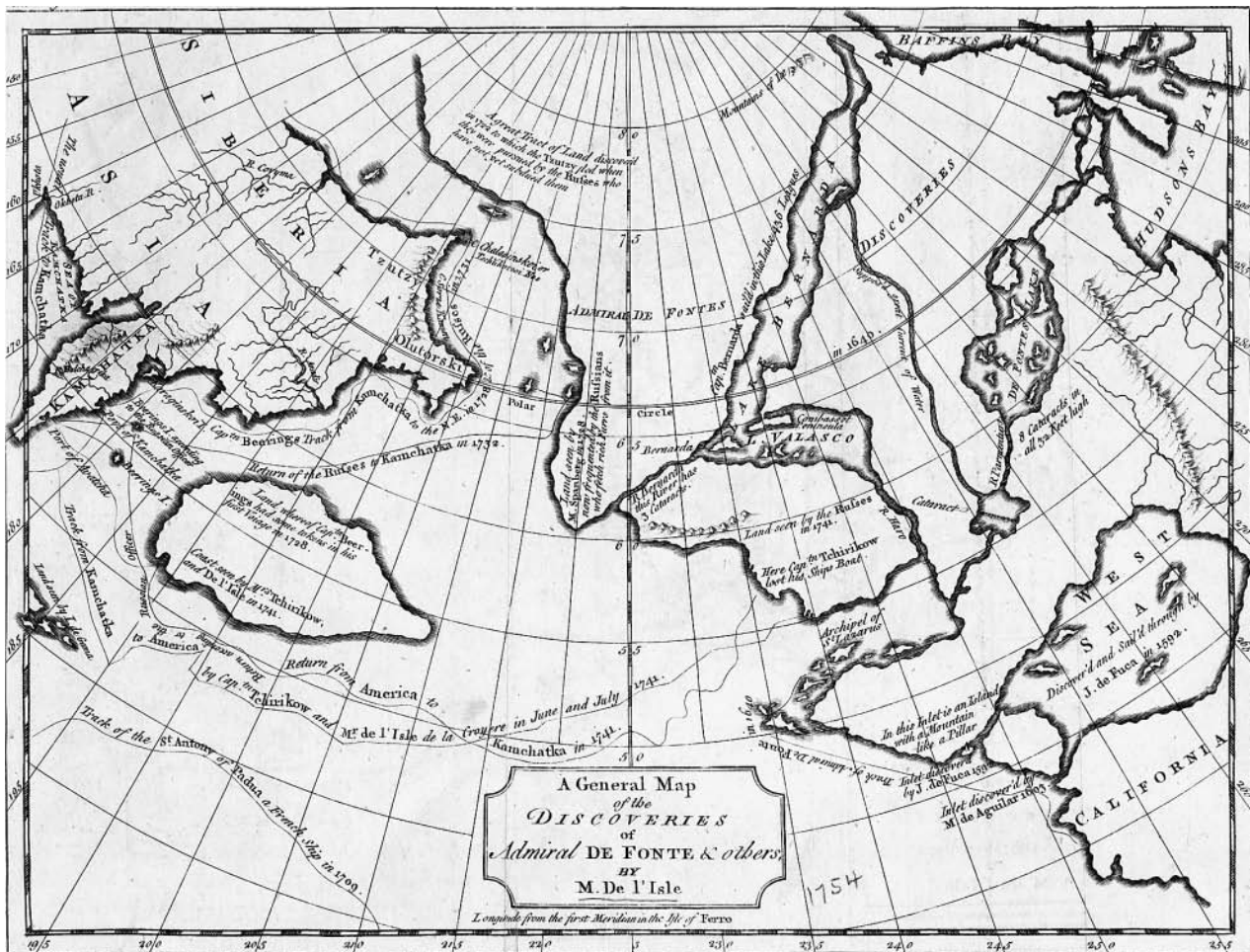
THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

By the early seventeenth century, Europeans competed for trade and colonies in the areas already discovered and explored the boundaries of a known world that was already much larger than it had been at the start of the early modern period. The Portuguese António Fernandes (1613) and the Spanish Jesuit Pedro Paez (1618) explored the interior of East Africa, while Dutch expeditions under Willem Schouten and Isaac Le Maire (1615–1616) discovered Cape Horn, and Frederik de Houtman (1619) traced the western coast of Australia. Expeditions under Franz Thyssen (1627) and Abel Janszoon Tasman (1640s) explored and charted other parts of Australia, New Zealand, Tasmania, and nearby

island groups, but never found the legendary great southern continent (Terra Australis) that had graced many early maps.

In North America, Henry Hudson (1610) discovered the bay later named for him, thinking it was the great western ocean at the end of the Northwest Passage. Other expeditions proved him wrong, but the search at least increased geographical knowledge. The vast lands south of Hudson's Bay and north of New Spain remained largely unknown to Europeans in the early seventeenth century, apart from a few Spanish settlements in the southeast and a few English and Dutch settlements in the northeast. During the century, France sponsored a series of expeditions that challenged the English presence

in the north and sought a route through the continent. Samuel de Champlain (1603–1615) explored the St. Lawrence River and the Great Lakes. Jean Nicolet (1634) and Pierre Esprit Radisson and Médard Chomart, Sieur des Groseillers (1658–1659), continued French exploration of the Great Lakes region. In the last few decades of the century, King Louis XIV sponsored a series of expeditions that explored from the Great Lakes to the network of river systems in central North America, aiming to establish a French empire between the English in the north and the Spanish in the south. The most famous expeditions were led by René-Robert Cavellier, Sieur de La Salle (1673–1687), Jacques Marquette and Louis Joliet (1673), and Louis Hennepin (1679–1680). Approaching from the Gulf of



Exploration. This reproduction and translation of a 1752 French map by Joseph Nicolas de L'Isle appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine* of March/April 1754 and demonstrates how little was known of the North Pacific region in the mid-eighteenth century. The mythical voyages of De Fonte are shown as well as the actual voyages of Bering and Tchirikov, and a "West Sea" is shown north of California. MAP COLLECTION, STERLING MEMORIAL LIBRARY, YALE UNIVERSITY

Mexico, Pierre le Moyne d'Iberville (1699) discovered the mouth of the Mississippi River. By the time Louis XIV died in 1715, France had a chain of settlements from Quebec to the Gulf of Mexico, though they remained small and vulnerable to hostile local peoples and international rivals alike.

In South America, expeditions from the 1630s to the 1660s traced the awesome extent of the Orinoco and Amazon River systems, as Spain and Portugal struggled to grasp the true extent of their colonial dominions. The discovery in the 1690s of gold and gem deposits in Brazil gave added impetus to exploration of the interior, within the structure of settled colonial regimes run by Spain and Portugal. Nonetheless, huge areas would remain unknown to Europeans until well beyond the early modern period.

European exploration in the eighteenth century, as in earlier times, was motivated in large part by political rivalries as well as by enduring goals such as oceanic passages northwest and northeast from Europe to Asia and the search for the elusive great southern continent. Vitus Bering, a Dane in the service of Tsar Peter I ("the Great") of Russia, made two major voyages (1728 and 1733–1741) in search of a northeast passage, in the process mapping much of coastal Siberia and discovering the strait later named for him between Asia and Alaska. In the Americas, the French founded New Orleans in 1718 and sponsored expeditions in the 1720s and 1730s to continue exploration in the middle of North America, even as they faced increasing pressure from England in the northeast. In the Seven Years' War (1756–1763) they lost most of the territory they claimed in North America to England. Nonetheless, French exploration continued, driven by the increased interest in scientific endeavors that was part of the Enlightenment.

Scientific voyages of exploration are traditionally associated with the eighteenth century, although the scientific urge to discover, classify, and understand lands, peoples, animals, and plants characterized European exploration throughout the early modern period. Eighteenth-century voyages concentrated on the Pacific Ocean, one of the last great spaces on Earth that remained largely unexplored. The Dutch explorer Jacob Roggeveen (1722) is credited with discovering Easter Island

and some of the Samoan islands in the South Pacific, though he claimed to have sighted the great southern continent as well. Pacific voyages in the last half of the century reflected the rivalry between England and France, while at the same time searching for that elusive continent and other new lands and observing various natural phenomena. Samuel Wallis of England, while circumnavigating the globe from 1766 to 1768, discovered the Society Islands (Tahiti), while Philip Carteret on another ship in the expedition sailed farther south looking for Terra Australis. A French expedition under Louis Antoine de Bougainville also reached Tahiti in 1768. The greatest of the eighteenth-century voyages were those of the Englishman James Cook. In three major expeditions (1768–1771, 1772–1775, and 1776–1779), Cook probed and tested most of the legends and lore about the vast Pacific Ocean. With superb mapmaking skills, and aided on the second and third voyages by the most accurate timepiece yet developed and other modern navigational aids, Cook was able to chart the Pacific and its islands with unprecedented accuracy. He confirmed the existence of and mapped numerous islands, explored the northwest coast of North America, and proved to all but the most diehard believers in Terra Australis that whatever land existed in the far south was not habitable. His reports and maps became best-sellers among the literate public in Enlightenment Europe. On his third voyage, Cook's expedition became the first documented European arrival at the Hawaiian Islands. Although some of the officers who accompanied him assumed that some Spanish voyage or other must have preceded them, Cook dismissed those assumptions. He died in a skirmish with local islanders in 1779, on a return visit to the islands. A French expedition under Jean-François de Galaup, Count of la Pérouse (1785–1788) and a Spanish expedition under the Italian Alessandro Malaspina (1789–1795) carried out their own extensive Pacific voyages. Their agendas reflected European political rivalries as well as a search for scientific knowledge.

In North America as well, exploration by Daniel Boone into Kentucky (1769–1775), Alexander Mackenzie across the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific (1789–1793), and George Vancouver along the northwest coast (1792–1794) established an English presence in an area long claimed by Spain

but hardly settled or defended by her. Belatedly, Spain dispatched expeditions along the coast from Mexico that established a chain of presidios (garrisons) and missions along the length of California, exploring and mapping as they went. By land José Ortega discovered San Francisco Bay in 1769, and by sea Juan Pérez and Bruno Heceta discovered Nootka Sound (1774–1775). The far northwest corner of North America thus became a focus of rivalry for England, Russia, Spain, and—after 1783—the fledgling United States, which sponsored Robert Gray’s expedition along the northwest coast (1787–1793).

At the very end of the early modern period, English expeditions into the African interior (Mungo Park to the Gambia and Niger Rivers in 1795–1805 and Sir John Barrow northward from the Cape of Good Hope in 1797–1798), foreshadowed a major focus for European exploration in the nineteenth century. During the early modern centuries, Europeans had explored and mapped much of the world, driven by a combination of motives that ranged from religious zeal and scientific curiosity to commercial and political rivalries and personal ambitions. In their travels, they had not only explored the world; they had changed it forever.

See also Africa; Asia; British Colonies; Cartography and Geography; Columbus, Christopher; Cortés, Hernán; Dutch Colonies; Europe and the World; French Colonies; Gama, Vasco da; Islands; Magellan, Ferdi-

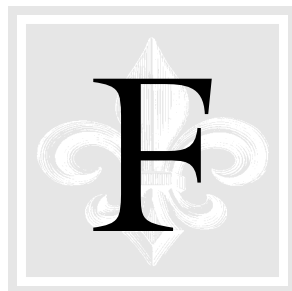
nand; Pizarro Brothers; Portuguese Colonies; Shipbuilding and Navigation; Spanish Colonies.

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CARLA RAHN PHILLIPS

EXTREME UNCTION. *See* Ritual, Religious.



FAIRY TALES. *See* Folk Tales and Fairy Tales.

FALSE DMITRII, FIRST (1582?–1606?; ruled 1605–1606), the most successful of the several pretenders to the Muscovite throne during the Time of Troubles and a rallying-point for those in revolt against Tsar Boris Godunov; briefly ruled as tsar.

In 1603 a young man appeared in Lithuania who claimed to be Tsarevich Dmitrii Ivanovich, son and heir of Ivan IV. He repudiated the official story that Tsarevich Dmitrii had died an accidental death at Uglich in 1591, claiming instead that he had been delivered from a murder plot concocted by Boris Godunov. The true identity of the man remains in dispute. Some scholars identify him as a defrocked fugitive monk, Grigorii Otrep'ev, a pawn of Godunov's main political rivals, the Romanovs, while others think he was selected by the Nogais many years before and brought up to believe that he truly was the tsarevich.

This False Dmitrii quickly won the recognition and support of the Lithuanian Chancellor Lew Sapieha, Prince Adam Wisniowiecki, and especially Jerzy Mniszech, the palatine of Sandomierz, who raised a small army of Polish mercenaries and adventurers on Dmitrii's behalf. Most likely they intended to regain those parts of Seversk, Chernigov (Chernihiv), and Smolensk that the Commonwealth had lost seventy years before. King Sigis-

mund III allegedly gave this project some qualified unofficial support. How much assistance these men were prepared to offer him cannot be determined, but Dmitrii expected such support and pledged in return to marry Mniszech's daughter Marina and accept the Catholic faith.

In October 1604 Dmitrii's army invaded the Seversk region of southwestern Muscovy. Although many of Dmitrii's Polish troops and retainers soon abandoned him, he more than made up these losses with new support from the Zaporozhian and Don Cossack Hosts. Putivl', Ryl'sk, Kursk, and Kromy quickly capitulated to him. Most of the garrison troops, townsmen, and court peasants of the Seversk region welcomed Dmitrii, seeing him as their deliverer from unpopular military governors and the onerous agricultural *corvée* on crown plowlands. Tsar Boris's commanders were unable to take advantage of their armies' overwhelming numerical superiority, and their harsh reprisals against Seversk towns and villages, state peasants, and garrison troops stiffened rebel resistance. By spring 1605 the rebellion on behalf of the False Dmitrii had spread to include most of Muscovy's southern frontier. Soon after Tsar Boris's unexpected death on 13 April 1605, many of his field commanders and several of the more powerful *duma* boyars came over to Dmitrii's camp at Kromy. Boris's successor, the sixteen-year-old Tsar Fedor Borisovich, was deposed and murdered. Dmitrii entered the capital on 20 June 1605 and was crowned tsar the following day.

Tsar Dmitrii attempted rapprochement with the *duma* boyars but made fatal errors in pardoning his archenemy, Prince Vasilii Shuiskii, and in not pressing his new tsaritsa, Marina Mnischówna, to renounce Catholicism. The allegedly arrogant conduct of Marina's Polish retinue provided further grounds for Shuiskii, the Golitsyns, and Metropolitan Hermogen to agitate against Tsar Dmitrii. On 14 May 1606 riots broke out in Moscow, initially against Marina's Polish guests; on 17 May Shuiskii's agents took advantage of the disorder to assassinate Dmitrii. Vasilii Shuiskii was proclaimed tsar two days later.

See also **Boris Godunov (Russia); Russia; Time of Troubles (Russia).**

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BRIAN DAVIES

FAMILY. There is no natural form of family, just as there has never been historical agreement about the meaning of the word itself. Throughout most of the early modern period “family” usually referred to all the members of one's household, including nonrelatives, such as servants and lodgers. At the same time some authors of the time clearly conceived of “family” in the sense of an extended kinship network. By the beginning of the nineteenth century both of these meanings had been largely supplanted by the modern sense of a cohabiting nuclear group of parents and children, although neither of the older meanings died out completely. Just as importantly there was no common family and household living arrangement during the early modern era and accordingly no clear transition from “traditional” to “modern” families but rather a plurality of household forms that continued to occur well into the nineteenth century.

KINSHIP AND THE HOUSEHOLD BEFORE THE EARLY MODERN ERA

The early modern household represented the basic unit of residence, production, and reproduction in the city and country alike. Its common interchangeability with “family” throughout the period had deep and ancient roots. Almost all modern European languages trace their words for “family” back to the Latin *famulus*, ‘slave’, thus signifying the dependence of relatives and servants on the paterfamilias or head of the household. Government officials from antiquity through the early modern period shared this patriarchal view of all authority and accordingly considered the hearth, or household, the key unit in census and tax calculations. Thus for practical as well as ideological reasons, the premodern household was the family.

This residential sense of family, however, coexisted with a broader definition as an extended group of kin or all of the people related by blood. Ancient Greeks and Romans tended to stress the unilineal agnatic kinship group (Latin *gens*, plural *gentes*), tracing blood relations only through the father's ancestry, but still recognized the importance of relations through the mother's side (known as cognates). Latin, for instance, had one word for a paternal uncle (*patruus*) and another for a maternal uncle (*avunculus*). During the early and High Middle Ages the Germanic understanding of kinship as bilateral, involving blood relations from both parents' families, dominated. The marriage of two individuals from different clans (German *Sippe*; French *race*; Spanish *raza*; Italian *razione*) thus had repercussions far beyond the couple itself. Now each had new parents, siblings, and cousins who were to be treated as blood relations, even after the death of one of the spouses, at least according to canon or church law. Until at least the twelfth century this type of broadly defined family by extended kinship constituted the strongest social, economic, and political bond throughout Europe.

About this time many aristocrats, knights, and wealthy merchants returned to the ancient practice of a patrilineal definition of kinship, inventing permanent family surnames and coats of arms that were passed down from fathers to sons. By the end of the Middle Ages the patrilineal movement had spread throughout Europe. Admittedly some members of the lower orders did not adopt the practice of a first

and a last name until governments compelled them to do so at the beginning of the nineteenth century, but these were rare exceptions to the rule. In most cases the family surname was inherited from the father though some islands of bilateral lineage survived, such as Castile, where men often took their aristocratic wives' surnames. Sometimes, as in parts of France, a surname went with an estate and thus could potentially come from a nonrelative.

The success of the patrilineal form of genealogy, however, did not eliminate the importance of all maternal as well as paternal relatives in matters of inheritance, guardianship, and of course affection. Canon law also made no distinctions between the two branches of family in its restriction of marriage to those individuals outside the fourth degree of kinship. Thus family in both its broadest definition of kinship and the narrower sense of household survived into the early modern era.

THE HOUSEHOLD VIEWED FROM THE OUTSIDE: FORMATION AND COMPOSITION

The great diversity of marriage and inheritance practices in early modern Europe make generalizations about the formation and composition of the household extremely difficult if not impossible. There are, however, some notable characteristics, a few of them quite distinctive in history. In 1965 the historical demographer John Hajnal famously identified what he called "the European marriage pattern" of the early modern era. This apparently unique phenomenon, which he later revised to "the northwestern European pattern," originally described marriage practices in all the lands west of an imaginary line drawn between Saint Petersburg and Trieste. The two most striking aspects of this model were relatively late marriage (late twenties for men, early to midtwenties for women) and a high percentage (10 to 25 percent) of never married or widowed individuals. Hajnal theorized that various economic factors—such as extended journeyman status in a craft and a population surplus of marriageable girls and women—as well as religious factors (notably the Catholic celibate ideal) contributed to this pattern, which showed no signs of change before the nineteenth century.

The implications for household formation were significant. First, there was the size of the household itself. Late marriage tended to reduce the number of

pregnancies and live births, the latter to about five to seven per woman by the age of forty. Given the high infant and child mortality rates, this meant a nuclear family under five per household most of the time—considerably smaller than was commonly assumed. At the same time the common practice of sending boys and girls by age twelve to apprenticeships or domestic service meant that many youths would be considered part of a household other than their parents' for at least five and as much as fifteen years, depending on their securing permanent employment, property, or in the case of young women, a suitable dowry. Finally, the large number of single young people and widowed old people resulted in an unusually high proportion (by premodern standards) of lodgers or single households, especially in cities.

During the last forty years of the twentieth century, Hajnal's thesis underwent testing and considerable refinement. Reconstituting families by examining marriage contracts, wills, baptismal registers, tax records, and other legal documents, many historians have confirmed the frequency of late marriage and single households during the era, but they have also made clear that there was no one marriage pattern or household type among the diverse peoples of early modern Europe, east or west. Rather, certain ideal models tend to appear more in certain places and times, but even so there is a risk of distorting the variability of these household forms and their larger social implications in practice.

It is widely accepted that the most common type of household was the nuclear family, with evidence pointing well back to the Middle Ages, at least in England. Composed only of a married couple with or without children and possibly a servant, the nuclear family appears everywhere and at all times during the early modern era. If a son remained at home with his parents into adulthood and postponed setting up his own household, the nuclear unit became what is known as a stem family, also an apparently frequent model throughout Europe. When three generations of a family lived together or when any relatives other than the nuclear unit cohabited, the household became an extended family. This type of household, typically including one elderly grandparent, was most common in southern France and parts of German-speaking Europe, especially in the countryside. Households without a

conjugal unit at the center, known as nonfamily households, were more common in cities. Households composed of several conjugal units—known to demographers as joint, multiple, or complex households and to early modern contemporaries as *fraternas* (Italian) or *frèrèches* (French)—were most common in southern and eastern Europe. Again though, these geographical generalizations are merely crude approximations that are particularly difficult to support in the so-called transition zones of Hungary, Bohemia, Moravia, western Poland, and Estonia.

The erroneous presumption that most early modern families were large appears to have originated in the nineteenth century primarily as a reaction against the perceived dangers to the family (by then meaning the nuclear family) from industrialization and other modern developments. Numerous subsequent studies have instead confirmed Hajnal's conjecture that large or multiple households predominated only in eastern Europe, while small households remained the norm in the west. In Russia, for instance, three-quarters of all serf households through the eighteenth century were multiple, while in Scandinavia, England, and northern Germany the majority of households were nuclear, with only 2 percent of English households containing more than twelve people. In fact except for serfs or sharecroppers, whose landlords structurally encouraged large households, the poorer the family, the smaller the household.

The painstaking work of David Herlihy and Christine Klapisch-Zuber on a fifteenth-century Florentine tax census found that only one out of ten households had more than ten people and that most averaged four to five persons. Significantly those few large households in Florence, England, and elsewhere tended to be proportionate to personal wealth. Royal courts, for example, could encompass hundreds of retainers, and even the household of a seventeenth-century English lord might contain forty or more people (and many aristocrats maintained more than one residence). An ordinary English gentleman, by comparison, might have eight people in his "family," while the average household in the kingdom contained four to five individuals. Even among those households with more than three children, the relatively long span between births in many families combined with the early age

of leaving for work often meant that no more than three children might be resident at a given time.

In addition to the various types of blood relatives included in different household models, three types of nonkin might also be in residence and therefore considered members of the family. The most common were domestic servants. In cities these tended to be girls from the country, sometimes relatives but usually strangers contracted for three or more years. The objective for the girls, typically starting work at age twelve or thirteen, was to earn enough money for a decent dowry with which they hoped to secure a good marriage. Salaries were one-half to one-third of what the maids could make in the fields, so there was great mobility during harvest time despite the obligations of their contracts and laws threatening punishment. The one exception to the preference for female domestics was the wealthy household, where many male retainers reflected on the social status and virility of the paterfamilias. Domestic servitude as a life phase was extremely common in early modern Europe, so at least one-third of households at any given time included servants. This also held for apprentices, under contract for up to seven years in the hope of learning a craft. In practice apprentices, who were usually teenage boys, ended up doing many odd jobs and other work not related to a craft and were in that sense on the same level as servants.

The third type of nonrelative who might be considered part of the household was lodgers. These individuals tended to be single young men, often journeymen, who stayed for as little as a few weeks or as long as several years. Unable to set up their own households yet, they were forced to rent and often travel, staying mostly in cities and providing a welcome source of income for many families. Often they worked on the family farm or in some kind of cottage industry.

THE HOUSEHOLD VIEWED FROM THE INSIDE: AFFECTIONS AND MATERIAL INTERESTS

Another modern myth about the premodern family has its origins in the work of the sociologist Philippe Ariès more than forty years ago. Though later scholars have somewhat caricatured his argument, their criticism has nonetheless thoroughly demolished Ariès's most controversial assertion regarding the

family, namely that the sentimental affections seen as normal between parents and their children were alien to Europeans before the eighteenth century. During the 1970s some historians, such as Lawrence Stone and Jean-Louis Flandrin, attempted to modify the thesis with their own theories of an early modern transition, but by the late 1980s the scholarly consensus had clearly swung in favor of greater continuity on the question of familial and parental love and affection. Obviously such matters are highly subjective and thus impervious to quantification. The sources available for an overwhelmingly illiterate society are extremely limited as well. Still one need go no further than the sensationalist press's accounts of infanticide and parricide or the plays of Shakespeare, Molière, or Richard Sheridan to grasp the extreme sensitivity of early modern Europeans to the unnatural treatment of blood relations, particularly acts of betrayal and murder among parents, children, siblings, and other close relatives. There was clearly something special about the relationship between parents and children that went beyond mutual duties and obligations, something that occasionally led to great extremes of passions and above all something that deeply affected one's own sense of identity.

This does not mean that early modern families were immune to material interests or the tensions that property often caused. The common source of such conflicts was of course the question of inheritance, and here early modern Europe possessed as bewildering a set of local variations as can be imagined. Some historians have attempted to tie type of inheritance practice to household type, yet while there is some rough correlation between impartibility and multiple households or between partibility and nuclear households, there are far too many regional exceptions to support any such generalization. Broadly speaking the two most basic distinctions were those between partible and impartible inheritance. In partible inheritance the patrimony, or total estate, was evenly divided among children, usually the sons. Occasionally daughters would inherit (especially if there were no sons), but their property would be administered by their husbands or male relatives. Though intended to minimize conflicts among siblings over inheritance, partibility often had the opposite effect, since the heirs had to inventory anything they received at any time. Divid-

ing up the patrimony every generation could also lead to impoverishment, hence a gradual move toward impartibility developed by the beginning of the early modern era.

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries partibility began to be replaced in some parts of central and southern Europe by impartibility, which had already established a foothold in much of southern France and Spain. In most versions of impartibility, one heir (usually the oldest son, a practice known as primogeniture) inherited the entire patrimony, thus acting as a steward to the family property and preserving its integrity. The new practice was especially popular among royal dynasties, large landowners, and other wealthy families. In most places noninheriting brothers and sisters were to receive a "portion," that is, a cash settlement, and in many cases went on to work for the older brother. Among nobles on the Continent, the designated heir was often expected to provide an annual stipend for each of his brothers and a dowry to each of his unmarried sisters. English aristocrats, by contrast, were rarely required to make any such concession and only did so voluntarily.

Despite such counterbalances, many early modern people, especially among the Protestant clergy, considered impartibility inherently unfair and even unchristian. Moreover the multitude of diverse customs throughout Europe could make the rights and prerogatives bestowed upon the head of the household appear quite arbitrary. Within the kingdom of France, for instance, a father in Provence had absolute power over the choice of his heir, an exclusionary tactic that led to the designation of the fortunate beneficiary as *l'enfant*, 'child' (implying that his excluded siblings were not even children in a real sense). Meanwhile a father in Brittany had no power whatsoever to discriminate among his children. Occasionally a father might attempt to circumvent the local legal tradition and put an entailment in his will (known as a *substitution* in France; *mayorazgo* in Spain; *majorat* in Denmark; *fideicommissum* in Italy, Germany, Sweden, and Poland; and strict settlement in Britain) that prohibited sale, gift, or division of the land for several generations, but this was not always possible.

The question of inheritance could play a key role in relations within the family, including degrees

of affection. Even small amounts of property could trigger bitter rivalries among designated heirs and their brothers and sisters, particularly in the case of children from two different marriages, where each individual or group of siblings attempted to exclude the other from inheritance. Many fathers clearly agonized over their attempts to preserve the patrimony and also provide for all of their children. The results could vary considerably. Impartibility tended to encourage emigration, early marriage, and nuclear households among noninheriting children, especially as travel to the New World became cheaper and more frequent, but many also remained near home. It also usually resulted in an extended family household for the adult heir and parent(s), though this too could vary, depending on the nature of the inheritance, local custom, and preferences of the father. Partibility carried its own set of conflicts and survived in many areas (for example, much of central and western Germany) well into the nineteenth century.

The head of the household's control over the family's patrimony obviously gave him a great deal of authority over his children's lives, particularly over the choice of spouses and the timing of marriages. As a rule the more property involved, the greater the involvement of fathers or male guardians in such matters, although forced marriages remained unusual and in most places illegal. Instead, fathers and children often sought a convergence of economic interests and personal attraction, apparently succeeding a good deal of the time. The prerogatives of inheritance also usually ensured that fathers or mothers would be provided for in old age, either in an extended household or with guaranteed income after passing the family property on. Heads of poor households, on the other hand, especially landless laborers, exercised no such economic authority over their grown children and thus enjoyed much less financial security in old age. Well into the twentieth century small households of single or married people over sixty were the poorest anywhere in Europe or North America, surpassed in that distinction possibly only by female-headed households with children.

The nonrelatives of an early modern household usually had no stake in inheritance strategies but played essential roles in family dynamics nevertheless. Writers of the era were fond of portraying ser-

vants and apprentices as scheming enemies of the master and the mistress of the house: lying, stealing, lecherous, and above all lazy. Indeed by the eighteenth century words such as "varlet" and "knave" had taken on almost exclusively derogatory meanings in the English language. Legal and other records convey a more nuanced and complicated tangle of relationships between servants and the relatives of the house. Some servants were treated like surrogate children, while others were clearly neglected or abused, receiving worse or less food, mean accommodations, and no affection. Even that common source of illegitimate babies, the illicit affair between the paterfamilias and a young maid, defies easy generalization. Every case had its own mixture of coercion (even rape) and willingness, of naïveté and cynical manipulation, of secrecy and flagrancy. The authority of the paterfamilias over servants and apprentices moreover was never absolute, though it did generally enjoy the legal benefit of the doubt. Religious authorities held the paterfamilias responsible for the spiritual instruction of the entire household, and immoral acts by children and servants alike reflected directly on his reputation. Protestant consistories and other church bodies frequently censored a father or widow for "bad housekeeping," though secular authorities rarely followed up with any punishments of their own.

THE HOUSEHOLD AS AN ECONOMIC UNIT

Before the wide-scale industrialization of the nineteenth century, the household was the key unit of production in European economies. Urban workshops and rural farms alike relied on the labor of household members, including parents, children, servants, apprentices, and sometimes wage-earning lodgers. The degree to which this "whole house" (*das ganze Haus*) economic model successfully functioned remains a matter of some dispute among family historians. The key for the early modern paterfamilias lay in meeting his family's immediate and future needs while minimizing the number of mouths he had to feed. In this respect rural households west of the Hajnal line showed much greater flexibility, largely because of the high availability of servants and lodgers to balance the size of the household with the size of the holding. The size of eastern European households, usually complex in structure, was less flexible and therefore fixed the

amount of labor available, regardless of the size of the property to be worked. Over all, many factors—type and quantity of product, local agrarian system, interregional and international markets, kin and other social networks, property laws, demographics, and so forth—helped determine which labor strategy a head of household adopted.

The division of labor in the early modern household had not always been gender and age specific. During the Middle Ages wives apparently often shared in their husbands' craftwork, even into widowhood. By the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, though, this type of labor was increasingly restricted for women, who nevertheless often continued to bring in income through sewing or spinning work (which came to be defined as part of "housekeeping" and thus not really "work"). The division of labor along gender lines was long familiar in rural settings, where men were assigned to tasks requiring greater physical strength, such as plowing and planting, while women (and children) worked on food preparation, cleaning and mending of clothing, housecleaning, water carrying, and so forth. During harvest all members of the household played various parts in getting crops from field to market.

Two major economic events during the early modern era had especially significant consequences for the household economy. The first was the rise of wage labor following the late fifteenth century. At the very time when new impartible inheritance laws were sweeping across Europe, an increasing number of wage-earning jobs in the West provided noninheriting children with an alternative basis for setting up their own households. This loss of labor forced some farmers to hire their own help, further increasing the number of wage earners in the economy and nonrelatives in the household.

The second development began in the mid-seventeenth century and likewise fed the growth of a wage economy in many parts of western Europe. Proto-industrialization, particularly in the textile industry, had the greatest impact on small landholders, whose members (women, children, and sometimes men) increasingly turned to some phase of cloth production for their households' incomes. Unlike the traditional guild system, in which all phases of production were under the direct supervi-

sion of a master in the craft, the "putting-out system" (German *Verlagssystem*) assigned an intermediate task to an outsider, who was paid at an agreed-upon piece rate. The growth of these so-called cottage industries was gradual and came as a consequence of changes in agrarian markets as well as higher demands and therefore increased production. Before the mechanization and factories of the industrial revolution, for instance, it took four to ten spinners to produce the amount of yarn woven by a single weaver in one day. Like large landowners who had increasingly enclosed and converted their farmland to sheep-grazing fields, these cottagers found income from the cloth industry both more profitable and more reliable than farming.

The immediate impact of increased wage labor and proto-industrialization on household forms was not always clear-cut. Clearly wage labor tended to encourage earlier marriage and more nuclear households. No longer forced to wait for inheritance, noninheriting children had little reason to remain part of an extended or complex household rather than start their own. Yet many such individuals, for reasons of security or family solidarity, did stay on well into adulthood despite the conditions. Similarly proto-industrialization sometimes encouraged more nuclear households and other times had the opposite effect. The formation of new households depended on many factors, including the skills required for production (an important limitation in such industries as arms manufacture in Belgium), the initial outlay of capital required for equipment (for example, expensive looms), and the size of the household.

IDEAS ABOUT THE HOUSEHOLD AND FAMILY

Since antiquity family and household have served as powerful metaphors as well as social realities. Aristotle considered the household (Greek *oikos*) the chief building block of society as well as the model for a successful state. "It was out of the association formed by men with . . . women and slaves," he wrote in his *Politics*, "that the household was formed. . . . The next step is the village. . . . The final association, formed of several villages, is the city or state." Aristotle considered both the household and the state "naturally" hierarchical and patriarchal, with the head of the household and head of state each possessing certain duties as well as

prerogatives. Their paternal authority demanded filial obedience but also obliged household heads to display loving concern. Later the Roman *paterfamilias* and emperor enjoyed expanded rights, often to a shockingly autocratic degree by modern standards. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries European writers revived the classical tradition of the household as metaphor for the state, arguing for a strengthening of the patriarchal leader of each. In Germany a number of popular Protestant pamphlets, the so-called *Hausvaterliteratur*, lamented that the authority of the head of household, or *Hausvater*, was under assault from an unholy alliance of shrewish wives, wild children, papist agitators, and a variety of devils bent on destruction of the family. A father should be as a king in his own household, they argued, providing biblical, classical, and anecdotal evidence in support. Publications elsewhere in Europe similarly invoked the sovereignty of the *paterfamilias*, whom Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679) likened to the head of a small monarchy.

The other side of the patriarchal metaphor consisted of a paternalization of political authority. This imagery too was ancient and continued to inspire many medieval paeans to fatherly kings, such as Saint Louis (Louis IX; ruled 1226–1270) of France. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, though, proponents of a stronger “absolutist” monarchy, such as Jean Bodin (1530–1596), applied paternal claims of sovereignty to argue for greater political authority for their kings. Only a father’s strong hand, Bodin maintained in his *Six Books of a Commonwealth* (1576), could prevent the anarchy that had overtaken France during its religious wars.

The comparison of a kingdom to a household probably reached its zenith with the writings of the Englishman Robert Filmer (c. 1588–1653). Beginning in the 1630s Filmer published several tracts that made an argument similar to Bodin’s but with even more extensive use of patriarchal imagery. Unlike the proposed absolute monarch of Thomas Hobbes, Filmer’s ruler—like a true father—ruled more by moral suasion and education than by force. His ultimate authority, however, was beyond dispute, dating back to Adam and later the dispersion of Babel: “The Nations were distinct Families, which had Fathers for Rulers over them; . . . God

was careful to preserve the Fatherly Authority, by distributing the Diversity of Languages, according to the Diversity of Families.” After the English Civil War and Commonwealth, Filmer’s writings received new attention, culminating in the printing of his previously unpublished masterwork, *Patriarcha* (The natural power of kings) in 1680. By then patriarchal political imagery and language were so pervasive that even John Locke (1632–1704), who dismissed Filmer’s absolutist arguments as “glib nonsense,” was forced to acknowledge the paternal nature of government.

The patriarchal revival also had its religious dimension. Both kings and fathers, as Filmer noted, received their authority directly from God, most explicitly in the fourth commandment to love and obey one’s parents. This “divine right” to rule became closely identified with the absolutist monarchies of England’s Charles I (ruled 1625–1649) and France’s Louis XIV (ruled 1643–1715), but the sentiment, if not the political implications, was widespread in early modern Europe. At the same time both fathers and political authorities had clear-cut responsibilities for the religious welfare of their respective “families.” Martin Luther (1483–1546) even referred to both figures as bishops expected to lead by example and discipline every member of their respective realms. This highly idealized patriarchal hierarchy was best expressed by German authors, who wrote of a *Hausvater* (head of household) subject to a *Landesvater* (prince or “father of his country”), with both overseen by the *Gottesvater* (God the father) himself.

Throughout the early modern period many religious sects and political groups also employed the language and imagery of family. All of the Reformation’s leaders spoke to their congregations as “families,” and some groups, notably the Anabaptists and their successors, called each other “brother” and “sister.” Later movements, such as the Society of Friends (that is, Quakers) and Moravian Brethren, similarly turned to the language of family for coherence and identity. Finally, secular political groups from the Masons to the Jacobins of the French Revolution openly proclaimed brotherhood (French *fraternité*) as one of their foundational tenets.

BIRTH OF THE MODERN FAMILY?

Just as no single “traditional” family model ever existed, no single modern family model succeeded it. Nuclear households admittedly became more common during the nineteenth century, but complex and alternate household forms continued to thrive in some places, particularly southern and eastern Europe. “Modernization,” in the guise of either industrialization or increased individualism, also did not spell the end of the importance of kinship; some historians argue that family relations became even more important as a result of such larger social transformations. On the other hand, the household itself did experience some significant changes. Most notably, historians detect a discernible increase after the sixteenth century in the desire for privacy, resulting in somewhat larger and more compartmentalized residences among the middle and upper classes. The idea of “home” itself took on a form of separation from society, a haven in a tumultuous world. By the eighteenth century a new “cult of domesticity” was growing, and by the following century it spread to lower-middle-class and working-class cultures. Like the patriarchal model that preceded it, the new idealization of the household often remained a common point of reference rather than a social reality. Still it corresponded nicely with the continuing rise of nuclear households, a convergence one might call the congealment of the modern family if not its birth.

See also Authority, Concept of; Childhood and Childrearing; Divine Right Kingship; Divorce; Gender; Inheritance and Wills; Marriage; Proto-Industry; Women.

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FAMINE. *See* Agriculture; Charity and Poor Relief; Economic Crises; Food Riots; Poverty.

FARNESE, ISABEL (SPAIN) (1692–1766), queen of Spain. Isabel Farnese, the second wife of Philip V of Spain (ruled 1700–1724, 1724–1746), was born in Parma in 1692, the daughter of Odoardo II Farnese of the ducal house of Parma and of Dorothy Sofia of Neuberg, duchess of Bavaria. A physically attractive, intelligent, and cultured



Isabel Farnese. Portrait by Louis Michel van Loo, c. 1745.
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woman, Isabel was always at her husband's side, supporting him in the tasks of governing with her strong will and ambition to rule. Her marriage was proposed to the king by Abbot Giulio Alberoni (1664–1752), at that time ambassador of the sovereign duke of Parma to the royal court in Madrid.

Scholars have long disputed whether the new queen was an instrument used to support Spanish claims on Italian territories lost by the Peace of Utrecht (1713) or, on the contrary, an active shaper of Spain's Italian policy, aiming to gain states for her sons to rule, as the sons of the king's first marriage were first in line for the throne of Spain. In either case, her arrival in Spain marked a change in the direction of government. With the banishment of the former queen's chief lady-in-waiting, the Princess d'Ursins, after a famous confrontation in Jadrake (1714), the king's French advisers were dismissed and replaced by Alberoni. Alberoni occupied himself primarily in organizing unsuccessful campaigns in Cerdaña (1717) and Sicily (1718) before falling out of favor. The Italian objectives he favored were pursued tenaciously by the new queen,

who eventually saw her son Charles enthroned in the Kingdom of Naples (1734) and her son Philip ruling the sovereign duchies of Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla (1748).

Having been obliged to acquiesce in her husband's abdication in favor of his son Luís I (1724), Isabel played a decisive role in Philip V's resumption of the crown after Luís's death eight months later, energetically overcoming constitutional obstacles and her husband's scruples. In the same fashion she was responsible for locating the royal court in Seville from 1729 to 1733, trying to combat the bouts of depression suffered by the king. Isabel devoted the last years of the reign to her favorite pastimes: music (Carlo Broschi, known as Farinelli, organized court performances); her art collection (whose success is documented in her will); and the construction of royal palaces, including La Granja near Segovia, her favorite residence; the Royal Palace in Madrid, entirely rebuilt after a fire in 1734; and finally the palace of Riofrío, her most personal project.

After the death of the king in 1746, Isabel remained in Madrid, but the intrigues that swirled around her at court persuaded King Ferdinand VI (ruled 1746–1759) to order her retirement to La Granja, where she lived in isolation but nonetheless informed about the news from court. She had one last political role to play. Upon the death of Ferdinand VI in 1759, she was named in his will as governor of the Realms of Spain, pending the arrival from Naples of her son Charles III (ruled 1759–1788), whom she received on his entry into Madrid. Although she once again resided in the Royal Palace, she lacked any political influence. Death surprised her as she was enjoying the king's invitation to spend some time at the royal palace in Aranjuez in 1766. Her remains rest next to those of her husband in the Collegiate Chapel at La Granja.

See also **Charles III (Spain); Philip V (Spain); Spain.**

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CARLOS MARTÍNEZ-SHAW

(TRANSLATED FROM THE SPANISH BY CARLA RAHN PHILLIPS)

FEBRONIANISM. Febronianism was an ecclesiastical and political movement in late-eighteenth-century Catholic Germany. It was precipitated in 1763 by the publication of *De Statu Ecclesiae* (On the state of the church) by Nikolaus von Hontheim (1701–1790), the auxiliary bishop of Trier, writing under the pseudonym Justinus Febronius. Hontheim’s six-hundred-page Latin work of theology, canon law, and ecclesiastical history vigorously attacked the development of papal monarchy within the Catholic Church while advocating a strong episcopal system of church government and a central role for secular rulers in church affairs.

In *De Statu Ecclesiae*, Hontheim outlines the historical origins of papal authority, tracing it to the successes of the papal court system and the University of Bologna law school in the Middle Ages and to falsified scholarly works like the ninth-century forged decretals of Isidore Mercator (known as the pseudo-Isidore). Hontheim supports his historical arguments with a theological position advocating the independence of the bishops from the pope. He does not deny the primacy of the Bishop of Rome, but argues that neither Scripture nor tradition grants the pope legal or political jurisdiction over other bishops. He insists that many papal prerogatives—such as the right to confirm episcopal elections, grant dispensations, or hear legal appeals from episcopal courts—are usurpations. *De Statu Ecclesiae* even argues that some of the decrees of the Council of Trent illegally increase papal control over local churches. Hontheim was a conciliarist, for he considered church councils the ultimate source of authority in the church. Pope Clement XIII (reigned 1758–1769) formally condemned the work in 1764 and a number of refutations were published, mostly in Italy.

Hontheim’s work was well received in Germany because it drew on a number of traditions. Hontheim refers regularly to Gallicanism with the aim of bringing “the liberties of the French Church” to Germany. The popularity of Febronianism among educated Catholics in Germany, however, has to be

traced to several specifically German traditions. The first of these was the sentiment, strong in Germany for centuries, that the Italians who dominated the Papacy did not understand conditions in Germany. This view often coincided with anti-Jesuit feeling after the Thirty Years’ War, because many Catholics blamed the Jesuits, papal nuncios, and Rome for the confessional extremism that contributed to the length and destruction of the war. Furthermore, aristocratic prince-bishops and cathedral canons remained committed to the mix of secular and ecclesiastical powers that characterized the Imperial Church (*Reichskirche*) within the Holy Roman Empire, and Febronianism seemed to provide intellectual support for their position at a time when they were under increasing attack for their aristocratic lifestyle and lack of religious training and commitment.

However, Febronianism was not really a defense of the aristocratic *Reichskirche*, even if it tapped into the traditional dislike of Roman interference in German affairs. Hontheim’s treatise can be considered part of the Catholic Enlightenment in Germany, especially in its non-Austrian, non-Bavarian form. Much of the appeal of his work comes from the fact that he gave a strong role within the church to the very public who read the work: clerics, scholars, and canon lawyers. Febronianism was also strongly episcopalist, giving bishops extensive powers, and nationalist, in advocating national and provincial synods as ultimate sources of authority. Ultimately, by the 1780s Febronianism lost much of its vitality as the Josephine reforms in Austria divided Catholic leadership. The movement was nevertheless important in highlighting the problematic relationship between German Catholicism and the Roman Church. German Catholics had needed the Jesuits, the nuncios, and papal support in the aftermath of the Reformation and the Council of Trent, but by 1700 Catholicism was firmly entrenched in about a third of Germany and more confident German church leaders increasingly disliked Roman involvement in their affairs.

See also **Enlightenment; Gallicanism; Jesuits; Law: Canon; Papacy and Papal States; Reformation, Catholic; Trent, Council of.**

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MARC R. FORSTER

FEMINISM. Although “feminism” is a nineteenth-century neologism, it is now generally accepted in anglophone historiography as a shorthand label for discourses that criticize misogyny and male dominance, argue for an improvement of the female condition, and demand a public voice for women speaking on behalf of their sex. A large corpus of writings, published all over Europe from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century, can be considered “feminist” in this sense.

THE RENAISSANCE *QUERELLE DES FEMMES*

The first systematic feminist treatise is probably Christine de Pizan's *Le livre de la cité des dames* (1404–1405; Book of the city of ladies), composed at the French court in response to the misogyny of Jean de Meun's second part of the *Roman de la rose* (Romance of the rose). Pisan argued that the pervasive misogyny of the classical and Christian canon presented a distorted image of female nature produced by male arrogance and prejudice: “If women had written the books,” she wrote in 1399, “they would have done it otherwise.” Women's reason and sense of justice were in no way inferior to those of men, she contended. Pizan's *City of Ladies*, built on “the field of Letters” and consecrated by the Virgin Mary, is an allegory of the female voice in history, which, once raised, will never be silenced.

After the advent of printing, feminism established itself as a prolific genre, part of an interminable series of polemics between the detractors and the defenders of women known as the *querelle des femmes*, ‘quarrel about women’. A few examples will illustrate its most widespread arguments: One of the characters in Baldassare Castiglione's *The Courtier* (1528) declares that “everything men can understand, women can too,” and he cites Plato's inclusion of women in the ruling elite of the *politeia* against the Aristotelian reasoning of his opponent. Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa opens his “On the No-

bility and Excellence of the Feminine Sex” (1529) with the thesis that sexual difference is confined to the reproductive organs while God has endowed “both male and female . . . with the same and altogether indifferent form of soul, the woman being endowed with no less excellent faculties of mind, reason, and speech than the man.” In “On the Excellence and Dignity of Women” (1525) Galeazzo Flavio Capella accuses men of duplicity: they exclude women from most pursuits and then “prove” that they are unable to participate in them. The French author François Billon asserted in 1555 in *Le fort inexpugnable de l'honneur du sexe féminin* (The invincible fortress of the honor of the female sex) that male arguments against women usually rely on custom rather than reason, and, like many others before and after him, he likens the oppressive husband to the “tyrant.” The theme of “wicked men” could also be discussed in moral terms, as in Marguerite de Navarre's observation (in the *Héptaméron*, 1559) that men's chief pleasure consisted in dishonoring women and their chief honor in killing other men, both of which went against God's law. The opposition of feminine piety, virtue, and refinement to male profanity, vice, and vulgarity is found in much feminist literature. Another popular genre, found all over Europe from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century, is the galleries of illustrious women, proving by historical example that they could equal men in every respect.

In the first half of the seventeenth century, feminist voices were raised in several countries. Lucrezia Marinella's *The Nobility and Excellence of Women and the Defects and Failings of Men* (Venice, 1600), Marie de Gournay's *Equality of Men and Women* (Paris, 1622), and Anna Maria van Schurman's *Dissertation on the Aptitude of the Female Understanding for Science and Letters* (Leiden, 1641; French transl.: Paris, 1646; English: London, 1659) were the most widely known, but similar arguments were made by Arcangela Tarabotti (Nuremberg, 1651), Johann Herbin (Wittenberg, 1657), María de Zayas (Spain, 1637), Margaret Cavendish (London, 1663), Margaret Fell (London, 1666), and others. The arguments of the *querelle* were thus widely disseminated. Some of them were already found in Erasmus's writings, and Castiglione, Agrippa, and Van Schurman were translated into several European languages. As the

editor of Michel de Montaigne's *Essays*, Gournay was known all over Europe.

It seems safe to conclude that by the middle of the seventeenth century most literate women and men in western Europe were conversant with at least some of the arguments of the *querelle*. Its main themes were: (1) the recognition of women's equality with men as immortal souls and rational beings; (2) the assertion that men are like tyrants, wielding an arbitrary and unjust power over women; (3) the argument that the present "nature" of women is the product of a biased education; (4) the demand for access to higher education and the Republic of Letters; (5) the indictment of men's outrageous treatment of women, especially in marriage; (6) the glorification of "strong women," usually by means of galleries of historical examples; and (7) the call for "politeness" and a softening of manners tied to an upgrading of the "feminine virtues," so that (upper-class) women became the agents of a civilizing mission.

ENLIGHTENMENT FEMINISM

After 1660 the above themes persisted, but feminism increasingly interacted with Cartesianism and other innovative currents of thought. The Amazon faded into the background while the learned woman became a more common, but also highly controversial, figure. In France the rise of the female author and the antifeminist backlash, best exemplified by Molière's play *Les femmes savantes* (1672; *The learned women*), coincides in time. In Italy a learned woman, Elena Lucrezia Cornaro Piscopia, was awarded a doctorate in philosophy (Padua, 1678; probably a European first).

François Poulain de la Barre (*On the Equality of the Two Sexes*, 1673) reworked existing feminist arguments in a Cartesian framework, drawing on Descartes's methodological maxim of radical doubt, his dualism of body and mind, and his mechanistic biology. "The Soul has no Sex" becomes "The Mind has no Sex," but it is important to note that Poulain also seeks to demonstrate that the male and the female body are generally alike, except for the reproductive organs. Poulain criticizes the contradictory use of the concept of "nature" by the philosophers of natural law. He proposes an entirely nongendered curriculum for the education of both women and men (*On the Education of Women*,

1674). Apart from feminism and Cartesianism, Poulain's egalitarian social philosophy draws on the philosophy of natural rights, the Jansenist moral critique of rank, the cultural relativism of travelogues, biblical criticism, and the quarrel of the ancients and moderns. The result is an early instance of an Enlightenment social philosophy. Poulain turns feminism into a systematic philosophy and establishes a space for feminism within Enlightenment discourse.

Despite Poulain's strict egalitarianism, the praise of the "feminine virtues" is not absent from his work. This is probably true of the bulk of Enlightenment feminist theory. A good example is Antoinette de Salvan de Saliez, a lady from Albi in southern France, who declared in 1682 that "among civilized people, the equality of the sexes is no longer contested." By "civilized" she meant polite, peaceful, and lettered; she abhorred the aggressive lifestyle of the traditional warrior aristocracy. Salvan's version of the equality of the sexes was predicated on a feminization of elite culture. This type of argument was double-edged: it could be used to carve out a space for women within elite culture, but it was also conducive to a restriction of women to the sphere of morality and manners. We should not forget that, despite all the Enlightenment discourses about equality, universities and scientific academies continued to exclude women.

Cartesian rationalism influenced most late-seventeenth-century and early-eighteenth-century feminists in one way or another. Poulain de la Barre was translated into English (London, 1677), and his arguments, if not his name, are copied and paraphrased over and over again. In England, William Welsh (1691), Mary Astell (1694), Judith Drake (1696), and John Toland (1704) defended the equality of the sexes in Cartesian terms, as well as by an environmentalist psychology they took from Poulain or from John Locke. In France similar arguments were advanced by Gabrielle Suchon (1693), Morvan de Bellegarde (1702), Claude Buffier (1704), and Anne Thérèse de Lambert (1727). "Men," Lambert wrote, "have seized authority over women rather by means of force than by natural right."

In 1687 Christian Thomasius, the main protagonist of the early German Enlightenment, advo-

cated an equal education for men and women. In the 1720s and 1730s, the German poets Christiane Mariane von Ziegler, Anna Helena Volckmann, and Sidonia Hedwig Zäunemann defended female authorship and the equal mental capacity of women: “Der Schöpfer hat uns ja mit gleichen Geist bedacht / Und gleiche Seelen-Kraft und Triebe beygebracht,” wrote Zäunemann in 1738 (“For the Creator has endowed us with the same mind / And the same vitality and impulses”). In Spain the equality of the sexes was defended in Benito Feijoo’s *Teatro crítico de errores comunes* (1725; Critical exposition of common prejudices), one of the founding texts of the Spanish Enlightenment. In Italy, Giuseppa Eleonora Barbapiccola stressed the Cartesian theme of the sexless mind in her translation of Descartes’s *Principles of Philosophy* (1722), and in 1723 a Paduan academy, the Ricovrati, organized a debate on the question “if women ought to be admitted to the study of the sciences and the noble arts.” In 1732, Laura Bassi obtained a degree in philosophy at Bologna where she taught from 1732 to 1778. At the same university, Maria Gaetana Agnesi held a chair of mathematics. Agnesi was one of the protagonists of a debate on the academic education of women that went on until the 1780s.

Another critical discourse on gender emerged in the ambit of philosophical history. Poulain de la Barre had outlined a hypothetical history of the origins of inequality in which the subjection of women was depicted as a historical result instead of a “natural” condition. However, the combination of travelogues and speculations about the primitive past of the species also resulted in a theory of the progression of European, and especially French, civilization. This was evidenced by the greater liberty enjoyed by women of the eighteenth century compared with both the European past and the Asian present (the latter point was made by Montesquieu as well as Voltaire). It was possible, however, to evaluate the liberty of women in widely divergent ways, ranging from George Louis Leclerc Buffon’s assertion that female liberty was “necessary to the refinement [*douceur*] of society” and was only found among “the most civilized nations,” to the Scot John Millar’s fear that commercial society would lead to “dissolute manners,” and, ultimately, to “universal prostitution.” In both cases, however,

the female condition was theorized as historically determined instead of being an immutable fact of nature.

To the eighteenth-century mind, gender had become an “essentially contested concept.” Montesquieu had read Poulain de la Barre, and he had one of his personages in the *Persian Letters* exclaim that male supremacy was not founded in nature. Rousseau voiced egalitarian-feminist opinions in his early essay *On Women* as well as in his unpublished notes *On Education*, drafted for Mme Dupin in 1746–1751, but later he embraced the contrary theory that a virtuous republic was unthinkable without the exclusion of women from the public sphere. Toward the end of the century, Marie-Jean Caritat, marquis de Condorcet, Olympe de Gouges, Marie-Madeleine Jodin, and others formulated a full program for the emancipation of women. Similar programmatic feminist writings were published in most parts of Europe, notably by Theodor Gottlieb von Hippel in Prussia, Mary Wollstonecraft in England, and in an anonymous pamphlet in the Dutch Republic, arguing “that women ought to take part in the government of the land.” Such bold claims on behalf of women would be inexplicable without the upsurge of Enlightenment feminist thought, of which only a few examples have been adduced above.

DISSEMINATION AND GEOGRAPHY

The new women’s history of the past thirty years has unearthed an enormous corpus of previously unknown or forgotten feminist sources. Pending a full quantitative investigation, only tentative conclusions are warranted.

Before 1600, elite women possessing literary and intellectual skills were probably more numerous in Italy than anywhere else. It was also in Italy that women were admitted to several literary academies, and, in a few cases, acquired a university degree. There are also two German examples: Dorothea Erxleben, who became Germany’s first woman medical doctor in 1754, and Dorothea Schlözer, who was the first woman to receive a Ph.D. from a German university (Göttingen), in 1787. Renaissance feminism was vigorous in Italy, the German Empire, and France, probably less so in England and the Dutch Republic.

In the course of the seventeenth century, French feminism became the strongest in Europe, exercising a notable European influence, as French supplanted Latin as the main language of international elite sociability. From the late seventeenth century, a steady stream of feminist publications began to come from British presses. In the eighteenth century, feminist arguments were found all over Europe. This is now fairly well documented for France, England, Spain, Italy, the Dutch Republic, and the German lands, and there are examples from Denmark, Sweden, and other nations. One gets the impression that Enlightenment feminism was strongest in France and Britain, but this picture may well be corrected by future research.

The development of feminism over time is not easy to ascertain. To picture it as a linear “rise” would be to simplify a story that is probably better captured by the metaphor of waves and backlashes. The main watershed in the history of early modern feminism is the transition from the Renaissance *querelle* to the Enlightenment, but even here caution is required, for many Renaissance themes lived on within eighteenth-century feminism. This is especially true of the “feminine virtues,” which were in various ways combined with egalitarian, rationalistic arguments.

It remains true, however, that the linkages between feminism and Cartesianism, as well as the frequent use by feminists of the environmentalist social psychology of Poulain, Locke, and others, gave Enlightenment feminism a “philosophical” tone that had been less conspicuous in the literary genre of the *querelle*. Theological themes were gradually marginalized, while the new “science of man” acquired a greater importance, both for feminists and for their opponents. Finally, the acceptance of the female author, albeit with ups and downs, seems to be a European phenomenon from the early eighteenth century onwards.

At the present time it is not possible to determine whether the quantity of feminist publishing increased over the long run. In the French case there is a distinct peak in the 1630–1680 period, and perhaps another one in the early eighteenth century, but after that the picture is less clear. From the late seventeenth century, the periodical press

played an increasingly important role, but again, quantitative investigations are not yet available.

QUESTIONS OF MEANING AND INTERPRETATION

Much of early modern feminism follows definite literary conventions. Eulogies of the “beautiful Sex” by male authors frequently give an impression of frivolity and “literary gallantry.” Some historians have pictured the Renaissance *querelle* as a vain literary game instead of a serious argument for equality and dignity. While it cannot be doubted that some texts lend themselves to such a reading, it is seldom the whole story. The literary games people play tell us what is on their minds. The pro- and anti-woman literature of the *querelle* bespeaks a deep-seated ambivalence and anxiety about the place of women in society. In the most literal sense it shows that the subjection of women was not “unquestioned.” Moreover, many feminist tracts, especially those written by women, are suffused with sincere indignation and despair about women’s oppression.

Finally, different feminisms and “feminist moments” should be interpreted in the context of struggles over particular practices, such as literary authorship and taste, elite sociability, female networks, university politics, forms of religious worship, marriage laws and customs, and social and political issues. Many feminist utterances that seem outlandish at first sight only disclose their real meaning and significance when read in their specific context.

The feminism of the early Enlightenment (1650–1700) partook of the philosophical turn of that age. It demonstrated that the status of women is liable to be questioned in a period of transition when the entire intellectual and cultural landscape is shifting. A similar dynamic was visible in the late eighteenth century when feminism developed in tandem with the democratic revolutions.

Seen over the long run of European history, the writings of the early modern feminists present us with a consistent sequence of rejoinders to the mainstream apologies for male supremacy, a counter-canon that originated somewhere in the Late Middle Ages and has continued ever since. It represents a major feature of European history that has no parallel in the other great civilizations of the world.

See also **Cartesianism; Cornaro Piscopia, Elena Lucrezia; Enlightenment; Gender; Marguerite de Navarre; Salons; Sexual Difference, Theories of; Women.**

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SIEP STUURMAN

FÉNELON, FRANÇOIS (François de Salignac de la Mothe Fénelon, 1651–1715), French archbishop, author, and educator. François de Salignac de la Mothe Fénelon descended from an ancient noble family from the area of Périgord, near Sarlat. He was the second child born from his father's second marriage. He attended university at Cahors and entered seminary in Paris at Saint-Sulpice.

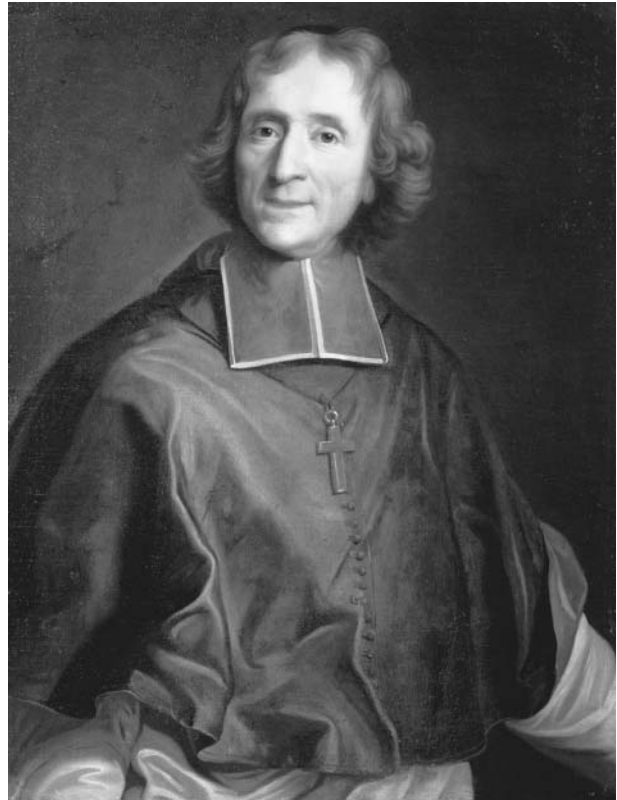
The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes by Louis XIV in 1685, which required all Protestants in France to convert to Catholicism at the penalty of exile or imprisonment, shaped Fénelon's early clerical career. After his ordination in 1676, his work in educating former Protestants began in 1678 when he became the director of a residential and educational institution for women who had recently converted from Protestantism to Catholicism, the Congregation of New Catholics (Congrégation des Nouvelles Catholiques), a post he retained until 1689. One of his first treatises, *Traité de l'éducation des filles* (A treatise on the education of women), published in 1687, resulted from this work. In 1686, he was sent to the newly acquired majority Protestant provinces of Aunis and Saintonge to continue his work in converting Protestants there.

In 1688, Fénelon became involved in a controversial movement called Quietism, a mystical religious group that promoted a passive approach to prayer life and spirituality. His connection with it began when he met Madame Jeanne Guyon, the French noblewoman who was its primary advocate. He embraced her teachings and began corresponding regularly with her. Although Mme Guyon believed her methods to be fully within orthodox Catholicism, her beliefs and practices came under

scrutiny by the Catholic Church in France in 1694 when several French bishops met to review her writings and ideas to determine their orthodoxy. In a meeting at Issy, the bishops condemned her teachings, and she was imprisoned in Vincennes in 1695 as a result of the proceedings.

In 1689 Fénelon's work in education continued when he was named the tutor for King Louis XIV's grandson, the duke of Burgundy. As a result of his role as primary educator of the young prince, Fénelon wrote several didactic works including *Fables* (Fables) and *Les dialogues des morts* (Dialogs of the dead) around 1690. In 1693 Fénelon became a member of the Académie Française and with the support of the king in 1695, he became the archbishop of Cambrai, a diocese in northeast France. The prominent French theologian and bishop Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet consecrated him.

Controversy and disgrace marred the final decades of Fénelon's life. His affiliation with Mme Guyon and Quietism led to a long and very public quarrel with Bossuet that began in 1697. Following the Quietism controversy, Bossuet wrote a treatise indirectly denouncing Mme Guyon's teachings ("Instructions on prayer") and sent his draft of the work to Fénelon for critique. While Fénelon accepted the bishops' decision in Issy regarding Mme Guyon's teachings, he continued to adhere to some ideas connected to the movement, including the concept of "pure love." After viewing Bossuet's work, Fénelon rushed to publication his own work, *Explication des maximes des saints sur la vie intérieure* (Explication of the maxims of the saints on the interior life), which countered Bossuet's ideas, supported religious mysticism, and championed the idea of "pure love." The dispute over these theological issues quickly escalated to a very public and vicious dispute with Fénelon and Bossuet attacking each other's positions in flurried succession of treatises. In an effort to defend himself, Fénelon appealed to Pope Innocent XII, who agreed in 1697 to review his *Maxims of the Saints* to judge whether the ideas contained in it were as dangerous to the faith as Bossuet had charged. After a lengthy review process, in March 1699 the pope condemned the majority of the propositions in Fénelon's work in a carefully drafted statement that censured his teachings without branding him a heretic. The dispute resulted in Fénelon's removal from



François Fénelon. Portrait by Joseph Vivien. ©ARCHIVO ICONOGRAFICO, S.A./CORBIS

his position as preceptor in 1699 and his exile from Paris and the court to Cambrai, where he remained for the rest of his life.

The publication of Fénelon's most famous work, *Les aventures de Télémaque, fils d'Ulysse* (The adventures of Telemachus, the son of Ulysses), also damaged his reputation and standing at court. A fantastic adventure story of Telemachus's search for his father, the book was published in 1699 without Fénelon's approval. Its popularity was fueled by the idea that the book was a thinly veiled exposé and satire of Louis XIV's court, although Fénelon maintained it was merely a vehicle for his political ideas. As a result of its publication, the king barred Fénelon from all contact with the duke of Burgundy, but this ban was relaxed in later years, allowing Fénelon periodic visits with his former pupil.

During his last years at Cambrai, Fénelon continued to write, publishing treatises condemning Jansenism such as "Pastoral Instruction in the Form of Dialog on the System of Jansenius," published in

1714. He died 7 January 1715 at his home in Cambrai.

See also **Bossuet, Jacques-Bénigne; Jansenism; Louis XIV (France); Quietism.**

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SARA E. CHAPMAN

FERDINAND I (HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE) (1503–1564), king of Bohemia, Hungary, and Croatia, 1526; king of the Romans 1531; Holy Roman emperor, 1558. The young Archduke Ferdinand was born on 10 March 1503 in Alcalá de Henares, Spain, and grew up under the supervision of his grandfather, King Ferdinand of Aragón and Castile. After the accession of his older brother Charles to the thrones of these Iberian kingdoms and election as Holy Roman emperor in 1519, Ferdinand was awarded the Habsburg Dynasty's holdings in central Europe via family treaties of 1521–1522.

The situation of these holdings when Ferdinand arrived in the early 1520s was challenging. The locals who had developed a historical relationship with the Habsburgs of earlier generations were now challenged to accept a Spanish-speaking ruler with more ties to his grandfather Ferdinand's Iberia than to his grandfather Maximilian's Austria. The spread and popularity of various Lutheran and Anabaptist

ideas among the hereditary lands' population further complicated matters for the young ruler.

Ferdinand was also confronted with the Ottoman Dynasty's claims and influences in the neighboring kingdom of Hungary. Hungary had become a prize target of the neighboring ruling families' influence, and Ferdinand was able to stake out some claim to the Hungarian crown of St. Stephen because of negotiations with his wife's family, the Jagiellonians (the rulers of Poland-Lithuania, Bohemia, and Hungary), which had resulted in 1515 in a complicated set of marriage alliances. As a partial result of these negotiations, Archduke Ferdinand married Anne of Jagiellon in the Austrian city of Linz in 1521.

Eager to build up his power and prestige, Archduke Ferdinand contributed substantially to the imperial campaigns in Italy against the French under King Francis I in 1525. His troops outnumbered those of his brother Charles V and played a major role in the imperial victory at Pavia that year. Charles recognized his younger brother's aid and importance by delegating increased authority to him in the empire, authority that would become publicly confirmed in 1531 with Ferdinand's election as king of the Romans (the title usually granted to the designated successor as emperor).

In 1526, Ferdinand's brother-in-law, the Bohemian and Hungarian King Louis II Jagiellon, was killed on the battlefield at Mohács leading an army against the Ottomans. This led to the regency of Louis's widow (and Archduke Ferdinand's sister), Archduchess Mary, followed by the election of Ferdinand as king of Bohemia and then king of Hungary later the same year. (The last title was in dispute for much of the early sixteenth century.) Ferdinand was the last Hungarian ruler to be crowned at the medieval coronation and burial site of Székesfehérvár.

As king of the Romans, king of Bohemia, king of Hungary, and hereditary ruler of the various Habsburg dynastic lands of central Europe, Ferdinand was a substantial political power in early Reformation Europe. He is also credited with reorganizing the Habsburgs' administration of these territories along Burgundian lines and introducing elements of Italianate culture into the Austrian lands and Bohemia. The Belvedere summer palace

in Prague, for example, is usually considered an expression of architectural styles and forms taken from sunnier Italian (and perhaps Spanish?) climes.

Handicapped by the ever-present threat of the Ottomans to the east as well as the disputes over the crown of St. Stephen in Hungary, Ferdinand was in a difficult position vis-à-vis the Lutheran princes in the empire from whom he wished (and needed) financial support. An Ottoman army unsuccessfully besieged the city of Vienna in 1529, and Ottoman cavalry forays into Habsburg territories continued into the early 1530s. Ultimately, Ferdinand rather unwillingly played a key role in negotiating the famous Religious Peace of Augsburg of 1555, which substantially established the legal framework of (Christian) religious cooperation in the Holy Roman Empire for the next sixty years.

When Ferdinand's brother Charles began laying down his imperial and other ruling responsibilities in the 1550s, Ferdinand was willing and able to pick many of them up, defending his and his sons' claims against those of his nephew, the future King Philip II of Spain (ruled 1556–1598), and taking over the empire as Ferdinand I in 1558. The House of Austria was now split between an Iberian and a central European branch. This oft-overestimated division would continue until the early eighteenth century. As emperor, Ferdinand participated (via representatives) in the frenzied final stages of the important Council of Trent, which ended in December 1563.

During his lifetime, Ferdinand engineered the election of his eldest son Maximilian to the thrones of Bohemia and Hungary, as well as his election as king of the Romans and heir to the imperial title. Ferdinand followed the example of his grandfather Emperor Maximilian I and not that of his brother Emperor Charles V in forgoing papal coronation, ruling instead as elected emperor. This precedent was followed by all his successors to the imperial title until the abolition of the Holy Roman Empire in 1806.

See also Augsburg, Religious Peace of (1555); Austria; Bohemia; Habsburg Dynasty; Charles V (Holy Roman Empire); Holy Roman Empire; Hungary; Jagiellon Dynasty; Maximilian I (Holy Roman Empire); Maximilian II (Holy Roman Empire); Vienna.

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JOSEPH F. PATROUCH

FERDINAND II (HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE) (1578–1637; Holy Roman Emperor 1619–1637; king of Bohemia 1617–1619 and 1620–1627; king of Hungary 1618–1625). Ferdinand was born in Graz to the Habsburg archduke Charles of Inner Austria (and was thus the grandson of Emperor Ferdinand I) and the Wittelsbach duchess Maria of Bavaria. More than any other individual, Ferdinand merits being called the founder of the Habsburg Monarchy in central Europe, and he, along with his cousin, Duke and then Elector Maximilian I of Bavaria (1573–1651), stands out as the leading prince of the Counter-Reformation in Germany. Ferdinand grew up in a strongly Catholic household under the watchful eye of his devout mother, and in 1590, shortly before the death of his father, he journeyed to Ingolstadt in Bavaria to study with the Jesuits at the university at which for a time Maximilian was a fellow student. Back in Graz in early 1595, Ferdinand was formally recognized as ruler of Inner Austria by the estates in late 1596, after reaching his majority. In the spring of 1598 he undertook an Italian journey that included a visit with Pope Clement VIII, then in Ferrara, and a stay with the Jesuits in Rome. Both his marriages, to Maria Anna of Bavaria from 1600 to 1616 and to Eleanor of Gonzaga from 1622 to 1637, turned out happily. Ferdinand was deeply religious, affable personally, and a conscientious and hardworking ruler

who found his relaxation chiefly in the hunt and in music, which he supported lavishly and with rich results. He sought to combine reason of state with the advancement of religion. Shortly after assuming power in Graz, he embarked on a rigorous, often harsh reformation of religion in Inner Austria that brought thousands back from Protestantism to the Catholic faith and at the same time strengthened Ferdinand politically in his contest with the Estates. From early on in his rule, Ferdinand felt called to restore Catholicism in his lands, a mission encouraged by the Jesuits and confirmed in Ferdinand's mind by the success of his efforts in Inner Austria against formidable odds and the advice of many councillors.

Ferdinand emerged as the natural Habsburg candidate to succeed the childless Emperor Matthias, and in 1619 he was elected Holy Roman Emperor, a year after the Bohemian rebellion sparked the Thirty Years' War. Ferdinand's testament of 1621 indicated his realization that if he was to triumph over his confessional adversaries in the empire and hold the line against the Turks to the east, he would need to create tighter unity among his many territories. He succeeded in establishing his inheritance as a single entity that included Upper and Lower Austria as well as Inner Austria, the lands of the Bohemian crown, and a portion of Hungary. After the dust cleared following the Bohemian rebellion, Ferdinand gradually established a relatively mild absolutism in his territories, with the exception of Hungary, and he generally succeeded in winning over the support of the aristocracy represented in the various estates. He also initiated further Counter-Reformation measures in the Austrian territories and Bohemian lands that would in the long run lead to their recatholicization. Thus he sustained and strengthened what R. J. W. Evans has called the three pillars of the Habsburg Monarchy: the dynasty, the aristocracy, and the church.

Meanwhile, Ferdinand was drawn increasingly into the conflict in Germany. His forces, combined with those of Maximilian's Catholic League, controlled much of north and central Germany by late 1627, where his advance seems to have been dictated by a desire to foster the interests of Catholicism rather than to set up a form of absolutism in the empire, as some have contended. Supported by the Catholic electors and urged on by his Jesuit

confessor, William Lamormaini, Ferdinand issued in 1629 the fateful Edict of Restitution, which reclaimed for the Catholics all the church lands that, they asserted, had been seized illegally by the Protestants since the Religious Peace of Augsburg of 1555. This extreme measure alienated Protestant states hitherto loyal to the emperor, especially Saxony and Brandenburg, and helped provoke the successful invasion of the Swedish king, Gustavus II Adolphus, whose victory at Breitenfeld near Leipzig in 1631 reversed the whole course of the war. Ferdinand withdrew from his militant program in the empire with the Peace of Prague of 1635, in which he backtracked on the edict and so won back to his side Saxony and other Protestant states. At the electoral convention of Regensburg in 1636, he secured the election of his son, Ferdinand III, as king of the Romans, which prepared the way for his succession as Holy Roman emperor. Ferdinand II died in Vienna on 15 February 1637 after returning from Regensburg.

See also Augsburg, Religious Peace of (1555); Austria; Gustavus II Adolphus (Sweden); Habsburg Dynasty; Austria; Habsburg Territories; Holy Roman Empire; Mantuan Succession, War of the (1627–1631); Reformation, Catholic; Thirty Years' War (1618–1648); Wallenstein, A. W. E. von.

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ROBERT BIRELEY

FERDINAND III (HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE) (1608–1657; ruled 1637–1657),

king of Hungary and Bohemia and Holy Roman emperor. The son of Ferdinand II and Maria Anna of Bavaria (1574–1616), daughter of Duke William V of Bavaria, Ferdinand III was probably the least-known emperor of the modern period. He was born on 13 July 1608 in Graz, when his father, who was to be elected emperor in 1619, was still only head of a cadet branch of the Habsburgs. Already during the lifetime of his father, Ferdinand III was elected king of Hungary in 1625 and crowned king of Bohemia in 1627. However, in 1630, during a critical juncture of the Thirty Years' War, Ferdinand II failed to ensure his son's election as his successor in the empire, and he succeeded in doing so only on 22 December 1636, a few weeks before his own death.

Imperial policy during the Thirty Years' War oscillated between a Spanish orientation that was primarily anti-French and a Bavarian orientation that was primarily anti-Protestant. Ferdinand's marriage to Maria Anna (1606–1646), daughter of Philip III of Spain, in 1631 followed a period when the Austrian and Spanish political paths had threatened to diverge after the inconclusive end of the War of the Mantuan Succession (1627–1631). At home, Ferdinand was driven into opposition against General Albrecht von Wallenstein, and his court chamberlain, Count Maximilian Trauttmansdorff, counted as one of the movers who helped ensure Wallenstein's dismissal and assassination in February 1634. Finally taking command of the imperial army, with Count Matthias Gallas as his most trusted lieutenant, Ferdinand was joined by a Spanish army from Italy and won the victory of Nördlingen on 6 September 1634, which demolished the Swedish position in Germany (and was celebrated in several of Peter Paul Rubens's paintings). Ferdinand went on to command the imperial army for the first two years of the war against France, after 1635. His return to Vienna after his father's death on 15 February 1637 coincided with the virtual end of joint Austrian-Spanish Habsburg efforts against the Bourbons, as he was forced to devote most of his resources to the renewed incursions of the Swedish army. He himself was almost taken prisoner in the winter of 1641, when the Swedish general Johan Banér raided Regensburg, where Ferdinand was attending the imperial diet.

Banér was only stopped at the last moment by the ice breaking up on the Danube.

Ferdinand III is often credited with hastening the end of the war. That judgment is ironic because he was consistently determined to fight the war to a successful conclusion; though undoubtedly pious, he represented a more businesslike approach than his father. He was adamant in not allowing concessions to Protestants in the hereditary Habsburg lands, where heresy was regarded as the midwife of rebellion. In Hungary, however, where Protestants could rely on Transylvanian support, Ferdinand was grudgingly forced to return a number of churches to them at the peace of Linz in 1647. On the other hand, he was quite willing to adopt the late Wallenstein's policies and work with the Protestant princes of Germany. But his allies among the German electors were one by one forced to withdraw into neutrality when the disorganized imperial army failed to defend them from the Swedes. Meanwhile, his cousin and brother-in-law Maximilian of Bavaria wished for an understanding with France and a break with the Spanish alliance. Ferdinand thus fought a losing battle to keep the family compact alive. After the disastrous campaigns of 1644/1645, with the Transylvanians joining the Swedes and their armies at the gates of Vienna, he was reduced to entering peace negotiations on his enemies' terms and finally had to abjure further support of Spain at the conclusion of the Peace of Westphalia in October 1648.

That peace settlement was less damaging in its consequences for imperial power than has long been believed. The defeat was measured in opportunity costs rather than actual lost territories. Ferdinand's room for maneuver was even widened by the increasing irrelevance of the denominational divide, and he continued to exercise his influence among the estates of the empire, while France was prevented from fully exploiting her position by the civil wars of the Fronde. Separation from Spain, though, also meant that Ferdinand was unable to gain a lock on the Spanish inheritance by marrying his eldest son, Ferdinand IV, to the Spanish heiress Maria Theresa. Ferdinand IV, moreover, died on 9 July 1654, soon after being elected king of the Romans (the title of the designated successor to the emperor).

Ferdinand III himself remarried twice, with both alliances designed to strengthen family ties. His second wife Mary Leopoldina (1632–1649), a first cousin from the Tyrolean branch of the Habsburgs, died after only a few months of marriage. His third wife, Eleanor of Gonzaga (1630–1686), whom he married on 30 April 1651, was a relation of his stepmother and proved to be a dazzling consort at the Diet of Regensburg, where the imperial couple held court from December 1652 to May 1654. Ferdinand has been described as a melancholy character who often felt compelled to stand on his dignity. He did, however, intensify a family tradition of interest in music by dabbling as a composer himself, and he exhibited some knowledge of the natural sciences. Because of both family and military influences, his reign probably saw the peak of Italian influences at the court of Vienna. Ferdinand was again starting to engage in a proxy war with Sweden when he died on 2 April 1657 and was succeeded by his second son, Leopold I.

See also Habsburg Dynasty; Holy Roman Empire; Leopold I (Holy Roman Empire); Mantuan Succession, War of the (1627–1631); Thirty Years' War (1618–1648); Wallenstein, A. W. E. von; Westphalia, Peace of (1648).

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LOTHAR HÖBELT

FERDINAND VI (SPAIN) (1713–1759; ruled 1746–1759), king of Spain. Ferdinand VI, born in Madrid in 1713, continued the reformist policies of his predecessor. The son of Philip V (ruled 1700–1724, 1724–1746) and his first wife María Luisa of Savoy, Ferdinand married the Portuguese princess María Bárbara de Bragança in 1729

and remained devoted to her throughout their married life. Peace-loving and pious, he was fond of music, maintaining in his service the composer Domenico Scarlatti and the famous castrato singer Carlo Broschi, known as Farinelli. The latter organized the brilliant festivals and boating excursions on the Tagus River that were typical of courtly life during Ferdinand's reign, often in conjunction with the court's seasonal movements from palace to palace.

Heir to the political aims of his father and his stepmother, Isabel Farnese (1692–1766), Ferdinand continued to participate in the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748). The peace treaty in 1748 granted the duchies of Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla to his half-brother Philip, putting an end to thirty years of Spanish intervention in Italy. Those grants were ratified by the Treaty of Aranjuez (1752), which guaranteed the neutrality of the Italian Bourbons. Ferdinand retained his father's chief domestic secretary, Cenón Somodevilla, marqués de la Ensenada, as the head of several government departments, although he named José de Carvajal as his own chief foreign secretary to temper Ensenada's power.

Ferdinand's domestic policies continued those of his father as much in cultural affairs (foundation of the Royal College of Surgeons in Cádiz; the definitive creation of the Academy of Fine Arts of San Fernando) as in the economy (support for the royal tobacco factory in Seville and the royal textile factory in Brihuega; support for exclusive trading privileges with America for the Barcelona Company and others; Carvajal's initiative to found companies devoted to commerce and manufacture, such as the Extremadura Company in Zarza la Mayor and the San Fernando Company in Seville). In matters of finance, a series of beneficial measures were adopted during his reign (direct administration of provincial taxes and the 1749 creation of the Royal Currency Exchange to limit dependence on foreign bankers). But the most important project in his reign—the establishment of a single tax (*única contribución*) along Aragonese lines—was a complete failure. Nonetheless the cadastral survey known as the Catastro de la Ensenada, ordered in preparation for the tax, remains a valuable portrait of the demographic and material reality of Castile. In religious matters, the regalian tendency of the Concordat of 1737 was



Ferdinand VI. Portrait depicting Ferdinand as “Protector of Arts and Learning,” by Antonio Gonzalez Ruiz. THE ART ARCHIVE/ACADEMIA BB AA S FERNANDO MADRID/ALBUM/JOSEPH MARTIN

reinforced with the signing of the Concordat of 1753. Although it did not extend the power the crown exercised over the church in Granada and the American empire to the rest of the realm, the concordat governed relations between the monarchy and the church for the rest of the century.

In foreign policy, several contentious matters were resolved. In 1750 Madrid bought back the concessions granted by the Peace of Utrecht (1713) for England to supply slaves (the *asiento*) and send a limited amount of trade goods (the *navío de permiso*) to Spanish America. That same year the Treaty of Limits settled most of the boundary disputes between Spain and Portugal in South America. The death of Carvajal in 1754 impelled the king to appoint as his first secretary Ricardo Wall, an Anglophile who worked with the English ambassador Benjamin Keene to bring about the fall of Ensenada. As a result, Ensenada's ambitious plans to strengthen the Spanish navy against England, embodied in ordinances related to timber supplies (*Ordenanza de Montes*; 1748), naval construction, and the mandatory registration of mariners (*Matrícula de Mar*; 1751), were paralyzed. Spain shifted to a foreign policy of pacifism and neutrality, even after the eruption of the Seven Years' War in 1756. In this context conflicts affecting Spain's delicate power relations with North African states were influenced by commercial pressures, as in the case of Spanish responses to alliances formed with Algeria by the Hanseatic city of Hamburg and later by Denmark.

The death of the queen (1758) plunged the king into a deep depression, which degenerated into madness until his death in Villaviciosa de Odón in 1759. His remains rest, with those of his wife, in the Convent of the Royal Salesians in Madrid.

See also Austrian Succession, War of the (1740–1748); Ensenada, Cenón Somodevilla, marqués de la; Farnese, Isabel (Queen of Spain); Philip V (Spain); Seven Years' War (1756–1763); Spain; Utrecht, Peace of (1713).

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CARLOS MARTÍNEZ-SHAW

(TRANSLATED FROM THE SPANISH BY CARLA RAHN PHILLIPS)

FERDINAND OF ARAGÓN (1452–1516), king of Aragón (as Ferdinand II, ruled 1479–1516), Castile and León (as Ferdinand V, ruled 1474–1504), Sicily (as Ferdinand II, ruled 1468–1516), and Naples (as Ferdinand III, ruled 1504–1516), king of Castile and Aragón.

The son of Juan II of Aragón and his second wife, Juana Enríquez, Ferdinand was educated in a court culture that spanned the western Mediterranean and endowed him with a broad international outlook. With his wife, Isabella of Castile (1451–1504), Ferdinand governed the united and powerful kingdom of Castile and Aragón. A shrewd diplomat and military leader, he took advantage of spectacular strokes of good fortune and strategic marital alliances to lay the foundations of the vast Habsburg empire in Europe and the Americas that dominated the early modern era.

While a young prince, Ferdinand served as lieutenant in the crown of Aragón (1465–1468; a group of associated political regions governed separately by the same ruler), gaining experience in governance during the Catalanian civil war (1462–1472). In 1468, Juan II negotiated Ferdinand's marriage to Isabella, heiress in her own right to the crown of Castile, intending to use the alliance as a way to broker peace at home. The marriage treaty stipulated an unprecedented form of corulership in which both partners retained considerable autonomy in their respective realms while each respecting the customs and laws of the other.

To the surprise of many, the marriage became a personal and political success, but it initially faced serious opposition. In Castile, the barons feared the formidable royal power that would result from the marriage. Both Louis XI of France (ruled 1461–1483) and Afonso V of Portugal (ruled 1438–1481), who had hoped for a marriage alliance with Castile, also opposed the marriage. Isabella's brother, Enrique IV, disowned her in favor of his daughter Juana, whose paternity many disputed. In 1474, however, Enrique died and a war of succes-

sion ensued. But by 1479, when Ferdinand became king of Aragón in his own right upon his father's death, the opposition was quelled and the union of the two realms was complete.

Five surviving children (Isabel, 1470–1498; Juan, 1478–1497; Joanna, 1479–1555; María, 1482–1517; and Catherine, 1485–1536) solidified the union, and Ferdinand's adroit handling of their marriages spread Castilian influence across Europe. Catherine married Arthur, Prince of Wales, and then his brother, Henry VIII of England; first María and then, after her death, Isabel, married Manuel I of Portugal. In a double marriage in 1496 that established the foundations of Spanish Habsburg power, Joanna wed Philip of Burgundy, archduke of Austria, and Juan married Philip's sister, Margaret.

In Castile, Ferdinand and Isabella pursued the conquest of Granada and funded the voyages of Columbus, both in 1492. They promoted a militant Christianity—they expelled both Jews and Muslims and established the Spanish Inquisition (1478)—that had the added benefit of enriching the royal treasury. Their actions earned them the title the Catholic Sovereigns (*Reyes Católicos*), and created an effective impediment to later Protestant reformers. Ferdinand was often absent from his Aragonese realms (Aragón, Catalonia, Valencia, and the Balearic Islands), which he governed through lieutenants, but he carefully upheld traditional legal and constitutional institutions and kept Aragón strictly separate from Castilian government.

Ferdinand's accomplished diplomacy and skillful military campaigns propelled Spain to the forefront of European politics. He annexed Naples (1504), which remained under Spanish control for over two centuries, added Navarre (1515), and waged war in Africa (1509–1511). An important figure in the Renaissance, Ferdinand typified Machiavelli's sly fox, a master of political manipulation, more shrewd than pious. Through the Holy League, he contained French aggression in Italy and persuaded the papacy to divide the territories in the Americas between Portugal and Castile along a line of demarcation (ratified by the Treaty of Tordesillas in 1494). He ushered in modern diplomacy by establishing permanent embassies in Rome, Venice, London, Brussels, and Vienna, staffed with professionally trained officials with Latin as their common language. Ferdinand promoted Renaissance culture through his patronage of humanists Lucius Ma-



Ferdinand of Aragón. Undated portrait engraving. ©CORBIS

rineus Siculus and Antonio Gualdi. Under his aegis, Hebrew, Latin, and Greek were taught at the University of Alcalá; Antonio de Nebrija compiled the first Castilian grammar handbook (1492); and the Polyglot Bible was completed (1517).

Isabella's death in 1504 left Ferdinand king only in Aragón, while his daughter Joanna and her husband, Philip of Burgundy, inherited Castile. Hoping to garner support from Castilian nobles, he married Germaine de Foix, niece of Louis XII of France, in 1506, raising the possibility that Aragón and Castile might separate once again, but Joanna's mental instability and Philip's early death (1506) reinstated Ferdinand as effective ruler of Castile with Joanna as titular queen. He supervised the education of his grandson, Ferdinand (later Emperor Ferdinand I), until his death in 1516.

See also Charles II (Spain); Ferdinand I (Holy Roman Empire); Habsburg Dynasty: Spain; Inquisition, Spanish; Isabella of Castile; Jews, Expulsion of (Spain); Joanna I, "the Mad" (Spain).

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THERESA EARENFIGHT

FESTIVALS. Early modern festivals and celebrations may be classified in several different ways: as religious, civic, or courtly; as annual or in honor of unique occasions; as popular and folkloric or as elite and learned; and finally, according to whether they constituted celebrations of the religious and social order or were subversive of it. None of these categories is entirely discrete, for there is considerable overlapping of tone and circumstance. The final distinction, that between “establishment” feasts and subversive ones, is the one most fundamental for contemporary scholarship and provides the most useful basis for a general discussion.

CELEBRATION OF THE EXISTING ORDER

Both civic and religious pageantry aimed at portraying the established order in a favorable light and at fostering an impression of harmony and security. The distinction between the two was not always clear.

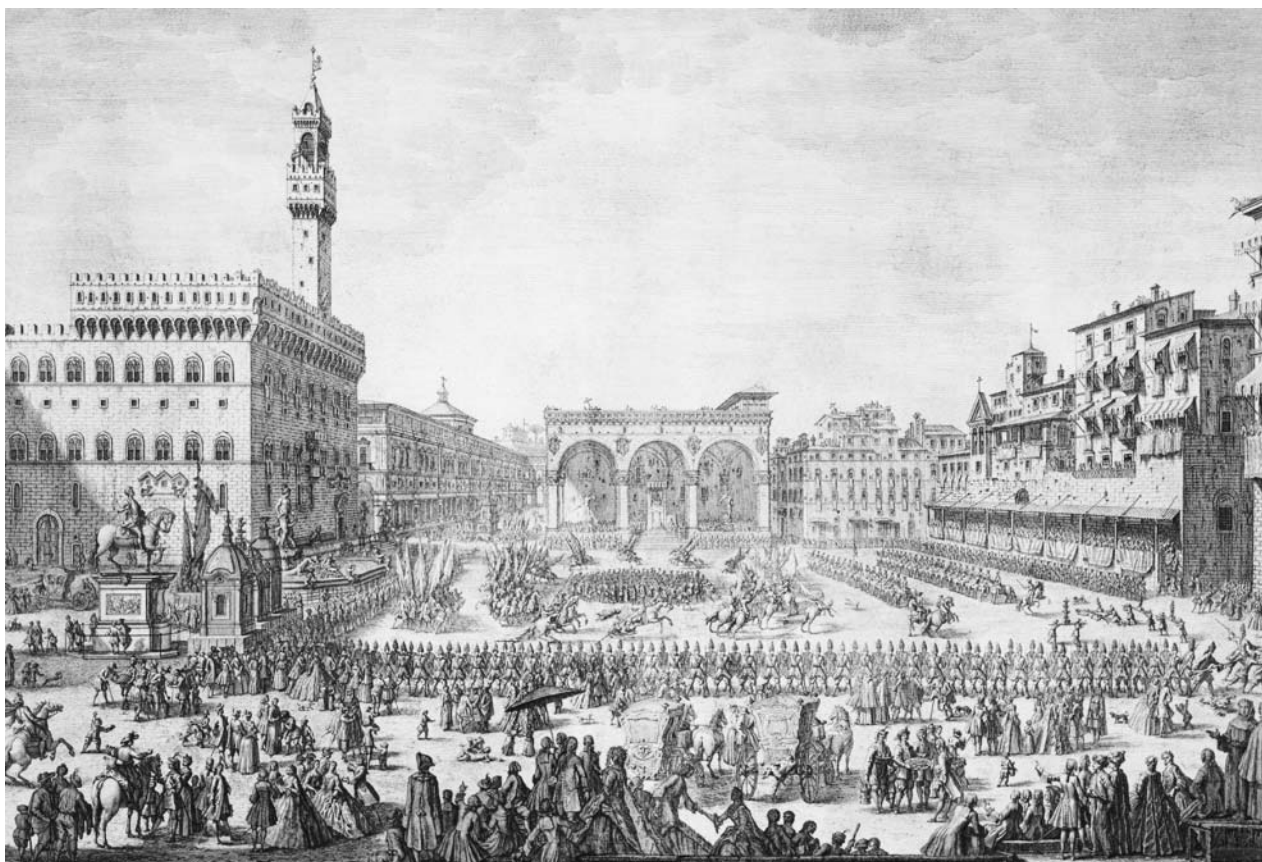
Religious feasts and processions. With its recurring commemorations of moments in the drama of the Incarnation, Crucifixion, and Redemption, the Christian calendar evoked a coherent and reassuring view of human history, whatever unjust or chaotic conditions might prevail in the contemporary political and social worlds. Special church services and processions through the streets brought all classes together in recollection of events recounted either in the Gospels or in the lives of saints. When government officials took part in such religious processions, for example in that for Palm Sunday in Venice, the arrangement provided a still more encompassing picture of harmony, with the integration of the civic and spiritual realms of life. Moreover, because many cities had particular saints as patrons, the celebration of their feast days, such as St. John’s Day (24 June) in Florence or the day of the Assumption of the Virgin (15 August) in Siena, was a frankly civic affair.

While most religious celebrations were engraved, so to speak, on the calendar, there were others devoted to unique ecclesiastical occasions,

such as the canonization of new saints and the investiture of new bishops. The Roman Holy Years, coming every quarter century, entailed very elaborate public observances. In the Iberian Peninsula, during the Counter-Reformation and into the Enlightenment, there were occasional celebrations of autos-da-fé (literally ‘acts of faith’), with the public trials of heretics followed by “reconciliations” or executions. These manifestations, chilling to our late modern sensibility, were watched by great numbers of people in a festive mood. Whatever the actual effect, the intent of the organizers was undoubtedly to strengthen religious faith and ecclesiastical institutions.

State occasions. The basic aim of purely civic pageantry was to present a majestic and harmonious view of the state and to cultivate a pride of citizenship in both participants and spectators. For the state as for the church, processions were probably the most effective form of festive manifestation. When a monarch or ruling prince or the ruling council of a republic rode at the center of a colorful parade that included local guilds and confraternities, and perhaps also foreign ambassadors or, as in trading cities like Lyon and Antwerp, the representatives of foreign merchant colonies, all dressed in costumes of office or in collective “livery,” one could infer a just equilibrium not only between church and state, or among social classes, but also among the nations of Christendom. Sometimes, as when new popes paused in their inaugural procession to St. John Lateran to accept the friendly greetings of Rome’s Jewish colony, even non-Christians were integrated into a harmonious view of the world.

In the late Middle Ages it became customary for new monarchs to make grand, ceremonial entries into their capital cities. In the streets they might find decorative structures built by the city fathers or by organized social groups such as guilds. Such structures often bore inscriptions, and sometimes there were also stationary scenes called *tableaux vivants* (‘living pictures’) in which immobile human actors represented biblical, mythological, historical, or allegorical scenes. More rarely, actors recited verses to the monarch, who paused to listen. These manifestations were intended not just to assure rulers of the populace’s loyalty but also to remind them of their own obligations toward the city. At one point in her



Festivals. A 1757 engraving by Guiseppe Zocchi depicts a festival in the Piazza della Signoria, Florence. ©HISTORICAL PICTURE ARCHIVE/CORBIS

1559 progress through London, Queen Elizabeth I is said to have stated in answer to a display, “I have taken notice of your good meaning toward mee, and will endeavor to Answere your severall expectations.” Thus entries and other civic processions tended to confirm the intangible political contracts underlying early modern societies. There is no doubt that they were often a significant force for social peace.

The style of entry decorations changed with the progress of classical revival in the Renaissance. Vernacular inscriptions gave way to Latin ones, and the principal street decorations became triumphal arches and other temporary structures imitated from the buildings of ancient Rome, or from architectural treatises. Allegory fell into relative disfavor. The Latin inscriptions and temporary paintings on entry arches alluded most often to history, above all to the history of classical Rome, either republican or imperial. These changes reflect a general shift in

taste but are also instrumental in that shift. Artists and literary figures who planned the architecture and iconography of structures erected for entries belonged quite often to the avant-garde, and their work was influential in various realms. This was true not only during the initial phase of classical revival in the Renaissance but also during the subsequent development of the baroque style and sensibility in the late sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. Thus the planner for decorations of the 1635 entry into Antwerp of Cardinal Ferdinand of Austria was the celebrated painter Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640), who also did the engravings for the published account.

In addition to inaugural entries into their capital cities, some rulers were honored with triumphal processions in other towns of their own dominions or those of friendly foreign princes. The undisputed champion triumphator during the Renaissance was the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V (ruled 1519–

1556), who periodically traveled in state through his possessions and vassal states in Spain, Italy, Austria, Germany, and the Low Countries. Popes also occasionally made ceremonial journeys entailing grand urban entries, as when Pope Clement VIII traveled north from Rome in 1598 to take possession of the duchy of Ferrara. Queen Elizabeth I of England, during her long reign (1558–1603) staged a number of “progresses” through her kingdom. French kings as well, for example Charles IX in 1564–1566, sometimes made state tours of their provinces. Noble brides traveled in triumphal processions from their homes to those of their husbands, as, for example, when Marie de Médicis proceeded from Florence to the French court in 1600.

During the Renaissance, several particularly poignant occasions for pageantry and popular festivity were furnished by what we might now call “summit meetings,” that is, conferences between rival sovereigns, or between sovereigns and popes. Of these the two best remembered are the meeting between the young kings Henry VIII of England and Francis I of France at the Field of the Cloth of Gold near Calais in 1520, and the prolonged consultations of the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V and Pope Clement VII at Bologna in 1529–1530. The first meeting, which antedated the main thrust of the classical revival, was marked by chivalric ceremonies and entertainments. At Bologna, there were triumphal entries and then, months later, a papal coronation of the emperor, the last such ever to take place. After the crowning, pope and emperor rode together through the streets of Bologna under a single canopy. This striking image, which seemed to herald an era of peace, soon became known all over Europe through a series of engravings.

The great political upheavals in western Europe during the late sixteenth century and the first half of the seventeenth centuries—religious wars in France and the Low Countries, the troubles of the Fronde in France, the Civil War in England, the Thirty Years’ War in Germany—were not favorable for great displays of pageantry. In 1660, however, the young Louis XIV made a grand entry into Paris with his new queen, Marie-Thérèse of Spain, and the next year the recently restored Charles II of England traversed London from the Tower to Whitehall on his way to be crowned. These two

major events were recorded in elaborately printed “festival books” with much finer engravings than had been found in similar publications of the sixteenth century. Following decades saw the publication of many more such books.

Royal and dynastic weddings. Just as some celebrations partook of both the religious and the civic realms, others had both civic and courtly elements. Thus royal and other dynastic weddings usually involved joyous entries of brides into their husbands’ cities. If the marriage sealed a political alliance, as when Duke Cosimo I of Florence married the daughter of the Spanish viceroy of Naples in 1539, or when the future Louis XVI of France married the Austrian Marie-Antoinette, daughter of the Holy Roman emperor, in 1770, decorations for the urban entries of the brides often had political themes. Such weddings were, however, also accompanied by ever more elaborate series of “closed” entertainments whose only evident purpose was the display of *magnificenza* (wealth and generosity) for the pleasure of elite audiences. That seemingly frivolous purpose was in fact politically important for rulers in increasingly absolutist regimes.

Courtly entertainments. The diversions offered by princes to aristocratic audiences became more varied and more lavish as courts grew larger. It was a very long way from the small ducal court of Urbino immortalized by Baldassare Castiglione in *The Book of the Courtier* (1528) to the large body of French aristocrats who gravitated around the palace of Versailles in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. By the end of the early modern period, the variety of courtly entertainments had become very large, including tournaments and other forms of chivalric combat (now largely feigned), organized hunts, fireworks, banquets, concerts, ballets, and dramatic performances of many different kinds. Although commercial theater was already becoming important, several major theatrical genres—the neo-classical *commedia erudita* (learned comedy) of the Italian Renaissance, the Italian opera, the *comedia* of the Spanish Golden Age, the classical comedies and tragedies of seventeenth-century France—were born or perfected in part at court. Dance genres such as the French *ballet de cour* and the English masque were virtually confined to courtly circles.

During the Renaissance the occasions for grand entertainments were relatively few, mainly weddings, baptisms of heirs, Christmas, and carnival. Later, at least in large courts, entertainments were commissioned more frequently and might last several days. The French court at Versailles, the largest and most magnificent in Europe from the 1660s to the French Revolution, set the standard in such things. One famous and well documented fête of 1664 may serve as an example. By command of the young Louis XIV, the *Plaisirs de l'île enchantée* (Pleasures of the bewitched island) were devised by the duke of Saint-Aignan to last three days, 7–9 May. A rather loose unifying theme was taken from the sixth, seventh, and eighth cantos of Ludovico Ariosto's immensely popular chivalric epic *Orlando furioso* (1516–1532; *Madness of Roland*). Saint-Aignan had as collaborators the playwright Molière (1622–1673) with his troupe of actors; the lyric poet Isaac de Benserade (1613?–1691), the musician Jean-Baptiste Lully (1632–1689), and the stage architect Carlo Vigarani (d. 1693). On the first day, the king and some of his courtiers paraded in “Ariostean” costume and then competed in a run at the ring. Louis was disguised as Ariosto's hero Ruggiero. There followed a ballet and a banquet punctuated by the appearance of marvelous stage “machines” or automata. Molière's play *La princesse d'Élide* (The princess of Elis), interspersed with pieces of music and ballet, was performed the second day. The third day featured still another ballet and an exhibition of fireworks, fused into a sort of “pyrotechnic opera.” Further entertainments, including the playing of two more comedies of Molière, ensued during four more days. The *Plaisirs* were commemorated in handsome publications.

FESTIVALS OF MISRULE AND SUBVERSION

While religious and civic festivals have attracted the attention of historians of art, literature, and ideas, the festivals of misrule have recently held a particular interest for anthropologists, semioticians, and social historians. An indisputable ancestor of festivals in the latter category can be seen in the ancient Roman Saturnalia, during the celebration of which the social order was temporarily turned upside down as slaves wore their masters' clothing and were served by them at table. The Saturnalia were doubtless seen by Romans in power as a safety valve for the release of popular resentment against social injustice.

Whether they served only that purpose or were also a force for reform or revolution is a matter of historical speculation, as is also the effect of early modern feasts descended from them.

The Feast of Fools and Abbeyes of Misrule. The Feast of Fools (Latin *Festum Stultorum*, French *Fête des Fous*, German *Narrenfest*) was long celebrated in religious communities shortly after Christmas. A reversal of hierarchy was effected through the election of a young cleric or monastic as “bishop,” and sometimes things held sacred were made fun of in mock masses. The actual church authorities were understandably uneasy with such frivolities. In the sixteenth century and later, some towns also had lay organizations of young men known as “abbeyes” or “kingdoms” of misrule. These groups elected “abbots” or “kings” and participated together in various lighthearted activities during Christmas and Carnival. In Renaissance England, on a higher social plane, a court lord of misrule was sometimes appointed for yuletide celebrations, or “revels.” Thus George Ferrars, holding that appointment from the young King Edward VI, staged a mock triumphal entry into London in January 1552.

Carnival. The most important feast of misrule by far was that of Carnival, celebrated just before the onset of Lent. It was a period of “licensed transgression” enjoyed by all classes of society. A measure of its popularity can be seen in the curious fact that carnival celebrations persisted in some Protestant areas of northern Europe that had ceased to observe Lent. Italian Carnival parades sometimes had elaborate decorated pageant cars. In Rome, such parades often flattered reigning pontiffs, as when that of 1536 recreated the ancient triumph of Paulus Aemilius in allusion to Pope Paul III. In Florence and Venice, where the parades were sometimes planned by well-born young men in companies analogous to the abbeyes of misrule, there might be a less reverent tone.

Carnival in Italy was also the principal occasion for the production of neoclassical comedies, and in Germany there were special *Fastnachtspiele* (Carnival plays), most memorably those of Hans Sachs (1494–1576). In France, during the next century, the celebration was also a favored time for the performance of Molière's comedies. At the Stuart courts in seventeenth-century England, allegorical

masques might be written and performed for Shrovetide, the three days preceding Ash Wednesday. Unlike the generally apolitical Italian and French comedies and German *Fastnachtspiele*, which made fun of typical human faults, the English compositions often carried ideological messages supporting the divine right of kings.

The most subversive activity of Carnival probably lay in the custom of “masking,” which permitted the social classes to mingle promiscuously in the streets and even to express seditious sentiments under the protection of anonymity. Church authorities periodically forbade masking, but it was tremendously popular. Carnival activities in general became less important during the baroque period and the Enlightenment, although they are still lively today in a few Catholic cities such as Cologne and Venice. It would be hard to prove that they were lastingly subversive of dominant institutions, although their spirit often stood in opposition to official ideology.

See also **Carnival; Games and Play.**

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BONNER MITCHELL

FEUDALISM. Strictly speaking, feudalism refers to the medieval dependency/service relationship between lords and their vassals or to the political subordination and service of lesser lords to higher lords or princes. These medieval relationships faded in the early modern centuries as princes developed institutionally complex states and replaced unreliable feudal levies with mercenaries and, eventually, standing armies. Although the proper-

ties of lords and knights, called fiefs, often retained distinct laws that governed their transmission, feudalism in the strict sense survived only as a vestigial institution in the early modern centuries.

What most commentators and detractors called feudalism between 1500 and 1800 was technically lordship. Karl Marx and modern Marxist historians considered feudalism an oppressive economic system, a means of production. While feudalism in some settings assumed the appearances of an economic system, notably in the large noble and ecclesiastical estates of eastern Germany, Poland, Bohemia, and Hungary that were worked by serf labor, feudalism was actually a much broader institution. It was both a fiscal system for the support of the governing classes and a system of local governance. One of the oldest and most durable institutions in European history, feudalism emerged in the early medieval centuries, reproduced and reshaped itself century after century, and spread into newly colonized regions. Retaining many of its medieval features until its violent demise in the wake of major political revolutions, feudalism survived in France until the Revolution of 1789 and in much of central and eastern Europe until the Revolutions of 1848.

FEUDALISM IN THE MIDDLE AGES

In the Middle Ages, feudalism/lordship was the institutional and territorial expression of the unlimited governing authority of lords: princes, high aristocrats, bishops, and abbots. Lords exercised governing authority by birthright or by office, and the inhabitants of the lords' domains were their subjects. Feudalism expressed itself in many institutions, which, like a fine net, covered the entire landmass of urban centers, rural villages, mountain ranges, rivers, and roads. Feudalism was a fiscal system that supported the governing class. Lords in turn assigned part of their fiscal assets to agents as remuneration for their administrative tasks and to knights for military service. The fiscal burdens of feudalism took any form deemed suitable by the lords: payments in cash, in kind, in labor services, or in military services. There were direct taxes on men and land as well as a variety of indirect taxes such as tolls on rivers or roads and taxes assessed in markets and fairs. Lords collected taxes when property changed hands, mortuary fees when old tenants died, and entrance fees when new tenants assumed

possession of landholdings. There were fees for the obligatory use of feudal grain mills, grape and olive presses, and ovens.

Feudalism was also a system of local governance. All-purpose agents of the lords, such as mayors in the villages and towns, not only collected the lord's taxes but supervised the communal assembly and administered justice with the cooperation of the most notable residents. Above the mayors there were intermediate agents such as provosts, then higher officials often called bailiffs, and a corresponding hierarchy of fiscal, judicial, and administrative offices. At the apex stood the lord with his household and central administration. Although kings and princes such as dukes and counts normally had more extensive and complex lordships than bishops, abbots, barons or lesser lords, these lordships were all remarkably similar.

REGIONAL PATTERNS OF FEUDALISM

Feudalism was absolutely unassailable in law in the early modern centuries. Normally the king or prince himself was the principal lord and still derived significant revenues from his feudal holdings. Rent rolls, urban and village charters, the day-to-day administrative, fiscal, and judicial records of lords, as well as the publicly verifiable custom of the lordships were upheld in both the lowliest and the highest courts. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, judicial officials of kings and princes held public inquiries and assembled written compilations of provincial customary law in France and in the western parts of the Holy Roman Empire, the Netherlands, Spain, and Italy. In Prussia, the codifications appeared later in the eighteenth century. In England, manorial records served the same purpose.

By the beginning of the early modern era, about 1450 or 1500, feudalism already had a thousand years of history behind it in the core lands of the old Roman Empire and at least two or three hundred years in the most recently settled areas. At the end of the Middle Ages there were already distinct regional patterns of feudalism, which became more pronounced between 1500 and 1800. These regional variations affected feudalism mainly as a fiscal system, while feudalism as a system of local government survived almost everywhere in Europe. The feudal systems of Europe in their fiscal expressions fell into three broad zones that extended from west

to east. These regional variations were the result of differences in economic development, population density, and political organization.

The first zone included England, the Netherlands, and the lower Rhineland area of Germany as well as France, Spain, and Italy. This first zone encompassed the most densely populated, the most economically developed, and the most politically advanced areas of Europe. The customary laws viewed the holdings under the feudal authority of lords as secure, usually perpetual, tenures. Consequently, those who actually possessed the land and used it had rights tantamount to property ownership. Lords could not dismiss their tenants and confiscate their property without due cause, such as the failure to pay annual dues for a number of years, and even then only with formal judicial procedures. Likewise, once established, the regular annual feudal taxes were normally viewed as immutable. Kings, princes, and central governments generally reserved for themselves the right to assess new taxes and to increase rates. In most of this part of Europe, serfdom had largely disappeared by 1500. The most common burdens of medieval serfdom had been restrictions on transfer of tenures except in the direct line of succession (*mortmain*), prohibition of marriage outside the lordship, mandatory residence, and unregulated taxes and labor services. Although remnants of these practices survived here and there, they were largely governed by the provisions of customary law.

Powerful economic forces that emanated from expanding urban centers and international trade produced significant changes in property ownership and land use in this zone in the early modern era, but these changes occurred slowly at a pace measured in generations and even centuries. Nobles, well-to-do urban residents, state officials, and even prosperous peasants bought perpetual tenures near cities, in rural villages, even in remote areas with easy access to commercial routes. From piecemeal purchases of land that often stretched over generations, they assembled large farms and vineyards that produced for the expanding markets. The physical appearance of the landscape changed as consolidated capitalist farms partially replaced peasant villages. Economically, the newly created or expanded farms of the better-off classes were market-oriented,

capitalist enterprises worked by tenant farmers or sharecroppers on short-term leases.

Although the new owners of former peasant lands sometimes cleared their lands of the old feudal taxes by paying for their abolition, more often than not they simply stacked short-term market leases over the perpetual tenures. The network of feudal fiscal rights assigned to landed property were so deeply imbedded in law, especially when they belonged to ecclesiastical lords, charitable organizations, or towns, that the old feudal burdens survived but took on an increasingly archaic appearance. In heavily urbanized northern Italy, the partial elimination of the perpetual tenures and the more widespread stacking of short-term renewable leases over preexisting tenures were already very advanced by 1500. Elsewhere, the changes occurred mainly between 1500 and 1750 or 1800. Roughly half the land held by peasant perpetual tenants in 1500 passed into the hands of nonpeasants by the 1780s. In England this process was called enclosure. Enclosure began in the late Middle Ages and peaked in the eighteenth century. Normally, English enclosure brought with it the elimination of the feudal fiscal rights. In the areas of England unaffected by enclosure, feudal tenures, called copyholds, survived until 1922.

The second zone encompassed the most anciently settled core lands of the Holy Roman Empire, those areas that had been settled prior to the thirteenth century, with the notable exception of the lower Rhineland (Cologne, Mainz, the Rhenish Palatinate, etc.), which belonged to the first zone. This zone included Bavaria, Württemberg, Baden, Alsace, Hesse, Brunswick, Saxony, Thuringia, and Franconia. The determining factor here was the modesty or mediocrity of any force, whether demographic, economic, or political, that could have produced significant change. Although there was a dense network of rural villages, the cities and towns were very small and quite undynamic between 1500 and 1800. Most of Germany lay well outside the major trade routes in Europe. Politically the area was fragmented into hundreds of small states.

Feudal estates here consisted of clusters of peasant villages or scattered peasant holdings subject to an array of feudal taxes. Lords rarely had directly held farms of notable size in 1500 or in 1800. The

forces that partially transformed the landscape in the first zone were too weak to produce similar results here. Upper-class investors such as nobles, ecclesiastical institutions, and burghers lent money to peasant tenants and piled new rents on old feudal taxes. They even bought up feudal tenures, often by foreclosing on bad peasant debts. But they did not disturb peasant farming. Although much of the land in many peasant villages near the larger towns technically belonged to burghers who were legally the tenants, the investors almost always immediately retroceded the foreclosed lands to the existing peasant farmers. Capitalist, freestanding farms worked by tenant farmers on short-term leases were very uncommon. In the absence of strong market forces, the short-term leases or life leases that multiplied in the rebuilding of this part of Germany after the Thirty Years' War faded into perpetual arrangements by the eighteenth century. Lords were content to retain peasants to farm their tenures and pay feudal taxes generation after generation.

The third zone extended eastward along the Baltic from Denmark and Holstein through the German states of Mecklenburg, Brandenburg, and the two Pomeranias to Prussia and then south through Poland, Silesia, Bohemia, and Hungary, ending with Austria and the other possessions of the Habsburgs in the southeastern Alps. This entire zone was very lightly populated and both economically and politically underdeveloped. Central governments of kings and princes were weak, while nobles were comparatively strong and independent. Plagues and ruinous wars repeatedly devastated the fragile network of settlement in this zone between 1300 and 1700. Although the feudal practices here were the same as those in use everywhere in Europe, the whiplash effects of cyclical devastation did not allow feudalism to develop much beyond the stages characteristic of parts of western Europe in the Carolingian era of 750 to 950.

Lords in this third zone, whether princes, ecclesiastical institutions, barons, or knights, had an abundance of land but could find little peasant labor. They made heroic efforts century after century to colonize their lands, but no sooner had settlement begun to produce its first fruits than some fresh calamity undermined it. Out of necessity, lords relied primarily on their own directly held lands to support themselves. Such farms expanded between

1500 and 1800, not principally through consciously planned depopulating enclosure, but because abandoned peasant tenures and entire villages fell back into the hands of the lords. The most heavily damaged regions in the era of the Thirty Year's War, for example, lost on average half their population.

To work their directly held lands, lords in this zone hired landless day laborers as permanent staff and as temporary wage labor, and they relied on feudal labor services assessed on peasant farmers and cottagers. Normally, lords did not simply impose arbitrary labor services on their existing subjects, but rather offered lands to new colonists with labor services as a condition of tenure. With each new wave of devastation, feudal labor services became more important. To retain labor, lords also multiplied restrictions on the personal movement and land transfers of their subjects. The result was a new form of serfdom, born of insurmountable poverty and underpopulation. It was only after 1750 that the positive pull of markets for grain and livestock had much of an impact on these eastern European forms of feudalism.

FEUDAL COURTS

Everywhere in Europe, lords retained wide rights of local jurisdiction and local governance. Although the polemical literature of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries painted a very unflattering portrait of the feudal courts, in fact they performed indispensable services as lower courts of first instance with jurisdiction over civil and criminal affairs. They survived because the states had neither the political need to abolish them nor the revenues to replace them. From at least the sixteenth century in the more advanced states and from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries elsewhere, the men who staffed the feudal courts were legally trained professionals who received an annual salary. The feudal courts were incorporated into the judicial hierarchy of the state with rights of appeal in western Europe by 1500 or shortly thereafter, but in Austria, Bohemia, and Brandenburg-Prussia this did not occur until the middle of the eighteenth century. Feudalism also survived as a system of local governance. Feudal officials retained their traditional supervisory role in the administration of the smaller towns and the rural villages, while royal or princely officials usually controlled the important cities.

THE DEMISE OF FEUDALISM

Opposition to the feudal system grew steadily from the middle of the eighteenth century. Peasants had always hated both the system and the tithe, the obligatory feudal tax for the support of the church. While most nobles everywhere understandably defended feudalism, members of the non-noble elite were of two minds. On the one hand, anyone who aspired to assimilation into the nobility routinely purchased feudal rights and estates since they were the socially indispensable prestige properties of the aristocracy. On the other hand, the non-noble elites were increasingly aware that the feudal system and the legal nobility were hopelessly antiquated institutions. Opposition to feudalism among the non-noble elites was based on the overall transformation of society, not on the economic burden of feudalism per se. Consequently, opposition was much more vocal in France and Italy than in Prussia, Austria, or Bohemia.

Enlightened reformers began to eliminate feudalism here and there from the middle of the eighteenth century. The task was monumentally difficult. Rulers such as Frederick II of Prussia could abolish personal serfdom or improve conditions of tenure on their own domain lands, but not on the lands of other lords. Lords had legitimate property rights that could not simply be dismissed without compensation. The reforms began timidly with the removal of restrictions on personal freedom that were degrading but that produced little revenue for the lords. In 1778 Louis XVI of France abolished all forms of serfdom on directly held royal estates and the right of pursuit of serfs for the entire realm. From the 1770s, enlightened rulers in Denmark, Piedmont-Sardinia, and Austria promoted the liquidation of feudal fiscal rights with elaborate and costly schemes to make redemption payments to lords that were financially beyond the means of most peasants. Political revolutions eventually swept aside the remnants of the feudal system.

See also **Aristocracy and Gentry; Estates and Country Houses; Landholding; Property; Serfdom in East Central Europe.**

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FIELDING, HENRY (1707–1754), English novelist and playwright. Fielding was born 22 April 1707 at Sharpham Park, Somerset, and the family moved to East Stour in Dorset three years later. His father, Edmund, was a lieutenant who was reckless with money, and his mother, Sarah Gould, was a judge's daughter. Edmund Fielding remarried in 1718 after Sarah's death, and Fielding was educated at Eton, where he developed a love of the Greek and Roman classics. In 1728, he moved to London, where he published his first work, an ode on King George II's birthday, a satirical poem, "The Masquerade," and his first play, *Love in Several Masques*. From 1728 to 1729 he studied law at the University of Leiden, but returned to London because his father's increasing extravagance had left Fielding penniless. He supported himself by writing for the stage; between 1729 and 1737 he wrote twenty-five comedies and satires that were passionately engaged with exposing the vices of the court, politics, and society of the 1720s and 1730s. Fielding's first success, *The Author's Farce*, reflects on his own difficult financial position. In 1734 he married Charlotte Craddock, and they lived in lodgings in the Strand in London with their two children. His other successes at the Little Theatre, Haymarket (which

he managed) included *Tom Thumb* (1730) and *The Grub Street Opera* (1731). His political satires *Pasquin* (1736) and *The Historical Register for 1736* (1737) provoked the government of Prime Minister Robert Walpole to pass the Theatre Licensing Act of 1737, which banned political satire on the stage, thereby ending Fielding's career as a playwright.

Returning to the study of the law, Fielding was admitted to the bar in 1740. He also established the satirical periodical *Champion* (1739–1741). In 1741 his debts caused him to be detained in a bailiff's sponging-house (a preliminary detention center before prison), where he wrote *Apology for the Life of Mrs. Shamela Andrews*, an attack on novelist Samuel Richardson's concept of "virtue rewarded" in his novel *Pamela* (1740). *Shamela* parodied Richardson's epistolary style, revealing Shamela's "virtue" or "vartue" to be a weapon of self-interest and gain.

Fielding's talent for comic ridicule blossomed further with *Joseph Andrews* (1742), described by Fielding as a "comic epic-poem in prose" (Preface). Fielding attacked Richardson's schematic moral simplicity by inverting gender—Joseph is the victim of the lustful Lady Booby—and by the panoply of characters Joseph encountered with his quixotic friend Parson Adams. The novel's originality lies with its self-consciousness as fiction and the strong authorial presence of an omniscient narrator introducing each chapter and controlling the pace and plot.

In 1743, Fielding published the successful *Miscellanies* including *A Journey from this World to the Next* and *Jonathan Wild* (revised and republished in 1754), based on the life of a Machiavellian gangster living in the 1720s. After Fielding's wife died in 1744, his sister, Sarah Fielding, who was also a writer, managed his household until he married his wife's former servant, Mary Daniel, in 1747. Meanwhile Fielding produced two anti-Jacobite newspapers, *The True Patriot* (1745–1746) and *The Jacobite's Journal* (1747–1748).

The epic scale of Fielding's art reached its apex with *Tom Jones* (1749). He commented in the dedication that ". . . to recommend goodness and innocence hath been my sincere endeavour in this history." Fielding's attitude to morality, judgment, justice, and honor in depicting the life of his epony-

mous orphan hero revealed his realism. He challenged the reader's judgment with the complexity of his characterization, for example in the female characters who test Tom's honor, ranging from the idealized Sophia to the sexually avaricious Molly Seagrim to the conniving socialite Lady Bellaston. Samuel Johnson found the moral ambiguity of the novel troubling.

Fielding's experience as a justice of the peace (for Westminster in 1748 and for Middlesex in 1749) and as chairman of the quarter sessions of Westminster, where justices of the peace for Westminster met to discuss petty crime, shaped his last, rather sentimental, novel, *Amelia* (1751). The novel sympathetically portrayed how Amelia and her husband, Captain Booth, suffered from institutionalized injustice in the military, the aristocracy, and the court of law. Accused of losing the comedy of his earlier novels, Fielding responded in his satirical periodical *The Covent-Garden Journal* that he would write no more fiction.

In his final years, Fielding's determination to suppress crime and administer justice led him to assist his half-brother, Sir John Fielding, in establishing the "Bow Street Runners," an embryonic police force, while writing on contemporary legal debates (1749–1752). In 1754 he sailed to Portugal in an attempt to improve his failing health and wrote *The Journal of a Voyage to Lisbon* (published posthumously in 1755). He died in Lisbon and was buried there.

See also **English Literature and Language; Richardson, Samuel.**

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MAX FINCHER

FIFTH-MONARCHY MEN. *See* English Civil War Radicalism.

FILMER, ROBERT. *See* Patriarchy and Paternalism.

FIREARMS. Firearms first emerged through Chinese alchemical experimentation, which produced gunpowder explosives by the ninth century and gradually developed early gunpowder weapons technologies. Gunpowder mixtures and weapons slowly diffused throughout Eurasia over Chinese trading networks, but contemporary political, cultural, and technical conditions inhibited firearms' impact on the practice of war. When gunpowder was introduced in Europe in the late medieval period, firearms began to change European warfare radically.

FIREARMS AND LATE MEDIEVAL WARFARE

In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Europeans developed relatively inexpensive methods of manufacturing gunpowder, producing stable powder mixtures, and forging large siege guns, often known as bombard. These guns fired immense stone shot weighing hundreds of pounds, and their gunners personified them, giving them names such as Mons Meg and Pumhart von Steyr. When em-

ployed in sieges, bombard could pummel medieval walls and towers into ruin, allowing attacking soldiers to storm fortifications, if the town or castle did not surrender first. Late medieval sieges are often remembered for Shakespeare's dramatic rendering of Henry V's siege of Harfleur and the theatrical king's appeal for his soldiers to head "once more unto the breach, dear friends, once more." The Elizabethan playwright prudently avoided mention of the powerful French royal siege train that battered English castles in Aquitaine and northern France and ultimately produced the French victory in the Hundred Years' War of 1337–1453.

Outside of siege operations, firearms initially had little impact on late medieval warfare. Late medieval artillery pieces were heavy and difficult to move, so these firearms were not practical for battles in open plains. Most medieval infantry and cavalry continued to use a variety of handheld personal weapons, and the emergence of coherent infantry pike squares, especially in Flanders and in the Swiss cantons, had a much stronger effect on fifteenth-century warfare than did handheld firearms. While a few late medieval soldiers employed hand cannon—early experiments in infantry firearms—crossbows and longbows represented the most significant infantry projectile weapons throughout the fifteenth century. These weapons systems could deliver their arrows or bolts with great force and accuracy, but the slow-loading, delicate mechanisms used in crossbows and the social technology, including intensive muscular training, necessary to fire longbows ensured that firearms would eventually replace them.

RENAISSANCE FIREARMS AND THE EMERGENCE OF EARLY MODERN WARFARE

European royalty and nobles rapidly adopted firearms and promoted their use. All of the "renaissance monarchs" of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries recognized the dramatic power of siege artillery. Renaissance artillery was so crucial to the latter stages of the Reconquista in Spain that Weston F. Cook's study refers to the "cannon conquest" of Granada. Ottoman emperors recognized the devastating potential of siege artillery and sponsored the forging of immense artillery pieces. The Ottoman army of Mehmed II besieged Constantinople in 1453 and used immense artillery pieces firing stones to bash the city's famous

walls, which had long been considered impregnable. Mughal armies employed firearms and artillery in their swift conquest of northern India in the early sixteenth century. Renaissance armies also used tunneling operations to plant large gunpowder mines beneath fortifications and then to detonate them.

Renaissance engineers experimented with a variety of new fortification designs intended to respond to the threat of the powerful siege artillery of the fifteenth century. Medieval round towers could be modified to serve as platforms for defensive artillery, and walls could be reinforced to protect against besiegers' guns. During the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, many rulers constructed new artillery towers to maximize the potential of artillery to defend towns and strategic sites. Many fortification experiments were more pragmatic and improvised, however. Defenders relied on earthworks, ditches, and outworks to disrupt besiegers' attacks and keep enemy siege artillery at a distance—especially during the Italian Wars of 1494 to 1559, which provided an impetus for rapid military developments.

BASTIONED FORTIFICATIONS AND SIEGE TACTICS

By the beginning of the sixteenth century, military engineers in Italy began to transform the pragmatic earthwork fortification techniques into a system of bastioned fortifications, the *trace italienne*. These fortifications were often known as “star forts” because of the pointed protruding bastions and the regular diamond or pentagonal plans of many bastioned citadels. The defenses are perhaps more properly referred to as artillery fortifications because the real defensive mechanism of the fortification system was artillery firepower. The mutually supporting bastions created well-protected firing platforms for guns, which could use interlocking lines of sight to create devastating crossfire on besieging forces. Printed treatises with complex plans and diagrams communicated the architectural principles of the *trace italienne*, and bastioned fortifications multiplied quickly through Europe between the 1500s and 1550s. Strategic concerns and prestige competition combined to pressure monarchies, small principalities, and cities to build expensive bastioned fortifications, brimming with artillery. The enormous costs of forging artillery, digging trenches, constructing fortifications, and maintaining gar-

risons meant that fortress building often required noble and state patronage, and sometimes produced financial exhaustion or serious political ramifications.

The new artillery fortifications were not impregnable, but they often forced long, costly sieges. The newly refortified city of Siena, for example, succumbed to a siege in 1555, but only after a sustained attack against the vigorous Sienese and French defenders. Taking a fortress defended by artillery involved envelopment operations, followed by a laborious process of digging approach trench systems and siting batteries of siege artillery. Often, months of digging and mining activities had to be endured before besiegers could breach the defenses of an artillery fortress. Then, if the defenders still refused to surrender, costly assaults had to be launched by besieging infantry.

NEW ARMIES

Fighting campaigns that involved sieges of artillery fortifications encouraged European infantry to adopt harquebus firearms as their principal projectile weapons and produced new armies. Harquebus firearms used a matchlock system—composed of a serpentine mechanism, which held a slow-burning match that would ignite gunpowder in the barrel—to fire the weapon's lead ball. Projectiles fired through a harquebus's smoothbore barrel took erratic trajectories, making the weapon highly inaccurate. To be effective, the harquebus had to be used at close range by groups of harquebusiers, soldiers who specialized in using the weapon, firing together. Infantry who used the harquebus in combat were highly vulnerable, though, since their weapon required numerous, complex movements to reload. Further, using the firearms proved highly dangerous, since infantrymen had to use individual doses of gunpowder, usually carried in pouches suspended from bandoliers around the soldier's chest; sparks from the slow-burning match could touch off one of the doses of gunpowder on one's own (or a neighboring soldier's) bandolier, producing an explosion. The transformations of armies did not just involve technological changes, but also organizational changes. Spanish *tercios* (infantry regiments) and other new armies increasingly relied on the coordination of infantry using firearms to avoid acci-



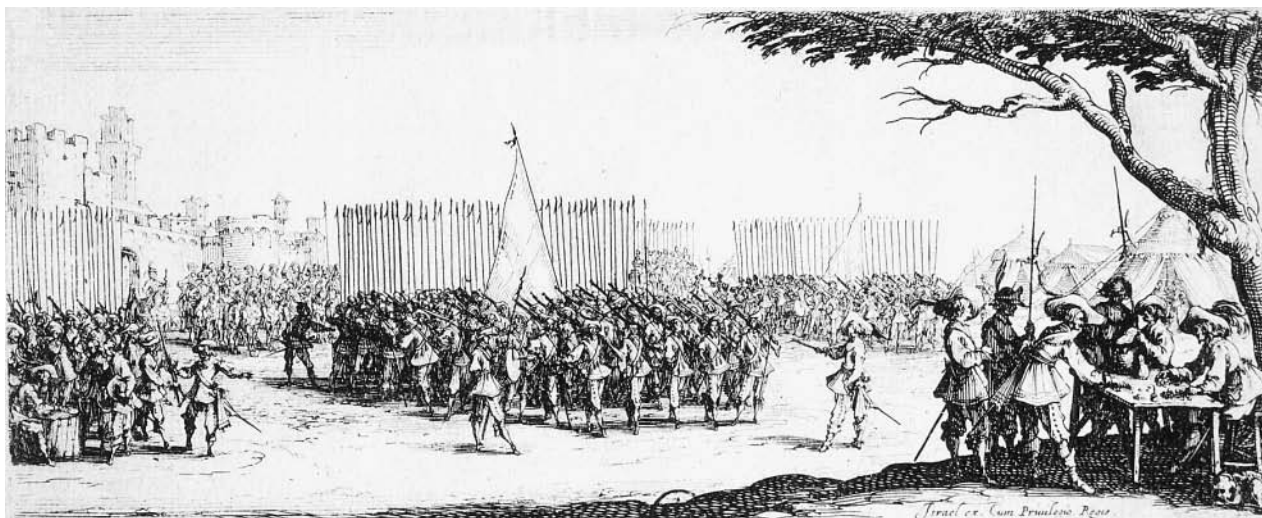
Firearms. *Procession of the Catholic League (June 5, 1590).* This painting by François Bunel (c. 1522–1599) shows the importance of firearms culture in civic displays, urban politics, and religious conflict. ©RÉUNION DES MUSÉES NATIONAUX/ART RESOURCE, NY

dents, and on the support from pikemen who could protect arquebusiers while reloading.

While the growing numbers and importance of infantry in warfare might suggest that European nobles' prominence in military systems was threatened, firearms did not lead to the end of noble participation in warfare. Nobles remained in elite cavalry units and some noble horsemen developed caracol tactics, using complex rotating maneuvers to fire their delicate wheel-lock pistols in succession. Other nobles became officers, commanding infantry units and capitalizing on the new armies' demands for military leadership, experience, and firearms expertise. Swiss mercenaries, German *Landsknechts*, and other stipendiary troops were led by noble and

non-noble military elites, who attempted to profit from warfare as military entrepreneurs, known as *condottiere* in Italy. Military enterprisers recruited, outfitted, and trained their infantry and engaged in conflicts throughout Europe.

The many long conflicts of the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries gave ample opportunities for the new armies to demonstrate their power. The Habsburgs' firearms-based armies waged seemingly interminable warfare against Ottoman expansion in the Balkans, in Hungary, and even at the gates of Vienna, which endured long sieges in 1529 and 1683. Emperor Charles V launched campaigns against the Ottomans in the Mediterranean and in North Africa that relied heavily on artillery. Reli-



Firearms. Troops enlisting; no. 2 of Jacques Callot's series of engravings *Les misères et malheurs de la guerre*, 1663. Musketeers are shown marching in close order using seventeenth-century methods of infantry drill. THE ART ARCHIVE/ BIBLIOTHÈQUE DES ARTS DÉCORATIFS PARIS/DAGLI ORTI (A)

gious divisions between Protestants and Catholics fueled conflicts and intensified hatreds between contending armies beginning with the wars of the Schmalkaldic League in Germany. A militant French Protestant minority in France successfully raised powerful armies during the French Wars of Religion of 1562–1629, but Catholic forces' superiority in artillery and numbers gradually wore down the French Protestant cause. Catholic Spanish rulers used *tercio* armies in their attempts to suppress the Dutch Revolt of 1566–1648. The Protestant Dutch forces led by Maurice of Nassau began to develop new techniques of military discipline, drill, and linear tactics to increase the firepower of their infantry units. These trends were reinforced by the advent of the matchlock musket—essentially a larger, more powerful version of the *harquebus*—which was such a heavy and clumsy weapon that infantry had to use a forked rest to support the barrel when aiming and firing it.

The internationalization of the Thirty Years' War, which engulfed central Europe between 1618 and 1648, ensured that firearms techniques and developments were shared and spread throughout Europe. Near-constant warfare produced a widespread proliferation of firearms that allowed many people to have firearms in their homes. European nobles and monarchs built up huge arms collections, such

as Louis XIII's personal armory. It is no surprise that contemporary artists heavily emphasized camp scenes and military imagery in their works. Imperial, Spanish, Catholic League, Protestant Union, Swedish, and French armies crisscrossed Germany, wreaking devastation. Jacques Callot's *Miseries of War* portrayed the brutalities of seventeenth-century warfare, which often involved conflicts between peasants and soldiers, in addition to more conventional battles and sieges. The most horrifying atrocities involved the sacking of cities after sieges. Contemporaries referred to the "law of the siege," a set of conventions over military practices that allowed besieging armies to pillage towns that refused to surrender when a breach was made in their walls. Rampaging troops pillaged numerous towns in the war zone, and General Tilly's army utterly destroyed the German city Magdeburg after a siege in 1631. Gustavus Adolphus's Swedish army perhaps utilized firearms most effectively, but all of the armies fighting in the Thirty Years' War began to use smaller, more mobile guns extensively as field artillery, which could support infantry in pitched battles. The immense financial and human costs of warfare gradually exhausted all of the states involved in the continuing warfare, leading to the famous compromise Peace of Westphalia of 1648.

THE MILITARY REVOLUTION AND EUROPEAN STATE DEVELOPMENT

The most important interpretive framework for assessing the impact of firearms on early modern European history has been the much-debated concept of a “military revolution.” Michael Roberts, whose famous essay is reprinted in *The Military Revolution Debate*, originally articulated the notion of revolutionary changes in firearms tactics, strategy, the scale of warfare, and administrative demands that reshaped European military practices, states, and societies between 1560 and 1660. Geoffrey Parker and other historians have since adopted the concept of a “military revolution” but used it in radically different ways: debates have erupted over the periodization, dynamics, and development of the “military revolution,” and even over whether it existed at all. All of the competing notions of a military revolution support the notion that “war made the state and the state made war.” Governments invested in organizational and bureaucratic developments to support and supply their armies’ “hungry guns” with firearms and gunpowder. Spanish armies used garrisons in Milan and the elaborate transportation system of the Spanish Road to supply their troops. Successive French monarchs patronized and updated the Arsenal at Paris, which manufactured, organized, and supplied French royal artillery throughout the early modern period. States began to develop permanent standing armies, despite some politicized debates questioning the wisdom of such structures. Growing armies and burgeoning state bureaucracies went hand in hand, especially in Louis XIV’s France.

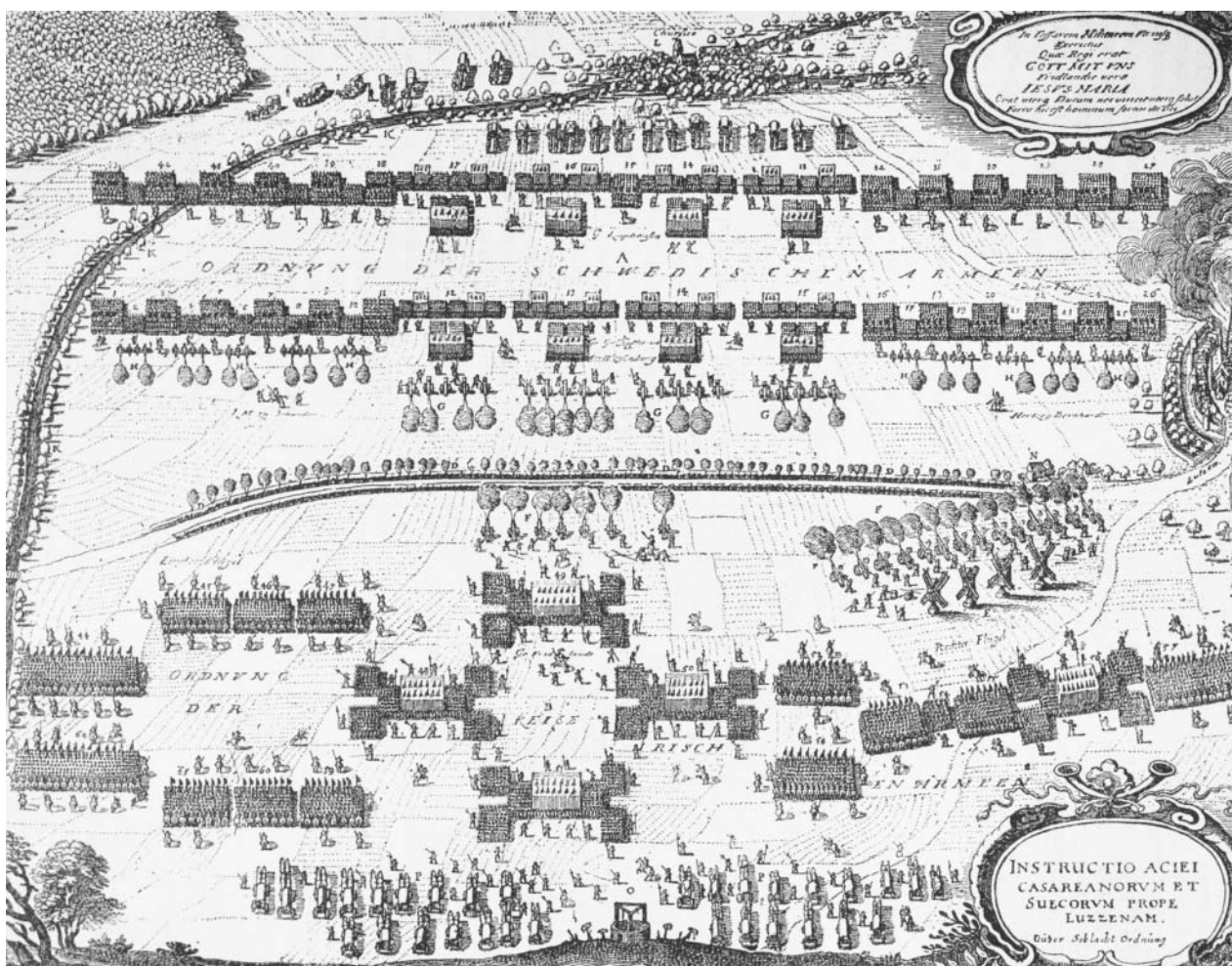
The “military revolution” also clearly had global implications. Military changes that began prominently in Europe and the Mediterranean diffused throughout the world as a result of early modern European imperialism and mercantilism. Spanish conquistadores used artillery and European siege tactics to conquer cities like Tenochtitlán (Mexico). Dutch and Portuguese fortifications at ports in Morocco, Goa, and Indonesia secured their trading networks. While the techniques developed in the “military revolution” allowed European states to extend empires over broad areas of the globe, some non-Western states and regions, such as Japan, China, and the Mughal Empire, developed ways of using firearms and fortifications that aided them in resisting European expansion.

At sea, however, the naval dimensions of the military revolution allowed European ships to dominate all of the world’s oceans by the beginning of the seventeenth century. European shipbuilders had begun to adopt artillery as early as the fifteenth century. Venice’s naval Arsenal, which dated from the medieval period, was reorganized to outfit and supply Venetian ships with artillery. The sixteenth century saw the development of the heavily armed sailing ship, or galleon, which packed dozens of guns into multiple decks to produce firepower that no other type of ship could match. Galleons carried gold and silver from mines in the Americas to Spain, but equally well-armed Dutch fleets and English privateers preyed upon them. The Spanish Armada of 1588 showcased battles between two competing designs of galleons. Galleons allowed fleets to pound ports into submission around the world, unless they were well defended by artillery fortifications. State-sponsored permanent navies developed during the seventeenth century, preparing the way for the refined ships of the line and linear naval warfare of the eighteenth century.

FIREARMS CULTURE AND MODERNITY

Rulers, nobles, and municipalities used fireworks and firearms in city entries, displays, processions, and ceremonies. Militants participating in Catholic League processions in Paris brandished firearms in the late sixteenth century, and municipal festivities at the city’s Hôtel de Ville frequently employed cannonades of artillery. Elite corps of musketeers and bodyguards including the *gardes françaises* of Louis XIII, Russian *streltsy*, and Ottoman Janissaries demonstrated rulers’ fascination with firearms.

Firearms shaped European popular imagination in the early modern period as well. Fears of the explosive power of gunpowder animated the English public’s responses to the Gunpowder Plot of 1605, while the awesome force of the “infernal machines” (fireships packed with explosives) used by the Dutch against Spanish besiegers at Antwerp in 1585 frightened soldiers throughout Europe. The need to produce firearms inspired new research, knowledge, and techniques. Artists and artisans such as Leonardo da Vinci, Albrecht Dürer, and Michelangelo Buonarroti developed designs for fortifications and experimental weapons. Galileo Galilei and many of the leading early modern scientists



Firearms. Engraving of the *Plan of Battle of Lutzen, 1632*, shows the close coordination within infantry units employing firearms and pikes. ©BETTMANN/CORBIS

performed chemical and ballistics experiments related to firearms and fortifications. The horrifying wounds caused by firearms stimulated anatomical research and new medical techniques. The proto-industrial production of gunpowder, firearms, and instruments for siege warfare employed artisans throughout Europe.

The late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries brought subtle refinements and increasing systemization of military changes that had begun earlier. Transitions in infantry weaponry to flintlock muskets and bayonets represented mere technological fine-tuning, simplifying arms procurement, logistical services, drill, and discipline. The Enlightenment brought an increasingly technical, “scientific” approach to firearms production and use, reflected in the military articles in Diderot and d’Alembert’s

Encyclopédie. Military intellectuals theorized military structures, emphasized precision, and introduced standardization. Throughout the early modern period, military vocabulary related to firearms infused modern languages: “half-cocked,” “first-rate,” and “martinet” were just a few of the words that emerged from early modern military practices. The expanding process of industrialization, coupled with the social dimensions of the American and French revolutions, would quickly transform modern warfare as the mechanization of firearms exponentially increased firepower and the scale of destruction in the nineteenth century.

See also **Military**; **Thirty Years’ War (1618–1648)**.

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BRIAN SANDBERG

FISCHER VON ERLACH, JOHANN BERNHARD (1656–1723), Austrian architect and sculptor. Born near Graz, Fischer initially trained as a sculptor and stucco worker with his father, a decorator of castle interiors for southern Austrian nobility. He moved to Rome in 1670, where he apprenticed with Philipp Schor (b. 1646), a member of a Tyrolean family of artists who designed sculpture, interiors, gardens, and ephemeral architecture for special events. He was also drawn into the learned circle of Christina, the former queen of Sweden (ruled 1632–1654), whose members included the exceptional sculptor, painter, and architect Gian Lorenzo Bernini (1598–1680), famous for his monumental Piazza of St. Peter’s in Rome; antiquarian and theorist Giovanni Pietro Bellori (c. 1616–1690), who served as Christina’s

librarian; composer Alessandro Scarlatti (1660–1725); and philosopher, scientist, and archaeologist Athanasius Kircher (1601?–1680). Within this rich cultural setting, Fischer grew into a learned architect, who, after returning to Vienna in 1685, created a distinctive imperial architecture that promoted the aspirations of the Habsburg court.

In Vienna, once the Turkish siege was ended in 1683, a new confidence within the imperial court, the aristocracy, and the general citizenry generated a building boom that rapidly changed the city from a bourgeois, fortified frontier town into an imperial capital. Fischer, ennobled as Fischer von Erlach in 1696 and appointed court architect in 1704, was a crucial figure in this transformation. He translated the experience that he gained in Rome designing pageants and processions, and his familiarity with the theatrical productions promoted by Queen Christina, into a remarkable architecture. He organized his buildings to engage spectators and participants as they approached, entered, and moved through them, heightening the drama of gateways, spatial sequences, and of the buildings within the existing circulation patterns of the city. For the interiors, he drew on seventeenth-century stage practices to orchestrate light, shade, scale, and color. Fischer employed this architectural theater to shape the functions and messages of the buildings for their various users.

From 1687 on, Fischer was involved with imperial commissions, working in succession for emperors Leopold I (ruled 1658–1705), Joseph I (ruled 1705–1711), and Charles VI (ruled 1711–1740). One of his most important projects was the vast building and grounds of Schönbrunn Palace outside the city (begun 1688–1690, resumed in 1693, with the gardens begun in 1695 but never completed, and the palace built 1696–1700). Another was his scholarly work, the ambitious *Entwurff einer historischen Architektur* (Outline for a history of architecture), which he began in Rome and used as the basis for tutoring the future emperor Joseph I in architecture beginning in 1689; the *Entwurff* was published in 1721. He worked as well for the court aristocracy, among them the Dietrichstein, Liechtenstein, and Althan families, and in Salzburg he undertook an extensive group of projects for Johann Ernst, Count Thun, prince-bishop of Salzburg, 1687–1709: the Kollegienkirche (uni-

versity church, 1694–1707), a new hospital and church for the poor north of the city (Johannesspital), a theological seminary and church (Dreifaltigkeitskirche [Church of the Holy Trinity]), and a girls' school for Ursulines (Ursulinenkirche, 1699–1705, and nunnery, 1707–1726).

Fischer's two great projects in Vienna were the Karlskirche (built 1716–1737) and the Hofbibliothek (imperial library), which he began the year before he died (built 1722–1736); both were finished by his son Joseph Emanuel. The Karlskirche was commissioned by the emperor in thanksgiving for the deliverance of Vienna from the plague in 1713 and dedicated to St. Carlo Borromeo, the emperor's name saint, renowned for attending to the plague-stricken in his Milan bishopric. The library was designed as part of the Hofburg, the extensive Habsburg palace within the city, whereas the church stood on a hill outside the walls overlooking the city. Both employed heraldic symbols, primarily paired columns (two sets within the library, and one

monumental pair as part of the church facade). Fisher's design for the church combined architectural elements from his *Entwurf*: a Roman temple facade for the portico, versions of Trajan's column for the paired columns, a dome derived from St. Peter's, the combination of columns and dome from Hagia Sophia, and Chinese temples for the end pavilions. The emblem of twin columns flanking the imperial crown, with the motto "Plus Ultra" (Farther beyond), was created for Holy Roman emperor Charles V (ruled 1519–1556) and adopted by the Habsburgs thereafter, to refer to the Pillars of Hercules (that is, Gibraltar in Spain and Mt. Acha in northern Morocco, flanking the Strait of Gibraltar, gateway to the New World). It served as a statement of the Habsburgs' belief in a destiny of world empire, as gateway to the realm of learning, and as entrance to the heavenly realm. Charles VI, the last Holy Roman emperor descended directly from the Habsburg line, provided the twin columns with a new motto, "Constantia et Fortitudine" (With constancy and fortitude), the



Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach. The Karlskirche, Vienna, built 1716–1737. ©ADAM WOOLFITT/CORBIS

Latin translations of the names of the two pillars in front of the Holy of Holies in the Temple of Jerusalem. The unique use of the Hebrew letters of the name of God in the glory over the Karlskirche altar extends that reference. Fischer was here functioning both as scholarly expert in Habsburg heraldry and the history of sacred architecture, and as the architect of the most important building in the imperial capital (Dotson).

Fischer's city palaces for members of the Habsburg court all employed a traditional rectangular form, as established in earlier Viennese palaces by Italian architects. His innovation was bold sculptural frames for the central portals that employed the vocabulary of pageant architecture and of theater to suggest independent triumphal arches breaking the facade plane. The portal design was extended to entrance halls and stairwells in "dramatic successions of lighted, shadowed, and half-lighted spaces with brilliantly illuminated climax at the end" (Dotson).

See also Bernini, Gian Lorenzo; Charles VI (Holy Roman Empire); Christina (Sweden); Habsburg Dynasty; Austria; Joseph I (Holy Roman Empire); Leopold I (Holy Roman Empire); Vienna.

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CHRIS OTTO

FLORENCE. Originally a center of Roman provincial government and commerce, Florence in the Middle Ages became an important bishopric, a county nominally subject to the Holy Roman Emperor, and, by 1138, a commune. Beginning in 1125 with the capture of its nearby rival, Fiesole, Florence embarked on a policy of Tuscan expansion that would culminate in the mid-sixteenth century with its conquest of Siena and its position as the

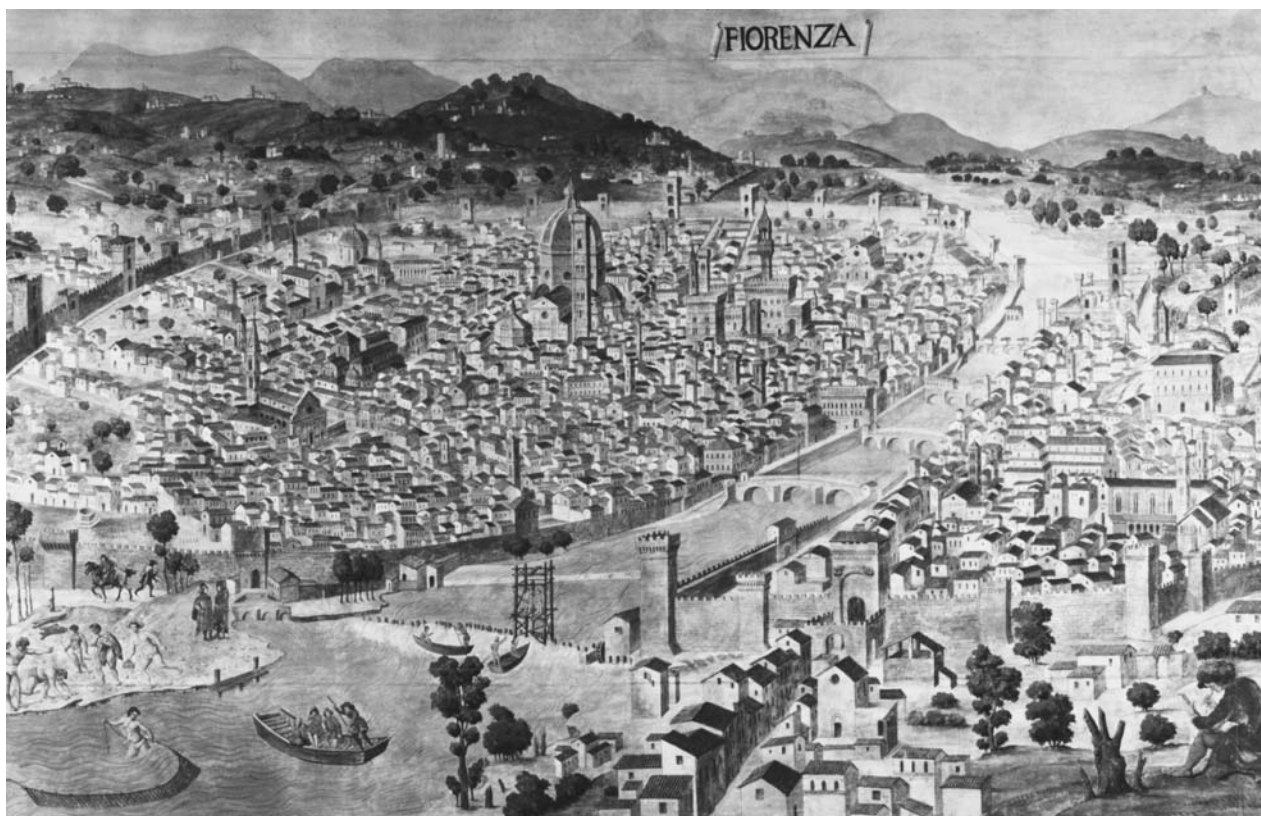
capital of Tuscany. A hub of banking, commerce, and textiles, it was, along with Venice, Milan, Rome, and Naples, one of the five powers of Renaissance Italy as well as the axis of Renaissance Italian culture. Its history throughout the early modern era was bound to the Medici family, who dominated it either unofficially or, after 1530, as lords. With the death of Gian Gastone de' Medici in 1737, Florence and its territory became a fief of the House of Lorraine.

THE FLORENTINE CONSTITUTION

With the exile of most of the Medici in 1494, the republic, dominated by the friar Girolamo Savonarola (1452–1498), broadened the government by establishing a Great Council of some three thousand members. But with the return of the Medici in 1530, the oligarchy redrew the constitution. Alessandro de' Medici (1510–1537) became *capo* (head) and, shortly thereafter, "duke of the republic of Florence." The four-man *Magistrato Supremo* replaced the *Signoria*; the *Consiglio de' 200* (Council of Two Hundred) and *Senato de' 48* (Senate of Forty-Eight), whose members served for life, replaced the *Consiglio Maggiore* (Great Council). As of 1537, the old criminal courts of the Executors of the Ordinances of Justice and *Podestà* (chief magistrate) were consolidated in the *Otto di Guardia e di Balìa* (Eight on Public Safety), though, despite dual attempts at centralization, some two dozen other bodies exercised criminal justice functions. As of 1569, the ruler held the title grand duke of Tuscany from the pope.

POLITICS

Although the arrival in Italy of Charles VIII of France in 1494 seemed the fulfillment of Savonarola's apocalyptic preaching, the friar's pro-French policy, antithetical to the position of Pope Alexander VI, and his defiance of a papal excommunication led to his execution in 1498. In 1512, the Medici, headed by Cardinal Giovanni (the future Pope Leo X [reigned 1513–1521] and the son of Lorenzo the Magnificent), returned as lords, but fled in 1527 following the sack of Rome. In 1530, pro-Medici troops forced the fall of the last Florentine republic. Although the Medici would, from now on, rule as lords, Florence's patriciate proved resilient: 90 percent of appointees to the Senate



Florence. A panorama of the city from the *Carta della Catena*, 1490. MUSEO DE FIRENZE COM'ERA, FLORENCE, ITALY/THE BRIDGEMAN ART LIBRARY

during the sixteenth century came from families who had served in the *Signoria* the century before.

Florence became the capital of an important medium-sized state in the early modern period. As of 1537, it was ruled by one of the most talented of the Medici, Duke Cosimo I (1519–1574), who succeeded in establishing considerable Florentine independence. By the early eighteenth century, Florence was paying huge subsidies to Austria, one of the costs of attempted neutrality. In the last weeks of the reign of the childless Gian Gastone de' Medici (1671–1737), several thousand Austrian troops occupied the city, and upon his death the grand duchy passed to the House of Lorraine.

The Medici dukes allied Tuscany with the Catholic states of Europe through both policy and marriages. Cosimo I, for instance, married into the House of Toledo; his progeny made marriage alliances with the Habsburgs, the royal house of France, and the House of Lorraine. Catherine de Médicis (1518–1589), wife of Henry II of France, was a daughter of Lorenzo of Urbino, and Marie de

Médicis (1573–1642), wife of Henry IV of France, was a daughter of Francesco. Catherine's daughter Elizabeth married Philip II of Spain, and a son married Mary Stuart. Cosimo III (1642–1723) paired his daughter with Johann Wilhelm, elector of the Palatinate.

SCIENCE, ART, AND CULTURE

Florence's enduring fame rests on its place in Renaissance and early modern culture. The humanists Coluccio Salutati, Marsilio Ficino, Angelo Poliziano, and Giovanni Pico della Mirandola all worked in Florence. In the early sixteenth century, the Rucellai family hosted gatherings of Florentine patricians in the family's palace gardens, the Orti Oricellari, where Niccolò Machiavelli explained to the literati gathered there the principles of his *Discourses*; indeed, scholars trace the political realism of Machiavelli and Francesco Guicciardini (1483–1540) to modes of thought developed by participants in the Rucellai garden conversations.

Florence remained a center of learning through the early modern era. Galileo Galilei (1564–1642)

served as a Medici court mathematician and as tutor to the future Cosimo II (1590–1621), and left some of his scientific instruments to Ferdinando II (1610–1670), a man of real scientific bent. Another of Galileo’s legacies was a “core of Tuscan Galileans” (Cochrane, p. 232), many of whom gathered at the learned academy popularly known as the Cimento, patronized and organized by prince Leopoldo, son of Cosimo II.

Lorenzo Magalotti (1637–1712), a diplomat, scientist, and writer whose interests ranged from geometry to air pressure to collecting bawdy poetry in several languages, belonged to the Accademia della Crusca and served as secretary of the Accademia del Cimento. When the latter disbanded in the second half of the seventeenth century, its members spread its ideas throughout Europe. Cosimo III (1642–1723) patronized medical research, including the work of his personal physician, Francesco Redi (1626–1698), whose critique of the received wisdom of the Greek physician Galen led to a more modern approach to health and pharmacology. Several Medici grand dukes also made it their policy to extend health care to even the more remote parts of their domain.

The Medici and other patrons sought out the best artists and humanists of the day. Florence was at the forefront of mannerism, with the architecture of Michelangelo (the stairs of the Laurentian Library, 1524–1526) and the paintings of Jacopo Pontormo (*The Visitation* in the Church of the Annunziata, 1514–1516, and *The Deposition* in the Church of Santa Felicità, 1526–1528), Parmigianino (*The Madonna with the Long Neck*, c. 1535), and the works of Agnolo Bronzino and Giorgio Vasari (best known for his *Lives of the Painters, Sculptors and Architects* and the Uffizi, or public office building, 1559–1565). The city was an energetic participant in the Italian baroque movement; Artemesia Gentileschi enjoyed the patronage of Cosimo II, completed *Judith and Her Maidservant* around 1614, and was admitted to Florence’s Accademia del Disegno.

FINANCE AND ECONOMY

Florence remained economically stable, even prosperous, until the recession, accelerated by the Thirty Years’ War (1618–1648), of the 1620s. Cosimo I and his successors, especially Ferdinando I, lavished

time and money on the acquisition and improvement of Livorno, which became Tuscany’s main port and a sanctuary for merchants of all nations and creeds. In the reign of Francesco, a wave of palace construction reflected increased patrician investment in buildings.

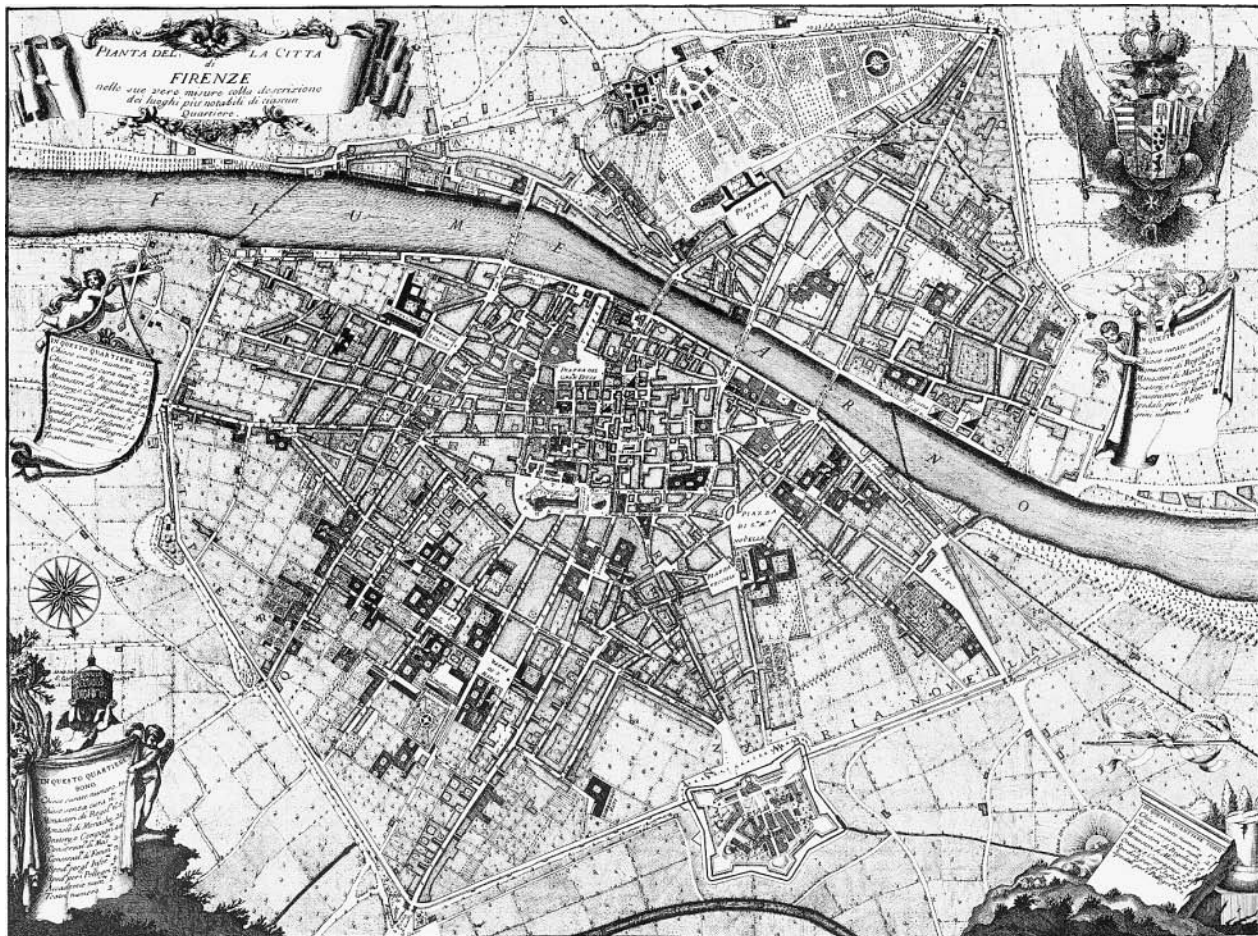
Florence’s economic power rested upon two industries, international banking and textiles, though the great Medici bank collapsed by 1494. Good raw wool, imported from England, Spain, and elsewhere, was spun by thousands of country women and then woven into cloth on looms. Until the mid-fourteenth century, women dominated the weaving trade, but were then replaced by German immigrant males. By the late sixteenth century, women once again flocked to the trade, and they constituted nearly two-thirds of wool weavers by 1604.

Smaller but still important was Florence’s silk industry, producing high-quality, luxury goods. Women played important roles in cultivating mulberry trees, harvesting the leaves on which the silkworms fed, caring for the silk cocoons, and spinning the raw silk into thread. As with the wool industry, women tended to carry out production tasks associated with plain cloth, not with fine, highly decorative textiles.

Other important industries included international trade, printing, and glassmaking. Florentine merchants could be found in every corner of Europe. Cosimo I subsidized the press of Laurens Lenaerts (known in Florence as Lorenzo Torrentino), who published works in the vernacular, Latin, and Greek, among them the first edition of Vasari’s *Lives* (1550). Torrentino’s successors served as printers to the grand dukes until the late eighteenth century. A painting by Giovanni Maria Butteri from the early 1570s of a glass factory, built for Francesco I, hints at the importance of that industry.

POPULATION

In 1427 Florence held about 40,000 permanent inhabitants, not including clergy, about one-third of its estimated population prior to the Black Death of 1348. The 1552 census counted about 60,000 residents, including clergy. The number rose to about 75,000 by 1600. The population was unusually literate; between a quarter and a third of Florentines could read and write during the Renaissance.



Florence. Giuseppe Bouchard's beautifully engraved 1755 plan of the city of Florence identifies many of its architectural treasures. The city reached its cultural height in the fifteenth century under the patronage of the Medicis, especially Cosimo (d. 1464) and Lorenzo the Magnificent (d. 1492). At the time of this map the city and the Duchy of Tuscany had passed to Francis of Lorraine, the future Francis I of Austria; Austrian rule lasted throughout the eighteenth century. MAP COLLECTION, STERLING MEMORIAL LIBRARY, YALE UNIVERSITY

Florence had an important Jewish community by the early thirteenth century. By the fifteenth century, Jews were relegated to a very few professions, notably pawnbroking. The Savonarolan republic's attempt in 1495 to expel them failed. Cosimo I granted substantial privileges to Jewish bankers in Tuscany and forbade anti-Semitic acts. In the 1550s, he opened Tuscany to settlement by Jews, an invitation accepted by many Iberian Jews, who created the first important Sephardic community in Italy. In 1571, Jews in Florence were moved to a ghetto, where they enjoyed considerable internal autonomy and where, by the century's end, they had built two synagogues. The Jewish physician Elia Montalto di Luna worked at the Medici court in the seventeenth century and produced learned scientific treatises. Although the

entry of Napoleonic armies into Florence in 1799 resulted in the emancipation of the Jews, the return of the Habsburgs in 1815 forced them back into the ghetto, from which they were definitively liberated only with Italian unification.

See also Banking and Credit; Florence, Art in; Galileo Galilei; Gentileschi, Artemisia; Humanists and Humanism; Italy; Jews and Judaism; Machiavelli, Niccolò; Medici Family; Plague; Renaissance; Vasari, Giorgio.

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FLORENCE, ART IN. Art in Florence during the period from 1450 to 1789 marked the transition from Florence as the birthplace of Renaissance art in Europe during the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries to the peak of Florence's importance during the second half of the fifteenth century and its gradual loss of artistic status to Rome and Venice in the sixteenth century. Florence under the Medici grand dukes during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries served as the prototype for the emergence of artistic courts such as Versailles, but it became increasingly a destination for art tourists rather than a center of artistic creativity.

LATE-FIFTEENTH-CENTURY ART

During the second half of the fifteenth century, private collectors began to replace the church and medieval guilds as the most important patrons of art in Florence. In 1459 Piero de' Medici (1416–1459), the son of Cosimo de' Medici (1389–1464)

and father of Lorenzo il Magnifico (1449–1492), commissioned Benozzo Gozzoli (born Benozzo di Lese, c. 1421–1497) to paint the Medici family's private chapel in their original palace. The frescoes, one of the last great examples of the international Gothic style, depicted the journey of the magi with members of the Medici family appearing as portraits in the painting. Another leading Florentine family, the Rucellai, commissioned Leon Battista Alberti (1404–1472), the leading architect of the fifteenth century, to design their family palace and the facade of their parish church, the most important edifice of the Dominican order in Florence, Sta. Maria Novella (c. 1458–1470). Tomasso Portinari, the Bruges representative of the Medici, exerted an enormous influence on the development of Florentine painting during the late 1470s when the altarpiece he had commissioned from the Flemish artist Hugo van der Goes (active 1467–1482), *Adoration of the Magi* (1476–1478, Uffizi), arrived in Florence in 1478 at the Church of St. Egidio. Domenico Ghirlandajo (born Domenico di Tommaso Bigordi, c. 1448–1494) closely modeled his *Adoration of the Shepherds* (1483–1486) after Portinari's painting for the family chapel of Francesco Sassetti in Sta. Trinita (probably the finest ecclesiastical interior decoration of the era). Ghirlandajo was the most prolific fresco painter of his age, and perhaps the greatest influence he would have on the future development of Italian painting occurred in 1488 when the then thirteen-year-old Michelangelo Buonarroti (1475–1564) served as his apprentice and developed the fresco skills that would prove so valuable when he painted the Sistine ceiling.

Leonardo da Vinci (1452–1519) was also influenced by the Portinari altar. His *Adoration of the Magi* (Uffizi), commissioned by the monks of St. Donato a Scopeto in 1481 and left unfinished in 1482 when Leonardo left Florence for Milan, is especially close to the almost shocking realism and psychological depth of Hugo's altar. Leonardo apprenticed with Andrea del Verrocchio (born Andrea di Michele di Francesco Cione, 1435–1488) who had replaced Donatello (born Donato di Niccolo, 1386?–1466) as Florence's leading sculptor. Verrocchio is best remembered for his impressive *Christ and Doubting Thomas* (1465–1483), prominently situated on Orsanmichele in the center of Florence, and his playful *David* (c. 1476), commissioned by

Lorenzo de' Medici and currently in the Bargello (the former Palazzo del Podesta and now the leading museum for sculpture in Florence). Both of Verrocchio's statues reflect the concern for emotions and drama that would be so central to Leonardo's style. The interest of Leonardo and Michelangelo in anatomy was foreshadowed by the work of Antonio del Pollaiuolo (born Antonio di Jacopo Benci, c. 1431–1498) whose engraving *Battle of the Nudes* (c. 1465, Metropolitan Museum, New York) was the largest Florentine print of the fifteenth century and served artists as a model for nude figures in a variety of poses.

The best-known work of this era is certainly the *Birth of Venus* by Sandro Botticelli (born Alessandro di Mariano Filipepi, 1445–1510) in the Uffizi (commissioned by Lorenzo di Pierfrancesco de' Medici for his Villa di Castello). The Neoplatonic theme of celestial Venus expressing divine love is the clearest example of the revival of pagan antiquity in Florence during the Renaissance and is typical of the transformation of art from a predominantly Christian to an overwhelmingly secular medium. The nude Roman goddess of love was symptomatic of the type of art and literature that would soon spark a backlash, advocated by the Dominican preacher Girolamo Savonarola, against the revival of Greco-Roman civilization. Savonarola was a puritanical forerunner of Martin Luther, and his attacks against the increasingly pagan nature of Florentine civilization resulted in the expulsion of the Medici in 1494 and a brief theocratic regime until he was burned at the stake for heresy in 1498.

Before leaving Florence in 1494 after the fall of the Medici, Michelangelo had been a close associate of the family since 1489 and carved his early marble relief sculptures, the *Madonna of the Stairs* (1489–1492, Casa Buonarroti, Florence) and the *Battle of the Lapiths and Centaurs* (c. 1492, Casa Buonarroti), which remain unfinished (like so much of his work). Both powerful and dynamic works, although modest in scale, illustrate Michelangelo's troubled psyche and his lifelong obsession with classical forms in a variety of complex postures.

THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

Prior to the return of the Medici in 1512, Michelangelo, who had been in Bologna and Rome in 1494–1501, designed a fresco that depicted the Battle of

Cascina, a scene from the war of 1364 with Pisa (c. 1504–1506; abandoned in 1506 when Michelangelo left for Rome to work for Pope Julius II). The fresco was intended for the Florentine Republic's main assembly hall, the Salone del Cinquecento in the Palazzo Vecchio, and was a reference to Florence's loss of Pisa in 1494 and its subsequent reconquest in 1502. The city was redecorating the Palazzo Vecchio (then serving as the seat of government of Florence) to emulate the lavish Doge's Palace (the principal government building) in Venice. Michelangelo was in direct competition with Leonardo (in Florence from 1500–1508), whose *Battle of Anghiari* (c. 1503–1506; destroyed in 1506) depicted the battle of 1440 against Pisa. Michelangelo's *David* (1501–1504; moved in 1873 to the Galleria dell' Accademia), originally commissioned by the Opera of the Cathedral to be placed on a buttress below the dome, was eventually placed at the entrance to the Palazzo Vecchio, as a defiant symbol of the republic (the young underdog David against the evil giant Goliath, symbolizing in Florence's case Rome or Milan). Michelangelo had gained a reputation as an adept forger of classical antiquities; with *David* he laid claim for the first time to being superior to any of the Greco-Roman sculptors.

Before departing for Rome in 1505 to work for Pope Julius II, Michelangelo completed his only panel painting, the *Doni Tondo* (Uffizi), for the wedding of Angelo Doni and Maddalena Strozzi. The crisp sculptural style of the work and its twisting Madonna clearly illustrate Michelangelo's belief that the more painting resembles sculpture, the better it is. The bright, almost neonlike colors would be seen again in the Sistine ceiling (recently cleaned) and later in the disturbingly beautiful paintings of Pontormo.

After Michelangelo, Leonardo, and Raphael (born Raffaello Sanzio, 1483–1520; in Florence in 1504–1508) left Tuscany, the leading painter was by default Andrea del Sarto (born Andrea d'Agnolo, 1486–1530), whose aloof and somewhat eerie *Madonna of the Harpies* (1517, Uffizi) signaled the transition from the High Renaissance to mannerism. The High Renaissance (1500–1520) is generally considered the zenith of Italian art; the twentieth century became fascinated with the succeeding era, mannerism (1520–1600), because of its richer,

if somewhat frightening, psychological content. Sarto's pupil Jacopo da Pontormo (born Jacopo Carrucci, 1496–1557) emerged as the first leading mannerist during the 1520s; his bizarrely haunting *Deposition* (c. 1526–1528) in Sta. Felicità is deservedly the best-known early mannerist painting. Pontormo was further influenced by Michelangelo's New Sacristy in St. Lorenzo (1519–1534), commissioned by Cardinal Giulio de' Medici (1478–1534), who became Pope Clement VII, for the duke of Nemours (Giuliano de' Medici, 1479–1516) and the duke of Urbino (Lorenzo de' Medici, 1492–1519). The depiction of the Medici dukes as elongated moody aristocrats typified the new mannerist ideal for the human figure. Michelangelo remained in Florence until 1534, when the Medici pope Clement VII died, and then the artist left permanently for Rome, where he died in 1564. His project for the facade of St. Lorenzo (1517), commissioned by Pope Leo X (born Giovanni de' Medici, 1475–1521), was canceled in 1520 (the model survives in the Casa Buonarroti in Florence), but he designed the addition to the Medici parish church of St. Lorenzo that houses the Medicis' private book collection, the Laurentian Library (1524–1534; stairway completed 1559), for Pope Clement VII.

In 1532 Alessandro de' Medici (1510–1537), a somewhat obscure member of the Medici family (he was the son of the duke of Urbino portrayed in Michelangelo's Medici Chapel in St. Lorenzo and the brother of Catherine de' Médicis, who married King Henry II of France), became the first duke of Florence. After the marriage of his distant cousin Cosimo I (1519–1574), who replaced him as duke, to Eleonora of Toledo (1522–1562) in 1539, the Palazzo Vecchio became the new Medici residence in 1540. Pontormo's pupil Il Bronzino (born Agnolo di Cosimo, 1503–1572) emerged as the leading painter of the polished and aristocratic Mannerism of the mid-sixteenth century and painted the most typical panels of this era, the haughty *Eleonora of Toledo and Her Son Giovanni de' Medici* (c. 1540, Uffizi) and the sophisticated and complex *Allegory of Venus* that was given to King Francis I of France by Duke Cosimo de' Medici (c. 1546, National Gallery, London). Giorgio Vasari, the famous historian of Italian Renaissance art, was appointed court architect and painter in 1554, and in 1565 he

stripped and refurbished Florence's two most important parish churches, the Franciscan Order's Sta. Croce and the Dominican Order's Sta. Maria Novella.

The Arezzeria Medicea was founded in 1554 to produce tapestries, and in 1563 the Accademia del Disegno, the world's first art academy, was established to raise the status of artists from the medieval guilds. In 1564 the academy's first assignment was to supervise the funeral of Michelangelo, whose body had been stolen from Rome by the Florentines; the following year the academy was placed in charge of the decorations for the wedding of Francesco I (1541–1587) and Joanna of Austria. Florence annexed Siena and in 1569 became the Grand Duchy of Tuscany (a reference to the Etruscans, who Florentines proudly noted had predated the Romans). Vasari signaled the transformation of Florence from the birthplace of the Renaissance to a tourist destination with his construction of the Galleria degli Uffizi (1560–1580), originally the offices of the Grand Duchy and now Florence's premier art museum, and his publication of the *Lives of the Most Eminent Painters, Sculptors and Architects* (1550, revised 1568). Vasari also supervised the design and construction of the playful and highly decorative studio of Francesco I in the Palazzo Vecchio (1570–1572), which has become a symbol of the overly precious nature of late mannerism in Florence. Because of the nature of the room, a small walk-in closet where the semiprecious jewel collection of the duke's son was stored, all the paintings were small and depicted obscure subjects. Vasari contributed images of Perseus and Andromeda, and Bronzino's pupil and Francesco's favorite painter, Alessandro Allori (1535–1607), created the *Pearl Fishers*, which is probably the most familiar painting of late-sixteenth-century Florence and unfortunately has become a symbol of the city's decline into relative insignificance in relation to Rome and Venice.

Perhaps the best-known example of mannerist sculpture is Benvenuto Cellini's elegant bronze *Perseus and Medusa* (1545–1554), commissioned by Duke Cosimo de' Medici and placed prominently on the Loggia dei Lanzi opposite Michelangelo's *David*. Bartolommeo Ammannati (1511–1592) also participated in the decoration of the Piazza della Signoria in front of the new Medici

residence with his elaborate Neptune fountain (1560–1575). After the religious climate changed in Florence, Ammannati in 1582 wrote a letter to the Accademia apologizing for the nudes created for the Neptune fountain and urging artists to paint and carve fully draped figures. Ammannati also designed the bridge downstream from the Ponte Vecchio, the Ponte Santa Trinita (1566; destroyed by the Nazis during their retreat in World War II and rebuilt by the American art historian Bernard Berenson after 1945), and the courtyard of the Palazzo Pitti (1558–1570) that, coupled with the Boboli Gardens (begun during the second half of the sixteenth century behind the Pitti Palace), made the complex a prototype for the elaborate palace and garden estate of Versailles. Giovanni da Bologna or Giambologna (born Jean Boulogne, 1529–1608) anticipated the melodramatic style of Bernini with his proto-baroque *Rape of the Sabine Women* (1583, Loggia dei Lanzi); he was also commissioned to decorate Florence with equestrian statues of the Medici: Cosimo I in Piazza della Signoria (1587–1593) and Francesco I (1608) in Piazza SS. Annunziata.

Sixteenth-century painting after Bronzino has been largely ignored. Bernard Berenson, the pioneer of modern Italian Renaissance art history, ended his lists of the Florentine painters with Bronzino, and Heinrich Wölfflin, in his *Classic Art*, cavalierly dismissed the importance of central Italian painting in the last third of the cinquecento with a brief postscript to his chapter on the late Michelangelo that he labeled “The Decline.” This period was one of crisis and transition for central Italian art. Although mannerism remained the dominant style until the emergence of the baroque school around 1600, it became increasingly controversial after 1563, the year the Council of Trent issued its decrees that launched the Counter-Reformatory movement in religious art. One of the first Italian artists to break openly with the Maniera and conform closely with the demands of the Counter-Reformation was the Florentine painter Santi di Tito (1536–1603), who, during the final third of the century, quietly yet thoroughly transformed the high Maniera of his master Bronzino. Santi’s best paintings are the *Resurrection* and *Supper at Emmaus* (early 1570s, Sta. Croce) and the altarpieces that anticipated by a generation the ba-



Art in Florence. *Judith with the Head of Holofernes* by Cristofano Allori. ©ARTE & IMMAGINI/CORBIS

roque style that would emerge in Bologna and Rome. Even more progressive was Santi’s pupil Lodovico Cardi Cigoli (1559–1613) who, in addition to mastering Santi’s style, also discovered the proto-baroque painters Federico Barocci (1526–1612) and Correggio (born Antonio Allegri, c. 1494–1534). Zacaria Tonelli commissioned Cigoli’s *Martyrdom of St. Stephen* (1597) for the Chiesa del Convento di Montedomini; it was moved in 1814 to various museums in Florence. From 1928 it hung in the Pitti, where it was greatly admired by Pietro da Cortona (1596–1669), who considered the painting to be the best in Florence. According to Filippo Baldinucci (1624–1696), the leading Florentine art historian of the seventeenth century, the work earned Cigoli the epithet “Correggio Fiorentino.”

SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

The seventeenth century began auspiciously for Florence with the wedding of Henry IV, king of France, and Marie de Médicis (1573–1642; daughter of Grand duke Francesco de’ Medici [1541–

1587]). Marie's children would be the future king of France (Louis XIII, 1601–1643) and the queen of England (Henrietta Maria, 1609–1669, wife of King Charles I). The collection at the then recently completed Uffizi was updated in 1608 when Cardinal Francesco Maria del Monte gave Grand Duke Ferdinando I (1549–1609) *Bacchus* by Caravaggio (born Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio, 1573–1610). The galleries of the Uffizi and Pitti that housed the Medici paintings especially benefited from the gifts of Grand Duke Ferdinando II (1610–1670) and his brother Cardinal Leopoldo (1617–1675).

Among the artists present in Florence in the seicento was Artemisia Gentileschi (c. 1597–after 1651) who resided in the city during the second decade of the seventeenth century. The most important paintings of the seventeenth century in Florence were the frescoes by Pietro da Cortona in the Palazzo Pitti (1637 and 1640–1647) that transferred the high baroque style of his ceiling painting in the Palazzo Barberini in Rome (1633–1639) to Florence. The Neapolitan painter Luca Giordano (1632–1705) completed a similar baroque cycle in the Palazzo Medici-Riccardi, the *Apotheosis of the Dynasty of the Medici* (1682–1683), and also painted the cupola of the Corsini Chapel in the Carmine. The most spectacular example of baroque sculpture and architecture was created in the Medici parish church of St. Lorenzo adjacent to Michelangelo's new sacristy, the extremely ornate Princes' Chapel (1604–1610) by Matteo Nigetti (active 1604–died 1649).

The conservative sixteenth-century tradition of Florentine painting continued under the son of Alessandro Allori, Cristofano Allori (1577–1621), whose *Judith with the Head of Holofernes* (1616, Pitti) reflects the traditional branch of Florentine baroque painting that seems little changed since the time of Bronzino. Cristofano Allori and Artemisia Gentileschi were among the artists who participated in the decoration of the Sala della Gloria di Michelangelo in the Casa Buonarroti (1613), which was a Florentine baroque version of the late mannerist studio in the Palazzo Vecchio. Carlo Dolci (1616–1686), the miniaturist much beloved by Grand Duchess Vittoria, painted saints in adoration or ecstasy in a very similar tradition. The most important palace of the seventeenth century was the Palazzo

Corsini (1648–1656), which currently houses the best Florentine private art collection, begun in 1765 by Lorenzo Corsini, the nephew of Pope Clement XII.

In the eighteenth century the Venetian painter Sebastiano Ricci (1659–1734) worked in the Palazzo Marucelli (c. 1706), and Florence officially became the world center for art tourism in 1743 when Anna Maria Ludovica de' Medici (1667–1743), electress palatine and the final member of the Medici dynasty, gave the Medici art collection to the city. Luigi Lanzi modernized the Medici Museum at the Uffizi in 1780, and one of the city's top attractions, Masaccio's Brancacci Chapel, was miraculously spared by the fire that destroyed the Carmine in 1771. The rebuilt church (finished in 1782) is perhaps the best example of eighteenth-century architecture.

See also Caravaggio and Caravaggism; Cellini, Benvenuto; Florence; Gentileschi, Artemisia; Leonardo da Vinci; Medici Family; Michelangelo Buonarroti; Raphael; Vasari, Giorgio.

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FLORIDABLANCA, JOSÉ MOÑINO, COUNT OF (1728–1808), Spanish statesman and minister to Charles III and Charles IV of Spain. Moñino was born the son of a notary in Murcia. He studied law at the University of Salamanca, and his skill as a lawyer attracted the attention of Charles III's minister Leopoldo di Grigorio, the marqués de Squillace (1700–1785). In 1764, Charles III (ruled 1759–1788) made Moñino a *fiscal*, 'ministerial official', of the Council of Castile, the supreme executive, legislative, and judicial body in eighteenth-century Spain.

Moñino was a proponent of regalism, which asserted the absolute authority of the sovereign over the temporal affairs of the church. The government of Charles III launched an aggressive regalist program to reform the Spanish church in the 1760s. The Jesuits were the most powerful religious order in Spain and were widely perceived to be most staunchly loyal to the authority of the pope. The order thus became a particular target of the crown, which used a domestic political crisis to expel them from Spain in 1767. As a *fiscal* of the Council, Moñino took an active role in eliminating the Jesuits. He was sent to Rome in 1773 to negotiate their dissolution, and he convinced the pope to issue the papal brief that suppressed the order entirely. For this success, Charles III granted Moñino the title of count of Floridablanca.

In 1777, Floridablanca replaced Jerónimo Grimaldi (1720–1786) as first secretary of state and became the principal minister to Charles III. His ministry was productive both abroad and at home. Floridablanca was a skilled diplomat who worked to build Spain's position in Europe and assert its independence from the influence of France in matters of foreign policy. He secured alliances with major powers Prussia and Russia. He improved relations with Portugal and secured Spain's sovereignty over the American colony of Sacramento in the Río de la Plata region, a territory that had sparked conflict earlier in the century. He negotiated peace and secured trade relations with the North African kingdoms and Turkey, stabilizing Spain's position in a Mediterranean plagued by decades of military hostility and escalating piracy.

Floridablanca was equally ambitious in domestic policy. Charles III was Spain's "enlightened"



José Moñino, count of Floridablanca. Portrait by Goya.
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eighteenth-century monarch, the Bourbon reformer who introduced sweeping changes to the administration, economy, urban environments, and social practices of Spain and Spanish America. Floridablanca embodied this spirit of reform and led a circle of like-minded ministers. Like his friend and colleague Pedro Rodríguez de Campomanes (1723–1803), he believed in the importance of agriculture for the Spanish economy and promoted agrarian reform and innovation. He directed national projects of road building and irrigation, and was instrumental in founding the first national bank, the Banco de San Carlos. In addition, he worked to reform education and to modernize university curriculums, whose traditional focus under the intellectual control of the Jesuits had been theology and

canon law, by emphasizing science and the new ideas that were transforming Europe.

Through most of his political career, Floridablanca was a champion of enlightenment and reform, yet he was also an adamant defender of absolute monarchy. This determination guided his reaction to the political turmoil of the French Revolution, which began in 1789. As events unfolded in France, Floridablanca became increasingly fearful of the effects that revolutionary ideology might have in Spain and took steps to stem the “contagion.” In 1791, he instituted strict border controls and prohibited the entry into Spain of anything that alluded to events in France.

While opinion in Spain was largely against the cause of revolutionary France, Floridablanca’s rabid opposition nonetheless made him a target. In June 1790, a French priest who was a revolutionary sympathizer made an attempt on his life, stabbing him as he walked through the royal palace at Aranjuez. Of more lasting consequence, Floridablanca’s hostile policies toward France accelerated the disintegration of its previously amicable relationship with Spain, finally forcing Charles IV (ruled 1788–1808) to succumb to pressure and dismiss him in February 1792.

His successor was Pedro Abarca, count of Aranda (1719–1798), who had long attempted to unseat Floridablanca through court intrigues. Aranda accused Floridablanca of criminal abuses of power and imprisoned him in Pamplona, but he was quickly replaced by Manuel de Godoy (1767–1851) in December 1792. Godoy exonerated Floridablanca of the charges against him in April 1794, whereupon he retired to his native Murcia.

Floridablanca reemerged briefly as a political actor during the crisis of 1808, when Napoleon invaded and divided Spain into anti- and pro-French factions. He was elected to the Supreme Central Junta of the new Spanish government that formed in opposition to Napoleon and his brother Joseph Bonaparte (1768–1844), whom Napoleon had placed on the Spanish throne. Shortly after his election, however, Floridablanca died in Seville, in December 1808.

See also **Bourbon Dynasty (Spain); Charles III (Spain); Charles IV (Spain); Jesuits; Revolutions, Age of; Spain.**

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JULIANNE GILLAND

FOLK TALES AND FAIRY TALES.

Fairy tales, folk tales, and learned literature have markedly different histories and characteristics.

FAIRY TALES

Fabulous transformations of creatures from one form to another, special numbers (3, 7, 12, 40), speaking animals, and fairy beings have existed as literary motifs since antiquity, as has the theme of a parallel but alternative world inhabited by gods, goddesses, or fairy creatures that impinges on human lives. In the later Middle Ages, individual romances incorporated such elements, as did the early and influential collection, *Gesta Romanorum* (mid-fourteenth century).

In Renaissance Venice, Giovan Francesco Straparola (c. 1480–c. 1555) reformulated existing romance materials into a handful of “restoration” fairy tales about princes and princesses who lose their royal positions, later regaining them through magical intervention. Straparola also invented a new kind of “rise” plot in which poor girls or boys—through magical intervention—marry princes, kings, or princesses, thereby gaining great wealth. Straparola’s restoration and rise tales, together with recycled urban tales in his *Piacevoli Notti* (1550–1553; variously translated as *The facetious, pleasant, or delectable nights*), addressed the interests of literate readers of all classes and sold correspondingly well, as evidenced by frequent reprintings.

A second strand in the European fairy tale tradition emerged in Naples in *Lo cunto de li cunti over lo trattenemiento de li peccerille* by Giambattista Basile (c. 1575–1632). Initially published in 1634–1636, the collection’s fifty stories had little immediate influence outside Italy. Straparola’s collection, however, first translated into French in 1560 and pub-

lished in France a total of sixteen times, was repeatedly scavenged for plots by Mme Catherine d'Aulnoy (c. 1650–1705) and her circle, as well as by Charles Perrault (1628–1703) and his niece Mlle Marie-Jeanne L'Héritier (c. 1664–1734) from the 1690s onward.

Contemporary with one another, the fairy tales of Mme. d'Aulnoy (first published in 1690, 1697, and 1698) and the folk and fairy tales of Charles Perrault (initially published in 1691, 1693, 1694, 1696, and 1697) differed profoundly from one another. Mme. d'Aulnoy favored exuberant vocabulary and elaborate plots whose characters' jostlings with the fairy realm might benefit, but could sometimes destroy, them. Her tales quickly spread to England, where three successive translations and reworkings made them available to "the ladies of Great Britain," then to the middle class, subsequently to an artisanal readership, and in the 1770s in a format for children. Perrault, on the other hand, imitated the simpler plots and stories of the popular press (*bibliothèque bleue*), which a generation later began to publish them, spreading them to humble readers throughout France. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, J. A. Galland's multivolume *Thousand and One Nights* (1704–1717), drawn from Near Eastern tradition, vastly enlarged the European repertoire of exotic plots, characters, and motifs.

The sheer number of fairy tale collections in eighteenth-century France—in addition to those of individual authors, collected editions appeared in 1710, 1717, 1718, 1731–35, 1732, 1754, 1764–1765, and most famously in the *Cabinet des Fées* in 1785–1789—elicited fairy tale parodies, which ranged from amusingly ironic to licentiously erotic. The same collections provided German publishing houses with stories for a growing German readership, and by 1789 Germany was saturated with fairy tales that no longer bore identifying marks of their French origins. In sharp contrast, religious censorship of print publications in Spain emptied that country of the fairy tales shared by Italy, France, and Germany.

In Germany, fairy tales as reformulated by Clemens Brentano, Achim von Arnim, and above all, by Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm exerted a powerful influence on later Romantics. Consequently,

they became an integral part of early-nineteenth-century writing, notably that of Novalis, Ludwig Tieck, Carl Wilhelm Salice Contessa, Friedrich de la Motte Fouqué, E. T. A. Hoffmann, Christian August Vulpius, and even Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, who composed an elaborate literary fairy tale. That literary tradition continued in the work of Wilhelm Hauff, Eduard Mörike, and Gottfried Keller.

Nation-forming imperatives in the nineteenth century used the widespread knowledge of fairy tales among the general population to postulate a theory of oral transmission among the folk. Although this view has been increasingly undermined by studies of literary transmission, a new consensus has not yet emerged.

FOLK TALES

In tales anointed with the name of Aesop, animals enact simple plots in ways that have been held to exemplify universal truths about human behavior. Attributed to a Greek slave of the sixth century B.C.E., this corpus now incorporates tales from Indic and Arabic traditions. Often part of Latin school curricula in the medieval, Renaissance, and early modern periods, Aesopic tales comprised one of the earliest components of children's literature in the vernacular.

Medieval Renard tales—mock courtly romances with stock characters (Renard the fox, Ysengrin the wolf), inverted plots, and parodistic characteristics—survived in early modern chapbooks, small, cheap pamphlet-like books. Both Aesopic material and the Renard cycle provided models for speaking animals in early modern magic tales.

A second body of folk material, *The Fables of Bidpai* or *Pilpay* (also known as *Kalila and Dimna*) derived from the ancient Indian *Panchatantra* and passed through Persian, Arabic, Hebrew, Old Spanish, and finally Latin (as the *Directorium humanae vitae* of Johannes of Capua, c. 1270) before entering European vernaculars. Its stories, like those in the *Disciplina clericalis* of Petrus Alphonsus (c. 1065–1122 or later), were well suited to use in sermons, and in the baroque period both Protestant ministers and Roman Catholic priests introduced them into homilies, thus (re)familiarizing their listeners with folk tale plots and characters.

Folk tales with human characters follow characteristic social trajectories, with poor protagonists generally remaining in their low estate, though sometimes with a magic alleviation of their suffering. Documented as long ago as the mid-fourteenth-century *Gesta Romanorum*, the magic food-producing pouch of the Fortunatus cycle is an ancient example of this kind of tale.

LEARNED TRADITION

Fairy tales, folk tales, and folk belief have frequently entered the learned arts. Opera repeatedly adopted folk tale plots, such as several Tom Thumb operas in England in the early eighteenth century, *Il paese della Cuccagna* (The Land of Cockaigne, 1750) as well as operas based on fairy tales, such as *Cendrillon* (Cinderella, 1759), *Zémire et Azor* (1771), *Raoul Barbe-bleue* (Raoul Bluebeard, 1789), and *Aladdin* (1789). Much the same is true of ballet. In England, folk belief also penetrated Shakespeare's *Midsummer Night's Dream* (c. 1595).

By far the more frequent phenomenon, however, is movement from learned literature to folk tradition. Giovanni Boccaccio's "Griselda" tale in the *Decameron* (1351–1353), his own creation, reappeared in Geoffrey Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* (c. 1387–1400), but it was a Latin translation of Boccaccio's tale by Francesco Petrarch (1304–1374) that disseminated this misogynistic tale throughout Europe in a single version that was subsequently translated into the folk literature of every European vernacular. Universal themes evident in "folk" fairy tales such as those of Perrault and Grimm sometimes mirror those in learned literature.

Between 1500 and 1789 fairy tales represented a novella-like subgenre in the evolution of the modern novel. Literary fairy tales (Straparola's restoration tales, and the fairy tales of Mme. d'Aulnoy and her circle) consist of serial adventures characteristic of picaresque novels. In contrast, "folk" fairy tales typically have fewer adventures and a simpler, repetitive vocabulary, characteristics that reflect the different audiences and readerships among which they flourished.

See also **French Literature and Language; German Literature and Language; Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von; Italian Literature and Language; Magic; Novalis; Opera; Romanticism.**

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FONTAINEBLEAU, SCHOOL OF.

The school of Fontainebleau takes its name from the château of Fontainebleau, located about thirty-seven miles southeast of Paris, the preferred residence of King Francis I (ruled 1515–1547). The term does not pertain to an educational institution. Rather, it refers to a cohesive group of artists engaged by the king, and after his death by his son Henry II, to decorate interiors of the château with frescoes, elaborately carved wood paneling and stucco sculptures, and by extension, the style of this décor and the prints (particularly those from c. 1542–1547) that reproduced the compositions of many of the frescoes. Indeed, Henri Zerner pointed out (*The French Renaissance in Prints*, p. 22) that the expression "school of Fontainebleau" was first used by Adam Bartsch (1818),

one of the foremost authorities on graphic art, to classify the etchings and engravings produced by the artists employed at Fontainebleau, or in their style. (The “second school” of Fontainebleau was the next generation of artists who worked at Fontainebleau, around 1600.)

Led by the Florentine painter Rosso Fiorentino (born Giovanni Battista di Jacopo de’ Rossi, or di Guasparre, 1494–1540) and the Bolognese Francesco Primaticcio (1504–1570), the artists of the school of Fontainebleau were not only French but also included a number of Italians and some Flemish painters and draftsmen (e.g., Luca Penni, Étienne Delaune, Geoffroy Dumoustier, Léonard Thiry, René Boyvin, Antonio Fantuzzi, Giorgio Mantovano Ghisi, Pierre Milan, and Domenico del Barbieri, also called Dominique Florentin, who was also a sculptor). They produced figures in a mannered style characterized by sinuous lines and

elongated proportions, frequently arranged in difficult, unrealistic poses. A sense of anguished urgency runs through nearly all of Rosso’s compositions. His suicide called attention to the tormented quality of his work.

Rosso was recommended to Francis I by the Venetian poet Aretino, who was the painter’s friend. Although the king’s predecessors Charles VIII (ruled 1483–1498) and Louis XII (ruled 1498–1515) fostered a keen interest in the Italian revival of classical antiquity, Francis I had a single-mindedness of purpose that caused Italian mannerism to be directly transplanted into France. After his military campaigns in Italy met with disaster, he seems to have resolved to use the arts instead to become the rival of Charles V, the popes, and Henry VIII. He accomplished this through sophisticated alterations in his palace at Blois; the creation of a gigantic castle of Chambord; a new château ironically named



School of Fontainebleau. A view of the Galerie François I in the Château de Fontainebleau shows the elaborately carved dado and frescoes above. ©ROBERT HOLMES/CORBIS

“Madrid”; and the enlargement and embellishment of the old château at Fontainebleau.

The key ensemble at Fontainebleau is the Galerie François Ier (gallery of Francis I), a long, relatively narrow passageway constructed in 1528 to link the early château with a nearby abbey. Although the gallery was structurally altered over the years, the interior decoration (mostly completed in 1534–1536) continues to inspire fascination. The walls are lined by a high wood dado, originally created by Scibec de’ Carpi, carved with Italianate decorative motifs called strapwork that imitate heavy coils of stiffened leather. The king’s emblem, the salamander, appears throughout. Above the dado stretches a series of frescoes depicting classical myths and abstruse allegories related to the king’s reign. Sumptuous stucco frames surround and link the frescoes. They comprise not only decorative moldings and reliefs (and subsidiary frescoes), but also nearly life-size, almost freestanding human figures of extraordinary intricacy and elegance. Rosso is credited with the entire design, but because Primaticcio had previously worked in stucco while employed in Mantua, he is believed to have collaborated on the stuccos. A series of tapestries begun during Rosso’s lifetime (now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna) reproduces scenes from the gallery, although with numerous variations. The strapwork of the famous stucco frames, where animate and inanimate forms seem interchangeable, was disseminated throughout Europe by engravings. In some of these, the mythological subjects of the frescoes were later replaced by landscapes, which had broader appeal.

Primaticcio was responsible for several outstanding decorative ensembles at Fontainebleau, among them the *chambre du roi* (king’s bedroom, 1533–1535), the *chambre de la duchesse d’Étampes* (bedroom of the king’s mistress, the duchess of Étampes, 1541–1544), the gallery of Ulysses (mostly 1541–1549), and most impressive of all, the *salle de bal* (ballroom, c. 1551–1557). In contrast with the gallery of Francis I, the ballroom has spacious proportions; its mythological frescoes depict festive subjects in keeping with its function. The muscular, superhuman proportions of Primaticcio’s figures, inspired by Michelangelo’s, decisively influenced French art of the time, not only in the paintings of Primaticcio’s most important collaborator,

Niccolò dell’ Abbate (and even later in the work of Ambroise Dubois and Toussaint Dubreuil, of the second school of Fontainebleau), but also in the sculptures of the great Germain Pilon, who may have been employed at Fontainebleau early in his career.

See also **France, Architecture in; France, Art in; Francis I (France); Henry II (France).**

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FOOD AND DRINK. There are few easy generalizations about the diet of early modern Europeans. Perhaps the only safe one is that, for most Europeans, grain was the most important ingredient in most food and drink: it was consumed as bread, pasta, and gruel, and drunk as beer and ale. As such, it was the prime source of nutrition for the vast majority of the population. Beyond grain, a wide diversity of foods and beverages was consumed, but their significance within diets depended on several considerations. Of these, the single most important one was availability: for the mass of Europe’s population, the food and drink that were locally available were likely to be the least expensive, and therefore the most popular. The price of imported foodstuffs (whether from other countries or from other regions within one country) was inflated by the costs of transportation, so that they were more likely to find their way only into the diet of the better-off classes.

Even within the range of more accessible foods and drinks, however, there were variations based on seasonality and the costs of production and methods of preparation. Food and drink were also a sensitive expression of culture, so that the substance of diet, and also the quantities of various elements in

diets, varied according to class, religion, and gender.

The following description and analysis of food and drink in early modern Europe draws a broad picture of diet and its evolution over three-and-a-half centuries (1450–1789) while recognizing the significance of regional, class, religious, and gender variations. It also takes note of the introduction of exotic foods and drinks to the European diet in this period of expansion to the Americas and Asia. Europeans were introduced to tea, coffee, chocolate, potatoes, tomatoes, and some new spices at this time. While these commodities remained largely confined to the elites during the early modern period, they later became common in mainstream diets. To this extent, the early modern period is marked not only by strong lines of continuity in patterns of food and drink, but also by significant changes.

GRAIN

The fundamental importance of grain is the dominant fact of European diet through to the nineteenth century and even the twentieth in some regions. Grain (especially wheat and rye) was generally consumed as bread, but it could also be eaten as gruel and, especially in the Mediterranean region, as pasta. Barley was used to make ale and beer.

The centrality of grain to diet is shown by its widespread cultivation throughout Europe, and by popular concern at the size of the harvest and at impending or actual shortages. It was grown even in regions where it was a marginal crop and in areas from which its cultivation later disappeared once cheaper transportation and greater diversity in diet developed. Throughout the early modern period, the most important event of the year was the grain harvest. A good harvest indicated a certain security of survival for the coming year, but a poor harvest promised shortages and high prices, especially during the summer, in the months preceding the following year's harvest. The most common form of collective disturbances in early modern Europe were grain or bread riots provoked by shortages or by increases in bread prices.

Estimates of the importance of grain in the daily diet vary, but as a general rule we can say that, in all its forms, it could account for between 75 and 90

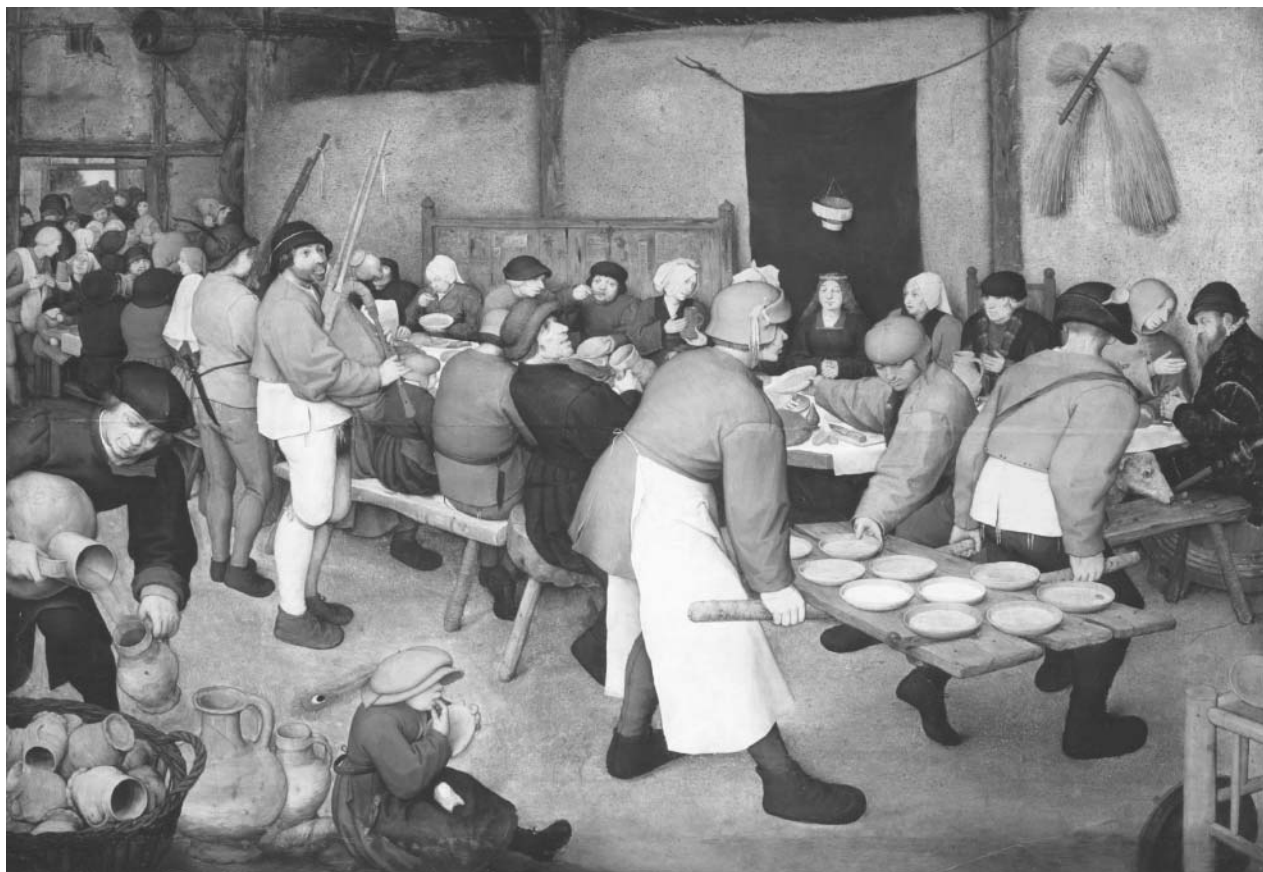
percent of the daily nutritional intake for vast numbers of Europeans. As a general rule, the better-off people were and the more varied their diet, the smaller the representation of bread in their nutritional makeup. For the rich, bread accounted for no more than 20 per cent of daily nutrition.

Bread came in many forms, most of it made from cereals (although it was also made from beans and chestnuts). One fundamental distinction was in color, as the better-off ate lighter-colored, even white, bread. This was usually made from wheat and was more thoroughly sieved to eliminate all but the finer, white grains of flour. As a result, it was more expensive. Further down the social scale, bread became darker and coarser, and it was made not only of corn, but also from rye, barley, millet, and oats, depending on the crops grown in the locality. Wealthier consumers were more likely to buy their bread on a daily basis, or several times a week, whereas the poor (especially in rural areas) tended to buy it far less often. Even when peasants baked their own bread, they avoided doing so frequently, so as to save fuel. The result was that the mass of European populations consumed what we would consider stale bread, but which was more often described as “hard” bread at the time. It was less easy to eat than fresh bread, and it was generally eaten with liquids like soup, beer, or wine to make it more easily digestible.

Cereals, especially those that made poor bread, were also consumed in liquid or semiliquid forms. Porridges, gruels, and mashes were common throughout Europe, made from cereals like oats, millet, and buckwheat. Examples are oatmeal porridge in Scotland and *kasza*, made from a variety of cereals, in eastern Europe.

MEAT

Diet in the early modern period was relatively meatless compared to both the Middle Ages and the nineteenth century, and there were many complaints in the sixteenth century about the absence of meat from tables. A Swabian wrote that “in the past they ate differently at the peasant's house. Then, there was meat and food in profusion every day. . . . Today everything has truly changed . . . the food of the most comfortably off peasants is almost worse than that of day laborers and servants in the old days” (quoted in Braudel, p. 194). The deteriorat-



Food and Drink. *The Peasants' Wedding*, by Pieter Bruegel the Elder, c. 1568–1569. The central role of food and drink in the celebration is highlighted in this painting. At left, a man dispenses beer; two others serve what appear to be pies or dishes of porridge. ©ERICH LESSING/ART RESOURCE, NY

ing diet was also noticed on feast days, when peasants typically ate more and better food than on ordinary workdays. A sixteenth-century peasant from Brittany longed for the times “when it was difficult for an ordinary feast day to pass by without someone from the village inviting all the rest to dinner, to eat his chicken, his gosling, his ham, his first lamb, and his pig’s heart” (quoted in Braudel, p. 195).

Part of the explanation for the relative rarity of meat from the sixteenth century onward is that Europe’s population grew rapidly in the 1500s. By 1600 there were about 110 million Europeans, more than the 90 million who had lived in Europe before the devastating Black Death of the 1300s. The production of many foods simply did not keep pace with demographic growth, and livestock herds were among them. Of course we must be careful not to take too literally those statements that meat had

disappeared entirely from the tables of Europe’s masses. That might have been true in some regions (Sicily, for example), but meat was at least an occasional item throughout Europe. Overall, though, the trend in the early modern period was toward lower meat consumption. For example, in late-sixteenth-century Naples, about 30,000 cattle were slaughtered annually to provide meat for about 200,000 people. Two hundred years later, only 22,000 cattle were killed, but the population of the city had doubled. One of the implications of reduced meat consumption was an increase in the amount of grain consumed.

If meat was consumed at all levels of European society in the early modern period, there were huge variations by social class in the frequency with which it appeared on the table, and the amount that was consumed. It was relatively rare for the poor to eat

meat, but accounts of banquets at the other end of the social scale list daunting amounts of meat.

There was also a religious distinction following the sixteenth-century Protestant Reformation. The Catholic Church required its adherents to follow dietary rules, one of which was to abstain from meat during fast days, especially in the period of Lent. Overall, Catholics were required to abstain from meat or animal fats (butter, lard, cheese) for about 160 to 170 days a year, almost half the year. The Orthodox churches in eastern Europe were even more rigorous, demanding abstention from meat and animal products on as many as 200 days. But the Protestant churches rejected these dietary restrictions, and in regions where Protestants were the majority (northern Germany, Scandinavia, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Scotland, and England), meat consumption was probably more frequent and higher.

FISH

Fish and seafood were alternatives to meat and were often permitted when meat was forbidden for religious reasons. They were especially important in the diets of communities lying on the coast, not only for the fish that could be caught locally, but also because these communities were often homes of long-distance fishing fleets. Throughout the early modern period, Atlantic ports were the bases of fishing boats that traveled as far as the east coast of North America (especially off Newfoundland) in search of schools of cod while, closer at hand, boats from northern European ports trawled the North Sea for herring. Seafood, like oysters and mussels, was also harvested from the shoreline.

Freshwater fish were also caught and eaten in considerable quantities. Fishing was often a privilege, which prevented all and sundry from providing for themselves, but local markets often sold the legal catch. France's Loire River was well known for its salmon and carp, while the Rhine was famous for perch.

Overall, fish was not prized as highly as meat. While some locally caught fish and seafood might be sold fresh, everything else had to be preserved for lack of refrigeration. Preservation meant salting the fish, and there were recurrent complaints of fish that was too heavily salted and of fish that was not salted enough.

Misused it might have been from time to time, but salt was very important as a seasoning and preservative. Mined from rock salt or collected from salt pans on the coasts of the Atlantic and the Mediterranean, it gave flavor to many dishes, including especially the fairly bland ones made of cereal and beans. But its greatest service was as a preservative, and without it most Europeans would not have been able to eat as much meat, fish, and vegetables as they did. So important was salt to the diet and to food preservation that some governments imposed heavy taxes on it. The French salt tax, or *gabelle*, was levied at different rates throughout the country (and not at all in some regions), which gave rise to a high rate of salt smuggling. Because it was a tax on such a basic item of the diet, it was much resented and was one of the first taxes abolished during the French Revolution.

The amount of salt consumed varied greatly from region to region and over time, but it was seldom less than three kilograms per capita a year, and in some places as high as nine. (For comparison, the consumption of salt from all sources in modern Western societies is a little over two kilograms.)

DAIRY PRODUCTS

Dairy products (milk, butter, cheese) were more associated with the diets of the better-off than those of the masses. Although some regionally identified cheeses, like Parmesan and Roquefort, were already well known, cheese was not widely used in cooking until the eighteenth century. It was an important source of protein, but not an inexpensive one, and it appeared infrequently in the diets of the peasants and the poor.

Milk also tended to be beyond the reach of the mass of Europe's people on any regular basis. It was consumed in some quantities by the middle and upper classes, however, as the milk supply to London shows. In winter, when the wealthy moved their houses to the capital, milk consumption rose dramatically. In summer, when these same people returned to the country, London's milk consumption fell. For such a small proportion of the population to have such an impact on milk consumption suggests that the mass of London's inhabitants, who lived there all year, consumed relatively little milk.

Butter was more common in northern Europe, where it was a valuable oil, than in the south where lard and olive oil were more frequently consumed. Butter was rarely found outside the houses of the well-off, however, and it was used extensively in the preparation of foods like sauces. It seems to have been regarded with some suspicion by southerners (some thought it caused leprosy), and some who traveled through northern Europe brought their own supplies of olive oil with them.

Eggs, on the other hand, seem to have been more common. They were relatively inexpensive, and one late-sixteenth-century commentary has it that seven eggs cost a tenth of the price of a fowl, half the price of a melon, and the same as all the bread you can eat in a day.

POTATOES AND OTHER EXOTIC FOODS

Cultural prejudices, like that of southern Europeans toward butter, were to be expected in the case of exotic foods, products imported from outside Europe. While some quickly found their way into the diets of some Europeans, depending on their wealth or location, others were accepted far more slowly. One was the potato, brought to Europe in the late 1400s and planted extensively by the 1700s, but not widely consumed as human food until the 1800s. For centuries after its arrival in Europe, the potato was regarded as fit only for animals, and it was widely regarded with suspicion as dangerous to humans. Like other vegetables that grew under the ground (such as turnips), potatoes were located at the bottom of the hierarchy of acceptable foods.

Some governments, wanting to wean their populations from reliance on cereal crops, launched campaigns to encourage people to eke out their diets with potatoes. They were only slowly successful, and in countries like France (which was later associated with a number of ways of preparing potatoes), there was strong resistance. As late as the end of the eighteenth century, some cases of insanity in France were attributed to consuming potatoes.

Other exotic foods were less problematic. Maize was imported from the Americas and was quickly adopted as an alternative cereal to those already being grown in Europe. It was generally considered a low-quality cereal, however, and was generally used to make foods like biscuits, porridge

and, in Italy, polenta. Rice also found a home in Europe, particularly in the valley of the Po River, and rice-based dishes became staples of the Italian diet.

One of the most popular imported foods, however, was sugar. Originally cultivated in south Asia and later planted on the island of Madeira and then in the European colonies in the West Indies, it was the subject of almost insatiable demand in some parts of Europe. The English embraced sugar eagerly, and by the end of the early modern period were consuming some 150,000 tons of it a year, fifteen times more than a hundred years earlier. It remained a luxury commodity in most parts of Europe, however, and entered common consumption only in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

BEVERAGES

At the beginning of the early modern period, the main forms of beverage were water, beer, and wine. Historians generally argue that sources of drinking water were often unsuitable or polluted by nature or human activity. For this reason, alcoholic beverages were preferred because the process of fermentation (to make beer and wine) kills a level of bacteria by raising the temperature and producing alcohol. Even so, water must have been consumed in large quantities, and the supposed merits and dangers of its consumption were debated throughout this period.

Beer and wine. Alcoholic beverages are better documented than water, however, because their production and trade were increasingly regulated. Of the two main types, beer and wine, beer was more widely consumed because it could be made year-round from the grain that was grown throughout Europe. Wine, in contrast, could be made only once a year, in the fall when grapes ripened, and enough had to be made to last until the following vintage.

The beer consumed in the early modern period was a cloudy beverage, not the clear, sparkling drink that it usually is today. It was widely consumed at all times of the day, with the first meal and the last, and as a nutritious drink without food. Although it lost ground to wine in the sixteenth century, it rebounded in the seventeenth when hops became more widely used and more aromatic beers were

made. In 1662 the authorities of Bordeaux banned brewing in the city because of the threat that beer represented to sales of wine.

Wine was made wherever grapes could be grown, including not only most modern viticultural regions, but many regions where grapes are no longer cultivated for wine. In France, for example, there were many more vineyards in the north and fewer in the south than in modern times. Early modern wine was made without much attention to grape varieties, and techniques of wine making were such that the wine was unstable; most of it lasted for a year, at best, before it started to go “off,” and in general, younger wines were more expensive than older wines.

Wine was an integral part of the daily diet in regions where vines were cultivated, but trading routes had been established in the Middle Ages, so that wine was available throughout Europe. Vast quantities of claret, a light red wine produced in the Bordeaux region of southwestern France, were shipped annually to England, the Low Countries, and the Baltic region. Wine from the interior of Germany was shipped down the Rhine and from there to the Low Countries and the Baltic. Wine from Mediterranean regions (Italy, Greece, Spain) was shipped to England and by river to eastern Europe and Russia.

The costs of transportation and excise duties meant that wine was always more expensive than locally produced beer, so that wine tended to be a luxury beverage, an everyday drink of the better-off. Where it was produced, however, it seems to have been consumed in considerable quantities. One of the highest rates is found in seventeenth-century Bologna, where annual per capita consumption was 300 to 350 liters, or almost a liter a day. If we bear in mind that women and children consumed less than adult males, and that a high proportion of the population was young, then it is likely that men consumed at least two liters of wine—almost three standard bottles—each day.

Beyond beer and wine, some other alcoholic beverages were popular in regions where the ingredients needed were plentiful. Cider was commonly consumed where apples flourished—Normandy in France and Devon in England, for example. And

mead, made from honey, was widely available where bees could collect pollen from wildflowers.

Water. Water was still problematic. It was needed for beer production (and was probably used often to “stretch,” or dilute, wine), but it must also have been widely consumed. The poor within Europe’s populations could not have afforded to satisfy their liquid needs by drinking beer or wine, and it is also likely that alcoholic beverages were consumed in diluted form. Ships on long-distance voyages took barrels of fresh water as well as barrels of beer for sailors to consume, although the water in the barrels tended to foul quickly, especially in warm temperatures.

The clearest indirect evidence that water was widely consumed is the general attitude that women and children should consume alcoholic beverages sparingly. In “Le bon vigneron” (The worthy winemaker), a late-sixteenth-century poem from Burgundy, the winemaker comments that he drinks only his own wine “and not water, which is only good for putting in soup. . . . I leave that for my wife to drink. . . . Women, children, and many of the poor can spend their whole lives without wine and drinking only water.”

Various reasons for this were advanced, but whatever its justification, anyone who did not drink an alcoholic beverage at all, or did so only in small quantities, must have drunk water. The alternatives, like milk and fruit juices, were produced in relatively small quantities and were, of course, much more expensive than water.

Still, it is difficult to assess the extent of water consumption in early modern Europe because water was a free resource that was unregulated, unprotected, and untaxed. We should not take too literally commentaries like that of Sir John Fortescue (in the mid-1400s), to the effect that English peasants “drink no water unless it be . . . for devotion.” By the 1600s there was a vigorous debate among doctors, scientists, and social commentators on the advantages and disadvantages of drinking water. Thomas Shortt, one of England’s foremost physicians, argued that water was dangerous for English people because they were not accustomed to it. It was safer, he thought, for peoples whose constitutions were adapted to water and for populations that lived in hot climates, like Africa.

Even so, Dr. Shortt lent his name to a plan to install desalinization machines on board ships so that sailors would have a continuous supply of fresh water.

Distilled beverages. But if beer, wine, and water were Europe's main drinks at the beginning of the early modern period, others were added as the period progressed. One of the major innovations was the spread of distilled alcohol. Knowledge of distilling had entered Europe from the Middle East as early as 1000, but until the sixteenth century it was tightly regulated and in the hands of apothecaries for medicinal purposes. The alcohol in question was a high-alcohol drink made by distilling wine, which became generically known as brandy (from the Dutch for 'burnt-wine', *brandewijn*). During the 1500s, apothecaries lost their monopoly on distilling, and in the 1600s brandy quickly became a commercial product.

Charente, on France's west coast, became the first center of the distilling industry because it was rich in forests (needed to fuel the stills) and abundant poor-quality white wine. By the mid-1600s brandy was being taxed and Charente was the site of a massive distilling industry that produced brandy for the rest of Europe. It is estimated that in 1675, about 4.5 million liters of brandy were exported to England, and that that amount doubled within fifteen years. Nine million liters would have provided about two liters a year for every man, woman, and child, but in fact its consumption was limited to adult males of the wealthier middle and upper classes.

While brandy was not a major element in the European diet, it became common in many parts of northern continental Europe to begin the day with a shot of brandy or other distilled alcohol. Throughout the period, anxiety was expressed at the effects of drinking distilled alcohol. It was considered an entirely different type of beverage from wine or beer, and there was concern at its tendency to intoxicate much more rapidly than beer or wine. Regulations were quickly adopted in many parts of Europe to control production, sale, and consumption. In the German city of Augsburg, consumers were limited as to how much they could spend on brandy at one time, they were not permitted to sit or to consume food while drinking it, and the activities of

brandy merchants were limited to certain days of the week and times of day.

Over time, drinks made by distilling alcohol extended beyond brandy to include whiskey and gin (made from grain), vodka (made from grain or potatoes), and Calvados (from apples). It is notable that these drinks are more associated with northern Europe than the south. The possibility of distilling from locally available ingredients (like grain, potatoes, and apples) gave northern Europeans access to less expensive, high-alcohol beverages other than brandy, which was generally made in the wine-growing regions to the south. It is likely that distilled alcohol was especially popular in the cooler climates of northern Europe because of the warming sensation of the alcohol.

One of these beverages, gin, caused one of the few alcohol-generated moral panics of the period: the "gin-craze" in early eighteenth-century England. In the late 1600s the English Parliament virtually deregulated gin production, partly to compensate for interruptions in the import of French brandy, due to war between England and France, partly because gin was developed in Holland and in 1689 William III of Orange became king of England. Soon the production and consumption rose steeply and by the 1720s it was alleged that gin had become the staple diet of the poor in London and some other English cities.

The actual per capita consumption of gin at this time is not known, but social commentators created scenarios of men drinking away their wages and women neglecting their children. Sales of milk and meat were said to have dropped away as people spent their income entirely on gin, and children were said to be addicted at birth. There is no doubt that gin consumption in England did rise in the first half of the 1700s, but it is not clear how important it was in creating serious social disruption. The panic was a concentrated example of the concerns about the effects of distilled alcohol on the social order that had been expressed throughout the early modern period.

Coffee, tea, and chocolate. Other additions to the range of drinks available were nonalcoholic, but they were regarded with suspicion in some quarters because they were recognized as stimulants, even if their active ingredient, caffeine, was not identified.

Three beverages came into play here: coffee, tea, and chocolate (which was consumed as a drink, rather than in solid form, until the nineteenth century).

Coffee reached Europe from the Middle East early in the seventeenth century and by the mid-1600s, coffeehouses had opened in France, England, and Austria. By 1700 there were some two thousand in London alone. Although coffee was less expensive than tea, it remained beyond the means of ordinary people in the early modern period and was largely confined to the diet of the middle and upper classes, especially in the cities. By the eighteenth century, coffeehouses were widely associated with political radicalism.

Caffeine was not identified as coffee's active ingredient at this time, but its qualities as a stimulant were quickly recognized and, like tea, it was considered an alternative to alcoholic beverages. As with most newly introduced foods and drinks, there was a lively debate over the merits of coffee. In Germany and elsewhere, it was regarded with suspicion, and some doctors argued that it caused impotence in men and sterility in women. Johann Sebastian Bach's *Coffee Cantata* (1732) was a reaction to those views. It is not clear just how frequently coffee was consumed, but sales increased steadily during the period. In eighteenth-century Prussia, Frederick the Great tried to restrict coffee consumption and issued a decree urging his subjects to return to their traditional beer. Spies were employed to sniff out illicit coffee roasting, but in the end the campaign against coffee died in the face of the drink's popularity.

Like coffee, tea also made its appearance in Europe in the 1600s. The first shipments (from Java) arrived in 1610. Even so, it remained relatively rare outside royal courts and the homes of the wealthy until the eighteenth century. In 1660, the diarist Samuel Pepys noted, "I did send for a cup of tee (a China drink) of which I had never drank before."

Tea soon became a drink more associated with England than any other part of Europe. Quite why is not clear. Physicians and scientists debated the advantages and dangers of tea drinking, and there were the usual dire warnings about its effects on health and reproduction. But such warnings were

ignored when it came to coffee, which was consumed throughout Europe, and it is not clear why they might have been given greater credence when applied to tea. Possibly it had to do with availability, for the British East India Company became the major transporter of tea from eastern Asia. And unlike coffee, which began to be cultivated in the West Indies and South America in the early modern period, tea remained a product of Asia. And when it was transplanted from its center in China, it was to India, then a British colony. (Russia, the other major society to adopt tea, imported it directly by land from China.)

VARIETIES IN DIET

The early modern period saw a vast range of diets, whether we look at them over time, region, or social class. Diets varied according to availability, which could be determined by seasonal or financial factors. All diets were relatively high in caloric value, simply because of the prominence of high-carbohydrate ingredients like bread and alcohol. But at some levels of society, diets were so calorie-laden that they cannot have been healthy. Senior courtiers at the court of King Erik of Sweden in the sixteenth century consumed an average of 6,500 calories a day, but they were outdone by the retinue of Cardinal Jules Mazarin in France in the next century. They consumed between 7,000 and 8,000 calories a day.

There were also important differences in how these diets were consumed. Peasants tended to eat four or five times a day, and perhaps even more often during the long hours of daylight in summer, but the upper classes ate less frequently. In the sixteenth century, members of Italy's elite strata were eating twice a day, once at about two in the afternoon, and again at about nine at night. Dining, of course, reflected the other occupations of the daily cycle. Those who could afford to sleep late in the morning might well have their first meal in the early afternoon. But peasants and urban laborers, whose work began at dawn, needed sustenance far earlier, and their hard physical labor called for replenishment at more frequent intervals.

It was, therefore, not only the content of diet that varied immensely, but also its role in the daily, monthly, and annual life cycle, and its meaning. The study of food and drink in early modern Europe is not simply about eating bread and drinking wine

and beer; it is a window on the material and cultural life of the period.

See also **Agriculture; Food Riots; Public Health.**

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ROD PHILLIPS

FOOD RIOTS. From the sixteenth century to the mid-nineteenth century Europe witnessed increasingly widespread food rioting. These riots pitted vulnerable consumers against producers and merchants, and both sides invoked protection and support from their rulers. As part of a broad and long-standing tradition of collective bargaining by riot, food riots erupted when, faced with the threat of scarcity and rising prices, a crowd composed largely of consumers assembled to demand affordable, accessible subsistence (usually grain or bread). They confronted those who controlled this “item of first necessity”—bakers, merchants, millers, cultivators, and local authorities—and took and shared what provisions they needed, sometimes forcing sales at prices below market (or asking) prices. Those who needed food and those who controlled it clashed over transports on highways and rivers,

sacks displayed for sale in markets, supplies stored in farms and urban granaries, flour in mills, and bread in bakeries. Since households of the common people spent from one-half to two-thirds of their budgets on food, rioter declarations that “they would rather hang than starve to death” carried poignancy.

Food riots had erupted sporadically since the Middle Ages, but they peaked in intensity and sophistication in eighteenth-century western Europe, appearing earliest in France and England and later in central and eastern European states, such as Prussia. France had the longest tradition of food rioting: over one hundred in the 1690s, 1709–1710, and 1764–1768; over four hundred in the 1770s; and over two hundred in 1788–1789 by the time the Estates-General met in May 1789. English eruptions peaked after the mid-eighteenth century, becoming the most common form of popular protest: over one hundred erupted in 1756–1757, 1766, 1795–1796, and 1800–1801. Although widespread food rioting persisted over a shorter time span in England than in France, the English experienced as much if not more rioting per capita in the eighteenth century. In Prussia food rioting erupted only sporadically after the 1770s and slightly more frequently in the 1790s.

ORIGINS OF FOOD RIOTS

The origins of food riots lay beyond the short-term fluctuations associated with shortages. Rioters invoked long-standing communal norms to respond to larger economic, social, and political changes that menaced and outraged them. Despite the existence of market relations in early modern Europe, the assumption had widely prevailed, even among elites, that in times of food crises popular subsistence needs took precedence over property rights and local needs came before more distant ones. This “moral economy,” or right to existence, was embedded in the local and royal consumer safeguards that had enveloped the production and distribution of grain and other foods since the late Middle Ages. Although never consistently implemented or entirely successful in stabilizing food prices and supply—and sometimes vitiated by royal, seigneurial, or guild privileges—these regulatory policies had served to mitigate some of the worst effects of widely fluctuating prices, to supply mar-

kets emptied by hoarding and speculation, or to impede the departure of grain to other markets. They also indicated political commitment and sensitivity to local welfare dictated by the knowledge that public order required that the people be fed.

The increased frequency of food riots coincided with accelerating commercialization of food, mounting numbers of market-dependent consumers, and centralizing states that turned increasingly from paternalist supervision of provisioning to *laissez-faire* economics and to favoring producers and merchants over consumers, urban over rural demands, and regional, national, and international markets over local ones. Stresses on the provisioning system intensified when governments and their agents plunged into local markets to feed growing armies and politically sensitive, hungry places, such as capital cities. Food riots thus ignited where the spark of local grievances encountered the tinder of national and international economic and political forces. When prices rose or supplies dwindled while commercially oriented grain producers, grain and flour merchants, millers, and liberalizing authorities ignored traditional norms and practices, consumers demanded that suppliers and authorities acknowledge and serve popular needs by lowering prices, assuring supplies, and activating emergency relief.

TIMING, GEOGRAPHY, PARTICIPATION, AND ORGANIZATION

The timing and geography of rioting depended on multiple factors, including the existence of communities capable of mobilization and some sort of trigger, such as skyrocketing prices, sudden market shortages, evidence of hoarding or speculation at consumer expense, or the refusal of authorities to activate crisis-related paternalist regulations and relief. Places most likely to react violently experienced a rapid shift in their ability to retain or attract food for their consumers: producing regions confronting new demands on resources, heavily traveled transit routes and junctions, and markets whose positions had eroded at the time of the crisis. In France after the mid-eighteenth century food rioting became the most frequent form of popular protest, and every province experienced some disorder. However, the most turbulent provinces in the early modern period—Île-de-France, Normandy, and Orléanais—were those most affected by large-scale

changes in the provisioning process, exacerbated by the imperious pull of the Paris market.

Riots finally erupted only when vulnerable consumers could mobilize in concert to activate networks intertwined with work, neighborhood, friendship, and patronage for protest. Early modern riots erupted more frequently in medium-sized towns than in large cities or small villages because they nurtured the kinds of dense networks of social and political relations that underpinned early modern collective action. Although each crowd reflected the particular character of the community mobilized, most rioters came from early modern Europe's vulnerable common people, for whom a subsistence crisis threatened the household's capacity to provision itself: wage earners, shopkeepers, and artisans. England's food rioters largely came from the ranks of town artisans, proto-industrial workers, and industrial workers. In France artisans, micro-proprietor winegrowers, agricultural workers, and proto-industrial workers formed a majority of the crowds. The lowest ranks of the rural and urban poor participated rarely because the combination of charity and repression reserved for them by local and royal governments made collective action less likely.

As members of household economies, women as well as men played prominent roles in food riots, and most riots mobilized both. However, the gender balance of crowds reflected differences in regional dynamics and types of riots. In France, for example, women frequently led and participated in hometown market riots or neighboring spaces, such as bakeries and storage areas. More men ventured farther afield to lead and join crowds that marched in the countryside from producer to producer to demand supplies. Even when men and women appeared in the same riot, they at times played different roles.

By the eighteenth century riots had become more organized and purposeful. Although interceptions of grain shipments by locals for their own consumption remained the most common form of rioting during the early modern period, market riots grew in number, significance, and sophistication. Most strikingly, rioters more frequently invoked the *taxation populaire*—forced sales at lower, “just,” prices that they fixed themselves. Rioters drew upon

a combination of accurate information about grain production and marketing (which helped them pick their targets); traditions of paternalist practices that included price-fixing, searches and requisitions, and charitable distributions; as well as their own heritages of previous food rioting. Indeed veritable riot traditions emerged in towns such as Caen, France, where fourteen riots erupted between 1631 and 1789.

FOOD RIOTS AND POLITICS

Early modern riots proved a relatively successful form of community politics to solve short-term problems during a crisis. They frequently produced results: reactivation of paternalist regulations, lower prices and more food in markets or bakeries, institutional purchases of additional supplies, food distributions for the needy, and chastised merchants who respected their social responsibilities at least temporarily. Early modern authorities responded to food rioting with an uneven mixture of forbearance and severe, “exemplary” repression. In most places local elites and administrators, and sometimes even the central government, created political space for food riots when they hesitated to definitively abandon intervention in favor of free trade, to repudiate local entitlements, or to enforce free trade at bayonet point.

Food riots intersected most directly with political debate in France. The monarchy vacillated over liberalizing the grain trade in the last decades of the eighteenth century, freeing it from intervention from 1763 to 1770, reregulating it from 1770 to 1774, freeing it again from 1774 to 1776, and reregulating it yet again. This interplay of royal policy and the dislocations associated with it coincided with harvest shortfalls to trigger widespread rioting. Such visibility made provisioning an object of public political debate, which in turn helped to desacralize and discredit the “Baker King,” Louis XVI (ruled 1774–1792). Further partial deregulation in 1787 preceded another wave of rioting that, together with debates over and meetings for the Estates-General, further politicized the debate about the people’s right to subsistence and also contributed to the further politicization of many food rioters themselves. Food riots thus formed an important constituent of the political fabric of early modern life.

The era of the French Revolution witnessed extensive rioting in France and elsewhere. Although rioting ebbed swiftly in England after 1800, it continued to spread in France and Germany in the first half of the nineteenth century. Its decline after the mid-nineteenth century reflected improvements in distribution, the success of relief and repression in quenching hunger and quelling tensions, and the transposition of the politics of provisions to other realms: to national assemblies, to the platforms of political parties that debated there, and ultimately to the welfare state. However, the late twentieth century witnessed the resurgence of food riots in South America, Africa, and Eastern Europe.

See also **Economic Crises; Liberalism, Economic; Poverty; Revolutions, Age of.**

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CYNTHIA A. BOUTON

FORESTS AND WOODLANDS. Wood was far and away the primary source of energy for heating, cooking, and all industrial processes in early modern Europe. It was the central component

in most parts of Europe in building construction, and for all means of transport (wagons, carts, boats), packing (barrels, boxes), agricultural and industrial production (plows, tools, canes, poles, fences, pit-props), and machinery. These uses required rather different qualities of wood or timber, and products were in demand to varying extents according to local conditions and needs. Wood was never an undifferentiated resource, but was required in many different forms for different and often competing uses. Shortages of wood in one form (such as curved timbers for shipbuilding) by no means meant that it was generally scarce. In western and central Europe, around 70 to 90 percent of wood was harvested in the form of young trees or coppice wood used primarily for fuel. In many regions perhaps the majority of trees stood in fields or hedgerows rather than woodland.

Woodland was not only a source of wood. Bark was used for tanning, sap for creating resin-based products, and woodlands were also a vital source of fodder. Leaves were systematically harvested, especially in upland parts of Europe, and the forest floor provided humus used as stall litter. More frequently, herds of cows, sheep, and pigs were brought into the woodlands to feed on grass, shrubbery, acorns, and beech mast. The most familiar of these uses is the masting of pigs, but this provided only a dietary supplement that added weight and improved the quality of the meat. Acorns and the nuts from chestnut and beech trees were, however, never able to provide a fully satisfactory diet for swine. Pasturing needs encouraged the development of very open woodland, with relatively few mature trees widely spaced to provide the mast and allow light to encourage lush grazing. In Mediterranean areas such as the Cévennes of France and upland central Italy, chestnut groves were harvested, the nuts ground into flour and used for making the staple bread. Some parts of Europe also had extensive populations of wild game, with the right to hunt them accorded almost exclusively to the nobility. Wild boar and deer were the most prevalent species, but in Iberia and eastern Europe wolves were also targets of the chase.

Determining the real extent of woodland across wide areas of Europe remains a problem for historians. This arises not only from lack of data, but also because of the variable quality of wooded land itself.

In parts of the Mediterranean, especially southern Spain and Portugal, extensive savannahlike landscapes with scattered live or cork oaks existed, as well as denser stands of trees. At the end of the sixteenth century, around one-third of France, the German-speaking lands, Bohemia, and Poland were wooded. Most of northeast Europe and Scandinavia was somewhat more forested. Denmark had about one-quarter of its surface area under trees. Around 12 percent of Ireland may have been wooded, Britain a little less than a tenth, and the Netherlands less than a twentieth. Reliable figures for the Mediterranean lands at this time are not as yet available.

Given the universal need for wood, much woodland was divided into small patches on the less fertile soils in the vicinity of settlements, so that it remained easily accessible without excessive transportation costs. Depending on the local institutional framework, these woodlands were usually owned by local lords or by village communities, and the local population could exercise common rights of grazing and fuel gathering in them. Larger areas of upland forest were often claimed by rulers by regalian right, to control uncultivated or unused land. The Ardennes and Vosges, the Harz and Ore Mountains of central Europe, the Alps, Styria, and Carinthia in Austria, Swedish forests, and the Weald in southern England became centers of industrial processing. Iron, lead, silver, and copper production, potash and pitch making, saltworks, and glass manufacture required very large amounts of wood. These mining and industrial areas were far from marginal and often home to large settlements of skilled workers. In such regions large populations of charcoal makers and woodcutters supplemented the herders and forest wardens more usually found in village woodlands.

Complaints about wood shortages had already emerged in the late medieval period in a few parts of Europe. These grew in frequency and stridency with the expansion of population over the “long sixteenth century” (1450–1650) and especially after 1700. Inevitably, this was reflected in rising prices for wood. In many cases, however, these rose from an extraordinarily low base price, in a world where much wood was accessible for free as part of common rights. Very rapid price rises in centers such as Berlin reflected the very rapid expansion of those cities. The poor could be priced out of the market



Forests and Woodlands. *Landscape with Peasants*, seventeenth-century painting by Alexander Kerinex. THE ART ARCHIVE/SUERMONDT MUSEUM AACHEN/DAGLI ORTI (A)

where wood was very scarce, so that they might be forced to rely on substitutes such as straw, reeds, and dried dung, or to go cold. London's expansion, and relatively easy access to the coalfields of north-east England, meant that coal became the cheaper and more popular fuel as early as the 1580s, despite reservations about its unpleasant smoke. The majority of England's heat energy needs were certainly met by coal before 1700. In this, England followed in the wake of the wood-poor Netherlands, whose western provinces predominantly utilized peat for heating throughout the period. The Netherlands and southeast England also imported huge quantities of timber for construction from Norway, Germany, the Baltic, and, by the later eighteenth century, the Americas. The bulk and relatively low value of wood meant it could only be transported far by water. Upland streams often had their flow regulated to permit the floating of logs downstream, which were then bound into rafts for long journeys to centers of demand. However, the market for wood was highly differentiated, and complaints about shortages of one form of wood, or indeed the relatively favorable price of fossil fuels, do not necessarily indicate a general shortage. In most parts of Europe, transport costs and the inaccessibility of deep seams limited coal use before the nineteenth century.

States and rulers responded to widespread concerns about wood shortage from the fifteenth century onward by passing legislation that often limited cutting and grazing rights in all woodlands, not just those owned directly by rulers. Often this legislation attempted to apply the best practices from private or communally owned woodlands, but implementation across the board proved slow, often caught between competing interests of woodland users who sought mature timber, firewood, or grazing. Much of the legislation responded to particular interest groups, and historians of France and Germany have disputed whether fears of "wood shortage" masked the appropriation of woodlands by the state for fiscal reasons or for industry, especially iron smelters, to guarantee cheap fuel supplies. Although this played its part, concerns for the welfare of the population were often genuine and well founded, and, in nearly all regions of Europe, domestic demand remained by far the largest part of consumption.

The acquisition of timber required for shipbuilding was a particular concern of maritime governments, especially for navies, although the merchant marine was far larger. This demand was small compared to that for other uses and did not, as has so often been supposed, prompt deforestation. The long time scale required to provide trees of the right type did lead governments, however, to attempt to protect such trees and encourage planting, as in Sweden in 1558, France in 1669, and Spain in 1748 (though the influence of shipping on these wide-ranging forest laws has been much exaggerated). Such measures sometimes prompted attacks on the protected trees from local peasants who could get no use from them, accelerating declines in supply. While many states had professional forest administrations from the sixteenth century onward, technical training in forestry did not appear until the mid-eighteenth century. Thereafter, woodland management increasingly became a theoretical and strictly applied art, leading to the dominance of "scientific forestry" under state guidance during the nineteenth century.

There is clear evidence of very extensive deforestation only from France, Ireland, and Denmark during the early modern period. However, yields in many areas were low. Eighteenth-century population expansion combined with large increases in iron production (which, because of technical difficulties, first began to use coal throughout the production process only in the 1780s) to lead to regional overexploitation and shortfalls of wood by the end of the *ancien régime*. This was compounded in turn by the desire of many states to remain self-sufficient in supplies. As wood was one of the few assets easily made liquid, financial pressure could lead to devastating and rapid felling of woodlands by both lordships and village communities during times of increasing military and fiscal burdens. In most places, a governmental right to regulate all woodlands was established in the sixteenth century, but extensive changes to woodland came only in the eighteenth. This saw limits on traditional woodcutting practices and especially grazing, the latter partly achieved by the transition of industrial areas from deciduous forests to faster growing conifer monocultures that restricted fodder growth. These changes led to increasing antagonism between foresters and peasants, expressed in widespread wood

theft and intense conflicts that endured beyond the revolutions of 1848. State control over wood as a resource and centrally directed woodland policy remains a legacy of the period.

Wood and woodland played a significant role in the lives of most Europeans. As a literary topos woodland often remained, however, fixed in the (sometimes inverted) stereotypes of classical literature as mediated by the humanist movement. These presented woodland as outside of civilization, and the home of the wild, though equally the uncorrupted forms of nature. As part of the uncultivated “waste,” woodland was frequently viewed negatively until the Romantic period, although certain trees, primarily the oak, stood as symbols of national valor, steadfastness, or liberty. It remains unclear whether woodland had a genuinely broad symbolic importance in European culture before the late eighteenth century.

See also **Agriculture; Enclosure; Hunting; Shipbuilding and Navigation.**

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PAUL WARDE

FORGERIES, COPIES, AND CASTS.

Two contemporary accounts illustrate the growing awareness of the issues circulating around forgeries and copies in the sixteenth century. In the first, Michelangelo's (1475–1564) life-size marble of a sleeping Cupid is described in 1553 by his biographer, Ascanio Condivi, as being deliberately treated in order to make it pass as ancient and sold as such in Rome to Cardinal Riario. The second was

recounted by Giorgio Vasari some thirty years later. Loath to surrender Raphael's (1483–1520) portrait of Leo X and his nephews (Palazzo Pitti, Florence), Ottaviano de' Medici had Andrea del Sarto (1486–1530) paint a copy right down to the stains on the back of the canvas; it was so convincing that Raphael's own student, Giulio Romano (c. 1499–1546), was deceived (Museo del Capodimonte, Naples). Since forgery, as the intent to deceive, necessarily pertains to what is of value at a particular time, these two examples signal an expansion of a specific kind during the sixteenth century. The youthful Michelangelo's *Cupid* would have been desirable precisely because it was thought to be ancient. By the time Andrea del Sarto copied Raphael's painting, however, the conception of the modern artist, in which Michelangelo was seminal, had come into play, giving the work of contemporary artists a new kind of worth. Consequently, even an artist's name was worth forging and also protecting, as may be seen from the suit Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528) is said to have brought against Marcantonio Raimondi (c. 1480–c. 1534) for copying not only his prints but also his monogram. In the seventeenth century the forging of antiquities, paintings, and prints, as well as signatures, by which the existing paintings of lesser artists could be elevated to more sought-after ones, were all to be found.

Similar values underlie casts and copies. Since “an essential aspect of modernity, as Italy conceived it, lay in antiquity” (Haskell and Penny), its dissemination became imperative. Books and prints facilitated this end, but casts played the major role. Although known in antiquity and described in the fourteenth century in Cennino Cennini's craftsman's handbook (c. 1390), the pivotal importance of casts largely begins with Francesco Primaticcio (1504–1570). Born in Bologna, Primaticcio was working at the court of Francis I when he was sent to Rome about 1540 to draw and purchase antiquities for the palace at Fontainebleau. While there, he also made casts of important ancient sculptures, which were transported to France and cast in bronze. These established a precedent (even through the reproduction of the molds themselves) for royalty throughout Europe, for whom the imperial connotations of ancient Rome and the cultural domination of the contemporary capital held equal sway. A further result of this development was the

establishment of a limited number of clearly recognizable works that came to serve as a canon for both artists and the development of taste. Innumerable copies and variations of these works, made large and small, carved in marble, cast in metal, and translated into media as diverse as ceramic and porcelain, were ubiquitous throughout the eighteenth century and beyond.

Casts also were fundamental to the education of artists. Leon Battista Alberti (1404–1472) had already recommended that students learn to draw by copying sculpture, and Giovanni Battista Armenini (c. 1525–1609) recommended that they draw from casts of the most famous ancient works. Ideally this would occur before they began studying from life to ensure that they had acquired the judgment necessary to deal with nature. The practice, however, was institutionalized only slowly, even by the French, who gradually amassed an enormous collection of casts at their academy in Rome that eventually superseded the antiquities themselves as models to draw.

If casts represent the dissemination of the antique in the early modern period, copies demonstrate the growing stature of contemporary artists. It is true that copies of works of art filled various roles. Many served the desire for particular subjects (paintings of the Madonna, for example, or the effigies of the fashionable and famous), and copying works by the masters or others had long been and continued to be an important part of artistic training. Sometimes, as in the case of such artists as Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640), who made copies throughout his life, the works have been called “creative copies,” because rather than being exact, they bear the mark of his artistic personality. However, as inventories of the period unmistakably document, copies, as stand-ins for the work of admired artists, were made in increasing numbers over the course of the sixteenth century. These were produced by the artist himself (replicas) or his assistants, by other artists, as well as by ranks of professional copyists. Techniques to facilitate the production of copies included the tracing of finished pictures, and the results of the increased accuracy are often the connoisseurship problems of today.

See also Art: The Art Market and Collecting.

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LINDA BAUER

FORTIFICATIONS. *See* **Engineering: Military.**

FORTUNE-TELLING. *See* **Magic.**

FORTY-FIVE. *See* **Jacobitism.**

FOUNDLINGS. *See* **Orphans and Foundlings.**

FRAGONARD, JEAN-HONORÉ (1732–1806), French painter of the rococo period. Fragonard was born in Grasse, a Provençal town near the Mediterranean, where his father was a glove maker or merchant. The family is most likely of Italian origin and was composed primarily of artisans. They appear to have moved to Paris when Fragonard was six, possibly because of a lawsuit,

although no documents confirm its nature. According to his grandson, Théophile Fragonard, he was first a notary's clerk, but was dismissed because he drew constantly. His mother took him to see François Boucher (1703–1770), who sent him away because he did not yet know how to paint. Jean-Baptiste-Siméon Chardin (1699–1779), however, appreciated Fragonard's sense of color, accepting him as an apprentice and letting him paint immediately. He worked with Chardin for six months and then returned to Boucher's studio.

Fragonard's first recorded presence in Boucher's studio is 18 May 1753; however, he won the Grand Prix in 1752, so he must have been there as early as 1749 or 1750. Edmond and Jules de Goncourt, Fragonard's nineteenth-century biographers, report that even though he had never studied at the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture, he was allowed to compete for the Grand Prix as Boucher's pupil. In 1753 Fragonard entered the newly established École Royale des Élèves Protégés (under the direction of Carle Van Loo) where he received training in art theory and technique as well as lessons in history and the liberal arts. He left for the French Academy in Rome in October of 1756, remaining there until 1761.

While Fragonard copied Old Master paintings and ancient sculpture as directed, his landscape drawings made during this period had a greater impact on the future course of his career. He spent a great deal of time sketching the gardens of Tivoli and the Villa d'Este, often alongside Hubert Robert, invited by an important patron of the arts, the abbé de Saint-Non. His drawings of this period are marked by their virtuoso execution and strength of viewpoint. The delicate handling of chalk and dramatic framing effects of his *Avenue of Cypress Trees* (Musée des Beaux-arts et d'Archeologie, Besançon) is just one example.

In 1765 Fragonard presented his *morceau d'agrément* (acceptance piece) to the Académie Royale—the much celebrated *High Priest Coresus Sacrifices Himself to Save Callirhoë* (Musée du Louvre, Paris). Art critics such as Denis Diderot lauded Fragonard as the future strength of the French school; yet they were sorely disappointed at the following salon when he failed to submit history paintings of similar strengths. Various sources claimed

that Fragonard had sold out and was working primarily on boudoir paintings. One such work is *Happy Hazards of the Swing* (1767; Wallace Collection, London), apparently painted on commission for a gentleman of court who wanted his mistress to be the subject of the scene. This delightful easel painting firmly positioned Fragonard as the leading artist of the last generation of rococo painters, heir to Boucher and Antoine Watteau.

For most of his career, Fragonard worked for private patrons who could pay him well. He demonstrated a tremendous capacity to change his style at will and worked in all the genres with equal facility. Many of his paintings were cabinet pictures, but he also received commissions for large-scale decorative cycles, although not all of these pleased his patrons. Most famously, the Louveciennes panels painted for Louis XV's mistress, Madame du Barry, were rejected and replaced by a series painted by Joseph-Marie Vien, who worked in a more neoclassical style. These paintings (now in the Frick Collection, New York) have been the subject of numerous and often conflicting analyses. Critics and scholars are in agreement, however, in their assessment of Fragonard's talents with the brush. The bravura that marks his so-called fantasy portraits has long been considered evidence of artistic genius, and such works were no doubt executed—reportedly in under an hour—to give this impression to the beholder.

Fragonard's impact on the late rococo lies in his reinterpretation of the *fête galante* and pastoral imagery of the previous two generations. His interest in picturesque effects took rococo landscape in new directions based largely on principles of opposition and escape. Some scholars have credited this change to Fragonard's study of nature during a second journey to Italy in 1773 and 1774, traveling in the company Pierre-Jacques-Onésyme Bergeret de Grancourt, a *fermier général* (tax farmer) whom he had known for ten years. He made drawings exclusively during this trip, which are characterized by his use of *bistre* wash and which show his fascination with light effects. It is this interest in using light to convey atmosphere and emotion that altered his approach to painting.

Fragonard's late works respond to the polish of neoclassicism. They are more controlled, less physi-

cally energized, but profoundly emotive. The tenor of these works, such as *The Bolt* (c. 1778; Louvre), relies on the tension of line, refined surface textures, and strong use of chiaroscuro. This is the period in which Fragonard began to work with his niece, Marguerite Gerard. Considerable confusion exists over the authorship of late works like *The Stolen Kiss* (Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg), but recent research suggests that there was a genuine collaboration between master and student, each taking up parts of the canvas. They also executed numerous prints together.

The young Jacques-Louis David took a great deal of interest in Fragonard; his early works were clearly influenced by the compositions and techniques of the rococo master. During the 1790s, when revolutionary events all but prevented Fragonard from continuing to paint, David helped to secure positions for him as a curator and administrator. While commissions and sales were essentially nonexistent in these turbulent years, Fragonard was not excluded from working within the existing institutions of art. He played an essential role in founding what is now the Louvre. Between 1792 and 1797, he was one of six members of the Commission du Muséum Central, a body that oversaw every aspect of the new museum. In 1805 Fragonard was given a pension for life by the state, although he died less than a year later, on 22 August 1806.

The rococo fell out of favor during the first half of the nineteenth century. Not until the Goncourt brothers completed their biographies of important eighteenth-century artists would attention turn once again to the painterly magnificence of Fragonard's works. The impressionists, particularly Pierre-Auguste Renoir, were among those most influenced by his use of color and his technique. Subjects that we most strongly associate with Fragonard and the rococo, like women on swings, were also revived at that time.

See also **Art: Artistic Patronage; Boucher, François; Chardin, Jean-Baptiste-Siméon; David, Jacques-Louis; Rococo.**

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JENNIFER D. MILAM

FRANCE. France was both the largest state in early modern Europe and the most centrally situated. Its population of roughly 20 million dwarfed all rivals: in 1620 the country had ten times the population of the Dutch Republic, four times that of England, twice that of Spain, and a third more than that of all the German states combined. On both north and south it bordered territories of the Habsburg kings of Spain, and it adjoined other Habsburg territories to the east; to the west there was Britain, which until 1544 maintained small outposts on the mainland, and even after could easily invade. The combination of size and centrality shaped much of French history during the early modern period. Given its proximity to other great powers, France could never avoid entanglements



and potential conflicts with its neighbors—but possessing resources so much greater than they, it rarely sought to avoid conflict. On the contrary, its kings repeatedly attempted to establish France as Europe's leading power, annexing territories of less powerful neighbors and bullying even loyal allies. As a result, France participated in most major international conflicts of the period and in the seventeenth century assembled the largest armies that Europe had ever seen. Organizing, justifying, and paying for military power on this scale encouraged the development of state organization, and for most of the period France was Europe's most intensively governed state, as well as its biggest. Its overdeveloped monarchy brought France important benefits but also placed heavy burdens on the nation's economy. By the eighteenth century, this form of government could survive only at the cost of radical reforms, efforts that in the end led to revolutionary upheaval.

THE GEOGRAPHY AND POLITICS OF DIVERSITY

Extending from the English Channel to the Mediterranean and from the Atlantic to the Rhine, early

modern France included a diverse, imperfectly integrated set of territories. Geography accounted for some of this diversity; different regions had different climates and qualities of soil, and thus different systems of agriculture. The plains of northern France were among the richest grain-producing regions in Europe, whereas the center of the country was mountainous and heavily wooded. Southern France had a Mediterranean climate, which limited grain harvests but allowed farmers to grow olives and a variety of fruits, while the north was damp and cold. But cultural differences also contributed to the country's diversity. As late as 1863, it has been estimated, 12 percent of French children spoke no French, and a much larger share of the population mainly used some form of dialect. Until 1789, laws varied from one province of the country to another, creating differences in family organization, inheritance, and landholding patterns.

Such differences reflected the fact that this territory was an artificial creation, assembled mainly by military force over a period of centuries; the process would end only in the mid-nineteenth century. The plains around Paris, known as the Île de France, constituted the original home of the French monarchs, and from it during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries they had extended their power as far south as the Mediterranean, making medieval France already an immense territory for its time. Even then the English retained control over a small territory in the north and a much larger area in the southwest, around the city of Bordeaux. The English kings dramatically increased their holdings during the political chaos of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, enlarging their long-held territories in the southwest and conquering the rich province of Normandy. At the same time the duchy of Brittany reasserted its independence, acknowledging only nominal French overlordship; and younger branches of the royal house established semi-independent principalities for themselves, notably in Burgundy, whose dukes pursued an independent foreign policy aimed at establishing their full autonomy.

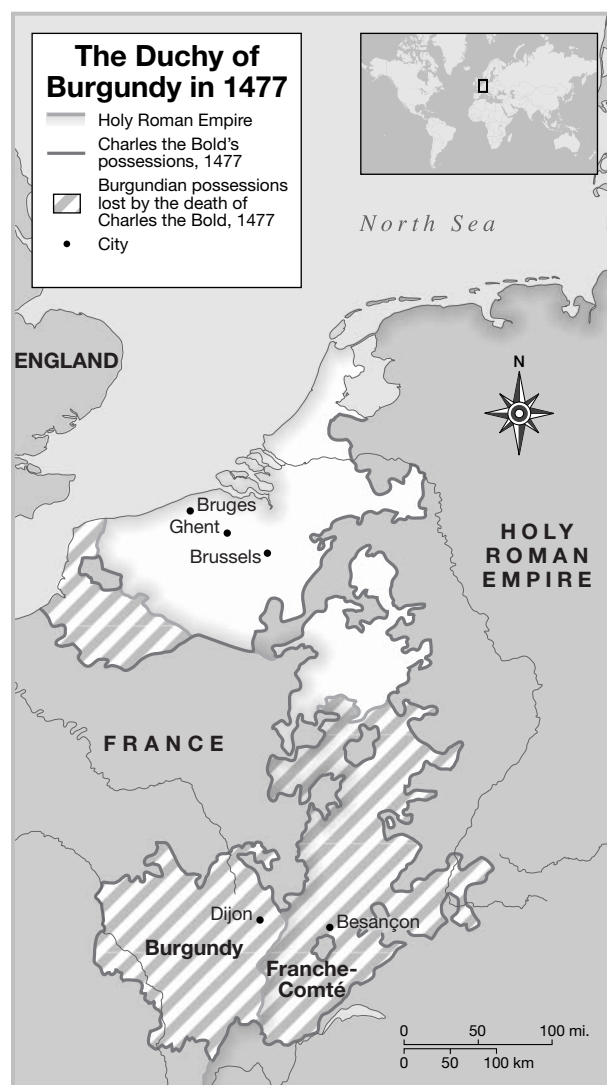
But this late-medieval tendency to dissolution reversed itself in the mid-fifteenth century, and thereafter French history was marked by new territorial acquisitions and tightening control over outlying regions. Charles VII (ruled 1422–1461),

goaded into action by Joan of Arc, supervised the expulsion of the English, who were finally driven out in 1453, retaining only Calais (even that was lost in 1544). His successor, Louis XI (ruled 1461–1483), ended the threat of an independent duchy of Burgundy: when its last duke was killed in battle, in 1477, Louis immediately seized much of Burgundy's territory and set up a series of French institutions in the duke's former capital, designed to ensure that French influence functioned vigorously there. In the following generations, successive kings married heiresses to the duchy of Brittany, ensuring that it too would be integrated into the French state. In these and other peripheral regions of the kingdom, kings sought to ensure provincial loyalty by establishing institutions modeled on those in Paris, staffing them with a mix of locals and men drawn from the royal entourage. Sensitive to regional traditions and eager to secure loyalty, kings also permitted these new provinces to retain significant tax advantages and some forms of local autonomy.

After 1515, the pace of territorial expansion slowed. In the mid-sixteenth century, King Henry II (ruled 1547–1559) established a French presence in the eastern region of Lorraine; in 1589 the small kingdom of Navarre, in the southwest, along the border with Spain, became part of France when its king became Henry IV (ruled 1589–1610) of France. In the course of his wars, Louis XIV (ruled 1643–1715) added the Franche-Comté and Alsace to the east, Roussillon to the south, and part of Flanders and Artois to the north. Finally, after a long period of intermittent control, Louis XV (ruled 1715–1774) took over the previously independent duchy of Lorraine in 1740 and the island of Corsica in 1768. By this point France had nearly reached its modern limits; thereafter it added only Avignon (taken from the pope in 1791) and Savoy and Nice, acquired in 1860 from Italy.

DISTANCE AND THE PROCESS OF UNIFICATION

Even travelers in a hurry might require three weeks to make their way across the territories thus assembled, and institutional barriers also helped ensure that the country's practical unity never matched its rulers' claims. Units of measure varied by region, and regional governments typically restricted trade across their borders in an effort to ensure local food



supplies. But over the early modern period there was significant progress toward effective unification of this vast territory, especially after the end of the civil wars that had marked the sixteenth century. The French state pushed throughout the period to improve communications across the kingdom, and they sought in other ways to reduce its variety of institutions and customs. Already in 1464 Louis XI had established a postal service that crossed France, allowing travelers to exchange horses at fixed points. In the early seventeenth century, as France rebuilt from the Wars of Religion (1562–1598), Henry IV's chief minister, the duke of Sully, assumed control of French road building, setting standards for new construction and encouraging new projects. The state's interest in such projects continued to grow through the later seventeenth



and eighteenth centuries, producing dramatic improvements in all forms of transportation. A specialized engineering service was established in the early eighteenth century to supervise construction, and in 1747 a state-run school was established to train its engineers. As a result of such efforts, between 1660 and 1789 travel times between Paris and the other major cities fell by about half, in some cases more: mid-seventeenth-century travelers had needed fifteen days to get from Paris to Bordeaux, but by 1789 this had fallen to only five days. Regularly scheduled coaches now served these roads, and the

combination of better roads and improved coaches allowed travelers to make the trip in relative comfort. The government also supported efforts at canal building, linking the country's natural waterways into an effective national system, especially well suited for the distribution of heavy agricultural goods. The Canal du Midi, which permitted navigation from the Atlantic to the Mediterranean, was a wonder of the era when it opened in 1681.

Governments sought also to diminish the country's cultural and institutional diversity. Each province retained its distinctive law code, but successive

revisions—with royal commissioners sent to investigate local practices and compile new collections—brought these more into line with one another. Other magistrates were sent into distant hinterlands to deal with reports of lawlessness and ensure compliance with the king's own laws. The later eighteenth century brought an attack on the political and economic barriers that divided the French territory. In the 1760s and 1770s, the governments of the Abbé Terray and of Turgot sought to end restrictions on free trade within the country, creating a single national market in place of the twenty or so distinct provinces. These efforts failed, partly because they provoked popular disturbances over higher food prices, but the direction of change was clearly toward national unity.

PHASES OF ROYAL POWER, 1453–1589

Even in their darkest moments, French kings enjoyed important advantages in comparison with their rivals elsewhere in Europe. The Salic law, supposed to be of ancient origins but in fact instituted in the early fourteenth century, proclaimed that women could not inherit the throne, ensuring that it would never go via marriage to a foreign prince. In the coronation ceremony, French kings were anointed with holy oil, and they enjoyed other markings of sanctity. The popes had conferred on them the title “Most Christian King,” associating them with the work of the church, and long tradition accorded them the power to cure some diseases by touching the afflicted. In 1440, they had acquired the more practical advantage of levying taxes in most of the country without seeking the consent of any representative institution. These traditions of respect for royal power proved especially important in the years after 1453 as France rebuilt from the disasters of the Hundred Years' War with England. The war had devastated much of the country, and it was only around 1500 that population returned to what it had been in 1337, when the fighting began. Under Charles VII and Louis XI, the work of reconstruction advanced quickly. Rebellions by great aristocrats were put down, and the core of an effective civil service was established. In the next generation, this concern with reestablishing internal peace and order yielded to an urge for external adventures. In 1494 the sickly Charles VIII (ruled 1483–1498), Louis's son, raised a large army and led it across Italy to conquer the kingdom of Naples; the venture ex-

pressed both dynastic ambition—the royal family's claim to Naples dated to a thirteenth-century ancestor—and crusading ideals, for Charles hoped to use Naples as a jumping-off point for a crusade to liberate Jerusalem. Neither he nor the aristocratic armies he led had relinquished medieval visions of politics; they fought not for national interest, but in the service of family and faith.

Charles's invasion inaugurated a half century of war over Italy, war that eventually ended in complete French defeat. Charles's army had easily conquered Naples, but Ferdinand, the king of Spain, quickly and effectively disputed his dominance, routing French armies and establishing Spain's dominance of the region. Charles died in 1498, but his successor (an elderly cousin who ruled as Louis XII) only widened these conflicts; he had his own claims to the duchy of Milan, in northern Italy, and thus French armies returned to Italy seeking to establish claims to both north and south. Francis I (1515–1547) and his son Henry II (1547–1559) continued these efforts despite repeated military disasters. Francis himself was captured in battle at Pavia in 1525, and his two sons were held hostage in Madrid for an enormous ransom. By the 1530s the Spanish had solidified their hold on Italy, and a last French defeat in 1557 (at St. Quentin, near the Netherlands border) finally ended French hopes. The drive for hegemony in Italy had produced only Spanish lordship over Milan and Naples and overwhelming Spanish influence elsewhere in the peninsula.

The peace settlement of 1559 brought its own problems. Without the distractions of foreign war, aristocratic clans competed with increased avidity for influence at court—the more intently because three of Henry II's weakling sons came in turn to the throne after his death in 1559. Neither they nor their mother, Catherine de Médicis, who exercised a large influence on royal policy over the next thirty years, had the personal authority to discipline these factions; despite the sacred trappings surrounding the French monarchy, kings' personal qualities still mattered to the success of their governments. But in the mid-sixteenth century the demands placed on kings had also become more difficult because of the arrival of Protestantism in France. Both John Calvin and his principal lieutenant Théodore de Bèze were French by birth, and they took considerable interest in bringing the Reformed religion to their native



France. An early-sixteenth-century manuscript map of France, oriented with south at the top. Because of this perspective, Normandy and Brittany appear at the bottom right, and the Pyrenees mountain chain separating Spain and France is at the top. The map may have been drawn during the reign of Francis I (1515–1547), a period that saw almost constant warfare against the Hapsburg Charles V, but also the introduction of the Italian Renaissance into France. MAP COLLECTION, STERLING MEMORIAL LIBRARY, YALE UNIVERSITY

land. Calvinist missionaries sought to reach all levels of French society, but their greatest successes came among elites. By 1562 significant minorities of the bourgeoisie and nobility had turned to Calvinism, and in that year they launched a coordinated uprising. The royal army and the Catholic factions among the nobility defeated these movements, but 1562 proved to be the opening phase of a long civil war, the Wars of Religion, that merely paused in 1598 and came to a definitive conclusion only in 1629. Over these years, efforts to achieve religious toleration, embodied in short-lived peace treaties, alternated with moments of extreme religious violence. In 1572 King Charles IX's plan to have the Protestant leader Gaspard de Coligny assassinated turned into the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre of Protestants, first in Paris, then in other cities throughout the country. Contemporaries believed that they were witnessing both the breakdown of order inside the country and the decay of French standing within Europe, for the Spanish king Philip II contributed both funds and troops to the Catholic side.

PHASES OF ROYAL POWER, 1589–1789

The crises of these years created broad support for stronger monarchy, and this became the dominant pattern of the seventeenth century. In 1589 the crown passed to Henry IV, a distant cousin of the previous kings and leader of the Protestant movement during the later Wars of Religion; his promise to convert to Catholicism secured the obedience of most of the country, and in 1598 the Edict of Nantes established a degree of religious peace. Rebellion, conspiracy, and civil war remained real threats, but they were brief interruptions of a trend toward stronger government—and of the revival of French efforts to dominate European power politics. As in the sixteenth century, Spain again provided the natural target of French ambitions as the dominant European power and as having several borders with France. Henry IV's sudden death in 1610, amidst plans to march against Spanish interests in the Rhineland, only postponed the fighting. His son Louis XIII (ruled 1610–1643) led French armies across the Alps in 1628 to establish a French duke in the small northern Italian principality of Mantua and then in 1635 launched France into full involvement in the Thirty Years' War against both Spain and its Habsburg ally, the Holy Roman em-

peror. The ensuing decades of war placed enormous burdens, both political and financial, on French resources. Rising taxes provoked popular rebellions in several provinces, and aristocratic plotting resumed, motivated by the eagerness of those around the king to attain more influence. The worst moments came in 1648, with the young Louis XIV on the throne and real power in the hands of his Spanish mother, Anne of Austria, and her Italian advisor, Cardinal Mazarin; during the four years of the Fronde, as the rebellions were called, a shifting coalition of urban crowds, royal judges, and great aristocrats twice drove Mazarin into exile and threatened to take over control of the government. But throughout this time France managed to sustain its armies against the still more severely strained Habsburg powers. The 1648 Treaty of Westphalia (with the empire) and the 1659 Peace of the Pyrenees (with Spain) provided territorial gains and more broadly established France as the new dominant power in Europe.

Asserting and expanding that power became the government's primary concern over the next fifty years. After Mazarin's death in 1661, Louis XIV proclaimed himself fully in charge of French policy, and through the longest reign of European history (he died only in 1715, leaving the crown to his great-grandson) he devoted himself to asserting French supremacy, cultural and economic as well as military. Intermittent war resumed in 1666, with new military adventures coming in 1672, 1689, and 1702. The understanding of national ambition had evolved since the sixteenth century, however. By this point, expanding national territory and advancing trade had become the express motives of international policy, replacing the dynastic and crusading ideals of the sixteenth century. Spain had fallen to the second rank of European powers, and much of Louis's effort was directed to absorbing bits of Spanish territory; the last and greatest of his wars was directed to absorbing Spain itself, whose king had died childless. Parallel efforts asserted the place of French culture within Europe. Louis's new palace at Versailles was designed partly as an advertisement for French glory and elegance, and support for artists, writers, and musicians had the same goal, affirming French cultural supremacy within Europe and royal supremacy within France.



France. A map of France from a French atlas published circa 1760. MAP COLLECTION, STERLING MEMORIAL LIBRARY, YALE UNIVERSITY

These efforts brought some additions to French territory, and they secured for one of Louis's grandsons the Spanish throne as Philip V, though only on condition that the two crowns never be joined. Versailles and its courtly rituals impressed many other rulers, and imitations sprang up in several countries. But Louis's ambitions also united the rest of Europe against him, especially after 1685, when, with the Edict of Fontainebleau, he revoked the Edict of Nantes and banished all Protestants from France. To contemporaries, he seemed a menace to the religious peace of Europe as well as to his neighbors' territories. With most other European powers allied against it, French militarism exhausted the country's resources and produced only small gains. His subjects greeted Louis's death with relief.

Taking note of war's human and financial costs, his successors were more cautious about military adventures. Louis XV entered the brief War of the Polish Succession (1733–1735), the War of Austrian Succession (1740–1747), and the Seven Years' War (1756–1763); Louis XVI, only the American Revolution (1778–1783). The first and the last of these conflicts were French successes, but the Seven Years' War was a humiliating failure, which seemed to teach a lesson that Louis XIV's last wars had already suggested: despite its immense population (which had risen to 26 million by the late eighteenth century), France had lost its dominant position within Europe. It remained Europe's largest country, but others were proving better able to mobilize their resources, for both military and civic

ends. It had no equivalent to the Bank of England, which raised public loans for the government, nor could it match Prussia's extremely disciplined military organization. Already in the 1660s, government officials noted the superior economic performance of the Dutch Republic; in the eighteenth century, with the opening phases of the industrial revolution, England appeared to be growing far richer.

Diminished standing within the European state system produced a rising anxiety among French ruling elites, and led to a series of government-sponsored efforts at reform and modernization. During the last twenty-five years of the old regime, governments did away with guilds and established free trade in foodstuffs; they expelled the Jesuit order from France and instituted some toleration for Protestants; they funded agricultural societies throughout the country in hopes of improving farming techniques; they sought to reorganize the judiciary, and (immediately before the Revolution) set up an ambitious system of provincial legislatures. These were serious efforts at change, directed by thoughtful, strong-minded government ministers, who had been much influenced by their reading of Enlightenment political philosophy and economic theory. But several of these reforms lasted only briefly, falling victim to power struggles at Versailles, the kings' weakness, and the vocal opposition of groups whose interests they threatened. In the decades before 1789, the monarchy seemed incapable of sustaining a consistent policy.

So cumbrous and incoherent a system could not continue indefinitely, and in 1789 the sequence of increasingly radical government-sponsored reforms edged into revolution. By this point the crown found it difficult to finance even small successes in the competition among European states. To secure approval for new taxes, it called together a series of representative assemblies, culminating in the Estates-General of 1789. Though they believed in monarchical government, most members of the Estates from the outset demanded that radical changes be made in the country's organization. Within weeks of assembling, they had unilaterally declared themselves a National Assembly charged with creating a new constitution, and they made the king a mere executive of the nation, rather than its sover-

ign. Three years later, the monarchy was eliminated altogether.

THE CHARACTER OF GOVERNMENT

In 1515, France had few government officials, only one for every 4,700 inhabitants, according to one historian's estimate, but by 1665 the ratio had changed to one official for every 380 inhabitants, giving France one of the largest governments in early modern Europe. The state's massive expansion partly resulted from public demand. In the litigious world of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, both elites and ordinary people wanted more judges, and they wanted better control of public disorder; in response, Louis XIV established Europe's first professional police force. But the needs of royal ambition counted for more than popular demand for governmental services. The gigantic armies of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries needed civilian officials to manage them, and they needed to be paid for, meaning that the number of tax officials grew as fast as the number of judges. In the seventeenth century, this effort to extract revenue merged with an additional governmental project, that of monitoring and stimulating economic activity. The idea that government should encourage economic development had circulated in the early seventeenth century, but it became especially prominent during the reign of Louis XIV, under the influence of his minister Jean-Baptiste Colbert. At Colbert's urging, government tax offices expanded to keep closer track of economic changes, and new officials were created specifically to inspect and encourage commercial activity. The French navy was strengthened to protect overseas trade, and direct subsidies were given to some industries. Such ideas continued to influence French officials through the eighteenth century, and they retained through 1789 a lofty view of themselves as guiding the nation's economic activity.

As the early modern period advanced, professional civil servants of this kind faced steadily less competition from other institutions. National representative assemblies, known as Estates-General, had been an important element of medieval French government, and they continued to meet frequently during the sixteenth century. But both the king and his leading officials viewed the Estates with suspicion, and after 1615 they ceased to meet. Provincial

estates continued to play a role in governing some outlying regions, notably in Brittany and Languedoc, but in other regions these institutions too disappeared. Over most of the country, the French kings had established their right to levy taxes without consulting their subjects.

In some respects, this failure of French representative institutions added dramatically to the monarchy's power. But though French royal power was in some respects absolute, in other ways it faced significant limitations, many of them bound up with the character of its own civil service. Since the early sixteenth century, almost all offices in the French state had come to be articles of property, whose occupants could sell them or pass them on to their children. This system of venal office-holding was nearly unique in Europe. Probably it had originated from private bribery, but the government itself quickly began selling positions as a fundraising device. In 1522 Francis I established a bureau to sell new positions, and complicated rules were established giving the government a share in private sales. Both the government and potential buyers had an interest in the system's expansion, and expand it did. Numerous new offices were created, ranging from the loftiest judgeships to petty local positions, and individuals rushed to buy them, eager for the combination of status, power, and tax exemption they offered. Until the 1660s even this rising supply did not suffice to meet demand; office prices rose dramatically, and the most important offices cost enormous sums.

Venality complicated relations between royal officials and the king himself. Officeholders wanted to protect the value of their investments, and they reacted with hostility to royal plans that would diminish their importance or abolish outmoded positions; and they could oppose the king without risk of dismissal. Opposition was most vocal and most dangerous at the top of the official hierarchy, from the country's leading law courts. By 1789 these included fourteen parlements, appeals courts scattered across the country, each numbering dozens of judges, and about a dozen sister courts charged mainly with supervising tax collection. Though they spent much of their time deciding private litigation, the parlements also had important political and administrative functions. They regulated commerce and many other matters within their jurisdictions;

more important still, new laws from the king required their formal endorsement and registration, a process that often involved contentious debates about royal policies, and that often included magistrates offering their own amendments.

As a result, politics in early modern France was marked by repeated conflicts between the central government and its own officials. Henry IV argued with the magistrates over religion and finally had to enforce their compliance with his policy of toleration for Protestants. In the next generation, struggles primarily concerned royal fiscal policy, culminating in outright rebellion—the Fronde of 1648—led by magistrates of the Parlement of Paris. After 1661, Louis XIV bullied the magistrates into submission, but in the eighteenth century they returned to opposing royal plans in matters of religion, taxation, and economic policy. Such disputes echoed far outside the government itself, for the magistrates proved adept at mobilizing public opinion in support of their views, making effective use of pamphlets to reach middle-class readers. However absolute they were in theory, French kings could never ignore alternative centers of political power. Even Louis XIV combined intimidation and negotiation in dealing with the magistrates, offering financial advantages and policy concessions to those who went along with government plans.

THE CHARACTER OF SOCIETY

The rising number of royal judges and officials was the most important change that French society underwent during the early modern period. By the seventeenth century, officials formed the richest group in most French cities, and they dominated urban politics and culture. At the highest levels, judges from the parlements and other important law courts shaded into the aristocracy, forming a distinctive class known as the nobility of the robe. Tensions remained with the older military nobility, the nobility of the sword, and the most distinguished families of the old nobility would not have considered placing their sons in judicial careers. But even these families often intermarried with members of the robe nobility, and farther down the social scale the merger between robe and sword nobilities was almost complete. Partly as a result, French nobles tended to leave the countryside after about 1650. Those who could afford to bought houses in

Paris, Versailles, and the regional capitals, where they could enjoy an increasingly sophisticated urban life. By the later eighteenth century, observers claimed, only poor nobles resided permanently in the country; others visited their country estates only occasionally, for brief periods of rural relaxation, before returning to the pleasures of city and court. Other elements of the French bourgeoisie showed less dynamism in the period, and families often preferred the safety of official careers to the uncertainties of commerce. As a result, some of the most successful entrepreneurs in early modern France were foreigners; Italian bankers settled in sixteenth-century Lyon, making that city an important financial center, and Iberian merchants played an important role in the development of French commerce along the Atlantic seaboard. In the eighteenth century, however, French merchants became more adventurous, profiting from opportunities in the Atlantic colonial trade and investing in textile manufacturing and metallurgy. The Paris stock market was a relative latecomer, founded well after comparable institutions in Amsterdam and London, but it was a center of frenetic activity in the late eighteenth century. Even then, however, the greatest commercial fortunes tended to be associated with the state. Throughout the period, the French government desperately needed bankers who could supply loans to make up for inadequate tax receipts, and such figures increasingly took over tax collection themselves.

Because of the hesitant development of its commercial and manufacturing sectors, France remained an overwhelmingly rural society throughout the early modern period. In 1500, only thirty-two French cities had at least 10,000 inhabitants; only a dozen of these had 20,000 or more, and only three had 40,000. With a population of well over 100,000 inhabitants, Paris ranked as the largest city in northern Europe, and, as the capital of an increasingly powerful government, it expanded dramatically over the period, to about 600,000 on the eve of the Revolution. Other cities grew as well; by 1800 there were ten cities with at least 40,000 inhabitants and thirty-one with 20,000. But only a handful of commercial centers—Lyon, the Mediterranean port of Marseille, and the Atlantic ports of Bordeaux and Nantes—grew very quickly.

As a result, through 1789 at least three-fourths of French men and women lived in the countryside, in communities numbering only a few hundred residents. In settings of this kind, villagers necessarily had intimate knowledge of one another's lives, and many village institutions strengthened communal bonds. Many villages owned some communal lands, which residents could use for pasturing animals and collecting firewood, and in many regions villagers had common rights even to private land after the harvest had been collected. Religious rituals further strengthened community ties, since the village's borders followed those of the Catholic parish, and the parish church supplied the village's main public space. Bound together by so many ties, the village could form an effective political unit when its interests were threatened. The first half of the seventeenth century witnessed a wave of peasant rebellions against royal tax demands, and throughout the period villagers launched collective lawsuits against landlords and others. Despite such moments of collective action, however, the early modern village was also a deeply divided place, and divisions tended to become more serious as the period progressed. In the early sixteenth century, most French villages were dominated by a large middle class of farmers, most of whom controlled enough land to feed their families and produce a small surplus. Between 1550 and 1650, however, land came to be concentrated in very few hands as a result of multiple social pressures: population growth led families to divide parcels among their heirs; rising taxes and rents drove many middling farmers into economic difficulties; newly rich royal officials were buying up both large and small properties. By 1650, most villages were divided between a mass of impoverished agricultural laborers and a very small group of wealthy farmers.

These stark divisions within rural society were not a primary cause of the political explosions of 1789, and peasants played only marginal roles in the Revolution. But rural poverty contributed indirectly to the monarchy's collapse. At the end of the eighteenth century, France was a great power whose social problems stood in the way of its international ambitions. The men of 1789 believed that their nation required complete regeneration in order to return to greatness. The monarchy had visibly failed in the task of reconstruction; now representatives of the nation would undertake it.

See also Ancien Régime; Austrian Succession, War of the; Bordeaux; Bourbon Dynasty (France); Burgundy; Camisard Revolt; Catherine de Médicis; Charles VIII (France); Charles the Bold (Burgundy); Colbert, Jean-Baptiste; Coligny Family; Condé Family; Devolution, War of; Estates-General, French; Francis I (France); Fronde; Guise Family; Habsburg-Valois Wars; Henry IV (France); Huguenots; League of Augsburg, War of the; Louis XII (France); Louis XIII (France); Louis XIV (France); Louis XV (France); Louis XVI (France); Lyon; Marie Antoinette; Marie de Médicis; Mazarin, Jules; Nantes, Edict of; Poisons, Affair of the; Polish Succession, War of the; Pompadour, Jeanne-Antoinette Poisson, Mme de; Richelieu, Armand-Jean Du Plessis, cardinal; Seven Years' War; Thirty Years' War; Valois Dynasty (France); Versailles; Wars of Religion, French.

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JONATHAN DEWALD

FRANCE, ARCHITECTURE IN.

French architecture of the early modern period is characterized by three main tendencies: the survival of Gothic technology and form, the influence of Italian and ancient models of classicism, and the effort to form a strong French architectural language. Political and social overtones varied in the Renaissance, with ancient and Italian classical influences gradually merging with a lively Late Gothic tradition to express cultivation and splendor. In the seventeenth century, French kings elaborated universal principles and state institutions to express their political and cultural ambitions. Finally, in the eighteenth century, architecture itself was redefined as an instrument of social change.

THE RENAISSANCE

After Charles VIII returned from his Italian military campaigns in 1495, strong Gothic traditions were given a new patina of Italianate structure and ornament. For example, on the court side of the Francis I wing of the château (residential castle) of Blois (Loire Valley, 1515–1524), a typically Gothic spiral staircase, disengaged on three sides, is covered with Renaissance ornaments such as medallions and balusters. Soon, a series of royal châteaux showed a more radical reorganization of plans and external forms, as seen in the château of Chambord (Loire Valley, 1519–c. 1559) and the seven châteaux in the Île-de-France region (including Madrid, Fontainebleau, and St.-Germain-en-Laye) built during the last years of the reign of Francis I (1515–1547).

In the last projects of Francis I, from 1540, and during the reign of Henry II (1547–1559), the

French digested Italian models and devised their own versions of them. Many French architects traveled to Italy, and some, such as Jacques Androuet du Cerceau (c. 1520–c. 1585) and Philibert Delorme (1514–1570), produced books. Other publications on ancient architecture, Renaissance buildings, and idealized architectural designs were translated into French or written by Italian architects invited to the French court. As in Italy, the new model for the architect of this generation was no longer the medieval mason but the cultivated man of ancient learning. The portion of the Louvre by Pierre Lescot (Paris, c. 1546–1578) and Delorme's Anet (Eure-et-Loire, from 1547) are two of the most remarkable and exemplary châteaux of the times. Because of its fundamental changes, this period, which closes with the reign of Henry IV (1589–1610), is called the "Second Renaissance."

Until early in the seventeenth century, churches resisted all but the most superficial changes. The massive vertical paired bell towers and deep-set porches of the facade of St.-Michel of Dijon (1520–1560) are reminiscent of Late Gothic churches, despite their classical ornaments. The same can be said for the overall Gothic plans and structures of the churches of St.-Gervais (1494–1621) and St.-Eustache (1532–1637) in Paris.

A pioneering *hôtel* (noble town house) called the Grand Ferrare (Fontainebleau, 1542–1546), completed by Sebastiano Serlio, set the standard for domestic architecture. Residences in towns and in the countryside were soon patterned on its biaxial symmetry and the en suite planning of its apartments. Classical forms became more prominent, as in Serlio's Ancy-le-Franc (Burgundy, from 1546), but medieval features persisted, as in the new design for the defensive towers, traditionally round but now squared into corner pavilions. The death of Henry II in 1559 was followed by a period of religious conflict (the Wars of Religion, 1562–1598) and economic strife during which little was built.

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY AND THE BIRTH OF THE GRAND STYLE

The reign of Henry IV launched a two-hundred-year building boom in the private sector to satisfy the social ambitions of a rising middle class. While the symmetrical Grand Ferrare remained the ideal in domestic architecture, in Paris the Hôtel Lambert

(Louis Le Vau, begun 1641) and the Hôtel de Beauvais (Antoine Le Pautre, 1654–1660) demonstrate how natural features and the constraints of the site could be ingeniously masked and turned to advantage. Elegant *places royales* (royal squares) attracted private building around them (in Paris, the Place Royale, today the Place des Vosges, 1605, and the Place Dauphine, from 1607). Designed with uniform facades framing a statue of the king, several of these squares were built in Paris as well as in many other towns from the late seventeenth through the eighteenth century.

Two outstanding châteaux were built to express bids for political power—Maisons (Île-de-France, 1641–1660) for René de Longueil by François Mansart (1598–1666), and Vaux-le-Vicomte (1657–1661) for Nicolas Fouquet by Le Vau (1612–1670). Vaux-le-Vicomte imported from Italy the idea of one artist (in this case Charles Le Brun, 1619–1690) coordinating the décor, architecture, and garden design. Louis XIV (1643–1715) transplanted the entire artistic team, including the garden designer André Le Nôtre (1613–1700), and even the very trees of Vaux to Versailles (Le Vau, 1668–1670; Jules Hardouin-Mansart, 1678–1689), thereby announcing the royal cultural hegemony from the outset of his personal reign (from 1661). The Sun King's authority radiated from the palace, the satellite palaces, extensive gardens, hunting grounds, and the newly built town that constituted the country's new administrative and cultural capital.

An upsurge of religious building, mostly during the reign of Louis XIII (1610–1643), saw revitalized religious orders rebuild numerous monasteries and churches. Church facades followed two models: the pedimented portico of the Pantheon of Rome or the two-story facade of the church of Il Gesù in Rome (Giacomo della Porta, begun 1571). These were emulated in the street and court entrances of Jacques Lemercier's Church of the Sorbonne (Paris, 1630–c. 1648). In a more vertical French variation, the facades of St. Gervais (Paris, Salomon de Brosse, 1616–1621) and St.-Louis (Paris, today known as St.-Paul-St.-Louis, Étienne Martellange, begun in 1627) added a third level of orders (a system of proportions, columns, capitals and entablatures). Likewise, French domes were often more vertical than their Italian counterparts. They were placed

closer to the facades, as in the Dome of the Invalides (Paris, Jules Hardouin-Mansart, 1676–1706), with tall drums and wooden beams raising the external profile.

Architectural historians traditionally contrasted the “baroque” “exuberance” and “persuasiveness” of Italian architects with the “classical” “reserve” and “rectilinearity” of their French counterparts. However, recently historians have pointed out the cross-fertilization and common agendas between the two. Palladian and Roman influences abound in Le Vau’s work, as in the curved wings and loosely connected pavilions of the Collège des Quatre Nations (Paris, College of the Four Nations, today the Institut de France, 1662–1670). As Claude Mignot (1989) aptly observes, the long-spanned entablature supported by freestanding columns on the east facade of the Louvre (projects from 1657; attributed to Claude Perrault, 1667) was no less “persuasive” than Gian Lorenzo Bernini’s curvaceous colonnade in front of St. Peter’s.

In the years 1640 to 1690 Lemercier, Pierre Le Muet, Le Vau, François Mansart, and Jules Hardouin-Mansart together reestablished the French “grand style.” They shunned mannerist excess of ornament and embraced a clearer expression of volume and the relation of the parts to the whole. New royal institutions—the Royal Academy of Architecture, founded in 1671, and the offices of first architect to the king and the *surintendant des bâtiments* (superintendent of king’s buildings), effectively a minister of culture—served as forums for articulating these rules of “good taste.”

CLASSICAL REFORM IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The rococo style developed in the first half of the eighteenth century in reaction to the oppressive court life of Versailles in the latter part of the reign of Louis XIV. Primarily ornamental and used in interiors of domestic architecture, its forms were characterized by asymmetrical and sensual curves. Germain Boffrand (1667–1754) added a rococo masterpiece to the Hôtel de Soubise in the oval



Architecture in France. Aerial view of the Chateau Vaux-le-Vicomte. ©YANN ARTHUS-BERTRAND/CORBIS

salons “de la princesse” and “du prince” (Paris, 1735–1739). Combining painting, gilding, sculpture, windows, mirrors, and multitudes of candles, he produced a bright and weightless effect. Here, all was sensual ease and luxury. Rococo set the stage for the rethinking of classical forms and the appeal to the senses on a deeper level that were characteristic of neoclassical architecture in the second half of the eighteenth century.

Neoclassicism sought to reform architectural taste through structural rationalism, an ethnographic interest in antiquity, the sensory power of architecture in nature, and social reform. Marc-Antoine Laugier (*Essai sur l'architecture*, 1753) argued for simplified structures and thus proposed a return to origins through imitation of a mythical “primitive hut.” Antique-style trabeation and long, unbroken entablatures seem to structure the Pantheon, Giovanni Nicolo Servandoni’s facade design for the church of St.-Sulpice (Paris, begun in 1732), and Jacques Gondouin’s School of Surgery (Paris, 1769–1775). Empirical knowledge of Gothic construction, however, underlay Jacques-Germain Soufflot’s (1713–1780) church of Ste.-Geneviève (Paris, known today as the Pantheon, 1757–1789). A more technical interest in structure and functional building types was fostered by the strengthened institutions of civil and military engineering, the École des Ponts et Chaussées and the École du Génie de Mezières, founded in 1747 and 1748, respectively.

Leading French artists spent several years at the French Academy in Rome (founded in 1666), a major international art center at the time. The new archaeological discoveries of Paestum, Herculaneum (1738), and Pompeii (1748) fanned their enthusiasm for reexamining classical architecture. Mid-century publications about Greek ruins, by James Stuart and Nicholas Revett and by Julien-David LeRoy and about Roman ruins, by Giovanni Battista Piranesi, emphasized visual poetry and powerful forms through light, scale, and setting. LeRoy underscored how architecture existed in historical and ethnographic contexts, thus encouraging architects to invent appropriate forms for their times.

Architecture parlante, a term associated with the next generation and with the approach of the

French Revolution (1789–1799), sought to mold form and ornament to express a building’s purpose and thereby inspire social reform. Étienne-Louis Boullée’s (1728–1799) striking project for a cenotaph to Newton (1784), in the form of an astronomical observatory, commemorated the scientist’s genius. Its dramatic spherical form and lighting effects would awe the visitor who entered its orb via a long, dark tunnel. Claude-Nicolas Ledoux (1736–1806) used classical forms in a more expressive manner in a ring of tollhouses (1784–c. 1790) around Paris. Ledoux thought that new plans and building types would encourage social reform; a notable example of such a socially motivated project was his centrally planned industrial community, the Salt Works at Arc-et-Senans (1773–1779). New social agendas also meant that new building types emerged; one example was the freestanding monumental theater, such as Victor Louis’s theater in Bordeaux (c. 1773–1780) and Marie-Joseph Peyre and Charles de Wailly’s Théâtre de l’Odéon in Paris (1767–1782). Due to the Revolution, few buildings were built during the last decade of the eighteenth century.

See also **Architecture; City Planning; Classicism; Ledoux, Claude-Nicolas; Mansart, François; Neoclassicism; Paris; Rococo; Versailles.**

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VICTORIA SANGER

FRANCE, ART IN. In the sixteenth century Italian artists and Italian styles dominated the visual arts in France. However, by the end of the eighteenth century it was French artists and French styles that dominated the European artistic arena. The major trends in French art during the early modern period (1600–1789) reflect the establishment of France as a nation-state and its rise to a position of international power. In the sixteenth century predominantly Italian artists developed a court-based art in an elegant, mannerist style; in the seventeenth century, although the Italian influence continued, reflecting the trends of realism and classicism practiced in Italy, an official state style was established during the reign of King Louis XIV that relied on a dignified visual vocabulary capable of expressing the ambition of the king, the chief patron of the arts; in the eighteenth century a distinctively French style emerged with rococo, which appealed to a public and to patrons well beyond the king and court, and in the latter part of the century a neo-classical style officially prevailed.

King Francis I of France (ruled 1515–1547) had visited Italy as part of his military campaigns, and he was impressed with the magnificence of the courts in Italy. When he returned to Paris in 1525 after the defeat of Pavia, he embarked on a cultural campaign to create a court and a court art that would rival those he observed in Italy. There were no French artists who were up to the task, so Francis I invited Italian artists to decorate his new palaces. Rosso Fiorentino (1494–1540) arrived in 1530 and Francesco Primaticcio (1504–1570) in 1532 to work on the newly remodeled palace at Fontainebleau, just outside Paris. Referred to as the School of Fontainebleau, this new style became the hallmark French court style during the sixteenth century. As seen at the Gallery of Francis I at the palace of Fontainebleau, the decorative style combines stucco (plaster) framework in high relief surrounding a painting. Typical decorative motifs on the stucco frame include strapwork (resembling leather straps that are rolled on the ends), the forms of humans, fruit, and animals, and pure ornament. The paintings are in the mannerist style; they feature elongated, elegant figures in a compressed and energized space. They were intended to glorify the king through complex allegories that draw on classical mythology and history and Christian symbolism. Although the symbolism is

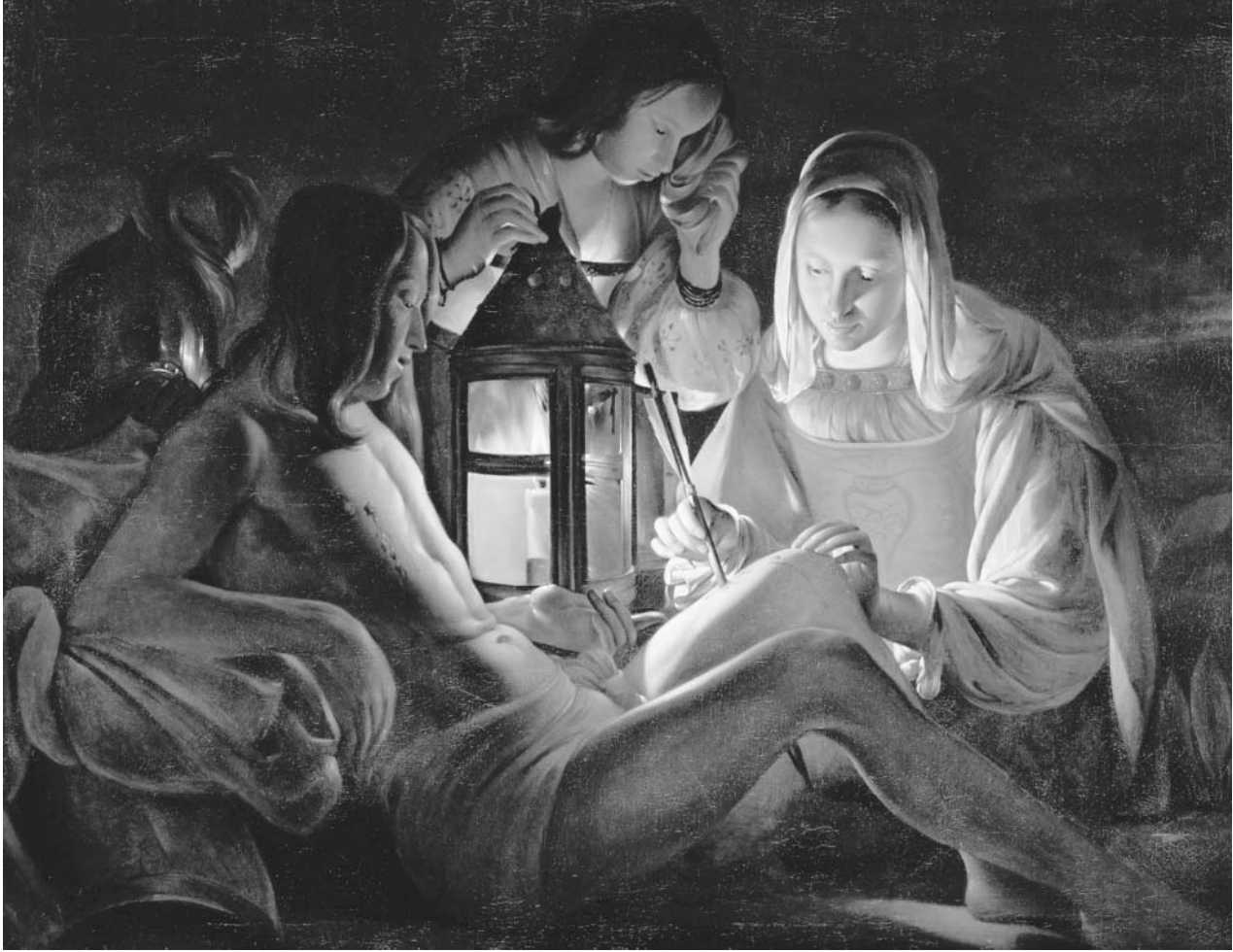
Christian, it occurs in a secular context; in France this represents a larger shift from medieval sacred art to a court-based profane art.

Despite the religious and civil wars in France in 1560–1589, which reduced much of France to a state of chaos, a Second School of Fontainebleau persisted as part of court culture during the reign of King Henry IV (ruled 1589–1610).

A new wave of Italian influence appears in French painting at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Numerous French and Dutch artists went to Rome, then considered the capital of the art world, where many discovered the style of Caravaggio (born Michelangelo Merisi). Caravaggio painted moving religious scenes that featured ordinary people and dramatic contrasts between light and dark. We do not know if the French painter Georges de La Tour (1593–1652) went to Rome, but his work shows the influence of Caravaggio. La Tour was a provincial artist born in Lorraine; he more likely learned of Caravaggio's realism and light effects secondhand through Dutch artists who had traveled to Rome and upon their return had begun to work in the style of Caravaggio. La Tour's *St. Sebastian Attended by Saint Irene* (c. 1649, Louvre, Paris) depicts figures at close range dramatically illuminated by a candle. There is a stillness to his works that La Tour achieves in part through his simplified, almost lathelike geometric forms and an overall smoothness of texture.

The Le Nain brothers, Antoine (1588–1648), Louis (1593–1648), and Mathieu (1607–1677), also worked in a realist style. They were born in Laon but active as painters in Paris; attributing specific works to them individually has proved difficult and controversial. The brothers are best known today for scenes of peasant life, such as *Peasant Family in an Interior* (c. 1645, Louvre, Paris) in which common peasants are portrayed with dignity and objectivity. Previously, peasants had been depicted as objects of either derision or satire. Le Nain's peasants are poor, but clearly well fed and clothed. Some have interpreted these scenes as a city-dweller's idealized vision of peasant life, and it was most likely a middle-class Parisian audience who purchased these works.

Simon Vouet (1590–1649) also practiced a realist style at the beginning of his career. Vouet was



Art in France. *Saint Sebastian Tended by Saint Irene*, attributed to Georges de La Tour, c. 1638–1639. ©KIMBELL ART MUSEUM/CORBIS

the first artist to receive a royal stipend to make an artistic pilgrimage to Rome (1615–1627). His later style shifted from a dark realism to a lighter and more idealized style practiced by Italian painters such as Guido Reni. On his return to Paris, he decorated the townhouses of wealthy Parisians with bright allegorical figures and mythological scenes, such as *Allegory of Wealth* (c. 1630–1635, Louvre, Paris), and painted altarpieces for Parisian churches and monasteries. Vouet is an important figure in the history of French painting, for he established a large, successful studio where many artists apprenticed. He helped to create a taste for and train artists in a more classicizing style.

Nicolas Poussin (1594–1665) further developed this classicism and infused it with rationalism. Poussin spent most his active career in Rome, yet his

work and theory greatly influenced French art; he had many patrons in Paris, and French artists worked with him when they came to Rome. Poussin cultivated a group of intellectually minded patrons who appreciated his composed and restrained art. In *The Arcadian Shepherds* (1650, Louvre, Paris) the classical subject exhibits a symmetrical and balanced composition. Poussin always sought a set of elemental guidelines to govern painting. He believed that the type of subject—heroic, lyric, melancholy, etc.—should dictate the stylistic treatment, and he formulated a theory based on these ideas.

The theorization and codification of art reached further heights with the establishment of the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture in 1648. This institution was established to elevate the status of painting and sculpture from a manual art to a liberal



Art in France. *The Arcadian Shepherds*, by Nicolas Poussin, 1650. LOUVRE, PARIS, FRANCE/GIRAUDON-BRIDGEMAN ART LIBRARY

art. Poussin's rationalist approach to art reinforced the notion that art is an intellectual practice. The academy became part of the official state machinery in 1663 when King Louis XIV reorganized it to serve his interests and underwrote its funding. Under the directorship of Charles Le Brun (1619–1690), the academy and its membership became a powerful institution with a monopoly on all the most important royal commissions. The academy was organized around a series of hierarchies and rules that governed the standards of taste and evaluation and the creative process. The result was an art that was rather homogenous. Le Brun's *The Tent of Darius* (1661, Versailles) is typical of the academic subject and style. It is a “history painting” (scenes representing ancient history or mythology and biblical history) depicting the moment when the family of the defeated Persian king, Darius, presents itself to the victorious Alexander the Great. King Louis

XIV associated himself with Alexander the Great, so the painting is also a flattering reference to the king. The figures' pantomime-like poses, gestures, and expressions were intended to clearly convey their emotions and hence contribute to a clear exposition of the story.

Le Brun led teams of artists in decorating Versailles and other royal building projects; the academy provided an army of artists to glorify king, country, and God, and it also exercised royal control over the kinds of images that were produced. The Gobelins Manufacture, also royally sponsored, produced tapestries, furniture, and other luxury items to furnish these new buildings. The sculptor François Girardon (1628–1715) and others created large-scale sculptures of classical subjects, such as *Apollo and the Nymphs of Thetis* (1666), at Versailles, to decorate the grounds of royal palaces. However, by the end of the seventeenth century this



Art in France. *Neptune*, marble sculpture by Antoine Coysevox, 1698–1702. ©NIMATALLAH/ART RESOURCE, NY

great burst of state-sponsored art production came to a halt. King Louis XIV's wars had diminished the funds available for the arts and for luxury goods. When the monarch died in 1715, there was very little financial support for the academy.

With large prestigious commissions no longer available through the academy, artists turned to private patrons who preferred less weighty subjects and a lighter, less formal style. These private patrons preferred an art that was witty and that pleased the



Art in France. *The Punished Son*, by Jean Baptiste Greuze, 1778. ©ARCHIVO ICONOGRAFICO S.A./CORBIS

eye to an art that was didactic and intended for public propaganda. In response to this shift in patronage, a new style, now referred to as the rococo, developed. Antoine Watteau is often credited with creating both this style and a new type of subject in painting—the *fête galante*, ‘gallant party’. These are scenes of men and women at elite entertainments, often outdoors, engaged in flirtations and conversations. Watteau’s *Pilgrimage to Cythera* (1717, Louvre, Paris) represents an imaginary pilgrimage to Venus’s island where everyone is destined to fall in love. Rococo painting tends to be small in scale, playful in subject, witty and subtle in meaning, and intended for a discerning audience. Much rococo painting decorated the interiors of private townhouses in Paris, for after the reign of King Louis XIV, Paris supplanted Versailles as the center of society’s universe.

During the reign of King Louis XV the rococo style did become a court style. Louis XV’s mistress, Madame de Pompadour, was a great patron of the arts and fostered the careers of a number of painters working in a rococo style, such as François Boucher (1703–1770). Boucher painted decorative mythological scenes for Madame de Pompadour’s châteaux and portraits of her. The flattering portrait in Munich (1756) represents her not only as beautiful (and beautifully dressed), but also as a woman of learning, alluded to through the books, letters, and sealing wax that appear in the painting. The popularity of portraits increased in the eighteenth century, although portraits had always been a staple of French painting and sculpture. Two women artists working later in the century, Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun (1755–1842) and Adélaïde Labille-Guiard (1749–1803), enjoyed great success as society por-

traitists. They were accepted into the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture, filling two of the four memberships allotted to women within that institution. Theirs were exceptional cases because women were not allowed to practice painting professionally.

The rococo style remained popular through most of the eighteenth century although other subjects and styles of paintings coexisted with it. For example, domestic genre scenes of the middle classes that often featured children, such as Jean-Baptiste-Siméon Chardin's (1699–1779) *Grace at Table* (1740, Louvre, Paris), began to achieve recognition in the 1730s. Chardin's work depicted a quiet, self-contained sphere of female domesticity. The medium of inexpensive prints helped to augment the popularity of these domestic scenes (and the still life paintings he did as well). Another painter who also depicted the middle-class domestic sphere, Jean-Baptiste Greuze (1725–1805), emerged as a popular figure in the 1750s. Greuze's world, however, is one of emotion. His paintings, such as *The Punished Son* (1777, Louvre, Paris), remind us of contemporary soap operas in their unbridled emotions. Nonetheless, Chardin's and Greuze's works should be understood as part of a movement referred to as the cult of feeling. Authors such as the philosophers Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Denis Diderot called for an art that would move the viewer and impart a moral message. One was to experience emotions and trust them. Motherhood was extolled because it was seen as a woman's natural calling, and images of motherhood proliferated as a result.

Images representing the classical past also proliferated in the 1770s. This interest in antiquity was spurred by discoveries at Pompeii and Herculaneum. There was a great demand for luxury items in the "Greek taste," including furniture, porcelain, and decorative paintings of pretty Greek maidens. Vigée-Lebrun, mentioned earlier, often dressed her sitters in the Greek style. Neoclassicism was also fueled by a reform movement in the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture instituted by Comte d'Angiviller, who was appointed director in 1774. D'Angiviller rejected rococo painting as immoral and wanted to restore dignity and virtue to art. The classical past served as a model, and artists within the academy began painting subjects from

Roman history that extolled what were believed to be the masculine moral virtues of civic duty and public responsibility. The work of Jacques-Louis David (1748–1825), such as his *Oath of the Horatii* (1784, Louvre, Paris), embodies this stoic type of neoclassicism. The Horatii brothers take an oath in the name of their father to protect their lands as part of civic responsibility. The setting is archaeologically correct; David, like many artists, had gone to Rome and studied the monuments of antiquity. David eventually became an artistic leader during the French Revolution, and the neo-classical style prevailed well into the nineteenth century in France.

See also Chardin, Jean-Baptiste-Siméon; David, Jacques-Louis; Fontainebleau, School of; France, Architecture in; Greuze, Jean-Baptiste; Le Brun, Charles; Neoclassicism; Painting; Poussin, Nicolas; Rococo; Versailles; Vigée-Lebrun, Élisabeth; Vouet, Simon; Watteau, Antoine.

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JULIE PLAX

FRANCIS I (FRANCE) (1494–1547; ruled 1515–1547), king of France. The only son of Charles of Angoulême and Louise of Savoy, Francis I was born on 12 September 1494. When his father died in 1496, Francis advanced in the line of royal succession behind Louis of Orléans (ruled 1498–1515), his cousin, who became king in 1498. Louis



Francis I (France). Portrait by Jean Clouet, c. 1530.
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XII had only two daughters; Francis married the older, Claude, shortly before Louis died on 1 January 1515. Claude and Francis had seven children before Claude's death in 1524. In 1530 Francis married Eleanor of Portugal, the sister of Emperor Charles V (ruled 1519–1556), but had no children with her.

Upon becoming king, Francis embarked on the Third French Invasion of Italy to reclaim the duchy of Milan and the kingdom of Naples that his two predecessors had held and lost. He defeated the Swiss, who had established a protectorate over Milan, at Marignano (Melegnano) in September 1515. Terrified that Francis would march to Rome and depose him, Pope Leo X (reigned 1513–1521) rushed to negotiate with him. The result was the Concordat of Bologna (1516), which established the governance of the French Church as it lasted to 1789. The king was given the right to appoint French bishops, subject to papal approval. The concordat enhanced royal control over the church in France and reduced the attraction for the monarchy

of the Protestant concept of the national church independent from Rome.

In 1519 Francis sought election as Holy Roman emperor but lost out to Charles of Habsburg, who already was the king of Spain and ruler of the Netherlands. Once elected, Charles V demanded that Francis give up Milan, which he proclaimed was an imperial fief. At Francis's refusal, Charles declared war, and the rest of Francis's reign saw almost constant war with the emperor. After an imperial army captured Milan in 1522, Francis led an army into Italy, only to be defeated and captured at Pavia in February 1525. He was taken to Spain and held for ransom. Agreeing to the ransom, Francis persuaded Charles to exchange him for his two oldest sons, since only he as king could impose the taxes and transfer of lands necessary for the ransom. Once freed, he resumed the war, which ended in 1529 with the Peace of the Ladies, negotiated by Francis's mother and Charles's aunt, Margaret of Austria. Besides requiring a payment of two million gold crowns, the peace acknowledged French rule over Burgundy and Habsburg control of Flanders. Intermittent war with Charles V continued to the end of Francis's reign but with no significant results.

Francis's Italian sojourns made him an advocate of Renaissance culture. He brought Italian artists and architects to France, including Leonardo da Vinci, Benvenuto Cellini, and Francesco Primaticcio. They designed and decorated royal residences, such as Chambord and Fontainebleau, which epitomize the Renaissance châteaux. He equally supported humanism, becoming the patron of Guillaume Budé and establishing the royal lectureships in the classical languages that became the modern Collège de France (founded in 1530 as the Collège Royal). His patronage of the new learning led the humanists to honor Francis as the "Father of Letters." Another aspect of the Italian Renaissance that Francis adopted was making the French court the center of fashion and beauty. Anne d'Estampes became his mistress in 1526; she was the first royal mistress to have broad influence on decision making.

Francis at first supported the moderate church reform called Evangelism advocated by the humanists; his sister Marguerite de Navarre (1492–1549) was an ardent proponent. They believed the church

could be reformed and the pure Gospel preached without breaking with the Catholic Church. Francis protected its adherents against accusations of heresy from the theologians of the University of Paris. He was less tolerant of more radical views, however. When in 1534 placards printed in Switzerland denouncing the Catholic doctrine of the Eucharist were posted in Paris and allegedly on his bedchamber door at Amboise, a flurry of persecutions followed, leading to John Calvin's (1509–1564) flight from France, although he had nothing directly to do with the "Day of the Placards." After 1534 Francis took a harsher tone toward religious dissent, and many were executed or exiled for heresy. Regarding Catholic reform, Francis's attitude was that the French Church did not need reforming, but if it did, he and his clergy would do it. He refused to support the Council of Trent when it was convoked in 1544.

The king's first son died in 1536, leaving his second son Henry (ruled 1547–1559) as his successor. Henry's anger at Francis for using him as a hostage in 1526 created a bad relationship between them, but they were reconciled on Francis's deathbed. Francis died on 31 March 1547.

See also Charles V (Holy Roman Empire); Humanists and Humanism; Italian Wars (1494–1559); Marguerite de Navarre; Reformation, Catholic; Renaissance.

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FREDERIC J. BAUMGARTNER

FRANCIS II (HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE) (1768–1835; ruled 1792–1806). As Holy Roman emperor (1792–1806), emperor of Austria (1804–1835), and king of Hungary and king of Bohemia (1792–1835), Francis has a bad press among historians. He is mostly associated with the Metternichian system after the fall of Napoleon in 1815, when Klemens von Metternich (1773–1859),

his chancellor, created an international system aimed at inhibiting governmental change and preserving the monarchical structure of European countries.

Francis's reign can be divided into two parts, from 1792 to 1815, when Austria (and many other countries) struggled against the French Revolution and Napoleon, and from 1815 to 1835 when Metternich held sway. In both halves Francis is usually overshadowed (in historical works) by the men around him. In the first half, attention focuses on his brother and one of the rare military talents of the Habsburg Monarchy, the Archduke Charles, and on various advisers like Baron Johann Maria Thugut or Count Philip Stadion. In the latter part of the first half and in the entire second half of his reign, the center of scholarly attention is Metternich. Hovering over both is the overwhelming personality of Napoleon. Francis himself comes across as a stolid, mediocre, prosaic man in the background, fearful of allowing too much freedom to anyone, whether peasant or minister.

In his pre-emperor days, Francis spent much time with his uncle, Emperor Joseph II (co-regent 1765–1780; ruled 1780–1790), the great reformer. Joseph was not satisfied with his tutee's stubborn streaks and apparent lack of imagination but did admire his basic sense of justice and fairness. When Joseph died in 1790, Francis's father Leopold, a ruler considerably admired by historians, came to the throne, but Leopold only lived until 1792 when, upon his death, his eldest son, Francis, succeeded him.

Without doubt the overwhelming problem facing Francis from 1792 to 1815 was the French Revolution and Napoleon I (1769–1821). The first war of the French Revolution began just after Francis became ruler and, like all but the last, ended in Austria's defeat and cession of territory and influence. In the campaigns in Italy fought between Austria and France, the young general Napoleon Bonaparte achieved remarkable victories and in 1797 forced the Austrians to agree to the Treaty of Campo Formio, by which Austria gave up Belgium and agreed to French domination of the left bank of the Rhine River.

Further wars with Napoleon followed rapidly. The second began in 1799 and ended in 1801 with another Austrian defeat. In 1803 Napoleon com-

pletely reorganized the Holy Roman Empire, that venerable institution that had existed since the tenth century, in a way that forecast its demise. In 1804 he proclaimed himself emperor of the French, an act that encouraged Francis to declare himself emperor of Austria, both to make certain he had a title equal to that of Napoleon and to anticipate the demise of the Holy Roman Empire. In 1805 Austria went to war again, this time suffering total defeat at the famous Battle of Austerlitz, ceding as a result all of its possessions in Italy and Germany, and accepting the destruction of the Holy Roman Empire in 1806.

In 1809 Austria took on Napoleon by itself, but this time with a different approach. Francis and his advisers had little fear of the ideas of the French Revolution because they firmly believed that a political consensus existed in Austria sufficient to hold the various parts of the monarchy together. But they observed that France not only possessed political consensus but had mobilized it, sending its vast armies under astounding leadership throughout Europe. In 1809, inspired by the anti-French outpouring in Spain, Austria undertook an admirable but ultimately feeble effort to mobilize its own political consensus, appealing particularly (and inconsistently) to German nationalism, the idea of a fatherland, and provincial pride and loyalty. It was a good effort, but it could not overcome Napoleon's battalions, and the war ended again in defeat. Subsequently Metternich assumed his role as foreign minister, practicing a more traditional statecraft to help end Napoleon's sway over the monarchy and Europe. Napoleon's disaster in Russia in 1812 led to the complicated coalition that ultimately defeated the French emperor twice, the first leading to his exile to the island of Elba and the second to his expulsion to St. Helena.

Francis's role in these turbulent times has often been downplayed, just like his role in the post-Napoleonic era. But Francis's reign was not without progress. In fact, his and Metternich's basic principles were not the crushing of free speech or the paranoid search for real and potential revolutionaries (as critics have claimed), but the idea that, if people had good government—meaning a well-educated, fair, efficient, and incorruptible bureaucracy—they would not seek personal participation in government or see the need to change it. In fact, the best illustration of the second half of his reign was not the hunt

for subversives but life as reflected in the art and culture of the Biedermeier, a term that began as a description of furniture but which came to describe a comfortable, well-mannered, pleasant, successful (Francis never opposed economic improvements), even middle-class kind of life. It had a flavor of kitsch about it, but it was the kind of life Francis wanted his people to have. The problem was that there were forces at work within and without the monarchy that would overwhelm it after his death.

See also Austria; Holy Roman Empire; Monarchy; Revolutions, Age of.

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KARL A. ROIDER

FRANCK, SEBASTIAN (c. 1499–1542), Reformation era heterodox theologian, chronicler, and printer. Sebastian Franck is one the more problematic figures of the Reformation era to categorize in the standard terms of the time. His refusal to associate with the mainstream movements of his era and the heterodox nature of his thought made him an isolated and persecuted figure and restricted the impact of his thought on his own time and on the eras that followed. On the other hand, Franck's tenacious individuality makes him of interest in the modern world and a significant figure for understanding the boundaries of sixteenth-century intellectual life.

Franck was born in 1499 in the small south German imperial city of Donauwörth and was educated in the universities at Ingolstadt and Heidelberg, where he first came into contact with humanism and the incipient reform movement. Of particular influence were the ideas of Desiderius Erasmus (1466?–1536) and Martin Luther (1483–1546). In 1525 Franck formally aligned himself with the evangelical movement and took up a pastoral position near Nuremberg, but his formal association with the party of reform and with institutional

religion ended when he resigned his position in 1529. From 1530 onward his many writings presented a spiritualist theology that rejected the main premises of the theologies of Luther, Huldrych Zwingli (1484–1531), and various Anabaptists. Because of his rejection of established institutions and theologies of the Reformation, Franck lived a peripatetic existence. From 1530 to 1532 he resided in Strasbourg, from whence he was expelled because of his publications. He eventually settled in Ulm, where he took up the trade of printing. He was granted citizenship in 1535, despite his controversial writings and the attempts of the pastorate in Ulm to have him expelled. Eventually, though, his continued publication of controversial works and the continued pressure of the ecclesiastical authorities led to his expulsion in 1539. From there he moved to Basel, where he died, probably as a result of the plague, in 1542.

Franck's ideas centered on the proposition that God communicated directly with humanity through his Word, which for Franck signified an image or spark of the divine being residing at the core of the human being. In his first major work, *Chronica, Zeytbuch und Geschychtbibel* (1531; Chronicle, book of time and historical bible), Franck chronicled the distressingly profane course of human affairs. He recorded the affairs of emperors, the church, and heretics and in so doing sought to show the absence of true divine being in the outward course of the world. Of particular interest is Franck's treatment of heresy and heretics, since it is only in the ideas of those rejected by the outward church that one finds God's true indwelling Word. For Franck the outer world was incapable of containing or recognizing the true spiritual inner Word of God, and thus all physical manifestations of religion were illegitimate. His many other publications, over twenty in all, sought to establish this central concept. Given his conviction that outward means are insufficient to contain God's spiritual Word, it makes sense that Franck's own work lacked systematic rigor. He typically composed by compiling and commentating upon the work of others. Probably the single best example of Franck's writing and ideas is his 1534 work *Paradoxa Ducenta Octoginta* (Two hundred eighty paradoxes), in which he collected numerous seemingly contradictory statements from the Bible and ancient authorities

and then provided the exegesis that shows only a spiritual understanding of the texts can overcome the apparent contradictions.

In many ways the reactions to Franck's writings is of greater interest than the ideas themselves. Given the unorthodox nature of his thought, it is not surprising that his printed works met with almost universal condemnation. More noteworthy is the provisional tolerance he found during his lifetime. Despite his initial expulsion from Strasbourg and the vehement opposition to his presence among Ulm's pastorate, Franck persuaded the magistrates in Ulm to grant him entry and citizenship. Franck's spiritualist theology actually resonated among some of Ulm's magistrates, many of whom sympathized with the teachings of Caspar Schwenckfeld von Ossig (1489–1561), whose own spiritualism was broadly similar to Franck's inner Word theology. Franck's opposition to institutional religion was useful for magistrates who were seeking to emphasize their prerogative over religion, over and against Ulm's pastors. Such fissures in the administration of religion in the early Reformation provided the limited tolerance within which Franck was able to pursue his idiosyncratic intellectual enterprise. Even after his expulsion from Ulm, he was able to find refuge and citizenship in Basel. Franck's ideas were in many ways derivative, but his persistence and vehemence of expression define one of the margins of early modern intellectual life and consequently define and reveal the boundaries of political tolerance for heterodox thought in this era of upheaval.

See also Erasmus, Desiderius; Luther, Martin; Lutheranism; Reformation, Protestant; Theology; Zwingli, Huldrych.

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PATRICK HAYDEN-ROY

FRANÇOIS DE SALES (1567–1622), French bishop. For some, the life and work of François of Sales explain the whole Catholic reformation of the seventeenth century. Remembered as the one who introduced religious devotion into daily life, he was also, during his lifetime, known for his holiness as well as his skills as a controversialist preacher, spiritual adviser, and cofounder of the Visitation of Holy Mary congregation. Beatified in 1662 and canonized in 1665, he was one of only two Frenchmen (along with Bishop Alain de Solminihac [1593–1659]) canonized during the seventeenth century.

Born in 1567 to a noble family of Thorens in the duchy of Savoy, François was educated first at the Collège de la Roche-sur-Foron (1574–1576) and then in Annecy, at a college reserved for sons of the nobility and high-ranking public officers. He left Savoy in 1582 for Paris, where he studied at the Jesuit college of Clermont and then simultaneously at the Sorbonne until 1588, preparing for law school while attending theology classes. Profoundly pious, he obeyed his father's wishes by moving in the fashionable circles of the court and the Parisian salons. Around December of 1586, while he was still in the college of Clermont, he underwent a spiritual crisis, which he ended by deepening his religious devotion, making the vow to say the rosary every day. In 1588, having received his master's degree, he left for Padua, a Renaissance center of the Venetian republic that attracted students from all over Europe. There he got his doctoral degree in law in 1591, while still pursuing studies in theology, and he became very close to many Tridentine reformers, such as the Jesuit Antonio Possevino, famous for his missionary experience, extensive travels, and papal missions. François also became close to members of several religious congregations and orders, including the Barnabites, the Capuchins, a reformed branch of the Franciscan order, the secular clerics called the Theatines, and the institutes founded by Carlo Borromeo (1538–1584) and Filippo Neri (1515–1595). Along with the

Imitation of Jesus Christ (an anonymous work of the 15th century that is often attributed to Thomas à Kempis) and Mattias Bellintani da Saló's *Practice of Mental Orison*, François found his main inspiration in one of the Catholic best-sellers of the time, Lorenzo Scupoli's *Combattimento spirituale* (Spiritual fight), a work that went through fifty editions between 1589 and 1610. In this work, as in Desiderius Erasmus's *Enchiridion Militis Christiani* (1503), the Christian is presented as a soldier of Christ whose weapons are self-suspicion, confidence in God, good use of one's powers, and prayer, especially meditation on Jesus Christ's life and passion.

After his return to Savoy, François expressed his wish to become a priest, against his father's will. To overcome this opposition, his cousin, the priest Louis de Sales, obtained for François a position of ecclesiastical dignity; François was named provost of the church of St. Peter in Geneva and received the orders in 1593. The following year, Claude de Granier, bishop of Geneva, sent him into the Chablais region, where the pope, the bishop of Geneva, and the duke of Savoy were trying to reestablish Catholicism despite the region's occupation by Protestants from Geneva and Bern. Over the following several years (until 1598), François worked with Capuchins and Jesuits to try to bring the fifty-two parishes of Chablais back into the fold through active preaching and extensive journalistic writings—with meager results. In 1598–1602, he was sent by Bishop Granier to Pope Clement VIII. While in Rome, he met such notable reformers as Cardinal Cesare Baronio and Robert Bellarmine and was made Granier's coadjutor. As such, he was sent to Paris to negotiate the reestablishment of Catholic parishes in the province of Gex, one of the Savoyard territories gained by French King Henry IV during his invasion of Savoy (1600–1601). This sojourn in Paris in 1602 is considered a turning point in François's religious and political career, for he joined Parisian spiritual groups that were close to power and took an active part in the renewal of French Catholicism.

After Granier's death in 1602, François became bishop of Geneva. During the next twenty years, he devoted himself to his diocese. Modeling himself on Borromeo's example of the good Tridentine bishop, he pursued, until his death in 1622, a multitude of activities in matters as various as administra-

tion, sacraments, teaching, catechism, and restoration of the diocesan clergy and the religious orders. He kept in close contact with the Parisian world of Catholic reformers (Pierre de Bérulle, Vincent de Paul, Jacqueline-Marie-Angélique Arnaud) and preached extensively outside his diocese. It was during one of these missionary tours that, in 1604, he met Jeanne-Françoise de Chantal (1572–1641), with whom he founded the Visitation of Holy Mary of Annecy (1610), an order of nuns that quickly spread throughout France.

His written work is impressive. Along with extensive correspondence, he wrote books that became classics of Catholic literature. In Chablais, during 1595–1596, he had daily flyers printed (known as *Feuilles volantes*, or Controversies) in order to influence the Protestants who refused to attend his preachings. He also wrote *A Defense of the Standard of the Holy Cross* (1600), a difficult monograph that contrasts with his masterpiece, the *Introduction to the Devout Life* (1609), in which he claims that religious perfection is attainable outside the cloisters and at all levels of society, including among the wealthy and privileged. This work was followed by *L'entretien spirituel* (Spiritual conferences), given at the Visitation of Annecy from 1610 onward (published in 1629), and *Treatise of the Love of God* (1616), in which he expounded the Christian humanism he had helped to create.

See also **Arnauld Family; Bellarmine, Robert; Bérulle, Pierre de; Borromeo, Carlo; Reformation, Catholic; Savoy, duchy of; Vincent de Paul.**

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François de Sales. Painting by Giovanni Battista Tiepolo.
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DOMINIQUE DESLANDRES

FRANKFURT AM MAIN. Frankfurt's position as a leading center of international commerce and finance as well as the site of the German emperor's election originated in the medieval period and remained the principal source of wealth and pride for the early modern city. Location on the Main River twenty miles east of its junction with the Rhine provided access to two major waterways at a point where, by 1450, some twenty-six land routes linked far-flung trading interests throughout Europe. Continental prominence of Frankfurt's two annual fairs dated from the decline of the Champagne fairs and lasted through the eighteenth century, with fluctuations that meant commercial pre-eminence among German cities in the fourteenth century, decline relative to Augsburg and Nuremberg from the fifteenth into the seventeenth century, then reinvigoration by Netherlandish and Jewish immigrants, whose commercial and financial operations combined with an already flourishing printing industry and book trade to produce a second major economic surge from the late sixteenth century into the 1630s. Relatively speedy recovery from the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648) brought the city's third great boom in the century after 1670, when its importance and fame as a center of European trade and high finance were at their highest, even as Hamburg and Leipzig were overtaking Frankfurt's lead.

Similar fluctuations marked population developments: from a medieval high of about 10,000 (1385), fifteenth-century decline left 7,600 inhabitants (1499), then a long upswing raised totals to 12,000 (1555) and 20,000 (1620). Disease, death, and dislocation rather than warfare brought decline to about 17,000 (1655), but the city fared relatively well, recovered, and grew to 24,000 (1675) and 27,500 (1700). Compared with this impressive increase after the Thirty Years' War, eighteenth-century growth was more modest but probably brought the city to 36,000 by 1790. Demographic dynamics were strongly influenced throughout by immigration, which brought commercial opportu-

nities and wealth, internal economic rivalries, remarkable cultural and religious diversity (exemplified notably in a compulsory but contested toleration of 3,000 Jews in the local ghetto by 1709), and intermittent political conflicts.

Close ties to medieval German rulers had resulted in significant benefits, especially unchallenged status as a royal or imperial city (enjoying considerable self-governance under the emperor's direct authority) and the site for imperial elections. This special relationship with the ruler, further underscored in Frankfurt's choice as the normal location for imperial coronations after 1562, remained crucial, even when strained by the city's Lutheran Reformation, citizens' plundering of the ghetto (1614), and the council's attempt at unlimited governance over the seventeenth century. Often internal conflicts involved appeals for imperial intervention, which usually reinforced aristocratic rule against guild opposition (1366, 1525, 1612–1616) but sometimes modified oligarchical tendencies (1612, 1712–1732) by expanding the ruling elite and recognizing the claims and influence, however unequal, of diverse interests (artisanal and noncommercial as well as mercantile and financial) within the city. Thus Frankfurt absorbed gradual change while preserving an uneasy coexistence of social forces and a decidedly conservative cultural tone, perhaps exemplified best in a strong orthodox Lutheranism that, alongside a pietistic heritage from Philipp Jakob Spener's work there (1666–1686), meant late introduction of full religious toleration and of Enlightenment institutions.

See also **Commerce and Markets; Free and Imperial Cities; Holy Roman Empire; Jews and Judaism; Pietism; Thirty Years' War (1618–1648).**

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GERALD L. SOLIDAY

FREDERICK III (HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE) (1415–1493; ruled 1440–1493), Holy Roman emperor. A scion of the Habsburg dynasty, Frederick III married Eleanora of Portugal, with whom he had a son and heir, the future emperor Maximilian I (1459–1519; ruled 1493–1519). Frederick was considered a handsome and placid individual; he had the appearance and bearing of a prince. Intellectually he was a gifted amateur astronomer, botanist, and mineralogist. Politically, however, he lived in reflected glory.

Frederick's career was marked by a striking combination of dramatic defeats and subtler victories. His election as king of Hungary by a faction of Magyar noblemen in 1439 plunged Frederick into an unequal conflict with Matthias Corvinus (1440/1443–1490; ruled 1458–1490). Despite being bought off in 1462, Frederick suffered military defeat at the hands of Corvinus's superior army, which conquered lower Austria, Moravia, and Silesia. He was ultimately driven from Vienna, where Corvinus established his capital in 1485. When Corvinus died in 1490, he left Hungary—not the Holy Roman Empire—the dominant power in central Europe. The rise of the Ottoman Empire, which conquered Constantinople (Istanbul) in 1453, however, reduced Hungarian might and made the country a battlefield for centuries to come. Frederick was never able to mount an effective resistance to Ottoman expansion, which continued for most of his reign. By 1493 the Turks had advanced steadily through eastern and central Europe to the very borders of the Holy Roman Empire. During his struggle with Corvinus, however, Frederick managed to strengthen Habsburg relations with Rome. He signed the Concordat of Vienna in 1448, thus bringing the conciliar movement to an effective end and strengthening the hand of the papacy in matters of church governance. As a further acknowledgment of papal authority, Frederick rode to Rome for his coronation in 1452. Papal recognition

set a seal of sorts on Habsburg authority within the Holy Roman Empire, but Frederick had to struggle to make that authority real. His relations with the territorial princes of the empire were marked by conflict. The emergence of the Imperial Diet led by the electors gave them extraordinary influence in opposition to the emperor. Frederick played an active role in efforts at imperial reform, fostering the creation of regional confederations, such as the Swabian League, as a counterweight to princely pretensions. As on his eastern frontier, imperial policies to the south and west were similarly disputed. The nascent Swiss Confederation had long sought to throw off imperial—to say nothing of Austrian—rule and establish its independence. Likewise relations with Burgundy, one of the great powers of the fifteenth century, were strained. Frederick decided to make common cause with the Swiss in their military campaign against Charles of Burgundy (1433–1477). In 1474 he signed the Perpetual Peace, renouncing all Austrian claims to Swiss territory. With Frederick's assistance, the Swiss defeated Charles, who was killed in 1477. That year Frederick mended fences with Burgundy by marrying his son Maximilian to Charles's daughter Mary. The alliance of Austria and Burgundy helped raise Habsburg fortunes to their absolute zenith.

Frederick's victories, though less striking in the moment, may have been more durable than his defeats. Though driven from his capital by Corvinus, Frederick managed to outlast him. When the great Hungarian king died and his country succumbed to the Turks, the Habsburgs shouldered the defense of Latin Christendom's eastern frontier with such power and prestige as accompanied that task. By fostering good relations with the papacy, Frederick strengthened both the hand of the emperor and the house of Habsburg as an ally of the Roman Church. It assured each a say in appointments to ecclesiastical office and a means to control church influence in European politics. By encouraging political reform in the Holy Roman Empire, Frederick made the emperor a protector of local interests. It did nothing, however, to halt the erosion of imperial authority to the advantage of the territorial princes. By settling with the Swiss and defeating the Burgundians, Frederick stabilized imperial frontiers and drew Europe's wealthiest principality into the Habsburg orbit. It did bring the

house of Habsburg into conflict with the Valois kings of France, but it also laid the foundation for the great Habsburg empire that developed during the reign of Charles V (1500–1558; ruled 1519–1556). Frederick can be said to have given real meaning to the Habsburg motto AEIOU: “*Austriae est imperare orbi universo*” or “*Alles Erdreich ist Österreich untertan*.” Whether or not all the world was indeed subject to Austria became a theme of European politics for centuries to come.

See also **Austria; Burgundy; Habsburg Dynasty; Austria; Habsburg-Valois Wars; Hungary; Switzerland.**

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THOMAS MAX SAFLEY

FREDERICK I (PRUSSIA) (1657–1713; ruled 1688–1713), as Frederick III elector of Brandenburg and duke of Prussia; from 1701, as Frederick I, king in Prussia. Frederick I was one of the great Hohenzollern rulers who contributed to the rise of the Prussian state. Whereas his father, Frederick William, the Great Elector (ruled 1640–1688), focused his attention on building administrative and military resources, Frederick I earned his reputation for stressing the cultural and artistic development of Prussia, particularly the enhancement of Berlin. Still, his greatest contribution to the rise of Prussia was his acquisition of the title of king, which placed his house in the elite company of German royals and was a necessary step toward Prussia’s becoming the dominant German state of the nineteenth century.

Frederick’s goal after his accession to his father’s titles of elector of Brandenburg and duke of Prussia was to be a king. His wish became intense in the 1690s as he watched other German princely houses prepare for royal advancement. In 1692 it appeared that the neighboring house of Hanover would be in line for the throne of England, and in

1697 his neighbor to the south, Frederick Augustus, the elector of Saxony, assumed the title of king of Poland. The opportunity to become king came in the wake of the Spanish succession crisis in 1700. In November of that year Charles II of Spain died without an heir, and two sides, Louis XIV of France on one and Austria, Holland, and Britain on the other, put forward competing candidates for the Spanish throne. In 1701 the two sides went to war.

Austria solicited aid from the states of the Holy Roman Empire for its war effort, and Brandenburg was obligated to send its designated number of soldiers. But Frederick offered to send an additional eight thousand men if Emperor Leopold I would agree to his assumption of the title of king. The emperor initially balked at the request, since he assumed that, if he granted Frederick such a title, other German princes would request the same or perhaps more modest upgrades of their own status. After some negotiation, the emperor agreed to recognize Frederick as king as long as he was in his province of East Prussia, which was not part of the Holy Roman Empire. So, Frederick assumed the title of king in (not of) Prussia. On 18 January 1701 in Königsberg Castle Frederick placed a crown upon his head and another upon that of his wife, Sophie Charlotte of Hanover. By crowning himself in a secular setting, he made it clear that no church had the authority to invest him as king. Only afterward did the parties move to a chapel where two Lutheran bishops consecrated the proceedings. The assumption of the royal title was a major step in the enhancement of Prussia’s reputation. Despite the restriction of the title “in Prussia,” Frederick was commonly referred to as king, and all of the institutions of the monarchy became “royal.” The title gave a new cohesion to the dispersed possessions of the House of Hohenzollern.

Those Prussian troops Frederick offered to secure his new title fought well in the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1714), but the results did not lead to notable gains. Prussia acquired a few bits of territory that were part of the inheritance of the Dutch House of Orange, but nothing more. While that war went on, Frederick had to keep a wary eye on his eastern possessions, for on their borders the Sweden of Charles XII and the Russia of Peter the Great were fighting the Great Northern War. Although battles seemed to take place all

around, Frederick was able to avoid being drawn into that struggle. Wars, however, were not Frederick's forte. Enhancement of culture was. He built a variety of masterful baroque buildings in Berlin, including seven churches, a massive arsenal, and the glorious Charlottenburg Palace for his queen, Sophie Charlotte. Frederick added considerably to the library begun by his father, which in time was to become one of the great libraries of the world. He was greatly assisted in his efforts to improve the arts by Sophie Charlotte, who hosted a court that was lively, sophisticated, and highly intellectual. In 1701 Frederick established the Berlin Academy of Sciences, modeled after the Royal Society in London and the French Academy in Paris, and appointed as its first president Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646–1716), one of the great geniuses of the age and one of the inventors of calculus. In 1694 Frederick dedicated the University of Halle, which, while not the first university in Hohenzollern lands, became famous for its production of enlightened administrators, pastors, jurists, and judges. The jurist Christian Thomasius (1655–1728) lectured there in German rather than in Latin, which broke a long-standing tradition in German universities.

Frederick died in 1713 and was succeeded by his son Frederick William I (ruled 1713–1740), who was most unlike his father. Whereas Frederick had pursued the arts and letters, Frederick William cared for the army. His hobby was not discussing philosophy but drilling his troops. Still, he did not completely neglect his father's work, and the qualities of both—the culture and sophistication of the grandfather and the military aptitude and strength of the father—would unite in Frederick's grandson and Frederick William's son, Frederick II, called Frederick the Great (ruled 1740–1786).

See also Berlin; Brandenburg; Frederick II (Prussia); Frederick William (Brandenburg); Frederick William I (Prussia); Frederick William II (Prussia); Hohenzollern Dynasty; Prussia; Spanish Succession, War of the (1701–1714).

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KARL A. ROIDER

FREDERICK II (PRUSSIA) (1712–1786; ruled 1740–1786), king of Prussia. In 1740 the years of general peace that had prevailed in Europe since the conclusion the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1714) came to an end. In May 1740 Frederick William I (ruled 1713–1740) died and was succeeded by his son Frederick II (Frederick the Great). In October 1740 Charles VI (ruled 1711–1740) of Austria died unexpectedly and was succeeded by his daughter Maria Theresa (1717–1780) as sovereign of the Austrian lands. The new Prussian king used the opportunity to seize the rich Austrian province of Silesia, beginning the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748) and the Seven Years' War (1756–1763). Frederick's victories in these wars raised Prussia to the rank of the great power that became, in the next century, the creator of a united Germany.

Frederick brought to his task of expanding and ruling Prussia an unusual temperament. As a youth he was interested in art and music. He played the flute, composed music, and admired the music of Johann Sebastian Bach (1685–1750), whose son Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach (1714–1788) was the Prussian court composer. Frederick's relationship with his crude martinet of a father alternated between the explosively antagonistic and the coldly distant. But in the end he was his father's son. Flute and composition gave way to success in war and to a religion of the state, with the prince as its first servant. Reason of state became the cynical Frederick's secular creed, to which he consecrated both his life and the lives and fates of his subjects. After the wars Frederick became a misanthrope, nursing an almost pathological suspicion of everyone he knew and every report he read. But in spite of bad health and bad temper, he continued to work, spending endless hours alone reading reports and writing orders and comments, which he interrupted, when he felt up to it, with surprise inspections that terrified superior and subordinate alike. He held his officials to the same standards of diligence and honesty he maintained for himself, and the phrase “to work for the king of Prussia” became an eighteenth-century expression for working long and hard for low pay and no appreciation. But Frederick, the harsh and grim autocrat, saw it all as benefiting the one thing he loved, the Prussian state.



Frederick II of Prussia. ©BETTMANN/CORBIS

THE WARS

In the autumn of 1740, seizing the moment, Frederick occupied Silesia. After securing it, he offered both payment and alliance to the outraged Maria Theresa, who rejected both and prepared for war. By 1741 all of Europe west of Russia was at war with someone. Although alliances shifted, as did military fortunes, in the War of the Austrian Succession, Prussia held onto Silesia. By the Treaty of Dresden (1745) Prussia retained Silesia, and in the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748) all other conquests were rescinded. Eight years of war had brought gain to Prussia and substantial destruction to all the rest.

The Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle satisfied no one. Austria was not reconciled to the loss of Silesia, and Maria Theresa schemed to get it back. In May 1756 she engineered the Diplomatic Revolution, in which France, after nearly three hundred years of enmity toward Austria, joined Austria and Russia against Prussia. Frederick derisively called the new triple alliance the “petticoat plot,” since it was negotiated by Maria Theresa of Austria, Empress Elizabeth (ruled 1741–1762) of Russia, and Jeanne-Antoinette Poisson (Madame de Pompadour;

1721–1764), mistress of Louis XV (ruled 1715–1774), of France. Ridicule, however, was reserved for public consumption; privately Frederick worried about the new coalition sufficiently to begin the war himself in August 1756 by occupying Saxony and seizing its treasury and supplies. When the fighting began, Frederick, for one, would be in a favorable position.

Frederick needed every advantage he could grab, for the alliance was as strong as he had feared. Although Frederick had exceptional military skills and won more battles than he lost, he still could not win every time. He did defeat the French so decisively at Rossbach (1757) and Minden (1759) that they were effectively driven from the war. But Austria and Russia were more substantial foes. By 1759 Frederick had been thrown on the defensive, and in 1760 Austria took Saxony, while the Russians burned Berlin. In 1762, when it looked as if Frederick would lose the war, Empress Elizabeth of Russia died, and her successor Peter III (ruled 1762), who admired Frederick, concluded a peace treaty with him. Austria could not continue the war alone, and on 23 February 1763 signed the Treaty of Hubertusburg with Prussia. Frederick retained Silesia.

Although Frederick was pleased with the acquisition of Silesia and with the rise of Prussia as a great power, he also realized that marauding armies, including his own, had devastated every part of Prussia. Frederick continued expansion after 1763, taking the province of Posen (Poznan) in the first partition of Poland in 1772, but he engaged habitually in a diplomacy of peace, desiring to settle all international issues by negotiation. His attention turned to rebuilding Prussia.

THE SOCIETY

Frederick brought to administration the same ideals that animated his fellow enlightened despots in Austria, Savoy, Tuscany, and Spain. He too strove to increase royal centralization and to impose uniformity upon the varying local and class privileges in Prussia. The technique he used was cameralism, government by committees and councils of administrators. He retained the General Directory established by his father but undercut its broad authority by creating several independent and competing councils, beginning with Commerce and Industry

(1741), then War Supplies (1746), Excises and Tolls (1766), Mines (1768), and Forestry (1770). Cameralism fostered reports to the royal autocrat, secrecy in all deliberations and recommendations, and an incurable tendency toward caution and procedure (red tape). But efficiency was not Frederick's goal, autocracy was, and cameralism was well suited to deferring all decisions to the king.

Frederick's internal reforms were centered on three general areas, agriculture, commerce and manufacture, and law. In all of these areas Frederick followed the general ideals of enlightened despotism, the idea that a philosophical autocrat, with the best interests of his or her people at heart, could reform the inherited maze of medieval anomalies, privileges, exemptions, and class structures that stood athwart progress toward a more just, prosperous, and efficient state.

In the area of law Frederick and his successor Frederick William II (ruled 1786–1797) achieved what all other eighteenth-century monarchs, enlightened or not, tried and failed to do. They created a unified law code for the entire realm. In 1781 Frederick issued a general reform of civil procedure. Completed in 1794, this code made Prussian justice the most honest and efficient in Europe, no small achievement, and it guaranteed liberty of religion, again not insignificant. It secured private property but left serfdom untouched. Free persons (excluding serfs, of course) had guaranteed civil rights, but the legal predominance of the landed nobility was also established. It was a code that provided some liberty but with an emphasis on the rights of the state.

Frederick's agricultural policies were a combination of modern state support and retention of serfdom. He drained swamps, particularly in the Oder Valley and in Brandenburg. He settled immigrants on vacant lands that had been depopulated by war or reclaimed from swamps and forests. He gave peasants tax rebates, grain, fodder, animals, and timber to build or rebuild. To the landed nobility, who were the chief support of the Prussian monarchy, he gave money and tax rebates and support for the institution of serfdom. New crops, such as turnips and potatoes, were introduced through royal patronage, along with better cattle and improved crop rotation. In the end, as is so often the

case, the nobles with large farms benefited more than did the peasants with small ones.

Frederick's efforts in commerce and manufacturing complemented his agricultural policies and followed the standard mercantilist policies of the eighteenth century. He built canals to connect the Oder and the Elbe, thus opening north central Europe to Prussian products. He expanded the harbor at Szczecin (Stettin) on the Oder to increase north-south trade from Silesia to the Baltic. Frederick invited textile workers from abroad to Prussia, abolished internal tolls to create a free trade area within Prussia, and established a state bank (1766) to extend credit to industrial enterprises. The investment of state funds, a basic mercantilist idea, reached the huge sum of sixty million talers by Frederick's death in 1786. The king also reorganized and rationalized the Prussian tax structure (1776) with the result that royal income rose. Frederick's general economic policies, both in industry and in agriculture, reflected standard Continental opinion concerning royal responsibility for national prosperity.

A general evaluation of the reign of Frederick the Great must center around his greatest concern, the state. Liberty for subjects was not important, nor was anything beyond liberty of religion granted. The state became more efficient, more powerful, and more competitive internationally, reflecting Frederick's mercantilist beliefs as an autocrat and a warrior who made peace rather than war a continuation of policy by other means.

See also Austrian Succession, War of the (1740–1748); Elizabeth (Russia); Enlightened Despotism; Maria Theresa (Holy Roman Empire); Prussia; Serfdom; Seven Years' War (1756–1763).

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JAMES D. HARDY, JR.

FREDERICK WILLIAM (BRANDENBURG) (1620–1688; ruled 1640–1688), elector of Brandenburg and duke of Prussia. Frederick William, known as “the Great Elector,” was the first of the great Hohenzollern rulers who established the Prussian state, which in turn created a united Germany in the late nineteenth century. The Thirty Years’ War (1618–1648) made Frederick William’s early years turbulent ones. For months he lay unbaptized because there was no money for baptismal festivities and because no proper godparents could be found. At the age of seven Frederick William left Berlin to avoid approaching Catholic armies, and at the age of fourteen he was sent to Holland to study and to live with his relatives of the House of Orange. He developed an early taste for books, engravings, plants, coins, and all sorts of curios, which later led to the founding of a library, museum, and botanical garden in Berlin.

When Frederick William became elector of Brandenburg in 1640, his lands were a wreck. Scholars estimate that the war had cost Brandenburg more than half its population, and by 1648 Berlin numbered only 6,000 people. His other two major possessions, Prussia in the east and Cleves and Mark in the west, had not suffered quite so much but had still lost population and treasure. To make matters worse, his father, George William (ruled 1619–1640), had turned over his authority to a military adventurer named Adam von Schwartzberg, who had created an army of mercenaries that spent more time terrorizing the countryside than resisting the country’s enemies. Frederick William began his rule with conciliatory gestures. He did not dismiss Schwartzberg right away but waited until the representative Estates begged him to rid the country of his mercenaries. He also restored the traditional rights of the Estates of Prussia and Cleves and Mark and granted the Estates of Brandenburg additional privileges in exchange for a monetary contribution.

The conciliatory gestures ended in 1655 when he found his lands caught in the midst of a war between Sweden and Poland. Frederick William adopted a policy of strict neutrality, but, to defend that neutrality, he needed a modest army to fend off bands of Swedish and Polish soldiers. He had created a force of about two thousand from Schwartz-

enberg’s mercenaries, but he need more, especially to defend East Prussia, which was close to the fighting. To raise those forces, he asked the Estates of Brandenburg to provide him with funds. They refused, arguing that they had no responsibility to protect East Prussia. When Frederick William responded that this increased force would protect Brandenburg too, they remained unmoved.

This confrontation with the Estates of Brandenburg triggered the effort for which Frederick William is most famous—reducing the authority of the Estates and substantially increasing the authority of the prince—in other words, bringing absolutism to Brandenburg-Prussia. He began by ignoring the decision of the Estates and using his small army to collect the proposed taxes anyway. The Estates were horrified, but the people paid. Finally the Estates granted the sums requested because they could not think of any way to resist.

From his taming of the Estates of Brandenburg, Frederick William turned to the Estates of Cleves and Mark and Prussia. Between 1655 and 1666 Frederick William whittled away at the powers of the Estates of Cleves and Mark until he reduced them to impotence. Prussia was more of a challenge because resistance to his absolutism was led by the city of Königsberg, the greatest urban center in the elector’s realms. In 1674 Frederick William forced a showdown with Königsberg, occupying the city with military force and compelling it to accept his taxes and his officials. By then Frederick William was absolute in all of his lands. The Estates of Brandenburg and Cleves and Mark ceased to meet at all, and the Estates of Prussia met but had little power. As he was reducing the power of the Estates, Frederick William built the authority of his central administration. After all, he needed to replace the tax-collecting structure of the Estates with a structure of his own. This began as the General War Office in 1655 with soldiers serving as tax collectors, and slowly but surely that office became the government. With name changes, it took over the treasury and then administration in general, becoming by 1679 responsible for maintaining the army, collecting taxes, fostering economic development, encouraging immigration (most notably French Huguenots fleeing Louis XIV), and controlling municipal government. In 1668 he laid the foundations of the Prussian General Staff that would evolve into the German

General Staff of nineteenth- and twentieth-century notoriety.

Frederick William did not carry out his centralizing reforms as part of a long-term plan or governmental philosophy. Each time he moved against an Estate's privilege or instituted a tax, he did so because he believed it was needed at that time. His reforms had specific, limited targets, but over time they coalesced into a system that many other states would emulate. On his deathbed he still had no overall concept of a future Hohenzollern state but instead expressed his wish to divide his lands into three states, one for each of his sons, an act that would have annulled all of his centralizing reforms. Only resistance from his senior advisers and his sons prevented the Hohenzollern inheritance from becoming three petty German states. Frederick William himself did not realize that he laid the foundations of the greatest German state of the modern era.

See also **Berlin; Brandenburg; Frederick I (Prussia); Hohenzollern Dynasty; Prussia.**

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KARL A. ROIDER

FREDERICK WILLIAM I (PRUSSIA)

(1688–1740; ruled 1713–1740), king of Prussia. On 25 February 1713, Frederick William succeeded his father Frederick I as king of Prussia. He arrived on the throne in the midst of both war and peace, as the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1714) was drawing to a close, and the complex peace negotiations among all the European powers had begun while the fighting still continued. He ascended the throne at a difficult time, one filled with both danger and opportunity.

Frederick William I, who became known as the *Soldatenkönig* ('soldier king'), brought to the difficult task of rule the personality of a drill sergeant—including a bad temper combined with general vulgarity. A born autocrat, he enjoyed drilling his palace guard and playing crude practical jokes. His happiest hours were spent with military cronies in

the *Tabakskollegium*, where the men talked shop, smoked and drank, and told bawdy jokes. But to this he added an immense capacity for work and an acute understanding for the real foundation of the scattered and impoverished territories of Prussia. That foundation was the army. He inherited an army of about 30,000 ill-equipped and badly trained troops, and he gradually built this up to a superbly equipped, housed, and trained army of over 80,000 men. It was, at his death, the best army in Europe and one of the largest. To pay for it Frederick William I cut expenses to the bone and managed the royal fisc, or treasury, carefully. By a tax collection machine that gradually became the most efficient in Europe, Frederick William doubled his income from 3.5 million thalers in 1715 to over 7 million in 1740. He managed expenses with such ruthless care that the royal domains moved from loss to gain, and even the postal system turned a profit. This increased income supported an ever-increasing army. He had inherited a bankrupt state and a depleted military from his father, but he left his son Frederick the Great (ruled 1740–1786) a full treasury and a mighty army. Few European monarchs would ever receive so useful an inheritance.

Frederick William's main contributions to the growth of Prussian power involved the unglamorous and daily drudgery of administration. To bring all of the major functions of government under centralized supervision, Frederick William created in 1722 the *General-Ober-Finanz-Kriegs- und Domänenendirektorium*, known as the *Generaldirektorium* (General Directory). It functioned as an administrative board, all of whose decisions were examined by the king. The continuing royal policy, which the General Directory both administered and initiated, followed the standard model of eighteenth-century absolutism: centralization of administrative and policy decisions in the hands of the king and uniformity of application of law and administration across all classes and provinces. These were the goals of government everywhere during the eighteenth century, but nowhere in Europe were they so successfully and relentlessly pursued as in Prussia. By the time of his death in May 1740, Frederick William I had pulled together by sheer determination, persistence, and attention to the

main elements of royal power the most efficient and best organized state in Europe.

In foreign policy, Frederick William I was equally tenacious in increasing the size and power of Prussia, but he tried to do this through diplomacy. His army constituted a constant potential threat to his neighbors, but Frederick William much preferred peace. He loved his army too much to see it damaged in a prolonged war. The goal of the diplomacy was always the same. Frederick William wished to annex as much of the Baltic possessions of a declining Sweden as possible, particularly the port of Stettin and the province of Pomerania. He allied himself with Russia, he deserted Russia, he made raids on Sweden, and he made peace with Sweden. He threatened Sweden and he finally, in 1720, bought Stettin and Pomerania from Sweden for two million thalers. He could afford it.

The policies that Frederick William I followed, although rigidly and often harshly applied, were nonetheless necessary for the welfare of both Prussia and the Prussians. Foremost among the state's needs was peace. In the decade before 1713 Prussia had been part of the Great Northern War, and suffered all the destruction that marauding armies and bands of deserters could inflict. Frederick brought nearly a quarter century of peace to a poor country, giving it a chance to recover. Beyond peace the king gradually made Prussian government the most honest and efficient in Europe. Nobles lost privileges, but many gained positions in the army or civil administration. Finally, Frederick William laid the foundations of the power of Prussia, which he built around the army, and which became the basis for the creation of a unified Germany in the next century.

See also Frederick II (Prussia); Germany, Idea of; Hohenzollern Dynasty; Northern Wars; Prussia; Spanish Succession, War of the (1701–1714).

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JAMES D. HARDY, JR.

FREDERICK WILLIAM II (PRUSSIA) (1744–1797; ruled 1786–1797), king of Prussia. Frederick William II was what one might call a transitional monarch in Prussia. As king, he followed his uncle, Frederick II the Great (ruled 1740–1786), renowned as a military leader, administrative reformer, and cultural icon, and preceded his son, Frederick William III (ruled 1797–1840), who reigned during the turbulent Napoleonic years and oversaw the reforms that laid some of the foundations for the Prussian political and economic juggernaut of the later nineteenth century. Compared to those two, many historians consider Frederick William II unimportant.

One of the weaknesses of late-eighteenth-century enlightened absolutism was that its effectiveness depended a great deal on the ability and dedication of the ruler. Frederick the Great had created a remarkable state in large part because he paid attention to so many details. His nephew, however, was not as focused on his royal duties. While Frederick at first had confidence in his nephew, as time went on he was less sure that Frederick William would be the sovereign Prussia needed, and he predicted that, after his own death, “women will rule and the state will come to ruin.” Anticipating that his nephew’s son, Frederick William III, would have to reconstruct the Prussian state after the neglect his father seemed bound to display, Frederick the Great assumed responsibility for his grand-nephew’s upbringing, selecting his teachers and issuing them detailed instructions.

The atmosphere in Berlin certainly changed when Frederick the Great died. Frederick William II became widely popular, in part because one of his early acts was to end the state monopolies on tobacco and coffee, which cut the price of both considerably, but also reduced their substantial contributions to the state coffers. He was a great patron of the arts and enjoyed fine paintings, good theater,

and music; he even played the violoncello. During his reign, salon society, intellectual life, and tolerance flourished in Berlin. Rahel Levin and Henriette Herz, both Jewish Berliners, hosted two of the most popular salons, and Gotthold Ephraim Lessing's play *Nathan the Wise*, which encouraged religious toleration, was first performed in 1799.

Women may not have ruled in Berlin, as the old Frederick had predicted, but they did play an important role in Frederick William II's life. He married twice, first to Elizabeth of Brunswick, with whom he had a daughter, and then to Princess Frederica of Hesse, with whom he had seven children. Besides his wives, he had numerous mistresses and twomorganatic marriages to his queen's ladies-in-waiting. His true love was probably Wilhelmine Enke, the daughter of a horn player in the royal orchestra. He had fallen in love with her twenty years before he came to the throne, had five children with her, and, although he ended the physical relationship before becoming king, he enjoyed her company until the end of his life. It was she who introduced him to the architect Johann Carl Gotthard Langhans, who designed and built the Brandenburg Gate (1788–1791), now considered a symbol of Berlin.

The most important domestic act of his reign was the publication of the Prussian General Civil Code of 1794, a codification of laws that Frederick the Great's jurists had been working on for some time. This code reflected the struggle between the two powerful political ideas of the time: the preservation of the traditional separation of society into nobility, bourgeoisie, and peasantry and the Enlightenment principle that everyone should be equal before the law. The writers of the Code declared that, whereas society would retain its tiered structure, each person within his tier would be granted the widest freedom possible and would be assured security of life and property. In his comments on the Civil Code, Alexis de Tocqueville noted its contradictions, even calling it a "monster," but he added that in many respects it embodied the principles of the French Revolution's Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen (1789).

In foreign affairs Frederick William II embarked on a number of adventures. Whereas early in his reign he regarded Austria as the traditional enemy of Prussia, he joined with Austria in 1792 to resist

Revolutionary France. In 1793, still in the midst of that struggle, Frederick William II participated in the second partition of Poland, along with Russia but without Austria. This acquisition added to Prussia the important cities of Gdańsk and Toruń, plus over 22,000 square miles of territory and over one million subjects. When the Poles rebelled against this violation of their country, Frederick William in 1795 joined with Austria and Russia in the third partition of 1795, which eliminated Poland as an independent state for over a century and gave Prussia Warsaw and its environs, although these were ceded to Russia after the Napoleonic Wars.

The military campaigns in France and the campaigns in Poland exacted a physical toll on Frederick William II. After their conclusion his health deteriorated, and he died in November 1797, cared for by his first love, Wilhelmine Enke.

See also Enlightenment; Frederick II (Prussia); Lessing, Gotthold Ephraim; Prussia.

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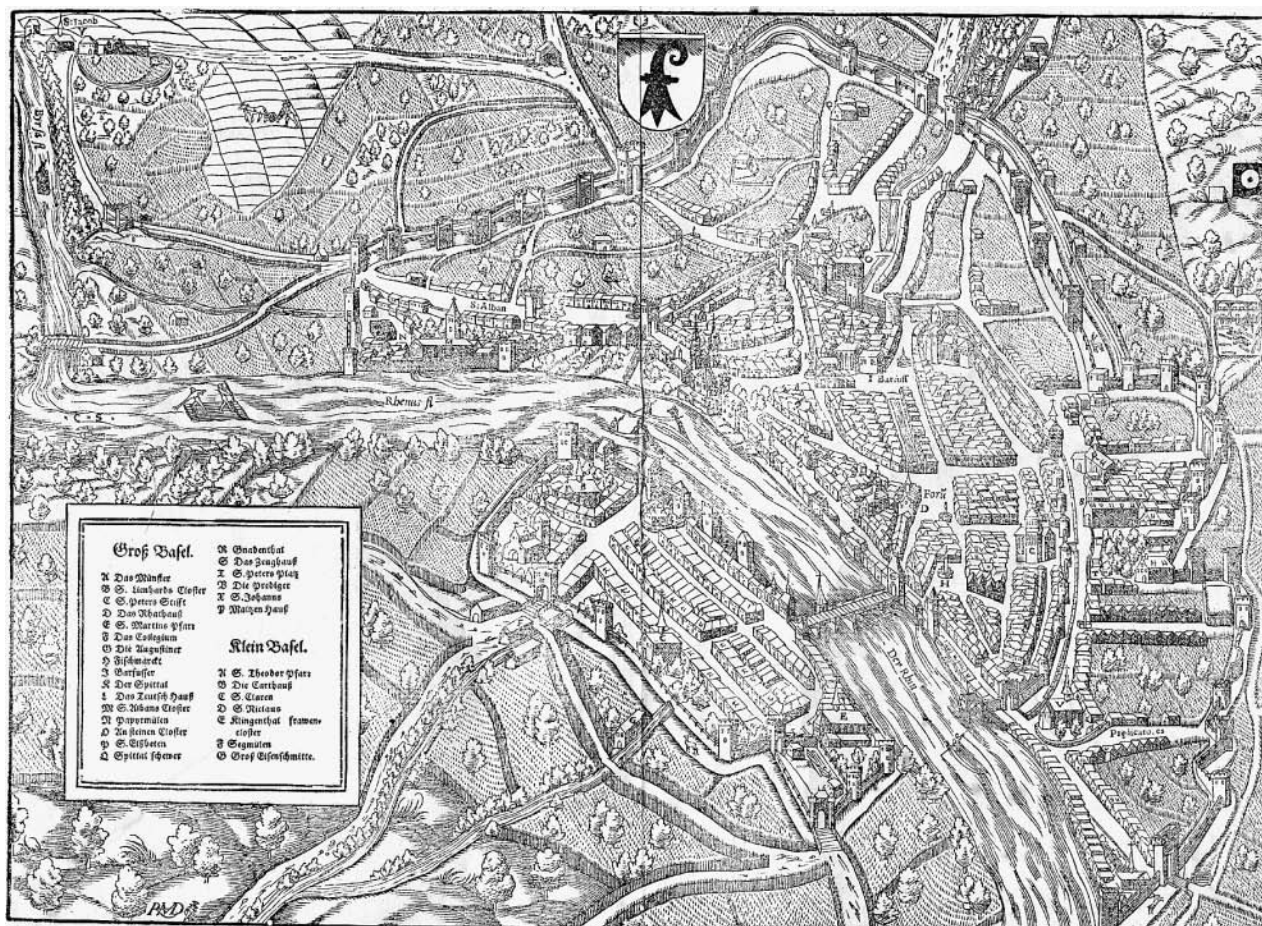
KARL A. ROIDER

FREE AND IMPERIAL CITIES. The free and imperial cities (*Freie und Reichsstädte*) were a privileged elite among the 2,500 or so towns within the Holy Roman Empire. The term "free city" originally applied to towns founded by a bishop that later won self-governance, whereas "imperial cities" dated back to royal settlements established by the emperor or developing under his immediate protection. This distinction lost most of its original meaning by 1500 as the free and imperial cities became characterized by their common status of immediacy (*Reichsunmittelbarkeit*) under the jurisdiction of the emperor, to whom they paid annual tribute. The other municipalities were all territorial towns (*Landstädte*) under the authority of their local lay or secular lord, and only indirectly subject to imperial jurisdiction. This crucial distinction elevated the imperial cities to part of the "Imperial Estates" (*Reichsstände*) that emerged by the 1480s

and governed the empire with the emperor through institutions like the Imperial Diet (*Reichstag*).

No more than one hundred towns ever possessed this special status. Most were concentrated in Swabia and Franconia in the southwest, which had been the centers of the emperor's power at the time of the cities' foundation in the twelfth century. Others developed in the Rhineland and northern Germany, either by escaping the control of local bishops or by emerging independently from below as trading centers that subsequently acquired imperial privilege and protection. Each city was a self-governing commune controlled by a council (*Rat*) elected by the enfranchised citizens (*Bürger*). Citizenship had to be applied for and was dependent on paying specific taxes and serving in the urban militia. The latter requirement was used to deny women citizenship from the seventeenth

century. Citizens rarely comprised more than a third of the total inhabitants. Generally, the social structure of the imperial cities mirrored that of the territorial towns, with a small proportion of the population owning most of the wealth. Urban trades were organized into guilds that regulated their own affairs under the council's jurisdiction. Many cities experienced violent upheavals in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries as the guild leaders sought greater representation on the city councils. This process was largely over by 1450, and urban government generally became more oligarchical with the key positions on the council controlled by a semi-hereditary patriciate. Emperor Charles V (ruled 1519–1556) encouraged this trend by rewriting the constitutions of thirty cities, strengthening the magistrates' power, and restricting the franchise.



Free and Imperial Cities. A sixteenth-century bird's-eye view of the city of Basel from Sebastian Münster's *Cosmographia* showing the growth of the city on both sides of the Rhine River. MAP COLLECTION, STERLING MEMORIAL LIBRARY, YALE UNIVERSITY

Many princes resented the cities' autonomy and sought to integrate these dynamic urban centers into their territories. All urban alliances ended in military defeat between the early thirteenth and mid-fifteenth centuries. Although the cities kept pace with advances in military technology, improving their fortifications and acquiring large arsenals stocked with artillery, they could not overcome their underlying weakness. Unlike the northern Italian city states, German cities lacked large surrounding territories and only a few like Nuremberg, Ulm, or Rottweil had sufficient dependent villages to supply their urban populations with food. They depended on trade and exchange to survive. Resistance quickly collapsed once the princes blockaded them. Shortage of food and disruption of trade usually triggered internal tensions, and a faction generally emerged to force the city council to capitulate. More fundamentally, none of the medieval leagues could force their often-scattered membership to pull together. Closer integration in the empire saved the cities and enabled them to ride out the storms of the Reformation. The cities held regular congresses (*Reichstättetage*) after 1471 to coincide with the meetings of the emperor, electors, and princes, and acquired voting rights in the new imperial diet by 1582.

Many historians have identified the early Reformation as an urban phenomenon since Lutheranism spread rapidly to many southern and western imperial cities in the early 1520s. Dissatisfaction with Charles V's economic policies and existing trading and cultural links to the south raised the possibility that many cities might "turn Swiss" and leave the empire. Only five actually did this: Basel, Schaffhausen, St. Gallen, Grüningen, and Mulhouse. Others were too far away or fearful of Swiss radicalism. Eleven remained Catholic despite social and economic similarities with those that embraced Lutheranism, while four were officially recognized as biconfessional by the Peace of Westphalia in 1648. While this treaty also confirmed civic voting rights in the diet, it placed them as a distinctly inferior third college behind the electors and princes. Civic attendance at the diet declined in the eighteenth century, but the cities remained active in other imperial institutions. The empire was the best guarantee for their autonomy. The imperial courts protec-

ted them against the princes and intervened to stabilize their internal politics and finances.

Of the eighty-six cities recognized by the diet in 1521, only fifty-one remained in the late eighteenth century. The general shift of European trade to the Atlantic seaboard in the sixteenth century had little to do with this decline, although it did adversely affect the economy of the remaining cities, as did the Thirty Years' War. The fall in numbers is misleading as the original list included ten smaller cities that reverted to the status of territorial towns to escape imperial taxation in the sixteenth century, and sixteen that were lost to France by 1681. These losses primarily indicate the empire's difficulty in defending its outer perimeter, rather than a weakness of its internal hierarchy. Very few cities remaining within the empire lost their autonomy, and imperial sanction was necessary in each case. Austria itself annexed Constance in 1548, and the emperor permitted Bavaria to seize Donauwörth in 1607. The other cases involved cities that lacked firm foundation for their imperial privileges, such as Erfurt (1664), Magdeburg (1666), or Brunswick (1671), which were all ex-Hansa towns, rather than imperial cities, or Emden and Münster, which were already territorial towns. The empire also acted to preserve the autonomy of the Hanseatic cities Hamburg and Bremen, saving them from Danish and Swedish encroachment in the 1650s and 1660s by recognizing them as imperial cities. The remaining fifty-one cities had a combined population of 820,840 in 1800, of which 150,000 lived in Hamburg alone. Only Bremen and Cologne numbered over 50,000, while the tiny Swabian city of Buchau had only 860 inhabitants. Six imperial cities were retained in the reorganization of the empire in 1803, but only Hamburg, Bremen, and Lübeck retained political autonomy beyond 1806.

See also Augsburg; Charles V (Holy Roman Empire); Cologne; Frankfurt am Main; Hamburg; Holy Roman Empire; Lübeck; Münster; Strasbourg.

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FREE CITIES. See *Free and Imperial Cities*.

FREE WILL. Belief in human free will was challenged by two intellectual developments at the beginning of the early modern period in Europe, the Protestant Reformation and the development of the mechanical theory of matter. The challenges were not entirely new. Medieval theologians had long wrestled with the question of whether human free will was compatible with God’s omnipotence and providence and with the theory of nature they had inherited primarily from Aristotle. But challenges to the belief in free will became particularly sharp in early modern Europe.

DESCARTES AND THE CARTESIANS

The notion of free will was central to the thought of René Descartes (1596–1650), who included among acts of will not only the choice to pursue or shun an attractive object, but also judgment, the act of mind by which we affirm or deny that something is the case. Descartes relied on the principle that God, being wholly good, cannot deceive us. Yet we are deceived. Descartes explained this fact by saying that our mistakes arise when we misuse our free will, affirming what we do not know to be true or denying what we do not know to be false.

Descartes reconciled free will with the new mechanical physics by distinguishing between mind and body. Since the will pertains to the mind, freedom of will is not directly challenged by mechanical physics. Descartes’s position raised the problem of mind-body interaction, in particular how the mind, by its free choices, could cause motions in the human body. Descartes’s own position is subject to scholarly dispute. But it is clear that the philosophers influenced by Descartes tended strongly toward theories of mind-body parallelism, according to which the histories of a mind and its associated body are causally independent but coordinated, perhaps by God. Indeed, the Cartesians Nicolas Malebranche (1638–1715), Louis de la Forge (1632–1666), Géraud de Cordemoy (1614–1684), and Arnold Geulincx (1624–1669) held a general theory of causation, known as “occasionalism,” according to which God is the only true

cause, and other “causes” provide no more than the occasions for God’s causation.

Descartes’s epistemological use of the notion of free will also raised the question of how human free will is consistent with God’s omnipotence, which implies that God preordains all things. In his *Principia Philosophiae* (1644; Principles of philosophy) Descartes answered this question by saying that we can “get out of” the difficulty by noting that the finite human mind cannot comprehend what an omnipotent God is capable of. Here Descartes was drawing on concepts prominent in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century debates among Protestants and Catholics. To the general problem of the relation of human free will to God’s omnipotence, Martin Luther (1483–1546) and John Calvin (1509–1564) had added a further difficulty by claiming that human free will was destroyed or at least greatly diminished by original sin, and that all good and meritorious human actions are the results solely of divine grace. Luther’s position was attacked by Desiderius Erasmus (1466?–1536) in *De Libero Arbitrio Diatribe* (1524), to which Luther replied with *De Servo Arbitrio* (1525). The Council of Trent (1545–1563) reaffirmed that freedom of will was not destroyed by original sin, and at the same time that postlapsarian human beings are incapable of meritorious acts without the aid of supernatural grace. Disputes about the relation of free will to original sin and grace abounded in the sixteenth century, initiated especially by Luis de Molina’s *Concordia Liberi Arbitrii cum Gratiae Donis* (1588–1589; The harmony of free will with gifts of grace) and by the posthumous publication of Cornelius Jansen’s *Augustinus* (1640). This work served as the background for the famous written controversy between the Cartesians Antoine Arnauld (1612–1694) and Malebranche, which began with the publication of Malebranche’s *Traité de la nature et de la grâce* (1680; Treatise of nature and grace).

BRITISH PHILOSOPHERS

Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679) set the tone for subsequent discussion of human freedom among English-speaking philosophers with his declaration that “a *free man* is he that in those things, which by his strength and wit he is able to do, is not hindered to do what he has a will to do.” Hobbes urged that

only human beings and their actions, and not a supposed faculty called “the will,” should be termed “free.” He was a thoroughgoing materialist and mechanist. Hence he held that volitions, like all other human actions, are in the end movements in the human body. He pointed out that even inanimate things are said to act freely when they move without external impediment, as when water is said to descend freely in a river bed. But he allowed a special sense of freedom for human beings: They act freely when they do what they will to do without hindrance. Hobbes’s position is a classic example of “compatibilism,” the position that an action’s being determined by antecedent causes is consistent with its being free. Hobbes denied that willing is among the things one can will to do or do voluntarily. Hence, only human actions other than volitions are free, and an action is free whenever it is what the agent wants to do.

Like Hobbes, John Locke (1632–1704) believed that only human beings and their voluntary acts (which are other than acts of will) can correctly be said to be free. Again like Hobbes, he maintained that a human action is free only if it is what the agent wants to do. But he added a second condition: a human action is free only if the agent could have refrained from performing the action simply by willing not to perform it. Suppose a man is locked in a room where he wants to stay. For Hobbes, the man’s remaining in the room is free; for Locke it is not.

The most important eighteenth-century compatibilist was David Hume (1711–1776). In Section VIII of *An Enquiry concerning Human Understanding* (1748), he defines liberty as “a power of acting or not acting, according to the determinations of the will; that is, if we choose to remain at rest, we may; if we choose to move, we also may.” He argues that the “operations of the will” are just as much subject to external causal determination as the operations of matter, and indeed that this fact is recognized by “all mankind . . . in their general practice and reasoning,” but that people hesitate to acknowledge it openly because they are in the grips of the false belief that causal determination amounts to constraint.

The most important critic of compatibilism was Thomas Reid (1710–1796), the founder of the

Scottish school of common sense philosophy. Reid argued that the sort of freedom that is central to moral responsibility is located precisely in the will: “By the *liberty* of a moral agent, I understand, a power over the determinations of his own will. If, in any action, he had the power to will what he did, or not to will it, in that action he is free.” Reid developed the notion of agency, or agent causation. In his view, free acts of will are caused not by some antecedent event inside or outside the agent, but rather by the agent himself or herself.

SPINOZA, LEIBNIZ, AND KANT

Baruch Spinoza (1632–1677) and Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646–1716) were proponents of the principle that there was an explanation for everything that happened and existed. For Spinoza this principle implied that all human actions occur with logical necessity. He was a pantheist and held that, strictly speaking, only “God or Nature” is free. Nevertheless, he said, the actions of a human being are free to the degree that they are independent of finite causes or reasons outside the human being.

Leibniz shrank from this position and emphasized the distinction between necessary and contingent truths. In Section 288 of the *Theodicy* (1710) he writes, “Freedom . . . consists in intelligence . . . in spontaneity, in virtue of which we determine ourselves; and in contingency, that is, in the exclusion of logical or metaphysical necessity.” He held that human choices and actions are intelligent, spontaneous, and logically contingent. At the same time, they are determined by God’s choice to create the most perfect of all possible worlds. Leibniz’s position thus amounts to a complex version of compatibilism.

Immanuel Kant (1724–1804) brought to a climax the efforts of early modern philosophers and theologians to make belief in human free will consistent with their other intellectual commitments. His position on free will depends on his distinction between the human self considered as an object of empirical knowledge and the human self considered as a thing-in-itself. In the *Kritik der reinen Vernunft* (1781/1787; Critique of pure reason), he writes that freedom is “the power of beginning a state spontaneously.” Kant held that all operations of the human self considered as an object of empirical knowledge are determined by external causes,

and hence are not free. Yet for him the self-in-itself is self-determining and autonomous, and hence free.

See also Cartesianism; Descartes, René; Hobbes, Thomas; Hume, David; Kant, Immanuel; Liberty; Locke, John; Moral Philosophy and Ethics; Philosophy; Spinoza, Baruch.

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ELMAR J. KREMER

FREEMASONRY. Organized locally in secret societies known as lodges, freemasonry attracted adherents in every major European state over the course of the eighteenth century. Freemasonry, with its humanitarian emphasis on moral improvement, religious toleration, and universal brotherhood, showed clear traces of Enlightenment influence. Although freemasons were avowedly nonpolitical in their aims, some scholars have linked them in France and elsewhere with proto-democratic movements of the later eighteenth century.

ORIGINS

The origins of freemasonry are shrouded in colorful myths passed down by generations of masons. Some masons traced their beginnings back to the building of Solomon’s temple in biblical times. Others dated their order back to the Templars, the knightly crusading order of the twelfth century. But most historians now see eighteenth-century freemasonry as evolving out of English and Scottish stonemason guilds of the seventeenth century. Master stone-

masons were highly skilled craftsmen whose trade demanded considerable technical knowledge in engineering and architecture. Taking pride in their craft, they had developed over the centuries a rich repository of legends and rituals highlighting their history as the builders of palaces and churches. In the seventeenth century their myths and ceremonies began to attract the attention of individuals outside the guild, including those with philosophical and scientific interests who saw masonry as a fount of ancient wisdom. By the early eighteenth century masonic organizations had begun to lose their identity as occupational associations and had evolved into fraternal lodges devoted to charitable activity and the provision of fellowship and mutual aid to their members. As such, the rise of freemasonry was symptomatic of the more general proliferation of clubs, reading societies, salons, and other institutions of sociability that occurred throughout Europe in the age of Enlightenment. Those from the middling ranks of society, especially merchants, comprised a large segment of British freemasons, although members also included aristocrats and even royalty (at the end of the eighteenth century almost all male members of the royal family were members). By 1725 London lodges, which in 1717 had confederated themselves into the Grand Lodge of London, numbered thirty-seven, and by 1780 England as a whole boasted almost four hundred.

EXPANSION

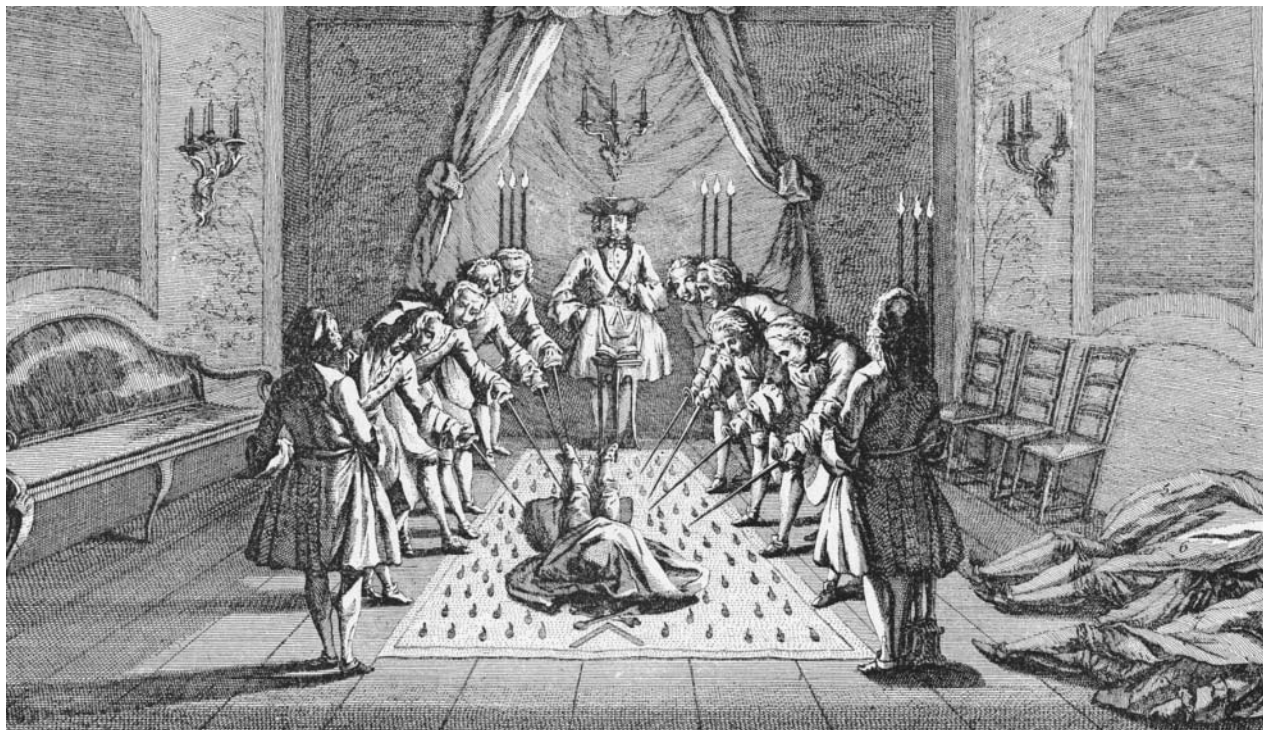
With a social base that was urban, mercantile, and hence geographically mobile, freemasonry spread quickly to the Continent. A Parisian lodge was in existence by 1725, and on the eve of the French Revolution there were an estimated 600 lodges in the monarchy as a whole. In 1770 Paris alone had some 10,000 freemasons, and in 1789 France's masonic population ranged between 50,000 and 100,000. In the Dutch Republic lodges were established in The Hague and in Amsterdam in the 1730s, and in Germany some 450 lodges were founded between 1737 and 1789. Freemasonry took root somewhat later in Austria, where the devoutly Catholic Maria Theresa (ruled 1740–1780) was hostile to the order after the papacy formally condemned it (1738) on the grounds of its alleged deism. But her son and successor, Joseph II (ruled 1780–1790), himself joined a lodge and encouraged the movement during the early, liberal

years of his reign. By 1784 there were sixty-six lodges in the monarchy, although Joseph's successor, the archconservative Francis II, outlawed freemasonry in 1794 as a subversive Jacobin import. The spread of freemasonry was also belated elsewhere on the European periphery. Madrid's first lodge was founded relatively early (1728) by an exiled English Jacobite, but opposition by the church curbed the growth of Spanish freemasonry until the enlightened reign of Charles III (ruled 1759–1788). Russia's first lodges were founded by and for foreigners, but under Catherine the Great (ruled 1762–1796) freemasonry for a brief time became fashionable among enlightened circles at the University of Moscow. But by the 1790s Catherine, like her Austrian counterpart, had begun to suppress freemasonry as politically subversive.

SIGNIFICANCE

Such official persecution has led some to see freemasonry as a proto-democratic, egalitarian, and even revolutionary movement. In her 1991 study of British, Dutch, and French freemasonry, Margaret Jacob argued that masonic lodges served to spread British constitutionalist ideas and practices throughout the Continent. Masons called the rules of their lodges "constitutions" and practiced principles of majority rule in elections of officers and members. Masonic sociability and ceremony also had a distinctly egalitarian flavor. Masonic meetings, where titles were dropped and members referred to each other as "brother," momentarily suspended differences in social rank. Inspired in part by the work of the Catholic royalist historian Augustin Cochin, who found organizational and ideological parallels between pre-Revolutionary French lodges and post-1789 Jacobin clubs, other scholars have viewed freemasonry in a more ominous light. Reinhart Koselleck and François Furet have seen the abstract moralism and egalitarianism of freemasonry as foreshadowing a modern totalitarian quest for ideological purity and unity.

These interpretations vary in details, but all tend to see freemasonry as inherently antagonistic to the social and political structures of the Old Regime. Yet freemasonry looked to the past as well as to the future, and its political manifestations were varied. Like the Old Regime itself, lodges were hierarchical in structure, with members advancing from a lower



Freemasonry. Engraving of a French Freemason ceremony for the reception of a master, 1745. The candidate lies at center; other candidates awaiting reception lie covered at right. ©BETTMANN/CORBIS

to a higher rank through service to the order and mastery of its secrets. Admission to and advancement within the order were ostensibly based on merit, but initiation fees, membership dues, and literacy requirements in practice made membership a preserve of the propertied. Freemasonry was also overwhelmingly male in composition, although there is evidence that some French lodges admitted women as well as men. The more traditional features of eighteenth-century freemasonry are also evident in the order's quasi-religious character. In some ways lodges hearkened back to lay confraternities and religious orders in providing members with fellowship, mutual aid, and outlets for charitable work. As with a church, freemasonry's elaborate ceremonies and esoteric symbolism fostered a sense of spiritual mystery as well as a belief that members had access to a higher wisdom closed to those outside the order. Finally, lodges could be found across the political spectrum. In the 1760s many British masons became associated with the cause of popular radicalism through their support of John Wilkes and his demands for parliamentary reform, but by the 1790s British lodges had become solidly loyalist and

conservative in character. In France, not all lodges were sympathetic to the Revolution: in Toulouse about one-third of the 250 individuals who can be identified as freemasons were royalist in their sympathies, and some Parisian lodges were hostile to the Revolution from its very inception.

Eighteenth-century freemasonry was innovative not so much for its politics, but rather as a prototype for the voluntary associations and clubs that democratic political theorists have viewed as defining features of modern civil society. Freemasonry was the first secular, voluntary, and pan-European association in modern times, and as such became a model for civic organizations and clubs throughout the West.

See also **Enlightenment; Guilds; Revolutions, Age of.**

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JAMES VAN HORN MELTON

FRENCH COLONIES

This entry includes three subentries:

THE CARIBBEAN
INDIA
NORTH AMERICA

THE CARIBBEAN

From roughly 1500 to 1800, France was far more important as a Caribbean imperial power than is commonly recognized today. Its economic and military might were effectively lost in 1804, when the most important French Caribbean colony, Saint Domingue, became the independent nation of Haiti. Today France retains a handful of territories from its early modern New World empire, and the largest of these islands became full-fledged French departments after 1948.

PROCESS OF COLONIZATION

Like England, France established no Caribbean colonies until the early seventeenth century. But its importance as a naval power in the region began in 1523, when pirates from Normandy captured Spanish treasure ships. Such attacks were the greatest threat to the Spanish Caribbean in the first half of the sixteenth century, culminating in the sacking of Havana in 1555. Yet Spain's imperial vigilance held off the French for nearly a century, ensuring that the kingdom's first Antillean colony would only be founded in 1625. In that year the Norman nobleman Belain d'Esnambuc formally established a French colony on Saint Kitts. This tiny island served as a seedbed for further settlements until coming under full British control in 1713.

In 1635 French expeditions successfully claimed the larger islands of Martinique and Guadeloupe in the Lesser Antilles, after a delay caused partly by the hostility of resident Carib Indians. Early colonialists produced tobacco, relying on indentured servants for labor. By the middle of the 1640s about half of the five to seven thousand French colonists in these islands were serving out labor contracts. Yet by this time the price of Caribbean-grown tobacco had plummeted. From 1638 colonists were being urged to plant cotton or indigo instead of tobacco. In the early 1640s royal officials sponsored the establishment of the first sugar plantations and mills in Martinique and Guadeloupe. In the 1670s, as sugar became the primary export of these islands, planters increasingly purchased enslaved African workers, and European servants fled.

A number of these Europeans immigrated west to the Greater Antilles territory that would become France's most profitable Caribbean colony, Saint Domingue. In the early 1600s the uninhabited western coast of Spanish Santo Domingo was teeming with wild cattle. The livestock attracted a population of rootless men who sold leather and smoked meat, or *boucan*, to passing ships. In the 1640s French officials from Saint Kitts managed to establish their authority over these *boucaniers*, though it was not until 1697 that Spain formally recognized the land as a French colony. With a land area ten times larger than Martinique and Guadeloupe combined, Saint Domingue would become the Caribbean's largest slave plantation colony by the middle of the eighteenth century. Nevertheless, the colony retained a distinct identity as the most violent, as well as the most valuable, of France's New World possessions.

Other early modern French Caribbean colonies, which never attained much economic or demographic weight, include the Lesser Antilles islands of Grenada, Dominica, and Saint Lucia, all three lost permanently to Britain by the early nineteenth century. France did retain other smaller Caribbean islands, including Saint Martin, shared with the Dutch after 1648, and Saint-Barthélemy, traded to Sweden in the late 1700s and repurchased a century later. The territory known as Cayenne (today, French Guiana) on the South American mainland, was important strategically, but never developed the profitable sugar fields or fearsome slave conditions

of neighboring Dutch Surinam. In 1788 Cayenne had fewer than two thousand free inhabitants and about ten thousand slaves.

ECONOMIC IMPACT

By the end of the eighteenth century, France's Caribbean colonies were its most precious overseas asset, yielding roughly half of Europe's sugar and coffee, as well as large quantities of indigo and cotton. Acre for acre, by the 1750s these territories outproduced Britain's island possessions. By itself Saint Domingue generated some 75 percent of French tropical commodities. The value of these goods was multiplied by the additional commerce they generated. France re-exported half of its sugar and coffee to other European markets, allowing the kingdom to maintain a favorable balance of trade in the eighteenth century. Moreover, Saint Domingue's insatiable demand for labor helped make France the second largest slave-trading nation in the eighteenth century, after Britain. Trade with Africa and the islands fostered a variety of auxiliary industries in France, including the manufacture of cotton textiles.

FORMS OF DOMINATION

France's seventeenth-century island colonies were administered by a series of unsuccessful royal companies. By the eighteenth century the secretary of the navy ruled these territories, selecting nearly all colonial officials from the royal navy and army. The crown did name prominent colonists to the so-called superior councils, which functioned as courts of appeal and legislative bodies on the model of France's regional parlements. Nevertheless, elite planters had little of the control over local taxation that characterized the British islands, with their colonial assemblies.

Established and aspiring planters deeply resented the military priorities of colonial governors, especially mandatory militia service and the trade monopoly that Versailles imposed on Caribbean trade from the 1660s. Colonists argued that militia work distracted them from their plantations. Over time they transferred the most onerous of these duties, such as the search for escaped slaves, to freeborn men of color and ex-slaves. Colonists also maintained that free international trade would greatly increase the islands' economic value to the kingdom. Unable to curb colonial contraband, by

the end of the eighteenth century Versailles was beginning to loosen its mercantilist restrictions.

Although the Code Noir of 1685 established the basic legal principles of French Caribbean slave society, the colonial government left control of the slave population to individual masters. Officials ignored royal laws protecting slaves from malnutrition and torture. The Code Noir also proclaimed that ex-slaves were legally equal to other free colonists, but by the early eighteenth century racial prejudice had already become an important means of social control. From the beginning of French Caribbean slavery, colonists commonly freed their slave mistresses and mixed-race children. Such manumissions amounted to no more than 1 percent of all slaves every year. Nevertheless, over time this population of free blacks and mixed-race people grew increasingly large, wealthy, and familiar with French culture. To maintain their own French identity, in the second half of the eighteenth century, colonial judges and planters installed an increasingly rigid set of discriminatory laws, separating "white" from "nonwhite" persons.

The Catholic Church was relatively unimportant as a form of social control over white society in the French Caribbean. Many of the most important religious orders, such as the Jesuits, maintained large and profitable slave plantations in the colonies. The Church's influence over colonists was strongest in the Lesser Antilles, where missionaries played an important role in early colonization. Saint Domingue was notoriously irreligious, however, and its priests were described as the most decadent in the kingdom. Many masters refused to Christianize their newly purchased slaves, citing the expense and threat to plantation discipline. As thousands of new African workers arrived each year, slaves developed new forms of spirituality, the forerunners of modern Haitian *vodou*.

NUMBER OF FRENCH COLONISTS

Despite their commercial importance to the kingdom, France's Caribbean territories were never significant population centers for French colonists. In fact, from 1650, as colonial sugar planters imported more and more enslaved Africans, many poorer colonists fled. This was less true in Saint Domingue, where poor whites could still find hillside land for farming and ranching up to the 1760s. Even here,

however, cheap land became scarce with the expansion of coffee plantations into the hills after mid-century.

Whether whites had land or not, they were a distinct minority in all of France's Antillean territories. In 1788 the French Caribbean had approximately 56,000 white residents and over 693,000 slaves. A third group, the so-called free population of color, numbered roughly 32,000. By this date, many of these individuals had been born free and owned some property, including slaves. Throughout much of French Caribbean history, the wealthiest and lightest-skinned members of this group were acknowledged to be "French." However, after 1763, new racial laws categorized these individuals as nonwhites, defining them as ex-slaves, despite their birth and wealth.

PLANTATION SYSTEMS

In the eighteenth century, France's Antillean plantations were the most productive institutions of their kind in the Atlantic world. Because sugarcane requires over twelve months of carefully tended growth to reach maturity, but must be crushed within forty-eight hours of harvest, planters using early modern grinding and refining technology needed their own mills and boiling houses. Such investments were more profitable for larger estates, with more sugarcane to process. Saint Domingue's sugar plantations were the largest in the eighteenth-century Caribbean, employing, on average, between 150 and 200 slaves, with the largest plantations far exceeding this number. Leading Dominguan sugar growers also invested in elaborate irrigation systems, built sugar mills driven by wind and water, and developed complex crop rotations. British planters in Jamaica claimed that the French earned returns of close to 10 percent on their plantation investments. Modern calculations based on plantation records vary from 4 percent to 18 percent annual profit.

In part because of these capital improvements, many of Saint Domingue's great planters were heavily indebted to European merchants. Moreover, despite the high price of buying new Africans, many estates systematically overworked or undernourished their slaves to maximize short-term profits, causing annual mortality rates of 5 percent and higher. The brutality of French Caribbean planta-

tion society and the wealth it generated were among the reasons that the biggest planters often left their properties in the hands of managers and returned to France. Approximately 30 to 40 percent of French colonial plantations were managed in this absentee style.

Sugar plantations were the largest and most influential institutions in Caribbean agriculture. However, the early modern French Caribbean colonies produced a number of other commodities with their own distinct plantation technologies. Coffee was the most important of these, with European demand increasing markedly around the middle of the eighteenth century. In the 1780s Saint Domingue's coffee shipments to France were as valuable as its refined sugar exports. Because this crop required far less processing and labor, it cost about one-sixth as much to establish a coffee estate as to build a sugar plantation in Saint Domingue. Other crops were accessible to planters who did not have the capital to found a sugar estate. Indigo dye was an important product in many parts of Saint Domingue and, by the end of the eighteenth century, so was cotton, though these commodities were frequently smuggled into British or Dutch markets.

LOSS

The French Revolution (1789–1799) forever altered France's presence in the Caribbean. The issue that first destabilized Saint Domingue in 1789 was citizenship, not slavery. From 1789 to 1791, colonial men of color living in Paris convinced the revolution's National Assembly to recognize them as French citizens. In 1791, when colonial whites refused to accept the racial reforms legislated by Paris, civil war broke out in Saint Domingue, pitting whites against free blacks and mulattoes. Taking advantage of this conflict, in August 1791 slaves planned and executed a revolt that spread throughout the colony. Racial tensions prevented whites and free men of color from forging an effective island-wide army to defeat the uprising. In 1793 ex-slaves were still in rebellion. By this time, France was at war with Spain and England. As these enemies attacked the French Antilles, conservative colonists joined them to fight the revolution.

By the middle of 1793 the twin threats of counterrevolution and foreign invasion forced French officials to offer Saint Domingue's rebel slaves free-

dom in exchange for military assistance. On 31 October of that year, the French commissioner to Saint Domingue, Léger-Félicité Sonthonax, declared slave emancipation throughout the colony. On 4 February 1794 legislators in Paris, responding to this fait accompli, declared slavery illegal in all French territories. The British had already captured Martinique, but emancipation transformed Guadeloupe, where ex-slaves served as sailors and soldiers alongside whites and former free men of color, attacking foreign shipping and raiding nearby British colonies from 1794 to 1798. In Saint Domingue free colored and ex-slave officers, most notably Pierre Dominique Toussaint L'Ouverture, emerged as the leading figures in the French army.

With Napoléon Bonaparte's ascension to power in 1799, and temporary peace with Britain in 1802, France attempted to restore its Caribbean plantations to profitability. In Guadeloupe a French expeditionary force killed approximately 10 percent of the population in the process of reestablishing slavery. Many of the dead were black and mulatto soldiers who had fought loyally for the republic. In Saint Domingue in 1803, however, approximately forty thousand European troops were unable to defeat the colony's former slaves. Fighting first as guerrillas, and then under the leadership of black and mixed-race generals, the ex-slaves also benefited from an outbreak of yellow fever that severely weakened the expeditionary force. On 1 January 1804, rejecting France while proclaiming their allegiance to the ideals of the French Revolution, the leaders of Saint Domingue's ex-slave armies declared their independence as the new American nation of Haiti.

See also **Colonialism; Slavery and the Slave Trade; Sugar.**

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INDIA

The European quest for a direct sea link to the source of Indian spices had begun in the fifteenth century with the Portuguese voyages directed by Prince Henry the Navigator (1394–1460). Vasco da Gama (c. 1460–1524) had “discovered” the sea route to the pepper-rich Malabar Coast of India during his epic first voyage of 1497–1499, and for the next century the Portuguese had dominated the spice trade. The desire of France to share in this rich trade had begun as early as the reigns of Francis I (ruled 1515–1547) and Henry III (ruled 1574–1589). In 1527 a Norman ship reached Diu; the next year the *Marie de Bon Secours* was seized by the Portuguese; and in 1530 two French ships reached Sumatra. Yet it was only after the chaos of the Wars

of Religion ended that the Compagnie des Mers Orientales was formed in November 1600 by merchants of Saint-Malo, Laval, and Vitré. Although two ships were sent to Asia, this company was soon moribund. In June 1604 Henry IV (ruled 1589–1610) issued letters patent granting a trading monopoly in Asia to a “Société . . . pour le voyage des Indes orientales.” A promising beginning for this company, however, was soon undermined by a lack of private investment, Portuguese and Dutch opposition, the continued preeminence of continental foreign policy aims, and the internal strife of Louis XIII’s (ruled 1610–1643) minority. In vain the crown attempted to instill new life into the project in July 1619 by transferring monopoly privileges to a reconstituted concern, the Compagnie des Moluques. Cardinal Richelieu (1585–1642) also tried his hand at creating a viable East India Company. Between 1633 and 1637 several ships were sent to Asia by a Société Dieppoise, and monopoly privileges were granted to a Compagnie d’Orient by letters patent of June 1642. Nevertheless the cardinal’s scheme to colonize Madagascar (Isle Dauphine) eventually bankrupted the company. Private attempts to break into the trade between 1655 and 1662 under the auspices of the *maréchal* (marshal) de la Meilleraye and Nicolas Fouquet (1615–1680) were also failures.

Louis XIV’s (ruled 1643–1715) finance minister Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619–1683) was responsible for the greatest French attempt of the early modern period to break into the Asian trade. Colbert, a firm disciple of mercantilist theories, believed the key to the kingdom’s economic prosperity rested in its ability to destroy the burgeoning trade of the Dutch East India Company while establishing a strong French presence in that trade. In 1664 he formed the Compagnie royale des Indes orientales, based on the Dutch model, with a formidable capital pool and the firm support of the king. During the next few years twenty ships were sent out and three million livres were spent on the project. As a result, Fort Dauphin on Madagascar was reoccupied and a factory was established at the Gujarati entrepôt of Surat. By 1669 Colbert had resolved on a more bellicose approach. A powerful royal fleet, the so-called Persian Squadron, consisting of nine well-armed ships and twenty-three hundred men, was dispatched under Viceroy Jacob Blanquet de La

Haye in March 1670 to finally establish French power in India. Nevertheless, flawed command decisions in Asia and a lack of interest in the project on the part of Louis XIV after the beginning of the Dutch War in Europe in 1672 doomed this campaign. The only territorial legacy of 150 years of French efforts to establish a position in the Indian trade was the coastal town of Pondicherry, which La Haye received from Sher Khan Lodi in late 1672 in the midst of his campaigning on the Coromandel Coast of India. From 1674 to 1763, French efforts in India were consistently undermined by increased competition from the English East India Company, along with a lack of support from the French crown. The Royal East India Company was incorporated into John Law’s grandiose Company of the Indies in 1719, and also shared in the collapse of his Mississippi scheme the following year. During the 1740s and 1750s, Joseph François Dupleix, governor in Pondicherry, skillfully exploited the declining power of internal Indian states to build significant French power in south and central India. Nevertheless, a lack of support from Paris resulted in his eventual defeat by the British under Robert Clive, followed by his recall in 1754. Bankruptcy resulted in the dissolution of the French East India Company in 1769.

See also **British Colonies: India; Colbert, Jean-Baptiste; Mercantilism; Trading Companies.**

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NORTH AMERICA

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, France’s North American colonies stretched westward from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to the Great Lakes and southward from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico. The early proprietary governments gave way to a royal regime in the mid-seventeenth century, although the proprietary model was

resuscitated on a limited basis in the eighteenth century. Forms of social organization varied from colony to colony, but everywhere there were new realities, belying the characterization of New France as an archaic feudal society. Economically the colonies differed from one another as well, but in general the absence of a labor-intensive staple such as tobacco or sugar precluded large-scale immigration. Recent estimates of the volume of immigration range from 33,500 for the St. Lawrence Valley to 7,000 for the Canadian Maritimes and 14,000 for Louisiana (half of them African slaves). While these figures are larger than was originally thought, the staying power of the immigrants—most often single young men from urban backgrounds—was notoriously poor. At the time of the British conquest, New France in its entirety had fewer than 100,000 European or African inhabitants, compared to nearly 2 million in British North America.

THE PROCESS OF COLONIZATION

Although there were abortive attempts to found colonies in Canada and Florida in the mid-sixteenth century, the first permanent French settlements in North America were Acadia in 1604 and Quebec in 1608. The initiative for both came from Pierre Du Gua de Monts, an officer who was then the exclusive proprietor of New France. The charter he received from Henry IV granted him seigneurial rights and a commercial monopoly over eastern North America from Philadelphia to Newfoundland, in return for which he agreed to shoulder the expenses of colonization.

De Monts abandoned the settlement of Port Royal (today Annapolis Royal in Nova Scotia) in 1607; however, French Acadia survived owing to the first subinfeudation practiced within a proprietary colony. Using his authority as proprietor, De Monts granted the land as a seigneurie to Jean Biencourt de Poutrincourt, a nobleman who had accompanied the first expedition to Port Royal. With Poutrincourt, settlement resumed and colonization entered a new phase. From the responsibility of a single overlord in possession of a commercial monopoly, it became the shared responsibility of the overlord and his seigneur. The return on the latter's investments would come not from trade but from seigneurial revenues (feudal rents collected

from peasant farmers), so a successful enterprise would require agricultural settlement.

Unfortunately for the colony, Poutrincourt died a pauper in 1615, bequeathing his seigneurie to his equally impoverished son Biencourt. At Biencourt's death in 1623, Port Royal remained a trading post with no more than twenty year-round residents, none of them women.

Meanwhile the Canadian monopoly passed from de Monts, who lost it as the result of merchant complaints, to a succession of members of the upper nobility. All but one of the new proprietors (now known as viceroys) worked in tandem with a company of merchants, but colonization proceeded slowly nonetheless. In 1627, when Cardinal Richelieu revoked the most recent charter, Quebec had a total population of eighty-five, of whom only two dozen were true settlers.

Richelieu, who was anxious to transform the fledgling settlements into an important colony, created the Company of New France, more commonly known as the Company of the Hundred Associates. Differing from earlier companies in scope rather than structure, it received a perpetual monopoly on the fur trade and a fifteen-year monopoly on all other trade except the fisheries. During those fifteen years, it agreed to transport four thousand French Catholics of both sexes to New France. Yet the new proprietors experienced disastrous luck from the beginning. Their first fleet, which departed France with three hundred colonists, was captured by the British, who went on to occupy Quebec from 1629 to 1632. After the occupation, financial constraints obliged the company to subcontract the monopoly. Colonization continued under the aegis of subcontractors and seigneurs, but in 1663, when Louis XIV revoked the company's charter, New France had barely 3,500 French inhabitants. Moreover, several hundred of them lived in Acadia, under British occupation since 1654.

Louis XIV, seconded by minister Jean-Baptiste Colbert, brought the colony directly under royal administration. In the first ten years of royal control, Canada received about four thousand new colonists at the king's expense, after which funds and interest waned again. Nonetheless, New France continued to expand geographically in the first half of the eighteenth century. Acadia, returned to France by treaty



French Colonies: North America. A 1550 French map by Pierre Desceliers shows the east coast of North America. THE ART ARCHIVE/BRITISH LIBRARY

in 1667, was ceded back to Britain in 1713. In reaction France moved to colonize her remaining territories in the Gulf of St. Lawrence: Cape Breton Island and Île Saint-Jean, now Prince Edward Island. At the same time, the French moved westward into the Great Lakes, founding Detroit in 1701, and southward into the Mississippi Valley. The Illinois country, an extension of the Great Lakes via the Mississippi and Illinois rivers, was the only French colony in North America established spontaneously by colonists rather than as a result of royal policy. Louisiana, on the other hand, was a royal creation designed to prevent the British or Spanish from controlling the mouth of the Mississippi. Founded in 1699 by Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville, it was conceded to a proprietor, financier Antoine Crozat, in 1712, then transferred to John Law's Company of the Occident (later called the Company of the Indies) in 1717. The collapse

of Law's system saw the return of royal rule in the 1720s as well as the transfer of the seat of government from Mobile to New Orleans.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

New France arose coincidentally with France's absolutist state and had substantially the same architects. Both Richelieu and Colbert wanted to increase the power of France by means of a dynamic colonial empire. As a result of their attentions, New France would become a laboratory of state-of-the-art political and social practices.

The government of French North America was always authoritarian. Before 1627 there were five different proprietors or viceroys, all of whom delegated their powers to the same individual in Quebec, Samuel de Champlain (c. 1567–1635). Champlain continued to administer New France until his death in 1635, in the final years as Richelieu's lieu-

tenant. His successors (appointed by the king upon recommendation of the Hundred Associates) gained the formal title of governor of New France. There were also regional governors in Acadia, Three Rivers, and Montreal, the latter appointed by the Notre Dame Society, the missionary organization that founded the settlement and served as its seigneur. Finally, in 1647 the crown established a Council in Quebec consisting of the governor general, the governor of Montreal, and the Jesuit superior; it was expanded to seven members the following year.

With the imposition of royal rule in 1663, the government acquired the contours it would retain until the end of the French regime. The king appointed not only a governor general whose primary tasks were military and diplomatic, but an intendant responsible for civil administration. A new Sovereign Council (later called Superior Council) became the highest court in the land. It brought together the governor general, the intendant, the bishop, and five (later seven, then twelve) additional councillors. In theory the authority of the governor general and intendant extended beyond the St. Lawrence, but as New France expanded, the outlying colonies gained de facto administrative independence. In Île Royale (Cape Breton) and Louisiana the governors took orders directly from France, the *commissaires ordonnateurs* were intendants in all but name, and the Superior Councils filled the same function as the council in Quebec.

Because venality of office did not exist in New France, all high-level administrators served at the king's pleasure. The colonial government was thus a purer expression of French absolutism than its metropolitan counterpart. Some historians have judged this regime harshly for stifling freedom and initiative, while others have praised its efficiency and paternalism. Yet it is noteworthy how often arbitrary power worked, in the colonial context, to level the traditional orders of the *ancien régime*. Indeed, many administrative decisions reflect the almost physiocratic repugnance for intermediary bodies and paternalist regulation that historians associate with enlightened despotism.

COLONIAL SOCIETY

Traditionally, historians portrayed New France as a backward feudal society, but that interpretation has been challenged, or at least qualified significantly, in

recent decades. To be sure the three estates—clergy, nobility, and commons—were recognized in French North America, but privilege was largely meaningless there since even commoners owed no taxes. Social advancement could also be more rapid in the colonies. Nicolas Juchereau, the son of a merchant turned Canadian seigneur, acceded to the nobility in 1692, a century before his cousins in the French branch of the family. In the St. Lawrence Valley, the seigneurial system did siphon off a larger part of the agricultural surplus as time went on. On the other hand, seigneurialism in Acadia existed largely on paper before succumbing to British occupation. There was no seigneurial system and virtually no agriculture on Île Royale, while Louisiana and the Illinois country had plantations worked by African and Indian slaves.

Despite their seigneurs, Canadian habitants (a term adopted by colonial farmers to distinguish themselves from mere peasants) managed to speculate in land, practice a highly individualist agriculture, and even occasionally achieve upward social mobility. In the towns tradesmen were free to pursue their own interest, since there were no guilds, and corporatist association was strictly limited. New France boasted a number of successful businesswomen, not all of them widows or religious.

New France was also a multicultural society. There were reserves for Christian Indians right in the heart of the St. Lawrence Valley, where domiciled Indians made up about 10 percent of the colonial population. Several hundred slaves of either Indian or African origin labored in Montreal, as did hundreds of captives taken from the British colonies during the French and Indian Wars.

Beyond the St. Lawrence Valley, much of New France remained, in essence, Native-controlled territory. In the Great Lakes, French sovereignty was represented only by the young agricultural settlement at Detroit, together with widely scattered trading, missionary, and military outposts. Although Louisiana had a population of four thousand Europeans and five thousand Africans by the mid-eighteenth century, at that time there were still some seventy thousand Indians living in the lower Mississippi Valley. Intercultural relations were numerous and are symbolized by the *coureurs de bois*, French fur traders who ventured into Indian coun-

try to obtain their wares. Numbering in the hundreds as early as the 1680s, the *coureurs de bois* were Frenchmen who voluntarily adopted an Indian way of life. During their voyages they relied upon Native technologies, Native languages, and the services (sexual as well as economic) of Native women. It was the *coureurs de bois* who initiated French settlement in the Illinois country, through their marriages to Indian women beginning in the 1690s.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND IMMIGRATION

Despite the importance of the fur trade (a vogue for felt hats created demand for beaver pelts in Europe), New France never met the economic expectations of its promoters. Neither fur nor cod, the other Canadian staple, required a large colonial labor force, so from the outset transporting immigrants was a financial liability rather than a source of profit. Only when the state or state-supported companies intervened did immigration attain significant proportions. Even then the rate of permanent settlement was low, so demographic growth was gradual. In the absence of large colonial populations, agricultural and industrial development occurred slowly, limiting demand for further immigration.

At Richelieu's behest, the Company of the Hundred Associates arranged for the passage of an estimated 7,300 people to New France, probably 4,700 to the St. Lawrence Valley and 2,600 to Acadia. Many of them, however, moved on to other destinations, roughly half of those sent to the St. Lawrence and nearly everyone in Acadia. While the unstable political situation was a factor, especially in Acadia, so was the nature of the labor supply. Apart from a few of the seigneurs, who recruited in situ among people known to them in France, most of the company's recruiting agents worked out of La Rochelle, Dieppe, or Rouen, major towns with large populations of single migrant laborers. What historians call "metropolitan migration," the sort least likely to have staying power, clearly predominated in this migration stream. (The typical metropolitan migrant was a young urban tradesman seeking employment.)

The immigrants of the period 1663–1673 included eight hundred marriageable women, recruited largely from charity hospitals. Thanks to these *filles du roi* (king's daughters), the immigrant

sex ratio became more balanced, fostering population growth through natural increase. In the eighteenth century, most royal recruits for Canada were either soldiers or prisoners. The St. Lawrence Valley received perhaps 33,500 immigrants in all, of whom no more than 10,000 founded families in the colony. An estimated 7,000 French immigrants passed through the Canadian Maritimes, yet today's Acadians descend from only a few hundred founding families.

In Louisiana, John Law's Company of the Occident pursued the most dynamic immigration policy in the history of New France. From 1717 to 1720, it deported over 1,400 men and women from prisons and large cities, where they had been arrested as vagabonds. Although deportations ceased in response to riots against "Louisiana slavery" (an ironic reference since the first African slaves were also shipped to Louisiana in these years—two thousand between 1719 and 1721), the company blanketed France with propaganda promoting immigration. The campaign had limited success there due to the colony's already poor reputation in the Atlantic ports that were the natural reservoirs of colonial migration. On the other hand, translated into German, Law's brochures created a sensation in the Rhine Valley, where four thousand people packed their bags for Louisiana. These recruits were "provincial migrants" fleeing rural areas undergoing agricultural modernization. They were more likely to travel in families and, like religious refugees, more apt to settle than footloose urban laborers. Had Richelieu and Louis XIV been as tolerant of foreigners and Protestants as the Company of the Occident, perhaps the return rate of immigrants to Canada would have been lower.

By the mid-eighteenth century, the St. Lawrence Valley was a land of self-sufficient family farms that exported surplus wheat to Île Royale and the Caribbean. Acadian farms were also prosperous, although they no longer belonged to New France. Illinois farmers, who produced foodstuffs for Louisiana, used the labor of African slaves, as did Louisiana's fledgling tobacco and indigo plantations. Yet most of Louisiana's small population still participated in the frontier exchange economy, a patchwork of commercial and subsistence endeavors. The most vigorous colonial economy was that of Île Royale, whose capital, Louisbourg, quickly became



French Colonies: North America. Engraving by J. Bowles depicts the taking of Quebec by the British, 13 September 1759. THE ART ARCHIVE/GENERAL WOLFE MUSEUM QUEBEC HOUSE/EILEEN TWEEDY

both a major base for the North Atlantic fishery and a busy entrepôt in the triangular trade among Europe, North America, and the West Indies, in rivalry with New England.

BRITISH CONQUEST

After the loss of Acadia to Britain in 1713, the next military setback for New France occurred during the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748). In 1745 New England forces, with the help of the Royal Navy, laid siege to Louisbourg, which surrendered after a seven-week bombardment. Although Île Royale was returned to France by treaty in 1748, New Englanders were furious, and their complaints helped bring about an all-out British offensive against New France during the Seven Years' War (1756–1763).

The most controversial act of the conquest was actually a prelude to it. In 1755 the British expropriated and deported the Acadians, despite their declared neutrality. Some deportees landed in England, while others were scattered across the thirteen colonies. More than one thousand victims of this *Grand Dérangement* (Great Disturbance) eventually made their way to Louisiana after the war.

Louisbourg fell a second time in 1758, and Quebec followed suit after the Battle of the Plains of Abraham, a dramatic but successful gamble on the part of British commander James Wolfe, in 1759. By the Treaty of Paris (1763), the French ceded Louisiana to Spain and the rest of New France to Britain. They retained only fishing rights on the Newfoundland coast and two tiny islands, St. Pierre

and Miquelon, in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Today these two islands, still under French sovereignty, are all that remains of France's empire in North America.

See also **Austrian Succession, War of the (1740–1748); British Colonies: North America; Colbert, Jean-Baptiste; Colonialism; Fur Trade: North America; Law's System; Louis XIV (France); Richelieu, Armand-Jean Du Plessis, cardinal; Seven Years' War (1756–1763).**

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LESLIE CHOQUETTE

FRENCH LITERATURE AND LANGUAGE. From the end of the Middle Ages to the beginning of the Revolution, French literature reached heights of quality and range unequalled by any other literature of the time. After the destruction of the court culture of Languedoc in the thirteenth century, and the consequent end of Provençal troubadour poetry, French had become the dominant literary vernacular in Europe throughout the High Middle Ages, thanks largely to the French courtly or chivalric romance. These texts combined learned allegorizing with encyclopedic digressions and, at least in the case of the immensely influential *Roman de la rose* (c. 1225–1275; Romance of the rose) of Guillaume de Lorris (fl. early thirteenth century) and Jean de Meun (d. 1305), an often salacious misogyny. This text, and responses to it such as Christine de Pisan's (1364/65–1434?) *Cité des dames* (1404; City of women), continued to be read and discussed well into the sixteenth century. However, even by the time of the great debate over the *Rose*, in the early fifteenth century, the genre of the romance had already exhausted itself, and other modes of literary expression were coming to the fore. One medieval genre that had provided both material and counterpoint to the romance was that of the fabliaux, unabashedly worldly, graphic, often obscene comic stories in verse, which offered a decidedly non-idealized view of sex and society. Although most of the fabliaux had been written down in the thirteenth century, they continued to influence the literature of the centuries that followed, both in France and elsewhere (for example, in Italy, Boccaccio's *Decameron* [1348–1351]), while the medieval romances of chivalry became a dead letter, resurfacing only rarely, and then usually in parodic form.

THE END OF THE MIDDLE AGES

The latter half of the fifteenth century has often been viewed as a period of decadence, even sterility, in the history of French literature, but this is not an entirely fair assessment. It was certainly the case that, in the ongoing cultural exchange between France and Italy, this was a time in which Italy gave more to France than vice versa, but French theater and, especially, lyric poetry were productive genres. The last poet in the medieval "courtly love" tradition is one of the finest: Charles d'Orléans (1394–

1465), who, in his lyrics, manipulates the commonplaces of *l'amour courtois* with a gentle and graceful irony. It was a younger writer, however, one who was briefly in Charles's entourage, who became the greatest poet of the fifteenth century, and one of the most original and moving voices in all of French literature. François Villon (1431–1463?) was a violent criminal—armed robbery, burglary, theft, and murder were all on his rap sheet, and he narrowly missed being hanged more than once—but he somehow found time to write lyrics of extraordinary beauty and depth. The apparently autobiographical mode in which he writes of his misadventures and his disreputable acquaintances, together with what little we know of his unedifying life, have combined to produce the legend of a kind of thug genius, which may obscure our understanding of the poetry. The voice of *Le lays* (c. 1456) and *Le testament* (c. 1461) is indeed intensely personal, but it is a consciously constructed voice, and one that speaks of universal experience: of desire, of suffering, of the impermanence of pleasure, and above all of death. Yet he does not wallow in despair or self-pity; his attitude is instead one of a grimly cheerful irony, expressed in language of piercing directness. If he allows the reader little comfort, his dark, skeptical humor provides an attractive alternative, and makes of this shadowy figure from the underworld of medieval Paris the first recognizably modern poet in French literature.

A similar (if somewhat sunnier) kind of humor predominates in the theater of the second half of the fifteenth century, whose isolated masterpiece is the anonymous *Farce de Maître Pathelin* (first performed in the 1460s; first known printing in 1486). Medieval farces were short, semi-improvised plays, like the fabliaux using stock situations and characters in the service of a fairly raw brand of humor. While *Pathelin* is clearly part of this tradition, in scale and sophistication it goes far beyond the genre's limits, so that to call it a "farce" is hardly adequate. Revolving around the collective chicanery and mutual deception of a cloth merchant, a lawyer, the lawyer's wife, a peasant, and a judge, the minimal plot is mainly an excuse for the play's acutely observed comic representation of bourgeois mores and character. Its humor, both situational and verbal, makes for brilliantly effective comic theater, whose like will not be seen again until Molière.

We find another perspective, more cold-hearted if no less ironic, in the *Mémoires* of Philippe de Commines (c. 1447–1511). This powerful nobleman was for a time the chief advisor to Louis XI (ruled 1461–1483), the "Spider King," and seems to have been just as ardent a practitioner of devious realpolitik as his master. Under Louis's successor, Charles VIII (ruled 1483–1498), Commines suffered the consequences of his loyalty, but after weathering imprisonment, expropriation, and disgrace, he managed to work his way back into public life, and indeed into the favor of his new sovereign. The *Mémoires* present, under the guise of a chronicle of Commines's political and diplomatic career, a kind of manual for the would-be courtier-statesman, and as such found a wide readership in France and elsewhere, being translated into every major European language. Seemingly direct, even flat, in style, the *Mémoires* in fact enact the kind of careful adjustment of facts they describe, being a highly selective, self-promoting, and ironic version of the events they narrate. In this they look forward to the writings of Commines's younger contemporaries from south of the Alps, Niccolò Machiavelli and Baldassare Castiglione.

After Villon, lyric poetry took a turn toward formalism with the work of the so-called *grands rhétoriciens*, a loosely constituted group of poets who, in the last years of the fifteenth century, produced short lyrics and longer poems characterized by technical virtuosity and learned linguistic playfulness. The most important of these authors are Jean Molinet (1435–1507), Jean Lemaire de Belges (1473–1524), and Guillaume Crétin (d. 1525). Their work, for which they often deliberately chose the most trivial of subjects, is full of alliteration, puns, and other forms of sonic and verbal humor, which did not always endear them to subsequent generations of readers. Du Bellay, for example, heaped scorn on the *rhétoriciens* in the mid-1500s, and they were mostly ignored or forgotten up through the first half of the twentieth century. Nonetheless, both their humor and their erudition, in which we may see the beginnings of a new, more historical appreciation of Classical Latin poetry, influenced Marot and Rabelais, and in the latter years of the twentieth century they began to find a new audience, who shared the *rhétoriciens*' appreciation for formal and linguistic play.

THE RENAISSANCE

It was left to another lyric poet, Clément Marot (1496?–1544), to take French literature in a new direction. Without entirely abandoning the playfulness of *rhétoriqueur* poetry (like that of his father, Jean Marot, d. 1526), he wrote with greater simplicity and directness, using both medieval forms (ballades, rondeaux) and more classicizing ones (verse epistles, epigrams, elegies) to produce a poetry at once personal and engaged with the political, social, and religious issues of his day. Less self-consciously erudite than the poets of his father's generation, Marot nonetheless absorbed considerable classical and Italian influences from his time at the court of Francis I, where such things were greatly in vogue. Marot was also a Protestant at a time when (particularly after the “*affaire des placards*,” 17–18 October 1534) it was becoming increasingly dangerous to profess Protestantism openly. Marot's sympathies, and his translations of the Psalms, got him into serious trouble more than once, and even a temporary return to Catholicism (in 1536) was not enough to keep him from being forced into exile at the end of his life. However, this did not dampen the lively humor and directness of his poetry; in fact, some of his best work (*L'enfer* [1526; Hell], *Épître au roy* [1535; Letter to the king]) took as its subject his difficulties with the Catholic authorities.

Marot's troubles help to explain why the real literary heart of France in the second quarter of the sixteenth century was not Paris but Lyon. Far enough from Paris to be relatively safe from the watchful censors of the Sorbonne, and close enough to Italy to feel its cultural influence, Lyon became home to several of the most important poets of the time. We know little of the life of Maurice Scève (c. 1501–c. 1560); he may have studied for a time in Italy, and he achieved a kind of paraliterary notoriety when, in 1533, he found in Avignon the alleged tomb of Petrarch's Laura. Scève's own poetry abounds in typical Petrarchan gestures: paradoxical conceits, violent contrasts, the idealization of the beloved, all find a place in Scève's *Délie* (1544), whose eponymous Laura-esque dedicatee was probably fellow poet Pernette du Guillet. Where the sonnet form had already imposed on Petrarch considerable economy of expression, Scève opted for an even briefer form; the 449 *dizains* (ten-line poems,

rather than the fourteen lines of the sonnet) of his *Délie* are highly compressed, elliptical, often opaque expressions of the desire of the poet for his beloved. Scève's opacity is intensified by his Italianate, even Latinized vocabulary and syntax, and by the complex patterns of allusion that simultaneously create and obscure the collection's large-scale structure. The torments undergone by the lover as he pines for his *Délie* are mirrored in the work's tortured obscurity, and perhaps also in the reader's experience of the text.

Less extreme in her explorations of Petrarchism, but nonetheless fluent in the genre's language, was the poet to whom Scève was writing, Pernette du Guillet (1520?–1545). As with Scève, we know little of her too-short life, but contemporaries described her as a prodigious musician as well as a scholar and poet. Her work (*Rymes*, 1545), too often read in Scève's shadow, is less willfully obscure, and therefore perhaps more engaging; yet she remains fascinated by the linguistic and formal possibilities opened up by the manipulation of Petrarchan tropes. Of the poets of the “School of Lyon,” the most accessible to the modern reader is Louise Labé (1524?–1566), whose elegies and sonnets (published in 1555) combine a learned Neoplatonism with a directness and personal intensity that speak to the reader in a distinctly non-Petrarchan way. She celebrates love as an experience both spiritual and physical, while giving voice to a specifically feminine subjectivity impatient with the arbitrary constraints her society imposes upon women. However, while she is conscious of her identity as a woman, she is even more aware of her identity as a poet, and her work refuses to allow the reader to reduce her to one or the other. Her outspokenness may have been the cause of scurrilous attacks on her personal life by some of her (male) contemporaries, but in any case her poetry speaks for itself and has rightly attracted considerable critical attention in recent years.

Another writer who found in Lyon a refuge from intolerance was François Rabelais (c. 1483–1553). While his exact dates may be open to question, what is not in doubt is his stature as one of the major figures of the Renaissance and indeed of Western literature. Monk, secular priest, jurist, and doctor, Rabelais was very far from being the hard-drinking buffoon of popular legend. He was in fact

one of the most brilliant and learned men of his day, famed for, among other things, his ability as a scholar of Greek and his prowess as a physician. It is, however, to his comic novels (*Pantagruel*, 1532; *Gargantua*, 1534; the *Tiers livre*, 1546; the *Quart livre*, 1552) that he owes his permanent fame. In them, he offers a view of the human experience at once critical and generous, but above all comic. He satirizes ignorance, intolerance, and fanaticism with ruthless abandon while celebrating an honest joy in things of this world, humanist learning, and a faith based on the humble acceptance of human imperfection. His work is overwhelmingly rich in allusive erudition, topical satire, linguistic invention, and humor both high and low. This polyphony makes him one of the most difficult of authors, but his work amply repays the effort it demands. His transformative effect on the French language and on Western literature is immeasurable.

One of Rabelais's patrons and protectors was Marguerite de Navarre (1492–1549), the older sister of Francis I. Until her brother's death in 1547, she was the most powerful woman in France, and she used her considerable influence to help artists and (especially) religious reformers with whom she was in sympathy. Her own profound piety, of an evangelical, quasi-Protestant bent, gave direction to much of her writing: the *Miroir de l'âme pécheresse* (1531; Mirror of the sinful soul) and the *Marguerites de la Marguerite des princesses* (1547), poetry full of a joyous, sometimes other-worldly mysticism. Some of the same spirit infuses the so-called *Dernières poésies* (Last poems), not published until 1896. These works stand in seeming contrast to the *Heptaméron* (1558–1559), a collection of often worldly, sometimes racy tales modeled on the *Decameron*. The stories are generally set in the France of Marguerite's day and are often about people known to her personally. They run the gamut from tragic to comic, and are told with verve, economy of expression, and an eye for the telling detail. They are united by a fierce sense of justice—particularly as regards the tyranny of men over women—and a moral sensibility perhaps not so remote from that of Marguerite's explicitly religious writings.

As we have seen, much of French literature in the first half of the sixteenth century is beholden in various ways to the Italian Renaissance. Nowhere is

this influence more pervasive—or more strenuously resisted—than in the poetry of the Pléiade, a group of poets who, proclaiming themselves to be an ensemble of literary stars, sought to emulate and surpass both Italian and classical models. Their explicitly stated goal was to prove the French language to be a vehicle of literary expression equal, if not superior, to Italian, Latin, and even Greek. The two most important poets of this movement were Pierre de Ronsard (1524–1585) and Joachim du Bellay (c. 1522–1560), friends, rivals, and in many ways polar opposites. Ronsard saw himself as the semiofficial poet laureate of the nascent nation-state of France, and even his lyric love poetry, to say nothing of his longer work, manifests immense ambition, both literary and historical. He appropriates Petrarchan tropes and vocabulary into a French vernacular that he does much to shape; in such collections as the *Odes* (1550), the *Amours* (1552, 1555–1556), and the *Sonnets pour Hélène* (1578), he deploys his considerable learning and technical skill in the service of a powerful poetic subjectivity sometimes bordering on the narcissistic, not to say megalomaniacal. Ronsard's ego is always front and center, and the dedicatees of his love poetry are often reduced to projections of his generative desire. He conceives of the poet not as an artisan but as an artist: a divinely inspired creator to be honored and respected above the common herd. For this ambition to be fully realized, merely writing amorous sonnets was insufficient; Ronsard could not claim to rival the great poets of antiquity without meeting them on their own ground, the exalted terrain of epic poetry. Therefore, urged on by du Bellay and other Pléiade poets, Ronsard attempted to write a French national epic, along the lines of Virgil's *Aeneid*, which he called *La franciade* (1572). Perhaps conscious of the work's inadequacies, he never managed to finish it, and it remains an intriguing Promethean failure, representing both the scope and the hubris of Renaissance artistic ambition.

To Ronsard's egomania we may contrast the ironic humility of Joachim du Bellay, who claimed (perhaps somewhat disingenuously) to be setting his sights much lower, writing a humbler, more homely sort of poetry. He does begin his career with a typically Petrarchan collection, *L'olive* (1549), but then develops a more individual voice, writing with eloquent artlessness in *Les regrets* and *Les antiquités*

de Rome (both 1558) of his own experience of exile and loss, as refracted through the contrast he draws between the Rome of his own day, decadent and corrupt under papal rule, and the glorious Rome of the ancients. For du Bellay there seems to be little hope that the moderns will ever rise to the heights reached by their forebears; and yet he hints that his ironic perspective may itself be an advance beyond anything the ancients could achieve. This idea is made slightly more explicit in his *Deffence et illustration de la langue françoise* (1549; Defense and illustration of the French language), which combines theory and polemic into a manifesto of the Pléiade program. In it du Bellay aggressively condemns most pre-Pléiade poetry as shallow, silly, and semiliterate. The true poet, he says, diligently studies and internalizes the best ancient and modern authors, so that his own work becomes both an imitation and a transcendence of those precursor texts. Du Bellay thus theorizes what he, Ronsard, and the other poets of the Pléiade thought they were doing and sometimes actually accomplished.

We should not suppose that the Pléiade poets were mere aesthetes, solely concerned with pursuing ever-more-recondite developments of the Petrarchan tradition. Like Marot, they neither could nor would escape the religious and political issues of their time. The Roman poems of du Bellay, as well as Ronsard's *Discours des misères de ce temps* (1562–1563; Discourse on the miseries of these times), directly engage—and proclaim themselves agents in—the debates occasioned by the Reformation, the Gallican controversy, and the French Wars of Religion. Another author thus engaged was Michel de Montaigne (1533–1592), jurist, courtier, and philosopher. His *Essais* (1580, 1588, 1595) have their ancestry in the moral essays of Cicero, Seneca, and Plutarch, but he radically expands the possibilities of the form, making it a vehicle for autobiography, political and historical analysis, literary criticism, and philosophical speculation, all expressed with an unassuming, protean eloquence. Montaigne's multivocal text articulates an ironic, tolerant skepticism, questioning rather than answering, and as such is one of the most enduring expressions of the Renaissance mind.

To Montaigne's generous tolerance may be opposed the fierce intransigence of the warrior-poet Théodore-Agrippa d'Aubigné (1552–1630), some-

one not merely marked but scarred by the Wars of Religion. Totally committed to the Protestant side, he never fully accepted the compromises that put an end to the conflict. His quasi-epic poem, *Les tragiques* (1616), is therefore a passionate threnody for a cause d'Aubigné felt had been betrayed and lost, unfolding in a series of tableaux notable for the baroque violence of both their imagery and their language.

LE GRAND SIÈCLE

The seventeenth century, the so-called Grand Century, is undoubtedly a period of extraordinary achievement, but the traditional image of a world dominated by the court of Louis XIV (ruled 1643–1715) and its grandiose classicism is, if not misleading, at least incomplete. Even for the Sun King's reign in the last third of the century, the literary landscape of the period was much more diverse and strange than we are accustomed to think. Even the supposedly “classicizing” reaction against the no-holds-barred exuberance—formal, linguistic, and aesthetic—of a Rabelais or a Ronsard is more complex than it seems. Certainly François de Malherbe (1555–1628), in both his poetry and his theoretical writings, aspired to sanitize and elevate a literature too crude for the post-Henry IV generation, but this move toward refinement took other forms as well. By far the most influential and widely read work of the first half of the century was Honoré d'Urfé's (1568–1625) *Astrée* (1607–1627), an immense, sprawling novel set in an idyllic pastoral world (strongly resembling the author's native region of Forez) in which amorous shepherds and shepherdesses (or rather nobles in rustic disguise) pursue one another endlessly through intrigues, enchantments, and adventures of all sorts. The book's representation of desire as a passion that elevates the soul set the tone for court and urban society, not to mention literature, for the next several decades. We find in it the roots of the notion of the *honnête homme* (roughly, the ‘honorable man’), the person perfectly adapted to every situation and circumstance; this ideal of conduct became the model for society—and literature—for the rest of the century, not only in France but throughout Europe. It was also the founding text of the related phenomenon known as *préciosité*, an aestheticization of social and literary discourses of desire meant to bring refinement and decorum to the interactions between the

sexes. Poets such as Vincent Voiture (1597–1648) and Honorat du Bueil, seigneur de Racan (1589–1670) wrote *précieux* lyrics whose occasional and stereotyped content should not prevent the modern reader from appreciating their high degree of poetic craftsmanship. In the wake of the *Astrée*, the novel enjoyed a period of immense fertility; among the many authors who expanded on the possibilities opened up by d'Urfé was Madeleine de Scudéry (1607–1701). She went far beyond the limits of *Astrée*'s pastoral world to create the genre of the *roman héroïque* ('heroic novel'); her multivolume extravaganzas (*Les femmes illustres*, 1642 [Famous women]; *Artamène, ou le grand Cyrus*, 1649–1653; *Clélie*, 1654–1660) recounted their heroines' and heroes' elaborate and seemingly interminable adventures, amorous and otherwise, in ever more exotic settings. Her works, and others like them, found a wide readership among women and men in salon and court alike, and like the *Astrée* may be said to have conditioned both literary and social discourse for much of the century.

At the same time, a very different sort of novel, the so-called *roman libertin* ('libertine novel'), descended both from Rabelais and from the Spanish picaresque novels of the sixteenth century, was being written by such authors as Charles Sorel (c. 1600–1674), Paul Scarron (1610–1660), and Savinien de Cyrano de Bergerac (1619–1655). Irreverent, earthy, sardonic, Sorel's *La vraie histoire comique de Francion* (1623; The true comic history of Francion), Scarron's *Roman comique* (1651; Comic novel), and Cyrano's *L'autre monde* (c. 1650; pub. 1657; The other world) represent an alternative set of voices in the first half of the century, voices unafraid to ridicule either literary tradition or religious or social pieties. The skeptical rationalism of these texts had its counterpart in the philosophical writings of René Descartes (1596–1650). His *Discours de la méthode* (1637; Discourse on method) and *Traité des passions* (1649; Treatise on the passions), besides being of immense philosophical importance, were also a major influence, thanks to their clarity and precision of language, on the development of French prose.

The centralization of political power under Louis XIII (ruled 1610–1643), Cardinal de Richelieu (1585–1642), and Cardinal Jules Mazarin (1602–1661) was not an untroubled process; the

resistance of disaffected nobles and others culminated in the Fronde (1649–1653), a series of sometimes violent episodes of rebellion that ended in a qualified victory for the crown. The salons of Paris had been incubators for the Fronde, and one can read the *romans héroïques*, with their idealized aristocratic protagonists, as both reflecting and producing the *frondeur* sensibility. The same can be said for a range of other texts from the middle of the century, from the brilliant if self-serving *Mémoires* (1675–1677) of the Cardinal de Retz (1613–1679), to the *Maximes* (published in several versions between 1664 and 1693) of one of the most important of the aristocratic *frondeurs*, François VI, duc de La Rochefoucauld (1613–1680). The *Maximes*, mordant, lapidary aphorisms, were perhaps the most lasting product of the mid-century literary salons. While La Rochefoucauld seems to have been principally responsible for their final form, the *Maximes* were in fact a collaborative effort, the precipitate of conversations between La Rochefoucauld and his friends, particularly Madame de La Fayette (see below). Articulated around the ideal of the *honnête homme*, their elegant pessimism reflects both the disappointments of the Fronde and the influence of Jansenism.

The rigorous Augustinian theology of the Jansenists was even more important to the most profound of the *moralistes*, Blaise Pascal (1623–1662). In his early years a fixture on the Parisian social scene, and one of the most important and original mathematicians of his century, in 1654 he underwent a religious conversion and turned from mathematics to philosophy and theology. His *Lettres provinciales* (1656–1657; Letters to a provincial), a series of polemical essays, written with dazzling ironic wit and ruthless logic, constituted a scathing attack on the elastic moral philosophy of the Jansenists' greatest enemies, the Jesuits. Even more important were the *Pensées*, a collection of sometimes cryptic fragments from a few words to several pages in length, that were posthumously published by his family in 1670. Pascal seems to have meant them as sketches toward a work proving the truth of Christianity. They range in subject from the trivial to the cosmic; informed with crystalline brilliance of thought and style, they are the fullest expression of his literary and philosophical genius.

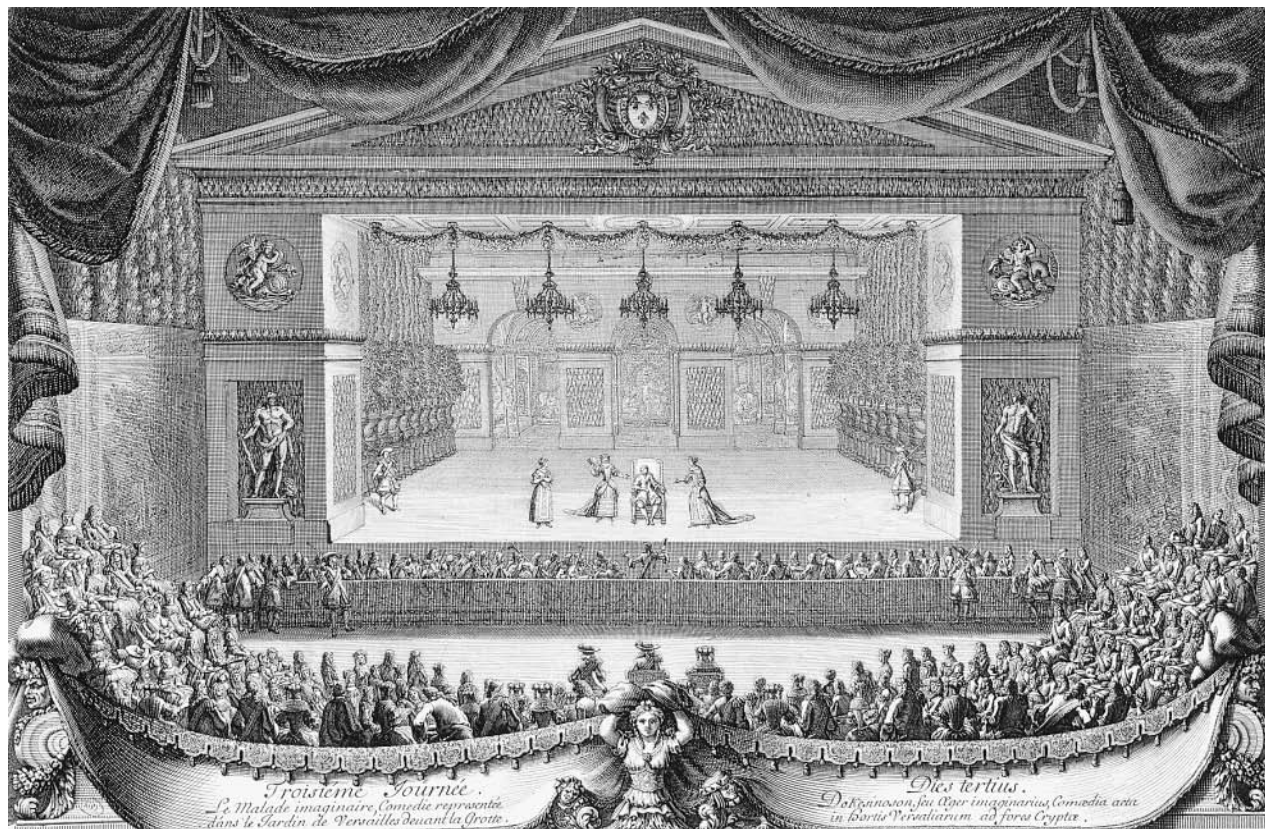
While the novel, the essay, and even the lyric poem were for the reader of the time genres of great importance, to the modern mind one area of seventeenth-century literary production stands out: theater. A crowded, intensely competitive field, it was nonetheless dominated by three playwrights whose careers overlapped, sometimes uneasily: Pierre Corneille (1606–1684), Jean-Baptiste Poquelin de Molière (1622–1673), and Jean Racine (1639–1699). Trained in rhetoric by the Jesuits, and immersed in the literature of *préciosité*, Corneille brought to the theater an ear for verse that could charm, persuade, or overwhelm—sometimes all at once. While he drew his subjects mainly from antiquity, and claimed to be adhering strictly to classical theory in constructing his plays, he combined these classical influences with a *précieux* vocabulary of love and a heroic sense of proportion to produce a theater of larger-than-life heroes and heroines that dominated the French stage for more than two decades. His work also had important political resonances, linked to the Fronde and the rise of Louis XIV. If *Le Cid* (1637) was a celebration of the aristocrat as free agent, *Cinna* (1640–1641) staged the apotheosis of the ideal ruler, nobler than any of his potential rivals, while *La mort de Pompée* (1642–1643; The death of Pompey) and the plays that followed offered a more pessimistic vision of the triumph of *raison d'état* over the nobility.

Molière had aspirations to write (and act in) heroic drama in the style of Corneille, but fortunately he realized that his talents lay elsewhere. He began with slapstick comedies rooted in popular genres like the Italian commedia dell'arte and medieval French farce, but his skill as a Latinist enabled him to draw on Plautus and Terence as well, to create comedies that for intelligence, wit, and sheer theatrical effectiveness have never been surpassed. Whether ridiculing foolish old men in love (*L'école des femmes* [1662; The school for wives], *L'avare* [1668; The miser]), the foibles of his own society (*Les précieuses ridicules* [1659; The ridiculous précieuses], *Le misanthrope* [1666]), religious hypocrisy (*Tartuffe*, 1664), or murderous medical malpractice (*Le malade imaginaire* [1673; The hypochondriac]), Molière's comedy is both hilarious and humane, generously reminding us that the faults we find so ridiculous in an Orgon or an Alceste are, after all, our own. Molière has been

variously described as an apologist for a complacent bourgeoisie, as a tool of Louis XIV's propaganda machine, and as a radical critic of both; the truth is probably a combination of the three, but we would do well to remember that a comedy as sharply ironic as that of Molière lends itself ill to any sort of propaganda.

We find irony of a sharply different kind in the theater of Jean Racine, whose tragedies are both more strictly "classical" and more baroque than those of his older rival Corneille. Racine, like Pascal, was strongly influenced by Jansenism, and his plays manifest a grimly pessimistic view of human nature, according to which transgression and consequent misery are not only likely but inevitable. The pure beauty of Racine's verse, and the austere restraint of his vocabulary, serve only to intensify the violence and depravity of the passions they express. He is especially fond of showing us great-souled women in torment. Whether they are noble victims, like the title characters of *Andromaque* (1667) or *Iphigénie* (1674), or monstrous sinners driven to crimes by their irresistible passions, like the protagonists of *Phèdre* (1677) or *Athalie* (1691), they suffer unbearable agonies, of which the greatest may be their intense awareness of their own helplessness. Like Corneille and Molière, Racine enjoyed great commercial and critical success during his lifetime, and like theirs his reputation has remained exalted ever since.

A friend of both Molière and Racine, Jean de La Fontaine (1621–1695) was perhaps the finest pure poet of the century. His *Contes* (1665–1674; Stories), racy, often satirical stories told in graceful, fluent verse, earned him a somewhat scandalous reputation. The *Fables* (1668–1693), brief tales about animals à la Aesop, are denser and more sophisticated than the *Contes*, full of elegant twists and layers of meaning. They simultaneously celebrate and criticize the reign of Louis XIV, but they do so with such subtlety that La Fontaine can be called neither a subversive nor a flatterer; he remains, thanks to his art, independent. The theoretician and propagandist of this group of authors was Nicolas Boileau-Despréaux (1636–1711); writing both poetry and literary criticism, he aspired to be the Horace of his day. His *Satires*, written from 1660 to 1705, and his *Art poétique* (1674) codify the aesthetic of seventeenth-century classicism: balance,



French Literature and Language. A production of Molière's *La malade imaginaire* in the gardens of the Château de Versailles, 1674. Engraving by Lepautre. THE ART ARCHIVE/MUSÉE DU CHÂTEAU DE VERSAILLES/DAGLI ORTI

order, restraint, and grandeur tempered with critical distance. His work gives us a valuable sense of how the seventeenth century wanted to read itself.

An author somewhat less enthralled with the absolutist state of Louis XIV was Madame de Sévigné (Marie de Rabutin Chantal, 1626–1696). Born into a family of the high nobility, and married at eighteen, she found herself widowed at twenty-six with two small children, her husband having gotten himself killed in a duel over his mistress. She counted among her close friends her cousin the Cardinal de Retz, La Rochefoucauld, Madame de Lafayette, the finance minister Nicolas Fouquet, and the widow of Scarron, later Madame de Maintenon. Her fame rests on her voluminous correspondence, especially with her daughter, in which she writes of her aristocratic world with great intelligence, critical acumen (directed especially at the king and his circle), and style. Her letters, well known to her family and friends, did not begin to be published until 1725, but they have enchanted

readers ever since. Marcel Proust was one of her most enthusiastic admirers. Her friend Madame de La Fayette (Marie-Madeleine Pioche de La Vergne, 1634–1693) was one of the great innovators of seventeenth-century literature. She transformed the genre of the novel; instead of writing at enormous length about fantastical adventures in faraway lands, she wrote with refinement, focus, and profound emotional insight of love, loss, and renunciation in the world she knew, the world of court and salon. *La princesse de Clèves* (1678) is a work of great subtlety and depth, and with it Madame de La Fayette may be said to have invented the modern psychological novel.

The dazzling surfaces of Louis XIV's court society were critically examined in the work of another of the major *moralistes*, Jean de La Bruyère (1645–1696), whose *Caractères* (1688–1694) are a series of aphoristic vignettes of that society, portraits of the “characters” or types that inhabit it. La Bruyère lacked the philosophical depth of La Rochefou-

cauld, let alone Pascal, but he was an extremely acute observer of his milieu, and his work is a nuanced vision of a society based on artifice and performance. La Bruyère was also one of the principal *anciens* in the *Querelle des anciens et des modernes*, a literary debate at the end of the century that pitted defenders of the classics of antiquity, such as Boileau, against advocates (such as Charles Perrault [1628–1703], whose famous *Contes de ma mère l'oye* [1697] are familiar to every French child, and Bernard Le Bovier de Fontenelle [1657–1757], author of the skeptical *Entretiens sur la pluralité des mondes* [1686; Conversations on the multiplicity of worlds] and *Histoire des oracles* [1687]) of the superiority of modern authors. The *querelle* was the natural result of the contradictions inherent in the idea of classicism as an imitative rivalry with the ancients, and ultimately something of a tempest in a teapot. The *modernes* won the battle, but at least in literary terms they lost the war, in that the canon of modern authors they held up as equal or superior to the ancients was precisely the list formulated by the arch-*ancien* Boileau; this list of Boileau's friends (Racine, Molière, La Fontaine, et al.) has determined our idea of the seventeenth century ever since.

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

On a larger scale, however, the *modernes* definitely had the last word. Writers like Fontenelle and the Protestant Pierre Bayle (1647–1706), in their critical interrogations of religious and social dogmas, continued the rationalist project begun by Descartes, which would come to dominate eighteenth-century literary discourse. One author swimming against this tide, however, was Louis de Rouvroy, duc de Saint-Simon (1675–1755), whose voluminous memoirs of his time at the court of Louis XIV displayed both stylistic brilliance and a nostalgia for the good old days of the feudal nobility. He therefore heaped scorn on the king and his court, and on the Jesuits, whom he saw as abetting Louis's demolition of aristocratic power. Very remote indeed from Saint-Simon's reactionary vision was the Olympian historical perspective of Charles-Louis de Secondat, baron de Montesquieu (1689–1755); through the fictional device of letters written home by foreign visitors, he turned a calmly critical gaze on his own society in the *Lettres persanes* (1721; Persian letters). His *L'esprit des lois* (1748; Spirit of

the laws) is an exhaustive examination of the origins and development of social and political institutions, considered as the result not of divine will or providence but of human needs and desires as conditioned by the material circumstances of their existence. He seeks to understand laws and institutions as they are, with the idea that a clear and rational understanding of them may lead to their improvement. In this way, and before Rousseau or Voltaire, he lays the foundation for the American and French Revolutions.

It is even possible to think of the *Encyclopédie* (1751–1780) as an attempt to extend Montesquieu's pragmatic vision to all areas of knowledge: not just history, but mathematics, the natural and physical sciences, all areas of technology, even the manual arts, all find a place in the volumes of the *Encyclopédie*. For the *encyclopédistes*, headed by Denis Diderot (1713–1784), the rational understanding of the world was the necessary first step toward making it better. This is the so-called "Enlightenment project," often denigrated in the later years of the twentieth century for its supposedly oppressive consequences; but it is crucial to remember that it was conceived not to repress, nor even to control, but rather to liberate humanity from oppression, from unjust institutions, and from humanity's own ignorance. Diderot did much more than oversee (and write considerable portions of) the *Encyclopédie*; he also somehow found time to write philosophy, aesthetic theory, literary criticism, and novels, among which *Le neveu de Rameau* (c. 1765; Rameau's nephew) and *Jacques le fataliste* (c. 1780; Jacques the fatalist) are the most important. He writes with humor and a cheerful naturalism, which does not preclude often daring formal experiments. His work, more profound than that of Voltaire, more generous than that of Rousseau, has remained enormously influential down to the present day, perhaps more within the French-speaking world than outside it.

Voltaire (François-Marie Arouet, 1694–1778) was, if anything, even more prolific than Diderot; in his long life, he went from being a young Turk to being the Grand Old Man of European letters, writing plays, poetry (he even tried his hand at epic), essays philosophical and polemical, history, literary journalism, novels, and an immense correspondence that by itself fills many volumes. He involved him-

self in public controversies of all kinds, simultaneously ingratiating himself with the powerful and doing his best to shake up the institutions that gave them power. While not a genuinely original thinker, he wrote with unequalled facility and a brilliant, sardonic wit, and he did more than anyone else to explain and popularize the most progressive, even radical, ideas of his contemporaries. In works like the *Lettres philosophiques* (1734), *Zadig* (1747), *Le siècle de Louis XIV* (1751; The century of Louis XIV), *Candide* (1759), and the *Dictionnaire philosophique* (1764), he brought the ideals of the Enlightenment to a pan-European audience.

The most revolutionary and influential of French Enlightenment authors was in many ways not an “Enlightenment” author at all. Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778) was at once a trenchant critic of the social problems of his day and deeply suspicious of rationalist solutions to those problems. These two poles of his thought were already manifest in his *Discours sur les sciences et les arts* (1750; Discourse on the sciences and the arts), which made him famous literally overnight, and the *Discours sur l'origine et les fondements de l'inégalité* (1755; Discourse on the origin and foundations of inequality), and it is possible to see in these two relatively brief essays the germ of all his subsequent work. The *Contrat social* (1762; Social contract), fundamental to the subsequent development of democracy, expanded upon and completed the thought of the second *Discours*, and his two novels—*Julie, ou la nouvelle Héloïse* (1761), and *Émile, ou traité de l'éducation* (1762)—elaborated his vision for the reformation of humanity through a return to nature. Human nature, claimed Rousseau, is essentially good, and it is only society that renders it corrupt. The task of the philosopher is therefore to show the path to the restoration of this original goodness. Rousseau's *Confessions* (1782) cannot be said to exemplify this process; simultaneously soul-baring and mendacious, they established the modern genre of autobiography while calling into question the very possibility of writing truthfully about oneself. His work had and continues to have an immense influence on political philosophy and practice, on philosophies of education, and on ideas about humanity's relationship to nature; the anti-rational strain in his thought lies at the origin of Nietzsche's critique of Western rationalism and of

the extension of that critique in much of twentieth-century continental philosophy.

By the end of the century, the novel had moved away from the optimistic naturalism of Diderot and Rousseau. *Les liaisons dangereuses*, by Pierre Choderlos de Laclos (1741–1803), is an epistolary novel of sexual manipulation, in which some readers have seen liberating possibilities in the freedom enjoyed by the female protagonist; however, this is to some extent undercut by the way in which the book's intrigues work themselves out with a cold, calculated determinism. Seemingly far more subversive were the pornographic novels of Donatien Alphonse François, Marquis de Sade (1740–1814), whose *Justine*, the least graphic of his works, was published in 1791. Sade proclaimed that the overwhelming obscenity of his work would liberate the reader from the repressive strictures of *ancien régime* society, but in the end his detailed and systematic catalogues of violent (only secondarily sexual) transgressions were no less rational or tyrannical than the conventions they claimed to destroy.

It is perhaps in the theater that we find the most genuinely subversive literature in the years leading up to the Revolution. Even in the comedies of Pierre Carlet de Chamblain de Marivaux (1688–1763), written in the first half of the century, we find heroines remarkable for their intelligence and spirit, who at least partially transcend the conventional framework of the plays. But it is in *Le barbier de Seville* (1775) and *Le mariage de Figaro* (1784) of Beaumarchais (Pierre-Augustin Caron, 1732–1799) that we find the French Revolution in miniature. The resourceful Figaro and Suzanne, conspiring to outwit their employer, Count Almaviva, are projections of the emancipatory ideals of the Revolution that was about to begin.

Figaro and Suzanne spoke what had become, by the 1780s, the language of revolution, both historical and literary—a language that had evolved through the humanist-influenced exuberance of the sixteenth century, through not one but several waves of classicizing restraint in the seventeenth, to become in the eighteenth century an instrument of almost limitless expressive capacity: flexible, precise, and, above all, clear. The French of Diderot, Rousseau, Voltaire, and Beaumarchais had become the literary lingua franca of Europe; French literature

was, in a very real sense, the international literature of the Enlightenment. It transformed the cultural landscape of the period and continues to give shape to the literary cultures of the present day.

See also **Alembert, Jean Le Rond d'**; **Ancients and Moderns**; **Bayle, Pierre**; **Boileau-Despréaux, Nicolas**; **Corneille, Pierre**; **Descartes, René**; **Diderot, Denis**; *Encyclopédie*; **France**; **Fronde**; **Holbach, Paul Thiry, baron d'**; **Jansenism**; **La Fayette, Marie-Madeleine de**; **La Fontaine, Jean de**; **La Rochefoucauld, François, duc de**; **Laclos, Pierre Ambroise Choderlos de**; **Marguerite de Navarre**; **Molière**; **Montaigne, Michel de**; **Montesquieu, Charles-Louis de Secondat de**; **Pascal, Blaise**; **Perrault, Charles**; **Philosophes**; **Rabelais, François**; **Racine, Jean**; **Rousseau, Jean-Jacques**; **Sade, Donatien-Alphonse-François de**; **Saint-Simon, Louis de Rouvroy**; **Salons**; **Scudéry, Madeleine de**; **Sévigné, Marie de**; **Voltaire**.

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DAVID M. POSNER

FRENCH REVOLUTION. See **Revolutions, Age of.**

FRONDE. The civil wars that divided France from 1648 to 1653 are known as the Fronde (from the French for 'sling' or 'slingshot'). They erupted when Anne of Austria (1601–1666) was governing the kingdom as regent for her minor son, Louis XIV (ruled 1643–1715). Although the various movements that formed the Fronde lacked clear unity, they had in common a defiance of the government of a foreign queen—Anne was Spanish by birth—and her principal minister, the Italian Cardinal Jules Mazarin (1602–1661). The Fronde was also a last attempt by some of France's leading political actors to bend the absolute rule established over their realm by previous monarchs.

The Fronde began, as did many revolts in the early modern period, for fiscal reasons. Louis XIII's death in May 1643 left France in a precarious financial situation. Since 1635 the kingdom had been

involved in the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648), in which its principal enemy was Spain. This translated into the doubling of expenditures between 1630 and 1640, chiefly because of the exigencies of warfare, which, by the early 1640s, was consuming about 70 percent of revenue. To meet the military needs, Louis XIII and his principal minister, Cardinal Richelieu (1585–1642), had borrowed money on the national and international money markets and dramatically increased taxes. The regent showed no intention whatsoever of adopting a different policy. Not only did her government continue to collect the usual direct impositions from the peasantry, it targeted some privileged groups by creating new indirect taxes. Unfortunately, the kingdom's financial apparatus was not able to raise the money needed by the government, which had to adopt exceptional measures in order to continue functioning. Many of the realm's future revenues were mortgaged far in advance: to give one example, in 1646 the receiver general of Poitou was asked by the king's council to forward 962,850 livres from the receipts of 1651! Moreover, the political situation after the deaths of both Louis XIII and Richelieu made governing the kingdom more difficult. First, the infant Louis XIV was not yet able to establish personal ties with members of the aristocracy, which were an essential part of the personal nature of power in France. Second, the patronage network constructed by Richelieu, in which the provincial governors played an essential role, simply disappeared after his passing. Third, many provincial institutions hoped that the centralization of power orchestrated by the late king and his predecessors would come to a halt. In short, the government had to be reconstructed in the middle of a war, at a time when the population was exhausted by the fiscal demands of the crown. And two foreigners, one of them a Spanish woman and the other an Italian ecclesiastic, inherited this enormous task.

Between 1643 and 1648, the situation in France worsened slowly but surely. In the provinces, local officers were fighting representatives of the central government—the intendants—for power. Nobles who asked for more personal benefits had to be silenced in 1643 by the arrest of their leader, the duke of Beaufort. Municipal revolts broke out over fiscal demands, and peasants took arms regularly to protest against taxes. Amid this chaos Paris was

spared any discontent for several years. Anne had managed to gain the support of the principal institutions of the capital, especially the four sovereign courts, by adopting edicts in favor of their members. Everything changed in January 1648 when the regency held a *lit de justice* in front of the Parlement of Paris in an effort to force the adoption of new fiscal devices. The Parisian *parlementaires* thought of themselves as the people's representatives and their protectors from a—sometimes—arbitrary royal power. They rejected the fiscal edicts, arguing that the population was simply not able to produce the effort demanded by the government. In doing so, they also refused to adopt some new taxes that targeted them specifically.

The magistrates did not do anything revolutionary. In early modern France, everybody expected to see the parlement resist any new fiscal innovation more or less strongly in the name of the people. The magistrates never dreamed of establishing a limited monarchy instead of an absolute one, and they had no desire to change the way France had been governed for centuries. As such, it seems exaggerated to speak, as some historians have, of a revolutionary attempt or climate. But in 1648 the Parisians noticed and appreciated the magistrates' opposition to a new tariff on goods entering the capital. When the *parlementaires* voiced their opposition to the government's policies more loudly, they were able to count on the support of the population. In mid-May, the four Parisian courts established what became known as the Chambre Saint-Louis. The regent's opposition did not prevent them from writing twenty-seven articles to be submitted to the king, aimed at controlling Anne's regency, particularly her financial administration. The government had no other choice but to temporize, negotiate, and agree to some of these measures. But the pill was impossible to swallow for the queen and Mazarin, who waited for an occasion to humble the magistrates. It came in late August when Louis II de Bourbon, the prince of Condé, won a decisive battle at Lens over the Spaniards.

During the Te Deum celebrated in honor of this victory, some of the leaders of the parliamentary movement were arrested. When the crowd learned that Pierre Broussel, a senior judge respected for his honesty, was in jail, some 1,200 barricades were erected throughout the capital during the night of



Fronde. *The Battle of Porte St. Antoine*, a seventeenth-century painting, depicts the storming of the Bastille by Parisians demanding the release of Claude Broussel. THE ART ARCHIVE/MUSÉE DU CHÂTEAU DE VERSAILLES/DAGLI ORTI

26–27 August. The magistrates could not control the movement they had helped to nurture. Sent by Anne to pacify the city, the chancellor of the realm, Louis Séguier, narrowly escaped death at the hands of the populace. The *parlementaires* then asked the queen to free Broussel. When their delegation came back empty-handed, it had to face the Parisians' anger as well and was forced to go back to the Louvre and plead with the regent. Shaken by the people's reaction, the magistrates engaged in negotiations with the regent that led to an accord in which most of the *parlementaires'* grievances were met. The peace did not last long. On 5 January 1649, the royal family and Mazarin fled the capital. Troops led by Condé besieged Paris. Unexpectedly, some *grandeas* sided with the Parisians. The peace of Rueil (March 1649) restored the situation to the

status of October 1648, and those who had joined the revolt received a full pardon.

If the peace of Rueil settled the Parisian scene for some months, it did nothing to pacify the kingdom as a whole. In many provinces the situation was completely chaotic. For instance, in Provence a provincial civil war erupted between the parlement and the governor, the count d'Alais. Troops were raised, and murders were committed. It all ended with the arrest by the parlement's troops of d'Alais, the intendant and the commander of the royal Mediterranean Navy. In other parts of the kingdom the climate was not as explosive, but tensions were growing rapidly, fueled by the quarrels that were plaguing the king's council. Condé believed that he had saved the regent when his troops besieged Paris in the first months of 1649, and he expected to

receive the fruits of his actions. His clients were also asking for more benefits. He started to threaten the authority of the regency by attacking Mazarin's hold on power more and more loudly. But his attitude did not serve him well. Not only did it isolate him at first from the other members of the king's council, it also led to his arrest in January 1650.

The Parisian events of 1648 were known as the Fronde of the parlement. The Fronde of the princes started with the jailing of Condé, his brother, the prince of Conti, and his brother-in-law, the duke of Longueville. The arrested nobles had many clients in the provinces. This was particularly true in Condé's governorship of Burgundy, where, according to the king's attorney general at the Parlement of Burgundy, every important officer and ecclesiastic was a client of the Condé family. Not surprisingly, a revolt started there as soon as the news of the prince's arrest reached Dijon. In Normandy it was Condé's sister, the duchess of Longueville, who raised the locality in defense of her brother. In other parts of France, in Guyenne for example, local feuds were incorporated into national ones. The governor there, the duke d'Épernon, was a loyal client of Mazarin. But as no one in his province loved him, he was quickly expelled from the region when the princely Fronde broke out. The patronage network of the aristocrats was instrumental in the spreading of the revolt.

Rebellions were quite frequent in seventeenth-century France. Nobles took arms in the name of their "right to revolt," arguing that it was their duty to protect the population against a government that gave the impression of becoming more and more authoritarian. Never was the king personally attacked. Their fury was directed against his ministers, who were accused of lying to him and of hiding from him his people's true situation. Many aristocrats who took part in the Fronde wrote their memoirs—which were not published until long after the events they describe—in which they reflected on their actions. The Cardinal de Retz, for instance, tried to explain that the princely *frondeurs* were attempting to restore the kingdom to its "authentic" sociocultural conditions after decades of ministerial absolutism. But the consequences of a rebellion could be dramatic. Louis XIII did not hesitate to send to the scaffold important members of the aristocracy who had plotted against Richelieu. The

princely *frondeurs* therefore had to convince the population of the corrupt nature of Cardinal Mazarin. Thousands of pamphlets were written in which he was depicted as the sole source of France's misery. But Mazarin never lost Anne of Austria's confidence, and the young Louis XIV always trusted his mother. The king was the most powerful weapon in the government's arsenal. Louis was sent to many provinces between 1650 and 1652: Normandy, Champagne, Burgundy, Guyenne. Garrisons surrendered, and towns opened their gates. The effect of the king's presence in the provinces can be measured by what happened in Bordeaux. This city was governed by a coalition formed by the enemies of d'Épernon and his patron Mazarin, but this group collapsed when the royal army reached the region. The officers of the parlement could not envisage the consequences of refusing the king's entry into one of his towns. The common people were more willing to stay firmly behind the party of the princes, but the city finally opened its gate to the king on 1 October.

Bordeaux did distinguish itself the next summer when a group of merchants, lawyers, petty judges, and artisans took control of the city in the name of Condé. Their assembly was called the Ormée, after the elm grove in which it held its first meeting. To many, and especially to Mazarin, these radicals were republicans influenced by the recent events that had shaken England. While it is true that some pamphlets produced in Bordeaux presented vague democratic and republican sentiments, the Ormée's principal demand, voiced in its program (*Les articles de l'union de l'Ormée en la ville de Bordeaux*), was that its members receive a deliberative voice in the city's general assemblies. Once again, we are far from a revolutionary attempt. But the movement went too far for many and when the royal army came to besiege the city, many of its inhabitants helped its liberators. The leaders of the Ormée were executed. For having openly resisted the king, Bordeaux lost several of its privileges, and its parlement was sent into exile at Agen for many years.

The divisions that we have seen in Bordeaux plagued the Fronde all over France, even when it seemed that the movement was winning. In February 1651, pressed from all sides, Mazarin fled Paris for Germany. The *frondeurs'* many chiefs started to fight one another to see who would be acting as

principal minister. Condé thought naturally that the place was his. But others, such as the coadjutor archbishop of Paris, the future Cardinal de Retz, had ambitions. Condé, whose character had not changed, slowly but surely lost many of his supporters. The proclamation of Louis XIV's majority on 5 September 1651 dramatically altered the political scene. The ending of the regency made the complaints against Anne of Austria superfluous, and Mazarin had been in self-imposed exile since earlier that year. Condé fled Paris for Bordeaux. Mazarin returned to France three months later and was reinstated in his former post as principal minister. This turn of events did not satisfy the Parlement of Paris and Cardinal Retz, who continued to plot against Mazarin. Moreover, it led to an alliance between the parliamentary and princely Frondes.

The first half of 1652 was dramatic for the kingdom. The civil war caused extensive physical destruction and economic distress. The loathing of Mazarin, who, according to the pamphlets, had concentrated immense political power in his own hands, conducted a costly foreign policy that failed to secure peace with Spain, and amassed a fortune, was cementing the Fronde. But other elements were still dividing the *frondeurs*, the most important being the military and economic supports given to their party by the Spaniards. To resist the king or his minister was more and more perceived as fighting against France. There was only one way to end the crisis, and it was to send Mazarin out the kingdom again, which he reluctantly agreed to in August 1652. Now that the evil minister was gone, the rebels had no more credible reason to remain in arms. It took only a few weeks for the Fronde to collapse. Members of the parlement sought reconciliation with the king, Condé fled the country, and the princely Fronde disintegrated. Its members understood that they had to once again identify their own interests with those of the crown. Louis XIV made his entry into Paris on 21 October 1652. On 22 October, he issued a general amnesty in which he pardoned all but the most notorious *frondeurs*: Beaufort, Retz, La Rochefoucauld, Condé, and some other leading figures were excluded though the majority of them later received royal pardons. Condé himself, deprived in November 1652 of his governorships and other offices and proclaimed guilty of *lèse-majesté* in March 1654 by

the Parlement of Paris, was allowed to reenter France after the Peace of the Pyrenees was signed with Spain in 1659.

Louis XIV's reign was deeply marked by the events that shook his youth. A conscious policy of reconciliation and stabilization had to be undertaken after 1652. As the religious and political practices of the time asked him to do, the king took the opportunity to humiliate publicly some of his former enemies in order to impress on them his greatness and his authority. Many aristocrats were not invited to his coronation, which took place on 7 June 1654, and Paris was deprived of the accustomed royal entry that followed every coronation; Louis did not formally enter the city until his wedding celebration in 1660. But the Sun King was to develop policies that were to show that the nobles, the parlement, and even the capital city were still major players on the political scene. Louis was able to adopt such policies, for it was now clear that the crown was the only possible focus for national unity in France.

See also Anne of Austria; Condé Family; France; Louis XIII (France); Louis XIV (France); Mazarin, Jules; Popular Protest and Rebellions; Richelieu, Armand-Jean Du Plessis, cardinal.

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MICHEL DE WAELE

FUGGER FAMILY. The Fugger family was a commercial, patrician, and aristocratic dynasty in southern Germany. Its earliest origins remain obscure. It first appeared as a family of weavers who migrated from the town of Graben, near Schwabmünchen, south of Augsburg, to the city of Augsburg around 1367. By the end of the century the Fuggers had expanded their commercial horizons from the production to the sale of textiles. It was the beginning of a long process of expansion and diversification. Accordingly Johannes I (1348–1409) is considered the initiator of the family’s rise to fortune.

Johannes Fugger’s sons Andreas (d. 1457) and Jakob (d. 1469) carried on his business until 1454–1455, when they dissolved it in order to pursue separate interests. Two lines developed as a result. The elder, Fugger vom Reh, did not prosper, in part owing to the early death of its founder Andreas in 1457. Its bankruptcy dramatically affected the status of Andreas’s descendants, removing them from the ranks of Augsburg merchants and encouraging some to emigrate. By contrast, the younger line, Fugger von der Lilie, flourished and became not merely a branch of the family but the root of its later greatness. Its founder, Jakob I, expanded the family’s business interests and in 1466 achieved membership in Augsburg’s merchant guild. When he died in 1469, his widow and sons Ulrich (1441–1510), Georg (1453–1506), and Jakob (later known as “the Rich”; 1459–1525) pursued his business. So great was their success that Ulrich Fugger and Brothers became the leading mercantile firm in Augsburg. By 1473 they had received an imperial patent, allowing them to bear a coat of arms.

The early rise of the Fuggers was marked essentially by sharp business sense and fortuitous marriage alliances. The family successfully expanded the volume and range of their business and allied their interests with those of well-placed merchant and patrician families. Under Jakob the Rich, who played an ever more central role in the business after the end of the fifteenth century, the tactics changed. He established lasting business connections with the Habsburg dynasty by supplying credit to the profligate Sigismund (1427–1496), archduke of Tyrol. Offering similar services to Emperors Freder-

ick III (1415–1493; ruled 1440–1493) and Maximilian I (1459–1519; ruled 1493–1519), he received interests in mining enterprises in Tyrol, Carinthia, Thuringia, and Hungary. Without abandoning their traditional trade in textiles and other commodities, the Fuggers now used political connections to enter the most speculative and profitable enterprises of the age. In addition to providing banking services to the Habsburg dynasty and the Roman Church, they joined syndicates to monopolize the production of copper, to organize voyages to the Indies, and to colonize the forests of Brazil. Their financial might enabled them to control political destinies, as when they provided funds to purchase the election of Charles V (1500–1558; ruled 1519–1556) as Holy Roman emperor. Most spectacularly the Fuggers managed financial transfers for the sale of indulgences that financed the construction of St. Peter’s Basilica in Rome and, incidentally, unleashed the reforming spirit of Martin Luther (1483–1546).

It was also under the leadership of Jakob the Rich that the Fuggers assumed the position of social elites. They acquired numerous landed estates; they were raised to the status of imperial nobility (1511) and imperial counts (1514); they expanded their palaces in Augsburg into truly magnificent, representative buildings; and they created numerous pious and charitable foundations, including the Fuggerei (1516), a housing development for the poor and elderly.

When Jakob died childless, his estate passed to the sons of his brother Georg, Raymund (1489–1535), and Anton (1493–1560). Jakob named Anton the head of the Fugger businesses, thus continuing a form of business organization that he created and that became emblematic of the family. The firm was led by a single male “ruler,” and partnership was limited to male members of the family. Anton continued his uncle’s successful strategy of close cooperation with the Habsburgs as the basis of an international enterprise that centered on banking and mining. For example, he provided funds for the election in 1531 of Ferdinand I (1503–1564, ruled 1556–1564) as king of the Romans. During this period the Fuggers began their long retreat from the affairs of Augsburg, though they retained their property within the city walls and were elevated to its patriciate (1538). The city’s commitment to the

Reformation, which conflicted with the family's Catholic convictions, may have been a cause, but the family's own aristocratic ambitions played a role as well. Anton spent most of his time on his estate in Weissenhorn and was raised to the status of imperial count and imperial councillor.

After Anton's death, leadership of the family and its businesses passed into less successful hands. Anton's son Marcus (1529–1597) was an able businessman who kept the family's interests intact despite a decreasing volume of trade, increasing difficulties in Spain and the Netherlands, and increasing strife within the family. One source of strife was the indebtedness of his cousin and partner, Hans Jakob (1516–1575), the son of Raymund. Hans Jakob was no businessman—he was forced out of the family firm in 1564 because of personal financial difficulties—but rather an aesthete of international reputation. Given a humanistic education, he became a renowned bibliophile, whose collections were eventually sold (1571) to Albert V (1528–1579) of Bavaria and became the core of the Munich Court Library, now the Bavarian State Library. He also served Albert as a counselor in matters of art patronage and collection. Further difficulties involved confessional tensions between the Catholic Marcus and his Lutheran cousins Philip Edward (1546–1618) and Octavian Secundus (1549–1600). These two eventually withdrew their capital from the family firm to form a concern of their own, Georg Fugger's Heirs, which entered into ventures with some of the Fugger's competitors, such as the Welser family.

The days of the Fuggers as commercial and financial giants were drawing to an end. Increasingly members of the family pursued the lifestyles and occupations of landed aristocrats. Another son of Anton, Hans (1531–1598), inherited the estate and castle of Kirchheim. He undertook a complete rebuilding that included a great hall with the most elaborate and important Renaissance wood ceiling in all of Germany. He also ordered the renovation of Fugger palaces in Augsburg. Ottheinrich Fugger (1592–1644) served as a general in the imperial armies during the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648).

The Thirty Years' War concluded the long dissolution of the family's association with Augsburg and their integration into the aristocracy. The connection to Augsburg never disappeared entirely.

The family's foundations and their administration continued to be located inside the city's walls. Nonetheless its center shifted. The financial resources of the family were no longer drawn from urban enterprise in Augsburg but rather from rural estates in Swabia that, since the days of Anton, were operated on behalf of the entire family as a *fideicommissum*. Beginning in 1620 the family was allowed to bear the title "count." Through the late seventeenth century and the eighteenth century, its members filled high-ranking offices in the Habsburg and Wittelsbach courts and assumed the office of bishop, for example, in Regensburg and Constance. In this the Fuggers appeared to conform to the stereotype of early modern capitalistic entrepreneurs, who used their commercial success to fuel upward social mobility that, over generations, took them out of the daily trading of the marketplace and into the more refined occupations of the court.

In their long history the Fugger family differed but slightly from other highly successful merchant dynasties. Like the Welsers or the von Stettens of Augsburg, the Imhofs of Nuremberg, or the Vöhlins of Memmingen, to name but a few, their business success enabled them to serve princes and eventually elevated them to a higher social stratum. Yet the Fuggers remained singular in the degree of their success. Their fortune allowed them to climb higher and endure longer than any other merchant family of southern Germany.

See also Augsburg; Habsburg Dynasty: Austria; Nuremberg.

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THOMAS MAX SAFLEY

FUR TRADE

This entry includes two subentries:

NORTH AMERICA

RUSSIA

NORTH AMERICA

Between 1500 and 1789 the trade in North American furs and hides was profitable in western Europe for various people: furriers, hatters, and leather workers; makers of ornaments, tools, and firearms; distillers; investors and financiers; and governments of nation-states. Medieval Europe had met its own demand for furs until the supply of suitable animals was exhausted and buyers resorted to common pelts such as rabbit or expensive furs from the East. And in the rising nation-states the demand for leather, particularly by standing armies, outgrew the supply of hides from domestic markets.

From modest beginnings the North American trade developed by 1650 into a large-scale business. Native traders wanted ornaments and European clothing, metal tools for a variety of purposes, and firearms for hunting and warfare. For them trade was an exchange of gifts, and even when they demanded more European goods for their furs, their purpose was not to amass capital. Europeans therefore could buy furs relatively cheaply and sell them dearly, unless the supply of furs outran demand. Financiers invested in acquiring and shipping goods fashioned and assembled in Europe by small-scale entrepreneurs and bartered for furs with Native North Americans through individual traders, small

companies, or large monopolies licensed by nation-states.

In the north France, the Netherlands, and Great Britain were most actively involved. There was a great demand for marten, muskrat, mink, otter, wolf, bear, and lynx, but the best-known fur was beaver. It was preferred for making the felt hat that, in varying styles, was immensely popular throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In the Saint Lawrence Valley a series of French monopolies, ranging from the Company of One Hundred Associates (1628–1629 and 1632–1664) to the Company of the Indies (founded 1719), were obliged to accept at a fixed price all the marketable pelts brought to them by French traders. These traders ventured from their base at Montreal by way of the Great Lakes–Saint Lawrence drainage basin first to that of the Mississippi and subsequently across the Canadian Prairies almost to the foothills of the Rockies. The Netherlands West India Company (chartered 1621), based in the Hudson Valley, competed with them until 1660 and was succeeded by English entrepreneurs. The Hudson’s Bay Company (HBC), an English monopoly founded in 1670, set up posts at the mouths of rivers flowing into Hudson and James Bays in Canada. As French traders penetrated those regions, American Indians could either travel to the HBC posts for English goods or deal with *coureurs de bois* (‘woods runners’) or voyageurs from Montreal, who brought them French goods until 1763 and British goods thereafter. Although British entrepreneurs after 1763 competed as briskly with the HBC as the French had, they were forced by the size and efficiency of the HBC to cooperate with one another until by 1787, after a series of smaller mergers, they were consolidated into the North West Company.

After 1713 the French converted the fur trade from an economic purpose into the means to a strategic end. Their chain of fortified trading posts from New Orleans to Montreal, intended to bar the western expansion of the British seaboard colonies, brought them into conflict with British traders not only from New York but also from Georgia to Pennsylvania, where entrepreneurs undertook to harvest and market the hides of deer, elk (wapiti), bison, and moose. By 1680 in Virginia and the Carolinas the deerskin trade had developed from Tidewater beginnings into lucrative enterprises featuring long

packhorse trains carrying goods across the Appalachians and returning with hides. After 1720, even when Britain and France were at peace, their commercial rivalry engendered continuous, devastating warfare between their respective American Indian client nations.

Traders from New Spain (Mexico) had dealt in deerskins and buffalo hides as early as 1580 in New Mexico, appropriating trade that had been carried on among aboriginal nations and developing it into a thriving business from 1600 until at least 1780. On the Pacific Coast, in California after 1750 Spanish Franciscan friars developed a prosperous trade in hides. Russian traders, whom the Spaniards regarded as competitors, sent home from the Aleutians and Alaska enormous quantities of furs, especially sea otter.

It would nevertheless be inaccurate to believe that any European country depended on the fur trade as its economic mainstay. Notwithstanding the large volume of trade in North American furs and hides, national economies benefited much more from other fields. In the North the cod fishery thrived on a steady demand; in the South slave labor harvested such lucrative products as sugar, tobacco, coffee, chocolate, and indigo. In comparison with those commodities, furs and hides represented an insignificant fraction of the entire trade.

See also **British Colonies: North America; Commerce and Markets; French Colonies: North America; Spanish Colonies: Other American Colonies; Trading Companies.**

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FREDERICK J. THORPE

RUSSIA

The fur trade involved exploiting a finite resource (fur-bearing animals) and cultivating new populations when supplies were depleted below sustainable numbers. Russians served as middlemen between fur-producing northern boreal zones and the

main markets for furs, which were situated along the rim of Eurasia (Europe and the Middle East). Novgorod played a critical role in the medieval fur trade, but by the fifteenth century Moscow began to displace Novgorod and competed with Kazan' for trade routes and supplies of furs.

The heyday of the fur trade began in the sixteenth century with the conquest of Siberia. The Stroganov family established trading posts across the Ural Mountains and sent their agents into Siberia to purchase furs with European wares and iron goods. The Stroganovs marketed their furs to English and Dutch merchants and also acted as purchasing agents for the Russian court. In 1574 they were granted a charter to develop the Tura and Tobol river basins extending into Siberia and were authorized to build forts, use cannons, and outfit a private army. As a result of increasing friction with the native peoples and the Khanate of Siberia, the Stroganovs hired a band of Cossacks from the Don to defend and expand their holdings. Yermak Timofeyevich and his men set out in 1582 and soon conquered Sibir' (or Isker), the capital of the Khanate. Word of Yermak's conquest reached Moscow, and reinforcements were sent to complete the conquest.

After establishing a garrison and provisioning system at Tobol'sk, small bands of Russians with firearms and small artillery advanced across the river systems of Siberia in lightweight boats to set up forts at portages and other strategic points. Much of the subsequent conquest of Siberia was carried out by private entrepreneurs and small armed bands who took oaths from natives, imposed tribute, and sent reports and furs back to forts and administrative centers. Rivalries among indigenous populations also facilitated conquest, as native peoples under Russian jurisdiction expanded control over more distant groups. In only a few decades almost all of Siberia came under Russian control.

The fur trade was linked to the *yasak* system of tribute collected from native tribes of Siberia. Although the Russian government preferred to extract tribute in furs, it also accepted reindeer skins, grain, walrus ivory, etc. Native populations (termed *inozemtsy*) were divided into districts and assigned annual tribute quotas, usually five to ten sables (or an equivalent in other goods) per male. In order to

keep natives from simply picking up and leaving, the Russians procured hostages from native chieftains. While sedentary groups were recorded in meticulous tribute books according to households or tribal units, tribute was only collected irregularly from mobile, non-settled groups. Native elites were co-opted into Russian service through regular gifts and supplies of liquor.

The Russian government espoused paternalistic policies in order to maintain the ability of natives to pay tribute. Russian hunters and trappers were ordered not to enter native hunting grounds. The forced baptism of natives, sale of alcohol to them, and the buying and selling of native women and children were prohibited. Officials were admonished not to extort more furs than established by the quotas, and they were banned from engaging in private trade. In reality none of these policies was strictly enforced. Degradation of native social structures and endemic corruption resulted from the trade.

To secure for itself the lion's share of the profits from the trade in luxury furs, the Russian government set up a purchasing system to acquire the best furs for the state coffers. In addition to a generous markup on high-quality furs destined for export, the government also made money on the differential between fur prices in Siberia and Moscow. While European merchants were generally shut out of Siberia, Tatar and Bukharan traders were allowed to participate in the trade. In order to tax and monitor the flow of goods between Siberia and central provinces, the government set up checkpoints along main routes to examine cargo and travel documents.

In the seventeenth century well over a thousand Russian entrepreneurs and trappers journeyed to

Siberia annually. Many of them settled permanently, and their numbers were supplemented by soldiers, exiles, and forced migrants sent by the government. In the late seventeenth century there were over 25,000 Russian households in Siberia. By the early eighteenth century settlements in Siberia began to produce enough grain for subsistence and in many areas mining and manufacturing surpassed the fur trade in economic importance.

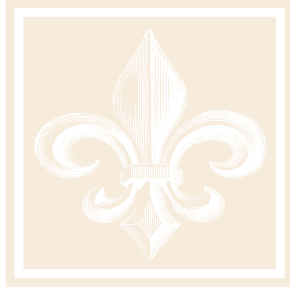
Market demand and local greed fueled intensive hunting, which resulted in the exhaustion of animal breeding populations. Russian innovations in traps, nets, and hunting dogs also contributed to a rapid depletion of fur supplies. In a good year Russian and native hunters harvested more than half a million squirrels, 100,000 sables, and more than tens of thousands of black foxes. Government income from the fur trade peaked in the 1640s and amounted to over 100,000 rubles, about 10 percent of state revenue. By the early eighteenth century revenues had declined to less than half of their peak. As supplies became rare in the vicinity of the major river basins of Siberia, hunters and trappers began exploiting more distant sources of furs, eventually reaching Alaska and the North American coast.

See also **Black Sea Steppe; Imperial Expansion, Russia.**

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BRIAN BOECK



Correggio. *Assumption of the Virgin*, detail of the fresco in the cupola of the Parma Cathedral. Correggio's powerful illusionism served as a model for subsequent ceiling decoration. ©ALINARI/ART RESOURCE



RIGHT: Daily Life. A game and bread market in Paris, painted by an unknown French artist, seventeenth century. THE ART ARCHIVE/MUSÉE CARNAVALET PARIS/DAGLI ORTI (A)

BELOW: Jacques Louis David. *Belisarius Receiving Alms*, 1781, one of David's great masterpieces of the 1780s. ©GIRAUDON/ART RESOURCE, N.Y.





LEFT: **Albrecht Dürer.** *Self-Portrait*, 1500. ©GIRAUDON/ART RESOURCE, N.Y

BELOW: **Decorative Arts.** Tapestry Room, Osterley Park, Middlesex, England, designed 1775 by Robert Adam, with tapestries from the Gobelins factory in Paris. THE ART ARCHIVE/VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM LONDON/DAGLI ORTI







OPPOSITE PAGE: El Greco. *Assumption of the Virgin*, c. 1613. El Greco's unique pictorial style, which synthesizes elements of Renaissance and Byzantine art, is manifest in this painting. The subject matter is also typical; one of the artist's most famous works is a large version of the Assumption done as an altarpiece for the cathedral in Toledo. ©ERICH LESSING/ART RESOURCE, N.Y.

LEFT: Art in Florence. *The Golden Age*, one of the frescoes by Pietro da Cortona decorating the Pitti Palace in Florence. ©ALINARI/ART RESOURCE

BELOW: Festivals. *Carnival Scene, or, The Minuet*, 1756, by Giovanni Domenico Tiepolo. THE ART ARCHIVE/MUSÉE DU LOUVRE PARIS/DAGLI ORTI





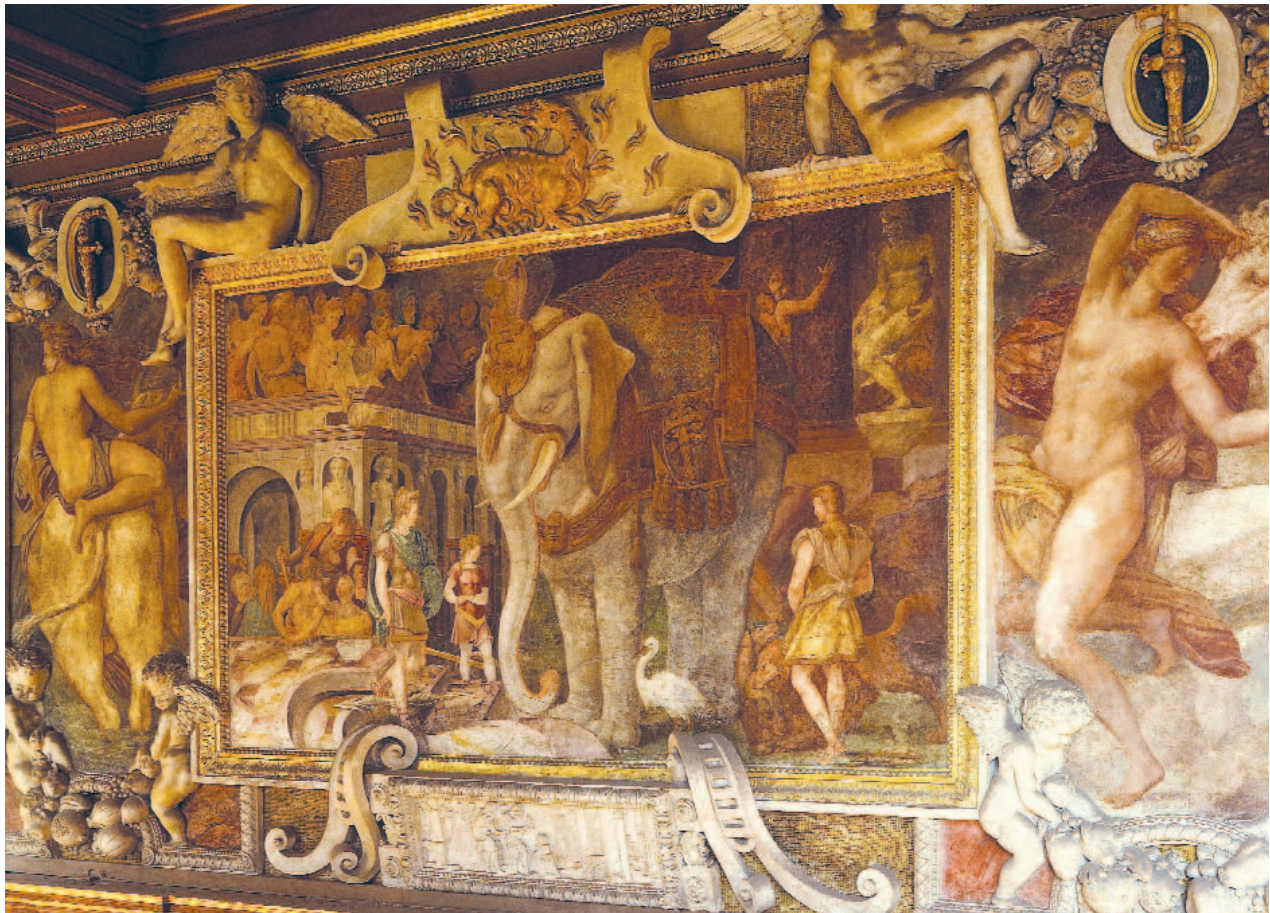
RIGHT: School of Fontainebleau. Stucco figures in high relief, Gallery of Francis I, Château de Fontainebleau. THE ART ARCHIVE/DAGLI ORTI

BELOW: School of Fontainebleau. *The Triumphal Elephant* fresco in the Gallery of Francis I in the Château de Fontainebleau. THE ART ARCHIVE/DAGLI ORTI

ABOVE LEFT, OPPOSITE PAGE: Food and Drink. *Interior of a Middle-Class Kitchen* by Jean-Baptiste Lallemand. THE ART ARCHIVE/MUSÉE DES BEAUX ARTS DIJON/DAGLI ORTI

ABOVE RIGHT, OPPOSITE PAGE: Art in France. *The Tent of Darius*, by Charles Le Brun, c. 1660. As director of the French academy and official painter to Louis XIV, Le Brun exerted enormous influence in the development of French art. He was also responsible for many of the lavish decorations in Louis's palace at Versailles. In this history painting, typical of his style, Le Brun depicts the surrender of the Persian King Darius to Alexander the Great. ©RÉUNION DES MUSÉES NATIONAUX/ART RESOURCE, N.Y.

BELOW, OPPOSITE PAGE: Jean-Honore Fragonard. *The Bolt*, c. 1778. This later work by Fragonard, who is regarded as one of the primary exponents of the rococo movement, reflects the influence of neoclassicism in its more restrained style, yet it remains powerfully emotive. THE ART ARCHIVE/MUSÉE DU LOUVRE PARIS/DAGLI ORTI (A)







RIGHT: Francis I. Equestrian portrait by François Clouet.
©ALINARI/ART RESOURCE

BELOW: Frederick II of Prussia. A view of the facade of Schloss Sans Souci, Potsdam, designed by Georg Wenzeslaus von Knobelsdorff and built 1745-1748. Frederick took an active role in the design of the palace, which served as his personal residence and refuge from the responsibilities of governance. His tastes are reflected especially in the French-influenced rococo style and the relatively modest scale of the structure. ©WOLFGANG KAEHLER/CORBIS



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Volume 3
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Encyclopedia of the Early Modern World**

Jonathan Dewald, Editor in Chief

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USING THE ENCYCLOPEDIA

Tables of contents. Each volume contains a table of contents for the entire *Encyclopedia*. Volume 1 has a single listing of all volumes' contents. Volumes 2 through 6 contain "Contents of This Volume" followed by "Contents of Other Volumes."

Maps of Europe. The front of each volume contains a set of maps showing Europe's political divisions at six important stages from 1453 to 1795.

Alphabetical arrangement. Entries are arranged in alphabetical order. Biographical articles are generally listed by the subject's last name (with some exceptions, e.g., Leonardo da Vinci).

Royalty and foreign names. In most cases, the names of rulers of French, German, and Spanish rulers have been anglicized. Thus, Francis, not François; Charles, not Carlos. Monarchs of the same name are listed first by their country, and then numerically. Thus, Henry VII and Henry VIII of England precede Henry II of France.

Measurements appear in the English system according to United States usage, though they are often followed by metric equivalents in parentheses. Following are approximate metric equivalents for the most common units:

| | | |
|---------------|---|-----------------------|
| 1 foot | = | 30 centimeters |
| 1 mile | = | 1.6 kilometers |
| 1 acre | = | 0.4 hectares |
| 1 square mile | = | 2.6 square kilometers |
| 1 pound | = | 0.45 kilograms |
| 1 gallon | = | 3.8 liters |

Cross-references. At the end of each article is a list of related articles for further study. Readers may also consult the table of contents and the index for titles and keywords of interest.

Bibliography. Each article contains a list of sources for further reading, usually divided into Primary Sources and Secondary Sources.

Systematic outline of contents. After the last article in volume 6 is an outline that provides a general overview of the conceptual scheme of the *Encyclopedia*, listing the title of each entry.

Directory of contributors. Following the systematic outline of contents is a listing, in alphabetical order, of all contributors to the *Encyclopedia*, with affiliation and the titles of his or her article(s).

Index. Volume 6 concludes with a comprehensive, alphabetically arranged index covering all articles, as well as prominent figures, geographical names, events, institutions, publications, works of art, and all major concepts that are discussed in volumes 1 through 6.



MAPS OF EUROPE, 1453 TO 1795

The maps on the pages that follow show political boundaries within Europe at six important stages in the roughly three hundred and fifty years covered by this *Encyclopedia*: 1453, 1520, 1648, 1715, 1763, and 1795.



1453. In the years around 1450, Europe settled into relative political stability, following the crises of the late Middle Ages. France and England concluded the Hundred Years' War in 1453; the Ottoman Turks conquered Constantinople in the same year and established it as the capital of their empire; and in 1454 the Treaty of Lodi normalized relations among the principal Italian states, establishing a peaceful balance of power among Venice, Florence, the duchy of Milan, the Papal States, and the Kingdom of Naples.



1520. In 1520, the Habsburg prince Charles V was elected Holy Roman emperor, uniting in his person lordship over central Europe, Spain, the Low Countries, parts of Italy, and the newly conquered Spanish territories in the Americas. For the next century, this overwhelming accumulation of territories in the hands of a single dynasty would remain the most important fact in European international politics. But in 1520 Habsburg power already faced one of its most troublesome challenges: Martin Luther's Reformation, first attracting widespread notice in 1517, would repeatedly disrupt Habsburg efforts to unify their territories.



1648. The 1648 Peace of Westphalia ended the Thirty Years' War, one of the most destructive wars in European history. The peace treaty formally acknowledged the independence of the Dutch Republic and the Swiss Confederation, and it established the practical autonomy of the German principalities—including the right to establish their own religious policies. Conversely, the Holy Roman Empire lost much of its direct power; although its institutions continued to play some role in German affairs through the eighteenth century, the emperors' power now rested overwhelmingly on the Habsburg domain lands in Austria, Bohemia, and eastern Europe.



1715. The Peace of Utrecht (1713) ended the War of the Spanish Succession, the last and most destructive of the wars of the French king Louis XIV. The treaty ended Spain's control over present-day Belgium and over parts of Italy, and it marked the end of French hegemony within Europe. In the eighteenth century, France would be only one of five leading powers.



1763. The 1763 Treaty of Paris ended the Seven Years' War, a war that involved all the major European powers and included significant campaigns in North America and southern Asia, as well as in Europe. The war made clear the arrival of Prussia as a great power, at least the equal of Austria in central and eastern Europe.



1795. By 1795, French armies had repelled an attempted invasion by Prussia, Austria, and England, and France had begun annexing territories in Belgium and western Germany. These military successes ensured the continuation of the French Revolution, but they also meant that European warfare would continue until 1815, when the modern borders of France were largely established. Warfare with France did not prevent the other European powers from conducting business as usual elsewhere: with agreements in 1793 and 1795, Prussia, Austria, and Russia completed their absorption of Poland.



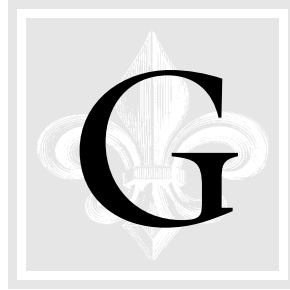
COMMON ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THIS WORK

| | | | |
|-----------|---|-------|--|
| A.D. | <i>Anno Domini</i> , in the year of the Lord | MS. | manuscript (pl. MSS.) |
| A.H. | <i>Anno Hegirae</i> , in the year of the Hegira | n.d. | no date |
| b. | born | no. | number (pl., nos.) |
| B.C. | before Christ | n.s. | new series |
| B.C.E. | before the common era (= B.C.) | N.S. | new style, according to the Gregorian calendar |
| c. | <i>circa</i> , about, approximately | O.S. | old style, according to the Julian calendar |
| C.E. | common era (= A.D.) | p. | page (pl., pp.) |
| ch. | chapter | rev. | revised |
| d. | died | S. | <i>san, sanctus, santo</i> , male saint |
| ed. | editor (pl., eds.), edition | SS. | saints |
| e.g. | <i>exempli gratia</i> , for example | Sta. | <i>sancta, santa</i> , female saint |
| et al. | <i>et alii</i> , and others | supp. | supplement |
| etc. | <i>et cetera</i> , and so forth | vol. | volume |
| exh. cat. | exhibition catalogue | ? | uncertain, possibly, perhaps |
| fl. | <i>floruit</i> , flourished | | |
| i.e. | <i>id est</i> , that is | | |

EUROPE

1450 TO 1789

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF THE EARLY MODERN WORLD



GABRIELI, ANDREA AND GIOVANNI (Andrea Gabrieli, c. 1532/33–1585; Giovanni Gabrieli, c. 1554/57–1612), Italian composers and organists noted for the grandeur of their sacred and ceremonial music. Andrea Gabrieli and his nephew Giovanni Gabrieli were leading figures in Venetian music and influenced the development of seventeenth-century German music as well. Most likely a native of Venice, Andrea may have been in Verona during the 1550s (as indicated by the publication there of his earliest known madrigal and his probable association with the Accademia Filharmonica of Verona), and in Munich in 1562 at the court of Albert V, duke of Bavaria, where he met Orlando di Lasso (c. 1532–1594), the most famous composer of the era. By 1566, Andrea was appointed as one of the two permanent organists at the Basilica of St. Mark's in Venice, a position he held until his death, and was followed in this position by his nephew Giovanni. Andrea established a line of native Venetian musicians working at St. Mark's after a period of dominance by northern masters.

As a composer, Andrea Gabrieli wrote in most of the musical genres of his day, including masses, psalms, motets, madrigals, and many instrumental works, most for solo keyboard. He composed both small- and large-scale works, including polychoral music employing the technique of *cori spezzati* (split choirs) that exploited the spatial separation of two or more choirs through chordal textures, syllabic

text setting, and short imitative dialogues between performing groups.

Many of his compositions were published posthumously in the *Concerti* (1587), a collection of large-scale vocal works (sacred and secular) and instrumental works, edited by his nephew Giovanni Gabrieli. The collection includes madrigals as well as settings of liturgical texts for major feast days in Venice (Christmas, Easter, St. Mark's, Corpus Christi, Marian feasts). It also contains ceremonial music for events of church and state in Venice, including occasional works to Italian texts in commemoration of state visits by Archduke Charles of Austria in 1565 or 1569 and by the French king Henry III in 1574, a motet for the new Franciscan Church of the Redentore (built 1577–1592) designed by architect Andrea Palladio (1508–1580) erected to celebrate the end of a plague epidemic in 1577, and a series of mass movements perhaps written to honor the state visit of five Japanese princes in 1585.

The compositions that Andrea Gabrieli wrote for instrumental ensemble and solo keyboard are important to the development of independent instrumental genres. His *intonazioni* (preludes) and many of his toccatas are free, improvisatory pieces, while his ricercars and canzonas feature fugal writing (that is, with musical phrases imitated in two or more voices). Andrea's music remained in print until the mid-seventeenth century, published in Germany and the Low Countries as well as in Italy. He was a renowned teacher whose students included German composers Hans Leo Hassler (1564–

1612) and Gregor Aichinger (1564/65–1628), music theorist Lodovico Zacconi (1555–1627), and his own nephew Giovanni.

Giovanni Gabrieli was once thought to be of patrician origins; however, the recent discovery of the identity of his father as Piero di Fais, called Gabrieli, confirms that the family was not of Venetian nobility. Giovanni followed in the footsteps of his uncle Andrea, working first at the Munich court of Albert V under Orlando di Lasso, then returning to Venice to become organist at St. Mark's beginning in 1584 (a position made permanent in 1585) until his death in 1612. In the year 1585, the two Gabrielis served together for several months as organists at the basilica. Giovanni described himself as "little less than a son" of Andrea, whose music he edited for publication in 1587, along with some of his own compositions. Giovanni's duties included composing ceremonial music for St. Mark's, much of which was published in two monumental collections: *Sacrae Symphoniae* (1597) and *Symphoniae Sacrae* (1615). Giovanni also held the post of organist for the Scuola Grande di San Rocco from 1585 on, and some of this music served the confraternity on high feast days. Like Andrea, Giovanni was a pre-eminent teacher whose reputation reached far beyond the Veneto; the most famous of his northern students was German composer Heinrich Schütz (1585–1672).

The close connection between church and state in Venice, emphasized by the proximity of the ducal palace to St. Mark's, led to sumptuous religious and civic celebrations accompanied by vocal and instrumental music and splendid pageantry. Gabrieli wrote several grand motets for the feast of St. Mark, the city's patron, and for Ascension Day festivities, on which occasion the famous ceremony of the Wedding of Venice to the Sea took place, when the doge cast a ring into the lagoon to be retrieved by a young fisherman, symbolizing the domination of the Venetian Republic over the Adriatic after conquering Dalmatia in the year 1000. Francesco Sansovino, in volume 12 of his 1581 guidebook to Venice, *Venetia città nobilissima*, described one such commemoration performed with the "two famous organs of the church, and the other instruments [which] made the most excellent music, in which the best singers and players that can be found in this region took part." The description refers to

performances with some musicians positioned in choir lofts on either side of the nave, each with a pipe organ, in addition to the musicians on the floor. Gabrieli's polychoral motet *O quam suavis* (1615), for two choirs and instruments, sets a text for vespers on the Feast of Corpus Christi, an occasion that called for a grandiose procession (*andata*) in St. Mark's Square in which all the clergy, confraternities, and civic dignitaries took part. The participation of singers and instrumentalists on the Feast of St. Mark's (April 25) was captured by Gentile Bellini (c. 1429–1507) in his well-known painting *Procession of the True Cross in the Piazza San Marco* (1496), commemorating this event and the miraculous healing powers of the True Cross of the Scuola di San Giovanni Evangelista.

Giovanni Gabrieli's output of instrumental music was remarkable. His ensemble canzonas and sonatas exploited the rich musical resources of St. Mark's and were meant for ceremonial performance on high feast days. Giovanni was among the first composers to specify instrumentation in his works: his *Sonate pian e forte* (1597) calls for two instrumental choirs (violin with three trombones, and cornetto with three trombones) and is one of the earliest compositions to include dynamic markings.

Although Giovanni shunned the lighter secular forms of villanella and canzonetta, his madrigals were included in a number of anthologies. Several of these works celebrate eminent acquaintances, including the powerful Augsburg banker Jacob Fugger (1542–1598), who was the dedicatee of the *Concerti* (1587).

Giovanni's later works show early baroque characteristics of florid solo writing set against larger forces, and the use of organ basso continuo. After Claudio Monteverdi (1567–1643) was appointed choirmaster at St. Mark's in 1613, the influence of Andrea and Giovanni Gabrieli began to wane in Italy, and the more dramatic, mannerist style of Monteverdi began to transform Italian music; however, their impact remained significant on musical styles in the north.

See also Baroque; Monteverdi, Claudio; Music; Schütz, Heinrich; Venice.

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KRISTINE K. FORNEY

GAINSBOROUGH, THOMAS (1727–1788), English painter. Rivaling Sir Joshua Reynolds in the field of portraiture, Thomas Gainsborough's career highlights the opportunities available to a painter in eighteenth-century England. After establishing his practice in provincial cities, Gainsborough maintained close connections to the London scene through personal contacts and by regularly displaying his work at exhibition venues. His continued allegiance to the unprofitable genre of landscape painting served as a model for future generations of landscapists, such as John Constable and Joseph Mallord William Turner.

Born in Sudbury, Suffolk, Gainsborough received his early training from Francis Wynantz, probably a Dutch artist. East Anglia traditionally had close ties to the Low Countries, and Gainsborough's early landscape style reflects this influence.

Gainsborough's father was a failed clothier, who after declaring bankruptcy in 1733 became the local postmaster. Gainsborough, however, was an artistic prodigy, and around 1740 he went to London, where he studied with the French artist Hubert François Gravelot and then with Francis Hayman. Absorbing the French rococo style of Gravelot, Gainsborough also adopted his master's practice of drawing from small-scale dolls. Gravelot returned to Paris in 1745, and it is this year to which Gainsborough's independent practice is usually dated. His independence was further bolstered by his marriage

in 1746 to Margaret Burr, who had an annual income of £200, which she received from the duke of Beaufort, assumed to be her natural father.

At the death of his father in 1748 and in pursuit of patronage, Gainsborough established a practice in his native Sudbury. Before leaving London, he completed the roundel *The Charterhouse* (1748; Thomas Coram Foundation for Children, London) for the Foundling Hospital. In addition, he began his early landscape masterpiece *Cornard Wood or Gainsborough's Forest* (c. 1746–1747; National Gallery, London). When Alderman Boydell purchased this work in 1788 for 75 guineas, Gainsborough wrote with satisfaction that "it is in some respects a little in the schoolboy stile—but I do not reflect on this without a secret gratification; for as an early instance how strong my inclination stood for Landskip."

Of necessity, however, Gainsborough had to concentrate his practice on portraiture, and in 1752 he moved to Ipswich in order to find a wider clientele. By 1759 he was increasingly traveling farther afield in search of new commissions, and by the end of that year had moved to the spa city of Bath, where he remained until 1773.

Soon after his arrival in Bath, Gainsborough raised his prices to 20 guineas for a head portrait, 40 guineas for a half-length portrait, and 80 guineas for a full-length portrait, suggesting that there was sufficient patronage in the fashionable city for the newcomer as well as the already established William Hoare. The first large work Gainsborough painted in Bath was the full-length portrait of Ann Ford (1760; Cincinnati Art Museum), the future wife of his friend Philip Thicknesse.

Gainsborough's move to Bath coincided with the establishment of annual exhibitions at the Society of Artists in London, and from 1761 onward he sent examples of his full-length portraits, such as *Robert Craggs, Earl Nugent* (1760; private collection), as well as some of his landscapes, such as *The Harvest Wagon* (1767; Barber Institute of Fine Arts, University of Birmingham). The strength of his reputation in the London art world was confirmed by his invitation in December 1768 to become a founder-member of the Royal Academy.

Gainsborough articulated his dual love of music and landscape in a letter dated 1769 to his friend



Thomas Gainsborough. *Mr. and Mrs. Andrews*, painted c. 1750. ©NATIONAL GALLERY COLLECTION; BY KIND PERMISSION OF THE TRUSTEES OF THE NATIONAL GALLERY, LONDON/CORBIS

William Jackson, the composer and organist of Exeter Cathedral, “I’m sick of Portraits and wish very much to take my Viol da Gamba and walk off to some sweet Village where I can paint Landskips and enjoy the fag End of Life in quietness and ease.” Nevertheless, he continued to paint portraits, and after his 1774 move to London, Gainsborough gained important commissions from the royal family, whose patronage Reynolds was never to attain. Even so, on the death of Allan Ramsay in 1784, Reynolds was named principal painter on the basis of his presidency of the Royal Academy.

Although Gainsborough was appointed to its council the year of his move to London, his relationship with the Royal Academy was uneasy. In 1773 he had objected to the way his paintings were hung at the academy’s annual exhibition, and he did not again contribute to the exhibition until 1777. In 1784 he once more complained about the hanging of his portraits; they were returned to him, and he never exhibited at the Royal Academy again. Gainsborough also advised his patrons on the best placement of his portraits, showing his attention to

the effect of light on his work. Gainsborough’s concern with light and its effects can be seen in his painting technique: Often he would paint by candlelight, as well as with long brushes to achieve distance from the canvas.

On Gainsborough’s death in 1788, Reynolds devoted his annual lecture to the students and members of the Royal Academy to his rival, acknowledging that “all those odd scratches and marks . . . by a kind of magick, at a certain distance assumes form, and all the parts seem to drop into their proper places.”

See also **Academies of Art; Britain; Art in; Reynolds, Joshua; Rococo.**

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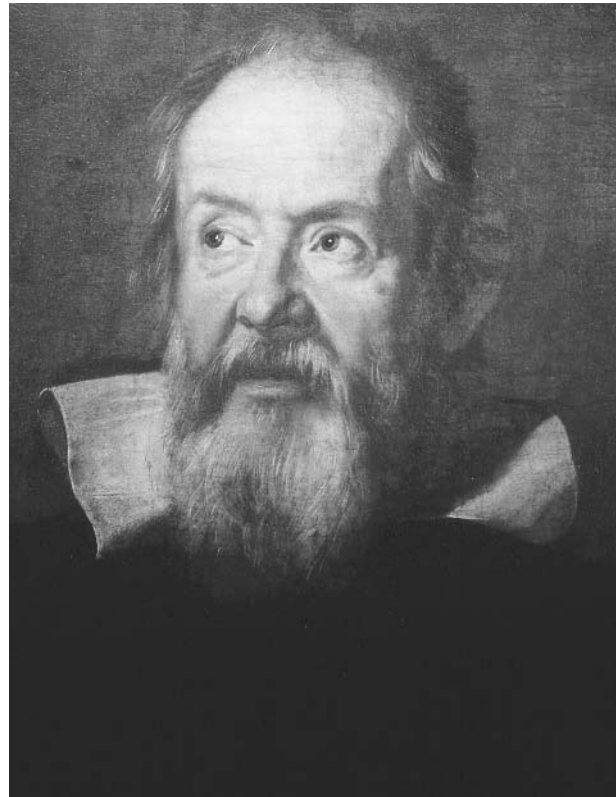
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ELIZABETH A. PERGAM

GALILEO GALILEI (1564–1642), Italian scientist. Born in Pisa, Galileo was the eldest of the six or seven children of Vincenzio Galilei, a merchant and music theorist, and Giulia Ammannati. He spent his childhood in Pisa and Florence; in the fall of 1581, upon his father's advice, he enrolled at the University of Pisa as a student of medicine. Not enthusiastic about this discipline, within two years he had begun to study Euclidean and Archimedean works privately and left the university in 1585 without a degree. He offered both public and private lessons in mathematics for the next three years and sought, unsuccessfully, to obtain a professorial chair at Bologna in 1588. His various meditations on and experiments with mechanics, metrology, and musical consonance, and his participation in a Florentine academy in this period, helped him secure the chair in mathematics at the University of Pisa in the fall of 1589.

By late 1592 Galileo had won a more prestigious post in mathematics at the University of Padua, and it was here that he undertook significant work in optics and catoptrics, magnetism, tidal theory, mechanics, and instrumentation. This last area was crucial to his financial well-being: in order to meet the demands incumbent upon him as the eldest son, and to supplement his professorial salary, Galileo offered private lessons to students in Padua, many of whom were eager to learn the various uses of a calculating instrument of his design. Galileo's extant writings in mechanics in these same years likewise reflect a strong interest in combining classical problems with actual devices for lifting, lowering, and guiding solid bodies and fluids.

Galileo may have become an adherent of the heliocentric world system posited by Nicolaus



Galileo Galilei. Portrait by Justus Sustermans (1597–1681). THE ART ARCHIVE/GALLERIA DEGLI UFFIZI FLORENCE/DAGLI ORTI (A)

Copernicus (1473–1543) in the mid-1590s: so he asserted in 1597 in a letter to the German astronomer Johannes Kepler (1571–1630), discoverer of the laws of planetary motion. Certain conjectures regarding tidal theory reflect a cautious interest in the hypothesis of a mobile Earth, for tides were explained as a product of the globe's annual and diurnal motions, with variations in periodicity deriving from the particular shape of any large body of water. One might also infer Galileo's discreet support of the Copernican system through the attention he devoted in this period to speculative arguments derived from mechanics. The arena in which cosmogony and mechanics intersected was in a quantified approach to a myth mentioned in Plato's *Timaeus* involving the "creation point," or the place or places from which the Divine Architect originally dropped the various planets. These bodies, after falling toward the sun, would each reach and remain in the orbits to which they had been assigned. Scholars have suggested that around 1602–1604 Galileo did attempt to combine his

still evolving understanding of the law of falling bodies and of the way such bodies behave when diverted into uniform orbital motion, with Kepler's estimated periods of revolution for Saturn, Mars, and Jupiter.

By the fall of November 1604 Galileo's attention was on the heavens, for the appearance of a new star seemed to offer strong evidence against Aristotelian conventions regarding an immutable world beyond the Moon. But his most explicitly Copernican conjectures concern the Moon; between 1605 and 1607 he and several of his closest associates had observed the ashen light reflected onto that body by Earth at the beginning and end of each lunar cycle. The rough and opaque body of Earth was, in other words, like other planets, tolerably bright; the corollary was, for some, that Earth likewise participated in "the dance of the stars." In this period Galileo was also engaged in more studies of motion and hydrostatics, and involved with additional work in magnetism.

By spring or summer 1609, Galileo was making celestial observations with the aid of a telescope at least three times more powerful than a prototype from The Hague. By November of that year, he had developed a telescope that magnified twenty times, and it was with this instrument that he undertook his observations of the lunar body. His *Starry Messenger* of 1610 shows that the telescope confirmed his earlier naked-eye impressions of both a rough lunar surface and of the ashen light, and that it allowed him to present certain of the Moon's features, most notably its peaks, valleys, and craters, in terms of their terrestrial counterparts. He used the shadows cast by a particular mountain on the Moon to calculate the average height of such formations. On the basis of these observations of the Moon's similarity to Earth, Galileo proposed a thoroughgoing revision of the Ptolemaic conception of the cosmos, and he promised to deliver such arguments in his *System of the World*, the forerunner to the eventual *Dialogue concerning the Two Chief World Systems* of 1632.

The greatest discoveries in the *Starry Messenger* lay in its final section, a description of the positions of the satellites of Jupiter from 7 January until 2 March 1610, when the treatise went to press. In these brief observations and in the spare diagrams

that accompanied them, Galileo presented the orbital movements of four satellites, or Medici stars, whose very existence was new to virtually all of his audience. The fact that Jupiter had moons strongly suggested to him that Earth was neither unique nor central nor motionless: satellites revolving about a celestial body clearly did not prevent its movement.

By the end of 1610, Galileo, newly appointed as mathematician and philosopher at the court of the grand duke of Tuscany, had interpreted the phases of Venus as a confirmation of Copernican claims, and perhaps more importantly, evidence against the models of both Ptolemy and the Danish astronomer Tycho Brahe (1546–1601), who posited that the five planets revolved around the Sun, which in turn revolved around Earth; Kepler obligingly published his letters on the matter in his *Dioptrice* of 1611. Galileo had some notion of sunspots by spring 1611, but his systematic study of the phenomena appears to date only to early 1612, when he had learned of the observations of several friends, and of the treatise of an eventual enemy, the Swabian Jesuit Christoph Scheiner (1573–1650). Galileo took immediate issue with Scheiner's initial conjecture that the spots were actually small stars orbiting and partially eclipsing the solar body, and he did not hesitate to expose both the Jesuit astronomer's ignorance of Galileo's recent findings concerning Venus, and the weakness of Scheiner's geometrical proofs. Because he saw no reason to subscribe to the Aristotelian fiction of the changeless heavens, Galileo's three letters on the subject offered the more consistent (though inaccurate) explanation of the sunspots as enormous masses of dark clouds constantly produced on the solar surface and moving uniformly over it before vanishing forever.

Galileo's next writing, the *Letter to the Grand Duchess Christina*, was of little scientific importance, for it neither offered new observations nor announced novel astronomical hypotheses, and was published only in 1636 in a Latin translation. In terms of the sort of interpretation it offered—a brilliant analysis of the Old Testament verse Joshua 10:12 as compatible with a heliocentric universe and incompatible with a geocentric one—the *Letter* was among the boldest and most ill-advised moves of Galileo's career. His confidence in his reading, for all of its economy, appears to have been misplaced,

and by early 1615 a complaint had been lodged with the Inquisition. In a meeting whose general tenor and purpose are still the subject of debate, Galileo met with Robert Cardinal Bellarmine in February 1616, but was not asked to abjure his Copernican beliefs. The Edict of 1616 formally prohibited books attempting to reconcile Scripture and the hypothesis of a mobile Earth, and stipulated that Copernicus's *On the Revolutions of the Heavenly Spheres* was suspended until such passages could be struck through. While Galileo appears not to have seen the edict as of particular concern to him, rivals immediately recognized its impact on the astronomer's career.

The controversy between Galileo and the Jesuit astronomer Orazio Grassi ranged from the fall of 1618, when three comets emerged, to 1626, when Grassi published his third and final work on the phenomena. Galileo's principal discussion of the comets, the *Assayer*, appeared in 1623. Although Galileo could no longer openly defend Copernicanism, and did not have an accurate explanation of the comets, he recognized flaws in many of Grassi's arguments, particularly in the implicit support that Grassi gave to the Tyconic world system. The *Assayer* contains important discussions of the usefulness of parallax and of the causes of telescopic magnification of distant bodies, several of Galileo's clearest formulations of his own methodology, and some of the most caustic and amusing moments of any scientific controversy.

The synthesis of Galileo's decades of astronomical observations, speculation, and revision, the *Dialogue concerning the Two Chief World Systems, Ptolemaic and Copernican*, was published in Florence in 1632. Divided into four days of exchanges between the learned Salviati, the cultured Sagredo, and the tireless Aristotelian Simplicio, the *Dialogue* examines and discards traditional arguments distinguishing the motions, substance, and final purpose of celestial and terrestrial bodies, discusses the experimental and logical evidence for Earth's diurnal and annual movements, presents the particulars of the orbits and telescopic appearance of the other planets, draws on the emergent science of magnetism as well as upon observations of the new stars of 1572 and 1604, the fixed stars, Moon spots, and sunspots, and concludes with an ample discussion of Galileo's theory of tides. The tempo and variety of

the *Dialogue* are surely part of its enormous appeal: the speakers move easily from minute calculations to the most abstruse philosophical speculations without losing sight of their goal of assessing the two chief world systems. But to suggest, as Galileo did, that the work involves equally qualified opponents, or recognizes the merits of aspects of both views, or presents Copernicanism as merely hypothetical, is to err: Simplicio is overmatched from the outset, a rather inept spokesman for the Ptolemaic position throughout, and effectively silenced by his companions in the last pages of the *Dialogue*.

Summoned to Rome to account for his publication, Galileo recanted on 22 June 1633. Although depressed and humiliated by this turn of events, he soon focused on the *Two New Sciences Pertaining to Mechanics and Local Motions*. Published in Leiden in 1638, his last great work is in dialogue form, and again involves Salviati, Sagredo, and Simplicio. The product of a warring age, it is set in Venice's arsenal, the site of the republic's shipbuilding and munitions production. It has as one focus the "supernatural violence" with which projectiles are fired, presents the legendary burning mirrors of antiquity as plausible weapons, discusses at length notions of impact and resistance, is dedicated to a member of the *noblesse d'épée*, and refers to the battlefield death of one of Galileo's former students and fellow experimenters. That said, the *Two New Sciences* also attend to nonmilitary matters such as the void, the speed of light, the principle of the balance, musical intervals, the role of scale in very large structures or animals, uniformly accelerated or natural motion, and the Platonic "creation point." The true fight, as Galileo's dedication and several asides suggest, is for the reestablishment of his scientific and ethical reputation, and despite the burden of illness and old age, the stricture of house arrest, and his renunciation of cosmological issues, the victory was his.

See also Astronomy; Brahe, Tycho; Copernicus, Nicolaus; Kepler, Johannes; Optics; Scientific Instruments.

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GALLEYS. Galleys, oared seagoing vessels, had been warships since ancient times but became important in Mediterranean warfare between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries. Around 1500 galleys were fitted with centerline hull-smashing cannons firing balls of thirty to fifty pounds, giving them firepower viable against contemporary sailing vessels like carracks. Although the last large-scale military use of galleys was at the 1571 Battle of Lepanto, they continued to be important in eastern Mediterranean littoral warfare through the eighteenth century. They were eventually outmoded by ships of the line with large artillery.

STRUCTURE, CAPABILITIES, AND MANPOWER

By the fifteenth century galleys were typically at least 120 to 150 feet in length with around 25 banks of oars and crews of 200 to 300 men. Galleys had cannon that could fire at close range. Boarding parties attacked enemy ships from bow spurs that had grappling hooks and boarding bridges. Although galleys grew in size during the seventeenth century, their numbers declined.

IMPORTANT MILITARY ENGAGEMENTS

The galley was ideal for coastal waters with variable winds and few great harbors capable of receiving large ships. It gave rise to a style of Mediterranean warfare characterized by the close integration of naval operations, amphibious warfare, and siege

with few full-scale battles. The sixteenth century witnessed only a few major galley battles, notably at Prevesa in 1538, at Jerba (Djerba) in 1560, and at Lepanto in 1571. Although those were massive confrontations (Lepanto included at least 150,000 people on ships), their decisiveness has been a matter of controversy. Galley fleets could be rebuilt in a few months, but the logistical limitations of galleys prevented successful exploitation of the victories they achieved. After Piyale Pasha won at Jerba, for instance, he was not able to press his attack against the Venetian fleet. Two years after the cream of Ottoman galley forces were destroyed or captured at Lepanto, the reconstituted Ottoman fleet led by Uluç Ali conducted serious fleet operations along the Apulian coast. Control of the sea with galley fleets was always temporary and localized, making them tactical, more than strategic, assets.

THE END OF THE GALLEY ERA

Some of the last consequential galley confrontations took place between Venice and the Ottoman Empire in the War of 1714–1718, in which, after naval defeats by Ottoman galley forces at Corfu, Lemnos, and Cape Matapan, Venice had to leave the Morea (in modern Greece) according to the 1718 Treaty of Passarowitz. From a technical point of view, the galley was gradually supplanted by the ship of the line with its massive artillery and high freeboard. One French ship of the line, *Le Bon*, fought off thirty Spanish galleys. Advances in naval tactics and strategy that made ships of the line their centerpieces started to develop in the North Sea and the Atlantic during the early seventeenth century as a result of technological advances during the Anglo-Dutch wars that soon spread to the Mediterranean. Even the Ottoman navy, a traditional bastion of galleys, began acquiring ships of the line to replace galleys as their main warships by the mid-eighteenth century.

See also **Armada, Spanish; Lepanto, Battle of; Navy; Passarowitz, Peace of (1718); Shipbuilding and Navigation.**

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GALLICANISM. The term “Gallicanism,” coined in the early nineteenth century, defines a conception of church-state relations that developed in early modern France and subsequently influenced other European countries. This conception, medieval in origin, was based on two principles: separation of powers, which protected the state from any intervention from the papacy, and constitutionalism, which submitted the pope to the authority of church canons. The word also applies to an interpretation of Catholicism that places the pope under the authority of the church represented by the general council and rejects his personal infallibility.

THE CONCORDAT OF BOLOGNA AND POLITICAL GALLICANISM

Negotiated in 1516, the Concordat of Bologna between Francis I and Pope Leo X formed the legal base of church-state relations in early modern France: the papacy gave the monarchy control of most benefices, bishoprics, and abbeys, whose titulars were appointed by the king and approved by Rome. The Parlement of Paris resisted the agreement on the ground of fidelity to ancient laws, or “Gallican liberties.” After its forced registration (1518), legists defended these liberties in their writings, constituting a body of references that established political Gallicanism.

Reviving a medieval tradition of resistance to the papacy and state control of the church, these authors collected traditions and precedents that asserted the independence of the French church and of the kings. *Les libertés de l'église Gallicane* (1594; The liberties of the Gallican church), by Pierre Pithou, a lawyer in the Paris Parlement, was reprinted and commented on by Pierre and Jacques Dupuy in *Traité des droits et libertés de l'Église gallicane* (Treatise on the rights and liberties of the Gallican church) and *Preuves des droits et libertés de l'église Gallicane* (Proofs of the rights and liberties of the Gallican church), published in 1639; its arguments were extended by Pierre Toussaint Durand de Maillane in 1771. Though an attempt to impose as a fundamental article (law of the kingdom) the absolute independence of the king in secular matters was defeated by the clergy at a meeting of the Estates-General in 1615, this principle was accepted by all French canonists and theologians, though

with a lesser extension than applied by legists and civil servants.

ECCLESIASTICAL GALLICANISM

Most French clerics shared the legists' respect for the ancient church, and they also sought state backing for the religious unification of the kingdom. However, they resented any form of lay control and needed papal authority to support the Catholic renewal that followed the Council of Trent. To counter this perceived shift from Gallican principles, Edmond Richer, the *syndic* (moderator) of the Sorbonne, the theological faculty of Paris, reissued works written during the conciliarist period by Pierre d'Ailly (1350–c. 1420), Jean Charlier (Jean de Gerson, 1363–1429), and Jacques Almain (c. 1480–1515). Richer's extreme views, as expressed in the 1612 pamphlet *Libellus de ecclesiastica et politica potestate* (Booklet on ecclesiastical and political power), were rejected at that time, but theological Gallicanism subsisted in the faculty, expressed in a succession of pronouncements, the most important of which are the six Articles of 1663, an exposition of official doctrine on papal authority, and the censure of the book of Jacques Vernant, also known as the Carmelite Bonaventura d'Hérédie (1612–1667), that defended papal infallibility.

By that time, another form of Gallicanism had developed, which was also the revival of an ancient model: episcopal Gallicanism. This concept derived from the question of Jansenism. The French bishops who had asked Rome to arbitrate on the issue of the Dutch theologian Cornelius Otto Jansen (Cornelius Jansenius, 1585–1638) and the “Five Propositions” attempted to balance their recourse to papal authority by the assertion of their own. Following the precedent of the early African church, they claimed to “receive,” that is, to approve, the papal condemnation. As papal infallibility was also claimed to support these pronouncements, more Gallican resistance followed, rejecting this personal privilege.

These separate developments converged in the *Déclaration du Clergé de France sur la puissance ecclésiastique* (Declaration of the French clergy on ecclesiastical power; March 1682), formulated at Louis XIV's request, by a special assembly of the French clergy. The intention was to pressure Pope

Innocent XI on the dispute concerning the king's right (*regalia*) to administer a diocese during the vacancy of the see. Despite Louis's later recantation, the four articles of this declaration were to represent the official doctrine of the French church during the Old Regime.

The first article of the declaration concerned the separation of spiritual and secular powers, as noted above. The second admitted papal spiritual power but subjected it to the authority of general councils. The third article insisted that the exercise of papal power was regulated by the ancient canons and Gallican customs. The fourth acknowledged papal authority in matters of faith but rejected infallibility and demanded that in order to be irrefragable his pronouncements receive the consent of the universal church.

LATER DEVELOPMENTS

In order to eradicate Jansenism, which had been revived by the works of Pasquier Quesnel (1634–1719), Louis XIV allied himself with pope Clement XI and secured the acceptance of the bull *Unigenitus* (1713). As some of the condemned propositions excerpted from the book dealt with Gallican principles, the issue of *Unigenitus* divided the Gallians. On one side were the supporters of a condemnation requested by the king and accepted by the majority of bishops, on the other, those who rejected the censures and appealed to a future general council. From this perspective, a mutation happened that was to have serious consequence: Gallicanism divided into two branches. One, authoritarian Gallicanism, followed the hierarchical model and only transferred to the king or bishops the authority over the church claimed by the pope, being therefore a form of regalism or episcopalism. The other, participatory Gallicanism, reinterpreted the medieval concept, itself founded on Aristotle's *Politics*, which developed a democratic model structured on the notions of representation and reception. Representation is a process of formulation of truth that, starting from the community, moves through hierarchical authority in order to be expressed at the highest level; reception is the process of confirming and authenticating the decision. This reconstruction of classical university and parlement Gallicanism, applied first to the ecclesiastical structure, was soon transposed to the political level.

Though both reflected the 1682 articles, the two perspectives conflicted during the eighteenth century, ostensibly on the issue of Jansenism but in fact on that of absolutism, preparing the way for the French Revolution. The Civil Constitution of the Clergy, passed by the National Assembly in 1790, was an application of participatory Gallicanism developed by Bishop Henri Grégoire and other "constitutional" bishops. The concordat negotiated by Napoléon Bonaparte and the Holy See in 1801 marked a return to political Gallicanism, without the balancing weight of episcopal Gallicanism.

See also **Church and State Relations; Jansenism.**

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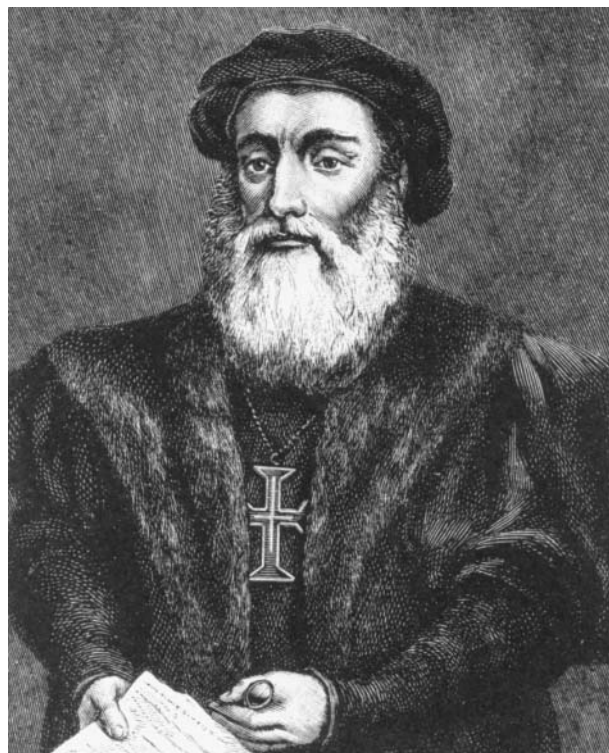
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GAMA, VASCO DA (c. 1469–1524), Portuguese explorer, first count of Vidigueira, and “discoverer” of the sea route to India. Vasco da Gama was born in the Alentejo coastal town of Sines about 1469. His family had longstanding service ties to the crown in its struggles against Castile and Islam, and Vasco’s father, Estevão, had won grants, including the post of *alcaide-mor* (governor-major) of Sines, for these services. He also became a commandery holder, or possessor of a revenue-generating land grant, in the powerful Order of Santiago, thus elevating the family’s social and economic status, a process that would culminate with the career of his son. King João II (ruled 1481–1495) may have asked Estevão to undertake the search for an all-water trade route between Europe and India, but he died before he could make the voyage.

Not much is known about the early years of Vasco da Gama’s life. He received a solid education in nautical matters and had also demonstrated martial skills in campaigns against Castile. In 1492, King João II had selected da Gama to confiscate French shipping in the ports of the Algarve, in retaliation for the French seizure of a Portuguese ship returning from Africa loaded with gold, and he accomplished this task with “great brevity.”

In 1497, King Manuel (ruled 1495–1521) selected da Gama to command the epic expedition to India that successfully ended the search for a sea route to Asian spices begun during the days of the Portuguese Prince Henry the Navigator (1394–1460). Some say that Vasco’s brother, Paulo, was first offered the opportunity but turned it down. The four-ship fleet (*São Gabriel*, *São Rafael*, *Berrio*, and a stores ship) departed Lisbon on 8 July 1497 with 170 men aboard. After stopping at São Tiago (27 July–3 August) in the Cape Verde Islands, da Gama and his fleet headed out into the Atlantic to exploit the prevailing winds. On 8 November, the fleet reached Santa Helena Bay, and on the 22 November rounded the Cape of Good Hope. In the Indian Ocean, da Gama confronted the entrenched



Vasco da Gama. NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY PICTURE COLLECTION

economic power of the Arabs. This religious and economic hostility complicated his task along the East African coast during a stay at Mozambique island (March 1498), and especially at Mombasa (April 1498), where the local sultan sought to storm the fleet in a midnight raid. Da Gama received a more favorable reception at Malindi, obtaining a skilled pilot who guided the Portuguese fleet across the Arabian Sea to the pepper-rich Malabar coast of India by May 1498. His mission of arranging both a treaty and the purchase of pepper in the key port city of Calicut was complicated by the intrigues of Arab merchants with the local Hindu ruler, the Zamorin (Samudri), and da Gama’s rather paltry gifts. Nevertheless, his resolve overcame these problems, and he departed in August with a respectable cargo of spices. Although the return trip to Portugal was complicated by fickle winds, the *Berrio* and *São Gabriel* reached Lisbon in July and August 1499, respectively. Da Gama, after burying his brother Paulo on Terceira in the Azores, reached home in September. He received the right to use the prestigious title “Dom,” a hefty annual pension, and

other rewards, including the title admiral of the Indian Seas.

To avenge the massacre of Portuguese factors left at Calicut by the fleet of Pedro Álvares Cabral (1500–1501), in 1502 King Manuel dispatched twenty well-armed ships under da Gama. He used this formidable force to intimidate the sultan of Kilwa on the east African coast into fealty (July 1502), to intercept Muslim shipping arriving on the Indian coast, and to inflict a decisive defeat on an Arab fleet in the service of the Zamorin (February 1503). His ruthless nature was revealed on this voyage when he burned several hundred Muslim pilgrims alive aboard a captured ship in September 1502. He returned to Lisbon in October 1503 and received additional rewards. During the following two decades, da Gama labored in Portugal to consolidate his social and economic position. His marriage to Dona Catarina de Ataíde produced seven children, and, despite problems with the mercurial King Manuel, da Gama at last entered the ranks of the senhorial elite in 1519 when he was created the first count of Vidigueira.

By 1524, although the Portuguese empire in Asia stretched from Mozambique to Indonesia, corruption had begun to infiltrate this impressive imperial edifice. The young king, John III, appointed Vasco viceroy in that year to address these problems. Sailing with fourteen ships in April 1524, da Gama reached India in September and undertook an impressive reform campaign that was tragically cut short by his death at Calicut on Christmas Eve 1524.

Da Gama's life and career mirrored the rise of Portugal: nautical expertise, military prowess, ruthlessness, and religious conviction entrenched his personal and familial fortune while Portugal, at the same time, achieved its Golden Age.

See also Camões, Luís Vaz de; Exploration; Portugal; Portuguese Colonies: The Indian Ocean and Asia.

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GAMBLING. From the early medieval period, various forms of gambling were popular at every level of society, although the types of games played, as well as the freedom to indulge in them, was dependent on an individual's position in the social hierarchy, and subject to sustained criticism from both church and state. Blood sports such as bearbaiting and cockfighting were popular among the peasantry, and regular contests, accompanied by heavy betting, drinking, and general revelry, were a traditional part of community life.

At the other end of the social spectrum, horse racing was a pastime confined to the upper classes. The ownership and racing of horses operated within a system of royal patronage, with successive monarchs—most notably, Charles II of England (ruled 1660–1685), “the father of the British turf”—organizing races and entering horses to compete in their name. Betting was a strictly private affair conducted among the aristocracy, who regarded participation in the sport as their exclusive right.

Lotteries began during the fifteenth century, and, although popular, were governed by politically expedient legislation that made participation irregular and often arbitrarily illegal. The most widespread form of gambling, however, was dice playing, which endured as the standard game of the entire medieval period. The most ancient and simple form of gambling, it was pursued assiduously by all sections of society—including the clergy—despite being subject to innumerable bans and prohibitions. The Saxons, Danes, and Romans all introduced their own varieties of games and their own styles of playing, although most games tended to fall into one of two types: either based on moving counters around boards (such as the Spanish *alquerque*, a game similar to checkers), or guessing games based on dice throws (such as hazard). Playing cards were introduced into Europe from the East toward the end of the thirteenth century, where they grew, over the next three hundred years, from an elite pastime into a leisure activity popular with every social class.



Gambling. *The Card Players*, seventeenth-century engraving by David Teniers II. ©CORBIS

Their route of entry is uncertain: some have suggested that Marco Polo brought them back from his travels in Cathay, while others believe they were introduced by Gypsies or returning Crusaders. Whatever the case, the first mentions of cards in Europe come from Italy in 1299, from Spain in 1371, from the Low Countries (modern Belgium, Luxembourg, and Netherlands) in 1379, and from Germany in 1380. By 1465, they were sufficiently well established in Britain to be subject to an import ban.

These early cards were crafted by hand on copper and ivory as well as card and wood, usually by professional painters who found patronage in aristocratic households. The first woodcuts on paper were, in fact, playing cards. (The term *Kartentmahler* or *Kartenmacher*, ‘painter’ or ‘maker of cards’, appears in German in 1402.) At first, their expense put cards out of reach of all but the wealthy-

est in society, with the result that widespread playing was initially restricted to the upper classes. Gambling was fashionable among this group, with high-stakes “betting orgies” frequently lasting for days and serving as a marker of status and prestige as much as a straightforward leisure pursuit. Cards and games were symbolic systems that represented the cultural climate and social order that surrounded them. Medieval card games such as *brelan*, *pair*, *gleek*, and *primero* were based on the principals of “melds” and “murnivals”—pairing and joining cards in ranks—reflecting the hierarchical social organization, represented as the “great chain of being” in the Middle Ages.

The development of the printing press in the fifteenth century was crucial to the history of cards, transforming them from the playthings of the aristocracy into mass-produced commodities enjoyed by all ranks of society. The presses also gave cards

the name they still have today. The medieval Latin *charta*, ‘sheet of paper’, was taken as shorthand for the playing cards, which were, for a time, the presses’ main industry. The word survives as the standard term for cards throughout Europe, variously as *cart*, *carte*, *Karte*, *karta*, and *kartya*.

Despite its widespread popularity, attempts were continually made by both church and state to limit or outlaw gambling. Although ostensibly designed to curb the excesses of the general population, most legislation targeted the poor and was uneven in its application. Initially, prohibitions imposed by the Catholic Church were pragmatic and aimed at steering the population away from sedentary activities that were seen to encourage idleness and toward more organized exertions, such as sports. Ultimately, the aim was to create a fit workforce that could be easily rallied into an indigenous army, a definite advantage in the violent climate of the Middle Ages. As such, various edicts attempted to regulate gambling according to social position. From the time of the Crusades, dicing by any soldier below the rank of knight was forbidden.

Cardplaying on workdays had been banned since 1397, and was further outlawed when a statute of Henry VIII (ruled 1509–1547) confined all gambling among the working population to Christmas, the assumption being that, as they would be celebrating anyway, its disruptive effects would be minimal. After the Reformation, attempts to outlaw gambling were dramatically increased by the Protestant bourgeoisie, who objected to it on the ideological grounds that it undermined the work ethic and squandered time and money.

Criticism continued throughout the Enlightenment, when the emphasis shifted to the disorderly effects of gambling within rational society—again, aimed primarily at the poor. Across the continent, legislation during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries attempted to remove gambling from the mass of the population, primarily by fiscal means: imposing taxes on cards and dice, charging hefty entrance fees for horse races, and increasing the price of lottery tickets.

At the same time, many European countries introduced laws limiting public gambling to licensed premises, while restricting the granting of licenses to members of the nobility and upper classes. The

result of such legislation was the stratification of public betting and the effective outlawing of gambling for the majority of the population, with the poor restricted to playing in illegal, unlicensed taverns, and the upper classes free to indulge in a wide variety of games with impunity.

See also **Class, Status, and Order; Games and Play; Lottery; Printing and Publishing; Roma (Gypsies); Sports.**

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GERDA REITH

GAMES AND PLAY. The types of games and amusements played in early modern times ran the gamut from physical games of an athletic nature to sedentary games, like cards, which were enormously popular. Some amusements were pursued outdoors, in parks and gardens, while others were more properly confined to interior spaces. The standard edition of François Rabelais’s *Gargantua* (1542) lists some 217 sports and parlor and table games, many of which were played at times of celebration and feasting. This popular aspect of play continued throughout the period, although the rise of domesticity and new concepts of the family constrained the universalizing tendencies of communal amusement, bringing games principally into the private sphere. While members of every social class played at times, play was of central importance to the noble lifestyle.

PLAY AND THE NOBILITY

The noble class of early modern Europe defined itself through warfare and leisure. Since the Middle Ages, male members of the nobility had used physical games to train for battle in times of peace. Cards and chess, often played between the sexes, additionally taught skills of strategy thought to be useful

both on the battlefield and in affairs of the heart. Games and behavior at play reinforced the principles of courtly love.

From the sixteenth century onward, as the nobleman's role on the battlefield began to wane and more time was spent distinguishing oneself through codes of behavior, play became of central importance in the daily life of the elite. It was how members of the nobility spent a large portion of their day. Indeed, some scholars consider the persona of the courtier to have been invented within a framework of play.

Early modern games served an important pedagogical function, at least in terms of sociability. Conversational games—often called games of society—were a staple of noble culture, teaching many of the verbal and behavioral skills needed to survive at court. Baldassare Castiglione's *Book of the Courtier* (written between 1513 and 1524)—a book that was regarded as a handbook of behavior and a model for all future treatises on the topic throughout Europe—uses this type of game to structure a definition of the ideal attributes of a courtier. It is not only the qualities described that teach the reader, but also the example of the players who demonstrate how the games of court are played.

GAMBLING AND CARD GAMES

Dating back to medieval times, cards had long been a favorite evening occupation in court circles. This proclivity grew into a mania during the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, particularly in France, but also in other parts of Europe. English gentlemen on the grand tour were warned not to play in Paris, because so many young men had been fleeced by both upper-class and lower-class players. Moreover, the social problem of the gaming house expanded dramatically at this time in spite of numerous regulations and penalties designed to eliminate its existence.

The vice of gambling increasingly became a point of concern, and was believed by many to be the chief cause of moral and physical degeneration among the nobility. Much was made of the damaging effects of the dark, cavernous spaces that gamblers occupied while playing, and the sedentary requirements of play were blamed for all sorts of ailments. As an alternative to this vice, philosophers, moralists, and physicians encouraged people to play

outdoors at amusements designed to exercise the body and liberate the soul. Moderately active forms of play, like swinging, were recommended as appropriate for the delicate, noble disposition.

In their card games, the nobility greatly preferred games of chance to those involving skill. Many scholars attribute this preference to the courtly idea of disinterest—to practice and employ strategies at cards would suggest that the player was overly concerned with the consequences of play, which often involved the loss of considerable sums. During the eighteenth century, as more members of the bourgeoisie began to play alongside the nobility, the aim of being an expert player became more pronounced. Treatises on play became a virtual cottage industry throughout Europe. Games of luck increasingly gave way to games of skill, as books written by the Englishman Edmund Hoyle (1672–1769) taught players strategies by which the whims of chance could be overcome.

PLAY AND CHILDHOOD

There were few distinctions between the games of childhood and adulthood. Noble children were taught games of chance at an early age, particularly as they would be expected to take a seat at gaming tables later in life. Amusements that are now considered childish—swinging, for instance—were enjoyed by people of all ages. The game of blindman's buff, which had been played by the kings of Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, was made popular once again by Marie-Antoinette, queen of France in the final years of the Old Regime.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, however, new concepts of childhood caused moralists and philosophers to turn their attention to the safeguarding of children. Treatises on the subject of children's upbringing discussed the need to prohibit “evil” games (namely those related to gaming) and to encourage “good” games (often referring to simple, outdoor amusements or games that could be modified to teach useful lessons). Enlightenment notions of the child and work, in particular, changed the way that play was understood at the end of the period.

Children's play began to be conceptualized as something distinct and separate from that of adults. It also became an important part of the child's edu-



Games and Play. *Children's Games*, by Pieter Bruegel the Elder, 1560 (detail). ©FRANCIS G. MAYER/CORBIS

cation, different from the behavioral pedagogy that play had traditionally taught. The English philosopher John Locke theorized in *Some Thoughts concerning Education* (1693) that children would be more inclined to learn their lessons when play was built into the curriculum. If the child preferred to play with tops, he proposed, then properties of physics could be taught through that amusement.

Such ideas revolutionized pedagogical thought across Europe. Games that had once been designed to convey the principles of courtly love, such as the French board game known as the *jeu de l'oie* (game of the goose), were transformed to teach lessons in history. Similarly, cards that had been used in games of chance, played as a social obligation and expectation of class, became tools for teaching mathematics and improving memory.

At the same time, the notion of free play—that is, play that stimulated the body without specific pedagogical purpose—developed in tandem with the “new” child created by the Enlightenment. The French philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau’s educa-

tional tract *Émile* (1762) discusses numerous games and amusements appropriate for the child at different ages, and it also puts its emphasis on the physical benefits of play. *Émile* (the child created by Rousseau in his book) whips a top, but he learns nothing from the process. Instead Rousseau focuses on the exercise—the strengthened arm and eye—that results.

PLAY AND ART

Leisure pursuits are a recurring subject in the visual arts, yet the specific theme of play reached a height of popularity during the early modern era. Some scholars have explained this rise in terms of audience. As a middle class came into existence, a new interest in familiar subject matter—scenes of daily life, as opposed to grand and often obscure mythological or historical stories—developed. Other scholars situate this change of preference firmly within the outlook of the aristocracy. A new emphasis on sociability in court culture altered the taste of noble viewers, who desired images reflecting their class-defining behavior.

Favorite play subjects of the Renaissance and baroque were scenes of bawdy behavior caused by gaming disputes, like the tavern brawls of the Flemish painter David Teniers the younger (1610–1690), or card sharps, such as the gypsy cheats depicted by Caravaggio (1573–1610) and Georges de La Tour (1593–1652). In general, the characters in these scenes were members of the lower classes, rather than the middle-class or noble beholders who bought these works of art. Art historians attribute this difference to a focus on ignoble behavior, which served to distance the intended viewers from their base counterparts.

Rococo images of play, in contrast, tend to picture images of polite play by noble participants. Few images depict the real-life mania of gaming. Instead, images of swinging, blindman's buff, seesaws, and other outdoor amusements were preferred—Jean-Honoré Fragonard's *Happy Hazards of the Swing* (1767; Wallace Collection, London) is the paradigmatic example. The emblematics of these scenes are largely related to the pleasures and hazards of love, and art history has tended to judge such images as a reflection of aristocratic frivolity. Recent research, however, finds the style of the rococo to be inherently playful—employing serpentine forms and harmonies of color that keep the eye in continual motion. This emphasis on visual play coincides with the discernment of a “play impulse” in aesthetic philosophy, whereby writers such as Immanuel Kant (1724–1804) and Friedrich Schiller (1759–1805) conceptualized the ideal aesthetic experience as a free play of the mind, without motive or purpose.

See also **Aristocracy and Gentry; Childhood and Child-rearing; Court and Courtiers; Festivals; Gambling; Locke, John; Rousseau, Jean-Jacques.**

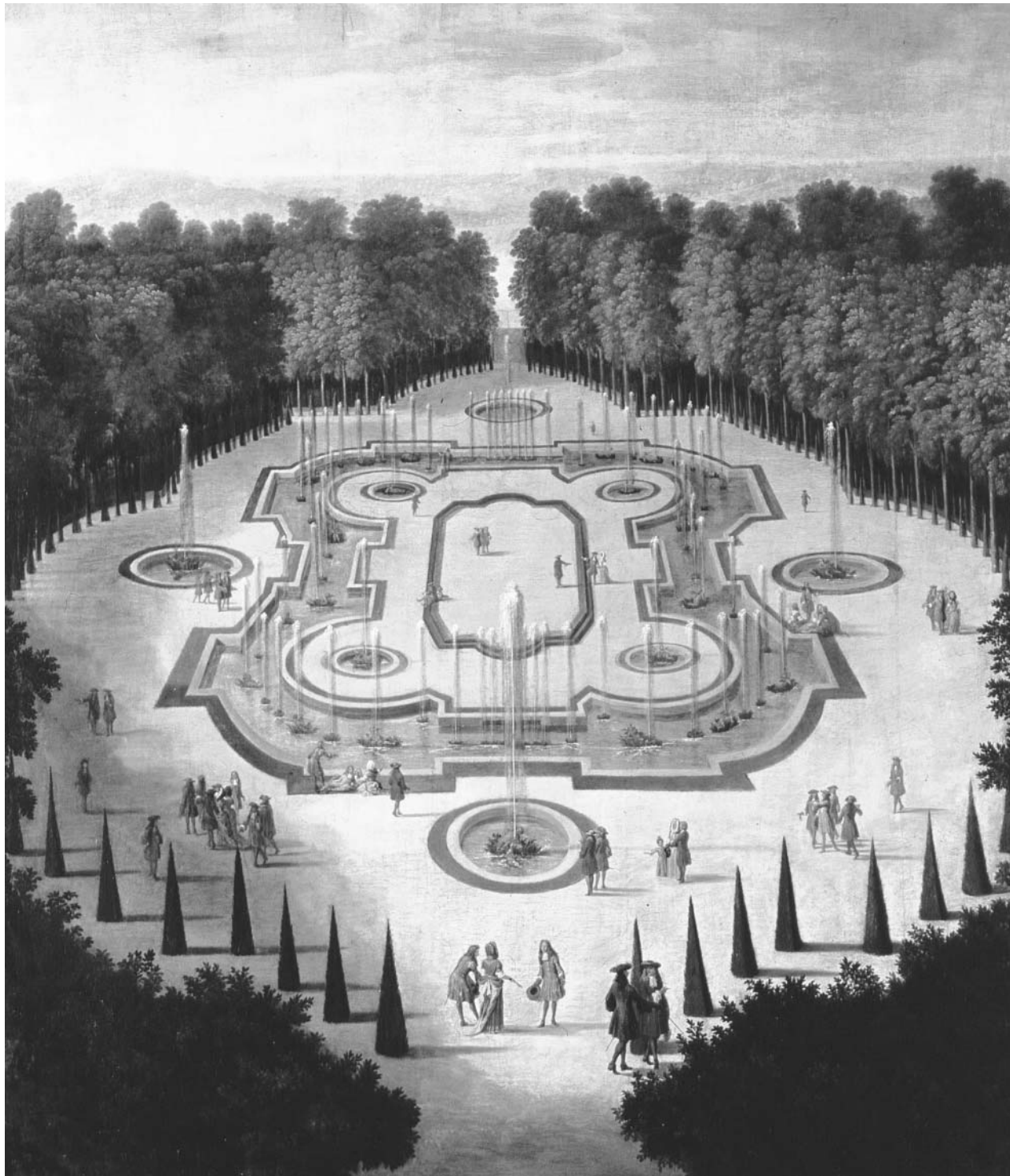
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JENNIFER D. MILAM

GARDENS AND PARKS. Long appreciated for their formal and botanical contents, the gardens and parks of early modern Europe were also products of complex historical forces and conditions. Between the mid-fifteenth and late eighteenth centuries, major trends included increasing integration of architecture and garden design; an increasing dominance of axial composition and bilateral symmetry; new emphasis on visual integration between gardens and the surrounding landscape; and, in the eighteenth century, the emergence and development of irregular design.

In Renaissance Italy, developments in garden design were greatly influenced by the rise of humanist culture and the emergence of urban-based elites. Literary works such as the *Ten Books on Architecture* (1452; published 1485), by Leon-Battista Alberti (1404–1472), and the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (1499), attributed to the monk Francesco Colonna (1433–1527), promoted rural life and antiquarianism while describing alternatives to the medieval *hortus conclusus*, ‘enclosed garden’. In garden design, humanist interests were discernible in new emphases on geometry, harmony, and spatial integration, in keeping with the principles of Vitruvius Pollio’s *Ten Books on Architecture* (first century B.C.E., the sole treatise on architecture to survive from Roman antiquity); in forms drawn from literary descriptions of ancient gardens, such as those found in the letters of Pliny the Younger (first century C.E.), and from archaeological sites, such as the Temple of Fortuna Primigenia (80 B.C.E.) at



Gardens and Parks. La Salle des Festins in the gardens of the Château de Versailles c. 1688; painting by Etienne Allegrain.
THE ART ARCHIVE/MUSÉE DU CHÂTEAU DE VERSAILLES/DAGLI ORTI



Gardens and Parks. South parterre at the Palace of Versailles, with gardens designed by André Le Notre. ©ADAM WOOLFITT/CORBIS

Praeneste (modern Palestrina), east of Rome; and in arrangements that reflected scientific interests in the collection, classification, and management of natural specimens. *Villeggiatura*, ‘retreat to country life’, practiced by urban elites such as the Medici of Florence and the papal court in Rome, led to the development of important villa complexes in the vicinities of Italy’s major urban centers. Notable examples include the Medici villas at Fiesole (c. 1455), Pratolino (1560), and other settings near Florence, many of which were depicted in lunette panels by the Flemish painter Giusto Utens (d. 1609); the Villa d’Este, Tivoli (begun in 1550), by the architect and antiquarian Pirro Ligorio (c. 1500–1583); the Villa Lante, Bagnaia (begun in 1564), attributed to the architect Giacomo da Vignola (born Giacomo Barozzi, 1507–1573); the mannerist Villa Orsini, Bomarzo, Lazio (1552–1580); and the Villa Aldobrandini, Frascati (1598–1603).

The ideas and practices cultivated in Italy spread north to France beginning in the late fifteenth cen-

tury, in part through the diffusion of texts and images and in part through the migration of patrons, artists, and technicians. During the reign of Francis I (ruled 1494–1547), the royal chateau at Fontainebleau became a major center of artistic innovation, dominated first by Italian artists and later by native Frenchmen. Typical features of Renaissance garden design in France included large compartmentalized planting beds arranged in geometric patterns; elaborate arbors and trelliswork galleries; and prominent, classically themed fountains and sculptures. The integration of architecture and garden design pursued in Italy was initially resisted in France. For example, at Blois (begun c. 1500) and Gaillon (begun in 1506)—among many important sites represented in Jacques Androuet du Cerceau’s *Les plus excellents bastiments de France* (1576–1579)—the main gardens were surrounded by walls and completely detached from the residential buildings. Greater integration and openness were found at Saint-Germain-en-Laye (new chateau and terrace



Gardens and Parks. A pavilion designed by Jules Hardouin-Mansart in 1673 is a feature of the gardens of the Château de Dampierre in western France. THE ART ARCHIVE/DAGLI ORTI

gardens begun c. 1550) and the Tuileries (1564–1572), the latter having been created at the edge of Paris for Henry II's wife, Catherine de Médicis (1519–1589). Important examples of Renaissance design elsewhere in the north included the gardens created for Henry VIII at Hampton Court Palace (1531–1534), west of London; designs published by the Netherlands painter and engineer Hans Vredeman de Vries (1527–c. 1606) in his *Hortorum viridariorumque* (1587); and the Hortus Palatinus, Heidelberg (c. 1615), by the architect and engineer Salomon de Caus (1576–1626).

Beginning around the turn of the seventeenth century, the scale and visual organization of elite gardens and parks began to increase throughout Europe, reflecting the growing power of centralized forms of governments and the rising importance of

scientific culture with its emphasis on visual perception. In and around Rome, those developments were reflected in the formation of substantial estate properties by papal families, most notably the Villa Borghese (1606–1633) and the Villa Pamphili (1630–1670). In France, the scale and visual power of axial design were expanded to unforeseen extremes in the work of André Lenôtre (1613–1700), first for Louis XIV's minister of finance Nicolas Fouquet (1615–1680) at Vaux-le-Vicomte (1656–1661) and subsequently for the king himself at Versailles (begun in 1663). The construction of such gardens required vast natural, technical, and human labor resources. Their realization drew upon expertise developed in military and civil engineering, and their forms referred implicitly to the power of their patrons to manipulate resources on regional and

territorial scales. Versailles became a model for princely gardens throughout Europe, impossible to duplicate but nevertheless often emulated, with guidance from Désallier d'Argenville's *La théorie et la pratique du jardinage* (first published in 1709). Noteworthy examples included the renovations at Hampton Court (begun in 1689) and Chatsworth (1690–1703) in England; Het Loo (begun in 1686; enlarged 1692) in the Netherlands; Drottningholm (begun during the 1680s), near Stockholm; the Peterhof (1713–1725), St. Petersburg; La Granja (1719–1740), San Ildefonso, Spain; and Caserta (1752–1754), near Naples.

The dominance of regular design was first challenged in England through influential writings about nature and irregular form by Anthony Ashley Cooper, 3rd earl of Shaftesbury (1671–1713), the essayist and statesman Joseph Addison (1672–1719), the theorist and designer Stephen Switzer (1682–1745), and the poet Alexander Pope (1688–1744). During the first half of the eighteenth century, a new approach emerged in which axial composition was replaced by forms that were ostensibly more natural although, in truth, equally artificial. The English version of irregular design—demonstrated at properties such as Castle Howard (begun in 1701), Stourhead (1735–1783), and Painshill (1738–1771)—privileged broad views and drew inspiration, in part, from landscape paintings by Claude Lorrain (born Claude Gellée, 1600–1682), Gaspard Poussin (born Gaspard Dughet, 1615–1675), and Salvator Rosa (1615–1673). Designers such as Charles Bridgeman (d. 1738), William Kent (c. 1686–1748), and Lancelot “Capability” Brown (1715–1783) made frequent use of the ha-ha, a sunken fence that facilitated visual integration between the estate garden and the larger landscape. Important examples include Stowe (c. 1715–c. 1776), Kent's designs for Chiswick (c. 1730) and Rousham (1738), and the renovated grounds of Blenheim Palace (begun in 1764). Investigations of irregular design began to take place on the Continent during the last third of the eighteenth century, most notably in and around Paris, where the approach flourished in gardens such as Ermenonville (begun in 1766), the Jardin de Monceau (c. 1771–1789), the Désert de Retz (1774–1794), and the Petit Trianon at Versailles (1774). Most French examples bore little resem-

blance to English precedents, being of smaller scale and considerably more eclectic. They nevertheless proved equally influential in the diffusion of irregular design throughout the Continent. Eventually, many of the gardens around Paris also contributed to the rise of public parks through their confiscation and use as festival spaces during the French Revolution.

See also **Architecture; Britain, Architecture in; City Planning; Estates and Country Houses; France, Architecture in; Rome, Architecture in.**

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GASSENDI, PIERRE (1592–1655), French Catholic priest and philosopher. Born in Provence on 22 January 1592, Gassendi was admitted to the clerical state in 1604 and received his doctor of theology degree at the University of Avignon in 1614. He studied philosophy and theology at the college of Aix-en-Provence, where he later taught from 1616 to 1622. He published his first book, *Exercitationes Paradoxicae adversus Aristoteles*, in 1624, a work in which he criticized Aristotelianism by using the skeptical arguments of the ancient philosopher Sextus Empiricus (fl. c. 200 C.E.). Having rejected Aristotelianism, Gassendi undertook the task of creating a new, complete philosophy, one that included the three traditional areas: logic, physics, and ethics. Writing in the style of the Renaissance humanists, Gassendi chose the ancient atomist and hedonist Epicurus (341–271 B.C.E.) as his model. Before European intellectuals could accept the philosophy of Epicurus, it had to be purged

of various heterodox notions, such as materialism and the denial of creation and providence.

Gassendi worked on his Epicurean project from the 1620s until his death. The massive, posthumous *Syntagma Philosophicum* (1658) is the culmination of this project. It consists of three parts: “The Logic,” “The Physics,” and “The Ethics.” In “The Logic,” Gassendi presented his theory of knowledge, which he had first articulated in the *Exercitationes*. His empiricist theory of knowledge was an outgrowth of his response to skepticism. Accepting the skeptical critique of sensory knowledge, he denied that we can have certain knowledge of the real essences of things. Rather than falling into skeptical despair, however, he argued that we can acquire knowledge of the way things appear to us. This “science of appearances” is based on sensory experience and can only attain probability. It can, nonetheless, provide knowledge useful for living in the world. Gassendi denied the existence of essences in either the Platonic or Aristotelian sense and identified himself as a nominalist.

In “The Physics,” Gassendi presented a Christianized version of Epicurean atomism. Like Epicurus, he claimed that the physical world consists of indivisible atoms moving in void space. Unlike the ancient atomist, Gassendi argued that there exists only a finite, though very large, number of atoms, that God created these atoms, and that the resulting world is ruled by divine providence rather than blind chance. Deeply involved in the natural philosophy of his time, Gassendi tried to provide atomistic explanations of all the phenomena in the world, including the qualities of things, inanimate bodies, plants, and animals. In contrast to Epicurus’s materialism, Gassendi enriched his atomism by arguing for the existence of an immaterial, immortal soul. He also believed in the existence of angels and demons. His theology was voluntarist, emphasizing God’s freedom to impose his will on the creation.

Adopting the hedonistic ethics of Epicurus, which sought to maximize pleasure and minimize pain, Gassendi reinterpreted the concept of pleasure in a distinctly Christian way. He believed that God endowed humans with free will and an innate desire for pleasure. Thus, by utilizing the calculus of pleasure and pain and by exercising their ability to make free choices, they participate in God’s providential

plans for the creation. The greatest pleasure humans can attain is the beatific vision of God after death. Based on his hedonistic ethics, Gassendi’s political philosophy was a theory of the social contract, a view that influenced the writings of Hobbes and Locke. His emphasis on free will—both human and divine—led him to reject astrology, which he considered absurd, and other forms of divination that entailed any kind of hard determinism in the world.

Gassendi was an active participant in the philosophical and natural philosophical communities of his day. He corresponded with Galileo during his troubles with the church, and interacted with both Hobbes and Descartes. He conducted experiments on various topics in natural philosophy, wrote extensively about astronomy, corresponded with important natural philosophers, and wrote a treatise defending Galileo’s new science of motion. Gassendi’s version of the mechanical philosophy rivaled that of Descartes, with whom he engaged in an extensive controversy following the publication of the latter’s *Meditations* in 1641.

Gassendi’s philosophy was promulgated in England in several books published in the 1650s by Walter Charleton (1620–1707) and in France by François Bernier’s *Abrégé de la philosophie de Gassendi* (1674). A younger generation of natural philosophers, including Robert Boyle (1627–1690) and Isaac Newton (1642–1727), who accepted the mechanical philosophy, faced a choice between Gassendi’s atomism and Descartes’s plenism. John Locke (1632–1704) absorbed many of Gassendi’s ideas about epistemology and ethics, which thus had considerable influence on the subsequent development of empiricist epistemology and liberal political philosophy.

See also Aristotelianism; Astronomy; Boyle, Robert; Cartesianism; Charleton, Walter; Descartes, René; Determinism; Empiricism; Epistemology; Free Will; Galileo Galilei; Hobbes, Thomas; Humanists and Humanism; Locke, John; Logic; Mechanism; Natural Philosophy; Neoplatonism; Newton, Isaac; Philosophy; Physics; Political Philosophy; Reason; Scientific Method; Scientific Revolution; Skepticism; Academic and Pyrrhonian.

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MARGARET J. OSLER

GATTINARA, MERCURINO (1465–1530), grand chancellor of the Holy Roman Empire. Mercurino Arborio de Gattinara was born to a noble family in the town of Vercelli, in the territory of Savoy (northern Italy). He received an excellent humanist education, followed by rigorous training in Roman law; the works of Justinian I (ruled 527–565) and Dante (1265–1321) had a particular impact on him. In 1502 he entered the service of Margaret of Austria (1480–1530), archduchess of Savoy and daughter of Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I (ruled 1493–1519). From this point on Gattinara tied his fortunes to those of the house of Habsburg. In 1507 he accompanied Margaret to the Netherlands, where she ruled as regent. From 1508 to 1518 Gattinara acted as Margaret's chief legal adviser and president of Burgundy, an important administrative position. During this period Gattinara was exposed to Burgundian courtly and chivalric traditions, which would be an important influence on his intellectual development. In the Netherlands he also met Margaret's nephew Charles (1500–1558)—the future Spanish king (as Charles I, ruled 1516–1556) and Holy Roman emperor (as Charles V, ruled 1519–1556)—to whom Gattinara devoted the rest of his life.

In 1518 Charles appointed Gattinara his grand chancellor, a position of great responsibility in both foreign and domestic affairs. For the next twelve years Gattinara was one of Charles's closest advisers. He often traveled with Charles's itinerant court, following his master as he visited the various lands of his multinational empire. In Spain, Gattinara reformed the government's administrative structure and helped create the conciliar system that served the Spanish monarchy for the next several centuries.

But Gattinara's greatest legacy was his contribution to the development of a Habsburg ideology of empire.

Gattinara was greatly responsible for the theory and practice of Charles V's empire. He wove together Roman imperial concepts, Burgundian chivalric traditions, and Christian ideology borrowed from his Dutch contemporary Desiderius Erasmus (1466?–1536) to create a new understanding of empire, focused on the unique character of Charles V's reign. Through dynastic inheritance, Charles acquired an unprecedented empire that stretched from the Low Countries to Vienna, and thanks to Christopher Columbus and the conquistadores, he also ruled an entire "New World." Many of Charles's subjects, particularly Gattinara, perceived divine intervention in these circumstances. Gattinara saw Charles as a man destined to unite Christendom, defeat the Muslim infidels, and create the earthly paradise. Gattinara wrote a number of propagandistic tracts that cited Scripture as well as classical and legal texts, claiming that Charlemagne (Charles the Great) was about to be outdone by his namesake Charles the Greater and that God was on his side.

It is not clear to what extent Charles himself subscribed to these notions. But it is evident that the emperor heeded Gattinara's advice about the importance of Italy as the strategic and symbolic foundation of his empire. Gattinara revived Ghibellinism, the medieval Italian belief that the Holy Roman emperor represented the highest authority in Europe, particularly in Italy, even including the papacy. He emphasized to Charles that control of Italy was vital to the security and the legitimacy of his empire and that anyone who challenged that hegemony must be crushed. Charles's foreign policies clearly reflected this conviction; in his famous "Political Instructions" to his son Philip II (ruled 1556–1598), he too stressed the importance of Italy for the Spanish Empire.

Gattinara and Charles did not always agree on everything. In the period 1522–1525 Gattinara attempted to broaden the executive powers of his office and exert greater influence over the young emperor, causing a strain in the relationship. In 1526 Gattinara became so angry about a proposed peace treaty with King Francis I of France (ruled 1515–

1547), arguing that Charles should put his trust in Italian princes rather than the slippery Francis, that he refused to affix the chancellery seals to the document. The following year he left the court altogether. Nevertheless Gattinara continued to have an impact on Charles's policies. He had encouraged Charles to think of Pope Clement VII (reigned 1523–1534) as a political antagonist rather than a spiritual leader, an attitude that became useful after imperial troops sacked Rome (1527). Gattinara was responsible for much of the imperial propaganda that followed this event, which argued that the papacy deserved what it got by opposing Charles. Gattinara, however, was also instrumental in arranging the Treaty of Barcelona (1529), which healed the rift between Charles and Clement. The pope was so pleased with Gattinara's assistance that he made him a cardinal.

The peace between Charles and Clement paved the way for Charles's imperial coronation by Clement VII at Bologna (1530). This symbolic triumph marked the culmination of Gattinara's dreams for his master, but sadly he died that same year. Charles did not replace him; he was the last imperial grand chancellor.

See also Charles V (Holy Roman Empire); Habsburg Dynasty; Holy Roman Empire; Spain.

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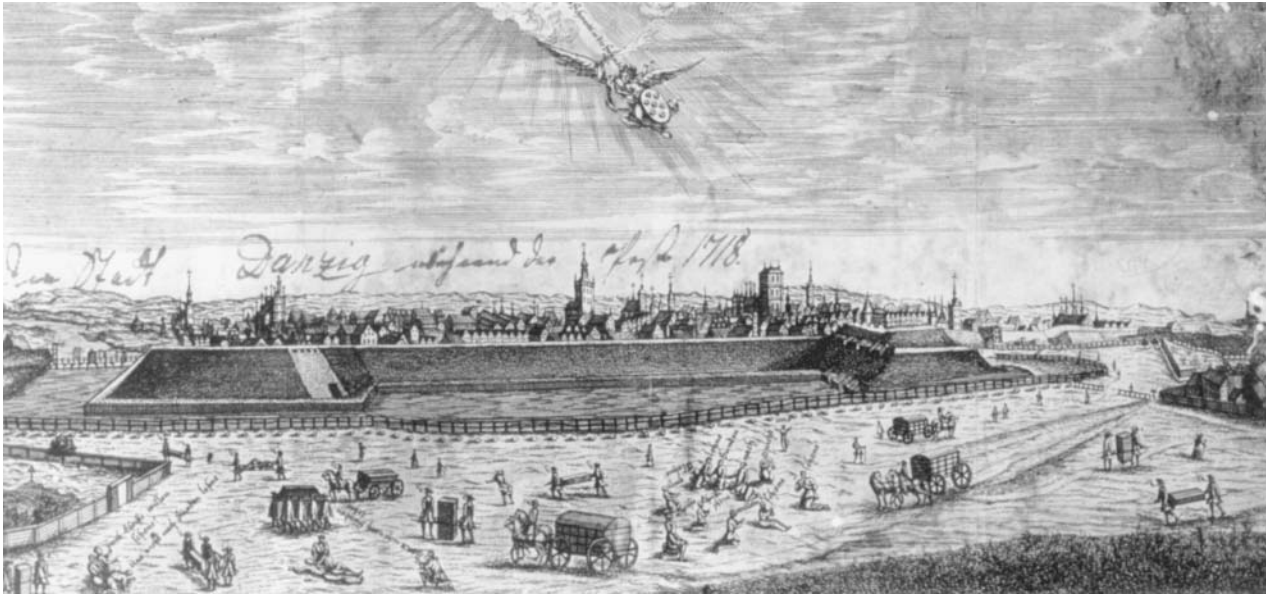
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MICHAEL J. LEVIN

GDAŃSK (German, Danzig). A Slavic village founded in the second half of the tenth century at the mouth of the Vistula on the Baltic, Gdańsk became a largely German-speaking Hansa city, serving as the major port for trade between the Commonwealth of Poland-Lithuania and western Europe, especially Holland. The Teutonic Knights, welcomed in 1226 by the rulers of the Polish principality of Mazovia, occupied Gdańsk in 1308. German immigrants began to reside in the suburbs by the second half of the thirteenth century. After the defeat of the Teutonic Knights by Polish-Lithuanian forces at the Battle of Grunwald (Tannenberg, 1410), Gdańsk swore allegiance to the Polish crown. In response to the Knights' continued threats, gentry, clergy, and nineteen towns formed the Prussian Union in 1440. The order's rule ended definitively in Gdańsk in 1454, and the Prussian estates again swore allegiance to the Polish crown.

The *privilegia casimiriana* (for King Kazimierz IV Jagiellończyk, ruled 1444–1492) laid the foundation for the city's rights and freedoms until 1793. Gdańsk was now linked via the Vistula with the Polish-Lithuanian hinterland, where it had the right of free trade; the king promised to respect the city's autonomies. Gdańsk flourished, together with the commonwealth, until the wars of the mid-seventeenth century. Population rose from about 20,000 in 1450 to a peak of c. 70,000 in 1650, making it the leading city of Poland-Lithuania. The port became the link between two major trading partners, Poland and Holland, with Gdańsk merchants reaping profits from the grain trade. Imports included salt, salt herrings, spices, and wine.

The Reformation came to Gdańsk against the background of challenges to the patriciate's monopoly of power in the years 1522–1526. King Zygmunt I restored order in 1526, again banning Lutheran teachings. Residents may have remained crypto-Lutherans, and the ideas soon resurfaced. Sigismund II Augustus in 1557 allowed Communion in both kinds, and in 1577 Stephen Báthory granted a privilege for the practice of Lutheranism. By the seventeenth century the city was divided into a Calvinist patriciate and a Lutheran commonality. Some Catholics, some of them Slavs, lived in the city and suburbs. Jews, Mennonites, and Quakers competed with the city's artisans and merchants, al-



Gdańsk. A view of the Danzig riverfront, 1718. In the foreground are workers transporting the bodies of victims of a plague epidemic which struck the city that year. NATIONAL LIBRARY OF MEDICINE, BETHESDA, MD.

though they were restricted to residence in the suburbs, where other sorts of non-guild commercial activities thrived.

Printing began in Gdańsk in 1499, and by the seventeenth century local houses were producing books in German, Dutch, Polish, French, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. An Academic Grammar School stood at the peak of the city's education system and drew students from abroad (including Poles, Lithuanians, and Hungarians); it offered a course in Polish from 1589. Members of the merchant patriciate emulated the lives of Polish nobles, and residents sent their children to the hinterland to acquire the language. The Collegium Medicum founded in 1614 was the first such institution in the commonwealth.

The city defended its independence from foreign powers (Prussia, Sweden, Russia) just as tenaciously as it guarded its ties with, and privileges and rights vis-à-vis, the Polish crown. It shared in the upheavals and decline that met the commonwealth and the grain trade from the middle of the seventeenth century (including the Swedish "Deluge" of 1655–1660; the Northern War of 1700–1721; and the 1734 Saxon and Russian siege of the city). The population had declined to 36,000 by 1793. Al-

though spared occupation in the first partition of Poland (1772), Gdańsk was subjected to a Prussian economic embargo for the next twenty years. Prussian troops entered the city on 4 April 1793, and the second partition of Poland put an end to Gdańsk's status as port to a now moribund Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

See also **Hansa; Northern Wars; Poland to 1569; Poland-Lithuania, Commonwealth of, 1569–1765; Prussia.**

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GELLÉE, CLAUDE. *See* Claude Lorrain (Gellée).

GENDER. Until the 1980s, “gender” was a word used primarily in the realm of linguistics. The women’s movement changed that, as it changed so much else. Advocates of women’s rights in the present looked at what they had been taught about the past and realized that it described only the male experience, though often portraying this as universal. This realization, combined with increasing numbers of women going into the field of history, led to investigation of the lives of women in the past. Women were first fitted into existing conceptual categories—nations, historical periods, social classes, religious allegiances—but focusing on women often disrupted these classifications, forcing a rethinking of the way history was organized and structured.

This disruption of well-known categories and paradigms ultimately included the topic that had long been considered the proper focus of all history—man. Viewing the male experience as universal had not only hidden women’s history, it had also prevented the analysis of men’s experiences as those of men. Historians familiar with studying women increasingly began to discuss the ways in which systems of sexual differentiation affected both women and men, and by the early 1980s they began to use the word “gender” to describe these systems. They differentiated primarily between “sex,” by which they meant physical, morphological, and anatomical differences (what are often called “biological differences”) and “gender,” by which they meant a culturally constructed, historically changing, and often unstable system of differences. Historians interested in this new perspective asserted that gender was an appropriate category of analysis when looking at all historical developments, not simply those involving women or the family. Every political, intellectual, religious, economic, social, and even military change had an impact on the actions and roles of men and women, and, conversely, a culture’s gender structures influenced every other structure or development.

Historians of the early modern period figured prominently in the development of both women’s and gender history and continue to be important voices in their subsequent growth and that of related areas of study such as the history of sexuality. Though summarizing their conclusions in a brief

article goes against the central premise of the field—that gender issues should be a part of every historical analysis—three main areas can serve as examples of the way in which thinking about gender challenges understandings of the early modern era: gender and periodization, gender and political power, gender and the social order.

GENDER AND PERIODIZATION

One of the most important insights in women’s and then gender history began with a simple question—Did women have a Renaissance?—first posed by the historian Joan Kelly in 1977. Her answer, “No, at least not during the Renaissance,” led to intensive historical and literary research as people attempted to confirm, refute, modify, or nuance her answer. This question also contributed to the broader questioning of the whole notion of historical periodization. If a particular development had little, or indeed a negative, effect on women, could it still be called a “golden age,” a “Renaissance,” or an “Enlightenment”? Can the seventeenth century, during which hundreds or perhaps thousands of women were burned as witches on the European continent, still be described as a period of “the spread of rational thought”?

Kelly’s questioning of the term “Renaissance” has been joined more recently by a questioning of the term “early modern.” Both historians and literary scholars note that there are problems with this term, as it assumes that there is something that can unambiguously be called “modernity,” which is usually set against “traditional” and linked with contemporary Western society. The break between “medieval” and “early modern” is generally set at 1500, roughly the time of the voyages of Columbus and of the Protestant Reformation, but recently many historians argue that there are more continuities across this line than changes. Some have moved the decisive break earlier—to the Black Death in 1347 or even to the twelfth century—or have rejected the notion of periodization altogether. Gender historians, most prominently Judith Bennett, have been among those questioning the validity of the medieval/modern divide, challenging, in Bennett’s words, “the assumption of a dramatic change in women’s lives between 1300 and 1700” and asserting that historians must pay more attention to continuities along with changes.

GENDER AND POLITICAL POWER

During the fifteenth through the seventeenth centuries male and female writers in many countries of Europe wrote both learned and popular works debating the nature of women. Beginning in the sixteenth century, this debate also became one about female rulers, sparked primarily by dynastic accidents in many countries that led to women serving as advisers to child kings or ruling in their own right. The questions vigorously and at times viciously disputed directly concerned the social construction of gender: could a woman's being born into a royal family and educated to rule allow her to overcome the limitations of her sex? Should it? Or stated another way: which was (or should be) the stronger determinant of character and social role, gender or rank?

The most extreme opponents of female rule were Protestants who went into exile on the Continent during the reign of Mary Tudor (ruled 1553–1558), most prominently John Knox, who argued that female rule was unnatural, unlawful, and contrary to Scripture. Being female was a condition that could never be overcome, and subjects of female rulers needed no other justification for rebelling than their monarch's sex. Their writings were answered by defenses of female rule which argued that a woman's sex did not automatically exclude her from rule, just as a boy king's age or a handicapped king's infirmity did not exclude him. Some theorists asserted that even a married queen could rule legitimately, for she could be subject to her husband in her private life, yet monarch to him and all other men in her public life. As Constance Jordan has pointed out, defenders of female rule were thus clearly separating sex from gender and even approaching an idea of androgyny as a desirable state for the public persona of female monarchs.

Jean Bodin (1530–1596), the French jurist and political theorist, stressed what would become in the seventeenth century the most frequently cited reason to oppose female rule: that the state was like a household, and just as in a household the husband/father has authority and power over all others, so in the state a male monarch should always rule. Male monarchs used husbandly and paternal imagery to justify their assertion of power over their subjects, though criticism of monarchs was also couched in paternal language; pamphlets directed

against the crown during the revolt known as the Fronde in seventeenth-century France, for example, justified their opposition by asserting that the king was not properly fulfilling his fatherly duties.

This link between royal and paternal authority could also work in the opposite direction to enhance the power of male heads of household. Just as subjects were deemed to have no or only a very limited right of rebellion against their ruler, so women and children were not to dispute the authority of the husband/father, because both kings and fathers were held to have received their authority from God; the household was not viewed as private, but as the smallest political unit and so part of the public realm.

Many analysts see the Protestant Reformation and, in England, Puritanism as further strengthening this paternal authority by granting male heads of household a much larger religious and supervisory role than they had under Catholicism. The fact that Protestant clergy were themselves generally married heads of household also meant that ideas about clerical authority reinforced notions of paternal and husbandly authority; priests were now husbands, and husbands priests. After the Reformation, the male citizens of many cities and villages increasingly added an oath to uphold the city's religion to the oaths they took to defend it and support it economically. For men, faith became a ritualized civic matter, while for women it was not. Thus both the public political community and the public religious community—which were often regarded as the same in early modern Europe—were for men only, a situation reinforced in the highly gendered language of the reformers, who extolled “brotherly love” and the religious virtues of the “common man.”

Religious divisions were not the only development that enhanced the authority of many men. Rulers intent on increasing and centralizing their own authority supported legal and institutional changes that enhanced the power of men over the women and children in their own families. In France, for example, a series of laws were enacted between 1556 and 1789 that increased both paternal and state control of marriage. Young people who defied their parents were sometimes imprisoned by what were termed *lettres de cachet*, docu-

ments that families obtained from royal officials authorizing the imprisonment without trial of a family member who was seen as a source of dishonor. Men occasionally used *lettres de cachet* as a means of solving marital disputes, convincing authorities that family honor demanded the imprisonment of their wives, while in Italy and Spain a “disobedient” wife could be sent to a convent or house of refuge for repentant prostitutes. Courts generally held that a husband had the right to beat his wife in order to correct her behavior as long as this was not extreme, with a common standard being that he not draw blood, or that the diameter of the stick he used not exceed that of his thumb.

Access to political power for men as well as women was shaped by ideas about gender in early modern Europe. The dominant notion of the “true” man was that of the married head of household, so that men whose class and age would have normally conferred political power but who remained unmarried did not participate to the same level as their married brothers; in Protestant areas, this link between marriage and authority even included the clergy.

Notions of masculinity were important symbols in early modern political discussions. Both male and female rulers emphasized qualities regarded as masculine—physical bravery, stamina, wisdom, duty—whenever they chose to appear or speak in public. A concern with masculinity pervades the political writings of Machiavelli, who used “effeminate” to describe the worst kind of ruler. (Effeminate in the early modern period carried slightly different connotations than it does today, however, for strong heterosexual passion was not a sign of manliness, but could make one “effeminate,” that is, dominated by as well as similar to a woman.) The English Civil War (1642–1649) presented two conflicting notions of masculinity: Royalist cavaliers in their long hair and fancy silk knee-breeches, and Puritan parliamentarians with their short hair and somber clothing. Parliamentary criticism of the court was often expressed in gendered and sexualized terminology, with frequent veiled or open references to aristocratic weakness and inability to control the passions.

GENDER AND THE SOCIAL ORDER

The maintenance of proper power relationships between men and women served as a basis for and a symbol of the functioning of society as a whole. Women or men who stepped outside their prescribed roles in other than extraordinary circumstances, and particularly those who made a point of emphasizing that they were doing this, were seen as threatening not only relations between the sexes, but the operation of the entire social order. They were “disorderly,” a word that had much stronger negative connotations in the early modern period than it does today, as well as two somewhat distinct meanings—outside of the social structure and unruly or unreasonable.

Women were outside the social order because they were not as clearly demarcated into social groups as men. Unless they were members of a religious order or guild, women had no corporate identity at a time when society was conceived of as a hierarchy of groups rather than a collection of individuals. One can see women’s separation from such groups in the way that parades and processions were arranged in early modern Europe; if women were included, they came at the end as an undifferentiated group, following men who marched together on the basis of political position or occupation. Women were also more “disorderly” than men because they were unreasonable, ruled by their physical bodies rather than their rational capacities, their lower parts rather than their upper parts. This was one of the reasons they were more often suspected of witchcraft; it was also why they were thought to have nondiabolical magical powers in the realms of love and sexual attraction.

Disorder in the proper gender hierarchy was linked with other types of social upheaval and viewed as the most threatening way in which the world could be turned upside down. Carnival plays, woodcuts, and stories frequently portrayed domineering wives in pants and henpecked husbands washing diapers alongside professors in dunce caps and peasants riding princes. Men and women involved in relationships in which the women were thought to have power—an older woman who married a younger man, or a woman who scolded her husband—were often subjected to public ridicule, with bands of neighbors shouting insults and banging sticks and pans in their disapproval. Adult male

journeymen refused to work for widows although this decreased their opportunities for employment. Fathers disinherited disobedient daughters more often than sons. The derivative nature of an adult woman's authority—the fact that it came from her status as wife or widow of the male household head—was emphasized by referring to her as “wife” rather than “mother” even in legal documents describing her relations with her children. Of all the ways in which society was hierarchically arranged—class, age, rank, race, occupation—gender was regarded as the most “natural” and therefore the most important to defend.

See also **Family; Marriage; Patriarchy and Patriarchalism; Sexual Difference, Theories of; Sexuality and Sexual Behavior; Women.**

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GENERATION. *See* **Sexual Difference, Theories of.**

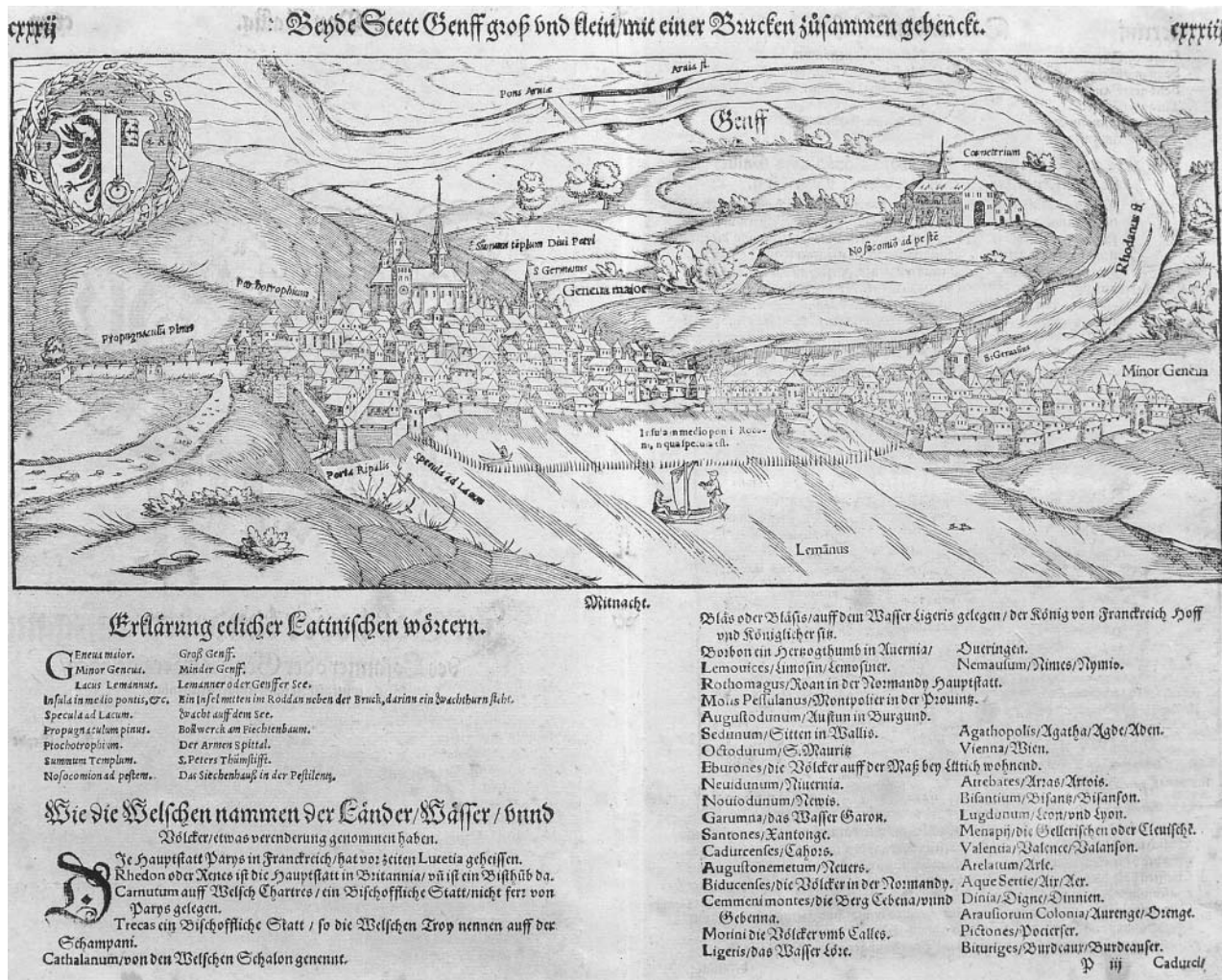
GENEVA. The only European city to become an independent republic in the sixteenth century and remain so for over 250 years (1536–1798), Geneva became best known as the seat of John Calvin's (1509–1564) Reformation. These two distinctions are closely connected. Calvinist austerity gave a durable imprint to Geneva's character, and many of the republic's leading families descended from French religious refugees who were drawn by Calvin's fame. Thanks partly to its university, founded in 1559 to train pastors for the Reformed Church in France, Geneva maintained a disproportionate intellectual role in early modern Europe from the Reformation through the Enlightenment. However, the city that attracted Voltaire (1694–1778) and repelled its illustrious native son Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778) seems significantly different from the place where Calvin settled two centuries earlier. Worldly prosperity had undermined the relatively impoverished austerity of its heroic Reformation period. After the fall of Napoléon I, Geneva became a Swiss canton in 1814 and continued its international vocation in the nineteenth century through the Red Cross (founded by a Genevan) and in the twentieth century as host to the League of Nations.

Geneva's political history as a successful independent urban republic was unique in early modern Europe. Its independence, exemplified by its proud new motto *Post Tenebras Lux* (After Darkness, Light) and a coat of arms displaying half of the imperial eagle and half of the papal keys (the modern flag of the Swiss canton of Geneva), survived many serious threats. After 1559 two great Catholic neighbors, the duchy of Savoy and the kingdom of France, surrounded its minuscule territories on land. Geneva sustained its independence only through permanent political alliances with two Swiss cantons, Bern and Zurich; the city remained physically connected to its Bernese political allies only via Lake Geneva. The most serious threat came from an attempted escalade by the Savoyards on the longest night of the year in 1602, whose successful repulse is still celebrated annually in Geneva on 12

December, the pre-Gregorian and thus “Protestant” date of the winter equinox in 1602. Geneva narrowly avoided annexation by Louis XIV (ruled 1643–1715) after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, but the republic survived for over another century until it was annexed by revolutionary France. As Peter Gay pointed out in 1959, one of the last champions of Genevan civic republicanism was none other than Voltaire, who was often assumed to prefer enlightened absolutism but who on this point largely agreed with his philosophical rival Rousseau.

Of course Calvin dominates Geneva’s religious history, just as his statue dominates the Wall of the

Reformation near the University of Geneva. In early modern Europe, Geneva quickly developed a reputation for austere righteousness that was unparalleled in a place of this size. Rival myths about Geneva’s peculiarities developed by the mid-sixteenth century. Enthusiastic Protestants described it as a kind of earthly Jerusalem, while Catholics saw it as a sink of iniquity where renegade priests engaged in orgies. As John Knox (1513–1572), himself a byword for austerity and once the minister of an English refugee church in Geneva, put it, “manners and religion so sincerely reformed I have not yet seen in any other place.” A related tribute came from a different source a generation after Calvin’s death, when a visiting Jesuit



Geneva. City view, with Latin place names and German equivalents, sixteenth century, from *Cosmographia* by Sebastian Münster. THE ART ARCHIVE/UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, GENEVA/DAGLI ORTI

remarked enviously that no one dared to blaspheme anywhere in Geneva.

The most important religious institution affecting the daily lives of Genevans after the Reformation was the Consistory, which Calvin introduced in 1541 to enforce ecclesiastical discipline. Within a year it systematically required troublemakers to “give an account of their faith,” that is, it tested them for what came to be called confessional orthodoxy. Traces of Catholic practices disappeared within a generation. The Consistory’s moral severity remained largely unchallenged until Voltaire’s day.

Geneva has never been a major European city. At the peak of the Calvinist refuge around 1560, the city-republic held about twenty-five thousand people. By the 1580s the population had fallen by nearly half, and it remained below fifteen thousand until the early eighteenth century, gradually regaining its earlier peak by the time the city finally lost its independence. Geneva’s economic history is almost as distinctive as its religious or political history. A highly successful printing industry, developed by French religious refugees like Jean Crespin and Laurent de Normandie, made religious propaganda the city’s leading export in Calvin’s time. Conventional wisdom correctly links vernacular printing to the spread of the French Reformation in the mid-sixteenth century. Although Geneva—Europe’s only Protestant Francophone publishing center—remained intellectually significant far into the following century, most Genevan books were printed in Latin after 1585.

However, by 1590 Geneva entered a prolonged depression. The city emerged gradually in the late seventeenth century thanks to the growth of two new leading export-oriented trades, watchmaking and banking, both of which long outlived the republic (Rousseau was the son of a Geneva watchmaker). One invention of Geneva’s eighteenth-century financiers involved investment in one-life annuities issued by the French crown. Using local genealogical data, they made actuarial tables that showed that girls past the age of five from wealthy families had the longest life expectancies. These bankers then created collective shares based on the lives of thirty selected Genevan girls—a scheme that worked well until the French Revolution destroyed the state that paid these annuities.

See also Bèze, Théodore de; Calvin, John; Calvinism; Knox, John; Reformation, Protestant; Switzerland; Zurich.

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Among the recent achievements of Genevan scholarship, one must mention three ongoing critical editions, all published locally by Librairie Droz: the European-wide correspondence of Calvin’s successor, Théodore de Bèze (22 volumes to date, through 1582); the minutes of Geneva’s Company of Pastors (thirteen volumes so far, covering 1546–1618), and the early records of Geneva’s Consistory (two volumes to date).

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GENOA. Genoa, the major port city of northwestern Italy, is situated at the center of the Ligurian coast and protected by a rugged mountain range and an easily defensible harbor. In the early modern period, Genoa’s territory stretched from La Spezia in the east to Ventimiglia in the west, and included portions of the Lombard plain north of the coastal range. The Genoese also controlled the island of Corsica, which they administered as a colony.

The early modern Genoese state emerged in 1528, following an aristocratic revolt that put an end to the medieval regime that had endured since the early tenth century. The revolt, backed by the Spanish and led by the Genoese admiral Andrea Doria (1466–1560), established a republican constitution in which eligibility for political office was predicated on membership in one of twenty-eight *alberghi*—extended aristocratic kinship networks based on clientage rather than strict consanguinity. The 1528 constitution expanded the opportunity to hold office to newer aristocratic families whose wealth was based on commerce instead of banking. Strife between the new families and the older established aristocrats became one of the defining features of the Genoese republic, and led to a pair of constitutional reforms. The first, in 1547, was de-



Genoa. Woodcut of Genoa from *Liber Chronicarum*, 1493. RARE BOOK DIVISION, LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

signed to ensure that the older families maintained control of the higher councils of government by filling key positions through appointment rather than election. The second, occasioned by the threat of civil war in 1576, resulted in the abolition of the *alberghi* as formally recognized groups, and the declaration that all aristocrats were equal in status and privilege before the law.

Despite the waning of the republic's naval power in the sixteenth century, the city remained an important economic center. To maintain their hold on goods carried by northern European ships, the Genoese declared themselves a free port in 1669.

No longer actively involved in maritime trade, the city's oligarchs turned their attention to other commercial opportunities. The Genoese were among the European leaders in banking, at one point in the late sixteenth century holding most of the Spanish crown's public debt. The sparse population and difficult terrain of the Ligurian coast did not permit the agricultural speculation that other Italian cities engaged in, but the rural population was put to work as wage laborers for traditionally urban industries, especially textile manufacturing. Moving urban industries to the countryside created a large class of indigent poor in the city. In 1656, to combat what

was increasingly seen as a threat to public order, the city created the Albergo dei Poveri, a combination prison and workhouse. The Albergo was the first of its kind in Europe, and the institution was widely imitated in the coming centuries.

Despite the fact that the Genoese oligarchs found new avenues for investment, the republic's military and political power steadily declined. Both the Spanish and French crowns had designs on Genoa's port, forcing the Genoese to play the two rivals against each other in an effort to retain their own liberty. In the end, however, the lack of a standing army or large fleet meant that the Genoese were unable to resist a gradual loss of their territory. In 1746 the city was briefly occupied by an Austrian army, but a popular revolt reestablished the republic. In 1768 financial problems forced the Genoese to sell Corsica to the French. It was a sign of things to come, as in 1797 the French army under the command of a Corsican general, Napoléon Bonaparte, put an end to Genoa's tenuous independence.

See also Italy.

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KARL APPUHN

GENTILESCHI, ARTEMISIA (1593–c. 1654), Italian painter. Artemisia Gentileschi is known for her early dramatic biblical narratives presenting forceful female protagonists. Her less-known later paintings feature pensive heroines and classically composed groupings.

She was the daughter of Orazio Gentileschi, a Tuscan painter who trained her to paint in his style combining the artificial contrivance of mannerism with a naturalism inspired by the revolutionary vision of Caravaggio (born Michelangelo Merisi, 1573–1610). Although some scholars have dated

her earliest work to 1609, based on Orazio's 1612 boast that she had achieved remarkable successes in only three years, she probably began painting in 1605, apprenticing at age twelve as did many male painters. In 1611 she was raped by Orazio's colleague Agostino Tassi. Testimony from the ensuing trial provides valuable information on Artemisia's early life, including her own account of the assault. She worked in Rome until late 1612 or early 1613, when she married a Florentine and moved to Florence. On returning to Rome in 1620, she entered one of her most successful periods. In 1627 she visited Venice, although the duration of her stay is unknown. She settled in Naples by August 1630, her home for the rest of her life except for a sojourn in London around 1639. Her patrons included major contemporary collectors such as Michaelangelo Buonarroti, nephew to the great Renaissance artist; the grand duke of Tuscany; the kings of England and Spain; the Roman scholar Cassiano dal Pozzo; and Don Antonio Ruffo of Sicily.

Famous in her own day, she was generally ignored until the twentieth century when the re-evaluation of Caravaggio and seventeenth-century naturalism extended to his followers, including Artemisia, his sole female disciple. Roberto Longhi, the great Caravaggio scholar, wrote the first serious account of both Gentileschis in 1916. Focus on Artemisia as caravaggista was later supplanted by attention to her role as feminist heroine, beginning with Anna Banti's 1946 novel *Artemisia*, a personal homage to Artemisia's life and art that highlighted the rape and subsequent trial. Later twentieth-century studies have championed Artemisia as a strong female artist who, having overcome violence, created paintings that asserted women's power over their own lives and expressed revenge against male domination.

Her first signed and dated painting, the 1610 *Susanna and the Elders*, has been interpreted as a statement of women's strength and courage in the face of male oppression. Among the most compelling images of the story ever painted, it reveals Artemisia as one of the most gifted practitioners of baroque exuberance and an astute interpreter of dramatic narrative. Although it has been disputed whether Artemisia painted the entire canvas or whether her father helped (some claim Orazio alone created it), most scholars accept it as primarily Artemisia's work. Several other early paintings from her



Artemisia Gentileschi. *Judith Beheading Holofernes.* ©ALINARI/ART RESOURCE, N.Y.

Roman period have been attributed to Orazio. There is at present no clear scholarly consensus.

Evaluating Artemisia among Caravaggio's followers has highlighted pictures that emphasize bold lighting, surface texture, and aggressive naturalism (*Judith Beheading Holofernes* [Uffizi]; *Lucretia* [Milan]; *Judith and Her Maidservant* [Detroit]) and led to her being credited with bringing Caravaggio's style to Naples. However, this Caravaggio-dominated paradigm no longer holds. From the trial records, we understand her early life to have been severely restricted, with little opportunity to explore Rome's treasures, resulting in limited knowledge of Caravaggio other than through his influence on her father. It is also now clear that Caravaggio's realist style had reached Naples earlier than Artemisia's arrival. In fact, recent discoveries have revealed Artemisia's work as far more varied and less stylistically coherent than the caravaggesque model implies. Although her earliest pictures (1609–1613) demonstrate a debt to Caravaggio, her Florentine paintings move beyond this influence in their freer use of paint and color. Furthermore, her later works, often subdued and poetic, exhibit widely disparate expressive forms. In spite of recent suggestions that Artemisia adopted the style in vogue in the city in which she worked, her surviving paintings reveal a broader and more varied visual response. Having been trained to paint in the style of her father, she continued to demonstrate a remarkable ability to draw from others as she fashioned pictures that ranged from the rich color and compositional power of early Guercino (born Giovanni Francesco Barbieri, 1591–1666) to the restrained idealism of Guido Reni (1575–1642). Her assimilation of disparate styles may have been related to gender. Surviving letters, some thirty in number, reveal her awareness of her difficult position in a male-dominated profession. She may also have understood the impact of her gender on patrons who commissioned female nudes, her presumed specialty.

See also **Caravaggio and Caravaggism; Naples, Art in; Women and Art.**

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GENTLEMAN. The word "gentle" is derived from the Latin word *gentilis*, an adjective meaning 'of or belonging to the same clan, stock, or race'. Throughout the early modern era noble birth would largely define the gentleman, but the ideal of gentlemanly behavior changed dramatically from the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries.

From the Middle Ages to the sixteenth century, a gentleman was expected to be a warrior. Military service was the main source of ennoblement. The gentleman was to receive training in arms, and to engage in activities reflecting a martial quality. In the absence of combat, the gentleman engaged in hunting or tournaments. Private violence was acceptable within the community of nobles, who used it often to defend their honor. Recognition by peers was in many ways the foundation of noble identity.



Gentleman. *Portrait of a Young Man* by Agnolo Bronzino. This is one of Bronzino's best-known portraits, typical in its dispassionate depiction of a clearly self-assured aristocrat. ©FRANCIS G. MAYER/CORBIS

The king was also a gentleman who adhered to the code of gentlemanly conduct. As a member of the society of nobles, he was considered the first among equals, or simply the most powerful of lords. Throughout the sixteenth century, kings were expected to lead troops into battle and engage in other pursuits related to combat such as hunting and tournaments.

By the seventeenth century, the martial aspect of gentlemanly behavior began to decline. The ideal gentleman was no longer a warrior but a courtier, although these roles often overlapped. The two ideals are represented in Baldassare Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano* (The courtier; 1528). Written in 1518, but enjoying enormous popularity throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Castiglione's book outlines the qualities of an ideal courtier: trained in arms and loyal to his prince, but also exhibiting noble birth, grace, and talent. Good manners, wit, and education became important at-

tributes for a gentleman who increasingly resided at court rather than in his own domains.

A major factor in the transformation of the ideal of the gentleman was the rise of the state. This in turn was precipitated by changes in the technology of warfare. The "gunpowder revolution" ensured the obsolescence of the knight on horseback and the increased importance of the mass infantry. Whereas in the Middle Ages nobles could often afford to field armies against the king, by the sixteenth century, no noble could compete with the king's army, which was equipped and trained by means of taxation. In the newly created state, the king did not need as many nobles to fight for him; rather he needed bureaucrats and administrators to ensure the efficient mobilization of resources. That, more than noble valor, increasingly determined the outcome of war. Nobles filled lucrative offices in the state administration, spending less time in their feudal domains and more time at court. Here they retained their social prominence, but they declined in their political power in relation to the king. The king increasingly distanced himself from his fellow nobles through propaganda aimed at his glorification. By the late seventeenth century, most kings no longer led their troops into battle. The king hired non-nobles to government offices, sometimes rewarding them with titles of nobility. In order to distance themselves from these newly ennobled officials, the old nobility focused on their genealogies. Pedigree became more important than valor in the definition of a gentleman. However, the conflict between the new nobility and the old, as well as the conflict between the nobility and the king, has been downplayed by recent historians who stress that nobles had much to gain from the state. Life at court offered intellectual stimulation, the society of women, and a certain kind of political power that operated through networks of patronage.

Attendance at court required "civility," and the code of gentlemanly conduct placed a new emphasis on self-discipline. A proliferation of etiquette manuals occurred in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, regulating behavior in a courtly environment. Claiming a monopoly on violence, the state no longer tolerated private violence between nobles. The gentleman distinguished himself through culture and refinement rather than through military prowess or political domination.

The nature of the gentleman changed again in the eighteenth century in response to a new economic reality: the capitalist economy. Whereas in the past the gentleman derived his income from land or government offices, by the eighteenth century the gentleman was permitted to engage in certain forms of trade. Thus nobles adapted to the new capitalist economy, while simultaneously maintaining their position at the top of the social and economic hierarchy.

In terms of culture, the seventeenth-century concern with “civility” gave way to the eighteenth-century emphasis on “sociability.” Whereas civility dictated relations among people of unequal status in the hierarchical world of the court, sociability was a bond of friendship between equals. Sociability governed relationships outside the court, especially in the setting of the salon, a social environment often dominated by women. Increasingly, the ideal gentleman inhabited private spaces untouched by the state. There was a new emphasis on intimacy that appeared in the architecture of country houses. These reflected the individuality of their owners. Private rooms testified to an increased desire for private space. The courtier’s proper appearance and conduct, so important in the seventeenth century, became less important than introspection and consciousness of self. This interiority is reflected in the rise of the novel, a genre made possible by the new emphasis on individuality.

A debate going back to the Italian Renaissance posed the question whether birth or virtue defined the true gentleman. The debate continued throughout the early modern era, despite major changes in the meaning of the word “virtue.” Whether he exhibited superior valor, refinement, or sensitivity, the gentleman retained his position at the top of the cultural hierarchy throughout the early modern era.

See also **Aristocracy and Gentry; Class, Status, and Order; Court and Courtiers; Duel; Estates and Country Houses; Hunting.**

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GENTRY. *See* **Aristocracy and Gentry.**

GEOFFRIN, MARIE-THÉRÈSE (Marie-Thérèse Rodet Geoffrin; 1699–1777), French Enlightenment *salonnière* (‘host of literary salons’). Mme Geoffrin hosted intellectual conversations for important philosophes (writers and thinkers of the French Enlightenment), artists, musicians, and writers on Mondays and Wednesdays at her home on the fashionable rue Saint-Honoré in Paris. Born in Paris, the daughter of a valet to the dauphine and orphaned in her youth, Marie-Thérèse was raised by her grandmother, Mme Chemineau, who valued self-education. She prepared Marie-Thérèse religiously, morally, and socially for society. Although pedagogy did not concern Chemineau, she cultivated independent thought and reason in her granddaughter, characteristics later integral to the foundation of her renowned salon.

On 19 July 1713, the aging, and thus concerned, Chemineau, married fourteen-year-old Marie-Thérèse to the fifty-year-old Peter Francis Geoffrin, a wealthy manufacturer, and the prestigious director and a shareholder in the royal glassworks, Compagnie de Saint-Gobain. Geoffrin gave birth to two children, her namesake and a son who died at the age of ten. Her daughter, Mme de la Ferté-Imbault, wrote later of her parents’ marital strife, her filial competition with Geoffrin, and the ultimate blessing of growing up among “great minds.”



Marie Thérèse Geoffrin. *An Evening at the Home of Mme Geoffrin in 1755*, by Anicet Charles Gabriel Lemonnier. THE ART ARCHIVE/MALMAISON MUSÉE DU CHATEAU/DAGLI ORTI (A)

Geoffrin attended the salons of her neighbor, Mme Tencin, a celebrated *salonnière* who attracted many of the leading intellectuals of the day, including Helvétius and Montesquieu. Tencin was an undisputed mentor to Geoffrin, yet Geoffrin's letters emphasize her gratitude to Chemineau for encouraging her erudition. Geoffrin's instincts, her grandmother's guidance, and her exposure to the intellectual discourse at Mme Tencin's salons combined to fashion her probing mind. Geoffrin's husband did not share Geoffrin's intellectual drive, yet his financial support contributed to her initial success in 1748. Following the deaths of Tencin and her husband in 1749 and 1750, respectively, Geoffrin joined the board and management of the Saint-Gobain glassworks and welcomed the habitués of her mentor to her own salons. Geoffrin distinguished herself from her colleagues by the unparalleled and elevated exchange in her salons.

The diversity of intellects drawn to Mme Geoffrin's salons and her correspondence testify to the

esteem in which prominent artistic, literary, and political circles held her. She established a serious purpose for the gatherings over which she presided, and her guests noted her skill in drawing worldly and erudite minds to her salons, a challenge to her brilliant rival, Mme du Deffand. Her contemporaries describe her integrity, distaste for conflict, and incomparable brilliance in navigating thorny subjects. On Mondays one found artists and sculptors including Carle Van Loo, François Boucher, and Étienne Maurice Falconet. On Wednesdays men of letters, including Denis Diderot, the art critic and editor of the *Encyclopédie*, and the editor Friedrich Melchior von Grimm were frequently in attendance.

Though Geoffrin shunned discord, she respected the process of civilized conversation and she harnessed runaway egos, maintaining a strict focus. Her motto, *donner et pardonner*, "to give and to pardon," describes the role she seemed born to play within the Republic of Letters (the intellectual and rational discourse of the Enlightenment facilitated

by the polite conversation and letter-writing of salon culture). Geoffrin counted Catherine the Great, tsarina of Russia (ruled 1762–1796), and Stanisław Poniatowski, the last king of Poland (ruled 1764–1795), among her friends, and her letters to both rulers demonstrate the personal and political rapport they shared. In 1766 Geoffrin visited Poniatowski in Poland, a rare trip outside her beloved Paris.

Recent scholarship has reassessed Geoffrin's role, eschewing eighteenth-century views of women seeking recognition in the shadows of famous men. Geoffrin may have demonstrated what her friend André Morellet called "a little vainglory," yet she did not desire the celebrity she achieved through her salons. Her passion was education, and her goal was to propagate Enlightenment thought, evidenced particularly by assisting in the *Encyclopédie's* rescue from its censors in 1759, paying 200,000 livres to facilitate production. Artistic images of her gatherings, for example, A. C. G. Lemonnier's *An Evening at the Home of Mme Geoffrin in 1755*, reveal a sophisticated Parisian woman who inspired intellectual risks and helped to govern the civilizing discourse of the French Enlightenment.

By 1777, her daughter, Mme Ferté-Imbault, had zealously insulated Geoffrin, who was suffering from erysipelas, a skin disorder, from her indebted following. Ferté-Imbault viewed this intellectual coterie as nothing more than a group of depraved infidels. Patronage of the Enlightenment did not mitigate Geoffrin's unyielding devotion as a Christian. She was humored by her daughter's fierce protection and determination to give her a proper Christian burial. Shortly before her death, Geoffrin and Ferté-Imbault repaired the ancient enmity that had divided them. Saint-Beuve recalled Geoffrin's peerless influence, and the artist Mme Vigée-Lebrun described her unique legacy as remarkable for a woman of the eighteenth century. Geoffrin died in Paris on 6 October 1777.

See also Catherine II (Russia); Diderot, Denis; *Encyclopédie*; Enlightenment; Helvétius, Claude-Adrien; Montesquieu, Charles-Louis de Secondat de; Philosophes; Poniatowski, Stanisław II Augustus; Republic of Letters; Salons.

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GEOGRAPHY. *See* Cartography and Geography.

GEOLOGY. Geology was only in the process of becoming a recognized science near the close of the eighteenth century. Tracing geology's root sources, during the several centuries prior to its emergence as a distinct science, requires attention to varied forms of activity and knowledge, including (1) practical activities such as quarrying, mining, surveying, and the metallurgical arts; (2) descriptive and classificatory inquiries in fields of natural history such as mineralogy and physical geography; (3) philosophical explorations of the causes of the formation of minerals, stones, and crystals; (4) history proper, which is to say chronological and antiquarian research; and (5) efforts to construct a theory of the earth, a genre that began to flourish especially after the middle of the seventeenth century.

VARIED MODES OF PURSUIT OF EARTH SCIENCE

Growing confidence in the practical value of systematic knowledge lay behind efforts to survey mineral resources and promote their exploitation. The writings of the German mining physician Georgius Agricola (1494–1555) are representative of increasingly acute descriptions and rationalizations of technical procedures for extracting and treating those resources. By the seventeenth century, under state ownership or patronage of mining authorities in several Continental countries, formalized institutes were being founded as centers for instruction and

analysis in the extraction industries. The leading eighteenth-century example was the Saxon *Bergakademie* (Mining Academy) at Freiberg, where Abraham Gottlob Werner (1749–1817) achieved fame as both teacher and theoretician. Similar practical and economic motives lay behind royal support for a French mineralogical survey launched in the 1760s.

Until well into the eighteenth century, the term *fossil* referred comprehensively to things found in or dug out of the ground. Renaissance naturalists such as the Swiss physician Conrad Gessner (1516–1565) undertook to codify knowledge of fossils, through both observation of specimens and study of texts from Greco-Roman antiquity. Such efforts at literary compilation were echoed by the enthusiasm of collectors (such as the Dane Ole Worm [1588–1654] and the Jesuit polymath Athanasius Kircher [1601?–1680]) for assembling displays of stones, gems, and other “natural antiquities.” How stones form, and the possible causative roles played by water or generative seeds in that process, was a central question of early modern natural philosophy. It was perhaps most prominently posed in chemical cosmogonies from Jean Baptiste van Helmont (1579–1644) to Georg Ernst Stahl (1660–1734), and physicians regularly addressed it when explaining the formation of bladder stones. Of obvious relevance was assaying of mineral waters, one of the most frequently treated topics of geological investigation during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Related to these problems was the prolonged debate concerning the origins of “figured stones,” or fossil bodies of regular form. One group of theories attributed these bodies to generative powers or seeds indigenous to the earth—the mineral domain being considered capable of engendering “intrinsic fossils” through its own specific powers, analogous to those of plants or animals. Such theories were effectively modified toward the end of the seventeenth century, particularly by the Danish anatomist Niels Stensen (Nicolaus Steno, 1638–1686) and some contemporaries. While employed at the Tuscan court, Steno recognized that the fossils known as *glossopetrae* resembled sharks’ teeth. In his examination of “solid bodies contained naturally within solids,” Steno developed a lucid analysis of the processes of sedimentation and petrification whereby an actual tooth or other durable organic part might

become preserved within solid rock, thus making it an “extrinsic” fossil object. Extrinsic fossils were treated by many naturalists as relics of the biblical Flood, but such “diluvial” interpretations came under broad attack during the eighteenth century as difficulties multiplied for those viewing fossils as remnants of a single event within the time constraints of orthodox biblical chronology.

Advances in antiquarian scholarship during the seventeenth century, meanwhile, provided new standards for authenticating, dating, and interpreting historical relics and records, whether sacred, civil, or natural (terms such as *monument* or *inscription* were commonly applied to both human and natural productions). Thus, increasingly rigorous and critical analytical procedures used to study the human past—often with the aim of confirming historical knowledge found in the Bible—were applied simultaneously to comprehension of the earth’s history, extending backward in time from the reconstructed physical geography of the classical era. Finally, as European scholars took Chinese historical records and New World inhabitants into consideration, comparisons of biblical chronology with archaeological and historical discoveries about non-Western peoples yielded doubts about the sufficiency of classical texts, including the Bible, as sources of historical information applicable to all of humanity. Such developments promoted lines of investigation that eventually led to a separation of natural history from civil history, and conviction grew that nature has had a long prehuman history.

Notwithstanding various challenges posed by geological activities and thinking to traditional religious doctrines, pursuit of geological questions up through 1800 proceeded with wide acceptance—often with hearty endorsement—of the presumed consistency of natural knowledge with revealed knowledge. It remained unusual for geological writers to dispute the compatibility of their scientific endeavor with religiously sanctioned belief in the divine superintendence of nature; few geological authors distanced themselves very far from a vision of nature laden with moral meaning.

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY DEVELOPMENTS

While much early modern study of minerals and fossils consisted of examining specimens in the cabinet or museum, an ethos grew emphasizing travel

and field observation, especially during the eighteenth century. Notable among the results were sustained efforts to discern the configurations of mountains and the patterns of distribution in their constituent rock masses. Around 1750 a consensus began to develop, distinguishing relatively unstructured and nonfossiliferous “primary” rocks, often found in the core districts of mountain ranges, from the stratified and frequently fossiliferous “secondary” rocks. Whether systematic distinctions between these types of rocks might promise access to a satisfactorily inclusive account of the earth’s history since its inception was contested; some thought the evidence indicated a series of changes (“revolutions”) of perhaps indeterminate number and scope. In general, a broadly shared sense of satisfaction with real progress in precise description of geological phenomena was not matched with agreement about which phenomena mattered most, or about their proper causal explanation. A strong preference existed for explaining the origins and transformations of most geological features through the agency of water (“Neptunism”), although field investigations were gradually yielding information warranting expanded roles for “fire” or heat. Aqueous agency tended to be seen as ordered and constructive (the organized strata of the earth’s crust were, after all, mainly sedimentary), whereas fire was commonly viewed as a cause of disorder and disfigurement. The eighteenth century also witnessed a widening adoption of interpretive attitudes that have in retrospect been called “actualistic”: this entailed the presumption that causal explanations should rely only on natural agents of types empirically known to operate. (“Actualism” thus differed from nineteenth-century uniformitarianism, which in addition to presuming continuity of kinds or types of cause also assumed continuity in the rate or intensity of their operation.)

Notwithstanding nineteenth-century attacks on the intellectual consequences of theories of the earth—Charles Lyell argued in *Principles of Geology* (vol. 1, 1830) that they promoted intellectual indolence—in their post-Cartesian heyday such syntheses or systems tended to serve geological investigation as both motivators for and receptacles of new information and drew attention to geological problems. Whether comprehensive theories constituted good science became increasingly controversial in

the second half of the eighteenth century, especially in debates over the merits of theories published by Georges Louis Leclerc Buffon (1707–1788). Late Enlightenment skepticism about geological “systems” helps explain the generally inhospitable reception given the *Theory of the Earth* (1788, 1795) offered by the deistic Scottish philosopher James Hutton (1726–1797). His was a synthetic perspective on the maintenance of geological conditions propitious for support of life on the earth’s surface, through a dynamic equilibrium between internal processes of heat-driven rock consolidation and elevation on one hand and external processes of erosion and deposition on the other (the original expression of what has since come to be known as the geostrophic cycle).

In the last quarter of the eighteenth century the science of geognosy (German *Geognosie*) made a bid for recognition as the leading means of analyzing mineral phenomena on a local and by extension even a global scale. Geognosy was a method or doctrine taught by Werner, at Freiberg, to an international cadre of students, most of whom were preparing for careers in their respective mining establishments. It elaborated on the litho-stratigraphic insights traceable back to Steno (since adapted and extended by other naturalists), and on skills in mineral identification, to develop recognition of how distinct rock masses relate to one another in subterranean space. Wernerian geognosy produced a key new geological concept, the “formation,” defined essentially as a rock mass distinguishable in its lithological character and evident mode of origin, and thus as presumably formed at a given point in time. The formation, as a time-specific rock entity, became the focus of research on the relative positions of differentiated geological elements in the earth’s crust (stratigraphy), and thus on their relative ages.

Geology’s emergence as a distinct science around 1800 marked a momentous transformation in the history of Western science: an unprecedentedly definitive investment in nature with a sense of historical development. The classic aim of natural philosophy, prior to this shift of conception, had been confined mainly to the delineation of a presumably fixed order of nature, acting through processes usually believed not to have generated substantially altered configurations in the natural framework or

in the objects furnishing it. With the advent of historical geology, the sciences added to their agenda the objective of tracing nature's successive changes. A portentous outcome of this new kind of research was the dawning cognizance, at the end of the eighteenth century, of the reality of biological extinction.

HISTORIOGRAPHY

The complications of disciplinary history apply with special force to geology in the early modern period; during most of this time no geological discipline existed. At least until recently, histories of geology have most often been written as retrospective accounts of the science's ancestry. Leading historical interpretations, founded by nineteenth- and twentieth-century geologists wishing to understand how their science came to take its modern form (or to use history as a tool to advance their particular conception of the science), tended to yield Whig-ish historical accounts assigning credit or blame in accord with the degree to which various figures or scientific approaches contributed to, or obstructed, geology's progress. This kind of history thus tended also to obscure the motivations and intentions of many of the relevant actors, since few of them (at least until the late eighteenth century) conceived of the establishment of geology as their purpose. Genuinely historical recovery of geology's antecedents requires consultation of research literatures addressing the diverse fields in which, looking back, geological topics are seen to have been treated. Some of the better modern historical research—carried out largely within the “retrospective” tradition, but in calculated avoidance of Whig history—has called into question a long-standing Anglo-phone tendency to honor British over Continental strands in early geology's development, and to redress heavy emphasis on the physical and historical features of certain theories of the earth as preludes to geology, in favor of greater roles for descriptive and chemical-mineralogical enterprises (cf. Laudan). Modern scholarship has also tended to draw back from an earlier inclination to identify a single founder or “father” of geology—Hutton was long a British favorite, Werner a Continental one—and to see in geology, instead, a creature of multiple parentage.

See also Buffon, Georges Louis Leclerc; Earth, Theories of the; Gessner, Conrad; Scientific Method; Steno, Nicolaus.

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GEORGE I (GREAT BRITAIN) (1660–1727; ruled 1714–1727), king of Great Britain and Ireland. George I, who was also elector of Hanover (1698–1727), was the first of the Hanoverian dynasty to rule in Britain. Unlike William III (ruled 1689–1702), who seized power in 1688–1689 and who was familiar with English politics and politicians from earlier visits, marriage into the English royal family, and extensive intervention in English domestic politics, George knew relatively little of England. His failure to learn English and his obvious preference for Hanover further contributed to this sense of alien rule. It was exacerbated by a sense that the preference for Hanover entailed an abandonment of British national interests, as resources



George I. Equestrian portrait by Godfrey Kneller. ©ARCHIVO ICONOGRAFICO, S.A./CORBIS

were expended for the aggrandizement of Hanover and as the entire direction of British foreign policy was set accordingly. Within five years of his accession, George was at war with Spain, was close to war with Russia, and, having divided the Whigs and proscribed the Tories, was seeking to implement a controversial legislative program. Allied with France from 1716, George pursued a foreign policy that struck little resonance with the political experiences and xenophobic traditions of his British subjects.

On the other hand, George's reign was not so much the wholesale Hanoverian takeover that some feared. Despite periodic rows about Hanoverian interests, George did not swamp Britain with German ministers or systems. Instead, he adapted to British institutions, conforming to the Church of England despite his strong Lutheranism. Even his dispute with his son, later George II (ruled 1727–1760), in 1717–1720 fitted into a parliamentary framework with court and Leicester house parties at Westminster. And the failure of the Jacobite rising of the Old Pretender, James Edward Stuart (1688–1766), in

1715 indicated early in his reign that the establishment on which George depended was determined in turn to maintain his rule.

George's place in politics was not of his choosing but was instead a consequence of the limitations in royal authority and power that stemmed from the Glorious Revolution of 1688–1689 and subsequent changes. George was sensible enough to adapt and survive. Unlike James II (ruled 1685–1688), he was a pragmatist who did not have an agenda for Britain other than helping Hanover. In part this was a sensible response to circumstances and in part a complacency that arose from diffidence, honesty, and dullness. George lacked the decisiveness, charisma, and wiliness of Louis XIV (ruled 1643–1715) of France and Peter the Great (ruled 1682–1725) of Russia.

As an individual George was a figure of suspicion because of the incarceration of his adulterous wife, Sophia Dorothea, and the disappearance in 1694 of her lover, Philipp Christoph von Königsmarch, and because of rumors about his own personal life. His choleric quarrel with the future George II also attracted attention. George I enjoyed drilling his troops and hunting. When he could, he had fought, including in 1675–1678 in the Dutch war against Louis XIV and in 1683–1685 against the Turks in Hungary. He had led forces into Holstein in 1700, led an invasion of Wolfenbüttel in 1702, and commanded on the Rhine against Louis XIV's forces in the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1714).

George's reliance on the Whigs and antipathy toward the Tories was more important, as it limited his room for political maneuver. In 1720 George had to accommodate himself to Robert Walpole (1676–1745), the leading opposition Whig, but it is also clear that Walpole had to adapt to George. In 1720 George was also reconciled with his son, but only to the extent of a mutual coldness. George refused to have his son as regent in England during his trips to Hanover in 1723, 1725, and 1727, on the last of which he died en route. He also turned down his son's request for a military post in any European conflict that might involve Britain.

George showed both political skills and a sense of responsibility during his reign. An incompetent and unyielding monarch might well have led to the

end of Hanoverian rule in Britain, but at George's death in 1727 there was no question that the succession would pass anywhere other than to his son.

See also **George II (Great Britain); Hanoverian Dynasty (Great Britain); Jacobitism.**

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JEREMY BLACK

GEORGE II (GREAT BRITAIN)

(1683–1760; ruled 1727–1760), king of Great Britain and Ireland. George II, who was also elector of Hanover (1727–1760), was the second of the Hanoverian dynasty to rule Britain. He was the son of George I (ruled 1714–1727). It is not easy to evaluate George II, as he left relatively little correspondence. In his youth he took an active role in the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1714) with France, and he never lost his love of military matters. In 1705 he married the vivacious Princess Caroline of Ansbach (1683–1737), who exercised considerable influence on him until her death in 1737. The contrast between the queen's bright, sparkling, witty nature and George's more dour, boorish demeanor led contemporaries to underrate the influence of the latter. George accompanied his father to London in 1714 and became Prince of Wales. Relations between the two were difficult, and in 1717 this led to a rift that was closely linked to a serious division within the Whig Party. Relations were mended in 1720, although they remained difficult.

Succeeding to the throne in 1727, George II kept his father's leading minister, Sir Robert Walpole (1676–1745), in office and supported him until his fall in 1742. George's attitudes were important in politics, but he was not always able to prevail. Thus in 1744 and 1746 George failed to sustain John, Lord Carteret (1690–1763) in office, while in 1746 and 1755–1757 George could not prevent the entry into office of William Pitt the Elder (1708–1778), later first earl of Chatham. Pitt

had angered George by his criticism of the degree to which British policies favored George's native electorate of Hanover, and that indeed was central to George's concerns. He spent as much time as possible in the electorate and actively pressed its territorial expansion. This was not to be, however. Instead, George's hated nephew, Frederick II (Frederick the Great, ruled 1740–1786) of Prussia, became the leading ruler in North Germany, and George had to face the humiliation of a French conquest of the electorate in 1757.

George's reign also saw the defeat in 1746 of a Jacobite attempt, under Charles Edward Stuart (1720–1788), "Bonnie Prince Charlie," to overthrow Hanoverian rule. George did not panic in December 1745 when the Jacobites advanced as far as Derby. After George's second son, William Augustus (1721–1765), duke of Cumberland, was victorious over the Jacobites at Culloden, not only was the Protestant establishment affirmed, but the Hanoverian dynasty was also finally and explicitly accepted as representing the aspirations and security of the realm.

George II was not noted as a patron of the arts, although he was interested in music. He was despised as a boor by his wife's influential favorite, John Lord Hervey (1696–1743). In fact George, as king, was happiest in 1743, when at Dettingen he became the last British monarch to lead his troops into battle. George displayed great courage under fire, and the battle was a victory. It was celebrated by George Frideric Handel (1685–1759) in *Dettingen Te Deum*. As a young man George had also participated in 1708 in the battle of Oudenaarde, where he had charged the French at the head of the Hanoverian dragoons and had his horse shot from under him. He was keen on the army, enjoyed the company of military men, and was determined to control military patronage. George had the guards' regimental reports and returns sent to him personally every week, and when he reviewed his troops, he did so with great attention to detail. George's personal interest in the army (but not the navy) could be a major nuisance for his British ministers, since as a result they had less room for concession and parliamentary maneuvering over such issues as the size of the armed forces and the policy of subsidies paid to secure the use of Hessian forces.



George II. Portrait by Thomas Hudson. ©BETTMANN/CORBIS

The impact of George's martial temperament upon his conduct of foreign policy also concerned the government. In Britain, however, George had no particular political agenda, and this was important to the development of political stability. His pragmatism was both a sensible response to circumstances and the consequence of a complacency that arose from diffidence, honesty, and dullness, albeit also a certain amount of choleric anger.

With Caroline, George had eight children, three boys and five girls. His relations with his eldest son, Frederick Louis (1707–1751), Prince of Wales, were particularly difficult, mirroring those of George II with his father. The prince's opposition was crucial to the fall of Walpole. After Caroline died, George settled into a domestic relationship with his already established mistress, Amalia Sophie

Marianne von Walmoden. George made her countess of Yarmouth, and she became an influential political force because of her access to him.

By the close of George's reign, Britain had smashed the French navy and taken much of the French Empire to become the dominant European power in South Asia and North America. The direct contribution of the by then elderly king to this process was limited, but the ability of William Pitt the Elder to direct resources to transoceanic goals was a consequence of the way he, his ministerial colleague the duke of Newcastle, and George II operated parliamentary monarchy in the late 1750s.

See also **Hanoverian Dynasty (Great Britain); Jacobitism; Pitt, William the Elder and William the Younger.**

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GEORGE III (GREAT BRITAIN)

(1738–1820; ruled 1760–1820), king of Great Britain and Ireland. George III was also elector of Hanover (1760–1815), king of Hanover (1814–1820), and the last monarch to rule the thirteen colonies that became the United States of America. George III's father, Frederick Louis (1707–1751), the son of George II (ruled 1727–1760), died in 1751, leaving his eldest son to succeed him first as Prince of Wales and then as king. As prince George III developed a sense of antagonism toward the prevailing political system, which he thought oligarchical and factional. The young prince and his confidant, John Stuart (1713–1792), third earl of Bute, favored the idea of politics without party and a king above faction.

Succeeding his grandfather, George II, in 1760, George III was a figure of controversy from the outset because of his determination to reign without party. Unlike George I (ruled 1714–1727) and George II, George III was not a pragmatist, and he



George III. Portrait by Thomas Gainsborough. ©ARCHIVO ICONOGRAFICO, S.A./CORBIS

did have an agenda for Britain. He thought that much about the political system was corrupt and ascribed this in part to the size of the national debt. As a consequence George's moral reformism, which drew on his piety, was specifically aimed against faction and luxury. Like other rulers, George found it difficult to create acceptable relationships with senior politicians at his accession, and this contributed powerfully to the ministerial and political instability of the 1760s. Nevertheless, there was no fundamental political crisis, and after George found an effective political manager in Frederick North (1732–1792) in 1770, the political situation within Britain became far more quiescent. However, George's determination to maintain royal authority played a major role in the crisis of relations with the American colonies that led to revolution there in 1775. In turn failure there brought down the North ministry

in 1782, beginning a period of instability that lasted until 1784.

George matured in office, becoming a practiced politician and a man more capable of defining deliverable goals. His conscientious nature shines through his copious correspondence. George felt the monarch could reach out, beyond antipathy and factional self-interest on the part of politicians, to a wider, responsible, and responsive public opinion.

George remained politically influential during the long ministry of William Pitt the Younger (1759–1806), but his ill health in 1788 led to a serious political crisis. George's attack of porphyria, which led to symptoms of insanity, caused the regency crisis. George's recovery in 1789 ended the crisis, and he again became a factor to reckon with. His obduracy created problems for his ministers when in the 1790s he opposed the extension of rights to Catholics in Ireland or Britain. Arguing that such moves would breach his coronation oath, George stated that he would not give royal assent to such legislation. This helped precipitate Pitt's resignation in 1801 and the fall of the ministry of William Wyndham Grenville (1759–1834) in 1807.

George's attitude also made religious issues even more central in the politics of the early nineteenth century than they might otherwise have been. His firmness, not to say rigidity, contrasted with the more flexible attitude of his non-Anglican predecessors, George II, George I, William III (ruled 1689–1702), and arguably Charles II (ruled 1660–1685). It also helped focus the defense of order, hierarchy, and continuity much more on religion than would otherwise have been the case in a period of revolutionary threats. George was motivated not only by his religious convictions but also by the argument that the position of the Church of England rested on fundamental parliamentary legislation. Any repeal would also thus challenge the constitutional safeguards that were similarly founded and secured. It is not surprising therefore that Edmund Burke's emphasis, in his *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (1790), on continuity and the value of the Glorious Revolution found favor with George III.

The monarchy became a more potent symbol of national identity and continuity in response to the French Revolution. In 1809, when George cele-

brated his jubilee, the public event not only symbolized the stability he had provided in an age of volatile politics but also expressed the genuine affection and admiration his subjects now had for the monarch. The social elite and the bulk of public opinion had rallied around the themes of country, crown, and church.

George's health broke down permanently in 1811. The following year his eldest son, George, Prince of Wales, became regent; in 1820 he succeeded his father as George IV (ruled 1820–1830).

George III was a keen family man. His wife, Charlotte of Mecklenburg-Strelitz, whom he married in 1761, struck up a genuinely close relationship with him, but as their numerous children grew to adulthood (Charlotte bore a total of nine sons and six daughters), there arose a conflict between George's own sense of propriety and the dissolute lifestyle adopted by most of his boys. The members of the younger generation were especially loath to accept the king and queen's choices of marriage partners and entered into liaisons that, while often stable and personally fulfilling, hardly redounded to the increasingly prudish image George wished to promote. The alienation between the generations was represented most strikingly in the endless disputes between the king and the Prince of Wales.

George was a major art collector and a supporter of the astronomer Sir William Herschel (1738–1822). His cultural preferences, particularly his interest in the work of George Frideric Handel (1685–1759), were related to his moral concerns. George was interested in farming and was known as "Farmer George." Although this led to satire at his expense, his domestication of the monarchy and his lack of ostentatious grandeur was important to a revival in popularity for the monarchy that served it well in the political crisis of the 1790s caused by the French Revolution. He was the originator of the emphasis on domesticity in the British royal family. The contrast between the fates of the British and French monarchies was due to many factors, but the differences between the personalities and attitudes of George III and Louis XVI (ruled 1774–1792) were important. Similarly George was subsequently favorably contrasted by British commentators with the apparently tyrannical and bellicose Napoléon I.

See also American Independence, War of (1775–1783); George II (Great Britain); Handel, George Frideric; Hanoverian Dynasty (Great Britain); Pitt, William the Elder and William the Younger; Revolutions, Age of.

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GERMAN LITERATURE AND LANGUAGE. German literature of the early modern period is as heterogeneous as the patchwork of principalities constituting the Holy Roman Empire at this time. The variety of literary forms, particularly during the Renaissance, reflects a panoply of political, social, and confessional interests among contemporary patrons and audiences.

LITERATURE FROM 1450 TO 1700

When compared with German literature around 1200 or 1800, few works of this "middle" period have entered the canon of world literature. To explain this deficit, many scholars point to the Protestant Reformation and its seventeenth-century progeny, the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648), both of which diverted substantial creative energy toward theological debate, political diatribe, and at times sheer survival. However, the lack of a cohesive polity played an equal role, depriving authors of a central focal point for literary activities, such as a royal court or an emerging capital as found in England or France. Nonetheless, German literary works of the Late Middle Ages, Renaissance, and Baroque reward their readers with intimate views of a society shaped by the opposing forces of city and court, Protestantism and Catholicism, and high and low culture.

The late medieval inheritance. Medieval literature proved especially long-lived in Germany. Some

traditions or genres lasted well into the sixteenth century, although they frequently underwent substantial transformations as they adapted to changing tastes and audiences. For example, the meistersingers of Nuremberg and other cities considered the minnesinger Wolfram von Eschenbach one of their forebears and adhered strictly to the tripartite bar-form stanzas practiced around 1200, even if Wolfram sang of secular love for the nobility, as opposed to the primarily religious songs composed by the meistersingers for their bourgeois audience. The prestige of aristocratic models remained strong, prompting urban authors to adapt them to their own uses.

This is most evident in the continuing popularity of knightly tales of combat, romance, and exotic encounters. Medieval verse epics, such as Gottfried von Straßburg's *Tristan und Isolt*, Wirnt von Grafenberg's *Wigalois*, or the anonymous *Nibelungenlied*, retained broad appeal and appeared as some of the earliest chapbooks, both in prose (*Tristrant und Isalde*, 1484; *Wigoleis*, 1472, by Ulrich Füetrer) and in newly versified forms (*Das Lied vom Hürnen Seyfrid*, or The Song of Horned Siegfried; c. 1530). Other chapbooks presented stories adapted from French sources, such as *Melusine* (1456) by Thüring von Ringoltingen (1410/1415–1483) or *Huge Scheppel* (c. 1437) by Elisabeth von Nassau-Saarbrücken (c. 1393–1456). Later works introduced bourgeois heroes such as *Fortunatus* (1509), who succeeds with the aid of a magic purse. Meanwhile, clever peasant protagonists got the better of other social classes in works like *Salomon und Markolf* (c. 1482) and *Till Eulenspiegel* (c. 1510). Nonetheless, chivalry remained strong, as evidenced by Emperor Maximilian I (ruled 1493–1519), often known as “the last knight.” With the aid of court ghostwriters, Maximilian produced *Theuerdank* (1517; Lofty thinker), a rhymed allegory of his courtship of Mary of Burgundy. He is also responsible for the *Ambraser Heldenbuch* (1504–1516; Ambras book of heroes), a compilation of twenty-five medieval courtly epics.

Perhaps the most lingering literary legacy of the Middle Ages was that of medieval theater, which encompassed both religious drama, such as Passion, Easter, and Last Judgment plays, as well as the secular tradition of *Fastnachtspiele*, or Carnival plays. Easter plays focused on Christ's Crucifixion

and Resurrection, while Passion plays treated the totality of salvation history from the Creation to the martyrdom of saints. These texts are generally grouped according to “families” such as the Rhine-Hesse group, whose related scenes suggest some form of theatrical exchange among the communities involved. Carnival plays traditionally transgressed social mores and are similarly grouped into regional traditions. In Nuremberg, performances took place in inns, while in Lübeck, Sterzing (Tyrol), southwest Germany, and Switzerland, these were open-air events. The tradition grew less ribald following the Reformation. The Nuremberg plays of Hans Sachs (1494–1576) are perhaps the best-known *Fastnachtspiele* from the sixteenth century, but Lucerne produced important late Catholic examples of the genre alongside the *Lucerne Passion Play*, performed until 1616 and the best-documented play of its type.

Renaissance humanism. Following the development of movable type in the 1440s and 1450s, books became more affordable, leading to widespread changes in reading habits and the dissemination of knowledge. Illiteracy and the high cost of manuscripts had meant that literary works were most frequently read aloud in a group, but now an increasingly educated bourgeoisie began to read in private. Education itself, once the domain of the church, expanded to secular institutions with the proliferation of municipal schools and the continued expansion of universities. As a result, an educated, nonclerical class developed, nourished by towns' and territorial rulers' growing need for administrators. This group proved especially receptive to the rediscovery of classical learning and arts at the heart of the Italian Renaissance.

The resulting humanist movement had a far-reaching impact on learning and literature. Although Latin was the humanists' primary language, their adaptation of classical models established the course of “high” German literature for much of the early modern period. Early humanists, such as the Swabian scholars Niklaus von Wyle (c. 1415–1479), Albrecht von Eyb (1420–1475), and Heinrich Steinhöwel (1411/12–1479), focused on translations in an effort to cultivate their “barbaric” native tongue. Members of the next generation engaged predominantly in imitation, producing Neo-Latin works intended to rival those of antiquity.

Conrad Celtis or Celtes (1459–1508), Germany’s “arch-humanist” and first poet laureate (1487), followed Horatian models for his *Quatuor Libri Amorum* (1502; Four books of *Amores*), while Johannes Reuchlin (1455–1522) wrote *Scaenica Progymnasmata* or *Henno* (1497), the first successful Terentian comedy north of the Alps. By the early 1500s, northern humanists were producing original works of lasting influence, such as the sublimely humorous *Moriae Encomium* (1509; Praise of folly) by Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam (1466?–1536) or the poetically supple *Basia* (published 1539; Kisses) by another Dutchman, Janus Secundus (1511–1536).

A humanist also produced the single most successful German literary work prior to the Enlightenment: *Das Narrenschiff* (1494; Ship of fools) by Sebastian Brant (c. 1457–1521). In the 112 chapters of the original edition, each accompanied by an illustrative woodcut with a three- to four-line motto, the author moralizes against all manner of “follies” ranging from gluttony and greed to excessive ecclesiastical benefices. Four unauthorized editions of the work appeared within its first year of publication, but it was not until its Latin adaptation by Brant’s protégé Jacob Locher (*Stultifera Navis*, 1497) that it became a true pan-European sensation. In its wake, a tradition of *Narrenliteratur* (Fools’ literature) emerged, with authors such as Thomas Murner (1475–1537), Jörg Wickram (c. 1505–c. 1562), and Hans Sachs among Brant’s direct or indirect heirs. The *Narrenschiff*’s “Sankt Grobian” (Saint Uncouth) was to provide a model for sixteenth-century conduct books, and the work’s melding of text and image anticipates later emblem books.

Reformation. While some early humanists seemed to prize poetry over piety, later proponents of the *studia humanitatis* eagerly applied the motto *ad fontes* (‘to the sources’) to religious texts. Johannes Reuchlin was the first to promote Greek and Hebrew studies, considering the latter so important that he cautioned the emperor against an effort to destroy Jewish writings. Scholastic opponents charged Reuchlin with heresy, and the resulting dispute became a humanist cause célèbre, producing the *Epistolae Obscurorum Virorum* (1515–1517; Letters of obscure men), a satire of Reuchlin’s ineloquent adversaries written by Crotus Rubeanus

(c. 1480–c. 1545), Ulrich von Hutten (1488–1523), and others. Erasmus became the leading Christian humanist, editing the writings of St. Jerome, along with other church fathers, and following in his footsteps as biblical translator by producing the *Novum Instrumentum* (1516), a Greek edition of the New Testament with an accompanying Latin translation distinct from the Vulgate.

In 1522, another translator of the Bible, Martin Luther (1483–1546), based his German translation of the New Testament on the second edition of Erasmus’s work. Beyond its religious significance, the Lutheran Reformation had a profound impact on vernacular literature. For the first time, the power of printing became manifest, with Protestant authors churning out broadsides, dialogues, plays, and songs to promote the new faith. Catholic authors responded in kind, but not in quantity, since many considered the common vernacular inappropriate for theological debate. Luther’s hymns and above all his Bible stand as lasting artistic achievements. His success as a translator lay in his ability to render biblical Hebrew and Greek in the idiomatic German spoken by “the mother at home, the children in the street, and the common man at market,” as described in his *Sendbrief vom Dolmetschen* (1530; Letter on translation), which defends Luther’s rendition of contested passages against Catholic detractors.

Despite an initial alliance, humanist support for Luther was mixed at best. By the mid-1520s, the debate between Luther and Erasmus over free will signaled a break between the two movements. Still, Protestants embraced humanist educational ideals, and Luther’s colleague Philipp Melancthon (1497–1560) is known to posterity as the “Teacher of Germany” for his widely influential reforms.

Mid- to late sixteenth century. In adapting countless classical, medieval, and Renaissance works for a bourgeois audience, Hans Sachs embodied the humanists’ belief in the edifying power of literature. Although his meistersongs far outweigh his other production, Sachs remains best known for Carnival plays such as *Der fahrende Schüler im Paradies* (1550; The traveling scholar in paradise) or *Das Narrenschneiden* (1536; The Foolectomy), later produced by Goethe in Weimar. He was also a leading author of confessional literature, producing

Reformation dialogues, numerous broadsheets, and “Die Wittenbergische Nachtigall” (1523), which compared Luther’s preaching of the Gospel to the song of a nightingale.

Other important authors from the latter half of the century include Jörg Wickram, like Sachs a meistersinger and playwright, but best known for his prose works. His *Rollwagenbüchlein* (1555; Stagecoach stories) became a model of short, entertaining fabliaux, while *Der Goldfaden* (1557; The golden thread) is considered the first German novel based on a plot of the author’s own creation. Johann Fischart (c. 1547–1590) produced the exuberant *Geschichtklitterung* (1575; revised second edition 1582), a playfully punning translation of François Rabelais’s *Gargantua et Pantagruel*. Leading playwrights are Nicodemus Frischlin (1547–1590), known for his Neo-Latin biblical plays, and Duke Heinrich Julius von Braunschweig (1564–1613), whose vernacular works show the mark of itinerant English troupes active on the Continent.

In terms of lasting influence, however, no late-sixteenth-century work can compare with the *Historia von D. Johann Fausten* (1587; History of Dr. Johann Faust), a purported biography of this part-historical, part-legendary necromancer. In typical humanist fashion, Faust desires to recreate antiquity, but the pursuit of knowledge for knowledge’s sake is now demonized. Soon after its publication, the chapbook found its way to England, where playwright Christopher Marlowe created *The Tragicall History of Dr. Faustus* (1588; published 1604). Goethe began to occupy himself with this material around 1775, with *Faust I* published in 1808 and *Faust II*, posthumously, in 1832.

The baroque period. Seventeenth-century Germany saw a resurgence of courtly patronage and Catholicism. The Jesuit order worked actively to restore the old faith, adapting popular genres as Protestants had done before them. Jesuit drama proved especially effective: the eternal damnation portrayed in *Cenodoxus* (1602) by Jakob Bidermann (c. 1577–1639) drove fourteen spectators into spiritual retreat in 1609 to take up the *Exercises of St. Ignatius*. The leading author of Catholic hymns was Friedrich Spee von Langenfeld (1591–1635), also a member of the Society of Jesus. Protestants pursued an inner spirituality as well, apparent in the poetry of

Catharina Regina von Greiffenberg (1633–1694) and Johannes Scheffler, who became Angelus Silesius (1624–1677) upon his conversion to Catholicism in 1653. Nonetheless, Protestant literary traditions remained strong, as demonstrated by the hymns of Paul Gerhardt (1607–1676).

The publication of *Das Buch von der deutschen Poeterey* (1624; The book of German poetics) by Martin Opitz (1597–1639) marked the true beginning of baroque literature in Germany. The work is a concise handbook with practical recommendations for versification, rhetorical devices, and genre distinctions. The significance of Opitz’s metrical reform cannot be overstated. Long schooled on Latin and French verse, which were based either on vowel length or syllable counting, German authors ignored the natural alternation of accented and unaccented syllables. Opitz restored this rhythm with the result that the Alexandriner—iambic hexameter with a central caesura—became the standard verse form for the German baroque. The four-beat doggerel *Knittelvers* of Hans Sachs and others became a thing of ridicule, as illustrated by Andreas Gryphius’s *Absurda Comica oder Herr Peter Squentz* (1658; Comic absurdities or Mr. Peter Squentz).

Lyric poets also embraced Opitz’s recommendations. In addition to those mentioned above, among the most talented poets were Paul Fleming (1609–1640), Simon Dach (1605–1659), Georg Philipp Harsdörffer (1607–1658), Christian Hofmann von Hofmannswaldau (1617–1679), and Caspar Stieler (1632–1707). Together they introduced a highly ornamented language replete with tropes and figures. Faced with the horrors of the Thirty Years’ War, such authors frequently treated the themes of *vanitas* (the vanity of worldly pursuits) and *carpe diem* (seize the day). Amatory poetry was equally in vogue, as found in the Petrarchism of Fleming or the gallant poetry of Hofmannswaldau. Popular forms were the sonnet, the epigram, and figural or concrete poetry, in which the printed text evoked the item described.

Opitz did not include the novel in his handbook, but by 1700 it had become an acknowledged genre. Baroque authors produced three basic novel types. *Arminius* (1689–1690) by Daniel Casper von Lohenstein (1635–1683) and *Aramena* (1669–1673) by Duke Anton Ulrich von Braun-

schweig (1633–1714) are prime examples of the heroic-gallant novel, which treated seventeenth-century dynastic politics in Roman guise. *Die adriatische Rosemund* (1645) by Philipp von Zesen (1619–1689) is considered Germany's prime pastoral novel, although Rosemund's idyllic existence as a shepherdess is a mere interlude in an otherwise tragic story set in a bourgeois milieu. Representing the *Schelmenroman* (picaresque novel) is the most famous German baroque novel of all, *Der abenteuerliche Simplicissimus* (1668; The adventurous Simplicissimus; *Continuatio*, 1669; Continuation) by Hans Jakob Christoffel von Grimmelshausen (1622?–1676). Like Grimmelshausen himself, the novel's protagonist leads a peripatetic life marked by the vicissitudes of war. Forced from home by marauding soldiers, Simplicissimus begins as a simpleton and moves through several stages of life and experience before finally withdrawing from the world.

Baroque vernacular theater is inextricably linked to the contemporary culture of court pageantry. Elaborate stage machinery allowed for striking visual effects, and baroque playwrights employed these to delight or disarm their audiences, particularly in the popular tragedies (*Trauerspiele*, literally 'sad plays') of Andreas Gryphius (1616–1664) and Daniel Casper von Lohenstein. Gryphius is known for martyr dramas such as *Catharina von Georgien* (c. 1647), but also for *Cardenio und Celinde* (c. 1648), in which the lovers, unlike Romeo and Juliet, renounce their love before it leads to a tragic end. Gryphius, along with Harsdörffer and others, also composed opera libretti, such as *Majuma*, performed for the coronation of Ferdinand IV of Habsburg in 1653. None other than Opitz founded German opera with *Daphne* (1627), adapted from an Italian libretto by Ottavio Rinuccini, although the corresponding score by Heinrich Schütz (1585–1672) is unfortunately lost. In its combination of word, image, and music, opera became the most celebrated performance genre of the century.

Toward a standard language. Linguistically, early modern Germany was as disparate as its political landscape. As today, the Low German dialects of the north differed substantially from southern German variants, but in 1450 no well-established standard existed to allow easy communication between

them. The emergence of New High German by the late seventeenth century was a slow and complicated process, and the transitional period between roughly 1350 and 1650 is known as *Frühneuhochdeutsch*, or Early New High German.

Unlike the Middle High German of medieval authors, which was rooted in the language of the Hohenstaufen court in southwest Germany, *Frühneuhochdeutsch* was not based on any one regional dialect. However, some areas exerted more linguistic influence than others, in particular through the chancelleries of cities and leading courts, which gradually abandoned Latin in favor of a "common" German stripped of specific regionalisms. The Prague chancellery of Emperor Charles IV, the Habsburg chancellery in Vienna, and the Saxon chancellery in Meissen are all important in this regard. Indeed, Luther himself followed the model of the Saxon chancellery, and the ubiquity of Luther's Bible did much to hasten the development of a standard language. However, Luther did not singlehandedly create the basis for New High German, as Jakob Grimm and others once claimed. Rather, recent research has demonstrated that Luther, the chancelleries, and early printers all adopted linguistic trends in process around them.

As the need for a unified language became increasingly apparent, humanists and their successors strove to normalize orthography, lexicon, and grammar. Sixteenth-century efforts, such as the dictionaries of Petrus Dasypodius (*Dictionarium Latino-Germanicum*, 1525) and Josua Maaler (*Die Teütsch Sprach*, 1561), or Johannes Clajus's *Grammatica Germanicae Linguae* (1578; Grammar of the German language), were produced primarily for foreigners familiar with Latin. Later, baroque *Sprachgesellschaften* (literary societies) worked to cultivate the language by freeing it from foreign influence. Philipp von Zesen (1619–1689) and others created German neologisms to replace borrowed terms, while Justus Schottel (1612–1676) produced his *Ausführliche Arbeit von der Teutschen Haupt Sprache* (1663), considered by many the first systematic grammar of the German language.

Recent research. Early modern German literature is the most under-researched period of German literary history. However, its transitional position be-

tween Middle Ages and modernity, once considered a disadvantage, has now become its asset, attracting fresh research on shifts in political, social, and intellectual paradigms. As in other fields, recent work has turned from an emphasis on canonical works to an exploration of the margins that bounded and defined “high” literature. Representations of gender and minorities have generated substantial interest, with women authors gaining a new appreciation. Popular literature, such as Carnival plays, has also enjoyed a positive reassessment. Much work is interdisciplinary in nature, due in no small part to authors’ polymathic interests, which included medicine and alchemy.

LITERATURE FROM 1700 TO 1780

German literature of the eighteenth century is usually thought of as being a break with the traditions of the period from 1450 to 1700. At last, such thinking goes, German emerged as a literary language easily read by modern readers. In addition, many of the earlier writers were considered to be nothing more than precursors of Schiller and Goethe. By 1780, literary culture in Germany was on the threshold of its golden age, the *Klassik* (1785–1830), and all that preceded it was but a prelude to greatness. Such views of German literature and language of the period are not entirely invalid, yet the creative achievement of eighteenth-century writers may be measured as much by its continuity with the past as by its own accomplishments. In each genre—lyric poetry, drama, epic verse, and prose—German literary culture in the years 1700–1780 stood on its own, even as it pointed in the direction of modernity.

Intellectual foundations. The foundation of the intellectual ferment that became the German Enlightenment, the *Aufklärung*, was constructed by Gottfried Wilhelm von Leibniz (1646–1716). A truly cosmopolitan intellect in the mold of early modern scholars, he laid the philosophical groundwork for eighteenth-century rationalism. His disciple, Christian Wolff (1679–1754), popularized his master’s thinking even as he freed philosophical discourse from the strictures of theology. His watchword, *Vernunft*, meaning systematic reasoning, became a significant component of the century’s mindset. In the writings of Johann Christoph Gottsched (1700–1766) such rationalist thinking

was applied to literature, specifically in his *Versuch einer Critischen Dichtkunst vor die Deutschen* (1730; Attempt at a critical poetics for the Germans). There, Gottsched replaced early modern descriptions of literary forms by Martin Opitz (1597–1639) and others with logical discourse, which rationally defined literature’s didactic and social functions. Comic drama, for example, was to instruct bourgeois viewers about human foibles by means of *Verlachen*, satiric laughter about a comic figure’s lack of *Vernunft*. Literature and theater served to perfect human behavior, a view reflected in Gottsched’s espousal of the exemplary quality of French classicist drama.

Pietism was an equally important component of the eighteenth-century mindset in Germany. Believing participants in this early modern movement within Lutheranism sought a one-to-one, often emotionally charged relationship to their God. The heart rather than the mind governed this mode of perception. The individual mattered. Even though Johann Jakob Breitinger (1701–1776) and Johann Jakob Bodmer (1698–1783) were not Pietists, their focus on imagination and illusion, on literary description, which inspires and affects the heart of the reader, was analogous to this strain of religious experience. Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock’s (1724–1803) daring epic poem *Der Messias* (1748/1773; The Messiah) was the culmination of such spirituality. For Klopstock, writing poetry was the celebration of the sacred. The writer undertook a transcendent, even prophetic, act. To the extent that the text ecstatically inspired the reader, literature achieved its desired result.

Literary developments. German culture of the early modern period saw the proliferation of literary forms, a wide array of stylistic experimentation, the struggle for the creation of language fit for differentiated expression. Additionally, German literature was highly derivative: dramas derived from Greek and Roman models; lyric poetry looked to classical Rome and contemporary France, Italy, and the Netherlands; novels were modeled on Spanish and French forebears. During the eighteenth century, German writers looked to external models (specifically to England), but also found their own voice. An examination of historical developments within each genre from 1700 to 1780 bears this out.

Poetry. Barthold Hinrich Brockes (1680–1747) focused in his collection, *Irdisches Vergnügen in Gott* (in nine volumes 1721–1748; Worldly joy of God), on God’s rational order even in the smallest of plants. Albrecht von Haller’s (1708–1777) *Die Alpen* (1732; The Alps) described Switzerland’s landscape set among the towering mountains as the locus of virtuous life and human fulfillment. Countless Pietist hymn writers, notably Gerhard Tersteege (1697–1769), extolled their religious vision, while Christian Friedrich Henrici (1700–1764) wrote cantata texts and the libretti of the *St. Matthew* and *St. Mark Passions* for Johann Sebastian Bach (1685–1750). All of these, along with Klopstock’s uplifting odes and the magisterial verse epic *Messias*, itself inspired by the grandeur of John Milton’s *Paradise Lost*, spoke to the function of poetry as a purveyor of religious values and a full range of human experiences.

Other lyric poets turned their attention to worldly matters. With stylistic grace, Friedrich von Hagedorn (1708–1754) wrote of youthful love and friendship and the virtues of the rural life, adapting Horace to the times. Christian Fürchtegott Gellert’s (1715–1769) immensely popular fables and tales in verse (from 1741 on) appeared in the periodical press and reinforced bourgeois values. Anna Luisa Karsch (1722–1791) astounded her readers with lyric virtuosity. Johann Wilhelm Ludwig Gleim (1719–1803) recognized Karsch as being a natural, even as he himself adroitly refined the ancient conventions of lilting verses on wine, women, and song (*Versuch in scherzhaften Liedern*; 1744, Attempt at witty songs). Every young poet of the age tried his hand at such verse in imitation of the ancient Greek poet Anacreon. Poets of the *Göttinger Hain* (Göttingen Circle), an assembly of kindred young spirits, picked up on Anacreon as well as experimenting with ballads. Gleim had introduced the ballad (1756) to the German-language repertoire, and Johann Gottfried von Herder (1744–1803) collected and translated ballads from the English in his *Volkslieder* (1777/78: Folk songs). Herder’s work inspired Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749–1832) and the writers of German Romanticism.

Drama. Dramatists in 1700 wrote for three venues, each a holdover from traditions that originated in the sixteenth century—princely courts,

schools, and open-air stages. This was slow to change, but by 1780 permanent theaters with scheduled public performances and professional actors in cities like Hamburg, Mannheim, and Vienna had been established, often only temporarily. Gotthold Ephraim Lessing’s (1729–1781) *Hamburgische Dramaturgie* (1767–1769; The Hamburg dramaturgy), a collection of reviews of performances and interpretations of Aristotle’s theory of tragedy, documented the state of the theatrical arts in Germany, as tenuous as it was.

An examination of the career of Lessing as a dramatist may serve as a touchstone for the development of drama during the period. He had participated in schoolboy drama, *Schuldrama*, in his provincial hometown Kamenz near Dresden in Saxony. His studies took him to Leipzig, where he fell in with players in the troupe of Friederike Caroline Neuber (1679–1760), a woman whose productions had for a while featured those French dramatists most favored by Gottsched, namely Corneille, Racine, Voltaire, and Molière. She had fallen out with the professor of poetics, all the more reason for the young Lessing to have her produce his comedy about a preposterously erudite fool, *Der junge Gelehrte* (1747; The young scholar). He perfected the conventions of the so-called *sächsische Komödie* (Saxon comedy) to expose the irrational. Later, Lessing excoriated Gottsched for his predilection for formulaic French drama. He himself championed Shakespeare’s authentic language and true-to-life dramatic plots and inaugurated Germany’s admiration of Shakespeare.

In Berlin, Lessing’s journalistic critiques of the literary scene and his interest in the theory of drama resulted in a tragedy situated in the bourgeois milieu, *Miß Sara Sampson* (1755; Miss Sara Sampson), arguably the first *bürgerliches Trauerspiel* (bourgeois tragedy) in Germany. The heroine was not of high social station, not a princess, and her tragic fate moved audiences to tears. Performed to this day, *Minna von Barnhelm* (1767), a comedy, bordering on tragedy, extended the limits of the dramatic form. As earnest as it was, it was the first modern German comedy. *Emilia Galotti* (1772), a tragedy born of the conflict between virtuous bourgeois Emilia and a lecherous prince, criticized the reality of absolutist society. Its first performance was in a

court theater, where the message was sure to prick the conscience of the listeners.

In *Nathan der Weise* (1779; Nathan the wise), his last play, Lessing continued to break new ground. He introduced blank verse to German literature; the unrhymed iambic pentameter flowed as naturally as the prose speech of his other plays. The protagonist was a Jewish merchant, another first. Nathan was as rich in humane wisdom as he was in economic terms, a break with stereotypical characterization. The action was set in medieval Jerusalem at the time of the Crusades and it was the wise Jew, rather than his Christian and Moslem counterparts, who forwarded a vision of *Toleranz*, the mutual acceptance of religious beliefs. The play delivered the central message of the *Aufklärung* as the emancipation of the German Jews commenced and just prior to Immanuel Kant's philosophical definition of the process of human enlightenment.

By 1780, then, German drama had emerged as a truly progressive cultural force. The works of women playwrights such as Luise Gottsched (1713–1762) (and also those who wrote under male names) appeared. That they were writing and publishing exemplified the emancipatory aspirations of the Enlightenment. The hotheaded playwrights of the Sturm und Drang (Storm and stress), a cultural phase (1765–1785) often seen as the radicalization of the Enlightenment's idealistic pursuit of life, liberty, and happiness, was a further case in point. The plays of Jakob Michael Reinhold Lenz (1752–1792) and Friedrich Maximilian Klingler (1752–1831), but especially Friedrich Schiller's *Die Räuber* (1781; The robbers), were revolutionary in both form and content. Dynamic and larger-than-life types called loudly for the immediate reform of a corrupt society largely made up of emasculated weaklings. The language was as brashly explicit as the message. The works of these women and men signaled that German drama had arrived.

Epic prose. Early modern epic prose from the satiric chapbooks and didactic novels of the sixteenth century to the satiric picaresque, the cloying pastoral, and the complex allegorical political novels of the seventeenth century gradually lost relevance for eighteenth-century readers. Early prose was eventually supplanted by novels modeled on English sentimental forms that tell of bourgeois family

life of the landed gentry. A growing interest in the depiction of human psychology, rather than the grand sweep of adventure, reflected both the effects of Pietism and the didactic intentions of Enlightenment authors.

Johann Gottfried Schnabel's (1692–c. 1750) four-volume *Insel Felsenburg* (1731–1743; The island Felsenburg), a transitional work, combined elements of Robinson Crusoe adventures and utopian thinking. It depicted an ideal bourgeois spiritual community situated far from European realities, one founded on the principles of Pietist virtue and God-given *Vernunft*. Gellert's *Das Leben der Schwedischen Gräfin von G**** (1746; The life of the Swedish countess G***), a biographical treatment of horrific personal trauma, depicted the personal depravities of an imperfect world. The moralizing impulse implicit in both novels became the era's stock in trade. For example, Sophie von La Roche's (1730–1807) *Geschichte des Fräuleins von Sternheim* (1771/72; The story of Miss von Sternheim) told of the uplifting triumph of personal virtue, while Johann Heinrich Jung-Stilling's (1740–1817) *Heinrich Stillings Jugend* (1777 and sequels 1778–1804; Heinrich Stilling's youth) engagingly traced the life of a Pietist soul. The ups and downs chronicled in Ulrich Bräker's (1735–1798) true-to-life *Lebensgeschichte und natürliche Eben- theur des Armen Mannes im Tockenburg* (1789; The biography and real adventures of the unfortunate man in Toggenburg) implied that the day-to-day struggle of the provincial commoner was noteworthy, even noble.

What Lessing was to drama, Christoph Martin Wieland (1733–1813) was to the novel. He early turned his attention to the philosophy of the Enlightenment, and his later interaction with Bodmer attuned him to the strains of literary *Empfindsamkeit* (sentimentality) and ecstatic religiosity. His first novel, *Der Sieg der Natur über die Schwärmerei, oder Don Sylvio von Rosalva* (1774; The triumph of nature over enthusiasm or Don Sylvio von Rosalva), a fantastic story modeled on the Spanish novelist Cervantes, dealt with the central categories of the century, true-to-life reality versus inspirational illusion. Don Sylvio was an updated Don Quixote, a German dreamer. An embedded fairy-tale narrative led to the novel's appeal. Wieland's *Geschichte des Agathon* (1766–1767, with revisions 1773 and

1798; The story of Agathon) investigated the same issues as they played themselves out in an imagined ancient Greece. The whole vocabulary of sentimentalism appeared in the novel; sentimental souls were those who feel most accurately, feeling was their test of truth. Love was not desire, but a condition based on *Empfindung* (sentiment).

Lessing considered *Agathon* to be the century's best novel, even as he rejected Goethe's European bestseller *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers* (1774; The sorrows of young Werther), because of Werther's excessive, ultimately suicidal desire. The threshold crossed between Wieland and Goethe marked the German novel's true coming of age.

The achievement of the era 1700–1780. German-language literary culture of the eighteenth century was unlike that of the years preceding 1700 on several counts. While the canon of texts enumerated above is generally well-known internationally, the dramas of Lessing are routinely staged in Germany and elsewhere. The phrase “Lessing, Schiller, Goethe” resonates with any German. Each author has at least one museum (such as the Lessing Museum in Kamenz), a named journal (*The Lessing Yearbook* in Cincinnati), and a named institution of scholarship (Lessing Akademie in Wolfenbüttel) devoted to the author's achievement. The triumvirate is as much a component of German cultural memory as the familiar “Three B's”—Bach, Beethoven, Brahms. Not coincidentally, it was the eighteenth century that saw the emergence of such notable figures who pointed the way into the long nineteenth century. Along with literature and music, modern western philosophy originated in the mind of the stylistically effective writer Immanuel Kant (1724–1804).

Any answer as to why this period of cultural achievement came about is speculative. Some would pin it on the transition from the priority of theology to the priority of science and philosophy, on curious questioning rather than on believing acceptance. This explanation emphasizes, correctly, the remarkable extent to which German thinkers were sensitive to religion, in contrast to those in many other countries. Others would look to the gradual shift to a bourgeois ethics in line with the emancipatory values of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. While the controlling administrative institutions of

the Holy Roman Empire might still have been in place, a self-confident citizenry in cities like Berlin, Leipzig, and Hamburg was a match for the long-entrenched aristocratic social order. Lessing, for example, sought to earn his keep in the marketplace of publishing. Even though he was ultimately unsuccessful in freeing himself from courtly patronage, the attempt to earn a living by writing was part of the cultural process that eventually led to modernity.

See also Brant, Sebastian; Drama: German; Dutch Literature and Language; Enlightenment; Erasmus, Desiderius; Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von; Grimmelshausen, H. J. C. von; Herder, Johann Gottfried von; Humanism; Kant, Immanuel; Klopstock, Friedrich Gottlieb; Lessing, Gotthold Ephraim; Luther, Martin; Melancthon, Philipp; Nuremberg; Pietism; Reformation, Protestant; Schiller, Johann Christoph Friedrich von; Wieland, Christoph Martin.

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GLENN EHRSTINE, RICHARD E. SCHADE

GERMANY, IDEA OF. The idea of Germany as a single ethnic and linguistic entity was created by German humanists around 1500. The form “German” (*deutsch*) was in common medieval use, usually as an adjective, rarely as a noun. The term “German lands” designated the post-Carolingian duchies of Bavaria, Swabia, Franconia, Saxony, and soon other lands as well. As a plural its medieval meaning was the community of German-speaking peoples as distinct from Romance-speakers (especially the French). As a singular term was

needed, “Alemannia,” “Germania,” and “Theutonia,” for which no vernacular equivalent existed, were used interchangeably. During the fifteenth century a new collective term appeared, “the German nation,” which was borrowed from academic and ecclesiastical usage to designate the community of the German lands that bore the Roman imperium. The two terms merged in a title, “the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation” (*das Heilige Römische Reich deutscher Nation*), first recorded in 1492. Their duality expressed the collaborative regime captured in the common sixteenth-century formula, *Kaiser und Reich*, ‘emperor and empire’, which distinguished between the monarch and the imperial Estates. In popular usage the terms could be interchangeable, as when Saxons heading westward said that they were going “into the empire.” The terms “nation” and “fatherland” in both German and Latin could be used for a native city, district, or region, so that one could speak of the city of Basel as a “fatherland” and of a Swabian or Westphalian “nation.”

“Germany” as an idea was created by the humanists around 1500. The key event in its genesis was Gian Francesco Poggio Bracciolini’s (1380–1459) discovery at Hersfeld Abbey of a unique manuscript of Tacitus’ *Germania*. It was brought to Rome by 1455 and printed in Latin at Venice in 1470 and Nuremberg in 1473. Its publication sparked the interest around 1500 in the deeper German past among an entire generation of German writers. Those figures who shared and nourished this interest included such leading humanists as Conrad Celtis (1459–1508) and Jakob Wimpheling (1450–1528), each of whom wrote a work entitled *Germania* (published in 1500 and 1501 respectively), and the Alsatian Beatus Rhenanus (1485–1547).

A single “Germany” (*Germania*) is therefore a humanist creation, and its vernacular equivalent (*Deutschland*) was fixed by the polemical writings of the noble humanist Ulrich von Hutten (1488–1523), who gave a new, political edge to the term that played an important role in the Reformation movement. From this time onward, “Germany” became a term current in both Latin and German. What and where this Germany was remained a topic for debate, however, and the geographer and cartographer Matthias Quad (1557–1613) concluded



solely in their common ruler and his official Roman Catholic religion.

In the second, eighteenth-century, stage, cartographers and others accepted a new usage: “German Empire” in the place of “Holy Roman Empire.” This shift expressed acknowledgment of a historical fact, the empire’s loss since the fifteenth century of most of its non-German subjects—French, Italian, Dutch, and Slavic. While the empire as a whole had become an overwhelming German polity, the Habsburg Monarchy’s lands retained their ethnic and linguistic diversity under a weakly articulated state.

Astute foreigners noted that the Germans were becoming more like one another. Baron de Montesquieu’s comment about the German love of liberty inherited from the forests of ancient Teutonia and Madame de Staël’s about “the energy of their personal beliefs” attest to the growth of an estimate of the Germans far different from the old Italian and French prejudices concerning Germans’ drunkenness, crudity, and belligerence. Still, the bewildering variety of the German lands and their pasts tempted both foreigners and Germans themselves to greatly

exaggerate the unity of German “national” culture. Most of the important misuses of German histories in modern times have arisen from a desire to intensify or to frustrate a greater sense of German unity and nationhood.

Looking back on the empire of his youth, Goethe put this verse into the mouth of a student named Frosch, a carouser in Auerbach’s Cellar at Leipzig (*Faust*, Part I): “The dear old Holy Roman Empire, lads, / What keeps its carcass going?” (“*Das liebe heil’ge Röm’sche Reich, / Wie hält’s nur noch zusammen?*”) A German historian recently provided this pithy answer: “In the beginning was Napoleon.”

See also **Holy Roman Empire**.

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GESSNER, CONRAD (also Konrad Gesner, 1516–1565), polymath, philologist, theologian, naturalist, and town physician of Zurich from 1554. Gessner was born in 1516 into a family originally from Nuremberg. His father, Urs, was a furrier from Solothurn, Switzerland, who moved to Zurich, becoming a citizen there in 1511. Conrad's mother was Agathe Fritz (or Frick). He received a humanistic education at the Fraumünster School, and attended the Carolinum for theology. He was then tutored by Johann Jacob Ammann (1500–1573), a friend of Desiderius Erasmus (1466?–1536), and became a protégé of Huldrych Zwingli (1484–1531) shortly before the reformer's death in the Battle of Kappel (1531).

Patronage allowed him to study Hebrew and give Greek lessons in Strasbourg in 1532. Thanks to Zwingli's successor, Heinrich Bullinger (1504–1575), and later to Johannes Steiger (1518–1581) of Berne, Gessner was able to travel to Basel and Paris, where he read Latin and Greek literature, rhetoric, and natural and moral philosophy. In 1534, because of persecution of Protestants, he left Paris for Strasbourg and Zurich, where he made an unhappy marriage to Barbara Singerin in 1536, and was obliged to teach elementary school. Further patronage enabled him to study medicine in Basel.

On the basis of his *Lexicon Graecolatinum* (1539; Greek-Latin dictionary), he was appointed professor of Greek at the Academy of Lausanne, where he also continued his studies. In 1540 he moved to Montpellier to study at the medical school and met the naturalists Guillaume Rondelet (1507–1566) and Pierre Belon (1517–1564). He received his medical degree at Basel in February 1541 and returned to Zurich to lecture on mathematics, physics, astronomy, philosophy, and ethics at the Carolinum, to practice medicine, and to write and publish prolifically in many areas. He made one trip to Spain and Italy in 1543, studying manuscripts and meeting naturalists, and another to Augsburg in 1545, where he read the Greek naturalist Aelian (fl. c. 175–c. 235 C.E.) in manuscript;

he was later to edit the text (1556). Gessner's *Bibliotheca Universalis* (1545; Universal Bibliography) and *Pandectarum libri* (1548; Universal Bibliography, Vol. 2) brought him fame, which increased with his later works. He became a European clearinghouse, gathering and juxtaposing with his own natural historical information from such people as William Turner (c. 1508–1568) and John Caius (1510–1573) of England, Ippolito Salviani (1514–1572) and Pierandrea Mattioli (1501–1578) of Italy, Leonhard Fuchs (1501–1566) and Valerius Cordus (1515–1544) of Germany, and Belon and Rondelet in his five-volume *Historiae Animalium* (1551–1587; Histories of animals) and its three-volume picture book version, *Icones* (1553–1560; Images). He also published a *Historia Plantarum* (History of plants, 1541), and prepared botanical manuscripts, published partially by Casimir Christoph Schmiedel (1718–1792), Gessner's biographer in the eighteenth-century, and wholly in a recent edition (*Conradi Gesneri Historia Plantarum Faksimileausgabe* [Conrad Gessner's history of plants, facsimile edition], 1972–1980, 1987–1991). He died ministering to victims of the plague in Zurich on 13 December 1565.

Gessner epitomizes the scientific and philological spirit of fifteenth- and early-sixteenth-century humanism, in which the search for historical truth meets the search for truth about the world around us. In his case, these interests focused on natural history. He has been called the father of modern bibliography, and of modern zoology as well.

See also Biology; Botany; Bullinger, Heinrich; Erasmus, Desiderius; Humanists and Humanism; Natural History; Natural Philosophy; Nature; Rhetoric; Zoology; Zwingli, Huldrych.

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CYNTHIA M. PYLE

GHENT, PACIFICATION OF (1576). See Dutch Revolt (1568–1648).

GHETTO. From their earliest days in the Diaspora, Jews chose voluntarily to live close together, reflecting a practice commonly adopted by groups dwelling in foreign lands. Their quarters, often referred to as the Jewish quarter or street, initially were almost never compulsory, and they continued to have contacts on all levels with their Christian neighbors. However, the Catholic church looked askance at such relationships, and in 1179 the Third Lateran Council stipulated that Christians should not dwell together with Jews. This vague policy statement had to be translated into legislation by the secular authorities, and only infrequently in the Middle Ages were laws enacted confining Jews to compulsory, segregated, and enclosed quarters. The few such Jewish quarters then established, such as that of Frankfurt, were never called ghettos, since that term originated in Venice and became associated with the Jews only in the sixteenth century.

THE GHETTO OF VENICE

In 1516, as a compromise between allowing Jews to live anywhere they wished in Venice and expelling them, the Venetian government required them to dwell on the island known as the Ghetto Nuovo (the New Ghetto), which was walled up with only two gates that were locked from sunset to sunrise. Then, when in 1541 visiting Ottoman Jewish merchants complained that they did not have enough room in the ghetto, the government ordered twenty dwellings located across a small canal walled up, joined by a footbridge to the Ghetto Nuovo, and assigned to them. This area was already known as the Ghetto Vecchio (the Old Ghetto), thereby strengthening the association between Jews and the word “ghetto.”

Clearly, the word “ghetto” is of Venetian rather than of Jewish origin, as sometimes conjectured. The Ghetto Vecchio had been the original site of the municipal copper foundry, called “ghetto” from the Italian verb *gettare*, ‘to pour or to cast’, while the island across from it, on which waste products had been dumped, became known

as *il terreno del ghetto*, ‘the terrain of the ghetto’, and eventually the Ghetto Nuovo.

Although compulsory, segregated, and enclosed Jewish quarters had existed in a few places prior to 1516, since the term “ghetto” had never been applied to them before 1516, the oft-encountered statement that the first ghetto was established in Venice in 1516 is correct in a technical linguistic sense but very misleading in a wider context, while to apply the term “ghetto” to an area prior to 1516 would be anachronistic. The most precise formulation is that the compulsory segregated and enclosed Jewish quarter received the designation “ghetto” as a result of developments in Venice in 1516.

THE SPREAD OF THE GHETTO

The word “ghetto” did not long remain confined to the city of Venice. In 1555, Pope Paul IV issued his restrictive bull, *Cum Nimis Absurdum*. Its first paragraph provided that the Jews of the Papal States were to live together on a single street, or should it not suffice, then on as many adjacent ones as necessary, with only one entrance and exit. Accordingly, the Jews of Rome were moved into a new compulsory, segregated, enclosed quarter, which apparently was first called a ghetto seven years later. Influenced by the papal example, local Italian authorities established special compulsory quarters for the Jews in most places in which they were allowed to reside. Following the Venetian nomenclature, these new residential areas were called “ghetto” in the legislation that established them.

In later years, the Venetian origin of the word “ghetto” in connection with the foundry came to be forgotten, as it was used exclusively in its secondary meaning as referring to compulsory, segregated, and enclosed Jewish quarters and then in a looser sense to refer to any area densely populated by Jews, even if they had freedom of residence and lived in the same districts as Christians.

Although the segregated, compulsory, and enclosed ghettos were abolished under the influence of the ideals of the French Revolution and European liberalism (as in Venice, 1797; Frankfurt, 1811; and Rome, where the gates and walls were removed in 1848 although the Jews were basically confined to that area until the city became a part of the Kingdom of Italy in 1870), the word “ghetto” lived on as the general designation for areas densely



Ghetto. A modern aerial view of the Jewish ghetto area of Venice. ©FULVIO ROITER/CORBIS

inhabited by members of minority groups, almost always for socioeconomic reasons rather than for legal ones, as had been the case with the initial Jewish ghetto.

AMBIGUOUS USAGE OF THE WORD “GHETTO”

It must be noted that the varied uses of the word “ghetto” have created a blurring of the Jewish historical experience, especially when employed loosely in phrases such as “the age of the ghetto,” “out of the ghetto,” and “ghetto mentality.” Actually, the word can be used in its original sense of a compulsory, segregated, and enclosed Jewish quarter only in connection with the Jewish experience in Italy and a few places in the Germanic lands, and not at all with that in Poland-Russia. If it is to be used in its original sense in connection with Eastern Europe, then it must be asserted that the age of the ghetto arrived there only after the Nazi invasions of World War II. However, there was a basic difference: unlike ghettos of earlier days, which were

designed to provide Jews with clearly defined permanent space in Christian society, twentieth-century ghettos constituted merely temporary stages on the planned road to total liquidation.

Finally, to a great extent because of the negative connotations of the word “ghetto,” the nature of Jewish life in the ghetto is often misunderstood. The establishment of ghettos did not lead to the breaking off of Jewish contacts with the outside world on any level. Additionally, from the internal Jewish perspective many evaluations of the ghetto’s alleged impact upon the life of the Jews and their mentality require substantial revision. In general, the decisive element determining the nature of Jewish life was not so much whether or not Jews were required to live in a ghetto, but rather the nature of the surrounding environment and whether it constituted an attractive stimulus to Jewish thought and offered a desirable supplement to traditional Jewish genres of intellectual activity. In all places, Jewish life must be examined in the

context of the external environment, and developments, especially those subjectively evaluated as undesirable, should not be attributed solely to the alleged impact of the ghetto.

See also Jews and Judaism; Jews, Attitudes toward; Jews, Expulsion of (Spain; Portugal); Venice.

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BENJAMIN C. I. RAVID

GIAMBOLOGNA (Giovanni da Bologna; 1529–1608), Flemish sculptor and architect, active in Italy. Born in Douai, Giambologna received his early training in the shop of Jacques Du Broeucq, a Flemish sculptor, engineer, and minor architect who had spent time in Italy. Probably with his master's encouragement, the young artist traveled around 1551 to Rome, where he made wax and clay sketches after the city's best artworks. Around 1553, while passing through Florence on his way back to Flanders, he met the banker Bernardo Vecchietti, who brought the young sculptor into his household. Through Vecchietti's connections, Giambologna began around 1558 to receive Medici commissions; by 1561, he was a salaried court artist, and soon thereafter he became the dukes' preeminent sculptor. Though he traveled to Bologna in 1562 (to work on his Neptune Fountain), to Rome in 1572 (to study and acquire antiquities), and to Genoa in 1579 (to accept the commission for the Grimaldi family chapel in the subsequently destroyed church of S. Francesco di Castelletto), Giambologna spent most of the remainder of his life in the Tuscan capital.

Giambologna's enormous success and productivity depended in part on his flexibility as an artist—his ability to fulfill commissions ranging from buildings to sugar sculptures—and in part on the talents

of the other major sculptors who worked in his shop. Much in demand as a Counter-Reformation artist, Giambologna designed a number of innovative altarpieces, the most important of which was the Altar of Liberty, made for the church of S. Martino in Lucca. Here the sculptor responded to new christocentric devotional currents with a central freestanding marble image of the Risen Savior. Giambologna also designed unified, multimedia decorative programs for several chapels. The best surviving example of these is the Capella Salviati in the church of San Marco in Florence, which the sculptor reoutfitted to promote the relics of S. Antonino, one of that church's most important historical figures.

Better known today than these works are the independent sculptures on secular themes that Giambologna made for the Medici and other clients. These included figures of Venus, of various scales and in various materials, and of Hercules—including the impressive, monolithic *Hercules and the Centaur*, formerly at the Canto dei Carnesechi and now in the Loggia de' Lanzi. His most famous statue in this category was and is the *Rape of the Sabine Women*, commissioned to serve as a pendant to Benvenuto Cellini's *Perseus and Medusa* in the same loggia. The *Sabine* cleverly adapted the triumphal themes of the statues that already occupied the piazza to a subject of love and possession. It allowed the duke to identify himself with the statue's hero, even as it, like many of Giambologna's other Florentine public works, avoided direct glorification of the current ruler. Also typical of many of Giambologna's works was the ambiguity of the *Sabine's* subject matter; in this case, at least, that ambiguity was deliberate, as it provoked writers to unpack the statue's numerous possible meanings in encomiastic poems.

In addition to these works, Giambologna also designed a number of witty fountains, including a *Bacchus*, at the end of Florence's Borgo San Jacopo, which poured water from its lifted cup; a *Mercury* for the Villa Medici in Rome, which represented the flying god as the terminus of a windy exhalation; and the *Appenine* for the Villa Medici (now Demidoff) at Pratolino, which fused a prisoner type and a grotto format. Much desired, in Giambologna's time, were also the sculptor's smaller statuettes, many of which were produced as multiples, so that



Giambologna. *Rape of the Sabine Women*, 1583, marble sculpture in the Loggia dei Lanzi, Florence. ©ALINARI/ART RESOURCE, N.Y.

they could be acquired by private collectors or sent as diplomatic gifts to foreign courts. Giambologna was also a skilled architect, as is witnessed in his elegant Palazzo Vecchietti and in his design for the facade of Florence's cathedral.

On Giambologna's death, in 1608, he was buried in the extraordinary chapel he had decorated for himself in the Church of the SS. Annunziata, largely using new casts of bronzes he had previously exported to Genoa and Munich. Though this death came just one year before Annibale Carracci's and just two before Caravaggio's, Giambologna, unlike these founders of the "baroque," is usually considered a late sculptural representative of the "mannerist" period. The designation reflects the awkwardness of transferring period styles in painting to sculpture, and of considering the Roman sculpture of Bernini as normative: with figures like Pietro Tacca (1577–1640) in Tuscany, Francavilla (1548–1615) in France, and Adriaan de Vries

(c. 1546–1626) in Germany all emulating his inventions, Giambologna's manner, no less than Annibale's or Caravaggio's, remained dominant in Europe well into the seventeenth century.

See also Caravaggio and Caravaggism; Florence; Florence, Art in; Mannerism; Medici Family.

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MICHAEL COLE

GIANNONE, PIETRO (1676–1748), Italian reformer, historian, and jurist. Born in Ischitella, Italy, and educated at the University of Naples, Giannone cultivated early ties with the Accademia Medina Celi, the famous academy sponsored by the duke of Medina Celi, of which Giambattista Vico was a member. He began a career in law, but his associations with the Neapolitan reforming jurists soon involved him in the antifeudal battle against the local nobility and the jurisdictional battle with Rome. Even his work as a historian took on a powerful polemical tone.

His ideas for the *Istoria civile del Regno di Napoli* (1723; *Civil history of the kingdom of Naples*) developed from his work as a jurist, which he evaluated in the light of the English civil lawyer Arthur Duck's 1653 history of Roman law in Europe. The resulting masterwork was an innovative fusion of legal history, cultural history, and social history. Conceived over a period of some twenty years, it aimed to combine erudition (often borrowed from sixteenth- and seventeenth-century authors possessing firsthand experience with the documents) and a philosophical outlook in harmony with the virulent anti-ecclesiastical program characteristic of the Enlightenment. A major purpose was to provide the new Austrian rulers of Naples with a basis for correcting the social and political problems caused by what he viewed as the excessive influence of Rome and the Catholic Church in Neapolitan civic affairs. Translated into French in 1742, the work eventually

earned the praise of Montesquieu, Voltaire, and Edward Gibbon.

At the time, however, it launched its author into a sea of troubles. Giannone was excommunicated by the local archbishop and forced to leave Naples, while the work was placed on the Index of Forbidden Books. In the Vienna of Emperor Charles VI, Giannone found a secure asylum in which to undertake and publish detailed responses (later issued together in 1755 as *Apologia del'istoria civile* [Apology of the civil history]) to the many polemics provoked by his writings. Meanwhile, he worked on an unfinished history of the origins of civilization (the *Triregno*, complete edition of the manuscript published only in 1895), developing many of the themes in the *Istoria civile* and adding others, in part inspired by Baruch Spinoza, Pierre Bayle, and John Toland, concerning the abolition of ecclesiastical hierarchy and the institution of a natural religion.

The promise of a new regime in Naples under the Spanish Bourbons attracted Giannone back to Italy in 1734. In Venice he found a congenial environment for study and discussion, but he soon became a victim of Italian religious politics. Betrayed by his Venetian associates, chased out of Modena, tricked into leaving relatively safe Geneva and delivering himself into the hands of the Savoy police, he ended up in jail in Piedmont, where he remained from 1736 until the end of his life in 1748, in spite of having submitted to a forced abjuration of his beliefs. In this last period, among other works exploring the themes of politics, philosophy, and religion that had long interested him, he wrote a vivid account describing his intellectual development amid personal tragedy, entitled *Vita di Pietro Giannone* (The life of Pietro Giannone; complete edition first published in 1904).

See also Bayle, Pierre; Charles VI (Holy Roman Empire); Enlightenment; Gibbon, Edward; Montesquieu, Charles-Louis de Secondat de; Naples, Kingdom of; Vico, Giovanni Battista; Voltaire.

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BRENDAN DOOLEY

GIBBON, EDWARD (1737–1794), the leading English historian of the eighteenth century, famous for his *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. The affluent only son of Edward Gibbon, a member of Parliament and country gentleman, Gibbon was briefly at Magdalen College, Oxford. The formative experience was his years in Lausanne (1753–1758). There he received an important introduction to Enlightenment thought and also defined his political judgments with reference to the various government structures and practices of the Swiss cantons, leading to his unpublished *Letter on the Government of Berne*. In 1758, Gibbon began the *Essai sur l'étude de la littérature* (Essay on the study of literature), a work that focused on the controversy of the ancients and moderns, providing a clear defense of the former.

After he had spent some time in England, Gibbon's next formative experience was a visit to Italy in 1764–1765. At Rome in 1764, he “trod, with a lofty step, the ruins of the Forum; each memorable spot where Romulus stood, or Tully spoke, or Caesar fell . . . it was at Rome . . . as I sat musing amidst the ruins of the Capitol, while the barefooted friars were singing Vespers in the Temple of Jupiter, that the idea of writing the decline and fall of the city first started to my mind.”

As a member of Parliament in 1774–1784, Gibbon was a supporter of the government of Lord North against the American Revolution and was a member of the Board of Trade in 1779–1782. Not a natural speaker, Gibbon did not enjoy being in Parliament, and preferred retirement to Lausanne.

Gibbon's *History* (6 vols., 1776–1788) was a masterpiece of scholarship and skepticism and led to his being regarded in England as the leading historian of his generation. Based on formidable reading across a range of languages, and supported by over 8,300 references and a sound knowledge of the geography of the Classical world, the work contrasted with the less profound and philosophical character of most contemporary historical work.

Gibbon attributed the fall of Rome in part to the rise of Christianity, although he was cautious about providing a general model of change and preferred to focus on a detailed narrative of developments. He contrasted the degenerate Roman Empire with the vigor of the barbarian invaders. Rather than focusing only on Rome and its successor states, Gibbon extended his scope to a history of Eurasia. He was particularly interested in the displacement of the Greek and Syrian world by the Arabs and Islam. While Gibbon was writing, the banners of the Ottoman Empire still waved above the walls of Belgrade. He sought to understand the past that foreshadowed the modern world and to explain the world of post-Roman power, ecclesiastical authority, and Scholastic philosophy against which eighteenth-century civil society had been constructed.

Gibbon was convinced of the general benefit of history and of modern European civilization:

Since the first discovery of the arts, war, commerce, and religious zeal have diffused among the savages of the Old and New World these inestimable gifts . . . every age of the world has increased and still increases the real wealth, the happiness, the knowledge, and perhaps the virtue of the human race. The merit of discovery has too often been stained with avarice, cruelty, and fanaticism; and the intercourse of nations has produced the communication of disease and prejudice.

The *History* was critically and commercially successful, although his critical account of Christianity was attacked by many. Nevertheless, Gibbon's remained the best history of the rise of Christianity in English into the following century.

Gibbon's apparent ambivalence toward Christianity was such that he can scarcely be cited as typifying the values of his age. This was also true of his cosmopolitanism, opposition to war and martial glory, and disapproval of imperial expansion. In his *History*, Gibbon made his cosmopolitanism clear:

It is the duty of a patriot to prefer and promote the exclusive interest and glory of his native country; but a philosopher may be permitted to enlarge his views, and to consider Europe as one great republic, whose various inhabitants have attained almost the same level of politeness and cultivation.

In later years, Gibbon condemned the French Revolution, which threatened his concept of enlightened Europe and forced him to return home from Lausanne. He never married. The irony of Gibbon's

authorial voice was linked to moral and moralistic concerns: rulership, governance, and political life were seen as moral activities. Gibbon's *History* reflects the scholarship of his age in being essentially a political account, but it is also a great work of literature.

See also **Ancient World; English Literature and Language; Enlightenment; Historiography.**

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JEREMY BLACK

GILBERT, WILLIAM (1544–1603), English scientist and physician. Gilbert is best known for his revolutionary theories on magnetism, published in his book *De Magnete* (or *De Magnete, Magneticisque Corporibus, et de Magno Magnete Tellure*; On the loadstone and magnetic bodies, and on the great magnet the Earth) in 1600. Remarkably little is known of Gilbert's life. Born in Colchester to a prosperous magistrate, he received a B.A. from Cambridge University in 1561, an M.A. in 1564, and an M.D. in 1569. By the mid-1570s, he was practicing medicine in London, where he became a member of the Royal College of Physicians (and was elected president of the group in 1600). There, he also came into contact with navigators, compass makers, and practical mathematicians, and pursued his research on magnetism. In his successful medical practice, he was consulted by members of the aristocracy, was appointed as one of Elizabeth I's personal physicians (1600–1603), and, after her death in 1603, served as James I's physician until a plague epidemic that November took his own life.

Navigational accuracy assumed greater importance with the overseas explorations by the Spanish

and Portuguese in the fifteenth century, and during the sixteenth century Dutch and English navigators compiled observations that were of significant use to Gilbert. It was not lost on Gilbert or his contemporaries that discoveries about magnetism would be politically and commercially useful. Despite the widespread use of nautical compasses on Spanish, English, Dutch, and French ships, none of his contemporaries understood why compass needles behaved as they did: attraction, repulsion, variation, dip, bipolarity, and the discovery of latitude were recognized empirically, but poorly understood. Through his experiments on magnets and magnetic bodies (especially the lodestone, that is, naturally magnetized iron ore), Gilbert methodically investigated a wide range of magnetic behaviors.

In fact, Gilbert's book went far beyond being a useful navigational treatise, and represented the first comprehensive analysis of magnetism, featuring a revolutionary new theory about the Earth's magnetic force. In formulating his views, Gilbert insisted on using his own empirical data rather than relying on past scientific authorities. His book is full of carefully contrived laboratory experiments that he urged his readers to replicate. He assailed credulous acceptance of myths (such as the power of a magnet to detect adultery), rejected Aristotelian explanations, and invented his own language to describe magnetic phenomena, including the terms *electricity*, *electric force*, *electric attraction*, and *magnetic pole*. To explain the phenomena he investigated, he concluded that the Earth was alive with magnetic potency or force, and he likened this to sexual attraction. Hence, for him, magnetism was an immaterial, innate force operating in the universe, with occult and vital properties.

The stunning claim of Gilbert's book was that the Earth behaves in the heavens as a spherical magnet does on earth. He based this assertion on his experiments with spherical magnets and on his deduction that the Earth itself was a giant spherical magnet. Reasoning by analogy, he stated boldly that the Earth rotated daily on its own axis by its magnetic power, just as a perfectly spherical lodestone aligned with the Earth's poles would spin on its axis. Declaring himself an adherent of astronomer Nicolaus Copernicus (1473–1543), whose theory about the Earth's rotation around the heavens had been published in 1543, Gilbert added

new magnetic arguments to the arsenal of the Copernican polemic.

INFLUENCE ON LATER SCIENCE

Subsequent natural philosophers including Francis Bacon (1561–1626) and Galileo Galilei (1564–1642) hailed Gilbert's handling of empirical and experimental evidence, and others applauded his rejection of Aristotle's erroneous ideas about physics and astronomy. Johannes Kepler (1571–1630) and Sir Isaac Newton (1642–1727) pondered Gilbert's magnetic forces before devising their own physical explanations of astronomical motions. And, although many parts of Gilbert's new magnetic theories were soon rejected, including his analogy of the Earth and the spherical lodestone, he is still acknowledged for some of his discoveries about electricity and magnetism (such as the distinction between magnetic and static electricity), and for correctly recognizing that the fixed stars are not all the same distance from the earth.

See also Astronomy; Bacon, Francis; Copernicus, Nicolaus; Exploration; Galileo Galilei; Kepler, Johannes; Newton, Isaac; Shipbuilding and Navigation.

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MARTHA BALDWIN

GIORGIONE (Giorgio da Castelfranco; 1477–1510), Italian painter, master of the Venetian school. Although little is known about Giorgione, it is clear that in the course of a brief career curtailed by the plague in the autumn of 1510 he transformed the field of painting in Renaissance Venice. In a number of small-scale devotional works (e.g., the *Allendale Nativity*, c. 1500, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.), the young artist responded in brilliant fashion to the pictorial innovations of his master, Giovanni Bellini (c. 1438–1516). In these paintings, Giorgione demonstrated his understand-



Giorgione. *Sleeping Venus* (c. 1510). ©ERICH LESSING/ART RESOURCE, N.Y.

ing of Bellini's tonal and atmospheric approach to pictorial composition in which individual forms are loosely bound together through the unifying play of warm golden light. Also derived from Bellini is the placement of human and sacred protagonists within a broadly articulated natural landscape.

Giorgione broadly relied on the established painting types and iconographies of late-fifteenth-century Venice in his earlier work. But his uniquely expressive artistic personality is already very evident in the dreamlike atmosphere that pervades each painting. This air of moody introspection is most noticeable in the Castelfranco altarpiece (c. 1500–1502, Castelfranco, Duomo), Giorgione's first and only monumental religious commission. Here, the rigorously defined rational space of the early Renaissance altarpiece is undermined by a perspective scheme that makes little logical sense. Works such as two well-known male portraits (both c. 1500–1502, one at the Staatliche Museum, Berlin, the other at the San Diego Museum of Art) are undoubtedly commissioned portraits, but their lack of reference to the trappings of social rank makes them

very unlike the average fifteenth-century painting of this type. *Col Tempo* (c. 1505, Accademia, Venice), *Laura* (1506, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna), and the *Boy with an Arrow* (c. 1505–1507, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna) cannot really be understood as “portraits” at all, although the artist very deliberately drew on the conventions of the genre. In each painting, Giorgione presents a strongly lit form emerging out of dark shadow, indicating his awareness of the art of Leonardo da Vinci, who had briefly visited Venice in 1500. But Giorgione's fluid and varied application of paint goes beyond Leonardo's smooth blending, pushing the limits of the malleable oil medium. In *Col Tempo*, it is the realization of the woman's weathered skin through the use of broadly applied impasto touches that breathes life into the *vanitas* theme. Both *Laura* and the *Boy* are more conceptually ambiguous. Despite the portraitlike arrangement, we are shown a real individual in neither case. These works are characterized by a simmering (yet understated) eroticism wholly unprecedented in Italian Renaissance art. Texture and touch are the means by which Giorgione creates the sensual

mood: in *Laura* by the juxtaposition of fingers, fur, and secret flesh; in the *Boy* by the softly melting treatment of one physical substance into another.

Paintings such as these set the tone for much of Giorgione's later work, which is typically intimate and secular in tone, as well as boldly original in style, technique, and exposition of subject. Little is known of the circumstances in which these paintings were commissioned. But in the 1520s and 1530s *The Three Philosophers* (c. 1508–1510, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna) was owned by Taddeo Contarini, *The Tempest* (c. 1509–1510, Accademia, Venice) by Gabriele Vendramin, and the *Sleeping Venus* (c. 1510, Gemäldegalerie, Dresden) by Girolamo Marcello. These men are likely to have been the original patrons, and recent studies have revealed that they formed an intimate and sophisticated private circle of Venetian patricians. Giorgione's artistic response to the primarily poetic and esoteric interests of this circle may help to explain both the formal originality and the iconographic ambiguity characteristic of his work for them.

The subject matter of both *The Three Philosophers* and *The Tempest* has been hotly disputed by scholars, but such arguments may have been anticipated by the painter who, conceiving his paintings as complex visual and iconographic "puzzles," intended to stimulate interpretation. X-rays of *The Three Philosophers*, for example, indicate that details revealing the subject as that of the three Magi were concealed in the final version. Technical examination of *The Tempest* suggests a less deliberate procedure altogether: rather than veiling a preconceived subject, Giorgione seems to have invented the picture as he went along, his final composition being radically different from that revealed by the x-ray. The many modern attempts to read the painting in terms of a specific mythological, biblical, or allegorical subject seem to sell the painting short. It might be better to think of *The Tempest* as a pictorial attempt to rival the open-ended associative power of the pastoral poetry then so in vogue with Gabriele Vendramin and his select circle.

The vastly influential *Sleeping Venus*, completed by Titian following Giorgione's death, brings together many of the themes and qualities of his art. The subject matter, so typical in its combination of classical and erotic elements, is not on this occasion

in doubt. But the Venus once again suggests Giorgione's fundamental conception of painting as a kind of "poetry," which works its magic less through the "logical" or scientific description of the object observed than through its ability to encourage the free association of ideas. It is perhaps for this reason that the anatomical impossibility of Giorgione's goddess has failed to disturb the many who have found in her fluid form the perfect realization of an aesthetic ideal.

See also **Venice, Art in.**

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TOM NICHOLS

GLISSON, FRANCIS (1598 or 1599–1677), English physician and natural philosopher. Glisson enrolled at Caius College, Cambridge, at the age of eighteen. Finally turning to medical studies in his late twenties, he went on to a distinguished career in medicine and natural philosophy. He became a fellow of the Royal College of Physicians in 1635 and held numerous offices there, including that of reader in anatomy in 1639, and of president from 1667 to 1669. His success as a physician was also reflected in the fact that he was appointed Regius Professor of Physic ("Medicine") at Cambridge in 1636, a post he held until his death. He was a member of the group of experimental natural philosophers who met in London in the period after the execution of Charles I in 1649, and which has been identified as a precursor of the Royal Society. Although he subsequently became one of the earliest fellows of the society, his own research led him to develop a natural philosophy that was at odds with the prevailing views in the society, so he was never prominent.

After an initial publication, *De Rachitide* (On rickets, 1650), which was then believed to be a new disease, all Glisson's works were devoted to understanding human physiology in the light of William

Harvey's (1578–1657) discovery of the circulation of the blood (1628). Before Harvey, the liver was seen as the source of the venous system, and of venous blood, so when the discovery of circulation showed that the veins were continuous with the arterial system and converged on the heart, it became obvious that the role of the liver was completely misunderstood. Glisson's *Anatomia Hepatis* (Anatomy of the liver, 1654) sought to put this right. An important outcome of this research was the concept of irritability, an idea he pursued by turning his attention to the stomach and intestines. Glisson began by establishing that sensitivity, which he saw as an ability to perceive, was inherent in living tissue even where no nerves were present, but he went on to believe that all matter, animate and inanimate, was perceptive and endowed with appetite and motility. He deferred publishing on the stomach in favor of a major account of these ideas in his *Tractatus de Natura Substantiae Energetica* (Treatise on the energetic nature of substance, 1672). The subsequent *Tractatus de Ventriculo et Intestinis* (Treatise on the stomach and intestines, 1677) appeared in the year of his death.

The medical importance of Glisson's discovery of irritability remained unnoticed until the theory was established by Albrecht von Haller (1708–1777) in 1753, but it raised immediate controversy in natural philosophy. The prevailing mechanical philosophy promoted a view of matter as completely passive and inert, and Glisson's research ran counter to this. Because the passivity of matter was frequently used to ensure a role for God's providence, Glisson's active matter was seen as a support for atheism. Consequently, his works were explicitly attacked by the Cambridge Platonists Henry More (1586–1661) and Ralph Cudworth (1617–1688).

See also Anatomy and Physiology; Haller, Albrecht von; Harvey, William; Mechanism; Medicine; More, Henry; Natural Philosophy; Neoplatonism.

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JOHN HENRY

GLORIOUS REVOLUTION (BRITAIN). The Glorious Revolution was the term contemporaries coined to refer to the events of 1688–1689 that led to the overthrow of the Catholic James II (ruled 1685–1688) in England (and thereby also in Ireland and Scotland) and his replacement by the Protestant William III and Mary II (ruled 1689–1702). Some historians see the Glorious Revolution as a Whig victory that established limited monarchy in England; others have emphasized the important role of the Tories in bringing down James II and stressed the compromise nature of the revolution settlement; still others have seen it as little more than a foreign invasion, a dynastic coup brought about from outside and from above (within the royal family), not from below. One thing is certain: the Glorious Revolution was not "bloodless," as it was once styled. Not only was there some blood shed in England, but the overthrow of James II provoked bloody wars in both Scotland and Ireland, which left a bitter and long-lasting legacy.

THE OVERTHROW OF JAMES II

James II inherited a strong position when he came to the throne in 1685. The Tory reaction of Charles II's (ruled 1660–1685) last years had not only seen a ruthless campaign against all forms of political and religious dissent (with Whigs being purged from local office and Nonconformist conventiclers harried in the law courts) and an effective bolstering of the powers of the crown, but also witnessed a marked swing in public opinion. People rallied behind the crown and the legitimate heir against what they saw as a threat to the existing establishment in church and state posed by the Whigs and their Nonconformist allies. James's accession in February 1685 was broadly popular, as evidenced by numerous loyalist demonstrations and addresses, and when he met his first Parliament in May, a mere 57 members of Parliament (out of a total of 513) were

known Whigs, thanks in part to Charles II's interference in borough franchises during his final years, but also due to a shift in opinion in favor of the Tories. Although James Scott, the duke of Monmouth, and a few radical Whigs did launch a rebellion that summer to try to overthrow James, it met with very little support.

Nevertheless, despite promises at the beginning of his reign that he would respect his subjects' rights and liberties and protect the existing Protestant establishment in the church, James immediately set about advancing the interests of his fellow Catholics through the royal prerogative. Thus he issued dispensations to Catholics from the provisions of the Test Act of 1673, which restricted political office to communicating members of the Church of England, winning a decisive test case in favor of the dispensing power—*Godden v. Hales*—in June 1686 (though only after a purge of the judicial bench). He also promoted the public celebration of the Mass; sought to undermine the Anglican monopoly of education by forcing the universities to admit Catholics; issued a Declaration of Indulgence (April 1687), which in one fell swoop suspended all penal laws against Protestant and Catholic nonconformists; and engaged in a campaign to pack Parliament so that he could establish Catholic toleration by law.

His initiatives, however, met with considerable obstruction from the Tory–Anglican interest. His loyalist Parliament of 1685 called for a strict enforcement of the laws against Catholics and condemned the dispensations given to Catholic officers in the army and had to be prorogued before the end of the year; the Anglican clergy began delivering fiery sermons against popery, which led the king to set up an Ecclesiastical Commission to keep them in line; and the Tory–Anglican squierarchy, in response to a poll conducted by the crown, overwhelmingly refused to commit themselves to support a repeal of the penal laws in a forthcoming Parliament. When in April 1688 James tried to make the clergy read a reissue of his Declaration of Indulgence from the pulpit, most refused, and seven bishops petitioned the crown against the Indulgence on the grounds that it was against the law. The crown brought a prosecution against the seven bishops for seditious libel, but in June 1688 they were found not guilty by a King's Bench jury. In that same month, when James's second wife, Mary

of Modena (1658–1718) gave birth to a son, who would take precedence in the succession over James's Protestant daughters by his first marriage, the prospect of a never-ending succession of Catholic kings led a group of seven politicians to invite the Dutch stadtholder William of Orange, husband of James's eldest daughter and fourth in line to the throne in his own right, to come and rescue English political and religious liberties. In the face of William's invasion, James began to backtrack and, following the advice of his bishops, agreed to abandon the dispensing and suspending power and his Ecclesiastical Commission and to restore things to the way they had been at the time of his accession. In short, it was the Tory–Anglican interest who defeated the drift toward popery and arbitrary government under James.

Following William's landing at Torbay on 5 November 1688, members of the ruling elite and even sections of the army began to desert James, while anti-Catholic rioting broke out in many parts of the country. Although William invaded with a sizeable and well-trained professional army (estimates vary from between 14,000 and 21,000 men), James was able to send nearly 30,000 men to meet him at Salisbury Plain and had another 8,000–10,000 men ready to bring into action. However, James was not defeated by an invading army; he panicked in the face of desertions by his subjects and opted to flee the country. Although his first attempt, in the early hours of 11 December, was unsuccessful, he did leave on 23 December, after William had already occupied the capital.

THE REVOLUTION SETTLEMENT

In January 1689, a Convention Parliament, which was evenly balanced between Whigs and Tories, met to settle the state of the nation. Most Tories hoped to preserve the hereditary principle either by keeping James as king with a regent ruling in his name or by settling the throne on his eldest daughter, Mary (taking comfort in the myth that the Prince of Wales had not really been delivered by the queen but had been smuggled into the bedchamber in a warming-pan). The Convention determined, however, that James, by breaking his contract with the people (a Whig doctrine) and withdrawing himself from the kingdom, had abdicated the government, and proceeded in early February to fill the vacancy by

declaring William and Mary king and queen jointly (though with full regal power vested in William alone). The Convention then determined what powers they should give the new monarchs. Twenty-eight Heads of Grievances were drawn up, some of which were articulations of existing rights, others demands for constitutional reform. In the end, the Convention decided to leave out those grievances that would have required fresh legislation, and instead agreed to a Declaration of Rights (12 February) that purported to do no more than vindicate and assert ancient rights and liberties. There has been considerable controversy over whether or not the Declaration of Rights in fact made new law under the guise of proclaiming the old, especially with regard to its declarations that the suspending power, the dispensing power (as exercised under James), the Ecclesiastical Commission, and a standing army in time of peace without parliamentary consent were illegal. What can be said with confidence is that the framers of the Declaration of Rights genuinely believed that the powers they condemned were illegal, and that the Declaration reflected the concerns of both the Whigs and Tories.

William and Mary were proclaimed king and queen in London and Westminster on 13 February and shortly thereafter in the rest of the country; they were crowned on 11 April 1689. The Declaration of Rights was not the totality of the revolution settlement, however. Several of the reforms in the original Heads of Grievances that did not make it into the Declaration were enacted during William's reign: in April 1689, a Toleration Act secured limited toleration for Protestant nonconformists; in December, the Declaration of Rights was passed into law with the Bill of Rights, which also barred Catholics from the succession and prevented any future king or queen from marrying a Catholic; a Triennial Act of 1694 secured frequent Parliaments (the act stipulated that Parliaments must meet at least once every three years and that no Parliament was to last for more than three years without a dissolution), while the Act of Settlement of 1701, in addition to determining that the succession should pass to the Hanoverians once the Protestant Stuart line became extinct, also ensured the independence of the judiciary. Yet more than anything else, it was the revolution in foreign policy that accompanied

the dynastic shift in 1688–1689 that changed the nature of the monarchy in England. The nation became involved in an expensive war against France, which resulted in the setting up of the Bank of England (1694) and the establishment of a national debt that had to be serviced by regular grants of taxation. This increased the monarchy's dependence on Parliament, while William's repeated absences from England in the 1690s, as he led the war effort on the Continent, led to the emergence of the cabinet system of government.

Whereas the revolution in England was a bipartisan affair, the same was not true for the other two kingdoms under Stuart rule. In Scotland, the Whigs and Presbyterians were able to forge a more radical settlement in church and state, overturning episcopacy and stripping the crown of many of the powers it possessed under Charles II and James II. The government did not succeed in putting down Jacobite resistance until May 1690, though Jacobite sentiment in the Highlands and among the Episcopalians of the northeast remained strong, helping to fuel further Jacobite rebellions in 1715 and 1745. In Ireland, the Catholic majority declared for James II, who went there in March 1689 with the intention of trying to use the kingdom as base from which to reconquer Scotland and England. An overwhelmingly Catholic Parliament that met in Dublin in the spring of 1689 passed a legislative package restoring political and economic power to the Catholics; but this was undone by Williamite victory in the ensuing war—the turning point coming with William's victory at the Boyne on 1 July 1690 (after which James fled), although Jacobite resistance continued until the final surrender at Limerick on 3 October 1691. Following the peace, successive Protestant Parliaments passed a series of repressive penal laws designed to guarantee the Protestant ascendancy and make it extremely difficult for Catholics to exercise their religion, inherit property, engage in trade or practice a profession.

See also Church of England; England; Jacobitism; James II (England); Stuart Dynasty (England and Scotland); William and Mary.

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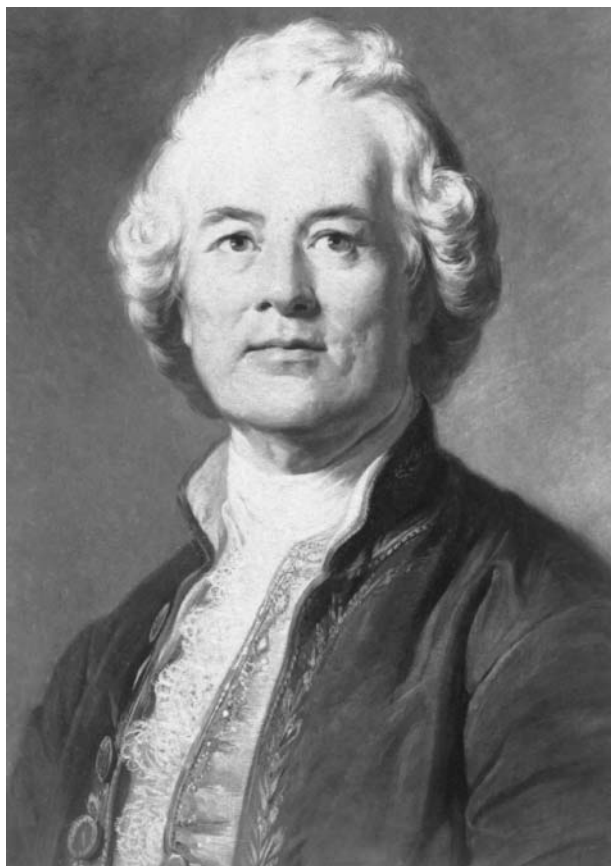
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TIM HARRIS

GLUCK, CHRISTOPH WILLIBALD VON (1714–1787), Austrian composer of Bohemian birth. Gluck is important for his “reform” of the Metastasian opera seria in works written for Vienna and Paris. The son and grandson of gamekeepers, Gluck studied music (singing and violin), and at the age of thirteen or fourteen, faced with his father’s determination that he follow the paternal vocation, fled to Prague, where he supported himself by various musical activities (notably as organist at the Týn Church). In Prague he had the opportunity to hear contemporary Italian opera by Vivaldi, Albinoni, and others. After briefly serving Prince Lobkowitz in Vienna, in 1737 he accepted employment as a violinist in Prince Melzi’s service in Milan. Four years later his first Italian opera, *Artaserse*, to a libretto by Pietro Metastasio (1698–1782), had its premiere. For the next dozen years he followed a career path typical of moderately successful composers of Italian opera. He traveled

extensively, for a while as music director of the Mingotti company and later for Locatelli’s company, and wrote operas on commission for cities in Italy, as well as Dresden, Copenhagen, Vienna, and London. In these he gained a mastery of current conventions in opera structure, forms, expression of emotions, florid melodic writing, text setting, and orchestral scoring (although sometimes with brusque and unexpected results). In 1745 he became resident composer at the King’s Theatre in London. The first of his two works written for production there, *La caduta de’ giganti*, contains clear allusions to the current political situation in forecasting allegorically the suppression of the Jacobite rebellion. Both London operas include much music revised from earlier works, as would remain Gluck’s custom throughout his career (and, indeed, it was standard practice for Italian opera composers to borrow from works of their own heard only elsewhere and, often at the behest of singers, to include music of others in their scores). While in England the composer became acquainted with George Frideric Handel’s music and David Garrick’s “realistic” style of dramatic acting, whose aesthetics were to mark his subsequent approach.

By 1748 Gluck was back in Vienna, where the court commissioned him to compose the music for Metastasio’s *La semiramide riconosciuta* to celebrate the birthday of Empress Maria Theresa. Two years later he married Maria Anna Bergin, whose dowry and personal wealth gave him financial stability. The couple remained based in her native Vienna, although in the early years of their marriage Gluck continued to accept foreign commissions that required travel. He also became Konzertmeister and later Kapellmeister to Prince Joseph Friedrich von Sachsen-Hildburghausen. For the imperial couple’s visit to his estate outside Vienna, the composer wrote *Le cinesi*, a clever parody of contrasting dramatic genres as well as an address to tastes for the “exotic.” These operas and other musical activities doubtless brought the composer to the attention of Count Durazzo, who in 1756 hired him to supervise concerts and French opéras comiques at the court-controlled Burgtheater (four years later the production of ballet music was added to his duties). Several commissions of Italian operas, French opéras comiques and ballet scores for the theater and for the court soon followed. Of these the most



Christoph von Gluck. Portrait by Carl Jaeger, 1881.

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significant musically is the *ballet d'action*, *Don Juan* (1761, choreography by Gasparo Angiolini). Because he was busy with Viennese projects and because travel was hindered by the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748) and its aftermath, Gluck seldom ventured elsewhere during this period. One important exception was the opera for Rome, *Antigono* (1756); during his visit there the pope named him *cavaliere dello sperone d'oro* (knight of the golden spur), a title that the composer took pride in using.

By 1760 Gluck was well established as the leading opera composer in Vienna. While during the decade he continued to compose opéras comiques, serenatas, and other works for the court (often to texts by the venerable Metastasio) and was awarded a court pension in 1763, he is remembered today for his “reform” of opera seria in his *Orfeo ed Euridice* (1762) and *Alceste* (1767). Significantly, the librettist for both was Raniero Calzabigi, an

Italian familiar with French theatrical and operatic dramaturgy and probably the anonymous critic of the Metastasian model (*Lettre sur le mécanisme de l'opéra italien*, 1756). Operatic change was in the air: Gluck and other Italian opera composers and librettists had already anticipated some of the directions that the “reform” would take. Still, *Orfeo* and *Alceste* mark the most thoroughgoing development of a new aesthetic, a “noble simplicity” according to contemporaries: the drama comes first and unfolds in a logical, straightforward way; aria structures are more varied and flexible and avoid lengthy orchestral introductions (*ritornelli*); florid vocal display is avoided in favor of a more direct expression in often syllabic settings; the chorus has a heightened role; integration of chorus, soloists, aria, accompanied recitative, and dance in impressive tableaux match requirements of the plot and give the work greater musical continuity (though the divisions remain clear). In performance, acting by the soloists, including their gestures, became more “natural”; the first *Orfeo*, the castrato Gaetano Guadagni, had studied with Garrick, and the music historian Charles Burney later recounted that Gluck himself told him that he had insisted on numerous repetitions during rehearsals until all aspects of the performance met his standards. *Alceste*, in addition, broke with tradition in omitting castrati from the soloists’ ranks (original version).

As several of the innovations were inspired by the model of the French *tragédie* and the *tragédie lyrique*, Gluck decided to try to conquer Paris, then the cultural capital of Europe. Preceded by a clever publicity campaign mounted by C. L. G. L. du Roullet, the librettist for several of his French operas, Gluck arrived there in late 1773. With the support of his former student, Marie Antoinette (dauphine, shortly to become queen), he soon gained a contract with the Académie Royale de Musique. After six months of intensive rehearsal his first opera for the Académie, *Iphigénie en Aulide*, was a success, followed shortly by *Orphée et Euridice*, a revision of *Orfeo*, performed to even greater acclaim. *Alceste* (1776) differs substantially from its Italian predecessor. In choosing to reset Jean-Baptiste Quinault’s libretto written for Jean-Baptiste Lully, Gluck sought in *Armide* (1777) to align himself explicitly with the French tradition. His *Iphigénie en Tauride* (1779) is his masterpiece.

These five operas show the composer's growing mastery of French declamation and his substantial advance in the "reform" agenda. In *Alceste*, for example, the two principal characters and the chorus are portrayed more convincingly as a loving couple and grieving people, compared to the Italian version. In *Armide* Gluck not only exploited spectacular stage effects, but also achieved a more fluid musical construction. *Iphigénie en Tauride* builds on this in an unusually high number of ensembles matching the drama.

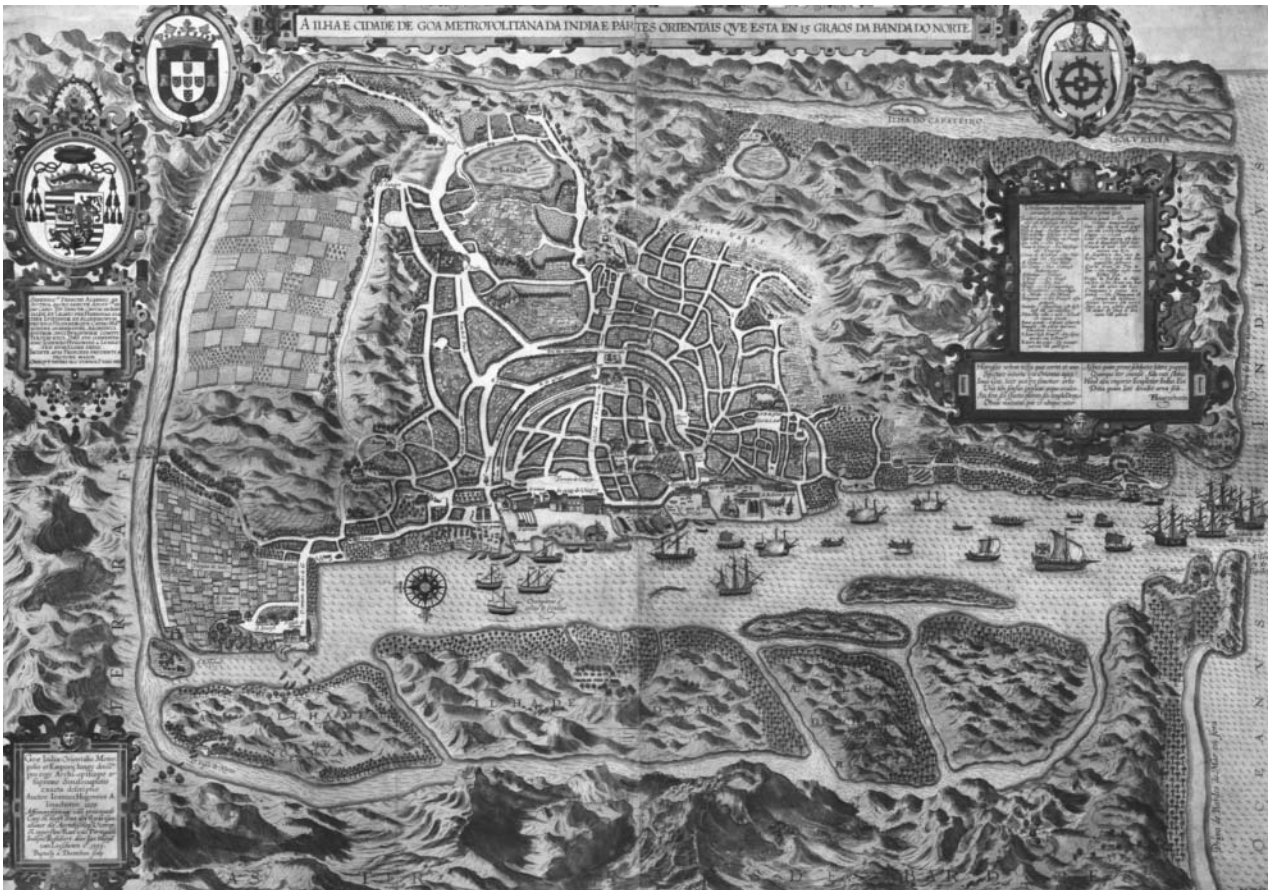
After having divided his time between Paris and Vienna for six years, Gluck returned to the Austrian capital for good in 1779. His final major operatic effort was to revise a translation into German of *Iphigénie en Tauride* (1781). *Orfeo/Orphée* (often in various hybrid versions) and his French *tragédies lyriques* were an important legacy. Not only were these operas part of the repertory throughout the

nineteenth century, although they were sometimes revised to meet current casts and audience tastes by musicians such as Berlioz (*Orphée*, 1859; *Alceste*, 1861, both Paris), Wagner (*Iphigénie en Aulide*, 1847, Dresden) and Richard Strauss (*Iphigénie en Tauride*, 1889, Weimar), they have continued to be revived in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

See also Lully, Jean-Baptiste; Music; Opera; Vienna.

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M. ELIZABETH C. BARTLET

GOA. Goa was the administrative and religious capital of the Portuguese Asian empire. Located on the west coast of India, Goa had been an important center of Indian Ocean trade under the sultan of Bijapur well before the arrival of the Portuguese. After 1510 it became the center of Portuguese activities in Asia and by 1600 its population grew to seventy-five thousand. As in Macau and other cities in Portuguese Asia, the Portuguese always formed a small percentage of the total population. Goa is the name of both the city and the area surrounding it. By the 1630s the region had a population of 250,000. During the sixteenth century and part of the seventeenth century Goa reached its zenith, becoming one of the jewels in the Portuguese crown. Long-distance trade with Lisbon brought New World gold and silver to trade for Asian spices (such as pepper, cloves, and cinnamon) as well as tea and Chinese silks. Trade within the Indian Ocean region was based on exchanging prized Arabian horses in South Asia for Indian cotton and rice.

In Goa's heyday travelers remarked on the many large buildings and the highly evolved urban nature of the city, in which the Portuguese had built a number of large churches and an important convent (Santa Mónica). A slow decline began by 1650, and the city was eventually abandoned because of reoccurring health concerns (malaria and cholera). The urban population moved several miles west to Panaji, the modern capital of the Indian state of Goa.

See also **Macau; Portuguese Colonies: The Indian Ocean and Asia.**

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TIMOTHY J. COATES

GOETHE, JOHANN WOLFGANG VON (1749–1832; elevated to the nobility as von Goethe in 1782), German writer, scientist, and statesman. The dominant figure of the German Classicist-Romantic period, and for many still the most influential of all German writers, Goethe was often referred to as the last Renaissance man. He successfully cultivated a multitude of extraordinary talents, while his works, especially *Faust* and his novels, expressed and helped shape modern individualism. He brought radical subjectivity to German poetry and expressed a modern view of history: history revealed in the exceptional individual. The cult of Goethe as the eminent icon of German culture (in the much-lamented absence of a nation-state) and his canonization began during his lifetime, which also saw the beginnings of German philology and literary historiography. Recent scholarship has examined and reevaluated the diverse cultural production in Goethe's "shadow," especially the writing of Charlotte von Stein (1742–1827) and Marianne von Willemer (1784–1860), who had previously been of interest in numerous biographies of Goethe merely as his beloved and as the inspiration and models for his fictional characters.

Goethe was the first child of a patrician couple in Frankfurt am Main, the coronation city of the Holy Roman Empire. Retired imperial councillor Johann Caspar Goethe (1710–1782) and Katharina Elisabeth, née Textor (1731–1808), a major's daughter, led a cultured life and valued artistic endeavors. The only surviving son, Goethe enjoyed a privileged humanistic education at home together with his sister Cornelia (1750–1777). In 1765 Goethe was sent to study law at Leipzig University, where he also cultivated his interests in art and literature. He was exposed to Enlightenment thinkers and the new English literature of sensibility, and

he wrote elegant erotic poetry and a pastoral play. After a severe case of tuberculosis in 1768 and a subsequent return to Frankfurt, he continued his studies in Strasbourg in 1770. There he met the young East Prussian writer Johann Gottfried Herder (1744–1803), later a theologian in Weimar. They shared criticism of rationalism and the prevailing French taste and enthusiasm for Jean-Jacques Rousseau, German folk song, and medieval architecture, and each found in Shakespeare and Homer models for original creativity. Goethe graduated in 1771 with a *Lizentiat* (doctoral degree) and became an attorney for the Frankfurt juridical court; increasingly, though, he devoted his efforts to writing and drawing. He initiated a radically subjective style, commonly referred to as “Sturm und Drang” (storm and stress), that marked the beginning of German Romanticism. He soon became famous across Europe through his love poems, his Shakespearean chronicle play *Götz von Berlichingen* (published 1773) based on the controversial knight of that name (c. 1480–1562) during the Peasants’ War, and his scandalous epistolary novel *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers* (1774; The sufferings of young Werther). In the fall of 1775 young Carl August of Saxe-Weimar (1757–1828) invited Goethe to Weimar. Although his Thuringian duchy was small, it was nonetheless an important cultural center thanks to the endeavors of Carl August’s mother, Anna Amalia (1739–1807; regent 1756–1775). In June 1776 Goethe became a member of the duke’s cabinet and his privy councillor. Except for Goethe’s “flight” to Italy from his many bureaucratic obligations (1786–1788), a journey to Venice (1790), the German campaign against revolutionary France, and shorter travels, he remained in the small province for the rest of his long life. In 1806 he married the lowborn Christiane Vulpius (1765–1816) with whom he had lived since 1788, much to the outrage of Weimar society.

Goethe, best known for his wide range of poetry, plays, and novels, was also a respected administrator, knowledgeable art collector, and successful director of the Weimar Hoftheater (court theater, including opera) from 1791 to 1813. He admired Napoleon and recognized the genius of Beethoven. His interest in the sciences ranged from osteology and botany to optics and mineralogy; he believed



Johann Wolfgang von Goethe. ©BETTMANN/CORBIS

strongly in his theory of colors (*Zur Farbenlehre*; 1810), which contradicted Newton’s.

Goethe’s extensive correspondence is an endless resource for insights into his intense relationships with contemporaries. Most important was the friendship and collaboration with Friedrich Schiller (1759–1805) from 1794 to 1805, when both wrote in a Classicist style and theorized on the central function of art in human life and in society. Their rigorously pedagogical aesthetics met with resistance, and Goethe’s own earlier works remained much more popular. Literary history, however, established Goethe’s and Schiller’s works from those years as Weimar Classicism.

Only very few works from Goethe’s rich oeuvre can be mentioned here. His poetry was so innovative and is so rich and multifaceted that any mention of single titles does not do justice to it. It ranges from stormy nature and love poems, hymns, classical elegies and satirical epigrams, and ballads, to the idyllic epic poem *Hermann und Dorothea* (1797) and his adaptation of Oriental traditions in *West-östlicher Divan* (1819). Numerous poems have

been set to music by composers from Mozart and Schubert to contemporary ones. Dramas such as *Egmont* (1788), *Iphigenia auf Tauris* (1787; Iphigenia on Tauris), and *Torquato Tasso* (1790) draw on (literary) history and mythology for models and reinterpretations of harmonious and autonomous individuals; yet the emotional struggle is merely contained, not overcome, in an equilibrium. Thus the dichotomy between Classicist (recent research prefers this term over “classical” and its hierarchical implications) and Romantic writers is not as sharp as previously believed. The novel *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre* (1795–1796; Wilhelm Meister’s apprenticeship years), long regarded as the exemplary German “Bildungsroman” (novel of individual organic development or self formation), was most influential for the Romantics and the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in general. Whether the protagonist achieves the alleged goal of character formation and a well-rounded education or whether the novel criticizes and undermines such a goal remains controversial.

Interpretation of Goethe’s universal life work situates him within various tendencies of his time, a critical period in the development of the modern world, but also stresses that he anticipated modernist (and even postmodern) fractured structures, especially in his last novel *Wilhelm Meisters Wanderjahre, oder Die Entsagenden* (1829; Wilhelm Meister’s travel years, or the renunciants) where he wrote critically on developments such as industrialization and specialization. Goethe pursued a lifelong interest in the subject of Faust, the sixteenth-century alchemist, scholar, and magician, and rendered the pact-with-the-devil legend into an original tragedy of human striving and complex symbolism of human life, society, and politics. Goethe’s *Faust* (fragment published 1790; *Faust*, Part I of the tragedy, 1808; *Faust*, Part II, posthumously 1832) is a masterpiece of world literature; Part II is a plethora of mythology and heterogeneity. Interpretations of it and its influence on literature and music are innumerable. In his autobiographical writings (*Dichtung und Wahrheit* [Poetry and truth], 1811–1814; *Italienische Reise* [Italian journey], 1816–1817, 1829, etc.), which were very influential for the genre of autobiography, he styled himself as a German classical writer and Olympian.

See also **Drama: German; Frankfurt am Main; German Literature and Language; Herder, Johann Gottfried von; Schiller, Johann Christoph Friedrich von.**

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WALTRAUD MAIERHOFER

GOLDONI, CARLO (1707–1793), Italian dramatist. Carlo Goldoni was born in Venice to a family that had immigrated from Modena and that had members in both the professional class and the nobility. Fascinated by the theater from an early age, Goldoni wrote his first play before he was ten. While attending school in Rimini, he became friendly with a comedy troupe that included women, banned from the stage in much of Italy, and departed with them for Chioggia. In 1723 he undertook the study of law at the University of Pavia, but he was expelled in 1725 for a satire of the city’s women. After his father died in 1731, Goldoni completed his degree at the University of Padua, but he departed for Milan in 1732 to avoid financial and sentimental obligations.



Carlo Goldoni. Undated portrait engraving.

In 1734 he began his association with the Imer troupe of actors. By the late 1730s he was working regularly in theaters in Venice and other cities and had begun his reform of the improvised *commedia dell'arte* tradition. He wrote out individual parts and then entire plays, blending Tuscan-speaking aristocratic characters of the erudite tradition with dialect-speaking nonaristocratic characters. While retaining some elements of *commedia dell'arte* masks and writing a masterpiece in *Il servitore di due padroni* (1747; *Servant of two masters*) Goldoni endowed his characters with new psychological depth and realism. *La vedova scaltra* (The artful widow) of 1748, the first comedy fully implementing these reforms, was favorably received by many. It was also criticized by others, especially Goldoni's rival and imitator Pietro Chiari, the polemic resulting in the censure of theaters by the Venetian government.

Goldoni responded with plays in a wide range of styles, including the famous sixteen comedies of the 1751 Carnival season and his memorable dialect comedies. *Mirandolina* (The mistress of the inn),

staged in 1753, tells of a young proprietress of an inn who exercises great freedom in her dealings with aristocratic suitors. The *Villeggiatura* (The country vacation) trilogy (1761) pokes fun at city aristocrats who take their artifice-filled habits with them on country vacations. In *Le baruffe chiozzotte* (Chioggian quarrels) (1762) a girl whose needlework earns her good money attracts rival suitors. Opposition to Goldoni's work intensified, with accusations by the satirist and author of theatrical fables Carlo Gozzi (1720–1806) that Goldoni was inverting the social order by associating aristocratic characters with vice and the popular classes with virtue. Gozzi mounted a successful theatrical alternative, a series of exotic tales set in a world of aristocratic privilege.

In 1762, worn down by polemics, Goldoni moved to Paris to work with the *Comédie italienne*. The French public's expectation that Italian comedy conform to the traditional *commedia dell'arte* style left him few professional satisfactions. He nevertheless remained in Paris, writing a number of well-received plays and his memoirs.

The strength of Goldoni's theater lies in its inclusion of divergent and even conflicting elements that occur in daily life and that are part of theatrical tradition. The complicated relations of men and women, the generations, and social classes fascinated him. His most consistent focus is on forces that strengthen those bonds or that, on the contrary, break them by setting individuals on destructive paths. While Goldoni appreciated the vitality of the lower social orders, he feared their violence, and while he appreciated aristocrats' elegance, he feared their arrogant vanity. What remained was the sober and directed energy of the middle social orders.

As the plots of his plays show, Goldoni understood that bad choices often result either from indulgence in pleasure or from despair. He also knew that human beings favor those who attract them, and that this causes them to neglect those to whom they are obligated. Thus his plays include husbands who abandon their wives for their drinking companions, wives who prefer their husbands to the children who depend upon them, and servants more interested in gossip than work.

Goldoni experimented with a variety of measures designed to maintain prudent behavior, both internalized social rules, such as an acceptance of

authority figures, and severe consequences for irregular behavior, such as the poverty that results from gambling and the damage and death that result from violence. He also showed how authority figures, including fathers and members of the aristocratic class, bring their subordinates into line through both kind and harsh measures, as he kept his characters in line by writing out the parts rather than continuing the improvisation of the *commedia dell'arte*.

At the same time Goldoni understood that subordination to men creates difficulties and even dangers for women. While most of his numerous and prominent female characters accept and even embrace submissiveness to men, a few of them enjoy a combination of financial security and a lack of male relatives that permits an unprecedented emotional independence. Mirandolina the innkeeper's marriage to her servant rather than to a misogynistic nobleman shows that she intends to remain mistress of her life.

See also **Commedia dell'Arte; Drama: Italian.**

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GÓNGORA Y ARGOTE, LUIS DE

(1561–1627), Spanish poet of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Luis de Góngora y Argote was born into a privileged family in Córdoba on 11 July 1561. Góngora was destined for a career in the church from childhood. He took minor orders in 1575, studied canon law at the University of Salamanca 1576–1581, and became a deacon of the Cathedral of Córdoba in 1585. As a representative of the cathedral, Góngora traveled widely in Spain, and made frequent trips to the court of Philip III. He finally moved to the court at Madrid in 1617, was ordained in 1618, and subsequently became chaplain to the king. During his years at the court of Philip III and Philip IV, Góngora enjoyed powerful patrons, became a member of the cultural elite, gained access to the innermost circles of the crown, and acquired the reputation of a gifted poet and esteemed man of letters. Ill health and financial exigency forced him to leave the capital in 1626 to return to Córdoba, where he died on 23 May 1627.

Góngora was a lifelong experimenter with poetry who composed in a variety of poetic forms—ballads, songs, rondelets, and sonnets, among others. He also was the author of the play *Las firmezas de Isabela* (1610) as well as the unfinished drama *El doctor Carlino* (1613). Góngora is primarily known, and remembered, however, as the creator of *gongorismo*, a style of discourse identified with his poetic masterpieces the *Fábula de Polifemo y Galatea* (1612) and the *Soledades* (1612–1614). Both are hybrid works, difficult to classify by type. The *Polifemo* is based on the story in Book Thirteen

of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* that tells of the ill-fated love of the cyclops Polyphemus for the nymph Galatea, enamored of the handsome Acis. The *Soledades* mix epic and pastoral motifs in two poems totaling about two thousand lines in length that detail the wanderings of a mysterious, shipwrecked pilgrim through the dreamlike countryside of an unknown land. Góngora authorized the publication of only a few of his poems during his lifetime, although collections of his works started to appear shortly after his death.

When the *Polifemo* and *Soledades* first circulated at court, they unleashed a firestorm of controversy over the innovative poetic language employed by Góngora. *Gongorismo*, also called *cultismo* or *culteranismo*, that is, the cultured or cultivated style, refers to elegant discourse replete with rhetorical ornamentation: hyperbata (inversions of natural word order), neologisms, latinized words and syntax, elaborate conceits, mythological allusions, and so forth. Gongorism is a self-consciously challenging and at times enigmatic style directed at an erudite, aristocratic audience, able and willing to decipher the linguistic puzzles posed in verse. Góngora's vociferous detractors, who included such important writers as Lope de Vega and Francisco Quevedo, objected to what they saw as the affectation and deliberate obscurantism of Gongorine style. The great Góngora debate, which played out in well-known exchanges in caustic letters, satirical verse, and at the literary academies, was essentially a battle over which kind of poetic style would become the predominant one—a simpler, clearer type of discourse, more accessible to a wide range of readers, or the more ornate language of Gongorism, which appealed to a smaller, more intellectually engaged audience. *Cultismo*, often associated with mannerism and the baroque, and frequently compared to marinism in Italy and euphuism, the elegant and artful style identified with the Elizabethan English writer John Lyly, ultimately won the day and many disciples. The powerful influence of Gongorism was eclipsed in the eighteenth century, only to be resurrected by Spain's Generation of 1927 poets, a group so-named in honor of the tricentennial anniversary of the death of Góngora, whose complex metaphors they particularly admired.

Over the years, Góngora has been called both the "Prince of Darkness" and the "Angel of Light."



Luis de Góngora y Argote. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Not surprisingly, to this day, the poet's works and Gongorism remain a subject of considerable debate. While some critics see in Gongorism the construction of an independent world of words that has nothing to do with the realm of everyday experience, and in some ways anticipates postmodern literature, others envision in the poet's *cultismo* a cryptic language employed to create allegories critical of imperial Spain. Still another group of scholars views Gongorism as an attempt to restore to poetic language the visionary power of the *vates*, the poet-prophet of classical antiquity, and to make poetry a vehicle for exploring the mysteries of the universe. Although these critical viewpoints differ greatly, they all show a heightened interest in Góngora and Gongorism as a poet and poetic style closely tied to the court culture of Habsburg Spain and of Europe in general at the time.

See also Philip III (Spain); Philip IV (Spain); Spanish Literature and Language; Vega, Lope de.

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GOYA Y LUCIENTES, FRANCISCO DE (1746–1828), Spanish painter and printmaker. Born on 30 March 1746 in the village of Fuendetodos, Francisco Goya received his earliest artistic training in the provincial capital of Saragossa, under the Neapolitan-trained painter José Luzán y Martínez. In 1766 Goya competed unsuccessfully in a drawing competition at the Royal Academy of San Fernando. Documents reveal his entry into another academic competition in Parma, Italy, in 1771, where he received an honorable mention for the painting *Hannibal Crossing the Alps* (Fundación Selgas-Fagalda, Cudillero, Spain).

On his returning to Saragossa in 1772, Goya undertook religious commissions for private patrons and religious organizations. In 1773 he married the sister of the court painter, Francisco Bayeu y Subías (1734–1795), and it was probably through

Bayeu’s influence that the artist was invited to the court of Madrid in 1774 to paint designs (also known as cartoons) for the royal tapestry factory. Goya’s ability was soon recognized, and he was given permission to paint tapestry cartoons “of his own invention”—that is, he was allowed to develop original subjects for these images. He painted three series of tapestry cartoons for rooms in the royal residences before the tapestry factory cut back production in 1780 because of a financial crisis engendered by Spain’s war with England. The decade of the 1780s was nevertheless one of great advancement for the artist, beginning with his election to the Royal Academy of Fine Arts of San Fernando in 1780 and continuing as he won patronage for religious paintings and portraits from the grandest families in Spain, including the duke and duchess of Osuna and the count and countess of Altamira. His appointment as court painter in April 1789, four months after Charles IV had acceded to the throne, cemented his fortunes.

Documents and paintings of the early 1790s suggest the artist’s growing unease with the limitations imposed on painters by traditions and patronage. Images in his final series of cartoons, such as *The Straw Mannikin* (1792; Museo del Prado, Madrid), betray an increasingly cynical view. As one of several academicians asked in 1792 to report on the institutional curriculum, he responded that “there are no rules in painting.” Thus, although the turn in Goya’s art to a more liberated exploration of unprecedented subject matter is often credited to a serious illness suffered in 1792–1793, such a change might have occurred in any case. From 1793 onward, in addition to his work as a painter of commissioned portraits and religious paintings, Goya explored experimental subjects—ranging from shipwrecks to scenes of everyday life in Madrid—in uncommissioned paintings, prints, and drawings. This experimentation led to the publication in 1799 of a series of eighty aquatint etchings known as *Los Caprichos*, whose subjects encompass witchcraft, prostitution, fantasy, and social satire. It is wrongly thought that these etchings jeopardized Goya’s relationship with his patrons; that this is not the case is proven by Goya’s promotion to first court painter eight months after their publication. The artist would continue to paint portraits including *The Family of Charles IV* (1800–1801, Prado), as



Francisco de Goya y Lucientes. *The Second of May 1808*. THE ART ARCHIVE/MUSEO DEL PRADO MADRID/THE ART ARCHIVE

well as works for the king and queen's close confidant, Manuel Godoy, that include portraits, allegories, and probably the *Naked Maja* and the *Clothed Maja* (c. 1797–1805; Prado).

In 1808 Napoleonic forces invaded Spain, the royal family abdicated, and Napoleon's brother, Joseph Bonaparte, assumed the Spanish throne. In 1810 Goya undertook etchings documenting the atrocities of war, today known as the *Disasters of War*. Goya probably continued work on these etchings even after the Spanish government of Ferdinand VII was restored in 1814, although the series of eighty plates was published only in 1863, thirty-five years after Goya's death. On the restoration of the Spanish monarchy, Goya depicted *The Second of May* and *The Third of May* (1813–1814; Prado) to commemorate the Spanish uprising against French troops; although these are among Goya's most fa-

mous works, little is known of their original function or placement, or of their early reception.

Goya continued in his position as first court painter under the restored monarch, who nevertheless preferred the neoclassical style of the younger Vicente López. In 1819 Goya purchased a villa on the outskirts of Madrid and painted on the walls of its two main rooms images of witchcraft, religious ceremonies, and mythical subjects today known as the *Black Paintings* (1819–1823; Prado). In 1824 the artist left Spain and after a brief trip to Paris settled in Bordeaux among a colony of Spanish exiles. Here he continued to paint and draw, and also to experiment with the technique of lithography—leading to the publication of *The Bulls of Bordeaux*, a masterpiece in that medium. He died in Bordeaux on 26 April 1828.

See also Spain, Art in.

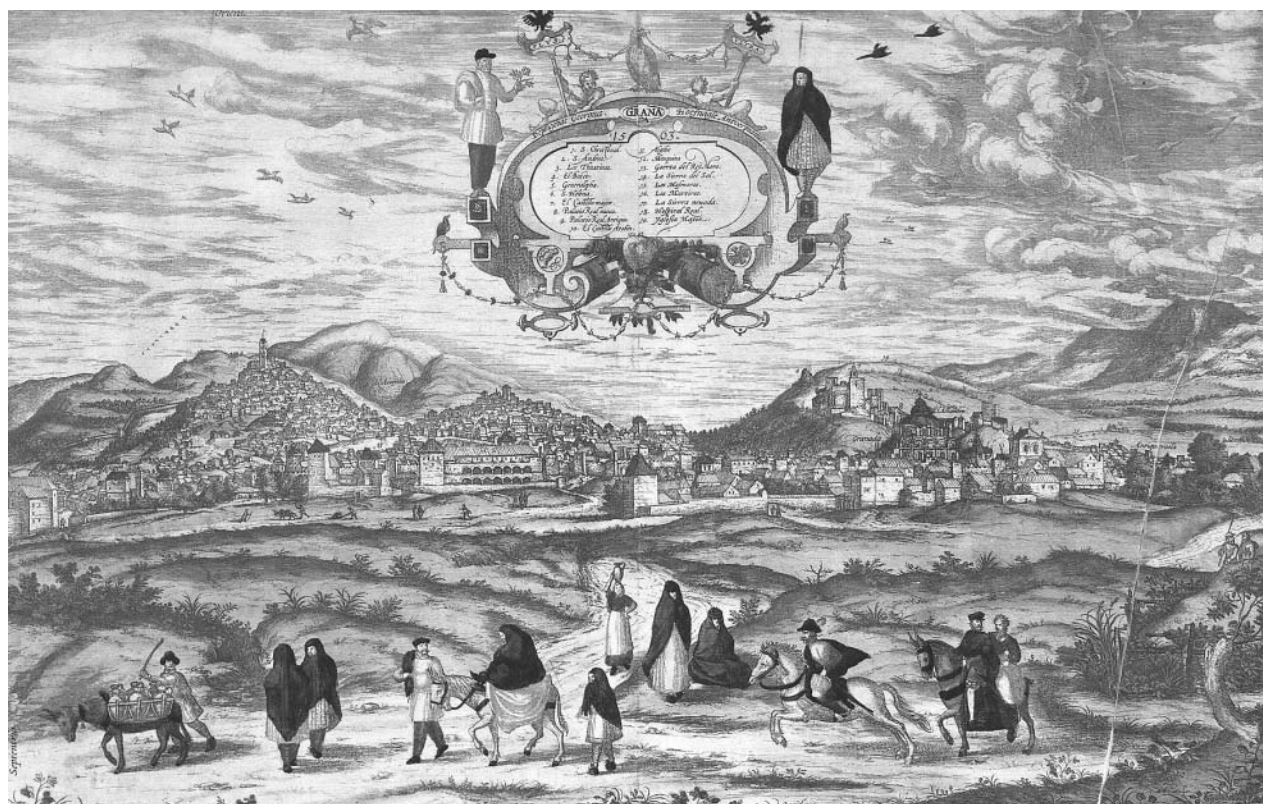
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GRANADA. Located in the southeastern sector of the Iberian Peninsula, the city of Granada lies in the northern foothills of the Sierra Nevada, some sixty kilometers from the Mediterranean. It rose to prominence in the mid-thirteenth century as capital of the Muslim kingdom of Granada, the last surviving state of medieval Al-Andalus or Islamic Iberia. During the latter half of the fifteenth century, Granada faced growing internal instability and the increasing militancy of its northern neighbor, the Christian kingdom of Castile.

Granada's capitulation in 1492 to the forces of Ferdinand V and Isabella I (ruled 1474–1504), king and queen of Aragón and Castile, signaled the end of independent Muslim power on the Iberian Peninsula. Though the treaty of surrender guaranteed Granadans their traditional religion, forced conversions in 1499 drove the Muslim community to insurrection. The crown responded by rescinding the treaty and demanding mass baptisms. By 1501 the city's Muslim population—estimated at fifty thousand souls in 1492—either emigrated to North Africa or became Moriscos (Muslim converts to Christianity). Thousands of “Old Christian” newcomers from southern and central Castile soon replaced the émigrés. By 1561, immigrants to the city numbered around thirty thousand, perhaps twice the dwindling Morisco population. Both Moriscos and immigrants found employment in Granada's lucrative silk industry. Granadan Moriscos dyed the raw silk produced by rural Morisco peasants; immigrants, however, dominated the weaving process.



Granada. A seventeenth-century view of the city from *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, by Braun and Hogenberg. THE ART ARCHIVE/BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE MARCIANA VENICE/DAGLI ORTI (A)

Merchants—often Genoese—exported raw silk to textile centers in the Castilian interior and finished cloth to Italy, North Africa, Flanders, and the Americas.

New local and national institutions marked Granada's incorporation into the crown of Castile and signaled the city's rising national stature. Internal security and coastal defenses were the province of the captain general, headquartered in the Alhambra, Granada's famed medieval Muslim fortress. The 1505 transfer to Granada of the *Chancillería*, one of two permanent high courts of appeal, established the city as one of Castile's principal bureaucratic centers. A new municipal council, chaired by a royal representative, the *corregidor*, governed civic affairs. Two council members represented Granada at the Castilian *Cortes*, a parliamentary body representing a select group of prominent cities. Granadans' spiritual welfare was the province of the Roman Catholic Church, led by the archbishop and the cathedral chapter. The crown exercised unusual control over church appointments in Granada through its *Real Patronato*, a papal concession of 1486 later extended to all of Spanish America.

These new institutions joined in converting and acculturating the subject Morisco population. In 1567, however, the Catholic authorities' growing intolerance of Morisco rejections of Castilian culture and religion resulted in stringent laws against Morisco cultural practices. The desperate Morisco revolt of 1568 was quelled with equal violence and forced resettlements to the Castilian interior. The expulsions reduced Granada's population by a third, devastated the silk industry, and exacerbated Granada's share of the general economic troubles of late sixteenth-century and seventeenth-century Europe. Seville, gateway to the Americas, soon surpassed Granada in population, prosperity, and prominence, and Granada was relegated to only regional importance for the remainder of the early modern period.

See also Ferdinand of Aragón; Isabella of Castile; Islam in the Ottoman Empire; Moriscos; Moriscos, Expulsion of (Spain); Spain.

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A. KATIE HARRIS

GRAND TOUR. Protracted travel for pleasure was scarcely unknown in classical and medieval times, but it developed greatly in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, becoming part of the ideal education and image of the social elite as well as an important source of descriptive and imaginative literature and art. As tourism developed, its patterns became more regular, and the assumptions about where a tourist should go became more predictable. Literary conventions were also established. The term the “grand tour” reflects a subsequent sense that this was an ideal period of the fusion of tourism and social status as well as a contemporary desire to distinguish protracted and wide-ranging tourism from shorter trips.

The grand tour is commonly associated with aristocratic British travelers, more particularly with the eighteenth century. But travel for pleasure did not begin then, and it was not restricted to the British. There was a more general fascination with southern Europe among northern Europeans. The vast majority of those who had traveled to Italy over previous centuries had done so for reasons related to their work or their salvation. Soldiers and those seeking employment had shared the road with clerics discharging the tasks of the international church and pilgrims. Such travel was not incompatible with pleasure, and in some cases it fulfilled important cultural functions as travelers bought works of art or helped spread new tastes and cultural interests. This was not the same, however, as travel specifically and explicitly for personal fulfillment, both in terms of education and of pleasure, the two being seen as ideally linked in the exemplary literature of the period.

Such travel became more common in the seventeenth century, although it was affected by the reli-

gious (and political) tensions that followed the Protestant Reformation of the previous century. The war with Spain that had begun in 1585 ended in 1604, and England had only brief wars with France, Spain, and the Dutch over the following seventy years. It was no accident that the earl and countess of Arundel went to Italy in 1613–1614 or that a series of works on Italy, including Fynes Moryson's *Itinerary* (1617), appeared in the years after the Treaty of London of 1604.

However, divisions culminating in civil wars (1642–1646, 1648, 1688–1691) in the British Isles forced people to focus their time and funds on commitments at home and also made travel suspect as in some fashion indicating supposed political and religious sympathies. Concern about Stuart intentions in large part focused on the real and alleged crypto-Catholicism of the court, and this made visits to Italy particularly sensitive. The situation for tourists eased with the Stuart Restoration of 1660, and Richard Lassels, a Catholic priest who acted as a “bearleader” (traveling tutor), published in 1670 his important *Voyage of Italy; or, A Compleat Journey through Italy*.

The expansion of British tourism from 1660 was part of a wider pattern of elite cosmopolitan activity. Throughout Europe members of the elite traveled for pleasure in the late seventeenth century and the eighteenth century. The most popular destinations were France, which meant Paris, and Italy. Italy held several important advantages over Paris. The growing cult of the antique, which played a major role in the determination to see and immerse oneself in the experience and repute of the classical world, could not be furthered in Paris, although Paris was seen as the center of contemporary culture. There was little tourism to eastern Europe, Iberia, and Scandinavia let alone beyond Europe.

There was no cult of the countryside. Tourists traveled as rapidly as possible between major cities and regarded mountains with horror, not joy. The contrast with nineteenth-century tourism and its cult of the “sublime” dated from Romanticism toward the close of the eighteenth century, not earlier. The Italian cities offered a rich range of benefits, including pleasure (Venice), classical antiquity (Rome and its environs, the environs of Naples), Renaissance architecture and art (Florence),

the splendors of baroque culture (Rome and Venice), opera (Milan and Naples), and warm weather (Naples). Once tourism had become appropriate and fashionable, increasing numbers traveled, a growth interrupted only by periods of war, when journeys, although not prohibited, were made more dangerous or inconvenient by increased disruption and lawlessness. The outbreak of the French Revolutionary War in 1792, however, led to a major break in tourism that was exacerbated when French armies overran Italy in 1796–1798. Thereafter tourism did not resume on any scale until after the final defeat of Napoleon in 1815.

See also Art: The Art Market and Collecting; Italy; Paris; Travel and Travel Literature.

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JEREMY BLACK

GRAUNT, JOHN (1620–1674), English statistician and demographer. Born in London, John Graunt was the son of a draper. He was apprenticed to a haberdasher and became a successful merchant, serving as warden of the Drapers' Company in 1671–1672. He also served the city government in various capacities, reaching the level of a common councilman. Late in life, Graunt converted to Roman Catholicism; he died in 1674 at the age of 54.

Graunt's fame rests on his short book *Natural and Political Observations Made upon the Bills of Mortality* (1662). The book was immediately popular and went through five editions (two in the first year alone). Translations and reprints appeared throughout the eighteenth century. Because of this book, Graunt was elected fellow of the Royal Society upon direct recommendation of Charles II, an unusual honor for a London merchant. Graunt's friend Sir William Petty (1623–1687) labeled his work political arithmetic—a term that stuck throughout the eighteenth century.

Graunt was the first to analyze society numerically. Troubled by exaggerated claims about the size of London, he created methods to calculate the population from the annual numbers of christenings

and burials listed in the London bills of mortality. (He reckoned London's population at 384,000, far smaller than contemporary estimates of two million.) To bring clarity to his calculations, Graunt created a series of tables. In one, he summarized the causes of death for a twenty-year period and found the mortality rates of acute and chronic diseases, especially of the plague. In another table, Graunt showed how many individuals out of a population of one hundred would be alive at specific ages. This was the first life table (or mortality table) ever constructed and was an entirely new way to conceptualize life expectancy. Mathematicians such as Edmund Halley (1656–1742) and Antoine de Parcieux refined Graunt's life table over the course of the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. They remain essential tools of modern demography and actuarial science.

In his analysis of the bills of mortality, Graunt identified several numerical regularities. For every fourteen males christened, for example, there were thirteen females christened; thus, there was a constant ratio between male and female births. (Graunt used this ratio to argue against polygamy.) He defined chronic diseases as those that maintained a fixed portion of the total number of burials and included in this category jaundice, gout, rickets, and, somewhat surprising, suicides. For Graunt, the prevalence of chronic diseases was a measure of the salubrity of a community. Graunt also identified a high infant mortality rate, a significant characteristic of early modern societies (one-third of all infants born died before age six).

Graunt's book laid the foundations for modern statistics and demography. His life table stimulated the application of probability mathematics to life expectancy. His use of mortality figures to evaluate the incidence and constancy of different diseases encouraged eighteenth-century physicians to apply statistics to medicine, most notably in the debates surrounding the introduction of smallpox inoculation. His efforts to provide accurate population figures spawned a tradition of political arithmetic that was only eclipsed when regular national censuses were instituted around 1800.

See also Census; Petty, William; Statistics.

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ANDREA RUSNOCK

GREECE. Greece is a country in the south of the Balkan Peninsula, bordering on the east with Turkey, on the north with Bulgaria and the Republic of Macedonia, and on the northwest with Albania. Greece is a mountainous country with ragged littoral and few plains. A large part of its territory consists of islands. The bulk of Greek lands entered early modern times as part of two states, the Ottoman Empire and the Venetian Republic.

TERRITORIES UNDER OTTOMAN RULE

Under Ottoman rule, cities were modest and of only regional importance except for a few provincial capitals and ports (Patra, Livadia, Ioannina, Larissa, Serres). The biggest city was Salonica; in the sixteenth century, it evolved into a large manufacturing center, and in the eighteenth became a major commercial port. Most of the population in the territories, especially in the country, was Orthodox Christian. Cities usually had large Christian and Muslim communities and small Jewish ones (except for Salonica, a Jewish metropolis). Some Muslims were originally settlers from Anatolia, but most were descendants of local converts. Muslims were predominantly Turkish-speaking except in Crete and Epirus, where large-scale conversions had taken place. Christian townspeople were mostly Greek-speaking; in the country, alongside ethnic Greeks (the majority in central and southern Greece, Crete,

and the Islands), there also existed large Slavic, Aromunian, and Albanian populations. Jewish communities were predominantly Sephardic, but there also existed several Romaniot ones.

The Ottoman conquest of mainland Greece was essentially completed by 1460, that of the Aegean Islands by 1570. Crete was conquered in 1669. In general, the conquest of the mainland was rapid and did not cause major disruption in local life. The sixteenth century witnessed considerable demographic and economic growth. Large-scale construction projects, usually financed by imperial funds, together with religious, commercial, and learning establishments, supported by endowments, provided urban infrastructure; churches and monasteries were rebuilt and renovated. By the end of the century, a demographic decline was seen, accompanied by small-scale migratory movements. The mid-seventeenth century brought a severe economic crisis. This was followed by a large-scale demographic crisis that continued well into the eighteenth century and affected the settlement pattern. The eighteenth century witnessed major socioeconomic changes: consolidation of large estates in private—mainly Muslim—hands in the fertile parts of the country; growth of cattle breeding, manufacture, and commerce; intensification of trade with western Europe; establishment of commercial networks in central and eastern Europe; an explosion of banditry. Economic growth, together with changes in patterns of consumption, increasing mobility, and contact with Europe, led to cultural flourishing in many towns and cities.

The Greek lands were integrated in the Ottoman prebendal system and divided in provinces with a dual judicial/civil and executive/military administration. Towns were the seats of *kadis*, who combined judicial and administrative authority; provincial capitals were also the seats of military governors. Beneficence and welfare were provided by pious foundations, some of which were major owners of urban and rural property, while others were involved in moneylending. Craftsmen and traders were organized in guilds. The suppression of banditry was entrusted to—usually Christian—paramilitary troops (*martolos/armatoloi*).

Alongside the *kadi*, the governor and various officials, a body of “notables” (Muslim *ayan*; Chris-

tian *prokritoi* or *kocabasi*) was involved in local administration. The *prokritoi* were usually elected every year by the heads of households and ran the affairs of the community. During the eighteenth century wealthy landowners and guildsmen became dominant in the election process, and oligarchic community leaderships emerged in many towns. At the same time, the *ayan*, consisting mainly of wealthy landowners and tax farmers, brought local administration under their control and acquired an institutional role in provincial decision making.

A fundamental misconception of the role of the church together with the presence of elaborate communal institutions led to the thesis of the “autonomy” or “self-government” of the Greek Orthodox under Ottoman rule. Actually, Christians were an integral part of the Ottoman society and made full use of Ottoman institutions, including that of the *kadi* court, to which they did not even hesitate to take members of the clergy. Communities, irrespective of their supposed origins, were in their structure and functions a product of Ottoman institutions and socioeconomic realities and emerged mainly as a means to cope with the administration of collectively assessed taxes. Admittedly, in some places the Ottoman authority was either weak or nonexistent. These included communities that were granted “privileges” at the time of the conquest, districts without resident Ottoman authorities, and regions that the state could not effectively control. But these self-governing communities were the exception, not the rule.

The consolidation of the Ottoman Empire led to the emergence of interregional networks that enabled the movement of people, goods, and ideas and reestablished a connection between Greece and southeastern Europe and the Near East. Greeks were also actively involved in the growing export-oriented commerce with the West, either acting as local agents for European merchants or trading in European cities. During the eighteenth century, a wave of emigration began from Greek regions to western Anatolia. The same century witnessed the growth of old diaspora communities and the creation of new ones, especially in central Europe. Relations with Russia also intensified, especially after the Ottoman-Russian treaty of Kuchuk Kainarji (1774), among the ramifications of which was the emergence of a Greek commercial marine under the

Russian flag transporting goods in the Mediterranean and the Black Sea.

Commercial activity also led to cultural interaction. Constantinople (Istanbul) seat of the Ottoman sultan and the Orthodox Christian patriarch, soon after its conquest became a center of Greek culture with empirewide influence. Greek reinforced its position as the language of religion, education, and commerce, which led to its spreading among the middle and upper classes of Orthodox Christians. In the eighteenth century, Smyrna (Izmir), Bucharest, and Jassy (Iași) emerged as major cultural centers outside Greece, while Greek books were printed in Venice and Vienna. By the end of the century, an Enlightenment movement had evolved in the diaspora communities and filtered into the commercial towns of Greece, often confronting the reaction of “traditionalists” and the church.

In the seventeenth and especially the eighteenth century, Greece captured European imagination both because of its ancient past and as part of the Ottoman Orient. Some Western travelers were disappointed by what they perceived as the uncivilized descendants of glorious ancestors; but, in the main, Philhellenism prevailed and helped create a romanticized view of noble Greece and Greeks suffering under the barbarous Turkish yoke. European perceptions led Greeks, especially in the diaspora, to a new awareness concerning their identity and place within European nations.

Notwithstanding nationalistic interpretations, prior to the Greek revolution (1821–1830) the Ottoman rule had not been challenged in most of the mainland. The only major Christian rebellion was the involvement of several regions and bands of *martolos* (paramilitary troops, usually Christian) from the Morea and Central Greece in the abortive enterprise of the Russian fleet under the Orloff brothers (1770). The eighteenth century, however, had witnessed the deterioration of relations between Christians and Muslims, generated by major socioeconomic changes. Intercommunal tensions heightened after the military defeats of the empire and the emergence of Russians as protectors of Orthodox Christians. By the early nineteenth century, several vague revolutionary plans circulated in the hope of exploiting the Russo-Ottoman confronta-

tion, and a secret society after the model of the Carbonari based in Odessa, the *Philike Hetaireia* (Friendly Society), established a widespread network of prospective revolutionaries. In February 1821, the fear of imminent betrayal of the society’s plans to the Ottomans led to a dual insurrection in the Danubian Principalities and the Morea, which soon spread in most Greek regions. Though the rebellion was soon suppressed in the north, it gained momentum in the south, and in January 1822 the Greek Republic was proclaimed.

TERRITORIES UNDER VENETIAN RULE

In the fifteenth century, Venice held several ports and coastal areas in central Greece the Morea, and some Aegean islands, as well as Corfu, Euboea, and Crete. At the turn of the century, it annexed most of the Ionian Islands, but by 1550 it had lost most of its other possessions to the Ottomans. In 1669 Crete also passed into Ottoman hands. The Morea came briefly under Venetian occupation (1685–1715), but the only Greek territories to remain under its rule until 1797 were the Ionian Islands. The bulk of the population consisted of Greek-speaking Orthodox Christians, but among the gentry, many were of Venetian or Italian origin, professing the Catholic faith. In the towns there also existed Jewish communities.

Venetian possessions were administered by governors appointed by the metropolis under the supervision of a high official called the general *provveditor* for the east. Local administrative institutions were not uniform, mainly because the various territories were annexed at different times. The Venetian-held territories, however, underwent similar socioeconomic developments, which differed substantially from those in the regions under Ottoman rule. The most prominent differences include the preservation of serfdom and other feudal institutions, especially in Crete and Corfu, the inferior position of the Orthodox Church, and the division of urban population in estates: burghers (*cittadini*) and common people (*popolani*), in Crete also noblemen (*nobili*).

Differences between Venetian and Ottoman territories are especially obvious in the cultural domain. Venice, the metropolis, seat of a thriving Greek community, and a cultural center of the Greek-speaking world, was a mediator of Western

culture to Greeks. The University of Padua became a major learning center for Greeks. Direct contact with developments in Italy led to a boost in literary, theatrical, and artistic production in Crete that bears the stamp of Renaissance and baroque, while in the eighteenth century, poetry and drama flourished in the Ionian Islands.

See also **Orthodoxy, Greek; Ottoman Dynasty; Ottoman Empire; Venice.**

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ELENI GARA

GREEK ORTHODOXY. See **Orthodoxy, Greek.**

GREUZE, JEAN-BAPTISTE (1725–1805), French painter. Born in Tournus (Burgundy) to a prosperous middle-class family, Greuze studied art in Lyon in the late 1740s with the portrait painter Charles Grandon. In about 1750, he sat in on drawing classes at the Académie Royal in Paris,

and in 1755 became an associate member of the academy as a genre painter after presenting *A Father Reading the Bible to His Family*, *The Blindman Deceived*, and *The Sleeping Schoolboy*. These moralizing narratives that deal with social and familial issues of contemporary life among the lower and middle classes (reminiscent in certain ways of William Hogarth) announced principal themes the artist would become most celebrated for throughout his career.

Aristocratic patrons in *ancien régime* France took great interest in genre subjects and encouraged French painters to revive this tradition. Thus, Greuze found ready patronage for his paintings. Like many fellow genre painters, Greuze was influenced by seventeenth-century Dutch predecessors whose genre images were accessible through prints as well as original works in private collections. He also studied Rubens and Rembrandt, both of whom had an indelible impact on his style. In addition, Greuze was influenced by the style of the esteemed rococo court painter François Boucher (1703–1770) and the celebrated genre painter Jean-Baptiste-Siméon Chardin (1699–1779), who was a peer as well as a rival.

Greuze traveled in Italy in 1755–1757 as a guest of Louis Gougenot, Abbé de Chezal-Benoît. He stayed at the French Academy in Rome in 1756–1757 thanks to the intercession of the Marquis de Marigny, superintendent of buildings for Louis XV. While in Rome Greuze seemed impervious to an emerging neoclassicism and continued to work on moralizing subjects in a style he had developed in France. Upon returning to France in 1757 he exhibited at the salon "Four Pictures in Italian Costume": *Indolence*, *Broken Eggs*, *The Neapolitan Gesture*, and *The Fowler*. All present moralizing narratives and commentary on contemporary mores with didactic implications. *Indolence*, for example, is an emblem or allegory of sloth; it inaugurated a series of admonitory works in which Greuze represented sensual young women as single figures with emblematic objects or surroundings such as in *The Broken Mirror* (1763), somewhat unusual in its depiction of a wealthier interior. Often the compositions communicate the erotic accessibility of servants, as in *The Laundress* (1761), or the loss of virginity in young adolescent girls, as in the variations on the theme of a young girl mourning her



Jean-Baptiste Greuze. *The Marriage Contract*. THE ART ARCHIVE/MUSÉE DU LOUVRE PARIS/DAGLI ORTI

dead bird (1759, 1765) or *The Broken Pitcher* (1773). These paintings, often moralizing in theme, nonetheless emphasize an eroticism and sensuality that belong to the French rococo tradition. Greuze also specialized in depicting the beauty of children, as in *Girl Playing with a Dog* (1767), *Young Shepherd Boy with a Basket of Flowers* and its pendant, *Simplicity* (1761), *Boy with Lessonbook* (1757), and commissioned children's portraits such as the *Comtesse Mollien with Puppies at Age Six* (1791).

Broken Eggs, another in the 1757 series of "Italian Costume" paintings, signaled an important direction in Greuze's art, that of the moralizing narrative in which a larger social group of the rustic lower classes is involved. Greuze also depicted more complex narratives involving familial and social situations. One of his best-known works, *The Marriage*

Contract (1761), depicts a bride reluctant to leave her family as her father hands over her dowry to her betrothed and a notary records the transaction. This painting was hailed by the great Enlightenment philosopher and art critic Denis Diderot (1713–1784), who often praised the artist. He saw this and similar paintings by Greuze as visual correspondents to his psychological family dramas known as the *drame bourgeois*.

Although Greuze sometimes represented familial devotion, as in *The Paralytic Father* (1763) and *The Well-Loved Mother* (1765), his most dramatic compositions depict unhappy families, as in his well-known pendants, *The Father's Curse* and *The Punished Son* (1778). In these works, gesture and body language communicate the tragic familial narrative. In the first painting, the aging father of a large

family curses his son, who abandons the family to join the army in spite of the pleas of his mother and siblings. In the pendant, the wounded son returns to his father's deathbed. He is a broken man, his father has just died, and his grief-stricken family is impoverished.

Greuze was also well known for intimate scenes of young mothers of the lower class with their children, as in *Silence!* (1759), in which a beautiful young mother with bared breast (she is ostensibly breastfeeding her infant), admonishes her son to stop blowing his horn, which will awaken the sleeping siblings. Here, simplicity, poverty, and familial intimacy are combined with erotic elements that emphasize sensuality and fertility.

Although Greuze enjoyed great success as a genre painter, he aspired to history painting, the top of the hierarchy of genres in French academic art. In 1769 he submitted a historical subject as his reception piece for full admittance to the academy, *Septimius Severus Reproaching His Son Caracalla for Having Wanted to Assassinate Him*, a composition influenced by Poussin and painted in the neo-classical style. The academy ridiculed the painting and rejected Greuze as a history painter, admitting him instead only in the category of genre painting. Greuze was so embittered by this decision that he did not exhibit at the salon again until 1800. Late in his career he returned to history painting with such works as *Psyche Crowning Cupid* (1792) and his last major painting, the strange and enigmatic religious composition, *St. Mary of Egypt* (1801).

Greuze also established a solid reputation as a portrait painter. One of his most insightful studies of character is the subtle portrait of the academy model Joseph (1755). Other expressive and lively portraits include those of his patron, *Ange-Laurent La Live de Jully* (1759), *The Marquise de Bezons Tuning Her Guitar* (1759), and *Benjamin Franklin* (c. 1777).

Greuze's impact on the development of French painting in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries helped ensure the continued popularity and importance of genre painting as a means of conveying moral, psychological, and social narratives of everyday life, influencing such painters as Louis-Léopold Boilly (1761–1845). His immediate students and followers, Wille the Younger and

Nicolas-Bernard Lépicié (1735–1784), enjoyed success, and Greuze also encouraged his female students, who included Constance Mayer and his daughter Anna Greuze.

See also Art: Artistic Patronage; Diderot, Denis; France, Art in.

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DOROTHY JOHNSON

GRIMM, FRIEDRICH MELCHIOR VON (1723–1807), German-born critic of French culture. Friedrich (later Frédéric) Melchior Grimm was born in Regensburg into a family of modest circumstances. While studying law, philosophy and literature in Leipzig, he wrote a tragedy, *Banise*. In Paris from 1748 on, he served as tutor or secretary to a succession of German aristocrats, allowing him entry into Parisian society as well as relations with dignitaries from many European courts. He quickly gained a solid reputation for his quick wit and fine taste (*bon goût*). His friendship with Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778), albeit brief (the two became bitter enemies beginning in 1757), led to more long-lasting alliances with other French philosophers, such as Denis Diderot (1713–1784) and Voltaire (1694–1778). In 1753 the abbot Guillaume Raynal (1713–1796) charged Grimm with composing the *Correspondance littéraire, philosophique et critique*, a handwritten newsletter about French literature and culture. It was copied by hirelings and sent to a limited, select body that included King Stanislaw II of Poland (1732–1798), Queen Louise Ulrica of Sweden (1720–1782), and Empress Catherine II of Russia (1729–1796). In this effort he was helped by Diderot, Mme Louise-Florence d'Épinay (1726–1783), and later the Swiss Jacques-Henri Meister (1744–

1826), as they kept the European courts informed of artistic and social events in Paris. In the 1770s Grimm was named a baron of the Holy Roman Empire. He continued writing the unpublished, and therefore uncensored, missives twice monthly until 1793. The turbulent course of the French Revolution finally forced him to flee Paris and end his *Correspondance*, and he spent his final years as a Russian minister to Lower Saxony and finally a courtier at Gotha.

The *Correspondance*, which was first made public in 1812–1813 and published in reliable texts from 1877 to 1882, provides a uniquely privileged insight into aesthetic and historical events in late-eighteenth-century France. Grimm incarnated the elegant, witty, cosmopolitan ideals of thought and expression of the time; he was an elitist writing to an elite audience. His *Correspondance* had a varied content, consisting of several pages of criticism of current works, polemical defenses of the philosophers, and short, original works. A few of these had been previously published, although most had not, and while most authors submitted their work for inclusion in the *Correspondance*, not all authors were aware that Grimm used their material. Unlike his contemporaries, he did not include long extracts to fill his pages. By its tone and liberty of expression the *Correspondance* was distinguished from, and often opposed to, the print media (the *journaux*, such as the *Mercure de France*, *L'année littéraire*, and the *Journal encyclopédique*). He was quite hostile to the eminent French critic Élie Fréron (1718–1776) and fanatics in general, but quick to praise Voltaire, whose words and deeds he often reported to his interested subscribers. Grimm championed the cause of classical theater but recognized the value of Diderot's more modern conception of drama. Rousseau's novel, *La nouvelle Héloïse*, occasioned a lively attack in 1761, as Grimm found it to be implausible and poorly structured, indicating an author "deprived of genius, imagination, judgment and taste." Able to offer a firsthand perspective on major cultural events, his originality lay perhaps even more in his personal taste, which he was able to freely and elegantly express to an eager and appreciative audience.

See also Diderot, Denis; Philosophes; Rousseau, Jean-Jacques; Voltaire.

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ALLEN G. WOOD

GRIMMELSHAUSEN, H. J. C. VON

(Johann [Hans] Jakob Christoffel von Grimmelshausen; 1622?–1676), German writer. Grimmelshausen was born in Gelnhausen in Hesse to a family that descended from the lower nobility but had long practiced bourgeois trades. This sometime soldier, secretary, steward, innkeeper, and village mayor belongs to the handful of seventeenth-century German writers of enduring fame whose work continues to influence German cultural production. His masterpiece, *Der abenteuerliche Simplicissimus* (1669; The adventurous Simplicissimus), has been translated into many languages, and it, along with his lesser-known works, has influenced such German writers as the Grimm Brothers, Bertolt Brecht, and Günter Grass. As Grimmelshausen typically published under pseudonymous anagrams of his name, his identity as author of a vast prose corpus remained hidden until German philologists uncovered it in 1837/1838.

Scholars generally divide Grimmelshausen's works into four groups. Three satirical novels set in the Thirty Years' War, and the two parts of *Der wunderbarliche Vogel-Nest* (1672, 1675; The marvelous bird's nest) comprise the "Simplician works," a label Grimmelshausen himself provided. These satirical narrative works, loosely connected by the recurrence of characters and such motifs as a bird's nest that renders its bearer invisible, castigate the folly of the world. Two love stories, *Dietwalts und Amelinden anmuthige Lieb- und Leids-Beschreibung* (1670; Pleasant description of the love

and sorrow of Dietwalt and Amelinde) and *Des Durchleuchtigen Printzen Proximi, und seiner ohnvergleichlichen Lympidae Liebs-Geschicht-Erzählung* (1672; The love story of the illustrious Prince Proximus and his incomparable Lympida), based on Christian legends, along with a rendering of the biblical Joseph story and a sequel, *Musai* (1666/1667, 1670), constitute a second group consisting of edifying works that present ideal types. *Des Abenteuerlichen Simplicissimi Ewig-währender Calender* (1670/71; The adventurous Simplicissimus' perpetual calendar) in the genre of the almanac and a symposium on husbanding wealth, *Rathsstübel Plutonis* (1672; Plutus' council chamber), number among the ten lesser works that form the third group. The fourth group consists of four tractates, including the anti-Machiavellian *Simplicianischer Zweyköpffiger Ratio Status* (1670; Simplician two-headed reason of state) and *Deß Weltberuffenen Simplicissimi Pralerey und Gepräg mit seinem Teutschen Michel* (1673; The boasting and showing off of the world-famous Simplicissimus with his German Michael), a polemic on language that, while itself displaying nationalistic tendencies, mocks overzealous purists who would purge German of foreign words.

Grimmelshausen's graphic detailing of violence and the vicissitudes of war in *Simplicissimus, Trutz Simplex: Oder ausführliche und wunderseltzame Lebensbeschreibung der Ertzbetrügerin und Landstörtzerin Courasche* (1670; translated as *The runaway courage*), and *Der seltzame Springinsfeld* (1670; *The strange Hop-in-the-Field*) offers a compelling look at a period when the economic and social fabric of the German territories was rent by armed conflict in the name of religion. The Peace of Westphalia that ended the Thirty Years' War in 1648, leaving the German empire divided into sixty-one imperial cities and around three hundred sovereign states, offered an autocratic solution to religious strife by ordaining that the religion of the ruler dictate the religion of the territory. Grimmelshausen, who had converted to Catholicism sometime before 1649, would devote his voluminous oeuvre to railing against the venality and horrors of this world, asserting ideals of good rulers and proper husbandry of personal and public wealth, and writing both exemplary and cautionary tales of redemptive import, and to literary experimentation with

mending the broken world by incorporating and piecing together its diverse texts in his writing.

Grimmelshausen's linguistic virtuosity and searing critique of contemporary mores made him a popular author in his own time, as evidenced by the proliferation of imitations, most notably by Johann Beer (1655–1700), and by accounts of reading his books by members of both the nobility and the urban middle classes. Although the scant biographical information about Grimmelshausen provides no indication of extended education, his work evidences broad reading of (pseudo)scientific, philosophical, religious, and literary texts and displays encyclopedic knowledge. His oeuvre indicates, furthermore, engagement with the literary and cultural production and debates of his day as they had been recorded and transmitted across Europe.

As is typical of seventeenth-century prose, hybridity characterizes Grimmelshausen's writings. Indeed, he dabbled in and mixed genres. The three aforementioned wartime novels reveal in their pseudoautobiographical stance affinities to the Spanish picaresque novel; the rascalion protagonists struggle to survive in a harsh world while sharing in its corruption. These same novels, however, draw on a variety of traditions, both fiction and nonfiction.

Grimmelshausen's oeuvre shares in the nascent cultural nationalism of the period when, for example, it ridicules those who ape French manners or facetiously notes that the entry of a foreign word into the German language always means trouble, as, for example, the militant word *marschieren*, 'to march'. Grimmelshausen thus remarks on the linguistic dominance of the French in the art of war, and war, he will remind his readers repeatedly, gives humankind license to do its worst.

Grimmelshausen's Nuremberg publisher, Wolf Eberhard Felsecker, advertised these works as delightful and entertaining but also affirmed their didacticism. In fact, the energy, unruliness, and transgressiveness of Grimmelshausen's narratives, derived from the literary arsenal of the Renaissance at its bawdiest—bodily excess, cross-dressing, pranks, and farce—exert a fascination over readers that can obscure the yearning in these texts for stable social arrangements, divine justice, and Christian redemption.

See also **German Literature and Language; Thirty Years' War (1618–1648)**.

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At fifteen he accompanied Johan van Oldenbarneveldt, grand pensionary of Holland, on a mission to the court of Henry IV of France, remaining in the country to earn the degree of doctor of laws from the University of Orléans in 1598. In 1599 he returned to Holland and was admitted to the bar in The Hague. In 1601 the Estates of Holland appointed him official historiographer with the request that he write about the Dutch struggle with Spain. This historical work, begun that year and titled the *Annales et Historiae de Rebus Belgicis* (Annals and histories of Belgian affairs), was not published until after 1657, thirteen years after Grotius's death. On the model of Tacitus's major works, it was organized in two sections, the "Annals," treating 1559–1588, and the "Histories," which covered the period from 1588 to the Twelve Years' Truce of 1609–1621. Grotius's work as a classical scholar included editions of Martianus Capella, Lucan, the *Phaenomena* of Aratus of Soli, Tacitus, a *History of the Goths, Vandals and Lombards*, a New Testament commentary, and Latin translations of Theocritus (with Daniel Heinsius) and Euripides' *Phoenician Women*. His writings of a literary nature included a great deal of Latin verse and a number of well-received plays (*Adam in Exile, The Suffering Christ, Joseph at the Court*).

In 1604–1605, at the request of the Dutch East India Company, he wrote a treatise *On the Law of Prize and Booty*, a work he himself knew as *On the Indies (De Indis)*. The treatise defended access to the ocean by all nations against the claims of particular powers to control the seas. One chapter of this work, published anonymously in 1609 under the title *Mare Liberum* (The Freedom of the seas), was widely influential and frequently reprinted. In 1607 Grotius was appointed advocate general of the fisc of the provinces of Holland, Zeeland, and Friesland. In 1613 he was named pensionary of Rotterdam. Politically he was closely tied to Oldenbarneveldt, the leader of resistance by the province of Holland against the absolutist ambitions of Prince Maurice of Nassau (1567–1625). Grotius's support for the Estates of Holland against Prince Maurice in the Arminian controversy (involving aspects of the Calvinist doctrine of predestination) resulted in 1618 in a trial in which he was condemned to life imprisonment and sent to the castle of Loevestein. (His

GROTIUS, HUGO (Huigh de Groot; 1583–1645), Dutch jurist, classical scholar, theologian, and ambassador for Sweden, traditionally known as the father of modern international law. Born in Delft on 10 April 1583, Grotius was the son of Jan de Groot, a burgomaster of Delft, who had studied under Justus Lipsius and was curator of the University of Leiden. After early schooling in Delft, he was taught by Johannes Uytenbogaert, a preacher and theologian in The Hague. At the age of eleven he entered the University of Leiden, where he studied under the famous classical scholar Joseph Scaliger.

patron, Johan van Oldenbarneveltdt, was put to death.) In prison he wrote *Bewijs van den waren Godsdienst* (On the truth of the Christian religion) and began the composition of a work on the law of Holland that was published in 1631. Hiding in a chest of books, Grotius escaped from the castle in 1621 and fled to France, where he was received by Louis XIII (ruled 1610–1643), who gave him a pension that was paid in fits and starts.

In Parisian exile Grotius published his greatest work, *De Jure Belli ac Pacis* (1625; On the law of war and peace). The work was dedicated to the French king in the hope of receiving steady employment; Cardinal Richelieu, however, successfully opposed this. In his book Grotius argued that all laws can be distinguished between primary laws of nature, which express the divine will, and secondary laws, which lie within the realm of human reason. International society, Grotius argued, belongs to this second sphere. Its laws may be scientifically deduced from the rational and social nature of man, without reference to religious beliefs. Grotius was famously criticized by Rousseau in *Du contrat social* (1762; The social contract) for being a defender of slavery and a flatterer of tyrants. Although there are indeed defenses in particular instances of slavery and absolute rule, Grotius believed that slavery and absolute rule were exceptions and somehow against nature, although under certain circumstances they may be legitimate. As one of the great theorists of religious toleration, Grotius saw in the common principles of the various confessions (belief in the existence and unity of God and God's creation of the world) the basis of natural religion, from which Christianity differentiates itself by other elements that find their justification not in natural reason but only in faith. This is conferred by the mysterious help of God. Hence it is contrary to reason to impose Christianity by arms on those to whom God has not given that help. Grotius is also believed to have established a new basis for ethics, since he affirmed it to be a tenet of natural law that all men are permitted to attempt to preserve themselves against death and harm.

Grotius devoted himself to his writing in Paris until 1631, when, six years after the death of Prince Maurice in 1625, he went home to Holland. Threatened again with imprisonment, he left for Hamburg, where acquaintance with the chancellor

of Sweden, Axel Oxenstierna, resulted in his appointment in 1634 by Queen Christina as Swedish ambassador to France. Returning to Paris, Grotius proved personally incompatible both with his old foe, Richelieu, and then with Richelieu's successor, Cardinal Jules Mazarin; all the same, it was on the negotiations of these men that Swedish-French relations depended for ten crucial years of the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648). Only in 1644 did Queen Christina recall Grotius to Sweden, relieving him of his ambassadorship. Grotius was offered a position in Sweden, but he declined it and decided to return to Paris. On his way back, however, a ship that was carrying him to Lübeck was wrecked on the Pomeranian coast, sixty miles from Rostock. After a journey of two days he arrived in Rostock with a fever and died there on 26 August 1645.

See also **Diplomacy; Dutch Republic; Dutch Revolt (1568–1648); Law: International; Natural Law; Oldenbarneveltdt, Johan van.**

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WILLIAM J. CONNELL

GUICCIARDINI, FRANCESCO

(1483–1540) Florentine historian and political thinker. Francesco Guicciardini was the greatest historian of the Renaissance. His family rose to prominence under the Medici regime (a nascent *principate* operating behind a republican facade). During his lifetime the Medici were expelled from Florence and a republican regime restored (1494–1512), two members of the Medici family were elected to the papacy (Leo X and Clement VII), the Medici regained control of Florence (1512–1527) but lost it again briefly (1527–1530), and finally established themselves as hereditary princes. In external affairs, a French army invaded Italy in 1494, and the Valois monarchy subsequently attempted to establish hegemony there, but was challenged and ultimately defeated by the supranational Habsburg empire of Charles V, which from c. 1530 exercised hegemony in the peninsula. Guicciardini, who was trained as a lawyer, served the Medici papacy as a senior administrator, and was a participant in the vicissitudes of the Habsburg-Valois wars in Italy, which he narrated in his last and greatest work, the *Storia d'Italia* (History of Italy), composed in the late 1530s. Within Florence, the pressure of events and the conflict of interests created a political debate of such intensity that a cohort of Florentines led by Niccolò Machiavelli (1469–1527), and including Guicciardini, virtually founded the modern tradition of political thought. During the early modern period, Guicciardini was known throughout Europe for his *History of Italy*, and for his *Ricordi* (Maxims and reflections). In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries all of his writings were published, providing a much more complex picture of the man, and at the beginning of the twenty-first century new editions, translations, and studies continue to appear.

Guicciardini's early *Storie fiorentine* (Florentine histories) deals mainly with the Florentine experiment in broadly based republican government that began in 1494 and, despite many difficulties, was still in existence at the time of writing (1508–

1509). Over three thousand Florentine males were permanent members of the voting assembly on which the political system was based—an extraordinarily high number in comparison to most other European states at that time, though a small fraction of the population. But political participation and influence were strongly correlated to social position, so most of the leading individual actors were members of prominent families, had aristocratic views, and favored a stronger role for the executive and the creation of a permanent senate to represent their interests, while a few supported the Savonarolan movement and others collaborated secretly with the Medici.

In 1512 Guicciardini drafted his first political treatise, the *Discorso di Logrogno* (Discourse composed in Logrogno), a set of proposals for refining the republican government. Guicciardini's outlook was broadly that of his fellow aristocrats, but his real concern was to ensure that perceptive and experienced men would prevail over the foolish and the inexperienced in the business of government. Like Machiavelli, Guicciardini tried throughout his life to gain an intellectual grasp of how political and military events are determined. They did not have modern social science to aid them, or any experience of parliamentary government by organized political parties, but they were imbued with ancient Greek and Roman literature on war, politics, and conquest, and their own experience of war and politics was much closer to that of the ancient world than it was to that of people living in the nineteenth, twentieth, or twenty-first centuries. Hence they placed great emphasis on the character of individual leaders and their advisors, and the process of deliberation. Guicciardini did exercise power directly, but not in the context of Florentine politics. He was a senior administrator in the northern part of the Papal States (somewhat like a Roman proconsul, or a colonial governor), and his *Ricordi* are largely based on that experience. Each of them is a gem of insight into character and conduct, prudent choice of course of action, and the mutability of fortune.

Yet the problem of Florence never left Guicciardini's mind, and in the 1520s he returned to it yet again in his *Dialogo del reggimento di Firenze* (Dialogue on the government of Florence), which is set in late 1494. Four Florentine leaders debate the good and bad aspects of Medici rule and the pros-

pects for the current broadly based republican regime, and the one with the most foresight (i.e., the one whom Guicciardini endows with his own hindsight) is also the most pessimistic. Machiavelli in the *Discourses on the First Ten Books of Livy* (written c. 1514–1520) used the ancient Roman republic, the most successful conquest state in European history, as a standard against which to assess the situation of the states of modern Italy; Guicciardini responded with a short set of *Considerations on Machiavelli's Discourses* (written c. 1530), in which he emphasized the uniqueness of every historical situation and the consequent illegitimacy of analysis and prescription based on a paradigm case.

The theme of the *History of Italy* is not politics as such but European interstate conflict during the epochal period from 1494 to about 1530. The modern state was coalescing throughout western Europe, and the European state system was assuming the dynamic form it was to retain throughout the early modern period. Italy became the theater and victim of Habsburg-Valois conflict because its own sophisticated state system was too small in scale to withstand the impact of the large armies led there, or sent there, by the monarchs of France and Spain. One reason for the work's classic status is Guicciardini's ability to marshal the tumult of events into a vast narrative. Another is his profound insight into the complex, systemic way overall outcomes are determined, as numerous individual decision makers and their advisors throughout Italy and Europe, with all their personal idiosyncrasies, continually assess the intentions, capacities, words, and deeds of all the others, and choose their own courses of action.

See also **Florence; Habsburg-Valois Wars; Historiography; Machiavelli, Niccolò; Political Philosophy; Republicanism.**

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WILLIAM McCUAIG

GUILDS. The guild, a formal organization of craftspeople, held an important place in a theoretical system of order called corporatism that emerged in the late Middle Ages in Europe and survived until the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Medieval guilds began as devotional and mutual aid societies, but by the early modern period they had become identified with governance as well as with the regulation of economic activities. Guild masters responded to indiscipline in the workplace by drafting statutes or guild bylaws. Municipalities, and eventually monarchs, sanctioned these statutes for a fee, oversaw their enforcement by imposing fines for transgressions, and increasingly conferred legal status upon the guilds.

Corporatism laid out organizing principles that shaped social, political, and economic organization, embracing the concept of paternalism and restricting competition to preserve the livelihood of artisans and channel quality goods, fairly priced, to the consuming public. In keeping with these principles,

monopoly over the manufacture and sale of particular items was a privilege widely protected by guild statutes. Statutes also frequently regulated the labor supply to reduce competition among masters, restricting the allowable number of journeymen a master might employ.

Guilds also had a social function. Membership placed an artisan—master, journeyman, apprentice, or widow—in the finely graded hierarchy that structured Old Regime society. Such a system was equally a power structure, and distinction and difference issued from a concern among male masters for subordination of inferiors, be they journeymen, apprentices, wageworkers, or women. Numerous provisions in guild statutes throughout Europe focused on status, above all by strictly regulating the access of workers to the corporation and to mastership within it. They also increasingly excluded women. Escalating fees, extended periods of apprenticeship, and the continuing refinement of masterpieces all pointed to a mounting preoccupation with discipline and a growing hierarchization in the world of work; the barriers between male and female, master and journeyman (that is, a worker with some institutional claim to guild membership), and journeyman and nonguild worker (those with no guild membership whatsoever) were being raised higher than ever before. Master guildsmen and the political authorities shared these values of institutionalization, and their common interests came together in the formulation of the corporate regime, enshrined in part in guild statutes.

EXPANSION OF THE GUILD REGIME

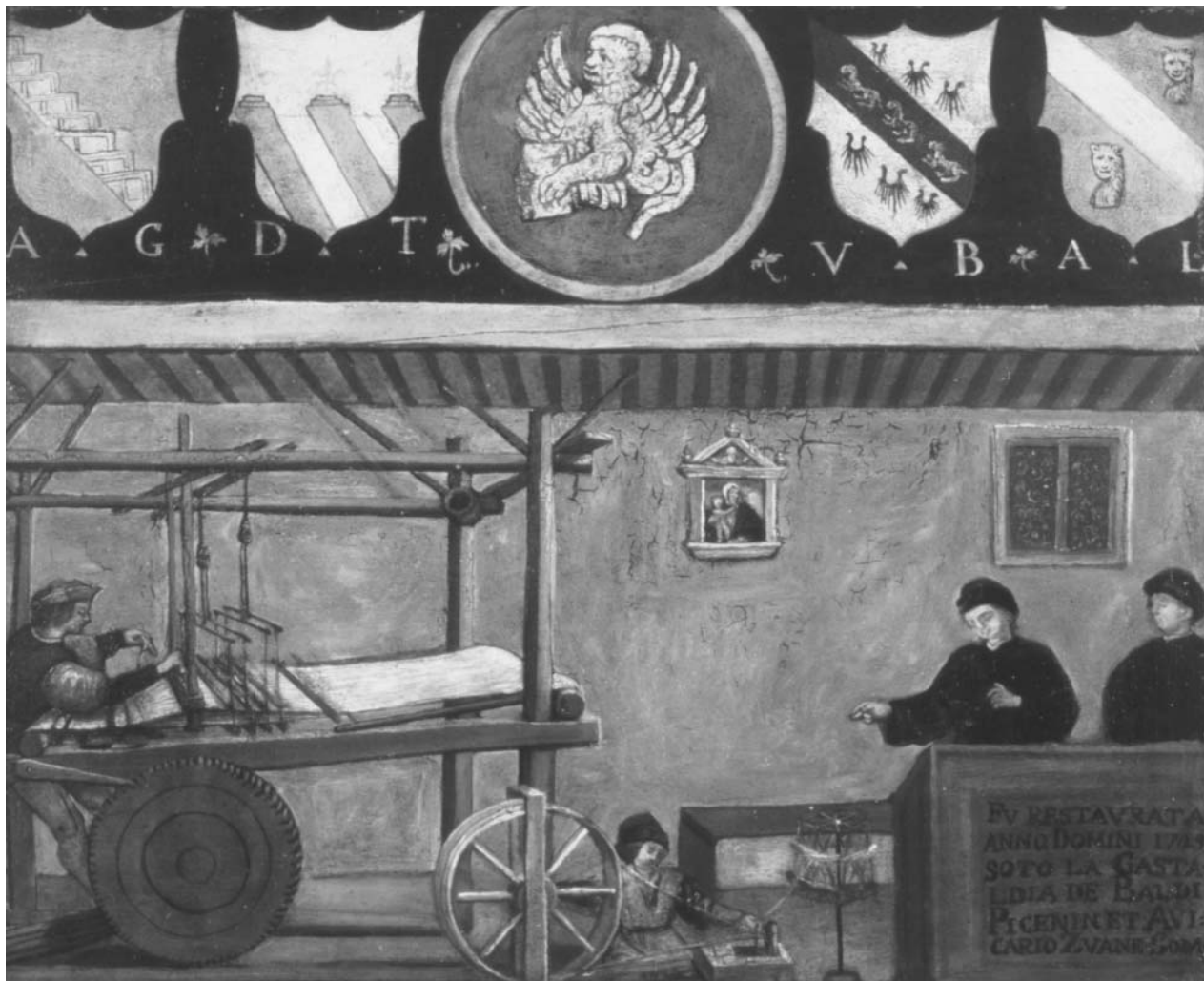
Guilds proliferated throughout Europe from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries; in some places such as Sweden and Austria the high point was reached in the eighteenth century. The fifteenth century was a time of corporate expansion in most French towns, and the sixteenth century witnessed a similar development in the towns of the southern Netherlands and England, where expansion continued into the seventeenth century. The towns of the new United Provinces in the northern Netherlands, for example, had few guilds before the seventeenth century, but by 1700 there were about two thousand. The German “home towns” of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries—polities that were relatively independent of external political au-

thority and held between one thousand and five thousand inhabitants—epitomize the early modern European guild system. The guilds in these locations were political, economic, and social entities. All possessed statutes that stipulated, as elsewhere, the nature and duration of apprentice training, regulations for recruitment of workers and their distribution among the shops of the town, and monopolies. Guild masters enforced these rules with the sanctioning of the municipality. Regulating economic competition had the higher goal, however, of securing community peace and maintaining the social order. This order was rooted in social position defined by *Ehrbarkeit* or ‘honorable status’. Guild masters everywhere, not just in the home towns, possessed this quality, characterized by “the respect of the respected,” and jealously guarded it, for it defined one’s exclusive position at the upper levels of society.

GUILDS AND ECONOMIC REGULATION

Determining the role that regulation played in economic practice has formed the research agenda of many historians of the early modern period, and the function of guilds is a central concern in this inquiry. Guilds were empowered and enjoined by municipal, ducal, ecclesiastical, or royal governments to regulate the economy—workshop inspections and access to courts are evidence of this. Many instances of artisans’ workshops being searched for illegal materials or unacceptable workmanship can be cited, as can examples of litigation between guilds over encroachment of monopolies. The high-water mark of regulation came in the late seventeenth century and is best illustrated by the policies of the French finance minister Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619–1683) and his immediate successors. Between 1673 and 1714 in France, the crown enacted 450 *règlements*, or rulings, on manufacture, and another 500 on the policing of the guilds and on jurisdictions between them. Similar regulatory policies were imitated by nearly every state in eighteenth-century Europe.

Historians have long been aware of this regulatory system but only recently have they probed its actual impact on economic activity. Indeed, historians now point to overwhelming evidence that reveals that in many places, normal economic practice was largely beyond regulation, as it comprised a flexible and spontaneous mixture of licit and illicit



Guilds. The sign of the Venetian Weavers' Guild, painted in the eighteenth century. MUSEO CORRER, VENICE, ITALY/BRIDGEMAN ART LIBRARY

activity in production, distribution, and consumption. The early modern craft economy was too dynamic to be contained by regulation, since illegal activities such as operating multiple shops, smuggling, unlicensed peddling, and clandestine workers working outside of guilds proliferated. In 1748 in Amsterdam, for instance, nonguild workers—both male and female—were making more clothes than master tailors.

So what can we conclude about guild regulation and the craft economy? Certainly guilds did not suffocate the free-market economy. The regulatory regime, however, was not totally ineffective or irrelevant. Rather, it was extremely flexible, responding to the various needs of artisans and governments. There were different kinds of markets in the early

modern economy, and regulation fit differently in them. There was the sprawling, heterogeneous, and unregulated clandestine and illegal craft economy. Alongside this economy there was the licensed one, but even here within the official organization of the guild we find ample room for flexibility and economic growth. Indeed, within this official, “regulated” structure, masters of the same guild competed with one another, even inviting regulation of their products as a form of advertising their quality precisely so that they could have an advantage over fellow guildsmen.

FROM CORPORATISM TO LIBERALISM: THE END OF GUILDS

Corporatism and guilds were embodied in most polities of early modern Europe. Guilds were simul-

taneously empowered by political authorities and rendered vulnerable to them, and so if these political authorities abandoned corporatism, guilds would disappear. In the eighteenth century, corporatism was increasingly challenged by a rival system, liberalism, and as governments came to embrace the principles of free trade and unregulated markets, corporatism was eventually displaced. Such a displacement, however, was hardly rapid or unconflicted. There was considerable ambivalence within the ranks of political authority about just what liberalism was and how it might be implemented. An episode involving the French controller general of finance, Anne-Robert-Jacques Turgot (1727–1781), illustrates this confusion. Turgot attempted to abolish the guilds in February 1776 and was abruptly dismissed in May. An advocate of free trade and therefore an opponent of the regulatory corporate regime, he saw guilds as impediments to growth in the French economy and asserted that abolishing them would liberate commercial and industrial activity. Turgot, however, was not thinking in simply narrow economic terms; nor were his opponents, the staunch defenders of corporatism. Both parties were fundamentally concerned with preserving social order, but equally fundamentally disagreed on how best to secure such order. Turgot sought to replace what he thought was the unnatural and stultifying hierarchy of corporatism with a natural and free one, and so he had no sympathy for his opponents, who clamored that his edict would dissolve the bonds of subordination and invite anarchy. Turgot assumed that masters and workers would form natural hierarchical relationships in the marketplace, that the natural law of the market would maintain order. Corporatists countered that Turgot's natural hierarchy was a dangerous illusion, and because the principle of incorporation linked all of France in a chain that led directly to the throne, to sever one link (as with the abolition of the guilds) would cut the chain and ultimately destroy the entire system and even the monarchy itself.

Turgot lost the battle, but liberalism eventually won the war. Over the long run liberalism did prove corrosive to corporatism in general and to guilds in particular, as attested by the liberal-inspired legislation in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries abolishing guilds all across Europe. The assault on corporations may have been largely inspired by de-

mands for free trade and unregulated markets, but guilds were more than simply economic entities; rather, they were a fundamental unit of the entire early modern system of social representation and social control. Their dissolution, therefore, had widely felt cultural ramifications. As guilds disappeared, the very nature of the artisanry, and the identity of the artisan, was redefined.

See also **Artisans; Liberalism, Economic; Proto-Industry.**

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GUISE FAMILY. The Guise lineage was the product of the dynastic convolutions of the Houses of Lorraine and Anjou in the fifteenth century. René II, duke of Lorraine (1451–1508), passed his lands in the kingdom of France to his second son, Claude I, count of Guise (1496–1550), who was naturalized French in 1506, but the Guise never forgot their dynastic claims to Scotland, Provence, and Naples. Claude made a good marriage in 1513 to Antoinette de Bourbon, eldest daughter of François de Bourbon-Vendôme. Although he was not an intimate of King Francis I (1494–1547), he was rewarded with the elevation of the county of Guise to a duchy in 1526; his credit peaked around 1538



Guise Family. *Three Men of the de Guise Family*, sixteenth-century painting. THE ART ARCHIVE/CHÂTEAU DE BLOIS/DAGLI ORTI

when he married his eldest daughter, Marie (1515–1560), to James V, king of Scotland (1512–1542). Control of ecclesiastical patronage was at the heart of Guise power throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It was under René's third son, Jean (1498–1550), that the foundations of a formidable ecclesiastical empire were laid. Jean possessed six abbeys and six dioceses, including the archbishopric of Reims, the most prestigious in France, which was held by various members of the family from 1533 until 1641.

On his death, Claude I de Guise left ten children to be provided for, and the favored position enjoyed by his brother in the French church was exploited to the full in order to prevent the fragmentation of the patrimony. The eldest son, François (1519–1563), became duke of Guise and shared the temporal inheritance with his younger brothers, Claude II, duke of Aumale (1526–1573), and René, marquis of Elbeuf (1536–1566), each of whom founded important lineages. The remaining sons and daughters were designated for the church at an early age; Charles (1525–1574), the second son, inherited the benefices of his uncle Jean, and

the fourth son, Louis (1527–1578), became bishop of Troyes in 1545 and later cardinal of Guise.

François de Guise and his brother Charles, cardinal of Lorraine, were well provided for in the palace revolution that marked the accession of Henry II. Although both were admitted to the privy council, they did not achieve the intimacy that marked the relationship between Henry and Constable Anne de Montmorency. The king's mistress, Diane de Poitiers, sought to counterbalance her lover's dependency on Montmorency by patronizing the Guise. Rivalry between the factions was at its most bitter over control of foreign policy. François's military reputation, first signaled at the siege of Metz (1552) and crowned by his capture of Calais (1558), was complemented by Charles's skills as a financier—he was reputed to be the richest man in France—and diplomat. Guise influence reached its height with the marriage of their niece Mary Stuart to the dauphin in 1558. When he ascended to the throne as Francis II a year later, the Guise dominated power. However, their authority was challenged by the opposition of the Bourbon princes of the blood, the spread of heresy, and the collapse of royal finances. When Francis II died in

December 1560, the Guise were disgraced. Their reaction to heresy was mixed: the cardinal of Lorraine was a Catholic moderate interested in concord, but his brother, François, was more hard-line, and his retinue's massacre of Protestants at Wassy in March 1562 signaled the start of the Wars of Religion. François's own assassination by a Huguenot in 1563 hardened the family's attitude to the Protestants and began a vendetta with the Montmorency clan that dominated the politics of the 1560s, ending with the murder of Admiral Coligny by François's son, Henri (1550–1588), an act that sparked the Massacre of St. Bartholomew.

Financial difficulties and growing estrangement from Henry III led the Guise into alliance with Spain in the 1570s. When the heir to the throne died in 1584, Henri de Guise resurrected the Catholic League with Spanish money to combat the claim of Henry of Navarre to the throne. Henri de Guise mobilized a popular urban power base and took control of large parts of France, but he and his brother Louis II, cardinal of Guise (1555–1588), were murdered by the king at the height of their power. The Catholic League, now headed by the surviving Guise brother, Charles, duke of Mayenne (1554–1611), was weakened after initial success by war weariness and polarization between radical and moderate factions. Mayenne, unable to find a suitable Catholic candidate to replace Henry III, who had been murdered in 1589, compromised with Navarre in 1595, signaling the end of the league. The dynasty continued to be important in the seventeenth century but suffered through its conspiracies against Cardinal Richelieu, resulting in the exile of Charles, duke of Guise (1572–1640), in the 1630s and of his son Henri, the archbishop of Reims (1614–1664), in the 1640s.

See also Catholic League (France); Coligny Family; France; Lorraine, Duchy of; Richelieu, Armand-Jean Du Plessis, cardinal; St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre; Wars of Religion, French.

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Guise Family. Portrait of Claude of Lorraine, duke of Guise, by Jean Clouet. ©ARTE & IMMAGINI SRL/CORBIS

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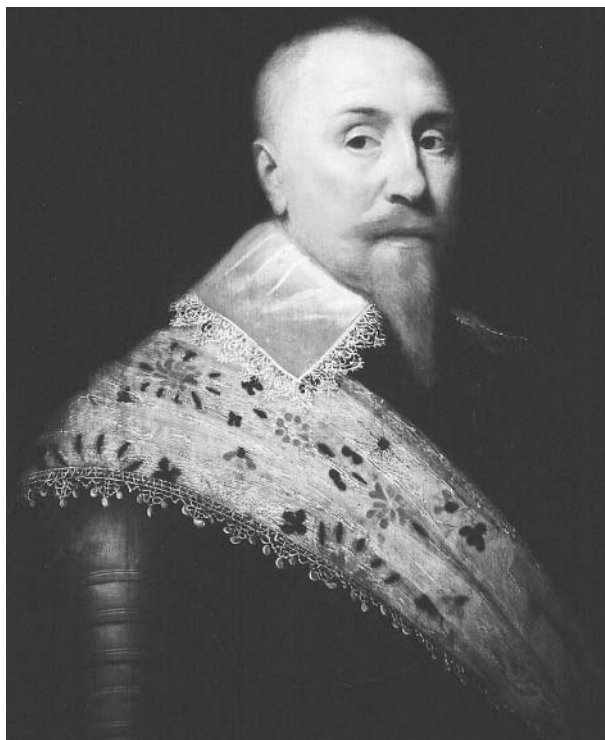
GUNPOWDER PLOT. *See* James I and VI (England and Scotland).

GUSTAVUS II ADOLPHUS (SWEDEN) (1594–1632; ruled 1611–1632), king of Sweden. Gustavus was the son of Sweden's Charles IX and Christina of Holstein-Gottorp. He grew up in a particularly troubled time in Sweden's history, during which his father led a successful rebellion to depose his nephew, Sigismund I Vasa, (1599) and then ruthlessly established his place as king. Gustavus was raised as his heir. He received a humanistic education, primarily from his tutor, Johan Skytte, and was schooled in the emerging Dutch ideas in warfare. Charles IX introduced him to political affairs early, and Gustavus represented the ailing king at the 1609 meeting of the parliament.

Only seventeen when his father died in October 1611, Gustavus's succession was not entirely secure. Sigismund, who was king of Poland as Sigismund III Vasa, still hoped to regain the throne, and his half-brother, John, also had a claim. Gustavus's younger brother, Charles Philip, was also a factor. More important, the high nobles were eager to recover the influence Charles IX had denied them. An ongoing war with Denmark made a decision vital. Gustavus paid for his recognition by agreeing to an accession charter that assured an elite in the nobility a share in governing through the Council of State (*riksråd*) and guaranteed the historic privileges of the noble estate, including tax exemption and a monopoly on offices. This deal embodied the ideas of aristocratic constitutionalism and was written by Axel Oxenstierna, the chancellor and a member of the council.

Two themes dominated Gustavus's reign: war abroad and developments at home to support war. Peace was concluded with Denmark at Knäred in 1613, but on unfavorable terms that included a huge ransom for the return of Älvsborg, Sweden's window on the west. War with Russia ended in 1617 with the Treaty of Stolbova, which assured Sweden's control of the Gulf of Finland. The sporadic conflict with Poland in the 1620s was suspended by a truce, negotiated in 1629, which recognized Sweden's gains on the south Baltic coast.

It was during this period that Gustavus introduced changes in recruitment, training, equipment, and battle tactics that earned him a place in the so-called military revolution of the seventeenth century. Realizing the problems inherent in mercenary



Gustavus II Adolphus. Contemporary portrait, Dutch School. THE ART ARCHIVE/GRIPSHOLM CASTLE SWEDEN/DAGLI ORTI (A)

armies, he created a force based heavily on Swedish provincial regiments, which were well trained and regularly paid. He adopted line formations in place of the traditional squares and drilled his troops for greater mobility. Firepower was crucial, he believed, and he increased the number of guns over pikes in the infantry and added numbers and mobility to his artillery. He preferred the defensive in battle, and his forces gained repeated victories by standing their ground and cutting attacking opponents to bits.

Alarmed by the Holy Roman Empire's gains in Germany, Gustavus entered the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648) in June 1630. At first his presence was unwelcome to the Protestants. Following the Battle of Breitenfeld (September 1631), however, he garnered more support and became increasingly central to the struggle. What he hoped to accomplish is unclear. Overthrow of the Habsburgs, the imperial crown, a Brandenburg-Vasa dynasty, security for Swedish interests in the Baltic, continued German disunity, territory, security for Germany's Lutherans, and the legitimacy of his own claim to the throne in Sweden are all on the list. Whatever

the case, the issue became moot when Gustavus was killed in the Battle of Lützen in November 1632. He was succeeded by his only surviving heir, his six-year-old daughter Christina. Thereafter, direction of Sweden's policy in Germany fell to Axel Oxenstierna.

During Gustavus's reign, reforms that were designed to strengthen Sweden and provide the political and economic base for empire were instituted at home. A new royal court (*Svea hovrätt*, 1614) was introduced and similar courts created in Åbo and Dorpat. At the central level, government was organized around five "colleges" (chancery, treasury, justice, war, and navy). Regional government was based on districts (*län*) headed by governors to whom local officials were responsible. The organization and procedures of the parliament (*riksdag*), which increasingly became the point of contact between the king and the estates (*ständer*) (clergy, nobles, burghers, and farmers), were more carefully defined. New secondary schools (*gymnasier*) were established, and the country's one university at Uppsala given better support. Economic development, especially trade, mining, and manufacturing, was encouraged, as was immigration, particularly by experts in government, business, and technology.

Long a subject of debate is the extent of Gustavus's role in all of these developments. Excepting the army reforms, Axel Oxenstierna was probably the author of most of them, but they had Gustavus's support. The chancellor, who believed in a powerful aristocracy, and Gustavus, who believed in a strong monarchy, worked together in harmony, each contributing to Sweden's emergence as the major power in northern Europe.

See also **Charles X Gustav (Sweden); Christina (Sweden); Military; Oxenstierna, Axel; Sweden; Thirty Years' War (1618–1648); Vasa Dynasty (Sweden).**

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GUTENBERG, JOHANNES (Johannes Gensfleisch zur Laden; c. 1400–1468), the first European printer, inventor of movable type. Throughout the Middle Ages texts continued to be created and transmitted the way they had been in ancient Greece and Rome: by handwriting. Each manuscript (literally, 'written by hand') was a unique and individually made object. If one copy of a text existed, and a second was needed, it required a fresh round of handwork, taking about as much time to complete as the first copy had. Then about 1450, an entirely new technique of text-creation, typographic printing, was developed in Mainz by Johannes Gutenberg. Through his invention, multiple copies of the same text, whether of a single-page document such as a church indulgence, or of a massive book such as the Bible, could be produced in a workshop as part of a single, mechanized process of production. Within the next quarter century Gutenberg's invention took firm root in Europe, and printed books became familiar objects for educated readers. Printing radically changed the tempo and scale of bookmaking: contemporaries remarked in amazement that as much could be printed in a day as a scribe could write in a year. This in turn affected the systems of book sales and distribution, book prices, readers' expectations for the appearance of their books, and eventually all aspects of book culture.

In their layouts and letterforms the earliest printed books closely resemble, as they were meant to do, professionally written manuscripts of their time. Yet the way in which they were made is so different from handwriting that, although we know almost nothing about Gutenberg's personality, we must believe that he had a rarely creative mind. The underlying idea of typography is the creation, in cast metal alloy, of multiple copies of every letter form in reverse, each standing on a rectangular shaft of about one-inch height so that they could be easily picked up and placed side by side to form lines of words, which then were arranged and blocked to-

gether to form entire type-pages of words. These type-pages were dabbed with a sticky black oil-based ink; a sheet of paper (or vellum, as the case may be) was laid over the page; and the paper and types were put under the plate of a screw-action press. The plate pressed the inked, reverse-image types strongly into the paper, leaving a sharp, forward-reading image of a full page of text in the paper. By successive inkings, as many copies as desired of that same type-page could be printed off, and gradually, multiple copies of a complete book were created, page by page.

The critical feature of Gutenberg's invention was that after all the needed copies of a given page had been printed off, the types were cleaned of ink, loosened, and returned, one by one, into the type cases, each character going into its appropriate box, ready for setting more text. By means of this constant recycling, a relatively small amount of type, and thus a relatively small investment in time, labor, and metal, was sufficient to print hundreds of copies of a book of any length. For instance, a single type-page of the Gutenberg Bible would have amounted to about twenty pounds of metal, and a typical full case of type in one of the early printing shops may have weighed about sixty-five pounds. However, if the entire text of the Gutenberg Bible had been set in standing pages, the total weight of the types needed would have been more than twelve tons.

Fragments survive of several crudely produced editions of a Latin grammar, *Donatus*, and of a German prophetic poem, the *Sibyllenbuch*, which are probably the results of Gutenberg's earliest typographic experiments. The massive Latin Bible commonly called the Gutenberg Bible, completed in 1455, was a much more expensive and ambitious project: a two-volume work, beautifully printed, of more than 1,200 large pages (approximately 16 by 11 inches). The Italian humanist Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, the future Pope Pius II (reigned 1458–1464), saw sample sheets of the Bible in Frankfurt am Main in the fall of 1454 and wrote enthusiastically to a friend in Rome about the high quality of the workmanship. He was told that some 180 copies were being made.

The chief investor in the Bible project was a wealthy Mainz citizen, Johann Fust (d. 1466). After the Bible was completed, Fust brought a successful

lawsuit against Gutenberg, claiming that his investment had been partly diverted to other projects of Gutenberg's. Fust and his son-in-law Peter Schoeffer went on to form their own successful printing shop in Mainz.

After the breakup with Fust, Gutenberg was able, with the aid of another Mainz investor, to continue his experiments in typography into the late 1450s. A potential drawback of his first invention was that, because the pages of type were only temporary, if a new edition of a text was called for, it had to be reset from the beginning, with time and costs equal to that of the first edition. In response to this, Gutenberg developed a second system of printing, whereby the composed pages of type were not printed from directly. Instead, the set types were used to make moulds, into which were cast thin metal strips, each bearing on its surface the raised impression of two lines of text. These strips were blocked together to make up type-pages, which went under the printing press. When the printing was done, the strips could be stored, page-by-page, so that if a new edition was called for, they could be quickly reassembled, without the time and cost of new composition.

Using this system, Gutenberg and his workers produced in 1460 two brief religious tracts and a massive Latin dictionary, the *Catholicon*. After Gutenberg's death, the strips of the tracts were printed from once again (1469), and of the *Catholicon* twice again (1469 and 1473). Unlike the first invention of recycling types, this second invention of "frozen" types did not spread to other printing shops. Its near equivalent, stereotyping, was not developed until some 250 years later.

THE SPREAD OF PRINTING

In Gutenberg's lifetime the technology of printing spread slowly, to Strasbourg, Bamberg, Cologne, and into Italy, reaching Rome in 1467. In the year he died, 1468, it may not have been clear to contemporary eyes that printing would soon become a substantial replacement for, rather than just a parallel alternative to, the traditional system of handwritten books. A much broader and more rapid spread began in 1469 and after, when printing was first introduced to the great trading city of Venice. By 1500, printing shops had been introduced to more than 250 European cities and towns, although

many of these were the sites for only brief experiments. Concurrently, a strong consolidation of shops began to form in a dozen or so cities—Venice, Paris, Milan, Strasbourg, Nuremberg, and others—which among them produced nearly two-thirds of the approximately 28,000 surviving printed editions of the fifteenth century. By contrast, from about 1475 onward, there was a rapid fall-off in the production of manuscript books.

In essence, the fifteenth-century printers and publishers produced, in the totality of their output, a kind of résumé of all the written culture of the western world that still had a wide currency in their own age: ancient authors and the Bible; the major writings and commentaries on theology, law, and medicine; sermon collections; liturgical and devotional books; confessionals and other manuals for priests. Many of the “best-selling” authors of the period, such as Cicero, St. Augustine, and St. Thomas Aquinas, had been dead for centuries. At the same time, the printers were capable of giving quick and wide currency to the events and concerns of the day. When Columbus returned from his first voyage to the New World in 1493, his report to King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella was rapidly translated into Latin and published in three Rome editions as a kind of brief newsletter.

The role of printing, from the earliest years, in creating a mass circulation of almanacs, prognostications, indulgences, and small vernacular writings of many kinds has often been underestimated because of the very low survival rate of these genres. For example, we know from a document that in 1500 a printer in Messina had produced more than 130,000 copies of indulgences for the bishop of Cefalù, yet not a single copy is known to survive.

See also **Bible: Translations and Editions; Caxton, William; Printing and Publishing.**

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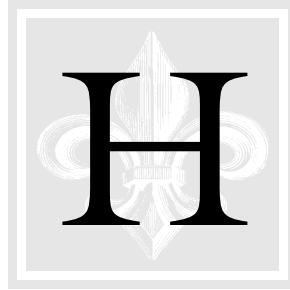
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GUYON, JEANNE-MARIE DE LA MOTTE. *See* Quietism.

GYPSIES. *See* Roma (Gypsies).



HABSBURG DYNASTY

This entry includes two subentries:

AUSTRIA

SPAIN

AUSTRIA

The Habsburgs were the princely family that provided the dukes and archdukes of Austria starting in 1282, the kings of Hungary and Bohemia from 1526 onward, and the emperors of Austria from 1804 to 1918. From 1438 to 1806 (with one interruption, 1742–1745) the Habsburgs were emperors of the Holy Roman Empire and from 1516 to 1700 kings of Spain. All dynastic politics hinge on fertile marriages. Without legitimate heirs, dynasties regularly fall into civil war or foreign conquest. While this was true for all the early modern monarchies, the House of Habsburg seemed for a time to have perfected dynastic practice. Emperor Maximilian I (ruled 1493–1519) cultivated the motto, “*Bella gerant alii, tu felix Austria nube*” (What others achieve by war, let you, happy Austria, achieve by marriage). This policy was most evident in the arrangements made by Emperor Frederick III (ruled 1440–1493) for his son Maximilian I, who first married Mary of Burgundy (1457–1482) in 1477 and produced a son, Philip I (called “The Handsome,” ruled Castile 1504–1506). Maximilian’s marriage to Mary created claims to the Burgundian inheritance in the Low Countries as well as the duchy of Burgundy itself. After Mary’s death in 1482, Maximilian married Anne of Brittany (1477–1514) by proxy in 1490,

but this marriage was never consummated because in 1491 King Charles VIII of France (ruled 1483–1498) took Anne for himself. So in 1493 Maximilian married Bianca Maria Sforza, niece of Lodovico Sforza of Milan (1452–1508).

In all of these efforts one sees evidence of careful dynastic planning, which is even more obvious in the advantageous marriage Maximilian I arranged in 1496 for his son Philip I to Joanna (Juana) of Castile (ruled Castile 1504–1555; Aragón 1516–1555), the daughter of Ferdinand II of Aragón (ruled Sicily 1468–1516; Castile 1474–1504; Aragón 1479–1516; Naples 1504–1516) and Isabella of Castile (ruled 1474–1504). Although the unfortunate Joanna became mentally disordered in the early sixteenth century and was queen in name only, she bore six children, including the future Emperor Charles V (ruled 1519–1556; Charles I of Spain 1516–1556), who continued his family’s dynastic planning by marrying Isabel of Portugal (1503–1539) in 1526. Thus it was that, without major military conquests, Charles V came to inherit the Austrian and southwest German homelands of the Habsburgs, the Low Countries, Burgundy, Spain, and all the Spanish possessions (including Spain’s New World colonies and the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily). In 1519, after intense lobbying, he was also elected Holy Roman emperor, bringing sovereignty over most of the German lands. Such a family empire was obviously too large to control, and Charles spent much of his life fighting the kingdom of France and the Turks in the Mediterranean. He turned his Austrian homelands over to his brother

Ferdinand I (ruled 1558–1564), who pursued his own dynastic politics by marrying Anne, the daughter of Wladislaw II, king of Hungary and Bohemia. Meanwhile his sister Mary married the son of Wladislaw, King Louis II (ruled 1516–1526), who died childless at the battle of Mohács in 1526. This left Ferdinand I with a legitimate claim to both kingdoms, and from then until 1918 the Habsburgs were rulers of Austria, Bohemia, and those parts of Hungary not controlled by the Ottoman Turks.

What marriage could assemble, however, its failures could also destroy. This first became clear with Emperor Rudolf II (ruled 1576–1612), who failed to marry and was succeeded by his brother Matthias (ruled 1612–1619). Matthias married late in life but did not have children. When Matthias died, the stage was set for a bitter controversy over succession, especially in the Bohemian lands, where the crisis marked the beginning of the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648). Habsburg dynastic policy ran into another snag when Emperor Charles VI (ruled 1711–1740) died with no surviving male heirs in 1740. Using a “Pragmatic Sanction,” he had arranged that his hereditary lands should go to his daughter, Maria Theresa (1717–1780), but this international agreement did not restrain King Frederick II of Prussia (ruled 1740–1786) from seizing Silesia and exciting the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748). Although Silesia was lost for good, Maria Theresa and her husband, Francis Stephen of Lorraine (Emperor Francis I, ruled 1745–1765), reestablished Habsburg rule over the Holy Roman Empire as well as in the Austrian, Bohemian, and Hungarian hereditary lands. Thus despite dynastic crises, strategic marriages decisively shaped the history of central Europe and nowhere more than among the Habsburgs.

See also Charles V (Holy Roman Empire); Charles VI (Holy Roman Empire); Ferdinand I (Holy Roman Empire); Ferdinand II (Holy Roman Empire); Ferdinand III (Holy Roman Empire); Francis II (Holy Roman Empire); Frederick III (Holy Roman Empire); Habsburg Territories; Holy Roman Empire; Joseph I (Holy Roman Empire); Joseph II (Holy Roman Empire); Leopold I (Holy Roman Empire); Maria Theresa (Holy Roman Empire); Matthias (Holy Roman Empire); Maximilian I (Holy Roman Empire); Maximilian II (Holy Roman Empire); Rudolf II (Holy Roman Empire).

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S P A I N

Known to contemporaries as the House of Austria, the Habsburg dynasty succeeded the Trastámara dynasty (1369–1516) and ruled Spain from 1516 to 1700. Its earliest title, count of Habsburg, provides the name now used for it. Spanish kings placed “count of Habsburg” after their royal and ducal titles, which included king of Castile and León, Aragón, Valencia, Navarre, Sicily, Sardinia, Naples, and Jerusalem; archduke of Austria; duke of Burgundy, Brabant, Luxembourg, Milan, and more. Other titles with the status of count included Barcelona, Flanders, Holland, Tyrol, and Franche Comté, all preceding such lordships as the Basque Country and Indies East and West.

Their titles gave the Habsburgs a conviction of divine favor, with its concomitant obligations. The first Habsburg in Spain, Philip I (1504–1506), duke of Burgundy, was king-consort of Castile as husband of Queen Joanna I (“Joanna the Mad,” 1479–1555), third child of Ferdinand of Aragón (ruled 1479–1516) and Isabella of Castile (ruled 1474–1504). In 1496, Ferdinand, for diplomatic purposes, married Joanna to Philip, son of Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I (ruled 1493–1519), and his own son, Prince John (1478–1497), to Maximilian’s daughter Margaret. He hardly expected that Joanna would inherit Spain, and that her son Charles I (Carlos I, ruled 1516–1556) would succeed to the Spanish thrones. Charles was born in 1500 in Ghent, where Maximilian influenced his upbringing. Maximilian and his father, Emperor Frederick III (ruled Holy Roman Empire 1452–1493; ruled Germany 1440–1493), developed a mystique about their dynasty, which included fictive genealogies tracing descent from Roman caesars and kings of Israel. Maximilian promoted the ideals

of chivalry and crusade, also dear to Ferdinand. To Spain's court Charles bequeathed the elaborate etiquette of Burgundy.

On Maximilian's death, Charles became Holy Roman Emperor Charles V (ruled 1519–1558). He vowed to uphold the Roman Catholic Church when he confronted Martin Luther at Worms. Differences with France involved him in dynastic wars; only in 1530–1541 did he find opportunity to crusade. He continued the marriage strategies of his grandfathers. His sisters married into Portugal, Hungary-Bohemia, France, and Denmark; his brother Ferdinand (1503–1564), to whom Charles ceded his Austrian holdings in 1522, also married into Hungary-Bohemia and founded the Austrian Habsburg line. The Spanish line remained senior. Charles's sister Mary of Hungary acted as arbiter between Charles and Ferdinand, and succeeded their aunt Margaret as Charles's regent of the Low Countries. Serving the absent ruler as viceroy or regent in his chief holdings became a family obligation.

Charles married Isabel of Portugal. Their eldest daughter, Maria, married her Austrian cousin, future emperor Maximilian II (ruled 1564–1576). Their youngest, Joanna, married the prince of Portugal. Maria, Maximilian, and Joanna served as regents in Spain. Charles acknowledged two bastards. The first, Margaret (1522–1586), eventually married the duke of Parma, grandson of Pope Paul III (1534–1549). Both she and her son Alexander Farnese served as regents in the Low Countries, as did Charles's natural son, John of Austria (1547–1578), who also commanded Spain's Mediterranean fleet. Male bastards, potential threats to the legitimate line, did not marry.

Charles's heir, Philip II of Spain (ruled 1556–1598), married successively Maria Manuela of Portugal, mother of the unfortunate Don Carlos (1545–1568); childless Mary Tudor of England; Elisabeth de Valois of France; and his niece Ana of Austria, who mothered Philip III (1598–1621). Philip's eldest daughter by Elisabeth, named Isabel, married her cousin Archduke Albert. Philip endowed them with the Low Countries, but when Albert died childless, title reverted to Spain, while Isabel continued as regent. Her sister Catalina (1567–1597) married Charles Emmanuel I of Savoy (1580–1630).

Philip brought four of Maximilian II's sons to Spain for their education. Private instructions penned by him and Charles V became part of the family heritage. His monastery-palace, El Escorial, remains Spain's enduring monument to the Habsburg dynasty.

Europe's division between Catholic and Protestant limited Spain's Habsburgs to marriages with consanguineous Catholic dynasties, primarily Austria and France. (Portugal ceased being an option while annexed to Spain [1580–1640].) Philip II considered marriage to Elizabeth I of England (ruled 1558–1603) for himself or an Austrian archduke if she became Catholic. In the early 1620s, Spanish diplomats dangled the prospect of marriage to an infanta, or princess, before Protestant Charles Stuart (ruled 1625–1649), who, as prince of Wales, traveled to Madrid only to be rejected.

Philip III married his second cousin Margaret of Austria. His heir, Philip IV (ruled 1621–1665), married French princess Elisabeth de Bourbon, but only a daughter, Maria Teresa (1638–1683), survived to marry Louis XIV of France (ruled 1643–1715), son of Louis XIII (ruled 1610–1643) and Philip IV's sister Anne of Austria (1601–1666). Another sister married Emperor Ferdinand III (1637–1657), whose daughter Mariana married Philip after Elisabeth's death. Mariana bore Charles II (ruled 1665–1700), and Margarita, who married her uncle Emperor Leopold I (ruled 1658–1705).

Philip IV embellished his court with the art of the Spanish painter Velázquez (1599–1660). He also sired bastards. One, Juan José de Austria (1629–1679; also known as John Joseph of Austria) served in military and viceregal offices for his father, and as minister to Charles II. Because Charles was sickly from birth, Juan José hinted that he should marry Margarita and reign if Charles died, outraging Philip. Charles first married Marie Louise d'Orléans, niece of Louis XIV, then Mariana of Neuburg, daughter of the elector palatine and sister of Leopold's second wife, Eleanor.

Philip IV and Charles continued to employ brothers and Austrian relations as viceroys and regents, particularly in the Spanish Netherlands. Charles's last representative there, Elector Max Emmanuel of Bavaria, married Maria Antonia, daughter of Margarita and Leopold.



Habsburg Dynasty: Spain. Standing: Maximilian I with his first wife, Mary of Burgundy, and at center their son Philip I of Spain and King of Castile (the Fair). Seated, from left: Charles V, Ferdinand I, and Ludwig II of Hungary, Maximilian's grandson-in-law. KUNSTHISTORISCHES MUSEUM, VIENNA, AUSTRIA/BRIDGEMAN ART LIBRARY

Charles did not conceive an heir. Some thought him bewitched and tried exorcisms as a cure. Questions remain about his genes; his parents were uncle and niece, his grandparents cousins, his great-

grandparents, all but one, Habsburgs. Austrian Leopold took charge of Habsburg fortunes, irritating Madrid, anxious about Spain's future. Leopold considered the Spanish monarchy Habsburg patri-

mony, and promoted his second son by Eleanor, Archduke Charles, to succeed Charles. Louis XIV promoted his and Maria Teresa's grandson Philip, duke of Anjou. Outside Spain and Austria, most favored a partitioned inheritance, with the son of Max Emanuel and Maria Antonia, Joseph Ferdinand, receiving Spain and the Indies, while Philip and Charles divided the rest. Charles accepted Joseph Ferdinand but not partition.

In 1699 Joseph Ferdinand died. Pressured by his council of state, Charles willed his inheritance to the Bourbon Philip of Anjou. When Charles died on 1 November 1700, the Spanish Habsburg dynasty became extinct. Spain's fundamental law of female succession validated Philip V's (ruled 1700–1724, 1724–1746) descent from Philip IV through Maria Teresa, regardless of her renunciation, toppling Leopold's claim that Habsburg possessions passed only through the male line.

See also Anne of Austria; Charles I (England); Charles II (Spain); Charles V (Holy Roman Empire); Holy Roman Empire; Isabel Clara Eugenia and Albert of Habsburg; Joanna I, “the Mad” (Spain); Juan de Austria, Don; Leopold I (Holy Roman Empire); Louis XIV (France); Maximilian I (Holy Roman Empire); Maximilian II (Holy Roman Empire); Netherlands, Southern; Parma, Alexander Farnese, duke of; Philip II (Spain); Philip III (Spain); Philip IV (Spain); Spain; Spanish Succession, War of the (1701–1714).

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HABSBU RG TERRITORIES. The Habsburg territories of central Europe were a diverse and far-flung assortment of lands ruled by the Austrian line of the House of Habsburg. Sometimes dubbed the Habsburg Monarchy by historians, this collection comprised an informal dynastic union of the Austrian Habsburg hereditary lands, or *Erblände* (acquired by the house in 1278), and the independent crownlands of both the Bohemian and the Hungarian Monarchies (added to its holdings in 1526). Less a state than a political agglutination occasioned by marriage alliances and international pressures, the Habsburg Monarchy was unlike any other.

LANDS AND PEOPLES

The medieval core of the Habsburg Monarchy, the Austrian hereditary lands, consisted of several large principalities and related smaller territories. Situated along the Danube River, “Austria” proper included the duchies of Upper and Lower Austria. To the south, “Inner Austria” included the nearby duchies of Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola, while the smaller principalities of Gorizia, Istria, and Trieste extended the realm to the Adriatic. Located far to the west were the county of Tyrol and “Further Austria,” or the *Vorlande*, consisting of the county of Vorarlberg (in the east), the Sundgau, the Breisgau, and Freiburg (in the west), and approximately one hundred scattered enclaves ruled by the Habsburgs in Swabia (in between), which included the oldest ancestral lands. Though largely German, the hereditary lands were by no means linguistically or ethnically homogeneous. To the west and south, segments of the population spoke various Romance languages: Ladin in Vorarlberg, Romansch in western Tyrol, and Italian in Trieste and southern Tyrol. Some areas to the south contained significant Slavic populations: Slovene was spoken in Carniola, as well as parts of Styria, Carinthia, and Gorizia, while Croatian was spoken in Istria. More significant, the Habsburgs ruled each of these territories individually, rather than collectively, and despite some grander pretensions, at times showed little interest in doing otherwise in the face of resistance—a pattern they would repeat elsewhere.

The five Bohemian crownlands had existed independent of Habsburg rule for close to five hundred years. They, like the Austrian lands, were polit-

ically diverse. Located to the north of the Austrian lands, they consisted of the largely Slavic kingdom of Bohemia and margravate of Moravia, in the south, and the largely German duchy of Silesia and margravates of Upper and Lower Lusatia, in the north. Nonetheless, each territory was linguistically and ethnically mixed. Bohemia and Moravia were predominantly Czech-speaking, with German-speaking minorities in some urban areas and along the western and northern periphery. Nearly all of the nobles and much of the populace in Lusatia and Silesia spoke German, although the Lusatian margravates contained significant numbers of Sorbs, Europe's smallest Slavic ethnic group, and Silesia was home to a large Polish minority, as well as a smaller Czech one.

Like the Bohemian lands, Hungary had a long history as a medieval kingdom before Habsburg rule. The crownlands consisted of the central kingdom on the Danubian plain, mountainous Upper Hungary (Slovakia) to the north along the Carpathians, and Transylvania to the east. Closely associated with Hungary through a centuries-long personal union were the southwestern kingdoms of Croatia and Slavonia. Each territory was quite distinct from the others, with its own estates, laws, and linguistic or ethnic groups. Magyars (Hungarians) predominated in the Danubian plain, while Slavs did elsewhere. Regardless of their ethnic identity or location, political elites usually adopted Magyar speech and customs (less so in Croatia than elsewhere). In contrast, outside of the central kingdom, the peasantry spoke Slovak and Ruthene in the Carpathians; Croatian in to the southwest; and Romanian in Transylvania, where Magyars, Magyar-speaking Szekels, and "Saxon" Germans were also found. In addition, German-speakers could predominate in more urban areas throughout Hungary, and Serbs entered Croatian territory in increasing numbers as the Ottoman Turkish threat increased in 1529.

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

The Habsburg Monarchy of the early modern period had humble roots in the reign of Rudolf I (ruled 1273–1291), whose election as emperor of Germany signaled the slow rise of a minor noble house, and whose acquisition of Austria provided the core of his successors' hereditary dominions.

Although subsequent Habsburgs obtained the imperial title, few dramatic changes in the dynasty's fortunes occurred until political marriages arranged by Emperor Maximilian I (ruled 1493–1519) began to bear fruit. In 1482 his son Philip I (ruled 1482–1506) inherited the Burgundian territories in the Low Countries from his mother. In 1516 Maximilian's grandson Charles V (ruled 1519–1556)—who would inherit the Austrian territories and become emperor in 1519—added his mother's Spanish kingdoms (along with their Italian and overseas possessions) to his father's Burgundian holdings. In 1526 another grandson of Maximilian, Ferdinand I (ruled 1558–1564), to whom Charles had ceded the Austrian territories in 1521, secured his own elections to the Bohemian and Hungarian crowns when his brother-in-law King Louis II of Bohemia (ruled 1516–1526) died without an heir in battle with the Turks. Ferdinand would later become German emperor upon his brother's abdication in 1556. It thus came to pass that the House of Habsburg had become divided into two lines, the Spanish and the Austrian, ruling lands far in excess of Maximilian's late-fifteenth-century dreams.

Yet, the central feature of Habsburg rule over these territories was that it proceeded from a different constitutional basis in each one. For this reason, it is important to distinguish the central European Habsburg territories from the Spanish and Burgundian territories and from the German Holy Roman Empire. The successors of Charles V in Spain never ruled the central European lands, despite continuing family alliances, and the empire was a separate political entity that never became a Habsburg possession, even though the Austrian line provided it with a string of elected emperors. They played an important role in German affairs, and since portions of the central European lands belonged to the empire, they were simultaneously territorial princes within it, but the Habsburg Monarchy was not the same as the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation. Instead, it was a wildly heterogeneous group of politically independent territories owing allegiance to the Habsburg dynasty.

Remarkably, the house managed to rule each land through traditional rather than centralized institutions, bringing each into a dynastic union with the others only by virtue of providing them with monarchs. Although this union created a limited



sense of shared purpose, the individual lands preserved their own identities, political forms, and administrative practices. Thus, in most cases, each land had a system of estates and a territorial diet, along with its own laws, privileges, and customs, all confirmed by succeeding Habsburg rulers.

In the Austrian hereditary lands, governors nominated by the estates and appointed by the prince served as the heads of territorial governments. Yet, greater power lay with the executive councils (*die Verordneten*) appointed by the estates of each land to oversee affairs whenever the diets

were not in session. Ultimately, even more important to the functioning of government were local nobles, who were charged with implementing governmental decrees within their jurisdiction (*Herrschaft*), and who protected this responsibility as a right.

Rule in the Bohemian and Hungarian crownlands followed a similar pattern, with the diets enjoying even greater control over taxation, the appointment of officials, and the implementation of policy. The Bohemian Court Chancery, an estates' institution staffed by Czech nobles, remained the

chief governmental organ of the kingdom. In Hungary, where significant noble privileges limited the scope of Habsburg initiatives, the diet retained control over the implementation of policy. Of course, in both kingdoms, the diets had the right to elect the monarch, although the so-called Renewed Constitution of 1627 abrogated this right in Bohemia, and the Hungarian Diet suspended it for as long as the House of Habsburg could produce a male heir. As was the case in the Austrian lands, the Habsburgs seldom challenged noble power in the estates (excepting Bohemia during the Thirty Years' War), let alone at the local level, until well into the eighteenth century.

Other than the Habsburg court itself, the monarchy simply lacked transterritorial institutions, let alone a general assembly for all its lands. In the sixteenth century, Ferdinand I made a limited attempt to establish a more centralized government in Vienna when he created a Privy Council for policy, a Court Chamber for finance, and Court War Council for defense. In practice, however, only the Privy Council was truly transterritorial, but it was a consultative organ, lacking the power to enforce its decrees. Finance and defense were issues too entangled with territorial privileges for the Court Chamber and Court War Council to have any real effect; their authority in these areas could only be shared with their territorial counterparts. Complicating matters further, of course, were similar institutions in the German empire. In attempting to centralize, Habsburg rulers really had no choice but to create an additional level of administration—the household—to complement the imperial and territorial institutions already in place. Ferdinand's successors did so, but structural realities always constrained their effectiveness. In any case, Ferdinand himself undermined hopes for lasting change when he divided his territories among his three sons in 1564, passing Bohemia and Hungary (along with the imperial title) to Maximilian II (ruled 1564–1576), Tyrol and Further Austria to Ferdinand, and the Inner Austrian territories to Charles. Only in 1619 would the territories again be united in personal union under Charles's son Ferdinand II (ruled 1619–1637).

Nevertheless, despite the centrifugal forces at work, several centripetal forces contributed to the monarchy's perseverance, not the least of which

were the needs of international politics and the dynasty's own attempts to foster a shared political culture around its own court. The Habsburg territories provided a bulwark against growing French power in the west and against a persistent threat from the Ottoman Turks in the southeast. The fact that the monarchy was decentralized only increased its appeal to its external allies and its internal nobility, since this status ensured that it would not become a greater threat to the status quo or territorial prerogatives. In fact, early attempts to centralize and consolidate Further Austria into a Swabian duchy by Maximilian I were thwarted, as were later attempts by Charles V and Ferdinand II to increase Habsburg authority in the German empire. Given this state of affairs, Habsburg rulers eventually forged an imperial ideology within their own territories by allying themselves with the Catholic Church and their landed nobility, fostering the interests of a universal church and the territorial estates (following the suppression of Protestantism) in order to secure the dynasty's own interests. The result was a gradual increase in central authority, achieved through existing political institutions and increased reliance upon the court's prestige. As R. J. W. Evans has argued in *The Making of the Habsburg Monarchy*, this alliance of crown, church, and estates facilitated the processes of Habsburg state building, even if the resulting polity little resembled the more homogeneous nation-states to the west.

AUSTRIAN PIETY AND ENLIGHTENED ABSOLUTISM

Habsburg attempts to consolidate authority proceeded in fits and starts, always limited by difficult political realities. In the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, Charles V, Ferdinand I, Maximilian II, Rudolf II (ruled 1576–1612), and Matthias (ruled 1612–1619) were all constrained by the Reformation in Germany. Nominally Catholic, each sought to support the Catholic Church against Protestantism, but each did so in ways that took into account not only genuine desires for compromise, but also their own reliance upon Protestant nobility in the empire and in the monarchy to turn back the Turkish threat.

Only Matthias's successor, his cousin Ferdinand II, threw his unrestrained support behind the Catholic cause when religious affairs in the empire

had reached a point of crisis at the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648), and Habsburg rule in Bohemia was threatened by a rival claimant to the throne. Pursuing harsh measures against the Bohemian rebels, Ferdinand also sought to secure Habsburg authority within the German empire. Although his attempts in the empire eventually fell short, measures against Protestant nobility in the Austrian hereditary lands and Bohemia proved lasting—a feat that makes him one of the most influential rulers in Austrian history. By the mid-seventeenth century, his son Ferdinand III (ruled 1637–1657) had effectively eliminated the Protestant threat in the Habsburg domains. Although noble privileges remained secure throughout the territories, they were enjoyed by nobles markedly different from the recalcitrant Protestants of the late sixteenth century.

From the crucible of religious antagonisms emerged a Catholic baroque culture that was integral to Habsburg absolutism. Still a bulwark against both France and the Ottoman Empire, the Habsburg Monarchy experienced both successes and failures, but the threat of internal dissent decreased with the consolidation of an invigorated imperial ideology. For during the reigns of Ferdinand II, Ferdinand III, Leopold I (ruled 1658–1705), Joseph I (ruled 1705–1711), and Charles VI (ruled 1711–1740), the Catholic piety of the Habsburg Monarch was turned into a public cult. Catholicism thus provided the language and form of state ritual and served to legitimate Habsburg rule within existing political structures. By creating a governmental ethos, “Austrian Piety” provided a model of religious and political practice to be emulated at court, bound the populace to the cause of Catholic baroque imperialism, and secured the foundations of the Habsburg state.

Ironically, from this context of Catholic ideology and traditional hierarchies emerged the top-down reforms of enlightened absolutism during the second half of the eighteenth century. During the reigns of Maria Theresa (ruled 1740–1780) and her son Joseph II (ruled 1780–1790), the ideas and institutions of baroque absolutism proved old and weak in comparison to new programs and structures in place elsewhere in Europe. Yet, neither Maria Theresa nor the bolder Joseph eliminated the traditional forms of Habsburg rule. Instead, they



adapted them to increase their rationality, efficiency, and effectiveness. In maintaining the dynasty's alliance with the Catholic Church and the estates, they preserved territorial autonomy and relied upon the prestige of the imperial court. With greater or lesser success, they transformed absolutism from a conservative force to a progressive one. Viewed from the nineteenth century, their actions were clearly not enough, but it is easy to underestimate their contemporary successes. Their reforms went both too far and not far enough. It should surprise no one that they were undermined not only by a resurgent traditionalism but also by an advancing modernism.

THE MYTH OF CRISIS AND DECAY

Confronted with the extreme diversity of the Habsburg Monarchy and its failure to embody western European political paradigms, some historians choose to depict it as doomed to unceasing crisis and decay. Yet, the monarchy not only withstood the difficulties confronting it during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, weathering

sessed a stable yet innovative government, led the way in public education, and was without peer in the world of music. By the beginning of the next century, it was poised to play a central role in reversing the military conquests of Napoleon following the French Revolution. Through a transterritorial alliance with the Catholic Church and the estates of its diverse lands, the Habsburg dynasty fostered a political and cultural allegiance during the early modern period that allowed it to outlast all other monarchies in terms of longevity and continuity. Only the nationalism of the nineteenth century would erode that allegiance, and only a world war in the twentieth would eliminate it entirely in 1918.

See also Austria; Bohemia; Charles V (Holy Roman Empire); Charles VI (Holy Roman Empire); Dutch Republic; Ferdinand I (Holy Roman Empire); Ferdinand II (Holy Roman Empire); Ferdinand III (Holy Roman Empire); Habsburg Dynasty; Holy Roman Empire; Holy Roman Empire Institutions; Hungary; Joseph I (Holy Roman Empire); Joseph II (Holy Roman Empire); Maria Theresa (Holy Roman Empire); Maximilian I (Holy Roman Empire); Maximilian II (Holy Roman Empire); Netherlands, Southern; Rudolf II (Holy Roman Empire); Spain.

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HABSBURG-VALOIS WARS. The Habsburg-Valois Wars of 1494–1559 were for a long time crucially intertwined with the Italian Wars. The latter arose from the instability of the Italian peninsula, which was divided among a number of vulnerable powers, but also from a new willingness of outside rulers to intervene. Initially, the most important was Charles VIII of France (ruled 1483–1498), who invaded Italy in 1494, capturing Naples the following March. Charles's artillery particularly impressed contemporaries. Mounted on wheeled carriages, his cannon used iron shot, allowing smaller projectiles to achieve the same destructive impact as larger stone shot. This permitted smaller, lighter, and thus more maneuverable cannon.

Charles's initial success aroused opposition both in Italy and from two powerful rulers who had their own ambitions to pursue: Maximilian I (ruled 1493–1519), the Holy Roman emperor, who ruled Austria and the other Habsburg territories, and Ferdinand of Aragón (ruled Sicily 1468–1516; Aragon 1479–1516; Naples as Ferdinand III 1504–1516; Castile, with Isabella, 1474–1504). Ultimately, Maximilian's grandson, Emperor Charles V (ruled 1519–1558; ruled Spain 1516–1556 as Charles II), was to succeed to the Habsburg, Burgundian, Aragonese, and Castilian inheritances, creating a formidable rival to the Valois dynasty of France and ensuring that the wars are known as the Habsburg-Valois wars.

Ferdinand's forces intervened in southern Italy in 1495, while Charles VIII was forced by Italian opposition to retreat, although an attempt to cut off his retreat failed at Fornovo (6 July 1495); the Italian forces of the League of St. Mark had numerical superiority but were poorly coordinated. Charles VIII's successor, Louis XII (ruled 1498–1515), in turn invaded the Duchy of Milan in northern Italy in 1499, claiming it on the grounds that his grandmother had been a Visconti. Disaffection with French rule led to a rallying of support to Ludovico Sforza (1451–1508), but Louis was able to reimpose his power in Milan and to partition the

kingdom of Naples with Ferdinand in 1500. They fell out in 1502, and the French tried to take the entire kingdom, only to be defeated by the Spaniards at Cerignola (28 April 1503). The French-held positions were then captured, and Louis XII renounced his claims to Naples by the Treaty of Blois of 12 October 1505.

Cerignola was the first in a series of battles in which a variety of weapons, weapon systems, and tactics were tested in the search for a clear margin of military superiority. The state of flux in weaponry entailed a process of improvisation in the adoption and adaptation of weapons and tactics. In addition, perceived “national” differences were linked to fighting methods. The Swiss and Germans were noted as pikemen, equally formidable in offense and defense, but vulnerable to firearms. The French put their emphasis on heavy cavalry and preferred to hire foreign pikemen.

Italy was increasingly dominated by France and/or Spain, the only powers with the resources to support a major military effort. In contrast, other powers, especially Venice, defeated by Louis XII, Milan, the Swiss, and the papacy, took less important and independent roles. Pope Julius II (ruled 1503–1513) had formed the League of Cambrai in 1508 to attack Venice, but it was France’s role that was decisive in that war. The French defeated the Venetians at Agnadello (14 May 1509) and then overran much of the Venetian mainland. Italian rulers lacked the resources to match French or Spanish armies readily in battle. Instead, they adapted to the foreign invaders and sought to employ them to serve their own ends. Thus, there was no inherent conflict between these local rulers and foreign powers. Instead, the latter were able to find local allies.

At the same time, weaker powers could help affect the relationship between France and Spain. In 1511, Pope Julius II’s role in the formation of the Holy League with Spain, Venice, and England to drive the French from Italy led to a resumption of Franco-Spanish hostilities. The French beat the Spaniards at Ravenna on 11 April 1512, but opposition to the French in Genoa and Milan helped the Spaniards to regain the initiative, as did Swiss intervention against France. The French retreated across the Alps, while Ferdinand of Aragón conquered the

kingdom of Navarre, which was to be a permanent gain.

In 1513, the French invaded again, only to be defeated by the Swiss at Novara on 6 June; the advancing Swiss pikemen took heavy casualties from the French artillery before overrunning the poorly entrenched French position. Left without protection, the French harquebusiers were routed.

Soon after coming to the French throne, the vigorous Francis I (ruled 1515–1547) invaded anew. He was victorious at Marignano (13–14 September 1515), the French cannon, crossbows, harquebusiers, cavalry, and pikemen between them defeating the Swiss pikemen, and occupied Milan until 1521, reaching a settlement with the future Emperor Charles V at Noyon in 1516.

However, the election of Charles as Holy Roman emperor in 1519 seemed to confirm the worst French fears of Habsburg hegemony, and in 1521 Francis declared war. The main theater of conflict was again northern Italy, although there was also fighting in the Low Countries and the Pyrenees. After their defeat at Bicocca (27 April 1522), the French position in northern Italy collapsed. In 1523 Venice felt that it had to ally with Charles. That year, however, invasion attempts on France from Spain, Germany, and England all failed to make an impact. In turn, Francis sent an army into northern Italy, which unsuccessfully besieged Milan before being driven out in early 1524 by the Habsburg forces.

In 1524 Charles again attempted to mount a concerted invasion of France with Henry VIII (ruled 1509–1547) of England and Charles, duke of Bourbon (1490–1527), a rebel against France. Such concerted invasions reflected the ambitious scope of strategic planning in the period although their lack of adequate coordination and failure testified to the limitations of operational execution.

In response, Francis invaded Italy again in October 1524, captured Milan, and besieged Pavia. The arrival of a Spanish relief army, however, led to the battle of Pavia (24 February 1525), in which the French were defeated and Francis captured. This was a battle decided by the combination of pikemen and harquebusiers, although it is not easy to use Pavia to make definitive statements about the effectiveness of particular arms. Even more than most

battles, it was confused, thanks to the effects of heavy early morning fog; in addition, many of the advances were both small-unit and uncoordinated, and the surviving sources contain discrepancies. As in most battles of the period, it would be misleading to emphasize the possibilities for, and extent of, central direction. Nevertheless, Spanish success in defeating repeated attacks by the French cavalry was crucial. Francis had attacked in a way that enabled the Spaniards to use their army to maximum advantage.

The captured Francis signed the Treaty of Madrid (14 January 1526) on Charles's terms, enabling Charles to invest his ally Francesco Sforza (1495–1535) with the Duchy of Milan. Nevertheless, once released, Francis claimed that his agreement had been extorted, repudiated the terms, agreed with Pope Clement VII (ruled 1523–1534), Sforza, Venice, and Florence to establish the league of Cognac (22 May 1526), and resumed the war. This led to the sack of Rome by Charles's unpaid troops in 1527, but repeated French defeats, especially at Landriano (20 June 1529), led Francis to accept the Treaty of Cambrai (3 August 1529), abandoning his Italian pretensions. Francesco Sforza was restored to Milan, but with the right to garrison the citadel reserved to Charles. The high rate of battles in this period in part reflected the effectiveness of siege artillery.

War that resumed after the death of Sforza in November 1535 led to a disputed succession in Milan. Francis invaded Italy in 1536, conquering Savoy and Piedmont in order to clear the route into northern Italy. However, the inability of either side to secure particular advantage led to an armistice in 1537, which became a ten-year truce in 1538. As this was on the basis of *uti possidetis* ('retaining what was held'), Francis was left in control of Savoy, while in 1540 Charles invested his son (later Philip II of Spain) with the Duchy of Milan.

The rivalry between Francis and Charles continued and was stirred by Charles's suspicion of links between Francis and the Ottomans. Francis, in turn, was encouraged by the failure of Charles's expedition against Algiers in late 1541. Francis attacked northern Italy the following year, beginning a new bout of campaigning. The French defeated the Spaniards at Ceresole in Piedmont (11 April 1544).

As at Pavia, any summary of the battle underplays its confused variety. As a result of both the hilly topography and the distinct formations, the battle involved a number of struggles. Each side revealed innovation in deployment in the form of interspersed arquebusiers and pikemen, the resulting square formations designed to be both self-sustaining and mutually supporting, although it is probable that, as yet, this system had not attained the checkerboard regularity seen later in the century. Bringing arquebusiers into the pike formations drove up the casualties when they clashed. The French cavalry played a key role in Francis's victory.

Combined arms tactics are far easier to outline in theory than to execute under the strain of battle. The contrasting fighting characteristics of the individual arms operated very differently in particular circumstances, and this posed added problems for coordination. So also did the limited extent to which many generals and officers understood these characteristics and problems. The warfare of the period was characterized by military adaptation rather than the revolution that is sometimes discerned.

However, after Ceresole, a lack of pay made Francis's Swiss mercenaries unwilling to fight for Milan. Indeed, the Spaniards retained their fortified positions in Lombardy. Instead, the decisive campaigning, although without a battle, took place north of the Alps. An invasion of eastern France by Charles V led Francis to accept the Peace of Crépy in September 1544. This success, and a truce with the Ottomans in October 1545, enabled Charles to turn on and defeat the German Protestants in 1546–1547. In this he was helped by French neutrality, a consequence of the secret terms of the Peace of Crépy.

However, Charles was unable to produce a lasting religious settlement and this led to a French-supported rising in Germany in 1552. Francis I's successor, Henry II (ruled 1547–1559), exploited the situation to overrun Lorraine, while campaigning began in Italy. A truce negotiated in 1556 was short-lived, and conflict resumed in both Italy and the Low Countries in 1557. Spanish victories in the latter part of 1557 and 1558 at St. Quentin (10 August 1557) and Gravelines (13 July 1558) led Henry to accept the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis in

1559, which left Spain and her allies dominant in Italy. The Habsburgs had won the Italian Wars.

As in earlier periods, the wars of the 1550s in Italy saw not only a clash between major powers, but also related struggles involving others. Thus, Spain fought Pope Paul IV (ruled 1555–1559), and also supported Florence in attacking the republic of Siena in 1554; after a ten-month siege, Siena surrendered, to be annexed by Florence. This was an example of the extent to which divisions within Italy had interacted with those between the major powers; in 1552, Siena had rebelled against Spanish control and, in cooperation with France, seized the citadel from the Spaniards. Florence under the Medicis was, from the late 1520s, an ally of the Habsburgs.

The significance of the wars cannot be captured by a brief rendition of the fighting. The wars were more important for their political and cultural significance. They underlined the centrality of conflict in European culture and society and also helped ensure that Europe would have a “multipolar” character, with no one power dominant. The Habsburgs won, but France was not crushed. Thus Europe was not to be like China under the Ming and, later, the Manchu, or India under the Moguls.

See also Charles V (Holy Roman Empire); Charles VIII (France); Francis I (France); Habsburg Dynasty; Habsburg Territories; Italian Wars (1494–1559); Louis XII (France); Naples, Kingdom of; Valois Dynasty (France).

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JEREMY BLACK

HAGIOGRAPHY. In the wake of the Protestant and Catholic Reformations, when attitudes to the cult of saints provided one of the clearest boundaries marking the confessional divide for the people of early modern Europe, hagiographers were forced to refurbish and discipline their skills. However, the external spur of Protestant polemic (ex-

pressed most brilliantly and influentially perhaps in John Calvin’s *Traicté des reliques* [Treatise on relics] of 1543) was not alone responsible for this development. Far more significant than even the humanist critique by Juan Luis Vives (1492–1540) and other medieval collections of saints’ lives such as the *Golden Legend* (1265) was Roman Catholic liturgical reform. This principally took the form of an extensive pruning of the calendar of saints and lay at the center of the revision of service books such as the Roman Breviary (1568), the missal (1570), and the Roman Martyrology (1584). This was accompanied by extensive rewriting, in the spirit of concision and greater chronological precision, of the short Latin accounts of saints’ deeds read out at matins and by the more centralized control of the cult of saints.

Supervised jointly by the two papal standing committees of cardinals, the Congregation of the Holy Office (founded 1542) and the Congregation of Rites and Ceremonies, the reform of sanctity centered on the tightening up of canonization procedure and the closely related imposition of a clear hierarchy of devotion between “saints,” who could be universally venerated, and the “blessed,” who were only permitted local or regional public veneration. Whereas central regulation had previously been focused primarily on universal cults, particular devotions were now also subject to careful control. This compelled local churches (and religious orders) throughout the Roman Catholic world to account for their cults and devotions.

They did so for the most part by adopting a polemical weapon that had initially been unsheathed by the Protestants—history. The years 1552–1559 saw the publication of four major Protestant martyrologies by Ludwig Rabus, Jean Crespin, Adriaen van Haemstede, and John Foxe. All of them attempted to make sense of the persecution of their fellow coreligionists by inserting their experience in a firmly historical interpretative template. In the case of Foxe (1516–1587), his first English edition of the *Actes and Monuments* (1563) traced the contemporary Roman Catholic persecution of true believers back from the reign of “Bloody Mary”—Queen Mary Tudor (ruled 1553–1558)—to 1000 C.E.

Similarly, to evoke and justify the antiquity of their devotions, regional and local Catholic counterparts to Foxe and his colleagues deployed not just straightforward saints' lives but also the full range of historico-literary conventions, which contemporaries grouped together under the umbrella term *historia sacra* (sacred history). Written in both Latin and the vernacular, these included civic chronicle, episcopal calendar, collective biography, sacred drama (both spoken and sung), and topographical description as well as individual saints' lives (which not uncommonly appeared together with hagiographical readings from the relevant office—the religious service chanted or read by monks, nuns, and priests—by way of an appendix).

This renaissance in local or regional hagiography had its universal counterpart in the massive Jesuit initiative that is the ongoing *Acta sanctorum* (1643ff.; Deeds of the saints). The origins of this work lie with Héribert Rosweyde (1569–1629), in whose regional survey of holy men and women of his native Belgium (at that time ruled as the Southern Netherlands by the Spanish Habsburgs), the *Fasti sanctorum quorum vitae in belgicis bibliotecis manuscriptae* (1607; Deeds of saints whose manuscript lives are in Belgian libraries), he outlined his idea for what became the *Acta sanctorum*.

Proceeding according to the calendar year beginning on 1 January, the *Acta sanctorum*, under the direction of Jean de Bolland (1596–1665), sought to provide its users with the most authentic, philologically accurate (multiple) accounts of the lives of the saints treated (1,170 for January alone). Each account was prefaced by a historical commentary and followed by exhaustive explanatory notes. However, the very scale and learning of this project (fifty-three volumes from 1643 to 1794, providing coverage down to 14 October) should not detract from its utilitarian, down-to-earth purpose. Rosweyde sought to reassert the Roman Catholic identity of the southern provinces, which were then a “frontier” zone bordering the Calvinist northern provinces controlled by Holland, through the celebration of their saintly heritage. What he sought to achieve for Belgium in the *Fasti*, he hoped to achieve for the entire Christian world (including, by implication, those areas that had recently been lost to the Protestant heretics) in the *Acta*.

Robert Bellarmine (1542–1621), the leading Catholic controversialist of his age, criticized Rosweyde's plan on the grounds that the *Acta*, through their very comprehensiveness, would provide too many hostages to fortune for the benefit of Protestant polemicists. Bellarmine held up as models the more selective, if still substantial, saints' life collections by Luigi Lippomano (1500–1559) and Laurentius Surius (1522–1578). The former's eight-volume *Sanctorum priscorum patrum vitae* (1551–1560; Lives of ancient and holy fathers) provided the basis for the latter's even larger *De probatis sanctorum historiis* (1570–1573; Proven histories of the saints). Significantly, both authors had been intimately involved with combating Protestantism; Lippomano as papal nuncio to Germany (1548–1550) and Surius as a convert from Lutheranism. Each volume of Lippomano's work contained an index relating particular passages to Roman Catholic dogma, while Surius sought to reclaim for Roman Catholicism its monopoly on the miraculous. Accordingly, the 699 lives he collected included accounts of no fewer than 6,538 miracles.

The latest scholarship has clearly demonstrated the protean role played by hagiography in early modern Europe as a focus of local, regional, or national pride as well as of confessional distinctiveness and spiritual food. To do justice to the very variety of the cultural work it carried out, it is more helpful to consider hagiography as a cluster of related literary genres than as a single one. Similarly, during this (or any earlier or later) period, the writing of saints' lives is more easily defined by its content than its forms, which were as various as its uses. Rather than ask what it was, it is more helpful to ask what hagiography did in early modern Europe (and beyond).

See also Bellarmine, Robert; Biography and Autobiography; Martyrs and Martyrology; Reformation, Catholic.

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SIMON DITCHFIELD

HALLER, ALBRECHT VON (1708–1777), Swiss physician, anatomist, and poet. Haller was born in Bern, Switzerland, the youngest son of a lawyer. He began his medical studies in Tübingen in 1724, then moved to Leiden to continue his training under the famed Herman Boerhaave (1668–1738). After receiving his degree in 1727, Haller traveled in England, where he was enormously impressed with English science and literature; Paris, which he left in haste when pursued by authorities for dissecting cadavers in his rooms; and Basel, where he sojourned for two years, studying mathematics with the renowned Johann Bernoulli I (1667–1748) and teaching anatomy. Haller returned to Bern to practice medicine, but he was unsuccessful in obtaining an academic position and served as a librarian in the state library. During these early years Haller journeyed frequently through the Alps, collecting botanical specimens that led later to several publications on Swiss botany. Another result was Haller's most well-known poem, "Die Alpen" (1728), which was published in 1732 in *Versuch Schweizerischer Gedichte*, a collection of his poems that went through several editions.

When the University of Göttingen opened its doors in 1736, Haller was selected as professor of anatomy, surgery, and medicine. He remained at Göttingen for seventeen years, during which he published his most significant work in physiology, proposing the concept of muscular "irritability," in 1753. He developed one of the leading medical centers of Europe in Göttingen, was first president of its scientific society, and served as editor of an academic journal, in which he published some nine thousand book reviews.

One of Haller's greatest ambitions was to be elected to the ruling governing council (the "small council") in Bern, which would have catapulted him into the aristocracy. In 1753 he abruptly resigned his post in Göttingen to accept a minor administrative position in Bern. Named director of the saltworks in Roche five years later, Haller busied

himself with public service but never advanced any further up the political scale.

Haller's scientific work continued to advance, however, particularly through his observations on chick development. These led in 1758 to his conversion to the theory of preexistence of germs (the idea that God had created all future organisms at once). Haller had previously supported the opposing theory of epigenesis (the theory of gradual development at each instance of reproduction). Over the next few years Haller published his masterful eight-volume *Elementa physiologiae corporis humani* (1757–1766; Elements of the physiology of the human body), which furthered his program of uniting anatomy and physiology under *anatomia animata* (living anatomy).

Haller has been characterized as "the last universal scholar" of the Enlightenment. As a scientist he contributed to medicine, physiology, anatomy, embryology, and botany. He wrote articles for over thirty academic journals and published poetry, three political novels, and works on political theory and religious apologetics. Never one to shy away from controversy, he was involved in numerous disputes in science and philosophy. Throughout his life Haller held fast to a Newtonian vision of nature deeply rooted in morality and religion and rejected the more radical facets of Enlightenment thought.

See also **Anatomy and Physiology; Boerhaave, Herman; Enlightenment; Scientific Revolution.**

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SHIRLEY A. ROE

HALS, FRANS (c. 1581/85–1666), Dutch painter. Born in Antwerp, Hals emigrated to Haarlem with his family before 1591. There, he

learned his trade from the painter, theorist, and historian Karel van Mander (1548–1606) prior to van Mander's death in 1606. As Hals did not enter the painters' guild in Haarlem until 1610, it is possible that he trained with, or worked as a journeyman for, an additional master in the interim. Shortly before joining the guild, Hals married Anneke Harmensdochter, but was widowed in 1615. Two years later, Hals wedded Lysbeth Reyniers, with whom he raised fourteen children from both marriages. Perhaps in part to ease the strain of supporting his large family, Hals taught an unusually large number of pupils, many of whom went on to enjoy accomplished careers. Yet despite painting actively until the end of his life, Hals required subsistence from the Old Men's Almshouse in Haarlem, whose regents he painted in 1664, before dying destitute in 1666.

During his long career Hals painted individual portraits, primarily of the Haarlem elite; group portraits of the local militia officers and regents of charitable institutions; and single figure genre paintings. In the 1610s and 1620s, Hals produced genre imagery and portraits concurrently. His portraits from this period were highly finished and crafted in fine detail, while his genre images were much more roughly executed. Hals's pendants of Jacob Pietersz Olijcan and Aletta Hanemans from 1625 show precisely rendered embroidered damask patterning and elegantly transcribed lace borders at both the cuff and the collar. In contrast, the allegorical representation of hearing, *Boy Holding a Flute (Hearing)*, (1626–1628; Staatliches Museum, Schwerin) displays a summary description of the youth's garments. Here, Hals employed broad sweeps rather than delicate lines to mark the white cuff, and the left shoulder between collar and jerkin is so roughly painted that the anatomical structure blurs into a series of juxtaposed swatches of color. When he devoted himself entirely to portraiture (from the late 1630s onward), Hals increasingly favored constructing his paintings from assemblages of unblended brushstrokes. In *Claes Duyst van Voorhout* (c. 1638; Metropolitan Museum, New York) Hals captured the play of light on the sitter's gray jacket by layering short horizontal jabs of white and light yellow pigments rather than blending his brushwork to craft supple color gradations, as he had in his earlier portraits. By the 1660s, Hals's



Frans Hals. *The Merry Drinker*, c. 1628–1630. ©FRANCIS G. MAYER/CORBIS

Portrait of a Man (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston) presents the sitter's red kimono as a nearly flat surface of frenetic brushwork that shows little concern for the delineation of the body beneath it. Though not as rough as the sleeve, Hals composed the man's face as a patchwork of largely unmodulated color on which shadow and highlight are set side by side but not blended together, leaving each individual touch exposed. Unlike the works of his contemporaries that exhibited meticulous surfaces of seamlessly woven brushwork, Hals's late portraits recall the sketchy appearance of his earlier genre paintings.

Hals offered his viewers a naturalistic yet artful manner. As the historian Theodorus Schrevelius wrote in 1648, "His paintings are imbued with such force and vitality that he seems to surpass nature herself with his brush. This is seen in all his portraits . . . which are colored in such a way that they seem to live and breathe" (Schrevelius, p. 383). Hals's distinct manner, seen, for example, in his sketchy contours, heightened the sense of the sitters' activity, capturing not only his subjects' appearance but also their vivacity. In his group portraits, such as *The*

Officers of the St. Hadrian Civic Guard from 1627 (Frans Halsmuseum, Haarlem), Hals further activated these pieces by dispersing the bustle across the canvas through a series of uniquely posed and engaged sitters. In both his group and individual portraits Hals's unblended, broad strokes also exhibited the artist's masterful facility in handling paint. It is highly likely that seventeenth-century audiences perceived Hals's flourishes as marks of his virtuosity. In this way, Hals's paintings could have been appreciated both as representations of individuals and as objects of art.

Regard for Hals's paintings plummeted throughout the eighteenth century as his rough manner clashed with the period's more refined aesthetic. It was not until the late nineteenth century that appreciation for Hals's work was resurrected. At that time, painters like Manet and Van Gogh perceived Hals's style to be highly individualized and thus modeled their own approaches upon his direct relationship to his sitters and admired his visible, bravura brushwork. This emulation of Hals by pioneering artists demonstrates the important role that Hals played in the construction of modern conceptions of art and artistry.

See also **Netherlands, Art in the.**

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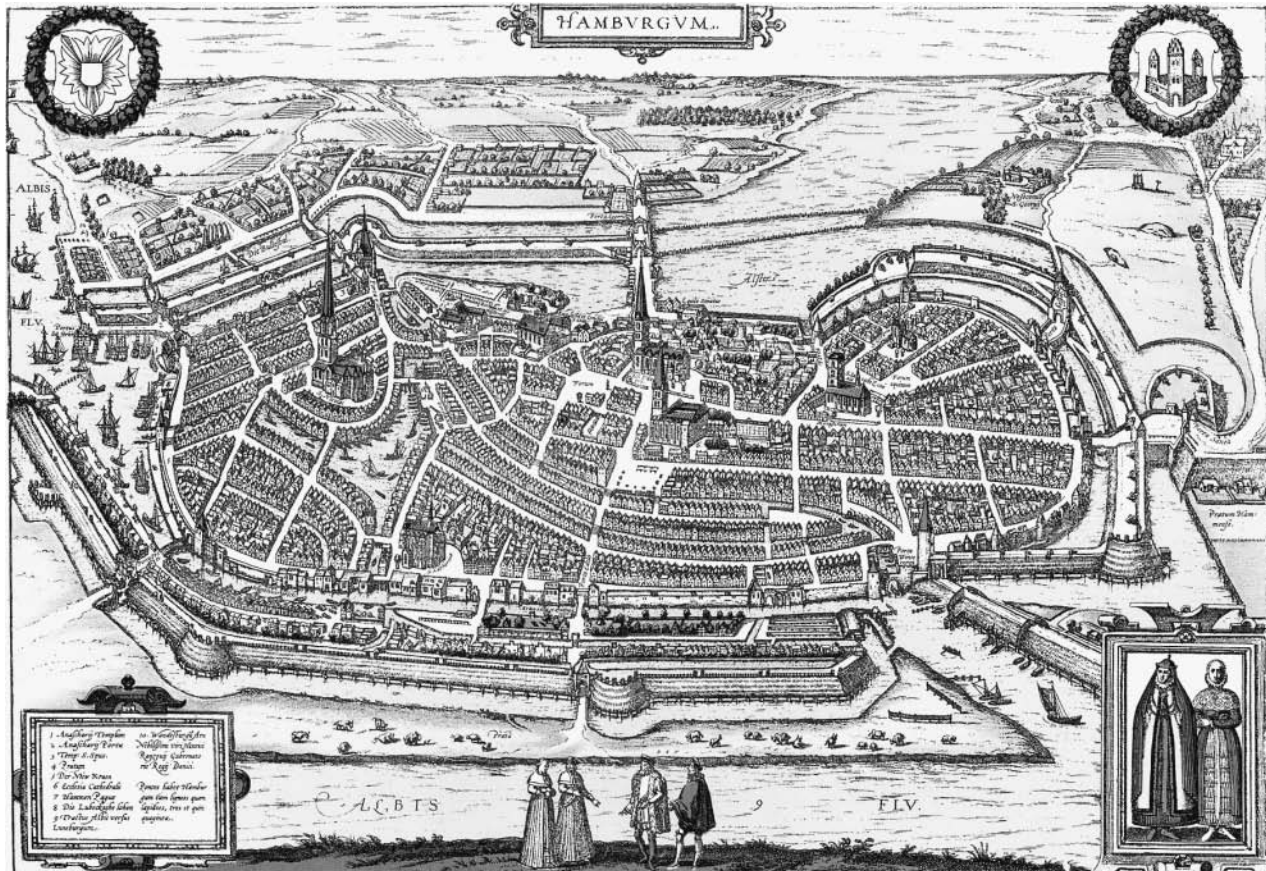
HAMBURG. Located along the Elbe River in northern Germany, Hamburg developed into one of the largest cities of the Holy Roman Empire. Between the latter half of the fifteenth century and the era of the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648), it grew from about 10,000 to 50,000 inhabitants. In the early eighteenth century that number had risen to 75,000. By 1787 it reached 100,000, and in the era of French expansion, 130,000. The growth was

not steady; for example, the plague years 1712 and 1713 cost many thousands of lives.

The city was a largely independent republic governed by a council of citizens, predominantly merchants and lawyers by profession. Since 1483 the right of political participation had been granted to eligible property-owning male inhabitants who swore an oath of citizenship. The year 1528 marked the successful and peaceful establishment of Lutheranism as the city's official religion, after which only Lutherans enjoyed full political privileges. The reformer Johann Bugenhagen (1485–1558) composed a church ordinance for Hamburg, which was adopted in 1529. That year the city also underwent a major constitutional reform. Thereafter, the government was composed of a council (*Rat* or *Senat*) of twenty-four members and a college (*Kollegium*) of 144 citizens' representatives, who came in equal numbers from the four parish districts of St. Jacobi, St. Nikolai, St. Petri, and St. Katarinen. With the addition in 1685 of a fifth district, St. Michaelis, the citizens' college grew to 180 members.

Constitutional tensions grew throughout the seventeenth century because some factions of the citizenry felt the council wielded power autocratically. A major crisis came in 1699 when the traditional constitutional order was suspended under pressure from the guilds. The period of political experimentation ended in 1708 when imperial troops arrived to reestablish the old order. The result was the constitutional recess of 1712, in which council and citizens' college were declared equal partners in Hamburg's governance. This arrangement lasted until 1806.

Since the late fifteenth century the Danish monarchy had had hopes of forcing Hamburg to submit to its authority, and Danish forces even laid siege to the city unsuccessfully in 1686. The 1626 completion of the city's modern fortress walls proved an advantage against Danish challenges, as well as against the conflicts of the Thirty Years' War, during which Hamburg remained neutral and unscathed. Although Hamburg was ostensibly in the imperial orbit for most of the early modern era, it was not until 1768, when Denmark recognized the city's independence, that it officially joined the ranks of the imperial free cities. Throughout its history Hamburg has been a major commercial port. Until



Hamburg. A reproduction of a map of Hamburg from Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg's *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, the first collection of printed town plans, originally published in 1573. MAP COLLECTION, STERLING MEMORIAL LIBRARY, YALE UNIVERSITY

the Hansa dissolved in the seventeenth century, Hamburg was one of the long-standing members of the loose economic and political alliance. In 1558 it opened its stock exchange, the first in a German territory, and in 1619 its first merchant bank was founded. The city's merchants shipped goods all across Europe, and by the end of the eighteenth century destinations included ports worldwide. Other major economic activities included whaling, insurance, sugar refining, textile production, and tobacco preparation.

By the seventeenth century confessional outsiders made up a significant minority of the city's population, and non-Lutherans contributed in important ways to the city's economy. For political and economic reasons the council allowed members of the best established of non-Lutheran communities (Calvinists, Catholics, Jews, and Mennonites) to settle in Hamburg. Nonetheless, because of pressure from Lutheran clergymen, religious minority

communities were denied the privilege of practicing religious rites publicly in the city; non-Lutheran religious services were usually held in nearby Altona. This restriction on public worship was removed in 1785 for Calvinists and Catholics only. Non-Lutheran Christians could become citizens, albeit with limited rights of political participation. Probably the city's best-known non-Lutheran resident was the Jewish diarist Glueckel von Hameln (1646–1724).

Among the city's cultural leaders were Gerhard Schott (1641–1702), founder of the first public opera in the German territories; the organ builder Arp Schnitger (1648–1719); and the composers Georg Philipp Telemann (1681–1767) and Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach (1714–1788). Founded in 1765, the *Hamburger Gesellschaft zur Beförderung der Künste und nützlichen Gewerbe* (Hamburg society for the encouragement of the arts and useful crafts; also known as the *Patriotische Gesellschaft* or *Patriotic Society*) stands out among many institutions of

Enlightenment-era public life. Its founding members included the mathematics professor Johann Georg Büsch (1728–1800), the philosopher Hermann Samuel Reimarus (1694–1768), and the architect Ernst Georg Sonnin (1713–1794). The literary masters Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (1729–1781) and Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock (1724–1803) both spent time in Hamburg. Philipp Otto Runge (1777–1810) is one of Hamburg’s best-known painters.

See also Free and Imperial Cities; Hansa; Holy Roman Empire; Lutheranism.

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HANDEL, GEORGE FRIDERIC (1685–1759), German-born musician eventually hailed as “England’s national composer.” He was the first great composer who broke free of church and court patronage and earned a living directly from the public; England was perhaps the only country that could provide such support in his time.

Born Georg Friedrich Händel at Halle, Lower Saxony, on 23 February 1685, he was the son of a sixty-three-year-old barber-surgeon. His early talents persuaded his father to let him study music as well as law, and he took lessons from the local organist, Friedrich Wilhelm Zachau (1663–1712). After a year as organist of the Calvinist Domkirche (cathedral), he traveled to Hamburg, where he gained his first experience of opera, playing violin and harpsichord under the distinguished composer

Reinhardt Keiser (1673–1739) and later composing operas and concertos. He then traveled to the fountainhead of music, Italy, where he stayed for nearly four years (1706–1710), dividing his time between Florence, Rome, Venice, and Naples. There he composed and performed music in many forms, developing the extroverted, cosmopolitan manner that so clearly distinguishes him from his contemporary Johann Sebastian Bach (1685–1750).

In January 1710 he took up an appointment as *Kapellmeister* (director of music) at the court of George, elector of Hanover (soon to become George I of England). In that year he paid his first visit to London, where he was commissioned to write an opera, *Rinaldo*, for the Queen’s Theatre in the Haymarket.

In the spring of 1712 Handel left Hanover for England, which was to be his home for the rest of his life, despite frequent visits to the Continent. He rapidly became the most sought-after composer in London. *Rinaldo* had been an astonishing success, and was decisive in the establishment of Italian opera as the chief entertainment of the British aristocracy. His *Te Deum*, performed on 7 July 1713, to celebrate the Peace of Utrecht, at once displaced Henry Purcell’s as the standard piece for royal and national celebrations. After a period as private musician to the earl of Carnarvon, later duke of Chandos (1717–1718), at Cannons, his recently built mansion at Edgware, Handel was engaged as the chief composer in a series of London opera schemes. The most brilliant was the Royal Academy of Music (1719–1727), which sponsored several of his greatest operas, including *Giulio Cesare* (1724) and *Rodelinda* (1725). He enjoyed the strong support of King George II and Queen Caroline, but became a political pawn in the running feud between the king’s Whig administration and the rival faction surrounding Frederick, Prince of Wales. He continued to produce operas until 1741, composing forty-two in all, but with fitful success.

Looking for a more stable source of support, Handel chanced on the oratorio. A pirated version of his *Esther*, written for Cannons in 1718, was mounted at a London tavern in 1733. Always a keen businessman, Handel competed, putting on a rival performance at the opera house with additional mu-



George Frideric Handel. Contemporary drawing by an unknown artist. ©BETTMANN/CORBIS

sic. The bishop of London would not allow acting or costumes to represent a sacred subject, but *Esther* was still conceived as a drama, and was sung on stage against a scenic backdrop. It allowed plenty of scope for Handel's dramatic genius, as expressed in the operatic forms of recitative and aria. The public liked the use of the English language, the biblical stories familiar to all, and the choruses in the English ceremonial style they knew and loved.

Handel developed this formula in such masterpieces as *Saul* (1739), *Samson* (1744), *Solomon* (1748), and *Jephtha* (1751). He varied it by choosing mythological subjects in *Semele* (1744) and *Hercules* (1745), and, on the other hand, by using librettos compiled directly from the Bible in *Israel in Egypt* (1738) and *Messiah* (1742). In his later performances of *Messiah* at the Foundling Hospital chapel he took the first step that moved his oratorios away from the theater toward the church. The gigantic Handel Commemorations at Westminster Abbey (1784–1791) presented his works as

monuments of the religious sublime, playing down the subtle interplay of human character that had always been an important inspiration of his greatest dramatic music.

Handel's ceremonial music epitomizes the grandeur and brilliance of the baroque. The *Royal Fireworks Music* and *Water Music* have proved to be the most durable occasional music ever written. He also contributed fine orchestral concertos, chamber works, keyboard music, and organ voluntaries, and was responsible for a new form, the organ concerto, originally played between the acts of his oratorios.

See also Music; Opera.

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HANOVER. Hanover was one of the most important territories in the Holy Roman Empire, situated in the Lower Saxon region (*Kreis*) of northern Germany. It was ruled from the twelfth century by the Guelphs (Welfen), a once-powerful family that declined through frequent dynastic partitions. There were generally two major lines, designated by their principal duchies in Lüneburg and Wolfenbüttel. The latter was initially more important and became more generally known as Brunswick (Braunschweig) by the eighteenth century. Both lines frequently subdivided, with the Lüneburg branch splitting into the duchies of Celle and Calenberg in 1641. Hanover developed from the latter, taking its name from its principal town where the ruling branch set up residence in 1636. The entire area was flat and primarily agrarian, particularly with the decline of the Lüneburg salt springs and the mining region bordering the Harz Mountains after the sixteenth century.

The introduction of the Reformation was violently opposed by Duke Henry of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel (ruled 1514–1568) until he was defeated by the Protestant Schmalkaldic League be-

tween 1542 and 1547. Thereafter, the Guelphs were solidly Lutheran and hoped to extend their regional influence by secularizing the neighboring prince bishoprics of Hildesheim, Osnabrück, and Paderborn. These ambitions drove them to ally first with Denmark, 1625–1629, and then with Sweden after 1631 during the Thirty Years' War, but they lacked the strength for a truly independent policy and shared the local defeats of their allies. Forced to make peace with the emperor in 1641, the Hanoverians had to be satisfied with partial control of Osnabrück, where their rule alternated with that of a local Catholic bishop.

The groundwork for Hanover's subsequent rise was laid by Duke John Frederick (1625–1679), who seized control of the duchy from his relations in 1665 and initiated a ruthless policy of military expansion, hiring troops to Venice, France, Spain, England, the Dutch Republic, and the emperor. His brother, Ernst August (1629–1698), continued this strategy after 1679, culminating in an alliance with Holy Roman emperor Leopold I. In return for substantial financial and military support against the Ottomans, Leopold made Ernst August an elector (*Kurfürst*), greatly increasing his prestige and influence within the empire. The ensuing controversy dominated imperial politics into the 1720s when an agreement was reached with the Wolfenbüttel line allowing them to inherit the new title if the Hanoverians died out. The other princes formally recognized it in 1708. Leopold also confirmed Ernst August's introduction of primogeniture, paving the way for his successor, George Louis (1660–1727), to inherit Celle when that line died out in 1705, doubling his territory. Within ten years, the new elector, whose mother was the granddaughter of James I of England, was catapulted into the front rank of European royalty when he inherited the British crown as George I with the backing of the English Parliament in 1714. He continued to pursue a primarily Hanoverian policy, joining the war against Sweden to capture its German possessions of Bremen and Verden in 1715. With the acquisition of the tiny county of Bentheim in 1752, Hanover reached its maximum extent of 10,214 square miles (26,455 square kilometers), and its population climbed slowly to 800,000 by 1803.

While the king-electors still visited Hanover, they became progressively more British than Ger-

man, leaving government to the local nobles, who had a strong sense of responsibility, self-esteem, and corporate identity. Their rule was slow, orderly and mild. Although the new university at Göttingen, founded in 1734 and opened in 1737, rapidly became a model of enlightened learning, government remained conservative. Hanover remained a strategic liability for Britain until it was seized by France in 1803. The connection to Britain was severed in 1837 when Hanover became an independent kingdom until its annexation by Prussia in 1866.

See also **George I (England)**; **Hanoverian Dynasty (England)**; **Saxony**.

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HANOVERIAN DYNASTY (GREAT BRITAIN). Under the terms of the 1701 Act of Settlement, on the death of Queen Anne on 1 August 1714 the joint crowns of England and Scotland fell to George Ludwig, elector of Hanover, a north German territory of medium size and power. He was the son of Sophie, the granddaughter of James I of England. George I, as he was styled in Britain, spoke no English and throughout his reign remained more attached to his native land (to which he frequently returned) than to his adopted kingdom, which he ruled until his death in 1727. He was succeeded by his son George II (ruled 1727–1760), now chiefly remembered for his military

valor. He became the last British monarch to lead his troops into battle in person, but at home he also had to fend off a serious challenge to his rule in the uprising led by Charles Edward Stuart (“Bonnie Prince Charlie”) in 1745. George II’s eldest son, Frederick, Prince of Wales, predeceased him, leaving the king’s 22-year-old grandson to succeed him as George III. George was the first of the Hanoverians to be born in England, and he was to enjoy an exceptionally long reign of sixty years, which was, however, punctuated by crises overseas such as the loss of the American colonies in 1783 and the outbreak of the French Revolution in 1789. George III was followed on the throne by two of his sons (George IV [ruled 1820–1830] and William IV [1830–1837]) and his granddaughter (Victoria [1837–1901]), making the Hanoverian dynasty one of the most enduring in British history. Despite uprisings seeking the restoration of the male line of the house of Stuart in 1715 and 1745, the Hanoverian age marked a long period of relative domestic stability, which allowed Britain to become a major imperial power.

See also Anne (England); George I (Great Britain); George II (Great Britain); George III (Great Britain); Jacobitism.

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HANNES KLEINEKE

HANSA. The Hansa was a league of northern European cities that emerged in the fourteenth century. Along with other town leagues that predate the Hansa, such urban leagues became a common means for townsmen to extend their influence and establish favorable trading conditions at a time

when broader state authority was generally too weak to provide needed assistance. The extremely loose Hanseatic confederation was made up largely of towns in the Holy Roman Empire, which enjoyed a great deal of political autonomy. The Hansa acted in concert to protect and promote the commercial position of the members. Lübeck was the leader and often the site of meetings of the assembly of town representatives, the *Hansetag*. It began to take joint action certainly by the late thirteenth century, gaining concessions in Flanders and Norway. The league developed its enduring organization during the 1367–1370 war against Denmark. After that it was a major political force in the Baltic and North Seas. A tax voted by the towns on their trade paid for a fleet, which brought naval victory and, with the subsequent Peace of Stralsund, special trading rights in Danish markets. The Hansa had “factories” (trading centers) in Bruges, London, Bergen, and Novgorod. Merchants from member towns could trade and live there, enjoying immunity from local taxes and laws, important concessions won by the Hansa. In the fifteenth century internal divisions became clear as the towns of the Rhine Valley led by Cologne and the Prussian towns led by Gdańsk (Danzig) did not always find their commercial and political interests coinciding with those of the Wendish towns in northeastern Germany and especially with the most powerful one, Lübeck. Wars against the dukes of Burgundy, ending in peace in 1441, and against England, ending in peace in 1474, illustrated these divisions as many towns refused to follow the lead of Lübeck. Conscious of the disadvantages to domestic merchants and to their own incomes from concessions forced on them by the Hansa, sixteenth-century centralizing monarchs from England to Russia and everywhere in between worked to undermine the power of the confederation. The factories were closed, tariff advantages were rescinded, and then the naval power of the Hansa—which meant that of Lübeck and a few nearby towns—was broken as the navies of Denmark and Sweden became much more powerful. The Hansa shrank in numbers, and its political influence declined. Though most Hanseatic towns were Lutheran, the league played little role in the religious wars and could not form a consistent policy. The prosperity of the Hansa was based on the export of a limited range of primary goods, grain but also forest products and salted herring from the

Baltic to western Europe in exchange for manufactures and for silver. Already by 1400 western Europeans were gradually supplanting production of beer, a major export of Bremen and Hamburg, and production of salted herring, a major export from Scania in southern Sweden. As western Europeans found themselves able to meet their own needs for food grains in the second half of the seventeenth century, the economic advantages of the Hanseatic towns were further eroded. After a hiatus of thirty-nine years, the last meeting of the Hansetag was held in 1668. It ended indecisively and after that the Hansa in effect no longer existed. Despite the end of its political influence, the towns that belonged or had belonged to the Hansa still enjoyed in the eighteenth century a level of prosperity as great as or greater than in the past.

See also **Commerce and Markets; Hamburg; Lübeck; Shipping.**

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RICHARD W. UNGER

HANSEATIC LEAGUE. See **Hansa**.

HAREM. The Arabic term *harem* means a forbidden and sacred space that describes inviolable sanctuaries like the holy cities of Mecca and Medina (*haremeyn-i sharifeyn*) and the Muslim household, which were off limits to outsiders who were non-Muslims in the former case and unrelated men in the latter. In the ordinary meaning of the word *harem* usually refers to the extended household and may or may not refer to a polygamous household. Ruling-class harems, however, were usually polygamous and contained several servants and slaves in addition to close relatives.

The institution of the imperial harem can be traced back to the ancient Near East. It became firmly established under the Abbasid caliphs of Baghdad (750–1258) and became associated in the West with the Ottoman (1300–1923), Mamluk (1250–1517), Safavid (1501–1732), and Mughal (1526–1739) imperial and ruling-class households during the early modern period.

The notions of Muslim sexuality and harem life were exaggerated if not completely inaccurate in western artistic and literary representations. European artists like Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres (*La grande odalisque* and *The Turkish Bath*), John Fredrick Lewis (*Life in the Harem*), Jean-Leon Gérôme (*The Bath*), and Anton Ignaz Melling (*Interior of the Palace of Hatice Sultana* and *The Royal Harem*) depicted the harem life in numerous paintings in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Ottoman images of harem life by indigenous artists like Levni, Buharî, and Enderunî Fazil Bey, on the other hand, were more realistic and less obsessed with nudity and overt sexuality than the European artists. Sexuality and reproduction were only one aspect of harem life in the Muslim East. Some Ottoman sultans displayed an insatiable appetite for women, but even they had to follow the rigid rules of conduct associated with the imperial harem. The *valide-sultan* ('queen mother') set these rules and wielded great power as the head of the harem hierarchy. She chose the sexual partners for her sons and was in charge of training all the women. The chief black eunuch (*kizlar aġasi*) guarded the harem and worked closely with the *valide-sultan*. He was also in charge of all imperial religious and charitable foundations and became an important personality in harem politics. He represented the link between the imperial harem and the outside world. However, not all palace women remained completely confined to the harem. Some women graduated from their palace training and were manumitted and married to high dignitaries in the empire. They maintained their ties with the palace and played an important role in Ottoman politics. In the eighteenth century Ottoman princesses were able to move out of the Topkapi Palace harem and set up private mansions along the Bosphorus. Although not really independent of the sultan, they had large retinues and held enormous wealth as tax farmers and landowners.



Harem. The throne room in the Topkapi Palace harem. Built by Mehmed II in 1453, Topkapi served as the home of the Ottoman sultans. ©WOLFGANG KAEHLER/CORBIS

Slavery and polygamy were the backbone of this institution, which received sanction in Islamic practice. The Koran allowed Muslim men to marry four legal wives and have an unlimited number of concubines. The prophet Mohammed himself had eleven legal wives and several concubines. Despite this Koranic injunction, only 2 to 3 percent of Muslim men practiced polygamy in the Ottoman Empire. However, concubinage was probably more widespread, at least in the cities, due to the ready availability of female slaves. Many households in Istanbul contained at least one female slave who performed household duties. Slaves had limited legal rights but could move to better positions once they converted to Islam and bore children. The Koran encouraged Muslim men to marry their slaves (Sura 24:30). Muslim men were permitted to marry non-Muslim women, including their concu-

bines, while Muslim women could not marry anyone but free Muslim men. Moreover, Muslim women were forbidden from having more than one husband at the same time. The Koran considered the children of concubines legitimate and equal in rights to children born to free women. It also banned the prostitution of female slaves by their master and promoted their fair treatment and manumission. However, these proscriptions could not always be enforced.

The institution of the imperial harem as it developed in the Ottoman Empire was an abrogation of Islamic principles although it received religious sanction from the Hanafi *'ulema* ('scholars'). The Koran encouraged the manumission of slaves and discouraged concubinage. The Ottoman sultans fully adopted this institution when the empire became centralized in the fifteenth century. The flow



Harem. *Turkish Women in the Harem*, a print from the *Encyclopedia of Voyages* by Jacques Grasset de St. Saver, 1796. Grasset's somewhat fanciful depictions of characters from around the world focus particularly on the subjects' mode of dress. ©GIANNI GAGLI ORTI/CORBIS

of male and female slaves increased with military victories in the Balkans. The sultan claimed one-fifth of the war booty, which included male and female slaves. The palace also purchased slaves from the slave market. A good proportion of the population of Istanbul was of servile background during the early modern period. The Ottomans incorporated many male slaves into the military system, while female slaves ended up in domestic households, with the youngest and most beautiful entering the royal household. These women received training in various skills and a salary depending on their rank within the harem.

Some of the women attracted the attention of the sultan and became his *haseki*, or favorite concubine (see Peirce). If a *haseki* bore the sultan a son, she moved up in the hierarchy and ultimately could become the *valide-sultan* if her son inherited the Ottoman throne. The Ottoman sultans adopted a

“one concubine, one son” policy to avoid the concentration of power in the hands of one concubine and to prevent succession crises, which had become endemic to the empire. Supposedly the sultan stopped sleeping with a concubine once she bore him a son.

The *haseki* played an important role in ensuring succession for her son. Some favorites like Hürrem, Nurbanu, and Kösem, who became *valide-sultans*, wielded enormous power and prestige in the harem and even shaped the direction of Ottoman politics. They formed networks of power with their sons, daughters, and sons-in-law within and outside the palace. Sometimes, this led to intense rivalry and political tensions that could end up in the murder of the *valide-sultan* if her faction lost out. The *valide-sultans* received the highest salary in the harem and amassed great fortunes. They set up numerous charitable foundations all over the empire that carried their name and imperial legacy. Because of the *valide-sultans*' influence over the sultans and their active role in politics, they received bad reputations in Ottoman chronicles.

The Ottoman princesses, blood relatives of the dynasts, fared better and became repositories of Ottoman legitimacy and prestige. Many married grand viziers and high officials and set up their own households outside the Topkapi palace. Their husbands were required to give up their polygamous households before the marriage to an Ottoman princess could take place. They also had to provide a rich bride price and support the opulent lifestyle of their princess-wives. The Ottoman princesses lived in elaborate mansions and had their own female retinue made up of slaves. Lady Mary Montagu, the wife of the English ambassador to the Ottoman Empire, visited the young Fatma Sultan, the daughter of Ahmed III (1703–1730) in Edirne and was impressed by her charming hostess in 1717. She became a regular visitor to the harem of great ladies and tried to correct the distorted view of her compatriots in her letters to her friends and relatives in London. She commented about the status of Muslim women and the great prestige and freedom enjoyed by upper class Ottoman women. The western image of oppressed and confined Muslim women, however, gained more currency in the writings of Enlightenment philosophers and European travelers.

See also **Ottoman Dynasty; Ottoman Empire; Sultan; Topkapi Palace.**

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FARIBA ZARINEBAF

HARLEY, ROBERT (1661–1724), British politician. Robert Harley headed the Tory ministry from 1710 to 1714. Although by background a Whig and dissenter, he eventually changed his political affiliation, becoming leader of the Tory and Anglican governing regime.

Born in London on 5 December 1661, the eldest son of Sir Edward Harley and Abigail Harley, daughter of Nathaniel Stephens, Robert Harley received a private education and was admitted to the Inner Temple on 18 March 1682, though never called to the bar. During the Glorious Revolution of 1688 he assisted his father in raising a regiment of cavalry and took part in capturing the city of Worcester on behalf of William III (ruled 1689–1702). In March 1689 Harley was appointed high sheriff of Herefordshire and was elected to Parliament for the borough of Tregoney until 1690, when he became member of Parliament for New Radnor, a seat he retained until his elevation to a peerage. In this position he advanced numerous legislative measures, including the Triennial Bill, which provided that elections be held at intervals no longer than three years, the National Land Bank, and the reduction in army strength following the Treaty of Ryswick (1697). Harley

was speaker of the commons between 1701 and 1705 and served as secretary of state from 1704 to 1708, when, due to political intrigues, he was forced to resign.

With the collapse of the Marlborough-Godolphin coalition in 1710, Harley returned to office as chancellor of the exchequer. After the Tory election landslide of 1710, he became head of a reconstructed administration and in 1711 was elevated to an earldom (Oxford). He launched the South Sea Company in 1711 and initiated the complex deliberation with France that resulted in the Treaties (or Peace) of Utrecht of 1713, which laid the foundation of Britain's imperial hegemony. Harley played a key role not only in the initial negotiations of the Treaty of Utrecht but also in the concluding stages until October 1712. These initiatives brought him into conflict with his colleague Henry St. John, first viscount Bolingbroke (1678–1751), whose ambition for supreme office was fanned by Harley's growing alienation from Queen Anne (ruled 1702–1714) and declining support within Tory ranks. Harley's tenuous political position was further eroded by increasing apathy, excessive drinking, and his questionable (if not treasonous) correspondence with the Jacobite Old Pretender James Edward (1688–1766). Dismissed on 27 July 1714 and excluded from power, Harley's influence ended with the Hanoverian succession (August 1714). He was impeached for corruption, sedition, and other misdemeanors and languished for two years in the Tower of London pending trial. For lack of evidence he was eventually acquitted. Harley spent his last years banished from court but attending the House of Lords, speaking in opposition to the Mutiny Bill in 1718 and protesting the Peerage Bill the following year.

Harley died at his home on Albermarle Street in London on 21 May 1724. He was buried at Brampton Bryan, Herefordshire, where a memorial was erected to his memory.

Excelling at political intrigue and manipulation, Harley was an intelligent, moderate, and pragmatic minister with the ability to attract and conciliate followers from both the Whig and the Tory ranks. His positive achievement lay in promoting measures of the highest national importance while providing the resourceful leadership required to steer them

through Parliament during a time of chronic partisan divisions. Committed to political independence, Harley invariably strove to maintain an administration that functioned autonomously, free from dictation by parties and party leaders. So secretive was his nature and political strategy that they ultimately became a liability, confirming a reputation for deviousness and bad faith that cost him the support of vital Whig political groupings that distrusted his intentions.

Appreciating the influence of the press in contemporary politics, Harley recruited many notable pamphleteers, including Daniel Defoe (1660–1731), Jonathan Swift (1667–1745), and Charles Davenant (1656–1714) to manipulate national opinion on his ministry's behalf. He also had broad literary and cultural interests. Over the years he assembled a sizable collection of books and manuscripts that form the nucleus of the Harleian Collection in the British Library.

See also Anne (England); Churchill, John, duke of Marlborough; Defoe, Daniel; Glorious Revolution (Britain); Parliament; Swift, Jonathan; Utrecht, Peace of (1713); William and Mary.

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HARRINGTON, JAMES (1611–1677), English political theorist. James Harrington was born at Upton, Northamptonshire, the eldest son of Sir Sapcote Harrington and his first wife Jane (née Samuel). Most of our knowledge about Harrington's life comes from three seventeenth-century sources: John Aubrey's *Brief Lives*, Anthony Wood's *Athenae Oxonienses*, and John Toland's "Life of James Harrington," which served as an introduction to his edition of Harrington's works. Since Wood drew on Aubrey, and Toland drew on

Wood, there is some overlap between these three sources.

Harrington entered Trinity College, Oxford, as a gentleman commoner in 1629 but did not take his degree. Instead he traveled extensively on the Continent. There is little evidence about Harrington's involvement during the first Civil War (1642–1646), though Wood claims that he sided with the Presbyterians and tried, unsuccessfully, to win a seat in Parliament. In May 1647, however, he was appointed Gentleman of the Bedchamber to Charles I, who was being held at Holdenby House. The ambiguity of Harrington's position—employed by Parliament to serve the king—perhaps explains the ambiguity of his political views, particularly his attitude toward the king. Despite the republican tone of Harrington's works, it was said that he got on well with Charles and that the latter's execution, on 30 January 1649, affected him profoundly.

Harrington's major work, *The Commonwealth of Oceana* (1656), was written and published under the Protectorship of Oliver Cromwell. The work was dedicated to Cromwell, but the sincerity of that dedication is questionable. The work can be divided into two main parts: "The Preliminaries," in which Harrington set out his political theory, and "The Model of the Commonwealth," in which that theory was applied in the context of *Oceana* (England). The first part of the preliminaries deals with what Harrington called "Ancient Prudence"—the politics of the ancient world or "the [government] of laws, and not of men." The second part concerns "Modern Prudence"—the politics of the period since the fall of the Roman Empire, or "the [government] of men, and not of laws." The aim of the work as a whole was to show how to bring about a return to "Ancient Prudence" in the modern world. On the basis of his theory of the economic underpinnings of political power, Harrington argued that the time was ripe for such a revival in England.

"The Model of the Commonwealth" consists of a series of "orders" by which the new regime was to be established. At the national level Harrington advocated a variation on the conventional mixed system of government, with the magistrate (the one) executing the laws, the senate (the few) debating the laws, and the popular assembly (the many) voting on the laws. The system also involved

rotation of office, a complex balloting process based on the Venetian model, and a network of assemblies running from the parish to the national level to ensure that the whole country would be governed effectively.

Harrington's subsequent works are less well-known than *Oceana*. They were aimed either at responding to critics of that work or at restating the theory presented there. But Harrington's ideas were of practical as well as theoretical interest. In July 1659 a petition was submitted to Parliament which proposed that certain of Harrington's ideas be adopted there. And in the autumn and winter of 1659–1660 Harrington and his friends formed the Rota Club, which met at Miles's Coffee House in New Palace Yard, Westminster. There Harrington's ideas were discussed and his system of balloting practiced. At the Restoration, the ambiguity of Harrington's position again brought him under scrutiny. He was arrested, interrogated, and finally sent to the Tower, later being transferred elsewhere. Though eventually released, his mind had been affected by his imprisonment, and he did not fully recover before his death in 1677.

Harrington's ideas continued to be influential after his death. During the eighteenth century they had an impact on such diverse figures as Thomas Gordon, David Hume, and Thomas Spence. Moreover, through the influence of men like Thomas Hollis, Harrington's works also found their way to America, where they influenced the revolutionary generation, and to France, where a model constitution based on *Oceana* appeared in 1792 and translations of Harrington's works in 1795. Harrington seems to have faded from view during the nineteenth century, but he became popular again in the twentieth century through the uses made of his works by R. H. Tawney in the debate over the rise of the gentry and by Caroline Robbins and J. G. A. Pocock in their accounts of eighteenth-century Commonwealthmen and neo-Harringtonians.

See also **Constitutionalism; English Civil War and Interregnum; Political Philosophy.**

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RACHEL HAMMERSLEY

HARTLIB, SAMUEL (Samuel Hartlieb; c. 1600–1662), English reformer. Samuel Hartlieb was a scientific "intelligencer" who helped to place England on the map of the emerging Republic of Letters. He was born at Elbing (Elblag) in Poland around 1600 into a distinguished mercantile family, and received an extensive education in Germany and at Cambridge (1625–1626) under John Preston (1587–1628), master of Emmanuel College. He retreated to London in 1628 as the Habsburg armies advanced toward the Baltic coast and, after 1630, spent the rest of his life there.

Hartlieb began to cultivate his international network of correspondents, assisted by his friend John

Dury (1596–1672), a Calvinist minister whom he had met at Elbing. Together they shared the vision of reconciling Protestant divisions and consorting with a fraternity whose goal was to establish a model Protestant religious community. Hartlib’s manuscript diary delineates his obsession for the processes of learning that had already led him to admire and reflect on the works of Francis Bacon. His correspondence with the Czech educational philosopher Jan Amos Comenius (1592–1670) had begun in 1632, and one of Hartlib’s earliest publications was a sketch of *pansophy* (or encyclopedic learning) that Comenius had sent him. His second, expanded edition of this work (*Pansophia Prodromus*, 1639), became a prospectus for Comenius in England.

This involvement with Comenius established Hartlib’s reputation as an agent of learning. Hartlib believed that Christian solidarity arose out of relations of exchange. God had given all humans a “talent” that should not be “hidden under a bushel” but distributed for the common good. These talents would best be released by a reformation of learning (or *Reformation of Schooles* as Hartlib entitled his translation of Comenius’s *Prodromus* in 1642). In October 1641, Hartlib published a small utopian treatise entitled *Macaria* (after an offshore island in Thomas More’s *Utopia*, 1515). Its authorship used to be ascribed to him, but it was evidently written by Gabriel Plattes (1600–1655). It described a commonwealth in which government and people collaborated in prosperity generated by the practical application of diffused knowledge. Pansophy’s ultimate goal was a millennial recovery of the knowledge that humanity had lost after Eden. In a pact signed by Comenius, Hartlib, and Dury on 13 March 1642, they committed themselves to a secret fraternity for the advancement of religious pacification, education, and the reformation of learning. This delineated Hartlib’s goals for the rest of his life.

During the English Civil War (1642–1649), Hartlib stayed in London, acting as an agent for the parliamentary cause. His proposed reformation of learning induced John Milton (1608–1674) to write his treatise *On Education* (1644), which he dedicated to Hartlib. Following the parliamentary victory in 1646, Hartlib devoted himself to establishing an “Office of Address” with elements borrowed from a similar agency established in Paris. It

was designed as a labor exchange and a means of spreading knowledge on “matters of religion, of learning, and ingenuities.” Although never officially instituted, Hartlib was voted an annual pension by the Commonwealth and became “a conduit pipe towards the Publick. . . .” He employed scribes and translators to copy letters and treatises to others. What is sometimes now called the “Hartlib Circle” was a diverse group of enthusiasts who shared interests in the possibilities of technical change. His surviving papers, rediscovered in London in 1933, testify to the extent of Hartlib’s network, although his influence remained mostly behind the scenes. His most visible impact lay in the numerous pamphlets that he published. Their greatest effect was in agriculture, where the advantages of planting new leguminous crops, experimenting with fertilizers and manures, using seed drills and new plows, and advocating the possibilities of apiculture (raising bees) and silk cultivation (in Virginia) were advocated. It is difficult to determine Hartlib’s overall impact, because he readily adopted the dominant ideas and language of others and his agenda evolved over time, but his adoption of other people’s ideas also involved the perception that, by spreading knowledge, the public good would be served and the coming of the millennium achieved. His commitment to that goal was distinctive, even though it would eventually be carried forward in very different ways after his death by the Royal Society of London.

See also **Agriculture**; **Bacon, Francis**; **Comenius, Jan Amos**; **Education**; **English Civil War and Interregnum**; **English Civil War Radicalism**; **Milton, John**; **More, Thomas**; **Republic of Letters**; **Utopia**.

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MARK GREENGRASS

HARVEY, WILLIAM (1578–1657), English physician and anatomist. William Harvey was born at Folkestone, on the south coast of England. He matriculated at Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, in 1593 and studied anatomy in Padua under Girolamo Fabrizi d'Aquapendente. Harvey received his degree as doctor of medicine in 1602. Returning to England, he settled in London, where he started a medical practice. In 1607 he became a fellow of the College of Physicians and was formally appointed physician to St. Bartholomew's Hospital in 1609. In 1613 he was elected censor in the College and in 1615 Lumleian Lecturer of Surgery with the principal duties of giving a series of lectures on set texts and performing an annual public anatomy in the hall of the College. Some of the anatomical lecture notes survive and have been edited by the College of Physicians (1886); by C. D. O'Malley, F. N. L. Poynter, and K. F. Russell (1961); and by G. Whitteridge (1964).

In 1618 Harvey was appointed court physician to James I and later to Charles I (1625), and as a member of the royal entourage, he was involved in a number of political and diplomatic activities. In 1629 he attended the duke of Lennox in his travels abroad on the orders of Charles I. On several occasions (in 1633, 1639, 1640, and 1641) he was asked to accompany the king to Scotland. In 1635 he traveled with the earl of Arundel on a diplomatic mission to the Emperor Ferdinand II's court at Regensburg. After the Battle of Edgehill (1642), Harvey followed Charles I to Oxford. He remained there for three years and was made warden of Merton College in 1643. During the Civil War, his lodgings at Whitehall were plundered by Parliamentary troops, and he lost all his notes on the generation of insects and natural history. In 1646, when the city surrendered to Parliament, Harvey returned to London, where he lived in learned retirement. He died in 1657, at the age of seventy-nine.

THEORIES OF CIRCULATION

In the *Exercitatio Anatomica de Motu Cordis et Sanguinis in Animalibus* (Anatomical study on the

motion of the heart and blood in animals), published in Frankfurt in 1628, Harvey announced his epoch-making discovery of the circulation of the blood. According to the old view, as it had been systematized by Galen in the second century C.E., blood originated in the liver from the assimilation and transformation of food and then ebbed and flowed through the veins in order to nourish the various parts of the body. A part of the venous blood was thought to seep through the interventricular septum of the heart (considered to be porous) and, upon arrival in the left ventricle, was supposed to undergo further elaboration as a result of being mixed with air coming from the lungs. Galen believed that the veins and the arteries were separate systems that carried fluids of different natures: thick, nutritive blood in the former, and spirituous, energizing blood in the latter. By means of a series of close arguments and experimental proofs, Harvey demonstrated that the blood was continuously and rapidly transmitted from the veins to the arteries, was driven into every part of the body in a far greater quantity than was needed for nourishment, and was finally drawn from the periphery to the heart to start the same cycle again.

A long and complex genealogy of anatomical findings and physiological speculations underlies Harvey's discovery. Realdo Colombo (1516?–1559?) discovered pulmonary circulation, but failed to put it in the wider context of systemic circulation; Andrea Cesalpino (1519–1603) caught a glimpse of the capillaries, but by circulation he meant a series of distillations occurring in the blood; Girolamo Fabrizi (1537–1619) detected the venous valves but did not understand their role in the centripetal venous flow. Unlike his predecessors, who reached only partial conclusions and remained entangled in the theoretical constraints of older accounts, Harvey managed to find an elegant and consistent solution for a whole series of interrelated problems: the correct interpretation of the systole and diastole of the heart (the former viewed as an active contraction, the latter as a passive distension), the clear demonstration of the pulmonary transit of the blood (from the right to the left ventricle by way of the pulmonary artery, the lungs, and the pulmonary vein), the understanding of the actual role of the venous valves (which serve to prevent the blood driven into the veins from being regurgitated back

into the arteries). The experimental demonstration of circulation rested on the correct understanding of two key insights: the uses of ligatures of varying tightness and the calculation of the rate of blood passing through the heart at each beat.

THEORETICAL ELABORATIONS, ANATOMY, AND SPIRIT

In *Exercitationes Anatomicae Duae de Circulatione Sanguinis* (1649; Two anatomical exercitations on the circulation of the blood), written in response to some objections put forward by Jean Riolan, he distanced himself from René Descartes's explanation of the heartbeat. In addition, Harvey took the opportunity to define his idea of spirit as an inherent and material component of blood. In so doing, he rejected Jean Fernel's belief in the existence of transcendent and immaterial spirits governing the vital functions of the body.

The theory presented in *De Motu Cordis* and *De Circulatione* offered an alternative and revolutionary account of the anatomy and physiology of the human body. By disentangling the function of respiration from the motion of the heart and arteries and by separating the purpose of the circulation from the processes of concoction and nutrition, Harvey initiated a process of conceptual and factual reorganization in which the respiratory, digestive, and nervous apparatuses began to assume the characteristic features that they still have today. Inevitably, though, Harvey's model was also confronted with a crucial objection: why had the blood to circulate rapidly and incessantly throughout the body if nourishment of the parts was not one of the functions of that circulation and if no exchange of vital properties contained in the inhaled air took place in the lungs? The ultimate purpose of circulation and the difference between arterial and venous blood remained two unsolved points in Harvey's system.

In *Exercitationes de Generatione Animalium* (1651; Anatomical exercitations concerning the generation of living creatures), Harvey addressed the question of the generation of oviparous and viviparous animals. In embryology he advanced the theory that the parts of higher animals were successively formed out of the undifferentiated matter of the egg (a process he called "epigenesis"). Harvey's main concern in the treatise was the explanation of the origin and mechanism of conception. Unable to

observe the initial stages of pregnancy in dissected hinds and does, he failed to understand the part played by the male's semen in fecundating the female. He argued that the process of fertilization could be compared to a transmission of vital energy at a distance.

In *De Generatione* Harvey also argued in favor of the preeminence of the blood, as an inherently animate matter, over the other parts of the body. His theory of epigenesis demonstrated the original nature of the blood. Its intrinsically spirituous substance confirmed the existence of a vital matter endowed with the ability to move, perceive, and respond to external stimuli. Harvey went so far as to identify the soul with the blood. His interest in the responsive nature of living matter dated back to the beginnings of his natural investigations. An unfinished treatise entitled "De Motu Locali Animalium" (On the local motion of the animals) testifies to his interest in studying the difference between voluntary and involuntary motions and the interplay of muscles, nerves, and the organs involved in locomotion and sensation.

The first to accept the circulatory model was Harvey's friend and colleague at the College of Physicians, Robert Fludd (1574–1637), who looked at the discovery of circulation as a confirmation of his speculations on the correspondence of microcosm and macrocosm. René Descartes (1596–1650) accepted Harvey's discovery of the circulation of the blood but disagreed with his explanation of the movement of the heart. Whereas Harvey maintained that the movement was the result of a vital contraction, Descartes explained it as a mechanical impulse determined by the ebullition and consequent rarefaction of the blood. Thomas Willis (1621–1675) and Richard Lower (1631–1691) refined and supplemented Harvey's circulatory model. Both mechanical anatomists like Marcello Malpighi (1628–1694) and chemical physiologists like Franciscus de la Boë (called Sylvius; 1614–1672) made Harvey's discovery an integral part of their physiological schemes. Francis Glisson (1597–1677) took the Harveian thesis of the inherently active and sentient nature of the blood as the starting point for a comprehensive theory of irritability.

See also **Anatomy and Physiology; Biology; Descartes, René; Matter, Theories of; Medicine; Scientific Method.**

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GUIDO GIGLIONI

HASIDISM. See Messianism, Jewish.

HASKALAH (JEWISH ENLIGHTENMENT). "Haskalah" is the Hebrew term for the Enlightenment movement and ideology that began in European Jewish society in the 1770s and continued until the 1880s. A proponent of the Haskalah was known as a *maskil* ('an enlightened Jew'; pl. *maskilim*). The Haskalah shared many aspects of the European Enlightenment, but as a national variant of the general movement it also addressed specific Jewish concerns of the period. The Haskalah was a feature of Ashkenazic Jewish society, the branch of world Jewry with origins in medieval French and German lands whose descendants inhabited German lands, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, and the partitioned lands of Poland. Beginning in Prussia, and spreading eastward to Austrian Galicia and tsarist Russia, the Haskalah, like the European Enlightenment, was an optimistic, self-conscious intellectual movement that urged European Jews to dare to liberate themselves from their past and fashion their own lives, in the spirit of Immanuel Kant's well-known answer to the question, "Was ist

Aufklärung?"; in the Jewish case, *maskilim* exhorted their brethren to unfetter themselves from and transform the culture of early modern Ashkenazic Judaism. *Maskilim*, like other European enlighteners, turned back to a classical era in search of an unbenighted rational past free of superstition and religious intolerance. But, in contrast to philosophers and *Aufklärer*, who, in Peter Gay's interpretation, found their model in the ancient Greco-Roman world, Jewish enlighteners favored the "golden age" of medieval Iberian-Jewish culture, seeking to remake early modern Ashkenazic Jewish culture in its image.

THE CRITIQUE OF EARLY MODERN ASHKENAZIC JEWISH SOCIETY AND CULTURE

Contemporary European Jewish society, in the minds of the *maskilim*, had become insular, valorizing the study of Talmud and its commentaries to the exclusion of the Hebrew Bible, biblical grammar, Hebrew poetry, and humanistic subjects, such as mathematics, geography, natural science, and history, that were indispensable to modern European life. According to the *maskilim*'s critique, the ideal of the Torah Sage (*talmid hakham*), together with the exclusionary legislation of the non-Jewish political authorities, had resulted in a distorted Jewish economic profile concentrated solely in trade and other "unproductive" professions. Moreover, early modern Ashkenazic Jewry's attachment to *minhag* (religious custom), in addition to its observance of traditional Jewish law, had deepened its parochialism, leading to an explosion of new Jewish rituals that hindered participation in broader European society. *Maskilim* resoundingly judged Yiddish, Ashkenazic Jewry's capacious vernacular composed of German, Hebrew, Slavic, and Romance-language components, as incapable of elevating Jewish culture and unsuitable for expressing the values of modern Jewish life. Perforce, the Haskalah was decidedly male, for early modern Jewish life was gendered, and only Jewish men received the requisite education in traditional Jewish languages and texts for a full-scale enlightened critique of their culture.

Marked by a didactic commitment to regenerate and revitalize Ashkenazic Jewish culture as a means of preserving Jewish life in the modern world, the Haskalah gave voice to a new kind of

European Jew, a secular *intelligent*. The worldview of the *maskilim*, individuals in the process of “enlightening” themselves, was shaped by an ideology of creative tension between the worlds of traditional Jewish culture and European society and values, what the Prussian *maskil* Naphtali Herz Wessely (1725–1805) called *Torat ha-Adam* (secular knowledge) and *Torat ha-Elohim* (sacred knowledge) in his programmatic educational pamphlet, *Divrei Shalom ve-Eme* (Words of peace and truth, 1782). In contrast to activists in the European Enlightenment who were already Europeans, the *maskilim* not only waged a self-conscious battle to regenerate Ashkenazic Jewish culture, but also struggled to justify Jewish participation in European society as men, like all other men, endowed with the universal faculty of reason. The Haskalah, in its defense of Jewish particularism, qualified the universalism of the Enlightenment.

The figure of Moses Mendelssohn (1729–1786), son of a poor Jewish scribe from Dessau who settled in Berlin, the center of the Prussian Enlightenment, epitomized the new type of European Jew. Mendelssohn remained devout throughout his life, yet acquired a vast reservoir of secular and non-Jewish knowledge that he applied to philosophical, political, and exegetical writings, penned in both flawless German and impeccable Hebrew. His *Jerusalem, or on Religious Power and Judaism* (1783), a philosophic defense of the compatibility of the observance of Jewish law with the ideals of Enlightenment natural religion, expressed the Haskalah’s conservative attitude toward revelation and inherited traditions, a posture characteristic of the moderate German *Aufklärung*’s debt to the philosophy of Christian Wolff. Shaped in the Prussian context, the Haskalah lacked the anticlericalism and critique of the religious establishment that motivated the French philosophe’s conception of Enlightenment.

The generation of Prussian *maskilim* after Mendelssohn institutionalized the movement by establishing periodicals (*Ha-Me’assef*/the Gatherer), publishing houses (Hevrat Hinukh Ne’arim/Society for the Education of the Youth), reading circles (Hevrat Dorshei Leshon Ever/The Society for the Promotion of the Hebrew Language, 1782, Königsberg), and schools (Jüdische Freischule/Jewish Elementary School, 1778), with new textbooks (*Lesebuch für jüdische Kinder*/Reader for

Jewish children, 1779), activities supported by the *maskilim* and a small group of economically elite Jews with privileges to live in Prussia’s cities. By the 1790s, the Haskalah in Prussia encountered the political demands of the centralizing absolutist state, which sought to dissolve all premodern corporations, including the Jewish communal authority (*kahal*), and the acculturating aspirations of the rising Jewish bourgeoisie, resulting in its radicalization. Prussian Jewish intellectuals soon focused their efforts on political emancipation and cultural acceptance, rather than on inner reform, embodied by the *maskil* David Friedländer’s 1799 letter to Pastor Teller asserting his willingness to convert to Christianity with the provision that he not accept the divinity of Christ. The shift in emphasis was tellingly marked by the failure of Hebrew periodical literature to sustain itself in Prussian lands, giving way to new German periodicals (*Sulamith*) focused on the struggle for political rights.

THE EASTWARD TURN OF THE HASKALAH

The social and political environment of central and eastern Europe, with their demographically rich Ashkenazic Jewish populations and laggard state-building multiethnic empires, became fertile ground for the dissemination of the Jewish Enlightenment. Although subject to the centralizing political demands of absolutist Austria and Russia to integrate the Jewish community into the life of the state, the quest for political emancipation and religious reform was largely absent among *maskilim* in the East. Rather, the Haskalah in Austrian Galicia and Russia focused on communal regeneration, particularly as it faced the entrenchment of traditional Jewish culture by Hasidism, the extraordinarily successful Jewish spiritual movement that, born in the mid-eighteenth century, had transformed eastern European Jewry. Using the didactic tools of the general Enlightenment (periodical literature, satire, ethical anthologies, curriculum reform), the battle of east European *maskilim*, such as Mendel Lefin (1749–1826), Joseph Perl (1773–1839), Nachman Krochmal (1785–1840), and Isaac Baer Levinsohn (1788–1860), against Hasidism gave birth to modern secular Hebrew and Yiddish prose literature, new forms of Bible commentary, and historical writing.

Although always a self-selected intellectual minority within Ashkenazic Jewry, the *maskilim* represented a radical break with traditional patterns of Jewish life and engendered sharp opposition from traditional rabbinic authorities in central and eastern Europe. Nonetheless, recent scholarly interpretations of the Jewish Enlightenment emphasize its conservatism in comparison with the other responses of European Jewry to modernity (that is, Jewish nationalism, socialism, revolution, migration, political emancipation, and communal self-liquidation/assimilation). Flowering almost a full century after the European Enlightenment, the Haskalah's Hebraism and religious moderation laid the foundation for contemporary constructions of liberal Jewish identity.

See also **Enlightenment; Jews and Judaism; Mendelssohn, Moses; Philosophes; Prussia.**

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NANCY SINKOFF

HASTINGS, WARREN (1732–1818), first governor-general of India. Warren Hastings was a competent, honorable, and farsighted administrator whose policies, some controversial, decisively shaped and stabilized future Anglo-Indian relations. The controversy surrounding his administration

made him the subject of impeachment and trial in Great Britain.

Warren Hastings was born at Daylesford, Worcestershire, on 6 December 1732, the son of a country solicitor whose family had fallen into poverty. When his mother, Hester Warren, died soon after his birth, his father departed for the West Indies. Warren was raised by an uncle who sent him to school, first at Newington and then to Westminster, where he became the first king's scholar of his year in 1747.

In October 1750, Hastings entered service as a clerk in the East India Company. Able and ambitious, he advanced rapidly, becoming the company's resident (1757). From 1761 to 1764, he served on the Calcutta Council, the chief governing body in Bengal. During this period he attempted to reform abuses in the transit system, specifically the practice whereby British officials passed private consignments free of duty, resulting in disproportionate fiscal burdens on the Mughul nabob Mir Kasim and his subjects. Hastings's compromise proposal proved ineffectual and a brief war erupted, ending in the defeat of Mir Kasim and restoration of the former nabob, Mir Jaffier.

In 1764 Hastings returned to England, but financial need forced him to seek reemployment with the Company, which, in 1769, appointed him to the Council of Madras. Two years later he was promoted to the governorship of Bengal.

From 1772 to 1774, Hastings consolidated British control over native authorities, restored order to the province's judicial system, abolished the pension that Lord Clive had paid to the Mughul, and created a new, more efficient procedure for collecting the land revenues, a major source of the company's financial solvency. The English collectors, being inexperienced and extortionate, were removed and replaced with native officers of proven knowledge and ability. Six divisions were created by grouping the districts and subordinating them to provincial councils under the control of non-Indian administrators. This arrangement, like so many of Hastings's ideas, was to become an enduring part of the British ruling tradition in India.

Lord North's Regulating Act of 1773 placed India under three presidencies, with one governor-general, a position held by Hastings from 1774 to

1784, assisted by a newly created council of five, three of whom—strangers to India—were hostile to his policies. Given only a single vote, Hastings frequently found himself overruled in his efforts to curb further corruption and introduce reforms. Eventually his fellow councillors, led by Sir Phillip Francis, conspired against him, fabricating charges of corruption and cruelty that were to culminate in his impeachment. Despite such obstructionism, Hastings launched military expeditions to defeat the Mahrattas conspiracy that threatened Britain's imperial governance, quelled provincial revolts, continued his financial reforms, and founded the Asiatic Society of Bengal and the Calcutta Madrisa, a vital center of Muslim culture. He also had to confront the danger posed by the sultanate of Haidar Ali, who (with the connivance of the French and Dutch) plotted insurrection against British rule. On his own authority, Hastings removed the incompetent governor of Madras and replaced him with the veteran militarist Sir Eyre Coote, who defeated Ali's forces at Porto Novo. Parallel naval action drove the rebels out of the Carnatic (a region in southeastern India). On the death of Haidar Ali in 1782, Hastings negotiated the treaty of Salbai, which acknowledged British supremacy throughout India and calmed the situation in Madras.

Hastings resigned his office in December 1784 and returned to England on 13 June the following year. In 1787 he faced impeachment charges initiated by Edmund Burke (working with Hastings's enemies), whose outrageous conduct evoked numerous rebukes from the House of Lords. The lengthy trial, beginning in 1788 and lasting until 1795, ended in Hastings's acquittal, but severely compromised his reputation, ruined his health, and cost him £50,000.

In his later years, Hastings campaigned for a peerage and a parliamentary reversal of the impeachment, neither of which ever materialized. He received a doctorate of civil law from Oxford in 1813, was sworn privy councillor in May 1814, and died, a rural recluse, on 22 August 1818.

Although Hastings's conduct of affairs tended at times to be high-handed, if not unscrupulous, his motives were invariably patriotic, not self-interested. He expanded the territorial scope of British dominion in India, honored and preserved indige-

nous cultures, and introduced many needed and lasting reforms. The prince regent (the future George IV) put it best when, in 1814, he called Hastings "the most deserving yet also one of the worst used men in the empire."

See also **British Colonies; India; Burke, Edmund; Colonialism; George II (Great Britain); George III (Great Britain); Mercantilism; Trading Companies.**

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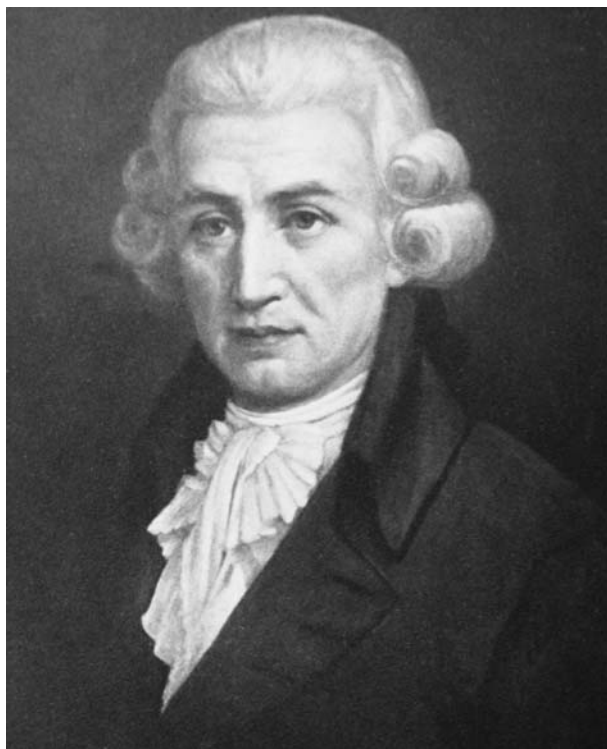
KARL W. SCHWEIZER

HAYDN, FRANZ JOSEPH (1732–1809), Austrian composer considered the founder of Vienna classicism. Born in modest circumstances as the son of a wheelwright in the Lower Austrian town of Rohrau, Haydn was by 1800 the most celebrated composer in Europe. He is sometimes called the father of both the symphony and the string quartet.

Haydn was raised in a devoutly Catholic household and his parents had hopes of his entering the clergy. He showed an early aptitude for music, which was noticed by a visiting schoolmaster who convinced his parents to send the six-year-old Joseph to a parish school in the neighboring town of Hainburg. Catholic parish schools had traditionally emphasized music (the schoolmaster usually doubled as the church organist) since pupils were needed to sing or perform in the parish's annual cycle of regular masses, baptisms, funerals, and processions. Haydn acquired his first formal training in music at the Hainburg school, and at the age of eight left to continue his musical education as a pupil at the choir school of St. Stephen's Cathedral in Vienna. He remained a pupil at St. Stephen's for almost ten years until he was forced to leave around 1749—not, as legend has it, to escape castration but because his voice broke.

Haydn's early years as a composer and musician illustrate the crucial importance of aristocratic musical patronage in eighteenth-century Europe. After struggling for several years as a teacher, freelance musician, and occasional composer for the popular Viennese stage, Haydn finally obtained a measure of financial security when Count Karl Joseph Franz Morzin took him into his household as music director around 1757. Haydn's first symphonies as well as his earliest string quartets date from this period. Decisive for his career was his entry a few years later (1761) into the service of Prince Paul Anton Esterházy, scion of the wealthiest magnate family in Hungary. Haydn, in his capacity as Vice-Kapellmeister (1761–1765) and later Kapellmeister (1761–1790), was in charge of supervising, if not composing, the music performed at the prince's palace at Esterháza. There Haydn was responsible for providing both vocal and instrumental music, including operas performed in the prince's lavish theater. Although Haydn's operas are today the least regarded part of his musical oeuvre—perhaps because they would soon be so overshadowed by Mozart's—Haydn devoted much of his musical energy in the years between 1766 and 1783 to operatic compositions. Best known today are his comic (or *buffa*) operas, such as those based on librettos by the eighteenth-century Italian playwright Carlo Goldoni (*Lo speziale* [1768]), *Le pescatrici* [1769–1770], and *Il mondo della luna* [1777]). But they also included dramatic pieces like *Armida* (1783), adapted from the late-humanist poet Torquato Tasso, which was the last opera Haydn produced. In the meantime Haydn continued to experiment with the symphonic form, moving from the syncopated eccentricities of his Sturm und Drang ('storm and stress') phase (1768–1772) to the exquisite sublimity of his later symphonies. During Haydn's years at Esterháza his string quartets also acquired the quintessentially conversational style that would be their hallmark, evoking the atmosphere of the Enlightenment salons he frequented during visits to Vienna in the 1770s and 1780s.

By the 1780s Haydn had begun to free himself financially from dependence on his Esterházy patrons. He did this partly by successfully marketing his compositions to publishing houses in Vienna, London, and Paris, and partly through commissions like *Die sieben letzten Worte unseres Erlösers am*



Franz Joseph Haydn. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Kreuze (1785–1786; *Seven last words of our Redeemer on the cross*), an oratorio composed for the cathedral of Cádiz in southern Spain for performance during Holy Week. But it was above all the financial success of Haydn's triumphal London tours (1791–1792, 1794–1795) that sealed his economic independence. Haydn skillfully exploited the opportunities for performance and composition offered by the city's commercialized musical culture with its theaters, subscription concerts, and public pleasure gardens. All in all, Haydn's London visits earned him some 24,000 gulden, the equivalent of twenty years' salary at Esterháza. His "London symphonies" (nos. 93–104) achieved particular success in the British capital. His succeeding years in Vienna, where he spent the remainder of his life, won him popular acclaim as well. *Die Schöpfung* (1797; *The creation*) and *Die Jahreszeiten* (1801; *The seasons*), oratorios that remain two of his most beloved compositions today, served especially to crown his broad popularity in the Austrian capital.

In this respect Haydn's career epitomized the transition from aristocratic patronage to public performance that had begun to characterize the social

history of music during his day. The legend of “Papa Haydn,” the good-natured and self-effacing figure known for his generous encouragement of Mozart and Beethoven, can obscure the attention Haydn devoted to promoting the public reception of his own music. Commercially savvy, Haydn was keenly attuned to the tastes of his public. He often incorporated folk themes into his music, and the playful and mischievous qualities that came to be a hallmark of many of Haydn’s compositions doubtless contributed to his broad appeal. As his “Surprise” Symphony (no. 94) or “Joke” Quartet (op. 33, no. 2) illustrate, Haydn loved musical gags, sudden reversals of tempo, the injection of a humorous moment into an ostensibly serious one. Critics of his day sometimes attacked this aspect of Haydn’s music, noting his penchant for shifting unexpectedly between refinement and coarseness, the elevated and the vulgar. Yet Haydn’s success in blurring the boundaries between high and low was a key element of his popularity, attesting to his ability to appeal to a wide audience.

See also **Goldoni, Carlo**; **Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus**; **Music**; **Vienna**.

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JAMES VAN HORN MELTON

HELMONT, JEAN BAPTISTE VAN (1579–1644; also known as Johannes von Helmont), Flemish chemist. Born at Brussels, Helmont studied at the University of Louvain, where dissatisfaction with the curriculum in philosophy led him to pursue medicine. He obtained a medical degree in 1599 but soon grew critical as well of ancient medical authorities. After seven years of travel and independent study he emerged as an iatrochemist, mixing chemistry with natural philosophy and

medicine. In this regard Helmont followed in the tradition of Paracelsus, although with notable differences. He rejected symbolic analogies linking the macrocosm with the microcosm and considered that the Paracelsian first principles (sulfur, salt, and mercury) were created through chemical processes rather than being preexistent in material substances. While accepting the existence of sympathies in nature, he believed these to occur naturally and not as a result of supernatural forces. This last view brought him into an already raging controversy concerning the so-called weapon salve (an ointment that supposedly cured wounds after being applied not to the wound itself but to the weapon that had caused it). Although disparaging magical or diabolic explanations, Helmont thought that a certain magnetic sympathy nevertheless existed not between the weapon and the wound, but between the wound and the blood left on the weapon that had caused it. The same type of magnetic sympathy, he believed, also accounted for the effects of sacred relics. “Propositions” such as this led to his condemnation by the Spanish Inquisition and, thereafter, to his imprisonment. His collected works came to light after his death, edited and published (1648) by his son, Franciscus Mercurius (1614?–1699; also known as Francisco Mercurio van Helmont).

Much of Helmont’s medical philosophy was concerned with the activity of a vital spirit in nature. All things in nature, he believed, arose from spiritual seeds planted into the medium of elementary water. By means of a ferment, which determined the form, function, and direction of all animals, vegetables, and minerals, the seed mingled with water to become an individual entity. To find the invisible seeds of bodies he studied the chemical nature of smoke arising from combusted solids and fluids. It was this “specific smoke” that he termed *gas*, a name that for Helmont carried spiritual and religious connotations within a vitalist cosmology. Another term, *blas*, represented a universal motive power, present in nature and in every human being.

Like Paracelsus, Helmont believed that the key to understanding nature was to be found in chemistry, and a good deal of his attention was given to techniques of quantification and to determining the weights of substances in chemical reactions. In his famous tree experiment he compared the weight of water given to a growing tree with respect to the

weight of the tree itself. Against Aristotle, and on the basis of observations of a burning candle surrounded by a glass container resting in water, he argued that air could be diminished or contracted, thus making possible the existence of a vacuum in nature. He also advanced techniques for various chemical preparations, especially chemical medicines involving mercury, and advocated a corpuscularian, or particulate, view of matter. Following upon earlier suggestions, Helmont determined that acid was the digestive agent of the stomach and defended the Paracelsian idea of a medicinal liquor alkahest, which, it was claimed, could reduce every body into its first matter.

See also **Alchemy; Chemistry; Medicine; Paracelsus.**

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BRUCE T. MORAN

HELVÉTIUS, CLAUDE-ADRIEN (1715–1771), French philosopher. Claude-Adrien Helvétius was one of the most audacious writers of the French Enlightenment. The uproar surrounding the publication of his first book, *De l'esprit* (1758), was so sensational that he was forced to recant three times. Only the conflict between the parlements and the court over control of censorship, along with his ties at court to Madame de Pompadour and the duc de Choiseul, saved him, and he decided that his second book, *De l'homme* (1773), would not be released until after his death.

Helvétius had an uncanny knack for taking thoughts common to all the philosophes and presenting them in a scandalous form that provoked

all-out counterattacks from the Catholic Church. Philosophical empiricism and hedonism, denials of original sin, repudiations of the repressive ethics of Christianity—these were doctrines not of Helvétius alone but of almost all members of “the party of humanity.” But whereas other philosophes asserted the aforesaid views without calling down upon their movement the full-blown wrath of the church, Helvétius sparked a controversy that almost led to the suppression of the *Encyclopédie*—the great collective enterprise in research and propaganda undertaken by Denis Diderot (1713–1784), Jean Le Rond d’Alembert (1717–1783), and the “society of men of letters.”

Both in his empiricism and in his hedonism, Helvétius vigorously argued for a position that the exasperated philosophes regarded as impolitic, needlessly inflammatory, and a reductio ad absurdum of their own philosophy. Virtually all the philosophes agreed with Helvétius that, under cover of the Cartesian notion of innate ideas, the church had conspired to place its dogmatic assertions above criticism. The philosophes in general borrowed John Locke’s notion that our ideas are acquired rather than given, that they are the result of the interaction of the human senses with the external world, and that a supposedly innate idea is simply one whose origins in early childhood have been lost to human memory.

Helvétius went further than his comrades, however, in his dogmatic assertions that the human mind is completely passive and absolutely determined by the environment. He maintained that we are what our surroundings have made us, nothing more. The upshot of his thought was that the only difference between a genius and a fool was one of environment, which led Diderot to remark that Helvétius apparently believed his kennelman could have written *De l'esprit*. Equally disturbing, the doctrine of natural rights, so central to the Enlightenment, obviously could not survive Helvétius’s claim that there is no such thing as human nature. The final embarrassment was that Helvétius seemed to have vindicated the church’s claim that the philosophes were the champions of an uncompromising philosophical materialism.

Another charge that the church regularly lodged against the philosophes was that they were

proponents of free love and enemies of the family; and here again Helvétius—to the consternation of his comrades—seemed to prove the clergy correct. It was one thing for the philosophes to contend that the search for pleasure is an inevitable and legitimate human quest; it was quite another for Helvétius to suggest that all pleasures are bodily joys, sexual in nature. An admirer of ancient Sparta, Helvétius held that Lycurgus had utilized the sexual favors of women to transform ordinary men into heroic beings. Young Spartan females danced naked in front of the soldiers, praising the brave men, and shaming the cowards. If Helvétius had not existed, the church would have had to invent him.

Diderot, too, had dreamed of a sexual paradise, but he placed it in Tahiti rather than Europe, and refrained from publishing his tantalizing thoughts. The official Diderot was the author of *Le fils naturel* (1757; *The natural son*) and *Le père de famille* (1758; *The father of the family*), two plays that praised conventional familial ideals in exclamatory language. Helvétius, by contrast, failed to understand that discretion is sometimes the better part of enlightened valor.

Although the philosophes distanced themselves from Helvétius, some among their numbers learned to take seriously his thoughts on the arts. What Helvétius added to their discussions was the recognition that the study of culture must be linked to the study of politics. Under monarchies comedy is the most flourishing genre because the public, excluded from public affairs, is frivolous and desperate for laughter. Under republics there is a genuine public, attentive to public affairs and hungry for the ennobling passions of tragedy. England, despite its monarch, is a modern republic, the one country where an author can write for an enlightened audience.

Diderot and Paul Thiry, baron d'Holbach (1723–1789) were two of the most prominent of the philosophes who learned from Helvétius that “the dignity of the republic of letters” would remain an empty expression unless France, like England, evolved in a more republican direction. Helvétius played a crucial role in politicizing the Enlightenment.

See also *Atheism*; Holbach, Paul Thiry, baron d'; Diderot, Denis; Locke, John; *Mechanism*; *Philosophes*.

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MARK HULLIUNG

HENRY VII (ENGLAND) (1457–1509; ruled 1485–1509), king of England. Henry Tudor, later earl of Richmond, was born in Pembroke Castle, Wales, on 28 January 1457, the son of Edmund Tudor and Margaret Beaufort. He was directly related to the Lancastrian royal family through both his mother and his father and, as such, became a key figure in the dynastic struggles of the Wars of the Roses. In 1471, with his uncle Jasper, he was forced to flee to the Continent when the Yorkist Edward IV (ruled 1461–1470; 1471–1483) recaptured the throne from Henry VI (ruled 1422–1461; 1470–1471). The next fourteen years of his life were spent in exile, first in Brittany, then in France, before he set sail at the head of a small band of English exiles and French mercenaries in August 1485 to capture the English throne. On 22 August he defeated Richard III at the Battle of Bosworth Field and was crowned king of England.

On 18 January 1486 Henry married Elizabeth of York, daughter of Edward IV, to fulfill a promise made in exile to unite the warring houses of York and Lancaster. Despite this, Henry still faced challenges to his rule from disaffected Yorkists. The first serious rebellion came in 1487 when Lambert Simnel, claiming to be the Yorkist earl of Warwick, was crowned king of England in Dublin. Henry defeated Simnel and his followers at the Battle of Stoke in June. A more serious challenge came in the person of Perkin Warbeck, who claimed to be Edward IV's youngest son, Richard. Aided by Margaret, dowager duchess of Burgundy, and the Scottish

king, James IV (ruled 1488–1513), Warbeck attempted invasions of England in 1495 and 1497 but was eventually captured and imprisoned in the Tower. The Tudor succession was, however, further threatened in April 1502 by the death of Henry's eldest son, Arthur (born 19 September 1486), and by a continuation of Yorkist claims in the person of Edmund de la Pole, earl of Suffolk. Most of the diplomatic efforts of the latter part of Henry's reign were designed to secure the succession: first, by ensuring that foreign princes did not support his dynastic opponents, and second, by arranging a marriage between his second son, Henry, and Arthur's widow, Catherine of Aragon.

Traditionally, the reign of Henry VII has been seen as the end of the Middle Ages in England and the beginning of the "New Monarchy" of the Tudors. In three ways the monarchy of Henry VII was seen to be significantly new. First, Henry was alleged to have broken the power of the "overmighty" nobility, largely responsible for the Wars of the Roses. Second, he introduced "modern" bureaucratic methods of government, rescuing the crown from the financial crisis of the mid-fifteenth century and putting the monarchy on a secure fiscal base. Finally, Henry rejected the traditional bellicosity of English kings and sought to strengthen England's position in Europe through diplomatic and trading alliances. More recent accounts, however, have stressed the continuity of Henry's reign, especially with his Yorkist predecessor, Edward IV. His continued reliance on his nobility as the essential link between the crown and the localities has been stressed, while the novelty of his financial policies has been downplayed. Moreover, by invading France in 1492 and waging war with Scotland in 1496, Henry could be seen to be continuing the traditional policies of English medieval kings.

Nevertheless, Henry's policies represented, in some respects, a significant break from the past. He used the crown's landed patrimony, augmented through forfeitures and dynastic accident in the fifteenth century, to build up the crown's military and political strength in the localities, at times riding roughshod over local sensibilities. Henry's willingness to tax his subjects led to rebellion in 1489 and 1497, and his use of suspended financial penalties ensured that most of the nobility and much of the wider political nation were bound to the king by the

early 1500s. At his death Henry had amassed a fortune, probably in excess of one million pounds. While these policies may have caused resentment and unrest in certain parts of the realm, there were no significant plots or rebellions within England after 1499.

Henry died on 22 April 1509, although his death was kept secret while his unpopular ministers, Empson and Dudley, were deposed in a palace coup. A measure of his success in establishing a new dynasty on the English throne must be that he was the first English king since Henry V (ruled 1413–1422) to pass the throne undisputed to his son and heir, who was to reign as Henry VIII (ruled 1509–1547).

See also **Henry VIII (England); Tudor Dynasty (England).**

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DAVID GRUMMITT

HENRY VIII (ENGLAND) (1491–1547; ruled 1509–1547), king of England. Henry VIII has a good claim to be regarded as England's most important monarch. It was he who initiated and pushed through the seminal event in the nation's history, the break with the church of Rome. Though historians have long debated the king's motivations and the depth of his control over the policy-making process, few would question his fundamental importance to the English Reformation; nor indeed that of the English Reformation to the subsequent historical development of England, Britain, and the British Empire.

Born at Greenwich Palace on 28 June 1491, the child of Henry VII (Henry Tudor; ruled 1485–1509) and Elizabeth of York, Henry was second in line to the throne. He became heir apparent after his elder brother, Arthur, died of consumption in 1502. On 22 April 1509 Henry's respected but unloved father died; the young prince ascended the throne amid popular rejoicing, the first uncontested succession in over half a century.

The new king quickly disposed of his father's chief ministers, Richard Empson and Edmund Dudley (both executed for constructive treason in 1510). Their place was taken by the brilliant and ostentatious commoner Thomas Wolsey (c. 1475–1530). Henry ruled through Wolsey, who became

his lord chancellor, from 1514 to 1529, making him the principal influence on the formulation of royal policy and giving him authority over the day-to-day affairs of government. The main focus of policy during the first half of the reign was foreign affairs. The early years were taken up by war with France and Scotland (1511–1514). In France, Henry achieved his first success on the field of battle (the Battle of the Spurs, 1513); in the same year King James IV of Scotland (ruled 1488–1513) was defeated and killed at the head of an invading army at Flodden. Glorious though it might be, war was a drain on the nation's finances. Wolsey had a more realistic appreciation than his master of England's limited resources and inferior status to the Continent's leading powers; instead of war he pursued diplomacy as a cost-effective means of retaining the place of the king at the forefront of European relations, largely through acting as a peace broker in the conflicts between France, Spain, and the Holy Roman Empire. Henry tired of the passive role in the early 1520s, invading France once again in 1523. This invasion was an ignominious failure, ending in retreat and a severe depletion of the crown treasury; it would be the last such enterprise for almost two decades.

THE DIVORCE

On 11 June 1509, Henry married Arthur's widow, Catherine of Aragón (1485–1536). The marriage failed to provide Henry with a male heir; only a girl born in 1516, the future Queen Mary, survived beyond infancy. For a long time a sequence of renewed pregnancies and the distractions of Wolsey's diplomatic schemes concealed the problem, but the unhappy cycle of miscarriages and still-born infants would not cease, aging Catherine prematurely and turning Henry increasingly suspicious of the marriage. Henry's concerns were not idle: as a child of the Wars of the Roses he was acutely aware of the danger to the stability of the nation that a contested succession could bring; and as the child of the founder of the Tudor dynasty he knew that posterity would compare him with his father principally by his success in perpetuating the line. A male heir would certainly have saved the marriage, but by the early 1520s it was clear that Catherine could become pregnant no more.

Around mid-decade the substantial concerns over the succession combined with two related developments: the king's infatuation with a clever and desirable lady of the court named Anne Boleyn (1507?–1536) and his discovery of two texts in the Book of Leviticus that cast doubt on the theological probity of a marriage to a dead brother's wife. Henry soon decided that his marriage to Catherine was cursed by God and must be annulled forthwith; he would then marry Anne Boleyn, who would provide him with a son. Had Catherine been English, the papal dissolution of the marriage would have been granted immediately. But Catherine was the aunt of the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V (ruled 1519–1556), whose army had recently sacked and occupied Rome (1527); under the circumstances the pope could not help the king.

THE BREAK WITH ROME

Yet the king would not be deflected. Wolsey, unable to advance the matter sufficiently and detested by Anne, was discarded and died on his way to a final reckoning with his master in 1529. The cardinal's place was taken by new men sympathetic to Anne's cause and, like the woman who would be queen herself, attracted to the incipient Protestant ideas that had emanated from Germany over the previous decade. Chief among them were Wolsey's erstwhile assistant Thomas Cromwell (1485?–1540), soon to replace his lord as the king's minister, and Thomas Cranmer (1489–1556), appointed archbishop of Canterbury in 1533. These two worked with the king and his mistress on a radical solution to the great matter: if the pope would not dissolve the marriage and allow Henry to marry Anne, then the king would follow his chosen course independently of Rome. The king was determined that the process should have the appearance of legitimacy; thus it was that Parliament was called into service to provide the legal apparatus that permitted Henry to have his way.

The Parliament that sat from 1529 to 1536 is rightly known to history as the Reformation Parliament. Though it had no program at the outset for making the break with Rome and establishing an independent Church of England, that is what it did. A succession of legislative instruments deprived Rome of its authority over the English spiritual estate, redirected its finances and property to the



Henry VIII. Painting by Hans Holbein.

crown, and established the king as the supreme head of the English Church. At the same time, Henry was provided with his divorce and married to Anne in 1533; a child followed the same year, though to Henry's chagrin it was a daughter (the future Queen Elizabeth) rather than the expected son. By the middle of the decade Henry might have wondered if it had all been necessary: early in 1536 Catherine died of natural causes, and later the same year Anne, transformed from the enchanting mistress of the early days to a shrew of a wife, was executed on trumped-up charges of adultery and witchcraft, almost certainly the result of a contest between court factions seeking to make the best out of the king's growing dislike for his second marriage.

But by now the soap opera–like succession of events had been overtaken by a much greater story. Though the king was and remained for the rest of his life conservative in his theological beliefs (with some idiosyncratic exceptions), the repudiation of the authority of Rome provided the opportunity for those of more reformist belief to make the newly established church one whose theology owed more to the emerging Protestant faith than to that of the Roman Church. During the 1530s Cromwell and Cranmer urged the king not to stop at assuming the supreme headship of the church and subsuming the institution into the state, but to appoint Protestants to key clerical positions, to issue the first officially sanctioned English Bible (published in 1539), and even to adopt a Protestant theological code for the church.

CONSERVATISM

Yet the advances came at a price. Henry's innate conservatism asserted itself more strongly in the wake of Anne's execution, as he married the religiously conventional Jane Seymour (1509?–1537) and soon after faced a huge popular rebellion, known as the Pilgrimage of Grace, against the religious changes in the north of England. Though the rebellion was extinguished in 1537, Henry's concern at the pace of religious change became plain thereafter, and the momentum of reform slowed. Jane provided Henry with the much-desired son, the future Edward VI, in 1537, but she died days after giving birth.

As reform stagnated, Cromwell saw an opportunity to restore the initiative by pursuing the marriage of Henry to a German duchess with Protestant connections, Anne of Cleves (1515–1557). However, the plan backfired when the king set eyes on Anne for the first time just before the wedding in early 1540 and found her repulsive. Though the diplomatic situation was such that Henry had to go ahead with the marriage, Cromwell's position was fatally compromised: his enemies persuaded the king that he was disloyal, and he was executed in the summer of 1540.

The remainder of the reign saw few developments to match those of the 1530s, as the king put a stop to further doctrinal innovation and refocused his kingship on the pastime of his younger days, foreign policy. Henry ruled in the closing years

without a minister, executing policy instead through a small body of elite advisors, the Privy Council. Foreign affairs were dominated by wars with Scotland and France. Scotland was invaded in 1542 and France in 1544; though both conflicts were concluded honorably (the Treaty of Greenwich with Scotland in 1543 and the Treaty of Ardres with France in 1546), there was little in the way of diplomatic compensation for the ruinous expenses incurred. All the while the king's marital adventures continued. In July 1540 Henry divorced Anne; less than three weeks later (on the same day as Cromwell's execution) he married Catherine Howard (1520?–1542). Accused of adultery, she was beheaded in 1542. Henry married Catherine Parr (1512–1548), his sixth and last wife, in 1543. The oldest of Henry's brides and previously married herself, she proved adept at managing the failing and increasingly irascible king in his dotage, not only to her own profit, but also to that of the Protestant cause, restraining the persecution of reformers and ensuring that the young prince Edward was educated by men of reformed views. King Henry VIII died on 28 January 1547, leaving behind him an independent English church, a son and regency council who would over the next five-and-a-half years put England on a course of radical religious reform, and a daughter in Elizabeth who would consolidate and defend the national church and associated national identity that her father had done so much to establish.

See also Church of England; Cromwell, Thomas; Divorce; Edward VI (England); Elizabeth I (England); Julius II (pope); Mary I (England); More, Thomas; Reformation, Protestant; Tudor Dynasty (England).

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RORY MCENTEGART

HENRY II (FRANCE) (1519–1559; ruled 1547–1559), king of France. The second son of Francis I (ruled 1515–1547) and Claude of France, Henry was born on 31 March 1519. He was seven years old when he and his older brother Francis were sent to Spain as hostages for their father, who had been captured at Pavia in February 1525. Henry felt that the Spanish mistreated him during the four years he was a prisoner and bore a lifelong grudge against both his father and Emperor Charles V (ruled 1519–1556). In October 1533 he wedded Catherine de Médicis (1519–1589) as part of an alliance with the Medici pope, Clement VII (reigned 1523–1534). The pope soon died, ending the political value of the marriage, which also came under strain because of the lack of children for the first ten years. Henry and Catherine eventually had seven children who survived childhood. Henry's love for Diane de Poitiers further strained the marriage. Henry first met Diane when he returned from Spain in 1530, and he loved her until his death, although she was twenty years his senior.

When his older brother died in 1536, Henry became dauphin, and he ascended the throne on 31 March 1547 at the death of his father. He already had a cadre of close advisers—the constable Anne, duke of Montmorency (1493–1567); François de Lorraine, duke of Guise (1519–1563), and his brother, Charles de Lorraine, cardinal of Lorraine (1524–1574); and Marshal Jacques D'Albion de Saint-André—who now dominated the royal council. Diane also wielded broad influence over her royal lover. In government Henry largely carried on trends begun under his father; his major innovation was creating the offices of the four secretaries of state, each having responsibility for a different area of administration. The selling of royal offices was



Henry II. Portrait by François Clouet, c. 1555. ©ARTE & IMMAGINI SRL/CORBIS

already an important source of royal revenue, but Henry greatly increased the number of venal offices.

The war against the Habsburgs continued during Henry's reign, and he allied with the German Lutherans and the Ottoman Turks against them. With the approval of the Lutheran princes, he occupied the three bishoprics of Lorraine, and in cooperation with the Ottoman fleet, he seized Corsica from Charles V's ally Genoa in 1553. Henry's alliance with the Lutherans prevented him from being as severe on the French Protestants as he wished, but he took seriously his oath to protect the Catholic Church. Shortly after becoming king, he created a new chamber in the Parlement of Paris to deal with heresy. Called the *chambre ardente* ("zealous chamber") for its zealous pursuit of Protestants, it condemned thirty-seven persons to death in three years. The Catholic hierarchy's objections to its loss of jurisdiction over heresy persuaded him to close it down in 1550. The rivalry between the parlement and the episcopate over heresy prosecution ren-

dered ineffective such harsh edicts against heresy as the Edict of Châteaubriand in 1551. This problem and Henry's perception that heresy was lower-class sedition led him to overlook Protestantism in the French elite, and it flourished despite his resolve to rid his realm of religious dissent.

Like his father, Henry was a patron of Renaissance culture, although he preferred to patronize French talent. He completed several projects begun by Francis, including the château of Fontainebleau and the reconstruction of the Louvre, while putting his own stamp on them. The major building project under Henry was the château of Anet, done for Diane de Poitiers by Philibert Delorme (de L'Orme; 1515?–1570). In literature, Henry's reign saw a reaction against the emphasis on using Latin and a greater effort to use French, as Joachim Du Bellay (c. 1522–1560) argued in his *Defense and Illustration of the French Language* (1549). Du Bellay was a member of the Pléiade, a group of poets who wrote in French. The most famous among them was Pierre de Ronsard (1524–1585).

The end of Henry's reign was shadowed by economic problems, a huge royal debt amounting to 2.5 times the annual royal revenues, an upsurge in religious dissent, and continued war with the Habsburgs. When he sent an army under the duke of Guise to Italy to reclaim Naples and Milan at the urging of Pope Paul IV, Philip II (ruled 1556–1598) invaded northern France and defeated Montmorency at Saint-Quentin in August 1557. When Philip failed to push his forces on to attack Paris, Henry sent the army assembled for defending the city to take Calais in January 1558. With the fortunes of war balanced, both rulers agreed to the Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis in 1559. Henry, jousting in a tournament celebrating the peace and the marriage by proxy of his daughter Elisabeth to Philip, was fatally wounded when his opponent's shattered lance struck him in the face. He died on 10 July 1559, leaving his fifteen-year-old son Francis II (ruled 1559–1560) a realm beset with problems, the most serious of which was the religious division.

See also **Cateau-Cambrésis (1559)**; **Renaissance**.

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FREDERIC J. BAUMGARTNER

HENRY III (FRANCE) (1551–1589), king of France. Henry III was the last of the Valois dynasty and has claim to be the only intellectual to have ruled France. Unfortunately he had the double misfortune of ruling at time of prolonged civil war and of failing to produce an heir, ensuring that during his reign monarchical authority plumbed new depths of impotence. He was the sixth child and the third surviving son of Henry II (ruled 1547–1559) and Catherine de Médicis (1519–1589). His political role began early with the death of his eldest brother Francis II (1544–1560) in 1560 and the accession of Charles IX (ruled 1560–1574), making him next in line to the throne. In 1566 he became duke of Anjou and entered the royal council, where he soon made his mark as a champion of the Ultra-Catholic faction and an enemy of the prince of Condé (1530–1569), leader of the Protestant party.

Henry was a more talented and cultured man than King Charles and was less interested than his brother in traditional aristocratic pursuits such as hunting. He was the favorite son of Catherine de Médicis, and when the Wars of Religion broke out once more in 1567, she secured his appointment as commander in chief of the royal armies. Aided by a council of experienced captains, his tenure was initially successful, defeating the Protestants at Jarnac (March 1569) and Moncontour (October 1569). These victories sealed his reputation as the youthful hero of nascent Catholicism. But otherwise outright victory remained elusive, and the war ended in a compromise peace. Henry's Ultra-Catholic sensibilities in this period gave him a vengeful streak. He transgressed chivalric convention in 1569 by or-

dering the murder of Condé, who had been captured at Jarnac. His role in the Massacre of Saint Bartholomew (24 August 1572) is obscure, but he was deeply implicated in the conspiracy to eliminate the Protestant leadership.

Henry's sojourn as king of Poland in the winter of 1573–1574 and his extensive travels on his return to France to claim the throne on the death of his brother (May 1574) were a turning point. Henry now believed that Protestantism would never be defeated militarily and that civil war merely served to weaken royal authority. The fortunes of the monarchy had reached their lowest ebb, and only thoroughgoing reforms of church and state could rebuild its power. Crucial to this project were the favorites, or *mignons*, who had shared his exile and who were rewarded with royal patronage; they were a valuable core of support at a time of political instability. Henry embarked on a series of reforms of the court, of royal administration, and of finances, and by the early 1580s he had succeeded in reestablishing royal authority and balancing the books. His devout Catholicism was now redirected to combating the threat posed by the Catholic League by promoting Counter-Reformation piety within his administration and to combating schism by winning lost souls back to the faith. A supporter of the new religious orders, he encouraged his subjects to greater piety through extravagant displays of public devotion and encouraged his nobles through the foundation of the Order of the Holy Spirit.

Henry was a controversial figure in his own lifetime. He improved royal finances through the unpopular practices of selling offices and by interfering in provincial administration. Henry's baroque piety was seen as undignified for a king, and many aristocrats were alienated by the favoritism shown to his *mignons*. Opposition would have remained marginal and Henry's private life the subject of harmless gossip had he not been childless. In 1584 his younger brother and heir died, leaving the Protestant Henry of Navarre (1553–1610) as his successor. Henry III believed he could outmaneuver the revived Catholic League as he had before, but support for the movement led by Henry, duke of Guise, and his brother Cardinal Louis II melded intense popular religiosity with the defense of the traditional rights under attack from the rejuvenated monarchy. Particular vituperation was reserved for Henry's be-



Henry III (France). Equestrian portrait c. 1580, French School. THE ART ARCHIVE/MUSÉE CONDÉ CHANTILLY/DAGLI ORTI (A)

loved *mignons* the duke of Epernon and Joyeuse. Henry's lukewarm support for war against the Protestants led to an uprising in Paris (May 1588), which left the king at the mercy of the Guise brothers and their supporters in the Catholic League. In December 1588 Henry had the Guise brothers murdered and joined forces with Navarre, ensuring that most of northern France rebelled against him. Henry was assassinated by a Catholic fanatic while besieging Paris in August 1589.

Henry III was largely dismissed in the centuries after his death as too pious, too ineffectual, and responsible for the collapse of royal authority. However, his reputation has been revived by historians who see his reforming zeal as a precursor to the religious and political changes of the seventeenth century, and as a complex and intelligent man struggling against forces beyond his control.

See also Condé Family; Guise Family; Valois Dynasty (France); Wars of Religion, French.

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HENRY IV (FRANCE) (1553–1610; ruled 1589–1610), king of France and Navarre. Henry IV helped to end the Wars of Religion and established the foundation for France’s emergence as a major power in early modern Europe. He was the first of the Bourbon kings, and his family ruled until the French Revolution of 1789 and again during the Restoration (1815–1830). Much admired by contemporaries for his bravery and his gallantry, Henry IV was known as the Gallic Hercules and endures to this day as one of France’s most popular rulers.

FAMILY AND EARLY LIFE (1553–1572)

Henry was born 14 December 1553 at the château of Pau in Béarn. His father, Antoine de Bourbon, the duke of Vendôme (1518–1562), was a prince of the blood and headed the powerful Bourbon-Vendôme household, whose vast domains stretched from central to southwestern France. The Bourbons’ lineage went back to Robert, count of Clermont (1256–1318), the sixth son of Louis IX (ruled 1226–1270). This remote royal ancestry assumed huge significance as Henry II’s (ruled 1547–1559) sons each failed to sire an heir to continue the Valois dynasty. Henry IV’s mother, Jeanne d’Albret, queen of Navarre (ruled 1555–1572), ruled a tiny kingdom straddling the Pyrenees. Her public embrace of Calvinism in 1555 soon introduced her young son and her daughter, Catherine, to the faith. Members of the Condé branch of the Bourbon-Vendôme family

also converted, most notably Louis, Prince of Condé, who led the Huguenot movement until his violent death in 1569. Henry received his formal education from Pierre Victor Palma-Cayet and François de La Gaucherie, who reinforced his Calvinist upbringing in what was otherwise a typical Renaissance curriculum that combined book learning with training in horsemanship and the handling of arms. He also frequented the royal court, which schooled him in the ways of intrigue and gallantry. Although not intellectually inclined, Henry matured to become a keen judge of character and prone to decisive, frequently impulsive acts of will to overcome the many obstacles that he faced during his eventful life. These qualities served him well as the country slipped into the chaos of the Wars of Religion (1562–1598).

HUGUENOT LEADER AND HEIR TO THE THRONE (1572–1589)

In a bid to end factional strife, the queen mother, Catherine de Médicis (1510–1589), arranged a marriage between her daughter, Marguerite of Valois (1553–1615), and Henry on 17 August 1572. The wedding, which was held in Paris, instead led to the St. Bartholomew’s Day Massacre, during which thousands of Huguenots died, including the movement’s leader, Gaspard de Coligny (1519–1572), admiral of France. Henry escaped death by renouncing his Calvinist faith and becoming a prisoner at the Valois court until his escape in February 1576. After recanting his forced conversion, Henry consolidated his leadership of the Huguenots during the course of the three wars that broke out over the next eight years. Henry’s status dramatically changed when, according to the Salic law of succession, he became heir presumptive to the French throne as a result of the death on 10 June 1584 of Francis, Duke of Alençon (1555–1584). The specter of a Huguenot succession caused a clash between the rules governing a hereditary succession and the monarchy’s long and close affiliation with Catholicism. As a result, the question of Henry of Navarre’s confessional allegiances became the central issue of the day. Militant Catholics rallied to the Holy League revived in 1584 by Henry of Lorraine, duke of Guise (1550–1589), especially after Pope Sixtus V (ruled 1585–1590) excommunicated Navarre the next year. The inability of Henry III (ruled 1574–1589) to maintain order following his humiliating expulsion from Paris on the Day of the Barricades (12 May 1588)



Henry IV (France). Henry IV grants regency to Marie de Médicis as he leaves for war in Germany, 1610. Painting by Peter Paul Rubens. THE ART ARCHIVE/MUSÉE DU LOUVRE PARIS/DAGLI ORTI (A)

culminated in his calamitous decision on 24 December 1588 to order the murders of Henry, duke of Guise, and his brother, Louis, the cardinal of Guise. Rather than restore royal authority, the move

sparked a general insurrection across the kingdom that eventually resulted in the king's own assassination at the hands of a fanatical monk on 1 August 1589. The regicide brought Henry of Navarre to the

throne as Henry IV, though it was five years before he was able to command the obedience of his rebellious Catholic subjects.

WINNING THE KINGDOM (1589–1598)

Henry IV's promise in the Declaration of St. Cloud (4 August 1589) to consider in the near future a possible Catholic conversion, coupled with decisive military victories at Arques (21 September 1589) and Ivry (14 March 1590), shored up public support for him. The grueling siege of Paris (summer 1590) demonstrated that Catholic League resistance could not be overcome by sheer force, however. Three years later, while an Estates-General met in Leauger Paris to contemplate the election of a new French ruler, Henry IV finally decided to convert to Catholicism amidst much fanfare on 25 July 1593 at St. Denis. The advice of Maximilien de Béthune, baron of Rosny and duke of Sully (1559–1641), himself a Protestant, and of Henry IV's Catholic mistress, Gabrielle d'Estrées (1573?–1599), are thought to have heavily influenced the king's decision to make this "perilous leap." The famous phrase "Paris is worth a Mass" actually came from Catholics who wanted to impugn the sincerity of Henry IV's conversion. Crowned in accordance with Catholic ceremony on 27 February 1594 at Chartres, Henry IV triumphantly entered Paris on 24 March 1594. In 1595, Pope Clement VIII affirmed the converted king's standing as a Catholic by bestowing a papal absolution upon him. Assassination attempts came close to ending Henry IV's life on several occasions and eventually resulted in the expulsion of the Jesuits from the kingdom in 1595. Over the next three years, Henry IV gradually pacified the kingdom more by kindness than by force, winning the allegiance of former Catholic Leaguers through generous peace accords and allaying Huguenot fears in 1598 with the royal guarantees enshrined in the celebrated Edict of Nantes. The year 1598 also saw the signing of the Treaty of Vervins, which brought to a favorable conclusion France's long war with Spain.

RECOVERY AND RENEWAL (1598–1610)

With peace finally at hand, Henry IV initiated a program to restore the kingdom's well-being and the monarchy's authority. First he had to secure his dynasty's future. Against the better judgment of his advisors, Henry IV actively pursued the possibility of making Gabrielle his queen after the pope an-

nulled his marriage to Marguerite of Valois in February 1599. Gabrielle had borne the king three children, all of whom he had legitimized by acts of the parlement. They were César, duke of Vendôme (1594–1665), Catherine-Henriette (1596–1663), and Alexandre, later grand prior of France (1598–1629). Gabrielle's death in childbirth on 10 April 1599, however, dashed Henry's hopes of marrying the woman he most adored and had come to rely upon during the early years of his reign. The king instead married Marie de Médicis (1573–1642), daughter of the Duke of Tuscany, in October 1600. On 27 September 1601, she bore him the future Louis XIII (d. 1643), who continued the Bourbon line.

Henry IV's military successes and dashing manner won him strong admiration from the nobility, whose support was crucial in pacifying the country. With the aid of Sully, who served as *surintendant* of finances, the king put the crown's fiscal house back in order through prudent expenditures, an overhaul of municipal finance, and the consolidation of the state's debt. By 1608, Sully estimated that the royal treasury had accumulated reserves totaling 32.5 million livres. Henry IV also introduced a ministerial style of government that restricted the judicial prerogatives claimed by the parlements and provincial privileges claimed by local representative assemblies. In 1604, Henry IV regularized the heritable nature of venal offices by the payment of a special fee known as the Paulette. He also cultivated close relations with the old nobility by showering them with pensions and titles; those aristocrats who conspired against him felt his full wrath, however, as demonstrated by the execution of Charles, duke of Biron (1562–1602). Henry IV also encouraged the beginnings of Catholic reform among both churchmen and the lay public, working hard at the same time to uphold the protections recently granted to the Huguenots. On the economic front, the king entrusted to Barthélemy de Laffemas (c. 1545–1611) the execution of innovative measures to restore commerce and living standards—a campaign reflected in the contemporary slogan of a "chicken in every pot" (*la poule au pot*).

Henry also initiated a major urban renewal project in Paris with the building of the Pont-Neuf, the Place Royale (now Place des Vosges), the Place Dauphine, a new Hôtel de Ville, the great gallery of

the Louvre, and the completion of the Tuileries garden. During his reign, the eclecticism of the late French Renaissance gradually gave way to the more grandiose, royally inspired movement known as Classicism. Militarily, the king secured territorial gains for France in the southeast at the expense of the Duchy of Savoy; with Sully's help, he also substantially upgraded the country's armaments industry and invested heavily in fortification construction along the frontiers in the north and east.

As France became more unified and strengthened under his leadership, Henry thought it increasingly necessary to challenge Habsburg hegemony in Europe. An occasion to do so arose in 1609 in the lower Rhineland over the disputed succession to Jülich-Clèves. On the eve of his planned invasion, 14 May 1610, however, the king was struck down in the streets of Paris by the blade of a fanatical Roman Catholic assassin. He died a martyr in the eyes of his subjects and of later writers, such as Voltaire and Jules Michelet, who came to identify Henry IV as the very embodiment of what was best about the French. The style of rule and policy directions introduced by Henry IV led to France's rise under his successors as Europe's preeminent power during the next century.

See also **Absolutism; Bourbon Dynasty (France); Catherine de Médicis; France; Huguenots; Marie de Médicis; Nantes, Edict of; St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre; Wars of Religion (France).**

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MICHAEL WOLFE

HERALDRY. “Heraldry” is a term that was coined in the late sixteenth century to designate the profession of the heralds of arms, a profession that originated in the twelfth century, reached the height of its prestige and influence in the fifteenth and sixteenth, declined slowly in the seventeenth, and reached its historical nadir in the eighteenth century. The heralds have been aptly described as the priesthood of the secular religion of chivalry. Their duties included a knowledge of the emblems, identity, ancestry, dignities, precedence, and deeds of all of the members of the nobility of their district or “march of arms” (usually corresponding to a large province or a small kingdom), and of the rituals to be observed not only in knightly sports, but in the investiture of new knights, barons, princes, and kings, and in all other forms of secular ritual involving members of the noble order, especially funerals. By the early fourteenth century, the heralds had come to be permanently attached to the households of kings and princes, and divided into the ascending grades of pursuivant, herald, and king of arms. Those of the last grade—the senior heralds of kings and sovereign princes—had also been given jurisdiction over particular marches. Between 1415 and about 1520, these marches were increasingly grouped into regnal or comparable jurisdictions under a “principal king of arms,” usually attached to the corresponding order of knighthood (the Garter in England, St. Michael in France, the Golden Fleece in the Burgundian lands), and the heralds placed under the authority of a principal king might also be incorporated in a college under his presidency.

Of course, the field with which the heralds were most closely identified throughout their history was that concerned with the family of iconic emblems (two-dimensional identity signs) employed exclusively (in countries including those of Britain and Iberia) or primarily (in all other countries) by nobles and noble corporations. This field came to be

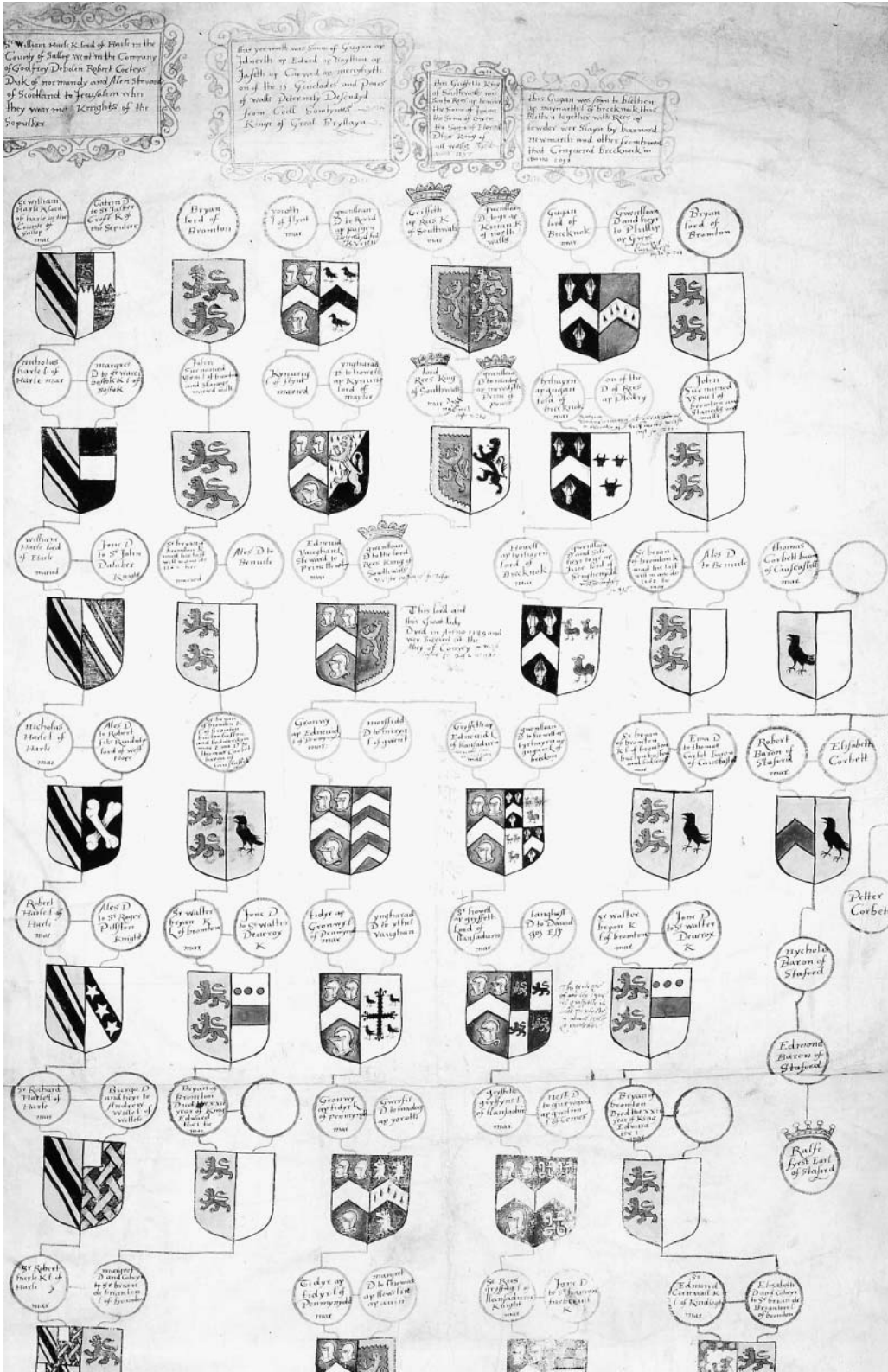
known in English by 1489 as “armory,” since the original and always essential species of emblem used in this way—a formal design of fixed elements in fixed numbers, colors, attitudes, and arrangements most commonly displayed covering the surface of a shield (though also displayed on flags and surcoats)—had been given the name “arms,” and the other species that came gradually to be formally associated with it came to be referred to by 1567 as “armorial bearings.” Persons and corporations endowed with arms were now called “armigers” and described as “armigerous.”

Down to about 1350 the science of armory seems to have been passed on orally, but from about that date forward, armory came to be the subject of brief treatises, composed both by heralds and by “heraldists” learned in the lore of heraldry. Such works were very rare before 1390, but from about that date they were produced in growing numbers in a growing number of countries, and they increased significantly in length and sophistication after 1520. These treatises were at first aimed primarily at heralds, but from about 1450 they were aimed at an audience that also included noblemen of all ranks, lawyers, court officials, and artisans who might need to paint arms on shields and flags. From about 1410 the treatises on armory were joined in many manuscripts by similar treatises on other aspects of heraldry, which soon included the imagined historical origins of the heralds and their profession (placed on the field before Troy), the qualities and knowledge ideally required of the three ranks of herald, the rights and duties of the heralds in particular ceremonies, the ranks of the nobility and how they could be acquired, the current holders of each of the higher ranks of lordly status and their arms, and the like. The heralds who composed these works were at pains to promote the dignity of their office and mystery, and in order to assimilate the latter to the growing Renaissance interest in esoteric symbolism and allegory, either borrowed or invented a vast array of symbolic implications and associations for the figures and colors of existing arms, which previously had borne little or no symbolic meaning. These fantastic ideas were only finally put to rest in the later seventeenth century, when learned antiquarians demonstrated their falsity.

Although the arms remained central to the mystery of armory, from the later fifteenth century the heralds took a steadily growing interest in the other types of armorial bearing—which included both secondary emblems and insignia (signs of nature, status, and rank)—that had come to be formally associated with the arms in the compound emblem known in English by 1548 as the “armorial achievement.” Distinct emblematic and insignial forms of achievement evolved in a largely separate fashion in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The former gradually attracted to it the more important emblems of the paraheraldic system that had emerged in the 1360s (livery colors, livery badges of several types, ciphers, mottoes, and combinations of the motto and badge now called “devices”), while the insignial form incorporated the more distinctive forms of headgear, staves, and collars introduced to indicate status and rank in both the ecclesiastical and nobiliary hierarchies. The period from 1500 to 1700 saw the full fusion of the insignial and emblematic types of achievement, the completion and generalization of national systems of coronets and a universal system of clerical hats, and the assignment of insignial significance to the form, metal, and orientation of the helmet. After about 1520, achievements increasingly displaced arms from their traditional places of display, including flags and the surcoats (or “tabards”) of heralds.

Not surprisingly, both the conceptual design of armorial bearings and the artistic styles in which they were represented underwent considerable change during the course of the three centuries after 1480. The simple, generally dichromatic designs of classic armory gradually gave way to more complex, polychromatic designs involving numerous different forms of charge often set on partitions and geometrical subfields, the number of which multiplied steadily. The new forms of charge included many new monsters and figures drawn from both Christian and classical mythology. In keeping with the artistic trend of the period, all such figures were increasingly represented in natural forms and natural colors, and this contributed to the sharp decline in the standards of both design and representation characteristic of the period after 1660.

The armorial functions of the heralds in a number of countries (including those of the British Isles) were both increased and institutionalized in the fif-



Heraldry. Pedigree roll of Anne Harle of Brompton by Thomas Jones, 1593, showing her lineage and the coats of arms of her ancestors. THE ART ARCHIVE/NATIONAL LIBRARY OF WALES/THE ART ARCHIVE

teenth and sixteenth centuries in order to maintain some royal control over admission to the nobility. Royal or princely edicts forbidding non-armigers to assume new arms (the principal mark of nobiliary status in many countries) were followed by letters conferring on the kings of arms the right to register existing arms and to confer new arms and other bearings on those they deemed worthy, making them the gatekeepers of the noble order. The earliest letters patent making grants of this sort date from the middle years of the fifteenth century, and they become steadily more numerous over the next century or so, marking very clearly the upward social mobility characteristic of that period. At some point, the heralds of some of these countries were also ordered to make visitations of the houses of all those living nobly, and of all armigerous corporations, to determine their right to arms; in England the recorded visitations began in 1530 and continued to 1687. Both heraldry and armory followed very different paths in other countries, however. In France, for example, the heralds were never given the right to grant or record arms or establish rules for usage, and no comparable authority was established until 1615, when the office of Juge d'armes (Judge of Arms) was created outside the College of Heralds—which as a result lost all connection to armory.

The value of armorial bearings in the eyes of all ranks of society throughout the Renaissance period is clear from the extent to which those who lacked them sought them and those who had them flaunted them. The period between about 1400 and 1650 was the heyday of heraldic display throughout Latin Europe, and both armorial and paraheraldic emblems were displayed by those who had them in every possible environment. Thereafter, the display of such emblems tended to become more restrained, but it remained important throughout the eighteenth century.

See also **Aristocracy and Gentry**.

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D'A. J. D. BOULTON

HERDER, JOHANN GOTTFRIED VON (1744–1803), German philosopher and theologian. Born in Mohrunen, East Prussia (now Morag, Poland), the son of a schoolteacher, Herder studied at the university of Königsberg for two years, where he began a lifelong friendship and correspondence with Johann Georg Hamann (1730–1787) and heard lectures by Immanuel Kant (1724–1804), then a private lecturer, not yet famous or even a professor. In 1764 Herder began a career as a Lutheran pastor, first at Riga (1764–1769), then at the court of Schaumberg-Lippe in Bückeburg (1771–1776), and finally at the court of Sachsen-Weimar in Weimar (1776–1803). Twice he nearly joined the theological faculty at the University of Göttingen, but in 1776 when the Hanoverian court in London required that he submit to a test of religious orthodoxy, he opted to follow Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749–1832), whom he had met in Strasbourg in 1770, to Weimar. In 1789 the Weimar court promoted him as an inducement to decline Göttingen's offer.

During his travels in France and western Germany between his positions at Riga and Bückeburg, Herder learned of the annual essay competition sponsored by the Royal Prussian Academy of Sciences in Berlin on the topic of the origin of language. The Academy had been debating the question for nearly twenty-five years, and in December of 1770 as he convalesced from unsuccessful eye surgery in Strasbourg, Herder dashed off an entry in advance of a 1 January 1771 deadline. He won the competition, and the academy published the essay, which inaugurated a prolific literary career.

Herder's thesis, that the difference between humans and animals was language and that language was the vehicle of cognition, was not distinctly orig-

inal. Others had pointed out that, since the orangutan possessed speech organs similar to those of humans but could not freely manipulate abstract concepts in the mind apart from what they represented in space and time, the seat of language had to be not in the mouth, but in the soul. The difference, argued Herder in *Abhandlung über den Ursprung der Sprache* (Essay on the origin of language), was in the purposes of man. “The bee was a bee as soon as it built its first cell,” he wrote, “but a person was not human until he had achieved completeness. People continued to grow as long as they lived. . . . We are always in process, unsettled, unsatiated. The essence of our life is never satisfaction, rather always progression, and we have never been human until we have lived to the end.”

Unlike animals, children were uniquely vulnerable, but that weakness was by design. Children must learn to speak, and the family was the social unit charged with educating children in that most basic and essential of all human capacities—language. More than teaching a child language, the family also imparted the individual’s sense of identity and made him or her part of a group. Herder took it as a natural law that “man is by destiny a creature of the herd, of society.” Where Jean-Jacques Rousseau had said in *Émile* that the child had more to say to the mother than the mother to the child, Herder countered that by teaching children language, the family’s manner of thinking and set of values were developed and preserved. The education of the human race occurred in the bosom of the family. “Why does the mute child so weakly and unwittingly depend on his mother’s breasts and his father’s knee? So that he might be hungry for learning and learn language. He is weak so that his race may be strong.” The treasury of the family heritage was preserved through the family language. As the clan expanded into a tribe, it celebrated the deeds of its forefathers. All heroic poetry—Germanic, Ossianic, Homeric—was tribal, that is, familial, in origin.

Through the 1770s and 1780s Herder explored the formation of national character in the primitive state. *Die ältesten Urkunden des Menschengeschlechts* (1774; The oldest documents of the human race) and *Auch eine Philosophie der Geschichte zur Bildung der Menschheit* (1774; Yet another philosophy of history for the education of humanity) were comparative studies of the primitive mind in society,

while *Von deutscher Art und Kunst* (1773; On the German type and art) and *Vom Geist der hebräischen Poesie* (1782–1783; The spirit of Hebrew poetry) celebrated the unique spirit of primitive Germanic and Hebrew literature. Although his prose essays drew together much of the leading scholarship of the day, Herder reflected the innovations of other scholars more than he advanced his own. His real genius was as a translator of poetry, and here he influenced Goethe and secured his reputation as an author of national import in the Romantic period. He collected two volumes of *Volkslieder* (Folksongs; 1778–1779, reissued posthumously with a third volume as *Stimmen der Völker in Liedern* [Voices of the peoples in song]), and his version of the Spanish heroic epic *El Cid* went through literally dozens of editions and reprintings in the nineteenth century. In what is now his most famous work, *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit* (1784–1791; Ideas for the philosophy of the history of humanity, 4 vols.), he insisted that the education of the human race was tantamount to the education of individuals. The goal of the individual was to develop his or her personhood or humanity, and as individuals developed their faculties, so did the family, the community, the nation, and humanity as a whole. There was such a thing as what Gotthold Ephraim Lessing called “the education of the human race” but not in the Neoplatonic sense of individuals participating in some unified World Soul. Instead each individual, community, and nation developed according to its own internal logic, which was unique and valuable in its own right. Herder hated all forms of centralization and imperialism, whether ancient Roman or modern European, as these suppressed the unique genius of both the conquerors and the vanquished.

His notion of the uniqueness of cultural groups and the particular manifestations of mind in human history brought him into conflict with Kant’s critical philosophy. Toward the end of his life Herder offered a *Metacritique* (1799) of Kant’s *Critique of Pure Reason* (1781) arguing that there was no such thing as pure reason, only human reason. If language was the vehicle of reason, and if languages differed between nations, then so must reason also differ. Reason existed only in particular historical circumstances as it was exercised by particular peoples, nations, and communities. Just as he wrote in

Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit that each society must find its own unique form of happiness, and within a society each generation must do the same, so in the *Metacritique* he said that each nation defines reason and rationality in its own terms, terms that do not necessarily correspond to those of eighteenth-century Europe.

See also **German Literature and Language; Germany, Idea of; Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von; Kant, Immanuel; Lessing, Gotthold Ephraim; Neoplatonism; Romanticism.**

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HERMETICISM. Hermeticism was a philosophical movement that arose in Alexandria around the first century C.E. Influenced by Platonism, Gnosticism, Egyptian thought, and probably both Jewish and early Christian thought, Hermeticism represented a syncretistic response to foreign domination, appropriating and transforming philosophical ideas in a manner congenial to native Egyptians. The most influential texts for the Renaissance, the Hermetic Corpus, purported to be conversations between Hermes Trismegistus (Thrice-Great Hermes), an ancient Egyptian priest, and various interlocutors, particularly Pimander (the demiurge), Hermes' son Tat (a Romanized form of the Greek Thoth and the Egyptian Theuth), and Asclepius (to the Romans, Aesculapius). These texts proposed a theurgical (god-influencing), mystical, and magical philosophy similar to Neoplatonism. Many early thinkers believed Hermes to be approximately contemporary with Moses; most importantly, Lactantius (c. 240–320), Clement of Alexandria (c. 150–211 or 215), and Augustine (354–430) granted his antiquity, though the latter considered him “amicably disposed towards [the] mockeries of the demons” (*City of God* VIII, 23). The Greek texts, long lost, were rediscovered in 1460 in Macedonia, whence they were transported to Cosimo de' Medici in Florence, who in 1463 commissioned Marsilio Ficino (1433–1499) to translate them, interrupting the latter's work on Plato. Ficino too accepted Hermes' claims, and later thinkers generally followed his opinion; many considered Hermes the fountainhead of pagan learning, even claiming that all learning derived ultimately either from the tradition of Moses or from that of Hermes.

Renaissance Hermeticism had its heyday in the sixteenth century, when references to “the divine Hermes” became commonplace, often marking anti-Aristotelian and otherwise counter-mainstream philosophies. One early exemplar was Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (1463–1494), who drew on both Hermeticism and Cabala and argued that the two might bring about a renovation of learning.

An essential doctrine for Renaissance Hermeticism was the idea of the microcosm, which suggested that between universe and man existed a powerful analogy, such that each could be inter-

preted in light of the other. This bore fruit in alchemy, in which transmutation of base metals into gold within a universelike crucible effected a parallel transmutation of the alchemist's soul. Thus the name of Hermes became a banner for occult and mystical philosophies.

Hermeticism clearly encouraged the Renaissance interest in Egypt, which influenced speculations on language and linguistic philosophy, particularly in the seventeenth century, when the Jesuit Athanasius Kircher (1601–1680) published voluminous works on hieroglyphs. More generally, Hermes served as an inspiration and justification for radical explorations of nature and divinity, notably by Paracelsus (1493–1541), Giordano Bruno (1548–1600), and John Dee (1527–1608).

The English scholar Dame Frances Yates famously proposed that the Hermetic revival also encouraged the success of the scientific revolution, arguing that Egyptian sun worship promoted Copernican heliocentrism, and that theurgy encouraged emphasis on “man as operator” upon nature. While scholars now agree that Yates overstated somewhat, the “Yates Thesis” has merit; a notable example is the immediate acceptance of William Harvey's 1628 presentation of the circulation of the blood by the English physician and mystic Robert Fludd (1574–1637), who believed that this demonstrated the microcosm because the heart was like the sun, with blood circulating like the planets.

Despite the 1614 proof of the late origin of the Hermetic texts by the French scholar Isaac Casaubon (1559–1614), Hermeticism continued to influence thinkers as late as the Enlightenment, although this effect shifted largely (as seen in the cases of Rosicrucianism and Freemasonry) into the political sphere.

See also Alchemy; Cabala; Freemasonry; Magic; Occult Philosophy; Paracelsus; Rosicrucianism.

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HESSE, LANDGRAVIATE OF. The Hessian landgraviate, a precarious political amalgam in the west central part of the Holy Roman Empire, exemplified the changing fortunes of German territorial organization over the early modern period. General notice of the territory's history is usually focused at the apex of its development as a strong, unified principality under Landgrave Philip the Magnanimous (ruled 1509–1567), who played a major role in the Protestant Reformation. Philip's medieval predecessors had ruled various regional configurations shaped and reshaped more by historical contingencies than by any consistent program, and four such units constituted the major divisions of the landgraviate: the two traditional regions of Lower Hesse focused on Kassel, and Upper Hesse consisted of Marburg (contiguous only after inheritance of the county of Ziegenhain in 1437) and the county of Katzenelnbogen, itself divided into two noncontiguous regions around Rheinfels and Darmstadt.

By 1500 these (and other) parts of the landgraviate already formed a unified territorial base for the dynamic politics Philip undertook after 1518 that would leave a singular imprint on European history. After he helped to defeat Franz von Sickingen's “knights' revolt” in 1523, internal noble opposition to strong landgraval rule dissolved, and Philip went on to crush several peasant uprisings in 1525. His introduction of Protestantism in 1526 was notable for charitable and educational achievements (hospitals, preparatory schools, Marburg University) and a moderate stance between

Lutheranism and Zwinglianism, but Philip failed in his effort to foster doctrinal accord among Protestants at his Marburg Colloquy of 1529. To resist Charles V's reimposition of Catholicism, Philip helped forge the Schmalkaldic League in 1531 and led its victorious restoration of the deposed Duke Ulrich of Württemberg in 1534. His notorious bigamy of 1540 weakened his leadership in the Protestant camp, however, and exposed him to the imperial ban. After his five-year imprisonment following Protestant defeat in 1547, Philip emerged ill and politically cautious, even as he continued to promote doctrinal compromise among Protestants.

The scandal caused by Philip's bigamy carried fateful consequences for his landgraviate. To appease sons from both of his marriages, he abandoned his original intention of primogeniture, made lesser provisions for the seven illegitimate heirs, and divided his unified territory among the four sons from his first marriage: half went to the oldest, William IV (ruled 1567–1592) in Kassel, a quarter went to Ludwig IV in Marburg, while sons Philip and George I each got an eighth in Rheinfels and Darmstadt, respectively. Although they maintained many common institutions and managed to cooperate, gradually the heirs moved apart, especially on religious issues. Ludwig espoused an orthodox Lutheranism, also embraced by his brother George and nephew Ludwig V in Darmstadt, while his nephew Moritz the Learned (landgrave 1592–1627) moved Hesse-Kassel toward Calvinism. The childless deaths of all but two of Philip's sons brought territorial adjustments and eventual survival of two Hessian landgraviates centered in Kassel and Darmstadt, which engaged in bitter disputes over their joint inheritance of Hesse-Marburg in 1604. Their decades-long conflict merged with the disastrous Thirty Years' War (1618–1648), with its confusing reversals of military and political fortunes, economic devastation, and an estimated 40 to 50 percent population loss for Hesse. As Lutheran Darmstadt tied itself firmly to the emperor's cause and the Calvinist line barely survived political elimination through resolute leadership and alliances with foreign powers, they set patterns for their two distinct histories thereafter.

While they faced similar challenges after 1648—demographic and economic recovery, extreme indebtedness, limited resources—Hesse-

Darmstadt and Hesse-Kassel developed rather different profiles as middle-sized German states. The Lutheran landgraviate maintained limited foreign policy objectives within the Habsburg orbit, suffered heavily from Louis XIV's aggression, and never managed debt relief. Nor could the administratively weak territory (organized as ten non-contiguous holdings) assert sovereignty over its collateral line in Hesse-Homburg. While it fostered education and attempted cameralist policies, Hesse-Darmstadt's endemic poverty coexisted with a sometimes flourishing high culture, as at Countess Caroline's court (1765–1774), admired throughout the German states for its musical and literary patronage.

Distinguished for its line of vigorous, highly competent Calvinist rulers, Hesse-Kassel reestablished its sixteenth-century reputation as a well-administered state. Its wartime experience led the seventeenth-century landgraves to enlarge their armies and to supplement their limited resources by leasing troops to other rulers, a common practice that they exploited consistently and successfully. From the 1680s onward this military trade enabled the dynasty to assume a subsidiary but noticeable role in European power politics, particularly within Protestant alliances among Britain, the Netherlands, Sweden, and north German states like Brandenburg-Prussia (Hesse-Kassel's closest ally and model). Military and cameralist policies combined to increase resources, provide a modicum of public welfare and tax relief for an overburdened populace, and support the artistic and intellectual patronage that made eighteenth-century Kassel a striking home for Enlightenment institutions.

See also Calvinism; Germany, Idea of; Holy Roman Empire; Lutheranism; Schmalkaldic War (1546–1547); Thirty Years' War (1618–1648).

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HETMANATE (UKRAINE). A Ukrainian Cossack polity (1648–1781) ruled by a hetman, the Hetmanate is also referred to as “Little Russia.” The Hetmanate emerged as a result of the Khmelnytsky Uprising (1648), which swept Polish authority from central Ukraine. In order to consolidate his position, Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky was forced to seek the protection of the Muscovite tsar (by the Pereiaslav Agreement of 1654). Khmelnytsky’s successor, Hetman Ivan Vyhovskiy, repudiated the Muscovite arrangement and negotiated the Hetmanate’s adherence, as the Rus’ principality, to a triune Polish-Lithuanian-Rus’ Commonwealth (Treaty of Hadiach, 1658). Such an arrangement was not acceptable to Muscovy, parts of Ukrainian society, or the Polish elite, and it was only partially implemented. As a result, the Hetmanate split into pro-Polish and pro-Muscovite factions, each with its own hetman, army, and administration. Attempts by competing hetmans and their foreign allies to take control of Ukraine resulted in a period of continuous warfare and anarchy known as the “Ruin” (1659–1679). With the final sanctioning of the Hetmanate’s partition (the “Eternal Peace” between Poland and Muscovy in 1686) and the elimination of the pro-Polish hetmans on the Right Bank (the western bank of the Dnieper), the Hetmanate stabilized on the Left Bank of the Dnieper.

This truncated Left-Bank Hetmanate remained under tsarist authority on the basis of the Pereiaslav Agreement. It maintained its own military, administrative, fiscal, and judicial system. Under the rule of the hetmans Ivan Samoilovych (1672–1687) and

Ivan Mazepa (1687–1709), Cossack officers established themselves as a landed gentry, creating a more dynamic administration and an invigorated cultural life, including a distinctive political thought and historical literature. However, the Petrine reforms increasingly clashed with Ukrainian autonomy and drove Hetman Mazepa to break with Russia and side with Sweden, resulting in defeat at Poltava (1709).

In the eighteenth century, the Ukrainian elite developed a political outlook that combined a strong commitment to “Little Russian rights and liberties” with loyalty to the “all-Russian” tsar. Such a loyalist stand did little, however, to mitigate the leveling of Ukrainian autonomy. The first attempt to rule the Hetmanate directly, initiated by Tsar Peter I the Great (1722), was a failure, and the Hetmanate’s autonomy, including the election of a hetman, was restored in 1727. Between 1727 and the 1760s the local administration and judicial system of the Hetmanate functioned without interference, but the imperial authorities vacillated in their dealings with the Hetmanate’s central administration, at times merely supervising it and at other times assuming some of its functions.

Between 1750 and 1764, the Hetmanate experienced another respite. Because of his good connections with the imperial court (his brother was closely linked with Empress Elizabeth), Hetman Kyrylo Rozumovsky was able to restore Ukrainian autonomy virtually to the level exercised by Mazepa. But Catherine II the Great, the new empress (ruled 1762–1796), envisioned the empire as a well-ordered police state, an ambition entirely at odds with the concept of regional autonomy. Thus, the office of hetman was abolished in 1764, and with the creation of the Kiev, Chernihiv, and Novhorod-Siver’skyi vicegerencies (1781), the Hetmanate ceased to exist as a political entity.

See also Cossacks; Khmelnytsky, Bohdan; Khmelnytsky Uprising; Mazepa, Ivan; Ukraine; Ukrainian Literature and Language.

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HISTORIOGRAPHY. The early modern era witnessed enormous changes in historiography, both in the quantity and variety of works written about the past and in the status of history within intellectual and social life. At the dawn of the Reformation, history was still a minor genre, read principally in manuscript or in small printed editions. The Renaissance had enriched the medieval chronicle tradition, especially in Italy, by revisioning selected periods and subjects (the history of particular city-states first and foremost) according to humanist principles and in Latin that aspired to Ciceronian purity, while also focusing on the political lessons to be gleaned from the past, as done most famously by Niccolò Machiavelli (1469–1527). The changes of the next two centuries would be considerably more profound and would be driven by two engines: ideology (both religious and political), which sought to make command over the interpretation of the past a weapon in present struggles, and print, which enabled the replication and dissemination of historical works in ever-increasing numbers and, especially in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, in forms accessible to an expanding readership below the level of the most affluent classes.

REFORMATION, CATHOLIC, AND NATIONAL TRADITIONS

In the German Reformation, Martin Luther's vision of a medieval past that was not simply that of a dark time of poor learning and bad Latin (the humanist position) but of a church corrupted and led astray by unwritten traditions and papal monarchy, set the polemical tone of much sixteenth-century historical writing. Among the most noteworthy books to be produced by German Reformation scholars was *Commentaries on the State of Religion and the Em-*

pire under Charles V by Johannes Sleidanus (1506–1556), which made use of documentary sources and information from reformers. Sleidanus's later *Chronicle of World Empires* popularized the idea, derived from the Book of Daniel, that history had unfolded in an apocalyptic series of four major "empires," of which the Roman would be the last. Johann Carion (1499–1537 or 1538) also produced a chronicle that would be completed by Luther's adherent Philipp Melancthon (1497–1560). Most significant and influential, though riddled with error, was the vast *Magdeburg Centuries*, a multivolume effort initiated by the Croatian Matthias Flacius Illyricus (1520–1575), one of Luther's more radical disciples.

With some variation according to doctrine, this reinterpretation of the past was taken up by Protestant (Calvinist, Anglican, and Reformed) churches elsewhere in Europe. In England, where Sleidanus's works were issued in translation, the divorce of King Henry VIII (ruled 1509–1547) from Catherine of Aragon and his break with Rome were both defended through historical research, while a series of Protestant chroniclers from Edward Hall (d. 1547) through Richard Grafton (d. 1572) and Raphael Holinshed (d. 1580?) rewrote England's past to establish its adherence to "primitive" or pure Christianity prior to the corruption of the medieval church. The fires of persecution in several parts of Europe also ignited a new genre, the Protestant martyrology: John Foxe in England (1516–1587), Heinrich Pantaleon (1522–1595) in Basel, Adriaan Cornelis van Haemstede (1526–1562) in the Netherlands, and Jean Crespin (d. 1572) in France were among its major practitioners, their accounts of the deaths of Protestant martyrs at the hands of popish persecutors creating a strongly anti-Catholic version of history for subsequent generations.

Protestants held no monopoly on historical writing. Catholic Europe responded to the challenge of the Reformation in different ways. The Italian tradition of urban and official historiography continued through the sixteenth century, surviving the collapse of the medieval and early Renaissance city-state regime in the era of grand duchies and Spanish rule over much of the peninsula. Spain itself produced a series of able historians such as the Jesuit Juan de Mariana (1536–1624). Though many of these reflected a Castilian perspective, other parts of

the monarchy also developed historiographically, in particular Aragon, represented by the *Annals* of Jerónimo de Zurita y Castro (1512–1580), and Catalonia, by Francisco de Moncada (1586–1635). The mid-seventeenth-century Spanish crisis served as a further stimulus to the development of rival traditions there and in the Basque region. Perhaps most significant in the longer run were the works of Spanish missionaries abroad, since they introduced to European readers lands and pasts previously unknown. Following earlier works by Portuguese visitors to South and Southeast Asia such as João de Barros (c. 1496–1570) and Fernão Lopes de Castanheda (c. 1500–1559), Spaniards now wrote accounts of the Americas, in particular the Dominican Bartolomé de las Casas (1474–1566) and the Jesuit José de Acosta (1540–1600). One of the first indigenous writers, Garcilaso de la Vega, El Inca (1539–1616), son of an Inca princess and a Spanish soldier, contributed *Royal Commentaries of the Incas*, which provided a valuable corrective to earlier Spanish representations of the Inca Empire.

In Italy, Counter-Reformation scholars such as Cardinal Cesare Baronio (1538–1607) sought to repudiate Protestant historical writing through scholarship as well as rhetoric. Baronio's *Ecclesiastical Annals*, which reverted to the year-by-year format favored by medieval chroniclers, repudiated the *Magdeburg Centuries* only to be attacked in turn by a Huguenot scholar, Isaac Casaubon (1559–1614), who had significantly greater philological skills than Baronio. In Venice, which was one of the few cities to retain its independence and was itself under a papal interdict in the early seventeenth century, a moderate priest named Paolo Sarpi (1552–1623) captured, in his *History of the Council of Trent*, the lost moment in the mid-sixteenth century when Christendom might have been put back together. Himself nearly the victim of assassination, Sarpi's critical stance toward Rome and his shrewd, Tacitean appreciation of the motives of political behavior led to his book having to be published pseudonymously in London, where it was well received by Protestant readers.

In Bohemia, early Czech nationalism was integrated with a Catholic perspective in the Czech *Chronicle* by the priest Vaclav Hajek (d. 1553); a century later he was followed by Bohuslav Balbín (1621–1688), another Catholic but one who re-

gretted the decline in Czech culture since the Battle of White Mountain in 1620. Elsewhere, Latin historiography was initiated in the Hungarian Renaissance by the Italian Antonio Bonfini (1427–1502) and followed in the sixteenth century by István Szamosközy (c. 1565–1612), a contemporary historian of his own semi-independent Transylvania, and by Miklós Istvánffy (1538–1615), who covered events from the late fifteenth to the early sixteenth century in the Habsburg-controlled parts of Hungary.

There were significant contributions to historical writing in parts of Europe relatively unaffected by the main conflicts of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation. In Poland, for instance, the heirs of the late medieval chronicler Jan Długosz (1415–1480), who had written in Latin, eventually included some vernacular authors, for instance Maciej Strykowski (1547–c. 1582) and Reinhold Heidenstein (1556–1620); a full synthesis of Polish history would first be produced by Marcin Kromer (1512–1589) in the late sixteenth century. Romanian and Moldavian historiography emerged slightly later in the work of Romanian-language aristocratic exponents such as the executed boyar conspirator Miron Costin (1633–1691). Further east, Russian historiography began to mature in Andrei Mikhailovich Kniaz Kurbskii's (1528–1583) *History of the Muscovite Grand Prince*, written in the 1560s and largely an account of the reign of Ivan IV the Terrible (1530–1584). Seventeenth-century Russian historians were faced with a new challenge, that of integrating their own history with that of the newly absorbed Ukraine, a task accomplished by Innokentii Gizel (d. 1683) in his *Synopsis* (1674). Finally, altogether outside Christian Europe, Ottoman historiography also developed during this period in the hands of Ibrahim Peçevi (1574–1649 or 1650), a historian of the era since Suleiman the Magnificent (d. 1566), and Mustafa Naima (1655–1716), whose *Annals of the Turkish Empire from 1591 to 1659 of the Christian Era* is the outstanding record of the Ottomans during that period.

THE DEBATE OVER NATIONAL MYTHS

The establishment of national churches and of state-supported confessional regimes stimulated a tendency to promote national and ethnic myths (many of which had medieval or classical origins) and then

to produce debate over their veracity. In Germany, humanists such as Beatus Rhenanus (1485–1547) seized on the ancient historian Tacitus's *Germania*, a text that had praised primitive German virtue while criticizing imperial corruption. In Scotland Presbyterian scholars such as George Buchanan (1506–1582) wrote accounts of their national past fiercely defending that realm's independence from its wealthier southern neighbor, England; the myth of an ancient line of Scottish kings going back to pre-Christian times would prove durable until undermined by the relentless scholarship of a much later Scot, the emigré Catholic priest Thomas Innes (1662–1744). In Sweden, the Vasa regime produced Olof Petersson's (Olaus Petri, 1493–1552) *Swedish Chronicle* in the 1530s (though King Gustav Vasa disliked this and prevented its publication), while Catholic Swedish exiles such as Archbishop Johannes Magnus (1488–1544) wrote the anti-Vasa *History of the Gothic Kingdom of Sweden*. The particular role of the Goths as European and especially Swedish ancestors was foregrounded by Magnus's brother Olaus or Olof (1490–1557) in his *History of the Nordic People*; it was given new life in the late seventeenth century in *Atlantica*, a peculiar work by Olof Rudbeck (1630–1702) that identified Sweden with the lost kingdom of Atlantis. The old medieval myth of the founding of Rome and other states by Trojan refugees was reenergized in western Europe during the sixteenth century, as Gallican French writers argued for a foundation of their country by Francus or Francio, and English writers theirs by Brutus or Brute (a Trojan foundation being preferable to a medieval one since it would precede the establishment of the city and empire of Rome).

Most of these accounts did not stand up to scrutiny. In England, an émigré Italian named Polydore Vergil (c. 1470–1555) wrote the first full-length history of England in humanist Latin, evincing skepticism both about Brutus and about the historicity of a late-Romano-British hero, King Arthur; he was widely criticized by Welsh and English writers, including able scholars such as John Leland (c. 1506–1552) and John Bale (1495–1563). The French attack on myth was much more formidable and, for a time, decisive. The end of the sixteenth century witnessed a flourishing of scholarly activity on the past, much of it affiliated with

study of the law, and Estienne Pasquier (1529–1615), among others, expressed considerable doubt about the Trojan descent and many other venerable myths in his series of *Researches on France*. Pasquier's own teacher, the Huguenot lawyer François Hotman (1524–1590), argued for the national affiliation of the Franks and the Germans (an unpopular position in the absolutist France of the next century), his position reached by a combination of comparative legal scholarship and hatred of the royalist regime that had committed the atrocity of St. Bartholomew's Day in 1572. It is significant that Hotman's and Pasquier's findings were endorsed by the Catholic antiquaries Jean du Tillet (d. 1570) and Nicolas Vignier (1530–1596): by 1600 the Trojan myth seemed all but demolished in France, and even English scholars were now handling it with cautious skepticism.

ANTIQUARIANISM, SKEPTICISM, AND THE THEORY OF HISTORY

As the work of these French *érudits* suggests, one of the most significant developments in historical writing at this time was the advent of antiquarianism. This had several origins, and its practitioners often had little to do with the writing of history as a formal genre; they were thus not bound by the prescribed rules for the writing of history laid down in classical and Renaissance *artes historicae* (see below). Many antiquaries approached the past through study of the law: in France, a long tradition of legal scholars from Guillaume Budé (1468–1540) and François Baudouin (1520–1573) to Hotman and Jean Bodin (1530–1596) applied the humanist concern for accurate editing of texts to the study of the law (the so-called *mos gallicus* or French method). Bodin in particular was able to rise above his sources to achieve a philosophical perspective on history, most clearly articulated in his *Method for the Easy Comprehension of History* (1566). A work that was widely read elsewhere in Europe, the *Method* attacked well-worn schemes for interpreting the past such as the “four empires” propagated by earlier historians like Sleidanus.

Other antiquaries focused on the study of words, of objects, and of places: a prominent genre from the late sixteenth century was chorography, which studied the history of particular regions or towns but used place rather than time as the organizing principle. Continental chorographers in-

cluded the Brescian Ottavio Rossi (1570–1630), Guillaume Catel of Toulouse (1560–1626), and the Provençal Cesar de Nostredame (1553–1629). Their contemporary William Camden (1551–1623), the greatest English practitioner of this genre, followed the lead of his predecessor John Leland, who had journeyed about England in the 1530s and 1540s and recorded his observations in a series of unpublished *Itineraries*. Camden's own *Britannia* (1586) was a much-reprinted work in Latin and English editions. The group of scholars of whom he was a leading member, including a short-lived Society of Antiquaries, had close ties with Continental scholars, both Protestant and Catholic, such as the numismatist and librarian Janus Gruter (1560–1627), the chronologer and philologist Joseph Justus Scaliger (1540–1609), the Dutch writer Gerhard Vossius (1577–1649), and the French contemporary historian Jacques-Auguste de Thou (1553–1617). The wealth of Latin and vernacular correspondence, a good deal of which was published at the time, and which is now held by European and English libraries, testifies to the existence of a western European “republic of letters” that could transcend confessional divisions in the pursuit of an accurate understanding of the past.

The multiplication of forms of historical writing and the tension between a belief in the unity of truth and the inescapable fact of disagreement about the past produced in the late sixteenth century a series of attempts to make some sense of historical genres and to prescribe principles for the writing, or at least the reading, of history. A variety of works of uneven sophistication, collectively known as *artes historicae* (‘arts of history’) were produced all across Europe by authors such as the Spaniard Melchor Cano (1509–1560) and the German Bartholomew Keckerman (c. 1571–c. 1608). Many, following the ancient writer Dionysius of Halicarnassus, were little more than summaries of what had been written from antiquity to the current era, with critical comments. A number of such works were published together by the Swiss printer Johann Wolf in 1579. A few, such as Bodin's *Method*, Francesco Patrizi's (1529–1597) *Ten Dialogues on History*, and Francis Bacon's (1561–1626) somewhat later *Advancement of Learning* (which dealt with many other subjects than history), aspired to a more systematic view and borrowed from educational theorists such

as the Frenchman Petrus Ramus (1515–1572). Among the most interesting products of this time was the *History of Histories, with the Idea of Perfect History and the Design for a New History of France* (1599) by the Frenchman Henri Lancelot Voisin de la Popelinière (1541–1608). La Popelinière espoused the goal of an accurate history that would be “perfect” or complete in the sense of resting on firm scholarly foundations and would not be subject to constant revision. This notion seems foreign today, but in La Popelinière's time it amounted to a bulwark against confessional polemic and unjustified nationalist myth. It was also an answer to credulity's opposite extreme, a rising “pyrrhonist” doubt (associated with the followers of the ancient skeptic Pyrrho) that the past could ever actually be known with any accuracy.

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY: ERUDITION AND IDEOLOGY

Ideology continued to influence the writing of history in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, for instance in Scotland, where rival Presbyterian and Episcopalian interpretations of the ecclesiastical past were represented respectively by David Calderwood (1575–1650) and Archbishop John Spottiswoode (1565–1637). But though religion remained the preeminent point of difference, ideological disagreements were not always exclusively religious, especially as the century wore on and the era of confessional warfare was displaced by one of contending commercial empires. In England, a period of bloody civil strife and regicide in the middle of the century led to a virtual explosion of historical writing from various points of view ranging from the absolutist position of Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679) to the republicanism of the Machiavellian-influenced James Harrington (1611–1677) to the radicalism of the Leveller and Digger movements, with their view that England had been enslaved not by a Roman but by a Norman yoke at the Conquest of 1066. On the Continent, the solidification of absolutist regimes, especially in France, led to a retreat from the kind of open-ended inquiry practiced in Bodin's and Pasquier's day, as a series of crown-sponsored historiographers royal became instead “artisans of glory.” The Trojan myth, once thoroughly discredited, returned in full force, and the scholar Nicolas Fréret (1688–1749) went to the Bastille in 1714 for the crime of maintaining the

ancient connection between the Franks and the Germans. Despite such instances of persecution, however, the “erudite” tradition remained strong in Europe, assisted by the establishment of national academies of learning and by early examples of scholarly journals. Cultural exchange between scholars of different religions and countries continued after the end of the religious wars by about the middle of the seventeenth century and into the early eighteenth. This scholarly community was not always as civilized and friendly as it has often been portrayed; the language of scholarly dispute was often heated and rhetorical to a degree that would embarrass even a scathing modern book reviewer. In this the later seventeenth-century *érudits* were simply following the lead of some of their illustrious predecessors, in particular the polymath Scaliger, possibly the most learned scholar of his own day, and John Selden (1584–1654), his younger English admirer, both of whom were also vituperative critics of those they perceived as guilty of willful error.

A century of publication and a much more widespread interest in the past meant that by the late seventeenth century, history had established itself as a printed genre much in demand: publishers in the next decades would use devices such as serial publication and advance subscription to extend history’s readership far beyond its previous social bounds. At the same time, the youth of Europe acquired both an understanding of the past (thought to be useful both in civilized discourse and in future political or legal careers, or even in the mundane matter of running estates), and a sensitivity to its difference from the present. Many students followed the grand tour that took in famous historic sites and monuments across Europe. Along the way, they collected coins and artifacts, for which a vigorous market had developed, a virtual “archaeological economy” that saw the trade and export of ancient and medieval curiosities. By the end of the century this interest had extended to natural remains such as fossils, and many scholars were shifting their attention from the explanation of physical objects according to ancient texts toward their systematic observation, collection, and comparison. Although still constrained by a scriptural chronological framework that ran no further back than six thousand years, the study of fossils and the conclusion to which it led, that there might once have lived spe-

cies no longer extant, when put together with a century of awareness of New World and East Asian societies, produced a renewed wave of skepticism. Among the products of this “crisis” in belief was some searching criticism of the literal truth of the Old Testament account of the Creation, Patriarchal descent, and the Flood, especially by the Frenchman Richard Simon (1638–1712) and the Englishman Thomas Burnet (1635–1715). The skepticism and anticlericalism of Enlightenment figures such as Voltaire would be built on such foundations as these.

As the eighteenth century dawned, historiography flourished in a number of different traditions. The erudite tradition, associated with the republic of letters, continued to mix philological scholarship (the continuous improvement of editions of earlier writers) with antiquarian observation, the latter now blending with natural philosophy or science, as it did notably in the work of the Welshman Edward Lhuyd (1660–1709) and the Scot Sir Robert Sibbald (1641–1722). The polymathic ideal of seamless learning was represented perhaps most strikingly by the mathematician, philosopher, and scholar Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646–1716). Within this broad erudite tradition, the activity of producing precise, learned texts ruled by rigorous scholarship remained prominent, and in several different spheres. These included sacred history, best represented in the activities of the seventeenth-century Bollandists (whose *Acta Sanctorum* continues to this day) and Maurists, especially the founder of systematic paleography and diplomatics, Jean Mabillon (1632–1707). Late antique history was set on a new critical footing by the likes of Louis-Sebastien Le Nain de Tillemont (1637–1698). Further strides were made in administrative and legal history—the Polish *Volumina Legum* of the first half of the eighteenth century, for instance, or the studies and texts of two English antiquaries, Thomas Rymer (1641–1713) and Thomas Madox (1666–1727). National collections of historical documents were printed and annotated by a number of scholars, for instance the medieval sources of Italian history published by Ludovico Antonio Muratori (1672–1750) and the Hungarian records produced by his slightly younger contemporary, Matthias or Matyas Bél (1684–1749).

The second grand tradition, mainstream political history writing, continued to produce accounts of the national past in each land, with a few outstanding examples setting the pace, for instance Edward Hyde, earl of Clarendon's (1609–1674) *History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars*, modeled on an earlier account of the French religious wars by the Italian Arrigo Caterino Davila (1576–1631) and François Eudes de Mézeray's (1610–1683) *History of France*. The first Russian history to be based on detailed analysis and critical annotation of medieval sources was Vasilii Nikitich Tatishchev's (1686–1750) *Russian History from Antiquity*, though it remained in manuscript until the late eighteenth century. Full-length national histories such as this were much in vogue, perhaps the most durable being the Scottish historian and philosopher David Hume's (1711–1776) mid-eighteenth-century *History of England*.

Finally, the third tradition, a more philosophical one (though often based on learning as sophisticated as that of the *érudits*) stretches back to Bodin and forward to Voltaire and Herder in the Enlightenment proper. The Moldavian prince Dmitrie Cantemir (1673–1723), whose *History of the Growth and Decay of the Ottoman Empire* combines deep knowledge of Ottoman society with a cyclical view of history, belongs to this tradition, as does the Croatian proto-nationalist Pavao Vitezovic (1652–1713). Perhaps the greatest practitioners of erudite philosophical history were two Italians, the jurist Pietro Giannone (1676–1748), who wrote a *Civil History of the Kingdom of Naples* combining profound learning with an understanding of the development of culture and society, and Giambattista Vico (1668–1744), author of *New Science*. Vico conceived of three major ages of history, each with a distinctive mode of knowledge and communication, and of a series of recurring cycles in civilization. The originality and innovative perspective of his book would largely be ignored until its rediscovery in the nineteenth century, but the *New Science* now stands as the climactic achievement of early modern historical thought on the eve of the Enlightenment.

See also Archaeology; Bossuet, Jacques-Bénigne; Budé, Guillaume; Condorcet, Marie-Jean Caritat, marquis de; Gibbon, Edward; Grand Tour; Guicciardini, Francesco; Hagiography; Herder, Johann Gottfried von; Machiavelli, Niccolò; Martyrs and Martyrology; Muratori, Ludovico Antonio; Robertson,

William; Sarpi, Paolo; Sleidanus, Johannes; Vasari, Giorgio; Vico, Giovanni Battista.

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D. R. WOOLF

HOBBS, THOMAS (1588–1679), English philosopher. Thomas Hobbes, perhaps the greatest of the English philosophers, was born in Malmesbury, Wiltshire, in 1588. The son of the disreputable vicar of Westport, he was raised by a wealthy uncle who saw to his education and his admission to Magdalen Hall, Oxford (B.A., 1608). After Oxford, Hobbes became tutor to the son of William Cavendish, the earl of Derbyshire, and remained attached to the Cavendish family throughout his life.

Hobbes's early association with Francis Bacon (1561–1626) strengthened what would become a lifelong dislike of Aristotelian philosophy that he had acquired at Oxford in opposition to his tutors. But he retained an interest in classical literature and published a translation of Thucydides' *History of the Peloponnesian War* in 1629 and a translation of Homer in quatrains in 1674–1675. Hobbes's discovery of geometry, his association with Marin Mersenne (1588–1648), and the friendship of Pierre Gassendi (1592–1655) and Galileo Galilei (1564–1642) provided him with the analytic scheme and scientific method for which he had been searching to undergird a complete philosophy of nature and society. An association with the Great Tew circle (a group of men of letters who met at Great Tew, Lord Falkland's house north of Oxford) seems to have helped to move him from a humanistic and classical view of the world to one that was—in contrast to the appeals to the Bible that charged the outlooks of so many of his contemporaries—decidedly juridical and modern and drawn from the political crises that led to the English Civil War. His *Elements of the Law*, circulated in manuscript in 1640 and published in two parts in 1650, was the first statement of the darkly pessimistic view of human nature and

call for undivided, absolute sovereignty for which he is known.

In late 1640—fearing for his life, he claimed, when the Long Parliament began its work—Hobbes fled to France, where he was welcomed by Mersenne's circle and where he served briefly as tutor to the Prince of Wales (the exiled and future King Charles II). In France, he enjoyed his most productive philosophic period, culminating in the publication of his masterpiece, *Leviathan; or the Matter, Form, and Power of a Commonwealth, Ecclesiastical and Civil*, in 1651 shortly before he returned to England.

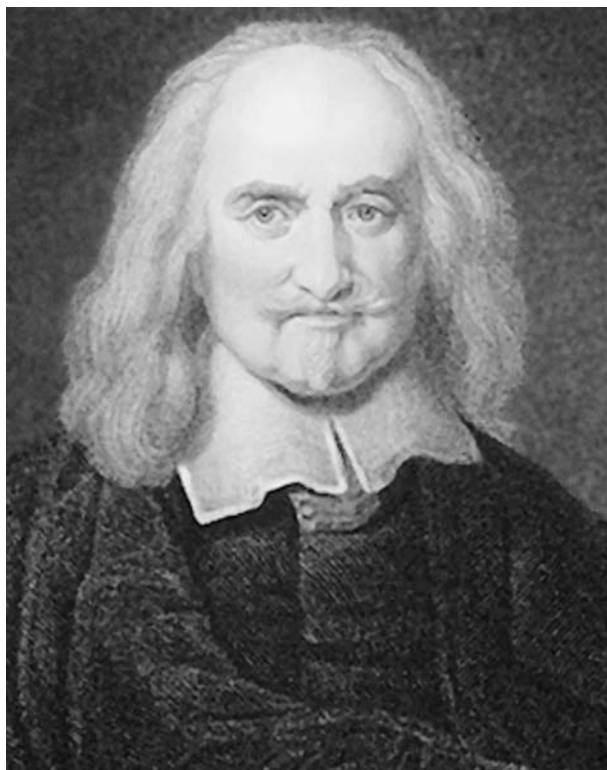
The aim of *Leviathan*, as announced in the Preface and in the Review and Conclusion, was to demonstrate, in the context of the recently concluded Civil War, the necessity of strong, overarching, unchallengeable government. The work was a distillation and an extension of Hobbes's quest for a comprehensive philosophy that moved from accounts of ultimate reality and human nature, through logic and reason, to a radically new understanding of politics that was also an attack on virtually all religious beliefs and practices. The political genius of *Leviathan* was its use of the emerging natural law, natural rights, and social contract theories and a radically individualistic conception of human nature in conjunction with the new science rather than the more conventional divine right doctrines to defend political absolutism. In one of the most memorable phrases in the history of political thought, Hobbes described life in the pre-political state of nature as “solitary, poore, nasty, brutish, and short” (*Leviathan*, ch. 13), the only remedy for which was the agreement to form a civil society with an absolute ruler at its head. For his efforts Hobbes was rewarded with the scorn of his contemporaries, especially for his apparent atheism, although the earliest critic of political theory, the divine right patriarchal royalist Sir Robert Filmer praised his conclusions while objecting to their foundations.

After the publication of *Leviathan*, Hobbes continued to work on his systematic philosophy and to attract critics. He enjoyed the patronage and probably the protection of the restored King Charles II, but he was attacked by Parliament after the Great Fire of 1666 and ultimately forbidden the right to publish. Nonetheless, he wrote *Behemoth, or*

the Long Parliament, an account of English history during the period of the Civil War and Interregnum viewed from the perspective of his conceptions of human nature and politics, and an uncompleted *Dialogue between a Philosopher and a Student of the Common Law*, which offered a conception of law and sovereignty that is suggestive of the theories of J. L. Austin (1911–1960). Both works were published posthumously, in 1681 and 1682 respectively.

Hobbes's philosophic system, pointedly anti-Scholastic and anti-Aristotelian, was naturalistic and mechanistic; knowledge and understanding were rooted in experience. His metaphysics is often summarized as “matter in motion,” and he was untroubled by some of the pressing problems of his day—and of subsequent philosophy—including accounting for the non-perceptual existence of phenomena and causation. Human beings, while capable of reason, are driven by their passions and motivated by fear, especially of one another. They are irreducibly self-interested and will cooperate only when they believe that it is to their advantage. All this was demonstrated by Hobbes's theory of the state of nature as altogether without institutions and relationships and as a condition in which everyone enjoyed an equal, natural freedom and had the natural right to all things and no corresponding obligations or duties, leading to the famous “war of every man against every man” (*Leviathan*, ch. 13)—hence, the description of life in that situation that was quoted above.

Although he believed that there was a law of nature, Hobbes's conception was altogether unlike the traditional view. His law of nature did not bind human actions in the absence of sufficient security, did not contain a body of moral and ethical principles, and was not truly the product of divine will. It was, however, discernable through reason, and its first principle was self-preservation. According to Hobbes, natural law commanded that people seek peace but only when others were willing to do so as well. It dictated that they agree to a social compact instituting an absolute sovereign who would maintain this conventionally established peace and to whom everyone was politically obligated because they had agreed to his rule because he “personated” them and their institutes, and because he had the legitimate power to punish their disobedience with



Thomas Hobbes. Portrait by William Dobson. GETTY IMAGES

death, which was their greatest fear. Although Hobbes believed that the establishment of a strong ruler would eventually lead to a less brutal and anxious life for the members of civil society, the psychology of the state of nature remained just beneath the surface of all human endeavors, kept in check by habits of forbearance maintained by fear of the sovereign.

Hobbes died in 1679 in the Cavendish home, Hardwick Hall in Derbyshire, and was buried nearby. Witty to the end, he composed epitaphs for himself, his favorite of which was, “This is the true Philosopher's Stone.” It was not used.

See also Aristotelianism; Atheism; Bacon, Francis; Divine Right Kingship; English Civil War and Interregnum; Galileo Galilei; Gassendi, Pierre; Mathematics; Mersenne, Marin; Natural Law; Philosophy; Political Philosophy; Scientific Method.

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GORDON SCHOCHET

HOGARTH, WILLIAM (1697–1764), English painter and engraver. Famous for his biting and satirical visual commentaries on urban life, William Hogarth had a particularly profound impact on

the development of print culture, especially political cartoons and the modern comic strip.

Born in London to the schoolmaster Richard Hogarth and Anne Gibbons, Hogarth served an apprenticeship in 1713 to a silver-plate engraver before becoming an independent engraver in 1720. By this time he had also taken up painting, attending the academy in St. Martin's Lane. During the 1720s and 1730s, Hogarth emerged as an important portraitist, producing several impressive “conversation pieces”—small-scale informal group portraits of members of a family or friends in social gatherings—and a number of sensitive portraits of individual sitters. Hogarth, however, pursued his goal of history painting, achieving his first major success in 1729 with *The Beggar's Opera*, the repre-



William Hogarth. *A Harlot's Progress*, plate 2: *Quarrels with Her Jew Protector*, 1732. ©BURSTEIN COLLECTION/CORBIS

sensation of a scene from John Gay's popular satirical ballad opera. In his *Biographical Anecdotes*, Hogarth later explained that he conceived of his pictures as stages, and men and women his players, "who by means of certain actions and gestures, are to exhibit a dumb shew" (Hogarth, 1955, p. 209). It was, above all, with his so-called modern moral subjects that Hogarth developed his ideals of pictorial drama. In this innovative genre, Hogarth related moralizing tales drawn from contemporary life in a sequence of narrative paintings, which were subsequently engraved and circulated widely. Satirical in tone, these modern moral subjects offered tart critiques of virtually all social groups.

The first of these sequential narratives, *A Harlot's Progress* (1732), comprised six scenes that followed the misfortunes of a country girl in London. Scene two shows her dominating a Jewish lover, having adopted the flamboyant lifestyle of an aristocratic lady, complete with gossiping servants and a tea-bearing black servant. In subsequent scenes, the woman declines into prostitution and finally dies of syphilis. A similar trajectory can be witnessed in Hogarth's *A Rake's Progress* (1735), which tracks the fate of its spendthrift protagonist from inheritance to the madhouse. Hogarth's most lavish modern moral subject was, however, *Marriage à la Mode* (1745). This set of images—Hogarth's only series to take place completely indoors—comments directly on the evils that stem from greed and a continual quest for status. Scene four shows the consequences of a doomed arranged marriage. At a morning reception, the newly wed countess presides over a colorful group of hangers-on, including a French hairdresser, who fusses with her hair, and an Italian castrato. *Marriage à la Mode* also addresses artistic taste by lampooning contemporary fashion for Continental finery, including baroque painting and Palladian architecture.

Hogarth set forth his thoughts on aesthetics systematically in his 1753 treatise *The Analysis of Beauty*. In this illustrated text, Hogarth drew on everyday life and often comic examples to argue that the judgment of beauty was not the prerogative of the connoisseur, whose pretensions he despised, but rather a set of qualities available to a wider public.

Hogarth's serious works offered fresh perspectives on the persistent social ills—substance abuse,

poverty, and moral decay—that plagued life in eighteenth-century London. Operating within the lively paper culture that was transforming the early modern public sphere, Hogarth's successful pictorial dramas both reflected these ills and developed visual critiques of their causes. In so doing, Hogarth produced a socially, morally, and politically engaging art that addressed issues of class, gender, and race in an age of colonial expansion. The artist's skepticism left few unscathed; he ruthlessly poked fun at politicians (as in *The Times*, *The Lottery*, and *The Election* series), industrialists (*The South Sea Scheme*), clerics, the lower, middle, and upper classes. However, Hogarth also offered strikingly sympathetic representations of, for example, professional women: seamstresses, milkmaids, ballad-sellers, fish-girls, and actresses. His engaging *Strolling Actresses Dressing in a Barn* (1738), issued with the *Four Times of Day* print series, can be regarded as an icon of working-class women. His lucidly executed painting *The Shrimp Girl* (c. 1745; National Gallery, London) expresses the natural virtue of "common people" and, possibly, the nation. Hogarth's social didacticism emerged most strongly in his graphic series *Industry and Idleness* (1747) and the diptych *Beer Street and Gin Lane* (1751), which offer the viewer a rhetorical choice between good and evil.

Although one may recognize the moral thrust of Hogarth's works, it is difficult to align them with a single authorial voice. His work established a mode of British urban narrative marked by multiplicity, ambiguity, and trenchant humor.

See also **Britain, Art in; Caricature and Cartoon; Prints and Popular Imagery.**

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ANGELA H. ROSENTHAL

HOHENZOLLERN DYNASTY. The ruling house of Brandenburg-Prussia, the House of Hohenzollern is most famous for providing rulers of the kingdom of Prussia and later of the German empire. The ancestral home of the House of Hohenzollern is in Swabia near the sources of the Danube and Neckar Rivers, about eighty miles south of today's Stuttgart. The Hohenzollerns began their climb to dynastic fame in 1417 when Holy Roman emperor Sigismund of Luxembourg awarded the Mark of Brandenburg in what was then the far northeast to Frederick of Hohenzollern as a reward for loyal service. Although Frederick found his new land to be poor, unproductive, and exposed to danger, he decided to stay. This land, in which Berlin later rose, was the foundation of the Hohenzollern dynasty.

The second major property to come into Hohenzollern possession was the province of East Prussia. In the early thirteenth century a Polish prince invited the Teutonic Knights, an order that emerged during the Third Crusade (1189–1192), to subdue and convert the pagan Balts in the area that would become East Prussia. The Teutonic Knights did so and settled there. In 1511 the Knights chose as their grand master a Hohenzollern, and, when the Protestant Reformation swept through northern Germany, this Hohenzollern prince dissolved the order and became simply duke of Prussia, a vassal of the king of Poland.

The third major property that enhanced the family's power and made it a force in western Germany was the acquisition of Cleves and Mark on the Rhine, which the Hohenzollerns gained on a dynastic claim in 1609. In 1618 all three of these areas—Brandenburg, Prussia, and Cleves and Mark—came under the rule of a single Hohenzollern, John Sigismund (ruled 1608–1619), the grandfather of Fred-

erick William, the Great Elector (ruled 1640–1688), who is credited with laying the foundations of the modern Prussian state.

See also **Brandenburg; Frederick I (Prussia); Frederick II (Prussia); Frederick William (Brandenburg); Frederick William I (Prussia); Frederick William II (Prussia); Prussia; Teutonic Knights; Utrecht, Peace of (1713).**

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KARL A. ROIDER

HOLBACH, PAUL THIRY, BARON D' (1723–1789), French philosopher, scientist, man of letters, founder of a salon, and critic of the *ancien régime*. Holbach's life and literary career are somewhat shadowy because he published his books clandestinely to avoid persecution and did not write a memoir, diary, or a great number of letters.

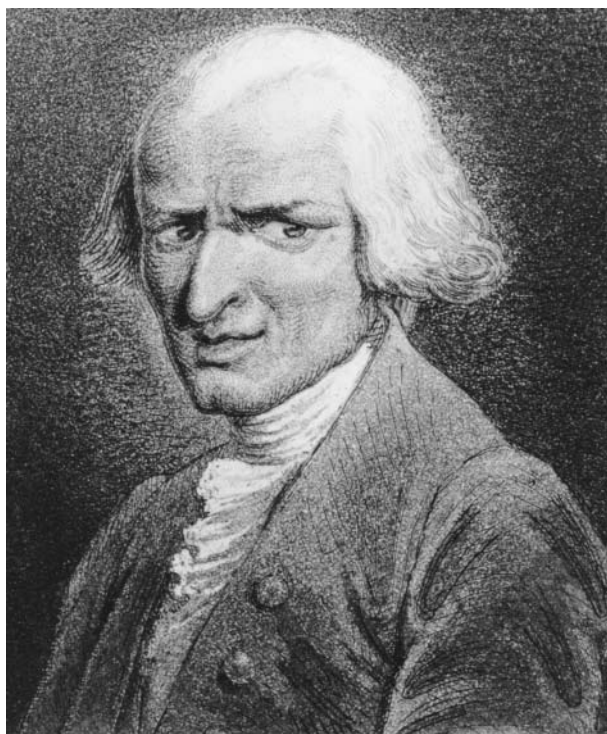
Holbach was born in the village of Edesheim in the Palatinate, a German-speaking area close to France and its culture. His parents, non-noble landowners, raised him as a Catholic. In childhood, he was influenced greatly by his uncle François-Adam d'Holbach, a rich financier ennobled in Vienna in 1720 and made a baron in 1728. His uncle arranged for the young boy to leave his parents' home and live with him in Paris. Little is known about Holbach's education except that in 1744 he began his legal studies at the eminent University of Leiden in the Dutch Republic and spent several years there and at his uncle's estate in that country.

Holbach settled in Paris and became a French citizen in 1749 and a barrister before the Parlement of Paris, one of the highest courts of France. But his legal career proved short-lived, for he took much more interest in his social and intellectual life. He organized a salon, holding regular Thursday and Sunday dinners at which he provided excellent food and wine and encouraged the frankest exchange of ideas. Such freethinkers as Denis Diderot, Jean Le Rond d'Alembert, Jacques-André Naigeon, and Marie-Jean Caritat, marquis de Condorcet, became members of his social circle, as did many others of varied beliefs. The salon lasted in Paris and at Holbach's country estate nearby into the 1780s.

Holbach could afford such entertaining. His uncle had given him valuable property in 1750 and, at his death in 1753, left his nephew a large legacy in addition to the title of baron of the Holy Roman Empire. Moreover, in 1750 he married his cousin, Basile-Geneviève-Suzanne d'Aine, a daughter of the wealthy Nicolas and Suzanne d'Aine. Two years after his wife's death in 1754, he married one of her sisters, Charlotte-Suzanne d'Aine. Holbach's fortune was enlarged by these marriages; and in 1756 he purchased the office of secretary to the king, an expensive sinecure conferring automatic French nobility.

Holbach also aspired to be a man of letters. In the early 1750s he wrote a pamphlet favoring Italian over French music and started his collaboration on the *Encyclopédie* edited by Diderot and d'Alembert, to which he contributed hundreds of signed and anonymous articles on science, technology, religion, politics, geography, and other topics. In addition, from 1752 to 1771, he translated anonymously into French more than ten important German and Scandinavian books on chemistry, mineralogy, and metallurgy. In these books and in his articles for the *Encyclopédie*, he helped prepare the way for advances in the emerging science of geology and the revolution in chemical theory initiated by Antoine-Laurent Lavoisier and his colleagues.

Holbach's passion for chemistry and mineralogy, his esteem for Epicurus, Lucretius, Cicero, Seneca, and other classical writers, and his admiration for the thought of French and English deists and atheists led him to forsake Catholicism and champion a deterministic, materialistic, and atheistic view of the universe. He thought matter in motion to be the sole reality and believed that men and women were purely physical beings moved by self-interest, yet capable of a humane secular morality. From 1759 to 1770, he secretly translated, edited, and authored many books that denounced all religions and their clergy for fostering illusory supernatural beliefs in God, the soul, miracles, and immortality, all of which Holbach thought increased human suffering. Several of these works sold well, especially *Le système de la nature* (1769, with a 1770 imprint; *The system of nature*). Naigeon and a few other members of his circle assisted him in his literary enterprise. In 1770 the Parlement of Paris and



Paul Thiry, baron d'Holbach. ©BETTMANN/CORBIS

the royal administration condemned some of these works, but Holbach escaped prosecution. He concealed his authorship of these writings from all but a few trusted friends, and the government did not zealously seek to discover the identity of the author. He seems to have had protectors in high office.

In the early and mid-1770s, Holbach elaborated on his politics. In several books he asserted that rulers should maximize happiness for the greatest number of their subjects rather than allowing them to suffer from poverty and humiliation. To accomplish this, he rejected divine right absolute monarchy, enlightened despotism, rule by an aristocracy, and democracy. Instead, in the anonymous *La politique naturelle* (1773; *Natural politics*), he supported a monarchy that encouraged a wide distribution of land ownership and that was checked by representative bodies of landowners. How much power would be given to these bodies is unclear, but he believed France should not replicate the British House of Commons, which he visited in 1765 and considered corrupt. He also lacked confidence in change by revolution, and in 1776 dedicated his anonymous *Éthocratie* (*Government based on morality*) to the recently crowned Louis XVI.

After 1776 Holbach largely stopped writing for publication and did not reveal his opinions of the American Revolution and the calling of the Estates-General in France. He died in January 1789, six months before the fall of the Bastille. During the French Revolution, he became publicly known as the author of controversial works, for Naigeon and Condorcet either republished or wrote commentaries about several of them and identified them as having been written by Holbach. Since then his works have often been reprinted. He deserves to be remembered as the host of a brilliant salon, the writer and translator of important scientific works, and a fervent polemicist for materialistic atheism and political reform. His life exemplifies the French philosophes—their sociability, passion for natural science, and criticism of existing religious and political institutions.

See also **Alembert, Jean Le Rond d'**; **Atheism**; **Diderot, Denis**; *Encyclopédie*; **Enlightenment**; **Philosophes**; **Salons**.

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HOLBEIN, HANS, THE YOUNGER

(1497/98–1543), German portrait painter. Hans Holbein the Younger, a painter and designer of stained glass, woodcuts, and jewelry, was born in Augsburg to a family of artists. His father Hans the Elder (active c. 1490–1523) was probably his first teacher, and his uncles Sigmund Holbein and Hans Burgkmair the Elder (1473–c. 1531) were important early influences. He left Augsburg at eighteen to join his elder brother Ambrosius (1493/94–1519?) in Basel as journeymen in the workshop of the leading painter there, Hans Herbst, or Herbster (1470–1552), and collaborated on the marginal drawings in Oswald Myconius's famous copy of Erasmus's *Praise of Folly*. Commissions from Basel humanists and city officials soon ensued: portraits of Erasmus's publisher, Johannes Froben; Erasmus's attorney and heir, Bonifacius Amerbach (1519; Basel); three portraits of Erasmus himself (1523; Longford Castle, Ireland; Louvre, Paris; and Basel); a diptych portrait of the mayor Jakob Meyer and his wife Dorothea Kannegiesser (1516), who also commissioned *The Meyer Madonna* (1526–1530; Darmstadt); a madonna with standing saints for the then city clerk Johannes Gerster (1522, *The Solothurn Madonna*); and an altarpiece for a Basel city council member, Hans Oberried.

During 1517–1519 Holbein assisted his father with illusionistic decorations for the facade of the Jakob Hertenstein house (Lucerne) and the Haus zum Tanz in Basel. Admitted to the Basel painters' guild Zum Himmel on 25 September 1519, that same year he married Elsbeth Binzenstock, a tanner's widow. On 20 July 1520 he secured Basel citizenship, and a year later he received a commission to decorate the new council chamber. Further religious works included a Passion altarpiece, a Last Supper scene, and *The Body of the Dead Christ in the Tomb* (1521; all in Basel). This last work, a panel for use from Good Friday until Easter morning, is so radical a representation of death that the nineteenth-century Russian author Dostoevsky would later declare, "This picture could rob many a man of



Hans Holbein the Younger. *Jean de Dinteville and Georges de Selve* ("The Ambassadors"), by Hans Holbein the Younger, 1533. ©NATIONAL GALLERY COLLECTION; BY KIND PERMISSION OF THE TRUSTEES OF THE NATIONAL GALLERY, LONDON/CORBIS

his faith," creating its effect with an imaginary painting in his novel *The Idiot*. Designs for the woodcut *Dance of Death* series were also made during these years (1522–1525).

Holbein traveled to France (1524), perhaps hoping to find employment with Francis I, and may have seen works by Leonardo da Vinci and Andrea del Sarto at Amboise, as well as three-color chalk drawings by Jean Clouet, a technique that he adapted for his own use in portrait work. His paintings of Venus and Cupid and of *Lais of Corinth* (1526; Basel) show the strong influence of the Franco-Italian Renaissance.

Erasmus, concerned for the welfare of his favorite painter, recommended Holbein by letter to his friend Sir Thomas More in London, and the artist departed from Basel for England, by way of Antwerp, on 29 August 1526. While there, he painted a

group portrait of the More family, for which only the individual chalk studies (Windsor Castle) and the preliminary sketch (Basel) with the artist's notes have survived—the latter was presented to Erasmus. He also finished portraits of Sir Thomas More (1527; Frick Collection, New York); the Archbishop of Canterbury William Warham (1527; Louvre, Paris); the comptroller of Henry VIII's household, *Sir Henry Guildford*, and his wife, *Lady Guildford* (both 1527; Windsor and St. Louis); Henry's privy councillor Sir Henry Wyatt (1527/28; Louvre, Paris); and a drawing of his son, the poet Sir Thomas Wyatt (undated). Before leaving England, Holbein also painted a portrait of the king's German astronomer Nicolas Kratzer (1528; Louvre, Paris). Unlike his Basel paintings, which are a mixture of tempera and oil on pine or lindenwood, the British portraits were completed on oak panels.

Returning to Basel, Holbein bought two houses, painted on paper a group portrait of his wife and children, *The Artist's Wife and Her Two Children, Philip and Catherine* (1528, Basel; silhouetted and mounted on panel), and made adjustments to the *Meyer Madonna*, which by then was to become an epitaph. In 1528 and 1529, during the wave of iconoclasm that accompanied the Reformation in Basel under the influence of Ulrich Zwingli, religious works of art were removed from the churches and many were destroyed. Consequently, Holbein left for England once again. Thomas More now being out of favor at court, Holbein found clients among the young German merchants of the Steelyard, including Georg Gisze of Danzig (1532; Berlin), Hermann Wedigh of Cologne (1533; New York) and Dierick Born (1533; Vienna). His double portrait of the French ambassador Jean de Dinteville and his houseguest Georges de Selve, bishop of Lavour, entitled *The Ambassadors* (1533; London) also dates from this period. Soon afterward he was made part of Henry VIII's court, portraying Henry himself, Queen Jane Seymour (1536; Vienna), Christina of Denmark (1538; London), Anne of Cleves, and the future King Edward VI, the two-year-old Prince of Wales (1539; Washington). The King's physician Sir John Chambers was Holbein's last client. The artist died, probably of the plague, in 1543, leaving behind a mistress and two young children in England.

See also **Britain, Art in**; **Erasmus, Desiderius**; **Henry VIII (England)**; **More, Thomas**.

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HOLY LEAGUES. Several military alliances that arose between 1495 to 1699 in the turbulent conditions of Europe were given the name "Holy League." Three of the most significant were the Holy Leagues formed to fight the Ottoman Empire by the Habsburgs, the papacy, and other states such as Venice, Genoa, and Poland. This article will discuss these anti-Ottoman alliances that were formed in 1538–1540, 1571–1573, and 1679–1699 because they were all similarly characterized as "crusades." They were mainly financed by the increased wealth of the Habsburg empire in order to check Ottoman expansion in Europe. The increasing success of each alliance was partly the result of rising prosperity in Europe, owing to the influx of precious metals from the New World into the European economy, simultaneous with Ottoman economic decline.

THE HOLY LEAGUE OF 1538–1540

Venice, the Habsburg emperor Charles V, and the papacy formed the first of this type of Holy League in early 1538 to counter a wave of Ottoman expansion in Europe that had begun with the accession of Sultan Suleiman I to the throne in 1520. However, this coalition was marred from the outset by rivalry between the Venetians and Charles, who had different goals in fighting the Ottomans. As a result of this disunity, the Ottoman fleet was able to overcome the Holy League fleet at the battle of Prevesa in 1538. The Venetians left this league in 1540. Although Charles sent his own fleet in 1541 to attack the Ottomans at Algiers, weather destroyed it before it arrived, curtailing Christian plans to reassert dominance at that time over the Mediterranean.

THE HOLY LEAGUE OF 1571–1573

The next such Holy League was formed in 1571 by Pope Pius V between Spain, Venice, Genoa, and the papacy to respond to Ottoman attacks against Tunis and Cyprus. It achieved a significant victory at Lepanto, at the mouth of the Gulf of Patras (in modern Greece), in October 1571, but came to an end with the death of Pius in 1572 and Venice's financial troubles, which drove the league to make peace with the Ottomans in 1573. This Holy League was also hampered by the disparate goals of its major participants.

THE HOLY LEAGUE IN THE LONG WAR (1679–1699)

After a few other attempts to form coalitions against the Turks, the Holy League of 1679–1699 was the most successful and secured the first enduring Ottoman withdrawal from European territory for several centuries. It was formed to counter the threat of Kara Mustafa Pasha against Vienna in 1683. The Polish king John III Sobieski was an important commander in this force. Although this last alliance had a naval component, its most important dimension was the advance of Habsburg forces into the Balkans for the first time, resulting in the Peace of Carlowitz in 1699, signed by the Ottoman sultan Mustafa II and the Habsburg emperor Leopold I and viewed by later historians as an important sign of the actual decline of the Ottoman Empire.

See also **Charles V (Holy Roman Empire); Lepanto, Battle of; Ottoman Empire; Suleiman I; Vienna, Sieges of.**

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HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE. The Holy Roman Empire was a feudal monarchy that encompassed present-day Germany, the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, Switzerland, Austria, the Czech and Slovak Republics, as well as parts of eastern France, northern Italy, Slovenia, and western Poland at the start of the early modern centuries. It was created by the coronation of the Frankish king Charlemagne as Roman emperor by Pope Leo III on Christmas Day in the year 800, thus restoring in their eyes the western Roman Empire that had been leaderless since 476. Charlemagne's Frankish successor emperors faltered under political and military challenges, and his inheritance was permanently divided in 887. After 924 the western empire was again without an emperor until the coronation of Otto I, duke of Saxony, on 2 February 962. This coronation was seen to transfer the Roman imperial office to the heirs of the East Franks, the Germans. The position of emperor remained among the Ger-

mans until the Holy Roman Empire was abolished in the aftermath of the Napoleonic Wars in 1806.

In 1512 the name “Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation” (*Heiliges römisches Reich deutscher Nation*) became the official title of the empire, which spanned central Europe between the kingdom of France to the west and the kingdoms of Hungary and Poland to the east. In the north it was bounded by the Baltic and North Seas and by the Danish kingdom; in the south, it reached to the Alps. At no time in its long history did the empire possess clearly defined boundaries; its people, perhaps fifteen million in 1500, spoke a variety of languages and dialects. German predominated, but the advice of the Golden Bull of 1356 that future princes of the empire should learn the “German, Italian, and Slavic tongues” remained apposite. The multilingual empire stood at the crossroads of Europe and its emerging national cultures; it also included significant Jewish communities in the south and west. European trade and communication moved along the mighty rivers within the empire—the Rhine, the Main, the Danube, and the Elbe. On these rivers stood some of its most important cities: Cologne, the largest in the empire with about thirty thousand inhabitants, as well as Frankfurt, Vienna, and Hamburg. By 1500 there were about a dozen big cities with over ten thousand inhabitants each, and about twenty with between two and ten thousand people. Visitors to the empire from Italy, such as Niccolò Machiavelli, noted the size and wealth of these great German cities.

The history of the term “Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation” illustrates several key developments on the path to the early modern empire. The medieval “Roman Empire,” ambiguously created through the imperial coronation of Charlemagne, was first given the adjective “holy” (*sacrum imperium Romanum*) by the Imperial Chancellery of Frederick I Barbarossa (ruled 1152–1190) in 1157. The term “Holy Roman Empire,” used regularly from 1184, challenged the monopoly on the sacred presented by the papacy of the “Holy Roman Church” (*sancta Romana Ecclesia*) and presented the empire as an equal heir to the legacy of Rome. The first official use of the full term “Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation” in 1474 acknowledged that the empire had been for some time a German political unit in all practical terms. At the

ecclesiastical electors, the archbishops of Mainz, Trier, and Cologne; and four lay electors, the king of Bohemia, the duke of Saxony, the margrave of Brandenburg, and the count Palatinate of the Rhine. Originally, the king of the Romans received the title of emperor only through coronation by the pope. This tradition was set aside by Maximilian I (ruled 1493–1519), who assumed the title “Elected Roman Emperor.” His successor Charles V was the last emperor to be crowned in Italy; subsequent emperors were still elected and crowned king of the Romans by the electors and simply assumed the title of emperor without a separate coronation. Only males were allowed to hold the imperial office.

In 1438 Albert II of Habsburg was elected to the imperial throne; he was succeeded by his cousin Frederick III (ruled 1440–1493). From their base of power in Austria, the House of Habsburg outmaneuvered other leading families of the empire to secure their election to the imperial throne again and again; from the reign of Albert in 1438 forward, a Habsburg was always elected (except for a brief interlude from 1742 to 1745 when the Wittelsbach Prince Charles Albert of Bavaria was elected as Emperor Charles VII), and the office of the emperor became quasi-hereditary. This is less surprising when one realizes that by the mid-fifteenth century only a leading prince of the empire could benefit from the imperial title, as the prestige of the emperor’s position far surpassed its actual power. In legal terms the emperor was “administrator of the empire” rather than “lord of the empire.” The empire was divided into a patchwork of principalities, some large and powerful like Wittelsbach Bavaria, others small but independent, like the imperial abbeys in the southwest. In each of these principalities rulers exercised many of the functions associated by early modern and modern political theorists with sovereignty. In the first instance the princes of the empire—rather than the emperor—collected taxes, administered justice, minted coins, and claimed responsibility for the material and spiritual salvation of their subjects. Many of the principalities of the empire had their own parliamentary bodies representing the estates of the territory.

The territorial ambitions of the princes, alongside their predilection for partible inheritance, created a patchwork of German principalities that grew

bewilderingly complex. By 1450 the empire contained the seven electoral principalities; twenty-five major secular principalities, such as the duchies of Austria, Bavaria, and Brunswick; about ninety archbishoprics, bishoprics, and imperial abbeys; over one hundred independent counties of very unequal importance; and seventy free imperial cities such as Cologne, Bremen, Lübeck, and Hamburg in the north; Strasbourg, Nuremberg, Ulm, and Augsburg in the south; and Frankfurt and Mühlhausen in central Germany. These cities were subject to no one but the emperor, which made them effectively independent. In his pathbreaking analysis of the empire’s constitution in 1667, Samuel Pufendorf explained the fragmentation of political authority in the empire: “in the course of time, through the negligent complaisance of the emperors, the ambition of the princes, and the scheming of the clergy” the empire had developed from “an ordered monarchy” to “a kind of state so disharmonious” that it stood somewhere between a limited monarchy and a federation of sovereign principalities. Scholars today would explain the development in different terms but agree that the imperial monarchy had traded away considerable power and authority to the princes and the church during the medieval period.

Few European political units seem as remote and confusing as the Holy Roman Empire. At the start of the early modern period, the supranational, multiethnic structure of this feudal state made perfect sense, of course, to the people who lived in it and shaped its development. Indeed, in the period from 1450 to 1555 the Holy Roman Empire was a dynamic political unit of crucial importance to the growth of the Habsburg empire and the Protestant Reformation. It survived the chaos of the Thirty Years’ War (1618–1648) to emerge as a guarantor of peace, if not progress, in central Europe. By the mid-eighteenth century, however, Europeans saw the Holy Roman Empire in a very different light. In a Europe of centralized, hereditary monarchies consolidating their nation-states, its polycentric, supranational structure, elected emperor, and ponderous parliament had become ever more difficult to understand and explain. When it ceased to exist in 1806, few understood its significance.

IMPERIAL INSTITUTIONS IN THE RENAISSANCE

At the end of the fifteenth century the empire entered a period of institutional growth and increased political importance. The focus of the empire had shifted to its German-speaking lands, especially the wealthy southern area known as Upper Germany, which saw the birth and growth of effective imperial institutions. Foremost was its parliament, the Imperial Diet (*Reichstag*). The diet emerged from medieval political struggles that obligated the emperor to consult with his leading princes (in feudal terms, the holders of imperial fiefs) on decisions affecting the empire. These leading princes, including the seven electors, dukes and counts, bishops and abbots, and autonomous cities became known collectively as the “imperial estates” (*Reichsstände*) and their assembly as the Imperial Diet. The diet became the most important site of communication, conflict, and negotiation between the emperor and the estates.

The emperor did not rule as an autocrat but was bound by the resolutions of the Imperial Diet. As was typical of early modern statecraft, the diets often passed resolutions that could not be enforced (the Edict of Worms of 1521 is the most famous example), but its organization helped define the empire through its estates. From 1489 on, the diet met in three colleges, similar to the houses of the English Parliament: the college of the imperial electors, in which the three ecclesiastical and four lay electors each had a vote; the college of the imperial princes; and the college of the imperial free cities. The diet was summoned by the emperor only when needed; sessions were held in the leading imperial cities of the south, usually Augsburg, Nuremberg, Regensburg, or Speyer. When the diet met, the emperor presided, flanked by six of the electors, with the archbishop of Trier seated directly in front of the imperial throne. Along the sides of the hall sat the representatives of the college of imperial princes, and facing the emperor at the back of the hall were the representatives of the imperial free cities. Each college deliberated separately, voted within the college, and then cast one vote in the assembled diet. After 1663 the diet transformed itself into a body of representatives sitting permanently in Regensburg.

Frustration during the long reign of the neglectful Emperor Frederick III led to calls for imperial reform, and Emperor Maximilian I was willing

to work with the estates to modernize the empire’s institutions. The Imperial Diet in Worms in 1495 marked a turning point. Led by the archbishop-elect of Mainz, Berthold von Henneberg (1484–1504), the diet outlawed all private wars and noble feuding and established the Imperial Cameral Court (*Reichskammergericht*) to replace violence with arbitration. The imperial estates gathered in Worms in 1495 also voted to establish a new form of direct imperial taxation, the “Common Penny” (*gemeiner Pfennig*), to fund the Imperial Cameral Court. The tax was collected from all male inhabitants, regardless of status, for a period of four years and was renewed in 1512 and in 1542 to pay for the defense of the empire. The division of the empire into administrative districts called Imperial Circles (*Kreise*) was another innovation of the reign of Maximilian. Initially these districts served to enforce the imperial peace, but later their competence was extended to include imperial taxation and defense. From 1512, the empire was divided into ten Imperial Circles: the Austrian and Burgundian regions; the circle of the Rhenish electors; the Upper Saxon, Franconian, Bavarian, and Swabian circles; and the Upper Rhenish, Lower Rhenish-Westphalian, and Lower Saxon circles. The territories of the Bohemian crown, the Swiss Confederation, and the Italian imperial fiefs were not included in this plan.

These Circles and the Imperial Diet came to define the empire by the early sixteenth century and can help us distinguish between two conceptions of the empire. The greater empire was based on theoretical claims of universal dominion and historical claims of rule over Italy, Burgundy, and Germany. This greater empire encompassed all of Italy north of the Papal States (except Venice) as fiefs of the empire and included the kingdom of Bohemia, the Swiss Confederation, and the Habsburg Netherlands. Within these broad claims based on medieval precedent, feudal law, and dynastic connections, a second, more concentrated empire (“Reichstags-Deutschland”) actually participated in the growth of imperial institutions in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. This empire, culturally German, found its political and institutional base in the southwest of the empire and in the electoral principalities. The diet was largely ignored by the Swiss Confederation, the Netherlands, and the kingdom of Bohemia (despite its king’s position as an elector). The treaties of

the Peace of Westphalia of 1648 confirmed the independence of the Netherlands and Switzerland from the empire; Bohemia, on the other hand, where the Thirty Years' War had begun, was firmly integrated into the dominion of its Austrian Habsburg rulers.

The threat to the empire posed by the dynamic Ottoman Empire stood on the agenda of almost every Imperial Diet during the reigns of Maximilian I and Charles V. Habsburg Austria was constantly threatened by Turkish invasion, and the Habsburg emperors called the estates together to request aid. The threat was especially clear when the Ottoman Turks conquered most of Hungary in 1526: Austria would be next. Vienna was besieged by an army led by Suleiman the Magnificent (ruled 1520–1566) in 1529. The dependence of the Habsburg emperors on the support of the imperial estates in their struggle against Turkish expansion deeply affected their response to the next great challenge of imperial politics, the Reformation.

EMPIRE AND REFORMATION

The Protestant Reformation did not cause the division of Germany into dozens of independent territories; in fact, the reverse is true. The extraordinarily diverse and divided political landscape of the empire in the early sixteenth century was the single most important factor in the spread of evangelical ideas and the adoption of church reforms. As it became clear to Martin Luther that the Church of Rome would not accept his theological and pastoral reforms (referred to as “evangelical”), he turned “to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation” (the title of his important treatise of 1520, *An den christlichen Adel deutscher Nation*) and exhorted them to take up their responsibility to reform the church. Their response was varied. Luther's own territorial ruler, Elector Frederick III the Wise of Saxony (ruled 1486–1525), was willing to allow the ideas of his unruly theologian to circulate in Saxony and in the empire; other princes and free imperial cities eagerly read, creatively interpreted, and put into practice the ideas coming out of Wittenberg. Emperor Charles V, like most of the German princes, appreciated Luther's criticism of the papacy and the Roman curia but wanted no part of Luther's fundamental theological challenge to the authority of the Church of Rome. Charles stated clearly that

he would not “deny the religion of all his ancestors for the false teachings of a solitary monk.”

The young emperor and the rebellious theologian met at the Diet of Worms in 1521. Luther's refusal to recant his teachings prompted the Edict of Worms, which threatened his supporters with the imperial ban and outlawry and prohibited his writings. Protected from arrest and trial for heresy by his prince, Frederick the Wise, and frightened by the disorder unleashed by the spread of evangelical ideas, Luther looked to the leading secular authorities of the empire to implement his ideas. This they did, taking advantage of the fragmentation of imperial and territorial authority across the empire. Individual principalities and city-states became “laboratories” for church reform and religious innovation. Because the builders of the first Protestant institutions were leaders among the estates of the empire, the conflict over reform and Reformation was played out in the institutions of the empire, above all in the Imperial Diets. It was at the Diet of Speyer in 1529 that a group of princes including the elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Hesse and fourteen imperial free cities submitted an official protest against the suppression of the evangelical movement. The name “Protestant” arose from their action. The next Imperial Diet at Augsburg in 1530 produced a definitive Protestant statement of faith, the Augsburg Confession of Philipp Melancthon, and a reinforcement of the Edict of Worms. Tensions rose and in 1531 the empire's leading Protestant princes and free cities formed a defensive alliance, the Schmalkaldic League. This alliance was not formally directed against the empire or its Catholic ruling house of Habsburg, but its confessional politics held an immense potential to disrupt the institutions of the empire.

WAR AND PEACE IN THE CONFESSIONAL ERA

The Protestant princes and free cities of the empire created their own territorial churches by seizing the lands of monasteries and churches, severing all links with Rome, and overseeing the doctrine and morals of their subjects. Scholars have labeled this process “confessionalization,” and it is the defining characteristic of the empire in the period from the 1530s through the end of the seventeenth century. Confessionalization meant the doctrinal and organizational consolidation of the diverging Christian Re-

formations into established churches with mutually exclusive creeds, constitutions, and forms of piety. The power and authority of the princes was naturally reinforced by this new level of spiritual administration.

In the confessional era the line between insider and outsider became much sharper. Subjects and rulers together deployed the new scope of territorial authority to accuse, try, and burn witches; expel Jews and Christians of other confessions; and police the poor and the criminal. The cruel work of the great European witch persecutions reached its peak in the years between 1580 and 1660, and about half of the forty to fifty thousand executions took place in the empire. The promulgation of countless church and police ordinances allowed territorial rulers to envision (though not create) a land of godly, orderly, and obedient subjects. Geographically and politically, these territories resembled modern sovereign states, and this gain in power and authority by the individual estates of the empire proved irreversible.

The first evidence that power had shifted came in the aftermath of the Schmalkaldic War (1546–1547). Despite the military victory of Charles V over the Protestant princes, he was unable to roll back the progress of the Reformation before shifting alliances forced him to flee Germany in 1552. Exhausted by the struggle to return the German princes to the Catholic faith, Charles handed all responsibility for German affairs over to his brother, Archduke Ferdinand of Austria (ruled as emperor 1558–1564), who negotiated the Religious Peace of Augsburg in 1555. This agreement established the legal equality of the Evangelical and Catholic churches and the right of princes of the empire to choose either of these confessions for their territories. With the Religious Peace of Augsburg, the empire was divided among two mutually hostile Christian confessions: Roman Catholic and Evangelical (Lutheran). After 1563, Reformed (Calvinist) churches were also established. These divisions strained the imperial institutions described above, but they continued to function. The right of reform granted by the Peace of Augsburg strengthened the estates but also secured peace in the empire just as the Netherlands and France were engulfed in wars of religion.

The Peace of Augsburg lasted for sixty-three years, and the devastating Thirty Years' War (1618–1648) that followed was not an inevitable result of the political and confessional division of the empire. The weakness of the Habsburg emperors Rudolf II (ruled 1576–1612) and Matthias (ruled 1612–1619) paralyzed the very imperial institutions that had served to prevent war within the empire since 1555. The initial goals of Emperor Ferdinand II (ruled 1619–1637) were territorial rather than imperial; following the disorganization of his two predecessors, he sought to reimpose Habsburg authority in their hereditary lands, especially Bohemia, touching off the Bohemian revolt of 1618. This regional conflict rapidly spread as both Ferdinand and his opponents sought support (based on religion or reason of state) from within the empire and abroad. This raised a set of constitutional questions about the emperor's power to invite external (in this case, Spanish) forces into the empire, and the rights of the estates to resist the emperor. Some scholars have argued that these fundamental constitutional questions, as much as confessional hatred and international intervention, made the war so protracted and difficult to conclude.

Despite their successes in the Thirty Years' War, the Habsburgs did not shift the distribution of power in the empire from the princes to the emperor. Like Charles V before them, Ferdinand II and Ferdinand III (ruled 1637–1657) could not develop an imperial monarchy. The Westphalian treaties of 1648 that ended the war left the empire in the form established in 1555, "a monarchy caged by constituted aristocratic liberties," in the words of Thomas A. Brady, Jr. The Peace of Westphalia legitimized the Reformed confession in the empire and restored the territorial and confessional status of the empire to the year 1624, the "normal year" of the treaties.

The Westphalian settlement tied the longstanding balance between emperor and estates to an international agreement designed to bring lasting peace to Europe. France and Sweden stood as guarantors of the treaty's terms, and their purpose was to hold the empire as a whole passive in European affairs. The peace confirmed the broader European trend toward a system of fully sovereign, independent states but left the empire, with its fragmented sovereignty, and the imperial estates, with their

lesser, territorial sovereignty within the empire, as exceptions that proved the rule.

Given the consolidation of the power and authority of the individual estates by the Peace of Westphalia, was the Holy Roman Empire a state after 1648? Historians of the nineteenth and most of the twentieth centuries, focused on the modern nation-state, answered in the negative, and critically. The origins of the modern state in Germany were seen in the larger territories of the empire, especially Brandenburg-Prussia. The apotheosis of the nation-state meant the condemnation of the Old Empire, which was denied any significant contribution to the modern state. Early modern political theorists offer a different perspective. Samuel Pufendorf described the empire as “resembling a monster” in his 1667 treatise on the empire’s constitution, but Pufendorf, like most of his contemporaries, did not deny that the empire was a state—albeit a state with a complex and irregular constitution that did not fit with any classical model or modern system.

ART AND CULTURE IN THE POLYCENTRIC EMPIRE

In the century after the Peace of Westphalia, the fundamental acceptance of the existence of the empire by the other European powers led to a period of relative peace and prosperity. During this period German art, music, and learned culture once again flourished. Eighteenth-century observers lamented the empire’s lack of a capital city that could serve as a cultural center, but the polycentric structure of the empire had its benefits for the cross-pollination of ideas and cultures. As noted above, the spread of Reformation ideas and their implementation benefited from the variety of religious orders, universities, independent city-states, and centers of printing in the empire. From the mid-seventeenth century, the polycentric empire offered an array of careers, patrons, and stimuli for the arts, especially architecture and music. The flowering of German baroque architecture after 1700 can be seen in the works of Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach and Johann Lucas von Hildebrandt in the Habsburg lands, Balthasar Neumann in Würzburg, Matthäus Daniel Pöppelmann in Saxony, and Andreas Schlüter in Berlin. These baroque palaces and churches, each testifying to the glory of a prince of the empire, rang with the music of the age, composed by Johann

Sebastian Bach in Saxony, George Frideric Handel in Hanover and London, and Franz Joseph Haydn and Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart in Vienna. The careers of these men were shaped by the variety of courts and confessions unique to the empire.

AUSTRO-PRUSSIAN DUALISM AND THE END OF THE EMPIRE

The revival of the Habsburgs’ military power and imperial authority began during the reign of Emperor Leopold I (ruled 1658–1705), as the empire was threatened by French and Turkish aggression. These threats resulted in the loss of imperial cities like Strasbourg to France (1681) and the Ottoman siege of Vienna (1683), but without imperial leadership the damage could have been much worse. This demonstrated to even the most powerful princes of the empire that its central institutions, including the emperor, were indispensable to the defense and organization of the empire and its constituent territories. By 1700 the estates focused on strengthening the Imperial Circles and the Imperial Army and supported legislation such as the Imperial Trades Edict of 1731, which regulated the craft guilds of the empire. The two highest courts of the empire, the Imperial Cameral Court and the Imperial Aulic Court (*Reichshofrat*) also grew more effective. These courts settled several major interterritorial disputes through peaceful arbitration in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. They also resolved disputes within territories between princes and their estates. In a case cited by Peter H. Wilson, Duke William Hyacinth, ruler of Nassau-Siegen, was exiled from his tiny principality in 1707 by soldiers from Cologne acting on the instructions of the Imperial Aulic Court, which had ruled that he had forfeited his throne through his autocratic and irrational policies. In the free imperial city of Hamburg, a century-long dispute between the city council and the citizenry was settled in 1712 through an imperial commission. In 1719 the estates of Mecklenburg obtained a verdict and military intervention to prevent their prince’s use of his standing army against his own subjects, and in 1764 the Württemberg estates secured an injunction against their duke’s attempt to collect new taxes by force. At least a quarter of all cases heard by the Imperial Aulic Court in the period 1648–1806 were brought by subjects against their rulers, a clear sign of the

relevance of imperial institutions to subjects and princes in the last 150 years of the empire.

By the mid-eighteenth century the creation of standing armies divided the empire into “armed” and “unarmed” territories. Brandenburg-Prussia led the way with a standing army established by Frederick William I, the Great Elector (ruled 1640–1688). The Hohenzollern electors of Brandenburg, who were also the dukes of Prussia (which lay outside the empire), acquired the title of “king in Prussia” in 1701—an elevation sanctioned by Emperor Leopold I in return for military support from Brandenburg-Prussia. By the reign of Frederick II the Great (ruled 1740–1786), Brandenburg-Prussia had joined the great powers of Europe and pursued its own foreign policy. For Brandenburg-Prussia, as for Austria, the empire was now only one political factor among many.

Historians speak of the “centrifugal forces” that pulled the empire apart in the late eighteenth century. Its two largest principalities, Habsburg Austria and Hohenzollern Brandenburg-Prussia, expanded eastward in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, each tapping sources of authority and power outside the empire; the rulers of Saxony and Hanover did the same by accepting crowns in Poland and Great Britain. The lesser territories of the empire, the so-called “Third Germany,” focused more attention on the empire, but competition between Austria and Brandenburg-Prussia, the rigidity of the treaties of Westphalia, and the ponderous pace of imperial institutions combined to leave the empire politically impotent. A series of reforms in 1803 came too late to restore political relevance to the empire and could not prevent its elimination, through the abdication of Emperor Francis II (ruled 1792–1806), at the instigation of Napoleon. The tradition of the empire died, and its revival was not seriously discussed at the Congress of Vienna in 1815.

See also Augsburg, Religious Peace of (1555); Austro-Ottoman Wars; Charles V (Holy Roman Empire); Charles VI (Holy Roman Empire); Ferdinand I (Holy Roman Empire); Ferdinand II (Holy Roman Empire); Ferdinand III (Holy Roman Empire); Francis II (Holy Roman Empire); Frederick III (Holy Roman Empire); Free and Imperial Cities; Habsburg Dynasty: Austria; Habsburg Territories; Joseph I (Holy Roman Empire); Joseph II (Holy Roman Empire); Matthias (Holy Roman Empire);

Maximilian I (Holy Roman Empire); Maximilian II (Holy Roman Empire); Peasants’ War, German; Reformation, Protestant; Representative Institutions; Schmalkaldic War (1546–1547); Thirty Years’ War (1618–1648); Westphalia, Peace of (1648).

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HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE INSTITUTIONS. Though the German monarchy existed from late Carolingian times, the Holy Roman Empire as an institutionalized structure of governance was created between 1495 and 1555, and, with modifications following the Peace of Westphalia (1648), it endured until abolished by Napoleonic decree in 1803.

The imperial reform encompasses the institutions created through negotiations at the imperial diets. Its main phase began at Worms in 1495 and culminated there in 1521; following an interruption by the Reformation, a final phase of reform occurred at Augsburg in 1555. The reform provided for new organs of justice (the Imperial Chamber Court) and peacekeeping (Perpetual Peace) and a regionally based police and military structure (the Circles) and system of taxation (the Common Penny), none of which functioned more than desultorily before the 1550s. An executive commission (the Imperial Governance Council), which functioned briefly and poorly, was also created. The most important of the later additions were the Religious Peace of Augsburg of 1555, which enabled imperial governance to function despite the religious schism, the emergence of the Imperial Aulic Council as an imperial court of justice, and the creation of the Imperial Treasurer's office (1570s–1590s), followed in the seventeenth century by a permanent parliamentary body (the Perpetual Diet) with a fixed seat at Regensburg and formal confessional caucuses in religious matters (*itio in partes*).

The early modern empire was characterized by the absence of a comprehensive royal administration. The central administrative functions were divided among the imperial chancellery of the emperor, which was not entirely distinct from the Austrian chancellery; the imperial chancellery at Mainz, under the elector of Mainz, who served as arch-chancellor of the empire; and the imperial diet. From the mid-sixteenth century most administrative, fiscal, police, and military matters were handled either through the Circles or by delegated princes.

In addition to the monarchy, the principal imperial governing institution was the parliament (diet), which took institutionalized form during the last third of the fifteenth century. Until the Thirty Years' War, the monarch called the parliament to meet in one of several (mainly southern) free cities to deliberate, advise, and decide on measures described in his agenda (referred to as the Proposition). After 1663 the diet met in continuous session at Regensburg (hence the label "Perpetual Diet"), with the Estates represented by envoys. From beginning to end, the diet deliberated in three councils: the first of the several imperial electors, the second of around fifty spiritual and thirty temporal



princes (plus one representative each for the imperial abbots and imperial counts), and the third representing the fifty-five or so free cities. Territorial (i.e., nonimperial) nobles, prelates, and towns or districts did not participate in the imperial diet, but rather in their respective territorial parliaments, if such existed.

The empire's fiscal system remained, by European standards, primitive. Twice, in 1495 and again in the early 1540s, futile attempts were made to introduce a general property tax (the Common Penny), which, in the absence of any local imperial officials, parish priests were delegated to collect. Otherwise, taxes were levied according to registers, based on the lists of 1521, which apportioned the

levies to the individual estates, based on occasionally revised estimates of their relative wealth.

The imperial church possessed no superior jurisdiction or organs. Around 1500 it consisted of around fifty prince-bishops and eight archbishops, who held lands as temporal lords, bore the title of imperial prince, and held seats in the imperial diets (although one archbishop and sixteen bishops had no such privileges). Twelve bishoprics, nine of them prince-bishoprics, were lost to the Protestants between the 1540s and 1648.

The imperial electors were fixed at seven by the Golden Bull in 1356; these were the archbishops of Mainz, Cologne, and Trier; the electors of the Palatinate, Saxony, and Brandenburg; and the king of

Bohemia. The empire's political aristocracy consisted of the princes (dukes, margraves, landgraves, and princes, plus a few counts), who dominated the diet, while the imperial counts, barons, and knights were represented barely or not at all, though in the sixteenth century they formed important corporate organizations on a regional basis. The nobility, great and small, dominated the bishoprics (and great abbeys), thanks to their predominance in the electing bodies, the cathedral chapters. This power, with which both Vienna and Rome had to come to terms, was not broken until the end of the empire.

The strengths of imperial governance lay in its stability and flexibility. Its stability rested on a fundamental understanding that neither the monarchy nor the Estates could rule alone, an arrangement that encouraged negotiation and compromise. This rule, fixed between 1495 and 1521, was threatened only twice—first between 1546 and 1552 and then during the Thirty Years' War—by insurrection and civil war. Once the political consequences of the religious schism were contained, the system remained remarkably stable during its last 150 years. The flexibility of imperial governance arose from its dependence for the enforcement of law not on a central, royal apparatus of officials but on the Estates in their regions, organized into the Circles.

The greatest weakness of imperial governance lay in the area of defense. For defense against the Ottomans in Hungary until 1681 and for offensive action thereafter, the empire depended on the Habsburg Monarchy and the defensive system of the Austrian lands. It was powerless to prevent Spanish, Danish, Swedish, and French incursions during the Thirty Years' War and equally helpless to act in concert during the wars of Louis XIV and those of the eighteenth century. A second weakness consisted in the inability of the empire's weakly articulated central government to promote economic growth.

Recent literature on imperial governance has contradicted the earlier, highly unfavorable estimates of the empire's functioning as a state. It emphasizes the imperial policy of protecting small Estates from the expansionist aims of the great princes and affording access to courts of law on several levels. Currently, there is a tendency to idealize the empire as a precursor of modern Germany, gov-

erned by the rule of law. This said, perhaps no pre-modern European political system has benefited more from the decline in the reputation of the modern nation-state.

See also Augsburg, Religious Peace of (1555); Habsburg Territories; Taxation; Thirty Years' War (1618–1648); Westphalia, Peace of (1648).

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HOMOSEXUALITY. Like modern homosexuality, early modern homosexuality is better understood in the plural than in the singular. Homosexualities in different parts of early modern Europe were profoundly divergent, with equally profound differences existing between rural and urban settings and between diverse social groups in the same geographic areas. Class and other hierarchical differences added further dimensions to this divergence. Just as modern male and female homosexualities may be seen as the outcome of historical processes, their histories, despite their occasional intersections, are quite different. Until the eighteenth century, there were no societal, psychological, or self-identifying concepts of "gay" and "lesbian" as we know them today. But the eighteenth century was an era of transition that gave rise

to modern homosexualities, in particular in northern France, England, and the Dutch Republic.

TERMINOLOGY AND SOURCES

The words “homosexuality” and “lesbianism” were first coined in the second half of the nineteenth century. Previously, aside from words in the vernacular, the common European term for homosexuality was “sodomy,” which had profound theological and legal connotations. The term derived from the biblical story of the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah, and of God’s wrath for presumably widespread homosexual practices in those cities. Religious connotations affected words in the vernacular as well. “Buggery” and “bugger” (which had derivations in different languages, like the French *bougre* or Dutch *bogger*) came from Latin *bulgarus* and connected sodomy with heresy; this is because Bulgaria supposedly had been a center of Manichaeism, which espoused an indulgence in heterosexual and homosexual sodomy. Sodomy was also referred to as *crimen nefandum*, the ‘unmentionable vice’, the crime not to be known or mentioned among Christians.

From a strictly legal or penal perspective, sodomy did not refer exclusively to a same-sex configuration. The term could refer to anal intercourse, sets of prohibited sexual acts between men or between men and women, bestiality, and in some instances or places, sodomy referred to sexual contacts between Christians and Jews or Christians and Muslims. Although the word sodomy, at least in legal practice, was sometimes applied to sex between women, usually the terms “tribadry” or “sapphism,” as well as the more obscure Latin terms *fricatrices*, *subigatrices*, and *clitorifantes*, were used in vernaculars and in legal discourse. These words lacked the negative social and moral connotations of the term sodomy and instead referred specifically to sexual acts. By the end of the early modern period, the term sodomy referred to homosexual intercourse and bestiality in the general parlance. Throughout the era, a “sodomite” was a man who engaged in same-sex behavior. By the end of that period, words like “sapphist” and “sapphism,” referring to same-sex female relations, had gained such currency in popular parlance in England. Early modern documents, such as love letters, that provide unmitigated personal accounts

of men or women with same-sex orientations are extremely rare. However, some of these have survived, mainly as components of court records from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The latter provide the most substantial (if somewhat problematic, having been filtered by judicial systems) documentation on same-sex behavior and desires in early modern Europe. Although there certainly was no impunity for women who engaged in lesbian acts, the numbers of women prosecuted for same-sex behavior are small in comparison to men, and consequently documents on lesbian behavior are rare indeed.

LEGISLATION

Presumably, the East Roman emperor Justinian, in his sixth century writings against sodomy, had been the first to justify legislation against homosexuality. He claimed that natural disasters, like floods and earthquakes, diseases, and the negative outcome of wars, were collective penalties for homosexual behavior. Those ideas would affect legislation and legal practices in many parts of Europe for centuries to come. In 1120, the Council of Nablus turned sodomy in canonical law into a capital offense. Those convicted of the crime were punished by burning at the stake. The council also designated sodomy a crime that could be prosecuted by ecclesiastical and civil authorities. Local and regional laws in the next centuries provided a variety of penalties for sodomy, ranging from fines and mutilations for repeat offenders to death.

At the beginning of the early modern period, more penal unity was achieved in continental Europe with the enforcement of the *Constitutio Criminalis Carolina* of Holy Roman Emperor Charles V (ruled 1519–1558) in 1532, followed a year later in England by Henry VIII’s (ruled 1509–1547) “buggery” act. In many places prosecutors or judges deciding in sodomy cases could still call upon custom, local or regional laws, mosaic law, or rather arbitrary interpretations of Roman laws such as the *Lex Scantinia* from the third century B.C.E. and the *Lex Julia de Adulteriis Coercendis* from the first century B.C.E.

The *Carolina* and the English act both placed the death penalty on sodomy offenders: the first stipulated burning at the stake, the latter called for hanging or decapitation. Joost de Damhouder

(1507–1581), an advisor to Charles V, in his *Praxis Rerum Criminalium* (1554), a commentary on the *Carolina* that was authoritative in many parts of Europe into the first half of the eighteenth century, once again invoked the Sodom story and claimed that natural disasters and pestilence would be God's wrath for the existence of sodomy. Although the main focus was on male homosexual and heterosexual sodomy, commentators on legal issues at the time often did include female same-sex relations as well.

Enlightenment writers like Beccaria in Italy, Montesquieu in France, and Bentham in England rejected (in their works on penal reform) the penalties for same-sex behavior. With the exception of Bentham (who never published his most radical writings on this issue), they had nothing positive to say about same-sex love, yet they rejected the idea that the inherent harm in homosexual behavior was so great that it warranted interference of the state through punitive action. Pursuing a separation of church and state, radical penal reformers also rejected antisodomy laws because those were believed to originate in theology. Reformers emphasized the political abuse of antisodomy laws and maintained that confessions of defendants were all too often obtained through torture. While rejecting the death penalty for sodomy, not all Enlightenment legal reformers rejected penalization, and in many places some form of punishment remained in place. At the end of the early modern period, those countries that adopted the French Napoleonic penal code (or had that code forced upon them) decriminalized same-sex behaviors.

PROSECUTIONS

The late Middle Ages also saw prosecutions and executions of individuals in Europe who were charged with same-sex intimate behavior. Sometimes legal actions were politically inspired, like the accusations in England against Edward II in 1372, or those against the Knights Templar. Prior to the early modern period, accusations of homosexual or heterosexual sodomy were also leveled against groups of heretics who at times faced extreme persecution.

In the late Middle Ages and at the beginning of the early modern period, religious and civil authorities in cities in Tuscany tried to stamp out wide-

spread practices of so-called age-based homosexuality. Venice, Lucca, and Florence created special courts to deal with the offenders. In its seventy years of existence, the court in Florence dealt with over 10,000 cases. Although death penalties and incarcerations were sometimes applied in Venice, in Florence most cases offenders were merely fined, creating the belief (especially later in Protestant countries) that Italians considered sodomy to be a *peccadillo*, a minor sin. A century later, cities like Geneva and Ghent saw serious persecutions, yet in both places mostly foreigners, and especially Italians, faced trial. In Ghent, as in some other places in Flanders at the beginning of the Reformation, a number of monks were burned at the stake after having been found guilty of sodomy. Autos-da-fé (the public burning of offenders) occurred on the Iberian Peninsula especially during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Sodomy trials in rural parts of Europe like Prussia and Sweden usually involved charges of bestiality. This was the most common sexual offense in Sweden well into the twentieth century. No serious persecutions have been reported in eastern European countries. In Denmark sodomy seems to have been a crime without offenders: there have been no sodomy trials in that country.

France had witnessed limited numbers of sodomy trials in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In the eighteenth century the Parisian police documented and policed sodomites' lives in a way unheard of before, but this hardly ever resulted in trials. However, such observations did provide ample documentation on sodomite subcultures in Paris. England and the Dutch Republic also had few sodomy trials up to the late seventeenth century. From that time on and well into the next century, there is ample documentation on raids on "molly houses" (from Latin *mollis*, referring to softness and effeminacy) in London. Offenders often were seriously injured by being put on the pillory for their crimes.

After the 1670s in the Dutch Republic, the number of sodomy trials gradually increased until a major wave of arrests erupted in 1730, which was to be repeated several times during the eighteenth century. Persecutions here turned into the most severe in early modern Europe. Between 1730 and 1811,

when the French penal code was enforced in the Netherlands, some 800–1,000 sodomy trials were held there, resulting in about 200 death penalties and as many (often de facto lifelong) solitary confinements when mutual masturbation was the only proven offense. Most of the rest of the men prosecuted were forever expelled from their countries, often after they had already taken refuge abroad.

Trials against women for same-sex activities were rare. Occasionally, cross-dressing women who had sex with other women were brought to trial. Only in a three-year period in late-eighteenth-century Amsterdam were lower-class women prosecuted regularly for having sex with one another. They faced up to several years of incarceration.

EARLY MODERN HOMOSEXUALITIES

Divergent patterns of male same-sex behavior dominated different parts of Europe and the rest of the world at different times; upon closer examination, several patterns of behavior—cross-gender, class-based, intergenerational (age-based), and equal-status—could be distinguished. These patterns could also be mixed. The first three patterns, generally speaking, were related to assigned passive and active roles. Only in the equal-status pattern could adult men interchange active and passive roles with one another. Patterns of same-sex behavior could be permanent or temporary. Unlike in the modern West, these patterns did not necessarily represent an alternative sexuality, but were part of male social bonding and also of the socialization process from boyhood into adult masculinity.

In the cross-gender pattern, men dressed as women and took on a female role. Although crossing class barriers (which is what the second pattern is about) is a persistent and apparently enticing feature of same-sex behavior, traditionally the class-based homosexuality is mostly relevant to societies in which free-born men engaged in sexual activities with male slaves. European colonizers met the first among indigenous populations of the Americas, and may have engaged themselves in the second form.

The two most dominant patterns of male homosexual behavior in early modern Europe are the age-based and equal-status homosexualities, although the latter only began to emerge in the later part of the seventeenth century in northwestern Europe—England, northern France, and the Dutch

Republic—and may have been present in urbanized western parts of Germany. Age-based homosexuality was the most dominant pattern in southern Europe throughout the early modern period, in particular in Italy; adult men strictly upholding active and passive roles sought sex with pubescent and sometimes prepubescent boys. Those boys, on reaching adulthood, switched from passive to active roles, started to have sex with women (mostly prostitutes), and ideally left all of that behind them when they were married in their late twenties or early thirties. Florence had gained such a reputation in Europe that “to Florence” had become a verb in German and Dutch, referring to same-sex activities. By the late Middle Ages, Italy had already earned a reputation for its apparent widespread homosexual activities: during most of the early modern period in western Europe, the word “Italian” was synonymous with “sodomite.” Although documentation on homosexuality in eastern European countries is still scant, reports suggest that in a city like Moscow in the seventeenth century, patterns of behavior existed that were not unlike those in Tuscan cities. Once St. Petersburg started its ascendancy as capital and as window to the West, more “modern” patterns of homosexual behavior may have emerged here.

Prior to the emergence of equal-status homosexuality in northwestern Europe, far more hierarchical forms were dominant there, usually taking the forms of class- and age-based same-sex behavior, or some combination thereof. Homosexual behavior could manifest itself between masters and apprentices, or officers and privates. Such hierarchical and age-based forms involving young cabin boys show up persistently in documents of ship councils far into the eighteenth century.

The rise of the equal-status homosexuality in the late seventeenth century marked the beginning of a period of transition into modernity, which would eventually result in modern homosexualities and identity formations. This rise went hand in hand with the emergence of same-sex subcultures. Meeting sites for sodomites have been reported since the late Middle Ages in cities like Cologne, but they meant little compared to the numerous places—pubs, brothels, parks, gardens, and urban sites like city halls, commodity exchanges, and theaters—that show up in court documents from the late

seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in cities like Paris, London, and Amsterdam, and some smaller cities.

In Amsterdam, sodomites who had met someone could go to any number of public toilets underneath bridges. Some of those toilets had a reputation as places where sodomites could pick up partners, too. European societies with a dominant age-based homosexuality have also documented some sites at which men used to meet, yet those were typical places where men used to socialize and bond. The meeting sites frequented by sodomites in Holland and elsewhere from the late seventeenth century onwards were often the places where female prostitutes picked up their customers.

The rise of the sodomitical subcultures was accompanied by the development of a distinct homosexual role. Sodomites developed an often effete body language and deportment, and used gestures and an argot that sometimes resembled that of prostitutes. At one of the most notorious meeting sites for sodomites in Amsterdam, men used to walk to and fro with their arms akimbo and hit another man with their elbow if they were interested in him. Prostitutes of the time may have used similar tactics. In London's so-called molly houses sodomites staged plays and rituals in which they mocked marriage ceremonies and childbirth. While in the age-based same-sex pattern men could be infatuated with particular boys, in this equal-status homosexuality some men engaged in jealously guarded love affairs. By the end of the early modern period, to have a lover had become a definite goal for many members of these subcultures.

While in previously dominant patterns male desires were generally not directed exclusively towards other males, but were epitomized by the literary and also printed image of a man holding a boy on one arm and a woman on the other, in the eighteenth century the "new" effete sodomitical role became more solely geared toward males. Upon being arrested, some of these men in northwestern Europe would acknowledge that they never had had any desire for women. For some that would also mean acknowledging a preference for a passive role in sex.

Patterns of female same-sex behavior are far more difficult to discern. As with some male homosexualities, some forms of lesbian behavior must be

looked at from a wider perspective. One of these is the tradition of amply documented female transvestism. Throughout the early modern period, women cross-dressed to masquerade as soldiers, sailors, pirates, or sometimes just to travel safely. Whether some of these women originally dressed up for sexual reasons is unknown, yet there is also documentation of women who in their male attire courted and even married other women. Some had sex while using artificial penises they had made. Women who cross-dressed had to adopt a male role in such a way that even people in close quarters like ship bunks did not become suspicious.

Women did not have subcultures like those men had in northwestern Europe, that is, clandestine spots and physical cues that exclusively served male-to-male desires. There is some evidence, especially from the Netherlands, that lower-class women did have subcultures, in which (although not exclusively) female-to-female desires could be fulfilled. These women, often widowed, abandoned, or left behind by sailor husbands, formed mutual support networks in which (sometimes through prostitution) they could pursue sex with men but also with one another. These women may have lived together in inconspicuous manners. Upper-class women and, for instance, actresses, although not cross-dressing, sometimes dressed in sufficiently ambiguous ways, mixing male and female attire, to raise suspicions if not of same-sex behavior, at least of having loose ways.

PERCEPTIONS

Separating theological from penal views is difficult, since the latter were mostly based upon theological perspectives on sexuality. Thomas Aquinas's thirteenth-century distinction between natural and unnatural sexual offenses (even though Thomism temporarily lost its influence) bore upon the early modern consciousness. In his morphology of sex crimes, rape and adultery were at least natural because they did not stand in the way of procreation and therefore were not as heinous as sodomy. While later Protestant writers would not refer to Aquinas, they by and large adhered to the same morphology. For Aquinas as much as for these writers, the only thing worse than sex between men or between women was sex with an animal.

The acknowledgment by Protestants and Catholics after the Counter-Reformation that sexual pleasure was a means for strong bonding between spouses, and was therefore primarily an environment to create offspring, probably engendered even more virulent rejections of same-sex behavior. After all, by bringing pleasure into the equation, a dangerous border was crossed that required constant vigilance. Since the Middle Ages and perhaps before, same-sex behavior had already been seen as the ultimate form of hedonism.

Such hedonism began with indulgence in other, corporeal pleasures, the *luxuria*. Indulgence in fine or copious food and drink, in dancing and smoking, in fine clothes, and also abuse of leisure through card playing or gambling was thought to provoke desires and lust for more pleasure and worse acts, such as womanizing, adultery, whoring, and, ultimately, homosexual acts. Unnatural behavior could thus originate in natural needs for food, drink, dress, and rest, and then only deteriorate from there. This was supposedly what had happened in Sodom and Gomorrah, which had been located on a fertile plain. The riches of these cities led to indulgence in all kinds of debauchery and, eventually, to God's wrath.

Women were considered to have less perfect bodies than men and were supposed to be, by nature, insatiable; thus submitting to the hierarchy of the sexes was seen as the only way for women to control their cravings. However, men could also lose control and become as insatiable as women were supposed to be, resulting in effeminate behavior and indulgence in all kinds of sexual vices. Hence, effeminacy in the eighteenth century was still seen as the hallmark of a womanizer. Womanizing was, after all, seen as only one step away from sodomy with men. This potential for sodomy was seen as destructive not just on the individual level, but on a national level as well. People feared eventual destruction by fire and sulfur, just as God had once destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah. Hedonism, abuse, and loss of control represented chaos, and chaos could eventually become the undoing of society and creation, as the very purpose of creation had been to bring order into chaos.

To the extent that this way of thinking was a psychological theory about the causes of same-sex

behavior, it attributed little if any agency to the mind, and it was profoundly distrustful of the temptations the body put in the way of even the righteous. In its prediction of individual and collective behaviors, of the rise and fall of nations, this theory was also social and political. It explained the demise of southern European countries as well as the ascendancy of the Dutch Republic in the seventeenth century. Sodomy supposedly did not exist there until the sobriety that had characterized its inhabitants gave way to indulgence in the wealth that God had once bestowed upon them as a reward for their sober ways.

In the course of the eighteenth century, although remaining largely implicit, more individualized theories took hold; some commentators began to speak of inner proclivities rather than of bodies that had run amok. In a sense, the historical paths of male and female homosexualities also met around the 1750s. Lesbian activities at the time were attributed to "whores," that is, women who were not necessarily prostitutes but who had loose morals. Whereas previously effeminess among males had been the characteristic of womanizers, after the mid-eighteenth century it became more and more the hallmark of sodomites. The effete sodomite was like a he-whore, an English author wrote at the time, and that was also the way sodomites were perceived in the Dutch Republic. Consequently, fears of the spread of same-sex practices diminished somewhat in the course of the eighteenth century, although among some groups they persist to this very day. Nevertheless, authorities—and as indicated before, penal reformers—in many parts of Europe felt the need to "contain" the vice, no longer because they feared God's immediate wrath, but because they feared that the male sex was undermined, and with it nations' capacity to pursue political, economic, and military power.

SELF-PERCEPTIONS

By the late eighteenth century, sodomites in northwestern Europe had not only developed a distinctive societal role, but also perceived themselves as a separate category from men and women. They also talked about these issues among one another. Early in the eighteenth century they would refer to other sodomites as men who liked to do this kind of thing as well. Some seventy years later sodomites talked

about “being a member of the family,” “people like us,” and “you and me and thousands like us.” It especially allowed devout men to look upon themselves as morally responsible human beings. From the 1750s onward sodomites arrested in the Dutch Republic would refer to the biblical story of David and Jonathan, and increasingly they would claim to have been born with their inclinations intact. More than half a century before Karl Heinrich Ulrichs in Germany in the 1860s formulated the theory of the existence of a third sex—men born with a female soul—sodomites in the Netherlands spoke among one another of their “condition” or “way of being” as an inborn weakness. There is no documentation about women who clearly spoke in such a way of themselves. For men, one might say this newfound homosexual identity culminated in the contents of a love letter from one Dutch male servant to his male lover early in the nineteenth century. He used still-current terms for boyfriend, talked about “being of the family,” and he called upon innate weaknesses to explain their desires, while also legitimizing those desires by telling his lover that God had not created any human being for its own damnation.

See also **Crime and Punishment; Gender; Sexual Difference, Theories of; Sexuality and Sexual Behavior.**

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THEO VAN DER MEER

HONOR. Honor was an ethical system whose prescriptions varied according to one’s place in the social hierarchy. Rank, gender, age, and a host of other personal qualities determined what types of behavior were honorable, and what degree of respect and deference one could expect from others. Tension existed, however, between how honor was defined in the abstract and how people used honor. Jurists and moralists in early modern Europe conceived of honor as part of a rigid structure of values and conduct, an almost tangible possession that one could gain or lose. In practice honor was more fluid and served as a rhetoric flexible enough for individuals to adapt to their own purposes. For example, the laws of the state and the morals of the church labeled prostitutes in sixteenth-century Rome as

dishonorable, but court records show that prostitutes used the language of honor to make claims for respect from their clients, patrons, and neighbors.

THE ROLES OF HONOR

Despite its equivocal meanings, honor was a crucial aspect of culture and conduct at every level of society. Notions of honor varied by region, gender, status, and time, but these differences were all variations on a theme that maintained remarkable similarity as it stretched across Europe, reached back into the Middle Ages, and persisted in some form into the nineteenth century. Everywhere honor depended on one's reputation for proper behavior, as judged by one's peers and neighbors, so personal honor was always vulnerable to gossip and slander that could redefine one's estimation in the eyes of others. While honor was meant to be a moral code, in reality its concerns had as much to do with preventing, masking, or redressing humiliation than with encouraging virtue.

Individual communities used honor to define membership and to enforce the responsibilities of members. For example, if a young woman defied custom and married an old man, disappointed young men might defend the honor of their village by staging raucous and even violent protests, called *charivaris* in France and "rough music" in England. Artisan guilds acted against guild members who threatened their corporate honor through dishonest business practices. In Venice, groups of young men engaged in bouts of ritual combat over the city's bridges to assert the honor of one neighborhood against another. Honor also demarcated castes in society, as in Germany where executioners were considered dishonorable and were not allowed to intermarry with other, honorable groups.

One aspect of honor that remained constant throughout early modern Europe was its strong connection to patriarchy, sex, and gender. Honor codes universally prescribed appropriate sexual behavior for both women and men. Women needed to be chaste in order to be honorable, and "whore" was usually the most damning affront one could level against a woman. Men were held responsible for the sexual conduct of women under their protection, including their wives, daughters, and sisters. This left male honor dangerously vulnerable to the actions of women. If a man failed to control

"his" women, he invited neighbors to brand him a cuckold. Because male honor and female chastity were so thoroughly intertwined, men might take violent revenge against anyone who threatened, in word or deed, the sexual honor of "their" women—if they did not direct their violence against the women themselves. While honor's sexual component is associated most closely with the underdeveloped Mediterranean basin, historians have found similar patterns in vanguards of modernity like Holland and in regions as far removed from the Mediterranean as Muscovy. Even for women, however, sexuality was never the sole determinant of personal honor. In England, for example, a woman's honor rested partly on her skills as a housewife and mother.

Honor also embraced social hierarchy. Nobles enjoyed a more honorable standing than commoners, and they reinforced their claims to honor through the ceremony of the duel. Dueling arose first in Italy as part of the Renaissance's developments in courtesy and manners, and then spread throughout Europe. Dueling became the accepted means of redressing an affront, thereby distancing noblemen from brawling commoners. Dueling manuals did not recognize the right of plebeian men to duel, but nevertheless popular duels did exist. Sailors in Amsterdam and peasants in Castile invested their knife fights with rituals similar to elite dueling practices, and their contests even arose from similar causes, such as precedence, lying, and women, even if non-nobles sometimes preferred terms like "honesty" and "reputation" instead of "honor" when describing their claims to respect and good treatment. Throughout the early modern period, as elite customs and manners continued to draw away from the behavior of the nonelite, the honor of the nobility became increasingly distant from that of their inferiors. Vendettas, brawls, and *charivaris* gave way to politeness and civility as components of honor for gentlemen, especially in the eighteenth century. Even aristocratic duels became less violent. As the elite became less tolerant of violence, the duelist's aim became the demonstration of his courage rather than the destruction of his opponent.

Throughout the early modern period, honor had its critics. No matter how courteous the etiquette of dueling became, in the eyes of the civil and

religious authorities assault and murder remained crimes and sins. Moralists declared that true honor resided in Christian virtue and in the conscience, not in the estimation of one's peers. Just as often, however, honor fit hand in glove with other values and historical trends. By attacking debauched clerics who preyed on good Christian women, and by expelling prostitutes from Christian communities, Protestant reformers appealed to honor to win popularity in sixteenth-century German cities. Honor helped foster the scientific revolution by allowing gentlemen to trust the word of peers who conducted experiments hundreds of miles away. Honor helped shape diplomacy and warfare, for example preventing seventeenth-century Spanish statesmen from reining in Madrid's imperial overreach because they could not bear to abandon obligations they had made to defend Catholicism and preserve the Habsburg inheritance. Honor even played a role in the revolution that brought the early modern period to a close, as illicit pornographic writings circulated in Old Regime France that undermined respect for Louis XVI, depicting him as an impotent cuckold. Honor did not pass away during the French Revolution, however. Well into the nineteenth century statesmen, capitalists, and journalists adapted honor to suit their new social circumstances.

See also [Class, Status, and Order](#); [Duel](#); [Gentleman](#); [Sexuality and Sexual Behavior](#).

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SCOTT TAYLOR



produced no more significant work and died embittered and alone even though he left over £9,000 in cash (money that he must have accrued as surveyor for the City of London).

Hooke's scientific achievements were considerable. He developed, but never fully expounded, a unique system of mechanical philosophy that depended upon supposed incessant vibrations of matter. Ingeniously explaining solidity, for example, in terms of particles vibrating so rapidly that they could beat off any intruding body; and chemical reactions in terms of vibrations of two substances in harmony (in cases of combination) or in discord (in cases of disaggregation), Hooke's main problem was to explain such putative vibrations. Although he never succeeded in this, he was led to many suggestive experiments on the nature of vibrations and what he called "simple harmonic motions." His theory and practice was closely linked not only to the first statement of what is now known as Hooke's Law (stress is proportional to strain), and his awareness of the dynamic equivalence of vibrating springs and pendulums, but also to his insight in 1658 that a clock might be driven by a spring instead of a pendulum—an idea that was first made to work in practice by Huygens in 1674 but that Hooke believed should have been acknowledged as his invention. The influence of his vibratory physics can even be seen in Hooke's recognition that light was a periodic phenomenon, as demonstrated in his analysis of colors produced in soap bubbles and other thin films. Hooke was inspired by his optical theories to develop the idea that planetary motions could be explained in terms of a single attractive force from the sun bending the straight-line motion of a planet into an elliptical orbit. Furthermore, he guessed that this force would vary in inverse proportion to the square of the distance between the sun and the planet. He published this speculation in 1666 and drew it to Newton's attention in correspondence in 1679. Hooke couldn't prove it mathematically, but when Newton subsequently proved it, at the request of Edmund Halley in 1684, he did not correct Halley's assumption that Newton had hit on the idea himself. This proof, of course, was to be the centerpiece of Newton's *Principia Mathematica*, which Halley now persuaded him to write. Small wonder that Hooke was outraged when he

heard that his original idea was not acknowledged in the *Principia*.

Hooke was undoubtedly an insightful and ingenious theorist of great influence even though he never quite succeeded in establishing the truth of any of his theoretical ideas. His industry and ingenuity has, nevertheless, ensured his position in the history of science. He invented the universal joint, the iris diaphragm, a calibrated screw adjustment for telescopes, and the wheel barometer. He was also one of the first to take seriously the idea that fossils represented the genuine remains of ancient creatures (previously it was assumed they were simply features in the rocks which accidentally mimicked living forms), and was led by his knowledge of them to conclude that the surfaces of the earth could change, land giving way to sea and vice versa, and that the number and kinds of species of plants and animals were not fixed. Perhaps his most lasting monument, however, is his one major book, *Micrographia* (1665), the first major work of microscopy. Although justly famous for its meticulous and genuinely surprising descriptions of microscopic phenomena, and for its superb illustrations, *Micrographia* also includes some of Hooke's most fruitful theoretical speculations and his most profound comments upon good practice in natural philosophy.

See also Academies, Learned; Boyle, Robert; Chemistry; Huygens Family; Newton, Isaac; Physics; Scientific Illustration; Scientific Instruments; Scientific Method; Wren, Christopher.

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JOHN HENRY

HOOKER, RICHARD (1553 or 1554–1600), English theologian and legal scholar. Richard Hooker's major work, *Of the Laws of Ecclesiasti-*

cal Polity (1593–1662), quickly became the authoritative text legitimating the Elizabethan Settlement and defending it from Catholic and Puritan attacks. Hooker, born about 1554 near Exeter, entered Corpus Christi College, Oxford, in 1569 (B.A. 1574; M.A. 1577) under the sponsorship of Bishop John Jewel (1522–1571). Hooker remained at Oxford until 1584, becoming a fellow, teaching logic and Hebrew, and becoming an Anglican priest. With the help of his patron, Archbishop Edwin Sandys (1516?–1588), Hooker in 1585 was appointed master of the Temple in London, a position akin to dean and chief pastor. The Temple was one of the premier English centers of legal study and training. As master Hooker began his public defense of Anglicanism against Puritanism, delivering his sermons to the Temple congregation in the morning only to be rebutted by the afternoon lectures of his colleague Walter Travers (c. 1548–1635), a prominent Puritan scholar.

In London, Hooker lived with his good friend John Churchman. In 1588 Hooker married Joan Churchman, John's daughter. They had six children. Hooker resigned as master in 1591, perhaps at the instigation of Archbishop John Whitgift (c. 1530–1604), to devote himself to the composition of his *Laws*. He delegated his new clerical duties as subdean of Salisbury and rector of Boscombe and remained in London at Churchman's home. In 1595 the crown rewarded Hooker's 1593 publication of Books 1–4 of the *Laws* with residency in Bishopsbourne, Kent. There he continued to work on the *Laws* until his death in 1600. He published Book 5 of the *Laws* in 1597, but Books 6–8 were still in draft form when he died. Portions of these drafts circulated in manuscript before they were eventually published in 1648 (Books 6 and 8) and 1662 (Book 7).

The English Puritanism opposed by Hooker in the *Laws* asserted that there is only one true law, God's law; that Scripture clearly and adequately states this law; and that this law has exclusive authority in all things. Hooker, drawing upon Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274) and Aristotle (384–322 B.C.E.), responded that Scripture clearly is neither intended nor sufficient to address matters of ecclesiastical or civil government; where Scripture was found wanting, recourse must be made to tradition and human reason. And in England, Scripture, tra-

dition, and human reason supported the 1559 Elizabethan Settlement, which established Anglicanism as the state religion and adopted for it the Book of Common Prayer.

The general, Books 1–4 of the *Laws* lay the groundwork for the more specific Books 5–8. Book 1, the most widely read, deals with the fundamental characters of and the relations among divine, natural, and human laws. Book 2 contains proofs that Scripture does not contain laws governing all things. Along these same lines, Book 3 denies that Scripture designates an absolute form of polity. Book 4 defends the overlaps between Anglican and Catholic practice and ceremony attacked by the Puritans.

Book 5, the central and largest, seeks to conserve the Christian Commonwealth established by the settlement by defending the Book of Common Prayer—especially its role in shaping the moral character of the people. Book 6 rejects the Puritan claim that lay elders must govern the church, while Book 7 defends the continued church governance by bishops (episcopacy). Book 8, which has attracted the most critical scholarly attention, deals with the royal supremacy in religious matters and the impossibility of rigidly separating church and state.

Hooker's continued fame derives largely from Izaak Walton's biography and the anthologization of portions of Book 1 as the premier example of Elizabethan prose style. However, beginning in the early twentieth century critics assailed Hooker's three-hundred-year reputation as "judicious" and unbiased. While these attacks were justified to the extent that Hooker, with immense success, created the impression that his positions were uncontroversial, they failed to credit him for raising the standards for Renaissance controversialist tracts with his restrained style, reasoned argument, and consistent resort to first principles. Subsequent critical attention has focused on the three long-neglected yet profound limitations Hooker attached to the royal supremacy in religious matters: God's power is superior to the monarch's; the monarch's power is subject to human law, if derived from it; and the monarch is inferior to his or her realm united in opposition. Contemporary debate also surrounds whether or not the appeal by John Locke

(1632–1704) to Hooker as the inspiration for his doctrine of the state of nature was disingenuous. Opinions are mixed as to whether to characterize Hooker's thought as essentially medieval and conservative or as more modern—as containing innovative and radical elements.

See also **Church of England; Elizabeth I (England).**

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ANDREW MAJESKE

HOSPITALS. From their inception in Byzantium, hospitals evolved within a Christian religious framework of hospitality and charity, providing primarily shelter, food, and a good death with spiritual salvation. Often, medical services were marginal, contracted to deal with associated physical disabilities and pain. With poverty endemic by the late fifteenth century in many areas of Europe, the emphasis shifted away from broadly dispensed hospitality to the “poor of Jesus Christ.” Charity was no longer conceived as either private or religious. With almsgiving dwindling because of wars and economic crises, social welfare needed to be

reformed and rationed, a function increasingly delegated by the church to the contemporary secular powers. Thus, after 1500, new welfare policies cut across religious boundaries and followed patterns closely tailored to local urban conditions. Charitable assistance was channeled through existing social structures such as parishes, confraternities, and municipalities to benefit schools and several types of hospitals.

Institutions such as almshouses and retirement homes retained their traditional custodial functions while leper and pesthouses functioned primarily as segregation tools for persons suffering from particular diseases considered contagious. At the same time, the hospital's role was recast on the basis of ideas derived from Renaissance humanism as one aiding physical recovery and restoration. This change affected certain urban hospitals of northern Italy, reflecting a more positive vision of health and its importance in Europe's new economy. Acutely ill patients were admitted and subjected to medical treatments for the purpose of rehabilitation and possible complete cures in larger establishments such as the 250-bed Santa Maria Nuova Hospital in Florence. Patient populations were composed of young, unattached laborers whose economic well-being was closely linked to physical health. The regular presence of practitioners in the wards signaled a decisive shift toward a greater institutional role for medicine and surgery. Physicians visited regularly, experimented on patients with traditional and new remedies, and preserved their newly gained clinical experience in casebooks. They also created disease classifications, occasionally instructed medical students, and subjected deceased and unclaimed inmates to anatomical dissections. In 1539, for example, Giovanni B. da Monte (1498–1561), professor of medicine at the University of Padua, began taking his apprentices to the local Ospedale di San Francesco for the purpose of seeing patients afflicted with diseases he was lecturing on.

By the late 1400s, several cities in southwest Germany established special hospitals—the so-called “pox houses”—for the care of men and women afflicted by a seemingly new disease variously referred to by Germans and Italians as “morbus gallicus” or French disease. Fear of an impending epidemic, together with the dramatic symptoms and lethal outcome of what was presum-

ably an acute and highly lethal form of venereal syphilis, mobilized municipal authorities, private philanthropists, and specialized physicians. They opened a number of facilities exclusively devoted to a series of medical treatments, including the 122-bed “pox house” in Augsburg founded in 1495. Like their Italian counterparts, these institutions were located within urban walls and featured permanent medical staffs represented by physicians, barber-surgeons, and apothecaries.

The Protestant Reformation created a new relationship to both God and the community. Individuals were given the right to charitable assistance together with obligations to contribute and assist others through local and national systems of relief financed by subscriptions or taxes. Divine Providence, not the quest for indulgences, was to be the path toward salvation, leading to the collapse of hospital patronage as an instrument of salvation. In Protestant countries, institutionalized health care became restricted to smaller infirmaries and dispensaries supported by local governments or community organizations. In Catholic Europe, the Council of Trent (1545–1563) made specific efforts to eliminate widespread administrative fraud perpetrated by religious personnel, including hospital administrators. Thus the church reorganized religious hospitals and closed small, poorly endowed institutions, accelerating an ongoing, two-century-old consolidation process. In their place rose privately endowed, large general hospitals or shelters, often run by local confraternities. These establishments were designed to house together diverse groups of needy people, including orphans, chronic sufferers, mentally ill individuals, and the elderly. The sick poor found medical care in “God’s hostels” (*Hôtels Dieu*) and other institutions.

Placed under civic authority, most European hospitals became involved in novel schemes of social control and medical assistance. A work ethic adopted by both Protestants and the Catholic Counter-Reformation viewed daily labor as a spiritually fulfilling communal obligation. In selecting its welfare recipients, modern European society thus sought to identify those it considered deserving of assistance—including medical care—through a series of means tests. Most of the deserving poor were modest and law-abiding working people, stable residents seemingly content with their status in society

as bestowed by Divine Providence. By contrast, homeless paupers and strangers, as well as drifters, vagrants, and beggars were characterized as undeserving of social welfare, identified with social unrest and crime. In the eyes of the Catholic Church, however, the distinction between worthy and unworthy poor remained blurred. All were considered sinners who needed to be saved. Indeed, spiritual salvation remained the ultimate objective of Catholic hospitalization, and religious ceremonies continued to be central to hospital life, leading to tensions with medical caregivers.

To fulfill their social contract and be productive, early modern European workers needed to remain physically healthy, or, if sick, be assisted in their recovery. Living in crowded and unhygienic conditions, urban populations increasingly fell prey to an expanding panorama of diseases affecting especially the young and the aged. Although Protestant values conferred an active role on individuals pursuing their own healing, help and assistance was to be always available. Outpatient relief in the form of home care and provision of medicines by visiting nurses were furnished to support the “deserving” poor’s legitimate status in society. Local efforts designed to stem such assaults on health were encouraged and greatly valued. Belief in Divine Providence encouraged medical activities considered divinely approved instruments to assist in recovery. In turn, hospitals were now considered places of early rather than last resort.

During the seventeenth century, the medicalization of hospitals accelerated, as Europe witnessed the emergence of modern national states. Within the new mercantilist context a growing and physically able population was believed to be essential for achieving political, military, and economic goals. With labor viewed as the key source of power and wealth, efforts to enhance the productivity of a country’s citizenry inevitably included the workers’ health. Prevention and rehabilitation became national goals. The result was an impressive network of general, military and naval hospitals as well as institutions for housing individuals classified as invalids. Reformers such as William Petty (1623–1687) stressed the importance of medicine and the participation of physicians and surgeons in such care.

Writing in the eighteenth century, Enlightenment thinkers crafted an optimistic view concerning the preservation and rehabilitation of human health. Despite popular perceptions about the fateful inevitability of sickness and disability, French philosophes and others insisted that disease could be controlled, removed, and even prevented by the prompt and deliberate application of traditional dietary, medicinal, and behavioral means. In Protestant countries, belief in Divine Providence supported medical assistance, while Catholic Europe continued to stress spiritual salvation over bodily rehabilitation. Merging traditional religious and secular philanthropic motives, however, state and municipal governments, voluntary associations, and corporate bodies all joined forces to implement a program of public assistance designed to mend bodies while still saving souls. In Britain, local “alliances against misery” comprising private individuals, including businessmen, bankers, lawyers, physicians, and surgeons, came together to establish new voluntary hospitals. Governmental and private organizations aimed at better infant and maternal health, creating lying-in and children’s institutions.

By the 1770s, the British voluntary hospital movement was already in full swing, while Continental establishments expanded their services. Hospitals became ideal settings for a greater medical presence, providing physicians with access to vast sectors of the population hitherto left outside the scope of mainstream medicine. Early leaders of this hospital development were John Aikin (1747–1822) who considered the hospitalized sick poor as ideally suited for “experimental practice,” John Howard (1726–1790), a widely traveled prison and hospital reformer, and Jacques Tenon (1724–1816), who viewed hospitals as symbols of Enlightenment civilization. Others provided the necessary impetus for bedside medical research and improved clinical skills. Indeed, hospitals were now seen as “nurseries” capable of “breeding” better medical professionals. Informal methods of clinical teaching, brought from Italy to Holland a century earlier, became part of academic instruction pioneered by the University of Leiden. There, at the St. Caecilia Gasthuis, Herman Boerhaave (1668–1738) held “practical exercises,” making rounds, questioning, examining, and prescribing remedies for the carefully selected patients. The routine also included the

questioning of students, performance of autopsies on those who had died, and efforts to correlate specific postmortem findings with previously detected symptoms. Later, other academic institutions in London, Edinburgh, and Pavia followed this model, although the potential inherent in hospitals to furnish new clinical and pathological knowledge capable of revolutionizing medicine was only fully realized after 1800 in Parisian institutions. In sum, the early modern period witnessed the decisive transformation of the hospital from a religious shelter to a space exclusively devoted to medical interventions.

See also **Apothecaries; Boerhaave, Herman; Catholic Spirituality and Mysticism; Catholicism; Charity and Poor Relief; Medicine; Poverty; Public Health; Reformation, Protestant.**

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GUENTER B. RISSE

HOUSEHOLD. *See* Family.

HOUSING. The ancient Greek word for household, *oikos*, is the root of the modern word “economy.” In early modern Europe, housing was associated both with living and working, consuming and producing. This combined function shaped the outward form and internal organization of houses during the era. It also introduces complications to explicating the theme of housing, because the focus could be equally on the domicile itself or on the groups of people who inhabited it. Contemporary officials often used the term *hearth* to refer to households, though the term refers to the structure used to heat a room as well. A lack of sources makes it difficult to determine who actually lived together in the early modern era: in some cases, several households lived together under one roof, perhaps in separate rooms or all together. It is also difficult to determine how people used space inside the house: there are very few descriptions of house interiors and little way of knowing how representative those descriptions are.

There was no single “typical” house of the early modern era. For one thing, there was a strong tendency toward regional cultural patterns, both among and within linguistic and political units, which were expressed in housing styles. Few things more readily distinguish different regions than the prevailing style of houses, especially in the countryside. Regional differences resulted in part from local variations in building materials, but they clearly had deeper cultural roots as well. Housing types were also shaped by the fundamental difference between urban and rural living conditions. Though the overwhelming majority of Europeans lived in the countryside, the urban world was often more dynamic and exhibited a greater variety of living conditions. Town size magnified those differences. A few great cities, such as Paris or London, had a completely different housing mixture from the typical “large” city of about 20,000 inhabitants, not to mention the numerous small towns of the era. Variation in status and the work people performed also affected how and where they lived. The houses of nobles and patricians were quite different from those of peasants and artisans. Higher status homes certainly dis-

played a greater variety of styles than did lower status homes. Even more importantly, however, higher status homes comprise the greater body of evidence about what was in early modern homes and how they were used. Thus, while one may talk about some general trends in all housing during the era, the key features of housing must be viewed in wider social and geographical contexts.

BUILDING HOUSES

There were no significant technological changes affecting living conditions in early modern Europe. Building materials and practices did not change much. As a rule, the types of houses that people lived in at the end of the eighteenth century would have been familiar to those of the early sixteenth century, aside from external ornamentation. Indeed, many houses remained standing for the entire period, though wood-frame houses typically needed replacing every century or so. This continuity of building styles was particularly pronounced in the housing of peasants and artisans. However, elite housing did change in function and style over the period, so that a noble palace at the end of the early modern era would have appeared quite different from one at the beginning of the era.

There were three main building materials for houses: wood, stone, and brick. One may divide European housing into three zones according to which of those materials was predominant in buildings because of local availability of that material. There was, however, a status hierarchy of building materials, so that some towns would include a few stone or brick buildings in among a majority of wood-frame houses. In the great cities, homes of the elite were constructed of stone or brick, while homes in poorer districts were built of wood. Stone and brick also became more prevalent building materials over time. By the seventeenth century, Paris had (poorly enforced) regulations prohibiting wood construction. London also built more extensively in stone and brick after the devastating fire of 1666. The progress of stone building in large cities was varied. The French city of Cambrai had numerous stone houses by the middle of the seventeenth century. Nearby Rouen did not begin to build in stone until the end of the eighteenth century. The German city of Nuremberg built houses with stone first floors and half-timbered upper stories.

Wood was the favored building material in both the towns and countryside of the heavily forested parts of northern and central Europe. It was unusual for houses to be built entirely from logs. Instead, most structures were half-timbered: large hewn logs formed the frame for the house, while the spaces within the frame were filled with wattle and daub (a mixture of sticks with mud or plaster), with bricks, or stucco. Timber for housing construction was not, in fact, a highly developed industry in the era. Timber exports were more likely to be sent for shipbuilding than housing, so half-timbering eased demand for large logs. Indeed, in some port towns, the primary source of timber for house construction was old ships. Half-timbering created a distinctive colorful urban landscape, remnants of which exist today in some German, French, and English towns. By the late eighteenth century, however, half-timbered town houses were often considered excessively rustic. The facades of such houses were plastered over to create a more classical effect.

A major danger of the widespread use of wood in construction was fire. Fires leveled many towns, such as Stockholm, Sweden, in 1625. Fear of arsonists was a common concern of householders and town officials alike.

In most of southern Europe, and some parts of northern Europe, timber was much scarcer than stone, so stone and mortar were the preferred building materials for both towns and the countryside. The quality of stone used in construction could vary widely. Almost all structures were constructed from stone quarried locally. Small towns and villages took on a unified landscape from the color and texture of the locally quarried stone. For example, the all-red sandstone of the village of Collonges-la-Rouge in France distinguished it from the mostly golden or gray stone of neighboring towns. More elegant housing might rely on stone imported from a greater distance, but most quarries were small operations that depended on major public projects such as churches to drive most of their activity.

In the coastal regions of northern Europe and in the larger cities of southern Europe, brick was the preferred building material. Brick making was a significant industrial operation, the center of which was usually located in the countryside near a town. Unlike stone and wood, brick was used almost ex-

clusively for urban housing. Farmhouses in regions where urban brick houses predominated were usually half-timbered or wattle and daub. Bricks were well designed for constructing geometrically proportioned, stable houses, which produced regimented streetscapes. In northern European cities in the Netherlands and coastal Holy Roman Empire, exposed brickwork helped define the city landscape in the same way that colored stone defined some southern European towns. In the southern European cities that used bricks instead of stones, the bricks were usually covered with stucco, so that it was not immediately apparent that brick rather than stone was the primary building material.

Roofing material was equally subject to the interplay of local availability and a slight status hierarchy of materials. In the countryside, both stone and half-timbered houses were usually roofed with thatch. More substantial houses in the countryside and most urban houses were covered with shingles, which might be made of wood, locally quarried slate, or kiln-dried tiles. Only the houses of the wealthiest people would be sheathed in lead or copper.

The building trades themselves also underwent little change during this era. Most rural houses and houses of artisans were built by guild craftsmen, masons, and carpenters, without the assistance of architects. Some towns enforced building regulations to ensure effective design. In sixteenth-century Nuremberg, for example, the town building department acquired many drawings of new structures and additions that were to be built, few of which were created by architects. By the end of the early modern era, architects began to play a more prominent role in constructing housing for urban professionals as well as noblemen.

PEASANT HOUSES

The majority of the European population lived in villages. Most villages exhibited a uniform housing type, because there were only small disparities of wealth and work among most peasants. Nevertheless, one can find some differentiation between the houses of the rural poor and those of the more substantial farmers. The most common dwelling for the rural poor was a one-room house, sometimes called a "long house," where the residents slept, ate, and worked in the same space. In its most basic

form, it had an open hearth in the middle of the room and a hole in the ceiling to let the smoke out. The house was built on the ground, which served as the floor. Straw or grass was strewn on the floor to reduce dampness. Light could enter the house through windows, which lacked glass but could be closed by wooden shutters. More advanced houses had a brick or stone hearth with a chimney located on one side of the house instead of a centrally located firepot. Such houses had glass windows to let in light and keep out the cold. It also became increasingly common for even simple farmhouses to be built on excavated foundations and wood plank floors rather than simply resting on the ground.

For modern observers, and even for some contemporaries, one of the most striking features of the single-room house was that animals would be housed under the same roof as people. Writers who stayed at such rural farmsteads commented on being kept awake by the noises of the cows. However, animals did not have free rein of the house: there was usually a barrier between the human inhabited space and the stalls for the animals.

Sometimes, more than one family shared the one-room house. In any case, privacy was very rare. The poorest households possessed a very small repertoire of furniture. The most important item in a peasant household after the hearth was the bed. It consisted of a frame, a mattress, and usually a canopy whose curtains could be closed to attain some privacy. There was usually a long table for eating, with benches rather than chairs for seating. Many benches served double service as chests. Extra clothing, linens, and personal effects were kept in chests or armoires, which were rudimentary in the poorest households and more elaborate in wealthier ones. Though almost all parts of Europe had colorful folk-art traditions in furniture or pottery, the overall appearance of the interior of most peasant houses would have been dark and unadorned.

Many peasants lived in a slightly more elaborate version of the long house. Instead of consisting of a single room, the house was divided into two spaces: a foyer and rooms. Cooking, eating, and work all took place in the foyer. The rooms were separated from the foyer by walls, with doors that could be closed and locked for at least some privacy from the work environment. Such houses might also have a

separate cellar and storeroom for grain and an upstairs room, which could be used as a bedroom. This room was usually accessible by a trapdoor and ladder rather than a stairwell. It was less common for animals to be housed under the same roof as humans in these larger houses; instead they had stalls in a barn.

The main work of rural households was, of course, agriculture. So the main house was usually built as part of a larger courtyard in which the everyday tools of farming were kept: wagons, plows, harnesses, a dung heap. More prosperous peasants might have several buildings built around the courtyard, such as grain storerooms, separate stalls for animals, sheds, possibly even a baking oven, though that was usually a communal building rather than part of an individual's property. The courtyard itself might be separated from the street by a large gate or doorway that could be closed. Some of these gateways provided an opportunity for self-expression. In Germany, it was fairly common for a married couple to inscribe their names, the date of construction, and a pious statement over the entryway of a new house.

There were also some specialized forms of housing in the rural world. There were three structures which, while not present in every village, were central to peasant life: the parsonage, the tavern, and the mill. The parsonage, or priest's house, was usually just a large version of the typical peasant house of the region. Throughout the early modern era, the pastor or priest participated in the broader agricultural economy as well as attending to his spiritual duties, so his house had to be arranged to perform both kinds of tasks. Rural inns, like their urban counterparts, had to provide lodging and meals to travelers, but relied primarily on a local customer base for support. Mills were fundamentally important for rural society because they converted grain to flour; their living space was subordinated to their economic function. The sites of both windmills and water mills depended on geography. Building a mill was a greater capital investment than building a house, so most mills were built with higher quality materials with the intention that they would last for several generations. Millers, innkeepers, and pastors were usually the wealthiest members of the community, so their housing was the most elaborate in the village.

In most parts of Europe, peasants lived in nucleated villages. It was possible to survive in a village with only a one-room house and no elaborate courtyard because much work was done communally, so one's house did not have to have all the required work materials. But large isolated farmhouses were characteristic of Alpine lands, in which raising animals was more important than tending cereal crops. Isolated farmsteads had to be self-sufficient because there were no neighbors to rely on. As a result, the houses of isolated farmsteads were significantly bigger than those in villages, even if the farmstead occupants were sometimes poorer than some of the more successful inhabitants of villages. The farmstead houses almost invariably consisted of two or even three stories, with stalls for animals in the lower story. Since these houses were often built in hilly country, they were arranged with ground access to the upper story, which was a large open space for storing grain and supplies.

URBAN ARTISAN HOUSING

Perhaps the most important distinction within the towns of early modern Europe was between citizens and noncitizens. In almost all towns, ownership of a house in town was a prerequisite for citizenship. The single-family-owned house, therefore, was the norm for merchants, professionals, and most independent craftsmen, the bulk of the citizens in urban Europe during this era. Not everyone aspired to or acquired citizenship, however. Many of the working poor lived crowded together with other families in single houses. For example, in seventeenth-century Augsburg, 70 percent of the households lived in houses containing an average of four families. Though there was some tendency for the houses of the wealthiest citizens to concentrate in the center of town near the public buildings, different trades were usually mixed together throughout town. This mixing of wealth and occupation was one of the most striking characteristics of the small- and medium-sized towns of the era.

Space was at a premium in urban areas. House facades directly abutted the street and were built one on top of the other. The characteristic urban street was a narrow alley with houses built close enough to block out the sun on the street. In some towns, the upper stories of houses overhung their entrances, almost touching the houses across the

street. Houses generally showed a narrow front to the street and extended deeply to the rear. In the far rear, there was usually a garden or courtyard. In smaller towns (and earlier in the sixteenth century) ordinary houses tended to be only two stories tall. The first story was taller than the second. In those cities that experienced strong population growth, houses tended to be built upward, though it was very rare for them to reach more than five stories.

The interior of an artisan's house was organized for craft production, not as a haven from work. It often made sense to have one fairly undifferentiated room on the main floor of the house. That room would serve as kitchen, eating area, and workspace. Sometimes journeymen and apprentices would also sleep in the work area, rolling up their bedding at the start of the workday. There was usually at least some sense of separation between work areas and living areas, even in the large rooms, but that separation sometimes blurred. As late as the eighteenth century, one could still find blacksmiths' houses where the kitchen hearth also served as the foundry for the iron. The specific craft of the homeowner influenced home design and location. Tanners, for example, had to be located near a watercourse (and tended to produce unpleasant odors), so they were concentrated in the same neighborhood. Their houses' interiors included built-in vats for soaking and treating of hides, which had to be separate from living spaces. Such occupational needs placed constraints on housing design.

Most artisan houses had two or three rooms on each floor. There was often a parlor on the first floor, in addition to the main work area or shop. This room was also a public space of the household. The upstairs rooms were usually for sleeping. It is possible that one could find greater privacy in a typical urban home than in its rural equivalent, but it was still mostly a shared rather than isolated living situation.

Though it is unlikely that conditions were quite as squalid as they would become in the first decades of the industrial revolution, it is clear that many urban workers throughout the early modern era lived in dingy, crowded conditions, with little that could be considered luxuries or even comforts. Furnishings in artisan households were mostly comparable to those of the peasantry: sturdy furniture and

supplies with perhaps a smattering of folk-art coloring. Studies of inventories at death show that the most important piece of personal property of the poor was the bed and accompanying linens. Urban houses differed from rural ones in some other respects. Most rooms in the urban house had fireplaces to keep them warm in the winter. Latrines inside the house became commonplace in the sixteenth century; in some cities, such as in Rouen in 1519, interior latrines were mandated by law. These comforts suggest that urban housing was more advanced than rural housing, even for the poor.

URBAN ELITE HOUSING

Dutch genre paintings by Vermeer, Steen, and de Hooch, among others, show sumptuous interiors that are not at all like the rather drab artisan households. The Dutch Republic was in the forefront of a broader based development of a self-confident “bourgeois” culture. Indeed, the explosion of genre painting in the Netherlands was partly a symptom of the new culture that it portrayed. Urban elites, and even those who possessed above-average wealth, no matter what their status, began to decorate their homes in a more elaborate style, akin to that of the nobility. Inventories show that paintings and prints were some of the decorations that became commonplace in bourgeois homes.

The interiors of urban elite homes reflected two important cultural trends. The first was a sharper separation of public and private lives. Unlike in the houses of urban artisans, the kitchen, storerooms, and servants’ quarters were in the basement of the houses of merchants and members of the professions, separate from the general living and working space. A modern eighteenth-century town house consisted of ten to fifteen rooms spread over three or four stories. The first floor was mostly for interaction with the public. The key room was the parlor, where guests were greeted. Merchant houses also included a counting room or study that could be a place of repose but also a place to meet clients. The second floor contained the main dining room for entertaining guests, but also semi-private rooms such as the drawing or dressing room. Architects recognized that homeowners might conduct some business in the drawing room and thus advocated separating the drawing room from the bedrooms, which were often placed on the third floor.

The second cultural trend reflected in urban elite homes was the emergence of a consumer culture. Simple comforts that characterized most artisan homes by the eighteenth century, such as hearths in every room, internal latrines, and glass windows, were widespread in elite homes at the beginning of the early modern era. In addition, the rooms of bourgeois town houses were decorated profusely with moldings, wainscoting, marble mantelpieces, carpets, drapery, and mirrors. The increasing importance of new decorative objects such as mirrors, clocks, and sofas can be traced through inventories. Again, these trends were most conspicuous in large cities such as London and Paris, but they also extended to medium-sized towns. The Dutch were particularly noted for their comfortable and clean houses. In Germany, clocks were becoming an accessory in professional homes by the 1720s. A building boom in the late eighteenth century, exemplified in towns like Bath, created town houses appropriate for such conspicuous consumption.

NOBLE HOUSING

Housing in towns and villages in the early modern era consisted primarily of elaborations on medieval forms. But noble housing underwent a conspicuous change between the medieval and early modern eras, caused mostly by changes in the quintessential noble activity: warfare. Gunpowder weapons and artillery rendered the fortified castle useless as a safe haven for nobles. Some saw their castles destroyed during royal pacification campaigns; others decided that castles were uncomfortable and incompatible with the kind of splendor that went with living nobly. So noble housing became oriented toward display rather than defense.

Already in the Renaissance, urban nobles in Italy had revived the country villa as a retreat from urban life. The villa was modeled on the ancient Roman estate, but without the slaves. Architecturally, it incorporated classical notions of proportion and harmony that typified the Renaissance. In northern Europe, some royal palaces were built as a retreat from the hectic pace of urban life. Many were used primarily as hunting lodges. But many northern nobles were already primarily based in the rural world. The palace replaced the castle as the house from which nobles exerted their control over the

countryside. The pace of the conversion of castles or construction of noble palaces in the countryside varied from region to region in Europe. Poorer noblemen had to be content with modest additions or remodeling of already existing castles. The largest concentration of new construction was in France and England. In England, the secularization of the monasteries opened large properties to development by regional elites. A wave of “great houses” went up beginning in the early sixteenth century. In eastern Europe, by contrast, rural palaces continued to exhibit clearly their function as agricultural centers as well as centers of noble power.

Part of the function of noble housing was the extravagant display of wealth and authority. A rural palace was symbolic as well as domestic architecture. It achieved its impact by its setting as well as by its facade and furnishings. Noble landowners might divert a river or extend a moat to make the approach to the main buildings more dramatic. Extensive formal gardens were an important accompaniment to the main structure.

The impact created by the approach to the building was then reinforced by its interior layout and decoration. In the country houses of England, the centerpiece of display was the hall, which one entered from the front door of the house. This was the most public space in the house and was decorated to focus attention on the head of the house, even when he was not present. Placing a great stairway in the hall became increasingly common, turning what had been a necessary but decidedly secondary architectural feature into another element of prominent display. Great houses had innumerable other rooms branching off from the hall, with increasing degrees of privacy associated with them.

The most prominent room in the house after the hall was the great chamber. Originally, it had been a general-purpose sleeping, eating, and meeting room of the head of the house. Increasingly, the sleeping area of the householder developed into a suite of rooms, including an antechamber and dressing room. An important part of the work of a nobleman was entertaining other noblemen. Great houses and palaces contained apartments in the family’s own wing of the house and also in other wings to accommodate visitors. The status of visi-

tors could be seen by where they were lodged in the house. An apartment consisted of four rooms: a sleeping chamber, a dressing room, an antechamber, and a room for personal servants.

As in bourgeois houses, the service rooms of the house were generally kept separate from both the public and private spaces. Some servants, of course, lived in rooms adjacent to their masters’ or mistresses’ chambers, but others slept in a separate section of the house, often dormitory style, when they were not on duty. Undoubtedly the central service room of the house was the kitchen. Along with the pantry, buttery, bakehouse, larder, and brewery, kitchens were kept out of the way of regular traffic. There was almost no space devoted exclusively to children, though most great houses had a separate nursery for the very young.

Noble houses experienced the same expansion of domestic comforts as bourgeois homes did. By the eighteenth century, it was commonplace for palaces to have running water, interior latrines, and fixed lighting. Instead of a single public room, such as the parlor, noble houses had a library or study, galleries, and a chapel. Formal gardens and outbuildings such as an orangerie (akin to a greenhouse) or folly (akin to a gazebo) provided another setting for nobles to meet or enjoy privacy. Indeed, gardens, in addition to their function as display, played an important role in noble intimacy and escape from the very public activity of much of the house.

The growth of the state drew more and more nobles to capital cities. The same issues of display and representation affected the housing nobles chose to live in or build in cities such as Paris and London. City layouts made it difficult to recreate the dramatic effect of the approach to a rural palace. Instead, the interiors and courtyards became the primary areas for dramatic display. Italy, which already had an established urban nobility in the Middle Ages, set the initial standards for the urban palazzo. In most respects, they followed the same internal organization as their rural counterparts. The architectural principles of “classicism” established in Paris became the norm for urban noble housing throughout Europe. In the eighteenth century, court cities such as Berlin, Vienna, and Munich

experienced a building boom of noble houses based on variants of the classical and baroque styles.

HOUSING AS PROPERTY

The populated areas of Europe had already developed clear property lines at the beginning of the early modern era. New buildings were visibly constrained by these legal boundaries. This situation was particularly acute in urban areas, where the existing structures meant that the only way to increase the area of one's house was to build it upward, with additional stories, or to purchase a new plot of land with greater space. But even in villages, property lines defined housing spaces in the core of the village that were clearly differentiated from the croplands and pasture. Houses were restricted to that core. Once built, a house was expected to survive for a long time before being replaced. Increasing population in the countryside spurred the construction of new housing in the eighteenth century, often on subdivided plots. But, except in cases of a major catastrophe, such as fire, building a house was an infrequent phenomenon in most villages. Many structures built in the early modern era survived into the industrial era. The most extensive building projects for new housing were in the expanding suburbs of major cities or in newly founded court cities such as Versailles, Karlsruhe, or Turin, built explicitly on a grid pattern on property made available by the prince for the purpose of dynastic display.

Relatively clear property boundaries fostered a real estate market. One can, of course, find many instances of a single family residing on a piece of property for several generations. But some property became available because a lineage died out, and still more became available because of a change in the economic fortunes of a lineage. So purchasing a house was not at all a rare occurrence. Prices, of course, varied greatly. Even within the peasantry and artisan class, there were clear gradations in the quality of housing. Fancier peasant houses were worth about five times as much as cheaper ones in the housing market. Joint ownership of houses was also possible.

In the great cities, urban expansion was fostered by speculation in real estate. Urban elites invested in numerous building projects in suburbs and occasional renovation projects in the center of town. Some of these projects, the most famous of which is

probably the Place Royale in Paris, completed in 1612, attracted elite buyers. Many others appealed primarily to people of middling means. Still others were rented out, either short term for noncitizens or long term for the working poor. The Fuggerei in Augsburg is perhaps the best-known example of housing for the working poor built by elite investors, but it was exceptional in being built primarily as a charitable institution rather than as an investment. In some cities, rental housing was a significant part of the housing stock. Fifteen percent of the population of Lübeck lived in rented cellars or rented row houses in alleys. The owners of such rental properties were often the urban elites of the towns.

By the end of the eighteenth century, urban housing was beginning to take on characteristics that would become widespread in the nineteenth century. Increasing population in towns such as Manchester put pressure on the housing stock for the working poor. At the same time, town house developments targeted at the upper middle classes, such as New Town, Edinburgh, became an important economic factor reshaping cities. They fostered speculation in both land and houses, which in turn fed urbanization on an unprecedented scale.

See also **Architecture; Aristocracy and Gentry; Artisans; Cities and Urban Life; City Planning; Daily Life; Engineering; Civil; Estates and Country Houses; Peasantry; Technology; Villages.**

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JOHN THEIBAUPT

HUGUENOTS. “Huguenot” was the pejorative name given to Calvinist French Protestants by their Catholic opponents in the sixteenth century. The etymology of the word is obscure and contested. Henri Estienne (Latin Stephanus) was among several contemporaries to attribute it to the name given around 1560 to Protestants in Tours, after the neighborhood and city gate in which they held their religious services. Estienne may well have been correct, but an alternative derivation from *Eidgenossen* (“Confederates”) that had become *Eigenotz*, or the supporters of the Swiss Protestant canton of Bern against the supporters of Catholic Savoy in the factional politics of Geneva in the 1530s, is still widely accepted. French Protestants preferred to call themselves *l’église réformée*, ‘the Reformed church’, and the French crown normally referred to them officially as “those of the so-called Reformed religion” after 1560.

French Protestantism emerged from the deeper wells of biblical humanism, reforming Gallicanism, inflected Lutheranism, and religious heterodoxy. But, under the influence of persecution, many Protestants were exiled to Strasbourg, Basel, and Geneva, which is where John Calvin established himself permanently from 1541. Increasingly in the 1550s, the influence of Calvin’s writings and the model of the Genevan church came to exercise a dominant impact upon French-speaking Protestants, first among the communities of exiles in the Rhineland and elsewhere and then, from 1555 onward, in France itself. The Genevan Company of Pastors (Compagnie des Pasteurs) began to train and dispatch a limited number of ministers back to France in response to a deluge of requests from particular communities. In this period, French Protestantism became, in its theology and organization, irreducibly Calvinist. Although there had been at least one earlier gathering of French churches in 1557, the first generally recognized synod of the French Protestant church took place secretly in Paris in 1559. The delegates endorsed the “Confession of Faith” and “Discipline” which,

taken together, provided a constitution and a creed for the Reformed communities. In church organization, this meant that the powers, selection, and responsibility of church officers (the familiar elders, pastors, deacons, and doctors of the Genevan new order) were vested in individual churches in the form of a consistory, composed of these officials and often made up of its notability. A contrary view, that power be vested in the congregation at large, still found its echoes in the documents of 1559, but they were gradually eliminated from Huguenot thought and practice in the course of the 1560s, culminating in the modifications at the synod of La Rochelle in 1571. Thereafter, the Confession and Discipline proved enduring statements of what the Huguenots stood for over the next two centuries. For their opponents, however, the movement was defined by the Huguenot Psalter, the Genevan metrical translation begun by Clément Marot and completed by Théodore de Bèze, Calvin’s successor in Geneva, and by the French vernacular Bible, most notably the Neuchâtel Bible, originally translated by Pierre Robert Olivétan (French Olivier, Latin Olivetanus) and the basis for all subsequent French Protestant Bibles (including the Geneva Bible) in the sixteenth century.

French Protestantism found itself at what would be the height of its influence in the early 1560s. The political circumstances of a royal minority and regency, and the emergence of powerful protectors at court, especially Gaspard III de Coligny (1519–1572) and his cousin, a younger prince of the blood, Louis I de Bourbon, prince of Condé (1530–1569), assisted the chaotic and dramatic growth in Protestant numbers in these years. In March 1562, Coligny is supposed to have presented a list of the 2,150 churches then extant in France to the regent Catherine de Médicis. His figure may, however, have been exaggerated, and later historians can only document the existence of around 1,200–1,250 churches in this decade, or less than 4 percent of the Catholic parishes of the kingdom. If we allow for 1,500 communicating members of each church, we arrive at an adult Protestant population of under two million, perhaps not far from 10 percent of the total population of the French kingdom. These churches were, however, unevenly distributed, reflecting on the one hand its literate, urban constituency and, on the other, its seigneurial



Huguenots. An engraving by Hogenberg depicts the execution of members of the Amboise conspiracy, who planned in 1560 to abduct Francis II to separate him from the anti-Protestant Guise family. The plot failed and the conspirators were executed. THE ART ARCHIVE/UNIVERSITY LIBRARY GENEVA/DAGLI ORTI

heartland. Although there were many Reformed churches in Normandy, they remained quite widely scattered through the rest of northern France. Only south of the Loire, and especially in the crescent of communities stretching from La Rochelle through the southern provinces of Guyenne, Languedoc, and Dauphiné to Geneva, would there be a critical mass sufficient to provide an enduring basis for the forthcoming military struggle against the French crown.

That struggle was sustained and grueling. The Huguenots mobilized the resources of the churches in the early civil wars and seized royal revenues and ecclesiastical wealth in order to fund their campaigns. The civil wars lasted off and on from 1562 to 1598, and then again from 1622 to 1629. Without

their naval strength off the Atlantic coast, mercenary German reinforcements, and the leadership of their most skilful “protector,” Henry of Navarre, later Henry IV, king of France (ruled 1589–1610), they would probably not have succeeded in winning the limited degrees of toleration that the French crown reluctantly conceded them in edicts of pacification that culminated in the pacification of Nantes (April 1598), modified by the peace of Alais (1629). From the early civil wars, however, the antipathy of the Catholic majority in France toward the Huguenots was manifested by aristocratic feud and sectarian hatred. Both culminated in the famous St. Bartholomew’s Day Massacre (August 1572) in Paris, an event that was mirrored in a score of provincial cities in the following weeks. The experience permanently



Huguenots. A seventeenth-century engraving shows Huguenot families fleeing the French city of La Rochelle in 1661. La Rochelle had been a Protestant stronghold, but a siege in 1627–1628 by the forces of Louis XIV had reestablished Catholic control. THE ART ARCHIVE/MUSÉE DES BEAUX ARTS LA ROCHELLE/DAGLI ORTI

eroded Protestant support, especially in northern France. It also cemented the emerging defensive and stoic mentality of French Protestantism, in which earlier persecution (recalled in successive and enlarged editions of Jean Crespin's famous French martyrology, the *Histoire des martyrs* [1554]) became the pattern of the way in which God repeatedly tested his faithful French elect.

The sixteenth-century Catholic perception of Huguenot political engagement has created an enduring view that they were republicans, determined to resist monarchical authority, who sought to establish a federal state in France after the model of the Swiss cantons or the emerging Dutch Republic. In reality, the basis for Huguenot “resistance the-

ory” was laid among Protestant refugee reformers from a variety of backgrounds and found its echoes later in the sixteenth century among Catholics who were themselves similarly at odds with French monarchical authority. And, although French Protestants had a political assembly that met on an irregular basis to provide credibility to its military and financial organization, it was never the basis for a republican movement. In reality French Huguenots continued to adhere to the principles of monarchy, even though they preferred (like many of their Catholic counterparts) to see it in less than absolutist terms. Their great spokesman and one-time advisor to Henry IV, Philippe Duplessis Mornay, repeatedly defended his coreligionists against those

who accused them of wanting to set up a “state within a state,” to “diminish royal authority,” or “establish a democracy.” A comparable distillation, that the Huguenots stood for the principle of religious toleration, has also to be seen as something of a retrospective myth, born of the inevitable apologetic of a minority religious movement and incarnated by the Enlightenment and liberal nineteenth-century historiography.

The Edict of Nantes granted French Protestants limited rights of worship, access to royal offices, legal redress before special royal courts (known as *chambres de l'édit* or ‘Chambers of the Edict’), and rights to establish their own academies. Royal letters (*brevets*) accompanying the edict granted subsidies for their troops, pastors, and schools and allowed them to garrison certain towns. The *brevets* were not maintained beyond 1629, and the terms of the edict were interpreted by royal officials in an increasingly restrictive way, especially after 1661, until the edict was revoked by Louis XIV in the Edict of Fontainebleau (October 1685). Of the 873 pastors remaining in France at that time, about 140 abjured; but the remainder chose to defy the edict and take up exile in the Dutch Republic (43 percent), Switzerland (27 percent), England (23 percent) and Germany (7 percent). More surprising to the authorities was the degree of illegal emigration of lay Huguenots—latest estimates suggest a figure of around 200,000. The Huguenot diaspora made the revocation a European phenomenon and cemented the French Protestant sense of a separate identity. The cultural and economic influence of the exiled Huguenots was far from negligible, spreading beyond Europe to colonial North America and the Dutch colonies, even if it has sometimes been exaggerated. Protestantism survived underground in eighteenth-century France and was once more officially tolerated on the eve of the Revolution.

See also Bèze, Théodore de; Bible; Calvin, John; Calvinism; Coligny Family; Condé Family; Gallicanism; La Rochelle; Lutheranism; Martyrs and Martyrology; Nantes, Edict of; Reformation, Protestant; Resistance, Theory of; St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre; Wars of Religion, French.

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pensable starting point for all those wishing to trace their Huguenot ancestry.

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HUMAN RIGHTS. *See* Rights, Natural.

HUMANISTS AND HUMANISM.

Humanism was the dominant intellectual movement among the educated classes of Europe from the Renaissance to the seventeenth century. The term reflects the belief that certain academic subjects known since ancient times as the *studia humanitatis* (humanistic studies) must shape the education and culture of those who rule society. Humanism was closely linked to the Renaissance desire to broaden knowledge about antiquity as a means of recovering not only more information but also the inner spirit that had made Greece and Rome flourish. The “humanistic” subjects were five in number: grammar (chiefly Ciceronian Latin),

rhetoric (the art of persuasive speaking and writing), moral philosophy (the guide to making responsible choices in personal and political life), history, and poetry. The first three of these were taught in medieval universities, though humanists charged that they had been eclipsed by the inordinate attention given to dialectic. Those who promoted humanism contended that the mastery of the “humanities” was essential for the intellectual and moral development of an educated man.

This definition of humanism is based on the work of Paul Oskar Kristeller (1905–1999), who believed that the nineteenth-century historian Jacob Burckhardt (1818–1897) introduced confusion into Renaissance studies when he defined humanism as a new philosophy of life even though he never succeeded in defining a coherent set of philosophical ideas held by all humanists. Kristeller defined humanists as essentially grammarians and rhetoricians who regarded the languages and literatures of ancient Greece and Rome as a precious heritage that they must recover. Some scholars still follow Burckhardt and define humanism as a secular philosophy of life that foreshadows the modern world, but Kristeller’s approach predominates.

ORIGINS OF ITALIAN HUMANISM

The roots of humanism lie in the unique social and political conditions of Italy about 1300. Northern Italy had become a commercial society dominated by independent city-republics. Chivalric literature and scholastic learning were remote from the primary concerns of urban laymen. But lawyers and notaries developed a professional subculture that led some individuals to become interested in ancient literature, and about 1300 a Paduan judge, Lovato dei Lovati (c. 1240–1309) and his friend Albertino Mussato (1261–1329), a notary, produced Latin works that imitated ancient Roman models.

Although these Paduan classicists may be the first humanists, the true founding figure was the poet Petrarch (1304–1374), the first humanist to gain international fame and to lead a group of disciples. The son of a Florentine notary attached to the papal curia at Avignon, Petrarch was attracted to poetry and classical literature. His father sent him to study law, but he devoted his life to poetry and Latin literature. His vernacular poems established his literary fame. He also wrote Latin poetry and

produced a collective biography of famous Romans and an epic poem inspired by Virgil’s *Aeneid*. Petrarch’s dismay at the physical and moral decay of contemporary Rome led him to a new conception of ancient history. Unlike medieval thinkers, who never fully realized that they lived in post-Roman times, he saw that the Rome he loved had died a thousand years ago. In his opinion, the intervening millennium was a Dark Age. Good learning had perished. His goal was to restore knowledge of ancient Rome through study of its literature and thus to recapture the inner secret of Rome’s greatness. So Petrarchan humanism was associated with a desire to bring about a “renaissance” of civilization. Petrarch was far more troubled by religious concerns than were most of his Italian contemporaries. His *Secretum* (Secret book) displays his awareness of discord between his desire for eternal salvation and his desire for worldly fame. He favored the contemplative over the active life and disdained the worldly concerns (politics, family, wealth) that captivated his Italian contemporaries. Hence his early following was limited to admirers of his poetry and of ancient literature.

The association of humanist learning with contemporary life was the work of Coluccio Salutati (1331–1406), chancellor of the Florentine republic. Salutati gained fame as an advocate for the republic at a time of political crisis. As the person who conducted the city’s diplomatic correspondence, he created a network of humanist friends scattered throughout Italy. His activity made Florence the center of Italian humanism. In 1397 he persuaded the city to hire the Byzantine scholar Manuel Chrysoloras (1350–1415) to teach Greek, thus creating Italy’s first generation of Hellenists and initiating the recovery of Greek literature. Salutati contributed to the triumph of humanism as the common culture of the ruling classes, first at Florence but eventually throughout Italy. A growing number of Florentine fathers chose humanistic education for their sons because they believed that the skills it taught and its Roman ethos of citizenship would prepare their heirs to assume their rightful place in society.

THE QUATTROCENTO

By the early Quattrocento (fifteenth century), humanism had become the dominant culture of edu-

cated Italians. Salutati's disciples at Florence made secular interests—especially politics—the focus of humanism. Leonardo Bruni (c. 1370–1444) associated Florentine republicanism with the cause of liberty for all Italians. His *History of the Florentine People* (1415–1444) explicitly proclaimed the superiority of a republican constitution to a monarchy. He attributed the greatness of Rome to its republican constitution and its later decline to the tyranny of the emperors. His republican ideology and his ideal of political involvement became the hallmark of Florentine humanism. Yet humanistic skills could also be useful in the service of a monarch, and humanism thus became the prevailing culture in Italy's princely courts as well as in its republics.

The fashion for humanism is reflected in a series of educational revolutions in fifteenth-century Italy and sixteenth-century France, Spain, Portugal, Germany, and England. Many of the town schools of Italy, which had taught traditional subjects, were transformed during the fifteenth century because ambitious city councillors wanted humanistic education for their sons. They hired humanists as headmasters and specified that instruction should be based on classical authors. In the sixteenth century, the municipal colleges of France and Spain experienced a similar transformation. Humanistic reform of northern universities proved far more difficult than reform of grammar schools and produced bitter conflicts in the early sixteenth century, but eventually humanists succeeded in winning an important place in most universities.

Since humanists admired classical literature, they were eager to discover lost works of ancient authors. Petrarch hunted for manuscripts and made important finds, including many of Cicero's letters; but the early fifteenth century was the golden age for rediscovery of Latin authors. The recovery of Greek literature was even more striking. Italian humanists brought back from Constantinople hundreds of previously unknown Greek books. Since relatively few Western students learned to read Greek well, the crucial moment in the availability of a Greek book was its translation into Latin. During the fifteenth century, the work of translation advanced rapidly. The most influential addition to the body of translations was the previously little-known works of Plato, translated by the Florentine philosopher Marsilio Ficino (1433–1499). By 1600, most

of the Greek literature now known was available in printed Latin translations.

Fifteenth-century humanists also defined new standards for editing texts. Early humanist textual scholarship was driven more by enthusiasm than by rational criticism. Lorenzo Valla (1407–1457) was a pioneer in the development of a critical spirit. His greatest achievement was his realization that language itself is a product of history and changes with the passage of time. This idea is the foundation of modern philological scholarship. It was the basis of Valla's influential guide to good Latin style, *Elegances of the Latin Language* (1471). He demonstrated its power to evaluate texts in his treatise on the "Donation of Constantine" (c. 750–800), which he proved to be a forgery, and in his annotations on the New Testament, which showed how the ability to read Greek could aid the study of Scripture.

HUMANISM CROSSES THE ALPS

Since northern culture remained far more traditional than Italian, at first only scattered individuals in the north displayed interest in humanism. Many northerners who spent time in Italy, especially students of law or medicine, became interested in humanism and continued to pursue this interest after returning home. Not until about 1450 did their interests begin to spread. Several Germans who studied in Italy became itinerant lecturers, moving from university to university to lecture on humanistic subjects. The most influential was Peter Luder (1415–1472). After returning from Italy in 1456, he lectured at several universities. His announced goal was to restore the purity of the Latin language, which had declined into "barbarism." Early German humanists presented humanism in the secularized form that they had found in Italy. They were classicists, educational reformers, even German patriots, but they did not associate humanism with religious revival. Yet a longing for spiritual renewal had become a powerful force in northern Europe.

The movement called "Christian humanism" explicitly applied humanist studies as a means to regenerate Christian faith. In Germany, an early example was Johann Reuchlin (1455–1519), who became expert in the biblical languages, Greek and Hebrew, and sought to apply Neoplatonism and Jewish mysticism (Cabala) to deepen his under-

standing of Scripture. In France the chief figure was Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples (1455–1536). His initial goal was to improve the teaching of Aristotelian philosophy at the University of Paris. But in 1508 he retired from teaching and devoted himself to study of the Bible. His biblical publications included his *Fivefold Psalter* (1509) and his commentary on the Epistles of St. Paul (1512).

By far the greatest Christian humanist was Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam (1466?–1536). As a young man he won attention for his elegant Latin style, and as a student of theology at Paris, he became close to Parisian humanists. Erasmus became known as a Latin poet, an editor of classical authors, and the author of a collection of classical proverbs. From about 1500 he also published on religion. His book of spiritual counsel to laymen, *Enchiridion Militis Christiani* (1503; Handbook of the Christian warrior), became a religious best-seller. Erasmus concluded that mastery of Greek was essential for study of the New Testament and of the church fathers. Reexamination of the scriptural and patristic sources of Christian faith could liberate both theology and spiritual life from the spiritual morbidity of the unreformed church. He called his ideal “the Philosophy of Christ.” Although this ideal of a religion expressed in righteous living rather than in dogma and ritual might seem to have little connection with scholarship, Erasmus found the connection in the need of the Christian community to recapture the inspiration that had made the early church spiritually powerful. His goal was a renaissance of genuine Christianity to match the other humanist goal of a renaissance of classical learning. His scholarship culminated in his edition of the Greek New Testament (1516). Between about 1516 and 1521, he became the leader of a humanist campaign to effect gradual and peaceable religious reform through scholarship and the education of a new generation of leaders.

THE REFORMATION DIVIDES HUMANISM

The outbreak of the Protestant Reformation in 1517 thwarted these hopes. Although Martin Luther also favored humanistic studies as a preparation for the reform of the church, and at Wittenberg led a university reform that made humanistic subjects the center of the curriculum, humanism split apart over the Reformation. Erasmus and the older gener-

ation of humanists were appalled at the prospect of a divided church, and ultimately nearly all of them remained Catholic. Many of the young humanists, however, had come to admire Luther even more than Erasmus; they became leading Protestant clergymen. Although they accused Erasmus of lacking the courage to follow his own best principles, Protestant humanists still admired him. The humanists who remained in the old church, including Erasmus himself, came under attack by conservative Catholics who accused them (Erasmus in particular) of being the source of Luther's heresies. The religious upheaval that followed did not destroy humanism but did narrow its scope. As denominational barriers hardened, humanists of the later sixteenth century tended to avoid trouble by putting aside aspirations for sweeping spiritual renewal and institutional reform. They narrowed the scope of their studies to classical scholarship and the perfection of the philological tools of textual criticism; religion they left to the theologians.

POST-REFORMATION HUMANISM

On the purely technical side, post-Reformation humanism remained productive. The scholar-printer Robert Estienne (1503–1559) produced an authoritative Latin dictionary (1531) that was used for centuries. His son Henri (1528–1598) published an edition of Plato that still governs scholarly citation practices. He also compiled a dictionary of Greek (1572) to match his father's Latin one. Comparable in importance was Josephus Justus Scaliger (1540–1609), whose work on ancient chronology, *Opus Novum de Emendatione Temporum* (1583), was a pioneering effort to integrate the dating systems of various ancient cultures. As a Protestant, Scaliger felt free to apply his critical skills to demolish the traditional authority of the patristic author known as Dionysius the Areopagite (first century C.E.), proving that Dionysius was not converted by St. Paul but lived centuries later. Isaac Casaubon (1559–1614) performed a similarly destructive criticism of the tracts attributed to Hermes Trismegistus, supposedly a divinely inspired treasury of Egyptian religion but actually a jumble of unrelated and unimportant texts.

Late Renaissance humanism also produced a challenge to the jurisprudence of the medieval universities, attacking the commentaries of medieval

professors as a distortion of Roman law and calling for a fresh look at the original text of the laws. This “legal humanism” was foreshadowed by the critical scholarship of Valla, the Florentine humanist Angelo Poliziano (1454–1494), and the French humanist Guillaume Budé (1468–1540); it reached maturity in the teaching of Andrea Alciati (1492–1550) at Avignon and Bourges. But as French legal humanists probed the legal foundations of their own society, they discovered that French institutions and much of French law did not come from Rome at all. François Hotman (1524–1590) concluded that French laws originated not with Rome but with the customs of the early Franks and the legislation of the medieval kings. Humanism provided the linguistic method used by Hotman, but French patriotism was what drove him to discover the medieval origins of his nation. In a sense, he and other legal humanists invented medieval history by discovering the documentary sources of medieval French law. Another special direction of later humanism was patristic scholarship. In Catholic Europe this became a specialty of the monastic orders. The Benedictine Congregation of St. Maur in France became famous for editions of the church fathers and for development of important tools of scholarship, such as Jean Mabillon’s (1632–1707) *De Re Diplomatica* (1681) and the *Paleographia Graeca* (1708) by Bernard de Montfaucon (1655–1741).

By the seventeenth century, humanism in the sense understood by its Renaissance creators was gone. The Renaissance dream of applying classical learning in order to revitalize civilization and the church perished in the conflicts of the Reformation. Humanism survived in three forms: the specialized field of classical scholarship, especially classical philology; the recovery of nearly the whole body of Latin and Greek literature; and the educational changes that transformed schools and universities from centers for the study of scholastic logic and metaphysics into centers for teaching the classical languages and the literary curriculum that dominated Western schools from the fifteenth to the twentieth century.

See also **Education; Erasmus, Desiderius; Luther, Martin; Reformation, Protestant; Universities.**

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HUME, DAVID (1711–1776), Scottish philosopher and historian. Hume was born in the Scottish border country near Edinburgh into an old family of prosperous provincial lawyers. His father died when he was an infant. His mother never remarried and devoted herself to raising Hume and his brother and sister. Throughout his life Hume was deeply attached to his family and proud of its traditions. He studied at the University of Edinburgh until the age of fourteen or fifteen. For the next ten years he pursued a rigorous plan of independent study that surveyed the whole of humanistic learning and cost him a temporary nervous breakdown. From this period, Hume conceived two projects, the later fulfillment of which would complete his career as a writer—a philosophical science of human nature (comprehending all the sciences) and the writing of history. Hume is unique in being both a great philosopher and a great historian. He is commonly ranked, along with William Robertson, Edward Gibbon, and Voltaire as one of the four most important eighteenth-century historians.

By the age of twenty-six Hume had composed his philosophical masterpiece, *A Treatise of Human Nature* (1739–1740). The work was not well received, and Hume quickly began recasting its ideas into the more readable form of essays. Most of these were published from 1741 to 1752 and were warmly received in Britain and America and translated into French, German, and Italian. The most important works from this period are *Essays: Moral, Political, and Literary* (1752), *An Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding* (1748), and *An Enquiry Concerning the Principles of Morals* (1751). These essays contain important contributions to epistemology, aesthetics, economics, and moral and political philosophy. *The Natural History of Religion* (1757) and *Dialogues Concerning Natural Religion* (published posthumously in 1779), arguably establish Hume as the founder of the philosophy of religion.

Around 1752 he turned to the second project set for himself in his youth, namely the writing of history. *The History of England* appeared in six volumes over the years 1754–1762. It achieved the status of a classic in Hume's lifetime, was viewed as the standard work on the subject for nearly a century, and was in print down to the end of the nineteenth century, passing through at least 160 posthumous editions. Hume had now achieved a European reputation as one of the great writers of his age, and he enjoyed friendships with such illustrious figures as Adam Smith, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Anne Robert Jacques Turgot, Denis Diderot, Jean d'Alembert, and Benjamin Franklin.

In 1983 *The History of England* was republished after having been out of print for nearly a century. During that period Hume had been narrowly thought of as a technical philosopher. The early skeptical and negative interpretation of *The Treatise of Human Nature* put forth by James Beattie, Thomas Reid, Immanuel Kant, and John Stuart Mill persisted far into the twentieth century. Hume's historical work was considered irrelevant to his philosophy and almost entirely forgotten. Hume, however, thought of the *History* as an integral part of his philosophical work. This can best be appreciated by considering his skepticism. The ancient Pyrrhonians taught that the main source of misery for highly cultivated people is the attempt to guide life by philosophical speculation. Hume denied that the disposition to philosophize could or should be purged, but he agreed with the Pyrrhonians that philosophical speculation can be a source of disorder in the soul. The first problem for Hume's science of human nature, then, was to distinguish what he called "true philosophy" from its corrupt and corrupting forms. Hume used skeptical tropes to make this distinction. His intention was neither to subvert (Beattie, Reid, Mill) nor to raise skeptical challenges for others to solve (Kant). His goal was to purge the philosophical intellect of its corrupt forms.

False philosophy seeks radical autonomy and imagines itself emancipated from the pre-reflective customs and prejudices of common life. True philosophy knows this to be a psychological and conceptual impossibility. True philosophy may still speculate about reality but only by critically passing through, and rendering more coherent, the inheri-



David Hume. Portrait by David Martin. ©CHRISTIE'S IMAGES/
CORBIS

ted prejudices of common life. Hume went beyond the Pyrrhonians in teaching that false philosophy has a corrupting effect not only on the soul but on social and political order as well—and especially so under modern conditions where, for the first time in history, the disposition to philosophize was becoming a mass phenomenon. He narrated the tragedy of the English Civil War in the *History* as just such a corruption. His critique of philosophical rationalism in all its forms (in science, morals, politics, religion, and philosophy itself) is the one theme that unites his philosophical and historical work. And it establishes Hume as the first to work out a systematic critique of modern ideologies.

See also **Alembert, Jean Le Rond d'**; **Diderot, Denis**; **Historiography**; **Kant, Immanuel**; **Philosophy**; **Rousseau, Jean-Jacques**; **Skepticism, Academic and Pyrrhonian**; **Smith, Adam**.

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DONALD W. LIVINGSTON

HUMOR. Aristotle, in *De partibus animalium*, defined man as a being capable of laughter, but laughter is not, as some optimists have claimed, a universal language. Its function and importance differed so widely, even during our historical period, depending on national, social, and other variables, that it is far easier to ask questions than to answer them. Why did (and do) some Christians, like Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet (1627–1704), strongly disapprove of laughter? Is there any common element uniting the hearty, even crude, laughter provoked by carnival merrymaking and slapstick comedy (French farces and *sotties*, Spanish *pasos*, the Italian commedia dell'arte) and the urbane wit called *festivitas* by Desiderius Erasmus (1466?–1536) and Thomas More (1478–1535) and exem-

plified by the noble speakers in Baldassare Castiglione's *Book of the Courtier* (1528)? Can we clearly separate "popular" from "refined" or "learned" humor? And why is the terminology of humor not easily translated from one language to another?

Laughter was often considered more important in the Renaissance than it has been since. Several Renaissance princes, including Lorenzo de' Medici (1449–1492) and Louis XII of France (ruled 1498–1515), were reputed to enjoy jokes, even those directed against themselves, whereas France's Louis XIV (ruled 1643–1715) is said to have made only one joke in his life. Unfortunately, even today no explanation of why we laugh is universally endorsed. Sixteenth-century theorists about humor were mainly medical authorities (Laurent Joubert [1529–1582], Ambroise Paré [1510–1590]) interested in physiology; in the seventeenth century Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679), following Aristotle, articulated the first of the three commonest modern explanations of laughter: superiority, incongruity, and release from restraint. If we can usually see why satire provokes laughter, we are at a loss when we try to compare the humor of Molière (1622–1673) and Shakespeare (1564–1616), or of Miguel de Cervantes (1547–1616) and Laurence Sterne (1713–1768).

THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

The Renaissance and the Reformation inspired a remarkable variety of verbal and visual humor. The great humanist Erasmus, in his *Colloquies* (1518), produced both biting anti-church satire ("The Funeral"), and sly and charming wit ("The Abbot and the Learned Lady"). Reformation and anti-Reformation satirists created an explosion of comic caricature in broadsheets attacking either Luther and his cohorts or the venal priests and hypocritical monks of the Roman Catholic Church. Humanist polemic did not shrink from scatological invective that would horrify most readers today (the *Eccius Dedolatus*), and French farce characters could urinate on stage. Much humanist wit, like the *Epistles of Obscure Men*, is incomprehensible to readers with no knowledge of Latin.

The century apparently reveled in jokes (*facetiae* in Latin) and in comic short stories, as numerous anthologies in England, France, Italy, and Germany attest. The most influential were

those of Poggio Bracciolini in Italy (1438–1452) and Heinrich Bebel in Germany (1508–1512), both written in Latin. Later collections became larger and more inclusive; there are 981 *facezie* in the 1574 edition of Ludovico Domenichi, written in Italian. An Erasmian love of humor inspired both François Rabelais (*Gargantua and Pantagruel*, 1532–1564), who used wit and hyperbole to convey his humanist message, and Shakespeare, whose comedies radiate a smiling acceptance of human frailty. Comic theater came to life again in most European countries in the sixteenth century, stimulated by the rediscovery of Aristotle's dramatic principles and of Plautus and Terence. National differences in comic outlook are strikingly illustrated by the German adaptation of Rabelais (1575–1590) by Johann Fischart, which is much cruder than its model and much less humanistically inclined. Comic visual art includes not only a wealth of satirical engravings, but the compelling visual grotesques of Pieter Bruegel (1525?–1569) and Hieronymus Bosch (1450?–1516) and the whimsical portraits of Giuseppe Arcimboldo (c. 1530–1593), which are created exclusively of fruit, flowers, or fish.

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Whereas much literature of the previous century was still written in Latin, this one saw the flowering of vernacular literatures; it is Spain's Golden Age, and France's Age of Classicism. Cervantes's *Don Quixote* (1615), generally recognized as the first novel, has comic moments, but its prevailing tone is ironic rather than frankly humorous. Comic theater flourished, with some common elements; for instance, the classical clownish slave lived on as the Spanish *gracioso*, as Molière's *soubrette*, as the *zanni* (crafty servant) of the commedia dell'arte, and as numerous characters in the plays of Shakespeare and Ben Jonson (1573–1637).

The century's great comic dramatists were not primarily satirists. Shakespeare's dramatic worlds are more imaginary than real. Molière's minor comedies owe more to literary sources than to real life (*Les Fourberies de Scapin*, 1671), and his best plays only occasionally reveal his scorn for stupid minor nobles, or for dangerous religious hypocrites (*Le Tartuffe*, 1667). Their genius, like Shakespeare's, lies in revealing character through comedy, though Shakespeare was freer to include farce in his plays.

England's Restoration drama (after 1660) was much more satirical; William Wycherley (1640–1716), John Vanbrugh (1664–1726), John Farquhar (1678–1707), and William Congreve (1670–1729) delighted in skewering stupidity and pretentiousness, as Jonson had before them. Critics continued to discuss the form and function of stage comedy, and comic opera became a popular genre.

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The Age of Enlightenment specialized in satire, though less in the theater than in other genres. Carlo Goldoni's (1707–1793) comedies continue the tradition of comedy of intrigue, while those of Pierre de Marivaux (1688–1763) are more interested in human emotions than in social mores. In Russia, Denis Fonvizin (1745–1792) showed members of the nobility in a comic light (*The Brigadier*, 1769).

England produced some satirical giants: Henry Fielding (1707–1754), whose sprawling novel *Tom Jones* (1749) has comic moments; Richard Sheridan (1751–1816), whose Mrs. Malaprop in *The School for Scandal* (1777) is a comic type to rival Shakespeare's Falstaff; William Hogarth, whose moralizing series (*Marriage à la mode*, 1745) prefigured the modern cartoon; the verse satires of John Dryden (1631–1700) and Alexander Pope (1688–1744), and above all, Jonathan Swift (1667–1745). Compared to his mentors, Erasmus and Rabelais, Swift is sometimes too ferocious to be comic, as when he recommends relieving the famine in Ireland by eating babies (*A Modest Proposal*, 1729), but *Gulliver's Travels* (1726) remains a humorous and readable indictment of the society of his time.

France's Voltaire (1694–1778) is often both subtler and funnier than Swift, especially in his masterpiece, *Candide* (1759), a comprehensive attack on the aristocracy, religion, and general prejudices of his time (a battle is a "heroic butchery"; a Spanish grandee demonstrates "pride suitable in a man with so many names"). A new element in this century is the connection between laughter and eroticism, in works by Charles-Louis de Secondat de Montesquieu (1689–1755), Denis Diderot (1713–1784), and Pierre Choderlos de Laclos (1741–1803) (*Les liaisons dangereuses*, 1782).

See also *Caricature and Cartoon*; Castiglione, Baldassare; Cervantes, Miguel de; *Commedia dell'Arte*; Dryden,

John; Erasmus, Desiderius; Jonson, Ben; Molière; Pope, Alexander; Rabelais, François; Shakespeare, William; Sheridan, Richard Brinsley; Swift, Jonathan; Voltaire.

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BARBARA C. BOWEN

HUNGARIAN LITERATURE AND LANGUAGE.

Hungarian, or Magyar, spoken by some 14 to 15 million Hungarians in Hungary and elsewhere by the beginning of the twenty-first century, is a Finno-Ugric language. Together with the Vogul-Ostiak, Finnish, and other Finno-Ugric tongues, Hungarian belongs to the Uralic linguistic family, which, according to certain scholars, had close contacts with the Altaic languages (Turkic, Mongolian, and Manchu-Tungus). It is an agglutinative tongue, and its richness in vowel sounds renders it especially suitable for poetry. Apart from major early modern European political and cultural trends, the evolution of Hungarian and its literature was significantly influenced by the division of the country and its relationship to the Austrian empire. Between 1541 and 1699 Hungary was divided into three parts, ruled by the Austrian Habsburgs, the Ottomans, and the Ottomans' vassal Hungarian princes in Transylvania; from 1684 to 1699 the Habsburgs "reconquered" Hungary, and throughout the eighteenth century they attempted to subjugate Hungary and integrate it into the Habsburg Monarchy.

ADMINISTRATIVE AND SCHOLARLY LANGUAGE

Although Latin was the official language of legislation in Hungary until 1844, from the 1540s onward Hungarian spread rapidly in all three parts of the country as a language of both administration and literature. By 1565 it had become the language of

legislation and administration in the Principality of Transylvania. Around the same time, with the help of their Hungarian notaries, Ottoman governors residing in Buda started to use Hungarian in their dealings with the Viennese authorities, the princes of Transylvania, and local Hungarian officials. Latin served as the language of education until 1792, when Hungarian became an obligatory subject in secondary schools. Despite the influence of Latin, Turkish, German, and various Slavic languages, this period witnessed the homogenization of the vernacular and the appearance of two main regional dialects. It also marked the beginning of the formation of a Hungarian literary language that stood above regional dialects.

Apart from translations of the Bible (the New Testament in 1541; the first complete Protestant and Catholic translations in 1589 and 1626), the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries saw the publication of the first Hungarian-language studies of Magyar orthography (1535 and 1655) and grammar (1610 and 1682) and the first Hungarian dictionary (1604). There was also an attempt to create a new vocabulary that would render Hungarian suitable for scientific literature. To that end, books were published in the vernacular on logic, medicine, arithmetic, physics, geography, and mineralogy. The first general encyclopedia in Hungarian was published in 1653 by János Apáczai Csere (1625–1659), the principal representative of Hungarian Puritanism, while the first lexicon of Hungarian writers, Péter Bod's *Magyar Athénas* (Hungarian Athenaeum), appeared in 1766. Yet some of the most important works were still published in Latin. Of these, the most notable were Mátyás Bél's (1684–1749) multi-volume historical-geographical description of Hungary and the monumental histories of the Magyars by two Jesuit professors at the University of Pest, György Pray (1723–1801) and István Katona (1732–1811), the latter's in forty-two volumes.

HUNGARIAN AS A LITERARY LANGUAGE

The first continuous Hungarian text is the *Halotti beszéd* (Funeral oration) from around 1200, while the oldest known Hungarian poem, the *Ómagyar Mária-siralom* (Old hymn to the Virgin Mary), is known from a Latin codex dated about 1300. Until the early sixteenth century Hungarian literature, mainly religious, was cherished in the monasteries

and recorded in codices. The representatives of Renaissance literature—Archbishop János Vitéz (de Zredna), Bishop Janus Pannonius, and others—worked in the court of King Matthias I Corvinus (ruled 1458–1490). His court also housed the famous Bibliotheca Corviniana, one of the richest manuscript libraries of fifteenth-century Europe.

Along with the typical genres of Protestant literature, the first exemplars of popular and court poetry also appeared in the sixteenth century. Sebestyén Tinódi Lantos (1510?–1556) recorded the struggle of the Hungarians against the Ottoman conquerors in a series of rhymed chronicles. The greatest lyric poet of the century was Bálint Balassi (1554–1594). By combining the motifs of Hungarian and east-central European love songs with the European tradition of Petrarchan love poetry, Balassi elevated Hungarian love poetry to a much higher standard than it had previously reached. He also penned the first Hungarian play about love, and he wrote heroic and religious poetry as well.

The two towering figures of baroque literature in seventeenth-century Hungary were Archbishop Péter Pázmány (1570–1637), the leader of the Hungarian Catholic renewal, and Count Miklós Zrínyi (1620–664), a military commander, statesman, and writer. Pázmány's theological synthesis *Isteni igazságra vezető kalauz* (1613; Guide to divine truth) represents Hungarian baroque prose at its best. Zrínyi's *Szigeti veszedelem* (1651; Siege of Sziget), which chronicles the heroic and ultimately unsuccessful defense of Szigetvár by Zrínyi's great-grandfather and namesake against Sultan Suleiman's army in 1566, is the most polished epic in Old Hungarian. Memoirs (by Miklós Bethlen, János Kemény, Péter Apor, and Mihály Cserei) are perhaps the strongest genre of Transylvanian literature of the period. Dramas, in both Hungarian and Latin, were performed mainly in the schools of the religious orders.

In the late baroque period (1690–1772), literature was often used by members of the Magyar nobility to express their criticism of Vienna's absolutist policies. While these works were usually of modest literary value, the *Törökországi levelek* (Letters from Turkey) by Kelemen Mikes (1690–1761) represents the finest example of this genre. Mikes, Ferenc Rákóczi II's faithful companion during his

exile in Turkey, addressed his letters to a fictitious female relative who symbolizes his longing for the motherland as well as unfulfilled love.

The first notable representative of the Hungarian Enlightenment was György Bessenyei (1747–1811). As a member of Maria Theresa's (ruled 1740–1780) Hungarian Guard in Vienna, Bessenyei mastered French and German and introduced new ideas into Hungarian literature, using familiar literary genres (poetry, drama) along with new ones (the travel novel, the enlightened epos, etc.). Another "bodyguard writer," János Batsányi (1763–1845), promptly greeted the French Revolution, realizing its significance. Aside from these two writers, the Jesuits Dávid Baróti Szabó (1739–1819) and József Rájnis (1741–1812) and the Piarist friar Miklós Révai (1750–1807) played major roles in polishing the Hungarian literary language through their classical metric poems, translations (from Virgil), and passionate literary debates. Their efforts were facilitated by the newly established literary journals of the late eighteenth century as well as by the expanding book industry. Between 1712 and 1790 some fifteen thousand works appeared in the country. Under Austrian Emperor Joseph II (ruled 1780–1790) the percentage of books printed in Hungarian and German had risen from 27 to 34 percent and from 17 to 23 percent, respectively, whereas the percentage of books in Latin decreased from 50 to 36 percent. This was the beginning of a new era. The works of a younger generation of poets and writers of the Hungarian Enlightenment, including Mihály Csokonai-Vitéz (1773–1805) and Ferenc Kazinczy (1759–1831), among others, ushered in a revival of Hungarian language and literature.

See also Budapest; Habsburg Territories; Hungary; Ottoman Empire.

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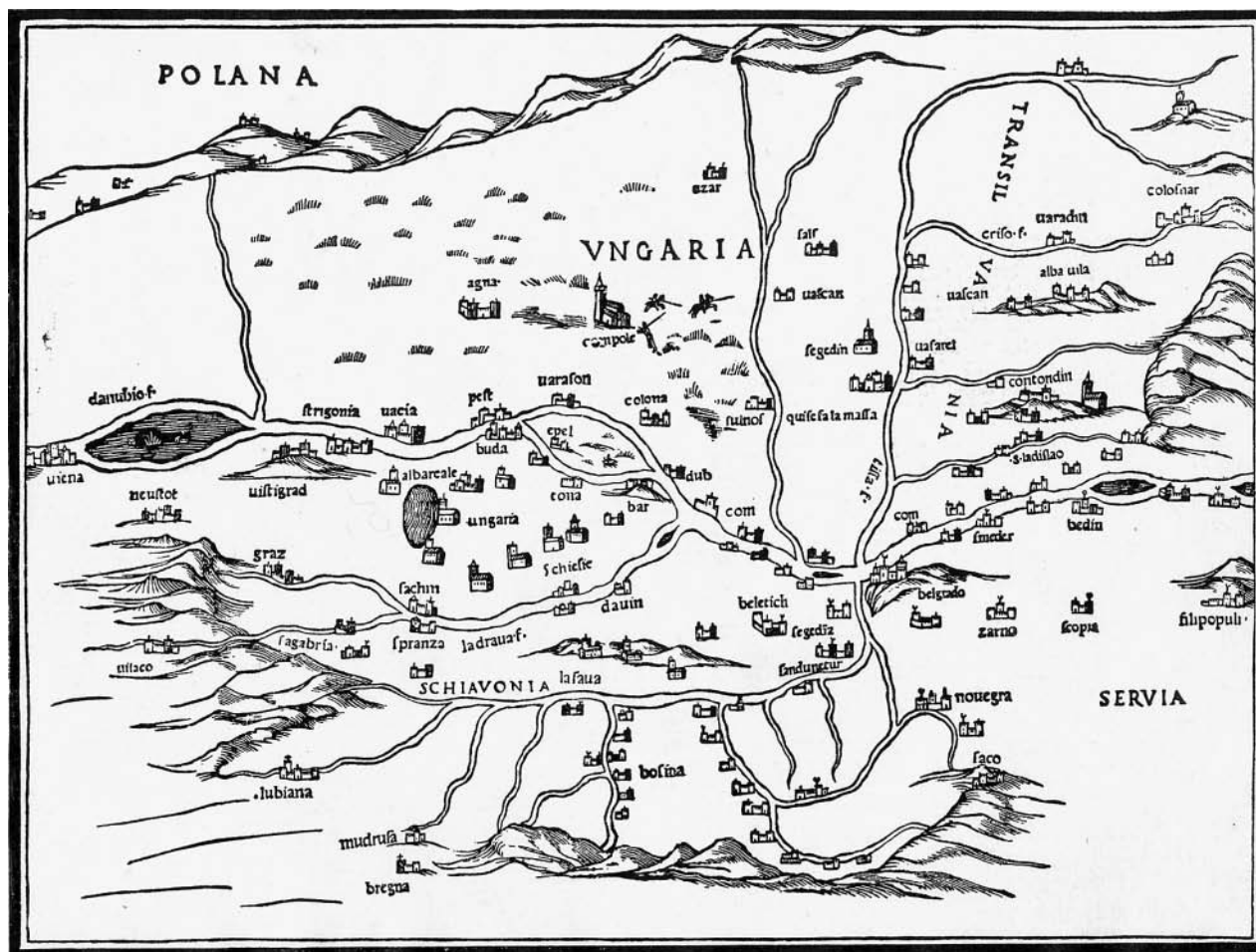
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GÁBOR ÁGOSTON

HUNGARY. Hungary's history from 1450 through 1790 can be divided into three periods. The century from 1450 was the last phase of the independent Hungarian Kingdom, whose major political concern was the Ottoman advance. Hungary lost her long struggle at the battle of Mohács in 1526 and was divided into three parts by the mid-sixteenth century. The second period (1541–1699) is often labeled as the era of the tripartite division of the country. Royal Hungary in the west was under Habsburg rule and Ottoman Hungary in the middle was ruled, at least partly, from Constantinople (Istanbul), whereas the Principality of Transylvania in the east, although an Ottoman satellite state, had considerable autonomy, especially in its domestic affairs. While hostilities and rivalries often divided the Hungarian political elite, with regard to socio-economic, religious, cultural, and even political developments, the three parts were connected on many levels. The next era can be described as the integration of Hungary into the Habsburg Monarchy that reconquered the country from the Ottomans by the end of the 17th century. This period witnessed a new political compromise between Vienna and the Hungarian estates, as well as visible economic and demographic growth and cultural flourishing.

In the mid-fifteenth century, the Kingdom of Hungary was a regional power in Central Europe. It had an estimated territory of 300,000 square kilometers, a population of 3.1–3.5 million, and annual revenues of 500,000 gold florins under King Matthias (Mátyás) Corvinus of the Hunyadi family (1458–1490). Protected by the natural boundaries of the Carpathian Mountains in the north and in the east, Hungary was bordered by Poland in the north, Bohemia in the northwest, and Habsburg Austria in the west. In the south, the Danube and Sava Rivers—and the southern border defense system built along those rivers—separated the country from the Ottoman Empire.

The Ottoman threat fostered military reforms and centralization in Hungary. Relying on the



Hungary. A small reproduction of one of the earliest printed maps of Hungary by the Venetian Giovanni Vavassore. It was originally published in 1526, the year that the Hungarians were defeated by the Turks at Mohács, beginning 150 years of Ottoman domination. On the Danube River, which flows through the center of the map, are shown the cities of Buda and Pest. Schiavonia, in the bottom center between the Drava and Sara rivers, is Slovenia. MAP COLLECTION, STERLING MEMORIAL LIBRARY, YALE UNIVERSITY

towns and the lesser nobility, a reformed tax system, a secular bureaucracy, and a mercenary army of thirty thousand strong, King Matthias curtailed the influence of the aristocracy. Although the king strengthened and reorganized the country's southern defenses, vast resources were spent on his wars against Austria and Bohemia in pursuit of a Danubian monarchy, as well as on the king's lavish court and patronage of the arts and sciences.

During the rules of King Matthias's Jagiello successors (1490–1526), the power-hungry nobility strengthened its position vis-à-vis both the crown and the rest of the society. An influential compilation of Hungarian customary law, called the Tripartitum (1514), codified the rights and privi-

leges of the nobility, including the right to resist the king. The book perceived the nobility, whose members supposedly enjoyed equal rights (*una et aedem nobilitas*), as “the mystical body” of the “holy crown” that is, the sole representatives of the “political nation.” Following the rebellion of 1514, the nobility subjected the peasants to “eternal servitude.” Although the Tripartitum was never promulgated and the decrees of the Diet of 1514 were often suspended, they provided the nobility with a legal framework until 1848 and were largely responsible for Hungary's unhealthy social structure.

The annihilation of the Hungarian army at the battle of Mohács (1526) not only meant the end of the medieval Kingdom of Hungary but also marked

the beginning of Habsburg-Ottoman military confrontation in Central Europe. Following the Ottomans' withdrawal from Hungary in 1526, competing factions of the nobility elected two kings, János Szapolyai (John Zapolya, 1526–1540), the royal Hungarian governor (or *vajda*) of Transylvania, and Ferdinand of Habsburg (1526–1564). With Ottoman military assistance, Szapolyai controlled the eastern parts of the country, while Ferdinand ruled the northern and western parts of Hungary. When the death of Szapolyai (1540) upset the military equilibrium between the Habsburgs and Ottomans, Sultan Suleiman I annexed central Hungary to his empire (1541). Hungary's strategically less significant eastern territories were left in the hands of Szapolyai's widow and were soon to become the Principality of Transylvania, an Ottoman vassal state. Throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Habsburgs, who remained on the Hungarian throne until 1918, had to content themselves with northern and western Hungary, known as Royal Hungary.

Although the Ottomans launched multiple campaigns against Hungary and the Habsburgs (1529, 1532, 1541, 1543, 1551–1552, 1566, 1663–1664) and the two empires waged two exhausting wars in Hungary (1593–1606 and 1683–1699), the buffer-zone-turned-country saved Habsburg central Europe from Ottoman conquest. Successive peace treaties (1547, 1568, 1606, and 1664) maintained the tripartite division of the country, which ended only in 1699, when, in the treaty of Karlowitz, the Ottomans ceded most of Hungary and Transylvania to the Habsburgs. The country's unity was only partially restored, however, for Vienna administered Transylvania as a separate imperial territory until 1848.

The price of being the “bastion of Christendom” was the dismemberment of the country and constant warfare along the Muslim-Christian divide with severe economic and social consequences. However, the endurance of Hungarian society and its economy proved to be much stronger than expected. Despite continuous skirmishes and protracted wars, famine, and epidemics, Hungary's population had increased from 3.1 million in the 1490s to 4 million by the early 1680s. In spite of double taxation (Hungarian and Ottoman), many towns in the Great Plain (Alföld) under Ottoman

rule profited from the Hungaro-Ottoman condominium and succeeded in strengthening their privileges and self-government. The sixteenth century was the golden age of manorial agriculture and cattle trade. From the 1570s, Hungary exported some eighty thousand to one hundred thousand head of cattle annually to Vienna and to the German and Italian cities through an elaborate chain of cattle keepers and merchants. While defending the border was a major burden on the society, many profited from feeding and supplying imperial armies and Ottoman and Hungarian garrisons.

The tripartite division of the country and the limits of Habsburg authority also fostered the spread of Protestant Reformation. In Transylvania, Catholicism, Lutheranism, Calvinism, and Unitarianism were declared accepted denominations (*recepta religio*) in 1568. In the 1580s, half of Hungary's population was Calvinist, another quarter followed the Augsburg Confession, and the remaining 25 percent belonged to the Unitarian, Catholic, and Orthodox churches.

Angered by Vienna's lukewarm Turkish policy and aggressive Counter-Reformation, Protestant Magyar nobles rebelled repeatedly against the Catholic Habsburgs in the seventeenth century. They were aided by the princes of Transylvania, which, under the able rule of Gábor Bethlen (1613–1629) and György Rákóczi I (1630–1648) flourished economically and culturally. Allied with the Protestant states in the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648), the princes launched several campaigns against the Habsburgs and extended the principality's territories at the expense of Royal Hungary. When the Habsburgs conceded further Hungarian territories to the Ottomans in the treaty of Vasvár in 1664 in spite of the former's victory at St. Gotthard, even the loyal Catholic magnates of Royal Hungary were outraged and many joined the anti-Austrian “magnate conspiracy” of 1670–1671. The severe punishment of the members of the plot and Emperor Leopold's “confessional absolutism” triggered new waves of anti-Habsburg rebellions, of which the most serious was the revolt of Imre Thököly's *kurucs* (a group of Hungarian “national crusaders” or insurgents) in 1681–1683. Thököly's war led to the creation of yet another pro-Ottoman vassal state in Upper Hungary at a critical moment when the Ottomans' failed siege of Vienna (1683)



Hungary. Abraham Ortelius's map of Hungary, first issued in his *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* of 1570, was based on an earlier wall map by Wolfgang Lazius published in Vienna in 1556. MAP COLLECTION, STERLING MEMORIAL LIBRARY, YALE UNIVERSITY

set off an international counteroffensive, which, by the end of the century, had reconquered most of Hungary from the Ottomans.

After 1699, the Habsburgs treated Hungary as a conquered and subjugated province, thus provoking another revolt of the Magyars. The peace treaty of Szatmár (1711), which ended Ferenc Rákóczi's defeated War of Independence (1703–1711), was a wise compromise for both parties. It altered initial Habsburg designs regarding Hungary's incorporation into the monarchy, leaving the county-level administration and jurisdiction in the hands of the Hungarian nobility, which also retained many of its former privileges including tax exemption. On the other hand, Charles VI (Charles III as king of Hungary, 1711–1740) restored Habsburg rule over Hungary, whose Estates recognized his daughter's succession (the Pragmatic Sanction) in the Diet of

1722/23, making Hungary a hereditary Habsburg kingdom.

Within two generations, the population of the country (including Croatia and Transylvania) had doubled, reaching nine million by the late 1780s. This was partly due to voluntary immigration and state-organized settlement policy through which hundreds of thousands of Romanians, Croatians, Slovaks, and Germans arrived in Hungary. This significantly changed the ethnic composition of the country, where the Hungarians lost their absolute majority and comprised less than 40 percent of the inhabitants in the end of the century.

Led by ideas reflecting the Enlightenment and by absolutistic and physiocratic principles, Maria Theresa (ruled 1740–1780) and Joseph II (ruled 1780–1790) initiated important administrative, economic, legal, and cultural reforms, issued as royal patents and carried out by royal commis-

sioners to avoid their blocking by the Estates in the Diet. Many of these reforms were beneficial for Hungary. The Urbarial Patent of 1767 regulated the size of peasant holdings and obligations in order to eliminate inequalities and overtaxation, whereas the *Ratio educationis* of 1777 reformed the educational system. Joseph II's Edict of Tolerance (1781) permitted the "free practice" of religion for all denominations, enabling their members to become guild masters, earn university diplomas in Hungary, and serve in state offices. However, Maria Theresa's discriminatory tariff regulations (1754), which separated Hungary from the rest of the monarchy and its traditional German and Italian markets, negatively affected Hungary, reinforcing the country's agrarian supplier status and hindering the development of domestic industries. Joseph II's decision to replace Latin with German as the official language of administration was perceived as "Germanization" and, along with his patents that abolished Hungary's old administrative structure, infuriated the Estates. By the end of Joseph II's rule, the country, which was feeling overwhelmed by the severe burden of a new Turkish war (1787–1790), was again on the brink of an insurrection. Facing possible armed rebellion in Hungary, growing Prussian pressure, a changing international order because of the French Revolution, and military defeat in his Turkish war, Joseph II decided to appease his Magyar nobility. In January 1790, the emperor revoked all his reforms, except for his Edict of Toleration and his decrees that benefited the peasantry and parishes.

After the compromise in 1711, loyal Hungarian magnates and the Catholic hierarchy were among the richest people in the monarchy. They were also instrumental in the cultural life of the country. The palaces built by the Esterházy, Károlyi, Pálffy, and Festetics families at Fertőd, Erdőd, Királyfalva, and Keszthely respectively are, along with magnificent churches, the best examples of Hungarian baroque. Many of the magnates were not only patrons of the arts and of literature, but were themselves active writers spreading the ideas of Enlightenment, the most radical of which were discussed in the twenty-some lodges of the Freemasons. While the eighteenth century saw spectacular population growth, solid, though uneven, economic development, and cultural revival, it also witnessed the preservation of

the country's medieval and anachronistic "constitution" and social structure. All this, along with the radically changed ethnic composition of Hungary, would considerably complicate the country's history in the nineteenth century.

See also Habsburg Dynasty; Austria; Hungarian Literature and Language; Joseph II (Holy Roman Empire); Maria Theresa (Holy Roman Empire); Ottoman Empire; Rákóczi Revolt; Suleiman I.

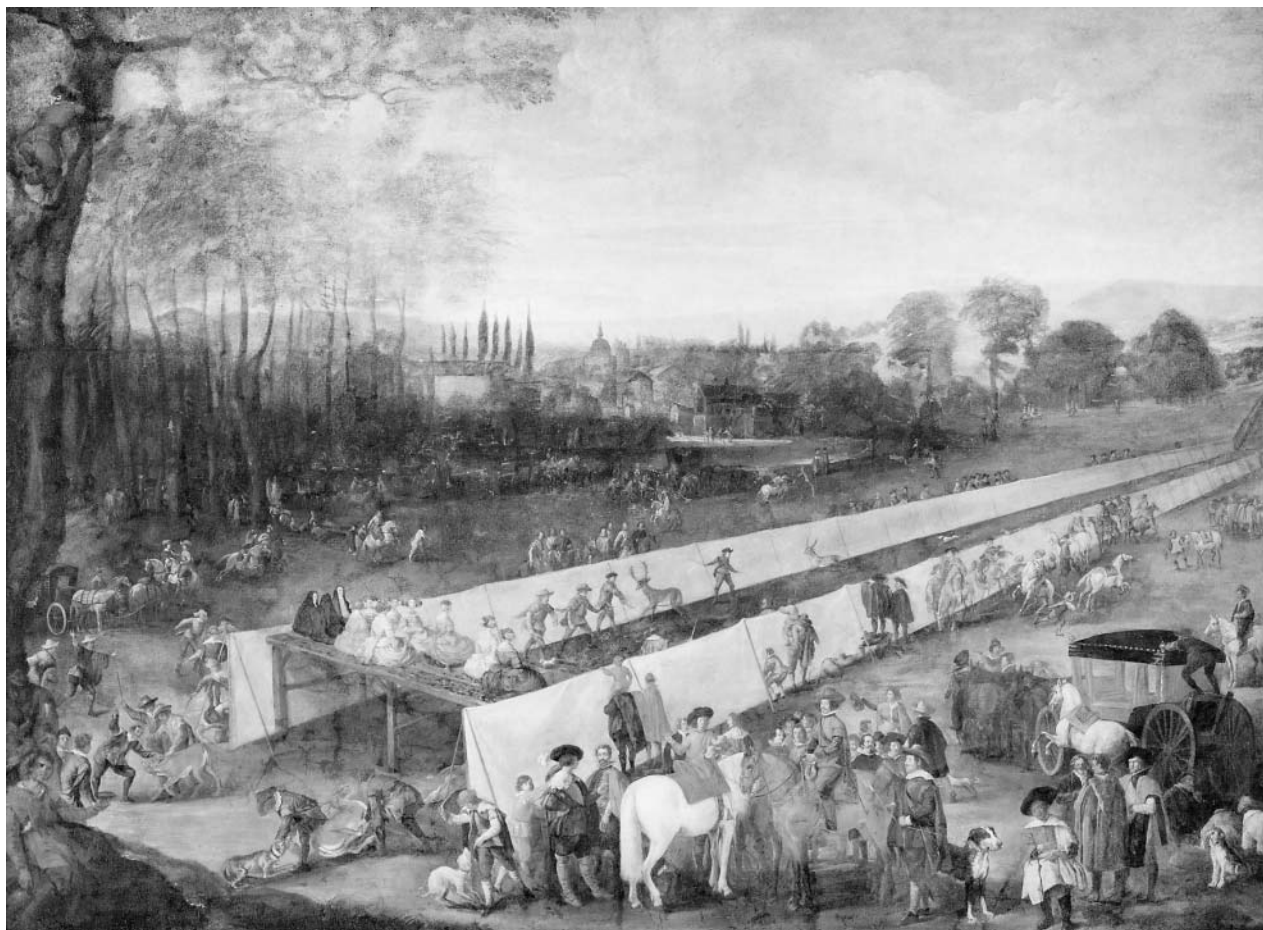
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GÁBOR ÁGOSTON

HUNTING. Early modern Europe was a settled agricultural and commercial society. As such, hunting played a secondary or negligible role in supplying the nutritional needs of all but a handful of Europeans. Yet hunting had a symbolic importance in European society out of proportion to its economic importance because it was closely linked to the culture of monarchy. In most of Europe, hunting was a privilege restricted to the nobility. In general, the noble monopoly of hunting derived from seigniorial control over the forests in which hunting took place. In some lands, such as England, the king exercised exclusive seigniorial jurisdiction over all forests; in other lands, such as France, seigniorial jurisdiction over forests came with jurisdiction over the neighboring villages and so could be "owned" by anyone. Such control enabled kings and aristocrats to restrict hunting to a very narrow social stratum. Even some nobles were prevented from participating in the hunt.

Most of the social history of hunting revolves around the justifications for and enforcement of noble monopoly. Non-nobles sometimes chafed at being prevented from hunting for sport, but they were more frequently troubled by the fact that the noble monopoly on hunting for sport prohibited



Hunting. *Hunt in Aranjuez*, seventeenth-century painting by Juan Bautista Mazo. In this formalized Spanish version of the hunt, game is driven into a narrow enclosure to be pursued by members of the royal court. ©ERICH LESSING/ART RESOURCE, N.Y.

commoners from hunting for food or stopping wild animals from damaging their crops. Conflicts over hunting were, therefore, part of a larger negotiation over relations of power between nobles and peasants. The three main types of hunting—hunting vermin, hunting for food, and hunting for sport—touched on different aspects of those relations.

ERADICATING VERMIN

Hunting vermin, animals that posed a threat to crops or livestock, was the least contested area of hunting in the early modern era. Common people were allowed, even encouraged, to destroy vermin and they were eager to do so. The main kinds of vermin hunted in early modern Europe were stoats, otters, foxes, and wolves.

The treatment of wolves is most emblematic of early modern European attitudes toward vermin.

Throughout Europe, rulers or their officials offered bounties for wolf hides or other evidence of the destruction of wolves. Criminals were sometimes permitted to pay off fines or debts by supplying wolf pelts. Wolves were to be killed whenever and by whatever means. They were feared not just for the threat they posed to livestock, but also (though with how much justification remains an open question) as a threat to humans. The policy of wolf eradication was very successful in some parts of Europe. Already by 1560, wolves were extinct in England. The last confirmed killing of a wolf in Scotland took place in 1691. Wolves were extinct in Ireland by 1770. On the other hand, wolves continued to survive on the Continent throughout the early modern era.

Initially, foxes were treated in the same manner as wolves. But in the eighteenth century, hunting foxes began to take on the character of sport hunt-

ing rather than vermin hunting. Until that time, the prime small game animal for “coursing” had been the hare. Aristocrats discovered that foxes made a very good target for coursing hounds. So, they began to foster the stability of fox populations by building fox shelters and even importing foxes from other regions; thus there was a continuing source of sporting pleasure. It was not until the nineteenth century that foxhunting lost its significance as a means of controlling vermin and became the main sporting pastime of the English aristocracy.

HUNTING FOR FOOD

Game animals played a larger and more diverse role in the diet in the early modern era than they would in later centuries. Wild boar and venison, sometimes killed by the king himself, were a regular feature of royal feasts. Since the royal table could be amply supplied with meats by domesticated animals, these dishes were more important symbolically than nutritionally. For example, Francis I (ruled 1515–1547) of France sent venison pasties (a type of meat pie) from a deer he had personally hunted as a gesture of good will to Henry VIII (ruled 1509–1547) of England. For commoners, there were few restrictions on catching marginally edible fare such as badgers or starlings, but they were usually barred from hunting prime edible game animals such as wild boar and deer. Some resorted to poaching to provide meat for their diet or to sell at market.

Poaching was illegal in early modern Europe, but it was not uncommon. Forest account books show numerous fines for illegal capture or killing of game. In rare cases, poaching was a capital offense, but in most of Europe, the most widespread punishment was a stiff fine. Some cases of poaching were clearly as much symbolic protest acts as efforts to get something to eat. In seventeenth-century England, it was not at all rare for gentry to poach on the lands of their neighbors. Most historians assume that forest officials were often bribed to look the other way. Perhaps the best-known effort to suppress poaching was the Black Act in England in 1724, which, among other things, made deer-stalking in royal forests a capital crime. The numbers of animals taken in the areas affected by the Black Act were small. It is impossible to say how frequently poachers were caught in early modern Europe and,

by extension, how important game was for the livelihoods of villagers in the vicinity of forests.

HUNTING FOR SPORT

Hunting explicitly for sport had been a noble, and especially a royal, prerogative since ancient times. It was considered an important test of bravery and skill with arms that would carry over into battle. The early modern era continued practices that had been prevalent in the Middle Ages. Hunting adapted readily to gunpowder weapons, though crossbows and longbows, and even swords or knives, remained common weapons even into the seventeenth century. Though early modern royalty continued to keep falcons as they had in the Middle Ages, the most prominent form of sport hunting in the early modern era was coursing with hounds. The dog became the prized adjunct to the hunt. Hunting literature, such as George Gascoigne’s *The Noble Art of Venery and Hunting* (1575), proliferated in the early modern era. Much of it was written for or dedicated to notable royal hunters. Tales of kings or noblemen finishing off an enraged animal that charged the hunters, endangering their lives, became a trope of royal propaganda.

The early modern era was suffused with a casual cruelty toward animals. Hunting for sport partook of some of that same casual cruelty. It was common to round up wild animals, sometimes in large numbers, and herd them to a place where the hunters could easily slaughter them. Contemporary depictions of the hunt often show the hunters standing behind a blind or shooting stand while drivers chased dozens of animals in front of their waiting guns.

Certain creatures were especially prized for their ability to create an exciting chase. The three animals most frequently prized for their coursing were red deer, fallow deer, and hares. For the latter, the sport was primarily to watch the chasing hounds in action. Hares were fast and nimble and so made for an exciting spectacle. The hunter did not shoot the animal, but instead allowed the dogs to tear the animal to pieces once it had been caught. Deer, on the other hand, could be flushed out using hounds, but the object was for the hunter to shoot them. Red deer stags were the most prized target because they combined a noble bearing with an exciting chase. Wild boar were less prized for the chase, but



Hunting. *Hunting Coots and Waterfowl*, painting of the Flemish school, c. 1600–1620. THE ART ARCHIVE/ROSENBERG CASTLE COPENHAGEN/DAGLI ORTI (A)

remained a fit target because they were dangerous when cornered.

The royal or noble hunt was, in part, a performance—a demonstration of mastery over nature as a justification for monarchical authority. Sometimes, the hunt would be a small affair, with the king or nobleman and a few intimates; other times it would be a large public occasion with hundreds of participants and spectators. The hunt encouraged ritual gestures that reinforced the sense that it was an expression of royal majesty. For example, when James I of England (ruled 1603–1625) successfully shot a red deer in an aristocratic hunting party, he would personally slit the throat of the dying animal to begin dressing it; he then would insist that all of the members of the shooting party smear the blood

of the animal on their faces. Since the king shed the animal's blood, this gesture brought royal favor to the participants. Though hunting was primarily a masculine activity, women also participated as spectators and hunters. Elizabeth I of England (ruled 1558–1603), for example, hunted avidly. On one occasion her hunt consisted of repeatedly firing a crossbow into a paddock filled with deer, killing three or four of them. The slaughter was accompanied by tunes played by the queen's musicians and a singing nymph who placed the crossbow into her hands.

A literature of forest management arose alongside the literature on the aristocratic virtues of hunting. Royal gamekeepers made sure that royal forests were continuously stocked, just as demesne officials

made sure that royal demesnes were planted and harvested. Indeed, sometimes deer had to be imported to maintain population levels. One hundred head were sent from Haughton Forest to Windsor Forest in 1711, for example. In densely populated parts of Europe, game reserves were walled or fenced off to keep game in and poachers out. Palaces served as hunting lodges for the king.

The burdens that fell on peasants who lived in or near forests were connected to forest management. Peasants were usually prohibited from owning hunting dogs of their own. Instead, some were required to board the king's or a nobleman's dogs and make them available whenever the owner wanted to hunt, with only part of the costs defrayed by the owner. Peasants might also be called on to perform *corvée* ('unpaid labor') during the hunt as beaters or carters of slaughtered animals. It was often galling for peasants forced to perform such services to watch as the hunters ran their horses through the fields, destroying the peasants' own crops. There are innumerable supplications seeking to modify the obligations to perform such duties and protect the crops during the hunt. The frequency of such supplications underscores how little they changed hunters' behavior.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth century, there was a small groundswell of antihunting sentiment, primarily amongst religious thinkers. Hunting for sport was considered wasteful, an indulgence in luxury. These criticisms did not merge with the criticisms by peasants of the damage caused to their own crops by the hunt, so there was never any sustained effort to change hunting practice during the era, just a small decline in the numbers of aristocrats who enjoyed the sport. Nevertheless, hunting retained its aristocratic character at the end of the eighteenth century and would only be opened to commoners with the French Revolution.

See also **Aristocracy and Gentry; Class, Status, and Order; Enclosure; Food and Drink; Forests and Woodlands; Games and Play; Sports.**

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JOHN THEIBAUT

HUSSITES. The Hussite revolution was a protest movement for sociopolitical freedom and religious reform in fifteenth-century Bohemia. Visible in several manifestations prior to the Thirty Years' War, the term identifies followers of the martyred priest Jan Hus (c. 1372/73–1415), whose distinguishing and unconventional practices involved celebrating the Eucharist in species of both bread and wine.

The instability of the House of Luxembourg in Prague and repeated interference by Sigismund, aspiring Holy Roman emperor, created political uncertainty. Ecclesiastical affairs were no better; the papal schism directly affected Prague, and Czech resentment toward foreign religious domination escalated. Ecclesiastical property included up to fifty percent of Bohemia. Heavy taxation, a declining silver industry, static wages, rising prices, peasant devastation, and an impoverished gentry comprised a host of social and economic grievances. Conflicts between church and state, monarch and barons, and Czechs and Germans exacerbated the climate of discontent. Heretical movements like that of the Waldensians and the teachings of John Wycliffe (c. 1330–1384), combined with native reform movements, heightened the potential for protest and dissent.

HUSSITE BEGINNINGS, VICTORIES, AND DEFEATS

The leading personality was university professor and preacher Jan Hus, who facilitated reform aimed at correcting abuses. Hus exerted unusual influence from his pulpit and wrote prolifically, but ran afoul of the Prague episcopal see, lost favor with the king, and was excommunicated and later accused of her-

esy. He attended the Council of Constance (1414–1415) hoping for a fair hearing, but was seized and executed. After his death, and the inability of King Wenceslas (Václav) IV (ruled 1378–1419) to govern effectively, university masters and Czech barons assumed political power. A league formed in 1415 to protect Hussite interests. Hussite ideologues led by Jakoubek of Stříbro (d. 1429) and Nicholas of Dresden (d. 1417) inaugurated Utraquism, the practice of Communion using both bread and wine. As Utraquism constituted a rejection of Roman ecclesiastical authority, it was condemned by the Council of Constance. Later, Utraquism included all the baptized, including infants. The chalice became the Hussite symbol. Crisis loomed when radical preachers and their followers engaged in thoroughgoing protests against religious and political establishments.

By 1417 Bohemia faced economic blockade. Prague's archbishop commenced active repression, refusing to ordain Hussite priests while evicting incumbents, but the Hussites struck back. The university ratified Utraquism while dissenters forced a suffragan bishop to perform ordinations. Catholic clerics were ejected and replaced with Hussites. The king undertook a largely ineffectual royal repression. By 1419 a crusade aimed at crushing resistance received papal approbation. The Hussites refused to submit and Reformation became revolution. Radical priest Jan Želivský (d. 1422) incited public demonstrations. Resistance rallies formed on hilltops in rural Bohemia throughout 1419, attended by thousands. In July a mob, led by Želivský, overthrew the Prague civil authorities. The king was forced to accept the Hussite coup, but died within a month.

In 1420 the radical community at Tábor began to contravene religious and social mores: vernacular replaced Latin, liturgical vestments and accessories were abandoned, and preaching and simple eucharistic piety predominated. Simultaneous communal experiments developed: private property was forbidden, taxes abolished, equality proclaimed, and community chests established. Radicals elected their own bishop. Originally pacifists, the Táborites became "warriors of God."

Greatly alarmed, Sigismund marched on Prague, suffering ignominious defeat at the hands of Jan Žižka's (c. 1360–1424) peasant forces. Four

subsequent crusades were scattered. Throughout the 1420s the Hussites attempted social and religious reform. Refusing to accept Sigismund as king, they sought a ruler from the Polish-Lithuanian dynasty. The Hussite wars continued, spreading to neighboring regions after Žižka's death. The Four Articles of Prague functioned as a charter, calling for free preaching, Utraquism, divestment of church wealth, and punishment of serious sins. A massive propaganda campaign followed. Radicals advocated seizing property from the wealthy, correcting religious abuses wherever encountered, and promoting "saint" Jan Hus, the chalice, and the law of God. This latter component possessed both theological and social implications.

Forced to negotiate, the Council of Basel (1433) implemented strategic divide-and-conquer policies. When initial talks disintegrated and crisis gripped the Hussite leadership, conservative Utraquist barons colluded with Catholic forces, captured Prague, and forced a confrontation with the radicals in 1434. The Táborites were crushed. Bohemian had outwitted Bohemian in the interests of Rome. Jan Roháč of Dubá (d. 1437) and confederates resisted Sigismund until 1437.

AFTERMATH AND INFLUENCE OF HUSSITISM

Petr Chelčický (c. 1390–c. 1460) a Táborite separatist, summarized Hussitism as a rejection of medieval society with its tripartite divisions. He exerted formative influence on the Unity of Brethren, a group that survived into the seventeenth century. Jan Rokycana (d. 1471) dominated the Utraquist party. The Hussite movement, together with the nobles organized in the Estates, remained the chief force in Bohemia until their disastrous defeat by the Habsburgs at the Battle of White Mountain (1620). Before White Mountain, Bohemian society and politics took the Hussites seriously. The political reality of the fifteenth-century revolution was a strengthened nobility. During the militant period, army captains Žižka and Prokop Holý (c. 1375–1434) exerted enormous political influence, while Tábor's bishop Mikuláš of Pelhimov (d. 1460) provided leadership for three decades. After 1440 two main Hussite groups continued: the Utraquists, who inclined toward Lutheranism after 1520, and the Calvinist Unity of Brethren.

Hussite strength and achievement are measured by the standardization of the Czech language (undertaken by Hus), restoration of lay Communion using both bread and wine, and survival through five imperial crusades. In the process, the Hussites achieved formal recognition by the official church (1433), a triumph of toleration exemplified in the “Peace of Kutná Hora” (1485), a common religious confession (1575), and maintained their uniqueness despite Lutheran and Calvinist Reformations. In 1609 the “Letter of Majesty” was published, recognizing the right of Hussite traditions to exist, and in 1596 the vernacular Bible of Kralice was produced. The Hussites thus reformed their religion before the age of the European Reformations. Their greatest weakness was twofold: a tendency toward internal dissension contributing to a major defeat in 1434, and their proclivity for negotiating with the official church, a stance that prevented full implementation of Hussite doctrine. Their defeat at White Mountain was total. During the Thirty Years’ War Bohemia was forcibly re-Catholicized. Hussites were exiled or driven underground. A century later, however, the spiritual descendants of Hussites emerged: the Moravian Brethren, who persist to the present day. It cannot be maintained that Hussite ideals survived, except in very limited ways in small communities in eastern Moravia.

The Hussite ethos lasted two hundred years, shaping the Bohemian nation. Its influence on movements within the Protestant Reformation was considerable. Hussites were the first to produce a full-fledged reformation from a movement of heresy and protest, and in this way altered European civilization.

See also **Bohemia; Prague; Reformation, Protestant; Schmalkaldic War (1546–1547); Thirty Years’ War (1618–1648).**

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THOMAS A. FUDGE

HUYGENS FAMILY. Influential in Dutch politics and culture, the Huygens family served the House of Orange, and thus, its political fortunes rose and fell with those of its patrons. Christiaan the Elder (1551–1624) served William of Orange (William the Silent; 1533–1584) until the latter’s assass-

sination, at which point he became secretary to the Council of State that oversaw the newly formed United Provinces of the Netherlands. His firstborn, Maurits (1595–1642), was secretary to William’s successor, Maurits (1567–1625), and then the council; his second son, Constantijn (1596–1687), was secretary to Maurits’s younger brother Frederik Hendrik (1584–1647), then the latter’s son William II (1626–1650), and finally to the council. During the 1640s, as the princes of Orange consolidated power in the United Provinces, Constantijn enjoyed immense authority and accumulated the lands and monies that go with such a relationship. Conversely, during the minority of William III (1650–1702), with the government controlled by the Republicans and the Orangists in disarray, Constantijn concentrated on the young prince’s education and made sure that his eldest son, Constantijn, Jr. (1627–1697), eventually became William’s secretary. When a grown William regained power during war with France (1672) and moved to England to share the throne (1689), Constantijn, Jr., followed. Because William III had no brothers, Constantijn’s younger sons had no parallel patrons to serve, even though their father had trained them for civil service. Indeed, the youngest, Philips (1633–1657), died while on a diplomatic mission. The third son, Lodewijk (1631–1699), did remain in politics, serving in minor positions and embarrassing the family in a bribery scandal. Constantijn’s second son, Christiaan (1629–1695), made early contact with the scientific communities on both sides of the English Channel while traveling as a diplomatic clerk, even being elected the first foreign member of the Royal Society of London during one such trip in 1663. In 1666 Christiaan abandoned the family profession to follow his natural talent as a scientist, going to Paris to lead the newly formed Académie Royale des Sciences of Louis XIV (ruled 1643–1715).

Constantijn Huygens, poet, musician, and patron, lived a full life outside of politics. Tutored at home in languages, music, mathematics, and logic, he spent 1616–1617 studying law at Leiden before setting off as clerk in the diplomatic missions that would foster his career. Repeated visits to England (in 1622 he was even knighted) broadened his early training by exposing him to the experimental science of Francis Bacon (1561–1626) and Cornelius

Drebbel (1572–1633). Enamored of John Donne’s (1572–1631) poetry, he translated nineteen poems into Dutch even before they had been published in English. Today Constantijn is primarily remembered as one of the leading poets of the Dutch Golden Age, who contributed to the growth of the Dutch language through his verses, such as those included in the collection he called his “cornflowers” (*Korenbloemen*, 1658). His works range from birthday poems to a comic play (*Trijntje Cornelis*, 1653) to epic autobiographies (*Dagbwerck* [1638; *A day’s work*], and *De Vita Propria Sermonum inter Liberos Libri Duo* [1678]). He was a member of the Muiden Circle that gathered around the great Dutch poet and historian Pieter Corneliszoon Hooft (1581–1647), discussing literature and setting style. A noted composer (only his *Pathodia Sacra et Profana* survive) and musician, Constantijn argued for the reintroduction of the organ into the Reformed Church. He befriended René Descartes (1596–1650) when the philosopher settled in Holland during the 1640s, and the two seem to have formed a mutual admiration society. As the arbiter of court patronage, he encouraged the artistic careers of Rembrandt van Rijn (1606–1669) and Jan Lievens (1607–1674). Throughout his life he maintained a dilettante’s interest in science, particularly the work of his son.

Christiaan Huygens, mathematician, physicist, astronomer, and inventor, was one of the leading scientists of the seventeenth century, most particularly as a founder of the field of applied mathematics. Educated at home, he demonstrated his analytical prowess early on by extending results in classical mathematics, particularly the work of Archimedes, including developing an improved method for determining pi. At the University of Leiden, he studied with Frans van Schooten (c. 1615–1660) and contributed to the latter’s *Geometria*, a codification of Descartes’s mathematics. He accepted the basic principles of Cartesian physics throughout his life but was frequently at odds with the particulars. Thus, he always believed that mechanical theory must be rooted in explanations involving matter in relative motion, but his first major study on moving bodies disproved Descartes’s fundamental rules for collisions. Likewise, he opposed the Cartesian explanation of refraction and of the speed of light. On the other hand, he continued to seek a vortex expla-

nation of gravity, even after Isaac Newton (1642–1727) had undermined Descartes’s theory in the *Principia*. He never achieved his own unified mathematical system of the world, even though he had written many treatises that mathematically analyzed physical problems. Thus, when he invented the first accurate pendulum clock and developed an improved version that made the bob follow a cycloidal path, his description of the successor is wrapped in an elegant theory of curves called evolutes that proved why it was theoretically precise (*Horologium Oscillatorium*, 1673). Likewise, when he developed his wave theory of light, its justification was a mathematical extension of evolutes to the phenomenon of double refraction, including his assertion, now called the Huygens Principle, that a wave front is the curve (envelope) that is tangent to all the secondary waves emanating pointwise from along the previous front (*Traité de la lumière* [1690; Treatise on light]). But, although he discovered Saturn’s largest moon, Titan (1658), and explained that Saturn’s odd appearance could be accounted for by a ring (*Systema Saturnium* [1659; The system of Saturn]), he never mathematically extended this early work to an analysis of planetary systems, even though he worked extensively on the problem of circular motion. He wrote a treatise on expectations in probability, contributed to the discussions that led to the calculus, designed telescopes and ground their lenses with his older brother, and participated in the development of the air pump, spiral spring watch, and microscope. Unfortunately, many important works only appeared posthumously, including a massive treatise on the refraction of light through lenses (*Dioptrica*, 1703), and a popularization of cosmology written for his older brother in which he speculated on the possibility of extraterrestrial life. Without publications to assert his priority, his influence depended on his correspondence network, and much of what he accomplished was unwittingly redone by others. Nevertheless, both Newton and Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646–1716) considered him the most important precursor of their own work in physics and mathematics.

See also **Academies, Learned; Astronomy; Bacon, Francis; Clocks and Watches; Cosmology; Descartes, René; Donne, John; Dutch Literature and Language; Dutch Republic; Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm; Mathematics; Newton, Isaac; Optics; Physics; Rembrandt**

van Rijn; Scientific Instruments; Scientific Method; Scientific Revolution; Technology.

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JOELLA G. YODER

HYMNS. Hymns, original religious poems intended for singing in public or private, were very widely known and used in early modern Europe. As well as embodying communal religious feeling across class barriers, they were the sole form of musical expression in many a devout family and institution.

THE LATIN HYMN

The familiar metrical form in several stanzas is credited to St. Ambrose (c. 340–397). Medieval hymns were sung by priest and choir at mass or office. Their plainsong tunes, repeated with each

stanza, later became the basis of polyphonic compositions in several vocal parts. In the sixteenth century and after, many composers published hymn settings. Instruments were generally added after 1600: an outstanding example is “Ave maris stella” (Hail, star of the sea) from Claudio Monteverdi’s *Vespers* (1610).

THE LUTHERAN HYMN

A key aspect of Martin Luther’s theology was the praise of God with understanding, and (following Jan Hus) he promoted a kind of singing in worship that could be understood, and if possible, joined by the congregation. The texts must be in the vernacular and in simple diction; the tunes were often adapted folk songs, or were composed in a popular style by Luther himself or by one of the skilled musicians among his followers. In hymns like “Ein’ feste Burg ist unser Gott” (A mighty fortress is our God) Luther literally planted the Christian message, as he saw it, in the people’s mouths and hearts. Many of his hymns (“chorales”), and those of a distinguished line of successors including Philipp Nicolai (1556–1608) and Paul Gerhardt (1607–1676), have been in continuous use, firmly wedded to their early tunes. Like their medieval precursors, they were used as a basis for more elaborate compositions by such men as Michael Praetorius (1571–1621) and Samuel Scheidt (1587–1654). Above all, Johann Sebastian Bach (1685–1750) displayed a seemingly inexhaustible creativity in the treatment of hymn melodies in his organ chorales (often misnamed “chorale preludes”), fantasias, cantatas, and passions.

THE ENGLISH HYMN

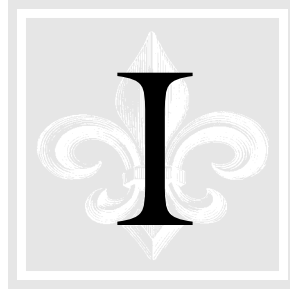
Because of the predominantly Calvinist theology of the early Church of England, hymns of “human composure” had to give way to metrical paraphrases of the psalms in Anglican worship. Thomas Sternhold and John Hopkins’s *The Whole Booke of Psalmes* (London, 1562) did, however, include a few anonymous hymns in an appendix, nominally for domestic use, and there is evidence that the pre-Reformation custom of the communion hymn survived in Anglican worship. The now widely sung hymns of George Herbert (1593–1633) and Thomas Ken (1637–1711) were intended for private use only, or even for silent reading. Hymns in worship were championed by the Independent Isaac Watts (1674–1748), and by the founder of Methodism, John Wesley, whose brother Charles (1707–1788) has a claim to be the greatest hymn writer in the English language. These leaders championed a vigorous, heartfelt singing by women as well as men, which was in striking contrast to the then-current Anglican mode of singing. The Wesleys adapted tunes from any available source, including theater pieces, concert music, and folk song.

See also Church of England; Luther, Martin; Lutheranism; Methodism; Wesley Family.

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NICHOLAS TEMPERLEY



IDEALISM. As a philosophical concept, idealism can be employed both in a broad sense and in a much narrower, more specific form. Broadly speaking, idealism encompasses any philosophy that treats ideas—rather than, for example, matter—as primary. Plato’s theory of forms is perhaps the first example of this approach. When applied more specifically, idealism is the notion that the only things that exist are minds and their contents (ideas). This theory was first fully developed by Bishop George Berkeley (1685–1753).

Plato drew a clear distinction between the sensory world and the intelligible world, which we can only apprehend through reason. He argued that the objects of the sensory world are mere copies of universal, ideal “forms,” that make up the realm of what is intelligible. Plato’s theory was subsequently taken up and developed by the Neoplatonists, especially Plotinus and St. Augustine. To some extent, Berkeley’s idealism built on these earlier theories, but it also drew on and challenged scientific understandings of the world that had been developed during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Berkeley set out his philosophy in his *Treatise concerning the Principles of Human Knowledge* (1710). Three years later he published his *Three Dialogues between Hylas and Philonous*, a more accessible version of the theory, in which Philonous (‘lover of mind’) convinces and converts Hylas (‘matter’) to his point of view. Both works were, in part, a response to John Locke’s (1632–1704) *Essay concerning Human Understanding* (1689). Locke’s explanation of

the world relied on four key elements, God, matter, ideas, and minds. While Berkeley expressed great respect for Locke, he rejected the doctrine of matter that Locke, along with many others, accepted. According to Berkeley matter in itself is unintelligible; it is impossible for us to either observe or imagine matter alone, devoid of all other qualities or characteristics. Moreover, Berkeley argued that an adequate explanation of the world could be given on the basis of the other three elements alone, in Berkeley’s terminology God, finite spirits, and their ideas. Berkeley defined “ideas” as the objects of perception and “spirits” as the entities that exercise perception. Within this system the existence of an infinite spirit, God, which is both omniscient and omnipresent, is crucial.

Berkeley’s theory had a mixed reception. The story is that Samuel Johnson (1709–1784) claimed to be able to refute it simply by kicking a stone, but others took it more seriously. There has been much discussion as to whether (and to what extent) Berkeley influenced Immanuel Kant (1724–1804). In his *Kritik der reinen Vernunft* (1781; Critique of pure reason) Kant attacked Berkeley’s traditional version of idealism and advocated a combination of “empirical realism” and “transcendental idealism.” Both philosophers saw all experience as mind-dependent. However, for Berkeley there was nothing beyond or outside of mind, whereas Kant retained the regulative idea of “things-in-themselves” lying behind experience.

Idealism continued to be important beyond the early modern period. During the nineteenth cen-

tury the ideas of Berkeley and especially of Kant provided a basis for the absolute idealism of Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1764–1814) and Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770–1831). Despite a subsequent collapse in the influence of this position, idealism continues to be advocated into the twenty-first century, though usually in forms that are closer to Kant than to Berkeley.

See also **Berkeley, George; Kant, Immanuel; Philosophy.**

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RACHEL HAMMERSLEY

IGNATIUS OF LOYOLA (1491–1556), Spanish religious leader. Founder of the Society of Jesus, known as the Jesuits, Ignatius of Loyola was born Iñigo de Oñaz y Loyola in 1491 in Azpeitia in the Basque province of Guipúzcoa in northeastern Spain. He was the youngest of thirteen children in a family of lesser nobility but not lacking in social contacts or high prestige. Ignatius's father, just before his death, situated his youngest son in the household of Juan Velázquez de Cuéllar, the chief treasurer of King Ferdinand (1452–1516) and Queen Isabella (1451–1504). There young Ignatius learned courtly manners and sophistication, skills that served him well throughout his life. King Ferdinand's death brought about the downfall of Ignatius's patron, and through friends and family Ignatius received a position with the duke of Nájera, don Antonio Manrique de Lara.

Ignatius's life at either of these courts could not be held up as an example of Christian virtue. In May 1521 the simmering conflict between King Francis I

(1491–1547) of France and King Charles I (1500–1558) of Spain erupted when the French forces attacked Pamplona. While Ignatius was defending the city against the French siege, a cannonball struck him in the leg. The French victors assured transport of the wounded man back to his family's castle. During his convalescence, Ignatius requested books on chivalry, particularly those with the character of Amadis of Gaul. Instead his sister-in-law gave him two works, *Life of Christ*, authored by Ludolph of Saxony and translated by Ambrosio Montesino, and a Spanish version of *Lives of the Saints* by Jacobus de Voragine (Jacopo de Varazze) translated by Gauberto María Vagad. Contemplating these books, Ignatius underwent a conversion, rejected his past, and chose to live as a hermit in Jerusalem.

On his way to Jerusalem, Ignatius visited Montserrat, a Marian shrine near Barcelona managed by the Benedictines; he then spent just over a year in the nearby village of Manresa (April 1522 to February 1523). There he created the framework of the *Spiritual Exercises*. In the *Exercises*, Ignatius presented various methods by which a person could move systematically through the three traditional steps of spiritual growth: purgation, illumination, and union with God. Although completed in substance in Manresa, the work took on additional features until its final form received papal approval in 1548. Leaving Manresa, Ignatius arrived in Jerusalem in September 1523, but his plans to stay were thwarted by the Franciscan custodians, who wisely perceived such a strong-willed pilgrim as a liability.

Returning to Barcelona in 1524, Ignatius set his course on a new project. Changing his desire to live as a spiritual recluse, he discerned his vocation as “helping souls.” This conversion grew from religious fervor and not from a specific desire to defeat Protestantism, and therefore he stands with other Catholic reformers of the early sixteenth century. To help souls he realized he needed a formal education, and for the first time he took up a serious study of Latin, the necessary tool for academic progress. After two years of study in Barcelona, his teachers recommended he continue at the new university at Alcalá, near Madrid. Arriving at the university in March 1526, he took courses in an indiscriminate fashion. He experienced discouraging attempts to study at Alcalá and later in Salamanca, but at both

locations he was imprisoned in 1527 under the suspicion of the Inquisition. Ignatius continued his education in a more methodological way at the University of Paris, where he earned both his licentiate and a master's in philosophy between 1528 and 1535. The name "Ignatius" is inscribed in the school's role for 1534, and from this time forward, with few exceptions, he referred to himself as Ignatius, giving up the "Inigo" of his early years.

In Paris, Ignatius gathered six men who together decided upon lives of poverty and chastity. They also desired to make a pilgrimage to the Holy Land and there decide their futures. If such a trip were impossible, they would make themselves available to the Roman pontiff. The trip proved impossible, and the group, wishing to remain together, formed a religious order that received the oral approval of Pope Paul III (1468–1549) in 1539 and written approval in 1540. Elected as the order's first superior general in 1541, Ignatius witnessed its growth from a few men to one thousand members at his death on 31 July 1556. He supervised the creation of thirty-three schools, wrote the order's constitutions, and governed the ever-expanding Society of Jesus in South America, Africa, Europe, and Asia. Successfully grafting humanism, Catholic reform, and the missionary opportunities created by the New World economies onto medieval Europe's religious and philosophical heritage, Ignatius was one of the principal forces behind the transition from the medieval church to early modern Catholicism.

See also Ferdinand of Aragón; Isabella of Castile; Jesuits; Missions and Missionaries; Religious Orders.

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Ignatius of Loyola. Portrait by Peter Paul Rubens.

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MICHAEL W. MAHER

IMPERIAL CITIES. See *Free and Imperial Cities*.

IMPERIAL EXPANSION, RUSSIA.

The transformation of the tiny principality of Moscow into a Eurasian empire took place over several centuries, but by the end of the seventeenth century Russia had become the largest country in the world. No single motivation (“urge to the sea,” fear of foreign invasion or domination, control of trade routes, unbridled expansionism) explains all Russian territorial acquisitions in the early modern period, and the process is best viewed as a series of ad hoc decisions, opportunities, and actions. Recent commentators have concluded that no messianic (“theory of the Third Rome”) or programmatic (the spurious “testament of Peter I”) texts guided Russian expansion.

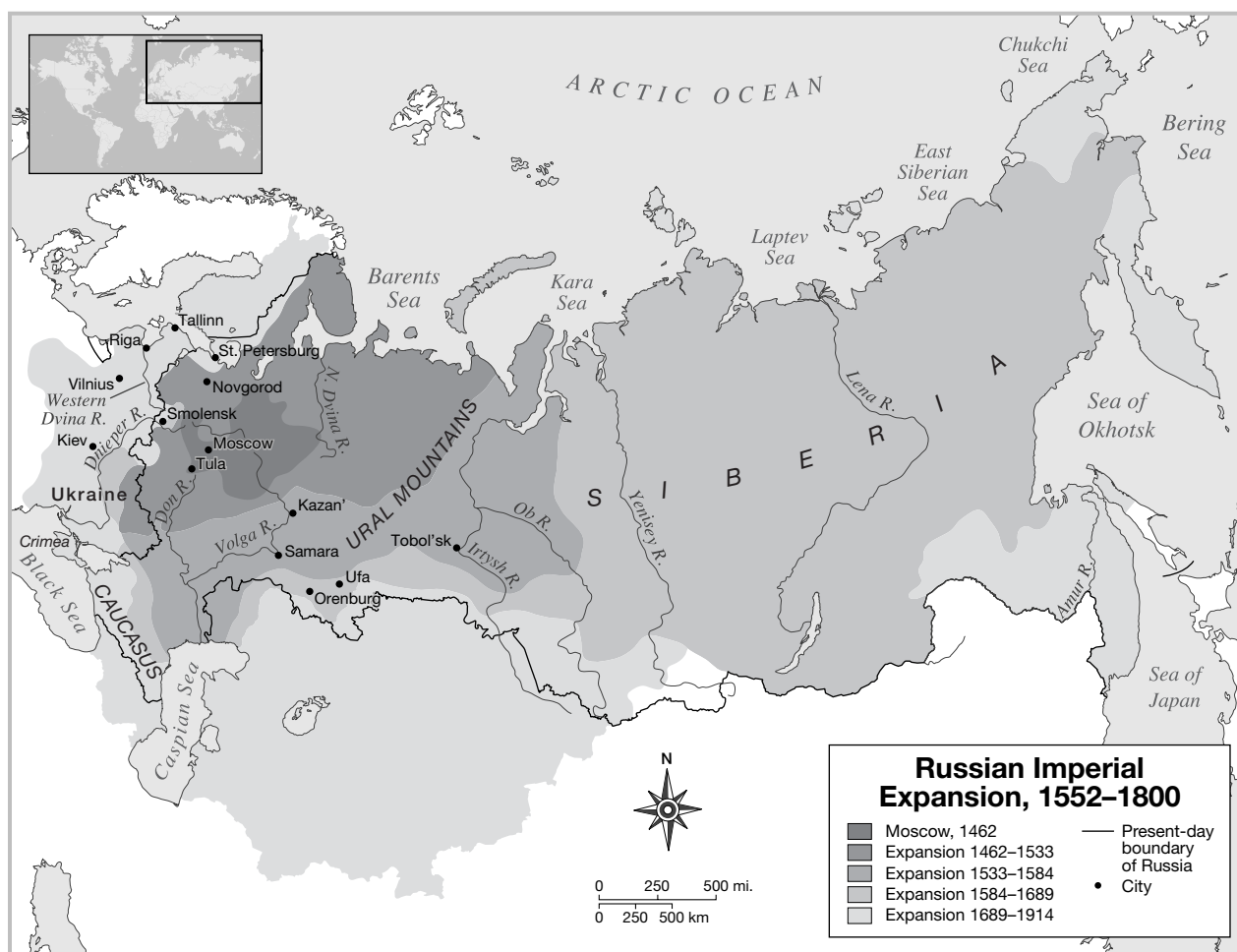
Between the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries, the Grand Principality of Moscow (called Muscovy by European observers) expanded primarily at the expense of other Rus’ principalities by conquering, inheriting, purchasing, and annexing the lands of other Rurikid princes. The rise of Moscow was marked by cooperation with Tatars rather than struggle against them. Monasteries (which doubled as forts and centers of economic activity) played a considerable role in advancing Russian settlement

into areas originally inhabited by Finno-Ugric peoples.

The conquests of Novgorod (1478) and Kazan’ (1552) were central to the course of Russian expansion. While the former signified Moscow’s triumph over the other Rus’ principalities, the latter solidified its position vis-à-vis the Chingissid successor states and the steppe. In both cases Russian diplomats advanced historic claims to neighboring territories, but strong economic interests and rivalries over trade routes played key roles. Conquest was preceded by decades of diplomatic maneuvering, Muscovite intervention, and struggles between factions within those political structures. Novgorod gave Muscovy a trading emporium in proximity to the Baltic basin and control over vast northern hinterlands. The conquest of Kazan’ facilitated an advance into the middle and lower Volga regions, the North Caucasus, and Siberia. In both cases lands were confiscated and redistributed to Muscovite military men, but this was a policy of selective, rather than wholesale, displacement of traditional elites.

In the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries the principal methods of state expansion included military conquest, frontier settlement, and expansion into territories not under effective jurisdiction by other states, and alliances and diplomatic deals with local ruling elites, who became clients or subjects of Russia. Throughout the early modern period, decisions about western strategy had to be carefully correlated with developments in the south to avoid coordinated actions by Russia’s rivals. Along its open southern and eastern frontiers the Russian state pursued a strategy of annexing lands, building settlements, constructing fortified lines to impede nomadic attacks, and concluding flexible alliances with groups in the outer zones of the frontier (Cossacks and/or pastoralist groups such as the Nogays, Kalmyks, etc.) to further interests in the steppe. Fortified lines expanded steadily into the steppe, Siberia, and the Northern Caucasus from the second half of the sixteenth century to the mid-eighteenth. They incorporated forts, wooden and earthen ramparts, ditches, watchtowers, and steppe patrols.

The conquest of Siberia (1581–1649) was clearly one of the largest, swiftest, and most durable imperial conquests in global history. After establish-



ing themselves in Western Siberia, Cossacks and government forces advanced along the course of major river systems (Ob-Irtysh by 1605, Yenisey by 1628, Lena by 1640, and Amur in the 1640s) until all of Siberia was under Russian control. By 1689, in spite of the fact that Russia maintained only a few thousand armed men in eastern Siberia, the Chinese state recognized the bulk of Russia's eastern conquests in the Treaty of Nerchinsk.

In the west, protracted wars and treaty negotiations defined the process of Russian expansion. In contrast to other expansion into other regions, western expansion primarily involved the introduction of Russian garrisons, administrators, and merchants to towns in the Baltic region and Dnieper basin, but it did not result in the migration of Russian agriculturalists. Struggles over adjacent lands served as a constant source of cross-border conflict between Moscow and its western neighbors. Traditional rivalries with Sweden and the Polish-Lithua-

nian Commonwealth escalated into a major international conflict when Russia attempted to contest control of the Baltic coast during the Livonian Wars (1558-1583). The conflict failed to give Russia a foothold on the Baltic, and during the Time of Troubles (1603-1613) Polish and Swedish borders expanded at the expense of Russia. The alliance between Tsar Alexis Mikhailovich and Bohdan Khmelnytsky in 1654 initiated a long struggle for domination of Ukraine that raged intermittently until the partitions of Poland in the late eighteenth century. As a result of its deepening military commitments in Ukraine, Russia abandoned its long-standing policy of friendship toward the Ottoman Empire and concluded its first anti-Ottoman alliance (1667). During the Great Northern War (1700-1721) Tsar Peter I established a permanent Russian presence on the Baltic coast and succeeded in annexing much of modern-day Latvia and Estonia. In a series of agreements negotiated between

local elites and Russian administrators, the Baltic Germans were confirmed in their rights and privileges over local populations.

Outside the predominantly Russian central provinces of the empire (in which serfdom, the old Muscovite service class, and the Law Code of 1649 predominated) a mosaic of local arrangements characterized Russian rule. While the peoples of the Volga region were incorporated into the Russian landholding and legal systems, several regions were administered under separate deals with the tsar and retained their own legal traditions and considerable local autonomy: the Hetmanate (Ukraine), the Baltic Provinces, and the Cossack Hosts. Siberian peoples came under differing levels of government control: groups such as the Yakuts came under intense pressure to convert and acculturate while groups living in the far north continued their traditional ways and sporadically provided tribute. Russian rulers claimed sovereignty over certain peoples of the North Caucasus, but the state had little effective authority over the region in the early modern period. Nomadic groups in the steppe often received subsidies and provided occasional services to the tsar but were not under direct control. Although conversion to Orthodoxy was encouraged, few resources were actively committed to the goal of Christianization. Orthodox Christians were prohibited from converting to other religions. Although the term *Rus'* continued to be employed to refer to the Orthodox heartland of the empire, in the seventeenth century the term *Rossia* (Russia) was increasingly employed to designate the diverse territories under Romanov jurisdiction.

See also Andrusovo, Truce of (1667); Black Sea Steppe; Cossacks; Fur Trade: Russia; Khmelnytsky, Bohdan; Livonian War (1558–1583); Northern Wars; Russia; Time of Troubles (Russia); Ukraine.

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BRIAN BOECK

IMPERIALISM. *See* Colonialism.

INDEX OF PROHIBITED BOOKS.

The origin of the Index of Prohibited Books (*Index librorum prohibitorum*) dates to the 1520s, following Martin Luther's revolt in 1517, when the printing press became the principal means for the spread of the Protestant Reformation. Universities, ecclesiastical and civil authorities, and local inquisitors published many lists of condemned books and authors that paved the way for the Index.

The first printed Index of Prohibited Books was published in 1544 by the Faculty of Theology of the University of Paris, followed by editions appearing in 1545, 1547, 1549, 1551, and 1556. The Faculty of Theology of the University of Louvain published its own catalogues in 1546, 1551, and 1558. These academic initiatives were followed by lists compiled by local and national inquisitions, especially in Italy, with Indices issued at Venice in 1549 and 1554, in Portugal, with editions appearing in 1547, 1551 and 1561, and in Spain, with Indices published in 1551 and 1559.

The Inquisition in Rome prepared the first Roman Index, issued by Paul IV in 1559. It contained more than a thousand interdictions divided into three classes: authors, all of whose works were to be prohibited; individual books that bore the names of their authors; and anonymous writings. The Index compiled by a commission established by the Council of Trent, published by Pius IV in 1564, was distinguished principally by the ten general rules it promulgated, which became the basis of Catholic censorship policy for the entire modern period. In 1571 Pius V created the Congregation of the Index as a permanent organ of government in the Church. The Index published in 1596 by Clement VIII added more than eleven hundred condemnations to those contained in the Tridentine Index.

From the early seventeenth century, the Congregation of the Index conducted the prohibition of books through the promulgation of particular decrees that combined the congregation's own condemnations with those pronounced by the Holy Office of the Inquisition and the pope. Editions of the Index appeared at intervals incorporating the

new titles prohibited in these decrees. Two catalogues published in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are of special significance.

For the entire modern era, the Spanish and Portuguese Inquisitions also issued their own catalogues, which had authority in the Iberian Peninsula as well as in their American, African, and Asian colonies. The Spanish and Portuguese Indices were at the same time prohibitory and expurgatory, while the Roman Indices, with rare exceptions, were exclusively the former.

Prefacing the different editions of the Roman Index are the papal documents and general rules proscribing in an absolute manner various categories of works and determining the modalities according to which control over the printed book must be exercised. The general rules contained in the Tridentine Index prohibit in their entirety all books by heretical authors treating religious subjects, lascivious and obscene writings, and works of astrology, divination, and the occult arts. The reading of the Bible in the vernacular was permitted only to persons holding a written license issued by an inquisitor or bishop. Other rules added to the Index in the course of the centuries prohibited other categories of books as well. The Index of Benedict XIV, published in 1758, by its constitution "Sollicita ac Provida" reorganized the condemned materials and considerably liberalized the procedures for the inclusion of new works.

The number of writers and works placed on the Roman Index from the mid-sixteenth century to the end of the eighteenth amounted to about four thousand.

Brought into being to prevent the circulation of Protestant writings, the Index evolved over time, always maintaining a twofold objective: to defend the Catholic Church against external attacks and to protect the homogeneity of the faith and of morality against dangers occurring from within. The defense against Protestantism always remained a major preoccupation of Roman censors. Protection of the political and juridical rights and privileges of the church, the pope, and the hierarchy also find a notable echo in the Index. Thus, writings favoring Gallicanism and those advocating the right of civil authorities to intervene in ecclesiastical affairs appear prominently, alongside polemical works deal-

ing with the political intervention of the Holy See, such as during its conflict with the Republic of Venice in 1606–1607, or the oath of loyalty in England during the pontificate of Paul V (1605–1621).

Writings favorable to Jansenism represent an important part of the seventeenth and eighteenth century condemnations, just as one finds a considerable number of works concerning the debates over casuistry and probabilism. Mystical literature is represented by numerous titles, such as those supporting the Quietism of Miguel de Molinos (1628–1696) and the pure love of Madame de Guyon (1648–1717) and of Archbishop Fénelon (1652–1715). The struggle against popular superstitions explains the prohibition of countless prayers, false indulgences, novenas, apocryphal histories, and legends of the saints.

The presence in the Index of works by the great philosophers is quite remarkable, such names as Blaise Pascal, René Descartes, Nicolas de Malebranche, Baruch Spinoza, Immanuel Kant, Francis Bacon, Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, David Hume, George Berkeley, and of the greatest French writers of the Enlightenment, Pierre Bayle, Denis Diderot, Jean d'Alembert, Voltaire, and Jean-Jacques Rousseau. The interdiction of the writings of Nicolaus Copernicus in 1616 and of Galileo Galilei in 1634, not removed from the Index until 1822, is the most glaring example of the chasm separating the church and science.

The moral obligation to submit to the Index has unfailingly been opposed by heterodox and progressive groups, and especially by intellectuals. But if one examines the attitudes of Catholics as a whole, it would appear that the constraints imposed on the written word gradually came to be considered acceptable practices in the pastoral mission of the church.

Censorship and the Index have undoubtedly hindered literary productivity and the expression of original ideas. Many Catholic authors, Pascal among them, practiced self-censorship and renounced embarking on some projected works. It can also be maintained that the close surveillance imposed by the Index over printing and the book placed a brake on the growth of publishing in the Catholic world, and we can query the effect that

ensorship and the Index exerted on the religious, cultural, and social development of the modern world. But it is also possible to ask whether the Church of Rome could have succeeded in neutralizing the many centrifugal forces pulling against it, maintained religious unity within Catholicism, and reaffirmed its authority without the weapons of censorship and the Index.

See also **Censorship; Copernicus, Nicolaus; Enlightenment; Galileo Galilei; Gallicanism; Inquisition, Roman; Inquisition, Spanish; Jansenism; Papacy and Papal States; Printing and Publishing; Quietism.**

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J. M. DE BUJANDA

INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION. To the end of the early modern period, Europe remained a preindustrial society. Its manufactured goods came from small workshops, and most of its machinery was powered by animals, wind, falling water, or human labor. These two facts reinforced each other, and together they constricted Europe's economic development. Water-powered manufacturing, for instance, could develop only in favored regions and remained constantly subject to weather-related interruptions; with limited supplies of power, there was little reason to concentrate manufacturing processes in large workshops. By 1850, however, these descriptions no longer applied to large areas of western Europe, and by 1914 the European economy as a whole was dominated by large factories, many of them employing thousands of workers. Both manufacturing and transportation now relied on steam power, and gasoline and electric motors were becoming common. The quantity and variety of goods manufactured rose accordingly, a transformation suggested by the development of the British iron industry: Britain produced about 30,000 tons of pig iron in 1760, about one million tons in 1810. Contemporary awareness of change advanced even more quickly than the reality. In his 1848 *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, written at a time when most Europeans still worked in agriculture and when even British manufacturing was still evenly divided between factories and small workshops, Karl Marx (1818–1883) presented industrialization as the obvious destiny of all European society. The rapidity of these changes and their far-reaching effects amply justify historians' designation of the period as the "industrial revolution." In the century after 1780, European life was transformed.

Industrialization thus numbers among the most important processes that brought the early modern period to a close, and as such it raises important questions about the period itself. Signs of dramatic

economic and technological change were already apparent in later eighteenth-century Britain, prompting historians to ask how this phase of rapid change could have emerged from the relatively stable early modern economy and why it emerged first in Britain. More broadly, historians have asked why Europe industrialized ahead of other regions of the globe, and what contributions Europe's empires in the Americas and elsewhere made to its industrialization. Answers to these questions have been varied and surprising. Though the concept of industrialization itself remains unchallenged, recent historical research has overturned much conventional wisdom about how the process took place.

MANUFACTURING BEFORE INDUSTRIALIZATION

Though it lacked factories and steam engines, pre-industrial Europe did not have a static economy, and manufacturing counted for a significant share of its total economic activity—about one-fourth of France's gross national product and almost 40 percent of Britain's in the early eighteenth century, one historian has estimated. In some regions, such as the Netherlands and northern Italy, the percentages might have been even higher, but the difficulties of early modern transportation meant that manufacturing was widely dispersed; with transportation costs high, producers had a strong incentive to establish their workshops near the sources of their raw materials and to focus on meeting the needs of regional markets. Despite this fragmentation, early modern producers regularly introduced new products and adopted new techniques. In the thirteenth century, for instance, Italian craftsmen learned how to make silk cloth, and their techniques spread north of the Alps in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, so that by the eighteenth century the French city of Lyon numbered several thousand silk weavers. The technology of silk weaving changed as well, most dramatically with the invention of the Jacquard loom in the 1720s. The new loom had mechanical codes that governed the weaving process, allowing a relatively unskilled weaver to produce a complex product. In an early version of a process that would be frequently repeated during the industrial revolution, the balance between machine and worker had shifted; knowledge could be embedded in the machine, rendering differences among workers less important. Likewise, calico

cloths from India created a sensation when first introduced in later seventeenth-century England. They were quickly imitated by British manufacturers, who effectively established an altogether new industry.

A stream of inventions thus changed manufacturing over the early modern period, but the most important changes that the period witnessed had to do with the organization of work rather than its technology. Most European cities restricted manufacturing work, limiting access to some trades so that those already established in them could continue to enjoy respectable incomes and controlling the amounts that workshops might produce to prevent any one manufacturer from acquiring too dominant a position. Impatient with such restrictions, from the seventeenth century on, merchants in many regions organized new forms of production in the countryside. Labor there was cheap and abundant since contemporary agriculture left many peasants underemployed, and economic restrictions were weak. Cloth merchants were especially well placed to take advantage of this opportunity. They supplied villagers with raw materials, transported goods from one stage of production to the next, and finally marketed the finished product, taking as well the largest share of the profits. Other goods too could be manufactured in this way: in eastern France and Switzerland, merchants organized clock making on these lines. By the mid-eighteenth century, the balance between agriculture and manufacturing had shifted in many regions; for most villagers, farm work had become a supplemental source of income, and they relied mainly on spinning, weaving, and other artisanal activities for their livelihoods.

Historians have applied several names to this process. The term *cottage industry* accurately captures the fact that this system of manufacturing left unchanged the basic conditions of its workers' lives. Spinners, weavers, and others continued to live in small villages and continued to work according to their own preferences, as independent contractors who owned their equipment. But historians have also spoken of this process as *proto-industrialization*, a term that emphasizes the new economic relationships and expectations, as well as the demographic consequences, created by this system. Though they set their own pace of work, those

involved in cottage industry nonetheless depended on far-flung economic networks; their goods were produced for national and international markets, and the workers were subject to the economic power of the merchants who sold what they produced. The proto-industrial workforce was in some sense a proletariat, whose economic fate rested with others; some historians have suggested that these workers were in effect learning the habits that they would eventually need to work in the factories of the nineteenth century.

But as important as its implications for work discipline were, the rise of cottage industry also changed European buying. As the historian Jan de Vries has argued, seventeenth- and eighteenth-century families were working harder than they had in the past in exchange for the ability to buy more goods: cottage industry allowed women and children to earn cash incomes, and it converted what had been the family's leisure time—especially the slow phases of the agricultural cycle—into cash as well. Well before the onset of industrialization, European manufacturers thus had available to them a large consumer market, one eager for small luxury goods. Historians have turned to probate inventories to demonstrate the breadth of the consumer revolution that these centuries brought to England, the Netherlands, France, and Germany. Even backward areas showed the effects of these changes, with families buying mirrors, clocks, brightly printed clothing, prints, and a variety of other manufactured goods. But the effects were most visible in the developing cities of the age. The largest city of early modern Europe, London, by itself concentrated about 16 percent of England's population—an enormous, conveniently centralized and accessible market for manufactured goods. Paris was smaller in absolute numbers and much smaller relative to total French population, but it too offered manufacturers an enormous, fashion-conscious market for new goods.

TOWARD THE NEW ECONOMY

A critical aspect of the industrial revolution was the effort of manufacturers to take advantage of these markets, most visibly in the clothing industry. By the early eighteenth century, a fundamental step had already been taken: clothing manufacturers increasingly devoted their attention to lightweight,

cheap, easily-colored fabrics, rather than the high-quality woolens that had dominated the medieval textile industry. In the early seventeenth century, they shifted to producing the lightweight woolen fabrics known in Britain as “new draperies”; later in the century, the arrival of cotton calicoes and muslins from India produced enormous enthusiasm among consumers and led to efforts both to exclude such imports and to replace them with British-made cotton goods. Over the eighteenth century, manufacturers produced a variety of fabrics that mixed cotton with other fibers, because British thread was usually too weak for producing all-cotton cloths. Throughout, popular demand played a crucial role, and in mid-eighteenth-century Britain cotton producers could not keep up with the demand for their products. In response they introduced a series of technological innovations designed to speed up the manufacturing process and to create other attractive new cotton products. Improvements in weaving starting in the 1730s created pressure on the spinning process, which produced cotton thread; at this point it took eight spinners to produce enough thread to supply one weaver, and several inventors sought to produce machines that could do the job more quickly. Solutions came in the 1760s and 1770s, with the spinning jenny, the water frame, and the spinning mule, all devices that allowed a single operator to manage multiple spindles—and that produced a higher-quality, more even thread than hand spinning. Contemporaries immediately recognized the value of these machines, and they spread rapidly, transforming the relationship between spinning and weaving. With spinning increasingly mechanized, there was now pressure to mechanize weaving—a more difficult task, with a first power loom invented in 1787 but not widely used until the early nineteenth century. But though handloom weaving remained dominant, a revolution in the cotton industry had already occurred by the end of the eighteenth century: between 1770 and 1800 imports of raw cotton to Britain increased twelvefold.

New machinery encouraged new ways of organizing work. The spinning jenny was designed as a hand-operated device, and could be adapted to the needs of cottage industry. But the water frame was larger and from the beginning required an external power source to drive it. Richard Arkwright (1732–

1792), who held the patent on it, immediately established a set of water-driven mills to exploit the new invention, and the economies of scale that these factories enjoyed meant that by 1800 cottage spinning had largely disappeared. The larger machinery also required a new approach to managing labor. Necessarily centralized around a single source of power, the new machines required close management in order to repay their heavy costs. The factory thus encouraged a new degree of labor discipline, with workers required to report to work at exact hours and labor at a pace set by the factory's managers. The Arkwright mills and their competitors made an immediate impression on contemporaries; the artist Joseph Wright of Derby (1734–1797) painted them, and the poet William Blake (1757–1827) in about 1805 already spoke of “dark Satanic Mills” transforming the British landscape.

Blake found the mills “Satanic” partly because by his time a growing number of them relied on steam power. The development of steam technology represented a second critical strand in the industrial revolution, and, as with the development of cotton manufacturing, its origins lay in the seventeenth century, in a combination of scientific, technological, and ecological developments. As late as the mid-seventeenth century, scientists such as René Descartes (1596–1650) doubted that a vacuum was even possible, but his contemporary, the Italian physicist Evangelista Torricelli (1608–1647), and others demonstrated both the possibility and its practical implications. Inventors developed a series of pumps based on this idea, and in 1698 the Englishman Thomas Savery (c. 1650–1715) developed the first working steam engine, essentially a machine for creating a vacuum and using its suction to lift water. A much-improved version was developed by the Englishman Thomas Newcomen (1663–1729), and in 1712 a Newcomen engine was set to work pumping out coal mines in northern England; by the 1730s such engines were in operation in several European countries. As the economic historian Joel Mokyr has observed, this was the world's first economically viable mechanism for transforming heat into regular motion, the artificial power that would be at the center of industrialization. The Newcomen engine performed its task very inefficiently, though, and in 1776 the first of James Watt's (1736–1819) engines was put into commer-

cial operation, allowing a fourfold improvement in efficiency. By 1800, about 2,500 steam engines had been built in Britain, most of them used in mines, but many powering iron foundries, cotton-spinning machines, and other industrial processes. Contemporaries understood that a technological revolution was underway, and despite the inefficiency of the early engines, inventors immediately began exploring new ways to use them. Steam hammers, rolling mills, and bellows revolutionized the British iron industry from the 1760s on; in 1783 a first steamboat was constructed (in France), and in 1803 a first steam locomotive. By the 1820s, railway construction had begun, and a steam-powered ship had crossed the Atlantic.

This sequence of inventions and applications was closely bound up with the availability of cheap fuel, yet another element of the early modern economy that came to full development during the industrial revolution. Coal had long been known as a fuel, but contemporaries disliked its smoke and smell. By the mid-seventeenth century, however, Britons had little choice but to make use of it, for the country was running short of wood and it was becoming too expensive to use as fuel for even the basic needs of heating, let alone for novel industrial uses. The enormous size of seventeenth-century London, over half a million people within easy reach of cheap water transport, and its insatiable demand for fuel ensured that coal mining could be profitable even in the face of technological obstacles. As mines became deeper, for instance, there was the problem of removing the water that seeped into them—the problem that steam-driven pumps eventually answered. Steam-driven vehicles and carts that moved along rails (radically reducing friction) were first employed in the British coal fields as well. The economics of coal-mining made even the inefficiencies of early steam power acceptable; operating in the coal fields themselves, the first steam engines had a readily available supply of cheap fuel and could even use some of the waste from the mining process. With a fully developed coal-mining industry, and increasingly sophisticated means of using the energy that coal contained, Britain suddenly increased its supply of power many times over. The historian Kenneth Pomeranz has argued that only with this step did Europe move clearly ahead of Asian technology, setting the stage for Europe's

domination of the world economy during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This interpretation probably understates the significance of other differences, but it accurately captures an important aspect of the industrial revolution: during the eighteenth century, Britain acquired a seemingly limitless supply of power.

Coal played an especially important role in the iron industry, which constituted the fourth strand of industrialization. Iron and steel had been important to European technology since the Middle Ages, but expensive production processes limited their uses. Like other early modern manufacturing, iron-making relied on the experience and skill of a mass of individual artisans, whose small foundries permitted close inspection of each piece that they produced. Steel was even more clearly a specialized product, requiring superior iron ore found mainly in Sweden; forged by hand, it was reserved for such uses as weaponry, and was much too expensive for more mundane products. But starting in the early eighteenth century, the availability of coal and steam engines to power blowers (to create very high temperatures) and hammers (to remove impurities) stimulated a sequence of new iron-making processes, and these dramatically changed the industry's economics. Because expensive machinery was essential to these techniques, iron production was increasingly concentrated in huge enterprises, most dramatically that of the ironmaster John Wilkinson (1728–1808); but once the machinery was in place, it allowed the use of lower-grade, cheaper ores. Costs fell accordingly, and by the late eighteenth century, the availability of cheap iron made it possible to envision an entirely new range of uses for it.

This enthusiasm for spreading innovations to new economic domains was a further characteristic of the later eighteenth century, and it meant that the industrial revolution transformed numerous areas of the British economy, not just cotton, iron-making, and steam power. Cheap iron, for instance, allowed for the creation of new machine tools, and when combined with steam power, these made possible mechanized production of numerous products that once had been made by hand. Steam power and coal fuel allowed the potter Josiah Wedgwood (1730–1795) to establish mass production processes in making porcelain, until then a luxury good. Inventors began to think about the possibilities of

using iron in buildings and ships. Economic transformations of these kinds did not mean the end of small workshops or skilled artisans. On the contrary, the development of machine making required more workshops and highly skilled laborers, and many consumer products lent themselves to small-scale production. Even after the advent of power looms, handloom weavers remained numerous and prosperous well into the nineteenth century. But by 1800 it was clear to all that dramatic change was likely to affect all domains of the economy; technological advances had become normal, and contemporaries expected that it would transform new areas of economic activity.

GEOGRAPHIES

Overwhelmingly, the technological innovations that marked eighteenth-century industrialization took place in Britain. Understanding this British dynamism has been an enduring historical problem, producing both classic answers and intense debate among historians. Geographical accidents offer one explanation for British success. Britain had abundant supplies of coal of a quality especially well suited to iron production, and its lack of wood forced it to exploit this resource from the seventeenth century on; in contrast, France had plenty of wood and relatively little coal, and Holland had only peat, which could not produce the high temperatures needed for large-scale iron production. As a relatively small island with numerous navigable rivers, Britain also enjoyed the advantages of cheap water transportation, which allowed the development of an unusually well-integrated national market. The remarkable development of seventeenth-century London offered further economic advantages; as the British historian Anthony Wrigley pointed out a generation ago, London offered a large, concentrated market for industrial products, far more important as a share of the nation's population than contemporary Paris, and it provided a laboratory for new social practices, encouraging both producers and consumers to try out new products. Historians have also noted the chronological accidents that aided British industrial development. During most of the eighteenth century, French economic growth roughly equaled British, but the generation of political chaos that followed the French Revolution of 1789 gave British manufacturers a chance to establish themselves in new markets, with

little competition from continental industry. By the end of the Revolutionary Wars, in 1815, Britain had fully established its economic supremacy in Europe.

Efforts to explain British economic successes in terms of culture, politics, and social organization have stimulated more debate among historians. In its social structure, Britain was as aristocratic as other European countries, and its merchants were as eager as merchants elsewhere to achieve acceptance among the landed gentry. But the British aristocracy was probably unusual in the respect that it accorded commerce and manufacturing, and the gentry-dominated British Parliament energetically defended commercial and manufacturing interests against foreign competition. British law was certainly unusual in the protections it gave inventors and property holders. Between 1624 and 1791, Britain was the only European nation with a system of patent laws, designed to give inventors the profits of their achievements. The system both encouraged innovation and expressed British society's admiration for it. In other respects, however, differences between Britain and other countries were less significant. Acquisitive, profit-oriented economic attitudes characterized most of eighteenth-century Europe; and Britain was like other Protestant countries of the early modern period in having a relatively well-educated working class. As for advanced education in the sciences and engineering, eighteenth-century Britain lagged well behind France.

By the late eighteenth century, Britain was also Europe's leading imperial power, holding territories in North America, the Caribbean, and India, and benefiting from the trade in African slaves. Many historians have seen in this global power a further important explanation for British industrialization. Colonies, they have argued, offered raw materials at a discount and ready markets for industrial goods, and the high profits generated by colonial trade permitted British merchants to make expensive investments in machines and factories. But recent scholarship has tended to present colonial markets and materials as only a secondary cause of British economic successes. Few historians would deny the rapacity of eighteenth-century imperialism or the determination of British governments to use any means that might advance the country's economic interests; to protect domestic cotton manufacturers, for instance, importation of Indian cloth was rigor-

ously prohibited. As the Spanish empire of the sixteenth century had demonstrated, however, colonial possessions were no guarantee of industrial development; and the profits of colonial trade were not especially high in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The critical fact in Britain's economic development seems to have been the demand for goods within the country itself and the readiness of manufacturers to use novel means to meet that demand. Colonialism perhaps mattered less as a source of capital than as a source of economic novelties, encouraging Europe as a whole and Britain in particular to undertake business innovations. Such colonial products as tea, coffee, tobacco, and sugar were among the early mass-market luxuries that became the model for later industrial production. More substantial goods like Chinese ceramics and Indian cotton fabrics stimulated determined, and eventually successful, efforts at imitation. The eighteenth-century global economy thus helps to explain Britain's industrialization; indeed, based on a product that did not grow in Europe, the cotton industry itself was only conceivable in the setting of a global economy. But the critical fact was manufacturers' readiness to respond to opportunities that the global economy presented.

THE EXPERIENCE OF WORK AND THE ORGANIZATION OF SOCIETY

"Everything that is solid melts into air," wrote Karl Marx to describe the changes that he saw accompanying the industrialization of Europe. Until well after World War II, most historians of the industrial revolution shared Marx's sense of the period as one of overwhelming social change, both positive and negative. Like contemporaries, historians have been dazzled by the wave of new products and processes that the period brought forth during what Mokyr has called "the age of miracles." Historians have also been struck by the new kinds of work organization that machines required. Preindustrial work tended to be individualistic, with workers setting their own pace; in cottage industry, moments of intense activity alternated with moments of relaxation, and as independent contractors, workers could take on as much work as they chose. Factory work allowed for no such freedoms. Work had to be continuous and coordinated if investments in steam engines, machinery, and buildings were to pay off. Labor discipline thus represented an important as-

pect of the transition to the factory system; for many ordinary people, this was the point at which clock time became an essential component of daily life and the pocket watch the sign of one's responsibility. The role of skill also diminished in the factory setting. What was needed was someone to tend machines, and this could just as easily be children as adults. Deskilling of this kind represented a loss of both status and income to workers who had been used to the freedom of working on their own. Having reduced the role of skill, factory owners could effectively control the wages they paid; an unskilled worker dissatisfied with his income could easily be replaced by another.

On the other hand, much recent scholarship has drawn attention to continuities between the pre-industrial world and what followed, and to the complexities of industrial development itself. As a result, this line of scholarship has offered more nuanced views of the society that early industrialization produced than were previously available. One reason for this caution has been historians' growing knowledge of preindustrial economies, both in Europe and in the world at large. These economies were capable of considerable growth, and they offered their inhabitants considerable material abundance. Rather than a complete break with the past, therefore, the industrial revolution in significant ways represented a culmination of earlier developments. Historians have also given more attention to the survival of small workshops and skilled work during the industrial revolution. Because the factory system relied so heavily on complex machinery, it created whole new forms of skilled labor in the trades that built and maintained machinery. Small workshops thrived in many other developing trades as well, notably those that produced small metal goods like buttons, buckles, cheap jewelry, guns, and so on, trades that employed about half the workforce of Birmingham, one of Britain's most important industrial cities. The historian Maxine Berg has shown that even the introduction of steam power did not bring the factory system to these trades; instead, several small workshops could share the power of a single steam engine, for instance by renting space in a large building. Even the early textile factories retained some aspects of preindustrial work organization. Family relations continued to count in the

factory, and for many manufacturing processes small groups needed to work closely together.

In one respect, however, traditional depictions of industrialization retain their full force: already in late eighteenth-century Britain, early industrialization had created zones of intensive industrial activity that grouped together mining, metallurgy, and a variety of related trades, creating a new kind of physical environment and new social relations. Coal was expensive to transport, and breakage during shipment made it useless in the blast furnaces that produced wrought iron. It thus proved economical to concentrate iron making near the coal fields, and other industrial processes tended to follow. Cotton textiles tended to concentrate also, around the fast-growing city of Manchester, while metal working developed in the city of Birmingham. With the expansion of these highly developed industrial centers, the more evenly dispersed industrial activity of the early eighteenth century tended to disappear. A number of regions that had been important manufacturing centers in the early modern period returned to purely agricultural pursuits, while the new industrial zones became crowded with manufacturing activities, reducing any mixture with agriculture to mere vestiges. Contemporaries found these new industrial regions appalling. As rapidly growing new towns, they lacked basic services and traditional forms of social organization. The combination of haphazard development, inadequate water supplies, coal smoke, and industrial wastes made them unhealthy, and contemporaries believed that the social conditions of industrial life added to the problem. Young people, for instance, earned wages that freed them from the controls that parents earlier exercised over them, and allowed them to indulge in a variety of unwholesome pastimes; they had little or no time for school. Industrial zones like these were genuine challenges to the established order of European society. They offered the spectacle of new disorder among laborers—and of new wealth among factory owners. From a modest background, Richard Arkwright became extremely wealthy from his cotton-spinning mills, and made a point of displaying his wealth in conspicuous ways. He was only one of many industrialists to do so.

But historians have become cautious in interpreting descriptions of this sort, and more alert to the ideological commentaries they contained. If ob-

servers were impressed at the forms of misbehavior that characterized the new industrial towns, this to some extent reflected their fears of social change and their inability to see the social relationships that in fact characterized them. It also reflected their limited attention to the evils of preindustrial work, which was altogether ready to employ women and children. Despite their unhealthy conditions, the new industrial centers paid high wages and attracted workers. In the same way, the dramatic rise of new fortunes from industry to some extent obscured from contemporary observers the ability of old elites to profit from economic innovation. Britain's great aristocrats were especially well placed to benefit from the development of mining and metallurgy, controlling as they did many of the country's coal deposits; during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, they showed themselves alert and inventive in profiting from these opportunities, so that their wealth rose in tandem with that of the new industrialists—allowing them to continue dominating Britain's politics down to the eve of World War I. Historians have demonstrated similar adaptations in continental Europe, with old ruling groups effectively profiting from industrialization. If the industrial revolution helped bring the early modern period to a close, it thus also preserved some of that period's characteristic forms of social organization.

See also **Clocks and Watches; Industry; Laborers; Mining and Metallurgy; Proto-Industry; Textile Industry.**

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JONATHAN DEWALD

INDUSTRY. The subject of industry is part of the general pattern of economic development in the early modern period. This development had three basic phases: the first, a period of expansion running from the middle of the fifteenth century through to the very end of the sixteenth; the second, a long stagnation during the seventeenth century that lingered well into the eighteenth; the third, an upswing beginning no earlier than 1730 and perhaps as late as 1750.

The first period began with signs of recovery from the long recession associated with the Black Death (1348–1350) and its recurrent visitations. Among the most significant of those signs were population growth and overseas expansion, particularly the influx of precious metals from the New World. The stagnation of the seventeenth century was marked by the disruption of markets in central Europe by the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648), and by the continued decline of the Mediterranean region. Nevertheless, England and Holland enjoyed continuing economic growth during this period, especially in manufactures, which held significant implications for the future. The upturn of the eighteenth century was sustained by the breaking of the vicious circle of uncertainty created by war, famine, and plague in the preindustrial era. The eighteenth century is the only one to which the term *industrialization* may reasonably be applied, and then perhaps only to the machine tool inventions and eventually the steam power that were beginning to change the processes of production in Britain.

It is also vital to take careful account of fundamental continuities throughout the period in order to keep the scale of industrial activity in proper

proportion. An industrial sector did not exist in its own right but was part of a complex network linking the needs of people in different regions. Villagers needed their cobbler, smith, miller, and butcher. The workshops of the towns were much smaller in scale than the industries of the mountains—mining, smelting, and quarrying. Some urban merchants employed and thus controlled large numbers of workers in rural areas. Throughout the following discussion, it is essential to remember that industry cannot be viewed in isolation from the gradual unfolding of commercial and agricultural circumstance or from social and political evolutions, both planned and unplanned, for industry was in part shaped by these and in turn helped to shape them.

RURAL ECONOMY

In seeking to locate industry in the early modern economy, therefore, several observations must be made. First, whatever the signs of industrial growth, it was the condition of the rural economy that most affected everyday life. Moreover, concentrations of labor on a truly “industrial” scale were to be found not in the cities but in the serf-based manorial estates of the landlords of eastern Europe. Harvest failure was the trigger of social unrest—as was to be proved in 1789 and 1848. Even in the nineteenth century, something like 70 percent of the urban wage was spent for bread. Second, industrial activity must be seen in relation to the predominance of commerce at the international level and to artisan manufacture in urban workshops. Put another way, the possibilities of “mass production” were very limited. The only goods produced mechanically in identical form were coins and printed books. Third, evidence of “industrialization” was patchy and confined to specific regions and cannot be seen as a truly European phenomenon until well into the nineteenth century.

In turn, this means that the idea of “the rise of the bourgeoisie” as a social phenomenon in the early modern period must be used with great caution—if at all. The social structure fundamentally lacked the plasticity that began to manifest itself only in eighteenth-century Britain. Put more directly, society was still essentially composed of estates, and the old feudal vision of the three orders—clergy, nobility, and those who lived by their labor—still prevailed. Those who prayed (*oratores*)

sanctioned the social predominance of those who fought (*bellatores*), while those who worked (*laboratores*) owed their masters labor in return for protection and prayer. The overthrow of this model was the aim—very imperfectly achieved—of the revolutionaries of 1789. Even at that late date, there seemed to be little room in the recognizable social hierarchy for the towns, the state, or the women. Status was a question of function or of birth rather than of money. The church was suspicious of profit, and nobles disdained commerce and handicrafts as unworthy. It is essential to be aware of the social matrix as resistant and often overtly hostile to capital and manufacture. This overrides—and in many ways overwhelms—any scattered examples of the confrontation of capital and labor. By this reasoning, any connection between the “Protestant ethic” and the “spirit of capitalism” must be set in the context of a world in which something approaching 90 percent of the population were peasants.

THE ROLE OF THE STATE

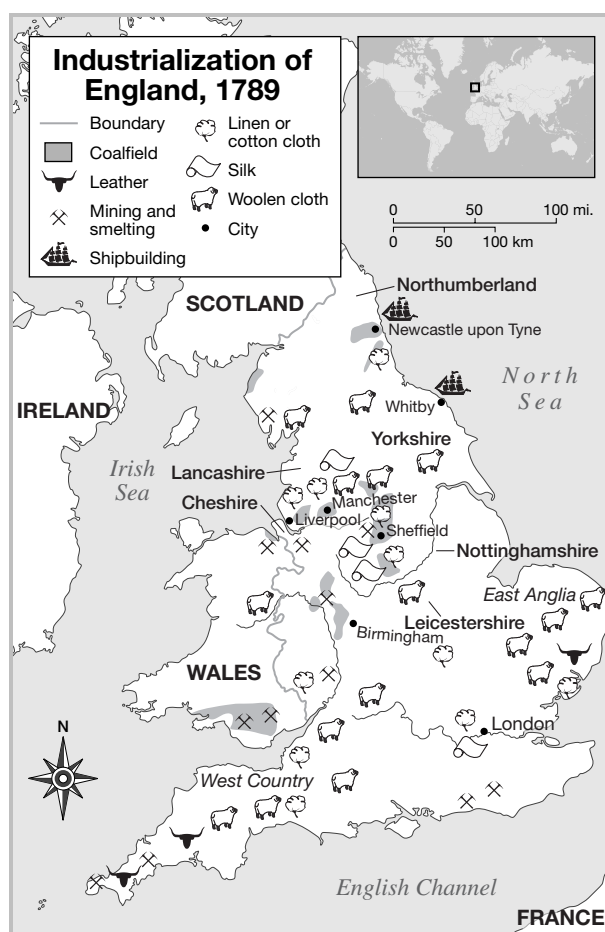
There is also a fundamental paradox in the subject. While industrial activity is usually linked to capitalist free enterprise, the concentration of human and material resources on an unprecedented scale in the early modern period was usually the work of the state. The growth of European armies in the period was staggering, and the state’s monopoly on the means of destruction is far more noticeable than the ownership of the means of production by a capitalist entrepreneur. In their scale and power, the new militarized states of the early modern era dwarf any industrializing tendencies in manufacture at that time. Louis XIV of France (ruled 1643–1715) had something like 400,000 men under arms in 1700. The unit of manufacturing production, the urban workshop, rarely exceeded a dozen members. When Louis’s minister Jean Baptiste Colbert sought in 1673 to reform manufactures with an edict and with policies often described as “mercantilist,” armaments and gun foundries began to employ hundreds of workers. Even so, they did not form anything approaching an industrial proletariat. Instead, they were a privileged category of labor subsidized by the state.

The theme of paradox may be extended and strengthened. Too often, and for too long, histo-

rians have sought the seeds of the industrial world in the early modern era, and terms such as *preindustrial* and *proto-industrialization* imply some sort of primitive rehearsal for the real thing, which is unhelpful. When considering industrial activity before the industrial revolution, it is essential to be aware of two abiding problems: teleology and anachronism. The teleology insists upon the gradual but inevitable development of a capitalist “world system” and a capitalist civilization, ideas that identify the early modern period as marking a “transition from feudalism to capitalism” in the European economy. Instead, industry in the early modern era should be understood in relation to precedents, precocities, false dreams, and blind alleys. The Middle Ages had experienced its own “industrial revolutions”: in the smelting of base metals in the later twelfth century, for instance, and in the introduction of the fulling mill in textile manufacture at about the same time. Moreover, the great cloth towns of Flanders and Italy had witnessed, in the later fourteenth century, startlingly “modern” confrontations of the labor force and the bosses as wage laborers and owners of the means of production clashed in conflicts that bore the features of “class war.” Anachronism—the application of terminology and concepts inappropriate to the early modern period—is a common fallacy in our own “post-industrial” era. The modern tendency to describe virtually any economic activity as an industry—for example “farming industry,” “food industry,” “tourism industry,” “music industry,” or “film industry”—has no relevance to the early modern era and can prove very misleading. In the early modern world, “industry” was a quality, not a sector of the economy. In the Renaissance, an *ingegnere* was not so much an “engineer” in the modern sense as someone marked out by their *ingegno*, which meant “talent” or “genius.”

LARGE-SCALE INDUSTRY

With those qualifications in mind, “industry”—meaning a large-scale enterprise concentrating a numerous work force that is dependent on the owner of the means of production—is applicable in the early modern era to three major economic activities: mining, building (including shipbuilding), and textiles. These were not exclusively urban activities: mining and some processes of textile production were carried out in rural areas, and the workforce



often consisted of peasants. Indeed, concentrations of peasant labor—as in the case of the millions of serfs in the great manorial estates of central and eastern Europe—often seem to provide the prototype for the exploitation of labor on a truly “industrial” scale. More starkly still, the mines in the New World, where millions of people from the indigenous population were literally worked into the ground at the will of their Spanish lords, set a pattern for factory production that was perhaps re-exported to Europe via the plantation.

Both in eastern Europe and in the New World, therefore, large-scale enterprises were run by essentially “feudal” lords. Somewhat surprisingly, in western Europe at the same time, industrial activity involved the state in a central coordinating role. The most precocious example of this pattern is to be found in the Arsenal of Venice, which concentrated resources on a scale impossible for private enterprise. The Arsenal was the largest industrial complex in the preindustrial era. It employed some five thou-

sand workers (some estimates are three times that figure) as carpenters, caulkers, and makers of sails (many of whom were women), rope (in a factory of some one hundred workers), and oars. Rather than being a repressed proletariat, the workers known as the *Arsenalotti* were highly skilled and were something approaching an “aristocracy of labor.” They formed the personal bodyguard of the doge on ceremonial occasions. The shipyards produced more than half the Christian fleet of more than two hundred galleys that defeated the Turks at Lepanto in 1571. Three years later, the workforce demonstrated that they could fit out a galley in the time it took for the Republic’s honored guest—on his way to being crowned Henry III of France in 1574—to dine.

Venetian warships protected and advanced the material interests of the republic in a precocious colonial empire run along mercantilist lines in the Middle Ages. However, the first phase of economic expansion in the early modern period, sometimes referred to as the “long” sixteenth century, witnessed significant developments in patterns of demand that had new implications for manufacture. The increase in population was especially marked in towns, and city-dwellers were, in some important ways, the material beneficiaries of the Renaissance and the Reformation.

LUXURY GOODS

The mercantile wealth of cities and the new educational opportunities for the laity brought about a considerable increase in demand for inessentials—goods that went beyond the fundamentals of food, clothing, and shelter. There were new delights in household furnishings and the embellishments of the interior: compare the cool and simple lines of an interior in fresco by Giotto from the fourteenth century with the swaggering opulence of a Holbein from the sixteenth. From the fifteenth century onward, tapestries, furniture, tableware, paintings, porcelain, and metal goods were symptoms of changes in material culture, which scholars now see as significant generalized manifestations of the cultural achievements of the Renaissance. In Florence, a wedding chest for the bride or a birth tray for the newborn child might be decorated by Ghirlandaio or Botticelli, and the fireplace or the dining room might be graced with majolica inspired by the de-

signs of Andrea and Luca della Robbia. Candelabra, lanterns, locks, scales, and weights, along with warming pans and scissors, were the specialist wares of Nuremberg. Moreover, as the period unfolded, such developments were not confined to towns. As the power of the state advanced, the country house came to replace the fortress in the lifestyle of the nobility. In terms of demand and manufacture, we might ponder the significance of replacing defensive walls with glass windows.

GUILDS

Whatever the changes in taste and demand, it is essential to bear in mind that the processes of production remained in traditional patterns associated with medieval guilds and the workshops that they regulated. The complexity and rigor of a workshop training ensured passage from apprenticeship to mastery through the submission of a “masterpiece” for examination, using materials inspected by the officers of the guild. This was an assurance of the quality of workmanship. Thus, in Nuremberg, clockmakers had to produce a standing timepiece that struck the quarters and the hours with different rings, with mobile representations of the Sun and Moon along with the date and the positions of the heavenly bodies, as well as a watch that was worn round the neck and operated as an alarm clock. Each master had to be able to practice a trade with his own hands. Handicraft training thereby acted as protection against overconcentration of labor in dependence on a single capitalist. Day laborers worked as “journeymen” within the workshop. Their position was more vulnerable than that of the apprentice, and they could easily join the ranks of the poor in the event of a sudden downturn in demand. In Lyon and in Venice, however, there is plenty of evidence to suggest that journeymen had their own robust organizations and social networks.

The traditional structures of guilds and workshops were not as hostile to technical innovation as once supposed. Nuremberg provides a fascinating case history of technological changes in the production of metal goods and the development of new possibilities in the making of scientific instruments and weaponry, still very much within the traditions of the corporate structures of guilds. However, the printing of books marked the beginning of a revolution in communications that has persisted through

the industrial and postindustrial eras. In the workshop of Aldus Manutius (c. 1450–1515) in Venice in the early sixteenth century, artisans rubbed shoulders with great writers such as Erasmus in an extraordinary combination of the refinedly learned and the strictly practical. Manutius's invention of the elegant italic script made possible the pocket edition with important implications for price and accessibility. The revolutionary quality of book production demanded a new organization of labor. Market forces began to intrude on the workshop. In Lyon in the 1560s fierce competition between groups of journeymen drove wages down as each group sought to outdo the other. Their conflicts were exacerbated by religious differences, a feature that sets them firmly in their time, but there was a clear pointer to the future in the recasting of relations between workers and bosses.

While the printed word is rightly seen as crucial to the spread of the Reformation, one should also bear in mind the significance of the press in spreading new techniques and ideas. Among the most notable works in this category were the *De Re Metallica* (Concerning metals) of Georgius Agricola (1494–1555), and Vannoccio Biringuccio's (1480–1539) studies of industrial chemistry in *Pirotechnia* (1540; The art of fireworks). This influential work included studies of gunpowder technology and typecasting, which can still be regarded as the symbols of a new age. Other works spread knowledge of precision instruments: one thinks here of Galileo's writings on telescopes.

PATTERNS OF PRODUCTION

However, most such treatises were not strictly instructional manuals but aimed to flatter their princely dedicatees. There is no simple causal connection to be made between the new ideas of the seventeenth century and changing patterns of production. Indeed, it should be emphasized that the scientific revolution of the seventeenth century occurred in a period of economic stagnation and had little immediate impact on production processes. Moreover, in some places, traditional structures took on a new social and political significance. Guilds were organizations that could offer young, unattached males (a group vulnerable to natural decrease) shelter, training, and work. That work might be shared, a further safeguard against abject

poverty. In Nuremberg in 1556, eleven workshops of cloth shearers deposited their profits with the Sworn Master who divided up the total "in such a way that the highest producer and the lowest producer get each an appropriate share." In seventeenth-century Leiden, guild structures remained buoyant and vital during the city's growth from twelve thousand people in 1582 to seventy thousand by 1660. By that time, its workshops were producing 130,000 pieces of cloth per year. The provision of work and forms of social insurance took considerable pressure off the limited welfare available from the city authorities. Within the age of economic stagnation, demand for luxuries continued to expand. A vast concentration of labor and materials produced Versailles for Louis XIV, and Christopher Wren (1632–1723) was to remark that scarcely a surface could be found in the palace that did not support some decorative object. The extraordinary project, far from looking forward to a new age, looks back to the two thousand or so workers on site for the building of the new St. Peter's in Rome in the mid-sixteenth century. Versailles itself was to become a symbol of the *ancien régime*.

At a much more humdrum level, many of the most important changes in patterns of production in the seventeenth century are summarized by the term *proto-industrialization*. This is a term to be used with caution, since its explicit sense of being a rehearsal for industrialization "proper" is strongly tinged with the teleology mentioned above. However, it is a concept that takes careful account of new forms of the organization of production associated especially with "putting out" or the "domestic system" in the manufacture of cloth. This is helpful to an understanding of early modern industrial activity because it seeks to trace economic change over the broad long term rather than in relation to technological invention. The new organization of production took shape roughly in the following manner. As economic conditions tightened, merchants sought ways to avoid the overheads—particularly high wages—that guilds jealously protected in towns. Instead merchants offered work—especially spinning and weaving—to people who worked at home in rural areas, where such work was a welcome source of supplementary income. The decline of certain urban centers was sometimes startling. In 1612

Augsburg had more than three thousand master weavers, but barely four hundred by 1720. However, there were clear logistical limitations to putting out work in this way. Quality was difficult to control (a serious disadvantage when compared with urban workshops and guild regulation), pilfering was widespread, and the coordination of the delivery of raw materials and the collection of finished products over relatively long distances was slow and difficult.

Nevertheless, “putting out” was an important underpinning of the production of the so-called “new draperies” in England and the United Provinces. These cloths were light kerseys and worsteds that proved much cheaper than the heavier traditional broadcloths and enabled northern merchants to penetrate the markets of the Levant, to the detriment of centers such as Venice. In fact, Venetian broadcloths remained competitively priced throughout the seventeenth century—but for the tax that the government imposed upon them. That said, during the early modern period, the Venetian economy experienced a huge shift (which its guild system seems to have fostered) from manufacture to retail and services. In terms of production, the balance of economic predominance moved to the north.

The emergent capitalism of seventeenth-century Amsterdam was tied to the extension of the vast serf estates in all the lands that might send grain to Gdańsk (Danzig) in the willing barges of the Dutch. Having thrown off the yoke of the Spanish monarchy in 1648, the Dutch developed the most enterprising, tolerant, “bourgeois” society of the early modern era. And—within the context of their times—they were great industrialists. Peter I the Great of Russia (ruled 1682–1725) visited Amsterdam to find out how to build his ships. Leiden was one of Europe’s leading centers of textile production. Dutch entrepreneurs organized the exploitation of the copper mines and iron foundries of Sweden. Dutch printing presses produced some of the seminal works of the scientific revolution and the Enlightenment, and Dutch telescopes and maps furthered overseas commercial interests.

However, the interiors painted by the great Dutch artists show a cultivated taste for comfort—clothing, drapes, tiles, wall hangings, musical in-

struments, furniture and glass—that only the highest standards of manufacture could sustain. Workshops continued to depend on the appropriate guild’s stipulations for training, and the units of production remained small: a workforce as large as fifty people in a glassworks was quite exceptional. In some ways, then, the expansion of the Dutch economy in the seventeenth century may be seen as the culmination of the “material Renaissance” rather than a foreshadowing of the industrial world. The United Provinces played no significant role in the launching of the industrial revolution. The chief reason for this appears to be environmental accident. The Dutch had plenty of peat, but no coal, and peat cannot generate sufficient heat to smelt iron. In England, by contrast, albeit from a very small initial base, domestic coal output rose by 1,400 percent between 1560 and 1690. This was the basis of what is sometimes known as “carboniferous capitalism.”

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Many more statistics and data are available from the eighteenth century than from the preceding period. It is important, therefore, not to exaggerate the nature and scale of change in the era because in reviewing the evidence we may not always be comparing like with like. Yet some cautious generalizations are possible. First, wars became more disciplined, and a clearer distinction developed between military and civilian spheres. Climatic conditions marked a distinct improvement over the “Little Ice Age” of the seventeenth century, making for fewer disastrous harvests. Plague made its last visitation (though no one could have known that it would not return). The chances of survival were greater, and the resultant population expansion known as the “vital revolution” has continued into modern times. There were new concentrations of demand for products, and again the political dimension is essential here since urban growth was particularly marked in the case of capital cities. Following its foundation in 1703, St. Petersburg grew to 220,000 people by 1789, Berlin grew from 8,000 people to 180,000, Paris had more than 500,000 inhabitants by the late eighteenth century, and by then perhaps 900,000 people lived in London. Such expansion dramatically increased the available labor force, and challenged guild monopolies (which were often limited in jurisdiction to the area within

the old city walls). Considerable improvements were made in communication and distribution between such centers, too, brought about in Britain in particular by vast programs of canal building and road construction. The broader potential of expansion was boosted by the underpinning of state banks—in England in 1694, Scotland 1695, Prussia 1765, and France 1776.

However, the new concentrations of labor in the same workplace provide the most potent signs of industrialization. Whether we cite the two thousand people who worked for the Wilkinson foundry at Bersham, or the 300,000 workers in the mines and forges of the Urals, such numbers are considerably higher than what was usual in the earlier part of our period. However, it is in textile production that the reorganization through concentration was most marked. Nowhere was it especially sudden, and it is important to acknowledge its beginnings in the seventeenth century in regions such as northeastern France, Westphalia, Silesia, Saxony, Flanders, and the West Riding of Yorkshire in England. The rural dimension of production remained highly significant. Even in the 1780s, 73 percent of all the looms in Picardy in France were located in rural areas. In 1748 in Silesia, 81 percent of all the linen produced was made in the countryside. By mid-century in Sedan, twenty-five merchants were employing around 15,000 people. In 1765, one Prussian *Manufaktur* employed more than 750 workers in the same place. In Abbeville, after Anne Robert Jacques Turgot's abolition of France's old corporations in 1776, the Van Robais Company had ten thousand employees in domestic industry, but also eighteen hundred working under one roof.

Striking evidence can be found of dramatic increases in textile production. French cloth production rose 126 percent between 1700 and 1785, and Scottish linen production increased sevenfold between 1730 and the end of the century. While the production of English woolen cloth doubled, it soon became clear that cotton would be king. Britain imported a million pounds of it in 1700, and 15 million in 1780, a figure that had doubled to 30 million by 1789. Cotton cloth was to be the first sizeable industry of the industrial revolution, depending as it did on mechanical inventions, notably James Hargreaves's spinning jenny (c. 1764; patented 1770), Richard Arkwright's waterframe (pat-

ented 1769), and Samuel Crompton's mule-jenny (1779). However, the china factories of Dresden prove that new patterns of production were not entirely confined to textiles in Britain, and signs of the development of industrial regions can be found not just in the north of England, but also in Biscay and in Catalonia.

Soaring production was accompanied by falling prices. It is appropriate to quote Adam Smith, who remarked in *Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (1776) on the price of a watch, for it seems to symbolize a reshaping of the relationship between time and money. At the beginning of the early modern period, merchants were still hemmed in by church teaching—and laws—on usury. Traditionally, time belonged to God, and to make money over time was to appropriate what belonged to God. Such action was an expression of pride, the capital sin of Lucifer. By the last quarter of the eighteenth century, trade and manufacture, with the profit and prosperity they generated, were celebrated as an expression of humanity's control over the world and its resources. This in turn was the result of the scientific revolution of the seventeenth century with its new emphasis on direct observation and material demonstration. In the Enlightenment of the eighteenth century, these ideas began to find more extensive application. Smith wrote, "the diminution of price has, in the course of the present century, been most remarkable in those manufactures of which the materials are the coarser metals. A better movement of a watch, that about the middle of the last century would have been bought for 20 pounds, may now perhaps be had for 20 shillings."

This confidence in the direction of things seemed to be reflected in the physical environment. Apothecaries' shops and candlemakers continued in their traditional ways in Shropshire, but they now stood in the shadow of a coal mine and close to Europe's first iron bridge—which gave its name to the town (Ironbridge). However, as the new era of mechanical progress opened, abrupt changes in the workplace and in the natural landscape made the new mills—at least to Luddites and saboteurs—look dark and satanic.

See also **Agriculture; Capitalism; Commerce and Markets; Feudalism; Guilds; Industrial Revolution; Laborers;**

Mercantilism; Peasantry; Proto-Industry; Scientific Revolution.

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INFANTRY. *See* Military: Battle Tactics and Campaign Strategy.

INFLATION. Inflation is a long-term, sustained rise in the general level of prices, as measured by a consumer price index. For early modern European history, the best known of these are the "basket of consumables" indexes devised by Earl Hamilton for Spain (for the period 1501–1650), by Henry Phelps Brown and Sheila Hopkins for southern England (1264–1954), and by Herman van der Wee for the Antwerp-Lier-Brussels region of Brabant (1401–1700). In European economic history, undoubtedly one of the longest and certainly the best-known era of inflation was the so-called price revolution of circa 1515–1650 (See Table 1). If we take the decade 1501–1510 as the base, for which the average price index in all three regions equals 100, and then calculate five-year means of these price indexes, we would find, by the final quinquennium 1646–1650, that the Spanish index had risen to 457.09; the English index to 697.54; and the Brabantine index to 845.07 (i.e., an 8.45-fold increase). Thus, one may observe that, during this 135-year period, inflation was a Europe-wide phenomenon, but that its intensity and impact varied by region, according to local circumstances. Thereafter, prices fell in most of western Europe, as, by 1656–1660, to an index of 614.45 in Brabant and to 569.56 in England.

REAL (DEMOGRAPHIC) AND MONETARY FACTORS IN INFLATION: THE EQUATION OF EXCHANGE

In the literature of early modern economic history, the predominant though quite misleading explanation for this inflation has been population growth. To be sure, population growth, acting upon relatively fixed (inelastic) land and other natural resources, resulting in diminishing returns and rising marginal costs, may well explain the rise in the relative prices of some specific commodities, such as grain and timber (whose English prices did rise the most over this 130-year period). But demographic factors alone cannot explain a rise in the price level; for inflation is fundamentally though not uniquely monetary in origin and character. Indeed, since England's population in the early 1520s was only

TABLE 1.

| Composite Price Indexes for Brabant, Southern England, and Spain (Castile) | | | | |
|---|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|---|--|
| IN QUINQUENNIAL MEANS: 1501–05 TO 1646–50 | | | | |
| INDEX: MEAN OF 1501–10 = 100 | | | | |
| Years | Brabant 1501–10=100 | England 1501–10=100 | Spain 1501–10=100 Silver-Based | Spain 1501–10=100 Vellon from 1597* |
| 1501–05 | 104.43 | 101.43 | 92.43 | 92.43 |
| 1506–10 | 95.57 | 98.57 | 107.57 | 107.57 |
| 1511–15 | 114.80 | 103.08 | 98.98 | 98.98 |
| 1516–20 | 125.09 | 114.40 | 104.28 | 104.28 |
| 1521–25 | 149.79 | 138.72 | 122.14 | 122.14 |
| 1526–30 | 148.61 | 149.45 | 131.57 | 131.57 |
| 1531–35 | 144.85 | 147.83 | 132.44 | 132.44 |
| 1536–40 | 154.54 | 144.69 | 138.73 | 138.73 |
| 1541–45 | 173.44 | 167.69 | 147.90 | 147.90 |
| 1546–50 | 166.01 | 218.12 | 165.89 | 165.89 |
| 1551–55 | 216.87 | 261.63 | 176.02 | 176.02 |
| 1556–60 | 250.34 | 300.00 | 194.01 | 194.01 |
| 1561–65 | 261.34 | 274.80 | 223.43 | 223.43 |
| 1566–70 | 264.97 | 277.63 | 227.73 | 227.73 |
| 1571–75 | 352.49 | 281.24 | 246.77 | 246.77 |
| 1576–80 | 400.18 | 319.61 | 247.82 | 247.82 |
| 1581–85 | 513.98 | 320.58 | 269.07 | 269.07 |
| 1586–90 | 665.77 | 367.74 | 274.97 | 274.97 |
| 1591–95 | 573.01 | 395.14 | 284.42 | 284.42 |
| 1596–00 | 626.80 | 513.42 | 320.97 | 320.98 |
| 1601–05 | 509.74 | 438.12 | 349.92 | 352.43 |
| 1606–10 | 512.71 | 472.06 | 330.11 | 335.31 |
| 1611–15 | 529.56 | 506.11 | 316.81 | 322.68 |
| 1616–20 | 521.93 | 494.28 | 328.56 | 335.64 |
| 1621–25 | 679.09 | 503.14 | 317.85 | 344.72 |
| 1626–30 | 765.57 | 498.72 | 328.04 | 410.81 |
| 1631–35 | 756.32 | 577.86 | 329.91 | 395.13 |
| 1636–40 | 805.55 | 584.26 | 323.47 | 409.67 |
| 1641–45 | 821.78 | 532.37 | 313.50 | 432.48 |
| 1646–50 | 845.07 | 697.54 | 343.36 | 457.09 |

* Vellon was a largely copper-based coinage, with little but diminishing amounts of silver. The high-denomination and basically pure silver and gold coins were not debased. From 1597 this index is based on actual Spanish prices, while the silver-based index is based on Hamilton's estimates of prices based on the silver contents of the entire coinage (i.e., as if the vellon coinage had been excluded).

about 2.25 million, evidently less than half the late-medieval peak of about 5.0 million in 1300, it is inconceivable that any renewed population growth in the following three decades could have produced the ensuing inflation, by which the mean price index more than doubled, to a mean of 218.12, in the quinquennium 1546–1550.

The relationship between monetary and so-called “real factors” (population, investment, technology, trade) can be best expressed by the Equation of Exchange, $M \cdot V = P \cdot y$, which is a modified version of the famous Fisher Identity. On the right-hand side, P stands for the price level, as measured by one of the aforementioned “basket of consum-

ables” indexes; and y represents the real (deflated) value of net national income ($NNI = \text{net national product (NNP} = \text{Gross National Product minus depreciation)}$), replacing the unmeasurable T (total transactions) in the original Fisher Identity. On the left-hand side, M is the total stock of available money, which, in this era meant gold and silver coins, supplemented by some credit instruments; and V represents the income velocity of money: the rate at which a unit of money (e.g., the silver penny) circulates in producing aggregate national income Y .

A much earlier generation of economists had quite fallaciously believed that both V and T (or y)

were fixed, at least in the short run, so that changes in the quantity of money M necessarily produced a proportional change in the price level P . But since all four of these variables are in fact always variable, an increase in M need not produce any inflation, because it could be offset by a fall in V and a corresponding rise in y , that is, by stimulating real economic growth. Indeed, Keynesian economists believe that, since a high level of V reflects society's efforts to economize on scarce stocks of money, an increase in M should be offset by some fall in V , a theorem that can be historically demonstrated for much of western Europe from the thirteenth to nineteenth centuries, with one significant exception: the price revolution era, when V may have doubled.

For this era, we may conclude that the product of $M \cdot V$ ultimately expanded to a greater extent than did the real growth of national income y (or NNP), so that inflation (rising P) ensued. Population growth (more than doubling, in England, to 5.60 million by 1651) may have played a dual role in this inflation: by inducing diminishing returns and rising marginal costs in the agricultural and extractive industries, thus restricting the rate of economic growth; and by inducing a rise in V (income velocity), through changes in demographic structures (higher dependency ratios) and market structures, with increased urbanization and commercialization.

THE CAUSES OF THE EUROPEAN PRICE REVOLUTION, 1515–1650

But if the crude quantity theory of money is historically fallacious, nevertheless changes in money stocks and money instruments do remain paramount in explaining the price revolution. Monetary expansion in fact had begun far earlier, with Portuguese imports of West African gold from the 1460s, but most especially with the central European silver-copper mining boom, also from the 1460s. It may have increased European silver stocks fivefold by the 1540s (to possibly 90,000 kg per year); and a considerable stock of underutilized resources may explain why inflation did not ensue until after 1510. Only from the 1540s did an influx of Spanish American silver become truly important, with imports rising from an annual mean of 16,816 kg in 1541–1545 to a peak of 273,705 kg in 1591–1595 (223,027 kg in 1621–1625). But of equal monetary importance was a veritable financial revolution

in negotiable credit, established in the Habsburg Netherlands and England from the 1520s: with effective institutions for legally enforceable transactions in negotiable bills of exchange, bills obligatory (promissory notes), and government annuities (*rentes*). Indeed in Habsburg Spain the issue of negotiable annuities (*juros*) (many of which were traded on the Antwerp Bourse) rose from 3.6 million ducats in 1516 to 80.4 million ducats in 1598 (death of Philip II). The impact of such changes in both private and public credit increased both the effective money supply and certainly its velocity of circulation.

One may therefore wonder why the degree of inflation was so much less in Spain than in the Netherlands (Brabant) and England. The principal reason lies in another monetary factor. For coinage debasements were absent in Spain before 1597 but had become quite drastic in sixteenth-century England ("Great Debasement" of 1542–1552) and in the southern Netherlands (less drastic, though more prolonged). Furthermore, credit undoubtedly played a smaller role in the relatively undeveloped Spanish economy.

THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE EUROPEAN PRICE REVOLUTION

Only a summary of the consequences of inflation may be suggested here. In general, inflation redistributes income from wage earners and those living on fixed incomes, especially landowners with many hereditary tenures, or leaseholds on long-term contracts, to merchants and industrialists, in particular. Many in the latter group certainly benefited from a general lag of wages behind prices, even if industrial prices rose much less than did grain prices; and, given the vital importance of capital in the economy, most merchants and industrialists benefited from a fall in real interest costs, all the more so since nominal as well as real interest rates fell over this entire period throughout western Europe. Many peasants or small landholders also gained, insofar as their rents remained fixed, while the prices of the products that they sold in the market continued to rise. On the other hand, some undoubtedly did suffer the consequences of population growth, at least in areas of partible inheritance, which thus meant a significant subdivision of holdings. A balance sheet of winners and losers from inflation

would be most difficult to construct for the price revolution era.

See also **Capitalism; Economic Crises; Landholding; Money and Coinage; Peasantry.**

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INHERITANCE AND WILLS. For the overwhelming mass of the population, both rural and urban, early modern material life was anchored in the ownership of fixed capital assets, above all land and buildings. The perpetuation of society depended upon the transmission of these assets from one generation to another, making inheritance (together with marriage, for which inheritance was usually an implicit, and in some cases an explicit, requirement) one of the essential social processes in early modern Europe. Inheritance also had significant, though equivocal, implications for patterns of demographic growth and long-term economic change. Relative to its importance, early modern inheritance remains a subject about which we know embarrassingly little. The prescriptive rules of post-

mortem succession, codified with increasing frequency from the sixteenth century across the entirety of Europe, have been well studied. At the same time, it has become obvious not only that formal norms were heavily modified by actual practice, but also that postmortem succession was normally only the final stage of a more drawn-out process of generational replacement.

PARTIBILITY

The classic point of reference for the analysis of European inheritance customs is the issue of partibility. Nineteenth-century investigations of peasant inheritance customs in western and central Europe divided the continent into regions of partible inheritance (East Anglia and Kent, Aragon-Castile, Italy, the French Riviera, northern France, the Low Countries, and much of Rhineland Germany) and impartible inheritance (most of the British Isles, Catalonia, southern France, northeastern and southeastern Germany, Austria, and Scandinavia), although there was considerable small-scale regional variation. The historicity of this division is uncertain. It can certainly be dated back to c. 1550–1600, but in some impartible zones like Upper Swabia there is clear evidence of partibility during the later Middle Ages. At least among the European aristocracy (whose inheritance practices are admittedly only an uncertain guide to the customs of commoners), there was a definite drift toward impartibility during the sixteenth century, a trend underscored by a burgeoning legal literature on the practice and ethics of unigeniture (inheritance by a single heir). The reasons for the partibility/impartibility division are less clear. There is considerable truth to the suggestion that impartibility was usually a product of strong feudal overlordship (and the attendant pressure to preserve the integrity of rent-paying units) in regions of arable agriculture, but this is hardly a universal association.

For all the attractive simplicity of the partibility/impartibility division, the reality on the ground was much more complex, and the seemingly stark opposition of the two regimes was in practice mitigated by a host of qualifications. Systems of partible inheritance often explicitly advantaged one heir over the others, a custom known as *préciput* in northeastern France. Even in Normandy, the "egalitarian" obligation to return any premortem

endowment to ensure the absolutely even division of family property at the parent's death was modified by the exclusion of daughters from inheriting land. Conversely, impartible arrangements in both England and Germany typically required the heir to buy out or otherwise compensate the other siblings ("yielding heirs," as they were often called in Bavaria) for their exclusion from the family farm. Most inheritance systems, in other words, attempted to strike a balance (often at the expense of the weaker members of the kindred, especially women) between security and equity, between preserving an ancestral property and providing the foundation for the next generation of kin.

Partibility and impartibility are thus best understood as the poles of a continuum of strategies for the regulation of household formation in conformity with the socioeconomic context. Impartibility, however modified, tended to limit the creation of new households by restricting access to property, which helps to explain the spread of such inheritance practices during the demographic surge of the sixteenth century. Partibility imposed fewer restrictions on household formation, and in the case of the German territory of Lower Saxony, it has been demonstrated that regions of partible inheritance experienced significantly higher rates of population growth than regions of impartibility. Variations in inheritance customs had similarly divergent implications for household structure. Despite the overall dominance of nuclear households in early modern Europe, impartible inheritance often led to an extended phase of the household's life cycle, with either a retired parent living with the principal heir (as in central Europe), or with a number of brothers co-owning an undivided ancestral property (as in Italy or southern France). Regions of partible inheritance were less likely to evince this pattern, as the facility with which children could establish independent households militated against coresidence.

SPOUSAL RIGHTS

The recognition that postmortem transfers from parent to child were only one facet of the dynamics of inheritance has in recent years redirected scholarly attention to other aspects of the nexus between kinship and property, in particular to the property rights of widowed spouses. In many regions, especially in urban areas, the property brought by each

spouse to a marriage was merged indivisibly, so that in the event of one partner's death, an irreducible fraction, and sometimes the entirety, of the property devolved upon the survivor (in some regions this merger only took place if there had been issue from the marriage). In some areas (for example, England) the widow's estate was an interest for her lifetime only, but in many places on the continent (for example, Wallonia) a widow could remarry in situ and effectively disinherit the children from the first marriage. Allowing as it did for the inheritance (albeit temporary, in some cases) of property by women, this widespread custom of "conjugal community" was a characteristic feature of European inheritance practices, marking them off sharply from customs in sub-Saharan Africa and many parts of Asia.

WILLS

Given the complex and drawn-out nature of generational replacement in early modern Europe, the will turns out (ironically) to be a much less important instrument of inheritance than might be expected, especially outside of cities. In continental Europe the peasant will was more important for the registration of pious legacies than for the disposition of land. In much of Germany, this latter allocation was normally accomplished by premortem conveyance, while in northern France, a householder was explicitly forbidden to dispose of more than a fraction (one-third in Picardy, Artois, Touraine, Anjou, Maine, and Brittany; one-fifth in the Paris Basin, the Beauvaisis, the Nivernais, and the Orléanais) of his property by will, with the kindred retaining an inextinguishable claim to the remaining "reserve." Even in southern France, where a Roman Law regime contributed to a more absolute conception of private property, the customs of Gascony and Aquitaine prohibited the alienation of more than a fraction of the testator's property (in Languedoc, however, a testator was free to convey his property to whomsoever he wished). The most important exception to these restrictions on testator freedom was England, where a long tradition of individualistic property rights was enshrined in the 1540 Statute of Wills, which for the first time legalized the conveyance of land by will. Nevertheless, the theoretical power of an English father to disinherit his children was only rarely resorted to in practice.

See also Family; Gender; Law; Property.

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INQUISITION. Scholars distinguish between the medieval, or papal, Inquisition, which evolved in the thirteenth century to combat the Cathar heresy in southern France, and the modern Inquisition, reestablished in parts of Europe during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

FOUNDATIONS

The first two modern Inquisitions were established in Spain (1478) and Portugal (1536) to deal with a heresy peculiar to the Iberian Peninsula, Cryptojudaism, or a reversion to Judaism among converts to Christianity (*conversos*). To punish this form of apostasy, the Catholic monarchs Ferdinand and Isabella obtained authorization in 1478 from Pope Sixtus IV to establish a new Inquisition in Castile, and later, in 1483, to revive Aragón's medieval tribunals. Nonetheless, cases of Judaizing continued to occur, so the Catholic monarchs took the extreme decision in 1492 of ordering all Jews to either convert to Christianity or leave Castile. Many Jews crossed the border to Portugal to join the large numbers of *conversos* who had already fled there from Spain. In 1496, the king of Portugal, John II, ordered the expulsion of Jews from his territory, and in 1497, the conversion of any who remained, who joined ranks with the Spanish refugees. The presence of this group of New Christians eventually forced John III to bring the Inquisition to Portugal in 1536.

Pope Paul III, who had authorized the foundation of the Portuguese Inquisition, six years later (1542) revived the Holy Office of the Inquisition in the Italian Papal States. Here, however, the Roman Inquisition's concern was not Judaizing, but the threat to Italy from Protestantism. Soon, other states in the Italian peninsula reinstated local tribunals of the Inquisition: Naples and Venice in 1547, and Milan in 1562.

INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURE AND PROCEDURE

The modern Inquisitions generally followed the body of jurisprudence developed by the medieval Inquisition, compiled in 1376 by Nicolau Eimeric into the *Directorium inquisitorum*, revised in the late sixteenth century by Francisco Peña. Unlike their medieval predecessor, however, the Spanish and Portuguese Inquisitions were controlled by the crown, and in Italy, there was considerable secular oversight as well, except in the Papal States. In Spain, Ferdinand created a government board, the Council of the Supreme and General Inquisition, which established policies and procedures, oversaw the appointment of officials and functioning of tribunals throughout the Spanish realms, and served as the court of appeals. Until 1560, the number and territories of the Spanish districts fluctuated considerably; thereafter they remained stable at fourteen peninsular tribunals and four island tribunals (Mallorca, Sardinia, Sicily, and the Canaries). Additional tribunals were added as the empire expanded: Mexico, Lima, Cartagena de Indias, Manila, and finally, the royal court at Madrid.

Portugal's Inquisition was also placed under the direction of a royal board, known as the General Council. Ultimately, there were tribunals in Lisbon, Coimbra, and Evora, plus another in Goa, the Portuguese colony in India.

In Italy, the papacy attempted to exert some control over the Inquisitions outside the Papal States; this process culminated in the establishment of the Congregazione del Sant' Ufficio in 1588. As was the case in Portugal and Spain, the Congregation functioned as the supreme appellate court for the tribunals in Italy. In each of the states with Inquisitions, the network of local tribunals followed the preexisting structure of bishoprics. For example, in the Republic of Venice, aside from the head tri-

bunal in Venice itself, there were tribunals at Brescia, Padua, Udine, Treviso, Cyprus, Rovigo, Piacenza, Bergamo, Vicenza, Verona, and Capo d'Istria.

Thanks to a shared legal tradition, the operation of the Inquisition in each area was similar. In Spain each tribunal consisted of one or two inquisitors, a fiscal prosecutor, defense attorney, various employees who were charged with record keeping and care of the prisoners, unpaid theological and legal consultants, and a network of local legal representatives (*comisarios*) and messengers/jailors (*familiars*), also unpaid, who created an inquisitorial presence in the hinterland. Strict guidelines established the qualifications for various members of the tribunal. Inquisitors had to be at least forty years old, licentiates or doctors in theology or canon law. After the fifteenth century, few Spanish inquisitors were drawn from the religious orders such as the Dominicans, who had once dominated the medieval institution. *Comisarios* were drawn from the local secular clergy, and *familiars* were laymen of uncontested Christian ancestry. Portugal's tribunals were structured along the same lines, while in Italy, often only one inquisitor led the court (in Iberia there were two), while the local legal representatives, known as *vicarii*, held more power than their Iberian counterparts. Unlike their Iberian counterparts, both the inquisitors and the vicars came from the ranks of the regular religious orders, primarily the Dominicans and Franciscans.

A tribunal generated its cases in a variety of ways. The standard method was for the inquisitor to go on a visitation of his district. First, the inquisitor would issue the Edict of Grace, a sermon that defined the heresies sought after and promised leniency for those who confessed within thirty days. The follow-up sermon, the Edict of Faith, offered no leniency but continued the exhortations to confess. Voting members of the tribunal would examine the resulting confessions and issue a warrant for arrest. Once detained, the prisoner disappeared to the outside world: in order to inspire fear and prevent reprisals, the courts attempted to conduct their business in the strictest secrecy. Similar secrecy within the proceedings kept the prisoner at a disadvantage. Not until well into the trial did the prisoner learn the charges against him, and never was the accused allowed to know who had given evidence

against him—or, once freed, to speak about his experiences. With the inquisitor acting as both judge and investigator, the prosecution presented its case first, and the defendant, with the aid of a court-appointed lawyer, could respond. At this point, if the defendant's confession was not seen as sufficient, the tribunal would vote on the question of torture: what kind and how much. In reality, torture was employed rarely (in less than 3 percent of cases) and frequently was overcome. The large majority of cases ended in guilty verdicts. In Spain and Portugal, the final act in the trial was the public auto-da-fé, where prisoners were sentenced amid great ceremony; actual punishments were carried out separately. An important tool of the Iberian Inquisition was public humiliation: those convicted of serious offenses were required to wear the *sanbenito*, a distinctive outer tunic that was also displayed in the convict's parish church.

Abolition came slowly, with the advance of the Enlightenment and then French troops to southern Europe. Generally, the Italian tribunals were disbanded between 1774 and 1800, and the Iberian ones disappeared between 1812 and 1834, although the Spanish and American tribunals effectively ended operation in 1820. The fate of each tribunal's archives is capricious: some survive virtually intact, while others disappeared during the Napoleonic Wars. Major repositories exist in the Archivo General de la Nación (Mexico), Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo (Lisbon), Archivo Histórico Nacional (Madrid), and in the Archivi dell'Inquisizione Romana (The Vatican, opened in 1998), but substantial numbers of trials and other papers remain outside these repositories.

Considerable controversy exists over how many individuals were tried and executed by the courts, but the loss of so many records makes precise accounting impossible. A survey of nineteen Spanish tribunals from 1540 to 1700 yielded 49,092 cases. The Portuguese Inquisition tried 44,817 cases between 1536 and 1767, the most active court being Goa. Naples between 1564 and 1740 tried 3,038 cases, and Venice between 1547 and 1794 tried 3,592 cases. The death sentence was invoked in less than 5 percent of all trials. In Spain and Portugal the first victims were *conversos*, many of whom were sentenced to death (often in absentia), while the Italian courts pursued Protestants. With time, the

tribunals changed their focus and moderated their severity: in Spain, converted Muslims (*Moriscos*), homosexuals, Protestants, witches, and ordinary Spaniards guilty of making crude theological statements all at some point became the focus of the tribunals' attention. Indeed, relatively minor crimes such as blasphemy accounted for much of the Spanish Inquisition's caseload. In addition to punishing religious crimes, all of the Inquisitions were responsible for enforcing censorship of printed materials and searching for contraband.

IMPACT AND LASTING SIGNIFICANCE

Because of the Inquisition's role in censorship, many have accused the institution of curbing scientific inquiry, dampening literary creativity, and even hindering economic growth. Historians now reject these charges. A few cases achieved notoriety in their day and continue to define the image of the Inquisition in the public's mind. Most infamous is the case of Galileo Galilei (1564–1642), who was summoned before the Roman Inquisition in 1632 to account for his public defense of the Copernican system, earlier deemed heretical by the church. He was condemned to perpetual house arrest and silence on the issue. For many, this trial epitomizes the conflict between scientific reason and free speech on the one hand, and religious fanaticism on the other. The philosopher Giordano Bruno (1548–1600) was not so lucky as Galileo; he was burned at the stake for his radical ideas about revealed religion and the possibility of an infinite universe with multiple worlds. In Spain, fear of religious experimentation led the inquisitors to target some of the leading mystics of the sixteenth century—St. Theresa of Jesus, St. John of the Cross, and Luis de León—although none was executed. Such cases, added to the Inquisition's role in censorship, the stream of Protestant propaganda directed against the papacy, and the Enlightenment's championship of basic freedoms, combined to create a lasting image of an arbitrarily cruel and inhumane institution. In the last twenty-five years, however, new scholarship has done much to mitigate the fearsome image of the Inquisition and to place the institution in its proper historical context.

See also Censorship; *Conversos*; Ferdinand of Aragón; Galileo Galilei; Index of Prohibited Books; Isabella of Castile; *Moriscos*; Papacy and Papal States; Persecution.

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INQUISITION, ROMAN. The Roman Inquisition was a penal and judicial institution brought into being by the Catholic Church in mid-sixteenth century Italy as a response to the Protestant challenge in that country. Prior to this time, a loosely knit, decentralized network of individual

clerics drawn from the early-thirteenth-century mendicant orders investigated specific instances of heresy. Neither the Roman Inquisition nor its medieval predecessor should be confused with the more famous Spanish Inquisition, which started in 1478, was controlled by the crown, had a separate history, and operated in virtual independence of the papacy.

ORIGIN AND STRUCTURE

The chief features the reorganization set in motion in Rome by Paul III (1534–1549) with his bull *Licet ab Initio* of July 1542 were as follows: a centralized authority for the pursuit of heresy in the form of a commission of cardinals, which appointed and closely supervised the work of the local inquisitors; the expansion of local tribunals throughout the peninsula, the seats of which were usually Dominican and Franciscan convents; and the repeal of privileges that exempted from prosecution regular clergy who previously had to answer only to their superiors in the religious orders, a measure that preceded the major reorganization by a few months.

The addition of new tribunals took place gradually over the course of the century, with new seats erected at intervals or elevated to full status only after existing for many years. Concurrently, the definition of what was heretical and proper for the Inquisition to prosecute was also expanded to include such offenses as apostasy from the religious orders, blasphemy, and bigamy, among others; this resulted in squabbles between the Inquisition and competing authorities, episcopal courts, and secular magistracies.

The customary provincial tribunal consisted of an inquisitor, his vicar, a notary, and such “familiar” as prison guards and messengers. A network of lesser officials called *vicari foranei*, ‘external vicars’, selected from the ranks of the regular clergy and parish priests, represented the parent tribunal in the small towns under its jurisdiction. The judicial role of the *vicari foranei* was generally limited to conducting preliminary inquiries and receiving depositions. The presence of a bishop or, usually, an episcopal vicar was required when the court wanted to proceed to such grave stages as judicial torture or final sentencing.

Every court was assisted in its deliberations by a body of “consultors” drawn from the ranks of prominent lawyers and theologians. Except in the

most ordinary of cases, a local tribunal would not reach the point of final sentencing until the Supreme Congregation in Rome, which received and closely scrutinized copies or summaries of trials in progress, had expressed its binding opinion.

JURISDICTION

The jurisdiction of the reconstituted tribunal was limited to the Italian peninsula, excluding Sicily and Sardinia, where the Spanish Inquisition prevailed. It was also barred from working openly in Naples, part of the Spanish empire, where Rome had to act under the cover of the episcopal courts. The island of Malta and the city of Avignon in France fell under Roman purview. As for the rest of Italy, although inquisitors were able to proceed in their duties freely in the states of the church, their activities were curtailed to varying degrees in independent principalities and republics where arrests, incarceration, confiscations, and extraditions to Rome were dependent on the approval of the local ruler. Although they had no official roles, lay functionaries appointed by the secular government sat on the tribunals to guarantee the correctness of the proceedings. Venice, perhaps more than any other state, limited the Inquisition by a series of special dispositions.

PROCEDURES

Recent research has overturned many long-standing assumptions connected with the Roman Inquisition, framing its juridical theory and procedures in a new, more favorable light. For example, it has been determined that in trials conducted under the Inquisition’s jurisdiction, accusers had to make their depositions under oath. Other findings include the following: the arraigned had the benefit of a defense attorney; transcripts of the proceedings were provided to prisoners in writing; and an appropriate interval allowed for the preparation of counterarguments and the summoning of friendly witnesses. Judicial torture (universally practiced by all courts in Europe) could be applied only after the defense had made its case and where the *indicia* (the evidence of heresy) were compelling. Appeals were also permitted and were made regularly to a higher court, namely the Supreme Congregation in Rome. First offenders were dealt with much more leniently than recidivists. A sentence to *carcere perpetuo*, ‘life imprisonment’, by the Holy Office meant parole after

a few years (generally three) subject to good behavior; house arrest, which often included permission to work outside one's home, was frequently imposed, especially given the lack of secure prisons outside Rome. Sentences pronounced by provincial tribunals were scrutinized by the Supreme Congregation of the Inquisition in Rome, and implausible confessions that contradicted the defendant's testimony during the trial were unacceptable. There were many additional safeguards in witchcraft proceedings, not the least of which was the Supreme Congregation's 1588 decision that alleged participants at Sabbaths were not allowed to implicate supposed accomplices, a measure that spared Italy (and Spain) the panics that swept through northern Europe until well into the seventeenth century.

PUNISHMENT

The stake, incarceration, and galley sentences are dramatic forms of penal procedure that are associated with inquisitorial practice. But a survey of the thousands of surviving sentences shows that milder forms of punishment actually prevailed, the most common being the wearing of the penitential garment (the *sanbenito*), abjurations read on the cathedral steps on feast days, and such salutary penances as fines, communal service, and the recital of prayers and devotions.

Death by burning at the stake was reserved for three categories of offenders: the obstinate and unrepentant who refused to be reconciled to the church; the relapsed, namely those who had suffered a previous sentence for formal heresy; and, following bulls promulgated by Paul IV (1555–1559) in July 1556 and February 1558, persons convicted of an attempt to overturn such central doctrines as the virgin birth and the full divinity of Christ.

Although there are serious lacunae in the documentation, the available numbers of those executed by the Roman Inquisition suggest that there were fewer than has generally been believed. For example, only four of the first thousand defendants who appeared before the Friulan tribunal of Aquileia-Concordia (1551–1647) were put to death, and only one, in 1567, for religious heresy in Modena, out of the hundreds of trials conducted in that city. And of the more than 200 sentences contained in the Trinity College manuscripts for parts of 1580–

1582, only three called for condemnations to the stake.

SOURCES

Existing knowledge of the Roman Inquisition is based on a broad array of surviving sources. Even before the 1998 opening of the central archives of the old Roman Holy Office (now the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith) to the scholarly public, there was no shortage of original inquisitorial documents. Numerous printed legal manuals written between the early fourteenth and mid-seventeenth centuries are still in existence.

Large quantities of dispersed manuscript records are also available. The suppression of the Inquisition throughout the Italian peninsula in the eighteenth century, in addition to the closing of many of the religious establishments that had housed the local tribunals, brought about the transfer of long runs of inquisitorial records to public repositories and to episcopal archives. Thousands of trials have survived intact in Udine, Venice, Modena, Rovigo, Naples, and elsewhere; extensive series of correspondence between the Supreme Congregation of the Inquisition in Rome and its outlying outposts in Bologna, Modena, Naples, and Udine still exist; and a large body of sentences spanning a century and a half (c. 1556–c. 1700) found their way in the nineteenth century to Trinity College, Dublin, as part of the considerable archival material that changed hands during the time of Napoleon.

An important new infusion of pertinent documents became available with the opening of the previously inaccessible Roman Archive of the Holy Office. Scholars now could consult the archive of the Congregation of the Index, which was transferred intact to the Holy Office in 1917; the complete, original, sixteenth-century trials of a few highly placed ecclesiastics, such as Cardinal Giovanni Morone, Bishop Vittore Soranzo, and the prothonotary Pietro Carnesecchi (thousands of "lesser" trials were consciously destroyed in Paris after the fall of Napoleon); the long runs of the *Acta Sancti Officii*, namely the decrees coming out of the weekly meetings of the Roman Congregation, at which the pope generally presided, ranging in date from 1548 to the twenty-first century (with lacunae); the correspondence from provincial inquis-

itors to Rome, numbering some 225 volumes (previously only the letters from Rome were available in local repositories); and the records of the Sieneese Inquisition, which were transferred to the Supreme Congregation in 1911 from the episcopal archive in Siena.

See also **Index of Prohibited Books; Inquisition; Papacy and Papal States; Paul III (pope); Persecution.**

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JOHN TEDESCHI

INQUISITION, SPANISH. Since its inception the Spanish Inquisition has been controversial. In 1478 Ferdinand of Aragón (ruled 1471–1504) and Isabella of Castile (ruled 1474–1504) requested papal permission to establish the religious tribunals in Castile. Unlike the medieval papal Inquisition, the Spanish Inquisition was a hybrid religious-secular institution under the authority of the crown, which appointed its officials and supervised its operation. The tribunals employed judicial procedures that were both contrary and offensive to existing Castilian legal practice. The establishment of the Spanish Inquisition in the kingdom of Aragón, which already had its own (albeit moribund) papal Inquisition, was seen as an affront to the kingdom's privileges, and one inquisitor was assassinated in the cathedral of Zaragoza in 1485. During the sixteenth century northern Protestants used the Inquisition as a cornerstone of the anti-Spanish propaganda campaign later dubbed the Black Legend. Even in its abolition the Inquisition was controversial, as it took three attempts to suppress the court, which lingered until 1834.

Since the fifteenth century the Inquisition has inspired a lively and sometimes lurid debate over the nature of its policies and practices.

EARLY YEARS OF THE INQUISITION

The first inquisitors arrived in Seville in November 1480. Their mission was to extirpate heresy and punish the guilty. Court procedures drew on medieval inquisitorial practice, distilled into the *Directorium Inquisitorum* by Nicolau Eimeric in 1376. The medieval Inquisition had been founded to combat Catharism, but the Spanish Inquisition's special target was the new heresy of "Judaizing." During the fifteenth century, either by force or choice, many Spanish Jews had converted to Christianity. Some of these New Christians (*conversos*) continued to practice Judaism secretly while advancing rapidly in Christian society. Seville, the first city targeted by the Spanish Inquisition, was home to a large and wealthy *converso* community. Several hundreds of people were tried and punished in a short period of time, and similar scenes were repeated in Córdoba, Ciudad Real, Toledo, and Valencia.

The Inquisition used several degrees of sentencing. For those found guilty of heresy, there was relaxation to the secular arm of justice (for death by burning), relaxation in effigy for those heretics who had fled or previously had died, and reconciliation for those who abjured and promised to return to the Christian fold. In all cases, the property of those found guilty of heresy was confiscated. Both during and after public humiliation and sentencing at the ceremony known as the *auto da fe*, the condemned were obligated to wear a distinctive penitential tunic (the *sanbenito*) over their clothes, and they and their male descendants were banned from holding public office for several generations. Undoubtedly, for those Old Christians who were determined to eliminate unwanted competition from the *converso* class, the Inquisition was an efficient weapon.

The Inquisition's formative phase lasted until 1517. A well-defined institutional structure took shape. At the top were the inquisitor general (also called the grand inquisitor; the first was Friar Tomás de Torquemada [1420–1498]) and the royal council, known as La Suprema. Several permanent tribunals emerged at this time, while others functioned briefly and then disappeared. During the formative years the tribunals focused almost exclusively on Judaizers. The limited evidence that survives from this period suggests that perhaps as many as 15,000 to 20,000 people were tried during this time, nowhere near the 340,592 suggested in 1808 by the Inquisition's critic and former secretary Juan Antonio Llorente (1756–1823). One must remember furthermore that a great many of the sentences were handed out in absentia or posthumously, so even during this period of fierce persecution about 30 to 40 percent of those arrested ultimately faced the death penalty.

PERIOD OF GREATEST INFLUENCE

The Inquisition's period of greatest influence occurred in 1569–1621, during the reigns of Philip II (ruled 1556–1598) and Philip III (ruled 1598–1621). Before then, under Charles V (ruled 1517–1556), the Inquisition had suffered from a lack of direction. Prosecution of Judaizers had run its course, and aside from prosecuting the heretics known as *alumbados* and the followers of Desiderius Erasmus (1466?–1536) in the 1520s and 1530s, the tribunals were left without a well-defined mis-

sion. The decade of the 1550s changed all that, however, when Protestants were found in Seville and at the royal court at Valladolid. Under inquisitor general Fernando de Valdés (1483–1568), the tribunals were reformed and redirected toward combating Protestantism.

Eventually numbering a total of sixteen tribunals in Spain, two in Italy, and three in the New World, the Inquisition took over responsibility for censorship and contraband and greatly expanded its prosecution of various religious crimes. In addition to Protestants, *conversos*, Moriscos (converted Muslims), and foreigners, ordinary Spaniards were drawn into the tribunals, as even the most casual religious oaths and statements became worthy of scrutiny and correction. Detailed questioning of prisoners, once limited to those accused of the most heinous heresies, now was applied to the most unlikely suspects, who were usually fined a ducat or two (a heavy fine for most) and sent on their way without further ado. The large majority of all cases undertaken by the Inquisition took place during this period.

During this period each tribunal functioned at a high level of efficiency thanks to the efforts of two groups of officials, one consisting of professional, salaried career men and the other made up of unpaid volunteers. The professional core of each tribunal included two inquisitors, lawyers for the prosecution, secretaries, a jailor, a bailiff, and a doorman. Periodically one inquisitor was required to go on a circuit (the *visita*) of his district, while the other inquisitor remained at home to handle business there. The tribunals relied heavily on various types of unpaid officials. First, there were the two networks of familiars and *comisarios*. The familiars were laymen charged with carrying messages and arresting suspects and delivering them to the Inquisition, but they were not spies and informers. The *comisarios* were priests who assisted in the gathering of evidence at the local level. To assess the heretical content of the accusations, the inquisitors were advised by theologians known as *calificadores*. At key stages in a trial inquisitors were required to consult with voting members of the tribunal, who voted on whether or not to indict, torture, and convict. Cases involving the death penalty were sent to the Suprema for review and approval, and each tribunal

TABLE 1

| Cases in the Spanish Inquisition, 1540–1700 | | | | | |
|--|----------|-------------|------------|--------|---------------|
| (Excludes the tribunals of Cuenca, Cerdeña, and Palermo) | | | | | |
| Judaizers | Moriscos | Protestants | All Others | Total | Total Relaxed |
| 4,397 | 10,817 | 3,646 | 25,814 | 44,674 | 1,604 |
| 9.8% | 23.2% | 8.1% | 57.8% | 100.0% | 3.5% |

Adapted from Jaime Contreras and Gustav Henningsen, "Forty-four Thousand Cases of the Spanish Inquisition (1540–1700): Analysis of a Historical Data Bank," in Henningsen and Tedeschi, 116. Included in the category "All Others" are propositions and blasphemy (27.1%), bigamy and solicitation (8.4%), acts against the Inquisition (7.5%), superstition (7.9%), and various (6.8%). The "Total Relaxed" involves only those sentenced to death in person.

was required to maintain detailed correspondence with the Suprema about all of its affairs.

The period 1569–1621 also witnessed a series of controversial trials. First, the archbishop of Toledo and primate of Spain, Bartolomé de Carranza (1503–1576), was sucked into the vortex of court intrigue that consumed the early years of Philip II's reign. Carranza's trial, which lasted from 1559 to 1576, started in Spain and ended in Rome. He was all but exonerated of the charges of heresy in 1576 but died shortly thereafter. A second politically motivated trial was the case of Philip II's secretary Antonio Pérez (1539–1611), who was implicated in the murder of another secretary. After Pérez escaped to Aragón in 1590, Philip tried to recapture him using the Inquisition of Zaragoza. The use of the Inquisition in this manner provoked such widespread discontent in Aragón that Philip was forced to order in the army. Despite these two famous cases, such overt political abuse of the Holy Office's power was rare. However, the Inquisition believed it was entirely justified in closely monitoring Spain's spiritual writers and preachers, who were suspected of having Protestant tendencies. Nowadays the list of those tried or called in for questioning reads like a who's who of Spain's most famous religious men and women, including, among others, Saint Ignatius of Loyola, Saint John of Ávila, Friar Luis de Granada, Saint Francisco de Borja, Friar Francisco de Osuna, Saint Teresa of Ávila, and Friar Luis de León.

DECLINE OF THE INQUISITION

The Inquisition declined with the Spanish empire in the seventeenth century. As the tribunals pulled

back from their ambitious program of vigilance, caseloads and revenue fell. The tribunals focused on cases of Portuguese *conversos* living in Spain, witchcraft and superstition, and censorship. In the eighteenth century the Inquisition could not stop the slow spread of Enlightenment ideas to Spain, and the country's intellectuals increasingly began to see the tribunals as out of step with the times. With the Napoleonic invasion of 1808, the courts were suppressed for the first time, at the hands of French officials and Spanish liberals. Conservative nationalists, however, fighting for independence and the return of Ferdinand VII (ruled 1808, 1814–1833), claimed that the court was the guardian of Spanish identity and morals. The Inquisition was restored without powers in 1814, only to undergo a lingering death between 1820 and 1834.

The Holy Office was suppressed for the final time by official decree in 1834, but historians have argued about its significance ever since. In the nineteenth century Protestant historians and Spanish liberals blamed Spain's backwardness on the Inquisition and the Catholic Church, which were seen as having terrorized the country, suppressed the basic rights of freedom of speech and religion, and retarded economic growth and scientific thought. In the twentieth century, with the advent of murderous anti-Semitic and totalitarian regimes, the focus shifted to understanding the Inquisition's role in the long history of the persecution of Jews and repression of entire populations. Under the pro-Catholic dictatorship of Francisco Franco (1892–1975; ruled 1939–1975), censorship prevented Spaniards from freely evaluating the Inquisition's legacy, and in the 1970s the most objective work was carried out by foreign historians interested in the new social history and history of *mentalités*. After the collapse of the regime in 1975, Spaniards in the 1980s and 1990s joined in a renaissance of Inquisition studies to understand their country's complex history. The large body of scholarship produced since 1975 has considerably modified and fleshed out understandings of the Holy Office, which has come to be seen as considerably less monolithic and ruthless than was previously thought.

See also *Catholicism*; *Conversos*; *Ferdinand of Aragón*; *Isabella of Castile*; *Persecution*; *Philip II (Spain)*; *Spain*.

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INSURANCE. Insurance is a contract of indemnification in which an underwriter agrees to compensate a policyholder for specified losses during a certain length of time, or term, in return for a payment, or premium. Insurers hedge their financial exposure by adjusting premiums to the perceived likelihood that a policy will result in a claim and by underwriting a number of policies, thereby dispersing individual risks among many. During the early

modern period insurance evolved from a specialized device utilized mainly by merchants and financiers to a firmly established industry offering marine, life, and fire insurance to a rapidly growing market.

ORIGINS

While insurance-like mechanisms for distributing risk have been identified in the ancient world, the first recognizable policies of insurance originated in Florence and other northern Italian towns in the early fourteenth century. These early policies, the first surviving example of which was issued at Genoa in 1347, covered losses at sea. In the following decades Italian merchants transmitted the practice of marine insurance across the Mediterranean basin and into northern Europe. By the early sixteenth century the marine insurance business, still largely under Italian control, had spread to Flanders and the Netherlands, and thence by mid-century to England and the Baltic countries. Marine insurance was by far the largest and most widely practiced branch of underwriting in early modern Europe.

Life insurance appeared, around the year 1400, as an incidental circumstance when marine insurance policies covered embarked travelers or slaves. It was quickly adapted to the money-lending business to collateralize loans by insuring the debtor's life, as was done on the life of Pope Nicholas V in 1454. The growth of life insurance was hindered, however, by its increasing use as a device for wagering on human longevity and by the concomitant suspicion that it incited fraud and murder. The alleged immorality of life insurance led to its prohibition, from the fifteenth through the seventeenth centuries, everywhere in Europe except Florence, Naples, and the British Isles. Its use as a long-term device guaranteeing family welfare had to await the formation, at the end of the seventeenth century, of the first life insurance societies in England, the most enduring of which was the Amicable Society (1706–1866).

A system of fire insurance that went beyond the traditional mutual aid arrangements of guildsmen was first established on a municipal basis in Hamburg's General Feuerkasse as early as 1591. Similar town-sponsored offices were founded in London (1682), Altona (1713), Berlin (1718), and in French cities in the same period. These public initiatives proved less successful than the private provi-

sion of fire insurance, which began in London in the years following the Great Fire of 1666. The earliest of these companies were transient, but Nicholas Barbon's pioneering Fire Office (1680) demonstrated the long-term viability of the fire insurance business. Other notable ventures included the Hand-in-Hand (1696), the Sun Fire Office (1710), and the Royal Exchange Assurance and London Assurance Corporations (both 1720). In France, the use of fire insurance was slower to develop. The first large company insuring against fire losses was the Compagnie d'assurances générales (1753), later joined by the Compagnie royale d'assurance (1786).

ORGANIZATION

Unlike marine insurers, whose risks were short-term and dispersed on various sea routes, fire and life insurers faced the daunting challenge of providing long-term coverage against contingencies that sometimes occurred catastrophically, such as urban conflagrations or outbreaks of epidemic disease. As a consequence, marine insurance remained overwhelmingly the preserve of underwriters working individually or in partnerships, even if they also entered into larger associations like Lloyd's (originally Lloyd's Coffee House, established in 1688), whereas fire and whole life underwriting required a corporate or mutual structure in order to ensure the payment of claims. Many of the early fire and life companies were mutual associations in which members contributed as need arose, with the result that either the cost of membership or the amount of compensation for loss was variable. This arrangement was necessitated by a lack of reliable statistical data from which the liabilities attached to life or fire risks might be calculated. Although Edmond Halley in 1693 published a mortality table (giving the average expectation of life at different ages), life insurers were very slow to place much trust in mortality statistics. Instead, they excluded the very young, the very old, and the obviously infirm or drunken. Similarly, fire insurers discriminated among "common," "hazardous," and "doubly hazardous" risks based more on intuition than hard data, and until the foundation of the Phoenix Assurance Company in 1782 simply refused to insure fire-prone sugar bakers. By the second half of the eighteenth century insurance was acquiring a more secure statistical basis. The Equitable Life Assurance Society (1762)

was the first insurer to graduate policy premiums according to age at purchase, although it continued, conservatively, to price its policies above their actuarial value.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC IMPACT

Insurance played a major role in European economic expansion and in the social management of risk. Marine underwriting reduced the risks of maritime commerce, especially during wartime. Fire insurers during the eighteenth century provided increasing coverage for commercial stocks and industrial plants, thereby fostering the expansion of industrial capitalism. The provision of life insurance protected the fortunes of middle-class families against the premature death of a breadwinner. Insurers also lowered economic losses more subtly by disciplining risk-taking, since ship captains who failed to sail in convoys during wartime or manufacturers who practiced hazardous trades in timber-framed buildings were subject to higher premiums or the withdrawal of coverage altogether. Fire insurance companies contributed to a generally safer urban environment by organizing fire brigades to protect the properties that they insured. With time, these brigades were amalgamated into municipal squads. Insurance furthermore had an important mental influence on early modern society by serving as a major conduit (along with gambling) for the transmission of probabilistic and statistical thinking to the eighteenth-century public. Despite its power, this new statistical worldview supplemented rather than supplanted older magical or religious beliefs, even among practitioners of insurance. Seventeenth-century English merchants queried the famous astrologer, William Lilly, whether ships overdue in port could be insured for profit, while a century later underwriters in Barcelona still had masses sung for the deliverance of ships they insured.

See also **Commerce and Markets; Shipping.**

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GEOFFREY CLARK

INTENDANTS. The term *intendant* usually refers to provincial administrators in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century France. The term also had other meanings: there were between one and ten *intendants des finances*—financial administrators who worked at the highest level with the controller-general, or superintendent of finances; There were also administrators often qualified as “intendants” in the French naval, military and colonial administrations, but the latter were not normally concerned with the fiscal matters that so preoccupied the provincial intendants.

ORIGINS

In the sixteenth and the early seventeenth centuries, junior members of the king’s royal council, known as masters of requests (*maîtres des requêtes*), were commonly sent to deal with specific problems of justice or administration in the provinces. However, with the fiscal crisis caused by France’s warlike foreign policy in the 1630s and the consequent increases in direct taxes (the *taille* and associated levies), these officials became resident commissioners in most provinces, usually under the name of “intendants of justice, police, and finances.” Traditionally, in each province, local venal officeholders (*élus* and *trésoriers*) had been responsible for divid-

ing the total amount of direct tax to be assessed among subregions and parishes, and for hearing complaints about assessments. They often used their powers to favor their clients and tenants; this impeded the war effort. Intendants now worked side-by-side with the local financial officials, and their royal commissions gave them power to impose their will. Unlike the officeholders, they were the king’s creatures; they held a revocable royal commission; their careers depended on success and loyalty to the ruler and his ministers. Suits against them were directed to the king’s council, thereby bypassing local courts and the parlements, where local influence might have blunted their effectiveness. Although their concerns were principally fiscal, intendants had extensive police and extraordinary judicial powers.

The civil war known as the Fronde (1648–1652) was fueled in part by officeholder resentment against the intendants and the higher taxes; the grievances drawn up by the Paris “sovereign courts” in the spring of 1648 forcefully echoed these complaints. Cardinal Jules Mazarin (1602–1661) and the regent, Anne of Austria (1601–1666), gave way and abolished the intendants, but subsequently brought them back, at first surreptitiously, then openly when the Fronde was over.

REFORM

The end of the long conflict with Spain in 1659, the death of Mazarin, and Louis XIV’s (ruled 1643–1715) assumption of personal power in 1661 did not bring the use of intendants to an end. Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619–1683), who became Louis’s chief financial adviser, had made up his mind that the intendants would be essential to carrying out any program of reform. Before 1661, the chancellor, the chief law officer of the crown, gave most orders to the intendants; after that date, Colbert and his successors in the post of controller general became their effective superior, and although the intendants continued to have some judicial functions, they became primarily fiscal and administrative agents. They were used, particularly in the eighteenth century, to implement schemes for economic development and social reform and control: welfare, hospitals, road building, industrial development, poor relief, managing the food supply, and mobi-

lizing the peasantry through the royal *corvée* to build a national road network.

One of Louis XIV's main declared aims was to reform justice. This meant drawing up new law codes and streamlining the courts, but it also implied a quantum leap in the statistical information and intelligence of all kinds to be supplied to government at the local and national levels. Among other projects, Colbert wanted to improve the tax yield by imposing lower but fairer levies, reducing the number of privileged persons exempt from tax, and rooting out corrupt officials. In the 1660s and 1670s, the intendants usually played the major role in the numerous purges of recent or fake nobles, putting them back on the assessment rolls, thereby gaining a powerful hold over local notables in the process. When large-scale war became quasi-permanent after 1672, their original function as fiscal supervisors made them even more necessary, particularly when the direct tax base was widened by wartime emergency taxes (*capitation*, 1695; *dixième*, 1710) to take in nobles and privileged people of all kinds.

Colbert's measures to control spending by town and parish governments culminated in the edict of April 1683, which made all changes in town and village government spending subordinate to the intendant's approval. A regular police presence was also needed to keep down resistance to wartime taxation and to the policy of religious uniformity that culminated with Louis's revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685). All this required the continued presence of the intendants and longer stays in their provinces. Under Cardinal Richelieu (Armand-Jean du Plessis; 1585–1642) and Mazarin they had only remained three years on the average; between 1666 and 1716 the average stay was five years; in the eighteenth century it was seven.

With the increased activity (under Louis XIV and later) came the strengthening of the intendants' local control and accountability to their superiors. The practice grew up whereby intendants informally co-opted local officials, called "subdelegates" (*subdélégués*), usually from among the lesser local officeholders. Colbert did not like this, but the logic of the system he was building required it. The numbers of permanent subdelegates increased impressively: by 1700 there were probably between four and five hundred sub-

delegates; by the 1780s, there were about seven hundred. In larger intendancies, the intendants often appointed *subdélégués généraux* as executive assistants who could replace them during absences and built up a little staff of secretaries and domestics. The growth and development of the intendancy as a regular institution, and the intendant as a bureaucratic functionary, is evident when we compare the sporadic, often frantic or desperate correspondence of the intendants of Richelieu and those of Louis XIV. The latter reveal a central administration with an agenda, enforcing frequent correspondence with the offices of the controller general, demanding replies to uniform and regularly recurring questionnaires, and a yearly work cycle built around annual reports on the economic state of the intendancy and the routine administration of direct tax collection. The degree of control was always weaker in the *pays d'États* like Brittany, Languedoc, and so forth, where local institutions still assumed some of these tasks and the intendant's role was often more political than administrative.

SELECTION

Intendants were usually chosen among the seventy or eighty-odd masters of requests in the royal council. In the eighteenth century, these recruits were supposed to be thirty years of age, to have a law degree or equivalent legal experience, and to serve six years as a junior member (*conseiller*) of a parlement or other high court; the length of this study and service was often reduced by dispensation. Throughout the period, 40 to 50 percent of masters of requests had sat previously as junior members in the Parlement of Paris, around a third (until 1774) came from the Grand Conseil, a specialized high court. At the time, critics of the intendants, such as financier and statesman Jacques Necker (1732–1804), said that they were too young to bear such responsibilities. But the average age of a beginning master of requests under Louis XV (ruled 1715–1774) was twenty-nine, not inordinately young (though it appeared to be falling somewhat toward the end of the Old Regime). In any event, throughout the entire period from Richelieu onward, the overwhelming majority did not get their first posting as intendants until their mid-thirties or later. Intendancies were often a springboard to higher functions as royal councillors (*conseillers*

d'état), or even as secretaries of state and ministers. The Royal Council was a good training ground. It had a certain collective mentality: councillors worked harder than the members of the parlement; they were self-effacing, career-oriented, consensus-minded. Working there gave future intendants wide experience in preparing and judging disputed issues in taxation, administrative law, jurisdictional disputes, and the like—the sort of administrative and political problems that they would later face in the provinces.

The nineteenth-century historian and writer Alexis de Tocqueville (1805–1859), misled perhaps by the diatribes of Claude-Henri de Rouvroy, comte de Saint-Simon (1760–1825), said that Louis XIV's intendants were bourgeois, whereas those of Louis XVI (ruled 1774–1792) were nobles. This was wrong. Even in the days of Richelieu and Mazarin, all the intendants claimed noble status. At that time, the families of about a third of them had acquired transmissible nobility by the purchase of the offices of *secrétaire du roi*, one-third by hereditary office, and the rest by letters of nobility, and so forth, and all of them held personal nobility by virtue of their offices of masters of requests. This pattern continued. The true quality of nobility, however, was measured by the number of generations it had been in a family. Paradoxically, at the end of the eighteenth century more intendants were sons and grandsons of “new nobles” than at the end of the seventeenth, so in a sense the institution had become more open. But the truly significant social ties of the intendants and masters of requests were to the Parisian and financier milieu. Fully two-thirds of the councillors of state and masters of requests under Louis XIV were born in Paris, and this trend continued; they generally came from wealthy families and tended either to intermarry or to find wives in the milieu of royal financiers. They were thus true representatives of the Old Regime state elite; the families that waxed wealthy and powerful and gained prestige from the king's service, and their loyalty to the Colbertian model and service ethic was never in question.

At the end of Louis XIV's reign, criticism of the intendants' powers resumed. Their jurisdiction was the target of increasingly bold attacks from provincial parlements and estates from the 1750s onward. From the days of François de Salignac de La Mothe-

Fénelon (1651–1715) and his coterie at the end of Louis XIV's reign through Victor Riqueti, marquis de Mirabeau (1715–1789) and René Louis de Voyer de Paulmy, marquis d'Argenson (1694–1757) at mid-century to Anne-Robert-Jacques Turgot (1727–1781) and Jacques Necker in the 1770s, there were projects to create or restore provincial estates or assemblies, which would have reduced or eliminated the role of intendants. A couple of provincial assemblies were created by Necker as pilot projects in the 1780s. Étienne-Charles de Loménie de Brienne (1727–1794), in the monarchy's last desperate reforms of 1787, actually set up advisory boards filled by prominent landowners in each intendancy to work with the intendant. When the Constituent Assembly reorganized France in 1789, it assumed from the outset that the intendants had to go. The division of France into eighty-three self-administering departments on 15 February 1790 left no place for them; but Napoleon's prefects, created by the law of 28 Pluviôse Year VIII (17 February 1800) regained most of the intendants' powers within the framework of an authoritarian regime sanctioned by popular sovereignty, and many of them still survive today.

See also Absolutism; Colbert, Jean-Baptiste; France; Fronde; Louis XIV (France); Louis XV (France); Louis XVI (France); Mazarin, Jules; Parlements; Provincial Government; Richelieu, Armand-Jean Du Plessis, cardinal; State and Bureaucracy; Taxation.

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T. J. A. LE GOFF

INTEREST. Usury laws, inspired both by Scripture and by a misunderstanding of monetary economics, have probably never prevented lenders from charging interest. Throughout early modern Europe, not only states, businesses, and private individuals, but even religious institutions from mosques to monasteries commonly lent and borrowed with interest. Nonetheless, usury laws have shaped the history of credit by forcing contracting parties to disguise interest payments as something else. No one, of course, is fooled by the subterfuge, but it has often determined the nature of monetary institutions and severely limited the survival of documentation through which historians might study the movement of the interest rate. By the eighteenth century, as religious objections weakened, the debate over usury laws became utilitarian rather than doctrinal. At the same time, a new debate over the determination of the interest rate became central to the economic theory of the Enlightenment, and to the rejection of earlier mercantilist policies.

USURY LEGISLATION

"Lend without expecting any return," counsels Jesus in the Sermon on the Mount (Luke 6:34–35), and though the context would suggest that one should not even expect repayment of the principal, the medieval church read his statement as a prohibition on interest. The lesson was reinforced by certain passages of the Old Testament that denounce "usury" without clearly defining the word (Exodus 22:25; Deuteronomy 23:19–20; Psalms 15:5), as well as Aristotle's doctrine that money is sterile (*Politics* 1:10; *Ethics* 5:5). Jews were often permitted to lend to Christians at interest since they fell outside the spiritual authority of the church, thus demonstrating that the original purpose of usury legisla-

tion was to protect the lender from sin, not to protect the borrower from exploitation. The reputation of Jews as moneylenders was greatly exaggerated, however, and they never played more than a minor role in credit markets before the rise of the Rothschild Bank in the nineteenth century.

A papal bull of 1425 permitted Catholics to buy and sell perpetual annuities, at least when mortgaged against real property (a distinction that was eventually ignored). The Orthodox Church also relaxed usury laws by the sixteenth century. Though the Koran also denounces usury (2:275, 3:130, 4:161, 30:39), in the early fifteenth century the Ottomans came to allow a form of perpetual annuity known as the *cash waqf*. Originally created to fund charitable institutions such as schools and mosques, it became a common form of private investment by the sixteenth century.

In western Europe in the sixteenth century, Protestant reformers began to chip away at the remaining religious prohibitions on interest, which they associated with Scholasticism. Luther, Calvin, and Zwingli variously argued that interest is not usurious so long as the rate charged is moderate and the contract is in accordance with the Golden Rule ("Do unto others as you would have them do unto you"). Luther, moreover, insisted that one should submit to the laws of the state and not invoke biblical usury prohibitions as an excuse for default. In Catholic Europe, the Jesuits played a similar role in promoting the toleration of interest. The effect of such teachings was not so much to extinguish as to secularize discussions of usury law, so that by the eighteenth century the debate had become almost entirely utilitarian rather than exegetical.

Some Enlightenment writers, including John Locke and Jeremy Bentham, insisted on the complete deregulation of interest. Adam Smith believed that a legal ceiling on interest rates was justified to prevent consumption loans to spendthrifts, since lenders would consider them a bad risk at the legal rate. He agreed, however, that if the ceiling were set below the market rate for commercial loans, it would be counterproductive since merchants would be forced to borrow outside the law. Without the security provided by the law courts, lenders would charge a risk premium, thus actually raising, not lowering, interest rates. Anne-Robert-Jacques

Turgot made much the same point when he described an incident in Angoulême in 1769, in which a group of insolvent debtors brought financial panic, and thus extraordinarily high interest rates, on the entire city by attempting to prosecute their creditors for usury.

LONG-TERM INTEREST

Long-term bonds in early modern Europe usually took the form of perpetual annuities. The purchaser of the annuity (that is, the lender) paid a lump sum, in return for which the seller (or borrower) promised to pay a fixed coupon once a year forever. On the Continent the contract of sale had to pass before a notary (thus incurring notarial fees), as did any resale to a third party. The lender could not require the borrower to repay the principal, though the borrower could do so voluntarily at any time, and thus extinguish the loan. Throughout Europe, permissible coupon rates tended to fall from 10 percent or more in the sixteenth century to 5 percent or less in the eighteenth century. In any given period, coupon rates recorded in notarized contracts were usually simply the maximum allowed by law, and thus seemed to represent a legal fiction. That is, contracting parties presumably varied the yield rate of the bond simply by agreeing to a sales price somewhat higher or lower than that stated in the contract. For historians, the fluctuation of long-term interest rates on private bonds is thus largely unrecoverable.

European states also borrowed primarily through perpetual annuities, the most famous being the Consols with which Britain consolidated its national debt after the Glorious Revolution (1688–1689). By the eighteenth century state bonds were actively traded on national stock exchanges, and yield rates can often be inferred from the quotations printed in commercial newspapers. In Britain and the Netherlands, where representative assemblies managed the national debt to the advantage of their wealthy constituents, the risk on state bonds was essentially zero, and yield rates fell as low as 3 percent. In France, on the contrary, the monarchy issued partial defaults on its debt every few decades and could only continue to borrow by offering exceptionally high interest rates (which, of course, rendered future defaults more likely). The need for cheap credit to finance increasingly costly wars thus seems to have worked to the advantage of represen-

tative regimes, a fact that goes a long way toward explaining the widespread movement for constitutional reform in the second half of the century.

SHORT-TERM INTEREST

Starting in northern Italy at the end of the thirteenth century, merchants developed a variety of new forms of short-term credit that bore hidden interest. By far the most important were the promissory note and the bill of exchange. A promissory note is little more than an IOU by which the debtor (who in most cases is purchasing merchandise on credit rather than actually borrowing cash) promises to pay to the creditor, “or his order,” a given sum on a given date. Typically written at term of two to six months, rarely more than a year, such notes make no mention of interest, but the interest is in fact included in the face value. At any given moment the market value of a promissory note is thus its face value minus the “discount,” or interest over the remaining term. If, for instance, the discount rate is currently 8 percent per year (0.08), then a promissory note with a face value of 100 ducats payable in six months (0.50 year) is worth:

$$100 \text{ ducats} - [(0.50)(0.08)(100 \text{ ducats})] = 96 \text{ ducats}$$

The discount rate thus expresses interest not as a percentage of the principal borrowed, but as a percentage of the final payment (interest plus principal). If r is the interest rate as conventionally calculated, d is the discount rate and t is the term, then:

$$r = d/(1 - dt)$$

At short term, however, the difference between r and d is negligible.

Through the bill of exchange, a merchant sells the right to collect a sum of money from his correspondent in a different city. Rather than an IOU, it is thus a sort of “he-owes-you” used to transfer funds between two geographically distant locations, either within the same country (inland bills) or in different countries (foreign bills). The value of the bill of exchange depends on the going exchange rate, expressed as a percentage premium or loss for inland bills, and as a rate of exchange between two national currencies in the case of foreign bills. As with the promissory note, the bill of exchange nowhere mentions interest, but merchants openly charged less for bills written at longer term. Even sight bills (technically payable one day after acceptance by the party on whom they were drawn) in-

cluded a small amount of hidden interest, since it would take them several weeks to reach their destination through the mail. Bills payable one, two, or more months after acceptance sold at correspondingly more advantageous exchange rates. One of the curious results is that the going rate of exchange at any city A on another city B was consistently different from the rate of exchange at B on A. If a merchant purchased a bill of exchange at A on B, sent it to B, instructed his correspondent to use the funds to purchase another bill at B on A, and finally cashed the latter in A, he would end up with more than he started with, the difference corresponding to the interest on his initial outlay.

Bills of exchange and promissory notes did not require notarization. By the seventeenth century (and probably earlier) they were negotiable throughout Europe by simple endorsement. Issued by businesses large and small, they circulated widely. Unlike cash, commercial paper, with its hidden interest, constantly gained value until it came due. The portfolio of credits outstanding thus came to replace cash as the largest reserve of liquid wealth, not only for wholesale merchants but even for humble artisans and shopkeepers. The movement of the interest rate therefore directly concerned all business people.

THE MOVEMENT OF INTEREST RATES

The economic history of Europe has been written largely on the basis of grain prices. The movement of interest rates, though equally important, is less well known, largely because the habit of disguising interest makes the rates so difficult to recover. Eighteenth-century economists asserted that interest rates had fallen steadily from about 10 percent in the sixteenth century, to 6 to 8 percent in the seventeenth century, and to 5 percent or less in the eighteenth century. This long-run movement has been substantiated by the research of Sidney Homer and Richard Sylla.

The short-run movement of the discount rate at Paris and Amsterdam came to light suddenly in the eighteenth century, thanks to exchange rate quotations in *The Course of the Exchange*. Beginning in 1723, this British commercial newspaper printed two exchange rates at London on Amsterdam, one for sight bills and one for two-month bills. The percentage difference between the rates corre-

sponds to the discount rate in Amsterdam, at least as it was known to London exchange agents. The newspaper similarly printed twin rates on Paris from 1740. For the period through 1789, discount rates in Paris averaged 5 percent and tended to peak in the autumn months as grain merchants borrowed heavily to finance the purchase of the harvest. Discount rates at Amsterdam averaged 4.5 percent and were not clearly tied to the agricultural cycle. Discount rates at Paris correlated poorly with those at Amsterdam, demonstrating that the two markets were not highly integrated. The most pronounced feature of each series was the sharp rise of interest rates during financial panics that tended to occur two or three times a decade.

Several studies have demonstrated that the London and Amsterdam capital markets were highly integrated with each other in the eighteenth century, and that one of the principal mechanisms of integration was interest rate arbitrage. That is, speculators frequently used the exchange market to move funds between these two cities in order to take advantage of the higher rate of return. London and Amsterdam were probably the exception, however. Interest rate arbitrage appears to have been far less significant at Paris, and the same was probably true in other financial centers.

THE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY DEBATE

The economists of the Enlightenment shared with their mercantilist predecessors the conviction that high interest rates are a disincentive to invest, since any investment earning less than the interest rate will be unprofitable. Early modern economic policy was thus largely a set of strategies for reducing the interest rate. Enlightenment writers came to differ sharply from the mercantilists, however, in their theory of the determination of the interest rate, and thus in the specific strategies that they considered advisable.

Mercantilist writings of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, including those of John Locke, are marked by a belief that the rate of interest is an inverse function of the money supply. Though often poorly articulated, this quantity theory of interest, suggestive of John Maynard Keynes's "liquidity curve," was clearly central to monetary thought and went largely unchallenged until the mid-eighteenth century. Like many late mercan-

tilists, Montesquieu, in his *Spirit of the Laws* (1748), saw proof of the quantity theory of interest in the decline of interest rates from roughly 10 percent to 5 percent since the discovery of the Americas, which he thought was due to the resulting influx of silver. Thus, to encourage investment, mercantilists sought to draw bullion into the country by means of a favorable balance of trade. At times they also proposed more creative devices for increasing the money supply, such as John Law's 1705 scheme to issue a paper currency based on the value of land.

Inspired in part by the early eighteenth-century writings of Richard Cantillon and Pierre de Boisguilbert, the Enlightenment subjected the quantity theory of interest to systematic critique. Boisguilbert had pointed out that most of the money supply was quasi-money in the form of commercial paper, and that its quantity was not dependent on stocks of coin. Cantillon argued effectively that an increase in the money supply would raise prices and thus leave the real money supply unaltered, with no long-run effect on interest rates. Adam Smith, David Hume, and the French Physiocrats repeated and developed these arguments. As Hume pithily remarked in 1752, "Silver is more common than gold; and therefore you receive a greater quantity of it for the same commodities. But do you pay less interest for it?"

Enlightenment writers came thus to argue that the rate of interest is an inverse function not of the supply of money, but of the supply of productive capital. The new theory, like the old one, offered a plausible explanation of the gradual decline of interest rates since the sixteenth century. Since the supply of capital was thought also to determine the rate of profit, the hope was now that at equilibrium the interest rate would fall below the profit rate, rendering all regulation of the interest rate unnecessary. Smith asserted that in England the profit rate was currently about 10 percent, and the interest rate about 5 percent. Though he acknowledged that the relationship was not strictly linear, he believed that the interest rate would rise or fall with the profit rate in such a way as to leave investors with a reasonable net profit. Still, the Physiocrats feared that excessive government borrowing might crowd out private investment by artificially bidding up the interest rate, and consequently sought to persuade the French monarchy to reduce budget deficits.

See also **Banking and Credit; Capitalism; Hume, David; Law's System; Locke, John; Mercantilism; Physiocrats and Physiocracy; Smith, Adam.**

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THOMAS M. LUCKETT

INTERNATIONAL LAW. See **Law: International Law.**

IRELAND. Ireland's history has been shaped by the inescapable facts of geography. A small island at the western edge of Europe, barely within the mainstream of Continental experience, it lay beyond the reach of the Roman Empire (with all that that entailed for the development of law and modes of administration) yet would later become one of the great depositories of Christian art, spirituality, and learning. The European context is crucial to an understanding of Ireland's past, but the critical geographical fact is the island's proximity to Britain. On a clear day, the Mull of Kintyre in southwest Scotland is visible from the Antrim coast in northeast Ireland. Gaelic civilization, moreover, extended like an arc along the western and northern coasts of Ireland into the Scottish Highlands. Scottish Lowlanders and the English referred to Scots Gaelic as the "Irish language." From the importation by Gaelic lords of Highland mercenary soldiers—the gallowglass and the redshanks—to the role of Scots settlers in the Ulster plantation and the Scots army in the North in the 1640s, a strong Scottish dimension runs through early modern Irish history, though ultimately Ireland's troubled relationship with its larger neighbor, England, would have the greater impact.

THE FALL OF THE HOUSE OF KILDARE

In 1450 Ireland was a lordship, and the king of England its lord. The English crown's claim to sovereignty over the whole island had never been vindicated in practice, however, and during the later Middle Ages English power and jurisdiction were in retreat. Effectively, the king's writ and the common law were confined to the Pale, the area of English settlement around Dublin, capital city and seat of royal authority. Beyond the Pale and the towns, the great Anglo-Norman magnates negotiated the shifting frontiers of Gaeldom through "march law," a bastardized amalgam of common and Irish *brehon* (native) laws and customs. Even the levers of royal authority began to slip from the king's grasp. The crown in Ireland was represented either by a lord lieutenant, a lord deputy, or, in the absence of one or the other, by lords justices. Between 1447 and 1460, Richard of York's (1411–1460) political standing conferred stature upon the lord lieutenant and, equally important, kept it within the orbit of the court. Then, between the 1470s and 1520,

successive earls of Kildare virtually monopolized the office, using it as a source of patronage to extend their local power base and network of alliances.

The local autonomy enjoyed by the "Kildare ascendancy" has struck some historians of the old nationalist school as part of a wider pattern of incipient Anglo-Irish separatism. But it is surely anachronistic to attribute proto-nationalist ambitions to a political community, the descendants of the original Anglo-Norman settlers, that had no concept of an Irish "nation" in the modern sense. It did, however, have a strong sense of English identity, albeit "English by blood" rather than by birth. Nevertheless, from Parliament's declaration that Ireland was "corporate of itself" (1460) to its declaration of legislative independence in 1782, Anglo-Irish constitutional relations provides a major framework for Irish political history. Subordination of Ireland to England (and, after 1707, Great Britain) and Irish resistance to subordination, though rarely rising to outright separatist aspirations, runs like a leitmotif through these centuries.

The ascendancy of the earls of Kildare entailed a sometimes spectacular loss of royal control over Irish affairs, most vividly in 1487 when the Yorkist eighth earl, Garrett Mor, crowned the pretender, Lambert Simnel (c. 1475–1535), king of England in Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin. Kildare's survival in office, despite his treason, underlines the weakness of the English crown in the fifteenth century. From a position of greater strength and internal stability, however, Henry VIII would not countenance such overmighty subjects anywhere within his realm. Thus, when the ninth earl was summoned to London under the shadow of the executioner in 1534, his son, Lord Offaly, "Silken Thomas," led his followers in the Geraldine League into rebellion. The Geraldine revolt, which lasted until 1540, opened a new, blood-drenched chapter in Irish history. The advent of a new era was signaled by the first ever use of artillery—against the Kildare stronghold of Maynooth—by the ruthless suppression of the rebellion, and by the first stirrings of anti-Reformation Catholicism among the rebels.

The fall of the house of Kildare also inaugurated a prolonged phase of direct rule from London. That practice became the sine qua non of England's Irish policy, and several illustrious names among En-



Ireland A modern reproduction of a map of Ireland that appeared in editions of Abraham Ortelius's *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* from 1573 to about 1606. The map, oriented with north to the right, identifies many of the leading families and their holdings. As the heading indicates, this was a time of bitter conflict as Elizabeth I, who reigned from 1558 to 1603, faced several rebellions in her attempt to impose Protestantism and British rule on Ireland. MAP COLLECTION, STERLING MEMORIAL LIBRARY, YALE UNIVERSITY

gland's governing elite occupied Dublin Castle, namely the earls of Essex (1599), Strafford (1633–1640), and Chesterfield (1745–1747). There were notable exceptions to the rule: the Irish-born Protestant first duke of Ormond served as lord lieutenant under both Charles I and Charles II, while the Irish-born old English Catholic, the earl of Tyrconnell, held the office under James II in the 1680s. But after the first decade of the eighteenth century (when the second duke, Ormond's grandson, served) occupation of Dublin Castle was reserved for Englishmen. Until the very end of that century, and the appointments of John Fitzgibbon as lord chancellor and Viscount Castlereagh as chief secretary, Englishmen monopolized all senior executive posts, including the lord lieutenantancy, chief secretaryship, lord chancellor, and the archbishopric of

Armagh. On one level, official Ireland, especially its established church, functioned merely as a patronage outpost for a British political system oiled by the disbursement of places, preferments, pensions, promotions, titles, and favors. On another level, control of the executive rested on British security considerations.

ENGLAND'S DIFFICULTY, IRELAND'S OPPORTUNITY

Security underpinned England's Irish policy. In essence, the concern was strategic. As Thomas Waring put it in the wake of the Cromwellian reconquest of 1649–1650, "humane reason and policie dictate's that the hous cannot bee safe so long as the back door is open." Ireland served as England's "back door" as early as 1497, when another Yorkist pretender, Perkin Warbeck, landed at Cornwall with a

retinue of Irish supporters. Then, as Reformation and Counter-Reformation Europe split into warring camps, the vulnerability of Protestant England's western seaboard (and the dangers of Spain's sponsorship of Irish Catholic rebels) concentrated the Tudor mind. Spain (and the papacy) twice intervened in Ireland, landing troops at Smerwick, County Kerry (1580), and, in greater force, at Kinsale, County Cork (1601). Strategic necessity lent urgency to the Tudor reconquest of the sixteenth century and galvanized English determination to hold onto Ireland thereafter. Enemies changed, geography did not: French soldiers fought in Ireland in 1690 and 1798.

England's dominance depended, at bottom, on coercive force. Beyond that, Whitehall and Westminster exercised an array of political, legislative, and administrative controls. These included the retention in English hands of key public offices and the imposition of restrictive laws limiting the autonomy of the Irish Parliament and regulating Irish trade. A few legislative landmarks plot the troubled course of Anglo-Irish relations. First, "Poynings's Law" (1494), aimed originally at too-powerful lord deputies of the Kildare type, evolved into a procedure whereby all Irish parliamentary bills were subject to amendment—amounting to a veto—by the English Privy Council. The repeal of Poynings's Law constitutes the so-called revolution of 1782. Second, the Irish Parliament's subordinate status, institutionalized under Poynings, received confirmation in the Declaratory Act of 1720, a forthright assertion of Westminster's supremacy in the Kingdom of Ireland. Finally, Westminster used its claim of jurisdiction to impose laws prohibiting the import of Irish cattle to England (1667) and the export of Irish wool (1699). Both laws long caused bitter resentment in Ireland, the preliminary controversy surrounding the latter provoking the classic defense of Ireland's historic right to legislative independence, William Molyneux's *The Case of Ireland Being Bound by Acts of Parliament in England, Stated* (London, 1698).

The roots of England's perennial "Irish problem" lay in the failures of England's Irish policies. By 1450, although the territory of the Pale had contracted, it still boasted the most densely populated, intensively cultivated, and economically diverse region of the country. Yet Gaeldom had also

demonstrated its military and cultural vitality. And, as Sir John Davies recognized in his *Discovery of the True Causes Why Ireland Was Never Entirely Subdued* (1612), the Irish problem would remain intractable for so long as the Gael remained outside—and indeed resistant to—the boon of common law, civility, and, by Davies's time, Protestantism or "true religion." "All the world knows their barbarism," Cromwell remarked of his Irish enemies. Only the adoption of English customs, Reformed religion, language, and law—in a word, anglicization—could save them from their wretched condition.

GAELIC IRELAND

The Gaelic Irish saw matters differently, and while the story of English-Irish conflict supplies the historian with a ready, dramatic, and compelling narrative structure, it is vital that historians not view the past solely in terms of that conflict. Early modern Ireland, viewed from the Atlantic shores of Donegal, looks rather different from the anglophone Ireland mapped and preserved in the Public Record Office. For the historian, the question of perspective is precisely about rescuing the Gaelic-speaking O'Donnell retainer and MacSweeney swordsman from the enormous condescension of the state papers. Gaelic politics, economy, and society are more difficult to reconstruct than Anglo-Ireland because they never generated the sorts of records—tax rolls, bureaucratic memoranda, even paintings—upon which historians usually rely. The Gaelic world has thus either remained hidden, or, as recently as 1988, been caricatured on the basis of the naive or hostile reportage of outsiders. Fortunately, the dearth of conventional sources has been circumvented somewhat by the mining of a rich, if tricky, lode of non-traditional evidence: Irish-language poetry. Excavations (and cataloguing) are still in the heroic phase, but already the findings of scholars working with these hitherto underused sources have altered and enhanced our understanding of, for example, the depth and range of Irish Jacobite sentiment in the eighteenth century.

English late medieval society, including the Irish Pale, was organized around legally binding principles of mutual obligation and services based on land tenures. In contrast, in Gaelic society land ownership and inheritance, obligation, and political

succession were determined by kinship. A chief's power rested on his ability to enforce it, and under the system of "tanistry" his designated heir was as likely a brother or cousin as an eldest son. Kinship, alliances through marriage and fosterage and the receipt of tribute from lesser clans defined a great chief's status more than territory or even cattle—the staple of the Gaelic pastoral economy. Certain families, notably the O'Neills and O'Donnells in Ulster, the O'Connors in Connacht, and the MacCarthys and O'Briens in Munster, predominated. They inhabited a world of insistent, low-intensity warfare and comparative political instability. Exactions of tribute—in kind, or in military or labor services—lacked regulation, and by the early modern period were epitomized by the abuses of "coign and livery"—the billeting at free quarters by a chief of his dependants on his tenants.

The crown and the Dublin administration were not prepared to leave the natives to their own ways for three reasons. First, the inevitable processes of intermarriage, cultural interaction, and linguistic borrowings (in both directions) of the Gaedhil (or Irish) and the Gaill (or foreigners)—which historians call gaelicization but which the English called degeneracy—could not be permitted to continue. Second, the English "common law mind" embraced legal uniformity and abhorred local particularism. Ireland, reported an early-sixteenth-century English observer, comprised a patchwork of over sixty "countries" ruled by captains, each of whom "maketh war and peace for himself, and holdeth by the sword, and hath imperial jurisdiction within his room, and obeyeth to no other person." Worse still, degenerate "captains of English noble family . . . folloeth the same Irish order." The gaelicized Anglo-Norman House of Desmond cast its shadow across the common law mind. Finally, particularistic march law and Gaelic custom rooted in local power bases challenged royal sovereignty as well as legal uniformity.

CONQUEST AND "REFORM"

Whereas conventional nationalist histories of sixteenth-century Ireland focused on reconquest, revisionist historians have recovered the Tudor commitment to reform, although conquest and, in Brendan Bradshaw's terminology, "the catastrophic dimension of Irish history" are now being reintro-

duced to a more complicated picture. The set pieces of reform are the Act of Kingly Title (1541), which upgraded Ireland from a lordship to a kingdom, and "surrender and regrant," under which Gaelic chieftains surrendered their titles to the crown and were regranted them in English law. Several leading figures were ennobled, for example "the O'Neill" now became Earl of Tyrone, and succession and inheritance were at least theoretically stabilized by the extension of primogeniture. In the longer run, however, the prospects for reform were dashed by the rise of confessional conflict.

In Ireland, the Protestant Reformation assumed the character of an alien imposition. Decisively, the old English, as well as the native Irish, remained Catholic. Protestants were—and remained—a minority. When the Tudors completed the reconquest by the subjugation of Hugh O'Neill (1603), Gaelic Ireland had suffered military defeat but retained its cultural identity. Ethnic origin divided the Gael from his fellow Catholic old English almost as much as from the Protestant new English, yet shared adversity during the first decades of the seventeenth century conspired to forge a common Catholic identity. The defeat of O'Neill was followed by "the flight of the Earls" (1607) when O'Neill and others fled to Catholic Europe. Interpreted as an act of rebellion, the fugitives' lands escheated to the crown and were redistributed to English and Scottish settlers in the plantation of Ulster. The last bastion of Gaelic civilization thereby became the beachhead of British Protestantism in Ireland. The Scottish communities, moreover, laid the seedbed for Presbyterianism.

Stuart Ireland thus hosted four major ethno-religious groups: native Irish Catholics, old English Catholics, new English Protestants of the established church, and (before 1642, informally) Scots Presbyterians. Intra-denominational relations, already tense, strained to breaking point with the crisis of the Stuart monarchies in the late 1630s. Ireland, in fact, helped detonate the wars of the three kingdoms with the Ulster rebellion of 1641. Many Protestant planters were killed by insurgents, and lurid tales of massacre swept England, deepening the rage against popery and suspicion of the king, in whose defense the rebels claimed to act. Ireland, like England and Scotland, experienced the trauma of civil war in the 1640s. Alliances and alle-

giances shifted bewilderingly but, crucially, the old English were forced into military coalition with their Gaelic coreligionists. When Cromwell arrived in 1649 once more to subjugate the Irish and to revenge 1641, he made no ethnic distinctions among his papist enemies.

The land confiscations begun in the Tudor era and continued by the Ulster plantation reached unprecedented levels with the Cromwellian settlement. In 1603 Catholics owned more than 60 percent of the land; by 1659 that figure had been reduced to about 9 percent. During the reign of Charles II, Catholic ownership climbed back to around 25 percent, thanks to successful pleas in the court of claims, but fell again to 14 percent by the end of the century as a result of the forfeitures that followed the second defeat of Catholic Ireland in 1691. This time there would be no court of claims, but rather a relentless chipping away, by the implementation of penal laws, at the remaining Catholic-owned land. By 1775 it stood at 5 percent. The political nation, like the landowning elite, of eighteenth-century Ireland was Protestant. But the Protestants were a minority, and if anything is inevitable in history, the Catholics could not be excluded from public life and political power forever. A rising Catholic mercantile class had already begun to articulate its grievances by the 1780s, but once more it was events outside the island that catalyzed Irish politics, including the “Catholic question.” With the storming of the Bastille on 14 July 1789, a new epoch opened in European—and Irish—history.

See also Cromwell, Oliver; Dublin; England; Landholding; Law; Nationalism; Provincial Government; Revolutions, Age of.

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ISABEL CLARA EUGENIA AND ALBERT OF HABSBURG (Isabel Clara Eugenia, 1566–1633; Albert of Habsburg, 1559–1621), archdukes of Austria, governors and sovereigns of the Spanish Netherlands. Isabel Clara Eugenia, eldest daughter of Philip II of Spain and Elisabeth de Valois, learned statecraft at her father’s side. While her sister Catalina Micaëla (1567–1597) married the duke of Savoy in 1585, Philip found no suitable husband for Infanta Isabel. Sebastian of Portugal perished in battle, and Emperor Rudolf II proved too eccentric. In 1590–1593, when Philip vainly pressed Isabel’s claim to the French throne, he considered Charles, duke of Guise (1571–1640) for her hand before settling on Archduke Ernst of Habsburg (1553–1595), who was appointed governor-general of the revolt-torn Netherlands in 1593. Ernst died in 1595, and in 1597, Philip decided that Isabel would marry Ernst’s brother, Cardinal-Archduke Albert, who had succeeded Ernst in the Netherlands, and arranged the necessary dispensations with Rome.



Isabel Clara Eugenia. Portrait by Atelier of Pourbus. THE ART ARCHIVE/MUSÉE DU CHÂTEAU DE VERSAILLES/DAGLI ORTI

Albert, sixth son of Emperor Maximilian II and Philip II's sister Maria, had gone from Austria to Spain in 1570 with his sister Ana when she married Philip II. Groomed for the church, Albert was nominated cardinal in 1577 and was soon designated archbishop of Toledo to follow the aged Gaspar de Quiroga, who did not die until 1594. Cardinal-Archduke Albert meantime filled political offices. Appointed viceroy of Portugal in 1583, he learned about military matters during preparations for the Spanish Armada and the defense of Portugal in 1589 against the English counterattack led by Sir Francis Drake. In 1593 Philip brought Albert to Madrid to assist him and guide Prince Philip, who later became Philip III. Appointed governor of the Netherlands in 1595, Albert had mixed success in his battles with the Dutch stadtholder Maurice of Nassau, the son of William of Orange, and with Henry IV of France. In May 1598 Albert achieved the treaty of Vervins with France. The same month, Philip II bestowed sovereignty of the Netherlands on him and Isabel, with the proviso that if either died childless, the Netherlands would return to the Spanish crown.

Philip II died that September, and his son Philip III (1598–1621) had come to the throne when Albert, never priest and no longer cardinal, married Isabel at Valencia in May 1599. Together the “archdukes” returned to Brussels. Maurice invaded Flanders briefly in 1600 and defeated Albert in battle. Albert's army became mutinous without pay, yet with Isabel's encouragement in 1601 he laid siege to Ostend, the remaining rebel stronghold in Flanders. He also achieved peace with England. Ambrogio Spinola (1569–1630), Genoese banker turned soldier, repaired the army's finances and took over the siege. Pressured by Madrid, Albert gave him command of the army. In 1604, Ostend surrendered.

In the same years Albert, in collaboration with Isabel, sought through diplomacy to end the Dutch revolt and reunite the provinces of the Dutch Republic with the “obedient” provinces known as the Spanish Netherlands. Isabel and Albert were often at odds with Madrid. In religion they favored persuasion and Catholic revival rather than fire and the stake. But religious differences remained profound and talk of toleration too vague for either Catholic or Calvinist. The archdukes' centralization of gov-



Albert of Habsburg. Portrait by Atelier of Pourbus. THE ART ARCHIVE/MUSÉE DU CHÂTEAU DE VERSAILLES/DAGLI ORTI

ernment, however efficient, and their ignoring of the southern States General after 1600, ran contrary to Dutch republican ideals. Amsterdam did not want Antwerp as a rival. Trade concessions in Spain's empire seemed too conditional, its plunder more appealing. Refugees who moved their businesses to the Dutch Republic did not relish a revived Flanders. And all knew that the archdukes remained dependent on funds from Spain and a consideration in Spanish strategy.

The fortunes of war seesawed, and both sides became exhausted, while France and England tired of the cost of backing the Dutch. In 1609 a compromise Twelve Years' Truce was achieved. The years of peace proved unsettled. Industry languished though urban oligarchs prospered, and the nobility tightened its hold on the countryside. Culture flourished. Louvain and Douai became centers of Catholic learning while the baroque style inspired the arts. The archdukes became patrons of Peter Paul Rubens.

International crises, such as the Jülich-Cleves dispute of 1609–1610, proved frequent. In 1618,

the Thirty Years' War commenced, and Albert sent Spinola to devastate the Rhine (or Lower) Palatinate. In 1621, Albert died as the Twelve Years' Truce with the Dutch, which he had tried to extend, expired. The Spanish Netherlands reverted to Spain. Infanta Isabel became governor for her nephew Philip IV while Spinola remained in command of the army.

In the field Spinola capped his successes in 1625 when Breda surrendered, but in 1628 he was called to Italy. The war turned against Isabel, and sedition spread although she was personally beloved for her works of charity. In vain she sought peace for the Spanish Netherlands. She summoned the States General in 1632 and employed subtle diplomacy using Rubens. Disheartened, she died in Brussels after a brief illness on 1 December 1633.

See also Dutch Republic; Henry IV (France); Marie de Médicis; Netherlands, Southern; Philip II (Spain); Philip III (Spain); Philip IV (Spain); Rubens, Peter Paul; Thirty Years' War (1618–1648).

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ISABELLA OF CASTILE (1451–1504), queen of Castile and joint ruler of Aragón. Isabel I was born in medieval Castile; she died in early modern Spain, having had much to do with the transition from medieval to modern. She was three years old in 1454 when her father, King John II (ruled 1406–1454) of Castile, died and her older half-brother, Henry IV (ruled 1454–1474), succeeded him. That year too another event paved her way to the crown and did much to determine the course of her reign: Constantinople, the eastern capital of Christendom, fell to Muslim Turks, causing widespread fear of Turkish advance into the West and a papal call for crusade. Henry IV responded to it by

renewing war against Granada, the last Muslim kingdom in Iberia. Some powerful nobles, already perceiving themselves shunted aside by the king, adjudged his pursuit of that war halfhearted. Civil war erupted in the 1460s, ending only when Henry named Isabel, whom the dissidents favored, his heir.

Against Henry's wishes, Isabel in 1469 contacted, met, and married Ferdinand, prince of Aragón, in what proved a love match and lifelong partnership, and put Spain on the road to national unity. The couple were cousins, their goals similar and their personalities complementary. On Henry's death in 1474 civil war again broke out. Two years later, it was clear the couple had won. Isabel emerged as reigning queen in Castile with Ferdinand as her consort. Yet from the outset, the reign was publicized as joint at Isabel's insistence, attesting to her sensitivity to the popular temper and mind cast and her recognition of a queen's limitations even while she overcame them. A medieval ruler was expected to do justice, lead in war, and lead subjects to God, guiding them to salvation. Having triumphed in war, Isabel immediately and effectively presided over a court of law in Seville, Castile's largest city. She chose her closest advisers from the two most educated groups, clergy and lawyers (most lawyers were also clergy). In medieval Europe, and especially in Spain, the monarch traditionally headed the church, while the clergy represented rulers as divinely sanctioned and were looked to as intermediaries linking the crowned heads and the people.

Isabel herself exhibited piety, but less the lady-praying-on-her-knees variety often ascribed to her than the militant Christianity of Spain's greatest kings, those who showed themselves as finding their highest purpose in the crusading endeavor to reconquer Spanish territory held by Muslims since 711. In announcing that such was her intent and thereby also reinforcing her own initially shaky right to rule, Isabel put traditional imagery to work. During her coronation she had a double-edged sword, perceived as the sword of justice, of God's warriors, and of divine wrath and vengeance, carried before her. As one of her first acts as queen, she commissioned tombs for her parents at Miraflores outside Burgos, their prominent display of the well-understood symbols of star and sun announcing her dynastic commitment to achieving Spain's cos-

mic destiny. She sponsored the Toledo church dedicated to her patron saint, San Juan—St. John the Evangelist, whose Book of Revelation promised salvation to the godly and a messianic end to history, promises often interpreted among the Spanish as made to themselves, the new Israel. When she gave birth in 1478 to a son, Juan, the prince was greeted in messianic terms in attendant ceremonies and by chroniclers and clergy. Moreover, it was expected that Juan, as heir to the crowns of both Castile and Aragón, would one day in his person unite Spain.

Isabel grew up in wartime, and war remained central to her evolving reign; no war was more popularly unifying, or of more transcendental purpose, or more capable of centralizing royal power than the by then traditional religious and national mission of reconquest. Resumption of war against Granada was announced in 1480, along with such other centralizing measures as codifying laws and reclaiming crown lands from nobles. Concurrently, Isabel also asserted royal religious authority in instituting the Spanish Inquisition (1478), designed to find and punish religious heretics and apostates. Its focus was those converted Jews, *conversos*, who still held to Jewish beliefs. Thereafter, Isabel's Spain waged religious warfare on two fronts, both internally and against the Muslim kingdom of Granada.

For nearly a decade, year after year, she relentlessly directed campaigns against the sprawling and mountainous kingdom of Granada. She oversaw recruitment, finances, and supplies, conferred on strategy, and on occasion cajoled Fernando into keeping to the field as military commander, or herself joined Spanish armies at the front during long sieges. On 1 January 1492, she and Ferdinand rode ceremoniously into the city of Granada. It was not simply happenstance that Isabel sent out Christopher Columbus that same year with instructions to find a sea route to the rich East and through it to the goal of all crusaders, Jerusalem, then under Muslim control; nor that in 1492 she and Fernando expelled Spain's Jews and, in 1502, Castile's Muslims. Rather, each of those measures was spoken of as advancing Christian conquest in accord with Spain's mandate.

Veterans of the Granada wars fought on, in Navarre, and in Italy against France and for the



Isabella of Castile. Portrait by the Circle of Juan de Flandres, c. 1496–1519. ©CHRISTIE'S IMAGES/CORBIS

papacy, which in appreciation designated Spain's rulers "Los Reyes Católicos," The Catholic Kings. Many helped establish Spanish rule in the Caribbean islands and explored mainland coasts. Isabel looked on the peoples encountered as her subjects; she directed that they be instructed in the Spanish language and ways and in the Christian faith and that, if peaceful, they be well treated, but that those who warred on the Spanish be enslaved. A codicil to her will instructed her heirs that "if [the Indians] were receiving any harm, to remedy it, so that it did not exceed the apostolic order of concession." Arguably, nothing more succinctly expresses a piety that linked the royal role, morality, law, and national interest, and viewed all of them in an international context regulated and guaranteed through a religion and its titular head on earth.

In what was Isabel's last decade, Spain experienced aspects of the Renaissance. Isabel acquired paintings and tapestries by Flemish masters and pietistic devotional books from the new printing presses. Increasingly ill, she appears to have become more introspective, more concerned with her im-

mortal soul and those of her subjects, and more averse to men dying in wars with no religious aim. And she repeatedly suffered personal loss. She had made grand dynastic marriages for her five children—encircling France and creating an alliance with the powerful Habsburgs who ruled the Lowlands and much of Germany and Austria through the double marriage of her son Juan to the Princess Margaret and her daughter Joanna to the Habsburg heir, Philip. She married her daughter Isabel to the Portuguese King Manuel, and, when young Isabel died in childbirth, had another daughter, María, wed Manuel. And she sent her youngest child, Catherine, to England to wed Prince Arthur. She did not live to see Arthur die and his brother, becoming King Henry VIII, marry the widowed Catherine of Aragón. Probably of greatest impact on Isabel was the death of her son Juan, leaving as heir to Castile her oldest surviving child, the unstable Joanna, known to history as “La Loca” (“The Mad”). Nor did she live to see Joanna’s son Charles I (Holy Roman emperor Charles V) unite Castile and Aragón as well as inherit Habsburg lands and new dependencies in America to make real what she fully expected to be Spain’s future, a globe-encircling empire.

Spain came into modernity as one of Europe’s most powerful and esteemed monarchies, but selectively, as a society closed to all aspects of modernity at odds with its dominant, nation-building religious beliefs.

See also Charles V (Holy Roman Empire); Ferdinand of Aragón; Inquisition, Spanish; Spain.

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ISLAM IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE. The Ottoman Empire was an Islamic polity that originated in early-fourteenth-century Anatolia. Islam had been established in Anatolia before the emergence of the empire, but between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries the religion spread with Ottoman conquest to the Balkan Peninsula and central Hungary. This does not mean that the population was uniformly Muslim. In many parts of the Ottoman Empire, most notably in the Balkan Peninsula, Christians formed a majority of the population, and even in areas where Muslims formed a majority there was usually also a minority of non-Muslim inhabitants. Unlike some of the rulers of western Europe, the Ottoman sultans never attempted to impose religious uniformity. Islam was, however, the dominant religion, and the political structure of the empire reflected this fact. The dynasty itself was Muslim and, before the reforms of the nineteenth century, with rare exceptions, non-Muslims could not hold regular political office or military command. Christians and Jews were able to participate in the maintenance of the empire by serving as tax farmers or contractors supplying, for example, cloth for Janissary uniforms or materials to the naval arsenals, but they could not serve as viziers, provincial governors, or army commanders. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries a few Christian fief holders in the Balkans retained their positions in the years immediately after the Ottoman conquest but, as their descendants converted to Islam, this phenomenon disappeared within a generation. In the Balkans, too, some Christian groups served as military auxiliaries into the sixteenth century. More important in the day-to-day lives of the sultan’s subjects, the system of law courts also reflected the dominant position of Islam. The Christian and Jewish communities maintained their own courts for regulating intracommunal affairs, but only the network of Muslim courts covered the entire empire, and only Muslim courts were open to all the sultan’s subjects, irrespective of religion. Any cases involving Muslims or a Muslim and a non-Muslim had to be heard in the Muslim court and, in principle, a non-Muslim could not testify against a Muslim. The exclusion, therefore, of non-Muslims from political office and the supremacy of Islamic law guaranteed the hegemonic position of Islam within the Ottoman Em-

pire. At the same time, the imposition of *jizya*, a poll tax on adult non-Muslim males, and the occasional short-lived imposition of dress restrictions on non-Muslims, symbolized the inferior position of Christians and Jews.

FORMS OF ISLAM

By the time of the emergence of the Ottoman Empire in the fourteenth century, Islam was fully formed as a system of belief with its associated intellectual, legal, and cultural attributes. The central concept of the religion was “knowledge,” or *‘ilm*, meaning specifically the knowledge of God through revelation. God had revealed himself to mankind through the missions of the prophets, among whom Abraham (Ibrahim), the monotheistic founder of the Ka‘ba at Mecca, Moses (Musa), and Jesus (‘Isa) held especially revered positions. The recognition of Abraham, Moses, and Jesus as prophets before the final revelation of Islam justified the tolerated but subordinate positions of Jews and Christians within the Ottoman Empire and other Islamic polities. God’s final and most perfect revelation was through the prophet Muhammad, “the Seal of the Prophets.” The primary text of revelation is the Koran. This is regarded by Muslims as the literal word of God transmitted to mankind through the medium of the Prophet. The record of the sayings and actions—the hadith—of the Prophet, as an exemplar to mankind, form the second text of the revelation. It is through the Koran and hadith, therefore, that man can know God and, in principle, these form the foundation of knowledge, or *‘ilm*.

A seeker after knowledge had first to study Arabic, the language of revelation and the language of science, which acquired a role in the Ottoman Empire and in the Islamic world as the universal language of religion, somewhat similar to the role of Latin in western Christendom. The study of the sacred texts and the sciences in general also required a grounding in logic and rhetoric. With these tools at his disposal, a scholar could embark on any of the specialized branches of *‘ilm*, which developed as discrete, though interrelated genres: the interpretation of the Koran (*tafsir*), the study of hadith, theology (*kalam*), dogma (*‘aqa’id*) or law (*fiqh*). These were the sciences through which one acquired a knowledge of God, and which therefore formed the central curriculum of Ottoman and

other Islamic colleges. Subsidiary sciences—for example, the life of the Prophet (*sira*), history (*ta’rikh*), the vitae of saints or scholars by generation (*tabaqat*)—served to strengthen sectarian or dynastic identity, and all came to form genres of Ottoman literature. Of the sciences, it was the study of law (*fiqh*) that enjoyed the greatest prestige and made the greatest impact on communal and individual lives. It represented not exactly God’s commands to mankind, as these are ultimately unknowable, but the best that humankind can achieve in its efforts to discover God’s law. It regulated not only secular affairs, notably in the sphere of family law, but also rituals such as ablution, prayer, fasting, and forbidden foods. The basics of the law, popularized as the “five pillars of Islam”—the profession of faith, prayer five times daily, charity, fasting during Ramadan, and the pilgrimage to Mecca—are something that every Muslim must know. In many respects, therefore, it was the adoption of Islamic law—the *shari‘a* or *shari‘a*—that gave Ottoman, and other Islamic societies, their distinctive form.

A person who had studied *‘ilm* was an *‘alim* (“one who knows [God]”) and enjoyed great prestige. The plural of *‘alim* is *‘ulama*, and the ulema came to form a respected class within all Muslim societies, often, as in the Ottoman Empire, wielding political as well as legal and spiritual power.

‘Ilm was not, however, the only route to knowing God. Already in the early centuries of Islam some claimed to know God through direct revelation, a condition exemplified by the saying of al-Sarraj (d. 988): “There is no *‘ilm* that is known and nothing that is understood except what exists in the Book of God, or is transmitted from the Messenger of God, or in what is revealed in the hearts of saints.” In order to distinguish the knowledge of God acquired by direct revelation “in the hearts of saints,” its adepts, the Sufis, referred to it not as *‘ilm*, but as *‘urf* or *ma’rifat*, both words having the sense of “knowledge.” This doctrine had revolutionary potential, since a person claiming knowledge via direct divine inspiration could claim to be above the divine law as professed by the ulema. Indeed some Sufis, notably al-Hallaj (d. 909), who reputedly suffered death for declaring “I am God,” did emerge, in the Ottoman Empire and elsewhere, as opponents of the religious and political order.

What is more remarkable, however, is how *tasawwuf*, the faith of the Sufis—radically different from the religion of the ulema—came to form a branch of orthodox Islam.

In principle, *‘ilm* and *‘urf* are antagonistic in their fundamental beliefs. In orthodox belief, God created the world *ex nihilo*; he revealed himself through his prophets; the world will end with the Resurrection and the Judgment, where individuals will be judged and assigned in eternity to Heaven or Hell. In Sufi belief, all creation was originally one with God. God created mankind and the universe because “He was a hidden treasure and wished that He should be known.” Since this separation from the Creator, all Creation has yearned to return to its Maker. The Sufi therefore yearns to be reunited with God, as the lover yearns for union with the beloved. In orthodox Islam, knowledge of God comes through written revelation whose interpretation is the preserve of the ulema. In Sufi belief, knowledge of God is acquired through direct experience, or “taste” of God.

There has at all times been antagonism between some of the orthodox ulema and the Sufis. For example, in the Ottoman Empire of the mid-sixteenth century, the jurist Ibrahim of Aleppo (d. 1549) and the Ottoman chief mufti, Çivizade Mehmed (d. 1542), adopted anti-Sufi positions, while the Sufis for their part conducted a literary polemic against these orthodox opponents. The poet Khayali (d. 1556/57) compared the orthodox ulema who could not recognize that God was in the world around them to “fish who are in the sea, but do not know what the sea is.” Nonetheless, opponents of the Sufis remained a minority and *tasawwuf* in practice became an important strand of mainstream Islam in the Ottoman Empire.

Tasawwuf grew in importance through doctrinal development. In the developed Sufi theory of knowledge, the first rule that a Sufi must follow is obedience to the *shari‘a*. This precept brought *tasawwuf* within the bounds of orthodoxy. Second, the spiritual goal of most Sufis was not to declare “I am God,” but to seek “annihilation of the self in God”: the Sufi’s soul became like “a drop of wine in the ocean of God’s love.” In other words, *tasawwuf* became quietist rather than activist. At the same time, *tasawwuf* became institutionalized. Different

orders of Sufis formed around the memories of Sufi saints, and these organizations acquired properties and endowments, to preserve which they had to remain acceptable to orthodox Islamic regimes. Finally, the favorable opinions of al-Ghazali (d. 1111), perhaps the most influential Islamic thinker, made *tasawwuf* acceptable to most orthodox opinion. Some orders, it is true, remained unacceptable. In the Ottoman Empire, an offshoot of the Bayrami order of Sufis, which formed after 1450, adopted the activist belief that God is manifest in the human form, thus putting men—or at least their members—above the dictates of the *shari‘a*. These Sufis constituted an underground and ineffective, though persecuted, opposition to orthodox Islam and the Ottoman sultanate.

THE POLITICAL STRUCTURE OF OTTOMAN ISLAM

Although *tasawwuf* may have been the strongest influence on the beliefs of many, if not most, Ottoman Muslims and permeated Ottoman literature, music, and visual art, it was the Islam of the ulema that was significant in determining the structures of the empire. A few surviving literary fragments suggest that in the fourteenth century, the level of Islamic learning in the Ottoman Empire was very low. Persons wishing for an advanced Islamic education at this period traveled to the old Islamic world, especially to Damascus or Cairo, and it was largely these returning scholars who transferred Islamic doctrine and law to the Ottoman realms and trained the early generations of Ottoman ulema. By the mid-fifteenth century, with the establishment of a system of colleges within the empire and the formation of a learned class, there was no further need for such learning journeys.

The religious colleges (madrasas) attached to mosques throughout the empire, established on the model of the madrasas in the old Islamic world, were the institutions that trained the ulema. The most prestigious colleges were royal foundations, with the Eight Colleges of Mehmed II (1451–1481) and the colleges attached to the mosque of Suleiman I (1520–1566), completed in 1557, enjoying the highest rank, and the foundations of senior statesmen occupying the second tier. Each college was an independent institution with a separate endowment. In the sixteenth century, however, Suleiman I and later Mehmed III (1595–1603)

made efforts to formalize the hierarchy of colleges and, to a degree, to control the curriculum, which remained firmly based on the medieval Islamic classics. By the seventeenth century there seems to have been a well-recognized hierarchy, based on the wealth of the endowment and the level of the curriculum. From the late seventeenth century, when the empire began to lose territories, some colleges suffered as the lands that provided their endowments passed into foreign hands.

It was the colleges that maintained the level of Islamic learning in the empire. A graduate might find a position as imam in an important mosque; he might stay in the system as a teacher (*mudarris*); or he might choose a career as a judge (*qadi*). However, if he opted for a legal career immediately on graduating, he would, at least between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, find his career confined to the judgeships of small towns. Judgeships of the great cities, especially of Istanbul, Edirne, and Bursa, were reserved for *mudarrises* from the Eight Colleges or other high-ranking madrasas. Furthermore, between the sixteenth and the eighteenth centuries, a few ulema families monopolized these prestigious teaching positions and judgeships. It was also from the judges of the great cities that the sultan chose the two military judges (*kadiaskers*), the senior judges of the empire, who sat on the Imperial Council. Below the level of the great cities, however, most of the judges and religious officials tended to be local men, who from the sixteenth century would normally have received part of their education in Istanbul.

The judges, at all levels, administered Islamic law, and in continuing to exercise this function at all times, including times of crisis, they played the major role in ensuring the stability and continuity of Ottoman government. Of the four schools of law within Sunni Islam—the Shafi‘i, Maliki, Hanbali, and Hanafi—the Ottomans adopted the Hanafi school, presumably because this is the school that was already established in pre-Ottoman Anatolia. As the Hanafi jurists typically offer more than one acceptable solution to each legal problem, the Hanafi was perhaps the most flexible of the schools and, for this reason, the most suitable to form the basis of a working legal system. After their formative period in the early Islamic centuries, the four schools remained mutually exclusive. According to Hanafi

theorists, for example, a person could have recourse to a Shafi‘i judge only in the two cases for which the Hanafi school offered no solution: the dissolution of an oath or when a deserted wife seeks a dissolution of marriage. The Ottomans endorsed this exclusivity, although among the general population in the Arab lands there was some movement between schools.

Judges in the Ottoman Empire as elsewhere put the law into effect by virtue of the delegation to them of sultanic power. Above the judges stood the muftis. A mufti is a religious authority with the competence to issue *fatwas*, authoritative opinions on any religious-legal problems that questioners may ask. A *fatwa* is not an executive command: it requires a judge’s or sovereign’s decree to put it into effect. It also differs from a judge’s decree, in that the judge’s decree is valid only for the case in hand, while the *fatwa* has a universal validity. Ottoman *fatwas* reflect this understanding by reformulating each question so as to conceal the identity of the questioner, even if the questioner was the sultan himself, to remove specific details of the case such as time, locality, or personal identities, and to eliminate details not relevant to the case in question. Between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, Ottoman *fatwas* in their content, format, and anonymity came increasingly to resemble the classical juristic texts which were the source of their authority.

The mufti in theory remained above and apart from the secular power, a concept embodied from the sixteenth century in Ottoman ceremonial, where the sultan stands in the presence of the chief mufti. His authority derived from his role as interpreter of the Holy Law in its application to mundane realities, including the realities of political power. In much of the Islamic world, muftis acquired their role through public recognition rather than official appointment, and really did stand apart from the secular power. In the Ottoman Empire, however, the muftis were effectively part of the government. The chief mufti, or *sheikh al-islam* as he came to be known by the seventeenth century, was the senior figure in the religious-legal establishment, and usually achieved the position by serving first as a senior judge and then as a military judge; like these offices, the chief muftiship after the mid-sixteenth century came to be the preserve of a very

few ulema families. The chief mufti owed his exalted position partly to the Islamic view that accorded greater dignity to muftis than to judges, but also to the prestige of two sixteenth-century holders of the office, Kemal Pashazade (1525–1534) and Ebu’s-su’ud Mehmed (1545–1574). Ebu’s-su’ud in particular systematized the chief mufti’s major function of issuing *fatwas*, ensuring that his office was able to undertake a great volume of work to a high standard. The system that he established remained in its essentials intact until the end of the empire. The chief mufti came to have an important, if informal, role in the Ottoman government. Outside the capital, muftis were sometimes official appointees, but did not enjoy high status of the chief mufti, and their function could often be fulfilled by the *mudarris* of a local college.

TASAWWUF IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

By the time of the establishment of the Ottoman Empire, *tasawwuf* was well established in the Islamic world and accepted, within limits, as a form of orthodox Islam. Groups of Sufis had established and continued to establish their own orders (*tariqas*) throughout the Islamic world, each with its own saints and distinctive beliefs and rituals. Many of the orders that originated outside the empire found disciples in Ottoman territories. For example, the Khalveti order, named after the eponymous saint ‘Umar al-Khalwati, originated in late-fourteenth-century Azerbaijan. During the fifteenth century the disciples of the Khalveti sheikh Yahya al-Shirvani (d. c. 1463) brought the order to Anatolia. When he was governor of Amasya, the future sultan Bayezid II (1480–1512) was initiated as a Khalveti and established the order in Istanbul after he became sultan. Later, Murad III (1574–1595) was also initiated. Other orders originated within the Ottoman Empire itself. For example, the Bayrami order was the creation of Hajji Bayram (d. 1429/30), who established the fraternity originally among the craftsmen of Ankara. His successor Ak Shemseddin (d. 1459) became a spiritual mentor to Mehmed II.

Once established, Sufi orders sometimes split into smaller groups, the Khalvetis, for example, giving birth to ten or more subgroups during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Bayramis, too, split into two groups after 1450, the orthodox

group following Ak Shemseddin, the “heretical” group, the Melamis, coming under the leadership of ‘Ömer the Cutler (d. 1475/6). This group became particularly active in Bosnia. By the late seventeenth century, however, the Melamis had reemerged as an orthodox order, although distinct from the original Bayramis. Conversely, different groups could merge. The Bektashi order, which took its name from a fourteenth century saint, Hajji Bektash, formed as a coherent order under the leadership of Balim Sultan about 1500, and absorbed and syncretized a wide range of Sufi and other popular beliefs. The Bektashis became particularly well established in Albania.

Many Muslims in the Ottoman Empire belonged to a Sufi order, giving these an essential role not only in disseminating popular faith but also in establishing networks and social solidarity among members. In some orders membership included women, giving them a role not available in orthodox Islam. The orders could also acquire charitable functions, the rural lodges of the Bektashis, for example, providing accommodation for travelers. Above all, they influenced the cultural life of the empire. Each order had its own liturgy and ceremonies, usually involving music, recitation, singing, and sometimes dancing, and to preserve their traditions the orders had to train adepts in these arts, many of whom acquired fame beyond the confines of the organization. The Mevlevi order—the so-called whirling dervishes—had a particular educational role. The sacred text of the order, the lengthy mystical poem known as the *Mesnevi*, by its eponymous saint, Mevlana Celaleddin Rumi (d. 1273), is written in Persian, a language that Mevlevi therefore had to learn. Since Persian was not taught in Ottoman madrasas, it was above all the Mevlevi lodges that provided instruction and were instrumental in maintaining the enormous prestige of Persian culture in the Ottoman Empire. They also acted as musical and literary academies. The most celebrated Ottoman composers and many Ottoman poets from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century were Mevlevi. While the Mevlevi order was a repository of Ottoman high culture, the Bektashis played a similar role in transmitting popular culture, for example in preserving and adding to the corpus of Turkish religious poetry attributed to the semi-

mythical Sufi of the thirteenth or fourteenth century, Yunus Emre.

ORTHODOXY AND HETERODOXY

Although *tasawwuf* had an intellectual tradition and a structure of “knowledge” that imitated *‘ilm*, its primary appeal was aesthetic rather than intellectual. The liturgies of the orders, which aimed to produce a state of ecstasy in participants as they “became drunk with the wine of God’s love,” offered a religious and theatrical experience that was not available in the impressive but austere ceremonies in the mosques. What was equally important is that the orders, and particularly those with a popular following, institutionalized popular piety, with its appetite for saints and miracles. The hagiographies of Sufi saints, such as Enisi’s early sixteenth-century vita of the Bayrami Ak Shemseddin, formed a branch of popular literature that provided entertainment, edification, and a focal point for people’s loyalties as adherents to a particular Sufi order. At the same time the shrines of saints, whether or not they had an association with a particular order, became sites of pilgrimage, offering cures for diseases or other of life’s problems. It was at this level that beliefs of Ottoman Muslims and Christians often became indistinguishable, with formerly Christian shrines, such as the Sufi lodge at Seyyid Gazi in Anatolia, becoming sites of Muslim veneration. Other sites attracted both Muslim and Christian pilgrims. An example of this was the shrine of St. George on the island of Levitha near Patmos, which became a site of Greek Orthodox, Catholic, and Muslim pilgrimages, St. George also acquiring the Turkish name Koç Baba.

Popular practices, notably visiting saints’ tombs and the liturgical use of music and dancing, always aroused the opposition of a section of the ulema. Hostility to these practices became particularly intense in mid-seventeenth-century Istanbul, when Mehmed Kadizade (d. 1635) and his followers, disciples of the fundamentalist scholar Mehmed of Birgi (d. 1575), preached against them in public, attacking in particular the rituals of the Khalvetis. Such attacks, however, never had a lasting effect, and most of the many *fatwas* issued on the subject of the Sufi orders are in fact tolerant of their practices, the higher ulema on the whole espousing a latitudinarian understanding of Islam. The affilia-

tion of several sultans and many members of the political elite with the orders ensured that, in general, they enjoyed political protection. Furthermore, popular belief was ineradicable, and permeated even the sultan’s palace. As examples of this, the sultans provided employment for makers of talismans, and in 1640, the advice writer Kochi Bey urged the new sultan Ibrahim I (1640–1648) to carefully preserve a loaf of bread whose grain revealed the name Allah.

Nonetheless, despite the latitude of tolerated belief and practice, an official definition of heresy did emerge and became a matter of concern especially during the sixteenth century. This development was closely linked to the claims of the Ottoman dynasty, which drew on Islamic themes to legitimize its rule. Until about 1500, these legitimizing elements came primarily from folk religion. Through dreams, God had promised sovereignty to the first sultan Osman and his father; the dynasty had gained a spiritual descent from Osman’s marriage to the daughter of a saint; saints led the sultan’s warriors in battle. In the sixteenth century, however, the dynasty came to derive its legitimacy from orthodox Islamic tradition. This was partly a consequence of the increasing influence of classically trained ulema in the empire, but partly also a consequence of external events. In 1516/17, the conquest of the Mamluk empire made Selim I (1512–1520) and his successors lords of Mecca and Medina, the holy cities of Islam. This gave the Ottoman sultan the prestigious title of “Servitor of the Two Holy Places,” and also the responsibility for the safety of the pilgrimage routes to Mecca. He could now, as the upholder of the religion, claim primacy among Islamic sovereigns. At the same time, the rise to power in Iran of the Safavid dynasty, which claimed spiritual power as leaders of the Safavid Sufi order, and whose Shi‘ism contrasted with the Sunnism of the Ottomans, presented a religious and political threat to the Ottoman Empire, especially since the Safavids found many adherents to their order among the sultan’s subjects in Anatolia. The Ottomans countered Safavid propaganda by declaring the Safavids and their followers to be worse than infidels, and by presenting the Ottoman dynasty as the only defenders of Sunni Islam against this mortal danger. By the mid-century, Suleiman I was declaring him-

self to be “the one who makes smooth the path for the precepts of the *shari‘a*” and the one “who makes manifest the Exalted Word of God” and who “expounds the signs of the luminous *shari‘a*.” He was also the first Ottoman sultan to assume the title of caliph, implying the leadership of the entire Islamic world. With these developments the dynasty identified itself so closely with orthodox Sunni Islam that disloyalty to one implied disloyalty to the other.

It was particularly during Suleiman’s reign, and partly as a result of his claim to be the defender of the faith, that heresy acquired a clear definition. In identifying heresy, the ulema were not concerned with a person’s inner belief or private actions. These are matters between the individual and God. Their concern was with stated belief, certain tenets of the Holy Law or Sunni dogma providing the test. If, for example, a Sufi declared that the ceremonies of his order constituted an act of worship (*‘ibada*), a term which in the *shari‘a* refers only to the obligatory purification, prayer, fasting, and alms-giving, then he was a heretic, because in claiming the ceremonies to be “obligatory” he was claiming an authority in prescribing ritual that only the *shari‘a* possessed. It was this test that the sultan used to execute the Melami Ođlan Őeyh and his followers in 1528. Provided, however, the Sufi did not declare his practices to be an act of worship, he remained within the bounds of orthodoxy. Since the *shari‘a* forbids Muslims to drink wine, if a Muslim declares wine to be licit, he has abjured the *shari‘a*, and become liable to death. If, however, he drinks wine without believing it to be licit he is not a heretic. In Ottoman religious “trials” the key to identifying heresy was the accused’s statements on what is canonically forbidden, permitted, and obligatory. A heretic was someone whose stated beliefs did not conform with the *shari‘a*. However, in the more merciless pursuit of Safavid sympathizers within the Ottoman realms a key indicator was whether or not the accused cursed the Orthodox caliphs, the denunciation of the first three successors to the prophet Muhammad being a tenet in Shi‘ite belief. Public behavior could also indicate heresy. It was for this reason that Suleiman I decreed in 1537 that the authorities should build mosques in all villages that lacked one and note who failed to attend the obligatory congregational prayers. In this way the sultan not only en-

forced Sunni ritual, in his capacity as protector of the faith, but could also, by their refusal to perform obligatory prayers, identify heretics. Since by this time the sultan identified his own legitimacy with Sunni orthodoxy, disavowal of the commands of the *shari‘a* was also identified as an act of rebellion against the dynasty.

In practice, therefore, the definition of heresy served to identify political opponents of the dynasty, and with changing political circumstances certain heretical beliefs became more acceptable. The persecution of Ottoman Shi‘ites, for example, seems to have stopped when, from the mid-seventeenth century, the Safavids of Iran no longer presented a political and ideological danger. Furthermore, since the Ottoman government demanded of Muslims no more than verbal adherence to certain tenets of the *shari‘a* and the outward performance of its obligatory rituals, and did not examine inward faith, a huge variety of beliefs and practices were able to flourish unmolested within Ottoman Islam.

See also Mehmed II (Ottoman Empire); Ottoman Dynasty; Ottoman Empire; Suleiman I.

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COLIN IMBER

ISLANDS. Islands played a larger role in European history during the early modern period than at any other time before or since. They were crucial to economic and political development, and were no less significant culturally. One must consider not only the physical islands that Europe explored, claimed, and colonized, but also those it imagined and fictionalized.

Until the fifteenth century, Europe had been a sea-fearing, inward-looking civilization, which envisioned itself as but one part of an earth island girdled by a terrifying, impassable river, known to southern Europeans as Oceanus and to the Norse as Uthaf. Whatever the Vikings had learned during their expeditions to the west around the year 1000 had been lost. Knowledge of the oceanic isles was secondhand and largely the product of ancient and medieval legends. But the accumulating tales of rich and paradisiacal isles had become so compelling by the fifteenth century that mariners were venturing into the near Atlantic; and it was but one short step for Christopher Columbus to attempt to reach the fabulous archipelagos of the Indies by extending his voyage west of the Azores. Using maps and texts that assured him that the sea was filled with a vast archipelago, he believed he could island-hop all the way to the Indies. Islands also figured prominently in his apocalyptic visions of bringing nearer the Second Coming of Christ. As far as Columbus was concerned, the isles he reached were the far side of his own earth island. He had no idea he had discov-

ered a new world, and it would be a very long time before geographers decided that the Americas were continents rather islands.

Islands were vital to the age of discovery, not just as provisioning and watering stops, but as cognitive and psychological bridges across a vast, empty oceans. It was imagined as much as real islands that account for Europe's unprecedented seaborne expansion. Exploration expanded the horizons of the known world, but it also produced vast new terrains of terra incognita, filled with unknown isles that excited further speculation. For most of the early modern period Europe's attention was focused on islands rather than continents.

Europe's early modern political ambitions were also insular. Instead of concentrating on the creation of territorial nation-states, rulers extended their sovereignty archipelagically, incorporating many noncontiguous lands and peoples. The period produced a series of island empires, beginning in the Mediterranean and then reaching out into the near Atlantic before incorporating the islands and littorals of the New World. After the initial period of continental conquest led by the Spanish, islands and coasts became the greater political and economic prize. The initial goal had been trade and control of trade routes to the Old World in any case. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries islands proved vital not only to the fur trade and to fishing in the North Atlantic, but also to the slave trade on the African coast and the plantation economies in both the Caribbean and the Pacific.

The growth of commercial capitalism was inextricably bound up with islands. Its most profitable enterprise of the early modern period, sugar production, had originated on Mediterranean islands in the Middle Ages. Transferred to the islands of the eastern Atlantic, it was then perfected in the Caribbean. The slave trade on which it depended for labor was organized from islands on Africa's western coast. Islands were natural prisons, and slave populations became involuntary consumers for European manufactures. If Europe accumulated enormous riches during this period, it owed a good deal of its accumulated capital to islands.

Islands were no less important to early modern culture. They provided a space onto which a Europe that was fragmenting politically and religiously

could project a multitude of powerful desires and deep fears. Dreams of paradise, previously focused on golden ages of the past, took on new life on islands located in the distant present. The vast new terra incognita became the location for numerous island edens, first in the Atlantic and later in the Pacific. An unknown island provided Sir Thomas More with the opportunity to outline the first modern utopia in 1516. In the next two centuries, dozens of island utopias and dystopias were written. The remote and bounded nature of islands made them ideal for imagining alternative worlds, and it was no accident that the first modern novel, Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* (1719), used an island setting to construct the foundation myth of modern masculine individualism. What Europe could not yet conceive of on its own territories, it invented in insular settings. In a certain sense, Europe constructed its modernity archipelagically, using island microcosms to try out new ideas it found more difficult to contemplate on its own shores.

By the eighteenth century European science had become heavily reliant on islands for its understanding of nature. The scientific expeditions of Captain James Cook and Louis Antoine de Bougainville to the isles of the south Pacific paved the way for Charles Darwin's later voyage to the Galápagos Islands (1835). Islands were already being used as laboratories for testing new crops and extending Europe's control over natural resources. They were also the places where Europeans first became aware of the environmental damage caused by ruthless capitalist exploitation of soils and forests. Islands provided a glimpse of the negative as well as the positive sides of economic development long before these were visible in the context of larger landmasses. In the course of the early modern period there came into being an Atlantic world in which islands played a central role. Once remote and isolated from the continent, islands were anything but insular by the eighteenth century. Populated by peoples drawn from the Atlantic littorals, they were perhaps the most cosmopolitan places on earth. Africans, Europeans, and Native Americans commingled, producing new creolized island cultures and societies that had a dynamic all their own. The world of islands was better known and more highly prized than the interiors of mainlands, and for a time it seemed that the future belonged to

islands rather than continents. But the political and industrial revolutions of the late eighteenth century changed all that. Capitalism concentrated its productive capacity on the European and North American continents, while states concentrated their power within continental territorial boundaries. Islands became politically peripheral and isolated from modern economic industrial development. They continued to serve as laboratories for science and field stations for anthropology, but they ceased to be places where Europe imagined its future. On the contrary, islands came to be associated with backwardness and primitivism, imagined as fossilized remnants of lost worlds.

See also Atlantic Ocean; British Colonies; Capitalism; Cartography and Geography; Colonialism; Columbus, Christopher; Commerce; Defoe, Daniel; Dutch Colonies; Environment; Exploration; French Colonies; Fur Trade; North America; More, Thomas; Pacific Ocean; Portuguese Colonies; Slavery and the Slave Trade; Spanish Colonies; Sugar; Triangular Trade Pattern; Utopia.

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JOHN R. GILLIS

ITALIAN LITERATURE AND LANGUAGE. Italian literature entered an active and important phase in the late fifteenth century that was stimulated by the revival of classical literature, a flourishing popular culture, and the growth of courts. Among the genres developed were the comic epic, lyric poetry, the pastoral, and comic theater. Intruding onto the cultural scene were worries about trade competition, Turkish aggression, and domination by outside powers. Although France initially seemed likely to succeed in such conquests, by 1530 Holy Roman emperor Charles V (ruled

1519–1556) had gained control of most states, except Venice, through a series of wars fought on Italian soil.

POETRY: THE COMIC EPIC AND THE COURTLY LYRIC

Three important comic epics were written during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries: *Morgante* (1478, 1482 or 1483) by Luigi Pulci, a member of the Medici circle; *Orlando innamorato* (1483, 1495) by Matteo Maria Boiardo; and *Orlando furioso* (1516, 1521, 1532) by Ludovico Ariosto, the latter two at the Este court in Ferrara. The works continued the Italian tradition of adding local color to the medieval epic that narrated the defense of France by Charlemagne and his nephew Roland against Saracen attack. An infusion of comedy and fantasy qualified these works as mock or comic epics.

Morgante recounts the adventures of Charlemagne's knights and a giant, for whom it is named, and the betrayal of Roland and the aged Charlemagne's inability to discern the betrayal. *Orlando innamorato* creates a French origin for the Este dynasty, which in the work is said to be the progeny of Ruggiero, a Saracen convert to Christianity, and his French bride Bradamante. Ruggiero, like Virgil's Aeneas, is descended from a Trojan soldier, further strengthening Este claims to legitimacy. Boiardo's poem also introduced Roland's love for the Chinese princess Angelica, an enemy of France. In Ariosto's *Orlando furioso*, Roland's passion costs him his sanity. Discovering that Angelica has married a lowly Saracen foot soldier, he hurls to the heavens the trees on which the history of their love is carved.

A renewed interest in lyric poetry was sparked in Italian courts by Spanish performers who followed the Aragonese and the Borgia to Italy. Pietro Bembo, who frequented several of those courts, spearheaded the revival of Petrarchan poetry dedicated to Platonic love, the most influential movement in lyric poetry. A fondness for pageantry is evident in Angelo Poliziano's *Stanzas for the Joust of the Magnificent Giuliano* (1475–1478), which glorified a Medici family member's winning of a tournament. The pastoral, prominent in Roman and medieval literature, inspired the *Arcadia* (1504) of Jacopo Sannazaro, which was set in an idealized country-

side of shepherds tending their flocks and was marked by the practical subtext of court patronage.

COMEDY: CONTINUATION OF TRADITIONS, REVIVAL OF THE ANCIENTS, AND CREATION OF NEW GENRES

Theater developed along several lines during the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Continuing from the Middle Ages was the religious play or *sacra rappresentazione*, which was particularly popular in Tuscany. Folk plays celebrating marriages and seasonal festivities such as Carnival were staged in rural and urban Italy. States, especially Venice, utilized folk genres to influence the popular classes' opinions on political questions. Urban life among the popular classes of Naples was the subject of several comic compositions by Sannazaro. The pastoral tradition inspired the first known vernacular nonreligious drama, Poliziano's *Orpheus* (1480).

Toward the end of the fifteenth century, theatrical developments gained momentum. The Este rulers of Ferrara staged the comedies of Plautus and Terence in Latin and in Italian translation. Playwrights in Venice composed their own comedies in Latin about contemporary subjects. In the early sixteenth century, a new genre began to form: the learned comedy. Taking its general framework from ancient comedy, learned comedy was also influenced by Giovanni Boccaccio's (1313–1375) *Decameron* (1348–1353), which was written in the vernacular and emphasized characters' ingenious and fair solutions to the contemporary social conflicts in which they were caught up. Comedies were performed at Carnival and wedding festivities; they explored the conflicts between parents arranging financially advantageous marriages for their children and the young people's dedication to the contemporary vogue for love. Typical of the genre are Ariosto's *The Coffer*, *The Pretenders*, and *The Necromancer* or *The Magician* (all written in 1508–1520), *The Mandrake Root* (1504–1518) by Niccolò Machiavelli, and *The Follies of Calandro* (1513) by Bernardo Dovizi (Il Bibbiena).

The lower classes and undignified behavior subsequently assumed greater importance in comedy. The works of several Siennese playwrights and those of Angelo Beolco (Il Ruzante), who wrote between about 1516 and 1536, mixed Arcadian shepherds with real peasants, exploiting their mutual misun-

derstandings to comic effect. Beolco's plays of the late 1520s concentrated on peasant life and the terrible sufferings inflicted by a wave of war, famine, and disease. Ariosto's final play, *Lena* (1528–1529), presents a bleak picture of the moral compromises called for by impoverished urban life that was probably influenced by Beolco, with whom he was working. Aretino's comedies *The Courtesan* (1525) and *The Stablemaster* (1526–1527) satirized urban and courtly life. The anonymous work *The Venetian Woman* (1510–1517 or 1536) depicted the clandestine and forbidden erotic rivalry of two Venetian patrician women.

THE NOVELLA

The most popular genre of nondramatic prose was the novella, which favored plot variety and armchair travel. Inspired by Boccaccio's *Decameron* and a strong indigenous tradition, Florentine writers of the late fifteenth century created popular and aristocratic variants of the novella. Tommaso Guardati (Masuccio Salernitano) ushered in a new phase marked by pessimism and moralizing. His 1476 collection, whose title *Il Novellino* is a pun on 'little novel' and 'novice', introduced the convention of dedicatory letters to aristocrats. The mid-sixteenth century saw the publication of numerous novella collections. Matteo Bandello's *Novelle* and Giovanni Battista Giraldi Cinzio's *Hecatommithi*, the latter including a philosophical dialogue on civil life, share a somber tone and assign tragic outcomes to transgressive actions. Shakespeare employed a number of the novellas as the bases of his plays. *The Pleasurable Nights* of Giovan Francesco Straparola, tales supposedly told during Carnival on the Venetian island of Murano, return to the bawdy tone of the earlier tradition and the magic realism of the comic epics. The Renaissance novella, like its medieval counterpart, emphasized restraint, analysis, and intelligent deployment of resources. Added to those features were the new conventions of strengthened support for social hierarchy and the inclusion of a chorus that commented on the actions of the protagonists. The latter convention was perhaps derived from theater, for which many authors of novellas also wrote.

NEW PROSE GENRES

Expository prose developed several new vernacular genres. Leonardo da Vinci (1452–1519) provided

an illustrious beginning for scientific writing. The behavioral manual, indispensable in a period of changing social relations, was embodied by *The Courtier* (1528) by Baldassare Castiglione. A somewhat subversive variant was Aretino's *Dialogues* (1534), some of which teach the arts of eroticism. Normativity returned with Giovanni Della Casa's *Galateo* (1558), whose title became synonymous with good deportment.

LITERARY THEORY AND ARISTOTELIANISM

One of the most important results of the humanistic search for lost classical texts was the rediscovery of Aristotle's *Poetics*. The translation of the *Poetics* into Latin in 1498 and into Italian in 1549 initiated a theoretical debate about the classifications and definitions of various literary genres. Of special interest was poetry's relationship to history, ethics, and moral philosophy. The two parts of Gian Giorgio Trissino's *Poetics* opened the topic with the first part (1529) and closed it with the second (1562); other participants included Giovanni Pontano, Francesco Robortello, Benedetto Varchi, Alessandro Piccolomini, and Lodovico Castelvetro. Over the decades of debate, Aristotle's concern with civic order caused a shift in emphasis from poetry as a solitary and pleasurable activity to poetry as bearer of civic responsibilities.

Among the genres most affected by this rediscovery were comedy and tragedy. Renaissance theorists formulated a set of norms for each on the basis of Aristotle's observations on art as imitation, on the nature of genres, and on appropriate and effective forms of representation. These were combined with Roman drama criticism to produce a value-based literary hierarchy; a series of rules governing plot, character, sentiment, and diction; a progressive five-act structure; and the renowned unities of time, place, and action (plot), which require that a play be based on one action occurring in one place on one day. Important contributions to this movement included Trissino's *Poetics*, Francesco Robortello's *On Comedy* (1548), Madius's *On the Ridiculous* (1550), and Giraldi Cinzio's *On Composing Comedies and Tragedies* (1543).

At the same time, theatrical presentations acquired established sites, with a permanent theater becoming a requirement of a ruler's palazzo.

TRAGEDY

The first tragedies were written during the War of the League of Cambrai (1509–1517): Gian Giorgio Trissino's *Sophonisba* (1515), in which a queen defeated by the Romans commits suicide, and Giovanni Rucellai's *Rosmunda*. Aristotle believed that tragedy's concentration on rulers and on the emotions of horror and compassion made it superior to comedy. The rediscovery of his theories promoted respect for tragedy, which was staged exclusively for aristocratic audiences. Although Renaissance authors adhered to the strict rules that classical theoreticians developed for tragedy, they also included contemporary issues in their works. The Este court in Ferrara undertook the first staging of a vernacular tragedy, Giraldi Cinzio's *Orbecche*, in 1541. The Paduan Academy of the Enflamed's performance of Sperone Speroni's *Canace*, planned for 1542, was postponed by Beolco's death and never rescheduled. The first generation of tragic performances shocked aristocratic audiences with depictions of ruling families as bloodthirsty, ruthless, and incestuous.

THE QUESTIONE DELLA LINGUA

Related to literary theory was the *questione della lingua*, the question of which form of the vernacular to employ in various writings. The Italian peninsula's political and vernacular fragmentation and the extensive use of Latin made this a complicated and thorny issue. Early in the sixteenth century a group of literary courtiers, including Baldassare Castiglione, proposed a contemporary language that would both transcend and respect regional differences by allowing local variation and foreign terms. Pietro Bembo opposed their suggestion in his *Prose della volgar lingua* (Vernacular writings), advancing instead fourteenth-century literary Tuscan, for which he provided a detailed grammar. Florentine writers including Machiavelli, resisting such archaic usage, favored contemporary Florentine. Northern Italian writers Trissino and Speroni unsuccessfully attempted to revive the proposal of an eclectic language that would draw upon the vernaculars of all regions.

Bembo's proposal prevailed, an early sign of which was Ariosto's Tuscanization of *Orlando furioso*. Bembo's success was due to his own printed grammar and the many printed copies of the texts of Petrarch and Boccaccio, his models for poetry and

prose, respectively. Also influential were the power of the Florentine popes Leo X (1513–1521) and Clement VII (1523–1534) and the pressures on the publishing industry to increase the market with a standard language. Although some viewed Bembo's solution as aristocratic, it encouraged the spread of reading, as the popularity of printed chapbooks and grammars attests.

**THE LATE SIXTEENTH CENTURY:
VARIATIONS ON ESTABLISHED THEMES**

Literary developments during the second half of the sixteenth century largely consisted of variations on the themes established in the preceding years. Lyric poetry in the Petrarchan tradition enjoyed renewed vitality in the middle decades of the century: the appeal of its interiority and allusive language increased in a time of uncertainty in the civic and religious spheres. Women began to write in this style, their numbers including courtesans such as Gaspara Stampa and Veronica Franco, women of the popular class such as Modesta Pozzo, and upper-class women such as Vittoria Colonna and Chiara Matraini. Themes of the love of woman for man and the love of God were added to the traditional theme of the Platonic love of man for woman. Some genuine, rather than comic, epics appeared as a result of the high value accorded to the epic by Aristotle. These included Trissino's *Italia liberata dai Goti* (1547–1548) and Torquato Tasso's great *Jerusalem Delivered* (1581), which celebrated the recapture of Jerusalem by Christian knights during the Crusades.

Comedy, which Aristotle confined to the lowest sphere of society and values, became associated largely with the nascent commedia dell'arte. Performances were conducted not by courtiers but by the first professional troupes, who abandoned scripts for type characters and conventional plot devices. Only Venice and Florence, with their republican governments, maintained a robust scripted tradition with the comedies of playwrights such as Andrea Calmo and Anton Francesco Grazzini. The pastoral, which reached its zenith with Tasso's *Aminta* (1573), provided courtly entertainment.

In the final decades of the century, doubts about the validity and sustainability of strict Aristotelian categories crept in. New mixed genres appeared, along with interest in nonaristocratic and

female characters, and subversive and distorted language. The comedies of Giovan Battista Della Porta and Giordano Bruno's *The Candlebearer* (1582) embody these developments. Both playwrights' restless questioning of religious orthodoxy led to investigations by the Inquisition; Bruno was burned at the stake. Tragedy, after a brief absence from the stage, developed along more moderate lines. The tensions generated by the absolute power of God and inescapable human guilt were softened in the new genre of the tragedy with a happy ending. Kings, while still all-powerful, owed their ill deeds to advisers rather than their own defects, and horror-inducing actions no longer occurred on-stage. The pastoral continued in Ferrara as a mixed genre with Giovanni Battista Guarini's *Faithful Shepherd*, written in a tragicomic style. Other popular blended forms included the melodrama and the serious or dark comedy. The Aristotelian debate underwent a final shift toward a view of poetry as art. In the linguistic sphere, archaic Tuscan, that is, the fourteenth-century Tuscan of Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio, suffered a setback when Tasso eschewed it for his epic.

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Seventeenth-century Italian literature continued a number of important late-sixteenth-century trends. Many of the most significant developments occurred in academies, which were selective private groups of learned men. Scientific rationalism produced great though isolated monuments in the writings of Galileo Galilei (1564–1642), a member of the Accademia dei Lincei (Academy of the Lynx-like). Scientific rationalism was applied by Paolo Sarpi to human affairs in his works on church–state relations and by the Accademia Della Crusca (Academy of the Bran) to language in a Florentine dictionary that they compiled under Medici patronage. The dictionary was a milestone in the *questione della lingua*, its affirmation of archaic Tuscan stimulating much debate and instigating a countertrend in the use of local dialects in literary compositions. Theatrical productions abounded, led by the commedia dell'arte, a variety of mixed genres, and melodrama. The construction of theaters to which the public was admitted for a fee opened a profitable enterprise, while the leading family acting troupes such as the Andreini attracted a large public following. The novella, with its variety of characters, locations, and

outcomes, experienced continued popularity. Poetry comprised both the floridity of the baroque, with its love of the bizarre and the marvelous, and the severity of classicism. The leading figure in the former style was Giovan Battista Marino, whose *Adone* (Adonis), the longest poem in Italian literature, recounted the loves of Venus and Adonis. His followers, the Marinisti, wrote numerous love poems.

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The eighteenth century, known as the Age of Enlightenment for its emphasis on secular rationalism, saw the growth of scientific research. Learned men wrote the first histories of literature and the theater and compiled collections of historical documents. In his *New Science* (1725, 1730, 1744), Giambattista Vico studied human society in a systematic manner for the first time. Newspapers brought discussions and debates on many topics to a wider audience. The backdrop of many of these developments was a reform of the aristocratic regime, most of whose proponents aimed to eliminate excesses and restore the aristocracy to a role of leadership, but whose egalitarianism and respect for work and the law contained the seeds of a new order.

Aristocratic life received comic treatment in Giuseppe Parini's *The Day* (1763 and 1765). The last of the mock epics, it recounts a day in the life of a young Milanese nobleman, a day dedicated entirely to his pleasure. Implicitly in *The Day* and explicitly elsewhere, Parini expressed his admiration for the sobriety, practicality, and work ethic of the lower classes who produced the items consumed by the young nobleman. Yet Parini was not a revolutionary, preferring that the aristocracy reform itself and earn its privileges, not vanish entirely.

The stage attracted the interest of many talented writers. Most renowned among them was one of the world's great playwrights, the Venetian Carlo Goldoni (1707–1793). While his early plays conformed to the typed characters and plot devices of the commedia dell'arte, Goldoni soon spearheaded a move toward realism that appealed to many theatergoers. The plays of his reform period recognize the worth of middle- and lower-class characters, depicting the impoverished aristocracy as arrogant and frivolous. Opposition came from many, including Carlo Gozzi, whose exotic tales filled with aris-

tocratic wealth and privilege also attracted a large following. Venetian authorities censured the theater and required Goldoni to rewrite some of his plays. In 1762, Goldoni left for Paris, where he worked with the Comédie Italienne and wrote his memoirs.

A desire to liberate the states of the Italian peninsula from the tyranny of foreign rule inspired the tragedies of Vittorio Alfieri (1749–1803). After extensive travels outside the peninsula, Alfieri took up residence in Florence, where he wrote plays and the treatise *Of Tyranny* (1777) to expose the defects of tyrannical rule. Yet Alfieri's works showed that he was unable to completely renounce the old order. He chose tragedy, the most conservative, aristocratic genre, and he deposes no ruler in his plays. The innermost sentiments of the characters are conveyed in lyrical language. His masterpiece *Saul* depicts King Saul's struggles with the knowledge that David will soon replace him as ruler, yet the old king maintains his dignity throughout the work.

Autobiography, which began with the poets Dante and Petrarch in the fourteenth century and reemerged in the sixteenth century with Benvenuto Cellini's *Life*, reached its culmination in the eighteenth century. With the old social order weakened and under scrutiny, personal reinvention through prose was more possible than at any time since the fourteenth century, and more useful. The unusually large number of authors seeking public affirmation by creating a written persona included Goldoni, Gozzi, Casanova, Alfieri, and Vico.

The gathering momentum for the liberation of Italy from foreign rule breathed life into the *questione della lingua*. Alfieri preferred contemporary Tuscan, while the Verri brothers, associated with the newspaper *The Caffè*, opposed it. Goldoni typified the open approach, writing plays both in Tuscan and in the dialects of Venice and the neighboring fishing town of Chioggia. In his influential *Essay on the Philosophy of Language* (1785), Melchiorre Cesarotti advanced the view that all Italians possessed their language, and that control of it should pass from a closed local academy to a committee of learned men from all regions.

See also Castiglione, Baldassare; Cellini, Benvenuto; Drama: Italian; Galileo Galilei; Goldoni, Carlo; Leonardo da Vinci; Machiavelli, Niccolò; Tasso, Torquato.

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ITALIAN WARS (1494–1559).

Renaissance Italy lacked a strong institutional framework that enjoyed a broad consensus. The medieval wars pitting proponents of imperial supremacy (the Ghibellines) against those who advocated papal supremacy (the Guelfs) were fought to a stalemate. Neither the emperor nor the pope enjoyed much real power over the mosaic of city-republics, territorial principalities, or fiefs in central and northern Italy. In the kingdom of Naples, which was theoretically a fief of the church, control passed from a French (Angevin) dynasty to one linked to Aragón without much interference from the rest of Italy. Much internecine warfare wracked the peninsula, as aristocrats fought each other for primacy in their respective cities, as larger towns

conquered their rural hinterlands, and as the larger territorial states attempted to absorb the smaller ones around them. The Peace of Lodi in 1454 inaugurated an era of relative peace for forty years, but it did not extinguish the various pretexts of territorial ambition, dynastic ambition, or autonomist sentiment that could engulf Italy in new large-scale hostilities.

FRENCH ADVENTURES

The entry into Italy of the French king's army in his quest to make good his claims to the throne of Naples in 1494 ignited many simultaneous conflicts. The French king Charles VIII (ruled 1483–1498) was assisted by the “tyrant” of Milan, Ludovico Sforza (ruled 1494–1499), who was losing his grip on power in Lombardy. Florence swept the Medici out of power and restored a real republic, but it needed French support to survive, and subject cities rebelled against it. The Aragonese Pope Alexander VI Borgia (reigned 1492–1503) had no army able to oppose the French, so the great force of Charles VIII advanced to Naples virtually unopposed and chased away the local branch of the Aragonese dynasty. But within a year the pope, the Republic of Venice, the duke of Mantua, King Ferdinand of Aragón (monarch in Sicily; ruled 1468–1516), and the Emperor Maximilian I (ruled 1493–1519) drew together and threatened to bottle up the French king's army in southern Italy. Only a fighting retreat in 1495 allowed Charles VIII to regain France, and his Neapolitan regime collapsed behind him.

His successor Louis XII (ruled 1498–1515) launched a new army into Italy in 1500, this time laying claim to Milan as well as Naples. With Genoese and Venetian help, the French army quickly seized most of northwest Italy, but the king would not rest on this success. By secret treaty with Ferdinand of Aragón, he agreed to split the kingdom of Naples between the two of them. Fighting soon broke out between Spaniards and French over their respective shares, and the latter were driven out. The new spoiler was now Venice, exploiting tensions everywhere in order to extend its hold in the Adriatic basin. A new alliance of Aragón, France, the Holy Roman Empire, and the pope crushed Venetian ambitions in 1509. But Venice allied with the pope, with Ferdinand, with the Swiss cantons,



Italian Wars. *The Battle of Pavia, Feb. 24 1525*, painting by Joachim Patnir. ©ERICH LESSING/ART RESOURCE, N.Y.

and with the emperor to expel the French from Milan soon after. By the end of 1512, the French were ejected from Italy a second time.

Francis I (ruled 1515–1547), successor to Louis XII, sent a fresh army in 1515 to occupy Milan and its territory. This time the pope, and even the new king of Aragón, Charles I, recognized the French king's conquest, but the French position deteriorated rapidly as Charles became king of Spain in 1516 and then Holy Roman emperor in Germany in 1519. As Emperor Charles V, the young Habsburg monarch and his allies expelled the French from Milan in 1521 and defeated renewed attempts to recapture it. In 1525 Francis I was captured at the battle of Pavia. The wars were far from over, but this turn in the fighting marked the onset of a new and durable phase of Habsburg ascendancy in Europe.

HABSBURG CONSOLIDATION

The union of large territories under the sway of a single monarch was a dynastic accident, but Charles was able to harness the wealth of Spain, the Low Countries, the German principalities, and almost half of Italy to keep the French at bay. Soon he would be king in Mexico and Hungary as well. In each of these realms he inherited monumental problems, but after each crisis he appeared more powerful than ever. In 1527 a new French league against him came apart after an imperial army besieged and sacked Rome itself, an event whose impact on the people of Rome and on European public opinion was catastrophic. Genoa, with its fleet and its commerce, swung over to Charles in 1528. The emperor then supported the restoration of the Medici as absolute princes in Florence. After a brief truce, French armies occupied Savoy and most of Piedmont in an attempt to reconquer Milan. Inter-

mittent campaigning in Italy and over half of Europe could not break the stalemate, however. The new French king Henry II (ruled 1547–1559) would not let Italy out of his sights. France intervened in Parma in 1551 to expel papal forces there and in 1552 backed a Siennese uprising against its imperial garrison; in 1555 France supported the extremist Pope Paul IV (1555–1559), who called for Spain's removal from Naples, and yet again a French army descended on the peninsula to occupy the territory. But Habsburg armies won victories everywhere in those years, until France consented to the Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis in 1559.

The Italian Wars were but one theater in a continental struggle involving most of western Europe, with France and the Habsburg territories constituting the eternal adversaries. The 1559 treaty might only have been a truce had not religious divisions led to a French civil war that lasted intermittently for three generations. Habsburg territorial ascendancy in Italy was complete, with the conquest of Milan, Naples, Sicily, and Sardinia. The duke of Piedmont-Savoy, the princes of Mantua, Parma, Ferrara, and Florence, and the rich republic of Genoa were reduced to satellite status. Moreover, Charles (who retired in 1555) followed a policy of encouraging stability in the peninsula, allowing the minor princes to impose greater control over their subjects, and stifling any Protestant sentiment. The enduring legacy of these wars was a long Pax Hispanica that underlay the renewed prosperity and heightened influence of Italy in the world until the next great disruption after 1620.

See also Cateau-Cambrésis (1559); Charles V (Holy Roman Empire); Italy; Naples, Kingdom of; Rome, Sack of.

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ITALY. The early modern period following the Renaissance is only now emerging from long neglect by historians, who once considered the period one of unbroken decline. This neglect is paradoxical considering that it was in the period of the late Renaissance and the Counter-Reformation that Italy attained its greatest influence in the Western world and a degree of wealth and sophistication that gave it the pilot role in European civilization. The two-and-a-half centuries following the end of the Italian wars in 1559 do not constitute a single period, however.

ITALIAN STATES

Unlike France, England, and Castile, which were relatively centralized monarchies with deep roots in the Middle Ages, and unlike Germany, which was a loose-knit confederation of a myriad of relatively stable states under the benign leadership of the Holy Roman emperor, Italy lacked a simple overarching political framework that enjoyed a wide consensus. Medieval wars between Guelphs and Ghibellines, partisans of papal and imperial authority, respectively, were fought to a stalemate where the reality of power lay with each major city and each great lord in central and northern Italy. Then a gradual and fairly rapid process of elimination of the small states by the larger ones resulted in a political map articulated around less than a dozen territorial states by the time of the Peace of Lodi in 1451. The large-scale Italian wars beginning in 1494 simplified this situation even more after a half-century of intermittent fighting. When the wars were over, the king of Spain, Philip II (ruled 1555–1598), was duke of Milan and king of Naples, Sicily, and Sardinia. A handful of Italian princes seated in Turin, Mantua, Ferrara, Parma, Florence, and Urbino were reduced to satellite status. The pope had now become effective ruler over all the Papal States in central Italy by eliminating the virtual independence of city-states like Perugia or Bologna. Three medieval city-republics still survived: the powerful Venetian state jealous of its independence, the rich but subservient Genoese republic, and the almost insignificant Luccan state. Once the French threat was definitively removed by a long succession of religious conflicts (1561–1629), Italy enjoyed the fruits of a Pax Hispanica that underpinned its economic growth and its new institutional stability.



The new principalities themselves were significant improvements over the unstable coalitions of interests in small city-states. Dynasties like the Medici in Florence, the Farnese in Parma, and the Savoy in Turin gradually reined in the privileges and the autonomy of feudal lords and ensured greater stability by offering more impartial justice. Italian

urban governments were as efficient as those anywhere, and the political prerogatives enjoyed by established families in the towns and cities of central and northern Italy enabled them to govern conjointly with their princes. These princes also took the first steps to empower the elites of subject towns in their bureaucracies and employed them at their

courts. While most princes built citadels to guarantee the docility of local nobles, they also entrusted the peasantry with arms and training as territorial militia. With time, even the new, upstart dynasties planted roots in the territories they ruled, cajoled the aristocracy to cooperate with them, wove alliances, and multiplied marriages with other dynasties in Europe. In short, they acquired legitimacy in the eyes of their subjects.

Similarly, the king of Spain held Neapolitan and Sicilian barons on a tighter leash and kept them from each others' throats. These aristocrats readily admitted the usefulness of a strong foreign monarch who served as a safety valve against overbearing and ambitious members of their own group. Spain held out many rewards for their compliant obedience and granted noble families ample autonomy in their fiefs. Spanish imperial ventures in the New World, in the Mediterranean, and in Flanders gave Italian elites almost everywhere a worthy theater in which to display their bravura and achieve their most lofty ambitions. Spanish power also kept the peace in Italy by barring the way to invaders and mediating the tensions arising between Italian states. Most of Italy lived contentedly in the Spanish shadow, and its elites joined the great Catholic crusades against heresy in Flanders, in France, and against the Turks in Hungary and the Mediterranean. More pacific Italians enriched themselves by helping finance the great Spanish military machine.

THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

This long sixteenth century, lasting until 1620, marked the creation of the first truly global economy with ramifications in Asia and the Americas. Much of the great flow of silver from the Spanish New World was diverted to the coffers of Italian businessmen who then reinvested it in large-scale trade. Italy enjoyed a number of cultural advantages it had accumulated since the Middle Ages. With Arabic numerals, with widespread numeracy, and commonplace recourse to paper transactions, Italians developed the most sophisticated financial and credit mechanisms anywhere. Italy's high-quality urban manufactures dominated the lucrative luxury sectors of international commerce, the skills to produce them protected and enhanced continually in each city. Venice was probably the most important industrial city in Europe, if not the world. Milan was

TABLE 1.

Italian Ruling Dynasties

Duchy of Mantua

Francesco II Gonzaga (1484–1519)
 Federico II (1519–1540)
 Francesco III (1540–1550)
 Guglielmo (1550–1587)
 Vincenzo I (1587–1612)
 Francesco IV (1612)
 Ferdinando (1612–1626)
 Vincenzo II (1626–1627)
 Carlo I (1627–1637)
 Carlo II (1637–1665)
 Carlo Ferdinando (1665–1708)

Duchy of Ferrara, Modena & Reggio

Alfonso I d'Este (1476–1534)
 Ercole II (1534–1559)
 Alfonso II (1559–1597)
 Cesare (1597–1628): bastard branch, minus Ferrara
 Alfonso III (1628–1644)
 Francesco I (1644–1658)
 Alfonso IV (1658–1662)
 Francesco II (1662–1694)
 Rinaldo (1694–1737)
 Francesco III (1737–1780)
 Ercole III (1780–1803)

Duchy of Urbino

Guidobaldo I Montefeltro, (1503–1508)
 Francesco Maria I Della Rovere (1508–1516 & 1521–1538)
 Guidobaldo II (1538–1574)
 Francesco Maria II (1574–1631)

Duchy of Parma and Piacenza

Pier Luigi Farnese (1545–1547)
 Ottavio (1547–1586)
 Alessandro (1586–1592)
 Ranuccio (1592–1622)
 Odoardo (1622–1646)
 Ranuccio II (1646–1694)
 Francesco (1694–1727)
 Antonio (1727–1731)
 Philippe de Bourbon (1748–1765)
 Ferdinando (1765–1802)

a vast workshop fed from the great Po valley and provisioned, like the manufacturing cities around it in Lombardy, from much of Europe. Cities like Florence, Bologna, and Naples were also notable centers of manufacturing in a broad range of activities. This economy was directed, at the top, by large-scale bankers, dominated by the Genoese, meeting annually in Piacenza to sort out the exchange and credit needs of all of Europe. The man-

ufacturing economy was complemented by one of the most efficient agricultural economies in the Western world, giving Italy the highest population density in Europe. The successful integration of livestock-raising, tree and vine crops, and cereals in central and northern Italy permitted landlords to utilize scant resources more rationally. If the country was not quite self-sufficient in food supplies, ruling elites adopted complex administrative measures to avert urban famine.

Italy was not least the seat of the Catholic Church. Despite the challenge to its hold over western Europe with Protestant reformations in Germany, France, and England, the great and complex institution survived and gradually recovered. The long and intermittent Council of Trent (1545–1563) enhanced the unity of the institution, while new religious orders like the Jesuits bolstered the power of the pontiff. The new Roman Inquisition (founded in 1542) quickly crushed any hint of non-conformity in Italy, while an array of committees rejuvenated the basic texts and doctrines of the faith. The Roman Curia grew to become one of the great courts of Europe, and the city of Rome grew with it, largely rebuilt and deploying modern concepts and tools of urbanism that made the Eternal City the most modern metropolis on the continent and a great repository of both sacred and secular architecture. The Council of Trent had far-reaching consequences for the practice of Catholicism throughout the world, but Italy was its motor, the area of recruitment of its most active proponents. It took decades for the central organs of the church to apply the council's decisions to the urban and rural hinterland, and much longer for these changes to bear fruit. Nevertheless by 1600 the reforms were everywhere in full swing, with the aim of Christianizing Italians in depth. One effect was to make the church an ever more powerful political entity that expanded its jurisdiction and its taxing power with respect to the state. Members of the social elite flocked to enter both old and new religious orders, or saw the church as a coveted career choice. Clerical discipline and doctrine were then relayed to men and women in both city and country via ever more numerous confraternities.

CULTURAL LEADER OF EUROPE

Italy's cultural inventions provided the standards to which Europeans complied in literature, architecture, art, and music until the end of the nineteenth century, although the country lost some of its pilot role by 1650. The era is synonymous with the baroque aesthetic, fashioned in Rome in the late 1500s, and often closely associated with the Catholic Church. Italian spectacles and festive activities were something of a magnet for Europeans, who imitated its styles. In music, both the small-scale madrigal and the large-scale opera were inventions of the period with a long future. Italian cities invented the modern conservatory to train professional musicians, as they invented the art academy as a place to master the techniques and the theory of painting, sculpture, and architecture. Rome and Venice witnessed the emergence of the first art "market" where buyers and sellers exchanged artworks as commodities. Over time, the baroque aesthetic gradually simplified to announce the basic principles of what would become neoclassicism in the eighteenth century. Italy remained the favorite destination of painters and architects seeking models elaborated in both modern and ancient times.

The proponents of all these reforms and inventions were very largely aristocrats. Urban living had given them a patina of urbanity that combined gentle birth, good breeding, a high level of education, and the ability to choose among a wide array of professional and amateur activities without equal in Europe. The humanist models of *virtù* exercised in this world were taught formally to nobles in Jesuit-run colleges created first in Italy and then exported throughout the Catholic world and beyond. At first, little prevented the active involvement of noblemen in commerce and manufacture, but as aristocratic mores formed a proper doctrine by the late sixteenth century, they began to withdraw from the active role to celebrate a more genteel *otium* ('leisure'). Yet it was precisely this detachment from mundane affairs that other Europeans found compelling. The pomp and formality of aristocracy defined the early modern elite, and even the age.

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

The Italian pilot role was snatched away suddenly around 1620. The country was never fully protected from foreign threats. During all of the early modern



age, Barbary pirates infested the Mediterranean and the Adriatic seas, seizing ships laden with merchandise belonging to Italians. Worse, flotillas of Muslim pirates raided coastal villages and carried off the population into slavery in North Africa or the Middle East. At times, even substantial cities like Reggio Calabria could be sacked by the largest of such flo-

tillas. Italians and Spaniards responded by building a vast network of coastal fortresses and towers, manned with troops and backed with militia to rally threatened districts. The great Ottoman fleets were smashed at Lepanto in 1571, but insecurity reigned thereafter, checked only by the expansion or creation of Catholic crusading flotillas of the knights of

Saint John of Jerusalem and of Santo Stefano, operating out of Malta or Livorno, or the small papal and Savoyard squadrons combined with Spanish vessels based in Genoa, Naples, or Sicily.

WARS AND POLITICS

The corsair raids were mere pinpricks next to the eruption of large-scale warfare in Italy and Europe after about 1613, which engulfed first the northern states and then gradually all the others. The Thirty Years' War, which began in 1618, widened to include France intermittently after 1625 and permanently after 1635. Northern Italy became a frequent battleground for contending armies, while other territories contributed troops and money, mostly in support of Habsburg Austria and Spain. The consequences of large-scale, long-term warfare threw the Italian economies into upheaval, destroying networks of credit and exchange, closing off markets, closing workshops, weakening survivors to the point of making them more vulnerable to contagious diseases. By the 1640s, mounting taxes and a dizzying public debt triggered a massive uprising in the kingdom of Naples that imperiled the Spanish regime. If the region saw the rapid recovery by Spain, the kingdom of Naples was too exhausted to remain a pillar of Spanish strength. During the seventeenth century, King Philip IV (ruled 1621–1665) privatized most of his assets in southern Italy in a desperate attempt to find cash to fight the war, reducing royal power in that region to a shadow. It would be decades before Spanish viceroys could muster enough strength in the form of tax revenue to impose their control over the mountainous hinterland and impose obedience on the most turbulent feudal lords. In Sicily, too, the number of troops in the coastal fortresses contracted to the edge of insignificance. Even Venice was drawn into a long and costly defense of its overseas empire against the Ottoman Turks in three very costly wars (1645–1670, 1684–1699, 1714–1718) that reduced its presence in the Middle East to a mere shadow. Hundreds of Venetian patricians died on the ramparts of Candia (present-day Hania), the capital of Crete, or in desperate sea battles with the Turks in the Aegean or the Dardanelles, or of typhus and plague contracted during military operations.

With the eclipse of Spanish power everywhere in Europe, Italian states became pawns in the new European state system articulated around a handful of emergent great powers. Challenged repeatedly by France, Spain was hard pressed to defend its overseas colonies and its European possessions. It almost lost Sicily in the 1670s in the aftermath of an urban revolt at Messina (1674–1678), and Naples and Sardinia escaped conquest only due to French lack of initiative. French pressure on Italian states convinced those princes and republics to let lapse their ties and alliances with Madrid. Only in 1690 did a challenge to French ambitions emerge with the Habsburg emperor Leopold I's (ruled 1657–1705) dispatch of an army to northern Italy, intent on filling the Spanish vacuum with an Austrian one. Leopold I intended to impose his jurisdiction (and his claims to Italian taxes) on the whole of northern and central Italy, as Charles V (ruled 1519–1556) had been briefly able to do in the sixteenth century. The demilitarization of most of the Italian states after the end of the Thirty Years' War in 1648 forced the smaller states without large standing armies, like Genoa, Mantua, Florence, and Modena, to comply reluctantly with imperial ultimatums. This crisis came to a head during the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1714) when the extinction of the Spanish Habsburg line opened a succession contested between France and the rest of Europe. Most of Spain acclaimed Louis XIV's grandson Philip as king and heir of all the Spanish dominions in 1700. However, the prospect of combining the weak global empire of Spain with the powerful and populous kingdom of France was too horrible to contemplate for the Austrian Habsburgs and their allies in England, Germany, and the Netherlands. Spanish territories in Italy meekly accepted the Bourbon candidate, Philippe d'Orléans, and most accepted the presence of French armies in Italy to defend the inheritance. The Gonzaga rulers of Mantua openly sided with the "Gallispanns," as they were called. Piedmont was dragged into the French alliance at the outset of the war but changed sides in 1704. Campaigning on a scale never before seen, between the Gallispan forces and the imperial and Piedmontese in northern Italy, culminated in the perilous siege of Turin by the French in 1706. A victory there would probably have entrenched the Bourbon dynasty in Italy. At the last minute, an imperial army under Prince Eugene of Savoy



(1663–1736) maneuvered its way to Piedmont and routed the Gallispan army and chased it out of Italy. In the subsequent campaigns, Austrian armies occupied all of Lombardy and the kingdom of Naples and imposed imperial tutelage on all the smaller states. Over the subsequent decades, Vienna would patiently extend its authority over them all, with the

exception of Piedmont and Venice, which had substantial armies of their own.

ECONOMY AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS

The legacy of war in the seventeenth century included both disease and ruin. Hard times magnified the impact of diseases like the plague that swept

away a quarter of the population of northern Italy in 1630 and then a quarter of southern Italy in 1656. The decline of food prices in the aftermath of the plagues also served to depress the entire economy, with the result that most peasants lost the land they owned due to insufficient revenues in hard times. Widespread misery took a lethal toll in frequent outbreaks of typhus, which killed hundreds of thousands of people each time there was a general harvest failure. Widespread poverty drove prices downward for at least a century, between 1620 and 1730, forcing all to curtail spending and investment. The urban manufactures lost their markets abroad and then increasingly their markets at home, too. Instead of importing food and raw materials and exporting high-quality manufactured goods, as in the past, Italians imported ever more manufactured goods from France, the Netherlands, and England, and sold agricultural commodities and semifinished products in exchange. From what we can measure, standards of living in Italian cities and villages declined along with the population. This was not an economic crisis, *per se*, preparing a rapid recovery. Rather, Italy fell quickly and enduringly behind its northern European neighbors and became the very example of stagnation and decline.

Italy lost its cultural ascendancy in the same period. After spearheading the mathematization of the universe, Italian philosophers formulated the first serious challenge to the Aristotelian worldview that the church supported. However, the church grew in strength throughout this crisis period, and with the active support of Italian princes, it mobilized against new currents in philosophy and science in an enduring manner. If Italy retained a larger number of universities and academies compared to other countries, these were gradually coopted by religious authorities vigilant against dangerous novelties. Italian elites ceased their campaign to spread literacy in cities and villages. Europe's cultural center of gravity shifted away from northern Italy to settle on the triangle of Paris-London-Amsterdam, which became the fulcrum of the Enlightenment.

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The eighteenth century nevertheless witnessed a partial recovery of Italy, though it did not begin to

close the gap with northwest Europe. The long depression of the European economy ended around 1730 as the newly rising population began to raise prices and intensify commercial exchanges. Italy's once-prized urban manufactures continued to lose ground, and the country ruralized further, while in northern Europe the cities gained ground absolutely and relatively. Nevertheless, famines became less frequent as large-scale maize and rice cultivation introduced these high-yield crops into the staple diet. A new interest in agricultural questions among the elite sparked an era of innovation and experiment, and investments aimed to reclaim farmland from marshes and hillsides. The Italian population increased from thirteen million to eighteen million at the end of the century, but European population increase was stronger outside Italy. Fortunes were made supplying grain and other foodstuffs to the cities, and the country exported food and other agricultural products like raw silk. Economic thinkers began to suggest lifting the number of restrictions hedging agricultural production and distribution, in the expectation that landlords would produce more food as prices rose. The widespread famines of the mid-1760s constitute a watershed in that governments everywhere began to liberalize the economy, and the grain trade in particular. Production did indeed rise, but prices rose relentlessly, too, and with them, misery proved irrepressible.

The same liberalizing trends were introduced into manufacturing, with the same mixed results. State monopolies and privileges protecting specific industries did not prove very successful. After mid-century, governments began to turn a blind eye to breaches in the regulations. Governments contributed to the expansion by investing effort in roads, canals, and monetary stability. More typically, new initiatives scattered to the countryside and used peasant labor that was abundant and cheap in the off-season. By the late eighteenth century, the future geography of Italian industry was already perceptible in Piedmont, northern Lombardy and the Veneto, Liguria, and northern Tuscany, producing cheap goods for popular markets in Italy and beyond. As the price of manufactured goods declined, something of a consumer revolution began to reach a large portion of the population, in central and northern Italy particularly.

RELIGION

The same secularizing trends at work north of the Alps began to weaken the monolithic nature of Tridentine Catholicism in the peninsula. In order to contest the challenges to their jurisdiction coming from France, Spain, and Austria, the popes gave new impetus to the study of church history, armed with the new tools of chronology and diplomatics. The unintended result was to have church scholars lead an assault on over a thousand years of church legends. A more critical form of erudition, a study of history, law, and institutions, made intellectual elites in Italy more suspicious of receiving tradition uncritically. After more than a century of active Counter-Reformation, the Italian clergy had never been so well educated or disciplined, but this meant that they were open to fresh intellectual currents, too. The church sometimes excoriated secular tendencies and arrested some of the early Freemasons (members of a philanthropical secret society who tolerated unorthodox religious views), but it could not reverse the trend. In the 1720s and 1730s Piedmont began to limit the church's jurisdiction, and took a more active role in education and charity, areas in which church institutions had been more active than the state. States began to invoke the need to appoint their own censors. Inquisition activities began to be curtailed, since they had always operated with the state's cooperation, and this was no longer automatically forthcoming. Italian states began to impose new taxes on church incomes, to reduce the tax immunities of clergymen, to reduce the number of priests and monks in their territories, and to abolish mortmain, which had prevented church land from being sold to secular landowners. Between 1750 and 1770 a spate of laws limiting the church's jurisdiction was issued all across Italy, sometimes accompanied by new concordats. Nevertheless, this did not entail the more profound dechristianization that was beginning in France. Popular attendance at church services was still very high everywhere. Over most of Italy, the late seventeenth and the entire eighteenth century witnessed missionary activity on an unprecedented scale over the entire countryside, instilling a more modern individual piety despite the theatrical flourishes typical of Mediterranean religiosity. If anything, the eighteenth century witnessed an unprecedented cultural gulf between urban cultural elites and the illiterate majority of Italians.

INTELLECTUAL CURRENTS

The intellectual dynamism in eighteenth-century Italy was considerable, across the gamut of genres. Increasing numbers of books were published in Italy, and ever more were imported, legally or as contraband. While censorship was still the norm, censors often intervened with a light hand. The church's index of prohibited books of 1758 was less severe than those preceding it, and was perhaps less severe than that of some Italian states. A great many forbidden works lined the bookshelves of Italian homes or libraries, often published in French. The publication of books was complemented by the multiplication of periodicals. While they rarely reached more than a couple of thousand subscribers each in northern and central Italy, they usually passed through more hands. These made known books published throughout Italy and the rest of Europe with very little time lag. Italian elites became conversant with French Enlightenment principles and with English ideas, too, spread by young aristocrats on the grand tour. By the 1760s and 1770s, the Italian authors who were members of academies and contributors to philosophical and literary journals began to disseminate their ideas close to the realm of power in Milan and Turin, Parma and Modena, Florence and Naples.

PIEDMONT

More often than not, Italian governments were friendly to such developments, which never encompassed much more than an urban elite. Many of the academies functioned with the blessing of princely governments. These governments evolved gradually in the direction of more discretionary power in the hands of the prince and his court, and a dwindling role for the noble heirs of the urban governments whose institutions reached back into the Middle Ages. The model was largely French, fashioned over several centuries by kings who gradually subjected great lords and autonomous regions to their authority. Piedmont applied these lessons most effectively with perfect continuity through the dukes of Savoy from Emanuel Philibert (ruled 1559–1580) onward. The house of Savoy domesticated its nobility by making service a condition of fiefholding. Nobles served in the army and at court, in both cases enhancing the power of the prince. Noblemen strove to be admitted to bureaucratic institutions in Turin. The dukes also adopted the French employment of



powerful commissioners, called *intendants*, entrusted with the strict application of the duke's decisions in every district capital. With a more efficient government hierarchy, the dukes could afford to raise taxes and establish a standing army, which could be used to enforce its will on recalcitrant subjects. During the long reign of Victor Amadeus II

(1683–1730), the duke single-mindedly pushed back provincial, aristocratic, and ecclesiastical privilege with the aim of increasing his revenues. These he spent principally on warfare. Aided by British and Dutch subsidies, Victor Amadeus fashioned a large and effective military force that helped tilt the balance against Louis XIV and resulted in the expansion

sion of the state in Lombardy and the acquisition of Sardinia (1720) with its royal title. Along with Venice, but with more ambitious expansion aims, Piedmont possessed the only serious Italian army on the peninsula. By committing its army to one side or the other in the rivalry between the Bourbons and the Habsburgs, the Savoy dynasty was able to increase the size and power of the state.

NAPLES

Piedmont was eventually isolated after 1756 once Habsburgs and Bourbons decided to make peace to confront other threats. Both dynasties applied absolutist principles in the Italian areas they governed, although these were not completely novel in the eighteenth century. The French Bourbon kings considered Italy to be a sideshow and did not seek major gains there during the eighteenth century. Their sole durable initiative was to purchase the rebellious island of Corsica from Genoa in 1767 and to crush the rebels there. Ejected from the peninsula after 1707, the Spanish Bourbons returned in 1734 when a seaborne army enabled the adolescent Charles III (ruled in Naples 1734–1759) to take Naples and Sicily from Austria. Charles was long dependent upon instructions from his parents, who gave him an army composed chiefly of Spanish and other foreign troops. True to Bourbon principles, Charles sought to domesticate the Neapolitan aristocracy and rule through civil servants steeped in royalist tradition. Charles was forced by family allegiance to commit the kingdom to war against the Habsburgs after 1740. With luck, his army defeated an Austrian attempt at reconquest in 1744, and Neapolitan notables resigned themselves to the Bourbon regime. The chief minister in Naples, Bernardo Tanucci (ascendant 1740–1776), adopted principles long followed in France, then Spain, to curtail baronial and ecclesiastical jurisdictions and liberties to the benefit of royal government, and to recover the direction of tax offices alienated to private investors during the preceding century. The place of the church was drastically curtailed during the latter half of the eighteenth century, in part due to a new concordat. Feudal power receded more gradually, though baronial excesses and violence were largely things of the past after 1750. There was even some progress in enhancing royal control over the tax machinery and in streamlining government procedures. After Tanucci retired, and the crown

settled on Charles's son Ferdinand I (ruled 1767–1825) and his Habsburg queen Maria Carolina, absolutist policies designed by aristocratic Freemasons hemmed in baronial power in Sicily, too. The Bourbons tried to maintain a credible army and rally the aristocracy around it, and in the 1780s they created a navy, too, with which to combat Barbary corsairs. In Naples the regime established a panoply of royal institutions, including a palace at Caserta modeled on Versailles. The regime was fairly deeply rooted in the kingdom when French revolutionaries overthrew it in 1799, and it was restored largely through popular rebellion.

NORTHERN ITALY AND THE HABSBURGS

Austrian Habsburgs applied the same general principles in the areas they governed after winning the War of the Spanish Succession in 1714. Initially they scooped up most of the Spanish territories in Italy: Milan, Naples, and Sardinia (exchanged with Piedmont for Sicily in 1720). Habsburg ambitions did not end there. Mantua was confiscated from the Gonzaga dukes for backing the Bourbons. The emperor Charles VI (ruled 1711–1740) also intended to incorporate into the empire the other Italian principalities: Parma on the extinction of the Farnese in 1731; Tuscany on the extinction of the Medici in 1737. Italians constituted about one-third of the emperor's direct subjects in those years.

But the incipient “Austrian” empire was a ramshackle conglomeration of territories articulated around the Austrian and Bohemian heartland, with its peripheries responding poorly to directives from the center. Its vulnerability in Italy was demonstrated during the War of the Polish Succession in 1733–1735 as Gallispan armies supported by Piedmont ejected imperial troops from both Lombardy and Naples, losing the latter definitively. When in 1740 a Prussian attack gave birth to a new coalition aimed at breaking up the Austrian Habsburg empire, triggering the War of the Austrian Succession, the new Habsburg regime headed by Maria Theresa had never looked weaker. The Danubian territories rallied around the dynasty, however, permitting the levy of new Habsburg armies for fighting in Italy, Germany, and the Low Countries. A new Spanish army operating in Emilia with Neapolitan support was beaten back. When Piedmont and Britain joined Austria soon after, the

Habsburg Monarchy was able to mount better odds. Maria Theresa briefly lost Milan and Parma in 1745 to Gallispan troops but soon after recovered sufficiently to put the Bourbons on the defensive. French successes elsewhere finally allowed a Spanish Bourbon to become duke of Parma in 1748, but it was a limited success. Maria Theresa spent the rest of her reign reinforcing imperial institutions in Milan. As in Piedmont, the crucial initiative was to undertake a meticulous cadastre of landed property that allowed it to assess taxes more equitably and efficiently. Gradually, the monarchy took over the business of raising taxes, which was novel for the *ancien régime*. After 1765, Maria Theresa was aided by her eldest son, Joseph, who reigned as emperor between 1780 and 1790. As a result of their initiatives to stimulate the economy and streamline the administration, Milanese patricians gradually lost their hold over the region, to the benefit of Italians nominated from Vienna.

The Habsburg influence spread throughout Italy in the eighteenth century, prefiguring the predominance of Metternich's age in the early nineteenth century before Italian unification. Genoa relied on imperial troops to retain its shaky hold on Corsica. Maria Theresa's husband, emperor Francis I (ruled 1737–1765), succeeded the Medici to the grand-ducal throne of Florence, and ruled it from Vienna through the intermediary of Lorrainer officials, until his son Leopold (ruled 1765–1790) went to rule there directly after 1765. The Este line in Modena eventually merged with a Habsburg prince, extending Vienna's influence into Emilia. Once Habsburgs and Bourbons formed an alliance in 1756, it was cemented in place through a series of marriages, and queen Maria Carolina effectively brought Naples into the Austrian sphere of influence at the end of the century, displacing the Spanish connection of her Bourbon husband.

Habsburg reforms tended to be most drastic with respect to the Catholic Church. Maria Theresa was content to impose Vienna's jurisdiction in her territories, at the expense of the pope. It can be argued that she was following the Bourbon lead in this area, imposing ultimate state control over papal functionaries. Reforms to church structures under her sons Joseph II (in Lombardy and the Trentino) and Leopold (in Tuscany) were intentionally more fundamental, as both princes sponsored the spread

of Jansenist principles at the expense of traditional Catholicism. Bishops nominated from Vienna were henceforth all selected with a view to uprooting "superstition" and "fanaticism." Priests were trained at great seminaries under state control, using a Jansenist catechism. The great majority of religious houses were closed by government order and their property confiscated. Most of these measures irritated most Italians, and the Tuscan reformers were challenged by traditional bishops and popular riots in 1787. Leopold decreed a pause in these and other reforms, but they marked the real end of the Counter-Reformation era in Italy, just before the arrival of French revolutionary troops in 1796.

See also Florence; Habsburg Dynasty: Austria; Habsburg Dynasty: Spain; Maria Theresa (Holy Roman Empire); Papacy and Papal States; Savoy, duchy of; Venice.

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GREGORY HANLON

IVAN III (MUSCOVY) (1440–1505; ruled 1462–1505), grand prince of Muscovy. Ivan III Vasil'evich grew up during the dynastic civil war of his father's reign and went on to lay the foundations of Russian statehood and ethnographic territory.

After ascending the throne in 1462, Ivan expanded the territory of the Grand Principality of Moscow by annexing the small but crucial principalities of Yaroslavl' (1463), Rostov (1474), Tver' (1485), Vyatka (1489), and most importantly, the Novgorod republic (1478). Exploiting internal rivalries among the ruling elite of Novgorod, Ivan was able to annex it without serious fighting. He thus acquired the main Russian emporium for the Hanseatic League and the vast Russian north, rich in furs, salt, and forest products. Defections to Moscow of Russian princes on the Lithuanian border led to two wars (1487–1494 and 1501–1503) and the addition of Chernigov (Chernihiv), Novgorod-Seversk, and Byansk to Moscow. In 1480 Ivan's army confronted the Great Horde, a successor state to the

Golden Horde, but the Horde retreated without a battle. The event provided a symbolic end to the supremacy of the heirs of the Mongols, by now weakened by internal feuds. After the death of his first wife, Maria of Tver', Ivan married Sofiia Paleologue, a Byzantine princess living in Rome. The 1472 marriage, encouraged by the Venetian Pope Paul II, brought new prestige to Moscow and, in Sofiia, a powerful figure to its court, where she remained until her death in 1503.

Ivan's policy rested on new state institutions that evolved from the princely household. Foremost in importance was the *duma*, the council of some ten or twelve men of the great aristocratic clans who ruled with the prince. The center of administration was the treasury, headed by a boyar from the Greek Khovrin family of the Crimea and comprising half a dozen secretaries and lesser staff. It not only kept and recorded revenues but acted as an archive of treaties, charters, and foreign policy, whose administration it handled. The court was headed by the majordomo, who managed Ivan's household as well as taking on larger judicial functions. These aristocrats worked well with Ivan until the 1490s, when the death of his eldest son occasioned a succession crisis. At first Ivan favored his grandson Dmitrii, who was even crowned in 1498. Almost immediately, however, Dmitrii fell from favor, and Ivan chose in his place Vasili, his second son by Sofiia. As a result the greatest of the boyars, the princes Patrikeev, went into exile.

Under Ivan the army came to rest less on the retinues of the great aristocrats than on the new gentry cavalry, each given a *pomest'e*, a land grant conditional on military service. Lands confiscated in the 1490s from the old Novgorod nobility formed a large part of these grants. The law code of 1497 began the process of writing down Muscovite law, although it was still more of a procedural handbook for judges than a code.

Ivan's reign coincided with a period of ferment in the church. Autocephalous since 1448, the Russian Orthodox Church maintained correct, if strained, relations with the Greeks. The first challenge to its authority came from a small group of Novgorod clergy and Moscow lay officials called "Judaizers" by their opponents. They seem to have questioned monastic institutions, the devotion to

icons, and some aspects of trinitarian doctrine. After some hesitation from Ivan, they were condemned and executed in 1504–1505. Their principal opponent, the abbot Joseph of Volokolamsk, was a staunch proponent of traditional monasticism and, after Ivan rejected the heretics, of princely power as well. At the same time the hermit Nil Sorskii advocated a more individual monastic piety and rejected the punishment of the heretics.

Ivan was the motivating force behind the construction of one of Russia's greatest architectural achievements, the Moscow Kremlin as we see it today. Almost entirely the work of Italian architects, the new building began with Aristotele Fioravanti's Dormition Cathedral (1475–1479), followed by the work of the Milanese Marco Ruffo and Pietro Antonio Solari, who built the Kremlin walls (1485–1495) in imitation of the Sforza castle in Milan. At the same time they constructed the princely palace, of which the Faceted Palace (1487–1491) still remains. Russian architects from Pskov built the Annunciation Cathedral as the palace church (1484–1489).

The new palace, churches, and fortifications reflected the Moscow principality's new position in the world. During these years the usage *Rossia* ('Russia'), reflecting Greek antecedents, began to replace the older "Rus'" and to refer to the lands under Ivan's rule. Informal usage of the term "tsar" appears in some documents. Ivan III, more than any other ruler, laid the foundations for the later Russian state.

See also Duma; Ivan IV, "the Terrible" (Russia); Russia; Russia, Architecture in; Russia, Art in; Vasili III (Muscovy).

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PAUL BUSHKOVITCH

IVAN IV, "THE TERRIBLE" (RUSSIA) (1530–1584; ruled 1533–1584), grand prince of Muscovy and, from 1547, first tsar of Russia. The early achievements of Ivan IV Vasil'evich, known as "the Terrible," were clouded by failure in war and repression at home in his later years. The son of Grand Prince Vasili III and Princess Elena Glinskaia, Ivan was only three when his father died. His mother led a regency with Prince Ivan Telepnev-Obolenskii, but on her death in 1538, a boyar regency took over and proved to be dominated by vicious factional struggles. At first the princes Shuiskii ousted Obolenskii and Metropolitan Daniil (1539), then the princes Bel'skii rose to power, only to be replaced by the Vorontsovs and then once again by the Glinskiis, the relatives of Ivan's mother. In 1547 Metropolitan Makarii crowned the young Ivan tsar. The new official title signified a claim to equality in rank with the Holy Roman emperor, the Ottoman sultans, and the Chingisid Tatar khans, as well as the Byzantine emperors of the past. Shortly afterwards, Ivan married Anastasiia Romanova, a woman of one of the major boyar clans. After a major riot in Moscow against the Glinskii clan led to their fall from favor, the Romanovs became the closest boyar clan to the throne.

The next decade was one of major accomplishments on all fronts. Historians dispute how much influence Ivan's inner circle of informal advisers wielded. It is certain that, along with the boyars, Aleksei Adashev, the tsar's chamberlain and head of the Petitions Office, and Ivan's chaplain Sil'vestr advised Ivan about policy. After several expeditions down the Volga, Ivan conquered the Tatar khanate of Kazan' in 1552 and the Astrakhan' khanate in 1556, giving Russia control of the whole length of the river and the steppe around it. In a few years the Russians had built a fort on the Terek River near present-day Grozny. These spectacular successes changed the balance of power in western Eurasia, as Russia was the first sedentary power to break into the steppe, cutting off its western extension from Central Asia. These conquests laid the foundation for Russian settlement of the Urals and, at the very end of Ivan's reign, the expedition of the Cossack Yermak Timofeyevich into Siberia (1581–1584), which began the Russian conquest and settlement of northern Asia.

Ivan's internal measures, often anachronistically called reforms, built up the Russian state apparatus on new foundations. In these years new state offices (*prikazy*)—no longer household offices—came into being, with an army office (*razriad*), one for landed estates, and others for bandits, petitions, and other functions. The Ambassadorial Office split off from the treasury in 1549. At the same time, the government continued the policy of ordering local gentry to elect elders to deal with crime and public order, and it replaced the older system of direct collection of taxes by local governors to support their work (*kormlenie*, or 'feeding') with the requirement for the village community to collect taxes. The older type of provincial government gave way to a more centralized state. In 1550 the government issued a new law code (*Sudebnik*), really a procedural manual for trials and investigation. In 1551 Ivan called a council of the church that resulted in a series of enactments called the Hundred Chapters, which tried to correct administrative, liturgical, and moral abuses by strengthening episcopal administration as well as the tsar's control.

In 1553 Ivan fell ill and seemed on the point of death, and he tried to guarantee the succession for his infant son. Some boyars supported him, but others feared a regency that would only empower the Romanovs. A third group favored Ivan's cousin, Vladimir of Staritsa, an incapable but certainly legitimate possibility. Fortunately Ivan recovered, but the episode poisoned relations between the tsar and his cousin, as well as with many of the boyars. The poison began to work a decade later.

In 1558 Ivan, confident in his power after the victories over the Tatars, decided to invade and attempt to conquer Livonia, founded in the thirteenth century by a German crusading order on the territory of present-day Estonia and Latvia. The Reformation had destroyed the rationale and unity of the order, and Poland and Russia both craved its lands and trading cities. For Russia, they were the main artery of commerce with Europe. Ivan's army was quickly successful, but the entrance of Poland into the war provided a new enemy. At first victorious over the Poles, Ivan's army bogged down in a long stalemate that lasted until the 1570s, when Poland and Sweden expelled the Russians and divided Livonia between themselves. The failed war was a major burden on the Russian treasury and



Ivan IV. Portrait engraving c. 1680s. THE ART ARCHIVE/RUSSIAN HISTORICAL MUSEUM MOSCOW/DAGLI ORTI (A)

ruinous for the peasantry, who paid the taxes to support it.

The war also caused discontent among the elite, and in 1564 Prince Andrei Mikhailovich Kurbskii defected to Poland-Lithuania, inaugurating a famous exchange of polemics with Ivan and also contributing to the establishment of the *oprichnina*. The executions and exactions of the following years struck the boyar elite as well as the gentry and townspeople in Novgorod. In 1575 Ivan suddenly placed a converted Tatar prince, Semen Bekbulatovich, on the throne for a few months, but the strange episode had no consequences. A return to near normalcy failed to improve Russia's position in the war, and a truce with Poland in 1582 brought Ivan no gains for his enormous effort. The one accomplishment was the beginning of the conquest of Siberia under Yermak, but this was sponsored by the Stroganov merchants rather than the government. At the end of Ivan's reign the clans began to return

to court and to power, a process completed after Ivan's death.

Ivan's reign was a vivid time, full of light and dark, a reign that saw massive and permanent expansion alongside defeat in war, the foundations of the Russian state apparatus, and enormous political and organizational chaos. The agrarian crisis caused by the Livonian War contributed to the beginnings of serfdom, while trade with England and Holland began and thousands of peasants moved to new and better lands in the south and east. The problems at the core of Ivan IV's reign and his legacy are highly complex, and many aspects remain highly controversial.

See also **Baltic Nations; Boris Godunov (Russia); Imperial Expansion, Russia; Law: Russian; Livonian War**

(1558–1583); Oprichnina; Russia; Russo-Polish Wars; Serfdom in Russia; Vasili III (Muscovy).

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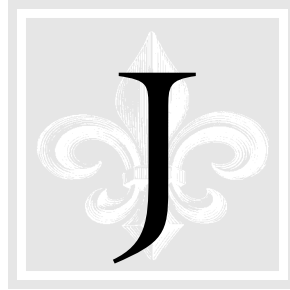
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JACOBITISM. Jacobitism was the underground cultural and dynastic movement that supported the restoration of the main line of the Stuart dynasty to the thrones of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

DEVELOPMENT

Jacobitism took its name from *Jacobus*, the Latin form of James, and stemmed directly from the Revolution of 1688 (also known as the Glorious Revolution, the English Revolution, or the Bloodless Revolution), in which the Catholic James II (ruled 1685–1688) was overthrown by a Dutch invasion (led by his Protestant nephew and son-in-law William of Orange, subsequently William III [ruled 1689–1702]) and widespread rebellion in England. James II, who became convinced he was liable to be murdered by the supporters of the Revolution, known as Revolutioners, fled to France in December 1688. There he found a refuge at the royal palace of St. Germain en Laye and (at least intermittent) support from Louis XIV (ruled 1643–1715), who saw in James’s cause an opportunity to display his credentials as an upholder of both monarchical government and the Counter-Reformation. When support for James and the Jacobite cause did not conflict with his other objectives, Louis provided substantial military resources to back attempts to restore James II and subsequently his only surviving son, “James III” (the Old Pretender, a sobriquet fixed on him by Whig propagandists). These attempts began in March 1689 when James II and a small French force landed at Kinsale in Ireland. The

Catholicizing regime brought in while James was king was at that point still in control of most of the island, but serious rebellions had broken out against his authority in Ulster, where Irish Protestant rebels had seized the towns of Londonderry and Enniskillen and were holding out for the newly proclaimed King William III. Despite the goodwill of the great majority of his Catholic Irish subjects, James proved unable to construct the administrative and military infrastructure necessary to maintain the large army of volunteers he found waiting for him in Ireland. This was in part the result of Ireland’s relative poverty and in part that of a rift between James’s objectives and those of the leaders of the Irish Catholic community. Whereas James simply sought to turn Ireland into a steppingstone for his reconquest of England, the Irish Catholic political nation wanted the overturning of the post-1660 land settlement, which had left nearly 80 percent of Ireland in the hands of the descendants of earlier Protestant colonists, and the sharp attenuation of the constitutional power of the English Parliament to dictate policy and law to Ireland’s Parliament. The upshot was that Londonderry and Enniskillen were never retaken, and the Irish Jacobite army was in a poor state to face William III when he landed in Ireland with a large veteran army in the summer of 1690. At the battle of the Boyne on 1 July, William defeated James and routed his army. James fled the country on 3 July, ungratefully (and unfairly) blaming the Irish for the disaster. With the help of French reinforcements, resistance continued in the west of Ireland until 12 July 1691, when the Jacobite army was again defeated at the battle of Aughrim and forced

to fall back on its last stronghold at Limerick. After a brief siege, the defenders of Limerick surrendered on 3 October 1691 on generous terms that allowed the evacuation of 12,000 of them to France, where they subsequently became the basis of the elite Irish brigade that served the Bourbons until 1789. With the collapse of Irish Jacobite resistance, the Highland rebellion it had inspired in Scotland also came to an end. There, after an unexpectedly good start when James Graham, Viscount Dundee, defeated a Williamite army at Killiecrankie on 17 July 1689 (despite the fact that he himself was killed in the closing moments of the battle), the war in Scotland had settled into a bitter pattern of raid and counter-raid that bankrupted the Scottish state and ravaged the Highlands without reaching any conclusion. Hearing of the surrender of Limerick and with it the end of any hope of reinforcement from Ireland, the Scottish Jacobites negotiated a cessation in the autumn of 1691. Brinkmanship over the taking of oaths of loyalty to the Williamite regime by several clan chieftains, and bad faith combined with malice on the part of key government officials, then led to a punitive expedition against the technically holdout Macdonalds of Glencoe. The troops entrusted with the operation duplicitously quartered themselves on the Macdonalds and then on the night of 13 February 1692 perpetrated an infamous massacre on their hosts that shocked the Scottish political nation.

From 1691 until the death of Louis XIV in 1715 Jacobitism in the British Isles revolved around plotting for risings against the new order. Louis several times (1692, 1696, and 1708) provided troops and ships to support and/or precipitate a Jacobite rising, but on each occasion matters went awry. The major obstacles to a French invasion were the Royal Navy, the unpredictability of the weather, and the difficulty of coordinating a rising in England or Scotland with a French invasion. Basically, the Jacobites wanted a French landing first, after which they would rise, while the French wanted a Jacobite rising first, after which they would land. In addition, the French navy, facing mounting odds in its struggle with the Royal Navy and its Dutch allies in both the War of the League of Augsburg (1688–1697) and the War of the Spanish Succession (1702–1714), was increasingly reluctant to undertake an operation that would be tantamount to a

death ride for the ships and crews involved. In between plotting for invasions, the Jacobites sought with equal energy to subvert and undermine the post-Revolution political order through propaganda and conventional politics, both at Westminster and on the streets. Throughout the reign of Queen Anne (1702–1714), the Jacobites were somewhat more restrained in their plotting than under William III, partly out of liking for the pious Tory queen, and partly out of the mistaken belief that she favored the restoration on her death of the main line of the Stuarts, in the shape of her half-brother, the Old Pretender.

As she lay dying in August 1714, however, Anne ensured that the Act of Succession of 1702 would be enforced, and rather than the Old Pretender succeeding, her Parliament-approved successor, George, elector of Hanover (a distant, but reliably Protestant, relative) peacefully inherited the throne. For Continental political reasons George I (ruled 1714–1727) had aligned himself with the Whigs in the bitter parliamentary struggles of Queen Anne's last years, and when it subsequently became clear that he would continue to favor the Whigs, the Tories rapidly became alienated. The process began when the Whigs took the first opportunity to be revenged on their old enemies in a series of parliamentary impeachments of members of Queen Anne's last, Tory, ministry. This drove a significant minority of the Tories into the arms of the Jacobites. Meanwhile, in Scotland support for the Jacobite cause had been boosted by the constitutional union of Scotland and England (which was primarily driven by English determination to ensure that Scotland adhered to the Hanoverian succession), forced through the Scots Parliament in 1706–1707, which had outraged a great many Scots. Thus when England erupted in Tory/Jacobite rioting in the summer of 1715, the Scots Jacobites, led by John Erskine, the earl of Mar, felt emboldened to rebel in September. The rebels rapidly won control of most of northern Scotland, more by dint of the fact that the Whig ministry was determined to secure southern England and so kept the bulk of the army there, than by their own abilities. Though Mar was able to build up a formidable force at Perth that far outnumbered the government army at Stirling, he was paralyzed by indecision. It appears that he expected to be quickly reinforced and replaced as

commander by Jacobite professional officers in French pay, most notably James Fitzjames, duke of Berwick and marshal of France, and had no idea what to do in the interim. When forced by a conclave of Jacobite leaders to march south, he was met by the government army under John Campbell, duke of Argyll, at Sherrifmuir on 13 November. A battle ensued which Argyll may be said to have won insofar as the core of his army survived despite being outnumbered in the region of three to one. Mar retreated north, back to Perth. He was joined there at the end of December by the Old Pretender, who had finally managed to slip through a dragnet of British agents and Royal Navy warships to get to Scotland. The Old Pretender's arrival, however, closely coincided with the commencement of a winter campaign by Argyll, which took Perth in three days and chased the dwindling Jacobite army north. On 4 February 1716 at Montrose, Mar and the Old Pretender took ship for the Continent. What was left of the Jacobite army retreated north into the Highlands, and within a month the government was back in control of the whole of Scotland. A small Jacobite rising in northern England in October–November 1715 was trapped and forced to surrender at Preston on 14 November.

The collapse of the 1715 rebellion initiated a long period of fruitless plotting and dashed hopes. For thirty years plots were hatched in the British Isles while Jacobite diplomats from the shadow court sought the military backing of a European great power. At various times Sweden, Spain, the Habsburgs, Russia, and France negotiated with them, either to put diplomatic pressure on Britain or out of genuine sympathy. Only Spain, in a moment of desperate crisis during the War of the Quadruple Alliance (1718–1720), actually attempted an invasion of Britain, but it was forced back by storms on 18 March 1719. A separate, diversionary Spanish force led by the Earl Marischal managed to reach Lewis on 9 April, and subsequently raised a small rebellion in the Highlands, but the Jacobite army was defeated at Glenshiel on 5 June, which put an end to the affair. Only in the 1740s, as virtually all of the great powers became involved in the War of the Austrian Succession, did real openings for Jacobite diplomacy reemerge. Negotiations inaugurated by the leaders of a faction among the Tories led in due course to French preparations for an

invasion, to be backed up by a Tory/Jacobite rising, in February 1744. Once again a storm and the Royal Navy prevented French and Jacobite plans from coming to fruition.

The Old Pretender's oldest son, though, had been secretly invited to France from Rome, where his father was by this time in exile, to head the invasion force. Charles Edward Stuart (the Young Pretender or Bonnie Prince Charlie) was a young man in a hurry, and when the French abandoned their invasion plans in favor of renewed campaigning in Flanders he opted to try and go it alone. With the help of Irish merchants, well established in the ports of western France, he surreptitiously gathered a force of volunteers from the Irish brigades and arms for many more and invaded Scotland in the summer of 1745. By various mishaps he arrived on Eriskay in the Hebrides on 23 July with only one ship, few arms, and little money, and was promptly advised to go home by local Jacobite leaders. Using his considerable charm Charles Edward broke down their resistance, and within a month was on the march with a small, but growing, force composed primarily of Highland clansmen. In a whirlwind campaign commanded mainly by Lord George Murray, the Jacobites were able to capture Edinburgh, apart from the castle, and rout a government army at Prestonpans on 21 September. After gathering further recruits, Charles Edward cajoled the Scots Jacobite leaders into undertaking an invasion of England that swept as far south as Derby by 5 December, causing panic in London and a crisis of confidence in the Whig ministry. The premise of the campaign was, however, that if they were shown what the Scots could achieve, the French would invade and the English Jacobites would rise. Neither transpired. The French government was desperately throwing together another invasion force, but it was not ready to depart until the very end of December, and the English Jacobites dithered until the opportunity had passed. So at a council of war in Derby on 5 December 1745 Charles Edward was forced to turn back by his commanders. Despite the Jacobite prince's sour obstructionism, the Jacobite army reached Scotland safely on 20 December, and there regrouped in time to defeat another government army at Falkirk on 17 January 1746. The victory could not, though, hold back the numbers of government troops converging on southern Scotland,

and the Jacobites were forced to retreat into northern Scotland. At the insistence of Charles Edward, the Jacobite army ill-advisedly tried to make a stand at Culloden on 16 April 1746 and was badly defeated there by a government force commanded by William Augustus, duke of Cumberland, second son of George II. Even so, the Jacobite army rallied at Ruthven and offered to fight on, but was abandoned by Charles Edward, who chose to try to escape to France. The Jacobite army dispersed and when several Highland chieftains refused to comply with Cumberland's demand that they surrender unconditionally, Cumberland launched a savage campaign of repression that ravaged the Highlands and is still bitterly remembered throughout Scotland and the Scottish diaspora. Charles Edward was meanwhile sheltered by sympathizers in the Highlands and eventually escaped to France, arriving there on 30 September 1746.

The failure of the '45 is usually taken as the death knell of the Jacobite movement, but in fact Jacobite plotting and negotiations with great powers such as France, Prussia, and Spain continued into the late 1750s. The defeat of the rebellion sapped the Jacobites' strength and credibility in Scotland, yet there was still a strong Jacobite diaspora loyal to the Stuart cause in France and Spain. The last Jacobite invasion attempt, which was largely the brainchild of Arthur Tollendal, comte de Lally, commander of the Irish brigade, was only defeated by the victory of the Royal Navy at the battle of Quiberon Bay on 20 November 1759. Charles Edward eventually succeeded his father as the Jacobite "Charles III" in January 1766, by which time he was a paranoid, bitter alcoholic. Though he lingered until 30 January 1788, the Jacobite cause may fairly be said to have been dead by that time.

THE JACOBITE THREAT

The threat to the post-Revolutionary order posed by the Jacobites is the subject of much debate among historians. The debate ultimately revolves around the level of support they enjoyed in the three kingdoms. Since those who expressed Jacobite sympathies in any form were liable to severe punishment, we can never know exactly how many English, Welsh, Scots, and Irish truly favored the restoration of the Stuarts. Our only tangible measures are

the numbers who turned out to fight in rebellions, and records of crown prosecutions of suspected Jacobites. Moreover, the numbers yielded by even these sources are obviously flawed. How many Jacobite soldiers were obliged to fight against their own inclinations, by their clan chieftains or landlords, or, conversely, would have joined a Jacobite army if one had passed nearby? How many Jacobite ballad singers, roisterers, or rioters escaped prosecution by the crown? We have, therefore, to assume that both the numbers of Jacobites in arms and the numbers caught committing Jacobite crimes are merely the tip of an iceberg. That said, it seems likely that the strongest support for Jacobitism lay in Scotland and Ireland. In England and Wales there was a small Nonjuror church that split with the Church of England over its acceptance of William III as monarch in 1689. This church remained loyal to the Stuarts to the very end, and its adherents shaded over into the more extreme, High Church wing of the Church of England, but the best guess would put their numbers combined at less than 5 percent of the English and Welsh population. To this we must add the small Catholic minority, which comprised around 2.5 percent of the population by the eighteenth century. There may well have been further sympathizers, but it is impossible to even guess at their numbers, which makes an estimate of 5–10 percent of the English population inclined to Jacobitism as good as we can get.

In Scotland the situation was quite different. The Episcopal clergy forced out of the Presbyterian Kirk in the 1690s soon established their own independent church that from the start adhered to the Stuarts. In large parts of the Highlands and in Lowland Scotland north of the Tay, this church probably included a majority of the population, and may have amounted to 30–40 percent of the population of Scotland as a whole in the early eighteenth century. In addition, the tiny Catholic minority (1–2 percent of the population), which tended to be concentrated in particular clans, were steadfast Jacobites. To this number we should add a small minority of Presbyterians who were so incensed by the Union of England and Scotland bulldozed through the Scottish Parliament in 1706–1707 that they tended to be inclined to Jacobitism thereafter. Deducting neutralist/loyalist Episcopalians, maybe as

many as 30 percent of Scots were inclined to support the Jacobites.

Ireland, by contrast, was a Jacobite hotbed. Because there were no further Jacobite rebellions there after 1691, many historians have been skeptical about the depth of Irish Jacobitism, mainly because they based their analyses on partial, and misleading, English-language sources. In fact, Irish (Gaelic) sources reveal a general enthusiasm for the Jacobite cause among the majority, Catholic, population despite the shabby treatment of the Catholic Irish by James II and the Stuart dynasty as a whole. Since it is generally accepted that about 75 percent of the Irish population was Catholic in the period 1692–1800, this would make Ireland the key bastion of Jacobitism in the British Isles. This assessment is underscored by the flow of recruits out of Ireland to join the Irish brigades in French and Spanish service. Though some of them were seeking only adventure or an escape from poverty and discrimination, many more were recruited with the promise that they would soon return to the British Isles as part of a victorious army led by their rightful (Stuart) king. The Irish brigades were, in spirit, the Stuarts' army in exile, and certainly tens of thousands of young Irishmen slipped overseas to join them between 1692 and 1760.

THE IMPACT OF JACOBITISM

Jacobitism was the bane of the post-Revolutionary political order for the first seventy years of its existence. The new order was no more certain of the number of secret Jacobites than we are and oscillated between a general concern and outright panic with respect to how to deal with the threat they posed. Jacobite plotting and invasion attempts in concert with one or another European great power punctuated political life. On average there was a Jacobite-related political “event” every one or two years between 1689 and 1730 and one every three or four years between 1730 and 1760. Always lurking on the fringes of possibility was the chance that the Jacobites would get a European great power's backing, successfully land in Britain, and coordinate a general uprising in support of the Stuart cause. Rather than run the risk of this nightmare scenario ever happening, the ministers of successive post-Revolution regimes worked to forestall Jacobite diplomacy in Europe by alliances and treaties, built up

their military forces, and ferreted out conspiracy in the British Isles. In terms, then, of both the dynamics of politics and the development of the British fiscal-military state Jacobitism had a profound influence. Though it started as an expression of dynastic loyalty, Jacobitism came to act as a vehicle for nationalistic aspirations. In Scotland and Ireland a Stuart restoration was linked to the restoration of lost sovereignty and the reattainment of a golden age. If for no other reason, Jacobitism's acting as a conduit for such sentiments among the subsumed polities of the British Isles justifies its inclusion among the most important phenomena of the eighteenth century.

See also Anne (England); George I (Great Britain); George II (Great Britain); Glorious Revolution (Britain); Hanoverian Dynasty (Great Britain); Scotland.

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JADWIGA (POLAND) (Hungarian: Hedvig; German: Hedwig; c. 1374–1399; ruled 1384–1399), queen of Poland, wife of Władysław II Jagiełło. The youngest daughter of Louis of Anjou, king of Hungary and Poland, and Elizabeth of Bosnia, Jadwiga was betrothed as early as 1378 to William of Habsburg. When the Polish lords rejected the candidacy of Jadwiga's elder sister, Maria, for the Polish crown (because she had ascended the Hungarian throne in 1382), Elizabeth decided that Jadwiga would be queen of Poland. Jadwiga arrived in Poland in 1384 and was crowned on 16 October of that same year. Her engagement to William, disliked by the Poles, was annulled (1385) and on 15 February 1386, on the initiative of the lords of Little Poland, she was married to the Lithuanian grand duke Jogaila, known after his baptism as Władysław Jagiełło. Their marriage fulfilled a condition of Poland's union with the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, concluded at Krewo in 1385.

The position of Jadwiga, heiress to the Polish throne (as great-granddaughter of Władysław I the Short) was equal to that of Jagiełło (who was elected king), but because of her young age she did not play an independent political role for a long time and was mainly a symbol for the supporters of the Polish-Lithuanian union. In 1387 Jadwiga accompanied the troops that took over Red Ruthenia from Hungary. Probably influenced by the lords who surrounded her, she was an advocate of a peaceful solution to the conflict with the Order of Teutonic Knights, and in 1397–1398 she conducted unsuccessful negotiations with the grand master of the

Order, Konrad von Jungingen, in an attempt to recover the duchy of Dobrzyń. She also mediated in Jagiełło's diplomatic talks with the Lithuanian princes.

A well-educated woman, Jadwiga was surrounded by scholars. It was also said that she had an aura of saintliness. In her last will (1399) she bequeathed some of her jewels to Cracow Academy (later the Jagiellonian University), which made possible its renovation in 1400. She died giving birth to a daughter, who also died. Her death weakened Jagiełło's position as king of Poland and left the question of succession open. Jadwiga was buried in the cathedral on Wawel Hill in Cracow. Her cult began to grow soon after her death, and she was canonized by Pope John Paul II on 8 June 1997.

See also Poland to 1569; Władysław II Jagiełło.

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MARCIN KAMLER

JAGIELLO (POLAND). *See Władysław II Jagiełło (Poland)*.

JAGIELLON DYNASTY (POLAND-LITHUANIA), the dynasty that ruled the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Poland, and at times Hungary and Bohemia, from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century. Its progenitor was Gediminas, grand duke of Lithuania (ruled 1316–1341), the founder of the Lithuanian-Ruthenian state and father of Grand Duke Algirdas (ruled 1345–1377). The founder of the dynasty in Poland was Algirdas's son and successor Jogaila. As a result of a Polish-Lithuanian agreement signed at Krewo on 14 August 1385, which envisaged the Christianization of Lithuania and its union with Poland, Jogaila married the Polish queen Jadwiga of Anjou and was baptized and crowned king of Poland, becoming Władysław II Jagiełło (1386–1434).

The Jagiellon dynasty ruled in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania from 1377 to 1401 and from 1440 to 1572, in Poland from 1386 to 1572, in Hungary from 1440 to 1444 and from 1490 to 1526, and in Bohemia from 1471 to 1526. Władysław II had two sons by his fourth marriage with Sophia, a Lithuanian princess: Władysław III Warneńczyk, king of Poland (1434–1444) and Hungary (as Ulászló I; 1440–1444), who was killed in battle against the Turks at Varna; and Casimir IV (called Jagiellończyk), grand duke of Lithuania (1440–1492) and king of Poland (1447–1492).

By his marriage to Elizabeth of Austria, daughter of Albrecht II of Habsburg, king of Germany, Bohemia, and Hungary, Casimir IV had six sons: Vladislav II, king of Bohemia (1471–1516) and Hungary (as Ulászló II; 1490–1516); Casimir, canonized in 1602; John I Albert, king of Poland (1492–1501); Alexander I, king of Poland (1501–1506); Sigismund I, later called the Old, king of Poland (1506–1548); and Frederick, archbishop of Cracow (1488) and cardinal (1493). Casimir IV also had daughters: Jadwiga was married to the Bavarian duke; Georg (1475), Sophia to the Brandenburg margrave, Frederick (1479); Anna to the Pomeranian duke Boguslaus X (1491); Barbara to the duke of Saxony, Georg (1496); and Elizabeth to the duke of Liegnitz, Frederick II (1515).

At the zenith of their power under Casimir IV in the 1490s, the Jagiellons ruled Poland, Lithuania, Bohemia, and Hungary. But at the Treaty of Vienna in 1515 an agreement was concluded with the Habsburgs regarding the marriage of King Vladislav II's children with Holy Roman emperor Maximilian I's grandchildren. Louis II, king of Hungary and Bohemia from 1516, married Maria, daughter of the king of Castile, Philip I the Handsome (1522). Anna married Ferdinand, who later became emperor as Ferdinand I, in 1521. When Louis fell in the battle against the Turks at Mohács (1526), Bohemia and Hungary came under the rule of Habsburgs.

The Kings John Olbracht and Alexander died without issue. By his marriage with Barbara, daughter of the Transylvanian *Voivode* Stephen Zápolya, Sigismund I the Old had a daughter, Jadwiga, who married the Brandenburg elector, Joachim II (1535). By his second marriage to Bona Sforza, an

Italian, Sigismund had six children: his son Sigismund II Augustus became king of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in 1548; Isabella was married to the king of Hungary, János Szapolyai, in 1539 and after his death (1540) ruled Transylvania for eleven years on behalf of her underage son, John Sigismund; Sophia became the wife of Henry, duke of Brunswick (1556); Anna became queen of Poland (1575) and wife of Stephen Báthory (1576); and Catherine married John, who later became king of Sweden as John III Vasa (1562).

The death without issue of Sigismund II Augustus in 1572 and of his sister Anna in 1596 meant the end of the dynasty. Its descendants by distaff survived much longer. The mother of Sigismund III Vasa, king of Poland (1587–1632) and Sweden (1592–1599), was a Jagiellon. Thanks to the marriages of Casimir IV's daughters all European monarchs at the beginning of the twenty-first century—the queen of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Elizabeth II; the king of Belgium, Baudouin I; the queen of Denmark, Margarethe II; the queen of Holland, Beatrix; the king of Norway, Harald V; the king of Sweden, Carl XVI Gustaf; the prince of Lichtenstein, Hans Adam II; the grand duke of Luxembourg, Jean; and the prince of Monaco, Rainier III—could claim Casimir IV as their ancestor.

The Jagiellon dynasty ruled Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania for nearly two hundred years. The Jagiellons concluded a union between Poland and Lithuania, which was endorsed by the Polish Diet (Sejm) at Lublin in 1569, that changed the political structure of east central Europe. They sought to unite all old Polish territories and incorporated Gdańsk Pomerania (known as Royal Prussia, 1466) and Mazovia (gradually from 1462 and fully in 1526–1529) into Poland. At the summit of the Jagiellons' power at the end of the fifteenth century and the first quarter of the sixteenth, the dynastic policy pursued by Casimir IV—whose ambition was that his sons should ascend the thrones of Bohemia and Hungary—resulted in the Jagiellons ruling over nearly the whole of east central Europe, from the Dvina and the Baltic in the north to the upper Elbe, the Adriatic, and the Black Sea in the south. Their successes laid the foundations for the “Jagiellonian idea,” developed by Polish historiography in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries—a

concept of a multiethnic state and a federal union of states and nations in east central Europe.

Under the Jagiellons, Poland's political system was transformed from an estate-based monarchy to a democracy of the nobility, unique in Europe. The principles of religious toleration were confirmed by the Compact of Warsaw (1573), which proclaimed freedom of religion, guaranteed peace between followers of different religions and equality of rights to dissidents, and forbade religious persecution by secular authorities. Official toleration also included the Jews, who in the sixteenth century flowed into Poland in great numbers (mainly from Germany) and set up large communities in many towns. The principles of civil rights, parliamentary government, and religious toleration were observed by the Jagiellons in all countries under their rule. But the Jagiellons did not succeed in strengthening royal power in Poland or carrying out the fiscal, military, and political reforms that in western Europe laid the foundations for modern state structures and opened the way to absolutism.

See also Jadwiga (Poland); Lithuania, Grand Duchy of, to 1569; Poland to 1569; Sigismund II Augustus (Poland, Lithuania); Władysław II Jagiełło.

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MARCIN KAMLER

JAMES I AND VI (ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND) (1566–1625), king of England (as James I, 1603–1625) and Scotland (as James VI, 1567–1625). Born in June 1566, James was the son of Mary, Queen of Scots, and Henry Stewart, Lord Darnley. Rumors abounded from his birth that he was in fact the son of Mary's lover, her Italian secretary David Riccio. Although these were probably unfounded, Mary's marriage to Darnley was certainly an unhappy one: in February 1567 she was

involved in the assassination of the feckless Darnley by Scottish lords, led by James Hepburn, earl of Bothwell, at Kirk O'Fields near Edinburgh. Bothwell then divorced his own wife and married Mary. The Protestant Scottish lords were outraged by their behavior, and Mary was deposed. On 19 July 1567 her thirteen-month-old son was crowned James VI of Scotland.

James's minority was dominated by his various noble regents, two of whom were killed in the political violence that characterized Scottish politics during this period, and by his tutors, the strict Calvinist George Buchanan and the more sympathetic Peter Young. In August 1582 James was lured into Ruthven castle and held captive for more than a year by the Protestant earls of Gowrie and Angus. This led to the downfall of James's friend and regent, the pro-French Esmé Stewart, duke of Lennox, and made an indelible mark on the young king. In June 1583 James escaped from his captors and began to assert his authority as king. Chief among his targets was the Scottish Kirk, or assembly of the Presbyterian Church, which the king never forgave for rejoicing in the fall of his friend Lennox. The struggle for control of the Scottish church was a defining feature of James's rule in Scotland, and he continually strove to enforce the so-called Black Acts of 1584, which asserted royal authority over the church. James was only moderately successful; he did not succeed, for example, in appointing any new bishops (the counterweight to the authority of the Kirk) in Scotland between 1585 and 1600. In 1592 the Golden Acts recognized the Kirk's authority in religious matters but retained the king's right to summon it when and where he wished. James also struggled to overcome a factious nobility, notably Francis Stewart, earl of Bothwell (nephew of the third husband of Mary, Queen of Scots) and George Gordon, earl of Huntly. Nevertheless, by 1600 James had established royal control over the Scottish nobility, and his relations with the Scottish Parliament were generally good.

James's international and dynastic standing was increased in October 1589 by his marriage to Anne of Denmark (1574–1619). James traveled to Denmark to collect his bride and only returned to Scotland the following April. Anne bore him three sons and four daughters: Henry, Elizabeth, Margaret, Charles, Robert, Mary, and Sophia. James had made



James I. Portrait by Paul van Somer, c. 1577–1622. ©ARCHIVO ICONOGRAFICO, S.A./CORBIS

only token gestures against the execution of his mother by Elizabeth I of England in 1587, and was careful to maintain his position as the obvious successor to the English throne. When Elizabeth died in March 1603, James was named as her successor and arrived in London the following month.

Almost immediately, however, James came into conflict with his new subjects. Two issues in particular stood out: first, the English disliked the Scottish courtiers who accompanied their new king, and second, James's wish for political union between England and Scotland was opposed by the English Parliament. On 20 October 1604 he assumed the "name and style of King of Great Britain" but by November had confided to his ministers that full union of the kingdom should be left to "the matu-

riety of time." James's major achievement of the first year of his reign was the ending of the long and costly war with Spain in August 1603.

As king of England James enjoyed both successes and failures. Perhaps his most successful area of policy was toward the church. James ensured that the English episcopacy and clergy were well-educated and administered a broad, national church, although tensions with the persecuted Catholic minority surfaced in the Gunpowder Plot of 1605. This conciliatory tone was also apparent in his relations with the Scottish church after 1603. Less successful was his management of English political society, particularly Parliament. When he acceded to the English throne James considered himself an experienced ruler who knew how to manage his subjects' concerns, but he failed to appreciate the differences between his realms. He was unable to tackle the principal problem facing his English realm, that of the inadequacy of the fiscal system and the spiraling costs of England's involvement in European affairs. James thus clashed with his Parliaments: the so-called Great Contract of 1610 (an attempt to replace the crown's ancient fiscal rights with an annual income tax) failed, and the king closed Parliament in anger in 1610, 1614, and 1621. James also clashed with the Parliament over the management of his household, his extravagant spending, and the influence of his favorites, most notably George Villiers, duke of Buckingham.

James died of a stroke on 27 March 1625. He left a considerable literary legacy including political works and poetry. His first book of poetry was published in 1584; in 1599 he set out his theory of kingship in *Basilikon Doron*; in 1611 he oversaw the translation of the King James Version of the Bible. His historical legacy is mixed. For centuries the hostile contemporary portrait by Sir Anthony Weldon (in *The Court and Character of King James*, 1650) of a lazy, unhygienic, and homosexual king devoted to his favorites to the detriment of his kingdoms held sway. More recent historians have stressed that James must be judged first as a largely successful king of Scotland who rescued that realm from political and religious turmoil and, second, as a king of three kingdoms (England, Scotland, and Ireland) who struggled manfully with the unique problems of multiple monarchy. They argue that James strove to avoid entanglement in the develop-

ing Thirty Years' War (1618–1648) in Europe and thus saved the lives and purses of his subjects. Although in some areas, such as the settling of Protestants in Ulster and his failure to reach accord with the English Parliament, James contributed to the problems that would beset his son, Charles I, there was nothing in James's reign that made the English Civil War (1642–1649) inevitable.

See also Bible: Translations and Editions; Charles I (England); English Civil War and Interregnum; Scotland; Stuart Dynasty (England and Scotland).

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DAVID GRUMMITT

JAMES II (ENGLAND) (1733–1701; ruled 1685–1688), king of England, Scotland, and Ireland. James II was born on 14 October 1633, the second son of Charles I (ruled 1625–1649), and was created duke of York and Albany in January 1634. Following his father's defeat in the civil war, James spent 1648–1660 in exile on the Continent, where he fought in the service of the French and Spanish crowns, earning a reputation for bravery. Returning to England in 1660 with the Restoration of the monarchy under his brother, Charles II (ruled 1660–1685), he became lord high admiral and oversaw a period of expansion for the navy. He converted to Catholicism sometime in the late 1660s and was forced to resign all of his offices in 1673 following his noncompliance with the Test Act of that year. In 1679–1681 the parliamentary Whigs launched an attempt to exclude him from the succession on the grounds of his religion (he was next in line to the throne due to his brother's failure to father any legitimate children). Exiled to Scotland by his brother while the exclusion crisis unfolded, James had two successful stints as head of the government there, where he showed himself a firm friend of the Episcopalian interest against the Presbyterian menace.

Recalled to England in 1682, James enjoyed a surge of popularity during the Tory reaction that followed the defeat of the exclusion movement. His accession in February 1685 was greeted with numerous loyal addresses and widespread rejoicing across England, Scotland, and Ireland. A few diehard radicals rose with Archibald Campbell (1629–1685), earl of Argyll (in Scotland), and James Scott (1649–1685), duke of Monmouth, Charles II's eldest illegitimate son (in England), that summer, but both rebellions failed miserably for lack of support.

James made a public commitment at the beginning of his reign to rule by law and protect the Protestant establishment, but he soon proved that his word could not be relied upon. He began issuing Catholics dispensations from the Test Act so they could hold commissions in the army, prompting the ire of his newly elected Parliament (an overwhelmingly Tory-Anglican body), which he dismissed in November 1685. He achieved a judicial ruling in favor of the dispensing power in the feigned action

of *Godden v. Hales* in June 1686 (though only after removing six of the twelve judges), which allowed him to bring Catholics into his privy council. He encouraged Catholics to celebrate Mass openly, promoted Catholic schools, and used the press to try to convince people of the merits of converting, though his missionary efforts met with limited success. When the Anglican clergy refused to heed his demand that they refrain from anti-Catholic sermonizing, James set up an Ecclesiastical Commission to discipline recalcitrant clergymen. Realizing that the Tory-Anglican interest would not assist him in his efforts to help his coreligionists, he tried to forge an alliance with the Protestant Nonconformists, hiring former Whig publicists, such as Henry Care and the Quaker William Penn, to promote the cause of religious toleration in the press. In April 1687 he issued his first Declaration of Indulgence, suspending all the penal laws against Nonconformists by dint of his royal prerogative, and embarked upon a campaign to secure the return of a packed Parliament so he could turn this toleration into law.

James also built up a sizable standing army, increasing the less than nine thousand troops he inherited from his brother to twenty thousand by the end of 1685 and adding a further fourteen to fifteen thousand over the course of 1688. On the foreign policy front, he tried to adopt a middle position between the French and Dutch interests, though his failure to take a stance against the aggressions of Louis XIV (ruled 1643–1715) toward the Protestant interest on the Continent led to widespread suspicions that he was in cahoots with the French king.

James made a serious miscalculation in trying to force the clergy to read his second Declaration of Indulgence of April 1688. Seven bishops petitioned against the royal suspending power, and though charged with sedition by the crown, were found not guilty by a King's Bench jury. When James's second wife, Mary of Modena (1658–1718), gave birth to the Prince of Wales on 10 June 1688, raising the prospect of a never-ending succession of Catholic kings, a group of seven Whig and Tory politicians invited William of Orange (William III, ruled 1689–1702) to come from Holland to rescue English liberties and the Protestant religion. William landed at Torbay on 5 November, meeting little resistance. James fled the country for France in De-



James II. Portrait by Sir Godfrey Kneller, 1665. ©BETTMANN/CORBIS

cember 1688, after first throwing the great seal into the River Thames, thereby effectively abdicating the government (although his first attempt at leaving the country was foiled by fishermen in Kent, and it took a second attempt later that month before he made it to the Continent).

James's pursuit of similar pro-Catholic policies in Scotland and Ireland alienated Protestant opinion in his other two kingdoms, though Jacobite sentiment remained strong in Ireland, where 80 percent of the population was Catholic. Hence James went to Ireland in March 1689 to launch a bid to reclaim his British thrones, but he was defeated by William at the battle of the Boyne (1 July 1690) and withdrew again to France. He died at Saint-Germain-en-Laye, outside Paris, on 6 September 1701.

See also **Charles II (England)**; **Glorious Revolution (Britain)**; **Jacobitism**; **William and Mary**.

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TIM HARRIS

JANISSARY. The Janissaries (from *yeniçeri*, meaning ‘new soldier’ in Turkish) were an elite standing force of infantrymen, first formed by the Ottoman Sultan Murad I around 1380. Legally slaves (*kul*) of the sultan, they served over the centuries as bowmen, crossbowmen, and musketeers. The Janissaries were distinguished from the main body of the army, which was made up of cavalrymen (*sipahis*) drawn from the freeborn retainers of provincial officials and notables. Janissary recruits were chosen from groups of boys who were taken into Ottoman service in periodic levies on Christian peasant families, predominantly those in the Balkans. The boys were brought to Istanbul, converted to Islam, despite Islamic prohibitions against the forcible conversion of Christians, and then trained for military service.

ORGANIZATION AND TACTICS

The Janissary corps was originally organized in the late fourteenth century when a group of prisoners of war were converted to Islam and personally at-

tached to the sultan. It grew from approximately 20,000 men in the late sixteenth century to well over 100,000 by the early nineteenth century, even though it came to include many non-combatants in later years.

The organization became an important Ottoman military force soon after it was established because the Janissaries were perceived to be the sultan’s most trustworthy soldiers as well as disciplined troops with particular small arms skill. They received special privileges and benefits to secure their sole allegiance to the ruler, with their group solidarity reinforced by the way they were organized into small companies of celibate warriors living in barracks and receiving constant military training.

The colonel of each company was called the *çorbacı* (‘soup cook’) and wore a soup ladle as his rank insignia to symbolize humility before the sultan although he never actually served food himself. The head of the whole Janissary force was the *agha*, one of the most important officials in the realm. He served on the Imperial Divan, ranking just below the main Ottoman viziers (ministers) but above other military commanders. The Janissaries lived together in large barracks within the cities in which they were stationed. They were forbidden to marry until they retired from active duty. Several Ottoman grand viziers and admirals had served as members of the Janissary corps during their careers.

The Janissaries’ military technique was to rush very quickly into battle after a breach had been made in fortress walls or to outflank an enemy cavalry force that had already charged first. They would then attack with handguns or rifles as appropriate. In peacetime, Janissaries served as guards in fortresses and towns and as firefighters in major Ottoman cities. Although Janissaries were principally a land force, there were naval Janissaries who helped man Ottoman ships.

The Janissaries were famous for their distinctive marching style and headgear. Their special military bands are believed to have inspired military bands all over Europe. The Janissary corps was closely connected with Bektashi dervishes, a popular mystical order regarded by many Muslims as heterodox. To commemorate the Islamic millennium in 1591–1592, the sultan allowed the master of the Bektashi

order and eight dervishes to become part of the Janissaries.

JANISSARIES IN WAR

The Janissaries made significant contributions to many important Ottoman victories, among them the conquest of Constantinople in the spring of 1453, the battle against the Iranian Safavids at Chaldiran in 1514, and the defeat of the Mamluk armies at Marj Dabik in 1516. In all these confrontations, the Janissaries administered the final decisive blow after a series of preliminary assaults, usually in swift gunfire attacks. Each of these encounters fueled European perceptions of the Janissary corps as a kind of Ottoman “secret weapon” able to use firearms more effectively than any adversary. Perhaps the greatest moment of Janissary victory was at the battle of Mohacs in 1526, when Janissaries were able to mow down scores of Hungarian cavalry with precise rifle volleys. Many contemporary observers believed that the quality of the Janissary corps diminished in the late sixteenth century when the sons of Janissaries, and freeborn Muslims generally, were permitted to join, and the corps’ slave discipline was compromised. This assessment, however, is belied by subsequent Janissary victories in the seventeenth century. Many strains weighed on this group, including inflation and the continual devaluation of Ottoman money, which substantially lowered salary values.

JANISSARIES IN THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

In the early seventeenth century, when economic and social unrest threatened the stability in the empire, the Janissaries became more deeply involved in royal politics. The young sultan in 1621, Osman II, blamed the Janissaries for the Polish defeat of the Ottomans at Khotin. Osman did not trust their loyalty since he associated them with his uncle and rival, the previous sultan Mustafa I, who had just been deposed. Within a year, Mustafa became Sultan again (with his mother behind the throne), and the Janissaries killed Osman II. Many of the regicides were hunted down and executed in retribution for Osman’s death, but the Janissaries’ kingmaker role was in no way diminished.

Throughout the seventeenth century, the Janissaries had a fearsome reputation for fomenting unrest instead of fighting in combat. The distinction between the urban craft guilds and the Janissaries

had already started to blur, a development that reduced unit cohesion and undermined the Janissaries’ fighting capacity. The Janissaries came to be blamed for a series of military defeats, beginning with unsuccessful Ottoman campaigns against the Habsburgs in the 1690s that led to the Treaty of Carlowitz, the first permanent Ottoman surrender of territory to European powers.

The “Tulip Era” of the 1720s was a time when European ideas and fashions became extremely popular in the Ottoman Empire, challenging the traditional system in the wake of a string of Ottoman military failures. This era of social change, combined with the financial weakness and inept administration of the government at that time, produced tensions that culminated in a popular revolt to overthrow Sultan Ahmed III (1703–1730). Patrona Halil, a noncombatant, illiterate Janissary, led this uprising.

JANISSARIES IN THE ERA OF OTTOMAN MILITARY REFORM

Count Alexandre de Bonneval was assigned in the 1730s to modernize the Janissaries. Despite slight improvements in their military capabilities, the Janissaries still had great difficulties adapting to modern warfare and did not receive adequate funding. Further disasters were in store, such as Janissary mismanagement of naval forces that led to a terrible defeat at Chesme in 1770 during the Russo-Ottoman War.

The Ottomans then turned to another European adviser, Baron de Tott, to begin modernizing the military by establishing a naval engineering school in the 1790s. This began an educational transformation in the Ottoman military that totally left out the Janissaries. New army units with no connection to them were organized under Sultan Selim III (ruled 1789–1807) in a military and financial program called the *Nizam-i Cedid* (“New Order”).

By the late eighteenth century, though, the Janissaries would prove difficult to dislodge. As their importance as soldiers waned, they had developed considerable economic and coercive power in major Ottoman cities and were able to thwart reformers’ direct assaults on their status for several decades. When they were ordered in 1807, for example, to wear European-style uniforms, the Janis-

saries staged a revolt and put a new sultan, Mustafa IV, on the throne.

However, general reform trends worked against them. Another sultan, Mahmud II, took power in 1808, and gradually developed strong alliances with advocates of change that resulted in drastic action against the Janissaries eighteen years later. During the so-called “Auspicious Event” in 1826, Mahmud carried out a secret plan to surround the Janissary barracks with artillery and kill everyone inside. The Bektashi order, so closely associated with the Janissaries, was outlawed in the Ottoman Empire in December 1826. This incident, which occurred as enemies with more modern armies were trouncing the Ottomans, ushered in the era of profound military and social reform that extended over the next few decades.

See also Islam in the Ottoman Empire; Ottoman Dynasty; Ottoman Empire; Sultan; Tulip Era (Ottoman Empire); Vizier.

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JANSENISM. Jansenism was a religious movement in the Catholic Church, named after Cornelius Jansen (Latin, Cornelius Jansenius, 1585–1638), bishop of Ypres, which originated in Spanish Flanders and in France, and spread to other European countries. In their struggle to assert and defend their positions, its members exerted a deep influence over church, society, and politics until the end of the eighteenth century.

HISTORY

Jansen’s *Augustinus* presented the teaching of Saint Augustine on salvation and grace, though disputes between theologians on these matters had been forbidden by the Holy See (1611, 1625). Posthumously published in Louvain (1640), the book was immediately attacked by the Jesuits, who de-

nounced it as heretical. In France, where it was reprinted (1641, 1643), the work was well received, especially by the group under the influence of Jansen’s friend, Jean Duvergier de Hauranne (1581–1643), abbot of Saint-Cyran. Their center was the convent of Port-Royal in Paris, reformed by the abbess Angélique Arnauld, which attracted influential members of the nobility and the bourgeoisie; later, a group of laymen, the *solitaires*, lived next to the nuns. Under the pen name of Petrus Aurelius, Saint-Cyran asserted the authority of local bishops over members of religious orders; his attacks on moral permissiveness (laxism) irked Cardinal Richelieu, who was also weary of his criticism of French alliance with Protestant states in the Thirty Years’ War. In 1638, he was imprisoned for alleged heresy in Vincennes and his writings examined for errors.

Following a general papal condemnation of the book (*In Eminenti*, dated 1642, published 1643), for breach of the directive of silence on these matters, Richelieu initiated a campaign against *Augustinus* that focused on the accusation of Calvinism. Saint-Cyran’s disciple, Antoine Arnauld (1612–1694), brother of Angélique Arnauld, responded in 1644 with a defense of Jansenius. He had already expanded the controversy by attacking the Jesuits on their laxity concerning reception of the Eucharist (*De la fréquente communion*, 1643) and morality (*Théologie morale des Jésuites*, 1643). During the rebellion that followed Richelieu’s death, members of the Port-Royal circle were perceived as supporters of the Fronde (the revolt of the nobles and the parlement against the monarchy); to weaken them, his successor, Cardinal Mazarin, supported by the queen regent, Ann of Austria, sought a new and stronger condemnation. For that purpose, theological assertions disputed in Paris were sent to Rome, after attempts to have them censured by the Faculty of Theology (1649) or the assembly of the French Clergy (1650) did not succeed. Alexander VII’s bull *Cum Occasione* (31 May 1653) condemned as heretical five of these propositions, but despite an introductory reference to the book, did not explicitly indicate their origin.

Against Jesuit claims that in this document the pope had condemned *Augustinus* as heretical and even disapproved Augustinian theology, Antoine Arnauld disputed the presence of the propositions in the book. Following a classical theological dis-



Jansenism. Portrait engraving of Cornelis Otto Jansen.
GETTY IMAGES

tion, he asserted his compliance to the *droit* (right or principle): condemnation of possible Calvinist doctrine in the propositions, and his rejection of the *fait* (fact): that they were extracted from Jansenius's book. In reaction, French bishops, influenced by Mazarin, added to the papal condemnation an oath or formulary (1655) that asserted explicitly that the five condemned propositions were to be found in *Augustinus*. Arnauld's renewed objections caused the Sorbonne to censure and expel him with more than one hundred of his confreres (1656), after a long debate, heavily influenced by political pressure. He was defended by a member of the Port-Royal circle, Blaise Pascal (1623–1662), who, in his *Provincial Letters* (1656–1657), mocked the expulsion procedure and wittily attacked Jesuit moral laxism.

Two Roman pronouncements confirmed the bishops' ruling: *Ad Sanctam* (October 1656), which specified the presence of the propositions in the book; and *Regiminis Apostolici* (February 1665), which prescribed the pope's own formulary.

The weight claimed for these decisions introduced into the debate the issue of papal authority, and more precisely the existence of infallible judgments, dealing not only with doctrine but with mere facts. As this prerogative was not yet defined (it would be, in a very limited way, at Vatican I, 1871), many French theologians rejected it in accordance with their Gallican principles, which reserved infallibility for the Ecumenical Council. Four bishops declared that they could not endorse the formulary in their dioceses; when Rome started to proceed against them, nineteen of their colleagues offered their support. In order to prevent division, even schism, Louis XIV allowed the negotiation of a secret clause of conscience allowing “obsequious silence,” that is, private dissent, on the “fact.” This “Peace of the Church,” authorized by Clement IX (14 January 1669), allowed the Port-Royal circle to extend its influence in biblical (Bible of Sacy, 1672), patristic, liturgical, and historical studies; it also took an important part in religious controversy with Protestants (*Perpétuité de la foi*, 1669–1672). By that time, the Jansenist movement had acquired its distinctive features, above all its strong individualism, that could be perceived as a sectarian menace to the church and the state. In their obstinacy to defend their right of conscience, the Jansenists dissociated themselves from the moderate participants in the Catholic Renewal; at the same time, they provoked Roman misgivings for their defiance and government resentment for their political tactics, especially their appeal to public opinion. Under suspicion in Paris and in Rome, the leaders, Antoine Arnauld and Pasquier Quesnel (1634–1719), took refuge in the Spanish Netherlands (1685). The publication in 1702 of a *Case of Conscience* submitted to the Sorbonne was perceived as a breach of the 1669 agreement since, approved by forty theologians, it brought back the issue of the “fact” of the five propositions. The evidence produced a few months later by Quesnel's arrest (May 1703) of an extensive Jansenist network, active even in Rome, incited Louis XIV to seek a renewal of the condemnations. Clement XI obliged with the bull *Vineam Domini* (1705), which condemned the *Case* and reiterated the earlier pronouncements. As it proved ineffective, the king requested another document considering Jansenism as a whole; for that purpose were denounced excerpts from Quesnel's spiritual book, *Réflexions morales sur le Nouveau Testament* (Moral

reflections on the New Testament), a verse-by-verse presentation of the biblical text, followed by adapted meditations. The Apostolic Constitution *Unigenitus Dei Filius* (1713) censured 101 passages from Quesnel's work, presented in a thematic order that explicitly established Jansenism as opposed to orthodox Catholicism, not only on the matter of salvation and grace, but on many aspects of religious life. As the specific degree of error of each passage was not indicated (the censure was *in globo*, "as a whole"), different interpretations were possible. This imprecision stirred opposition to the papal document by a minority of bishops, clergy, and laity, headed by the archbishop of Paris, cardinal Louis Antoine de Noailles (1651–1729), who demanded a clarification. Louis XIV moved to crush the protest but he died (1715) before the national council he had summoned over papal reluctance could meet.

THE CRISIS OF *UNIGENITUS*

Despite the limited areas of resistance and the low numbers of opponents, *Unigenitus* generated a crisis that was to have ripple effects. The papal constitution became exemplary of a type of Catholicism that was rejected both for its doctrinal deficiencies and its authoritarianism. This rejection also took on political tones, because of the involvement of the secular power in the conflict. After Louis XIV's death, extremist bishops, clergy, and laity, emboldened by the support offered by the regent, Philip of Orléans, in 1717 appealed against *Unigenitus* to a future General Council. Soon, however, the state turned against them, under the ministry of Cardinal Fleury, who exiled or jailed them. In 1730, *Unigenitus* was registered as law of the land, which meant that opposition to it became a civil crime. In 1749, the archbishop of Paris, Christophe de Beaumont (1703–1781), decided to deny the sacraments (and therefore Catholic burial) to those who did not assent to the bull and did not produce a certificate of confession. These measures contributed to a weakening and dispersion of the Jansenists. Many continued in their opposition, appealing to public opinion and seeking support from the parlements. Some became more extreme, as manifested in the "miracles" of Saint-Médard cemetery and the *Convulsionaries*, who associated pain with spiritual experience (1730–1760). In these instances, the spiritual confusion of the believers was

expressed through miraculous cures and self-imposed suffering; at the theological level, "figuratism" or a reinterpretation of history through biblical images (J. J. Duguet and J. B. d'Etémare) was another way to voice disillusion or even despair. The expulsion of the Jesuits from France (1761–1764), and the suppression of the Society of Jesus in 1773, were perceived as a victory of the Jansenists. The events certainly demonstrated the influence of the movement, diffused through numerous pamphlets, books, and the clandestine newsletter, *Nouvelles ecclésiastiques* (1728–1803), an influence that spread through most European Catholic countries.

EUROPEAN JANSENISM

Jansenism was already present in the United Provinces, where many Appellants had settled; in 1723, the consecration of a bishop elected by the clergy without Rome's approval established a schismatic church that still survives (Old Catholic Church). In Mediterranean and Middle European countries, many of the Jansenist themes surfaced in various expressions of the "Catholic Enlightenment," which developed under the protection of the state. Though opposed to the philosophes, they favored a critical renewal of Christianity, modeled on the early church and based on the writers of the Port-Royal circle. The decrees of the Synod of Pistoia (1786), condemned by Pius VI in *Auctorem Fidei* (1794), represent this perspective. This last document, carefully prepared, avoided the imprecisions of the former ones, and condemned with precise qualifications every aspect of Jansenism.

JANSENISM AND REVOLUTION

In their resistance to the state in the name of their religious convictions, members of the Jansenist movement influenced the opposition to absolutism that prepared the way for the French Revolution, both in actions and in words. Some were directly involved in the first stages of the Revolution, but they soon disagreed on the issue of the *Civil Constitution of the Clergy* (1790). Very few actually adhered to the Constitutional church, but as its leaders, especially Bishop Henri Grégoire (1750–1831), came to see themselves as the heirs of Port-Royal, they manifested in the early nineteenth century what can be seen as the last coherent form of Jansenism.

WHAT IS JANSENISM?

During the past fifty years the issue of Jansenism has been the object of extensive research, the results of which modify considerably the classic historical perspective. Contrary to the traditional acceptance of the word, the association with Calvinism has been disproved as well as the puritanical connotation of rigorism. With their common Augustinian background, the five condemned propositions could represent a certain proximity with Protestantism, but this proximity was explicitly rejected by those concerned. As to the opposition to laxism, it was an early feature of the Catholic Renewal adopted by many, especially in the French church, against the practice of religious orders. The Jansenist movement, on the other hand, had important repercussions on early modern European history at the religious and political levels.

Religious Jansenism. Jansenism is to be understood within the larger context of the Catholic renewal that followed the Council of Trent (1545). It represents a traditional and rather conservative element that wanted to reform the church in order to recompose Christian unity. It was also a reaction against the progressive version of Catholicism offered by the Jesuits and their disciples. Jansenius's *Augustinus* was an attempt to counter Molinism (an optimistic interpretation of the salvation process) by the assertion of strict Augustinianism. His reconstruction, in contravention of the Roman ban, was presented as a defiance of the authority of the church. When the Port-Royal circle defended the book against early papal condemnations, they provided a confirmation of this perception. Later bickering on the five propositions and resistance to episcopal and pontifical judgments reflected their sectarian position. Inevitably, these difficulties with the magisterium of the church accentuated a form of individualism inherent to any reform movement. Taking as their reference an idealized early church, the Jansenists could not embrace the centralized post-Tridentine structure; instead, they favored a hierarchical system where the rule of the pope would be balanced by that of bishops, and the rule of bishops by that of their clergy. Hence there was a notable drift toward Gallican Episcopalism, and later Richerist Presbyterianism.

This divergence on ecclesiastical structures was not the only one. The other deviations condemned

by the bulls *Unigenitus* and *Auctorem Fidei* suggest that, in an abstract way, Jansenism came to represent an alternative to Tridentine Catholicism, distinct by its doctrine of salvation, its conception of the church, as well as its exigence on sacramental reception, moderate devotions, access to the Bible, and liturgical participation. This ideal attracted clergy and laity, who regrouped in parishes and religious communities, eventually forming a network of faithful who shared the same goals of purification and reform, and undertook to impose it on others. This perception explains why, as they insisted on their Catholic orthodoxy, the hierarchy strove to identify their errors and to eradicate them.

Political Jansenism. The political ideal of Jansenius and of his French supporters was that of a Catholic monarch promoting the interests of the church. Their objections to the modern state account for their early difficulties and the mistreatment they had to endure. These difficulties excited a spirit of resistance, combining a "mentality of opposition" with an energetic defense of their ideas. They looked for support in the higher circles of church and state, constituted systems of influence, attacked their adversaries, and appealed to public opinion. This activism in turn developed and nuanced their "political theology." Augustinian in principle, it grew stronger in its opposition to absolutism; by the middle of the eighteenth century, some started to envision in the state the participatory polity they advocated in the church.

As a social group, the Jansenists appear more diverse than was long thought. Though significant, the participation of the nobility was limited, mostly to those who had an allegiance to the Port-Royal community, through family connections, education, and religious objectives. Especially in times of crisis, the Jansenist cause received the support of an "old style middle class," the *bourgeoisie de robe*. This social group had the education and time to be engaged in spiritual life and theological reflection. They also were concerned with the religious reform of society, primarily through education, social action, and political involvement. It is not surprising, therefore, that many of the active members of the movement, male and female, belonged to that group. But this does not support a once favored political interpretation of the Jansenist phenomenon. If undeniably Jansenist exaltation of the right

of conscience represented values attractive to bourgeois ideals, Jansenist morality with its rejection of temporal achievement and its dramatic appeal to perfection could not appeal to the same bourgeoisie. Recent historiography has evidenced Jansenist influence in the lower classes, especially in towns, mostly the result of education and pastoral care. The presence and influence of women in these different groups—often decried by the adversaries—has also been documented, confirming a new perception of the movement, less elitist, both traditional and modern in its perspectives.

See also **Absolutism; Arnauld Family; Calvinism; Clergy: Roman Catholic Clergy; Gallicanism; Jesuits; Louis XIV (France); Reformation, Catholic; Reformation, Protestant; Trent, Council of.**

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JENKINS' EAR, WAR OF (1739–1742).

The War of Jenkins' Ear, an armed conflict between Britain and Spain, arose from longstanding Anglo-Spanish antagonism fostered by illicit British trading activities in the Spanish Caribbean and the determined, often brutal, attempts by Spain's colonial *guarda costa* ('coast guard') vessels to suppress such ventures. Popular feeling, incited by opponents of the Walpole ministry in London and a vigorous merchant lobby opposed to diplomatic efforts, further intensified pressures conducive to war.

The immediate events that precipitated open hostilities were the alleged sinking of several British merchant ships by Spanish privateers, the suspension of the *asiento* or slave supply contract, and the intensification of Spain's search and seizure claims against British smuggling vessels, and, marginally, the ill usage suffered by one Capt. Robert Jenkins, Master of the brig *Rebecca*. Legitimately bound for London from Jamaica with a cargo of sugar, Jenkins's ship was plundered and his ear severed by the commander of a Spanish coast guard vessel near Havana on 9 April 1731.

The case received brief publicity, subsided, but then was revived (together with other, similar incidents) during a stormy Commons debate in March 1738. Although modern research has established that, contrary to historical tradition, Jenkins never appeared personally to present the missing ear, his plight was highly dramatized and contributed to the momentum of the political opposition campaign urging an immediate offensive against Spain. This appealed to national sentiment and commercial interests alike. Temporizing, Walpole arranged the Convention of Pardo with Spain, which provided compensation for vessels lost but avoided the crucial

issue: Spain's continued determination to suppress all smuggling attempts. Confronted with growing public and parliamentary indignation, Walpole finally had to yield and war was declared on 19 October 1739.

In the lackluster naval operations that followed, Admiral Vernon (1684–1757) sacked Porto Bello (in modern Panama) in November 1739, but the attack on Cartagena (Colombia) in early March 1741 failed due to spirited Spanish resistance, tropical disease, and dissension between British army and navy commanders. Commodore George Anson, operating with a small squadron off Chile, marauded coastal areas, then circumnavigated the globe in the HMS *Centurion* (1740–1744), capturing Spanish treasure along the way. Attempts to seize Cuba in December 1741 and raids along the Florida coast were largely fruitless, resulting in heavy British casualties. Gradually the war overseas petered out into desultory forays against Spanish shipping and ineffectual attempts to isolate Spain from her colonies before becoming enveloped and overshadowed by hostilities in Europe (War of the Austrian Succession, 1740–1748) in which Britain, by means of mercenary forces, supported Austria against France (who had joined Spain) and her German allies.

While in its altered, Continental dimension the war enabled Britain to contain threatening Bourbon expansionism in key strategic areas abroad during the period 1742–1748, overseas it failed to achieve the initially anticipated sweeping victory over Spain. Small-scale Anglo-Spanish clashes in Caribbean and Mediterranean waters produced little monetary or strategic gain, clearly indicating that naval action was not the solution to Britain's commercial grievances at this time, nor the key to much-needed political stability.

See also **Austrian Succession, War of the (1740–1748); Spanish Colonies: The Caribbean; Spanish Colonies: Other American Colonies; Walpole, Horace.**

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JESUITS. The Society of Jesus (the Jesuits) is a religious order of men within the Roman Catholic Church formed under the inspiration of Ignatius of Loyola (1491–1556) and his companions and given approval by Pope Paul III (1468–1549) on 27 September 1540. A dramatic conversion from a less than pious life encouraged Ignatius's desire to further his education to "help souls," a desire that brought him to the University of Paris in 1528. In Paris, Ignatius gathered like-minded men who followed his Spiritual Exercises to attain interior peace and a clearer idea of their vocation. Together they decided on lives of poverty and chastity. On 15 August 1534 they promised to go to the Holy Land and there decide their futures with the stipulation that, if the Jerusalem trip proved impossible, they would make themselves available to the Roman pontiff. The war between Venice and its allies against the Turks prohibited the Jerusalem trip, and while waiting for any possible entry to the Holy Land, Ignatius and some from the group were ordained priests in Venice on 24 June 1537.

In January 1538 the companions—as they called themselves—gathered in Rome, where they were suspected of harboring Lutheran tendencies. Ignatius protected his orthodox reputation by seeking legal justice against his detractors. Declared innocent of all charges on 18 November 1538, the companions offered themselves to Pope Paul III for service in the church. They then faced another question. Should they remain as a group, that is, form a religious order, or should they be missioned for service as individuals? They conferred from March

to June 1539, and from these deliberations the companions elected to form a religious order. Ignatius composed a “way of life,” to which the pontiff gave oral approval on 3 September 1539, reputedly saying, “The finger of God is here.” This rule was unique in the history of religious life in making no mention of lifelong residence in one community, the singing of the divine office in common, and the choosing of a superior by election of the local community. Ignatius incorporated these radical changes believing that this “company of Jesus” should be free to spend “a great part of the day and even of the night in comforting the sick both in body and spirit.” Ignatius also composed rules that favored a more absolutist form of government with structures for its implementation. Although Cardinal Gasparo Contarini (1483–1542), Ignatius’s personal friend, advocated the rule’s quick approbation, the cardinal designated to formulate these rules into a papal bull, Giralomo Ghinucci (d. 1541), saw in these novelties the very criticisms Martin Luther (1483–1546) had lodged against the Roman church. Another cardinal, Bartolomeo Guidiccioni (1469–1549), also raised issue with the plan since previous church legislation outlawed new orders.

Ignatius surmounted these objections, and on 27 September 1541 Pope Paul III signed the new order into existence with the bull *Regimini militantis ecclesiae*. Pope Julius III (1487–1555) reconfirmed this “way of life” in *Exposcit debitum*, promulgated on 21 July 1550, and this is the version the Society of Jesus considers its founding document. This “way of life” or *Formula of the Institute* defined the company of men as those who desire to be designated by the name of Jesus, to serve the Lord alone and his church under the Roman pontiff, and to strive especially for the defense and propagation of the faith and for the progress of souls in Christian life and doctrine. The *Formula* specified how these goals were to be carried out: preaching, administration of the sacraments, reconciling the estranged, and providing for the poor in hospitals and prisons, works to be performed throughout the world, “even in the region called the Indies.” From its inception the order’s vision extended beyond the European peninsula.

GOVERNANCE

Soon after the pope approved the *Formula*, Ignatius composed a more detailed constitution that included rules concerning the order’s governance and the training of its men. Jesuit formation was rigorous for its time. Legislation required those preparing for priesthood to study courses in humanities, philosophy, and theology according to the “method of Paris,” a system characterized by a well-ordered approach to education that held Thomistic philosophy as the best system in which reason could defend the truths of the faith. The *Constitutions* established a governing system that placed the superior general as the head, area provincials directly under the general, and local superiors under the provincials. To promote unity within its membership, which by 1773 numbered 22,589 members working from Tibetan mountains to South American jungles, Jesuits were to write frequently to report their successes and failures and to seek advice from their superiors and provincials. Provincials in turn were to write annual reports to their headquarters in Rome. Jesuits rewrote and published these letters to promote vocations and inspire financial donations for their overseas efforts. These annual reports provide a wealth of information for historians, natural scientists, and ethnographers. The annual letters from New France, compiled by Reuben Gold Thwaites as *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents* (1896–1901), provide one important example.

SCHOOLS

Although the Jesuits embraced a singular goal, the members employed means as varied as the countries and cities in which they labored. Though schools were not mentioned specifically in the *Formula*, Ignatius soon realized that they would be one of the best means “to aid our fellowmen to the knowledge and love of God and to the salvation of their souls.” (*Constitutions*, part 4, chapter 12, paragraph 446) Since his own education benefited from the organized “method of Paris,” he legislated these organizational principles in part 5 of the *Constitutions*. Although a few schools predated it, the Roman College, founded in 1551, received a great part of Ignatius’s attention. This school and its method of studies, or *ratio studiorum*, served as a template for Jesuit schools throughout the world. Constantly modified, the initial ratio embedded in part 5 of the

Constitutions received a definitive articulation in the *Ratio Studiorum*, published under superior general Claudio Aquaviva (1543–1615) in 1599. Under the inspiration of this *Ratio*, by 1773 the Jesuits ran 669 colleges, 179 seminaries, and 61 houses of study for their members in formation in addition to partial or full governance of 24 universities.

Within these academic walls the order's greatest minds taught and did their research. A few names speak for many. Christoph Clavius's (1537–1612) astronomical observations provided the basis for the Gregorian calendar. Athanasius Kircher (1601–1680), one of the seventeenth century's more eclectic minds, did pioneering work in linguistic theory, archaeology, and pharmacology. Pietro Pallavicino (1607–1667), in his *History of the Council of Trent* (1656–1657), set a higher standard for historical writing, as did Heribert Rosweyde (1569–1629) and Jean van Bolland (1596–1665), historians who developed hagiography into a modern discipline. Jesuit philosophers and theologians dominated the field in the late sixteenth century and the seventeenth century. Catholic apologists, such as Cardinal Robert Bellarmine (1542–1621) and Peter Canisius (1521–1597), wrote catechisms used throughout the Catholic world, old and new. Francisco Suárez (1548–1617) wrote leading works on international law and statecraft. Luis de Molina (1535–1600) attempted a Catholic response to the complex relationship between God's power and foreknowledge and human free will.

Jesuit artists frequently traveled to create works for Jesuit colleges and their chapels. Andrea Pozzo (1642–1709) excelled as the master of perspective, particularly in his portrayal of a light-filled dome painted on a flat canvas for the ceiling of Saint Ignatius Church in Rome. In China, Giuseppe Castiglione (1688–1766) combined Western techniques with Chinese brushwork for the pleasure of the Ch'ing court. Baroque spectacle filled the Jesuit school stages, where rhetoric, drama, choreography, set design, and lighting combined to produce a moral message that moved souls toward love of the good and fear of hellfire—which the Jesuits frequently portrayed in great detail. Just as some Jesuits excelled in directing the drama on stage, others directed the drama within the individual soul. To this end they preached from the pulpit, persuaded others with books and pamphlets, and

served as confessors and spiritual directors, all activities undertaken to help move souls toward their supernatural end. Louis Bourdaloue (1632–1704), Paolo Segnari (1624–1694), John Regis (1597–1640), and Edmund Campion (1540–1581) were a few of the order's great preachers.

Just as the *Ratio* provided a template for promoting education, the Marian Congregations, established in 1563 by Jean Leunis at the Roman College, served as a model for implementing spiritual reform among the laity throughout the world. Under Jesuit direction, these congregations provided spiritual counsel and structured guidance for frequent reception of the sacraments and participation in good works. Limited first to students, the groups quickly comprised all aspects of male society and became a successful means for Jesuits to implement Tridentine Catholicism's ideals and their own spirituality. Jesuits also promoted specific devotions, rituals, and practices intended to bring souls to a greater love of Christ. The Jesuits established the devotion to the merciful heart of Jesus in France during the late seventeenth century specifically to counter the rigors of Jansenism. Increased mortality in Europe during the mid-seventeenth century encouraged the Jesuits to develop the *bona mors* devotion: Friday lectures and prayers that focused on preparation for a “good death.” During the late seventeenth century the Jesuits promoted devotion to the Holy Family and to Saint Joseph in an attempt to emphasize the family's dignity, especially the responsibilities of husbands and fathers. The Jesuits advanced these congregations and devotions because they best implemented the advice given by Ignatius in the *Constitutions*: the most practical and best use of personnel occurs when one Jesuit influences or has a great effect on many. Keeping this advice in mind, the Jesuits seized the opportunity to act as confessors to Europe's Catholic ruling houses.

MISSIONS

Since the Jesuits identified saving souls as their purpose, they quickly responded to the challenge of converting “undiscovered” populations of the New World and the non-Christian populations of the Indies. Francis Xavier (1506–1552), one of Ignatius's first companions, inaugurated the order's missionary endeavors by accompanying Portuguese

merchants into India, the Moluccas, and Japan. Alesandro Valignano (1539–1606) inaugurated tremendous success in the Asian missionary field with his *Mission Principles* (1574–1606), a set of recommendations that encouraged the adaptation of Christian thought to Indian, Japanese, and Chinese cultures. His former student and missionary companion Matteo Ricci (1552–1610) institutionalized these adaptations by formulating Christianity within a vocabulary understood by Chinese intellectuals. His *T'ien-chu Shib-i* [1603; The true meaning of the lord of heaven] explained basic metaphysical foundations of Christian truths using a Confucian vocabulary. The mission to Japan began with Xavier's arrival in 1549 and proceeded with some success. Because the Jesuits were not able to discern the shifts in political power while confronting fierce persecutions fueled by suspicion of Western traders, Christianity was all but eradicated in Japan by 1614.

Although Christianity existed in India prior to European expansion, Xavier initiated Jesuit contact in 1542. Again where Xavier left off others followed, in part because Akbar (1542–1605), ruler of the Mogul court, in 1579 requested Jesuits to explain the Christian faith. Like Ricci in China, Roberto de Nobili (1577–1656) in India studied the documents that shaped local culture. Nobili's understanding of Sanskrit and the Hindu Vedas provided an opportunity for a deeper insight into indigenous culture and means by which Catholicism could be expressed in a non-European vocabulary. The Jesuits arrived in the New World first in Brazil in 1549 and operated extensive missions in that Portuguese colony. In South America the most spectacular Jesuit missionary success was the transfer of thousands of Guaraní Indians away from the reach of costal slave traders and into small inland cities of approximately thirty-five hundred persons known as "reductions." Dominico Zipoli (1688–1726) composed music for voices, lutes, and viols for the reductions. Sung and played by natives, the music echoed from magnificent baroque structures and amazed European visitors, who had been told on some occasions that these natives had no souls. In North America the Jesuits labored for the most part in New France but also in what became the United States, particularly in the upper Midwest, on the East Coast, and in the Southwest.

CONTROVERSIES AND SUPPRESSION

Controversies followed the Jesuits along with success. From the foundation of the order, the Jesuits had always emphasized that human nature, despite its fallen state, still had as its deepest orientation the desire to be with God, an outlook grounded in Ignatius's *Spiritual Exercises*. This emphasis on the goodness of the will situated most Jesuits in opposition to some other Catholics, who accentuated the effects of original sin and disparaged a person's ability to choose to do good outside of God's direct action. This issue touched upon a difficult theological point that attempted to distinguish the extent of a person's free will in light of God's providence and power. Known as the controversies concerning nature and grace, these controversies raged into the early years of the seventeenth century. The Jesuits' frequent acceptance of non-European rituals as a means of expressing Catholic truths further emphasized their implicit belief in the goodness of human nature. Holding that nature, human and otherwise, was not intrinsically evil, the Jesuits granted greater latitude in the performance of certain indigenous practices by converts. Nobili in India and Ricci in China allowed those indigenous rituals not perceived as injurious to the faith. Reports of native Christians wearing Brahmin designations or Chinese converts bowing before ancestor tablets left some missionaries (including some Jesuits) and theologians disturbed. They feared such practices jeopardize the efficacious action of the sacraments or could lead to synchronistic and superstitious practices.

These debates were commonly referred to as the rites controversies since they involved the propriety of indigenous ritual among new converts. The Jesuit emphasis on the probity of the will also set the order against the Jansenists, a group of Catholics who embraced the more pessimistic writings of Augustine (354–430) concerning the human condition. The Jansenists saw in the Jesuits' theology a laxity that would lead the faithful away from truly coming to grips with their sinful condition. The Jansenist Blaise Pascal (1623–1662), in his *Provincial Letters* (1656), ridiculed Jesuit theologians for what he believed was their attempt to soften moral rigor and their efforts to find causes for laxity. By the eighteenth century the Jesuits, with their strong propapal stance and resolute defense of the Catholic faith, came head to head with the Enlightenment's

intellectual powers that saw organized religion as the true enemy of the rights of people.

Accusations of financial mismanagement and rumored hoarding of vast treasures fueled distrust among European leaders. Sebastião José de Carvalho e Mello, the marquês de Pombal (1699–1782), orchestrated the Jesuits' eviction from Portugal and its colonies in 1759. Other Catholic countries followed: France in 1764, Spain in 1767. The universal suppression of the Society of Jesus occurred on 21 July 1773 with the papal bull *Dominus ac Redemptor*, signed by Clement XIV (1705–1774). Because of Poland's partition in 1772, 201 Jesuits formally working there became subjects of Catherine the Great (1729–1796) of Russia, who never allowed the papal bull of suppression to be promulgated. A novitiate and headquarters for the society survived in Poland, and future popes allowed Jesuits from other areas to join this group. The papacy officially restored the Society of Jesus in 1814.

See also Ignatius of Loyola; Jansenism; Trent, Council of.

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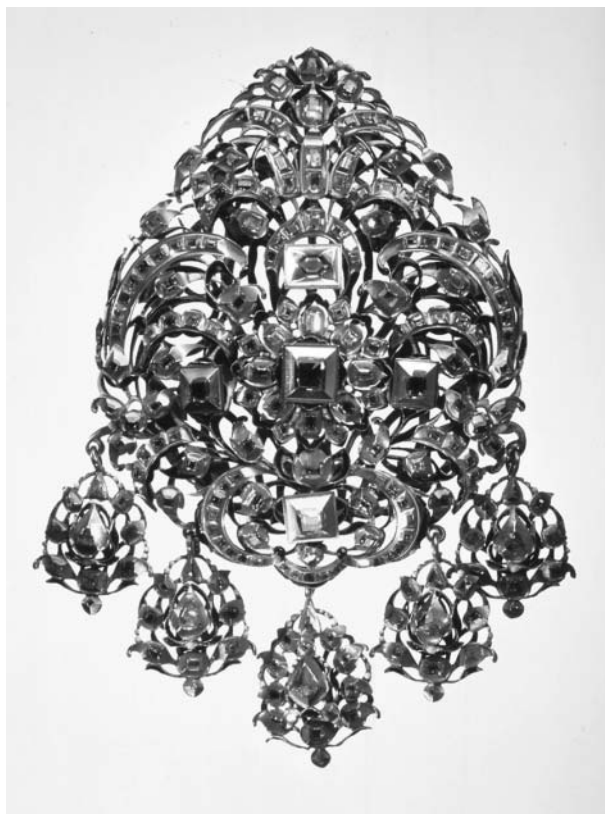
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JEWELRY. Until about the mid-eighteenth century, both men and women wore significant quantities of jewelry. Sixteenth-century portraits, for example of Robert Dudley, show men wearing the popular hat badges (*enseignes*) and pins (*agraffes*), an occasional earring, gold chains, often adorned with pendants or locket, and several rings. Women could wear such pieces in even greater quantity, pinning pendants to their sleeves and starched collars and into their hairdos as well as layering shorter and longer necklaces. While certain types were gender-specific—jeweled daggers and sword hilts for men, pairs of bracelets, girdles, and marten or sable pelts with jeweled heads for women—the earlier period stands out for the types and designs they had in common. The clothing of both sexes was adorned with rows of pearls, stone-set rosettes, pairs of tassel-like aglets, or larger sets of small jewels sewn onto fabric, indicating jewelry's close connection to costume and fashion.

In the course of the eighteenth century, as men's fashion grew simpler, their jewelry was reduced to buttons, buckles, rings, and, occasionally, medals, hat jewels, and ceremonial weapons. Women wore quantities of pearls dangling from their ears and in necklaces, elaborate pins or bodice jewels (stomachers), and hair jewelry, as forms of jewelry became increasingly specialized and gendered. The quantity and quality of jewelry denoted status, yet the frequency and repetitiveness of sumptuary laws mainly proves how ineffectual such regulations were. The most expensive and elaborate jewels belonged to monarchs and the high nobility, who, however, did not hesitate to pawn them for money when necessary. Displaying fabulous jewels at ceremonial or special public occasions was required to maintain rank and standing among their peers and in the eyes of the general public. The rising merchant class and bourgeoisie developed their own, only slightly less elaborate, versions; basically, everyone wore similar forms of jewelry, but in lesser materials according to what one could afford. Costume jewelry, which always existed but does not survive in quantity from earlier periods, became a more widespread alternative during the eighteenth century. As manufacturing techniques advanced, so did the use of glass paste, rhinestones, gilt silver and brass, and prefabricated, stamped, or other types of hollow jewelry worn by larger segments of the population.



Jewelry. Bodice ornament, gold openwork in scroll and leaf design, set with diamonds and decorated with enamel, with five pendants, possibly Dutch, c. 1630. ©VICTORIA & ALBERT MUSEUM, LONDON/ART RESOURCE, NY

Important jewelry-making centers existed in all the major trade and court cities of Europe. There was such a great exchange of objects, artists, and designs that attributions to individuals, and even to particular regions, are often impossible to determine. Stylistically, the early modern period saw a fundamental transition around 1600 from narrative and colorful gold and enamel jewelry to more monochromatic, abstract, and often geometric, forms. Such designs were driven by an emphasis on glittering rows of faceted stones as gem-cutting techniques advanced and greater quantities of stones, especially diamonds and pearls, became available. The pendant, perhaps the most popular Renaissance jewel, displayed a range of subjects, from religion and mythology to miniature portraits, while the characteristic motifs of later centuries focused on large glittering rosettes, sets of graduated bows, or stylized plant forms.

See also **Aristocracy and Gentry; Bourgeoisie; Class, Status, and Order; Clothing; Diamond Necklace, Affair of; Sumptuary Laws; Technology; Women.**

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JEWS, ATTITUDES TOWARD. A number of the most important shifts in European Christian treatment of Jews overlap with the early modern period but transcend its chronological boundaries. For instance, the Jewish expulsions from western and southern Europe had already begun in the thirteenth century, would peak at the end of the fifteenth, and begin to peter out only toward the end of the sixteenth century. Or, to cite another case, decisive shifts in Jewish legal status, ones rooted in the processes of early modern European state building, persisted well into the nineteenth century, not just in eastern Europe but in many parts of western and central Europe too. Furthermore, some of the distinct patterns marking how intellectuals perceived Jews or Judaism cannot be fitted into a discrete “early modern” category either. For example, the Christian Hebraist movement (Christian scholarly inquiry into post-biblical Jewish texts in Hebrew or cognate languages), though it certainly climaxed during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, began as early as the thirteenth century. In the meantime, popular notions about and images of Jews (to the extent that they were distinct from elite ones) appear to have changed relatively little between the late Middle Ages and the modern era. Finally, since Jews lived in different regions of Europe, there was little simultaneity in terms of their status, treatment, or relationships with non-Jews. The ritual murder trials that began to die out in late-sixteenth-century Germany, for instance, reemerged with a vengeance in seventeenth-century Poland.

These caveats aside, the early modern label is an apt one in at least one major respect: the period 1450–1750 effectively traces the years during which Renaissance humanism came to exert a profound effect on Christian perceptions of Jews and Judaism and then declined in influence. Humanism became the source of a great variety of disparate approaches to Judaism—from Christian cabala to “mercantilist philo-Semitism.” One might say that humanism became the single most important *new* factor influencing intellectual perceptions of Jews during this era, until it was itself eventually superceded by the equally decisive ideologies of the Enlightenment.

CHRISTIAN HEBRAISM AND CABALA

Appropriately enough, the first domain that felt the impact of humanism was the scholarly world. Christian Hebraism did not dictate a uniform attitude toward Jews or Judaism, but it often entailed a paradoxical one. Hebraists justified their interest in Judaism by asserting that only through the Christian scholar’s mastery of Jewish texts could he hope to persuade Jews of the Gospels’ saving truth. This was essentially the conviction underlying the medieval *Pugio Fidei* of Raymond Martini (c. 1220–after 1284), which attempted to expose the proofs of Christ’s messianic identity that Martini believed were secreted in early rabbinic works, such as the Babylonian Talmud (c. 500 C.E.).

When Christian Hebraism fell under the influence of Renaissance humanism, it perpetuated this syllogistic presumption. But now the missionary aim had to compete with another element that had been absent from the polemical writings of medieval Dominican scholars. This was the belief that a true (that is, Christological) understanding of rabbinic texts would serve not only to convert Jews but also to enlighten Christians. In other words, rabbinic literature contained information about God that was not available from the New Testament itself—a remarkable humanist gloss on the patristic justification for tolerating Jews as unwitting witnesses to scriptural truth. Such a conception reflected a number of factors: the general humanist regard for antiquity and its languages (Hebrew included), the instrumentality of the *studia humanitatis* to a genuine Christian piety, and the belief in the existence of an esoteric body of divine wisdom (including the writings of Hermes Trismegistus, Pythagoras, Plato,

Dionysius the Areopagite, and Moses) that had been lost to medieval Christians but preserved by Jews. This so-called *prisca theologica* contained not only doctrinal truths regarding the inner life of the divinity and its relation to the cosmos, the soul, and the natural world, but also coded information that would enable man to access divine secrets and harness their theurgic and magical power.

All of these elements—humanist, Hebraist, and hermetic—converged in the arguments put forward to Pope Leo X (reigned 1513–1521) in 1512 by the Christian Hebraist, Johannes Reuchlin (1455–1522). By this time, the “Battle of the Books” was in full swing, with Reuchlin and his humanist allies arrayed against the convert Johann Pfefferkorn (1469–1522), who with Dominican support had sought to suppress the Talmud and other rabbinic works as a prerequisite for bringing about the mass apostasy of the Jews. Reuchlin too was interested in Jewish conversion, but it is more accurate to say that he believed in conversion as a mode of reconciliation, one in which the ancient wisdom recovered through humanist scholarship would redefine Christianity and make it faithful to its original creed. In this “truer” Christianity, the cabala would come to play a decisive role, for as Reuchlin informed the pope, cabala was the axis around which both Hebraic and Hellenistic wisdom revolved.

Yet Reuchlin, building on the earlier Christian cabala of Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (1463–1494), represented only a minority tendency within humanism generally and Hebraism in particular. Most humanists were not Hebraists and evinced only a modest enthusiasm for Hebrew studies (witness the case of Erasmus himself). And the majority of that minority known to us as Christian Hebraists eschewed the hermetic speculations of the Christian cabalists in favor of more stolid fare: biblical exegesis undertaken with the aid of medieval Jewish grammarians and commentators whose theological “blindness” was seen to be partly compensated for by their relatively greater Hebraic competence.

Christian Hebraism came to thrive during a period when the Hebrew print industry (driven more by Jewish than Christian consumption) had come into its own, with centers emerging in Venice, Salonika (Thessaloniki), Istanbul, Cracow, Prague, Alsace, and Bavaria by the 1550s. The availability of

Bibles adorned with Hebrew commentaries by such medieval luminaries as Rashi (Rabbi Solomon ben Isaac), Abraham Ibn Ezra, and David Kimhi made the “Jewish” Bible accessible to an ever-widening circle of Christians.

Yet one of the contradictory effects of this expansion was the progressive (if never complete) decline of face-to-face contacts between rabbinic and Christian Hebraic scholars. Leading sixteenth-century Hebraists like Egidio da Viterbo, Guillaume Postel, Sebastian Münster, and Paul Fagius had all benefited from studies with a Jewish teacher (in fact, all of them were students of the same teacher, Rabbi Elias Levita [1468–1549]). But once Hebraic learning became institutionalized through universities, and once an array of grammars, primers, bibliographies, and translations became available, Christian Hebraists would come to feel less of a need for rabbinic tutelage. Many became convinced they had surpassed their Jewish contemporaries (if not predecessors) as Hebrew philologists and linguists and had made Scripture their own. One might say that mastery of Hebrew thus made possible a second Christian appropriation of the Old Testament. In this light, and aside from the important though ambiguous case of Jewish apostates, Christian Hebraism did not in the long run bring Jews and Christians into appreciably greater proximity. Lacking Reuchlin’s ecumenical vision, the aims of rabbinic Jews and Christian Hebraists (one or two joint millenarian adventures aside) revealed themselves to be disparate and incommensurate.

EXPULSIONS

The birthplaces of humanist Hebraism and Christian cabala—late fifteenth-century Italy and Germany—were also the two locales west of the Oder that still contained pockets of Jews. Germany and Italy constituted partial exceptions to the pattern of expulsions that by 1500 had erased the licit Jewish presence from England, France, and Iberia. What differentiated these two “countries” was that neither had produced a unified state capable of carrying out comprehensive expulsion policies. Even so, from the late fourteenth through the first half of the sixteenth centuries, German Jews endured waves of local persecutions and banishments, while Italian Jews underwent similar if less bloody ordeals between the 1490s and the 1560s.

While no single cause accounted for all of these expulsions, social and religious factors were foremost. Rulers generally favored a Jewish presence for fiscal reasons, yet governmental encroachment on the prerogatives of the estates (quasi-feudal corporate groups, such as nobility or burghers) through Jewish tax farming or money lending led to popular demands for the Jews' removal. In the imperial cities of late-fifteenth-century Germany, urban commercial decline and guild domination of municipal government made the Jews direct objects of contention between city councils, which were vying to restore judicial independence, and the emperor, who was ready to pawn such rights to the local nobility or patriciate in his relentless pursuit of cash. In this setting, an imperial concession permitting the expulsion of the Jewish population would be regarded by the local burghers as a triumph for the cause of urban Christian freedom.

In Italy as in Germany, hostility to Jews was rooted in forms of social conflict that became inseparable from and aggravated by religious antagonism. Jews, many of them migrants from the south or refugees from France and Germany, had become a principal source of credit in small towns scattered throughout the papal states, Tuscany, Ferrara, Modena, and Mantua. But with the decline of local handicrafts industries, the policy of relegating banking functions to Jews came under intense fire from Franciscans, who clamored to replace the infidel usurers with interest-free or low-interest banks (*Monti di Pietà*). As in the German case, here too the struggle against Jewish economic power made ample use of blood libel accusations, charges that Jews kidnapped and murdered Christians (usually children) for the purpose of ritually consuming their blood. Such accusations (most notably in Trent, 1475) helped to bring about local expulsions, with the result that Jews increasingly sought the protection of powerful urban oligarchs like the Este, Gonzaga, and Medici.

REFORMATION

How did the Reformation affect phenomena such as blood libel accusations and expulsions that were already manifest when it emerged? Clearly, the Jews' demographic situation in the German lands was not profoundly altered by the Reformation, which arrived after two centuries of attrition had already

taken a profound toll. In Wittenberg, where no Jews could reside, Martin Luther (1483–1546) waited in vain for a mass conversion to his restored apostolic creed (as he reasoned, given the choice between popery and Judaism, he too would have remained a Jew). What did gradually change, as historian R. Po-chia Hsia has argued, was that the reformers' systematic campaign against saintly cults, relics, and salvational "works" inadvertently undercut the association between Jews and demonic practices, such as host desecration and black magic (if not in the public mind, then at least in the juridical processes responsible for translating accusations into legal actions). This factor appears to have reduced the quantity and efficacy of blood libel trials in central Europe, even as the frequency of the charge climbed in Hungary, Poland, and Lithuania.

Such a shift is clearly apparent in the debate over the blood libel between Johann Eck (1486–1543), Luther's lifelong antagonist, and the Nuremberg Evangelical Andreas Osiander (1498–1552). It is true that neither participant exactly typified the respective attitudes of the Catholic and Protestant camps. Since the thirteenth century, popes and emperors had consistently denounced the ritual murder charge, while in the sixteenth century any number of Protestant divines subscribed to it. But Osiander's systematic refutation of the blood libel, his careful demolition of accompanying biological myths regarding Jews (for example, the Jews' supposed physiological *need* for Christian blood, as attested to by Eck), and his insistence that blood libel charges often reflected an effort to cover up Christians' crimes by leveling charges against their *economic* competitors, represented a milestone in the Protestant demystification of belief.

Though Luther himself denounced Osiander's anonymously published pamphlet, his own 1543 anti-Jewish polemic (*On the Jews and Their Lies*), while appearing to endorse each and every fantastic claim that had been leveled against Jews since the late Middle Ages, in fact shifted the locus of Jewish criminality from the supernatural to the social psychological plane. "They have been bloodthirsty bloodhounds and murderers of all Christendom for more than fourteen hundred years in their intentions and would undoubtedly prefer to be such with their deeds." Here Luther implied that the Jews' hatred was entirely mortal, if no less dangerous,

inveterate, and infernal for that. Indeed, there was nothing secret or concealed about their conniving, he maintained. The proof of it could be found in the prayers they uttered daily for the arrival of an avenging messiah and in the usury they practiced, which enabled these “lazy rogues” to “idle away their time, feasting and farting, and on top of all, boasting blasphemously of their lordship over the Christians by means of our sweat.”

Luther’s diatribe had little immediate impact on Jewish status; Jews were already excluded from Saxony and other regions where he enjoyed influence. Nor did his tract become doctrinal for the Evangelical Church as a whole: it was denounced by Osiander, derided by Philipp Melanchthon (1497–1560), and downplayed by most of the other reformers. Still, its echoes are apparent in later guild documents, in Christian Hebraist compilations of Jewish ritual “curiosities,” and even in the anti-emancipation propaganda of post-Napoleonic German nationalists. Luther’s characterization of Jews as a faux nobility, reifying their status as descendants of the chosen Hebrews in order to legitimate their usurious economic exploitation of German laborers, reverberated in a society intensely riven by social and economic divisions.

COUNTER-REFORMATION

If most of the Reformation’s repercussions for Jews were inadvertent and indirect, the Counter-Reformation’s shift in attitudes appears as something of a delayed reaction. The relaxed spirit of Renaissance papal policy toward Jews, permissive of Hebraist-rabbinic contacts and opposed, on both doctrinal and pragmatic grounds, to inquisitorial harassment of relapsed Iberian New Christian refugees in Italy, persisted through the 1540s. But Julius III (reigned 1550–1555), though continuing to tolerate the Judaizing New Christian merchants settled in the port of Ancona, could not withstand the mounting pressure to extend church censorship to Jewish as well as heretical Christian texts. In 1553, through the impetus of Cardinal Giovanni Pietro Caraffa (1476–1559), possession of the Talmud became prohibited and its volumes were incinerated in cities under papal domination.

The Counter-Reformation managed to resolve the church’s longstanding ambivalence toward the Talmud: on the one hand, as a blasphemous, anti-

Christian, and anthropomorphic abomination, and on the other, as a backhanded rabbinic attestation to Christian truth (and therefore a useful missionary tool). Even Hebraists like Pico and Reuchlin approved the Talmud less in its own right than as a repository of exegetical techniques deployed in cabala. But by mid-century the church had rendered its verdict: the Talmud was an obstacle—perhaps the main one—to Jewish conversion. When Caraffa succeeded to the throne of St. Peter as Paul IV (reigned 1555–1559), he determined to either convert the Jews or take decisive measures to prevent them from corrupting Christians (both the pope and Luther lived in dread of Jewish proselytizing). In fact, both of these ends would be pursued through the same policies. Thirteenth-century mandates such as the “Jewish badge” would now be restored and the Jews’ segregation from Christians fully enforced—excluding, of course, their obligatory attendance at Christian sermons. If this degree of separation proved too utopian to be realized in its entirety, it still extended well beyond the medieval precedents, many of which had been poorly enforced and none of which had entailed the creation of walled ghettos (the impossibly congested mandatory Jewish residential quarters, surrounded by a wall with gates locked at night). Despite momentary reversals by some of Paul IV’s successors, this Counter-Reformation papal Jewish policy of segregation and repression persisted through the late nineteenth century. Though it qualitatively increased the number of converts, like Luther’s Reformation it failed to win over the bulk of the Jewish population. Instead papal Jewish policy resolved itself into a stalemate (or war of attrition) with its erstwhile Jewish adversary, and through the perpetuation of the ghetto appeared to render Jewish-Christian relations frozen in time.

RAISON D’ÉTAT, MERCANTILISM, AND ABSOLUTISM

One might go further and assert that the institution of the ghetto facilitated the partial revival of Italian Jewry between the late sixteenth and the mid-seventeenth centuries. In a period when Sephardic Jews came to play an increasingly prominent role in Mediterranean and Atlantic trade, any device that made possible a Jewish presence in one locale had the potential to feed its expansion into another. Twenty-three ghettos were established in northern

Italy between 1555 and 1779, and with the economic shift of sixteenth-century Italian Jews from predominance in money lending to concentration in international trade, justifications could readily be found for employing new groups of Jews, even relapsed “New Christians,” to fertilize local exchange. As Counter-Reformation pressures mounted, Italian rulers rationalized their invitations to settle foreign Jews by emphasizing the contribution they would make to the commonweal. In 1593 Ferdinand I de’ Medici, the grand duke of Tuscany, advertised his “worthy motives” and “hope to benefit all Italy, Our subjects and especially the poor” when he accorded generous privileges to “Levantine” Jewish merchants who consented to populate his new port city of Livorno.

Economic benefit, whether rooted in trade, credit, tax farming, or estate management, had long functioned as a *sine qua non* for the Jews’ presence within various quarters of Christendom—witness the justification offered in 1086 by Bishop Rudiger, who, by attracting Jewish merchants to Speyer, intended “that the glory of our town would be augmented a thousand fold.” What proved unique to the circumstances of late sixteenth- and seventeenth-century western and central Europe, however, was that Jews had been absent from these territories for generations or sometimes centuries. This had the effect of weakening the estates’ resistance to the small-scale readmission of Jews, so long as this resettlement could be justified as fulfilling only certain limited and targeted economic duties that no other group could. Although exercised by the very fact of a renewed Jewish presence, guilds won assurances that Jews would traffic solely in commodities already excluded from regulation. It was no small irony, then, that such new goods in which the Jewish merchants specialized—including tobacco, sugar, and coffee from the New World—were among the era’s most profitable.

Still, this detailed specification within governmental privileges of the exact purview of Jewish settlement and the precise limits of their commerce marked the period when absolutist government came to impose itself as the ultimate arbiter of permissible Jewish activity. What could better express the seventeenth-century apotheosis (or distortion) of humanist *raison d’état* than the baroque manner in which absolutism translated limited resettlement

privileges into tortuous and seemingly arbitrary “Jews’ Regulations”? Frederick II’s 1750 Revised General Code (*Revidiertes Generalprivilegium und Reglement*), to cite a classic example, reveals the bind in which the absolutist state found itself. It was caught between, on the one hand, its impulse to incorporate Jews into ever more homogenous categories of subject status (a process likewise driven by the state’s increasing importation of Roman law), and on the other, its institutional loyalty to the functionalist and mercantilist rationales that had made a renewed Jewish presence possible in the first place. Although there were improvements in Jewish status in the second half of the eighteenth century (for example, the abolition of the onerous *Leibzoll*, ‘toll’), it took the cataclysm of the French Revolution to eventually cut this Gordian knot.

PHILO-SEMITISM

In Calvinist Holland and Puritan England, economic and Hebraist rationales for Jewish toleration combined to create an atmosphere that was distinctive from the claustrophobic regulatory regimes of Lutheran and imperial Germany or the ghettos of Catholic Italy. The Jewish community of Amsterdam had been founded by the immigration of Iberian New Christians, many of whom eventually openly reverted to Judaism. It was one of these former New Christians, Rabbi Manasseh ben Israel (1604–1657), who made a famous appeal to Oliver Cromwell, shrewdly combining mercantilist and messianic arguments on behalf of a Jewish restoration to England. Proclaiming that “the opinion of many Christians and mine doe concur herein” that Jews will be restored to their ancient homeland only after being first restored to England, Manasseh made Jewish readmission dependent upon English recognition of the spiritual and worldly benefits Albion would accrue from the presence of a skillful population of Jewish “merchandizers.”

Such arguments found a receptive audience within a segment of the Puritan and remonstrant communities of mid-seventeenth-century England and Holland. Calvinism, though at its inception an unlikely impetus to Jewish-Christian rapprochement, did exhibit at least one promising trait: a rejection—as the historian Salo Baron once put it—of “Pauline antinomianism in favor of Old Testament legalism.” Yet this relative fondness for bibli-

cal law was in itself no assurance of philo-Semitism. Also required was a type of millenarian conviction entirely lacking in the patristic heritage, namely, the expectation that the prophesied conversion of the Jews would occur only through their restoration to the Holy Land. This factor theoretically made feasible what had never before been even conceivable: the possibility that *two* chosen peoples could coexist—a national Protestant one and a resuscitated Jewish one. As the widow Johanna Cartwright and her nephew Ebenezer put it in their 1649 petition to the Puritan general Thomas Lord Fairfax, “this Nation of England, with the inhabitants of the Netherland, shall be the first and readiest to transport Izraells Sons and Daughters in their Ships to the Land promised to their fore-Fathers, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, for an everlasting Inheritance.” Truly, this was as close to a revival of Reuchlin’s grand vision as any latter-day and millenarian version of Hebraism was likely to come.

CONCLUSION

But philo-Semitism is a relative term; there were, in fact, few “unconditional” philo-Semites in early modern Europe. A prejudice in favor of the Jews necessarily came with certain strings attached to it, whether it was the wealth that would be generated by the Jews’ commerce or the millennium that would be inaugurated by their conversion. Philo-Semitism of this variety flowered in mid-seventeenth-century Holland and England but remained dormant through much of the eighteenth century. In this period weariness with Puritanism and all forms of “enthusiasm”—including not just Quakers but Jewish followers of the apostate messiah, Shabbetai Tzevi (also Sabbatai Sevi) (1626–1676), as well—went hand in hand with the ascent of a more “polite and commercial” Britain. Similarly, Holland’s loss of successive wars and overseas markets to England augured economic hard times, a fact that could not help but dull the mercantile sheen of Amsterdam Jewry. Even so, and without minimizing the widespread enmity manifested toward Catholicism or the occasional flare-ups of anti-Semitic invective, Augustan England justly earned the sort of reputation for religious toleration in the eighteenth century that the Dutch had enjoyed in the seventeenth.

This nondoctrinal adherence to toleration, hard fought for but comfortably worn, was one of the features that Voltaire, ensconced in London between 1726 and 1729, found most attractive about English life. Yet despite their embrace of toleration and condemnations of anti-Jewish violence, Voltaire and other philosophes, like most of the deists before them, evinced a deep hostility to Judaism itself, one that reflected the spirit of the criticism they leveled at, or perhaps to diverted to, the Old Testament. This had important repercussions for eighteenth-century Jews. In premodern Europe, Jews were essentially defined by their religion. Converts might be cruelly reminded of the “Jewish malice still in their hearts,” but the specimen of the secular Jew was still unknown. Humanism, short of actually converting the Jew, was not interested in abstracting him from his Judaism. Enlightenment ideology changed that. The philosophes held that the Jew was redeemable only to the extent that he distanced himself from Talmudic Judaism, without at the same time necessarily succumbing to Christianity. “As you are a Jew remain so, but be a philosopher!” Voltaire counseled the Sephardic Jew, Isaac de Pinto. Christian Wilhelm von Dohm (1751–1820), in his influential *Über die bürgerliche Verbesserung der Juden* (On the civic improvement of the Jews), put it somewhat differently: the Jew is capable of enjoying civic equality, Dohm insisted, but only to the extent that he regards himself as “more man than Jew.”

In eighteenth-century Enlightenment circles, the termination of religious hatred of Jews was therefore thought to require not just Christian toleration of the practice of Judaism, but paradoxically, the Jews’ own partial detachment from a faith widely regarded as a primary source of religious intolerance. The Jew’s vices, his materialism, chauvinism, and greed—though in themselves universally acknowledged—were seen not as biologically determined traits but rather as by-products of the narrowness of the Jewish creed. While not at all synonymous with popular anti-Semitism, this secularist antipathy to Judaism would prove readily compatible with it. For when the Jews’ behavioral characteristics refused to fade with the reform or even abandonment of the ancestral faith, the mystery of how Jews could exist without Judaism seemed to demand a solution. Modern anti-

Semitism, a product of the nineteenth century, arose to fill precisely that need.

See also Cabala; *Conversos*; Ghetto; Haskalah (Jewish Enlightenment); Jews, Expulsion of (Spain; Portugal); Jews and Judaism; Messianism, Jewish; Reformation, Protestant; Reformations in Eastern Europe: Protestant, Catholic, and Orthodox; Toleration.

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J E W S , E X P U L S I O N O F (S P A I N ; P O R T U G A L) .

The Iberian kingdoms were neither the first nor the last to expel their Jewish populations: England expelled its Jews in 1290, France expelled its Jews in 1306, and periodic expulsions of the Jews took place across Europe throughout the early modern period. But the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492, from Portugal in 1497, and from Navarre in 1498 has long been seen as a critical turning point in the history of Iberia and in the history of Sephardic or Spanish Jewry.

CAUSES

Historians continue to debate the causes of the expulsions in Iberia. Ferdinand and Isabella's actions in Spain regarding the Jews served as the catalyst for expulsions in the rest of Iberia, and so all the Iberian expulsions must be seen in the broader context of the reforms of their reign. Isabella fought a civil war with her niece to gain the crown of Castile after her half-brother, Henry (Enrique) IV, died in 1474. Isabella's husband, Ferdinand, inherited the crown of Aragon in 1479. Through their marriage they united their two kingdoms in what became known as Spain, but civil unrest continued for years. Only in the 1480s did Isabella and Ferdinand begin to exert authority over their dominions and to institute new methods of legal, bureaucratic, and institutional control. Furthermore, by 1482, Ferdinand and Isabella had begun a fierce war against the Muslims of Granada. In Castile, Isabella also engaged in an extensive propaganda war, justifying the legitimacy of her own reign at the expense of her half-brother's.

Jews and *judeoconversos* (Jews who converted to Christianity and their descendants; also known as New Christians) came to occupy an important place in Isabella and Ferdinand's program of reform. Not only were there many Jews and *conversos* in Ferdinand and Isabella's court, but anxiety about the place of Jews and *conversos* in society was growing in the second half of the fifteenth century. Isabella and Ferdinand received permission from the pope to found their own Inquisition in 1478 precisely to punish and reform those New Christians who were believed to observe Jewish rites in secret. Many so-called "Old Christians" feared—rightly or wrongly—that *conversos* were not genuine Chris-

tians and could not be trusted in religious or political terms. Some Old Christians at the time laid the blame for this at the feet of the Jews who might encourage New Christians to Judaize as well as serve as a source of information on the details of Jewish observance. At the same time, Isabella in particular was convinced that the Apocalypse was nearing, an event that would involve mass conversion of the Jews. Most scholars, therefore, have explained the motivation for the expulsion in the context of anxiety about Jews and *conversos*. Many scholars affirm that the true motive was not expulsion per se, but rather to encourage conversion of the remaining Jews in Iberia. Others hypothesize that the expulsion was a measure designed to help New Christians avoid the temptation to revert to Judaism. Once there were no Jews to encourage *conversos* to practice Judaism, New Christians might assimilate more fully to Christianity. Still other scholars have posited that *converso* officials encouraged the expulsion of Jews to protect their own position in society, but this could not be the sole explanation of the expulsion.

THE EXPULSION IN SPAIN

The decree ordering the expulsion of the Jews from Spain was issued 31 March 1492, though it was not officially announced in many cities until several weeks later. Jews were given six months to leave. The decree met with immediate protest in some quarters by those who thought that the kingdoms should not have expelled such “industrious” people. Indeed, some of Ferdinand and Isabella’s most important advisers, such as Don Isaac Abravanel, emigrated. Others worried that the decree might provoke anti-Jewish violence, which was against the statutes of the church. Many Spaniards, though, applauded the decree of expulsion and leapt at the opportunity to take advantage of it. Jews were required to sell their property and could not even take jewels or coins with them; as a result, unscrupulous Old Christians bought the property of desperate Jews for a fraction of its true value. Once on the road toward the border towns and ports that would be their last stopping place in Spain, the Jews’ troubles continued. One contemporary chronicler, Andrés Bernáldez, described the sad families walking in slow procession to the border, lamenting their fate.

Despite the number of Jews who fled before the edict of expulsion, it is not clear that Ferdinand and Isabella expected or wanted the Jews to leave. In fact, it appears that many, if not most, Jews converted to Christianity to stay in the country. Perhaps the most notable convert was the chief rabbi of Castile, Don Abraham Seneor, who was baptized at the shrine of the Virgin of Guadalupe in Extremadura, with Isabella and Ferdinand standing as godparents. Exact numbers of those who stayed and those who left are difficult to ascertain, but Henry Kamen estimates that there were no more than 70,000 Jews in Castile (about 1.6 percent of the population) and no more than 10,000 Jews in Aragon (about 1.2 percent of the population). Of those, the best evidence suggests that most converted rather than emigrated. Over ten thousand Jews left via the Mediterranean coast in 1492–1493 (including Aragonese and Castilian Jews), and possibly as many as forty to fifty thousand left overall, traveling west to Portugal and north to Navarre, as well as south to Africa, east to Italy and—over time—to Ottoman territory in the eastern Mediterranean. Yet even the figure of fifty thousand may well be high, since many of those who left in 1492 had returned and converted by 1499. Isabella and Ferdinand encouraged conversion and return, promising in a decree that houses, property, and goods would be returned to their former owners for the price for which they were sold. Enforcement of this decree was inconsistent, but, nonetheless, evidence from many sources suggests that many exiles returned, particularly after Portugal and Navarre expelled or converted their Jewish populations, too.

THE EXPULSIONS IN PORTUGAL AND NAVARRE

Portugal received the clear majority of Spain’s exiled Jews. Its proximity, cultural similarity, and economic ties made it an ideal destination for the unwilling exiles. Yet Portugal would not prove to be a permanent haven. When King Manuel wished to marry the daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, the Spanish monarchs demanded that Portugal expel its Jews. Manuel agreed, and five days after the marriage agreement was signed, on 5 December 1496, he issued a decree giving Portugal’s Jews eleven months to leave the country. Again, the long delay between publication of the edict and the date in which it took effect suggests a lack of enthusiasm for

the project, and Manuel's actions emphasize that his primary concern was conversion. Initially, he instructed the Jews to leave from one of three ports, but soon he restricted them to leaving from Lisbon only. When October 1497 arrived, the thousands of Jews assembled there were forcibly converted. Portugal's mass forced baptisms precipitated another exodus, this time of Spanish Jews returning home.

Tiny Navarre, in the north of the Iberian Peninsula, also suffered dual pressure, first from trying to assimilate Spanish Jewish exiles, and later from the Spanish government to expel or convert its Jewish population. Benjamin Gampel estimated that in the mid-1490s Navarre had approximately 3,550 Jews (about 3.5 percent of the population). That relatively high percentage, compared to the percentages in Castile and Aragon, was certainly due to the presence of Spanish exiles in Navarre. Even more so than with Portugal, Ferdinand and Isabella exerted much pressure on the small neighboring kingdom, and the threat of Spanish annexation was constant. The decree, which has not survived, was public knowledge by the beginning of 1498 and required that Navarrese Jewry convert or leave by sometime in March 1498.

CONSEQUENCES

The economic costs to Spain of the expulsion, once thought to be significant, now seem to have been relatively minor. The number of exiles was less than previously imagined, and the Jewish communities of Spain, already reduced in size by a century of conversions, did not command the wealth of previous generations. The social costs, both in terms of the loss of individual talents and in terms of the loss of a more pluralistic society, were much greater. Contemporaries may not have acknowledged the latter; but critics of the decree lamented the expulsion of so many industrious, esteemed Spaniards. But most traumatic was the terrible cost to Jewish individuals and families, who were faced with the horrific choice of giving up their faith or their home and whose families were often painfully divided in the upheaval that followed.

See also Conversos; Jews, Attitudes toward; Jews and Judaism; Moriscos, Expulsion of (Spain); Portugal; Spain.

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JEW S AND JUDAISM. The term *early modern* applies differently to Jewish than to general European history. Jews experienced no Reformation or Counter-Reformation of their own, nor for that matter were all Jews geographically "European" (between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries approximately 30 to 40 percent lived outside of Europe proper). Perhaps for these reasons, nineteenth-century Jewish historians tended to view the modern era of Jewish history as proceeding immediately from a long Middle Ages (akin to the period Marxists traditionally ascribed to European "feudalism," roughly from the Christianization of the Roman Empire until the French Revolution). Modernity thus marked a sharp and sudden break with the past, a Reformation, Renaissance, and Revolution rolled into one. Meanwhile, the period between the expulsion of Jews from Spain and the era of the Enlightenment was cast in dark hues, a nadir in both mundane and spiritual terms, marked by intensive persecution and religious stagnation.

This depiction changed in the mid-twentieth century with a growing scholarly interest in the history of Jewish mystical and messianic movements, spurred by the writings of Gershom Scholem (1897–1982). Yet while Scholem's focus on the mystical cabala (kabbalah) and the great messianic pretender Shabbetai Tzevi (also Sabbatai Sevi) (1626–1676) gave the Jewish early modern period

a distinctive cast, it also reinforced the earlier emphasis on external persecution and internal crisis. Indeed, in this new rendering, the expulsion of Jews from Spain in 1492 came to be seen as the root cause of virtually all changes in Jewish life in subsequent centuries.

In the last several decades—building on the earlier research of figures like Salo W. Baron, H. H. Ben-Sasson, Cecil Roth, Jacob Katz, and Selma Stern—Jewish historians have complicated this picture considerably. Among other things, they have offered a multifarious portrait of Jewish culture in early modern Italy and a more coherent picture of the key role played by mercantilist policies in shaping Jewish demography, economic activities, and political fortunes. The spiritual plight, economic importance, and cultural contribution of Iberian *conversos* (forced converts to Christianity in the period 1391 to 1497, many of whom secretly practiced Judaism) have also received renewed scholarly attention. These advances have tended to underscore the utility of the designation “early modern,” albeit only when appropriately adjusted to fit the Jews’ distinctive geographic and cultural-religious experiences.

DEMOGRAPHY AND GEOGRAPHY

The Jewish early modern period is marked by dramatic demographic shifts. The Iberian expulsions of the late fifteenth century left only small pockets of Sephardic Jews within Christendom and spurred new Jewish settlement in North Africa, Greece, Turkey, and Palestine. The Ashkenazic Jews of Germany likewise declined through expulsions and migrations between the late fourteenth and mid-sixteenth centuries, a factor that contributed to the explosive expansion of Polish Jewry from the mid-sixteenth century on. Moreover, from the late sixteenth to the early eighteenth century, small numbers of Jews were readmitted to France, Holland, Germany, and England. Part of this latter process involved a segment of the Portuguese *converso*, or “New Christian,” population, a number of whom had retained familial and commercial ties with the expelled Jews. Some of these—the so-called Marranos, who continued secretly to practice Judaism in Iberia—migrated to Spanish or Portuguese colonies in the New World, or fled to towns along the European Atlantic seaboard, where they were often even-

tually able to revert openly to Judaism. The consequence of these population movements, as historian Jonathan Israel has remarked, was to ensure the distribution of Jews and New Christians to many of the key nodes of Western trade (Iberia, Italy, the Balkans, Poland, central Europe, the Atlantic seaboard, and the New World). This, in turn, made it possible for Jews to become a leading commercial force from the middle of the sixteenth to the end of the seventeenth century.

Expulsions and migrations. Expulsions from Spain (Castile and Aragon in 1492) and neighboring regions (Navarre in 1498, Provence in 1500, Sicily in 1492, and the Kingdom of Naples in 1541), as well as the forced conversion of the entire Jewish population of Portugal (including tens of thousands of Spanish refugees) in 1497, shifted the Jewish center of gravity, demographically and culturally, into the eastern zones of both the Mediterranean (North Africa, Palestine, Turkey, Bulgaria, and Greece) and Europe (Poland). The Ottoman conquest of the Balkans, Bulgaria, and large portions of Hungary complemented this eastward (or southeasterly) movement by opening avenues of migration into the Turkish hinterlands (and, to a lesser extent, facilitating the movement of Sephardic Jews to Buda and other Ottoman-controlled Hungarian locales). At the same time, due to the lack of state centralization, Jewish expulsions in sixteenth-century Germany and Italy resulted in a significant degree of “internal migration.” In the German and central European case, this meant dispersion into the countryside and villages; in the Italian, it entailed an increased concentration within the provinces of Mantua and Tuscany, in Ferrara, and in the cities of Venice and Livorno, in many cases within walled ghettos.

It is important to keep in mind that not all Jewish population movements resulted from expulsions. Voluntary migration had accounted for the Jews’ original presence in many parts of Europe and recurred throughout the Middle Ages. The most notable case during the sixteenth century was Poland. With the 1569 Union of Lublin formally uniting Poland and Lithuania (confirming a dynastic union of 1386), the nobility dangled extensive privileges to lure Jews to the frontier regions of the east. Large numbers of Jews shifted from more urbanized western and central Poland to the regions

of Lithuania, Little Russia, and western Ukraine (“borderlands”). It is estimated that between 1568 and 1648 the Jewish population of eastern Poland increased twelvefold. Moreover, beginning in the second half of the seventeenth century, a reverse trend of sorts came into effect, with Polish Jews trickling back to the West, a phenomenon that increased with the exponential growth of the eastern European Jewish population, and that reached its climax in the late nineteenth century.

It should also be noted that an account of Jewish expulsions, migrations, and resettlements does not readily fit into a single schematic sequence. Although the most sustained wave of expulsions extended from 1470 to 1570, local ones persisted through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, including the notorious cases of Vienna (1670) and Prague (1745). Even the period’s general eastward trend was counteracted by a tendency, already apparent by the middle of the sixteenth century, to draw so-called “Levantine” Jewish merchants back from Turkey and the Balkans into Italy and to lure Iberian “New Christians” into southwestern France (Bordeaux and Bayonne), an increasingly attractive prospect with the intensification of the Portuguese Inquisition in 1579. A year later, Portugal’s union with Spain intensified the exodus of Jews from Iberia to Livorno, Venice, Brazil, and Antwerp. A community of *converso* Jews had remained in Antwerp throughout the first half of the century, growing steadily in numbers and prosperity until the mid-1580s, while after the 1595 Dutch blockade against Spanish shipping, *conversos* sought refuge elsewhere, establishing new trading centers in Amsterdam, Rouen, and (though as yet only as New Christians) in London. Even the Hanseatic port city of Hamburg, long prohibited to Jews, permitted a *converso* settlement at this time. The Hamburg city council insisted upon the *conversos*’ commercial value despite a public clamor to expel them for crypto-Judaizing activities. At the same time, the new Sephardic presence encouraged Ashkenazic Jews to trickle into the Netherlands, as well as Altona and eventually Hamburg itself.

International trade. As a consequence of these population shifts, Jews became positioned as key players in the burgeoning international trade of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Commerce linked the far-flung Jewish diaspora from the

Jewish communities in the Ottoman lands and Poland in the East to the New Christian merchants in Iberia and South America and their Jewish Marrano cousins in southwest France, Amsterdam, and Hamburg. (Sincere “New Christians” often continued to do business with crypto-Judaizers or returned Jews, even when bitterly at odds religiously.) Between 1550 and 1630 Jews dominated the important overland commerce through the Balkans and played an important role in the Vistula lumber, grain, and fur trade. They likewise had a hand in overseas commodity trades, including tobacco, sugar, Brazil wood, alcohol, and slaves, as well as brokerage and the refinement of imported raw materials, such as diamond cutting and tobacco processing in Amsterdam and coral polishing in Livorno. By the seventeenth century the mere appearance of Jewish commercial prominence in so wide a range of locales often functioned to persuade rulers to open their territories to Jews, who operated not just as merchants but also increasingly as lenders and financial agents to crowns.

Court Jews. These developments helped make possible the rise of the court Jews (*Hoffjuden*) in western and central Europe, a phenomenon that reached its acme in the period 1650–1750. The political aftermath of the Peace of Westphalia (1648), with its fractured sovereignties and attendant proliferation of state bureaucracies and armies, created a crushing need for cash on the part of states both large and small. Jewish financiers not only paid troops but also mastered the art of supplying armies in the field. The Hanover court factor, Leffmann Behrens, for instance, started as a financial intermediary between Louis XIV (ruled 1643–1715) and his ally Duke John Frederick (1625–1679), then served as a military supplier and financier to John’s brother Ernest Augustus (1629–1698) (along the way helping him raise the colossal funding needed to purchase a position as the ninth elector of the imperial college), and then, in a final incarnation, became an unofficial finance minister for George Louis (1660–1727), later George I of Great Britain (ruled 1714–1727).

Jews like Behrens formed the top echelon of an elaborate network of money, credit, and supplies, linked by religion, skills, and marriage. Yet the court Jews’ demise was often as remarkable as their rise. Samuel Oppenheimer (1630–1703) brilliantly

served Emperor Leopold I (ruled 1658–1705) as banker and military supplier through the War of the League of Augsburg (1688–1697) before his master (never an admirer of the Jews) abandoned him to the angry Viennese mobs. A similar fate befell the still more flamboyant and reviled Joseph Süss (“Jew Süß”) Oppenheimer (1698–1738) who, much to the chagrin of his Protestant subjects, became the virtual viceroy to the Catholic Duke Karl Alexander of Württemberg. With the duke’s death, Jew Süß was summarily tried and executed, his remains left on public display in an iron cage. In earning extensive privileges for themselves by strengthening royal centralization against the jealous local estates (quasi-feudal corporate groups), the court Jews rendered their own circumstances intensely vulnerable. Still, no matter how precarious their individual fortunes, the entitlement to settle their Jewish entourages usually endured, such settlements becoming beachheads for many a fledgling Jewish community in the seventeenth century, scattered through Germany, Austria, Holland, Denmark, and Hungary.

Eastern Europe. In Poland, where by the 1600s a majority of European Jews lived, the court Jew phenomenon found its counterpart in the institution of the *arendator*, a lessee of economic privileges on noble estates in Poland, Lithuania, and Ukraine. The opening up of latifundia during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries—making possible a Baltic grain trade whose vast expansion facilitated the enserfment of the Ukrainian peasantry—drew Jews into the towns and villages of Lithuania and western Ukraine to assist the nobility’s economic exploitation of the eastern territories. In return for their services to the magnates, Jews won increasing religious, residential, and occupational freedoms, including protections against collective punishments and ritual murder accusations, limited rights to own real estate, and freedom to engage in a widening array of professions. With an expanding population, the Jewish economy became increasingly complex, diversifying well beyond the Jews’ traditional banking and tax farming activities into crafts, transport, and estate administration. The price for all this, however (in addition to mounting taxes), was the Jews’ insinuation into the dangerous and oppressive *arenda* regime.

The 1648 peasant backlash against the exploitative system, aggravated by religious tensions

among Greek Orthodox, Catholics, and Jews, and inflamed by Ukrainian Cossacks’ resentment against their misuse by the Polish crown, led to a ferocious rebellion under the generalship of Ukrainian hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky (1595–1657). The Cossack phase of the conflict lasted until 1655 and exacted a devastating toll on Jewish population centers throughout Podolia, Volhynia, southwestern Lithuania, and even part of Galicia and central Poland. While contemporary chronicles exaggerated the extent of the loss, as many as 40,000 people—a quarter of Polish Jewry—may have perished. The Khmelnytsky uprising became the largest Jewish massacre before the twentieth century. But while the devastation created a drastic refugee crisis (the Cossack rebellion was followed by invasions from Sweden and Muscovy lasting through 1667) and accelerated Jewish migration to the West, it did not stem the tide of overall Jewish economic and demographic expansion in eastern Europe. On the contrary, within a century of the uprising the Jewish population reached one half million, with Jews becoming a key commercial force in an eighteenth-century Poland beset by economic woes.

Economic decline. In contrast to the early sixteenth century, Jews in the eighteenth century found themselves residing throughout the Continent, though in small numbers in western Europe. Yet now the mechanisms that had allowed for their restoration and distribution—the overland Balkan trade; Dutch overseas commerce with the New World, North Africa, and India; war and state building in the petty sovereignties of central Europe—had diminished in importance or were no longer operative. Jews were ill placed to take advantage of the new commercial centers and dynamic forces fueling a changing European economy, such as British colonial trade, early industrialization, and regional, intrastate as opposed to trans-European or intercontinental trade. Even the growing importance of Jews in Poland seemed to go hand in hand with that land’s political and economic decline, or so many anti-Semites believed. Polish Jewry’s demographic growth fed emigration and itinerancy, thus aggravating the existing poverty of sister communities in central and western Europe. By the end of the early modern period a widespread perception emerged in the European press of an internal Jewish social crisis, leading to demands for Jewish political

and occupational reform at the dawn of the modern age.

JEWISH SELF-GOVERNMENT

The autonomous community. In the wake of the Khmelnytsky massacres, Rabbi Nathan Hanover (d. 1693), himself a Polish refugee living in Livorno, concluded his chronicle of the devastation with an extensive elegy for the golden era of Polish Jewry, which he believed had now come to an end. In this idealized portrait, Hanover praised the features of Polish Jewry that made it so exemplary: its devotion to religious learning and scholarship, its highly developed and meritocratic system of religious education, its generous charitable institutions, and, finally, its extensive network of religious and civil courts and local, regional, and national administration. According to Hanover's depiction, Jews lived in a self-enclosed world, sealed off from all corrupting non-Jewish influences. "Never was a dispute among Jews brought before a Gentile judge or before a nobleman, or before the King . . . and if a Jew took his case before a Gentile court he was punished and chastised severely."

Despite Hanover's exaggerated claims (in seventeenth-century Poland, powerful Jewish interests—merchants, tax farmers, *arendators*—rarely hesitated to enlist non-Jewish authorities on their own behalf), Polish Jewry did enjoy a degree of autonomy almost unprecedented in the history of the diaspora, with self-governing institutions that extended from the municipal to the federal level. In earlier centuries the Polish crown had appointed chief rabbis for the entire Jewish community; such efforts died out by the middle of the sixteenth century when Jews won the right to administrative autonomy, even at the "national" level. Indeed, the crown benefited fiscally and the Jews administratively from the establishment of the Council of the Four Lands (first documented in 1581) and the Council of the Land of Lithuania (1623). Both were annual or biannual synods composed of delegates from regional Jewish councils who were entrusted with formulating general policies and recommendations for the Jewish population as a whole. Indeed, these councils exerted an influence well beyond their own lands, intervening on occasion in the internal disputes of other Ashkenazic communities (for example, Frankfurt, 1615–1628,

and Amsterdam, 1660–1673), a development that underscored Polish Jewry's newfound preeminence in the early modern period numerically, institutionally, and intellectually.

The autonomous Jewish community had derived its historic legitimacy from two sources: the consensus of its constituent members, made sacred through oaths and rights of excommunication (*herem*) and the independent, quasi-corporate standing conferred upon it in governmental charters, such as that granted by Casimir the Great in 1364 and renewed periodically by his successors. Membership rights in the community (*kehillah*) were the prerogative of the Jewish municipal government (*kahal*), rooted in local custom and conditioned by changing economic circumstances. Such membership, though normally heritable, did not automatically transfer to a new spouse; on the contrary, despite the premium placed on marriage in Judaism, communities exercised strict control over marriage and settlement. The medieval formula, according to which one acquired town citizenship by residence for "a year and a day," did not apply to the Jewish community of this period, which imposed waiting periods of between six and twenty-five years on prospective members, again depending on economic circumstances. On the other hand, visitors remaining for longer than several weeks were subject to special taxes—the city of Kassel, for example, required outsiders lingering more than a month to pay all of the taxes normally imposed on residents, in addition to the tolls to which travelers and merchants were otherwise subject. Itinerants might receive initial assistance with food and shelter, but they would be sent packing after a few days. Especially in northern and eastern Europe, by the second half of the seventeenth century, when population growth, war, and increased regional economic integration vastly multiplied the number of Jewish beggars, communities felt forced to impose strict rules against sheltering wanderers. In 1623 the Council of the Land of Lithuania insisted that "no beggar whatsoever shall be given anything except transportation to send him away; neither shall he be kept in one's house for more than twenty-four hours." The Jewish community was responsible for its own poor (if no kin were able) and could not support outsiders too, a factor that further aggra-

vated the problems of homelessness and mendicancy.

Oligarchy. As social divisions widened, particularly in the larger communities, a trend toward oligarchic rule emerged. In theory, ultimate authority resided in the consensus or majority rule of the entire community, meaning, essentially, all married male taxpayers. Yet by the sixteenth century, Jewish communities throughout Europe entrusted the election of municipal officers to “the majority of wealth.” Indirect election became the rule, with taxpayers of sufficient property choosing an initial assembly that in turn elected—depending on the community’s size—two or three tiers of officers (in Poland: *tovim*, ‘good men’; *zekenim*, ‘elders’; and *parnasim*, ‘pillars’) for an annual term. The position of community executive was usually rotated on a monthly basis. Stiff regulations against reappointment and nepotism were enacted, though increasingly observed in the breach. Indeed, private money was an essential ingredient of community government. At times offices might be directly purchased—though this abuse was vigorously condemned in community record books (*pinkasim*) and rabbinic preachments. But even short of such extreme cases, serving as an officer was a privilege of wealth, indeed, one that might carry numerous costs. The privilege of self-government came at a price, since every appointment of new officers had to be ratified by the ruler or his agent, entailing the payment of a sizable fee on each occasion. Rulers generally made officers personally responsible for unpaid community debts and taxes, imprisoning them to extort the fine if necessary. For this reason, communities felt justified in imposing penalties on wealthy individuals who declined to serve.

Institutions. The religious prerequisites for the existence of a Jewish community were a prayer quorum (*minyan*) of ten adult males, a cemetery, a kosher slaughterer (*shochet*), and a ritual bath (*mikvah*). If a community’s small size made any of these prohibitive, it would seek to affiliate with its nearest neighbor. A rabbi was not strictly necessary so long as a lay member possessed a respectable mastery of Jewish law. If no man was able, knowledgeable women would also sometimes serve as unofficial guides to the law and (in early modern Italy, at least) ritual slaughterers. The rabbinate became professionalized throughout Europe in the

late Middle Ages, but financial arrangements for hiring rabbis differed according to region; in Poland, for instance, the rabbi received a salary as well as specified tax exemptions and monopoly rights; in Italy, on the other hand, he earned merely a nominal fee, which he had to supplement through teaching, preaching, writing, or business. Still, any community that could afford to have a rabbi did so, for he epitomized its highest values and embodied its authority. He was both teacher and judge—even if in reality his personal power was often subordinate to that of the lay communal leadership.

Once the framework of local government was in place, its chief functions were to collect taxes (for its own administration and on behalf of the government); to maintain good relations with the authorities (often entailing a special functionary, the *shadlan*, as “lobbyist,” and always requiring the allocation in the budget of special funds for “gifts”); to ensure internal order and observance of the law (civil and religious); to appoint clerical officials (a rabbi and religious teachers) and lay judges to oversee local courts; to provide essential services, such as health facilities and teachers for the children of the poor; to appoint and supervise special officers, such as those responsible for tax assessment or truancy enforcement; and to oversee committees (*hevrahs*) engaged in specific activities (both ritual and civic), such as the burial society (*hevrah kadisha*) or artisan fraternities, as well as those engaged in poor relief and other charitable pursuits (for example, providing dowries to enable poor girls to marry). With the expansion of the size and complexity of Jewish communities and the intrusion of class polarities, such *hevrahs* proliferated. They allowed for participation by the middling ranks in community bodies otherwise inaccessible to them. In fact, though most *hevrahs* were restricted to males, a minority also offered a rare channel for women to participate in self-governing organizations. *Hevrahs* were mutual aid societies in life and death, providing charitable funds to help the family of a deceased member, as well as intercessory prayers on behalf of their souls. They were vehicles for the expression of new forms of spiritual creativity, even quasi-autonomous loci for an emergent Jewish civic society. But whatever their specific functions, it is important to keep in mind that such *hevrahs* were

viewed as religious institutions and not political ones.

Education. Public education at the elementary level, to the extent that it existed, was for the children of the poor alone. Poor but promising scholars were objects of private charity; it was considered a great religious virtue (*mitzvah*) to feed and house a penurious Talmudist. While valued as an end in its own right, scholarship also provided an avenue of social mobility and could secure a marriage into a wealthy family. Such meritocratic virtues served to elevate scholars and denigrate the illiterate. Promising children were urged to advance through the curriculum as rapidly as possible. Pedagogical theory held that the earlier something was learned, the longer it would be retained, and for this reason, ambitious parents sought to teach their sons to read Hebrew from as early as the age of two. As a proud father recorded in sixteenth-century Italy, at three his son began his religious studies, at four he chanted from Scripture, at five he learned to write, at eight he studied the legal codes, and at twelve he learned ritual slaughtering and led the morning service in synagogue. A childhood so attenuated—the process completed, as the historian Roberto Bonfil notes, even prior to any bar mitzvah rite of passage—expressed the premium placed by Jewish society on boys’ achieving early intellectual maturity. Maturity for girls, on the other hand, meant early marriage (from twelve or thirteen up). The community placed no value on a girl’s religious education (and only a wealthy family might train a girl in some secular arts), except that pertaining to the dietary rules and laws of ritual purity. Schools for girls, such as the one established in Rome in 1475, were rare. Nevertheless, learned women, self-taught or instructed by a parent, appear repeatedly in the early modern sources. Women’s spirituality—exclusive of their domestic roles—found expression in special Yiddish prayers (*tekhines*) and moralistic stories, and through the communal experience of the *hevrahs* and their charitable and devotional activities.

Finances and taxes. The Jewish community was as much an economic institution as a social and religious one. What this meant in practice was that the *kahal*, in its corporate status, frequently engaged in business transactions, loans (as both lender and borrower), and the leasing of franchises. (A Jewish com-

munity in early modern Poland-Lithuania might be a general *arendator*, subletting specific functions to individual community members.) In late medieval Germany, entire communities, ostensibly the “property” of the crown, were pawned to princes, nobles, or municipalities to generate cash. Jewish communities frequently found themselves deeply in debt—to individual members of their own communities or to Christians (in Poland-Lithuania, monasteries in particular thrived on loans to Jewish communities for periods often lasting generations). The trend toward oligarchic rule tended to dampen the fortunes of the *kahal*, since corruption, tax exemptions for the wealthy, the growing burden of poor relief, and mounting interest on community debts placed communal financial burdens increasingly on the backs of the middle stratum of “householders” (*ba’ale batim*).

Paying for communal services and privileges entailed a wide array of taxes. The Jewish community received assessments from state and local governments based on its ascribed population size and then apportioned the fiscal responsibility of its individual members. This created considerable overlap between “external” and “internal” taxation, with the former generally taking the form of capitation and property taxes and the latter sales taxes on commodities and fees on services. The *kahal*’s ingenuity was continuously tested by increased demands from above. Taxes on kosher meat and candles for the Sabbath and holidays proved particularly onerous, since these items were religiously obligatory. These taxes began as community imposts but were eventually seized upon by governments as their own. Ritual items like citrons (for the autumnal “Festival of Booths” [Sukkoth]) as well as “luxury” items like tobacco were likewise taxed. The community imposed sales taxes not just on types of commodities but on the types of professions that produced them. For instance, eighteenth-century Cracow taxed all transactions by peddlers, jewelers, bakers, and tailors, among others, at fixed rates, regardless of their character or size. Indeed, marriage, death, and taxes went hand in hand since dowries and burials were often taxed as well.

Eighteenth-century developments. The imposition of tax upon tax mandated by indebtedness and state demands, interference in the *kehillah*’s internal affairs by overweening magnates, increased oligar-

chic manipulation of the instruments of Jewish self-government, growing economic and social differentiation within the Jewish community, jurisdictional disputes between large Jewish communities and their numerous suburban satellites, and the eventual emergence of a strong Jewish artisan class jealous of its fraternal ties all conspired to transform if not destroy the traditional autonomous Jewish community in eastern Europe by the eighteenth century. In 1764, in an effort to extract more funds from the Jewish population, the Polish *sejmiki* dissolved the Council of Four Lands, thus ending one of the more remarkable experiments in the history of Jewish diaspora autonomy. With the Polish partitions of 1772, 1793, and 1795, the bulk of Polish Jewry fell under the administration of Prussia, Austria, and Russia, each with different policies affecting the future of the self-governing Jewish community.

Central, southern, and western Europe. Since medieval times the Jews of Germany and central Europe had made periodic use of rabbinic synods to deal with pressing political, economic, or religious problems. As absolutism became the order of the day, these interregional synods waned and were eventually replaced by regional councils or *Landjudenschaften*, backed, or sometimes even created, by the princes. Indeed, court Jews—acting as both agents of the crown and community lobbyists—would frequently play decisive roles in these bodies, at times even occupying the position of “state rabbi” (*Landesrabbiner*). Crown interference in the internal mechanism of the *Landjudenschaften*, a phenomenon that intensified in the eighteenth century, was not the only curb on their power and prestige, however. Perhaps more significant was the fact that a number of the major Jewish communities of central Europe—Vienna, Berlin, Prague—lay outside their jurisdiction. The increased independence of large urban communities in central Europe offered greater opportunities toward the end of the eighteenth century for institutional experimentation and religious reform.

A similar situation presented itself in Italy, where regional and peninsula-wide synods were held in the fifteenth century (Bologna, 1415; Florence, 1428; Ravenna, 1442–1443), but where localization was becoming the norm in the seventeenth. In Italian cities, as in Amsterdam, Hamburg,

and Paris (not to mention throughout the Balkans and the Ottoman lands), Jewish community life was also fragmented by other centrifugal forces, such as linguistic and cultural divisions between Castilian, Aragonese, Portuguese, German (*tedesco*), Romanian (Greek-speaking Jews), and other ethnic enclaves. In these settings communal solidarity transcending country of origin would have been unlikely, to say the least. Different rites and customs and endogamous marriages usually went together with different synagogues, cemeteries, and communal administrations. While each communal leadership demanded absolute obedience from its constituency, such institutional multiplicity and functional overlap tended in the long term to undermine the authority and prestige of autonomous Jewish institutions.

If these factors—state interference in the functioning of the super-communities, major urban communities that increasingly went their own way, and internal ethnic divisions—weakened Jewish self-government throughout Europe, they did not in themselves destroy it. On the contrary, in the “backward” societies of eastern Europe, unaffected by the French Revolution or liberal capitalism, the Jewish community persisted well into the nineteenth century, despite social divisions and frequent attacks on its legal basis and moral character.

RELIGIOUS AND INTELLECTUAL DEVELOPMENTS

Jewish law (halakhah). In the early modern as in the medieval period, Jews assumed that the proper and necessary expression of Jewish life was through the observance of Jewish law (*halakhah*). This was true even of the Marranos or crypto-Jews: their “Jewishness” expressed itself, inter alia, as the unfulfilled aspiration to observe the commandments of the Torah. For this reason, meaningful discussion of the inner life of the Jews of the early modern period must begin with the *halakhah*.

The *halakhah* was a highly elaborated system of study and praxis, based on the Mosaic law, alongside the “oral law” that, according to ancient custom, had been passed down from generation to generation as part of the original revelation at Mount Sinai. Scriptural and oral law were reintegrated, so to speak, both as a literary corpus and as a practical system of observance by scholars (*rabbis*)

active between the second and sixth centuries in Palestine and Babylonia. The laconic Mishnah (c. 200 C.E.) and the vast “sea” of the Babylonian Talmud (c. 500 C.E.)—the latter a compendium of scriptural and Mishnaic commentary, lore, and rabbinic hagiography—defined much of rabbinic Judaism and constituted the broad ideological and practical foundation for Jewish existence. Mastery of the Talmud—meaning not just its numerous tractates but also the successive layers of commentary and analysis that had evolved over generations—was also the prerequisite for entrance into the rabbinic class. Talmudic principles had to be applied and adapted to the specific circumstances of daily life as they emerged in different historical settings. Thus, a great deal of rabbinic literature is a literature of legal analysis, including commentaries on one or another aspect of the Talmudic corpus, codes of Jewish law, *hiddushim* (collections of legal *novellae* inferred from Talmudic literature and precedent), and *responsa* (answers by leading scholars to queries sent by letter from local rabbis regarding specific practical *halakhic* problems).

Responsa literature and legal codes. Because of the upheavals caused by wars, expulsions, migrations, and resettlements, the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries abounded in *responsa* literature. Much of it concerned banal or not particularly topical issues, for instance, the use of embroidered images on a synagogue curtain, the legality of employing non-Jewish musicians at weddings or of divorcing a wife for her refusal to relocate to the land of Israel. But a considerable number of *responsa* from this period reflect larger historical changes: disputes over jurisdiction and custom that arose when new settlements of exiles developed side by side with older established communities, for example, or uncertainty over the status of marriages, divorces, and inheritances when one or several members of a family had converted to Christianity—as was not infrequently the case with Jews leaving Iberia. In Poland, topical problems such as population growth, the rise of the *arenda*, the subsequent spread of novel economic relationships, and, later, as a consequence of the Khmelnytsky massacres, the proliferation of widows ineligible for remarriage (because Jewish witnesses could not attest to the deaths of their husbands, as required by

halakhah) prompted penetrating investigation into the legal sources.

Despite the urgency surrounding the content of much of this literature, the stylistic convention of rabbinic *responsa* became increasingly intricate and scholastic (one is tempted to say, baroque) in character by the sixteenth century. Far more *responsa* have endured from this period than from the preceding era. Yet despite their great quantity and weighty contents, they abound in deferential pieties that insist upon the superior understanding of the juristic giants who came before. Indeed, it is from the sixteenth century that *halakhic* scholars begin referring to themselves as *aharonim* (“later authorities”) and their predecessors as *rishonim* (“primary authorities”).

Such terminology attests to an emergent consciousness among Jewish legal scholars in the sixteenth century of a temporal divide between their own and the preceding era. This was not conceived of in terms of “ancients and moderns.” Rather, a wide array of sources attests to a growing sense within Jewish life that the providential plan had taken a decisive turn. In *halakhah* its clearest evidence emerges from the compulsion felt simultaneously by scholars in widely different places to devise a new and definitive code of Jewish law that would offer practical guidance to a people afflicted by seemingly continuous upheaval. The *Shulhan Arukh* (1564–1565; The prepared table) authored by Joseph Karo (1488–1575), a Spanish exile who lived first in Turkey and then in northern Palestine (Safed), appeared to answer that need. Its success derived from its pithy and accessible quality, no doubt. But backing this up was the unimpeachable authority of Karo’s lengthier and far more academic legal code, the Bet Yosef. Still more decisive was the fact that the *Shulhan Arukh* was soon supplemented by the *Mapah* (Tablecloth) of the Polish rabbi Moses ben Israel Isserles (1525 or 1530–1572), who glossed the Sephardic Karo in the light of Ashkenazic jurisprudence and custom.

Initially, Karo’s compendium had provoked strong opposition in eastern Europe, on the grounds that a legal code so devoid of argumentation would attenuate direct study of the Talmudic sources, diminishing the stature of the rabbis and undermining local and regional usage (*minhag*).

Why then did Polish rabbis eventually reconcile themselves to Karo's enterprise? The answer lies in the character of the problems generated by the mode of Ashkenazic legal studies in the early modern period. Polish Jewry had become perhaps the outstanding locus of *halakhic* scholarship by the sixteenth century. Its chief innovation was *hiluk* (both a form of pedagogy and a method of textual analysis), characterized by the continuous comparison of disparate Talmudic texts to uncover their underlying conceptual principles. While often denigrated as "casuistic," this dialectical approach made possible increased legal flexibility, a great virtue in the face of the many conundrums confronting early modern Jewish communities. At any rate, though the method of *hiluk* was antithetical to the spirit of codification, many Polish scholars came to realize that the vast amount of legal commentary and custom that had accumulated in recent generations necessitated a new and systematic organization of the law. (Note that similar controversies surrounding codification efforts were taking place among non-Jews in sixteenth-century Europe.) Broadly speaking, then, and despite the original controversy that surrounded it, the *Shulhan Arukh* triumphed because it addressed a range of pressing needs through its unique combination of practicality, scholarship, and universality.

Cabala (Kabbalah). Karo was no pedantic legalist, but a mystic and a visionary, the recipient, in fact, of nightly visitations from a heavenly messenger (*maggid*) who revealed divine secrets to him through the mechanism of automatic speech. His *maggid* aside, as a devotee of the cabala or kabbalah (a body of Jewish mystical thought and practice dating from twelfth-century Provence and Spain), Karo was hardly unusual—even among *halakhic* scholars. By the sixteenth century, cabala had become widely disseminated in almost every diaspora locale, due in part to the dispersion of Judeo-Spanish refugees throughout the Mediterranean and beyond. With roots in gnostic and Neoplatonic thought, and a core conception of divine ontology as corresponding to and interacting with human activity, cabala helped to invest Jewish ritual with fresh meaning and magical potency. Although cabalistic theosophy achieved its classical expression in the thirteenth-century *Zohar* (a pseudepigraphic work traditionally attributed to the second-century sage

Rabbi Simeon bar Yochai), the sixteenth-century Safed cabalists Moses Cordovero (1522–1570) and Isaac Luria (1534–1572) lent it greater systematization and a new set of topical emphases. Cordovero's mystical fraternity produced instructional guides to moral behavior (*hanhagah*) that reified mystical abstractions into concrete practices and lifestyles accessible to such fraternities (*hevrahs*) throughout the diaspora. Luria, according to the formulation of the historian Gershom Scholem, took over the gnostic myth of an originary crisis existing within the godhead and highlighted its correspondence to the specific condition of Jewish exile, thereby focusing attention on the cosmic process of messianic redemption within Jewish collective consciousness.

Abetted by the new print revolution, the cabalistic currents emanating from Safed and elsewhere fused with the existing pietistic temperament of sixteenth-century Poland, the latter a legacy of that community's origins in medieval Ashkenaz and of its own syncretistic folk culture. Asceticism, strict penances, self-flagellation, and elaborate demonologies, though hardly alien to diaspora Jewish life elsewhere at this time, became especially pronounced in early modern Poland. Both pietistic and eschatological interests found expression in cabalistically inspired Bible commentaries that reveled in numerological interpretations of scriptural terms and calculations of the anticipated date of messianic redemption. In addition, *musar* literature, a genre dating to the early Middle Ages that aimed at guiding the reader to a life of mental and spiritual perfection through the adoption of an ascetic behavioral regimen, now came to function as an apt vehicle for transmitting cabala to a wider readership. *Musar* works took on a strongly cabalistic flavor, infusing prayer, Sabbath observance, study, and sexuality (or the strict avoidance of sexual sin, particularly masturbation)—indeed, nearly all areas of life—with a core of mystical symbolism. But cabala could also be disseminated orally through preaching, sermons, and homilies; through group study and recitation, as conducted by *hevrahs*; or simply through the complex if unconscious processes by which new customs, such as midnight vigils, alterations in the order of prayer recitation, prohibitions on sons attending their father's funerals, and countless other *tikkunim* ('corrections' of the cosmos),

become sanctioned and sanctified. There can be little doubt that the explosion of such practices signaled a heightened sensitivity to the new spiritual possibilities engendered by the contemporary moment.

Renaissance trends. In early modern Italy, however, cabala seemed to take an altogether different turn. There it became linked to Renaissance trends, of both a Neoplatonic and a hermetic variety. In contrast to Isaac Luria's mythical and intensely anti-Gentile formulations, the Florentine Johanan ben Isaac Allemanno (c. 1435–c. 1504) constructed an enduring synthesis of cabala and Neoplatonism, reflective of and conducive to a Jewish-Christian dialogue. Allemanno exerted an important influence on Giovanni Pico della Mirandola (1463–1494) and on the development of Christian cabala more generally. Indeed, in Italy—despite the proselytizing aims of its Christian practitioners—Christian and Jewish cabala shared many features, reflecting a common philosophical vocabulary and devotion to the ancient wisdom lying beneath the surface meaning of the scriptural text.

Italian cabala functioned as one component of a Jewish Renaissance humanism that embraced the aesthetic values of the general environment. Italian Jews were active in every sphere of Renaissance literary production—biographical, linguistic, poetic, and philosophic. Strikingly, the Aristotelianism that since the time of Maimonides (1135–1204) had created deep fissures in the Jewish world was now deployed in a failed rearguard action against the rising forces of cabala and Neoplatonism. The latter—with Jewish roots in eleventh- and twelfth-century Spain—achieved its highest Italian-Jewish expression in the *Dialoghi di Amore* of León Hebreo (also Judah León Abrabanel, c. 1460–after 1523).

Sixteenth-century Italy (though the phenomenon extended beyond the peninsula) also experienced a brief efflorescence of Jewish historical writing, a genre that possessed rather shallow roots in post-biblical Jewish culture. Some of these works exhibited a decidedly apocalyptic character—again, suggesting a widespread sense of approaching cosmic crisis—but others, like the *Me'or Enayim* (The light of the eyes) of Azariah ben Moses dei Rossi (c. 1511–c. 1578), were produced with an unmis-

takably humanist orientation. Indeed, Jewish humanists viewed the pagan arts then being revived in Italy as derivative of their own ancient creed. As the geographer Abraham Farissol (1451–c. 1525) explained, “at the foot of Mt. Sinai God crowned us with the Torah in its entirety: it contained all the sciences, natural sciences, logic, theology, law, politics, and it was here that the whole World slaked its thirst.” Such one-upmanship served Jews well. In a milieu where acculturation offered opportunities and enticements, the claim of Judaic priority in the humanistic curriculum enabled Jews to act as their own cultural gatekeepers.

“CRISIS” OR “INCIPIENT MODERNITY”?

Italian ghettos. Though the broad humanist curriculum was the province of a relative handful of Jews, the adoption of Italian names, folkways, melodies, delicacies, and pastimes permeated the Italian Jewish community as a whole, even when secluded behind ghetto walls. Indeed, the impact of Italian ghettoization—few Jewish communities outside of Italy lived in ghettos proper—did not necessarily mandate inwardness or insularity. The famous Venetian rabbi Leone Modena (1571–1648), although admittedly an exceptional case, records that during the December festival of Hanukkah, the friar whom he called “Satan,” “duped me into playing games of chance . . . by the following [May holiday of] *Shavuot*, I lost more than three hundred ducats.” At the same time, while ghettos did not seal Jews hermetically from the outside world, they did offer protection from physical attack (though not plague and wrenching poverty), and a defined if circumscribed and degraded place within Christian society. That for many historians “the ghetto” became a catchall for the premodern Jewish experience in Europe as a whole is unfortunate, since it violates the actual ghetto's historical specificity as well as misconstrues its paradoxical value to those Jews who experienced it.

This paradoxical nature of ghetto life manifested itself in a psychological need to define the moral and conceptual boundaries of Judaism within a Christian society. Indeed, ghetto existence appears to have given rise to a number of apologetic works that defended Judaism and advertised the purported benefits of maintaining a Jewish presence to Christian state and society. In a work by the

aforementioned Leone Modena, written in Hebrew but readily accessible to a host of contemporary Christian Hebraist scholars, the author brought forth a penetrating analysis of the New Testament, depicting Jesus as a Pharisee whose later epigones had distorted his original Jewish message. In 1638 Modena's younger Venetian colleague, Simone Luzzatto (d. 1663), offered Christians a quite different message, unabashedly insisting that Jews act to enrich the gentile polity with their unmatched commercial skills. Luzzatto's argument on behalf of "mercantilist philosemitism" influenced debates on Jewish readmission to England in 1654–1655 and continued to have an impact well into the eighteenth century.

Marranism and messianism. The ghetto was not the only stimulus to such literature, however. The return of many Iberian New Christians to Judaism prompted a number of them to produce treatises, addressed not just to Christians but to wavering fellow Marranos as well, that attested to what the former New Christian Isaac Cardoso (1603 or 1604–1683) called "the excellences of the Hebrews." Such former New Christians constituted a volatile addition to the Jewish communities of Italy, Amsterdam, Hamburg, and London during the seventeenth century. Unlike their sixteenth-century predecessors, a number of whom retained a living memory of open Jewish practice in Iberia, many of these Marranos possessed only the most rudimentary knowledge of rabbinic Judaism, its observances, doctrines, and mentalities. Their subjection to the discipline of the Sephardic *kahal* government (the *Mahamad*), its alien customs, and *halakhic* regimen sometimes evoked in the minds of these "returnees" comparisons with the very tyranny they had fled. Even an insincerely felt Christianity might leave an enduring impression on the soul. When combined with a sense of disappointment with their recovered faith, this could lead in the most varied directions. The roughly contemporaneous Uriel Acosta (1585–1640) and Abraham Miguel Cardoso (c. 1630–1706)—brother of the above-mentioned Isaac—demonstrate the polar range of alternatives. Acosta fled the Portuguese Inquisition in 1615, but was later excommunicated by the Amsterdam Jewish community for his increasingly radical criticisms of the oral law. His case dramatically illustrates how the abandonment of Christianity

could feed a religious skepticism irreconcilable with an equally powerful need for membership within a Jewish community. Abraham Cardoso, however, seemingly presented the opposite phenomenon. His intense hostility to his former Christian faith manifested itself in a dogged adherence to the cause of the messianic pretender Shabbetai Tzevi, even justifying on cabalistic grounds the latter's conversion to Islam. The fact that these cases are extreme ones should not obscure the intimate and complex connections between Marranism and messianism in the Jewish history of the seventeenth century. Messianic pretenders had not been lacking during the previous century. But figures like Asher Lemlein and Solomon Molcho (c. 1500–1532), however great the fascination they engendered, secured relatively few actual followers, whereas the messianic fervor surrounding Shabbetai Tzevi appears at its height to have seized the hearts of close to a majority of Jews worldwide. The messiah's appeal cannot be attributed to any single historical cause; neither the expulsion of 1492, nor the dissemination of Lurianic cabala, nor the rough phenomenological equivalents that appeared simultaneously within Christendom are sufficient to account for a movement that swept from Adrianople to Amsterdam—sweeping up all types and classes of Jews along its path.

Less speculative are the reasons why the modest achievements and erratic and sometimes psychotic behavior of the pretender himself did not induce a greater skepticism. The momentous announcement in the summer of 1665 of the messiah's advent, emanating from the holy land and in the guise of a solemn appeal from his "prophet," Nathan of Gaza (1643/1644–1680), for mass repentance, appears to have successfully undercut competing reports of Shabbetai Tzevi's bizarre sexual behavior and evidence of the physical thuggery that his followers unleashed upon "infidel" dissenters. Concerns raised by reports of his February 1666 arrest at the hands of the sultan were likewise dampened by word that the messiah's prison was actually a palace where the "king" hosted emissaries from throughout the exile. Only the profound shock of Shabbetai's apostasy on 15 September 1666, once absorbed, transformed joy into disappointment, and elation into rage or despair. Cooler heads among the community leaders now emerged to supervise a

systematic effort to cover up the extent of official collusion with the movement and to root out lingering pockets of belief.

If in most cases the status quo ante was restored relatively quickly, two minority tendencies also made themselves felt: conversion from Judaism, on the one hand, and participation in the heretical Shabbetean movement, on the other. In the first instance, Christian missionaries proved adept at capitalizing on the disillusionment Shabbetai had inspired in many Jews. As for the case of Jewish heresy, Shabbetai's propagandists (including Abraham Cardoso and Nathan of Gaza) succeeded in formulating doctrines to demonstrate that the apostasy actually "proved" Shabbetai's messianic or (in extreme versions) divine nature. It seems that such claims may have found a particular resonance among former Marranos. For them, after all, the outward conversion and crypto-Judaizing that Shabbetai and some of his followers now engaged in constituted the very crux of their own past religious experience.

Shabbeteanism would cast a shadow over the next century of Jewish intellectual and religious life in Europe. This did not occur because the heresy was itself so widespread. Admittedly, respected community leaders such as the Sephardic chief rabbi of Amsterdam, Solomon ben Jacob Ayllon (1655–1728), and even a revered Talmudist, Jonathan Eybeschuetz (1690–1754), were secret though moderate Shabbeteans, while at the other end of the spectrum, the shocking heretical messianism of Jacob Frank (1726–1791) seems to have taken the form of a perverse experiment to see if the original shabbetean debacle could be outdone. Yet while these instances should not be overlooked, more significant still was the degree to which self-appointed heresy hunters in the decades following Shabbetai Tzevi's demise claimed to see incarnations of Shabbeteanism extremism almost everywhere they looked—in the pietistic conventicle of the brilliant Italian mystic Moses Hayyim Luzzatto (1707–1747), in the acrobatic "enthusiasm" of the fledgling Hasidic movement, and even in some of the mild pedagogic reforms advocated by the early Jewish Enlightenment. The Shabbetean scare, in short, seems to have produced a form of reductionism within some orthodox circles, which in itself helped to determine the dynamic interplay of

"tradition and crisis" in the Judaism of the eighteenth century.

Conclusion. If heresy calls forth inquisition, skepticism dogma and laxity enforcement, then it is plain why some historians have depicted early modern era Judaism as engendering a crisis. The crisis they describe pits the irresistible force of acculturation, antinomianism, and apostasy against the immovable object of cultures and communal institutions turned inward and rigid. According to this view, by the middle of the eighteenth century, such tensions proved too powerful to contain, leaving the fabric of traditional Judaism exposed and vulnerable to the simultaneous eruption of Enlightenment in the West and Hasidism in the East. However, more recently, an alternative narrative has vied for dominance, one that emphasizes a comparatively seamless transition to modernity. According to this view, an "incipient modernity" was engineered, more or less unconsciously, by representatives of a moderate tradition within Judaism—philosophical in medieval Spain, humanistic in the Renaissance, and scientific in the Enlightenment—who were at home in both the world of Jewish observance and that of commerce and culture. However, if both scenarios possess merit, they likewise equally exaggerate, particularly with regard to the degree of autonomy they accord to European Jewish history. Modernity did not "arrive" at all Jewish communities simultaneously. Rather, as was the case with most minorities within Europe—as well as most populations outside of it—modernity imposed itself as an alien but ineluctable force that left no choice but to react, resist, or adapt.

See also Cabala; *Conversos*; Ghetto; Inquisition, Spanish; Jews, Attitudes toward; Jews, Expulsion of (Spain; Portugal); Khmelnytsky Uprising; Messianism, Jewish; Shabbetai Tzevi.

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JONATHAN KARP

JOANNA I, "THE MAD" (SPAIN) (1479–1555), third child and second daughter of Isabella of Castile and Ferdinand of Aragón, and mother of the Emperor Charles V. The marriage agreement of Isabella and Ferdinand had stipulated that Ferdinand could not inherit the crown of Castile if Isabella died before him. It would pass instead to their legitimate heirs, who could include their daughters since in Castile women were allowed to exercise sovereign power. Intelligent and well educated, Joanna also showed signs of rebelliousness and mental instability that troubled her parents. Nonetheless, in 1502 Isabella and Ferdinand secured the cooperation of the Castilian Cortes in recognizing Joanna as proprietary heiress of Castile (her older siblings Isabel and Juan had both already died) and her husband, the Habsburg Philip the Handsome, as her legitimate consort.

When Isabella died in 1504, Joanna and Philip were not in Castile. This allowed Ferdinand to engage in political machinations that portrayed Joanna as mentally unsound and convinced the Cortes to appoint him in her place. A power struggle emerged between Ferdinand and Philip. Philip died in 1496, plunging Joanna into a period of profound mourning (which only exacerbated her tendency toward mental instability). By 1509 Ferdinand had "exiled" his daughter to Tordesillas, where she lived until her death in 1555.

Some recent scholarship has attempted to separate Joanna's image from the unfortunate appellation of "the Mad," seeking to demonstrate that she was the victim of the political ambitions of both her father and husband. Despite her exclusion from power, Joanna remained the queen of Castile, reigning jointly after 1516 with her son Charles I (Charles V of the Holy Roman Empire).



Joanna I. Portrait by Juan de Flandes, 1500.
KUNSTHISTORISCHES MUSEUM, VIENNA, AUSTRIA/BRIDGEMAN ART LIBRARY

See also Charles V (Holy Roman Empire); Ferdinand of Aragón; Isabella of Castile.

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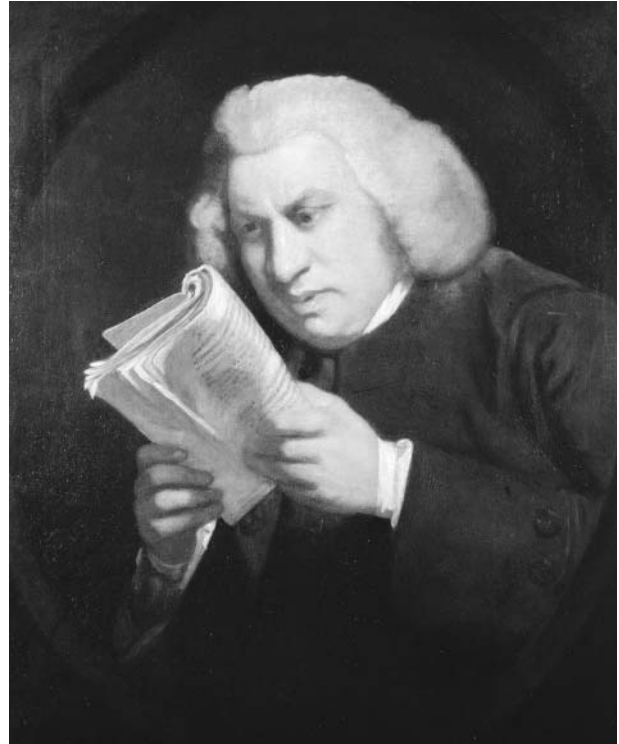
ELIZABETH A. LEHFELDT

JOHNSON, SAMUEL (1709–1784), English writer, lexicographer, and critic. Known as "Dr. Johnson," Samuel Johnson was one of the most complex and important figures of eighteenth-century culture. Renowned particularly for his personality, his contribution to eighteenth-century writing is important both for his scholarly knowledge and for his insight into humanity in its moral and social complexity.

EARLY LIFE AND EDUCATION

The son of Michael Johnson, a bookseller with intellectual ambitions in Lichfield, Staffordshire, Samuel Johnson was born in 1709. When he was three, he was taken to London to be touched by Queen Anne to cure his scrofula, which, along with smallpox, caused lasting disfiguration. Johnson was educated at Lichworth Grammar School and read prodigiously, enjoying Latin authors and Renaissance literature. While at school, he wrote several English and Latin poems and essays, and a distant cousin, the Reverend Cornelius Ford, whom he visited in Worcestershire, encouraged his interests in poetry and classical culture. As a student at Pembroke College, Oxford, Johnson translated Alexander Pope's "Messiah" into Latin verse, and the poem was published in 1731.

Due to the family's increasing poverty, Johnson completed only one year toward his degree at Oxford, a prevailing source of unhappiness throughout his life. Faced with unemployment, Johnson grudgingly helped in his father's bookshop for two years. The drudgery was compensated for by his friendship with the Reverend Gilbert Walmesley of Lichfield, who encouraged Johnson's literary ambitions.



Samuel Johnson. Portrait by Sir Joshua Reynolds. THE ART ARCHIVE/COURAGE BREWERIES/EILEEN TWEEDY

Johnson taught briefly at Market Bosworth Grammar School in Leicestershire but quarreled with his employer and moved to Birmingham in 1733. He lived with a former school friend, Edmund Hector, and earned money writing for the *Birmingham Journal*. He translated the Portuguese Jesuit Jeronymo Lobo's *Voyage to Abyssinia* in 1735. In the same year he married Elizabeth Porter, a widow twenty-five years his senior, and opened a boarding school in Edial, near Lichfield; the school failed, perhaps as a result of the combination of Johnson's indifference to teaching and his physical deformity.

LONDON, JOURNALISM, AND BIOGRAPHY

In 1737 Johnson traveled with David Garrick (a former pupil who was to become the most famous actor of his time) to London, where Johnson was to spend the rest of his life. He found employment as a journalist with the printer Edward Cave, the founder of *The Gentleman's Magazine*, and later commented, "No one but a blockhead wrote except for money." Johnson almost certainly influenced the journal's development as an authoritative source of information. He contributed book reviews on

several subjects and wrote reports of parliamentary debates (a forbidden practice) under the title of *Debates of the Senate of Magna Lilliputia*, which was a blend of both fact and Johnson's own views presented in his own words. After writing satirical pamphlets that were critical of Prime Minister Robert Walpole, Johnson went into hiding in Lambeth under a false name because his arrest had been ordered.

Johnson secured literary success with *London*, a satirically exuberant poem on the excesses and corruption of London life. Between 1738 and 1744 he also wrote short biographies of historical and naval figures. He helped to catalogue the Harleian library, a collection of books by the first earl of Oxford, writing an influential preface on cataloguing as essential in helping scholarly investigation. Johnson collated *The Harleian Miscellany*, a series of pamphlets on the political controversies in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Britain, and wrote a preface to his collation. In 1744 he wrote an extended biography, *A Life of Richard Savage*, a passionately written defense of his friend, a struggling poet who had died in poverty in 1743.

LEXICOGRAPHER, LITERARY CRITIC, AND POET

Johnson's ambition to be an authority on language and literature is realized in his most important work. In 1747, he produced a plan for *A Dictionary of the English Language* addressed to statesman Philip Dormer Stanhope (Lord Chesterfield), who ignored Johnson and sent him £10. Johnson wished to provide a work of reference "for the use of such as aspire to exactness of criticism, or elegance of style" (Preface, 1756). His intention was to stabilize the language, for example in usage and pronunciation, but not to impose rigid rules like the dictionaries of the continental academies. Johnson's dictionary elucidates the different meanings of words through close examination of the use of quotations from celebrated and authoritative authors. The dictionary's diversity reflects Johnson's wide reading to find illustrative quotations, which were transcribed with the help of six amanuenses. In a famous letter to Lord Chesterfield, Johnson refused his offer of patronage after the dictionary was published to high critical acclaim in 1755 and an abridgment published in 1756. The abridged version be-

came the standard dictionary until the publication of Noah Webster's in 1828.

The Vanity of Human Wishes, an imitation of the Latin poet Juvenal's tenth satire, was published in 1749; the tone and vision of the poem has been debated by critics as reflecting either pessimism at human vanity or hope for humanity's redemption. Although Johnson was disillusioned with the judgment of theater producers about its value as a tragedy, his play *Irene* was produced by David Garrick in 1749. It earned Johnson £300. Johnson also established a twice-weekly periodical, *The Rambler* (1750–1752), writing critical essays on many topics such as the English novel. Between 1758 and 1760, he produced for the *Universal Chronicle, or Weekly Gazette* a series of essays called *The Idler* that were lighter in tone. He also edited and wrote reviews for *The Literary Magazine*. Opposed to the Seven Years' War, Johnson wrote sporadic pieces attacking the war. To pay the expenses of his mother's illness, Johnson rapidly wrote *Rasselas, Prince of Abyssinia*, (1759) a philosophical "Oriental" novella. Because of his scholarly successes, Johnson was awarded an honorary M.A. by Oxford University in 1755 and an LL.D. by Dublin University in 1765. The need to support himself by writing was relieved in 1762, when he (controversially) accepted an annual pension of £300 from Lord Bute's ministry.

JAMES BOSWELL AND LATER YEARS

In 1763, Johnson became acquainted with a young Scot named James Boswell, who became his friend and his biographer. Johnson's expanding social life saved him from the bouts of melancholia and depression he suffered. Acquainted with almost all the leading political and literary figures of the time, in 1764 he formed the Literary Club, whose members included Joseph Banks, Edmund Burke, David Garrick, Edward Gibbon, Richard Brinsley Sheridan, Adam Smith, and James Boswell, who recorded their conversations. Johnson befriended Robert Chambers, a lawyer, who asked his help in composing a course of lectures on common law to deliver to Oxford undergraduates. The degree to which Johnson helped write the fifty-six lectures remains undetermined. In the same year he met the Welsh writer Hester Lynch Thrale (later Piozzi), with whom he developed a close friendship, and traveled to Wales and to France with her family. Her *Anecdotes of*

Johnson (1786) and *Letters to and from Johnson* (1788), as well as her diaries, have provided rich material for Johnson's biographers. In 1765, Johnson finally published an edition of Shakespeare's plays, which is the first variorum edition, providing the notes of previous editors to aid or sometimes correct interpretation. His preface to the edition demonstrates Johnson's excellence at close critical reading.

In 1773, Johnson traveled with Boswell to the Hebrides, recorded in his *Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland* (1775) and in Boswell's *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides* (1785). At the urging of a number of London booksellers, Johnson agreed in 1777 to write *Prefaces, Biographical and Critical to the Works of the English Poets* (later known as *The Lives of the Poets*), which was published 1779–1781. The monumental work discussed fifty-two of the most celebrated English writers and displayed Johnson's powers of literary criticism and insight.

Johnson died in December 1784 and was buried in poets' corner in Westminster Abbey. His fame followed him with the appearance of his letters and several biographies after his death, most notably James Boswell's *The Life of Samuel Johnson* (1791).

See also Boswell, James; Dictionaries and Encyclopedias; English Literature and Language.

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MAX FINCHER

JOINT STOCK COMPANIES. See Trading Companies.

JONES, INIGO (1573–1652), English architect. Inigo Jones was important for introducing Italian design into a country that was only haphazardly acquainted with the forms of Renaissance architecture. He was also responsible, from 1605 to 1640, for staging over fifty masques and plays for the royal court, often in collaboration with Ben Jonson; many surviving drawings show how well acquainted he was with stage designs from Florence and the Medici court. Jones was born in London, the son of a Welsh clothworker. Nothing is known of his early life but he is first recorded in 1603 as a picture-maker, working for the 5th earl of Rutland, with whom he perhaps went on a diplomatic mission to Denmark. But it was also about this time that he first traveled to Italy, perhaps in the entourage of Frances Manners, the earl's brother.

Jones's first architectural designs date from about 1606 and show that by then he had already



Inigo Jones. Queen's House, Greenwich, England, designed by Inigo Jones, 1619–1635. ©GILLIAN DARLEY; EDIFICE/CORBIS

acquired a knowledge of the work of architects like Andrea Palladio and Sebastiano Serlio. In 1610 he was appointed surveyor to Henry, Prince of Wales, and it was during this period that he may have worked on some internal alterations at St. James's Palace. In 1612, after the death of the prince, Jones came into contact with the duke of Arundel, an important patron and collector of art, in 1613–1614 accompanying him to Italy, to deepen further his knowledge of architecture. It was on this trip that Jones acquired his first drawings by Palladio. When, in 1615, he was appointed surveyor of the king's works, he was now ready to design works of his own. Through the generous patronage of King James I, he was able to design a small, but important, number of buildings: the Queen's House at Greenwich (1619–1635), the Queen's Chapel at St. James's Palace (1617–1618), and the Banqueting House, Whitehall (1619–1622). Nothing like these buildings, in their strict, spare Italianate

forms, had ever been seen in England, and their style was perhaps at first difficult for many to appreciate.

From about 1618 to 1640 Jones was also busy on two other major projects: the repair of St. Paul's Cathedral, London, and the square and houses that he built for the Earl of Bedford on property the earl owned at Covent Garden. The work Jones did at St. Paul's Cathedral was destroyed in the fire of 1666, but, especially in its vast Corinthian portico, it represented a new and grander Roman style of architecture, defining church architecture in ways that would be especially important for Christopher Wren when he also worked at St. Paul's and later designed other London churches. At Covent Garden, where Jones designed St. Paul's Church, the first classical church in England, his opportunities were limited. But in the plan, and in the design of the houses around the square, borrowed from what he had seen in Paris and Livorno, Jones defined a pattern of

urban architecture that would be used widely in England for the next two centuries.

Jones's grandest project was for a vast palace at Whitehall, modeled on both the Escorial in Spain and the Louvre in Paris. And if nothing came of his plans because of the financial and political difficulties of King Charles I, what Jones suggested, as documented in his preparatory drawings, affected all the later designs done on this important site. Jones was also involved with several projects for country houses, the most important being Wilton House, Wiltshire, where the south front, begun by Isaac de Caux about 1636, was much influenced by his ideas. In a series of designs from this time, none of which were executed, Jones defined a restrained, undecorated style that was used in many of the buildings of this kind designed in England after the Revolution of 1688–1689.

The political misfortunes of Charles I affected Jones very directly; in 1643 he was dismissed as surveyor of the king's works. He received no further commissions after this, but when he died, he was able to leave a considerable sum of money to John Webb, his pupil and assistant, who had married one of his relatives. It was also to Webb that Jones bequeathed his drawings, which were later acquired by Lord Burlington in the 1720s and then used to define the revival of Palladio in England in the eighteenth century. Over forty volumes from Jones's library, many with his annotations, now reside at Worcester College, Oxford, and have been used extensively by scholars; many of his drawings for masques and stage designs passed through Lord Burlington to the dukes of Devonshire and are presently preserved at Chatsworth.

See also **Britain, Architecture in; London; Palladio, Andrea, and Palladianism; Wren, Christopher.**

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DAVID CAST

JONSON, BEN (1572–1637), English playwright and poet. A highly influential dramatist of Jacobean London and the court of his day, Jonson was a colorful character of early theater history. His plays communicate much about the vicissitudes of life for those who shared the playwright's time and place. Jonson's father was a clergyman; his death a month before Jonson's birth was to affect the playwright's early life, for Jonson's mother soon married a master bricklayer, Robert Brett. Jonson was educated at Westminster School, where the antiquary William Camden, who was the master, became his intellectual inspiration. It is not certain, however, how long Jonson remained at school. According to the Scottish poet William Drummond of Hawthornden (1585–1649), friend and recorder of his conversations, Jonson was "taken" from Westminster and began an apprenticeship in bricklaying. He left London briefly to serve as a soldier in the Low Countries, but by 1594 he had returned. He married, and in 1595 he entered the Tylers and Bricklayers Company.

Soon after this he was writing and performing as an actor with the Earl of Pembroke's Men. In 1597 the company got into trouble for presenting *The Isle of Dogs* (now lost), a seditious play that Jonson finished for Thomas Nashe, and subsequently they had to disband. Jonson was constantly at odds with the authorities. In 1598, the same year that he produced his highly successful comedy, *Every Man in His Humour*, for Shakespeare's company, the Chamberlain's Men, he killed an actor called Gabriel Spencer in a duel. When arraigned for the offense, he successfully pleaded "benefit of clergy"—that is, he escaped a hanging due to his ability to read. While in prison for this offense, he became a Catholic, though he reverted to the Protestant faith twelve years later.

Jonson was frequently punished for the subject matter of his plays, which were often interpreted as being too satirically interested in national or court politics. In response to his tragedy *Sejanus His Fall*,

performed at the Globe in 1603 and published in 1605, he was suspected of portraying the political crimes of Robert Devereux, the earl of Essex. He was jailed in 1605 with George Chapman (1559–1634) and possibly John Marston (c. 1575–1634), collaborators with him on the London satire, *Eastward Ho!*, because it alluded to King James I's acceptance of payments for knighthoods. Despite these troubles, Jonson always seemed to emerge unharmed, and ultimately he excelled within the context of court entertainment. This is borne out by the success of his many masques, written for members of the court to perform. Some of these were produced in collaboration with the designer and architect Inigo Jones (1573–1652). In 1616 he was given a royal pension that was similar, in today's terms, to being granted the post of "poet laureate" in England. Thereafter he styled himself "the King's Poet."

His principal dramatic works, other than those already mentioned, include satirical pieces like *Cynthia's Revels* (1600) and *Poetaster* (1601)—both contributing to a perceived dialogue among the playwrights, or what has been called "the war of the theaters" played out between Jonson, Marston, and Thomas Dekker. Other satires include *Every Man Out of His Humour* (1599), *Epicene, or the Silent Woman* (1609), *The Devil Is an Ass* (1616), and the rumbustuously carnivalesque *Bartholomew Fair* (1614). The most famous of the playwright's works are undoubtedly *Volpone, or the Fox* (1606) and *The Alchemist* (1610), which are regularly produced on the stage to this day.

Jonson also wrote poetry including his *Epigrams* and a selection called *The Forrest*. These were published in his collected *Works* of 1616. Another selection of verse called *Underwoods* was published in a collection in 1640. This also included *Timber; or Discoveries made upon Men and Matter*, a prose work that comprised some personal musings on texts he had read. Jonson is best remembered for plays that, while showing his audience the world in which they lived, drew heavily on classical influences. These sources were often noted in the margins of Jonson's published works—nowhere more so than in the collection that he himself put together, the folio of 1616. Never before had there been such a publication, which included dramatic works written in English, and it was this endeavor

that probably inspired the production of Shakespeare's First Folio of plays in 1623. Jonson demonstrated perceptiveness and foresight concerning the universal nature of Shakespeare's work when he wrote in a prefatory poem to his dead friend's collection that Shakespeare's plays were "not of an age, but for all time!" Jonson's plays belonged to early modern London and to England's court, and therefore to his age.

In 1623, Jonson suffered the catastrophe of seeing many of his papers burned in a fire. Although he continued to write into the Caroline period, he never regained the favor he had once won at court. In 1628 this extraordinary personality suffered a paralytic stroke, and he died in 1637 plagued by ill health and financial insecurity. He is buried in Westminster Abbey under a tombstone bearing the inscription, "O rare Ben Jonson."

See also **Drama: English; English Literature and Language; Shakespeare, William.**

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EVA GRIFFITH

JOSEPH I (HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE)

(1678–1711; ruled 1705–1711), Habsburg emperor. Joseph I's reign was dominated by the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1714), which pitted Bourbon France and Spain against the "Grand Alliance" led by Austria and the Maritime Powers. Born to Emperor Leopold I and Eleonore of the

Palatinate-Neuburg, Joseph's upbringing was notable for the absence of Jesuit influence and the resurgence of German patriotism during lengthy struggles against France and the Ottoman Empire. In 1699 he married Wilhemine Amalie of Brunswick-Lüneburg, who his parents hoped would tame his youthful excesses, which included wild parties and a string of indiscriminate sexual escapades. He was soon admitted to the privy council, where he became the center of a "young court" of reform-minded ministers eager to resolve the daunting financial and military crises that confronted the monarchy during the opening years of the war, which Leopold had entered to secure the far-flung Spanish inheritance for his second son, Archduke Charles (the future Holy Roman emperor Charles VI). Their first victory came in 1703, with the appointments of Prince Eugene of Savoy and Gundaker Starhemberg to head the war council (*Hofkriegsrat*) and treasury (*Hofkammer*). Shortly afterward, John Churchill, the duke of Marlborough, was induced to march a British army into southern Germany, where it combined with imperial troops in destroying a Franco-Bavarian force at Blenheim (August 1704).

Although the great victory saved the monarchy from imminent defeat, Joseph had to overcome a succession of new challenges after succeeding his father (5 May 1705), which included the need to wage war on multiple fronts in Germany, the Spanish Netherlands, Italy, the Low Countries, and Spain, while simultaneously suppressing a massive rebellion in Hungary led by Prince Ferenc II Rákóczi. Joseph's strong German identity informed vigorous initiatives within the empire, including reform of the Imperial Aulic Council (*Reichshofrat*) and the banning of several renegade German and Italian princes who had sided with the Bourbons. Yet he gave little assistance to the imperial army fighting along the Rhine frontier or to the Maritime Powers campaigning in the Low Countries. Instead, he focused his resources (together with considerable Anglo-Dutch loans) on Italy, which Prince Eugene delivered in a single stroke at the battle of Turin (1706), after which the French evacuated northern Italy, much as they had abandoned Germany after Blenheim. A small force expelled Spanish forces from Naples the following spring. Joseph's other principal concern was Hungary, where



Joseph I. Portrait engraving, late seventeenth century.
©BETTMANN/CORBIS

Rákóczi had aroused widespread support against Leopold's regime of heavy taxation and religious persecution. Although Joseph dissociated himself from his father's policies and promised to respect Hungary's liberties, he refused Rákóczi's demand that he cede Transylvania as a guarantee against future Habsburg tyranny. As a result, the war dragged on for eight years, as Joseph committed roughly half of all Austrian forces to the difficult process of reconquering the country. Once victory was assured, relatively generous terms were granted the rebels at the peace of Szatmár (April 1711), signed just ten days after Joseph's death.

With Italy secured and the Hungarian rebellion under control, Joseph shifted his attention to the last and least pressing of his war aims—his brother's acquisition of the rest of Spain's European and American empire. Prince Eugene and a small force were sent to join Marlborough's Anglo-Dutch army in the Spanish Netherlands, most of which fell after their victory at Oudenarde (1708). Joseph also instigated a short war with Pope Clement XI at the end of 1709, forcing him to recognize Charles as king of Spain. By 1710, the first Austrian troops were fighting alongside their British, Dutch, and Portuguese allies in Spain itself. Nonetheless, a combination of logistical difficulties, timely French

reinforcements, and the Spanish people's dogged support for the Bourbon claimant, Philip V, doomed the allied effort. Unsuccessful peace negotiations at The Hague (1709) and Gertruydenberg (1710) failed to deliver what the allies could not win for themselves. Finally, a new British cabinet initiated secret peace talks with Louis XIV at the beginning of 1711, foreshadowing the Peace of Utrecht two years later.

Despite his untimely death from smallpox (17 April 1711), Joseph attained his two main objectives: securing an Italian glacis to the southwest and reconciling Hungary to Austrian domination, albeit with constitutional safeguards. Indeed, both achievements endured until 1866. Much of his success rested with a talent for choosing and managing able ministers to whom he could delegate much of the responsibility for realizing policy objectives. At the same time, Joseph jeopardized these gains through extramarital liaisons, which prevented his wife from bearing children after he gave her a venereal infection in 1704. Although he was survived by two daughters, the absence of a male heir foreshadowed the dynasty's extinction in 1740.

See also Habsburg Dynasty; Leopold I (Holy Roman Empire); Rákóczi Revolt; Spanish Succession, War of the (1701–1714); Utrecht, Peace of (1713).

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CHARLES INGRAO

JOSEPH II (HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE) (1741–1790; ruled 1765–1790), the eldest son of Empress Maria Theresa (ruled 1740–1780) and Francis of Lorraine (ruled 1745–1765), succeeded his father on the imperial throne in 1765, after which he acted as co-regent with his mother in ruling the Habsburg domains. Although the imperial dignity meant little in the non-Habsburg lands of the Holy Roman Empire, it was of real impor-

tance within the Austrian domains. These were held together constitutionally only by the person of the emperor and the Pragmatic Sanction of 1713, in which Emperor Charles VI (ruled 1711–1740) had declared the Austrian lands to be indivisible and that the various titles and thrones would descend to his daughter Maria Theresa. To this minimal constitutional framework Maria Theresa added the Council of State (Staatsrat) in 1762, part of a continuing effort to strengthen the central administration of her lands. Her constant policy, which her son would accelerate, was to increase royal power at the expense of provincial autonomy.

The domains that Maria Theresa and Joseph II ruled were the most diverse in all of Europe. Belgium belonged to the Habsburgs, as did some Italian provinces, the Duchies of Austria, Styria, Carniola, Carinthia, the kingdom of Bohemia, Croatia, the kingdom of Hungary, and other assorted lands and duchies. All spoke different languages, had different histories, laws, and customs, and were accustomed to being ruled according to their own traditions. Maria Theresa and Joseph II made it their overriding political aim to bring together administratively provinces and kingdoms that were otherwise separate, and which defended local privileges and immunities with tenacity and vigor.

Maria Theresa and Joseph II had two aims in their efforts to strengthen the central monarchy at the expense of provincial autonomy. The first, and easier to obtain, was centralization, which involved transferring political decision-making power from local notables to the royal councils. The second, much more difficult aim was uniformity, which meant treating all provinces and all social and legal classes alike in matters of law and administration. These policies constituted the core of enlightened despotism, in which reforms and modernization were imposed from above upon often hostile and unappreciative subjects. As enlightened despots, Maria Theresa and Joseph II had good intentions. For Maria Theresa, the difficulties in achieving centralization and especially uniformity had made her cautious, but Joseph was impatient, and his enlightened rationalism was as absolute as his despotism.

In 1780, the courteous, modest, diligent, and likeable Joseph II became sole ruler of Austria at the

death of his mother, which enabled him to push his aims as hard and fast as he liked. He had several programs, which he instituted quickly throughout all of his diverse domains. Joseph disliked the independent power of the Roman Catholic Church. He began his reign with an edict of religious toleration (13 October 1781), fulfilling the Enlightenment ideal that religious persecution was squalid, loathsome, and beneath the moral dignity of a modern monarch. This followed the Edict on Idle Institutions (1780), which began the closure of monasteries—ultimately about seven hundred of them—with their property seized to support secular state schools and charitable institutions. Joseph believed in religious liberty for everyone. His general religious opinions may be discerned from his comment that service to God was the same as service to the state.

Joseph combined secularism with reform of the courts and law within the Austrian crownlands. Centralization and uniformity were the basic principles he used to bring order and coherence to the chaos of multiple legal inheritances. He abolished the law that made mixed marriages a crime against religion, and he closed a number of ecclesiastical courts. Beyond these particular changes, Joseph simply nationalized the judicial system. Manorial and municipal courts had their jurisdiction circumscribed, and they came under much closer governmental scrutiny. He established new appellate courts, which were uniform throughout all his lands. He engaged in a favorite project of enlightened rulers and philosophers: codification of the existing welter of medieval law into a modern and coherent code that would apply uniformly to all the realm. He continued the work begun by Maria Theresa, who in 1770 had issued a criminal code, the *Nemesis Theresiana*. Joseph reformed this further with the Penal Code of 1787 and the Code of Criminal Procedure in 1788. A notable feature of this code was a substantial reduction in the death penalty. He also reformed civil law, with a code of the law of persons and of property in 1786. Finally, he abolished the patrimonial courts in the kingdom of Hungary, establishing new courts of first instance and bringing Hungarian procedure in line with the rest of the Austrian crownlands. Such judicial reform is rarely easy. Joseph's reforms deeply angered



Joseph II. Portrait by Joseph Hickel. THE ART ARCHIVE/HISTORISCHES MUSEUM (MUSEEN DE STADT WEIN) VIENNA/DAGLI ORTI

the Hungarian rural nobility, who complained about the loss of their ancestral privileges.

Joseph II departed most dramatically from his mother's pattern of cautious reform in the area of land and the abolition of serfdom. On 1 November 1781, he abolished some of the worst disabilities of serfdom in the lands of Bohemia and Austria, and he extended these reforms to Transylvania in 1783 and Hungary in 1785. In 1789 he abolished the remaining obligations of serfdom and changed the existing tax structure into a single tax on land. This was the culmination of his social reforms, which turned the serfs from patrimonial into royal subjects.

Joseph had tried to reform everything, never learning that politics is the art of the possible, not the perfect. He appears to have been convinced that imperial power was sufficient to change virtually every aspect of social and communal relationships in the crownlands. A flood of decrees would improve everything. In Joseph's world, however, inertia had greater power than command. He attempted to use

central power to create the state, whereas it was the state that must come first for the central power to be effective.

See also Austria; Bohemia; Holy Roman Empire; Hungary; Maria Theresa (Holy Roman Empire).

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JAMES D. HARDY, JR.

JOSEPHINISM. The meaning of the term, as well as the origins and nature of Josephinism, have been the objects of one of the most savage controversies in Central European historiography. Initially coined in the nineteenth century to describe the reform program implemented in the Habsburg Monarchy during the reign of Emperor Joseph II (co-regent 1765–1780, ruled 1780–1790), “Josephinism” came increasingly to apply specifically to the measures undertaken against the social, economic, political, and cultural position of the Catholic Church in the monarchy. Definitions have ranged across a broad spectrum, from seeing it as a general ideology of reform—a kind of Austrian variant of the Enlightenment—to interpreting it narrowly as state control over the ecclesiastical sphere. All interpretations have come to agree, however, that the roots of the reform momentum go back to the early eighteenth century, and that the reign of Empress Maria Theresa (ruled 1740–1780) was the critical era during which reform ideas crystallized.

In the seventeenth-century Counter-Reformation, Catholicism was in many ways the integrating ideology of the highly pluralistic patrimony of the Habsburgs. It involved not only a set of confessional dogmas, but broader patterns of thought and cul-

ture inextricably intertwined with a social and political infrastructure that had grown out of the economic and social upheavals of the era. When this polity proved unequal to the challenges it faced in the first half of the eighteenth century, the remedial measures undertaken identified confessional issues among the central problems to be addressed. Because of the degree of integration between political and confessional issues in the Counter-Reformation state, however, these reforms were not effected in discrete confessional spheres but had broad social, economic, and political consequences. Political economists argued that confessional policies were responsible for the relative economic underdevelopment of the Habsburg lands, while various ecclesiastical reform movements within the church became increasingly disenchanted with most ritualized form of baroque piety and advocated more internalized forms of worship. Secular, rational, and utilitarian values and a simpler, internalized religious ethos thus came to constitute the backbone of Josephinism.

By the time Joseph II became sole ruler of the Habsburg lands in 1780, all the main features of the “Josephinist” program were already in place. Both the pace and scope of reform accelerated, but even then its most prominent aspects remained those that touched on the religious sphere: the dissolution of about one-third of the monarchy’s monastic institutions with its concomitant confiscation of church property, the proclamations of confessional tolerance for Protestants and Jews, the effective establishment of a civil constitution for the Austrian clergy through state control of seminaries and the wide-ranging reorganization of parishes, and the promulgation of civil marriage and austere burial ordinances. Attitudes underlying these reforms remained alive well into the next century, despite the monarchy’s sharp turn to political conservatism during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars and the subsequent Age of Metternich. Josephinism can thus be seen as one of the most important roots of nineteenth-century Austrian liberalism.

See also Bohemia; Enlightenment; Habsburg Dynasty; Austria; Joseph II (Holy Roman Empire); Maria Theresa (Holy Roman Empire).

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FRANZ A. J. SZABO

JOURNALISM, NEWSPAPERS, AND NEWS SHEETS.

The earliest printed periodical news publications appeared shortly after 1600. By the end of the seventeenth century, newspapers were being published in every major European country. Together, they constituted a phenomenon new in European history and unique in the world: a system of communication that made the most up-to-date information available, not just to members of government bureaucracies or wealthy elites, but to a socially diverse public that included even those of modest means. Printed periodicals tied Europe's "Republic of Letters" together, promoted the diffusion of knowledge and of new cultural models, and offered a source of income to the period's increasing number of writers. As a medium for advertising, periodicals helped promote the growth in consumption that was one of the striking phenomena of the eighteenth century. By 1804, the German journalist and scholar August Ludwig von Schlözer could write that the periodical press was "one of the great instruments of culture through which we Europeans have become what we are."

Broadsheets (French *canards*, German *Flugblätter* or *Neue Zeitungen*), the earliest printed news publications, began to appear in the sixteenth century, carrying news of unusual occurrences such as battles, royal deaths, and "wonders" such as two-headed calves. Printers produced them irregularly, as the flow of events dictated, and used illustrations and headlines set in oversized type to attract readers. Around the same time, manuscript newsletters, particularly common in Italy, began to offer subscribers

a regular flow of reports. Such handwritten newspapers continued to circulate in many parts of Europe until the period of the French Revolution, but soon after the beginning of the seventeenth century, the development of dependable postal systems encouraged the creation of the first printed publications issued on a regular periodical schedule. The earliest known printed newspapers were published in Germany in 1605. In the course of the seventeenth century, the press spread throughout the European continent. The first newspapers appeared in Holland in 1618, England in 1622, France in 1631, Spain in 1641, and Russia in 1702. Events such as the Thirty Years' War, the Puritan Revolution in England, and the wars of Louis XIV promoted the spread of newspaper publication, producing a flow of constantly changing reports and generating an audience with an intense interest in the latest developments.

Unlike the broadsheets, early modern news gazettes lacked pictures and headlines, and their content consisted largely of dry chronicles of events from the major courts, battlefronts, and trading cities. The earliest news publications appeared at relatively long intervals, sometimes only once a year, but it did not take long for weekly and twice-weekly gazettes to dominate the market. A daily newspaper appeared in Bremen as early as 1650, and although daily publication remained rare before the French Revolution, there was a general trend toward more frequent issues and a greater total volume of content. Publishers quickly learned to help their readers make sense of the news by numbering and dating each issue of the paper, and giving the date and place of origin of each news bulletin they printed. Readers often preserved their newspapers as a permanent chronicle of events, and publishers sometimes provided title pages and even indexes so that the annual collections could be bound as books.

Throughout the early modern period, newspapers continued to be produced on hand-operated wooden printing presses. This technology limited the number of copies that could be printed: a single press could produce at most 3,000 copies of a paper in a day, so that expanding the press run required paying compositors to set a second form of type. In contrast to the leisurely and irregular pace of work in most enterprises of the period, newspaper printers were subjected to strict time constraints and


LONDON'S LORD HAVE MERCY UPON US.

A true Relation of Seven modern Plagues or Visitations in London, with the number of those that were Buried of all Diseases; viz The first in the year of Queen ELIZABETH, Anno 1592: The second in the year 1603 the third in (that never to be forgotten year) 1625. The fourth in Anno 1630. The fifth in the year 1636. The sixth in the year 1637. and 1638. The seventh this present year, 1665.

And note and true relation of the number of those that were buried in London of all Diseases, from the 17 of March 1591, to the 23 of December, 1592.

| Month | total |
|----------|-------|
| March 17 | 214 |
| April 7 | 303 |
| April 14 | 180 |
| April 21 | 110 |
| May 5 | 138 |
| May 12 | 410 |
| May 19 | 410 |
| May 26 | 410 |
| June 2 | 410 |
| June 9 | 410 |
| June 16 | 410 |
| June 23 | 410 |
| July 1 | 410 |
| July 8 | 410 |
| July 15 | 410 |
| July 22 | 410 |
| July 29 | 410 |
| Aug 5 | 410 |
| Aug 12 | 410 |
| Aug 19 | 410 |
| Aug 26 | 410 |
| Sept 2 | 410 |
| Sept 9 | 410 |
| Sept 16 | 410 |
| Sept 23 | 410 |
| Sept 30 | 410 |
| Oct 7 | 410 |
| Oct 14 | 410 |
| Oct 21 | 410 |
| Oct 28 | 410 |
| Nov 4 | 410 |
| Nov 11 | 410 |
| Nov 18 | 410 |
| Nov 25 | 410 |
| Dec 2 | 410 |
| Dec 9 | 410 |
| Dec 16 | 410 |
| Dec 23 | 410 |
| Dec 30 | 410 |

total, 1603.



Certain approved Medicines for the Plague, to be used when coughing, and to expect it after it be taken; as have been approved in Anno 1625, & also in this present Visitation, 1665.

A cheap Medicinal to keep from infection.

Take a pint of new Milk and cut two cloves of Garlick very small, putte in the mill, and drink it morning and evening, and it preserveth from infection.

Reader, what ever thou art, rich or poor, Rowie up thyself, for Death strikes at the door. If God says strike, he must will come in. For death we know is the reward of sin. His very breath is so infectious grown, He poysons every one he breathes upon; He is the Rich-man's terror, makes him flye, And bear away his baggage, as loath to die.

What shall the Poor do that behind do stay? Death makes them rich, by taking them away. But what shall Poor men do, that here do live, 'Tis surely fit the Rich should comfort give, And weekly Means unto them fill afford: Oh such Rich men shall be rich in the Lord! Death frights all, but more the guilt of sin, Which sinfull man long time hath lived in, Doth make them fearful of that punishment Due unto sin, for time that's evil spent.

Oh why was this not thought on long ago? When God expected our Repentance so? Seventeen years since, a little Plague God sent, He shoke his Rod to move us to repent: Not long before that time, a death of Gorn Was sent us to see if we would turn: And after that, there's none deny it can; The Beasts did suffer for the sin of man: Greas was so flout and small, that it was told, Hay for four pound a Load was daily sold. These Judgements God hath sent even to cite us Unto Repentance, and from sin to fright us. Oh Hubbard England! childish and unwise, So heavy laden with iniquities:

Return, return, unto thy loving Father, Return I say with speed, so much the rather, Be asure his Son thy Saviour pleads thy cause, Though thou hast broken all his holy Lawes: Say to thy self, My sins are cause of all Gods Judgements that upon this Land do fall, And sin's the cause that each one doth complain, They have too much, sometimes to little pain: Say to thy self, this Plague may be removed, If I repent, as plainly may be proved By **Abraham**, that City great and large, For God hath given unto his Angels Charge, To strike and to forbear as he fits fit; If it be so, then learn thou so much wit, To use thy best endeavour to prevent A plague, which thou mayst do if thou repent. Let all infected Houses be thy **Towr**, And make this **U/e**, that thine may be the next. The **Red Crosse** still is us'd, as it hath bin: To shew thy Christians are that are within: And **Lord have mercy** say on the doore, Putt this in mind, to pray for them therefore, The **Watchmen** that attend the house of sorrow, He may attend upon thy house to morrow, Oh where's the vows we to our God have made! When death & sickness came with axe & spade, And hur'd our Brethren up in heaps apace, Even forty thousand in a little space: The Plague among us is not yet removed, Because that fin of us is still beloved, Each spectacle of Death and Funerals, Putt thee and I in mind, We must die all.

A Postive Drinke to remove the Plague from the Heart.

A Ale Boquet Drinke with Pimpernel feathered in it, till it tastes strong of it, drunk often, removes the Infection, though it hath got to the very Heart.

An approved Remedy against the Plague.

Take a sprig of **Rosmalin**, herb of grace, and tread it, and put it in a Figger two, and eat it every morning fasting. it keeps the Body from Infection, and purifieth the blood.

| Month | total |
|----------|-------|
| March 17 | 108 |
| March 24 | 60 |
| March 31 | 60 |
| April 7 | 76 |
| April 14 | 78 |
| April 21 | 98 |
| April 28 | 79 |
| May 5 | 90 |
| May 12 | 110 |
| May 19 | 120 |
| May 26 | 130 |
| June 2 | 110 |
| June 9 | 110 |
| June 16 | 110 |
| June 23 | 110 |
| June 30 | 110 |
| July 7 | 110 |
| July 14 | 110 |
| July 21 | 110 |
| July 28 | 110 |
| Aug 4 | 110 |
| Aug 11 | 110 |
| Aug 18 | 110 |
| Aug 25 | 110 |
| Sept 1 | 110 |
| Sept 8 | 110 |
| Sept 15 | 110 |
| Sept 22 | 110 |
| Sept 29 | 110 |
| Oct 6 | 110 |
| Oct 13 | 110 |
| Oct 20 | 110 |
| Oct 27 | 110 |
| Nov 3 | 110 |
| Nov 10 | 110 |
| Nov 17 | 110 |
| Nov 24 | 110 |
| Dec 1 | 110 |
| Dec 8 | 110 |
| Dec 15 | 110 |
| Dec 22 | 110 |
| Dec 29 | 110 |

| Month | total |
|----------|-------|
| March 17 | 108 |
| March 24 | 126 |
| March 31 | 234 |
| April 7 | 310 |
| April 14 | 436 |
| April 21 | 562 |
| April 28 | 688 |
| May 5 | 814 |
| May 12 | 940 |
| May 19 | 1066 |
| May 26 | 1192 |
| June 2 | 1318 |
| June 9 | 1444 |
| June 16 | 1570 |
| June 23 | 1696 |
| June 30 | 1822 |
| July 7 | 1948 |
| July 14 | 2074 |
| July 21 | 2200 |
| July 28 | 2326 |
| Aug 4 | 2452 |
| Aug 11 | 2578 |
| Aug 18 | 2704 |
| Aug 25 | 2830 |
| Sept 1 | 2956 |
| Sept 8 | 3082 |
| Sept 15 | 3208 |
| Sept 22 | 3334 |
| Sept 29 | 3460 |
| Oct 6 | 3586 |
| Oct 13 | 3712 |
| Oct 20 | 3838 |
| Oct 27 | 3964 |
| Nov 3 | 4090 |
| Nov 10 | 4216 |
| Nov 17 | 4342 |
| Nov 24 | 4468 |
| Dec 1 | 4594 |
| Dec 8 | 4720 |
| Dec 15 | 4846 |
| Dec 22 | 4972 |
| Dec 29 | 5098 |

| Month | total |
|-----------|-------|
| June 24 | 205 |
| July 1 | 205 |
| July 8 | 217 |
| July 15 | 235 |
| July 22 | 250 |
| July 29 | 276 |
| August 5 | 310 |
| August 12 | 346 |
| August 19 | 369 |
| August 26 | 376 |
| Sept 2 | 406 |
| Sept 9 | 439 |
| Sept 16 | 468 |
| Sept 23 | 497 |
| Sept 30 | 526 |
| Oct 7 | 556 |
| Oct 14 | 585 |
| Oct 21 | 614 |
| Oct 28 | 644 |
| Nov 4 | 673 |
| Nov 11 | 703 |
| Nov 18 | 732 |
| Nov 25 | 762 |
| Dec 2 | 791 |
| Dec 9 | 821 |
| Dec 16 | 850 |
| Dec 23 | 879 |

| Month | total |
|---------|-------|
| Sept 19 | 286 |
| Sept 26 | 219 |
| Oct 3 | 209 |
| Oct 10 | 165 |
| Oct 17 | 081 |
| Oct 24 | 030 |
| Oct 31 | 048 |

| Month | total |
|------------|-------|
| Novemb. 7 | 61 |
| Novemb. 14 | 80 |
| Novemb. 21 | 78 |
| Novemb. 28 | 25 |
| Decemb. 5 | 24 |
| Decemb. 12 | 24 |

| Month | total |
|---------|-------|
| Jan. 23 | 11 |
| Jan. 30 | 8 |
| Feb. 6 | 8 |
| Feb. 13 | 13 |
| Feb. 20 | 10 |
| Feb. 27 | 60 |
| March 6 | 18 |

had to “frequently work as if on a forced march,” as an eighteenth-century typographer put it: the papers had to be ready to be mailed at fixed times. Although the work was demanding, skilled workers could earn more than in ordinary printing shops, and even before the end of the eighteenth century, some publishers offered enticements such as pensions to keep a loyal work force. For the owners of printing shops, newspaper publishing was a way of ensuring a regular income, particularly since most periodicals were sold by subscription, and readers therefore had to pay in advance, in contrast to the purchasers of books. In small provincial towns, a newspaper might be just one of a local printer’s many ways of keeping his presses occupied. At the opposite extreme, the eighteenth century already saw the rise of the first great “press barons,” entrepreneurs who brought together a group of periodicals aimed at different market niches. In the 1770s and 1780s, the French publisher Charles-Joseph Panckoucke (1736–1798) managed to gain control of most of the French national press, including the venerable *Gazette de France* and the country’s leading literary journal, the *Mercure de France*, and to create a “stable” of writers dependent on his patronage.

The news carried in the gazettes attracted a large and varied audience: rulers and their courtiers, military officers, bankers and merchants, all of whom had professional reasons for wanting to know about wars, treaty negotiations, and unusual developments in foreign states, as well as general readers motivated by simple curiosity. Kaspar Stieler (1632–1707), whose *Zeitungs Lust und Nutz* (1695) was the first book about newspapers, claimed that they were read by many artisans and also discussed their influence on women. Newspapers were the most popular reading matter in the coffeehouses, cafés, and reading rooms that began to spring up in major European cities in the late seventeenth century and then spread across the continent. Numerous sources describe the animated discussions that resulted from this kind of public reading: newspapers were the essential fuel for the verbal interactions that produced the phenomenon of public opinion.

Early journalists, such as Théophraste Renaudot (1586–1653), creator of the *Gazette de France*, had recognized that the newspaper could also serve an important economic function by carrying adver-

tising. In addition, many newspapers regularly reported the prices of commodities and other economic information. In most continental countries, advertising was printed primarily in newspapers licensed specially for that purpose (French *affiches*, German *Intelligenzblätter*), but in eighteenth-century England, a tradition developed of newspapers combining commercial advertising and political news. These mixed publications had a stronger revenue base than most of their continental rivals and pointed toward the form that the newspaper would take throughout the world in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Whereas gazettes dealt largely with political news, periodical magazines, of which the first was the French *Journal des Sçavans*, founded in 1665, showed that the periodical form could also be adapted to carry many kinds of cultural information. Whereas newspapers did not change greatly in form and function before the end of the eighteenth century, magazines became increasingly varied. Less tied to the immediate flow of events than newspapers, they appeared at less frequent intervals and were often aimed at more limited audiences. Book reviews, literary journals, periodicals aimed at particular professions and at audiences such as women and peasants all appeared in the course of the eighteenth century. Joseph Addison (1672–1719) and Richard Steele’s (1672–1729) *Spectator* (1711–1714), which offered witty commentary on middle-class urban life, served as a model for dozens of imitators throughout Europe.

The profession of journalist developed more slowly than the press itself. Early news gazettes were frequently compiled by entrepreneurs who also engaged in other activities, such as postmasters, who had privileged access to incoming news, or printers. By the eighteenth century, some writers were able to make a living from editorial work alone, but journalists were disparaged as mercenaries who prostituted their talents for pay, and they therefore had a strong incentive to present themselves as “men of letters” rather than identifying themselves with the periodical industry. Voltaire’s article in Diderot’s *Encyclopédie* urging that “a good gazetteer should be promptly informed, truthful, impartial, simple, and correct in his style” shows that the elements of what would later become journalism’s professional ethic were taking shape, but Voltaire

also complained that few journalists measured up to these standards. In spite of its low prestige, newspaper work provided an important source of income for many eighteenth-century writers, and positions such as the editorship of the *Gazette de France* were much-coveted patronage plums. Editing journals and magazines generally paid less well, but by the end of the seventeenth century it had become one way in which individuals could establish important positions in the “Republic of Letters.” Pierre Bayle’s *Nouvelles de la République des lettres*, founded in 1684, provided one of the first demonstrations of this possibility and inspired imitators throughout the eighteenth century.

Rulers took a strong interest in the press from the outset. Throughout most of Europe, publishers needed a license or privilege to create a periodical. They were usually required to submit to censorship and to pay an annual fee to publish, but in exchange they enjoyed a protected monopoly on publication in their native region. Although governments routinely censored the press to prevent the circulation of items that might cause unrest in the population or embarrassment at court, their interest in the press also had a positive side. At a time when the notion of the reporter was unknown, publishers often depended on their local government to furnish them with foreign news culled from diplomatic dispatches. Each major government sponsored its own official gazette to present the news in the fashion most favorable to its own interests. By the eighteenth century, most rulers saw that periodicals could serve useful functions by publicizing new laws and edicts and by circulating economic information; French *intendants* often played key roles in establishing provincial *affiches*. Through the fees they paid for their privileges and for postal delivery, periodicals were also a source of income for governments.

The development of the press in England differed from the pattern on the continent. In 1695, the Licensing Act that had restricted press freedom was allowed to lapse, making England the only country where publishers could establish periodicals without prior permission. As a result, England became the only country where the press took on a clear political coloration, with Whigs and Tories subsidizing editors to promote their points of view. The absence of restrictions also gave free reign to

entrepreneurial initiative in England. Many of the country’s provincial newspapers, for example, were established by local bookstore owners, who used them to advertise their wares. The British press was not completely unfettered: a stamp tax on printing paper kept prices high and discouraged the poor from subscribing, and frequent libel prosecutions had a deterrent effect on most journalists and publishers. Summaries of debates in Parliament were not permitted until the 1780s. Continental visitors were nevertheless struck by the outspokenness of British periodicals and their wide audience.

Although the absence of regulation made the English press unique, its influence on the Continent was limited. In international affairs, the most important newspapers of the eighteenth century were the so-called *gazettes d’Hollande*, journals published in French but produced in the Netherlands or in other parts of Europe where the censorship systems of the major powers did not reach. Although they depended on privileges granted by their city governments, publications such as the *Gazette d’Amsterdam* and the *Gazette de Leyde* were normally accorded considerable latitude in their coverage of events in other countries. Founded in many cases by members of the Huguenot diaspora during Louis XIV’s reign (1643–1715), they remained a major part of public life in Europe throughout the eighteenth century. Unable to prevent their circulation, rulers sought to influence them instead by courting their editors, offering them confidential information, and negotiating favorable postal rates. Since French was an international language, these gazettes found readers throughout the European world. Under the editorship of Étienne Luzac from 1738 to 1772 and his nephew Jean Luzac from 1772 to 1798, the *Gazette de Leyde* occupied the position of Europe’s “newspaper of record.” “By water and land it was sent to the most distant countries; it was read with the same intense interest at the gates of the Seraglio and on the banks of the Ganges, and copied from by almost all other newspaper editors . . .,” wrote one observer.

Censorship restrictions kept newspapers published in the Holy Roman Empire from reporting as comprehensively as the international French-language press, but more newspapers were published in the German-speaking world than in any other part of Europe: at least 93 in 1750, and 151 by

1785. The most successful of these, the *Hamburgische Unparteyische Correspondent*, may have reached a press run of 20,000 by the time of the French Revolution. The large number of newspapers in Germany, and the correspondingly impressive number of journals and magazines, reflected both the area's division into many political units and the relatively high level of literacy in the population. By the 1780s, some German publishers were even putting out newspapers aimed explicitly at the peasant population.

Under normal conditions, governments throughout Europe were able to control the periodical press more easily than certain other forms of printing, such as pamphlets, which could be circulated anonymously. Anxious not to jeopardize their privileges and dependent on postal systems to deliver their products, publishers had strong incentives not to antagonize the authorities. The century saw few genuine examples of underground or subversive periodicals. The outstanding example was the French *Nouvelles ecclésiastiques*, the voice of that country's Jansenist religious minority, which successfully defied the police from 1728 down to the Revolutionary era. This feat was only possible, however, because the paper spoke for a well-organized and strongly committed group that included many influential elite members.

When public authority broke down, however, the door was opened for "media revolutions" in which periodicals became instruments for political agitation. The poet John Milton (1608–1674) served as a newspaper editor during the English Civil Wars of the 1640s, and the impact of his contemporary Marchamont Needham's (1620–1678) journalism was still remembered by the journalists of the French Revolution. Periodicals played important roles in the "democratic revolutions" of the second half of the eighteenth century, particularly the revolt in Britain's North American colonies and the Dutch Patriot movement of the 1780s. The greatest example of the press's role in a crisis was the French Revolution of 1789. At the start of that year, there had been only four newspapers published in Paris, only one of them a daily; before the end of 1789, 140 new titles had been founded, and readers had a choice of several dozen dailies representing a wide spectrum of political views and writing styles. This journalistic explosion increased readership; newspa-

pers read aloud even reached illiterate sections of the population. Leading journalists commanded salaries that dwarfed what pre-Revolutionary writers had made from their books, and many of them, most notably Jean-Paul Marat (1743–1793), used their papers to launch political careers.

The French Revolution and the wars that resulted from it brought about fundamental changes in Europe's press. Although Napoleon restored censorship and licensing of newspapers, press freedom became a central part of liberal programs throughout the Continent. Public demand for news led publishers to experiment with new technologies that would allow larger press runs: in 1814, the London *Times* put the first steam-powered press into service. Such machines allowed periodicals to overcome the limitations on press runs that had characterized the "typographical old regime" of the early modern period and made the development of a true mass press possible. The growth of the press after 1800 was so striking that its early modern predecessors were largely forgotten. Modern scholarship has made it possible to appreciate the important roles that periodical publications played in the politics, culture, and economic life of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

See also **Censorship; Literacy and Reading; Printing and Publishing; Public Opinion.**

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JOURNALS, LITERARY. Literary journals appeared in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to provide a growing readership with news and gossip about literary matters and a sampling of contemporary writings. Like novels, coffeehouses, and salons, literary journals appealed to an emerging public keen on fashioning its own cultural tastes and literary opinions.

Though the best-known literary journals, such as *The Tatler* and *The Spectator* in England, were independent publications launched by enterprising men of letters, others, especially early periodicals, originated from official sponsorship. The *Journal des savants*, for example, was created by Jean-Baptiste Colbert in 1665 and combined scientific and technical information with the most noteworthy news from “the Republic of Letters.” The *Mercurie galant*, founded in 1672, was also a quasi-official publication: its editor was provided lodgings in the Louvre and received a royal pension. It furnished readers with news of the court and Parisian society, as well as commentary on literary, theatrical, and scientific events. France was not the only nation to give rise to literary journals in the seventeenth century. In Italy the *Journal des savants* served as a model for several *Giornali dei letterati*, which began appearing in 1668.

It was in the eighteenth century that this type of periodical, like newspapers in general, began to appear throughout western Europe, becoming an important feature of urban culture and sociability. Germany had its *Litteratur-Zeitung*; Spain its *Espiritu de los mejores diarios*; Italy its *Giornale dei letterati d'Italia*, published in Venice starting in 1710. Many of these newspapers, especially those in Germany and Spain, had a very limited circulation of only several hundred readers. The *Mercurie galant*, however, was distributed in twenty-six provincial towns in 1748 and fifty-five by 1774.

By far the most successful and influential literary newspapers were *The Tatler* (1709–1711), edited by the playwright Richard Steele, and *The Spectator* (1711–1712), a joint venture of Steele and the poet Joseph Addison. Though in part literary in nature, they were “moral” in spirit, aimed at improving manners and fostering sociability in a society increasingly dominated by the competitive spirit of commercialism. The success of these periodicals was enormous: *The Spectator* went from a circulation of 4,000 to around 30,000 in a few months. They also inspired emulators on the Continent despite the fact that the conditions for publication, such as censorship and a limited reading public, were clearly less favorable. The French writer Pierre de Marivaux (1688–1763) took Addison’s journal as his model for the *Spectateur français* (1722). The first German weekly, the *Hamburg Vernunftler* (1713–1740), was also fashioned after the English newspapers. Justus van Effen (1684–1735) began publishing the journal *Le misantrope* in Holland and also published *De Hollandsche Spectator* (1731–1735).

Literary newspapers were integral to the culture of the Enlightenment. Indeed, well-known men of letters, such as Jean-François Marmontel, who edited the *Mercurie de France* in 1758–1760, helped transform these publications into organs of Enlightenment, offering fellow philosophes popular and convenient outlets for their ideas. They also served as agents of national integration, bringing the fashion, language, and news of the court and capital to the provinces. But these journals were not simply one-way instruments: they invited readers’ comments and printed their letters, thus fostering discussion and debate. Many of their readers were women. Nearly half of the articles appearing in Addison and Steele’s newspapers addressed female concerns. In France the *Journal des dames*, which specifically aimed at a female readership, was inaugurated in 1759.

Literary journals scrupulously avoided the contentious topics of politics and religion. It was in part because of this that they were able both to flourish and to create a public out of readers who might otherwise find themselves at odds.

See also Addison, Joseph; Colbert, Jean-Baptiste; Journalism, Newspapers, and Newssheets; Steele, Richard.

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ROBERT A. SCHNEIDER

JOURNALS, SCIENTIFIC. *See*
 Communication, Scientific.

JUAN DE AUSTRIA, DON (1547–1578), Spanish admiral and governor, known to Elizabethans as Don John. Born in Regensburg, Germany, to commoner Barbara Blomberg, Don Juan, the natural son of Emperor Charles V, was brought to Brussels, where his mother married. In 1550 Charles had the boy, called Jeromín, taken to Spain by a servant couple, and then, in 1554, transferred to the castle of his chief of household, Don Luis de Quijada, and his wife, Doña Magdalena de Ulloa, at Villagarcía de Campos. Before his death, Charles saw Jeromín but did not openly acknowledge his parentage. In 1559 Philip II embraced Jeromín as his brother and renamed him Juan de Austria. Philip did not accord him royal status, though he was ranked before the grandees, but in 1575 he yielded to Don Juan's being addressed as "Highness." Charles hoped Don Juan might enter the clergy, but during his education in statecraft alongside Prince Don Carlos and Alexander Farnese, future duke of Parma, he revealed his martial inclinations. When he reached twenty-one in 1568, Philip appointed him Captain General of the [Mediterranean] Sea.

Don Juan returned from his summer at sea to find the court mourning the deaths of the mentally unstable Don Carlos and the queen. Differing with Philip over his place at the queen's funeral, he withdrew to a monastery. When the Morisco revolt erupted in Granada, Don Juan volunteered to serve as supreme commander over feuding local grandees in March 1569 to suppress it. Quijada, assigned to guide him, was mortally wounded in a skirmish, and a musket ball grazed his own helmet. In subduing the rebellion, he became a skilled general. Blond and handsome, he also became a womanizer. He

sired two natural daughters, one in Spain, the other in Naples.

When Philip agreed to a Holy League with Venice and Pope Pius V against the Ottoman Turks in 1570, he sought supreme command for Don Juan. Philip hoped the league might recover Tunis and conquer Algiers, after saving Cyprus for Venice. Don Juan sailed from Barcelona in July 1571 and had the League armada assembled at Messina by September. Unknown to him, Cyprus had been lost. Despite arguments that the season was late, he took the league armada to sea. The 207 galleys of the distrustful allies he mixed in the center, two wings, and rearguard, so that none dared desert. On 7 October 1571 he won a heady victory over the Turks at Lepanto and became a hero to all Christendom.

He hoped to complete the destruction of Turkish sea power in 1572, but Philip II, nervous about developments in France and the Netherlands, kept him and his galleys in the western Mediterranean. Not until September did Don Juan join the Venetian and papal galleys off the Peloponnesus, where forts and cavalry prevented him from destroying the beached Turkish fleet.

Venice quit the league in March 1573, and Don Juan recovered Tunis in October. Advised to dismantle the fortress of La Goleta, which dominated Tunis's harbor, and level Tunis, Don Juan chose instead to hold La Goleta and erect a citadel in the city. (Critics claimed he hoped the pope would make him king of Tunis.) In summer 1574, while Don Juan was distracted by Genoese politics and French threats, a huge Turkish armada took Tunis and La Goleta. In 1575 Philip declared bankruptcy, limiting Don Juan to raids against Turkish Barbary.

In May 1576 he received orders to proceed directly to the rebellious Netherlands as governor-general and restore peace. In correspondence with his half-sister, Margaret of Parma, once regent there, he expressed fear of such assignment. Other than duty, the only lure, nurtured by the papacy, was the possibility of invading England to liberate Mary Stuart, queen of Scots, and join her on England's throne. Uncertain about funds and authority, he detoured to see Philip in Spain. Continuing through France in disguise, he reached Luxembourg in November to find that the sack of Antwerp



Don Juan de Austria. Anonymous portrait engraving, undated. ©IMAGE SELECT/ART RESOURCE, N.Y.

by mutineers had united the Estates-General (the Netherlands' parliament) against him. Only by dismissing Philip's army, (and, thus, the chance to free Mary Stuart), temporizing on religion, and trading on his personal charm did he win acceptance. In May 1577 he entered Brussels. As his instructions allowed no real concessions regarding religion, the Protestant provinces remained defiant. Fearing assassination, in July Don Juan seized Namur in the southern Netherlands and dispatched secretary Juan de Escobedo to Spain to beg the return of the army. Having just received fresh treasure from America, Philip reluctantly agreed.

In December 1577 the army returned with the prince of Parma. In January 1578 they routed the Estates-Generals' army at Gembloux. In Spain, the king's unscrupulous and ambitious secretary, Antonio Pérez, bred unjustified suspicions of Don Juan in Philip's mind, and in March had Escobedo murdered (probably with Philip's approval). Again, inadequately funded, Don Juan failed before Brussels in July. With success eluding him and unsure of Philip's trust, he regrouped outside Namur, where, health failing, he died on 1 October 1578. He had served Philip faithfully and, if he failed, it was due to their shared opposition to religious toleration.

See also Charles V (Holy Roman Empire); Lepanto, Battle of; Moriscos; Moriscos, Expulsion of (Spain); Parma, Alexander Farnese, duke of; Philip II (Spain).

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PETER PIERSON

JUDAISM. *See* Jews and Judaism.

JÜLICH-CLEVES-BERG. The duchy of Jülich-Cleves was a shifting agglomeration of principalities on the Lower Rhine, a location that, despite its lack of large cities, gave it strategic significance as the gateway from the Low Countries to central and southern Germany. During the late Middle Ages the county of Jülich was raised to the dignity of a duchy in 1356 and expanded by adding the county of Ravensberg in 1346 and the county of Berg in 1348. Meanwhile the county of Cleves was taken over by the county of Mark in 1368 and was then raised to the dignity of a duchy in 1417. In 1511 a strategic marriage joined the duchies of Jülich-Berg-Ravensberg in a personal union with Cleves Mark, creating a territory almost the size of the landgraviate of Hesse or Württemberg.

In an effort to consolidate and expand these holdings, Duke William V ("the Rich," ruled 1539–1592) took advantage of the death of Charles of Egmont (1467–1538), the last duke of Gelderland, in 1538 and took over lordship of this important province as well, a move that could have had major political and religious implications, creating as it did a direct link between Cleves (on the Netherlandish frontier) and Jülich (between Aachen and Cologne). Duke William also seemed to welcome Lutheran ideas in his lands. In preparation for a possible contest over this expansion, William had pursued a calculated dynastic policy by marrying Jeanne d'Albret of Navarre, the thirteen-year-old

niece of Francis I of France (ruled 1515–1547), while giving his sister Anne of Cleves (1515–1557) to Henry VIII of England (ruled 1509–1547) in 1540. An older sister, Sybilla, had married Elector John Frederick I of Saxony in 1526. However, Emperor Charles V (ruled 1519–1556) reacted energetically to counter such an expansion by exercising a claim that Gelderland belonged to his Burgundian inheritance. Diplomatically he secured the neutrality of France and England and crushed Duke William at Düren in 1543. William the Rich had to subject himself to the emperor, give up all claims to Gelderland, and give up his wife (the marriage with Jeanne d'Albret was annulled in 1545).

In 1546 William married Mary, a daughter of King Ferdinand I of Austria (ruled 1521–1564; emperor 1558–1564), and he learned to practice a more cautious religious policy over the next thirty years. It was long thought that his moderate rule along with the influence of his skeptical physician, Johann Weyer (Wier), protected the duchies from severe witchcraft trials. But research has shown that over a span of 240 years well over two hundred persons were executed as witches, including two as late as 1737–1738.

In 1592, with the death of the duke, the succession of Jülich-Cleves-Berg went to William's only surviving son, Johann Wilhelm I (ruled 1592–1609), who was already suffering from severe madness. Despite increasingly desperate measures, Johann Wilhelm's marriage to Jacobe of Baden remained childless, as did his subsequent marriage to Antoinette of Lorraine. It seemed obvious that there would be no direct male heir, and claimants began jockeying for position already in the 1590s. When Johann Wilhelm died in 1609, the two *Possidentes* (that is, the two claimants already in place at the ducal court in Düsseldorf) were Elector Johann Sigismund of Brandenburg (1572–1619) and Pfalzgraf Wolfgang Wilhelm of Pfalz-Neuburg, both of whom were Lutherans. Emperor Rudolf II (ruled 1576–1612) reacted to prevent an important portion of the empire from going Protestant, and in 1610 the War of the Jülich Succession broke out (with reinforcements on the Protestant side from England, the Netherlands, France, and the Protestant Union). With the assassination of Henry IV of France (ruled 1589–1610), the anti-Habsburg coalition collapsed, but the two Protestant claimants

prevailed. Soon enough their collaboration broke down, however, especially after Johann Sigismund converted to Calvinism (1613) and Wolfgang Wilhelm converted to Catholicism (1614).

In the Treaty of Xanten (1614, reconfirmed in 1666) it was agreed that the duchy should be divided, with Cleves, Mark, and Ravensberg going to Brandenburg and Jülich and Berg going to Pfalz-Neuburg. This division was fateful in many ways, for while it extinguished an independent power on the Lower Rhine, it also guaranteed the involvement of two major dynasties in that region: the Hohenzollern of Brandenburg Prussia and the Wittelsbach of the Palatinate and Bavaria. Their rivalry punctuated the history of this region to the end of the eighteenth century. On the death of Elector Maximilian III (Joseph of Bavaria; 1727–1777; elector 1745–1777) in 1777, the presumptive heir Charles Theodore (Karl Theodor) of Pfalz-Sulzbach (1724–1799) even made plans with Emperor Joseph II (ruled 1765–1790) in 1777–1778 to exchange Bavaria for the Austrian Netherlands, which, along with Jülich and Berg, would have once again created a major power on the Lower Rhine and a greatly expanded and consolidated Habsburg territory in the southeast. But Frederick the Great of Prussia (Frederick II, ruled 1740–1786) successfully opposed these plans in the War of the Bavarian Succession (1778–1779, also ridiculed as the “Potato War” because of its military maneuvers without battles). The Prussian-sponsored League of Princes (1785) guaranteed that the Wittelsbach dynasty would remain in possession of Bavaria and would not expand on the Lower Rhine. The Hohenzollern possessions in Cleves and Mark provided a western outpost and later an industrial powerhouse that balanced their overwhelmingly agrarian interests in the German Northeast.

See also **Bavaria; Brandenburg; Hohenzollern Dynasty; Palatinate; Prussia; Wittelsbach Dynasty (Bavaria).**

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H. C. ERIK MIDELFORT

JULIUS II (POPE) (Giuliano della Rovere; 1443–1513; reigned 1503–1513), Italian pope. Born at Albissola near Savona in 1443, Giuliano was a vigorous man, suited to a life of action, not contemplation, and destined for an ecclesiastical career under the aegis of his uncle, Francesco della Rovere, who became a cardinal in 1467. Like him, Giuliano was a Franciscan; he studied at a Franciscan friary in Perugia.

The election of his uncle to the papal throne as Sixtus IV (reigned 1471–1484) was swiftly followed in December 1471 by his own promotion to cardinal. Important benefices were bestowed on him, including the see of Avignon, as well as the major curial office of Grand Penitentiary. He welcomed the opportunities for action, including participation in military campaigns, offered by legations to Umbria in 1474 and to France in 1480–1482. His wealth, energy, increasing experience, and taste for politics made him one of the most powerful figures in the College of Cardinals; he was an influential adviser to Pope Innocent VIII (reigned 1484–1492) and a leader of the opposition to the Borgia pope, Alexander VI (reigned 1492–1503). Justifiably fearing arrest, he went into exile in France in 1494, and, after accompanying King Charles VIII of France (ruled 1483–1498) on his campaign to conquer the kingdom of Naples in 1494 to 1495, he did not return to Rome during Alexander's lifetime. He was elected pope on 31 October 1503, taking the title Julius II.

His choice of title has been seen as a desire to identify himself and the papacy with the imperial traditions of ancient Rome, an ambition that is often associated with his artistic commissions as pope. Although there is no direct evidence for this link, Julius II was undoubtedly one of the most important cultural patrons of Renaissance Italy. Among the major artists who worked for him were Michelangelo Buonarroti (1475–1564), from whom he commissioned the Sistine Chapel ceiling and his own tomb, Raphael Sanzio (1483–1520),

who decorated Julius's apartments in the Vatican and painted his portrait, and Donato Bramante (1444–1514), whose projects for the pope included the Vatican courtyard and the new St. Peter's, which replaced the crumbling old basilica.

His most consistent political aim as pope was to bring the Papal States more firmly under the control of the papacy; he took personal command of some of the military operations that these aims involved. His efforts to prevent the Venetians from extending their influence in the northern Papal States brought him to participate in the League of Cambrai of 1509, and the subsequent war against Venice in 1509–1510. Having achieved his aims, he made peace with Venice and turned his attention to reducing the power in Italy of his former ally, Louis XII of France (ruled 1498–1515); he was a member of the coalition that drove the French out of the duchy of Milan in 1512.

Julius's initiatives in Italian politics and his personal participation in military campaigns shaped his reputation, both among his contemporaries and posthumously. He has been criticized by some patriotic Italians for his part in the war against Venice and lauded by others for his reputed determination to expel the "barbarians" from Italy. In practice, he was prepared to ally himself with the "barbarians" of France, Spain, and Germany when it suited his purposes, but he did not want them to form independent links with his own subjects. His penchant for military life was seen as unfitting for a pope, although his resolution and physical courage were admired by some. The image of Julius leading an army to the gates of heaven to demand entrance and being turned away by St. Peter, in the c. 1513 satirical dialogue *Julius Exclusus* 'Julius Excluded from Heaven' attributed to Desiderius Erasmus (1466?–1536), has had an enduring influence.

Julius himself regarded the recovery of the territory of the church and the defense of the independence of the Papal States, by war if need be, as prime duties of the pope. Although his outbursts of rage and heavy drinking attracted ridicule, he was conscious of the dignity of his office and careful to fulfill his religious duties. Nevertheless, his behavior gave Louis XII and the Emperor Maximilian I (ruled 1493–1519) an opportunity to seek his deposition from the papacy. They used dissident cardinals to

call a general council of the church that opened in Pisa in 1511; this attracted little support. The summons by Julius of the Fifth Lateran Council may have been a riposte to this, but once it assembled in 1512, he insisted that it should give serious consideration to the reform of the church. Julius died during the night of 20 February 1513.

See also Cambrai, League of (1508); Charles VIII (France); Louis XII (France); Michelangelo Buonarroti; Papacy and Papal States; Raphael.

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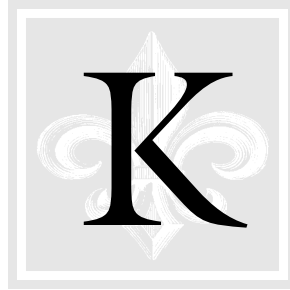
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CHRISTINE SHAW

JUSTICE. *See* Law: Courts.



KALMAR, UNION OF. The Union of Kalmar, which combined the three crowns of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden under one sovereign, was founded in 1397 in the Swedish city of Kalmar and lasted, with some exceptions, until 1520. The union established internal peace under a strong union king, supported by the nobility. It became a reality at a time when other unions in Europe were founded, such as the union in 1386 between Poland and Lithuania. Earlier unions had also existed in Scandinavia. A union between Norway and Sweden was established in 1319, and Scania and Sweden had a common king from 1332 to 1360.

Denmark and Norway united in 1380 when the young Danish King Olof, son of Haakon VI of Norway and Queen Margaret of Denmark (1353–1412), succeeded to the throne of Norway on the death of his father. Margaret had served as regent of Denmark since 1376, and she now became regent of Norway for her son. Olof died in 1387, but Margaret continued to rule Denmark and Norway. At the same time a group of Swedish nobles who opposed the Swedish king, Albert of Mecklenburg, asked for Margaret's help and made her regent of Sweden. The power struggle ended in 1389 when Margaret's forces defeated and captured Albert at Falköping.

Eric of Pomerania, Margaret's fifteen-year-old grandnephew, had been recognized as heir to the Norwegian throne in 1388 and was elected king in Denmark and in Sweden in 1396, but Margaret continued to govern. In the summer of 1397 she

invited nobles from Denmark, Norway, and Sweden to Kalmar. The meeting resulted in the formation of the Kalmar Union with Eric as its king. The coronation document presented a strong royal political program (*regimen regale*), whereas the "Letter of the Union," the written record of the proceedings, expressed aristocratic constitutional interests (*regimen politicum*).

Queen Margaret and Eric of Pomerania governed the three Nordic states as a unity until her death in 1412. Denmark was the most prominent country in the union, and the Øresund (The Sound, the straits between Denmark and Scania) became an economic center. Danes and Germans were placed in several Swedish castles. Eric followed an active foreign policy toward the Teutonic Order and fought the dukes of Holstein for many years in order to secure the Duchy of Schleswig for Denmark. From 1426 the king was also at war with the Hanseatic cities. The centralized royal system created opposition in the church and among the peasants and the nobility in Sweden. Under the leadership of Engelbrekt Engelbrektsson, the Swedish peasants rioted in 1434 and were soon supported by the nobility and the church. At a meeting in Kalmar in 1436 Eric had to agree to govern with more respect for the constitution, but he soon tried to restore his old position and was removed from the throne in Denmark in 1439 and in Sweden in 1440, forcing Norway to follow in 1441. King Eric lived on the island of Gotland in the Baltic Sea until 1449.

The new elected union king was Christopher of Bavaria, son of King Eric's sister Katarina; he governed the three countries together with their Councils of State. After his death in 1448, the Swedes elected the nobleman Karl Knutsson (Bonde) as King Charles VIII, whereas the Danes elected Duke Christian I of Oldenburg as king. The two monarchs fought over Norway and Gotland, with the conflict ending in favor of Christian I, who was king of Denmark and Norway.

During the union wars beginning in 1452, portions of the Swedish nobility supported Christian I, and in 1457 the union was reinstated with Christian as king, but this lasted for only a few years. A noble faction rioted in 1464, and Karl Knutsson became the Swedish king 1464–1465 and again 1467–1470. After his death, his nephew Sten Sture the Elder took over as regent and defeated King Christian in a battle at Brunkeberg in 1471; the subsequent negotiations did not restore the union.

King Hans succeeded his father Christian I in 1481 as king of Denmark and Norway. In 1483 the Swedish Council of State supported a renewal of the union (Kalmar Recess). Sten Sture the Elder managed to stay in power, however, until King Hans allied with his opponents in 1497 and was recognized as king of Sweden. The union was restored, but in 1501 a faction of Swedish noblemen rioted, and Sten Sture took over his old position.

The following two decades were marked by negotiations and war. The confrontation sharpened when Christian II became king of Denmark and Norway in 1513. Finally, in 1520, Christian II invaded Sweden, won a decisive military victory, and became king of Sweden. In spite of having promised amnesty, in November 1520 he in the end ordered the execution of all the Swedish nobles who had opposed him, the so-called Stockholm Bloodbath. This act stiffened Swedish resistance to Christian and to the Kalmar Union, which came to a definitive end when Gustav Eriksson became king of Sweden as Gustav I Vasa in 1523.

See also **Denmark; Northern Wars; Sweden; Vasa Dynasty.**

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JENS E. OLESEN

KANT, IMMANUEL (1724–1804), German philosopher. Immanuel Kant was born 24 April 1724 in Königsberg (now Kaliningrad) in East Prussia. He attended a Pietist school and the University of Königsberg and in 1755, after six years as a private tutor, obtained a position at his university. Promoted to professor there in 1770, he taught and served in administrative posts until 1798 and died 12 February 1804.

CENTRAL IDEAS

Kant's predecessors had treated knowledge as beginning from data about the world that the mind passively receives from the senses or through immediate insight into eternal truths or ideas. Kant, by contrast, made the activity of the mind central both to the world as we live in it and to our knowledge of it.

Kant built his systematic theoretical philosophy around the idea that the world as we experience it does not exist independently of us. Our own minds, he argued, are responsible for its form and structure. This idea constituted his "Copernican revolution." Before Copernicus, astronomical data were explained by assuming that the sun revolves around the earth. Reversing this, Copernicus explained the data by taking the earth to revolve around the sun. Kant explained experience by denying that our knowledge conforms to objects, instead holding that objects in experience conform to our knowledge—to the way our mind necessarily works.

In moral philosophy Kant proposed an equally revolutionary idea. In morality, he held, we are not required to obey laws imposed by God or eternal moral principles or Platonic forms; instead we must understand morality as resting on a law that springs

from our own practical rationality. We are “autonomous” because we legislate the moral law we are to obey. The form of the moral world results from the mind’s activity.

These views were designed to protect scientific knowledge from skeptical attacks such as that of David Hume (1711–1776) and also to show how morality and responsibility could be preserved in a Newtonian deterministic universe. Kant’s theoretical philosophy laid the foundations for the whole enterprise.

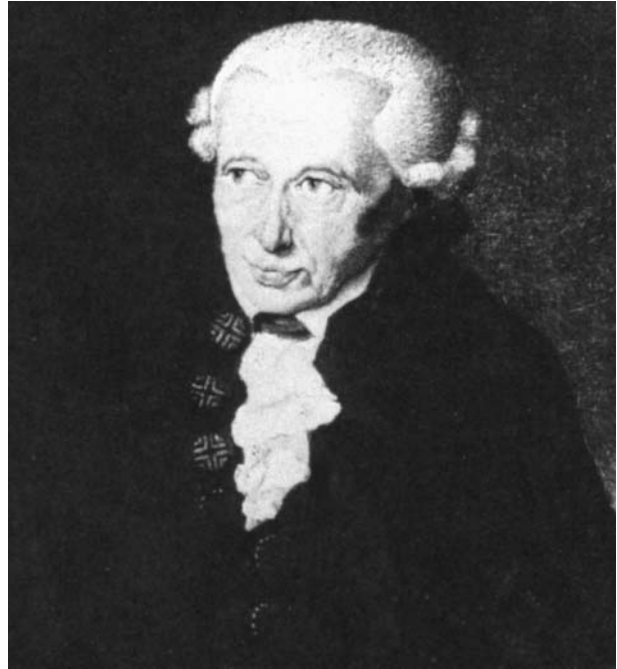
THEORETICAL PHILOSOPHY

In the *Kritik der reinen Vernunft* (1781; Critique of pure reason) Kant criticized his predecessors for not seeing that there is a deep difference between perceptual experiences and abstract concepts. The mind accepts the “percepts” that things outside it cause in it, but the mind itself imposes a framework of both time and space even on such given data. Concepts are rules by which the mind organizes percepts, and they show the mind’s activity. The mind of any rational agent is equipped with several basic “categories,” which are fundamental ways of organizing the data accepted through the senses. Nothing can be part of our experience, therefore, unless it is temporal and spatial and is organized by categories like those of continuing physical object and cause and effect. Percepts and concepts together yield the world as we live in it. The mind’s structure explains how we can attain necessary truth in our knowledge of this world.

Kant allows that we can think of a thing as it is in itself (*Ding an sich*) outside experience—a noumenon—but insists that we can know only things as they are for us—as phenomena. Because percepts as well as concepts are necessary for knowledge, we cannot know anything at all about what goes beyond possible experience. Hence we cannot have answers, either positive or negative, to what were then the main questions of religion and metaphysics: Does God exist? Are we immortal? Are we free?

MORAL PHILOSOPHY

In the *Grundlegung zur Metaphysik der Sitten* (1785; Groundwork of the metaphysics of morals) and the *Kritik der praktischen Vernunft* (1788; Critique of practical reason) Kant claimed that, in



Immanuel Kant. Undated portrait. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

the practical realm, our desires are the counterpart to given sensory data in theoretical knowledge. But we are not causally determined to accept desires as giving us reasons to act. We are free because our will enables us to affirm or reject the claim of any desire to be a reason. Only what the will accepts is a reason to act. And the will, which Kant defines as practical reason, imposes its own forms prior to allowing a desire to count as a reason.

The forms the will imposes on desires include the master form, which is the moral law. As it applies to us, the moral law is an imperative or directive that cannot reasonably be flouted: it is the “categorical imperative.” It tells us to act only on plans we could rationally allow everyone to act on. Hence morality, under the categorical imperative, would create a harmonious moral world out of desires that would naturally all too often lead us into conflict.

RELIGION

Because he denied that we could know anything that goes beyond experience, Kant seemed to his contemporaries to have eliminated all hope for a rational religion. But he said that he had destroyed knowledge to make room for faith. He tried to justify a religion safe from scientific criticism by

arguing that the categorical imperative gives us practical or moral reason to believe in the essential religious tenets: God, freedom, and immortality. If few philosophers have been convinced by his moral arguments for God and immortality, many think that his account of freedom still has great appeal.

SIGNIFICANCE

Kant aimed to limit naturalism—the view that a single system of causation explains all human activity as well as all other events. To do so, he made philosophy the master discipline that sets boundaries to the cognitive claims of all other thinking. Science is the judge of beliefs about experience, but it can say nothing about claims concerning morality or religion, or (as Kant also argued) about aesthetic taste. His remarkable theory that the mind helps construct the world in which we live opened the way for the radical idealisms of Friedrich Wilhelm Joseph von Schelling (1775–1854), Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1762–1814), and Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770–1831). Kant’s assertion of “the primacy of practical reason”—that practical reason can answer questions that theoretical reason cannot—was suggestive for the development of pragmatism. His moral philosophy has been and still is both widely used and hotly contested. Kant’s work has had an influence on Western thought unsurpassed by that of any other modern philosopher.

See also **Hume, David**; **Moral Philosophy and Ethics**; **Natural Law**.

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KAUFFMANN, ANGELICA (1741–1807), Swiss neoclassical painter. The Swiss-born painter was considered a child prodigy, achieving attention for her works as early as age eleven. She was trained by her father, Johann Josef Kauffmann, whose family accompanied him to Italy, where he executed decorative schemes for churches. The Kauffmann family lived in Como, Milan, Parma, Florence, and eventually Rome, where Angelica copied the works of famous Old Masters. These included her richly colored version of Domenichino’s *Cumaean Sibyl* (1763, National Museum of Women in the Arts, Washington, D.C.) that was probably purchased by the 4th duke of Gordon, one of her many aristocratic patrons. Others included Catherine the Great of Russia, Emperor Franz Joseph of Austria, and John Parker II, Lord Boringdon.

During her first stay in Rome (1765–1766), Kauffmann became an integral part of the circle of artists that gathered around the German theorist Johann Joachim Winckelmann, who served as librarian to Cardinal Albani. This group, which included Pompeo Girolamo Batoni, Anton Raphael Mengs, Benjamin West, Sir Nathaniel Dance, and Giambattista Piranesi, was instrumental in promoting a neoclassical stylistic approach in art that remained fashionable in both Europe and America well into the nineteenth century. Kauffmann, in fact, was one of the first artists to paint in a neoclassical style and one of few women to gain fame from historical paintings. Her classically inspired historical works include *Venus Directing Aeneas and Achates to Carthage* (1768, The National Trust, England, Saltram collection); *Venus Persuading Helen to Accept the Love of Paris* (1790, Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, Russia); *Zeuxis Selecting Models for His Picture of Helen of Troy* (1778, Brown University, Providence, R.I.); and *Sappho* (1775, John and Mabel Ringling Museum, Sarasota, Florida).

It is believed that Kauffmann used self-portraits in her representations of Helen and Sappho, as well as many more of her historical figures, since they often resemble her. This may be judged by comparing them to her identified self-portraits, such as the one she contributed to the famous de Medici self-portrait collection at the Uffizi (1787, Uffizi Gal-

Angelica Kauffmann. *Zeuxis Selecting Models for His Picture of Helen of Troy, 1778.* BROWN UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

lery, Florence). Looking much like a classical goddess, Kauffmann wears a white muslin dress, belted just below the bodice. It is secured by a cameo that, according to Louise Rice and Ruth Eisenberg, represents the battle between Minerva and Neptune for control of Athens—a battle significantly won by the female goddess. Kauffmann’s stylistic approach combines the linearity and order of neoclassicism with a pastel lushness characteristic of the English rococo. This is not surprising since Kauffmann spent from 1766 to 1782 in London, where she was named one of the founding members of the Royal Academy of Art (1768). She painted a portrait of the academy’s first director, Sir Joshua Reynolds, in 1767 (The National Trust, England, Saltram collection). Reynolds praised Kauffmann’s talent, but there were many who criticized her weak rendering of anatomy. It was difficult for a woman to gain skill in this area because she was generally barred from drawing nude models.

Kauffmann was skillful enough in her historical works to be invited to contribute to the decorative

scheme of Somerset House, a building designed by William Chambers to house the Royal Academy. Kauffmann’s contribution included four oval compositions entitled *Invention, Composition, Design,* and *Color* using iconographic references from Cesare Ripa’s *Iconologia or Moral Emblems* (1611). These works are now located at Burlington House, London. She was also asked to participate in a scheme to decorate the dome of St. Paul’s Cathedral, although this was never realized.

Kauffmann had many admirers in both her personal and professional life. Contemporaries praised her beauty, talent, intelligence, and wit. Not surprisingly, she attracted a number of suitors, which included Reynolds, Dance, and the early Romantic painter Henry Fuseli. She rejected the attention of these artists to marry a Swedish rogue named Brandt, who charaded as the Count de Horn. After his death (1767), she married the Italian artist Antonio Zucchi and returned with him to Rome in 1782. There she was an active member of the Academy of St. Luke and maintained a studio that was

often visited by fellow artists. These included Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun, who visited Kauffmann while in exile after the French Revolution. Kauffmann died in Rome on 5 November 1807. After a magnificent funeral, she was buried in the church of Sant'Andrea delle Fratte. Three years after her death, her good friend Giovanni Gherardo de Rossi published his *Vita di Angelica Kauffmann* (Life of Angelica Kauffmann), which serves as a major source of information with regard to her life and career.

See also Reynolds, Joshua; Women and Art.

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KATHLEEN RUSSO

ler's family was poised at the boundary between the aristocracy and the artisan class. His father and brother Heinrich both served as soldiers; his youngest brother worked as a tinsmith. Kepler was educated at religious schools supported by the duke of Württemberg, and at the University of Tübingen. Here he studied with theologians trained by Philipp Melanchthon (1497–1560), the great German religious and educational reformer, and began a lifelong friendship with his mathematics teacher, the Copernican astronomer Michael Mästlin (1550–1631).

Unable to follow a church career because his scruples prevented him from signing the Formula of Concord, Kepler began his professional life as a teacher in the Protestant gymnasium at Graz, in southern Austria. From here he rose to become an imperial courtier, and achieved lasting fame as an innovator in astronomy. Kepler married twice (1597 and 1613). He was a devoted father who suffered deeply at the early deaths of many of his children, and he seems to have used mathematical research as a solace. Kepler's publication of the *Mysterium Cosmographicum* (1596; The secret of the universe) began a meteoric rise. Compelled to leave Graz with other Protestants in 1598, he attached himself to the court of Emperor Rudolf II (ruled 1576–1612) in Prague, and succeeded Tycho Brahe as imperial mathematician in 1601. Thus, in only three years, Kepler ascended from the position of a provincial schoolteacher to become the astrological and astronomical adviser to the most powerful monarch in the Christian world, although the emperor proved unreliable as a source of financial support. Kepler immediately began to produce a series of major works, especially the *Optics* (*Astronomiae pars Optica*, 1604) and the *New Astronomy* (1609), which extended and refounded their subjects. Other works (1601, 1610) attempted to reform astrology. In 1612, after the forced abdication and death of Rudolf, Kepler left Prague, but retained his title of imperial mathematician under later emperors. From 1612 to 1626 he and his family made their home in Linz, in Upper Austria, although Kepler traveled widely. While in Linz he produced the *Epitome of Copernican Astronomy* (1618–1621) and the *Harmony of the World* (1619). The latter precipitated a violent exchange with the English theosophist Robert Fludd (1574–

KEPLER, JOHANNES (1571–1630), German astronomer and mathematician; discoverer of the laws of planetary motion. Born into the Protestant minority in the free city of Weil der Stadt, within the Lutheran duchy of Württemberg, Kep-

1637), but Kepler declined an invitation to visit England despite his long-standing admiration for King James I (ruled 1603–1625). During this period his mother was accused of witchcraft. Kepler directed the defense that led to her acquittal in 1620–1621. The work that had secured the favor of the imperial house for so long, the *Rudolfine Tables*, was completed in 1627.

With the increasing violence and disorder of the Thirty Years' War, Kepler again sought the protection of a powerful patron, and he became astrological adviser to A. W. E. von Wallenstein, the leading Catholic general, in 1628. His patron's fall from power immediately preceded his own death, at Regensburg, in 1630. In the *Mysterium Cosmographicum*, Kepler presented the most important defense of Sun-centered astronomy since the appearance of Nicolaus Copernicus's *De Revolutionibus Orbium Coelestium* in 1543. Uniting ideas from his education in mathematics and religion, Kepler proposed that God had employed each regular geometrical solid exactly once in the plan of the world. Nesting the solids within each other, the orbs defining the limits of the planets' motions could be inscribed between them. The five regular solids provided the spacing between six orbs, explaining both their relative distances and the number of planets (the Earth-Moon system forms one unit). On both counts Kepler's Sun-centered model could be argued to be superior to the Earth-centered Ptolemaic system. But Kepler's defense of Copernicus faced another rival: the newly proposed hybrid system of Tycho Brahe, in which Earth was central and stationary, the Moon and Sun went around the Earth, but all the other planets circled the Sun.

On arriving in Prague in 1600, Kepler was effectively subordinated to Brahe, who first set him to writing an attack on an earlier imperial mathematician (*A Defense of Tycho against Ursus*). Although not actually published during Kepler's lifetime, this work gives valuable insights into both the state of astronomy and Kepler's novel methodological ideas. Brahe had presented Kepler to Rudolf II as the man who would distill Brahe's decades of observations into new astronomical tables that would carry the emperor's name. When Brahe died unexpectedly in 1601, the importance of this project helped Kepler to succeed Brahe as imperial mathematician. Kepler used the superlatively accurate and

complete observations to show that Brahe's cosmic scheme was untenable, and to replace Copernicus's circle-based models with elliptical orbits.

In 1604 Kepler published an important work on optics, which treated the nature of light and vision, the phenomena of refraction, and the applications of optics in astronomy. During the same period he established that the path of Mars was an ellipse and introduced a new way of calculating the planet's position based on the novel concept of an orbit with the Sun at one focus (a principle now called the first law of planetary motion). He showed that his new approach was superior not only to the models of Ptolemy and Brahe, but also to the original form of Copernicus's system. Also improving on Copernicus, he was able to show that the planes of the planet's orbits intersected in the Sun. He also suggested that the Sun was the origin of a quasi-magnetic force responsible for the planets' motions. Based on these physical ideas, he argued for a connection between the speed of a planet along its path and the area swept out by the line connecting it to the Sun (now called the second, or area, law). He demonstrated this result first for a circular path, then for an ellipse. Although originally presented only for the case of Mars, the elliptical orbit and the mathematical principles governing its motion were intended to extend to all planets, based on universal physical principles. Kepler advertised the new connection between physics and astronomy in his book's title, *A New Astronomy, Based on Causes, or Celestial Physics*. It appeared in 1609 after a delay caused by Brahe's heirs.

In Prague, Kepler also produced two important works attempting to reform astrology, *On More Certain Foundations for Astrology* (1601) and *Tertius Interveniens* (1610; The intermediary third position [between two extremes]). He rejected the traditional astrological machinery of houses, but retained the idea that geometrical configurations of celestial objects influenced human judgment and caused terrestrial weather. Also in 1610 he gave enthusiastic support to Galileo Galilei (in *Conversation with the Sidereal Messenger*, 1610, and preface to the *Dioptrice*, 1611), and confirmed the latter's telescopic discovery of the moons of Jupiter.

During his time in Linz, Kepler's two most important productions were the *Harmony of the*

World (1619) and the *Epitome of Copernican Astronomy* (which appeared in several volumes, 1617–1621). The former attempted a grand synthesis of geometry, harmonics, astrology, and astronomy, and presented the music of the spheres, in the form of tones generated as planets vary in speed throughout their orbits. Here also Kepler stated the third law of planetary motion, connecting the square of the planetary year with the cube of its mean distance. The *Epitome of Copernican Astronomy* was a systematic presentation of Kepler's version of the Copernican system, intended as a textbook, and as a basis for understanding Kepler's approach in the *Rudolfine Tables*. Appearing in 1627, the tables successfully predicted that Mercury would pass across the face of the sun in November 1631, showing that Kepler had improved the accuracy of positional calculations by a factor of ten.

Kepler was an innovator where Copernicus was a renovator. Copernicus had re-centered the planetary system, but his calculations of planetary positions took as their geometrical center the mean sun, a constructed point, located elsewhere than the Sun itself. The Sun played no physical role in Copernicus's system and he retained celestial spheres to move the planets. Like Ptolemy, Copernicus continued to use circles carrying circles to predict the positions of planets against the background of fixed stars, and although distances were calculable in his system, they played no role in predicting positions. Kepler introduced the modern form of Copernicanism. His planets moved freely through the heavens, propelled by a force originating in the Sun, along orbits that intersected at the Sun. They obeyed mathematical laws that united physics and astronomy in a new way. Their path through space was an ellipse, not a circle, and their distances and velocities were linked in the second law.

Kepler's insights were not immediately accepted by contemporaries, but they were vindicated by Isaac Newton (1642–1727), who replaced Kepler's solar force with universal gravitation, and demonstrated that the three laws of planetary motion followed from his own more general laws of motion in the case of a planet moving around the Sun. Although the laws of planetary motion became central results of the later mechanical philosophy, Kepler himself was not a mechanical philosopher. Kepler's sun rotates because of an animating spirit; the

planet Earth has a spirit that perceives celestial alignments and creates weather; in the 1609 presentation of Kepler's theory, planets are capable of directing their own motion of approach to or recession from the Sun. In his last work, the *Somnium*, published posthumously in 1634, another kind of spirit narrates the appearance of the heavens as seen from the Moon. In Kepler's cosmos, mathematical regularities are evidence of controlling minds, and the structure of the universe, which Kepler spent his life uncovering, testifies to the architectonic mind of its Creator.

See also **Astrology; Astronomy; Brahe, Tycho; Copernicus, Nicolaus; Galileo Galilei.**

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KHMELNYTSKY, BOHDAN (c. 1595–1657)

KHMELNYTSKY, BOHDAN (c. 1595–1657), hetman of the Zaporozhian Cossack Host (1648–1657) and founder of the Hetmanate (Cossack state). Born into a family of Orthodox petty gentry, Khmelnytsky received a Jesuit education. Khmelnytsky took part in the Battle of Cecora (1620) and was taken as a prisoner to Istanbul for two years. He enlisted in the Chyhyryn Cossack regiment near his family holding of Subotiv and emerged during the Cossack revolts of 1637–1638 as military chancellor of the Zaporozhian Host, signing the capitulation of 27 December 1637. It is possible that he served among Cossack mercenary troops in France in 1644. In 1646, as captain of the Chyhyryn regiment, he accompanied a Cossack delegation to King Władysław IV Vasa (ruled 1632–1648), who sought to win the Cossacks over to his secret plans for a war against the Ottomans.

Khmelnysky's life as an established Cossack took a radical turn in 1647 because of a personal and property dispute with a magnate's servitor. Khmelnytsky found no redress for the seizure of his estate and was arrested in November 1647. He escaped and fled to the traditional Cossack stronghold or *sich*, where he was proclaimed hetman in February 1648. He rallied the Cossacks, who smarted under the harsh Polish regime, to his cause and came to an agreement with the Crimean Khanate that ensured cavalry support for the Cossack infantry. In May, Khmelnytsky defeated the Polish armies sent after him. The death of the king in the same month threw the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, an elective monarchy, into crisis.

Although some historians believe that from the first Khmelnytsky had sought to overthrow Polish rule, in the initial phase of the revolt his demands centered on Cossack rights. Throughout 1648, as social war reigned in much of Ukraine and the commonwealth's elite fell into factional struggles over the election, Khmelnytsky energetically organized a military force and an administration of the territory he controlled. Defeating what remained of the commonwealth's forces in September, Khmelnytsky forces reached the limit of Ukrainian ethnic territory and influenced the election of John II Casimir Vasa (Jan II Kazimierz; ruled 1648–1668) as a pro-peace candidate. At the end of the year Khmelnytsky marched east, entering the ancient Ukrainian capital of Kyiv to the acclamation of the clergy and the other inhabitants that he was a Moses and a liberator from the "Polish bondage." He announced his plans to liberate the Ruthenian (Ukrainian-Belarusian) nation and declared that God had raised him up to be the autocrat of Rus'. These declarations of intentions to be the ruler of a new state could only be resolved by military victory. The Battle of Zboriv (August 1649) proved inconclusive because of the desertion of the Crimean



Bohdan Khmelnytsky. A monument to Khmelnytsky stands near St. Sophia Cathedral in Kiev. ©DEAN CONGER/CORBIS

khan, who was troubled by the rising power. Khmelnytsky was recognized as hetman with sweeping privileges, above all as the leader of a Cossack Host of forty thousand. But this fell far short of his earlier aspirations and endangered his position because the masses rejected the terms and the depredations of his Tatar allies.

From mid-1649 Khmelnytsky sought to keep the unwieldy coalition supporting him in Ukraine together as he searched for foreign allies and protectors against the commonwealth in a program to entrench his rule. Initially the Ottoman Empire seemed the most likely source, and the hetman sought to create a dynasty by marrying his son Tymish to the daughter of the Moldavian hospodar, an Ottoman vassal. Defeated by the Poles at Berestechko (June 1651), Khmelnytsky in turn defeated the Poles in June 1652 on an expedition to marry off his son. His Balkan policy ultimately ended in ruin and the death of his son (September 1653). Khmelnytsky then turned more seriously to

the Muscovite tsar, taking an oath of loyalty to him in January 1654 at Pereiaslav but failing to receive an oath from him. Retaining far greater power in Ukraine than the terms negotiated, Khmelnytsky came to be disillusioned with Muscovy, especially after the truce between Muscovy and the commonwealth in November 1656. He joined a coalition with Sweden and Transylvania against the commonwealth (and Muscovite desires), but news of the failure of a Transylvanian-Ukrainian invasion reached him on his deathbed.

Khmelnytsky's major problem in his final years was the question of succession because his remaining son Iurii was a weak figure. Iurii initially succeeded him, but the Host soon turned instead to his chancellor Ivan Vyhovsky.

In a ten-year period the hetman had managed to create an effective army and civil administration and to turn his capital Chyhyryn into a center of international diplomacy. Khmelnytsky had not, however, found a secure place for the Hetmanate in

the East European state system or a way to prevent foreign intervention in Cossack affairs. Contemporary and subsequent evaluations of him differed, with some seeing him as a brilliant state builder and diplomat, an equal of Oliver Cromwell (1599–1658) or Armand-Jean du Plessis, Cardinal Richelieu (1585–1642), while others saw him as chimerical, rash (above all in the terms he negotiated with Muscovy), given to bouts of drunkenness, and even a destructive despot similar to Tamerlane (Timur; 1336–1405) or Batu Khan (died 1255). Eighteenth-century Ukrainian historiography created a cult of Khmelnytsky as founder of the Hetmanate. Opinions varied in the nineteenth century, with the Ukrainian national poet Taras Shevchenko (1814–1861) chiding him for his agreement with the Russians. Soviet historiography beginning in the 1950s praised him for bringing about the “reunification” of Ukraine and Russia. In the Jewish tradition he is decried as responsible for massacres of Jews during the uprising. He figures prominently in Polish historical imagination as an enemy of the Polish state.

See also **Cossacks; Khmelnytsky Uprising; Poland-Lithuania, Commonwealth of, 1569–1795; Ukraine.**

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FRANK E. SYSYN

Lithuanian Commonwealth began in early 1648 under the leadership of Bohdan Khmelnytsky (c. 1595–1657), a Cossack officer proclaimed hetman. The secret negotiations of King Władysław IV Vasa (ruled 1632–1648) with the Cossacks to begin a war with the Ottomans against the will of the diet stirred them to action. Initiated because of injustices against Khmelnytsky and discontent among the Cossack stratum with their treatment by the Polish authorities, the revolt rapidly succeeded because it enlisted Crimean Tatar support. The rebels destroyed the Polish standing army, and the confusion and dissension following the death of the king in May 1648 gave them the advantage.

The Cossack revolt turned into a general uprising drawing upon peasant resistance to the imposition of serfdom and manorial duties, Eastern Orthodox anger at discrimination by the Catholic authorities, Ruthenian (Ukrainian-Belarusian) antagonism toward the Poles, and the Ukrainian frontier population's opposition to the magnates and their servitors and leaseholders. In the first months a bloody social war raged with attacks on landlords, Catholic clergy, and Jews. Where they had the means, the magnates took brutal reprisals. The disparate coalition assembled around the Cossack Host did not have a united social or political program, but the Cossack hetman professed to support the monarch against the willful high nobility. Yet negotiations failed with the new king, John II Casimir Vasa (Jan II Kazimierz; ruled 1648–1668), elected in November, and by early 1649 the rebels had greatly expanded their Cossack Estate demands to a broad political-national program that would have virtually overturned the old order in Ukraine. Certainly by this time the leadership envisaged a break with the commonwealth and entered into negotiations with foreign powers for support. A battle at Zboriv in August 1649 wrung major concessions from the government, but the betrayal of the Crimean khan deprived the rebels of a decisive victory.

By 1649 a new political structure, the Cossack Hetmanate, had emerged out of the Cossack Host in the central Ukrainian territories, but it could not come to an accommodation with the commonwealth's magnate elite, which would not accept sweeping changes in the economic and political order. Defeated at the Battle of Berestechko in 1651, the Cossack authorities, despite subsequent vic-

KHMELNYTSKY UPRISING. The uprising in the Ukrainian territories against the Polish-

tories, could not fully triumph over the commonwealth in battle, thus leading them to redouble their search for foreign protectors.

Although surrounding states feared the radical nature of the revolt and distrusted the Cossack parvenu elite, they soon sought to take advantage of the commonwealth's distress and the opportunities offered by the revolt. The Ottoman sultan accepted the new polity under his protection in 1650–1651, but tied down by the War of Candia, he did not provide essential military support. The Porte also found Cossack intervention among its Danubian vassals troublesome, though this Ukrainian policy ended in a fiasco in 1653, offering new opportunity for Polish revanche. The need for military support led the Cossack hetman to accept the sovereignty of the Muscovite tsar, a coreligionist, in January 1654, though from the first the political cultures of the autocratic Russian state and the Cossack Hetmanate, derived from the traditions of the Cossack Host and the Polish monarchical republic, clashed. The commonwealth continued to struggle to regain its control of Ukraine, even coming to an agreement with Muscovy in 1656. The Muscovite officials attempted to assert control in Ukraine, but Hetman Khmelnytsky continued to rule over the new order he had established up until his death in 1657. He sought to change the political position of the Hetmanate and to partition the commonwealth through alliances with Sweden, which had invaded the weakened commonwealth in 1655, and Transylvania.

There is no clear ending to the Khmelnytsky Uprising because the consequences of the rebellion unfolded over decades. Although the commonwealth eventually won back the Ukrainian territories to the west of the Dnieper (1667, confirmed in 1686), the political and social order established by the revolt endured to the end of the eighteenth century. The Khmelnytsky Uprising stands out among early modern revolts for its success in overturning the social order and in setting up a new polity, thereby motivating some to call it a revolution. It also had great impact in setting off conflicts among the neighboring states and remaking the international order, above all by weakening the commonwealth, transforming Muscovy into the Russian Empire, and inciting the Ottomans' last great thrust into central Europe. It has also served as

a focal point for modern Ukrainian identity and relations with Poles, Russians, and Jews.

See also **Cossacks; Khmelnytsky, Bohdan; Poland-Lithuania, Commonwealth of, 1569–1795; Ukraine.**

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KIEV (Ukrainian, Kyiv; Polish, Kijów). Capital of the Rus' principality (tenth to thirteenth centuries), Kiev arose on the Dnieper River at the intersection of the Varangian trade route connecting the north by river with Constantinople and overland routes connecting the Caucasus and the Crimea with Galicia and western Europe. This religious and trade



Kiev. The cathedral of St. Sophia in Kiev. ©DEAN CONGER/CORBIS.

center of medieval eastern Europe was sacked in 1240 by the Mongol-Tatar army of Batu Khan. In 1362 Lithuanian Grand Duke Algirdas annexed Kiev, and in 1471 it became the capital of the Kiev palatinate of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. A modest revival began in the early fifteenth century, culminating in the confirmation of the Magdeburg law for municipal self-government by Grand Duke Alexander in the years 1494–1497. By this time, however, the Crimean Khan Mengli Giray had again plundered Kiev (1482), and the “Upper City” lay in ruins for over a century.

With the Union of Lublin in 1569, the Kiev palatinate was transferred from the Grand Duchy of Lithuania to the direct rule of the Polish crown, opening the door more widely to Polish immigration and cultural influences. In the first half of the seventeenth century, Kiev again experienced renewal, and it eventually became the political, religious, and cultural capital of Rus'-Ukraine, overtaking existing centers of early modern Ruthenian culture that had arisen in Vilnius and Lviv. Cossack

hetman Petro Sahaidachnyi resided there (c. 1610–1622) and was a member of the Kiev Orthodox Brotherhood of the Epiphany (founded 1615). A printing house was established at the Kiev Monastery of the Caves by 1615. In 1620, Patriarch of Jerusalem Theophanes III, stopping off in Kiev on his way home from Moscow, restored an Orthodox Ruthenian hierarchy to sees occupied by Uniate bishops since the Union of Brest in 1596. The Orthodox metropolitan again took up residence in Kiev. The Moldavian nobleman Peter Mohyla (archimandrite of the Caves Monastery 1627–1632, metropolitan of Kiev 1633–1647) launched a wide-ranging renovation of the city's old monuments (including the St. Sophia Cathedral) and began new construction. The school he founded at the Caves Monastery in 1631 was joined in 1632 with the older Brotherhood school (established c. 1615) to form the Kiev College (renamed the Kievan Mohyla Academy in 1701). It was the premier center of higher learning for the Orthodox of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, and it would later

help propagate Western learning in the Russian empire.

The triumphant entry of Bohdan Khmelnytsky into Kiev in December 1648 confirmed the city's status as the spiritual capital of a new Cossack polity. With the 1654 Treaty of Pereiaslav, a Muscovite garrison was established in the town. The Muscovite-Polish Treaty of Andrusovo (1667) granted Kiev to Muscovy for two years only, but the city never returned to Polish rule, and the 1686 Eternal Peace acknowledged the status quo. Until the second partition of Poland in 1793, Kiev remained an autonomous border town, severed from its former hinterland in Polish right-bank Ukraine. The city experienced a brief reflowering under the hetmanacy of Ivan Mazepa (1687–1709), but the Russian tsars of the eighteenth century progressively curtailed Kiev's autonomies along with those of the Hetmanate, making Kiev more and more into a provincial Russian city. In 1797 it became the capital of the Kiev province of the Russian empire.

See also Cossacks; Mohyla, Peter; Orthodoxy, Russian; Ukraine; Uniates.

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DAVID FRICK

KINGSHIP, DIVINE RIGHT. *See*
Divine Right Kingship.

KIRCHER, ATHANASIVS (1602–1680), German Jesuit polymath and collector. Considered by many to be the greatest polymath in an encyclopedia age, Athanasius Kircher was a scholar who aspired to expertise in many different domains of knowledge and sought connections among them in a quest to recover ancient *pansophia* (universal wisdom). He corresponded with scholars, princes,

popes, and missionaries, and his books traveled to virtually every corner of the globe.

Born in the German town of Geisa, Kircher entered the Society of Jesus in 1616; he completed his novitiate in 1620 and was ordained in Würzburg in 1628. That same year he requested to be sent as a missionary to China (he would make the same request in 1637). The Superior General turned down his request because he felt that Kircher's unique talents would best serve the society closer to home. After teaching mathematics, philosophy, and Syrian at the Jesuit college in Würzburg for several years and developing a reputation as an inventor of sundials, Kircher found himself caught in the vicissitudes of the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648) and fled Germany. He spent almost two years in Avignon, teaching at the Jesuit college there and cultivating a relationship with the French savant and antiquarian Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc. During this period, he convinced Peiresc that he was the person most capable of deciphering Egyptian hieroglyphs through the study of Coptic. Peiresc urged his Roman acquaintances, principally the pope's nephew, Cardinal Francesco Barberini, to find a position for Kircher in the Eternal City in order to realize this project.

Kircher arrived in Rome in November 1633, only months after the condemnation of Galileo for his advocacy of heliocentrism. He succeeded Christoph Scheiner in the prestigious chair of mathematics at the Collegio Romano, the leading educational institution of the Society of Jesus. Save for a brief excursion to Malta and Sicily in 1637–1638 to accompany a recently converted German prince on his travels, Kircher remained in Rome for the rest of his life. During his long and productive career, he published over thirty encyclopedic works on virtually every imaginable subject, not including the works of disciples such as Kaspar Schott, Giuseffo Petrucci, Johann Kestler, and Francesco Lana Terzi, who published his ideas—and often his exact words—under their own names. By 1646 his intellectual work had become so valuable and his fame so great the Jesuits relieved him of his teaching duties at the Collegio Romano, allowing him to devote himself fully to his research.

Kircher began his intellectual career with two principal interests: physico-mathematics and an-

cient Eastern languages and cultures. His earliest publications concerned various mathematical instruments such as the sundial he created in the Jesuit college in Avignon and a multipurpose measuring, calculating, and observational device that he invented during his trip to Malta. By 1636 his first work on Egypt, the *Prodromus Coptus sive Aegyptiacus* (Coptic or Egyptian forerunner), appeared. During the next two decades, Kircher published a series of works on Egyptian language, philosophy, history, and religion, culminating in his massive *Oedipus Aegyptiacus* (Egyptian Oedipus) of 1652–1655. In such works, he demonstrated his mastery of hieroglyphs—based on his Neoplatonic understanding of Egyptian as a symbolic and divine language, which bore little resemblance to the early-nineteenth-century decipherment of the Rosetta Stone—and argued strongly that Egypt was a universal source of culture and civilization that had anticipated Christianity with its strong Trinitarian symbolism. Kircher parlayed his expertise into a series of famous interpretations of the principal obelisks of Rome, namely the obelisk erected at the center of the sculptor Gian Lorenzo Bernini’s famous fountain in Piazza Navona and the one atop Bernini’s elephant in front of Santa Maria sopra Minerva. Kircher assisted Bernini in devising the words beneath each obelisk and published his interpretations of them in 1650 and 1666 respectively.

In addition to his work on Egypt, Kircher was equally prolific and bold in his account of the natural world. In 1641, his popular *Magnes sive de Arte Magnetica* (The magnet or the magnetic art) appeared, one of several publications in which Kircher argued that magnetism was the principal force organizing and controlling nature. At the same time, he began to develop his ideas on optics, leading to his *Ars Magna Lucis et Umbrae* (Great art of light and shadow) of 1646—a work filled with numerous optical demonstrations such as Kircher’s famous magic lantern. Kircher complemented his work on optics with similarly intensive studies of acoustics in such works as his *Musurgia Universalis* (Universal music making) of 1650. The hydraulic organ in the Quirinale in Rome still today bears traces of his skills at designing ingenious musical machines that created sound without regular human intervention. Finally, Kircher spent over twenty years developing an explanation of earthquakes, after witnessing the

eruption of Mount Etna in his youth. His *Mundus Subterraneus* (Subterranean world) of 1664–1665 attempted a comprehensive portrait of all the natural forces that organized the earth, just as his controversial *Iter Ecstaticum* (Ecstatic journey) of 1656 sought to explain what the cosmos looked like in an imaginative dialogue between an angel and a philosopher who discussed its composition while traveling throughout the heavens.

Kircher’s reputation as a man who knew almost everything emanated not only from his publications but from his role as custodian of one of the most famous museums in Europe. Founded in 1651, the museum of the Collegio Romano flourished under his guidance. Kircher filled it with natural objects, machines, antiquities, paintings, and curiosities brought back by missionaries from all over the world. Visitors were enthralled by dancing demons, talking automata, sunflower clocks, Japanese scrolls, Chinese stone rubbings, Greco-Roman and Egyptian fragments, and a seemingly endless series of demonstrations of the powers of the magnet. Kircher parlayed his ability to gather objects and information into expertise on subjects about which he otherwise knew very little. His popular *China Illustrata* (China illustrated) of 1667, for example, was written without once traveling to Asia or knowing much about its languages, customs, and religions.

Kircher relied upon his ability to command the resources of the entire Jesuit order in the service of a universal account of the presence of Christianity in every corner of the world. His boundless curiosity and energy, a source of wonder in his own lifetime, made him a figure of fun in a later age when scholars such as Leibniz declared that Kircher had written much but known nothing about virtually every interesting subject of his age. He was one of the last great humanistic scholars of the seventeenth century, a man of faith whose vision of the world was as global as the missionary networks of his religious order.

See also Dictionaries and Encyclopedias; Galileo Galilei; Jesuits; Leibniz, Gotfried Wilhelm; Museums; Peiresc, Nicolas-Claude Fabri de.

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PAULA FINDLEN

KLOPSTOCK, FRIEDRICH GOTTLIEB (1724–1803), German poet. Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock was the oldest of seventeen children born into an impoverished Pietist family of attorneys and pastors in Quedlinburg (Saxony-Anhalt). After receiving a humanistic education at the princely college in Schulpforta, he studied theology and philosophy at the universities of Jena and Leipzig, where he began writing the first songs of his monumental religious epic *Der Messias* (The Messiah; published in 4 volumes between 1748 and 1773, final version in 1799/1800). In 1751, he accepted an invitation from the Danish king, Frederick V, who sponsored the completion of the *Messias*. Shortly after his arrival in Denmark, Klopstock married Margarethe (Meta) Moller from Hamburg, the “Cidli” of his odes, who died four years later. After living in Denmark for almost twenty years, Klopstock resided in Hamburg for the rest of his life, married his first wife’s niece, the widow Johanne Elisabeth von Winthem, and published poems, plays, and theoretical writings on German literature, language, and culture.

Klopstock became one of the most celebrated poets of his time and revolutionized German poetic language and its function within the theoretical debate about the possibility of a German national

culture. Inspired by Johann Jakob Bodmer’s and Johann Jakob Breitinger’s literary theory of the poetic use of imagination, he rejected the dominant German aesthetic theory, the rationalist poetics of Johann Christoph Gottsched with its rigid literary conventions. Klopstock aspired to create a new poetry that could live up to the stylistic qualities of masterpieces such as Homer’s *Iliad* or John Milton’s *Paradise Lost*. His vision of the poet as “genius” or prophetic “creator” rather than “imitator” of nature led to the invention of a new lyrical language. Written in classical hexameters instead of the traditional German alternating verse forms, the first three cantos of the *Messias* signaled a departure from grammatical and syntactical rules and introduced an innovative, complex style. The pathetic use of inversions, repetitions, neologisms, comparisons, and metaphors infused enthusiasm, passion, and sentiment into the biblical story. In this way Klopstock transformed the culture of religious dogma into an inner world of sensitive experience. Although composed and perceived as a devotional work, the *Messias* evoked readers’ or listeners’ emotional responses and let them experience the religious sublime through the new aesthetic form. In his following poems, odes of enthusiasm, patriotic hymns, and elegies, Klopstock continued his formal experiments and was the first to introduce free verse into German poetry. His search for an emotional and yet sacred poetic language that manifested the experiences of the inner self combined expressive subjectivity with poetic autonomy and resulted in the interdependence of the secular and the spiritual. In this way, Klopstock instilled religious pathos into the poetic representation of friendship, nature, love, leisure, and the nation.

While Klopstock wrote spiritual songs (*Geistliche Lieder* [1757, 1769]), and religious and patriotic tragedies (*Der Tod Adams* [1757; The death of Adam] and *David* [1772]), his most influential work was probably the play *Hermanns Schlacht* (1769; The battle of Arminius). However, it did not receive the same attention as his poetic work—after all, Klopstock and the *Messias* had become synonyms. His collection of theoretical and fictional texts, *Die deutsche Gelehrtenrepublik* (1774; The German Republic of Letters) added a new dimension to his publications. This utopian historiography of a German national culture in the

making launched the idea that national identity could be generated through shared values and transmitted by cultural artifacts and institutions. Drawing on Greek ideals, Klopstock envisioned a German republic in which the humanist tradition would unite political and cultural and public and private spheres. While the esoteric montage of different text genres did not receive the same attention as the *Messias*, its form of dissemination was quite remarkable in the history of publishing. Being concerned to receive fair compensation as an author, Klopstock circumvented the established book trade through publishers and booksellers by advertising his work via subscription and successfully launched a new means of profitable distribution.

Klopstock's contemporaries celebrated him as Germany's national poet. His poetic focus on feeling and experience influenced the young poets of the Sturm und Drang (Storm and Stress) movement; Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Johann Gottfried Herder, and Friedrich Hölderlin praised him as Germany's leading lyric poet, and the Romantics embraced his cultural patriotism. Klopstock's poetic legacy was soon surpassed by that of Goethe, who dominated Germany's cultural landscape throughout the nineteenth century, and it was not until the twentieth century that German poets and authors such as Rainer Maria Rilke, Arno Schmidt, and Peter Rühmkorf rediscovered the power of Klopstock's lyrical voice. Recent scholarship has established a continuing interest in Klopstock through the production of a historical-critical edition of his works.

See also **Drama: German; German Literature and Language; Germany, Idea of; Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von; Herder, Johann Gottfried; Pietism.**

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STEPHAN K. SCHINDLER

KNOWLEDGE, DISSEMINATION OF. *See* Dissemination of Knowledge.

KNOX, JOHN (c. 1513–1572), Scottish church reformer. Born in Haddington (Lothian), Knox studied at Glasgow University and probably also at St. Andrews. After his ordination to the priesthood in 1536, he became a notary apostolic (a church lawyer); as tutor to Lothian gentry, the Douglasses and Cockburns, he met the Scottish reformer George Wishart and was converted to evangelical views around 1545. When Wishart was burned at the stake in 1546, Knox took refuge with the Protestant garrison in St. Andrew's Castle and began his preaching career. Although he had not been involved in the garrison's murder of Cardinal David Beaton, when the French captured the castle in July 1547, he was taken to France and made a galley slave, which permanently undermined his health. After his release in 1549, he went to England, where he actively promoted official Protestant changes, first in the northeast; he inevitably came into conflict with the conservative bishop of Durham Cuthbert Tunstall, but also captivated an enthusiastic evangelical gentlewoman, Elizabeth Bowes. In autumn 1551 he was made a royal chaplain, and John Dudley, duke of Northumberland, brought him south, probably hoping to exploit his religious radicalism to strip the church of its wealth. However, their relations deteriorated, and Knox was among the leading clergy who in early 1553 denounced politicians' worldliness. He failed to persuade the Privy Council to modify the 1552 Book of Common Prayer to forbid kneeling at holy

communion, although his protests prompted Archbishop of Canterbury Thomas Cranmer to insert a last-minute instruction (the “black rubric”) explaining that kneeling did not signify adoration of the bread and wine.

Mary I’s accession in 1553 interrupted Knox’s preaching ministry in Buckinghamshire. He fled abroad, followed by Elizabeth Bowes (who abandoned her Catholic husband) and her daughter Marjorie, whom he soon married. Knox championed thoroughgoing Calvinist reform among English exiles at Frankfurt am Main, resulting in his expulsion in 1555; he returned to John Calvin’s Geneva, which he called “the most perfect school of Christ on earth since the days of the Apostles.” In 1555–1556 he made a clandestine preaching tour in Scotland; back in Geneva in 1556 he drew up a directory of worship for the English congregation, the basis of the Church of Scotland’s *Book of Common Order*. After Scottish bishops burned him in effigy in Edinburgh, he abandoned a planned return visit to Scotland in 1557. His attack on the two Catholic rulers Mary Tudor in England and Mary of Guise in Scotland, *The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women* (1558), asserted that it was unnatural (“monstrous”) for women to hold political power (“regiment”). Unfortunately this soon also applied to the Protestant Elizabeth I. Furious, she ended Knox’s hopes of resuming his English career, refusing even to let him pass through England on his way back to Scotland. He was appointed minister of Edinburgh in 1559. He became the most prominent clerical leader of the Protestant and anti-French revolution and successfully pressed Elizabeth’s adviser, William Cecil, Lord Burghley, for English military support. In August 1560 he was one of a team of ministers (“the six Johns”) who drew up a Confession of Faith for the Kirk (the new Protestant Church of Scotland); they also prepared a scheme to reorganize the Kirk on Calvinist lines, the first *Book of Discipline*, which, because of political uncertainty and lack of resources, was not fully implemented. From 1561 he bitterly opposed Mary, Queen of Scots and preached violent sermons against her; after she was deposed in 1567, he preached at her son’s coronation as James VI. He also preached at the funeral of the murdered regent James Stewart, earl of Moray, in 1570, but Stewart’s death and the resulting civil

war lessened his influence. One of his last contributions to the Reformation cause was, in spite of having suffered a stroke, to preach one of his classic sermons on the St. Bartholomew’s Day massacre of French Protestants.

Knox’s *History of the Reformation of Religion within the Realm of Scotland* (published 1587, then in full in 1644) remains an essential witness to the Reformation although it carefully conceals much of his own early career. He is a potent symbol of a militant and uncompromisingly Presbyterian Scottish Reformation, yet with his English wife and live-in mother-in-law, he was more Anglophile and flexible than either his detractors or his Presbyterian near-idolators have recognized. The contemporary Roman Catholic controversialist Ninian Winzet sneered at Knox that he had forgotten “our auld plane Scottis quhilk your mother lerit you” because his language was so Anglicized: at the height of the Scottish political crisis in 1566, he spent six mysterious months in England of which we know nothing. Without the accidents of English politics, John Knox might well have become the first in a long troop of Scotsmen to end up a bishop of the Church of England.

See also **Calvinism; Church of England; Elizabeth I (England); Reformation, Protestant; Scotland.**

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DIARMAID MACCULLOCH

KOCHANOWSKI, JAN (1530–1584), Polish and Neo-Latin poet, humanist, royal secretary and courtier, arguably the outstanding literary figure of the Slavic world before the Romantic age. Kochanowski was born to a middling gentry family of Little Poland. He matriculated at the standard age of fourteen in the Cracow Academy in 1544, then spent 1551–1552 at the Lutheran university in

Königsberg, where he once returned (1555–1556), perhaps in search of a patron at Duke Albert Frederick's court. Over the years 1552–1559, Kochanowski spent three longer periods at the University of Padua, where he studied with one of Italy's leading humanist scholars, Francesco Robortello. He completed his study years with a tour of France (1558/1559), where he came into contact with the poet Pierre de Ronsard.

Upon his return to Poland in 1559, Kochanowski began a fifteen-year period of activities connected with politics and the royal court. We find him among the clients of Little Polish magnates, including the Calvinist palatine of Lublin, Jan Firlej, and crown vice-chancellor (later bishop of Cracow) Piotr Myszkowski, thanks to whose patronage he became one of King Sigismund II Augustus's secretaries and courtiers. Around 1571 Kochanowski's ties with court life began to loosen, and he retreated more and more to his country estate at Czarnolas in Little Poland, where he lived from 1575 until his death in 1584.

Kochanowski began as a Neo-Latin poet, but his place in literary history is secured by his pioneering work in Polish. This “father of Polish literature” attempted to establish Polish models for the entire canon of classical and humanistic genres. During his court period, Kochanowski focused on poetry in an epic tonality (*Susanna*, c. 1562; *Chess*, between 1562 and 1566) and occasional poetry, as well as political poetry (*Harmony*, 1564; *Satyr, or the Wild Man*, c. 1564). He gradually shifted toward what would be his strength, lyric poetry. A central work here was his *Songs* (published posthumously in 1585), composed over nearly twenty years and based on Horatian and Petrarchan models. Over the same years Kochanowski worked on his *Trifles*, a collection of mostly short poems, often of personal or topical content, ranging in style from epic to anacreontic. They continue to find imitators among Polish poets. Kochanowski was the author of Poland's first Renaissance tragedy, *The Dismissal of the Grecian Envoys* (written probably c. 1565 but first performed in 1578, before King Stephen Báthory, and published that year). From the last, rural period come his *Laments* (1580) on the death of his beloved daughter Urszula. Kochanowski began work on his masterpiece—a versified *Psalter*, based on the model of George Buchanan's

Latin version (among others)—while still at court, but he did the lion's share of the work at Czarnolas, publishing it only in 1579.

Kochanowski received recognition as the premier Polish poet during his lifetime, and traditions of reading and imitation of his work have continued uninterrupted. His *Psalter* was issued twenty-five times by the middle of the seventeenth century, and it influenced similar projects in Russian, Romanian, Lithuanian, German, Hungarian, Czech, Slovak, and Lusatian. Polish Catholics and Protestants sang his versions of the Psalms in their churches (often without realizing whose they were), and seventeenth-century Polish Catholics sought to make him into an orthodox post-Tridentine Catholic, evidently troubled by the tonalities of Horatian epicureanism, Senecan stoicism, and Erasmian irenicism in his life and work.

See also **Polish Literature and Language**.

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DAVID FRICK

KOŁŁATAJ, HUGO (1750–1812), Polish cleric, reformer of education, politician, promoter of Enlightenment thought, historian, and philosopher. Born in Dederkaly (Vollhynia), the youngest son of an impoverished gentry family, he soon chose the clerical path of material and social advancement. He began studies at the Cracow Academy in 1761 and continued in Vienna (1771–1772) and Italy, especially Rome (1772–1774); during these travels he studied French, canon law, and theology and made his first contacts with Enlightenment thought.

Upon his return to Cracow in 1775, Kołłątaj took priestly orders and soon joined in the work of the Commission of National Education. From 1775 to 1786 he directed the reform of the Cracow Academy, Poland's oldest university, serving as rector from 1783 to 1786. In the years immediately pre-

ceding the Second Partition of Poland (1786–1792), Kołłątaj resided in Warsaw, playing a leading role in attempts to reform Polish politics and society. He achieved high office (becoming Lithuanian spiritual referendary in 1787 and crown vice-chancellor in 1791) and led a movement to transform Poland's feudal, magnate-dominated society into a modern bourgeois nation led by propertied gentry and burghers, governed by a parliament in permanent session, and with a now hereditary but much weakened monarch. From "Kołłątaj's Smithy" (a term coined by his opponents) came a stream of reformist writings by various authors. Among his concerns was the status of burghers and Jews in a reformed state. Kołłątaj was a coauthor of the constitution of 3 May 1791.

In the face of the catastrophe of 1792, Kołłątaj took up a conciliatory stance, urging King Stanisław II August Poniatowski to find a *modus vivendi* with the Russian-sponsored Confederation of Targowica—although Kołłątaj himself was anathema to the Polish conservatives of the confederation. The Second Partition (1793) found him in Saxony, where he helped prepare the Kościuszko uprising of 1794. Contacts with revolutionary France radicalized some of his ideas. Kołłątaj returned to Warsaw in May 1794, where he became a focal point for supporters of the uprising, burghers, and Jacobins, although he was certainly not the "Polish Robespierre" that the king and others saw in him.

After the Russian conquest of Warsaw in early November 1794, Kołłątaj fled south and was arrested by the Austrians near Przemyśl. He remained incarcerated in Moravian Olomouc until November

1802. During this time he continued his scholarly work, gathering materials and sketching an outline for an ambitious historical and ethnographic project. Upon release, Kołłątaj settled in Russian Volhynia, where, under discreet police surveillance, he continued his scholarly projects and worked on the organization of a lyceum at Kremenets.

Summoned to Warsaw under Napoleon in 1806, Kołłątaj delayed. This delay, plus the emperor's distrust of former "Jacobins," increased his isolation. He was arrested by the Russians in 1807 and interned in Moscow until the next year, when he returned to Warsaw. He failed, however, in his attempts to play a role in the politics and culture of Napoleonic Poland. A late work, *Nil Desperandum* (1808), offered a vision of a modernized, liberal Poland restored to its old borders, in alliance with France, in a Europe divided into two empires, west (France) and east (Russia).

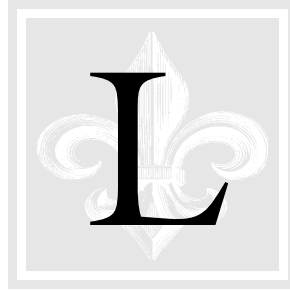
See also Poland, Partitions of; Poland-Lithuania, Commonwealth of, 1569–1795; Poniatowski, Stanisław II Augustus; 3 May Constitution.

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DAVID FRICK

KRAKÓW. *See* Cracow.



LA BRUYÈRE, JEAN DE (1645–1696), French moralist, social commentator, and satirist. Jean de La Bruyère was baptized in Paris. His parents were bourgeois. Other than these facts, little is known about his early years before he obtained a law degree from the University of Orléans in 1665. He did not practice, however, and led a life of leisure, made possible by a modest inheritance from an uncle in 1671. In 1684 he obtained a position as one of the tutors to Louis de Bourbon, grandson of the Grand Condé, Louis II de Bourbon (1621–1686), a royal prince. When the latter died three years later, the young Louis quit his studies, but La Bruyère remained attached to the household. The role of domestic servant did not suit his temperament, although it allowed him to observe closely the court and all of its foibles.

His wounded pride and the injustices he witnessed due to the disparity of social status are often considered crucial to the creation of his only literary work, a collection of sarcastic observations and caricatures entitled *Les caractères* (1688; The characters). The work was immediately and immensely successful, going through seven editions in four years, with each edition bringing additions to previous texts as well as new passages. He was received into the Académie française (French Academy) in 1693, and can be considered one of the last “Anciens” in the quarrel between ancients and moderns. He wrote a polemical tract, *Dialogues sur le Quiétisme* (1696; Dialogues on Quietism), against the contemporary vogue for religious mysti-

cism, assailing with vigor François Fénelon (1651–1715). He died suddenly at Versailles in May, 1696.

In *Les caractères*, (‘portraits’ or ‘caricatures’), La Bruyère established his work within the tradition of classical Greco-Roman literature. He presented first a French translation of the Greek text by Theophrastus (d. 278 B.C.E.) with some of his own *caractères* and satiric observations drawn from his own time and society. These were divided into sixteen different chapters, covering such diverse topics as literary criticism, life in town and country, the court, women, judgment, and taste. With each successive edition came an increase of entries in all categories, until La Bruyère’s text far surpassed that of Theophrastus. The opening passage to his own work, in which he switches from translator to author, begins with the often-cited phrase, “Everything has been said. . . .” a paradoxical beginning perhaps, but one that indicates the contemporary view of imitation. Novelty is to be sought less in substance than in style, in how a work is expressed.

His text is a compendium of brief forms—maxims, observations, thoughts, portraits—that often lack external connections or transitions. The coherence, or organic unity, of the whole is not apparent, although certain themes and perspectives, such as superficiality, vanity, and righteous indignation, reappear. Some critics have argued that the entire work should be read in light of the final chapter—a Christian defense—although others consider him more a pessimist or satirist than a Christian reformer. He does stress the virtues of retreat from society. Within a textual entry, ellipti-

cal, paratactical structures make for a rapid and vivid description, as nouns and verbs come shooting forth, separated by punctuation marks, a simple “and” or “but” rather than complex constructions joined by direct causal links (“because”). The age of King Louis XIV (1638–1715) prized an oral, theatrical style, and many of the *caractères* read like small scenes, presented without authorial comment. To this extent the reader plays a role in supplying the criticism or condemnation implicit within the text, such as that found in the chasm that separates Giton, who is rich, from Phédon, who is poor.

Following his literary model, La Bruyère used Greek pseudonyms for his portraits, and keys soon circulated that claimed to identify the real identities of Ménalque, the scatterbrain, Gnathon, the gourmand, Ornulphre, the religious hypocrite patterned after Molière’s *Tartuffe*, and dozens of other individuals. He was much imitated in the eighteenth century, although without much success. Due to their short form but richly dense material, many passages were anthologized in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, for general audiences as well as classroom exercises. Gustave Flaubert (1821–1880), Marcel Proust (1871–1922), and André Gide (1869–1951) were influenced by his style, and recent literary criticism has found an affinity for the open, “readerly” nature of the texts. As for his content, his comments on women have brought him some approbation, but his indictment is primarily against the way society treats them and how they are obliged to behave. In addition, La Bruyère was one of the few writers of the seventeenth century even to allude to the plight of the poor and the peasants.

See also Ancients and Moderns; Condé Family; Fénelon, François; French Literature and Language; Louis XIV (France); Molière (Jean-Baptiste Poquelin); Quietism.

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ALLEN G. WOOD

LA FAYETTE, MARIE-MADELEINE DE (Marie-Madeleine Pioche de la Vergne, countess of La Fayette; 1634–1693), French novelist. Born in Paris to a family of the lower nobility with close ties to the court of King Louis XIII (ruled 1610–1643), Marie-Madeleine Pioche de la Vergne became a lady-in-waiting at the age of fifteen to Anne of Austria, the French queen. She received a broad education in the classics and languages, was an enthusiastic reader of the popular new novels of her day, and, from an early age, was close to prominent figures including the moralist and philosopher François de la Rochefoucauld, the cardinal of Retz, and the writers Gilles Ménage and Madeleine de Scudéry. In 1655 she married Francis Motier, count of La Fayette, and moved with him to his property in the Auvergne. The first of her two sons was born in Poitou in 1658, but after three years in the provinces Marie-Madeleine moved back to Paris, leaving her husband behind to manage his country estates. She lived independently in Paris for the rest of her life in her home next to the Luxembourg palace, where she remained closely involved with the intellectual and political life of the court and the salons of the capital.

Literary history has traditionally designated Madame de La Fayette as the originator of the modern novel. She turned to writing fiction soon after her return to Paris, and in 1662 anonymously published a short historical fiction, *La princesse de Montpensier* (The princess of Montpensier) followed by two novels, *Zaïde* (1670) and *La princesse de Clèves* (1678; The princess of Clèves). La Fayette’s great innovation was her particular way of blending history, romance, and psychological analysis. In her fiction she incorporated some of the features of pastoral and epic narrative into a framework more closely resembling memoirs and historical documents. In her most important and influential novel, *La princesse de Clèves*, she designed a plot drawn from events at the French court of the sixteenth century. Into a group of characters including Catherine de Médecis, the duc of Guise, and the young Mary Stuart, she placed a central figure of her own invention, presenting the story of the psychological development of a young woman maturing in the oppressive atmosphere of courtly intrigue. Madame de La Fayette’s first readers recognized in her novel more a reflection of their own time than that of

history. The book precipitated a major literary quarrel, conducted in print via a popular gazette of the day, *Le Mercure galant* (The gallant Mercury). Readers argued passionately about the novel's realism, the plausibility of the heroine's behavior, and the moral implications of her story. The controversy extended to La Fayette's readers in England, where each of her novels was published in translation within a year of its appearance in France.

Themes central to *La princesse de Clèves* are examined in all of La Fayette's fiction: the difficulty of sincere communication, the fugitive quality of love, the tensions between religious principles and worldly demands, and the constraints of marriage. Retreat from the world is the solution that holds the strongest appeal for her female characters, but the difficulty of decisions such as these, and their slow maturation in the minds of the protagonists, are what most fascinate La Fayette: exemplary behavior is achieved at a great cost. In the darkest of La Fayette's scenarios, as in the posthumously published *La comtesse de Tende* (1724; The princess of Tende), the heroine's urge for escape is suicidal. In *La princesse de Clèves*, retreat is a solution that is closer to a form of religious devotion.

Also published posthumously were historical memoirs of the court of King Louis XIV, *Mémoires de la cour de France* (1731; Memoirs of the French court). La Fayette used the memoir genre to dramatize the inevitable confrontation with death in her more personal historical memoir, *Histoire de Madame Henriette d'Angleterre* (The Story of Madame Henrietta of England) begun as a biography at the request of her friend Henrietta of England and transformed by the princess's abrupt death in 1670.

In the last decade of her life Madame de La Fayette withdrew from Parisian society but continued to engage in social life through letter correspondence. Her closest friend, after the death of her companion La Rochefoucauld, was Madame de Sévigné, whose letters are an important source for our knowledge of La Fayette's life. Their correspondence also provides documentation of Madame de La Fayette's ambivalent attitude toward her own status as an author and her strategic use of the practice of anonymous publication. Sévigné's letters record the popularity of La Fayette's writings.

Madame de La Fayette has remained a canonical figure in French literary history. The innovative aspects of her fictional plots are increasingly explored in literary criticism, with particular interest in her invention of new models for describing women's psychological and social development.

See also **French Literature and Language; La Rochefoucauld, François, duc de; Louis XIII (France); Scudéry, Madeleine de; Sévigné, Marie de.**

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ELIZABETH C. GOLDSMITH

LA FONTAINE, JEAN DE (1621–1695), French poet and fable writer. Jean de La Fontaine grew up in a bourgeois family in rural France, where his grandfather, father, and finally he himself held the local charge of master of waters and forests. In his youth he quit the study of theology to pursue and obtain a law degree. He married and had a son, but cared little for his family and soon lived separately, in Paris. The poems “Adonis” (1658) and “Elegie aux nymphes de Vaux” (1661; The dream of Vaux) impressed Nicolas Fouquet (1615–1680), Louis XIV's superintendent of finances and a patron of the arts, who granted the poet a pension in 1659. The disgrace and imprisonment of Fouquet (1662) disrupted La Fontaine's life and finances and caused the king to be suspicious of the poet for many years. He entered into the service of the king's widowed aunt, where he again had access, albeit limited, to the rich bourgeoisie and the aristocracy. He began to frequent literary salons and published *Contes et nouvelles en vers* (1665; Tales and stories in verse), which were shockingly indecorous to precious ladies and followers of classicism because of their bawdy



Jean de La Fontaine. Portrait by Nicolas de Largillière. THE ART ARCHIVE/MUSÉE DU CHATEAU DE VERSAILLES/DAGLI ORTI

topics, and which were closer in subject and style to medieval fabliaux or the works of François Rabelais (c. 1483–1553).

In 1668 La Fontaine published the first of a collection of *Fables choisies mises en vers* (Selected fables set in verse; books 1–6), dedicated to the dauphin, which became extremely popular. Fables and other short poetic forms had been practiced in the literary salons for a while by a number of noted writers, but not with the style, wit, or power that La Fontaine displayed. As the guest and protégé of Mme Marguerite de la Sablière (c. 1640–1693) he enjoyed modest personal and financial comfort. He continued to write and publish new *Tales*, but with less success, and eventually incurred a police ban. He wrote the libretto for an opera (*Daphné*) by Jean-Baptiste Lully (1632–1687), but the two fought and parted. Although actively writing, he only found approbation with a second set of *Fables* (books 7–11) in 1678–1679. When he was elected to the French Academy in 1683, the king complicated matters for the former client of Fouquet and

withheld royal approval until after Nicolas Boileau-Despréaux (1636–1711) had been admitted several months later. Leading a libertine life well into his sixties, La Fontaine did not change his life or renounce his more scandalous works until after he fell gravely ill in 1693. The next year saw a final book of *Fables*, a year before his death in Paris.

La Fontaine had the nickname of the “butterfly of Parnassus,” as he was often considered to be flighty and disorganized. Anecdotes abound related to his naïveté, lack of seriousness, and inability to hold a decent conversation. But more recently this view has been challenged, and he has been seen as a capable courtier possessed of more skills than previously thought. Meanwhile, his superb mastery of poetic technique has never been doubted.

The two hundred and forty or so fables that he wrote can be considered as various overlapping scenes in the drama of human life. This is presented generally by a brief story of animal conflicts, making the poems allegorical. They need to be applied to human behavior (the wolf represents a certain kind of individual, or even a particular person) before instruction can be drawn. The morals, which are often (but not always) stated, can seem contradictory, or at least tied to a certain situation, when the entire body of fables are read, but the didactic purpose frequently lies in citing one fable for a unique real-life case. The fables are appealing to both children and adults and are linked to the seventeenth century by numerous specific details, but they attain universal pertinence by the general character traits and morals revealed.

The first set of *Fables* was inspired mainly by the Greek writer Aesop and the Roman Phaedrus, while later works were modeled after Bilpay and other non-Western sources. The conflicts between the grasshopper and the ant, the wolf and the lamb, and the tortoise and the hare, among many others, were part of both an oral tradition and a literary one. La Fontaine did not alter the basic stories or outcomes from these sources, but elaborated both the narrative and poetic aspects. A bit of conversation or some detail of clothing or place makes them more dramatic, picturesque, and plausible. As for poetic technique, at a time that valued the alexandrine couplet, La Fontaine displayed great irregularity, as he varied his line lengths and rhyme schemes within

each fable, making them less artificial and predictable.

Both Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778) and Alphonse Marie Louis de Prat de Lamartine (1790–1869) criticized the *Fables* as being too violent for children or even for adults, who also might mistakenly follow the vices, rather than the virtues, depicted. It is true that the poems often teach by negative example, but their charm has captivated most critics, teachers, and parents for more than three hundred years.

See also Boileau-Despréaux, Nicolas; *Folk Tales and Fairy Tales*; French Literature and Language; Lully, Jean-Baptiste.

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ALLEN G. WOOD

LA METTRIE, JULIEN OFFROY DE (1709–1751), French physician and philosopher. Julien Offroy de La Mettrie is best known for his work of materialist philosophy, *L'homme-machine* (1747). His philosophical works were written early in the French Enlightenment but are among some of the most radical works of that period.

La Mettrie was born in Saint-Malo in Brittany on 19 December 1751, the son of a textile merchant wealthy enough to give him a good education. He attended several provincial colleges, where he was influenced by Jansenism. In 1725 he enrolled in the College d'Harcourt, the first academic institution to make Cartesianism central to the curriculum. La Mettrie then spent five years at the University of

Paris studying medicine. To avoid graduation fees at Paris, he took his degree at the University of Reims. He found his education insufficient preparation for the actual practice of medicine and went to the University of Leiden to study with Hermann Boerhaave (1668–1738), a renowned teacher of physiology and chemistry and an innovative practitioner of clinical medicine. La Mettrie translated many of Boerhaave's most significant works, and in his commentaries on those works, he emphasized the materialistic strand he found in them that provided the foundation for his own medical philosophy. La Mettrie also wrote five medical treatises on specific diseases and public health. His medical experiences led him to lampoon the ignorance and venality of Parisian medical practitioners in thinly veiled medical satires. From these satirical counterexamples, La Mettrie developed his notion of the *médecin-philosophe* who incorporated the astute empirical observation of a surgeon, the thorough training in physiology of an idealistic physician, and the zeal of the reform-minded philosophe. The *médecin-philosophe* could be an agent for reform based on scientific knowledge.

The critical perspective of the *médecin-philosophe* was gleaned from an understanding of the human being based in medicine and physiology. La Mettrie's philosophical works all approached philosophical issues from this perspective. *L'histoire naturelle de l'âme* (1745), his first philosophical work, was a rather conventional discussion of the philosophical treatment of the vegetative and animal souls combined with a materialist view of the human, rational soul, using a materialist reading of John Locke's (1632–1704) *An Essay concerning Human Understanding* (1690) as its source. La Mettrie argued that the human soul could be completely identified with the physical functions of the body and that any claims about the existence of the soul must be substantiated by physiology. Consequently his books were banned, and he was exiled to Holland in 1745. In *L'homme-machine*, La Mettrie not only adopted the engaging style of Enlightenment philosophes, he also applied a thoroughgoing materialism to human beings. Using evidence drawn from anatomy, physiology, and psychology, he demonstrated the effects of the body on the soul and the comparability between humans and animals. His man-machine was active, organic, and

self-moving; his materialism did not distinguish between conscious, voluntary movement and unconscious, instinctive movement. This work was deemed so radical that the tolerant Dutch exiled La Mettrie. He sought refuge at the court of Frederick the Great (1712–1786) of Prussia, where he remained until his early death in 1751.

Several other philosophical works, including *L'homme plante* (1747) and *Le système d'épicure* (1751), compared humans to lower creatures and placed all creatures in the context of the unfolding of matter and motion in an evolutionary process. La Mettrie insisted that the physician's approach to questions, usually treated by theologians and metaphysicians, would be more productive, even on ethical issues. In *Le discours sur le bonheur* (1748) La Mettrie examined the implications of materialism for moral values. He questioned whether moral systems corresponded to human nature as corroborated by his physiological understanding of human beings. Vice and virtue, he concluded, were arbitrarily constructed by society to serve its interests, but those interests were often at odds with the physiological constitution of the individual. He hoped that, by recognizing the arbitrary nature of its moral notions, society would reward a greater array of human behaviors and so alleviate the sufferings of those who were ill disposed to seek happiness in what society deemed virtuous. La Mettrie was particularly critical of both stoicism and Christianity as moral systems, which, he claimed, were based on a distorted understanding of human nature.

La Mettrie saw the *médecin-philosophe* as an agent of rational analysis and social progress and identified with the goals of the early Enlightenment. The philosophes, however, found his materialism, moral relativism, hedonistic ethics, and atheism much too dangerous to espouse. Even other materialists, such as the Baron d'Holbach (1723–1789) and Denis Diderot (1713–1784), did not acknowledge their debt to such a radical thinker. La Mettrie's medical materialism, grounded in the scientific issues of his day, is his most significant contribution to the French Enlightenment and the history of philosophy.

See also **Boerhaave, Herman; Medicine; Philosophes; Philosophy.**

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LA RAMÉE, PIERRE DE. See **Ramus, Petrus.**

LA ROCHEFOUCAULD, FRANÇOIS, DUC DE (1613–1680), French writer. A peer of France who later became a leading moralist in the French classical age, La Rochefoucauld, the eldest son of a provincial nobleman and courtier from the Angoumois in western France, was groomed early to inherit the family name, title, and estate. His formative reading centered more upon popular romance than the classical canon, as he acquired his nickname from a character in the serialized novel *Astrée*. Married at fifteen when he was still the prince of Marcillac, he soon embarked upon a military career. Starting in the middle 1630s, he fell in with noble opposition to the ministries first of Cardinal Richelieu (1624–1642) and then of Cardinal Mazarin (1642–1660). During the civil upheavals known as the Fronde (1648–1652), he sided with the rebels against the regency government, and was wounded in battle 9 February 1649. At the unsuccessful conclusion of the Fronde, he made a wary peace with the government, receiving a pension in exchange for renouncing further political intrigue.

From the end of the Fronde until his death, La Rochefoucauld spent his time principally in the social world of Paris, where he was a frequent guest in the salons and where he developed his very considerable talents as a writing stylist. Among his friends and collaborators were the salon hostess the Marquise de Sablé, the novelist Mme de La Fayette, and the worldly Jansenist Jacques Esprit. La Rochefoucauld is known today as the author of three significant works. The *Réflexions diverses* (Diverse reflections), which was only discovered and published posthumously and has never been translated into

English, is a series of essays on taste, sociability, and moral psychology. His *Mémoires* (1662) offer one of the most important accounts of the political factionalism in noble circles in the period up to and including the Fronde. His subtle and nuanced attacks on the motives of some of the principal players of his time, including Cardinals Richelieu and Mazarin and Louis de Bourbon, the prince of Condé, made the work a scandal when it first appeared in the 1660s.

His most important work was the *Maximes*. Growing out of a collaborative salon pastime, this work went through considerable elaboration between its first appearance in 1665 and its most polished edition of 1678. In the *Maximes*, most of the traditional resources of self-control and moral responsibility are depicted as illusory. Fortune triumphs over fortitude, the humors and temperaments win out over character, the passions interfere with reason, and self-love rules all. Even in the least likely corners of the heart and soul, the author traces the effects of self-deception and hidden self-aggrandizement. Some of the maxims seem to debunk the possibility of noble virtues such as courage and perseverance. Others unravel the more private sentiments such as love and friendship. Still others erode the social affections such as gratitude and generosity. “Self-love is the greatest flatterer of them all” (Maxim 2) is a fair sample of the genre.

The sheer scale of the unmasking enterprise, and the prominent role of self-love in it, led contemporaries to a disagreement that has not abated since. Some observers associated La Rochefoucauld with Blaise Pascal (1623–1662), Pierre Nicole (1625–1695), and other Jansenists, that austere movement of religious and moral revival that adopted St. Augustine’s view that grace alone brought salvation, and that what appear to be human virtues are in reality merely variations on the hidden pride and self-interest that move fallen man. Other readers felt that La Rochefoucauld’s systemic, lynx-eyed suspicion covered sacred as well as secular, religious as well as worldly ideals, and that his moral psychology therefore is best seen as a form of reductionism, perhaps even nihilism.

In the eighteenth century, there was a tendency to accept the premise of La Rochefoucauld’s views on the pervasiveness of self-love while drawing more

hopeful conclusions from it. Writers from Bernard Mandeville (1670–1733) to Claude-Adrien Helvétius (1715–1771) saw in the *Maximes* support for an emerging liberal view of society in which the pursuit of private self-interest is conducive to the public good, a view that perhaps culminated in Adam Smith’s *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (1776). In the nineteenth century, La Rochefoucauld’s most noteworthy influence was exerted on German aphoristic philosophers such as Arthur Schopenhauer (1788–1860) and Friedrich Nietzsche (1844–1900). Nietzsche saw in La Rochefoucauld an admirable specimen of uncorrupted European aristocracy, as well as a method of psychological insight and moral honesty far preferable to the democratizing utilitarianism of his day.

See also **Fronde; Jansenism; Mazarin, Jules; Paris; Richelieu, Armand-Jean Du Plessis, cardinal; Salons.**

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HENRY CLARK

LA ROCHELLE. The primary characteristic of La Rochelle was its isolation. Situated on the Bay of Biscay, the city was all but cut off from the interior by marshland. Yet this very isolation allowed La Rochelle to become one of France's most prosperous towns by the end of the Middle Ages. At the beginning of the twelfth century the port barely existed. It blossomed into prominence with the subsequent expansion of the export trade in wine and salt, a salt yielded in abundance by the encircling marshes. The city also profited from seigneurial rivalries and ambitions to secure an unusual degree of municipal autonomy. It barely paid any royal taxes, and the economic life of the commune was regulated by its one hundred-member council headed by the mayor.

The most dynamic elements of La Rochelle's population of twenty thousand consisted of merchants, shopkeepers, and artisans. Royal authority was nominally represented by the *senechal* (who had the honor of selecting the mayor from three names offered by the council) and from 1553 by a diminutive corps of legal officers. Despite the existence of a number of monastic houses, La Rochelle boasted only five parish churches, and the ecclesiastical hierarchy was weak compared with that of many other towns.

This social physiognomy helps explain the receptiveness of the Rochelais to the Reformed Church. Clerics, artisans, merchants, and municipal and royal officers all adopted the Protestant doctrines, and by 1570 the municipality was firmly attached to the Huguenot cause, providing a virtually impregnable retreat for the Huguenot grandees in times of difficulty. La Rochelle withstood a siege lasting six months in 1573 and emerged from the Wars of Religion with its privileges bolstered. The resulting sense of security almost certainly explains why, as in the southern Huguenot towns of Montauban and Nîmes, the Huguenots sustained their congregations, which embraced the overwhelming majority of the population.

By the 1620s, however, La Rochelle's privileges had become an intolerable barrier to the government's plans to enhance its fragile control of the Atlantic seaboard, an ambition that dovetailed with the renewal of war against the Huguenots. The two processes reached a spectacular climax with a four-

teen-month blockade that culminated in the entry of Louis XIII (ruled 1601–1643) into the city at the head of his troops on All Saints' Day 1628. Reduced by death and desertion to a mere five thousand survivors, La Rochelle emerged into a different world. La Rochelle's municipal institutions and autonomy were destroyed along with most of the city walls. The wealth of its merchants was subject to the soaring fiscal exigencies of the crown, a fact most strikingly brought home by the progressive abandonment of the heavily taxed salt marshes.

It is testimony to the power of the Atlantic economy that the decline in La Rochelle's fortunes was relative rather than catastrophic. By 1675 the population had returned to its former level, and expanding colonial trade together with the growth of the brandy trade compensated for the decline in the quality of the local wines. By 1720 brandy formed 37 percent of total exports, while the West Indian slave trade gave the merchant community a new lease on life.

Yet the effects of royal taxation on a modestly sized town with an inadequate harbor and no major river ultimately could not be avoided. As the populations of Nantes and Bordeaux soared in the decades after 1720, that of La Rochelle declined once more. Although the value of its trade had risen, its share of France's colonial trade declined from 20 percent in 1730 to 7 percent in the 1770s.

See also **Huguenots; Richelieu, Armand-Jean Du Plessis, cardinal; Wars of Religion, French.**

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LA TOUR, GEORGES DE. *See*
Caravaggio and Caravaggism.

LABORERS. Overtime, output schedules, and standardized wares suggest both rapid and regular production. Steady, fast-paced toil also conjures up the factory and mechanized work—and workers. Craft shops and even many mills, with the languid splash of their waterwheels, evoke a more leisurely rhythm of labor, a human pace governed by the hand and readily disturbed by the seductions of the tavern or carnival. A vast divide supposedly separated these two worlds of work, one modern and the other traditional, one in which time is spent and the other in which time was passed (Thompson, p. 359). There is much to commend in this conventional depiction. But the intensification of labor did not await the machine, and in many trades and settings, time became money without Watt’s engine.

WORKSHOP ORDER AND CONTROL

Fashioning a saddle, a wig, or a pewter cup in early modern Europe was often frustrating. When markets turned inviting, petty craftsmen and substantial manufacturers frequently faced idle workbenches and inadequate inventories. Locating ample raw materials, since many were perishable, could be maddening. Papermakers, for instance, engaged in an endless search for white rags, the material base of their reams, but knew that most bales of discarded linen would be streaked with dirt or human filth. At the other end of the process, successful producers of sheets of paper or panes of glass relied on cumbersome, risky portage. Teamsters turned into thieves, or simply abandoned fragile wares in the rain and dropped them on muddy roads. Above all, when demand surged, securing a group of skilled hands or a single man with indispensable know-how was an art in itself. And, once hired, said the masters, these workers rarely toiled with a proper sense of urgency.

Apprentices in the skilled crafts learned their trades slowly, with formal indentures generally last-

ing from three to seven years. Since employment was fleeting, they also learned quickly to labor slowly, which stretched hours and spread work and wages around. After completing their terms, these youths entered restless, spot labor markets, in which bosses discharged printers and stonemasons as soon as they completed a press run or a building. Ever boastful, Benjamin Franklin surely failed to endear himself to his brother workers in a London printing house by sometimes “carr[ying] up and down Stairs a large Form of Types in each hand, when others carried but one in both Hands.” His “constant Attendance” and abstention from Saint Monday, usually observed by pressmen and compositors at an alehouse, “recommended [him] to the Master,” but never to his fellows. When he violated yet another of his comrades’ rules, the “Chapel Ghost,” the guardian of their properties, exacted revenge by “mixing [his] Sorts, transposing [his] Pages, breaking [his] Matter” (Franklin, p. 99–101). In every mechanical art, skilled men sweated mightily to keep their ranks thin, familial, and initiated. Ensuring the appropriate duration of their toil was a crucial element of this mastery. Moreover, the men who enjoyed it did not depend on a foreman’s watch. Legislation from fourteenth-century Verona reveals that the town bell sounded the time to leave for work, the start and conclusion of the noon meal break, the afternoon respite, and the close of the workday (Goldthwaite, p. 290). At the building site of Santo Spirito, a clock chimed every thirty minutes, thereby empowering the workers as much as their masters (King, p. 51).

In 1796, the English Parliament mandated that paperworkers should take thirty minutes to fashion each post of paper, the trade’s production measure, and fabricate twenty posts per day. This clause was never enforced; papermaking went on as it always had, until the pulp ran dry. Meanwhile, French paperworkers traditionally commenced their day’s work in the middle of the night, from midnight to three A.M., and labored into the early afternoon. To economize on candles and oil, the master papermakers of Thiers decided to shut their mills until just before daybreak. Incensed, the paperworkers stayed away from the shops, leaving their bosses surrounded by vatfuls of perishing pulp. The manufacturers turned to youngsters, women, and “workers foreign to the province,” but the scabs



Laborers. A seventeenth-century drawing depicts workers in a printing shop. (See also the cover of Volume 3.) THE ART ARCHIVE/MUSÉE DES BEAUX ARTS DÔLE/DAGLI ORTI

decamped quickly, the masters dismissed the women, and the producers' pleas to innkeepers "to cut off credit to the rebels" failed to bring the strikers to their knees. Despite the state's edict that the journeymen's workdays were to be divided equally around noon, a local official, Mignot, intervened in vain, for the paperworkers bent "neither to threat nor to persuasion." After two months of trouble and idled vats, the Thiernois masters threw in the towel: the paperworkers continued to start their day at three A.M. (Gachet, p. 130). "This is probably not the right hour to pursue a rigorous policy" toward the journeymen paperworkers, Mignot concluded (*ibid.*). Yet skilled paperworkers toiled within a complex division of labor and had an active, stiff-necked association.

Of course, the distance between the skilled man and the unskilled, the *gagne-deniers*, 'penny earners', in France, was not always great and, especially in hard times, could close rapidly. Witness the

twin definitions in eighteenth-century Paris of the term *tonnelier*, at once a cooper and a longshoreman unloading casks of wine (Haim Burstin, "Unskilled Labor in Paris at the End of the Eighteenth Century" in Safley and Rosenband, p. 68). That said, the hod carrier and street sweeper inevitably lacked many of the rights and powers of the skilled guild member, and doubtless possessed less mastery over the time and hours of their work. Still, it was widely recognized that the Auvergnat immigrant to the capital often became a water carrier, the Lyonnais served as a porter, the Savoyard shined shoes and swept out chimneys, and the Norman broke stones. Equally, in 1786, Parisian penny-earners dared to rise against a new company destined to monopolize the delivery of packages in the city and hence displace "established" porters (Burstin in Safley and Rosenband, p. 71). Such men did not expect to labor regularly and likely would have been thrilled with two hundred days (even partial days) of work in a year. Quotas were certainly

distant from their orbit of toil, but they, too, evidently put a price on their labor and knew how to secure—and protect—these precious hours.

THE PACE OF LABOR

So the length of the average early modern European workday will continue to be hard to determine. Unstable employment, seasonal patterns of production, and complicated accounting of time at the bench mandate cautious, cross-trade comparisons. London tailors, after all, labeled their slow summers “cucumber time,” when they could afford little else on which to subsist (Rule, p. 51). In printing, papermaking, and leather breech making, a “day” represented a closely negotiated amount of work rather than a fixed set of hours. Just to assess the earnings of the shipwrights in the royal dockyards of England, John Rule observed, involves the deciphering of the meaning of “treble days, double days, day-and-a-half, two for one, task, job, common hours, nights and ‘tides.’” Worse yet, these words, and hence the toil they depict, often defied conventional definitions (Rule, p. 63). At the far edge of this terminological thicket, consider this vague, but eloquent, rendering of the hatter’s day: “a man goes early and works late” (Rule, p. 55). In fact, when work was available, journeymen on both shoulders of the Channel routinely put in twelve- and fourteen-hour days, and sometimes labored even longer. Parisian blacksmiths endured workdays of fourteen hours in the eighteenth century, while bookbinders sweated for sixteen (Sonenscher, p. 95). Still, in 1776, the willful Josiah Wedgwood admitted, “Our men have been at play 4 days this week, it being Burslem Wakes. I have rough’d & smoothed them over, & promised them a long Xmass, but I know it is all in vain, for Wakes must be observed though the World was to end with them” (Pollard, p. 182). Wedgwood was both angered and puzzled by a problem, from the masters’ perspective, that extended far beyond his pot-bank: why did the laboring poor, so often desperate for work and familiar with punishing hours of toil, respond so peculiarly to the carrots and sticks he proffered? The issue, known to economists as “leisure preference,” can be reduced to a paradox, at least to modern readers responsive to the lure of high pay and other incentives: early modern Europeans tended to cut back on hours and effort when work was plentiful, wages high, and grain prices low. Long ago, Max

Weber provided an explanation for this practice: the worker “did not ask: how much can I earn in a day if I do as much work as possible? but: how much must I work in order to earn the wage which I earned before and which takes care of my traditional needs?” (Rule, p. 52). Eighteenth-century observers were less charitable, instead condemning the dissolute ways of the working classes. Restif de la Bretonne explained that the “dearness of labor” actually threatened a populace that “if it can earn what it needs in three days, only works for three days and spends the other four in debauchery” (Michael Sonenscher, “Work and Wages in Paris in the Eighteenth Century,” in Berg et al., p. 150). An English clothier put it bluntly: elevated rewards had rendered his hands “scarce, saucy and bad” (Rule, p. 54).

High wages, however, had yet to become the order of the day. Put another way, relatively few among the laboring poor enjoyed the chance to respond to the carrot while all too many still felt the compulsion of the stick. This circumstance suited those “low-wage thinkers” who celebrated long hours at flinty pay as the surest means to combat indolence and intemperance. But enlightened thinkers like Adam Smith had reached a different conclusion: “That a little more plenty than ordinary may render some workmen idle, cannot well be doubted; but that it should have this effect on the greater part . . . seems not very probable.” Indeed, Smith added, “Where wages are high, accordingly, we shall always find the workmen more active, diligent, and expeditious” (Smith, pp. 81–83).

CONSUMER CULTURE AND THE “INDUSTRIOUS REVOLUTION”

For high pay to work its magic, however, the laboring poor had to sacrifice their leisure in favor of consumption. Even the butcher, baker, and candlestick maker, who lacked internal promptings to maximize and accumulate, took pleasure in finery or an extra dram. As the Old Regime progressed, the wants of the past—goods that journeymen and penny earners had once dreamed about—were becoming needs. In an era when appearance still remained the measure of a man (and a woman), bourgeois and nobleman alike grumbled about the pretensions of their inferiors. An anonymous memoir from Montpellier, penned in 1768, raged that “The most vile artisan behaves as the equal of the

most eminent artiste or anyone who practices a trade superior to his. They are indistinguishable by their expenditures, their clothes, and their houses” (Darnton, p. 134). Shopgirls now wore silk stockings, and, to the horror of their betters, might be mistaken for persons of quality.

Perhaps the blurring of certain social lines during the twilight of the Old Regime accounted for an exaggerated concern over the ostentation and “luxury” of the laboring poor. If the plight of the casual laborer Louis Bequet, who crowded into one Parisian bed with his wife and five children in 1779, was unusual, cradles and children’s beds remained rare among the common sorts. Nevertheless, cheap knockoffs of muffs, snuffboxes, umbrellas, and countless other items increasingly figured among the inheritances of eighteenth-century workers. As Daniel Roche commented, they were “learning to be consumers” (Roche, p. 127). Nothing symbolized this education more than the prevalence of mirrors in working-class quarters. Here was evidence of a newfound attention to appearance among the popular classes, and possibly a willingness to exchange leisure for adornments. This was fertile soil for the manufacture of time-discipline at the workbench, both inside the factory and outside its gates.

The penetration of this “consumer revolution” into the lower ranks of European society, however incomplete, poses a critical question: if real wages in the eighteenth century were stagnant at best, how shall we account for the widening array of wares present in the inventories of the laboring poor? Jan De Vries has worked out an ingenious solution to this conundrum, which he termed the “industrious revolution” (De Vries, p. 255). This approach rests on careful consideration of the early modern European household as a site of production and as a source of labor power, as well as a web of consumption and distribution. De Vries contends that laboring households in England, northwestern Europe, and colonial America made decisions that enhanced both the supply of commodities and muscle outside the home and the demand for goods purchased in the marketplace. Thus peasants intensified their production for the market, unemployed hands in agrarian regions were increasingly put to work at the loom and the spinning wheel, and women and children performed more waged labor.

BUREAUCRACY, EXPLOITATION, AND EFFICIENCY

While an internal impulse to consume blossomed, it is also likely that a measure of exploitation, especially of women and children, accompanied the secondhand tapestries hanging in ever more households. Wages, however, also may have granted some independence to these women. Perhaps this relatively free hand, plus a taste for what a few extra sous could buy, helped prepare them for their role in the mills and factories of the industrial revolution—a role that submitted them to wearying, regular workdays (when the machines did not break down) of twelve hours or more, six days a week.

To reduce theft and coordinate the sweat and skills of a large number of hands, substantial workshops had systems of labor discipline, including time management, well before the turn to mechanized production and steam power. Unlike lesser hand papermakers, the Montgolfiers, one of the largest producers in late-eighteenth-century France, installed a precisely bounded workday, with quotas for each of the sections of a proper day’s work (Rosenband, p. 108). Consider, too, the Venetian state shipyards, better known as the Arsenal. By 1600, a battalion of administrators supervised this enterprise. They included at least a score of clerks and bookkeepers, as well as nearly one hundred technical and disciplinary figures who oversaw every facet of production. (Of course, all this should not be construed to mean that skilled and unskilled hands alike gave up their dodges, pranks, and capacity to steal rope and timber.) As a result of its organization of production and the Republic’s resources, the Arsenal was renowned for its capacity to turn out considerable numbers of battle-ready warships in a matter of months or even weeks (Robert C. Davis, “Arsenal and Arsenalotti: Workplace and Community in Seventeenth-Century Venice” in Safley and Rosenband, p. 180). Yet much of the work in these yards revolved around traditional skills, with their conventional nomenclature and custom.

A very different project took shape in the English dockyards under Samuel Bentham. Appointed inspector-general of the naval works in 1795, he embraced the quantifying spirit of the Enlightenment, particularly as a tool for the creation of orderly shops. He approached the resources at his dis-

posal with an accountant's eye and sense of efficiency. He also intended to overthrow the journeymen's rule of thumb and settle scores with these overmighty hands. So, his proud widow explained, "He therefore began by classing the several operations requisite in the shaping and working up of materials of whatever kind, wholly disregarding the customary artificial arrangement according to trade." From there, Bentham developed machines "independently of the need for skill or manual dexterity in the workman" (Linebaugh, p. 397). He reorganized and sped up the refitting of ships, introduced a new method for joining wood, and adopted the steam-powered sawmill for the handling of rough timber. This last innovation helped put an end to "chips," the right of journeymen to the shavings and flakes from recently worked wood, which frequently justified the disappearance of much larger pieces from the yards. And he installed the principle of "INCESSANT WORK," as he scripted it—twenty-four-hour shiftwork (Linebaugh, p. 399). Lastly, like the Montgolfiers, who had locked out their veteran hands (and, they hoped, their custom) and trained a bevy of newcomers in the art, Bentham attempted to drown the old ways of the dockyards in a deepened pool of workers. "It is well known," he claimed, "that an increase of the number of workpeople in any business is the most effectual bar to combinations [trade unions]" (Linebaugh, p. 400).

In the Netherlands, guild regulations around 1500 required the observance of forty-seven feast days. With the Protestant reform of religion, this number fell to six (Jan De Vries, "Between Purchasing Power and the World of Goods," in Brewer and Porter, p. 110). Later, the Montgolfiers secured lengthy workyears that doubtless earned the envy of their competitors. Many entrepreneurs, however, remained slow to press for greater time discipline, attributing Bentham's or the Montgolfiers' success to state support, advanced technology, and unusually stable markets (Pollard, p. 192). Still, the pace of manufacture quickened and became more regular at once, despite incomplete shifts and wholesale retreats. As E. P. Thompson acknowledged, "the division of labour; the supervision of labour; fines; bells and clocks; money incentives; preachings and schoolings; the suppression of fairs and sports," gradually accomplished their work (Thompson,

p. 394). So did the new patterns of consumption and market behavior within the households of the laboring poor. After all, the heirs of those men and women saddled with twelve-hour workdays fought for half-Saturdays and the ten-hour day.

See also **Commerce and Markets; Consumption; Guilds; Industrial Revolution; Industry; Wages.**

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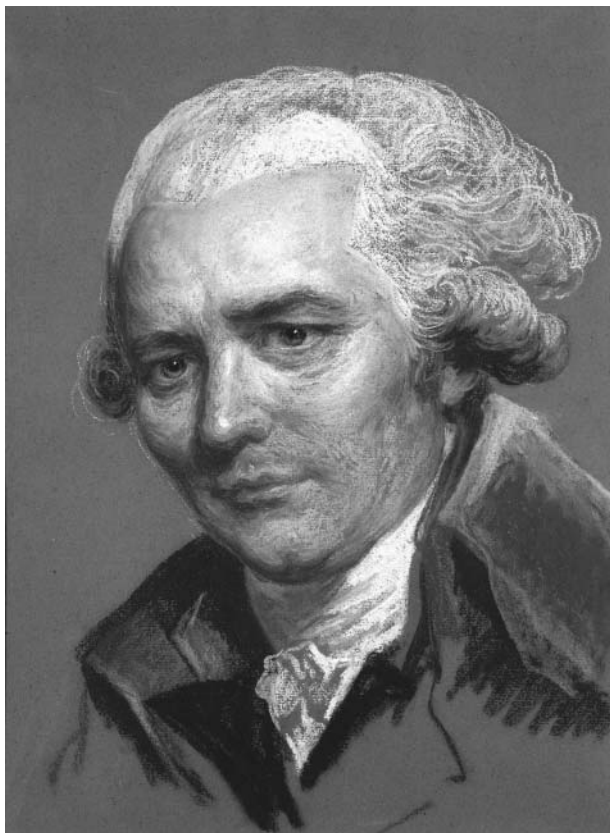
LEONARD N. ROSEN BAND

LACLOS, PIERRE AMBROISE CHODERLOS DE (1741–1803), French novelist. Little in the life of the military officer offers a clue that Choderlos de Laclos was destined to write one of the most controversial and influential French novels of the eighteenth century. Born in Amiens into the lower nobility, he chose an army career in the 1760s. France was at peace and barracks life was routinely dull. He wrote poetry, erotic tales, and a comic opera, *Ernestine*, which failed when it was produced (1777). In 1779, upon being upgraded to captain and sent to fortify the île d’Aix, he began to form the plan for his novel, *Les liaisons dangereuses*, composed while he was on leave in Paris, and published in 1782. It met with immediate success, and scandal. He quickly took a military assignment in La Rochelle to avoid the controversy, and there met Marie Soulange-Duperré, with whom he had a child before they were married in 1784.

His criticism of French fortifications (1786) made him equally controversial in the military, and he soon left for service as a secretary to Louis-Philippe, duke of Orléans (1725–1785). At this time he wrote several tracts on military and political topics. During the French Revolution he was protected by Georges-Jacques Danton (1759–1794)—a member of the Paris Commune and minister of justice in the new republic—imprisoned, nevertheless, during the Reign of Terror, liberated, and eventually made a brigadier general (1800) by Napoleon Bonaparte (1769–1821). Named to a post in Naples, he died in Italy of dysentery in 1803.

Laclos’s reputation rests on his single novel, *Les liaisons dangereuses*. The plot involves interconnecting attempts at seduction and betrayal within a closed, elite segment of society. The vicomte de Valmont is encouraged by his former mistress, the marquise de Merteuil, to seduce the naive and innocent Cécile Volanges, engaged to a young man, Danceny, upon whom Mme de Merteuil seeks revenge. At first Valmont refuses, preferring, instead, to court the virtuous wife of the President de Tourvel. She appears to be slowly yielding, as the two libertines (Valmont, Merteuil) bitterly ridicule each other. Mme de Merteuil sends Valmont a lengthy lesson in seduction (letter 81) and pretends to be seduced by Prevan. Meanwhile, Valmont, learning that Cécile’s mother warned the president’s wife of his designs on her, decides to accept Mme de Merteuil’s challenge and becomes Cécile’s lover. The president’s wife, still in love with Valmont, finally yields to him. Mme de Merteuil demands that Valmont sacrifice his love for the president’s wife if he hopes to win her back, and the vicomte complies. Rather than finding love, however, the two libertines are at war with each other, and divulge each other’s letters. A young man in love with Cécile is furious and kills Valmont in a duel, Cécile enters a convent, and Mme de Merteuil, disgraced and disfigured by smallpox, flees society, which she had called “that great theater.”

The epistolary novel is structured as a series of personal letters exchanged between the main characters. The lack of a narrator, and the conflicting, competing perspectives presented by the different letter writers creates an open, ambiguous moral tone that shocked many contemporary readers. The work can be seen as promoting seduction through



Choderlos de Laclos. Pastel portrait by Louis Leopold Boilly. THE ART ARCHIVE/MUSÉE DU CHÂTEAU DE VERSAILLES/DAGLI ORTI

Valmont's and Merteuil's presentation of detailed tactics and a rhetoric of temptation, or as condemning this debauchery by the libertines' eventual failure and defeat. The amorality of the seducers, and their victims, is portrayed directly, with a neutrality that made the novel itself appear amoral, if not, indeed, immoral.

The exclusive use of the characters' letters also indicates effectively the hypocrisy of polite society, because they often reveal great differences between public and private conduct. On the one hand is illusion, on the other the reality of Valmont and Merteuil, whom Charles Baudelaire (1821–1867) labeled “a Satanic Eve.” All the characters maintain a virtuous façade, although the tempters reveal their real intentions and devious machinations to each other. The more innocent women reveal by their letters their slow descent as they yield to Valmont. We learn that he seeks not only to corrupt them but to ruin their reputation, as he plans to use their love

letters as proof. When Valmont and Merteuil reveal each other's letters near the novel's end, however, these missives serve as proof of their duplicity and corruption, ruining them and leading to their demise.

Laclos considered himself a follower of Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778), and we see this not only in the epistolary form of the novel, as in the philosopher's *Julie, ou la nouvelle Héloïse* (1761; *Julie, or the new Eloise*), but also in its content. Rousseau saw society and writing as corrupting influences, opposed to a natural state of purity and oral language. In Laclos's novel, moral degradation and letter writing are inextricably linked. Modern film versions of the novel have considerably extended the work's popularity and influence.

See also French Literature and Language; Romanticism; Rousseau, Jean-Jacques.

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ALLEN G. WOOD

LAGRANGE, JOSEPH-LOUIS (1736–1813), French mathematician. Lagrange, a leading mathematician of the Enlightenment, contributed to a wide range of fields and played a leading role in the establishment of the metric system. Born in Turin to a French family of high officials in the service of the dukes of Savoy, Lagrange was destined for a career in the law. While in his teens he was introduced to the study of advanced mathematics when he read a treatise on calculus by the English astronomer royal Edmond Halley (1656–1742). Lagrange's remarkable mathematical abilities were

quickly recognized, and in 1755, at the age of nineteen, he was appointed professor of mathematics at the artillery school of Turin. He spent the next eleven years in his native city and established his reputation as one of the leading mathematicians in Europe. In 1766 Lagrange left Turin to become the director of the mathematics section at the Berlin Academy, taking over from Leonhard Euler (1707–1783), who had recently returned to St. Petersburg. In 1787, following the death of his patron Frederick II of Prussia (ruled 1740–1786), Lagrange moved to Paris as “veteran” member of the Paris Academy of Sciences. He remained there until his death, and during the tumultuous years that followed, he managed to stay apart from the political fray that absorbed many of his colleagues.

By the age of twenty Lagrange had already made one of his most important contributions to mathematics, the calculus of variations, which he developed along with Euler. Unlike the ordinary calculus, which analyzes the point characteristics of specific functions, the calculus of variations deals with the extremum characteristics of functions as a whole. The work quickly attracted the attention of Pierre-Louis Moreau de Maupertuis (1698–1759), president of the Berlin Academy, who used it to support his “principle of least action” against numerous critics.

Lagrange successfully applied his calculus of variations to many scientific fields. In 1759 he sided with Euler against Jean Le Rond d’Alembert (1717–1783) in the controversy on the proper mathematical representation of vibrating strings. In the late 1760s and the early 1770s Lagrange took part in several prize competitions sponsored by the Paris Academy on questions in celestial mechanics. He won the grand prize several times with essays on the orbit and rotation of the Moon, the trajectories of comets, the orbital perturbations of the moons of Jupiter, and the three body problem in general. After publishing on these and other topics in solid and fluid mechanics throughout his career, he summarized his work in *Mécanique analytique* in 1788. There he proposed to establish mechanics as a series of general formulas whose development would yield the necessary equations for the solution of each specific problem. Lagrange also contributed substantially to debates on the foundations of calculus, promoting a purely algebraic understanding of the

subject as against the geometric views of colleagues such as d’Alembert.

In 1790 the French Constituent Assembly established the Committee on Weights and Measures and made Lagrange its chairman. In this position Lagrange was largely responsible for the adoption and diffusion of the decimal metric system. During the 1790s he taught at the newly established École Polytechnique, and in his later years he worked on revising and republishing his works. During the empire he came under the patronage of Napoléon I, who made Lagrange a count of the empire, a senator, and a grand officer of the Legion of Honor. On his death in 1813 Lagrange was entombed in the Pantheon.

See also **Alembert, Jean Le Rond d’; Astronomy; Enlightenment; Euler, Leonhard; Mathematics; Weights and Measures.**

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AMIR ALEXANDER

LANDHOLDING. Land was not only the source of most wealth in early modern Europe, but also a fount of political power, social status, and broad legal rights. The concentration of land in the hands of the aristocracy, the gentry, and the church (who constituted roughly 5 percent of the population but collectively owned between 50 and 70 percent of the land in many regions), was the dominant social feature of the age. Landownership of seigneuries or manors (privileged properties) conferred an array of financial and judicial powers over tenants at the local level and was indispensable to maintaining a gentle or noble lifestyle. The enduring symbolic and political functions of landholding were in turn rooted in the central economic role played by land. Agricultural commodities not only

formed the mainstay of the European economy until the end of the eighteenth century, but also directly produced most of the raw materials used in manufactured goods. Within these broad outlines, however, there were significant changes in landholding patterns between 1450 and 1789. The decline of serfdom in western Europe by 1450, the rise of a new village elite of well-off peasant leaseholders by 1550, and new opportunities for investment outside of land during the eighteenth century gradually altered social relationships based on landholding.

PATTERNS OF LANDHOLDING

While the nobility seldom constituted more than 2 percent of the population in western Europe, it owned approximately 40 to 50 percent of the land in many regions. Most noble land was in fact concentrated in the hands of a small minority of that class. In Brittany, approximately 200 of the 2,000 noble families controlled 40 percent of the land. In England, the aristocracy was a tiny but immensely wealthy elite. By the late eighteenth century it comprised about 150 families, who owned 20 percent of the land. But the gentry were collectively the largest landowners in England. Gentry landownership expanded from 25 percent to roughly 50 percent of arable land between 1500 and 1700, at the expense of both church and crown. Landownership was essential for supporting the four main expenses of the gentry and the nobility: buying crown offices, marrying off children, prosecuting lawsuits, and enjoying (as well as displaying) a gentle lifestyle.

From the early sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries, the percentage of land in church hands declined in Europe as a whole. The Protestant Reformation led to the seizure and sale of many formerly Catholic properties in the Holy Roman Empire, Scandinavia, the Baltics, and the Low Countries. In England, the church had owned significantly more land than the crown in 1450, controlling between a fourth and a third of the arable. By the end of the English Reformation, only about 4 percent of the land was left in church hands; almost all properties had gone to private buyers in the gentry or merchant classes.

Despite the predominance of landless or leaseholding peasants in western Europe, there were important pockets of peasant freeholders. In Holland, cultivators enjoyed full ownership rights over exten-

sive lands they had reclaimed from peat bogs, as did some peasants in the central Rhineland. In France, approximately one-third to two-fifths of rural land was in the hands of the peasantry before the French Revolution. But that figure includes land occupied by peasant houses and their garden closes; recent scholarship indicates that their ownership of the arable or open fields was often no more than 10 percent.

RIGHTS ATTACHED TO LANDOWNERSHIP

Landownership conferred a constellation of legal, political, and financial rights on landlords. Kaleidoscopic in their variety, these rights tended to fall into several broad categories. On seigneuries, or manors, they included the right to collect rents, crop shares, and reliefs, or entry fees (on a tenant inheriting or taking possession of a new piece of land); *corvées*, or labor obligations (requiring tenants to farm the lord's domain and repair bridges and roads); and *banalités*, or monopoly fees (for using the lord's grain mill, ovens, or winepress). Noble land held of the crown usually required homage, wardship, and relief to the crown. Across western Europe, however, these obligations generally became less onerous in both monetary and symbolic terms from the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries. Ground rent, and in some regions, crop shares, became the central relationship between landlords and tenants.

The most politically symbolic group of rights were those of justice. Most seigneuries carried rights of low or middling justice, which allowed the landlord to adjudicate rent disputes and minor delicts. The most powerful seigneuries carried the right of high justice, which allowed them to hear cases meriting the death penalty. In some regions manorial or seigneurial justice faded in importance during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, especially in northwestern Germany and in England, where jurisdiction was absorbed by local justices of the peace or by the state. In other regions, like Normandy, landowners' high justices remained an important complement to the state's judicial system.

PROPERTY LAW AND PROPERTY RIGHTS

Landownership was almost always subject to the rights and usages of multiple parties in early modern Europe. Most villages included common lands that provided timber, reeds, or grazing grounds for the rural community and that were essential to the sur-

vival of the poorest inhabitants. Disputes over ownership of the village common lands and wastelands, as well as over usage rights like hunting, fishing, pasturing, and gleaning, were a source of endless litigation and frequent popular protest. In England, twin enclosure movements in the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries dramatically changed multiple property rights. Two-thirds of English arable land had been enclosed by the beginning of the eighteenth century, and most of the remainder was enclosed between 1750 and 1790. The loss of the common lands sent thousands of destitute rural laborers into London and other cities for work.

The transition from multiple-use rights to private property rights in land was gradual at best. The British Parliament passed hundreds of private bills granting clear-cut property rights to landholders in the eighteenth century. In France and Spain, however, the crown was powerless to alter provincial property laws or to enforce enclosures of common lands. Early modern legal codes prevented landowners from freely disposing of their properties in other ways, too. Customary, royal, and Roman laws on land inheritance were all carefully designed to prevent the fragmentation of estates (and of political authority) among the landed classes throughout Europe. The law of entail in England (fee entail), like the customs of France (*preciput*), ensured that noble and gentry properties could not be willed away from the legal heir. Ultimately, laws guarding the integrity of land ensured the landowning classes' continuing political and social dominance through the eighteenth century.

See also Agriculture; Aristocracy and Gentry; Class, Status, and Order; Enclosure; Feudalism; Law; Peasantry; Property; Serfdom; Villages.

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ZOË A. SCHNEIDER

LAS CASAS, BARTOLOMÉ DE (1474–1566), Spanish historian and missionary. Bartolomé de Las Casas was a missionary, Dominican theologian, historian, and bishop of Chiapas. In 1493 he saw Christopher Columbus pass through Seville on his return from the first voyage across the Atlantic. That year Las Casas's father, Pedro de Las Casas, and his uncles sailed with Columbus on his second voyage. Las Casas first traveled to the Western Hemisphere in 1502 to manage the land Columbus gave his father. Like other colonists, Las Casas at first gave no thought to the *encomienda* system of royal land grants that included Indians to work the fields in exchange for educating them in Christianity.

Returning to Europe in 1507, Las Casas was ordained a priest in Rome. He returned to the West Indies and in 1513–1514 served as chaplain to the invaders during the conquest of Cuba. After that campaign he was awarded additional land. Upon listening to a sermon by a Dominican father denouncing the treatment of Indians, Las Casas relinquished his holdings to the governor.

Las Casas returned to Spain to plead the Indians' cause before King Ferdinand II (ruled 1479–1516). With the support of the archbishop of Toledo, Las Casas was named priest-procurator of the Indies in 1516. He returned to the Western Hemisphere as a member of a commission of investigation. During 1520 he developed an alternative to the *encomienda* system in Venezuela with a colony of farm communities. After the failure of this idealistic scheme to get Spanish farmers to work alongside free natives, Las Casas joined the Dominican order in Santo Domingo during 1522.

Over the following decades Las Casas ceaselessly promulgated an ideological position that Indians had the right to their land and that papal grants to Spain were for the conversion of souls, not the appropriation of resources. Developing into a politically astute lobbyist, he was often able to effect positive change, such as insuring a peaceful entry into Guatemala by Dominican friars. During 1544 he was named bishop of Chiapas in Guatemala to enforce the “New Laws” of Emperor Charles V (ruled 1519–1556), which prohibited slavery and limited ownership of Indians to a single generation. The settlers objected to any limits, and many clergy

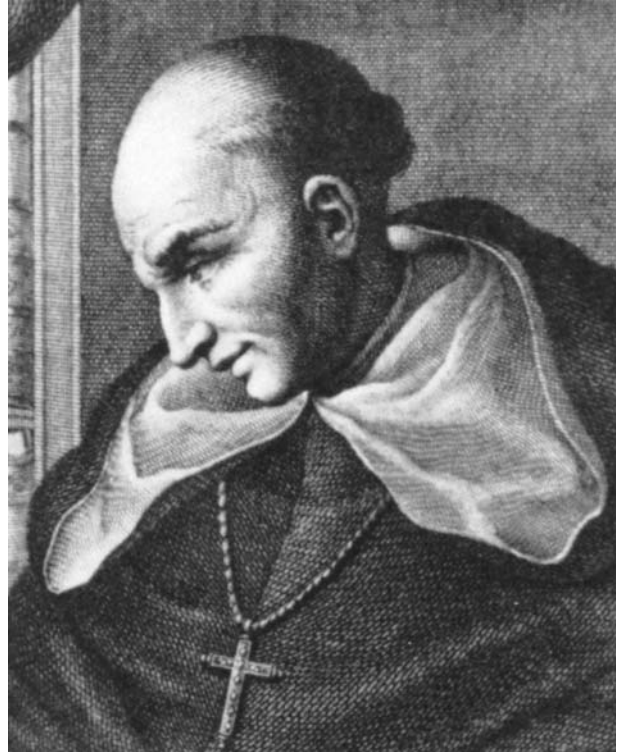
would not follow the new bishop's lead. After the king rescinded the prohibition on inheritance, Las Casas resigned his office in 1547 and returned to Spain.

This tireless "Defender of the Indians" crossed the Atlantic ten times in all. After he published his *Brief Relation of the Destruction of the Indies* in Seville during 1552, a flood of hectoring books followed. In 1550 he came into conflict with Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda (1490?–1572 or 1573), a scholar who was attempting to gain the right to publish a book approving war against the Indians. Las Casas appeared at a debate before the Council of Valladolid, where he spoke for five days straight. He influenced the committee not to approve his opponent's book for publication.

Las Casas's massive *History of the Indies*, finished in manuscript during 1562 but unpublished until 1875, incorporates an invaluable abstract of Columbus's now lost first logbook. The book demonstrates a prophetic intent to reveal to Spain that the injustices of its colonial rule would lead to a terrible punishment at God's hand. His example influenced both Simon Bolívar (1783–1830) during the nineteenth-century revolt against colonial rule and Mexicans during their struggles for independence.

Spanish patriots condemned Las Casas for helping create with his tireless propaganda a "Black Legend" that Spaniards were exceptionally cruel. The English published a translation of the *Brief Relation* when they were about to seize Jamaica. Another edition was issued by the U.S. government during the Spanish-American War to justify taking Spain's island possessions.

Las Casas has been applauded by proponents of human rights. In all his actions and writings he operated, however, from an unexamined theoretical foundation that maintains that Catholic Christianity is God's chosen creed for all people, and thus the argument with his opponents was primarily over the means to that conversion. In this sense the Indians were treated by him as wards who were allowed no doctrinal choice. Enemies in his time and some later scholars have argued that Las Casas shaped the truth as he wished it to be, exaggerating statistics about the loss of life and sometimes writing about places he had never been. Some recent estimates of the population of the mainland and islands argue that



Bartolomé de Las Casas. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

the loss of life was originally higher than even Las Casas believed, and so the decline was much steeper than he estimated. It has also been shown that some of his remarks about areas outside the scope of his observation were drawn from official reports. He and his writings continue to be controversial, but he remains a key figure in historical scholarship about human rights.

See also **Colonialism; Rights, Natural; Sepúlveda, Juan Ginés de; Spanish Colonies: The Caribbean; Toleration.**

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MARVIN LUNENFELD

LASSO, ORLANDO DI (c. 1532–1594), Franco-Flemish composer. Born in Mons, in what is now southern Belgium, Lasso spent much of his youth in Italy. From about 1544 until 1549, he was in the service of Ferrante Gonzaga (1507–1557), generalissimo of Holy Roman Emperor Charles V in Italy, France, and Flanders, and traveled with him to Mantua, Palermo, and Milan, after which he worked in Naples and then Rome, where he was choirmaster at San Giovanni in Laterano in 1553–1554. According to his first biographer, Samuel Quickelberg, Lasso returned to the Low Countries in 1554 to see his ailing parents, but they had died before he reached Mons. He may have traveled to England and France with Giulio Cesare Brancaccio, a Neapolitan nobleman. By late 1554 he was in Antwerp, where he oversaw the publication in 1555 of his first music book, his so-called Opus 1, an anthology of madrigals, *villanesecas*, chansons, and motets; and that same year, Lasso's first book of five-voice madrigals was printed in Venice. Lasso had found support in Antwerp from the wealthy Genoese merchant community for publishing his Opus 1, and from the powerful ecclesiastic Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle for his next publication, a book of his five- and six-voice motets, issued in 1556. Thus began a long series of active collaborations between the composer and his various publishers, in which Lasso exercised strong entrepreneurial control over the dissemination of his music.

In 1556, he was invited, on the recommendation of Granvelle and of Augsburg banker Johann Jakob Fugger, to serve in Munich at the court of Albert V, duke of Bavaria, first as a singer and by 1563 as choirmaster. Lasso remained at the Munich court until his death in 1594. In 1558 he married the daughter of a Bavarian court official; their offspring included two sons, Ferdinand and Rudolph,

who became musicians. Lasso's duties at court included recruiting singers, training the choirboys, overseeing the duke's daily entertainment, and composing music for religious services and special occasions. Under Lasso's leadership, the chapel grew in size, the duke spending extravagantly on his musicians. The most celebrated event during Lasso's tenure was the 1568 marriage, after difficult negotiations, of Albert's son William V to Renée of Lorraine. Lasso wrote music and supervised performances for the festivities, and he himself played a role in a commedia dell'arte production, according to a description by chronicler Massimo Troiano. Correspondence between Lasso and his patron reveals the composer to be learned and witty, and on friendly terms with the duke. Lasso chose to stay on at the court after the death of Albert, despite a much reduced musical chapel; Albert had made provisions that Lasso would continue to receive his salary for the rest of his life. Two miniatures by court painter Hans Mielich (c. 1516–1573), included in a Munich Staatsbibliothek manuscript, provide valuable performance scenes of Lasso with his musicians.

Lasso was perhaps the most prolific and versatile composer of his era. His output of sacred music includes about sixty Masses—most modeled on motets, chansons, or madrigals—hymns, canticles (including more than one hundred Magnificats), Passions, Lamentations, and other polyphony for the Divine Offices, and more than five hundred motets that span religious works, humorous and ceremonial compositions, didactic pieces, and settings of classical or humanistic texts. Notable is his collection *Prophetiae Sibyllarum*, featuring highly chromatic settings of Latin humanistic texts preserved in a manuscript from about 1560 but published posthumously (1600), and *Dulces Exuviae* (1570), a setting of Dido's lament from Virgil. The large amount of polyphonic music written for the Divine Offices suggests that these were celebrated with great solemnity at the Munich court.

His secular works include approximately 175 Italian madrigals and lighter *villanesecas*, some 150 French chansons, and about 90 German lieder. He set Italian texts by Petrarch (1304–1374), Ludovico Ariosto (1474–1533), and Jacopo Sannazaro (1456/58–1530), among others, and French poems by Clement Marot, Pierre de Ronsard (1524–1585), Joachim du Bellay (c. 1522–1560),



Orlando di Lasso. Nineteenth-century engraving.
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and Jean-Antoine de Baïf (1532–1589). These pieces are highly varied in style, spanning most of his productive career.

Lasso's music was the most widely disseminated of any composer, his works having been reprinted frequently during and after his lifetime. He was honored just after his death with the monumental motet collection *Magnum Opus Musicum* (1604), assembled by his two sons. Lasso is noted for his close attention to expressing the meaning of words through chordal declamation, sometimes alternating with contrapuntal writing, clear harmonic progressions, and finely crafted thematic material. His influence was far-reaching: his works provided the basis for innumerable parodies, especially of his well-known spiritual chanson *Susanne un jour*. Lasso's rich use of text painting in sacred music served as a precedent for German Protestant composers during the early seventeenth century, and helped establish Germany as a mainstream compositional center. Venetian composers Andrea Gabrieli (c. 1532/33–1585) and Giovanni Gabrieli (c. 1554/57–1612) both studied in Munich under

Lasso, where they assimilated his style of polychoral writing.

See also **Bavaria; Charles V (Holy Roman Empire); Gabrieli, Andrea and Giovanni; Music.**

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KRISTINE K. FORNEY

LATE MIDDLE AGES. The fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were difficult ones in European history. The demographic growth and prosperity that had characterized the High Middle Ages gave way to plague, famine, social upheaval, and rampant warfare. The crises altered the structure of European society.

PLAGUE AND FAMINE

The signal event of the era was the Black Death, which struck Europe in 1347/1348, and returned periodically for much of the next hundred years. The contagion is believed to have originated in central Asia. It moved westward along the silk route and was pushed to the Black Sea by Mongol horsemen. Genoese traders encountered the disease at their colony of Caffa in the Crimea and transported it to western Europe, to the city of Messina in Sicily, in November 1347. It subsequently appeared in Pisa and Genoa, and then spread throughout the peninsula and the rest of Europe, traveling as far north as Iceland and moving back east through Islamic lands. It did not subside until the end of the fifteenth century.

There are few precise figures for the number of deaths. Contemporary chroniclers gave graphic descriptions of heaps of dead bodies piled in public areas but often exaggerated the losses. The standard agreement is that from one-third to one-half of Europe died of the plague and its recurrences. But the disease did not strike all towns and regions the same way. The city of Florence may have lost as much as three-quarters of its population. Milan, by contrast, probably lost no more than 10 to 15 percent. Bohemia also likely lost only 10 percent of its population.

The plague struck Europe at a time when it was already suffering the effects of a series of bad harvests. During the last decades of the thirteenth century, agricultural production in numerous areas had declined significantly. The boundaries of productive land reached their limits, and peasants worked marginal plots with diminished returns. Records from the estates of Winchester, an important grain-producing area in southern England, show that there were declines in yields of wheat, barley, and rye after 1250. Wheat yields were also down in German lands and in northern France. Evidence exists that the European climate changed on the eve of the fourteenth century. Winters and summers became colder and wetter. A series of crop failures occurred at the beginning of the century, followed by a widespread famine from 1315 through 1317. The effects of this famine were felt particularly in urban areas, which relied on outside imports of food. The commercial town of Bruges lost 5 percent of its population in six months; the cloth-producing town of Ypres lost 17 to 20 percent of its population. The mortality elsewhere in Europe may have reached as high as 10 to 25 percent, though such figures are disputed. Some scholars, chief among them the English economic historian M. M. Postan and his French counterpart Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, have cited the decreased yields and famines as evidence that Europe experienced a “subsistence” or “Malthusian” crisis, which preceded the plague and indeed paved the way for it. The interpretation remains at the core of a lively debate.

The dramatic loss of population affected the European economy. In general, the price of labor rose, while land values declined. The former helped the peasant class, which could now demand salaries for its labor; the latter hurt the nobility, whose

wealth was derived from the profits of its estates. Authorities moved to forestall the changes—which threatened the traditional structure of society—by instituting wage and price controls. King Edward III in England’s famous Statute of Laborers of 1351 ordered prices and wages frozen at pre-plague levels, forbade the movement of peasants from farms, and, to augment the labor force, required beggars to find work. Governments in France, Aragon, Castile, and elsewhere issued similar legislation. Economic historians tell of a “scissors effect,” particularly after 1375, in which the price of wheat fell with respect to manufactured goods. In addition, the overall volume of trade declined. Exports of wine from Bordeaux declined from 100,000 tons in the first decade of the fourteenth century to 13,000 to 14,000 tons at the end of the century. The port of Genoa, one of the most active throughout the Middle Ages, experienced dramatic declines across the board.

The European economy was also affected by two important, though less-studied, factors: a shortage of bullion and the disruption of trade routes to Asia resulting from the advance of the Ottoman Turks. By the last decades of the fourteenth century the rich silver mines of central Europe and Tyrol, the source of much of the coin that sustained the earlier economic expansion, had become exhausted. They revived only toward the end of the century, with the help of new technology, and soon became augmented by the flow of specie from the New World. The Ottomans supplanted the Mongols, the traditional middleman between Europe and the East. Despite a reputation for ferocity in war, the Mongols had long been friendly to Christian traders. The Ottomans were less so. The Turkish presence expanded steadily, and in 1453 they took the great port city of Constantinople.

Scholars have long debated the broader meaning of the demographic crises and shifts in trade. Did they bring economic “depression” or did they result in a “new equilibrium,” in which the standard of living, particularly among the wage-earning classes, improved? The disagreement has been particularly heated for Italy, the most commercially sophisticated part of Europe. Evidence exists on both sides. The city of Florence, for example, compensated for a decline in the overall production of wool cloth, its principal manufacture, by moving more

forcefully into higher-priced silks and luxury cloth. Florence's banking industry, the international leader, all but collapsed just prior to the plague, but restructured itself, and emerged more resilient. Florentine bankers introduced the idea of limited liability, thus protecting themselves from losing more than what they invested in their businesses, and sought new markets. They remained closely attached to the papacy, a continuous source of money even in the worst of times. On the other hand, the evidence for the city of Genoa suggests that the decline in the volume of goods passing through its ports exceeded the decline in population and was not compensated for by other business ventures.

WARFARE

Demographic crisis and economic change occurred against a backdrop of warfare. In Italy, where fighting among numerous autonomous states in close geographic proximity was already commonplace, the recourse to violence increased markedly. The city of Milan embarked on a series of aggressive campaigns that involved virtually all of the peninsula. This and other wars continued through the middle of the fifteenth century. In 1454, Italian states signed the Treaty of Lodi, bringing a temporary cessation of hostilities. But the truce was tenuous and at times ignored. The French under Charles VIII initiated a new round of warfare when they invaded Italy in 1494.

The most famous war of the era was the Hundred Years' War, which was fought between England and France in episodic fashion from 1337 until 1453. Much of the fighting took the form of destructive marches known as *chavauchées*, in which English armies rode through the French countryside burning houses and fields, inflicting heavy economic damage. The English scored impressive battlefield victories at Crécy (1346), Poitiers (1356), and Agincourt (1415). The victories resulted in large part from superior English tactics, which included taking the defensive posture, descending from horses to fight on foot, and use of the longbow. The longbow could be fired more quickly than the traditional crossbow, yet still had impressive striking power. English archers sent thick volleys of arrows, which blunted French cavalry charges. The French clung to old methods, which corresponded to established chivalric codes of behavior, and were

thus slow to respond to the English challenge. Their fortunes turned with the advent of Joan of Arc (c. 1412–1431), a young peasant girl who rallied local armies. By 1453, the French had expelled the English from all but Calais.

The Hundred Years' War was followed in short order by the Wars of the Roses in England (1455–1485) and the Burgundian wars in France (1470–1493). Both were essentially dynastic struggles arising from disputes within the ruling elite. In the Holy Roman Empire a series of bitter wars broke out between the emperor and religious dissenters, the Hussites. In Spain, attempts to retake land from the Muslims, the Reconquista, were ongoing; the kingdom of Aragon was involved in the Italian Wars through connections in southern Italy. Popes spearheaded crusades against the Muslim Ottomans. The crusade to Nicopolis in 1396 ended in a humiliating defeat for the Christians.

Some scholars have directly linked the increase in warfare and violence to the crises of plague and famine. In a study of eastern Normandy, Guy Bois argues that declines in feudal rents led lords to search for additional sources of revenue. They hired themselves out as soldiers and exerted pressure on their overlords to wage wars. The wars themselves helped accentuate the effects of the other crises. Armies burned crops, which exacerbated famine, and they moved from region to region, thus spreading plague. The need to keep armies in the field for prolonged periods of time hastened the end of the old feudal system of mutual obligation and accelerated the recourse to wages. English scholars speak of a "bastard feudalism" arising from the Hundred Years' War.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL UPHEAVAL

Europe experienced at this time numerous revolts by the lower classes. The uprisings were stimulated not by abject misery, but by a general improvement in the lot of the poor, which inclined them to seek still more from the upper classes. One of the earliest rebellions occurred in the commercially advanced region of Flanders. Artisans and peasants refused to pay taxes. The revolt, aimed at the gentry class, was soon joined by weavers in Bruges and in Ypres. The weavers briefly took control in Bruges, but the insurrection was ultimately put down by a French royal army in 1328.

A revolt known as the Jacquerie broke out in Paris in 1358. Peasants, known derisively as “Jacques,” a generic name for commoners, rose up against their lords, who had been unable to protect them from the ravages of roaming bands of soldiers during the Hundred Years’ War. The bands had burnt local villages and exacerbated the already profound fiscal burdens brought on the peasantry by the war. In 1356 King John II (d. 1364) had been captured by the English in battle and the nobility, obliged to ransom him, attempted to shift some of the responsibility onto the peasantry. The peasants went on a rampage and, as in Flanders, were joined by artisans. But as in Flanders, the nobles ultimately crushed the rebellion.

Perhaps the most spectacular revolt occurred in England in 1381. It too grew out of tensions over taxation. The English government imposed a series of unpopular flat or “poll” taxes to help pay for the war. These fell disproportionately on the lower classes, and with the enactment of the poll tax of 1381, artisans and peasants rose up, stormed London and outlying villages, killed the archbishop of Canterbury, and nearly toppled the young King Richard II (ruled 1377–1399). The rebels expressed egalitarian ideas, some of the most radical of the period. Their famous slogan ran thus: “When Adam delved and Eve span, who then was the gentleman?” They demanded the abolition of serfdom, the commutation of services for rents, and the elimination of the poll tax. Like their predecessors, however, they were eventually crushed by the nobility.

The most successful uprising of the period happened in Florence in 1378. Members of the lower rung of the wool cloth business, the so-called *ciompi*, rose up against the town government. They called on authorities to set minimum production levels in the cloth industry, thus ensuring their employment. They also sought representation in government, the right to form their own guild, and the elimination of monetary speculation by the wealthy classes. The uprising succeeded, and the *ciompi* dominated Florentine government for three years until it was swept aside by what some scholars have called a “patrician regime.”

CHURCH CRISES

The church experienced some of the most profound crises of the era. The great institutional battle between kings and popes, with deep roots into the Middle Ages, took a dramatic turn at the beginning of the fourteenth century. The French King Philip IV (ruled 1285–1314) vied with Pope Boniface VIII (reigned 1294–1303) over the issue of taxation of the clergy. Philip sought money from the clergy to wage his wars; Boniface objected and issued the famous bull *Unam Sanctam*, stating in bald terms the primacy of papal authority over that of kings. Philip responded by repudiating the pope and sending men to intimidate the elderly pontiff. The exchange represented a low point in papal prestige. Boniface died shortly thereafter and Pope Clement V moved the papacy in 1309 to Avignon in France, initiating the so-called Babylonian Captivity. The papacy remained in Avignon for nearly seventy years. Pope Gregory XI returned to Rome in 1377, but died the next year. Under pressure from a Roman mob, the conclave chose an Italian, Urban VI. Alarmed French clerics, claiming they had been coerced, repudiated the choice and elected a Frenchman, who took the name Clement VII. There were now two popes. The English, at war with France, supported the Italian pope; the Scots, at odds with the English, supported the French claimant. A conciliar movement, rooted in the work of the Italian doctor and theorist Marsilius of Padua (c. 1280–c. 1343), sought to end the dispute by means of a church council. One such assembly met at Pisa in 1409. But the two popes refused to cede authority and for a brief time there were three popes. The schism was ended at the Council of Constance (1414–1418).

If the split in the papacy increased the cynicism of European Christians, so too did the plague, famines, and other disasters of the era. Some contemporary writers spoke of the coming of the four horsemen of the apocalypse. Giovanni Boccaccio (1313–1375) in the introduction to his *Decameron* described how some citizens in Florence let go all restraint, ate too much, drank too much, and lived for the day. Others responded in precisely the opposite way, seeking refuge in their faith. The great Dutch historian Johan Huizinga speaks of a “somber melancholy” that descended upon European society. Clerics were often the first line of

defense against the plague, comforting those who fell sick and burying those who died. Consequently they themselves died in large numbers, leaving a crisis in leadership and a dearth of qualified men.

Popular religious movements flourished. Flagellants appeared in German and Spanish lands. Men and women formed long processions, publicly whipping themselves in an effort to gain absolution from God. The groups often preached anti-Semitic doctrine, blaming Jews for the contagion. They acted without the consent of the established church and were ultimately condemned by the pope. In England and Bohemia respectively, John Wycliffe (c. 1320–1385) and Jan Hus (1372/1373–1415) preached clerical poverty, the subordination of church to state, and the primacy of scriptures in faith. Both were condemned; Hus was burned at the stake at the Council of Constance, despite royal assurances that he would not be harmed. But the doctrines of Wycliffe and Hus continued to attract followers after their deaths.

THE BALANCE

Amid all the crises and difficulties, there were positive developments. War necessitated taxes, and taxes brought complaints. But taxes also facilitated the emergence of more centralized nation states, enabling kings to consolidate their sources of revenue, expand royal bureaucracies, and strengthen court systems. France initiated a permanent army in 1422 and King Louis XI (ruled 1461–1483) set in place the first reliable system of royal taxation. Henry Tudor, the winner of the War of the Roses, became Henry VII and increased both his legal and fiscal authority. Meanwhile, the shortage of manpower resulting from the plague hastened technical labor-saving innovations, chief among them the invention of the printing press. The movements of the Ottomans and the difficulties trading with the East encouraged overseas explorations, which led to the discovery of the New World. The wars and dislocations in Italy coincided with an intellectual and cultural flowering, which produced writers such as Petrarch (1304–1374), Boccaccio, and Lorenzo Valla (1404–1457), and artists such as Masaccio (1401–1428), Donatello (1386?–1466), and Brunelleschi (1377–1446).

See also **Introduction; Economic Crises; Feudalism; Peasantry; Plague; Renaissance.**

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LATIN. Latin continued to be taught, studied, and even spoken in the early modern period. Knowledge of Latin was a sign of social prestige. It was the international language used to conduct the day-to-day business of church and state. It was, above all, the language of the educated and governing classes. University courses were taught in Latin, scholars wrote in Latin, and most official correspondence was conducted in Latin.

Latin remained a living language throughout the Middle Ages and into the early modern period. Medieval Latin, however, differed considerably from the language spoken within the Roman Empire. New words had filtered their way into the language to meet the needs of political, ecclesiastical, and academic institutions, which were almost entirely medieval products. Words had changed

meaning over the centuries, some of the grammatical rules had been altered, vernacular words had crept in, and spelling and pronunciation were inconsistent. Efforts were made by humanist scholars to stress the importance of classical Roman authors, particularly Cicero, Virgil, and Horace, as models for their own writings. Medieval Latin was considered by many humanists to be barbarous in comparison with the elegance of classical Latin. Not all scholars agreed, however. Many expressed their concern that an emphasis on the beauty of pagan classical Latin would corrupt the church and its theology.

Lorenzo Valla's (1407–1457) ambitious *Elegantiae linguae latinae libri sex* (printed 1471; Six books of the elegances of the Latin language) was a widely circulated work that proposed such reforms. Valla, like Desiderius Erasmus (1466?–1536), never advocated a slavish imitation of the classical authors. Other humanists, however, were proponents of Ciceronianism, the view that Cicero, considered by many to be the best Latin author of the classical world, should be the model for contemporary Latin usage. This meant that Ciceronians would only use words and constructions found in Cicero's writings. This movement was especially popular in Rome since Ciceronian language lent the majesty and authority of imperial Rome to the ideology and theology of the Renaissance papacy.

New Latin grammars were written with the hope of replacing the popular medieval grammars, such as the *Doctrinale* (c. 1199) of Alexander de Villa Dei, but this did not achieve wide success until the second half of the sixteenth century. Likewise, medieval spellings of certain words continued to be used into the sixteenth century despite efforts to restore the classical spelling. Latin pronunciation, too, varied significantly from region to region, as speakers tended to follow the norms of their mother tongue. Therefore, when Englishmen, Germans, and Italians were in the same room, they spoke Latin to each other, but with such different pronunciations that they sometimes could not be understood. The Italian pronunciation was most widely accepted because many people studied Latin in Italy, where they acquired this pronunciation.

By the seventeenth century, however, the attempts by humanists to restore classical Latin became overshadowed by the rise of the vernacular

languages and the discoveries of the scientific revolution. Many European vernacular languages, such as French, English, and Italian, were highly developed and had become classical languages in their own right by this time. Each could boast of their own great writers, such as Dante (1265–1321) and Shakespeare (1564–1616). Furthermore, people still had to come up with new words to describe the new discoveries in science and technology that surpassed those of the Romans. Although scholars of the scientific revolution were trained in classical Latin, the number of academic works written in the vernacular began to increase rapidly. For example, Galileo Galilei (1564–1642) published some of his scientific results in Italian, Isaac Newton (1642–1727) in English, and Gottfried Wilhelm von Leibniz (1646–1716) in French. It took a long time before Latin was altogether replaced by the vernacular languages. In the early modern period, the choice of Latin still offered a writer several advantages. First, a work in Latin reached a broader audience since Latin was an international language. Second, Latin offered a more stable and standardized medium, while the vernacular languages were in a state of flux and changing rapidly. As society changed, the need for knowing Latin declined, and by the nineteenth century the vernacular languages had all but taken over.

See also Classicism; Erasmus, Desiderius; Humanists and Humanism.

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MILTON KOOISTRA

LAUD, WILLIAM (1573–1645), English clergyman and archbishop of Canterbury. The only son of a master tailor in Reading, Laud was educated at St. John's College, Oxford, of which he became a fellow in 1593. He was ordained an Anglican priest in 1601 and rapidly became controversial, being criticized by the vice chancellor of Oxford, Henry Airay (d. 1616), in 1606 for preaching sermons that were regarded as containing popish opinions. He was strongly opposed to the prevailing Calvinist trend in the Church of England and hoped to restore some of the pre-Reformation liturgy. Laud was closely associated with the Arminian tendency within the Church of England. Arminianism, an anti-Calvinist doctrine that attacked the rigid Calvinist views on predestination, was prevalent both in the Church of England and among its Puritan critics in the 1610s, and gained even more influence in the 1620s when Richard Neile, bishop of Durham, became principal church adviser to James I (ruled 1603–1625). A protégé of Neile, whose chaplain he became in 1608, Laud advanced rapidly. He was elected president of St. John's College, Oxford, in 1611, and became dean of Gloucester in 1616 and bishop of St. David's in 1621. His influence grew under Charles I (ruled 1625–1649), and he was promoted to the bishopric of Bath and Wells in 1626 and to that of London in 1628. He also became dean of the Chapel Royal and, in 1629, chancellor of the University of Oxford. In 1633 he became archbishop of Canterbury.

Once he became archbishop, the preaching of Calvinist doctrine in England was limited, as Laud sought to enforce uniformity on a church that had been, in many respects, diverse for decades. In 1633, at Laud's prompting, Charles I wrote to the bishops instructing them to restrict ordination to those who intended to undertake the cure of souls, an action that resulted in the suppression of Puritan lecturers. He was unwilling to offer to Puritan clerics the possibility of only occasional compliance with the regulations, and he insisted that parish churches should match the more regulated practice of cathedrals.

This authoritarianism compounded what was regarded by the Puritans as the offensive nature of Laudian ceremonial and doctrine—not least its stress on the sacraments and church services that

emphasized the cleric, not the congregation, and made the altar rather than the pulpit the center of the service. As dean of Gloucester, Laud had moved the communion table to the east end of the choir, a measure seen as crypto-Catholic. He also bowed whenever the name of Jesus was pronounced and bowed toward the east on entering a church. Arminianism was seen as crypto-Catholic (and thus conducive to tyranny) by its Puritan critics. Although Laud rejected claims that he was a crypto-Catholic, he was widely referred to by Puritans as the “pope of Canterbury.”

Laud was an active opponent of Puritan views, opposing, for example, Puritan strictures on the staging of plays and on activities on Sundays. He responded harshly to Puritan criticisms and writings. Laud was also active in government and was added to the Commission of the Treasury and to the Committee of the Privy Council for Foreign Affairs in 1635. He supported the promotion of clerics in the government and was delighted in 1636 when his friend Bishop William Juxon of London was made Lord Treasurer. Laud's attitude toward the Scottish church played a major role in the breakdown of Charles I's position in Scotland, and thus in the eventual collapse of royal authority. Laud actively backed a new prayer book and new canons for the Scottish church, and, when opposition was voiced in 1637, he persisted in enforcing his reforms. In 1639–1640, he was also a supporter of war with Scotland, a war that was to prove disastrous.

Laud, who had introduced new canons proclaiming divine right kingship in 1640, was to be a victim of the reaction against Charles I. He was impeached by the Long Parliament in December 1640 and committed to the Tower of London the following March. His trial for treason did not begin until March 1644; members of the House of Lords were hesitant about the charge, which they felt had been forced on them by the Commons. As a result, proceedings were brought against Laud alleging that he had tried to subvert the fundamental laws, to alter religion as by law established, and to subvert the rights of Parliament. After his request that the harsh character of the execution for treason be commuted was finally accepted, Laud was beheaded on Tower Hill on 10 January 1645.

An obstinate and difficult man, Laud bore part of the responsibility for his own downfall; he failed to comprehend the growing trend toward Puritanism and the intense hostility aroused by his treatment of those who disagreed with him, both of which contributed to the crisis of trust that led to the outbreak of the Civil War. He became a martyr figure for the “high” tradition of the Church of England.

See also **Bible; Charles I (England); Church of England; English Civil War and Interregnum; Puritanism.**

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LAVOISIER, ANTOINE (Antoine-Laurant Lavoisier; 1743–1794), considered the father of modern French chemistry and the discoverer of oxygen. Born to a family of notaries and lawyers, Lavoisier was raised in the comfort of bourgeois Paris and attended the Collège Mazarin, where he studied literature, rhetoric, and the natural sciences. Intended for a legal career (he received his law degree in 1763 and several prizes for rhetoric), he early on moved first into mineralogy, traveling with Jean Étienne Guettard of the Academy of Sciences, and then into chemistry, following especially the public courses of the controversial Guillaume-François Rouelle at the Jardin du Roi. He was accepted at a very early on into the Academy of Sciences, of which he would be a lifelong and tireless member.

At a young age, Lavoisier felt that chemistry was a science filled with unclear names and confused theories, and he was committed to resolving it into a science as systematic as Newton’s physics. From 1763 to about 1770, he slowly elaborated his famous principle that “nothing is gained and nothing is lost” in chemical reactions, that is, that conservation of mass defines the conceptual closure of chemical experiments. He also demonstrated that water is

not an element by separating it into hydrogen and oxygen and then reversing the process. During the “crucial year,” 1772–1773, he identified oxygen (and hydrogen) as elements and set the stage for the chemical revolution that disproved the phlogiston, or fixed-fire, theory of chemistry. In 1787 he and his disciples sealed their success with the *Method of Chemical Nomenclature*, a controversial reform of the field of chemistry based on Condillac’s definition of a science as a perfect analytic language. Lavoisier’s *Elements of Chemistry* of 1789 united the reformed nomenclature with the principles of closure-determined experimental observation and his definition of the chemical element. From the early 1780s he also worked with Laplace (1749–1827), studying the chemistry of respiration and theorizing that metabolism is a form of combustion. In this way he prepared the way for much of nineteenth-century biochemistry.

Lavoisier’s life was not limited to chemistry, however. Although he had inherited a fortune sufficient for financial independence, he was a shy, serious young man, not given to public displays of brilliance or adept at social climbing. His marriage to the fourteen-year-old Marie Paulze, daughter of one of the members of the infamous General Farm, a quasi-governmental organization that collected the taxes from the French subjects for the crown, provided him with the social connections and the additional financial resources needed to join the oligarchy of Enlightenment meritocrats attempting to reform the French state under Louis XV (ruled 1715–1774) and Louis XVI (ruled 1774–1792). Lavoisier’s training as a lawyer served him well at the tax farm and as a collaborator with Turgot (1727–1781) on proposals to reform the French economy. Dupont de Nemours (1739–1817) introduced him to the Physiocrats, and Lavoisier applied his scientific and economic theories to real-world experiments in agriculture (using experimental farms in his tax region to test the utility of crop rotation), prison reforms, analyses of the quality of the water of Paris, proposals for lighting Paris, and comparisons of hot-air versus hydrogen balloons for military observations and scientific investigations.

During the French Revolution and until the 1793 abolition of the Academy of Sciences, Lavoisier turned the sciences to the service of the republic. He was tireless in establishing a Bureau of



Antoine Lavoisier. Lavoisier with his wife, Maria. Painting by Jacques-Louis David, 1788. ©BETTMANN/CORBIS

Weights and Measures and the adoption of the metric system. He ran the in-town saltpeter factory that provided France (but only after his chemical improvements) with sufficient gunpowder to fight the counterrevolutionaries. With Condorcet (1743–1794) he proposed a structure for a secular public education, in part based on his experience of the reform of chemistry through its nomenclature: He believed that a French language freed from the confusion, superstition, and historical connotations of *ancien régime* ideology would create a new type of republican citizen and guarantee the economic security of the modern technological state.

He was, nonetheless, sent to the guillotine with the other *fermiers généraux* on 8 May 1794. His wife and chemical disciples had circulated letters and petitions to show how much the “father of French chemistry,” as he was called, had been useful to the Revolution. The answer given them is famous: “the Revolution has no need of scientists.” The Reign of Terror fell only three months later, and the posthumous rehabilitation of Lavoisier as the ideal citizen-scientist went hand-in-hand with the dismantling of Robespierre’s (1758–1794) terrorist state.

See also **Chemistry; Condorcet, Marie-Jean Caritat, marquis de; Revolutions, Age of.**

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WILDA CHRISTINE ANDERSON

LAW

This entry contains seven subentries:

CANON LAW
COMMON LAW
COURTS
INTERNATIONAL LAW
LAWYERS
ROMAN LAW
RUSSIAN LAW

CANON LAW

The basic elements of canon law were the *Decretum* (c. 1140) and the *Decretales* (1234). The *Decretum* (The concordance of discordant canons), compiled by a monk named Gratian, brought together materials related to the law and the administration of the church from a wide variety of sources in a dialectic fashion, in order to create a uniform body of law for

the universal church. The *Decretales* (The Gregorian decretals) consisted of approximately two thousand decretal letters, judicial decisions, that various popes issued between the mid-twelfth and the early thirteenth century. Eventually several smaller collections were added as well: the *Liber sextus* (The sixth book of decretals; 1298); the *Constitutiones Clementinae* (The Clementine constitutions; 1317), and the *Extravagantes a Johanne Papa XXII* (Decretal letters of Pope John XXII; 1325). The last brief collection was the *Extravagantes communes* compiled at the end of the fifteenth century.

In addition to texts in the *Corpus iuris canonici*, canon law also contained commentaries based on glossing the texts. Initially brief marginal comments explaining unusual words and phrases and referring the reader to related materials elsewhere, the glosses grew longer and more detailed. By the mid-thirteenth century there existed a standard commentary, a *Glossa ordinaria*, on the *Decretum* and one on the *Decretales*. These provided a kind of basic textbook based on the writings of a number of early canonists. Subsequently, many canonists wrote longer commentaries, not simply defining obscure terms and citing related materials but writing at length on substantive issues raised in the texts. Some of these commentaries contained in effect brief legal treatises on points of law and even political theory. The most extensive of these commentaries was that of Johannes Andreae (c. 1270–1348).

The period 1140–1378 was the golden age of canon law, the period when the law was fully formed and produced its greatest thinkers. Scholars judge the post-1378 period in the history of canon law as sterile, an era when commentators repeated thoughts of their predecessors without adding significantly to the law. Part of the reason for this division was that after 1325, papal judgment letters, decretals, were replaced as the basis of the law by decisions of the other papal courts, especially that known as the Rota. Nevertheless, canonists continued to produce extensive commentaries on the *Decretales*, often running to several volumes, that have received little scholarly attention although there is evidence that they deserve more extensive analysis. John F. McGovern has argued that many early modern economic concepts that Max Weber and others associated with the Protestant Reformation had in

fact existed in the works of fifteenth-century Italian canonists.

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Protestant Reformation and the Catholic response to it had a significant effect on the development of canon law. The major effect of the Reformation was that canon law was no longer the recognized law of Christian Europe. Now only Catholic countries recognized canon law, and even in those countries agreements between Catholic rulers and the papacy granted wide powers to the rulers in return for supporting the papacy, agreements that restricted the jurisdiction of the law. Such agreements, concordats, effectively limited the role of the papacy and therefore of the canon law within Catholic kingdoms. The agreements often required the papacy to seek royal permission before circulating statements on ecclesiastical law and doctrine. The climax of this development came with the Peace of Westphalia (1648), which ended the religious wars in Germany. The pope was not invited to send a representative to the negotiations that led to the peace, and Pope Innocent X (1644–1655) condemned the treaty but to no avail. This marked the end of the role of the pope and of canon law in the international relations of Europe.

Within the Catholic community, there were important developments regarding canon law. In response to calls for codifying the canon law to bring all of the disparate materials of the law into a coherent body of law, Pope Pius V (1566–1572), taking advantage of Renaissance humanist scholarship, created a commission composed of cardinals and scholars with a mandate to examine the various manuscript copies of the materials of canon law, to correct errors, and to excise materials that had been added to the original texts. The result was the *Corpus iuris canonici* (Body of canon law), the official law of the Roman Catholic Church until 1918.

Another source of development in canon law in the sixteenth century was the Council of Trent (1545–1563), which generated a series of canons designed to respond to issues that the Protestant reformers had raised. Overall, the canons and decrees of Trent reinforced the institutional structure of the church, the sacramental system, and the power of the papacy, seeing the reform of the existing church structure as central and rejecting the

Protestant argument that the entire ecclesiastical structure, including the canon law, had to be eliminated.

From the perspective of Christian daily life, the most important of the canons of Trent was Tametsi (1563) dealing with marriage law. This decree restated the Catholic position that marriage was a sacrament and subject to ecclesiastical regulation, in opposition to the Protestant view that marriage was fundamentally a civil matter. Tametsi required parental consent, witnesses, formal recording of the marriage, and a blessing by a priest. This ended the older practice of secret marriage entered into by two persons without witnesses, a situation that caused a great deal of confusion for the ecclesiastical courts. Finally, Tametsi forbade secular rulers from interfering in any way with the freedom of their subjects to marry as they wished, thus stressing the right of the individual to enter a marriage without compulsion, a right protected by the requirement that the marriage ceremony be celebrated publicly and in the presence of witnesses.

Martin Luther (1483–1546) famously illustrated the Protestant opinion about canon law when he publicly burned volumes of the law along with other materials that he saw as corrupting the Christian faith by stressing the letter rather than the spirit of Christianity. Protestants rejected the Catholic sacramental system and the entire clerical structure headed by the pope so that it was possible to reject canon law as well. Even those Protestant countries that did retain some elements of canon law rejected any papal role in its functioning.

It was not only the Protestant Reformation that affected the role of canon law in European society in the early modern era. As modern states began to emerge, secular governments also began to take responsibility for marriage and family law, for cases involving wills and probate, and other matters that had previously been within the jurisdiction of the church and canon law. The canon law connected with these activities became the basis of secular law in these areas even in Protestant countries. As a result, one of the most important areas of scholarly research in modern times has concerned the appropriation of canon law by secular lawyers and political theorists in the early modern world. This scholarship has focused attention on three aspects of the

development of canon law in the early modern era: the conciliar movement, canon law in the expansion of Europe overseas, and marriage law. In each of these areas, the work of the canonists contributed to the shaping of modern political and legal concepts.

The conciliar movement, a fifteenth-century movement to reform the institutional structure of the Catholic Church, played an important role in subsequent discussion of representative government, because the canonists had wrestled with problems associated with the governance of large communities, the relation of the ruler, that is, the pope, to a representative institution, the council, and the nature of representation within a political community, issues that in the seventeenth century lay at the heart of political debate throughout Europe. Careful analysis of early modern political and legal texts has uncovered not only concepts developed by the canon lawyers but the language of the canonists as well.

A related concept that developed from the debates of the canon lawyers was the notion of the ruler as sovereign and then the application of that concept to the emerging nation-state, making the state answerable to no outside authority. This had emerged in the canonistic tradition as the canonists discussed the powers of the pope and the emperor. The canonists had rejected imperial claims to jurisdiction over all other Christian rulers, arguing instead that Christian kings possessed within their own kingdoms the power identified with the imperial office. Subsequent writers, such as Jean Bodin (1529–1596), whose *Six Books of the Republic* is usually identified as the initial modern work on the concept of sovereignty, drew heavily on the canonistic tradition in his work.

Finally, in spite of Luther's burning of volumes of the canon law, Protestant churches also employed at least some elements of the canon law tradition. The Church of England was perhaps the most notable example of continued use of the canon law and church courts in a variety of matters, but as recent scholarship has indicated, Lutherans also used elements of canon law. Elements of the medieval canon law can also be found in the major works of John Calvin, whose *Institutes* and *Ecclesiastical Ordinances* reflect a highly legal conception of

church structure, a conception rooted in the writings of the thirteenth-century canonists.

See also Calvin, John; Catholicism; Church of England; Luther, Martin; Papacy and Papal States; Reformation, Protestant; Trent, Council of.

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COMMON LAW

The common law was generally defined as the unwritten law, or *lex non scripta*, of England. It derived its authority from immemorial usage and "universal reception throughout the kingdom," as phrased by Sir William Blackstone (1723–1780) in his *Commentaries on the Laws of England* (1765–1769). The common law was contrasted with written statutory laws enacted by Parliament. For some, like Sir John Davies (1569–1626), it was "nothing else but the Common Custome of the Realm" (preface to *Reports*, 1612). Indeed, the *De Laudibus Legum Angliae* (c. 1470; In Praise of the laws of

England) of Sir John Fortescue (c. 1395–c. 1477) declared that "the realm has been continuously ruled by the same customs as it is now." Most, however, found it more accurate to describe the system as customary in origin. As Sir Edward Coke (1552–1634) put it in the preface to the eighth volume of his *Reports* (1600–1615), it was "the grounds of our common laws" that were "beyond the memorie or register of any beginning." By the mid-seventeenth century, Sir Matthew Hale (1609–1676) made it clear that the "immemoriality" of the common law did not imply that it was unchanging, it only indicated that the precise origin of institutions (such as Parliament and the jury) and rules (notably of landed property) predating 1189 could not be traced. Their continued existence carried the presumption of both original and continued popular consent. As Hale wrote in his *History of the Common Law* (1713), the common law was "singularly accommodated" to the "Disposition of the English Nation" and "incorporated into their very Temperament," while also reflecting their experience.

As Coke pointed out in the first volume of his *Institutes of the Laws of England* (1628–1644), there were "divers laws within the realme of England," including the prerogative law of the crown, the canon law practiced in the ecclesiastical courts, and the maritime law administered in the Admiralty. However, as John Selden (1584–1654) put it, "There are no laws in England but are made laws either by custom or act of parliament" (*Commons Debates*, 1628). These "particular laws" were included in the definition of *lex non scripta*, because their authority in England derived, according to Hale, from "their being admitted and received by us" either through statute or "by immemorial Usage and Custom in some particular Cases and Courts." They were subject to the control of the common law, which sought to keep their jurisdiction within its accepted boundaries or even, as in the early seventeenth century, to restrict them. Besides these particular laws, the *lex non scripta* also encompassed local and particular customs. Local customs, which originated in local practice in derogation from the general rules of common law, were recognized and enforced in the common law courts, but only if they were immemorial, continuous in usage, certain, and reasonable. Particular customs such as

the custom of merchants (*lex mercatoria*) were also said to be part of the common law. In court, if any doubt arose about what the custom was, the evidence of merchants was received to inform the court.

In the first half of the seventeenth century common lawyers fearful of the ambitions of the Stuart monarchy challenged the idea that law derived from the commands of a king, whose authority came either from divine right or conquest. For them, the common law was a “fundamental law” derived from an ancient constitution, limiting the power of the crown and guaranteeing the freedoms and rights of the English, most particularly to their property. In the case of *Prohibitions del Roy* (1607) Coke declared that the law as administered by the judges was “the golden met-wand and measure to try the causes of [the] subjects,” while in the *Case of Proclamations* (1610) it was ruled that the king’s proclamations did not have the force of law. The legal debate over the existence of an “absolute” power in the king to act according to his idea of what the public good required in emergencies continued to be debated in a legally inconclusive way in a number of causes célèbres in the early seventeenth century. But the vision of the constitution espoused by common lawyers prevailed in the later seventeenth century and was secured by the Bill of Rights in 1689.

Such was Coke’s veneration of the common law that he stated in 1610 that it could even declare void a statute “against common right and reason” (*Dr. Bonham’s Case*). Before the outbreak of the English Civil War in 1642, lawyers sometimes described Parliament as a court, implying that statutes might be seen as judgments or declarations of the common law. More usually, however, lawyers from Coke to Blackstone described Parliament’s power as “transcendent and absolute” (Coke, *Institutes*) and not liable to judicial review. In doing so they did not expect (and did not see) an active, interventionist legislature. Legislation that was passed amended and modified the common law, rather than displacing it. Parliament was therefore seen as part of the common law’s world rather than as a threat to it. Just as the common law grew from the consent of the people as manifested in custom, so statute was seen to come from current consent. It was a fundamental rule of the constitution, constantly reiterated, that the crown could neither change the law

nor impose taxation without consent. It was this that made England (in Fortescue’s terms) “a government not only regal but also political.” As Hale put it, all legislation was a “tripartite indenture” between king, lords, and commons, rather than the mere will of the king or the people. The notion of the mixed constitution, founded on a presumed ancient original contract reconfirmed in 1689 and conferring unlimited power on the crown-in-Parliament, was generally accepted in mid-eighteenth-century England. However, when Parliament began in the 1760s to tax colonists who were not represented at Westminster, American lawyers invoked Coke’s rhetoric from *Bonham’s case*, arguing for the existence of a higher law to control the legislature. Where parliamentary sovereignty became the cornerstone of the British constitution, the American constitution of 1787 recast the old ideas of a fundamental law.

THE COMMON LAW IN THE COURTS

In a narrower sense, the common law was the body of law administered in Westminster Hall by the twelve judges of the three superior courts of law. These were the Common Pleas, whose position as the prime court for civil suits had been secured by the Magna Carta (1215) and which continued to attract most civil litigation until the early eighteenth century; the King’s Bench, which originally dealt with crown business (including criminal matters) and had jurisdiction to correct errors from other courts of record; and the Exchequer of Pleas, which originally dealt primarily with revenue matters. By the later Middle Ages, thanks to procedural changes designed to attract litigants, these courts had a largely concurrent jurisdiction, and the King’s Bench gradually became the most popular court. The common law administered in these three courts contrasted with “equity” as administered primarily in the Court of Chancery. The Chancery was originally a court of conscience, concerned with securing justice in individual cases rather than following strict rules. There were some complaints in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries about the certainty of the common law being undermined by the interference of the lord chancellor. It was argued that one chancellor’s conscience might differ from his successor’s, just as the length of their feet did. In 1614–1616 an unsuccessful attempt was made by Coke to assert the supremacy of the common law courts over the

Court of Chancery. However, after the Restoration, when Heneage Finch, earl of Nottingham, was lord chancellor (1675–1682), the court began to develop a more fixed set of principles and rules, which were further developed by Philip Yorke, earl of Hardwicke (lord chancellor, 1737–1756). By the eighteenth century, the old antagonism between the systems had gone. With a distinct procedure and set of remedies, the Chancery was able to develop a jurisdiction over matters to which the common law remained blind, most notably trusts. It thereby made up for the shortcomings of the common law, but its rules and doctrines presumed the existence of the common law, which it modified in particular contexts.

While common lawyers saw their law as based on immemorial custom, they also described it in terms of reason. As Coke put it in the *Institutes*, “reason is the life of the Law, nay the common law itself is nothing else but reason.” By this he meant not the “natural reason” of every man but the “artificial reason” of lawyers, obtained by long study and experience. Knowledge of the law was a specialized enterprise, which had to be left to lawyers, and “if all the reason that is dispersed into so many several heads were united into one, yet he could not make such a law as the Law of England is.” This law was seen to be both developing and unchanging. On the one hand, its core principles were seen as timeless. On the other, its details had been, as Coke stated elsewhere, “refined and perfected by all the wisest men in former succession of ages and proved and approved by continuall experience to be good & profitable for the common wealth.”

Rather than directly reflecting the customary practices of the people, most of the law applied in the courts to the end of the eighteenth century had been created and developed in the judicial forum. The common law had originated in the reign of Henry II (ruled 1154–1189) not as a set of substantive rules, but as a set of institutions and procedures to enforce rights whose substance was defined by community custom. However, with the development both of a legal profession and of the jury in the thirteenth century, new legal norms emerged by which custom was rapidly turned into law, which then developed within the courtroom. Since the jury’s function was to decide questions of fact, mat-

ters of the law had to be settled by lawyers and judges. In the later Middle Ages, when the process of pleading was flexible, judges avoided making clear determinations of substantive law, preferring to get the parties in uncertain cases to reformulate their claims to reflect the common understanding of what the law was. In this era, the law was often seen in terms of the “common erudition” of the lawyers, as debated at the Inns of Court as well as in the courtroom. By the sixteenth century, however, when pleading had become more formal, judges began to be more confident about making clear statements of law. Law was now often settled, after the determination of facts by the jury, by motions debated on the bench at Westminster Hall after a trial had taken place at the assizes.

In elaborating the law, judges assumed that the common law already contained within itself the answers to any questions they might be asked. They saw their function as being to declare what the law already was, rather than to make new law. In order to maintain certainty, they were expected as far as possible to follow the reasoning of earlier cases. Since cases were seen to be evidence of the law rather than law itself, no doctrine of binding precedent emerged in this period. Nevertheless, from the sixteenth century onward, law reports were produced that clearly set out the substantive decisions, in a way not done in the medieval Year Books, and lawyers such as Edmund Plowden (1518–1585) and Coke now published reports that sought to illustrate the principles of the law. Until the mid-eighteenth century most published law reports were the unreliable results of speculating publishers, but manuscript reports circulated widely and were often quoted in court. Principles, or maxims, could thus be obtained by a process of induction from the *ratio decidendi*, or reason for the decision, of earlier cases. Besides applying the principles and maxims thus obtained, judges were also expected to extend the reason of one case to another by a process of analogy. However, judges did not only derive their law from precedent or analogy, for in novel cases they were free to resort to arguments drawn from natural law, public policy, or convenience.

See also Absolutism; Constitutionalism; English Civil War and Interregnum; Natural Law.

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MICHAEL LOBBAN

COURTS

Early modern law courts were multifunctional institutions whose reach extended far beyond the judicial branch of government. Throughout Europe, they held a wide range of administrative, governing, and policing powers, frequently making them a main channel of state administration. In eastern Europe, the courts were closely fused to the state bureaucracy and operated as the secure tools of crown authority. In western Europe, courts enjoyed varying levels of independence from the sovereign, but they nevertheless were active in maintaining daily order in both villages and state. Given the complex nature of early modern society, the judiciary was a key mechanism for conflict resolution not only among individuals, but among classes, estates, and orders. Law courts also served as a central elevator for social mobility. Buying or acquiring offices in the royal courts was an important stepping-stone into the gentry or the nobility, conferring honor, influence, and sometimes titles on the officeholder. Finally, judges served as the protectors of common law, customary laws, and privileges on behalf of society, and often actively defended those traditions against the encroachments of increasingly powerful sovereigns. Judges and lawyers in the courts were thus at the epicenter of several early modern rebellions and revolutions, including the French Fronde (1648–1653), the English Civil War (1642–1649), and the French Revolution (1789).

The law courts proved to be one of the most flexible and useful tools of governance available in western Europe, and the use of both elaborate law codes and a widespread court system to govern is one of the key factors in the development of the early modern state. Local seigneurial and royal courts helped to make village communities and towns largely self-governing, while provincial and regional courts often helped oversee the administration of large territories. At the pinnacle of the state, sovereign courts negotiated the privileges and competing claims of nobles, officials, and corporations. Despite the intense interest in recent decades in early modern crime and punishment, the vast majority of European courts' business was the regulation of civil society through contracts, laws, and customs. Courts thus provided limited opportunities for ordinary people to resolve their most press-

ing problems, especially those of family, property, and community, in a civil forum.

ORGANIZATION OF COURTS

The organization of the law courts in continental Europe was byzantine, full of overlapping jurisdictions that reflected both the organic growth of courts over time and the reality of competing claims to judicial sovereignty. Almost all European states had three major independent court systems: ecclesiastical courts to judge the religious crimes of clerics and parishioners, seigniorial or manorial courts that delivered justice to tenants (including the right to impose the death penalty for landlords exercising high justice), and state courts, which gradually began to encroach on the jurisdictions of the other two. Church jurisdiction eroded significantly from the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries in many countries, but sovereigns faced a steeper challenge in dismantling the private jurisdictions of landlords, for whom courts were considered part of their property and family honor.

Outside of these three major systems, however, most corporations like towns, guilds, and officers' corps had the right to regulate their own members through internal courts and statutes. An enormous volume of early modern litigation was also resolved through formal and informal adjudication outside of the court system, though often brokered by notaries, lawyers, or even judges from the law courts.

SOVEREIGN OR SUPERIOR COURTS

Well before 1450, superior or sovereign courts had emerged out of the medieval king's household (the *curia regis*) in many states. They developed into professionalized resident law courts that enjoyed relatively high degrees of independence on a day-to-day basis. In France, the sovereign Parlement of Paris was installed on the Île-de-la-Cité by 1300 and remained there even when the royal court was itinerant. Peers of France had the right to have their cases heard there in the first instance, and the court's judgments were unappealable (save to the king himself). The parlement's real strength, however, lay in the extent of its geographic and legal jurisdiction. The court could judge any civil or criminal case in its extensive domain (the lands originally held by the Capetian kings, about one-third of France) and heard appeals from the lower courts, making it one of the most inclusive jurisdictions in

Europe. The parlement also had the right to register royal edicts before enforcing them, which gave magistrates opportunities to delay legislation or to remonstrate with the king. Although the *parlementaires* could neither legislate nor veto royal laws, they did issue a wide variety of administrative *arrêts* ('decrees') that gave them broad authority over public order.

The system of parlements was gradually extended to new provinces as they were added to the realm. In many recently acquired provinces, like Burgundy (1477) and Normandy (1499), existing ducal courts were simply transformed into sovereign parlements. By the late eighteenth century, France had thirteen parlements, each sovereign within its own jurisdiction. The Parlement of Paris, however, remained the superior member of the court system, and was often looked to for legal precedents. France thus had an extraordinarily dense corps of sovereign magistrates; there were roughly 240 *parlementaires* in Paris in the eighteenth century, and another thousand in the other sovereign courts.

By 1400 the French crown had appointed five varieties of sovereign courts to deal with different types of cases. Apart from the parlements, there were three sovereign financial courts: the Court of Aids (*Cour des Aides*) for tax cases, the Chamber of Accounts (*Chambre de Comptes*) for royal accounting disputes, and the Court of Monies (*Cour de Monnaies*) for monetary cases like counterfeiting. (Provinces with parlements typically had one or more of these sovereign financial courts as well.) Finally, the Grand Council decided jurisdictional disputes among the other courts and heard special political cases. Outside of these formal courts, the king, in his role as God's judge, always retained the right to hear cases, render judgment, and grant pardons in exceptional circumstances. For the most part, however, early modern French sovereigns increasingly left judging to a trained corps of jurists and lawyers.

One of the most prominent features of the French sovereign courts was that judgeships were both venal (bought by the official, sometimes for princely sums) and hereditary. Repeated fiscal crises of the French crown had early on led kings to the expedient of selling offices in their own administration, a habit that proved impossible to break. In



Law: Courts. *A Judge and Three Advocates*, eighteenth-century painting by an artist of the Venetian School. GALLERIA DELL'ACCADEMIA, VENICE, ITALY/BRIDGEMAN ART LIBRARY

1604 Henry IV (ruled 1589–1610) allowed royal officers to pass offices on to their heirs or sell them in exchange for an annual fee (the *paulette*), equal to one-sixtieth of the office value. Because of the high status of judging, it became axiomatic that the highest judgeships should only be held by nobles. Judgeships in the sovereign courts (all *parlementaires* and Masters in the Chamber of Accounts, for example) endowed personal nobility on their holders and eventually hereditary nobility on their families. The result was the emergence of a powerful “nobility of the robe” (for the long robes they wore in office), which became an increasingly wealthy, educated, and sometimes politically fractious elite. Robe nobles from the sovereign courts played important roles in the revolt of the Fronde as well as in the French Revolution in 1789, but they were an essential part of the backbone of national and provincial order in less contentious times.

Other continental regions experimented with different forms of sovereign courts. In the Holy Roman Empire, the Diet of Worms (the imperial parliament) created an imperial supreme court in 1495, an appellate bench for both territorial and

urban jurisdictions. The magistrates also claimed original jurisdiction over a variety of civil and criminal cases, including cases involving corporations, cities, estates, and crimes against the state. In practice, however, the more powerful states of the empire continued to claim sovereign jurisdiction and did not recognize the imperial court’s authority. Below the supreme court were a series of weaker imperial courts that were often regional in jurisdiction, and whose cases were increasingly appealed to the supreme court. As in France, these multiple appellate layers provided litigants with numerous political and legal avenues for pursuing their cases, and with abundant opportunities to exploit rivalries between jurisdictions.

England’s law courts were far more successfully centralized than most continental courts. Three types of superior courts were based in and around London, each specializing in a different type of law: common law courts, equity courts, and royal prerogative courts. The three main royal courts sitting at London’s Westminster Hall, the King’s Bench, the Court of Common Pleas, and the Exchequer, primarily practiced common law. By 1500, Com-

mon Pleas was the busiest jurisdiction in England, hearing nearly fifty thousand cases a year at its peak. The court possessed jurisdiction over most civil cases, including property, rents, and debts. King's Bench originally enjoyed criminal jurisdiction, but its civil jurisdiction was expanded after the 1530s, allowing it also to hear the common pleas from most of England. By 1600 the two courts' civil jurisdiction was similar, although King's Bench still heard only one-third as many cases as Common Pleas. The Exchequer had its own small court for revenue cases or debt, but few litigants had the right to plead there until the late 1600s. Despite the centrality of the Westminster courts, there was a remarkably small group of judges on the bench: there were only about fifteen sovereign judges in England. Once points of law had been settled by the courts at Westminster, most cases returned to the counties to be tried by jury in the assize courts. All three superior common-law courts were united in the nineteenth century.

Apart from the central common-law courts, and developed partly in opposition to them, were the crown's prerogative courts. The infamous Court of Star Chamber, along with the Court of High Commission, allowed crown and church to investigate and prosecute powerful nobles or ecclesiastics outside of common law. (Most sixteenth-century cases tried in the prerogative courts actually involved powerful subjects prosecuting one another, but the courts were notoriously used by Archbishop Laud to prosecute nonconformists in the early seventeenth century.) Lastly, the Court of Chancery in London administered equity law to litigants and appellants. Equity (considered a branch of reason) gradually evolved into a formal set of legal principles by 1700 and was integrated into the common law by 1800.

During the legal revolution of the seventeenth century, England's superior court structure was radically streamlined. In 1641 Parliament abolished the prerogative courts, including Star Chamber, High Commission, and Requests, along with the royal court of wards and legal enclaves that had long been under the jurisdiction of the Councils of the North and of Wales. This streamlining of the law courts reflected an increasingly unified sovereignty under the leadership of Parliament in England, and it furthered an increasingly dominant common law.

In eastern Europe, law courts were more firmly integrated into the bureaucracy and had considerably less freedom of action than in most western states, but in the eighteenth century both Frederick II of Prussia (1748; ruled 1740–1786) and the Habsburgs in their own provinces (1749) gave the judiciary a more independent identity. Frederick II no longer allowed the bureaucracy to involve itself in judicial cases, and the Habsburgs set up a new ministry and supreme court, the Oberste Justizstelle, to distinguish justice from administration more clearly. In both states, however, there was a far less developed structure of rights, privileges, and laws outside the control of the crown or bureaucracy than in most western states. In Russia, the senate had evolved into a judicial body under Peter I (ruled 1682–1725), but in practice it heard only cases of the nobility. Moreover, Russian *ukazy* ('imperial decrees') and government ministry orders were neither codified nor published, making it difficult for any organized study of the law to develop. Repeated attempts to codify Russian law by Peter I, Elizabeth (ruled 1741–1762), and Catherine II (ruled 1762–1796) between 1700 and 1767 all came to naught. Local justice was dispensed to Russian serfs on their estates through land courts, and landowners were essentially a law unto themselves. Under such conditions, a relatively independent judiciary never developed into a key institution of civil society.

LOCAL COURTS

Law courts frequently became the main channel of local administration in western Europe during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. As the nobility deserted the countryside for the allure of royal courts or cities, the mantle of daily authority settled naturally on the shoulders of royal judges in many regions. In France, a pyramidal structure of local courts spread out beneath the sovereign courts (the parlement, Cour des Aides, and Chambre des Comptes) within each province. The main line of the judiciary ran from the provincial parlement to the lower appellate courts (the *présidiaux*, established under Henry II [ruled 1547–1559]) and from there to the bailiwick courts (*bailliages* in the north of France, *sénéchaussées* in the south and in Brittany). Bailiwicks were medieval jurisdictions that varied greatly in size, but they averaged roughly a hundred parishes by the later seventeenth century.

In many regions there was a final layer of petty royal courts (*vicomtés*, or ‘viscounts’, or *prévotés*, ‘provosts’) under the bailiwick courts.

Each of these local royal courts heard both civil and criminal cases and could judge customary, royal, and Roman laws. (There were some jurisdictional distinctions between them; civil cases involving large sums of money were heard first in the *présidial* or in the parlement, for example.) Each royal court was required to have a judge (*lieutenant général*) and a royal attorney (*procureur du roi*), but most attracted a full complement of assistant judges, councillors (*conseillers*), and royal lawyers (*avocats du roi*), all venal offices. This meant that France’s judiciary was perhaps the densest bureaucracy in early modern Europe, with provinces like Normandy or Brittany supporting several thousand officials and functionaries each.

Most royal judicial officials enjoyed considerable independence from the crown. While the state provided letters accepting candidates into office, in practice almost all local offices were passed between individual buyers, without the intervention of the crown. The king did set minimum educational requirements for judges and attorneys, but the corps accepting them was supposed to inquire into their qualifications, morals, and religious practices, allowing them to vet (and sometimes reject) candidates for a variety of reasons. Lower court offices tended to be significantly less expensive than judgeships in the sovereign courts, but they did not confer personal or hereditary nobility on their buyers. (Nevertheless, a significant number of bailiwick judges were already noble before buying a judgeship.) In theory, all lower court cases could be appealed up from the bailiwicks to the *présidial* or parlement, but in practice only infamous criminal cases and civil cases involving officers, nobles, or wealthy elites tended to be appealed there. The vast majority of litigation was settled within the bailiwick (jurisdiction of a lower-court judge).

The authority of local judges was considerable by the seventeenth century. In France, bailiwick judges and king’s prosecutors were often the only resident royal officers in the countryside. They became administrators par excellence, supervising matters as diverse as the upkeep of bridges, roads, and chimneys, tavern hours, bread riots, and public

order in general. They also policed markets, prices, and the guilds, performing essential economic regulation. In many regions they held minor military responsibilities, too, for raising the militia. Above the bailiwick judges, the magistrates in the provincial parlements (in tandem with the provincial Estates where they existed), also exercised a broad governing role in the countryside. But these magistrates only rarely intervened in local administration outside of the city where the parlement resided, and the bailiwick remained the central unit of local governance. Unlike in England, there was relatively little interaction between the sovereign courts of parlement and the lower courts that served the majority of the population. The professional and social gap between the two main levels of the judiciary widened after the middle of the seventeenth century, leaving local judges little role to play in national affairs.

Alongside the main royal courts in France, there were hundreds of specialized jurisdictions handling everything from tax cases (the *élections*), crimes on the high roads, and army deserters (the *maréchaussée*, or mounted constabulary courts) to woods and waters cases (*eaux et forêts*, or water and forest courts). In one district that covered a third of Normandy, there were more than seventy special royal jurisdictions outside the main (parliamentary) branch of the judiciary. These were further complicated by more than 228 seigneurial high justices and dozens of ecclesiastical courts, but the confusion was more apparent than real by the middle of the seventeenth century. Although the tax courts remained vigorous, cases from many specialized jurisdictions were gradually swallowed up by the bailiwick courts over the course of the seventeenth century, making the bailiwick courts an increasingly important center of gravity for local governance.

Although French and other continental courts have often been criticized as despotic institutions, run by venal officeholders and lacking juries or criminal defense lawyers, the reality was considerably more nuanced. Local courts were thoroughly embedded in local society through their officials, attorneys, and functionaries. Even a relatively modest bailiwick court might have between twenty and fifty minor functionaries and lawyers drawn from the ranks of farmers, cottagers, and even weavers. Notaries, solicitors, sergeants, ushers, jailers, keepers of

weights and measures—all anchored the courts in local society. Judges were typically drawn from owners of *sieuries* or *seigneuries*, the equivalent of the English gentry, and king's attorneys came from similar or slightly lower backgrounds. Criminal procedures and some civil procedures were deeply dependent on the willingness of witnesses in the community to come forward and give testimony. Finally, judges frequently used the flexible legal tools of equity (judicial reason, as opposed to statutory law), discretionary sentencing, and community reputation when deciding cases. French local courts rarely pronounced death sentences and even more rarely actually executed them, even for crimes in which capital punishment was allowed. In Spain, local judges who were also venal officials exercised considerable discretion in applying royal edicts (the *Recopilación de las Leyes de España*, or 'Compilation of Spanish Laws') and in executing a harsh penal code. Given that the primary function of these courts was to regulate property, family, and other civil cases according to customary laws, they often functioned reasonably well in stabilizing communities and families and in keeping public order.

In England, justices of the peace (JPs), like French bailiwick judges, had become the preeminent judicial and administrative officers in the counties by the late fourteenth century. Meeting four times a year in quarter sessions, usually in the county town, JPs initially heard felony indictments and judged misdemeanors. There were approximately five thousand of them in the counties. The English crown, seizing on the usefulness of these unpaid officials, passed over three hundred statutes by 1600 that expanded the justices' governing powers in every direction. They were responsible above all for keeping order in the countryside, including quelling riots, controlling vagabonds, punishing extortion, prosecuting poachers, and helping with the military muster when necessary. JPs regulated the local economy as well, setting wages and prices, licensing taverns, and regulating weights and measures. Social and religious regulation was an increasingly large part of their brief. Justices gradually became responsible for enforcing the poor laws, sumptuary legislation, and religious laws. Finally, they were essential to the financial machinery of the state, because tax collection in the counties was partly under their supervision.

During the sixteenth century, the growth of litigation and the increasing burden of their responsibilities led JPs to use petty sessions, often every six weeks, to transact business. The number of JPs also rose dramatically in the sixteenth century, to as many as eighty in some shires. Given their broad governing powers, JPs were almost universally drawn from the gentry and had to meet property qualifications in most cases. They were given their commissions annually by the crown (the Commission of the Peace), although they were usually chosen by the lord chancellor, and they could be dismissed for political reasons. By the seventeenth century, an important segment of the House of Commons was made up of local JPs, and those not serving in Parliament were still expected to play an important role during elections. Their ties to the national government, through the common law, the assize sessions, elections, and Parliament made them not only the backbone of local government, but the core of English national government.

Twice a year, judges and senior lawyers (sergeants-at-law) from the common-law courts in London held assize sessions in the counties, riding the six circuits of England. Spending one or two days in each county town, they heard both cases sent up by the local JPs and cases sent down by the common-law courts at Westminster for trial. By the sixteenth century they typically heard criminal felony cases (such as murder and treason) as well as civil lawsuits sent back for jury trial from the courts of Common Pleas and King's Bench. They asked grand juries to give presentments of any malefactors or suspects in the jurisdiction and sat with petty juries to pass judgment on civil and criminal cases. Trials were usually brief (sometimes lasting minutes), and criminal defendants were not allowed legal counsel. On the other hand, relatively few convicted criminals were actually hanged by the assizes for offenses that technically merited the death penalty. Executions in England declined dramatically after 1630.

One of the notable features of English justice was the use of petty and grand juries to establish the facts and decide on guilt or innocence in trials. Grand juries (or presentment juries) were called at each assize to present suspected criminals or crimes in the jurisdiction. Grand juries typically had twenty-three members, mostly drawn from the

lesser gentry. If the members determined that there was a “true bill,” or reasonable case to be heard, it was sent to the petty jury for judgment. Petty juries, comprised of twelve men (a number with religious overtones), were typically made up of yeoman farmers and occasionally husbandmen. They were impaneled by JPs at petty sessions and quarter sessions, as well as by circuit judges at the assizes. Common law required unanimity in verdicts by juries. Although possibly Norman in origin, juries were increasingly used after the church abolished trial by ordeal in 1215. The level of popular participation in the English law courts was further increased by the appointment of constables who were usually yeoman farmers and of lawyers who typically came from the small landowners or lesser gentry.

URBAN COURTS

Urban courts were often an offshoot of city councils. In cities as distinct as Amsterdam in the Dutch Republic, Venice in the Venetian Republic, and the free imperial city of Lübeck in the Holy Roman Empire, courts were run by the regents or town councillors. These were the same men who also made city laws and enforced them. Judicial, legislative, and executive functions were thus gathered into the hands of the same elites. In France, the main urban courts (the *bailliages* and *sénéchausées*, or bailiwick courts, in most cities) were instead integrated into the royal judicial system and filled with venal crown officers. Some French cities also had royal provosts who shared jurisdiction with the bailiwick courts. Many large commercial towns in Europe had merchants’ courts as well. The Dutch East India Company’s High Court of Justice, like French mercantile courts, allowed merchants to judge their peers. Urban guilds typically had their own internal courts to police their apprentices, journeymen, and even masters. Although these were informal courts, they were highly effective in policing the members of their crafts through a variety of fines and even banishment from the trade or from a region.

SEIGNEURIAL AND MANORIAL COURTS

During the chaos of the Middle Ages, tens of thousands of nobles across Europe won the hereditary privilege of holding law courts on their estates. These *seigneuries*, or ‘privileged properties’, typically were given rights of low, middle, or high justice. Low justice was considered to be inherent in

the seignury, and it allowed landlords to judge disputes over rents or other obligations with their tenants. Middle justice was hazily defined but typically included a broader civil and criminal jurisdiction over tenants. High justice endowed the seigneurial court with the right to judge almost all civil and criminal cases, including those warranting the penalty of death. They ranged dramatically in size as well as in power. Some courts held jurisdiction over only a part of one parish, while the jurisdiction of great nobles could extend over several hundred parishes and effectively function as lower-level state courts. In Brittany, an unusually dense region for seigneurial courts, there was roughly one seigneurial court per parish. Over France as a whole, there were somewhere between fifty and seventy thousand seigneurial courts. In England, these were known as manorial courts or courts leet, and their jurisdiction was largely eroded by state courts during the seventeenth century. In Spain, by contrast, landlords continued to exercise justice over their tenants well past the early modern period.

The crown always retained some residual powers over high justices. In France, a high justice could only be created by the king, and kings in fact continued to do so for the revenues (Louis XIV [ruled 1643–1715] created more than ninety high justices in Normandy alone). The crown also forbade seigneurs to judge in their own courts or to hold court in the manor house. Judges of French high justices were required to have a law degree and to be confirmed by the provincial parlement after 1680; in the 1770s Prussia also set minimum qualifications for seigneurial judges. Nevertheless, French seigneurial justice retained a high degree of independence in most regions. Despite a royal edict that required certain royal cases (*cas royaux*) like counterfeiting and treason to be heard in royal courts in the first instance, these were exceptionally rare crimes in rural areas and had very little effect on the seigneurial courts’ real jurisdiction.

Despite the apparent conflict between royal courts and landlords’ courts in early modern Europe, the theory that the state set out to deprive seigneurial courts of jurisdiction does not hold up on closer inspection. In France the crown was interested in regulating seigneurial justice and bringing it into line with professional standards used in the royal courts, precisely because it was so integral to

the functioning of justice. Seigneurial courts, whatever their defects, were relatively cheap, accessible, and run at the expense of the seigneur rather than the crown. They were also increasingly run by the same personnel as royal courts. Many seigneurial court judgeships were actually held by officials and attorneys in the royal courts who were moonlighting in multiple jurisdictions. Last but not least, private seigneurial courts were increasingly owned by noble royal officials, including almost all the judges of the parlements by the middle of the seventeenth century. In Austria, Joseph II (ruled 1760–1790) felt compelled to order landowners to continue providing justice on their estates in 1786, because landlords were increasingly uninterested in the trouble and expense.

While French low justices gradually lost many of their clients during the seventeenth century, high justices tended to remain vigorous jurisdictions, and the largest of them sometimes operated as the bailiwick court for their districts. English manor courts (courts leet), by contrast, gradually lost both criminal and civil jurisdiction to the quarter sessions and assizes in the seventeenth century. Misdemeanors and capital crimes both went to the royal courts by about 1600.

CHURCH COURTS

Catholic and Protestant churches alike maintained their own internal courts and laws that governed the clergy and the faithful. The Catholic Church had developed an elaborate canon law based on Roman law procedures. Popes were also energetic lawmakers, adding to church law through papal bulls or decretals (papal decrees on points of canon law). Canon laws were enforced through a system of ecclesiastical courts that ran throughout the entire church hierarchy but whose center of gravity was usually the diocese or archdiocese. For serious infractions, the church could punish misbehavior with excommunication (for individuals) and interdicts (for regions or groups of people), which barred the accused from receiving most sacraments. Well before 1450, however, the jurisdiction of church courts over morals cases and crimes was being pushed back in centralizing monarchies like France and England. Judgments in church courts could increasingly be appealed to royal courts, under procedures like the *appel comme d'abus* ('abuse sum-

mons') in France, which further undermined their powers.

The church's concern with heresy had led to the establishment of exceptional tribunals using inquisitorial procedures in the high Middle Ages (1231). The Roman inquisition (and later the Spanish Inquisition) were central tribunals staffed by inquisitors, usually drawn from the Dominican and, later, the Franciscan orders. Inquisitorial procedure allowed judges to seek cases out rather than to wait for cases to be brought to them. The procedure also allowed suspects to be tried secretly, without known witnesses or defense attorneys. The Inquisition was particularly notorious, however, for approving the use of torture to extract confessions if other forms of proof were not sufficient. (Indeed, the accused could not have found lawyers in any case because it was a crime to aid heretics). Fewer than two or three thousand individuals were probably executed in Europe throughout the Inquisition's existence, but enormous amounts of property were seized, especially in Spain, where the Inquisition was used to root out both Moorish and Jewish communities.

Protestant churches also policed morals through internal courts. The Dutch Reformed church's consistories, for example, regularly issued summonses for adultery, drunkenness, suspicious bankruptcies, and disruptive behavior (even summoning Rembrandt's mistress for adultery). The penalties included exclusion from the sacraments and loss of public reputation. Ecclesiastical courts in England (sometimes called "bawdy courts") policed sexual and moral behaviors through a combination of canon law, Roman law, and ecclesiastical common law, but these cases were increasingly being handled by justices of the peace. By the late eighteenth century, ecclesiastical courts no longer had jurisdiction over the laity.

LAW CODES

Legal systems in Europe had grown up organically out of the mixture of Roman, tribal, and church law systems imposed on the landscape. Like court jurisdictions, law codes accurately reflected the divided sovereignty of most regions, in which landlords, the church, and the state all exercised some public powers. Four main legal systems stood out, however, in the mosaic of codes in use across Europe. These were Roman law (drawn particularly from Justin-

ian's *Digests* and *Institutes*, c. 533 C.E.), customary law (derived from medieval tribal codes), positive law (created by sovereigns, parliaments, or cities), and canon law (ecclesiastical law). While Roman law tended to remain most vital in the regions of southern Europe occupied by the Roman Empire, especially Italy and the south of France, elements of Roman law seeped into numerous law codes across Europe. Most Habsburg hereditary territories as well as the Low Countries were under mixed Roman and Germanic customary laws. By corollary, Roman law in the south of France was recognized by many eighteenth-century jurists as having developed into the customary law of the south, because it had gradually been transformed through long usage.

These dominant varieties of law were typically combined with minor codes, creating distinctive legal patterns that sometimes varied from parish to parish. In England, the early-seventeenth-century jurist Sir Edward Coke identified fifteen distinct types of law practiced across the realm. Most prominent among these were the common law (the general customs of the realm), manorial and borough laws (local customs), parliamentary statutes, the law merchant, and canon law. Each of these types of law in fact corresponded closely to a separate set of English courts. The common law was thus the law administered by the main royal courts sitting at Westminster, as well by the county assizes and quarter sessions, making it the dominant legal code.

This relative legal uniformity in England was furthered by the centralization of legal training in London at the eight Inns of Chancery and four Inns of Court. The Inns of Court (Grey's, Lincoln's, Inner Temple, and Middle Temple) were residences for lawyers during the four annual sessions of the Westminster courts, but they also provided lectures and training for students. No lawyer could plead before the superior courts without being first called to the bar at one of the Inns of Court; and, by extension, no judges in the superior courts or assize circuits could practice without having trained there as well.

England's was a remarkably organized legal system by continental standards, however. The positive laws of the French crown numbered over 800,000 by 1715. Despite their impressive number, though,

they primarily gave the crown legal control over state administration and taxes. The vast majority of cases heard in the kingdom were, in fact, regulated by more than three hundred provincial and local customary codes and by thousands of seigneurial privileges or microcustoms that varied from one seigneurie to the next. Customary laws dominated provincial legal proceedings; in some local bailiwicks, no more than about 2 percent of all cases involved positive royal laws. Because they governed property, family, and inheritances in France, they were naturally the laws used by ordinary people engaged in litigation. Customary laws and usages were codified with the crown's permission in the late sixteenth century, but they were largely impervious to state intervention until the French Revolution.

One of the most innovative regions in Europe with respect to law was the Dutch Republic. After the seven provinces broke with Spain to form the Union of Utrecht in 1579, a new legal framework had to be established for the fledgling state. Universities with law faculties were founded in several provinces, beginning with Leiden in 1575. Roman law became the lodestone of Dutch legal practice, but it was pragmatically combined with Germanic customary law, natural law, and the new statutes of the state by jurists and scholars. The provinces each retained their traditional system of lower courts and High Courts, like the Hooge Raad (High Court) of Holland, and flexibly adapted the new legal system to existing provincial customs.

From 1450 to 1789 two main patterns emerged in European law. The first was the rising tide of positive laws issued by sovereigns and local governments, which attempted to more minutely control the political, economic, and even social behavior of their subjects. By the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, attempts to codify laws were under way in states as different as Prussia, Russia, Austria, and France. Prussia's was the most successful attempt, producing the *Preussisches Allgemeines Landrecht* (Prussian General Common Law) in 1794, but almost everywhere the attempt foundered on the strength of customary laws, the vested interests of prominent social groups, or the lack of police and judicial officers to enforce them. The codifiers and law commissions paved the way for Napoleon's Code Civil in 1804, however, and for

numerous European legal codes that were forged in its wake.

The second pattern was the dramatic increase in litigation across much of Europe, particularly in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Suits in the English courts of Common Pleas and King's Bench increased tenfold between 1500 and 1600. Litigation peaked in England and France from the mid- to late seventeenth century, then saw falling caseloads in the eighteenth century. The increase in litigation probably had multiple causes: increasingly complex laws, the growing pace of commercial and property transactions, rising literacy, and the growth of trained lawyers and jurists to handle cases. The decline of litigation in the eighteenth century is still a mysterious and ill-understood phenomenon, but the overall trends toward sophisticated law codes and increasingly large and wealthy legal classes reflected societies that had become increasingly driven by the rule of law during the early modern period.

See also Absolutism; Crime and Punishment; Divorce; Inheritance and Wills; Inquisition; Marriage; Parlements; Provincial Government; Star Chamber; Sumptuary Laws; Torture.

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ZOË A. SCHNEIDER

INTERNATIONAL LAW

Tradition has assigned the title “father of international law” to the Dutch scholar, lawyer, and diplomat Hugo Grotius (also known as Huig de Groot; 1583–1645), because his *De Iure Belli ac Pacis* (On the law of war and peace), which appeared in 1625, was the most extensive treatise on international law and relations yet written. Grotius himself recognized that there already existed a number of treatises dealing with aspects of international law and an extensive body of customary practices regulating relations between states, materials such as the law of the sea, treaties, rules of war, and treatises on the just war written by medieval scholars. These concerned relations among the states of Christian Europe, although there was some interest in the nature of relations between Christian and non-Christian, especially Muslim, societies.

A second source of writing on international law consisted of treatises, papal letters, and royal charters accompanying the European overseas expansion that began in the fifteenth century. Initially, these dealt with the legal basis for European posses-

sion of the Atlantic islands, Canaries, Azores, Cape Verde, and Madeira, as well as parts of the African mainland. Subsequently, Columbus's voyages generated even more literature about the legitimacy of European possession of the New World, beginning with three bulls that Pope Alexander VI (1492–1503) issued in 1493. These bulls drew a line of demarcation from pole to pole, dividing the New World between the Portuguese and the Spanish, assigning each monarch responsibility for sending missionaries to preach the Christian Gospel and awarding each ruler a monopoly of trade and contact with the region assigned to him.

The basis for Alexander VI's actions was the concept that all mankind formed a single community and that the pope was the judge of all mankind, judging Christians by canon (church) law, Jews by the Law of Moses, and all other people according to the natural law. The natural law consisted of that part of God's eternal law accessible to all mankind by the use of reason. While the specific terms of that law were rarely spelled out, one important element of it was the right to travel freely in peace. The refusal of an infidel society to allow Christian missionaries to enter and preach was therefore a violation of the natural law. The pope could authorize Christian rulers to protect missionaries where necessary, justifying the conquest of infidel societies. The papal conception of an international legal order was a hierarchical one with the pope serving as the ultimate judge in matters of international relations. The most extensive discussion of the Catholic conception of international order was that of the Spanish Dominican theologian Francisco de Vitoria (c. 1485–1546), whose *Relectio de Indiis* (published 1557; Concerning the American Indians) analyzed all of the arguments for and against the legitimacy of the conquest of the Americas. Vitoria was, however, only one of a number of Spanish authors who responded to the discovery of the New World with a treatise on the legal issues involved.

The Protestant Reformation changed the character of the discussion about international law because the Reformers rejected the papacy and canon law. Furthermore, Protestant scholars distinguished more clearly than did their Catholic counterparts between theological bases for international law and relations and legal ones based on human reason and experience alone. Early Protestant writers included

Alberico Gentili (1552–1608), an Italian scholar who eventually became a professor at Oxford, whose *De Iure Belli* (Concerning the law of war) was a major influence on Grotius's work.

One fundamental difference between Catholic and Protestant writers concerned access to the sea and therefore access to trade between Europe and the New World. The Catholic position was that the pope had the right to judge all mankind, to punish violators of the natural law, to assign jurisdiction over the seas to specific Christian rulers in order to ensure peace among Christian nations, and to support the church's spiritual mission to the newly encountered peoples. Grotius's first work, the anonymously published *Mare Liberum* (1609; The freedom of the sea), denied that the pope or anyone else had the right to limit access to the sea. In his opinion the sea was open to all who would sail there in peace. Grotius defended the interests of Dutch merchants whose wealth depended upon access to the markets of Asia and America, restricted by papal decision to the Spanish and Portuguese and those whom these nations chose to license, as well as the interests of Dutch fishermen who desired access to the fishing grounds in the waters adjacent to Britain.

Grotius's views drew responses from Portuguese and English lawyers, who defended closing the sea, although they differed about who could do this. The Portuguese scholar Seraphinus de Freitas (d. 1622) wrote the *De Justo Imperio Lusitanorum Asiatico* (1625; Concerning the legitimate Portuguese Empire in Asia) defending Portugal's claim to a monopoly of trade with Asia based on papal authorization. William Welwood (1578–1622) and John Selden (1584–1654) wrote to defend the right of James I of England (ruled 1603–1625) to ban Dutch fishermen from the waters around the British Isles without royal license. They argued that any ruler could limit access to the adjacent waters but denied that the pope could do so universally. Eventually, European governments agreed that states possessed jurisdiction only over a zone extending three miles from the shore, a line that Cornelius Bynkershoek (1673–1743) defined as the distance that a cannon could fire.

Grotius's major work, *On the Law of War and Peace*, followed the medieval tradition of seeing mankind as a single community governed by natural

law. Grotius did not base his discussion of natural law on theology or philosophy but on the actual practice of human societies as described in the historical record. Thus, while the overall principles of international law sprang from the *jus naturale* (natural law), there was also a body of specific practices and customs agreed upon by participating nations forming the *jus gentium*, the law of nations. These two laws formed the basis for a legal structure that would regulate relations among states.

Unlike his predecessors, who saw the papal court as the ultimate venue for settling international disputes, Grotius did not describe any institutions to enforce these laws. He saw each state as sovereign, that is, not subject to any external authority. He also argued, however, that it might be necessary for one state to punish the rulers of another sovereign state because they had violated the natural law. While this would seem to make Grotius a defender of expansion into the New World, in fact he showed little interest in that issue. His interest was in relations among European Christian states, not relations between the Christian and the non-Christian worlds.

The writers on international law who followed Grotius fall into two broad categories. The first continued to employ the term *natural law* but understood the term differently than Grotius. They argued that the natural law described the law that governed men when they lived in the state of nature, that is, before the formation of organized societies. They identified these societies with individuals living in a state of nature so that each human society was therefore a sovereign entity equal to all other societies, just as each man, regardless of age, strength, and intellect, was equal to every other man. There was then no basis for one society punishing another's violation of the law of nature. This school of thought included Samuel Pufendorf (1632–1694) and Emerich de Vattel (1714–1769).

The second school of international law thinkers was the positivists, who argued that international law was the product of custom and of treaties that states made with one another for the purpose of regulating their relations. This school of thought included Cornelius van Bynkershoek.

These discussions had a limited effect on the practice of European states. The flaw in such discus-

sions was the lack of any external mechanism to enforce the law. What these works did was provide a conceptual framework and a language for creating a legal order among states. Unlike Grotius and his medieval predecessors, however, later proponents of international order restricted it to the European Christian states and did not include non-European states.

These early discussions of international law had one other effect on European thought. The Catholic writers were concerned about the relations between Christian and non-Christian societies. Was the conquest of the New World legitimate? Did the inhabitants of the Americas possess a right to govern themselves and to own property? If so, Europeans had no obvious right to conquer them. Although European thinkers did produce arguments that justified the conquest, arguing that the Indians violated the natural law, for example, they also produced arguments that defended the rights of the Indians to autonomy as well. According to these arguments, Christians could not assert a claim to all infidel lands simply on the grounds that infidels had no right to them. This became one of the bases for subsequent discussions of human rights, that is, the rights possessed by all people by virtue of their humanity.

In the final analysis, the discussion of international law in the early modern world consisted of attempts to create a legal order that would regulate relations among the various states and societies of the world. The goal was to limit, not to abolish, war and to create a framework for peaceful relations among peoples.

See also **Grotius, Hugo; Natural Law; Rights, Natural.**

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JAMES MULDOON

LAWYERS

The activities of early modern lawyers had much in common with those of their modern counterparts. They practiced courtroom defense, acted as political and legal counsels to princely houses, municipalities, and religious houses, and held positions in the courts and royal administration. The general economic expansion since the late Middle Ages and the accompanying growth of social and institutional complexity created a growing demand for services that could be performed only by those who possessed technical and specialized legal skills. Just as modern states employ teams of lawyers, a variety of governmental and judicial institutions of early modern states needed legally educated personnel. The functions and organization of lawyers varied over time and space, but the early modern period saw the ever-increasing presence and influence of lawyers throughout Europe.

RISE OF LAWYERS

The legal profession was already vigorous in the Italian towns of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, fostered in part by the revival of jurisprudence in the study of Roman law. The Florentine guild of lawyers and notaries (*Arte dei Giudici e Notai*) dates from the early thirteenth century. The rise of lawyers in northern Europe coincided with the establishment of the supremacy of the royal courts over seigneurial and ecclesiastical jurisdictions. In France, lawyers for secular courts appeared in the mid-thirteenth century around the same time as the emergence of the sovereign court, the parlement. Feudal procedure, with its reliance on a judicial duel and ordeal, had been gradually transformed in the king's courts into accusatory procedure, where the parties were required to substantiate their claims by calling upon witnesses and producing written proof. The complexity of adversarial procedure required the intervention of legally educated personnel capable of representing the parties involved. The crowns of England and France allowed litigants in royal

courts to appoint lawyers to represent them and oversee the convoluted process of trial. A legal world that became increasingly complicated thus gave rise to professional lawyers when a growing number of people depended on royal justice for vindication.

Unlike in Italy, where the legal profession was governed and regulated by the guild, lawyers in northern Europe were closely attached to the state. The French royal ordinance of 1345 set the conditions of admission to the legal profession and its duties. To become a lawyer, the candidate had to prove that he (women were excluded) had studied law at a university for years. After the judges examined candidates' learning and moral rectitude, successful candidates were sworn in and were inscribed on the official roll. Lawyers were expected to abide by certain principles of professional conduct. According to the 1345 French rule, lawyers were prohibited from assuming the defense of causes they knew to be unjust, obliged to expedite the causes they had undertaken as promptly as was possible, and prohibited from withholding evidence from the opposing parties. These injunctions, which have a familiar ring today, were apparently frequently breached. The seventeenth-century writer Bernard de La Roche Flavin deplored the fact that lawyers all too often used surprises and dirty tricks, holding the best evidence back so as to catch the opponents by surprise in front of the judge. Another rule, also repeated time and again, was to plead and write briefly. Irrepressible verbosity of lawyers—and the public's exasperation with it—goes back to the profession's formation.

DIVISION OF FUNCTIONS

The lawyers of early modern Europe were a diverse group, ranging from a small elite of learned jurists to obscure practitioners akin to legal artisans. From early on, notaries were considered to form a profession separate from lawyers. In the Italian guild of judge-lawyers and notaries, the two groups were clearly distinguished. Drawing up contracts, deeds, marriage agreements, and wills was for the most part the province of notaries. Within the practice of law a division of function developed, leading to different careers with varying qualifications and reputation. The most fundamental distinction involved the separation between those who handled the procedural

aspects of a suit and those who dealt with substantive legal issues. A royal proclamation of 1547 in England restricted the right to plead before the royal courts to students of the Inns of Court. By 1600 a rigid divide had emerged between *advocati* and *procuratores* (barristers and attorneys in England, *avocats* and *procureurs* in France, *abogados* and *procuradores* in Spain). Although the distinctions between the two groups were not as clear as in the modern English or French legal profession (barrister/solicitor in England and *avocat/avoué* in France until 1971), each group held an exclusive right on a specific activity. Only the *advocatus* (hereafter ‘barrister’), not *procurator* (hereafter ‘attorney’), had the right to plead before the court. In England solicitors (*solicitadores* in Spain) appeared as an identifiable branch of the legal profession during the sixteenth century.

A barrister was a man formally trained in jurisprudence. He offered legal advice to clients and presented oral or written arguments to the court. Barristers’ arguments touched only on questions of law supposedly requiring legal knowledge and reasoning while questions of fact were left to the attorneys. Few French *avocats*, in fact, spent much time pleading in open court, for the parlements judged most cases on the basis of written evidence. Also, French *avocats* handled only civil cases; criminal defendants were deprived of their right to counsel by the ordinance of Villers-Cotterets in 1539. The ordinance of Villers-Cotterets required the use of French in both pleadings and court rulings, but lengthy Latin quotations were not easily abandoned by the Renaissance lawyers who were all too proud of their knowledge of the classics. Less prestigious than a barrister was an attorney. His place in society was solid but lowlier. It was an attorney who was most often consulted by a client needing legal representation at the beginning of a suit. His function was to steer cases through the court and take care of the procedural details, filing motions, drawing up writs, assembling facts, and collecting evidence. The attorney handled the formalities of the lawsuits, gave clients advice, and represented their claims in court. Only when a lawsuit involved a question of law that required greater expertise would the services of a barrister be obtained. An attorney was denied the right of audience, which properly belonged to a barrister, a full-fledged jurist. In the

sixteenth century there was as yet no sign of the later rule prescribing that clients contact barristers only through attorneys, but usually attorneys procured clients in the marketplace and then chose barristers. Attorneys did not necessarily train at a university, instead learning their law through clerkship or apprenticeship to other practitioners.

In the early modern period French kings openly sold royal offices to the highest bidder. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the kings had forced venality upon nearly all legal occupations, magistracies included. French *procureurs* needed to purchase a venal office, but *avocats* did not become venal officers. The reason for this is not clear, but it is possible that the *avocats*’ powerful clients, prominent nobles and prelates, opposed venality, lest it threaten their interests. At any rate, this exemption of *avocats* from venality conferred a certain degree of status on the bar, as admission to its ranks was perceived to emphasize learning, not money. The price of the *procureur*’s offices rose sharply during the sixteenth century when the volume of litigation increased rapidly. Established attorneys opposed creation of additional places, fearing that such expansion would decrease the value of their own offices.

BUSINESS OF LAW

The relative profitability of the legal profession and its respectable status attracted talented young men to legal careers. There are many examples of those who pursued legal studies, often pressured by their ambitious fathers, but eventually failed or abandoned them: Petrarch (1304–1374), Martin Luther (1483–1546), John Calvin (1509–1564), and Voltaire (1694–1778) were only a few. The best source of lucrative practices for barristers lay in becoming consultants to leading princely houses, ecclesiastical institutions, towns, and corporate bodies. Those who made fortunes depended heavily on the business of aristocrats, managing their vast real estate holdings and providing legal and political advice. Of those lawsuits handled by Florentine lawyers, disputes over dowries were among the most common, followed by cases dealing with the confiscation of private property due to some act of rebellion. Other cases involved litigations between religious houses or between individual clerics over benefices, dis-

putes between local administrations, or litigations between government offices and individuals.

Little is known about legal fees. There were significant differences of income within and between members of the branches of the legal profession. From early on, lawyers claimed that the fees they charged were the result of free agreement with the clients and thus outside any state interference. The kings often attempted to prohibit excessive fees, without much success. The French Ordinance of Blois of 1579 (Art. 161) stipulated that *avocats* reveal the amount of their fees at the bottom of deliberations and court documents. In 1602 the Parlement of Paris, backed by Henry IV, revived this rule, which had fallen out of observance. Livid over what they regarded as a blow to their honor, the *avocats* waged a successful two-week boycott of the courts in protest. Faced with the collective resignation of the *avocats*, the parlement had no choice but to withdraw the measure. In general, lawyers' vested interests in the existing system and its traditions dictated their outlook and attitudes. Lawyers of early modern Europe were a tight-knit corporate group. On the eve of the French Revolution, the king simply could not break the fundamental solidarity of the jurists blocking legal reforms.

Like their modern counterparts, early modern lawyers were targets of sustained hostility. They were criticized for overcharging, fraudulently keeping clients' monies, illegally negotiating contingent fees, maliciously pursuing delays, or lodging endless appeals. Tales of shyster lawyers seem timeless. Luther, never kind to lawyers, observed that a successful jurist was a woeful Christian.

LAWYERS AND CULTURE

Men with legal training were one of the most prominent groups in early modern culture. Renaissance humanism in Italy was largely a creation of lawyers and notaries, such as Coluccio Salutati (1331–1406), Poggio Bracciolini (1380–1459), and Lorenzo Valla (c. 1406–1457). The French Renaissance displayed the close relations between humanism and the law, as represented by Guillaume Budé (1467–1540), Jean Bodin (1530–1596), Antoine Loisel (1536–1617), and Étienne Pasquier (1529–1615). Thomas More (1478–1535), Francesco Guicciardini (1483–1540), Michel de Montaigne (1533–1592), Francis Bacon (1561–1626),

Giambattista Vico (1668–1744), and Montesquieu (1689–1755) were among the many lawyers who were the leading minds of their time. Equipped with humanistic education and style, and endowed with judicial dignity and political influence, lawyers were often at the forefront of intellectual inquiry and challenge in early modern Europe.

SOCIAL BACKGROUND AND CAREERS

There existed a vast social gulf within the legal profession. Historians have confirmed the overall social heterogeneity of early modern European lawyers. The commonplace observation that the law was a quick and assured means of achieving upward social mobility appears exaggerated. Social mobility was indeed possible in the legal profession, but it occurred only at a slow pace over several generations. The great majority of lawyers in Europe came from families that had acquired wealth a few generations before there was a lawyer in the household. One obvious reason that the notion of rags to riches was no more than a myth in a legal career was that education at one of the great law schools was a very expensive affair. Historians have shown that a university education in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was much costlier than in modern times. A doctorate in canon law normally required six years of university and in civil law seven or eight years. A large number of lawyers had doctorates in both civil and canon law, spending a minimum of ten years in study. In most cases an aspiring lawyer either had some direct contact with the profession or had grown up with material means sufficient to set off to a university in order to pursue a dignified legal career.

Recruitment from within the legal professions was common and often involved a step upward. A son of a court clerk or a notary, for example, would become an attorney, and occasionally a shopkeeper's child would enter the career of attorney. The attorney, having made his moderate fortune, was likely to send his own child to law school and to the bar. Many lawyers in the *Reichskammergericht* (imperial court of justice) in Speyer in the early sixteenth century had been *Prokuratoren* (attorneys). It was rare for a barrister's or a magistrate's son to become an attorney, moving downward in social hierarchy. Many barristers came from families already established in the law. The bar also attracted

the sons of well-off merchants or urban *rentiers*. Sons of barristers used their law degrees to move even further up the hierarchy of law. In France, positions as magistrates in the inferior courts were readily open to them, and there was a chance, providing they had the money, to purchase an ennobling office in a sovereign court.

From the mid-sixteenth century the legal profession in most European countries tended to become more exclusive. Within the legal field each group was increasingly conscious of its status and took steps to protect it. Separation of attorneys from barristers was not merely a matter of the evolution of distinct procedural functions but of the differentiation of lawyers organized on the lines of education, prestige, self-perception, and family links. A doctorate required of *avocats* as well as of magistrates in the sovereign courts was one of the means to regulate entry into the higher ranks of the legal profession. Both magistrates and barristers had the strong desire to perpetuate their profession in their families, and there existed a high degree of continuity of career among families involved in the practice of law. The law faculties in early modern Europe increasingly became the preserve of students whose fathers were, in one capacity or another, men of law. Any French magistrate who wished to guard his investment in office and pass it on intact in inheritance saw to it that at least one of his sons attended a faculty of law.

In England, the gentry entered the world of justice in great numbers. In the years 1590–1640 more than half the barristers were gentry. France witnessed in the sixteenth century the emergence of noble judicial families, a *noblesse de robe*. The proportion of aristocrats among those attending law faculties in the Holy Roman Empire quadrupled at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Throughout Europe, access to higher-ranking legal offices and occupations was firmly in the possession of tightly interwoven families of lawyers, many of which formed great legal dynasties. It became rarer to rise from the ranks of attorney to barrister. Barristers from outside the close-knit network had difficulty procuring legal business and complained that certain families jealously maintained a virtual monopoly on legal practice.

AN INDEPENDENT PROFESSION

Before 1600 the French *avocats* did not have a formal bar association. The discipline of the practicing *avocats* and the protection of their collective interests were largely left to the magistrates of the parlements. Many magistrates, presidents of the parlements, and chancellors were selected from *avocats*. However, this relationship of the traditional cordiality and mutual respect between the *avocats* and magistrates began to deteriorate seriously because of venality of offices. By the early seventeenth century, high judicial offices had been made inheritable, practically becoming personal property. *Avocats* no longer had special access to magistracies; they had to purchase judgeships like others. As prices of offices increased, the prospect of becoming a judge became slim. In terms of training and social profile, barristers did not differ much from magistrates. However, the sale of offices now drew a clear line between the magistrates and *avocats*, between those who came from families of prominence and inherited wealth and who now enjoyed the title of nobility by virtue of their offices and those who saw themselves relegated into second-class citizens in the world of the law. Charles Dumoulin (1500–1566), the great French jurist of customary law, blamed his struggling career as an *avocat* at the Parlement of Paris on venality. He bitterly claimed that he, a brilliant scholar, was being ignored in his own country simply because he did not choose (rather, could not afford) to purchase a judicial office. The kings recruited the members of royal councils and administration in large part from the parlements, and the proportion of lawyers acceding to the highest public offices declined after the mid-sixteenth century. Furthermore, the *avocats* faced added competition from officeholders who, often in debt after acquiring their position, actively sought business from princely houses as counselors.

The social and moral crisis suffered by the *avocats* eventually brought about a significant redefinition and redirection of the profession. The emergence of the independent Order of Barristers in France in the 1660s represented a step toward professionalization of the lawyers. The order set down standards of conduct and disciplined its members. Aspiring *avocats* now needed to complete a two-year internship to obtain practical skills before gaining formal acceptance by the order. Lawyers, re-

sponding to a crisis in their profession, embraced a modern sense of professionalism, a concern for high ethical standards and occupational competence.

LITIGATION AND LAWYERS

The changing culture of litigation in early modern Europe overall contributed to the emergence of professional consciousness among lawyers. The favorable economic and demographic climate of the sixteenth century resulted in a marked increase in litigation and an almost explosive rise in the number of lawyers. England saw an enormous increase in central court litigation between 1560 and 1640. Business in King's Bench increased fourfold between 1560 and 1580, and more than doubled between 1580 and 1640. Historians have noted a sharp rise in litigation in Castile beginning in the late fifteenth century and continuing almost uninterrupted until the second quarter of the seventeenth century. In England the years between 1558 and 1640 witnessed a steady increase in the number of admissions to the four Inns of Court, from around fifty per year in the early sixteenth century to about three hundred in the later years of the reign of James I. Matriculations in the law faculties soared during the sixteenth century throughout Europe, more than doubling the number of graduates in less than fifty years. Between five thousand and six thousand students were enrolled each year in the law faculties of Salamanca and Valladolid; in 1617 there were five thousand law students in Naples. In France during the reigns of Louis XIII and Louis XIV, the influx of students into the faculties of law was so copious that many reformers, including Jean-Baptiste Colbert, were concerned that it would hamper the development of a commercial class.

This century-long expansion of lawyers began to recede from the mid-seventeenth century. Recent studies have linked loss of population, a stagnant economy, and rising court costs to contraction in litigation and a corresponding decrease in the number of lawyers in the late seventeenth century. The shrinking number of suits was reflected in the decline of the universities' once prosperous law faculties. From Spain and England to the provinces of the Netherlands and the Holy Roman Empire, the stream of students in law faculties fell steadily during the eighteenth century.

The downturn in legal business brought about a significant change in the legal profession. A negative economic climate and business retrenchment meant that lawyers, in order to carve out a living from the law, needed to reconfigure their activities and recast their relations with society as a whole. Faced with professional uncertainty, shrinking sources of income, and growing competition, lawyers developed a new professional model, one based on occupational competence, competitiveness, self-regulation, a heightened sense of identity, and claims to special knowledge and expertise. The study of law had attracted not only students interested in a professional legal career but also sons of the gentry and the nobility for whom legal training represented a broad preparation for life. In England, fewer than 10 percent of those attending the Inns of Court at the beginning of the seventeenth century truly aimed at practice as a barrister. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries fewer than half of the lawyers in the Netherlands were active in their profession. In France thousands of men held the title of *avocat* in the seventeenth century, but only a small percentage of them practiced law, many holding the title for purely decorative reasons. In the eighteenth century, however, legal study became a relentlessly practical training of vocational nature. Being a law graduate and becoming a lawyer now meant a profession, not a mere status or ornament.

The legal profession in early modern Europe underwent long-term evolution. By the end of the eighteenth century, lawyers possessed most of the criteria associated with a modern career. The increasing professionalization of this old occupation played an essential role in the development of the law itself and the differentiation of the legal systems of modern Europe.

See also **Crime and Punishment.**

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ROMAN LAW

Roman law consists of the law of the Roman Republic and Empire, from the *Twelve Tables* (c. 451–450 B.C.E.) to the *Corpus Juris Civilis* (Body of the Civil Law) of the sixth century C.E. Within the context of Roman law, the term *civil law* is usually used specifically to refer to the *Corpus Juris Civilis*, the compilation that was ordered by Emperor Justinian I

(ruled 527–565 C.E.) and directed by the jurist Tribonian.

SOURCES AND ORGANIZATION

Roman law grew amorphously from several sources over a thousand years. These sources were divided into unwritten law (*ius non scriptum*) and written law (*ius scriptum*). Unwritten law referred to custom in Roman times, although by the early modern period in Europe, customs were accepted as written law in many places. Written law for the Romans was divided into six categories: acts (*leges*), resolutions or plebeian statutes (*plebiscita*), senate resolutions (*senatus consulta*), imperial laws or constitutions (*constitutiones principum*), magistrates' edicts (*edicta*), and jurists' responses or interpretations (*responsa prudentium*). Contradictions in the laws occurred because these numerous sources were neither coordinated nor routinely collected.

The early attempts to organize Roman law included the *Institutes of Gaius* in the second century C.E. and the *Theodosian Code* under Emperor Theodosius II in 438 C.E., but these were incomplete. The final compilation of the *Corpus Juris Civilis* under Justinian in the sixth century was issued in four parts: the *Digest* (529), the collection of judicial interpretations of the laws; the *Code* (529), the imperial laws and rescripts Tribonian's committee chose to keep; the *Institutes* (529), a condensed version to be used by first-year law students; and the *Novels* (until 565), new imperial laws.

MEDIEVAL ROMAN LAW

Roman law continued to influence European law after the fall of the Western Roman Empire to Germanic tribal rule, but it did so not as territorial law but as merely the personal law of the section of the population claiming to be Roman rather than Germanic. Among the Germanic kingdoms of western Europe, rulers such as the Visigothic kings of Spain used vulgarized forms of Roman law for their Roman subjects. The basis for these laws was usually the *Theodosian Code* rather than Justinian's, since the former was disseminated before the collapse of the Western Roman Empire. Justinian's corpus was not compiled until after Roman power was largely lost in the West. Roman law also influenced western Europe, because it was used as the basis of canon (church) law in the *Corpus Juris Canonici* (Body of Canon Law), and Roman civil and canon law also

became the basis of the *ius commune*, a set of legal principles generally accepted throughout Europe. Within each developing state of the late Middle Ages and the early modern period, Roman law had varying impact on local and royal laws, depending on the geographical proximity to the old Roman imperial areas and individual developments within the separate states.

Although it was taught continuously in the East, it was not until the late eleventh century that the West rediscovered the *Corpus Juris Civilis* of Justinian, and the text was then studied and taught at the medieval universities throughout western Europe beginning in the twelfth century. This new study of the *Corpus Juris Civilis* began in Bologna, Italy, at the university's law school, and it became popular for a number of reasons. The Roman Empire of Justinian and the medieval Holy Roman Empire were conflated in the minds of many. Justinian was seen as a Holy Roman Emperor and his laws as imperial legislation. In addition, twelfth-century jurists recognized that Roman law represented a high development of legal thought, and they saw Roman law as "written reason" and hence superior to other law.

University scholars not only studied the *Corpus Juris Civilis*, they also added their own explanations and interpretations, which often became as important as the original text. The earliest of these scholars were known as the glossators, who wrote marginal or interlinear comments called glosses on the entire text of Justinian. In this process they discovered some inconsistencies and contradictions that Tribonian's hurried committee had not managed to eliminate. Glossators tried to resolve such discrepancies by interpretation. Between 1220 and 1250 the glossator Franciscus Accursius compiled a collection of selected glosses, which became known as the *Glossa ordinaria* (or *Magna glossa*).

Following the glossators were the commentators (or postglossators). They did not merely continue the glossators' work but also contributed their own legal knowledge by writing original commentaries on the *Corpus Juris Civilis* and the *Glossa ordinaria*. They also applied the law to their own time by writing legal opinions in response to questions concerning real cases. Two of the most significant of the early commentators were Bartolus of

Saxoferrato and Baldus of Ubaldis. The commentators were most active in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and, like the glossators, most were Italian.

RENAISSANCE HUMANISM AND ROMAN LAW

New approaches to Roman law developed with Renaissance humanism in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Humanists applied philological techniques to the study of the Roman law to determine what it had been meant to say, and they also studied the laws and their meaning in the original context of Rome. Although begun in Italy with the work of Andrea Alciato, this movement reached its height in the French historical school of law in the sixteenth century. Because of their humanist approach, these scholars were able to see the *Corpus Juris Civilis* in historical context, as a product of its own time and place. They saw it as useful but not infallible, and their work identified many problems in the law itself and in the medieval studies of it. Guillaume Budé, Jacques Cujas, Hugues Doneau, and François Hotman, among others, contributed to this movement in France, as did Ulrich Zasius in Germany. Hotman's *Anti-Tribonian* (1567) was particularly critical of Justinian's compilation and elevated French law in its place. These scholars established the historicity of Roman law and removed its claim to authority over contemporary societies, even though it could still be seen to a certain extent as "written reason."

ROMAN LAW IN FRANCE, GERMANY, AND GREAT BRITAIN

France. Italy and southern France were the areas most continuously influenced by Roman law because they had been governed by the Romans themselves and by Germanic versions of Roman law codes. These were also areas where universities developed early, as did Renaissance humanism. Southern France had adopted Roman law and was known as the land of the written law (*pays de droit écrit*), while the northern two-thirds of France was subject to diverse local customary laws (*pays de droit coutumier*). This caused some tension, and French legal humanists tried to resolve some of the problems by carefully applying Roman law. French kings continually tried to increase the uniformity of the country's laws in the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries. Roman law sometimes provided the

source of these common laws, but so did the Custom of Paris, which was often seen as a more appropriate source for France. Partly under influence of the “written reason” of the *Corpus Juris Civilis*, the French tried to codify their customs, frequently using the organization of Roman law as a model for the structure, if not for the laws themselves. This is particularly notable in Antoine Loisel’s *Institutes Coutumières* (1607) and Étienne Pasquier’s *L’interprétation des institutes de Justinian* (1609).

Germany. In Germany, the reception of Roman law began around 1500, when the *ius commune* was given precedence over local customs in the imperial supreme court. Use of Roman law in this form was particularly attractive in the Holy Roman Empire, because there were over three hundred independent local jurisdictions, some quite backward administratively. Roman law provided a model for them and also created some form of unity in the fragmented empire.

Great Britain. Scotland had introduced Roman law indirectly in the form of *ius commune*, because it was distinct from English common law, and the Scots wished to establish their independence from English control. English common law developed independently from Roman law, but some courts in England, the Equity and Admiralty Courts, for example, were influenced by Roman law, at least in the form of the *ius commune* or through canon law, which church courts continued to use in England even after the Reformation.

THE WIDER INFLUENCE OF ROMAN LAW

The growth of the influence of Roman law was a gradual and continuous historical process; the law was adapted to territories well beyond those its Roman originators could have imagined and to uses of which they had not conceived. The Spanish acceptance of Roman law meant that it spread beyond western Europe and came to the Spanish territories of the New World.

Roman law was used to support various, even opposing, ideas. For instance, its maxims could support both absolutism and popular government: while the maxim “What pleases the prince has the force of law” (*Quod principi placuit legis habet vigorem*) was used as an argument for royal absolutism in various countries, on the other hand, “What tou-

ches all must be decided by all” (*Quod omnes tangit, ab omnibus approbetur*) was used to justify representative government and even rebellion against oppressive regimes. Roman law’s influence persisted beyond the end of the early modern period, as it served as the main model for Napoleon Bonaparte’s Civil Code (1804).

See also **Budé, Guillaume; Humanists and Humanism.**

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RUSSIAN LAW

During the early modern period, Russian law was modernized, that is, it became more predictable, rational, and ascertainable. There was considerable codification and ever increasing proliferation and sophistication of judicial officials. As of 1450 Russia had largely completed its transition from an archaic or dyadic legal system, characterized by no judicial

officials, composition (blood-wite, or penalty for bloodshed), and irrational modes of proof, to a triadic legal system, characterized by judges, criminal law, and rational modes of proof. The judicial officials, however, were not specialists and there were no real standing courts. Judges for particular cases were appointed on an ad hoc basis from the ranks of the service class and probably decided civil cases based on their own sense of rough justice or fairness. Perhaps the most advanced aspect of Russian law at the time was that detailed records of trials, judgments, and land transactions were maintained. Most of the early trial records involve trials over the ownership of land. Written deeds were also used and maintained to record transfers of land.

Existing alongside the grand prince's courts were ecclesiastical courts. Each of approximately thirteen bishops had his own court. The church courts had jurisdiction over the clergy in all matters and over laymen in such matters as marriage, family, inheritance, sexual crimes, heresy, and witchcraft. Monasteries also exercised judicial power over those who resided on their vast landholdings.

In 1497 Ivan III of Moscow promulgated Russia's first national law code, consisting of sixty-eight articles. It was primarily a procedural guide, with numerous provisions regulating the fees that judicial officials could charge. It provided penalties for only a few crimes, such as murder. The code also provided for central courts with judges from the two highest ranks of the service class and with judicial records, to be maintained by clerks. Starting in the sixteenth century, certain permanent chancelleries, staffed primarily by clerks, became the standing central law courts. They also performed administrative functions. The chancelleries proliferated, so that by the end of the seventeenth century there were as many as 150. The jurisdiction of the chancellery courts was therefore highly fragmented. The clerks began to develop judicial expertise and kept detailed records. They also developed internal procedure manuals for judicial business. One of the chancelleries also became the repository for deeds to land.

A somewhat more comprehensive codification of civil law was issued in 1550, but this codification, like the 1497 code, was largely procedural. The 1550 code also contained further specifications of

crimes and criminal penalties. But while civil trials were adversarial in nature (the two competing parties presented their evidence to a judge), criminal trials were inquisitorial; in other words, the same official was the judge and prosecutor. Criminal procedure would remain inquisitorial through the remainder of the early modern period. The clerical courts became more sophisticated as well, and in 1551 a vast codification of canon law was compiled, the so-called Hundred Chapters. As the tsar's power and bureaucracy increased, however, the independent power of the church courts was gradually circumscribed.

Legal modernization stagnated in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries as the result of political turmoil, dynastic instability, and civil war. After the installation of the Romanov dynasty in 1613, the legal system and bureaucracy of the late sixteenth century was restored. The legal system, however, became the target of popular suspicion. It was perceived as subject to favoritism and corruption, particularly with respect to lawsuits over escaped serfs. In 1648 demands that the chancellery rulebooks be published became the focus of widespread civil disturbances, which culminated in the calling of an assembly to codify the laws. A vast codification was soon produced, based mainly on the chancellery rule books. The law code of 1649 was one of the most advanced codifications of its time. Its 967 articles fill over two hundred pages in a modern printed edition. For the first time the substantive law relating to landed property, serfs, slaves, and numerous other subjects was codified, along with lengthy codes of civil procedure and criminal procedure. Everyone, even slaves, had access to the courts, and legal rules were published to regulate most important relationships. The code proclaimed that it was to be applied in all cases, and it was indeed extensively cited in subsequent judgments and trial records. Among the most important, but dubious, achievements of the law code was the completion of the enserfment of the peasantry. The 1649 code was to remain Russia's basic law throughout the remainder of the early modern period.

It is important to note that this legal modernization was accomplished without lawyers or law schools and without any Western models or influences. The clerks in the chancelleries developed

considerable practical expertise, but the Russian legal system and Russian law as a whole lacked the theoretical consistency of Western legal systems developed by professional lawyers.

Peter I the Great (ruled 1682–1725) substantially reformed the machinery of justice, replacing the chancelleries with nine colleges, which, like the chancelleries, performed both judicial and administrative functions. He also created the Senate, which among its other functions, served as a supreme court. These institutions remained in place throughout the remainder of the century. Peter also used law as an instrument of reform: his reforms of the civil service, armed forces, and central bureaucracy were accomplished by means of lengthy decrees and regulations. Under Peter the church courts largely lost their independence. Peter also unsuccessfully attempted to transform the law of inheritance by requiring primogeniture.

Under the influence of the Enlightenment, the idea of legal rights, particularly for the nobility, began to gain ground in the eighteenth century, culminating in the Charter to the Nobility in 1785. Throughout the early modern period, law played an important role in controlling crime and protecting the property and status of the service class. Although there were few legal rights, Russia became a state governed by elaborate published laws.

See also Alexis I (Russia); Autocracy; Peter I (Russia); Russia.

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GEORGE G. WEICKHARDT

LAW'S SYSTEM. A prophet of a modern credit-based economy, operating free of ties to metal currency, John Law (1671–1729) was born into a commercial family in Edinburgh, Scotland. After a rakish sojourn in London, where he narrowly escaped the hangman's noose, Law succeeded in Europe as a professional gambler, thanks to his grasp of probability theory. He also studied economics and argued in learned treatises that paper instruments should replace gold and silver as money. Only an economy free to expand its currency and fueled by credit could develop significantly. In Paris he befriended Philippe, duke of Orléans (1674–1723), himself a gambler as well as the nephew of King Louis XIV (ruled 1643–1715). When Philippe became regent of France, he turned to Law for help with the financial effects of twenty-six years of war, an empty treasury, and mountainous state debt.

Law perceived that these problems could be solved in association with each other. He planned to turn the debt into equity or shares of stock and to make the shares into paper currency, demonetizing gold and silver coin while simultaneously expanding credit. An economy thus oriented to growth would, in his view, lift itself free of debt.

Between 1716 and 1719, he created France's first national bank, the Royal Bank, and a powerful conglomerate, the Company of the West, or Mississippi Company, merging them in 1720. The former, based in Paris, established branches throughout the realm, taking in tax revenues as deposits and issuing negotiable banknotes. The latter sold shares of stock, also negotiable. It controlled tax revenues, the royal mint, and commerce with Africa, Asia, and the Americas. It assumed the state debt, turning creditors into shareholders and liabilities into assets. To encourage the public to buy company shares, some of which paid dividends of 12 percent, Law dropped interest rates to 2 percent, from 5.55 percent, a blow to fixed annuities. These elements, along with sharp restrictions on the monetary use of gold and silver, became his system.

After initial hesitations, the investing public reacted favorably. In January 1720, a share of company stock, having long since climbed nicely from its initial price of 550 livres, peaked at 10,100 livres, a real stock-market boom. Euphoric buyers, em-

boldened by easy credit, anticipated a share price of 20,500. Some of them became, if only briefly, “millionaires,” a word coined at the time. The system took on the aspects of a Europe-wide miracle. But when Law, deeming shares overvalued, acted to reduce their price, investors turned against him in fury, and the shares tumbled in value, compromising the bank and the company. A rueful John Law left France in December 1720 and died in Venice in 1729.

Amid the ruins of the system, the state emerged as a net gainer, having lightened its debt load: urban workers, victimized by inflation, were the primary losers. The experience turned France against paper money for almost two centuries and gave historians a low opinion of the system, until recently. In the twentieth century, however, the global economy developed in the growth-oriented ways that Law anticipated, with regard to a credit base, the importance of the quantity of money, and its freedom at long last from specie.

See also **Banking and Credit**.

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JOHN J. HURT

LE BRUN, CHARLES (1619–1690), French court painter and academician. After working briefly with François Perrier, Le Brun became a pupil of Simon Vouet (1590–1649). His earliest known works, such as the dynamic *Hercules and the Horses of Diomedes* of 1641 (Nottingham Castle, Nottinghamshire) reveal their influence and display a talent precocious enough to win the rare praise of Nicolas Poussin, whom Le Brun joined in 1642 on the elder artist’s return to Rome. Le Brun’s stay in

Italy was supported for three years by the powerful Pierre Séguier, duke of Villemor and chancellor of France.

On his return to Paris, Le Brun became one of Louis XIV’s painters and was one of the founders of the Académie royale de peinture et de sculpture in 1648. Not surprisingly, his patron, Séguier, was designated as the protector of the fledgling organization. Le Brun executed canvases and decorative commissions for large Parisian townhouses and religious organizations throughout the 1650s. The deaths of Perrier, Vouet, and Eustache Le Sueur by the middle of the decade—combined with the success of Le Brun’s ceiling in the Galerie d’Hercule of the Hôtel Lambert—made him the unrivaled French painter of his day. A royal order of 1656 forbidding the reproduction of his works without permission provides a measure of his growing reputation.

In 1658, Le Brun began the decorations at the château of Vaux-le-Vicomte for Nicolas Fouquet, the minister of finance. His responsibilities grew to include the direction of the embellishment of the country palace. Three years later, when Louis XIV imprisoned Fouquet for embezzlement of state funds (soon after viewing the results of Le Brun’s lavish efforts), the artist and most of his collaborators were quickly employed by the king in the royal household, especially at Versailles (beginning in 1669), where Le Brun would produce his most celebrated works in the Hall of Mirrors, the Ambassador’s Staircase, and the Royal Chapel. Le Brun’s part in the transformation of this former hunting lodge into the premier palace of Europe included supervising and supplying designs to an enormous team of painters, sculptors, gardeners, architects, and decorative artists, as well as executing vast stretches of painted surfaces glorifying his royal patron (*modello* for *The Second Conquest of Franche-Comté*, early 1680s, Musée National de Versailles). His commissions soon expanded to the Louvre and other royal residences.

Le Brun’s brilliant success as both artist and administrator may be a reflection of his absorption of the effective studio organization he witnessed at first hand during his years as a student in Vouet’s busy atelier. His perfect blend of talents led to his ennoblement in 1662, his appointment as director



Charles Le Brun. *Chancellor Séguier*. THE ART ARCHIVE/MUSÉE DU LOUVRE PARIS/DAGLI ORTI

of the Gobelins manufactory in 1663 (the division of the royal household that supplied most of the luxurious furniture and decorative arts for the royal residences), and his posts as first painter to the king, curator of the royal collections, and chancellor for life of the Académie in 1664.

Le Brun's role at the Académie was critical for the development of French painting and sculpture during the next two centuries. For him, drawing was the basis of the visual arts and therefore the most fundamental skill necessary for a young artist, especially one who aspired to be a painter of the historical, mythological, and religious works that Le Brun codified as the most noble type (or genre) of painting. His belief in the primary importance of drawing followed a long-established Italian tradi-

tion undoubtedly inherited from Vouet. It is also revealed in the many thousands of his own very accomplished extant sheets (*Triton*, c. 1680, Musée du Louvre). To ensure that the Académie's students attained the desired level of proficiency as draftsmen, Le Brun established and systematized a routine of study involving several years of well-defined, graduated stages of figure drawing—one that began with copies of prints or plaster casts and ended with drawings after the live model—that became the standard for academies across Europe. He also oversaw the founding of the French Academy in Rome in 1666 so that the best French students could travel for extended study in what was then the center of the European art world. And finally, beginning in 1667, he initiated his series of

lectures, or *conférences*, at the Académie in Paris—including the pivotal lecture on expression (1668) that was illustrated with his own drawings (*Terror*, c. 1668, Musée du Louvre)—that quickly became obligatory reading for young French artists. During his tenure, the Académie also became the center of heated debates over issues such as perspective and, most importantly, the merits of color versus design, or Rubens versus Poussin. Without forgetting the merits of Rubens, Le Brun's opinion was made clear: the greatest historical example was Raphael, whose genius was taken to even greater heights by Poussin. As he certainly realized, his view proclaimed the primacy of the French school.

Le Brun ended his career with a remarkably detailed inventory of the paintings in the royal collection in 1683. He also produced a number of successful cabinet pictures. Between his numerous posts in the royal household, his multitude of prestigious commissions, and his pivotal role at the Académie, he trained an entire generation of students and collaborators that included Louis and Bon de Boulogne, Louis Chéron, Antoine Coypel, Charles de Lafosse, René Houasse, Jean Jouvenet, and both Michel II and Jean-Baptiste Corneille, influencing them with the richly colored, heavy (but energetic), declarative, and classicizing baroque blend of Poussin and Rubens that had earned him such success.

See also Academies of Art; Art: Artistic Patronage; Louis XIV (France); Poussin, Nicolas; Versailles; Vouet, Simon.

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LEAGUE OF AUGSBURG, WAR OF THE (1688–1697). This war is also known as the War of the Grand Alliance, the Nine Years' War, and King William's War.

FRENCH POLICY IN THE 1680S AND THE COMING OF WAR

French success at the Peace of Nijmegen (1678), which concluded the Dutch War (1672–1678), was followed a decade later by a diplomatic fiasco in which Louis XIV (ruled 1643–1715) began a war in which he had no allies and was opposed by a coalition comprising almost all the European powers. Indisputable characteristics of the years following Nijmegen were overconfidence in France's capacity to pursue political aims through military force and a dangerous contempt for international opinion. The "Chambers of Reunion" active between 1679 and 1682 may initially have presented spurious justifications for absorbing substantial territories lying across France's eastern frontier, but by the time French troops occupied Strasbourg and most of the duchy of Luxembourg, it was evident that Louis and his ministers were indulging the opportunism of the powerful. The lack of effective resistance owed much to the preoccupation of Emperor Leopold I (ruled 1658–1705) with the Ottoman threat, which climaxed in the 1683 siege of Vienna. The spectacular collapse of Ottoman power following the breaking of the siege caused concern at Versailles, but no modification of policy: Spain responded to France's "reunions" by a declaration of war in 1683, and in retaliation Louis sanctioned the seizure of the city of Luxembourg and the naval bombardment of Spain's ally Genoa. Although the Spanish, vainly expecting imperial leadership of an anti-French coalition, were forced to accept a truce at Regensburg in 1684, hostility and fear about French intentions were now widespread.

In this fragile situation French actions grew more provocative. The revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 completed the alienation of Protestant Europe: after 1685 no Protestant power would again make an alliance with Louis XIV. Intrigues over the archbishopric of Cologne and a ham-handed attempt to exploit the succession to the Palatine Electorate antagonized and frightened the German princes. Meanwhile the success of imperial forces in the Balkans, which culminated in the 1688

capture of Belgrade, freed Emperor Leopold to play an active role in an anti-French coalition in the West. In 1686 a number of German princes, Charles II (ruled 1665–1700) of Spain, and Leopold I signed the League of Augsburg (later known as the Grand Alliance) to coordinate resistance to France. Preoccupied by his attempt to bully Pope Innocent XI and the German princes into accepting a French client as archbishop-elect of Cologne, and convinced that a protracted civil war in England would be the most likely—and desirable—consequence of an armed challenge to James II (ruled 1685–1688), Louis and his ministers did nothing to block the invasion of England by William, the stadtholder of the Dutch Republic. Landing at Torbay in November 1688, William's forces rapidly undermined any resistance on behalf of James, and by December, William and his wife, Mary, the daughter of James II, were in London. Louis's most implacable enemy was now established at the head of both the great maritime powers.

A house of cards consisting of facile and inflexible assumptions about the international situation was collapsing; belatedly, Louis and his ministers sought to halt the momentum toward war, but a characteristic reliance on threats and violence simply compounded the crisis. Though demanding that the emperor and the German princes should convert the 1684 truce of Regensburg into a permanent peace, a simultaneous attack by French forces on the Rhineland fortress of Philippsburg ensured that the French ultimatum was ignored. Louis's response was the devastation of the Palatine cities and countryside, not by any means the only instance of such exemplary destructiveness in the period, but one that could hardly have been worse timed in the face of a hostile coalition of all the major western European powers.

THE COURSE OF THE WAR

There had been little attempt during the 1680s to prepare France for another long war, and even in 1689 Louis still hoped that it might be won quickly. The pattern of conflict had much in common with the preceding Dutch War. In the field the French armies proved superior to their opponents, and a group of capable and enterprising commanders were able to maintain the initiative during successive campaigns. French forces in the first few years of

the war gained the military advantage in the Spanish Netherlands at Fleurus (July 1690), Steenkerque (August 1692), and Neerwinden (July 1693), while their victory at Staffarda (August 1690) in Piedmont threatened the collapse of allied power in northern Italy. But sustaining the war effort placed immense pressure upon France; the army was increased to at least 300,000 troops by the early 1690s. The allies could sustain heavy losses on campaign and still reinforce their army corps before the French could exploit a tactical advantage; French victories in the field and successful sieges did not, as Louis and his ministers hoped, bring the allies to the negotiating table. The French financial system and military administration were both under unprecedented strain. In 1693–1694 France suffered twin harvest failures accompanied by famine and disease, which killed upwards of 10 percent of the population. Tax revenues collapsed, much of the army went unpaid and unfed, and lingering hopes that Louis might be able to gain decisive victory evaporated. The French navy had acquitted itself impressively in 1690 with the victory over the combined Anglo-Dutch fleets at Béziers, and had continued to demonstrate tactical effectiveness in subsequent engagements. Yet in response to domestic crisis the navy was decommissioned (1695); some of the warships were contracted out to privateers, who continued a *guerre de course* (raiding campaign) against the allies, while the rest rotted in the dockyards.

By 1694–1695 the French government was desperate either to end the continental war outright or to reduce the scale of its military commitments; the allied capture of Namur (September 1695) provided alarming evidence that the military balance might be tipping against the French. Initiatives to divide the allies failed, and only in 1696 did Louis achieve a costly diplomatic breakthrough by a treaty (Turin) with Victor Amadeus II of Savoy (1666–1732), through which France gained the neutralization of the northern Italian theater at the price of abandoning the key French fortifications south of the Alps. Awareness that even with this scaling down of commitments in the south French forces on the northern and eastern frontiers would be heavily outnumbered during the 1696 campaign encouraged the first serious initiatives toward a general settlement.

Initial allied demands involved the restoration of all French acquisitions since Nijmegen, and negotiations foundered on Louis's refusal to return Strasbourg or to renounce any Bourbon claims in a future settlement of the Spanish succession. French negotiators finally settled with the Dutch and English representatives, recognizing William III as king of England, and conceding Dutch rights to garrison a fortress barrier in the Spanish Netherlands. The preliminary French settlement with the Dutch and English at Ryswick early in 1697 left the Austrians and the Spanish exposed diplomatically and militarily: the negotiations made major concessions to allied demands, returning most of France's conquests since 1678. Jeopardizing settlement over the refusal to surrender Strasbourg seemed disproportionate. Moreover, without the Maritime Powers' soldiers and warships, continuing the struggle against France looked less attractive. Indeed, deprived of the Anglo-Dutch navy, the Spanish were unable to prevent the French capture of Barcelona in August 1697. This provided a decisive inducement to accept the peace, signed at Ryswick by all the major combatants in September and October 1697. Although the emperor resented the abandonment of Strasbourg, and a party within Spain had wanted French concessions over earlier conquests in Flanders, Ryswick showed that France had been pushed to the limits of her resources by nine years of war.

See also **Dutch War (1672–1678)**; **James II (England)**; **Leopold I (Holy Roman Empire)**; **Louis XIV (France)**; **William and Mary**.

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LEAGUE OF CAMBRAI. See **Cambrai, League of (1508)**.

LEDOUX, CLAUDE-NICOLAS (1736–1806), French architect. Ledoux was among the most prominent architects of the final decades of the *ancien régime*. Although few of his buildings are extant, engravings of them and of his unrealized projects continue to draw the attention of architects and theorists interested in their inventive forms, symbolic expression, and social vision.

Ledoux's career exemplifies the increased social and professional mobility of architects in the second half of the eighteenth century. Born into a merchant family of modest means in a provincial town, Dormans (Marne), Ledoux received a classical education in Paris as a scholarship student at the



Claude-Nicolas Ledoux. Barrière (toll station) at La Villette, Paris, designed by Ledoux and built in 1784. ©GILLIAN DARLEY; EDIFICE/CORBIS

Collège de Dormans-Beauvais from 1749 to 1753. He subsequently apprenticed as an engraver and studied architecture at the private *École des Arts*, directed by the eminent architectural educator, Jacques-François Blondel (1705–1774). He reportedly completed his professional training in the atelier of Louis-François Trouard (1729–1794). Ledoux deftly established his career through contacts among alumni of the *collège*, the architects and amateurs affiliated with Blondel's school, and a circle of musicians and artists at Versailles that opened to him in 1764 when he married Marie Bureau, the daughter of an oboist in the court orchestra. From the 1760s, these overlapping networks led to a wide range of challenging and profitable private and public commissions as well as his appointment to the royal academy of architecture in 1773. His royalist associations, however, led to his professional ruin and imprisonment (1793–1795) during the French Revolution.

Ledoux began his practice as neoclassicism was emerging as the preferred style among trend-setting designers and clients, and he made a place for himself among them. In 1771–1773, he achieved fame with two commissions, a pavilion at Louveciennes for Madame du Barry (1743–1793), who had recently become Louis XV's mistress, and a house and private theater in Paris for Marie-Madeleine Guimard (1743–1816), a prominent dancer at the Opéra. Both women sought to use patronage of architecture and art to legitimize their place in society, and Ledoux responded to their ambition with buildings attesting to their (and his) discriminating and adventuresome taste. He shared the interest in Greco-Roman architecture that constitutes a defining attribute of neoclassicism, but his formal sources and theoretical intentions went beyond the revival of antiquity. His teacher, Blondel, instilled an enduring appreciation for the grandeur and compositional logic in the buildings of François Mansart

(1598–1666) and a conviction that architects must infuse their designs with an expressive character appropriate to their purpose. Ledoux pursued this attitude by exploring typology and the ways by which architecture can convey meaning. His investigations into the fundamental characteristics of building types paralleled the classificatory efforts of scientists, such as Georges-Louis Leclerc, comte de Buffon (1707–1788). His study of meaning engaged him with contemporary theories of perception, including Edmund Burke's (1729–1797) writings on the sublime. Ledoux's formal language was informed by a lifelong interest in three-dimensional geometry and also by the compositional vocabulary of Andrea Palladio (1508–1580), which he learned through study of Palladio's *Four Books on Architecture* (1570) and English neo-Palladian architecture.

Public commissions were an important part of Ledoux's practice from the beginning of his career. In 1764, he obtained a position in the royal department of water and forests (Département des Eaux et Forêts) for which he designed churches, fountains, and bridges. This experience sparked an interest in the economics, social organization, and architecture of rural life and brought him into contact with physiocratic reformers. In 1771, his patron, Madame du Barry, facilitated his appointment as architect-engineer for the saltworks (*salines*) in eastern France administered by the corporation of tax farmers (Fermiers Généraux). From 1775 to 1780, Ledoux realized a new saltworks, the Saline de Chaux, at Arc-et-Senans (Doubs). His master plan and architectural designs systematically addressed the technical, social, and symbolic dimensions of this important industry. Subsequently, he expanded the project into a visionary scheme for urban and rural development, which he presented in his treatise, published in 1804. Ledoux's work for the Fermiers Généraux included projects in Paris; notably, one of the first commissions for a large office building (begun 1783, never completed) and the master plan and buildings for a wall around the city (begun 1784) intended to regulate the collection of customs duties. Four of his toll stations (*barrières*) remain today. Among his commissions for public buildings outside Paris were the municipal theater in Besançon (1771–1784), an unrealized project for the city hall of Neuchâtel, Switzerland (1783),

and the Palais de Justice and prisons for Aix-en-Provence (designed 1779–1786), begun in 1787 but completed to the designs of others.

See also Architecture; Buffon, Georges Louis Leclerc; City Planning; France, Architecture in; Mansart, François; Neoclassicism; Palladio, Andrea, and Palladianism.

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RICHARD CLEARY

LEEUVENHOEK, ANTONI VAN

(1632–1723), Dutch microscopist. Born the son of a basket maker on 24 October 1632 in Delft, Leeuwenhoek had little formal education. He moved when he was sixteen to Amsterdam, where he was trained and employed by a draper. In 1654 he returned to Delft, married his first wife, Barbara, and established his own drapery business. One child from this first marriage survived, his daughter Maria, who became her father's lifelong companion.

Leeuwenhoek entered civic life in 1660, when he became chamberlain to the sheriffs of Delft. In 1669 he passed the exam to become a city surveyor, and in 1679 he became official wine gauger to the city of Delft. His first wife died in 1666; Leeuwenhoek married his second wife, Cornelia, in 1671, and she died in 1695.

Leeuwenhoek's career as a tradesman and civic figure took a sharp turn in 1673, when he was introduced to the Royal Society of London by a letter from Reinier de Graaf (1641–1673), a prominent anatomist of Delft. De Graaf said that Leeuwenhoek had devised microscopes that were far superior to any then known, and he included a paper by Leeuwenhoek that offered observations of bits of mold, the eye and sting of a bee, and a louse. The secretary of the Society, Henry Oldenburg, was interested and encouraged further correspondence. Over the next fifty years, Leeuwenhoek wrote more than three hundred letters to the Royal Society. He read and wrote only Dutch, so these letters had to be translated into Latin for publication. The extracts printed in the Society's *Philosophical Transactions* constitute the bulk of Leeuwenhoek's published scientific work.

We do not know how Leeuwenhoek became interested in either microscopy or lens making. It has been suggested that his use of the draper's glass to examine woven cloth might have been a stimulus, but probably his acquaintance with de Graaf and Cornelius's Gravesande, another Delft anatomist, was more important. Whatever the stimulus, by 1671 Leeuwenhoek was making his own microscopes, and they had a unique design. Whereas the microscopes made by Robert Hooke (1635–1703) and other contemporaries were compound instruments, with both an objective lens and an eyepiece, Leeuwenhoek built simple microscopes, with a single beadlike lens mounted between two small thin metal sheets, usually brass. The object to be viewed was mounted on a pin on one side of the lens, and the eye was placed, almost touching the lens, on the other. The microscopes were successful because the tiny spherical lenses were exquisitely ground, or, in a few cases, blown. The measure of their success is what Leeuwenhoek was able to see through them.

In 1674 Leeuwenhoek examined cloudy water from a nearby lake and discovered it was teeming with tiny "animalcules," which we recognize as protozoa. Two years later, while continuing to study his tiny animals, he discovered in an infusion of pepper water some creatures that were much smaller, so small that, in his words, a million would not occupy the space of a grain of sand. Leeuwenhoek had discovered bacteria (although he never recognized them as a radically different form of life

from protozoa). The Royal Society was quite excited by Leeuwenhoek's discovery of microscopic life, which he announced in his famous letters of 7 September 1674 and 9 October 1676, and other microscopists scurried to see for themselves. This was not easy, as no one had microscopes with the resolution of Leeuwenhoek's, but eventually his claims were confirmed.

Leeuwenhoek's other most notable achievement was the discovery of spermatozoa, which he announced in a letter of November 1677. He observed these first in humans, then in dogs, and eventually in more than thirty different species. After persistent study, he came to argue that each sperm was the seed of an individual creature and would give rise to the next generation if properly nourished in the womb. Since most contemporaries argued that the female provided the seed and the male merely some sort of fertilizing power, this was a radically new theory of generation. Leeuwenhoek believed that every element of an adult form was contained in a single sperm. However, he did not, as is sometimes stated, ever claim to see the form of a human within a human sperm.

Leeuwenhoek made other notable discoveries and observations. He was one of the pioneers of plant anatomy, taking a special interest in wood structure. He made a series of detailed studies of blood, observing the red blood cells, and was actually able to see single cells circulating through the capillaries in the tail of an eel, which he announced in a letter of 7 September 1688.

Leeuwenhoek became quite a famous figure in Delft (which, except for two early excursions, he never left). He entertained visitors willingly, although this proved quite time consuming in later life. The future James II of England (ruled 1685–1688) and Tsar Peter I of Russia (ruled 1682–1725) were among those who journeyed to Delft to see Leeuwenhoek and his wonders. When Leeuwenhoek had mastered a particular specimen, he would set up a permanent stand in his house, with a microscope devoted to that specimen, so that a visitor could go from station to station and observe swamp water, blood, insect parts, and other exotica without wasting time. This required a great number of microscopes, and it is estimated that Leeuwenhoek built over five hundred in his lifetime. Twenty-

six, made of silver, were presented to the Royal Society after his death, with specimens attached; sadly, these have disappeared. But nine of his microscopes have survived and are the treasures of museums in Utrecht, Leiden, Rotterdam, Antwerp, and Munich.

One rather odd feature of Leeuwenhoek's life is that he was executor, in 1676, for the estate of the artist Jan Vermeer (1632–1675). Although other interaction between the two figures cannot be documented, it has been suggested that Vermeer learned optics from Leeuwenhoek, or perhaps vice versa, and it has been further suggested that Leeuwenhoek was the sitting subject for two of Vermeer's famous paintings, *The Astronomer* (1668) and *The Geographer* (1668–1669).

Although the *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society was the primary forum for Leeuwenhoek's discoveries throughout his life, he did supervise the separate publication of several collections of those letters, in both Dutch and Latin, beginning in 1684 and continuing to 1722. However, he never wrote any kind of a synthesis of his work. Leeuwenhoek died in his home, at the age of ninety, on 26 August 1723, shortly after dictating a last letter to the Royal Society.

See also **Academies, Learned; Hooke, Robert; Optics; Scientific Instruments; Scientific Revolution; Technology.**

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LEIBNIZ, GOTTFRIED WILHELM (1646–1716), German philosopher, mathematician, physicist, historian, and diplomat. Gottfried Wilhelm Freiherr von Leibniz was born at the end of the Thirty Years' War in Leipzig, a Protestant university town in Germany, where his father was a professor. His father died when Leibniz was only six, but he inherited his library and his respect for intellectual pursuits and from an early age read widely in the Latin classics, history, Christian theology, and logic. His precocious eclecticism foreshadowed the course of his later life. The sixty thousand handwritten pages that he left behind at his death (now mostly housed in the Leibniz Archives in Hanover, Germany) cover an awesome range of topics, his mastery of each one of which is stamped by the erudition of a scholar and the originality of genius. His legacy includes the invention of the infinitesimal calculus and its application to mechanics via the study of differential equations and transcendental curves; a metaphysics that reconciles mechanistic science with the inviolable integrity of human awareness; a theory of knowledge based on analysis as a search for conditions of intelligibility and guided by a prescient appreciation of formal languages; a moral theory born of his experience as a diplomat that underwrites religious and cultural tolerance and decries tyranny; and a history of the House of Hanover, exemplary in its scholarly procedures, that deepens our understanding of the Middle Ages.

After an early academic post at the University of Altdorf, Leibniz decided in favor of the practical life as an advisor to princes: in 1667 he was called to the Catholic court of the Bishop Elector in Mainz, which led to his four wonderful years in Paris, 1672–1676; thereafter he served the dukes (then electors) of Hanover until his death, service punctuated by frequent voyages in Europe, the longest of which was a sojourn in Italy from 1687 to 1690. The sojourn in Paris changed his life, for there he met the Dutch physicist Christiaan Huygens (1629–1695), who introduced him to Descartes's geometry and the new algebra, and also made the acquaintance of Nicolas de Malebranche (1638–1715) and Antoine Arnauld (1612–1694). It is fair to say that between 1672 and 1676, Leibniz recapitulated the history of Western mathematics, for he came to Paris knowing only Euclid and left with the



Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

invention of the infinitesimal calculus, including the essential notational innovations of dx for the differential and \int for the integral, to his credit. The inaugural publication of his differential and integral calculus appeared in the journal *Acta Eruditorum*: “Nova Methodus pro Maximis et Minimis” (A new method for maxima and minima) in October 1684, and “De Geometria Recondita et Analysis Indivisibilium atque Infinitorum” (On a deeply hidden geometry and the analysis of indivisibles and infinites) in June 1686. Leibniz’s discovery of the calculus in the 1670s occurred independently of Isaac Newton’s (1642–1727) activity, though his later application of the theory of differential equations to planetary motion seems to have been directly inspired by Newton’s *Principia* (1687). Johann (1667–1748) and Jakob (1654–1705) Bernoulli used Leibniz’s ideas and notation to work out important problems in analysis and mechanics, which led in turn to the work of Leonhard Euler (1707–1783), Jean Le Rond d’Alembert (1717–1783), and Joseph-Louis Lagrange (1736–1813) in the eighteenth century.

In the same year, 1686, Leibniz composed his *Discours de métaphysique* (Discourse on metaphysics) and began his correspondence with the French Jansenist philosopher Antoine Arnauld, two works that display the metaphysical position of his middle years with special clarity. The *Discourse on Metaphysics* argues that we should make God’s creation of the world our model in the employment of an *ars inveniendi*, though since we are finite, we must rest content with employing highly reductive formal languages (“characteristics”) to investigate intelligible but infinite or infinitesimal things. Its scientific reflections are developed in the unpublished *Dynamica* (Dynamics) of 1689–1691, and “Specimen dynamicum” (A specimen of dynamics) published in 1695. The jurisprudential and political works written during Leibniz’s maturity also urge that we take God’s rational and charitable freedom as the model for our moral decisions, legal system, and the comportment of princes and parliaments. Voltaire could never have satirized Leibniz’s philosophical views as naïve in his novel *Candide* (1759) if he had read and taken to heart the essay “Mars Christianissimus” (1683; Most Christian war god), where Leibniz attacks the aggression and autocracy of Louis XIV, then king of France, with the eloquent fury of a seasoned diplomat whose dearest wish was to see Europe reunited as a pacific confederacy. Leibniz was also one of a handful of seventeenth-century European intellectuals to entertain seriously the learning of China and to argue that Europe might profit from cultural exchange with the great Eastern empire. His later metaphysics, oriented more toward theology than science or politics, is summarized in short unpublished works written in 1714, “Principes de la nature et de la grâce, fondés en raison” (Principles of nature and grace, founded on reason) and “Monadologia” (Monadology), as well as the explicitly theological work of 1710, *Essais de Théodicée* (Essays on theodicy). Leibniz died quietly in Hanover in 1716, but his thought has enjoyed an animated afterlife ever since.

See also **Alembert, Jean Le Rond d’**; **Euler, Leonhard**; **Huygens Family**; **Lagrange, Joseph-Louis**; **Mathematics**; **Newton, Isaac**.

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LEIPZIG. Leipzig was a center of trade, religious organization and innovation, music, printing, and education in the Holy Roman Empire. The population of the town grew from about 9,000 in 1500 to about 30,000 in 1800. Contemporaries often contrasted Leipzig's commercial atmosphere to the court-dominated atmosphere of Dresden, the other main Saxon urban center. From 1485, when the territory of Saxony was divided into electoral and ducal portions, until 1547, Leipzig was located in ducal Saxony. When Duke Maurice was awarded the electoral title in 1547, Leipzig became part of electoral Saxony.

Leipzig was influenced by the course of Saxon politics in many ways. The city's economic and cultural boom from the late seventeenth to the mid-eighteenth century was in part the result of Saxony's political prominence under the rule of Frederick Augustus I (ruled 1694–1733) and Frederick Augustus II (ruled 1733–1763). Similarly, the timing and degree of the city's involvement in the Schmalkaldic War (1546–1547), the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648), the Seven Years' War (1756–1763), and the Napoleonic Wars (1796–1815) were conditioned by territorial politics. The electoral court also influenced local politics, although historians have recently emphasized the power of local elites. The Leipzig city council was divided into three rotating groups, each typically made up of twelve councillors and one mayor, who served a one-year term as the governing or "sitting" council. About half of the councillors were merchants, and half were lawyers. Election was by co-optation (new members were chosen by the existing members). Eligibility to serve

on the council was not formally restricted, but most councillors were members of well-established local merchant and professional families.

Artisanal production, the university, and the printing industry were all important sectors of the local economy. About seventy trades were represented in the city; the university's thousand-plus students helped support the entertainment, luxury, and printing trades. Also key were Leipzig's trade fairs, held three times a year. The fairs achieved dominance in Saxony and Thuringia by 1500, and from the 1680s onward, they were the largest in central Europe. Leipzig became one of the main German distribution centers for colonial goods.

Leipzig had become a cultural center by the fifteenth century. A university that became one of the most prominent in Germany was founded there in 1409. By the eve of the Reformation, the city housed numerous monasteries, and the two main churches, St. Nicholas and St. Thomas, were the object of endowments by the city council, guilds, and individuals. Some burghers were early adherents of the Lutheran doctrine preached in nearby electoral Saxony. However, the Reformation was officially introduced into the city only in 1539, when Duke Heinrich succeeded his brother George, who had remained Catholic. Leipzig's clerics soon became well-known and influential in the Lutheran world. The next major religious dispute erupted in 1689, when a group of reformist students and burghers known as Pietists challenged mainstream orthodox clerics. High baroque culture thrived in Leipzig from the 1680s onward, with a boom in public and private architecture, fashion, entertainment, and secular and sacred music, most notably represented by Johann Sebastian Bach, who served as town cantor from 1723 to 1750. Leipzig was also a center of Enlightenment printing and debate.

See also **Bach Family; Dresden; Pietism; Printing and Publishing; Saxony.**

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Leipzig. Illustration from *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, c. 1572–1618, by Braun and Hogenberg. ©ARCHIVO ICONOGRAFICO S.A./CORBIS

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LEO X (POPE) (1475–1521; reigned 1513–1521). Second son of Lorenzo “the Magnificent” de’ Medici and Clarice Orsini, Giovanni Romolo de’ Medici was trained in the humanities and received a doctorate in canon law from the University

of Pisa in 1492. He was appointed cardinal in 1489, and held various legations culminating in that to the Holy League, which reinstalled his family to power in Florence in 1512.

Elected pope by the younger cardinals in 1513, Leo X quietly continued the imperial and Spanish alliance against France pursued by his predecessor Julius II (reigned 1503–1513), but he made peace with the French king Francis I following the latter’s military victory in 1515 and negotiated a concordat with him at Bologna, to replace the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges (1438). He tried to create a French alliance by Medici marriages to relatives of Francis I: His brother Giuliano (1479–1516) was married to the royal aunt Philiberte de Savoy, and his nephew Lorenzo di Piero (1492–1519), to Madeleine de La Tour d’Auvergne (d. 1519), probably a royal cousin, whose orphaned daughter, Catherine (1519–1589), later became queen of France. With their deaths and the election of Charles V as Holy Roman emperor in 1519, which he opposed, Leo returned clearly to the Habsburg alliance and regained Parma and Piacenza for the Papal States once the French were defeated in 1521.

As head of the Roman Catholic Church, Leo took his responsibilities seriously. At religious ceremonies he presided with dignity and devotion. He brought to a successful conclusion the Fifth Lateran Council (1512–1517), which healed the Pisan schism, approved the abrogation of the Pragmatic Sanction, and confirmed the Concordat of Bologna; regulated relations between bishops and exempt clerics; condemned Averroistic views on the soul; ordered prepublication censorship of books; legislated various moral and curial reforms; and ordered a crusade that, given Christian rivalries, could never be launched. He tried to promote a reunion of the churches by sending a legate to the Hussites and establishing good relations with the Maronites and Ethiopians. To promote the evangelization of non-Christians, he approved in 1518 the training of non-European clergy and the episcopal consecration of Enrique (c. 1494–1531), son of the king of the Congo. To preserve orthodoxy he threatened Martin Luther (1483–1546) with penalties should he fail to recant forty-one propositions (*Exsurge Domine*, 1520); he then excommunicated the recalcitrant friar (*Decet Romanum Pontificem*, 1521). To Henry VIII he assigned in 1521 the title “Defender of the Faith” for writing against Luther. While he actively supported the observant movement in religious orders, he failed to effect a serious reform of the Roman Curia, because it would have reduced his revenues.

Leo was a lavish patron of arts and letters. He employed Michelangelo Buonarroti (1475–1564) to carve the Medici tombs in Florence, and in Rome he commissioned Raphael Sanzio (1483–1520) to work on the frescoes in the papal apartments and loggia, design the Sistine tapestries, paint his papal portrait, and supervise the construction of the new St. Peter’s Basilica and excavations of Roman archaeological sites. As domestic secretaries he hired the humanists Pietro Bembo (1470–1547) and Jacopo Sadoleto (1477–1547). He endowed professorships at the University of Rome and founded there a Greek college and press. Leo was on good terms with leading humanists such as Desiderius Erasmus (1466?–1536), who dedicated to him the *Novum Instrumentum* (New Testament) of 1516. He commissioned Marco Girolamo Vida (c. 1490–1566) to compose the epic poem *Christiad* (1535), begun in 1518, and in 1521 he urged Jacopo Sannazaro



Pope Leo X. Pope Leo X with cardinals Giulio de’ Medici (later Pope Clement VII) and Luigi de Rosai. Portrait by Raphael, 1518, Uffizi Gallery, Florence.

(1458–1530) to complete his *De Partu Virginis* (1526; “On the virgin birth”), begun in 1506.

Leo promoted numerous relatives and clients to church office, most notably in the 1517 mass creation of thirty-one cardinals following a plot to poison him, which had been provoked by his interference in Siense political affairs. His first cousin Giulio de’ Medici (1478–1534), whom he appointed archbishop of Florence, cardinal, and vice-chancellor of the church, was his closest adviser and would eventually succeed him as Clement VII (reigned 1523–1534). By his lavish expenditures on culture and warfare, and despite his efforts to raise new revenues by the sale of venal offices, dispensations, and indulgences, Leo X left the papacy deeply in debt at the time of his sudden death from pneumonia. He was eventually buried in the church of S. Maria sopra Minerva.

See also Francis I (France); Medici Family; Papacy and Papal States.

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LEONARDO DA VINCI (1452–1519), Italian painter, sculptor, architect, and inventor. The illegitimate son of a young notary and a farm girl, both of whom married other people of their own social station shortly after his birth, Leonardo was adopted into his father's household when his stepmother remained childless. Unlike his father, Ser Pietro, who had learned Latin in connection with his profession, Leonardo, for all his evident intelligence, proved a poor and distracted student; he received the arithmetical training known as "abacus school" (*scuola di abbaco*) and then seems to have quit his formal schooling to be apprenticed to the famous Florentine sculptor Andrea del Verrocchio (1435–1488).

Leonardo's first biographer, Giorgio Vasari (1511–1574), tells how the young apprentice painted so ethereal an angel for Verrocchio's *Baptism of Christ* that the master threw up his hands and admitted defeat. But Verrocchio also helped to create Leonardo's famous sfumato or "smudged" shading technique, and encouraged his reliance on drawing as the chief medium for artistic composition, whether in painting, sculpture, architecture, or mechanics. Leonardo's first independent commission, an altarpiece for the Chapel of Saint Bernard in Palazzo della Signoria, contracted in 1478, was never completed, and this unfinished business set a pattern for the rest of his life. When his father procured for him the assignment of an altarpiece with the *Adoration of the Magi* for the Augustinian Canons Regular at San Donato in 1481, he put in several months of hard work on the ambitious painting, then abruptly left Florence for Milan in September, where he joined the court of Ludovico Sforza (duke of Milan 1481–1499).

This move represented more than a change of place; it also brought on a change in Leonardo's

whole way of life. Florence, despite the heavy hand of the Medici clan in every government office and public commission, was nominally a republic, a large city-state with an elaborate set of public institutions. Ludovico, on the other hand, was a professional soldier who had seized Milan by force and aimed to keep control of the city by maintaining an efficient system of government and an active cultural life.

Leonardo seems to have applied to Ludovico Sforza with an offer to serve as a military architect. He spent much of his time with Donato Bramante (1444–1514) and the mathematician Luca Pacioli, providing the illustrations for Pacioli's popular book *On Divine Proportion* (1509), some of them originally pillaged from Piero della Francesca

Sometime between 1493 and 1495, Leonardo obtained the commission to decorate the refectory of the Dominican convent of Santa Maria delle Grazie with a *Last Supper*. The fresco was widely influential despite the failure of Leonardo's experimental formula for its paint, which began to deteriorate almost immediately.

In 1494, Charles VIII, the king of France, invaded Italy. By 1499, Milan had fallen to French troops, who imprisoned Ludovico. Leonardo, in the company of Luca Pacioli, returned to Florence, but not before he had seen the huge clay model for his never-completed statue of Francesco Sforza used for target practice by Gascon bowmen.

In 1502 Leonardo worked briefly as a military engineer in central Italy for Cesare Borgia. When Borgia's military campaigns began to be reined in by his father, Rodrigo (later Pope Alexander VI; reigned 1492–1503), Leonardo again returned to the Florentine republic, where an extensive remodeling of the great city hall, the Palazzo della Signoria, was under way. Here, in a monumental room designed to hold the republic's new representative council, Leonardo was asked to paint scenes from the battle of Anghiari, a skirmish in which Florence had gotten the best of her inveterate rival (and sometime port) Pisa. On the opposite wall, the city council had engaged Michelangelo Buonarroti, whose newly completed *David* still provides the most eloquent testimony to the indomitable spirit of this early-sixteenth-century Florentine republic.



Leonardo da Vinci. *The Virgin and Child with Saint Anne and Saint John the Baptist.* ©NATIONAL GALLERY COLLECTION; BY KIND PERMISSION OF THE TRUSTEES OF THE NATIONAL GALLERY, LONDON/CORBIS

Leonardo worked up at least part of his design for the *Battle of Anghiari* (begun 1503) to full size and transferred it to the wall of the council hall, but he decided to paint it in a medium that would lend the chalky plaster surface of the fresco something of the sheen of oil paint. The experiment failed miserably, and Leonardo never finished the work. It was finally covered by another fresco executed by Giorgio Vasari. Also in Florence, Leonardo became preoccupied with water and its motions. Another side of nature shows forth in Leonardo's sketches for his lost painting of *Leda and the Swan*.

From 1506 to 1513, Leonardo moved between Milan and Florence, evading the irate city councilmen who clamored for the rest of their *Battle of Anghiari* and also evading the violent skirmishes that plagued the area around Milan. He filled a series of notebooks with his writings, sketches, and anatomical studies. In 1512, the Florentine republic fell to a restored Medici dynasty; in 1513, Medici

rule was reinforced by the election in Rome of a Medici pope, Leo X (reigned 1513–1521), son of Lorenzo the Magnificent. When the pope invested his brother, Giuliano de' Medici, with honorary Roman citizenship, Leonardo traveled with Giuliano's entourage and continued to study and write from his own special apartment in the Vatican Palace. In a city dominated by the imposing influence of Raphael, who had transformed himself from a painter to a designer (*disegnatore*) of international fame, Leonardo began to compile his own notes on painting, which would eventually be gathered together by his pupil Francesco Melzi and published in 1651 as *Treatise on Painting*.

In 1516, the aging artist accepted an invitation to become *peintre du roi* by Francis I of France and moved north with Melzi and his servant Salai. He died there in 1519 at the age of sixty-seven.

See also Art: Artistic Patronage; Florence, Art in; Medici Family; Vasari, Giorgio.

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LEOPOLD I (HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE) (1640–1705; king of Hungary and of Bohemia from 1655; Holy Roman emperor from 1658). The second surviving son of Emperor Ferdinand III (ruled 1637–1657), Archduke Leopold was destined by dynastic tradition to enter the church, where he could use the wealth and influence of high ecclesiastical office to further Habsburg dynastic interests in Europe. His older brother, the heir apparent, died in 1654, however, and Leopold, at age fourteen, had to take his brother's place and abandon clerical vows in order to become the dynastic

patriarch. The young archduke's education was overseen by tutors and aristocratic mentors who molded him for an ecclesiastical career. Leopold early adopted the intense Catholic piety expected of him and the gentle manners appropriate to a merely supporting role. He grew to manhood without the military ambition that characterized most of his fellow monarchs. From the beginning, his reign was defensive and profoundly conservative.

His first crisis concerned the Habsburg dynastic succession in the future, for in seven years death had reduced the living male Habsburgs to only two: Leopold and his sickly cousin Charles II of Spain. In 1666 Leopold married the younger daughter of Philip IV of Spain, the infanta Margareta (1651–1673); of their four children, only one, Maria Antonia (1669–1692) lived beyond the first year. A second marriage in 1673 to Claudia Felicitas of the Tyrol (1653–1676) brought two more daughters, both of whom died in their first year. In 1676 his third marriage to Eleanora Magdalena of Neuburg (1655–1720) finally produced a male heir in Joseph I (ruled 1705–1711) and then another son, Charles VI (ruled 1711–1740).

Two decades of dynastic crisis encouraged Leopold's neighbors to contemplate the Habsburg lands should Leopold fail to provide a male heir. France coveted the Spanish territories along the Rhenish frontier; in the east the Turks seized control of Transylvania in 1663 and invaded Hungary the next year. A coalition of imperial and Hungarian forces defeated the invaders at St. Gotthard in 1664. Leopold then surprised and disgusted his generals by concluding a hasty treaty at Vasvár accepting Turkish occupation of most of what they held and paying a large tribute to the Sublime Porte, the Ottoman government in Turkey. Leopold defended the treaty by pointing to French threats against the Low Countries. The immediate consequence, however, was the emergence of a conspiracy among Hungarian magnates who accused Leopold of wasting their blood. Leaders formed armed bands that moved about Hungary attacking both imperial and Turkish units, leading to renewed Turkish incursions. When the plot developed into a plan to murder Leopold, the court struck back, rounded up all the leaders, and executed them. Characteristically, Leopold himself favored clemency for the

plotters, several of whom had been childhood friends, but sterner voices prevailed in his councils.

The imperial court at Vienna was a multilingual assembly of some two thousand persons, only about a hundred of whom participated in decision making through the judicial, financial, and military councils. Around them were small swarms of secretaries, copyists, investigators, bodyguards, lawyers, and others who were gradually coalescing into a primitive bureaucracy. Beyond them was a larger swarm of laborers, janitors, kitchen help, grooms, stable hands, laundresses, and court purveyors. All of these enjoyed the privilege of being subject to a special judiciary under the court marshal.

The aristocratic elite that dominated the governing councils generally split into two distinct factions: "westerners," who followed Leopold's own preference for appeasing the Turks in order to concentrate on the French threat, and on the other side the "easterners," who insisted that the Turks were the greater threat. That group included most of the military leaders, courtiers with great properties in Hungary or Croatia, and above all the church hierarchy, which followed the papacy's lead in the crusade against militant Islam.

It was clear that Leopold's territories could not provide the resources to allow major military campaigns in both Hungary and the Low Countries. Unrest in the east and French invasions into the Netherlands forced Leopold to enter into an alliance with the Calvinist Dutch Republic. This move unsettled his conscience for years, but the commercial wealth of the Protestant sea powers combined with the human and material resources of central Europe formed the basis on which subsequent Habsburgs built their Danubian empire. The war with France, which began in 1673, lasted beyond the end of his reign with only two brief periods of armed peace.

To deal with the eastern problems, Leopold was advised to resort to a policy of repression, revoking the privileges and freedoms guaranteed by Hungary's constitution and occupying the country with German troops, who would be paid by the local counties and the magnates. Spontaneous uprisings produced a general revolt. Vienna responded with a program of violent repression, setting up special courts that prosecuted Protestant preachers, an-

gering popular opinion in Protestant states. The repression lasted until 1676, when Leopold had to remove the imperial garrisons from Hungary to fight against France. Hungary again fell into civil war between Catholic magnates loyal to the emperor and Protestant nobles defending their freedom of religion as guaranteed in their constitution. Restoration of traditional liberties in 1681 merely intensified the rebellion.

A deadly plague spreading up the Danube hit the Austrian provinces in 1679, forcing the court to move to Prague. Vienna lost about a fifth of its population. That disaster alongside the diversion of war with France led the Turkish vizier Kara Mustafa to undertake a massive onslaught against the west. In 1683, moving unexpectedly quickly, a Turkish army of nearly a hundred thousand surrounded Vienna on 16 July. Leopold fled with his councils to Passau, where the government began organizing the city's relief. A relieving force gathered above Vienna attacked the besieging forces on 12 September. With the help of King John Sobieski III of Poland, the long battle ended with the Turks in full retreat down the Danube.

The triumph of 1683 turned Leopold's attention to the east. The shift of power in Hungary came slowly. Remaining rebel forces gradually accepted Leopold's offered amnesty. By 1686 Buda fell, the next year imperial forces occupied Transylvania, and in 1688 the great fortress of Belgrade fell. Vienna had just begun celebrating when France invaded the Palatinate. This forced Leopold once again to choose between allowing France to ravage the empire and concentrating on the east, or taking the great risk of fighting a two-front war. Leopold agreed to a greater war, which is known as the War of the League of Augsburg. For nearly a decade neither front produced clear results. In 1691 the Turks retook Belgrade. In 1697, with Prince Eugene of Savoy in command, imperial forces defeated the main Turkish army at Zenta. Two years later the Treaty of Karlowitz fixed the eastern boundary of the Habsburg empire where it remained largely unchanged until the twentieth century.

The treaty of Ryswick temporarily interrupted hostilities with France, but upon the death of Charles II in 1700, war broke out again over the

Spanish succession. Leopold sent his forces into northern Italy to occupy what they could of Spanish possessions there. The war soon became global, involving struggles in Germany, Flanders, Italy, Spain, Canada, New England, and the West and East Indies. Leopold died in 1705 at the peak of its intensity. He left a monarchy strengthened by military success, but in much need of institutional reform. Leopold was not a forceful personality. He believed sincerely that his conscientious piety would be sustained by divine providence, which would produce the necessary miracles for survival. He was a master at the art of representing his sovereignty on an elaborate baroque stage, staging complex allegorical productions, performing in them, and composing oratorios and incidental music for them. Vienna's premier role in the development of western music owes much to this modest emperor's cultivation of the one art form that could bridge the many languages spoken by his subjects.

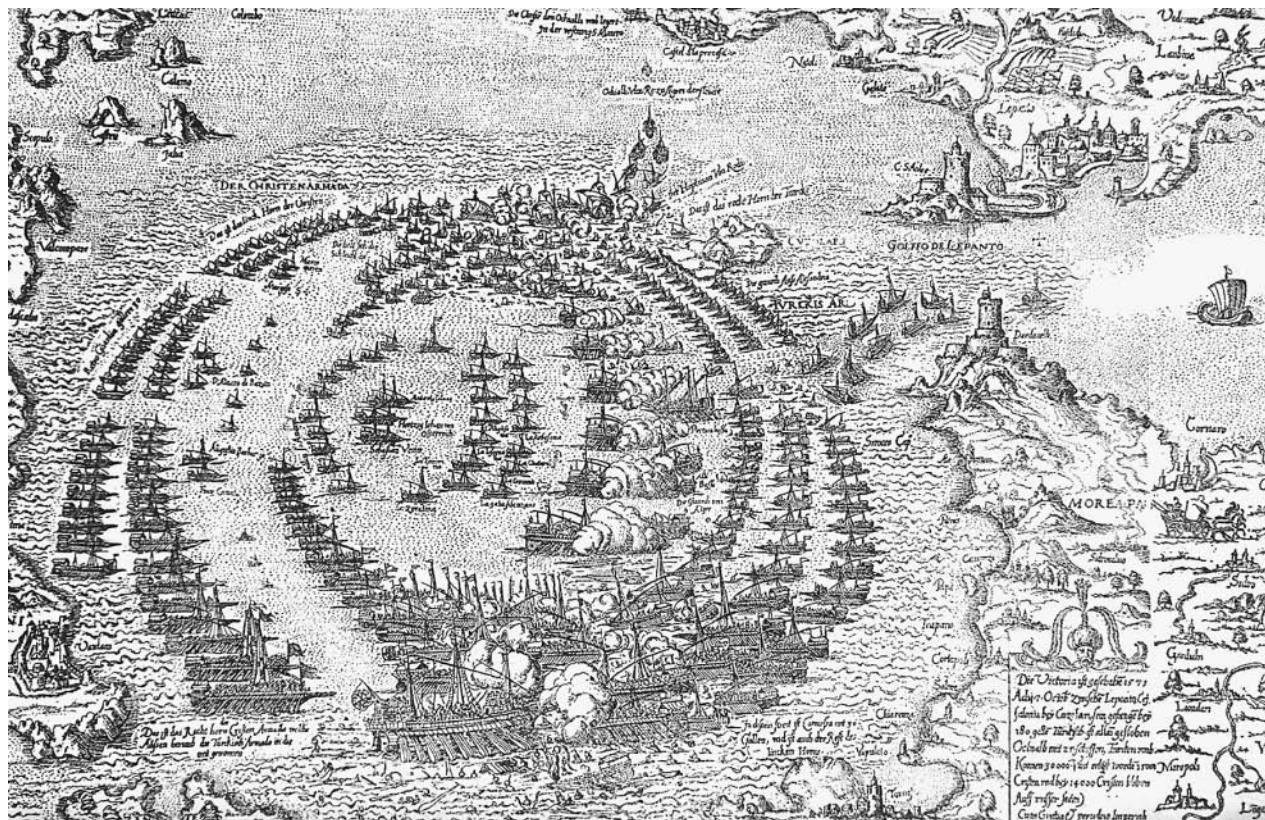
See also Habsburg Dynasty; Holy Roman Empire; Hungary; League of Augsburg, War of the (1688–1697); Spanish Succession, War of the (1701–1714); Vienna; Vienna, Sieges of.

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JOHN P. SPIELMAN

LEPANTO, BATTLE OF. The Battle of Lepanto took place on 6–7 October 1571 between



Battle of Lepanto. A sixteenth-century engraving shows the encirclement of the Turkish fleet. ©BETTMANN/CORBIS

the Catholic Holy League fleet led by Don Juan of Austria, a bastard son of Habsburg emperor Charles V, and an Ottoman fleet under Müezzinzade Ali Pasha. It occurred at the mouth of the Gulf of Patras, near where the Peloponnesian peninsula joins the mainland (now in modern Greece). An Ottoman debacle, Lepanto was the last great galley battle in the Mediterranean. The Ottomans sent about 280 ships there, and the Holy League had about the same number. The battle featured the use by the Holy League of a new naval weapon: galleasses. These were Venetian merchant ships outfitted with high cannon superstructures sent in front of the armada to pound the Ottoman fleet as it tried to sweep around them. Debate has persisted about whether it was these new ships with their improved firepower or the Ottoman failure to outflank the Christian force that caused the latter's victory. The battle resulted in about two hundred Ottoman ships being sunk or captured and thirty thousand Ottoman sailors and soldiers killed or captured with only minimal casualties on the Christian side.

A CELEBRATED BUT QUESTIONABLE MILESTONE

This defeat occurred only one month after the shattering Ottoman defeat of Venetian forces defending Cyprus, which the Ottomans then conquered and controlled for the next three centuries. Lepanto was soon celebrated in Europe as a reversal of this defeat and as the end of many years of naval defeats that the Ottomans had inflicted on the Christians. The battle came to be seen as the beginning of subsequent naval decline of the Ottoman Empire. Some modern historians have discounted this view by pointing out that the Ottoman Empire rebuilt virtually the entire fleet that it had lost at Lepanto within a year. Others have pointed out that although the Ottomans did restore their fleet, they suffered a crippling loss of manpower that was particularly harmful for galley warfare. The battle provided a psychological boost for the Catholic world then locked in numerous conflicts across Europe. It was commemorated in Europe through paintings and drawings that depicted it as evidence of a renewed crusading spirit. Miguel de Cervantes, a soldier for

Habsburg Spain, was so severely wounded in the hand at Lepanto that he became a writer. G. K. Chesterton memorialized the battle in a poem.

Lepanto proved the last great Christian-Muslim naval battle in the Mediterranean since privateers and corsairs increasingly dominated naval warfare there. Large-scale Christian-Muslim galley warfare ended in the Mediterranean, perhaps because this battle revealed to both sides the difficulties of permanently controlling this sea. The change may simply reflect, however, that the arena of naval combat had shifted to include the Atlantic and more distant oceans and seas. Ottoman, Habsburg, and Venetian acceptance of the inability of any one power to control the whole Mediterranean after Lepanto led to both a rise in piracy and more commercial activity between traditional partners like Genoa, Venice, and the Ottoman Empire, as well as newcomers like the British, the Dutch and the French.

See also **Austro-Ottoman Wars**; **Cervantes, Miguel de**; **Galleys**; **Holy Leagues**; **Juan de Austria, Don**.

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ERNEST TUCKER

LERMA, FRANCISCO GÓMEZ DE SANDOVAL Y ROJAS, 1ST DUKE OF (1552/1553–1625), favorite of Philip III of Spain and a member of a Valencian family with a long tradition as courtiers. Lerma, about whom few historians ever have said anything kind, was the first of the seventeenth-century *validos*, or Spanish favorites, whose greatest exemplar was the Count-Duke of Olivares (1587–1645).

Philip III (ruled 1598–1621) was an unworthy successor to his grandfather, Charles V (ruled as

Holy Roman emperor 1519–1556; as Charles I, king of Spain, 1516–1556), and father, Philip II (ruled 1556–1598). Lerma dominated the young monarch immediately upon his accession and for the next twenty years. Until his fall in 1618, Lerma amassed enormous wealth, elevated friends and relatives whose incompetence was matched only by their greed, oversaw economic ruin, including the sale of offices and debasement of currency, encouraged a lavish court that was a stark contrast to the austerity practiced in the sixteenth century, and engineered the costly and useless transfer of the capital to Valladolid. But he also advocated a series of peace treaties that enabled Spain (and its enemies) to spend around fifteen years in relative peace and recover from decades of warfare.

Scholars traditionally have said that Philip III, under the sway of Lerma, essentially abdicated. Lerma’s contemporaries, angry that he kept the king in virtual isolation and beyond their reach, certainly thought so, but recent scholarship disagrees. Evidence is scanty, but what is clear is that Philip III’s reign was the occasion for important political developments. The crisis of authority during the early seventeenth century provided theorists with ammunition for new ideas about the relationship between monarch and advisor; the economic crisis propelled the representative Cortes (parliament) and the cities into a more active political role; and even the opulent tastes of the aristocracy and the court spurred artistic production. Lerma can be blamed for these developments; he can also be credited for them. Moreover, peace allowed the government to undertake serious naval rebuilding.

Lerma owned one of the largest art collections of the period and was a patron of dramatists and architects. Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640) painted his portrait in 1603, seating him like a king on horseback amid glorious, light-infused battle scenes. Juan Pantoja de la Cruz painted portraits of Lerma and Philip III in 1602 and 1606 that are practically identical; the implications were surely not lost on contemporaries.

By 1612, Lerma was the sole intermediary between the king and all government institutions, so much so that the king ordered the Council of State to obey the duke in all matters. His signature had the same weight as that of the king. He had skillfully



Duke of Lerma. Equestrian portrait by Peter Paul Rubens. ©DAVID LEES/CORBIS

institutionalized and legitimized this position of unprecedented power, which he capped in 1618, on the eve of his fall, by being appointed a cardinal of the Roman Catholic Church, apparently the culmination of years of indecision about joining a religious order and withdrawing from the world.

Lerma was probably the richest man in Spain, as well as the most powerful. His enemies were legion, not surprisingly, and they included most of the aristocracy and the female members of the king's family: his wife, Margaret of Austria; his grandmother, Empress Maria of Austria; and his aunt, Margaret of the Cross, a nun. Indeed, it was partly to escape their influence that Lerma moved the king to Valladolid.

Lerma's power began to wane with the Twelve Years' Truce in 1609, seen by some as capitulation to the Dutch rebels. His enemies alleged that others of his noninterventionist decisions, such as avoiding the 1612 Savoy crisis, also were defeatist. One of his closest allies, Rodrigo Calderón, was forced to leave the country in 1611, an important step along the way to dislodging Lerma. As the Twelve Years' Truce neared its end and conflict in Bohemia appeared inevitable, his chief rivals, among them Cristóbal de Sandoval y Rojas, duke of Uceda (and Lerma's own son), and Baltasar de Zúñiga, a former ambassador who was already aiming to advise the future Philip IV, rose in prominence. In September 1618, Lerma asked permission to retire, which the king granted.

As courtiers and rivals fought to divide his wealth and influence and the new regime punished his allies (Calderón was eventually executed), Lerma spent his last years in the seat of his estates, the beautiful town of Lerma, just south of Burgos. The walled town, rebuilt on the orders of the duke in 1606, is among the most outstanding examples of seventeenth-century urban design, both a ducal court and a conventional town. He died 17 May 1625 in Valladolid.

See also **Dutch Revolt (1568–1648)**; **Olivares, Gaspar de Guzmán y Pimentel, count of**; **Philip III (Spain)**; **Spain**.

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RUTH MACKAY

LESSING, GOTTHOLD EPHRAIM (1729–1781), German dramatist, critic, theologian, and most prominent proponent of the German Enlightenment. A son of the city's chief Lutheran pastor, Lessing was born in Kamenz in the Electorate of Saxony on 22 January 1729. After attending the local Latin school and the famous ducal school of St. Afra in Meissen, Lessing entered the University of Leipzig in 1746 in order to study theology. Having discovered his love for the theater, he left the university without a degree and, to the dismay of his father, started to make a living as a freelance writer and critic, moving back and forth between the cities of Leipzig, Berlin, Wittenberg, and Breslau.

Scholars emphasize Lessing's role in the development of German theater and drama and his aesthetic theory. His earliest tragedy, *Miss Sara Sampson* (1755), which foreshadowed his rise to literary prominence, constituted a shift from the prevalent French classicist models to an advocacy of Shakespeare and the English theater. *Miss Sara Sampson* can be called an early example of bourgeois tragedy. Lessing argued that the essence of tragedy—pity—depended on the depiction of human suffering and not on the social milieu of the protagonists. It was important, however, to create situations and characters with which the audience could identify.

This new concept is best exemplified in his last tragedy, *Emilia Galotti* (1772). The play is an indictment of an immoral prince who ruthlessly pur-

sues his love interest, the virtuous bourgeois girl Emilia. Seeing no other way of defending his daughter, her father kills her in order to preserve her morality. The play shifts the focus from the court milieu of the heroic play into the private realm of the middle-class family. Later writers such as Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749–1832) and Johann Gottfried Herder (1744–1803) equally acknowledged the play's success in depicting an emancipated bourgeoisie of the Enlightenment rebelling against the corruption of court society.

Lessing outlined his thoughts on theater and drama in his *Hamburgische Dramaturgie* (1767–1769; Hamburg dramaturgy), which he wrote while serving as a theater critic at the German National Theater in Hamburg from 1767 to 1769. Despite the fact that the *Hamburgische Dramaturgie* is not a systematic work, it provides many insights into Lessing's thought. Its main concern is the critique of French classical drama and the reinterpretation of Aristotle's work on tragedy.

Lessing's interest in the classics reveals itself in his work on aesthetics. In his *Laokoon: oder über die Grenzen der Malerei und Poesie* (1766; Laocoon: or the limits of painting and poetry), Lessing emphasized the differences between the visual arts and literature. According to Lessing, literature focuses on action, whereas the visual arts focus on static objects. Lessing concluded that literature is superior to painting or sculpture because it can represent the full spectrum of human emotions.

With Lessing's acceptance of the post of ducal librarian at Wolfenbüttel in 1769, theological and religious themes emerged as the overriding concerns of his writings.

During his stay in Hamburg, Lessing had become a close friend of the children of Hermann Samuel Reimarus (1694–1768), a renowned Lutheran theologian and professor of Oriental languages at the academic gymnasium in Hamburg. Influenced by English deism, Reimarus had secretly written an attack on the veracity of revealed religion. After their father's death, Reimarus's children entrusted Lessing with the manuscript, from which Lessing published several parts under the title *Fragmente eines Ungenannten* (1774–1778; Fragments from an unnamed author). Most of the fragments criticized different parts of the Old and New Testa-

ment on moral as well as historical grounds. The publication created a stir in religious circles so that Lessing's employer, the duke of Brunswick, withdrew Lessing's censorship privileges. Forced to silence, Lessing wrote his most famous play, the epic poem *Nathan der Weise* (1779; Nathan the wise). Modern scholarship views the play essentially as a call for religious tolerance. By taking characters from the three major religious denominations, Lessing stressed his conviction that religious differences obscure the fact that all belief systems share a set of moral values. Lessing's last work, his *Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts* (1780; The education of the human race) has often been viewed as his literary testament. The work addressed the theological issues raised during the *Fragmente* controversy and in *Nathan der Weise*, namely the problem of the relationship between reason and revelation. According to Lessing, religion is part of the process of the spiritual growth of mankind. Whereas ancient religions needed textual codification in order to provide human beings with guidance in their lives, eventually reason would free humankind of this necessity.

Lessing is justifiably regarded as one of the most distinguished representatives of the Enlightenment. His advocacy of basic humanitarian values such as tolerance illustrates that some proponents of the High Enlightenment not only debated their ideas and values behind the closed doors of the reading societies and salons, but also defended unpopular positions and values in public.

See also **Drama: German; Enlightenment; German Literature and Language.**

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LETTRE DE CACHET. The term “lettre de cachet” refers to arrest warrants that were signed by the king and delivered at the request of royal officials or family members. These letters, whose wax seal or cachet had to be broken in order to be read, allowed individuals to be incarcerated indefinitely and without legal recourse. Although it is difficult to date their first appearance, the use of lettres de cachet accelerated in the seventeenth century with the growth of royal authority. During the mid-century rebellion known as the Fronde, the crown used lettres de cachet to arrest prominent opponents. Once the crisis had subsided, the crown extended the practice to the realm of family discipline, where it acquired its greatest influence and notoriety. The recourse to lettres de cachet, which developed in response to gaps in Old Regime justice, rested on a consensus among the king and his

subjects privileging public order over personal freedom. New ideas about human nature and government that took root during the Enlightenment undermined this consensus and the institutional practices that it had sustained.

A parent or spouse submitted a request for a lettre de cachet to the king via his chief police officer, the lieutenant general. The most frequent complaints included debauchery, mental alienation, physical abuse, and financial dissipation. Individuals at all levels of French society could resort to a lettre de cachet when other options failed to resolve the problem. If the family was wealthy and willing to pay expenses, the accused was detained in a convent or a monastery. More humble subjects ended up in Old Regime prisons like the Bastille or asylums like Charenton. The procedure was extrajudicial since the accused had no access to a lawyer and never appeared before a judge. Detention time varied from several months to a lifetime, although the majority of victims were released in less than a year.

The lettre de cachet demonstrates the complicity between royal officials and subjects in the policing apparatus of the Old Regime. While police commissioners executed the arrest, they rarely initiated the request. The people turned to the police to reinforce their disciplinary capacities over an unruly individual. The monarchy complied with most requests because it viewed the family as a school of obedience and loyalty and thus as a model of political order in the kingdom. The supplicant always emphasized the socially disruptive nature of the behavior that threatened family honor while setting a bad example for others to follow. These arguments and their success in swaying the authorities reflected the value of honor in a traditional society based on hierarchy and privilege. The lettre de cachet allowed families to defend their honor without risking the damaging publicity of a trial.

During the Enlightenment intellectuals like Voltaire (1694–1778) and Simon-Nicolas-Henri Linguet (1736–1794) condemned the lettre de cachet in their campaigns for criminal law reform. The libertine writer and future revolutionary leader Mirabeau (Honoré-Gabriel Riqueti; 1749–1791) published a best-selling polemic in 1782 denouncing the lettres de cachet after his release from the Bastille. This book, along with juridical treatises,

consolidated the image of the *lettre de cachet* as a tool of abusive authority. By 1789 popular hostility toward the practice was unanimous and targeted the Bastille as the prison most closely identified with it. The revolutionary government abolished the *lettres de cachet* in March 1790.

See also **Ancien Régime; Crime and Punishment; France; Fronde; Law; Police; Revolutions, Age of.**

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LEVANT. The Levant covers the eastern Mediterranean, its islands, including Crete, Cyprus, Rhodes, Chios, and Lesbos, and the lands it borders: modern-day Turkey, Syria, Lebanon, Israel, Palestine, and Egypt. Around 1300, the region was under the control of a variety of different rulers, the Turco-Circassian Mamluk dynasty in Egypt and Syria, various Turkish states in western Anatolia,

and the Byzantines. The Genoese controlled Chios and Lesbos and had established themselves on the Anatolian mainland and in Constantinople, while Venice controlled Crete, Negroponte, Naxos, Andros, Mykonos, Karpathos, and Santorini. The Hospitallers ruled Rhodes and, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, built a castle on the Anatolian coast at Bodrum.

From about the mid-fifteenth century, the Ottomans became increasingly dominant. They defeated the Venetians in war from 1463 to 1479 and, in the following century, destroyed the Mamluks, capturing Syria (1516) and Egypt (1517), took Rhodes from the Hospitallers (1522), and conquered Cyprus (1571). While Ottoman control of the Levant weakened thereafter, such weakness was relative, for in 1669 the Ottomans took Crete from the Venetians. As Genoese and Venetian importance declined in the area, that of France, Britain, and Holland increased. Later, Russia also became increasingly active in the region. In 1770 the Russian navy wiped out the Ottoman fleet at Cesme.

TRADE

In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Western traders, in particular those from Genoa and Venice, imported goods such as textiles, soap, cloth, wine, and war materials into the Levant and exported commodities such as slaves, grain, alum, cotton, and spices. Apart from being a producer of commodities itself, the Levant was also a central point for the transit trade in luxury items from the East.

With the Portuguese activities in the Red Sea and the opening up of the sea route to the East, the Levant suffered some decline, particularly as a region for the transit trade in luxury items such as spices, which had formed an important part of Egypt's trade. However, the area continued to be of major commercial importance into the eighteenth century and beyond.

From the late sixteenth century, the English became increasingly important in the commerce of the Levant. English trade, consisting largely of the import of woolen cloth, was to a great extent under the control of the English Levant Company in London, which was granted its first charter in 1581. Dominant through the seventeenth century, English trade went into a temporary decline in the eighteenth century, when the Marseilles merchants

became the dominant European traders. The French had established close diplomatic relations with the Ottomans from the early sixteenth century. From 1661, their trade was subject to very firm royal control. The Dutch also came to play a commercial role in the Levant. The interests of these western merchants were represented by their various consuls and ambassadors, and these countries conducted much of their trade through Ottoman middlemen, who liased among the western merchants, the Ottoman authorities, and the local producers. Such middlemen tended often to be Greeks, Armenians, or Jews.

RELIGION

Throughout this period the Levant represented a world of religious plurality in which Christianity (including Greek Orthodox, Maronite, Suryani, Armenian, Catholic, and Protestant), Judaism, and Islam coexisted, and in which Muslims, Jews, and Christians very much shared a common cultural heritage. From the beginning of the seventeenth century, Catholic missionaries began to proselytize among the various eastern-rite churches. Such efforts were often successful and there were many conversions, particularly among the Suryani. The eastern churches were much concerned by the threat such missionary activity posed to their communities, and Christian authorities in Aleppo, for example, appealed to the Ottoman sultan to protect them against this religious encroachment. The Ottoman government responded, backing the local religious establishment against the interloper, less in the interests of religion than from a desire for internal stability, and they issued decrees forbidding the Christian population from changing sects.

In the eighteenth century, religion came to be used as a political lever by the great powers, each seeking to protect the interests of a particular religious community within the Ottoman Empire in an attempt to gain influence over internal Ottoman political affairs. Russia claimed to represent the interests of the Orthodox community, using a clause in the Treaty of Kucuk Kaynarca, concluded between Catherine the Great (ruled 1762–1796) and the Ottoman Empire in 1774, to justify their right to intervene in favor of the Orthodox subjects of the sultan. The French claimed to represent the Catho-

lics, and the British concerned themselves with the Protestants.

From early on, the Holy Land attracted a growing number of pilgrims, both Christian and Muslim, visiting Jerusalem, Mecca, and Medina. Protection of the pilgrimage routes and of the Holy Cities formed an important part of the Ottoman sultan's image. While the sheer number of pilgrims could create problems for the authorities, temporarily swelling the population and placing additional strain on the resources of the cities, they also brought additional revenue. For example, in Jerusalem, the Christian pilgrims paid a tax to enter the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Relations between the Christian pilgrims were not always harmonious, reflecting the bitter hostility between the Greek and Latin churches for control of the holy places. In 1755 the Franciscans were driven out of the Holy Sepulchre by the Greek Orthodox. Despite energetic protests from France, the Ottoman authorities supported the Greek Orthodox in this dispute.

This religious plurality was also reflected in the great ethnic mix of the Levant, which was made up of a great assortment of ethnicities. While the islands had populations of Greeks and Latins, as well as Ottoman Muslims, the great trading cities such as Aleppo were populated by a variety of different ethnic groups, for example, Greeks, Armenians, Turks, Latins, Arabs, and Kurds.

The Levant was thus a mixed world, religiously, ethnically, and linguistically, which gave rise to a vibrant cosmopolitan commercial Levantine culture. Although there were trade wars and political upheavals, and divisions between different groups and religions, the overriding feature of this world was one of fluidity and accommodation, not hard-and-fast divisions and impermeable boundaries.

See also Mediterranean Basin; Ottoman Empire.

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KATE FLEET

LEVELLERS. *See* English Civil War Radicalism.

LEYDEN, JAN VAN (Jan Beuckelson, John of Leiden; 1509–1536), Dutch religious leader. Jan van Leyden was a prophet who became notorious as “the king of New Jerusalem” in Münster, Westphalia. Very little is known about him, except for the few years in which he rocketed to world fame. His father was a deputy sheriff; his mother hailed from the vicinity of Münster. The city of Leiden in Holland was known for its cloth. When Jan became a tailor’s apprentice, his future looked bright. However, by the time he could make a start, the Netherlands was hit by an economic depression that lasted for more than a decade. Leyden fled Leiden and lived in London for a while, then wandered along the coast of Europe.

In the meantime, the Reformation had begun to spread. Yet it was neither Lutheranism nor Zwinglianism, established by Swiss religious reformer Huldrych Zwingli (1484–1531) in Zürich, that would set the Netherlands ablaze, but Anabaptism. Anabaptism originated in middle Europe and was a refuge for people who had become disenchanting with aspects of the Protestant Reformation. The Anabaptists believed that the End of Time was approaching and that they were to be admitted to God’s chosen few by means of adult, not infant, baptism. It was Melchior Hofmann (c. 1495–1543/44), a German prophet, who in 1532 brought the new faith to the Dutch border. The Last Judgment, he prophesied, was to be held in Strasbourg, the city which God had chosen for his New Jerusalem (Revelations, 21:9). The Dutch responded enthusiastically and embraced Hofmann as their own prophet. The authorities, however, considered Anabaptism a dangerous heresy and sought to root it out.

Up to this time Leyden was not an Anabaptist. He had settled down after his journeys and opened a tavern in Leiden called The Three Herrings. There he performed in his own plays and satirized monks and priests. He had also been to Münster to hear a famous preacher, and even preached himself, but once back in Leiden he returned to his cheery plays. This all changed suddenly when Jan Matthijsz, the new prophet of the Dutch Anabaptists, knocked at his door. Leyden was rebaptized on 13 January 1534 and was sent by Matthijsz to baptize and organize believers in the new Israel at Münster.

The idea of going to Münster was probably Leyden’s. None of the Dutch followers had ever seen Strasbourg, and after Hofman’s first prediction about the date of Christ’s Second Coming (end of 1533) did not materialize, they felt that since Hofman was wrong about the time, he probably was wrong about the location, too. However, there was no doubt about the reality of the approaching End of Time, so the Dutch followers began to look for cities themselves. Leyden was the first to arrive at Münster to prepare the ground for Christ’s Second Coming. At this task he was very successful; in a matter of weeks he built up a huge following.

Soon it was known to Anabaptists everywhere, and especially in Holland, that “God’s own people” were in Münster. On a snowy morning in February 1534 the Anabaptists, led by Matthijsz, drove out many of the Münsterites in order to make room for the thousands of newcomers. Ownership of private property and money were abolished and churches and monasteries destroyed. The Anabaptists were in a hurry to sanctify themselves because Jan Matthijsz had predicted the Apocalypse would occur at Easter. On that day he left the city unarmed, expecting the opposing forces to be crushed by the sword of the Lord. Instead, he was butchered before the eyes of his believers by the soldiers of the bishop of Münster, Franz von Waldeck. Leyden was Matthijsz’s designated successor.

Leyden was now faced with a very difficult task. He had to try to restore the loss of faith among the people as well as fight Waldeck’s soldiers. It was a race against the clock. The bishop grew stronger every day, but Leyden hoped his people would grow in holiness even more quickly, so that Christ would call the Last Judgment before the soldiers could

conquer the city. To help achieve this, he invented all kinds of new measures, for one of which he became notorious: the “new marriage,” or polygamy, for which Leyden has been derided as a disciple of lust ever since. But although he did not by any means eschew the pleasures of the flesh, his new institution of polygamy had a holy end: Of the 8,000 inhabitants of the New Jerusalem, 6,000 were female, and most people were without partners, many of them for more than six months by then. If he could not make monks out of his Israelites, he would make them polygamists, just like many of the Hebrew patriarchs of the Old Testament.

Jan had many wives. As a “second David,” after becoming king, he took more. Several times a week he preached in the marketplace and administered justice. During the course of his reign, after keeping order became more difficult, death penalties became more frequent. But even under these circumstances, it was with his leadership that the city beat off two of Waldeck’s attacks. When famine came, Leyden tried to mobilize support from Anabaptists in the Netherlands, but to no avail. On 12 June, 1535, the city fell by the act of a traitor. Leyden had to wait for half a year for his death, which came after prolonged torture. He and two of his companions were put in iron cages and hung high in the tower of the Lambertus Church of Münster. The cages still hang there.

See also **Anabaptism; Münster; Reformation, Protestant; Zwingli, Huldrych.**

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LUC PANHUYSEN

L'HÔPITAL, MICHEL DE (1507–1573), French lawyer and statesman. Michel de L'Hôpital, the future chancellor of France and architect of religious toleration, was the son of a physician who

served the dukes of Bourbon. L'Hôpital was destined for a legal career, but in addition to studying law he had a humanist education at a number of Italian and French universities. His religious orthodoxy in his early life is attested by his marriage in 1537 to Marie Morin, daughter of Jean Morin, a Parisian royal official and fierce opponent of heresy. Councillor at the Parlement of Paris in 1544, president of the *Chambre des Comptes*, and councillor of the *Grand Conseil*, his career was greatly aided by aristocratic patronage. His father had ended his days in the service of Renée de Bourbon, wife of the duke of Lorraine, and it was through this route that Michel moved into the orbit of the Guise, the most powerful princely family in France, and became the most famous product of the irenic intellectual circle that revolved around Charles of Guise, cardinal of Lorraine. Lorraine procured for his client the office of *maître des requêtes* in 1553 and served as godparent to L'Hôpital's first grandson in 1558.

L'Hôpital's Christian humanist pacifism did not prevent him from becoming an apologist for the Guise war policy in the 1550s. When Henry II died in July 1559 he was succeeded by his sickly fifteen-year-old son, Francis II, who was dominated by his wife Mary Stuart and his Guise uncles. The new regime continued the policy of religious persecution, but the weakness of royal authority and the opposition of the princes of the blood gave encouragement to Calvinism, which was expanding rapidly. The regime was badly shaken by a bloody failed Protestant coup at Amboise in March 1560, following which the cardinal of Lorraine began to rethink the policy of repression. Catherine de Médicis, the queen mother, now began to play a greater role in the shaping of policy. When Olivier, the chancellor of France, died on 28 March 1560, the cardinal procured the appointment of his protégé L'Hôpital.

The new policy formulated by Lorraine, Catherine, and L'Hôpital aimed to promote civil peace by disentangling religious discord from sedition, making a distinction between heresy, which was to be treated more leniently, and rebellion. At the opening of the Estates-General at Orléans in December 1560 L'Hôpital spoke forcefully in favor of religious concord. Following the death of Francis II, the disgrace of the Guise, and the establishment of a regency under Catherine, L'Hôpital's intellectual authority grew, and the policy of compromise it

represented was pursued more systematically. Until the end of 1561 neither L'Hôpital nor Catherine believed that toleration and the existence of two religions in a state was possible. The Colloquy of Poissy, which met in August 1561, enshrined their belief that peace could only be achieved by reaching doctrinal concord between Catholics and Protestants. L'Hôpital's move toward toleration was a realistic response to the failure of Poissy and the divisive political and religious situation facing the monarchy. The Edict of Toleration of January 1562 and the Peace of Amboise of March 1563, which followed the First War of Religion, were novel legal attempts to solve the crisis of religious schism by establishing limited rights of worship for Protestant communities.

By the end of 1563 L'Hôpital and his moderate allies had come to dominate the royal council. He combated religious conservatives in the parlements who opposed his religious policy, and he clashed openly in the council with his former patron, Lorraine, who returned from the Council of Trent opposed to his former policies. Between 1563 and 1567 L'Hôpital was concerned with the reform of the royal judiciary and administration, which had suffered from the growth of venal office-holding and the collapse of royal authority. His reforms were enacted in the Ordonnance of Moulins (1566). Catherine de Médicis had been adopting a more intransigent position toward the Protestants for a number of years, and the outbreak of the brief second civil war in 1568 and the breakdown of L'Hôpital's relations with Lorraine led to his removal from the council in June 1568. At the outbreak of the third civil war in September he was forced to give up the seals, and he retired to his residence at Vignay, dying in 1573. Accused by his opponents of being a secret heretic, L'Hôpital was above all a faithful servant of the crown. Realizing that doctrinal reconciliation was impossible, he saw that toleration was the only means to achieve peace and was prescient in seeing Ultra-Catholicism as the main threat to monarchical power.

See also Catherine de Médicis; Guise Family; Toleration; Wars of Religion, French.

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STUART CARROLL

LIBERALISM, ECONOMIC. *Economic liberalism* is an anachronistic but useful term to describe theories propounded in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The term was coined by nineteenth-century thinkers to describe their own theories; rather than "economics," seventeenth- and eighteenth-century thinkers considered their inquiries "political economy," and those who defended the rights and freedoms of individuals over and against the state would not bear the appellation of liberals until the 1820s. Nevertheless, "economic liberalism" usefully describes theories of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that defended the individual liberty to buy, sell, work, employ, and trade without restriction or governmental interference. The general tenor of economic liberalism is succinctly captured in the French phrase of the era, *laissez-faire*, or 'leave people alone'. This theory maintained that people should be left alone because their self-interested activities in the market were self-regulating, guided by natural economic laws that were far more conducive to social well-being than the directives of state authorities. Thus, economic liberalism was the doctrine typified by seventeenth-century English, French, and Dutch pamphleteers who were critical of state restraints on trade and regulation of interests rates; by the treatises of eighteenth-century French *économistes* (retrospectively designated Physiocrats); and best ex-

emplified by Adam Smith's 1776 *Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*.

MERCANTILISM BACKGROUND

Economic liberalism can be seen as a response to the wide-ranging policies of European governments from the sixteenth century onward to shape economic activity for state purposes. Such state policies are designated by historians as mercantilism. Economic liberalism manifested itself in systematic criticism of such state interference for violating natural economic laws to the detriment of society. Economic liberalism arose after a wide variety of authors who had spent decades speculating about economic processes articulated natural economic laws that produced an automatic self-regulation of economic activity most conducive to social well-being.

The enormous fiscal demands of state-building in the modern era led various European crowns in relentless efforts for new revenues. Taxation was increased and expanded, and the sale of exclusive monopolies for the production of goods and trade, domestic and foreign, also brought new revenues. Thus, in France, the seventeenth-century minister Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619–1683) transformed the medieval system of producers' guilds into state-licensed monopolies in goods ranging from salt to lace. In England, trade monopolies were granted for trade with Russia (the Muscovy Company, 1558), the Middle East (the Levant Company, 1592), and India and southeast Asia (the East India Company, 1600). By the seventeenth century in Europe, almost any foreign goods people used were likely imported by a trade monopoly; any domestic goods, by someone operating under a monopoly patent.

European crowns also engaged in currency debasement, that is, adulterating the silver coinage with a base metal and pocketing the difference between the original silver content of the coinage and its nominal value. This had significant consequences in terms of domestic price increases and distortions of rents and real wages. It also disrupted foreign exchange rates, interest rates, and international flows of gold and silver (specie). To ameliorate such consequences, governments undertook the regulation of wages, the prices of primary consumer goods, and interest rates. Since currency debasement created incentives for holders of specie to send it out of the country (to markets where purchasing

power was determined by specie value, rather than nominal values), governments were also greatly concerned about the loss of specie within their borders. The power of any state depended on its possession of specie, which allowed it to purchase mercenary troops and supplies abroad for the military struggles of European power politics. Although colonial mines served as the key source of specie for Spain, most other European powers could only obtain specie through international trade. It became an article of faith that state power was maximized by policies that produced a favorable balance of trade, that is, an influx of foreign specie in payment for domestic exports that was greater than the specie outflows to pay for foreign imports. To restrict outflows of specie, heavy import taxes restrained purchases of foreign goods and also produced revenue. To facilitate exports, and therefore specie inflows, government policy promoted the production of high-value domestic manufactures, protected by high tariffs or even prohibitions on imports of foreign manufactures.

The above mercantilist state-building objectives introduced new perspectives on economic activity. Because national power was promoted by influx of specie, international trade was seen in a new, positive light. Medieval views of merchants as exploitative were supplanted by a view of traders as national assets. From this perspective, domestic trade only transferred wealth from one group to another, but foreign trade brought in new treasure from abroad. Nevertheless, many believed that the selfish interests of merchants might run contrary to the interests of the state, and for that reason, trade needed strict regulation and the guiding hand of authorities.

MERCANTILISM AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF POLITICAL ECONOMY

By the seventeenth century, the growing role of government in control of the economy prompted extensive commentary on public affairs and public policies related to usury, prices, and the state of international trade. Such commentators, now designated mercantilists, were not mere spokesmen for the system of the same name. They frequently wrote to get the government to pursue some policy that would benefit them (for example, reduction of interest rates or prohibition of imports by competitors), but there was a wide variety of views and motives in their work, and many criticisms of gov-

ernment policy. Over time, the proliferation of such works resulted in a general understanding of “the economy” as a linkage of prices, money flows, interest rates, and international trade, which could be subjected to and explained by analytical theories. The analytical tools and theories developed by these writers were not terribly sophisticated, nor universally accepted or applied in anything like a systematic manner. Yet from such efforts to comprehend the intricate network of exchanges, prices, and behavior of human beings as producers and consumers, a new science emerged called political economy. Most authors now described as mercantilists showed a clear understanding, for example, of sophisticated ideas such as international trade representing a sort of barter mediated by money, and that there can be no export customers if nations do not also purchase imports from those to whom they hope to sell. Even though most recognized the need for regulated trade, virtually none proposed economic self-sufficiency. Similarly, most understood that the merchants could not simply set prices for exports; rather, prices were determined by the actions of all involved “in the common market of the world.”

A pamphlet dispute in the 1620s between two early English political economists, Gerald de Maylnes (1586–1641), an official of the Royal Mint, and Edward Misselden (1608–1654), a merchant, reveals the general level of analysis. Maylnes was alarmed at specie outflows from England, and he accused merchants involved in the exchange of foreign currency of being the cause of the kingdom’s loss of bullion. Since the merchants’ selfish desire for gain, amounting to usury, resulted in specie outflow, Maylnes proposed government-run currency exchange at “fair rates” to keep specie in the country. Misselden, on the other hand, denied Maylnes’s simplistic attribution of the problem of specie outflows to the malevolence of merchants. Specie flows, he explained, followed general levels of trade; if there was more specie flowing out of the country, it was because the balance of trade was not in England’s favor. Since England imported more than it exported, specie was lost to the nation. The true solution to the problem, Misselden urged, was to restore a favorable balance of trade.

Misselden’s use of the balance of trade concept illustrates a central feature of mercantilist economic

theory. A favorable balance of trade provided specie for national strength, but it was also desired because plenty of money at home would stimulate domestic trade and employment. Further, since interest rates were determined by the supply of money, plenty of money would reduce interest rates and stimulate investment. Thus, the English merchant Thomas Mun’s tract (written 1623; published 1664) ridiculed the idea that an exchange board could simply decree that specie stay in the country, as exchange rates were determined by supply and demand. He even expressed suspicion about any policy’s capacity to maintain plenty of specie in the country: since prices were determined by the quantity of money, more specie would invariably raise prices, and thereby diminish exports. Still, Mun argued that policies restricting shipping to English carriers, sumptuary laws to limit luxury imports, and state support of exports (such as herring), would promote, as his title declared, *England’s Treasure by Forraigne Trade, or the Balance of Our Forraigne Trade Is the Rule of Our Treasure*.

POLITICAL ECONOMY AND THE IDEA OF ECONOMIC LAW

The seventeenth century was a period of great intellectual ferment in which the techniques of the new natural sciences, exemplified by Galileo Galilei (1564–1642) and Isaac Newton (1642–1727), gripped the imaginations of thinkers such as Francis Bacon (1561–1626) and René Descartes (1596–1650), who boldly proclaimed that the new techniques of scientific analysis would transform the whole of human thought. Such aspirations fed the ambitions of those who sought to place human action within the descriptive bounds of similar natural laws. The notion of economic law developed out of a century’s observation of the regularity of markets, of rising prices producing increased supplies, and of gluts in the market producing falling prices. Many writers believed that the cause of such regularities was economic actors responding to opportunities for personal gain. Thus, the seventeenth century saw a new regard for self-interest. On the one hand, self-interest came to be seen as a more rational, less dangerous motivation for human behavior than the passions. On the other hand, because self-interest involved rational calculation, some believed that acts of self-interest demonstrated the same kinds of regularity in human nature as was found in

other scientific laws in the natural realm. The whole of human activity in buying, growing, selling, spending, and the satisfaction of human wants, without anyone's directing or even intending the result, could be explained as people pursuing their interests.

In his *Discourse of Trade* (1690) English physician Nicholas Barbon asserted that, as with all things necessary to life, everything that produced delight and pleasure, along with peace and economic development, was the product of trade, the consequence of people acting in the market for their own benefit. Such actions resulted in the nation being "well fed, clothed, and lodged" while "the richer sort are furnished with all things to promote the ease, pleasure, & pomp of life."

SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLISH ECONOMIC LIBERALS

The idea of natural economic law lay at the heart of the economic liberal critique of mercantilism. Perhaps no name is more closely associated with the concept of natural law than that of John Locke (1632–1704), the English philosopher widely accorded status as a founder of political liberalism. Although Locke's writings are concerned with both political and economic liberalism, proponents of these two fields were often at odds with one another. Locke's economic writings chiefly dealt with money and interest rates, and in both cases he utilized natural economic law to criticize government interference. In 1692, Locke published *Some Considerations of the Consequences of the Lowering of Interest and Raising the Value of Money* to oppose a legislative reduction of interest from 6 percent to 4 percent along with a scheme to reduce the silver content of England's coinage. In the case of interest rate reductions, Locke insisted that there was a "natural rate" that was the product of "the present state of trade, money, and debts," in other words, by the supply and demand for funds that could be loaned. Locke denied that interest rates could be regulated by law. The law would be flouted, as "it will be impossible by any contrivance of the law, to hinder men . . . to purchase money to be lent to them what rate soever their occasions shall make it necessary for them to have it." But all legal lending would also be reduced, since the interest reduction would reduce the supply of funds for loans, and guarantee that only the safest loans would be made.

Thus, rather than making loans more available, artificial reductions of the rate of interest decreased the supply of credit. The idea of legislating interest rates, Locke says, is as absurd as legislating rents: in both cases "things must be left to find their own price." In the case of the recoinage, Locke argued that the value of a coin was determined by its silver content, and "the opinion of men consenting to it," rather than the denomination stamped on it by the mint. Since contracts and rents had been entered into based upon coins having a given silver content, to change the silver content of the coins would amount to fraud. The proponents of the scheme may call debased coins shillings, but "one may as rationally hope to lengthen a foot by dividing it into fifteen parts instead of twelve and calling them inches."

Sir Dudley North (1641–1691) was a zealous partisan of Charles II (ruled 1660–1685) and James II (ruled 1685–1688) who led the legal persecution of liberal Whigs for the crown, but he was also an economic liberal. His *Discourses upon Trade* (1692), edited and published posthumously by his brother Roger, was suffused with the "principles of the new philosophy," the "mechanical" science that alone provides "clear and evident truths." Principles derived from scientific reasoning proved that "to force men to deal in any prescribed manner, may profit such as happen to serve them; but the publick gains not, because it is taking from one subject to give to another." North, too, contested the proposal to legislate a lower rate of interest, and, like Locke, argued that the natural rate of interest was determined by the supply and demand for loans. Indeed, North observed, the reason interest rates were lower in the Netherlands—which had no interest regulations—was that the trading wealth of the Dutch meant that more money was available for loans. North argued that artificial reductions of the rate of interest would reduce the sums available for loans since "it probably will keep some money from coming abroad into trade; whereas on the contrary, high interest certainly brings it out." Nor was there any need for the government to increase the money supply by means of the recoinage that Locke had contested; in North's view, money, like any commodity, was subject to the automatic equilibrating processes of the market. As North explained, the "ebbing and flowing of money, supplies and accom-

modates itself, without any aids from politicians . . . when money is scarce, bullion is coined, when bullion is scarce, money is melted.” People looked in vain to the government to produce prosperity, North averred, “for no people ever yet grew rich by policies; but it is peace, industry, and freedom that brings trade and wealth, and nothing else.”

Another self-conscious crafter of a new human science was the physician-politician Sir William Petty (1623–1687) who, taking a cue from Francis Bacon, sought to understand human society as a form of anatomy. (Petty also served as secretary to Thomas Hobbes, another great social anatomist.) Instead of the dissection of nerves and tissues, the scientific investigator of human society had to master quantitative data on population, tax revenues, trade and production, and all manner of social statistics. Petty called his program “political arithmetic,” and, while his general view of economic policy followed predictable mercantilist lines in viewing national wealth as contingent on its share of the (fixed) world trade, he also argued that government policy had limited capacity to directly control economic events because of the immutable operation of natural economic laws. Thus he attacked legislative reduction of the rate of interest as one example of “the variety and fruitlessness of making Civil Positive Laws against the Laws of Nature.”

Although Petty’s contributions to social statistics and economics are today judged negligible, he had followers who pursued his program of attempting to discern and articulate economic laws. One disciple, the politician and civil servant Charles Davenant (1656–1714), illustrates how economic law came to undermine the old sureties of beneficent government direction of the economy. In the 1690s, the English East India Company began to import large quantities of cheap printed Indian cotton goods. This produced a storm of protest from writers who attacked the company for undermining the domestic production of English woolens and silks. Davenant’s defense of the company (he was at this time an employee), called *Essay on the East India Trade* (1696), argued that economic regulation for the protection of a single industry ignored the systemic nature of economic life, in which all trades were linked, and injurious policies could spread their effects far beyond their intended purpose. Although he conceded that Indian imports

injured English woolen manufactures, Davenant merely took this as evidence that they were akin to hothouse flowers, unable to survive without artificial aids. To force trade in this manner brought no “natural profit” and was ultimately injurious to the public. Woolen manufactures were injured only because the public benefited more from cheap Indian cottons than from woolen garments dependent upon protection for a market. “Trade is in its nature free, finds its own channel,” he wrote, “and best directs its own course; and all laws to give it rules and directions, and to limit and circumscribe it, may serve the particular ends of private men, but are seldom advantageous to the public.”

Five years later, Henry Martyn’s *Considerations upon the East India Trade* (1701) took up the same matter and attacked the very idea of the legal monopoly of the East India Company. Cheap Indian cloth, Martyn wrote, was just one of many benefits, including from spices, silks, and wine, which foreign trade produced. While the public benefited from Indian imports, it would benefit still more, Martyn argued, if the trade were open to all, as competition between merchants would force prices and transportation costs to the minimum. Martyn also reasoned that if Indian goods could be purchased more cheaply than those produced at home, English cloth manufactures simply wasted labor. But if competition were unleashed, it might stimulate inventiveness of skill and machinery to reduce the costs of English cloth below India’s. Martyn’s central contention was that free competition of self-interested actors in the marketplace benefits the public by producing more at less cost.

DUTCH REPUBLICANISM AND ECONOMIC LIBERALISM

Pieter de la Court (1618–1685), polemicist for the republicans fighting the establishment of a Dutch monarchy by the House of Orange, published a very liberal tract that fused political and economic liberalism. *Political Maxims of the State of Holland* (*Aanwysing der heilsame politieke Gronden en Maximen van de Republike van Holland en West-Vriesland*, 1662) attacked monarchical principles and linked the cause of crowns with standing armies, clerical mystification, and the destruction of urban commercial society. Commerce, he wrote, by “common interest wonderfully linked together” all the people of the Netherlands “from the least to the

greatest” in “excellent and laudable harmony.” He pleaded for religious toleration to promote Dutch economic growth since “those that deal in manufactures, fishing, traffic [and] shipping” would not come to live in a “country where they are not permitted to serve and worship God outwardly, after such a manner as they see fit.” Domestic markets were integral to the prosperity of Dutch trade and shipping, he argued, and therefore he defended occupational freedom, “the liberty of gaining a livelihood without any dear-bought city freedom,” since no immigrants would come to the Netherlands “if they should have no freedom of chusing and practicing such honest means of livelihood as they think best for their subsistence.” Immigrants would not depress wages of native inhabitants; on the contrary, they would “lay out their skill and estate in devising new fisheries, manufactures, traffick and navigation.” Immigrants were essential in a commercial society to take up those enterprises—“in Amsterdam alone there are yearly three hundred abandoned”—whose native proprietors “finding the gain uncertain, and the charge great, are apt to relinquish it.” De la Court attacked monopolies and guild restrictions for violating people’s “natural liberty of seeking their livelihoods.” Trade should be open to “the industrious and ingenious,” for monopolies—“dull, slow, unactive, and less inquisitive”—were unable to exploit even opportunities guaranteed them by law. The whaling monopoly, for example, proved unprofitable; but under competition, “everyone equips their vessel at the cheapest rate, follow[s] their fishing diligently, and manage all carefully” and whaling became profitable with fifteen times more ships involved in the industry. Monopoly did nothing more than cause the Dutch to be “bereft of the freedom of buying their necessaries at the cheapest rate they can.”

ECONOMIC LIBERALISM IN FRANCE

In late seventeenth-century France, a civil servant, Pierre la Pesant, sieur de Boisguillebert (1646–1714) argued for economic *laissez-faire* with a sophistication that earned the respect of the great twentieth-century economist Joseph Schumpeter. In his chief work, *A Detailed Account of France (Le detail de la France, 1695)*, Boisguillebert dismissed the mercantilist equation of money with wealth, contending that wealth lay in goods, rather than coin. Social harmony and well-being were the prod-

ucts of individuals acting in their self-interested pursuit of happiness. The transactions of self-interested actors in a market created order and peace, for “the pure desire of profit will be the soul of every market for buyer and seller alike; and it is with the aid of that equilibrium or balance that each partner to the transaction is equally required to listen to reason, and submit to it.” The natural order produced by *laissez-faire*, however, could be disturbed: “nature alone can introduce that order and maintain the peace. Any other authority spoils everything by trying to interfere, no matter how well intentioned it may be.” Boisguillebert claimed that good intentions gone awry were behind the French crown’s efforts to diminish hunger by controlling grain prices, since price controls merely diminished cultivation of grain and exacerbated shortages. If the government would merely lift its controls on prices and grain imports, he argued, food would soon be abundant.

Boisguillebert’s concern with food supplies highlights one chief difference between French and English political economy in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: the French focus on agriculture, rather than international trade. Liberal critics saw the persistence of a feudal land tenure system in France as responsible for backwardness in agriculture, especially in comparison with her neighbors, England and the Netherlands. Chief among these critics was the circle gathered around the physician Francois Quesnay (1694–1774). Quesnay’s allies, such as Mercier de la Riviere (1720–1793) and Pierre Samuel Du Pont de Nemours (1739–1817), called themselves *les economistes*, but are now designated Physiocrats. The Physiocrats popularized the slogan, “*laissez-faire, laissez passer*,” as the essence of economic wisdom. At the heart of physiocratic doctrine was the conviction that agriculture alone was the source of all wealth, since only it provided surplus, or net product. Therefore, all restrictions on agriculture, such as price controls and barriers to internal and foreign trade, undermined national wealth. Quesnay’s famous *Tableau economique* (1759) drew upon insights developed by an Irish banker living in Paris, Richard Cantillon (d. 1734) in his *Essai sur la nature du commerce*, which explained the circular flow of income produced by markets. Quesnay’s intricate chart purported to demonstrate the circulation of net product

throughout the entire society, which was as perpetual and self-regulating as the circulation of blood. In the eyes of the Physiocrats, the countless restrictions on free commerce imposed by the government were as socially beneficial as blood clots in human circulation.

One of Quesnay's associates, Vincent de Gournay (1712–1759) a wealthy merchant and royal administrator, spent years in the Netherlands and admired de la Courts's *Maxims*. He also commended Cantillon's work to Quesnay, and although he never wrote economic tracts, he had a profound influence as tutor and advisor to Finance Minister Anne-Robert-Jacques Turgot (1727–1781). Turgot, in a eulogy to Gournay, praised him for grasping the fundamental principle of economic policy, which was that every individual knew his or her own interest best, and that with individuals left free to pursue their interests, "it would be impossible for the aggregate individual interests not to concur with the general interest." Competition in the market, which was the consequence of the pursuit of interest, produced innovation in manufacturing, and the lowest prices for consumers. Rather than the plethora of regulations covering every aspect of economic life, or monopoly privileges, Gournay favored the "natural liberty" to buy and sell as the guarantor of production, and of consumers obtaining goods at the best price. Short of providing justice, and bestowing honors on inventors and artists, government best served the economy by removing obstacles it had erected.

Turgot's turbulent years as finance minister to Louis XVI (ruled 1774–1792) saw an effort to create the system of freedom articulated by French liberals over previous decades. His chief objective was to remove all barriers to agricultural and international trade. The farmer was "the only one who suffers from monopoly as buyer and at the same time as seller. There is only he who cannot buy freely from foreigners the things which he has need; there is only he who cannot sell to foreigners the commodity he produces." Domestic and international laissez-faire, a "general liberty of buying as selling is . . . the only means to insure on one side to the seller a price sufficient to encourage production; on the other side to the consumer the best merchandise at the lowest price." Turgot's management of the economy amounted to not interfering with nat-

ural economic law, because "in order to direct it without deranging it, and without injuring ourselves, it would be necessary for us to be able to follow all the changes in the needs, the interests, and the industry of mankind . . . Even if we had in all these particulars that mass of knowledge impossible to be gathered, the result would only be to let things go precisely as they would have gone of themselves, by a simple action of men's interests, influenced by the balance of a free competition."

ADAM SMITH'S *WEALTH OF NATIONS*

Adam Smith (1723–1791), professor of moral philosophy at the University of Glasgow, published his great contribution to economic liberalism, *Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* in 1776, a significant date in the history of political liberalism. Deeply affected by the example of Isaac Newton's scientific system, which explained the orbits of the planets from the operation of basic laws of motion and mass, Smith sought to explicate how basic economic laws produced the regular operation of markets he called "the system of natural liberty." As the title of the book intimates, Smith's central concern was with economic development and growth, the means to secure "universal opulence which extends itself to the lowest ranks of the people." Opulence was a matter of the material well-being of the people, which consisted of cheap and plentiful goods. The key was productivity, the secret of which Smith identified as the "division of labor." Since the degree of specialization was determined by the extent of the market, the more extensive the market, the more productive human activity would be and the wealthier people would become. Smith was scornful of all the policies that were designed over centuries to secure a favorable balance of trade. Trade itself reflects the fact that different regions, different countries, have certain "natural advantages" in producing goods; and so if "a foreign country can supply us with a commodity cheaper than we ourselves can make it, better buy it of them."

Just as Newton described the motion of the heavens in terms of simple concepts of mass, motion, and the force of gravity, Smith's "simple system" operated from little more than self-interest, competition, and enforcement of basic rules of justice. Smith's previous book, *The Theory of Moral*

Sentiments (1759), explained how people's desire to be loved led them to conform to moral rules, but this principle, so effective at the level of family, friends, and neighbors, was too weak to account for relations between strangers. Rather, the extensive transactions that characterized markets were based on mutual gains from trade. "It is not from the benevolence of the butcher, the brewer, or the baker that we expect our dinner, but from their regard to their own interest." Because the public interest is for people to live in opulence, individuals led by self-interest to employ their labor and capital to make the society more productive, and satisfy human wants, are "led by an invisible hand to promote an end which was no part of [their] intention." Smith was acutely aware of the dangers presented by self-interest, however: "People of the same trade seldom meet together, even for merriment and diversion, but the conversation ends in a conspiracy against the public, or in some contrivance to raise prices." It was for this reason that the force of competition was vital to the operation of his system. Contrivances to replace "the natural price, or the price of free competition" ranging from outright monopoly privileges, to bounties, to restrictive tariffs, to restrictions on free movement of labor—there were myriad ways governments could protect some person or group against competition, and thus allow private interest to take precedence over the public good. The elimination of all schemes to insulate people against competition was vital. "All systems either of preference or restraint, therefore, being completely taken away, the obvious and simple system of natural liberty establishes itself of its own accord. Every man, as long as he does not violate the laws of justice, is left perfectly free to pursue his own interest his own way, and to bring both his industry and capital into competition with any other man, or order of men."

Economic liberalism as an influence on seventeenth- and eighteenth-century policy was limited at best. Turgot's reforms were abandoned, and Smith's myriad recommendations for overhauling Britain's policies, while admired by prime ministers, were too radical to be undertaken in an age of war and revolution. In the nineteenth century economic liberalism acquired not only its name, but the status of scientific orthodoxy, with the establishment of professorships in the new academic discipline of po-

litical economy in universities throughout Europe. The nineteenth century also saw the implementation of such iconic economic liberal policies as free trade in Britain.

See also Bacon, Francis; Capitalism; Democracy; Hobbes, Thomas; Locke, John; Mercantilism; Money and Coinage; Petty, William; Physiocrats and Physiocracy; Smith, Adam.

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RICK VERNIER

LIBERTINISM. *See* Atheism.

LIBERTY. While it possessed important connotations in philosophical and theological discourses, the term *liberty* (and its frequent cognate, *freedom*) conveyed primarily social and political overtones in early modern Europe. Liberty formed a central organizing principle around which myriad transformations of communal life occurred, culminating in the program of the French Revolutionaries, who placed the demand for civil and legal freedom at the forefront of their movement.

Early modern Europe inherited several different ideas of liberty that were revised, refined, and sometimes rejected entirely. The ancient republicans of Rome prized liberty as a collective good, which betokened both freedom from foreign domination and the absence of internal oppression in the form of a king. Liberty was thus connected with civic self-

rule of a populist (if not quite popular) character. This republican ideal was widely disseminated among, and often endorsed by, early modern thinkers.

Christianity contributed the doctrines of freedom of the will and evangelical liberty that added a personal dimension to human freedom. Created in God's image, humanity possessed a capacity to choose between good and evil and hence to accept or to turn away from the divine will. Of course, the objects between which one chooses are not of equal worth. Rejecting God by preferring one's own desires yields dissatisfaction and unhappiness in one's earthly life as well as the misery of eternal damnation. By contrast, submitting to God properly expresses one's divinely granted freedom; it is the correct use of the will with which human beings have been endowed. At the same time, the possibility of freely renouncing self-will in favor of embracing God's law—in sum, a conversional experience—remains always open up to the very moment of one's death.

Finally, medieval Europe added a legal dimension to liberty that, in a sense, synthesized the public and the private meanings conveyed by republicanism and Christianity respectively. Under the terms of feudal law, the person designated to hold a prerogative or privilege (such as the ability to exercise forms of justice or to collect certain types of revenues) was said to possess "a liberty." Feudal liberty, in this sense, was an exclusive, independent, and nonusurpable right to the application of power over people and property, granted under fixed conditions from a superior who was deemed to be its ultimate source and guarantor. In short, liberty reflected a sphere of authority within which no one could directly intercede or interfere with the exercise of specified rights. Yet it was not wholly private. The possessor of a liberty could protect it from erosion by appeal for assistance to the lord who granted it. Someone who claimed a liberty could also be charged with its misapplication by those subjected to it, and could even be challenged to demonstrate the warrant on the basis of which it was exercised.

RELIGION

Although these inherited concepts of liberty continued to circulate in early modern Europe, the lan-

guage of freedom proliferated and diversified in the context of the vast cultural changes that marked the period. Crucial to this development was religion. The Reformation brought not only a challenge in practice to the unity of the Christian Church, but also transformation of important theological categories. Martin Luther (1483–1546) insisted upon the unique presence of God alone in the conscience of believers, with the implication that the faithful Christian is responsible directly and immediately to God. The consequence of this teaching—while perhaps recognized only fleetingly by Luther and his followers—was that salvation did not depend upon submission to the authority of the priesthood or the church. Nor did it fall to the secular power, to whom pertained the control of bodies and behavior, to discipline the souls of subjects. Thus, whether intentionally or not, Luther opened the door to claims of public respect for “liberty of conscience,” and eventually freedom of worship.

In the generation after Luther, inferences about freedom of religion were drawn out by reforming thinkers. Sébastien Castellion (1515–1563) published pseudonymously a treatise entitled *De Haereticis, an sint Persequendi* (1554), in response to John Calvin’s (1509–1564) organization of the burning of a fellow Christian theologian for heresy at Geneva. Castellion argued that coercion is an inappropriate tool for effecting a change of religious views since Christian belief must be held with sincere conviction. Hence, clerics and magistrates must refrain from persecution of convinced Christians who cling to doctrines that do not coincide with official teachings. While Castellion does not go so far as to license broad dissemination of heterodox theology, he maintains that a Christian’s duties extend to forbearance of the free and honest faith of his fellows even in the face of disagreements of understanding and interpretation.

In the seventeenth century, the theme of religious liberty became more pronounced. For instance, the Levellers in England during the 1640s made freedom to dissent from the established religion a central plank of their political program. Major figures in European philosophy weighed in on the side of freedom of religion. Baruch Spinoza (1632–1677) claimed a broad application for a right to liberty of thought and belief without inference from a sovereign power’s (or a church’s) deter-

mination of the truth or falsity of one’s ideas. Pierre Bayle (1647–1706) boldly asserted that all forms of persecution (innocuous as well as harsh) of religious diversity encouraged hypocrisy and eroded social order. An erring conscience, if it be held in good faith, deserves as much protection as a correct one—a principle that Bayle extended even to atheists. John Locke (1632–1704) was unwilling to include atheism and other religious attitudes that he deemed dangerous to social trust and political obedience, but he, too, proposed liberty of conscience as justified in the case of most Christian (and perhaps some non-Christian) rites. The role of the magistrate, according to Locke, should be confined to the maintenance of public tranquillity and the defense of individual rights, rather than the care of the soul.

Pragmatic as well as principled considerations led to the acceptance of some measure of freedom of religion throughout much of Europe over the course of the early modern period. Wars of religion undermined peace and sapped public enthusiasm for persecution. The free practice of differing confessions (usually limited to Christianity, and sometimes only to reformed Christianity) became an enshrined feature of many European states by the late eighteenth century. Where this did not occur (with certain exceptions, such as in Spain and parts of the Italian peninsula), it posed a continuing source of conflict into later times, as Johannes Althusius (1557–1638) predicted it would in his *Politica Methodice Digesta* (1603; 3rd ed., 1614). Thus, freedom of religion constituted one of the main changes sought in France during the Revolution, as expressed in the “Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen.”

REPUBLICANISM AND LIBERALISM

The evolving acceptance of liberty of confession paralleled changes in other European cultural, social, and political practices and attitudes. The invention of the printing press and movable type immeasurably enhanced the ability of individuals to disseminate their ideas and for a larger public to have access to the written word. Demands were heard for freedom of the press (literally and figuratively) from censorship by clerical and secular authorities alike.

Of course, the tradition of republican liberty, inspired by the Romans, had not disappeared from the intellectual landscape. From Niccolò Machiavelli (1469–1527) and the more conventional humanists of Renaissance Italy through the thinkers and practitioners of Dutch republicanism like Hugo Grotius (1583–1645) to advocates of republican rule in England such as James Harrington (1611–1677) and Algernon Sidney (1623–1683), the praise of liberty as a distinctive feature of republican government was voiced. In the cities of Italy and of Holland, commercial vitality and strong civic loyalty, not to mention considerations of scale, rendered collective self-government a feasible option. Political practice could approach, even if never quite attain, the heights of theory.

In larger territorial states, such communally based republican liberty resonated less clearly. Indeed, republicans who spoke of their version of liberty too loudly found themselves at odds with authorities, hence Sidney's execution in England for espousal of and action upon his republican proclivities. Political liberty in more geographically extensive regimes with monarchic institutions tended to be conceived in terms of individual freedom rather than civic populism. Hence, it is at this time and place that we locate the origins of the doctrines that came to be labeled liberalism.

Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679) is generally identified as the most important direct antecedent of the modern individualist theory of liberty. In his *Leviathan* (1651), Hobbes ascribes to all human beings natural liberty (as well as equality) on the basis of which they are licensed to undertake whatever actions are necessary in order to preserve themselves from their fellow creatures. Hobbes believed that the exercise of such natural liberty logically leads to unceasing conflict and unremitting fear, so long as no single sovereign ruler exists to maintain peace. The exchange of chaotic natural freedom for government-imposed order requires renunciation of all freedoms that humans possess by nature (except, of course, for the sake of self-preservation itself) and voluntary submission to any dictate imposed by the sovereign. Yet, even under the terms of Hobbes's absolute sovereignty, the subject is deemed to remain at liberty to choose for himself concerning any and all matters about which the ruler has not explicitly legislated.

Locke begins his mature political theory in the *Second Treatise of Government* (1690) with the postulation of the divinely granted liberty of all individuals, understood in terms of the absolute right to preserve one's life and to claim the goods one requires for survival. Arguing against the patriarchal doctrine of Sir Robert Filmer (1588–1653), Locke insists that no natural basis—neither paternity nor descent—justifies the submission of one man to another. In contrast with Hobbes, Locke maintains that the condition of liberty does not represent a state of war, but instead can be maintained tranquilly because human beings are deemed sufficiently rational that they can and do generally constrain their free action under the terms of the laws of nature. Hence, should people choose to enter into formal bonds of civil society and to authorize a government in order to avoid the “inconveniences” and inefficiency of the precivil world, the only rulership worthy of consent is that which strictly upholds and protects the liberty possessed by nature. According to Locke, any government that systematically denies to its subjects the exercise of their God-given liberty (as Hobbes's sovereign would do) is tyrannical and cannot expect obedience.

While Hobbesian and Lockean lines of thought persisted into the eighteenth century alongside republican doctrines, occasional attempts were made to transcend, or at any rate to synthesize, the lessons of republicanism and nascent liberalism concerning liberty. The writings of Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778) afford an illustration of this. On the one hand, Rousseau held that Hobbes and Locke each captured an important facet of human liberty. Hobbes realized that the only way to create a truly sovereign authority—one capable of commanding the obedience of those subject to it—was the renunciation of all the liberty that one enjoyed by nature. Locke recognized that the sole reason any free person would consent to enter into a formalized social arrangement would be to protect his liberty. Hence, Rousseau concludes, the surrender of one's natural liberty must be matched by the return to each person of an amount of civil liberty (which he terms “moral liberty”) that is greater than what has been given up. In other words, in a properly organized political system, every citizen enjoys more freedom than if he had remained in a precivil condition with his natural liberty intact.

From this marriage of Hobbesian and Lockean conceptions of liberty issues a set of republican conclusions. For Rousseau, sovereignty cannot be exercised by any authority external to the body of citizens whose liberty is at stake. Hence, no matter what constitutional form of government is appointed—and he contends that kingship, aristocracy, and democracy may each be appropriate, depending on the scale of the territory to be governed—it remains only the executive of the general will of the community. Freedom reposes strictly and exclusively in the communal order in which the moral liberty of each person assumes the equal moral liberty of every person, guaranteed under the terms of the law and protected by the magistrates. Hence, Rousseau's free state is guided by the collective determinations of the people about how they wish to live—a clear statement of a system of popular sovereignty.

NATURAL LIBERTY

The concept of natural liberty is also one that came to the fore in the economic doctrines of the eighteenth century. Adam Smith (1723–1790) founded his principal doctrines upon the notion of natural liberty, by which he meant simply that if every person acts freely as he sees fit in his own interests, then the welfare of the whole society will be served best. For Smith, the system of natural liberty constitutes a sort of automatic or homeostatic mechanism of self-adjustment (which he sometimes calls the “invisible hand”), so that any attempt (on the part of government or some other agent) to interfere in its operation will lead to greater inefficiency and hence less total welfare. The sources for Smith's insight about maximized individual liberty, unconstrained by coercive externalities, have been debated. Certainly, the French economic theorists known collectively as the Physiocrats may have played a role in the formulation of this idea, as may have the political theorists whose views have already been surveyed. Smith applied this discovery, however, not only to the operation of the marketplace but to all aspects of society, including its educational, religious, and judicial institutions. He narrowly confines the role of government to those functions consistent with natural liberty: foreign defense, regulation of criminal activity, and provision of “public goods” too expensive for any single segment of the private economy to undertake.

By the end of the eighteenth century, the concept of liberty had pervaded the religious, social, political, cultural, and economic dimensions of European life. Yet it remained a controversial idea for (and against) which people would continue to fight and die. Moreover, the application of principles of freedom remained in many ways incomplete. Slavery had been by no means entirely eradicated from the regions over which European nations exercised control, even if it was largely passé within Europe itself. Women occupied almost exactly the same social, political, and economic position in 1789 as in 1450, and the extent of their personal and group liberty was largely determined by their class status. Despite occasional agitation for universal manhood suffrage, such as occurred during the earliest stages of the English Civil War, the unpropertied also experienced little improvement in their effective freedom between the fifteenth and the eighteenth centuries. Finally, the diffusion of ideas and practices of religious liberty was limited almost entirely to Christian sects, although deists and advocates of natural religion seem generally to have been left alone; freedom to worship occupied a far more precarious position for Jews and members of other non-Christian confessions (for example, Turks) who made their way to Europe.

See also Bayle, Pierre; Calvin, John; English Civil War and Interregnum; Grotius, Hugo; Hobbes, Thomas; Liberalism, Economic; Locke, John; Luther, Martin; Physiocrats and Physiocracy; Revolutions, Age of; Republicanism; Rousseau, Jean-Jacques; Smith, Adam; Sovereignty, Theory of; Spinoza, Baruch.

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CARY J. NEDERMAN

LIBRARIES. The period 1450–1789 witnessed an unprecedented expansion in the publication, circulation, and readership of books. Such dramatic changes in patterns of literacy and book use are amply reflected in the history of libraries in the period.

MEDIEVAL INHERITANCE

By the late thirteenth century the scriptoria and companion book collections of the early medieval period had been eclipsed in importance by the rise of college libraries, particularly in Paris and Oxford. The most famous of these was the Sorbonne library in Paris, founded in 1287. Its 1290 catalogue lists over 1,000 manuscripts, and the library would expand to more than 2,500 volumes by the end of the fifteenth century. Equally important were the libraries of the *studia* (study houses) of the monastic orders. Over time, a body of regulations governing college and conventual libraries evolved. Many of these libraries employed sophisticated cataloguing and classification systems. While there was no single model of classification, most conformed to a recognizably Scholastic pattern, descending from theology, through philosophy and the other two university faculties of law and medicine, to logic, rhetoric, and grammar, with appropriate subdivisions where warranted by the quantity of books.

The expansion of private libraries in the late medieval period was closely related to the institu-

tional libraries of the university colleges and study houses. Members of the three professions—churchmen, lawyers, and physicians—responded to changing patterns of literacy and professionalization that demanded increased textual expertise with ever-expanding collections of professional textual materials.

RENAISSANCE AND REFORMATION

This milieu fostered the bibliophilia of the first major humanist book collector, Francesco Petrarch (1304–1374). Petrarch's library was not only large for the age (some two hundred volumes), but unusual in that it contained not the canonical texts and core manuals of the professions, but the works of classical authors and the church fathers. In early-fourteenth-century Florence, Coluccio Salutati (1331–1406) and Niccolò de'Niccoli (c. 1346–1437), key figures of Florentine humanism, built up collections of around eight hundred volumes. Niccoli was one of the first systematic collectors of older manuscripts, which he knew to be more accurate than later copies. Both before and after the fall of Constantinople, Greek émigrés such as Manuel Chrysoloras (c. 1353–1415) in Florence introduced many important Greek texts previously unknown to Western libraries. The library of Cardinal Bessarion (1403–1472) was the most important such collection for the transmission of Greek texts to the West. Bessarion's library contained over 1,000 volumes and was bequeathed to the Venetian republic after his death. From Venice, they were copied and recopied to furnish Western libraries with Greek manuscript texts. Important institutional Renaissance libraries were established in Florence, with the 1444 San Marco library, and in Rome, with the Vatican library first of Nicholas V (c. 1450) and, subsequently and more permanently, Sixtus IV (1471–1484).

The religious conflicts of the sixteenth century had a major impact upon libraries, both positive and negative, in Protestant and Catholic Europe. Most dramatic was the dissolution of the monasteries in England in the 1540s and the dispersal and loss of thousands of medieval manuscripts. The college libraries of Oxford and Cambridge suffered similar, if less systematic, loss. In Germany the holdings of many monastic libraries were absorbed by existing town and court libraries. In the last half of the



Libraries. The Sistine Hall of the Vatican Library, built 1587–1589 to accommodate the Vatican’s rapidly growing collection.

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century the French Wars of Religion resulted in the destruction of many important ecclesiastical libraries. It is no coincidence that this period witnessed the first postmedieval renaissance of systematic bibliography, with the efforts of Conrad Gessner (*Bibliotheca Universalis*, 1545) in the Swiss confederation, John Bale (*Illustrium Maioris Britanniae Scriptorum*, 1548) in England, and Flacius Illyricus (*Catalogus Testium Veritatis Basle*, 1556) in Germany.

The upheaval of the first half of the sixteenth century was countered by a considerable consolidation of library collections in the second half. This period witnessed the consolidation and foundation of important collections across Catholic Europe: the Escorial in Spain (1575), the Imperial Library in

Vienna (reorganized in 1576), the new Vatican library of Sixtus V (1589), the Hofbibliothek in Munich (1558), and the Ambrosiana in Milan (1609). This chain of Catholic libraries presented a wall of orthodoxy across Europe, a self-conscious effort at intellectual containment of Protestant gains. In Protestant Europe a number of important collections emerged: the ducal library at Wolfenbüttel (1572) and the Bodleian Library at Oxford (1602) were the most important. These libraries marked a watershed in establishing permanent institutional locations for the medieval manuscript heritage and in amassing unprecedented quantities of printed books. The Ambrosiana, for example, amassed a collection of some 15,000 manuscripts and 30,000 printed books in the decades after its foundation. By 1666, the ducal library at Wolfenbüttel held over

55,000 printed books. Most had established, if highly restricted, hours of opening. Access was equally restricted to members of established circles of scholars. Private collections also grew in size, frequently providing the nucleus of both local and far-flung networks of learning. Such was the case with the libraries of Claude Dupuy (1545–1594) in Paris and Gian Vincenzo Pinelli (1535–1601) in Padua. Pinelli, whose library and collections housed the young Galileo while he was composing his Padua lectures, could boast of over 6,000 printed books and 700 manuscripts, making it one of the largest private libraries of the period.

SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

This period saw continued consolidation and expansion of major collections and witnessed a growth in the political importance of libraries. Quasi-public libraries such as those of the de Thou family in Paris or Sir Robert Cotton (1571–1631) in London constituted loci of parliamentary intellectual activity and housed documents of great legal and historical importance. Their libraries were mirrored in the collections of legal and political élites across Europe. Conversely, Cardinal Mazarin's (1602–1661) formidable library in Paris (1643) became a powerful emblem of ministerial and royal authority: it was dispersed— forbidden to be sold intact to a single buyer— during the Fronde of 1651. The reorganization of the French Royal Library (1661) under Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619–1683) transformed that library into a formidable political symbol of the French monarchy and, through Colbert's patronage, into a unique locus of learning in Europe.

As a result of the new cultural importance of libraries in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and in response to the growing pressures of the print revolution, a recognizable discipline of library organization and classification developed. Gabriel Naudé (1600–1653) in his 1627 *Advis pour dresser une bibliothèque* (Advice for establishing a library) sought to establish universal principles for library organization and cataloguing sensitive to both the enormous growth of print and the intellectual needs of members of the republic of letters. The real home of library science during the Enlightenment would be Germany, where the subject of library organization was taught in the universities and where both professorial and university libraries were organized

on a loose arrangement much indebted to both Naudé and Francis Bacon (1561–1626). This development reached its culmination in 1734, with the library at the University of Göttingen, the first modern university “research” library.

The major development of the eighteenth century was the expansion of vernacular book collections. These libraries favored romances and novels in addition to the traditional vernacular genres of religion and history. The new genres provided the backbone of the lending libraries and popular reading rooms, important new features on the European library scene in the eighteenth century. More books were increasingly available to more people, and levels of personal ownership of books increased across the social spectrum. Many of the older institutional libraries rushed to embrace the new ideal of the public library (though many had long functioned as quasi-public institutions): for example, the French Royal Library in 1720 and the Imperial Library in Vienna in 1726 both opened their doors as public libraries. In 1753, Britain finally had an institution to match its continental rivals with the establishment of the British Library. But it was the nationalization of the French Royal Library at the Revolution and its confiscation of former monastic holdings that would set the standard for the large national continental libraries of the nineteenth century.

See also Dissemination of Knowledge; Education; Humanists and Humanism; Literacy and Reading; Printing and Publishing; Universities.

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PAUL NELLES

LIFE CYCLE. *See* Childhood and Childrearing; Death and Dying; Family; Marriage; Motherhood and Childbearing; Old Age; Youth.

LIFE EXPECTANCY. *See* Death and Dying; Old Age.

LIMA. Lima, the capital city of the Viceroyalty of Peru in early modern times, lies on the southern bank of the Rímac River, west of the Andes Mountains, and eight miles inland from the western coast of South America. Conquistador Francisco Pizarro founded the city on 18 January 1535 following the Spanish defeat of the native Incan empire. Possibly to account for Lima's title as "The City of the Kings," some scholars claim that the founding date was 6 January 1535, the Catholic celebration of Epiphany, when the Magi are believed to have visited the Christ child. Pizarro chose Lima, a Spanish

misunderstanding for the native word *Rímac*, over the Incan capital of Cuzco, which was further inland and nestled in the Andean highlands, because Lima had a milder climate and was better located in terms of ocean access and defense.

Symbolic of Spanish dominance and bureaucratic opulence, the city quickly became the crown's administrative, ecclesiastical, and economic hub in South America. The crown-appointed viceroy, whose short tenure was designed to preserve Spanish control from across the ocean, sat atop a highly structured and hierarchical regional government. Like other Spanish American cities, Lima was laid out in a grid design of east-west and north-south streets organized around a central plaza, a form later codified in the Laws of the Indies. As the capital city of Spanish holdings in South America, Lima was the first American city in which the Inquisition was established and the region's principal treasury office. Lima was also the conduit, via the nearby port city of Callao, for all incoming and outgoing trade with Europe. Most important were the precious metals that were mined and produced by Spanish-controlled Indian labor in the viceroyalty—most notably the silver mines at Potosí. Peru's silver mines were central to the European economy until the ore became depleted and a fiscal crisis seized Europe and Spanish America in the late seventeenth century. Lima did not recover from this decline until the eighteenth century, when Spain's new Bourbon rulers sought to streamline government and improve the colony's and the crown's economic positions. Despite Bourbon reforms, Lima's importance outside of Peru waned after this period.

The city's population increased only slowly, restrained in part by frequent and recurring earthquakes (most notably those in 1687 and 1746). Whereas in 1613 there were a little over 25,000 inhabitants, it took almost two centuries for that to double to almost 53,000 people (1796). As with other Spanish colonies, Lima's population at the time of the conquest was composed of a few Spaniards and numerous natives. Over time the populace became increasingly mixed as more Spaniards and other Europeans arrived, the indigenous population declined, and slaves were brought in from Africa. At least in theory, Lima's social structure was as ordered as the city's administration, with legal and geographical divisions among classes and eth-

nicities. Nevertheless, cultural and sexual exchange among the city's residents, the steady influx of exotic goods, and the continual influence of people and ideas arriving on visiting ships ensured that Lima would become a culturally diverse center for the viceroyalty.

See also **Pizarro Brothers; Spanish Colonies: Peru.**

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JAMIE STEPHENSON

LINNAEUS, CARL (Carl von Linné; 1707–1778; ennobled 1761), Swedish naturalist and explorer. Linnaeus was born on 23 May 1707. His father was a curator in Råshult, a small parish in Småland (southern Sweden). After attending school in nearby Växjö, he studied medicine at the universities of Lund (1727) and Uppsala (1728–1732). Coming from a low-income family, he could only afford to attend a few lectures, but patronage from Olaus Rudbeck, Jr. (1660–1740) and Olof Celsius (1670–1756) at Uppsala University, and subsidies he received from teaching botany (1730–1732), allowed him to study natural history on his own. In 1732 the Uppsala Academy of Sciences sent Linnaeus to Lapland to do research. After his return, he gave private lectures in mineral assaying, and made another research trip to Dalecarlia (a region in central Sweden) in 1734. At this early stage, the foundation for all of his later work was laid down in

manuscripts. Occasion for their publication would come when Linnaeus went to Holland in 1735 to acquire a medical degree. This journey was financed by the governor of Dalecarlia, the father of Sara Elisabeth Moraea, who was promised to Linnaeus.

Skillfully seeking the patronage of leading Dutch naturalists like Jan Fredrik Gronovius (1690–1762), senator of Leiden, and Herman Boerhaave (1668–1738), only a few months after his arrival Linnaeus successfully published his first work, the *Systema Naturae* (The system of nature), a folio volume of only eleven pages that presented a classification of the three kingdoms of nature. Success was immediate, and there followed a whole series of further publications, among them the *Fundamenta Botanica* (The foundations of botany, 1735) and the *Genera Plantarum* (Genera of plants, 1737). Linnaeus extended his stay in Holland until 1738 to catalog the extensive botanical collections of George Clifford, former director of the Dutch East India Company, who also paid him for two short trips to Paris and Oxford. On his return to Sweden in 1738, he married Sara Elisabeth and settled in Stockholm as a physician. He was among those who founded the Royal Academy of Sciences in 1739.

In 1741 Linnaeus accepted the chair of medicine and botany at Uppsala University. His career was characterized by two different aspects: On the one hand, he used the contacts he had made while in Holland to establish an international network of correspondents, including such leading naturalists as Albrecht von Haller (1708–1777) and Antoine-Laurent de Jussieu (1748–1836), that would supply him with seeds and specimens from all over the world. Incorporating this material into the botanical garden at Uppsala, Linnaeus created a continuously growing empirical basis for revised and enlarged editions of his major taxonomic works. There were twelve authorized editions of the *Systema Naturae*, as well as numerous pirated editions, translations, and popular versions that appeared in Europe.

On the other hand, Linnaeus actively supported the cameralist theory that a nation's welfare depended on science-based administration. He promoted the creation of chairs in economics at Swedish universities, organized public botanical

excursions around Uppsala, undertook research travels within Sweden to identify domestic products that could replace imports, and sent some twenty students on travels around the globe to find exotic plants for acclimatization in Sweden. The results of these “patriotic” projects were published in the *Flora Suecica* (Swedish plants, 1745), the *Fauna Suecica* (Swedish animals, 1746), and four volumes of reports on journeys made to various provinces of Sweden (*Öländska and Gotländska Resa*, [Travel to Öland and Gotland], 1741, *Västgötha Resa* [Travel to Western Gothia], 1747, and *Skånska Resa* [Travel to Scania], 1751).

Linnaeus and his wife Sara Elisabeth, who managed the three farm estates of the family, had five children. His only son, Carolus, Jr., succeeded him at the University of Uppsala after his death in 1778, but died only a few years later.

The significance of Linnaeus’s scientific achievements in natural history is twofold. His major taxonomic works, but especially the *Species Plantarum* (1753), a catalog of all plant species known at the time, provided systematic access to earlier literature in natural history, while the *Philosophia Botanica* (Philosophy of botany, 1751) laid down rules for classifying and naming organisms that would inform all future taxonomic practice. His main innovation in this respect was the introduction of binomial nomenclature, proposed for the first time in the *Philosophia Botanica* and for the first time consistently applied in the *Species Plantarum*. The latter work and zoological part of the tenth edition of the *Systema Naturae* (1756) form the basis of all subsequent botanical and zoological nomenclature, in conjunction with Linnaeus’s extensive collections of botanical and zoological specimens, today preserved by the Linnaean Society in London.

Other fields in which Linnaeus is of historical importance include plant sexuality (*Sponsalia Plantarum* [The sex of plants], 1746), ecology (*Oeconomia Naturae* [The economy of nature], 1749), and the classification of diseases (*Genera Morborum* [Genera of diseases], 1763).

See also **Academies, Learned**; **Biology**; **Boerhaave, Herman**; **Botany**; **Haller, Albrecht von**; **Scientific Revolution**; **Zoology**.

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STAFFAN MÜLLER-WILLE

LIPSIUS, JUSTUS (Joest Lips; 1547–1606), Dutch humanist and philosopher. Justus Lipsius was the most widely published humanist of the end of the sixteenth century. With Joseph Scaliger (1540–1609) and Isaac Casaubon (1559–1614) he formed the famous triumvirate of learning that dominated the late Renaissance. The father of the Tacitist political tradition, he also led the Neostoic movement based on the works of Seneca, which Wilhelm Dilthey (1833–1911) regarded as one of the origins of modern individualism. Lipsius’s work illustrates how a pragmatic politics, ethics, and religion grew out of the convergence of classical humanism and the wars that wracked Europe during the Counter-Reformation.

Born to a well-to-do family in Overyssche near Brussels, Lipsius began his studies as a novice in the Jesuit College of Cologne, where he was recognized as a prodigy due to his extraordinary memory and voracious intellectual appetite. He first achieved renown at the age of nineteen for *Varie Lectiones*, a work of Ciceronian Latin prose commentaries on the ancients, which he dedicated to Cardinal Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle (1517–1586), who was a minister of Philip II of Spain. Although in later life Lipsius repudiated this work for its flowery style, it caught the eye of Granvelle, who invited Lipsius to Rome as his Latin secretary. It was in Italy, between

1568 and 1570, that Lipsius blossomed as a scholar, visiting great libraries and working with famous humanists such as Paolo Manuzio (1512–1574) and Girolamo Mercuriale (1530–1606).

Lipsius's meeting with the French poet and humanist Marc-Antoine Muret (1526–1585), however, led to a defining intellectual epiphany. Lecturing in Rome, Muret was a pioneering scholar who was working on a set of commentaries on Tacitus's works. Lipsius now repudiated Ciceronian Latin eloquence and advocated Tacitus's concise, sententious style, effectively creating a second humanist rhetorical movement. In 1572 Lipsius accepted a chair at the Lutheran University of Jena in Germany, where he began his famed critical edition of the works of Tacitus, which was published in 1674. This work stands as one of the greatest monuments of Latin humanism. Mixing his own brilliant emendations with those of other scholars, Lipsius used his considerable philological skills to clear Tacitus's text of its medieval inaccuracies, differentiating the *Annals* from the *Histories*, and restoring the work closer to its original state. In 1581 he added historical and political commentaries and highlighted maxims with the aim of making Tacitus's work useful for practical life. Scaliger considered this his most important work and indeed, it became an international bestseller, elevating Tacitus to the status of a secular saint of practical politics and an acceptable stand-in for Machiavelli.

Of his many works, Lipsius considered *De Constantia* (1584; On constancy) and the *Politicorum Libri Sex* (1589; Six books of politics) to be his most important achievements. *De Constantia* explained the basic tenets of his Stoic philosophy that sought to transform contemplation and study into the basis for worldly action. Traumatized by the Spanish atrocities during the Dutch Wars and by the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre (24 August 1572), Lipsius formulated a philosophy of personal discipline, ethics, and rational judgment in response to the chaos that engulfed Counter-Reformation Europe. The following work, *Politicorum Libri Sex*, was an exercise in Stoic practicality. Harnessing maxims from the ancients, in particular from Tacitus, he hoped to create a collection, or *cento*, of political maxims to be used as a tool by monarchs to control and stabilize their kingdoms. His theory of "mixed prudence" was an attempt to translate Ma-

chiavellian practical prudence into an acceptable tool of politics regulated by the ethics of public utility. This theory later formed the basis of Liberine political philosophy and was central to the works of Pierre Charron (1541–1603) and Gabriel Naudé (1600–1653).

Lipsius lived his life according to the Stoic principle of accommodation and rejected the religious fanaticism of his day. He was a member of the secretive, proto-Deist Family of Love movement that stressed peace and unity above denominational loyalty. A true accommodator, he went from Lutheran Jena to Calvinist Leiden in 1572, and in 1591 he returned to Louvain, where he again embraced Jesuit Catholicism and lived out the rest of his days. He supported the interests of Protestant provinces, but he also counseled the emperor on the way to a peaceful settlement of the religious strife that wracked Holland. His numerous works also include a manual of letter-writing, *Epistolica Institutio* (1580); a history of classical libraries, *De Amphiteatro Liber* (1584); *De Militia Romana* (1595), which inspired many of the military reforms of his day; and finally his masterwork of Senecan Stoicism, *Manuductionis ad Stoicam Philosophiam* (1604). His works remained popular into the seventeenth century.

See also **Humanists and Humanism.**

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JACOB SOLL

LISBON. Portugal's capital stood as the key city for exploration of the south Atlantic and Indian

Oceans as well as one of Europe's most important ports. Lisbon was also the center of Portugal's domestic economy. During the rise of Portugal's maritime empire, its large and strategic harbor became a major entrepôt for slaves, ivory, spices, silk, sugar, salt, and other commodities. By 1550 its population had risen to 100,000, making Lisbon one of Europe's largest cities. Thereafter, the decline in Portugal's Asian empire, together with the union with Spain, slowed Lisbon's demographic and economic growth. After 1705, Brazilian gold and diamonds revitalized the city's economic and political importance, and by 1750, Lisbon held at least 250,000 people, or approximately one tenth of Portugal's total population. All growth stopped, however, with the 1755 earthquake and its subsequent fire, which destroyed much of the city. Rebuilding slowed with the end of the Brazilian gold rush, and Lisbon never regained its former prominence. By 1800, its population stood at less than 170,000.

The early sixteenth century saw the creation of a particularly Portuguese architectural style called Manueline, whose motifs reflected Portugal's overseas successes and whose monuments are prominent in Lisbon. The building activity brought about by the empire's wealth substantially diminished during Portugal's union with Spain (1580–1640), which coincided with economic difficulties that affected much of Europe. Vernacular architecture particularly declined as the court and much of Portugal's social and economic elite moved to Madrid. That decline continued after independence in the late seventeenth century. Both the crown and the nobility had become too impoverished to construct palaces or large public buildings. Building activities renewed during John V's reign (João, 1706–1750), when wealth from the Brazilian gold rush created an economic boom that led to the construction of new palaces, an opera house, and the Lisbon aqueduct.

Lisbon retained its medieval and Renaissance character throughout the early modern era. Its major commercial, religious, and political structures remained inside city walls. Towering over the skyline rose the castelo São Jorge, the Carmo monastery, and the Royal Hospital of All Saints, while the Royal Palace (Paço de Ribeira), the dockyards with its customhouses, and the two great squares—the Rossio and Terreiro do Paço—dominated its foreground. On Lisbon's nearly 370 streets stood

twenty thousand houses and over two thousand stores, interspersed with over a hundred churches, monasteries, and convents.

From a distance, travelers in the early eighteenth century described Lisbon as one of the world's most beautiful cities. The city stood on a series of hills within what appeared to be a naturally formed amphitheater. Such impressions changed on arrival, however. John V placed absolutism above economic and urban development. Thus, despite the wealth from Brazil, Lisbon's infrastructure and its commercial facilities had badly deteriorated by the mid-eighteenth century. Poor-quality mortar caused old building walls to collapse on unwary pedestrians. Steep, ill-maintained streets were too narrow for coaches and created health hazards from waste flowing downward toward the city's center. Lisbon was also one of Europe's most dangerous cities. Astonishingly, despite the importance of commerce, the city had neither a permanent bourse nor a separate structure for its municipal council. Instead, merchants, brokers, and contractors conducted their dealings around Businessmen's Square, while the municipal council usually met in Saint Anthony's Church.

The November 1755 earthquake caused catastrophic mortality (it is estimated that from ten to thirty thousand lives were lost), and unprecedented destruction. The earthquake and the subsequent fire and tidal wave destroyed approximately seventeen thousand houses, the city center and docks, and countless cultural treasures. The appalling scale of the destruction initiated an international debate over the concepts of optimism and evil. Politically, the disaster precipitated the marquis de Pombal's rise to power as Portugal's strongman for the next two decades.

Pombal (1699–1782) sought to rebuild Lisbon symbolically as well as physically. He envisioned an imperial capital reflecting a reformed and commercially centered Portugal. Because lack of funds and resources prohibited rebuilding the entire city, construction efforts focused on the lower section. Central Lisbon was reestablished on a grid pattern of wide streets and avenues featuring two large squares. Pombal mandated that all new structures conform to certain rules regarding size and architectural style. The enormous Praça do Comércio,



Lisbon. Aerial view of Lisbon, 1756, with a depiction of the fire that consumed much of the city in 1755. THE ART ARCHIVE/BRITISH LIBRARY

which occupied the area where the royal palace and its surrounding ground had stood, most visibly represented Pombal's commercial focus. Colonial taxes largely underwrote the enormous cost of construction.

After 1760 the rapid decline in Brazilian gold production impeded rebuilding, and travelers still spoke of ruined structures in the early nineteenth century. The French 1807 invasion, followed by Brazilian independence, heavily damaged Portugal's entire economy. Whereas Lisbon remained one of Europe's most important port cities, it never again approached its previous economic prominence.

See also Portugal; Portuguese Colonies: Brazil.

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WILLIAM DONOVAN

LITERACY AND READING. In the Renaissance, Europe experienced the beginnings of a profound transformation from restricted to mass literacy. In 1500 very few people could read and write, but by 1800 a majority of adults in northwestern Europe were literate. This entry outlines the special nature of early modern literacy; it charts the changing social and geographical distribution of literacy in early modern Europe; and it offers explanations and an assessment of the importance of this complex development.

THE SKILLS OF LITERACY

Early modern literacy was made up of several skills, which are best seen as bands in a spectrum of communication rather than discrete categories. Reading of print or writing was possible at two levels. Some people could decipher texts, read them aloud, and memorize them in a mechanical or ritual way—although their personal understanding may have been questionable. We should not exaggerate the understanding and facility of those who possessed this intermediate or semiliteracy. Those with better education and a deeper immersion in printed and written culture could comprehend the text with greater precision, reading and thinking silently to themselves. They could understand new texts as well as familiar ones. However, “reading” was not restricted to written or printed words alone. People could gather information and ideas from looking: interpreting pictures and prints in broadsheets and “chapbooks” (pamphlets) or watching and participating in plays and processions. Gesture remained a subtle and important form of nonverbal communication.

If they wanted to transmit their own thoughts other than through speech, people had to learn to write, or rather compose—an advanced skill that required considerable training and practice and that effectively marked “full” literacy for most people. The other, more common, level of writing was in fact copying: writing without necessarily understanding. It was at this stage that people learned to sign their names on documents, and this ability is commonly used as an indicator that someone could read and understand printed and written texts in the vernacular, the language of everyday life. In other words, he or she was well along the road to “full” literacy. A small minority of men and a handful of

women could also copy or compose in Latin, the international language of learning throughout the Middle Ages, the Renaissance, and the early modern period, or in another pan-European language like French. Even those who had none of these skills were not culturally isolated, for they could listen—hear a priest’s sermons or a friend reading aloud, participate actively or passively in discussions with their peers. The way to understand literacy in early modern Europe is to assess the access that people had to the different bands in the spectrum and the ways they used them.

The ability to read and write was a function of access to schooling, demand for basic learning, and prevailing social and cultural attitudes to literacy. Commercial, religious, administrative, and intellectual “revolutions” of the fifteenth century onward enhanced the supply of education and fueled a growing demand for instruction. The chances of being educated and of acquiring literacy depended on a wide variety of factors in historic Europe. Wealth, sex, inheritance laws, projected job opportunities, employment for children, even the language a person spoke in everyday life—all played their part. Thus literacy grew because of “push” and “pull” factors. For example, there was the push of religiously inspired educational campaigns (Lutheran, Calvinist, and Catholic). There was the pull of personal religious needs and economic incentives such as a desire for social or geographical mobility. Book production also grew dramatically. Perhaps 150 to 200 million copies were turned out during the sixteenth century, and 1,500 million copies were printed in the eighteenth century. This outpouring fed on and was nourished by growing literacy. More schools were provided and more were demanded. Schools were important to learning, but nowhere were they compulsory and, because of costs, many children received only a very brief and basic education. In Sweden, mass reading ability was achieved almost entirely by learning at home.

THE IMPACT OF RELIGION

The Swedish literacy campaign that began in the late seventeenth century was designed to consolidate the Lutheran Reformation there, and many of the advances in reading and writing stemmed from the religious battles of the early modern period. It is commonly asserted that Protestantism is the

“religion of the Book.” Indeed, Protestant countries tended to be more literate than Catholic, and where the faiths coexisted, as in France, Ireland, and the Low Countries, Calvinists tended to be more accomplished than Catholics. However, on closer inspection the picture is less clear-cut. Dynamic Counter-Reformation Catholicism could produce results comparable with the Lutheran heartland. Just 40 percent of accused adults examined by Spanish inquisitions knew the Ten Commandments well in the 1560s and 1570s, compared with 80 percent by the 1590s, while the proportions felt to be crassly ignorant fell from 50 percent to under 10 percent. Importantly, this was pure memorization rather than reading. Indeed, the distinction between the faiths was often more subtle than crude literacy rates—but no less important. Qualitative differences in the uses and importance of literacy distinguished Protestants from Catholics. Reading Scriptures was central to the Reformed faith. Religious books were probably read more frequently among Protestants, and the very status of reading was special. Protestants tended to own more books on a wider variety of religious topics than their Catholic neighbors and to use them differently. Protestants accepted the overwhelming authority of what they knew or thought was in a religious book.

As well as successes in inculcating religious knowledge in (“Christianizing”) their peoples, Catholic countries could boast some excellent educational facilities. At the elementary level there were, for example, Italian Schools of Christian Doctrine, which from the mid-sixteenth century taught religion and basic reading and writing to urban children. At the postelementary level there were the famous schools of the Jesuits and other religious orders. Nor should we ignore the contribution of second- and third-generation Reformations, Protestant and Catholic alike. In Denmark and Prussia it was not the Lutheran Reformation of the sixteenth century that brought about widespread literacy, but the early-eighteenth-century campaign waged by the Pietists with the help of the new “absolutist” rulers. In France female religious orders provided the impetus behind the rapid advance in women’s literacy after c. 1740.

LITERACY AMONG MEN AND WOMEN

Outcomes (the social and geographical distribution of literacy) are relatively easy to demonstrate using the universal, standard, and direct measure of ability to sign one’s name in full on a document such as a court deposition, a contract, or a marriage certificate. Male achievements were superior to female, those of the rich to those of the poor; urban dwellers were almost invariably better able to write than were peasants. In the east, south, and far north of Europe, the ability to write was less than in the heartland of the continent, but reading may have been as widespread (maybe more so) in Scandinavia. For all the apparent simplicity of these patterns, they become more complex and nuanced on closer investigation—and more so still when we move away from the quantitative measures to a qualitative analysis of meanings and uses.

Around 1500 even basic literacy was restricted to less than 10 percent of men. Judged by the rather advanced skill of signing, the most pronounced early expansion occurred among the middling and upper classes, among men, and in towns. In northern England the illiteracy of the gentry fell from about 30 percent in 1530 to almost nil in 1600, but that of day laborers stayed well above 90 percent throughout the period. Male achievements were almost always superior to female. For example, one bridegroom in three could not sign Amsterdam’s marriage register in 1630, compared with two-thirds of brides. Until the eighteenth century the rate of improvement for men generally exceeded that for women. The literacy of townspeople also grew more quickly than that of rural dwellers. By the mid-eighteenth century London and Paris had literacy levels not achieved nationally until the late nineteenth century. In eastern Europe almost the only literate people were townspeople.

PATTERNS OF CHANGE

Change was halting and irregular. Different groups reached “ceilings” or “plateaus” at different times, from which it might take decades to move. For men at least, Castile in the sixteenth century was on a par with France and England until the second quarter of the seventeenth century. Between c. 1620 and c. 1740 it failed to develop at the same rate. The literacy of Castilian women crept up only marginally from 1500 to 1740. The second half of the eighteenth century was better for women everywhere in

western Europe. Female literacy grew much more rapidly than male in northern France in the two generations before the Revolution. In parts of northwestern Germany girls began to receive instruction in arithmetic for the first time. However, the current of change ebbed as well as flowed. For centuries the leaders in raising literacy, some early industrial towns of Britain and the southern Low Countries in the late eighteenth century saw falling levels as population growth swamped the social infrastructure and child employment created a disincentive for education.

The extent of divisions between social groups varied over both space and time. In the sixteenth century, when literacy was limited, virtually all those who could read and write came from the landlord, mercantile, or professional classes. Beneath them lay a yawning chasm of illiteracy. This stark differentiation was tempered over time as more members of the middling and lower orders—artisans and farmers, for example—picked up the skills of the book and the pen. In England, lowland Scotland, the Netherlands, northern Germany, and northeastern France, an expansion of literacy for the middling ranks had occurred by the end of the seventeenth century. Southern Italy and Poland (and, to an even greater extent, Russia) had very limited literacy deep into the nineteenth century.

READING

Much research into literacy has focused on the ability to write. However, there are many reasons to believe that reading was a more widespread skill. Children of the lower social classes, who made up 50 to 90 percent of European people, generally received no more than three to four years of education, meaning they learned only to read. For adults, reading had more religious and recreational value than writing, which was by no means essential to everyday life. Indeed, it may be that in countries like Italy and France two or three women could read for every one who could write during the eighteenth century. The campaign to promote religious literacy in Scandinavia produced remarkable results. As late as the mid-seventeenth century a third of adults were able to pass the church's tests of reading, but a century later more than four out of five men and women could read.

Tacitly or overtly, studies showing apparently extensive reading suggest that the breadth of cultural access was much broader than the figures for signing imply. Yet reading might actually mean memorization, and without practice, the reading skills of many ordinary people ill equipped them for exploring the new literature of the Renaissance and Enlightenment. As late as 1750 critical reading ability in the German lands was confined to just 10 percent of the population, a figure that applies equally well to the rest of northwestern Europe. Print and writing may therefore have had a limited impact on ordinary people who were ostensibly "readers." Nevertheless, we must be alert to the possibility that reading was more widespread than writing, especially among poorer men and among women as a whole. After all, women of the *haute bourgeoisie* or the landed classes (and especially unmarried ones, it seems) read periodicals and novels. They used circulating libraries, joined reading societies, attended the theater and concerts, collected prints, and bought paintings. Women seem to have been a crucial component of the anticipated audience for Enlightenment literature.

Yet such women were not typical. The existence of social forms, which provided visual, spoken, and sung communication (such as the French *veillée* or evening gathering and the German *Spinnstube* or spinning circle) and which were dominated by ordinary women, suggests that their cultural lives continued to be cast in an oral/aural and visual framework. Males were educated to participate in the public sphere, women in the private or domestic one. This usually meant that girls gained religious knowledge, learned to read, and were given practical instruction in gendered skills like "housewifery." In the Mediterranean lands where gender roles were most firmly delineated, it was long held to be unnecessary to train girls in more than the rudiments of religious morality. In the deep south of Italy and in parts of eastern Europe such as Hungary, reading and writing were uncommon for either sex. The people of these regions actively preferred oral forms.

LATIN AND THE VERNACULAR

The spread of literacy across western Europe made communication easier. What people did with their ability to communicate using letters depended on

what tongue(s) they knew. Until the second half of the seventeenth century, the majority of printed books were in Latin. Those with Latin (perhaps 1 or 2 per cent of the population) were part of a pan-European culture in the age of the Renaissance, but theirs was a circle from which were excluded the *illiterati*—the medieval term for those unable to speak, read, and write Latin. Latin remained important as a core subject in postelementary education throughout the early modern period. During the eighteenth century, speaking, reading, and writing French came to replace Latin for cultural and intellectual purposes—at least for the elites of Catholic and perhaps Orthodox Europe. French became the new Latin. Throughout the early modern period Church Slavonic was the language of learning and literacy in Russia, but it was alien to everyday speech and was taught to a tiny number.

Indeed Latin versus vernacular was only one of many linguistic oppositions in early modern Europe. The vernacular was increasingly used in education, print, government, and administration—but which vernacular? For even within small countries many tongues could be spoken, with important implications for literacy. Seven out of ten of the inhabitants of Wales knew no English and could speak only Welsh in 1800. France was a linguistic Tower of Babel. In 1790 French (*langue d'oïl*) was the dominant language in just fifteen of eighty-nine *départements*; six million French could not understand French at all; a further six million could understand it but spoke it only imperfectly; thirty patois were spoken, plus foreign languages like Flemish or German or Basque; only three million could speak French “properly.” The linguistic map of Europe resembles that of literacy: in areas where the language of everyday life was not that of education, contact with outside authority, or printed literature, literacy tended to remain low.

For all the obstacles, dead ends, and inconsistencies in the development of reading and writing, literacy certainly expanded between 1500 and 1800. What, in conclusion, can be said about its uses? Reading tastes changed, notably from the practical to the recreational. New value was placed on originality and novelty in writing. The real growth area in reading material was not the staple texts, which people perused closely, but the more varied, ephemeral, and entertaining fare that was

becoming available. Readers ranged more extensively among literary forms, where previously they had focused on a few texts. Between 1700 and 1789 there were published 1,200 French-language periodicals of at least one year’s duration. History and travel books became more popular. While literacy was, by all measures, on the rise in the eighteenth century, it may be that for reasons of cost and availability, or because of limited education, not everyone could enjoy its products. The fully literate indulged themselves in its novelties; the semiliterate remained within their traditional mental world. In his autobiography, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749–1832) recounted childhood memories of enjoying a chapbook literature of magic, chivalry, and saints, which had changed little for centuries. Europe was well on the way to mass basic literacy by 1800, but there were still pronounced divisions in access to and uses of literacy’s products.

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R. A. HOUSTON

LITHUANIA, GRAND DUCHY OF, TO 1569. The dates 1385 and 1569 mark important turning points in Polish historiography concerning the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, a governing myth of which is that of state creation by marriages and free unions. In 1385 the Act of Union signed in Kręva (Krewo) marked the beginning of a federation between the Grand Duchy and the Polish crown that was to last until the third partition of Poland-Lithuania in 1795. Grand Duke Jogaila (Polish, Jagiełło; after baptism, Władysław Jagiełło) agreed to marry the twelve-year-old queen of Poland, Jadwiga of Anjou. The ceremony occurred 14 February 1386 in Cracow.

Interpretation of the Act of Union hinges on the term *applicare* used in the document: Did Jagiełło agree to an incorporation of the Grand Duchy into the Polish state (as Polish historiography once argued), or did he envisage a federation of

two more or less equal states (as Lithuanian historians have insisted)? Polish historiography sees the union as a foundational moment and emphasizes the importance, for the history of early modern Lithuania, of Jogaila's acceptance of Western Christianity and his baptism of Lithuania (Aukštaitija, the eastern "highlands" around Vilnius, in 1387; Samogitia, or Žemaitija, the western central "lowlands," in 1417). It also highlights the increasingly strong ties with Poland. Lithuanian scholarship sees the long reign of Jogaila's still pagan grandfather Gediminas (ruled 1316–1341) as the foundational moment and focuses on attempts to strengthen Lithuanian autonomies after 1385, especially during the reign of Jogaila's cousin Vytautas (Polish, Witold; ruled 1401–1430) as grand duke of Lithuania. In short, the period 1385–1569, as viewed from the Polish side, was a direct progression from the personal union, through a period of strengthening ties between the two states (during which time a single member of the Jagiellonian house most often ruled both), to the writing into law of a Commonwealth of the Two Nations at the Union of Lublin in 1569. The view from the Lithuanian side is one of lost opportunities for state formation; it focuses on moments of Lithuanian separateness and sees the union as the eventual forced marriage of two very unequal partners.

A mutual enemy helped bring the two states together. The Order of the Teutonic Knights had posed a threat to both Christian Poland and pagan Lithuania since its arrival in Mazovia and on the Baltic in 1226. A decisive victory of Lithuanian and Polish forces over the Order at Grunwald at Tannenberg in 1410 prepared the way for an ultimate subordination of what would become Ducal Prussia to the Polish crown. Lithuanian historiography views the fifteenth century as a missed opportunity, as the decline of a Gediminian concept of Lithuanian statehood and identity after the death of Vytautas in 1430 and its supplanting with a Polish-oriented Jagiellonian dynasty of Lithuanian origin. Polish historiography has emphasized a willing adoption of Polish political and cultural norms. In 1413 at a renewal of the union at Horodło, forty-seven Lithuanian noble families were "adopted" by, and took on the coats of arms of, forty-seven Polish lines. This marked the beginning of a gradual Polonization of the Lithuanian elites that reached



Lithuania's burghers by the early seventeenth century.

The Lithuanian state was multiethnic from the preconversion period. Large territories of Kievan Rus' (destroyed by the Mongolian Tatar invasion of 1240) gradually came under Lithuanian rule, and the Ruthenian element contributed to Lithuanian identity in later periods. Some individual conversions among the Lithuanian elite were to Orthodoxy, and many underwent a Ruthenianization before submitting to Polonization. Ruthenian became the language of the Lithuanian chancery. Lack of full legal rights for Orthodox Ruthenian nobles (fully granted only in 1563) helped speed the Polonization of Lithuanian (and Ruthenian) society.

The period immediately following the conversion of Lithuania witnessed the first settlements of Tatars and Karaim (around Vilnius and Trakai, among other settlements), to which continuing immigrations were later added those of Poles and Jews. Grand Duke Alexander (ruled 1492–1506; king of Poland from 1501) banished the Jews from the Grand Duchy in 1495 but allowed them to return in 1503. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Jews were most numerous in Brest, Hrodna (Grodno), and Pinsk, which first comprised the Vaad or Council of the Chief Lithuanian Jewish

Communities. (Vilnius joined only in 1652.) German merchants, engaged in Baltic trade and with contacts to Riga, Königsberg, and Gdańsk, were present in Vilnius before 1386, and their numbers and significance increased here and in other cities of ethnic Lithuania, such as Kaunas, throughout the early modern period. One estimate sees a Grand Duchy of the mid-sixteenth century with a population of about 3 million, of which one-third was Lithuanian and one-half Ruthenian.

The move to formalize the personal union between Poland and Lithuania that culminated in the Union of Lublin on 1 July 1569 gathered momentum as it became clear that the last Jagiellonian king, Sigismund II Augustus (ruled 1548–1572), would indeed die without a male heir. It was again a mutual enemy—now an ascending Muscovy—that helped facilitate the marriage. The middling Lithuanian gentry was now in favor of the union and saw it as a defense of the state against Muscovy. They also saw in the union and the extension of Polish views on the legal equality of the entire *szlachta* (‘gentry,’ or ‘nobles’) a strengthening of their own position vis-à-vis the Lithuanian magnates. The latter, a group of unusually wealthy and powerful families, led in this instance by the Calvinist Mikołaj Radziwiłł the Red, then palatine of Vilnius and chancellor of the Grand Duchy, attempted to block the union. In response to Lithuanian recalcitrance, Sigismund II removed the palatinates of Volhynia, Podlachia, Podolia, Bratslav, and Kiev from the Grand Duchy and subordinated them directly to the Polish crown.

Consequently a much smaller and weaker Grand Duchy of Lithuania entered into the Commonwealth of the Two Nations, forming a federation of two quite unequal partners, with one common, elected ruler, one parliament, and one foreign policy. The Grand Duchy would retain a limited sovereignty with a separate administration, army, treasury, judiciary, and legal system (based on the Third Lithuanian Statute of 1588). Other elements of Lithuanian difference—such as the use of chancery Ruthenian, which was abandoned only in 1697—remained a part of Lithuanian identity for the increasingly Polonized elite after the union. The union would bring Lithuanian causes more directly into the center of Polish politics, especially eastern questions, such as the struggles with the Tatars, the

Ottoman Empire, and Muscovy. Population in the Grand Duchy declined sharply in the wars of 1648–1667 (by 46 percent according to one estimate). The growth that began in the 1730s brought numbers back to their prewar peak only by 1790. The Grand Duchy disappeared with the third partition of Poland in 1795.

See also **Lublin, Union of (1569); Poland-Lithuania, Commonwealth of, 1569–1795; Poland to 1569; Teutonic Knights; Władysław II Jagiełło (Poland).**

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DAVID FRICK

LITHUANIAN LITERATURE AND LANGUAGE.

In the early modern period large portions of the societies of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania underwent Polonization. Polish began to function as a language of culture, politics, commerce, and some daily conversation (even if with a regional accent) for magnates, gentry, and burghers, and there was likely a growing bilingualism among all but rural speakers of the other represented languages. These included above all Lithuanian and Ruthenian (*ruskii*), an East Slavic language that would eventually be claimed as the progenitor of modern Belarusian and Ukrainian. Both Lithuanian and Ruthenian were used for certain cultural purposes in this period, and this entry will focus on them.

Speakers of other languages were also present. Lithuanian Jews spoke Yiddish and wrote in Hebrew, Aramaic, and Yiddish. The first Hebrew presses in the Grand Duchy were established at Shklov (1783) and Hrodna (1788). German-speaking merchants were present in cities like Vilnius and

Kaunas. Lithuanian Tatars originally spoke a Kipchak Turkic language, but numbers of them quickly assimilated linguistically and used forms of Belarusian or Polish in their *kitabs* (manuscript books of religious stories, legends, fairy tales, and prayers), which they wrote down in the Arabic alphabet. Courland and Livonia were incorporated into the Commonwealth in 1561, and the first book in Latvian, a Catholic catechism, was printed in Vilnius in 1585.

LITHUANIAN

Lithuanian elites of the Grand Duchy quickly became Ruthenianized and Polonized, so that the Lithuanian language came to have a highly circumscribed area of use, and monolingual speakers in the later part of the period were peasants. By the early seventeenth century, gentry and burghers of all ethnicities and confessions spoke Polish. The chancery language of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was Ruthenian until 1697, when it was supplanted by Polish and Latin.

The situation was quite different in Lithuania Minor. After the Peace of Toruń of 1466, a defeated Order of Teutonic Knights established a new capital at Königsberg. Lithuanian speakers were the largest non-German ethnic group in a much diminished Ducal Prussia. With the secularization of the order in 1525 and the introduction of Lutheranism as the state religion, Königsberg became a center for Protestant learning and propaganda, drawing students and professors from neighboring states, including Poland and Lithuania. Lithuanian had higher status in the public life of Ducal Prussia than in the Grand Duchy, finding use in a broader range of institutions (some schools and a large Lithuanian parish in Königsberg).

The oldest printed book in Lithuanian, the Lutheran catechism of Martynas Mažvydas, was printed at Königsberg in 1547. Mažvydas (c. 1520–1563) also produced two volumes of hymns (1566 and 1570). In 1579 Baltramiejus Vilentas (1525–1587) published in one volume Luther's small catechism (*Enchiridion*) and a translation of the Gospels and Epistles. The Lutheran clergyman Jonas Bretkunas (1536–1602) published a hymnal and a prayer book (1589) and a two-volume collection of sermons (1591), and he worked on an unpublished Bible translation.

The union with Brandenburg in 1618 and the decline of Ducal Prussia from the 1620s led to a lowering of the status of Lithuanian in Prussian society. Nonetheless, these early works of Lutheran church literature provided a basis for the development of written Lithuanian in the Grand Duchy and an impetus for Catholic authorities to respond in kind. In the Grand Duchy, two competing forms of written Lithuanian emerged, a variant based on the central dialects of Samogitia and a second that favored the eastern variant of historic Lithuania with its seat around Vilnius. The canon of the episcopal college of the Samogitia diocese Mikalojus Daukša (d. 1613) produced the first Lithuanian book printed in the Grand Duchy; it was a translation of the Spanish Jesuit Diego de Ledesma's Catholic catechism (1595). In 1599 he produced a translation of the Polish Jesuit Jakub Wujek's monumental postil, which he prefaced with a Polish-language defense of the Lithuanian language. These two works quickly drew a Calvinist response. Merkelis Petkevičius, a clerk at the Vilnius court and supreme tribunal, published a catechism and small hymnal in 1598, and Jokūbas Morkūnas published a translation of the Calvinist Mikołaj Rej's Polish postil in 1600. These were all works in the central dialects that would play a leading role in the nineteenth-century revival.

The eastern dialect was employed in a second translation of Ledesma's Catholic catechism (1605) and by the Jesuit Konstantinas Širvydas (Szyrwid) in his Latin-Polish-Lithuanian dictionary (*Dictionarium Trium Linguarum*, before 1620, 1631, 1642, 1677, 1713, and 1718) and in his bilingual (Polish and Lithuanian) collection of sermons published in Vilnius (vol. 1, 1629; vol. 2, 1644). Public use of Lithuanian declined dramatically in the second half of the seventeenth and throughout the eighteenth centuries, a result of the increasing Polonization of all but peasant societies in the Grand Duchy.

RUTHENIAN

Historians of Belarusian language and literature lay claim to a portion of early modern Ruthenian (*ruskii*). This was a language at only the earliest stages of normalization, spoken and written by the Orthodox and Uniates of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and, by the mid-seventeenth century, showing the beginnings of differentiation

from Ukrainian variants. In this genetic schema, the language is sometimes called “Middle Belarusian.” Texts manifesting Ukrainian and Belarusian features were all labeled Ruthenian. They circulated and were read throughout the Ruthenian lands; moreover, some writers from Ukrainian lands, whose texts contained Ukrainian features, were active and printed their works in centers more closely connected with Belarus (e.g., Vilnius).

Ruthenian chronicles brought the history of Rus’ into the period of its incorporation into the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, telling of the events of the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries (the *Chronicle of the Grand Dukes of Lithuania*, the *First*, *Second*, and *Third Belarusian Chronicles*). The pioneer printer Frantsishak Skaryna employed a version of the language in the forty-nine exegetical prefaces to the books of his Church Slavonic Bible (1517–1525). The Protestant minister Szymon Budny published a Ruthenian catechism at Niasvizh in 1562, and the Antitrinitarian Vasil’ Cjapinski published fragments of a Ruthenian New Testament in the 1570s. Ruthenian served as a medium for testaments and much state, diplomatic, and private correspondence, as well as all chancery and legal functions in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania until the Union of Lublin (1569), which ushered in an accelerating Polonization. Lithuanian elites, who had first Ruthenianized, now—along with Ruthenian elites—made increasingly broad use of Polish. Ruthenian nonetheless remained the chancery language of the Grand Duchy until 1697, when it was officially replaced by the Polish that had been making steady gains in practical employment throughout the seventeenth century. In addition to the use of Ruthenian in the record books of the Grand Duchy’s courts and chancery, we may note the three versions of the Lithuanian Statute, which were printed in Ruthenian in 1529, 1566, and 1588. We also have memoirs (Fiodar Ieūlasheŭski, 1546–1604; Afanasii Filipovich, c. 1597–1648) and a few sermons (Laontsii Karpovich, c. 1580–1620) and polemical works from the period immediately following the Union of Brest (1596). Simeon Polotskii (1629–1680) was the leading practitioner of syllabic verse (based on Polish models) in Belarusian. This variant of Ruthenian declined in public use and social status with the shift of Ruthenian cultural centers to Ukrainian cities (Lviv, then Kiev) and

with the increasing Polonization of Belarusian elites.

See also **Belarus; Polish Literature and Language; Reformations in Eastern Europe: Protestant, Catholic, and Orthodox; Ukrainian Literature and Language.**

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LIVONIAN WAR (1558–1583). In 1558 Tsar Ivan IV the Terrible began over twenty years of war for a Baltic foothold by invading eastern Estonia, an area made vulnerable by factional divisions within the Livonian Order (the Order of the Brothers of the Sword) and political conflict among the order, the archbishopric of Riga, and the increasingly Protestant population of the towns. Moscow’s potential rivals—Sweden and Poland—were preoccupied with other concerns; Muscovy therefore enjoyed early success. By 1560 Narva and Dorpat and most of the Livonian interior as far as Courland was under Muscovite occupation. But this provoked the Danes, Sweden, and Poland into entering the war.

The second phase of the Livonian War (1563–1571) saw Muscovite armies invade Lithuania; Polotsk, Ozerishche, and other towns along the Western Dvina quickly fell to them. The tsar planned to install Duke Magnus, brother of Denmark’s King Frederick II, as vassal king of Livonia to secure a Danish alliance to drive the Swedes out of Riga and Pernau (Pärnu), which they had seized in 1560. Muscovite occupation of northeastern Lithuania finally convinced the Lithuanian nobility to accept closer administrative union with Poland in a

Commonwealth (in the Union of Lublin, 1569), which considerably increased the military resources available to the Polish crown. Frederick II not only withheld the support Duke Magnus needed to expel the Swedes but signed a treaty with the Swedes at Stettin in 1570. The deposition of King Erik XIV brought to the Swedish throne John III Vasa (ruled 1568–1592), who was the son-in-law of King Sigismund II Augustus of Poland and was inclined to view Muscovy as a greater threat than Poland to Swedish interests in Livonia. The military stalemate in Lithuania and Livonia had meanwhile left Muscovy's southern frontier undermanned, with the result that Khan Devlet Girei took a large Crimean Tatar army deep into central Muscovy, sacking and burning Moscow itself in 1571.

In the third phase of the war (1572–1577) Ivan IV exploited the interregnum following the death of Sigismund II to mount another major offensive in Livonia. But the Muscovites were still unable to capture Reval (Tallinn) or Riga. Meanwhile the Commonwealth's newly elected king Stephen Báthory (ruled 1576–1586) was able to achieve rapprochement with the Ottomans and Crimeans, to convince the Sejm to raise taxes for a much larger army of 56,000 men, and to negotiate an alliance with the Swedes. By contrast Ivan IV was finding it harder to maintain large Muscovite forces in the field, for years of heavy taxation and manpower mobilization from the western Muscovite provinces (particularly Novgorod and Pskov) had left these districts devastated.

In 1578 Polish and Swedish armies combined to deal the Muscovites a crushing defeat at Wenden (Cēsis). This marked the war's final phase, which was catastrophic for the Muscovites. Over the next three years they were pushed out of Livonia altogether. Stephen Báthory recaptured Polotsk and the other towns of the Western Dvina region in 1579–1580 and carried the war into western Muscovy, placing Pskov under protracted siege in 1581. By the end of 1581 the Muscovite garrisons at Narva, Ivangorod, Yama (Kingisepp), and Kopor'e had fallen to the Swedish general Pontus De la Gardie. Ivan IV was compelled to sign a ten years' armistice with the Commonwealth at Iam Zapol'skii in January 1582 and a three years' armistice with Sweden at Pliuss in 1583. The tsar thereby forfeited all the lands his armies had occupied along the Baltic coast.

Central and southwestern Livonia came under Commonwealth control; the Swedes took Estonia and the territory along the Gulf of Finland.

See also Ivan IV, "the Terrible" (Russia); Lublin, Union of (1569); Northern Wars; Poland-Lithuania, Commonwealth of, 1569–1795; Sigismund II Augustus (Poland, Lithuania); Stephen Báthory; Sweden; Vasa Dynasty (Sweden).

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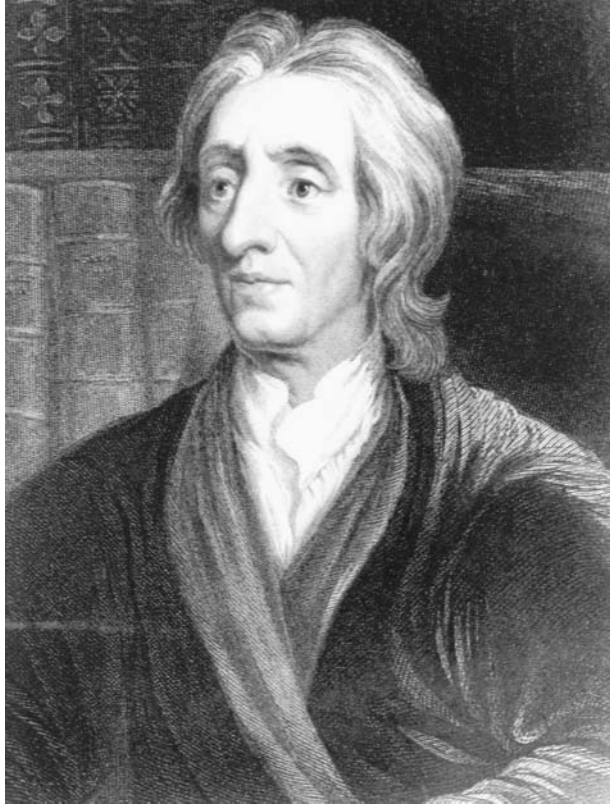
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BRIAN DAVIES

LOCAL GOVERNMENT. *See* Cities and Urban Life; City-State; Intendants; Provincial Government; State and Bureaucracy.

LOCKE, JOHN (1632–1704), English philosopher, political and educational theorist, political economist, scholar, statesman, and sometime physician. John Locke, one of the leading figures in the history of English letters, was born on 29 August 1632 in the village of Wrington, Somerset, and was immediately surrounded by the political and religious controversies that were always to be at the center of his life. His parents were Puritans, and his father later fought on the Parliamentary side in the Civil War. Locke attended Westminster School from 1646 to 1652, when he was elected to a studentship at Christ Church, Oxford, from which he graduated in 1656. During this period, he wrote but did not publish a pair of essays criticizing the extensive conceptions of religious indifference and toleration advocated by Edward Bagshawe's *The Great Question concerning Things Indifferent in Religious Worship* (1660), and he delivered a series of lectures on natural law.

At Oxford, Locke was a friend of the scientist Robert Boyle and other original members of the



John Locke. Undated portrait engraving. ©BETTMANN/CORBIS

Royal Society, to which Locke himself was elected in 1668. Rather than take religious orders, he changed his studies to medicine and was trained and influenced by the physician Thomas Sydenham. On a diplomatic mission to Cleves in Brandenburg in 1665, Locke experienced an unanticipated degree of toleration, which seems to have had a major impact on his philosophical and political thinking. In 1666 he had met Anthony Ashley Cooper, subsequently the Earl of Shaftesbury, into whose household he moved in 1667 as the earl's personal physician and advisor, political aide, and author of political documents.

Shaftesbury, who fell into and out of grace with the king, was at the center of Restoration politics, and Locke was invariably at his side. For Shaftesbury Locke wrote a tract defending toleration in 1667, a draft constitution for the Carolina colony of which Shaftesbury was a proprietor, a defense of the king's prerogative power to issue a declaration of religious toleration in 1669, and—most important—the *Two Treatises of Government*. It was also while he was a member of the Shaftesbury household that Locke's

interest in philosophy deepened, and he completed various drafts of his *Essay concerning Human Understanding*.

Locke returned to Oxford in 1675, but like Shaftesbury he later went into political exile in the Netherlands, where he remained until 1689. There he enjoyed the friendship and support of Jean Leclerc, to whose *Bibliothèque universelle et historique* (1686–1693) he made several contributions, and Phillip Limborch, to whom he would dedicate the *Epistola de tolerantia*, published anonymously in the Netherlands in 1689 and translated into English (also anonymously) the next year as the *Letter concerning Toleration*. During his exile, Locke completed much of the final version of the *Essay*, an abstract of which was published by Leclerc in 1688.

While in the Netherlands, Locke presumably was involved in Monmouth's Rebellion in 1685 and in the politics of the Glorious Revolution of 1688, which brought the Dutch sovereign William of Orange and his wife Mary, daughter of James II, to the English throne. Locke himself returned to England in 1689 and began his public literary career, publishing the works that would establish his status in the pantheon of western philosophy and political theory. The *Essay concerning Human Understanding* appeared in December 1689 (dated 1690), and the *Two Treatises* were published anonymously in 1690.

The *Essay* is regarded as one of the foundational works of modern empirical, or rather “experiential,” philosophy. It opens with an extensive attack on the notion that some ideas are “innate,” arguing, on the contrary, that the human mind at birth is a “blank slate” (*tabula rasa*) but has the capacity to perceive and reason. Locke went on to claim that all ideas and knowledge are acquired from experience, which can be either sensationalist or rational, and that they bear direct relationships to a real, external world. The *Essay* also deals with language, its relationship to ideas, and its imperfections and abuses, and with reason and its role in the acquisition and assessment of knowledge. This “rationalism,” albeit less extreme than that of René Descartes (1596–1650), is sometimes seen as conflicting with the rest of the *Essay*, but the apparent contradiction between the two positions can be

found throughout the work. In a move that would be anathema to modern empiricists, Locke occasionally sidestepped difficult philosophical issues by referring to their resolution in the ultimately unknowable mind of God, for faith, as the acceptance of revelation, was one of the cardinal supports of Locke's entire system.

The *Two Treatises* are equally foundational for subsequent political philosophy as is the *Essay* for empirical philosophy, and their reliance upon divine will is even more overt. Written in the early 1680s as part of Shaftesbury's exclusion campaign, the work was not published until 1690, when it was issued as a theoretical support of the successful Glorious Revolution. The *Two Treatises* were directed against the patriarchal theory of Sir Robert Filmer (c. 1588–1653); the *First Treatise*, in particular, was a detailed and sometimes page-by-page attack on patriarchalism. In the *Second Treatise* Locke developed his own political theory, which was also an implicit assault on Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679), whom Locke never identified. Locke replaced Filmer's divine right sovereignty, derived from the paternity of Adam, with a conception of government and politics based on vaguely articulated notions of natural law and natural rights. He posited a pre-political state of nature characterized by human equality and freedom, the ownership of the world in common by God's grant, and legitimacy based on consent. Personal property was acquired by the mixing of one's labor with that which was common.

The most important part of Locke's criticism of Filmer was his insistence that fatherhood and political government are distinct forms of authority. Filmer had asserted their identity. Locke, however, was at pains to argue that while political or civil society had emerged historically and anthropologically from the household, paternal and political dominion were altogether distinct. The act of consent transformed fatherhood into government and undergirded all subsequent legitimacy.

The *Two Treatises* are perhaps best known for their theories of property and revolution. Government, according to Locke, is a human contrivance made necessary by the growing complexities of the state of nature and especially by the increasing insecurity of personal property. Locke had two conceptions of "property." In the state of nature

(through chapter V of the *Second Treatise*), "property" meant land and goods, including money; in civil society, however, it almost always meant "life, liberty, and estate," which was the more widely accepted meaning in seventeenth-century England. Locke's initial reliance upon the former definition—and the subsequent importance of the *Two Treatises*—undoubtedly played a large role in popularizing that narrower understanding among modern English speakers, but his shift back to the more conventional and broader meaning was the source of some ambiguities in his political theory.

The purpose of government according to Locke is to protect property, and it is in return for that protection that people agree to transfer to the government their individual rights to interpret and enforce the law of nature. When the government no longer provides that protection, or if it becomes an enemy to property, the duty to obey is superseded by a right of revolution, whereby the power and authority conveyed to the government revert to the people (or their representatives) who may then establish a new government.

The *Letter concerning Toleration* is a specific application of the principles of the *Two Treatises*. What was innovative and radical about the *Letter* was the argument that religious imposition went so far beyond the legitimate competence of the magistrate as to be a ground for resistance. Locke drew a firm distinction between the secular ends of magistracy and the religious ends of churches. In doing so, he made a bolder move toward genuine religious liberty than had any of his contemporaries. But Locke excluded Roman Catholics from this toleration, alleging, like many of his contemporaries, that they owed their primary political loyalty to the pope rather than to civil rulers. He was confident, however, that Protestant Christians could live at peace within one civil society despite their diverse religious beliefs.

Locke spent the rest of life in public service and writing. He was a member of the Board of Trade and published revisions of the *Essay*, replies to criticisms of the *Letter concerning Toleration*, and tracts on education, religion, and money, some of which were published after his death. Locke died on 28 October 1704 at Oates, Essex, at the home of Sir Francis and Lady Masham (the daughter of the

Cambridge Platonist Ralph Cudworth), where he had been living since 1691. He is buried in High Laver Church in Essex. Much of his massive collection of personal manuscripts—including journals, diaries, letters he received, and copies of those he sent—and a substantial part of his library have survived and are now in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

See also **Constitutionalism; Empiricism; Epistemology; Glorious Revolution (Britain); Natural Law; Philosophy; Political Philosophy; Rights, Natural; Toleration.**

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GORDON SCHOCHET

LOGIC. Recent research on the seemingly staid subject of logic has revealed not only that certain topics in logic explained how inductive reasoning came about, but also that logic itself learned to create its own history in which logic arose from simple beginnings, but over time developed ever better ways of thinking, eventually becoming a progressive force in the history of thought. Furthermore, by the eighteenth century, the history of logic served as the structure for the history of philosophy, as well as an encyclopedia of knowledge known as *historia literaria*.

Although the importance of inductive reasoning to natural philosophy has been acknowl-

edged, other research has shown that the tradition of inductive logic, which historians of the scientific revolution have identified as new, was actually developed by Aristotelian philosophers. The best known of these is the Paduan philosopher Jacobo Zabarella. His logic developed in part as a criticism of Florentine Neoplatonism and the medieval Scotist philosophy. This tradition of logic was taught not only in Italy but also in England, where logic texts by Zabarella have been found to have been used as school texts. Further, in Germany there remain today ninety-seven copies of Zabarella's *Opera Logicae*. This logic was then adopted by Bartholomew Keckerman for more elementary teaching and finally adopted again during the second half of the seventeenth century in Finland and Scandinavia after the Ramus vogue had run its course. Finally, at Jena, texts by Zabarella and the Coimbra commentators from Portugal were seen to be the beginning of a tradition of logic that led to the philosophy of John Locke (1632–1704) and Robert Boyle (1627–1691).

The best way to explain the difference between the Neoplatonic and Scotist approaches to knowledge and logic is to follow the debate around what is now considered a guiding logical and philosophical question between 1500 and 1750: What was the first thing thought? Was it the pure concept of an object or idea as defined by the Neoplatonists and some Scotists, that is, an idea conceived in the mind without recourse to the unreliable senses? Was it being, or *ens*, as Thomas Aquinas wrote? Or was it a fuzzy notion of a whole object or concept that needed to be examined, carefully defined and refined, and finally, when more was known about it, completely reexamined?

The great innovators of logic in the seventeenth century—Francis Bacon (1561–1626), Pierre Gassendi (1592–1655), Robert Boyle, and John Locke—continued and transformed this anti-Platonic, anti-Scotist tradition. These anti-Platonic philosophers held that there were two types of knowledge, divine and human, each with its own method. Divine knowledge was accessed through inspiration; human knowledge, or artificial knowledge, had to be learned through the senses. The anti-Platonists often quoted Aristotle as saying, “There is nothing in the mind that is not in the senses.”

Many philosophers did work on inductive reasoning, beginning with the sixteenth-century Aristotelians Benedito Pereira in Rome and Zabarella in Padua. Their work was drawn upon and transformed by Bacon, Boyle, and Locke in England, Gassendi and his followers in France, and members of a new German school of philosophy known as eclecticism. The eclectics, like their counterparts in England and France, were both anti-Platonic and anti-Cartesian. They gave their tradition a historical dimension, writing that since no human being could know everything, philosophers should examine the reasoning of past philosophers, criticize or accept the methods they had used to reach their conclusions, and finally judge the validity of the original concepts. Using improved logic, each philosopher would then add new information to explain his findings. Eclecticism also referred to a Neoplatonic philosophy that tried to unify all knowledge under one idea by such early church fathers as Clement of Alexandria. Although it had the same name, this was very different from German eclecticism.

How is it possible to classify Gassendi, Bacon, and Locke together? Here one can realize the pitfalls of assigning one name to logical schools. For example, Gassendi did write a treatise attacking scholastic logic, *Adversus Aristoteleos* as he called it. This treatise was really attacking the self-referential syllogistic reasoning of dialectic, and often criticizes the Scotist philosopher Eustachius St. Paul, teacher of Descartes, and quotes Benedito Pereira, the anti-Platonic and anti-Scotist Aristotelian at the Collegio Romano. Gassendi dismissed Eustachius as Scholastic or Aristotelian, while he was developing his own version of the anti-Platonic logic of the sixteenth century that he reworked with his own recreation of Epicurean logic.

A further discussion of logic can be reduced to five points: 1) the use of rhetoric as a tool of persuasion by logicians; 2) the transformation of logic by anti-Platonic Aristotelian philosophers and their development of the question, *De primo cognito?*, ‘What was the first thing thought?’; 3) this orientation of logic leads to the very specific criticism of the Neoplatonic myth of the *prisca philosophiae*, the ‘first philosophers’; 4) the development of a technical vocabulary for natural philosophy that was a direct result of inductive logic: as myth and meta-

phor were rejected for biblical commentary, so Platonic myth and metaphor was to be shunned for inductive reasoning; 5) the hermeneutic of language for logic, which was then applied to the writings of logicians in the past and provided a tool for judging past thought. Thus the history of philosophy was born, and its midwife was logic.

RHETORIC AND LOGICAL REASONING

The scholarship of Letizia Panizza and Heikki Micheli has made it quite clear that, as Micheli writes, “there is no justification for separating rhetoric from logic.” The model of the correct logical proof changed dramatically when techniques of rhetoric were used. As Panizza explains, medieval philosophers “who learned their dialectic mainly from Boethius commentaries on Cicero and manuals of logic did not pay attention to Aristotle and Cicero on the close rapport of dialectic and rhetoric” (Cicero’s *De Oratore*, a work only known after 1421). Panizza also explains that by the end of the fifteenth century, “Aristotle is held up as a model for an orator who wants to unite not only eloquence with philosophy in general, but rhetoric with dialectic.”

She goes on to explain that logic was the instrument for philosophical thought, while rhetoric was the technique used to convince the reader. The philosophers adopted the persona of the orator, which was about the only technique used by Renaissance historians. By the time Zabarella (1532–1589) published *De Methodis* in 1578, rhetoric was being used to convince the reader of his method. Zabarella began each book of his treatises with a summary statement of method in which he declared his objectivity about his topic and his modesty towards knowledge, just as historians before him had done. After declaring his objectivity, he stated why his method of logic was superior to all others.

But the philosopher’s use of the first person, in imitation of the speech of an orator, really developed in France with René Descartes’s (1596–1650) *Discourse on Method* and Gassendi’s persuasive voice in the *Syntagma*. In his work, Descartes declared the originality of his thoughts. He tended to assert the truth of his logical statements with rhetorically styled sincerity rather than engage in argument. Regius, a fellow philosopher, was so annoyed at the Cartesian use of persuasion rather than logic for proof that he wrote to Descartes, “any mad man can

claim he is right.” Descartes declared, “I think therefore I am.” On the contrary, the first thing thought by Gassendi was not an a priori judgment; to him, thought had a history. He studied what past philosophers had thought, and he judged and critically examined the logic of the position. This led him to write a history of logic, the first comprehensive history up to that time.

ANTI-PLATONIC PHILOSOPHERS

Charles Schmitt wrote that Zabarella’s logic set the stage for the logic used in the seventeenth century. Logic texts quoted Zabarella’s attack on a priori reasoning and praised his logical method of setting out information not only in the seventeenth century but into the eighteenth. Johann Syrbius of Jena began his 1715 logic text with a critical history of the attack against a priori reasoning. He begins with a short historical discourse on the proposition that species originated in the mind, beginning with a quote from a commentary on Aristotle’s *De anima* by the Portuguese Coimbra philosopher and Zabarella and ending by having linked the earlier traditions with the contemporary philosophy of John Locke and Robert Boyle. He also criticized Descartes, who believed that the species originated in the mind.

NEOPLATONISM

Not only was a priori reasoning rejected by specific philosophers, but the same anti-Platonic argument was used against the nonhistorical view that the *prisci philosophiae* or *prisci sapientes* could have known all of human knowledge without having learned it. For the Neoplatonists there was one truth that could be found in different forms in different religions around the world. This universal truth was proposed in the fifteenth century by Marsilio Ficino and was still of interest in the seventeenth to the Jesuit polymath Athanasius Kircher. Kircher’s magnificently illustrated book of Noah’s Ark, in which all of the knowledge known intuitively by early man is set out among the rooms, is a delightful visualization of universal knowledge.

There was an encyclopedia based on the other view. Zabarella said that as unlearned men, the *prisci* only knew what was in their nature. As the first thing thought was only hazily understood and had to be observed, identified, and then named, human civilization followed the same pattern. Initially hu-

mans knew nothing and had to understand the world through trial and error. A clever person appeared and made improvements, then others asked to become apprentices so that they could learn the logic of that person’s way of working. Finally, all of this knowledge was written down. Adam, Moses, and Hermes Trimegistus are not part of this world: they all had only natural knowledge.

Just as there was not only one universal truth, there was not only one logical method for all disciplines. The greatest and most comprehensive history of disciplines was set out in 1708 in the *Polyhistor* by Georg Morhof (1639–1691). He articulated the difference between the disciplines as a logician articulates the difference between different sense impressions in inductive reasoning. Once the field of learning was identified, then the early and unclear beginnings of thought could be described and its history told as the history of the progress of the logic of that field of knowledge.

THE VOCABULARY OF NATURAL PHILOSOPHY

If logic could control the organization of knowledge, it also dictated correct vocabulary. Research has shown that this hermeneutics of language was used as a weapon against Platonic philosophers. Perhaps no one was criticized for his vocabulary more than Paracelsus (c. 1493–1541), the innovative medical philosopher who developed a vocabulary for spells to use in medicinal cures. Medical doctors like the Swiss Thomas Erastus (1524–1583) attacked the Paracelsian language of spells for its attempt to be universal. Erastus said that no word is universal, but is particular to the civilization in which it is found. Spells and magic tried to unite heaven and earth into a chain of being that did not exist, Erastus complained. He asserted that there was a separation between the realms.

If natural philosophy and medical science were to improve, logic had to be used. Logic must order sense perceptions in such a way that what is known is recorded and what is unknown discovered. To do this, a precise vocabulary had to be devised. There was such interest in identifying the correct type of vocabulary for inductive reasoning and identifying Platonic or Scotist definitions that at the turn of the seventeenth century Goclenius’s *Lexicon* was pub-

lished, which set out the different types of words for different types of logic.

APPLICATION OF LOGIC TO THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE PAST

Not long after Zabarella's attack on the logic of *prisci sapientes*, the various types of logic of the various philosophers came under scrutiny. Anthony Grafton pointed out that Isaac Casaubon discovered that the Neoplatonic texts by Hermes Trismegistus were third-century forgeries. This discovery paved the way for a reassessment of Egyptian civilization. When the logic of earlier philosophers was identified, examined, and judged, an important change occurred: the critical characterization of the logic of past philosophers, the identification of philosophers not chronologically but by the success of their logic, changed the way people viewed past philosophy.

Pierre Gassendi wrote the first history of logic. His little-known work *De Logicae Origine et Varietate*, published in 1648 as a preface to the *Syntagma*, took the reader on an intellectual trip from the logic of Adam to the logic of Descartes. Adam, wrote Gassendi, did not have logic when he argued with the snake: "He was merely quibbling." He also argued that none of the patriarchs in the Bible were capable of logic either. Logic began with the Greeks and Zeno. Gassendi then criticized Plato's logic because it depended on a priori thinking and "was too much like theology." Although he admitted there was much to admire in Aristotle's logic, Gassendi wrote that it had been spoiled by his followers.

Gassendi admired the logic of the ancient philosopher Epicurus, based on inductive reasoning. Gassendi constructed a believable Epicurean logic in this text that appeared in student logic texts until the mid-eighteenth century. Jean le Clerc, friend of both Robert Boyle and John Locke, wrote perhaps the most widely used of these logic texts. From Epicurus, Gassendi passed over the Middle Ages, cramming one thousand years into two paragraphs, then began in the early modern period with Francis Bacon and the establishment of inductive reasoning. Bacon, wrote Gassendi, went the "heroic way." Gassendi made Bacon as the hero of contemporary thought. There is a great deal of rhetoric in this history of logic.

Finally, the complete triumph of logic as the history of logic came with the work of the German historian of philosophy Jacob Brucker (1696–1770). At Jena, Brucker was a student of Johan Jacob Syrbius, who had linked contemporary English inductive reasoning with the earlier logic of the Coimbra commentaries and Zabarella's *De Methodis*. In 1723, Brucker wrote a history of logic called *Historia Philosophiae Doctrinae de Ideis*. In this work he attacked the *prisca philosophiae* in the person of Zoroaster. Following Gassendi, whose history of logic he knew, Brucker judged each philosopher by whether he used inductive reasoning. He praised Epicurus among the ancient philosophers and dismissed Renaissance philosophers like Valla and Vives, while praising John Locke and Robert Boyle.

Although the early modern period saw many breaks with past tradition, it did not usher in a new logic all at once. Rather, it was a period in conversation with past philosophy: sometimes it agreed, sometimes it disagreed, and sometimes the philosopher transformed his sources beyond recognition. As the *De primo cognito?* question was reworked by the anti-Platonic philosophers, the concept of intellectual (as opposed to chronological) progress developed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Nowhere can the concept of progress be seen more clearly than in the history of logic.

See also **Aristotelianism; Bacon, Francis; Boyle, Robert; Cartesianism; Descartes, René; Gassendi, Pierre; Locke, John; Natural Philosophy; Neoplatonism; Philosophy.**

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CONSTANCE BLACKWELL

LONDON. The most salient feature of London's experience in the early modern period was the enormous growth of its population. From approximately 70,000 inhabitants in 1500, it grew to 200,000 by 1600, to 400,000 by 1650, to 575,000 by 1700, and had reached 900,000 by 1800. Its position in the tables of European urban centers rose from sixth place in 1500 to third in 1600 (after Naples and Paris), and it outstripped Paris to reach the top position soon after 1650. Whereas it con-

tained about 2 percent of the English population in 1500, by 1700 it had reached around 10 percent, and this level was sustained through the eighteenth century. Mortality levels were extremely high in London: indeed they deteriorated after the disappearance of plague in the later seventeenth century because the capital acted as a reservoir of infections. For much of the eighteenth century tuberculosis, typhus, and smallpox were major killers. It was only from the 1760s that mortality conditions began to improve. This meant that the city's growth could only be sustained by a constant flow of migrants who came from every corner of England and Wales (and increasingly from Scotland and Ireland and the European mainland, too). By 1700 London needed probably about 8,000 newcomers a year. Only something between 20 and 30 percent of Londoners had been born in the city. And because London acted as a revolving door, not only receiving people, but sending them back to the provinces, as many as one in six of the national population had experience of London life by 1700.

ECONOMIC CHANGE

The cities that grew most rapidly in early modern Europe were capitals or ports. London was both. In the early sixteenth century London already accounted for 75 percent of the country's international trade, but it was dangerously dependent on the export of the key staple of woolen cloth to the Antwerp entrepôt in return for luxury goods. By 1600 the pattern of trade was already diversifying, as the disruptions to trade with the Low Countries encouraged London merchants to seek direct access to goods they had previously obtained there. The merchants of London returned to the Mediterranean in the 1570s, began voyaging to the East Indies in 1600, and began to develop trade with the Americas in the early seventeenth century. London entered a new phase of import-led growth, and re-exports, particularly of colonial products like tobacco, became increasingly important. By 1700 London handled 80 percent of the nation's imports, 65 percent of its exports, and 85 percent of its re-exports.

As a capital city London benefited from the increasing centralization of government. As the royal court became more sedentary and also asserted its monopoly of patronage, the landed elites came to

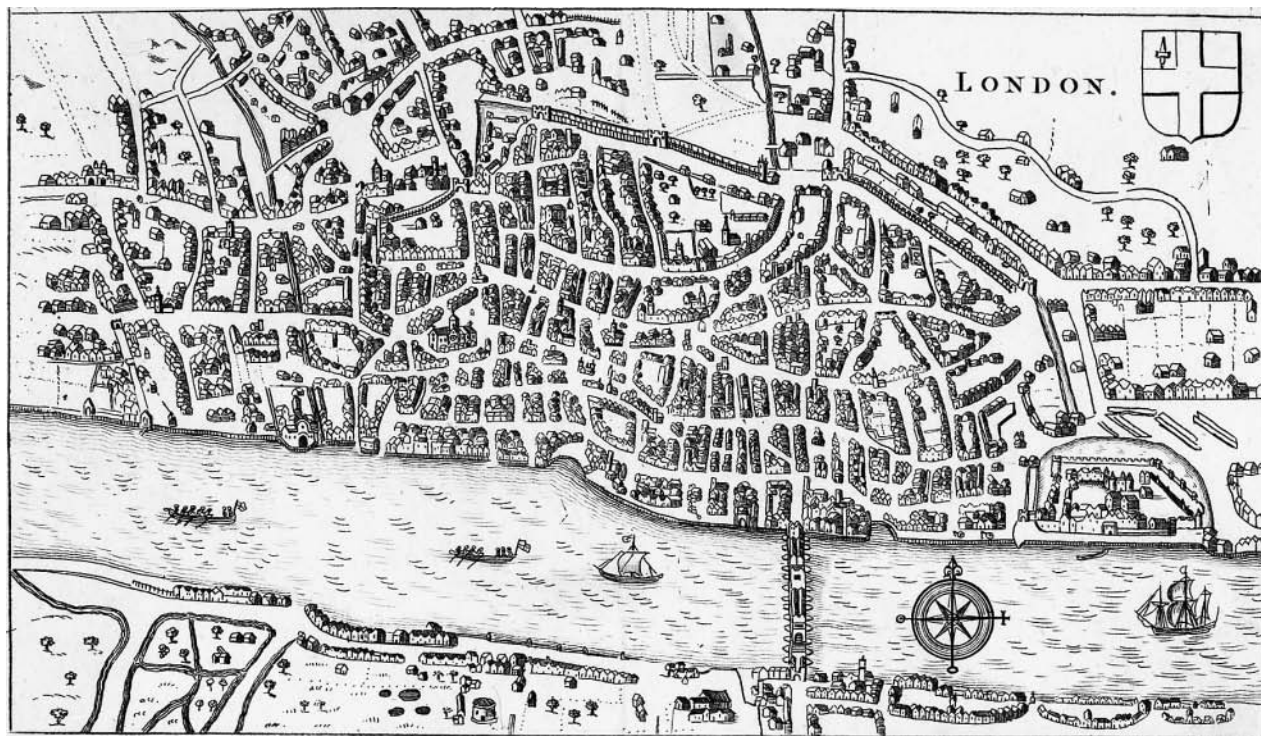


London. View of the city c. 1560. O'SHEA GALLERY, LONDON, U.K./BRIDGEMAN ART LIBRARY

see a London residence as essential to the maintenance of their power and influence, contributing to the beginning of the London winter season from 1600 onward. Likewise, the huge increase in the volume of litigation in the central law courts brought more people to the capital on legal business. This in turn contributed to the concentration of the professions in the capital: by 1730 London contained at least a quarter of the country's solicitors and attorneys. The development of the fiscal military state from the 1690s onward brought about both an increase in the size of the government apparatus (as well as annual Parliaments) and a huge expansion in the financial services sector as London acquired the key banking and insurance institutions.

London's role as capital city and port contributed to its role as center of manufacturing and shopping. The residence of the elites brought an immense demand for luxury goods in its wake, while the import trades spawned spin-off industries like sugar refining and silk weaving. Whereas in 1500 the economy had been dangerously dependent on the state of the cloth trade, the broadening

of the manufacturing base contributed to the long-term resilience of the city economy. London's manufactures became increasingly heavily capitalized, entailing a diminution in the role of the self-employed artisan and a growth in larger enterprises. London was not, however, to be the cradle of the industrial revolution, and in the later eighteenth century the proving ground of industrial innovation lay in the provinces. The high labor costs associated with the capital meant that London came to concentrate on the finishing of industrial goods and on the luxury trades, but it remained the largest manufacturing center in Europe at the end of the eighteenth century. Likewise, the enormous demand represented by the concentration of people in London encouraged the precocious development of specialist retailing facilities. Already in the 1490s foreign travelers marveled at the wealth of the goldsmiths' shops in Cheapside; in the early sixteenth century moralists bemoaned the proliferation of haberdashers' shops selling fripperies; in 1568 London acquired its first shopping mall in the galleried arcades of Sir Thomas Gresham's Royal Exchange, a model for other purpose-built retailing emporia in the West End in the seventeenth century.



London. Based on older maps, this small sketch plan depicts London circa 1563, at a time when the population of the city was rapidly expanding. London was gradually extending west toward the City of Westminster, which was taking shape around the court. The less-developed area of Southwark, south of the Thames across London Bridge, served as an entertainment district with its theatres and bull and bear-baiting rings. MAP COLLECTION, STERLING MEMORIAL LIBRARY, YALE UNIVERSITY

The concentration of the social elites in the capital for the London season contributed to the proliferation of entertainments and the increasing commercialization of leisure. One of the earliest manifestations of this was the amphitheater playhouses (three were built in 1576–1577) with capacities of upwards of 1,500. Although subject to the constant strictures of the moralists and the fitful regulation of a nervous government, the theaters became an established feature of the London social scene. Commercial concerts began in the 1670s; although aristocratic patronage was critical in attracting high-class composers and vocal and instrumental performers, there was enormous public interest in the performances, the rehearsal for Handel's *Music for the Royal Fireworks* (1749) having an audience of twelve thousand. Citizens had long found recreation in the fields about the city, but physical expansion meant that it was necessary to create designated recreational promenades, beginning with Moorfields in 1608, but soon supplemented by the more fashionable Lincoln's Inn Fields and St. James' Park. By the eighteenth cen-

ture the metropolitan area was studded with a variety of pleasure gardens, their differential pricing ensuring that the classes would not have to mingle too much. Much cultural and social exchange, of course, continued to take place in the city's drinking establishments: by the 1730s London boasted at least 200 inns, 500 taverns, 6,000 alehouses, and 550 coffeehouses.

SOCIETY AND GOVERNMENT

The two foci of court and port affected the social geography of the city. The City proper, the area under the jurisdiction of the Lord Mayor and aldermen covering what is now known as the "square mile," was, although not socially uniform in character, increasingly dominated by the commercial elites. This process was reinforced after the Great Fire of 1666, which destroyed 87 parish churches, 13,200 houses, and many public buildings. Although it proved impossible to realize the ambitions for a comprehensive redesign of the city's layout, the post-Fire rebuilding changed its face, as brick replaced timber and lath, and many overcrowded

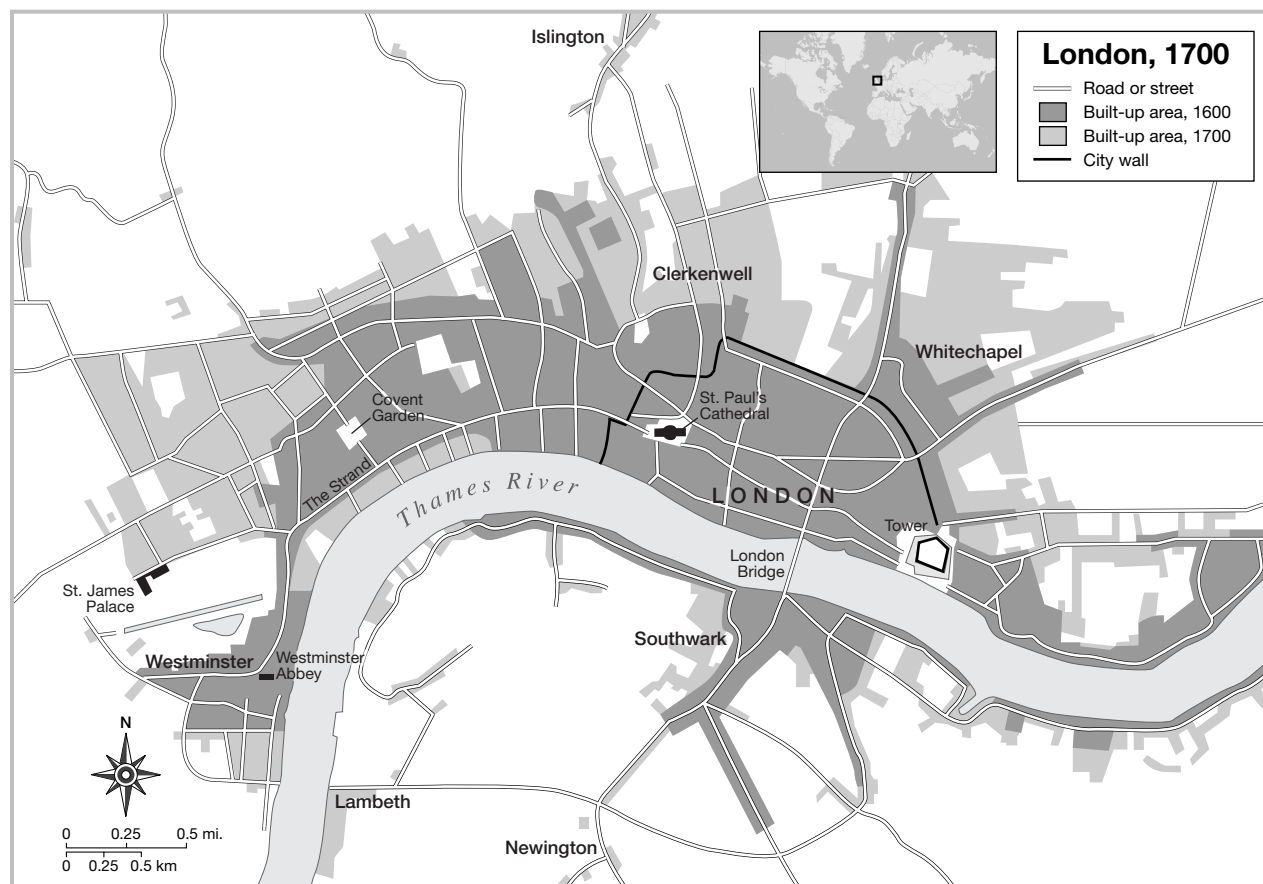


London. An engraved view from Walter Harrison's *New and Universal History, Description and Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster* published in 1776. The area depicted, looking north across the Thames, was largely destroyed by the Great Fire of 1666. The far skyline is dominated by "Old" St. Paul's Cathedral, destroyed in the fire but later replaced by the present cathedral designed by Christopher Wren. MAP COLLECTION, STERLING MEMORIAL LIBRARY, YALE UNIVERSITY

tenements were not rebuilt. Meanwhile the landed elites, many of whom had maintained residences in the City in the later Middle Ages, migrated westward toward Westminster, which constituted a separate focus for growth. The West End was characterized by a large number of speculative housing developments, usually regular terrace rows in wide streets and squares, many of them sponsored by the aristocracy themselves. By contrast, the eastern suburbs were dominated by the port, the miles of dockyards generating a huge demand for casual (and often seasonally unemployed) labor, and a variety of industrial activity, including shipbuilding, as well as the processing of imported raw materials. The northern and eastern suburbs were markedly poorer (with large numbers of subdivided properties and a high level of multiple occupancy) than the City and the West End, though it would be wrong to draw the distinctions too strongly. The presence of the elites in the West End generated an enormous de-

mand for services and manufactures, meaning that within a few yards of the fashionable squares dominated by the aristocracy and gentry were alleys teeming with the poor. In the City the commercial core was centered on the key shopping thoroughfares like Cheapside and places of mercantile association like the Royal Exchange, but there were areas of marked poverty, particularly in the insalubrious riverside parishes.

The scale of growth meant that the traditional City was soon engulfed by the expanding suburbs. By the later seventeenth century three-quarters of the capital's population resided in areas beyond the control of the Lord Mayor and aldermen. Unlike Paris, where there was a much stronger match between topographical and administrative boundaries, there was no attempt to integrate the suburbs with the governmental structures of the City. The suburbs, all of which experienced in various degrees the social problems of poverty and petty crime atten-



dant on population growth, were governed by overlapping manorial and parochial authorities. Nevertheless the breakdown in order was by no means as great as one might think. London was a relatively well policed capital. From Recorder William Fleetwood in the Elizabethan period to Henry Fielding in the 1750s, chosen magistrates worked closely with the central government to coordinate suburban policing. Parish vestries, particularly in the western suburbs, elaborated the poor law into a bureaucratic mechanism for controlling the poor. Local communities increasingly turned to Parliament for the powers they needed to address local problems. From 1700 there was a proliferation of improvement commissions responsible for street improvement, lighting, and sewerage. A host of voluntary organizations supplemented the work of parish vestries in the relief and schooling of the poor.

Throughout the period London evoked contrasting responses from contemporaries. Protestants

might celebrate it as a model godly commonwealth when contrasting the piety of its citizens with the state of rural religion, but they would alternately condemn it as a model of Babylonian depravity when considering its social problems and the greed of its leading citizens. Economic commentators might marvel at the wealth of the City and its increasing dominance over its Continental rivals, but they might also claim that it was strangling the provincial centers. The reality, however, seems to have been that London handled the problems of urban growth more successfully than comparable centers and developed a positive economic and cultural relationship with its hinterland.

See also **Britain, Architecture in; Cities and Urban Life; England; English Literature and Language; Jones, Inigo; Shops and Shopkeeping; Wren, Christopher.**

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London. A late-eighteenth-century engraving shows Blackfriars Bridge with St. Paul's Cathedral in the background. THE ART ARCHIVE/HISTORISCHES MUSEUM (MUSEUM DER STADT WEIN) VIENNA/DAGLI ORTI

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IAN W. ARCHER

LORRAINE, DUCHY OF. Nestled between France and the Holy Roman Empire, the Duchy of Lorraine experienced a turbulent existence during the early modern period. Lorraine was an irrational patchwork of different sovereignties and jurisdictions. The duke's two largest territories were the Duchies of Bar and Lorraine; however, in the heart of ducal lands lay three sovereign bishoprics: Metz, Toul, and Verdun. Like other small states, Lorraine was vulnerable to outside forces and thus could not escape involvement in international

affairs. Trade was a positive aspect of this involvement. Straddling the Meuse and Moselle rivers, and stretching from the Vosges Mountains to Luxembourg, Lorraine sat astride two major trading axes, east to west and north to south, and thus goods, people, and ideas constantly flowed through the duchy. However, Lorraine lacked the power to keep larger rivals out of its affairs and its territories. This weakness led to Lorraine's loss of independence.

The duchy's approximately 800,000 inhabitants in 1600 occupied an overwhelmingly rural territory. Lorraine's population was dominated by its natural environment, which ranged from mountains toward the southeast to rolling plains in the west. Dense forests blanketed the region. The largest urban center of the area, the sovereign bishopric of Metz, boasted a population of around 19,000. In contrast, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, the most important city under ducal control, the capital Nancy, only had about 8,000 residents. Agriculture formed the foundation of the duchy's economy, with the majority of peasants engaged in the growing of various cereal crops. A crucial aspect of Lorraine's economy was its industrial production, especially glass manufacturing and salt mining. These products as well as agricultural surpluses were sold throughout Europe and helped the duchy prosper in the sixteenth century. Although the ducal economy was devastated by mid-seventeenth-century crises, the eighteenth century witnessed gradual economic recovery.

At the beginning of the 1500s, Lorraine held the political status of an imperial fief. This situation changed in the mid-sixteenth century with two events that would define the parameters of Lorraine's geopolitical situation until the 1730s. In August 1542, Duke Antoine (ruled 1508–1544) and Emperor Charles V (ruled 1519–1556) approved the Treaty of Nuremberg, which recognized Lorraine's independence in exchange for the duke's continuing liability for certain imperial taxes. Ten years later, French King Henry II (ruled 1547–1559), as part of his dynastic wars with the Habsburgs, occupied the three bishoprics. Henry placed them under French "protection" until 1648, when the Holy Roman Empire ceded complete sovereignty over the cities. From the 1550s onward, France enjoyed a physical presence in the middle of

duc lands, and exerted increasing pressure upon the dukes.

Despite the arrival of the French, the next seventy-five years saw relative peace and prosperity for Lorraine. Lorraine's larger neighbors left the duchy alone because of their own internal crises. Close personal connections to France marked the reigns of Dukes Charles III (ruled 1545–1608) and his son Henry II (ruled 1608–1624). Lorraine elites, such as the Guise family, moved easily into positions of power within France. The period witnessed an artistic flowering, producing artists like Jacques Callot and Georges de la Tour. Because of its brilliance in comparison with what followed, the period has been called "Lorraine's renaissance."

Rebirth turned into chaos with the ascension of Charles IV (ruled 1624–1675) to the ducal throne. A strident Catholic like many of his countrymen, and more a warrior than a statesman, Charles actively opposed Cardinal Richelieu's pro-Protestant policies during the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648). This stance resulted in French occupation of Lorraine and ducal exile. Excepting the 1660s, French occupation lasted from 1634 until 1697. The dukes became imperial generals, fighting the French and the Ottoman Turks. Their greatest moment came in 1683, when Charles V (ruled 1675–1690) successfully defended Vienna against the Ottomans. Lorraine itself suffered terribly during these years. In addition to the horrors of military occupation, there was an epidemic of plague in 1635. As a consequence of these disasters, Lorraine lost nearly half of its prewar population.

In 1697, Louis XIV of France (1643–1715) restored Lorraine to its ruling dynasty. Upon his return, Duke Leopold I (ruled 1690–1729) found that although his lands were devastated, his personal power had been increased. Traditional limitations on ducal power had been eliminated; war and occupation had decimated Lorraine's elites, and the French had destroyed institutions that previously limited sovereign power. Although Leopold's predecessors had aspired to absolutism, he was able to institute it to a great extent and used his power to forward a program of internal reconstruction. Externally, he attempted to maintain good relations with both France and the Holy Roman Empire,

attaining recognition of Lorraine's neutrality in the 1720s.

However, less than a decade after Leopold's death in 1729, the duchy lost its independence. In 1731 Duke Francis III (ruled 1729–1737) married Maria Theresa of Austria, the heiress to the Holy Roman Empire. The French viewed this marriage as a threat because of the potential reunion of Lorraine with the empire. After lengthy negotiations, Francis agreed in 1737 to give Lorraine to Louis XV's father-in-law Stanislaus Leszczyński, the deposed king of Poland, effectively ending Lorraine's independence. Francis attained the imperial crown in 1745. Stanislaus ruled until his death in 1766, after which the duchy was incorporated into France. Interested more in Enlightenment culture than politics, he let a French chancellor run Lorraine and concentrated upon patronizing the arts and sciences and the founding of charitable institutions. In the process, Stanislaus became extremely popular and effectively prepared Lorraine for the transition from independent state to French province.

See also France; Guise Family; Thirty Years' War (1618–1648).

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CHARLES LIPP

LOTTERY. Although lotteries had been utilized as a means of redistributing goods and wealth since Roman times, they began to develop on a large scale in fifteenth-century Europe, where they were used by governments as a means of raising revenue. The first recorded lottery was held in 1420 in Burgundy, with the proceeds going toward the fortification of the town. The state of Germany established a national lottery in 1521; between 1520 and 1539, the French *loterie*, created by Francis I, enriched some individuals as well as the nation; and Florence's *La Lotto de Firenze* was the first public lottery to pay money for prizes in 1528. In Britain, Queen Elizabeth I chartered a general lot-

tery in 1569 to raise money for the building of harbors and other good works, and in 1612, its role was extended when the money it raised enabled the Virginia Company to establish the New World colony of Jamestown. Such funds were a lifeline to the struggling company and accounted for half its annual income by 1621. The utility of lotteries to emergent nation-states, most of which struggled to have sufficient revenues, was immense, and from the fifteenth century on, lotteries were enthusiastically exploited by the monarchs and politicians of Europe. These institutions played a crucial role in the creation of young states' domestic and foreign policy, raising funds for public projects as well as financing their imperial adventures abroad.

Lotteries were also hugely popular throughout the population, although motivation to participate varied according to social position. While the poor were attracted by the chance of huge prizes for relatively small stakes, the wealthy regarded lotteries as a means of demonstrating patriotism and supporting the national cause by purchasing tickets.

However, like other forms of gambling, the position of lotteries became increasingly tenuous throughout the seventeenth century. Although attractive as a way of generating revenue, they were also regarded with suspicion by those who thought them antithetical to the Protestant work ethic. At the same time, practical problems involved in the running of lotteries began to emerge. Private operators intervened in drawings, buying tickets in bulk for excessive markups, and also offering side bets, or "insurance," on the main lottery—practices that the state did not derive revenue from. Allegations of fraud and dishonesty were rife, and criticism that lotteries encouraged mass gambling, idleness, and greed in the populace increased.

On top of this, by the late seventeenth century, with the increasing development of their economic infrastructures and tax bases, the economic utility of lotteries to governments began to decline. Accordingly, legislation was drafted that began to limit participation in lotteries—at least for the poor. In 1710, ticket prices in Britain were increased to an expensive £10, and, in 1721, private lotteries, which had been popular because of their smaller stakes, were banned. Although many continued to operate illegally, such moves effectively outlawed the lottery

for all but the wealthiest in society, destroying their popular base and ultimately demonstrating the patrician nature of legislation that had from the start been driven by political and economic expediency.

See also **Gambling**.

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GERDA REITH

LOUIS XII (FRANCE) (born 1462–1515; ruled 1498–1515), king of France. The only son of Charles of Orléans and Mary of Cleves, Louis was the great-grandson of Charles VI (ruled 1380–1422). As a youth, Louis did not expect to gain the throne since he was several degrees of blood distant from the ruling family. Louis XI (ruled 1461–1483) coerced him into marrying his deformed daughter Jeanne, who was probably incapable of bearing children. He spent his early adulthood seeking an annulment for the marriage. When Louis XI's son became Charles VIII in 1483, Louis competed with Charles's older sister Anne of Beaujeu to become regent for the underage king. His purpose was largely to gain a position of authority from which to secure an annulment. When the Estates-General of 1484 refused him the office, he led the "Fools' War" against the monarchy. Defeated at the Battle of St-Aubin in Brittany in 1488, he was imprisoned for three years. He was released in time to join Charles in the first French invasion of Italy (1494), to make good the French claim to the kingdom of Naples.

Because Charles's only child died at age three, Louis gained the throne when Charles died in April 1498. Those who had opposed him in the Fools' War were fearful that he would exact revenge on them now that he was king, but Louis soothed them with his famous remark: "It is not honorable for the king of France to avenge the quarrels of a duke of Orléans." After loading Pope Alexander VI's (reigned 1492–1503) son Cesare Borgia with

French titles and gold, he received an annulment from Jeanne of France and married Charles's widow, Anne of Brittany, in January 1499. With her he had two daughters, Claude and Renée. Theologians of the University of Paris bitterly criticized the annulment, and when it led to unrest among the students, Louis cracked down on the university in 1499 and severely reduced its autonomy.

Louis had a claim to the duchy of Milan through his grandmother Valentina Visconti, and he sought to make good his Italian rights in the second French invasion of Italy (1499). Concentrating on winning Milan, which he achieved in 1500, he agreed to divide Naples with Ferdinand of Aragon (ruled 1468–1516), but Ferdinand expelled the French from the entire realm in 1503. For the next several years France was largely at peace. Louis dramatically reduced taxes, which, along with the era's broad prosperity, prompted the Estates-General to name him "Father of the People" in 1506. Louis's most prominent advisor was Cardinal Georges d'Amboise, whose influence and place in government were so vast that the saying "Let George do it!" is said to have referred to d'Amboise.

Although his tastes still were largely those of the Middle Ages, Louis took an interest in Renaissance culture, which he saw on several trips to Italy. He patronized the Italian humanists Lescaris and Aleandro, who taught Greek in France, and supported the classicist advocate and humanist Guillaume Budé at the beginning of his career. In 1499 Louis brought Italian architects and artists to France to rebuild the château of Blois, although the principal architect was probably the French mason Colin de Briart. The rebuilt château introduced the concept that a king need not live in a gloomy, fortified stronghold but in a beautiful place with open spaces and pleasant gardens for gracious living.

Louis allowed Pope Julius II (reigned 1503–1513) to persuade him to join an anti-Venetian league, bringing him back into the thick of Italian politics. After defeating the Venetians at Agnadello in May 1509, he found that Julius had organized a league to drive him out of Italy. Louis attempted to counter Julius by convoking the schismatic Council of Pisa in 1511, but it drew only four cardinals and a

few French bishops. After Louis's nephew Gaston de Foix defeated the papal-Spanish army at Ravenna in March 1512, the cardinals at Pisa declared Julius deposed and convoked the college of cardinals to elect a successor. De Foix's death prevented the French army from marching on Rome to effect Julius's deposition. The pope excommunicated Louis and promised parts of France to the Swiss, Aragón, England, and the Holy Roman Empire, which had joined his alliance. Ferdinand of Aragón seized southern Navarre, and Henry VIII invaded northern France. The French army retreated back to France, leaving Milan to the Swiss. The death of Julius in 1513 allowed Louis to make peace with the new pope, the Medici Leo X (reigned 1513–1521). When Anne died in January 1514, he secured peace with Henry VIII by marrying his sister Mary. The excitement of the wedding and his young bride probably hastened his death on 1 January 1515. His first cousin, Francis of Angoulême, who had married his daughter Claude in 1514, succeeded him as Francis I.

See also **Cambrai, League of (1508); Charles VIII (France); France; Julius II (pope).**

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FREDERIC J. BAUMGARTNER

LOUIS XIII (FRANCE) (1601–1643; ruled 1610–1643), king of France. The historical reputation of Louis XIII has been overshadowed by two figures close to him—his chief minister, Cardinal Richelieu (1585–1642), and his son and successor, Louis XIV (ruled 1643–1715). Cardinal Richelieu stands as the personification of seventeenth-century statecraft, and his steely brilliance is generally credited for bringing France from its sorry state following the Wars of Religion to the verge of greatness. And history has enshrined Louis XIV as the

French king par excellence, the very embodiment of royalty in all its grandeur and power. In comparison, the stammering Louis XIII—sickly, dependent on a series of favorites, beleaguered by a quarrelsome family and a factious court—seems a ruler of diminished stature indeed. This second of the Bourbon kings, however, deserves a more exalted place in history, if only because his reign witnessed the decisive consolidation of monarchical power and France's rise to European prominence.

RISE TO POWER

Louis's reign formally began upon the assassination of his father Henry IV (ruled 1589–1610) in 1610, but the government remained in the hands of his mother, Marie de Médicis (1573–1642), who ruled as regent until 1617. The regency was a turbulent time, marred by noble conspiracies and revolts, the ascendancy of Concino Concini, Marie's Italian favorite, over the court, and the calling of the Estates-General in 1614. In 1617 Louis took power in a veritable coup d'état that ended with the ignominious execution of Concini and his wife. Historians looking to credit Louis with more initiative and political savvy than he is usually accorded have pointed to this decisive act by a fifteen-year-old. And in general it should be noted that Louis faced a series of daunting challenges, both at home and abroad, including near-permanent opposition, often rebellion, from his mother and brother and the growing crisis of the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648), while still a teenager and a young man in his twenties.

LOUIS AND RICHELIEU

The coup d'état of 1617 was the first in a series of acts that served as turning points in Louis's reign, demonstrating his deep and precocious appreciation of the craft of kingship. In fact, despite his sometime obsessive predilection for the hunt, Louis was, like his son, a dutiful ruler, fully cognizant of the demands of his position. His initiative was next displayed in 1624, when he appointed Richelieu to the royal council. This was a move fraught with potential difficulties, for Richelieu was his mother's man, a figure of formidable and widely recognized talents yet still identified with the *dévot* ('devout') position that saw alliance with the Habsburgs as France's proper course. The choice, however, turned out to be a brilliant stroke of talent spotting. Richelieu



Louis XIII (France). Portrait by Justus van Egmont. THE ART ARCHIVE/MUSÉE DU CHATEAU DE VERSAILLES

brought discipline, intellectual rigor, and an enormous capacity for work to the royal cabinet. He also made himself a student of Louis's personality, taking pains to learn how to balance the delicate task of both coaxing and respecting his king's will. Together they managed to concentrate royal power in a partnership that many great noblemen and especially the queen mother and the king's brother Gaston (duc d'Orléans; 1608–1660) deeply resented. But it was a partnership that soon bore fruit in the successful siege of the Huguenot stronghold La Rochelle in 1627–1628, which not only demonstrated the royal resolve in the face of a Calvinist threat but also freed France to pursue an anti-Habsburg policy in Europe.

Despite the success of La Rochelle, the partnership of Louis and Richelieu and the foreign policy course they had set upon nearly foundered the following year. The so-called Day of Dupes was another crisis that illustrated Louis's ability to act on his own. On the night of 10–11 November 1630 the queen mother demanded that Louis dismiss his minister, a move that would have altered both the king's authority and France's European alignments. To everyone's surprise, including Marie's, the king

chose to keep Richelieu as his chief minister. Soon Marie de Médicis was in exile in Brussels, not to return to the realm for the rest of her life. Louis and Richelieu were free to pursue their anti-Habsburg foreign policy. In 1635 France formally entered the Thirty Years' War.

Even before that, Louis was preoccupied with martial matters. He had to face down a series of revolts, rebellions, and conspiracies—from his mother, brother, great noblemen like Henry II de Montmorency, Huguenots, peasants, and even court favorites. Backed by Richelieu, he responded in most cases with what many considered as shocking severity: his reign was the most costly in terms of noble heads lost to the executioner's axe. The notorious duelist François-Henri de Montmorency-Bouteville ended up on the block in 1627, as did his rebellious cousin Henri II de Montmorency in 1632, despite their family's long history of royal service, their personal popularity and charm, and the pleas for clemency from the highest ranks of society. Louis's last favorite, Henri Coeffier-Ruzé d'Effiat, marquis de Cinq-Mars, along with his supposed coconspirator François-Auguste de Thou, also died on the scaffold in 1642 for plotting with the Spanish. In war Louis displayed the same resolve. Well before France's formal entry into the Thirty Years' War, he engaged the Spanish and Habsburgs on several fronts, especially in northern Italy. He saw himself as a warrior-king, frequently exposing himself to great danger by personally leading his armies into battle.

Louis's martial bent contrasted with other aspects of his personality. He was constantly ill and several times at death's door. He abhorred ceremony and indeed cut a poor figure in public. He suffered from neglect, even abuse, as a child and received a poor education at court. (His childhood and youth were documented in extraordinary detail in a journal kept by his personal physician Jean Héroard, providing a remarkable, unequaled view of the upbringing of an early modern ruler.) Unlike his mother and Richelieu, Louis displayed little interest in the arts outside of the dance. He was a sincere Catholic, modeling himself on his saintly predecessor Louis IX (ruled 1226–1270), and in 1638 he placed himself under the personal protection of the Virgin. His marriage to Anne of Austria in 1615 took four years to consummate, and their

married life was marked by long periods of estrangement. Louis, however, seems to have remained faithful to his wife, despite a series of attachments to male and female courtiers alike. The birth of the dauphin in 1638, after years of inactivity in the marriage bed, was considered a minor miracle. Only five years later—and a year after the death of his cardinal-minister—Louis died at the age of forty-two. His legacy was a mixed one: on the one hand, a stronger France and a refurbished monarchy; on the other, deepening involvement in a costly European war that only fueled discontent at home.

See also Absolutism; Anne of Austria; France; La Rochelle; Louis XIV (France); Marie de Médicis; Richelieu, Armand-Jean Du Plessis, cardinal; Thirty Years' War (1618–1648).

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LOUIS XIV (FRANCE) (1638–1715; ruled 1643–1715), king of France. Hailed as *le Dieu-donné*, ‘the God-given’, Louis XIV was the first child of Louis XIII (1601–1643) and Anne of Austria (1601–1661), born twenty-three years into their marriage.

THE EARLY YEARS (1638–1661)

Ascending the throne at the age of four, Louis XIV was educated under the tutelage of his godfather and chief minister, Jules Cardinal Mazarin (1602–1661), and under the day-to-day watch of his governor, Nicolas de Neufville, first marshal-duke de Villeroy (1644–1730). The young king received not a scholarly education in the classics, but a practical education in history, diplomacy, war, and the arts, while his preceptor Hardouin de Péréfixe guided his spiritual development under the direction of the Queen Mother Anne, imbuing in Louis a distaste for heterodoxy, and associated disorder, of any kind. His formative experiences came during the Fronde (1648–1653), when he was directly awakened to the potential instability lurking in the



Louis XIV (France). Equestrian portrait by Charles Le Brun. ©ARCHIVO ICONOGRAFICO S.A./CORBIS

kingdom as other forces sought to share in the crown's sovereign powers and remove Mazarin from the government and the kingdom. The events of these years, and Louis's exposure to the wider social and economic problems of France during his military progresses, taught him to mistrust the ambitions of peers and of senior princes of the blood and bred an awareness in him of the need for far tighter regulation of the leading institutions of the kingdom. The declaration of the young king's majority, two days after his thirteenth birthday on 7 September 1651, produced some rallying of support for the crown. But it was not until 1654, the year of the coronation (7 June), that the government reestablished military control over France. For the rest of the 1650s Mazarin led the government, while Henri de La Tour d'Auvergne, marshal-vicomte de Turenne (1611–1675), trained the king in the art of war. In these years Mazarin did not involve Louis in the details of administration but did seek to keep him informed of developments, particularly on diplomatic and strategic issues, while encouraging him to establish his chivalric leadership of the kingdom.

THE REFORM OF GOVERNMENT AND FINANCES

By the time of Mazarin's death on 9 March 1661, Louis XIV had already shown himself to be an astute military commander, a skill that he would retain all the way up to his last personal campaign in 1693. He was also regarded as an excellent horseman, a noted conversationalist with an extraordinary memory for people, and, in the cultural sphere, a good musician and one of the very best dancers at court. Furthermore, he had been married to the Infanta Marie-Thérèse of Spain since June 1660 as part of the peace settlement of the Pyrenees, and she was now one month pregnant with the future dauphin (1661–1711). But Louis had little experience of governing, and it was expected that Mazarin would be succeeded as minister-favorite, most probably by Michel Le Tellier (1603–1685). What nobody anticipated was Louis's decision to assume control of the reins of government himself and his determination to maintain a grip on affairs (albeit a fluctuating grip) for the rest of his reign. Between March and September 1661 there was a minor revolution in French government during which the person of the king assumed center stage: the inner council (*conseil d'en haut*) was reduced in size to include only a handful of senior ministers whose advice was given candidly and accepted with almost perennial good grace. After the fall of Nicolas Fouquet (1615–1680), the *surintendant* of finances, there was greater transparency in financial transactions, with the king reserving to himself the right to approve every financial decision of the central government, even if successive controllers general of finance continued to dominate financial business.

Louis XIV did not favor major overhauls of the system of government that would unsettle the kingdom, but he was willing to entertain considerable administrative reforms insofar as they diminished disorder, encouraged stability, and enhanced his own regal power. Indeed, it is fair to say that some very dramatic changes occurred during his reign not through any increase in state bureaucracy but through changes in regulations and financial arrangements. Using the provincial intendants as a tool for preventing abuses and malpractice by the venal officeholders, Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619–1683), as senior intendant of finances from September 1661 and then controller general from 1665 until his death in 1683, managed to bring the cha-

otic fiscal system of taxation and borrowing to its optimum efficacy. However, when the demands of war grew in the 1690s and 1700s and net revenue as a proportion of gross revenue declined once again to the dismal levels of the 1640s, two major reforms had to be introduced that did challenge the social basis of the country, undermining the entire system of lay privileged exemption from direct taxation. In 1695–1698 the capitation imposed a graduated poll tax upon all French subjects from the dauphin down, and this was reintroduced permanently in 1701. And then in 1710 the *dixième*, a tax of one-tenth of personal income regardless of status, was brought in, lasting until 1721.

THE ARMED FORCES

In spite of setbacks in the 1700s, the reforms of finance in an era of economic stagnation enabled the crown to sustain stronger and larger armed forces than ever before during Louis XIV's "personal rule." France had almost no navy to speak of in 1661 (ten warships and twelve frigates), but Colbert was immediately given the task of working with the grand master of navigation, the duke de Beaufort, to increase the number of vessels; and by the end of 1663 he had brought the galley fleet in the Mediterranean within his own orbit. The great leap forward in the size of the fleet and in administrative and port infrastructure came in the years 1669 to 1673, and in spite of the belief that Louis XIV lacked personal interest in the navy, he gave considerable support both to Colbert and then his son Seignelay in their efforts to create and maintain by 1689 the largest battle fleet in Europe. Only during the final years of the War of the League of Augsburg (1688–1697) after 1695, and during the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1714) after 1705, did it prove impossible to sustain such a navy. The crown was consequently forced to rely much more on privateering at sea.

Louis took a far stronger interest in the reforms of the army. With the king's close involvement, Michel Le Tellier and particularly his son, the marquis de Louvois, gradually overhauled a highly complex system of regulations and financial structures to equip France with an army that, by 1693, stood at around 330,000 men. Their sheer attention to detail prevented on occasion what would otherwise have been a series of logistical breakdowns. That the

extreme difficulties of the War of the Spanish Succession did not produce a military collapse can be attributed to the earlier structural and administrative reforms that had transformed the ramshackle forces of Louis's minority into, for all its defects, the most admired and feared army on the Continent.

FOREIGN POLICY

The developing army and navy of France were there essentially to enhance the interests of the Bourbon dynasty internationally, and French foreign policy was very much the king's own, albeit based on advice from his inner ministers. Throughout his reign Louis XIV aimed at securing for himself the most senior status among European princes in an age when the concept of an equality of sovereign states did not exist, and when most rulers pushed claims that others found outrageous at one time or another. In the first part of the "personal rule," between 1661 and 1674, Louis pursued a foreign policy of single-minded vainglory in a determined effort to facilitate further dismemberment of the Spanish Habsburg empire and, after 1668, reduce the United Provinces of the Netherlands to humble submission. But the failure to conquer the United Provinces, the entry of Emperor Leopold I (ruled 1658–1705) into the Dutch War in August 1673, a difficult winter in the Rhineland, and the subsequent French retreat into the southern Netherlands seems to have been a sobering experience for Louis, who after 1673–1674 sought to consolidate and strengthen his hold in and around Alsace while rebuilding and constructing anew a chain of fortifications on his northern and northeastern frontiers to defend against invasion. Such apparently defensive concerns were, however, not satisfied by the Treaty of Nijmegen in 1678, precipitating Louis over the following six years into highly aggressive seizures of strategically vital territory based on dubious legal title—the *réunions*—that antagonized German princes and drove them to seek support against France from the imperial Habsburg court in Vienna.

The growing influence of the Austrian Habsburgs within the Holy Roman Empire, both in Germany and northern Italy, in turn compelled Louis to engage from the early 1680s in heavy-handed political manipulation at smaller European courts to secure Bourbon influence and indirectly to protect the

gains he had made and the status he now enjoyed as head of Europe's leading dynasty. Failing to entrench his territorial gains in the brief War of the Réunions (1683–1684), Louis, encouraged by Louvois, became increasingly anxious about growing Habsburg strength. In a desperate attempt to secure greater security for Alsace, in September 1688 Louis seized the key Rhine fortress of Philippsburg in the hope that this would force the empire to negotiate a definitive settlement of Rhineland territorial issues. Instead it precipitated the greatest conflict of the reign thus far. Having subsequently forced the Dutch Republic, Spain, and Great Britain also to declare war upon him between November 1688 and May 1689, Louis's insensitive attack on the interests of the duke of Savoy, Victor Amadeus II, a year later earned him another theater of operations he could ill afford. The pressure of the war by June 1693 forced Louis, under the influence of increasingly moderate and chastened advisors, to abandon his excessive demands and to consider returning most of the *réunion* territories to their owners; to negotiate with William III about his succession in Great Britain after the Glorious Revolution; and to make huge concessions to Savoy in order to neutralize Italy. Even so, over three more years of demanding and exhausting war were required, in the context of a catastrophic famine that pushed the French population down by perhaps 10 percent, before Savoy could be bought off in the Treaty of Turin (June 1696) and a general peace signed with France's other enemies at Ryswick (September and October 1697).

All this left France ill equipped to deal with the looming issue of the Spanish succession, as the ailing Charles II moved toward his death in November 1700. To try to avert war, Louis XIV and William III signed two successive partition treaties for the Spanish empire in October 1698 and March 1700, but Charles II himself wanted instead to maintain the unity of his territories, so the dying Spanish king willed them all to the one power that might be able to hold them together: France, in the person of Philippe, duke d'Anjou, second grandson of Louis XIV. A conflict with the Austrian Habsburgs was inevitable, but the decisions to seize fortresses in the Spanish Netherlands and exclude the British from the lucrative Spanish slave trade in the early spring of 1701 ensured that any war would once again

include Britain and the United Provinces among the anti-French belligerents. France was pushed out of southern Germany and lost her Bavarian ally in 1704, and Philip V of Spain faced allied campaigning on the Iberian mainland from that year on. The Bourbons were expelled from northern Italy and Naples in 1706–1707 and from the southern Netherlands in 1708, while in 1709–1710 another somewhat less disastrous but still severe famine struck France. But the tide turned in 1710–1711 with Bourbon successes in Spain, and with changes of regime in Britain and Austria that affected the geostrategic considerations of the various powers. The War of the Spanish Succession consequently ended in 1713–1714 with France securing Spain itself and her overseas colonies for Philip V, while the Austrians received most of the rest of the Spanish European possessions, and Savoy was temporarily awarded Sicily.

Territorially, France emerged considerably larger and more secure from Louis XIV's reign, acquiring most notably Roussillon (1659), Franche-Comté (1674), and Alsace (1648 and 1678), as well as establishing serious colonies and trading posts in the Americas and western Africa. It is true that Louis XIV's foreign policies had brought hundreds of thousands of deaths, but this cannot be put down to a callous disregard for the fate of his own or foreign subjects. In fact, Louis was genuinely anxious to minimize casualties in warfare. But he was the most assertive and best-resourced individual in an international and cultural system that had an inbuilt tendency to resolve differences through arms, and in which its sovereign players could not afford to show too much understanding for the legitimate economic or dynastic interests of their rivals.

THE REGULATION OF A STATUS-BASED SOCIETY

A similar problem afflicted domestic state management during the mid- to late-seventeenth century. The rivalries of families and the personal ambitions of individuals, articulated in social and legal terms at all levels of the propertied hierarchy, militated against an easy resolution of disputes. Colbert's determined campaign in the 1660s to emphasize that all privileges and rights stemmed from the will of the king (and could be just as easily revoked) certainly helped to encourage a sense of strong royal author-

ity in the legal sphere. This was aided by the 1665 *Grands Jours* investigations into lawless nobles and bandits in the Auvergne in tandem with the Parlement of Paris, and it was carried forward after 1679 by repeated edicts against dueling and in favor of litigation before royal officials to settle disputes. But Louis XIV had come to realize full well by 1661 that the instability of France was rooted primarily in her political culture. The Fronde was not the last gasp of a feudal noble class but a struggle for political and military precedence within the upper noble elites who, in the context of a breakdown in state finances during a royal minority, had no other choice but to assert their own status claims—backed up, if necessary, by military force.

Removing the exposed figure of a chief minister after 1661 was but a partial solution to the difficulties. Louis remained well aware that his ministers had their own private interests to further, and this was as much the case with court appointments, or military commands, as it was with architectural projects, so the active balancing of ministers and great nobility required considerable effort that this king was prepared to make. Far more likely to entrench political quiescence in the long run was a remodeling of the system of patronage and clientage and a concerted effort to break the automatic link between service and expectation of reward. Even if he still relied on other people's recommendations, by 1672 Louis insisted that virtually all military, naval, and ecclesiastical commissions come from his own person. Furthermore, by maintaining multiple channels of access to his person at court for different groups, families, and individuals, he ensured that no one faction or person (including ministers) could dominate his decisions over patronage. On top of this, he expanded the amount of largesse, both monetary and honorific, disbursed by the crown, while widening the pool of potential recipients. All this contributed to a serious dilution of the patronage power of individual grandees. With the partial exception of his own brother Orléans, for the most part the dukes, peers, and senior military officers now became patronage brokers for the crown rather than direct providers of opportunities for the lesser nobility. Always concerned for the future of the monarchy, Louis allied this policy of supervising patronage distribution with closely managing the upbringing of his offspring and descendants to an

extreme extent in controlling their households. And if he made extensive military use of illegitimate princes (of his own body and those of his ancestors), he was loath to trust the erstwhile Frondeur branches of the Bourbon, the Condé and Conti, whose interests he encouraged only so far as was commensurate with the interests of the wider Bourbon dynasty. The aim in all this was to prevent another Fronde from ever happening again. Only at the very end of the reign, in 1714, when he had lost his son, two of his three grandsons (the dukes of Burgundy and Berry), and one of his great-grandsons to smallpox, did Louis XIV depart from the established dynastic rules when he wrote the bastard lines of the House of France into the succession. Although there was some sense in trying to avoid future succession wars by laying down an order of precedence in the event of the disappearance of all the legitimate Bourbon branches, this was bitterly resented by the great nobility and was overturned by the regent Philippe II, duc d'Orléans, in 1717.

HIGH CULTURE AND THE ARTS

The royal urge to preserve and impose order in the political field was also manifested in the arena of high culture. The growing presence of royal patronage in the arts and sciences after 1661 is better attributed to Colbert than the king himself, with the most notable advances being the foundation of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belle-Lettres in 1663 and the reform of the Academy of Painting and Sculpture the same year, followed by the foundation of the Academy of Sciences in 1666, and three years later that of the Royal Academy of Music. Moreover, between 1667 and 1672 Colbert oversaw the building of the Paris Observatory. Yet, if Colbert was the driving instrument who encouraged intellectuals and artists to view the crown as the foremost patron, it was Louis who set the tone and the taste and was the leading collector of objets d'art of his age. The king also took a very close interest in architectural projects, in particular the transformation of Versailles after 1669 from a relatively small hunting retreat to the largest palace complex in Europe by the mid-1680s. By and large Louis favored the classical over the baroque, in sculpture, architecture, and garden design, and in spite of the growing vogue for portraits of all manner of people, the king himself set great store by religious art.

RELIGION AND PUBLIC MORALITY

Louis XIV's preference for religious art was hardly surprising, for he was a devout Catholic, in spite of his several mistresses (most notably Louise de La Vallière [1644–1710] and Françoise, marquise de Montespan [1641–1707]) and the numerous bastards he fathered before 1680. Louis was sincere about protecting his subjects' souls and throughout his reign encouraged charitable giving. In 1693–1694, at the height of the famine, Pontchartrain, the controller general of finance, was ordered to organize grain imports from abroad and facilitate food transport within the country on a scale never previously attempted by France. But Louis was not just a charitable Christian prince. He was also instinctively hostile to anything that smacked of the heterodox, in particular Jansenism, which, under strong Jesuit influence, he equated with rebellion. By the early 1680s the king's increasingly devout attitude to personal morality and worship, encouraged by his second wife, Françoise d'Aubigné, marquise de Maintenon (1635–1719), whom he married in 1683, had become allied to his fear of religious disorder as manifested by Jansenism and the Huguenots. This combination of attitudes flowed together with a desire to live up to his title of "Eldest Son of the Church" at a time when Emperor Leopold I was pushing the Turks back in the Balkans and when relations between France and the papacy were in tatters over the *régale* dispute (when Louis extended the royal right to gather the revenues of vacant episcopal sees to areas of the kingdom that had previously been immune). Despite attempts by Colbert and Louvois to restrain persecution of Protestants by some intendants, Louis became increasingly convinced that forced conversions were effectual, an approach that culminated in the Edict of Fontainebleau in September 1685, which revoked all rights for Huguenots. Even when it became clear to ministers and generals by 1689 that this revocation had created a potentially dangerous fifth column inside France (which erupted in the vicious revolt of the Camisards in 1702–1705), the king's religious conscience would not allow him to restore Huguenot rights. Thus far, Louis XIV's religious policies were coherently Catholic and Gallican, zealous in defense of the temporal independence of the French church from Rome. But the repair of relations with the papacy in the 1690s, plus the resurfacing of the Jansenist controversy after

1703, pushed him into accepting ultramontane, pro-papal positions held by the Sorbonne. Eventually he solicited and accepted the 1713 papal bull *Unigenitus*, which condemned Jansenism but simultaneously mounted a full-scale attack on Gallican liberties, a move that did immense long-term damage to the Bourbon monarchy's image as the defender of France and French interests.

If order could be consciously pursued through state policies, Louis XIV was nevertheless also the beneficiary of changing attitudes to social and political life in the mid-seventeenth century, and in particular a growing distaste for personal violence. The need to display *honnête* behavior was not merely restricted to domestic social situations, but applied equally to public social behavior. The need for restraint, politeness, and self-discipline in deportment as well as language was emerging as the cornerstone of an ethical order to which one simply had to subscribe if one wished to remain a sociable being. What is more, the disorderly and chaotic Fronde, erupting just as such ideals were entering French cultural life, had the effect of reinforcing enthusiasm for obedience and decorum in both the social and the political fields. Louis XIV personally encouraged stronger discipline and self-control at court, in his armies and fleets, and in the church, so that such nostrums percolated through noble society and contributed to growing domestic stability in this period.

CONCLUSION

Throughout his reign, Louis XIV had placed the Bourbon dynasty, the Catholic faith, and the royal court at the center of his existence, and he had been highly mindful of the interests and outlooks of his propertied subjects. Nevertheless, compromise and cooperation had its limits, and it would be a misleading oversimplification to see this as a monarchy engaged in the revivification of feudalism in conjunction with a landed noble "class." In the first instance, the French nobility was in no sense a coherent class, and society as a whole was pervaded by myriad corporate and familial loyalties and interests. Moreover, for all the king's skill in trying to harmonize his own interests with those of his propertied subjects, Louis's reign was marked with a highly authoritarian stamp that pressed the imposition of firmer discipline in the armed forces, the curtailment of judicial inde-

pendence and privileges, and a demand for religious conformity and subordination that aroused hostility across Europe. On his death, on 1 September 1715, Louis XIV left a kingdom in an unprecedented state of domestic tranquillity that was to last throughout the regency for his five-year-old great-grandson, Louis XV; this can in large part be attributed to firm royal control of the military, more sophisticated poor relief strategies, and a general ethos of political obedience. But the destabilization of the credit markets wrought by the previous thirty years of unprecedented military mobilization, the unresolved issue of tax privileges, the example of baroque kingship that Louis XIV brought to its apogee as a model for rule, and the legacy of Jansenism were to bedevil his successors' governments for the rest of the eighteenth century.

See also Bourbon Dynasty (France); Camisard Revolt; Colbert, Jean-Baptiste; France; Fronde; Gallicanism; Habsburg Dynasty; Jansenism; League of Augsburg, War of the; Louvois, François-Michel Le Tellier, marquis de; Mazarin, Jules; Poisons, Affair of the; Spanish Succession, War of the; Versailles.

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GUY ROWLANDS

LOUIS XV (FRANCE) (1710–1774; ruled 1715–1774), king of France. Louis, duc d'Anjou, was the second surviving son of Louis, duke of Burgundy, and Marie-Adélaïde, daughter of Duke Victor-Amadeus II of Savoy, and great-grandson of Louis XIV (ruled 1643–1715). When Louis XIV's eldest son Louis (the Grand Dauphin) died in 1711, the little duc d'Anjou's father became heir to the throne. But less than a year later his father, mother, and elder brother were killed by smallpox, leaving him the sole direct descendant and heir to the old

Sun King. During Louis's boyhood, France was ruled in practice by his distant cousin the regent, Philippe, duke of Orléans, even after the boy came officially of age in 1723. When Orléans died unexpectedly later that year, the unpopular duke of Bourbon took over as principal minister, to be succeeded by Louis's tutor, Cardinal André Hercule de Fleury, in 1726. Louis can hardly be said to have been in command during the turbulent first decade of his reign, which was marked by two bankruptcies and the dizzying stock-market and currency bubble of John Law, but his strong loyalty and affection for his tutor were the reasons the cardinal got power and kept it for so long. Louis only began to take a significant independent role in the early 1740s, when he was already in his thirties, at which time he became known as *le bien-aimé*, 'the well-beloved'.

Fleury had taken over as tutor when Louis was six years old, and he supervised the king's education by a splendid team of instructors, including some of the most learned men of letters, scientists, and mathematicians of the day. The king developed a special interest in geography, the natural sciences, and medicine, which he kept all his life. For hobbies, he enjoyed learning to operate a printing press and a lathe. Hunting was his first obsession; women came later. From the age of ten, Louis sat on the Regency council, as his great-grandfather had prescribed in his will, and he seems to have taken an active interest in proceedings; Orléans and the successive prime ministers tutored him in the political issues of the day. But, deprived of parents from an early age, Louis was secretive and often incommunicative. These traits remained with him through his life. He could play the royal part, but he did not revel in public life like the Sun King, and he lacked his great-grandfather's self-confidence.

Overtaking an ephemeral engagement to the four-year-old daughter of Philip V of Spain, the duc de Bourbon persuaded Louis to marry Marie, the 22-year-old daughter of Stanislas Leszcynski, the ousted king of Poland. By 1737 the queen had borne Louis an heir, the Old Dauphin (father of Louis XVI), a second son who died in childhood, and eight daughters. Marie's social limitations and colorless personality eventually took their toll. In 1733, Louis began a series of affairs with the three aristocratic Nesle sisters, Madame de Mailly, Madame de Vintimille, and Madame de la Tournelle,

countess of Châteauroux. Then, around 1743, he began a more lasting liaison with Madame de Pompadour, the wife of a tax-farmer; the physical relationship ended by 1750, but she remained the official mistress until her death in 1764. Louis prized her because she understood him and could put him at ease. His more basic needs were taken care of by several dispensable young women whom she provided for the purpose, and then, after the death of the queen (1768), by a permanent relationship with Jeanne Bécu. Bécu, who became the comtesse du Barry (1743–1793), was said to be the most beautiful woman of the eighteenth century, but she had a dubious background. Madame de Pompadour is the only woman who played a significant political role in Louis's life, principally as dispenser of royal largesse and jobs, a task in which, unfortunately, she seldom excelled.

In foreign policy, Louis was successful until the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748), when his diplomats were unable to parlay military wins in the Low Countries into territorial gains. France played a reactive rather than active role in the Diplomatic Revolution of 1756, when she lost her Prussian ally and aligned with Austria, and in the start of the Seven Years' War on the Continent. There was little choice here, but the decision to commit further to the Austrian cause in 1757, when the effort should have been concentrated on the maritime war against Britain, was a choice—a bad one. France's disastrous losses at the Treaty of Paris of 1763 (Canada, most of India, etc.) are well known. Louis did not make the same mistake again in 1770, when he restrained his bellicose foreign secretary, Étienne François, the duke of Choiseul (1719–1785) from taking an unprepared country to war with Britain to defend Spanish rights in the Falkland Islands.

Domestic policy was to a large extent conditioned by these outcomes: the end of each war in this period caused a domestic crisis because the state had to raise new revenue or carry over some wartime taxes into peacetime, in order to retire unpaid war debts. In 1748–1749, controller general Jean-Baptiste de Machault d'Arnouville (1701–1794) attempted this with a vast reform program, including a new peacetime income tax, the *vingtième*, a package of laissez-faire economic reforms, the expansion of the money market, and attempts to limit "unproductive" church acquisition of land. This



Louis XV (France). Portrait by Charles van Loo, c. 1748. GETTY IMAGES

program touched off violent conflicts with privileged groups, notably the church and the remaining provincial estates; the church and the parlements seized on the perceived weakness of the crown to fight their own wars over Jansenism and clerical control of lay society and crown control over taxation. As French rulers commonly did, Louis sought an equilibrium between the contending groups in society and within his own ministry, but through the 1740s and 1750s he came down on balance against the conservative forces to which Fleury had previously appealed—the church hierarchy, which was firmly anti-Jansenist, and the landed elites, who hated land taxes—and he tried hard to mollify the parlements, the Jansenists, and the men of letters. These tensions formed the background to a failed assassination attempt on the king in 1757 by Damiens, a domestic servant obsessed by the current religious quarrels. Louis stuck with his policy, however, going so far as to permit the suppression of the Jesuit order in 1764 and to appoint several leading members of the Parlement of Paris to ministries in order to neutralize the powerful court. After the defeat of 1763, the controllers general, Henri Léonard Jean-Baptiste Bertin (1720–1792) and Clément Charles François de Laverdy de Nizeret (1724–1793), resorted to a version of the 1749 program to solve the post-war financial crisis, but they did so in dire financial straits, without the confidence that a diplomatic victory would have inspired in the investing classes. The result was seven years of bankruptcy on the installment plan. Choiseul's position had been weakened by the death of his ally Madame de Pompadour in 1764 and his failure to quell the notorious Brittany Affair, an interminable quarrel between the Parlement of Brittany and the duc d'Aiguillon, the military commander in that province. So, in late 1770, when Choiseul pushed recklessly for war with Britain in defense of Spain's claim to the Falkland Islands, Louis dismissed him and allowed his chancellor, René Nicolas de Maupeou, to virtually destroy the parlements' powers of remonstrance and to restructure the judicial system, and his controller-general, Abbé Terray, to complete the partial bankruptcy that had begun in 1759. It was a total political reversal of the policy and personnel of the previous period. The reforms of 1770–1774 gave the monarchy a new lease on life but also created much antagonism; if Louis had lived longer, perhaps he would

have ridden out the storm, but he was suddenly carried off by smallpox on 10 May 1774. Louis XV was a ruler with considerable natural gifts who had to rule in difficult times; his choices in 1749 and again in 1770 showed the lucidity and the necessary ruthlessness that are the marks of a leader, but his belated start in personally ruling the country, his indolence, and the introversion he inherited from his lonely childhood prevented him from developing into a first-rate politician.

See also **Austrian Succession, War of the (1740–1748); Bourbon Dynasty (France); France; Louis XIV (France); Polish Succession, War of the (1733–1738); Pompadour, Jeanne-Antoinette Poisson; Seven Years' War (1756–1763).**

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LOUIS XVI (FRANCE) (1754–1793; ruled 1774–1792), king of France. Louis-Auguste, duc de Berry was the second surviving son of the heir to the throne (dauphin) Louis-Ferdinand and his second wife, Marie-Thérèse-Antoinette-Raphaëlle, daughter of Augustus III, elector of Saxony and king of Poland. Louis's elder brother, the duc de Bourgogne, died in 1761, so when their father died in 1765, he became eldest male heir to his grandfather, Louis XV. Once thought a dull child, recent research has shown that he was a well-taught, reflective, and intelligent student, particularly interested in the sciences (mathematics, physics, geography) and history. He was raised and remained a convinced, but intellectually curious, Catholic; he had a taste for empirical facts, and brevity in expressing them, which, together with natural taciturnity and the secretiveness he inherited from his grandfather, often made him frustrating to work with. His political principles, which became settled in his adolescence, combined the moral politics of François de Salignac de La Mothe Fénelon with a firm belief in his traditional rights as an absolute king. In 1770, he married Marie-Antoinette, youngest daughter of Maria Theresa, the ruler of Austria, but it was not until 1776 that the marriage was consummated; Derek Beales has conclusively demonstrated that the delay was caused not by a physical impediment but rather by sexual ignorance, finally rectified by advice from the queen's brother, Emperor Jo-

seph II, who subsequently received heartfelt written thanks from the royal pair.

Louis's marriage had been designed to cement the alliance with Austria that had been concluded in 1756 and was supported by the dominant party at Louis XV's court, led by the duke of Choiseul and Madame de Pompadour. The young dauphin approved Louis XV's decision to drop Choiseul, as well as his reassertion of royal authority against the parlements in 1771, so when the old king died in 1774, it was thought that the new ruler would continue on this course. But, worried by his own youth and inexperience, he chose as close advisor and informal prime minister Jean Frédéric Phélypeaux, count of Maurepas, a veteran minister who had been disgraced in 1749 but was close to the royal family. Maurepas wanted to rebuild confidence in the monarchy, whose image had suffered from the coup of 1770–1771. He persuaded Louis to recall the old parlements, impose restrictions on their rights of judicial review of legislation through remonstrance, and choose a ministry that included the fashionable liberals Chrétien de Malesherbes and Anne Robert Jacques Turgot. The new ministry proved politically inept (for example, in their insistence on bringing back free trade in foodstuffs during the crisis year 1774–1775). Maurepas and Louis replaced them with a team that included, by late 1776, the Genevan banker and reputed financial wizard Jacques Necker as financial counsellor and the veteran diplomat Charles Gravier, the count of Vergennes, as foreign secretary.

Louis XVI, along with a large body of public opinion, enthusiastically supported France's alliance with the rebellious American colonists against Britain; he and Vergennes managed to keep the other European powers out of the conflict and avoid engagement on Austria's side in Joseph II's various adventures. The outcome in 1783 was diplomatic and military success: freedom of the seas and the restoration of France's position in Europe, although trade with the new republic did not develop as quickly as expected. Necker had hoped to finance the war on life-annuity loans serviced by economies and recovered revenue as earlier state loans were amortised, but the war went on too long, taxes had to be increased, and the usual flood of postwar claims on the government created a potential crisis. In the meantime, the political scene had changed.



Louis XVI. Coronation portrait by Joseph-Siffrède Duplessis.
THE ART ARCHIVE/MUSÉE CARNAVALET PARIS/DAGLI ORTI

During the reign, two principal factions fought for control within the ministry—the remains of Choiseul’s friends, grouped around Queen Marie-Antoinette and the Austrian alliance, and the so-called “king’s party,” which hankered after the methods of 1770–1774 and distrusted Austria. Maurepas successfully played them off against each other, but he died in 1781. Necker himself resigned that year.

Henceforward, Louis was more directly involved in politics, generally coming down on the side of the “king’s party,” represented in the ministry by Vergennes and Charles Alexandre de Calonne. Louis agreed with these two on the need for root-and-branch reform of the tax system to eliminate privilege and establish fiscal uniformity; with them he arranged to call an Assembly of Notables in 1787, to create a tide of public opinion to force these and other reforms through the Parlement of Paris. But Vergennes died just before the Notables met, leaving Louis and Calonne alone. They did not manage the assembly well, and

Calonne, whose reforms threatened them and their like through the country, got caught in a stock-market scandal, and had to be dismissed; he was replaced by Étienne Charles Loménie de Brienne, a partisan of Necker. John Hardman has argued that this constituted a turning point in Louis’s life, leading to prolonged bouts of depression, cynicism, and dependency that dogged his behavior thereafter. Brienne attempted to ram reforms somewhat similar to Calonne’s through the notables and, when that failed, through the Parlement of Paris; finally he tried to rule without them. But Louis was forced by a credit crisis to drop Brienne and bring back Necker in 1788, and, in 1789, to call the Estates-General.

Though willing to admit constitutional reform, Louis and Necker proved indecisive over the method of representation in the Estates, thus setting the stage for the successful refusal by the deputies of the Third Estate, when they met in Versailles in May 1789, to meet except as a National Assembly with one vote for each deputy. Louis’s instincts told him to go along with the Third Estate in the ensuing crisis, but, pressured by his advisors, he tried to slow or reverse the process of change. He put his wide-ranging reform plans, too late, to the *Séance Royale* (Royal Session) on 23 June as if nothing had happened. He consented to bring up troops to maintain order in Paris, but dismissed Necker, thus provoking the Parisian revolt in which the Bastille was stormed on 14 July; and he refused to withdraw from Versailles before the Parisian women and the national guard captured the royal family and forced them to return to Paris. Confined to the Tuileries, the king became in effect a prisoner and politically little more than a figurehead; he now secretly sent a message to his cousin Charles IV of Spain, disavowing any future actions he might take as being under duress. When matters settled down, however, he appears to have been willing to make an accommodation with the Revolution as long as the monarchy could play an active role in initiating legislation; Louis rightly refused to be a martyr to the diehard policies of the reactionary nobility, Marie-Antoinette, and his émigré brothers, the counts of Provence and Artois. That was the nub of his program in the Royal Session, and also of the manifesto he left behind when he fled eastward and was captured at Varennes with his family on 20–25

June 1791. The king seems to have viewed his flight not as a plan to invade France with the help of foreign troops, but as a demonstration of force to make the Constituent Assembly renegotiate his place in the monarchy. Forced to return, Louis made a deal with the assembly, who were frightened to dismiss him, fearing to open the way to a democratic republic. Basically, Louis intended to bide his time until the contradictions inherent in the new regime brought about its downfall, a policy of passive resistance well-suited to his character. He sanctioned the declaration of war against Austria and Prussia in April 1792, the better to demonstrate these contradictions. This strategy was clever—there was much royalist support in the country and even in Paris—but he never thought through how to translate it into constitutional change. In the meantime, popular militants in Paris and radical volunteers from the provincial National Guards stormed the Tuileries palace in a coup d'état on 10 August 1792, driving the royal family to take refuge in the Legislative Assembly. As in the crises of 1789, Louis once again drew back from using his troops in a way that would cause major bloodshed. The rump of the assembly, from which the moderate deputies had fled, convoked a new Constitutional Convention; the Convention proclaimed a democratic Republic on 22 September, put the king on trial, and found him guilty of “conspiracy against public freedom and attacks on general state security.” Louis died bravely on 21 January 1793.

See also **American Independence, War of (1775–1783); Bourbon Dynasty (France); Estates-General, French; France; Louis XV (France); Marie-Antoinette; Revolutions, Age of.**

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LOUVOIS, FRANÇOIS LE TELLIER, MARQUIS DE (1641–1691), secretary of state for war under Louis XIV of France. Louvois was the third and eldest surviving son of Michel Le Tellier, who was intendant of the French army of Italy at the time of Louvois's birth, and subsequently became secretary of state for war between 1643 and 1677, and then chancellor of France until his death in 1685. Louvois was educated at the Jesuit-run Collège de Clermont in Paris, and was brought into the War Ministry by his father in 1658 to prepare him for eventual management of the king's armies. Louvois had already been guaranteed the succession to his father as secretary of state for war back in 1655, but had to wait until 1664 for his father to secure for him joint control of the War Ministry. He assumed sole control of its direction in 1677. In addition, Louvois picked up a number of other offices that he also held until his death, most notably superintendent general of the Post from 1668, and superintendent of Arts, Buildings, and Manufactures from 1683, on the death of Jean-Baptiste Colbert. These and other posts brought an

accumulation of responsibilities never to be exceeded by another secretary of state during the *ancien régime*. Indeed, by virtue of this set of responsibilities and through his allies, between 1683 and 1689 Louvois dominated government, though Louis XIV never allowed him to exercise a monopoly of patronage or to control access to his person.

Louvois's reputation rests upon his work as secretary of state for war, where he presided over a massive expansion of the peacetime standing army from around 55,000 men to 150,000, while even larger increases in the forces were generated during wartime. By the time of his death, the French army stood at around 300,000 men (allowing for inaccurate figures, fraud, and desertion). From the surviving documentation it is difficult to apportion credit accurately for the many improvements not only in the size of the army but also in its quality, as Louvois surrounded himself with a highly efficient group of administrators whom he had largely inherited from his father. But under Louvois's stewardship, complex financial and disciplinary rules evolved that made it far more worthwhile for the French nobility to enlist as army officers. By the 1680s the officers could sustain themselves in service for far longer than in the pre-1659 era, and collapses in morale and logistical support in the armies had become far less likely. Indeed, one of Louvois's greatest achievements was to establish more closely integrated systems for paying and feeding the expanding armies. Furthermore, he gave considerable support to the engineer Sébastien Le Prestre de Vauban's (1633–1707) fortification program to defend the frontiers, and many such fortresses became central to Louvois's logistical system.

In large part Louvois's success in equipping France with such a well-ordered army by contemporary standards can be attributed to his extraordinary grasp of the minutiae of military administration and to his remarkable stamina for business. In particular he paid unusual attention to the labyrinthine accounts of treasurers and entrepreneurs who supplied the logistical needs of the armies. He was also a strict disciplinarian who imprisoned two of his own sons, who were serving in the army, for insubordination, and he had a firm belief in the need to encourage godly behavior by officers. Louvois's power, however, also rested upon the support of the monarch. Louis XIV appreciated the need to inte-



Marquis de Louvois. Portrait engraving by Pieter Louis van Schuppen. ©RÉUNION DES MUSÉES NATIONAUX/ART RESOURCE, NY

grate the Le Tellier family into the court and the upper reaches of French society if they were to be able to deal successfully with the great nobility and the high command. Through promoting a succession of prestigious marriages from 1660, and by endowing Louvois's cousins and sons with offices in the royal household, Louis XIV gave the family social respectability. By the time of his death on 16 July 1691 from a heart attack, Louvois had succeeded in entrenching his family at the apex of French society, and for another ten years they also held on to the War Ministry: he was succeeded as secretary of state for war by his twenty-three-year-old third son, Louis-François-Marie, marquis de Barbezieux, whom he had been preparing for the role since November 1685.

Louvois was possibly the most divisive figure of Louis XIV's reign and still remains controversial, not least for presiding over the persecution of Protestants and the 1689 devastation of the Palatinate. He was highly partisan, driving good officers out of

service on grounds of divergent personal interests, and depriving people of the full exercise of their offices. His reputation for ill-mannered brusqueness, and even occasional insolence to the king, was well established. He also encouraged Louis XIV in the pursuit of an aggressive foreign policy and, fatally for the king, he personally found it difficult to appreciate the interests of other powers, especially German princes and the duke of Savoy. Moreover, Louvois had a relatively weak grasp of grand strategy, and his operational directions to commanders were sometimes sufficiently out of touch as to provoke open protests to the king from the generals in the field. In 1691 he was even sidelined by the king from operational discussions during the siege of Mons. Yet, for all this, Louvois was fiercely loyal to the ideal of a strong monarchy, and he was immensely efficient at transacting state business. Just as important, Louvois was highly successful in the one thing that united all ministers and nobles of this era—securing the elevation of his dynasty.

See also Colbert, Jean-Baptiste; France; Louis XIV (France).

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GUY ROWLANDS

LOYOLA, IGNATIUS. See Ignatius of Loyola.

LÜBECK. With a population of 25,000 at the end of the Middle Ages, Lübeck was one of the great cities of northern Germany, located at the crossroads between the Baltic and the North Sea. It lived from international trade, and its central position had brought it leadership of the Hanseatic League. By the end of the eighteenth century, its

population was still at the same level, its international trade was dwarfed by foreign competition, and its regional position was overshadowed by Hamburg. Lübeck's decline was comparatively gentle. At times, its merchants reached the Mediterranean, the Iberian Peninsula, and the eastern Baltic, particularly in the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Lübeck's decline was accompanied by the slow dissolution of the Hansa itself as contrasting commercial interests drove a wedge between its members, and the once favorable trading conditions offered to Hanseatic merchants by foreign rulers were withdrawn. Meetings of the Hansetag still took place frequently in the city, and its burghers occupied many of the organization's most senior posts.

The Reformation came comparatively late to the city, in 1531. From then on, Lübeck was strictly Lutheran. Religious change was accompanied by political upheaval in the early 1530s, when a reform group, led by Jürgen Wullenwever, responded to Lübeck's growing political and economic weakness by unsuccessfully making war on Denmark in order to restore the city's former position.

The importance of long-distance trade throughout the period was reflected in the strong presence of seagoing merchants among the city's elite. Sharing power first with a small group of landowners and later with lawyers and other professionals, they ran the city's affairs, occupied the central quarter around the Rathaus (Town Hall), St. Mary's Church, and the marketplace, and maintained a close-knit network of relatives and business associates around the shores of the Baltic. Among the most famous of mercantile aristocrats was Thomas Fredenhagen (1627–1709), whose ships sailed into the Mediterranean and the West Indies. Commercial decline in the sixteenth century was accompanied by artistic decline. Lübeck's earlier reputation as a printing center was sustained during the Reformation but faded as Low German became less popular. A strong tradition of painting and wood carving (especially of altarpieces) made famous by Berndt Notke (1435–1509) also lost its wider importance. There was little continuing patronage of foreign artists. Only the organ music of Dieterich Buxtehude (1637–1707) and Franz Tunder (1614–1667) reached a wider audience.

Lübeck retained its medieval street plan. There was little rebuilding of town houses and public buildings until the eighteenth century, with the noted exception of the Rathaus, which was given a new Renaissance facade incorporating an impressive outside staircase during the sixteenth century. Instead, the appearance of the city was transformed from the outside. New and more extensive fortifications were constructed during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in response to the increase in military threats. These included the renewal and redecoration of Lübeck's main gates. While financial constraints prevented a complete overhaul of the city's fortifications, they proved to be a major deterrent to passing armies. Lübeck paid a high price for its neutrality during the Thirty Years' War, however. Gustavus II Adolphus levied a large sum of money as his price for leaving the city alone.

The ideas of the Enlightenment were first brought to eighteenth-century Lübeck from the universities of Jena and Göttingen. The literary society established in 1788 went on to develop into an organization for reform, bringing together men of many different interests and backgrounds.

See also **Buxtehude**; **Dieterich**; **Hamburg**; **Hansa**.

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ALEXANDER COWAN

LUBLIN, UNION OF (1569). Poland's union with the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, signed in Lublin on 1 July 1569, was the final stage of the process begun at Krewo on 14 August 1385, by which the grand duke of Lithuania, Jogaila (who became King Władysław II Jagiełło of Poland), pledged to associate (*applicare* in Latin) the territories of Lithuania and Ruthenia with the Polish Kingdom in a permanent union. Until the Union of Lublin, two conflicting conceptions of the union existed: the Polish side strove for a full incorporation of the Grand Duchy, while the Lithuanians wanted to retain their statehood in a looser union. The act of union was renewed and amended several

times, the most important being the treaty signed at Horodło on 2 October 1413, which preserved the position of grand duke in Lithuania, envisaged joint Polish-Lithuanian congresses, and gave Lithuanian Catholics the same rights to land ownership as the Polish nobility. The forty-seven most important Lithuanian clans were also allowed to use the coats of arms of the Polish noble families.

Stormy debates over the union began in Lublin in January 1569; the Polish side tried to force through the incorporation of Lithuania into Poland, while the Lithuanians sought a federation in which Lithuania would retain separate central authorities and a separate parliament. As no agreement was reached, the Lithuanian negotiators left Lublin, and the Polish side, taking advantage of their absence, announced the incorporation of Lithuania's Ruthenian territories (Podlasia, Volhynia, the Kiev region, and the eastern part of Podolia) into Poland. Under pressure from the Lithuanian nobility, the Lithuanian magnates returned to Lublin, and a compromise act of union was signed on 1 July 1569.

Lithuania retained her political identity within the Commonwealth. The king and the grand duke would always be jointly elected, and parliament was to be held jointly. Lithuanian dignitaries holding posts that entitled their Polish counterparts to sit in the Senate became senators for life. The Chamber of Deputies was to include Lithuanians elected at twenty-four district diets (*sejmiki*). The Grand Duchy retained its own armed forces, currency, treasury, and laws. The Union guaranteed freedom of settlement and land ownership throughout the Commonwealth. It created a federation of the two states, called the Commonwealth of Both Nations. A far-reaching cultural Polonization of the nobility of the Grand Duchy followed, but the Lithuanian noblemen preserved a consciousness of distinct political identity and retained their laws and traditions, as expressed in the Third Lithuanian Statute (1588; in force until 1840). A supplement to the Constitution of 3 May, adopted on 20 October 1791, stressed the federal character of the Commonwealth and the Grand Duchy's equal status with the Polish kingdom.

See also **Jadwiga (Poland)**; **Jagiellon Dynasty (Poland-Lithuania)**; **Lithuania, Grand Duchy of, to 1569**; **Poland to 1569**; **Poland-Lithuania, Commonwealth**



Union of Lublin. The signing of the treaty, 1569, engraving after the painting by Jan Matejko. ©BETTMANN/CORBIS

of, 1569–1795; Sigismund II Augustus (Poland, Lithuania); 3 May Constitution; Władysław II Jagiełło.

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MARCIN KAMLER

LULLY, JEAN-BAPTISTE (1632–1687), French composer and founder of the French operatic tradition. Lully was born Giovanni Battista Lulli in Florence, the son of a miller. Despite his humble origins, he was selected at the age of thirteen to teach Italian in Paris to Louis XIV's cousin Anne-Marie-Louise d'Orléans, known as the "Grande Mademoiselle," and he completed his education while serving in her household, mastering harpsichord, violin, and dancing. Lully became familiar with the ballet style of the royal court and by 1652 had so risen in musical status that he com-

posed some of the music for a ballet that was given in the Grande Mademoiselle's palace. She became a partisan of the Fronde (a rebellion against the authority of the monarchy) later in the same year and was banished from Paris, freeing Lully to accept a post in 1653 as composer of instrumental music at the court of Louis XIV, functioning at first as both dancer and composer. The king, six years younger than Lully, befriended the composer, and the stage was set for Lully's extraordinary rise to musical power in France. By 1656 he had his own royal orchestra (the "*petits violons*") and began to compose all of the music for ballets, rather than collaborating with other composers. In the early 1660s he was understood to be the principal composer of ballets at court.

At this time, opera was understood to be exclusively an Italian phenomenon, and the considerable Italian presence at the court of Louis XIV (his first minister, Cardinal Jules Mazarin, was Italian) resulted in the importation of much opera. In 1664, Lully began to move in the direction of dramatic music in French, first by collaborating with Molière (1622–1673) in *comédies-ballets* (plays with much dance music). Louis XIV was in the process of ex-

tending his power in all aspects of French life, and in 1669 he added an Académie Royale de Musique to the “academies” he had established to control the artistic and intellectual life of the country; the new academy’s stated purpose was to promote operas in French. Lully soon saw his opportunity and became its director in 1672, a position he held and aggrandized until his death, at the age of fifty-four. According to one contemporary source (Jean-Laurant Le Cerf de La Viéville), he died of gangrene after banging his foot while conducting with a cane.

Lully and librettist Philippe Quinault (1635–1688) created a noble new genre that signaled the beginning of a French style of opera. It was first termed simply *tragédie*, then *tragédie en musique*; later, the genre was labeled *tragédie lyrique*. Lully completed thirteen of these, approximately one a year, eleven to librettos by Quinault and two to librettos by Pierre Corneille (1606–1684): *Cadmus et Hermione* (1673), *Alceste* (1674), *Thésée* (1675), *Atys* (1676), *Isis* (1677), *Psyché* (1678, libretto by Corneille), *Bellérophon* (1679, Corneille), *Prosperpine* (1680), *Persée* (1682), *Phaëton* (1683), *Amadis* (1684), *Roland* (1685), and *Armide* (1686). Because Lully held royal privileges that gave him a complete monopoly on musical stage works, his operas dominated the musical life of the court and of Paris, and they held the stage well into the eighteenth century. Stylistically, they eschewed the rapid speechlike declamation typical of Italian recitatives. Rather, Lully created a fluid and expressive style of melodic line based on the declamation used in spoken French drama. Airs are usually dance-songs, and there are many dances interspersed with the vocal music, including full-fledged divertissements (entertainments that interrupt the plot). The five-act structure of the *tragédie en musique* was adopted from the spoken dramas of Corneille, and the prologue that either directly or allegorically praises Louis XIV came from the ballet tradition. Lully established a form for his overtures that was widely imitated elsewhere in Europe, and came to be known as the “French overture,” consisting of a stately chordal section characterized by dotted-note rhythms, followed by a lively contrapuntal section.

Lully also composed a small but influential body of church music, particularly *grands motets* and *petits motets*. While he did not compose much independent instrumental music, the large amount of



Jean-Baptiste Lully. GETTY IMAGES

dance music in his stage works circulated separately, was gathered into suites, and was transcribed for other instruments. There is, for example, more harpsichord music derived from Lully’s operatic dances than original music by any seventeenth-century French harpsichordist. Outside France, his influence was particularly strong in the Netherlands and Germany, and also in England. After the middle of the eighteenth century, his music was regarded for the most part as historical artifact until a revival of *Atys* in 1987 generated a new wave of appreciation for his operas.

See also **Corneille, Pierre; Dance; Louis XIV (France); Mazarin, Jules; Molière; Music; Opera.**

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BRUCE GUSTAFSON

LUTHER, MARTIN (1483–1546), German theologian and author. Martin Luther came to be easily the most well-known public figure—and the most published author—of his time. He was born on 10 November 1483 to Hans and Margarethe Luther in the town of Eisleben and went to school in Mansfeld and Magdeburg and then in Eisenach. His father was in the copper mining business, and wanted Martin to become a lawyer. He entered the University of Erfurt in 1501 and completed the studies necessary for a master's degree four years later. By that time, however, he was suffering from doubts about the meaning of his life and from fears of death, and in the summer of 1505, against his father's wishes, he became a friar of the Observant Augustinians at Erfurt; he took monastic vows in 1506 and was ordained a priest in 1507. On a trip to Rome for the order in 1510–1511, he was disturbed by the corruption he found there, typified by the sale of indulgences to raise money for the rebuilding of St. Peter's. He returned to Saxony, earned his doctorate in 1512, and became professor of biblical exegesis at the University of Wittenberg, a post he held until 1546; he was also the preacher at the church in Wittenberg.

In his lectures on the Psalms and on Paul's Epistles, Luther began to preach the doctrine of salvation by faith rather than by works. Meanwhile, the popular Dominican preacher and papal fundraiser Johann Tetzel appeared in the area to proclaim that the pope had authorized the sale of St. Peter's indulgences; Luther was infuriated to the point of composing a letter of protest to the archbishop of Mainz and posting his *Ninety-Five Theses on the Sale of Indulgences* on the church door at Wittenberg on 31 October 1517. By the end of the year, the theses had been printed and, a short while later, translated into German and spread throughout the Holy Roman Empire. The archbishop sent the theses to Pope Leo X, who summoned Luther to Rome to answer charges of heresy in 1518. Frederick III (Frederick the Wise; ruled 1486–1525) of

Saxony intervened and arranged for Luther to have a formal hearing at Augsburg before the papal legate Cajetan rather than being sent to Rome. Luther refused to retract the views expressed in his theses, maintaining that there was no biblical justification for indulgences, and appealed to a papal council. There followed in 1519 a widely publicized debate at Leipzig between Luther and Johann Eck, a professor from Ingolstadt, on the subject of church authority. Luther's publication of three treatises in 1520 that called for revolutionary changes in late medieval German political, social, and religious life led to a papal bull excommunicating him in 1521; Luther publicly burnt the bull along with a copy of canon law and was called to the Diet of Worms for the purpose of recanting his teachings. He refused and was placed under the ban of the empire, which designated him an "outlaw" whom anyone could kill without legally committing murder.

His protector Frederick III of Saxony sent his soldiers to take Luther to the castle at Wartburg, where he spent a year writing pamphlets, preparing sermons on the Epistles and the Gospels, and translating the New Testament from Greek into German. He returned to Wittenberg in 1522 and resumed teaching and preaching. He urged the establishment of schools for all children (including girls), opposed the German Peasants' War, began the organization of the Saxon church, wrote hymns, a Small Catechism, and a Large Catechism, as well as numerous commentaries and treatises.

In 1525 Luther married Katharina von Bora, a former Cistercian nun who had fled her convent two years earlier under the influence of the Reformation. The couple moved into the former Augustinian monastery where Luther had lived as a monk; they had six children, three boys and three girls, and they also took in the six children of Luther's sister after her death; visitors reported that their home was always filled with students, guests, and boarders. Luther died at Eisleben on 18 February 1546 and was buried in the castle church at Wittenberg. In his funeral oration to faculty and students at Wittenberg, his long-time colleague and friend Philipp Melancthon observed that in Luther "God gave this last age a sharp physician on account of its great sickness."



Martin Luther. Portrait by Lucas Cranach the Elder, 1533.
©BETTMANN/CORBIS

Luther was in his own time and remains now an object of passionate approval and disapproval, whom even supposedly scholarly accounts praised (and praise) for whatever their authors find praiseworthy in their own time while condemning him for all that they might judge as repugnant in their worlds. On the other hand, praising and condemning the reformer for all the “right” reasons and in just the “right” measures according to one’s own time and culture amounts to thin porridge. The truest story is far more profound: Luther was at the same time quintessentially medieval and the single person who did most to put in motion the events that moved the clock of Western civilization into early modern times.

The notion that Luther was “medieval” refers to his motivating concerns rather than to any religious views that are no longer fashionable in polite circles, such as taking the figure of Satan or the Antichrist literally. Instead, Luther’s life displays a consistent, driven search for assurance that he and

those he taught and to whom he preached should be assured of their salvation both in the here and now and in the world to come. His fundamental concern was for the “care of souls,” first his own and then the souls of those he served. In and of itself, this single-minded focus marks him as a pre-modern religious figure.

By the same token, the essential consequences of Luther’s life and career are that, willy-nilly, the content of his personal spiritual quest, and the one he taught his students, changed dramatically. This change was so fundamental that, in combination with the circumstances of the early sixteenth century, it affected both the internal and public lives of many others. They too, unintentionally and perhaps even unconsciously, found themselves leaving the Middle Ages and moving into the early modern period.

The special indulgence sale of 1517, to which Luther objected in the *Theses*, has generally made indulgences the best known of the religious practices of the time. In fact, for the average believer, the sacrament of confession and penance was a far more common encounter with the medieval confrontation of sin, death, guilt, and wounded consciences. Above all, ever since the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) the faithful were obligated to go to confession at least annually, and most commonly during Lent or in preparation for partaking of Holy Communion at Easter. By contrast, going on a pilgrimage, venerating relics, and the like were all further and optional ways of strengthening and demonstrating one’s faith.

For his part, Luther confessed his sins to another person and frequently on a more than daily basis. It remains impossible, of course, to learn exactly what happened within the confines of the confessional. The late medieval manuals suggest a certain rigor. Frequently enough, for example, someone would come and be unable to think of any particular sin that he or she had committed. At this point, the confessor had recourse to a printed list of questions that might be asked, such as, “Have you ever had sexual relations with your spouse for reasons other than procreation?” “Did you or your spouse enjoy the encounter?” Answering yes to either of both questions produced two sins for which penance must be done. Being first a novice and then

a friar of the Observant Augustinians in Erfurt, the questions that Luther was asked and was taught to ask himself naturally turned to the internal status of his soul and in particular to the strength and commitment of his personal faith. From the posting of the theses forward, he never ceased in fact to inveigh against this practice of “inquiring about secret sins.”

In the preface to the Latin works, which he completed in 1545, one year before his death, Luther eloquently and accurately described the changes that overcame his thinking, indeed his personal faith. There, he detailed rejecting the theology he had been taught, that the righteousness of God was a divine quality with which God judged humanity, and how he realized that it was rather the gift that God bestowed for Christ’s sake on unrighteous people, and to which they cleaved in this life by faith alone. The basics of his more developed position appeared publicly in the Theses for the Heidelberg Disputation (spring 1518), in his lecture hall at the University of Wittenberg (1515–1519), and definitively in *Von der Freiheit eines Christenmenschen* (1520; On the freedom of a Christian). They lay beneath his insistence at Leipzig (1519) that “a simple layman armed with the Scriptures is mightier than pope and councils without them.” Their consequences for Christianity and for Christendom became undeniable in *An den christlichen Adel deutscher Nation* (Address to the Christian nobility) and *De captivitate Babylonica ecclesiae praeludium* (On the Babylonian captivity of the church), both of 1520.

Each struck fundamental and telling blows against the medieval ideal of Latin Christendom. Each had politically, institutionally, and religiously revolutionary consequences. Many at the time regarded the *Address* as a call to arms against everything Roman, a call that—to the likes of Ulrich von Hutten, for example—included the political arrangements of the Holy Roman Empire. Luther cast his treatise as an appeal to the “*Christian nobility*” (or “ruling class” as some prefer to translate), the *Christlichen Adel*, to proceed with the reforms that the papacy refused to consider. The problem he faced was that common opinion held overwhelmingly that actually reforming the church was far beyond the competence of secular rulers, no matter how very Christian and upstanding they might be.

Only those who had been ordained as priests, at a minimum, had the right to intervene in the affairs of the church in favor of or against any of its practices. There were many places in which local practice decreed that, if there were a property dispute between a clerical and a civil foundation, the case would be heard in an ecclesiastical court, and its outcome would be in little doubt.

This public and sanctioned conviction Luther called “the first wall” behind which papal prerogative protected itself. It was also the first one that he attacked. He did it with his famous teaching on the “priesthood of all believers,” which grew directly from the proclamation that all Christians lived by the same grace through faith in the same Christ without distinctions between them. The only differences turned on the principal office or calling that a particular person had, regardless of whether he or she served in the temporal or spiritual spheres. Any baptized Christian was eligible to be called by the believers to preach, to baptize, and to administer the sacrament of the Lord’s Supper on either a short- or long-term basis. With one stroke, Luther at least theoretically destroyed the very social class that helped constitute the social and political—as well as religious—reality of late medieval Christendom.

Luther’s treatise *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church* performed much the same function with respect to specifically religious activities. Erasmus thought this the most radical of his treatises, for in a few pages, published initially in Latin, Luther attacked the medieval sacramental system at its core, reducing the number of sacraments from seven to first three and then (on the final pages) two. Two consequences followed. In the first place, if one accepted Luther’s argument, then the Church of Rome no longer had anything to offer the laity that was essential to salvation. As then constituted, its *raison d’être* had ceased to exist. From pope to priest, they were all useless.

But there was an even more important aspect to what Luther had wrought. As he was working his way through one sacrament after another, he developed a consistent standard for what constituted a sacrament. It required biblical evidence that Christ had founded the practice and that it consisted of a promise added to a physical object.

Thus, the central sacrament—confession and penance—disappeared and with it went any semblance of religious authority that the clergy might hold over the laity as a matter of principle.

Yet, Luther should not be called a “reformer” without qualification. He made no effort to replace what he tore down with a “better” edifice. Instead, he and his colleagues proceeded to construct a new institution chiefly through ad hoc measures such as visitations that had the sole objective of securing the preaching of the Word of forgiveness through Christ and in the sacraments of baptism and the Lord’s Supper. All else they relegated to the world in which Christians carried out their vocations. Thus, to understand Luther requires grasping the contradictory theses with which he began *On the Freedom of a Christian*, published in 1520: “A Christian is a perfectly free lord of all, subject to none. A Christian is a perfectly dutiful servant of all, subject to all.” As time passed and the cause fell to less perceptive figures, this distinction metamorphosed into what became the dichotomy between church and state. In this regard and with these changes, the transition from the medieval world of Latin Christendom into early modern Europe was complete, whereas by contrast the old tensions, polarities, and rivalries persisted in France, Italy, Spain, and Catholic portions of the Holy Roman Empire until the French Revolution.

See also Bible: Translations and Editions; German Literature and Language; Lutheranism; Melancthon, Philipp; Peasants’ War, German; Reformation, Protestant; Saxony.

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LUTHERANISM. Among all the major individual varieties of Latin Christianity to emerge from the Reformation, Lutheranism stands alone for two reasons. In the first place, it bears the name of an individual. Secondly, its hallmark, more vital even than the reference to Martin Luther (1483–1546), consists of its formal, agreed-upon confessions of faith, in particular the Unaltered Augsburg Confession (1530), but also (save in Scandinavia) the Formula of Concord (1577) and the other documents contained in the Book of Concord (1580), which claim faithfulness to both the Scriptures and Luther’s teachings. To answer the question, “What is Lutheranism?” therefore requires, at least in principle, no more than a careful reading of these theological sources with the understanding that conduct flowed from conviction. It can be no surprise, then, that Lutherans have traditionally relegated all other religious matters—liturgy, polity, hymnody, spirituality, and the like—to the realm of *adiaphora* or “things indifferent.” The teachings were at the time of the Reformation, and remain now, the heartbeat of Lutheranism.

By contrast, even the finest of Lutheran scholarship has little to say about its distinctive characteristics, if any, with respect to its political, social, intellectual, artistic, and cultural preferences over time. Thus, even its hymnody and its vibrant traditions in choral music were put in service to its teachings. For the unengaged student, Lutheranism presents the unavoidable impression that all matters which make

it a distinct variety of Christianity have rightly had a theological, as well as musical, standard applied to them. To the uninitiated and the veteran alike, it may well appear that once one has gotten the teachings of the Lutherans correct and arranged them in their proper relationships to one another, one has grasped all that is essential when it comes to understanding Lutheranism in almost any place and time. One is reminded of nothing so much as the words on the back of a coin struck in Württemberg on the fiftieth anniversary of the posting of the Ninety-Five Theses: “God’s Word and Luther’s Teachings are Never to be Forgotten!”

Luther had been in his grave for more than twenty years when this medal was struck. The Formula of Concord, to say nothing of the period of Lutheran Orthodoxy, did not yet exist. But the conviction that true doctrine was the equivalent of true religion did. Indeed, this very characteristic is not a caricature and, no matter how obvious it is, it must be underlined whenever one seeks to penetrate to the core of Lutheranism. Luther himself reportedly declared, “Others before me have contested practice, but to contest doctrine, that is to grab the goose by the neck!”

Even when one rightly approaches the core of Lutheranism by way of its teachings, there remain more and less enlightening ways to do so. One can, as noted above, and rather in the manner of Lutheran Orthodoxy in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, turn the exercise into an utterly misleading game of theological pick-up sticks. If, however, the objective is to render an image of Lutheranism that encompasses its whole as well as its many parts, one further and rather subtler characteristic must be given its due. Luther was indeed a theologian, and Lutheranism does indeed remain a highly theological version of even Latin Christianity. But, both Luther and the movement that sprang from him had almost no inclinations to systematic theology in a manner that might be recognized by, for example, Thomas Aquinas.

Neither Luther nor Lutherans in general have sought to create a *Summa Theologica* in which everything from the creation *ex nihilo* to human procreation has its own perfectly consistent theological understanding. This is not to say that Lutheran religious thought consisted merely of random in-

sights on one unrelated topic after another in the manner of some types of mysticism. Instead, the consistency or univocality of Lutheran theology derived from its genesis over time from a single, unitary point of departure. Thus it began, by Luther’s own testimony, with his personal search for a gracious God. He had been taught that the righteousness of God was a quality of God against which this divine judge measured all humans and found them wanting. On the bases of his lectures and writings from late 1518 through mid-1519, it is now a matter of nearly absolute certainty that he consciously rejected what he had been taught and then gradually came to understand God’s righteousness as a gift that God bestowed on humanity and by which he reconciled mankind to himself. Thus, the famous passage, “The righteous (*iustus*, ‘made righteous’) shall live by faith” applied directly not only to the theology he taught as a professor at Wittenberg but also to his personal religious life. “Faith” itself was no longer an attribute that played a role in moving the sinner toward salvation but the central, unwilling response to having been made righteous by the benefits of Christ. By comparison with *sola gratia*, Luther did not even use the terms *sola fide* and *sola scriptura* with much frequency. They did not do more than indicate the principal source for and the manner by which the Christian received and held grace.

The theology that marked Lutheranism was therefore intensely practical and rarely, before Kant, speculative or philosophical in the least. Two examples will illustrate the point. The first concerns the subject of predestination, which came under dispute during the 1560s in a few places that were, for the most part, south of the Main River and along the Rhine—most notably in Strasbourg. Those who introduced the issue were commonly Italian converts to Calvinism such as Girolamo Zanchi (1516–1590) and Peter Martyr Vermigli (1500–1562). The issue, certainly related theologically to Luther’s position in *De servo arbitrio* (1525; On the bondage of the will), nonetheless never caught fire among the German Lutherans. In its eleventh article, the Formula of Concord observed that the subject had not been an issue “among the theologians of the Augsburg Confession” and then addressed it anyway. Taking the approach and even borrowing some of the language that was used at Strasbourg in

1561–1563, the formulators declared that there were good biblical grounds in support of both the doctrine of election and the assertion that Christ came for all. But, because God’s predestining belonged to his hidden will and Christ’s coming for all to his revealed will, Lutherans would henceforth ignore predestination and preach only what God had revealed to all. For the most part, Lutherans to this day have carefully observed this self-denying ordinance. They were single-minded about the original insight regarding justification and remained tenaciously within it.

A second illustration from Luther himself may also be revealing. It concerns the subject of “hiddenness” and a similar, related principle of self-denial in general. Luther observed, for example, that everyone of sound mind could know that God existed, that he created all things, that he was omnipotent, and so forth. What humans could not know were God’s intentions toward them because God had hidden and continued to hide this knowledge in the folly of Christ. Moreover, this keen awareness of what God has revealed and what he has hidden guided even Luther’s exegetical practices. Consequently, his biblical lectures often contained the declaration regarding a particular passage, “It is too dark there. I cannot go there because all is hidden.” Indeed, his first reaction to Johann Agricola of Eisleben’s (c. 1494–1566) insistence that the Law should not be preached to the saved (the fundamental issue at stake in Lutheranism’s first Antinomian Controversy, which involved the notion that a saved Christian was free from the dictates of the Law) was not to press on to the truth of the matter but—in part because he was one of Luther’s favorite students—that Agricola should stop talking about the matter.

Nonetheless, little more than a generation had passed before Luther’s followers had fallen into so many internecine theological quarrels that Jakob Andreae of Württemberg (1528–1590) and others took up the work that led to the Formula of Concord. In addition to predestination, Andreae and his colleagues addressed ten such controversies that threatened to undo the unity implied in the name “theologians of the Augsburg Confession.” To modern ears, some of these issues were truly frivolous and may have derived more from some individuals’ vanity than serious theological considerations.

Georg Major’s (1469–1550) tactic of expressing Luther’s views of the place of works in the economy of salvation may be a case in point. Somehow, his declaration that “Good works are dangerous to salvation” seems intended more to enrage than to enlighten. It is easy to understand Philipp Melancthon’s (1497–1560) giving thanks at the point of death for at last being released from the *rabies theologorum* (“the madness of the theologians”).

With this much granted to the merely human, the emphasis should fall here on two related practical, political realities that forced theological reflection. The first was Emperor Charles V’s (ruled 1519–1556) victory over the Schmalkaldic League in 1547–1548 and his determination to establish religious peace within the empire by force if necessary. Thus, the Augsburg Interim required of the Lutheran rulers that they reinstitute the Mass in their territories, provide for an unmarried clergy, and cease secularizing religious foundations, among other, more local, arrangements. In addition, by putting the free imperial city of Constance under siege, the emperor demonstrated that he was more than willing to employ force during this interim before the calling of a general council. Consequently, in order to meet these terms, Strasbourg found itself compelled to negotiate a treaty with its long-time non-resident bishop, while Magdeburg to the northeast resisted imperial pressure successfully by holding firm behind its outlying marshes to defend its choice of resistance. At the same time, Maurice, called on account of his political behavior the “Judas of Meissen,” now enjoying the title elector of Saxony (1547–1553), found so much resistance to the new order in his territories that he felt compelled to negotiate a somewhat milder version, called the Leipzig Interim, whose intent was to defend Lutheran doctrine, albeit without much regard for contrary practices, in the face of these temporary practical concessions.

A genuine theological problem lay at what became an internecine pamphlet war among the theologians of the Augsburg Confession. Mathias Flaccius Illyricus (1520–1575) led the defenders of Magdeburg’s policy on the grounds that the Leipzig Interim violated the spirit, if not the letter, of true Lutheranism. In this instance, there was no authoritative text to which the parties could turn, if only because the Augsburg Confession’s seventh

article was silent with respect to any of the specifics regarding what actions (or lack thereof) fell under the umbrella of “things indifferent.” According to the Magdeburgers with Matthias Flaccius Illyricus, the “Genesio” or Original Lutherans (as they were now called) insisted that while some practices, such as the celebration of the Mass, might be indifferent in themselves, they were intolerable in a Lutheran territory, because they in fact promoted a false gospel. The outrage was so great that there are present-day Lutherans who still call themselves Genesios. During the late 1570s, its simple existence forced the inclusion of Section X in the Formula of Concord, which basically endorsed the Genesios’ position.

The decade from the mid-1540s to the mid-1550s also called for greater theological precision in imperial politics. The Religious Peace of Augsburg (1555) inserted the Augsburg Confession (1530) into the imperial constitution by declaring that adherents to it would be guaranteed a modicum of religious freedom, depending on the confession of the town or principality that was their home. This is the famous provision that is summarized with the anachronistic term *cuius regio eius religio*, according to which the ruler’s confession determined the religion of the town or principality. Some try incorrectly to draw from this provision the beginnings of state-dominated religion. Instead, this provision merely stated that the prevailing religion in any territory or city was to be the one that existed there before the Schmalkaldic War.

There was a problem, however, lurking beneath the easy reference to the Augsburg Confession as the imperial confessional standard. Which Augsburg Confession? In 1540 Melanchthon had been given the task of revising the version that was submitted at Augsburg in 1530 in light of the Wittenberg Concord of 1536. Specifically, he had used the language, approved expressly by Luther, *cum pane et vino* (“with bread and wine”) rather than *in pane et vino* (“in bread and wine”) as a way to describe just how the consecrated elements in the Lord’s Supper were presented as the body and blood of Christ. One change of preposition provided certain Reformed theologians, notably those active at the court of the elector palatine, just enough room to assert that their understanding of the spiritual presence of the body and the blood came under the

umbrella of “the Augsburg Confession” and therefore of the Peace of Augsburg.

At last an assembly of evangelical princes, meeting at the request of the elector palatine at Naumburg in January 1561, declared that the standard was the *invariata* (the version of 1530), but that the *variata* (Melanchthon’s version of 1540) might be used to explain its teaching on contentious issues. No sooner had they returned home than they were confronted with a round-robin inquiry from Emperor Ferdinand I (ruled 1558–1564), in which he asked whether the elector palatine was or was not in harmony with the Unaltered Augsburg Confession of 1530. They replied that, while perhaps technically he was not, the emperor should not presume to take any actions against him.

These festering disagreements and Reformed aggressiveness in northern Germany go much of the way to explaining why, about seventy-five years later, in the aftermath of the Battle of White Mountain, the Lutheran princes decided to sit on their hands when General Albrecht Wenzel Eusebius von Wallenstein attacked the Electoral Palatinate, deposed the elector, reduced parts of Heidelberg to ashes, shipped the contents of the university library, the Palatinum, off to the pope as a gift, and inaugurated the Thirty Years’ War (1618–1648). Certain developments within Lutheranism contributed to this decision not to intervene in defense of a generous interpretation of the Peace of Augsburg. Perhaps it was the price the Reformed were called upon to pay for their aggressive attempts over the past seventy years to convert Lutheran princes. In the event, it was Germany, and in particular northern, Lutheran Germany that paid the price by becoming the playground for armies from all over Europe, while the south had the burden of paying for it all.

The reference above to “certain developments within Lutheranism” points to the two paths between which Lutherans chose beginning in the early seventeenth century and continuing on through the mid-eighteenth century. They persist to this day under the terms “Pietism” and “Lutheran Orthodoxy.” Both had deep roots. As should be evident, Orthodoxy can claim parentage in the heavily doctrinal character of Lutheranism from the outset, through the Genesio Lutherans, the Formula of Concord, Martin Chemnitz with his monumental

Examination of the Council of Trent (1565–1573), and into the professorial life of seventeenth-century Lutheran theological faculties. Pietism, on the other hand, can claim its origins with Martin Bucer (1491–1551) of Strasbourg and a tradition that produced such luminaries in the movement toward a more “heartfelt” religion, as evident in two later products of Strasbourg, Johannes Arndt (1555–1621) and his *Vier Bücher vom wahren Christentum* (1606; Four books on true Christianity), and Philipp Jakob Spener (1635–1705), the *collegia pietatis*, and his *Pia Desideria* (1675), which is still read and cherished by many. That the two parties did not think well of one another is evident from the story about Johann Sebastian Bach (1685–1750), who was frustrated by a powerful Pietist preacher at the Church of St. Thomas in Leipzig. It was said that whenever he encountered the preacher on the street, Bach would “compose and throw another fugue” at him.

One may legitimately wonder whether Voltaire’s Dr. Pangloss, despite the evident reference to followers of Gottfried Wilhelm von Leibniz, was a parody of Lutheran theologians he had met. Research has only begun on these theologians, but two matters are presently apparent. In the first place, they were indeed extremely learned men who brought to their tasks Aristotle, both of the *Metaphysics* and the *Posterior Analytics*, the ancient authority whose very dominance of Wittenberg’s theological faculty Luther once celebrated. Secondly, it was the Orthodox who turned the substance of Lutheranism into a laundry list of virtually self-standing doctrines that the theologian needed only to memorize. While so doing, they no longer studied Luther himself nor did they cite him in their general histories of doctrine or their works on specific theological topics. Finally, their influence lasted long past the eighteenth century and can be said to have peaked in the nineteenth century. This is not to say that no one read Luther any longer. The Finnish “Luther Readers” both in Finland and in the Upper Peninsula of Michigan read him regularly, but more for the sake of spiritual enrichment than of theological learning. It was left to the Swedish Luther Renaissance of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries to return to a genuinely theological-critical study of Luther himself.

Save in a few synodical groupings and a handful of individuals, notably in North America, Lutheran Orthodoxy is no longer particularly influential. Pietism in both vibrant and decadent forms is a different matter. Beginning with Bucer, who was truthfully more a religious thinker and churchman than a theologian, those with Pietist proclivities have downplayed the theological character of Lutheranism as a distortion that drew the believer’s attention away from the inclination of the heart, moral behavior, and the amendment of life that must follow the hearing of the Gospel.

To take but two examples, one at the beginning and the other near the end of the story, in the mid-1530s Bucer wrote a book called *The True Care of Souls*. In it (among other concerns) he listed Christians by type according to the extent to which they approximated the ideal and then prescribed different forms of pastoral care that would help them advance on the classification table. He did bow toward the central teaching from Luther that a Christian remained *simul iustus et peccator* (‘at the same time righteous and a sinner’). But this was for him merely a background principle to the main task of creating more genuine believers and moral members of the church on earth. Still, Bucer’s list of exercises remained some distance from Luther’s insistence that true pastoral care occurred in the preaching of God’s Word, which did all that could be done to create true people of God.

Spener differed from Bucer first in that he openly criticized the theologians and churchmen of his day for their self-serving lack of attention to improving the tenor of Christian life. Secondly, he favored the establishment where possible of *collegia pietatis* (‘colleges of piety’) in which the truly repentant and committed would withdraw to increase their search for true piety and their willingness to perform good works. Bucer, too, had engaged himself in similar work, known as the *Christliche Gemeinschaften* or *ecclesiolae in ecclesia* (‘little churches within the church’), shortly before being forced as a condition of the Interim to leave Strasbourg for England while under a storm of criticism from both the government and many of his fellow pastors for the tendencies of these small fellowships to split the existing parishes and churches. It should be noted that these efforts were not strictly anti-dogmatic but simply did not evidence much interest

in public teachings. The Pietist movement reached its apogee in August Hermann Francke (1663–1727) with his school and later university at Halle, institutions that came to specialize in the training of servants for the Prussian bureaucracy.

Lutheranism in the main experienced the same fate as most other branches of Christianity during the early modern period. By the end of the eighteenth century, true religion had retreated from the public sphere into the private. Whereas the “two kingdoms” through which God ruled his creation—the world of daily affairs in politics, society, and business, and the world of faith—had once served one another, by the end of early modern times, the kingdom of the world had come to dominate. Lutheranism in both its Orthodox and Pietist forms thus abandoned the public sphere to a heretofore-unknown realm of religious indeterminacy, and it did so well before the First Amendment to the United States Constitution. By their own doing, Lutherans turned true religion into a private matter that was by and large excluded from the “real world” of politics, business, and society. Christendom had died. Europe was born.

See also **Luther, Martin; Melancthon, Philipp; Pietism; Reformation, Protestant; Schmalkaldic War.**

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LVIV (Polish, Lwów; German, Lemberg; Russian, Lvov; Latin, Leopoldis). First mentioned in 1256, Lviv arose at the intersection of important trade routes linking the Baltic with the Black Sea and Cracow with Kiev. It was named for Leo, son of Daniel, prince of Galician-Volhynian Rus’, who founded the city in the mid-thirteenth century. In 1349 the principality was incorporated into the Polish crown under Casimir III the Great. Lviv became the capital of the Ruthenian palatinate in 1434.

Casimir granted the city the Magdeburg law for municipal self-government in 1356, opening the door to considerable immigration, especially from German-speaking lands. Lviv was thus highly mixed from the beginnings of the Polish period. In addition to the autochthonous Ruthenians (ancestors of Ukrainians) there were numbers of Polish, German, Armenian, and Jewish immigrants. A Roman Catholic archbishopric was established in 1412, an Orthodox bishopric in 1539 (it received the Union of Brest with Rome in 1700), and an Armenian bishopric from 1626. The burghers were largely German until the beginning of the sixteenth century, from which point they and the Armenians underwent Polonization. Rights of citizenship in Lviv under the Magdeburg law applied only to Catholics. The Orthodox Ruthenian commonality found itself in social and confessional conflicts with the Polish or Polonized nobility, patriciate, and burghers.

Lviv was a cultural center. It was home to Catholic poets working in neo-Latin and Polish—Szymon Szymonowic (Simon Simonides, 1558–1629, son of the city councillor Szymon of

Brzeziny) and the brothers Zimorowic, Szymon (c. 1609–1629) and Józef Bartłomiej (1597–1677), who served several times as Lviv’s burgo-master—all of whom reflected local Ruthenian realia in their works. The Lviv Orthodox Dormition Brotherhood was an important Orthodox cultural center (its right of stauropegion, whereby it was placed directly under the patriarch’s control and made independent of the local bishop, was granted by the patriarch of Antioch, Joachim V, in 1586). It established a school (1585) and printing house (first printing 1591), and it played an important role in the lives of local Ruthenians, serving also, with Vilnius, as an early center for a broader Orthodox revival in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries before yielding that role to Kiev in the 1630s. The city’s first printing house was that of the Belarusian printer Ivan Fedorov, recently expelled from Moscow, who issued Lviv’s first Church Slavonic book in 1574. Latin and Polish printings began to appear in 1581.

By the early seventeenth century, over five hundred craftsmen worked in some thirty guilds, among which producers of metalware, jewelry, and weapons enjoyed respect abroad. Lviv’s artisans and architects joined western and eastern styles. Armenian artisans produced belts, caparisons, weapons, jewelry, and embroidery. Lviv’s Jews and Armenians played important roles in trade between western Europe and the Orient and offered competition to the rest of Lviv’s merchants and artisans.

The first Jews may have arrived from Byzantium, but the greatest immigration came after 1349 from Germany and Bohemia. The newcomers established two Ashkenazic settlements, an older, extramural congregation (in 1550, 559 Jews lived in 52 houses) and a newer, intramural congregation (352 Jews in 29 houses), with separate synagogues, *mikva’ot*, and charitable institutions, but one common cemetery.

Lviv declined together with the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, beginning in the middle of the seventeenth century. It was under frequent attack: by Bohdan Khmelnytsky’s Cossack armies in 1648 and 1655 and by Turkish and Tatar forces in 1672, 1675, 1691, and 1695. The greatest depredations came at the hands of the Swedes in 1704 during the Great Northern War. Incorporated by

the Habsburgs after the first partition of Poland in 1772, Lviv became the administrative capital of the Austrian Kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria.

See also **Orthodoxy, Russian; Poland-Lithuania, Commonwealth of, 1569–1795; Poland to 1569; Polish Literature and Language; Ukraine.**

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DAVID FRICK

LYON. Founded by the Romans as a provincial capital, Lyon maintained its prominence during the medieval period as the seat of a bishopric and an important law court (the *Sénéchaussée*). Its location at the confluence of two important rivers (the Rhône and the Saône) made it a commercial center as well, allowing it to act as a transportation and financial hub between the Renaissance Italian cities to the south and the French and Flemish cities to the north. From the sixteenth century, silk and other textile production combined with banking to propel the city’s economy, and its four annual trade fairs emerged as among the most important in Europe. Merchant dynasties (both French and Italian) came to dominate the city’s governing council, or consulate, and continued to rule the city up to the Revolution.

The Reformation came to Lyon from nearby Geneva in the sixteenth century, and religious conflict temporarily damaged the city’s economic dominance. Largely an elite phenomenon, Protestantism faded during the seventeenth century although economic and family contacts with Geneva continued. Prompted in part by Genevan and Italian models, Lyonnais merchants developed several new forms of poor relief during this period, including a publicly owned general hospital that took in foundlings and orphans, training them for work in the textile trades and supplying dowries to young women. The city’s governing elite also created pub-

lic institutions to supply food during grain shortages, including an urban administration to purchase grain at city expense, public ovens to bake bread, and an organized rationing system. Lyon thus served as a model in France for poor relief and administrative innovation in times of famine.

While textile production (especially silks) continued to expand through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the four fairs became principally important as financial markets. Their regularity, and the supervision over them by a powerful judicial court (the *Conservation des foires*) made them attractive to merchants from Italy, Switzerland, and France who wished to make, pay, and exchange loans while minimizing the dangerous transfer of coin. During the latter years of the reign of Louis XIV, royal bankers such as Samuel Bernard manipulated these markets, burdening them with the royal debt and nearly bankrupting them. Though the fairs contracted and became less internationally important as a result, they survived and continued to

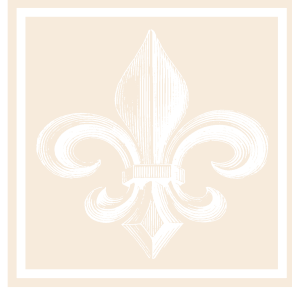
function on a smaller scale for the remainder of the eighteenth century. Unlike other cities, Lyon maintained a remarkable degree of independence from other royal exactions because the merchants of Lyon successfully manipulated royal patronage and the system of venal offices to preserve a degree of autonomy. As France's "second" city, Lyon enjoyed a tradition of independence and resistance to central authority that continued through the Revolution and into the modern era.

See also **France**.

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W. GREGORY MONAHAN



Thomas Gainsborough. *Cornard Wood*, c. 1746–1747. Although he made his living as a portrait painter, Gainsborough was devoted to the landscape genre. Of this early masterpiece, he wrote: “It is in some respects a little in the schoolboy stile — but I do not reflect on this without a secret gratification; for as an early instance how strong my inclination stood for Landskip.”
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RIGHT: Artemisia Gentileschi. *Saint Catherine.* Taught by her father, Orazio, Gentileschi absorbed the naturalistic tenets of Caravaggism and became renowned for her large-scale paintings on biblical themes. She is widely praised for her sensitive presentation of female protagonists, both in the dramatic biblical paintings and in later, more personal scenes. ©SCALA/ART RESOURCE, N.Y.



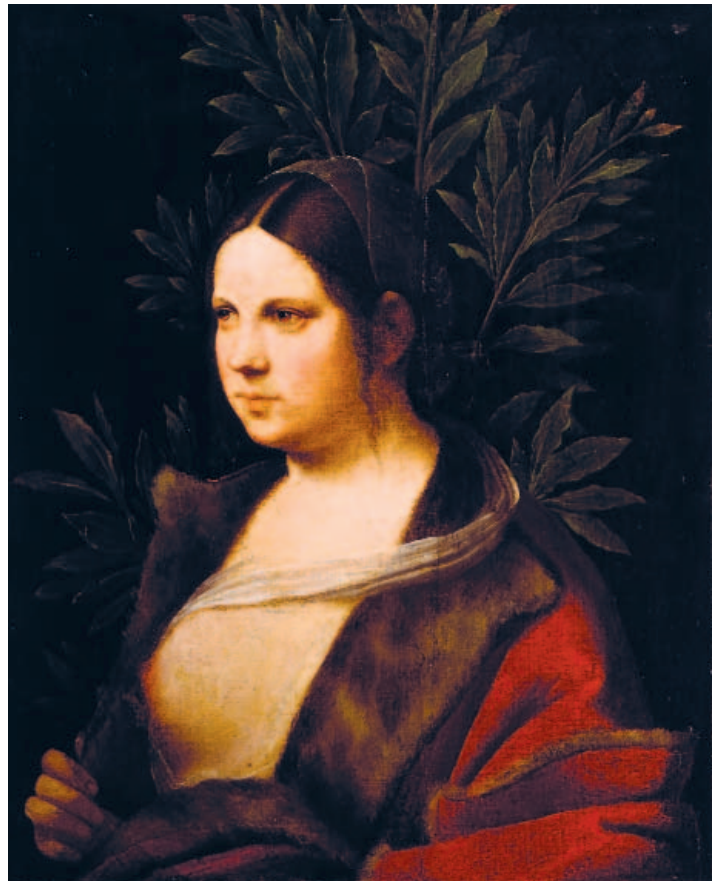
BELOW: Gambling. *The Cheat with the Ace of Clubs* by Georges de la Tour, late 1620s. This painting presents a moral lesson on the perils of gambling: the well-dressed young man on the right is being cheated by a trio of cardsharps. THE ART ARCHIVE/MUSÉE DU LOUVRE PARIS/DAGLI ORTI





LEFT: **Francisco de Goya y Lucientes.** *The Straw Mannikin*, tapestry cartoon, 1792. In this cartoon, one of a series Goya created for the Spanish royal tapestry factory, the artist presents a comment on the power of women in his society. THE ART ARCHIVE/MUSEO DEL PRADO MADRID

BELOW: **Giorgione.** *Portrait of a Young Woman (Laura)*, 1506. The subtle eroticism of this work was unprecedented in Renaissance art and is just one of the many innovations that distinguished the career of the renowned Giorgione. ©ERICH LESSING/ART RESOURCE, N.Y.







OPPOSITE PAGE: Frans Hals. *Portrait of a Woman*, c. 1640. Of Hals, the historian Theodorus Schrevelius wrote in 1648, "His paintings are imbued with such force and vitality that he seems to surpass nature herself with his brush. This is seen in all his portraits...which are colored in such a way that they seem to live and breathe." ©NATIONAL GALLERY COLLECTION; BY KIND PERMISSION OF THE TRUSTEES OF THE NATIONAL GALLERY, LONDON /CORBIS



TOP: Jean-Baptiste Greuze. *Broken Eggs*, 1757. In his many skillful genre paintings, Greuze helped popularize the use of that medium as a source of moral instruction. Here, the broken eggs clearly symbolize the loss of purity of the young woman. ©FRANCIS G. MAYER/CORBIS

CENTER: Harem. The harem sitting room in Topkapi Palace. ©CRAIG LOVELL/CORBIS

BOTTOM: William Hogarth. *The Countess's Morning Levee*, scene 4 from *Marriage à la mode*, 1745. Hogarth's satirical commentaries on urban life exerted great influence in the development of print culture in the eighteenth century. Here, the newlywed countess entertains a group of fawning hangers-on. ©NATIONAL GALLERY COLLECTION; BY KIND PERMISSION OF THE TRUSTEES OF THE NATIONAL GALLERY, LONDON/CORBIS





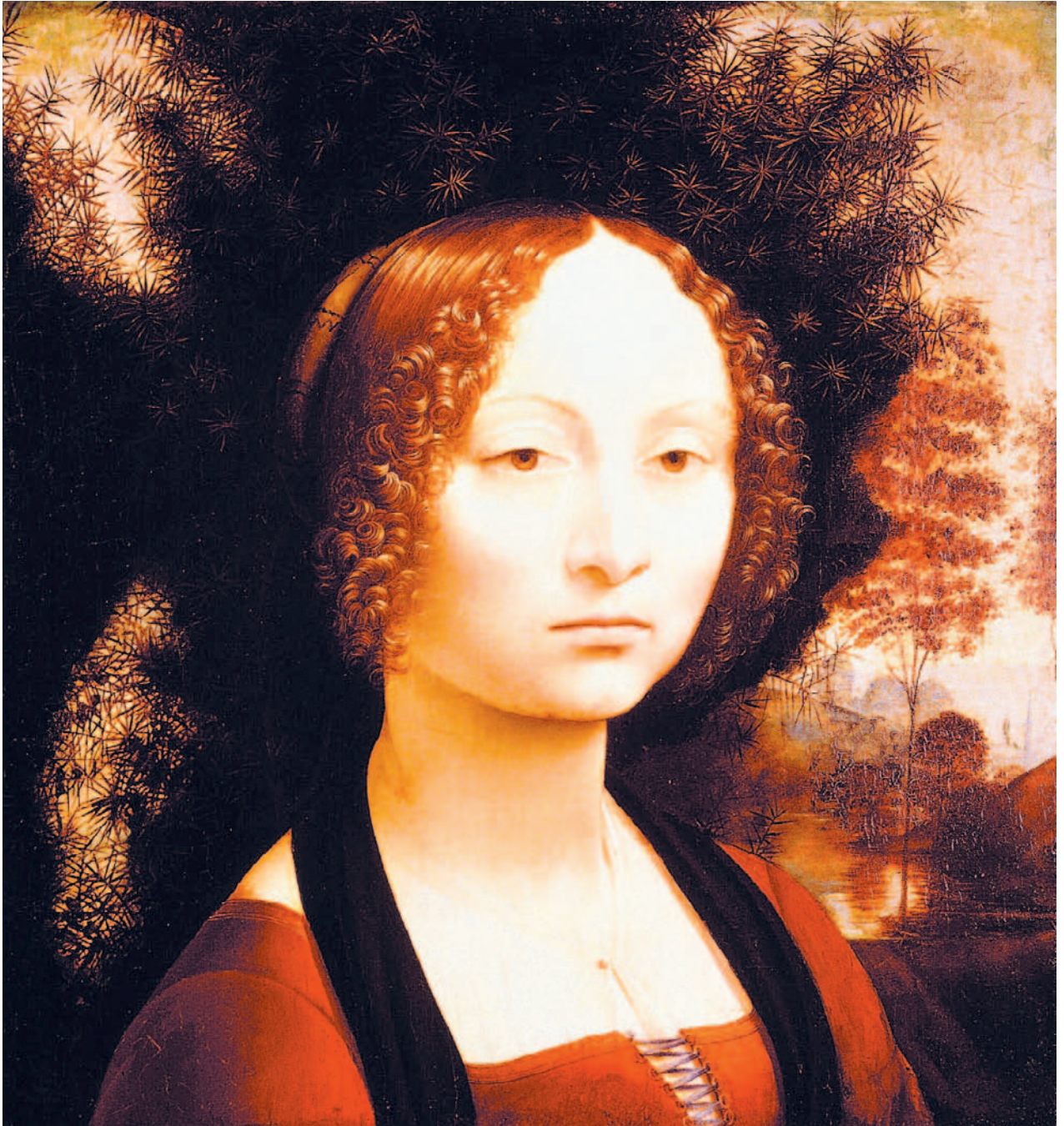
TOP: Inigo Jones. A 1760 view of Covent Garden Market painted by an unknown artist shows Jones's St. Paul's Church, center, before the 1795 fire and restoration. THE ART ARCHIVE/LONDON MUSEUM/SALLY CHAPPEL

CENTER: Angelica Kauffmann. *The Sellers of Love (Cupids).* Kauffmann was one of the first artists to paint in a neoclassical style and one of few women to gain fame from historical paintings. ©GIRAUDON/ART RESOURCE, N.Y.

BOTTOM: Charles Le Brun. *Louis XIV, 1638–1715, King of France, Armed on Land and Sea, 1671,* sketch for the ceiling of the Hall of Mirrors at the Château of Versailles. THE ART ARCHIVE/MUSÉE D'ART ET D'HISTOIRE AUXERRE/DAGLI ORTI

OPPOSITE PAGE: Leonardo da Vinci. *Ginevra de Benci,* c. 1474. In this relatively early portrait, the artist's skill is most evident in the detail of the curls that surround the subject's face. THE ART ARCHIVE/NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART WASHINGTON/ALBUM/JOSEPH MARTIN







Louis XIV. *Louis XIV, King of France, with His Family in Olympia*, by Jean Nocret. Louis's reign represented the zenith of French monarchical power; in this painting by one of his official court painters, he and his extended family are depicted as classical deities. THE ART ARCHIVE/MUSÉE DU CHÂTEAU DE VERSAILLES/DAGLI ORTI



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Volume 4
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Encyclopedia of the Early Modern World**

Jonathan Dewald, Editor in Chief

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USING THE ENCYCLOPEDIA

Tables of contents. Each volume contains a table of contents for the entire *Encyclopedia*. Volume 1 has a single listing of all volumes' contents. Volumes 2 through 6 contain "Contents of This Volume" followed by "Contents of Other Volumes."

Maps of Europe. The front of each volume contains a set of maps showing Europe's political divisions at six important stages from 1453 to 1795.

Alphabetical arrangement. Entries are arranged in alphabetical order. Biographical articles are generally listed by the subject's last name (with some exceptions, e.g., Leonardo da Vinci).

Royalty and foreign names. In most cases, the names of rulers of French, German, and Spanish rulers have been anglicized. Thus, Francis, not François; Charles, not Carlos. Monarchs of the same name are listed first by their country, and then numerically. Thus, Henry VII and Henry VIII of England precede Henry II of France.

Measurements appear in the English system according to United States usage, though they are often followed by metric equivalents in parentheses. Following are approximate metric equivalents for the most common units:

| | |
|-----------------|-----------------------|
| 1 foot = | 30 centimeters |
| 1 mile = | 1.6 kilometers |
| 1 acre = | 0.4 hectares |
| 1 square mile = | 2.6 square kilometers |
| 1 pound = | 0.45 kilograms |
| 1 gallon = | 3.8 liters |

Cross-references. At the end of each article is a list of related articles for further study. Readers may also consult the table of contents and the index for titles and keywords of interest.

Bibliography. Each article contains a list of sources for further reading, usually divided into Primary Sources and Secondary Sources.

Systematic outline of contents. After the last article in volume 6 is an outline that provides a general overview of the conceptual scheme of the *Encyclopedia*, listing the title of each entry.

Directory of contributors. Following the systematic outline of contents is a listing, in alphabetical order, of all contributors to the *Encyclopedia*, with affiliation and the titles of his or her article(s).

Index. Volume 6 concludes with a comprehensive, alphabetically arranged index covering all articles, as well as prominent figures, geographical names, events, institutions, publications, works of art, and all major concepts that are discussed in volumes 1 through 6.



MAPS OF EUROPE, 1453 TO 1795

The maps on the pages that follow show political boundaries within Europe at six important stages in the roughly three hundred and fifty years covered by this *Encyclopedia*: 1453, 1520, 1648, 1715, 1763, and 1795.



1453. In the years around 1450, Europe settled into relative political stability, following the crises of the late Middle Ages. France and England concluded the Hundred Years' War in 1453; the Ottoman Turks conquered Constantinople in the same year and established it as the capital of their empire; and in 1454 the Treaty of Lodi normalized relations among the principal Italian states, establishing a peaceful balance of power among Venice, Florence, the duchy of Milan, the Papal States, and the Kingdom of Naples.



1520. In 1520, the Habsburg prince Charles V was elected Holy Roman emperor, uniting in his person lordship over central Europe, Spain, the Low Countries, parts of Italy, and the newly conquered Spanish territories in the Americas. For the next century, this overwhelming accumulation of territories in the hands of a single dynasty would remain the most important fact in European international politics. But in 1520 Habsburg power already faced one of its most troublesome challenges: Martin Luther's Reformation, first attracting widespread notice in 1517, would repeatedly disrupt Habsburg efforts to unify their territories.



1648. The 1648 Peace of Westphalia ended the Thirty Years' War, one of the most destructive wars in European history. The peace treaty formally acknowledged the independence of the Dutch Republic and the Swiss Confederation, and it established the practical autonomy of the German principalities—including the right to establish their own religious policies. Conversely, the Holy Roman Empire lost much of its direct power; although its institutions continued to play some role in German affairs through the eighteenth century, the emperors' power now rested overwhelmingly on the Habsburg domain lands in Austria, Bohemia, and eastern Europe.



1715. The Peace of Utrecht (1713) ended the War of the Spanish Succession, the last and most destructive of the wars of the French king Louis XIV. The treaty ended Spain's control over present-day Belgium and over parts of Italy, and it marked the end of French hegemony within Europe. In the eighteenth century, France would be only one of five leading powers.



1763. The 1763 Treaty of Paris ended the Seven Years' War, a war that involved all the major European powers and included significant campaigns in North America and southern Asia, as well as in Europe. The war made clear the arrival of Prussia as a great power, at least the equal of Austria in central and eastern Europe.



1795. By 1795, French armies had repelled an attempted invasion by Prussia, Austria, and England, and France had begun annexing territories in Belgium and western Germany. These military successes ensured the continuation of the French Revolution, but they also meant that European warfare would continue until 1815, when the modern borders of France were largely established. Warfare with France did not prevent the other European powers from conducting business as usual elsewhere: with agreements in 1793 and 1795, Prussia, Austria, and Russia completed their absorption of Poland.



COMMON ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THIS WORK

| | | | |
|-----------|---|-------|--|
| A.D. | <i>Anno Domini</i> , in the year of the Lord | MS. | manuscript (pl. MSS.) |
| A.H. | <i>Anno Hegirae</i> , in the year of the Hegira | n.d. | no date |
| b. | born | no. | number (pl., nos.) |
| B.C. | before Christ | n.s. | new series |
| B.C.E. | before the common era (= B.C.) | N.S. | new style, according to the Gregorian calendar |
| c. | <i>circa</i> , about, approximately | O.S. | old style, according to the Julian calendar |
| C.E. | common era (= A.D.) | p. | page (pl., pp.) |
| ch. | chapter | rev. | revised |
| d. | died | S. | <i>san, sanctus, santo</i> , male saint |
| ed. | editor (pl., eds.), edition | SS. | saints |
| e.g. | <i>exempli gratia</i> , for example | Sta. | <i>sancta, santa</i> , female saint |
| et al. | <i>et alii</i> , and others | supp. | supplement |
| etc. | <i>et cetera</i> , and so forth | vol. | volume |
| exh. cat. | exhibition catalogue | ? | uncertain, possibly, perhaps |
| fl. | <i>floruit</i> , flourished | | |
| i.e. | <i>id est</i> , that is | | |

EUROPE

1450 TO 1789

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF THE EARLY MODERN WORLD



MACAU. Macau (Macao), the “City of the Name of God” in China, was the second largest in Portuguese Asia. Founded in the mid-sixteenth century on an isolated peninsula at the western edge of the mouth of the Pearl River, Macau prospered, since such a commercial center was in the mutual interests of both the Portuguese and the Chinese. Macau was the focus of a trade nexus extending throughout the South China Sea to Malacca (Melaka), south to Macassar (now Ujung Pandang, Indonesia), and north to Nagasaki (in Japan). The most famous and lucrative example of these trade routes was Chinese silk traded for Japanese silver. A state-awarded annual monopoly conducted the trade with very high annual profits. Mexican silver also entered this system via Manila in the Spanish Philippines.

Macau was governed by its senate (municipal council). Officials were selected to serve on this board from the local elites. Given the tremendous distance from the Portuguese viceroy in Goa, a state in India controlled by the Portuguese until 1961, the council had a great deal of independence and power.

Macau grew slowly from its origins as a cluster of fishing villages. The Portuguese were always a small percentage of the total population, which was largely Chinese. In 1583, there were a reported 900 Portuguese present in Macau. By 1640, in a population of 26,000, of which 20,000 were Chinese, only 1,200 were Portuguese.

Perhaps the best indicator of Macau’s wealth and importance were the unsuccessful efforts by the Dutch to capture the city in the period 1604–1627. Economics alone did not drive the city, however. It was also a base for Jesuit missions to China and Japan and had a number of impressive churches, monasteries, and convents.

See also **Goa; Portuguese Colonies: The Indian Ocean and Asia.**

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Macau. The facade of St. Paul's Church, built by the Jesuits in 1602 and partially destroyed by fire in 1853. ©ADAM WOOLFITT/CORBIS

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TIMOTHY J. COATES

MACHIAVELLI, NICCOLÒ (1469–1527), political theorist. Niccolò Machiavelli was born on 3 May 1469, the son of a lawyer of modest means from an old Florentine family. He received an excellent humanistic education in the classics, but nothing else is known about his early life until he was appointed head of the foreign policy chancery of the Florentine government in June and July 1498. He spent much of the next fourteen years

traveling, negotiating agreements, and reporting to his government. This gave him the opportunity to visit Italian and foreign states and to observe rulers, statecraft, and military actions. He also organized and trained a militia that helped Florence reconquer the neighboring city of Pisa in 1509.

In 1512 the republican government that employed Machiavelli fell, and the Medici family came to power. Machiavelli was dismissed, and he moved to his small farm outside of Florence. Out of office, he wrote in the next fifteen years all the works that made him famous.

Machiavelli gradually worked his way into favor with the Medici by undertaking small tasks and commissions. In 1525 he became friends with the Florentine Francesco Guicciardini (1483–1540), a statesman and the most important historian of the

Italian Renaissance. In 1526, as war neared Florence, the Medici rulers of Florence employed Machiavelli to help defend the city. But in the spring of 1527 the Florentines threw out the Medici and re-established a republican regime. Machiavelli asked for a position in government but was turned down because of his association with the Medici. He died on 21 June 1527.

THE PRINCE

Machiavelli wrote *Il principe* (The prince) in the second half of 1513, but it was not published until 1532. It is probably the best-known work in political theory of all time. Machiavelli employed the advice-to-princes genre, which usually advised a prince act honorably and to work for the good of his people and state. *The Prince* is a manual on how a ruler should gain and hold power. It is based on what Machiavelli had witnessed of politics and war plus reading in ancient history. He wanted to understand politics, what succeeded and what failed, what actions and principles produced a successful ruler.

Several themes dominate the work. Machiavelli believed that politics could be understood through observation, study of the past, and the application of reason to uncover rules. He endorsed the use of force against internal and external foreign enemies to achieve desired ends. He emphasized the importance of the ruler's personal ability or *virtù*, a combination of manipulation, boldness, and stealth that brought success. He insisted that the prince must base his actions not on what people ought to do but what they were likely to do in the pursuit of self-interest and without concern for what was morally right. He viewed the bulk of the inhabitants of the state as fickle, selfish, and easily duped. But Machiavelli also recognized that rulers were not completely masters of their own destinies, but were at the mercy of necessity and fortune. Necessity was the accumulation of adverse circumstances so great that no ruler or state could withstand it. Fortune was luck, chance, even opportunity, the unpredictable in politics. Machiavelli offered numerous examples drawn from contemporary politics and the ancient world in support of his views.

A great part of Machiavelli's appeal and influence came from his brilliant and memorable language. Numerous phrases (here paraphrased) leap



Niccolò Machiavelli. Portrait by Santi di Tito. ©ARCHIVO ICONOGRAFICO S.A./CORBIS

from the pages to drive home his points. “It is better to be feared than to be loved.” “A good man will come to ruin among so many who are not good.” “The prince must learn how not to be good.” “Fortune is a woman who yields to the young and the bold.” “A man will sooner forget the loss of a father than the loss of his fortune.”

THE DISCOURSES

The *Discorsi sopra la prima deca di Tito Livio* (Discourses on the first ten books of Livy) was probably written between 1515 and 1517, although some scholars believe Machiavelli began it in 1513, dropped it to write *The Prince*, then returned to it. He used the first part of the famous history of the Roman Republic from its foundation in 753 B.C.E. to 194 B.C.E. written by Titus Livy (59 B.C.E.–17 C.E.) as the starting point. Machiavelli offered analyses of the principles and institutions of successful, enduring republics, that is, states in which the people have greater or lesser participation in government.

In the *Discourses*, Machiavelli paid less attention to individuals but focused on groups, such as the nobles and the people, and especially the political, religious, and military institutions and laws needed for a successful republic. Using even more examples from the ancient world, especially Rome, and current events than he used in *The Prince*, he argued that a successful republic must have good laws that the people respect. Indeed governments should engender respect by severely punishing transgressors. He endorsed civil religion with the argument that ancient Roman religion strengthened the state by encouraging its inhabitants to fight for the state. By contrast, Christianity, with its ideals of humility and peace, weakened the state. Machiavelli also criticized the papacy for dividing Italy through its politics and wars.

OTHER WORKS

Machiavelli also wrote *Dell'arte della guerra* (1519–1520; *The art of war*), which discussed military organization and tactics. Machiavelli believed strongly that states should develop citizen militias, which would be much more reliable than the untrustworthy and fickle mercenary soldiers. His *Istorie fiorentine* (1520–1524; *Florentine histories*) used episodes from Florentine history to illustrate political principles and to criticize Florentine factionalism. But he carefully avoided either praising or criticizing the Medici. His play *La mandragola* (c. 1517; *The mandrake root*) is a thoroughly amoral and hilarious masterpiece. The best comedy to come from Renaissance Italy, it is still performed in the twenty-first century. He also wrote another comedy, *Clizia* (c. 1525), the short story *Belfagor* (written between 1515 and 1520), poetry, shorter historical works, numerous personal letters, plus diplomatic reports during his active political career.

INFLUENCE

Machiavelli's works had enormous influence from the moment of the printing of most of his works in 1532 through the eighteenth century. Although the Index of Prohibited Books forbade the publication, holding, or reading of all of Machiavelli's works, numerous printings and translations, some of them under fictitious names, appeared in the sixteenth century and the following centuries. And writers responded to Machiavelli because he posed the basic political question, can political success and the

moral law be reconciled? The view that they could not was expressed in terms of "reason of state" (an expression Machiavelli did not use), the argument that for the good of the state a ruler or government may commit evil actions, such as killing innocent family members of political rivals, an action Machiavelli endorsed in *The Prince*.

The French Huguenot Innocent Gentillet (c. 1532–1588) in his *Discours contre Machiavel* (1576; *Discourse against Machiavelli*) was the first to condemn Machiavelli for separating politics from morality, although some of his political recommendations were equivocal. The term *Machiavellian*, meaning the use of immoral means to achieve political power, soon came into use. The English playwrights Christopher Marlowe (1564–1593) and William Shakespeare (1564–1616) several times used such expressions as "murderous Machiavel." King Richard III of England (ruled 1483–1485), who lived before Machiavelli wrote, was seen as Machiavellian, because it was believed that he murdered several people in his ruthless ascent to power.

Political theorists tried to come to terms with the issues Machiavelli raised. Giovanni Botero (1544–1617) in his *Della ragion di stato* (1589; *Reason of state*), which saw many reprints and translations, argued that rulers could reconcile political ends and Christian morality, especially if the state's actions benefited religion. When in doubt, the ruler should consult his confessor. Some seventeenth-century English Puritan casuists also endorsed the principle that the state's actions in defense of true religion were morally defensible. Frederick II the Great (ruled 1740–1786), king of Prussia, did not completely condemn Machiavelli in his *Anti-Machiavel* (1767). Machiavelli's republican theories also influenced such English political theorists as James Harrington (1611–1677), Henry Neville (1620–1694), and Algernon Sidney (1623–1683), and perhaps the founders of the American Republic in the late eighteenth century.

See also Florence; Guicciardini, Francesco; Index of Prohibited Books; Medici Family; Political Philosophy; Political Secularization; Republicanism; State and Bureaucracy.

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PAUL F. GRENDLER

MADNESS AND MELANCHOLY.

When we think of madness and melancholy in the Middle Ages and early modern period, a number of prejudices often obscure our vision. It has been common, for example, to assume that in the age before the European Enlightenment, Christian faith so completely dominated that all mentally ill people were regarded as demonically possessed or that the mentally ill were frequently persecuted as witches. It has also been easy to conclude that the mad were basically neglected until they were confined in a massive roundup starting in the seventeenth century. Other scholars, looking for the origins of modern problems, have emphasized major gender differences, arguing that women were regarded as mentally more unstable than men or that women's cold nature was thought to preclude exalted states and genius. These and other images are either

wrong or misleading, but quite common. They survive in part because we moderns often prefer to regard earlier periods as simpler and less sophisticated than ours.

THE COMPLEXITY OF MADNESS

A better approach to the history of mental troubles begins with the recognition that during the early modern centuries (as in our own time), men and women had complex ideas that did not always harmonize easily with each other or foreshadow our concerns. Professional men, for example, usually tried to bring together the medical theories of the ancient world with the teachings of the Bible and the Christian tradition. Ordinary villagers, too, often tried to combine traditional folk wisdom with whatever their priest or pastor might tell them. When these sets of ideas clashed, as they necessarily did, professionals and villagers alike often tried to specify where and when one should think of madness as a medical problem and when as a religious disorder. Or else, they might try to smooth over the discordant features of both pagan and Christian notions so that they might mesh more seamlessly.

GALENIC IDEAS OF MADNESS AND MELANCHOLY

The legacy of Galen, the greatest late-ancient physician (c. 129–199 C.E.), survived in this way into early modern times. Revived first by Arab physicians (from the ninth to the twelfth centuries) and then in the West (from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries), Galen became the core of the medieval medical curriculum. Renaissance physicians edited, published, and studied his numerous works along with the major Arab and Latin commentaries on him, making Galen even better known in the sixteenth century than he had been earlier. His medical theories were philosophical efforts to reconcile the competing claims of Plato, Aristotle, Hippocrates, and a host of lesser thinkers, but he was also an avid empirical investigator with a great interest in psychological and neurological disorders. For Galen, mental disturbances were sometimes due to accidents (such as a blow to the head), sometimes to brain fevers (“phrenitis”), and sometimes to hereditary flaws (which might produce retardation). In other instances, madness was the product of disturbances of the four basic bodily juices or humors: phlegm, bile, blood, and black bile (which was called melan-

choly, using the term in Greek). Renaissance physicians revived Galen's thought about melancholy ailments because they presented the opportunity for attractive theorizing about the place of temperament (natural or morbid) in the context of the four elements (water, fire, air, and earth), the four seasons, the four ages of human life, and four of the planets (the moon, Mars, Venus or Jupiter, and Saturn). Good health meant keeping one's humors in balance through diet and daily regimen (sleep, play, exercise, human company, sexual activity, and intellection). Too much heat or cold, too much smoke or moisture, too much study or worry, the wrong foods, too much drink, or the wrong music could all untune one's temperament and disorder one's juices, making one "unbalanced," overly fearful or sad, foolishly confident or belligerent, apathetic, raging, sanguine, phlegmatic, choleric, or melancholy, the last terms revealing even today their historic ties to the humoral system. Early modern philosophers also drew on a pseudo-Aristotelian work called *Problems* to conclude that the melancholy humor often prompted poetic or philosophical genius and religious prophecy. Writers as diverse as Desiderius Erasmus, Miguel de Cervantes, and William Shakespeare deployed melancholy disorders to evoke wisdom and folly. Albrecht Dürer used the image of melancholy as a figure for genius.

More commonly, however, bad habits and a bad diet were thought to produce an artificial black bile (*melancholia adusta*) that in turn caused deep depressions, optical and aural hallucinations, visions, sudden outbursts of wrath, weeping, and general madness. So melancholy meant much more than just sadness or depression; it was a physical condition that could include digestive disorders and flatulence, but it regularly led to illusions, delusions, the inability to test reality, and to insanity. The longer these conditions lasted, the harder they were to cure by means of changing the diet, the air, the regimen of sleep, sex, friendship, and music. One might need to add the therapy of vomits, sweats, and bleeding—indeed, many Galenists advocated bleeding with each change of the seasons so that one's physical and psychic system would be reset for each season's conditions.

THE MEDICAL EXCLUSION OF DEMONS

It is worth emphasizing that the strictly medical literature of medieval and early modern universities regularly excluded demonic and magical interpretations of madness. This exclusion of demons was part of what it meant to have a separate faculty of medicine, and straight through the Renaissance, physicians usually cultivated a "know-nothing" or even a skeptical approach to spirits. Medieval and early modern university life depended upon tacit (or sometimes explicit) rules of engagement so that medical thinking could be insulated against ideas and even words whose religious or folk origins might contaminate what was conceived of as a thoroughly natural pursuit. After all, physicians were those who studied and understood *physis*, or nature. Physicians were naturalists.

An example of this sort of thought is provided by André du Laurens (1560?–1609), who wrote a much-cited work on "Melancholike Diseases" (1599). As the chief court physician to King Henry IV of France, he was eager to affirm his royal master's charismatic power to heal the scrofulous, using the traditional English and French practice of "touching for the king's evil," a power that might look magical or miraculous. In the hands of Du Laurens, however, melancholy was a great naturalizer. All sorts of strange, wondrous, or even miraculous conditions might be unmasked as the workings of black bile:

The melancholike man, properly so called (I meane him which hath the disease in the braine) is ordinarilie out of heart, alwaies fearefull and trembling, in such sort as that he is afraid of every thing, yea and maketh himselfe a terrour unto himselfe, as the beast which looketh himselfe in a glasse. . . . To conclude, hee is become a savadge creature, haunting the shadowed places, suspicious, solitarie,emie to the Sunne, and one whom nothing can please, but onely discontentment, which forgeth unto it selfe a thousand false and vaine imaginations.

Drawing on the Arabs and the ancients, Du Laurens described several well-known melancholy delusions, such as the man who feared he had become a rooster or the man who feared that if he urinated, he might flood the world. Another famous melancholy madman thought himself made of glass, and yet others thought they had swallowed a serpent or a frog. Interestingly, the standard cure for such ailments often required the physician to play along with the

fantasy rather than trying to argue with the patient. In this therapeutic drama, a sick fantastic might come to recognize the absurd contradictions in his or her mind.

In rare instances, Du Laurens claimed that the cold and dry humor (black bile) might grow hot, causing “a kinde of divine ravishment, commonly called Enthousiasma, which stirreth men up to plaie the Philosfers, Poets, and also to prophesie: in such manner, as that it may seeme to containe in it some divine parts.” With a suggestion like this, Du Laurens showed how dangerous it was to mix medical and religious ideas, for if the humor of melancholy could explain the pretense of having direct access to God, more radical interpreters might move on to argue that all revelation, all prophecy, was the product of a sick mind. During the seventeenth century, this line of argument became a polemical weapon to debunk “fanatics” and “enthusiasts”—religious writers or leaders who based their essentially personal, mystical, or charismatic authority upon some supposed special access to God. During the eighteenth-century Enlightenment, this strategy was sometimes employed even against the supposed irrationalities of revealed religion.

Usually, medical thinkers avoided speculating about religious matters, but by 1600, a few medical writers were developing theories of magic, spirits, demons, or preternatural forces as a way of updating their understanding of illness, and especially of madness. Physicians began to write treatises on demonic pathologies; students now defended theses such as the 1650 Leipzig dissertation entitled “Diseases Arising in Spells and Witchcraft.” Even when they accepted the role of demons and their power to cause all manner of illness, however, physicians strove to understand demons as part of nature, applying Aristotelian categories to their theories of what spirits could actually do. Most often in these discussions, the devil was thought to act through nature, disordering the humors, stirring up the natural passions, disturbing the sense of vision or of hearing so that while the illness or madness might originate in witchcraft or in demonic possession, these disorders remained natural in the important sense that they were caused immediately by the familiar disorders of humors and vital spirits that were entirely physical and natural.

PARACELSUS

Perhaps the only physician to coordinate demonic theories with a whole system of thought was Theophrastus of Hohenheim, better known as Paracelsus (1493–1541). He developed an astrological and religiously infused medical theory that paid close attention to the parallels and connections between sin and madness. He was such a medical heretic, however, that he lost his teaching position at the University of Basel and spent the rest of his life as an itinerant preacher and healer. In his view, demons were as real as humors, and one’s physical and mental health mirrored one’s spiritual condition. Orthodox university medicine could not easily integrate Paracelsus’s strangely religious and experiential doctrines, but most sixteenth-century academic physicians were usually ready to admit that demons could indeed infest a person.

THE SOCIAL HISTORY OF MADNESS

Michael MacDonald has explored these overlapping areas of theory and expertise by studying the life and work of a seventeenth-century Anglican priest and medical practitioner, Richard Napier. Napier deployed a full range of Neoplatonist therapies—judicial astrology, alchemy, amulets, and even angelic consultations—to help him treat his far-flung clientele. Even among the orthodox, remedies for madness usually included purges, sweats, vomits, and bleeding as well as herbal concoctions, changes in diet, hot or cold baths, travel to different climates, music, alcohol in moderation, and sometimes prescribed doses of sex. University-trained physicians did not usually prescribe verbal therapies, talk sessions, amulets, magic, pilgrimages, or prayer.

On the other hand, when their methods failed, patients tried a host of nonmedical and unorthodox therapies. In the case of the last duke of Jülich-Cleves, Johann Wilhelm (1562–1609), for example, orthodox Galenic physicians first tried to heal him of his madness, but after several years of fruitless efforts, his councillors authorized a series of highly irregular cures: a regimen of astrology, magic, holy water, consecrated salt, Latin prayers, and exorcisms, herbs soaked in beer, and amulets sewn into his waistcoat and the soles of his shoes. Two women provided folk remedies and homemade potions, to no effect. An English “wonder doctor” managed to establish rapport with the prince, but the underlying melancholy remained, and so the

university-trained doctors turned to concoctions of alkermes (ground insects), bezoar stone (a calculus from the stomachs of goats or other ruminants), and theriac (a mixture of seventy drugs used to combat poison). Finally, they concluded that their duke was either bewitched or possessed; therefore, priests began to deploy elaborate exorcisms, including some that Rome might well have condemned. For example, they engraved a devil on a lead plate and beat it with rods; they fitted out Johann Wilhelm's mattress with blessings and crosses and fumigated his chambers with incense. By late 1605, however, the exorcists were also giving up.

This example shows how difficult it can be to speak of early modern medical imperialism, the process in which overconfident physicians claim competence over disorders that are moral or legal. Around 1600, orthodox physicians agreed that they could hope to heal only natural illnesses and that if natural remedies weren't working, it might be worth trying spiritual cures. But when exorcisms failed, Catholic confessors and priests concluded that their failure was due not to the weakness of spiritual remedies in general but to the fact that the mad duke was really insane, and thus beyond their ministrations.

MICHEL FOUCAULT AND THE CARE OF THE MAD

It is also difficult to generalize about the care provided for the poor. Most families, however impoverished, were expected to take care of afflicted or disabled family members, but increasingly from the sixteenth century onwards, they could send suffering or incompetent relatives to newly founded hospitals. There they might receive room and board or even certain modest kinds of therapy. Forty years ago, Michel Foucault argued that a "Great Confinement," beginning in the seventeenth century, incarcerated the mad along with other "unproductive" or "immoral" segments of society, but it has become clear that in many countries, hospitals, private asylums, and small urban work-houses remained the favored receptacle for those of troubled mind. A large-scale confinement of the insane really began in the nineteenth century under circumstances rather different from those sketched by Foucault. Rab Houston and Roy Porter have also shown that in Scotland and England religious motives and explanations remained important well into

the eighteenth century, that "madness" was hardly a mere label attached to the undesirable, and that healing the mad remained the goal of physicians throughout the early modern period. The so-called Age of Reason did not produce a novel intolerance of "unreason," and did not treat the mad as brute animals. Foucault's work has stimulated a great deal of fresh research, but many of his conclusions have been sharply revised.

GENDER

Despite the fact that early modern society enforced a wide range of gender distinctions and often placed women under the control of men, there is little evidence that madness was seriously "gendered." Most mental disturbances were suffered as commonly by men as by women; men were as likely to be incarcerated or mistreated as a result of their madness; and even hysteria (which because of its supposed origins in the womb pertained only to women) was balanced by other madneses that were thought to afflict men more often. A close analysis of these comparisons reveals, however, that they rely too often upon a hopelessly inadequate statistical base. We rarely have good evidence of the numbers of persons of either gender diagnosed as mentally disordered; and so, at this time, many ingenious comparisons are little better than guesses.

ROBERT BURTON AND MELANCHOLY

Probably the best introduction to early modern attitudes toward madness is Robert Burton's *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621). This Oxford Anglican was a solitary, often depressed, academic, whose great book is a treasure of the English language but also a massive monument to the richness of melancholy as a diagnosis and as a metaphor for life. Despite his familiarity with the vast medical literature, Burton was also steeped in the Platonic tradition, in which melancholy could be the source of genius, prophecy, and poetry. Thus, Burton was careful to maintain a difficult balance between the biomedical Galenic model of madness as a physical illness and the mental or spiritual model of madness as sin but also the source of exalted mental states. From this balanced perspective, Burton was well equipped to criticize what he thought were the two scourges of his day: infatuated love and religious enthusiasm. His lengthy sections on love madness were perhaps a response to the growing value placed

by some on love as the one true good required for happiness. Burton's critique of religious enthusiasm stemmed from his conservative sense that Scripture and church would not long survive if mystics, prophets, and other inspired spokesmen made good their claim to have direct links with the divine. Burton's critique of love and religious enthusiasm surely did not curb infatuated lovers or God-besotted fanatics, but his treatise robbed these figures of some of their self-proclaimed license, their claim to special authority and unique insight. As Michael Heyd has shown, this style of analysis became a common means during the Enlightenment of debunking the special claims to religious insight of Pietists, mystics, and even the advocates of traditional religion.

Madness has always been entwined with the social and philosophical problems of its age. As the most malleable early modern source of madness, melancholy, the black humor, found itself deployed to explain genius as well as folly and was used to justify a wide range of medical and social responses. Even though anatomists and physicians from the mid-seventeenth century onwards had increasing trouble locating black bile in the human body, melancholy remained a powerful concept down to the nineteenth century.

See also Anatomy and Physiology; Cervantes, Miguel de; Enthusiasm; Erasmus, Desiderius; Hospitals; Medicine; Paracelsus; Passions; Shakespeare, William.

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H. C. ERIK MIDEFLOFT

MADRID. Since 1561, Madrid has been the capital city and administrative center of Spain. At an elevation of 2,100 feet (640 meters), the city is located in the interior, near the Guadarrama and Gredos mountain ranges in an area of sparse rainfall (17 inches, or 460 mm, per year) and of hot summers and cold winters by Mediterranean standards.

Prior to the reign of Philip II, Madrid had no particular significance as a city. Muslim rulers constructed a fortress, or *alcazar*, at the site, and a system of underground wells supplied water. Under Christian rule, Madrid developed to the east of the alcazar. It was among the places visited regularly by the rulers of Castile, who had no fixed capital city. Chronicles report that Queen Isabella I (ruled 1474–1504) held public audiences and dispensed justice in Madrid's alcazar, and the first Habsburg ruler of Spain, Charles I (1516–1556; also ruled as Emperor Charles V of the Holy Roman Empire, 1519–1556), imprisoned Francis I of France in Madrid after his capture at the Battle of Pavia in Italy. East of Madrid, overlooking the fields, the Monastery of San Jeronimo stood, supported in part by royal donations.

By 1560, Madrid had grown to about 2,500 homes, or about 12,000 to 14,000 inhabitants. In 1561, Philip II (ruled 1556–1598) abandoned the

tradition of a traveling court and settled in Madrid in the refurbished alcazar. He built the Escorial, at once a summer residence, monastery, and mausoleum, at a higher elevation northwest of the city to escape Madrid's summer heat. The complex, restrained in design, was the work of Juan de Herrera, and Philip II personally supervised its construction. Madrid itself was crowded with courtiers and administrators, and the people of Madrid were initially required to house them on the upper floors of their own residences. By the 1580s, the early theater works of Lope de Vega and Cervantes were being performed in Madrid; theater grew in popularity under the rule of Philip III (ruled 1598–1621), who briefly relocated the capital of Spain to Valladolid (1601–1606).

Although nobles were ordered to leave an increasingly crowded Madrid in 1611, the population had grown to over 100,000 by 1621. Madrid had no medieval city walls to limit its size, and it continued to expand. The San Jeronimo monastery was the eastern boundary of the city until Philip IV (ruled 1621–1665) constructed his own new palace, the Buen Retiro, outside the city proper and to the east of San Jeronimo. Philip IV departed from the more severe style of his grandfather Philip II; the elaborate grounds housed gardens, a lake, a theatre and a zoo. The first Bourbon ruler of Spain, Philip V (ruled 1700–1746), attempted to remodel the Buen Retiro in the French style. Later rulers settled in the Royal Palace, constructed at the site of the alcazar, which was destroyed by fire. Charles III (ruled 1759–1788) was the first to occupy the Royal Palace. An Enlightenment-era ruler, he opened the grounds of the Buen Retiro to the public and created an observatory, a botanical garden, and a Museum of Natural Science within the city.

Madrid played an important role in the development of Spain's economy from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century. The heart of the Spanish empire, Madrid was nonetheless remote from the coastal cities that provided for and profited from imperial trade. Madrid, in fact, had to be supplied overland, having no navigable rivers nearby. Transportation costs thus made Madrid's own production of any goods other than merino wool too expensive to be profitable. It was said that Madrid manufactured only reputations.

From 1561 forward, Madrid's consumption of both subsistence and limited luxury goods also affected the economic development of other cities of the interior, notably Toledo. This effect was not immediate; as late as 1615, when Part II of Cervantes's *Don Quixote* was published, Sancho Panza's wife could request a hoop skirt from either Madrid or Toledo. But Madrid's population grew significantly during the reign of Philip III. By the 1630s, the city reportedly held more than 200,000 inhabitants and was the only interior city of this size in Spain. Madrid's demand for foodstuffs caused shortages and high prices in Toledo and elsewhere, driving migration to the capital. Madrid became a consumer of both goods and people, yet its demand for goods was not sufficiently deep or varied to encourage the economic growth of the interior. In the seventeenth century, even within Madrid, 75 percent of the population lived at subsistence level.

Madrid was first and foremost a political city, a capital deliberately chosen to be an administrative center, and if it acted as an economic link between coastal and interior Spain, it also undermined the economic development of the interior. Madrid can thus be considered a contributor to Spain's economic decline in the seventeenth century, rather than an engine of growth.

See also Charles III (Spain); Charles V (Holy Roman Empire); Philip II (Spain); Philip III (Spain); Philip IV (Spain); Philip V (Spain); Spain.

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MARY HOYT HALAVAIS

MAGELLAN, FERDINAND (Fernão Magalhães; c. 1480–1521), Portuguese navigator. Magellan was born into a Portuguese noble family of French origin, possibly at Ponte da Barca in



Ferdinand Magellan.

northern Portugal. In 1492, he became a page in the queen's court. In March 1505 Magellan and his brother enlisted in the fleet of Francisco de Almeida, bound for India down the Atlantic coast of Africa to the Cape Verde Islands and around the Cape of Good Hope. Almeida sailed in East African waters for more than two years, sacked Mombassa, and established a string of Portuguese forts to serve as trading centers and to guard the sea lanes to India, where Magellan arrived from Mozambique in October 1507.

By the time of his arrival he had served first on a brigantine, then on a caravel in combat in the Arabian Sea. Under the command of Nuno Vaz Pereira on the caravel *Santo Espirito*, he participated in the Portuguese defeat, at the hands of a huge Egyptian Mamluk fleet fortified by Venetian gunships, which broke the Portuguese blockade of the Red Sea. Soon afterward he was dispatched, under Pereira's command, to the Maldiv Islands, but made instead for the port city of Colombo, having been blown by a storm to the coast of Ceylon (present-day Sri

Lanka). Magellan participated in the great sea battle of 2 February 1509, in which Almeida's fleet defeated the Mamluk-Venetian coalition at Diu (which became a Portuguese colony), a battle in which Pereira was killed and Magellan seriously wounded. Magellan was involved in intelligence on the Malabar coast, along with his cousin Francisco Serrão, to assess both the strength of local navies and the organization of local trade, which they found to be in the control of Arab merchants. Each of them was given the command of a caravel and promoted to the rank of captain. Magellan was again wounded in the botched attempt, under the command of Affonso de Albuquerque, architect of Portugal's Asian empire, to take Calicut.

Magellan was present at the capture of Malacca in August 1511. Serrão subsequently became director of the Portuguese factory at Ternate, a small town on the island of the same name that the Portuguese fortified and held 1522–1574, and which was used most importantly as a base for the clove trade, and invited Magellan to join him there. Instead, Magellan is thought to have made an illicit voyage, most likely northeast from Malacca to Amboyna, possibly coasting the Philippines. He was relieved of his command and, after eight years in the East, returned to Portugal. He served in a Moroccan campaign under the duke of Braganza in 1514, as a result of which he became embroiled in a corruption scandal which landed him in the bad graces of King Manuel I (ruled 1495–1521).

Like Columbus before him, Magellan thought he might have better success in Spain. He arrived in Seville in October 1517 and, working through the merchant community, eventually secured royal approval for a voyage westward to the Indies. He thought the Moluccas (Spice Islands) were close to South America and thus within the Spanish sphere of influence. His idea was to follow up on Amerigo Vespucci's (1454–1512) third voyage and seek a passage to the Indies around the tip of South America. Magellan had interviewed survivors of Juan de Solis's ill-fated voyage to the Río de la Plata in 1515 and deduced that the continental tip of South America lay within the area assigned to Spain.

The primary motive for the voyage was economic. Spain wanted to trade in the East Indies, but Charles V did not know (as Magellan surely did)

that the Moluccas were already in Portuguese hands. Perhaps Magellan thought there were other islands as potentially lucrative but as yet unclaimed. His fleet skirted Brazil to avoid any clash with the Portuguese and, at the mouth of the strait now called by his name, two of his five ships were lost, one by shipwreck, the other by mutiny. The remaining ships navigated the straits in thirty-eight days. Magellan reached Sebu in the Philippines in April 1521, where he became involved in a local war and was killed, along with forty of his men. He was succeeded by his second-in-command, the Spaniard Juan Sebastián del Cano (or Juan de Elcano), who continued on to the Moluccas and became the first captain to have sailed around the world.

The geographical impact of the circumnavigation was enormous, not only because of the new geographical data that it produced, but also because it demonstrated irrefutable proof of the sphericity of the Earth as well as the preponderance of water over continental masses on the Earth's surface, in contrast to what many geographers and explorers of Columbus's generation had believed.

See also Columbus, Christopher; Exploration; Portugal; Portuguese Colonies: The Indian Ocean and Asia.

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THOMAS F. GLICK

MAGIC. Modern historians have reclaimed the term *magic* from anthropologists and social scientists who question its utility as a category and its existence as a phenomenon. Although an admittedly ambiguous and elastic term, *magic* was used by early modern Europeans to describe a complex of thought and practice involving the apparently disparate fields of religion, science, and language. Many

of the most sophisticated intellectuals and theologians of the early modern period include magic in their discussions about the nature of physical reality, the causes of suffering and misfortune, the rationale of history, the foundations of political authority, the institutions of the church, and the basis of morality and ethics. Consequently, magic is a legitimate and important field of study, and understanding such pivotal events as the Protestant Reformation, the Catholic Counter-Reformation, the scientific revolution, the Enlightenment, and Romanticism will remain incomplete until historians investigate the complex and varied attitudes toward magic that emerged between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries.

CHARACTERISTICS OF MAGIC

Magic is best defined as a form of esotericism based on a view of the world as an integral whole composed of interacting spiritual and material forces that human beings can understand and manipulate for good or evil purposes. It encompassed a wide range of activities, such as astrology, alchemy, medicine, divination, necromancy, and conjuring. While this definition holds true for magic over the millennia, only during the early modern period was "black" magic equated with demonic witchcraft and made into a serious criminal offense. At the same time there was a growing interest in and respect for "natural," or "spiritual," magic that began in the twelfth century, reaching its apogee during the Renaissance and early modern period. Scholars agree that this type of elite magic contributed to developments in science, although they disagree about the nature and extent of these contributions. The traditional idea that magic disappeared with the triumph of science overlooks the fact that the decline in witchcraft prosecutions occurred in the mid-to-late seventeenth century, before Enlightenment thinkers embraced the new science and while a magical worldview was still valid for most people. Magistrates and judges, not philosophers and scientists, were the first to doubt the reality of demonic magic and to put a stop to witch prosecutions. While it is true that demonic magic lost its credibility among most European intellectuals and professionals, ordinary Europeans continued to explain misfortune in terms of the evil acts (*maleficia*) of evil individuals. Furthermore, alchemy and astrology appealed to many intellectuals throughout

the eighteenth century, and new forms of occult and esoteric thought (mesmerism, phrenology, physiognomy) emerged to answer questions mechanical and atomic scientific theories could not.

Much of early modern magic represented a continuation of traditions and practices that developed in the medieval period from a synthesis of classical, Jewish, Islamic, and Christian concepts of magic with indigenous Celtic, Germanic, Scandinavian, and Slavic traditions as these groups were converted to Christianity. It is difficult—though in some cases possible—to separate these various strands because they were so thoroughly mixed with Christian elements. Although some scholars continue to distinguish magic from religion on the grounds that magic attempts to manipulate supernatural forces, while religion is directed at divine entities who can be supplicated but not controlled, this distinction is untenable. Saints' prayers often have coercive force, while magical charms and rituals have a supplicatory element. Furthermore, Christianity shared many assumptions that were basic to a magical worldview. Foremost among these was that of a vitalistic universe divided into three levels, the super-celestial, celestial, and terrestrial, each of which was intimately linked to the others through a series of correspondences, sympathies, and antipathies that might be hidden (occult) but that were regular, rational, and discoverable. Christianity and magic also agreed on the existence of invisible, spiritual entities (angels, demons, devils), who interacted with humans in many ways, including sexually. Christianity and magic both emphasized the power and efficacy of words, a belief that was intensified by the Christian reliance on the spoken and written word and by the notion of Christ as the incarnate word of God. Many magical prayers and formulas were simply adaptations of Christian formulations. A further link between Christianity and magic was the belief that hidden powers and virtues existed in natural objects (amulets, talismans, relics, holy water, the sign of the cross, the Eucharist, church bells), which could be tapped for human use. Given these similarities, one can conclude that “[a]cross Europe, throughout the centuries . . . magic often seems indistinguishable from religion” (Clark, p. 110).

VARIETIES OF MAGIC

On a popular level, magic was practiced extensively to deal with problematic events or situations from childbirth and childcare to animal husbandry, sickness, misfortune, lost or stolen objects, divination, business affairs, traveling, falling in or out of love, counteracting witchcraft, and even such mundane activities as shutting windows at night. Magical remedies, rituals, and formulas can be found in necromancer manuals, medical textbooks, scientific texts, the lives of saints, and courtly romances. Since magical practices were so varied, one way of categorizing them is by their intended results: healing, protection, divination, obtaining a desired object, the acquisition of occult knowledge, or simply entertainment. While astrology was a recognized part of academic medicine, magical healing was reserved primarily for diseases that were considered “unnatural” (madness, possession, nightmares) or whose causes were unknown (sudden strokes, heart attacks, seizures) and consequently attributed to the evil machinations of sorcerers, witches, demons, elves, or dwarfs. In these cases, magicians and healers patterned their actions after those of Jesus and the saints and conjured spiritual forces by ritual actions, prayers, blessings, exorcisms, and the use of amulets, talismans, relics, the sign of the cross, holy water, and nostrums made variously from herbs, animal parts, stones, or gems. Next to healing, the most popular form of magic was divination, a practice emphatically rejected by Christian authorities. Charts and manuals existed for reading signs about the future in the sky or in animals, plants, parts of the human body, and dreams. Love magic was used both to seduce and to cause impotency, a common theme in both courtly romances and inquisitor's manuals.

Like popular magic, “spiritual” and “natural” magic were concerned with issues of healing, protection, and divination, but there was a greater emphasis on the acquisition of occult knowledge as a prerequisite to successful magical practices. Broadly, one can say that “spiritual” magic was a form of religiosity whose goal was to attract beneficial divine and spiritual forces into the soul of the operator. Marsilio Ficino (1433–1499) was the most famous Renaissance practitioner of this kind of magic. Language was an important element in Ficino's magic because he believed words had intrinsic powers. A

similar emphasis on the power of words appears in the work of Jewish Cabbalists like Abraham Abulafia (1240–after 1291) and Joseph Gikatilla (1248–after 1305) and their Christian counterparts, Pico della Mirandola (1463–1494) and Johannes Reuchlin (1455–1522), who believed that Hebrew was a repository of secret wisdom. In his *De Verbo Mirifico* (1494), Reuchlin claimed that Jesus’ name in Hebrew had the power to revive the dead, cure the sick, exorcise demons, turn rivers into wine, feed the hungry, repulse pirates, and tame camels. A similar kind of magical power was attributed to Egyptian hieroglyphs by Athanasius Kircher (1601–1680). It is not always easy to distinguish between “spiritual” and “natural” magic, nor between “spiritual” and “demonic” magic, for all three were concerned with the spiritual state of the practitioner and were thought to have transitive effects. Necromancy and black magic were an established part of medieval magic and continued throughout the early modern period. The *Picatrix*, derived from an Arabic source, mixed spiritual and demonic magic with astrology and was widely influential. This kind of synthesis comes out clearly in the work of Cornelius Agrippa (1486–1535), whose *De Occulta Philosophia* (enlarged edition 1533) discusses astrology, mathematics, mechanical marvels, numerology, universal harmony, the power of music and incantations, images for talismans, and the occult virtues in natural things. Agrippa claims that whoever wishes to be proficient in magic must study natural philosophy, mathematics, astrology, and theology. Only when he has mastered these disciplines will he attain the highest level of understanding through an act of mystical illumination and become a true magus. A characteristic feature of this kind of magic is its “intense religiosity and sense of piety” (Clark, p. 150). Giambattista Della Porta’s *Magia Naturalis* (1588) was another popular work on natural magic that described procedures for such diverse things as transmuting metals; producing exotic plants and animals through grafting and cross-breeding; cutting, conserving, and cooking meat; staving off baldness; eliminating wrinkles; and engendering beautiful children.

CHANGING ATTITUDES

Around 1400 there was a radical change in attitudes toward magic on the part of religious and secular authorities. No longer seen as a body of supersti-

tious and largely illusory practices that could be eradicated through a combination of missionary activity and the counter-use of Christian ritual—a view characteristic of the Middle Ages—magic and magicians came to be viewed as a demonic fifth column threatening the very existence of Christian civilization. This negative view of magic was reinforced by the Protestant attack on Catholic sacraments, rituals, and miracles as demonic. For the most part, however, Catholic and Protestant authorities distinguished between “popular” magic, whose practitioners were prosecuted as witches and sorcerers in league with the devil, and “learned” or “spiritual” magic, which was generally tolerated and widely practiced at European courts because of its promise of wealth and prestige and its sheer entertainment value. But even when tolerated, magicians inspired ambivalent attitudes, for beneficent “white” magic might easily be perverted into “black” magic. For this reason, two of the foremost demonologists of the sixteenth century, Jean Bodin (1530–1596) and Martin Del Rio (1551–1608), condemned all magic as demonic.

The increased concern with demonology and witchcraft in the early modern period has been attributed to the religious conflicts stirred up by the Reformation and Counter-Reformation. Recent research has shown, however, that it was not religious conflict per se that encouraged witch hunts but the new age of “confessionalism” that accompanied reform movements, heightening religious fervor and the concern with eradicating religious deviance. In more general terms, the increased fear of magic and sorcery was a response to increasing political and religious insecurity and social unrest. The Black Death, the Great Schism, the proliferation of heretical movements in the high Middle Ages, the discovery and dissemination of new texts, printing, trade, travel, and the discovery of the New World all undermined established truths and called into question the idea of divine providence and God’s omniscience and benevolence. Misfortune, uncertainty, and insecurity called for a new theodicy, and this was supplied by demonologists and witch theorists. Neither irrational nor unscientific, they deployed all the resources available from natural philosophy and theology to vindicate the goodness of God and the truth of the Bible. Witchcraft theory was a kind of “theological damage control” (Steph-

ens, p. 366) that let God off the hook for seeming injustice by attributing evil and misfortune to the activities of men and women in league with the devil.

The fact that the fear of sorcerers and witches was most intense during the period of the so-called scientific revolution (1570 to 1680) undermines the idea proposed by Enlightenment thinkers (Comte, Condorcet) and nineteenth- and twentieth-century social anthropologists (Edward Tylor, James Frazer, Bronislaw Malinowski) that magic represented an early stage of human development superseded first by religion and finally by science. Modern scholars reject this progressive view in favor of a conceptual history of magic that emphasizes it as an inextricable element in the religious, political, and scientific discourse of various time periods. In the early modern period, attitudes toward magic and witchcraft have been shown to correlate with political and religious views. For example, those committed to the divine right of kings and Tridentine Catholicism had a greater tendency to support the persecution of magicians and witches than humanists, libertines, and skeptics, who took the Machiavellian position that the magic and witchcraft were delusions manipulated for the benefit of those in power.

SKEPTICISM ABOUT MAGIC

There was also a correlation between magic and science. The argument that magic was a substitute for real science and technology is simply wrong. The widespread practice of magic suggests that it was considered effective, and the lively debate about the efficacy of magic is now recognized as a contributing factor to the development of science. Lynn Thorndike described magicians as the first experimental scientists. Frances Yates emphasized the role played by “occult” philosophy in stimulating science. Although her claims have been modified, it is clear that the natural magic tradition influenced important scientific figures such as Paracelsus (1493–1541), Daniel Sennert, Jean Baptiste van Helmont (1579–1644), Girolamo Cardano (1501–1576), Francis Bacon (1561–1626), John Dee (1527–1608), and members of England’s Royal Society. The paradox was that as demonologists debated with their critics about whether the effects of witchcraft, sorcery, and magic were natural or diabolical,

they promoted the very skepticism they were at pains to allay. Among the skeptics were Pietro Pomponazzi (1462–1525), who offered naturalistic explanations for the power of incantations; Johann Weyer (1515–1588), who turned to medicine, arguing that witches were simply insane old women; and Reginald Scot (1538–1599), who denied that incorporeal spirits could have contact with humans. Even more damaging were those like John Wagstaffe (1633–1677), who concluded that witchcraft was simply a politically useful tool, an idea that led Francis Hutchinson to conclude in 1718 that beliefs about witches and sorcerers were products of their historical contexts. Witch-hunting was therefore not an anomaly in the age of the so-called scientific revolution but a constituent part of it. Underlying the debate over magic and witchcraft were fundamental issues concerning the authority and credibility of the Christian revelation; the physical constitution of the created world; the nature of causality; and the basis of politics, ethics, and morality. Every one of these involved the more general problem of what constitutes valid evidence and how knowledge may be obtained. But however beneficial this kind of scientific questioning and skepticism was in the long term, it was not immediately responsible for the decline of witch-hunting. That fell to the judicial skepticism—created largely by the excesses of witch-hunting—which led those in charge of witch trials to demand more restraint in the use of torture and stricter standards of evidence. As a result of changes in judicial procedures, mass panics ended, more of the accused were acquitted, and courts became increasingly reluctant to initiate prosecutions. This did not happen because judges, magistrates, and inquisitors denied the reality or possibility of witchcraft but because they increasingly came to believe that witchcraft was not a crime that could be proven by law.

See also **Astrology; Catholicism; Occult Philosophy; Reformation, Protestant; Ritual, Religious; Scientific Revolution; Witchcraft.**

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ALLISON P. COUDERT, JOHN SEWELL

MALPIGHI, MARCELLO (1628–1694), Italian physician and anatomist. Malpighi was born in Crevalcore, near Bologna, on 10 March 1628. He graduated in medicine and philosophy at the University of Bologna in 1653, and he taught logic at the same university until 1656, when he was called to the chair of theoretical medicine at the University of Pisa. Three years later he returned to Bologna, lecturing in theoretical and practical medicine. From 1662 to 1666 he held the chair of primary professor of medicine at the University of Messina. He then returned once more to Bologna, where he taught practical medicine until 1691, the year in which he moved to Rome in the capacity of chief physician to Pope Innocent XII. He died in Rome on 30 November 1694. These institutional settings are of a special importance in understanding his development as an anatomist, physician, and natural philosopher. Although he was trained at Bo-

logna in the traditional course of scholastic disciplines, he also attended with other select students the private dissections and vivisections conducted by the university professor Bartolomeo Massari. In his time at Pisa he met Giovanni Alfonso Borelli (1608–1679), professor of mathematics there, and their ensuing collaboration was crucial in bringing Malpighi closer to corpuscularianism (the idea that the visible properties of matter derive from the interactions of minute particles of matter), to mechanical philosophy (the view that every natural phenomenon can be explained through matter and motion), and to Galileo's natural philosophy. In Messina he found a congenial environment for his investigations on marine animals and the sensory organs. Finally, from 1667, correspondence with Henry Oldenburg and the relationships that he established with the Royal Society brought Malpighi into closer contact with English experimental physiology.

Malpighi's works display a wide range of interests. In *De Pulmonibus* (On the lungs; Bologna, 1661), composed in the form of two letters addressed to Borelli, he announced his discovery of capillary circulation and gave a detailed account of the vesicular structure of the human lung. In *Epistolae Anatomicae de Cerebro ac Lingua* (Anatomical letters on the brain and the tongue; Bologna, 1665) and in *De Externo Tactus Organo* (The external organ of touch; Naples, 1665), he made his discovery of the sensory receptors of the tongue and cutaneous papillae part of a far-reaching project in neuroanatomical research. *De Viscerum Structura* (The structure of the internal organs; Bologna, 1666) and *De Structura Glandularum Conglobatarum* (The structure of the conglomerate glands; London, 1689) present Malpighi's main theoretical view of the gland as the building block of the body's mechanical structure. In *De Bombyce* (On the silkworm; London, 1669) he investigated the anatomy of insects, and he gave an accurate description of the development of the chick in *De Formatione Pulli in Ovo* (The development of the chick in the egg; London, 1673), adding new evidence in support to the preformationist hypothesis, that is, the idea that the organism is already present and fully developed in the seed or egg. In *Anatomes Plantarum* (Anatomy of plants; London, 1679), Malpighi made use of the microscope and its related techniques in the

study of animal and vegetable anatomy with great dexterity and profit. In *De Polypo Cordis* (On the polyp of the heart; 1666), he argued that the examination of pathological states, natural anomalies, and monstrosities could shed light on the normal functioning of organs and on the general processes of nature, thus laying the foundations for a research program centered on localizing the anatomical seats of disease.

From an anatomical point of view, Malpighi's work is a clear example of experimental investigation conducted in the wake of William Harvey's discovery of the circulation of the blood. Philosophically speaking, the main influence comes from Galileo's redefinition of matter, motion, and nature. Distancing himself from Descartes's extreme views on the mechanization of the body and the thorough identification of natural productivity with mechanical agency, Malpighi did not rule out the animate and sentient character of the body, and he emphasized the unattainability of perfection in the natural mechanics of living beings. Being both a theoretical anatomist and a physician—his *Consultationes Medicinales* (Medical consultations; Padua, 1713; Venice, 1747) are evidence of his clinical expertise—Malpighi represents the intriguing case of an early modern practitioner confronted with the need to harmonize theory (a new image of the body) and practice (the continuing success of traditional therapy) in the context of the new medical discourse.

See also **Anatomy and Physiology**; **Descartes, René**; **Galileo Galilei**; **Harvey, William**; **Medicine**; **Natural Philosophy**; **Oldenburg, Henry**.

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GUIDO GIGLIONI

MANDEVILLE, BERNARD (1670–1733), satirical writer and medical doctor. A specialist in nervous disorders, Bernard Mandeville was a Dutchman whose family had included physicians for generations. He received a classical education at the Erasmian school in Rotterdam. At the University of Leiden he studied medicine but also wrote a philosophical treatise on the ancient question of whether or not animals had souls. His cosmopolitan background led to a close knowledge of French skeptical literature and particularly the writings of Pierre Bayle (1647–1706), which influenced him considerably. Mandeville emigrated to London around 1691, possibly because of his involvement in local political disturbances, known as the Costerman Tax Riots, in Rotterdam in 1690. He settled down to a successful medical practice and married an Englishwoman, Ruth Elizabeth Laurence. Mandeville counted among his friends the eminent physician Sir Hans Sloane (1660–1753).

Mandeville's literary career began with the publication of a Hudibrastic poem entitled *The Grumbling Hive; or, Knaves Turned Honest* (1705), in which he began a satirical attack on Puritan asceticism that lasted his whole life. With the addition of prose essays, the poem grew into the first part of *The Fable of the Bees* (1714). A second part appeared in 1729. One of the appended essays dealt with the subject of charity schools, which, Mandeville controversially argued, would create discontent among the poor by overqualifying them for the (menial) tasks that they needed to do to make a living and that society needed them to do for its survival. The polemical subtitle, *Private Vices, Publick Benefits*, pithily encapsulated what later became known as the Mandevillean paradox, a questioning of the effects of adhering to an ascetic morality in a materialistic society.

The addition of the essay on charity schools to *The Fable of the Bees* led to a sometimes bitter public controversy engaging clerics and theologians like William Law (1686–1761), Joseph Butler (1692–1752), and Bishop George Berkeley (1685–1753), who all attacked Mandeville's work as morally corrupting. The Grand Jury of Middlesex condemned *The Fable of the Bees* to be burned by the public hangman, which added to Mandeville's notoriety and reputation as a freethinker. But the Mandevil-

lean paradox became a focal discussion of the Enlightenment in the eighteenth century. Adam Ferguson (1723–1816), David Hume (1711–1776), and Adam Smith (1723–1790) in Britain and Voltaire (1694–1778) and Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778) on the Continent felt the need to examine Mandeville’s assertion that luxury, far from being harmful, was the foundation of a flourishing, commercial society.

Mandeville wrote a number of other works, including one on nervous disorders and several on the subject of religion and its effects upon war. He also wrote pamphlets on important and topical social subjects, such as prostitution (*A Modest Defence of Publick Stews*; 1724) and hanging (*An Enquiry into the Causes of the Frequent Executions at Tyburn*; 1725). On these social questions his views, expressed journalistically, could be radical, in the English context, suggesting, for example, that prostitution should be regulated by the state. But his lasting fame and the critical attention he has received is primarily based on the ideas expounded in his *Fable of the Bees*.

See also Bayle, Pierre; Enlightenment; Hume, David; Rousseau, Jean-Jacques; Smith, Adam; Voltaire.

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MALCOLM JACK

MANILA. Spaniards founded the distinguished and ever-loyal city of Manila in 1571, after early settlements in the central Philippines proved economically weak. In 1565 Miguel López de Legazpi (c. 1510–1572) sailed from Mexico and settled in Cebu. Manila, however, was a better location for the Spaniards because of its magnificently protected bay on the southwest coast of Luzon, closer to the wealth of China. Upon arrival, they destroyed a

Muslim settlement under a Rajah Sulayman. The Spaniards resided within a fortress, known as Intramuros, on the banks of the Pasig River, while the Tagalog and Pampango natives lived in villages with a marketplace and a Catholic church. The Spanish governors, known as “the City and Commerce,” hoped that trade would flourish with riches from American silver and Chinese goods. The trade with China usually gave Manila prosperity and stability. Merchants with silks, porcelain, and manufactured items came to the entrepôt to trade for American silver brought by galleons from Acapulco. An average of 128 tons of silver a year crossed the Pacific Ocean between 1565 and 1815, when the last galleon put into Manila Harbor.

The forty-two thousand people of the city embodied many different histories. There were significant numbers of Japanese Christian refugees, possibly fifteen thousand *sangleys* (Chinese), seven thousand Spaniards, and a majority of twenty thousand *indios* (natives) from Tagalog, Pampango, and Visayan groups. Manila faced constant threats from Muslim raids, Chinese piracy, and Dutch attacks. The British captured the city in 1762 but returned it to Spain in the 1763 Treaty of Paris.

See also Spanish Colonies: The Philippines.

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JAMES B. TUELLER

MANNERISM. The definition of the style of mannerism was the subject of scholarly debate in the mid-twentieth century, but no consensus was

reached. The term is most helpful when used to identify one style of art in central Italy between the High Renaissance and the baroque, c. 1520–1600. It has been used more loosely, and less effectively, both in art history and other disciplines, such as cultural history, music, and literature.

SIXTEENTH- AND SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY USAGE

The word *maniera* was used in the sixteenth century by the historian Giorgio Vasari and others to mean simply “style.” Although it usually has positive connotations, it can be used negatively to mean routine, as in Vasari’s reference to the late works of Perugino (born Pietro di Cristoforo), where monotony resulted from his excessive reliance on *maniera*. Giovanni Pietro Bellori associated *maniera* with a lack of proper invention and dependence upon habit or convention. For him, the interval between the High Renaissance and the renewal of art brought about by Annibale Carracci was a deviation in which artists departed from the model of nature and followed their imaginations instead, straying into fantasy. When Bellori says that artists vitiated art with *la maniera*, depending on *pratica*, ‘routine’, it calls to mind Vasari’s condemnation of Perugino.

MODERN INTERPRETATIONS

In its departure from the norm, *maniera* acquired a positive value in the climate of the early twentieth century, when the dismantling of the academy and of the authority of classicism was being celebrated. Walter Friedländer undertook a reexamination of mannerism in his influential essay on the anticlassical style (1925), interpreting the paintings of Jacopo da Pontormo, Rosso Fiorentino, Parmigianino (born Girolamo Mazzola), and (selectively) Michelangelo Buonarroti as expressing a rejection of classicism and a rebellion against it. In its conscious rejection of the norm and search for a new ideal of beauty, the mannerist painters stretched the proportions of limbs, elongated the body, narrowed the depth of space, and pressed figures against the picture plane. Together with his contemporary Max Dvorak, Friedländer found in mannerism relationships to the spiritual expressionism of their own time, especially German expressionism. Dvorak defined mannerism as an artistic means to express spirituality. He identified the deformations of Jacopo

Tintoretto and El Greco with mannerism; their styles are better explained, however, as Counter-Reformation responses to the call of the post-Tridentine church for affective sacred images.

Friedländer’s essay was not translated until 1957, but well before then the “anticlassical style” had established a firm foothold in Anglo-Saxon scholarship. He had focused on the Florentines of the 1520s, but Frederick Hartt applied his analysis to Giulio Romano (born Giulio Pippi de’Gianuzzi) and the other artists of Rome, and extended Heinrich Wölfflin’s exclusion of the last half-decade of Raphael’s career from the canon of classicism (see Wölfflin’s *Classic Art*). Hartt found evidence of anticlassicism in Raphael’s late workshop projects, where the overextended master had to rely heavily on his assistants, led by Romano, beginning in the Stanza dell’Incendio. Some scholars were skeptical of Hartt’s conclusions, and S. J. Freedberg, in particular, restored to Raphael and classicism much of what Hartt and Wölfflin had taken away.

By the 1950s scholars had recognized that anticlassicism could not explain the works of the second generation of artists, like Francesco Salviati, Il Bronzino, and Vasari. As a result of a proposal by Luisa Beccherucci calling for refinement of the definition of the style, a distinction was made between mannerism, which was applied to the first generation, and *maniera*, the second generation. A session of the International Congress of the History of Art in 1961 produced two seminal papers by Craig Hugh Smyth and John Shearman. Smyth deduced from a study of the period’s works “conventions of the figure” that were frequently repeated and constituted a set of rules for the *maniera* method of constructing images. Marcia Hall further developed Smyth’s brilliant insight that these conventions were derived from late antique relief sculpture, and she found the precedent and model for this “relieflike style” in the late work of Raphael (particularly, the *Battle of the Milvian Bridge*, 1520–1524, Stanza di Constantino, Vatican).

John Shearman’s paper was later developed into a book (1967). He undertook to redefine the style by uncovering the sixteenth-century meaning of *maniera* and restricting its definition. His examination of texts from that time determined that *maniera* could always be translated as ‘style’, so his defi-

nition excluded the expressive and the anticlassical, in fact the whole first generation of mannerism. It focused on style itself as an end, and *maniera* became “the stylish style” characterized by refinement, grace, sophistication, elegance, and artificiality. This has proved the most durable of the definitions offered in the twentieth century, although objections have been raised by Henri Zerner and Jeroen Stumpel. Zerner found fault with Shearman’s exclusion of all meaning. He credited Freedberg’s analysis of *maniera* (1965), which pointed to an “underlying anxiety” apparent, although masked, also in Vasari. Freedberg saw the stylization of *maniera* as a mask for a generation that recognized that “there was no longer any virtue in a simple statement.” Layered complexity of meaning was suggested by layered artistic reference, and quotations from earlier art were intended to be recognized and appreciated by a cultured audience. Stumpel (1988), insisting that mannerism is an invention of the twentieth century, held that no definition can be reconstructed from sixteenth-century usage.

Recently, Philip Sohm has successfully argued that conceiving and naming mannerism as a period style was a sixteenth-century invention. Vasari’s definition of *maniera* includes five terms indicating three kinds of qualities: technique or procedural routine (*modi*, ‘methods’, and *tratti*, ‘brushstrokes’); the intellectual, imaginative, or psychological generation of style (*arie* ‘expressions’ and *fantasie* ‘imaginings’); and *maniera* that refers to transcendent, aestheticizing beauty.

The mannerist style has had the greatest appeal during periods of social unrest because of its association with anticlassicism and, therefore, rebellion against the establishment. Today, the “anti” character of mannerism is largely discredited; efforts to interpret it as continuous with High Renaissance classicism receive more attention. In sum, there is little agreement in basic texts on the definition of mannerism.

See also Central Europe, Art in; El Greco (Doménikos Theotokópoulos); Michelangelo Buonarroti; Tintoretto (Jacopo Robusti); Vasari, Giorgio.

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MARCIA B. HALL

MANORIALISM. See Feudalism.

MANSART, FRANÇOIS (1598–1666), French architect. The brilliant François Mansart, though praised as the “God of architecture” by the professor and theorist Jacques-François Blondel (*Architecture française*, 1752–1756), attained the international reputation he deserved only in the mid-twentieth century, thanks to Anthony Blunt. Mansart’s buildings synthesized the French and Italian classical heritage in an original and subtle play of volumes and sculpted surfaces. The numerous sketches and alternatives for his projects testify to his irrepressibly fertile imagination. Yet his design process also made him costly and difficult to work with. He was willing to tear down portions of his buildings two and three times during construction. He therefore rarely saw his designs completed, and his surviving buildings are often in fragments or have been greatly altered. The greatest monument to his art consists of approximately forty manuscript drawings that have been preserved.

Mansart’s commissions from the royal circle were thwarted or curtailed. His hopes of completely rebuilding the château (residential castle) of Blois for the presumed royal successor Gaston d’Orleans (1608–1660; brother to Louis XIII) were defeated with the birth of Louis XIV (ruled 1643–1715) in 1638. Only one wing was completed (1635–1638). In 1645–1646 he managed to build only the foundations and the facade, up to the first order (columns and entablatures), for the church of the Val-de-Grâce, when the exasperated Anne of Austria (1601–1666; wife of Louis XIII) replaced him with Pierre Le Muet (1591–1669). In 1664, Jean-Baptiste Colbert, the *surintendant des bâtiments* (royal superintendent of buildings) solicited Mansart’s designs for the expansion of the Louvre and, c. 1664–1665, for a mausoleum for the Bourbon dynasty at the abbey of St.-Denis. But Colbert soon abandoned Mansart because the latter was unable to settle on one of his multiple proposals.

Most of Mansart’s completed buildings are in the area of residential architecture, often built for the new socially ambitious class of financiers and royal officers. These include the châteaux of Balleroy (Normandy, from 1631); Berny (Val-de-Marne, 1623–1627); Maisons, built for René de Longueuil (Île de France, 1641–1660); Fresnes-sur-Marne (rebuilt by Mansart with the addition of a chapel

1644–1666); and a series of Parisian *hôtels* (noble town houses), the Hôtel de la Vrillière (1635–1650), Hôtel de Jars (1648), Hôtel Guénégaud du Plessis, (expanded 1648–c. 1660), and Hôtel Guénégaud-des-Brosses (1651–1653).

As was typical of architects of his time, Mansart came from a family involved in various building crafts. His father Absalon, who died when François was twelve, was carpenter to the king. François was trained by his brother-in-law Germain Gaultier, an architect and sculptor (and nephew of one of the greatest sculptors of the French Renaissance, Germain Pilon, c. 1525–1590), and by his uncle Marcel Le Roy, a master mason and civil engineer. Mansart did not travel to Italy, yet his collection of books attests to keen study of ancient monuments and French and Italian architects of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Born the same year as Gian Lorenzo Bernini (1598–1680) and considered his equal by his French contemporaries, he also shared with his Italian colleague dual sensibilities in both sculpture and architecture.

Mansart’s buildings are often formed in overall pyramid-shaped masses, as exemplified by the Parisian churches of the Val-de-Grâce and the Minimes (1657–1665) or the châteaux of Balleroy and Maisons. Although some compositions did not employ orders (for example, Balleroy or the church of the Visitation, 1632–1634), Mansart typically used classical orders or ornament, down to the smallest molding, to create a tectonic system, which evoked its support structure and volumes. For example, on the Val-de-Grâce facade, the orders are superimposed vertically, while advancing and receding from pilasters to engaged columns and exquisitely articulating its volumes.

Although he did not invent the mansard roof, it is aptly named after him. Mansart used it to good effect, and it became widespread in his time. The roof’s truss system spanned wider building units than would otherwise have been possible. Thus Mansart’s Hôtel de Jars (1648) and Louis Le Vau’s Hôtel Tambonneau (1642–1646) were the first to have double-depth *corps de logis* (main residential areas of a hôtel), allowing for more complex floor plan, variety in size and function of rooms, and even diagonal axes (as in the Louvre). Mansart designed staircases with particular virtuosity, suspending



François Mansart. The Maison Lafitte, built 1642–1651. THE ART ARCHIVE/CHATEAU LAFITTE FRANCE/DAGLI ORTI (A)

them from walls with an open well in the center, lit by a ceiling dome.

On a large scale, Mansart was sensitive to the placement of his buildings in their urban context; he proposed forecourts and designed his facades and

domes with urban vistas in mind. The low entry wall and elegant classical entrance of the Hôtel de la Vrillière emphasized its placement, unique for its day, on an axis from the street behind it (the rue des Fossées). Mansart's designs of châteaux such as Blois

and Maisons influenced the garden designer André Le Nôtre (1613–1700) by aligning the garden, the château, and the road approaching it in one long axis stretching out to the horizon. Mansart anticipated the collective work of architects and garden designers (for example, at Versailles) in his harmonious integration of building and landscape.

See also **Architecture; City Planning; Classicism; France, Architecture in.**

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MANTUA. Surrounded on three sides by lakes formed by the Mincio River, the city of Mantua was almost impregnable militarily. The duchy of Mantua spread across the fertile Lombard plain. The prosperity of the city came from textile manufacturing, that of the countryside from agriculture. The city, which had a vibrant Jewish community, had about 40,000 people in 1550, which declined to 31,000 in 1600. Plague and siege between 1627 and 1630 devastated the city, whose population only recovered to 14,000 in 1650, then rose to between 21,000 and 24,000 in the eighteenth century. The duchy as a whole had some 300,000 people in 1600, but fewer after 1630.

The Gonzaga family, rulers of Mantua from 1328 to 1707, intermarried with other princely families of Italy. They also produced several cardinals and one saint, the Jesuit Aloysius Gonzaga (1568–1591). In the 1530s the Gonzaga acquired through marriage the marquisate of Montferrat in Piedmont, not contiguous with the duchy of Mantua. This included the town and fortress of Casale Monferrato, a coveted military position some 120 miles west of the city of Mantua. The Gonzaga family supported the Habsburgs in the dynastic struggles of sixteenth-century Europe, and individ-

ual Gonzagas served them as military commanders and administrators.

Mantua had one of the most splendid courts of Italy and Europe in the fifteenth, sixteenth, and early seventeenth centuries. As many as eight hundred persons—writers, artists, musicians, and even a troop of commedia dell'arte actors—enjoyed Gonzaga patronage in the early seventeenth century. Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640) came to paint. Mantua also played a key role in the development of opera; Claudio Monteverdi (1567–1643) lived there from about 1590 to 1612, and his *Orfeo* (1607) and other works were first presented there. In 1625 Duke Ferdinando (1589–1626; ruled 1613–1626) founded the University of Mantua, where Jesuits taught humanities and philosophy, while laymen taught law and medicine. In order to pay for their splendid court, Gonzaga dukes sold assets. In 1627 Duke Vincenzo II (1594–1627; ruled 1626–1627) sold the family collection of Renaissance paintings (works of Titian, Andrea Mantegna, Correggio, Raphael, and others) to Charles I of England.

Gonzaga dukes seldom lived long, and they produced few heirs. On the death of Vincenzo II on 26 December 1627 without an heir, rival claimants to the duchy appeared. Carlo I Gonzaga-Nevers (1580–1637; ruled 1628–1637) of the French branch, with strong support from the French crown, slipped into Mantua to claim the title ahead of the leader of a branch of Italian Gonzagas, who accepted the traditional alliance with the Habsburgs. The French held the fortress towns of Mantua and Casale Monferrato, key military positions threatening Habsburg control of northern Italy. The Habsburgs sent an army to take back Mantua, and the War of the Mantuan and Montferrat Succession (1628–1631), an episode of the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648), began.

Unfortunately, the foreigners—most likely the imperial army—brought the bubonic plague with them. Because bad harvests had already weakened the duchy's population, the plague of 1629–1631 killed one quarter to one third. The historical novel *I promessi sposi* (1825–1827; *The Betrothed*) of Alessandro Manzoni (1785–1873) described the devastation and social dislocation in northern Italy as well as any historian could. The Habsburg army



Mantua. The Ducal Palace in Mantua, eighteenth-century painting by an unknown Emilian artist. THE ART ARCHIVE/MUSEO CIVICO MODENA/DAGLI ORTI (A)

overwhelmed the duchy in October 1629 and blockaded the city of Mantua. After a long siege, the army sacked and looted the city on 18–20 July 1630. At least two-thirds of the city's inhabitants died as a result of plague, lack of food, and violence. The university closed, and the city and duchy never recovered their former glory. Carlo I and his heirs retained the duchy, now shorn of Casale Monferato, as minor Habsburg clients.

In 1707 the Habsburgs exiled Ferdinando Carlo (1652–1708; ruled 1665–1708), the last Gonzaga duke, for helping the French in the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1714) and incorporated duchy and city into the Austrian Empire. The Austrian government of Empress Maria Theresa

(1717–1780; ruled 1740–1780) instituted governmental reforms and supported Mantuan learning and the arts to some extent. After the Austrians were driven out of northern Italy, the duchy of Mantua joined the kingdom of Italy in 1866.

See also Habsburg Dynasty: Austria; Plague; Spanish Succession, War of the (1701–1714); Thirty Years' War (1618–1648).

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MANTUAN SUCCESSION, WAR OF THE (1627–1631).

The death in 1627 of Duke Vincenzo II without immediate heirs plunged the Gonzaga duchies of Mantua and Monferrato into crisis. Vincenzo's closest relative was Charles, duke of Nevers, from a branch of the Gonzaga who had established themselves at the French court. Despite his earlier involvement in revolt against the crown, contemporaries assumed that Nevers's succession would increase French influence in northern Italy. However Nevers's title was challenged by Charles Emmanuel I, duke of Savoy, whose family had long sought the second Gonzaga duchy of Monferrato. In Mantua itself, Nevers was opposed by another Gonzaga cadet, Ferrante, duke of Guastalla. Charles Emmanuel appealed to Spain and agreed to a partition treaty with the Spanish governor of Milan for the occupation of Monferrato, which would place the key fortress of Casale in Spanish hands. In Vienna, Guastalla raised doubts about the legitimacy of Nevers's inheritance, and in March 1628 the Gonzaga territories, as imperial fiefs, were sequestered pending the emperor's adjudication. Although committed to suppressing Protestant revolt at home, France provided military support for Nevers, and in early 1629 French forces broke a Spanish siege of Casale. In 1630 the war swung in favor of Spain and the emperor, with the siege and sack of the city of Mantua, but the Swedish invasion of Germany weakened imperial commitment to Italy, and in late 1630 the Spanish were obliged to concede terms. The Treaty of Cherasco (April 1631) ratified Nevers's inheritance, though providing territorial compensation for both Savoy and Guastalla. French success, and Spanish resentment at the outcome, paved the way for the resumption of open war between the two powers in 1635.

See also **Louis XIII (France)**; **Military**; **Olivares, Gaspar de Guzmán y Pimental, Count of**; **Richelieu, Armand-Jean Du Plessis, cardinal**.

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MANUFACTURING. See **Industrial Revolution**; **Industry**; **Proto-Industry**; **Textile Industry**.

MARBURG, COLLOQUY OF. The Colloquy of Marburg (1 October to 5 October 1529) was a series of meetings designed to end the religious quarrel between the Lutheran and Zwinglian theologians and to make a political agreement between their Protestant states possible. The Hessian landgrave, or prince, Philipp the Magnanimous (1504–1567), organized the colloquy, which was ended prematurely by the threatening epidemic known as the English sweats (possibly chronic fatigue syndrome). After establishing many areas of agreement, the religious discussions focused on the nature of the Lord's Supper, the main item of disagreement between the feuding theologians. Martin Luther (1483–1547) and Philipp Melancthon (1487–1560), both from Wittenberg in Electoral Saxony, were the main speakers for the Lutheran cause, while Huldrych Zwingli (1484–1531) from Zurich and John Oecolampadius (1482–1531) from Basel represented the Zwinglian side. There were also delegates from Nuremberg, Augsburg, and Schwäbisch-Hall.

Landgrave Philipp's strategy of using small group meetings as well as the large disputation format did produce a compromise agreement called the fifteen articles of faith, also known as the Marburg Articles. The theologians all agreed to articles on original sin, the Word of God, grace, baptism, infant baptism, and confession, and Luther was willing to compromise on his wording concerning the Real Presence of Christ in the Sacrament of the Altar. Zwingli, however, could not accept any understanding of the Presence other than a symbolic one. Zwingli held that Christ's words, "this is my body," mean 'this signifies my body'. Hence, on the fifteenth article, concerning the Lord's Supper, they stated their differences, but agreed not to continue to attack one another.

While the religious discussions continued, some of the politicians began separate political discussions in order to create a defensive Protestant alliance against possible hostile actions by their Roman Catholic opponents. From the start, the political desire for a defensive alliance had driven demands for a colloquy and religious agreement because Luther insisted that a defensive alliance of Protestants must hold the same religious views. The Lutheran princes of Electoral Saxony and Brandenburg-Ansbach, however, who were opposed to a defensive Protestant alliance with the Lower German and German-speaking Swiss cities, schemed to sabotage the Marburg Colloquy. Elector John sent Eberhard von der Tann to Marburg with instructions to prevent an agreement. Hence, failing to create an all-Protestant alliance, Hesse, Strasbourg, Zurich, and Basel drew up the Marburg Sketch of an Alliance to serve as the basis for one in the future.

Significantly, the religious discussions proved that Lutheran and Reformed theologians could compromise and reach agreement under favorable circumstances. Thus, the colloquy remains a subject of more than historical interest to this day. Landgrave Philipp's contention that the religious dispute was only over words—that the theologians simply misunderstood one another—was accepted by some of the theologians. Hence, it led to broader theological agreements, for example, the Wittenberg Concord of 1536, which included the Upper German towns (considered Zwinglian by the Lutheran party in 1529) in common communion with the Lutheran principalities. The Marburg Sketch of

an Alliance materialized in the Schmalkaldic League (1531), which defended the German Protestant states until Luther's death.

See also **Bible: Interpretation; Catholicism; Hesse, Landgraviate of; Luther, Martin; Lutheranism; Melancthon, Philipp; Nuremberg; Reformation, Protestant; Saxony; Theology; Zurich; Zwingli, Huldrych.**

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MARGINAL PEOPLE. *See* **Crime and Punishment; Poverty; Roma (Gypsies); Vagrants and Beggars.**

MARGUERITE DE NAVARRE (Marguerite d'Angoulême, Marguerite de Valois; 1492–1549), French author, humanist, and religious reformer. The sister of the French King Francis I (ruled 1515–1547), Marguerite became duchess of Alençon through her first marriage and queen of Navarre by her second, to Henry d'Albret in

1527. Marguerite was also a peer of the realm, duchess of Berri, countess of Perche, Armagnac, and Roddez, and held several smaller territories within France. Educated by some of the leading humanists of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, Marguerite was an intellectual who corresponded with many European humanists during her lifetime. Like many French humanists, Marguerite was a devout Catholic interested in religious reform who supported translating the Scriptures into the vernacular and believed in a doctrine known as French Evangelism. Unlike the Protestants, French Evangelicals were interested in reforming the church from within. The French Evangelical agenda focused on specific clerical abuses, such as pluralism and absenteeism, and reforming convents and monasteries.

Marguerite, who attempted to interest the king in church reform, supported the most important group of French Evangelicals, led by Guillaume Briçonnet, bishop of Meaux. For a short period in the early 1520s, when the French king and the pope were at odds, it looked as if Marguerite might convince her brother to support French Evangelism. However, when Pope Adrian VI died and was succeeded by Pope Clement VII, French-papal relations were restored, and the French king turned his attention to his claims to territories in Italy. The moment to gain royal support for Evangelical reform of the Catholic Church in France had passed.

Although Marguerite no longer pushed her brother to reform the French church after 1524, she did maintain a lifelong interest in religious reform, which led her not only to insist on the reform of corrupt convents and monasteries in her own far-reaching territories but also to support reformers inside France who were suspected of heresy. As a powerful patron, she defended many well-known French Evangelicals such as Gérard Roussel and Michael d'Arande from heresy charges, and she protected others by sending them to her court in Navarre, where they were no longer under French jurisdiction. The most famous of the reformers who fled France with Marguerite's help was John Calvin, who left in 1534. Marguerite continued to assist a number of other reformers both inside and outside of France throughout the 1530s and 1540s. In part because of her defense of such reformers, Marguerite was seen by many as a heretic and a woman who



Marguerite de Navarre. Portrait by François Clouet.
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meddled in matters that should be left to men, and until the mid-twentieth century, scholars debated whether or not she remained a Catholic.

At the same time that she was bringing French Evangelism to the attention of the king in the early 1520s, Marguerite was also embarking on a writing career that would gain her an international reputation. Her earliest works were mystical poetry, such as “Le miroir de l’âme pécheresse” (“The mirror of the sinful soul”), which espoused Evangelical ideas and combined them with a mysticism that portrayed Marguerite’s relationship with God in familial as well as spiritual terms. By the 1530s, Marguerite had begun a collection of short stories that would be published after her death as the *Heptaméron*, many of them composed in her litter as Marguerite made her frequent journeys across France. Patterned on Boccaccio’s *Decameron* in structure, Marguerite’s work rejected his misogynist view. Rather than portraying women’s weakness and sinfulness, Marguerite’s stories depicted women’s strength and

piety, and many of them condemned men for behavior that led to the ruin of women. In her later years, Marguerite wrote a number of short “closet” plays, meant to be read by her immediate circle but not to be staged and produced. These works also reflected her spiritual ideas.

Marguerite was more than a devout Christian humanist and author, however. Devoted to her brother, Marguerite often acted as a political representative for the king. The first instance of this was in 1525, when she negotiated with Emperor Charles V for the king’s release after the Battle of Pavia. Over the next two decades, Marguerite advised her brother on political and military matters, served on the king’s Grand Council, and entered into negotiations with the English for a peace treaty with France. While at times her influence with her brother waned, she always retained the king’s favor, and exercised a great deal of political authority within her own territories and those of her husbands.

See also Calvin, John; Charles V (Holy Roman Empire); Francis I (France); French Literature and Language.

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MARIA THERESA (HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE) (Maria Theresa; 1717–1780; ruled 1740–1780), empress of Austria. Many historians regard the eighteenth century as a time when monarchical government represented the most progressive force in economics, politics, and society. Maria Theresa was one of the greatest of these eighteenth-century monarchs, but no one would have anticipated her success when she came to the throne. The Habsburg Monarchy was not a single

entity, but a conglomeration of provinces stretching from Belgium in the west to Transylvania in the east and Silesia—now in Poland—in the north to Tuscany in the south with many spaces in between. Many historians agree that, when she ended her reign, these disparate lands had achieved a unity they had never known before.

In the early eighteenth century, many of these provinces had no provision for a female ruler. As it became increasingly apparent that the Habsburg family might be running out of males, in 1713 Maria Theresa’s father, Charles VI (ruled 1711–1740), made public an internal family document called the Pragmatic Sanction, which guaranteed the right of succession to female family members. After 1720 Charles worked hard to persuade first his crownlands and then the other European powers to recognize the Pragmatic Sanction so that his elder daughter, Maria Theresa, could inherit the Habsburg patrimony. By the time Charles died in 1740, he seemed to have succeeded.

Within two months of his death, Charles’s carefully crafted diplomatic effort to assure his daughter’s succession fell apart. In December 1740 the new king of Prussia, Frederick II (later known as “Frederick the Great”), invaded the Austrian province of Silesia, claiming it for his crown. Maria Theresa’s advisers, including her husband, Francis Stephen of Lorraine, recommended that she seek an accommodation with Frederick because Austria was in no condition, militarily or financially, to resist.

Maria Theresa rejected that advice preemptorily. She vowed to fight to preserve her inheritance and to use every resource to do so. She rallied support from all parts of her realm, inspired her soldiers and officers with stirring words, and set out to crush Frederick, whom she would later refer to as the “monster.” Thus began the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748), which became a European-wide affair with Prussia, Bavaria, and France fighting on one side against Austria and Britain on the other. It took many twists and turns, finally ending in 1748 with the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (Aachen) between Austria and France. The Austro-Prussian war had ended in 1745 with Maria Theresa ceding Silesia to Frederick II.

The Prussian seizure of Silesia was the driving force in Maria Theresa’s reign. From the outset, she



Maria Theresa. GETTY IMAGES

was determined to right this terrible wrong that Frederick had inflicted upon her, and her reform efforts for the rest of her reign always had that leitmotif running through them. Maria Theresa was not a theorist; she had no compelling vision of what she imagined her possessions should become. Rather, she was practical, authorizing reforms she believed were needed and adjusting their impact to the expected and unexpected results they invariably generated.

The reforms began at the end of the War of the Austrian Succession to answer the fundamental question: how does one raise an army that can defeat the Prussians and provide it with the financial support necessary to do so? To deal with this issue, she adopted the plan of a noble but impoverished refugee from Silesia, Count Friedrich Wilhelm Haugwitz, which called for ending the annual negotiations with the monarchy's estates for human and financial resources and replacing them with negotiations every ten years. The estates would grant the

central government an annual revenue for a ten-year period, along with the authority to collect it. With these funds and by combining many functions of government under the authority of a new central General Directory, Maria Theresa was able to raise a peacetime army of 110,000 men to prepare for war with Frederick II.

The opportunity to begin that war came in 1756. In that year Frederick concluded an accord with Britain, thereby pulling this old ally from its association with Austria. Instead of bemoaning the loss, Maria Theresa's master of foreign policy and brilliant adviser for many years to come, Wenzel Anton Kaunitz, arranged an alliance between Austria and its age-old enemy, France, in what has come down in history as the Reversal of Alliances (or the Diplomatic Revolution). The adherence of Russia to the alliance seemed to give it overwhelming power in relation to Prussia. In August Frederick launched a preemptive strike against Saxony, and thus began the Seven Years' War (1756–1763), called at times in central Europe the Third Silesian War.

Maria Theresa fought this war with all her heart. This was the war that she hoped would rectify the harm that Frederick had inflicted upon her in 1740. But Austria just could not pull off the necessary victories. Haugwitz's reforms had substantially improved the financial condition of the monarchy and the army, but they had been designed for peacetime, not for war. The monarchy had to resort to a number of financial gimmicks to keep the war going, and a number of favorite economic projects had to be abandoned. Austria's allies, France and Russia, were not at their peak in terms of military efficiency, while France especially was sidetracked by its war against Britain in Europe, America, and India. And Frederick was a formidable enemy. A master of the use of interior lines, Frederick kept his many enemies at bay until the war finally came to an end in 1762 when Russia dropped out of the coalition.

The Seven Years' War was the last true conflict Maria Theresa fought against Prussia or any other state. In 1778–1779 the War of the Bavarian Succession, encouraged primarily by her son and co-ruler, Joseph II (ruled 1765–1790), seemed about to become another war for Silesia, but she intervened personally to stop it. Her reforms did not

stop, however, nor did their intent to strengthen the Habsburg state. In the post-war period, Maria Theresa's reforms reflected the prevailing idea of Enlightened Absolutism, namely that the strength of a state did not rest in the size of its army or the amount of land it controlled but in the health and well-being of its people and the wealth they generated.

This second period of reform caused Maria Theresa some spiritual angst. She was a devout and conservative Roman Catholic who deeply opposed religious pluralism as a threat to the souls of her subjects. She also bore a number of prejudices that came out every now and then, one notable example being her expulsion of the Jews from the city of Prague in 1745 and another her forced emigration of crypto-Protestants either to Transylvania or out of the monarchy altogether. But, in keeping with her reforms, she wanted her church to be of practical benefit to her people and instituted a number of policies to make it that way. She insisted that the church reduce the number of monks, allow taxation of the clergy, create more parishes, and strengthen existing parishes. When the pope abolished the Jesuit Order in 1773, she secured papal permission to convert its property in the monarchy to use by the state in order to establish a system of public education. These policies reflected Maria Theresa's pragmatic desire to improve the lot of her subjects and her pious wish to strengthen the role of the church at the parish level. They also hinted at Josephinism, her son and co-ruler's more thorough endeavor to use the church's resources for the good of the state.

Other reforms included her efforts to improve the lot of the peasantry. In response to peasant unrest, she alleviated the condition of the serfs on crownlands and imposed restrictions on lords' treatment of their peasants. She advocated the conversion of work dues to rent in order to encourage the peasants to be more productive, which in turn would bring in more revenue to the state and offer a higher quality recruit for the army. Maria Theresa likewise determined to revise the civil and criminal codes of the monarchy. She abolished the use of torture in 1776, but wide-scale reforms were delayed in part because Joseph II and some of her ministers regarded what she wanted as not liberal and far-reaching enough.

Maria Theresa was famous not only for her successful reforms and her vigorous foreign policy but also as a wife and mother. Reflecting on the lack of Habsburg males as a reason for triggering the Prussian invasion of Silesia, she determined from the outset that the Habsburg family would never again be short of offspring. She was the mother of sixteen children, five boys and eleven girls. She wrote to one of her daughters, "I can never have enough children; in this I am insatiable." She deeply loved her husband, Francis Stephen. An effective ruler in his own province of Tuscany and bearing the title of Holy Roman emperor from 1745, in Vienna his primary political role was to offer advice. When he died in 1765, she went into deep mourning, even pondering giving all her authority to her eldest son, Joseph.

Joseph succeeded to the title of Holy Roman emperor in 1765 and became co-ruler with his mother until her death in 1780. Their relationship was a turbulent one, with Joseph advocating much more extensive reform than Maria Theresa was willing to allow. Their voluminous correspondence is full of references to Maria Theresa's resisting her son's advice and demands, and of Joseph's heading off on inspection trips around the monarchy to work off the tension and stress his mother's resistance caused him.

Maria Theresa's death in 1780 caused considerable grief throughout the monarchy. A tribute came from her lifelong foe, Frederick the Great of Prussia, who wrote when he heard of her passing, "I accepted the death of the empress-queen. She did honor to her throne and to her sex; I fought wars with her, but never was I her enemy." The Pragmatic Sanction created a legal basis for the unity of the Habsburg Monarchy; Maria Theresa established it in fact.

See also Austria; Austrian Succession, War of the (1740–1748); Bavaria; Charles VI (Holy Roman Empire); Frederick II (Prussia); Habsburg Dynasty: Austria; Holy Roman Empire; Joseph II (Holy Roman Empire); Prussia; Seven Years' War (1756–1763).

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MARIANA, JUAN DE (?1535/1536–1624), Spanish Jesuit (Alcalá de Henares, 1554), historian and economic and political theorist. Born in Talavera de la Reina (Toledo), Mariana was among the most important Spanish scholars of his time, and taught at Rome, Sicily, Paris, and Toledo.

Mariana published his history of Spain, *De Rebus Hispaniae*, in 1592, and revised and translated it into Spanish in 1601 as *Historia general de España*. His Castilian-centric vision of Iberian history, full of rousing speeches and moral lessons, was typical of the historiography of the period, in the tradition of Livy. Written in the wake of the Armada's defeat (1588) and reissued after Philip II's (ruled 1556–1598) death, a time when Spain's glory was beginning to fade, it was both pessimistic and romantic. It was also the first general history of Spain, and became an important source for later readers, particularly in the history-crazed late eighteenth century.

In 1599, Mariana published his great political treatise, *De Rege et Regis Institutione*, written as a guide for the young Philip III. In it, Mariana set out his vision of the best form of government: a hereditary monarchy in which the king is advised by a council and limited by an elected assembly. Thus, Mariana is justly thought to have originated the idea of constitutional monarchy. In *De Rege*, he praised the Cortes (parliament) of Aragón, the representative assembly of eastern Spain, which had retained more rights than the Cortes of Castile. During the reign of Philip III (ruled 1598–1621), the Cortes, whose members represented Castile's major cities, became the arena for an ongoing struggle between the monarchy, in desperate need of money, and the cities, increasingly prone to place conditions on their grants. Behind the struggle over taxation lay a deeper conflict over the true location of authority.

Mariana advocated equality under the law: “If the king requires obedience of his subjects, he must also show obedience to the laws, because the king must be subject to those laws sanctioned by the Republic, whose authority is greater than his” (*De Rege*, I.9). He was neither a democrat nor a revolutionary, and he was not alone in believing that sovereignty originated in the kingdom, not the king (Jean Bodin had published *La république* in 1577), but his words were more adamant than those of his contemporaries. For Mariana, government was partly the result of nature but also of human will; if people made government, they could also unmake it and were justified in doing so if rulers violated their contract. If monarchs ignored the words and wishes of their subjects, and if the Cortes were unable, because of a monarch's attitude, to continue meeting, then “any citizen, in the name of the people, has the right to kill the tyrant” (*De Rege*, I.6). His analysis was taken by some to be a justification for the 1589 murder of Henry III of France (ruled 1574–1589). When Henry IV of France (ruled 1589–1610) was assassinated in 1610, *De Rege* was publicly burned in French bonfires and listed on the Inquisition's Index, which, ironically, Mariana had collaborated on a decade earlier.

In 1605 Mariana turned his attention to economics, writing seven economic treatises, the most influential of which, *De Monetae Mutatione*, dealt with currency. The work proved as controversial as *De Rege*. Mariana was one of a chorus of economists who saw in debased coinage the ultimate explanation for Spain's decline, and his criticisms of copper coinage, which he regarded as taxation because it increased the money supply, causing inflation, drew the attention of the powerful duke of Lerma, Philip III's favorite. Lerma persuaded the king to seek papal approval for Mariana's arrest in 1610. On trial in Madrid, he defended himself by pointing out that his writings had aimed only to defend the king; nonetheless, the charge of lèse-majesté was proved. Philip, who had not prosecuted Mariana for *De Rege*, left punishment to Rome, which dropped the matter. Mariana was released in 1611. He continued living in Toledo until his death in 1624.

A work published after his death, written around 1605, *Discurso de los grandes defectos que hay en la forma del gobierno de los Jesuitas*, was a criticism of his own order. It was aimed particularly at

the government of Claudius Aquaviva, the general of the Society of Jesus, who in Mariana's opinion was excessively bureaucratic and dictatorial. Seen as a plea for greater democracy, it was immediately condemned by the order.

See also Bodin, Jean; Henry III (France); Henry IV (France); Jesuits; Lerma, Francisco Gómez de Sandoval y Rojas, 1st duke of; Philip II (Spain); Philip III (Spain); Spain.

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RUTH MACKAY

MARIE ANTOINETTE (1755–1793), queen of France. Joséphe-Jeanne-Marie Antoinette (Maria Antonia, archduchess of Austria) married Louis-Auguste, dauphin of France, on 16 May 1770. Louis XVI (ruled 1774–1792) and Marie Antoinette ascended the throne in 1774. The youngest daughter of the sixteen children of Maria Theresa (1717–1780), archduchess of Austria and queen of Bohemia and Hungary, and Francis I (ruled 1745–1765), Holy Roman emperor, Marie Antoinette wed at age fifteen to secure a tenuous Franco-Austrian alliance. A French tutor educated the archduchess in religion, history, the classics, and the arts. Not an adept learner, though enthusiastic, Marie Antoinette excelled in artistic pursuits. Her parents married for love, shared the same bed, and took joy in parenthood, unusual for the eighteenth century. Marie Antoinette's days were divided between courtly etiquette and the unceremonious family quarters. Maria Theresa's moral code permeated the court and influenced her children. Marie Antoinette venerated her loving, albeit highly principled mother, but she was especially attached to her father. His death at the age of fifty-six devastated

the ten-year-old Marie Antoinette, and sorrow attended her throughout her life. This burden typified her complex personality, which was often eclipsed by her public image as a pitiless and spendthrift queen.

The duc de Choiseul, foreign minister to Louis XV, and Maria Theresa orchestrated the political match between Marie Antoinette and Louis XVI, an excruciatingly shy adolescent of sixteen years whose chief delights were hunting and puttering in his locksmith shop. The marriage was politically disastrous and personally fragile for Marie Antoinette and Louis XVI. The enmity France bore for this Austrian queen was almost pathological. The hostility toward Marie Antoinette from both the educated elite and the populace forever impugned her character. She suffered rumors of infidelity and infertility in the seven years before she gave birth to a daughter and finally the dauphin, born in 1781. Marie Antoinette was comforted by Louis XVI, who ultimately came to love his charismatic bride and to whom he paid unfettered affection in public.

By 1774 the queen endured unspeakable venom at court and in Paris from those outraged at the monarchy for an unjust social order. Scandals proliferated, assuming a life of their own; “Madame Déficit” became the favorite political scapegoat. Marie Antoinette incensed her enemies with her disdain for etiquette and her expenditures, and she was condemned for trafficking with unsavory friends. Her untamed and extravagant conduct incited the authors of a libelous underground street discourse, already active by the time she came to France, and these authors exposed the decline of the monarchy. By the 1780s clandestine pamphlets targeting Marie Antoinette circulated widely, most notably in *Essais historiques sur la vie de Marie Antoinette d’Autriche* (c. 1789). Scurrilous works of this nature circulated in places like the Palais-Royal in Paris, a forum for public discontent, as well as at Versailles. The writers actively fed into public perceptions of Marie Antoinette as immoral and dissolute. Their fantastic charges of lesbian affairs, incestuous debauchery, and a demasculinization of men undermined the legitimacy of the monarchy.

The public refused to see Marie Antoinette as a loving and dutiful mother. This contemptuous response to the queen continued in the Diamond



Marie Antoinette. Portrait by Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun.

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Necklace Affair of 1785–1786. Marie Antoinette was proclaimed guilty in the court of public opinion for this infamous case of stolen goods devised by the adventuress Jeanne de La Motte and a gullible dupe, Cardinal de Rohan, both jockeying for position at Versailles. Events spun out of control in 1789. Hungry market women from Paris stormed Versailles, forcing the king and queen's exile and house arrest in the Tuileries palace in Paris, followed by the monarchs' failed escape to Saint-Cloud on Easter in 1791. The escalating political turmoil of 1792 led to their trials and incarceration in the Conciergerie, the jail on the Seine in Paris.

While Marie Antoinette's critics have denigrated her, modern scholarship dispels distortions that blur her import. From her early days at court, Marie Antoinette was high-spirited, mischievous, and witty; she once masqueraded as a Sister of Charity before Louis XVI, and they howled together over his naïveté. She supported the arts and sought to relax the stiff decorum of the court while cultivating her keen need for privacy. Her loyal friendships defined her, none more so than that of the

king, who sustained her in the anguish of relentless character defamation. Following the king's execution on 21 January 1793, Marie Antoinette on 16 October 1793 rode bravely erect in the tumbrel to her execution at the Place de la Révolution, a proud queen, devoted mother, and faithful wife.

See also **Diamond Necklace, Affair of;** **France;** **Louis XVI (France);** **María Theresa (Holy Roman Empire);** **Revolutions, Age of.**

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ROSAMOND HOOPER-HAMERSLEY

MARIE DE L'INCARNATION (1599–1672), French mystic and missionary. Marie Guyart of the Incarnation was a leading figure of the Catholic mission to the Amerindians of New France; she was also a theologian (she was called “the Saint Teresa of the New World”), a spiritual adviser, mystic, businesswoman, and founder of the Ursuline convent in Quebec (Canada). Her extensive correspondence reveals a profound spirituality combined with a remarkable sense of organization and outstanding linguistic skills. As the first female missionary outside Europe, she exemplified female religious patronage and activism, which led to the development of social welfare in early modern Catholic Europe and its colonies. In New France, she was a star; it was almost compulsory for every newcomer to the colony to visit her, for she could provide information not only on the natives' languages and customs, but also on the settlers' living conditions.

Marie Guyart was born in Tours (France) to parents who operated a bakery. Nothing is known of her education or how she developed such a talent as a writer. Married to the silk manufacturer Claude Martin in 1617, but widowed two years later, she

raised her only son Claude by herself while running her brother-in-law's shipping business for more than six years until she decided to retire from society. In 1631 she entered Tours' Ursuline convent, leaving her son in her sister's care, and pronounced her vows after two years of probation as a novice. By then she had decided on the great project of converting souls. She succeeded in going to New France in 1639 with the help of a large network of supporters that extended from her close relatives to Anne of Austria, queen of France (1601–1666). Two Ursulines, Marie de Savonnières de La Troche (1616–1652) and Cécile Richer (1609–1687), accompanied her and helped her found, the same year, the first teaching convent in North America.

After a long life of ecstatic visions, letter writing (more than 10,000 in all), and down-to-earth missionary work, Marie Guyart died in Quebec in 1672. By merging contemplation and action, she typified the mystics of the early seventeenth century. On the one hand, she was an expert in speculative theology, which she taught to her fellow nuns. Considered a sensible spiritual adviser, she was frequently chosen as the mistress in charge of the probationers of her convent. Over the years she also became the thoughtful director of conscience of many of her correspondents. She was more reserved about her mystical ecstasies, which she confided only to select people such as her son. On the other hand, she was also a devoted missionary, teaching and assisting Amerindian girls and women and raising funds for her mission. All things considered, however, regard for her missionary work was poor. Her Amerindian pupils were always few in number and often died early. Their numbers fell drastically at the end of the century because of epidemics and wars.

Marie Guyart's task did not end with her mission to the Amerindians but extended to the rest of the colony. She not only converted Amerindian girls, she educated the French girls with the aim of raising them as good and pious housewives. Her other, numerous skills ranged from translation of dictionaries in various Amerindian languages to architecture and crafting such as embroidery and gilding, which she introduced into the colony.

See also French Colonies: North America.

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DOMINIQUE DESLANDRES

MARIE DE MÉDICIS (1573–1642), queen of France (1600–1610) and regent (1610–1617) for her son, Louis XIII. Marie de Médicis, the daughter of the Grand Duke of Tuscany and the Archduchess of Austria, was born in Florence.

Though her upbringing was marred by the early death of her mother and her father's neglect, she received an excellent education, which, in keeping with family tradition, gave her a sound foundation in the fine arts. In 1600 she was married to Henry IV of France (ruled 1589–1610) and took up residence in the Louvre the following year. She bore five children; a daughter, Henrietta-Maria, married Charles I of England; a son succeeded his father to the throne as Louis XIII. She is remembered in part as one of the most troublesome queen mothers in history—a lightning rod for discontent with her son's reign and especially with his chief minister, Cardinal Richelieu. But she also should be noted for her considerable patronage of the arts and her extensive building projects that still grace Paris.

After the assassination of her husband in 1610, Marie was made regent by the Parlement of Paris. Though politically inexperienced, she was not lacking in ambition: she was after all a Medici and confidently seized control of royal authority. Seeking peace to ensure tranquillity at home, she reversed Henry's anti-Habsburg policy, withdrew France's armies from Europe, and struck up an alliance with Spain that was sealed with the marriage of the fifteen-year-old Louis XIII to the Spanish Infanta, Anne of Austria. Her regency, however, was marked by instability. The weakness of royal authority invited a resurgence of aristocratic expectations of power sharing, and ultimately led to the calling of the Estates-General in 1614. The distribution of pensions and other spoils to great noblemen drained the treasury but did not prevent their mounting discontent. Several princes of the realm abandoned the court and threatened open revolt, the Huguenots grew restive at the prospect of royal wavering from the guarantees of the Edict of Nantes, and the prince of Condé was eventually arrested for challenging the queen's authority. Some of this discontent was really disguised opportunism in the face of a weakened royal authority under the regency. But some can be blamed on Marie's own poor judgment, in particular the promotion of her favorite, Concino Concini, to the point where this Italian outsider dominated both the court and the royal council. Indignation against Concini was compounded by the dubious reputation of his wife, Leonora Galigai, Marie's childhood friend.



Marie de Médicis. Portrait by Peter Paul Rubens. ©FRANCIS G. MAYER/CORBIS

The reign of the favorite and Marie's regency came dramatically to an end with the intervention of her son. In 1617 the fifteen-year-old Louis XIII instigated a veritable coup d'état against the favorite, which ended with the arrest of Marie and the deaths of the Concinis. Thus began nearly fifteen years of *contretemps* between Marie and her son, adding to the instability of Louis XIII's early reign. With the aid of her younger son, Gaston d'Orléans, Marie managed to escape from her captivity in 1619 and raised her standard against the king. Beaten in battle, she was reconciled with Louis through the good graces of Bishop Richelieu of Luçon, who soon entered the royal council. Though initially allied to Marie, Richelieu became the king's loyal servant and was instrumental in once again setting France on a course of opposition to Habsburg domination of Europe. Aided by Gaston, Marie actively conspired against Richelieu, hoping to depose him as chief minister. On the night of 10–11 November 1630, the so-called Day of Dupes, she nearly got her way. The king led her to believe that he was acceding to her demand to have Richelieu dismissed, but then in a dramatic turnaround backed his chief minister, arrested Marie, and subsequently

put on trial those ministers most closely associated with her. Once again Marie managed to escape from her imprisonment in Compiègne and sought refuge in the Low Countries.

Marie's exile lasted until her death in Cologne in 1642. Though her political power was certainly diminished, she continued to exert influence as a rallying point for Richelieu's opponents. Mathieu de Morgues, a writer formerly in service to Richelieu, joined her entourage in Brussels and launched a barrage of pamphlets that attacked both the cardinal-minister's "tyranny" and France's anti-Habsburg policies and defended Marie de Médicis.

Beyond her political legacy, Marie played a role as a major patron of the arts. Shortly after Henry IV's assassination, she engaged Salomon de Brosse to begin work on a new palace, one that would prove more suitable than the dour, somewhat medieval Louvre as the residence of a queen. Completed in 1623, the Luxembourg Palace combined French tastes with Italian splendor. Its interior, the "Medici Gallery," was graced with a series of enormous paintings (now in the Louvre in Paris) executed by Peter Paul Rubens depicting "The Life of Marie de' Medici" from her birth to her reconciliation with the king in 1619.

See also Henry IV (France); Louis XIII (France); Medici Family; Richelieu, Armand-Jean Du Plessis, cardinal; Rubens, Peter Paul.

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ROBERT A. SCHNEIDER

MARILLAC, MICHEL DE (1560–1632), French political and religious figure. Scion of an old noble family from the Auvergne with a long history of service to the ducs de Bourbon and then the French monarchy, Marillac was born in Paris on the eve of the Wars of Religion. His father, superintendent of the royal finances in 1569, died in 1573, and Marillac was raised by an uncle. He married Nicola

(Marguerite) Barbe de la Fortune in 1587 and had six children with her; after her death in 1600, he married Marie de Saint-Germain in 1601.

Law studies and practice as a barrister prepared Marillac for an office as councillor in the Paris parlement in 1586. His active participation in the Catholic League for several years after 1589 might have destroyed his career, but some deft footwork in 1593 enabled him to draw a discreet veil over it. With the consent of the new king, Henry IV (ruled 1589–1610), Marillac became a master of requests in 1595. In this capacity he worked mainly as an agent of the royal council, embarking on numerous missions to the provinces and carrying out judicial and financial commissions, especially under Chancellor Nicolas Brûlart de Sillery (1607–1624), an experience that enduringly shaped his view of government. When Marillac resigned as master of requests in 1612, Sillery made him councillor of state, a post in which he specialized in financial affairs. This advancement was supported by Marie de Médicis (1573–1642), the queen regent during the minority of Louis XIII (ruled 1601–1643), to whom the Marillac extended family was already attached by ties of marriage and household service.

These personal and political connections dovetailed with the religious ones that were central to the so-called Dévot movement that emerged after the religious wars. Marillac was an emblematic figure of the movement. He apparently wished at various moments to abandon his career for the religious life. After 1602 he was closely associated with the influential Acarie circle, dedicated to pursuing spiritual renewal and reform. Some of the most significant religious developments of the time, such as the introduction into France of the Spanish reformed Carmelites (1604) and the foundation by Pierre de Bérulle (1575–1629) of the French Oratory (1611), were spearheaded by the circle. Marillac used his professional position to enable these and numerous other religious foundations to negotiate the legal and financial obstacles to their development. His personal combination of scholarship and religion led him to publish his own translations of the *Imitation of Christ* (1621) and the *Psalms and Canticles* (1625).

Marillac's career exemplified the myriad links between religion and politics under Louis XIII, and

they propelled him toward higher office in royal service, especially once Marie de Médicis recovered her political influence during the early 1620s. She and Cardinal Richelieu (1585–1642) enabled Marillac to serve as finance minister from August 1624 until June 1626, when he moved sideways to the more congenial post of keeper of the seals, whose responsibilities far transcended judicial affairs. His activity as keeper was the culmination of his long career as a magistrate, which had made him acutely aware of the need to overhaul and improve internal government, as the Estates-General (1614) and successive Assemblies of Notables (1617, 1626) had demanded. This led him to envisage reform from above via comprehensive royal ordinances. With its 461 articles, the vast Code Michau of 1629 (nicknamed for Mirallac) was largely but not exclusively his doing. It codified numerous existing laws and focused mainly on religious, judicial, and financial reforms. Simultaneously Marillac's ministerial responsibilities convinced him of the corruption of government. His efforts at reform, which involved curbing the powers of the parlements and provincial Estates, earned him a reputation as being even more authoritarian than Richelieu. However, the real differences between them were in temperament and emphasis.

The political consensus that brought Richelieu and Marillac into office broke down once the Protestant revolts ended in 1629. Marillac emerged as the principal Dévot critic of Richelieu's anti-Habsburg strategy. Apart from rejecting Protestant alliances, Marillac feared that war, by perpetuating disorder and preventing badly needed reforms, would weaken France further. Marie de Médicis rallied to this position in 1630 and agreed to demand Richelieu's removal from office. Instead, Marillac lost out in the prolonged infighting that erupted in the Day of the Dupes (10–11 November 1630). Disgraced and arrested, Marillac was kept in detention in Châteaudun, where he died in August 1632. He was luckier than his half brother, who was executed after a show trial on trumped-up charges. Much remains mysterious about the wellsprings of the career of a man whose only biographer, his admiring disciple Lefebvre de Lezeau, reduced his life to an instantiation of religious virtue and high-minded self-denial, a man who was seemingly devoid of all

ambition yet who might well have replaced Richelieu as chief minister to Louis XIII.

See also **Absolutism**; **Louis XIII (France)**; **Marie de Médicis**; **Richelieu**, **Armand-Jean Du Plessis**, cardinal.

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JOSEPH BERGIN

MARLOWE, CHRISTOPHER (1564–1593), English dramatist and poet. Marlowe lived an exciting, if short, life—part writer of renown and part—it is claimed—government agent. The son of a Canterbury shoemaker named John Marlowe, he obtained a scholarship to the King's School in Canterbury; from 1580 he attended Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, receiving his B.A. in 1584. Although he remained at Cambridge, completing his M.A. in 1587, documents show that his attendance became sporadic, and there is much speculation concerning his activities from 1584 to 1587, the year he left. A Privy Council letter written to the college and dated 29 June 1587 indicates that prior to that date he had been engaged in government business, possibly as an agent spying on the Roman Catholic seminary at Rheims.

What is most discussed about the writer's life is to what extent he was a spy, an atheist, and a homosexual. In 1593, the year of his death, another government agent called Richard Baines reported that Marlowe had uttered heresies against the teachings of the church. He quoted Marlowe as saying that "Moyses was but a jugler," and that religion only evolved in order to control nations. According to Baines's testimony, Marlowe had said: "all they that love not Tobacco & Boies were foolles."

Marlowe arrived in London soon after he left Cambridge, but not much is known about this time. His first play, *Dido, Queen of Carthage*, was written in collaboration with his Cambridge associate

Thomas Nashe (1567–1601), and may have been completed c. 1586, though it was not published until 1594. It was first performed by the Children of the Queen’s Chapel. However, the Admiral’s Men, an adult company under the management of Philip Henslowe, certainly performed his famous work for the stage—the highly successful *Tamburlaine the Great*, about a pagan leader, which appeared in 1587 and was published in 1590. This play along with its sequel, *The Second Part of Tamburlaine*, has been cited as marking “the beginning of modern drama” (Wiggins and Lindsey). The Admiral’s Men went on producing Marlowe’s plays into the late 1580s and early 1590s, with Edward Alleyn, the actor-manager of the company, taking the main role in all productions. These included *The Tragical History of Dr. Faustus* (published in 1604), *The Jew of Malta* (1633), *The Massacre at Paris* (1594?), and *Edward II* (1594).

Marlowe’s poetry, in particular his *Hero and Leander*, is also defined as distinctively groundbreaking work of the English Renaissance. All his verse, including *Hero and Leander*, “The Passionate Shepherd to His Love,” and his translations of Ovid and Lucan, were reputedly written during his Cambridge years, although there is no real evidence of this. It was all published during the period 1598 to 1600, with two endings penned by other writers for the unfinished *Hero and Leander* of 1598.

The traces we have of Marlowe’s life indicate a personality of violent temperament. In 1589 he was arrested after a duel with one William Bradley, and he was put into Newgate Prison in London. In 1592, having been sent back from the Lowlands by Sir Robert Sidney, the governor of Flushing, he was bound over to keep the peace after fighting with two city constables, and in September of the same year he was accused of assaulting a Canterbury tailor. He is known to have shared a lodging with another dramatist of the age, Thomas Kyd, who was to say of Marlowe (in 1593) that he was “intemperate and of a cruel heart,” possessing “monstrous opinions” and given to “attempting sudden privy injuries to men.” However, Kyd was himself arrested at the time, and doubt may be thrown onto his motives for this description. Marlowe’s death makes a bloody end to a colorfully interpreted life. He was killed by Ingram Friser in a brawl that ostensibly concerned a “reckoning” or

bill; however, because of the shady people involved, including Friser, who was employed by Thomas Walsingham, the nephew of Sir Francis Walsingham, Queen Elizabeth’s secretary of state, the doubt has persisted that Marlowe—an early, eloquent, and powerful user of the English language—was assassinated on the orders of a high-ranking official.

See also **Drama; English; English Literature and Language; Shakespeare, William.**

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EVA GRIFFITH

MARRIAGE. Marriage lay at the heart of early modern society. It created the basic social unit, the household: the site of childrearing, economic production, and mutual care and affection. Marriage tied families together in economic and social networks and, at higher social levels, cemented political alliances and even royal dynasties. It was also a major means of transmitting wealth through dowries, the resources that a woman brought to a marriage. Moreover in contemporary eyes marriage had the moral functions of channeling sexuality, creating new Christians, and supporting the divinely ordained patriarchal, or male-dominated, order.

Such a complex institution interested many beyond the individual bride and groom. Parents tried to use children’s marriages to improve their family’s economic or social situation, sometimes clashing with their children over choices of spouses. The inhabitants of a couple’s neighborhood or village also sought to enforce community norms regarding the suitability of a couple. Religious and secular legisla-

tion regulated different aspects of marriage, and in the sixteenth century church and state revised marriage laws to gain more control over their subjects. Some historians believe that marriage practices did not change during the early modern period, but many think that during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries legal developments along with economic and cultural shifts contributed to a more explicit valuation of love, a diminution of parental control, and a simplification of weddings.

FINDING A PARTNER

As a rule a person married someone who came from roughly the same social class. The aristocracy in particular, especially in France and Italy, deplored the misalliance. But people also recognized that marriage was an important means of social mobility, as when a wealthy but common father married his generously dowered daughter to an impoverished but noble groom. Common people tended to take marriage partners from geographically nearby and from within their own or their families' occupations. A servant marrying a servant or an apprentice marrying his master's daughter were typical patterns. Aristocrats had to range farther geographically to find socially appropriate spouses. Both nobles and peasants favored cousin marriages to consolidate property. Catholic canon law placed limitations called "impediments" on marriages between close kin. But people frequently obtained dispensations from these rules, and the Protestant Reformation significantly reduced them.

Age at first marriage depended on economic circumstances and varied according to social status and geographic location. Canon law set the minimum marriage age at twelve for girls and fourteen for boys, although betrothals could be arranged earlier. Aristocratic women were married quite young by modern standards, generally in their midteens to men in their late twenties or thirties, although this difference lessened in the eighteenth century. Commoner spouses tended to be close in age, marrying in their mid- to late twenties after each had worked for several years, the woman for her dowry and the man to obtain the resources and skills necessary to establish himself in an occupation. Urban dwellers, who relied on wage labor, generally married younger than rural inhabitants, who often had to wait for the deaths of their fathers to inherit

land. As proto-industrialization in the mid-eighteenth century turned more people into wage laborers, marriage age fell slightly among common people.

While marriage was considered the natural state for adults and most people got married, a noticeable number never married, ranging from 5 percent in some times and places to 25 percent in others. Economic circumstances and family strategies usually kept a person single. Because marriage was an economic partnership, among the common people a woman's lack of a dowry or a man's inability to establish himself in a trade or on a piece of land frequently prevented them from marrying. Some places formalized these controls, like German cities that forbade men to marry until they had become masters in a trade, or towns that barred poor couples from marrying, fearing that such families would become an economic burden. At the same time, however, some institutions and individuals, especially in Italy, gave dowries to poor women to prevent them from becoming prostitutes. Unmarried people usually remained in positions of dependence as servants in the houses of others or as laborers on the farms of their married siblings. Some, however, supported themselves with wage labor in cities, sometimes forming households with other single people.

In the seventeenth century a rapid rise in dowries coupled with a rigid sense of family honor triggered a decline in the numbers of European aristocrats who married because many fathers could not afford noble marriages for all their children. In eighteenth-century Spain dowries could exceed twelve times the bride's family's annual income. In mid-seventeenth-century Milan three-quarters of female aristocrats never married. Especially in Italy and Spain, spinsters frequently entered convents; in Protestant regions they often lived with kin. This trend was less notable in England, where fathers were more willing to marry their daughters with smaller dowries to social inferiors. Unmarried sons often entered the church or the military. Though single, these men might still establish families by having children with concubines.

Peasant and artisan youths had many opportunities to find marriage partners in their daily lives, laboring in the fields, attending festivals, running

errands, or working in occupations employing both sexes, like hat making or household service. A young man might court a woman at her house, bringing along a male friend and talking at the door or window. At this social level the amount of parental control over children's marriage choices varied widely. Because young people frequently left home to work in their early teens, some seldom or never saw their parents, leaving them a great deal of freedom of choice. But some parents, even quite poor ones, arranged their children's marriages, sometimes at a young age and occasionally using force or threats, in order to create social alliances or enlarge landholdings. While some historians argue that marriages in this period were expected to be loveless, most scholars agree that early modern people expected that two people who loved each other would want to get married, although they subordinated emotions to practical concerns. In most cases parents and children probably tried to agree on a match balancing love with material concerns.

Aristocratic courtship usually only followed family arrangement of a match. Wealthy and especially aristocratic parents tightly controlled their children's, particularly their daughters', contact with members of the opposite sex and also consistently chose their children's spouses to further family strategies. Many wealthy parents distrusted passionate love, believing it formed an insecure base for such an important union. Some, however, tried to ensure that their children agreed with their choices and even that they felt some affection for their intendeds. A few children sought to evade their parents' control to marry partners of their own choosing.

In the eighteenth century the balance between love and material concerns appears to have shifted. Influenced by the Reformation's and especially the Enlightenment's positive evaluation of love, some members of the upper middle class and aristocracy began to consider love the primary goal of marriage and perhaps also to act on this idea. In the same period the rise of proto-industry, cottage production of goods for the market, and wage labor, freed many people from the constraints that land considerations imposed and allowed love to play a larger role in how they chose their spouses.

GETTING MARRIED

The Catholic canon law that governed marriage formation from the twelfth century through the mid-sixteenth century rested on the consensual definition of marriage that held that a valid marriage required only the freely given consent of the bride and groom. If the words used were in the present tense, no further action was needed; if they were in the future tense (a marriage promise), then sexual consummation completed the union. Such minimal legal requirements allowed local marriage practices to vary widely, shaped by a combination of communal norms, local law, and diocesan regulations. Everywhere, however, throughout the sixteenth century and much of the seventeenth century marrying was not a moment but a series of steps that created new property arrangements, changed the couple into man and wife, and made the union publicly known. Because of the length of the process, it was not always clear at what point a marriage became irrevocable.

Marriage negotiations centered on property settlement: the bride's dowry and any money the groom granted the bride, sometimes known as the morning gift. The details were often finalized in a written contract. As the wife's contribution to the new household, a dowry generally consisted of items such as a bed, linens, cooking implements, and clothing but sometimes also trade or farming implements. Elite dowries contained more opulent household and personal items as well as money and sometimes real estate. Local dowry laws and practices varied, but generally a husband managed the dowry and any revenue it produced during a marriage. A wife gained control of it and the morning gift only if her husband died, when she would need it to support herself or to make a new marriage.

Many couples promised to marry each other in private but also celebrated a formal betrothal. In this ritual the men of the two families—the bride's father, the groom, and other male kin—declared their agreement to the union before witnesses, shaking hands, usually publicly in a church, the town square, or even a tavern but sometimes in a house or before a notary. If the bride was present, she and the groom would also clasp hands. In most places a meal and the couple's exchange of gifts followed: a small token like a handkerchief from the bride and a more substantial gift like jewelry from the groom.

Especially in northern Europe, the parish priest then published the banns, or announced the betrothal, at mass on several consecutive Sundays in order to discover legal impediments to the union. Ecclesiastical and popular opinion considered betrothals strongly binding. Most communities permitted commoners to begin sexual relations even when their betrothal had been arranged in private, which, although discouraged by the church, transformed it into a valid marriage under canon law. Highborn brides were expected to be virgins until after the wedding.

Weddings usually followed several weeks or months after the betrothal. The heart of the ceremony was the couple's words of consent sealed by the ring and kiss. To ensure public knowledge of the union, in northern Europe rowdy village processions accompanied the couple to the church door for the exchange of consent, with music and revelry invoking fertility and highlighting gender roles. Churchmen fearful of remnants of paganism tried to control them. In Italy, where the bride's house was the normal place for the wedding, a procession marked the bride's progress to her new home. In some localities a notary guided the couple through the exchange of vows; in other places the bride's father, a priest, a neighbor, or even the couple themselves played this role. The celebration that followed, as lavish as the couple could afford, ranged from meals at taverns, where the guests paid, to huge feasts with dozens of dishes attended by the whole neighborhood and guests from other cities. Local statutes often limited—with little success—the number of guests and dishes.

CLANDESTINE MARRIAGE AND MARRIAGE REFORM

While most people married publicly, the lack of formal requirements meant that a marriage or betrothal contracted without witnesses, or clandestinely, could still be valid though difficult to prove. Churchmen urged couples to obtain their parents' consent and to celebrate publicly, but ecclesiastical courts also enforced unions that violated these injunctions. Because private betrothals were common and popularly held to permit sexual activity, some women were seduced under false promises of marriage and abandoned. Disputes also arose when one party decided to break a private engagement and marry another—particularly if the repudiated fi-

ancée was pregnant. Some people exchanged marriage vows in secret, usually to escape parental opposition, like Romeo and Juliet. Rates of clandestine marriage and betrothal are impossible to determine, but it is clear that ecclesiastical courts everywhere in Europe were full of suits in which couples disputed whether or not they were married.

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries many people—especially fathers and secular authorities but also some churchmen—began to find clandestinity particularly troubling, arguing that it caused confusion and dispute while undermining authority, especially of fathers. Secular legal penalties against clandestine marriage, notably in northern Europe, became harsher in this period, ranging from heavy fines to the loss of the bride's dowry to disinheritance. Despite some important differences, Catholics and Protestants responded similarly to the problem, reforming marriage laws to try to turn a sometimes indefinite social process into a definite legal moment overseen by authorities.

Placing new importance on marriage, Protestant reformers abolished celibacy of the clergy and legitimated divorce. Rejecting the consensual definition of marriage, most territories also made parental consent and the presence of witnesses and a minister at the wedding conditions for validity, and placed marriage under secular jurisdiction. England, however, retained the old canon law of marriage until 1753. Catholics responded with new decrees on marriage at the Council of Trent in 1563, rejecting the necessity of parental consent and reaffirming marital indissolubility, ecclesiastical jurisdiction, clerical celibacy, and the principle that free consent created a marriage. However, like Protestants, post-Tridentine Catholics had to exchange consent before a priest and witnesses for the marriage to be valid, and parish priests began keeping written records of marriages.

Despite these formal changes, through the seventeenth century popular practice continued to treat marriage as a process, grafting new requirements, like the priest's presence, onto the existing steps. People also continued to find ways to marry in secret. Catholic couples could dash in and exchange words of consent in front of an unwitting priest, as Alessandro Manzoni described in *The Betrothed* (1825–1827), though a more common route for

both confessions was the secret betrothal, which continued to function essentially as clandestine marriage had because courts continued to enforce betrothals. When increasingly secularized marriage courts ceased doing this in the eighteenth century, betrothal lost its importance. This, combined with a loosening of community ties associated with proto-industrialization, and the growth of reliable record-keeping that diminished the need for publicizing rituals, contributed to the transformation of marriage from a lengthy process into the moment of the couple's exchange of vows.

HUSBANDS AND WIVES

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries everyone agreed that duty defined the relationship of husband and wife. Churchmen of both confessions held the purpose of marriage to be preserving people from sin by channeling sexuality into procreation. Husbands and wives owed each other the "conjugal debt" of regular (though not passionate) sexual relations, and adultery was a serious crime justifying separation or divorce and even meriting death in some lands. Moralists taught that marriage was a hierarchy that upheld the patriarchal social and political order. The husband, by virtue of his superior masculine reason, ruled the family. Law gave him broad powers to control family property and dependents' behavior, including that of his wife, using moderate physical force if necessary; but it also held him to support his wife adequately and especially manage her dowry responsibly. The duty of the wife—who had few legal or financial abilities—was to help and to obey.

Popular views shaped by daily experience somewhat moderated the rigidity of the learned notions, emphasizing spouses' interrelated fortunes and reciprocal obligations. Husbands and wives were expected to protect each other's person, property, and honor by caring for each other when ill, being frugal and hardworking, treating each other with respect, and refraining from scandalous behavior. Communities used such practices as *charivaris* to enforce these standards; spouses sometimes went to court seeking separations when they were breached.

Marriage formed an economic unit in which the labor of both spouses was usually essential. Economic interdependence made it difficult for unhappy couples to separate or divorce but probably

also brought spouses together with a sense of shared purpose. Commoner spouses performed different but complementary tasks: an artisan wife sold her husband's products; a farmwife oversaw the farmyard and house and at harvest might join her husband in the fields. At higher social levels, tasks were usually less directly cooperative. While merchants' wives might oversee business matters when their husbands traveled, aristocratic spouses more often occupied two distinct spheres. A wife's duties running a large household involved significant responsibilities, but her main economic contribution, her dowry, was completely under her husband's control. Highborn spouses' common disparity in ages probably reinforced this separation. Still, some elite husbands spoke of their wives as companions and in their wills granted widows great responsibilities overseeing children and property.

Evidence exists of deep love between some spouses from all social levels, nurtured by the cooperation in their daily lives and perhaps by raising their children. While desirable, people did not hold love to be an essential aspect of the relationship. Sex was an important part of marriage, recognized even by disapproving churchmen, who tried to limit it to the passionless business of procreation. The practice of birth control (mainly male withdrawal) and abortion—though forbidden—and the existence of infertile couples point to the fact that sex enhanced married life in more ways than simply the production of children.

Historians disagree on the degree and chronology of change, but most believe that in the seventeenth century and especially the eighteenth century many people began to see marriage in a different way, as a companionate relationship emphasizing love rather than duty whose goal was happiness. Many point to the Protestant Reformation's more positive evaluation of marriage and particularly to the Enlightenment's emphasis on freedom of choice, affection, and equality in marriage as causes of this change. The secularization of control of marriage reinforced this by increasing the influence of laymen imbued with Enlightenment values. Others argue, however, that for most people the freedom from traditional constraints brought by proto-industrialization enabled them to focus on affective rather than practical aspects of marriage.

REMARRIAGE

High mortality rates from disease and childbirth meant that a marriage lasted on average less than twenty years. As many as a quarter to a third of marriages were not first marriages but remarriages following the death of a spouse or, much less frequently and only in Protestant regions, divorce. Dissolving a marriage also dissolved an economic unit. A widower almost always remarried quickly, needing someone to run his household, help in his occupation, and raise his children. The advanced age of the groom frequently angered young unmarried men, who banded into groups to harass the prospective spouses in *charivaris*. Widows, especially those with small children, often had trouble remarrying unless they had property. Without a man's income, widows and their children made up a significant portion of the urban poor.

See also **Concubinage; Daily Life; Divorce; Family; Sexuality and Sexual Behavior; Women.**

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EMLYN EISENACH

MARSEILLE. Overlooking the Mediterranean, and located not far from the mouth of the Rhône River, the port city of Marseille linked the economy of France to Italy, Spain, the Ottoman Empire, and North Africa. A city conscious of, indeed proud of, its Greek origins and its ancient lineage, Marseille entered the realm of France in 1481 when control of Provence passed by inheritance from the Angevin counts to the kings of France. Despite Marseille's recent incorporation, it rapidly became one of the crown's *bonne villes* ('good cities'), a city that enjoyed a special relationship with the monarchy based on its strategic position and its resolute Catholicity.

The population and economy of Marseille grew substantially over the early modern period. In 1524, approximately 15,000 people lived in the city; by 1698, inhabitants numbered about 65,000; and, during the French Revolution, Marseille's population fluctuated between 93,000 and 110,000. Earlier, its economy was based on its position as a regional commercial center, and later as a Mediterranean entrepôt (warehouse). In the late sixteenth century, Marseille succeeded in dominating Europe's trade with the Levant and the Barbary Coast, but, until 1660, this trading nexus experienced spurts of growth tempered by periods of contraction. Under King Louis XIV (ruled 1643–1715) and Jean Baptiste Colbert (1619–1683), the king's finance minister, royal policies ensured more sustained growth for the city and its ties to the Levant. In 1669, the crown created tariffs that discouraged any trade with the Levant that did not occur under the auspices of Marseille merchants and their enterprises. Henceforth, most of the wheat, sugar, coffee, and cotton textiles that entered France from the Levant would pass through Marseille, the *bonne ville*.

The families that prospered by this privileged trading position had long dominated urban society and municipal politics. In a number of cases, their elite status was reinforced by claims to nobility,



Marseille. *Le port de Marseilles*, by Claude Vernet, 1754. THE ART ARCHIVE/MUSÉE DU LOUVRE PARIS/DAGLI ORTI

since it was possible in Marseille to engage in commerce and to call oneself noble or *écuyer* (literally, ‘horseman’ or ‘squire’). This merchant aristocracy was organized into factions by marriage connections and ties of patronage, and it was through such factions that aristocrats controlled the municipal council and acted as major players in provincial politics (though the seat of provincial and royal government was in nearby Aix-en-Provence). In the process, they competed to manipulate the masses of fishermen and laborers who made up the majority of Marseille’s population.

Factional struggle characterized, and explains, much of the political narrative of early modern Marseille. Even during the period of the Wars of Religion (1562–1598), politics and factionalism constituted far greater sources of instability than Protestantism because Marseille always remained a staunchly Catholic city. Indeed, reformed Catholicism became deeply associated with the communal values of the city, and Marseille’s numerous confraternities (all-male lay religious organizations) provided a vehicle for a new style of religious life. This

local revival of Catholicism began in the early sixteenth century, long before the era of religious conflict in France, and the fact that Protestantism and religious violence were notably absent in Marseille suggests the extent to which Catholic reform succeeded. Like the city itself, reform and the confraternities fell under the control of the merchant aristocracy.

But reform, albeit Catholic, was not entirely without conflict. In the 1580s the reform movement in Marseille developed connections to the Catholic League throughout France, whose political goal was to maintain a limited monarchy in which power was shared by the king and the nobility. In 1591 Charles de Casaulx (1547–1596), with a good deal of popular support, seized control of Marseille’s government and initiated a more radical agenda that served the goal of France’s Catholic League. His dictatorship and Leaguer program set the city in opposition to Henry IV, thereby jeopardizing its status as one of the monarchy’s *bonnes villes*. After Henry’s conversion to Catholicism, Casaulx sought an alliance with Philip II of Spain.

By refusing to accept France's first Bourbon monarch, Casaulx and supporters discredited the city and this phase of its Catholic mission. As a result, Casaulx was assassinated in 1596 by an elite conspiracy, and his demise opened the way for control by elites more willing to comply with the absolutist vision of Henry IV. In this way, Marseille, ever the *bonne ville*, became a cornerstone of Bourbon policies in Provence.

See also Catholic League (France); Confraternities; Henry IV (France); Levant; Louis XIV (France); Wars of Religion, French.

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DONNA BOHANON

MARTYRS AND MARTYROLOGY.

The politico-religious struggles of the Protestant and Catholic Reformations produced a revival of the creation of martyrs and martyrologies. The conflicts between Catholics and Protestants, most notably in northern Europe, caused numerous casualties, many of whom voluntarily sacrificed their lives in the name of their religious beliefs. Those who "correctly" testified for their particular faith were recognized as martyrs; those who did not were categorized as antimartyrs or simply heretics. The martyrs' stories were then collected by various editors in significant volumes, which were published and used as literary weapons in the struggle against persecution providing inspiration, education, edification, and the defense of their particular causes.

MARTYRS

The term "martyr" is taken from the Greek *martus* meaning 'witness' or 'testifier'. Hence, those who witnessed their faith with their blood could posthumously be recognized as such. From the beginning, Protestantism had been identified as a threat to both Catholic states and the Roman Church, and its adherents were then perceived as not only heretics but

also traitors. On the Continent the persecution of Protestants began in the 1520s. Most of the first generation of martyrs emerged from the clergy and monastic orders. As Protestantism spread and expanded during the 1540s, the second generation, which included women, peasants, artisans, and those of the professional class, experienced heightened persecution especially in France, as heresy was defined under the Edict of Fontainebleau (1540) as treason against God and king.

The level and type of persecution, however, varied from region to region and fluctuated depending on the power of the religious minority (Catholic or Protestant) or the religious confession of the monarch. For example, in England both Protestants and Catholics were persecuted depending on the politico-religious views of the monarch, creating Protestant martyrs during the reign of Mary Tudor and Catholic martyrs during the reign of Elizabeth I. And in the German territories the Religious Peace of Augsburg of 1555 decreased the overall number of martyrs when it became the right of individual princes to choose the religion of their territory. Anabaptists, however, were persecuted throughout northern Europe and experienced no toleration.

Normally, a heretic would be arrested, interrogated, and given the opportunity to recant. Those who did would be penalized with a fine or public penance or both; those who did not would then suffer capital punishment at the hands of the state. Their "criminal" confession would later be transformed by their supporters into a "religious" confession, which was considered to be a "mark" of a martyr. The executions of heretics/martyrs were for the most part public events held in town or city squares, intended to discourage others and to demonstrate state authority, though displays of constancy by martyrs often served as vehicles for conversion for some observers. Forms of capital punishment included immolation, interment alive, hanging, beheading, and drowning. Mob violence also created martyrs as tensions between religious factions led to communal retaliation for perceived religious offenses or slights.

Faced with persecution, religious noncompliant (Catholic or Protestant) had three options: to remain in place and practice their faiths, risking the legal penalties of losing not only land, home,

offices, and wealth, but also their lives, which is to say, to risk martyrdom; second, to go into exile and still lose many if not all of their goods and lands, leaving behind family in many instances; or third, to dissimulate as Nicodemites (to appear Catholic while hiding Protestant beliefs).

MARTYROLOGY

The martyr was not simply an individual: once recognized with the title, he became a representation and embodiment of the movement to which he belonged. He would then become a symbol in the struggle against persecution. This transformation is evident in martyrdom's literary companion, the martyrology, a compilation of the accounts of the martyrs' lives and deaths. During the mid-sixteenth century no fewer than seven major Protestant martyrologies were produced, many of which were issued in multiple editions and languages: Ludwig Rabe, *Der heiligen aus erwählten Gottes Zeugen Bekennen und Martyren* (1552; The history of god's chosen witnesses, confessors, and martyrs); John Foxe, *Acts and Monuments* (1563); Jean Crespin, *Le livre des martyrs* (1554; The book of martyrs); Matthias Flacius Illyricus, *Catalogus testium veritatis* (1556; Catalogue of witnesses to the truth); Adriaan Cornelis van Haemstede, *De Gheschiedenisse ende den doot der vromer Martelaren* (1559; History and deaths of the devout martyrs); Heinrich Pantaleone, *Martyrum historia* (1563; History of martyrs); and Antoine de la Roche Chandieu, *L'histoire des persecutions, et martyrs de l'église de Paris* (1563; The history of the persecutions and martyrs of the church of Paris). Many of these editors/authors drew upon each others' works or corresponded, universalizing the plight of those suffering persecution.

The editors/authors of these martyrologies modeled their texts on the historical and hagiographical works of Eusebius of Caesarea (the fourth-century *Ecclesiastical History*) and Jacobus de Voragine (the thirteenth-century *Golden Legend*). The association with the early Christian tradition of martyrdom and genre of martyrology demonstrated a continuum between the two groups, attempting to prove the Protestants direct heirs to the first Christians. This connection also legitimated the disobedience of the Protestants toward the Catholic hierarchy in continuing a tradition of sacri-

fice sanctioned and even demanded by God. By drawing upon the martyrological tradition, the Protestant movements could claim the legitimating notion that "persecution marks the true church of God," a phrase Jean Crespin employed in the preface to his first edition.

In light of the multiplicity of claims to the name "Christian," a primary goal of the martyrologists was to define correct belief against those who espoused heresy. They identified their martyrs as those who testified "correctly" and who died confessing their particular movement's doctrine. Hence, the martyr's verbal or written confession of faith, sometimes as a letter to the faithful or a family member or as the "criminal" confession obtained during interrogation, was the focal point of the accounts. In the midst of the expanding number of martyrologies representing numerous religious movements, Calvinist and Lutheran works clearly protested and attacked Catholic "idolatry," "superstition," and "innovation" through their martyrs' testimonies and experiences. Catholic polemicists responded to this proliferation of Protestant martyrologies by creating their own "antimartyrologies," which then challenged the title of "martyr" assigned to those they considered heretics and criminals. Anabaptist martyrs, while recognized as "dying well," were decried as antimartyrs dying for the wrong confession by both Catholics and mainstream Protestants.

Due to their production during times of persecution, the martyrologies contain a prominent element of propaganda. The individual accounts of martyrs were placed in highly political, polemical, and historical contexts. The accounts themselves were constructed using eyewitness accounts, trial records, and personal and epistolary letters that were then woven together with commentaries (including previously published pamphlets) on the events, nature, and origins of the persecution to create a larger history of their movements. Most importantly, the martyrologies embodied the polemical stance of the faiths they represented.

The target audience for these martyrologies was their faithful coreligionists. The martyrs' stories and context offered consolation and encouragement to the reader, while also providing models for comportment and correct doctrine. These works and the

individuals whose stories they tell were significant weapons in the struggle against persecution.

See also **Anabaptism; Augsburg, Religious Peace of (1555); Catholicism; Hagiography; Reformation, Protestant.**

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MARVELS AND WONDERS. Early modern European writers used the terms *marvel* or *wonder* to refer to a well-defined body of unusual phenomena that included things such as comets, volcanoes, conjoined twins, magnets, rains of stone, and petrifying springs. These phenomena, a grouping inherited from medieval sources, lay between the commonplace and the absolutely miraculous. Unlike commonplace objects, they were rare and often exotic, and some had remarkable properties, such as the attractive powers of the magnet or the ability of the unicorn horn to neutralize poison. Unlike miracles, they were understood to be the product of natural causes, although the nature of those causes and their precise combination was difficult to comprehend. What such phenomena had in common was their ability to produce wonder in their observers, a kind of amazement that shaded into pleasure or fear.

The years around 1500 saw an explosion of interest in wonders among people at every level of European society. This new fascination took various forms. Certain kinds of marvels—notably monstrous births, such as conjoined twins, and celestial apparitions, such as comets—were taken to be prodigies or omens that were intimations of divine displeasure at particular moral behaviors or political and religious positions. Viewed in this light, marvels became a salient feature of the confessional polemics

unleashed by the Reformation and Counter-Reformation. At the same time, however, wonders could have strong positive associations, and the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries saw the appearance of a widespread appreciation of marvels as sources of pleasure and delight. While parasitic twins, armless calligraphers, and two-headed pigs displayed themselves, or were displayed, in taverns, fairs, and markets, as well in the courts of Europe, the wealthy and the learned surrounded themselves with natural wonders, such as the dried bodies of mermaids or birds of paradise, and marvels of human ingenuity, such as a cherrystone carved with hundreds of tiny faces. Although only princes could afford the most precious of wonders, such as jeweled automata or nautilus shells mounted in gold, some of the earliest and most enthusiastic collectors of natural wonders were apothecaries and medical men, who hoped to explore and exploit their healing powers.

In addition to being evocative and powerful objects, wonders were also good to think with, and they played an important role in the early modern project to produce a reformed science of nature. Sixteenth- and early-seventeenth-century philosophers sought to offer new rational explanations for natural marvels, attributing these to, among other things, planetary influences, subtle vapors, and the power of the human imagination to shape the material world. Increasingly, however, it became clear that attempts of this sort were doomed to failure and that more dramatic reform was called for—reform in which wonders nonetheless had an important part to play. As the English philosopher Francis Bacon argued, marvelous phenomena served both a critical and a constructive role; defying existing explanatory categories, they underscored the total inadequacy of the old science, while they pointed toward something new. Buoyed by this vision, members of the newly founded scientific societies of the mid- to later seventeenth century, the French Royal Academy of Sciences and, especially, the Royal Society of London, collected observations of extraordinary phenomena, from two-headed calves to meteorite showers.

In the end, however, wonders gradually lost their aesthetic appeal and their intellectual cachet, at least in the minds of the cultivated. In part, this was because it proved impractical to construct a new science on the basis of the unique and the bizarre.

Philosophers found themselves increasingly attracted to a vision of the natural order as bound tightly to its divine creator and characterized by simplicity and economy, and by uniform and unbreakable natural laws; such a vision rendered extraordinary phenomena misleading or irrelevant. Finally, the learned and the powerful began to connect the fascination with wonders, which had gripped all levels of European society, with a range of undesirable cultural movements associated with the vulgar: political disorder, religious enthusiasm, and tasteless naïveté. Eighteenth-century politicians, divines, and philosophers rejected wonders as violations of the principles of order, regularity, and decorum that underpinned Enlightenment ideals.

Until recently, these enlightened values and the view of the natural order they reflected so permeated Western intellectual culture that well into the later twentieth century wonders were seen as peripheral—even opposed to—rational attempts to understand the natural order. The marvels that figured so prominently in early modern art and literature were tactfully ignored by historians or interpreted as “medieval” holdovers. In the last twenty-five years, however, scholars have begun to focus their attention on the wonders that so preoccupied the entire population of early modern Europe, revealing a complex and differentiated culture of the marvelous that reflected some of the deepest values of that world.

See also Alchemy; Astrology; Enlightenment; Magic; Miracles; Natural Law; Nature; Popular Culture; Secrets, Books of; Scientific Method.

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KATHARINE PARK

Mary's early life was dominated by her dynastic importance as daughter of Henry VIII (ruled 1509–1547) and heir to England's crown, involving negotiations for betrothal first to the French dauphin and then to her Habsburg cousin Charles V (ruled 1519–1556). Although Charles chose another prospective bride, her relationship with him remained one of the most important factors in her life. In 1525 she was created Princess of Wales, but from 1527 the estrangement of Henry VIII from her mother Catherine of Aragon (1485–1536) undermined her position. Prevented from seeing Catherine after 1531, she was bastardized when the Aragon marriage was annulled (1533) and reduced to a lady-in-waiting to the new heir presumptive, Elizabeth (ruled 1558–1603). The death of Anne Boleyn (1507?–1536) brought further humiliation. After spirited resistance, in 1536 Mary was forced to acknowledge herself a bastard.

Mary's position improved after Henry's final marriage to Catherine Parr (1512–1548) in 1543 and an act of Parliament in 1544 recognized her as second in line to the throne. During the reign of her half-brother Edward VI (1547–1553), she faced fresh troubles by stubbornly maintaining the Catholic liturgy. In 1550 unsuccessful efforts were made to arrange her escape to Habsburg territories. Edward's privy council tried to bypass her in making Lady Jane Grey (1537–1554) queen in 1553, but aided by Catholic advisers, Mary drew on popular provincial outrage at this insult to Henry VIII's bloodline and staged a brilliantly effective coup d'état based in East Anglia. She moved swiftly to restore not only traditional worship but also obedience to the pope (a much less popular cause), although legal problems delayed England's reconciliation with Rome until November 1554. She also insisted on keeping the title of “kingdom” for the island of Ireland, which her father had unilaterally adopted in place of the former papal grant to English monarchs of “lordship” of Ireland. She brushed aside objections to marriage with her cousin Charles V's son King Philip II (ruled 1556–1598) of Spain, which crystallized in Sir Thomas Wyatt's Rebellion (January 1554). Amidst general panic in London at the rebels' approach, Mary displayed firm courage and rallied support in a major speech at Guildhall. To her joy, Philip arrived to marry her at Winchester Cathedral on 25 July 1554.

MARY I (ENGLAND) (1516–1558; ruled 1553–1558), queen of England and Ireland.

Once the old heresy laws were restored (1555), persecution included almost three hundred burnings of Protestants. This was more intense than any previous English antiheresy campaign and uncomfortably reminiscent of recent Habsburg persecution in the Netherlands. Protestant sufferings handed a propaganda asset to her opponents, but Mary obstinately persisted in encouraging the burnings. Her hopes for Catholicism were complicated in 1555, when Cardinal Gian Pietro Carafa was elected Pope Paul IV (reigned 1555–1559). He was bitterly anti-Spanish and an old enemy of the papal legate in England, Mary’s close ally and cousin Cardinal Reginald Pole (1500–1558). Mary, who wished to be the papacy’s most loyal daughter, defied the pope when he revoked Pole’s legatine powers and tried to summon him to Rome on heresy charges. Meanwhile her marriage did not produce an heir to secure a Catholic future. Mary’s belief that she was pregnant caused national embarrassment and ridicule when the truth became plain in summer 1555. Philip’s good nature was strained by the English lack of enthusiasm for his presence. He returned in 1557 only to secure England’s help for Spain in war against France (and the papacy). After initial success, the French capture of Calais, England’s last mainland European territory, in January 1558 was a bitter blow, and Mary’s illness that summer was not her longed-for child but stomach cancer. She knew in her terminal illness that her half-sister Elizabeth would destroy everything she had worked for. Pole died of influenza within hours of Mary on 17 November.

Mary’s brief reign provokes differing assessments. Traditionally mainstream English historiography saw reaction, an unimaginative return to the pre-1529 past. A. G. Dickens stressed Protestant vigor that rendered her task a losing battle, and both A. F. Pollard and G. R. Elton were drawn to the metaphor of sterility in describing the reign. Eamon Duffy has led reassessments of Mary’s religious program, stressing elements anticipating Roman Catholic Church reforms after the Council of Trent (1545–1563), for instance, Pole’s proposals for clergy training colleges (seminaries) attached to cathedrals and the provision of instructional literature, some of which drew on initiatives of the early Reformation in England. In secular government, administrative and financial reorganization begun by Ed-

ward’s government officials continued. Major restructurings of customs revenue and of provisions for national defense were not greatly modified for more than half a century. Philip also encouraged naval expansion, which ironically chiefly benefited Elizabeth and her later wars against him. However the reign is judged, Mary’s blighted personal history can only attract sympathy.

See also Edward VI (England); Elizabeth I (England); England; Henry VIII (England); Philip II (Spain); Tudor Dynasty (England).

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DIARMAID MACCULLOCH

MARY II (ENGLAND). *See* William and Mary.

MATERIAL CULTURE. *See* Clothing; Consumption; Food and Drink; Housing.

MATHEMATICS. In his “Mathematical Praeface” to the *Elements of Euclid* of 1570, Elizabethan polymath John Dee (1527–1608) expounded on the importance and utility of mathematics to all fields of human endeavor. Field after field, he argued, from those we would find obvious (like navigation) to those we would find arcane (astrology) or outlandish (*thaumaturgike*), would benefit from the systematic application of mathematics. Although Dee was promoting a role for mathematics that was just taking shape during his lifetime, his vision did indeed prove prophetic. Undoubtedly, one of the most striking features of intellectual life in the early modern period is the startling expansion in the scholarly and practical domains covered by mathematics.

MATHEMATICS AND ITS CRITICS

Prior to the sixteenth century, mathematics in the West was a well-defined and circumscribed field consisting of two main branches: arithmetic, which had obvious practical applications in commerce and banking, and Euclidean geometry, which had few practical uses apart from astrology and, occasionally, optics. While mathematics was generally admired for the certainty and universality of its claims, the world as a whole, in keeping with Aristotelian tradition, was distinctly unmathematical, being governed by qualitative rather than quantitative rules. By the eighteenth century this view had been turned on its head: not only was an ever increasing number of fields being subjected to mathematical analysis, but the world itself had come to be understood as fundamentally mathematical in nature.

These developments were by no means a foregone conclusion in the sixteenth century; if anything, they seemed highly unlikely. For mathematics, far from being universally acknowledged as central to the intellectual and technological life of the age, was at the time being challenged as never before from various quarters.

Conservative critics, defending the established order of knowledge, challenged the truth claims of mathematics as incompatible with prevailing Aristotelian standards. Prominent among them were Italian philosopher Alessandro Piccolomini (1508–1578) and the Jesuit Benito Pereira (c. 1535–1610), who challenged the explanatory value of mathematical proofs. Proper scientific explanations, they argued with perfect Aristotelian orthodoxy, were causal arguments, proceeding from the true essence of objects to their properties. Mathematics, however, had no proper subject matter at all, and it could say nothing about the essential nature of physical objects. All mathematics could do was point to logical relations between hypothetical propositions, and thus it was a fundamentally inferior type of knowledge.

Mathematics did not fare much better among the new generation of reformers, who sought to uproot the Aristotelian framework and replace it with new conceptions of knowledge. In breaking the hold of Aristotelian standards on contemporary natural philosophy, many reformers found little use for mathematics. Its rigid procedures and unchanging truths seemed an unpromising basis for a

radical reform of knowledge. The study of nature, many argued, should proceed through unmediated experience and systematic trial and error. The rigorous deductive reasoning characteristic of mathematics could only lead to predetermined and unvarying results. The maverick Italian philosopher Giordano Bruno (1548–1600), for example, argued that mathematics could only describe the external appearance of phenomena, but never penetrate their hidden secrets. Similarly, in England, Francis Bacon (1561–1626) in the *Novum Organum* insisted that mathematics “should only give limits to natural philosophy, not generate or beget it.”

Mathematics did, of course, have many prominent defenders, ranging from the Jesuit Christopher Clavius (1537–1612) to Galileo Galilei (1564–1642) and René Descartes (1596–1650), each insisting in his way on the essential role of mathematics in any meaningful scheme of knowledge. But the very range of suggestions these and other natural philosophers offered for the role of mathematics in the general scheme of knowledge makes it clear that the fundamental questions raised by the challenges to mathematics did not go away. The critiques raised the fundamental questions that would guide the development of mathematics throughout the early modern period: what is mathematics, and how is it related to the natural world? The history of mathematics in this period is the story of the various answers that were given to these questions.

THE WORLD AS MIRROR OF MATHEMATICS

The fundamental answer to the critiques of mathematics was given by Galileo in his *Assayer* of 1623, when he wrote that the universe “is written in the language of mathematics.” Galileo was expressing the widely held notion among practitioners that mathematics, far from being devoid of all subject matter as claimed by its critics, had the entire natural world as its object. But while most agreed that mathematics was closely integrated with the physical world, the precise nature of their relationship remained a matter of intense dispute.

One leading approach accepted the classical view of mathematics as a rigorous deductive science of number and magnitude. The universal laws of mathematics, in this view, were the fundamental laws that governed material reality. Thus when one is investigating mathematical and geometrical rela-

tionships, one is in fact investigating the basic structure of matter.

The chief promoter of this approach was René Descartes, who viewed mathematics as a fundamental rational law laid down by God for his creation. Once God, the divine architect, had set in motion his perfectly rational universe, it would henceforth operate forever in accordance with mathematical principles. Mathematical investigations are accordingly studies of the divine plan for the natural world, and the world is the direct expression of abstract mathematical principles.

Descartes's scientific work directly reflects this fundamental understanding. In his *Meditations* and the *Discourse on Method*, Descartes insisted that by following strict rational rules one could, in principle, follow God and "create" the world step by step. Rigorous rational deduction was therefore the key to knowledge of the natural world, and Descartes proceeded to demonstrate the effectiveness of this principle in short treatises on optics and the colors of the rainbow, which were attached to the early editions of the *Discourse*.

Descartes's most important contribution to mathematics was also a reflection of his religious and philosophical views. The *Geometry* was the founding text of analytic geometry and, like Descartes's other scientific treatises, was published as an appendix to the *Discourse*. In essence, the new field demonstrated the fundamentally mathematical nature of the physical world. Abstract algebraic relationships (that is, $y = 3Dax + b$) were shown to have actual physical manifestations (in this case, a straight line). In pointing out these hidden relationships Descartes was unveiling the divine mathematical laws that governed the world. Mathematics, in this view, was a perfectly rational and logical web of relationships that determined the nature of physical reality.

MATHEMATICS AS THE MIRROR OF THE WORLD

While Descartes was honing his analytical geometry, a very different mathematical approach, based on a very different understanding of the relationship of mathematics to the world, was being developed elsewhere in Europe. The use of infinitesimals, or "indivisibles" as they were most commonly called, in calculating lengths, areas, and volumes of geometrical figures was the most dramatic and impor-

tant development in seventeenth-century mathematics. Fundamentally, the procedure involved reducing geometrical objects into an infinite number of their component parts: lines were viewed as an infinite collection of points, surfaces as made up of an infinite number of lines, and solids of surfaces. The length, area, or volume of the figure as a whole would then be calculated as the infinite sum of its elementary components.

The fundamental assumptions underlying this procedure were highly questionable and seemed to fly in the face of paradoxes that had been well known since antiquity. Descartes, who was much concerned with the perfect rational structure of mathematics, rejected infinitesimals and excluded them from the bounds of mathematics. Nevertheless, the effectiveness of this approach in reaching correct and previously unknown results was undeniable, and it was embraced enthusiastically by mathematicians across Europe. Thomas Hariot (1560–1621) and John Wallis (1616–1703) in England, Galileo and his disciples Bonaventura Cavalieri (c. 1598–1647) and Evangelista Torricelli (1608–1647) in Italy, Johannes Kepler (1571–1630) in Germany, and Blaise Pascal (1623–1662) in France were but a few of the most prominent practitioners of the new methods.

The infinitesimalist mathematicians' view of the relationship between mathematics and the world was, in many ways, the reverse of Descartes's approach. Whereas Descartes assumed that pure mathematical relationships governed the structure of matter, the infinitesimalists modeled mathematics on an intuition of the physical world. Geometrical bodies could be broken down into their indivisible components because, by analogy, physical bodies could be divided in the same way. As Cavalieri, whose *Geometria Indivisibilibus* was the most influential book about the theory and practice of indivisibles, wrote in his introduction, "plane figures should be conceived by us in the same manner as cloths are made up of parallel threads, and solids are in fact like books, composed of parallel pages."

The infinitesimalists' approach to mathematics drew much of its inspiration from the empiricist experimental philosophy that was gaining ground throughout Europe at this time. Much as the experimentalists sought to penetrate through external

appearances and bring to light the inner structure of the material world, the new mathematicians sought to uncover the “inner structure” of geometrical figures, which in their view was the true cause of all geometrical relationships. Both groups, furthermore, adopted the imagery of geographical exploration as their guiding metaphor, presenting themselves as adventurous explorers on the hazardous seas of mathematics and natural philosophy.

Like their experimentalist colleagues, the infinitesimalists made the discovery of new and correct results the true test of their success, and like them they often adopted a methodology of trial and error in searching for the correct answers. This “experimental” approach to mathematics accounts for the infinitesimalists’ relative disregard for the niceties of mathematical rigor and consistency. In their view, if a method produces true results, it must be fundamentally correct, and there was no point in spending too much time on clarifying the finer logical points. The most outspoken and unapologetic proponent of this approach was probably John Wallis, who advocated applying the experimentalists’ “method of induction” to mathematics, in preference to traditional rigorous mathematical deduction.

While the new infinitesimalist approaches were in wide use in the seventeenth century, they were also seriously challenged in certain influential quarters. The issues at stake were not purely mathematical in nature, but involved wide-ranging philosophical, religious, and even political considerations. For one thing, the new approaches carried the taint of atomism—the ancient view that all material objects could be reduced to indivisible particles called “atoms” (from the Greek *atomos*, ‘uncuttable’). Indeed there was no denying that the fundamental insights of the new mathematics and even its name strongly hinted that infinitesimalist mathematics was nothing but an expansion of atomism into mathematics.

This in turn led to a deeper difficulty: the suspicion that the new mathematics was based not just on atomism, but on materialism, which is the notion that the world was composed of nothing but matter, leaving no room for a providential spiritual realm. Geometry, after all, was often taken to be the very model of pure and abstract reasoning that gov-

erns the natural world. The notion that geometry itself, far from governing physical reality, is in fact a generalization of it, seemed to turn the proper hierarchy of mind and matter on its head, and challenge those who insisted that the world was ruled by a higher intelligence.

Finally, there was the question of the certainty of knowledge. Infinitesimalist mathematics seemed to be based on nothing more than a loose analogy with the physical world, trial and error, and a willful disregard for logical paradox. If even mathematics, that paragon of certain and unchanging knowledge, turned out to be so unsound, what hope could other, less rigorous fields have of attaining true knowledge?

In an age that still considered science, philosophy, and theology to be part of a single unified worldview, these criticisms cut deep. Descartes, concerned about the rational certainty of his method, excluded infinitesimal methods from proper mathematics. Even more significant was the reaction of the Society of Jesus, the most prominent religious order in Europe and the guardian of Catholic orthodoxy. Despite having among their members some of the most important and creative mathematicians in Europe, the Jesuits banned the teaching of infinitesimals from their educational institutions.

THE CALCULUS AND BEYOND

The invention of the calculus by Isaac Newton (1642–1727) and Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646–1716) in the late seventeenth century was the most important development of early modern mathematics, and it quickly transformed the landscape of the field. The calculus took as its starting point the many practical techniques and results achieved by the infinitesimalist mathematicians, both in the determination of surfaces and volumes of geometrical figures, and in the calculation of tangents of curves. The fundamental insight of the calculus was that these two operations, calculating tangents (differentiation) and calculating surfaces and volumes (integration), are in fact the inverse of one another.

The importance of this discovery becomes clear when curves and geometrical figures are presented not as independent geometrical figures, but as expressions of algebraic formulations in the manner of analytic geometry. When presented in this manner,

differentiation no longer deals with geometrical properties of particular geometrical objects, but becomes an abstract and general relationship between algebraic expressions. For example, one can say that the parabola expressed as $y = 3Dx^2$ describes the area under the line $y = 3D2x$, and that $y = 3D2x$ expresses the tangent of the parabola $y = 3Dx^2$ at any point. But the relationship between the two algebraic expressions is no longer dependent on their particular geometrical representation: $y = 3D2x$ is simply the *differential* of $y = 3Dx^2$ and $y = 3Dx^2$ is the *integral* of $y = 3D2x$. The inverse relationship is a fundamental relationship between abstract algebraic expressions (or *functions*, as they came to be called later in the eighteenth century) independent of any particular geometric representation. Both Newton and Leibniz were quick to reduce the transformations back and forth between *differentials* and *integrals* (or “fluents” and “fluxions” as Newton called them) into systematic and reliable algorithms.

In the calculus, the two competing traditions of seventeenth-century mathematics were brought together. Although it clearly grew out of the techniques developed by infinitesimalist mathematicians, the calculus was equally dependent on the algebraic formulations of analytic geometry. Furthermore, the calculus detached the infinitesimalist methods from their dependence on an intuition of physical reality. If the older approaches could be viewed as growing out of an atomistic intuition of material reality, the calculus restored the primacy of abstract logical relationship to mathematics. Particular geometric figures could be seen as examples of these abstract algebraic relations, but these relations themselves were no longer dependent on any particular physical or geometrical instances.

MATHEMATICS IN THE ENLIGHTENMENT

The calculus, which positioned mathematics as both an abstract system of algebraic relationships and as intimately connected to the physical world, set the tone for eighteenth-century views of the field. The most eloquent formulation of attitudes toward mathematics in the Enlightenment was given by Jean Le Rond d’Alembert (1717–1783), in his “Preliminary Discourse” to the *Encyclopédie*, published in 1751. Whereas seventeenth-century practitioners viewed mathematics as either a generalization of material intuitions or as a universal law

governing nature, for d’Alembert mathematics was necessarily both. On the one hand, he insisted, mathematics is clearly an abstraction from nature: it is nothing but the fundamental relationships among natural objects that are arrived at when the material features such as texture and color are stripped away. On the other hand, d’Alembert argued, the laws of nature are simply elaborations of mathematical relationships, arrived at by restoring matter’s physical attributes to abstract disembodied mathematics. The world, then, according to d’Alembert, is fundamentally mathematical: mathematics is derived from the physical world, while the physical world is an extension of mathematical principles.

This view of an essentially mathematical universe manifested itself in the inclusion of an ever-growing number of scholarly fields that were brought under the sway of mathematics in this period. Years before, Galileo had already introduced mathematics into the study of falling bodies and statics, and he and his followers extended his work to the field of ballistics. Cartographic work was thoroughly mathematized in the seventeenth century, and Kepler and Newton transformed the ancient science of astronomy by extending the reach of mathematics from merely describing the motions of the heavens into the realms of celestial mechanics. In optics, Descartes’s ingenious application of his “method” enabled him to explain such phenomena such as the formation of the rainbow with mathematical precision.

In the eighteenth century, a new generation of mathematicians, including the Bernoullis, Leonhard Euler (1707–1783), d’Alembert, Joseph-Louis Lagrange (1736–1813), and Pierre-Simon Laplace (1749–1827), among others, added increasingly precise theories of mechanics and argued famously about proper mathematical representations of abstract concepts such as *vis viva*, and concrete problems like the vibrations of strings and hydromechanics. Other fields that were seemingly less malleable for quantitative analysis, like doctrines of chance, or probability, and also the “moral” sciences, known today as social sciences, were also brought under the sway of mathematics, particularly in the work of the marquis de Condorcet (1743–1794). Institutionally, the eighteenth century saw mathematics gain a quickly growing foothold in newly established engineering and military colleges.

EPILOGUE

Unfortunately for d'Alembert and other promoters of the mathematical universe, rigorous mathematical analysis could not be easily derived from physical reality. Inconsistencies and paradoxes seemed to crop up repeatedly when mathematics was modeled on perceptions of the physical world, as critics of infinitesimal methods and the calculus, such as George Berkeley, were quick to point out. At the same time, the physical world proved to be far more varied and surprising than could ever be derived from bare mathematical principles.

Early in the nineteenth century the interdependence of mathematics and the physical world, so eloquently presented by d'Alembert, came to an end. In their work on the foundations of the calculus, mathematicians Bernhard Bolzano (1781–1848) and Augustin-Louis Cauchy (1789–1857) reformulated mathematical analysis as rigorous and logically self-consistent, a goal that had eluded their Enlightenment predecessors. They did so, however, at a price that would have seemed too heavy for d'Alembert and his colleagues: pure mathematics, in their scheme, was finally divorced from physical reality, existing in its self-enclosed Platonic realm.

The course and development of mathematics in the early modern period had come full circle. Criticized in the sixteenth century for being irrelevant to the developing sciences, mathematicians at the time had responded by forming a closer bond than ever before between their field and the physical world. Two and a half centuries later, in an attempt to save the identity and coherence of their field, mathematicians chose to sever those same conceptual ties, and establish mathematics in its own separate and insular domain.

See also Alembert, Jean Le Rond d'; Aristotelianism; Astronomy; Bacon, Francis; Cartesianism; Descartes, René; Empiricism; Euler, Leonhard; Lagrange, Joseph-Louis; Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm; Logic; Newton, Isaac; Scientific Method.

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AMIR ALEXANDER

MATTER, THEORIES OF. Philosophical ideas about the nature and constitution of bodies saw dramatic change in the early modern period, and new thinking about matter became a major factor in the so-called scientific revolution, contributing every bit as much to the new worldview of the early modern period as the changes in cosmology following from Copernicus's attempt to reform astronomy. Like the reforms in cosmology, changes in theories of matter were not simply recondite transformations within specialist natural philosophy, but were seen to have significant implications in other important aspects of intellectual life, most notably in theology.

THE ARISTOTELIAN BACKGROUND AND ALCHEMICAL INNOVATION

Even in the Middle Ages the dominant Aristotelian theory was subject to criticism and refinement. Aristotelian theory was based on a metaphysics known as hylomorphism, in which bodies were characterized as an inseparable combination of matter and form, and a physics in which all bodies were held to consist of a particular combination of the four elements: fire, air, water, earth. These ideas could hold sway in university natural philosophy curricula, but they proved inadequate as far as practitioners of alchemy were concerned. Driven chiefly by a concern to understand phenomena that became apparent in what we would call chemical reactions, alchemists developed a belief in *minima naturalia*, or natural minimum-sized particles of reagents. These ideas, first developed among Arab alchemists, were influentially expounded in the *Summa perfectionis*, attributed to Geber (Jabir ibn Hayyan, fl. 8th century C.E.), but written by a Christian alchemist of the late thirteenth century.

Although the idea of *minima naturalia* was justified in terms of Aristotelian hylomorphic theory (on the assumption that, in any characteristic combination of matter and form, the form must require a specific minimal amount of matter to work on), it

is easy to see the similarity between natural minima and atoms. So, although Aristotle himself had been critical and dismissive of atomism, the rediscovery in the fifteenth century of two major sources of ancient atomism (by Epicurus, c. 341–270 B.C.E., and Titus Lucretius Carus, c. 99–55 B.C.E., respectively) aroused great interest among the more eclectic of Renaissance thinkers. Accordingly, Aristotelian alchemy and atomism could be used together to understand natural processes. The combination of these two traditions, which looks so unlikely on the face of it, became highly influential as a result of other Renaissance developments.

Alchemy, once thought of as distinctly inferior to the supreme Aristotelian enterprise of natural philosophy, began to earn new intellectual respect in the Renaissance. The discovery of the corpus of philosophical and theological works attributed to Hermes Trismegistus led to a reevaluation of the supposedly Hermetic alchemical writings, and indeed to magical worldviews in general. The Renaissance rediscoverers of this literature believed that its author, Hermes, identified with the Greek god of that name, must have been a great pre-Christian sage. Generally assumed to be contemporary with Moses, the Hermetic writings were regarded as one of the oldest sources of ancient wisdom, to rank alongside the Pentateuch. The alchemical writings attributed to Hermes now also won new respect, as did the pursuit of alchemy in general.

Alchemy also attracted new attention because it seemed an obvious way to understand the so-called occult qualities of matter. The Aristotelian doctrine that all bodies were composed of the four elements led to the assumption that the qualities of all bodies must derive from the manifest qualities of the four elements (heat, cold, dryness, wetness). In both alchemy and pharmacology (and therefore in medical theory more widely) it became increasingly apparent that there were other qualities that could not be reduced to the four manifest qualities—these were declared to be occult or hidden, and could only be known by their effects. Interest in alchemy in the Renaissance, from Paracelsus (1493–1541) to Francis Bacon (1561–1626) and even Isaac Newton (1642–1727), was more often motivated by a concern to understand the occult qualities assumed to reside in the smallest particles of matter, than by a desire to transmute base metal into gold.

There can be no doubt that the new admiration for alchemy and its links to theories of matter that were essentially particulate, deriving either from the *minima naturalia* tradition or its eclectic combination with atomism, was a major factor in the development of new theories of matter that were to play such a major role in the scientific revolution. It was by no means the only factor, however.

THE REVIVAL OF ANCIENT ATOMISM

The revival of ancient atomism after the discovery of Lucretius's *De rerum natura* in 1473 gradually attracted the attention not just of alchemists but also of those working in the domain of physics. Galileo Galilei (1564–1642), for example, took up atomism as a way of accounting for the strength and coherence of materials, and differences between liquid and solid states. Galileo's attempts to use atomistic explanations were ultimately unsuccessful, but atomism continued to attract attention from reforming natural philosophers dissatisfied with scholastic Aristotelianism. Among the earliest of these were Pierre Gassendi (1592–1655), who devoted himself to a comprehensive scholarly exposition of ancient Epicurean atomism, and René Descartes (1596–1650).

Descartes, a mathematician at the forefront of contemporary attempts to develop a mathematical physics, was the first to see a way to predict and explain the behavior of moving bodies by assuming precisely defined laws of motion and rules of impact. By applying these same laws to invisibly small particles that were supposed to constitute all things, Descartes effectively developed a mathematized version of ancient atomism (except that Descartes did not believe the constituent particles were indivisible, and so his philosophy is more correctly called corpuscularist). This was not just a restatement of atomism, therefore, but something entirely new. It was the first presentation of what is known as the mechanical philosophy.

THE MECHANICAL PHILOSOPHY

Descartes's version of the mechanical philosophy made a huge impact on philosophical consciousness, but although it won many adherents there were many other natural philosophers who could not accept it in its Cartesian form. The principal problem was Descartes's theory of matter. According to Descartes's strict version of the mechanical

philosophy, matter was completely passive and inert. His vision of the physical universe and all its phenomena was one in which God, at the Creation, sets matter in motion and imposes the laws of nature upon it. Matter is so inert that, once set in motion, it cannot stop, but must continue to move until something else stops it. In the Cartesian universe inert particles of matter collide with one another and rebound after an exchange of motions, and all the phenomena we observe in the world are the outcome of collisions and combinations of invisibly small particles. In this system Descartes can only explain the continued coherence of an object, for example, by assuming that its particles are shaped in such a way that they can be entangled with one another, or by assuming that the constituent particles are all moving together with the same speed and direction. For many natural philosophers, this was just too implausible. What was required, such opponents of Descartes assumed, were principles of activity within the particles of matter that could account for coherence and other aspects of the behavior of matter.

It is surely significant that Descartes never showed any interest in or much knowledge of (al)chemical phenomena (even his account of biological systems depends upon what we would recognize as hydraulic and thermodynamic mechanisms, rather than supposed chemical interactions between fluids). It was those thinkers who were more aware of the complexities of alchemical and vitalistic phenomena, particularly those attributed to occult qualities, who developed alternative versions of the mechanical philosophy in which the supposed invisibly small particles of matter had their own principles of activity. This was true even of Pierre Gassendi, who saw himself simply as reviving the ancient atomism of Epicurus. There was no Epicurean precedent for Gassendi's talk of atoms with "natural impulses," "internal faculties," and "seminal powers." Robert Boyle (1627–1691), the leading natural philosopher in England in his day, promoted what he called the "corpuscular philosophy," which although owing much to the mechanical philosophy incorporated many doctrines from the tradition of alchemical corpuscularism.

The trend toward a mechanical philosophy in which matter was not completely inert but endowed with active principles achieved its culmination in the

natural philosophy of Isaac Newton. In the Preface to his *Principia Mathematica* (1687) Newton expressed his conviction that all phenomena could be explained in terms of attractive and repulsive forces operating between the particles of bodies, and yet he referred to these as "mechanical principles." Descartes would never have entertained the possibility of such forces (for him gravitational fall was not due to attraction but to streams of invisible particles pushing things down toward the center of the earth), but Newton, unlike Descartes, had spent many years of his life studying the principles of alchemy.

MECHANISM VS. VITALISM

If detailed experimental knowledge in alchemy contributed to new conceptions of the nature of matter, so did developments in medical knowledge. In part this was the direct result of alchemical ideas being used to reform medicine by thinkers like Paracelsus and Jean Baptiste van Helmont (1577–1644), but there were older medical traditions involved. Medical writers had always been concerned to understand the differences between life and death, between the living and nonliving. Although Aristotle noticed the link between heat and life, he denied that life was maintained by fire. Instead he attributed animal heat to the "element of the stars," since the stars were self-moving, and so, according to Aristotle, must be alive. Descartes simply insisted that the heat of the living body was nothing more than the result of a fire burning in the animal heart. William Harvey (1578–1657), discoverer of the circulation of the blood, by contrast, located animal heat in the blood, and asserted that blood corresponded to the element of the stars, having its own principle of life within it. Among the succeeding generation of medical writers in England were those, like Thomas Willis (1621–1675) and John Mayow (1641–1679), who tried to explain living systems in terms of the (al)chemically tempered (non-Cartesian) mechanical philosophy; and those like Francis Glisson (1597–1677), who was led by his discovery of tissue contractility and irritability (even in the absence of nerves) to conclude that all matter was endowed with perception, appetite, self-motility, and therefore life.

Descartes had tried to reduce all living processes to mechanistic interactions, and although he ini-

tially had some influence here, it seems safe to say that, for most thinkers, animal development and especially animal generation seemed to defeat Descartes's mechanistic ingenuity. By the eighteenth century only radically atheistic thinkers like Julien Offray de la Mettrie (1709–1751) and Baron d'Holbach (1723–1789) took the strict mechanistic line. Glisson's physiology, if not his theory of matter, was taken up by Albrecht von Haller (1708–1777), while post-Harveian medical research came together with the Newtonian version of the mechanical philosophy to consolidate a vitalistic theory of life that went hand in hand with a theory of matter that allowed for certain principles of activity within matter. One important ingredient in the mix emerged as a result of experimental investigations firstly of static electricity, and subsequently of current electricity. In the final paragraph of the second edition of the *Principia* (1713) Newton referred influentially to an electrical spirit, which he seemed to believe was not only responsible for attractions and repulsions between particles but also played a physiological role in animals.

THEOLOGY AND MATTER THEORY

Epicurean atomism was usually regarded as an atheistic philosophy and those natural philosophers who were associated with its revival, or indeed with any corpuscular matter theory which might be construed as atomistic, took pains to correct this view. Gassendi used all his scholarly and philosophical resources to “baptize” Epicurus and show that his philosophy was compatible with Christian doctrine. Corpuscular philosophers in England, such as Kenelm Digby (1603–1665), Walter Charleton (1620–1707), and Robert Boyle effectively began the tradition known as “natural theology” by showing how their natural philosophy could be used to prove the existence of God. Even so, the materialism of the strict versions of the mechanical philosophy—which included the system developed by Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679) as well as Cartesianism—led many to distrust these new philosophies.

Nicolas Malebranche (1638–1715) and other followers of Descartes tried to assert the necessary theism of Cartesianism by suggesting that matter was so inert that it was incapable of any causal activity. A hurled brick has no power of its own to break

a window, they would have suggested, and only does so because God, ensuring the perpetuation of the laws of nature, causes the glass to break on the occasion that the brick hits it. This religiously motivated “occasionalism,” as it is called, was regarded as unacceptable by many orthodox believers, however, because it seemed to make God directly responsible for everything in the world, including all the most debasing and the most wicked acts of mankind.

Assumptions about the activity of matter, on the other hand, seemed to many to support the theistic cause while allowing for the transcendence of God. If matter could be shown, by experiment, to have principles of activity within it, this raised the question of how these active principles came to be there. Clearly, they could only have been put there by a supreme Creator. This argument depended upon the standard assumption that matter was, by its nature, completely passive and inert, and therefore active principles must be extraneous additions.

Unfortunately, atheists found it easy to suggest that matter was not inherently passive. Indeed, they could use Newtonian and other claims to demonstrate that it was not. Nevertheless, the most common strategy among the orthodox was to strike a balance, making matter not passive but not too active, either. Matter that was too active was also regarded as subversive to sound religion. Glisson's living matter was regarded by some leading churchmen as highly pernicious, as was John Locke's (1632–1704) argument that God's omnipotence allowed him to make matter capable of thinking. For such churchmen, traditional religious dualism between passive matter and active spirit had to be upheld in order to leave a significant role for immaterial spirit. Consequently, living or thinking matter had to be declared to be logical impossibilities, which not even an omnipotent God could bring about.

In Roman Catholic countries atomism confronted its own special problem. Aristotelian hylomorphism could easily account for the seemingly paradoxical fact that the bread and wine used for the Eucharist continued to look and taste like bread and wine (even though it was supposed to be actually the blood and flesh of Christ). Atomist or corpuscularist theories could not, however. As a

result, Descartes's works were included on the Inquisition's Index of Prohibited Books after 1663, and from 1671 his theories could not be taught in French universities.

MATTER THEORY AND RECENT HISTORIOGRAPHY

The mechanical philosophy and its theory of passive and inert matter, interacting only by physical collision and entanglement, has been used by recent historians to make a number of bold claims about the nature of Western civilization. Feminist historians, for example, have seen it as the embodiment of a philosophy of domination and exploitation, insensitive to organicist and ecological concerns, which has led to the current lamentable excesses of capitalistic and technological culture. Unfortunately, most of this work characterizes the mechanical philosophy as monolithically Cartesian in its nature. In these same feminist accounts, alchemy and magical worldviews are seen as being holistic and organicist, and completely antithetical to the mechanical philosophy. A more sensitive reading of the historical development of matter theory and the mechanical philosophy, showing the crucial role of alchemical and other occult ideas, suggests that the story is more complex than feminist historiography has so far acknowledged.

As the complexities of early modern matter theory have been uncovered, another once influential historiographical claim has fallen out of favor. Some historians claimed to be able to see parallels between matter theory and political belief systems in early modern England. In these accounts orthodoxy was represented in natural philosophy by the mechanical philosophy, and in politics by monarchism and episcopalianism. Radical political thinkers, republicans and those with democratic tendencies, and presbyterians or independents in religion, by contrast, were held to favor theories of active matter. There were supposed to be clear parallels between the idea of passive matter, moved from outside by an omnipotent God, and an obedient populace ruled from above by an absolute monarch. Similarly, those with more democratic political tendencies were supposed to believe that particles of matter should have their own principles of movement within them. According to this view, only those of quite extreme radical politics believed in active matter. Looking back to the recent heyday of this historiographical trend,

the only thing to be said in its favor was that it stimulated historians to look more closely at the actual details of early modern matter theory. As should be apparent from the foregoing, it was not long before historians realized that the assumptions about matter theory in this historiographical tradition were hopelessly crude, if not downright wrong.

Part of the problem with both these historiographical trends is that they are based upon glib presuppositions about the nature of early modern science—in particular assumptions that the mechanical philosophy was always and everywhere indistinguishable from Cartesianism. This in itself could be seen to stem from the fact that until comparatively recently historians of science had a tendency to concentrate on those aspects of the history of science that were presupposed on presentist grounds to contribute to modern science. Accordingly, alchemy and other occult ideas were ignored as irrelevant. Feminist historians can perhaps be forgiven, therefore, for taking such recent historical reconstructions for granted, and using them in their own accounts. The inadequacies of this approach to the history of science have now been thoroughly recognized, however, and the current trend is to try to understand natural philosophy and past science in its own terms, not in relation to modern scientific beliefs.

See also Alchemy; Bacon, Francis; Boyle, Robert; Cartesianism; Charleton, Walter; Copernicus, Nicolaus; Descartes, René; Galileo Galilei; Harvey, William; Hobbes, Thomas; Locke, John; Mechanism; Medicine; Natural Philosophy; Newton, Isaac; Philosophy; Scientific Method; Scientific Revolution.

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JOHN HENRY

MATTHIAS (HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE) (1557–1619; ruled 1612–1619). The younger son of Maximilian II, Matthias served as governor-general of the Spanish Netherlands, 1578–1581, governor of Upper and Lower Austria (1593), king of Hungary (1608), and king of Bohemia (1611). He married Anna of Tyrol (1585–1618) in 1611.

In 1872, a play by the Austrian playwright Franz Grillparzer, *Ein Bruderzwist in Habsburg*, premiered in Vienna. This play immortalized the conflict between the Holy Roman emperor Rudolf II and his younger brother, Matthias, and in some ways marks the high point of the received significance of Matthias, who in 1612 followed Rudolf on the imperial throne.

Matthias was the seventh child of the archduke Maximilian and his wife, the Spanish infanta María. (Nine children followed.) Matthias's father Maximilian was elected emperor in 1564, and this imperial heritage seems to have marked Matthias as he grew up. Matthias's father had bequeathed all of his holdings to his eldest son, Rudolf, who reigned as emperor Rudolf II. This meant that the remaining male heirs had to be satisfied with modest cash settlements tied to residences in the Habsburgs' hereditary lands. Matthias was not satisfied with this legacy.

At twenty-one, Matthias was persuaded to participate in a scheme to replace the direct rule in the Netherlands of the Habsburg prince in Castile, King Philip II. This development was tied to the Habsburgs' attempts to reorganize the rule of their troublesome Burgundian inheritance. The constitutional position of these provinces, where armed rebellion began in earnest around 1568, was ambigu-

ously situated between the unclear boundaries of the Holy Roman Empire and the dynastic claims of the Habsburgs and their local supporters.

The experiment of rule by Matthias in the Netherlands did not last long, for it had not been sanctioned by either his uncle, Phillip II, or his brother, Emperor Rudolf II. The political and religious conflicts in the Low Countries were beyond the means or abilities of the young archduke. In 1581 Matthias returned, disappointed as well as discredited, to central Europe and was awarded the Habsburg city of Linz and given its imposing castle as his residence. He vegetated there for quite some time, and was not given significant ruling responsibilities again for over a decade and a half.

In 1595, the older and now wiser Archduke Matthias was assigned responsibilities over Habsburg holdings along the Danube River. Two years previously, the sporadic violence on the Hungarian frontier with the troops of the Ottoman sultan had broken into open warfare, prompting Emperor Rudolf to name his younger brother Matthias to the command of the Habsburg and imperial forces parrying the Ottomans' forays in the Hungarian arena.

In the meantime, the emperor became increasingly withdrawn. The Habsburg family's male representatives met in 1606 and designated not Rudolf but Matthias as head of the family. Soon the conflicts erupted into armed confrontations between the supporters of Rudolf and Matthias, and Matthias was able to engineer his election as King of Hungary in 1608.

The events of the next few years were both confused and confusing. (Grillparzer recognized the dramatic possibilities.) Matthias married his cousin, the archduchess Anna, the daughter of his uncle, Archduke Ferdinand of Tyrol and Ferdinand's second wife, Anna Catherine, from the house of Gonzaga. After Matthias's brother Rudolf died in Prague, Matthias and Anna ascended the imperial thrones in 1612. Matthias is often forgotten in the stories of this period, which rush to a description of the crises marked by disagreements over who should succeed him in the various lands over which he reigned. These disagreements are often given substantial influence in narratives about

the origins of the Thirty Years' War, which would soon convulse the Holy Roman Empire.

Because Matthias and Anna were childless, the issue of the imperial succession—as well as the succession to the various other Habsburg hereditary lands in central Europe—remained a burning question. Matthias's younger brother Albert, who had left central Europe in 1570 with Matthias's older sister Anna when she became the bride of his uncle, Philip II of Spain, was still alive, and a possible heir. Albert, however, had tied his star to the brothers' mother's Iberian branch of the family, serving as viceroy of Portugal, for example, among other offices, and was now (jointly with his wife, Philip II's daughter Isabel [also Isabella] Clara Eugenia) ruling the Netherlands as Matthias had once hoped to do.

In a controversial and significant move, the Habsburg Dynasty's central European representatives decided to throw their support to the young archduke from Styria, Ferdinand, son of Matthias's other uncle, Charles. Matthias tried to organize his various holdings through a general assembly in Linz in 1614, but the disagreements among the various representatives led to no memorable outcome. Emperor Matthias is often tied to the activities of his adviser, the energetic counter-reformer Cardinal Khlesl, but because of the cataclysm to come, these efforts remain underresearched and underappreciated. In the end, Matthias and Anna seem destined to be best remembered for their role in creating the preferred burial site for succeeding generations of Habsburgs: the Capuchin friary on the new market in Vienna.

Originally interred in the church of the Poor Clares (the Queen's Cloister) founded by his older sister Elizabeth in Vienna in the 1580s, Matthias's and Anna's remains were transferred in the 1630s to the now famous imperial crypt at the Capuchin friary, which they had endowed in their wills. It is there where they and so many of their Habsburg relatives now repose, much to the fascination of endless busloads of tourists.

See also Habsburg Dynasty: Austria; Holy Roman Empire; Isabel Clara Eugenia and Albert of Habsburg; Netherlands, Southern; Philip II (Spain); Rudolf II (Holy Roman Empire).

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JOSEPH F. PATROUCH

MAULBERTSCH, FRANZ ANTON (1724–1796), Austrian painter, decorator, and graphic artist. Maulbertsch was an Austrian painter, etcher, and decorator active in the second half of the eighteenth century. Though a major figure comparable in scope to Giovanni Battista Tiepolo (1692–1770) and working in the same monumental forms, he is little known outside the central European sphere of his activity. This is symptomatic of the scant scholarly attention given to areas outside the mainstream, notwithstanding the cultural permeability of Europe at the time and the particular vitality of the region itself. With the Reformation contained, if not suppressed, following the Thirty Years' War, and new land recovered from the Ottoman Turks, Central Europe saw explosive growth in church and state during the eighteenth century. Palaces, churches, and monasteries were built and repaired, rebuilt and redecorated in accordance with doctrinal and ceremonial demands that favored grand decorative schemes. Like many other artists of the time, beginning with the Italians, Maulbertsch, who lived in Vienna, traveled from abbey to palace in what is now Austria, Hungary, the Czech Republic, and Slovakia as opportunity arose. Many of his paintings are still in their original locations.

Born in Langenargen on Lake Constance, Maulbertsch, after receiving initial training from his father, Anton, went to Vienna, where he studied at the Academy of Artists, which was then equal to any academy in Europe. An active participant in academic culture throughout his life, he won a first prize in painting there in 1750 and was elected as a member in 1759. He also became a member of the newly formed Print Academy (Kupferstecherakademie) in 1770 and the Berlin Academy of Artists in 1788. The example and work of such Italian artists as Andrea Pozzo (1642–1709) and Carlo Inno-



Franz Anton Maulbertsch. *The Anointment of David by Samuel*, Germanisches Nationalmuseum Nuremberg. ©SCALA/ART RESOURCE

cenzo Carlone (1686–1775), as well as that of Daniel Gran (1694–1767) and Paul Troger (1698–1762), who had traveled extensively in Italy (principally to Venice and Naples, but also to Rome and Bologna), helped to prepare Maulbertsch for his large-scale decorative commissions. These began with the Piarists' church in Vienna in 1752–1753 and continued nearly annually thereafter. In the decade of the 1750s, for example, he painted frescoes for the Jesuit Church in Vienna in 1753–1754; for the Schloss Suttner, Ebenfurth (Lower Austria), in 1754; for Heiligenkreuz-Gutenbrunn (Austria) and Sümeg (Hungary) in 1757 and 1758; for Mikulov/Nikolsburg and Kroměříž/Kremsier (both now in the Czech Republic) in 1759; and so forth. The intensity of his activity diminished only in the decade before his death in 1796. He executed works for parish churches and religious orders (the Servites, Augustinians, Barnabites, Jesuits, Premonstratensians, Carmelites, and Cistercians), for prelates and archbishops, and from 1765 for the imperial family.

In the course of covering the walls, ceilings, and vaults of churches, cathedrals, chapels, libraries, dining halls, refectories, reception halls, council chambers and other spaces, Maulbertsch developed an expressive pictorial language compounded of light and color for vast illusionistic schemes with and without fictive architecture. The same virtuosic technique of often dazzling brilliance appears in the large altarpieces and easel paintings he executed throughout his career. Although from the late 1760s on he adapted his style to the prevailing classical taste and emerging Enlightenment ideals through a new evenness of light and clarity of form and structure, his later commissions came mainly from the more provincial reaches of the empire. At the end of his life, he made etchings of popular themes that were aimed at new audiences and tastes.

To prepare his works, even the etchings, he regularly employed small preparatory sketches in oil, then a well-established technique but one that he brought to new levels of accomplishment. The sketches range from fully developed models—made for his own or assistants' use and the approval of patrons—to lively composition, figure, and part studies, freely executed in monochrome shades and full colors on paper or small canvases, using the same fluid and spontaneous brushwork that he

would employ in the actual work. When they were studies for mural paintings—including the variant typically practiced in Central Europe, which permitted a more varied application of paint and hue than true fresco—they were often made in the winter months when the weather otherwise made it difficult to work. But, having developed out of standard preparatory practice, these oil sketches, which sometimes seem to have been made for their own sake, transcended their origins and came to stand for the newly emerging aesthetic values of creativity that were being formulated by Enlightenment and Romantic writers from Diderot to Goethe. Rapidly laid down with a fully charged brush, such sketches seemed to promise more pleasure to the imagination and, as an apparently transparent means of communication, seemed nearer than the finished painting to the act of creation itself. Thus, if in his monumental decorative schemes and altarpieces Maulbertsch represented the *ancien régime* that was drawing to a close, in the spirited impasto and evocative forms of his oil sketches, he continued to be a vital force anticipating the values of the century ahead.

See also Central Europe, Art in; Painting.

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LINDA F. BAUER

MAXIMILIAN I (HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE) (1459–1519; ruled 1493–1519), Holy Roman emperor. Maximilian I was a member of the Habsburg Dynasty. Elected king of Romans in 1486, he declared himself elected Holy Roman emperor in 1508. In 1477 Maximilian married Mary, Duchess of Burgundy (1457–1482). In 1490 he married Anne, Duchess of Brittany (1477–1514), by proxy, but that marriage was annulled in 1491. In 1494 he married Bianca Maria Sforza

(1472–1510). He had three legitimate children, including Philip the Fair (1478–1506), duke of Burgundy and king of Castile (ruled 1506), and Margaret (1480–1530), regent of the Netherlands. Maximilian also had at least eleven acknowledged illegitimate children.

Possibly named after the third-century martyr Saint Maximilian of Celeia, Maximilian was the son of Holy Roman emperor Frederick III (ruled 1440–1493) of the House of Habsburg and Empress Eleonor (1436–1467) of the Portuguese royal house of Avis, who were married in Rome in 1452 by Pope Nicholas V (reigned 1447–1455). Maximilian was born on 22 March 1459 in his parents' residence city of Wiener Neustadt in Lower Austria, and he and his mother are buried there. His life was tied to building the power and reputation of his family through shrewd marriage alliances for himself, his children, and his grandchildren and through various artistic projects and sponsorships, including an important relationship with the artist Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528). When Maximilian died on 12 January 1519 in the archducal castle located along the walls of the Upper Austrian city of Wels, his family had claims over territories stretching across Europe and overseas into the Americas.

Maximilian is often referred to as “the Last Knight” and has been seen as a transitional figure on the cusp of early modern history. His constant lack of money did not deter him from imagining magnificent schemes, many relating to projecting an image of himself and his rule to posterity. The most famous examples of these undertakings are the elaborate funerary monuments he planned for himself in the court chapel at Innsbruck. These monuments reveal a combination of imagined ties among his dynasty, medieval antecedents, and classical Rome (inspired by humanist interests in antiquity). His court has been seen as an important mediator for the spread of Italianate forms and ideas across the Alps into the rest of the Holy Roman Empire, particularly after his marriage in 1494 to one of the richest heiresses of his day, Bianca Maria Sforza, from Milan.

In the history of the Habsburg Dynasty, Maximilian built on his father's acquisition of the imperial crown, which remained in Habsburg hands with one brief exception until they declared the end of

the empire in 1806. Maximilian's marriage to the heiress of the great late-medieval Burgundian inheritance, Mary, brought those rich lands under the control of the Habsburgs. While he was unsuccessful in his campaigns against the Swiss towns and cantons that wrested control of parts of the Habsburg patrimony from the dynasty, Maximilian is credited with engineering the marriage in 1496 of his son Philip to the Spanish heiress Joan I (queen of Castile 1504–1555; queen of Aragón 1516–1555). This marriage more than made up for the Swiss losses through the gain of the Iberian kingdoms of Castile and Aragon together with their overseas possessions in Italy, the western Mediterranean, and the Americas.

After the death in 1490 of Matthias I Corvinus (ruled 1458–1490), king of Hungary, who had taken the city of Vienna and made it his residence, Maximilian turned his attentions back from the west of Europe to the Habsburgs' hereditary Danubian holdings and the enticing kingdoms of Bohemia and Hungary. He captured Vienna and again employed marriage negotiations, this time with representatives of the important ruling dynasty of those kingdoms, the Jagiellonians (who also controlled Poland). Through a double marriage of Jagiellonians and Habsburgs negotiated in Vienna in 1515, Maximilian set up the situation in which his grandson Ferdinand I (ruled 1558–1564) claimed the Bohemian and Hungarian thrones after the death of the Jagiellonian king Louis II (ruled 1516–1526) on the battlefield at Mohács, fighting the Ottoman army, in 1526.

In the constitutional history of the Holy Roman Empire, Maximilian is known for the role he played in the reorganization of institutions beginning in the 1490s. This reorganization has been interpreted variously by historians of the empire, but it established a more active imperial judiciary and regional governing mechanisms, among other modifications.

When Maximilian died in the castle at Wels, he left to his Burgundian-raised grandson (who as Emperor Charles V ruled 1519–1556), an array of claims, titles, challenges, and opportunities vastly different from those he had inherited. The Habsburgs were well on their way to world significance.

See also Austria; Charles V (Holy Roman Empire); Ferdinand I (Holy Roman Empire); Habsburg Dynasty; Holy Roman Empire Institutions; Jagiellon Dynasty (Poland-Lithuania); Vienna.

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JOSEPH F. PATROUCH

MAXIMILIAN II (HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE) (1527–1576; ruled 1564–1576), Holy Roman emperor. Maximilian II, who was born on 31 July 1527 in Vienna and died on 12 October 1576 in Regensburg, was king of Bohemia (ruled 1562–1576), king of the Romans (1562), and king of Hungary (ruled 1563–1576). He became Holy Roman emperor in 1564. In 1548 he married María of Habsburg (1528–1603), coregent of Spain (1548–1550). Maximilian is buried in Saint Vitus Cathedral in Prague.

Son of the new king and queen of Bohemia and Hungary, Ferdinand I (ruled 1558–1564) of Habsburg and Anna of Jagiellon (died 1547), Maximilian grew up as a rival to his cousin Philip of Spain, the

future King Philip II (ruled 1556–1598). Ultimately Maximilian gained the imperial title and fathered two Holy Roman emperors, Rudolf II (ruled 1576–1612) and Matthias (ruled 1612–1619). Philip gained the Iberian lands, the Low Countries, parts of Italy, and the Habsburg overseas empire in the Americas, Africa, and Asia.

Maximilian is often portrayed as having had—much to the dismay of his more orthodox father—a lively curiosity when it came to religious matters. This curiosity led many of his time (and later) to speculate that he may have believed some of the theological points presented by the followers of Martin Luther (1483–1546). Some scholars believe that, to restrain the young archduke, some of his inheritance was given away to his brothers Ferdinand and Charles, and Maximilian was sent to Spain to act as coregent with his bride María, the sister of the later Spanish king Philip II.

Nonetheless Maximilian's father eventually entrusted the newly acquired kingdoms of Bohemia and Hungary, together with some of the Habsburg hereditary lands, to Maximilian and María. At the death of Ferdinand in 1564, Maximilian assumed the title of elected emperor and proceeded to organize the defense of Christendom against new Hungarian campaigns undertaken by the Ottomans in the 1560s. The defense, however, was less than spectacular. Maximilian, apparently shaken by the experience, retreated to a more intellectual and legally circumscribed sphere of cultural pursuits and limited political engagement.

Keeping an eye on the possibilities in Iberia (his cousin Philip was having difficulties producing a viable heir), Maximilian and María produced numerous children, including Anna, the future wife of Philip. A second daughter, Elizabeth, became Queen of France as the wife of King Charles IX (ruled 1560–1574).

Intelligent and open-minded, Maximilian supported research on historical and botanical subjects, and he continued to import styles and ideas from Italy, a process his father had actively supported. Outside of his residence city of Vienna, Maximilian oversaw the building of an impressive garden residence known simply as the “New Construction” (*Neugebäude*). Situated on a rise overlooking the Danube River, this construction provided an or-

derly alternative to an oft-chaotic political landscape over which the emperor had little clear control.

Maximilian lost influence in imperial Italy over such matters as what title was to be granted to the Medici in Florence. Nevertheless he transferred the crowns of Bohemia and Hungary as well as the imperial title to his son Rudolf, partly by allowing an ill-defined amount of religious toleration to the important nobles in various of his lands.

In lands distant from the Ottoman front in Hungary, Maximilian's policies were marked by a clear respect for the provisions of the religious peace set at Augsburg in 1555 by his father. Maximilian staked much on the support of the Saxon electors newly tied to the imperial constitution. He also reached out to the usually inimical Valois in France, as representatives of that dynasty struggled with religious and civil chaos in their kingdom. Maximilian even entertained cordial relations with the Tudor queen of England, Elizabeth I (ruled 1558–1603). His wife María and Elizabeth of England shared godparental responsibilities for Maximilian and María's granddaughter Marie-Isabelle, the daughter of Charles IX and Elizabeth.

Maximilian II was plagued with health problems. His heart and constitution failed him, and he died at the age of forty-nine. Various stories of his deathbed behavior circulated around Europe, and all tried to divine what his demeanor meant for the cloudy future of the (Christian) religious settlement of 1555. His sons Rudolf and Matthias took the imperial office, but their successive reigns did not continue their father's conciliatory project.

See also Austria; Bohemia; Elizabeth I (England); Ferdinand I (Holy Roman Empire); Florence; Habsburg Dynasty; Austria; Holy Roman Empire; Hungary; Matthias (Holy Roman Empire); Ottoman Empire; Philip II (Spain); Rudolf II (Holy Roman Empire); Vienna.

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JOSEPH F. PATROUCH

MAZARIN, JULES (Giulio Mazarini; 1602–1661), diplomat, cardinal, and first minister during the regency of King Louis XIV of France. Born near Pescara outside Rome on 14 July 1602, Mazarin was the eldest son of six children. He received an early Jesuit education in Rome and then pursued further studies in Spain. With the patronage and support of the Colonna family, who had ties to the court of Pope Urban VIII (reigned 1623–1644), he initially entered into the papal army in 1624, but by the late 1620s instead took the initial vows of a cleric and became a papal diplomat.

In 1630, while serving as an envoy for the papal court in the negotiations that sought an end to the war between Spain and France over the disputed succession of the crown of Mantua, Mazarin traveled to France to meet with Cardinal Richelieu, King Louis XIII's first minister. Mazarin's deft negotiating skills endeared him to the powerful French royal minister and helped to secure temporary peace between Spain and France.

Thanks to his success in the Mantua affair, the pope sent Mazarin to Paris in 1634 as his ambassador (nuncio) to the French court with the goal of realizing a lasting peace settlement between Spain and France. While in Paris, Richelieu and Mazarin began a mutually beneficial political relationship. In 1635, however, Richelieu adopted a policy of continued war with Spain in the context of the Thirty Years' War; Mazarin had failed in his mission to bring peace, and the pope recalled him. Once back at the papal court, Mazarin maintained his political ties to France and actively represented French interests there.

In 1638, in gratitude for his work on behalf of France in Rome, Louis XIII pressed the pope to



Jules Mazarin. Portrait by Philippe de Champaigne.
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promote Mazarin to cardinal; he received the cardinal's hat 16 December 1641. As his nomination for cardinal was in the making, Louis XIII and Richelieu invited Mazarin to France to enter into the service of the French king. Mazarin left Rome, never to return, and arrived in Paris in January 1640.

In the service of the French crown, Mazarin's diplomatic goals remained the same: to secure peace between Spain and France. His initial years in France, however, proved to be ones of domestic political instability and crisis with the death of Richelieu in December 1642 closely followed by that of Louis XIII in May 1643. The succession of the five-year-old Louis XIV to the throne in 1643 ushered in a regency government with the acting regent, the Spanish Queen Anne of Austria, holding the political authority of the king in trusteeship until he reached the age of majority when he could assume the full powers of the crown. As Richelieu's protégé and Louis XIV's godfather, Mazarin became the first minister; together, he and the queen worked as close political partners trying to stabilize

the weak and vulnerable regency government. Although contemporaries and scholars alike have speculated that an even more intimate bond developed between the first minister and queen, there is no conclusive evidence as to the exact nature of their relationship.

With Mazarin and Anne of Austria at the helm of the government, a complex series of domestic revolts, collectively called the Fronde, developed in France, beginning in 1648 and lasting until 1653. The revolts began with the judges of the parlement or law court in Paris, spread to gain backing among some key nobles and princes, and then found popular support in Paris as well as the provinces. Although the causes of the revolts were rooted in varied and complex issues involving royal authority, including the levying of new taxes, the perceived abuse of royal authority in dealings with the parlement, and the crown's reliance on royal commissioned officers (*intendants*) in the outlying provinces, the revolts of the Fronde did specifically target Mazarin and Anne of Austria, seeking to remove these "foreigners" from power. During the crisis, pamphlets called "Mazarinades" circulated throughout France. These often-satirical pamphlets fueled the revolts as they contained scathing criticisms of Mazarin, Anne of Austria, and the regency government. The revolts of the Fronde forced Anne of Austria and Louis XIV, along with Mazarin, to flee Paris in 1649. Mazarin remained in exile from France during much of the Fronde, but continued to work with Anne of Austria and other noble factions loyal to their cause to bring an end to the revolts in 1653. The coronation of sixteen-year-old Louis XIV at Rheims Cathedral in June 1654 and Mazarin's return to Paris marked the end of the crisis and the full restoration of the first minister.

Even in the midst of the Fronde, Mazarin continued to direct France's foreign policy. He played an important part in the negotiations for the Peace of Westphalia at the end of the Thirty Years' War in 1648. Despite this treaty, which brought peace to much of warring Europe, the war between France and Spain continued. Mazarin pursued a policy of allying with German princes and England against the Habsburgs in an effort to force peace with Spain. Under the terms of the Peace of the Pyrenees in 1659, Mazarin finally secured his long-term goal of peace between France and Spain. The marriage of

Louis XIV to the Spanish princess Marie-Thérèse in 1660 sealed the peace.

As both a father figure and political mentor, Mazarin prepared Louis XIV to govern France by tutoring him in the craft of kingship and by providing the king with loyal advisors and able ministers, such as Michel Le Tellier and Jean-Baptiste Colbert, who would serve the crown after Mazarin's death. Mazarin died 9 March 1661 in the palace of Vincennes on the outskirts of Paris, leaving a legacy of a stronger, more stable France in domestic and international politics. Upon the death of his beloved first minister, godfather, and tutor, Louis XIV announced that he would name no other first minister, marking the clear advent of his personal rule as king.

See also Anne of Austria; Colbert, Jean-Baptiste; France; Fronde; Louis XIII (France); Louis XIV (France); Mantuan Succession, War of the (1627–1631); Pyrenees, Peace of the (1659); Richelieu, Armand-Jean Du Plessis, cardinal; Thirty Years' War (1618–1648); Westphalia, Peace of (1648).

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MAZEPA, IVAN (c. 1639–1709; ruled 1687–1709), hetman of Ukraine. Born in the Kiev region into a noble Ukrainian family, Mazepa was educated at the Kievan Mohyla Academy and the Jesuit College in Warsaw, and he also studied military affairs in the Netherlands. His father's pro-Polish attitude allowed the young Mazepa to become a diplomat in the service of the Polish king, John II Casimir Vasa. While at the king's court,

Mazepa was alleged to have had amorous misadventures that were subsequently immortalized by nineteenth-century romantic writers and composers. In 1669 Mazepa left the royal court and entered the service of the pro-Polish Right-Bank hetman Petro Doroshenko. Doroshenko was not willing to accept the Truce of Andrusovo (1667), which in effect partitioned the Hetmanate between Poland and Russia; defying both powers, he made an alliance with the Ottoman Empire (1668). While on a diplomatic mission to the Crimean Tatars, Mazepa was captured by pro-Russian Cossacks, who delivered him to Moscow (1674). Mazepa's capture proved fortuitous, for Doroshenko not only failed to unite the Hetmanate but plunged it into a series of wars that depopulated and destroyed the Right-Bank Hetmanate. Meanwhile, Mazepa's imprisonment was brief, as the Russians decided that he would be more useful to the pro-Russian Left-Bank hetman, Ivan Samoilovych. Mazepa rose quickly in the camp of his former enemy, becoming Samoilovych's general aide-de-camp in 1682. After the failure of a joint Muscovite-Ukrainian campaign (first Crimean campaign, 1687), Samoilovych was deposed and exiled to Siberia, and with Russian backing Mazepa was elected hetman of Ukraine (1687).

Mazepa's primary internal focus was on the stabilization of Ukrainian society. He based his rule on consolidating an aristocratic elite (Cossack officers and nobles), granting them estates and new privileges. Other decrees attempted to regulate the Cossacks (1691), burghers, and peasants (1701). Mazepa allied himself closely with the clergy, confirming their privileges and granting property to monasteries. No hetman was a greater patron of the Orthodox church, education, or culture. He financed many church construction projects, some from his private funds, and donated many precious liturgical books, bells, and other church goods. He obtained the status of an academy for the Kievan Mohyla Collegium (1701). Mazepa was also a patron of literature and wrote a number of poems himself.

Politically, Mazepa relied on Muscovy and developed a close relationship with Peter I. He hoped to utilize Russian power to bolster his rule and recover Right-Bank Ukraine (which he occupied in 1704 on Peter's instructions). However, this alliance proved costly, for Peter ordered Cossack forces

into foreign wars and construction projects. Moreover, Peter's drive toward a regulated empire was increasingly violating Ukrainian rights and liberties, pushing Mazepa to break with Russia and seek the protection of Sweden—a disastrous move, as the Swedish-Ukrainian forces were defeated by Peter at Poltava (1709). Mazepa retreated with the Swedish king to Ottoman-controlled territory and soon died in Bendery (now in Moldova). In the Russian empire, Mazepa was viewed as a heinous traitor, and “Mazepism” remained a code word for Ukrainian separatism. Ukrainian national historians regarded Mazepa as a hero in the struggle for Ukrainian independence.

See also Cossacks; Hetmanate (Ukraine); Northern Wars; Peter I (Russia); Ukraine; Ukrainian Literature and Language.

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ZENON KOHUT

MECHANISM. Historians have picked out many characteristics by which to define the profound alteration of natural philosophy from Galileo's adoption of Copernicanism in the late 1590s to the publication of Newton's *Principia* in 1687. Some historians note that many authors prominently put forward an ideal of mathematical demonstration, an ideal that in mechanics and astronomy was effectively realized in the period; others emphasize the insistence that theory be submitted to the test of observation and experiment; according to still others, the defining character of the new philosophy is that intervention and control came to supplant contemplation as the primary motive and goal in the study of nature. By now it is evident both that no one trait suffices, even with respect to what we

now call the physical sciences, and that the historian must distinguish what was claimed for the new philosophy by its proponents from the more modest, piecemeal, and gradual changes that actually occurred.

TENETS OF MECHANISM

Ideologically if not always in practice, mechanism—the “mechanical philosophy,” as physicist Robert Boyle (1627–1691) called it—became the character by which the new science in all its branches distinguished itself from its Aristotelian predecessor. The tenets of mechanism can be summarized as follows:

(1) The sensible world, or the system of objects of outward experience, consists of bodies possessing just a few, chiefly geometrical, properties. This was in opposition to the Aristotelian profusion of forms and qualities and to the sympathies, antipathies, and other “occult powers” attributed to things by alchemists and natural magicians. René Descartes (1596–1650), in the wake of Galileo's dictum that the book of nature is written in the language of mathematics, allowed to the body only those properties determinable from its essence as extension. What we call an individual body is nothing more than a region of space delimited from other such regions by its instantaneous motion.

Figure, size, and motion: Descartes's list proved rather quickly to be insufficient. Henry More argued, and many agreed, that impenetrability could not be demonstrated from extension and must be an original property of matter. Leibniz insisted that force could not be reduced to motion. Newton added universal gravitation (though he did not rule out an eventual mechanistic account). In the eighteenth century, electrical, magnetic, and chemical properties were added to the list, as were those vital powers of organisms that proved incapable of explanation on Cartesian terms.

(2) The preferred mode of explaining the sensible qualities of gross matter was reduction. From hypotheses concerning the underlying structure of a substance—the shape and size of the “corpuscles” of which it consisted—the phenomena of that substance were supposed to be derived using the laws of motion. The corpuscles being too small to affect the senses except en masse, hypotheses about their configuration could be verified only indirectly, typically

by showing that they could explain a great many phenomena at once. Often, mechanical hypotheses were adaptations of hypotheses made earlier by Aristotelian philosophers: that transparency had something to do with pores through which particles of light could pass, for example.

The point was not novelty for its own sake but the elimination from natural philosophy of unwanted entities: Descartes's vortex theory of planetary motion, for example, eliminated the force of attraction that Kepler had found it necessary to propose; the planets stay in their orbits by virtue of being in dynamic equilibrium with the particles revolving around the Sun at their distance. In the science of life, sensation and action in animals were to be explained by reference not to the faculties of a mysterious soul but by invoking hypotheses about the shapes of the sense organs and the motions imposed by them on the "animal spirits" (a fluid consisting of very small, fast-moving particles) coursing through the nerves. Having no fluid dynamics worth the name, Descartes had no hope of actually deriving the phenomena from his hypotheses on the basis of the laws of motion. Instead, he tried to make them plausible by analogies with pulleys and pipe organs, whose manner of motion would be familiar to the educated reader.

That machines could perform even the functions of living things became more credible in view of the increasingly complex capacities of machines projected or built by late sixteenth-century and early seventeenth-century engineers, among them Salomon de Caus (d. 1626), Agostino Ramelli (1531–1608), and Vittorio Zonca. In the eighteenth century, the famous automata of Jacques de Vaucanson (1709–1782), which included a flute player and a duck with an apparently fully functioning digestive system, were adduced as evidence that the operations of living things could be simulated mechanically. Given that in the new physics, scale was irrelevant, nature in the large could be seen as a gigantic clock, and living things as (in Leibniz's words) machines whose parts were likewise machines—an infinite embedding of divinely engineered devices.

(3) With the advance of mechanism, two new skills became requisite for a natural philosopher. The first was that of deriving conclusions mathe-

matically from laws (treated as axioms) and initial conditions concerning the locations, shapes, and motions of bodies. The development of calculus by Leibniz and Newton in the late seventeenth century greatly increased the reach of mathematical physics. Newton and Christiaan Huygens (1629–1695) were among the seventeenth-century virtuosi of mathematical physics. In the eighteenth century, noted names included the Bernoulli family (Johann [also known as Jean], Jakob [also known as Jacques], and Daniel), Jean Le Rond d'Alembert, Leonhard Euler, Joseph-Louis Lagrange, and Pierre Simon Laplace, whose *Mécanique céleste* (Celestial mechanics, 1798–1825) was the capstone of the edifice begun by Newton.

The other requisite skill was the ability to generate experimental setups (or observational situations) capable of putting to the test conclusions drawn from theory. The now familiar dynamic by which the theorist is required to derive new testable claims, hence providing motive for new experiments, some of which generate new phenomena to be explained, was largely absent from Scholastic natural philosophy. One of the weaknesses of Cartesianism was likewise its inability, in the hands of its foremost proponents, to incorporate this dynamic. The more modest style of Marin Mersenne (1588–1648), Descartes's colleague and correspondent, was to prove the more enduring. The examples of Cartesianism and Gassendism (the atomist philosophy of Pierre Gassendi and his followers, including Walter Charlton and François Bernier) show that mechanism and the "experimental dynamic" were not inseparable. Nevertheless, the association of the two is not mere coincidence: mechanism emerged as the setting of natural philosophy was shifting from the schools to the competitive world of gentlemanly amateurs like Boyle and freelance teachers like the Cartesians Jacques Rohault and Pierre Sylvain Régis.

SUCCESS AND LIMITATIONS OF MECHANISM

Mechanism as an ideology for the pursuit of knowledge was enormously successful. It claimed for itself a clarity and explanatory prowess that Aristotelianism, despite the efforts of Honoré Fabri (1607–1688), who accepted the experimental method but not the ontology of mechanism, could not match. The examples of Nicolas Malebranche (1638–

1715), Pierre Varignon (1659–1722), and Louis Carré—all described by Bernard le Bouvier de Fontenelle (1657–1757), the “perpetual secretary” of the Académie Royale des Sciences in Paris, as finding a new light, even a new universe, in the philosophy of Descartes—show how persuasive the new philosophy could be to those educated in the old.

Nevertheless, there was no universal agreement that mechanism of the strict Cartesian sort was adequate to explaining the whole of nature. There were unreformed Aristotelians like Fabri who, while advancing hypotheses not unlike those of the mechanists (for example, concerning elasticity), nevertheless retained the Aristotelian distinction of form and matter and the system of four elements (earth, water, air, fire) defined by the very sorts of qualities Descartes had thought to banish. Other seventeenth-century dissenters, like Henry More, Ralph Cudworth, and Anne Conway, insisted on the necessity of attributing active powers to bodies—contrary to the Cartesian definition of matter as extension, which precluded any active powers. Leibniz argued that the “mutual rest” Descartes held to be the glue holding bodies together was quite inept to explain cohesion; this required instead an internal principle of unity. Newtonian gravity was a serious blow, as was Newton’s demolition of the vortex theory. By the end of the seventeenth century, moreover, the promise of Cartesian mechanism in explaining the phenomena of life had diminished to the point that Georg Ernst Stahl and other physiologists were ready to revive the animal and plant souls Descartes had extinguished. In particular, Stahl believed that the filtering of fluids in the digestive system could not be explained as the passage of particles through successive sieves; some selective power of attraction was instead required. In the first decades of the eighteenth century, the practice of hypothesizing configurations of subvisible particles had become “old hat.” Such hypotheses could be, if urged on the basis of analogy alone, no less question-begging than hypotheses about forms or occult qualities (Gabbey).

Mechanism could not quite deliver on its promises in the seventeenth century. Its ontology proved too sparse. In particular the science of life resisted “mechanization.” Nevertheless, the reduction of all of nature to the interaction of a few basic entities

and forces, whose phenomena were to be derived mathematically from first principles, has not only been enormously successful in fundamental physics but has also provided a model to all the natural sciences.

See also **Aristotelianism; Descartes, René; Gassendi, Pierre; Gessner, Conrad; Matter, Theories of; Mersenne, Marin; Occult Philosophy; Scientific Revolution.**

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DENNIS DES CHENE

MEDALS. See Coins and Medals.

MEDICI FAMILY. The dominant family in early modern Florence, the Medici produced several popes and cardinals, married into Europe's Catholic royal houses, and either dominated or ruled Florence from the early fifteenth century until 1737.

In 1434 the banker Cosimo de' Medici the Elder (1389–1464), outwardly respecting the republican constitution, became the power behind the scenes in Florence. Following unsuccessful coups against them in the 1460s, the Medici strengthened their position through the *balie* (small extraordinary councils). The perception that the Medici were in fact, if not in law, lords of Florence lay behind an unsuccessful 1478 conspiracy by members of the Pazzi and Salviati families. Following its failure, Lorenzo the Magnificent (1449–1492) pushed through constitutional changes, vesting more power in *balie* and hunting down his enemies with a vengeance that the historian Francesco Guicciardini would call uncivilized.

THE MEDICI AND FLORENCE

Two years after Lorenzo's death, Florentine republicans and followers of the Dominican Girolamo Savonarola (1452–1498) forced Piero di Lorenzo (1471–1503) and his brothers into exile. Upon Piero's death, leadership of the house passed to his brother Cardinal Giovanni (1475–1521; reigned as Pope Leo X 1513–1521), who reinstalled his family in Florence in 1512. The Florentine patriciate, disillusioned with broad-based government, acquiesced reluctantly in Medici domination under Lorenzo, duke of Urbino (1492–1519), and Giuliano, duke of Nemours (1479–1516).

The sack of Rome during the pontificate of Clement VII (1523–1534) (Giulio de' Medici, 1478–1534) gave impetus to rebellion against the Medici. In May 1527 the family suffered exile again.

But Clement made his peace with the emperor and, in 1530, after a brutal siege, installed Alessandro (1511–1537) as capo (head) and, soon, as duke of Florence.

Following Alessandro's assassination in 1537, Florence's influential patricians, or *Ottimati*, faced the problem of the succession, for Alessandro had left no legitimate male heir. Looking to the progeny of Cosimo the Elder's brother, they discovered Cosimo, son of Giovanni delle Bande Nere ('of the Black Bands') de' Medici and Maria Salviati. The teenaged Cosimo lacked an independent political, territorial, or financial base, the family bank having collapsed in 1494. He appeared, therefore, to be the perfect candidate, subject to direction by the *Ottimati*. That he proved to be one of the most independent rulers in Florentine history came as a surprise. By the mid-1540s, he freed himself from domination by both the patriciate and his Spanish allies. He conquered Siena and, in 1569, won from the pope the coveted hereditary title grand duke of Tuscany. His reign elevated the house of Medici to parity with the great Catholic houses of Europe. In 1564 he handed over governance to his son Francesco (1541–1587) in what may have been the smoothest transfer of power in the history of Florence. The family remained grand dukes until the death of the last male, Gian Gastone, in 1737.

THE MEDICI AND THE CHURCH

Guicciardini wrote that, to dominate Florence, the Medici needed popes. They obtained what they needed; between 1513 and 1521, and again from 1523 to 1534, Medici ruled in Rome. Virtually every generation of the Medici in the early modern period produced at least one cardinal.

After Giovanni's departure for Rome, Lorenzo sent him a letter urging him to piety, but adding that, in serving the church, Giovanni would surely find occasion to serve the house of Medici as well. With this advice, Lorenzo implied that the state's interests had become identical to the Medici's interests. Some contemporaries alleged a change in Medici behavior with Giovanni's election, claiming that the Medici, upon return from exile in 1512, lived like other citizens; once Giovanni became Pope Leo X in 1513, however, they ignored the constitution and went about, like lords, with armed retainers.

MEDICI MARRIAGES AND PROPERTY

The Palazzo Medici (constructed 1444–1464) was designed by Michelozzo for Cosimo the Elder. As dukes, the Medici lived first in the Palazzo Vecchio and, as of about 1550, in the Palazzo Pitti. They also owned substantial property outside Florence.

For most of the fifteenth century, the Medici followed a pattern common among their peers: making astute *parentadi* (marriage alliances) with other Florentine patrician families. Lorenzo the Magnificent signaled expanded family ambitions with his marriage into the Orsini, powerful Roman magnates. He arranged *parentadi* for two offspring with the Orsini and the house of Savoy. Alessandro wed Margaret of Austria, illegitimate daughter of the Holy Roman emperor Charles V, and, later, duchess of Parma and stadtholder of the Netherlands. Cosimo I's marriage to Eleonora of Toledo, daughter of the viceroy of Naples, brought both wealth and a Spanish connection. The destinies of some of his fourteen children included marriage into the Orsini and the houses of Toledo, Este, Habsburg (this time to a legitimate daughter of the emperor), and Lorraine (to which the succession would fall in 1737). Catherine, a great-granddaughter of Lorenzo the Magnificent, wed Henry II, king of France, and exercised great power as queen mother; she was blamed for the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre of 1572. Maria, the daughter of Francesco I, brought a dowry of 600,000 florins to Henry IV, king of France. Cosimo III married Margu rite Louise, daughter of the duke of Orl ans and granddaughter of Henry IV.

THE MEDICI AND CULTURE

Cosimo the Elder and his successors were patrons of the Neoplatonist movement. Lorenzo the Magnificent studied Greek and Latin under the foremost humanists, including Cristoforo Landino and Marsilio Ficino. Both Lorenzo and his mother, Lucrezia, were poets. Giovanni, the future Leo X, received an outstanding humanist education and studied canon law at Pisa. Cosimo I established the Accademia Fiorentina (Florentine Academy) and subsidized printing. Eleonora purchased and restored the Pitti palace and gardens. Francesco, Ferdinando I, and Cosimo II showed interest in literature, science, and mathematics. Francesco founded the Accademia della Crusca (*crusca* refers to wheat grain) to purify and promote the Tuscan language.

The young Galileo Galilei served as chief mathematician and philosopher to Cosimo II.

Among the painters, goldsmiths, sculptors, and architects who worked for the Medici were Filippo Brunelleschi, Filippo Lippi, Domenico Ghirlandaio, the della Robbias, Andrea del Verrocchio, Sandro Botticelli, Michelangelo Buonarroti, Giorgio Vasari, Bartolomeo Ammanati, Baccio Bandinelli, Jacopo Pontormo, Buontalenti, Guiliano and Francesco da Sangallo, Agnolo Bronzino, Benvenuto Cellini, and Giambologna. Catherine de M dicis brought Italian style to France, built the Tuileries gardens and a new wing of the Louvre, and collected a great classical library. Vittoria della Rovere, wife of Ferdinando II, transported to Florence important paintings, including works by Raphael and Titian. Justus Sustermans (1597–1681) brought Flemish baroque portraiture to Florence in his numerous depictions of members of the family and court. Anna Maria Ludovica, the last descendant in the line of Cosimo I, left the family's fabulous art collection to Florence as a public trust.

See also Art: Artistic Patronage; Catherine de M dicis; Florence; Florence, Art in; Marie de M dicis; Papacy and Papal States; Patronage; Rome, Sack of.

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CAROL M. BRESNAHAN

MEDICINE. Medicine in the early modern era was characterized by several distinctive features. First, the understanding of illness and its treatment was based on assumptions that were inherited from antiquity and differed conspicuously from our own ideas. Second, physicians comprised but one group among a host of healers who routinely competed with each other for access to patients. Thus, in contrast to medicine today, physicians neither dominated nor directed the care of most of the sick. Third, the delivery of health care was not centered in hospitals or specialized clinics. Hospitals certainly were a feature of early modern medicine, but their role in the delivery of health care was minor. Last, and perhaps most important, people in early modern Europe inhabited a social, cultural, and demographic environment in which death intruded itself far more frequently in the everyday lives of Europeans than it does for people living in the developed world today.

PATTERNS OF DISEASE

Death was a common occurrence in the early modern period, a fact that colored nearly every aspect of social and cultural life. Nor was it just the elderly who expected to die; infants and children died at such high rates that someone could be counted fortunate just to reach the age of twenty-one, not to mention sixty or seventy. This depressing fact was not lost on contemporaries. “Of each 1,000 people born,” wrote a German physician in 1797, “24 die during birth itself; the business of teething disposes of another 50; in the first two years, convulsions and other illnesses remove another 277; smallpox . . . carries off 80 or 90, and measles 10 more.” Of every 1,000 people born, he concluded, “one can expect that only 78 will die of old age or in old age.” Although we cannot verify the accuracy of these numbers, there is no disputing the appallingly high mortality rates they indicate. Available records of baptisms and burials from local churches suggest that in countries such as France and Denmark,

deaths of infants (that is, children under the age of two) from all causes could climb as high as two hundred or more deaths per thousand births.

A variety of factors contributed to these high mortality rates, including the prevalence of malnutrition and intestinal parasites. Although these may have only rarely caused death directly, they undoubtedly weakened the body’s defenses against disease. More directly responsible were infectious diseases like smallpox and measles, mentioned in the quotation above, along with other serious childhood diseases like diphtheria, whooping cough, and dysentery.

The most dangerous disease of all was the plague, which first struck various parts of Europe between 1347 and 1351 and returned to afflict almost every generation until the very end of the seventeenth century. The disease is believed to have begun in China and then spread along trade routes in Central Asia in the early 1340s. By 1346 it had reached the Crimean city of Caffa, and from there it was brought to Sicily and southern Italy. Once established there, plague spread, again along trade routes, to other parts of Europe. Skepticism has grown in recent years over whether the plague (caused by the bacterium *Yersinia pestis*) was exclusively *bubonic* plague, induced in its victims by the bite of a flea, or whether it was mixed with a more dangerous airborne form known as *pneumonic* plague. It is possible too that one or more other diseases were also part of the mix. Whatever its precise cause, there can be no question that plague hit many parts of Europe hard. Over the entirety of Europe, it is estimated that the first onset of plague killed approximately 25 percent of the population, although actual mortality varied considerably from place to place. Even as late as the seventeenth century, outbreaks of plague continued to hit with devastating impact. In 1656–1657, the Italian city of Genoa lost 60 percent of its population of 75,000 to plague—a horrific, although unusually high, mortality rate—while between 1609 and 1611 about 42 percent of the residents of the Swiss city of Basel (population 15,000) caught the plague and 62 percent of those victims died.

A second serious disease, syphilis, appeared for the first time in Europe at the very end of the fifteenth century. While having nowhere near the de-



Medicine. A woodcut from the 1491 *Fasciculus Medicinae* shows a doctor treating a plague victim. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

mographic impact of plague in terms of deaths caused by it, syphilis was serious enough, especially in the virulent form in which it first appeared. The disease was first reported during the French army's campaigns in Italy during 1494–1495 (hence the common name given it, the “French Pox”), and from there it spread rapidly throughout Europe. Sufferers from syphilis, reported the German scholar Ulrich von Hutten in the early sixteenth century, “had boils that stood out like acorns, from which issued such filthy stinking matter, that whosoever came within the scent believed himself infected.” The stinking stain described by von Hutten could have been more than just physical, for it was soon determined that syphilis was sexually transmitted, thus giving the disease extra significance as an apparent punishment for sinful promiscuity.

THE ORIGINS OF PUBLIC HEALTH

Historians once commonly believed that plague was a primary cause of the breakdown of medieval society and the transition to the modern era. Although this is no longer widely accepted, there is no denying that plague did have a powerful impact. Arguably the most significant of its effects was the stimulus it provided to the development of public health, and, more speculatively perhaps, to the more general idea that the purpose of government was to formulate policy, not just maintain order. The idea that the government could exercise a regulatory and policy-making function was certainly not unprecedented in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, but the horrific consequences of repeated plague outbreaks made matters of health a particular focal point of concern and regulation.

As early as 1348, the town council of Venice appointed three of its members as a special commission to devise measures against the plague that had broken out there, and, in general, highly developed Italian cities like Florence, Milan, and Genoa were among the earliest to formulate measures against the plague. Many European cities and principalities north of the Alps followed suit during the next 150 years. The measures taken by these boards included the institution of quarantine, a practice whereby plague victims were shut up in their houses, together with their families and servants, if they had any. Quarantine could also be placed on entire towns and cities, and because such bans could last

for weeks or even months, a declaration of quarantine had serious consequences for trade and economic well-being. Plague ordinances further specified how those who had died of plague should be buried and what should be done with their personal possessions—clothing and bedding could be burned, for example. More controversially, they also prohibited public gatherings of different kinds, including church processions. Since such public gatherings were a major component of medieval Catholic spirituality, their prohibition by secular authorities was a recurrent source of conflict with the church.

Throughout the fifteenth century, most of the health commissions charged with dealing with plague remained temporary institutions, dissolving as soon as the threat posed by the current epidemic had subsided. But during the sixteenth century, more permanent health magistracies began appearing in northern Italian cities. The responsibilities given these boards gradually evolved to cover not only times of emergency but also the more routine supervision of public health. Justified by a desire to forestall future outbreaks of plague and building on prior medieval attempts to enforce sanitary standards in larger cities (in some cases dating much further back than the 1340s), these health boards began formulating more comprehensive sanitary measures to control such things as the cleaning of streets and dumping of wastes. Beggars and Jews, who were suspected of being transmitters of disease, were often singled out for unwelcome attention.

A somewhat different system evolved in German-speaking central Europe during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. There, towns and principalities began appointing a local physician or surgeon to the partially salaried post of *physicus*. Their primary responsibility normally involved providing medical care for the poor, but *physici* were also charged with enforcing sanitary regulations, instructing and supervising other practitioners, and conducting medical-forensic inquiries, among other functions. In effect, these practitioners served as the instruments for the enforcement of public health ordinances, while at the same time gathering information about local health conditions that could be transmitted back to the political authorities.

THE INSTITUTIONS OF CARE

To the extent that early modern medical care was centered in institutions of any kind and did not simply take place at the patient's bedside or in the practitioner's shop, hospitals provided that institutional setting. But this statement must be immediately qualified by noting that hospitals served almost exclusively the needs of the poor. Not until the early twentieth century, in fact, would people who were not poor begin using hospitals in any considerable numbers. Moreover, hospitals in the early modern era were not devoted exclusively to medical care, offering instead a spectrum of charitable support for the poor.

The roots of hospitals as integrated charitable/medical institutions go back many centuries, on the one hand to the social welfare needs of large urban centers of late antiquity and the early Middle Ages, such as Constantinople (modern-day Istanbul) and Baghdad, and on the other hand to the hospices established for travelers and the poor by early Christian communities. As monastic communities spread across the Christian world during the Middle Ages, many of them, especially those located on important trade routes or destinations for pilgrimages, established small infirmaries for sick members of their communities and travelers who had no other support during times of illness. Eventually, hospitals of varying sizes became an established feature of the urban landscape, funded by the charitable endowments of individual patrons or local religious organizations, such as confraternities.

By the sixteenth century, and especially in the wake of the Reformation, hospitals were confronted by significant new challenges. First, conversion to Protestantism often involved confiscation by the ruler of church properties, which deprived hospitals both of the assets that supported their operation and sometimes of the personnel who ran them. In England, Henry VIII's break with the Roman Church in the 1530s led to wholesale seizure of church properties, including those supporting the three London hospitals of St. Thomas, St. Bartholomew, and Bethlehem. This immediately threw the city's charitable services into chaos, and the city's leaders implored the crown to restore the funds necessary to operate the hospitals. This the crown did over the course of the next twenty years, yielding for London a total of five major hospitals: St.

Thomas's and St. Bartholomew's for the sick poor; Christ's for orphans; Bridewell for the shiftless poor, and finally, Bethlehem (known later as "Bedlam") for the mentally ill.

The functional "specialization" displayed by different London hospitals was by no means the standard in the period, and many hospitals, such as the huge Allgemeines Krankenhaus in Vienna or the Julius-Spital in Würzburg, folded various charitable services into one institution. What they did share with the London hospitals was the specific range of charitable activities. Just as importantly, the hospitals of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries displayed a new attitude about the poor. This attitude was reflected in a separation made between the "virtuous" poor, such as the aged, widows, and children, and the "shiftless" or "lazy" poor, a separation that still resonates in welfare today. In a period when the poor were increasingly viewed as a possible threat to social order, hospitals became places for housing the poor and removing them and their supposed threat from the streets. By 1700, this thinking had led in France to the founding of more than one hundred so-called *hospitaux-généraux* (general hospitals), institutions in which the deserving and undeserving poor were rounded up together, with the former supposedly receiving benevolent shelter in their time of need and the latter corrected and improved by a combination of enforced labor and religious discipline.

All of these institutions, even those resembling prisons and workhouses, offered treatment for the sick. By the eighteenth century, the curing of patients and their return to useful roles in society became more clearly the focal point of the hospital's identity. Although they remained charitable institutions, supported largely by private philanthropy or government subventions instead of patient fees, hospitals discouraged the admission of the chronically sick or aged, pregnant women and children—in short, the traditional clientele who had populated hospitals in previous eras. Instead, they focused on curing and releasing what came to be known later as the "laboring poor," those who held regular jobs and had fallen ill.

MEDICAL PRACTITIONERS

Today, the treatment of illness is usually given by a physician, that is, someone with a university medical

education in possession of an M.D. Although other people, such as nurses or pharmacists may be involved in this process, physicians direct it. In the early modern era, that was decidedly not the case. Physicians formed but one small group among a variety of healers, any of whom could be consulted in time of sickness.

Among the other healers who competed for access to patients, surgeons were probably the most prominent. Like physicians, surgeons were a recognized occupation, often organized in larger towns into guilds that supervised professional standards and trained apprentices in the craft. In both the popular imagination and in their own professional identities, physicians and surgeons were separated by their domains of practice: physicians treated internal ailments, while surgeons handled external maladies, including wounds. Physicians were not trained to cut patients most of the time, while surgeons made liberal use of the knife, even if they also administered medications. Their use of the knife is a principal reason why surgeons often were grouped together occupationally with lower-status barbers, who not only cut hair but also performed routine medical procedures such as bloodletting.

However, because the boundary between “internal” and “external” is by no means obvious in every case, many diseases, such as cancerous tumors and syphilis, were often treated by surgeons. Therefore, rather than seeing physicians and surgeons as having clearly demarcated areas of competence, it would be more accurate to understand them as having overlapping spheres of practice, where the choice of healer more often depended on factors such as personal acquaintance, reputation, and availability, and not on a calculation of which healer was most appropriate for any particular illness. Part of the distinction between physicians and surgeons can be explained in terms of social hierarchy. Because physicians were university educated and participated in the literate, Latinate culture of the urban and courtly elites, they tended to enjoy higher social status than surgeons. But neither the status of healers nor the choice of healer by patients was determined along a gradient of social hierarchy. Kings and bishops were just as likely as a common artisan to consult a surgeon when the need arose—although not, of course, necessarily the same surgeon.

The same point could be made for other established healing occupations, midwives and apothecaries. Midwives were women who attended births and cared for the mother and newborn child during the first days after birth. In principle, they were not supposed to treat patients outside the context of birthing or to administer drugs, apart from those useful during or immediately after labor. But, in fact, midwives were consulted more widely, especially by women, whose trust in the midwife would have been cemented by her assistance during their children’s births. Apothecaries were dealers in herbal medications, grocers who knew how to extract the healing virtues from natural products. Physicians expected apothecaries to dispense medications to patients only on the orders of a physician. But here too, the prescribed division of labor was easily breached by apothecaries who believed that they could just as well (or better) determine the appropriate medicines to give people suffering from particular ailments. From the patient’s point of view, the decision to consult an apothecary or midwife might depend on the same considerations as those mentioned above—personal acquaintance, local reputation and accessibility—as well as cost. In most cases, it cost considerably less to bring a midwife or apothecary in than a physician.

During the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, governments in various parts of Europe began paying a great deal of attention to how practitioners were trained and to keeping practitioners from infringing on others’ domain of work. Surgeons, whose training had always swung between guild apprenticeships and university-based anatomy theaters (although surgeons did not routinely hold M.D. degrees), increasingly saw their training based in the newer hospitals or specially instituted surgical academies. The training and qualifications of midwives and apothecaries likewise came under closer scrutiny, and in a number of places they were required to submit to licensing examinations. The establishment of a separate licensing examination for physicians after awarding the M.D. also came into much wider use, when, for example, in 1651 the electorate of Bavaria created a *collegium medicum* that was authorized to examine every physician who wished to practice in its territory.

The practitioners described here by no means exhaust the full range of healers present in early mod-



Medicine. *The Surgeon* by David Teniers II the Younger, seventeenth century. ©BURSTEIN COLLECTION/CORBIS

ern society. These other healers are represented, in part, by folk healers, who deployed a wide range of traditional therapies. The use of magical or religious invocations in treating illness, of course, was probably not a rare occurrence at this time. In addition, the early modern period was populated by a host of itinerant drug peddlers, stonecutters, and sundry charlatans who sold special talents or products in the medical marketplace. By the mid-eighteenth century, and as a result of the dramatic expansion of the press, medical products and services participated in a booming advertising market.

IDEAS OF HEALTH AND ILLNESS

The dominant medical thinking of the early modern period saw health as dependent on a particular bal-

ance in the body’s four humors, known conventionally as blood, phlegm, black bile, and yellow bile. Each individual humor, in turn, manifested a distinctive combination of qualities from the pairs wet/dry and cold/hot. Thus, blood was believed to be hot and wet, yellow bile, hot and dry, and so on. The balance of humors required to maintain health was highly individual, depending on someone’s age, sex, local environment, diet, work, lifestyle—in principle, almost anything could influence health. Excessive exercise, for example, could cause the body to heat up, resulting in an excess of blood or yellow bile. Scholars, on the other hand, were thought to suffer from particular diseases resulting from their having too little exercise and too much brainwork. The prevention of illness and its cure

depended in principle on the same idea, whereby the practitioner sought to maintain or restore the proper humoral balance. The application of many treatments, such as the use of bloodletting or emetics (agents that cause vomiting), can be understood as working in this way.

Over against these doctrines concerning pathology and therapeutics must be set a partially separate set of ideas concerning what we now call *physiology*, the functions of the living body. The body's functions were thought to be governed by three principal organs: the liver, which converted nutritive juices produced by digestion into blood, which was then sent via the venous system to all parts of the body and nourished it; the heart, which mixed air taken in by the lungs with some blood, producing vital spirit, which was distributed throughout the body by the arteries and governed vital processes such as motion, breathing, and digestion; and the brain, which produced animal spirits, responsible for the higher functions of sensation and consciousness, and which traveled throughout the body via the nerves. Although not entirely divorced from the humoral doctrines that molded thinking about health and illness, the theories governing physiology were formulated to answer a distinctive and separate set of questions, such as what breathing does or how the movement of muscles occurs.

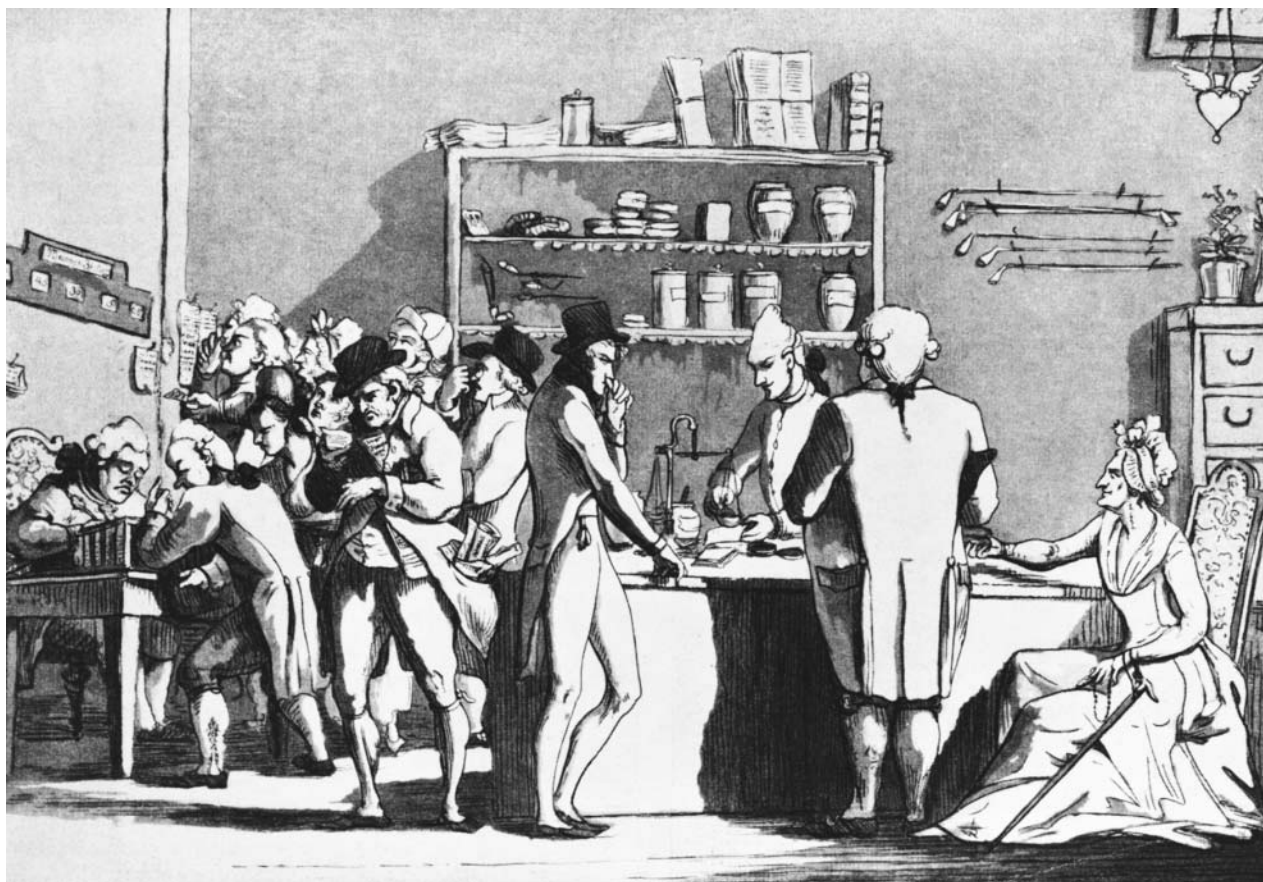
The source of many of these ideas was a collection of writings attributed to the ancient Greek physician Hippocrates (c. 460 B.C.E.–375 B.C.E.), especially as interpreted by the later Greek physician Galen (129–199? C.E.). Very few of Hippocrates' and Galen's writings were available in Latin translation during the early Middle Ages, but a far richer view of Hippocratic and Galenic medicine started appearing in Latin-speaking Europe at the end of the eleventh century, when translations of Arabic medical writings were made in southern Italy and Spain. These encyclopedic compendia of ancient medicine became the basis for medical teaching in the universities that began appearing at the end of the twelfth century.

By the early sixteenth century, medicine was a widely accepted part of the university curriculum, with the teaching of theory and practice based largely on Hippocratic and Galenic precepts, as interpreted and synthesized by medieval Muslim

scholars. A second wave of translations, beginning in the late fourteenth century and inspired by the humanist cultural program for the restoration of classical antiquity, produced a wave of Latin translations from ancient Greek manuscripts, bypassing the mediation and (so the humanists claimed) the barbarism of earlier Muslim translators and commentators. The output from all this effort is astonishing: between 1500 and 1600, there are said to have been approximately 590 different editions of Galen's writings. To a surprising extent, these new translations from Greek sources did little to change the curriculum or the dominant medical theories. Yet in one important area, anatomy, the recovery of Galen's writings, especially his *On Anatomical Procedures* (first published in 1531), a guide to dissection, did lead to dramatic changes in medical thinking.

The conduct of dissections as part of the teaching of anatomy was a well-established, if also a sporadic, part of the medical curriculum. Well before 1500, medical scholars had used dissection as a means of engaging in critical dialogue with their ancient and medieval Muslim predecessors, to the extent that these sources were available to them. The appearance of *On Anatomical Procedures* in Latin translation, however, gave to humanistically inclined physicians an impeccably ancient source of authority for the practice of dissection, as well as practical tips for doing so. Consequently, anatomy and the practice of dissection acquired a status far exceeding what it had enjoyed before, and knowledge of human anatomical structure became a focal point of research interest. This burst of activity culminated with the publication of *De Humani Corporis Fabrica* (1543; *On the structure of the human body*), by Andreas Vesalius, the most renowned anatomist of the era. Vesalius's richly illustrated text presented itself as an extended critique of Galen's claims about anatomy, offering its readers a far more visually concrete picture of the body than anything previously available.

The critique of Galen's anatomical ideas, however, did not translate immediately into a broader abandonment of his physiology, in part because his theories about the body's functions made a great deal of sense in the context of physicians' experiences with the bodies of their patients. Only in the greatly changed circumstances of the seventeenth



Medicine. Apothecary shop in Vienna, 1780, mezzotint etching. Both doctors and patients are shown consulting with the apothecary. ©BETTMANN/CORBIS

century, when a new generation of scholars deployed a new “mechanical” philosophy based on experiment to overthrow the entire edifice of ancient natural philosophy and the kinds of explanations it offered, did physicians shift from engaging in their centuries-long critical dialogue with their ancient sources to thinking about the body’s functions in ways that departed significantly from ancient models. The most important among these later physicians was William Harvey (1578–1657), a highly skilled anatomist and experimentalist whose carefully designed investigations into the function of the heartbeat, published in 1628 as *Exercitatio Anatomica de Motu Cordis et Sanguinis in Animalibus* (An anatomical essay on the motion of the heart and blood in animals), directly attacked the physiological role assigned to the heart by Galen, suggesting instead that the heart acts as a pump, distributing blood to the body through the arteries and receiving it back again from the veins.

See also Alchemy; Anatomy and Physiology; Death and Dying; Harvey, William; Hospitals; Midwives; Plague; Public Health; Vesalius, Andreas.

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MEDINA SIDONIA, ALONSO PÉREZ DE GUZMÁN, 7TH DUKE OF (1549–1615), Spanish grandee, admiral, and councillor of state. Succeeding his grandfather to the dukedom in 1558, with a palace at Sanlúcar de Barrameda, he acquired an interest in the sea and shipping. Sanlúcar's customs house, the tuna fishery (*almadraba*) of his coastal estates, and revenues from the county of Niebla made him the richest grandee in Spain, with an income that by 1600 approached 170,000 ducats annually. Some 55,000 souls lived under his jurisdiction. He married Ana de Mendoza y Silva (1561–1610), daughter of the prince of Éboli, and had eight surviving children, with heir Juan Manuel born in 1579.

From the 1570s he assisted in the annual sailing of the Indies fleets. A patron of books on chivalry, he also sought in 1574 to serve Philip II by contracting the Spanish galley squadron. Deemed too young, he got his chance to serve in 1578, with the succession crisis in Portugal. He assisted the marquis of Santa Cruz, despite strained relations, to prepare an armada, and used family connections with Portuguese nobles to promote Philip II's claims. In summer 1580, he led the Andalusian militia to the peaceful conquest of the Algarve, and then organized a dragnet that forced Dom António, Philip's chief rival for the Portuguese crown, to flee.

Philip awarded him the Golden Fleece and appointed him governor-general of Milan. He did not assume the office, for personal concerns and perhaps expectation of better. One concern was Philip's imprisonment of the princess of Éboli, which Medina Sidonia eventually succeeded in changing to confinement to her palace. He contin-

ued to work with the Indies fleets and was appointed in 1582 to head an expedition to occupy Larache, which the sharif of Morocco offered to Philip in return for aid against the Turks. When the Turkish threat abated, the sharif reneged on his offer.

War with England drove Philip in 1586 to build the Invincible Armada, with which Medina Sidonia was early involved. When Francis Drake attacked Cádiz Bay in April 1587, the duke rallied the local militias to defend Cádiz. He promoted a plan to overtake Drake with naval forces from Cádiz and Lisbon, but Drake left Spanish waters before it could be executed. Given his achievements and the traditions of his forebears, he requested explicit authority for regional defense, which Philip granted on 8 January 1588 with appointment as captain general of the Coast of Andalusia. In February, when Santa Cruz died, Philip shocked Medina Sidonia with appointment as captain general of the Ocean Sea and command of the Armada waiting in Lisbon. Medina Sidonia tried to turn down the appointment, and recommended galley chief Martín de Padilla (c. 1535–1602), Adelantado of Castile. Philip persisted and the duke headed for Lisbon, where he found all in confusion. His diligence had the Armada to sea by 30 May, but a storm forced it into La Coruña and neighboring ports. Believing it a sign from God, and pessimistic about chances for success, he urged Philip to use the Armada's mere presence to pressure Queen Elizabeth to withdraw from the Low Countries. Philip refused and on 22 July the Armada sailed. In the campaign, Medina Sidonia hewed to Philip's orders to proceed directly to join the duke of Parma and his army for the invasion of England, rejected proposals to assault Plymouth, and abandoned two ships disabled by accident. But as the English fleet hounded him, he vainly attempted to force a boarding action. His communications with Parma proved inadequate and he reached Calais to discover Parma not ready. Forced from Calais, he chose to return the Armada safely to Spain by sailing around Ireland. Storm battered the Armada and scarcely half the ships reached Spain.

Disgraced in the public eye, if not in Philip's, he retired to his estates. He continued to advise on the Armada, Indies fleets, and Morocco, and complained of the weakness of home defense, which the

Anglo-Dutch sack of Cádiz in 1596 proved inadequate. His hurried response limited enemy gains, but his authority was transferred to professionals.

His heir in 1598 married the daughter of the duke of Lerma, Philip III's favorite, while he became a councillor of state and had many of his debts canceled. A humane man, he disapproved of black slavery, and suggested that Moriscos expelled from Spain be resettled in Cuba. To the public he remained a scapegoat. He was blamed when a powerful Dutch fleet in 1607 destroyed the smaller Armada of the Strait at Gibraltar. His only role was to send its commander warning and advice. In the last years before his death he largely withdrew from public life. The defeat of the Armada has forever marred his reputation.

See also Armada, Spanish; Philip II (Spain).

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PETER PIERSON

MEDITERRANEAN BASIN. The advent of the early modern era in the Mediterranean Basin is easy to identify, thanks to two quite spectacular events. In 1453 the Turkish Ottomans conquered the great city of Constantinople and put an end to the Byzantine Empire. Although help for the Byzantines had been fitful and reluctant, Christian Europe was shocked nevertheless.

At the other end of the inland sea the Catholic monarchs Ferdinand II and Isabella I (ruled 1474–1504) completed the centuries-long reconquest, as they called it, of the Iberian Peninsula in 1492, when they defeated the last Muslim kingdom, Granada. In that same momentous year they expelled the Jews from their domains, and Columbus landed on the shores of American islands.

The Spanish and Ottoman achievements put an end to the political fragmentation and unstable alliances that had been so characteristic of the medieval period. In the east, the central fact had been the quickening pace of Byzantine collapse. Although the Byzantines had managed to take Constantinople back from the Latins in 1260, this did not halt the steady dwindling of Byzantine power, especially on the sea. An assortment of political entities—both Muslim and Christian—fought for control of the eastern Mediterranean during the fourteenth century. The Ottomans managed to emerge triumphant, besting both Muslim and Christian rivals. Once again the eastern Mediterranean was ruled from Constantinople, now Istanbul, by an imperial power.

Prior to their conquest of the capital city, the Ottomans had established their control over western Anatolia and much of the Balkans. After 1453 they consolidated their rule in both places, reproducing and extending the borders of the now vanquished Byzantine Empire.

From the Muslim point of view, the stunning feat of the conquest of what they called Istanbul suggested that a preeminent Muslim power might be emerging. As in the Mediterranean, the medieval Islamic world had also been characterized by the proliferation of small states following the Mongol destruction of the Abbasid Caliphate at Baghdad in 1258. Ottoman supremacy was confirmed in the early sixteenth century, when Sultan Selim I (ruled 1512–1520) defeated the Mamluks in Syria and Egypt. By so doing he also became master of the holy cities of Mecca and Medina, a fact of the utmost symbolic power in the Islamic world. Ottoman primacy also meant a historic shift westward in terms of the political and cultural center of the Islamic world. Not since the Umayyads made Damascus the capital of their dynasty in the seventh century had the Mediterranean figured so prominently in the Muslim world.

The unification of Spain took a giant leap forward in 1469, just sixteen years after the Ottomans took Istanbul. In that year Ferdinand II of Aragón married Isabella I of Castile. When Ferdinand succeeded to the crown of Aragón in 1479, the two formerly independent kingdoms (which together make up most of modern Spain) became one. Ferdi-

nand and Isabella were determined to extinguish Muslim power on the Iberian Peninsula, and in 1492, with the defeat of Muslim Granada, they achieved their aspirations. The reconquest was complete, and a united, although admittedly fractious, Spain had emerged to take the place of the patchwork of kingdoms and emirates of the medieval period.

Control over Mecca and Medina had catapulted the Ottomans to leadership (albeit contested) of the Islamic world. Similarly the actions of Isabella and Ferdinand led them to see themselves, and to be seen by others, as the leaders of Christian Europe. In 1494 Pope Alexander VI bestowed upon them the designation of Catholic kings (*Reyes Católicos*) in recognition of their many services to Christianity, namely the conquest of Granada, the discovery of the New World, the expulsion of the Jews, and their leadership of the Spanish Inquisition. Both states then derived a good deal of their legitimacy from their militant offensive against the religious “other,” and both states were now the preeminent powers in their respective halves of the Mediterranean. Combining these two facts, it is not surprising that in the sixteenth century the Ottomans and the Spaniards now turned to face each other. The Spanish-Ottoman rivalry meant that in the early modern era the Mediterranean was a prime site for the enduring conflict between Christianity and Islam.

But this was not all. In the sixteenth century the Mediterranean Basin became an extension of the intense rivalries of European politics, a contest in which the Ottomans were full participants. These rivalries often ignored the religious divide that was so fundamental in Spanish-Ottoman hostilities. Two levels of conflict then, one old and one new, wove their way through the tumultuous history of the sea in the early modern period.

SPANISH-OTTOMAN RIVALRY

The first phase of the Ottoman-Spanish confrontation took place in North Africa and was directly related to the Spanish reconquest of the Iberian Peninsula. Even before the fall of Granada, privateers from the eastern Mediterranean had made their way to the western half of the sea, exploring the opportunities for holy war and enrichment. Some settled in the various port cities of North Africa, and over time the local populations came to

view them as a source of help against the Spaniards. The North Africans had good reason to fear Spain. The enormous consequences of the Spanish and Portuguese discoveries in the New World have led historians to neglect the continuing salience of a crusade against Islam for Spanish elites after 1492. An important segment of the Spanish nobility wanted the monarchy to direct its energies toward a conquest of Muslim North Africa rather than commercial exploration of the West African coast.

The Ottoman sultans at this time—Bayezit II (ruled 1481–1512) and Selim the Grim (Selim I, ruled 1512–1520)—were unwilling to engage in warfare with the Spaniards. They contented themselves with the trouble the corsairs caused for Spain and the intelligence they brought back to Istanbul from time to time. Thus hostilities early in the sixteenth century took the form of low-level raiding between North Africa and Spain. Full-scale conflict between the two empires did not commence until the 1530s, and at that point (Spain was now part of a much wider empire in Europe) it reflected Ottoman-Habsburg rivalry on the Continent as much as it did the contest between Christianity and Islam in the Mediterranean.

In 1532 Emperor Charles V (ruled 1519–1556) attacked the Ottoman city of Coron in southern Greece. The move was intended to divert the Ottoman armies from their campaign in the Balkans, which was putting pressure on Charles’s Austrian territories. The move did succeed to the extent that Sultan Suleiman (ruled 1520–1566) had to call off the Balkan expedition, but it also had the effect of galvanizing him into action in the Mediterranean. The Turkish corsair Hayreddin Barbarossa (Khayr ad-Dīn) was summoned from Algiers and put in charge of the Ottoman fleet. In 1534 he sailed to Tunis, where the Hafsid dynasty had been allowed to continue a semi-independent existence. In short order Barbarossa occupied the city and put down the meager resistance offered by the reigning sultan. The Ottomans now controlled one side of the Sicilian channel. This victory was short-lived, however. Just one year later Charles launched four hundred ships carrying over twenty-six thousand men and retook the city. For the next forty years the central Mediterranean was a major battleground between the two empires.

A string of Ottoman victories followed the Spanish recapture of Tunis. In 1541 the Spanish tried to take Algiers, but the attempt turned into a debacle. They had to withdraw with a major loss of men and matériel. The city of Tripoli fell to the Ottoman armada in 1551, and the Muslim threat grew apace. In the summer of 1558 the Ottomans wiped out an entire contingent of Spanish troops stationed on the Algerian coast and raided the island of Minorca. Truly alarmed, Philip II (ruled 1556–1598) sent his galleys once again to the central Mediterranean, where they met a spectacular defeat at the island of Gerba in 1560. Ghislain de Busbecq, the ambassador of the Holy Roman emperor in Istanbul, was there for the triumphant return of the Ottoman fleet. He watched as columns of Christian prisoners were paraded through the streets. The Ottomans were now firmly in control of the central Mediterranean, and the Christian world waited with dread as the spring of 1561 turned to summer; they fully expected the Ottoman armada to reappear and to attack some portion of the Italian or Spanish coastline. In the event, however, the armada never came and in fact did not reappear for four summers. The long-expected assault did not come until 1565, when Suleiman finally launched an attack on Malta. Incredibly the Knights were able to hold the attackers off long enough for disease, heat, and food shortages to do their work. When Spanish reinforcements arrived in early September, the Ottomans decided to abandon the siege; by 12 September “the last Turkish sail had disappeared over the horizon” (Braudel, p. 1019).

The defeat at Malta returned the initiative to the Spanish. Now instead of worrying about where and when the sultan would strike, observers wondered whether the Spanish—who had vast, even global, commitments—would choose to press their advantage in the Mediterranean. Initially they did not. The ongoing difficulties in the Netherlands turned into full-scale war in 1567, and Philip could not fight in both arenas simultaneously. It would take the Ottoman conquest of Cyprus (summer of 1570) to bring the Spanish back into the Mediterranean in force. Philip’s decision to go to the aid of Venice led directly to the justly famous 1571 battle at Lepanto (Návpaktos), where the allied Christian forces scored a tremendous victory over their Muslim foes.

It has often been remarked that, for such a renowned event, Lepanto was strangely inconsequential. Venice surrendered Cyprus anyway, and the Spanish did not press their advantage any farther east. Within a year the Ottomans had rebuilt their fleet, yet they too did not launch a single-minded pursuit of the enemy (although they did take Tunis back for the last time in 1574.) Lepanto was followed not by an accelerating spiral of warfare but by a gradual disengagement that proved permanent over time. This perhaps unexpected result reflects the fact that the Battle of Lepanto, for all the rejoicing it caused in Europe, was the last spasm of a system that was slowly grinding to a halt, collapsing under its own weight. Throughout the sixteenth century the cost of galley warfare steadily escalated. Loaded with more and more guns, the galleys had to be bigger and stronger. Thus governments had to search out even more manpower, the perennial Mediterranean problem, and this meant more provisions at a time when prices were rising. In 1520 ship biscuits accounted for just under 25 percent of the total cost of operating a galley. By 1590 that figure was between 30 and 50 percent (Guilmartin, p. 222). The final conquest of Tunis was probably the most expensive Ottoman campaign of the sixteenth century.

In the last quarter of the sixteenth century, then, both the Ottomans and the Spaniards retreated into their separate corners of the Mediterranean, unwilling to pay a higher and higher price for increasingly marginal gains. Thus the age of “great wars” drew to a close, and each side gave up the dream of hegemony over the Mediterranean in its entirety.

THE OTTOMANS AND EUROPEAN POLITICS

The Ottomans, of course, were not the only foes or even the principal foes of the Spanish Habsburgs in the sixteenth century. The wars of religion and the ambitions of other monarchs, the French crown in particular, ensured that Spain was resented, even hated, across much of the European continent. With its vast resources and proven ability to confront Spanish power both on the Continent and in the Mediterranean, the Ottoman Empire was thus a potential ally for many on the European political scene.

The French king Francis I (ruled 1515–1547) made his intentions clear as early as 1533. Meeting with Pope Clement VII at Marseille, he declared, “Not only will I not oppose the invasion of Christendom by the Turk, but I will favor him as much as I can the more easily to recover that which plainly belongs to me and my children, and has been usurped by the Emperor” (Knecht, p. 301). The following summer an envoy from Hayreddin Barbarossa met with Francis just one month before the former captured Tunis and expelled the Tunisian king, who was a Habsburg ally. In 1535 Francis sent Jean de La Forêt to Istanbul with a view to gaining the sultan’s help in a future war with the Habsburg emperor. On the way La Forêt stopped in North Africa and offered Barbarossa ships and supplies in return for help against Genoa. The French mission to Istanbul and rumors of a signed agreement scandalized Christian Europe, but more was to come. In the early 1540s France and the Habsburgs were at war again, and Suleiman informed Francis that he was placing Barbarossa’s fleet at his disposal. The fleet duly set sail from Istanbul with the French ambassador onboard; on its way to Marseille it raided the coasts of Sicily and Italy. After a combined Ottoman-French bombardment of the Habsburg-occupied town of Nice, the Ottoman fleet wintered at Toulon.

The Habsburg-Ottoman confrontation in the Mediterranean in the sixteenth century then cannot be disentangled from the rivalries on the Continent. But once the two old foes disengaged (a truce was signed in 1580), conflict in the Mediterranean changed both in nature and in significance. The Ottomans were no longer useful as an ally for those who wished to confront Spain. Ottoman struggles therefore became decoupled from European rivalries, and Ottoman activity in the Mediterranean had only a local significance. Indeed once the two superpowers departed from the stage, the age of “little wars,” as Fernand Braudel (1976) put it, commenced. Pirates and corsairs reclaimed the sea both east and west and worked for their own interests through a skillful combination of trade and piracy.

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

The English presence in North Africa provides a good example of this new phase in Mediterranean

history. English privateers originally entered the Mediterranean as combatants in England’s war against Spain. Having engaged the Spanish in the Atlantic as early as the 1560s, the English by the turn of the century had taken up residence in the ports of North Africa, particularly Algiers. From there the entire southern coastline of Spain lay open to their assaults. Ottoman sailors and soldiers were happy to join the English in their raiding activity, but they were not directed by Istanbul and were not pursuing any larger Ottoman agenda on Spain. The English Queen Elizabeth I (ruled 1558–1603) may have asked, in negotiations with the sultan at the end of the 1570s, that the Ottoman fleet be sent out to confront Spain, but the Ottomans did not respond.

Hostilities between England and Spain came to an end in 1604, but the “Barbary pirates” (the term originally referred to the English in North Africa, not to the Muslim population) did not go home. If they had initially come to confront Spain, now they stayed on to enjoy the life of a corsair in the Mediterranean. Over time the Barbary States (as they came to be known) evolved into formidable corsair capitals with an international population that operated on its own account, independent of both Europe and the Ottoman Empire. The North African corsairs were adept practitioners of the “little wars” that characterized the Mediterranean in the seventeenth century, but they were not the only ones. The distinguished historian of Marseille, Robert Paris, has described much of the seventeenth century as an “interregnum.” In using this term he draws attention to the lull that attended between the decline of the Spanish and Portuguese navies and the rise of the northern powers of England, France, and Holland in the Mediterranean. This was the age of the great Mediterranean entrepôts of Algiers and Tripoli (on the Muslim side) and Valletta and Livorno/Leghorn (on the Christian side), which grew wealthy through a skillful combination of trade and piracy. The brisk trade in captured goods linked markets on either side of the religious divide. A Venetian commentator wrote the following early in the seventeenth century: “Livornese, Corsican, Genoese, French, Flemish, English, Jewish, Venetian and other merchants are settled in Algeria and Tunisia. They buy up all the stolen merchandise and send it to the free port of Livorno and

from there it is distributed all over Italy” (Balbi de Caro et al., p. 37). The Greek archipelago was another center of pirate activity in this chaotic century. Although it was nominally under Ottoman control, the actual Ottoman presence on these rocky islands was minimal, and it became even more so during the long Ottoman-Venetian wars of the second half of the seventeenth century.

To a certain extent the corsairs were operating on their own initiatives and were motivated by economic self-interest. But they were also part of a larger story. A historic shift in the Mediterranean balance of power was being worked out in the seventeenth century. It was in this period that the Dutch, the English, and to a lesser extent the French put an end to Italian commercial supremacy in the Mediterranean, and piracy was a vital instrument in this assault.

The English pirate, for example, was not confined to North Africa. Pirates slowly worked their way east, where they became hated and feared figures, particularly for the Venetians. A Venetian administrator in Crete in 1604 vented his frustration at the English pirates who hampered the island’s provisioning: “These damn bertonis which sail in these waters to their heart’s content, stealing from and plundering everyone, and not permitting even one caramousal, loaded with grain, to approach, as they used to” (Spanakes, pp. 523–524).

Piracy was only one prong in a many-sided northern assault on the commercial status quo in the Mediterranean. The English and the Dutch undercut Italian, particularly Venetian, power by circulating cheap imitations of Italian goods throughout the Mediterranean. At the same time, under the controlling eye of mercantilist governments, northern manufacturing began to produce a wide range of new goods, particularly textiles, that were both cheap and popular in Mediterranean markets. Commercial companies, such as the English Levant Company, which received its charter from Queen Elizabeth I in 1581, imposed a discipline on merchants that further strengthened the power of English and Dutch trade. All of these factors are in the bitter comments of the Venetian ambassador at Constantinople in 1636:

Among the bales of cloth I noticed some which [the English] call “anti-Venetian” which means in imitation and for the destruction of ours, a preju-

dice which is increased by many other advantages which the English have in trading in these parts, both from the Capitulations which they have with the Porte and because their trading is done by means of a company. . . . They are not only exempt from half the duties which may be remitted to them, but they have a thousand chances of smuggling, which assuredly they do not miss. (Rapp, p. 511)

These remarks made in Constantinople underscore how attractive and important the vast Ottoman market was for both older commercial powers, such as the Italians, and northern newcomers. The classic view of European exploration and expansion in the early modern period emphasizes the extent to which the Spanish and the Portuguese wanted to cut out the Muslim middleman, who stood between them and the luxury goods of the Far East, someone who was both a commercial rival and a religious enemy. This view is not incorrect, but it is not the entire story. Northern maritime powers, that is, the English and the Dutch, did of course continue the encirclement of the Mediterranean that was begun by the Iberians. Ottoman customs inspectors on the border with Iran notified the government that the volume of Iranian silk coming into the Ottoman Empire was diminishing and asked what should be done about it. (The Iranians of course were selling the silk to the English agents of the East India Company.) But at the same time northern merchants were interested in buying up whatever they could in Ottoman markets and selling northern goods as well. Beginning in the seventeenth century then, and with ever increasing speed in the eighteenth, the trade in staples and foodstuffs between the Ottoman Empire and western and central Europe began to grow. It replaced in importance the old luxury trade, in which the eastern Mediterranean had functioned as a transit point for luxury goods coming from the Far East.

The older cities associated with the overland luxury trade—places like Bursa and especially Aleppo—declined, or at least failed to grow, over the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. At the same time formerly modest towns along the coast began their slow but steady transformation into the cosmopolitan entrepôts that would reach their full flower in the nineteenth century. The free-wheeling, multiethnic, multilingual cities of the eastern Mediterranean that so captured the imagi-

nations of Western travelers and writers—cities like Alexandria, celebrated by Lawrence Durrell in his four-volume *The Alexandria Quartet* (1957–1960)—got their start in the seventeenth century.

Izmir, or Smyrna as Europeans called it, on the western coast of Anatolia, was one of the first examples of this new type of Ottoman urban development. Throughout most of the sixteenth century Izmir was just one of many small port towns along the Anatolian coast. Whatever modest amount of agricultural surplus might become available was sent along to the imperial capital. Istanbul encouraged this relationship; the sultan was anxious to ensure the provisioning of the city and did not want the empire's foodstuffs diverted to Western merchants. Toward the end of the century this quiet situation began to change. There had always been some Western merchants operating in the area, and low-level smuggling, made easier by the jagged coastline with its many inlets, was an enduring fact of life. With the repeated grain crises of the 1590s, the number of Western merchants—first Venetians, then Dutch, English, and French merchants—began to grow, as did the amount of smuggling. Izmir was at the center of this trade. Attracted initially by grain, the Westerners soon discovered that the fertile valleys of western Anatolia produced many other products as well: honey, fruit, nuts, cotton, wool, and tobacco, to name just a few. Later in the seventeenth century Izmir became famous as the Mediterranean outlet for silk coming from the east. Fueled by a combination of Western demand, low prices, and Ottoman willingness to trade, Izmir began to grow rapidly. In 1600 fewer than five thousand people inhabited the town; by 1650 that number had risen to thirty or forty thousand as both Europeans and Ottoman subjects moved in. Whereas no European consuls were resident in Izmir in 1600, the Dutch, the English, the French, and the Venetians all had representation by 1620. Travelers had rarely mentioned or visited the town prior to this period, but after 1620 no tour of the Levant was complete without a mention of the bustling port. Izmir's intimate relationship with the world of Mediterranean and Atlantic trade was clear even in the geography of its settlement; western Europeans installed themselves along the road that ran beside the city's quay. It came to be known as the Street of the Franks, and the taverns, coffee-

houses, and even churches that graced the cities of western Europe proliferated along this street as well.

Although it had not planned or even anticipated Izmir's development, the Ottoman government was not long in recognizing the potential benefits of the new commercial patterns that were turning the city into an international emporium. By the second half of the seventeenth century favorable tax policies, implemented by the powerful vizier Köprülü Mehmed Pasha (served 1656–1661), encouraged the city's trade and sent more of the surplus back to Istanbul. The Köprülü family viziers also initiated an extended public construction campaign, and the khans, covered markets, and baths that characteristically graced important Ottoman cities were erected in Izmir as well. Perhaps most significantly, a castle, Sancakburnu Kalesi, was built at the entrance to the city's harbor. Completed in the late 1650s, the castle vastly increased the state's ability to protect the harbor from attack and to collect customs duties from seaborne commerce. The Ottoman traveler Evliya Çelebi noted this with satisfaction some years later: "The vessels of the community of misbelievers used to carry freight and donate whatever customs they wished, or, drawing anchor and fleeing, nothing at all." However, "with the completion of this castle, no ship of the misbelievers could avoid paying customs" (Eldem et al., p. 108).

TOWARD THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Earlier in the century the Ottoman government had resisted Izmir's new role and had railed in vain against the smugglers and pirates and their collaborators within Ottoman society. Gradually the state came to terms with the commercialized agriculture that was increasingly common along the Aegean coastline. This flexibility was one of the reasons (a return of security to the Anatolian countryside was another) they were able to regain control, at least relatively speaking, over the Mediterranean coastline and over seaborne commerce more generally. Not only the Ottomans reasserted their control over the Mediterranean as the century drew to a close. The actions of other states too signaled that the age of the corsair and the pirate was coming to an end (a similar phenomenon can be observed in the Caribbean). In the last quarter of the seventeenth century the French government, which dominated Mediterranean commerce in the eighteenth century, turned

resolutely toward the sea and began a systematic expansion of French commerce. An important part of this project was the reining in of the piracy, both Christian and Muslim, that had flourished throughout the century. In 1679, for example, Louis XIV (ruled 1643–1715) issued an order forbidding French subjects from serving on Maltese corsair ships on cruises in the Levant. More generally the king exerted heavy pressure on the Knights of Malta to halt all their activities, which included the harassment of French trade, in the eastern Mediterranean. Closer to home the French tried to regularize their relationships with the North African states through a series of treaties. By the middle of the eighteenth century corsair activity across the Mediterranean was sharply down.

The end of the age of piracy, however, did not usher in an age of normalized trading relations allowing merchants and ships to move freely from port to port. In fact the eighteenth-century Mediterranean was more and more the domain of western Europeans and to a certain extent local Christians. These Ottoman Christians, mostly but not exclusively Greek, sometimes collaborated with Western merchants and sometimes competed against them, but in any event benefited from the protection extended to them by European governments for a variety of reasons. Muslim merchants, while still extremely active in the internal trade of the empire (which continued to dwarf external trade), found that the sea was not so friendly, particularly outside the eastern Mediterranean basin.

The port of Marseille, which was the port for France's Mediterranean trade, was a different place than Venice had been in its prime. Muslims had been a familiar if still exotic presence in the city of the lagoons. Documentation from the sixteenth century demonstrates that Ottoman Muslim merchants were able to make complaints over ill treatment; it also shows that the Venetian authorities repeatedly tried to find suitable space to lodge all the merchants, including Muslims, coming from the Ottoman Empire. In the same century too the town of Ancona sought to provide lodging and warehousing facilities for Muslim merchants.

No such hospitality was extended by the Chamber of Commerce of Marseille to North Africans, who were the principal Muslim communities inter-

ested in trading with Marseille. If they managed to reach the port, they found there was no storage space for their goods, no translators for them, or no small craft available to take their merchandise into the harbor. Sometimes they were forbidden to sail into the harbor on the grounds that they must be pirates and not peaceful merchants bent on commerce. North Africans in Marseille were on uncertain territory, no matter the formal state of relations between the government in Paris and the regencies of Tripoli, Tunis, and Algiers. In 1674, for example, eight Algerians managed to flee the Spanish galleys where they were enslaved and sought refuge in a small French port, given that France and Algeria were then at peace. But the unfortunate runaways were seized and sent to the galleys of Marseille. Following protests from the ruler of Algiers, the French minister Jean-Baptiste Colbert ordered their release, but his instructions were not followed.

Just a little over a century earlier, of course, the Ottoman fleet wintered at Toulon, to the east of Marseille, after collaborating with the French in bombing Habsburg-held Nice. Now the Ottoman sultan reacted not at all to the ill treatment of individuals who were, nominally at least, Ottoman subjects, and the governor of Algiers found that his protest was ineffectual. The contrast suggests the extent to which, over the course of the early modern period, the Mediterranean Basin became an extension of European and particularly northern European power. Although much of the vast interior of the Ottoman Empire was never colonized by Europe, by the nineteenth century many of the empire's port cities were under European control, either through direct colonization (as in Algiers) or through the more indirect machinations of international finance and diplomacy.

See also **Habsburg Territories; Levant; Ottoman Empire; Piracy; Venice.**

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MOLLY GREENE

MEHMED II (OTTOMAN EMPIRE) (1432–1481; ruled 1444–1446 and 1451–1481), seventh ruler of the Ottoman dynasty. In 1444 the Ottoman sultan Murad II (ruled 1421–1444, 1446–1451), having concluded one treaty with Hungary and Serbia and another with the central Anatolian state of Karaman, abdicated, leaving the throne to Mehmed, his twelve-year-old son born to

a slave woman in Edirne. Mehmed II's short initial reign began, and largely continued, badly. Seeing Murad's abdication as an opportunity not to be missed, John Hunyadi, the voyvoda of Transylvania, and King Vladislav I of Hungary promptly attacked. Murad, recalled to lead the army, defeated them at the battle of Varna (1444), and withdrew once more to a life of contemplation.

Mehmed was faced not merely with outside enemies but also with those from within. The janissary revolt of 1446, probably caused by arrears in pay, brought his first reign to an end. The grand vizier (the chief minister of the sultan), Çandarlı Halil, from the influential Turkish Çandarlı family who had dominated the position of grand vizier under Murad II, was apparently involved in ensuring Murad's return to the throne and Mehmed's departure to Manisa, the town in southwest Anatolia where he was to spend the next few years.

THE SECOND REIGN, 1451–1481

When Murad II died in February 1451, Mehmed came to the throne for the second time. He immediately turned his sights to the conquest of Constantinople, the capital of the crumbling Byzantine Empire. His advisers were divided over the plan. The grand vizier Çandarlı Halil, who was described by both the contemporary Greek historian Ducas and the Ottoman chronicler of the period Aşıkpaşazade as a friend of the Byzantines, was opposed to any attack on the city. However, Zaganos Pasha, a Greek convert to Islam who had been Mehmed's tutor while in Manisa, urged conquest.

On 29 May Constantinople fell, and with it the Genoese colony of Galata, whose leaders signed an agreement with Mehmed, now known as Fatih, the Conqueror, under which they retained various trading privileges. The Ottoman conquest of the Byzantine capital was seen by Western contemporaries as an unprecedented disaster. Piccolomini, later Pope Pius II, referred to the loss as that of one of the two eyes of the church. Contemporary Latin accounts spoke of the death of a center of learning, the destruction of the holy relics, and the desecration of the great churches. There was a general terror that within a short space of time, Mehmed, this new Caligula, as one Latin contemporary described him, would ride his horse through the streets of Rome with the very survival of Christendom hanging in

the balance. While the fall of the city was thus seen by Western contemporaries as an event of great significance, its importance was more symbolic than actual, for the Ottomans had already absorbed most Byzantine territory, reducing the once great empire to a small strip of land around the city.

Although the Ottoman conquest is sometimes taken as signaling the beginning of a decline in Latin trade in Turkish territory, this was by no means the case, and there is no evidence to suggest that Ottoman policy under Mehmed II was designed to discourage or destroy Latin trading relations. On the contrary, his economic policy shows both continuity with that of his predecessors and the importance he attached to his relations with the Latin trading states. The Genoese, too, continued to have close relations with the Ottoman ruler and, while in the immediate aftermath of the conquest there was some interruption of trade as merchants removed themselves prudently to the Aegean islands to watch developments, they were soon back, and trade continued unabated.

REPUTATION AS RULER

Mehmed had in fact a considerable interest in encouraging commercial activity and went to great lengths to rebuild Constantinople and recreate it as a thriving commercial center. He set out to repopulate the city, forcefully moving populations in from various parts of his empire, and embarked on an impressive building program, which included the Fatih Cami, the Mosque of the Conqueror, begun in 1463. He was also, according to contemporary accounts, a man of letters, who had various learned scholars at his court. A Latin contemporary, Giacomo Languschi, commented on his interest in ancient history and reported that Ciriaco of Ancona, who had resided also at the court of Murad II, read to him daily from the works of Herodotus and Livy.

A great statesman, Mehmed was much interested in the administration of his empire and in tightening control over the running of the state. He was described by Nicola Sagundino, a native of Negroponte who wrote a report on the Ottoman ruler for Alfonso V, the king of Aragon, in 1454, as having examined with great care the administrative system of his state on coming to power, and as having instituted the necessary improvements. His aim was to centralize power in his own hands, and for this he

chose for high office those tied to him personally as slaves, not those from the old established families, such as that of the Çandarlı. The former grand vizier, Halil Çandarlı, was arrested after the capture of Constantinople and later put to death. Such a drive for control aroused opposition, and Mehmed's policies of confiscating land, issuing new coinage, and increasing taxation proved unpopular.

He was also a military leader of considerable acumen, and during his reign the territory of the state continued to increase both in the European and the Asian sections of his empire. In Europe he took Athens (1458), Serbia (1459), the Morea (1460), and Bosnia (1464). During the war with Venice (1463–1479) he conquered Negroponte (1470). In Anatolia, Trabzon fell in 1461. In the east, he defeated the Aq-Qoyunlu ruler Uzun Hasan in 1473 and Karaman in 1468. Crossing the Black Sea he captured the Genoese trading colony of Caffa (1475) and reduced the Crimea to vassal status. In 1480 the Ottomans besieged Rhodes, and Ottoman forces landed at Otranto, withdrawing a year later. In May 1481 Mehmed II died and was succeeded by his son Bayezid II (ruled 1481–1512).

Mehmed II's reign represents the firm establishment of a major Islamic empire with the flourishing city of Constantinople, later to become the most populous city in Europe, as its imperial capital. The Ottoman Empire was to be a dominant political and commercial presence in the Mediterranean world for many years to come.

See also Constantinople; Ottoman Dynasty; Ottoman Empire; Sultan; Vizier.

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KATE FLEET

MELANCHTHON, PHILIPP (Philipp Schwarzerdt; 1497–1560), Lutheran reformer. Raised in Palatinate court circles, the son of an accomplished armorer, Melanchthon was later mentored by a distant relative, the humanist Johannes Reuchlin. He absorbed elements of the rival medieval philosophical approaches called the *via antiqua* and the *via moderna* during studies at Heidelberg and Tübingen, but the primary influence in his early development came from Erasmian humanism. Hailed by Erasmus and others as a wunderkind, he accepted a position as professor of Greek at the new University of Wittenberg in 1518. There he and Martin Luther formed a close working relationship at the heart of a team that propagated Luther's reform program. The two influenced each other's thought profoundly. Luther appropriated Melanchthon's philological insights into his translation of Scripture and his theology. Melanchthon in turn expressed Luther's thought in his *Loci Communes Rerum Theologicarum* (1521; Common topics in theology), an introduction to the study of theology, based on Paul's Epistle to the Romans. Completely revamped later editions (1535, 1543) presented a survey of all theological topics.

Although he held a second professorship in theology after 1526, Melanchthon was foremost an instructor in the arts, particularly rhetoric and dialectic. His innovative blend of the two, based on principles of Cicero, Quintilian, Aristotle, and recent humanists, became standard for European learning. Especially important was his concept of organizing learning by "commonplaces" (*loci communes*, 'topics'). He lectured and wrote on Aristotle's physics, politics, and ethics as well as history, astronomy, and ancient Greek literature. His encouragement and support of educational reform led to the establishment of many secondary schools and the universities at Königsberg, Jena, and Marburg.

Not only did Melanchthon lay the groundwork for subsequent Lutheran dogmatic instruction; his biblical commentaries employed humanist exegesis and provided sermonic and teaching helps for pastors. He led in producing a series of New Testament expositions (early 1520s), the "Wittenberg Commentary" with his own works on the Gospels of Matthew and John, followed by commentaries on

Paul's Epistles to the Romans and the Colossians, as well as other biblical books.

At Luther's side Melanchthon helped spread the Reformation, for example in his organization of the Saxon visitation (1527/1528) and the composition of defining documents for Lutheran teaching, the *Augsburg Confession* (1530), its *Apology* (1531), and the *Treatise on the Power and Primacy of the Pope* (1537), later authoring the *Saxon Confession* (1551). As chief ecclesiastical diplomat of electoral Saxony and other Lutheran governments, he attempted to forge plans for reform based on the Augsburg Confession for the French and English kings. Through correspondence and memoranda on ecclesiastical problems, often composed for his Wittenberg colleagues, he exercised widespread influence. He led Evangelical representatives at the Augsburg Diet of 1530 and in colloquies with Roman Catholics at Hagenau/Worms/Regensburg (1540/1541) and again at Worms in 1557.

After the defeat of the Evangelical Schmalkaldic League by Emperor Charles V in 1547, Melanchthon strove to preserve the integrity of Wittenberg University and to stave off imperial occupation of Saxony. Under his new prince, Elector Maurice, he sought to placate Charles's demands by forging a religious policy, the so-called Leipzig Interim, that reinstated some medieval practices while seeking to retain Luther's teaching. Melanchthon considered such rites neutral or *adiaphora*, but some of his best students considered these concessions to the papacy a betrayal of the Reformation. Melanchthon in turn felt betrayed by these students; their criticism embittered him. His former student and colleague, Matthias Flacius, and his "Gnesio-Lutheran" associates, who claimed to be adhering to Luther's teachings, also accused him of synergism and a focus on the law in the Christian life that turned believers back to reliance on good works. His writings show, however, that throughout his life he continued to center his theology on God's justification of sinners on the basis of his gracious favor alone, which created trust in the promise of forgiveness of sin and life through Christ. The hermeneutical guide to his teaching lay in the distinction of God's law (God's expectation for human creatures that condemns them when they sin) from God's gospel (the message of forgiveness in Christ that liberates people from evil for service to God).

His functional interpretation of the presence of Christ in the Lord's Supper also elicited the critique of former students.

Forced by Luther's death into a position of leadership for which he was not completely suited, Melanchthon suffered distress in the decade before his death (19 April 1560) because of these controversies, increasing Roman Catholic persecution of Evangelicals, and the deaths of a married daughter (one of his four children) and of his wife, Katharina Krapp, the daughter of a leading Wittenberg burgher. As the "Preceptor of Germany" his contributions to the intellectual life of Europe continued to determine elements of learning for more than two centuries, and his theology remains influential into the twenty-first century.

See also Erasmus, Desiderius; Humanists and Humanism; Luther, Martin; Lutheranism; Reformation, Protestant.

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ROBERT KOLB

MENDELSSOHN, MOSES (Moshe ben Mendel mi-Dessau; 1729–1786), philosopher of the German and Jewish Enlightenments, leading literary critic in Prussia, biblical scholar, and Jewish communal leader and advocate. Mendelssohn was born to a poor Jewish family in Dessau. His father, Mendel Heymann, was a Jewish religious teacher

and scribe. His mother, Bela Rachel Sarah, was descended from an illustrious line of rabbis. As a child, he received a traditional Jewish education, studying the Bible with its commentaries, the Mishna and Talmud, and Jewish legal codes. At age ten, he became a student of the famous Talmudist David Fränkel, and in 1743 followed Fränkel to Berlin when the rabbi received a post there.

In Berlin, Mendelssohn met the Jewish philosophers Israel Samoscz and Aaron Salomon Gumpertz. Under their guidance he studied Latin, Greek, English, and French and read the works of the Enlightenment philosophers Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, Christian Wolff, and John Locke. These thinkers formed Mendelssohn's philosophical orientation, from which he never departed. He espoused "moderate Enlightenment"—a belief in rational or "natural" theology.

In 1754, Gumpertz introduced Mendelssohn to the young Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, with whom Mendelssohn developed a lifelong friendship. Lessing encouraged the young Mendelssohn to develop his ideas about metaphysics and aesthetics, as well as to write pieces of literary criticism. In 1763, Mendelssohn won a prize competition held by the Berlin Academy of Sciences on the question whether metaphysical truths allowed of the same certainty as mathematical truths. His essay defeated an entry by Immanuel Kant.

In 1767, Mendelssohn published his *Phädon* (Phaedo), a reworking of Plato's famous dialogue of the same name. This work used Leibnizian-Wolffian arguments to prove the immortality of the soul. The work was a sensation, running into four editions, and was translated in Mendelssohn's own lifetime into Italian, French, Danish, and Russian. Mendelssohn became recognized as a leading philosopher of the German Enlightenment and was dubbed by his contemporaries "the German Socrates."

While as a youth he had published a few pieces in Hebrew seeking to promote enlightenment among his coreligionists, initially Jewish apologetic concerns were not in the foreground. This changed in 1769 when the Pietist Swiss theologian and preacher Johann Caspar Lavater challenged him to either refute Christianity or convert. Mendelssohn defended himself by contrasting the religious tolerance in Judaism with Christianity's theological in-

tolerance, but the “Lavater affair” shook his faith in the ability of Jews to be accepted in Prussian society.

Throughout the 1770s, the German Enlightenment came under increasing attack from the counter-Enlightenment Sturm und Drang (‘storm and stress’) movement as well as from English empiricism, idealism, and skepticism. Despite being plagued by a nervous debility from the 1770s to the end of his life, Mendelssohn worked tirelessly on three projects: improving the civil status of the Jews, defending Jewish particularity, and defending the German Enlightenment.

In 1779, Lessing wrote his most famous play, *Nathan der Weise* (Nathan the wise), an apology for religious tolerance. The hero, the Jewish merchant Nathan, was widely seen as having been modeled on Mendelssohn. In 1781, Mendelssohn sought to actualize the tolerant ideals espoused by Nathan by commissioning the Christian German ministerial councillor Christian Wilhelm Dohm to write a book advocating Jewish civil improvement. In 1781 Dohm’s *Über die bürgerliche Verbesserung der Juden* (On the civil improvement of the Jews) appeared and was widely debated.

In 1783, Mendelssohn wrote his philosophical masterpiece *Jerusalem oder über religiöse Macht und Judentum* (Jerusalem or on religious power and Judaism). The book comprised two parts. In the first part Mendelssohn argued that religious institutions had no right to exercise political power. In the second part he offered a philosophical defense of Judaism showing that the applicability of Jewish ceremonial law did not depend on religious coercion. Through the 1770s and 1780s Mendelssohn multiplied his Hebrew literary work, most notably producing a highly regarded translation and commentary on the Pentateuch known as the *Biur* (Elucidation). In 1783, Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi disclosed to Mendelssohn that Lessing, who had died in 1781, had been a Spinozist at the end of his life. Spinozism was then widely equated with atheism, and Mendelssohn understood Jacobi’s disclosure as an attempt to undermine the rational theology of the German Enlightenment. This sparked the so-called Pantheism Controversy. In Mendelssohn’s contributions to the controversy, the *Morgenstunden* (Morning hours) and *An die Freunde Lessing* (To Lessing’s friends), he attacked



Moses Mendelssohn. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Spinozism and revised his metaphysics and epistemology.

At the end of his career, Mendelssohn aimed to achieve a synthesis of rationalism and empiricism and thereby save the German Enlightenment. In this respect, his project was quite similar to that of his friend and fellow *Aufklärer* Immanuel Kant, though Kant’s critical synthesis was far more philosophically sophisticated and influential.

Mendelssohn is widely considered the father of modern Jewish philosophy. His was the first attempt to articulate a conception of Judaism using modern philosophical concepts. Furthermore, he is seen as the spiritual ancestor of two of the main forms of nineteenth-century German Judaism—Neo-Orthodoxy and Reform. His defense of Jewish ceremonial law as “living symbols” of theological truth prefigures Samson Raphael Hirsch’s Neo-Orthodoxy, while his defense of the rational, universal foundation of Jewish belief prefigures Reform Judaism. His attempt to develop a German-Jewish symbiosis likewise set the agenda for later German-Jewish thought, and his work on behalf of Jewish

civil improvement anticipated later attempts to achieve Jewish emancipation in Europe.

Despite his importance as a philosopher, Judaic thinker, and mediator of German and Jewish culture, Mendelssohn's reputation shrank after his death. His metaphysics and epistemology were thought to have been overshadowed by Kant. His Jewish philosophy was seen to have been an unacceptable compromise between obedience to particularistic Jewish law and espousal of universal religious ideas. His interpretation of Judaism was accused of being inattentive to Judaism's historical development.

Recent scholars have debated the relationship between Mendelssohn's philosophical positions and his Jewish commitments. Some have subordinated his Jewish commitments to his philosophical concerns, and others have done the opposite. Of late, Mendelssohn's defense of religious pluralism on the basis of profound Jewish learning and subtle philosophical thought, along with his espousal of political liberalism, have made him appear a particularly prescient thinker.

See also **Enlightenment; Kant, Immanuel; Jews and Judaism; Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm; Lessing, Gotthold Ephraim; Spinoza, Baruch; Wolff, Christian.**

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MICHAH GOTTLIEB

MENGS, ANTON RAPHAEL (1728–1779), German painter. The son of Ismael Israel Mengs, court painter to King Frederick Augustus II of Saxony, Anton Raphael was born at Aussig in Bohemia in 1728. His strict father was determined that his children would become artists, including his daughters Theresia Concordia (1725–1808?) and Juliane Charlotte (1728–after 1789). The former married Mengs's student, Anton von Maron, and became a member of the Accademia di San Luca, the papal arts academy in Rome in which Mengs was later to assume a position of great influence.

Mengs's early works are pastel portraits and drawings after antique sculptures and Old Master paintings made during a trip to Rome in 1740–1744. In 1745, after his return to the electoral court at Dresden, Frederick Augustus commissioned him to paint portraits of himself and his family. It was during this residence in Dresden that Mengs switched from pastel to oils. After a second sojourn in Rome in 1746–1749, he returned to Saxony and received commissions for three altarpieces for the Catholic court church, including the impressive scene of the Ascension executed for the high altar. This important commission and his appointment as court painter enabled him to return to Rome in 1751 for further study, and he never saw Dresden again.

For the next decade Mengs worked successfully in Rome and Naples. His growing reputation earned him a professorship at the Accademia del Nudo and a free studio for the study of the male nude established by Pope Benedict XIV (reigned 1740–1758). He was also elected to the Accademia



Anton Raphael Mengs. *Parnassus*, in the Villa Albani, Rome. ©ALINARI/ART RESOURCE, N.Y.

di San Luca and enjoyed a steady stream of commissions for altarpieces, cabinet pictures, and portraits. These include the ceiling fresco *Saint Eusebius in Glory* for the church of San Eusebio in 1757; the world-famous *Parnassus*, executed for Cardinal Alessandro Albani's villa on the Via Salaria; and historical paintings such as *Cleopatra Kneeling before Octavian* (1760–1761), commissioned by Richard Colt Hoare, and *Perseus and Andromeda* (1771), executed for Sir Watkin Williams-Wynn. In addition, he painted portraits of British travelers on a grand tour to augment his income after his pension from Dresden was discontinued in 1756.

In 1761 Mengs became court artist to King Charles III of Spain. While in Madrid, he executed ceiling frescoes in the Palacio Real, including the *Triumph of Aurora* (1762–1764) and the *Apotheosis of Hercules* (1762–1769). He also painted altarpieces and portraits of members of the royal family. Due to Mengs's ill health, in 1769 Charles granted him permission to go to Rome, and he returned to Spain only in 1774–1776 to complete frescoes in the Royal Palace, including the *Apotheosis of Trajan*. His most important late Roman commission, the *Allegory of History*, was painted for the

ceiling of the Sala dei Papiri in the Vatican Library as part of the ambitious expansion of the papal collections that eventually became the Pio-Clementino Museum.

Although he was long derided as an uninventive eclectic, his style was in fact progressive, drawing inspiration from canonical artists such as Raphael, Correggio, Titian, Carracci, and Poussin while integrating these classicizing models with the mania for the antique that had swept Europe in the wake of the excavations at Pompeii and Herculaneum. Mengs was deeply interested in the pedagogy of art based on advanced academic principles, and he was a prominent reformer in both the Accademia di San Luca and the Academia di San Fernando in Madrid. The Villa Albani Parnassus is arguably the first truly neoclassical painting, given the dramatic reduction in the standard illusionistic devices of shading and foreshortening and its emphasis on strong local color. Nothing so visually radical was to appear until the 1790s.

Mengs was one of the most famous artists in Europe in the eighteenth century, but it is as an aesthetic critic and art historian that he is best remembered today. His friendship with the celebrated

German scholar Johann Joachim Winckelmann, Cardinal Albani's librarian, helped steer Mengs's taste in the direction of more stringent classicizing currents. His *Gedanken über die Schönheit and über den Geschmack in der Malerey* (Zurich, 1762; Thoughts concerning Beauty and Taste in Painting) and *Ragionamento su l'Accademia delle Belle Arti di Madrid* (Madrid, 1766; Argument concerning the Academy of Fine Arts in Madrid) reveal a reverence toward the classicizing art of the Renaissance and baroque eras combined with a strong sense of the social utility of the arts in an enlightened society. His complete literary works were published in 1780 and helped promote a more austere form of international neoclassicism. It is also significant that Mengs was among the first to suggest that canonical ancient masterpieces, such as the *Apollo Belvedere*, (Pio-Clementino Museum, the Vatican; fourth century B.C.E.) were in fact Roman copies of lost Greek originals, a controversial claim that gained general acceptance only at the end of the eighteenth century.

Struggling with poor health in the last years of his life, Mengs died in Rome on 29 June 1779. Awarded many honors and titles, Mengs enjoyed a level of international prestige enjoyed by no German artist since Albrecht Dürer.

See also Benedict XIV (pope); Neoclassicism; Winckelmann, Johann Joachim.

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CHRISTOPHER M. S. JOHNS

ized by the blind adherence to a single, precisely defined economic theorem. Rather, its adherents embraced, in various degrees, parts of a set of commonly held theoretical beliefs or tendencies that were best suited to the needs of a particular time and state. The underlying principles of mercantilism included (1) the belief that the amount of wealth in the world was relatively static; (2) the belief that a country's wealth could best be judged by the amount of precious metals or bullion it possessed; (3) the need to encourage exports over imports as a means for obtaining a favorable balance of foreign trade that would yield such metals; (4) the value of a large population as a key to self-sufficiency and state power; and (5) the belief that the crown or state should exercise a dominant role in assisting and directing the national and international economies to these ends. As such, mercantilism developed logically from the changes inherent in the decline of feudalism, the rise of strong national states, and the development of a world market economy.

The shift from payments in kind, characteristic of the feudal period, to a money economy was one key development in this process. By the late fifteenth century, as regional, national, and international trade continued to blossom, European currencies expanded as well; circulation was more common, widespread, and vital. The early mercantilists recognized the seminal fact of this period. Money was wealth *sui generis*; it gave its holder the power to obtain other commodities and services. Precious metals, especially gold, were in universal demand as the surest means to obtain other goods and services. At the same time the rise of more powerful European states with burgeoning bureaucracies, frequent dynastic wars that required larger and more expensive armies, and more lavish court expenditures exacerbated this fundamental need for money in the form of precious metals. Foreign trade, not domestic trade, was viewed as the preferred method for obtaining bullion, while manufacturing, which provided the goods for such trade, was favored over agriculture. Finally, the discovery of the New World by Columbus in 1492 and the discovery of the sea route to India by Vasco da Gama in 1497–1499 also provided fertile ground for obtaining such wealth while creating an ever greater need for wealth to conquer and protect these colonies and their imperial trade. All of these

factors ensured that the rising late medieval and early modern states embraced mercantilism as an economic theory that allowed them to adapt to and seek to exploit these shifting structures.

Since mercantilism at base postulated increased royal control over both the internal and external economic policies of the state, it found easy acceptance among the “new” monarchies of the late fifteenth century and the sixteenth century. In Portugal, Manuel I (ruled 1495–1521) and his successors embraced its tenets regarding bullion and colonies to help exploit their burgeoning Asian empire. In Spain both Charles I (ruled 1516–1556) and Philip II (ruled 1556–1598), given the boon of New World precious metals, also found comfort in bullionism as well as the tenets calling for the exploitation of colonies for the benefit of the mother country. In England, Henry VIII (ruled 1509–1547) and Elizabeth I (ruled 1558–1603) adhered to some mercantilist principles in an effort that was, at least in part, designed to combat the threat of universal Habsburg Monarchy and Iberian dominance in the developing world market economy.

PROPONENTS OF MERCANTILISM

During the seventeenth century, adherents of absolutism also found much to embrace in mercantilism. During the age of Stuart absolutism James I (ruled 1603–1625) and Charles I (ruled 1625–1649) found it logical to accept the premise that the monarch should not only control the political and social hierarchy but should enjoy control over the economy as well. Oliver Cromwell (1599–1658), after destroying Stuart pretensions in the Civil War, embraced both mercantilist warfare and the Navigation Acts in his commercial struggle with the Dutch. It was in France, however, that mercantilism found perhaps its greatest supporter in Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619–1683). Colbert’s career was as much a product of the sociopolitical dynamics of the absolutist state as the result of the unrivaled bureaucratic energies he displayed in the service of his early patrons and eventually the crown. His family rose through the social hierarchy based on the time-honored expedients of wealth and venality of office. Utilizing family connections, Colbert entered the service of Michel Le Tellier in 1643, soon after the latter became secretary of state in charge of military affairs. This promising foundation was solidified

during Colbert’s “apprenticeship” under Jules Cardinal Mazarin, a mutually advantageous relationship that began in 1651 and lasted until Mazarin’s death in 1661. By the end of this decade of opportunity, Colbert had become baron de Seignelay, secretary of the orders of the queen, intendant general of the affairs of Mazarin, counselor of the king in all of his councils—not to mention a very wealthy man. Just as importantly, he had begun to create an apparatus for the implementation of his later policies by further enriching his family and arranging influential positions for a bevy of his brothers and cousins.

In this rapid ascent through the labyrinth of French political life, Colbert honed the ideas and theories that shaped his policies after 1661, the year Louis XIV (ruled 1643–1715) began his personal reign and Nicolas Fouquet was imprisoned, thus ensuring Colbert’s ascent to ministerial preeminence. The basic theoretical tenets of mercantilism predated Louis XIV’s reign, in some cases by half a dozen generations. Colbert was exposed to such ideas in the Paris of his youth, when the economic traditions of the first Bourbon king of France, Henry IV (ruled 1589–1610), and the theories of his able *contrôleur général du commerce* (comptroller general of finance), Barthélemy de Laffemas, were still relatively strong. Armand-Jean Du Plessis, Cardinal Richelieu (1585–1642) was still alive at that time, and Issac de Laffemas, the cardinal’s creature, was in the midst of perpetuating his father’s intellectual legacy. Although Colbert never referred to the writings of Antoine de Montchrestien (c. 1575–1621) and Jean Bodin (1530–1596), he was probably familiar with their works. Mercantilism reached its apogee under Colbert not because he was a theorist but rather because he was a man of action who judged its tenets to be the only natural and logical way to achieve his most cherished goal: a powerful and wealthy France united under a glorious monarch. The primary obstacle to France’s economic greatness was the overweening economic power of the Dutch. If the mercantile power of the burghers of Amsterdam could be broken in both Europe and the lucrative Asian trade, France could prosper.

Colbert’s anti-Dutch strategy evolved logically from his beliefs on political economy. Foremost among his particular tenets on mercantilism was the conviction that the volume of world trade was es-

essentially static and that, to increase its share, France would have to win part of that controlled by its rivals. In one of his most quoted *mémoires* (*Lettres* VI: 260–270) Colbert wrote, “The commerce of all Europe is carried on by ships of every size to the number of 20,000, and it is perfectly clear that this number cannot be increased.” Commerce caused “perpetual combat in peace and war among the nations of Europe, as to who shall win most of it.” His exaggerated estimate on the maritime strength of the major European trading nations competing in this “war” was fifteen thousand to sixteen thousand Dutch ships, three thousand to four thousand English ships, and five hundred to six hundred French ships. Just as importantly neither the French nor the English could “improve their commerce save by increasing this number, save from the 20,000 . . . and consequently by making inroads on the 15,000 to 16,000 of the Dutch.” (*Lettres* VI: 260–270). The bellicism inherent in such beliefs would in part culminate in the Dutch War of 1672, a war Colbert supported. Unfortunately, despite his most careful calculations regarding this struggle in both Europe and the Indian Ocean, Louis XIV’s armies and fleets suffered increasing difficulties in the war from 1672 to 1679. These setbacks forced Colbert to undo many of his initial reforms from 1661 that had doubled the king’s revenues, forged a powerful navy, and set France on a course for apparent dominance in Europe. By the time of his death in 1683, the kingdom was instead on the road to bankruptcy and revolt, and Louis XIV’s penchant for continued warfare in the decades down to 1715 only exacerbated this decline.

OPPONENTS OF MERCANTILISM

During the eighteenth century the limits of mercantilism became increasingly obvious, and intellectual and political critics of its basic tenets gradually emerged. First, Louis XIV’s spectacular failures in the kingdom viewed as the apogee of both absolutism and mercantilism certainly revealed the limitations of allowing the state to direct the economy for its own frequently selfish, if not self-destructive, purposes. At the same time, in parts of England, Holland, and northwestern France the initial adherence to mercantilist principles created the very conditions that fostered antimercantilist sentiments. These developments would ultimately cause the destruction of merchant capitalism. In short, mer-

chant capitalism reached a level within the mercantilist system where state intervention and direction of the economy was threatening and even preventing further expansion. The critical spirit toward existing Old Regime structures embodied in the intellectual revolution of the Enlightenment found its antimercantilist champions in the Physiocrats. In part adapting “natural law” doctrines to the economy, this influential group of economic theorists, including François Quesnay (1694–1774), Jean-Claude-Marie-Vincent de Gournay (1712–1759), and Pierre-Samuel du Pont de Nemours (1739–1817), instead argued for laissez-faire. This theory argued that the economy functioned best when its own “natural laws” were allowed to function without government intervention. Complementing the work of the French *économistes*, the Scottish philosopher David Hume (1711–1776) sought to identify the natural advantages that various nations enjoyed in the flow of commerce and provided a new theory on international trade. In his *Political Discourses* (1752) and *Essays and Treatises on Several Subjects* (1753), Hume also sought to refute some of the principal tenets of mercantilism, including confounding money with wealth and the blind acceptance of bullionism. Yet by far the most important work criticizing mercantilist thought was Adam Smith’s (1723–1790) *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (1776), the first systematic economic analysis of the world market economy created during the preceding age of mercantilism. Smith’s strong advocacy of free trade and his belief that world wealth was not static, as Colbert and others had held, did much to undermine mercantilism. At the same time his theories and those of other Physiocrats also encouraged colonies like British North America to reject the traditional dependence on their mother countries as defined by the mercantilist model while furnishing intellectual fuel for the industrial revolution then taking place in Great Britain. In France, however, only the French Revolution and Napoléon I (1769–1821) would facilitate the destruction of the economic remnants of both the late medieval and mercantilist periods.

See also Absolutism; Colbert, Jean-Baptiste; Hume, David; Liberalism, Economic; Physiocrats and Physiocracy; Smith, Adam.

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MERCENARIES. Mercenaries were paid soldiers who were bound to their employers by profit motive rather than loyalty. They existed in European armies from antiquity and fought in large numbers in the early modern period.

MERCENARIES IN FOURTEENTH- AND FIFTEENTH-CENTURY ITALY

Fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Italian states took the lead in using mercenaries. The accumulation of wealth by towns in the northern and central part of the peninsula created the means to spend, while incessant wars and weak feudal structures provided the need to hire military power. In the fourteenth century, the Italian military scene was dominated by foreign adventurers. These were mostly Germans, French, and Hungarians who fought in local armies. They coalesced into “free” companies: private armies led by captains elected by their troops, available for hire to the highest bidder. In the absence of pay, these armies roamed the countryside plundering and extorting money. There were several German “Great Companies,” but the most famous of the bands was the English “White Company,” which descended into Italy in 1361 during a truce in the Hundred Years’ War (1337–1453). Sir John de Hawkwood, a captain of the White Company, became the most successful soldier of the era. When he died in 1394, his last employer, the government of Florence, buried him with high honors in the cathedral.

John Hawkwood’s emergence apart from his band was part of a larger process whereby individual mercenary commanders became valuable commodities. This development resulted from the late-fourteenth-/early-fifteenth-century economic and political consolidation on the peninsula that reduced

the number of states that could hire mercenaries. This consolidation also strengthened a fortunate few mercenaries, who now sought lasting arrangements with men of assured reputations. Powerful states like Milan and Venice took the lead in granting long-term mercenary contracts and establishing more permanent armies. The new generation of mercenary captains was almost exclusively Italian, and prolonged service had the unfortunate consequence of mercenaries sometimes seizing political power in the states they served. An example is Francesco Sforza (1401–1466) from the Romagna town of Cotignola, who took control of Milan in 1450.

Mercenaries were hired in Italy by means of a *condotta*, ‘contract’. The term *condottiere*, ‘contractor’, Italian for mercenary captain, derives from *condotta*. A *condotta* typically spelled out the number of troops, the conditions of service, and the amount of pay. Most *condotte* involved horsemen, the most valued troops, but they could also include infantry. In fifteenth-century Italy mercenary cavalry comprised units known as lances, which consisted of three men and three horses. Employers usually retained the right to inspect the brigade; the mercenaries claimed a share of the booty and ransoms. Different kinds of men fought as mercenaries. Some, like Niccolò Piccinino (1380–1445), came from humble backgrounds; others, like Federigo da Montefeltro (1422–1482), were learned men from noble families. Niccolò Machiavelli criticized mercenaries as cowardly in battle, “thirsty for power, undisciplined and disloyal,” but many were in fact reliable and competent fighters. Musio Attendoli Sforza (1369–1424) and Braccio da Montone (1328–1424) were two of the most skilled tacticians of the fifteenth century. Musio exhibited considerable expertise maneuvering large armies and making effective use of his infantry. Braccio distinguished himself for his audacity in battle and his penchant for dividing his army into small units and committing them piecemeal into battle. Many of the captains of the fifteenth century fought under either Musio or Braccio and adopted their methods.

MERCENARIES IN OTHER PARTS OF EUROPE

Mercenaries were used in significant numbers elsewhere in Europe, particularly in wars in France and

the Holy Roman Empire. The Swiss emerged in the fifteenth century as a frightening fighting force. Unlike the *condottieri* in Italy, the Swiss formed infantry units, which were phalanxes of men armed with swords and halberds (a type of battle axe on a pike) for fighting in close order. Their weapons protected them from cavalry charges and gave them considerable counteroffensive striking power. Whereas capture and ransom were a fundamental part of Italian warfare, the Swiss did not take prisoners and often skewered their opponents with their sharp weapons. In the service of the French monarch, the Swiss scored impressive victories against the armies of Charles the Bold of Burgundy in 1476–1477.

In Germany, Emperor Maximilian I (ruled 1493–1519) created his own infantry, the Landsknechts, to rival the Swiss. Predominantly drawn from southern Germany, this infantry trained in the Swiss manner and were armed with pikes. They distinguished themselves by wearing loud, colorful clothing, and they incorporated handguns into their units as these weapons became more common on European battlefields. Their battles with the Swiss, whom they hated, were some of the bloodiest of the era.

The sixteenth century saw the rise of what the historian Fritz Redlich has called the “German military enterpriser.” This breed of mercenary bore a certain resemblance to the Italian *condottiere* but operated on a larger scale, raising whole armies, extending credit to large cadres of soldiers and, generally, treating war as a business enterprise. The phenomenon reached its peak in the seventeenth century during the Thirty Years’ War (1618–1648). At one point during the war, more than 400 military enterprisers were active. The most famous was Albrecht von Wallenstein (1583–1634), a petty nobleman of Protestant background from Bohemia. He fought for the Catholic Habsburgs, raised armies in excess of 100,000 men, and acquired states stretching from Bohemia to the Baltic. He organized arms production on his lands, recruited men, and retained the right to promote officers. His was a highly paradoxical personality: A convert to Catholicism, he remained intensely superstitious. He supposedly disliked noise so much that upon arrival in a town he ordered all the dogs and cats put to death.

The Thirty Years’ War notwithstanding, the seventeenth-century European military trend was toward more centrally organized professional state armies. But governments did not hesitate to employ mercenaries when the need arose. Prussia recruited men from outside its frontier, often from lesser German states. The army of the Prussian ruler Frederick William I (ruled 1713–1740) was only two-thirds native. One of the most well-known suppliers of mercenaries at the time was Hessen-Kassel, a relatively poor state. Hessian mercenaries served opposing sides the War of Austrian Succession (1740–1748) and were used by the English in the American Revolution (1776).

See also Italy; Military; Prussia; Thirty Years’ War (1618–1648); Wallenstein, A. W. E. von.

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MERCHANTS AND ENTREPRENEURS. *See* Artisans; Commerce and Markets; Shops and Shopkeeping.

MERIAN, MARIA SIBYLLA (1647–1717), German artist and naturalist. Maria Sibylla Merian was born in Frankfurt into a family with a distinguished history in the visual arts, particularly with respect to the study and exploration of the natural world. Her father, Matthäus Merian the Elder, inherited a prosperous publishing house from Jean Théodore de Bry, whose *America* (Frankfurt, 1590) presented some of the earliest images of the peoples, plants, and animals of North America to

European audiences. Maria Sibylla's half-brothers Matthäus Merian the Younger and Kaspar Merian took over the family business after the death of their father and continued to publish illustrated works of natural history and other subjects. In 1651 Maria Sibylla's mother married Jacob Marrel, an artist who had studied with several prominent German and Dutch still-life painters.

Merian combined her interest in studying the processes of nature with the creation of visual images and from an early age showed an avid interest in insects. She received her artistic training in the workshop of her stepfather Jacob Marrel and in 1665 married Johann Andreas Graff, a painter who had apprenticed in her stepfather's workshop. The couple lived in Nuremberg between 1665 and 1670, where Merian taught painting and embroidery to young women, and where she published the first of her three major works, the *Neues Blumenbuch* (Nuremberg, 1675–1680), a series of copperplate engravings of flowers for use as models for embroidery and needlework. Merian began publication of her second major work in 1679, when the first volume of her *Raupenbuch* series appeared, which focused on the life cycles of European caterpillars and butterflies.

In 1686 Merian, her two daughters, and her mother joined a religious community in northern Germany known as the Labadists. It has been suggested that Merian joined the group in part to escape the marital difficulties she had been experiencing with Graff, from whom she was divorced several years later. Merian and her daughters moved to Amsterdam in 1691 and began planning a voyage to the Dutch colony of Surinam; in June 1699 Merian and her grown daughter Dorothea Maria set sail for South America. Merian is best known for the illustrated publication that resulted from this voyage, the *Metamorphosis Insectorum Surinamensium* (Amsterdam, 1705). Merian's compositions presented startling scenes of insects and plants previously unknown to Europeans and highlighted both the life cycles of individual insects and the struggles for survival between insects, plants, and other animals. The brightly colored forms and striking features of Merian's insects provided a disturbing yet fascinating vision of the New World for European readers. Merian's focus on the relationships between insects and plants and their environment had

a strong influence on natural history illustration during the eighteenth century, as can be seen in the illustrations for *The Natural History of Carolina, Florida, and the Bahama Islands* (London, 1731–1743) published by the English artist and naturalist Mark Catesby.

See also **Natural History**; **Scientific Illustration**; **Women**.

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MERSENNE, MARIN (1588–1648), French mathematician, scientist, and theologian. Mersenne was born in the hamlet of La Soultière in the parish of Oizé, the son of Julien Mersenne, a farmer of modest means, and his wife, Jeanne Moulière. When a new Jesuit school at La Flèche opened in 1604, strongly supported by King Henry IV, Mersenne immediately transferred there, graduating in 1608. He continued his studies at the Sorbonne for two years, leaving to join the Order of Minims, a mendicant order founded in the fifteenth century by St. Francis of Paola, and in 1614 was sent to teach at their convent in Nevers.

There he began writing letters to ask the advice of others, primarily about scientific matters. In 1619

he moved to the Minim convent in Paris and continued writing to an ever-expanding group of scientists. As a result, he knew or corresponded with most of the leading scientists of his day. He often sent them a list of questions and then communicated their replies to others to encourage further work on the responses he received. His correspondence, published in the twentieth century, contains a wealth of information about many of the scientific ideas of the period. The letters Mersenne exchanged with René Descartes, for example, are an important source for studying the development of Descartes's ideas.

In 1635 Mersenne further encouraged the exchange of ideas by establishing a group called the *Academia Parisiensis*, which met on Thursdays and was attended by the outstanding scientists and mathematicians of his day. It was continued by others after his death and was an important forerunner of the *Académie des Sciences*.

Mersenne published over twenty books during his lifetime, and a treatise on optics appeared after his death. He began with the stated objective of examining the latest ideas in natural philosophy to see what their impact on Catholic theology might be and to show that, if properly understood, they did not threaten religion. As he continued to write and publish, he put more emphasis on science itself, but never forgot his purpose in studying it.

His first work, *Quaestiones Celeberrimae in Genesim* (1623; Well-known questions on Genesis), was written as a commentary on the book of Genesis in which he interspersed the text with an examination of a number of current ideas troubling religion. He dealt with atheism by providing thirty-five "proofs" of the existence of God. He also defended religious miracles against an attack by the Renaissance naturalist Julius Caesar Vanini, who had been executed as an atheist in Toulouse in 1619, by underscoring the limitations of scientific explanations. In the third part of the work, given the separate title *Observationes*, he pointed out flaws in Hermetic and magical accounts of natural phenomena. In the middle section, he addressed scientific questions such as whether the earth moves, or whether the heavenly spheres are solid, and gave a description of magnetism, drawing on the *De Magnete* (On

the magnet) of the English physician William Gilbert (1544–1603).

His next work, *L'impiété des déistes . . .* (1624; The impiety of deists), developed some of these criticisms further. He then turned to a consideration of the nature of scientific theories in *La vérité des sciences . . .* (1625; The truth of the sciences), concluding that we cannot know their truth and that we must settle for "mitigated skepticism" or a science of probabilities.

In the 1630s Mersenne published several works in which he advocated treating nature quantitatively and analyzing it mathematically. In these works he reported on the latest developments in science. He also demonstrated his admiration for the work of Galileo by publishing in 1634 a French paraphrase of an early manuscript of Galileo's on mechanics. In *Questions théologiques, physiques, morales et mathématiques* (Theological, physical, moral, and mathematical questions), he summarized Galileo's arguments for the motion of the earth from *The Two Chief World Systems*, the work that resulted in Galileo's condemnation by the Inquisition, although he was careful to remove the arguments from a copy he gave a friend to carry to Rome. He did include the Inquisition's sentence against Galileo. He also published a French version of Galileo's *Two New Sciences*, his major contribution to physics.

One of the sciences that interested Mersenne was music. Medieval scholars had considered it a form of mathematics, and Mersenne accepted that designation. He discussed music in several of his publications, but especially in his *Harmonie universelle . . .* (1635–1636), in which he described the musical instruments of his day and how they were played, analyzing musical theory and harmony, and developing his own musical philosophy.

In the 1640s he concentrated more directly on the physical sciences, such as ballistics, hydraulics, pneumatics, mechanics, and the recent work on air pressure.

Satisfied that he had helped to remove obstacles to further research, Mersenne believed that science was progressing along a path that would not clash with religion.

See also Descartes, René; Galileo Galilei; Mathematics.

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MESMER, FRANZ ANTON (1734–1815), German physician. Mesmer was born in the village of Iznang in Swabia (a region in southwest Germany) to Catholic parents. His father worked for the archbishop of Constance and his mother was a locksmith's daughter. As a youth Mesmer attended a local monastic school. He later studied at the Jesuit University of Dillengen in Bavaria and the University of Ingolstadt before entering the University of Vienna in 1759. He was awarded the M.D. degree in 1766, with a doctoral thesis entitled *Dissertatio Physico-medica de Planetarium Influxu* (Physical-medical dissertation on the influence of the planets). Influenced by the English physician Richard Mead (1673–1754), Mesmer asserted the existence of “animal magnetism,” a subtle fluid that permeated the cosmos and whose balance or imbalance in the human body was a primary determinant of health or disease. Using magnets and other means, he thought he could manipulate the flow of animal magnetism and relieve the “obstructions” he believed responsible for diverse ills.

In 1768 Mesmer married a wealthy widow, Maria Anna von Posch, whose financial support enabled him to establish a successful medical practice in Vienna. A music lover, he entertained leading musicians, including Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756–1791) and Franz Joseph Haydn (1732–1809). (Mozart included mesmerist elements in his opera *Così fan tutte*.) Named a member of the Academy of Sciences in Munich in 1775, he aroused the antipathy of his fellow physicians in Vienna with his elaborately staged and publicized cures.

In 1778 Mesmer left Vienna for Paris, where his commanding personality and unorthodox therapeutic practices earned him notoriety. His therapy came to focus on assembling patients around a tub filled with magnetic fluid that was transmitted to their bodies through movable iron rods and their own interlaced thumbs and fingers. Dressed in a lilac robe or similar extravagant attire, Mesmer himself facilitated the flow of fluid with motions of his eyes and hands or by playing a glass harmonica, an instrument said to be of his invention. Cures were complete when a “crisis,” often accompanied by convulsions, restored the harmony of the body with cosmic influences. With these techniques he gained special acclaim for curing the nervous disorder known as the “vapors.”

Although lionized by the public, Mesmer ran afoul of medical and scientific authority. In 1784 a royal commission of eminent scientists judged his claim to have discovered a new physical fluid unfounded. He then left France and traveled widely before settling in Switzerland and withdrawing from public life. He died in Meersburg, Swabia, in 1815.

To spread Mesmer's ideas and practices, his disciples founded the Society of Universal Harmony in Paris with affiliates throughout the country. Especially notable were the activities of a wealthy aristocrat, A. M. J. de Chastenot de Puységur, who developed the healing technique known as “magnetic sleep” or “mesmeric somnambulism,” later termed “hypnosis.” Animal magnetism and somnambulism were the subjects of a voluminous literature well into the nineteenth century.

Sometimes dismissed as a charlatan, Mesmer has also been credited with anticipating the insights of depth psychology and exerting long-term influence on the development of dynamic psychiatry.

See also **Anatomy and Physiology; Astrology; Medicine; Music; Psychology.**

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MESSIANISM, JEWISH. The hope for national redemption from exile and the ultimate reinstatement of Jewish self-government under a messianic (from the Hebrew for ‘anointed’) king descended from the House of David was an integral and unquestioned element of early modern Judaism. The Messiah was read into biblical texts like Jeremiah 36, referred to often in the Talmud, and rehearsed daily in the liturgy.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT FROM THE LATE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

Events encouraged speculation about an imminent end of days and moved dreams of redemption to the forefront of Jewish thought. Great wars in Europe, the breakdown of Christian unity with the Reformation, and even the discovery of the New World were all seen as part of a final apocalypse. The relentless Ottoman expansion against Christendom, and especially the fall of Constantinople to the Turks in 1453, were understood as the realization of the biblically predicted wars of Gog and Magog (Ezekiel 38, 39). When the Turks conquered the land of Israel in 1516, and Jews found it possible to travel to, and settle in, their ancient homeland once again, God’s imminent redemption seemed clear.

Messianic predictions also provided a form of theodicy: contemporary tragedies like the massive expulsion from Spain in 1492 were the necessary preparation for imminent redemption. Even mainstream figures engaged in these predictions. Despite strong Talmudic condemnation of those who calculated the time of the redemption, the Spanish-Portuguese financier, diplomat, and scholar, Don Isaac Abravanel, wrote no fewer than three tracts devoted to this subject (1496–1498). He rejected the warning that his predictions, if they proved wrong, could lead to even greater despair. At a time of great suffering he was offering solace. “God will not abandon His people,” he declared in the introduction to his *Wellsprings of Salvation*. “The day of the Lord who chooses Jerusalem is close at hand.”

APOCALYPTIC, PIETIST, MAGICAL, AND MYSTICAL MESSIANISMS

Indicative of the spirit of the time was the popularity of the seventh-century *Book of Zerubavel* with its apocalyptic visions of great wars over Jerusalem, a preliminary Messiah from the tribe of Ephraim son of Joseph, and another, ultimately victorious Messiah from the House of David. Often recopied in manuscript, the book was among the earliest Hebrew works to be printed (Constantinople, 1519).

Messianic preachers also struck a powerful chord. From 1500 to 1502, for example, Asher Lemlein raised great enthusiasm throughout north-eastern Italy and Germany when he predicted the Messiah’s imminent arrival and called for repentance and acts of self-flagellation.

Several decades earlier, kabbalistically (mystically) oriented messianic enthusiasts in Spain responded to mounting religious pressures by seeking to use magic to tame the forces of evil (including oppressive Christianity) and turn them to good. This kabbalistic circle is known for its major literary expression, *Sefer ha-Meshiv* (a book of divine “responses” and eschatological revelations). Its vision of an ultimate struggle against evil was popularized in tales about Rabbi Joseph della Reina, who was said to have brought down Satan but tragically failed to control the monster and thus delayed redemption.

The Spanish cabalist Abraham ben Eliezer ha-Levi may have been part of this circle. After the 1492 expulsion and especially after the Ottoman conquest of the land of Israel, he was a leading figure in a group of messianists in Jerusalem. Because they believed that the Messiah’s coming was imminent, they began instituting special prayers and vigils to alleviate the “birth pangs” of the Messiah.

THE LOST TRIBES

Travelers’ reports of isolated Jewish tribes also served to raise messianic expectations. These were assumed to be members of the ten Israelite tribes exiled in 722 B.C.E. and preserved ever since beyond a raging river, the Sambatyon. Possibly influenced by Christian tales about the secret kingdom of Prester John, Jews imagined these brave and fierce warriors now about to come to the rescue of their oppressed brethren.

Possibly himself an Ethiopian Falasha, David Reuveni (died c. 1538) gradually made his way from Egypt and the land of Israel to western Europe, where he met with Pope Clement VII in Rome (1524) and with King John III of Portugal (1525–1527). Claiming to be the brother and messenger of the king of the tribe of Reuben (hence his name), Reuveni pressed for treaties with European rulers and supplies of arms for a common war against the Turk. Reuveni's reception among Jews was mixed: some accepted his self-presentation at face value and tried to aid him; others considered him a dangerous charlatan and strove to discredit him.

CONVERSOS

Reuveni had an especially powerful effect on the Portuguese *conversos* (Christians of Jewish descent, many of whom secretly practiced Jewish rites even after their forced conversion to Christianity in 1497). The young Diogo Pires, secretary to the Portuguese royal council, was inspired by his tales, circumcised himself, and openly reverted to the Judaism of his ancestors, adopting the name Solomon Molcho. Forced to flee Portugal, Molcho traveled through Italy and the Ottoman Empire, studying cabala, preaching about the redemption, and eventually declaring himself the Messiah. After gaining considerable support from leading rabbinic thinkers of the time, Molcho was eventually reunited with Reuveni in Italy. Arrested by Emperor Charles V, Molcho was burned at the stake as a heretic in Mantua (1532); Reuveni probably suffered a similar fate in Spain a few years later.

Messianic hopes remained powerful among *conversos*, who understood their suffering at the hands of the Inquisition as part of a redemptive plan and incorporated certain Christian notions of the Messiah into their own, increasingly syncretistic, religious beliefs. This would be especially important in the later seventeenth century when former *conversos* would provide much of the theological background for the Sabbatean movement that began in 1665, the most important messianic movement since classical times.

SCHOLARLY TRENDS

Historians see Jewish messianism in the early modern period as more than a response to national suffering. It was a central motif in Jewish religious thought, open to substantially different interpreta-

tions by each writer. Scholars now focus on the religious, and especially mystical, dimensions of messianism.

Gershom Scholem accepted the link between the Sephardic (Iberian Jewish) experience and early modern messianism, though he argued that the sense of overwhelming catastrophe engendered by the expulsions was transmuted into a new form of cabalistic thinking linked especially to Isaac Luria (1534–1572) and the brilliant constellation of thinkers who gathered in Safed. According to Scholem, Lurianic Cabala, which assigned to the Messiah the task of redeeming not just exiled Israel but the world itself, became the basis of a new, mystical theology that influenced Jewish thinkers everywhere and eventually led to Sabbateanism.

More recent scholars have emended Scholem's once-dominant thesis, pointing to possible influence from contemporary Christian eschatological rhetoric (Ruderman), questioning the necessary link between historical crisis and theology, and suggesting that Lurianic thought was far less pervasive than had been claimed (Idel). The distinction made by Gerson Cohen between activist and quietistic forms of messianism (the former associated with Sephardic, and the latter with Ashkenazic, or central European, Jews) has been replaced by more nuanced categories that can no longer be associated with specific ethnic subgroups.

See also Conversos; Jews and Judaism.

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METALLURGY. *See* Technology.

METAPHYSICS. *See* Philosophy.

METASTASIO, PIETRO. *See* Gluck, Christoph Willibald von; Opera.

METHODISM. Methodism began as a movement in eighteenth-century England, part of the larger Protestant evangelical revival that endeavored to bring spiritual renewal to the nation and the Church of England and to increase the effectiveness of the church's ministry, especially to the poor. The term "Methodist" was applied about 1729 to a small group of students at Oxford University who devoted themselves to a strict method of study and religious practice. While the members of this group referred to themselves as the Holy Club, other university students and leaders reproachfully labeled them Methodists. The three principal figures in the origin and development of Methodism were members of the Holy Club, John Wesley (1703–1791), an Anglican clergyman who became its leader; his younger brother Charles Wesley (1707–1788); and George Whitefield (1714–1770).

Charles Wesley and Whitefield also became ordained clergymen in the Church of England. The Wesleys and Whitefield not only accepted the tradition and doctrines of Anglicanism, they also advocated an evangelical experience of conversion, notably in their preaching. Rather than settling into parish assignments, they engaged in an itinerant ministry, preaching in various churches when permitted but also speaking in private homes and in the open air at marketplaces, mines, and in fields.

BELIEFS AND PRACTICES

The Methodism of the Wesleys differed theologically from that of Whitefield at one main point. Whitefield advocated a form of Calvinism that held that, due to the blight of original sin, humans have no free will. Salvation is limited to those predestined or unconditionally elected by God to receive divine

favor. The Wesleys, who identified with the teachings of the Dutch theologian Jacob Harmensen (Jacobus Arminius, 1560–1609), claimed that God's grace is universal. It is available to all people, freeing them to respond to God's offer of forgiveness and reconciliation. Whitefield's brand of Methodism was particularly popular in Wales and gained substantial support from the preaching of Howell Harris (1714–1773) and the financial assistance of Selina Hastings (1707–1791), the countess of Huntingdon. The emphasis of the Wesleys on the universalism of divine grace had a wide appeal and resulted in larger numbers for their brand of Methodism.

The main doctrinal emphases of Wesleyan Methodism included the seriousness of human sin and its dire consequences; preventing (or prevenient) grace, which frees the human will; justification of the sinner by faith in God's grace; the experience of divine pardon in spiritual new birth; personal assurance of being in God's favor; and sanctification or holy living. The Wesleys believed that holy living is both personal and social. In addition the goal of the Christian life is loving God with all that one is and has and loving one's neighbor as oneself. These emphases are delineated in John Wesley's sermons and other writings as well as in the approximately nine thousand hymns written by his brother Charles.

Worship and the sacraments were important to Methodism from its beginning. Both of the Wesleys appreciated the formal liturgical worship of the Anglican Book of Common Prayer. However, they also encouraged less-formal worship in Methodist meetings. The Sacraments of baptism and Holy Communion were accepted as means by which God's grace is conveyed to the recipient. Wesleyan Methodism also stressed Bible reading, prayer, and fasting. From the Moravians they adapted a love feast for special occasions, at which the members served each other bread and water as a sign of Christian affection and fellowship.

ORGANIZATION AND TACTICS

Unlike Whitefield, the Wesleys effectively organized their followers. John Wesley, a skillful organizer, arranged the Methodist people into societies that met regularly for worship and Christian fellowship. Since Methodism was intended to revitalize the Anglican Church, not to supercede it, Methodists were

expected to attend society meetings as well as the services of their local Anglican parish churches. Each society was divided into subgroups of about twelve people, called classes, that met weekly for spiritual encouragement under the direction of class leaders. Society and class membership was guided by a set of General Rules for moral living devised by Wesley.

As Methodism grew across England, Scotland, and Ireland, John Wesley engaged laypeople to meet with the societies, preach in their meetings, provide pastoral care, and administer the General Rules. Since the lay preachers were not ordained, they were not permitted to administer the Sacraments. Lay leadership facilitated the movement's growth. In June 1744 the Wesleys met in London with four Anglican clergy sympathetic to the Methodist movement and four lay preachers, a gathering that evolved into an annual conference of the movement's leaders. At these important annual meetings the preachers discussed theological issues, deliberated business, mapped strategy, and received preaching assignments for the ensuing year. During John Wesley's lifetime the annual conference advised him but did not override his authority in governing the movement.

Methodists acquired buildings for their gatherings as membership increased. In 1739 John Wesley purchased an abandoned cannon factory in London that he renovated for worship and called the Foundery. Other chapels and meeting places, including the celebrated New Room constructed in Bristol in 1739, were purchased or built for Methodist gatherings. In 1768 Wesley formulated a Model Deed designed to govern the use of Methodist chapels and buildings and to protect them from what he considered erroneous doctrine.

The Wesleys and their followers encountered verbal abuse and physical persecution. Their opponents, both laypeople and Anglican clergy, complained about their insistence on an evangelical conversion; their criticism of some forms of public entertainment; "irregular" practices, such as allowing laypeople to preach; and holding worship in the open air. Persecution was especially severe in the 1740s but declined significantly in the decades that followed.

When John Wesley's overtures to Anglican bishops to ordain some of his lay preachers for work in America were refused, he ordained two of them in 1784, dispatched them to the United States, and authorized them to form a Methodist church. During Wesley's lifetime this was the only Methodist church he sanctioned. In the decades following his death, other Methodist churches were formed by his followers in Great Britain.

John Wesley and the Methodists adopted forceful positions on many social questions. They opposed slavery, offered assistance to the poor, ministered in prisons, promoted medical treatment and healthy living, fostered education, and criticized violence and war. Although some historians claimed that Methodism kept Britain from sliding into a form of revolution that engulfed Europe, this thesis is widely disputed. Nevertheless, Methodism was quite influential in British life in the eighteenth century and beyond.

See also Church of England; Wesley Family.

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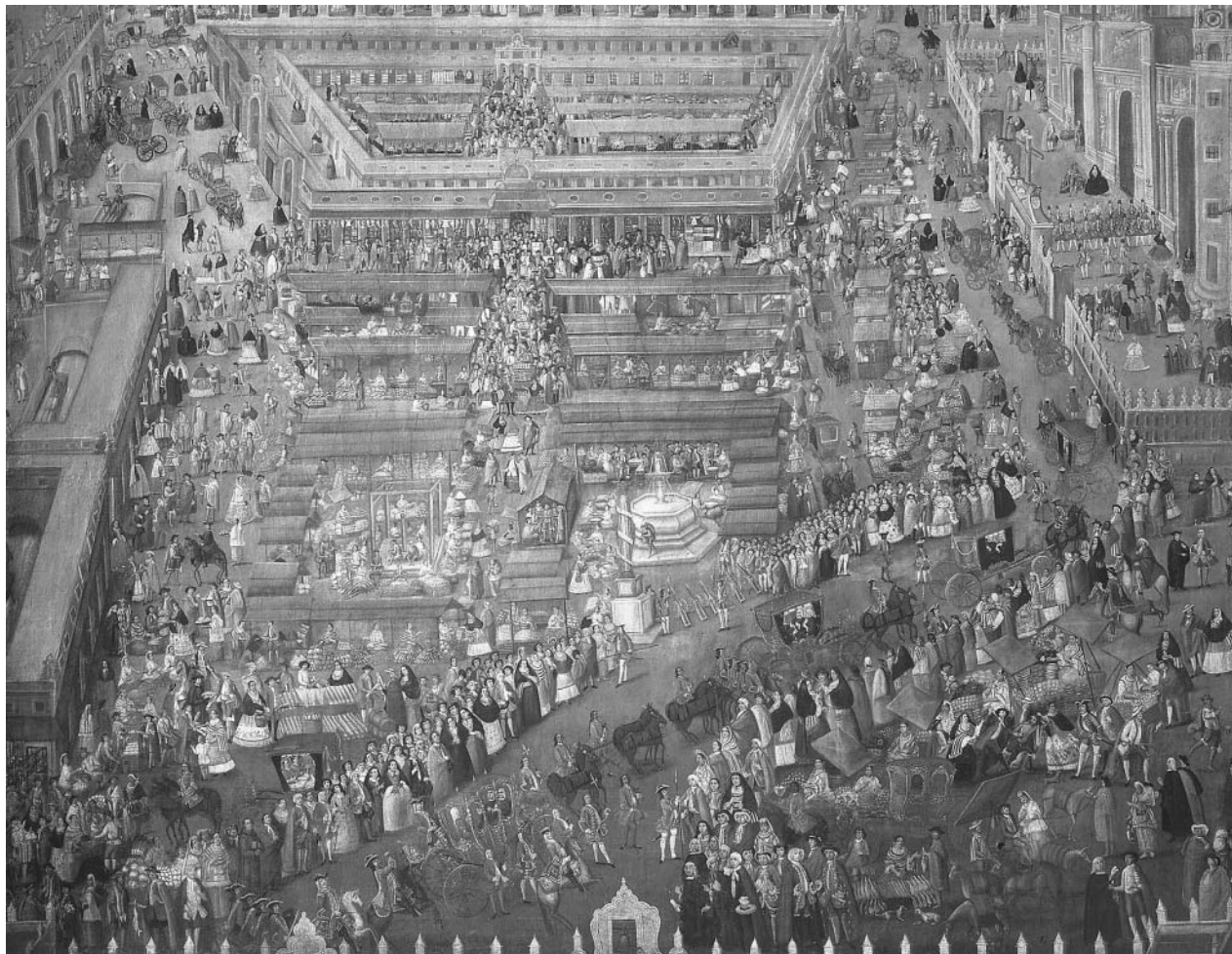
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MEXICO CITY. Mexico City was in many ways the quintessential city of the early modern period. While many cities in the Valley of Mexico had existed for several centuries prior to the arrival of the Spaniards in 1519, Mexico City was relatively young, having been founded in 1325. It was originally a swampy safe haven for the Mexica people,



Mexico City. *Main Square, Mexico City*, eighteenth-century painting. THE ART ARCHIVE/NATIONAL HISTORY MUSEUM MEXICO CITY/ DAGLI ORTI

popularly known as the Aztecs. Locating in the middle of the lake that filled the Valley of Mexico, the Mexica used land-reclamation techniques to convert this swampy area into a city of nearly a quarter million inhabitants by the time of the conquest. They called their city Tenochtitlán. Over the course of time a twin city, Tlatelolco, developed to the north and was home of the merchants who served as the commercial “glue” of the Mexica empire.

Mexico City fell to the Spanish on 13 August 1521. Hernán Cortés (1485–1547) ordered the site abandoned and built his capital several miles south in the town of Coyoacán. Nevertheless, the old site continued to attract both native peoples and Spaniards, and construction of a city began there. Finally, in 1524, Cortés recognized the old city as

the new capital, giving it the name Mexico-Tenochtitlán.

Mexico City then entered into a period of development as a hybrid city. The city took on a grid pattern of streets radiating off of a large central plaza. The cathedral, royal palace, and offices of the municipal government surrounded the central plaza, which was eventually called the *Zócalo*. The Spanish district of the city radiated out some ten blocks from the plaza. This part of the city came to be known as the *traza*. Beyond the *traza* was the Indian city. Spanish colonial law mandated a separate but equal political organization for the native peoples. They were largely self-governing but were subject to Spanish royal law. They were physically segregated, living in their own neighborhoods outside of the *traza*. The native peoples were required

to provide labor service to the Spanish colonists, yet they also engaged in their own activities, including farming, craft production, and transport of goods.

Mexico City was the first significant place where peoples from four continents created a single city. The Spanish conquerors brought Africans, both slave and free, along with them. It has been estimated that as much as half of the city's population consisted of African slaves. The sixteenth century saw the arrival of Asians to the city, initially from the Spanish colony of the Philippines, but eventually from China, Japan, and Korea. Like the Africans, Asians tended to provide household service to the Spanish, but they also found a niche in the ceramic and textile industries.

The city had been founded on a lake. Its symbiotic relationship with the lake formed much of the city's early identity. As more of the lakeshore was reclaimed, the threat of flooding became continual. By the end of the sixteenth century seasonal flooding inundated the city. In the early seventeenth century the royal government constructed a massive drainage canal to remove the water from the lake and drain it into a nearby river system.

Mexico City was the cultural, religious, political, and cultural capital of New Spain, which was Spain's name for the colony. Within the *traza*, wealthy Spaniards jockeyed for preeminence in building their palaces. Religious orders staked out sumptuous and imposing buildings, thereby claiming their presence in the city. The Inquisition, the Pontifical and Royal University, and many other civil organizations built equally impressive edifices. The *traza* could no longer hold the Spanish population, and it began to spill out along the well-established causeways and avenues that radiated off of the central plaza. In the early seventeenth century the viceroy decreed the creation of a large public garden, known as the Alameda.

During the eighteenth century, Mexico City saw dramatic changes. The city grew rapidly, building principally to the south and west, as vast areas of dry lakebed were reclaimed. Wealth resulting from increased mining activity and commerce poured into the city, prompting a building boom. Rich miners, merchants, and newly titled nobles built palatial mansions. The religious orders also constructed opulent churches and convents. The city

more completely eclipsed all the regional capitals as the leading metropolis of the colony. By the end of the century, Mexico City was unquestionably the largest and most opulent city of the region, if not the hemisphere.

See also Spanish Colonies: Mexico.

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MICHAEL ROMANOV (RUSSIA) (1596–1645; ruled 1613–1645), tsar of Russia. Michael Fedorovich Romanov came to the throne in 1613 as the solution to the dynastic crisis of the Time of Troubles. The son of the important boyar Fedor Nikitich Romanov, whom Boris Godunov exiled in 1600, Michael was only sixteen when the Assembly of the Land chose him as tsar on 21 February 1613. Michael, as grandson of the brother of Ivan the Terrible's first wife, had a tenuous link to the older dynasty, but he was primarily the choice of the boyar clans still in Moscow, the church, the Cossacks, and the townspeople. His father, tonsured in 1601 with the monastic name Filaret, was in prison in Poland in the early years of the reign, so the dominant force at court was at first his mother, the nun Marfa (born Kseniia Shestova, tonsured in 1600), who relied on the boyars B. M. and M. M. Saltykov as well as others. In those years the new regime secured peace with Sweden (Stolbovo, 1617) and Poland (Deulino, 1618), losing some border territory but reestablishing control over the remainder.

In 1619 the return of Filaret and his selection as patriarch of Moscow brought a powerful figure to the court. Filaret dominated his son and was the main advocate of a war of revenge against Poland. The result was the Smolensk war of 1632–1634, in part the result of Swedish prompting, as Gustavus II Adolphus hoped to secure his rear in Poland while he intervened in the Thirty Years' War. The Russian army, including many European mercenary regi-

ments, laid siege to Smolensk but were unable to take the city and had to surrender to the Polish army of relief under King Władysław IV. Filaret's death (October 1633) hastened the end. The Russian commander M. B. Shein was executed as a scapegoat, and the two sides made peace in 1634. Russia gained only insignificant border points and Władysław's renunciation of the Russian throne.

The last decade of the reign saw a fundamental change in Russian policy. The primary effort went toward a rapprochement with Poland, and as a corollary, a similar approach was taken toward Denmark. Long negotiations with Christian IV over the marriage of Michael's eldest daughter Irina to Prince Valdemar of Denmark came to an impasse over the insistence of the Russian church that he convert to Orthodoxy. The issue was unresolved at Michael's death and then abandoned. The main purpose of friendship with Poland was to allow Russia to concentrate its resources against the Ottomans and their Crimean vassals. Michael inaugurated a vast program of construction of defensive works on the southern frontier, including blockhouses, forts, Cossack settlements, and other obstacles to prevent Tatar raids. He did not, however, want to engage the Ottomans themselves, and so ordered the Don Cossacks in 1642 to return the recently captured fortress of Azov at the mouth of the Don to the Turks.

Much less is known about the politics behind Michael's internal policies. His government restored the institutions and societal structures shattered during the Time of Troubles. The boyar clans dominant before that time returned to power, and the newfound influence of the Cossacks and other lower orders gradually dissipated. Filaret took seriously his duties as patriarch and managed to rebuild the shattered institutions of the church. His attitudes toward religious culture were contradictory, for he pursued a policy of restricting contacts with the Orthodox of Poland, while simultaneously encouraging the importation of most Ukrainian religious texts into Russia. In the meantime, discontent with traditional devotional and liturgical practices grew among the clergy, a development that would lead to major conflict after Michael's death.

In these years Russia tried to recover its trade links with the Dutch and English, while trying to

avoid giving them too extensive commercial privileges. Commercial relations with Sweden flourished, and merchants from Novgorod and Pskov even began to visit Stockholm. These years also saw the beginning of a long demographic boom that lasted into the twentieth century. In the short run it was crucial to the restoration of agriculture.

Michael was married twice, briefly to princess Maria Vladimirovna Dolgorukaia (1624) and then to Evdokiia Luk'ianovna Streshneva (1626), who bore his heir, Tsar Alexis I Mikhailovich, and eight other children. A devout and apparently traditional Russian noblewoman, her political role seems to have been minor. Michael founded the Romanov dynasty that ruled Russia until 1917. Unfortunately, his reign is one of the least studied periods of Russian history.

See also Alexis I (Russia); Cossacks; Gustavus II Adolphus (Sweden); Russia; Russo-Polish Wars; Time of Troubles (Russia).

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MICHELANGELO BUONARROTI (born Michelangelo di Lodovico Buonarroti Simoni, 1475–1564), Italian sculptor, painter, architect, and poet. Michelangelo achieved such renown in his lifetime that he was celebrated as *Il Divino*, the 'Divine One'. In five hundred years, his fame has scarcely diminished. Michelangelo is universally recognized as one of the greatest artists of all time. He established new and still unsurpassed standards of excellence in all fields of visual creativity—sculpture, painting, architecture—and was, in addition, an accomplished poet. Along with Dante and Shakespeare, Mozart, and Beethoven, he stands as one of the giants of Western civilization.

Michelangelo's career spanned from the final years of Lorenzo de' Medici's Florence to the first

stirrings of the Counter-Reformation. He outlived thirteen popes and worked for nine of them. Although his art occasionally was criticized (he was accused of impropriety in the *Last Judgment*), Michelangelo's influence and reputation have always been acknowledged. Many of his works—including the *Pietà*, *David*, *Moses*, and the Sistine Chapel ceiling—are ubiquitous cultural icons. Despite the familiarity of Michelangelo's art, the large quantity of primary documentation (more than any previous artist), and a voluminous secondary literature, many aspects of Michelangelo's art and life remain open to interpretation.

In contrast to the romantic conception of the artist as lone genius, contemporary scholars tend to view Michelangelo in a broad historical and social context. In Italy and throughout European civilization, the family was fundamental to self-definition; a family's status established an individual's status. Michelangelo was one of just a handful of Renaissance artists, including Filippo Brunelleschi, Donatello, and Leon Battista Alberti, who were born into patrician families. It was not unreasonable, therefore, that Michelangelo's father resisted his son's artistic inclinations; the boy should have aspired to a more elevated profession, to political office, and to a socially advantageous marriage. The tension between his patrician birth and his fundamentally manual profession occasionally caused Michelangelo to experience doubt about his art (best expressed in his poetry), and to encounter conflict with his patrons.

Michelangelo's father was a distant cousin and contemporary of the great Renaissance Maecenas Lorenzo de' Medici (1449–1492). It was probably thanks to this familial relation that Michelangelo spent approximately two years in the Medici household, where he received the beginnings of a humanistic education alongside two of his future Medici patrons, Giovanni (Pope Leo X, reigned 1513–1521) and Giulio (Pope Clement VII, reigned 1523–1534). The Medici were especially important to Michelangelo's early career, providing him with commissions, opportunities, and letters of introduction that permitted the young man to pursue an untraditional course independent of the guild system and the highly competitive artisan profession. Rather, he lived on the basis of comparatively few commissions, obtained by means of skillfully navi-

gating in a dense web of family, friendship, and patronage ties.

Appropriately for a family with social pretensions, Michelangelo was tutored by a grammarian and learned a modicum of Latin, a good hand, and how to write a proper letter. His penmanship was neat and regular, his orthography and grammar more self-consciously correct than that of many of his contemporaries. The sheer volume of Michelangelo's correspondence—more than 1,400 letters to and from the artist—distinguishes him from most artists of the early modern period. He took care in composing letters, often writing multiple drafts, and the very fact that he preserved his correspondence was characteristic of a member of the literate patrician class.

Even more important are Michelangelo's considerable labors as a poet. In the entire history of art, only William Blake has made a comparable contribution to both the poetic and visual arts. Michelangelo's poetry ranks among the greatest literary creations of the Renaissance, distinguishing him from most artists and many fellow patricians.

Michelangelo proudly declared that his family had paid taxes in Florence for three hundred years, thereby placing them among an elite group of "good families." The Buonarroti traced their citizenship back to the priorate of 1343, and in 1508 they had six members eligible for election to the Florentine government. But even more than the prestige of public office, wealth was the most certain measure of status, and property was the principal measure of wealth. Shortly after his commission to design the tomb of Pope Julius II (1505), Michelangelo began purchasing property in and around Florence. In addition to rental income, these various farm properties provided Michelangelo and his family with most of their basic needs, including grain, oil, wine, eggs, and firewood. By his death at the age of eighty-nine, Michelangelo was a millionaire; however, despite his affluence, he lived modestly, for he was, like his contemporaries, perpetually wary of gossip.

Wealth opened the door to a good marriage, which was an important means of securing long-lasting social status. Of course, Michelangelo never married, but his brother Buonarroto married into the patrician Della Casa family. The children of this



Michelangelo. *David*, in the Accademia, Florence. ©ALINARI/
ART RESOURCE

union also made good matches: Lionardo married into the Ridolfi family, and in 1537 Michelangelo's niece, Francesca, married Michele Guicciardini, scion of one of the oldest and most illustrious Florentine families. Michelangelo was preoccupied with the prestige and propagation of his family, which survived until the mid-nineteenth century.

Central to Michelangelo's self-perception and lifelong ambition was his firm belief that he was from a noble family who traced an ancient lineage from the famous counts of Canossa. It is scarcely important that we now doubt Michelangelo's claim; it was firmly believed by the artist and his contemporaries. His proud ancestry was affirmed in the opening lines of the biography written by his friend and pupil Ascanio Condivi: "Michelangelo Buonarroti . . . traced his origin from the counts of Canossa, noble and illustrious family of the territory of Reggio. . . ." After 1526 he stopped signing his name as "Michelangelo sculptore" and instead in-

sisted on using his full family name, the "nome della casa."

From early in his career, Michelangelo's art was a privileged commodity made for a few select persons. Michelangelo's relations with his patrons were, for the most part, extensions of a well-established network of social bonds founded on favor, friendship, and family relations. Therefore, he was particularly sensitive about being treated like an artisan, and he adamantly denied ever running a traditional workshop (*bottega*): "I was never a painter or sculptor like those who run workshops," he wrote to his nephew Lionardo in 1548. Reminding Lionardo of the family's illustrious history, Michelangelo advised his young nephew that he did not provide the products and services typical of such establishments. Rather, his career is marked by a series of unique objects that are never repeated and scarcely imitable: *Bacchus* (1496), *Pietà* (1497–1499), *David* (1501–1504), the Sistine Chapel ceiling (1508–1512), *Last Judgment* (1534–1541), the tomb of Julius II (1505–1545), and St. Peter's (1546–).

Like Leonardo da Vinci before him, Michelangelo attempted to maintain a life as a sort of artist-courtier where mutually beneficial and reciprocal relations blurred the distinction between artist and patron, between professional and personal obligations. In his final years, Michelangelo considered it unseemly to be paid a daily wage for his work at St. Peter's. Instead, he accepted remuneration as a favor from the pope, mostly in the form of lucrative prebends.

Michelangelo's concerns with family and lineage coincided with a pan-European preoccupation with the true nature of nobility. His desire for wealth, landed security, and social status place Michelangelo squarely in a contemporary milieu, sharing the most cherished values of his fellow citizens. At the same time, these concerns distinguish him from most of his fellow artists, few of whom could claim noble birth, a coat of arms, or even a proper family name.

Michelangelo's claim to noble birth—about which he was most adamant—is precisely the part of his biography that we treat as a fantastic delusion or myth, whereas we willingly subscribe to the literary fiction about the artist's early life and predestined

rise to fame. The tale of Michelangelo's genius is a convenient means of explaining his accomplishments. Otherwise, we are left trying to understand how and why this aristocrat became an artist, and how he created his greatest works. Indeed, it is the very magnitude of those accomplishments that tends to cast his aristocratic persona in the shade. More than any previous artist, Michelangelo's success as both an artisan and aristocrat was instrumental in advancing the social status of his profession, from craftsman to genius, from artisan to gentleman. In the words of his admiring contemporary Pietro Aretino: "The world has many kings and only one Michelangelo."

See also Art: The Conception and Status of the Artist; Italian Literature and Language; Rome, Art in; Sculpture.

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MIDWIVES. Almost every baby born in early modern Europe was delivered by a midwife. Childbirth was a female ritual into which men entered only in emergencies. An expectant mother invited female friends, relatives, and neighbors to attend her in childbirth. During the long hours of labor, these "gossips" supported the mother emotionally and physically, propping her up as directed by the midwife. They prayed and prepared special foods, kept the fire stoked, and performed all other necessary tasks. Historians have pointed out, however, that single or poor women may have experienced the attendance of gossips as discipline rather than encouragement. In the eighteenth century some well-to-do women began to choose male midwives, but such remained a minute fraction of all births.

Midwives ranged greatly in training, styles of practice, and expertise. Some women delivered a few babies based upon their experiences as gossips, never considering midwifery as their primary roles. Others were very skilled. Sarah Stone (c. 1730), for example, a midwife who practiced in the west of England in the early eighteenth century, functioned as a consultant midwife. She was called into a number of births when a midwife was having trouble, and her complaints about the ignorance of country midwives sound much like those of some of her male surgical colleagues.

The regulation of midwifery varied considerably across Europe. Informally all midwives were regulated by local reputation. Louise Bourgeois (1564–1636), midwife to the queen of France in the early seventeenth century, counseled her midwife daughter never to permit women to deliver in her home lest people think she was encouraging vice by allowing unwed mothers to give birth clandestinely. In England, where midwifery practice was only lightly regulated, a midwife might choose to take out a bishop's license. To obtain such she needed testimony from local respectable matrons about her skills and moral worth. Midwives' religious practices were closely policed. If a baby were born who might not survive, the midwife was often empowered to perform an emergency baptism. Many men feared the magical connotations of reproduction and childbirth, and midwives were sometimes thought to provide abortifacients and to practice magic, another reason for governing midwives' orthodoxy.

MIDDLE AGES, LATE. *See* Late Middle Ages.

Civic authorities were also keen to regulate midwives, since midwives provided evidence in cases of rape or suspicious pregnancy and asked unwed mothers in labor about the identities of the fathers. In 1452 the German city of Regensburg set up the first system of municipal regulation of midwives. These women had to satisfy the authorities about their religious orthodoxy and pass an exam set by a panel of physicians, surgeons, and midwives. It was assumed by the authorities that these women were literate and skilled.

The history of midwifery has echoed other concerns. Early histories of midwifery, often written by obstetricians, discussed the bad old days before the advent of the modern specialty and portrayed midwives as ignorant and superstitious. Women's historians have begun to consider a more balanced view of midwives, outlining their variety and integrating their practices into larger frameworks of gender relations and women's work.

See also **Motherhood and Childbearing; Obstetrics and Gynecology.**

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MIGRATION. See **Mobility, Geographic.**

MILAN. Milan and the rich agricultural district around it have constituted an important economic pole of Europe since the late Roman Empire. The rich agricultural plain in which Milan sits is irrigated

by summer rains, and glacial runoff from the Alps feeds rivers that are complemented by a network of navigable canals. Wealthy Milan instigated resistance against the Holy Roman emperors in the Middle Ages. Early in the fourteenth century, Milan's institutions were seized by the noble house of Visconti. Giangaleazzo Visconti (c. 1351–1402) added most of northern Italy to his dominions by 1400. With his death, the duchy shrank to include modern-day Lombardy, the Italian-speaking valleys in the Alps to the north, and the districts of Parma and Piacenza. The duchy passed to a Visconti son-in-law, Francesco Sforza, in 1447. Like those of his forebears, the duke's citadels kept subject cities in check, but his grip weakened nevertheless. A French royal marriage contracted to give legitimacy to the Visconti dynasty had the unintended consequence of providing King Louis XII (ruled 1498–1515) with a claim to the territory. Annexing the region to his kingdom in 1515, King Francis I (ruled 1515–1547) erected French-style institutions, such as the senate of sixty members invested with legislative and judicial powers, that operated with little royal interference. The imperial conquest of Milan in 1523 marked the onset of a new phase. Emperor Charles V (ruled 1519–1556) awarded Milan to his son Philip (and thereby to Spain) in 1540 but retained the ultimate authority over it as the Holy Roman emperor. Great projects of fortification around each of the cities and the permanent provision of Spanish garrisons removed the threat of new French invasions.

Politically, the territory was composed of nine city-states—Milan, Pavia, Lodi, Cremona, Como, Novara, Tortona, Alessandria, and Vigevano—each with its own autonomy and tax base. Considerable power was vested in both a landed aristocracy and a judicial and professional nobility living and practicing in the large cities. They were joined by new families residing in Milan, purchasing fiefs from the Spanish crown. Important political decisions were taken by the king in Spain, through his Council of Italy, and were dispatched to his representative, the governor of Milan. This Spanish governor ruled with a cluster of important officials in a secret council, dealing with justice, taxation, and provisioning; the commander of the citadel, the commanders of cavalry and artillery, and a handful of royal appointees were also members. Milanese and Lombards

comprised almost half of this personnel. From Milan, the Spanish governor could forestall any menacing activity by France or by Italian princes in northern Italy. The governors of Milan were often asked to arbitrate border disputes between states, to better reinforce Spanish influence. The governor enjoyed great leeway to prepare for war or cultivate alliances in the peninsula. Milan was the terminus of several strategic routes protecting the Spanish empire; one avenue led from Spain via water to Finale Liguria and Genoa; another coastal route connected Naples and Sicily with northern Italy. Finally, Milan was the staging area for troops destined for the Spanish Netherlands, who marched north through Savoy or Swiss Alpine valleys to Alsace and the Rhine Valley.

Wealth and population bolstered the strategic interest of the duchy. Milan's population reached 120,000 inhabitants in 1600, with about a million people in the duchy overall. Milan produced silks, fine woolens, weapons and armor, and myriad other products besides. Cremona was a producer of cotton fabrics, while Como, Pavia, and Lodi had textile industries of their own, exporting their products beyond Italy. The rural plain of Lombardy was one of the most advanced agricultural districts anywhere in Europe. Milan was also an important center of religious direction. No single individual had as great an impact on the Catholic Reformation as Carlo Borromeo (1538–1584), the nephew of Pope Pius IV and cardinal and archbishop of Milan. King Philip II (ruled 1556–1598) nominated loyal notables to religious benefices, but he did not have access to the church money in Milan that he had in Spain. Madrid initially tried to stop the flow of ecclesiastical revenues toward Rome but was challenged by Borromeo. The Milanese rejected the importation of the Spanish Inquisition in 1563, but they embraced the papal version of the same tribunal. Several governors clashed with the church's representatives, but the Milanese clergy would not give way, and the Spanish government instructed its officials to respect papal exemptions. The multiplication of religious schools made the city one of the most literate in Europe, and it vied with Venice, Florence, and Rome for cultural primacy.

SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY CRISIS

As everywhere in Italy, the onset of the Thirty Years' War in 1618 abruptly ended the economic and political stability of Milan, which was strategic in shifting Spanish resources of men and money to the Austrian Habsburgs. Milan was threatened, however, by the Mantuan fortresses of Casale Monferrato and Mantua. When a French branch of the Gonzaga dynasty, which had ruled Mantua and its environs for centuries until 1627, inherited the duchy of Mantua, Spain mobilized to eject them from it in 1628–1630, with mixed success. War inflicted lasting damage on the manufacturing economy. Lucrative markets in Germany and France became inaccessible. Many urban workshops moved their low-skilled operations to the countryside. The more resistant silk industry found it difficult to compete with new international competitors, such as Lyon in France. Much of the raw silk produced by Lombard peasants and transformed into thread in local mills was sent to France to be worked there. The Lombard economy was already in trouble when the bubonic plague of 1630 struck the region. It killed half the population of the city and roughly a quarter of the population of northern Italy. The sudden decline in population took the buoyancy out of the rural economy. The Lombard agricultural economy recovered earlier than most others, thanks to rich resources for livestock and the fertility of the soil. Nevertheless, prices and living standards declined throughout the seventeenth century and beyond. Over several generations, the number of noble families in Milan and other towns was sharply reduced.

New French invasions after 1635 had remarkably little impact on Spanish domination, partly because Cardinals Richelieu and Mazarin treated Italy as a sideshow. Lombard city and peasant militias performed valuable services, as in the siege of Pavia in 1655. Spain enjoyed the ongoing support of Milanese elites and held on until the peace of 1659 with only a few thousand troops sent from home. Under Louis XIV (ruled 1643–1715), Italy receded from French policy objectives. Piedmont shielded Milan from a French attack in the War of Devolution (1667–1668) and the Dutch War (1672–1678). In the War of the League of Augsburg (1688–1697), which united Europe against the French king, Piedmont constituted the battle-

field in Italy, while Spanish Milan contributed troops to the common effort.

AUSTRIAN LOMBARDY

Between 1649 and 1659, imperial (Austrian Habsburg) troops sent to help Spain resist France began to take control of imperial fiefs in Lombardy. In 1690 an imperial army sent to fight France imposed Austrian claims on northern Italy. During the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1713), the Austrian cause triumphed at the battle of Turin in 1706, and Austria replaced Spain as the ruling power in Lombardy. In 1707, in 1734, and again in 1748 substantial slices of the rich plain and the Alps were shifted to Piedmontese control as the duchy shrank to a wedge of central Lombardy. Initially, Vienna ruled the duchy through the same institutions as before, a viceregal governor and a special council for Italian territories. However, renewed Spanish efforts to recover the duchy almost succeeded twice, in the Wars of the Polish Succession (1733–1738) and of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748). To Empress Maria Theresa (1717–1780) it underscored the need to make Lombardy contribute more to the central government.

The Austrian solution was to create new administrative bodies that paid no attention to the concerns of local aristocrats. Vienna compiled an innovative land register on which to assess taxes, giving state officials instead of private businessmen the task of raising the money. Landowners' assemblies in the countryside reduced the jurisdiction of city nobles. By the 1780s Emperor Joseph II (ruled 1765–1790) abolished many of the former magistracies and guilds, replacing them with departments of Austrian ministries. Religious institutions managed by Lombard aristocrats were also closed down as the state asserted its control over charity and education. These measures were in large part prompted or applauded by Italian intellectuals gathered around Pietro Verri (1728–1797) and Cesare Beccaria (1738–1794) with their journal *Il Caffè*. With Venice, the city was the most active center of the Italian Enlightenment.

Milan never recovered the manufacturing rank in Europe that it had held before the Thirty Years' War and the outbreak of bubonic plague. Austrian manufacturing subsidies helped plant some new textile industries on the English model in the city,

but the vast rural industry springing up in the hinterland, across the modern provinces of Milan, Varese, and Como was more important to the future. The region's agriculture kept pace with the rising population—a massive conversion to maize and rice cultivation provided new staples—but autonomous peasants and sharecroppers were reduced to the status of landless day laborers. In 1796 Milan and its state still figured as a rich prize to French armies under Napoleon and was the logical place to create the capital of a new kingdom of Italy.

See also Borromeo, Carlo; Habsburg Dynasty; Italy.

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GREGORY HANLON

MILITARY

This entry contains four subentries:

ARMIES: RECRUITMENT, ORGANIZATION, AND
SOCIAL COMPOSITION
BATTLE TACTICS AND CAMPAIGN STRATEGY
EARLY MODERN MILITARY THEORY
HISTORIOGRAPHY

ARMIES: RECRUITMENT, ORGANIZATION, AND SOCIAL COMPOSITION

Military life in the period from 1450 to 1750 underwent, it has been argued, a process of “proletarianization.” If medieval conflict was the preserve of specialist warriors, drawn heavily from the upper ranks of society, the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were, according to this argument, marked by war based on quantity rather than quality of soldiers. In practice, medieval armies drew on a more diverse range of troops than exclusive focus on the highly trained, mounted knight would imply, and they could count substantial forces of semi- or unskilled soldiers in their ranks. This greater diversity in medieval armies notwithstanding, it is nonetheless assumed that the composition of armies changed greatly from the later fifteenth century.

WHO WERE EARLY MODERN SOLDIERS?

What the Swiss pikemen and German *Landsknechte* who dominated the battlefields of the later fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries offered was a combination of group identity and cohesion, together with brute force deployed within a solid phalanx, thousands strong. A subsequent move toward infantry armed with handguns did not restore military specialism but encouraged still greater reliance upon unskilled recruits. In contrast to crossbows or longbows, an infantry arquebus or musket required no great skill, training, or physical strength to load or fire. As soldiers’ expertise was of minimal importance in putting a force into the field, it is assumed that contracts for mercenaries, a feature of the entire early modern period, were the obvious mechanism for recruitment. Early modern warfare was a seasonal affair, most campaigning taking place between April and October, while few wars before 1618 lasted longer than two or three consecutive campaigns. Hiring and firing mercenary forces thus appeared to make military and financial sense. Why

create an elaborate military infrastructure if the raw material of warfare was rapidly recruited, minimally trained, and destined for short service?

But handing over the recruitment of soldiers to profiteering officers operating under mercenary contracts rendered military service unattractive to all but desperate or marginal elements of society. Enlistment brought danger, poor working conditions, and irregular pay and supply—as much through the machinations of the officers as because of the inadequacy of state revenues. From this comes the pervasive myth that the early modern army was populated with the refuse of society. Recruitment was based on an unholy alliance between rapacious officers and local elites, who saw military service as a device to clear jails and round up vagrants and other marginal elements. Any genuine volunteers were debtors, criminals, or beggars, the rootless with no stake in established society, and they signed up for the lure of a modest recruitment bonus and hoped to desert as soon as possible. The violence of military life in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, both among soldiers and between soldiers and civilians, reflects this lowest-common-denominator recruitment. Mass disbanding as soon as a campaign neared its conclusion—or simply because the officers failed to provide basic wages, food, and drink—ensured that soldiers, who were little more than a temporary association of vagrants and criminals held in service by brutal discipline, were regularly tipped back into civilian society, exacerbating problems of law enforcement, local violence, and vagrancy.

An image that fueled so much popular literature and was entrenched in the rhetoric of the ruling classes is unlikely to have been based on pure fiction. There were plenty of cases where recruits were acquired via jails or roundups of vagrants. There were certainly officer-proprietors down to the end of the eighteenth century who were none too rigorous about the quality of their recruits and their relations with the civilian population. Levels of desertion from early modern armies were extraordinarily high: rates of 50 percent or more over a few weeks’ campaigning were not unusual. Hans Jacob Grimelshausen’s contemporary account of soldiering in the Thirty Years’ War, *Abenteuerlicher Simplicissimus* (1669; *Simplicissimus the vagabond*), paints a picture of soldiers who were indeed petty criminals but were themselves victims of the exploitation and

corruption of their officers and administrators. Yet this is not the entire story of early modern soldiers, and it fails to explain how military effectiveness was achieved, where recruits in these centuries were really drawn from, and how they related to civilian society.

The assumption that early modern warfare was simply a matter of mass recruitment, minimal training, and rapid turnover needs qualification. It never applied for mounted soldiers, for instance. Training a cavalry trooper to a decent level of military proficiency and horsemanship or finding recruits already possessing equestrian skills could not be neglected, and cavalry remained a major element in all early modern armies. But even within the pike square or other infantry formations, it was important to distinguish between the ordinary, mid-file ranker, who may indeed have required little training, and an experienced core of soldiers. The importance of experienced troops became even more significant with the development of more effective infantry firearms. It was the veterans who set the pace of firing, maintained cohesion between musketeers and pikemen, and followed instructions rapidly and efficiently. Thus military effectiveness depended on soldiers who would remain in service, and inducements were needed to reward them. The pay structure of early modern armies reflected the different levels of skill and experience between ordinary and veteran soldiers. An elite French unit in the 1630s would contain three categories of veteran below any official noncommissioned officer rank, whose skills and service were recognized with between 20 and 50 percent higher wages than those of the ordinary recruits. One good reason for reliance on mercenary proprietors was not that they could produce bulk levies of easily disposable troops, but that the best-connected of the “military enterprisers” controlled or had access to units with a higher proportion of experienced veterans than the majority of local nobles or even government administrators could achieve in any recruitment exercise.

What other inducements existed to draw soldiers into long-term service? One possibility would be enforcement through conscription. In states with a relatively small population and substantial military commitments—seventeenth-century Sweden being a good example—conscription of a proportion of the peasantry offered a means to build up a core of

career soldiers. At the price of deep resentment from the Swedish peasants on whom the lottery of conscription fell very heavily, the system provided good-quality, long-serving troops during the Thirty Years’ War. But across most of west central Europe, conscription was regarded with suspicion by rulers and ministers convinced that it generated poor-quality and unsuitable recruits, aggravating already substantial problems of desertion. And for much of the early modern period, they could rely on voluntary enlistment. Demographic pressure leading to polarization of economic resources was squeezing the peasants and artisans in these states, eroding their earning power and economic independence. Recruiting officers were by no means dependent upon the most marginal and criminal elements in society. Indeed the vast majority of recruits whose backgrounds can be established were drawn from ordinary peasant households or were semiskilled artisans who would have enjoyed modest status, if not formal citizenship, in the towns.

THE MILITARY EXPERIENCE

In comparison with the worsening economic climate outside, military life could offer some advantages. Basic wages were comparable with those of an unskilled artisan, while the pay of more experienced soldiers and noncommissioned officers was significantly above this level. Volunteers who enlisted for a fixed period would be bribed by a substantial bonus to stay in service for another term of duty. The main disadvantage for soldiers was that military wages were almost always in arrears. Paying outstanding wages, even assuming money was available to distribute, would remove a good means of keeping men in service, and meeting wages in full would inevitably bring days of alcohol-induced incapacity. When soldiers, and especially veterans like those in the Spanish Army of Flanders, could squeeze their arrears out of the military paymasters, they could end up with accumulated lump sums of 1,000 ducats or more, enough to establish themselves as substantial property-owning peasants. Moreover, unlike those of civilian populations, the wages earned by soldiers were not subject to tithe, seigniorial dues, or ever-increasing taxes imposed by the central state. Difficult to quantify were informal sources of revenue: plunder and booty from captured towns, ransoms of captured prisoners, and the informal tide of local extortion, pillage, and



Armies. The English cavalry pursues Irish infantry and cavalry, woodcut from John Derricke's *Image of Ireland*, 1581. THE ART ARCHIVE

theft practiced by soldiers when opportunity permitted. These were probably diminishing in significance, but especially in the period before 1650 they should not be neglected as a potential attraction to military service.

Men drawn from the ranks of the respectable if hard-pressed peasantry or established artisan classes in the towns had traditionally enjoyed a modest status within the local community and some small personal autonomy, and they were governed by codes of honor and association that could provide both social solidarity and a degree of protection from outside interference. As these became more difficult to sustain in the face of worsening economic pressures in civilian society, the perception of distinctive status and the strong degree of group identity and cohesion associated with long-term military service became increasingly attractive.

Soldiers were emphatically not at the bottom of the social hierarchy in the two centuries down to the end of the Thirty Years' War. It was common for ordinary soldiers to have one or more servants, and while marriage might be discouraged in certain armies (notably the French), all forces were accompa-

nied by large numbers of women followers, serving as prostitutes, laundresses and seamstresses, cooks, nurses, and housekeepers. Two Bavarian regiments lodged at Schweinfurt in 1646 numbered 961 combatant soldiers, 310 servants, and 540 women and children, and maintained a baggage train that required 1,072 horses. Apart from a few elite regiments or units that were the property of a wealthy noble, soldiers did not wear uniforms before the mid-seventeenth century and could adopt styles of dress to flatter their vanity or signal group identification. With the notable exception of the Dutch army, whose mercenaries explicitly accepted this as a contractual obligation, soldiers did not expect to dig earthworks or engage in other manual labor; pioneers attached to the army or conscripted peasants would be employed to build or demolish siege-works or construct encampments. At the core of most long-serving units, whether informally accepted or formally recognized—as in the case of the Spanish system of *camarades*, for example—were groups of companions who lived and fought together and whose primary focus of loyalty, obligation, and identity was their small group.

Soldiering might involve extreme danger. Battles in both the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries could involve high casualties; defeated armies in flight could be all but annihilated. The opinion of contemporaries, moreover, was that the pitched battle was less dangerous than active siege warfare. That said, the majority of military losses came not from combat but from disease. It was probable that close-packed encampments of soldiers placed themselves at greater risk of infectious disease than civilians. Yet levels of mortality in cities and from epidemics like the plague, which spread across much of Europe in the 1590s, could easily equal levels of disease-related mortality among soldiers.

Much of a soldier's life was intermingled with that of civilian populations. The winter quarter, roughly from October to April, would see permanent troops garrisoned in frontier or other towns and cities, lodged with householders and subjected to limited military discipline. Many who had pursued previous occupations as artisans or craftsmen resumed these during the winter months as a supplementary or alternative source of income. Other soldiers who were formally laid off during the winter quarter would return home, possibly to re-enlist in the next campaign. Even during the campaign season, numbers of troops were not engaged in active fighting, but were in garrison, occupying territory or holding defensive positions. Again, in most such cases, military discipline was imposed lightly, and troops mixed with the civilian population and sought opportunities to supplement their wages. Soldiers frequently abused their relative freedom, presenting problems of drunkenness and disorder for the local authorities and provoking violent confrontations with the artisan or peasant communities, but they were not a marginalized underclass. Rhetoric about the violent, godless, and uncouth soldiery did not prevent them being seen by townspeople and peasants as a valuable source of cash income.

While the life of an early modern soldier was far from attractive to all recruits—the massive levels of desertion in armies throughout this period make that evident—it can nonetheless explain why for a significant minority long-term military service could seem an attractive alternative to a harshening economic climate and increasingly uncertain status in civilian society.

CHANGES IN MILITARY SERVICE, 1650–1780

A number of changes occurred in the nature of military service from the mid-seventeenth century, and these had a substantial impact on the character of recruitment and army life. Reliance on voluntary enlistment down to the later decades of the seventeenth century had been in part assisted by the worsening economic prospects for the great majority of the rural and urban poor. It had also been helped by the relatively small size of armies in proportion to the populations of the larger European states. Though, for example, a significant number of males may have had a brief experience of military service during four decades of French military activity from 1620 to 1660, at any one time an army of seventy to eighty thousand troops represented a low military participation rate for a state with a population of eighteen to nineteen million. From the 1670s to the 1680s this situation changed. While first-rank European powers with substantial human resources like France and Russia were maintaining military establishments by the early eighteenth century of 250,000 to 350,000 troops, even states like Britain, Holland, and Spain, whose resources would place them in the second division of European powers, were raising armies of over 100,000 men.

In some cases this demand for soldiers was considered too great to rely exclusively on voluntary enlistment. In France, conscript local militias were used from the 1680s in order to supply, none too effectively, the demand for regular soldiers. More successfully, in return for upholding and reinforcing the privileges of serfdom, the tsarist regime in Russia persuaded its local elites to accept the conscription of a proportion of peasants for permanent military service. A similar, slightly more humane mechanism based on part-time compulsory service (the cantonal system) allowed the second-rank Prussian state to maintain a peacetime army of 83,000 by 1740. Elsewhere conscription was still regarded with suspicion, but the only way that substantially larger forces could be raised on the basis of voluntary recruitment was to ensure that a higher proportion of the troops stayed in service for significant periods of time. Recruiters would quickly scrape the bottom of the barrel if several hundred thousand new troops needed to be found for short-term service each year.

The establishment of these permanent armies changed the life of the soldier. Wage rates for common soldiers did not improve, but into the eighteenth century and across much of Europe, the assumption that soldiers should receive no more than a recruitment bonus and some subsistence money was supplanted by regular payment made in accordance with formal accounts. Regular wages were part of an implicit contract; in return for pay, more rigorous standards of discipline could be demanded and soldiering could be turned from a part-time into a full-time occupation, whether outside of the campaign season or in peacetime. All of the operations concerned with recruitment, equipment, and details of service were formalized through military bureaucracies, which grew more elaborate and orderly in their record keeping. Uniforms were standardized, in part to discourage desertion, but more importantly to impose a disciplined culture that sought to eliminate individuality from military service.

Some aspects of this new ethos were perceived in negative terms. A determined attempt in many states to separate soldiers from civilian life was most evident in the construction of barracks. Soldiers were less likely to be billeted on civilians and were deliberately separated from the outside world, subject to pervasive military discipline backed by a heavy emphasis on drill and military duties. Administrators believed that sequestering soldiers in barracks reduced the incidence of disorder. It certainly created a deeper gulf between soldiers and civilians and contributed to the perception of the soldiery as a marginalized class, not apparent before the mid-seventeenth century. Penalties applied under military discipline were not necessarily harsher, but they were more systematic. Failure in the precise performance of drill, especially by experienced troops, was regularly punished in the armies of the eighteenth century, whereas such punishment had been haphazard before 1650.

A more positive consequence of permanent military establishments was a recognition that soldiers were more likely to continue to serve if they had some assurance of being supported in old age or disability. The *Hôtel des Invalides*, founded in 1670 on the outskirts of Paris, was the first of many hospitals for military veterans. The practice was not universally followed; Prussia was notoriously slow to acknowledge any obligation to old or wounded sol-

diers, but such a policy was increasingly out of step with other European powers by the mid-eighteenth century. There was also a readiness to try to appoint noncommissioned officers on the basis of deserving, lengthy service. Commanders or rulers like Frederick II of Prussia (ruled 1740–1786) resisted the automatic distribution of the posts of sergeant and below to clients of unit officers, seeking to build a promotional structure at this level that would reward merit. And while soldiers were more isolated from civilian society, the uniforms, rituals, and distinctive identities of units increased in importance. The great majority of regiments in the period before 1660 could never have acted as a focus for loyalty since they enjoyed only a short-term existence, three to five campaigns being a decent life expectancy. A permanent army created a mass of permanent units, whether recruited from specific localities or associated with a particular aristocratic family. The relationship of ordinary soldiers to their units is usually ambiguous: the regiment imposes burdensome duties and harsh discipline, but it is also the source of group identity, loyalty, and rivalry with other units. Although increasingly deracinated from civilian society, soldiers possessed a pride and strong sense of *esprit de corps* through the identity of their units that would earlier have been the possession of only a few elite formations.

THE EARLY MODERN OFFICER CORPS

The transformation from an army where the great majority of units were short-term creations into one dominated by permanent regiments also had an impact on the European officer corps. For many nobles and other wealthy individuals in the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries, military service involved paying to recruit a cavalry or infantry unit, assuming the command and filling the junior officerships with clients or relatives. Training or experience was irrelevant to this financial transaction. To a large extent, the experience was less a permanent step into military life than a rite of passage allowing a noble to validate social status through a campaign or two of military service, and a wealthy bourgeois or recently ennobled figure to engage in an appropriately “noble” activity. Some regimental proprietors saw the opportunities of warfare in more directly commercial terms and sought to create a unit of experienced soldiers with a high market value. But the majority of unit commanders were temporary offi-

cers, and the state made little attempt to retain them in service once their units lost military effectiveness through casualties, disease, or desertion. Insofar as the question of officer training was addressed in sixteenth- and early-seventeenth-century armies, it was assumed that the habits of command and authority possessed by a ruling elite would be sufficient to provide leadership. The most obvious role of the unit proprietor was to advance his own financial resources to meet shortfalls in supply and funding that would otherwise threaten the dissolution of the troops.

Developments in the character of weaponry and tactics, however, challenged the notion that the officer corps could successfully be based upon short-serving amateurs, filling the subordinate ranks of the company or regimental hierarchy with their clients. As more units gained a permanent status, it was possible to modify in certain respects the ethos of the officer corps. This in no sense excluded the nobleman or the wealthy, or the role of influence and birth in securing posts and promotion. Officerships in permanent units in most states were bought and sold, the system usually operating within the officer corps as a combination of entrance fee and pension provision. While the state and its military administrators might, sometimes grudgingly, accept the principle of purchase, now that far more units were permanent it was also feasible to expect rudimentary training for many of the officers, whether through service as cadets in a prestige unit or even through institutions such as the military colleges that were emerging in the eighteenth century. The efficacy of this training may be questioned; in practice the day-to-day business of running a regiment would be handled by longer-serving junior or noncommissioned officers. But as expectations of the length of officer service increased in the eighteenth century, so inevitably did the level of basic military education and experience at all ranks. Permanent military service was a feature of most nobilities in central and eastern Europe, but even in the west those nobles and wealthy commoners who became officers did so with the expectation that this was a career choice. To say that the officer corps became more professional, in all but specialized branches like the artillery and engineers, would be an exaggeration. It did, however, adapt itself to the demands and requirements of a perma-

nent military institution and contributed substantially to its distinctive identity.

See also **Absolutism; Class, Status, and Order; Grimmelshausen, H. J. C. von; State and Bureaucracy; Thirty Years' War (1618–1648).**

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DAVID PARROTT

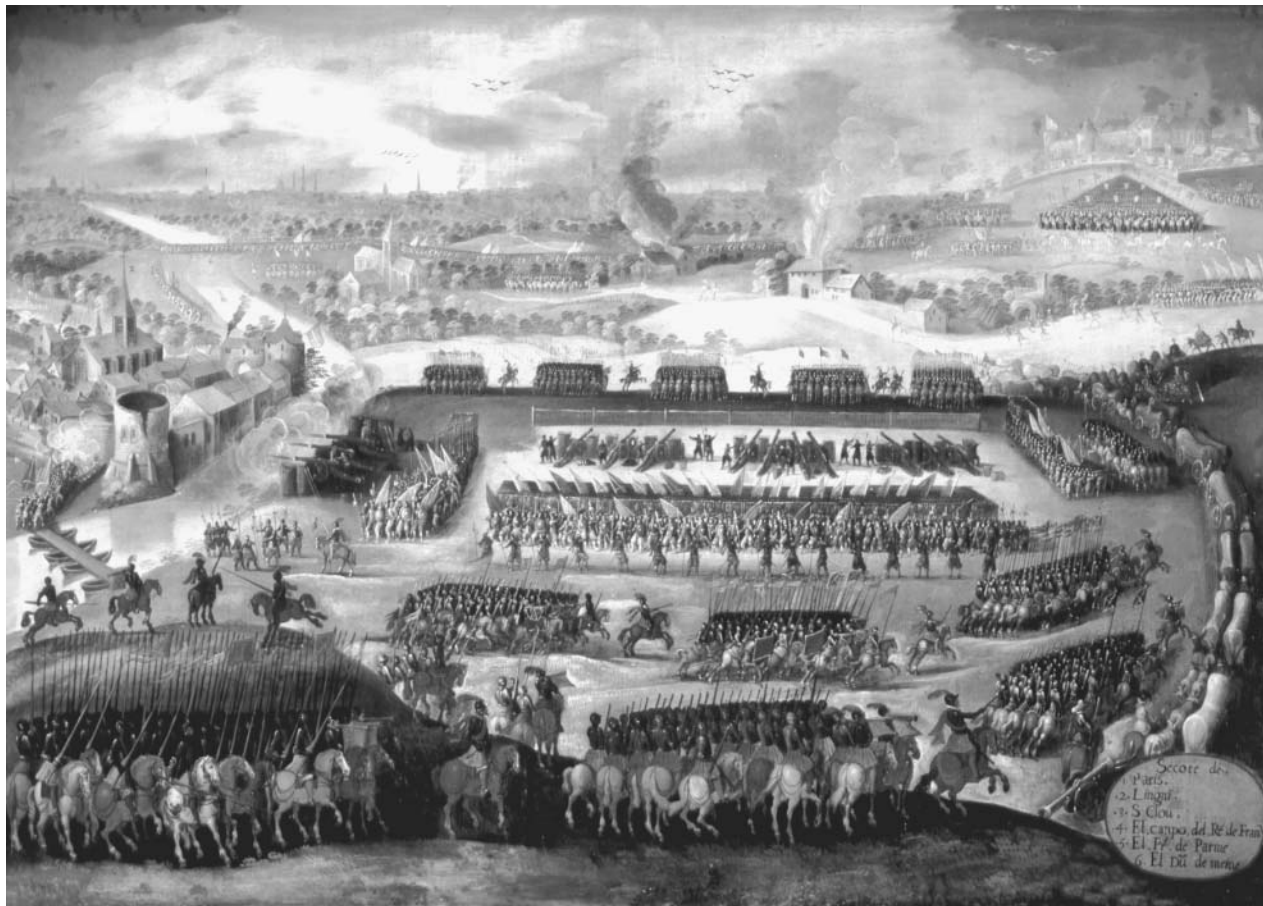
BATTLE TACTICS AND CAMPAIGN STRATEGY

Accounts of military developments and events of the period 1450–1780 leave confusion about how these centuries should be interpreted. Was this a period of decisive or indecisive warfare? Was it shaped by pitched battles or by protracted maneuvers punctuated by interminable sieges? Were armies effective instruments of state power and ambition, or clumsy and unreliable consortia of private interests?

A crude model of military development views this period as characterized by the successive domination and decline of armored cavalry, massed infantry armed with pikes and cutting weapons, and infantry equipped with firearms and deployed in linear formations supported by more effective artillery. According to this interpretation, military decisiveness resulted from the mismatch between a fighting force making use of outmoded techniques and one employing newer tactics or weaponry. Thus

the annihilation of the Burgundian heavy cavalry at the battles of Grandson, Morat, and Nancy in 1476–1477 inaugurated the era of the pike square as a battle-winning tactic. But in turn the battles of the early sixteenth century in Italy indicated another mismatch, this time the result of improvements in firearms and their deployment. The success of infantry armed with harquebuses or muskets, supported by blocks of pikemen, consolidated the supremacy of the defensive. A period of military stagnation is then taken to follow, lasting through most of the sixteenth century. Although innovations linked to notions of a “military revolution,” particularly those identified with the Swedish army, seemed to combine enhanced firepower with successful assault tactics, this was no permanent solution, and commanders continued to avoid battles, with their likelihood of indecisive and costly outcomes. Instead, conflict was increasingly characterized by sieges, in which numerical superiority and grinding attrition could at least yield up a visible outcome in the form of a city or fortress captured. Thereafter, apart from the occasional meteoric figure combining generalship and tactical creativity—an Henri de La Tour d’Auvergne de Turenne (1611–1675); a John Churchill, duke of Marlborough (1650–1711); or a Prince Eugene of Savoy (1663–1736)—the pattern was set for the remainder of the period. The most significant military development of Louis XIV’s personal reign (1661–1715) was Marshal Sébastien Le Prestre de Vauban’s construction of the *pré carré*, the massive series of fortifications along France’s eastern frontier. Only commanders confident of greatly superior numbers or desperate in the face of territorial occupation (Frederick II of Prussia during the Seven Years’ War, 1756–1763, for example), or confronted by an imminent political-strategic crisis would be prepared to hazard battle.

Such an account simplifies a more complex reality. If the defeat of the Burgundian chivalry in 1476–1477 raised the prestige of the Swiss pike-square to unprecedented heights, it did not bring to an end the importance of heavy cavalry on the battlefield. A massed cavalry charge still represented a fearsome prospect to all but the most hardened of veteran infantry. Warfare in eastern Europe, which put far greater premiums on mobility and surprise, continued to be dominated by the use of massed cavalry in battle. Polish victories at Kirchholm



Battle Tactics and Campaign Strategy. *The Siege of Paris*, sixteenth-century painting by Rodrigo of Holland. This painting illustrates in particular the use of canon by Spanish troops attempting to take the city of Paris. REAL MONASTERIO DE EL ESCORIAL, EL ESCORIAL, SPAIN/BRIDGEMAN ART LIBRARY

(1605) and Honigfelde (1629) against Swedish armies were a clear vindication of traditional cavalry tactics. More generally, the combination of cavalry and artillery was recognized as one of the few ways to break infantry formations. The cavalry's use of firearms, mostly flintlock pistols, has been treated as a tactical wrong turn, depriving them of their one real asset, mass and momentum. Yet pistoleer tactics transformed the most common form of cavalry combat, an engagement with other cavalry. The superiority of medium-weight cavalry armed with pistols against traditional heavily armored lancers had two important consequences. Expensive heavy cavalry was increasingly replaced by more numerous medium and light horsemen in armies of the later sixteenth century, while lighter cavalry troopers enjoyed improved range and maneuverability. When the infantry centers of two armies on the battlefield

fought each other to a standstill, a decisive opportunity went to the commander whose cavalry could break the opposing horse on the wings, regroup, and then advance against the flank or rear of the infantry center. Rocroi (1643) provided an example of this maneuver, triumphantly achieved by the French cavalry, turning the battle decisively against the Spanish.

Changing technology and organization led to a more complex interplay of different types of troops and forced commanders to be alert to ways of deploying and combining their forces. While infantry firepower could not be ignored, neither could emphasis on mass and cohesion. Far from leading to an immediate thinning out of infantry lines and a reduction in the size of units, wider use of firearms was followed by numerous experiments seeking ways to deploy more firepower without sacrificing

the weight and strength that came from large, independent units. The most successful trade-off in the seventeenth century was probably the Spanish *tercio*, an infantry unit that started at three thousand men but was progressively reduced to around half that size by the 1620s.

Commanders were aware of the potential of artillery, though the practical problems of its use for most of the period before 1660 were immense. The majority of cannon, interchangeable from siege use, fired shot weighing six pounds or above. Such guns, especially if made of cast iron, were heavy, often poorly mounted, and cumbersome. Ensuring supplies of munitions was a constant problem, as was maintaining adequate teams of draft animals. Reckless disregard for carefully prepared artillery positions, especially those that would allow cannon to enfilade the flanks of an infantry or cavalry advance, could prove costly. But most commanders would be reluctant to order their troops to assault such carefully prepared positions, just as they would seek to avoid storming a well-defended set of fortifications. The use of smaller, lighter cannon was attempted, notably by Gustavus II Adolphus of Sweden, who experimented with three-pounder guns in the 1620s. But the lighter shot sacrificed both accuracy and penetrative power. The Swedes sought to compensate by increasing the number of cannon; in 1639 a typical Swedish campaign army of eighteen thousand men included eighty guns. But other states proved reluctant to trade heavier, less maneuverable guns for this Swedish-style light artillery, and the post-1660 period vindicated the use of field artillery firing heavier shot. Even in the conduct of sieges artillery bombardment rarely proved to be the decisive factor in forcing a capitulation. If fortifications were taken by gunpowder, it was as likely to be the result of a successfully laid mine as of a bombardment. Much more often the besieged would capitulate with the walls intact because of shortage of supplies or recognition that relief would not arrive.

FACTORS IN MILITARY SUCCESS

This complex reality did not preclude the possibility of decisive success in battle. It would be hard to imagine a more conclusive encounter than Pavia in 1525, which led to the capture of the French king, Francis I, and destroyed his army. Reasons for suc-

cess are those common to most periods: numerical superiority at key points and moments on the field, tactical surprise, and the ability to persuade an enemy to assault forces in carefully prepared positions. The number and quality of experienced troops serving in a campaign force and their esprit de corps were significant factors. Commanders who could show leadership in the face of hardships and setbacks could be important, as were those, like the Spanish commanders Gonzalo Fernández de Córdoba (1453–1515) and Alessandro Farnese, duke of Parma (1545–1592), who possessed a sophisticated grasp of how best to combine the different troops and weaponry at their disposal.

A much greater problem was how to translate success in a specific battle, or even an entire campaign, into a favorable settlement to a war. The single greatest obstacle to capitalizing on tactical success throughout the early modern period was logistical. Systems for supplying early modern armies fell far short of the capacity to raise troops. Supply was almost entirely organized through private contractors down to and beyond 1650. These contractors agreed to provision armies in return for haphazard reimbursement from the state. Even if an early modern government proved able to meet its obligations to the contractors, the latter would almost inevitably fail to fulfill their side of the bargain. Supply contracts were rarely calculated with precision: grain prices were unstable; costings for adequate transport facilities, replacement draught animals, enough teamsters, bakers, and ancillary staff were never realistic. Roads were primitive or nonexistent; water was a better and cheaper transport option, but the movement of armies would be severely constrained if they had to be supplied from rivers or waterways. Transportation of bulk supplies was slow, lagging behind the main elements of the army, and the entire force would need to stop one day in four or five to allow the supply convoy to catch up and to give the attached millers and bakers the opportunity to turn grain into bread rations. This would not be sufficient in most circumstances to bring about either a decisive advance to the center of a state or threaten the possibility of occupation with overwhelming force. During the sixteenth century the most awe-inspiring aspect of the Ottoman armies was not their vast size or the training and commitment of their elite troops, but Ottoman

logistics, incomparably more advanced and more capable of supporting the rapid movement of the armies than anything in Christian Europe. Yet even at the height of its power, with the 1529 advance into the Habsburg lands, the Ottoman army only reached Vienna at the end of September, and it fell back in disorder during late October. What the Ottomans could not achieve was certainly beyond the capacity of other European forces.

Theorists examining logistical systems for the support of armies have consistently contrasted supply via magazines and convoys with the flexibility of “living off the land”—with rapidly moving forces, able to acquire the food and forage they needed by requisitioning or pillage. Here again, the early modern army was handicapped. Throughout most of Europe armies operated amid relatively low densities of population, sustained by primitive, low-yield agriculture. Armies could be self-sustaining, but only if they spread themselves out thinly over substantial territories. A concentrated advance into territory where supply potential was not assured or had been deliberately destroyed would be suicidal for military effectiveness.

Some wars were won rapidly in this period despite this apparently insuperable problem of supply. When the armies of Philip II invaded Portugal in support of his claim to the Portuguese throne in 1580, the resources of the great Spanish monarchy were thrown into a struggle with a small independent state, and one whose army had been destroyed two years before in the quixotic crusade that had also left the young King Sebastian dead on the Moroccan battlefield of El-Ksar-el-Kebir. In 1643 the Swedish war machine was turned against Denmark, whose army had been humiliated by imperial and Bavarian forces in the 1620s. In two campaigns the Swedes crushed Danish forces and imposed a harsh peace at Brömsebro (1645). In other cases, the military forces may have been more evenly matched, but one power was already in political disarray and military defeat served as a catalyst for disintegration. The collapse of the Bohemian rebellion against their Habsburg monarch followed the Battle of White Mountain in 1620. The forces engaged in the battle were more evenly matched than is frequently assumed, but the defeat of the Protestants provoked the collapse of a regime in which

political tensions and fault lines were everywhere apparent.

If some wars were won as the result of a decisive military encounter acting upon a state with a weakened political structure, others were finally resolved by attrition. One option, favored by belligerents in the Thirty Years' War, was simple territorial occupation. An army that could establish itself on enemy territory, even if it could not concentrate its resources for a knockout blow, could raise the stakes for continuing a war to an unacceptable level. Swedish forces devastated occupied Bavaria in 1646 and 1648 in successful bids to force Duke Maximilian I out of the Thirty Years' War. Another possibility for extracting a settlement was linked to siege warfare. The resistance of most besieged cities reflected garrisons' calculations about the chances of being relieved. A power that could combine sieges with a clear-cut military superiority in the field might provoke an avalanche of capitulations, leading an opponent to a rapid reevaluation of the struggle. The duke of Parma's advance into the Netherlands after 1578 produced waves of surrenders of cities and brought the Dutch rebels to the point of capitulation by the later 1580s, from which they were only saved by Spain's shift in military and political priorities.

CHANGES AND CONTINUITIES AFTER 1660

Lessons from the examples above indicate that small wars were more likely to produce decisive results than the extended, campaign-after-campaign struggles like the Italian Wars of the first half of the sixteenth century or the Thirty Years' War; predictably, wars that pitched territories with a significant disparity of military resources against each other were also likely to produce clear-cut outcomes. One of the problems of great power struggles down to 1650 was that the scale of military engagements was dwarfed by the available human and material resources of the states. The “cutting edge” of armies, the proportion of troops likely to be drawn into battle, was relatively small in comparison with the total military establishment and minuscule in proportion to the overall size of the population of the belligerent state. When a major campaign army totaled perhaps fifteen thousand men, then even the most annihilating defeat in battle would not strain the wider military resources of the state to the



Battle Tactics and Campaign Strategy. This map was first issued at the time of the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1714), and dedicated to Charles III, the archduke of Austria and Habsburg claimant to the Spanish throne. The illustration shows an army boarding an invasion fleet, presumably under Charles's command. The map was reissued by Covens and Mortier c. 1725, now dedicated to Philip V, the French Bourbon claimant who had succeeded to the Spanish crown in 1714. MAP COLLECTION, STERLING MEMORIAL LIBRARY, YALE UNIVERSITY

breaking point. The loss of experienced veterans could be more serious, but even this does not appear to have impeded most major states from continuing a struggle.

From the later seventeenth century, overall military establishments increased exponentially, and the average size of individual campaign armies also doubled, tripled, or even quadrupled. Losing a battle had a much greater impact on the overall military establishment; and more importantly, because these establishments now represented a significant proportion of the adult male population of even a major state, the losses were far harder to make good. The

most telling example of this is provided by Brandenburg-Prussia in the wars of the mid-eighteenth century. A state with a population of perhaps 3.5 million was trying to sustain a permanent army of 80,000 troops, increased to 140,000 or more during the Seven Years' War, some 25 percent of all adult males. Heavy losses of dead, wounded, and prisoners were simply unsustainable by a state of this size engaged in military activity on this scale.

If armies were substantially larger in proportion to the populations, then losses were compounded by tactical and technological developments that were making battles and sieges considerably more

lethal. Changes in infantry firearms—to the flintlock musket with an attached ring bayonet—considerably increased the impact of firepower on the battlefield itself, as well as the casualties likely to be suffered by both attackers and defenders, victors and defeated. Developments in artillery added to this lethal transformation. Gun crews were better trained and the mobility of artillery steadily increased. Above all, there was a massive proliferation in the number of guns deployed on the battlefield; the Prussian and Austrian armies of the Seven Years' War were maintaining artillery trains of three to four hundred cannon.

The result of these developments in killing power became evident from early in the eighteenth century. At Malplaquet in 1709 the victorious allied army suffered losses of around twenty thousand from an army of eighty-five thousand, while a year earlier at the siege of the city and citadel of Lille, the besieging allies had suffered fourteen thousand casualties. When losses on this scale were sustained by a defeated power whose resources were overstretched, the results were catastrophic; the defeat of the Swedish army by the Russians of Peter the Great at Poltava (1709) was followed by Russian conquest of Sweden's gravely weakened eastern Baltic territories.

Yet even in this environment, it is noteworthy that the upward curve of military commitment and casualties still did not always produce the seemingly inevitable result for a state locked in struggle with a greater power or a more numerous coalition. If the "miracle of the House of Brandenburg" in the eighteenth century is the paradigm of survival against the odds, no less striking was the ability of France to hold out for a favorable peace in the War of the Spanish Succession after the allied victories down to 1709 had seemingly brought the monarchy to the breaking point. In part these outcomes reflected chance and circumstance; the obvious point about all military coalitions is the fragility of the interests that bind them together, and both France and Prussia were ultimately saved by divisions among their enemies. Yet behind the diplomatic rifts and divisions it is possible to detect the perennial problems of logistics, slow-moving troops, and short campaign seasons. A few eighteenth-century armies provide cases in which the normal constraints were overturned: Marlbor-

ough's march from the Spanish Netherlands down into Bavaria in 1704, keeping his army intact, well-supplied, and capable of winning a crushing victory over the Franco-Bavarian forces at Blenheim, provides a notable example of how efficient stockpiling and a commissariat with plenty of cash in hand to buy local provisions could overcome the risks of a long march into hostile territory. Two years later, Marlborough's victory at Ramillies, fought at the outset of the campaign, allowed him to drive the French out of the Spanish Netherlands before the end of 1706.

Yet for the most part slow-moving armies, commanded by generals who remained exceptionally—and probably correctly—nervous about supplying their men from requisitioning in the field, faced immense obstacles to gaining outright military success. Sophisticated fortifications proliferated throughout the century from 1660 to 1760, threatening supply lines and communications of armies attempting to bypass them. But a lengthy series of sieges was the surest way of slowing any military advance until the approaching end of the campaign offered the possibility of regrouping the defense. Any lengthy siege exacted a heavy cost on the besieging forces, destroying their capacity to return to effective campaigning in the field. Thus although wars exacted a heavy toll on armies from the 1690s onwards, it is far from clear that this resulted in more decisive resolutions to conflict, or that wars in general became a more effective method of resolving political competition.

See also **Absolutism; Engineering: Military; Firearms.**

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DAVID PARROTT

EARLY MODERN MILITARY THEORY

A number of strategic, tactical and organizational issues preoccupied military theorists from the sixteenth to the late eighteenth centuries and had considerable impact on the way in which wars were fought and conflict envisaged within a political and social context.

CITIZENS VS. PROFESSIONALS

The debate over the use of citizen versus professional soldiers, which preoccupied theorists throughout the early modern period, was initially stimulated by consideration of republican government and focused on the merits of citizen militias against mercenaries. For Niccolò Machiavelli (1469–1527), councillor to the Florentine Republic after the expulsion of the Medici in 1494, an armed citizenry was desirable on both practical and

moral grounds. Machiavelli’s practical case rested on systematic denigration of the effectiveness of mercenary forces, creating a potent mythology that survives to this day. The moral argument rested on the conviction that participatory republicanism was the best means of transcending the human pursuit of self-interest, and that military service for all citizens would instill communal values and civic virtue. Despite challenges to these arguments—notably the rout of Machiavelli’s own Florentine militia in the face of Spanish mercenaries at Prato in 1512—the ideal of a citizen militia enjoyed wide currency. Almost all military writers of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries made reference to the potential advantages of raising, drilling, and deploying citizens, even as the major European states filled the ranks of their armies with mercenaries.

As mercenaries were in turn incorporated into professional standing armies in the later seventeenth century, the effectiveness of these forces was no longer denied, but critics argued that they underwrote governmental despotism and were a constant incitement to territorial aggression. In Britain the notion of standing armies was regarded as incompatible with representative government, better guaranteed by a county militia officered by the local elites. In other states and for different reasons, militias were being reinvigorated from the later seventeenth century as many rulers sought ways to enlarge the size of their armed forces without crippling the state with the burdens of a vast, professional military establishment. The obvious problem confronted by theorists was how to make such part-time soldiers into an effective force. Jacques de Guibert’s *Essai général de tactique* (1772; *Essay concerning tactics*) forcefully championed the potential of small, highly motivated citizen armies. The arguments, prefiguring the French “nation in arms” of the Revolutionary wars, were, in a sense, a return to the ideals of Machiavelli. Imbued not with republican virtue but with nationalist fervor, the aggressive élan of citizen soldiers would overcome the narrow professionalism of traditional armies.

For some theorists, especially in the sixteenth century, the debate about the benefits of civic militias was part of a larger attempt to locate military development and innovation within a context of Classical Roman military culture. If a citizen militia was fundamental to the greatness of Republican

Rome, then it was no less desirable to incorporate other aspects of Roman, even Greek, military thinking into current debates about strategy and tactics. The military treatises of Vegetius (fl. 4th century C.E.) and Aelianus (c. 170–235 C.E.) were regularly reprinted from the late fifteenth century on. Classical prescriptions might provide convenient justification for reforms and developments that were actually responses to a more pragmatic reality. Thus the reformer of the Dutch army in the 1590s, Prince Maurice of Orange-Nassau (1567–1625), could base his proposals for more rigorous drilling of his soldiers; smaller, linear formations; and sequential firing of his *harquebusiers* on prescriptions for the training and deployment of the Roman legionaries. Less plausible when transposed to an early modern context was the hostility of some Roman theorists to permanent fortifications; a disdain for weapons that detracted from direct, hand-to-hand combat; and a strong espousal of the offensive in almost all tactical circumstances.

Application of Roman models to military thinking by early modern Europeans should not be seen in isolation, but as part of an enthusiasm among a humanist-educated elite for almost all aspects of Roman politics, culture, and social organization. The reinvigoration of Stoic philosophy to underpin the military drill and justify the subordination of the individual, as pursued by the Netherlandish political philosopher Justus Lipsius (1547–1606), had a strong following in the early seventeenth century. The recourse to classical models remained commonplace among theorists into the eighteenth century. Jean-Charles de Folard (1669–1752) had no hesitation in using Polybius to justify his own arguments for the deployment of infantry in column rather than in line on the battlefield.

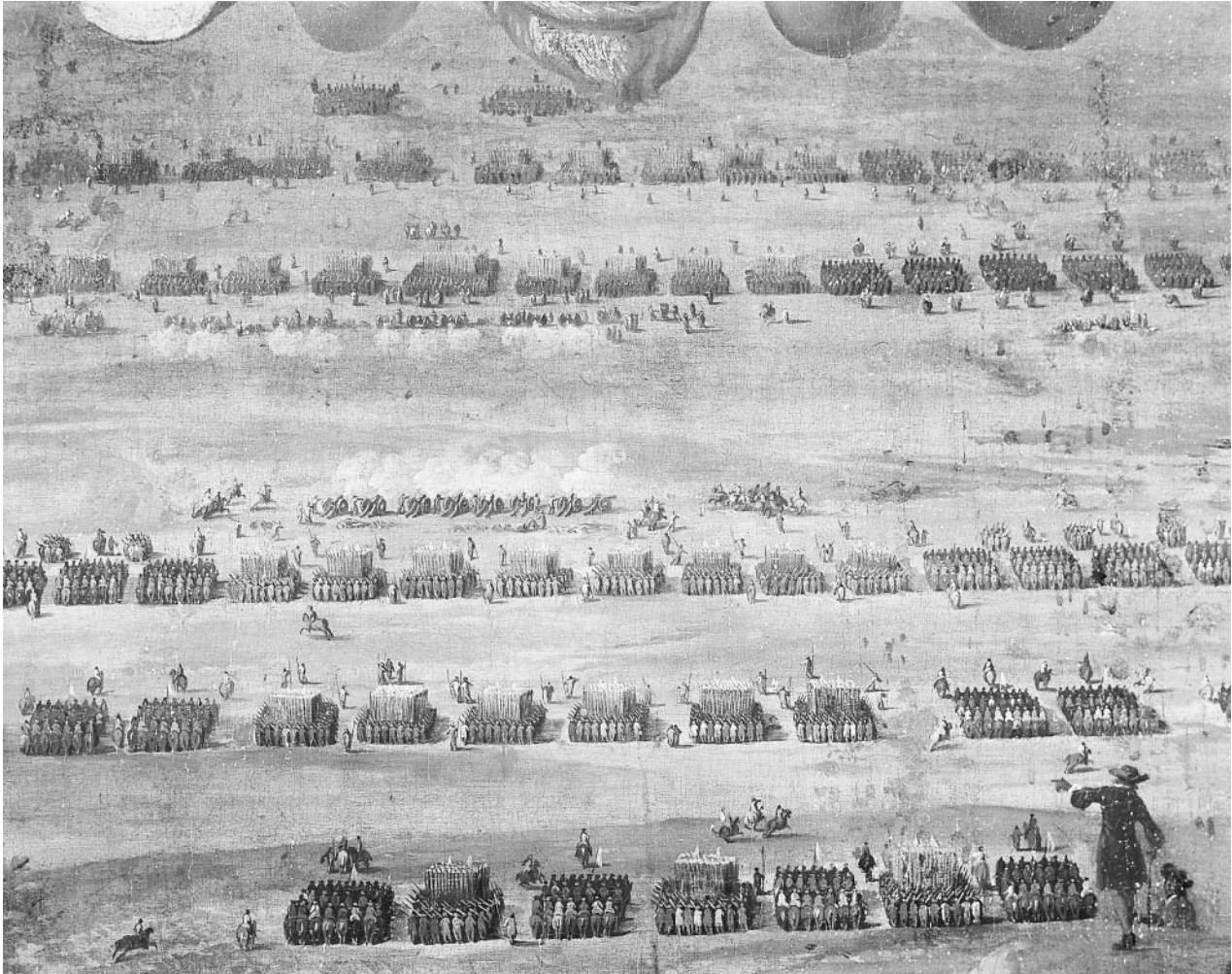
A MILITARY NOBILITY?

Changes in the character of early modern warfare increasingly defined the military role of the nobility as an officer class rather than as individual specialist warriors. But this evolution raised major questions about noble participation in a much more expensive military role. Poverty, according to many theorists from the late sixteenth century onward, was depriving the traditional nobility of their military birthright, while military specialization and technical expertise were consolidating this exclusion. Suc-

cessive works urged preferential treatment for the lesser nobility in military posts. For the French theorist Henri de Boulainvilliers (1658–1722), the old French nobles were racially distinct from the rest of the population, conquering Franks rather than indigenous Gauls. More prosaic theorists argued that the social background of nobles habituated them to command and responsibility and therefore made them an optimal, if not a genetic, officer corps. Thus when Frederick the Great (ruled 1740–1786) reduced the Prussian army in peacetime, he purged the officer corps of “common riff-raff,” arguing that the nobility’s innate sense of honor justified their preferment. But the notion of “reduction” exposes the gap between theory and reality. Few theorists before the 1790s would argue in favor of a non-noble officer corps, an elite of pure merit. Yet the military reality of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, compounded by the financial and administrative weaknesses of governments, was a market in officerships making wealth the prime determinant of appointment to a unit command and subsequent promotion. Frustration at an officer corps that appeared to exclude so many of the “natural leaders” was seized upon in the aftermath of military setbacks such as that of the Austrian army in the 1740 war against Prussia and the French defeat at Rossbach in 1757 to justify Prussian-style purges of non-nobles. Proposals for the better training and incorporation of lesser nobles into the armies had, in France, already been advanced by French theorists, most notably the chevalier d’Arc in his *Noblesse militaire* (1756; A military nobility), and this was anticipated in 1751 by the foundation of the *École Militaire*, primarily as a means to ensure that training and cadetships could be offered to nobles of modest background.

THEORISTS OF TACTICS AND STRATEGY

Military theorists concerned not with large conceptual issues but with the practical detail of winning wars were essentially a new phenomenon in the eighteenth century. Two centuries earlier there are a few examples of writers who combined memoirs and general observations with some military thinking: in France, François de La Noue’s *Discours politiques et militaires* (1587; Political and military discourses) is an obvious example, while Machiavelli’s *Arte della guerra* (1521; Art of war) offers much detail on deployment, tactics, and strategy, albeit



Early Modern Military Theory. A seventeenth-century painting of the Battle of Rocroi shows massed squares of soldiers with pikes and firearms. ©ARCHIVO ICONOGRAFICO, S.A./CORBIS

within a framework of Roman examples. Much of the writing of the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, most notably the extensive works of Johann Jacobi von Wallhausen and Jacob de Gheyn, is concerned with the disposition and deployment of troops: elaborate guides to creating formations, marching order, and establishing fortified encampments. Indicative of priorities is the general concentration of prescriptive material on sieges rather than field campaigns: a French theorist such as La Valière devotes 15 pages of his *Pratique et maximes de la guerre* (1675) to deployment of armies on campaign, and 126 pages to the conduct of sieges. Raimondo Montecuccoli's *Sulle battaglie* (On battles; written between 1639 and 1642 and drawing on his experiences in the Thirty Years'

War), which discusses both battlefield tactics and campaigning based on maneuver, is unusual and looks forward to an epoch in which discussion of tactical theory and the conduct of war was commonplace.

The proliferation of such works in the eighteenth century is perhaps predictable; while there had been significant technological and organizational change in warfare from the late seventeenth century, this did nothing to reduce uncertainty about optimal approaches to battles and campaigning. Should infantry be massed in depth or deployed in line, especially given the growing number and effectiveness of artillery on the battlefield? Jean-Charles de Folard's arguments for the tactical superiority of the column was echoed by French theo-

rists throughout the century such as Baron François-Jean Mesnil-Durand and Paul-Gedeon Joly de Maizeroy, and a tactical theory stressing shock and the advantage of taking the offensive was not an innovation of the Revolutionary wars. More fundamental were attempts to assess whether improvements in communications, supply systems, and the mobility and training of armies rendered a war of maneuver more or less viable. If Antoine Manasses de Pas, marquis de Feuquières, was relentless in his emphasis on offensive, battle-seeking strategies in his *Mémoires sur la guerre* (1725; Memoirs concerning warfare), the *Les rêveries, ou mémoires sur la guerre* (written 1732, published 1756; Reveries on the art of war) of the successful commander Maurice de Saxe offer a more nuanced weighing up of the merits of battle and maneuver in a campaign. Much eighteenth-century theory would reinforce a disposition to avoid the hazard of battle in all but exceptional circumstances. The experience of war in central and eastern Europe and colonial warfare, as in America in the 1770s, generated a series of treatises exploring small-scale conflicts fought between light or irregular troops and emphasizing speed, surprise, and the initiative of relatively junior officers. Faced with the alternatives of massively costly set-piece battles and sieges and large-scale and probably indecisive campaigns of maneuver, theorists such as Lancelot Turpin de Crissé in his *Essai sur l'art de la guerre* (1754; Essay on the art of war) explored the techniques of partisan or local warfare as a possible means to gain the advantage over traditional, regular forces. This interest in the potential of irregular warfare also revived wider questions of the treatment of civilian and noncombatant populations, likely to change if armies found themselves engaged in warfare against irregulars and partisans. Most theorists were confident that eighteenth-century war had become more restrained and more respectful of the rights of noncombatants. They looked back to the early seventeenth century as a dark age of religious fanaticism and military brutality, while turning a blind eye to contemporary battlefield casualties, indifference to suffering, harsh exactions on civilian populations, and systematic destruction of the supply potential of territory, all of which arouse considerable skepticism about “enlightened warfare” among modern historians. There is plenty of evidence that the techniques and assumptions of Revolutionary and Na-

poleonic warfare had been anticipated in the writings and theorizing of the preceding decades.

See also **Aristocracy and Gentry; Humanists and Humanism; Lipsius, Justus; Machiavelli, Niccolò.**

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HISTORIOGRAPHY

The historiography of early modern warfare has been shaped for the last fifty years by debate surrounding the concept of a “military revolution.” The attraction of such a thesis for many historians

stems, paradoxically, from the extent to which it transcends a purely military perspective and presents warfare as a transforming force, acting upon social and political institutions.

A MILITARY REVOLUTION IN EARLY MODERN EUROPE

The original argument for a “military revolution” in early modern Europe was presented by a historian of Sweden, Michael Roberts, who started from the proposition that between 1560 and 1660 initiatives in tactics and troop deployment sought to exploit gunpowder weaponry more effectively. Armies identified with these initiatives abandoned the mass and depth of traditional infantry formations. Instead musketeers were deployed in shallow, linear formations that maximized firepower, while interspersed groups of pikemen protected them from attack. Difficulties in controlling and coordinating infantry formations extended in shallow lines led the reformers to adopt smaller, more manageable units. The Dutch “battalion” or Swedish “squadron,” models for these reformed armies, typically contained 500–550 men compared to the traditional infantry formation of 1,500–2,000. The risk that smaller units would be swept aside in hand-to-hand engagement with traditional formations was counteracted—notably in the case of the Swedish army under its royal commander, Gustavus II Adolphus (ruled 1611–1632)—by associating them in coordinated and mutually supportive deep deployment, making use of multiple lines to contain enemy assaults and reinforce the units of the front rank. These deployments also permitted the infantry to aspire to that elusive goal of tacticians, combining massed firepower with offensive strength. Interlocking squadrons rendered the Swedish “push of pike” as formidable as traditional, massed infantry formations. If the central concern of the military reformers was with the infantry, cavalry and artillery were not neglected. It was Gustavus Adolphus again who recognized that the main value of cavalry lay in shock and mass, not in complex maneuvers allowing mounted troops to discharge pistols at enemy formations. More numerous, lighter artillery was also to be deployed on the battlefield in close coordination with the other arms, and it was to be used in a continuous supporting role.

These arguments about tactical change would not necessarily have excited wider historical interest.

The key to Roberts’s thesis is the claim that new tactics broke a previous stalemate of indecisive, limited warfare. Instead of standoffs and campaigns of maneuver, strategy was now influenced by the possibility of annihilating the enemy in battle and imposing peace from a position of outright military superiority. Strategies changed; rulers and commanders became more ambitious and less compromising in waging war. But these grander strategies could only be achieved by larger armies. If war was now more decisive and fought for higher stakes, it was essential to increase the number of troops in the campaign, whether to provide numerical superiority in battle, to ensure that successes could be followed up, or to contain defeats. In the aftermath of the victory at Breitenfeld (1631) Roberts describes a Swedish army swollen by recruitment to 175,000 men and undertaking a vast strategy to remodel the religious and political structures of the Holy Roman Empire. If these larger armies were to adopt the tactical innovations that provided overwhelming battlefield advantages, they needed more rigorous systems of drill and discipline. Soldiers were to be drilled in use of weapons and group maneuvers by constant practice at the hands of trained non-commissioned and subaltern officers. This could not be achieved by raw recruits overnight; a progressively higher proportion of armies had to serve permanently.

Larger and more permanent armies needed to be paid for, and they needed to be recruited, maintained, and controlled more effectively. European rulers had traditionally raised armies through ad hoc mechanisms that were partly feudal and partly contractual but respected the social and political structures of their states. Local elites contributed their organizational and financial resources to raising troops in return for the right to command and control them. But as the size of armies was ratcheted upwards, only a central administration could absorb the burden of mass recruitment, and only a centralized and more powerful financial administration could sustain the costs of warfare on this new scale. Once this more sophisticated administration was put in place—and backed by a considerably larger permanent army—the coercive potential of the state increased exponentially. If ordinary subjects resented paying ever higher taxes, and local elites objected to systems of centralized control that ex-

cluded them from power, the state now had the strength to sweep both aside.

A permanent army implied an increasingly professional officer corps. While some officerships would continue to be occupied by the traditional nobility, others, notably in the artillery or the bulk of the infantry, were open to the sons of new nobles or bourgeois, according to talent. Such officers acquired not just paid employment but social prestige in a society whose financial and administrative *raison d'être* became the maintenance of permanent armed forces. This process of militarization reached down into society as the struggle to maintain larger permanent forces could be resolved only through systems of conscription. The political, administrative, and social consequences of “military revolution” appeared momentous: changes in the character of warfare were to sweep away a traditional political culture dominated by the bonds of locality and social hierarchy, replacing them with the centralized modern state, existing for and underpinned by the military.

HISTORIOGRAPHICAL DIVERGENCES

Michael Roberts's skillful linking of changes on the battlefield with some of the most fundamental political and social transformations in European history has ensured that his thesis has enjoyed great influence. It has not, however, passed without criticism, and revisionism since the 1980s has taken issue with almost every aspect of the “military revolution.”

Chronological problems. It is questionable whether a “revolution” in military affairs spread over a full century has any real meaning. Other changes that fundamentally altered the nature of warfare—the breech-loading rifle, the machine gun, the ironclad warship—had a notably more rapid and specific impact than the tactical evolution described by Roberts. And precisely because of the indeterminacy of this evolution, historians have argued that even the century from 1560 to 1660 is a truncation of a more extensive process.

If the driving force behind military change is taken to be the emergence and development of more effective gunpowder weapons, then a starting date of 1560 appears arbitrary, indeed incomprehensible. If there was a “gunpowder revolution” in European warfare, it lay in the decades between

1450 and 1530. Technologically, the long period that follows is marked by little change in either artillery or infantry firearms. The development of better and much cheaper gunpowder had been a feature of the later fifteenth century, as had credible cast-iron artillery. Conversely, the crude technology, poor range, and inaccuracy of the matchlock infantry firearm remained little changed between the early sixteenth and late seventeenth centuries.

In the matter of infantry tactics, European commanders and theorists were wrestling with problems of combining infantry firearms and thrusting weapons throughout the sixteenth century, and here again, a number of historians have pointed out the fallacy of attributing dramatic success to a particular sequence of practitioners within a circumscribed chronology. Geoffrey Parker has emphasized that Spanish armies from the early sixteenth century onward were the most innovative in their experiments to try to combine infantry firearms, defensive capacity, and offensive mass in their infantry units.

If doubt has been cast upon a series of military changes claimed to start in 1560, historians have also questioned the end date of 1660. Indeed Jeremy Black has contrasted the stagnation of the century down to 1660 with the radical tactical and organizational changes occurring in the following century. The development of the ring bayonet finally permitted the phasing out of the pike in favor of infantry units entirely equipped with firearms and possessing their own defensive capability. The introduction of cartridges, which prepackaged shot and a charge of powder, and the mass production of a reliable flintlock musket, were equally important. The musket was no longer fired by means of a separate length of smoldering match, and infantry could be packed into a genuinely close order. All of these changes ensured that the killing power of infantry was dramatically increased, opening the way to a further reduction of the depth of formations, which by the 1740s–1750s were deployed in the three ranks that remained typical up to and beyond the Napoleonic Wars.

Whereas there is ambiguity about the growth in troop numbers during the century of the military revolution (see below), there is none for the period after 1660. By the 1690s France was maintaining around 340,000 troops in combat, and a battle such

as Steenkirk (1692) set 57,000 French troops against 70,000 allies. The scale of warfare after 1660 moves into a league that was entirely unprecedented and would remain relatively constant until the wars following 1792.

If the original chronology of 1560–1660 looks too extensive for claims to a “revolution” in warfare, subsequent historians have thus added to the problem. One response, proposed by a historian of Poland, Robert Frost, is to argue that there was no single military revolution, but a plethora of separate military revolutions, separated both chronologically and by the military needs and cultures of different European nations; what might be deemed obsolete on the battlefields of the Spanish Netherlands—the massed cavalry charge, for example—remained central to tactics in eastern Europe. Another approach, advanced by an historian of medieval warfare, Clifford Rogers, questions whether “revolution” is an appropriate concept for understanding a process such as military change. Rogers proposes an alternative model, derived from the theory of “punctuated equilibrium” in evolutionary biology, in which rapid technological and organizational changes in warfare may provide short-term advantages but are then either absorbed by all those involved in warfare or neutralized by specific counter-developments, after which the military system once again assumes a modified equilibrium.

Conceptual issues. An early and major challenge to Michael Roberts’s thesis was offered by Geoffrey Parker, who questioned whether the battlefield was the appropriate locus for the military transformation of early modern Europe. He suggested instead that the discussion had neglected the more fundamental role of siege warfare. Developments in artillery rendered obsolete traditional medieval fortifications based on tall curtain walls. Early experiences of this vulnerability stimulated experiments with systems of fortification, the so-called *trace italienne*, which relied upon low-lying, earth-packed walls, whose faces were defended by triangular, projecting bastions from which defending artillery and muskets could sweep the approaches. The result of this development was stalemate; it became almost impossible to take these fortifications by bombardment, and sieges became drawn-out blockades. Yet commanders, justifiably doubting the capacity of troops to make decisive progress in a field campaign, seized

upon the capture of fortresses or fortified cities as strategic targets. Such sieges required ever increasing numbers of troops, both to secure the blockade and to make good the losses from wounds, disease, and desertion. European warfare and all of its political and social consequences were determined by attritional sieges, not by tactical and strategic revolution.

Examination of warfare in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries raises more questions about the “military revolution.” The significance of firearms in a period of matchlock muskets and unstandardized and cumbersome artillery can easily be overestimated. Commanders and theorists who continued to favor mass and cohesion in infantry tactics were not necessarily anachronistic. Historians have drawn attention to the persistence of debates about infantry deployment up to the end of the eighteenth century, indicating that claims to have achieved a tactical panacea in the early seventeenth century look premature. The Battle of Nördlingen (1634) has become a touchstone for skeptics. Not only was this one of the two or three most decisive battles of the Thirty Years’ War, but it saw the annihilation, at the hands of traditional Spanish and imperial forces, of the Swedish army that was heir to the tactical and strategic principles of Gustavus Adolphus. The frequency of military success by armies that were not identified as the originators or sponsors of military change gives cause for reflection. One conclusion from the experience of battle is that a key factor in success was the presence of veteran troops. Armies able to maintain significant numbers of long-serving troops, regardless of tactical deployment, were likely to gain the advantage, whether in battle or in protracted siege warfare. When forces with significant numbers of veterans in their ranks encountered each other, the outcome would tend to be bloody and indecisive, unless one force, as with the Swedes at Nördlingen, made a major tactical error.

The next stage of the argument, that tactical success could lead to a widening of strategic vision, has also been scrutinized. The missing factor here, critics have maintained, is logistics. Ambitious war-winning strategies may require the defeat of the enemy, but this will only be achieved if armies can be fed and supplied. It is clear that systems of supply, transportation, and distribution were inadequate

throughout the period down to 1660 to sustain large-scale strategies. By prioritizing supply over strategic goals, small armies might extract subsistence locally, but such forces were ill adapted to winning wars. A picture of massive armies destroying opposing forces through their tactical superiority and then rolling forward onto enemy territory simply ignores the insuperable contemporary problems of supply.

Other conceptual criticisms of the “military revolution” take issue with those features that non-military historians have always found most compelling. The increasing size of armies—for whatever reason—is assumed to be the catalyst for the developing fiscal and administrative mechanisms of the state. But here a number of historians have raised questions about the actual scale of military increase in the period up to 1660. Armies of twenty to thirty thousand were attained by states waging war before 1500. The total military establishments of the great powers moved up toward forty to fifty thousand by the 1540s–1550s, and this appears to have marked a plateau of military effort. Alone among the European states, the Spanish monarchy of Philip II (ruled 1556–1598) may have maintained seventy to eighty thousand men by the 1580s. No other power was capable of rivaling an establishment on this scale, and it was not until the Thirty Years’ War that some of the belligerents could claim that their total forces surpassed this. And if the imperial army under the generalship of Albrecht von Wallenstein (1583–1634) could claim to have over 100,000 men under arms, and Gustavus Adolphus was reported briefly to have had as many as 175,000 men, other military establishments—including the imperial and the Swedish for most of the war—remained well below 100,000 men. Despite traditional claims for an army of 150,000, the reality of the French war effort during the 1630s and 1640s is nearer half that number. Moreover a contrast between the total military establishments of the belligerents and the actual size of campaign armies is still more revealing. To all intents the maximum force that could operate in a campaign theater remained at thirty thousand until the latter decades of the seventeenth century. Most of the specific campaigns and battles of the Thirty Years’ War took place with far fewer troops on either side; engagements with more than twenty thousand combatants in each army were rare. This

was no larger than the battles of the Italian wars, a century earlier.

These less impressive increases in numbers raise obvious questions about a necessary transformation of the fiscal and administrative mechanisms of the state. The questions are reinforced by recognition that increases in the size of armies did not require a growth in centralizing state power. The disparity between overall military establishments and the modest “cutting edge” of the campaign armies in the Thirty Years’ War hints at a more fundamental issue. Military expansion from the 1520s was largely met by contracting out responsibility for the recruitment and maintenance of soldiers. By 1558 a French military establishment of around fifty thousand troops was composed of 70 percent foreign mercenaries.

Although large-scale mercenary contracts initially implied only administrative decentralization, from the later sixteenth century and the Thirty Years’ War they were also fueled by fiscal delegation. Mercenary contractors would reimburse themselves through “contributions,” war taxes extracted under direct threat of military force. Bigger armies did not mean more extensive central state structures; bigger armies in fact came into being to facilitate the extraction of contributions and other forms of plunder and extortion. Far from being synonymous with the growth of absolute monarchies and centralized administrations, war encouraged a retreat by the state from many of its essential functions. Even where states had retained some degree of control over government or fiscality, the tendency was not to tighten this, but to market it. Desperate for cash to maintain those parts of the war effort that still fell under their responsibility, governments such as that of France under Cardinals Richelieu (in power 1624–1642) and Mazarin (in power 1643–1661) launched into an orgy of short-term fiscal expedients, most resulting in the confirmation or multiplication of existing privileges and fiscal exemptions and a huge increase of proprietary office holding.

Such comprehensive skepticism about one of the central planks of the original military revolution thesis, the link between war and state formation, finds support in recent work on early modern absolutism. Traditionally, absolutism was portrayed as the triumph of centralized, bureaucratic structures

over societies made up of multiple layers of personal, provincial, and institutional privilege. Revisionist historians have questioned whether it was practical, or in any sense the intention of these regimes, to exclude traditional elites from government and its institutions. Indeed the efficacy of so-called absolutist states in the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries stemmed, it is argued, not from exclusion of the elites, but from more self-conscious and deliberate collaboration with them. By maintaining or rebuilding close relations with the elites, based upon respect for their fiscal and juridical privileges, and by ensuring that they retained access and promotion within key institutions, notably the army, the European states of the later seventeenth century set the stage for massive military expansion. In both Brandenburg-Prussia and Russia state service, for the most part in the military, was a positive obligation upon the established nobility, though one that offered promotional prospects and status. Elsewhere political and social pressures ensured that the officer corps was dominated by traditional elites. The armies of the eighteenth century were a potent symbol of the power of the state, but this was a direct product of compromises with the privileged. If particular rulers—Peter the Great of Russia (ruled 1682–1725), Charles XII of Sweden (1697–1718), Frederick II of Prussia (1740–1786)—seemed able to obscure this compromise and to deploy their armies and their states' resources in pursuit of untrammelled dynastic ambition, the underlying reality of armies as virtual joint stock companies reasserted itself with regularity throughout the eighteenth century.

These different emphases in studying the relationship between rulers, states, and armies in early modern Europe have done much to strand an unmodified “military revolution” thesis in a historiographical backwater. A productive recent development has been more systematic study of the effects of European military technology and organization beyond the Continent. Historians have given much more attention to the impact of European armies and warfare in non-European contexts. Was there a “Western way of war”? How did the Europeans capitalize on their military advantages in a colonial context? Perhaps most interesting, to what extent did non-European states on their own initiative replicate some of the organizational and technical

changes associated with early modern European warfare? In other cases, how quickly and how effectively did non-European states adopt the characteristics of European warfare, and what impact did this have upon their own political and social organization?

See also Absolutism; Engineering: Military; Firearms; State and Bureaucracy; Thirty Years' War (1618–1648).

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DAVID PARROTT

MILITARY ENGINEERING. *See* Engineering: Military.

MILLENARIANISM. *See* Apocalypticism.

MILTON, JOHN (1608–1674), English poet. England's epic poet and champion of civil and religious liberties was born in London on 9 December 1608, entered Christ's College, Cambridge, in 1625, and earned his M.A. in 1632. His conscience prevented him from becoming a clergyman in the Church of England under the repressive Archbishop William Laud, and his talent and his "great taskmaster" (Sonnet 7) led him to poetry, "the inspired gift of God . . . of power beside the office of a pulpit, to imbreed and cherish in a great people the seeds of vertu, and publick civility . . . and set the affections in right tune" (CPW 1:816–817). In 1638–1639 Milton traveled in Europe, met members of the Florentine Academies, visited Galileo Galilei, "a pris[o]ner to the Inquisition" (CPW 2:538), and shipped music books from Venice; but hearing that "my fellow-citizens at home were fighting for liberty" (CPW 4.1:619), he returned to

write on behalf of the religious and political reformation of England.

In 1649, after the parliamentary victory, Milton was appointed secretary for foreign tongues by the Council of State and asked to defend the execution of Charles I; he produced *Eikonoklastes* (The image-breaker), arguing that the king is not above the rule of law. In 1652 he became blind but continued his work for the Commonwealth government, with assistance from Andrew Marvell, who also helped obtain his release from imprisonment after the Restoration.

PROSE WORKS

Milton's major prose concerns religious, political, and domestic liberty. Five tracts promoting religious reformation appeared in 1641–1642. *Of Education* (1644) proposes a curriculum "to repair the ruins of our first parents" (CPW 2:366) through biblical and classical works in their original languages and the direct observation of nature and technology. *Areopagitica* (1644), credited with a part in the founding principles of the American republic, opposes prepublication licensing of books and urges that truth seeking requires the freedom of a well-instructed conscience. Four tracts on marriage and divorce (1643–1645) argue that God instituted marriage for mutual help and companionship in both spiritual and domestic life and that God's laws should be interpreted by the rule of charity. Whether these were motivated in part by the three-year sojourn of his young wife, Mary Powell, with her Royalist parents is disputed. After her return the union produced three daughters and a short-lived son. Four years after Mary's death following childbirth, Milton married Katherine Woodcock, who died three months after the birth of a daughter who also died, and later Elizabeth Minshull, who outlived him.

Numerous tracts against absolute monarchy and against any usurpation of conscience by civil or ecclesiastical powers appeared between 1649 and 1673. Other prose works include academic prolusions, letters, and state papers, a *Christian Doctrine* (authorship of parts disputed), a grammar textbook, *The History of Britain* (1670), and an *Art of Logic* (1672).

SHORTER POEMS

In 1645 Milton published his *Poems . . . Both English and Latin*: masques, odes, hymns, epigrams, elegies, epitaphs, sonnets often praising particular men and women, and metrical translations of Psalms 114 and 136, both songs of liberation. The *Poems* include a prophetic ode, “On the morning of Christ’s Nativity,” written in 1629; companion poems on the active and the contemplative life, “L’allegro” and “Il penseroso” (both 1632); and “At a Solemn Musick,” in praise of the power of words and music to raise the imagination to the “Song of pure concert” that “we on Earth . . . May rightly answer” as we did before sin “Broke the fair music that all creatures made”—a prelude to *Paradise Lost*. “Lycidas,” a pastoral elegy written in 1637, laments a drowned schoolmate as shepherd-poet and promising pastor and considers hard questions about God’s ways. *Arcades* (1633?) and *A Mask Presented at Ludlow Castle* (sometimes called “Comus”; written in 1634 and published in 1637) concern good government and the right use of nature. The young heroine of *A Mask* defends chastity against Comus’s lures and argues for the just and temperate use of nature’s gifts. The Latin poems include elegies and epigrams, two on the Gunpowder Plot of 1605; a revealing verse letter to his father; and a poignant epitaph for his friend Charles Diodati. *Milton’s Poems, &c. upon Several Occasions* (1673) adds others both personal and political. “On the Late Massacre in Piedmont” (1655) is a cry of outrage against violent persecution.

MAJOR POEMS

Paradise Lost was published in ten books in 1667 and twelve in 1674. Rather than a national epic with warrior heroes, Milton wrote an epic of all humanity and the claims of God and Satan, founded on Genesis and incorporating classical allusions, that redefines heroism and merit. Milton raises hard questions—for example, how can liberty be preserved in the face of evil?—and provokes complex responses. Because of its biblical sources, some readers associate the epic with interpretations of the Bible that postcolonial, gender-conscious, and ecologically aware readers reject. But Milton did not accept traditional readings that had been used to support dominion and conquest over nature, women, and peoples. He reorients the Genesis story—to what extent is a matter of debate—toward a more liberal



John Milton. Portrait engraving, 1670. ©BETTMANN/CORBIS

and complex understanding of human liberty and responsibility. His rejection of the separability of body and spirit and his interpretation of the Trinity, which portrays the Son not as coequal and coeternal with the Father but as having free will and being exalted by merit, are heretical according to the orthodoxy of his time and are still controversial. Recent scholarship shows that as a monist materialist he believed that all creatures are kindred, created from the same matter derived from God, and that the divine image in men and women, though tragically obscured by the Fall, is, for those who choose regeneration, more fully repairable on earth, as well as in heaven, than orthodox predestinarian and dualistic believers could imagine.

Milton’s other major poems came forth in 1671 as *Paradise Regain’d. A Poem. In IV Books. To which is added Samson Agonistes. Paradise Regained* expands the biblical temptations to power and glory (Luke 4:1–13 and Matthew 4:1–11) to include wealth and luxury. It represents the Son of God, fully human though divine, clarifying his understanding of his mission while Satan tests him to find

out who he is and whether he can be foiled. Jesus refuses easy answers, rejects war, power, riches, and philosophies inconsequential to his calling, and stands miraculously on the temple pinnacle by his own balance as well as God's will. *Samson Agonistes*, though not intended for the stage, is structured as a Greek tragedy, in which encounters with the disordered passions of others provoke Samson's recovery from despair. Some readers see in the blind and exiled Samson, whose story is told in the Book of Judges, correspondences with Milton's own situation. Current critics debate the problem of Samson's violence: Is he a terrorist, a divinely led liberator, or an imperfect type of divine justice that Christ will perfect? Further, does Milton attempt to control his readers or to provoke response and dialogue? His poems engage responsive reading with all the resources of language, including surprising syntax, alternative definitions and allusions, punning etymologies, rich imagery, many-layered metaphor, and prosody that mimes the actions of human and angelic characters and other living things. The music of his language is an inexhaustible delight. He teaches readers to hold complex relations in mind and to imagine polyphonically—as one must do to think responsibly and feel responsibly in a complex world. A reading community debating these choices and enjoying these pleasures will learn to perceive the interwovenness of experience and the misuse of power. Milton's epic and dramatic poems do not offer easy answers but help us think creatively and deliberately about the difficult issues of our own times.

See also **English Civil War and Interregnum; English Literature and Language; Laud, William; Puritanism.**

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DIANE KELSEY MCCOLLEY

MINING AND METALLURGY. See **Technology.**

MIRACLES. Miracles were a vital feature of Christianity in the early modern period. Issues surrounding the possibility and impossibility of miracles were enthusiastically discussed in many theological, devotional, and scientific works, even as most Europeans actively sought divine intervention when harsh circumstances threatened. In his theological and historical work, *The City of God*, the fifth-century theologian St. Augustine (354–430) had outlined many of the teachings concerning miracles that were to play an important role in Europe for centuries to come. Augustine had stressed that the greatest of all miracles was the daily re-creation of the earth, sustained and controlled by a benevolent God, who used nature as a mirror to display his power over every aspect of his Creation. In this view, seemingly inexplicable events that occurred in the natural order were not to be feared, but rather to elicit awe as signs of God’s dominion. At the same time, *The City of God* also enthusiastically recounted many wonders the saints had worked in recent years, using these as signs to confirm the truth of orthodox church teachings. These dimensions of Augustine’s theology of miracles—his emphasis on nature’s wonders and his insistence that the miracles of the saints confirmed the church’s truth—continued to exert a powerful influence on the religious piety of the early modern world.

Around 1500, though, it was the miracles of the saints that most often captivated the European imagination. The keeping of records of miracles worked by the saints was a common practice, one whose origins stretched back into late antiquity and found at least partial inspiration in the teachings of Augustine. A vast network of pilgrimage shrines sustained the practice, and the manuscript records that survive from these places reveal that an exchange mentality largely governed Europeans’ appeals to the saints. When life’s trials threatened, the faithful approached the saints with prayers and vows of pilgrimages and gifts. With their requests granted, pilgrims journeyed to the saint’s shrine, often describing their miracle to a scribe, who carefully recorded their testimony. These miracle records were often proclaimed to those who visited these places. By the later fifteenth century, such accounts were increasingly being committed to print and circulated among a broad readership. Church authorities and humanist critics sometimes condemned these

practices, seeing in them an indulgence in forms of magic and barter they believed bordered on idolatry. At the same time, the tens of thousands of miracle records that survive from the period point to the widespread popularity of the practice.

PROTESTANT ATTACKS

During the sixteenth century, Protestant reformers stepped up criticisms long voiced about the saints and their miracles, unleashing a war against pilgrimage and the cult of the saints in an attempt to rid the European countryside of these practices. In turning to oppose the long-standing popularity of the cult of the saints, Protestants faced several dilemmas. First, they needed to explain the seeming effectiveness of the saints to their sixteenth-century audience. In some cases the reformers accused the medieval clergy of having promoted fraudulent miracles. More often, however, they admitted that the miracles that had long been attributed to the saints were real, but that they had actually been worked by demonic, rather than divine, agency. A second issue involved the role that miracles had played in confirming not only a specific pilgrimage or saint but all church teachings. From the early days of the Reformation, reform-minded preachers and theologians responded that miracles were unnecessary to those who possessed faith, since faith was in and of itself its own self-confirming miracle. Even as they made such a claim, though, most sixteenth-century reformers were anxious to exploit wonders that seemed to confirm their own religious positions. Like Augustine before them, they turned to nature, where they found wonders that confirmed their teachings. The fashion for natural wonders in Protestantism emerged early, beginning even with Martin Luther, who in 1524 exploited a dramatic misbirth in print. Luther treated the appearance of a hideously deformed calf in Saxony, the so-called Monk Calf of Freiberg, as a divine pronouncement on the degenerate state of monasticism and the church. Numerous similar readings of natural miracles followed, and by the later sixteenth century hundreds of short broadsides and pamphlets filled with tales of recent celestial apparitions, earthquakes, floods, and deformed births poured from the presses of Europe. While accounts like these were consumed everywhere, the fascination with reading natural wonders as divine signs was far more pronounced in Protestant than in Catholic regions.

Here, natural wonders came to satisfy the appetites of readers for signs of God's continued intervention in the world, an appetite that early modern Catholics indulged, by contrast, through the miracles of the saints. Even in the generally restrained and often rationalistic climate of John Calvin's Geneva, natural wonders played a role in shaping piety. Although on occasion Calvin held out the possibility that miracles had long since ceased to occur, he endorsed the publication of Luther's treatment of the Monk Calf in Geneva, and in the dedication to his *Institutes of the Christian Religion* (1536) he insisted that a steady stream of wonders had long confirmed the Reformation message. Thus a curious paradox surrounded miracles in the Protestant tradition. On the one hand, most Protestant commentators insisted that miracles were not necessary to those who possessed a saving faith. On the other hand, wonders—if not full-fledged miracles—were enthusiastically tracked and commented upon and continued to shape piety in Protestant Europe during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

POLEMIC AND GROWING DISENCHANTMENT

Miracles also entered into the heated religious rivalries of the time. The reformers' attacks of the early sixteenth century had sent pilgrimage and the recording of saintly miracles into a temporary decline in many parts of Europe, but in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries these practices experienced a dramatic resurgence. Catholic propagandists enthusiastically promoted the miracles recently worked by their saints or by the Blessed Virgin Mary as a vivid testimony to Roman Catholicism's truth. These renewed efforts sparked bitter confessional rivalries and polemic, prompting the Protestant charge that pilgrimage and the intercession of the saints was nothing more than a form of sorcery. In the overheated disputes of the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, miracles of healing, successful exorcisms, and any seeming violation of the natural order might be used alternately by Protestants or Catholics to condemn their opponents. At the same time, the popular demand for miracles of healing persisted particularly in the Catholic countryside and inspired the foundation of numerous new pilgrimage shrines, many of which grew to heights of popularity far beyond any pre-Reformation precedent. While the saints did

not survive in Protestant territories except as vestigial models for piety, the fashion for visiting sites where great miracles had occurred was shared by Protestants and Catholics alike. At the end of the seventeenth century, for example, a spate of miracles involving images of Martin Luther inspired new pilgrimages among Lutherans to his one-time residences. As a result, the reformer's birthplace, Eisleben, was celebrated as Germany's "New Bethlehem" and was sought out by the pious well into the eighteenth century.

Even as the hunger for the wonders persisted, though, new forces were at work that questioned the possibility of God's supernatural intervention in the world. One important development in this regard was the appearance of the doctrine of the cessation of miracles, a teaching pioneered by Erasmus of Rotterdam (1466?–1536) and endorsed by seventeenth-century Calvinists, alleging that wonders had been necessary only for the foundation of the Christian religion in ancient times. Once Christianity had been successfully established, the Holy Spirit had ceased to work miracles. While this notion did not find general acceptance among most religious thinkers at the time of its appearance, the doctrine pointed to a new skepticism that would eventually result in the eighteenth-century Enlightenment's denials of miracles. The most famous of these appeared in the work of the Scottish empirical philosopher David Hume (1711–1776). In his *Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding* (1758), Hume argued that miracles were impossible because nature's laws operated according to ironclad regularity and inevitability and could not be violated. A similar debunking spirit pervaded Voltaire's *Philosophical Dictionary* (1752), in which he argued that miracles had functioned throughout Europe's history only to sustain fanaticism and intolerance. Even as these elite attacks on supernatural beliefs flourished, accounts of miracles remained vital to the religious life of the eighteenth century, particularly in the Catholic countryside where the cult of the saints and pilgrimage retained great popularity. At the same time, the attacks of elites were not without an eventual impact. By the later eighteenth century, Europe's Catholic princes often viewed the appetite for miracles as an archaism and many reform efforts focused on weaning people away from the long-standing

customs of pilgrimage and the veneration of the saints.

See also Erasmus, Desiderius; Hume, David; Reformation, Protestant.

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PHILIP SOERTEL

MISSIONS, PARISH. Parish missions, also called "internal missions," as opposed to foreign missions, were a temporary form of apostolate among Christians. The term refers to selective stays, lasting from a few days to three months, made by missionaries in a parish or a group of parishes with the aim of converting people or deepening their faith. This type of mission has its origins in Christian antiquity and has a long history of revivals.

For example, parish missions were revived in Europe during the evangelization campaigns of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and in the preachers' movement of the sixteenth century. It was during the 1570–1650 period, at the height of the confrontation between Protestants and Catholics, that these missions achieved their ultimate form of spiritual conquest. They were planned as military campaigns, with systematic logistics and thoughtful methodology, aimed at winning back Protestants and lukewarm Catholics to the Roman Catholic church. Though they declined at the end of the eighteenth century, these missions *ad fidele* or 'missions to the faithful' were still conducted in the 1960s in countries with a Catholic heritage, such as Italy, France, and Spain.

In the sixteenth century Catholic reformers realized that Roman Christianity had drastically declined in Europe. Not only had many people con-

verted to Protestantism, but many others had embraced superstitions and, in some cases, returned to paganism. Ignorance of the Christian faith was seen as the source of these evils. Internal missions were organized in order to fill these gaps. New missionary orders, such as the Capuchins and the Jesuits, launched missions all over early modern Europe and maintained them for two centuries. Individual churchmen, who worried about the poor state of local clergy and faithful, invited these orders to do missions in their country. At the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries in Spain, Cardinal Jimenez de Cisneros (1436–1517) had sought to restore a "pure" Catholicism that was free from heresy and, above all, from Jewish and Muslim influences. Many means were used to achieve this goal, including internal missions that reformers such as Juan de Avila (1499–1569) and Luis de Granada (1504–1588) promoted actively in the regions of Andalusia and Extremadura. After the Council of Trent (1545–1563), Saint Philip Neri (1515–1595) and Saint Charles Borromeo (1538–1584) introduced the Tridentine reforms to fight Protestantism and to reform Catholicism. They established an influential model of missions *ad fidele* that much inspired the missionary enterprises led in France by reformers such as Cesar de Bus (1544–1607), Saint François de Sales (1567–1622), and Saint Vincent de Paul (1576–1660).

Typically, parish missions were designed according to the structure of spiritual combat: missionaries were the soldiers battling against the forces of evil, assailing the fortresses of the Devil, and winning souls for Jesus Christ. Their missions consisted of a series of religious "exercises" that were crafted to fire the imagination and create the right climate for conversion. Discourses were carefully developed to achieve this aim. Preachers would focus on the sad condition of the sinner, on the Last Judgment, and on the pains of hell. After bringing the audience to an emotional climax through their discourse, they would abruptly change tone and invoke reassuring images of redemption and paradise. The decor and production of the whole mission were also neatly rendered with the following elements: solemn entry of the missionaries in the parish, pathetic sermons, catechisms using holy pictures, collective prayers and chants, religious plays, general confession, communion, processions, and

the erection of a cross at the end of the mission. All these exercises were conducted with great pomp and spectacle to attract people and stir them sufficiently to induce conversion.

Early modern parish missions were part of a much wider missionary movement used in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century colonialism. Countries attempted to conquer souls both at home and abroad through simultaneous internal and external missionary efforts. The same missionaries would work in both types of missions. They used the same methods of conversion and anticipated the same reactions from what they saw as the similar groups of people: lukewarm Catholics, superstitious peasants, heretics, pagans from Middle East and East Indies, Turks, and “savages” in America. Despite the apparent cultural diversity of the prospective converts, missionaries saw them as equal in their ignorance of the need for and the way to their salvation.

See also **Missions and Missionaries; Preaching and Sermons; Reformation, Catholic; Trent, Council of.**

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DOMINIQUE DESLANDRES

ASIA

The history of Christian missions in Asia is tied, for better or worse, to European expansion. When the Byzantine capital of Constantinople fell to the Ottoman Turks in 1453, Christian Europe was reduced to the status of a backwater area in world civilizations. Overshadowed and threatened by the ascendant Muslim empires, first by the Ottomans in the eastern Mediterranean and later by the Safavids (after 1502) in Persia and the Mughuls (after 1526) in India, Europeans were anxious about their future. Farther to the east, China was the colossus of the age and by almost any standard the greatest empire in the world. As Europe had receded, so had Christianity. Although missionaries since the time of Jesus had carried Christianity to Asia, churches there were now contracting and struggling to stay alive.

EUROPEAN EXPANSION

Shortly after 1450, Europe reached its nadir and began its ascent. In one of the ironies of history, the rapacious conquistador spirit of the Portuguese and Spanish trader-explorer-adventurers provided the ships that carried Christian missionaries to remote Asian lands. The committed missionaries who boarded these ships were inspired to do so by the fervor of the Counter-Reformation. (They were nearly all Catholic; Protestants did not send out missionaries until after 1789.) Hence, the love of Christ was spread in collusion with the lust for wealth, power, and adventure. It might therefore appear that the church was making a pact with the devil, but it is doubtful that these Europeans were aware of the contradiction. Furthermore, this intermingling of pure and selfish motives had a powerful effect not only in spreading the dominant religion of early modern Europeans to Asia, but also in shaping European culture. Europe's contact with Asia was a two-way process of mutual influence, and the expansionist Europe of the early modern period was much more open to Asian influences than the imperialistic Europe that followed.

The path of missionaries to Asia was opened by the success of two small and previously insignificant nations seeking trade routes to Asia. After years of Portuguese effort on the western coast of Africa, Vasco da Gama (c. 1460–1524) sailed east to India in 1498, six years after the Genoan explorer Chris-

MISSIONS AND MISSIONARIES

This entry includes two subentries:

ASIA

SPANISH AMERICA

topher Columbus (1451–1506) opened a trade route to the west for Spain in 1492. With papal assistance, Portugal and Spain had divided the world between them and established their mission monopolies (Portuguese *padroado* and Spanish *patronato*) with the Treaty of Tordesillas in 1494. Thereafter, most European missionaries bound for Asia would travel on Portuguese ships, although a smaller number took Spanish ships to Mexico and then crossed the Pacific Ocean to the Philippines. This sole Spanish base in Asia proved to be the most fertile mission field of all. The Augustinians were the first to arrive, in 1565, and within one century, the entire population of the Philippines was converted to Christianity.

JESUITS

Throughout Asia, the triumphalism and chauvinism of the Counter-Reformation Catholic Church were tempered by the accommodating spirit of a remarkable new religious order called the Society of Jesus. The Jesuits had emerged as the right arm of the pope in the Counter-Reformation struggle with the Protestants. Far more educated and sophisticated than most other missionaries, the Jesuits tended to missionize by cultivating the local elites. This led them to study the indigenous cultures with an aim toward accommodating Christianity with local cultural elements that were not in blatant conflict with Christianity. Many other missionaries accused the Jesuits of being too accommodating, and the early Jesuits manifested an arrogance that aroused a very unchristian hatred among their critics. Nevertheless, in retrospect, it is clear that the process of inculturation that the Jesuits sought for Christianity in Asia was a necessary foundation for the long-term viability of the faith there.

Jesuit accommodation did not dominate the missions in Asia but had to compete with the rivalry of other religious orders as well as nationalistic and Eurocentric forces. When the Portuguese first landed in India, they had encountered a group of approximately 100,000 Christians in the south, said to have been converted by the apostle Saint Thomas. These were Nestorian Christians of the Syrian church who were technically under the control of the patriarch in Babylon. The Portuguese, through their colonial base at Goa, forced the Saint Thomas Christians to submit to the authority of the

pope via the Portuguese representative of the archbishop of Goa. This fostered great resentment among the Saint Thomas Christians. When the Jesuits first arrived in India, they went to the court of the Mughul emperor Akbar (ruled 1556–1605) in the hope of converting the emperor, but they were disappointed to learn that Akbar was merely using their views to forge a new religion called the Divine Faith.

Hopes for the mission in India were renewed in 1605 when a brilliant young Italian Jesuit named Robert de Nobili (1577–1656) arrived; he spent the following half century developing a new and fruitful approach to inculturating Christianity into Tamil culture in south India. Nobili focused his efforts on the highest of the four castes of Hindu culture, the Brahmans, or priestly caste. He studied the languages of ancient India (Sanskrit and classical Tamil), adopted the indigenous ochre robe, and renounced attachments to the world—even cutting himself off from other Christians. Nevertheless, the conversions resulting from Nobili's work were limited until missionizing was extended to the lower castes.

The strong Buddhist beliefs of southeast Asia resisted the penetration of Christianity, with the notable exception of Vietnam. The remarkable success there can be traced to the work of the French Jesuit Alexandre de Rhodes (1591–1660), who arrived in Macau in 1623, hoping to go on to Japan. But with entry into Japan barred to missionaries, Rhodes was sent to Vietnam, whence he was expelled in 1625, 1630, and 1645. Nevertheless, he developed a remarkably effective missionary method by creating a Vietnamese group of catechists who were trained in basic medicine and who lived as a celibate brotherhood. They fostered thousands of conversions. Rhodes also developed a system for transliterating the Vietnam written language from Chinese characters to the Latin alphabet.

In Japan, missionaries met with striking initial success followed by harsh persecution. (This Japanese resistance to Christianity has been portrayed in the best-selling novel *Silence* [1969] by the Japanese Catholic author Shusaku Endo.) The first mission was led by the great Jesuit Francis Xavier, who arrived in 1549, when Japan was still in a period of warring feudal chaos without centralized leadership.

This chaos provided an opportunity for the missionaries, and within sixty-five years there were 300,000 Christians in a Japanese population of twenty million. However, most of these Christians were concentrated in the southern part of Japan where the allegiance of the daimyo (feudal lords) to the shogun was regarded with suspicion, a suspicion that was strengthened when several of these daimyo converted to Christianity. The shogun (who ruled in the name of the emperor) decided to preempt any possibility of subversive rebellion by expelling the missionaries in 1614. When the missionaries surreptitiously returned, the shogunal court resorted to harsh persecution, including the torture and execution of many Japanese Christians and several Portuguese priests. The Catholic Church records the death of 3,125 Christian martyrs in the years 1597–1660. Christianity was exterminated in Japan, except for a small group of faithful followers who continued to worship in secret in the area of Nagasaki throughout the Tokugawa period (1600–1867).

THE CHINA MISSION

Of all Asian lands, none received more attention from missionaries of early modern Europe than China. Its great distance from Europe and high level of civilization made it a tremendous challenge. The Jesuits in particular, who served “for the greater glory of God” (*ad majorem Dei gloriam*), sought to fulfill their motto by converting what was then the greatest nation in the world. Consequently, from 1552 until the Society of Jesus was temporarily abolished in 1773, nearly a thousand (the best source lists 920) Jesuits participated in the China mission, far more than any other religious order. In second place were the Franciscans (Order of Friars Minor) who sent approximately 130 of their members to China in the years 1450–1789. Smaller numbers were sent by the Dominicans (Order of Preachers), Augustinians, the Missions étrangères de Paris, and the Lazarists.

However, these missionaries were not entirely controlled by the superiors of their own orders. Even the Jesuits, who were notorious for their “corpse-like obedience” in obeying orders passed down in a militaristic chain of command from the Jesuit father general in Rome, were subject to the monarchs in whose territory they served. Particularly notable in this regard were the Portuguese,

who constituted the largest segment of the Jesuits in China (314 out of 920). The Portuguese court exploited their mission monopoly to dominate the office of vice-provincial, which directed the China mission. Through their control of the colonies on the trade routes between Europe and China (most notably Goa in India and Macau in southeast China) the Portuguese restricted the entry of missionaries of other nationalities, particularly their Spanish rivals. The latter were forced to enter China from the Philippines by way of the pirate-infested coast of Fujian Province. The French Jesuits tried to circumvent the Portuguese control of entry at Macau by landing a group of five French Jesuits at Ningbo in 1687.

Because Rome felt that these nationalistic rivalries were harming the missionary effort, not only in China but throughout the world, Rome in 1622 had created the Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, commonly known by its Latin name Propaganda Fide (or simply Propaganda). While the Portuguese continued to control the appointment of ordinary bishops throughout Asia, Propaganda appointed a special sort of bishop called a “vicar apostolic” who was consecrated directly by Rome. Consequently, in China and elsewhere, missionaries under the control of Propaganda competed with missionaries controlled by Portugal or the Jesuit father general. The Portuguese king struggled with Propaganda over the administrative division of China and eventually nine dioceses were established, with a vicar apostolic appointed to head each of them. However, when one of the appointed vicars apostolic, Bishop Bernardino Della Chiesa, attempted to take control of his newly appointed office of bishop of the diocese of Beijing in 1700, he was forced by the Portuguese Jesuits to establish his base outside of Beijing in a neighboring province.

Because the Jesuits tended to make conversions from the top down, focusing first on the imperial court or socioeconomic elites, their efforts in China had been shaped by the drive to establish a base in the Chinese capital. The great Jesuit missionary Matteo Ricci achieved this goal in 1601 and the Jesuits thereafter became valued servants of the Chinese emperor. Their training enabled them to be useful in a number of capacities, particularly in overseeing the Bureau of Astronomy, which was responsible for compiling the annual calendar, and in

painting, architecture, cannon making, and even in serving as translators in diplomatic negotiations with the Russians in formulating the Treaty of Nerchinsk (1689).

However, the Jesuit strategy tied the fate of the mission to the whims of particular rulers. Other missionary orders in China attempted to ground Christianity in conversions among people in the provinces. The Jesuit strategy peaked in the years 1644–1661 when the Jesuit father Adam Schall developed a close relationship with the youthful Shunzhi emperor, who at one point was thought to be near converting. However, the mission later suffered persecution when the throne was occupied by a hostile ruler, such as the Yongzheng emperor (ruled 1723–1735). In terms of the overall development of Christianity in China, the Jesuits placed too much emphasis on cultivating the court but were wise in their emphasis on cultural accommodation. Ultimately, Christianity survived because of conversions effected by both Jesuit and non-Jesuit orders among the people in the provinces.

CULTURAL INTERMEDIARIES

The missionaries' contact with China influenced the development of early modern Europe in substantive ways. Missionaries (mainly Jesuits) returning from China wrote books about its remarkable culture that were avidly read by some of the most important European thinkers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Francis Bacon (1561–1626), a leading figure in the scientific revolution, saw in the Chinese written script elements of a universal language. The dates of biblical chronology developed by the Anglican archbishop James Ussher in 1650–1654 and printed in the margins of the King James version of the Bible were modified to avoid contradicting the Chinese chronology introduced to Europe by the Jesuit Martino Martini.

The great philosopher-mathematician Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646–1716), who corresponded with the French Jesuit Joachim Bouvet in Beijing, concluded that the most ancient Chinese classic, the *I Ching*, or *Book of Changes*, had anticipated his discovery of a binary system of arithmetic by several millennia. Leibniz also believed that the Chinese surpassed Europeans in “practical philosophy” or the adaptation of ethics and politics to contemporary life. Enlightenment thinkers like

Christian Wolff (1679–1754) and Voltaire (1694–1778) agreed; they extolled the philosophy of Confucius and sought to adapt Confucian teachings to Europe.

Whereas in seventeenth-century Europe China was the preoccupation of mainly learned savants, by the eighteenth century “sinomania” had become a popular preoccupation. Almost all the information about China was supplied by China missionaries. Louis XV of France in 1756 and Joseph II of Austria in 1769 imitated the Chinese emperor in performing the ritual plowing of the earth in spring. European artists were influenced by Chinese art to create a new hybrid and fanciful style called chinoiserie. English gardeners abandoned the geometrical forms of French gardens and imitated the Chinese in an attempt to reproduce the irregular and varied patterns of nature found in Chinese gardens. The Chinese economy provided inspiration for the French to help regain their lost status in the aftermath of their disastrous defeat in the Seven Years' War (1756–1763). François Quesnay advocated emulating the Chinese model in reorganizing the French economy around agriculture (with minimal government intervention) and gave birth to the economic philosophy of laissez-faire. Chinese porcelains were so technically and aesthetically superior to European stoneware that they shaped European tastes.

The Jesuits' accommodative approach was well-suited to the syncretic culture of the late Ming dynasty (1368–1644) and made a number of conversions of prominent literati. While Buddhism and Taoism were difficult to reconcile with Christian teachings, the moral philosophy of Confucianism was much more amenable. Chinese teachings typically were transmitted from master to pupil. The prominent scholar-official Xu Guangqi (1562–1633) was the founding teacher in a Confucian-Christian tradition. Xu developed the formula *bu Ru yi Fo* (‘supplement the Confucians and displace the Buddhists’), a four-character phrase of the sort favored by Chinese literati. Xu's formula was later developed further by other Christian literati, such as Shang Huqing (1619–after 1698) and Zhang Xingyao (1633–after 1715).

However, after the Manchu conquest of 1644 and the establishment of a new dynasty, the Qing,

and the emergence of a less experimental and more conservative culture, the intellectual quality and prominence of the converts deteriorated. The conversion of scholar-officials was made more difficult by a bitter interorder dispute called the Chinese Rites Controversy (1715). It produced Eurocentric rulings from Rome that opposed flexibility in dealing with converts' rites of reverence to their ancestors and to Confucius. Consequently, most of the conversions of the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were made by non-Jesuit missionaries working in the provincial cities and rural areas of China. As the missionaries lost the support of the court, magistrates became increasingly harsh in their treatment of Christians and anti-Christian persecutions grew in intensity. Nevertheless, many of the Catholic converts made in villages continued to practice Christianity with remarkable continuity, passing their practices in filial-pious style from generation to generation down to the present day.

See also **Colonialism; Columbus, Christopher; Gama, Vasco da; Jesuits; Portugal; Portuguese Colonies; The Indian Ocean and Asia; Spain; Spanish Colonies: the Philippines.**

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D. E. MUNGELLO

SPANISH AMERICA

The missionary effort in the regions of the Americas controlled by Spain provided a pretext for converting peoples beyond the Mediterranean. The Catholic missionaries relied heavily on the efforts of Portuguese and other missionaries in the Old World as models for successfully “spreading the gospel.” Moreover, the reforms begun in the religious orders of Spain in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries had a profound effect on missionaries sent to the Americas.

The Spanish conquest and settlement of the Americas had an important religious component because the crown saw the conversion of the indigenous peoples as a way of justifying their occupation of the newly conquered lands. In a diplomatic effort of the highest order, Spain sought justification and legitimization of its claims in the Americas from its closest neighbor and rival in overseas domination, Portugal, and confirmation of the bilateral agreement from the pope. Conversion to Christianity was also one way of assimilating the native peoples into the European political sphere. Thus, the Spanish inextricably linked territorial conquest with converting those they considered “heathens” to Christianity.

Religious orders took the lead in converting the native peoples of the American continents: the first missionaries arrived on the island of Hispaniola only a few years after Columbus's initial voyage. The Dominican order initiated the early phases of the missionary movement in the Americas, establishing themselves in Santo Domingo, Columbus's capital on Hispaniola, and it was the Dominicans who first raised concerns about the Spanish treatment of the natives of the islands. Fr. Antonio de Montesinos launched the campaign for protection of the natives in a fiery speech in the cathedral of Santo Domingo, taking as his text the passage from Isaiah, “I am the voice of one crying in the wilderness.” This sermon, while it upset the Spanish residents of the town,

became a crucial factor in the intellectual development of a priest who would eventually lead the struggle for native rights, Fr. Bartolomé de las Casas (1474–1566).

Because priests and friars frequently accompanied expeditions, the missionary effort quickly moved to the mainland with the Spanish conquest of Mexico. The Cortés expedition included two clerics: Fr. Bartolomé de Olmedo, a Mercedarian, and the secular priest, Juan Díaz. Olmedo functioned as the official chaplain of the expedition and frequently took center stage in the conquest. Díaz was simply another member of the conquering band who happened to be a priest, though on a few occasions he actively functioned as a priest. Similarly, the Pizarro expedition to Peru had at least two priests: Fr. Vicente Valverde, also a Mercedarian, and Juan de Sosa, a secular priest. The efforts of these first missionaries bore little fruit. The true efforts of conversion to Catholicism began in the wake of the conquest, ushered in by small groups of friars sent out from Spain specifically for the purpose of converting the natives.

In the case of Mexico, called New Spain by the Spanish, the first missionaries were Franciscans. Two contingents reached Mexico immediately following the defeat of the Aztecs. The first consisted of three Franciscan lay brothers from Flanders, home of Charles I, the new king of Spain (who also became Holy Roman emperor Charles V). These three quickly set about converting the natives, establishing a base of operations in Texcoco, just east of the Aztec capital of Mexico, Tenochtitlán. Two of the friars achieved fame for their efforts. Fr. Peter of Ghent began the first European school in the Americas, created to train the sons of the native nobility in European ways. The other, Fr. Jacob of Tastera, created a method of explaining the principles of Christianity to the natives through the use of pictures, not unlike cartoons. These now carry the name of Testerman catechisms.

The first major missionary expedition, consisting of twelve Franciscans, arrived in 1524; a similar expedition of Dominicans followed four years later, and five years after these the first contingent of Augustinians arrived. The first religious orders essentially carved up the territory among themselves. The Franciscans dominated in the central area of

New Spain and in the Yucatán. The Dominicans predominated in the south, especially around Oaxaca, while the Augustinians concentrated on the area immediately north of Mexico City and in the west in the province of Michoacán.

A similar pattern emerged in Peru. While the religious orders that participated were largely the same, they appeared in a different sequence. The Dominicans and Mercedarians claimed preeminence in Peru, whereas the Franciscans and Augustinians arrived later. As in the case of Mexico, the religious orders spread out into the hinterlands, creating areas of dominance. In both North and South America, all the orders established important centers in the leading cities and towns.

The Jesuits were latecomers to the American missionary field because the order was not formally established until 1540. As the founder, Ignatius Loyola, was a Spaniard, the order manifested a strong interest in colonial missionary work. As early as 1566 the order sent a group of missionaries to the newly settled colony of Florida, and within five years they were establishing missions in Mexico and Peru. Despite its late arrival, the order would become the most powerful in the colonies.

While the early missionary efforts fell to the religious orders, the secular, or diocesan, clergy consolidated the missionary effort. Their internal organization allowed the religious orders the institutional structure to assist in missionary activity on the newly conquered frontier while the secular clergy enjoyed a structure better suited to the full incorporation of the faithful into the church militant. The crown appointed the first bishops to the Americas at approximately the same time as the first missionaries arrived, but it took several years for them to gain a modicum of control over the priests and friars in their diocese. Because so many of the clerics in the newly created dioceses were members of the regular clergy, gaining control over them was a difficult process.

The missionaries developed a wide range of techniques to address the various problems they encountered. Clearly, simple communication between the missionaries and native peoples was the major initial problem. Through methods such as the Testerman catechism the friars began the process of Christian indoctrination. At the same time they be-

gan to learn the native languages. The sixteenth century saw the publication of dozens of grammars, vocabularies, and other linguistic tools giving missionaries access to the indigenous languages. They then had to communicate the essence of Christian doctrine in the new language, an extremely complex process. The priests tried to avoid confusing the pre-Columbian religions with the newly imposed Christian religion, but as one scholar has noted, their efforts required a dialogue with the missionaries and the native peoples.

The missionaries also wanted to construct suitable places to celebrate their rituals. Frequently this meant destroying the native temples, locating the new church close to the old site, but not immediately on it, and often using rubble from the destroyed temple as building material for the invaders' church. Slightly later, the priests used the platforms of the old temples as bases for their churches, visually destroying the native peoples' religions and imposing the Christian religion on top of them. Nonetheless, local artisans had skills honed before the conquest and incorporated symbols from their native religions in some of the decorative motifs of the new churches.

Within the first century after contact, the American populations were nearly annihilated by warfare, by Old World diseases inadvertently imported by the invaders, and by the resulting social and economic disruption. With the decline of the native population, the missionaries and Spanish officials pressed for relocating the remnant native populations from their dispersed settlements into clustered villages. The process, called *reducción* ('reduction') or *congregación* ('bringing together'), made it easier to perform rituals, indoctrinate the people, and collect tribute from them, but it led to the further depopulation of large regions. Nevertheless, clustering dispersed native populations became a standard feature of missionary activity.

The conversion process focused initially on teaching the rudiments of Christianity to local peoples, but the missionaries' high expectations for rapid success were dashed by events in Mexico. Religious officials found that one of the first native leaders to have converted, Don Carlos Omtechtizin, lord of Texcoco, continued to practice his native religion for more than a decade after his

baptism. The local bishop, acting as inquisitor, tried him and ordered him burned at the stake as an apostate. This shocked Spanish sensibilities to the point that the crown removed the natives from the purview of the Inquisition. With setbacks such as this, most priests and friars then realized that the conversion process takes generations, not years.

Although the church establishment reduced its expectations regarding the conversion of the natives, by the early seventeenth century concerns rose again. In both Peru and Mexico religious authorities began to scrutinize native beliefs and practices more closely, and in Peru an effort known as the extirpation began. While the Inquisition had no authority over the natives, local bishops could act to root out remnants of the native peoples' religions, so the archbishops organized campaigns to extirpate all vestiges of them. While causing a great deal of disruption, the campaigns had little lasting effect. By the early eighteenth century a new philosophy, one that was willing to proceed with conversion at a slow, methodical pace, was evident. In Mexico efforts to root out pre-Columbian beliefs and practices were not so well organized but required considerable effort in the seventeenth century.

The nature of the conversion effort tended to create core areas, places characterized by early and successful conversions, and peripheries. Later, missionaries spread from the core areas to the peripheries. In general there was a greater concentration of priests and friars in Spanish cities, ports, and mining districts than in the hinterlands. In the northern reaches of Mexico and in Florida, a new type of conversion effort developed in the seventeenth century: military contingents accompanied missionaries and established bases—*presidios*—from which they "pacified" the frontier while the friars created missions where they delivered sermons. In some areas the missionaries pushed so deeply beyond the frontier that for all intents and purposes they were the only Europeans for miles around.

The two classic late colonial missionary fields were California and Paraguay. Starting in the early seventeenth century, the Jesuits established a network of missions, far from the supervision of Spanish authorities, among the Guarani Indians in Paraguay. These missions are a model of conversion through attraction. The Jesuits established them-

selves without military assistance and attracted the natives to settle on the mission, teaching them sedentary agriculture and European arts. Later authors have tended to idealize the Jesuit experiment in Paraguay, but it was noteworthy nonetheless.

The Franciscans managed the mission field of Upper California. They used some of the practices of the Jesuits, but the crown established military forts to assist in keeping the peace. While many natives came to the Franciscan missions through attraction, the friars also coerced others to settle down. Once natives had joined a mission, however, the friars prohibited them from returning to their former lives. Unfortunately, European diseases and the change of lifestyle killed many of the mission Indians.

The Jesuit order was successful in the Americas, both in terms of its missions and in economic terms. The order supported itself through the development of commercial enterprises, frequently agricultural estates. Using donations from the faithful, the order acquired ranches and farms, then managed the estates directly, producing goods for the local market. This system was very profitable and the proceeds supported the work of the order, both the missions and the development of schools in Spanish towns and cities. Jesuits were important participants in the universities of colonial Latin America.

By the mid-eighteenth century, the Jesuits had attracted both strong supporters and vocal opponents. In 1769 the Spanish crown formally expelled the order from the Americas, and reassigned the Jesuit missions to other orders and to the secular clergy. This action gave the Franciscans the missionary field of Upper California, originally a Jesuit territory. The crown confiscated the Jesuit estates and sold them at auction to generate cash for the always-strapped royal treasury. The crown had demonstrated its willingness to take extreme action against any order that defied the royal will: the expulsion of the Jesuits had a dramatic effect on the other religious orders, and the secularization of the parishes concluded with little or no opposition.

The church occupied an important role in colonial Latin America, not only because of its missionary role, but also because of its social and economic impact. It was the leading institution in the provision of hospitals and other institutions that assisted

the disadvantaged and ill, and played a crucial role in the economy of the colonies by providing capital on credit. The missionaries' efforts ensured the pervasive presence of Roman Catholicism throughout the Americas during the early modern period.

See also Catholicism; Clergy: Roman Catholic Clergy; Columbus, Christopher; Cortés, Hernán; Religious Orders; Spanish Colonies.

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JOHN F. SCHWALLER

MOBILITY, GEOGRAPHIC. The early modern period was marked by considerable population movements. Yet, compared with the medieval centuries or with the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, it was a time of reduced mobility, particularly in France. Between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries there was no need for further rural development, which had been very intensive between the tenth and the fourteenth centuries, producing a well-rooted peasantry that was shaken only by the rural exodus after 1840–1850. Thus, mobility was primarily a matter of micromobility, deriving mainly from matrimonial exchanges. Young peasant girls rarely moved more than ten kilometers from their place of birth when they married; their husbands for the most part traveled less than twenty kilometers from their place of birth, and the majority of them less than ten kilometers. This model was accompanied by regional and chronological nuances and

even exceptions. Nor did it exclude some major population movements.

RECRUITMENT AND MOTIVATION

In both town and country, there were in reality two types of behavior reflecting, as it were, two populations, one stable and rooted, the other highly mobile. In spite of micromobility related to matrimonial exchanges linked to boy-girl imbalances in families and the marrying of younger sons and daughters, rural areas saw family continuity and the maintenance of family patronyms within a zone rarely larger than, say, ten kilometers. This zone was roughly circular, but considerable geographical dissymmetry could be caused, for example, by bad relations with a neighboring parish or by geographical obstacles (a watercourse, mountain, etc.). In isolated mountain communities mobility was even more limited. Continuity of one part of the family over several generations was also common among urban middle and elite strata. This was much less frequently the case in working-class environments, partly because of very high mortality rates.

Cities, by contrast, show high mobility, both socially and geographically, for a variety of reasons. Except for small towns, cities in the early modern era were unable to renew their populations because of high mortality in urban environments. For cities to maintain their populations, there had to be very high immigration, and even higher if populations were to increase. Thus, the growth of London between the mid-seventeenth and the mid-eighteenth centuries absorbed half the surplus births for all of England (Wrigley). Given the considerable scale of urban growth in the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, and the development of capitals and ports over the early modern era as a whole, there was necessarily a major movement toward cities, though its sources varied.

Recruitment was predominantly rural and reflected the size of the city. A considerable share, often a majority, of immigrants came from the nearby countryside, especially female immigrants, only a minority of whom came from farther afield. Larger cities drew immigrants not only from the smaller cities of the hinterland, but also from other major cities. The bigger the city, the more likely it was that immigration came from more remote areas.

This long-distance immigration was varied and sometimes minimal.

Motivation for migration was sometimes occupation-related—trading colonies from the middle of the Middle Ages are an important example of this. Another type of migration involved groups of seasonal and temporary migrants, which we shall discuss later on. Thus, some populations moved a lot, sometimes because they could not take root: Rouen is an example of a city that could function both as a pressure pump and a suction pump, repelling and attracting migrants at the same time. Some segments of populations, such as the sailor populations of Amsterdam or Dunkirk, were constantly on the move. By contrast, the majority of seasonal and temporary migrants were much less mobile, making only one journey each year, or even every two or three years, the goal being to bring back as much money as possible to their home town or village.

Overall, the mobility of rural and urban populations may be entirely due to circumstances. For example, social difficulties, particularly the high cost of bread, were particularly hard on the lower strata of urban populations. Heaped with debt and more or less dispersed, families—or the remaining members thereof—abandoned not only their accommodation but also their city of residence and took to the roads, often in search of other cities. The poor in general were very mobile, as revealed by poorhouse admission records. The mobility of poverty sometimes intersected with criminalized or criminogeneous mobility; criminal populations traveled a lot in search of better possibilities or simply as a means of escaping judicial and police authorities. In sixteenth-century England—particularly at the end of the century—this led to the development of laws directly relating to the poor. On the Continent, poorhouses, bridewells, workhouses, and prisons were established; the last three were reserved for populations that were considered dangerous, as victims of venereal disease, beggars, or hardened or petty criminals.

MASS MIGRATION

Clearly, local and state authorities were concerned about some of the migrants as well as about some of the sedentary population because of their potential to create disorder. But states themselves were often the cause of major population movements, either as

a result of wars, or deliberate expulsions, or because the political or religious decisions of governments sometimes induced segments of the population to emigrate. Wars caused populations to flee in search of shelter from the ravages of armies and armed rabbles in general. Although direct military mortality may not be very high, the same cannot be said for civilian losses, as witnessed by the devastation caused in part of Germany during the Thirty Years' War. Wars caused populations to retreat when their fields were ravaged, their livestock seized, and their very lives threatened. War forced them to seek refuge in nearby regions that had been spared by the conflict, or behind city walls. In those cities of refuge, the arrival of uprooted and undernourished people constituted a fertile soil for the development of formidable epidemics. After a war, agricultural and sometimes urban structures had to be renewed, and shattered landscapes reconstructed, all of which took time. Repopulation necessitated immigration staggered over several decades, as was the case for the plain of Hungary after the defeat and routing of the Turks in 1699 and again in 1718.

The greatest population movements resulted from political and religious decisions or contexts, which were intimately linked from the start of the Protestant Reformation. Population movements were not, however, limited to the conflict between Catholics and Protestants. They were preceded by important examples of forced migration based on state decisions. France and England expelled their Jewish populations in the late Middle Ages, and other expulsions occurred elsewhere in Europe during the early modern period. Perhaps the best known expulsion is that of 1492, when the Jews of Spain were given the choice of converting to Christianity or leaving the country. Portugal issued a similar ultimatum in 1496.

Although estimates once ran to several hundred thousand for the number of Jews who left Iberia rather than convert, the best estimates now place their numbers in the neighborhood of fifty thousand. In 1609–1611 Spain also expelled its large population of converted Muslims, branding them notoriously as bad Christians and as a political threat as well. The best estimates currently place the number forced into exile at about 300,000, though an unknown number reportedly returned to the country thereafter. The Jewish diaspora led to the cre-

ation of colonies that played a leading economic role in European cities such as Bordeaux, Amsterdam, and London, as well as in the Turkish empire. Like other affinity groups with dispersed membership, the Jewish exiles established a very effective commercial and social network over long distances.

Thousands of other individuals and communities were also displaced by the religious and political strife that marked the early modern period. Perhaps the best known from the late seventeenth century are the French Protestants known as Huguenots and the English and Scottish supporters of the ousted Stuart dynasty, known as the Jacobites. Protestants in Catholic France had been under pressure since the early sixteenth century, but they had gained important privileges in 1598 with the Edict of Nantes. Louis XIV (ruled 1643–1715) revoked the edict in 1685, propelling 130,000 to 160,000 into exile: 30,000 to Switzerland, 30,000 to the states of the German Empire, 50,000 to the United Provinces of the Netherlands, and 50,000 to England. In all, some 200,000 Huguenots left France between the first third of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth, helping to develop agriculture and industry in the Protestant countries where they settled, especially England and the German states of Hesse and Prussia. The Jacobite migration was less numerous—about 50,000 people—but it was a continuous movement from the end of the seventeenth to the end of the eighteenth centuries and resulted in the creation of an extended business network, out of which important personalities emerged. In other cases, as in Russia and central European countries in the eighteenth century, governments focused essentially on attracting colonists. Frederick II (ruled 1740–1786) of Prussia established in his states 300,000 immigrants, coming mostly from southern Germany. In Russia, Catherine II the Great (ruled 1762–1796) planted more than 60,000 colonists from Lorraine and Germany, mostly in the region of the Volga, the Ukraine, and the Crimea, supplementing the Russian migrants already there. Other governments launched active relocation campaigns among their own residents. For example, after the Moriscos (Muslim converts to Catholicism) rebelled in Granada in 1568–1570, Spain dispersed them northward to Castile and provided incentives for Old Christians from the north to repopulate Granada.

And in the mid-seventeenth century, states in central Italy worked to attract new settlers to repopulate areas devastated by plague.

MOBILITY AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The mobility of the European population within Europe was therefore an essential element in economic development during the early modern era, as it was during the medieval period, although the significance of migration varied from place to place. The importance of European migration overseas was even more varied. In the case of Asia and Africa the figures are quite low. The Portuguese were never very numerous in Africa or India. The English and the French were present only in limited numbers in Asia in the early modern period. Even the Dutch colonies in Java and the Sunda Islands did not amount to very significant numbers, and it is estimated that only about 15,000 Dutch settlers migrated to South Africa. Nonetheless, Jan Lucassen has calculated that about 30,000 to 40,000 men were required overseas yearly in order to maintain Dutch positions. He estimates that 973,000 soldiers and sailors were employed by the VOC (Dutch East India Company), of whom 48 percent were foreign immigrants, and that a little more than half of them perished far from Holland. Although French emigration to Canada was quite modest—some 70,000 migrants, only 15,000 of whom settled and had descendents—French emigration to the West Indies was considerable, between 250,000 and 300,000.

However, it is clear that overseas departures consisted mainly of Portuguese, Spanish, and English. Portugal and Spain began extensive European overseas migration with the colonization of the Atlantic islands (Madeira, the Azores, and the Canaries) in the fifteenth century. In spite of the large population difference between Spanish and Portuguese territories, the disparity was not so significant because Portuguese emigration increased greatly in the eighteenth century. In raw numbers, the evolution of Spanish emigration to America was as follows: 243,000 in the sixteenth century; nearly 200,000 in the first half of the seventeenth century, about 250,000 between 1650 and 1800. It is difficult to advance precise figures for the British Isles. Somewhere between 250,000 and 500,000 moved in the seventeenth century and between 250,000

and 300,000 in the eighteenth century, with more Scots and Irish than English in this latter century. In the course of the eighteenth century there was also a considerable German contingent: about 70,000, although German movements were essentially inside Europe. This largely ignored German mobility amounted to about 500,000 people in the course of the eighteenth century.

Movements inside the European continent were distinctly more numerous than overseas departures, which were long interpreted as the product of individual choices. In fact, networks played an essential role in an individual's decision to migrate, and many migrants were recruited by contract in Europe in order to clear or farm the land, or to respond to artisanal and domestic needs, which was also the case for slave trading. Between two-thirds and three-quarters of British Isles immigrants to the West Indies and North America were therefore contract workers or "indentured servants."

All this underlines the fact that, in spite of the historic and emotional importance attached to religious migration, European mobility in the early modern era stemmed first and foremost from social and economic causes corresponding to micromobility and partially to urban attraction. Displacements were most often work-related and can be explained mainly by the availability of work and by salary differences. This is certainly the case for seasonal and temporary migration. Seasonal migration involved short-term displacements—harvesters or vineyard laborers being the most obvious example. Such short-term displacements could last several months: many stonemasons from the French province of Limousin went to work—except for the winter months—in the building industry in Paris, Lyon, and Bordeaux, and returned annually. Temporary migrations involved longer stays: for example, the French migrant workers from the Pyrenees or the Massif Central who went to work in Spain returned only every three or four years. Temporary migrations might last for the whole of a person's working life, the return to the homeland only taking place, if at all, in retirement. This "lifelong" migration occurred often among French migrants in Spain. Lifelong migration also occurred in the West Indies, and the Americas in general, although a limited number of emigrants who found great success overseas might return sooner. The wealthy Spanish *in-*

dianos and *peruleros* of the sixteenth century and the even wealthier French planters in the West Indies in the eighteenth century are cases in point.

There were also considerable manpower movements in Europe during the early modern era. The most sizeable were located in Italy (more than 100,000 people per year) and in France (a similar figure). One of the most interesting is what Jan Lucassen has called the “North Sea system,” which from the seventeenth century onward involved some 30,000 migrants annually from the German states, mostly into the United Provinces. Other movements of migratory workers, such as harvesters in the east of England, also involved regular and regulated movements, as was also the case for peddlers, or migrants with a similar lifestyle, such as tinsmiths from the Auvergne region or sawyers from the Limousin and Forez regions of France. They followed the same traditional routes every year and often—as in the case of the tinsmiths—served as cultural intermediaries who transmitted news as they moved from place to place.

CONCLUSION

The population movements in the early modern era did not present a serious threat to an essentially rural rootedness characterized by strong regional attachments. For example, although there was high mobility of young adults in England, involving frequent changes of residence, the majority of movements were less than fifteen kilometers, the average being four to five kilometers. Most of all, once married, people hardly moved at all. And rarely did people move randomly. Instead, migrants followed veritable migration routes, either as part of highly organized departures, as was the case for indentured servants and seasonal or temporary migrants, or alternatively as part of traditional family or parish links (for example, apprenticeships or marriages), or the ongoing attraction of the nearest city. Sometimes they were led to move by information available locally or through occupational contacts, letters from earlier migrants, or kinship links. Even religious migrations show a migratory context that is similar to that of work-related movements. It is now well established that migrants maintained strong links to their homeland, thanks in particular to an active interchange of letters between migrants and family and friends back home.

Generally speaking, mobility was not chosen, although there was a minority of adventuresome spirits. People moved because they could no longer stay in their place of birth or because the living conditions there had become unacceptable (forced migration). People moved to find work or a better salary. But the idea of returning home was always very strong—and was even part of the system in the case of seasonal and temporary migration—and adaptation to other places and other societies was far from being always successful, particularly in places with a tropical climate, such as parts of Africa, Asia, and the Americas, which severely tested the health of European migrants. Migration and increased mortality often went hand in hand, and it took many overseas migrants to create successful colonies; many overseas migrants gave up and returned home, just as many urban migrants in Europe abandoned cities and returned home. Many died far from their families and homeland without ever managing to establish roots in their new country.

Migration involved some very real risks, sometimes because of insalubrious conditions in city tenements or overseas colonies, or alternatively because the life of sailors or soldiers was dangerous in itself. Soldiers did in fact constitute a part of European mobility, not only because regiments moved about but also because the armies of various European countries recruited mercenary soldiers; Switzerland, Scotland, and Ireland became famous as suppliers of mercenary soldiers. In the first half of the seventeenth century, there were 100,000 Scotsmen recruited as soldiers in other countries or who had become subject to military service after settling abroad. This type of mercenary, which always existed, took on new proportions from the middle of the thirteenth century. The Scots and the Swiss occupied a special place in this form of mobility, with the Irish also migrating in very large numbers in the seventeenth century and the first half of the eighteenth. The Swiss enjoyed a high reputation as mercenaries, but the Irish and Scots were scattered more widely all over Europe, including Spain, the Scandinavian states, and Russia. The Spanish monarchy alone moved some 500,000 soldiers for military reasons in the first half of the seventeenth century. An estimated one million Swiss served abroad during the early modern era—the equivalent of the entire Swiss population at the start of the seven-

teenth century. Somewhere between 10 and 31 percent of the Swiss male population over the age of sixteen were in foreign service in the seventeenth century and between 5 and 20 percent in the eighteenth century.

Finally, while seasonal and temporary migrants such as tinsmiths, and marginal types such as criminals, moved about a lot, this was also the case for students in the early modern centuries. And it has always been the case for gypsies, for whom migration—geographic mobility—was an important part of life.

See also Atlantic Ocean; Cities and Urban Life; Class, Status, and Order; Colonialism; Communication and Transportation; *Conversos*; Economic Crises; Family; Huguenots; Jacobitism; Jews, Expulsion of (Spain; Portugal); Mercenaries; Moriscos, Expulsion of (Spain); Persecution; Refugees, Exiles, and Émigrés; Roma (Gypsies); Servants; Slavery and the Slave Trade; Spanish Colonies; Vagrants and Beggars.

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JEAN-PIERRE POUSSOU

(TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH BY LIAM GAVIN)

MOBILITY, SOCIAL. Early modern European societies were by definition nonegalitarian. Social position or status was determined by an individual's place within the institutions of family and social hierarchy. Removed from these hierarchies, the isolated individual appeared marginal at best. The hereditary nature of position and status was supported by systems of family lineage, patron-client relations, and loyalty. Marriages usually joined one “house,” lineage, or family to another of equivalent social status. Thus, for the early modern period, social mobility, when it occurred, generally involved family and kinship groups and bore little resemblance to its modern counterpart. Nevertheless, there were opportunities for “upward mobility,” as in sixteenth-century France, when *réussite sociale* (social success) enabled so many of the bourgeoisie to become gentlemen, and their families with them.

Nearly everything in the structure and function of European societies was opposed to social mobility of any great consequence. These were ordered societies with nobility at the top of the hierarchy. Because it was hereditary, the nobility was difficult to join. Thus, short of massive ennoblement, ascension to the social elite was inherently a minor, even marginal phenomenon. Heredity was also important in the artisan classes throughout Europe, as the

sons of master craftsmen had privileged access to their fathers' skills. Indeed, social division was sometimes stricter among commoners than among the nobility. Finally, in a world where learning and literacy were not available to all of society, the fact of belonging to a noble or bourgeois elite, or even an artisan elite, conferred advantages that were as decisive as family wealth and constituted another obstacle to social ascension.

The fear of social backsliding—slipping down the social ladder—was a veritable obsession. When nobility was particularly institutionalized, as it was in France in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, loss of status and its accompanying privileges became a permanent worry. Even among commoner families, there was a constant fear of social backsliding. However, this should not be considered solely a question of wealth: in the Maine region of France, the fact of belonging to an old, well-established, and honorable family was sufficient to dispel many of the social differences linked purely to wealth. There were three main avenues leading to loss of status:

- Marrying beneath one's station. However, marriage was also a means of "enriching the stock," that is, bailing out the sons of impoverished noble families by marrying them to rich heiresses from the bourgeoisie, especially the daughters of financiers. Such exogamous marriages resulted in pulling women upward in social status.
- Shame, linked to loss of honor or due to misbehavior. This was a consequence much feared by good families. It gave rise to many *lettres de cachet*.
- Ruination, as a result of bad investments or careless spending.

Social backsliding could also be the result of bad luck, such as the premature death of the head of the family or of the only male heir. Also, a considerable number of families simply disappeared, either because a family produced no children at all or no male heir. Research based on patronyms can be misleading by exaggerating both geographic and social mobility of certain family names, because it was the women who ensured the continuity of the family. It is clear, however, that the lack of male offspring was a serious concern for strongly patriarchal families, especially among the social elites. It was the social

destiny of the males that was essential, not that of the females.

In many countries—and primarily for the nobility—there were legal mechanisms to protect male heirs while simultaneously ensuring the survival and integrity of estates. Obstacles to social mobility were also imposed in the name of religion. In Ireland during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, when Britain's Penal Laws prohibited the practice of Roman Catholicism, Catholics saw their lands confiscated and were prohibited from constituting or reconstituting their estates, forced instead to live as tenant farmers. The central and western Pyrenees also had laws preventing the unification of estates. For the smooth running of this society, in which only the eldest inherited the ancestral patrimony, it was considered essential not only to preserve farms but also to maintain their number. Thus, the eldest child in a family, regardless of its sex, was supposed to marry a younger child from another family, or vice versa, but marriage between an "heir" and an "heiress" was forbidden because it would cause one "house" to disappear and reduce the number of farms. The corollary of this extremely constraining system was that younger sons and daughters could either marry with uncertain prospects, or choose to emigrate because they could not look forward to inheriting the estate.

MIGRATION

A minority of migrants managed to improve their condition during the first generation, but many failed, and mortality was high among migrants, particularly when the migration was to a country with a tropical climate, which suited very few Europeans. Still, migration could enable some people to climb the social ladder. Stonemasons migrating from the Limousin region to Paris or Bordeaux were able to devote their earnings to enlarging the family holding. Migrants settling in Spain were able to use their earnings to become large rural landowners. And there can be no doubt that there were remarkable successes in the East and West Indies.

The agrarian colonization of North America, especially among the English, often resulted in a firmly rooted peasantry. Generally speaking, this was also the case for the soldier-colonists, including those that the French installed on the banks of the Saint Lawrence River, particularly after 1668, with

the officers and troops of the Carignan-Salières regiment that came to fight the Iroquois.

In the world of trade, some of the younger and less fortunate sons and cousins sent abroad to serve as commissioners or representatives for trading houses proved to be spectacularly successful. The success could be entirely individual, as in the case of Jacques Necker (1732–1804), the son of a poor Geneva family, who enjoyed unrivaled success as a banker and served as director general of finance for France in 1777. Success in the colonies could be accompanied by a reputation for knavery or could result in shocking *nouveau-riche* behavior, as in the case of the “nabobs”—the most famous being Robert Clive (1725–1774), who went to the East Indies poor and returned in 1767, having conquered a large part thereof and possessed of a considerable income of £40,000 sterling—or the West Indian planters, known in France as the “*Américains*,” many of whom enjoyed a high profile in eighteenth-century London. It is clear that upward social mobility was often the result of successful migration accompanied by chance and talent. This was true even in sixteenth-century Russia, where a small but important merchant bourgeoisie developed, consisting of men of varied status, based on their extremely heterogeneous origins.

UPWARD MOBILITY

In Russia, as in western Europe, social mobility most often affected the nobility. However, Russian nobility was unique in that, until Peter I the Great (ruled 1682–1725), the hereditary elite was based on service to the state, or “*chin*.” There were some very intense class struggles, but access to employment, therefore a higher “*chin*” level, depended on skills and personal success. Peter the Great restructured all that, particularly in 1721 and 1722. He created new titles, such as count or baron, which he borrowed from other realms. The nobility was divided into fourteen ranks, and while it was still possible to rise in the “*chin*” system, only the tsar could authorize such a rise. This resulted in a nobiliary social elite, as elsewhere, except that it was linked very directly to state functions and needs for service, which ensured real flexibility for the ruler, until Catherine II the Great (ruled 1762–1796) agreed in 1785 to emphasize the hereditary divisions among the nobility. Until then, social ascension

both into and within the Russian social elite was perfectly possible.

The opportunity for social ascension was much more widespread than is generally believed. A great many painters, sculptors, and artists of all kinds came from very common and even humble origins. Moreover, it was often the case that neither their family background nor their place of birth predisposed them in any way toward their future status. For example, the painter Hans Memling (c. 1430 or 1435–1494), who was so important in Bruges during the fifteenth century, was born into a peasant family in a village situated some twenty kilometers from Frankfurt am Main. The flowering of his talent and his enormous success will always remain a profound mystery. Similarly, nothing in Sir Richard Arkwright’s (1732–1792) origins offers any inkling of his future success. He may not have been scrupulously honest, but his invention, the water-powered spinning frame, was astonishing and led to his accession to the gentry.

The church also provides many examples of “self-made” men, with one significant difference: the benefits of a successful career in the church could not be passed on to one’s descendants (however, there was no shortage of nephews and nieces to favor). The career of Cardinal Jules Mazarin (1602–1661) provides a remarkable example. Born into a Roman family of very modest extraction, he entered the service of Cardinal Richelieu (Armand-Jean du Plessis; 1585–1642), chief minister to Louis XIII (ruled 1610–1643) of France, and later succeeded him as prime minister (1642–1661). Mazarin amassed a considerable fortune, from which his nieces benefited greatly. Although distinctly less impressive, the success of Robert Gaguin (c. 1433–1501) is no less exemplary: born near the boundary between Flanders and Artois, his family may have been common laborers. But this did not stop him from quickly becoming the leader of the Trinitarian Order, a major figure in the University of Paris, a central character for the history of humanism and the Renaissance in France, a great author, a diplomatic adviser, and a representative of the kings of France. These very well-known examples provide us with the key to upward social mobility: the power to make personal talents bear fruit through networks of allied families and kinship groups.

Although family lines and kinship groups preserve social structures, and slow, limit, or prevent social backsliding, they also foster social ascension. J. M. Moriceau's study of powerful peasant families in the Île-de-France region provides a good illustration of these different aspects. Beginning in the fifteenth century, the group studied constituted a veritable village aristocracy that practiced endogamy and maintained very effective networks; it even tended to develop into a caste. Only major crises, like the one that followed the Fronde (1648–1652), could shake it, by multiplying failures and social mobility. However, this did not ruin the families. The rest of the family line, collaterals if necessary, recovered the positions. In this very closed milieu—more closed than the nobility—families had considerable power. During the second half of the eighteenth century, this resulted in their becoming veritable gentlemen farmers and, later on, rural notables.

In the eighteenth century, widespread interest in science and technology increased the number of direct ascensions to fame and wealth, as in the case of Gaspard Monge (1746–1818), the great mathematician and physicist, born at Beaune (Burgundy) to a knife-grinder father and a mother whose father was a coachman. Literature offers similar examples: the French writers Denis Diderot (1713–1784) and Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778) came from very modest backgrounds.

While ability and talent were a means to rapid social ascension in science, literature, and the church, the same cannot really be said for the army because the officer level was only barely open to men rising from the ranks. Of course the army can provide some examples of swift ascension, but only when the position of the officer was not the absolute monopoly of the nobility, as in Russia. It was generally exceptional for a commoner to rise to the rank of officer. For example, the careers of British officers, who came largely from the lower branches of the gentry, were fixed in advance by their level of wealth. Whenever we find social ascension in the army, it relates primarily to members of the *petite noblesse*.

DEGREES OF CLOSURE

We therefore find multiple social groups—the term *class* is too precise and should be avoided: master

craftsmen, for example, did not constitute a class—seeking to preserve their positions and most of all to ensure their status through their progeny and by jealously maintaining their positions. Craft communities or corporations were very much attached to their privileges and monopolies: these monopolies were “the key to the decent level of living to which the corporation masters considered they had a right, and the basis of their economic independence” (M. Prak). At the high end of society, patriciates, like that of Venice, provide classic examples of the self-protective group. The ranks of the nobility were nowhere more restricted than in Venice, where they remained closed from 1297 onward. Their members were listed in a golden book or in noble genealogies, and members could not form alliances with outsiders. This patriciate held all power and authority in Venice.

In Geneva also, the “Geneva aristocracy” completely dominated social and political life, just as it dominated trade and banking. Unlike other patriciates, however, it was more than willing to open its ranks, even to immigrants, when they were at the head of a great fortune or had acquired a great reputation in religion or the sciences. The Geneva patriciate was therefore remarkable by virtue of its cosmopolitan aspect, which clearly distinguished it from that of Venice.

The tendency for groups to remain closed was nevertheless a much more general phenomenon. In pre-Revolutionary, rural French society, many of the notarial acts to which families had recourse were aimed specifically at excluding girls from the greater part of the inheritance, particularly land inheritance. Girls received a dowry, usually a sum of money and some items of furniture (trousseau, bed, etc.) but the future inheritance went to the male heirs. There was much greater diversity for boys, ranging from egalitarian inheritance to the choice of a single distinctly privileged heir. There was in fact no standard, uniform practice. For example, customs in the region of Paris and Orléans aimed solely at preserving the family bond, paying no particular attention to whether the presumptive heir was male or female, older or younger. In Normandy and Anjou, however, the customary system was egalitarian, and estates in that region were far more difficult to preserve.

Furthermore, the closed nature of nobilities and patriciates was much less extensive than is often thought. It varied from period to period and from country to country. The sixteenth century was undoubtedly a period of great upward mobility in Europe as a whole. The high mortality caused by difficult living conditions combined with the effect of the multiple wars that marked the century to form a social context that was far less rigid than it later became. The passage to nobility was, indeed, more difficult from the eighteenth century onward. However, even when openness and mobility clearly existed, they were accompanied by a strong resistance to change, the Neapolitan nobility being a good example. Victory in the “Spanish affair” certainly ushered in some immediate upheavals in the positions of families, as well as many downfalls. Yet, the composition of the Neapolitan nobility manifested “a remarkable continuity compared to the previous period” (M. A. Visceglia). This resistance was no doubt facilitated by a shared belief in common values and social rules. Having been provost of Parisian merchants from 1622 to 1627 and having also become president of the parlement in 1627, Nicolas de Bailleul decided in 1639 to have his family tree drawn up. He managed to root the pre-eminence of his family in the distant past in order to erase the obstacles to his rapid ascension and efface all traces of social mobility in a world where prestige, virtue, and success were not linked to meteoric social ascension but to the reality of family and lineage.

See also **Aristocracy and Gentry; Art: The Conception and Status of the Artist; Artisans; Family; Inheritance and Wills; Military: Armies: Recruitment, Organization, and Social Composition; Mobility, Geographic; Officeholding; Women.**

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JEAN-PIERRE POUSSOU

(TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH BY LIAM GAVIN)

MOHYLA, PETER (Romanian, Petru Movilă; 1596–1646), archimandrite of the Kiev Monastery of the Caves and Orthodox metropolitan of Kiev. Mohyla was the son of Simeon, *hospodar* (lord) of Walachia and Moldavia. He and his mother, the Hungarian princess Margareta, sought the protection of magnate relatives in the western Ukrainian lands of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth after his father’s murder in 1607. Mohyla may have studied at the school of the Orthodox Lviv Brotherhood and at the Zamość Academy; one source suggests that he studied in western Europe. In any event, he received a thorough education, mastering Greek, Latin, Polish, and Church Slavonic, as well as Catholic, Protestant, and Orthodox theology.

On 16 September 1627, with the support of the palatine of Kiev, Tomasz Zamoyski, Mohyla was named archimandrite of the Kievan Caves Monastery, replacing the recently deceased Zakhariia Kopystenskyi. During that year, Mohyla was drawn into a series of discussions about the reunification of the Ruthenian Church. He broke with Meletii Smotrytskyi’s plans for Union at the council held in Kiev

in 1628; Smotrytskyi alleged that Mohyla was motivated by fear of the Cossacks and the lesser clergy.

Mohyla remained at the center of interest on the Uniate side. In a memorial to Rome in the spring of 1629, the Uniate metropolitan of Kiev Josyf Veliamyn Rutsyki proposed the creation of a Ruthenian patriarchate and suggested Mohyla for the office. Such discussions would continue, always foundering on Mohyla's insistence on the relative autonomy of the Ruthenian church and the suspicions of Cossacks and lesser clergy that such plans were simply a ruse to bring the Orthodox into the Roman church.

Orthodox Metropolitan of Kiev Iov Boretskyi died on 12 March 1631. Mohyla had the support of King Sigismund III of Poland to succeed him, but, with the backing of the Cossacks, lower clergy, and middling Orthodox gentry, an implacable enemy of the Union, Isaiah Kopynskyi, was chosen instead. Mohyla turned his attention to education in the interim. He brought teachers from Lviv and opened a school in Kiev 1631, over objections of the Kiev Epiphany Brotherhood, who had established their own school c. 1615. In 1632 Mohyla went to Warsaw for the parliament that elected King Władysław IV. There he worked for the legalization of the Orthodox hierarchy and was confirmed by the king as Orthodox metropolitan.

In July 1633 Mohyla removed his competitor Kopynskyi by force and took the St. Sophia cathedral in Kiev away from the Uniates. Under Mohyla the Orthodox Church was consolidated and centralized, and Kiev overtook Vilnius and Lviv as the center of the Ruthenian renewal, regaining some of its ancient splendor through the metropolitan's projects of archaeology, renovation, and new building. On 18 March 1635 the king gave his permission to transform the united schools of the brotherhood and the monastery into an Orthodox Ruthenian college (soon known as the Kiev-Mohyla College) with rights to teach dialectics and logic in Greek and Latin.

In the years 1637–1646 Mohyla oversaw a number of projects (liturgical and devotional books) at the printing house of the Monastery of the Caves, over which he remained archimandrite. A synod met in Kiev in 1640 to discuss dogmatic questions, and in 1645 the first partial edition of

Mohyla's catechism of the Orthodox faith appeared in print. Plans and cautious negotiations to create a Ruthenian patriarchate in some sort of relationship with Rome continued to surface in the 1630s and 1640s. Mohyla died in January 1647.

See also **Orthodoxy, Russian; Poland-Lithuania, Commonwealth of, 1569–1795; Reformations in Eastern Europe: Protestant, Catholic, and Orthodox; Ukraine; Uniates; Union of Brest (1596).**

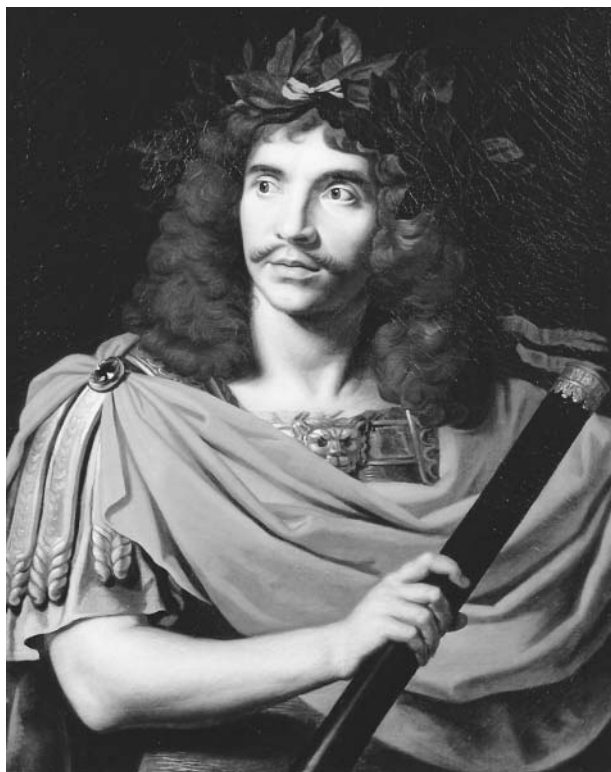
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DAVID FRICK

MOLIÈRE (Jean-Baptiste Poquelin; 1622–1673), French playwright, actor, and troupe director. Born into a successful merchant family, Jean-Baptiste Poquelin received an education from the Jesuits and was studying law when, at the age of twenty-one, he renounced his career to join a troupe of itinerant actors. In 1643 he signed a contract with the actress Madeleine Béjart and other members of her family to establish a troupe which they called the "Illustrious Theater," but they were soon unable to pay their bills and Poquelin, who had assumed the stage name Molière, was jailed for debt in 1645. Once released, he and his troupe departed to tour the provinces. From 1646 to 1658 they staged plays throughout the French countryside, with Molière gradually assuming a role as the troupe's leader, principal actor, and creator of scenarios for the farces that the group performed along with their centerpiece tragedies. In 1653 the prince de Conti, royal governor of Languedoc, engaged the actors as his personal troupe, granting them status and financial stability until Conti's abrupt "conversion" to a life of religious austerity led him to withdraw his patronage. In 1658 the Illustrious Theater returned to Paris and were granted another opportunity to please the more difficult audiences of city and court, where they played first at the Louvre



Molière. Painting of Molière as Julius Caesar, attributed to Pierre Mignard. THE ART ARCHIVE/MUSÉE CARNAVALET PARIS/ DAGLI ORTI (A)

palace. The king's brother Philip, duke of Orleans, became their sponsor.

Beginning in 1659, Molière focused on performing his own plays, though he professed ambivalence about his new status of published author in the preface to his play *Les précieuses ridicules* (1660; *The affected young ladies*). His attention to performance and staging and to the improvisational traditions of the *commedia dell'arte* remained paramount in his comedies, even as he developed an increasingly sophisticated vision of the comic genre. His greatest achievement as an author was to have invented a “comedy of character” that introduced psychological depth to stock comic situations, in the process drawing on traditions from popular farce and more serious drama. Beginning with *L'école des femmes* (1662; *The school for wives*), he wrote five-act comedies in verse, as well as *comédies-ballets* combining music, dance, and poetry with the clownish elements of *commedia dell'arte*. His comic characters often have a single dominant trait or “mask,” suggested in many of the titles of his plays,

as in *L'étourdi* (1655, *The bungler*) and *L'avare* (1668, *The miser*). They also portray the social obsessions of Molière's elite audiences, as in his satirical portrait of educated women, *Les femmes savantes* (1672, *The learned ladies*) or in his penetrating portrayal of salon society, *Le misanthrope* (1666).

Having secured the favor of the young King Louis XIV, Molière undertook to fight, from the stage, the attacks on the theater being mounted by radical religious parties of the Catholic reform movement. A first version of his play *Tartuffe*, portraying a religious hypocrite who deceives his gullible and devout host and attempts to seduce his wife, was staged in 1664. It was immediately banned by the church's censors and attacked in print by Molière's former patron Conti, among others. Molière withdrew the play, but continued to press for its revival, at great personal risk, until a final version, which included a flattering panegyric to the king, was produced under royal protection in 1669. Meanwhile, in 1665, he composed and produced *Dom Juan*, a disquieting and innovative version of the story of the legendary seducer of women, who in Molière's version is a libertine and an atheist, a modern, educated nobleman who has lost his moral bearings.

Throughout the first decade of the reign of Louis XIV, Molière produced plays commissioned for court spectacles, many of them on short notice, in which he also played the principal role. His *L'impromptu de Versailles* (1663) gives us an amusing inside look at his own troupe at work attempting to rehearse a play that Molière has not had the time to finish. *George Dandin* (1668) was first performed at Versailles with ballet and musical *intermèdes* written by the composer Jean-Baptiste Lully, and *Monsieur de Pourceaugnac* was commissioned for a court spectacle at the château de Chambord in 1669. *Le bourgeois gentilhomme* (*The would-be gentleman*), a *comédie-ballet* also produced in collaboration with Lully, premiered at Chambord in 1670.

Molière died 17 February 1673, after collapsing during a production of his play *Le malade imaginaire* (*The imaginary invalid*), in which he was playing the title role. Denied burial on sacred ground because of his profession, he was finally interred, secretly and at night, in his parish cemetery by special permission of the king. The manner of his



Molière. Molière as the title character from his play *Sganarelle; or, The Imaginary Cuckold*, 1661. Engraving by Jean de Gourmont. © GIANNI DAGLI ORTI/CORBIS

death has become part of his legacy; students of the theater regard him as an iconic figure, devoted to the stage, whose work bridges the gap that so often divides the play as text and performance. The chair in which Molière was seated during his last production is preserved in the halls of the Comédie Française, an institution founded by several of the members of his troupe six years after his death, and today the world's oldest theater company.

See also *Commedia dell'Arte; French Literature and Language*; Lully, Jean-Baptiste.

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ELIZABETH C. GOLDSMITH

MONARCHY. We know a great deal about the monarchs of early modern Europe, but we know much less about monarchy, that is, the institution of personal rulership. Until the French Revolution, monarchy was usually taken for granted by Europeans. Since it was endorsed by the Bible and Aristotle, the touchstones of written truth, few thought to analyze it further. Those who did, like Jean Bodin or Thomas Hobbes, were viewed with suspicion by more cautious minds. The adjectives that we employ today to describe types of monarchy, such as “absolutist,” “divine right,” or “constitutional,” were not used in a systematic way before the eighteenth century because they were not greatly needed. Other terms, like “thaumaturgic kingship,” “sacral kingship,” “the king’s two bodies,” or “enlightened absolutism,” were coined long after 1800. While they may be quite useful in understanding early modern monarchy, it would be a mistake to apply them too rigorously, as if monarchs adhered to them as underlying principles.

Institutions that everyone takes for granted tend to be conservative, and this was certainly the case with monarchy. It generally fostered a distrust of political change. Yet monarchs could sponsor the most daring innovations, which became more acceptable because of their support. Indeed, perhaps the most remarkable feature of early modern European monarchy was its recurring dynamism, its ability to create or adapt to new circumstances. Unlike its counterparts in many other parts of the world, European kingship between 1450 and 1800 was constantly changing in response to competition or crisis. By the eighteenth century, European monarchs possessed more effective means of communication and control than their rivals elsewhere, combined with better military technology. These advantages encouraged them to impose themselves



Monarchy. Elizabeth I Addresses the House of Lords, engraving c. 1558–1603. ©HULTON-DEUTSCH COLLECTION/CORBIS

on other parts of the world. Their systems of governance may not have been superior, but their organization was, however haphazard it may seem to us today. Thus, the transformation of rulership in early modern Europe had global consequences.

INSTITUTIONAL DEFINITIONS

If called upon to define “monarchy,” we might say that it is rulership over a political entity by one person who inherits his or her position by hereditary succession, is crowned, reigns for life, and exercises authority by the will of God rather than by the choice of the people. While this may be a reasonable overall description, it does not fit most early modern European monarchies very precisely, because they were so diverse. To begin with, few of them were simple political entities. Most were composite states, amalgamations of regions, provinces, or even kingdoms, whose chief or only point of unity was the person of the monarch. Spain after 1516 was not a single administrative unit; rather, it was a collection of separate kingdoms united only by allegiance to a single ruler. The same was true of Great Britain between 1603 and 1707. Today, national states are held together by identities based on common values and impersonal institutions. It is hard for us to imagine a political body that would dissolve if a single office were vacant, but that was the case with most early modern monarchies.

This in turn complicated the meaning of rulership, which might relate to little more than the existence of a monarch at the head of a realm. The day-to-day direction of the polity might rest in the hands of the king only in an abstract sense. He was, to be sure, the ultimate source of authority in the kingdom. Yet nowhere did he make every political decision, either alone or in his council; and nowhere was his power unrestricted. Customs, privileges, traditions, laws, Estates, assemblies, and parliaments—all put boundaries on royal power, sometimes so severely that the king was able to do very little on his own. Besides, in the “age of the favorite,” kings were often happy to delegate power to a leading minister, such as Olivares in Spain, Richelieu in France, Buckingham in England, Oxenstierna in Sweden, and Griffenfeld in Denmark.

Personal rulership was in flux during the early modern period. It was traditionally understood to mean two things above all: leadership in war and the

administration of justice. Both roles had seriously decayed by the mid-1700s. Medieval kings regularly led troops into battle and were eager to intervene in strategic decisions during wartime. This began to change with the expansion of armies in the 1500s, and by 1750, generals and military experts were firmly in charge. Kings stopped regularly dispensing personal justice in the late Middle Ages and rarely exercised direct supervision of judicial systems, although they continued to use pardons as a means of exhibiting their final say over the law. The expanded mechanisms of war and impersonal justice were made possible by tax collection, which was carried out by officials acting in the king’s name. Taxation became the most important practical function of government. Those who resisted taxes in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries liked to claim that the ruler was ignorant of the tyranny and corruption of his officers (“if the king only knew . . .”), but by the eighteenth century this polite fiction had worn thin. The rumor that Louis XVI (ruled 1774–1792) was involved in a *pacte de famine* against his own people was a crucial factor in the erosion of his rulership over France. In some eyes, the warrior leader and font of justice had become little more than a chief bureaucrat.

Was monarchy always strictly hereditary? Poland, Bohemia (to 1627), Hungary (to 1688) and the Holy Roman Empire were elected monarchies, and nobles in other countries, notably Muscovy, Denmark, and Sweden, could fall back on the elective principle in times of crisis. The only nation where hereditary right was fixed in law was France, which was why some observers, like Claude de Seyssel, thought the French monarchy was more stable than any other. Yet in spite of its supposed virtues, the Salic Law, invented to keep English claimants off the French throne by ruling out inheritance in the female line, was not imitated in the rest of Europe. The English determined their own succession by armed struggle in 1461, 1471, and 1485, by usurpation in 1483, by the novel principle of female inheritance in 1553 and 1558, and by parliamentary statute in 1689 and 1714. The Swedes, whose Vasa kings were viewed as mere usurpers by their former Danish overlords, thrice chose a king by legislative approval. The Spanish royal inheritance of 1702 was dictated by the testament of Charles II, not by lineage alone. The Ottoman succession was never

secure. In spite of Mehmed II's edict requiring a new sultan to execute his brothers, the empire suffered several usurpations and wars of succession before the "law of fratricide" fell into disuse in the seventeenth century.

Did a king rule for life? Not necessarily. Charles I of England was tried and executed in 1649; his son James II was deposed in 1688, although Parliament declared it an abdication. Queen Christina of Sweden really did abdicate in 1654 (she expected to be treated with royal dignity for the rest of her life). Philip V took the unprecedented step of first abdicating in 1724, then reclaiming the Spanish throne after the premature death of his son, Luis. Victor Amadeus of Savoy's abdication in 1730 was perceived as a devious ploy to regain the throne with more power (it failed when he was imprisoned). Ottoman sultans could not abdicate, but they were regularly murdered, particularly by rebellious Janissaries. The same grim fate was meted out to several Russian tsars, including the false Dmitry, Peter III, and Ivan VI.

Not all kings were crowned. The Ottoman Empire lacked a coronation ceremony, as did Castile; in both cases, the ruler was simply proclaimed, and banners unfurled. Elsewhere, the coronation ceremony was carefully observed, but the *ordines* or rules that governed the ritual were always subject to revision. The church had at first resisted the idea that coronation made the king into a holy figure, like a priest. By the early modern period, however, the clergy had given way to royal assertiveness. The coronation was now represented as an ordination, replete with holy oils and chrisms for anointing the king's body. It conferred an aura of sacredness on the royal person. Yet in hereditary monarchies, coronation did not initiate rulership, which began at the death of the preceding monarch. This contradiction was often noted, never resolved. In the eighteenth century, the legitimizing power of the coronation declined throughout Europe, and it became simply another occasion for display and panoply.

While coronation ceremonies usually retained some form of popular acclamation, they tended to reinforce the idea that early modern kings ruled by the will of God rather than that of the people. This was a consistent message, even in Poland, where the king was elected by the nobles and was frequently

bullied by them. In practice, however, the will of God could be narrowly interpreted, as the Providence that maintained the king on the throne and gave him victories. It might also extend to acts of the king that directly invoked the deity, like the miracle of the royal touch in England and France; but when the king laid hands on sufferers to cure scrofula, it was God, not he, who performed the healing. Divine sanction did not mean that the king was a saint (although Russian tsars, Louis XIII of France, and the martyred Charles I of England were represented in that way), or that specific acts of royal governance expressed the intentions of the Almighty. It was often the opponents of monarchs, from the French Catholic League to Belgian patriots of the 1780s, who were most strident in appropriating heavenly favor for their political actions. Kings were usually more wary; after all, they had to deal with the guardians of religion, who resented claims to God's approval that were made without their explicit support. Even the Ottoman sultan was circumspect in his use of the title "caliph" or heir to the prophet.

Monarchs gradually became bolder in asserting control over the clergy and religion. This did not make them more sacred, but it did make them controversial. Tsars Alexis Mikhaylovich and his son Peter I (Peter the Great) outraged traditionalists with their religious reforms; so did James II in England. The regalism of the Bourbons, especially Louis XIV in France and Charles III in Spain, created many critics among devout Catholics. The attack against Jansenism that was initiated by Louis XIV and continued by his successor created a political furor that lasted sixty years. The most daring offender against religious sensibilities may have been Emperor Joseph II, who dissolved monasteries, gave toleration to Jews, and aroused bitter clerical opposition. As a result, traditionalist church parties formed throughout Europe. What they had in common was disillusionment with monarchy, causing a distrust that could feed into revolutionary sympathies after 1789.

THEORIES OF RULERSHIP

If we turn from institutional definitions of monarchy to the theories of political writers, we may be surprised to find how little connection there was between them. Inspired by the ancients, political



Monarchy. *The Disembarkation of Marie de' Medici at Marseilles*, by Peter Paul Rubens, c. 1624. One of the most revered painters in Europe, Rubens was commissioned to create a series of works intended to immortalize the life of the French queen.
©GIRAUDON/ART RESOURCE

philosophers usually wanted to write for the ages, not to address specific institutional questions. While they were deeply influenced by what was happening around them, they consciously sought to separate their writings from contemporary circumstances. The impact of their theories, however, was seldom what they had expected.

The main classical sources for European political theory were Roman law, Aristotle (often filtered through Cicero), and the Roman historian Tacitus. Roman law dealt directly with the question of *imperium*, which could be understood variously, as absolute sovereignty (the emperor was above the laws) or as some sort of limited rulership (the emperor was bound by the laws). The civil lawyers often regarded *imperium* as meaning both simultaneously: that is, the king normally had to observe the laws, but could in special circumstances dispense with them. This was the point of view of leading imperial jurists, like Dietrich Reinking. The breakdown of imperial power in the Thirty Years' War, however, led some legal writers, like Hermann Conring and Samuel Pufendorf, to deny that the Holy Roman Empire was descended from ancient Rome. As a result, sovereign authority was held by German territorial rulers, not the emperor. The empire survived, however, and by the eighteenth century, constitutional equilibrium rather than *imperium* was the main concern of its civil lawyers.

The impact of Aristotle was more pervasive and subtle. His emphasis on personal balance and self-restraint informed countless manuals on lordly behavior, or "Mirrors for Princes." They appeared in Muslim as well as Christian lands; in fact, one of the first and most important of them was written by the Islamic scholar al-Ghazālī, in the eleventh century. Desiderius Erasmus wrote one, as did Justus Lipsius and, in the eighteenth century, Frederick the Great of Prussia. The reading of Aristotle and Cicero inspired an abhorrence of despotism and a belief in the public good as the ultimate end of government. Aristotelians from Thomas Aquinas to Francisco de Vitoria to the great Spanish Jesuit writers (Pedro de Rivadeneira, Juan de Mariana, Francisco Suárez) held to the view that kings should rule for the benefit of the people. Since most of them were priests, they also stressed the supremacy of the church over any secular monarchy. Protestant Aristotelians like Martin Luther himself and Henning

Arnisaeus accepted the primacy of religion but were more willing to separate monarchy from popular approval.

The third classical strain in early modern European political thought was derived from the historian Tacitus, who excoriated the corruption and decrepitude of the Roman imperial state. His main follower in our period was Niccolò Machiavelli, whose books on princely amorality and republican virtue were formally despised, but rarely ignored, by other political writers. Admirers of Tacitus were not always critical of monarchy; like Henry St. John, Lord Bolingbroke, in the eighteenth century, they might believe that only a strong, heroic ruler could restore decayed virtue. Similarly, Tacitus's view that empires must continually grow or necessarily decay could supply arguments to both opponents and defenders of imperial expansion.

The classical tradition gave only limited sustenance to those political writers who wanted a more "absolute" monarchy. In fact, Aristotle and Cicero could be read as consistent with an interpretation of the Bible that saw kings as responsible to the people rather than directly to God. This was expressed by certain followers of John Calvin, called "monarchomachs," notably the German Johannes Althusius, the Scot George Buchanan, and the Frenchmen François Hotman, Philippe Duplessis-Mornay, and Hubert Languet. They vested ultimate authority in the magistrates, in legislatures, or in the people rather than the king. Buchanan, like Mariana, even allowed that open resistance to a tyrant might be legitimate.

Where could defenders of a stronger monarchy turn? To the Bible, of course, and to Roman history. For the French lawyer Jean Bodin, the sovereignty of a monarch could not be divided, shared, or legally resisted because it rested on the patriarchal power exercised by an all-powerful God as well as by ancient Roman fathers. The Englishman Robert Filmer carried Bodin a stage further by making patriarchal power "arbitrary," so that the father-ruler could do whatever he wanted, without any right of resistance. Most apologists for royal power, like Bishop Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet, did not go so far as either Bodin or Filmer; they simply maintained that the authority of the king was derived from God, to whom he was solely responsible. This did not



Monarchy. King George III of England, painting by Sir Nathaniel Dance Holland. THE ART ARCHIVE/GRIPSHOLM CASTLE SWEDEN/DAGLI ORTI (A)

entirely rule out some sort of original agreement with the people; but as the Dutch jurist Hugo Grotius pointed out, once such an agreement was made, the people surrendered their sovereignty and had no right to reclaim it. Thomas Hobbes repeated the point in his *Leviathan* of 1651, which presented government as the convergence of individual wills in an “artificial man,” the state. Hobbes’s unorthodox religious and philosophical views ensured that few in England would acknowledge his contribution for the next century. On the other side, only the most radical political thinkers, like John Locke, continued to argue for a right to resistance to monarchs by the end of the seventeenth century, and Locke was not very clear about how it could be activated.

The Enlightenment added a new dimension to these debates, by introducing a critical, comparative method. It was best exemplified in Montesquieu’s *L’esprit des lois* (1748; *Spirit of the laws*), which sought to replace the ideal categories of classical

philosophy with observations of the ways in which peoples were actually governed. The aristocratic Montesquieu was often read as a proponent of a mixed constitution based on the post-1688 English model. Admiration for England was widely held, but it did not wholly sway every enlightened mind (Voltaire, for example, continued to praise Louis XIV’s powerful, activist monarchy). Foreign observers, moreover, tended to misinterpret the centralist English constitution.

By the late eighteenth century, many enlightened writers (Cesare Beccaria and Denis Diderot among them) had decided that the form of government was less important than what it accomplished in terms of the public good. Kings, it was hoped, would become reformers: “the first servants of the state,” in Frederick the Great’s memorable phrase. They would abolish torture, establish religious toleration, grant freedom of expression, and spread education among the masses. They might even transform the European empires into federations of sovereign states, a sentiment expressed by several prominent Spanish reformers.

The American Revolution complicated such aspirations because it associated reform with republicanism. At the same time, some proponents of economic change, like the Marquês de Pombal of Portugal, had proven themselves to be less than enlightened in other areas. A renewed threat to monarchy emerged in the writings of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, who scorned the “despotism” of kings and suggested that sovereignty rested not in them, but in an abstract conception of the “general will” determined by the whole people. Few read Rousseau’s *Du contrat social* (*Social contract*) when it first appeared in 1762, but it made a great impact on the subsequent generation. By the early 1790s, some enlightened thinkers throughout Europe held the view that, if kings were not willing to lead the nation and the people into a golden age of reform, they might not be necessary after all.

COURTS AND DISPLAY

The works of political philosophers shaped educated minds, but until the late 1700s, they made little difference to the conduct of royal courts. The court was the main arena of royal display and magnificence. In the absence of bureaucratic institutions, it was also the center of monarchical govern-

ment. Leading members of the king's councils usually held prominent positions at court. Local officials often had to go to court to transact important business. Aristocrats jockeyed at court for positions, titles, honors, and the prestige of personal proximity to the sovereign.

The courts of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were often peripatetic, moving between royal palaces and cities, or installing themselves temporarily in the houses of prominent nobles. By the late 1500s this had become too expensive and complicated, so courts became more or less fixed in a few big palaces, in or near administrative centers. They also grew. The salaried officials of the French court numbered around one thousand under Francis I; they swelled to eight to ten thousand under Louis XIV. The Spanish court remained at around fifteen to seventeen hundred persons during the same period, and the English court included about one thousand officers until the Civil Wars. The much smaller Austrian Habsburg court did not exceed six hundred persons from the late 1400s to the late 1600s, but by the second quarter of the eighteenth century it had reached twenty-five hundred. None of them, however, compared with the 95,000 employees and officers of the Ottoman court, among them 68,000 soldiers, 2,146 doorkeepers, 5,003 gardeners, and 1,372 cooks.

The main purpose of the court was to bring together the king's principal servants, both government officers and members of his household, in one place. This was particularly vital in composite monarchies, where high-ranking royal officials came from disparate regions and might even speak different languages. The king could not live in all his territories, so he had to call their leading men to him. A court where rewards were to be had was one to which they would flock; a feeble court would indicate a lack of cohesion in the kingdom. Thus, the court was above all a point of contact between the crown and the elite.

It was also a locale for royal and aristocratic display. Kings lived out much of their daily lives in public, and their every move, from rising in the morning to dining to walking in the palace gardens, could be accompanied by elaborate ceremony. Religious observances were particularly important occasions for ritual. The Russian court, for example, was

highly ritualized until the reign of Peter I, because the tsar was expected to perform endless religious duties. Every member of the high aristocracy (between 24 and 153 men) had a part in these ceremonies. For similar reasons, the Spanish court under the Habsburgs was obsessed with ritual, partly derived from the ordinances of the dukes of Burgundy. The king of Spain's cousins at the imperial court of Vienna, however, were much more relaxed—the emperor even dined privately, with his wife! The ritual of the French court waxed under Henry III and waned thereafter, until it was reestablished by Louis XIV at Versailles. English court ritual was never formalized to the same extent, with the exception of the annual Garter Ceremony, a favorite duty of Charles I.

Participation in the rituals of the court was determined by etiquette—not a list of behavioral rules, but a ranking of courtiers by precedence. Etiquette dictated who sat or stood near the king, who handed him his clothes or his towels or his food, who had a right to wear a hat in his presence. A courtier's position might be determined by office, by birth, or by some other distinction, such as the holding of a chivalric order. The king was the ultimate source of precedence, and he could manipulate the system of etiquette as he could the distribution of political positions. Few monarchs, however, made dramatic changes in etiquette or used it arbitrarily to control the aristocracy. They tended to reward those who already had influence, wealth, and social prestige. The court was not a self-enclosed social system; rather, its etiquette reflected the wider hierarchical society beyond it.

Artistic patronage was also based at court. Most kings enjoyed theatrical performances—plays, ballets, operas, masques—that were designed to edify the court nobility. They might call for the ruler to appear directly on stage, surrounded by obese courtiers. Some kings, like Philip IV of Spain or Charles I of England, assembled magnificent collections of paintings, both religious and secular. A few, like Louis XIV at Versailles or Frederick the Great at Potsdam, wanted to make their courts into artistic centers for the whole kingdom. In evaluating the impact of court art, however, we should remember how restricted the audience usually was. Monarchs spent far more on clothing than on paintings, and

no court dominated artistic life as completely as its royal patrons hoped.

By the eighteenth century, there were signs that the larger royal courts were in decline. The English court was reduced in size after 1660 and lost its centrality in art patronage after 1688. The king's old palaces were not updated, and in the end George III had to purchase a new one, Buckingham House, from a subject. Versailles remained magnificent, but under Louis XV its ceremonies became increasingly empty of significance, and it gained a reputation for luxury and corruption. Philip V's palace at La Granja and the new Habsburg palace of Schönbrunn near Vienna were designed for the private relaxation of the ruling family, an indication that royalty was no longer willing to live fully in the public glare. The Swedish court in the "Age of Liberty" was perceived as geriatric and moribund. There were exceptions: the Russian court, removed to St. Petersburg and stripped of much of its Orthodox ritual, presented a brilliant show, albeit one with limited relevance to the wider nation. It was still possible for a royal court to transform a city, architecturally and culturally, as the kings of Sardinia did at Turin after 1730.

Courts were never universally admired, even by those who frequented them. Throughout the early modern period, they were criticized for waste and vice. It is difficult to judge how effective they were in impressing a sense of royal grandeur on the minds of the people. Yet they were vital instruments of royal power, and it is impossible to imagine early modern monarchy without them.

MONARCHY BEYOND THE COURT

What did the people of Europe know about monarchy? Even in France or Russia, only a fraction of the nobility went to court. As for townspeople and peasants, they may not even have known where the court was. Yet they were exposed to various images of monarchy, and kings made a definite mark on their lives. Over time, the ruler's control over them appears to have increased.

Subjects who did not live near the court might see the monarch during a royal entry into a town or a progress through the countryside. These were more common in the sixteenth century when courts were peripatetic, but they continued into the eighteenth century. The events of a monarch's life, from

birth and baptism to accession, coronation, and eventual death, were marked by public celebrations or mourning. Royal funeral ceremonies involved lyings-in-state, processions, grand catafalques, and numerous religious ceremonies that affected large numbers of people. The churches took an active part in almost every public ceremony of monarchy, as well as in the dissemination of royal messages. In France, *Te Deum* services proliferated in the seventeenth century to commemorate occasions of importance to the crown. The Ottoman sultans were regularly blessed at Friday prayers in mosques throughout their empire, just as the English monarchs were on Sundays in Anglican churches. In return, the king took every opportunity to associate himself with religion. Marching behind the Host in the Corpus Christi procession was an important annual ritual for many Catholic monarchs.

Graphic images of kings became more available in the late sixteenth century through engravings and woodcuts. Queen Elizabeth of England tried in vain to prevent the sale of unauthorized pictures of herself. The market for prints was concentrated in towns, among the urban nobility and bourgeoisie. Peddlers, however, carried prints into the countryside, along with printed chapbooks that might contain idealized images or descriptions of rulers. By the late eighteenth century, newspapers had spread throughout western and central Europe, and the doings of courts were among their favorite topics. While they were often heavily censored, and could be prosecuted for seditious libel even in a relatively tolerant kingdom like Great Britain or Prussia, newspapers gave a regular insight into court life that had previously been available only to a select few. They complemented the often scandalous court memoirs that became popular reading material. It would be unwise to argue that the growing awareness of the doings of courts bred disillusionment with royal government, but it certainly encouraged critics, including those French pornographers who invented lurid (and wholly fictitious) accounts of the orgies presided over by Queen Marie Antoinette.

Ordinary people often looked to the king's law courts for justice against their aristocratic overlords. In Tudor England, the Court of Star Chamber meted out cheap justice to the poor; and in 1665–1666, Louis XIV's Assizes of Auvergne passed

eighty-seven sentences against gentlemen, “to rescue the people from the oppression of the powerful.” Even as the Holy Roman emperor’s power was declining after 1648, his Aulic Council continued to hear two to three thousand lawsuits every year. It made a big impression when Joseph I deposed a German prince after the council had investigated his execution of a peasant without a trial. Distrust of the nobility explains why ordinary people generally seem to have favored a stronger rather than a weaker monarchy. In Stockholm in 1743, for example, crowds eager for a Danish rather than a Russian successor to the throne called out, “One king and not many! No Russian puppet!” Unfortunately for them, they got almost thirty more years of aristocratic domination.

Subjects could prove more rebellious if the king tried to implement policies that were perceived to be despotic or impious, as the revolts of the mid-sixteenth and mid-seventeenth centuries demonstrated. After 1660, however, the privileged classes seem to have become less willing to support serious rebellions. This permitted monarchs to extend the state controls that had been building up for the previous two centuries. Their measures mainly involved military organization, conscription, and taxation; but state interference could spill over into new areas like social welfare, peasant labor services, comprehensive school systems, or even the structure of composite monarchy (for example, the union of England and Scotland, the dissolution of privileges in Aragón, or the annexation of the Ukraine). Reform did not always work; the French monarchs were amazingly ambitious in setting out plans for improving the economic conditions of their kingdom, but almost all of them ended in spectacular failure, due to the power of vested interests.

Did European monarchs lay the foundations of the modern state? In a fiscal and military sense, they certainly did; and they came up with the winning formula of controlling the individual by creating allegiance to a distant authority wearing a human face. Nevertheless, most rulers were resistant to the next, crucial step in state formation: the dissemination of national identities. A few, like George III of England and Gustav III of Sweden, were happy to be seen as patriot kings, although both made political havoc by overplaying the role. Frederick the

Great was hailed as a German patriot by his admirers, but did not take the idea seriously. Joseph II tried to force the German language on his recalcitrant Hungarian subjects not because he was a patriot, but because he thought it would be more efficient. Charles III of Spain failed to appreciate the patriotic opposition to his Italian advisers, until riots in 1766 forced him to dismiss them. Catherine the Great and Louis XVI wanted to have nothing to do with national sentiments. Catherine was lucky enough to rule over a country where they were embryonic. Louis XVI was not so fortunate; his people wanted a patriot king, and when it became evident that he was not prepared to be one, popular disillusionment contributed to revolutionary anger.

In the next century, of course, monarchs would willingly become national icons. Their initial hesitation to commit themselves to nationalism, however, was well considered. Identification with a particular nation meant the end of the composite state with which early modern monarchy was so closely associated. It also meant that the ruler was now beholden to a national community, that is, to the people; and if he failed them, as so many monarchs did at the end of World War I, he could not expect to retain their allegiance.

See also Absolutism; Authority, Concept of; Bodin, Jean; Court and Courtiers; Divine Right Kingship; Hobbes, Thomas; Machiavelli, Niccolò; Political Philosophy; Resistance, Theory of; Ritual, Civic and Royal.

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PAUL MONOD

MONEY AND COINAGE

This entry includes two subentries:

CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE
WESTERN EUROPE

CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE

During the second half of the fifteenth century, the late-medieval silver famine finally came to an end with the development of many new silver mines in the Alps, in the Erzgebirge, at Schwaz in Tyrol, at Schneeberg, Annaberg, and Buchholz in Saxony, and subsequently at Joachimstal in Bohemia. The so-called central European copper-silver mining boom was the result of two technological innovations: one in mechanical engineering, which permitted much more effective drainage of deeper mining shafts; and the other in chemical engineering, the Saiger process, which, for the first time, permitted silver and copper to be separated from each other in their ore bodies.

When this mining boom peaked in the 1530s, Europe's silver supply had expanded at least five-fold. The character of the silver coinages also changed with this mining boom. During the later Middle Ages, both fiscal exigencies and periodic scarcities of silver had encouraged many European

governments to engage in coinage debasements that often drastically reduced the silver contents of their coins. But from the later fifteenth century, many princes and city-states began striking much larger and much finer silver coins. The first to do so was the Habsburg Austrian Archduke Sigismund of Tyrol who, in 1486, used his silver mines at Schwaz to mint a new prototype, the *Guldiner*, weighing 31.9 grams, which was worth 1 golden florin (*Goldgulden*). These silver *Guldiner*, *Gulden Groschen*, or *Talers* were of the general size that the English later adopted for their silver crowns and, subsequently, the Americans for their silver dollars. When the Counts Schick, who controlled the Joachimstal silver mines in Bohemia, began striking *Joachimstaler* (28.7 grams) in 1519, these *Talers* became very popular in Europe.

After the central European mining boom began to wane, the production of *Talers* was sustained by the large influx of Spanish-American silver from the 1550s to the 1660s. The Italians, however, did not strike what Carlo Cipolla calls the “maxi-silver coins” until the mid-sixteenth century. In 1551, Milan, then under Spanish Habsburg domination, issued a silver *scudo*, later called a *ducatone* (about five times heavier than a *testone*), modeled on the Spanish Real of Eight (*real de a ocho*); Venice followed suit in 1563, in issuing the *piastre*, weighing 32.896 grams (with 31.19 g fine silver), worth 6 lire 4 *soldi*, that is, the full value of the silver-based ducat money of account (see “Money and Coinage: Western Europe”). In 1567, Genoa struck a silver *scudo*, weighing 37.265 grams (35.71 g fine silver), and the next year, in June 1568, Florence struck its own *scudo* or *piastra*, weighing 32.6 grams (31.2 g fine silver).

Despite the vast increases in silver supplies from central Europe and then the Spanish Americas, and also some increase in gold supplies from Portuguese-African imports, monetary stability had not yet been obtained. International trade and warfare consumed increasing quantities of coins; coins were also the object of speculation. Many mints counterfeited the popular *Taler*, issuing imitations of the same size but with reduced silver contents. In accordance with Gresham's law, the imitations drove the original, full-bodied *Talers* out of circulation, and many of them were exported as bullion to the

East. Warfare was also financed, to some degree, by coinage debasements.

If, as the companion essay shows, early modern western Europe experienced far less war-induced debasements than it had in the later Middle Ages, such was not the case in Germany and eastern Europe. The most notorious is Germany's inflationary debasement known as the *Kipper- und Wipperzeit*, which took place during the opening phases of the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648), when the emperor tried to mobilize new resources for financing his armies. To do so, he leased the imperial mints to a consortium formed by several entrepreneurs, including the Bohemian Stadtholder Liechtenstein and Colonel Albrecht von Wallenstein. The consortium debased the silver coinage by two-thirds, and reaped huge profits. When so many bad coins were received by the Imperial treasury, however, the government soon ended this experiment, imposed a recoinage, and, as in most other German territories, returned to stable money. Although the consequences of the *Kipper- und Wipperzeit* did not prevent later princes from engaging in debasements to finance their wars—for example, Louis XIV during the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1714) and Frederick the Great during the Seven Years' War (1756–1763)—in the long run, monetary stability did come to prevail. In 1690, Brandenburg, Saxony, and Braunschweig-Lüneburg entered into a monetary union that created a homogenous *Taler* zone in territorially scattered Germany.

In the eighteenth century, new sources of gold from Brazil along with a revival in Mexican silver mining improved the metallic base of European coins. While Britain introduced the gold standard (from 1718; see “Money and Coinage: Western Europe”), France maintained a bimetallic system, and its *Louis d'or* (22 carats, with 6.189 g fine gold), first struck in 1640, became the model coin for central Europe. Moreover, banknotes and the expansion of the banking system made coins less and less required for internal European trade. The Asian trade, however, still required large shipments of precious metals, especially the Spanish *reales de a ocho* and Dutch *ducatoons*, during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries; later in the eighteenth century, they were replaced by silver bars minted in Asia.

See also **Austria; Banking and Credit; Coins and Medals; Commerce and Markets; Habsburg Territories;**

Portuguese Colonies: Brazil; Prussia; Saxony; Seven Years' War (1756–1763); Spanish Succession, War of the (1701–1714); Thirty Years' War (1618–1648).

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MICHAEL NORTH

WESTERN EUROPE

The coinages of early modern Europe, which were basically a continuation of those created in the medieval era, were composed of the two precious metals—gold and silver—and the base metal copper. Most European countries and regions continued to employ a monometallic system based on silver, but supplemented by gold and copper. Silver provided the essential link between physical coins and the monetary systems in most principalities, in that the silver penny (with a few exceptions) always equalled the value of one penny in that principality's money of account: i.e., the *denarius*, *denaro*, *denier*, *Pfenning*. From Carolingian times (c. 795), the most widely used system in western Europe (except in Spain and parts of Germany) was based on the pound (*libra*, *lira*, *livre*, *Pfund*)—originally equal in value to the Carolingian pound weight of silver (489.51 g). For accounting purposes, it was subdivided into twenty shillings (*solidi*, *soldi*, *sous*, *Schillingen*), which in turn were subdivided into twelve pennies or pence, so that each money-of-account pound always consisted of 240 currently circulating pennies. For centuries, the only silver coins struck were the various regional pennies (and their subdivisions); and not until the later twelfth and thirteenth centuries did some Italian city-states, and then France, introduce heavier weight silver coins, known as *grossi* or *gros*. The Florentine *grosso* or *fiorino* was in fact first struck (in 1237) with a value of 12d (*denari*), as was the French *gros tournois* (12 *deniers*), from 1266; but England did not issue such a “shilling coin,” known as the *teston*, until 1504.

By that time, the English pound sterling (20s) contained, or was worth, only 186.621 grams sterling silver (92.5 percent fine) or 172.624 grams fine silver—just over half of the original Tower Pound mint weight of sterling silver, 349.914 grams, dating from shortly after the Norman Conquest; it was

1.430 times heavier than the French mint weight, the *marc de troyes* (244.753 g—which was one-half of the old Carolingian pound). The French *livre tournois* by 1504 contained a mere 4.36 percent of the original Carolingian weight, now the Paris *livre*, of silver *argent-le-roy* (95.833 percent fine). Over the ensuing centuries, the explanation for this break—often an extreme divergence—from that Carolingian monetary link was coinage debasement.

This development highlights the monetary importance of the base metal copper. Even the very finest coins were always alloyed with some copper, since a hardening agent was required for these soft and malleable precious metals. As indicated, English sterling silver had 7.5 percent copper, and the French *argent-le-roy* coins, 4.17 percent. For too many impecunious princes and city-state governments, the profits to be gained through substituting proportionately more and more of this base metal alloy—hence the term *debasement*—for less and less silver were too tempting to resist. A complementary technique for reducing a coin's precious metal contents was simply to decrease the weight of the coin itself; together, these techniques allowed the prince to mint more and more coins of the same nominal or “face” value from a pound or *marc* of fine silver or gold. A more precise definition of debasement is the reduction of the quantity of precious metal—silver or gold—represented in the principality's money-of-account system, that is, the pound, *livre*, or *lira*.

The profits derived from coinage debasement came from a seigniorage tax on the mint's coinage output, a tax borne by those who sold bullion to the mint, but ultimately by the public at large. The government's objective in undertaking aggressive debasements was to increase its mint outputs, and thus its seigniorage revenues, by forcing its subjects to remint their former good coins into a greater number of inferior ones having the same nominal or “face” value and also by luring bullion away from foreign mints by offering a higher mint price for gold or silver. Merchants who received the debased coins from the mint would profit by spending them quickly (at home or abroad) before the almost inevitable inflation ensued. Neighboring governments were in turn compelled to engage in defensive debasements to maintain their own coinage outputs and mint profits.

The success of so many debasements can be explained by the crudity of medieval and early modern mint techniques. In the production of so-called hammered coinage, employing an upper and lower die (hammer and anvil) to stamp the coins as well as shears to cut them, no two coins from the same batch were exactly identical; even money changers, equipped with accurate scales and touchstones, generally had great difficulty in detecting small changes in coinage alloy (fineness) and weight. Obviously, the general public was far more readily deceived by such debasements and thus had to accept the seigniorage tax.

England's kings had long been a significant European exception in undertaking debasements only rarely, chiefly for defensive reasons, and almost always only by reducing their coins' weight, while maintaining the traditional sterling fineness. For example, in 1526, Henry VIII altered the silver coinage for the first time in sixty-two years (since 1464) to match the current circulating standard, which had deteriorated through wear and tear, by reducing the penny's weight, and thus its silver content, by 11.13 percent (from 0.719 g to 0.639 g). From 1542 to 1551, however, he and his successor undertook the famous “Great Debasement,” which employed both mint-manipulating techniques. The long-traditional sterling silver standard (11 oz, 2 dwt silver) was debased to a mere three ounces of silver so that, with so much copper (9 oz), the coins “did blush with shame”; overall, the penny's silver content was reduced by 83.10 percent (to just 0.108 g silver). (Net profits from the “Great Debasement” of 1544–1551, from all mints, amounted to £1,270,864.10 sterling, an immense sum for that era.) In 1553, the government restored most of the fineness (to 11 oz) and some of the weight—and thus the penny's pure silver content to 0.475 g. That task was completed with Elizabeth I's general recoinage of 1560, which restored the sterling silver standard, increasing the pure silver content to 0.480 g. Subsequently (apart from a very minor debasement in 1578, reversed in 1583), the English silver coinage remained unimpaired for over forty years, until July 1601, when it underwent another minor weight reduction, reducing the silver contents by a mere 3.33 percent (to 0.464 g). Thereafter, the English sterling silver coinage remained completely unaltered for over two centuries,

undergoing its final weight reduction in 1817 (by 6.03 percent, with 0.436 g pure silver in the penny).

If the Henrician “Great Debasement” was therefore a striking anomaly in English monetary history, it was also not readily imitated elsewhere in early modern western Europe. It stood in sharp contrast to the monetary chaos that had afflicted the French, Flemish, Spanish, and most Italian silver coinages during the later Middle Ages. For example, fifteenth-century French coinage had become so impoverished in its silver content that the *denier tournois* was no longer a useful coin; and the standard or link coin became the *blanc couronne* or *douzain* (= 12d *tournois*; in effect, the shilling). Strengthened in 1488 to contain 1.023 grams of pure silver, it remained unaltered until 1519, when Francis I’s minor debasement (reducing slightly both fineness and weight) diminished its fine silver content by 11.72 percent (to 0.903 g). When this coin underwent its final alteration in 1572, it lost another 22.18 percent of its fine silver (with only 0.703 g)—if not a minimal loss, certainly not a drastic one compared to so many medieval debasements.

Thereafter, and throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, French monetary history is characterized by the issue of chiefly heavyweight, much finer, silver coins (see “Money and Coinage: Central and Eastern Europe”), and they generally had a fineness of full *argent-le-roy*. Their periodic “debasements” were not effected by physical changes but were implemented by yet a third technique: an increase in their face or money-of-account value. For example, in 1641, French mints issued the *écu blanc* with 26.062 grams fine silver and nominal value of 3 *livres tournois*; by 1693 this coin, physically unchanged, had increased in value to 3 *livres 12 sous tournois*. By 1791, when the final French silver coin of the medieval *tournois* genre was issued, as the post-Revolutionary *écu constitutionnelle*, nominally worth 6 *livres* (with 28.260 g pure silver), the *livre tournois* then contained just—and exactly—one percent of the fine silver in the Carolingian *libra* of about a thousand years earlier.

In early modern Italy, the various city-states and principalities (including the papacy) continued to strike their own individual coinages; but sufficient documentation is available only for Florence (to

1597). Having undergone considerable debasement for much of the medieval era, its silver coinage enjoyed relative, if not complete, stability for the one hundred years from 1371 to 1471, during which time the penny or *denaro picciolo* lost only 13.15 percent of its fine silver contents. But in 1472, it suffered a further and most dramatic loss of 71.13 of its fine silver (with just 2.08 percent fineness); and, when last issued in 1504 (with the same silver contents), its value was raised to 2d. The effective “link” money had become the *quattrino* (4d), which, in the same year, 1472, lost 30.85 percent of its fine silver contents; by 1560, it had lost a further 44.02 percent of its silver (with a reduction in fineness from the original 16.67 percent in 1332 to 8.33 percent in 1560).

More complex were debasements of the Florentine *grosso* (originally, the shilling coin). While nearly always retaining its *argent-le-roy* fineness (95.833 percent pure silver), its weight was periodically reduced, and its money-of-account value was increased, from 2s 0d in 1296 to 5s 6d in 1390, and finally to 7s 6d, with its final issue in 1531. During that period, its weight had been reduced by 34.03 percent, so that the pure silver content of the lira money of account, as reckoned in these *grossi*, had fallen by 56.02 percent. In the sixteenth century, Florentine silver coinage issues were also chiefly in the form of much heavier, higher-denomination coins, again all with *argent-le-roy* fineness: the *Barile* or *Giulio*, valued at 12s 6d (from 1504); the *Cosimo*, at one lira (that is, 20s, from 1539); the *Testone*, at two lire (40s, from 1540); and finally, the *Piastra*, at seven lire (140s, from 1568). During this century (1504 to 1597), the silver content of the lira, as reckoned in these coins, fell by only 17.24 percent (15.04 percent by 1552): from 5.386 grams to 4.4575 grams.

Even greater monetary stability was to be found in the silver coinages of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Habsburg Spain. From 1497 to 1686, the Spanish crown consistently minted (with one exceptional minor deviation in 1642–1643) two silver coins at 93.06 percent fineness: the *Real*, with 3.195 grams pure silver (67 cut from an alloyed marc of 230.0465 g) and a nominal money-of-account value of 34 *maravedis* (375 to the ducat money of account); and the heavyweight *Real* known as the “piece of eight” (*real de a ocho*), with

just over eight times as much fine silver: 25.997 grams and a value of 272 *maravedís*. In 1686 it was subjected to a very minor weight reduction that lowered its fine silver content to 25.919 grams. The American dollar can trace its descent from this Spanish coin.

The more interesting Spanish monetary phenomenon was the issue of petty billon or *vellon* coinage, beginning with the *blanca* of 1583, with a fineness of just 1.39 percent (containing only 0.0146 g silver), and a nominal value 0.5 *maravedí*. That was followed in 1597 by the *maravedí* coin itself, with a fineness of only 0.35 percent (and a silver content of just 0.0063 g); in 1599 that became Spain's first purely copper coin (minted at 140 per copper *marc*, and from 1602 at 280 per *marc*). Certainly, some of the ensuing inflation in seventeenth-century Spain, with a widening gap between nominal and silver-based prices, ranging from 4.0 percent in 1620 to 104.2 percent in 1650, has to be explained by such issues of copper coinage. Large volumes of copper coinages were made possible first by the central European silver and copper mining boom (c. 1460–1535), but subsequently and more especially, by the enormous expansion in Swedish copper production, peaking in the 1660s. The first European principality to issue a copper coinage had been, however, the Habsburg Netherlands, in 1543 (France, only in 1607, and England, not until 1672).

The Spanish-dominated government in the Habsburg Netherlands (from 1506) managed to retain, until the Revolt of the Netherlands broke out in 1568, a remarkable monetary stability. (The previous Burgundian regime had managed to achieve some stability only toward its end, in the years 1496–1500, after almost a century of frequently severe debasements.) The one significant set of Habsburg monetary changes took place in 1521, under Emperor Charles V. The silver *stuiver* or double *groot* (2d) was debased very slightly, in fineness only, so that it lost a mere 3.26 percent of its silver content (from 0.977 g to 0.945 g); and the pound *groot* Flemish, in terms of 120 *stuivers* (240d), now contained 113.453 grams fine silver. The major objective of the monetary change was to issue a new, heavier-weight silver coin, the double *Carolus* or *Réal*, 93.40 percent fine, and thus similar to the Spanish *Real*, though containing just 2.858 grams

fine silver, and worth 6d *groot* (3 *stuivers*). These silver coinages remained unchanged until 1553, when the *stuiver* underwent a debasement of 4.80 percent, so that the pound *groot* Flemish now contained 108.00 grams fine silver. By 1567, on the eve of the Revolt of the Netherlands, the *stuiver* had lost another 10 percent of its fine silver; and during the revolt era (to 1648), the *stuiver* of the now Spanish Netherlands lost a further 37.04 percent of its fine silver, so that the pound *groot* Flemish now contained only 61.20 grams fine silver—less than half of the silver prescribed in Charles V's 1521 monetary ordinance.

The major consequence of the revolt was the secession of the seven northern provinces, which, by the Union of Utrecht, in 1579, became the Republic of the United Provinces, better known as the Dutch Republic. It gained its de facto independence from Spain in the Twelve Years' Truce in 1609. Its monetary and coinage system retained, however, some important links with the pre-revolt Habsburg system. Its basic silver coin was the same *stuiver*, which, however, formed the shilling in the Dutch money-of-account system. The reason for this seeming anomaly is simple. From the 1460s, when the market value of the Rhenish gold florin (Rhine-land Electors) had risen to 40d *groot* Flemish, many merchants in the then Burgundian Low Countries adopted this “florin” as an additional silver-based money of account whose value was fixed at 40d *groot*—one equal in value to the old *livre d'Artois* or *livre de quarante gros*. Thus, this florin money of account contained 20 *stuivers*, or “shillings.” The other common names for the old Rhenish florin were *gulden* and *guilder*, the term for the Dutch money of account (with the symbol *f*), which disappeared only with the arrival of the Euro in January 2002.

During the seventeenth century, the Dutch *stuiver* (as issued from 1619 to 1681) enjoyed a remarkable stability in fineness (33.333 percent fine) and weight (1.310 g) and thus in its fine silver contents, 0.436 g. The florin money of account, in terms of 20 *stuivers*, thus contained 8.725 grams fine silver (and the equivalent of the Flemish pound *groot*, as 120 *stuivers*, contained 52.348 g fine silver). In 1681, its silver contents were increased to 0.472 grams: by an improved fineness, to 58.30 percent, though with a reduction in weight, to

0.810 grams; and it retained that composition and unchanged value (9.445 g fine silver in the florin money of account) until it was last minted in 1791, on the eve of the French Revolutionary invasion of the Dutch Republic.

Throughout this long period, the Dutch Republic also issued various series of heavyweight silver coins, chiefly used in Dutch overseas commerce. The earliest, struck from 1606, were the *Rijksdaalder* ('state dollar'), a name derived from the Bohemian *Taler* (*Joachimsthaler*), 87.50 percent fine, with 25.264 grams fine silver, and a value of 47 *stuivers*; and the *Leeuwendaalder* ('lion dollar'), 74.30 percent fine, with 20.459 grams fine silver, and a value of 38 *stuivers*. Their official values were raised to 52 and 42 *stuivers*, respectively, in 1659, when two new heavyweight coins were issued (both struck until 1798): the *Rijder* ('knight'), 93.80 percent fine, with 30.388 grams fine silver, and a value of 63 *stuivers*; and the *Dukaat* (ducat), 86.80 percent fine, with 24.241 grams fine silver, and a value of 50 *stuivers*. Surprisingly, not until 1681, when the *stuiver's* silver contents were enhanced, was an actual coin named the *Gulden* finally issued, with a value of 20 *stuivers*: 91.10 percent fine, with 9.557 grams fine silver. It is also significant that during the seventeenth century, the Dutch *stuiver* and the English sterling penny, as issued from 1601, with 0.464 grams fine silver, were virtually identical in silver contents, so that each had the market exchange value of the other.

The gold coinages of early modern Europe, commanding lesser economic importance, thus deserve less attention. In medieval and early modern Europe, according to many historians, their use was reserved for international trade and finance, for a reason made obvious by this example: in the years 1521–1525, a single Venetian ducat or Florentine florin (both containing about 3.45 g fine gold) could be used to purchase, on average, 628 eggs or 243 herrings on the Antwerp market; an English gold "angel" noble (with 7.735 g fine gold) could be used to purchase, on average, 934 eggs or 362 herrings. Obviously, one would never spend gold coins for such transactions; instead, a silver *stuiver* would more likely have been used to purchase sixteen eggs or six herrings on the Antwerp market. Yet, in the seventeenth century, western European merchants chiefly employed heavyweight silver

coins, and gold only infrequently, in conducting their trade with the Baltic, Russia, the Levant (eastern Mediterranean), and Asia, for three reasons. First, the initially wide divergences in the bimetallic ratios—the ratio of the values of gold and silver, ounce per ounce, on the market—between East and West meant that silver had a much higher purchasing power in goods in these regions than it did in western Europe. The massive increases in European silver supplies, first from the central European mining boom, and then, by the 1560s, from the influx of Spanish American silver, reduced the relative value of silver, and thereby increased the bimetallic ratio in England from about 10:1 in the 1450s to 16:1, by the 1660s. But second, when the bimetallic ratios in India and London had then both achieved this level by the 1660s—thanks to the massive inflows of western silver into Asia—the Asian payments systems were still designed to accommodate the well-known European silver coins more easily than their gold coins. Third, since western merchants had little of value in merchandise to sell in these regions, and thus required precious metals to purchase about 70 percent of the value of their eastern goods (spices, silks, etc.), the ships that sailed to these regions left western ports so empty that the silver, with from twelve to sixteen times the weight of the equivalent value of gold, served as a useful ballast. For reasons that seem less obvious to the economist, these large heavyweight silver coins also predominated, from the 1550s, in the international commerce of the great European fairs.

Nevertheless, within western Europe itself, before the large, heavy silver coins achieved their predominance, gold coins had served as the more useful medium of international exchange, for two reasons. The first, as just suggested, was a superior value: weight ratio, so that merchants requiring precious metals for their commerce (rather than bills of exchange) found it more economical to transport gold, when transport costs had become so high in war-torn late-medieval Europe. Second, gold coinages were far less subject to physical coinage debasements than were silver coins, especially those of small denomination. In view of the far higher value of gold coins, affluent merchants, engaged in international trade, were far more likely to test such coins for proper weight and fineness than were petty merchants using silver coins in domestic trade. Since

TABLE 1.

| Gold Coinages Struck in Western Europe, 1456–1792 | | | | | | | | | |
|--|-------------------------|---------------------|--------------------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------------------|---|---|--|
| Year First Struck | Year Last Struck | Name of Coin | Fineness in Carats: out of 24 | Percentage Fineness | Weight in Grams | Pure Gold Content in Grams | Value in Pence in Money of Account * | Value in Local Currency as Decimal Pound | Grams Pure Gold in the Pound Money of Account |
| England | | | | | | | *pound sterling | | |
| 1465 | 1525 | Ryal, Rose Noble | 23.875 | 99.48% | 7.776 | 7.735 | 120 | 0.500 | 15.471 |
| 1465 | 1525 | Angel-Noble | 23.875 | 99.48% | 5.184 | 5.157 | 80 | 0.333 | 15.471 |
| 1489 | 1525 | Sovereign | 23.875 | 99.48% | 15.552 | 15.471 | 240 | 1.000 | 15.471 |
| 1526 | 1542 | Sovereign | 23.875 | 99.48% | 15.552 | 15.471 | 270 | 1.125 | 13.752 |
| 1526 | 1542 | Ryal, Rose Noble | 23.875 | 99.48% | 7.776 | 7.735 | 135 | 0.563 | 13.752 |
| 1526 | 1542 | Crown | 22.000 | 91.67% | 3.714 | 3.404 | 60 | 0.250 | 13.617 |
| 1542 | 1545 | Sovereign | 23.000 | 95.83% | 12.960 | 12.420 | 240 | 1.000 | 12.420 |
| 1542 | 1545 | Ryal, Rose Noble | 23.000 | 95.83% | 6.480 | 6.210 | 120 | 0.500 | 12.420 |
| 1545 | 1546 | Sovereign | 22.000 | 91.67% | 12.441 | 11.405 | 240 | 1.000 | 11.405 |
| 1545 | 1546 | Ryal, Rose Noble | 22.000 | 91.67% | 6.221 | 5.702 | 120 | 0.500 | 11.405 |
| 1546 | 1549 | Sovereign | 20.000 | 83.33% | 12.441 | 10.368 | 240 | 1.000 | 10.368 |
| 1546 | 1549 | Ryal, Rose Noble | 20.000 | 83.33% | 6.221 | 5.184 | 120 | 0.500 | 10.368 |
| 1546 | 1549 | Crown | 20.000 | 83.33% | 3.110 | 2.592 | 60 | 0.250 | 10.368 |
| 1549 | 1550 | Sovereign | 22.000 | 91.67% | 10.978 | 10.063 | 240 | 1.000 | 10.063 |
| 1549 | 1550 | Ryal, Rose Noble | 22.000 | 91.67% | 5.489 | 5.031 | 120 | 0.500 | 10.063 |
| 1549 | 1550 | Crown | 22.000 | 91.67% | 2.744 | 2.516 | 60 | 0.250 | 10.063 |
| 1550 | 1551 | Sovereign | 23.875 | 99.48% | 15.552 | 15.471 | 288 | 1.200 | 12.892 |
| 1550 | 1551 | Ryal, Rose Noble | 23.875 | 99.48% | 7.776 | 7.735 | 144 | 0.600 | 12.892 |
| 1551 | 1553 | Sovereign | 22.000 | 91.67% | 11.310 | 10.368 | 240 | 1.000 | 10.368 |
| 1551 | 1553 | Ryal, Rose Noble | 22.000 | 91.67% | 5.655 | 5.184 | 120 | 0.500 | 10.368 |
| 1551 | 1553 | Crown | 22.000 | 91.67% | 2.828 | 2.592 | 60 | 0.250 | 10.368 |
| 1553 | 1560 | Sovereign | 23.875 | 99.48% | 15.552 | 15.471 | 360 | 1.500 | 10.314 |
| 1553 | 1560 | Ryal, Rose Noble | 23.875 | 99.48% | 7.776 | 7.735 | 180 | 0.750 | 10.314 |
| 1560 | 1593 | Sovereign | 23.875 | 99.48% | 15.552 | 15.471 | 360 | 1.500 | 10.314 |
| 1560 | 1572 | Ryal, Rose Noble | 23.875 | 99.48% | 7.776 | 7.735 | 180 | 0.750 | 10.314 |
| 1560 | 1593 | Sovereign | 22.000 | 91.67% | 11.310 | 10.368 | 240 | 1.000 | 10.368 |
| 1560 | 1572 | Crown | 22.000 | 91.67% | 2.828 | 2.592 | 60 | 0.250 | 10.368 |
| 1572 | 1578 | Crown | 23.875 | 99.48% | 2.592 | 2.578 | 60 | 0.250 | 10.314 |
| 1593 | 1601 | Sovereign | 22.000 | 91.67% | 11.310 | 10.368 | 240 | 1.000 | 10.368 |
| 1593 | 1601 | Crown | 22.000 | 91.67% | 2.828 | 2.592 | 60 | 0.250 | 10.368 |
| 1601 | 1604 | Sovereign | 22.000 | 91.67% | 11.142 | 10.213 | 240 | 1.000 | 10.213 |
| 1601 | 1604 | Crown | 22.000 | 91.67% | 2.785 | 2.553 | 60 | 0.250 | 10.213 |
| 1604 | 1612 | Unite | 22.000 | 91.67% | 10.033 | 9.197 | 240 | 1.000 | 9.197 |
| 1604 | 1612 | Crown | 22.000 | 91.67% | 2.508 | 2.299 | 60 | 0.250 | 9.197 |
| 1605 | 1612 | Rose Ryal | 23.875 | 99.48% | 13.824 | 13.752 | 360 | 1.500 | 9.168 |
| 1612 | 1623 | Rose Ryal | 23.875 | 99.48% | 13.824 | 13.752 | 396 | 1.650 | 8.334 |
| 1612 | 1623 | Crown | 23.875 | 99.48% | 2.304 | 2.292 | 66 | 0.275 | 8.334 |
| 1612 | 1623 | Unite | 22.000 | 91.67% | 10.038 | 9.202 | 264 | 1.100 | 8.365 |
| 1612 | 1623 | Crown | 22.000 | 91.67% | 2.510 | 2.300 | 66 | 0.275 | 8.365 |
| 1623 | 1626 | Rose Ryal | 23.875 | 99.48% | 12.581 | 12.516 | 360 | 1.500 | 8.344 |
| 1623 | 1626 | Unite | 22.000 | 91.67% | 9.103 | 8.345 | 240 | 1.000 | 8.345 |
| 1623 | 1626 | Crown | 22.000 | 91.67% | 2.276 | 2.086 | 60 | 0.250 | 8.345 |
| 1626 | 1649 | Rose Ryal | 23.875 | 99.48% | 8.387 | 8.344 | 240 | 1.000 | 8.344 |
| 1626 | 1649 | Unite | 22.000 | 91.67% | 9.103 | 8.345 | 240 | 1.000 | 8.345 |
| 1626 | 1649 | Double Crown | 22.000 | 91.67% | 4.552 | 4.172 | 120 | 0.500 | 8.345 |
| 1626 | 1649 | Crown | 22.000 | 91.67% | 2.276 | 2.086 | 60 | 0.250 | 8.345 |
| 1649 | 1660 | Unite | 22.000 | 91.67% | 9.103 | 8.345 | 240 | 1.000 | 8.345 |
| 1649 | 1660 | Crown | 22.000 | 91.67% | 2.276 | 2.086 | 60 | 0.250 | 8.345 |
| 1660 | 1686 | Rose Ryal | 23.875 | 99.48% | 8.387 | 8.344 | 240 | 1.000 | 8.344 |
| 1660 | 1686 | Unite | 22.000 | 91.67% | 9.103 | 8.345 | 240 | 1.000 | 8.345 |
| 1660 | 1686 | Crown | 22.000 | 91.67% | 2.276 | 2.086 | 60 | 0.250 | 8.345 |
| 1686 | 1703 | Unite | 22.000 | 91.67% | 8.387 | 7.689 | 240 | 1.000 | 7.689 |

(continued)

TABLE 1—CONTINUED.

| Gold Coinages Struck in Western Europe, 1456–1792 | | | | | | | | | |
|--|------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------|-----------------|----------------------------|--------------------------------------|--|---|
| Year First Struck | Year Last Struck | Name of Coin | Fineness in Carats: out of 24 | Percentage Fineness | Weight in Grams | Pure Gold Content in Grams | Value in Pence in Money of Account * | Value in Local Currency as Decimal Pound | Grams Pure Gold in the Pound Money of Account |
| England | | | | | | | *pound sterling | | |
| 1686 | 1703 | Double Crown | 22.000 | 91.67% | 4.194 | 3.844 | 120 | 0.500 | 7.689 |
| 1703 | 1718 | Unite | 22.000 | 91.67% | 8.387 | 7.689 | 240 | 1.000 | 7.689 |
| 1703 | 1718 | Double Crown | 22.000 | 91.67% | 4.194 | 3.844 | 120 | 0.500 | 7.689 |
| 1718 | 1815 | Guinea | 22.000 | 91.67% | 8.387 | 7.689 | 252 | 1.050 | 7.322 |
| 1718 | 1815 | Half Guinea | 22.000 | 91.67% | 4.194 | 3.844 | 126 | 0.525 | 7.322 |
| France | | | | | | | *livre tournois | | |
| 1456 | 1483 | écu neuf | 23.125 | 96.35% | 3.447 | 3.322 | 330 | 1.375 | 2.416 |
| 1474 | 1494 | écu couronne | 23.125 | 96.35% | 3.399 | 3.275 | 363 | 1.513 | 2.166 |
| 1494 | 1519 | écu sol | 23.125 | 96.35% | 3.496 | 3.369 | 435 | 1.813 | 1.859 |
| 1519 | 1541 | écu sol | 23.000 | 95.83% | 3.439 | 3.296 | 480 | 2.000 | 1.648 |
| 1541 | 1550 | écu croisé | 23.000 | 95.83% | 3.439 | 3.296 | 540 | 2.250 | 1.465 |
| 1550 | 1561 | Henri d'or | 23.000 | 95.83% | 3.653 | 3.501 | 600 | 2.500 | 1.400 |
| 1561 | 1573 | écu d'or | 23.000 | 95.83% | 3.376 | 3.235 | 600 | 2.500 | 1.294 |
| 1573 | 1575 | écu d'or | 23.000 | 95.83% | 3.376 | 3.235 | 648 | 2.700 | 1.198 |
| 1575 | 1602 | écu d'or | 23.000 | 95.83% | 3.376 | 3.235 | 720 | 3.000 | 1.078 |
| 1602 | 1640 | écu d'or | 23.000 | 95.83% | 3.376 | 3.235 | 780 | 3.250 | 0.995 |
| 1640 | 1643 | écu d'or | 23.000 | 95.83% | 3.376 | 3.235 | 1248 | 5.200 | 0.622 |
| 1640 | 1669 | Louis d'or | 22.000 | 91.67% | 6.752 | 6.189 | 2400 | 10.000 | 0.619 |
| 1643 | 1669 | écu d'or | 23.000 | 95.83% | 3.376 | 3.235 | 1254 | 5.225 | 0.619 |
| 1655 | 1669 | Lis d'or | 23.250 | 96.88% | 4.046 | 3.919 | 1680 | 7.000 | 0.560 |
| 1669 | 1687 | Louis d'or | 22.000 | 91.67% | 6.752 | 6.189 | 2640 | 11.000 | 0.563 |
| 1687 | 1689 | Louis d'or | 22.000 | 91.67% | 6.752 | 6.189 | 2700 | 11.250 | 0.550 |
| 1689 | 1693 | Louis à l'écu | 22.000 | 91.67% | 6.752 | 6.189 | 3000 | 12.500 | 0.495 |
| 1693 | 1704 | Louis aux 4 lions | 22.000 | 91.67% | 6.752 | 6.189 | 3360 | 14.000 | 0.442 |
| 1704 | 1709 | Louis aux 8 lions | 22.000 | 91.67% | 6.752 | 6.189 | 3600 | 15.000 | 0.413 |
| 1709 | 1716 | Louis aux 8 lions | 22.000 | 91.67% | 8.158 | 7.479 | 4800 | 20.000 | 0.374 |
| 1716 | 1718 | Louis Noailles | 22.000 | 91.67% | 12.238 | 11.218 | 7200 | 30.000 | 0.374 |
| 1718 | 1720 | Louis Malte | 22.000 | 91.67% | 9.790 | 8.974 | 8640 | 36.000 | 0.249 |
| 1719 | 1720 | Quinzain | 23.875 | 99.48% | 3.737 | 3.717 | 3600 | 15.000 | 0.248 |
| 1720 | 1723 | Louis aux 2 lions | 22.000 | 91.67% | 9.790 | 8.974 | 12960 | 54.000 | 0.166 |
| 1723 | 1726 | Louis mirliton | 22.000 | 91.67% | 6.527 | 5.983 | 6480 | 27.000 | 0.222 |
| 1726 | 1740 | Louis lunettes | 22.000 | 91.67% | 8.158 | 7.479 | 4800 | 20.000 | 0.374 |
| 1740 | 1785 | Louis bandeau (lunettes) | 22.000 | 91.67% | 8.158 | 7.479 | 5760 | 24.000 | 0.312 |
| 1785 | 1792 | Louis écu | 22.000 | 91.67% | 7.649 | 7.011 | 5760 | 24.000 | 0.292 |
| Southern Netherlands | | | | | | | *pond groot Flemish | | |
| 1466 | 1467 | Florin de Bourgogne | 19.000 | 79.17% | 3.399 | 2.691 | 41.00 | 0.171 | 15.753 |
| 1467 | 1474 | Philippus Florin | 19.000 | 79.17% | 3.399 | 2.691 | 42.00 | 0.175 | 15.378 |
| 1474 | 1477 | Florin de Bourgogne | 19.000 | 79.17% | 3.399 | 2.691 | 48.00 | 0.200 | 13.456 |
| 1477 | 1482 | Florin de Bourgogne | 19.000 | 79.17% | 3.399 | 2.691 | 54.00 | 0.200 | 13.456 |
| 1482 | 1487 | Florin de Bourgogne | 19.000 | 79.17% | 3.399 | 2.691 | 60.00 | 0.250 | 10.765 |
| 1487 | 1489 | Grand réal | 23.792 | 99.13% | 14.834 | 14.705 | 432.00 | 1.800 | 8.169 |
| 1487 | 1489 | Noble de Bourgogne | 23.792 | 99.13% | 7.417 | 7.352 | 216.00 | 0.900 | 8.169 |
| 1489 | 1492 | Florin de Bourgogne | 19.000 | 79.17% | 3.399 | 2.691 | 40.00 | 0.167 | 16.147 |
| 1489 | 1492 | Double Florin | 23.792 | 99.13% | 5.563 | 5.514 | 80.00 | 0.333 | 16.543 |
| 1492 | 1495 | Florin de Bourgogne | 19.000 | 79.17% | 3.399 | 2.691 | 48.00 | 0.200 | 13.456 |
| 1492 | 1495 | Florin de Bourgogne | 18.500 | 77.08% | 3.263 | 2.516 | 46.00 | 0.192 | 13.124 |
| 1495 | 1496 | Florin de Bourgogne | 19.000 | 79.17% | 3.399 | 2.691 | 54.00 | 0.225 | 11.961 |
| 1496 | 1499 | Toison d'or | 23.792 | 99.13% | 4.491 | 4.452 | 96.00 | 0.400 | 11.130 |
| 1496 | 1499 | Philippus Florin | 16.000 | 66.67% | 3.308 | 2.205 | 48.00 | 0.200 | 11.025 |

(continued)

TABLE 1—CONTINUED.

| Gold Coinages Struck in Western Europe, 1456–1792 | | | | | | | | | |
|--|-------------------------|---------------------|--------------------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------------------|---|---|--|
| Year First Struck | Year Last Struck | Name of Coin | Fineness in Carats: out of 24 | Percentage Fineness | Weight in Grams | Pure Gold Content in Grams | Value in Pence in Money of Account * | Value in Local Currency as Decimal Pound | Grams Pure Gold in the Pound Money of Account |
| Southern Netherlands (cont.) | | | | | | | *pond groot Flemish | | |
| 1499 | 1521 | Toison d'or | 23.792 | 99.13% | 4.491 | 4.452 | 100.00 | 0.417 | 10.685 |
| 1499 | 1521 | Philippus Florin | 16.000 | 66.67% | 3.308 | 2.205 | 50.00 | 0.208 | 10.584 |
| 1500 | 1521 | Philippus Florin | 15.917 | 66.32% | 3.308 | 2.194 | 50.00 | 0.208 | 10.529 |
| 1521 | 1556 | réal d'or | 23.792 | 99.13% | 5.321 | 5.275 | 127.00 | 0.529 | 9.968 |
| 1521 | 1556 | Carolus florin | 14.000 | 58.33% | 2.914 | 1.700 | 42.00 | 0.175 | 9.712 |
| 1556 | 1559 | réal d'or | 23.792 | 99.13% | 5.321 | 5.275 | 140.00 | 0.583 | 9.042 |
| 1556 | 1559 | couronne d'or | 22.292 | 92.88% | 3.423 | 3.180 | 80.00 | 0.333 | 9.538 |
| 1559 | 1567 | couronne d'or | 22.292 | 92.88% | 3.423 | 3.180 | 82.00 | 0.342 | 9.306 |
| 1567 | 1572 | florin de Bourgogne | 18.583 | 77.43% | 3.263 | 2.527 | 68.00 | 0.283 | 8.918 |
| 1572 | 1574 | florin de Bourgogne | 18.583 | 77.43% | 3.263 | 2.527 | 69.00 | 0.288 | 8.789 |
| 1574 | 1576 | florin de Bourgogne | 18.583 | 77.43% | 3.263 | 2.527 | 71.00 | 0.296 | 8.541 |
| 1576 | 1577 | florin de Bourgogne | 18.583 | 77.43% | 3.263 | 2.527 | 76.50 | 0.319 | 7.927 |
| 1577 | 1577 | double florin | 20.000 | 83.33% | 3.022 | 2.518 | 80.00 | 0.333 | 7.554 |
| 1577 | 1579 | double florin | 20.000 | 83.33% | 3.022 | 2.518 | 86.00 | 0.358 | 7.027 |
| 1579 | 1580 | rose noble | 23.792 | 99.13% | 7.649 | 7.582 | 265.00 | 1.104 | 6.867 |
| 1580 | 1581 | double ducat | 23.583 | 98.26% | 7.199 | 7.074 | 240.00 | 1.000 | 7.074 |
| 1581 | 1589 | double ducat | 23.583 | 98.26% | 7.199 | 7.074 | 268.00 | 1.117 | 6.335 |
| 1589 | 1590 | double ducat | 23.583 | 98.26% | 7.199 | 7.074 | 271.00 | 1.129 | 6.264 |
| 1590 | 1599 | double ducat | 23.583 | 98.26% | 7.199 | 7.074 | 284.00 | 1.183 | 5.978 |
| 1599 | 1609 | double ducat | 23.583 | 98.26% | 6.993 | 6.920 | 300.00 | 1.250 | 5.536 |
| 1599 | 1609 | Albertin | 19.000 | 79.17% | 2.914 | 2.307 | 100.00 | 0.417 | 5.536 |
| 1609 | 1610 | Albertin | 19.000 | 79.17% | 2.914 | 2.307 | 104.50 | 0.435 | 5.298 |
| 1610 | 1612 | Albertin | 19.000 | 79.17% | 2.914 | 2.307 | 105.00 | 0.438 | 5.272 |
| 1612 | 1614 | Sovereign | 23.708 | 98.79% | 5.153 | 5.090 | 240.00 | 1.000 | 5.090 |
| 1614 | 1621 | Couronne (crown) | 21.167 | 88.19% | 3.411 | 3.009 | 144.00 | 0.600 | 5.014 |
| 1621 | 1666 | Sovereign | 22.750 | 94.79% | 5.531 | 5.243 | 266.00 | 1.108 | 4.731 |
| 1621 | 1666 | Couronne (crown) | 21.500 | 89.58% | 3.411 | 3.056 | 160.00 | 0.667 | 4.584 |
| 1666 | 1700 | Sovereign | 22.750 | 94.79% | 5.531 | 5.243 | 300.00 | 1.250 | 4.194 |
| 1700 | 1703 | Sovereign | 22.750 | 94.79% | 5.531 | 5.243 | 400.00 | 1.667 | 3.146 |
| 1702 | 1713 | Sovereign | 22.750 | 94.79% | 5.531 | 5.243 | 300.00 | 1.250 | 4.194 |
| Florence | | | | | | | *lira di denari piccioli | | |
| 1466 | 1467 | florin | 23.652 | 98.55% | 3.541 | 3.489 | 1344 | 5.600 | 0.623 |
| 1485 | 1485 | florin | 23.681 | 98.67% | 3.528 | 3.481 | 1476 | 6.150 | 0.566 |
| 1485 | 1486 | florin | 23.861 | 99.42% | 3.528 | 3.507 | 1500 | 6.250 | 0.561 |
| 1490 | 1490 | florin | 23.444 | 97.68% | 3.528 | 3.446 | 1560 | 6.500 | 0.530 |
| 1490 | 1491 | florin | 23.530 | 98.04% | 3.528 | 3.459 | 1560 | 6.500 | 0.532 |
| 1491 | 1492 | florin | 23.542 | 98.09% | 3.528 | 3.460 | 1560 | 6.500 | 0.532 |
| 1510 | 1511 | florin | 23.831 | 99.30% | 3.509 | 3.485 | 1680 | 7.000 | 0.498 |
| 1511 | 1511 | florin | 23.482 | 97.84% | 3.509 | 3.434 | 1680 | 7.000 | 0.491 |
| 1511 | 1512 | florin | 23.516 | 97.98% | 3.509 | 3.439 | 1680 | 7.000 | 0.491 |
| 1524 | 1525 | florin | 23.472 | 97.80% | 3.500 | 3.423 | 1680 | 7.000 | 0.489 |
| 1530 | 1533 | scudo | 22.500 | 93.75% | 3.412 | 3.199 | 1680 | 7.000 | 0.457 |
| 1531 | 1531 | florin | 23.820 | 99.25% | 3.500 | 3.474 | 1800 | 7.500 | 0.463 |
| 1533 | 1535 | scudo | 22.000 | 91.67% | 3.395 | 3.112 | 1680 | 7.000 | 0.445 |
| 1535 | 1548 | scudo | 22.000 | 91.67% | 3.395 | 3.112 | 1740 | 7.250 | 0.429 |
| 1548 | 1556 | scudo | 22.000 | 91.67% | 3.379 | 3.097 | 1740 | 7.250 | 0.427 |
| 1556 | 1571 | scudo | 22.000 | 91.67% | 3.379 | 3.097 | 1824 | 7.600 | 0.407 |
| 1571 | 1597 | scudo | 22.000 | 91.67% | 3.379 | 3.097 | 1824 | 7.600 | 0.407 |

(continued)

TABLE 1—CONTINUED.

| Gold Coinages Struck in Western Europe, 1456–1792 | | | | | | | | | |
|---|------------------|--------------|-------------------------------|---------------------|-----------------|----------------------------|--------------------------------------|--|---|
| Year First Struck | Year Last Struck | Name of Coin | Fineness in Carats: out of 24 | Percentage Fineness | Weight in Grams | Pure Gold Content in Grams | Value in Pence in Money of Account * | Value in Local Currency as Decimal Pound | Grams Pure Gold in the Pound Money of Account |
| Spain | | | | | | | *ducat of 375 maravedis | | |
| 1537 | 1566 | escudo | 22.000 | 91.67% | 3.383 | 3.101 | 350 | 0.933 | 3.323 |
| 1566 | 1609 | escudo | 22.000 | 91.67% | 3.383 | 3.101 | 400 | 1.067 | 2.907 |
| 1609 | 1642 | escudo | 22.000 | 91.67% | 3.383 | 3.101 | 440 | 1.173 | 2.643 |
| 1642 | 1643 | escudo | 22.000 | 91.67% | 3.383 | 3.101 | 550 | 1.467 | 2.114 |
| 1643 | 1686 | escudo | 22.000 | 91.67% | 3.383 | 3.101 | 510 | 1.360 | 2.280 |

gold coins were given a money-of-account value in terms of the silver coinage, merchants could easily have discounted the value of a debased gold coin by reducing its exchange value proportionately. If the silver *stuiver* were debased by, say, 10 percent, merchants and the public would have found it impracticable to discount its value from 2d to 1.8d; instead, they would have raised prices for merchandise to compensate for the lost silver. The other reason that explains why gold coins were so infrequently subjected to physical debasements was their symbolic relationship with sovereignty. Few princes—or even city-state potentates, such as the doge of Venice—would have tolerated having their reputations tarnished abroad by allowing international circulation of their debased gold (or heavyweight silver) coins; as indicated earlier, debasements of small-denomination silver coins posed no such threats since most circulated only within the prince's or city-state's territory. But, as with heavyweight silver coins, a government could effect a technical “debasement” of its gold coins by raising their domestic value in the silver-based money of account, as indicated in the accompanying table; that action was often necessary to maintain a desired bimetallic mint ratio when engaging in a silver debasement (which thus made silver coins relatively cheaper).

In later medieval and early modern Europe, by far the two most famous gold coins were the Florentine florin, struck from 1252 to 1533, and the Venetian ducat, struck from March 1285 (not 1284, as commonly stated) until the French invasion of 1797. In theory, both of these so-called “dollars” of the Middle Ages contained about the same

amount of fine gold: 3.536 grams for the florin and 3.545 grams for the ducat; and, indeed, exchange-rate evidence for France, Flanders, and England for the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries reveals that they virtually always commanded identical values in each country's local currencies. In theory, both were supposedly pure gold of twenty-four carats, but in fact they usually contained about 23.875 carats (99.48 fine), the same as the English gold noble. But unlike the noble, which periodically (every fifty years or so) underwent weight reductions, the florin only infrequently varied in either weight or fineness, by any significant amount, according to the mint accounts. Such accounts are regrettably missing for the ducat, which has, perhaps for this reason, enjoyed a better reputation with monetary historians. As the accompanying table indicates, the fine gold content of the florin, during the years 1466 to 1531, varied from a high of 3.507 grams (1486) to a low of 3.423 grams (1524). The florin ceased to be issued in 1533, when its money-of-account value (originally twenty *soldi* or one lira of 240d, in 1252) had reached 7 lire 10 *soldi* in the Florentine *moneta di piccioli*; from that date it became a silver-based money of account with that fixed value. The florin had been superseded by another gold coin, known as the *scudo* (or *écu*, in French), valued at exactly 7.0 lire, inferior in both fineness and weight to the florin. It was first struck in June 1530, with only 22.5 carats (93.75 percent fine) and a weight of 3.412 grams, and thus a fine gold content of 3.119 grams. In 1533, its fineness was reduced to 22 carats (91.67 percent fine), which was retained thereafter, but by 1548 its

weight had fallen to 3.379 grams (3.097 g fine gold), while its official value has risen to 7 lire 12 *soldi*, increasing to 7 lire 12 *soldi* in 1556 (but remaining at that value for the rest of the century). As noted earlier, Florence also issued a series of heavyweight silver coins during this century.

In Venice, the ducat changed its name, though not its physical composition, in 1517 to become the *zecchino* (*sequin d'or*), a name derived from *ducato di zecca* (that is, ducat of the mint). The term *ducat* was then reserved for a silver-based money of account, with a fixed value of 6 lire 4 *soldi* Venetian (in current money). Subsequently (by or before 1563), the Venetians also issued a heavyweight silver coin, the *ducato d'argento*, more commonly called the *piastra*, containing 31.19 grams fine silver. All of these heavyweight silver coins—Spanish, Dutch, French, Italian, and Austrian—commanded continuous international respect, chiefly because they were not subjected to physical debasements for the same reasons that the major gold coins were spared this fate. According to Herman Van der Wee, the European predominance of the large silver coins lasted until 1718, when Great Britain issued its famous gold guinea (22 carats, with 7.689 g fine gold); in doing so—though more by accident than design, in overvaluing the coin at 21 shillings—the British inaugurated the modern era of the gold standard.

For monetary historians, as well as for numismatists, every gold and silver coin has its own interesting history. If a picture is worth a thousand words, perhaps the following table on European gold coinages from the later fifteenth to late eighteenth centuries, will suffice to reveal the varieties of gold coinages and their almost continuous “debasements” in terms of the fine gold content in each principality’s or city-state’s money of account.

See also Banking and Credit; Charles V (Holy Roman Empire); City-State; Coins and Medals; Commerce and Markets; Dutch Republic; Florence; Francis I (France); Henry VIII (England); Netherlands, Southern; Venice.

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MOÑINO Y REDONDO, JOSÉ. *See*
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MONOPOLY. Monopoly and competition are diametric terms used to describe complex relations among firms in a single industry. Simply put, monopoly is the exclusive control by one firm or group of firms of the means of producing or selling a commodity or service. As sole supplier, the monopolist can set any price, provided the sales generated are acceptable. Generally that price will be beyond production costs, and it will return profits in excess of normal return on investment.

When Adam Smith (1723–1791) wrote his sustained attack on monopolies in *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (1776), he did not have single-firm monopolies in mind. These are relatively rare, except for those established by state policy or subject to state regulation. Rather, Smith directed his criticism toward multifirm industries with statutory protection, like medieval guilds.

MEDIEVAL COMPETITION

The medieval economy appears to have had a positive aversion to competition, which occurs in a free or atomistic form when the number of producers or sellers in a single industry is so large that each seller's share of the market is too small to affect the market share or income of any competitor. Thus, each seller must adjust output and price to reflect established market conditions. These conditions are affected, in turn, by the ease of entry into the industry, the concentration of sellers in the industry, and the degree of product differentiation in the industry. Given the widespread medieval presumption of fixed resources and limited growth, where pure competition would lead to failure and suffering, these conditions had to be regulated. So, medieval polities opted for monopolistic structures.

Monopoly constituted a form of political protection in most sectors of the medieval economy. Manorial agriculture relied on the guaranteed tenure of peasants on the land and the guaranteed rights of landlords, both of which were types of monopoly. Guilds strictly regulated access to markets and differentiation of products, thus establishing monopolies in most medieval industries. Shipping corporations exercised monopoly rights over transportation along certain routes, such as the Alpine passages. Merchant companies received extraction-and-purchase monopolies for metal ores from mines in certain regions, such as Tyrol or Saxony, in some instances expanding these to near domination of entire industries, as by the Fugger in copper or the Höchstetter in mercury. Nearly all corporations sought monopoly rights for themselves. In most cases, these were thought to guarantee the shared interests of all, producers and consumers alike.

EARLY MODERN OPPOSITION

Attitudes began to change as early as the fifteenth century. More accurately, attitudes began to be recorded, published, and preserved more consistently

at this time. Merchant companies came under suspicion of manipulating prices through monopoly. The 1425–1429 guild rising in the south German city of Constance demanded the dissolution of commercial firms, and the *Reformatio Sigismundi* (1438–1439) reflected this sentiment. (The *Reformatio Sigismundi*, a document attributed to the Emperor Sigismund [ruled 1433–1437], set forth a program of social and ecclesiastical reform within the Holy Roman Empire. Though not accepted in its day, many of its ideas resonated in the Protestant Reformation a century later.) Complaints multiplied against “monopolists,” who hoarded commodities to keep prices artificially high. By the sixteenth century, “monopoly” had become a clarion call of opposition not only to monopolies in the strict sense, but also to cartels, syndicates, hoarders, and usurers who did not deserve it, however questionable their dealings.

Matters came to a head in the Holy Roman Empire, where large mercantile companies, such as the Fugger, Rehlinger, and Höchstetter, engaged in interest-bearing credit and investment transactions as well as price-manipulating monopolies and cartels to increase their profits. Such activities inspired opposition from many strata of society, not only artisans and peasants but also merchants and princes, all of whom saw their expenses rise and incomes fall within the environment of the “price revolution” of the sixteenth century. They found a compelling spokesman in Martin Luther (1483–1546), who viewed such commercial enterprises with a “peasant’s mistrust.” He wrote and preached repeatedly against interest and usury. His 1524 pamphlet “Von Kaufshandlung und Wucher” lumped monopoly among these other abuses according to the rationale that any price beyond a just price constituted usury—a violation of divine law.

By this time the issue had already engaged the attention of the imperial government for more than a decade. At the urging of estates in the territories of the Hanseatic League and Franconia, centers of opposition to monopolistic practices, the Imperial Diet of 1512 first considered limiting the activities of the great mercantile houses. In 1523, the Reichsfiskal, an institution of the imperial government charged with overseeing taxation and expenditures, lodged a formal complaint against the monopolistic practices of six Augsburg firms, the

Fugger above all others. Only the refusal of Emperor Charles V (ruled 1519–1558) to support the measure—prompted by the personal influence of his banker, Jacob Fugger himself—prevented the measure from becoming law. Yet the antimonopoly forces were not ready to admit defeat. The Reichsfiskal renewed its complaint and brought the matter before the Imperial Diet of Augsburg in 1530. Its members moved to form a commission, which prepared a report for the “common good” on the monopolistic abuses of these great companies. It referred specifically to their trade in Oriental spices and metal ores, their use of interest-bearing instruments and transactions, and their manipulation of prices through speculation and hoarding. These techniques allowed the monopolists to alter market conditions in such a way as to unjustly inflate their profits from these enterprises, thus driving their more modest competitors out of business and the “common man” into the streets. The report also proposed that monopolistic practices be forbidden by law, that commercial firms be limited in size, that imported goods be subjected to price controls, that imperial subjects be forbidden to engage in overseas enterprise, and that foreign merchants in the empire be similarly regulated.

In the midst of such dangerous opposition, mercantile interests found a spokesman in Conrad Peutinger (1465–1547), merchant son, university-trained jurist, Augsburg councillor, and renowned humanist. In a 1530 legal opinion, he defended monopoly as essential to the economic well-being of the nation. Through their entrepreneurship and audacity the accused monopolists drew international trade to the empire and, he argued, created profit and advantage for princes and plebeians alike. Their firms traded in large volumes of goods, thus lowering prices. Their capacity to concentrate capital enabled them to undertake ventures that were too costly or risky for smaller competitors. He argued that risk and profit should be linked. Indeed, the pursuit of individual advantage in economic life was not opposed to the common good, rather contributed directly to it and, as such, was both economically and morally justified. Peutinger became one of the first advocates of a truly modern economic ethos. Whether his arguments had any immediate bearing cannot be determined. Emperor

Charles V saw fit to let the matter die an administrative death.

UBIQUITOUS MONOPOLIES

The resort to monopolies—as well as opposition to them—continued in the Holy Roman Empire and elsewhere. Inspired by mercantilist thought, which emphasized protectionist legislation to shield domestic industries from competition, German princes granted production monopolies as a privilege to German manufacturers. Indeed, the catalogue of princely prerogatives, referred to collectively as *Regalien*, included the granting of monopoly rights. Although denied to the Holy Roman emperor by the Treaty of Westphalia (1648), these prerogatives came into increasingly frequent use among territorial princes who were anxious to expand their power and increase their revenue. Nor were the Germans alone. State-sponsored monopolies were a common economic contrivance in Bourbon France and Tudor-Stuart England. Everywhere, trading monopolies played an essential role in commercial and colonial development. They involved the creation of charter trading companies to which the crown gave monopoly rights. The Company of Merchant Adventurers, the Levant Company, and the East India Company used political influence to exclude foreign competitors and limit export quotas in order to maintain market share and stabilize profits. Members paid a fee to trade under the aegis of company direction, a fact that led to bitter resentment among those excluded. An attack on trading companies was launched in Parliament in 1604, but their monopolies were not relaxed until late in the 1600s, when regulation of monopolies was no longer viewed as essential to commercial security. Monopolies were not limited to commerce. The reign of Elizabeth (ruled 1558–1603) witnessed the expansion of the patent system as a spur to English manufacturing, whereby patents were granted the sole right to produce a given product by a given process, in effect monopoly control of a certain manufacturing process. Reliance on monopolies did not yield to faith in competition until physiocratic thinking made its influence generally felt in the course of the eighteenth century.

The early modern economy relied to a surprising extent on monopoly and monopolistic practices. Their effects were not uniformly deleterious. Yet the

period initiated a passionate debate about commercial activities and a turn toward freer competition that continues to this day.

See also **Capitalism; Fugger Family; Luther, Martin; Smith, Adam; Trading Companies.**

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THOMAS MAX SAFLEY

MONTAIGNE, MICHEL DE (1533–1592), French essayist. Montaigne was born at his family's château, which is still in existence, near Bordeaux, on 28 February 1533. The château de Montaigne and the title had been bought in 1477 by his great-grandfather Ramon Eyquem, who had made his fortune trading in wine and salt fish. Pierre, Montaigne's father, was the first of his family to "live nobly," that is, give up commerce, and Montaigne himself was the first to follow the aristocratic practice of adopting the name of the estate as his own. Pierre had married, in 1528, Antoinette de

Louppes (Lopez), from a family of *converso* Spanish Jews, and Michel was the eldest of their surviving children.

Montaigne's father took a great interest in the new humanist learning, and thus had Michel raised in the company of a tutor who spoke only Latin to him, so that Latin, rather than French, was his first language. Montaigne spoke fondly of this part of his childhood, but less fondly of his years at the Collège de Guyenne, whose harsh discipline he detested, although he admitted to having had a few excellent teachers. He went on to study law, in preparation for a career of public service. By the late 1550s he was a member of the Parlement of Bordeaux, a position he retained until 1570. It was there, around 1558, that he met Étienne de la Boétie, who became his greatest friend, and whose premature death in 1563 was the defining moment in Montaigne's personal life. In 1565, Montaigne married Françoise de la Chassaigne; around this time, he also began to translate, at his father's request, the *Theologia naturalis* of Raymond Sebon (d. 1436), which described a path to faith through rigorous self-examination. He finished the translation in time to present it to his father before the latter's death in 1568, and it was printed in 1569.

In 1570, Montaigne sold his parliamentary office, and officially retired from public service, out of (he said) a desire to devote the remainder of his days to study, writing, and contemplation. His "retirement" was, however, not complete. Himself a moderate Catholic, he was trusted by both Catholics and Protestants, and often played an important role in negotiations between them in France's Wars of Religion, work for which he was honored by both sides. He was at the same time working on the *Essais*, whose first edition, in two books, was published in 1580. In the same year, he embarked on a leisurely trip through central Europe to Italy, visiting various spas in search of relief from the kidney stones that had begun to plague him two years earlier. This trip resulted in the *Journal de voyage*, not rediscovered and published until 1774. While still in Italy, Montaigne was informed that he had been elected mayor of Bordeaux. He was initially reluctant to accept the office, and it was only at King Henry III's insistence that he returned home in late 1581 to take up his none-too-onerous duties. Two years later he was elected to a second term as mayor,

which kept him busy dealing with the Catholic League and working to reconcile Henry III and the Protestant leader Henry of Navarre (later King Henry IV).

He continued work on the *Essais* during this time, revising and adding to the essays of the first two books while writing the thirteen essays of the third book. In 1588 he went to Paris on a diplomatic mission, also bringing the new three-book version of the *Essais* to the printer. On this trip he met an enthusiastic reader, Marie de Gournay, who would become his literary executor. Montaigne kept working on the *Essais* up to the time of his death (13 September 1592), making notes, revisions, and extensive additions in the margins of his own copy of the 1588 edition. This book, the *exemplaire de Bordeaux* (Bordeaux copy), became the basis of the posthumous 1595 edition, whose publication was overseen by Marie de Gournay, and of most subsequent editions as well.

Montaigne has been credited with inventing in the *Essais* both the essay form and the modern notion of the self. In fact, neither claim is strictly true. Montaigne's earliest essays are in fact closely modeled on (even, sometimes, translations of) the moral essays of classical authors like Cicero, Seneca, and Plutarch. Later essays, while ranging farther afield, always remain in dialogue with their classical models. Likewise, the notion of an approach to philosophical wisdom through autobiography has a long history in the Western tradition, from Augustine on. Montaigne's real innovation is to combine essay and self-examination into a genuinely unique result: the literary representation of the self as constantly evolving process. He intends, he tells us, to offer an entirely unvarnished self-portrait, including everything, no matter how trivial, and hiding nothing, no matter how embarrassing. Montaigne's self-deprecatory attitude is, of course, partly ironic, since the inclusiveness of his project allows him to claim for it an exemplarity on a par with, or surpassing, that of his classical predecessors. And it is indeed inclusive; the *Essais* cover an astounding range of topics, from the deepest theological and philosophical questions to codpieces, motion sickness, and the drinking habits of Germans. Some essays are miniatures, a paragraph or two of comment on some classical topic, while others, especially those of the third book, are extended and complex, weaving

together multiple themes (the *Apologie de Raymond Sebon*, a critique of Sebon running to nearly two hundred pages, is in a class by itself).

In the midst of such diversity, a few major themes, or rather sets of questions, unite the *Essais*. First, a radical skepticism, given its fullest expression in the *Apologie* but pervading the entire collection, through which Montaigne constantly calls into question his society's most fundamental assumptions. Second, a critical fascination with Stoic philosophy, influenced both by his readings in classical authors and his experiences in the Wars of Religion. Third, a kind of pragmatic Epicureanism, likewise conditioned by his readings (especially of Lucretius) and by his own experience of the limits of Stoicism. From all of these emerges, finally, a spirit of humility and tolerance, to which Montaigne is led by a thorough contemplation of human imperfection, including his own. Montaigne's style and language are as diverse as his subjects. Now discursively Latinate, now colloquial and blunt, his voice adapts constantly to his topic and mood. He is therefore a deceptively difficult author. The reader is sometimes lulled into complacency by the apparent ease and simplicity of Montaigne's style, only to find that the thought being expressed is far more complex than it had seemed. The *Essais* are Montaigne's running conversation with antiquity, with his own society, with the reader, and with himself; digressive, polyphonic, sometimes contradictory, often ironic, always generous and humane, they show us one of the finest minds of the Renaissance at work.

Montaigne's impact on his contemporaries was immediate and substantial, and he has occupied a central place in Western literature ever since. John Locke and the philosophes owed much to him, as did Shakespeare and Francis Bacon. Blaise Pascal rightly recognized in him a formidable opponent; the heart of the *Pensées* is therefore a critical dialogue with Montaigne. Many have applauded Montaigne's skeptical critique of both reason and religion, while others have found him a dangerous freethinker, but none have failed to recognize the necessity—and the pleasure—of conversing with this most engaging of authors. He has inspired some of the best literary criticism of the last half-century and continues to be a major presence in literature, as well as in political and moral philosophy.

See also **Biography and Autobiography**; **French Literature and Language**; **Pascal, Blaise**; **Philosophes**; **Political Philosophy**.

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DAVID M. POSNER

MONTESQUIEU, CHARLES-LOUIS DE SECONDAT DE (1689–1755), parliamentary judge, historian, and political philosopher. Montesquieu was born on 18 January 1689 at La Brède, near Bordeaux. His earliest education was with a local schoolmaster; in 1700 he was sent to an Oratorian institution near Paris emphasizing the

classics. Between 1705 and 1708 he studied law at the University of Bordeaux, receiving a license in law and becoming an advocate at the Parlement of Bordeaux. From 1709 until 1713 he resided in Paris, attending meetings of the Academy of Science and the Academy of Inscriptions, compiling notebooks on Roman law, and becoming acquainted with such luminaries as Bernard le Bovier de Fontenelle and Nicolas Fréret.

Following the death of his father in 1713, he returned to La Brède to take charge of the family estates. In 1715 he married Jeanne de Lartigue, a wealthy Huguenot from a nearby village who bore him a son and two daughters and ably managed his estates during his many trips to Paris. In 1716 he inherited from his uncle the office of *président à mortier* (deputy president) in the Parlement of Bordeaux. For ten years he served in the Chambre de la Tournelle, the criminal section of this regional court, prior to selling his office in 1726 to procure more time for his literary and philosophical pursuits.

EARLY WRITINGS AND TRAVELS

From an early age Montesquieu displayed the interests of a polymath. In addition to numerous youthful scientific papers, his early writings included essays on Cicero's politics and philosophy, on the problem of the French national debt, on political uses of religion in ancient Rome, on the obligations of citizenship and morality, on the decline of Spanish wealth, and on the respective roles of chance and determinism in the unfolding of history. His first published work, *Lettres persanes* (1721; Persian letters), was a brilliant excursion into comparative politics, juxtaposing the laws and customs of Islamic and Christian societies. Considered by many the point of origin of the French Enlightenment, this early work presented satirical portraits of French and Persian manners, customs, and religion amidst significant philosophical observations on such diverse subjects as justice, divorce, slavery, despotism, punishment, demography, English liberty, religious liberty, and principles of government.

In 1728 Montesquieu embarked on a lengthy tour of Europe and England. Prior to his departure, he had been favorably disposed toward republics. After reacting negatively to the aristocratic republics of Italy and Holland, however, and after observing English politics for eighteen months, he returned to

France in 1731 with renewed appreciation for the potential for achieving liberty in properly structured monarchies, whether based on a combination of monarchical and republican elements, as in the English system, or, as in France, constructed on feudal components and with intermediary and corporate bodies whose presence moderates absolutism.

ROMAN HISTORY

In 1734 Montesquieu published a philosophical account of the causes of Roman greatness and decline, replacing Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet's (1627–1704) providential explanation of an ordered concatenation of events with a secular philosophy of history stressing underlying general causes that produced predictable patterns. Montesquieu was critical of the Romans for employing a combination of force and fraud to achieve their goals, and his account of Rome can be read as an attack on Machiavellian tactics in both domestic and international contexts—thus setting the scene for his later pronouncement in Book XXI, chapter 20 of *De l'esprit des lois* (1748; *The spirit of the laws*) that Machiavellianism was waning, since bold strokes of political authority interfere with the economic interests on which power is based. Although he did not find Roman history on the whole an edifying spectacle, Montesquieu drew many lessons from it, including the importance of a balance of powers, the contributions of party conflict to political liberty, the benefits of strengthening patriotism with religious sentiment, and the connection between democracy and small republics that avoid imperial conquest.

THE SPIRIT OF THE LAWS

Montesquieu's reputation hinges most substantially on *The Spirit of the Laws*. As Émile Durkheim and Raymond Aron have emphasized, Montesquieu's viewpoint contributed to an emerging social science perspective exploring the interconnection between all of the complex variables that shape laws, customs, religion, manners, and mentalities. While he by no means discarded the natural law perspective, which stressed an ordered universe, subject to laws embodying transcendent standards of justice, Montesquieu nonetheless introduced sociological perspectives into the study of positive laws. His stress on the influence on human development of laws, customs, religion, education, maxims of government, and modes of subsistence, combined with his

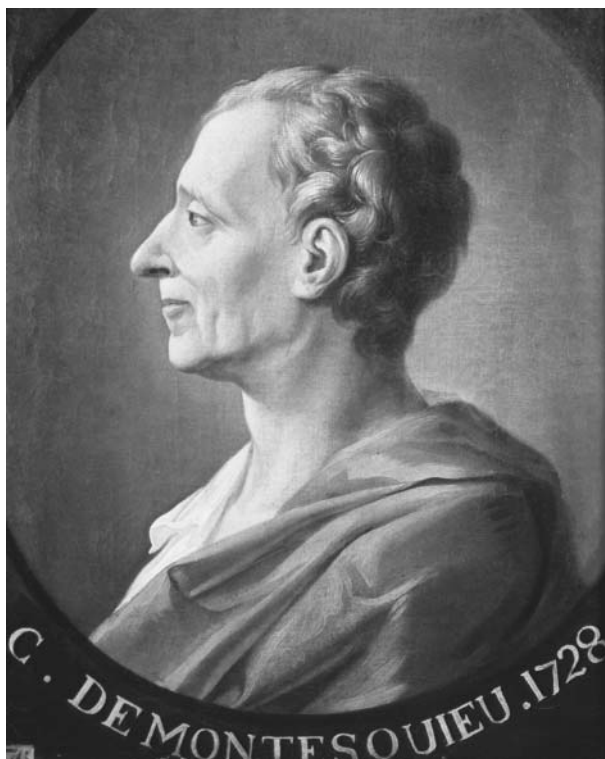
interest in such physical influences as climate and topography, inaugurated a new epoch in the study of society from anthropological and climatological perspectives and influenced numerous later theorists.

The Spirit of the Laws also contributed to recurring disputes regarding France's ancient constitution. For centuries theorists had debated the historical lineage of the respective components of the French constitution, with the legitimacy of absolutism hanging in the balance. The key question was whether the early Frankish monarchy had been absolute—having peacefully inherited the Roman Empire—or whether, following an early Frankish conquest of Gaul, the Frankish kings beginning with Clovis had been elected by noblemen, who kept a close watch on the exercise of monarchical powers. François Hotman contended in his *Franco-gallia* (1573) that the French monarchy had always been elective and restrained by a powerful aristocracy. Numerous absolutist theorists of the same century, however, including Jean Ferrault, Charles Du Moulin, and Charles de Grassaille, contended that both the parlements and the Estates-General of France represented illegitimate constraints on an originally absolutist monarchy.

Montesquieu supported the Germanic nobiliary thesis rather than the Roman royalist thesis concerning the origins of the French monarchy. Unlike Hotman and other proponents of a revived Estates-General, however, he believed that the Parlement of Paris functioned as the key bridle on absolutism through its right to register the king's edicts before they became law. His arguments in *The Spirit of the Laws* provided support for the *parlementaires* during their numerous clashes with Louis XV (ruled 1715–1774) and Louis XVI (ruled 1774–1793) in the decades leading up to the French Revolution—until both the parlements and the crown were extinguished during a period of intense republican fervor.

MONTESQUIEU'S LEGACY

The Spirit of the Laws was the most authoritative political treatise of its day. Montesquieu altered the language of politics by replacing the ancient political classification distinguishing between governments of the one, the few, and the many with a new typology contrasting moderate and despotic forms



Charles-Louis de Secondat de Montesquieu.

Anonymous portrait, 1728. ©ARCHIVO ICONOGRAFICO, S.A./CORBIS

of government and identifying republics, monarchies, and despotisms as the main types. Moreover, his selection of political virtue (defined as self-sacrificing, patriotic attachment to the needs of one's country) as the principle of republican government reverberated through both American and French political developments of the late eighteenth century. In America "virtue" was extolled by nearly all the patriots opposing a monarchy they considered corrupt, whereas in France Maximilien Robespierre adopted Montesquieu's language of virtue only to debase it by linking patriotic self-sacrifice with terror, claiming that both are necessary when forging a republic during revolutionary times.

Montesquieu bestowed lavish attention on republics within his governmental typology, but he was no republican by conviction—and certainly no democrat. He had a low opinion of the political abilities of the masses. Moreover, he considered democracy suited only to the extremely small city-states of classical antiquity. Like James Madison in America, he formed a negative opinion of the unsta-

ble democratic states of Greek antiquity, whose tendency to produce unmanageable factional strife had often led to the rise of dictators who could quell disturbances. Only monarchical constitutions, Montesquieu concluded, were well suited for governance of the large states of the modern world.

The Spirit of the Laws contributed significantly to the humanitarian legacy of the Enlightenment since Montesquieu employed devastating satire to ridicule such evils as slavery, disproportionate punishments, religious intolerance, and despotism. Above all, Montesquieu is remembered as a defender of political and civil liberty. Central to that goal, he concluded, is the division of governmental powers between executive, legislative, and judicial authorities to ensure that no one individual or group monopolizes power. Also central to the achievement of liberty is the presence of an independent judiciary enforcing a criminal code that punishes only offenses that threaten actual harm to others.

Montesquieu remained a hero to advocates of constitutional monarchy during the early phases of the French Revolution, but he lost favor as radical elements turned to Jean-Jacques Rousseau for inspiration. The depiction of the English government in Book XI, chapter 6 of *The Spirit of the Laws* as a mixed constitution combining monarchical, aristocratic, and democratic elements became the classic view taken over by William Blackstone in his influential *Commentaries on the Laws of England* (1765–1769). In America the framers of the constitution were so enamored of Montesquieu's depiction of the need to separate executive, legislative, and judicial powers that they made him the most quoted author during the Constitutional Convention of 1787 and divided the American government into three separate branches, each one empowered to check the others. Following the collapse of Communism in the late twentieth century and the French reassessment of the terror phase of their Revolution during the bicentennial of 1989, Europeans have shown a renewed interest in the liberal constitutionalism of Montesquieu, whose work stands as a timeless contribution to our understanding of political and civil liberty.

See also **Enlightenment; Historiography; Parlements; Political Philosophy; Revolutions, Age of.**

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DAVID W. CARRITHERS

MONTEVERDI, CLAUDIO (1567–1642), Italian composer of madrigals, operas, and sacred music; one of the most pivotal figures in the history of music. Claudio Monteverdi's music was a primary force in the change in style and aesthetics that marked the transition from the Renaissance to the baroque—the shift from the *stile antico* (old style) or *prima prattica* (first practice), as represented by Giovanni Perluigi da Palestrina (1525–



Claudio Monteverdi. Undated portrait. ©BETTMANN/CORBIS

1594) and Orlando di Lasso (1530–1594), to the *stile moderno* (modern style) or *seconda prattica* (second practice). Under the influence of humanistic discoveries—in particular notions about Greek drama—Monteverdi’s contemporaries sought new ways to move the passions of the listener. The Renaissance ideal of complex vocal polyphony was abandoned in favor of a simple texture, often featuring one melodic line and a bass (monody) so that the music could respond spontaneously to the rhythms and meaning of the text. Rigid rules of counterpoint were discarded in favor of a freer treatment of dissonance and chromaticism. Monteverdi’s adventurous tonal style and his use of irregular rhythms, dance patterns, and frequent shifts of texture not only enriched the newly invented genre of opera but transformed genres that had developed during the preceding century, including the madrigal, motet, and mass.

Monteverdi was born in Cremona and baptized on 15 May 1567. The young musician’s genius was so precocious that his first collection of vocal compositions, the *Sacrae cantiunculae*, was published when he was fifteen, when he was still a student of

Marc’Antonio Ingegneri, the *maestro di capella* of Cremona Cathedral. While still in Cremona, he published his first book of madrigals in 1587 and a second on 1 January 1590. In 1590 or 1591, Monteverdi began a lengthy association with the city of Mantua and the Gonzaga family, entering the service of the Vincenzo I Gonzaga, duke of Mantua. His third book of madrigals, dedicated to the duke on 27 June 1592, featured texts by Tarquato Tasso (1544–1595) and Giambattista Guarini (1538–1612). Guarini’s poetry would do much to shape what Gary Tomlinson had referred to as the “epigrammatic” style that characterized the fourth book of madrigals (1603). Monteverdi was appointed *maestro della musica* in Mantua in 1601, and went on to dedicate his fifth book of madrigals (1605) to Vincenzo Gonzaga. During this period, Monteverdi’s unconventional style had attracted the attention of a conservative Bolognese theorist, Giovanni Artusi, who attacked Monteverdi (among others) for his rejection of tradition; the often vitriolic exchanges between the two—which include Monteverdi’s preface to the fifth book of madrigals and his brother Giulio Cesare’s addendum to the *Scherzi musicali* (1607; Musical jokes)—provide insight into this new aesthetic in which words might be understood as the mistress of the music.

Monteverdi’s duties at court included the composition of a variety of dramatic entertainments. His *Orfeo* (1607), described as a *favola in musica* (fable in music), has long been considered the first great opera. The libretto by Alessandro Striggio was certainly influenced by that of *Euridice* (1600) by Ottavio Rinuccini (c. 1562–1621), one of the early Florentine operatic experiments. But Monteverdi’s *Orfeo* was the first to truly transform the pastoral play with music into a compelling, through-composed entertainment. Expressive monody, juxtaposed with dancelike madrigals and brief arias, vividly depict Orpheus’s joy, subsequent despair, and musical virtuosity, as in the famous aria “Possente spirito” (Powerful spirit) addressed to Pluto; the highly dramatic use of a large instrumental ensemble (recorders, cornettos, trombones, and a basso continuo group of harps, harpsichords, and plucked instruments) captures the contrast between the pleasurable earthly existence and Pluto’s underworld. In 1608, Monteverdi provided wedding entertain-

ments for Prince Francesco Gonzaga and Margherita of Savoy, including the *Ballo delle ingrato* (Dance of the ingrates), and the opera *Arianna*, from which only the lament (which famously brought tears to the eyes of the court ladies) has survived.

In 1613, Monteverdi was appointed *maestro di cappella* of San Marco in Venice, a declining institution that he revitalized by hiring new musicians, expanding the music library, and raising the standards of performance. He was responsible for directing and composing music for all major church ceremonies and activities, such as masses, vesper services, feast days, and weddings. While maintaining his connections with Mantua and Florence, Monteverdi continued to publish madrigals: books 6 and 7 were published in 1614 and 1619 respectively, and his earlier madrigals were reprinted in both Venice and Antwerp around this time. The eighth book of madrigals (1638), known as the *Madrigali guerrieri, et amorosi* (Madrigals of love and war), is a compendium of works written earlier. Monteverdi's attention to poetic detail is apparent in this volume, which includes settings of poems not only by Guarini, Tasso, and the revered Petrarch (1304–1374), but also the infamous Giovanni Battista Marino (1569–1625), whose influence on Monteverdi's aesthetics has frequently been observed. In book 8, Monteverdi invents a number of novel musical strategies to illustrate the popular topoi of love and war. *Il Combattimento di Tancredi e Clorinda* (1624/5; The battle of Tancredi and Clorinda), drawn from Tasso's *Jerusalem Delivered*, is noteworthy for the use of the *stile concitato* (agitated style) as discussed in the preface to book 8, in particular the innovative string techniques used to represent the battle scenes, including the use of pizzicato (plucking the strings) and *col legno* (striking the strings with the wood of the bow). Love is well represented by the *Lamento della ninfa*, in which the hypnotic soprano's complaint, set over a repeated descending bass pattern, became the model for numerous such laments.

When he was in his seventies, Monteverdi published his most important collection of sacred music, *Selva morale e spirituale* (1640; Spiritual and moral forest), and also profoundly influenced Venice's emerging opera industry. His 1639–1640 revival of *Arianna* was followed by a trilogy of three-act operas in Venetian style: *Il ritorno di Ulisse in*

Patria (1639–1640; The return of Ulysses to his homeland); the lost *Le nozze di Enea con Lavinia* (1640–1641; The wedding of Aeneas and Lavinia); and *L'incoronazione di Poppea* (1642–1643; The coronation of Poppea), which some music historians believe was probably finished by Francesco Saccati and others. Unlike in *Orfeo*, much of the expressive power of these works is concentrated in the closed forms (arias and duets) rather than recitative, as would become the norm in baroque opera. All three were written to librettos by members of the Venetian Accademia degli Incogniti, a group of freethinking patricians involved in both opera and publishing whose staunch patriotism, interest in the erotic, and playful attitude toward the classics seem to have inspired the composer at the height of his creative powers. From the representation of chaste marital fidelity in the recasting of Homer (in *Il ritorno*) to the seemingly immoral endorsement of physical love in imperial Rome (in *Poppea*), the surviving Venetian operas provide an eloquent testimony to Monteverdi's understanding of complex human emotions and his incomparable genius.

See also **Baroque; Lasso, Orlando di; Mantua; Music; Music Criticism; Opera; Palestrina, Giovanni Pierluigi da; Tasso, Tarquato; Venice.**

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WENDY HELLER, MARK KROLL

MORAL PHILOSOPHY AND ETHICS. In early modern Europe "moral philosophy" often referred to the systematic study of the human world, as distinguished from "natural philosophy," the systematic study of the natural world. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries moral philosophy in this broad sense was gradually split up into separate disciplines: politics, economics, historical sociology, and moral philosophy more narrowly understood as the study of the ideas and the psychology involved in individual morality. It should be noted that moral philosophy was a part not only of Aristotelian philosophy but also, along with grammar, rhetoric, poetry, and history, of the humanities (*studia humanitatis*), and in this connection, the ethics of the Platonists, Stoics, and Epicureans also came under consideration.

NEW ISSUES

The philosophers who created modern moral philosophy were familiar with the thinkers of classical antiquity; some had also studied the medieval scholastics. But neither the ancient nor the medieval philosophers faced the conditions that increasingly confronted the whole of Europe from the Reformation onward. Early in this period political and religious authorities struggled for control over all significant human activity. After the Reformation, religion no longer spoke with the single voice it claimed in the Middle Ages, but ministers of every denomination demanded obedience to the God they preached. For Lutheran and Reformed thinkers as well as for Catholics, all philosophy had to be subservient to theology. Philosophers had to reach conclusions that theologians could certify as agreeing with Christian doctrine. Monarchs claimed to rule by divine right and worked with their national churches to enforce social hierarchies that shaped daily life even in its details, but established institutions, practices, and beliefs were increasingly being challenged and were eventually severely weakened

or destroyed. Political and religious authority and the hold of custom and tradition were eroding. New kinds of groups were developing in which individuals interacted without attending to rank or class. In these new forms of sociability people treated one another as equals, able to get along together pleasantly and profitably without control by external authority.

All these changes called for the rethinking of both individual and political norms. Advances in scientific and geographical knowledge contributed greatly to the widespread feeling that everything from the past was open to question. But even without the advances in knowledge, the turmoil of religious controversy and social change made evident the need for a new understanding of morality.

Ancient moral philosophers thought that their task was to determine what was required for human flourishing—the highest good—and to show what virtues were needed in order to attain it. Christian theologians made ultimate human flourishing dependent on a proper relation to God, who alone was man's highest good. Laws of morality, which God teaches everyone through conscience, would guide us to the good of sociable living in this world. Conformity to them, however, could not guarantee salvation, for which God's grace was needed.

MONTAIGNE'S CHALLENGE

Modern moral philosophy began as the effort to answer questions like those raised most effectively by Michel de Montaigne (1533–1592). In his widely read *Essays* (1588) he presented himself as earnestly trying all the available theories about how we should live, asking if any of them could be followed. Although Montaigne was a devout Catholic, he used neither dogma nor theology to test claims about the good life. His attempts led him to think that neither he nor anyone else—aside from a few exceptional figures—could steadily follow Christian or classical models.

Montaigne concluded that we must each determine for ourselves what the good life is. We each have a distinctive natural form that tells us what we need and what we cannot tolerate. For each person that must be the supreme guide. Montaigne could find no grounds, outside religion, for believing in moral laws known to all. We should obey the laws of our country, he held, not because they are just but

simply because they are the established local law. Our individual form gives guidance to each but not guidance for all.

In an age already deeply unsettled by interminable debates about religion, Montaigne was taken to be a skeptic about morality. His conservative acceptance of local law and his claim to a private inner voice did not offer enough to a world in which confessional and international conflict was pervasive. His denial that there is a common highest good seemed to make it impossible to find a basis for working toward principles that could cross all the lines dividing Europe. Modern moral philosophy had to create new resources to underpin a common morality.

NATURAL LAW AND INTUITIONISM

The two earliest lines of thought were started simultaneously. Hugo Grotius (1583–1645), a Dutch Calvinist lawyer, initiated a new understanding of natural law theory with his *Law of War and Peace* in 1625. As part of it he outlined the view that natural law should be understood as empirically based directions for enabling sociable but quarrelsome people to get along with one another, no matter how much they differed about God or the good. In his *On Truth* (1624) Edward, Lord Herbert of Cherbury (1582–1648) claimed that all humans have an intuitive grasp of certain basic moral truths that show us how to live. Though both thinkers believed in God, both wanted to minimize the extent to which God or his ministers had to be consulted about morality. Herbert also rejected the subordination of philosophy to theology, holding that religious claims in conflict with intuitively known moral principles must be false.

Grotius's themes were developed by the English philosophers Thomas Hobbes (1599–1679) and John Locke (1632–1704) and by the German lawyer Samuel Pufendorf (1632–1694). All saw humans as needing to live together but as so prone to selfishness that they found this difficult. Moral laws of nature were basic directions for solving the problem posed by our unsociably sociable nature. With Luther and Calvin these thinkers held that morality requires law, that law requires a lawgiver, and that God is the ultimate lawgiver. Morality is obedience to divine commands. Since no one can command God, he alone is self-governing. God has left it up to

us to discover the contents of morality. Ordinary experience provides us with all the facts we need to infer the divine commands. We need not appeal to revelation.

Critics of modern natural law theory all objected that an ethics of divine command made God an arbitrary and unlovable tyrant. One group followed Lord Herbert's lead in working out how to defeat this kind of theory. Two Anglican clergymen, Ralph Cudworth (1617–1688) and Samuel Clarke (1675–1729), held that eternally valid moral principles guide God. They are known by us because he has given us a power of intuition enabling us to grasp them. Moral knowledge thus makes us self-governing. Developed further by an Anglican bishop, Joseph Butler (1692–1752), and a dissenting minister, Richard Price (1723–1791), intuitionism received its classic form in the *Essays on the Active Powers of Man* (1788) by the Scottish professor Thomas Reid (1710–1796), who was a major influence on nineteenth-century British and French moral thought.

PERFECTIONISTS AND MORAL SENSE THEORISTS

Another group, the rationalist perfectionists, including Baruch Spinoza (1632–1677), Nicholas Malebranche (1638–1715), Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646–1716), and the Leibnizian Christian Wolff (1679–1754), held that ignorance, not quarrelsomeness, was the source of immorality. They argued that only increase of knowledge could improve our behavior and our happiness. The more we think as God does, the more perfect we become. God is guided not by an arbitrary will but by his knowledge of all facts and all values. We and our societies will become more perfect the more knowledge we have and the more we live according to it. People who know more than others are closer to governing themselves and are responsible for directing the lives of the rest.

Many eighteenth-century British thinkers shared the common reaction against divine command theory and its assumption that only punishments and rewards, here or in an afterlife, could make most of us act morally. We are not, they held, as selfish as Hobbes and Pufendorf said we are. We are benevolent as well as self-interested, and we feel moral sentiments of approval and disapproval, com-

ing from a moral sense that approves of what we do from benevolence. To be self-governing, we need no further guidance. Moral sense theorists like the Earl of Shaftesbury (1671–1713) and the Presbyterian minister Francis Hutcheson (1694–1746) were not atheists, but their views began to make God marginal for morality.

The Scottish philosopher David Hume (1711–1776) developed moral sense theory to its fullest and excluded God from morality altogether. Morality for Hume is just the feelings with which we respond to certain facts about people and their characters. We feel approval of people whose character leads them to be good company or useful to others and to themselves. People tend to feel benevolent toward those close to them. For dealing with strangers we invent rules, called laws of nature, governing property, contracts, and obedience to government; and we are moved to obey them because we can feel sympathy with those who benefit from them. Hume held that there can be no rules of obligation unless we naturally have or create sufficient motives to follow them. We need no divine threats or promises about an afterlife to make us virtuous. Even political authority springs from our sense of our own needs and how to meet them. We are wholly self-governing parts of nature, and nothing more.

EGOISTS AND UTILITARIANS

Philosophers who rejected the sanguine portrayal of human nature given by the moral sense theorists followed Hobbes in arguing that rational self-interest alone could give rise to morality and decent government. Some saw God's providential hand in this happy outcome of selfishness. Atheistic thinkers in France, like the government official Claude Adrien Helvetius (1715–1771) and the wealthy Baron D'Holbach (1723–1789), saw it as showing that morality was nothing but instruction about how individuals could attain for themselves the highest good, a life filled with pleasure.

Many religious thinkers believed that God wills the happiness of all rather than purely private happiness and that we should therefore try to bring about as much happiness as we can. For many years *The Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy* (1786) by the Anglican cleric William Paley (1743–1805) was the most widely read version of this doctrine,

but a secular counterpart had a much longer life. In his *Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation* (1789) the legal reformer Jeremy Bentham (1748–1832) set out the view later known as utilitarianism. The good, for Bentham, was pleasure and the absence of pain. Pleasures and pains can be balanced against one another, like credits and debits. The basic principle of morality instructs us to bring about the greatest happiness we can for the greatest number of people. To the extent that individuals are not naturally inclined to act this way, society and government should set up inducements that would lead them to do so. Bentham was sure that England's laws were not aimed at maximizing happiness. He set out to change them and gathered an active group of disciples to help him. Partly as a result, secular utilitarianism eventually became the main systematic alternative to Reid's brand of intuitionism in nineteenth century Britain.

KANT

Secular theories basing morality on experience seemed always to rely on emotions and to take the highest good to be earthly happiness, no matter what its source, and whether for all or only for oneself. The British intuitionists fought against such views, as did the German Lutheran philosopher Christian August Crusius (1715–1775). But the most systematic opposition came from the philosopher Immanuel Kant (1724–1804). He rejected divine command ethics but thought that perfectionist and intuitionist theories led inevitably to a morally objectionable reliance on an educated elite to control everyone else. He had learned from the Genevan writer Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778) to honor the common man. But Rousseau's views rested finally on sentiment, and Kant held that sentiment could not ground the kind of absolutely universal and necessary principles that morality needed.

Kant based morality not on pure thought or on emotion but on the will, which is the ability to make decisions for reasons. Our desires propose reasons for action, but the will can accept or reject any such proposal. Only proposals that match the will's own demands can become reasons for action. Kant identifies the basic demand that the rational will imposes on desires as the moral law—the voice of reason in practice. It comes to us as the form of a directive or

imperative that cannot reasonably be avoided. Kant calls it the categorical imperative. We can moreover be moved to act as the categorical imperative requires simply out of respect for our will's dictates. Because we govern ourselves not by knowing external laws but by following a self-legislated law, Kant called our form of self-governance "autonomy."

The categorical imperative says that I ought to act in such a way that the plan of action proposed by my desire could be a universal law. If a desire gives me a reason for action, it must give the same reason to anyone who has the same desire. We can use this principle to test our plans. We ask whether it would still be rational to follow our plan if everyone were to act on it. If not, we must reject it.

The categorical imperative requires us to treat all autonomous agents including ourselves with respect. We may pursue happiness in any way that the categorical imperative allows, and we ought to help others carry out their own plans for happiness if the categorical imperative allows those plans. Happiness, or the satisfaction of desires, is thus a goal to be pursued, on condition that we act fairly toward everyone in pursuing it.

Among other goals that the categorical imperative requires us to pursue is the highest good: the distribution of happiness in proportion to virtue. We know we need assistance to bring this end about. Hence morality requires us to believe that there is a superhuman being who can help us. Kant thus tried to avoid the naturalism that earlier thinkers such as Hume had championed. For Kant morality does not come from God. Instead it leads us to him.

CONCLUSION

Natural law theories and perfectionism lost their hold by the end of the eighteenth century. Kantianism, utilitarianism, and intuitionism set the initial terms for future discussion. All three types of view grew from efforts to show how morality could be supported without reliance on tradition, authority, or revelation. To different degrees contemporary defenders of these still-living positions have argued that everyone can think through moral issues and be moved by themselves to do what they conclude is right. We can thus all be self-governing.

Modern moral philosophy developed while Europeans were increasingly treating people as equals who were capable of living sociably without external authority. Philosophy aided this movement by providing alternative ways to talk about how morality could structure an aspect of life that was not dependent on its religious and political aspects. In doing so modern moral philosophy created much of the vocabulary through which Europeans were enabled to envisage the kind of self-governing person needed to sustain modern liberal democratic societies.

See also Erasmus, Desiderius; Grotius, Hugo; Holbach, Paul Thiry, baron d'; Hume, David; Kant, Immanuel; Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm; Montaigne, Michel de; Pascal, Blaise; Rousseau, Jean-Jacques; Spinoza, Baruch.

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J. B. SCHNEEWIND

MORAVIAN BRETHREN. The Moravian Brethren, also known as the Renewed Unity of the Brethren, developed out of the combined forces of Lutheranism, the German Pietist movement, and the drive to re-Catholicize the Habsburg holdings. The impact of the Moravian Brethren outstripped their numbers, largely due to their ecumenism, influential aristocratic members, and leadership in the Protestant missionary movement. Those influenced by their piety and social organization include the theologian and philosopher Friedrich Schleiermacher, the poet Novalis (Friedrich von Hardenberg), and the social reformer Benjamin Owen.

THE DEVELOPMENT AND GROWTH OF THE MOVEMENT: 1722–1736

The Brethren trace their heritage to the “Ancient” Unity of the Brethren (*Unitas Fratrum*), a Hussite group that went underground after the resounding Catholic victory at the Battle of White Mountain in 1620. A little over a century later, the last effort to unify religious practice in the hereditary Habsburg territories sent some groups of Protestants into exile just over the Czech border, where they sought refuge on the estate of the Pietist Count Nicholas Ludwig von Zinzendorf (1700–1760). These groups formed the nucleus of what became the Moravian Brethren.

Initially the Protestant exiles, including Christian David, David Nitschmann, and Johann and David Zeisberger, who later held leadership roles within the Brethren, settled among the tenants of the village of Berthelsdorf. Soon, however, tensions between the new arrivals and the villagers led to the founding of a separate settlement that was given the name Herrnhut. Zinzendorf had little to do with the settlement until 1727, when religious dissension among the ever-growing number of refugees attracted his attention. The diversity of religious

roots within the community, including some of a more radical bent, led to bitter disputes. Zinzendorf, as lord of the manor, crafted two sets of regulations, one dealing with basic economic and social matters, and one dealing with spiritual issues. At the insistence of members of the Nitschmann family, the latter was based on the traditions of the original Unity, most notably the right to refuse to take oaths and bear arms, and the right to impose spiritual discipline. An emotional religious awakening on 13 August 1727 set the spiritual flavor of the newly ordered community, in which devotion to Christ overrode doctrinal disputes.

Herrnhut provided the initial model for the unique communities, called *Ortsgemeinen*, ‘congregation places’, which the Brethren founded throughout Europe and North America in subsequent years. When Zinzendorf revised the regulations governing Herrnhut in 1728, he combined both spiritual and mundane matters in a single document. These regulations reflected a blending of particular Pietist interests, such as the regulation of moral conduct and provisions for economic, educational, and social welfare, with governmental structures common to European villages and towns. The expectation underlying all aspects of the community was that the inhabitants shared a common love of Christ and a desire to act for the good of the whole. The combination of Herrnhut’s continued growth as a center for religious refugees, and Zinzendorf’s alienation from the influential Pietist center at Halle, led to his banishment from Saxony in 1736 on suspicion of heresy. As a result, the count and a central group of the Brethren, defined as a *Pilgergemeinde*, ‘pilgrim congregation’, traveled across Europe and grew in numbers and influence.

THE FLOWERING OF THE MOVEMENT: 1736–1760

The period from 1736 to Zinzendorf’s death in 1760 saw the founding of several communities. In addition, during the 1730s and 1740s the practice of drawing lots to make decisions and the social/spiritual division of the congregations into “choirs” came into regular use. These years also saw the height of the Brethrens’ popularity along with a firestorm of criticism.

Zinzendorf’s banishment from Saxony caused him to move quickly to ensure that Protestant refu-

gees no longer allowed to settle in Herrnhut would have an alternative. This provided the initial impetus for the founding of other *Ortsgemeinen*, first in Wetteravia, then in America. Herrnhut's economic success led King Frederick II (the Great) of Prussia to invite the Brethren to set up communities in his territory in the early 1740s. The presence of noble members and patrons with ties to European courts opened more doors, and by 1770 congregation communities existed in several German states, as well as Denmark, the Netherlands, England, America, and Russia. In many cases, the founding of communities went hand in hand with support for their missionary endeavors, initially focused in the Caribbean and Greenland.

Despite (or perhaps because of) their ability to open doors at the courts of Europe, the Brethren faced hostility on both sides of the Atlantic. This hostility was largely generated by their popularity with people from all ranks and religious backgrounds, and by their clash with "orthodox" Pietism, which emphasized repentance and moral reform. The Brethren shared the Pietist concern with behavior but laced it with an often intensely emotional experience of connection with Christ. This found its most unusual expression in their designation of Christ as literal chief elder, whose will was revealed by the use of the lot. The records of the lot's use illustrate the mindset of the Brethren regarding their view of it as Christ's word; the decisions were always recorded as "The Savior approves" or "The Savior does not approve." During the height of its use, from the 1740s through the 1760s, the lot served as the final determiner of all decisions including business issues and marriage proposals.

The emotional bond between the individual member and Christ spilled over into a bond with fellow members. This bond was underscored by the official division of the membership into choirs, or groups defined by sex, age, and marital status. In most communities the Choirs of Single Brothers, Single Sisters, Widows, and Widowers each shared common housekeeping. Thus they formed a second type of family unit that rivaled the biological unit. The intense devotion to Christ and to community that characterized the Brethren reached extreme expression in the 1740s "Sifting Period." During this decade, and rippling beyond it, the devotional

language of the Brethren strongly resembled Catholic mysticism in its sexual overtones and close identity with the suffering and death of Christ.

THE "TAMING" OF THE BRETHREN: 1760–1800

After Zinzendorf's death in 1760, the leadership of the Brethren faced the consequences of their expansion and a decade of controversy in the form of a rather large debt and a tarnished reputation. As a result, with the exception of their missionary outreach, the last decades of the eighteenth century saw them turn inward in an ultimately successful effort to ensure their survival. In the process, they made the final transition from a movement to an established church. This transition manifested itself in several ways. As early as the 1750s, the primary leadership had begun to shift from charismatic individuals to a series of elected and appointed committees. After Zinzendorf's death in 1760, most of the more "unconventional" aspects of the Brethren's organization began to disappear, at least partially in response to outside criticism. The role of women became increasingly restricted, and more attention focused on the nuclear family unit. The role of the lot in decision making was gradually reduced, and unconventional imagery was removed from hymns and liturgies. Finally, the leadership directed much of their energy at educating, cultivating, and retaining those born within the circle of the church. By 1800, much of what had made the Brethren distinctive was disappearing from practice. The core of the vision survived, however, in the modern Moravian Church, the worldwide membership of which is largely non-Western and from a variety of traditions.

See also **Lutheranism; Pietism; Zinzendorf, Nikolaus Ludwig von.**

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ELISABETH SOMMER

MORE, HENRY (1614–1687), English philosopher. Henry More was the most prolific of the group of seventeenth-century thinkers known as the Cambridge Platonists. Born in Grantham, Lincolnshire, he was educated at Eton College and Christ's College, Cambridge, where he was elected fellow in 1641. Despite living through one of the most turbulent periods in English history, More retained his fellowship at Christ's during the English Civil War, Interregnum (1648–1660), and Restoration, devoting himself to a life of scholarship and publishing many works of philosophy and theology.

In his day More came to be regarded as one of England's leading contemporary philosophers. One of the first proponents of Cartesianism, he attacked Thomas Hobbes and Baruch Spinoza and was an enthusiast for the new science of Galileo and the Royal Society. His own philosophy owes much to Plato and Plotinus and is largely dedicated to the defense of religious belief against the twin forces of skepticism and atheism. Central to it is his philosophy of spirit, which underpins his arguments for demonstrating the existence and providential nature of God. More accounted for the operations of nature through his hypothesis of the Spirit of Nature or *principium hylarchicum*, analogous to Plato's world soul (*anima mundi*). His Platonism, first evident in his earliest writings, his *Philosophical Poems* (1647), was developed more fully in his *Of the Immortality of the Soul* (1659) and *Enchiridion Metaphysicum* (1671; Manual of metaphysics), in which he propounds the idea for which he is probably best known today: his concept of infinite space.

After repudiating predestinarian Calvinism in his youth, More subscribed to a tolerant Christianity that influenced the latitudinarian movement, which took a tolerant stance on doctrinal matters within the Church of England. Although he conformed at the Restoration (1660), he was nevertheless regarded as heterodox in High Church circles, principally on account of his adherence to Origen's

doctrine of the preexistence of the soul. In his later years More was much preoccupied with the study of biblical prophecy and the Cabala, sharing this last interest with Franciscus Mercurius von Helmont (1579–1644) and the German scholar Christian Knorr von Rosenroth (1636–1689).

More's most famous pupil was Anne Conway (1631–1679), who owed her introduction to philosophy to him. Among those who came under his influence were the clergyman Joseph Glanvill (1636–1680), the philosopher John Norris (1657–1711), and the naturalist John Ray (1627–1705). He was also known to Isaac Newton and to Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz.

See also **Cabala**; **Calvinism**; **Cambridge Platonists**; **Cartesianism**; **Philosophy**.

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SARAH HUTTON

MORE, THOMAS (1478–1535), English humanist scholar, author, and statesman. Thomas More was born in London on 7 February 1478 and executed there for high treason on 6 July 1535. His father, John More (died 1530), secured an appoint-

ment for his twelve-year-old son as page to John Morton, archbishop of Canterbury and Lord Chancellor under Henry VII (ruled 1485–1509). Grateful for the training in diplomacy, More paid tribute to Morton, a canonist who had helped to overthrow Richard III in favor of Henry VII, in both his *Utopia* (1515) and his *History of Richard III* (c. 1513, published 1543). Under Morton's influence More attended Canterbury College, Oxford, where he met such humanists as John Colet, William Grocyn, and Thomas Linacre. Under parental pressure, he left Oxford in 1494 for the study of law at New Inn, and later at Lincoln's Inn. While studying law he became deeply attached to the Carthusians of the Charterhouse and carefully discerned a religious vocation. But once he determined that he should seek God in the world rather than in ascetical retirement from it, he married Jane Colt, who bore him four children before her death in 1511. Six weeks later the widower married the widow Alice Middleton to provide his young children with a good stepmother.

The center of a group of humanists at London, More in 1499 first met Desiderius Erasmus, who honored his friend in the Latin title of his famous *Praise of Folly* (*Encomium Moriae*). More's earliest literary works date from this period, but legal work and a series of public offices increasingly consumed his time. He began to compose *Utopia* during a trade mission to the Low Countries in 1515, and in 1518 he formally entered the service of Henry VIII (ruled 1509–1547) as a royal counselor. Mindful of the vagaries of political life, More dramatized the arguments for and against royal service in the first book of *Utopia*. While the philosophical seafarer Raphael Hathloday (whose account of Utopia fills the second book) refuses even to consider advising a European prince, lest he be sullied by contact with unprincipled courtiers intent on money, territory, or power, the character More takes a guardedly optimistic tone by arguing that politics is the art of the possible and that one need not necessarily be seduced or compromised if one is clear on certain nonnegotiable moral principles. While the second book has been interpreted in ways as widely different as heralding an ideal Platonic polis and prophetically anticipating a Marxist paradise, it may well be an ironical humanistic exploration of what a society would look like if it systematically aban-

doned the principles of political philosophy associated with Augustine's *City of God*, on which More had lectured as early as 1504 and to which he frequently returned in later political writings and in his own practice.

From 1518 to 1529 More proved himself an able member of the king's council, especially as a liaison between Henry VIII and Cardinal Thomas Wolsey (1475?–1530), then Lord Chancellor, who was laboring to secure a general European peace. More was knighted in 1521 and chosen as the speaker of the House of Commons in 1523. By that year he had joined the campaign against the Lutheran literature then beginning to flood England and wrote controversial works, some on the king's behalf and others in his own name, against Luther and against William Tyndale, Simon Fish, and others. At this time also Henry began to consult More on his proposed divorce from Catherine of Aragón. When More informed the king that after long study he could not support his case, Henry chose other officials to pursue his "great matter" and sent More off to France for the negotiations that eventually resulted in the Treaty of Cambrai (1529).

When Wolsey had to resign from office after proving unable to dissolve Henry's marriage during the 1529 trial, Henry named More as the first non-clerical Lord Chancellor on 25 October 1529. While Henry's policies veered toward a breach with Rome over the question of the divorce, they showed little inclination to any doctrinal changes of the sort that More considered heretical and that he had long opposed both by the controlled use of civil law and by his writings. In the business of the chancery he garnered a reputation for impartiality and promptness in handling a vast docket of cases, but his direct influence with Henry VIII waned as it became increasingly obvious that the king was willing to break with Rome in order to marry Anne Boleyn. More resigned his office on 16 May 1532, the day after the bishops capitulated to the king on certain questions that More considered non-negotiable.

For over a year he lived modestly in retirement at Chelsea. His ongoing efforts to inform the king's conscience took the form of pseudonymous works such as *The Debellation of Salem and Bizance*, a story about the Turkish invasion of Christian Hun-

gary in which one need not look terribly deep to find applications for the controversies between Protestant and Catholic religion in England. More managed to evade the various efforts of Thomas Cromwell, Henry VIII's principal secretary and chief minister, to implicate him in treasonable activities, but he began to prepare himself for the inevitable by beginning to compose his *Treatise on the Passion*. He finished the work during his imprisonment for refusing to swear to the Oath of Supremacy when summoned to Lambeth Palace on 12 April 1534. Alert to various traps and ruses, he refused to reveal his conscience on the matter to anyone, even the much-loved members of his family. After confinement to the Tower of London for over a year, he was convicted of treason on 1 July 1535 on the basis of perjured evidence by Sir Richard Rich, one of Cromwell's lackeys. Only after the delivery of the verdict did he break his self-imposed silence about the reasons for his refusal to swear the oath when he delivered a great speech, claiming to have all the councils of Christendom in support of his conscience. After merrily joking with the executioner and insisting that he was "the king's good servant, but God's first," he died on the scaffold on 6 July 1535.

See also Cromwell, Thomas; Erasmus, Desiderius; Henry VII (England); Henry VIII (England); Humanists and Humanism; Utopia.

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MORISCOS. First recorded in 1500, the term *Moriscos* denotes Muslims who converted to Christianity after the fall of Granada in 1492. In effect, *Morisco* constitutes a highly ambiguous religious-ethnic designator. From Muslims living near the Ebro River in Aragon to long-standing Castilian *Mudéjares* (Muslim subjects of the Christian monarchs) and from Valencian Muslims tied to local seigneurs to the conquered communities of Granada, this great variety of Muslim peoples converted to Christianity at various times and under different circumstances.

The conquest of Granada set in motion a process that would herald the conversion of Granadan and Castilian Muslims by 1502. Initially, the surrender capitulations granted extensive freedom of religion to Muslims. Their conversion to Christianity through preaching and patient persuasion—a proselytizing process always favored by the monarchy—began under Archbishop Hernando de Talavera. However, when Cardinal Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros arrived in the city in 1497, he forced the mass conversion of Granada's *elches*—descendants of Christians converted to Islam. This violation of the capitulations resulted in a violent revolt in 1499. Although the rebellion extended to the countryside, by 1501 the royal government's troops emerged victorious. In exchange for amnesty, Muslims throughout the kingdom converted to Christianity en masse. By 1504, approximately 150,000 Moriscos populated the Kingdom of Granada.

Castille's *Mudéjares*, numbering approximately 20,000, having lived in relative peace and tranquillity, now faced the repercussions of the Granadan insurrection. Instituting an explicitly militant policy, the royal government ordered their conversion in lieu of expulsion in 1502. Almost all converted to Christianity.

Muslims in the Kingdom of Aragon constituted, after those in Granada, the most important community in the Iberian peninsula. Valencia's *Mudéjares* may have numbered almost 100,000. Those in Aragon have been estimated at 50,000, while Catalanian Muslims numbered no more than 10,000. Protected by the local Christian nobility—especially in Valencia where Muslims constituted the cornerstone of the seignorial economy—these

communities were initially able to avoid the fate that befell their Castilian brethren. By 1522, however, widespread popular revolts in Valencia—the *germanías*—led to forced conversions of many Muslims. By 1525 the royal government ordered all remaining Aragonese Muslims to convert.

Thereafter, this large population of nominal Christians, still adhering to some degree to Islamic religious practices and Arab cultural norms, presented a host of problems. The royal government and the church hovered uneasily between patient evangelization and repressive assimilation. Until 1570, official attitudes towards Moriscos stressed tolerance and catechism. Morisco communities were sometimes spared investigation by the Spanish Inquisition, and some cultural manifestations such as traditional dress and dances were more or less tolerated. Even when inquisitors tried Moriscos for practicing Islam, the penalties applied were rather lenient. As it became evident, however, that Moriscos continued to resist attempts toward assimilation, attitudes increasingly hardened and Morisco religious and cultural practices were conflated and interpreted as signs of subversion.

In 1568 the widespread Morisco revolt of the Alpujarras in Granada against the increasing control placed upon their cultural and economic activities resulted in a bloody war that lasted until 1570. Drastic measures were taken in the revolt's aftermath. In four years, approximately 80,000 Granadan Moriscos were relocated to the Castilian interior and interspersed among Old Christians—Christians who apparently did not descend from converted Muslims or Jews. Moreover, the state adopted repressive policies against any kind of religious or cultural sign that denoted Islamic heritage. The Inquisition stepped up its prosecution of Moriscos. Assimilationist policies were curtailed, and Moriscos faced increasing hurdles in various cultural and professional pursuits.

Meanwhile, Morisco resistance to acculturation increased. Whereas some evidence points to increasing Christian influence in religious literature in the first half of the sixteenth century, by the 1580s Morisco communities and families had learned to defend their Islamic religious and cultural practices. Often with women safeguarding ancestral knowl-

edge, Moriscos successfully resisted pressures the state heaped upon them to assimilate.

In some ways, however, Moriscos and Old Christians continued to cooperate and enjoy cordial relations. Local studies have shown that Moriscos and their Old Christian neighbors often lived in relative harmony, continuing commercial transactions and economic cooperation. Some evidence even suggests that the efforts by church and state to highlight religious and cultural differences between Moriscos and Old Christians exacerbated social tensions that were mild beforehand.

By the early seventeenth century, the failure of Morisco assimilation, the fear of their contacts with the Ottomans, Barbary pirates, and Protestants, and the increasingly virulent polemics against them convinced the royal government to issue an edict of expulsion. Between 1609 and 1614 almost 300,000 Moriscos left Spain, mostly for North Africa and Constantinople, although, later, many secretly returned and effectively assimilated into the dominant culture. After 1614, traces of Moriscos both in Spain and in their new homes slowly disappear from archival records. Some Moriscos established a semi-independent pirate state in Salé, Morocco, and even entered unsuccessful negotiations with the royal government to return to Spain in 1631. Other Moriscos arrived in Tunis and established a strong cultural and commercial presence. (Chronicles referred to them until the middle of the eighteenth century.) Slowly, Moriscos became integrated into the dominant cultures of their new homelands, even as they left an imprint of their Spanish identity in various commercial and cultural pursuits that retained Spanish language and practices for decades.

The short-lived history of the Moriscos has had an appreciable impact on Spanish historiography. Their contribution to Spanish society, their level of assimilation or resistance, the attitudes of the state and the Old Christian majority, and the effects of their expulsion have consistently recurred as viable themes because they strike at the heart of Spanish political sensibilities and provide material for various historiographical traditions seeking to forge a particular view of a national past. Moreover, the vagaries of the place of Morisco communities within Christian society are particularly relevant for our understanding of various early modern phenom-

ena—the rise of the state, the increasing marginalization of minorities, and the delicate balance between central processes and everyday local structures—and these are reflected in the growing production of scholarship on Moriscos.

See also Cisneros, Cardinal Francisco Jiménez de; Ferdinand of Aragón; Isabella of Castile; Philip II (Spain); Philip III (Spain).

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CRISTIAN BERCO

MORISCOS, EXPULSION OF (SPAIN). Between 1609 and 1614, approximately 300,000 Moriscos—new Christians converted from Islam—were expelled from Spain. This mass relocation of people was the end result of a drastic decision that was many years in the making.

First discussed in government circles in 1582, the possibility of expulsion slowly gained credence as desirable government policy and merited full consideration after Philip III's accession to the

throne in 1598. Three factors mainly determined the ultimate acceptance of the expulsion as a remedy for national ills. First, the utter failure of the assimilation of Moriscos into a normative religious and cultural mold underscored the seeming futility of previous governmental efforts. Throughout Spain, and especially in Valencia, where Moriscos were numerous and often lived in separate villages, Moriscos continued to cling to traditional religious and cultural practices. With women often serving as guardians of traditional knowledge, Morisco communities managed, despite great pressure, to maintain specific practices such as circumcision, the ritual slaughter of animals, traditional dress, prayer, and the production of *aljamiado* literature, which was written in Castilian with Arabic characters. A multitude of signs—no matter how equivocal—convinced the authorities that Moriscos could never be fully assimilated into Christian society.

The failure of assimilation partly engendered another factor favoring expulsion that was critical at the time: state security. Constituting a large and visibly different minority, Moriscos often aroused suspicions of collaboration with Spain's enemies. Some contacts between Morisco communities and the Ottomans, Barbary corsairs, and French Protestants had occurred and were known to authorities. Moreover, given the rather hard-fought Morisco revolt of 1568–1570 in Granada, the crown worried about the possibility of another rebellion coupled with foreign invasion. This constant threat of Moriscos as potential traitors who could threaten the very safety of the state also influenced the decision to expel them.

Finally, the actions of individuals proved crucial to the government's decision. During the reign of Phillip II, fears regarding Moriscos were already evident and perhaps more compelling, yet expulsion was hardly discussed. During the reign of his successor, however, two figures stand out as crucial to the edict of expulsion: Juan de Ribera, archbishop of Valencia, and the Duke of Lerma, favorite of Philip III. Ribera, in a tireless and persistent fashion, was perhaps the most vocal advocate for expulsion. As early as 1601, he urged the king to expel the Moriscos because of their obstinacy, heresy, and the danger they presented to state security. The Duke of Lerma's support for expulsion likewise seems to have been crucial. Until January 1608, the Council

of State had continued to discount expulsion as a viable alternative. In an amazing turnaround, however, the Council of State, with Lerma presiding, voted to expel the Moriscos on 30 January 1608. Some historians have speculated that the duke stood to profit greatly from the confiscation of the estates of Moriscos in Valencia.

Spawned by this mixture of long-term causes and individual animosities and opportunities, the expulsion was carried out between 1609 and 1614. Of all the Morisco communities, the ones in Valencia suffered the most as they accounted for approximately 120,000 of the 300,000 expelled. In some areas of that kingdom, moreover, force was necessary to remove the Moriscos. A few thousand irregular troops and their families briefly resisted in the mountainous regions close to Castile before being decimated by Spanish soldiers. Although perhaps more peaceful, the expulsion of Moriscos from other areas inevitably resulted in serious hardship. From Morisco children being kidnapped to save them from the infidel to the abuse heaped on Morisco families by local authorities and seigneurs and from the perils of a voyage at sea to deaths due to malnutrition or banditry once they reached North Africa, the expulsion witnessed many tribulations. At the same time, sympathetic neighbors and local authorities sometimes helped Moriscos remain in Spain or even return after the expulsion. For example, the Count of Oropesa managed to certify the appropriate Christian behavior of his Morisco tenants who remained in Spain. In Catalonia, the Bishop of Tortosa protected many Moriscos and even allowed numerous families to return to his diocese. Other Moriscos remained after taking their case to the courts, while less fortunate ones sold themselves into slavery as the price of staying on Spanish soil. Despite these isolated cases of Moriscos who remained in Spain, the expulsion of 1609 was, for the most part, complete. Historians have estimated that perhaps only a few thousand managed, through some means or other, to remain, though precise numbers may never be known.

Most Moriscos settled in North Africa, Constantinople (Istanbul), and other parts of the Ottoman Empire, although small colonies emigrated to France and Italy. Their fate varied. While those in Tunis managed to prosper and become a political force, many unfortunates who disembarked on the

Algerian coast were robbed and killed by marauding Berber bandits. Likewise, while those arriving in Constantinople settled in a specific neighborhood and were reputed to be an influential minority, those who traveled to Morocco were not well received and were insulted as Christians. Their trail as a distinct community within their new homes disappears in archival sources around the late eighteenth century as they became integrated into the dominant communities.

Whereas the expulsion largely curtailed the Moriscos' viability as a distinctive cultural group, the consequences for Spain have been debated mostly from an economic point of view. Mired in an economic depression fostered by debasement, rising prices, and faltering population levels, Spain in the early seventeenth century presumably suffered from the expulsion of such a large and productive group. Valencian historians in particular have castigated the expulsion as harmful to that kingdom's economic viability. Although recent studies have helped contextualize the magnitude of the economic impact and have placed the somber specter of Spanish decline in a more nuanced light, few question that the expulsion of the Moriscos exacerbated an already gloomy economic situation in early-seventeenth-century Spain.

See also **Moriscos**; **Philip II (Spain)**; **Philip III (Spain)**.

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CHRISTIAN BERCO

MOROZOVA, BOIARYNIA (1632–1675). Feodosiia Prokof'evna Morozova, born

Sokovnina and known later as the nun Feodora, was one of Muscovy's leading aristocratic women associated with the Old Believers. After Morozova's death as a martyr in defense of the old forms of worship, she was venerated as the movement's principal female saint.

In 1662 Morozova obtained control over one of Muscovy's largest estates following the death of her husband, the Kremlin politician Gleb Ivanovich Morozov. Ruling in the name of her only son, she proved an effective administrator. However, she soon adopted an ascetic way of life and used her wealth for almsgiving. After the 1667 church council that condemned numerous male Old Believers to exile in the Russian north, Morozova's patronage became essential for the movement's long-term survival. Old Believers flocked to her Moscow palace in order to escape church persecution. She allowed priests to say mass according to the old rites in her palace chapel, and opened her doors to fugitive monks and nuns. One of these nuns, Sister Melaniia, became Morozova's mentor and convinced her to take the veil in late 1670. Morozova also protected persecuted Old Believer intellectuals such as the monk Avraamii. Her messengers maintained regular contact with exiled Old Believers and smuggled their writings to Moscow, where she had them copied by her scribes, thus promoting the dissemination of Old Believer literary culture.

Although Morozova's behavior greatly annoyed the Kremlin, she evaded arrest due to the tacit support of Tsaritsa Mariia Il'ichnina Miloslavskaiia, the first wife of Tsar Alexis Mikhailovich (ruled 1645–1676). After her death and the tsar's remarriage in 1671, Morozova was arrested by agents of the Secret Chancellery, put in chains, tortured, and threatened with execution. Staunchly refusing to betray her Old Believer loyalties, she was confined to a monastic dungeon, where she finally died of starvation in 1675.

Morozova's vita was compiled shortly after her death, probably on the initiative of her older brother. Revised at least twice by early-eighteenth-century authors, this enormously popular vita made Morozova a larger-than-life figure and inspired subsequent generations of Old Believer women. But while the story of Morozova's resistance against the Orthodox Church entered the Old Believer canon,

stories of other boyar women who engaged in similar resistance were not widely transmitted. Particularly noteworthy among the omissions is Morozova's sister, Evdokiia Urusova, whose correspondence with her children provides moving insights into the spiritual struggles that led her and other elite women to sacrifice their lives for their religious convictions. Another omission is Princess Elena Khrushcheva, who led the Moscow Old Believer community after Morozova's death and became so influential that the exiled archpriest Avvakum Petrovich considered her a major challenge to his spiritual authority. Other boyar women whose activities left substantial traces in church archival records include Anna Khilkova, Evdokiia Naryshkina, and Evdokiia Leont'eva. These and other largely forgotten elite women significantly contributed to the survival of the Old Believer movement during the late-seventeenth century.

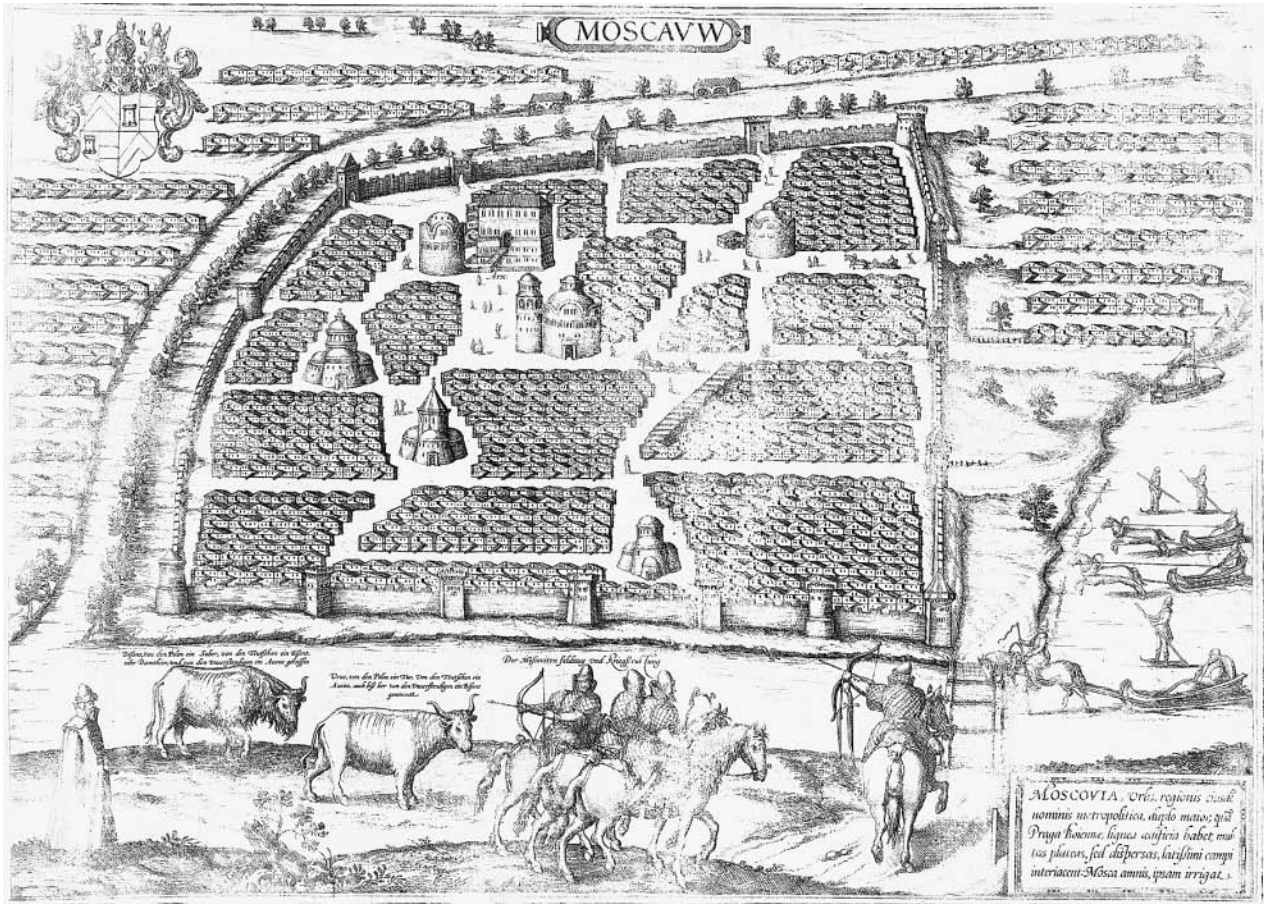
See also Avvakum Petrovich; Nikon, patriarch; Old Believers; Orthodoxy, Russian.

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GEORG MICHELS

MOSCOW (*Moskva*). The etymology of *Moskva* and the question of whether the name was applied first to the city or to the river on which it is located both remain in dispute. Moscow is located in approximately the center of the East European plain on the Moscow River, a tributary of the Oka River, which flows into the Volga. Among distinguishing reasons for Moscow's rise to power over its neighbors in the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries are the following. First, being centrally located among East Slavic principalities, its trade routes stretched far in all directions. Second, due to its central location, Moscow was protected to some extent by distance from hostile neighbors to the west (Poland, Lithuania, Baltic Germans) and to the south and southeast (Tatars). Third, its political system was relatively



Moscow. A map of Moscow first published in Braun & Hogenberg's collection of town plans *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, published between 1572 and 1618. This somewhat fanciful view across the frozen Moskva River gives a sense of the many churches and wooden buildings within the walled center of the city. The armed horsemen depicted in the foreground reflect the growing military power of Moscow under Ivan IV (Ivan the Terrible; reigned 1533–1584). MAP COLLECTION, STERLING MEMORIAL LIBRARY, YALE UNIVERSITY

stable, thanks to long-lived rulers and to the adoption of primogeniture in the royal dynasty, which made princely succession more predictable than in rival principalities where succession was frequently a matter of rivalry among brothers and sons. And, fourth, Moscow princes frequently proved able, shrewd, and adept in acquiring neighboring principalities and in making strategic alliances with or against various Tatar khanates.

As Moscow grew, the original fortified settlement, or *gorod*, became the central citadel of a city that expanded outward in roughly concentric circles, with radial streets emanating from the citadel. By the sixteenth century, the citadel was being called the Kremlin (from *kremľ*, a word that apparently origi-

nally denoted an oaken stockade); its walls, faced with red brick, had been reconstructed by Italian engineers and encompassed the present territory of the Kremlin, some seventy acres. During the course of the sixteenth century, districts of the expanding city were encircled with their own protective walls: first Kitai Posad/Gorod, a commercial district east of the Kremlin and containing Red Square; then the Belyi (White) Gorod, the walls of which are marked by the current Ring Boulevard around the combined Kremlin and Kitai Gorod; and finally, the Zemlianoi Gorod, whose walls made a full circle around the city, crossing the Moscow River. The latter walls defined the official city limits until the eighteenth century and were located along the present Garden Ring Road.



Moscow. Engraving of St. Basil's Cathedral, 1634. ©AUSTRIAN ARCHIVES/CORBIS

During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, a protective semicircle of six fortified monasteries was built up outside the city walls along the southern perimeter, guarding against the frequent incursions of Tatar forces from that direction. Those monasteries, now well within city limits, are, from west to east: Novodevichii, Donskoi, Daniilovskii, Simonov, Novospasskii, and Andronikov. Something of a city planning and masonry construction office (*Prikaz kamennykh del*) was founded in 1584, the principal mission of which was to encourage masonry construction instead of wood and to plan firebreak areas where construction was forbidden. Despite such efforts, 72 percent of Moscow buildings were still wooden as of 1811.

Trustworthy population statistics for old Moscow are lacking. Frequently cited estimates number 30,000–40,000 residents in the fourteenth century,

100,000 in the sixteenth century, 200,000 in the mid-seventeenth century, although all those estimates may be too high. Moscow's first systematic census, in 1701, counted 16,358 households, from which an estimated population of 200,000 residents has been proposed. The first official census of individuals was in 1784, when the population count was 217,000, a figure reduced by substantial losses during the plague of 1771. The next detailed census was in 1811, when the population of Moscow was measured at 262,000 (another "official" document says 270,000).

With the shift of government to St. Petersburg and the buildup of that city beginning in the early eighteenth century, Moscow was reduced to second place politically. The three-hundred-year rivalry between Moscow, the old capital symbolizing traditional Muscovite Russian culture, versus St. Peters-



Moscow. Seventeenth-century map. THE ART ARCHIVE/PRIVATE COLLECTION/DAGLI ORTI

burg, the new capital representing Russia's turn to western European cultural norms, was well underway in the eighteenth century. Under Empresses Elizabeth (ruled 1741–1762) and Catherine II the Great (ruled 1762–1796), some western European baroque and classical architecture was introduced in Moscow—the beginnings of a partial “St. Petersburgization” of the former capital. Moscow was still honored ceremonially, in that emperors and empresses, up to and including Nicholas II, continued to travel to Moscow for a formal coronation in the Kremlin Dormition (Assumption) Cathedral. The relative neglect of Moscow, however, is exemplified by two grandiose projects in Moscow that Catherine started but then decided to abandon: a gigantic reconstruction of the Kremlin in Classical style, and a huge neo-Gothic palace at Tsaritsyno, on the outskirts of town.

See also Catherine II (Russia); Elizabeth (Russia); Orthodoxy, Russian; Peter I (Russia); Russia; St. Petersburg.

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JACK KOLLMANN

MOTHERHOOD AND CHILDBEARING. Church, society, and their own expectations shaped the lives of early modern European women of childbearing age toward the goal of reproduction. Marriage was viewed not as the culmination of personal desire, whether sexual or economic, but as the gateway to a woman's proper destiny of motherhood and the perpetuation of the human race. For poor women, the birth of children could be viewed as insurance against the deprivations of old age. For wealthy women, the birth of an heir conferred status and frequently ensured both wealth and affection in an “arranged” marriage. In societies across Europe, children were essential for

the transmission of property, and women who failed to reproduce were looked upon as failures.

Women were most commonly in their mid-twenties when they married, and could expect the birth of their first child twelve to thirteen months later. Motherhood was considered the highest calling for a married woman, but the unmarried mother was subject to moral, economic, and social censure. Poor, unmarried mothers were on occasion driven to commit infanticide, but the harsh penalties for such a crime were not always invoked.

In a barren marriage, the woman was always believed to be at fault. Against the despair and shame of infertility, women balanced their anxieties and concerns surrounding childbirth itself. Complications of childbirth, when they occurred, were often fatal. Many mothers in Italy, France, Holland, Spain, and England could call upon the services of capable and experienced midwives when they faced the childbed experience, but for others giving birth could prove disastrous. Throughout the countries of western Europe, the midwife played a key role in the event of childbirth, and women were well served for centuries by the traditional midwife, whose expertise had been acquired by observation and first-hand participation, usually as an apprentice to a more experienced midwife.

THE MIDWIFE IN EARLY MODERN EUROPE

Historians have increasingly turned their attention to the person and role of the midwife in early modern Europe, and the result has been a revised view of their competence and importance. Midwives were generally mature women who had themselves borne children. Often they were trained by their mothers, grandmothers, aunts, and other relatives who were themselves practicing midwives.

Opportunities for training and licensing varied from country to country. In southern Germany midwives were solidly respectable women who answered to civic authorities and drew their salaries partly from municipal treasuries and partly from the women who were their clients. Farther north, in late-eighteenth-century Brunswick (Braunschweig), for example, the situation was more complex, with the board of health acting as examiners. The church in Italy exerted control over midwives, touching issues such as baptism and female sexuality, but by the end of the eighteenth century the

state had joined the church in attempting to regulate midwives. In eighteenth-century Holland midwives were generally regarded with respect, with the towns offering educational opportunities as well as paying their salaries and overseeing their work.

In France the French royal midwife Louise Bourgeois (c. 1563–1636) published a three-volume treatise based on her personal experiences as a midwife. Written between 1609 and 1626, this work, generally known as *Observations diverses*, was the first on the topic of childbirth by a female author. It was highly popular throughout the seventeenth century and a number of English translations appeared. Although facilities existed in Paris for teaching a relatively small number of midwives at the famous Hôtel Dieu, by 1759 the need for a training program, particularly for rural midwives, was so great that King Louis XV (ruled 1715–1774) appointed Angélique Marguerite du Coudray (1715–1794) as the national midwife. She traveled throughout France for the next thirty years not only instructing midwives in the practical techniques of delivery but also publishing a midwifery manual. In early modern Spain women traditionally called upon the services of midwives who shared knowledge among themselves and were relatively free from outside control. In the second half of the eighteenth century, however, this changed as the surgeons began to control midwifery, assisted by royal legislation that permitted them to prescribe and enforce a restrictive curriculum for midwives.

LONDON MIDWIVES

Of all the midwives, the English midwives, licensed by ecclesiastical authorities, have been the subject of the most intensive investigation. In particular the lives of seventeenth-century London midwives have been brought to light, and a wealth of information has been uncovered about their training, licensing, work, and in some cases their social and economic profiles.

London midwives trained in an unofficial apprenticeship system whereby less-experienced deputy midwives worked with highly experienced licensed midwives for periods varying from several years to several decades. A deputy midwife could become a licensed midwife by presenting proof, in the form of sworn “testimonials,” of her competence and character before a church court, where

she usually was accompanied by women whom she had successfully delivered as well as her midwife mentor. In addition the midwife paid a substantial fee to the ecclesiastical authorities for her license. Quakers, who rejected the tenets of the Church of England, were served in most cases by their own competent Quaker midwives, who also had non-Quaker clients.

The midwife drew her clientele from all levels of society, delivering both rich and poor women, as promised in her oath. In London a competent midwife could earn more from one delivery than a member of the working class earned in two weeks. As London inhabitants, a number of midwives were women of substance. All London midwives were either married or widowed, and their husbands were merchants, artisans, tradesmen, professionals, and gentlemen. Research on English midwives in the countryside supports this view of respectability and prosperity, and there is evidence emerging in studies from other European countries of midwives’ general responsibility and competence.

A prospective mother usually saw the midwife for the first time when labor had begun. Births took place in the home, frequently in a room crowded with female relatives, friends, and neighbors. Childbirth was viewed as a strictly female affair, and the presence of males was taboo. For this reason knowledge of normal birth processes was the exclusive preserve of the traditional midwife until well into the eighteenth century. In England by the seventeenth century most women were delivered in bed. Italian and Dutch midwives employed a “birthing chair,” which they carried with them to deliveries. Ninety-five percent of deliveries were uncomplicated. If a problem arose, such as a breech or other abnormal position, experienced midwives corrected the problem and successfully delivered the infant. Only in the worst situations would a surgeon be called, who then used his instruments to destroy the fetus in an attempt to save the mother’s life. Midwives, aware that the medical profession was helpless in the face of a life-threatening event, such as postpartum hemorrhage, endeavored to ensure that the placenta or afterbirth was delivered whole so the mother would not continue to bleed. Cesarean section was seldom attempted by a surgeon and usually resulted in the loss of a woman’s life.



Motherhood and Childbearing. *Ladies Celebrating the Birth of a Child in an Elegant Boudoir, with Two Gentlemen Looking on from Behind a Screen*, by Hieronymus Janssens, Dutch, seventeenth century. ©CHRISTIE'S IMAGES/CORBIS

After the baby was successfully delivered, the midwife cut the umbilical cord with her scissors or a knife. If it was a male, this action was carried out with considerable care, since conventional belief related the length of the penis to the length of the remaining cord. After tying off the stump of the cord, ensuring that the airways were clear, and checking for any deformities, the midwife or one of the female attendants swaddled (closely wrapped) the infant and placed him or her near the fireplace. According to Christian beliefs, each newborn must be christened or baptized. If the infant was in critical condition, baptism was performed immediately, in some instances by the midwife. Babies who were not in any danger were baptized in a more elaborate church ceremony before godparents and friends, usually a few days to several weeks after birth. Frequently the midwife who delivered the baby was in attendance, but the mother would not attend if the baptism took place during her lying-in period. In

England, toward the end of the seventeenth century, private baptism came increasingly to replace the public ceremony, especially among the upper classes. The ecclesiastical service in church was transformed into a domestic occasion for eating, drinking, and gift giving from which the new mother was not excluded.

LYING-IN

After delivery the midwife washed the new mother and helped her change into clean garments. The bed was freshly made, frequently with elaborate “child bed linen,” in order for the new mother to receive visitors and begin her four-week lying-in period. During this time she was relieved of many if not all of her normal household responsibilities. In addition husbands were expected to forego sexual relations with their wives for this period. In London parish officials engaged and paid for the assistance of a woman, who was usually herself the recipient of

poor relief, to assist other poor women during their lying-in periods. The complication most feared by postpartum women in Europe and by far the most common cause of maternal mortality was childbed fever or puerperal sepsis, a bacterial infection. In an era when bacteria were as yet not understood, it could strike down unsuspecting mothers within two or three days after delivery. The sudden onset of chills was an ominous sign of the dreaded infection and frequently heralded septicemia, the excruciating pains of peritonitis, and death. Women delivered at home by a competent midwife using acceptable standards of hygiene were not at high risk for succumbing to its deadly effects. But in London, with the opening of lying-in hospitals in the first half of the eighteenth century and deliveries increasingly carried out by male midwives, the death rates of women stricken by childbed fever soared.

Once their lying-in ended, English women, the majority of whom were communicants of the Church of England, went to be “churched.” This ceremony was performed with the new mother and her midwife appearing before the parish congregation and has been variously interpreted as a service of thanksgiving, celebration, or purification. By their participation, women affirmed their status as new mothers and their gratitude for surviving the perils of childbirth before parishioners and the whole community. The churching rite provided an occasion for happy celebration and partying. It was an important and positive ritual in the life of childbearing women. Once “churched,” the woman could partake fully of all rites of the church, including Communion. In France, Italy, Spain, and Portugal, traditionally Roman Catholic countries, mothers went to church for a blessing after a forty-day period of purification following the “impurity” of giving birth, as instructed by the Council of Trent.

FEEDING THE NEWBORN

Although Puritan writers of the period as well as occasional medical authors urged women to breast-feed, there is no evidence that their advice met with widespread acceptance. Until the middle of the eighteenth century mothers followed the counsel of most medical writers and looked with distrust on placing the baby at breast immediately following delivery. Instead, many gave the infant frequent

purges for one or two days. This was thought to aid in clearing the bowel of meconium. Others gave the newborn pap, a watery mixture of cereal and liquid. In the sixteenth century and well into the seventeenth century, women were often advised to wait for a month after delivery before attempting to breast-feed. The value of colostrum, the thin fluid that new mothers produce for several days before the breast milk is established, was not appreciated until the 1670s. Even so, the babies of wealthy women continued to be purged for several days and then sent to a wet nurse.

The practice of wet-nursing was a well-established social institution throughout western Europe by the sixteenth century. It began to decline in the eighteenth century, but until at least 1800 the institution flourished. Initially popular among the aristocracy and aspiring gentry in France and England, the practice of employing a wet nurse spread to the lower classes, where a woman’s situation (illness, type of employment) might discourage breast-feeding. Wet nurses were usually married and had children. They were of the lower ranks of rural society, although not poverty-stricken, and nursed the infants in their own homes. In the case of London parents, the wet nurse might live twenty or thirty miles away. The infant would seldom, if ever, receive parental visits. Not surprisingly there was a high mortality rate among “nurse children.” Deprived of the protective elements provided by their mother’s colostrum and milk and exposed to the new germs of their wet nurses’ homes, they succumbed by the score to gastroenteritis as well as a host of other illnesses of bacterial origin. Many foundlings, already in poor condition upon arrival at the wet nurse’s home, were particularly at risk and failed to survive the first six months of life.

Wet nurses were employed by the family, and in Florence, for example, the father of the infant hired the wet nurse and oversaw all arrangements regarding her duties and obligations. In some cases wet nurses were engaged by parishes or foundling hospitals to nurse abandoned infants. Earning more than the occupations of indoor servant or dry nurse, the occupation of wet nurse was seen as a profitable and respectable one for many women of the period. It was not until the middle of the eighteenth century that the benefits of putting the newborn to breast within twenty-four hours of delivery began to at-

tract attention. It was noted that neonatal feeding practices among poor women greatly reduced the incidence of milk fever, an affliction involving high fever, abscesses of the breast, and possible death. Not only was maternal mortality from milk fever decreased by putting the infant to breast soon after birth, infant mortality in the first twenty-eight days was lowered. The increased opportunity for bonding also resulted in a more positive attitude toward infants and their well-being. In mid-eighteenth-century Paris, however, fully 10 percent of infants were still sent out to wet nurses, and the aristocracy throughout Europe was slow to abandon the practice.

Because of high infant and child mortality rates from infections and communicable diseases, it was not uncommon for women who had experienced ten or twelve pregnancies to enter middle age with only one or two surviving children. Despite the expectation that many infants would not survive the early months of life, mothers were devastated by the loss of their little ones. Although women were well aware of the risks they faced in childbearing in an era when licensed physicians and qualified surgeons had nothing to offer by way of assistance in life-threatening situations, most of them chose to dwell on the celebratory aspects of childbirth. Well into the eighteenth century the majority of women continued to place their trust in God and the ministrations of their midwives.

See also **Childhood and Childrearing; Marriage; Midwives; Obstetrics and Gynecology; Orphans and Foundlings; Women.**

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DOREEN EVENDEN

MOZART, WOLFGANG AMADEUS

(1756–1791), Austrian composer, widely considered one of the most gifted figures in the history of Western music. Born in the archbishopric of Salzburg, a territory of the Holy Roman Empire, Mozart by the age of six had already acquired a reputation throughout Europe as a musical prodigy. According to his father, Wolfgang was already composing minuets at the age of four, and he was barely six when he performed on the harpsichord for the Habsburg imperial family in Vienna. Yet Mozart's astonishing precocity as a composer and performer should not obscure the role of his father, Leopold, in nurturing his genius. Leopold, the son of an Augsburg bookbinder, became a musician at the Salzburg court in 1739 and in 1763 secured an appointment as deputy kapellmeister. He was himself an accomplished musician and composer who in 1756, the year of Wolfgang's birth, published what would become a highly influential treatise on violin playing. He was therefore able to provide Wolfgang and his sister, Maria Anna ("Nannerl"; 1751–1829), with superb musical tutelage. Leopold could be a demanding and irascible father, proud of his son's talents but also possessive and manipulative, and the bitter conflicts that marked his relationship with Wolfgang in later years have made it easy for some biographers to portray Leopold in an unflattering light. But even those scholars inclined to highlight his shortcomings (see, for example, Maynard Solomon's brilliant but controversial biography) acknowledge Leopold's crucial role in fostering the talents and career of his son.

This role was evident above all in the series of European tours he arranged for Wolfgang between 1763 and 1772, when Leopold journeyed with his son to such major musical capitals as Vienna, Paris,



Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart. Contemporary portrait.

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Naples, Milan, Mannheim, and London. These journeys were undertaken with the purpose of landing Wolfgang a position more suitable to his talents than what was then available in Salzburg. Mozart failed to secure a permanent appointment and for most of the period up to 1781 would remain formally in the service of the Salzburg court. But the grand tours of the 1760s and early 1770s did have the effect of exposing the young composer to an exceptionally broad array of musical influences and genres. In this respect the extensive travels of Wolfgang's youth certainly helped foster what would become a key element of his gifts as a composer, namely his universality. Mozart would not only master every musical genre of his day, but leave a lasting imprint on each—sacred music, keyboard and chamber music, concertos and symphonies, opera—and although a composer of his talents was certainly more than the sum of his musical influences, the range of styles and genres to which his father helped expose him fostered the conditions under which Wolfgang's genius could flourish.

But the young Mozart's travels also bred a growing dissatisfaction with his patrons at the

Salzburg court, where he spent most of the years from 1773 to 1780. Mozart's unhappiness came partly in response to the policies of the new archbishop, Hieronymus Colloredo (in office 1772–1803), whose reform-minded efforts to lower court expenditures and curtail the use of instrumental music in the Mass further reduced what to Mozart already seemed a dearth of musical opportunities. Growing tension between the two, heightened by the efforts of the Mozart family to find employment elsewhere, culminated in the composer's unceremonious dismissal (in Mozart's words, “with a kick on the ass”) by the archbishop's court chamberlain in 1781. Mozart's break with the archbishop later acquired legendary and dramatic force as the romantic embodiment of the clash between unrequited genius and mediocrity.

But the incident also pointed to the growing importance of Vienna, where Mozart now resolved to make his fortune, as a musical and cultural capital. The 1780s, which coincided with the reign of the reformist Joseph II (ruled 1765–1790), marked the high point of Enlightenment culture in the Habsburg capital. The city's expanding musical and theatrical venues help explain why Mozart could take a step so unusual for a composer of his day, namely that of embarking on a freelance musical career in lieu of one based on court patronage. Legends to the contrary, Mozart enjoyed considerable success in Vienna. The concerts he presented earned him noteworthy sums, due substantially to the popularity of his concertos, while the city's lively stage provided a vehicle for Mozart's operatic ambitions. The Viennese premier of his German Singspiel, *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* (1782; The abduction from the seraglio), was a major success, as was *Le nozze di Figaro* (1786; The marriage of Figaro), his first of three collaborative efforts with the Italian librettist Lorenzo da Ponte (1749–1838). The Viennese reception of *Don Giovanni* (1788) and *Così fan tutte* (1790), for which da Ponte also wrote librettos, was more muted, though the former had earlier premiered to an enthusiastic audience in Prague. *Die Zauberflöte* (1791; The magic flute) masterfully blended North German chorale, Viennese popular comedy, and Italianate coloratura, while its Masonic themes of brotherhood, reason, and justice (Mozart had become a Freemason in 1784) mark the opera as one of the highest expres-

sions of the Viennese Enlightenment. There Mozart's universality is once again evident, not only in the opera's synthesis of diverse musical traditions but also in the transcendence of its moral universe.

Although Mozart's annual income during most of his Viennese years was relatively comfortable and roughly approximated that of a merchant or higher government official, his failure to achieve financial security is legendary. Personal extravagance, aggravated by the need to maintain a style of living proper to his status as a composer, was partly responsible. Later scholars have sometimes blamed Mozart's financial insecurity on his wife Constanze (née Weber), the daughter of a Mannheim court musician, whom Mozart had married in 1782. But charges that Constanze, after "entrapping" Mozart in marriage, drove the pair to financial ruin through her spendthrift ways, appear to be groundless. Evidence suggests that she was a supportive wife and a competent if not shrewd household manager. At least in his later years, what was chiefly responsible for Mozart's precarious finances were deteriorating health, which reduced the income he would otherwise have earned through teaching, performing, and composing. The causes of his death in 1791 remain a subject of speculation, with rheumatic fever the most widely accepted explanation. Serious scholars have dismissed the sensationalist claim, first advanced in the 1820s and later revived in stage (1979) and film (1985) versions of Peter Shaffer's *Amadeus*, that Mozart died of poisoning at the hands of the composer Antonio Salieri (1750–1825).

See also **Music; Music Criticism; Opera; Vienna.**

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MUNICH. Although settlement along the Isar River, south of the Danube, dates from Roman times, this city owes its German name München (meaning 'monks') to the brothers of the Benedictine abbey of Tegernsee, who first nurtured an agricultural outpost in the region in Carolingian times. In 1158, the Saxon duke Henry the Lion granted the town its first market charter, allowing the fledgling settlement to compete commercially against the rival trade and diocesan capital of Freising, about thirty miles north of the modern city center. Despite fits and starts, Munich's role as a commercial outpost developed from its control of an important bridgehead on the Isar and its strategic location on the trade route between Salzburg and the north. Its commerce in Bavarian salt, gold, and other commodities grew in the later Middle Ages, although its population lagged far behind the other great cities of the German south, including Augsburg (which by the sixteenth century had a population of around forty thousand), Nuremberg (with around twenty thousand), and Regensburg (fifteen thousand). The city's fourteenth-century defensive walls proved largely sufficient to hold Munich's population until the eighteenth century, and the town's inhabitants probably numbered around five thousand in 1500. Despite its modest size, Munich's prosperity is attested to by the surviving monuments of the late fifteenth century, including the imposing Frauenkirche (Church of Our Lady; 1468–1488) and the Altes Rathaus (Old Town Hall; 1470–1480). During the sixteenth century the city rose to prominence as a center of government, of Catholic reform, and of art. As a result of the brief Landshuter Erbfolgekrieg (Bavarian Succession War; 1503–1505), several previously separate Bavarian possessions in the region were joined into a single duchy, and in the course of the century that followed, the Wittelsbach dynasty increasingly identified Munich as their capital. In the city a lavish building program began in the 1560s with the expansion of the ducal palace, the Residenz. Its Antiquarium or library, completed between 1569 and 1571, was hailed in the early modern period as the "eighth wonder of the world." Other additions to the Residenz followed, including the rococo-era Cuvilliés Theater (constructed between 1746 and 1777). Although minorities of Protestant artisans were present in Munich during the mid-sixteenth century, the

building program also expressed the attachment of the Wittelsbachs and the city's burghers to Catholicism. These included the massive Michaelskirche (Church of St. Michael; completed 1597), the first structure in northern Europe to be modeled on the famous Roman church of the Jesuit order, Il Gesù; the seventeenth-century Theatinerkirche (Church of the Theatines), which was decorated for more than a century by a succession of Italian and French artists and architects; and the fantastically ornate Church of St. Johann Nepomuk (also known as the Asamkirche), designed by the brothers Cosmas and Aegidius Asam and built between 1733 and 1746. The role of architecture was considerable in establishing a Catholic confessional identity in early modern Munich. At the same time, the Wittelsbach dynasty pioneered governmental innovations that were mimicked elsewhere and were designed to rid the city and the surrounding territory of Protestant sympathizers and to foster a new purified culture of Catholic religious practice. In the late sixteenth century Munich became home to the duchy's Clerical Council, an institution of both clerical and secular officials that supervised the Catholic clergy and all aspects of religious practice in the duchy for more than two centuries. Music was yet a third prong of the Wittelsbach's counteroffensive against Protestants. In 1556 Duke Albrecht V recruited the Franco-Flemish musician Orlando di Lasso (1532–1594) to serve in his court chapel, elevating him to the status of musical director in 1562. During his more than thirty years in this position, Lasso reigned as the greatest composer of the Catholic Reformation in Europe, with hundreds of his compositions being printed in France, the Netherlands, and Italy. The alliance between the Wittelsbach dukes and artists deepened in the seventeenth century, although the city's fortunes fell into a decline for a time during the Thirty Years' War, especially during the years between 1632 and 1634, when occupation by the Protestant King Gustavus II Adolphus of Sweden and an outbreak of the plague decreased the town's population by as much as a third. Munich's staunchly Catholic allegiances softened somewhat during the eighteenth century, as the Wittelsbach dukes adopted an enlightened despotic stance similar to that of the Habsburgs in Austria or the Hohenzollern in Brandenburg-Prussia. The more worldly sensibilities of the age are displayed in the monuments of that time, including

the suburban pleasure palaces of Schloss Nymphenburg and the Amalienburg on Munich's outskirts, as well as the grand, but naturalistic Englischer Garten (English Garden) first laid out in the city in 1789. While the great monuments of the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries show that Munich was an important early modern provincial capital, its rise to the status of a major international city occurred only in the nineteenth century as the town's population increased fivefold in the half century after 1850. During the early modern centuries Munich displayed traits typical of many German provincial capitals, including local autonomy, guild dominance, concerns for confessional purity, and grand dynastic pretensions.

See also Bavaria; Palatinate; Wittelsbach Dynasty (Bavaria).

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MÜNSTER. The prince-bishopric of Münster was the largest and most populous Catholic ecclesiastical territory in the Holy Roman Empire. Founded in 805 C.E., it covered 4,571 square miles (12,100 square kilometers) in the Westphalian region (*Kreis*) of northwestern Germany and had 311,341 inhabitants in 1800. It was predominantly rural apart from Münster itself, which, with 14,000 inhabitants, was the largest Westphalian town. Grain and cattle were the main products, and most peasants remained bound by varying degrees of feudal servitude until the early 1800s. As in other German prince-bishoprics, the cathedral canons elected each bishop and dominated the administration together with the local nobility, who controlled the territorial Estates, or assembly. The spread of Lutheranism in the city of Münster heightened longstanding tension between its inhabitants and the bishop, particularly after the election of Franz von Waldeck (1491–1553) in 1532. Defense of civic autonomy became enmeshed with the expression of new religious ideas, notably Anabaptism, which attracted a large following around the Dutch immi-

grant Jan van Leyden. Leyden's followers seized control in 1534, initiating a radical social experiment that included polygamy. The bishop blocked the city with the assistance of other princes who regarded the Anabaptists as godless subversives. Many Lutheran citizens shared their opinion, and Leyden's regime collapsed amidst growing internal discontent and external military pressure in June 1535. Leyden was executed in 1536, but the city retained some autonomy, and Lutheranism spread to the surrounding countryside by the 1580s, while most of the nobles became Calvinists under Dutch influence.

The election of Ernst of Bavaria (1559–1612) as bishop in 1584 signaled an important change of direction. Ernst had secured control of the archbishopric-electorate of Cologne in a disputed election the previous year and was a representative of militant Catholicism. Münster remained linked to Cologne until 1650, as his successor, Ferdinand of Bavaria (1577–1650), was also elected there. The association with Cologne was continued by other dual elections in 1683–1688 and 1719–1802 and considerably increased Münster's political importance within the empire. It also complicated the territory's own politics, since the Estates generally resented initiatives from Cologne, where their ruler preferred to reside. Ferdinand joined the Catholic League and coordinated its policy in northwest Germany during the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648). The canons tried to curb external influence by choosing a local noble, Christoph Bernhard von Galen (1606–1678), as Ferdinand's successor. Galen proved to be Münster's most ruthless and significant bishop. Known as *Bommen Berend*, 'Bomber Bernhard', and the *Kanonienbischof*, 'Cannon Bishop', for his enthusiasm for the military, he was determined to reimpose Catholicism and secure his territory against the Protestant Dutch and Swedes. Skillfully exploiting the divisions between the canons, the Estates, and the city, he raised taxes for an army that sometimes numbered twenty thousand men. This was loaned to other powers, particularly the emperor, in return for subsidies and political support. The latter proved crucial in Galen's long struggle with the city, which endured four sieges before finally capitulating in 1661. Episcopal authority was firmly established, and Münster became solidly Catholic by the eighteenth century. Further

involvement in later European wars drained territorial resources, and Münster declined to only regional importance, despite the continued association with Cologne. Prussia gained influence in Münster after 1795 and annexed it in 1802.

See also Anabaptism; Cologne; Leyden, Jan van.

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PETER H. WILSON

MURATORI, LUDOVICO ANTONIO (1672–1750), Italian historian, reformer, and ecclesiastic. Probably the most important figure of the early Italian Enlightenment, Muratori at first pursued erudition and cultural reform as separate areas. Following his education in civil and canon law at the University of Modena, he became involved in the movement, sponsored by the Rome-based Accademia degli Arcadi, to redeem literature from the supposed decadence of the seventeenth century. Meanwhile, he learned Greek and Latin paleography from the Benedictine scholar Benedetto Bacchini (1651–1721), a disciple of the pioneer medievalist Jean Mabillon (1632–1707). Soon after the turn of the seventeenth century, he began to think that effective reform of civil life could only come from a reinforced Christianity and an accurate understanding of the emergence of modern institutions from those of the past—the ancient past—and even more pertinently, the medieval past in which they were really rooted. He thus repudiated the

Arcadi and began his own movement, whose major tenets he explained in *I Primi disegni della repubblica letteraria* (1703; First designs of a literary republic).

Following his appointment as librarian at the Ambrosiana in Milan, he became ducal librarian and archivist for the Este family in Modena. In this position, where he remained for the rest of his life, he published a remarkable body of works aimed at excavating the unknown medieval roots of the societies all over the Italian peninsula, culminating in the twenty-eight-volume *Rerum italicarum scriptores* (1723–1751), still a primary source on the Italian Middle Ages. Meanwhile, drawing upon this and other scholarly foundations, he published a series of influential polemics on contemporary civil society designed to provide guides for the enlightened monarch and for the enlightened citizen alike.

To the monarchs, he directed a searing attack on current legal systems (*Dei difetti delle giurisprudenza* [On the defects of jurisprudence], 1742), advocating simplification and codification of law and reform of procedure. He argued for better systems of public health, denounced economic differences, and called for more equitable systems of taxation (*Della pubblica felicità oggetto de' buoni principi* [On public happiness, the object of good princes], 1749). He called for removal of inheritance practices that prevented large quantities of land from being cultivated efficiently, advocated a reduction in the number of feast days so the poor would be able to earn more money working in the fields, and urged governments to sponsor agricultural improvements as well. To both the monarch and the citizen, he tried to show that Christianity properly understood—informed by sacred and profane learning, supportive of creativity, constructively encouraging the duties of all, responsive to human needs, and freed from distracting and irrelevant practices—could lead to both spiritual and material well-being (*Della regolata devozione de' Cristiani* [On the moderate devotion of Christians], 1747). In spite of disagreement with Muratori's respect for church traditions, more radical figures like Pietro Giannone built upon the solid foundation he provided. His last great project was a monumental history of Italy to his own time (*Annali d'Italia*, 12 vols., 1744–1749), reiterating many of the great themes of his life's work.

See also **Enlightenment**; **Giannone, Pietro**.

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MURILLO, BARTOLOMÉ ESTEBAN

(1617–1682), Spanish painter. Orphaned at the age of ten, Murillo was adopted by a sister, who arranged his apprenticeship with Juan de Castillo (1590–1657). By 1538, he was working in Seville. *Heavenly and Earthly Trinities* (Stockholm, Nationalmuseum, c. 1638/1640), one of his earliest known works, incorporates characteristic features of several prominent artists, including the elegant facial types of Alonso Cano (1601–1667), the sculptural draperies of Francisco de Zurbarán (1598–1664), and a celestial vision in the manner of Juan de Roelas (c. 1560–1624). Murillo's first major commission was a series of eleven pictures for San Francisco in Seville (1645–1648). Part of this series, the *Angels' Kitchen* (Paris, Louvre, 1646) helped establish his reputation as the leading artist of the city; this large painting depicts an unidentified Franciscan saint, floating in rapture, as elegant angels and putti prepare an elaborate repast.

In the 1650s Murillo received prestigious commissions for the Seville cathedral. In 1655, he painted *San Isidoro* and *San Leandro* for the sacristy; the glowing colors of the saints' garments set off their resolute facial expressions. The *Vision of Saint Anthony of Padua* for the cathedral baptistery (1656) imitates the dynamic baroque style that Francisco de Herrera the Younger (1622–1685) had recently introduced from Madrid.

Murillo spent most of 1658 in Madrid, where he studied paintings by a wide range of Spanish and foreign artists. With Herrera, he founded in 1660 the first art academy in Seville; until 1674 it offered classes in life drawing. In *Birth of the Virgin* (Paris, Louvre, 1660), Murillo achieved his definitive manner. Firm contours are dissolved through loose,



Bartolomé Esteban Murillo. *Young Beggars Playing Dice.* THE ART ARCHIVE/ALTE PINAKOTHEK MUNICH/DAGLI ORTI

sketchy brushwork and soft, glowing light. This style perfectly corresponded with the tender piety predominating in Spanish religious life of the era.

His many commissions of the 1660s included a group of eighteen altarpieces for the Capuchin church in Seville (1665–1670). For the Hospital de la Caridad, a confraternity devoted to caring for the sick, he produced eight large pictures (1668–1670) depicting good works. Compassionate expressions, warm colors, and hazy atmospheric effects emphasize the theme of loving forgiveness in *Return of the Prodigal Son* (Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, 1667–1670). His altarpiece of the *Immaculate Conception* for the Hospicio de Venerable Sacerdotes, Seville (Madrid, Prado, 1678), determined the later iconography of the theme. This jubilant image eliminates almost all traditional attributes; the young, beautiful Virgin is surrounded by celebrating putti, who dissolve into soft clouds and golden light. As the Sevillian economy worsened during the 1670s, Murillo sought patronage in Cádiz, where he was working at the time of his death on altarpieces for the Capuchin church.

Murillo also produced many independent devotional paintings for private clients, some of whom collected his work in large numbers. His five paintings of the Old Testament story of Jacob (including *Jacob Setting the Peeled Rods before the Flocks of Laban*, Dallas, Meadows Museum, Southern Methodist University, c. 1660) incorporate extensive landscapes, based on northern prototypes. Especially popular were his charming images of the infancy of the Christ Child and of Saint John the Baptist. Typical of these, *The Infant Saint John the Baptist and the Lamb* (London, National Gallery, c. 1660–1665), shows the Baptist, smiling at the viewer, as he embraces a lamb.

Murillo produced approximately twenty genre paintings, such as *Children Playing Dice* (Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, c. 1665–1675). In most of these, two or three impoverished children are playing or eating in a pastoral landscape featuring a picturesque ruin. The strong sentimentality distinguishes these paintings from Dutch prototypes. Usually interpreted as a brothel scene, *Two Women at a Window* (Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, c. 1655–1660) may depict an innocent flirtation.

Murillo was esteemed as an elegant portraitist. *Don Antonio Hurtado de Salcedo* (Spain, private collection, c. 1662/1664) is one of the few hunting portraits by a seventeenth-century Spanish artist. The extensive landscape, the three dogs with their keeper, and numerous genre details emphasize the hunting theme. For his *Self-Portrait* (London, National Gallery, c. 1670–1673), Murillo utilized a Netherlandish formula, depicting himself in an elaborate oval frame, on which he rests his hand. The inscription and professional attributes suggest the status artists had attained in Spain.

Murillo's many followers included Francisco Meneses Osorio (c. 1640–1721), who finished his series for the Capuchin church in Cádiz. Murillo's work strongly influenced painting in Seville until the late eighteenth century. British collectors avidly sought his paintings throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. His paintings of children were imitated by Sir Joshua Reynolds (1723–1792) and Thomas Gainsborough (1727–1788). In the Victorian era, Murillo was regarded as one of the greatest artists of all times.

See also Baroque; Gainsborough, Thomas; Painting; Reynolds, Joshua; Seville; Spain, Art in; Zurbarán, Francisco de.

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RICHARD MANN

MUSEUMS. Early modern museums were very different from the modern institutions that bear that name, so much so that some scholars suggest that museums per se did not exist before the eighteenth century. Many museologists believe that the true

history of museums begins with the creation of institutions like the British Museum (1753) and the Louvre (1793). What came before the eighteenth century was a chaotic phenomenon, unrelated to the careful, scientific classification and exhibition of the natural and human-crafted world witnessed in modern art galleries and museums of natural history, civilization, and science and technology, among others. It is true that earlier collections lacked some of the basic features of modern institutions. The earliest were privately owned elite institutions not open to the general public. As a group they lacked the orderliness common in collections today, and they were frequently idiosyncratic in composition, focusing on the unusual, shocking, and even disturbing. Even the name “museum” itself was uncommon: it is more correct to refer to cabinets of curiosity (*cabinet des curiosités*; *Kunst-kammer*) or wonders (*Wunderkammer*) well into the seventeenth century. But there are good reasons to discount the claims that such cabinets lack any place in the history of museum development.

Perhaps the most obvious reason to challenge the notion of an unbridgeable divide between the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century cabinets on one hand and the modern museum on the other is the sheer ubiquity of collecting in the early modern period. This period witnessed an unparalleled upsurge in collecting throughout Europe that continues right through the modern era. It is here that long-standing collections emerge in the Italian peninsula, the Habsburg Empire, Switzerland, France, England, the Netherlands, Denmark, and Russia, many of which are the foundations of later national museums. Though early modern cabinets were privately owned—often by a noble, a ruler, or an institution of learning—it became increasingly common for their owners to grant admission to worthy guests. These cabinets lured natural historians and philosophers of the age who were striving to understand the workings of nature, but visiting such collections also became part of the educational tour of worthy young men from all over Europe. The demand for access proved so widespread that printed catalogs detailing the contents were created for those who could not visit them in person. Their popularity was enhanced when individuals lower down the social scale began collections in imitation of their social superiors, as they did in increasing

numbers during the seventeenth century. It is in the sheer numbers of these collections and the constant traffic to them that some scholars now identify the first glimmers of the modern museum-going public.

The collectors and travelers were undoubtedly experiencing something very different from the modern museum visitor, however. Early collections could easily be described as chaotic because it was often the aim of the owner to encompass universal diversity in his cabinet, and the organization schemes would seem very confusing today. Though there were collectors who specialized in a single type of item, many simply included anything they deemed appealing, intriguing, rare, exotic, or valuable. Collectors might have particular interests, and their cabinets reflect those: the Habsburg Archduke Ferdinand II (1529–1595) had an especial interest in arms and armor and dedicated three rooms of his four-room collection to them; Peter the Great of Russia (1672–1725) was interested in woodcraft and archaeology, among other things, and kept an extensive collection of tools and archaeological finds from Siberia and the Caspian Sea; England’s Samuel Pepys (1633–1703) gathered printed matter. Other collectors specialized in coins, clocks, shells, biological or anatomical materials, books, or metal objects; the possibilities were as numerous as the collectors themselves.

Though most collections did not rigorously specialize, they did not necessarily lack any organizing impulse. Recent research and examination of individual collections suggests that there were organizational principles at work, though they are not methodologies at use in museums today: Pepys, for instance, organized his immense collection of books by size, not author. One particularly prevalent goal was the desire to create coherence from chaos. The collection of the Royal Society (founded in 1660) was meant, according to its first curator, Robert Hooke (1635–1703), to provide the opportunity for visitors and scholars to “peruse, and turn over, and spell, and read the Book of Nature.” Following Francis Bacon’s (1561–1626) proposed program of investigation, the mysteries of nature would be uncovered and explained through the careful examination of, in particular, her “miracles.” It was, therefore, incumbent upon collections to focus on the anomalies even to the exclusion of examples of the mundane and regular. Although we can see here an

emphasis that is different from modern museums, the explicit agenda certainly foreshadows the type of investigation that underpins modern museum exhibits.

Perhaps the failure to recognize the underlying structure of these collections stems in part from the fact that the cabinets might be very cramped; hundreds of items from various parts of the globe would necessarily be housed in very close proximity, creating a sense of astonishing and exuberant bounty. Whatever organizing principle was employed, the collector would be sure that it accentuated plenitude since the object was to awe (even overawe) the visitor, in the process increasing the collector's reputation and celebrity. In an era when ownership of physical things and consumerism was to become a basis for honor and prestige, the cabinet of rarities was very visible proof of an individual's status.

It is a consequence of the owner's desire for notoriety and eminence that the private cabinet became increasingly more public in the seventeenth century. Though a ruler might wish to defend the exclusivity of his or her personal collection, for the rising merchant, professional, or emergent scholarly group, publicity was desirable. The more visitors, the greater the potential for renown. (Of course, the opening of collections to the general public had the advantage of providing income as well.) Despite this apparently modernizing development, it was the "un-modern" character of the early modern collections that made them so popular; people traveled to see these collections precisely because they were filled with the singular, the anomalous, and the monstrous. When a collector chose to publish a catalog, he did so to highlight the breadth and the uniqueness of the collection; educating the audience, while often an important motivator, was usually ancillary to stunning and amazing it. Museologists argue that it is this reversal of priorities and the lack of "rational" categorization and specialization that make such collections primitive and inferior. And yet for the early modern collector and his audience, such collections were the means to encapsulating and understanding a fecund and ingenious nature; without such collections and the study they enabled, nature's constitution, methods, and limits would remain shrouded in mystery.

See also Bacon, Francis; Hooke, Robert; Marvels and Wonders; Natural History; Pepys, Samuel.

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KATHRYN BRAMMALL

MUSIC. Just as artists, poets, and men of letters looked to antiquity for direction in the mid-fifteenth century, the musically minded in early modern Europe also spoke of ancient powers lost to modern times.

The composer Johannes Tinctoris in 1474 yearned for the former potency in melody "by whose virtue gods, ancestral spirits, unclean demons, animals without reason, and things insensate were said to be moved!" Humanists read in Polybius that music could enrage, elevate, or enfeeble; in the *Republic*, Plato schooled his guardian class in modes that hardened and conditioned them for civic duty and emboldened the weak and effeminate; and Aristotle, in the *Politics*, distinguished the vulgar use of music in public entertainments from its proper use to educate. The generation of composers who came of age around 1500 was responding in part to new calls for the recovery of music's forgotten force in the civic and moral life of the community. At issue for humanists was how to sharpen and enhance the effects of the text. Renaissance composers employed novel techniques to do this, including a system of emphatic syllabic declamation called *musique mesurée*, promoted by the French humanist Jean-Antoine de Baïf (1532–1589). In his letters patent approving Baïf's academy, Charles IX praised its aim "of improving the morals of its citizens and promoting the welfare of the city." Composers found a more fertile path in fashioning melodic phrases to mirror the poetic line

in length and emotional direction. Orlando di Lasso (1532–1594) used extreme chromaticism and elaborate polyphony in his twelve-motet cycle *Prophetiae sibyllarum* (c. 1555) to evoke the unnatural voices of ancient seers. “Polyphonic songs which you hear with a chromatic tenor,” he wrote, “these are they, in which our twice-six sibyls once sang with fearless mouth the secrets of salvation.”

The music from such composers as Pierre de La Rue (c. 1450–1518), Jacob Obrecht (c. 1450–1505), Heinrich Isaac (c. 1450–1517), and Josquin des Prez (c. 1440–1521) was self-consciously revolutionary, rejecting predecessors and forging a fresh style. They employed greater musical variety, added instruments to sacred songs to supplement what had been a cappella singing, and drew attention to emotional expression. Josquin was the boldest innovator of his time, moving away from plainsong and chant as his musical foundation to freely composed and self-generating phrases that he wove into interlocking parts. The composer of some 20 Masses, over 100 motets, and more than 75 secular works, Josquin achieved a pliancy and sumptuousness in his writing that stands in marked contrast to the more angular, Gothically inflected works that preceded him. Music in the Renaissance progressed from theory-laden books to concrete and practical applications. It also expanded into the vernacular and away from liturgical settings. Popular expressions were the French chanson and the Italian madrigal; varieties of the latter became the continuo song and cantata in the baroque age.

The Renaissance courts of northern Italy were centers of innovation and patronage. “Seek not to deprive our Courtier of music,” Castiglione advised in *The Book of the Courtier*, “which not only soothes men’s minds, but often tames wild beasts.” Ercole I d’Este schooled his children in music, and Lorenzo de’ Medici (1449–1492) sang. Competition among Renaissance princes for grandeur and power sparked bidding wars for professional talent and even cases of musical espionage. The rivalry was especially keen among Florence, Ferrara, Mantua, Urbino, Milan, and the Papal States. On the low end of the social scale were singers and poets on the peripheries of power: itinerant *improvisatore*, *cantimbanchi*, and *ciarlatini* moved from court to court to sing about King Arthur, Orlando, and Charlemagne. At the high end of the scale were highly sought after talents

like Claudio Monteverdi (1567–1643), whose sixteen-year association with the Gonzaga family of Mantua produced three books of madrigals, the operas *Orfeo* and *L’arianna*, and numerous other works for festive and commemorative occasions. Musicians allegorized and elevated the might of their patrons with lavish works for weddings, feasts, private celebrations, dances, theatrical displays, and liturgical services. Music was also a prominent feature in state ceremonials: in Venice, the announcement of victory at sea over the Turks at Lepanto in 1571 came with a flourish of drums and trumpets; choirs in St. Mark’s greeted a diplomatic delegation from Japan; and the annual marriage of Venice and the sea celebration on Ascension Day, when the doge announced his “true and perpetual domination” over the Adriatic, was consummated to music. Each artistic center proudly claimed priority in leading music out of its medieval darkness. The theorist and composer Gioseffo Zarlino (1517–1590) blamed the “ravages of time” and the “negligence of men” for bringing music to its degraded state and credited God for sending “one of the rarest intellects ever to have practiced music” to Venice, Adrian Willaert (c. 1490–1562). As *maestro di capello* at St. Mark’s and composer of Masses, motets, madrigals, and chansons, Willaert pioneered the use of split choirs situated throughout the basilica for stereophonic effect, a technique taken up by Giovanni Gabrieli (c. 1553–1612) and, much later, Hector Berlioz (1803–1869).

The printing press speeded the pace and broadened the diffusion of musical innovation. Its appearance helped to shape a new profile of the composer around 1500, as music masters moved away from church administration and toward uniquely musical pursuits. The first music printed with movable type came from southern Germany in the 1470s. The first published volume for multiple voices and intended for large-scale distribution was *Harmonice Musices Odhecaton A* (1501), which came from the Venetian house of Ottaviano de’ Petrucci; Petrucci later published volumes of single composers including Josquin, Pierre de La Rue, Obrecht, Agricola, and Isaac. The other major musical publishing centers were Rome, Milan, Ferrara, Florence, Naples, Antwerp, Nuremberg, and Augsburg. Publishers sought to establish a particular niche in the rapidly growing commercial market by affiliating them-

selves with a single composer, building more specialized lists in secular or sacred music, offering music across a range of levels and abilities, and providing simplified arrangements of well-known works for the amateur. The large firms sent scouts to Rome and other Italian cities to recruit young talent. Instruction books geared toward the nonaristocratic public fed a growing popular appetite for private music making, particularly in lute and keyboard works. By 1550, musical presses in Italy and the German states were publishing vocal part books by the tens of thousands. In England, by contrast, there were comparatively few works of music published in the sixteenth century, an early sign that English and Continental music were already on separate paths of development. A single published volume of polyphony from the first half of the sixteenth century anthologized the music of William Cornysh (c. 1465–1523), Robert Fayrfax (1464–1521), and John Taverner (c. 1495–1545).

MUSIC AND THE REFORMATION

The level of music making varied widely across early modern Europe, from the superb organists and choirmasters of cathedral towns to unlettered singers of rudimentary plainchant at parish churches. Most people experienced music through vernacular songs in the streets and inns. Towns employed municipal musicians for popular entertainment and to trumpet fanfares on special occasions. Folk songs encompassed a wide array of types, including narrative ballads, lovers' laments, parting songs, drinking songs, devotional songs, and saints' day songs. There were also more pointed songs, like this 1520 lyric urging the expulsion of Jews from the German city of Rothenburg:

*Ein Reichstat an der Tauben legt,
Ist Rottenburg genannt.
Da haben die Juden lange zeit,
Getrieben grossen Schand.
Mit Wucherei und schärfer List
Damit gar mancher Trümmer
Zu Grund verdorben ist.*

(A city on the Tauber lies,
Whose name is Rothenburg.
There, for many years, the Jews
Have spread their shame.
They saw waste and destruction
Through usury and other cunning tricks
In order to bring ruin.)

Vernacular songs furnished ready tunes for new texts, a practice that proved useful for religious instruction given the minuscule literacy rates. In France, the tune *Quand j'ai pensé en vous, ma bien aimée* ("When I think of you, my beloved") was kept but the words reworked to become *Quand j'ai pensé en vous, Bible sacrée* ("When I ponder you, O sacred Bible"). Such substitutions provided the vehicle and the message for the spread of the Reformation. Easy to memorize and quick to spread, Lutheran songs rapidly became a weapon more potent than the flood of anti-Catholic books and pamphlets. Hundreds of popular tunes, many of them originally Catholic, were rewritten with Lutheran texts. Posted at inns and passed by travelers from town to town, the songs were used to "sing down" priests as they spoke.

The uncertainty and dissent among Reformers about the proper use of music is testimony to the extent of innovation since 1500. In the minds of many Reformers, new musical styles revealed the dangers of the humanists' project. In *The Genevan Psalter* (1543), John Calvin warned of music's power to pervert the morals of its listeners and urged strict controls: "Just as wine is funneled into a barrel, so are venom and corruption distilled to the very depths of the heart by melody." The English Puritan Phillip Stubbes wrote in his *Anatomic of Abuses* (1583) that music "corrupteth good minds, maketh them womannish and inclined to all kinde of whordome and mischeef," while Erasmus censured the appearance of brass and stringed instruments in liturgical settings, which caused people "[to] flock to church as to a theater for aural delight." Calvin banned polyphony from services, though it was permitted in social gatherings; Huldrych Zwingli (1484–1531) banned all music in services. In England, Anglican reforms vastly simplified music in both style and text: statutes in Lincoln Cathedral specified that the choir was to sing no anthems to "our Lady or other Saints, but only to our Lord, and them not in Latin." Catholic reform undertaken by the Council of Trent went in the same direction, stopping just short of Calvin's move to ban all polyphony. The council censured music composed merely "to give empty pleasure to the ear" and urged composers to write in such a way as to make the words easily understood by all. Within fifteen years of his death, Giovanni Pierluigi

da Palestrina (c. 1525–1594) was hailed as having saved polyphony in the wake of the council's decrees by crafting an audition piece for the Vatican that convinced the authorities of its value through sheer beauty as well as its calculated propriety. The story is likely apocryphal, but it captures the tension between the direction of musical development and the liturgical needs of the Catholic Church in the sixteenth century. It also highlights Palestrina's own solution, which was to craft a style less ornately contrapuntal than that of Lasso by alternating chordal sections and free movement among independent lines. Palestrina was one of the most prolific of all composers, writing some 104 Masses, 250 motets, 68 offertories, 65 hymns, 35 Magnificat settings, and various lamentations and litanies.

In contrast to the other major religious reformers, Martin Luther (1483–1546) embraced the widest possible variety of musical expression. He called music “the mistress and governess” of human emotion, deserving highest praise “next to the word of God,” and yet more eloquent than the most powerful orator in its “infinite variety of forms and benefits.” Luther's musical ecumenicism, which helped to inspire the popular musical education that spread throughout the Lutheran lands on every level of society, had lasting consequences for music in Germany. The highest expression of this encompassing vision came in the music of Johann Sebastian Bach (1685–1750), whose 200 known sacred cantatas (about three-fifths of what he is thought to have composed) convey their texts with remarkable subtlety, variety, and precision. Here, as well as in his keyboard and orchestral works, Bach employed virtually every European style, high and low, sacred and profane, from the grand French overture to dances of the popular classes. Famously provincial in his aversion to travel, Bach nevertheless drew from all available printed sources to produce works of universal appeal and enduring mastery. Bach's six keyboard partitas, for example, transformed popular dance forms known throughout Europe into virtuoso solo pieces. These included the *corrente*, a zigzag, hop-stepped Italian dance; its more fluid French counterpart the *courante*; the noble German *allemande*, a grave dance involving couples in a line; and the Spanish *saraband*, a slow, dignified dance of great sweeping gestures. Living on the threshold of musical classicism, an aesthetic whose simplified

style he steadfastly resisted, Bach was doggedly anti-progressive. From within this conservative world Bach also surveyed and on occasion borrowed from more recent styles of such contemporaries as Johann Adolf Hasse (1699–1783) and Carl Heinrich Graun (1703–1759). Like Dante before him, Bach brought the elements of a passing age together in magnificent synthesis. Bach resisted any notion that he possessed special powers of genius; composers were instead to be craftsmen. He said: “I have had to work hard; anyone who works just as hard will get just as far.”

PRIVATE AND PUBLIC PERFORMANCE

Throughout the seventeenth century, and owing to the wide availability of printed scores, amateur music making was increasingly viewed as a pastime for the great and small. One source was the Protestant tradition of hymn singing. The 1561 Sternhold and Hopkins edition of the Psalms in English included a brief introduction on the “Science of Music” that urged readers to sing in common worship and “privately by themselves or at home in their houses.” There was much secular music, too. New wealth and a taste for luxury among the moneyed in late-sixteenth-century England supported a flourishing publishing industry, with some eighty collections of vocal music published from 1587 to 1630 intended primarily for the amateur market. The large number of dedications to gentry and noble patrons in England in lute and madrigal collections is one indication of their likely audience, but the presence of merchants and tradespeople among the dedicatees suggests that private performance was not limited to elites. Thomas Morley's *Canzonets to Five and Six Voices* (1597), a volume of five- and six-part madrigals with lute accompaniment, was dedicated to “Master Henrie Tapsfield, Citizen and Grocer of the Cittie of London,” and Thomas Weelkes's *Balletts and Madrigals* (1598) was dedicated to Edward Darcy, a groom in the royal household. Such examples notwithstanding, private music making throughout Europe was largely a pursuit of those with the time and money to devote to refining their skills and acquiring the music and instruments. The lute was the aristocratic instrument par excellence in much the same way the piano became a fixture in nineteenth-century middle-class interiors. There are glimpses of social mixing in private performance even at the highest levels.

Roger North (1653–1734), gentleman and brother to Baron Francis North, who was keeper of the Great Seal of England, described musical evenings of his childhood involving solo and ensemble performances by his sisters, the servants, the steward, and the clerk of the kitchen.

In England, public concerts were first offered in private houses, taverns, and other meeting halls. Old forms of patronage persisted into the eighteenth century—and in some places on a scale greater than ever—but the new public concerts fundamentally recast the relationship between composer and audience by granting immediate access to large numbers and creating a venue for the rise of popular individual performers. The first truly public musical recital in England, and probably in Europe, occurred in 1672 when the composer and violinist John Banister opened his home for regular 4:00 P.M. performances given, as the *London Gazette* promised, “by excellent masters.” Other series soon followed, with their success a part of the overall exuberance in public entertainments associated with the Restoration. Cromwell’s destruction of organ pipes with battle-axes at Chichester, Worcester, Norwich, Peterborough, Canterbury, and Winchester was only the most dramatic example of the so-called purification of music during the Protectorate. The appearance of public concerts also marked a shift from church-sponsored to more secular music, much of it tied to the court. Entrepreneurs such as Banister and Robert King, who obtained a license to offer concerts in 1689, also oversaw performances within the royal household.

This was the context for one of England’s most versatile and gifted composers, Henry Purcell (c. 1659–1695), who was appointed composer-in-ordinary for the king’s violins in 1677, just four years after his voice changed. Principal organist at Westminster Abbey from a young age and later at the Chapel Royal, Purcell also wrote for the stage. His output included anthems, overtures, “semi-operas,” entr’actes, dances, instrumental works for harpsichord, organ, and viol consort, and royal birthday odes and welcome songs. He was also famous for his catches, a popular form that in England displaced the madrigal and which, especially in Purcell’s hands, delighted in randy lyrics. His catch on the plot of Titus Oates includes a characteristic mix of politics, religion, and sport:

Now England’s great council’s assembled
To make laws for English-born freemen.
Since ’tis dang’rous to prate of matters of state
Let’s handle our wine and our women.

Let’s drink to the Senate’s best thoughts
For the good of the King and the nation.
May they dig on the spot as deep as the plot
As the Jesuits have laid the foundation.

A plague of all zealots and fools,
And each silly Protestant hater;
Better turn cat-in-pan and live like a man
Than be hanged and die like a traitor.

As court composer and keeper of the king’s instruments, Purcell wrote music for state occasions—including five welcome songs for Charles II, three for James II, and six birthday odes for Queen Mary—but neither he nor his contemporaries undertook the kinds of lavish productions deifying the monarchy that composers in absolutist France were perfecting at the time. There is a discreet reference to William and Mary in the prologue to Purcell’s best-known work, *Dido and Aeneas* (1689), an opera staged at the Josiah Priest Boarding School in Chelsea just after the Glorious Revolution. A Nereid announces the appearance of a “new divinity,” to which the chorus responds: “To Phoebus and Venus our homage we’ll pay, / Her charms bless the night, as his beams bless the day.”

In eighteenth-century France, private concerts in aristocratic salons were an important feature of upper-class sociability, though, as Mozart related to his father, the attention of the listeners was not always fixed on the musicians. “What vexed me most of all,” he wrote of a performance for the duchesse de Chabot’s circle, “was that Madame and all her gentlemen never interrupted their drawing for a moment, but went on intently, so that I had to play to the chairs, tables, and walls.” The first public concerts in France began in 1725 with the *Concert Spirituel*, a regular series of sacred music held in the Tuileries Palace. Among favored works, performed by an orchestra of forty players and a chorus of fifty-three singers, were motets by André Campra (1660–1744), Michel-Richard de Lalande (1657–1726), and Jean-Joseph de Mondonville (1711–1772) and chamber works by Guisepppe Tartini (1692–1770) and Antonio Vivaldi (1678–1741). Given the high ticket prices, concert audiences were necessarily the moneyed, and the atmosphere was uniquely aristocratic. There were other semipublic

concerts in France later in the century, most notably those sponsored by the celebrated musical patron Alexandre-Jean-Joseph Le Riche de La Popelinière, a wealthy tax farmer who invited the likes of Jean-Philippe Rameau (1683–1764) and Johann Stamitz (1717–1757) to conduct their own music with an orchestra whose members lived on the premises. Late in the century, subscription concerts, one of them sponsored by the Freemasons, attracted a broader public with programs that regularly featured the symphonies of Franz Joseph Haydn (1732–1809).

Until the second quarter of the nineteenth century, music making in Paris was dominated by the Opéra, whose state monopoly on virtually all staged productions dated from its 1669 establishment as the Académie Royale de Musique. France's most celebrated composer in the epoch of Louis XIV was Jean-Baptiste Lully (1632–1687), whose operas came to define the French style of the *grand siècle* with their characteristic mix of stately pomp, dazzling effects, and refined graciousness. Lully reworked and enlarged the elements of Italian courtly spectacles in the Renaissance to produce a musical formula that shaped the monarchy's public image, depicting and occasionally casting Louis XIV in productions that were transparent homages to the state in the dress of Olympians. "The Peace which Your Majesty has given as generously to his conquered enemies," Lully wrote of his work *Le temple de la paix* (1685), "is the subject of this ballet." While French operatic audiences retained their aristocratic complexion in the decades before the French Revolution, such royal allegories receded before the ambitious musical innovations of Rameau, whose dense textures and bold orchestral effects shocked some listeners, and the reforms of Christoph Willibald von Gluck (1714–1787), who simplified plotlines and concentrated musical expression to heighten the dramatic intensity of his operas.

THE COMPOSER AND HIS PUBLIC

The relationship of Haydn and Mozart to their publics, which grew in many ways from their differing professional status as composers, shaped the nature and style of their works. Haydn was among the last of the great classical composers to live on the premises of his patron; over a thirty-year period beginning when he was twenty-nine, Haydn existed as

a virtual ward of Prince Paul Anton Esterházy. He was required by contract to dress in uniform at all times and to provide music whenever requested; he was regularly denied visits to Vienna and forbidden to copy his music or compose for others without the prince's permission. Nevertheless, pirated editions of his symphonies flooded Europe, possibly with his clandestine assistance. The isolation and routine of Esterháza castle proved extraordinarily fertile for the composer, whose prodigious output revealed the expressive range of the classical form. Deft, witty, harmonically rich, and endlessly inventive, Haydn's string quartets are the essence of eighteenth-century grace and refinement. "A certain kind of humor takes possession of you, and cannot be restrained," Haydn remarked to a visitor. Haydn typically led over 100 concerts a year that featured newly composed orchestral, chamber, vocal, and keyboard repertoire. His oeuvre includes 107 symphonies, over 60 string quartets, 58 keyboard sonatas, 42 keyboard trios, and 24 operas.

Mozart, by contrast, was the first major composer to flourish without a permanent position or sustained patronage. His famous indignation over his treatment by his employer, Archbishop Colloredo of Salzburg ("When I see that someone despises me and treats me with contempt, I can be as proud as a peacock"), was a mark of his temperament, but it was also an indication of the changed relationship between the artist and his public. It was possible for Mozart to leave his position as *Konzertmeister* only because of new public opportunities in the Vienna of Emperor Joseph II (ruled 1765–1790). Vienna was home to two flourishing opera companies, the Italian-language *Hofoper* and the German *Singspiel*, both of which mounted his productions. Mozart also taught privately, encouraged commissions, and wrote numerous works, for his own performances and those of his students, with particular audiences in mind. His letters are explicit and even gleeful about his opportunities as a free agent. In a 1778 letter to his father he wrote: "I pray to God daily to give me grace to hold out with fortitude and to do such honor to myself and to the whole German nation as will redound to His greater honor and glory; and that He will enable me to prosper and make a great deal of money."

The rise in public musical performance encouraged the explosion of new forms in the eighteenth

century. Audiences in rapture over virtuoso performers fueled the composition of solo instrumental and vocal works. The fireworks of Mozart's Queen of the Night aria in *Die Zauberflöte* were an exuberant and gloriously exaggerated version of what attracted many to opera in the late 1700s, a lesson not lost on Rossini and the nineteenth-century school of bel canto. The eighteenth century witnessed the appearance of keyboard sonatas and solo concertos in unprecedented numbers, as well as the birth of the *symphonie concertante*, a concertolike genre involving multiple soloists and orchestral accompaniment. The development of the string quartet from the 1760s is among the century's most important musical achievements, with the quartets of Haydn and Mozart the best known among a field of composers that included the Chevalier de Saint-Georges (c. 1739–1799) and François Joseph Gossec (1734–1829) in Paris, Carl Friedrich Abel (1723–1787) in London, and the Italian Luigi Boccherini (1743–1805). Between 1760 and 1780 over five hundred quartets were printed in Paris alone. At the same time, the modern symphony found immense approval in public settings, with some twelve thousand composed in Europe from 1720 to 1810. Its centers were Vienna, Mannheim, Paris, and London.

In many ways, the musical public in European capitals on the eve of the French Revolution resembled modern audiences. Its tastes increasingly drove programming decisions and influenced compositional styles. The public could select from among competing theaters and concert halls. It was the key ingredient in an increasingly commercialized art. The French Revolution and its effects across Europe hastened these tendencies and introduced others that changed the nature of public performance by ending state theater monopolies and reducing aristocratic and church patronage. The new taste for “ancient music”—works generally over twenty years old—formed an emerging canon of classics to be performed, preserved, and repeated in ever-larger concert halls and opera houses.

See also Bach Family; Buxtehude, Dieterich; Calvin, John; Gluck, Christoph Willibald von; Haydn, Franz Joseph; Hymns; Louis XIV (France); Lully, Jean-Baptiste; Luther, Martin; Monteverdi, Claudio; Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus; Music Criticism; Opera; Palestrina, Giovanni Pierluigi da; Printing and Pub-

lishing; Purcell, Henry; Rameau, Jean-Philippe; Reformation, Protestant; Songs, Popular.

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JAMES JOHNSON

MUSIC CRITICISM. Diverse literary genres emerged in the early modern period that voiced opinion on works of music or their performance, and as such constituted the field of music criticism. The genres most commonly associated with such writing in the present day, the formal, critical review of a concert, opera, edition, or recording, were, however, only beginning. The main genre in music criticism as a whole was the essay, usually done in polemical terms.

It was unusual to write upon specific works or composers in any context prior to the middle of the eighteenth century. The study of music in philosophical and scientific theory by definition did not concern itself with music itself; the closest it normally got to musical practice was in the field of tuning. Treatises or handbooks on musical compo-

sition defined rules and practices; they only occasionally gave examples from particular works or discussed the style of any composer. (One exception might be noted: the commentaries of the Franco-Flemish theorist and composer Johannes Tinctoris upon the music of his contemporaries in *Liber de arte contrapuncti* of 1477.) Yet we know that a vigorous critical discourse took place among people involved in music. It can indeed be argued that the music review grew directly out of informal discourse in opera boxes, foyers, and salons.

The most important context within which publishing music criticism emerged at the turn of the eighteenth century was the “quarrel,” a highly contentious dispute between intellectual factions. Such disputes, and the polemical essays written in their regard, were related to the quarrel of the ancients and the moderns, the debate over the authority of ancient sources in France and England in the 1690s, but took particular directions within the musical world. The first *querelle* in Paris arose over an essay contending the virtues of Italian music by François Ragueneau in 1702 (*La parallèle des italiens et des français, en ce qui regarde la musique et les opéras*) and that of his critic Jean Laurent Le Cerf de la Viéville in 1704 (*La comparaison de la musique italienne et de la musique française*). Ragueneau argued in acid, polemical terms that French music was stuck in an outdated style; Le Cerf called him a traitor to French musical tradition. *Querelles* broke out periodically in Paris, over Jean-Baptiste Lully in the 1730s, over a visiting Italian company (the Bouffons) in 1752–1754, and over the rivalry of Christoph Willibald von Gluck and Niccolò Piccinni in the 1770s. A parallel series of quarrels over Italian opera took place in London, begun by John Dennis in his 1706 *Essay on the Operas after the Italian Manner* and revived by a variety of authors through the 1730s.

Religious discourse also spawned critical commentary that played an important role in the evolution of public musical performance. In England in 1711 the Reverend Arthur Bedford, a colleague of Jeremy Collier in the movement against the theaters, called for great music of the past to serve as models for the present, a very new idea, in his influential *Great Abuse of Musick*. In France both orthodox and Jansenist writers claimed that sacred music was being secularized and attacked the grow-

ing practice by which churches put on public concerts for paying audiences.

Music criticism first took root in theoretical treatises and in periodicals in Germany, chiefly in Berlin and Leipzig. The main figures tended to be at odds with court musical life; they shaped a polemical discourse that laid the groundwork for the German intellectual leadership of musical life in the nineteenth century. Johann Mattheson began the tradition in Hamburg, originally in *Das neu-eröffnete Orchestre* (1713) and the periodical *Critica Musica* (1722–1725). Johann Forkel, organist at the University of Göttingen at the end of the century, wrote the first biography of Johann Sebastian Bach, but in one of his short-lived periodicals attacked the master's son Johann Christian Bach for pandering to the nobility and writing superficial music.

The burgeoning of periodicals during the eighteenth century brought practical music into a far closer relationship with other areas of written discourse than ever before. In the course of the century, treatment of music evolved from simple reportage to critical commentary. Lists of newly published works gradually took on a critical dimension, especially in the many German periodicals. Reports on opera and concerts at first only gave the names of works and performers, as well as details of notables present, but by the end of the century often had an important critical element. In some periodicals, the *Mercure de France* most notably, the author reported opinions supposedly voiced variously by the public and connoisseurs. Neither the author nor the connoisseurs he cited yet had strongly based intellectual authority. By 1800 critical reviews had developed the most fully in Parisian daily newspapers and in German music magazines. One senses a fully empowered reviewer in reading pieces on new opera productions in the French capital and reports on concerts in the Leipzig-based *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung*.

Another important new authority that began to develop in music criticism during the eighteenth century was the canon. Prior to around 1700 there existed few repertoires where old works were performed regularly in any sense as classics. That practice began first in England, in the performance of older works as “ancient music,” and then in France as *la musique ancienne*. The *querelle des bouffons* was in fact fought over the entirely unprecedented authority that stage works by Jean-Baptiste Lully had acquired in their regular revivals. In Berlin the operas of Karl Heinrich Graun and Johann Adolf Hasse stayed on stage in similar terms. By the same token, commentary on the many performances of music by George Frideric Handel bestowed upon him a respect no composer had ever received. Throughout Europe, a new kind of canonic language thus began to develop in music criticism, whose only precedent was the honoring of masters such as Giovanni Palestrina and Girolamo Frescobaldi as pedagogical models. Nevertheless, in France and Germany the works did not stay on stage after the late 1780s, and a new movement of canonic taste began as music by Franz Joseph Haydn, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, and Ludwig van Beethoven was established as “classical” internationally.

See also Ancients and Moderns; Bach Family; Gluck, Christoph Willibald von; Handel, George Frideric; Haydn, Franz Joseph; Lully, Jean-Baptiste; Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus; Music; Opera; Palestrina, Giovanni Pierluigi da.

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WILLIAM WEBER



NANTES, EDICT OF. As Catholics flocked to Henry IV's side after his 1593 conversion to Catholicism, the French Calvinists, or Huguenots, began to consider the once unthinkable possibility that they would have to go to war against the very man who had for so long championed their cause. One sign of their disaffection was the fact that few Huguenots lent their support to the king's war against Spain, declared in 1595. They greatly worried that their precarious freedom to worship might be taken away from them. Henry IV also dreaded the notion of fighting the Huguenots, even though Catholic pressure grew upon him to restrict their rights in order to prove his sincerity as a Catholic. The situation called for decisive action by the king lest a new religious war break out, especially as negotiations to end the war with Spain moved ahead, culminating in the Treaty of Vervins in May 1598.

In a bold move to avert this crisis, Henry IV reached a historic settlement with the Huguenots on 13 April 1598 in the Edict of Nantes. This famous accord has been seen as an important step forward for the idea of religious toleration as well as a victory for the notion that politics takes precedence over religion. Upon closer examination, however, neither of these interpretations can be sustained. The Edict of Nantes stated as its principal goal the eventual peaceful reunion of the king's subjects in one agreed-upon faith. In the meantime, the king wished to ensure religious coexistence of the two confessions so that this process of reunion

could go forward. The Edict of Nantes therefore affirmed the age-old French heritage of "one king, one faith, one law" rather than looking forward to modern ideas about toleration and secularism. It testified more to the growing authority of the crown than any willingness to accept religious differences on a permanent basis.

In the Edict of Nantes, Henry IV tried to solve the dilemma he faced of reassuring the Huguenots without alienating the Catholics. A closer look at the edict shows how he hoped to achieve these contrasting goals. Four separate documents actually made up the Edict of Nantes. The first one consisted of ninety-two general articles, while the second one had fifty-six "secret articles" that granted exemptions from the general articles to particular towns and persons. The last two documents were royal writs known as brevets. The reason for all this complexity in the edict stemmed from the political circumstances that Henry IV faced. The first two sets of articles had to be registered in the Parlement of Paris, which was the chief judicial court in France, in order to receive the force of law. Royal brevets, by contrast, did not need to be registered because they ended once the king who originally issued them had died. They were thus provisional in nature. Henry IV put the most controversial concessions to the Huguenots in the royal brevets because he knew that the Parlement of Paris, which was controlled by the Catholics, would never register them. In fact, it took nearly a year for the parlement to accept the first two sets of articles. How long the Edict of Nantes would last was therefore, from a legalistic

point of view, an open question right from the outset. Henry IV's declaration in the preamble that the edict was "perpetual and irrevocable" actually meant only until such time as another edict was issued and registered to replace it.

The provisions making up the Edict of Nantes did not break new ground but rather returned quite explicitly to earlier edicts of pacification, such as the Peace of Bergerac (1577) and Peace of Fleix (1580), sometimes word for word. First, the king consigned all events since 1585 to oblivion, making it a crime to stir up the memories of past grievances. The edict recognized the Huguenots' right to freedom of conscience and liberty to worship in all towns that they controlled as of August 1597. It also guaranteed the right of Huguenots to hold political office and established special new courts with both Huguenot and Catholic judges to enforce the provisions of the edict. At the same time, the Edict of Nantes also addressed Catholic concerns. It reaffirmed, for example, the Catholic character of both the crown and the kingdom. While Huguenots could only worship in specially designated areas, Catholics could practice their faith anywhere in France. In fact, the Edict of Nantes called for the reintroduction of Catholicism in places where Huguenots had long forbidden it, most notably Béarn. All of these general principles in the first set of articles became decidedly less firm when considering all the exceptions to them contained in the second set of "secret articles." The most significant concessions to the Huguenots came in the two royal brevets, the first of which provided generous royal funds to help subsidize the French Calvinist Church, while the second allowed the Huguenots to fortify and garrison towns under their control. These measures thus provided financial and military security to the Huguenots, but only while Henry IV was king.

The Edict of Nantes thus brought a temporary end to the Wars of Religion, which broke out once again after Henry IV's assassination in 1610 as the Huguenots tried to secure the substantial gains they had made in the royal brevets. They ultimately failed to do so when Henry IV's son, Louis XIII, finally defeated the Huguenots in 1628 after the siege of La Rochelle. Louis XIII stripped the Huguenots of their former military independence and subsidies in the Grace of Alais (1629), though he recognized their right to worship in places already established.

The provisions in the two sets of articles came to an end in 1685 when Henry IV's grandson, Louis XIV, revoked the remaining provisions of the Edict of Nantes in the Edict of Fontainebleau. He did so because he mistakenly believed that most of the Huguenots had returned to the Catholic Church. The resulting persecution forced the French Calvinist Church to go underground, while many Huguenots emigrated to Germany, England, and North America. French Calvinists only enjoyed the right to worship publicly later on, in 1787, just prior to the French Revolution.

See also France; Henry IV (France); Huguenots; Louis XIV (France); Parlements; Toleration; Wars of Religion, French.

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MICHAEL WOLFE

NAPLES, ART IN. Although the second largest city in Europe, Naples was, until the second half of the seventeenth century, considered of little interest or import artistically. Giorgio Vasari asserted that until he worked in Naples (1544–1545), no one since Giotto had produced any painting of importance there. Even as, over the course of the seventeenth century, Naples became one of the most important artistic centers in Italy—perhaps the most important by the end of the century—the development of its art was greatly dependent on the presence of foreign artists and their works, although

the exact nature of that dependence is still much debated. The list of artists from outside Naples visiting or working in the city in the first half of the century is impressive; it includes Caravaggio (Michelangelo Merisi), Paul Brill, Goffredo Wals, François de Nomé, Guido Reni, Matthias Stomer, Diego Velázquez, Pietro Novelli (called *il Monrealese*), Artemisia Gentileschi, Domenichino (Domenico Zampieri), Johann Heinrich Schönfeld, Viviano Codazzi, Giovanni Lanfranco, Charles Mellin, and Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione. The Spaniard José (Jusepe) de Ribera constitutes a special case in that, after working briefly in Parma and Bologna and for several years in Rome, he relocated to Naples in 1616, where he spent the rest of his career, establishing himself as the leading painter of the first half of the century. Works by other artists came to Naples, and the artists themselves may have visited the city; among them were Louis Finson, Domenico Fiasella, Simon Vouet, and Nicolas Poussin.

Although many Neapolitan artists visited Rome, they had virtually no impact there, with the exception of Naples's most famous permanent expatriate, Salvator Rosa. Similarly, a few Neapolitan works found their way into collections outside of Naples, but there was no significant awareness of them, except in Spain. In the second half of the century, however, Neapolitan art gained international recognition, especially owing to the impact of the highly prolific Luca Giordano, who worked in Venice, Florence, Rome, and Madrid, as well as in his native city; and later Francesco Solimena, whose career lasted until the middle of the eighteenth century. For Bernardo De Dominici, whose three-volume *Lives of the Neapolitan Painters, Sculptors, and Architects* was published in 1742–1745, Solimena represented the acme of art and the proof of the international import of the Neapolitan school.

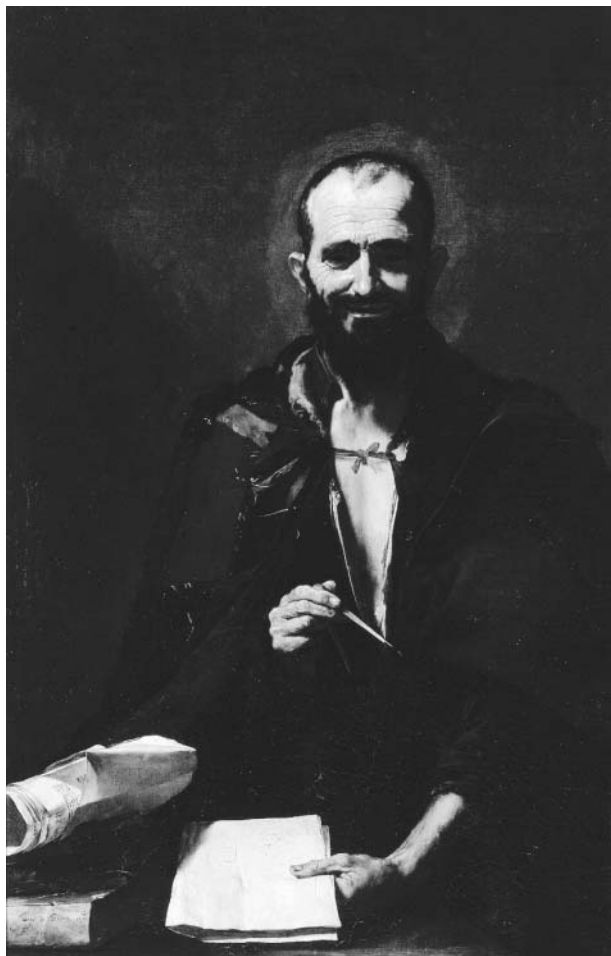
STYLE

Four significant shifts in style occurred in Neapolitan painting over the course of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries: first, the introduction, in the first decade of the century, of a strong tenebrism and trenchant naturalism; second, a lightening of the palette around 1630; third, a loosening of compositions and a use of a more full-bodied figure style from the 1650s on; and lastly, a withdrawal from

“baroque” illusionism to a less ostentatious classicism at the turn of the eighteenth century.

The prevailing mode in Neapolitan painting at the turn of the seventeenth century was a competent version of the “reformed” style developed elsewhere in Italy in the preceding decades. The most prominent practitioner of the style in Naples was Belisario Corenzio, who persisted in using it to the end of his career in the fourth decade of the century. The paintings executed by Caravaggio, including the *Seven Works of Mercy*, during his two brief sojourns in the city (1606–1607, 1609–1610) had a remarkable impact on the local school. As early as 1607, Giovanni Battista Caracciolo (Battistello) produced a strikingly Caravaggesque *Immaculate Conception with SS. Dominic and Francis of Paola*, a remarkable change from his earlier style developed under the aegis of Corenzio, and he maintained a stark tenebrism to the end of his career. The greatest exponent of Caravaggism in Naples was Ribera, who had already worked in this style in Rome. His rise to prominence in Naples further entrenched Caravaggism as the dominant mode there, although he developed in a direction not pursued by Caravaggio or his close adherents, namely toward bravura brushwork and use of what De Dominici called a “tremendous impasto.”

After his earliest works, Ribera had generally substituted for Caravaggio's plebeian figures and sometimes awkward compositions more elegant figures and coherently organized compositions. In these aspects, and in his continuing tenebrism, he shared stylistic concerns with his rival as leading Neapolitan painter, Massimo Stanzione, although the two are often seen in stark opposition. In the late 1620s, he moved further from Caravaggio's example, lightening his palette, often using outdoor settings, and increasing the painterliness of his brushwork, evident in his *Holy Trinity* of the early to mid-1630s. Ribera's stylistic shift was shared by many Neapolitan artists and paralleled developments in Rome. In both instances, the artists' attention to sixteenth-century Venetian painting, whether directly or indirectly, seems to lie at the root of the shift. Reinforcing this “neo-Venetianism” in Naples may have been the presence or work of Reni, Anthony Van Dyck (possibly through the Sicilian painter Novelli), Velázquez, or others, although the matter has been vigorously debated.



Art in Naples. *Democritus*, painting by Jusepe de Ribera.
THE ART ARCHIVE/MUSEO DEL PRADO MADRID/ALBUM/JOSEPH
MARTIN

Although the great plague that decimated the population of Naples in 1656 took several painters, foremost among them Stanzione, Neapolitan art was already beginning a significant change before that date, in part because of the passing of a generation of artists, but also because of the arrival, in 1653, of another outside artist, Mattia Preti. The well-traveled Calabrian had developed his earlier tenebrist manner into a vigorous, dramatic style that worked well in large canvases and fresco projects. Perhaps because of Preti's presence, and from 1664 also that of Giovan Battista Beinaschi, Neapolitan artists finally began to assimilate the Roman "grand manner" frescoes that Giovanni Lanfranco had executed in Neapolitan churches—the Gesù Nuovo, S. Martino, SS. Apostoli, and the Cappella del Tesoro in the cathedral—during his sojourn in the city

(1634–1646). Although Preti left Naples in 1660, his work had a profound effect on the artistic development of the young Luca Giordano and was consciously evoked and refined years later by Solimena.

A less dramatic shift occurred around the turn of the eighteenth century within the art of Solimena, with important repercussions for his followers, especially Francesco de Mura and, in turn, de Mura's followers, who dominated the field in the second half of the eighteenth century. While some artists, namely Giacomo del Po and Domenico Antonio Vaccaro, continued to develop an exuberant, painterly style, Solimena began organizing his works with increased restraint and monumentality, in a style that has been termed "anti-baroque." In a different direction, Paolo de Matteis, who vied with Solimena for dominance in the early eighteenth century, pursued a classicizing version of Giordano's style. Giordano's brilliant, airy *Triumph of Judith* (1703–1704), decorating the vault of the treasury of the Certosa di S. Martino, which has been called "the source of the Italian rococo," had surprisingly few echoes in Naples itself.

PATRONAGE AND SUBJECT MATTER

Giorgio Vasari famously stated that Polidoro da Caravaggio, who worked in Naples in 1527–1528, nearly died of hunger because Neapolitan noblemen are so "little curious about the excellent things of painting" and "value more a horse that jumps than someone who can paint with his hands figures that appear alive." To be sure, the most important patronage in Naples through the eighteenth century was ecclesiastical. Most of the hundreds of churches in Naples were decorated in this period, many of them lavishly. The most important projects of the seventeenth century were the decoration of the Capella del Tesoro (or di S. Gennaro) of the cathedral (with frescoes and altarpieces by Domenichino, Lanfranco, and Ribera and sculptures by Giulio Finelli, Cosimo Fanzago, and others, largely executed in the 1630s–1640s) and the Certosa di San Martino, which is perhaps the most splendid artistic complex of the Italian seicento. Situated with a commanding view of the city and bay of Naples, the fourteenth-century monastery underwent massive rebuilding and decoration beginning in the late sixteenth century. From 1623, Fanzago was responsible for the architecture, also contributing sculp-

ture and elaborate marble revetments in the church. Frescoes and canvases in the church and throughout the charterhouse were provided by most of the leading painters in the city—Corenzio, Ribera, Stanzone, Caracciolo, Lanfranco, Domenico Gargiulo, and Paolo Finoglia, among others—and include as well Reni's monumental *Adoration of the Shepherds* (c. 1640). Further campaigns in the eighteenth century included work by Giordano, de Matteis, and de Mura, as well as lavish sculptural decoration by Vaccaro.

Some of the viceroys in Naples—first Spanish, then, in the eighteenth century, Austrian—were significant patrons and collectors, sometimes playing important roles in the traffic of objects and the dissemination of style between Naples and Spain, the rest of Italy, and Central Europe. Many of the seventeenth-century viceroys employed Neapolitan artists, sometimes on behalf of the king of Spain, and a few amassed substantial collections, most notably the Count of Monterrey (viceroy 1631–1637) and the Marquess del Carpio (viceroy 1683–1687). Of the Austrian viceroys, the most important collector was Count Alois Thomas Raimund Harrach (viceroy 1728–1733), who extended his already vast collection while in Naples, not only commissioning contemporary artists, especially Solimena, but acquiring seventeenth-century Neapolitan works as well.

Large-scale decoration of private palaces was rare in the seventeenth century, and nearly all the many such projects from the early eighteenth century, especially by de Matteis and del Po, have been destroyed. But over the course of the seventeenth century and into the eighteenth, private collecting became much more extensive, ultimately belying Vasari's severe (and biased) judgment. Foremost among the collectors of the seventeenth century was the fabulously wealthy Flemish merchant Gaspar Roomer, whose vast collection included Peter Paul Rubens's *Feast of Herod*.

Religious subject matter predominated, especially in the seventeenth century, for both ecclesiastical and private patrons, but significant works with other subjects were produced. Mythological subjects were somewhat unusual, as in Spain, but important examples were executed by Ribera, Stanzone, and others. Relatively few portraits were

produced in Naples in the seventeenth century, although the local painters—foremost among them Solimena and Giuseppe Bonito—caught up to international practice in the eighteenth century. Naples also did not have a highly developed tradition of genre painting until the eighteenth century, when it is best represented by Bonito and Gaspare Traversi. Seventeenth-century landscape painters, especially Gargiulo (who also showed himself a brilliant frescoist in his work at the Certosa di S. Martino), tended toward the dramatic, rather than the idyllic or classical. Fanciful architectural settings were common. In the eighteenth century, idealized views predominated, produced at their highest level by Angelo Maria Costa and his pupil, Leonardo Coccorante. Neapolitan painters of still lifes—with a penchant for foodstuffs and flowers—especially Luca Forte, Paolo Porpora, Giovanni Battista Ruoppolo, and members of the Recco family, were among the most important in Italy from second quarter of the seventeenth century.

See also Architecture; Art: Artistic Patronage; Baroque; Caravaggio and Caravaggism; Classicism; Rococo; Rome, Art in; Vasari, Giorgio; Venice, Art in.

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NAPLES, KINGDOM OF. The early modern kingdom of Naples, whose twelve provinces comprised the southern third of the Italian peninsula, was the military and fiscal cornerstone of Spain's Mediterranean empire from its conquest in December 1503. It provided significant resources of men and money in a subordinate political role as a

vicerealty in the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spanish imperial system. After the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1714), the kingdom passed to the Austrian Habsburgs in 1713. During the War of the Polish Succession (1733–1738), a cadet branch of the Bourbons made Naples the capital of a new, independent Kingdom of the Two Sicilies in 1734. The capital vied with Paris as western Europe's largest city until the plague of 1656 halved its population with 150,000 deaths; yet Naples still remained western Europe's third largest city into the nineteenth century.

POLITICS AND SOCIETY

Spanish Naples (1504–1713) saw itself as the defender and legitimate successor of the formerly independent Aragonese kingdom destroyed by French invasions in 1494 and 1499. Gonzalo Fernández de Córdoba (1453–1515), the Great Captain, led an innovative military campaign that resolved more than two hundred years of Angevin-Aragonese rivalry in southern Italy. Charles V (king of Spain as Charles I, 1516–1556; Holy Roman Emperor, 1519–1556) confiscated pro-French nobles' titles, fiefdoms, and offices to forge an alliance between the absentee Spanish monarchy and the loyal local nobility, while Eleonora of Toledo, daughter of viceroy Pedro de Toledo (ruled 1532–1553), was married to Cosimo I Medici (ruled 1537–1574) of Florence as part of the Spanish pacification of Italy. This *pax hispanica* quelled factional feuding among the local nobility, put a stop to open warfare between the Italian states, and protected Italy from the Ottoman Turks. Philip II of Spain (ruled 1556–1598) encouraged powerful Genoese families as merchants and financiers in the kingdom and supported lawyer-administrators (*togati* or nobles of the robe) as middlemen between the baronial nobility and the monarchy. The city and countryside unsuccessfully revolted against Spain for nine months in 1647/1648. Spanish Habsburg rule ended with the death of Charles II (ruled 1665–1700) and the accession of the French Bourbon Philip V (king of Spain, 1700–1746), grandson of Louis XIV of France (ruled 1643–1715). The Austrian Habsburgs occupied Naples in 1707 during the War of the Spanish Succession.

Austrian Naples (1713–1734) became an Austrian vicerealty by the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713.

Administrative structures remained relatively unchanged under Austrian Habsburg rule, but international rivalries led Sicily to be reunited with Naples in 1720. The War of the Polish Succession displaced the Austrian Habsburgs, and Philip V's son, Charles of Bourbon (king of Naples, 1734–1759; king of Spain as Charles III, 1759–1788), conquered Naples in 1734 and reestablished an independent kingdom.

The Kingdom of the Two Sicilies (1734–1860) became a model of Enlightenment reform under Charles and his chief minister, Bernardo Tanucci (served 1755–1776). Charles III became king of Spain and left Naples to his third son, Ferdinand IV (king of Naples, 1759–1806; king of the Two Sicilies as Ferdinand I, 1816–1825). Ferdinand IV lost Naples briefly during the five-month Jacobin republic in 1799 and fled the Napoleonic conquest to exile in Sicily from 1806 to 1815 before his restoration.

A population density of 35 people per square kilometer in the mainland kingdom's 79,477 square kilometers counted a countryside population of about 1.5 million people in 1505, 2.5 million in 1595, 2.0 million in 1669, 3.0 million in 1700, 3.5 million in 1750 and 5.0 million in 1800. The capital numbered roughly 10 percent of the kingdom with an additional 100,000 inhabitants in 1500, 250,000 in 1600, 350,000 before the 1656 plague, 215,000 in 1707, 315,000 in 1742, and more than 400,000 by 1800. No other city in the kingdom had more than 20,000 inhabitants, and rural populations clustered around provincial capitals, coastal enclaves, or localized markets in Aquila, Foggia, Bari, Lecce, Taranto, Reggio di Calabria, and Salerno, whose regional economies were tied to Tuscan, Venetian, and Genoese trade. In 1520, export of agricultural raw materials created a trade imbalance of 10:1 in favor of exports. By 1771, however, imports had outpriced exports by a 6:5 margin, and the kingdom's agricultural riches could no longer offset higher-priced industrial imports.

The feudal nobility and foreign merchants controlled the agricultural economy through contracts and loans that kept an indebted rural population far removed from the wealth and power enjoyed by their regional lords. Provincials escaping feudal dues and jurisdiction swelled the teeming plebs in the



capital, and the feudal nobility too was drawn to Naples where they formed part of the ruling class with the old Neapolitan patriciate, foreign officials, merchants, and financiers; the new “robed” bureaucracy, professionals, and artisans made up a small middle-class *popolo*. Food-provisioning needs in the city were of primary concern, with shortages causing revolts in 1508, 1533, 1585, and 1647. The famine of the mid 1580s–1590s precipitated a

sharp economic downturn, but the disastrous famine of 1763–1764, which struck the kingdom with the resonance of the Lisbon earthquake, was especially severe with some 200,000 people—5 percent of the kingdom’s population—dying in 1764 alone. Only the two revolts against the introduction of the Spanish Inquisition in 1510 and 1547, the lone examples of coalition between nobles and *popolo*, succeeded.

POLITICS AND CULTURE

Renaissance Naples's local variant of "feudal humanism," which concerned itself with the problems and values of the ruling baronial elite, continued into the early sixteenth century as humanist natives of the city or kingdom sought to interpret its failures and conquest in the Italian Wars. Giovanni Pontano (1426–1503) continued to be read, and Jacopo Sannazaro (1458–1530) published his influential pastoral poem, *Arcadia*, in 1502. The university reopened in 1507 and was known for its faculties of philosophy, law, and medicine, but the humanist Neapolitan academy was suppressed in 1542. Spanish Naples hosted the Spanish mystic Juan de Valdés (1500–1541) and his circle, the anti-Aristotelian philosophy of Bernardino Telesio (1508–1588), numerous academies and salons including the suppressed Accademia dei Segreti and later the Accademia degli Oziosi, both led by the scientist and dramatist Giambattista della Porta (1535–1615), while Torquato Tasso (1544–1595), born in exile in Sorrento, was a favorite son among the Neapolitan literati. The university's seat in the monastery of San Domenico spawned two Dominican geniuses who ran afoul of the Inquisition, Giordano Bruno (1548–1600) and Tommaso Campanella (1568–1639).

Baroque Naples witnessed a cultural flowering in literature, music, art, and architecture. The poetry of Giambattista Marino (1569–1625) defined a century-long European aesthetic (marinism), which glorified the "marvelous" through wit, surprise, and artifice; while in Neapolitan dialect, Giambattista Basile (1575–1632) founded the new European genre of the literary fairy tale in the *Pentamerone* (1634–1636). Naples also became a Spanish literary topos of luxury and libertinism, as in the opening seduction scene in Tirso de Molina's *El Burlador de Sevilla y el convidado de piedra* (The seducer of Seville and the stone guest), the first literary appearance of Don Juan, in 1630. Musical culture flourished in church and court settings with early conservatories and composers. Alessandro Scarlatti (1660–1725) moved Neapolitan music to the world stage, and after 1700 Naples began to rival Venice in operatic production, to develop comic opera, and to boast the musical training of stars such as the poet and librettist Pietro Metastasio (1698–1782) and the castrato singer Farinelli (Carlo Broschi) (1705–1782). A distinctive Nea-

politan school of painting took off after Caravaggio's *Seven Acts of Mercy* altarpiece (1606–1607). Major artists such as Jusepe de Ribera (1591–1652), Massimo Stanzione (1585?–1656), Artemisia Gentileschi (1593–1652/53), Bernardo Cavallino (1616–1656), Salvatore Rosa (1615–1673), Luca Giordano (1634–1705), and Francesco Solimena (1657–1747) had prominent careers. A spectacular building boom began to revive the city, with more than 150 projects begun between 1600 and 1650 alone, and important architects such as Domenico Fontana (1543–1607), Cosimo Fanzago (1593–1678), and Luigi Vanvitelli (1700–1773) distinguished themselves in Naples.

Enlightenment Naples became a privileged venue on the early modern European grand tour as much for its great men as for its natural beauty and ancient ruins. Political thought about the end of Spanish rule matured with Paolo Mattia Doria (1662–1746), Pietro Giannone (1676–1748), and Giambattista Vico (1668–1744), whose *The New Science* (1725; 1730; 1744) is a philosophy of humanity and universal history. Ferdinando Galiani (1728–1787) published his pathbreaking book *On Money* in 1751 and enjoyed a reputation as one of the major figures in intellectual life in Paris, where he served as Neapolitan ambassador from 1759 to 1769. Antonio Genovesi (1712–1769), who published widely on political and economic reform, held the first European university chair in "Mechanical Arts and Commerce" (political economy) in 1754. Genovesi's school produced government reformers such as Francesco Longano (1728–1796), Giuseppe Maria Galanti (1743–1806), Domenico Grimaldi (1735–1805), Francesco Antonio Grimaldi (1741–1784), and Francesco Maria Pagano (1748–1799). Gaetano Filangieri's (1752–1788) *Science of Legislation* (1780–1785) proposed a radical model for society that influenced the American founding fathers. He joined a reform council of finance with Giuseppe Palmieri (1721–1793) that included Melchiorre Delfico (1744–1835) after Filangieri's death. When Goethe wrote in the diary entry of 12 March 1787 for his *Italienische Reise* (1816; Italian journey) that Naples was a paradise in which everyone—including himself—lived in "intoxicated self-forgetfulness," he was perpetuating the persistent myth of a carefree people in a land of plenty and the romantic

fantasy of finding one's true self in the liberating southern sun.

See also **Habsburg Dynasty; Italian Literature and Language; Italy; Naples, Revolt of (1647); Polish Succession, War of the (1733–1738); Spanish Succession, War of the (1701–1714); Utrecht, Peace of (1713).**

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NAPLES, REVOLT OF (1647). On 7 July 1647 a protest in Naples against a tax on fresh fruit by both the *popolo* (non-noble professionals and artisans) and plebs of the city spread to the rural provinces. The protest initiated a nine-month revolt against the heavy fiscal burdens that had been imposed on the city and kingdom as a result of the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648), the feudal and oligarchic government of the local elites, and the monarchical rule of Spain. In the first days of the revolt, the houses of financiers, tax collectors, and nobles

were burned. Armed neighborhood militias took control of the city under the charismatic leadership of a fishmonger named Masaniello (Tomaso Aniello d'Amalfi) and his intellectual ally, an eighty-year-old lawyer named Giulio Genoino, who had in 1619–1620 been unsuccessful in an attempt to lead a constitutional reform in Naples.

After Masaniello, on the order of the viceroy and with the complicity of Genoino, was murdered on 16 July, divisions emerged among rebels in the capital and between them and rebels in the provinces. Bombardment by a Spanish fleet in October failed to break the urban resistance, and Naples was declared a free republic under the French duke of Guise, Henry of Lorraine. The uprising foundered, however, when no consensus could be reached among rival political factions on whether to create a bourgeois democratic, oligarchic, federated, constitutional, or military republic, on Dutch, Swiss, Venetian, or new models. A negotiated settlement allowed the Spanish to retake Naples on 6 April 1648, with limited concessions granting some tax reductions and a nominally greater role for the *popolo* in fiscal and administrative affairs. The failed revolt strengthened the compact between the Spanish monarchy and the local nobility, increased the power of bureaucratic elites and privileged orders in the city, and further subjugated the countryside to the feudal nobility and the capital.

See also **Naples, Kingdom of.**

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NASI FAMILY. The Hebrew word *nasi*, meaning ‘elevated one’ or ‘prince’, was used as a surname by a prominent Sephardic (Spanish-Jewish) family of the sixteenth century. Family members included some of the most powerful merchants and courtiers of the time, both in Christian Europe and the Ottoman Empire.

When all practicing Jews were expelled from Spain in 1492, members of the clan were among the six hundred wealthy families who managed to purchase sanctuary in Portugal. Five years later, however, they, along with all other Lusitanian Jews, were forced to convert to Christianity. Paradoxically, forced baptism opened up opportunities for these “New Christians,” or *conversos*, to participate fully in the rapidly expanding Portuguese spice trade with the Far East. The brothers Francisco and Diogo Benveniste, now known under the Christian name Mendes, were the leading members of a consortium that marketed the annual spice shipment and provided vital financial services to the Portuguese crown. At the same time, they were leaders in the unofficial *converso* community, working especially to keep the horrors of a Spanish-style Inquisition from being instituted in Portugal.

Despite their strenuous efforts and the expenditure of large sums both in Lisbon and in Rome, the *conversos* could not overcome the religious and social forces of the time. By 1531, the papacy had authorized an Inquisition in Portugal, and in July of 1532, Diogo Mendes, then representing the family firm in Antwerp, was arrested for Judaizing and other crimes. Substantial monetary payments as well as vigorous protests from the city’s merchant community, England’s King Henry VIII (ruled 1509–1547), and Portugal’s King John III (ruled 1521–1557) and Queen Catherine secured his release, but the family’s safety remained precarious. When Francisco died in Lisbon in January 1535, his young widow, Beatriz de Luna, soon departed for Antwerp with her daughter and the family’s wealth, narrowly escaping the inquisitorial fires that would begin burning the following year. In 1543, Diogo too

died, and Beatriz took over leadership of the family and its business interests and began looking for a safer home.

Cautiously, and over a lengthy period, the family transferred members and assets from Antwerp through Venice and Ferrara to Istanbul, where at last they could openly adopt Jewish identities under the common surname Nasi. At each step along the way they were tempting targets for official rapacity and personal greed. The years of transition were marked also by bitter family quarrels and scandal, by sensational court cases, and by political intrigue at an international level. Still, by 1553 Beatriz was triumphantly ensconced in a palatial home in Istanbul. There she promoted wide-ranging trading ties with both western and southeastern Europe. Known now as Doña Gracia or simply “La Señora,” she played an active role in the life of Ottoman Jewry through her generous support of charitable, religious, and cultural institutions. She also continued the family’s well-established practice of preserving wealth through endogamy: just as she and her sister had married their uncles, the brothers Mendes, she now married off her own daughter, Reina, and her niece, Gracia (la Chica), to her close cousins, the brothers João and Bernardo Micas. They, as open Jews, had adopted the names Joseph and Samuel Nasi.

Joseph (1524–1579), who had grown up close to court circles in Brussels, capitalized on his European experience and contacts and gained considerable influence at the Ottoman Sublime Porte. Named duke of Naxos in 1566, Joseph was generally content to rule his Greek island territories from Istanbul. There he could participate actively in palace politics, consistently advocating an anti-French and anti-Venetian line when it came to relations with Europe. He is reputed to have been a major instigator of the campaign that took Cyprus from Venice in 1570, and he expected to be made king of that island after the Turkish victory, though this was not to be.

Although exceptional in the degree of their wealth and power, the Nasis were representative of the influential Jewish merchant dynasties that operated across religious, national, and even imperial boundaries in the early modern period. The family left a lasting mark as patrons of Jewish culture, giv-

ing generously to Jewish religious institutions and supporting both *converso* and rabbinic writers. When, in 1556, Pope Paul IV arrested former *conversos* living in Ancona and had many of them executed as heretics, the Nasis organized Jewish merchants for a retaliatory boycott of that city. Though the effort eventually foundered, it does illustrate the increasing efforts by early modern Jews at coordinated political action. In a similar vein, the family secured control of Tiberias from the Sultans and invested heavily in rebuilding the city and its economy while helping Jewish refugees to settle there. The messianic overtones of Jewish settlement in the land of Israel under Jewish governance were celebrated by contemporary Jews and protested by their non-Jewish enemies. Doña Gracia may actually have lived there briefly before her death in 1569. Don Joseph died in Istanbul, politically marginalized but still wealthy, a decade later.

See also Conversos; Inquisition, Spanish; Jews, Attitudes toward; Jews, Expulsion of (Spain; Portugal); Jews and Judaism; Messianism, Jewish; Toleration.

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NATIONAL IDENTITY. The appearance, extent, and character of nationalism in European society has attracted much debate among historians and sociologists. Although there is little consensus regarding the forces responsible for its manifestation, most specialists on nationalism believe it to be an essentially modern phenomenon, appearing in the late eighteenth century in Europe and North America.

Three theorists stand out in the genealogical debate over nationalism. Eric J. Hobsbawm defined nationalism as the popular realization of political rights in a sovereign state. A populace linked itself to a limited national territory and was embodied through a centralized government, an event Hobsbawm believed first occurred during the French Revolution. If nationalism was a modern invention, so were nations: the nation-state was the result, rather than the origin, of nationalist discourse. Ernest Gellner adopted an economically reductionist approach, deeming nationalism a necessary function of industrialization. Because industry required skilled labor, a common vernacular, and high rates of literacy, he argued, the need developed for a national “high culture,” promoted by a state-run educational system. Simultaneously, the old agrarian order faded away and societal anonymity replaced provincial distinctness, facilitating the creation of a homogenous national culture. Like Hobsbawm, Gellner sought to dispel teleological notions of the nation as eternal; nationalism was a modern invention, created in response to the needs of a new economic system, even if it represented itself as a natural, historical phenomenon.

The theory of the nation as invention was taken further by Benedict Anderson, who saw nationalism as a process of “imagining communities.” The decline of universal religious paradigms and the rise in print capitalism allowed for this cultural construction to flourish in the eighteenth century. The mass consumption of newspapers and novels enforced a common vernacular, linked a populace to urban centers, and encouraged common participation in a shared (imagined) culture. Anderson implied that the Reformation and the printing press did more to encourage nationalism than did the advent of industrialization. Despite their differences, all three of these prominent theoreticians identified nationalism, and by association the nation-state, as a phenomenon of the last few centuries.

If nationalism is a modern novelty, then what came before? Certainly the terms *nation*, *patrie*, and *Vaterland* were used before the modern period. What did they mean? Faced with this question, modernists distinguish between nationalism as political ideology and nationalism as cultural identity. Most postulate that the former occurs only in modern society, starting with the French Revolution,

while the latter had early modern antecedents. The early modern variant is usually referred to as “national identity” or “proto-nationalism,” and it implies an awareness by the populace, at least in part, of a common national culture not yet manifest as a motivating political ideology. Cultural bonds could be found in common language, religion, and custom as well as in the common social condition of being dynastic subjects. Citing these bonds, some historians see modern nationalism making an appearance as early as the sixteenth century.

Conversely, the historian Eugen Weber has argued that if the modern definition requires that nationalism be popular in scope, then nationalism did not permeate the French countryside until the late nineteenth century, when public schools and railroad access exposed the rural population to cosmopolitan cultural norms and formalized instruction in the French language. These latter two interpretations call into question the importance of the French Revolution in the development of modern nationalism.

Time, then, is not the most useful tool for categorizing nationalism or national identity. Nationalism appears irregularly and is dependent on a variety of historical factors or “accidents” that escape structural categorization. And one cannot simply label national identity as embryonic nationalism: not all national identities function within nations, and not all nations have “proto-national” origins. Moreover, national identity should not be seen as something that replaces local attachments. Identities were conterminous, and awareness of national belonging was appended to local and provincial identities. The historian Peter Sahlin has described early modern identity as a series of “counter-identities,” in which local communities defined themselves through a multitude of attachments: village, county, province, nation—all of which were distinguishable from the “other,” that is, the foreigner.

Throughout the early modern period, the character and intensity of national identity varied widely from place to place. Spain is an excellent example of the potential ambivalence of early modern identity. Spanish subjects generally did not think of themselves as Spanish, but rather as Castilian, Valencian, or Catalan; the formation of a Spanish identity was further hindered by the presence of multiple king-

doms in Spain and the unwillingness of the Habsburg monarchs to promote their association with the Spanish state, particularly in their Castilian exclusivity. Identity was further complicated by the Jewish and Moorish populations on the peninsula, which added a racial character to Spanish identity construction. Nonetheless, Catholic beliefs were widely shared among the inhabitants of Spain.

In Italy, certain Renaissance writers encouraged national awareness through an appeal to an ancient Roman homeland and by evoking civic pride in the cultural accomplishments of the Renaissance. Certainly some contemporary writers idealized Italy: Francesco Guicciardini’s revealingly titled *Storia d’Italia* (History of Italy, written 1536–1540) describes the decline of independent Italian states during the early sixteenth century. The Italian Wars resulted in Spanish occupation of much of the peninsula, and local elites became Spanish clients. Additionally, the papal resurgence during the Counter-Reformation discouraged national consciousness, as the papacy claimed a universal jurisdiction that transcended national limits. Italy remained a geographical expression rather than a nation, and national identity only resonated in elite literary circles. The situation in Germany—conceived of as the homeland of the ancient Germanic tribes, the descendants of whom shared a common ethnicity (as members of a single *Volk*)—was similar. Germany was a patchwork of small principalities under the nominal authority of the Holy Roman Empire, but the empire was divided between Protestant and Catholic communities; it was not exclusively Germanic; and it lacked a strong central government. German identity was not political or territorial; rather, it was a cultural affinity consisting of linguistic, ethnic, and historical associations.

State centralization played an essential role in the development of national identity in France. The vicissitudes of the Hundred Years’ War (1337–1453) imbued the French monarchy with a national character that, though threatened during the Wars of Religion (1562–1598), was reinforced over the course of the seventeenth century. The crown was a powerful unifying factor in French society, and belonging to the French nation meant allegiance to the French king. Royal patronage of art, literature, and historical writing promoted French culture, and the international acceptance of the French language

and Parisian styles as the epitome of civilization at least among European elites, contributed to the sense of its distinctiveness and superiority. The monarchical association with the *patrie* faded only during the eighteenth century, as Enlightenment discourses posited the French people, rather than the king, as the legitimate repository of national sovereignty.

Before nationalism became central to French revolutionary discourses, the Netherlands and Great Britain—two relatively isolated North Atlantic Protestant states—seem to have developed strong national identities, the Dutch in the seventeenth century and the British in the eighteenth. They may thus meet the key criterion set out by modern definitions of nationalism—a widely held political ideology that identifies the nation-state as a distinct and sovereign representation of a particular people and as the embodiment or defender of its culture. In the cases of both the Dutch and the British, national identity was deeply entwined with religion, economic wealth, and political revolt. Protestantism was essential to the creation of both nationalisms. Protestant theologians' insistence on widespread vernacular literacy, combined with the rise of print capitalism, facilitated the creation of a national religious community. Urbanization and a rising middle class gave common people a vested interest in the political order, and as the historian Linda Colley has shown, patriotism and profit went hand in hand. Daniel Defoe's *The Complete English Tradesman* (1726) provides an excellent example of this growing national identity, as it explicitly links the social benefits of international trade to national pride in being English. Military crises—particularly the struggles against a Catholic “other”—augmented Britons' burgeoning national sentiment by juxtaposing religious and national sovereignty against the fear of foreign invasion.

Significantly, both the Dutch and the British endured severe political crises that resulted in the demise of monarchical regimes. The resulting insecurities over political legitimacy necessitated justifications for revolt, and contemporary writers constructed a new kind of legitimacy based on a pseudo-historical national ethos. Dutch and British writers used classical allegories as reflections of contemporary political conflicts and as means of constructing essentialized notions of national unique-

ness. Seventeenth-century coins, medals, and pamphlets associated the new Dutch Republic with the Batavians, ancient barbarians who fought Julius Caesar, or, more often, with the Israelites. The Dutch saw themselves as a chosen people threatened by subjugation, and they deployed such images to distinguish themselves from surrounding peoples and states. In the British case, even if the English, Scots, and Welsh had individual claims of separate identity, they all knew that they were fundamentally different from the Catholic French. Protestantism for them became synonymous with “Britishness,” hence the litany of characteristics the British believed themselves to exemplify: freedom, prosperity, and rationality, contrasted forcefully against the perceived superstition and impoverishment of the oppressed French.

The concept of national identity is complex, and its intensity, character, and origins vary with time and place. Some areas of Europe were completely ambivalent to national sentiment, while populations elsewhere could be considered exceedingly patriotic. Different classes and orders could display varying degrees of national identification, and there could be differences between urban and rural populations as well. While the development of national identity remains a difficult historical problem, several general conclusions may be offered. Although most early modern European societies did not develop national identities to the same degree as the British and the Dutch, they did readily contrast themselves with their neighbors. In the early modern mind, “nation” might primarily mean place of birth, yet it also carried cultural weight: one's nation connoted perhaps ethnicity, perhaps language, but almost certainly religion. Religious homogeneity played a vital role in the construction of national identity, not just for the cases cited above, but also for the Scandinavian states and for Russia and much of eastern Europe. One can state with fair certainty that most people saw themselves as part of a wider community, one that was occasionally national in scope, and that religion, language, and local political structures played prominent roles in determining that identity.

See also Dutch Republic; England; Enlightenment; France; Germany, Idea of; Holy Roman Empire; Sovereignty, Theory of.

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NATIONALISM. *See* National Identity.

NATION-STATE. *See* State and Bureaucracy.

NATURAL HISTORY. Columbus’s first voyage to the Americas in 1492 transformed natural history perhaps more than any it did other early modern science. The ensuing development of European maritime empires of trade and commerce opened new routes for the acquisition of specimens, supplied museums of natural history with countless new species, and ultimately shaped natural history itself into a science intimately embedded within European systems of colonial governance over non-European peoples, floras, and faunas.

Natural history, as a discipline, had existed since classical times, and fifteenth-century Europeans were very familiar with Pliny the Elder’s *Historia Naturalis* (40–79 C.E.; Natural history). Throughout the early modern period, natural history continued to be acknowledged as the science that described the three kingdoms of the natural world: animals, plants, and minerals. Many other types of enquiry and interpretation would be undertaken under the umbrella term *natural history* between 1450 and 1789, but natural history as an enterprise of acquisition and description was mirrored in the sites in which it was practiced: collections. The early modern museum, cabinet, *Wunderkammer* (‘chamber of wonders’) or *studio* (‘study’) developed out of the medieval treasury and other settings—usually princely or ecclesiastical—in which rare, precious, and exotic items were amassed. During the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, collections continued to be largely the province of princely owners, making visible not only their personal wealth, but also their ability to gain access to unique objects from other parts of the world. Universality and comprehensiveness was the leading characteristic of these collections, which were designed as microcosms of the whole world, and in which natural rarities and works of artifice were not separated. Early modern collections were both showpieces that displayed power and repositories that preserved value.

HUMANIST NATURAL HISTORY

Sixteenth-century natural history was part of the humanist tradition of learning with its literary and artistic orientation, typified by the writings of the Dutch scholar and theologian Desiderius Erasmus (1466?–1536). The study of the natural world in the early modern period was first and foremost a philological pursuit. Authors of new publications plundered earlier manuscript and published works of natural history for descriptions, anecdotes, and proverbs concerning natural objects, including many that would today seem quite foreign to a scientific approach. The Milanese jurist Andrea Alciati’s *Emblemata* (1522) configured animals as literary puzzles, with an obscure image and motto that the reader could decode by means of an epigrammatic poem. Emblematic texts of natural history accumulated literary materials rather than observations: fables, emblems, proverbs, allegories,

sympathies. This emblematic tradition emphasized the symbolism of animals alongside their uses, rather than their anatomy or classification; it continued to dominate natural history until the very end of the sixteenth century, exemplified in the writings of naturalists such as the Lutheran Joachim Camerarius the Younger (1534–1598).

By the end of the sixteenth century, learned men across Europe collected natural history objects and advanced explanations for their nature, types, and transformations. Massive publication projects were often associated with collections like the famous studio of the “Bolognese Aristotle,” Ulisse Aldrovandi (1522–1605). The great collections of individuals like Aldrovandi, the Neapolitan apothecary Ferrante Imperato (1550–1631) or the Dane Olaus Worm (1588–1654) were famous throughout Europe, visited by princes and noblemen, and documented in printed descriptions and catalogs such as the *Museum Wormianum* of 1655 in Leiden. Collections continued to play a central part in princely and scholarly identity, as in natural historical practice, throughout the early modern period, although the principles of their construction varied over time. In his many writings, the English philosopher Francis Bacon (1561–1626) called for the ejection of philology from natural history and for greater attention to wonders and monsters, the exotic and the rare. By the 1660s, museums were theaters of marvels, where the scholarly observer was encouraged to contemplate the philosophical issues raised by the juxtaposition of neighboring objects, which might reveal contrasts or similarities, the variety or the uniformity of nature. The wondrous natural or artificial object served as a basis for philosophical analysis, natural theology, and reflection on the role of the human observer, both as part of the natural world and as the transformer of its materials by art. Such studies always had a theological purpose as well: museums of natural history were described as “books of nature,” which the scholar could read alongside the great book, the Bible, for pious purposes. This natural theological approach was typified by the writings of the Cambridge botanist John Ray (1627–1705).

ACCUMULATING AND CLASSIFYING

A number of important institutions of European science were founded during the Renaissance, sup-

ported by rulers, nobles, universities, and municipal authorities. Alongside observatories, laboratories, and anatomy theaters came the first botanical gardens: Padua (1546) and Pisa (1547). Andrea Cesalpino (1519–1603), professor of philosophy, medicine, and botany at Pisa (1555–1592) and director of the botanical garden (1554–1558), was also the creator of one of the first herbaria and the inventor of botanical systematics. Cesalpino’s classificatory system was an attempt to bring natural history within the purview of scholastic philosophy, with its logical categories and formulae. This exercise in conferring scholarly prestige upon an activity hitherto largely limited to medical herbalism enshrined botany within the universities and gave it the status of a science. Up until the end of the eighteenth century and beyond, natural historical classifications, such as that invented by Joseph Pitton de Tournefort (1656–1708), professor of botany at the Jardin du Roi in Paris (founded 1635; since 1793, the Muséum National d’Histoire Naturelle), continued to draw on Cesalpino’s work. Of all the subdisciplines of natural history, botany was the first to be formalized independently and to be practiced within institutions dedicated to its pursuit. Classification demanded not only the generation of logical categories based on a philosophical system, but also the material and practical enterprise of sorting, preserving, identifying, naming, distributing and, sometimes, propagating specimens from the three kingdoms of nature, animals, plants, and minerals. Botanical specimens far outstripped other natural history specimens such as animal carcasses or mineral samples in their portability and ease of preservation. By contrast, animal classification was contested, and reliable methods of preservation did not emerge until the very end of the seventeenth century at the hands of the Dutch anatomist Frederik Ruysch (1638–1731). Minerals, with the exception of gemstones and precious metals, were less amenable to transportation or exploitation, although they were well represented in collections devoted to local natural history.

Natural history as a cumulation of objects and observations provided both factual certainty and greater knowledge of God, but it also had economic outcomes. Europe’s botanical gardens were important centers for the acquisition, propagation, and distribution of new species derived from voyages of

discovery and conquest undertaken with increasing frequency towards the eighteenth century. The potential of replicating useful plants, including coffee, potatoes, pineapples, and nutmeg, was explored throughout the early modern period, but more systematically after the formation of the first colonial botanical gardens in the late seventeenth century. Scientific participation in the proceeds of imperialist enterprises increased substantially during the eighteenth century as naturalists presented the organized pursuit of useful plants, animals, and minerals to rulers and patrons as indispensable to national wealth. Curious natural history thus coexisted with a repertoire of activities and practices—cultivation, exchange, consumption—that would transform the flora, fauna, foods and other natural resources of western Europe forever. Such an approach to natural history as a science of resources, peaking in the eighteenth century, required extensive cooperation among naturalists as well as vast financial support. A resource-oriented approach to natural history also justified the publication of local natural histories itemizing the flora, fauna, and mineral wealth of one province or state, especially in England and the German lands.

COMMERCE AND THE PUBLIC SPHERE

The distinction between private and public collections, or between curious and useful, was rarely clear-cut in botanical gardens, academies, or princely collections. Even naturalists wholly lacking institutional affiliations depended for their collecting upon the growth of European commerce and exploration. Natural history specimens ranked alongside valuable works of art from porcelain to paintings in the households of wealthy collectors and fetched nearly as much in the marketplace. The Dutch Republic was a center for fashions in the collection of natural objects, from tulips in the 1630s to shells in the 1710s. Both depended on the wide global reach of Dutch trade and colonization to supply new specimens. From a private collector's viewpoint, there was no categorical distinction to be made between beautiful objects of nature and art; seventeenth-century collectors admired the artifice of nature in decorating flowers or butterflies in much the same way as they appreciated the artistry of antique coins or sculpture. Natural objects acquired value within the marketplace, and their meaning was often controlled by wealthy connois-

seurs of the fine arts and by the merchants who sold to them. This commercialization of natural history affected even rulers. As part of his attempt to westernize Russia by founding scientific institutions, Peter the Great of Russia (ruled 1682–1725), entered into negotiations with several naturalists to buy a collection worthy of his nation, finally succeeding in purchasing that formed by the Dutch apothecary Albert Seba (1665–1736). Although institution-based naturalists called for the separation of natural history objects from other types of collectables and the formation of collections dedicated exclusively to the natural world, such goals were not systematically pursued anywhere before 1789.

As were most sciences of the period, natural history was largely a male pursuit, with women collectors, such as the German artist Maria Sibylla Merian (1647–1717), greatly in the minority. Because imported specimens were rare and costly, early modern collectors were usually rich. The Dutch turn toward fashions in collecting was the start of a bigger Europe-wide transformation in natural history that paralleled the growth of a middling market for books and luxury items. By the eighteenth century, natural history publications, specimen sales, and public, pay-on-entry collections proliferated. Critiques of the pursuit of luxury among the middling sort accordingly hit hard at certain versions and practitioners of natural history. Private collectors were castigated for unscholarly amassing of natural objects as a means to display their personal wealth, and rulers were exhorted to support enterprises for a useful, rather than spectacular, natural history.

The lack of formal methods for accrediting scientific expertise meant that early modern naturalists in institutions were effectively on a par with unaffiliated private collectors. In early modern Europe there were no university degrees in natural history and no formal training programs or diplomas in the natural sciences. Individuals entered posts in princely or municipal institutions through personal patronage from social superiors. Often they acquired their knowledge and skills through a sort of informal apprenticeship under renowned naturalists, by participating in botanizing journeys or at the dissecting table. To acquire renown and scientific authority as a naturalist in the early modern period was thus no easy task, involving extensive social

interaction and material manipulation, much of which has left little historical trace. If any one category of individuals had a privileged relationship with the objects of natural history, it was licensed medical practitioners. Apothecaries routinely dealt with large masses of animal, plant, and mineral material, and physicians often had a working knowledge of botany and anatomy. Thus many prominent early modern naturalists were also physicians, from Ruysch in Amsterdam to Sir Hans Sloane (1660–1753) at the Royal Society in London. Right up to the mid-eighteenth century, this privileged relation between medicine and natural history persisted, and it is only from 1750 onwards that the beginnings of its unraveling can be seen in the filling of natural historical posts by non-medically trained individuals.

FROM EMBLEMS TO EXPERIMENTS

In combining an emphasis on the literary and stylistic description of nature with a concern for its experimental and instrumental investigation, early modern natural history challenges preconceptions about linear progress in the history of scientific activity in the West such as are frequently represented in histories of the “scientific revolution” and the Enlightenment. The history of natural history relates to the history of display, order, and power for the early modern period, as well as to the history of early modern commerce and consumption. It was characterized by a close relationship with language, philology, and art, but, like other disciplines, it was transformed by the emergence of specialized institutions across Europe and by the rise to prominence of experimentation and observation as principles of practice in the scientific study of nature from the mid-seventeenth century. It was a science typified by social practices—correspondence and exchange—as much as by texts, objects, and classifications. More than almost any other scientific activity, it was also shaped by the dependency of collections upon the gradual process of global scientific conquest. The transformation in natural history between 1450 and 1789 was dramatic. Emblems had vanished, fabulous beasts were vilified, and naturalists boasted less of their literary skills than of their powers of accurate observation. Whole groups of animals had disappeared from natural history, from the mermaid and unicorn to the hippogriff and basilisk, and others, such as the molecular animals

(microorganisms), had entered it, symbolizing a shift in attention from texts to instruments, experiments, and observation.

Thanks to the new forms of experimental natural philosophy characterizing seventeenth- and eighteenth-century scientific activity, natural history was gradually ceasing to be a science of words and objects alone. From the 1660s onwards, European naturalists investigated animal and plant physiology, opening up new domains of interpretation for natural beings, as for example the inquiries into plant sexuality pursued by Sébastien Vaillant (1669–1722) in Paris and the English botanist Nehemiah Grew (1641–1712). By the end of the eighteenth century, experiment had a prominent place in natural history, matched only by ambitious and labor-intensive networks of communication that gave naturalists access to specimens from around the world. Old and new traditions alike were evident in the activities of the Swedish naturalist Carl von Linné, better known as Carl, or Carolus Linnaeus (1707–1778), who drew upon Cesalpino’s scholastic logic to create his sexual system, a classification based entirely on the sexual parts of the plant. The system, first published in *Systema Naturae* (1735; System of nature) and propagated by a European network of proselytizing Linnaean students, would earn lasting renown for its author as the “Prince of Botanists.” Less well-known are Linnaeus’s extensive experiments on naturalizing animals and plants within Sweden, and his close connections to supporters of cameralist politics there. His natural history was both a classificatory and an economic enterprise, grounded in a concern to understand the workings of Providence in distributing resources for mankind across the globe.

On the face of it, nothing could have been more different than the radical classificatory skepticism advanced by Linnaeus’s archrival, Georges-Louis Leclerc de Buffon (1707–1788), the head of the Paris Jardin du Roi, in the famous *Histoire naturelle* (1749–1788, 1789; Natural history). Utterly different from Linnaeus’s dry, aphorismic style, Buffon’s poetic descriptions sketched cosmogonies and sweeping portraits of man’s past, present, and future place in nature. Yet he was as active as Linnaeus in supporting a global program of acquisition and acclimatization of natural productions at his institution. More secular and more radical than Linnaeus,

Buffon, the “French Pliny,” concerned himself primarily with animals, opening the way for his institution to become the leading European center of natural history by 1800, and for zoology to become the nineteenth century’s model of natural historical enquiry.

See also **Academies, Learned; Biology; Botany; Buffon, Georges Louis Leclerc; Linnaeus, Carl; Marvels and Wonders; Medicine; Museums; Scientific Classification; Zoology.**

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tents—no less than the word *nature* itself—most of which can be traced back to Saint Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274), Roman Stoicism, and ultimately, Aristotle (384–322 B.C.E.). Constant to all its meanings is that natural law is coherent, suprahuman, objective moral order that contains the standards of what is good and just; and that it contains the standards by which human or positive law is to be judged from the perspective of a harmonious and coherent universe and is inherent in the “nature” of the world. It was born of attempts by ancient philosophers and jurists to discover—or determine—what was common to all legal systems in order to eliminate what would today be seen as the problems of “relativism” and cultural and legal “diversity.” The presumption that there is a common core to all systems of morality and law that provides the standards by which they are to be evaluated leads to the issues of discovery, validation, and enforcement.

UNIVERSALITY AND PERMANENCE

Natural law, like justice, aims at universality and permanence. Operationally, like all law, it is duty-contradict, a series of moral prohibitions, permissions, and requirements. It proclaimed the union of morality and politics and emerged from an ancient worldview that saw a singular harmony in nature, manifested in the universal *jus* (or *ius*) *gentium* (international law). That universality was subsequently incorporated by Christianity into its conception of the divine ordering of all creation. Aquinas separated this classical understanding into the eternal, the divine, the natural, and the human (or positive) laws. The natural was still common to all humanity and was part of God’s will and was the direct source for human law. In keeping with its Stoic roots, the natural law as conceived by Aquinas was discoverable through the use of natural reason, with the difference that for Aquinas that reason had been planted in everyone by God. Justice was an irresistible, rational necessity of naturally sociable human beings.

In this Aristotelian-Thomist form, for the most part, natural law continued into the early modern period. Even Jean Bodin (1530–1596), famed for his conception of political sovereignty as the absolute power to make and enforce law, held in his *Six livres de la République* (1576; Six books of the com-

NATURAL LAW. Natural law is a contribution to the perennial discussion of the nature of justice and morality; it is an attempt to root them in something beyond human convention and creation. The notion has had various meanings and con-

monwealth) that the state in general was under the moral aegis of the overarching law of nature and limited sovereign absolutism to the positive law.

Protestant and secular natural-law theorists retained the understanding of humans as naturally sociable and rational and viewed the natural law as that which superintended human laws. The *Vindiciae, contra Tyrannos* (1579; Defense of liberty against tyrants; written by Philippe de Mornay, known as Duplessis-Mornay [1549–1623], but published anonymously) pointed to violations of the natural law as one of the signs of tyranny, and the sixteenth-century Anglican theologian Richard Hooker (1553 or 1554–1600) espoused a conception of natural law that was heavily indebted to Scholasticism in his *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* (1593, et seq.).

REASON AND NATURAL SOCIABILITY

The seventeenth century witnessed the beginnings of a series of remarkable changes in natural-law theory, starting with the Dutch thinker Hugo Grotius (1583–1645), who made reason and natural sociability, rather than divinity, central to the conception developed in his *De Iure Belli ac Pacis* (1625; On the law of war and peace). So strong was his reliance upon these two that he suggested that the natural law would obtain even without God. Grotius was certainly not an atheist, but that charge was hurled at Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679), the English philosopher whose understanding of natural law shared many features with that of Grotius.

Sociability, Grotius argued, drove humanity into society from its prepolitical, state-of-nature beginnings; people were capable of understanding the ruling law of nature through their natural reason. Aquinas and the early-seventeenth-century Jesuit natural-law philosopher Francisco Suárez (1548–1617) had seen rationality as a reflection of divinity that enabled humans to understand God's will. Grotius appeared to have minimized that relationship, treating reason as a semiautonomous—albeit divinely implanted—and extremely important aspect of human nature. In his hands and those of his successors, this radically secularized and rationalized natural law was potentially removed from the realm of experience in which it had previously been rooted. The inherent human capacity to reason and the use of “right reason” independent of actual

experience could lead to universal moral, social, and political principles by which human life was to be governed.

Perhaps the most important and influential proponent of this Grotian view of natural law was Samuel von Pufendorf (1632–1694), the first holder of a chair in natural law in a German university. In his *De Jure Naturae et Gentium* (1672; On natural and civil law), Pufendorf went even further and separated the natural, sociable world of human affairs and the natural law that governed it from the spiritual realm of theology. In this form, the new, secular natural law was adopted by many seventeenth- and eighteenth-century philosophers, especially Richard Cumberland (1631–1718), bishop of Peterborough (whose *De Legibus Naturae* [On natural laws] was published the same year as Pufendorf's work) and Jean Barbeyrac (1674–1744), the translator of Grotius and Pufendorf into French and historian of moral philosophy.

Cumberland had reached his conclusions independently of Pufendorf and was acknowledged in later editions of *De Jure Naturae*. Paradoxically, perhaps, Cumberland had developed some of his argument in opposition to the writings of Thomas Hobbes, who had denied natural sociability and ignored, if he did not actually deny, divinity. But Hobbes was subsequently to be ranked by Barbeyrac in the company of Grotius and Pufendorf as one of the great innovators in natural law theory.

STATE OF NATURE

Hobbes's theory, most notably in *Leviathan* (1651) and earlier in his *De Cive* (1642; On citizenship), began with an utterly undeveloped, fiercely competitive, and dangerously uncertain state of nature in which the natural law gave everyone the right to all things within their reach. People escaped this state of nature by voluntarily establishing a conventional absolutism in accord with the natural law requirement of self-preservation. Where traditional natural-law doctrine had provided a natural and rational basis for rights and liberties that persisted in some form in political society and had imposed varying limits on political authority, in Hobbes's hands, the inevitable destructiveness of natural freedom led only to a rationally established absolutism in which subjects had only as much freedom as their rulers permitted. It was the conceptual genius of Hobbes

to subvert the appeal to natural law by many of his contemporaries—especially the Levellers—to attack the rule of Charles I as antithetical to their natural rights.

This Hobbesian reworking of natural law created great difficulties for his successors—he was frequently attacked and his books were subsequently banned in England—especially John Locke (1632–1704), who sought to establish a notion of secular natural law as leading to limited government. Locke is better known for his doctrine of natural rights than for his theory of natural law. The state of nature described in his *Two Treatises of Government* (1690) was sociable and far more peaceful than that of Hobbes, precisely because it was governed by the God-given natural law that people recognized and generally obeyed. The establishment of political—or “civil,” as Locke often called it—society, accomplished by consent, was fully in accord with the law of nature and enabled people to achieve their natural ends by overcoming the uncertainties and insecurities of the state of nature. Locke’s political state was to be limited by the natural justice contained in the natural law, and prolonged violations of that justice legitimated—in some cases, even required—a resort to revolution.

THE PROBLEM OF DIVINE WILL

There is a paradox inherent in a natural law theory that depends on divine will. Grotius and those who followed him recognized this problem. If God is the author or legislator of the law of nature, and its validity is a consequence of his will, then things are right or wrong *because* God has so directed, which makes him into something of an arbitrary but benevolent ruler. If, on the other hand, there are principles according to which God has decreed the natural law, as Aquinas seemed to have implied, then God is not omnipotent. Consigning all this to the realm of divine mystery severely limits its applicability to human affairs. The role of reason is crucial, but reason that is God-dependent simply pushes the problem one step further away. Aquinas, following Aristotle, argued for the relationship between divine natural law, reason, and human experience. But an independent reason of the sort advocated by Pufendorf requires some standard of validation. Locke tacitly sidestepped the issue in his *Two Treatises*, but at an earlier period in his life, in a

series of lectures he delivered in 1664 but refused to publish (published from the manuscripts in 1954 as *Essays on the Law of Nature*), he had agonized over the source of natural law and how and whether it could be known.

This series of questions was faced by Pufendorf, who concluded that the will of God in matters of natural law could be determined by consulting what is humanity’s long-term and therefore best interests, thereby opening the door to a rational natural law that could be professed without any direct reliance upon divine will and revelation, which was ultimately a major break from the Scholastic tradition. He further urged that the author of this break was Grotius. The focus of natural law for Pufendorf—and Grotius—shifted from the morally requisite duties of individuals to the preservation of society, a view that was passed on to the eighteenth century by Barbeyrac. He published French translations of Grotius and Pufendorf that were translated into English and enjoyed wide popularity in both languages. His *Historical and Critical Account of the Science of Morality* (English translation, 1729), which prefaced his edition of Pufendorf, accepted and furthered Pufendorf’s understanding of Grotius as the author of the radical break in natural-law theory. Barbeyrac argued for a new school of natural-law theory that included Grotius, John Selden (1584–1654), Pufendorf, Hobbes, Cumberland, and Locke, and his view became the accepted history of modern moral philosophy.

HUMAN WILL

These moves would make human will the determiner of natural-law precepts, leaving altogether open the issue of how to resolve conflicting accounts. Ultimately, this would be dealt with by the reintroduction of experience as that upon which reason operated. And, in keeping with the precepts of natural sociability, a standard of social utility extended over time would become the measure of justice as secular natural law gave place to utilitarianism. The Scholastic doctrine of natural law remained alive in Roman Catholic philosophy and theology.

Yet another and not unrelated direction for the development of natural law thinking was already present in Locke’s conception of natural rights, for his emphasis was upon the natural *entitlements* as

limits on the behavior of others and on the actions of government. The popularity of this doctrine represents the triumph of what has been called “individualism.” This part of the natural law story ends with Thomas Jefferson’s (1743–1826) invocation in the Declaration of Independence of the “law of Nature and Nature’s God,” a cosmetic reversion to the earlier theistic conception, from which he quickly moved to the self-evident, God-given “unalienable Rights” of “Life, Liberty, and the pursuit of Happiness” as the only legitimate ends of government. Expanded into the universal “human rights” of contemporary international politics, the modernized version of natural rights has become one of the primary alternatives to utilitarianism and social good as the test for good and just government.

See also Bodin, Jean; English Civil War Radicalism; Enlightenment; Free Will; Grotius, Hugo; Hobbes, Thomas; Locke, John; Rights, Natural.

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NATURAL PHILOSOPHY. See Natural Law; Nature; Rights, Natural.

NATURAL RELIGION. See Deism.

NATURAL RIGHTS. See Rights, Natural.

NATURE. Nature is often taken to be the reality of the physical and material world. It is placed in opposition to culture, the product of human intervention and production. Yet historians recognize that nature is actually a product of human culture—a complex concept that has changed according to the views of particular individuals and cultures in history. Nature can be thought of in terms of its components—for example, the cosmos or material substances—and it can be conceptualized as an entity in itself. In both respects the early modern era marked numerous controversies concerning the nature of nature and concerning the makeup and behavior of its constituent components.

ARISTOTELIAN NATURE

Any investigation of the idea of nature in the early modern era must take into account the Aristotelian framework that was defended well into the seventeenth century. Aristotle explicated his views on nature (*physis* in Greek) in the second book of *Physics*, in the seventh book of *Metaphysics*, and in the first book of *Parts of Animals*. He considered the natural and the artificial to be distinctly separate entities. Animals, plants, and the four Aristotelian elements—earth, air, fire, and water—exist by nature. A natural thing has an essence that makes it a genuine kind of species. It possesses the principle of movement or change and rest within itself. This principle can entail local motion, that is, growth and shrinkage, or qualitative changes, that is, modifications. Nature is the distinct form of things that have within themselves the principle of motion. That form moves toward its final cause or goal, for the sake of which it exists. In contrast, art can imitate nature but can never be natural. Artificial things do not have a principle of motion. Any change to a fabricated object is accomplished by the actions of an external agent. A tree grows by nature, whereas a house must be built by a builder. Art is separate from nature and is always inferior to it.

The Aristotelian natural world, described most completely in Aristotle’s *On the Heavens*, was made up of two spheres, the sublunar and the supralunar. In the sublunar sphere matter consisted of four elements—earth, air, fire, and water—each of which had a tendency to move to its natural place. Earthly bodies, for example, tended to move down toward the center of the Earth, whereas fiery bodies tended

to move up. Motion contrary to such natural motion, as when a stone (made of the element earth) was thrown upward, was unnatural or violent. The region above the Moon was made up of the quintessential element that was entirely different from the four sublunar elements. This fifth element was unchanging and perfect. Its natural motion was circular. Aristotle argued that the elements that made up the cosmos were eternal, rather than created. Matter was continuous. The universe was not infinite but limited, the cosmos was circular, and the Earth was at rest in the center.

Early modern scholars and natural philosophers were thoroughly schooled in the principles of the Aristotelian natural world and in the complex traditions of commentary and discussion that surrounded it. The Aristotelian corpus provided the foundation of the university curriculum. Natural philosophy, which included both the physical and the life sciences, was particularly emphasized in the Italian universities, where it was considered prerequisite to the study of medicine.

Particular discoveries or interpretations that arose in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries undermined the entire Aristotelian edifice of nature. The heliocentric system of Nicolaus Copernicus (1473–1543) provided an alternative to Aristotelian-Ptolemaic cosmology but also subverted the Aristotelian doctrine of the natural place of the element earth. Galileo Galilei's (1564–1642) comparison of the surface of the Moon to that of the Earth and his discovery of the moons of Jupiter suggested that the supralunar realm was identical to the sublunar. Observations of comets and sunspots suggested novelty in the heavens rather than the presence of an unchanging quintessential element.

HUMANISM, PLATONISM, AND THE NEW PHILOSOPHIES OF NATURE

Renaissance humanism entailed an intellectual movement focused on moral philosophy, history, and rhetoric that included an intense interest in antiquity and the desire to restore Latin to the language of Cicero. By the late fifteenth century humanists had begun to influence the university curriculum. In their rediscovery and extensive study of ancient texts, they reedited the works of Aristotle and brought other ancient works into view. For example, Lucretius's atomism, explicated in the

newly discovered *On the Nature of Things*, could be set against the Aristotelian doctrine of continuous matter. The many Neoplatonic texts that became available from the late fifteenth century provided a basis for the development of new philosophies of nature.

In the *Theologia Platonica* (1482; Platonic theology) Marsilio Ficino (1433–1499) posited the universe as a hierarchy of being in which a rational soul (that included the human soul within it) was at the center of the universe between the perceptible corporeal world and the noncorporeal intelligible one. Ficino believed that the cosmos and its forces exhibited numerous correspondences among all the different levels. Other natural philosophers, influenced by Ficinian Platonism, developed innovative visions of the natural order. Bernardino Telesio (1509–1588) postulated that the principles of heat and cold constituted the causes of all earthly processes, while the Sun, a unique natural fire, provided the underlying motive force. Telesio's system of nature was characterized by "the living character of everything and the consequent connections between man and the cosmos" (Ingegno, p. 252). Giordano Bruno (1548–1600) endorsed the Copernican system of Earth moving around the Sun but went beyond Copernicus in his description of an infinite universe of innumerable solar systems in which the elemental processes were everywhere the same. Francesco Patrizi (1529–1597) wrote an immense encyclopedia of natural philosophy, *Nova de Universis Philosophia* (1591; New philosophy of universes), in which he suggested that the illumination of the world proceeds from the first divine light. This illumination, which is both corporeal and noncorporeal, fills all space and motivates all heavenly and earthly processes. It is a hierarchical universe in which soul is intermediary between the corporeal and noncorporeal realms.

The new philosophies of nature often placed the individual human soul in contact with the divine and with the spirits of the noncorporeal cosmos. Many such philosophies included a doctrine of correspondences in which things within both physical and noncorporeal realms reflected and influenced one another. The belief in the ability to exert influence from a distance through correspondence underlay magical outlooks wherein the magus or magician could manipulate divine powers for material

ends. Renaissance nature philosophers were often anti-Aristotelian, and they were vulnerable to charges of using demonic magic and of heresy. Patrizi's vast encyclopedia was put on the Index of Prohibited Books by the Roman Inquisition. Bruno was burned at the stake for heresy in 1600.

NATURAL, SUPERNATURAL, PRETERNATURAL, ARTIFICIAL, AND UNNATURAL

Lorraine Daston has noted that early modern views of nature can be investigated only if the modern dichotomy between nature and culture is put aside. The early modern period instead utilized a variety of categories defined vis-à-vis the natural. The supernatural was a category largely created by Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274) in the thirteenth century. He viewed miracles—supernatural events—as God's intervention in the natural order and therefore above that order. A second category, “preternatural,” described events that were highly unusual, “beyond nature,” but not supernatural. Examples include monstrous births, bizarre weather, the occult powers of plants and minerals, and other deviations from ordinary natural events. A third category, the artificial, comprised objects fabricated by humans that could imitate nature but could never become part of the natural world. Finally, the unnatural was a moral category used to describe acts, such as patricide and bestiality, that transgressed the natural order ordained by God.

During the early modern era the boundaries that defined these categories were increasingly called into question. Miracles as events brought about by supernatural intervention became contested territory in the context of the Protestant Reformation and Catholic reform movements. A religious movement labeled “enthusiasm” developed in northern Germany, England, and the Netherlands in which members of Quaker and other Pietist religious groups claimed direct experience of the Divine as a result of enthusiastic inspiration. Yet the enthusiasts were condemned as a threat to political order and religious orthodoxy. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries enthusiasm and miracles in the present (as opposed to the distant past) became increasingly unacceptable within established political and religious orders.

The category of the preternatural presents a complicated history. From the sixteenth century through the mid-seventeenth century natural philosophers, such as Girolamo Cardano (1501–1576), Pietro Pompanazzi (1462–1525), and Francis Bacon (1561–1626), focused on preternatural events, such as celestial aberrations, monstrous births, and other odd occurrences. Such events became a significant focus of the early scientific societies as even the briefest perusal of the *Transactions of the Royal Society* attests. By the 1720s, however, these wonders of nature came to be largely ignored. Preternatural phenomena had been subsumed under the natural.

Substantial evidence points to a further development—the disappearance of the boundary between the natural and the artificial. Objects of nature and objects of art came to be interchangeable. In the 1490s Leonardo da Vinci (1452–1519), in his treatise on machines and mechanics, *Madrid Codex I*, made analogies between natural and constructed objects as a way of trying to understand the workings of each. Little more than a century later Bacon and René Descartes (1596–1650) each insisted upon the identity of the essential attributes of the artificial and the natural. Such identity and interchangeability was evident in the great collections naturalists accumulated in the seventeenth century. These collections displayed a mixed conglomeration of natural specimens, preternatural wonders, and objects made by humans. Human artifice had gained in status, taking its place beside and becoming interchangeable with the myriad objects of the natural world.

EXPERIENCE AND EXPERIMENT

Attitudes toward nature were influenced by the growing importance of material objects within society and by the exchange of those objects within commercial relationships that extended across Europe and beyond. Early modern Europeans exhibited a growing interest in conspicuous consumption as well as a fascination with novelty, including objects and marvels from lands recently discovered and colonized. The makers of objects—artisans and men and women skilled in crafts—enjoyed increased cultural status that developed as a result of the growing positive valuation of practice and hands-on experience. Artisans began to value their

practices as generative of a kind of knowledge derived from direct and intimate experience with materials and with nature. Artisan-trained individuals and others of various backgrounds wrote books in which they validated their own experience by means of the authority of nature. For example, the potter Bernard Palissy (1510–1589) described his many experiments to find a formula for a new glaze and repeatedly endorsed the value of practice over theory. The physician Paracelsus (1493–1541) not only railed against the book learning of contemporary medicine in the universities but also endorsed direct experience with nature as essential to knowledge concerning the natural world, including knowledge of health and disease. Reading the “book of nature” for Paracelsus entailed experiencing it directly and thereby being able to read God’s “signatures,” external signs that revealed the internal nature of things.

Bacon’s empirical approach envisaged a vast cooperative project of collecting the facts of nature. Bacon hoped to create detailed descriptions of natural phenomena and of processes of the “mechanical arts,” such as metallurgy and glassmaking. From such histories, Bacon advocated the creation of axioms that would allow humans to read the “book of nature.” For Bacon this book was authored by God. Humans could know God’s works through its operations, to be had through the senses. Words are not “reliable signs of things.” Rather, things provide “the only reliable criteria for shaping words properly” (Bono, pp. 218–220). The “secrets” of nature can be discovered initially through the collection of sense data and through controlled experiments. Simple data collection is insufficient, however. Careful creation of axioms and an attempt to understand the relationship of diverse things to each other would allow the book of nature to be understood.

Increasingly the observations of particulars and the positive valuation of individual experience gained credibility as a way of knowing the natural world. Individual experience and observation could be used in a variety of ways—the investigation of plants and animals, the gathering and study of objects both natural and fabricated in collections, or the dissection of human bodies. Individuals from a variety of backgrounds undertook to discover the “secrets” of nature, sometimes characterizing their

pursuit as a kind of hunt. Perhaps, as one scholar has suggested, a traditional view of nature—as an inviolable, feminine entity to be protected from curiosity and aggressive exploration—declined.

Especially from the late sixteenth century investigators began to construct special kinds of individual experiences known as experiments. Experimentation developed as a great variety of practices designed to test and validate knowledge claims about the natural world. The experimenters were compelled to defend their methods against the Aristotelians. The Aristotelian term *common experience* referred to experience agreed upon by everyone. In contrast to the evident and universal premises of Aristotelian experience, experimenters claimed knowledge as a result of specialized, contrived experience using often complex apparatus or instrumentation. Much investigation in the history of science has been devoted to analyzing specific experiments to understand what was done, how the experiment was taken to verify particular claims about the natural world, and the ways in which the experiment was “legitimated.” Often in the early modern era the reports of reliable “witnesses” lent credibility to the claims of the experimenter.

An important development was the application of mathematics to physical phenomena. This took many forms, from Galileo’s analysis of balls rolling down inclined planes to Isaac Newton’s (1642–1727) experiments in geometric optics. The new “physico-mathematics” of the seventeenth century rejected Aristotelian assumptions that made mathematics a self-referential discipline irrelevant to the material world and physics nonmathematical. It also either implicitly or explicitly assumed that nature itself was in some way mathematical. Descartes removed mind and spirit from the physical world and defined physical matter as extension. If the world comprised geometric extension, it could be understood by analyzing the mathematical relationships within it.

DESCARTES AND THE LAWS OF NATURE

Descartes developed a view of nature and its workings called “the mechanical philosophy.” For Descartes the world consisted of particles of matter that move whenever necessity forces them to move. Matter was extension in three dimensions. Natural philosophy consisted of describing the mechanisms

of moving particles as they produced all the variable phenomena of nature. The universe was a plenum. Motion was possible because the entire mass of matter moved together. The universe consisted of a huge number of immense particle whirlpools called vortices. Particulate matter in motion explained all phenomena in nature. The mechanical philosophy developed by Descartes was highly influential. Although Descartes's successors modified the particulars of his system, it dominated European thought by the end of the seventeenth century.

Descartes first formulated physical laws that could be expressed mathematically and that were valid for all physical phenomena. Appearing in chapter seven of *The World* (1629–1633), they concerned inertia, collusion, and a law stating that particles of matter tended to move in a straight line. Later philosophers, such as Christiaan Huygens (1629–1695) and Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646–1716), criticized some of Descartes's specific conclusions but continued to describe the physical world in terms of laws that governed matter in motion. Newton's *Philosophiæ Naturalis Principia Mathematica* (1687) included the three laws of motion that laid the foundation for classical physics. Newton's laws described the motion of bodies and the mathematical relationships between the forces that governed those motions.

In the eighteenth century, the “Age of Enlightenment” as the German philosopher Immanuel Kant (1724–1804) first called it, the notion prevailed that a scientific revolution had occurred in the prior century and that it was ongoing. The two key words of the Enlightenment were “reason” and “nature.” The laws of reason had become synonymous with the laws of nature. Experimentation had become the way of reasoning about nature. Enlightenment philosophers and the public alike made Newton into a hero. They attempted to find further natural laws that would predict natural events completely and accurately. They sought greater determinism in nature. Although they did not fully succeed, most Enlightenment natural philosophers believed that experiment would continue to augment the progress that had occurred in understanding the natural world.

See also **Bacon, Francis; Bruno, Giordano; Copernicus, Nicolaus; Descartes, René; Earth, Theories of the; Enlightenment; Galileo Galilei; Huygens Family;**

Kant, Immanuel; Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm; Leonardo da Vinci; Newton, Isaac; Paracelsus; Scientific Method; Scientific Revolution.

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NAVIGATION. See *Shipbuilding and Navigation*.

NAVIGATION ACTS. The Navigation laws enforced a system of economic management designed to ensure that England's colonial trade was controlled for the benefit of the mother country. There was nothing unique in this arrangement, later referred to as mercantilism, since all the major European powers operated similar systems. Unfortunately, the weak state of England during the second quarter of the seventeenth century meant that much of its colonial trade had been taken over by foreign powers, notably the Dutch. Accordingly, in 1651 the Commonwealth Parliament introduced the first Navigation Act, which required that all plantation goods imported into England be shipped in vessels owned and (three-quarters) manned by Englishmen or in vessels belonging to the country of origin. The expectation was that these restrictions would exclude the Dutch from England's colonial commerce while increasing England's wealth and naval power. The immediate result was the first Anglo-Dutch Naval War of 1652–1654.

Despite the successful exclusion of the Dutch from the carrying trade, it was quickly perceived that the act of 1651 was deficient because it still allowed colonial goods to be shipped directly to Europe in the vessels of other nations, resulting in a loss of revenue and trade to the mother country. Accordingly, a new bill was drafted in 1660 that not only banned foreign vessels from English colonial ports but declared that certain high-value commodities such as sugar, tobacco, cotton, and indigo must be shipped to England before being reexported elsewhere. However, because the colonies were not

only exporters of raw materials but also importers of finished goods, a third Navigation Act was deemed necessary in 1663 to ensure that foreign manufactures reached the colonies only via England, where they first could be taxed, to make them less competitive with English products, while at the same time raising revenue for the crown.

While the acts of 1660 and 1663 constituted the heart of the system of navigation laws, further measures proved necessary over time. In 1673 a fourth act was passed to bring the colonies into line regarding the enumerated duties, notably the one penny duty on a pound of tobacco and the five shilling duty on a hundredweight of white sugar, which up to this time were collected only in England. Then in 1696 a new administrative agency, the Board of Trade, was established to monitor the system more effectively. Simultaneously, special vice-admiralty courts were created to punish those breaking the acts of trade.

Until this time the colonies had been seen primarily as producers of exotic goods and consumers of British manufactures. Now a new consideration began to influence British imperial policy: the need to protect metropolitan producers from colonial competition. In 1699 the Woollen Act was passed, which banned the export of colonial woolen garments to Britain. It was followed in 1732 by the Hat Act and in 1750 by the Iron Act, both similarly aimed at prohibiting (or at least regulating) the production of finished articles in the colonies. These acts, however, were poorly enforced and largely unnecessary since colonial output was rarely of sufficient quality to challenge British manufacturers.

Opinions vary about the economic effects of the Navigation Acts. Most historians believe that the system on balance was beneficial to the colonies: the advantages of being part of an expanding British economy greatly outweighed the disadvantages of these poorly enforced trade restrictions. In any case, there were few complaints about the Navigation Acts in the American Declaration of Independence of 1776. Indeed, the Americans, finding that economic independence was not necessarily as attractive as political independence, sought to negotiate partial reentry into Britain's mercantilist system after the Peace Treaty of 1783.

See also **Anglo-Dutch Naval Wars; British Colonies: North America; Commerce and Markets; Mercantilism; Shipping.**

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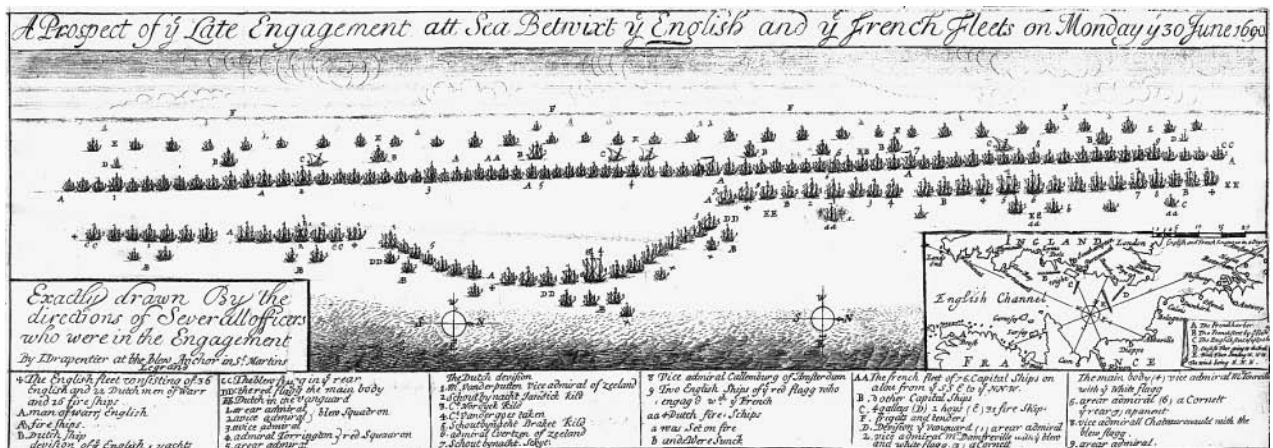
RICHARD MIDDLETON

wars. One part of this system was retained in most early modern navies as, to a considerable extent, they were manned with seamen recruited from the mercantile marines. In peacetime, only a nucleus of seamen was employed by the navies. Permanency was created by warships, dockyards, and cadres of leaders, which gradually became corps of officers.

The introduction of heavy guns able to damage ships at a distance stimulated the development of specialized, heavily built, sailing warships that could carry such guns, use them efficiently in combat, resist gunfire, and stay at sea during long periods of time. Guns and specialized warships were expensive, and only states were able to make major naval investments. The size of the permanent navies became increasingly important for the control of the sea for offensive and defensive purposes and for diplomatic influence. Guns and warships also gave states a new role as the most efficient protectors of private shipping. The growth of the European navies reflected both the improved efficiency of a specialized technology and the increased centralization of resources to the states.

Galleys and sailing warships had different capabilities, and they were often regarded as parts of different organizations. Most Mediterranean galleys were of about the same size in all navies. There was a general rise in their size from the mid-sixteenth century to the early seventeenth century, but otherwise

NAVY. Up to the late fifteenth century, permanent navies with ships built only for warfare were unimportant in Europe. Wars at sea were fought with infantry weapons and they could be used on merchantmen temporarily armed for war. Maritime cities with many large cargo carriers could rapidly form powerful navies, and mercantile power was easily converted into sea power. The only specialized warships were the oared galleys, but they could be built quickly in large numbers when a war began. The sea power of a state became visible only during



Navy. A view of the 1690 Battle of Beachy Head in the English Channel during the War of the League of Augsburg (1688–1697), drawn perhaps by Jan Drapentier, an engraver active in London around this time. An outnumbered Anglo-Dutch fleet was defeated by the French, giving them brief command of the Channel. This near-contemporary plan, “Exactly drawn by the directions of Severall officers who were in the Engagement,” identifies the ships involved and their positions. MAP COLLECTION, STERLING MEMORIAL LIBRARY, YALE UNIVERSITY

galley navies can be measured by number of galleys. In contrast, sailing warships were built in widely different sizes at the same time and size increased over time. The average size of European ships-of-the-line grew from around 1,200 modern displacement tonnes in 1680 to 2,400 displacement tonnes in 1790. Consequently, the number of ships is of limited value in comparing the navies.

The displacement, that is, the weight of the ship including stores, began to be used to measure size in the eighteenth century. For earlier centuries, approximate displacements can be calculated from dimensions, contemporary tonnage calculations, or the size of crews. This makes it possible to compare different navies and measure fluctuations over time with one measurement that reflects fighting power and manpower requirements. Typically, galleys that relied on muscle power for their propulsion had about one man per tonne displacement. Sailing warships in the latter half of the seventeenth century had manning establishments that required around one man to three tonnes displacement while eighteenth century warships normally had around one man to four tonnes.

MEDITERRANEAN GALLEY NAVIES

The early permanent navies in the Mediterranean developed with the traditional galleys as the main component. Their rise was closely connected with the power struggles for control of the Greek archipelago and Italy and trade in the Mediterranean Sea. In 1450, only Venice had a major peacetime galley navy. Up to about 1500 the Ottoman and Venetian navies increased in size during the struggle for control of Greece. After that, the Italian Wars (1494–1559) stimulated the growth of the French and Spanish galley navies. The latter included the naval resources of Sicily and Naples. The Papal States, Tuscany, Genoa, and the Order of St. John on Malta developed minor galley navies. Finally, from the 1540s to the 1570s, the great contest between Spain and the Ottomans led to a dramatic increase in the galley navies. In terms of manpower (including chained oarsmen) and requirement of provisions, they were the largest concentrated military forces of the sixteenth century. Logistical problems often made them sluggish in operation.

The end of the imperial contests in the Mediterranean around 1580 was followed by a major reduc-

TABLE 1

| The Mediterranean Galley Navies | | | | | | | | |
|--|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Approximate number of galleys in continuous service and in reserve | | | | | | | | |
| | 1500 | 1525 | 1550 | 1575 | 1600 | 1650 | 1700 | 1750 |
| Venice | 150 | 120 | 150 | 175 | 150 | 75 | 50 | 20 |
| The Ottoman Empire | 200 | 100 | 125 | 300 | 100 | 100 | 30 | 15 |
| Spain | - | 15 | 60 | 150 | 70 | 40 | 30 | - |
| France | 10 | 20 | 50 | 20 | - | 36 | 42 | 12 |
| The Papal States | 3 | 3 | 3 | 6 | 10 | 5 | 5 | 4 |
| The Order of St. John | 3 | 3 | 4 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 8 | 4 |
| Tuscany | - | - | 5 | 6 | 6 | 6 | 6 | - |
| Genoa | - | 1 | 1 | 3 | 6 | 10 | 6 | 6 |
| Naples | . | . | . | . | . | . | . | 4 |

A hyphen indicates that the state existed but it had no navy. A period means that the state did not exist at that date (and consequently no navy could exist). Naples was part of the Spanish monarchy from around 1500 to 1713/14. The Dutch Republic was created in a revolutionary process around 1580.

SOURCE: Glete, 1993.

tion of the galley navies, which continued during the seventeenth century. The limited utility of oared forces was revealed during two wars between Venice and the Ottomans (1644–1669 and 1684–1699), and both powers reduced the number of galleys. They were now primarily used for routine patrols and transfer of troops, and all major Mediterranean powers created sailing navies as their main force at sea during the seventeenth century. In the first half of the eighteenth centuries galleys were abolished or cut down to insignificant numbers, and by the end of the century they had disappeared in the Mediterranean.

EARLY SAILING NAVIES, 1500–1650

Sailing warships with guns began to be built by several states in the decades around 1500. They were few in number and major fleets were still formed by requisitioned or hired merchantmen. Merchantmen often protected themselves by sailing in convoys. Early sailing, gun-armed navies were developed primarily by states without strong mercantile marines: Portugal, France (Brittany), England, Denmark, and Sweden. They were closely related to royal ambitions to explore new technology in order to control coasts, territories, and trade routes, but a sailing navy was not regarded as necessary for great power status. The Habsburgs, who controlled Spain and the Netherlands with their large mercantile marines, for a long time did not

develop naval power in the Atlantic, and for the French kings the sailing navy usually had a low priority. The Mediterranean powers preferred galleys, which at least up to the mid-sixteenth century proved viable as a weapons system in competition with sailing warships, which were still in their infancy.

The sailing navies grew during the sixteenth and the first half of the seventeenth century without entirely replacing temporarily armed merchantmen as an important instrument of warfare. Experience of war such as the Anglo-French contests up to 1559, wars in the Baltic in the 1530s and 1560s, and the Anglo-Spanish confrontation from 1585 to 1603 showed that specialized gun-armed warships had considerable advantages over traditional great cargo carriers provided with infantry and a few guns, which were gradually abolished as combatants. Merchantmen built to carry a substantial number of guns, and specialized for trade in contested waters such as the Mediterranean and the East and West Indies, became useful as temporary warships from the late sixteenth century up to the 1650s and 1660s. The English, Dutch, Danish, Spanish, and Swedish navies were reinforced by considerable numbers of armed merchantmen during major wars, and Venice fought the war with the Ottomans from 1644 to 1669 with hired English and Dutch merchantmen. Armed merchantmen were used for the European penetration of the Indian Ocean and the China Seas, and they remained the main Euro-

pean force at sea in this area until the early nineteenth century.

It is not meaningful to look for a European balance of power at sea in this period, but powers who were antagonists, such as Denmark and Sweden in the Baltic and Spain and the Dutch in Western Europe, attempted to balance each other. The English and French navies were primarily maintained for control of the Channel, although the French civil wars rendered France almost powerless at sea from the 1560s to the 1620s. The absence of a French threat gave the English the opportunity to deploy the navy in the Atlantic during the war against Spain (1585–1603). The sixteenth-century Portuguese navy, of which too little is known to quantify its size, was primarily developed for control of the sea route to India. When Portugal was united with Spain in 1580, it formed the nucleus of a new Habsburg navy.

THE EUROPEAN BATTLE FLEETS, 1650–1790

The three Anglo-Dutch maritime wars from 1652 to 1674 and the rise of the new strong monarchy in France was the start for a major growth and transformation of the European fleets. Armed merchantmen were still chartered in large numbers during the first Anglo-Dutch Wars, but they proved deficient in combat with major warships. The English and the Dutch fought several intense battles for control of the Channel and the North Sea. It became obvious that fewer large ships with heavier guns had an advantage over more numerous smaller ships. This realization resulted in a long-term increase in the size of warships and made it uneconomical to use armed merchantmen in naval warfare. Tactics changed to make full use of large ships, which could continuously fire heavy broadsides and resist enemy gunfire. Growing corps of sea officers developed professionalism and a new doctrine that emphasized disciplined battle lines and well-drilled gun crews. Improved foundry technology made it possible to produce cheap iron guns that reduced the cost of permanent naval armament.

The naval conflicts between England and the Dutch were influenced by competition about trade and colonies. The French fleet expanded dramatically in the 1660s mainly as a result of increased royal power. It gave France naval supremacy over its traditional antagonist Spain as the Spanish navy de-

TABLE 2

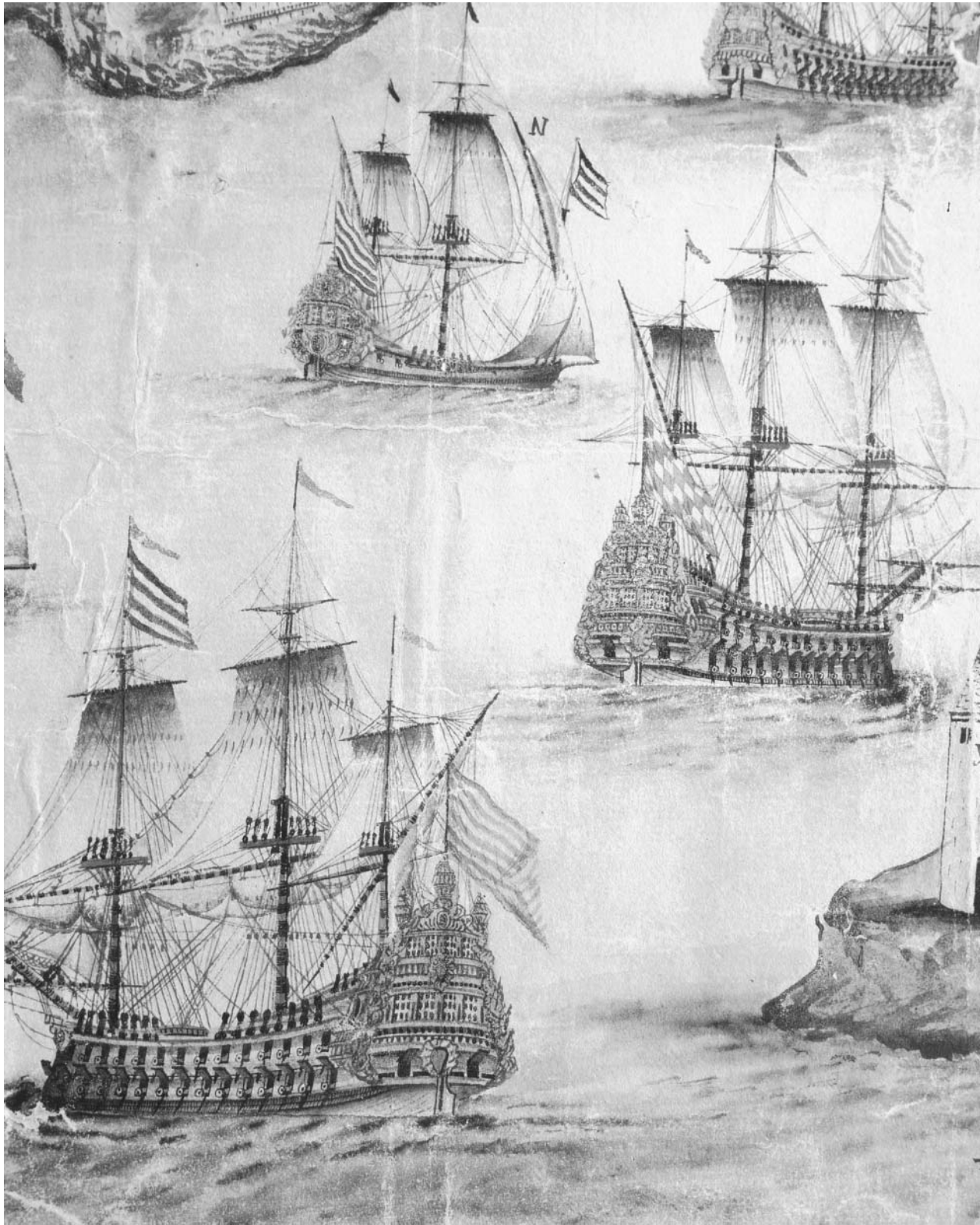
Major Sailing Navies, 1500–1650

Total displacement (in 1,000 tonnes) of warships owned by state navies or, in the case of Spain, on long-term charter by the states. Portugal and Spain were governed by the same Habsburg monarchs. All figures are approximate and figures in parentheses are uncertain.

| | 1500 | 1520 | 1545 | 1570 | 1600 | 1630 | 1650 |
|--------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| England | 5 | 14 | 15 | 14 | 27 | 31 | 49 |
| France | (10) | (12) | (5) | (3) | - | 27 | 21 |
| Portugal | ? | ? | ? | ? | . | . | (25) |
| Denmark | ? | (8) | (8) | 15 | 11 | 19 | 22 |
| Sweden | - | (1) | 7 | 21 | 24 | 17 | 28 |
| Spain | - | - | - | 3 | (50) | (50) | (30) |
| The Dutch Republic | . | . | . | . | (20) | 40 | 29 |

A hyphen indicates that the state existed but it had no navy. A period means that the state did not exist at that date (and consequently no navy could exist).

SOURCE: Glete, 1993.



Navy. A drawing of French navy ships at the Battle of Port Mahon, Minorca, 1756, during the Seven Years' War, when French naval forces seized the Mediterranean island from British control. THE ART ARCHIVE/MUSÉE DE LA MARINE PARIS/DAGLI ORTI.

TABLE 3

| The Three Largest Sailing Navies, 1650–1720 | | | | | | | | |
|--|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| TOTAL APPROXIMATE DISPLACEMENT (IN 1,000 TONNES) | | | | | | | | |
| | 1650 | 1660 | 1670 | 1680 | 1690 | 1700 | 1710 | 1720 |
| England | 49 | 88 | 84 | 132 | 124 | 196 | 201 | 174 |
| The Dutch Republic | 29 | 62 | 102 | 66 | 68 | 113 | 119 | 79 |
| France | 21 | 20 | 114 | 135 | 141 | 195 | 171 | 48 |

SOURCE: Glete, 1993.

clined to a medium-sized force in the latter half of the seventeenth century. France could also challenge the two great maritime powers at sea in conflicts that predominantly were Continental. However, the combined Anglo-Dutch navies gained superiority at sea over France in the 1690s and could use their navies to support allies in the Mediterranean and for military actions on the Iberian peninsula in the early 1700s. French naval power collapsed in the 1710s and Great Britain emerged as the dominant sea power. Britain retained this position until the twentieth century, and other great powers were reduced to more or less successful challengers of British supremacy over the European and transoceanic sea-lanes.

The first of these challenges came from a new combination of naval powers, France and Spain, which began to act as allies in the eighteenth-century struggle over colonies and trade in America and Asia. The new Bourbon regime in Spain launched an ambitious Atlantic naval policy that made Spain into the third largest naval power in Europe for most of the century. During the war of 1739–1748, both Bourbon powers were defeated by Britain at sea. They started major programs of new construction, but the war of 1756–1763 resulted in a victory for Britain, partly because Spain joined the war after France already had suffered large losses at sea. During the 1760s and 1770s French and Spanish battle fleet strength outpaced the British by a wide margin, and during the War of American Independence the combined Bourbon navies were frequently able to place severe limits on British operational freedom on sea and on land. France and Spain continued with large shipbuilding programs in the 1780s, with the intention to renew the challenge against Britain in future contests in the Atlantic.

The other two Atlantic powers, Portugal and the Dutch Republic, preferred neutrality during most of the eighteenth century. Both were primarily interested in defense of their worldwide empires of trade and colonies, but not in expansion. Portugal had maintained a navy of around 20,000 to 25,000 tonnes after it regained independence in 1640, increasing it to 25,000 to 35,000 tonnes in the eighteenth century. The Dutch navy was kept steady at a level of 60,000 to 70,000 tonnes from the 1720s to about 1780. The failure of the Dutch policy of neutrality in the War of American Independence forced the Dutch to join the Atlantic naval race and increase the navy to around 120,000 tonnes during the 1780s.

In the Baltic, Denmark and Sweden remained the only major naval powers up to the early 1700s, when Russian conquests of Swedish-controlled territories made it possible for Russia to build a navy. Sweden and Denmark traditionally regarded it as important that the other power should not be able to control the Baltic Sea, and this shaped their naval policy. Russia under Peter I rapidly created a major navy and for most of the eighteenth century, the Danish, Swedish, and Russian navies were of the same magnitude. Denmark usually had the largest battle fleet, but the other two navies also maintained large oared flotillas of galleys, oared frigates, and, by the 1780s, gunboats. By 1790, the Swedish navy had to a considerable extent become an archipelago fleet. Oared vessels were intended for cooperation with the army along archipelagic coasts, not for the open sea. From around 1780, the Russian navy began to expand and created a new fleet in the Black Sea. This was a part of Catherine II's expansionist policy in the Balkans, and it was the beginning of a period when Russia was a major European power at

TABLE 4

| The Three Largest Sailing Navies, 1720–1790 | | | | | | | | |
|--|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| TOTAL APPROXIMATE DISPLACEMENT (IN 1,000 TONNES) | | | | | | | | |
| | 1720 | 1730 | 1740 | 1750 | 1760 | 1770 | 1780 | 1790 |
| Great Britain | 174 | 189 | 195 | 276 | 375 | 350 | 372 | 473 |
| France | 48 | 73 | 91 | 115 | 156 | 219 | 271 | 324 |
| Spain | 22 | 73 | 91 | 41 | 137 | 165 | 196 | 253 |

SOURCE: Glete, 1993.

TABLE 5

| The Baltic Sailing Navies, 1650–1790 | | | | | | | |
|---|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| TOTAL APPROXIMATE DISPLACEMENT (IN 1,000 TONNES) | | | | | | | |
| | 1650 | 1675 | 1700 | 1725 | 1750 | 1775 | 1790 |
| Denmark-Norway | 25 | 29 | 46 | 47 | 66 | 83 | 87 |
| Sweden | 28 | 35 | 53 | 34 | 45 | 50 | 48 |
| Russia | - | - | - | 55 | 59 | 75 | 145 |

A hyphen indicates that the state existed but it had no navy.

SOURCE: Glete, 1993.

sea, replacing Spain in the nineteenth century as owner of the third largest battle fleet.

In the Levant, Venice and the Ottomans began to build sailing navies in the 1670s, although information about the latter navy is incomplete. Both navies had reached a size of around 40,000 tonnes by 1700. The Venetian navy did not expand further but the Ottoman navy grew to one of the largest in Europe, with a strength of around 60,000 tonnes in the 1720s. Both navies were gradually reduced as a result of the long period of peace in the eastern Mediterranean after 1718, and the Ottoman navy was unprepared for the new challenge from Russia in the Mediterranean and the Black Sea from 1768 on. The Turks responded with a new expansion from a low level to about 70,000 tonnes in 1790. Russia had by then a fleet of around 45,000 tonnes in the Black Sea, while Venice since the mid-eighteenth century had maintained a navy of around 20,000 tonnes.

The total size of the European sailing navies was around 200,000 tonnes in 1650, around 750,000 tonnes in both 1700 and 1750, and almost 1.7 million tonnes in 1790. After that they declined markedly. Rising timber costs and reduced naval ambitions in several European states in the wake of a series of British naval victories during the Revolutionary and Napoleonic wars limited further growth.

See also **Anglo-Dutch Naval Wars; Armada, Spanish; Galleys; Italian Wars (1494–1559); Shipbuilding and Navigation; Shipping.**

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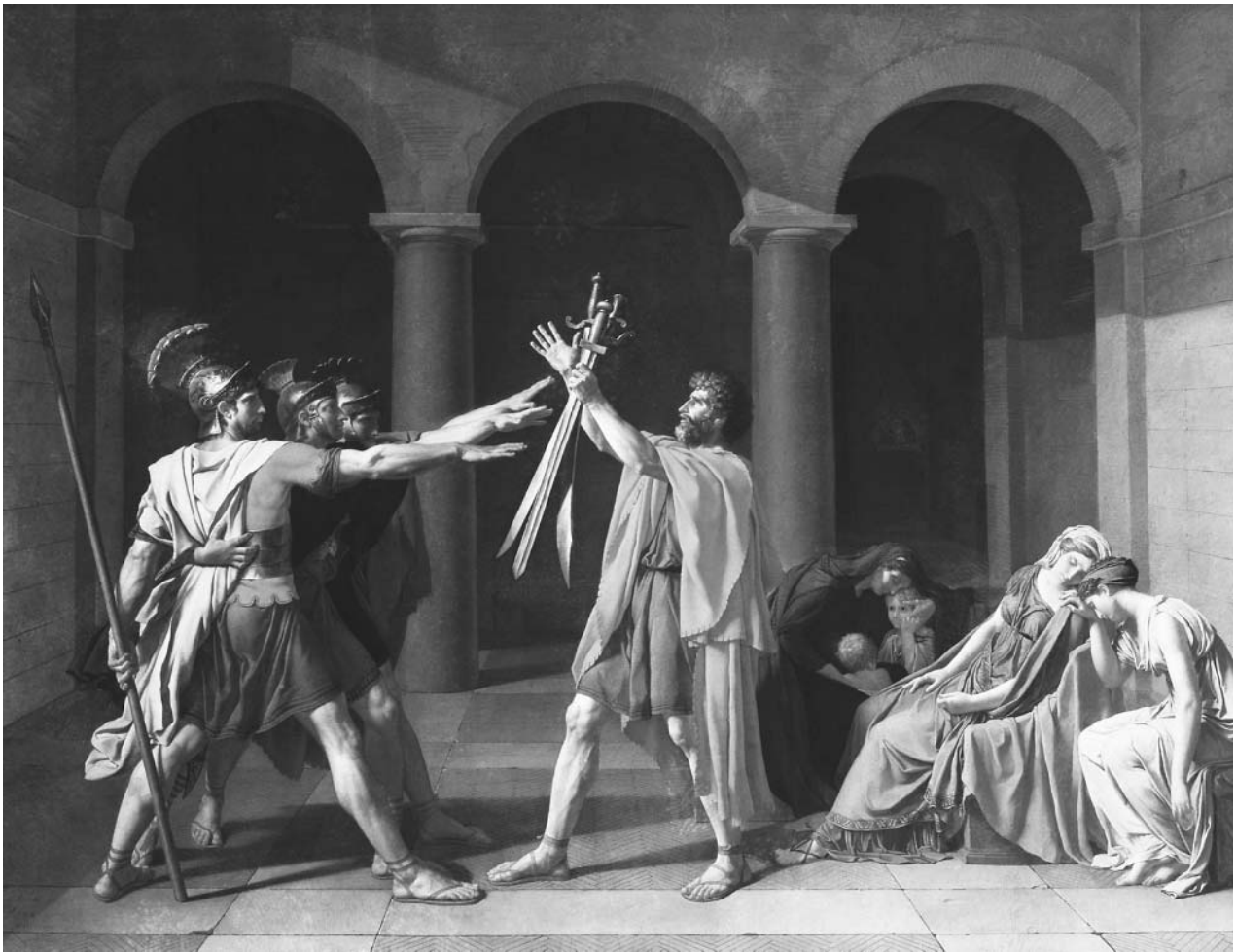
JAN GLETE

NEOCLASSICISM. One of the last truly international European aesthetic movements, neo-

classicism left virtually no aspect of visual culture untouched. Despite its practical and theoretical connections to the classical tradition of Western art, neoclassicism was perceived by eighteenth-century critics as a revolutionary rejection of the decadence of the baroque that had held sway since the early seventeenth century. In addition to its formal stylistic characteristics, which include a propensity toward the emulation of ancient Greco-Roman art and an emphasis on dignity, restraint, and grandeur of scale, neoclassical art was often endowed with an ideological imperative. Seeking to reform society from above, many neoclassicists enlisted ancient virtue, morality, and ethics as antidotes to what they considered to be the frivolity, licentiousness, and sybaritic luxury of eighteenth-century elites. This reforming spirit was especially notable in France, where progressive artists embraced classical subjects

that taught lessons in morality. The most important example in painting is Jacques-Louis David's *Oath of the Horatii* (1784). Visualizing La Font de Saint-Yenne's 1749 dictum, neoclassicism helped to redefined art's role in society as an agency that "made virtue attractive and vice odious."

As an artistic phenomenon, neoclassicism's impact may be seen in an astonishing variety of objects, from teaspoons and wallpaper to ecclesiastical architecture and equestrian monuments. Its earliest stirrings may be traced to the 1740s. Neoclassicism was given considerable impetus by the keen interest in archaeological excavation spurred by the discovery of the ruins of Herculaneum and Pompeii; regular excavations at Herculaneum began in 1738 and at Pompeii in 1748. Major excavations on the Palatine Hill in Rome, at Ostia and at Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli captured the imagination of Europe. Ancient



Neoclassicism. *The Oath of the Horatii* by Jacques-Louis David, 1784. ©ARCHIVO ICONOGRAFICO, S.A./CORBIS



Neoclassicism. The Ante Room at Syon House, designed by Robert Adam in the 1760s. ©ADAM WOOLFITT/
CORBIS

sites in Spain, France, England, and elsewhere also received increased scrutiny. Such excavations created a mania for antique artifacts that led to numerous publications of the often spectacular finds. These books usually had engraved illustrations that did much to inspire artists, who quickly created both public and domestic spaces decorated by classically inspired art. Robert Adam's country house interiors, such as the great vestibule at Syon House, are important examples of neoclassicism's impact on the decorative arts and architecture inspired by neoclassical motifs. Josiah Wedgwood's ceramic works, fired at his factory in the English Midlands, reveal the ubiquity of the neoclassical aesthetic in both decorative and utilitarian objects.

Neoclassicism's epicenter was unquestionably Rome. As the artistic entrepôt of Europe and primary museum of the Western tradition, the city's privileged position as an international capital built on the decaying fabric of antiquity's greatest urban center gave Rome a unique luster. Enlightened papal policies led to the creation of Europe's first public museums, the Capitoline and the Pio-Clementino, which prominently featured canonical antiquities such as the *Apollo Belvedere*, the *Capitoline Venus*, and the *Laocoön*. These ancient marble sculptures were considered ideal exemplars of beauty and truth and inspired emulation by such artists as Antonio Canova, John Flaxman, and Bertel Thorvaldsen, among others. Indeed, Canova's *Theseus and the Dead Minotaur* of 1781–1783 is unimaginable without considering the artist's assiduous study of Greco-Roman sculptures preserved in Rome's museums and aristocratic collections.

The central aesthetic debates of neoclassicism also centered on Rome. Johann Joachim Winckelmann, a Prussian scholar and aesthete who served as librarian to Cardinal Alessandro Albani, gave a rationalist underpinning to developing neoclassicism with the 1764 publication of *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums* (History of ancient art). Quickly translated into most European languages, Winckelmann's book had an unprecedented impact on ideas about art and its relationship to society. It also posed questions about the fundamental differences between ancient Greek and Roman art, resolved in favor of the former. Winckelmann viewed the development of antique art as cyclical, from perfection in

classical Athens to the bombastic decadence of the Roman Empire. His view was supported by Cardinal Albani's favorite artist Anton Raphael Mengs, who painted *Parnassus* in 1761 to adorn the ceiling of the grand salon of Albani's chic new villa on the Via Salaria, completed in 1760 by the architect Carlo Marchionni. This fresco is the first fully developed essay in neoclassical painting. The Villa Albani's collection of ancient sculpture was the finest private collection in existence, and the villa became a major attraction for visitors who helped to spread neoclassical ideas.

Albani, Mengs, and Winckelmann as champions of the Greeks did not go unchallenged. The leading exponent of the superiority of Roman art was the Venetian architect and engraver Giambattista Piranesi. Through myriad publications, above all *Della magnificenza ed architettura de' Romani* (On the magnificence and architecture of the Romans) of 1761, Piranesi consistently championed the grandeur of scale and fantasy of invention of ancient Roman artists and architects, whom he believed had perfected the simplicity and nobility of form achieved by the Greeks. The Greeks-versus-Romans polemic was one of the major intellectual debates of mid-eighteenth-century Europe. Piranesi's publications also had a profound impact on foreigners because of their wide distribution. Visitors were often disappointed because the scale of both ancient ruins and modern buildings was much smaller than Piranesi's prints had led them to imagine.

The grand tour, that elite practice of transalpine travelers venturing to Italy to study the remains of antiquity and the canonical works of both ancient and modern art, was also a crucial factor in the development and dissemination of neoclassicism. Rich tourists created a thriving market for antiquities and created an industry based on the production of pastiche statues and outright fakes of everything from paintings to cameos. A casual visit to almost any British country house will reveal the extent of the collecting mania for all things ancient. The tour promoted the notion of an upper-class, cosmopolitan culture based on the primacy of the classical tradition and helped to create a republic of letters that gave Europe an unprecedented degree of intellectual and aesthetic unity.

While obviously retrospective in nature, by the last years of the century neoclassicism had also attained a utopian thrust that was exploited in the interest of political, social, economic, and spiritual reform. The antique panacea was offered to an ailing Europe for such perceived ills as obscurantism, religious fanaticism, superstition, and social inequality. It was the rationalist basis of neoclassicism that so appealed to progressive Enlightenment thought and that led proponents of the French Revolution to embrace it for regimist purposes. Later, Napoleon co-opted the Roman Empire as both a precedent for and a justification of his own. The Arc de Triomphe du Carrousel (1806–1807) in Paris, executed by Charles Percier to celebrate French victories at Austerlitz and Jena, was based on the precedent of Rome's Arch of Constantine. The fact that both Jacobins and Bonapartists could claim the same cultural and political inheritance is vivid testimony to neoclassicism's pervasiveness and flexibility.

By 1830 neoclassicism had evolved from a progressive style extolling ancient virtue and aesthetic reform while opposing luxury and decorative self-indulgence to become the chief expression of modern empire and military dictatorship. Increasingly identified with an academic pedagogy that many younger Romantic artists considered stifling and outdated, neoclassicism also was associated with conservatism and aristocratic privilege, principles it had challenged and partly overcome in its early phases. Neoclassicism's afterlife has included its adoption by both Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union. It continues to be a rich source of forms and motifs for postmodern artists, architects, and designers.

See also Canova, Antonio; Classicism; David, Jacques-Louis; Mengs, Anton Raphael; Piranesi, Giovanni Battista; Renaissance; Republic of Letters; Winckelmann, Johann Joachim.

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CHRISTOPHER M. S. JOHNS

NEOPLATONISM. Early modern Neoplatonism was a complex, syncretic phenomenon. It revived the thought of late antiquity but had deep roots too in the Greek Fathers, in medieval Augustinian spirituality, and in late scholastic Aristotelianism; it was also indebted to the Plato-Aristotle controversy among Renaissance Byzantines, notably to the speculative (and probably heretical) ideas of George Gemistos Pletho. Keyed to the revival of interest in, and renewed access to, Plato's texts that began with such early fifteenth-century humanists as the Florentine chancellor Leonardo Bruni, it culminated in the work of four distinguished if very different philosopher-theologians: the Greek émigré Cardinal Bessarion (1403–1472), the German conciliarist Cardinal Nicholas Cusanus (1401–1464), the Florentine cathedral canon, scholar, and teacher Marsilio Ficino (1433–1499), and his “fellow Platonist,” the eclectically brilliant Giovanni Pico, count of Mirandola (1463–1494), who ended his brief life as a devout follower of Savonarola.

Strictly speaking, Neoplatonism is the Platonism that originated with Plato's monistic third-century interpreter, Plotinus, and that attained its most scholastic elaboration in the work of the fifth-century Proclus. Dominated by metaphysical concerns, it was based on Plato's middle and later dialogues, preeminently the *Parmenides*, *Timaeus*, *Sophist*, *Philebus*, *Republic*, and *Phaedrus*, and on passages and arguments elsewhere, particularly in the *Symposium*, that addressed these concerns. From the onset, however, Plotinus and his followers claimed to be expounding not only Plato's Platonism but also the doctrines that Plato had learned from Pythagorean teachers, themselves the inheritors of proto-Platonic doctrines from the remotest Orphic, Egyptian, and Persian-Chaldaean pasts. All this came to be thought of by the Renaissance Neoplatonists as an ancient theology, a perennial gentile wisdom, bestowed and sanctioned by God, that was parallel to, and consonant with, the wisdom revealed to the Hebrews via Moses and the prophets, and that had been perfected in Christ, the new Zoroaster, the new Orpheus, the new Plato. This was not simply a declaration of faith. They could turn to the opening of St. John's Gospel and his First Epistle with their meditations on the descent of the Word, to various passages in St. Paul's Epis-

tles, and above all to the treatises of one Dionysius the Areopagite, whom they identified with St. Paul's Athenian disciple (mentioned in Acts 17:34), but who was, we now realize, a late fifth- or early sixth-century follower of Proclus. These treatises incorporated many features of Proclus' Neoplatonic scholasticism, and propounded a dialectical theology centered on negation and analogy that was deeply indebted to the late ancient Neoplatonic interpretation of the second part of Plato's *Parmenides*. But their misdating to the first century had the dramatic effect of making St. Paul a Proclian Neoplatonist, and his teaching on the Hill of Mars, an exposition of the mysteries of Plato's supreme exercise in dialectic.

Other misdatings or misattributions—the notion for instance that Plotinus had been taught by a Christian, Ammonius Saccas, and had been a fellow disciple of the Christian Origen—helped to establish Christ and his disciples as the perfection of Platonism, and to validate Neoplatonism as *the* Christian philosophy. The seal to this interpretation was Augustine's acknowledgment of the role played by "certain books of the Platonists"—in all likelihood Marius Victorinus' Latin translations of extracts from Plotinus—in his reconversion to Christianity. Thus Augustine and the Areopagite, the two thinkers who had laid the foundations of medieval theology, were made central to the story of Christian Neoplatonism. Finally, to complicate matters still further, when the study of Aristotle was revived in the West in the thirteenth century, some of his governing notions had already been partially Neoplatonized by ancient commentators such as Themistius, and by Arab misattributions and mistranslations. Various hybrids (the notion of participation is an example) persisted into the early modern period, despite scholarly controversy and elucidation. Additionally, parts of Proclus' works were already known in the medieval period (and were rendered into Latin), while those of Plato and Plotinus remained essentially unknown except for the first half of the *Timaeus* and the lemmata in Proclus' commentaries; this ensured a Proclian take on many issues that also persisted. It was a tangled situation that obviously lent itself to the revival of the ancient search for a Neoplatonic subordination of Aristotle to Plato, and of both to Christianity.

This was largely the work of Marsilio Ficino (1433–1499). Earlier humanists had already translated some of the dialogues, including the *Republic*, into Latin, but Ficino published the definitive Neoplatonic rendering of the entire canon in 1484 and went on to translate Plotinus' *Enneads* and a number of other dependent texts, and to furnish them with extensive, penetrating commentary. An original philosopher, teacher, medical theorist, and priest, he embraced the missionary goal of Neoplatonizing Christianity. In particular he argued on Neoplatonic grounds for the soul's immortality in the hope both of strengthening the faith of the intellectual elite and of initiating them into the mysteries (the psychology) of the soul's ascent into mind, into unity, into the highest of all metaphysical principles, the One. This captured the imagination of influential secular and religious figures, patrons, and artists throughout Europe, especially in Italy, France, and Hungary (though whether he was ever the head of a Platonic academy in Florence in any sense other than a circle of friends and admirers is doubtful). His arguments in *Platonic Theology* (1482) even contributed to the soul's immortality being declared an article of faith at the Lateran Council in 1512.

Though Jacopo Mazzoni and Francesco Patrizi eventually occupied newly created chairs of Platonic philosophy, Neoplatonism never managed to supplant the entrenched Aristotelianism of the universities, even as it attracted influential academic support in France, and eventually in England with such mid-seventeenth-century Platonists as Ralph Cudworth and Henry More. In fact, Ficino's Neoplatonized Latin Plato and Plotinus translations continued to be used well into the nineteenth century (we have Samuel Taylor Coleridge's notes, for instance, on Ficino's Plato); and they contributed to the revival of an interest in Plato's later metaphysics among German philosophers and theologians such as Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel and Friedrich Schleiermacher.

Neoplatonism's greatest impact, however, was on several speculative thinkers outside of, or merely on the fringes of, the universities. These included most notably Giordano Bruno, Tommaso Campanella, Johannes Kepler, Galileo Galilei, and Robert Fludd, men who were variously interested in magic, demonology, the occult, mystical mathematics, har-

mony and love theory, medical astrology, and the notions of the World Soul and of an ensouled nature. Such a rich medley of interests also accounted, predictably, for Neoplatonism's eclipse during the Enlightenment, and for the often harsh dismissal by historians like Johann Jakob Brucker of its Renaissance proponents. By the same token, the Romantics rediscovered in it a mystical, at times even a pantheistic, tradition that was opposed not so much to Cartesian rationalism as to scientific empiricism, and that had heretical if not explicitly anti-Christian aspects. Arguably indeed Plotinus and Neoplatonism had a profounder impact on early modern Europe, directly and by way of opposition, than the "pure" Plato and the dialogues themselves; certainly a non-Neoplatonic appreciation of the latter only peaked after the educational reforms of the nineteenth century had made an understanding and appreciation of Greek literary prose—the early and middle dialogues are wonderful examples—an integral part of the establishment's patrician education. Even so, poets and theologians continued to turn to Plotinus and his followers, as did a few scholars haunted by the possibility that they were in truth Plato's most luminous interpreters.

See also Cambridge Platonists; Moral Philosophy and Ethics; Philosophy.

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MICHAEL J. B. ALLEN

NEPOTISM. The term "nepotism" (from Latin *nepos*, 'nephew') refers to the popes' practice of appointing a "nephew" to the curial office of cardinal-nephew. The term can also refer more generally to the appointment of a close relative or other favored person to an ecclesiastical position. Because clerical celibacy generally meant that prelates had no sons, siblings' sons or other close relations were chosen for positions requiring discretion and confidentiality. In the early modern era there were instances of a pope's natural sons filling such positions, as with Alexander VI's son Cesare Borgia (1475/1476–1507), who was made archbishop and later cardinal. (The term "nephew" might in fact be used to refer euphemistically to the natural son of a prelate.) Nepotism also refers to the practice of granting to family members, friends, or others ecclesiastical offices, benefices, preferment, and favors. Dispensing ecclesiastical offices and wealth as personal property to those one favored rather than those worthy to receive them was considered a serious abuse and was forbidden by canon law.

The genesis of the office of papal cardinal-nephew is obscure, but it can be traced back well into the Middle Ages. In the early modern papacy, the office of cardinal-nephew became crucial, as it safeguarded a papal family's control over finances, affairs of state, diplomacy, ecclesiastical appointments, theological issues, and matters pertaining to the papal family's social status. Cardinal-nephews looked out for the aggrandizement of the papal family (which was also their own) in the short duration of the pope's reign. Nephews held the ecclesiastical dignity of cardinal, but many were not ordained; they might also hold a clerical rank from cardinal-deacon to cardinal-archbishop. They often functioned as secretaries, advisers, managers, and supervisors over the affairs of the Papal States. Their responsibilities often varied greatly from one pontificate to another. Most cardinal-nephews interacted closely with other clerical officials, especially the secretary of state (who might also be a nephew). Based on the closest ties of kinship, the nephews' trustworthiness gave them privileged access to popes and to the inner circles of curial deliberations; it also provided opportunities for acquiring enormous wealth.

Though sometimes appointed very early in life, some cardinal-nephews proved to be highly competent, indispensable administrators. Among these were Carlo Borromeo (1538–1585), a nephew of Pius IV who later became archbishop of Milan, and Alessandro Farnese (1520–1589), grandson of Paul III. Others proved dissolute, and some, like Paul IV's nephew Carlo Carafa, who was executed for his shameless activities, were disastrous. The Barberini nephews of Pope Urban VIII, Francesco (1597–1679) and Antonio (1607–1671), caused a diplomatic crisis in 1634 when one became cardinal-protector of Spain, the other of France. Many cardinal-nephews were great patrons of the arts. Scipione Borghese, for instance, was patron of the young Gian Lorenzo Bernini (1598–1680). At the close of the seventeenth century, Innocent XII (reigned 1691–1700) eliminated the office of cardinal-nephew, as reformers pressed for popes who did not put family aggrandizement first. The cardinal-nephew's duties were subsumed by the secretary of state.

See also **Borromeo, Carlo; Papacy and Papal States.**

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FREDERICK J. MCGINNESS

NETHERLANDS, ART IN THE

This entry includes three subentries:

ART IN THE NETHERLANDS, 1500–1585

ART IN FLANDERS, 1585–1700

ART IN THE NORTHERN NETHERLANDS, 1585–1700

ART IN THE NETHERLANDS, 1500–1585

While in the fifteenth century the church and courts had been the dominant patrons for the arts, in the sixteenth century a new wealthy urban merchant class in the area comprising roughly present-day Belgium, the Netherlands, and northwestern France also began to commission and collect works of art. Moreover, followers of a growing Protestant movement began to clash with the established Catholic Church, whose supporters included the Habsburg rulers of the region. Artists, who began to produce works not only on commission but also for an open market, responded to these changes with an increasing diversity of subject matter. A greater mobility of art and artists gave rise to styles that responded both to local traditions and to foreign, particularly Italian, styles.

The paintings of Quinten Massys (or Metsys, c. 1466–1530) provide a good example of this diversity. The composition of his *Lamentation*, the central panel of an altarpiece created for the Antwerp Joiners' Guild (1508–1511, Musée des beaux-arts, Antwerp), recalls that of a painting of the same subject by Rogier van der Weyden, while the scene is suffused throughout with a soft Italian light; the flanking wings are mannerist in style. Like many of his contemporaries, Massys also worked in other genres, including portraiture, such as the diptych friendship portraits of *Erasmus of Rotterdam* and *Pieter Gillis* (1517, Palazzo Barberini, Rome; and Longford Castle, Wiltshire) created as a gift from Erasmus to Sir Thomas More, and secular works that seem to have moralizing associations, including the *Money-changer and his Wife* (1514, Louvre, Paris) and *Ill-Matched Lovers* (c. 1520/25, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.).

Courts continued to be a vital center for artistic production. After establishing himself as a master in Antwerp, Jan Gossaert (or Jan Mabuse, c. 1478–1532) traveled to Rome in the service of Philip of Burgundy, where he copied antique sculpture and

NETHERLANDS. See **Dutch Republic.**

may have seen some works by Michelangelo. The work he produced upon his return, such as his *Danaë* (1527, Alte Pinakothek, Munich), combined archaizing elements of the northern tradition with some of the first elements in the north of an Italian experience: classicizing architectural settings, linear perspective, and occasional references to Roman sculpture. Gossaert's work had an important impact on the next generation of artists, including the late prints of Lucas van Leyden (c. 1494–1533).

Lucas created the monumental triptych with *The Last Judgment* as a memorial in the Pieterskerk for the lumber merchant Claes Dircksz. van Swieten (1526–1527, Stedelijk Museum De Lakenhal, Leiden). Its relatively traditional iconography was presented in intense bright coloring and included several different levels of perspective. Lucas's roughly two hundred engravings, influenced by the work of Albrecht Dürer and, later, Marcantonio Raimondi, gained for him an international reputation while he was still alive.

After training with Jacob Cornelisz van Oostanen in Amsterdam, and possibly also briefly with Gossaert in Utrecht about 1515–1517, Jan van Scorel (1495–1562) traveled extensively, including a pilgrimage to the Holy Land and a year as the curator of the Vatican collections under the Dutch Pope Adrian VI, before returning to Utrecht. There he established a thriving studio where his works were much in demand by patrons ranging from ecclesiastics and aristocrats to humanists and city magistrates. Three panels painted for the Utrecht Brotherhood of Jerusalem Pilgrims (Centraal Museum, Utrecht), of which he was a member, and one for that in Haarlem (c. 1528, Frans Hals Museum, Haarlem), are among the earliest group portraits painted in the northern Netherlands. His religious paintings range from the intimate *Mary Magdalen* (c. 1530, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam) to monumental altarpieces such as the *Finding of the True Cross* (c. 1540, Grote Kerk, Breda). Scorel trained two important artists, Maerten van Heemskerck (1498–1574) and Antonis Mor (1516/20–c. 1576). The latter moved to Antwerp by 1547 and established the format for imposing court portraiture for noble patrons throughout northern Europe and the Habsburg empire.

It was during the sixteenth century that the features of both landscape and still life, which had previously existed largely as subsidiary elements in religious works and portraiture, became a larger constituent of some paintings. Joachim Patinir (c. 1485–1524) was described by Albrecht Dürer as “the good landscape painter.” His figurative subjects, such as the *Landscape with St. Jerome* (c. 1520–1524, Museo del Prado, Madrid), are usually buried in a “world landscape,” a vast panorama filled with incidental detail and viewed from a so-called bird's-eye perspective. Patinir creates recession through color zones, going from warm brown in the foreground through green and finally to a cool background of blue and gray. This, and the abstract, craggy rock formations serving as mountains, highly influenced landscape imagery for nearly a century.

Works of art created in the Netherlands in the second two-thirds of the sixteenth century were produced in the midst of dramatic social change and tumultuous political and religious strife, culminating in the iconoclastic riots that swept through Catholic churches and destroyed countless works of art in 1566. Religious tensions and social changes produced a culture of uncertainty and anxiety for many, which in turn created a demand for, and appreciation of, works that engaged the viewer's consideration of the complexities of life. The subject or message of these works is not always clear; pictures frequently present puzzles rather than didactic messages.

This seems to be the case with the work of Pieter Aertsen (c. 1508/09–1575) who frequently buried his religious subjects in the background of large-scale still lifes, such as his *Butcher's Stall with the Flight into Egypt* (Uppsala University Art Collections, Sweden), dated 10 March 1551, the middle of Lent. The carcasses in the foreground might have brought to mind the old, largely abandoned practice of giving meat to the poor during Lent, while the Holy Family in the background offering alms to a beggar and his son would certainly have advocated generosity to the poor. The painting seems to ask the viewer to consider his or her own wealth in light of the kindness of the Holy Family, rather than simply condemning wealth outright.



Art in the Netherlands. Lucas van Leyden, *The Just Awaiting Their Assumption*, central panel of the triptych *The Last Judgement*, Stedelijk Museum de Lakenhal, Leiden. ©ERICH LESSING/ART RESOURCE, N.Y.

Some of the most original and complex works of the century were produced by Pieter Bruegel the Elder (c. 1527–1569), who left an indelible impression on subsequent generations of artists. Bruegel began his career designing engravings and then turned to creating enigmatic paintings based on popular proverbs as well as peasant scenes and reli-

gious subjects for patrons that included humanists and wealthy businessmen. His *Fall of the Rebel Angels* (1562, Musée royal des beaux-arts, Brussels) depicts a concatenation of bizarre creatures that recall the work of Hieronymus Bosch (c. 1450–1516); the *Netherlandish Proverbs* (1559, Gemäldegalerie, Staatliche Museen, Berlin) represents nearly

one hundred proverbs in the guise of the daily activities of the inhabitants of a Flemish village. His moving *Christ Carrying the Cross* (1564, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna) sets the event in a Flemish world landscape and buries Calvary in the far distance.

While many of these works challenge the viewer with thought, the Catholic Church responded with others that were emphatically didactic. The muscular bodies in Frans Floris's (c. 1519–1570) striking *Fall of the Rebel Angels* (1554, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, Antwerp) recalls the figures of Michelangelo that he studied in Rome. The work's theme asserts the power of the Catholic faith in a century convulsed with Protestant rebellion.

See also **Art: The Art Market and Collecting; Bruegel Family; Painting; Prints and Popular Imagery; Reformation, Protestant.**

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ANN JENSEN ADAMS

ART IN FLANDERS, 1585–1700

In 1579, driven by economic interests and supported by Protestants who wished to be free of repressive religious policies, a group of provinces of the northern Netherlands declared their independence from Philip II, the Habsburg king of Spain (ruled 1556–1598). The division of the Netherlands into two regions, the Netherlands in the north

and what became known as Flanders in the south, was effected on 17 August 1585 when Philip II's commander-in-chief and governor of the Netherlands, Alessandro Farnese, duke of Parma, accepted the surrender of the rebellious city of Antwerp, although it was not until the Treaty of Münster in 1648 that the separation was legally recognized.

Although artists traveled between the two regions, Flanders, along with the rest of Catholic Europe, developed a culture very different from that of the northern Netherlands. In Flanders, Antwerp remained the center of artistic production. Two masters in this city, Maerten de Vos (1532–1603) and the more internationally well-known Otto van Veen (also called Octavius Vaenius, 1556–1629) played a major role in producing large-scale altarpieces to replace those that had been destroyed during the iconoclastic riots and those surviving works that no longer seemed appropriate after the Council of Trent (1563) dictated that religious paintings should be clear in both narrative content and visual structure and should engage the emotions of the worshiper.

Van Veen was eclipsed in 1608 by the return to Antwerp from Italy of his former pupil, Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640). For eight years, Rubens had studied antique sculpture and the art of his Italian contemporaries as well as those of the preceding century. Almost immediately, he was offered important commissions by the church, wealthy citizens such as lawyer and burgomaster Nicolaas Rockox and merchant Cornelis van der Geest, and monarchs both at home and abroad. The style of works executed immediately after his return to Antwerp, such as his *Samson and Delilah*, painted for Rockox (c. 1609–1610, National Gallery, London), or the *Raising of the Cross* (1610–1611, Antwerp Cathedral), combined the strong figurative style of Michelangelo, Caravaggesque light effects, and warm Venetian coloring. These were followed by the more classical *Descent from the Cross* (1612–1614, Antwerp cathedral), which may have responded to the more conservative sixteenth-century tradition as well as the clarity demanded by Counter-Reformation dogma. Dynamic composition and strong emotional effects returned in such works as his *Battle of the Amazons* (c. 1618) and the *Fall of the Damned* (c. 1620, both Alte Pinakothek, Munich).

From the early 1620s, Rubens began designing monumental painting cycles and cycles of tapestries for monarchs across Europe, some of which went hand-in-hand with important diplomatic missions. He often created preliminary oil sketches for these that were used by members of his vast studio in their execution of the works. These included cycles for the Jesuit church in Antwerp (destroyed by fire in 1718), the French queen Marie de Médicis (1622–1625), her son Louis XIII (1622–1623), archduchess Isabella (1625–1627), King Charles I of England (1629–1635), and Philip IV of Spain (1636–1638). Rubens also oversaw the production of a large number of prints, creating both independent designs and reproductions of his own works in other media.

Among the many artists with whom Rubens collaborated, two assistants stand out: Anthony Van Dyck (1599–1641) and Jacob Jordaens (1593–1678), both of whom had become independent masters before working with him on his cycle *Mysteries of the Rosary* (c. 1617–1620, St. Paul's Church, Antwerp). Van Dyck worked in Italy between 1621 and 1627, and in London between 1632 and 1640. His paintings display an animated virtuosity, elegant figures, and free paint handling that bring to mind the late work of Titian. Jordaens, who never went to Italy, created scenes populated by more down-to-earth folk characters animated by colorful local detail. After the death of Rubens in 1640 and Van Dyck in 1641, Jordaens was overloaded with commissions, particularly for allegorical and mythological subjects. The figures in his late paintings come close to caricature, and the compositions are more decorative.

Wealthy and sophisticated urban patrons created a demand for paintings in a wide variety of independent genres, many produced for the open market. Artists such as Hendrick van Balen I (1574/75–1632), Frans Francken II (1581–1642), and David Teniers I (1582–1649) created cabinet-sized history paintings of small-scale mythological or religious scenes located in landscape settings or architectural interiors (often painted by a different artist) as well as small copies of the work of better-known masters.

Genre paintings, showing several figures engaged in contemporary everyday activities, depict a

wide range of themes. Scenes of peasants were popular, as they helped both to establish the distance of the urban patron from rough country life and to bring to mind the leisurely country life of the aristocracy. Pieter Breughel the Younger (1564–1638) and Jan Breughel (called “Velvet” Breughel, 1568–1625), sons of Pieter Bruegel the Elder (c. 1527–1569), painted copies and pastiches of their father's work in addition to inventions of their own. Adriaen Brouwer (1605/06–1638), David Teniers the Younger (1610–1690), and David Rijckaert III (1612–1661) also produced popular images of lowlife characters. At the other end of the spectrum, elegant courtly scenes were painted by Hieronymus Francken I (1540–1610), his nephew Hieronymus Francken II (1578–1623), and the latter's brother Frans Francken II (1581–1642), along with Sebastiaan Vrancx (1573–1647) and Louis de Caullery (before 1582–1622). Scenes showing the influence of Caravaggio were created by Gerard Seghers (1591–1651) and Theodor Rombouts (1597–1637), while Italy provided the settings of genre paintings by Jan Miel (1599–1664) and Michiel Sweerts (1624–1664). Many of these images allude to popular aphorisms or embody a moral lesson.

The pastoral subjects of some genre paintings were thematized more directly in landscape paintings popular with wealthy urban merchants who were buying country houses, reading pastoral poetry, and enjoying bucolic plays. Notably, sixteenth-century visual conventions remained fashionable well into the seventeenth century: world landscapes with a high horizon viewed from above, with distances indicated by a sequence of three colors. Also collected were woodland views depicted from the near distance with towering decorative foliage by such artists as Kerstiaen de Keuninck (c. 1560–1632/33), Joos de Momper (1564–1635), and Alexander Keirincx (1600–1652) before his move to Amsterdam in 1628. Jan Wildens (1586–1653) painted scenes of the hunt while seascapes were created by Bonaventura Peeters (1614–1652), and scenes of Mediterranean ports by Hendrik van Minderhout (1632–1696).

Hendrik van Steenwijck II (c. 1580–before 1649), Pieter Neeffs I (c. 1578–after 1656), and Wilhelm Schubert von Ehrenberg (1630/37–c. 1676) created town views and architectural interiors

in which the buildings (often churches) are frequently identifiable. These perspective views exaggerate the recession of backgrounds and the size of buildings (relative to their diminutive human figures) to a great degree; the scenes appear almost imaginary. Images of art collections (some of which were also imaginary) within an oversized interior were created with similarly exaggerated architectural conventions. Some of these by Frans Francken II and David Teniers II (1610–1690) embody allegorical themes referring to painting, or to the sources of the objects that comprised such collections (nature and man-made art). Jan “Velvet” Breughel created a series of the *Five Senses* in collaboration with Rubens (1617–1618, Prado, Madrid). Perhaps the best known of this type of work is *The Picture Gallery of Cornelis van der Geest* (1628, Rubenshuis, Antwerp) by Van der Geest’s curator Willem van Haecht, which includes actual portraits of Antwerp painters as well as the archdukes and King Ladislas Sigismund of Poland.

Country life was also celebrated in animal still lifes that alluded to the hunt, a prerogative reserved for the nobility and princes in earlier periods. Frans Snyders (1579–1657) and Paul de Vos (c. 1596–1678) depicted living animals and close-up views of animals in hunting scenes, while Jan Fijt (1611–1661) painted still lifes of dead game. Still lifes of subjects ranging from perishable foods in so-called breakfast pieces by Osias Beert (c. 1580–1624) and elaborate kitchen pieces by Frans Snyders to valuable ewers in gold and silver by Clara Peeters (1594–after 1657?) show objects displayed across a table top. Flowers emerged as a separate still-life genre around 1600. Perhaps the best known of these are by Jan “Velvet” Breughel, who meticulously rendered in a single bouquet portraits of actual flowers drawn at different times and in different locations. His pupil, the Jesuit painter Daniel Seghers (1590–1661), produced flowers woven into wreaths and festoons, often surrounding images of the Virgin and other devotional subjects. Jan Davidsz. de Heem (1606–1683/84), who moved to Antwerp from Utrecht shortly before 1635, created elaborate, sometimes flamboyant spreads of fruits, flowers, and meats, often set off by a curtain theatrically pulled back overhead.

In one way or another, each of these genres helped to create and reaffirm the self-image of an

established aristocracy and the growing urban patri-
 ciate who identified with it. No genre did this more
 directly than portraiture, commissioned not only by
 ecclesiastics, rulers, and the nobility but also by a
 broad range of the bourgeoisie. Until around 1620
 the forms remain relatively conservative, updating
 conventions inherited from the sixteenth century:
 bust or half-length pairs on two panels, the husband
 on the heraldic left of his wife, set before austere
 backgrounds. Increasingly, however, wealthy mer-
 chants began to commission portraits in the full-
 length format formerly reserved for members of
 courts across Europe, and in more informal poses.
 Group portraits of nuclear families in domestic or
 landscape settings (sometimes called conversation
 pieces) began to be produced in the second half of
 the seventeenth century by artists such as Gonzales
 Coques (1614–1684) and Gillis van Tilborch
 (1625–c. 1678).

See also Antwerp; Aristocracy and Gentry; Art: The Art Market and Collecting; Bruegel Family; Daily Life; Peasantry; Rubens, Peter Paul; Van Dyck, Anthony.

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ANN JENSEN ADAMS

ART IN THE NORTHERN NETHERLANDS, 1585–1700

Within a few decades after Antwerp fell to the armies of Philip II in 1585, its population was reduced by half, to around fifty thousand. Because the northern Netherlands now controlled the entrance to the Scheldt River on which Antwerp lay, the city lost to

Amsterdam its position as the leading port in northern Europe. Artists were among the thousands of inhabitants who fled to the northern Netherlands as Protestants sought relief from the repressive policies of the Catholic Habsburg rulers, while the ambitious followed the growing economic opportunities offered by the northern provinces. They responded to the tastes of a predominantly Protestant culture (although Catholics still made up as much as half the population) and the growing wealth of a broad middle class that was concentrated in the cities. Established churches no longer commissioned altarpieces while collectors, engaged in commerce (and many interested in the new science), developed a taste for imagery that was more secular and naturalistic than that of the previous century.

CLASSICISM, WEALTH, AND PORTRAITURE

The earliest examples of a uniquely northern Netherlandish art may be located in Haarlem in the 1580s. According to his biographer, Karel van Mander (1548–1606) along with Hendrick Goltzius (1558–1617) and Cornelis Cornelisz. van Haarlem (1562–1638) founded an academy where they could “study after life,” although this also may have referred to studies after other artists. In fact, the first works these artists produced were dramatically mannerist, a style reported to have been inspired by some drawings by Bartholomaeus Spranger (1546–1611) and introduced to the group by Van Mander. Cornelis’s monumental *Massacre of the Innocents* (1592, Frans Hals Museum, Haarlem) with its muscular bodies in contorted poses and its dramatic recession toward a view of distant buildings flanked by an open arch, is characteristically mannerist, as are a number of masterful prints by Goltzius. After returning from Italy in 1591, Goltzius’s work, and that of such pupils and followers as Peter de Grebber, Salomon and Jan de Bray, and Caesar van Everdingen became emphatically classicist. In Utrecht, Joachim Wtewael (1566–1638) also worked for a time in a mannerist style on both large canvases and small supports, for example the gem-like *Mars and Venus Discovered by the Gods* on copper (c. 1603–1604, J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles).

The new Protestant faith had little use for religious imagery. Nevertheless, religious paintings continued to be produced (although on a much smaller scale) for hidden Catholic churches to which

municipal authorities turned a blind eye, for private devotion in the home, and even for Protestant collectors. The largest concentration of Catholics, and the center of religious painting in the first half of the century, was in Utrecht. Many of these artists had traveled to Italy and, influenced by Caravaggio, have come to be known as the Utrecht *Caravaggisti*. These include Gerrit van Honthorst (1590–1656), known for his dramatic night scenes, Dirck van Baburen (c. 1590–1624), and Hendrik ter Brugghen (or Terbrugghen, 1588–1629), who spent ten years in Rome. Ter Brugghen’s *Saint Sebastian Tended by Irene* (1625, Allen Memorial Art Museum, Oberlin) combines Caravaggio’s large figures and dramatic light effects with a northern tenderness and quiet intimacy. Protestants did not eschew religious paintings altogether, however, although they tended to prefer Old Testament subjects that may have brought to mind similarities between the trials of the Israelites and the citizens of a new republic which, until 1648, was suffering from hostilities with Spain.

While the Dutch are better known for secular subjects and contemporary scenes, they also produced important history paintings. Pastoral subjects, from classical mythology and contemporary plays, were popular with members of the stadtholder’s court. Later, a taste for such works was developed by wealthy burghers who increasingly aspired to an aristocratic lifestyle. Perhaps it is no coincidence that two of the most extensive sets of history paintings were commissioned at midcentury, around the time of the truce with Spain. An allegorical biography celebrating the stadtholder Prince Frederik Hendrik (1584–1647) was commissioned by his widow Amalia von Solms (1602–1675) for the Oranjezaal, the central room of her palace, the Huis ten Bosch in The Hague, from Jacob van Campen (1595–1657), the Flemish Protestant artist Jacob Jordaens (1593–1678), and others. Above all, history paintings on a grand scale were commissioned for town halls. Built between 1648 and 1655, the town hall of Amsterdam was decorated with images from classical mythology, Roman history, and from the Dutch past, including Rembrandt’s *Oath of the Batavians to Claudius Civilis* (1661–1662, Nationalmuseum, Stockholm), though it was removed after only a few months.

While history painting traditionally enjoyed the highest prestige, there was a tremendous demand for portraiture as well in a culture where men and women were amassing fortunes and defining new social roles. Michiel van Mierevelt (1567–1641) and Gerrit van Honthorst created portraits for members of the stadtholder's court in The Hague in formal poses, surrounded by signs of rank in the tradition established by Anthonis Mor (1516/20–c. 1576). With lively brushwork, Frans Hals (c. 1581/85–1666) in Haarlem depicted his sitters not only in quiet and sober poses, but also informally as in his portrait of the couple *Isaac Massa and His Wife Beatrix van der Laen* seated beneath a tree in a landscape (c. 1622, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam). In Amsterdam, Thomas de Keyser (1596–1667) invented the genre portrait, showing sitters in the full-length format normally reserved for aristocrats and monarchs—but surrounded by objects of daily life. After he moved to Amsterdam in 1631 or 1632, Rembrandt van Rijn (1606–1669) transformed portraiture with animated poses and facial expressions that suggest thought and emotion, the best known of which is *The Night Watch* (1642, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam). Later in the century Gerard Terborch (1617–1681) created portraits with exquisite attention to detail, particularly of fabrics, on small panels.

Genre painting—depictions of men and women in contemporary interiors, from a broad range of social classes, and engaged in mundane tasks—has always been closely associated with seventeenth-century Dutch art. Jan Steen (1625/26–1679) depicted humorous images of quack doctors, drunken couples, and peasants at play; Adriaen van Ostade (1610–1685) represented brawling peasants and affecting interiors of peasants at home. In exquisitely worked paintings, the *fijschilders* (fine painters) Gerard Dou (1613–1675) and his student Frans van Mieris (1635–1681) painted quiet domestic interiors and, later, stylish scenes of men and women engaged in making music. Gerard Terborch's elegant and enigmatic scenes of courtship are the inheritors of this genre. The best known of these genre painters is Jan Vermeer of Delft (1632–1675) who left only about thirty works. Art historians have long debated how these images were understood: did they have moralizing associations, did they celebrate the artist's skill—or both?

STILL LIFES AND LANDSCAPES AS SUBJECTS

Nowhere is the Dutch artist's apparent close record of the world around him as evident as in still-life painting. Nonetheless, while transcribing nature in detail, these images were carefully contrived. Ambrosius Bosschaert's (1573–1621) exquisite flower paintings are portraits of individual flowers—but arranged in bouquets that could never have existed: many of their flowers bloomed at different times of the year. The popularity of these images, and the high prices that they fetched, went hand in hand with the high value that was placed on new floral types and a new scientific interest in botany. Later in the century, bouquet still lifes by Jan Davidsz. de Heem (1606–1683) are overabundant, almost a metaphor for a century exhausted by its own rapidly developing wealth.

Vanitas still lifes were popular particularly in the first half of the century. Painted in subdued monochromatic colors, those of Pieter Claesz (1597/98–1660/61) depict skulls, hourglasses, and smoke drifting from a pipe, all suggesting the transience of life. These images gave way in the second half of the century to *pronk* still lifes, exuberant showpieces of expensive objects, such as Willem Kalf's (1619–1693) *Still Life with Nautilus Cup and Wan-Li Bowl* (1662, Thyssen-Bornemisza Foundation, Madrid). Here the biblical figure of Jonah being devoured by a whale in the Nautilus cup may caution against the riches of the world—represented by the silver and gold support of the cup itself—and at the same time celebrate the painter's skill and the material goods filling Dutch warehouses from the four corners of the world. The virtuoso trompe l'oeil paintings and sophisticated perspective boxes of art theorist and painter Samuel van Hoogstraten (1627–1678) evidence the mathematical and scientific concerns that lay behind the close visual analysis of the material world.

The Dutch literally created much of their land, and they were among the first artists in Europe to make it the subject of a painting devoid of figures that gave it a narrative. Early winter scenes by Hendrick Averkamp (1585–1634) show a high horizon and are still populated with figures, people skating and enjoying being out of doors. The next generation of landscape painters, however, took the landscape itself as a subject. Jan van Goyen (1596–1656) produced monochromatic images, freely and

quickly worked—economic to produce for a rapidly growing market. Salomon van Ruysdael's (c. 1602–1670) nostalgic ferries on a river show a form of transportation that was quickly passing into history. In the second half of the century, Jacob van Ruisdael (1628/29–1682) produced images that monumentalize simple cloud formations, trees, windmills, and waterfalls. He created some of the only images of work on the land: the bleaching fields of Haarlem, as well as two versions of the *Jewish Cemetery* (c. 1655–1660, Gemäldegalerie, Dresden; and Detroit Institute of Arts) that are profoundly moving. It is not surprising that for a country whose wealth was built in part on maritime trade, seascapes were highly popular, including those by the Sunday painter Jan van de Cappelle (c. 1624–1679), and the father and son Willem van de Velde I (1611–1693) and Willem van de Velde II (1633–1707).

In observing the world around them, Dutch painters developed a unique genre, the church interior painting. The best known of these are Emanuel de Witte (1617–1692) in Amsterdam and Pieter Saenredam (1597–1665) in Haarlem. The latter's *Interior of the Church of St. Bavo, Haarlem* (1648, National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh), while appearing to record the church exactly, manipulates both the perspective and details of the interior.

While the best-known Netherlandish landscapes picture familiar Dutch topography, one landscape genre was more directly influenced by Italy: scenes with imaginative Italian ruins, Italian harbors, or rolling hills infused with a Dutchman's attention to Italian light in painting, often with small figures from biblical narratives, such as those by Cornelis van Poelenburgh (c. 1586–1667), Bartholomeus Breenbergh (1599–1657), and others known as Italianate landscape painters.

See also Amsterdam; Antwerp; Art: The Art Market and Collecting; Art: Art Theory, Criticism, and Historiography; Caravaggio and Caravaggism; Dutch Republic; Hals, Frans; Mannerism; Rembrandt van Rijn; Vermeer, Jan.

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ANN JENSEN ADAMS

NETHERLANDS, SOUTHERN. The southern Netherlands were those provinces of the Low Countries inherited in 1555 by Philip II of Spain (ruled in the Netherlands 1555–1598, in Spain 1556–1598) that remained under Habsburg rule following the Twelve Years' Truce of 1609, which admitted the de facto independence of the United Netherlands (Dutch Republic). Known first as the Spanish Netherlands, the provinces became the Austrian Netherlands when transferred to the Austrian Habsburg dynasty by the treaties of Utrecht (1713) and Rastatt (1714). The greater part of them forms present-day Belgium.

THE NETHERLANDS DIVIDED

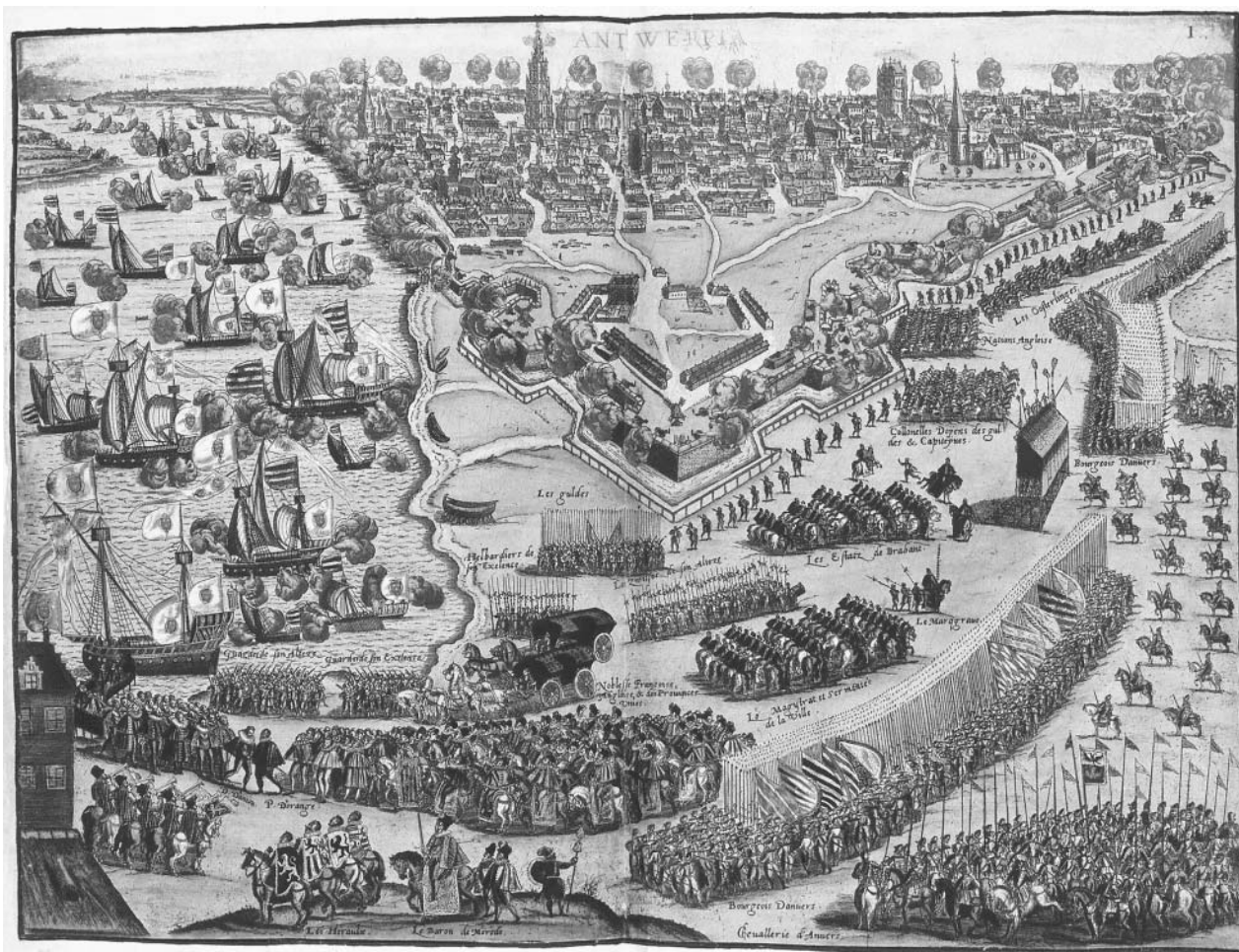
The revolt of the Low Countries against Philip II, involving religious, political, and national issues, peaked in 1576, when the full States General of the Netherlands agreed to the Pacification of Ghent. But divisions between south and north and Catholic and Protestant, as well as social strife fueled by militant Calvinism in many towns, soon undermined the agreement. In January 1579 the estates of the southern Walloon provinces of Hainaut, Artois, and Tournais and delegates of the towns of Lille, Douai, and Orchies in Walloon Flanders formed the Union of Arras to defend the Catholic faith and asserted their obedience to Philip II. At first acknowledging Archduke Matthias (1557–1619), lured in 1577 by the States General to serve

as governor-general, in May they came to terms with the governor-general appointed by Philip, Alexander Farnese (1545–1592), the future duke of Parma, whose army occupied Namur. Through Parma, Philip promised to respect the ancient constitutional liberties of the Netherlands reflected in the Joyeuse Entrée (Joyous Entry), which dated from mid-fourteenth-century Brabant and was amplified and confirmed by subsequent Burgundian and Habsburg rulers of the Netherlands.

As the Walloon provinces formed the Union of Arras, seven northern Dutch-speaking provinces, led by Holland and Zeeland, formed the United Netherlands through the Union of Utrecht (1579) to safeguard the Calvinist faith and traditional liberties. In 1581 the Union of Utrecht abjured Philip II and in 1587 vested sovereignty in their

States General. Luxembourg, separated from the other provinces of Philip II's inheritance by the independent bishopric of Liège, had never joined the revolt and remained attached to the southern Netherlands. Cambrai, legally an independent bishopric, was tied to the southern Netherlands by a citadel, originally erected and garrisoned by Philip's father, Emperor Charles V (ruled 1519–1556; ruled Spain as Charles I, 1516–1556).

Advancing from the “obedient” provinces, Parma by 1587 had taken the town of Tournai, most of Flemish Flanders (save for Ostend), and most of Limburg, Brabant (including Brussels, Antwerp, and Mechelen), and Gelderland from the rebels and had won over large areas in the northeastern provinces that resisted incorporation into the Dutch Republic. Distractions that included prepa-



Southern Netherlands. *The Siege of Antwerp, Culminating in Capture in 1585 by Alexander Farnese, Duke of Parma*, undated engraving. THE ART ARCHIVE/BRITISH LIBRARY

rations to invade England with the Spanish Armada (1587–1588) and intervention in the French Succession (1589–1598) prevented further gains and allowed the Dutch to eliminate the loyalist strongholds in the northeast and gain footholds south of the Rhine, Waal, and Maas rivers.

In a bid to reunite the revolt-torn Netherlands peacefully, Philip II in 1598 separated them from the Spanish crown and bestowed sovereignty over them to the “archdukes,” his daughter Isabel Clara Eugenia (1566–1633) and her husband Archduke Albert (1559–1621). But if the archdukes, each over age thirty, had no heir, sovereignty would revert to the Spanish crown. This fact, along with differences over religion, trade with the Spanish empire, commercial rivalries, and the archdukes’ dependence on Spain for money and troops, prevented reunification. Conflict persisted. The archdukes’ general, Ambrogio Spinola, conquered Ostend (1604), and privateers sailing from Dunkirk menaced Dutch shipping. But Sluis was lost (1604), and the war overall seesawed. The depredations of raiders and religious persecution on both sides engendered bitterness between the two populations. Following an armistice in 1607, the archdukes, Philip III (ruled 1598–1621) of Spain, and the Dutch Republic in 1609 agreed to a Twelve Years’ Truce that left the Low Countries divided between the United Provinces and the Spanish Netherlands.

THE SPANISH NETHERLANDS

By general reckoning, the “obedient” provinces numbered ten, even if parts of them had been lost to the Dutch. They were the duchies of Brabant, Upper Gelderland, Limburg, and Luxembourg; the counties of Artois, Hainaut, Namur, and Flanders; and the lordships of Walloon Flanders and Tournai. They formed a congeries, each with its particular institutions, each possessed by its appropriate title, each jealous of its rights, and each stingy in matters of taxes. All but Luxembourg had been devastated by nearly forty years of strife and had lost considerable numbers from a population that once neared two million people. Perhaps 100,000 fled to the Dutch Republic or England, taking their skills and businesses with them. The Flemish cloth industry was in ruins, and the formerly great port of Antwerp was cut off from the sea by the Dutch closure of the River Schelde estuary. The provinces were linguisti-

cally divided, with Walloon French spoken in the south and Dutch Flemish in the north and west. Roman Catholicism held them together.

Peace permitted some recovery in industry and population. The archdukes centralized power in Brussels with the traditional councils of state, justice, and finance; left the provinces to the nobility and the towns to prominent burghers; and after 1600 did not summon the southern States General. Yet under the archdukes a nascent sense of national identity developed. Led by the Jesuits, the Roman Catholic Church revived. Each province had an episcopal see, a result of the controversial reform of 1562, and the archbishop of Mechelen served as primate. The universities and colleges of Louvain and Douai became centers of classical scholarship and Catholic theology. Cornelis Jansen (1585–1638), bishop of Ieper (Ypres), propounded austere doctrines that had a major impact on seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Catholic thought. The baroque style flourished in splendid churches and public buildings. The painters Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640) and Anthony Van Dyck (1599–1641) gained international fame. Demand continued for Flemish tapestries and lace.

In 1621, following the death of Albert without an heir, the Spanish Netherlands reverted to Philip IV of Spain (ruled 1621–1665), and with the expiry of the truce, war with the Dutch resumed, becoming part of the larger Thirty Years’ War. Isabel continued as governor-general. Dunkirk privateers and the armada of Flanders went after Dutch shipping and destroyed a herring fleet. In 1625 Spinola captured the Dutch stronghold of Breda, but in 1628 he was ordered to Italy. The Dutch in 1629 took the stronghold of ’s Hertogenbosch and in 1632 Maastricht. A few ranking noblemen sought annexation by France, where the high nobility had kin. Confronted by setbacks and sedition, Isabel summoned the States General to Brussels in 1632 in a vain effort to seek peace with the Dutch. A few still talked of reunion. On Isabel’s death in 1633, Philip IV sent his brother, Cardinal-Infante Don Fernando, to serve as governor-general. On his way from Spain in 1634, Fernando helped defeat the Swedes at Nördlingen, driving France, which supported the Swedes and Dutch against the Habsburgs, to enter the war openly. France had claims in the southern Netherlands, where a welter of feudal



Southern Netherlands. Seventeenth-century view of Brussels. ©ARCHIVO ICONOGRAFICO, S.A./CORBIS

rights marked its historic border with the Holy Roman Empire.

The Spanish Netherlands became the cockpit of Europe. While the cardinal-infante conquered Roermond and Venlo in 1637, he lost Breda. In 1639 the Dutch in the Battle of the Downs mauled a Spanish armada bringing him treasure and reinforcements. The armada of Flanders often had to serve in Spanish waters. In 1640 the French captured Arras. In early 1641 the cardinal-infante died, succeeded by the soldier Francisco de Melo (1597–1651). When the French soundly defeated Melo at Rocroi in 1643, he was dismissed. Vital aid from Spain dwindled, and misery spread. Negotiations for peace between Philip IV and the Dutch opened in 1644, and in 1648 they were concluded at The Hague and then at Münster as part of the Peace of Westphalia. The Spanish Netherlands lost North Brabant and Maastricht to the Dutch.

War with France continued. In 1646 Philip appointed Archduke Bishop Leopold Wilhelm (1614–1662), brother of Emperor Ferdinand III

(ruled 1637–1657), governor-general. Of limited competence as a soldier, Leopold Wilhelm conceded numerous privileges to localities and corporate bodies to maintain loyalty. More battles and towns were won and lost. Dunkirk was lost in 1646 and recovered in 1652. In 1656 John Joseph of Austria (1629–1679), Philip IV's legitimized son, replaced Leopold Wilhelm and brought new energy to the war. But the addition of England's power under Oliver Cromwell (1599–1658) to that of France led to the loss of Dunkirk and much of southwestern Flanders. Philip IV in 1659 signed the Peace of the Pyrenees with France, ceding Gravelines, Artois, and bits of Flanders, Hainaut, and Luxembourg. In 1662 England sold Dunkirk to France.

For the Spanish Netherlands peace did not last. When Charles II (ruled 1665–1700) succeeded Philip IV, Louis XIV (ruled 1643–1715) of France, wedded to Philip's eldest daughter Marie-Thérèse, claimed that Hainaut, Brabant, and more "devolved" on her. In the War of Devolution

(1667–1668) Louis's army invaded the helpless Spanish Netherlands. Fearing the approach of French power, the Dutch joined England and Sweden in a Triple Alliance that forced Louis to settle by the Treaty of Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle) (1668) for Walloon Flanders and a corner of Flemish Flanders, much less than he wanted. More wars followed as Louis XIV turned against the Dutch in 1672 and continued to nibble at the Spanish Netherlands. Towns and districts were taken and lost, their fates settled by the treaties of Nijmegen (1678) and Ryswick (1697). Elector Maximilian II Emanuel of Bavaria (1662–1726) became governor-general in 1692, just as he lost his wife Maria Antonia (1669–1692), granddaughter of Philip IV and daughter of Emperor Leopold I (ruled 1658–1705). Their son Joseph Ferdinand (1692–1699) was briefly a candidate for the Spanish throne. Though at war most of the time, Maximilian Emanuel managed to improve canals and tried to make a proper port of Ostend. The treaty of Ryswick closed Ostend, while it permitted the Dutch to maintain barrier fortresses against France in the Spanish Netherlands.

On the succession of the Bourbon Philip V (ruled 1700–1746) to the Spanish throne in 1700, his grandfather Louis XIV moved French troops into the Spanish Netherlands in his name. Elector Maximilian Emanuel sided with him. The Dutch, English, and Austrians declared war on Louis XIV and Philip V, and for ten years the region was again a battleground. John Churchill, duke of Marlborough, won his great battles of Ramillies (1706); Oudenarde (1708), assisted by Prince Eugène of Savoy; and Malplaquet (1709) on Flanders's fields and conducted successful sieges. The war ended with the treaties of Utrecht (1713) and Rastatt (1714), which allotted what now became the Austrian Netherlands to Emperor Charles VI (ruled 1711–1740), the Habsburg claimant. After 1672 Cambrai and more of southern Hainaut, Namur, and Luxembourg, all bordering on France, were lost to Louis XIV. Louis yielded a couple of towns north of Dunkirk. The Dutch and Prussians divided Upper Gelderland.

THE AUSTRIAN NETHERLANDS

What remained was most of Flanders, Tournai, Hainaut, Namur, Luxembourg and Limburg (with Roermond isolated by Dutch Maastricht), and

South Brabant. A generation of peace promoted prosperity, even if the Dutch and English continued to block Antwerp from the sea and forced the suppression of the Ostend Company, established to engage in overseas trade. The population of the Austrian Netherlands gradually recovered from a decline that set in around 1660, and neared three million people by 1790. Agriculture persisted with smallholders, usually under manorial tenures and obligations, selling to local markets. Some wheat was exported, and Flanders led Europe in developing the potato as a food staple. Textiles, especially linen from mills and cottages, proved competitive, though they could not match English production, which owed much of its start to Flemish refugees. To travelers the region appeared comfortably backward, with none of the imperial excitement of the Dutch Republic.

Prince Eugene of Savoy, Austrian governor-general from 1714 to 1726, delegated his powers to Ercole Turinetti (1658–1726), marquis of Priè. Turinetti ran afoul of corporate privileges and in 1719, to assert his authority, had Frans Anneesens, a prominent guildsman and popular leader, executed. Anneesens subsequently entered Belgian folklore. More respect for privilege and tradition was shown by the next governor generals, Archduchess Maria Elisabeth (1680–1741), Charles VI's sister; and Charles, prince of Lorraine (1712–1780), brother-in-law of Empress Maria Theresa, and the empress's sister Maria Anna (1718–1744), appointed jointly in 1744. Maria Anna died that year, but Charles continued in the office until his death. Though he was a competent general, in the War of Austrian Succession (1740–1748) Charles could not prevent the French marshal Maurice, comte de Saxe from overrunning the Austrian Netherlands. The Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (Aachen) (1748) restored them to his government. Little affected by the Seven Years' War, the provinces prospered with new roads and canals and held Charles in great esteem.

Emperor Joseph II (ruled 1765–1790), who succeeded Maria Theresa in 1780, proved hostile to privilege and tradition and believed the Austrian Netherlands, the richest of his dominions, was in need of improvement and reform. He appointed his sister, Archduchess Maria Christina (1742–1798), governor-general and visited the provinces in per-

son. He coerced the Dutch from their barrier fortresses but failed to reopen the Schelde. He promulgated religious toleration and curtailed the privileges of the church and powerful corporate bodies and guilds, which raised opposition from all three Estates in the States General. His “enlightened” overhaul of the administrative and judicial systems in 1787 provoked more outbursts. Stirred by the lawyers Hendrik van der Noot (1731–1827) and Jan Frans Vonck (1743–1792), both in touch with the Dutch Patriot movement, the Estates of Brabant and Hainaut in 1788 refused Joseph’s annual subsidy. In June 1789 Joseph suppressed them. A popular rising ensued, and Austrian authority, unmindful of growing discontent, collapsed. The bishopric of Liège also underwent revolt, and a United Belgian States was proclaimed. The terms “Belgian,” “Belgic,” and “Belgium,” which had long been used by Latinists for the entire Netherlands, had come to apply to the southern Netherlands, while “Batavia” and “Batavian” applied to the north, the United Netherlands.

In the Belgian States General van der Noot’s faction favored the “ancient laws” and traditional social order, while Vonck’s faction promoted democracy. When Emperor Leopold II succeeded Joseph in 1790, he offered Belgium autonomy under its States General, but the Belgian States General refused him. They wanted neither monarchy nor democracy and hounded Vonck and his followers, who fled to France. At the end of 1790 the Austrian government, which negotiated with the Vonckists against the States General, took back power with its army. Count Florimond Mercy d’Argenteau (1727–1794) became governor-general of the Austrian Netherlands and proclaimed a general amnesty. Though not happy with the states party, he became uneasy about the democrats in light of French developments. It soon ceased to matter, as war between Austria and France erupted in 1792. By 1795 French armies had conquered Belgium, which by the Treaty of Campo Formio (1797) became an integral part of France. In 1814 Belgium was incorporated by the Congress of Vienna into a kingdom of the Netherlands under the house of Orange. With well over two hundred years of their own history and customs, the Catholic Belgian provinces chafed under what they perceived as Protestant Dutch domination. Between 1830 and 1839

revolution and negotiation established the modern kingdom of Belgium.

See also Austrian Succession, War of the (1740–1748); Charles V (Holy Roman Empire); Devolution, War of (1667–1668); Dutch Republic; Dutch Revolt (1568–1648); Dutch War (1672–1678); Isabel Clara Eugenia and Albert of Habsburg; Joseph II (Holy Roman Empire); Louis XIV (France); Maria Theresa (Holy Roman Empire); Parma, Alexander Farnese, duke of; Patriot Revolution; Philip II (Spain); Philip III (Spain); Philip IV (Spain); Philip V (Spain); Rubens, Peter Paul; Spanish Succession, War of the (1701–1714); Thirty Years’ War (1618–1648); Utrecht, Peace of (1713); Westphalia, Peace of (1648); William of Orange.

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PETER PIERSON

NEUMANN, BALTHASAR (1687–1753), German architect. Born in Eger (western Bohemia, now Cheb, Czech Republic) to an impoverished weaver, Neumann was trained in a foundry and also learned about hydraulics and techniques of fireworks display. In 1711 he settled in Würzburg (southern Germany), where he developed his career as an architect and city designer as well as military officer. This coupling of professions occurred often at this time because military training included surveying and drawing, geometry, and mathematics, disciplines basic to the practice of architecture. Neu-



Balthasar Neumann. The grand staircase of Würzburg Palace. THE ART ARCHIVE/DAGLI ORTI

mann's major clients were members of the Schönborn family, important political and ecclesiastical leaders within the hierarchy of the Holy Roman Empire and major patrons of the arts. Neumann's extensive practice included several score churches, almost two dozen palaces, other secular and utilitarian structures, and urban projects.

His buildings comprise some of the most complex and sophisticated explorations of architectural space ever created in the West. In them, space is shaped by open, curved, elegant frameworks and vault shells, rather than being shaped by the continuity of wall. Their space is transparent and lucid, charged with direction and counterpoint, the unexpected, and the startling. Huge windows deluge the interiors with light, which Neumann orchestrated with dramatic certainty. He promoted the integration of painting, statuary, stucco, color, gilding, metalwork, and carving to amplify spatial splendor and specify its meaning. This conception of design contrasted with traditional practice in the West, where continuous surfaces defined the interior. Only at moments during the Byzantine and medieval periods and in seventeenth-century Italy and France did the relation between mass and space depart from this norm. In the twentieth century, modern architecture would again be based on continuities of open, transparent space and lightweight, minimal (though reticulated) structure. A curvilinear architecture was recovered later, in the twentieth century, but based on different geometries than those employed by Neumann and his contemporaries.

Neumann's most ambitious secular structure is the Residenz in Würzburg, with which he was involved from the beginning to the end of his career. The imposing Residenz, which served both the court and government of the principality, was a statement of political prestige—the impressive representation of a well-organized, wealthy state. Based on a C-shaped plan, the centers and corners of the facade were marked by projecting pavilions, and the entire exterior was painted and gilded, giving it a festive appearance. For the major public areas inside, Neumann created one of the grandest sequences of spaces known in the West: a rectangular vestibule large enough for coaches, an oval garden hall, a grandiose stair spanned by a single vault, an elaborately stuccoed white hall, and the spectacular

throne hall. This sequence of spaces served rituals of arrival and reception for important visitors to the principality.

Neumann's churches are greater in number and design variety than his almost two dozen palaces, in which the epic power of his architectural language is boldest. He employed a range of design strategies to achieve extraordinary spatial compositions, exploring relations between spatial figures, their arrangements within differently shaped outer shells, and lucid transparencies of the whole. He choreographed movement in the architecture (and for the user), orchestrated light, and promoted the elaboration of all his innovations by means of various artistic media such as painting, sculpture, stucco, and gilding. His great pilgrimage church at Vierzehnheiligen (1743–1753; completed 1772) and monumental Benedictine monastery church at Neresheim (1749–1753; completed 1792) are two of his most spectacular churches.

Neumann also undertook urban design projects for Würzburg, including its water system, transforming the walled medieval town into a representative Residenz city. Throughout Franconia, he built houses, monasteries, hospitals, a hotel, a city hall, a courthouse, and miscellaneous religious structures as well as fortifications for several towns, barracks, bridges, gardens, and fireworks displays.

Neumann worked within the design traditions for secular and sacred architecture that extend back into the sixteenth century. Even the more recent phenomenon of an architecture based on space composition had become an accepted approach among Neumann's central European contemporaries such as the Asam brothers and Johann Michael Fischer (1692–1766), the Vorarlberg architects, and the Dientzenhofers. But Neumann accepted this common ground only as a point of departure for explorations of architectural space that showed astonishing range and brilliance. With consummate authority, he combined clarity with complexity in plan and section. He boldly charged interiors with light and dematerialized mass, and thrust both into powerful encounters with space. Neumann orchestrated spatial experiences for the beholder in ways that were at once striking, lucid, and imposing, gradually revealed, demanding, and human, thereby

transforming standard architectural assemblages into unique and bold statements.

See also **Architecture; Art: Artistic Patronage; Baroque; Dientzenhofer Family.**

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CHRISTIAN OTTO

In spite of its Tory sympathies, after the Revolution New York became the first capital of the new nation, hosting the inauguration of George Washington in 1789. When the capital moved to Philadelphia in 1790, the political center of the republic shifted, but the economic centrality of New York remained. The creation of the New York Stock Exchange in 1792 only underlined the city's status as the center of American trade and finance, a role it retains to this day.

See also **Boston; British Colonies: North America; Dutch Colonies: The Americas; Philadelphia.**

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FIONA DEANS HALLORAN

NEW YORK. First settled by Dutch traders in 1624, New Amsterdam, called New York after its transfer in 1664 to the English, grew from about thirty families to a population of three thousand by 1680. By 1776, it boasted twenty-five thousand inhabitants, chiefly of Dutch, English, and African origin.

Unlike its colonial neighbors Boston and Philadelphia, New York was settled for commercial rather than religious purposes. Initially a trading center for furs, fish, and timber products (including shipbuilding materials such as pitch), New York's protected harbor was ideal for large ships, encouraging immigration and trade of all kinds. Ships that traveled the seas bearing slaves, rum, sugar, tobacco, and rice originated in New York harbor throughout the eighteenth century. New York also incubated the American colonies' burgeoning urban culture, embracing newspapers, coffeehouses, colleges, gentlemen's clubs, and political groups.

New Yorkers' trading relationships kept them closely tied to England during the tumultuous 1760s and 1770s. Although New York was host to the Stamp Act Congress in 1765, it was a reluctant rebel for the most part. The British took the city after winning the Battle of Long Island in 1776, and held it throughout the war.

NEWSPAPERS. See **Journalism, Newspapers, and Newssheets.**

NEWTON, ISAAC (1642–1727), natural philosopher, lay theologian, and administrator. Isaac Newton was born on Christmas Day 1642 in the tiny Lincolnshire hamlet of Woolsthorpe. Named after a father who died before his birth, Isaac at the age of three lost his widowed mother, Hannah, who left Woolsthorpe to marry an elderly clergyman. He would not live under the same roof as his mother until, after being widowed a second time, she returned with three additional children in 1653. Two years later, Newton was sent to the King's School in nearby Grantham. Although he received little instruction in mathematics, he benefited from a thorough preparation in the classics and the Bible. Described later by the daughter of the apothecary with whom he lodged at Grantham as “a sober, silent, thinking lad,” he eventually emerged as the top-ranked student of his class. Nevertheless, Newton's mother took him from the grammar school at fifteen so he could begin to fulfill his duties as lord of Woolsthorpe manor. After Newton proved himself almost worthless as a farmer, Hannah reluctantly gave in to the admonishments

of his schoolmaster and sent him back to the King's School to prepare for university. In June 1661, a year after the Restoration, Newton matriculated at Trinity College, Cambridge.

CAMBRIDGE STUDENT, FELLOW, AND PROFESSOR

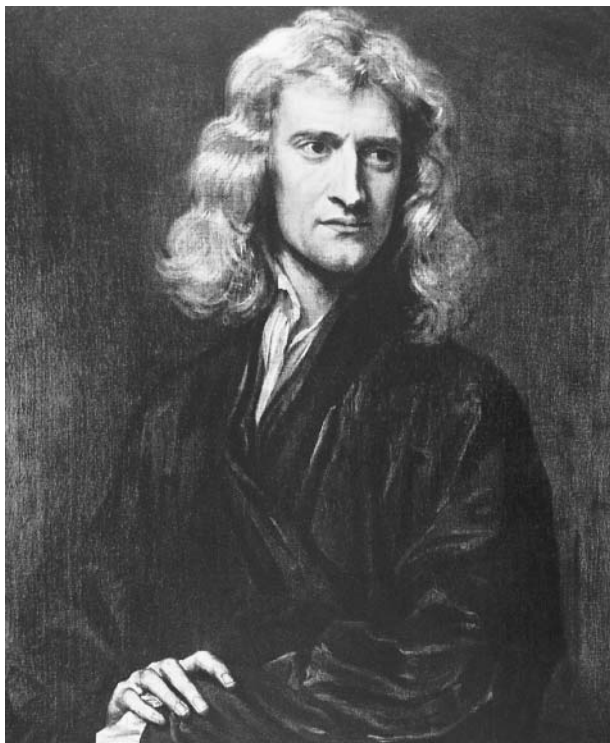
Having enrolled as a sizar, Newton was required to serve and wait on scholars of higher status. He still found ample time to devour the undergraduate curriculum, which focused on Plato and Aristotle and such traditional disciplines as logic, rhetoric, and chronology. But Newton was not long detained with the medieval curriculum; he was increasingly drawn to the thought of the new mechanical philosophy, adding, among others, Copernicus, Galileo, Descartes, and Robert Boyle to his academic fare. By the time he took his B.A. in the spring of 1665, he was poised to make his own contributions to the new philosophy. The plague that swept through Cambridge that summer brought academic life at the fenland university to a standstill. But for Newton, after returning home to Woolsthorpe, the pace of his intellectual journey only quickened. While at Woolsthorpe, Newton finished his development of calculus, thus providing a new and effective tool for mathematicians to work out problems relating to curves and rates of change. He also carried out refraction experiments with prisms that confirmed the heterogeneous nature of light. A second Newtonian icon also came from this period. As an elderly man, Newton recalled that on one summer evening at Woolsthorpe during the plague, he saw the falling apple that would provide a crucial clue to his understanding of universal gravitation. It was also around this time that Newton took up a serious interest in the secret arts of alchemy. He remained in the domestic sphere for almost two years, a period often referred to as Newton's *anni mirabiles*. Shortly after his return to Cambridge in the spring of 1667, he was made a fellow of Trinity College. In following year he received his M.A. In 1669 the twenty-six-year-old Newton was elected Lucasian Professor of Mathematics, after Isaac Barrow (1630–1677), who recognized Newton's great talents in this discipline, resigned in the latter's favor. The same year, after acquiring two furnaces, some chemicals and the alchemical manual *Theatrum Chemicum*, he initiated his quest for the Philosophers' Stone.

OPTICS, CONTROVERSY, AND THEOLOGY

It was not long before Newton's innovations came to the notice of the wider intellectual world. The Royal Society of London had learned that Newton had constructed the first working reflecting telescope. When Barrow brought a specially made copy of this telescope to a Society meeting in late 1671, it was an immediate sensation. Encouraged by this success, Newton sent a paper on his optical discoveries to the Society's secretary Henry Oldenburg (c. 1618–1677). This now-celebrated paper on colors graced the pages of the Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society in 1672. But Newton soon found himself embroiled in a controversy when the Royal Society's Robert Hooke made his skepticism known, and continental readers complained that they could not replicate the paper's experiments. Around the time that this controversy was driving him back into the safety of the cloisters of Cambridge, Newton commenced a more dangerous revolution.

As one of the requirements of his Trinity fellowship, Newton was obligated to take holy orders by 1675. This may help explain the sudden explosion of theological studies in the early 1670s. Whether or not the pending ordination deadline was a factor, Newton's thorough research of early church doctrine and history led him to conclude that the doctrine of the Trinity was not a part of the primitive Christian faith. As an anti-Trinitarian heretic, Newton could not become an Anglican clergyman in good faith. Expressing the reasons for this was out of the question, and he had resolved to resign his fellowship quietly when a special dispensation came in 1675 from Charles II permitting Lucasian Professors to retain their College fellowships without ordination. Newton thus continued on at Cambridge as a secret heretic.

Newton's most important theological discovery was that the Bible taught that only the Father was God in an absolute sense. Christ, although not "very God" in the Nicene formulation, was nevertheless central to Newton's eschatology and view of the atonement. Although a precise categorization of his beliefs would be artificial, it can be said that he arrived at a Christology similar to Arianism. Newton concluded that the Athanasian or homoousian party of the fourth century had corrupted the church by imposing on it the Trinity—a doctrine Newton be-



Isaac Newton. Portrait by Godfrey Kneller, 1689.

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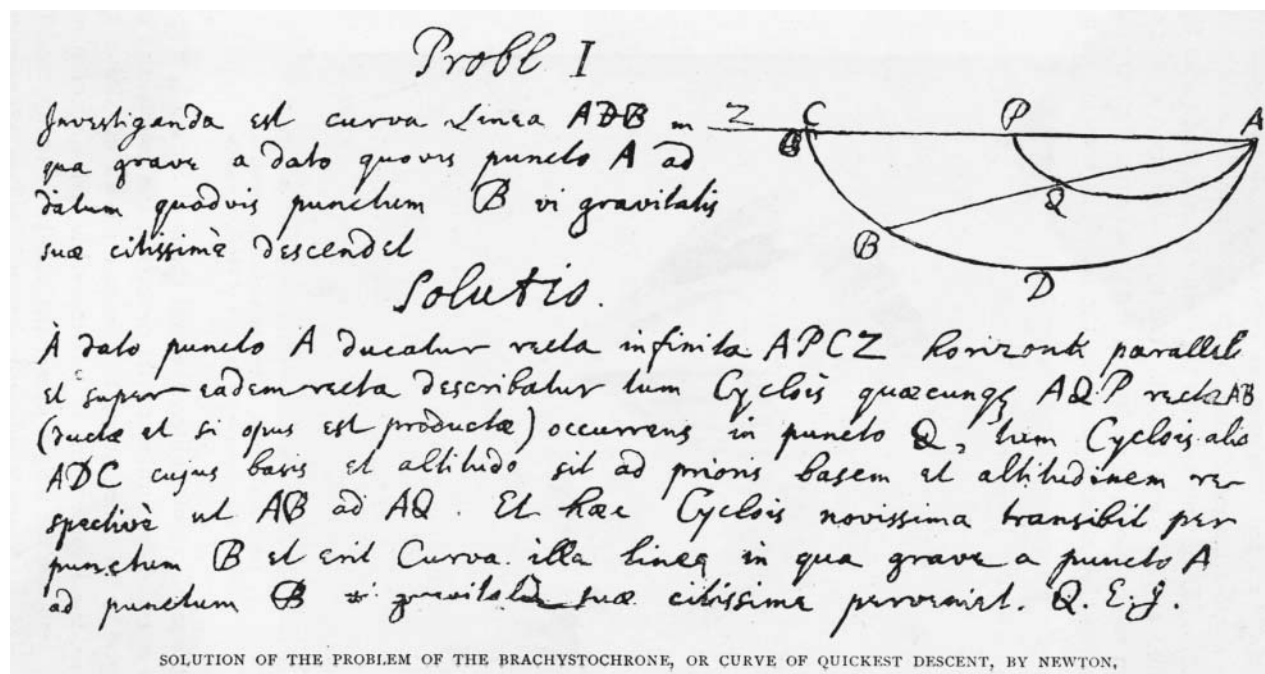
lied to be post-biblical and inspired by Greek metaphysics. Denial of the Trinity was illegal in Newton's day and for a long time afterward. Thus, for more than half a century, he confined his heresy to the private sphere, while outwardly conforming to the Anglican Church. Newton's theological explorations were not limited to doctrine. Taking one of his leads from the Cambridge prophetic exegete Joseph Mede, Newton adopted a premillenarian eschatology, writing his first manuscript treatise on the Apocalypse in the 1670s. Even in his prophetic views, he differed from the mainstream. Although retaining the standard Protestant opinion that the "whore" of Revelation was the Roman Church, Newton added as the chief sin of the Catholics the introduction of the Trinitarian dogma, thus bringing his heresy and prophetic interpretation together.

THE PRINCIPIA

Newton devoted much of his fourth decade to studying biblical doctrine, taking notes on church history, analyzing the early creeds, studying the Book of Revelation, and carefully writing out the

results of his research on enough manuscript sheets to fill several large books. Additionally, a large portion of this time was spent copying out alchemical recipes and working feverishly over his furnaces as he sought the secrets of chemical and metallic matter. He also fulfilled the duties of his mathematics professorship. Newton's penetrating mind was once again drawn to natural philosophy in earnest when, during the summer of 1684, Edmond Halley came to Cambridge to ask him if he could provide a mathematical explanation for the elliptical orbits of planets. This elicited from Newton later that year a short manuscript bearing the title *De Motu Corporum in Gyrum* (Concerning the motion of revolving bodies). But this was just the beginning. For close to two years, Newton refined and expanded the inchoate physics of *De Motu*. Important to this refinement was his and Halley's work on the comets of 1680 and 1682, which demonstrated both that comets move in close, albeit highly parabolic, orbits and that Descartes's system of fluid planetary vortices was untenable. Newton worked out his laws of motion and a theory of universal gravitation that dissolved the traditional distinction between celestial and terrestrial physics. The final result was published in the *Philosophiæ Naturalis Principia Mathematica* (Mathematical principles of natural philosophy), its title an apt description of its contents. Although it was retained by some in France until the 1740s, Cartesian physics was immediately rendered obsolete.

Those few mathematicians who could understand this virtually impenetrable book recognized its revolutionary nature at once. Fewer still understood that its author was powerfully motivated by the Renaissance topos of the *prisca sapientia* and was convinced he was recovering knowledge lost by the ancients rather than discovering secrets that Nature had never before yielded to humanity. This helps explain why Newton hid much of his analysis behind a classical facade of geometry. Nor was there more than an oblique hint here and there of the work's theological substratum. Not only were Newton's influential notions of absolute space and time underpinned by his conceptions of God's omnipresence and eternal duration, but he believed the *Principia* contained within its pages an armory of testimonies to natural theology. As he wrote to Richard Bentley in late 1692, "When I wrote my



Isaac Newton. Newton's notes and illustration for the solution of the problem of the brachistochrone, or curve of quickest descent. ©BETTMANN/CORBIS

treatise about our Systeme I had an eye upon such Principles as might work with considering men for the beleife of a Deity & nothing can rejoyce me more then to find it usefull for that purpose."

With the *Principia* in print and beginning to draw praise and near worship for its contents, Newton redirected his attention to theology. In the late 1680s and early 1690s he produced a lengthy commentary on Revelation, an attack on Athanasius and his *Theologiae Gentilis Origines Philosophicae*, an exploration of the original religion of Noah and the roots of idolatry. Perhaps emboldened by the success of his work on mathematical physics, in 1690 he sent his friend John Locke a work of antitrinitarian textual criticism entitled "Two Notable Corruptions" for anonymous publication on the Continent and only suppressed the publication at the last moment. The post-*Principia* period also brought the commencement of Newton's public life, which was signaled by his public opposition in 1687 to the attempt of James II to force the University of Cambridge to grant a degree to a Catholic priest and his election as university M.P. in 1689, shortly after the Glorious Revolution. By the early 1690s, Newton was also looking for a way to move on from Cambridge.

LONDON: THE MINT AND THE ROYAL SOCIETY

Newton's opportunity came in 1696 with the wardenship of the Royal Mint in London. As warden, he was charged with bringing "coiners" to justice. Having already traced doctrinal corruption in church history, textual forgery in the Bible, and the corruption of natural philosophy, Newton exerted the same zeal and energy in the pursuit of counterfeiters. In 1699 he was promoted to the position of master. He retained this post for the rest of his life, demonstrating considerable talents as an administrator as he led the Mint efficiently through a recoinage.

More honors came his way. In 1703 he was elected president of the Royal Society, a position he also kept until his death. Once at the helm, Newton reinvigorated the stagnating experimental program at the Society. Queen Anne (ruled 1702–1714) knighted him at Cambridge in 1705. A year before, Newton had published his *Opticks*. Unlike his *Principia*, this work was written in English and contained a heavy experimental focus. The appended Queries, which grew in number in later editions, proposed questions about the nature of heat, light, and the ether, as well as the forces responsible for attraction

and repulsion, thereby laying out a research agenda for many years to come. A Latin edition of the *Opticks* was prepared by the Newtonian Samuel Clarke and published in 1706. His work on the calculus (fluxions) was edited by William Jones and appeared as *De Analysi per Aequationes* in 1711.

Newton's increasing fame and status, along with his further entrenchment in the British establishment, led to rising confidence and occasional displays of hubris. Although his portrait was first painted as late as 1689, in the early eighteenth century Newton sat for portraits with growing regularity. He also became entangled in a dispute over priority in the discovery of calculus with Leibniz, doing himself little honor in the process. He fired volleys at the philosophies of Leibniz and Descartes in the General *Scholium* he added to the second edition of the *Principia* in 1713. The theologically astute recognized in this same appendix an encoded attack on the Trinity. More apparent in this appendix was Newton's advocacy of the design argument, his espousal of induction in natural philosophy, and his attack on vain hypothesizing. Shortly after this, Clarke represented Newton's views in a literary debate with Leibniz on the nature of natural philosophy and providence.

Although he almost completely left alchemy behind when he departed Cambridge, Newton's theological studies continued unabated. His overall theological system, which included believers' baptism, mortalism, and a denial of a literal devil, finds close parallels in the thought of continental radical reforming movements such as the Anabaptists and the Polish Brethren. His religious ethos was similar to English Nonconformity. Spiritually, Newton also felt close to the primitive church, and his uncompromising monotheism reveals a strong Hebraic strain.

His millenarianism and commitment to a prophetic outlook shows the stamp of his puritan roots. As he grew older, he set the time of the end, which he believed would see the fall of the corrupt church, the preaching of the original Gospel, the return of the Jews to Israel, the Second Coming, and the battle of Armageddon, further and further into the future. One rough date he set for these events, and the future peaceful reign of the saints on earth, was 2060 C.E. As death neared, he labored to complete his work on

chronology. When death came on 20 March 1727, Newton shocked his nephew-in-law John Conduitt by refusing the last sacrament of the Anglican Church. In this act, he finally broke with the corrupt church, within which he had so uneasily communed, and found his peace with God.

LEGACIES AND CONSTRUCTIONS

In stark contrast to the humble funeral of his father some eighty-five years before, Newton was given a state funeral, his body borne by nobles with great pageantry to the pantheon of British greatness, Westminster Abbey in London. A young Voltaire was among the mourners and was incredulous that a natural philosopher could be so honored. Within a few short years, Voltaire would make some of the first contributions to the Enlightenment conception of Newton as a secular saint of the Age of Reason.

Newton's literary remains helped fuel image-making on both sides of the English Channel. There appeared after his death the *Chronology of Ancient Kingdoms Amended* (1728), *De Mundi Systemate* (1728; published in English as *System of the World* in the same year), an English translation of the *Principia* (1729), the Cambridge optical lectures (1729), the fourth edition of the English *Opticks* (1730), the *Observations upon the Prophecies of Daniel and the Apocalypse of St. John* (1733), and the *Method of Fluxions and Infinite Series* (1736). To these works by the master were added a plethora of popular texts by Newton's disciples rendering Newton's philosophy easy for the masses.

Partly because Newton hid his alchemy and heretical theology from the prying eyes of the public and partly due to the remaking of Newton by Enlightenment apologists, most still know Newton primarily as a great, perhaps the greatest, scientist of his time. More than two and a half centuries after his death, with his private manuscripts available for scrutiny, scholars are revealing a mind that seemingly knew few limits, moving freely through the fields of mathematics, natural philosophy, alchemy, history, and theology in a career befitting a child of the seventeenth century.

See also Alchemy; Boyle, Robert; Copernicus, Nicolaus; Descartes, René; Galileo Galilei; Hooke, Robert; Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm; Locke, John; Mathematics; Oldenburg, Henry; Physics; Reason; Scientific Revolution.

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STEPHEN D. SNOBELEN

NIJMEGEN, TREATIES OF (1678–1679). See Dutch War (1672–1678).

NIKON, PATRIARCH (Nikita Minin, 1605–1681), patriarch of Moscow and all Rus’ (1652–1666), best known for initiating liturgical reforms that were strongly opposed by the Old Believers. Nikon’s quest for power and wealth generated hostility among the Kremlin elite and eventually led to his deposition by Tsar Alexis I Mikhailovich (ruled 1645–1676).

Nikon’s meteoric rise from his peasant background began with his acceptance as a novice by the Makar’ev Monastery (outside Nizhny Novgorod), which was then a vital center of the Orthodox revival favored by the Romanovs. Nikon met influen-

tial churchmen at the monastery who supported his promotion to the rank of *begumen* (abbot) and probably also brought about his fateful encounter with Tsar Alexis at the Kremlin in 1646. Impressed with Nikon’s bold vision of religious reform, the tsar appointed him to key church positions, first as archimandrite of the Novospasskii Monastery in Moscow and then as metropolitan of Novgorod.

After Nikon’s election to the patriarchate in July 1652, he quickly embarked upon the revision of liturgical books that would bring Russian forms of worship into line with those of the Greek Orthodox world. Among Nikon’s principal innovations were the three-finger sign of the cross (instead of the customary two-finger sign) and the printing of new liturgical books based on Greek and Ukrainian manuscripts. Under Nikon’s orders, the church councils of 1654 and 1656 excommunicated Old Believers who refused to accept these innovations.

The boyars resented Nikon’s close personal relationship with the tsar as well as the patriarch’s growing secular ambitions, evidenced by his systematic accumulation of monastic estates, construction of luxurious palaces, and purchase of sumptuous vestments and carriages. Relations with the boyars became even more strained when Nikon ruled as regent in the tsar’s absence during the Russo-Polish War (1654–1667). Boyar intrigues finally convinced the tsar that Nikon intended to expand church power at the Kremlin’s expense. When Nikon retired from the patriarchal court to a monastery in July 1658, in protest of boyar insults, the tsar refused to allow his return to Moscow.

Nikon did not abdicate, however, and continued to rule as patriarch on his estates. When the Kremlin made preparations to depose him, Nikon argued in a nearly thousand-page “Refutation” (*Vozrazhenie*) that secular authority had no right to dictate ecclesiastical affairs. Even after his demotion to the rank of monk and his subsequent exile in December 1666, Nikon maintained his title and refused to recognize the legitimacy of his patriarchal successors.

Nikon captured the imagination of both his contemporaries and later generations. Old Believers denounced him as a precursor of the Antichrist or as the Antichrist himself. Popular rebels saw the exiled patriarch as a victim of Kremlin intrigues and dreamed of restoring him to power. And many ordi-



Patriarch Nikon. An icon depicts the Roman emperor Constantine, regarded as a saint in the Orthodox Church, his mother, St. Helena, who is credited with discovery of the Holy Cross, Tsar Alexis, Tsarina Natalya, and Patriarch Nikon (bottom left), 1780. THE ART ARCHIVE/RUSSIAN HISTORICAL MUSEUM MOSCOW/DAGLI ORTI (A)

nary Russians made pilgrimages to Nikon's grave. Historians have mostly viewed Nikon as a visionary leader who strove for the parity of church and state. Had he been successful, the abolition of the church's autonomy under Peter I (ruled 1682–1725) might have been prevented.

See also **Alexis I (Russia)**; **Avvakum Petrovich**; **Old Believers**; **Orthodoxy, Russian**.

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GEORG MICHELS

NOBILITY. See **Aristocracy and Gentry**.

NOBLE SAVAGE. One of Europe's most important oxymora, the noble savage was the man of nature who lived according to the dictates of natural law, thought according to natural reason, and understood God and creation by way of natural religion. Unencumbered by the prejudices and partisanship of modern life and thought, the savage was primitive man, remote from Europe in either the most ancient past or the New World. At its very core the concept was self-contradictory: natural man acquired all he knew via sense perception, in Lockean fashion, and the only things that were real for him were those that were visible and evident to the senses. On the other hand, the noble savage's natural reason was Cartesian, autonomous, universal, and imagined to be uncorrupted by social mores and tradition. The noble savage was a fiction, a literary device that allowed social critics to invert European culture, to point out its flaws, and to suggest ways it might be improved.

The savage was the man—singular and usually male—who lived without society. This is the condition John Milton's (1608–1674) Adam yearned for when, upon recognizing his sin and shame, he lamented (*Paradise Lost* [1667], IX, 1085),

“O might I here
In solitude live savage, in some glade
Obscured.”

“Savage” could be applied as an epithet to plants, indicating that they were uncultivated and overgrown. With animals, “savage” implied ferocity. When applied to people it carried similar implications, in addition to being rude, wild, untamed, undomesticated, ungoverned, and ungovernable. French essayist Michel de Montaigne (1533–1592)

considered savage people wild only in the sense that fruit was considered wild when it grew in nature without cultivation. Europeans had once been savages too.

What made some savages noble was their rejection of the luxuries with which Europeans made life more comfortable. The noble savage desired nothing beyond the necessities of life, acquired from nature without work, and he subsisted on venison, fruit, and acorns. Content in his existence, he displayed neither ambition nor avarice, and from Thomas More's (1478–1535) *Utopia* (1516) to Voltaire's (1694–1778) El Dorado (in *Candide* [1759]) primitive societies were depicted as surrounded by unrefined gold ore, which the natives ignored as a useless metal. The noble savage knew nothing of Europe's awkward courtesies. What little society he had was egalitarian, governed by merit, with few privileges for the king or tribal leader, or perhaps with no government at all.

The very concept of natural man implied that there was something “natural” about human beings that could be isolated or abstracted from the “social.” It was the search for a universal human nature, for the essence of humanity that lay beneath the accidents of culture, that led Europeans to take such an interest in primitive societies in the first place. Many prominent thinkers of the Enlightenment assumed that human beings were endowed with a basic nature that society and history could do little to alter. John Locke (1632–1704) supposed, “Men, I think, have been much the same for natural endowments, in all times” (*Of the Conduct of the Understanding* [1706], sec. 24). David Hume (1711–1776), the historian of Britain, echoed that sentiment in his *An Enquiry concerning Human Understanding* (1748) when he wrote, “Mankind are so much the same, in all times and places, that history informs us of nothing new or strange in this particular. Its chief use is only to discover the constant and universal principles of human nature.”

If human nature was universal and immutable, one could construct a history of human society from the state of nature to modern society on the basis of conjecture. Conjectural history, and with it the ideas of the state of nature and the noble savage, was a tool to explain modern Europe to Europeans. To claim that savage man was noble was to assert that

human beings were essentially good at heart and that somehow from the evils of society their natural innocence might be redeemed.

In the dark age of the English Civil War Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679) had concluded the opposite, that the state of nature was a state of perpetual war, every man against every man, “and the life of man solitary, poore, nasty, brutish, and short” (*Leviathan* [1651], ch. 13). Following the Glorious Revolution (1688), Locke took a more moderate position, in which “the state of nature has a law to govern it, which obliges every one: and reason, which is that law, teaches all mankind, who will but consult it, that being all equal and independent, no one ought to harm another in his life, health, liberty, or possessions” (*Second Treatise on Government*, sec. 6). The most sanguine view of human nature emerged in the work of Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778), who argued, “above all we shall not conclude with Hobbes that just because he has no idea of goodness, man must be naturally wicked; that he must be vicious because he does not know virtue; . . . nor that by virtue of the right he reasonably claims to the things he needs, he foolishly imagines himself to be the sole proprietor of the whole universe” (*Discourse on the Origin of Inequality* [1751]).

HISTORY OF THE IDEA

Although the term “sauvage” emerged toward the end of the Middle Ages in Old French and Middle English (derived ultimately from the Latin *silva*, “forest”), its connotations had long been a part of European thought, reaching back—like so many ideas in early modern Europe—through the medieval period to antiquity. In the first century B.C.E. Strabo (*Geography* VII, 300–303) praised the ancient Scythians as thrifty and self-sufficient, the most honest and least deceitful of people, although lately they had taken to robbing and murdering strangers because of the Greek luxury that had reached them. Strabo found Homer's claims correct, that in the lands of “Europe” far to the north there were innocent nations, uncorrupted by luxury and decadence, which owned no property and cultivated no land, but drank mare's milk and lived in honesty. When Darius the Persian (c. 550–486 B.C.E.) challenged the retreating Scythians to stand still and fight like men, Herodotus (*Histories* 4, 128–129) reported

their response: They were not running away but simply following their nomadic custom; they had nothing to fight for, because they had no cities and no cultivated land.

To the Romans the Germanic tribes of northern Europe were noble savages, and they described them in terms similar to the Greeks on the Scythians. Julius Caesar (100–22 B.C.E.) described the Germanic tribes east of the Rhine as devoting their whole lives to hunting and war. Tacitus (c. 56–c. 120 C.E.) admired the monogamy of the Germans, who neither laughed at vice nor considered it fashionable to corrupt or to be corrupted as his fellow Romans did. Salvian (fifth century C.E.) lambasted the behavior of decadent Roman Christians who were being defeated by the more virtuous, although pagan, Goths.

In medieval Europe the noble savage was still present, although the terms necessarily changed as those formerly virtuous Germans had become Europeans themselves, now Christianized and centuries removed from their primitive condition. At the same time, there was plenty of empirical evidence to vilify the savage. Ovid (43 B.C.E.–?17 C.E.), exiled for the final years of his life among the Getae and Sarmatians on the Black Sea, found little noble about them. The northern barbarians whom the Greeks and Romans extolled in contrast to their own decadence were to Christian authors the murderers of the evangelists, and particularly in medieval hagiography (Sulpicius Severus's *Life of St. Martin* [fourth century C.E.], for example) pagan Europeans came in for harsh treatment. Early modern explorers, colonists, and missionaries who actually lived among the peoples of the New World demonized them (sometimes literally) more often than they ennobled them. Whether noble or ignoble, the savage was a foil used by an author to present a particular point of view and rarely had much to do with historical reality.

SAVAGE FICTION

Although Hobbes, Locke, and Rousseau each referred vaguely to actual inhabitants of the New World in support of their model of the state of nature, their presentation of the savage was largely without empirical support. Rousseau was most honest about this in his attempt to identify where Europe had gone awry in erecting its present society

replete with inequalities. Rousseau's vision was a thought-experiment, and he proposed, "Let's begin by setting aside all the facts, as they do not pertain to the question."

Even when the reports of travelers were consulted, the resulting image of the noble savage was invariably fictitious. Less than twenty-five years after the discoveries of Columbus (1451–1506), Sir Thomas More used the voyage accounts of Amerigo Vespucci (1454–1512) to create his ideal world of Utopia, where people worked only six hours per day and did not grasp after unnecessary luxuries. Montaigne's essay "Of Cannibals" depicted the natives of Brazil as noble cannibals who ate their prisoners of war as the ultimate vengeance unless the vanquished would admit defeat (none ever did, but they taunted their captors and eaters). Montaigne argued that, "certainly we can call them barbarians according to the rules of reason but not according to ourselves, who surpass them in every sort of barbarism," for the Americans had replaced their cannibalism with the Portuguese custom of burying their enemies to the waist and then shooting them full of arrows, which they considered even more brutal and humiliating than their own practice. Jonathan Swift's (1667–1745) Houyhnhnms (*Gulliver's Travels* [1726]) bore all the hallmarks of noble savages, having no power, government, war, law, or punishment, with the added distinction of being horses who used humanoid Yahoos as draft animals.

A satirical author could also turn the tables on Europe by fictitiously inviting a noble savage to Europe, where he could observe and comment on modern customs firsthand. In most cases the savage's natural reason carried the day, as when John Dryden's Montezuma (in *The Indian Emperor*, 1665) consistently outwitted a priest who had him bound to a rack and lectured him about the truths of Christianity. Louis Armand de Lom d'Arce, Baron de Lahontan (1666–1715?) advocated the superiority of civilized France in a fictitious dialogue with a Huron named Adario, "a savage of good sense who had traveled," while the Native American defended his way of life in the forest. Lahontan's dialogue inspired Voltaire's short story "L'ingénu," about a Huron who pointed out the absurdities of eighteenth-century France as he moved through a monastery and the royal court and found himself imprisoned in the Bastille with a Jansenist. Voltaire

was a master of using fictitious savages to skewer European politics, religion, and customs, and types like the naive Candide, the ingenuous Huron, the extraterrestrial Micromegas, and philosophical Brahmans appeared in many of his stories. In establishing a fictitious dialogue between a civilized and savage man early modern Europeans were drawing on a well-worn classical prototype. The Brahmans of Voltaire's *Philosophical Dictionary* and short stories echoed the medieval *Roman d'Alexandre*, in which Alexander the Great engaged the Brahman sage Dandamis in debate. Dandamis in turn recalls the ancient story of Anacharsis, a Scythian who combined the best of barbarian virtue and Greek education.

From the sixteenth to the eighteenth century most noble savages in European literature appear as Native Americans, but in the nineteenth century, as the colonial experience in Africa and India deepened, noble savages were found there as well. Rudyard Kipling's Mowgli (of the *Jungle Books*) and Kim (endowed with the best qualities of his English father and Indian mother) are famous examples, as is the twentieth-century Edgar Rice Burroughs's Tarzan of the Apes. American Natives continued to be idealized (and vilified) in the twentieth-century Western by authors like the American Louis L'Amour and the German Karl May. No doubt the reader can think of many other examples.

See also **Colonialism; English Literature and Language; Europe and the World; French Literature and Language; Hobbes, Thomas; Idealism; Locke, John; Nature; Philosophy; Reason; Rousseau, Jean-Jacques; Voltaire.**

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MICHAEL CARHART

NORTH AFRICA. See **Africa: North Africa.**

NORTHERN WARS. The Northern Wars (1558–1721) were a cycle of general conflicts between the major powers of northern and eastern Europe surrounding the Baltic—principally Denmark-Norway, Sweden, Poland-Lithuania, and Muscovy (Russia)—of fundamental importance for modern European history. The wars began following the breakdown of the Hanseatic League (or Hansa), the medieval political and economic system in the Baltic region. The breaking of the economic grip of the Hanseatic League just as western European demand grew for the increasingly lucrative commodities of Baltic grain, timber, pitch, hemp, and flax, stimulated the interest of these major states in controlling the principal ports such as Riga, Danzig, Elbing and Stettin, through which Baltic trade flowed. The southern and eastern Baltic had been controlled by the crusading order of the Teutonic Knights, based in Prussia and Livonia, but the Prussian branch had already lost control of western Prussia to Poland in 1466, while eastern Prussia became a Polish fief in 1525 when its Grand Master, Albrecht von Hohenzollern (ruled 1525–1568) secularized the Order, establishing himself as hereditary duke of Prussia. The evident decline of the Livonian branch of the Order had by the mid-sixteenth century attracted the attention of all the four major Baltic powers. After a short frontier war between Muscovy and Sweden (1554–1557), the cycle of general, multilateral conflicts now known as the Northern Wars really began in 1558 when tsar Ivan IV of Muscovy (Ivan the Terrible; 1530–1584; ruled 1533–1584) invaded Livonia, sparking off a

series of conflicts now known collectively as the Livonian War or the First Northern War (1558–1583). Over the next century and a half, no single power was able to achieve hegemony in the region and long-term political stability proved elusive. If at first Denmark and Poland-Lithuania seemed to have the upper hand, Sweden emerged powerfully in the seventeenth century to defeat Denmark and Poland-Lithuania, before the Russia of Peter I (Peter the Great, 1672–1725; ruled 1682–1725) emerged to eclipse Poland-Lithuania and defeat Sweden, securing a victory that was of fundamental importance for the future of the European states system.

THE FIRST NORTHERN WAR (1558–1583)

Although access to and control of access to the Baltic Sea figured largely in the Northern Wars, they were more than a struggle for *Dominium Maris Baltici* ('lordship of the Baltic Sea'). The causes were both economic and political and involved power struggles of long standing, as the war over Livonia and Estonia breathed new life into old conflicts. The Oldenburg monarchy in Denmark controlled the Sound at Helsingör, the outlet from the Baltic to the North Sea, enabling it to levy tolls on all ships sailing into or out of the Baltic. The Oldenburg monarchy was still smarting over the loss of its dominant position in Scandinavia following the collapse in 1523 of the Union of Kalmar with Sweden, established in 1397. Denmark's continued possession of the provinces of Bohuslän, Halland, Scania, and Blekinge left Sweden with only a narrow outlet to the North Sea at Älvsborg, which was highly vulnerable to Danish attack. The series of wars between Poland-Lithuania and Muscovy, whose Grand Duke had begun to style himself 'Tsar of all the Russias' over the Ruthenian lands (modern Belarus and Ukraine), most of which were in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, had reached stalemate in the 1530s without providing a satisfactory settlement for either side.

The importance of these ancient rivalries soon became clear. Denmark gave up its historical claim to Estonia to declare war on Sweden, beginning the Nordic Seven Years' War (1563–1570). Denmark captured Älvsborg, Sweden's only direct outlet to the North Sea, but was unable to extend its control of southern Scandinavia beyond its provinces of Bohuslän, Halland, Scania, and Blekinge. Denmark

was allied with Lübeck and Poland, but Dutch and Russian support enabled Sweden to repel the Danish challenge. Peace was made at Stettin in 1570, but the conflict in the eastern Baltic continued, as Sweden secured control of Reval (Tallinn) and most of Estonia in 1560. The Livonian Order was secularized and the duchy of Courland was created as a Polish fief in 1561, while the rest of Livonia, including Riga, was incorporated into Poland-Lithuania. Poland-Lithuania, however, was more concerned with the threat to Lithuania, where Ivan IV had seized the trading center of Polotsk in 1563. A new Polish-Swedish alliance, initiated by John III of Sweden (ruled 1568–1592; of the House of Vasa), who was married to Catherine, the sister of King Sigismund II Augustus (ruled 1548–1572) of Poland-Lithuania, successfully fought off successive Russian invasions of Livonia. From 1579, Stephen Báthory of Poland-Lithuania (ruled 1576–1586) recaptured Lithuanian territory lost to Russia in the 1560s, before forcing peace at Iam Zapol'skii in 1582. Meanwhile Sweden had seized Narva and Ivangorod, making peace in 1583 to end the First Northern War, although in renewed fighting (1590–1595) Sweden captured Ingria and Kexholm.

A new phase of the wars opened in 1600 with the collapse of the Polish-Swedish alliance after the election of John III's son Sigismund III as king of Poland-Lithuania (ruled 1587–1632). Sigismund then inherited the Swedish throne in 1592 (ruled 1592–1599), but his Catholicism provoked a political crisis in Lutheran Sweden. After a brief civil war (1598) he was deposed at the instigation of his uncle, Duke Charles of Södermanland, who was crowned in 1604 as Charles IX (ruled 1604–1611). In 1600 Charles invaded Livonia, beginning a cycle of wars with Poland-Lithuania that lasted until 1660. Initially Poland-Lithuania did well, crushing Charles at Kircholm (1605). Both sides were then sucked into Russia's Time of Troubles (1605–1613), from which the Poles emerged with important gains. Moscow was occupied by a Polish garrison (1610–1612), Smolensk was captured (1611), and Sigismund's son Wladyslaw (king of Poland-Lithuania 1648–1668) was elected tsar by a leading group of Russian nobles. This provoked a strong reaction, however. Following the election of Michael Romanov as tsar (ruled 1613–1645) and

an abortive attempt to capture Moscow (1617–1618), Poland-Lithuania made peace at Deulino (1618). Sweden had settled with Russia at Stolbova in 1617, cutting Russia off from the Baltic.

After the brief but indecisive War of Kalmar (1611–1613) between Sweden and Denmark, political and military reform under Charles IX's son Gustavus II Adolphus (ruled 1611–1632) brought success in renewed war against Poland-Lithuania. Sweden captured Riga (1621) and invaded Polish Prussia (1626), where initial successes failed to prevent ultimate stalemate. International pressure led to the truce of Altmark (1629), which freed Sweden to intervene in the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648) and gave it control of most of Livonia. A Russian attempt to recapture Smolensk in 1633–1634 was beaten off by the Poles, who threatened to invade Livonia. Sweden, then facing problems in Germany, surrendered the right to levy tolls on the Prussian ports, won at Altmark, in the truce of Stuhmsdorf (1635), which provided sufficient concessions to persuade the Polish diet to withdraw its backing for further hostilities. Sweden's subsequent success in Germany was rewarded with the grant of Bremen, Verden, and most of Pomerania, including Stettin, at the Peace of Westphalia (1648), while its crushing defeat of Denmark in "Torstensson's War" (1643–1645) broke Denmark's stranglehold on the Sound, securing Jämtland, Härjedalen, Ösel, Gotland, and Halland at the Peace of Brömsebro.

THE SECOND NORTHERN WARS (1655–1660)

The next phase of the wars was sparked off by Poland's internal problems. Sigismund's intervention in Russia and the dynastic quarrel with the Swedish Vasas, maintained by his sons Władysław IV (ruled 1632–1648) and John Casimir (ruled 1648–1668), increased the reluctance of the Polish Diet to finance royal foreign policy, while the Commonwealth's inability to defeat Khmelnytsky's Cossack revolt in the Ukraine after 1648 provoked Russian intervention in 1654. Lithuanian defenses crumbled, and Russia seized a series of cities, including the capital, Vilnius. In July 1655, fearing extensive Russian gains, Charles X of Sweden (ruled 1654–1660) overran Poland in a preemptive strike, thereby forcing Frederick William of Brandenburg-Prussia (ruled 1640–1688) into an alliance.

These events opened the indecisive Second Northern War (1655–1660). A Polish military revival in 1656 pushed back the Swedes, despite a Swedish-Brandenburg victory in the battle of Warsaw (July 1656). Sweden failed to take Danzig while Russia, alarmed at the prospect of a Swedish victory, signed a truce with Poland (1656). The Austrian Habsburgs and Denmark joined the anti-Swedish coalition in 1657, with Frederick William switching sides in return for Poland recognizing his sovereignty over Ducal Prussia. Bugged down in Poland, Charles mounted a brilliant attack on Denmark in February 1658, marching his army to the walls of Copenhagen over the frozen Baltic Sea to force the treaty of Roskilde (1658). Reluctant to return to Poland, Charles attacked Denmark again in the summer, but the Dutch and English supported the Danes and put pressure on Sweden to make peace. At the Treaty of Oliva (1660) with Poland, Brandenburg, and Austria, Sweden gained little beyond John Casimir's resignation of his claim to the Swedish throne; at the Treaty of Copenhagen with Denmark (1660), Sweden retained Scania, Bohuslän, and Blekinge, won at Roskilde, but returned Bornholm and Trondheim. Sweden made peace with Russia in 1661, but the Polish-Russian war had resumed in 1658: the Russians were driven out of most of Lithuania but Polish political divisions and military exhaustion led to a truce at Andrusovo (1667). Russia retained Smolensk and gained the Ukraine on the left bank of the Dnieper, including Kiev, nominally for three years, but ceded definitively by Poland in 1686.

The Second Northern War revealed the problems Sweden faced in defending its empire, which were confirmed in the Scanian War (1674–1679). Forced to attack Brandenburg by Louis XIV (ruled 1643–1715), who was paying them generous subsidies, the Swedes were defeated at Fehrbellin (1675); Sweden was then invaded by Denmark. Charles XI (ruled 1660–1697) beat off the Danish attack, but lost all of Sweden's German territories; they were only returned at the Peace of Fontainebleau (1679) at the behest of Louis XIV.

THE GREAT NORTHERN WARS (1700–1721)

Neither Poland-Lithuania nor Russia, involved in wars against the Ottoman Empire, was in a position to exploit Swedish weakness in the 1670s, but both

powers still had scores to settle. The Turkish Wars ended in 1699, while the accession of the young Charles XII (ruled 1697–1718) seemed to provide an opportunity for revenge. An anti-Swedish coalition soon formed including Frederick IV of Denmark (ruled 1699–1730), Augustus II, elector of Saxony and king of Poland-Lithuania (ruled 1697–1732), and Tsar Peter I of Russia (ruled 1682–1725). A botched attempt to take Riga by Augustus in 1700 launched the Great Northern War (1700–1721).

Charles XII of Sweden, a talented soldier, defeated each element of the coalition separately. Denmark was knocked out of the war immediately, before Charles destroyed a much larger Russian army besieging Narva in November 1700. He then invaded Poland-Lithuania (1702), where he won a series of victories, forcing Augustus to abdicate the Polish throne at the treaty of Altranstädt (1706). The Swedish-sponsored election of King Stanisław Leszczyński (ruled 1704–1709; 1733–1736), however, had merely deepened Polish political divisions. When Charles's bold invasion of Russia ended in defeat at Poltava (1709), Augustus returned and Leszczyński fled. Denmark, Brandenburg-Prussia, and Hannover now entered the war in the hope of securing something from the wreckage of the Swedish empire. Charles, on his return from Turkish exile in 1714, staved off disaster, but after his death in action (1718) the way was open to peace. Sweden kept part of Pomerania, but lost its other holdings across the Baltic. If Denmark failed to reverse its previous losses, Russia secured Kexholm, Ingria, Livonia, and Estonia at the Peace of Nystad (1721), and a new system of power was established in northeastern Europe. Sweden and Denmark were now second-rank powers, while continuing Polish weakness enabled Russia and Brandenburg-Prussia to emerge as the victors of the Northern Wars.

See also Baltic and North Seas; Baltic Nations; Belarus; Charles X Gustav (Sweden); Charles XII (Sweden); Denmark; Frederick William (Brandenburg); Frederick William I (Prussia); Gustavus II Adolphus (Sweden); Habsburg Dynasty: Austria; Hansa; Ivan IV, “the Terrible” (Russia); Kalmar, Union of; Khmelnytsky Uprising; League of Augsburg, War of the (1688–1697); Lithuania, Grand Duchy of, to 1569; Livonian War (1558–1583); Moscow; Nantes, Edict of; Ottoman Empire; Peter I (Russia); Poland to 1569; Poland-Lithuania, Commonwealth of, 1569–1795; Prussia; Romanov Dynasty (Russia);

Russia; Russo-Ottoman Wars; Russo-Polish Wars; Saxony; Sigismund II Augustus (Poland, Lithuania); Silesia; Stephen Báthory; Sweden; Teutonic Knights; Thirty Years' War (1618–1648); Time of Troubles (Russia); Ukraine; Vasa Dynasty (Sweden); Westphalia, Peace of (1648).

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ROBERT I. FROST

NOVALIS (Friedrich Leopold von Hardenberg; 1772–1802), German poet, aphorist, theoretician, and student of the natural sciences. “Novalis” was the pseudonym of Friedrich Leopold von Hardenberg, who helped formulate the program of Early German Romanticism and penned its most enduring literary works. He remains known in the English-speaking world for few works: *Hymnen an die Nacht* (1800; Hymns to the night), the unfinished novel *Heinrich von Ofterdingen* (1802), and the mystical-political essay *Die Christenheit oder Europa* (1799; Christianity or Europe). International interest extends to his fragment collections *Blütenstaub* (1798; Pollen) and *Glauben und Liebe oder Der König und die Königin* (1798; Faith and love or the king and the queen), the prose *Die Lehrlinge zu Sais* (1798; The novices of Sais), the *Geistliche Lieder* (1799; Spiritual songs), and his wide-ranging notebooks.

A descendant of twelfth-century aristocracy, the baron (*Freiherr*) von Hardenberg was born into a Pietistic family of stable means. Groomed to follow his father in the administration of Saxony's saltworks, he studied at the universities of Jena (where Friedrich Schiller was his history professor) and Leipzig (where he met Friedrich Schlegel). After 1795 Hardenberg worked for the civil service near his home in Weissenfels and immediately fell in love with the young Sophie von Kühn. Her 1797 death

left its mark on his writings, but their affair's importance has been exaggerated by biographers. In 1798–1799 Hardenberg studied natural science at the Freiberg Mining Academy, where he became engaged to Julie von Charpentier. Hardenberg returned to work vigorously in 1799 but soon weakened from tuberculosis (probably contracted from Sophie), which ended his life at twenty-nine.

The brief span of Hardenberg's life helps specify his literary and cultural significance. A member of the generation of the 1770s, he was among the first to experience the vigorous, distinctly German culture of classicism—one upon which to build and against which to rebel. The writings of Gotthold Ephraim Lessing (1729–1781), Johann Gottfried von Herder (1744–1803), Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749–1832), and Friedrich Schiller (1759–1805), and the philosophy of Immanuel Kant (1724–1804) and Johann Gottlieb Fichte (1762–1814) provoked both emulation and rejection in Hardenberg's generation, which included his fellow Romantics Ludwig Tieck (1773–1853) and the Schlegel brothers, August Wilhelm (1767–1845) and Friedrich (1772–1829), the philosophers Friedrich Wilhelm von Schelling (1775–1854) and Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770–1831), and the composer Ludwig van Beethoven (1770–1827). In youth they all greeted the French Revolution as opening a radically new era. However, Hardenberg's early death set him apart in that he never experienced the nationalistic and reactionary climate wrought in the German states by the Napoleonic Wars after 1800. Hardenberg's writings remain post-Revolutionary, driven by the present's urgency and the future's infinite malleability—two hallmarks of what German scholarship recognizes as Early (rather than Late) Romanticism.

Hardenberg's major writings begin with the *Fichtestudien* (Fichte studies) of 1795–1796, which seek to understand, expand, and criticize the post-Kantian philosopher. While agreeing that the “I” makes the known world, Hardenberg insists that this world is also a “You” interacting with the self in mediations such as language. Notes entitled “Poeticisms” and “Logological Fragments” explore this power of language and formulate central tenets of Romanticism. “Poesy is the basis of society,” claims Hardenberg, “The world must be romanticized.” This historically first use of the word



Novalis. ©BETTMANN/CORBIS

“Romantic” in its modern sense proclaims a moral imperative to refashion society as an aesthetic construct.

Hardenberg appended the pseudonym “Novalis” to all four of his published writings but never used it otherwise. Taken from the ancestral estate von der Rode or *de novali* (“from the cleared land”), it announced Hardenberg's post-Revolutionary program and disguised his true identity. It was aptly chosen. In 1798 the aphoristic *Pollen's* approach to culture, religion, and politics as domains for Romantic transformation passed relatively unnoticed, but the strictly political *Faith and Love* annoyed the Prussian king, whose censor stopped its second installment in press. Even Hardenberg's friends were confused by this work, which remains controversial today. The following year they declined to publish *Christianity or Europe*, which invokes an idealized medieval age to call for a radical “reunification” of Europe's separate nations and disparate branches of knowledge.

Facing outside resistance and his own mortality, Hardenberg turned to religious writing. Some of his unorthodox *Spiritual Songs* were used in congrega-

tional songbooks, and his *Hymns to the Night* were an immediate sensation. Romantically mixing prose and verse, their mystical vision of death's overcoming (which drew on notes about Sophie) hid a subversive interpretation of Christianity as a mere stage toward Romantic religion, in which one chooses one's own mediator for an unrepresentable Absolute.

The *Hymns'* popularity was rivaled by that of the posthumous *Heinrich von Ofterdingen* (1802), which Hardenberg called "my political novel." Quintessentially Romantic, this bildungsroman ('novel of education') fuses medieval legends with fairy tales, dreams, and visions. It contains "Klingsohr's Fairy Tale," an allegory of universal renewal with alchemical, scientific, and political allusions.

Hardenberg published scarcely eighty pages but quickly reached fame through the two-volume edition of his writings (*Novalis Schriften*) printed five times between 1802 and 1837.

See also **German Literature and Language; Romanticism.**

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WM. ARCTANDER O'BRIEN

NOVIKOV, NIKOLAI IVANOVICH (1744–1818), for about three decades one of the defining figures of the Russian Enlightenment. Born into a middling noble family, he was part of the earliest cohort of students at the noble boarding

school of the newly opened Moscow University (founded in 1755). He continued on to the university, although, like most of the literati of his age, he left well before completing his course of study. Commissioned as a lieutenant in a guards' regiment, he left the service quite early (an act made possible in 1762 by a law freeing the nobility from compulsory service). Thereafter he devoted his energies to letters and the fledgling world of Russian literary journalism in St. Petersburg.

In 1767 he participated, first in St. Petersburg and then in Moscow, as a secretary in the Legislative Commission established by the empress Catherine the Great. Grand in its intention to produce a new fundamental law (*Ulozhenie*) for the empire, the commission actually produced very little legislation and served more as a semi-public forum for discussing matters of public policy. It adjourned in December 1768, and Novikov resigned to become a full-time editor and journalist. Over the next five years he immersed himself in St. Petersburg's literary life, editing several of its so-called satirical jour-



Nikolai Novikov. Portrait by Dmitry Gregorievitch Levitsky, Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow. ©SCALA/ART RESOURCE, N.Y.

nals. With titles such as *The Painter*, *The Tattler*, and *The Drone*, these mostly monthly journals endeavored to bring the spirit of European satire to Russia's small educated public, while at the same time focusing on Russian affairs and customs. The determination to respect Russia's own antiquity was a defining feature of Novikov's work, motivating him, among other things, to publish an extensive, multivolume compendium of Russian antiquities entitled *The Ancient Russian Library*.

In 1778 he moved back to Moscow and took out a ten-year lease on Moscow University Press, an act that elevated him to the status of a publishing magnate, arguably Russia's first. Equally important, he became a member of the Rosicrucians, whose blend of service and religious pietism came to have a significant influence on his outlook. In 1783, Catherine issued an edict allowing private parties to own and operate presses with relatively little governmental oversight, at least through the 1780s. Novikov and his associates took advantage of this opportunity by establishing a series of interconnected publishing ventures, the largest of which, the Typographical Company, rivaled Russia's largest institutional presses. By the mid-1780s Novikov's enterprises, which included a separate Masonic publishing house, were producing over 40 percent of all titles published in Russian. They sponsored an extensive program of translation, producing Russian versions of contemporary European literature.

Novikov's publicistic successes (financially, his ventures generally operated at a large loss), along with his devotion to a particularly secretive and religious brand of Freemasonry, attracted the suspicion of police officials in Moscow. Investigated at least four times between 1785 and 1792, he was stripped of the Moscow University Press lease in 1789 and then arrested in 1792. Freed to return to his estate during the reign of Paul I, he remained there in relative obscurity until his death in 1818. But he maintained a very active correspondence with other leading masons, such as Alexander Labzin, especially during the early years of the reign of Alexander I.

See also Catherine II (Russia); Enlightenment; Freemasonry; Journals, Literary; Printing and Publishing; Russian Literature and Language.

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GARY MARKER

NUMEROLOGY. *See* Magic.

NUREMBERG. The southern central German city of Nuremberg (German, Nürnberg; Latin, Norimberga) entered the early modern period as one of the two or three preeminent cities of the Holy Roman Empire, famed for its commercial products, art and architecture, and enlightened government. By the time it was absorbed by Bavaria in 1806, it had become a commercial and cultural backwater, a shadow of its former glorious self. The keys to both the city's rise and its decline lay in its economic and political successes.

ORIGINS TO ZENITH

Around 1050 the Holy Roman emperor Henry III (ruled 1039–1056) built a castle on a hill north of the Pegnitz River, known as Nuremberg. During the next century a new settlement south of the river, called Lorenzstadt (Laurence city), was added and in 1219 the expanded city received its great charter as a free imperial city, subject to no jurisdiction except that of the emperor. Since it possessed neither particularly rich farmland nor a navigable river, Nuremberg relied on its political influence and geographic advantage to develop into one of the most powerful imperial cities in Germany. By the end of the thirteenth century, the town council, composed largely of merchants, had assumed most authority over the city, and embarked on a mostly pro-Luxembourg campaign during the empire's dynastic struggles. As part of the city's reward, a victorious Emperor Charles IV (ruled 1355–1378) decreed in the Golden Bull of 1356 that each new emperor thereafter was to hold his first diet in Nuremberg, an honor the city enjoyed until 1543. Nuremberg's maintenance of the castle as a royal residence (which the council actually purchased in 1427) as well as the fact that it served as the depository of the crown



Nuremberg. A reproduction of the view of Nuremberg from Braun and Hogenberg's famous collection of city views, *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*, published first in 1572 and in many later editions. MAP COLLECTION, STERLING MEMORIAL LIBRARY, YALE UNIVERSITY

jewels (until 1796), similarly reflected the prestige the city enjoyed among subsequent emperors. Several imperial privileges in turn aided in the economic growth of Nuremberg. As a crossroads for northern routes to the Rhineland and southern roads to Danubian territories, the city quickly became a trading center for a variety of manufactured goods, including the local specialties of metal products (such as cannons and armor), precision instruments (compasses, clocks, musical instruments), and toys. By 1500, Nuremberg had also become a center in the new printing industry. Its rural hinterland had expanded to about twenty-five square miles, and the city had a population of 25,000 to 30,000, making it one of the largest urban centers in the empire.

Nuremberg's economic golden age closely corresponded with an artistic explosion. By far the most famous local son was Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528), a drawer and painter of skill unrivaled in Germany. The city was also home to the sculptor Veit Stoss (1438/39–1533), the poet Konrad Celtis (1459–

1508), the humanist father and son Johann Pirckheimer (1440–1501) and Willibald Pirckheimer (1470–1530), as well as Hans Sachs (1494–1576), immortalized in Richard Wagner's opera *Die Meistersinger* (The master singer). In 1525, partly due to the influence of evangelical preachers Lazarus Spengler (1479–1534) and Andreas Osiander (c. 1496–1552), the town council embraced Protestantism, banning the Catholic mass and all other “papist” ceremonies and welcoming ministers of the new faith to the city. Five years later, the city's representatives signed the Augsburg Confession, the statement of Lutheran faith, but refrained from joining the new Protestant military alliance, the Schmalkaldic League. Instead, the city's leaders attempted, as they would almost a century later during the Thirty Years' War, to play a conciliatory role between the two religious factions. In both instances their efforts failed, but with the Augsburg Religious Peace of 1555, Nuremberg and the rest of Germany were at least able to enjoy almost seventy-five years of relative religious peace.

DECLINE

The growth of royal states and the expansion of global trade both took a toll on Nuremberg's economy. As the city continued to grow in population (40,000 by 1600), its public debt also continued to mount, already reaching five million gulden (twice the annual municipal budget) by the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War in 1618. Its leaders' alternating attempts at neutrality and Protestant support ended badly for Nuremberg, which instead suffered under several successive occupations by both Catholic and Protestant armies, each bringing new diseases and demands for large "contributions" to the war effort. By the end of the fighting in 1648, Nuremberg's population had declined to 25,000, where it would remain until the end of its sovereignty in 1806, when the Napoleonic Confederation of the Rhine ceded it to the kingdom of Bavaria. Though no longer politically significant, the city did regain some of its economic strength as an industrial center during the nineteenth century.

Despite the dramatic decline in political and economic significance, Nuremberg still played some role in the culture of early modern Germany. In

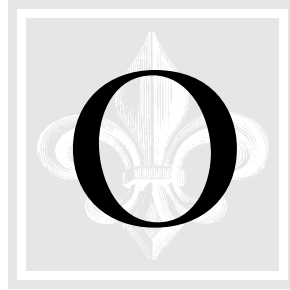
1616, a university was founded at nearby Altdorf, and in 1662 an academy of arts, the oldest of its kind in Germany, was also founded. Perhaps the most famous writers and poets were the members of the so-called Order of Pegnitz Flowers, particularly Sigmund von Birken (1626–1681). Also of note were the organist and composer Johann Pachelbel (1653–1706) and the author Johannes Konrad Gröbel (1736–1809), who wrote several popular poems in the Nuremberg dialect.

See also Augsburg, Religious Peace of (1555); Bavaria; Dürer, Albrecht; Free and Imperial Cities; Holy Roman Empire; Thirty Years' War (1618–1648).

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JOEL F. HARRINGTON



OBSTETRICS AND GYNECOLOGY.

Obstetrics and gynecology were marked by technical, intellectual, and social innovation in the early modern period. While female midwives continued to deliver almost all babies, both male and female writers sought to improve obstetrical practice, and anatomists strove to understand the workings of the human body, including the female sexual and reproductive systems. Although historians argue about the actual extent of maternal mortality, it is clear from sources that women feared losing their lives in childbirth and that most women knew personally another woman who died in childbirth or shortly thereafter. Similarly, while the full extent of neonatal death in early modern Europe will remain unknown, it is clear that birth was far more hazardous for babies than for their mothers.

Obstetrics and gynecology were grounded in classical and medieval precedent. The first European vernacular work on obstetrics, Eucharius Roeslin's *Rosegarten*, was published in German in 1513 and was reprinted at least another twenty-four times up to 1608. Addressed to midwives and married women, it describes the mechanics of labor and delivery, care of the newborn, and common complaints in pregnancy. Roeslin's son translated the work into Latin, and the book subsequently became a European best-seller, translated into French, Dutch, Spanish, Danish, English, and Czech and republished into the eighteenth century.

Although Roeslin's work proclaimed itself to be for a popular or lay audience, it owed much to

learned authorities. Scholarship suggests that the work was not originally written for midwives but for medical men. In his preface, Roeslin describes how Galen (129–c. 199 C.E.), Rhazes (Rāzī, c. 865–between 923 and 935), Avicenna (Ibn Sīnā, 980–1037), and Averroës (Ibn Rushd, 1126–1198) struggled to understand the human body, and then places his own work within this learned masculine lineage. Much of the book, including the illustrations, ultimately derives from classical antiquity, specifically from *Gynecology* by Soranus (c. 100 C.E.). Indeed some historians have argued that contemporary midwifery practice was more sophisticated than Roeslin's classically based text might suggest. Roeslin after all was working from texts, not from experience delivering healthy babies, and his preface suggests a scorn for the manual knowledge and skill midwives possessed.

INNOVATIONS

Four technical innovations characterized early modern obstetrics. Until the eighteenth century babies were delivered by female midwives; male surgeons only entered the birthing room when the midwife and the attendant women judged that the infant's life was already lost. The task of the surgeon was to extract the body of the infant, often by the bloody means of perforating the infant's cranium to reduce the size of the skull or otherwise mutilating the infant's body. In 1549 the French surgeon Ambroise Paré (1510–1590) published directions for the technique of podalic version, that is, turning the baby in the womb so the feet present first, allowing application of traction to the feet and legs to

induce delivery. It is not clear how extensively the technique spread or was employed by midwives, but it was an effective and lifesaving technique.

The second set of innovations centered on new devices. An obscure array of tools was in use by the late seventeenth century to apply traction to the head of the baby in the birth canal to promote delivery. The vectis, a sort of spoon-shaped device, and the fillet, a circle of leather or fabric put around the infant's head, seem to have been employed by some practitioners. The most successful of these devices, however, was that developed by the Chamberlen family, the obstetrical forceps, similar in design to modern forceps. For about a century this London family of Huguenot immigrants kept their device a secret. The use of forceps was demonstrated in Paris in 1720, and the first printed description of their design and use dates from 1733.

While the forceps offered surgeons a new technique that promised to preserve the lives of mother and baby, it was not uncontroversial. First, as seen in the writings of some practitioners, the instrument was not easy to use, and usually a surgeon had to be shown the technique in detail. Not all surgeons were convinced of their utility. William Smellie (1697–1763), the first British superstar male midwife, wrote that forceps were only necessary in ten of ten thousand cases. William Hunter (1718–1783), his successor, said of forceps “where they save one, they murder twenty” (cited in Spencer, pp. 72–73). However, for women afflicted with malformed pelvises (often caused by rickets), the forceps offered new hope of giving birth to a living child.

The third technical innovation was almost never performed; in fact it was judged a failure for most of the period. Learned men knew that Julius Caesar had been born by cutting open his dead mother's belly, but in the sixteenth century surgeons began to discuss the possibility of performing the operation to save the life of the mother as well as the child. Supposedly a Swiss gelder performed the operation on his own wife at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Paré had authorized the use of the operation five times at the Hôtel-Dieu in Paris, but none of the women survived. Paré forbade other surgeons to perform it. Only in the 1790s did sur-

geons begin again to perform cesarean sections on living women.

The fourth innovation was pioneered by the French midwife Madame Angélique Marguerite le Boursier du Coudray (c. 1714–1794). She invented mannequins that modeled various presentations in childbirth and employed these new devices in a system of royally sponsored midwifery courses. From 1760 to 1783 Coudray taught in over forty French cities and towns. She understood that midwives learned their techniques from other midwives through touch, not sight. Consequently she structured her teaching with posters and with the life-size mannequins that she constructed herself from leather, bone, and fabric.

CIRCULATION OF KNOWLEDGE

Reproduction was a mysterious, even magical, property of the female body, often compared to alchemical or agricultural processes. The Renaissance rebirth of human dissection offered male surgeons the possibility of knowing about the hidden interiors of women's bodies in a new and powerful way not available to female midwives. Renaldus Columbus (1516–1559) famously “discovered” the clitoris in 1559. His successor at the University of Padua, Gabriele Falloppio (1523–1562), argued that he had first identified the clitoris as well as the tubes that still bear his name. In 1611 the Copenhagen anatomist Caspar Bartholin (1585–1629) scorned both of their claims and pointed out that everyone had known about this body part since the second century. Other anatomists scoffed at their medieval predecessors, who claimed that the human uterus had seven cells or chambers.

The knowledge and practices of obstetrics and gynecology circulated among and between learned and lay cultures to a greater extent than many other areas of medicine. Obstetrics was almost entirely practiced by midwives and women, and the dynamics of the birthing room ensured that any male practitioner called in would have to temper his plans to fit with the wishes of the birth mother's attendants. Alexander Read (1586–1641), for example, reminded his readers of what had become accepted wisdom, namely that the unborn baby only respired via the blood in the umbilical cord. Nonetheless Read advised surgeons to keep the mother's mouth and genitals open even after she died if a postmor-

tem delivery of any kind was contemplated. Although the practice was useless, women believed that the unborn baby would suffocate unless the passages for air were kept open, and would blame the surgeon for negligence. Coudray's teaching similarly illustrates that obstetrics was poised between the female world of the birthing room and the male anatomical theater but that neither was isolated from the other. Coudray's brilliance lay in translating the realm of anatomy from sight to touch and from surgeon to midwife.

These intersections between learned academic medicine and practices of midwives and other women emphasize that birth was a social and cultural process far more than it was a medical one. The great conundrum of early modern obstetrics, namely why well-to-do women in England and North America came to employ male midwives, cannot be addressed without understanding social and cultural processes. In many places in Europe obstetrics and gynecology were shaped by larger shifts in the valuation of infants and the roles of mothers as much or more than they were by developments internal to medicine.

Historians have struggled to explain why and how women in England came to accept men as midwives—as the attendants for normal deliveries—in the first half of the eighteenth century. It was once thought that the technological determinism provided the answer: men midwives had forceps, which their female counterparts lacked. However, some of the most popular male midwives did not use forceps or only employed them rarely. Hunter is quoted above scorning the forceps, and yet he was the most successful male midwife in mid-eighteenth-century London. Hunter taught anatomy and male midwifery to male pupils at his own private school, in the process creating a public reputation as a skilled and knowledgeable man. He also cultivated politeness, advising his students, for instance, to avoid performing rectal exams to determine pregnancy in order to preserve the dignity of his female patients. Supposedly he helped a few aristocratic women conceal illegitimate births, and his name was made—he was seen as genteel and courteous. Undoubtedly the rise of male midwifery owed something to the perception that men might offer a technology that women did not (the forceps), something to the whims of fashion, some-

thing to changing patterns of women's work, and something to the recasting of vernacular practices as “superstition.” By the end of the eighteenth century a number of medical men in Britain specialized in obstetrics and delivered thousands of babies over the course of their careers. Nonetheless midwives continued to deliver most infants.

As important as the curious rise of male midwifery are two other social phenomena: an increased value placed on infant life and a reconfiguration of motherhood. In part due to the rise of mercantilism and its attendant belief that the wealth of the nation depended on the health of the nation and in part due to patterns of post-Tridentine Catholic charity, infant life became more highly valued in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Although the dead bodies of newborns could still be found abandoned on dung heaps, initiatives such as foundling hospitals and lying-in hospitals presented the possibility that unwanted babies might be supported by the church or the state. The Ospedale degli Innocenti was founded in Florence in 1419; other Italian cities followed suit in the sixteenth century; Paris and Lyon in the seventeenth century; and London in the eighteenth century. Such hospitals afforded medical men clinical training and poor mothers a roof over their heads, bed rest, and nourishing food.

Related to the new value placed on infant life was a gradual shift in the meanings of motherhood. From the late seventeenth century medical men echoed churchmen and philosophers in emphasizing the importance of maternal care for babies. The archbishop of Canterbury gave a sermon extolling the virtues of breast-feeding in the 1690s; medical men chimed in, arguing against the widespread practice of employing wet nurses. Increasingly middling women were instructed that their place was in the home, not at their husbands' workshops, and that their task was to nurture their children. By the late eighteenth century this reconstruction of the meanings of maternity was used quite consciously by Jean-Jacques Rousseau in *Émile* (1762) to claim that women could take no public roles. Medical men played an important part in these changing definitions of motherhood. In 1747 William Cadogan (1711–1797) denigrated much of traditional baby care as superstition and ordered mothers to ignore the advice of other women and to be

under the supervision of “men of sense,” namely husbands and doctors.

The histories of early modern obstetrics and gynecology began as the prehistory of a medical specialty, highlighting a few forward-looking innovations and denigrating the rest as ignorant or worse. Since then feminist historians have broadened views of midwifery, and historians of the body have explored the construction of sexual anatomies. Like much of the history of medicine, however, learned obstetrics and gynecology remain understudied and poorly connected to the larger stories of scientific revolutions and changes in gender ideologies.

See also Family; Medicine; Midwives; Motherhood and Childbearing; Public Health; Sexual Difference, Theories of.

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OCCULT PHILOSOPHY. “Occult philosophy” is a difficult phrase, at once limited and wide-ranging. In general, it refers to a mode of philosophical thought that seeks metaphysical truth hidden (occult) behind the surfaces of the natural, celestial, and divine worlds. Because its practitioners used magical means to seek these truths, the term “occult” is used here in two of its primary senses.

Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim (1486–1535?) provided the first definitive statement for occult philosophy in his masterwork, *De Occulta Philosophia Libri Tres* (*Three books on occult philosophy*), originally drafted in 1510 but greatly revised for its final publication in 1533. Agrippa saw occult philosophy as the synthetic (or constructive) side of philosophy, with skepticism, represented by his 1526 *On the Uncertainty and Vanity of the Arts and Sciences*, as its analytical (or destructive) complement. In his *Occult Philosophy*, Agrippa argued that behind the natural world, the celestial world of number and Platonic form, and the divine world of Scripture and angels, lay a single, consistent truth: the revealed truth of Christ’s incarnation. In light of faith, through magical practice wedded with philosophical analysis, the magician and occult philosopher could achieve certain knowledge of the divine will and its implications for the ordinary world.

Because occult philosophy depended heavily on the synthesis of nontraditional, often non-European, mystical learning with a Christian framework, Marsilio Ficino’s (1433–1499) translation of the *Hermetic Corpus* in 1460 afforded occult philosophers important working material. But Renaissance occult philosophy began in earnest with Giovanni Pico della Mirandola’s (1463–1494) insertion of Jewish Cabala into Christian magical thought. This marriage of occult exegetical techniques with magic was particularly supported by its placement by Pico della Mirandola under the auspices of Hermeticism, a synthetic and syncretistic tendency that would mark occult philosophy thereafter.

In the sixteenth century, occult philosophy became influential largely through the work of Agrippa, but the term diverged from his rather specialized usage. As a rule, however, its use marked iconoclastic, antiauthoritarian approaches to univer-

sal philosophy, as well as a search for esoteric, secret knowledge behind the veil of apparent reality.

Occult philosophy had no fixed religious identity. Agrippa was Catholic, as were Ficino, Pico della Mirandola, Francesco Giorgi (or Zorzi) (1467–1540), Girolamo Cardano (1501–1576), Tommaso Campanella (1568–1659), and Athanasius Kircher (1602–1680), but some Protestant thinkers also found the occult approach useful. For Paracelsus (1493–1541), John Dee (1527–1608), and Robert Fludd (1574–1637), occult philosophy not only demonstrated the truths behind Scripture and nature, but also validated their own varying perspectives on Christianity. In the more radical thinkers, such as Giordano Bruno (1548–1600), occult philosophy provided a means of rethinking humanity's relationship to God, speculations that prompted Bruno's execution for heresy. While Bruno's case is exceptional in many respects, occult philosophers quite often ran into trouble with religious authorities, perhaps because occult philosophy necessarily seeks truth outside the bounds of established, accepted views.

Occult philosophy's syncretism and universalism are not simply equivalent to what Antoine Faivre has called the "praxis of concordance," the claim of a truth behind all truths, such as the practice of establishing common denominators among several religious, magical, or philosophical systems, which is understood to produce illumination. While occult philosophy does usually accept this "concordance" theory, it is importantly inclusive; that is, whereas in esotericism the concordance approach often entails cutting away supposed mistakes or accretions, occult philosophers generally try to appropriate as much as possible of the system in question. This catholicity has often led to their work being labeled incoherent, unsystematic collections of oddities, but occult philosophers simply eschewed contextless facts in favor of interpreting and appropriating entire systems.

MODERN SCHOLARSHIP

Modern scholars have had a somewhat fraught relationship with occult philosophy. Until the 1960s, occult philosophy primarily cropped up in history of science, where it was sometimes granted that the iconoclasm of occult philosophies promoted observations of nature, leading to the discovery of scien-

tific knowledge. With the work of Frances A. Yates in the 1960s and 1970s, however, occult thought burst onto the wider scene of the history of ideas. Although Yates herself focused largely on Hermeticism in Giordano Bruno and John Dee, her claim that magical thinking promoted the scientific revolution precipitated considerable controversy about occult philosophy. Ultimately, many of Yates's large claims have been found wanting, but occult philosophy itself remains an important, if little understood, issue on the margins of intellectual history.

More recently, scholars have begun once again to rethink the nature and status of occult philosophy. In particular, understanding of the witchcraft phenomenon has prompted consideration of connections between elite and popular ideas of the occult. Recent studies have demonstrated that occult philosophies helped to form broad cultural perspectives on witchcraft, heresy, and popular piety.

With the growing acceptance of interdisciplinary scholarship, the study of occult philosophy is expanding. Currently, most studies focus on particular thinkers and their writings, replacing the older emphasis on situating them within broad intellectual categories; recent studies have focused on Pico della Mirandola, Agrippa, Cardano, Dee, and Bruno. In addition, the trend seems to be moving toward absorption of methods and ideas from other disciplines, notably philosophy, anthropology, linguistics, and the history of religions. As the injection of theory from these disciplines into intellectual history remains somewhat controversial, it seems probable that the study of occult philosophy will absorb some of the radicalism that has invested scholarship on witchcraft, shifting it from a backwater to a mainstream, even trendsetting, area of study.

Most of occult philosophy remains unknown to us, and fundamental questions have not been addressed sufficiently. Its relationship to theories of witchcraft and to the development of science has received some attention, but as yet the answers are provisional. Overall, the connections of this primarily early modern phenomenon with both earlier magic and later occult and esoteric movements remain untouched, and much basic material is still in manuscript. Occult philosophy was influential, extremely visible, and hotly contested in its own time, but until quite recently scholars were unwilling to

accept the challenge of understanding why. With the new growth of interest, it seems likely that occult philosophy will provide scholars exciting new perspectives on early modern intellectual and cultural history.

See also Alchemy; Bruno, Giordano; Cabala; Catholic Spirituality and Mysticism; Dee, John; Hermeticism; Inquisition; Kircher, Athanasius; Magic; Neoplatonism; Paracelsus; Philosophy; Scientific Method; Scientific Revolution; Skepticism: Academic and Pyrrhonian; Witchcraft.

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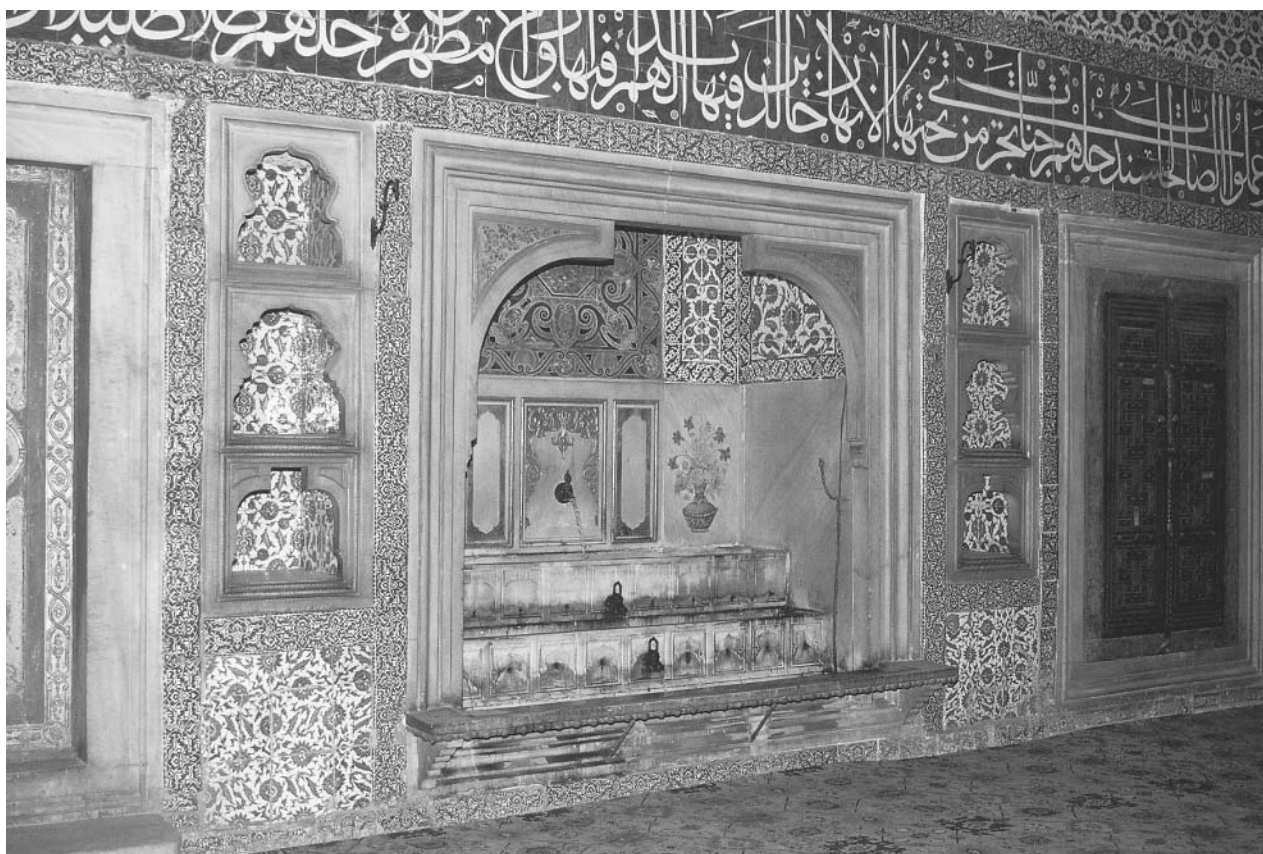
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CHRISTOPHER I. LEHRICH

ite theme of European artists in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as a symbol, in the European view, of Muslim sensuality and sexual practices. The topic of concubinage and slavery also preoccupied European Enlightenment thinkers like Montesquieu (*Lettres persanes* [The Persian letters; 1721]), who used the Ottoman practice to critique French absolutism while avoiding censorship under the *ancien régime*. Slavery was an important and well-developed institution in the Ottoman Empire from the fifteenth to the mid-nineteenth centuries. As a Muslim institution, however, it was little understood in the West.

According to Islamic law, a man had the right to have four legal wives and an unlimited number of concubines. In practice, however, probably less than 5 percent of Muslim men practiced polygamy in the Ottoman Empire. Concubinage, however, was more widespread since a man did not have to legally marry his concubines. Many upper-class and middle-class urban households, however, possessed one or two male and female slaves. Islam provided slaves with some legal rights and promoted the manumission of male and female slaves by their owner. The Koran encouraged Muslim men to treat their concubines fairly and even to conclude legal marriages with them. When a concubine gave birth to a child, Islamic law stipulated that she not be sold and that she become free after her master's death. A master could deny paternity according to the Hanafi school of Sunni Islamic law, but all schools of Islamic law encouraged the master to free the woman and then marry her. The children born to slave women and their masters were considered legitimate and free Muslims and inherited from their father except in cases when paternity was denied. The weight of the law discouraged many married Muslim men from sleeping with their female slaves. The Koran placed a ban on the prostitution of female slaves. Sometimes, however, greedy slave dealers, some of them women, as well as abusive masters, used female slaves as prostitutes. Guilds supervised the slave trade to control revenues and to curb such illegitimate practices as prostitution, misrepresentation of defects, and false enslavement. Female slaves from the Caucasus enjoyed special favor in Ottoman and Mamluk Egyptian households because of their beauty and skills.

ODALISQUE. The French term *odalisque* derives from the Turkish-Ottoman word *odalik*, which refers to a female slave owned by a Muslim male as his legal concubine. The odalisque became a favor-



Odalisque. Fountain in the harem at Topkapi Palace, seat of the Ottoman sultans. ©RUGGERO VANNI/CORBIS

It is important to note that slaves typically performed a wide variety of household chores, and many former slaves in time acquired property and even slaves of their own. Female slaves occupied an important position in the Ottoman imperial harem and ruling class households during the early modern period. They originated as captives of war, who ended up in the palace or in grandee households, or they were purchased in the slave markets of Cairo and Constantinople. By the late fifteenth century most Ottoman sultans ceased marrying aristocratic women from Christian and Muslim dynasties and began to confine their sexual relations to slave concubines. The shift away from marriage alliances was in line with overall centralization efforts, which included undermining the power of provincial dynasties and notable households. Within the imperial harem, the Ottomans followed a policy of one son per concubine in order to forestall a concentration of power in the hands of any one woman. The imperial harem, which housed hundreds of women, had its own hierarchy and seniority system headed

by the *valide-sultan* (queen mother). Palace women received training in manners and comportment as well as in embroidery, music, and culinary arts, among other skills. They were paid salaries in accordance with their rank. Many palace women became very wealthy and established mosques, soup kitchens, hospitals, and other charitable foundations all over the empire. The imperial system of concubinage, and with it the image of the odalisque, became well established during the long reign of Suleiman the Magnificent (ruled 1520–1566). Much to the surprise and dismay of his subjects, he married his favorite concubine, Hurrem, known in the West as Roxelana (d. 1558). As the mother of four sons and one daughter, she had already been allowed to disregard the rule of “one concubine, one son.” It is believed that Hurrem had refused to have further intimacies with the sultan, who had fallen in love with her, until he legally married her. Hurrem was the first imperial concubine to wield enormous power in the harem and in Ottoman politics.

See also **Concubinage; Harem; Ottoman Dynasty; Ottoman Empire; Slavery and the Slave Trade; Suleiman I; Women.**

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FARIBA ZARINEBAF

OFFICEHOLDING. The growth of the state was one of the central features of the early modern period. The state developed around two poles: the king's authority and that of the hierarchy of state officials. Monarchical powers and responsibilities were slowly extended from the twelfth century on as the rediscovery of the old Roman law gave monarchs new means to control their lords and bishops. Their duty was no longer confined to the armed protection of their people; they had to make and implement laws and raise taxes. As the governing task-load increased, it became necessary for the king to delegate authority. If the nobles were supposed to help the kings administer his kingdom, they were first and foremost warriors who ignored, for the most part, the subtleties of law. Their missions also frequently took them away from the court, and governing the realm required stability and continuity. Centralized bureaucracies became a reality during the early modern period as monarchs gathered around themselves persons specializing in domains such as justice and finance.

According to the French lawyer Charles Loyseau, who published a major book on the issue of officeholding in 1610, an office was "an ordinary dignity with public function." Dignity was bestowed upon the officeholder through the participation in royal power; the "public function" referred to the officeholder's service to the king and the

state. Considering the fact that monarchs of the period were considered divinely chosen and their missions fixed by God, officials were also seen as engaged in a divine duty. They took pride in what they were doing, and their tasks were accompanied by a great sense of the importance of their responsibilities. But they were also subject to worldly temptations. The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in particular were marked by popular revolts accompanied by demands that the judicial and financial systems be purged of abuses.

BUREAUCRACY

The German sociologist Max Weber (1864–1920) has defined "bureaucracy" as an administration, either public or private, by full-time salaried officials, who are professionals recruited for the tasks at hand, graded and organized hierarchically, with regular procedures and formalized record-keeping. In the early modern period, the European states were still building their bureaucracies; no state had at its disposal an entire body of professional officials before the end of the eighteenth century. Many officials were still considered personal servants of the king, and a significant number of minor officeholders were named by their superiors rather than by the central government. Moreover, most officials were not directly paid by the state. Their incomes were based on a combination of government recompense, contributions from subjects in need of their services (*épices* in France and *candele* in Sicily, for instance), and finally from bribes or simply theft. It is safe to assume that from one-half to three-quarters of the cost of the royal bureaucracy was assumed directly by the public.

When it was time to appoint or promote an official, the criteria were generally unclear. Technical qualifications and competence were considered, but in reality these played a far less important role than the candidates' ancestry, wealth, and familial connections. Individuals were typically asked to prove their competence before occupying a particular function, but more often than not, this was simply a formality. Open competitive examinations were only introduced in Bavaria and Prussia in the first years of the eighteenth century, and later elsewhere. The general belief was that by observing experienced officials doing their job, new recruits would learn their tasks and naturally assimilate the institutional code of conduct that was seen as a

guarantor of the efficiency of administrative bodies. For instance, in sixteenth-century France, a member of the Parlement of Paris—the most important judicial court of the realm—was expected to be a good Catholic, a learned man able to cite readily the greatest Greek and Roman philosophers, a good orator, and a person of virtue. Networks of clientele were formed within institutions. Officials' children could expect to find marriage partners within these circles.

The organization of the bureaucratic system varied greatly from one state to another. Characteristics of the English civil service were its amateurism and, as compared with France, its small size. In the seventeenth century in England, a population of five million was served by five thousand to ten thousand officials, while France, with a population of 18 million, had at least forty-six thousand public servants in 1665. Public service did not cost the English state much, as, for example, justices of the peace were not paid. The officers held their position for an undetermined time: “at the pleasure of the state,” “during good behavior,” “for life.” In England, officeholding was not a lifetime career: it did not offer the possibility of climbing the social ladder. In France, the structure was more rigid, in part because of the venality of offices, which was there highly developed. In Austria, Maria Theresa adopted a series of measures from 1740 on that aimed at giving more strength to her government. Between 1740 and 1762, the administration saw the number of its officials increase from six thousand to ten thousand. Civil servants who were now judged by their merits saw their remuneration increased. They became fully part of the state.

The Middle Ages saw the creation of many of the states' institutions. Over the centuries, procedures were developed from experience rather than from a carefully written plan. A good example of this is the Parlement of Paris. When a civil war plagued the French realm during the reign of Charles VI (1380–1422) the parlement stood firm, and its stability during the storm was taken note of. A greater number of councillors spent their entire adult lives working in the institution. This stability brought the parlement recognition as an arbitrator between factions. It gained the right to deliberate on every edict presented by the king to its members. To become law, an edict had to be registered by the

court—hence the importance of the courts' archives. From then on, it was possible for its magistrates to slow the legislative process. This gave them a say in the realm's political affairs and was a check on royal absolutism. The fact that French officials were the owners of their offices further strengthened their position.

VENALITY OF OFFICES IN FRANCE

France was not the only state in which it was possible to buy official positions. Venality was commonplace in Castile, for example, but not with respect to higher positions, only the municipal offices. Economically speaking, an office was originally a kind of pension. Because medieval kings were unable to look after all the needs of their faithful, they bestowed on certain individuals a political status that was accompanied by the right to charge for their services. Subjects who used the services of an official were required to pay for them. The logic behind the venality system was already present. In theory, an office was freely given by the monarch, a gift that implied a countergift in the form of a loan. The officer's salary could be considered as the interest on the loan. This system was developed during the Middle Ages. Through a royal declaration in 1467, Louis XI recognized the immovability of officeholders: according to the declaration, an office could only come back to the king via death, resignation, or felony.

The realm's involvement in the Italian Wars provoked a desperate need for money. Louis XII and Francis I created new judicial and financial offices—the many charges in the king's household were not for sale, for the most part—in order to raise funds. In 1524 Francis I organized the Bureau des Finances Extraordinaires et Parties Casuelles to raise money by means of the new offices. It was possible for the officeholder to resign his seat and bestow it on a successor, usually a son or nephew. Those who benefited from such succession had to pay the king a tax of 10 percent of the price of the office. This helped in the creation of bureaucratic dynasties, as generation after generation of the same family held a particular office.

Such practices brought both benefits and problems to the king. Money was raised through the selling of offices, which from 1515 to 1565 increased fivefold. But the monarch lost the ability to

name and control most public servants. Francis I reacted in 1534 by instituting the forty-days clause: an official who sold or resigned his office had to survive the transaction by forty days; otherwise the office reverted to the king. In 1604 the system was changed once more when Henry IV promulgated an official table of values with respect to offices. An officeholder had to pay a special yearly tax—called the *paulette*—of one-sixtieth of the stated value of an office in order to be exempt from the forty-days clause. What the king lost in control, he gained in finances: during the first thirty years of the seventeenth century, offices represented as much as 45 percent of royal revenues.

Offices were in demand, for the most prestigious of them conferred noble status on their owners. In France, officeholding was definitively the best way to climb the social ladder. But it was tempting for the crown to multiply them, especially in times of crisis, and many posts served no purpose. As early as the sixteenth century, some offices were divided in two: their holders serving one year out of two. In 1597 Henry IV created some for which the officials had to work one year out of three. In 1645 quadrennial offices were sold. This did not necessarily translate into a dramatic increase in the number of holders, since it was possible for one individual to own several offices. The cost of offices remained quite high throughout the seventeenth century, especially for the most prestigious ones. It became more difficult to sell them in the eighteenth century as commerce came to seem a better way to make money.

Venality produced a kind of privatization of public service. It opened the door to many abuses, for it was nearly impossible for a king to depose an official. It forced the monarchy to resort to other means in order to effectively govern the realm. Intendants were royal commissaries sent on a mission to act on the king's behalf. Their jurisdiction and tenure were limited. One who did a good job could expect to receive a new assignment; incompetents were not rehired. Of course, this caused jurisdictional problems, as some officials did not readily accept the arrival of these newcomers. Intendants were introduced gradually in the sixteenth century; they were commonplace in the middle of the seventeenth century. But on the other hand most commissaries owned a venal office. It was one of the

many contradictions of the system. Despite modifications, the system of venality survived until the French Revolution of 1789.

See also Absolutism; Church and State Relations; Law; Lawyers; Parlements; Representative Institutions; State and Bureaucracy.

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OLD AGE. From ancient to modern times in Europe, conceptions of the life cycle that recognized discrete "ages of man" counted old age as one of the stages of life. Ancient philosophers such as Aristotle (384–322 B.C.E.) separated life into three stages, and the model of life stages was endowed with additional spiritual meaning in the Middle Ages. By the early modern period, numerous schemes existed to define the steps, ages, or stages of life. Thus, the concept of old age carried with it a relatively coherent set of expectations and experiences including social and cultural signals as well as numerical thresholds of old age. Within these broad socially constructed markers of old age, however, lay a wide variety of experiences determined by social class, gender, and individual life experiences.

DEFINITIONS OF OLD AGE

Certain physical signs marked an individual as old: toothlessness, balding or gray hair, hunched back, lameness, deafness. Increasing debility was the clearest signal that one was becoming old. This assumption is clearly visible in both didactic and fictional forms of literature, as well as in visual representations. Shakespeare's representation of the last stage of life in *As You Like It* as "Sans teeth, sans eyes, sans taste, sans everything," represents a common trope.

Most communities across Europe also recognized a "green" old age, in which an individual was considered old, but had not lost his or her basic faculties. This stage, though marked by the physical signs of old age noted above, carried with it connotations of social power and continued physical ability. Ballads regarding the life cycle often reveal the key characteristics of life stages. In the English ballad "The Ages of Man" (c. 1775), the earlier stage of old age is depicted as one of gradually failing health: "age did so abate my strength, / That I was forced to yield at length." But also, "My neighbours did my council crave, / And I was held in great request." Thus were continued wisdom and respect associated with green old age. In contrast, the last stage of life was one of advanced physical decay: "At nine times seven I must take my leave / Of all my former vain delight . . . my strength did abate." For women, the first stage of old age may have been signaled by the onset of menopause, but historians disagree about the extent to which menopause served as the transition into green old age.

Chronological markers of old age were recognized as well, and these grew increasingly important and consistent. The age of sixty was widely associated with the onset of old age, but several other ages—especially fifty, sixty-three, and seventy—were also used as thresholds of old age, both by individuals and by those who wrote specifically to classify the ages of life. Still, pension schemes, legal statutes, and individual reflections most often give the age of sixty as a marker for old age in men. Women were more often identified as old while still in their fifties, but the same general rule holds for them as well. Poor-law records and diaries from eighteenth-century England, for example, rarely use the term "old" for women younger than sixty. Late-seventeenth-century government ministers

and political arithmeticians used the age of sixty as a dividing point, in both domestic and colonial populations, to designate a portion of the population as too old to bear arms. Such bureaucratic tendencies were part of a more general trend, as some of the groundwork was set for the stricter and more restrictive age norms that grew from the end of the seventeenth century. The increased use of the age of sixty to define entry into old age represents a significant area of discontinuity in the history of old age in early modern Europe.

LIFE EXPECTANCY

During the early modern period, life expectancy fluctuated dramatically in short-term cycles. In England, life expectancy at birth was 36.8 years from 1550–1599, but fell to 33.9 for the period 1650–1699 before rising again to 36.5 for the last half of the eighteenth century. Still, although average life expectancy at birth seldom rose above the late thirties throughout Europe, individuals who made it through those first precarious years of life could generally expect to live through middle age (that is, their forties).

In France, for example, while life expectancy for women at birth was only 25.7 years in the 1740s, at age twenty, women could expect to live into their mid-fifties. These average life expectancies increased throughout the latter part of the eighteenth century, so that by the 1790s, average female life expectancy at age twenty was 38.6 years. It is also clear that the aged accounted for a significant minority of the population; those aged sixty or more comprised as much as 10 percent of the population of England. These figures are similar to those calculated for early modern France and Spain. In contrast to popular misconceptions, then, the aged were present in significant numbers in pre-modern times.

ATTITUDES TOWARD THE OLD

Strands of veneration for and antagonism toward the aged coexisted in all early modern societies. The extreme views represented by these strands were in constant dialectical tension, underpinning the complex set of social relations that characterized individual older people's relationships within their communities. Historians have moved away from the sense that there is any grand narrative of either rising or declining status for the elderly and have

instead highlighted the great heterogeneity and complexity of attitudes toward aging and the aged.

Older individuals often played highly valued roles. The Spanish proverb “The oldster who cannot predict is not worth a sardine” reflects the common perception that an older person’s worldly experience was a valuable community resource. Similarly, many different kinds of sources, from diaries to law cases, demonstrate a pervasive reliance on the memory of older individuals as a source of history and custom, a tradition that persisted despite the ever-growing availability and importance of print to record public and private memories.

Attitudes toward old women varied. The image of the wise old woman and the nurturing elderly mother or grandmother played a role in literature, but representations of older women, especially widows, were more often negative, or even vicious. Images in cheap print stereotyped old women as witches, and literature frequently represented old women as lascivious fools, querulous gossips, or shrill scolds. While recent studies have deepened our understanding of the image of the witch as an old woman, the image of the witch as an old hag demonstrates the ways misogyny and antagonism toward the aged could interact in this period.

ASSISTANCE TO THE AGED

Because so much preindustrial work involved physical labor, and because even the middling sorts were often in vulnerable economic situations, old age often brought with it downward economic mobility. Older individuals generally tried to remain self-supporting, and there were expectations of familial aid, but the elderly poor often depended on public assistance. In most European countries, poor relief was not regulated, but individual communities provided assistance for some of their elderly members. Forms of poor relief varied by country, region, and city, but community assistance usually took one of three forms: statutory poor relief, institutions like hospitals and asylums, and charity.

England’s “Old Poor Law” serves as the clearest example of statutory poor relief. Under the Elizabethan Poor Acts of 1601, unpaid churchwardens and overseers in each of the country’s parishes collected poor-relief taxes and redistributed the money to the poor residents of the parish. The statute specifically called for “necessary relief” to be given

to the aged and decrepit poor. Historians differ in their assessment of the scope, generosity, and regional variation of the Old Poor Law’s provision for the elderly, but it is certain that this system generated assistance ranging from occasional handouts to subsistence-level pensions for a significant minority of the aged population in many parishes in early modern England. The nature of the assistance changed as poor relief grew more extensive throughout the country. By the end of the eighteenth century, especially in southern and eastern parishes, parish poor relief to the aged could be very extensive. The Old Poor Law provided an important safety net for the aged, especially old widows. This system should not be mistaken for a prototype of modern social security (there was always a very strong and moralistic social-control element to early modern poor relief), but its extensive presence in the economic landscape and cultural expectations of this period is a significant aspect of the history of old age.

In Protestant Germany, large hospitals—charitable institutions set up to serve the aged, young, poor, needy, prostitutes, and so forth—such as those in Hesse, which were founded after the Reformation as a means to replace monastic charity, specifically served infirm people over sixty. If an old person’s petition for entrance into the hospital was accepted, he or she could depend on the hospital to provide a bed and subsistence for the remainder of his or her life. Similarly, both the Hospital of Saint Sixtus and the Apostolic Hospital in Catholic Rome privileged the elderly poor as particularly deserving of assistance. Indeed, the early modern period witnessed a growing acceptance of the institutionalization of the elderly in the last stage of life.

In Protestant areas, these institutions were sometimes designed to replace Catholic charities, but in Catholic countries, religious foundations (including monasteries and confraternities) continued to be a vital source of nonfamilial assistance to the aged poor. Less easy to document, but undoubtedly pervasive in both Protestant and Catholic Europe, neighbors, employers, and friends all gave handouts to the aged as well. All of these sources of assistance—formal poor relief, local institutions, and charity—helped the elderly who fell into need maintain themselves in what Olwen Hufton has

called the “economy of makeshifts” that characterized the economic lives of the early modern poor.

HOUSEHOLD AND FAMILY

As they aged, individuals sought to stay closely connected to their children and/or to more extended networks of kin. These relationships were structured around reciprocal obligations and notions of familial bonds and duties as well as around ties of real affection and attachment in many cases. Spouses, especially, gave vital support to one another, and children’s duty to support their aged parents was but one strand of the thickly woven thread that bound together the elderly and their families. Resources within families often flowed downward from the aged to the younger generations; in early modern sources, the efforts of the old for their families surface repeatedly and importantly.

Analyses of early modern household listings (informal and sporadic local censuses) have revealed the residential patterns of the elderly, though it is true that such sources can illuminate only a small piece of the broader picture of family life. Both family historians and historians of aging have generated a considerable body of work on the living arrangements of the elderly.

A wide variety of household forms existed throughout Europe. In England, where households were generally small and focused on the conjugal family unit, older men most often continued to head their own households. Even older women lived most frequently as the spouse of a householder or as head of their own domicile until advanced old age. In other parts of Europe, such as southern France, where the stem-family system was prevalent, an older couple’s co-residential heir eventually supplanted the parents in home and farm. Historians of central and eastern Europe have found there the prevalence of multigeneration and complex households. In Castile, although most households were nuclear, older people lived in a wide range of household types. One way to make sense of this complexity is to note, as David Kertzer and others have pointed out, that most of western Europe followed a model of nuclear family households, but that older people were fairly often reincorporated into these households, especially after the death of an old parent’s spouse.

The heterogeneity of old people’s households mirrors the wide variety of experiences and the complex and even contradictory images and expectations regarding old age. An individual’s view of old age—whether personal or second-hand—was profoundly influenced by gender, class, health, and family status. Nonetheless, most older people shared a fundamental desire to stay closely attached to their families and friends as they strove to retain their economic self-sufficiency. They also shared, in the broadest terms, a culture that offered many different paths through the aging process, so that individuals were not narrowly restricted to norms of “acting one’s age.”

See also **Charity and Poor Relief; Childhood and Child-rearing; Family; Marriage; Poverty; Widows and Widowhood; Women; Youth.**

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OLD BELIEVERS. Also known as Old Ritualists (*starobriadtsy*), the Old Believers (*starovertsy*) constituted Russia's principal movement of religious dissent in response to liturgical changes imposed by Patriarch Nikon (reigned 1652–1666). Faced with brutal persecution, the first Old Believers established an underground church that grew into a popular alternative to the Russian Orthodox Church during the eighteenth century. Old Believer communities defined themselves by a number of distinctive tenets and practices, including ritual conservatism, apocalyptic theology, and a strict moral code.

THE FIRST OLD BELIEVERS

Shortly after Patriarch Nikon embarked on the revision of Russian liturgical books in 1652, he clashed with a group of educated churchmen over the sacred traditions of medieval orthodoxy. Nikon's opponents rejected the new three-finger sign of the cross (instead of the old two-finger sign), the four-ended shape of the cross (for the traditional six- or eight-ended crosses), the new spelling of the name Jesus ("Iisus" for the old "Isus"), five loaves (instead of seven) at the altar, processions against (rather than toward) the sun, the deletion of traditional prayers and prostrations, and many other changes. According to Old Believers, the Russian Orthodox Church had inherited Christ's original forms of worship from Byzantium, and even the slightest interference with this ancient legacy would lead to the destruction of Holy Russia. Evoking the imminent end of the world, they condemned Patriarch Nikon as either the precursor of the Antichrist or the Antichrist himself.

Prior to the introduction of liturgical reforms, the first Old Believers had held influential positions within the Russian church, and some had even been close associates of Patriarch Nikon and Tsar Alexis Mikhailovich (ruled 1645–1676). Prominent among the Old Believer founding fathers were the

abbot Feoktist, the archimandrites Nikanor and Spiridon Potemkin, the bishops Aleksander of Vyatka and Pavel of Kolomna, the archpriests Ivan Neronov and Avvakum Petrovich, the priest Nikita Dobrynin, and the deacon Fedor Ivanov.

These first Old Believers, who saw their role primarily as instructing ordinary Russians in the essentials of ancient Christianity, established lay conventicles and hermitages as alternative structures of worship. The church and state assaulted most of these communities with military campaigns. Entire congregations sometimes immolated themselves in dramatic attempts to escape capture. Only a few isolated Old Believer communities in frontier areas survived this persecution. Some of the founding fathers were excommunicated and ended up in exile; others suffered martyrdom and became popular Old Believer saints.

A common Old Believer identity emerged only gradually, and due to two principal developments: first, the copying and dissemination of pastoral letters and treatises penned by the founding fathers; second, the composition of hagiographic vitae devoted to martyred heroes. During the last two decades of the seventeenth century, Old Believers began to define themselves as a textual community that shared a body of sacred writings.

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

During the reign of Peter I (ruled 1689–1725), tens of thousands of peasants joined Old Believer communities in order to escape the newly imposed army recruitment levies and heavy tax burdens. By 1800 Old Believers numbered several million. An effective school system taught the peasant majority of Old Believers to read and write. A new generation of intellectuals sought to distinguish Old Belief from Russian Orthodoxy. Liturgical books, bells, icons, and crosses from the pre-Nikonian period (or meticulous reproductions thereof) as well as church services using the old liturgies were central features of community life. In addition, powerful elders (*nastavniki*) enforced stringent discipline and ascetic habits. Contacts with outsiders were severely limited; traditional, simple dress was uniformly imposed; alcohol, tobacco, and tea were prohibited, as were most meats and certain vegetables, such as potatoes and lettuce. Drunkards, fornicators, and other troublemakers were punished or expelled.

Despite their conscious separation from society, Old Believers often became involved in industry and commerce. This seeming paradox can be explained by a number of factors: the necessity of material survival, the effective sharing of resources, and the emergence of a strong work ethic and a disciplined labor force, as well as the state's growing recognition that Old Believers played a crucial role in Russian economic development.

The Old Believer movement failed to develop overarching institutions and soon split into a number of concords (*soglasia*) that disagreed over sacraments such as priesthood, baptism, and marriage. The central dilemma remained the sustenance of a church without an episcopal hierarchy. The Priestly (*popovtsy*), who predominated in Russia's southern and western borderlands, accepted fugitive priests consecrated by the Russian Orthodox Church. By contrast, the Priestless (*bespopovtsy*), who lived mostly in the Russian north and Siberia, were led by hermits and abolished priestly sacraments such as communion and marriage.

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Most historians have focused on the first Old Believers and concluded that the founding fathers were charismatic leaders of a popular movement that pitted Russia's masses against the church. According to this standard interpretation, Old Believers' opposition to liturgical changes precipitated a dramatic confrontation usually referred to as the Russian Schism (*raskol*). Old Believers are perceived to have rallied powerful resistance to the forces of modernization and Westernization unleashed by the Romanov dynasty. This interpretation is supported by polemical texts that depict Old Believers as the principal protagonists in an apocalyptic struggle against the forces of the Antichrist.

Recent studies of Russian archives, however, have shown that conflicts between church and society were far more complicated. Resistance to Nikon's liturgical reforms was not the result of Old Believer propaganda but reflected age-old fissures in Russia's religious geography. Many parishes and monasteries had never been integrated into the institutional structure of the church, and countless peasants, merchants, and lower clergy lived independent lives without conforming to church regula-

tions. When church agents attempted to enforce the Nikonian reforms as signs of obedience to church authority, they failed to break traditional autonomies. Powerless to bridge the gulf between local cultures and the administrative center, the Russian Orthodox Church declared the outbreak of a schism. Old Believers were certainly the church's most visible and outspoken opponents, but they did not attract large popular followings before the eighteenth century. The most remarkable achievement of the Old Believer movement was its subsequent transformation from an underground diaspora into a powerful adversary of the Russian Orthodox Church.

See also **Alexis I (Russia); Avvakum Petrovich; Morozova, Boiarynia; Nikon, patriarch; Orthodoxy, Russian; Russian Literature and Language.**

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OLD REGIME. See *Ancien Régime*.

OLDENBARNEVELDT, JOHAN VAN (1547–1619), Dutch statesman who laid the foundations of the Dutch Republic. Johan van Oldenbarneveldt was born into a patrician family at Amersfoort in the province of Utrecht in 1547. His father was a difficult man who never took the family place on the town council and who was surrounded by rumors about his notorious behavior. The young Johan nevertheless received the kind of education thought suitable for young members of the class of town councillors (the regents): he went to the local Latin school, was for some years the pupil of a lawyer in The Hague (the administrative center of the province of Holland), and spent four years abroad, studying law at the universities of Louvain, Bourges, and Heidelberg. These were decisive years that molded Oldenbarneveldt's character and views. His stay at The Hague introduced him into the world of politics and acquainted him with the work and mentality of councillors and lawyers. The study of law that followed reinforced these earlier experiences. Throughout his career Oldenbarneveldt was obsessed with justifying his political turns and innovations by means of texts, and he reduced problems to practical and legal issues. In a religious respect, these educational years also proved to be of lasting importance. In 1568, during his stay at Heidelberg, Oldenbarneveldt became a Calvinist.

Oldenbarneveldt returned from his grand tour in 1570 and went to The Hague to earn a living as an expert on feudal law and laws connected with dikes and drainage. It was a lucrative business. When, however, in the spring of 1572 the Dutch Revolt entered a new phase and one town after another in Holland and Zeeland took the side of the rebellious William I of Orange (William the Silent) and his adherents, Oldenbarneveldt decided to openly support the rebels' cause. Unsettled times followed, in which military and political events happened in quick succession. Oldenbarneveldt himself attracted attention because of his sheer competence in administrative issues and hard work. In 1576 he became pensionary, or legal advisor, of Rotterdam, and in March 1586 the States of Holland appointed him as their "advocate," a post that went back to Burgundian times but had gained greatly in importance since 1572. Not yet forty years old, Oldenbarneveldt was henceforth the principal figure in the

States of Holland as well as their spokesman in the States General.

Lacking charm, tact, and adroitness, Oldenbarneveldt was never a charismatic personality. Contemporaries found him "very stiff" or even "somewhat violent, imperious and bitter." But he was industrious, intelligent, and, above all, opportunistic. When he took office in 1586, the Dutch rebels found themselves in a lamentable situation, deprived of their assassinated leader William I of Orange, divided among themselves and half-conquered by Alexander Farnese, duke of Parma. Oldenbarneveldt, however, proved in his new position to be an outstanding statesman with a clear political objective: to organize an independent Dutch state with the province of Holland firmly in possession of all real power. In the following years he succeeded in driving the new governor-general of the Netherlands, Robert Dudley, earl of Leicester, away without losing the support of Queen Elizabeth I and in transforming the traditional Dutch institutions into efficient and flexible instruments of government. He thus not only managed to organize the new Dutch Republic in a more or less satisfactory way but also created the financial and political framework that allowed the young stadtholder Maurice of Nassau to achieve his decisive military victories of the 1590s. These safeguarded the frontiers and integrity of the new state. Realizing, however, the sharply escalating burden of military expenditure, Oldenbarneveldt tried from 1606 onward to bring the war to an end. With patience and versatility he controlled the negotiations with the Spanish delegations that eventually led to the Twelve Years' Truce of 1609.

Left on its own, the new Dutch Republic experienced during this truce one of the most profound crises in its history. It started innocently, with a theological debate between the Arminians or Remonstrants (moderate Calvinists) and the Gomarists or Counter-Remonstrants (strict Calvinists). But the controversies resulting from this debate became intertwined in a short time with religious fervor, polarized discussions about the relations between the state and the Calvinist church, popular mistrust about Oldenbarneveldt's alleged pro-Spanish and pro-Catholic sympathies (Had he not been the staunchest advocate of a peace with Spain?), and a bitter personal row between the ad-

vocate and the stadtholder, Maurice, who supported the Gomarists. For a time, Oldenbarneveldt gravely underestimated the seriousness of the situation. He sympathized for political reasons with the Arminians and tried to achieve his goals as he had always done, by manipulating the States of Holland and States General. But, confronted with popular opposition and riots, a divided body politic and, since 1616, a hostile stadtholder, Oldenbarneveldt fought a losing battle. He had never been a popular politician. In the end he was, notwithstanding his impressive record of service, just a civil servant of the States of Holland and thus no match for his opponent, stadtholder Maurice. As a nobleman by birth, son of William I of Orange, and a successful and famous military commander, Maurice was a clear favorite of the people. So when Maurice proclaimed Oldenbarneveldt's "Scherpe Resolutie" (Sharp Resolution) of August 1617, which had, among other things, empowered the towns of Holland to raise special troops to maintain order, an "affront to the true Reformed religion and our person" and publicly chose the side of the Gomarists or Counter-Remonstrants, Oldenbarneveldt's days were numbered. On 29 August 1618 he was arrested. After a trial that dragged on for months, Oldenbarneveldt was found guilty of treason and sentenced to death. On 13 May 1619, the 72-year-old advocate, who had laid the foundations of the Dutch Republic and who had dominated Dutch politics for thirty years, was beheaded before a large crowd at the Binnenhof in The Hague.

See also **Dort, Synod of; Dutch Republic; Dutch Revolt (1568–1648); William of Orange.**

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PAUL KNEVEL

OLDENBURG, HENRY (c. 1618–1677), secretary to the Royal Society of London. Henry Oldenburg was born in Bremen, Germany, around 1618. After graduating with an M.A. from the Gymnasium Illustre in Bremen in 1639, he traveled in Europe until 1653, when he went to England on

a diplomatic mission for Bremen. Thereafter he resided in London, where he made the acquaintance of John Dury, Samuel Hartlib, John Milton, Thomas Hobbes, Robert Boyle, and Boyle's sister Lady Ranelagh, to whose son, Richard Jones, future earl of Ranelagh, he became tutor. In 1660 he was associated with Boyle's circle at Gresham College. In 1661 he joined the newly founded Royal Society, to which he was appointed as one of two secretaries in 1662. Oldenburg was twice married, first to Dorothy West (d. 1665), whom he married in 1663, and secondly to his ward, Katherina Dury, whom he married in 1668 and with whom he had two children, Rupert and Sophia.

As secretary to the Royal Society, Oldenburg was responsible for keeping records of the Society's meetings and for maintaining its correspondence with thinkers and scientists throughout Europe, including such figures as Johannes Hevel, Christiaan Huygens, Marcello Malpighi, Antoni van Leeuwenhoek, and Nicolaus Steno. In this capacity, Oldenburg played an important role as publicist, promoter, and information gatherer for the new science. The success of this owed much to him personally, to his wide command of languages, his broad range of contacts, and his personal interest in the new science. He established the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society* (first published in 1665) as an important vehicle for scientific interchange that helped to shape the Baconian and experimentalist character of Royal Society science.

See also **Boyle, Robert; Hartlib, Samuel; Hobbes, Thomas; Huygens Family; Leeuwenhoek, Antoni van; Malpighi, Marcello; Milton, John; Steno, Nicolaus.**

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OLIVARES, GASPAR DE GUZMÁN Y PIMENTEL, COUNT OF (1587–1645), Spanish statesman. Olivares (Gaspar de Guzmán y Pimentel, third count of Olivares), who became the principal minister of Philip IV (1605–1665) of Spain, was born on 6 January 1587 in Rome, where his father, the second count, was ambassador to the Holy See. The counts of Olivares, a small town near Seville, belonged to the junior branch of the Andalusian house of Guzmán, whose titular head was Alonso Pérez de Guzmán, seventh duke of Medina-Sidonia (1549–1615). Don Gaspar, as a third son, was destined for the church but inherited his father's ambition to move out of the ranks of the lesser nobility and challenge the much-resented primacy of the senior branch of the family.

Olivares saw his native Spain for the first time in 1600, when his father returned to the peninsula after serving in succession as viceroy of Sicily and Naples. In 1601, when he was fourteen, Olivares was sent from the family home in Seville to Salamanca University to study civil and canon law. His years in the university gave him a lasting taste for letters and learning and perhaps also for book collecting, which became one of the great passions of his life. Plans for an ecclesiastical career, however, had to be abandoned when his surviving elder brother died suddenly in 1604. When his father died in 1607, having failed to acquire the coveted title of grandee of Spain, Gaspar succeeded him as third count of Olivares. In the same year he married his cousin, doña Inés de Zúñiga y Velasco, daughter of the fifth count of Monterrey. Of the children of the marriage, only one daughter, María, survived infancy. His daughter's death in 1626 after giving birth to a stillborn child was the great personal tragedy of Olivares's life, dashing his hopes of perpetuating the family line.

In 1615, after years of profligate spending in Seville, where he became a generous patron of men of letters, Olivares finally succeeded in securing a post at court as a gentleman in the household of the young prince Philip, the heir to the throne. In the following years he succeeded in ingratiating himself into the prince's favor, and when Philip III (ruled 1598–1621) died prematurely in 1621, Olivares was at once regarded as the favorite of the new king, who made him a grandee within a few days of his accession. Philip IV's principal minister for the first two years of his reign, however, was Olivares's uncle, don Baltasar de Zúñiga. Only following Zúñiga's death in 1622 did Olivares effectively emerge as the dominant figure of a regime he headed for twenty years.

Zúñiga and Olivares came to power as the champions of a reform movement intended to restore Spain's reputation abroad and reverse the process of economic, administrative, and moral decline at home following what were perceived to be two decades of misgovernment by Francisco Gómez de Sandoval y Rojas, duke of Lerma (1553–1625), the favorite and omniscient minister of Philip III. Olivares therefore embarked on an ambitious program of reforms designed to reactivate the flagging Castilian economy, raise the standards of government and public morals, and share more equitably among the different kingdoms of Spain's extended empire the fiscal and military burdens that were crushing Castile.

The reform program of the 1620s was undertaken against a background of war. The Twelve Years' Truce with the Dutch Republic expired in 1621, and Spanish forces were becoming involved in the growing conflict in central Europe that developed into the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648). The early years of the Olivares government brought some notable victories, and in 1625 Olivares was raised to a dukedom with the title of duke of San Lúcar la Mayor. Thereafter he was known to contemporaries as the count-duke (*conde-duque*).

At the end of the decade, however, the reform program began to flag as Spain became involved in a costly and unsuccessful intervention in the War of the Mantuan Succession (1627–1631). From this point onwards Spain was on a collision course with the France of Cardinal Richelieu, although war be-



Gaspar de Guzmán y Pimentel, count of Olivares. Equestrian portrait by Diego Velázquez. THE ART ARCHIVE/MUSEO DEL PRADO MADRID/ALBUM/JOSEPH MARTIN

tween the two countries was not officially declared until 1635. There was still money to support a brilliant court life, and during the early 1630s, when Spain's armies were winning new victories in Germany, the count-duke constructed a pleasure palace for the king, the "Buen Retiro," on the outskirts of Madrid, that became a showcase for the arts. But the strains were beginning to tell, and an increasingly authoritarian government, dominated by juntas composed of Olivares's friends, relatives, and clients, resorted with growing desperation to financial expedients to meet the escalating costs of war.

In 1626 Olivares proposed a "Union of Arms" among the various Spanish kingdoms to help pool their resources in the face of enemy attack. He failed to secure acceptance of the scheme in Catalonia and, following the outbreak of the war with France, sought to exploit the principality's geographical position as a neighbor of France to involve the Catalans more directly in Spain's military effort. His plans miscarried disastrously in the spring and summer of 1640, when the principality, outraged by the behavior of the royal army billeted upon it, rose in revolt and formally terminated its allegiance to Philip IV. Six months later the revolt of Catalonia was followed by the almost bloodless secession of Portugal. With two simultaneous revolts in the peninsula, the balance of the war turned in favor of France, and in January 1643 the king gave his aging and exhausted minister permission to retire from office. With his enemies baying for his blood, the count-duke was sent into semi-exile in the city of Toro, where he died on 22 July 1645.

A ministerial career that had started amid high hopes and expectations ended therefore in defeat. This complex, hyperactive man, ambitious both for his monarch and for himself, failed in spite of titanic efforts to reverse the decline of Spanish power.

See also **Medina Sidonia, 7th duke of; Philip IV (Spain).**

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J. H. ELLIOTT

OPERA. For much of the first three centuries of opera—from the early Renaissance to the time of Mozart—the art was never far from the seat of power. With few exceptions, the scale and expense of operatic productions required significant patronage from either the state or the moneyed few, an investment that in return elevated the prestige of regimes and sweetened the constraints of rule. From the mid-sixteenth century, rulers of Italian city-states sponsored *intermedii*, dramatic musical interludes that appeared alongside a welter of other entertainments such as banquets, balls, hunts, and ballets intended to commemorate, celebrate, and on occasion intimidate. A committee of poets recast Girolamo Bargagli's 1564 play *La pellegrina*, dedicated to Ferdinando de' Medici, as six *intermedii* for the 1589 marriage of the duke to Christine of Lorraine, which the *maestro di capella* at the Florence Cathedral, Cristofano Malvezzi, set to music. Other such *intermedii* marked similarly important events in the city throughout the sixteenth century. At the same time, a group of Florentine intellectuals called the *Camerata* set about re-creating ancient Greek drama, which they believed to have been a blend of chant, declamation, and dance. Funded by patrons like the wealthy Florentine humanist Giovanni de' Bardi and silk merchant Jacopo Corsi, the *Camerata* experimented with setting classic myths to music. This was the context that produced *Orfeo* (1607) by Claudio Monteverdi (1567–1643), a large-scale work of sophisticated design and dramatic mastery that many have called the first true opera. Initially staged "as a casual entertainment for courtiers" around Duke Vincenzo Gonzaga of Mantua, *Orfeo* was later staged to celebrate Margherita of Savoy's entry into the city before her marriage to Ferdinando Gonzaga.

The grandest alliance of opera and power came during the reign of Louis XIV (ruled 1643–1715), whose musicians went well beyond the associations implicit in *intermedii* to cast the king himself in productions. Cardinal Jules Mazarin introduced Italian opera to France in the 1640s, and the Italian

Jean-Baptiste Lully (1632–1687) later received carte blanche in the title of *surintendant de la musique*. Lully was decisive in forging the “French style,” a stately aesthetic of pomp and magnificence that depended more on sensuous vocal and stage effects than on taut drama. Lully’s most enduring operatic form, the *tragédie lyrique*, took its subjects from chivalric tales and ancient myths, with simple plots that turned on the loves of kings, queens, and divinities. Audiences were overwhelmingly noble, and the atmosphere both on the stage and in the hall radiated the Sun King’s glory. The prologue to Lully’s *Thésée* (1675) is set in the gardens of Versailles as Mars sings of the king’s victories in battle, and Love, Grace, and Pleasure regret his absence; in *Isis* (1677) Neptune sings of struggles with Holland and Spain. With the eighteenth-century operas of Jean-Philippe Rameau (1683–1764), references to the French monarchy receded, but the Opéra—officially called the Académie Royale de Musique—remained closely identified with the state.

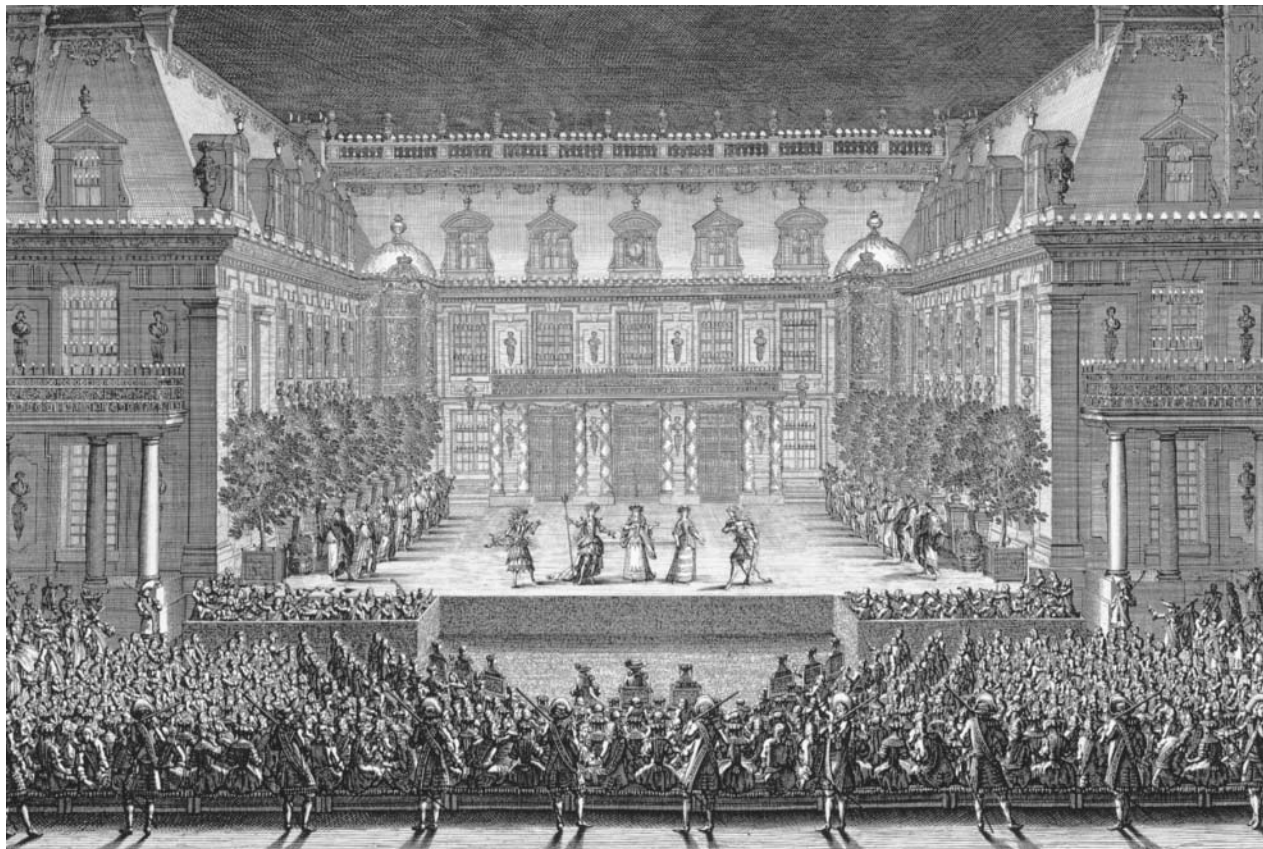
A more popular aesthetic developed elsewhere, with the state less decisive in operatic production. The first public opera house in Europe opened in Venice in 1637 with the help of private sponsorship. By 1700 there were ten theaters in the city, with a keen entrepreneurial competition fueling new productions. The luster of Venetian power and the renown of its culture drew composers and performers. Its annual Carnival season, running from just after Christmas to Lent, brought reliable audiences that were well-to-do and ready to be entertained. The absence of a Venetian court and the city’s mercantile character helped to account for its more earthbound productions, with fewer stage machines, less scenic grandeur, and more historical and comedic subjects than in France or other Italian city-states. The cult of personality prevailed particularly where commercial interest was present, and prima donnas and castrati (especially numerous in Rome, where by papal decree women were banned from the stage) reversed the priority given to the text over the music.

Political and social factors that encouraged early Italian and French opera did not prevail in England, where the Protectorate’s ban on public entertainments and a limited monarchy in the later seventeenth century slowed the appearance of opera and

hampered its progress well into the eighteenth century. The Restoration’s entertainments bore little trace of the Stuart masque, an opulent and thoroughly aristocratic mixture of dance, song, and instrumental music staged at court and in great houses for weddings, receptions, and royal visits. With a few notable exceptions, government support was minimal. Attempting to replicate the French model, Charles II commissioned *Albion and Albanus* (1685), with text by John Dryden and music by Louis Grabu, to celebrate the naming of the duke of York as his successor. As England’s first Continental-style opera, it left little trace: Its premiere was overshadowed by news of the Monmouth Rebellion, and it quickly fell into neglect. More common were so-called semi-operas, which mixed singing, dancing, and dialogue, often in fantastical settings. Armed with a royal patent to “reform” the plays of Shakespeare, the composer William Davenant, working with John Dryden, produced some of the earliest semi-operas in *Macbeth* (1663) and *The Tempest* (1667). Henry Purcell’s *Dido and Aeneas* (1689), a miniature tragedy written for performance at a girls’ school in Chelsea, was a rare instance of a fully sung work.

London’s first public opera house, Dorset Garden Theatre (1671), depended heavily upon semi-operas and *comédies-ballets* in the French style. Charles II’s efforts to bring an Italian company to London in the 1670s met with public indifference, but thirty years later Italian opera seria came to dominate the English lyric stage. Advanced by the Italian dramatist Pietro Metastasio (1698–1782), opera seria reduced the baroque extravagances of courtly opera by streamlining plots, eliminating extraneous love intrigues, and peopling the stage with historical rather than mythic heroes. George Frideric Handel (1685–1759), drawn to London on the urging of the English ambassador to Venice, used the conventions of opera seria to fashion a highly individual idiom that combined a quickened dramatic pace with stunning vocal displays.

Italy continued to set the terms for operatic development elsewhere in Europe. Inspired by the irreverence of commedia dell’arte, comic *intermezzi* and buffa operas mocked the arrogant with fast-paced patter, sprightly tunes, and simple plots involving ordinary mortals. The appearance of a buffa troupe from Italy at the French Opéra in 1752



Opera. Engraving of a performance of Lully's musical drama *Alceste* in the marble court of the Château de Versailles, 1674. The ART ARCHIVE/BIBLIOTHÈQUE DES ARTS DÉCORATIFS PARIS/DAGLI ORTI

produced outrage and indignation among France's cultural conservatives and gave the philosophes an opportunity to bait their opponents. Citing Italian *intermezzi* as his standard, and with the ideological apparatus of the Académie Royale his unnamed target, Jean-Jacques Rousseau wrote, "I conclude that the French do not have music and can never have it; if they ever do, it will be all the worse for them." In the German-speaking lands, opera buffa fused with an older tradition of mystery plays in the form of the *Singspiel*, a blend of highbrow and common that combined spoken dialogue, dances, marches, and narrative song. *Die Zauberflöte* (The magic flute, 1791) by Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756–1791) is in this tradition, and its popularity is in part a reflection of the genre's enormous popular success: In its first ten years at Vienna's Theater auf der Wieden, it enjoyed 223 performances.

Mozart's operas, without precedent and unrivaled in so many aspects, cannot be called revo-

lutionary in either dramatic content or musical execution. In *Le nozze di Figaro* (The marriage of Figaro, 1786), called by Mozart an opera buffa, Count Almaviva, the nobleman thwarted in his attempt to exercise his *droit du seigneur*, is more laughable than tyrannical. Whatever reversals might be implied in Figaro's menacing vow to teach the count to caper are quickly erased with the opera's happy ending, which articulates a moderate, secular view that affirms social differences and sanctifies forgiveness. *Don Giovanni* (1787), whose original title was *Il dissoluto punito, o sia Il Don Giovanni*, ultimately depicts the limits of radical Enlightenment sensualism, a message that Mozart's richly seductive and resolutely nonmoralizing music does much to complicate.

See also Dryden, John; Gluck, Christoph Willibald von; Handel, George Frideric; Haydn, Franz Joseph; Lully, Jean-Baptiste; Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus; Music; Purcell, Henry; Rameau, Jean-Philippe; Songs, Popular.

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OPRICHNINA. *Oprichnina* is the name given by historians to Tsar Ivan IV's division of the Russian state during the years from 1565 to 1572 and to the domestic policies of those years. When the tsar divided the government and administration of the country into two parts, the part reserved for his direct rule became known as *oprichnina*, from the word *oprich'*, meaning 'apart from' or 'besides'. Ivan instituted the *oprichnina* in February 1565, in the wake of reverses in the Livonian War and particularly of the defection of Prince Andrei M. Kurbsky to Lithuania. In early 1565 he divided the country, administration, and army into two parts, his "own," the *oprichnina*, and the remainder, the *zemshchina* ('the land'). In substance this meant that he split all institutions in two: there was now an *oprichnina* and *zemshchina* army, offices, and Duma. Regions of Russia's territory were under one or the other: the north, Novgorod, and a patchwork of districts in central Russia were under the *oprichnina*, the rest of the country, under the *zemshchina*. Boyar and gentry estates in *oprichnina* territory were confiscated and new, presumably less valuable, lands handed out in place, especially in the newly conquered Volga area. Many important boyars were executed. The following few years saw continued executions, including the murder of Metropolitan Filipp in 1569. The climax came in 1570 with the execution of several thousand Novgorod gentry, clergy, and townspeople. By 1572 the policy came to an end.

See also **Autocracy; Ivan IV, "the Terrible" (Russia); Livonian War (1558–1583); Russia.**

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OPTICS. The development of optics between 1450 and 1789 can be conveniently divided into two phases bridged by the optical work of Johannes Kepler (1576–1630) and distinguished by a radical change in analytic focus. During the first phase, that focus was primarily on sight, not light. During the second, it shifted completely from sight to light. Reflecting this shift, the following essay consists of three sections, the first dealing with pre-Keplerian optics, the second with the Keplerian transition, and the third with post-Keplerian developments.

PRE-KEPLERIAN OPTICS

By 1450 two ostensibly contradictory models of sight were available to European thinkers. The first and simpler of the two harks back to the visual-ray theory of Euclid (fl. c. 300 B.C.E.). Brought to maturity by Ptolemy (c. 170 C.E.), this theory assumes that a constant stream of visual flux emanates from the center of the eye through the pupil to form a cone. This cone can be conceived of as a bundle of individual rays, each reaching out to "feel" things visually and, on that basis, to locate and define them in space by reference to the vertex at the eye's center. But there is more to seeing than spatial perception. Color and luminosity, which are all but ignored by Euclid, seem not only integral but fundamental to sight. Recognizing this point, Ptolemy based his account of vision on color perception. Understood as a real and inherent quality of external objects, color, for Ptolemy, is what makes them visible. But, on its own, it cannot be seen; it needs the added power of light, which acts as a catalytic agent for vision. Seeing therefore begins with the primitive grasp of color by visual flux when it touches a properly illuminated object. Transmitted radially back through the cone of flux to the eye, the resulting color impression gives rise to the percep-

tion of spatial characteristics, such as size, shape, and distance, which in turn gives rise to a perception of the object as a whole. For Ptolemy, then, color perception is absolutely primal; all other perceptions are derivative.

The second model of vision harks back to Alhacen (965–1040) and his Perspectivist disciples, Roger Bacon (fl. c. 1265), Witelo (fl. c. 1275), and John Peckham (fl. c. 1280). Rejecting visual rays as functionally pointless, these theorists raised light to primacy in the visual process, supposing it to be an intrinsic quality of self-luminous or illuminated bodies. Each point of light on the surface of such bodies is a source of radiation in its own right, spreading outward in all directions in a process of self-replication. The resulting sphere of propagation can be analytically resolved into individual rays, along which point forms of the original light are transmitted. Color, too, is an intrinsic property of bodies. Yet although they are ontologically distinct, light and color are functionally inseparable. Both must be present in objects if they are to be seen, so what actually radiates from them is luminous color. Thus, like Ptolemy, the Perspectivists viewed luminous color as primal for sight.

Unlike Ptolemy, the Perspectivists gave a detailed account of how the optic complex contributes to vision. The eye itself, they assumed, is a sphere. Toward its front lies the crystalline lens, whose anterior surface is concentric with the eye as a whole. The space behind it is filled with vitreous humor, which is optically denser than the glacial humor occupying the lens. At the very back, directly in line with the center of the pupil and the center of the eye, lies the hollow optic nerve, which reaches from the eye to the forefront of the brain. A conduit for visual spirit manufactured in the brain, this nerve transmits the spirit to the lens and thereby sensitizes it. The anterior surface of the lens, meanwhile, is bombarded from all directions by point forms of luminous color radiating from external objects. Because of its visual sensitivity, though, the lens feels only those color forms that strike it orthogonally and thus selects out a formal representation of the object in point-to-point correspondence with it. The composite of all the rays linking the object and its formal representation on the lens's surface creates a cone of radiation with its base in the object and its vertex at the center of the eye. Mathemati-

cally equivalent to Ptolemy's visual cone, this radiative cone serves much the same function as the basis for spatial perception.

The lens's ability to select coherent visual representations is also optically determined. As a refractive body, the lens allows only those rays that strike it orthogonally to pass straight through toward the center of the eye. Before they reach that point, they are refracted at the back surface of the lens so as to channel the visual representation in proper upright order into the hollow optic nerve. Conveyed by the spirit perfusing this nerve, the visual representation eventually reaches the brain, where it is subject to perceptual scrutiny. From this scrutiny arises a more abstract perceptual representation of the object according to all its visible attributes. More abstract yet is the ensuing conceptual representation, by means of which we perceive the object as a specific or general type. Each succeeding representation is a virtual likeness of its predecessor, much as a painting is a likeness of its subject. Hence, from start to finish, visual perception unfolds in a succession of virtual replications that ensures a fundamental correspondence between objective reality and our mind's-eye picture of it.

The Perspectivists were thus convinced that vision is veridical under the right conditions—adequate light, a healthy eye, and so forth. But under the wrong conditions, sight can err. Reflection and refraction offer two specific and egregious examples. In both cases there is a clear disparity between reality and appearance, insofar as things always appear displaced and often distorted in mirrors and refracting media. Accordingly, the Perspectivists were at pains to reconcile appearance with reality on the basis of ray geometry. The result was an elaborate analysis of image formation and distortion in mirrors and refracting media based on two principles: the law of equal angles for reflection and the cathetus rule of image location for reflection and refraction. According to this rule, the image of any point object seen in a mirror will lie at the intersection of the extended line of reflection, which constitutes the line of sight, and the perpendicular dropped from the object point to the surface of reflection. Nevertheless—and this point is crucial—the ultimate goal of this analysis was not to understand how light interacts with reflecting and refracting surfaces. It was to understand how things

are perceived or, rather, misperceived by means of such surfaces. Perspectivist optics, in short, was “subjective,” not “objective,” in its analytic focus.

Not all optical phenomena are subjective, though. Long before the Renaissance, it was known that spherical and parabolic concave mirrors can gather incoming light rays to a point or spot where tinder will ignite. By at least 1300, moreover, it was known that convex lenses can correct presbyopia. And while this could be explained away through refractive magnification, the correction of myopia by concave lenses (known by the mid-fifteenth century at latest) could not. Not only do such lenses not magnify what is seen through them; they actually reduce it. In addition, by the mid- to late-sixteenth century, it had become relatively common knowledge that concave mirrors, convex lenses, and pinhole openings (the camera obscura) can project images onto a screen. Lying not “in” the mirror or lens but outside it, such images make little or no sense according to Perspectivist theory, in which all images are virtual, or subjective.

Perhaps that is why such phenomena were essentially disregarded within academic circles, where Perspectivist theory predominated. Yet over the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, those same phenomena captured the attention of artists, instrument makers, and leisured amateurs who, unlike their academic confreres, tended to be less theoretical than pragmatic, even instrumentalist, in their orientation. Growing interest in the focusing properties of lenses and mirrors over the sixteenth century bears directly on this point. An early example of this interest can be found in Francesco Maurolyco’s study of the lenticular correction of presbyopia and myopia. Published posthumously in the *Photismi de lumine* (1611), but dating to the mid-sixteenth century, this study is noteworthy in two respects. First, its theoretical underpinnings are thoroughly Perspectivist. Although he felt free to adjust the model slightly by having the visual image selected from a particular sheaf of oblique rather than perpendicular rays, Maurolyco had no doubt that the selection itself occurred at the crystalline lens. Second, despite his reliance on Perspectivist principles, albeit somewhat modified, Maurolyco couched his explanation in terms not of light radiation but of its apparent antithesis, visual radiation. While such conflation may seem illogical to us, it was anything

but for Maurolyco and his pragmatically oriented contemporaries. After all, light rays and visual rays are mathematically equivalent, so, as far as pure geometrical analysis is concerned, they are interchangeable. In many ways, in fact, the visual ray model is preferable, because it is both conceptually and mathematically simpler.

Maurolyco’s pioneering study of lenses manifests a subtle but important change in attitude toward reflection and refraction during the later Renaissance. Before, within the Perspectivist framework, both had been regarded as sources of misperception. Now they were looked to as a means not of deluding sight but of rectifying or improving it. To this end, a succession of thinkers after Maurolyco, Giambattista della Porta (1535–1615) foremost among them, turned their attention to image magnification in convex lenses and concave mirrors in the hope of constructing an effective telescopic device. Although they failed in this, they at least succeeded in nudging the study of lenses and mirrors—as well as of their focusing properties—toward the mainstream of optical analysis. It would be up to Kepler and Galileo to bring this study fully into the mainstream during the first few years of the 1600s.

THE KEPLERIAN TRANSITION

Early in his effort to determine the orbit of Mars, Kepler realized that in order to ensure the accuracy of his observational data, he had to address a variety of optical issues involving the camera obscura and atmospheric refraction. That in turn brought him to a close, critical scrutiny of Perspectivist theory, the results of which he published in 1604 in a wide-ranging critique entitled *Ad Vitellionem paralipomena* (Supplement to Witelo). Of particular interest is his account of retinal imaging in chapter five. Kepler began by supposing that the crystalline lens, like any other convex lens, is a refractive body and nothing more. Using a water-filled glass sphere to represent the lens, he examined how light passes through it to be brought to focus on the other side. He was thus led to conclude in the end that the eye acts like a camera, the pupil forming a diaphragm and the lens focusing all the rays passing through it from a given spot on the external object to a given spot on the retina. In this way, the light from all the spots on the surface of the object are projected to

corresponding spots on the retina to form an inverted image, or “painting,” of the object at the back of the eye.

At a superficial level, all Kepler did was displace the visual image from the front to the back of the eye, but at a deeper level he did far more than that. For a start, by doing away with the Perspectivist cone of radiation, Kepler did away with the center of sight as an essential reference point for optical analysis. Furthermore, being “real,” not virtual, Kepler’s image is public—it is there for anyone, not just the perceiver, to see. Worse, that image is inverted, not upright like its Perspectivist counterpart. Worse yet, it is too large to pass through the optic nerve to the brain for perceptual scrutiny. How, then, do such images give rise to visual perception? Kepler’s response was to shunt the problem from optics to natural philosophy, arguing that the domain of optics extends no further than the retina. Opticians, in short, must restrict their study to the outward, physical manifestations of light alone. Its inward, perceptual manifestations are no longer their business.

Within six years of the publication of Kepler’s account of retinal imaging, Galileo had fulfilled the hopes of earlier optical researchers by constructing a telescope that consisted of a convex objective and a concave eyepiece. Magnifying at least twenty times, this instrument had adequate resolution to allow a fairly distinct view of the four largest satellites of Jupiter. Published in the *Sidereus Nuncius* of 1610, news of this invention reached Kepler, who was eager to know precisely how it worked. His examination of the Galileian telescope led him to a rigorous geometrical analysis of lenses and lens combinations based solely on focal points. Among the results of that analysis, which appeared in the *Dioptrice* of 1611, was the design for a new kind of telescope whose objective and eyepiece were both convex. Technical details aside, Kepler accomplished two crucial things with this work. First, he brought refraction to the fore as a central concern for subsequent optical thinkers. Second, by stripping optics of its perceptual and epistemological entailments, he put the analytic focus squarely on light.

POST-KEPLERIAN DEVELOPMENTS

Having divorced the analysis of light from the analysis of sight, Kepler set the stage for a radical transformation of optics based on the mechanization of

light. The key figure in this transformation was René Descartes, whose ideas about light and color took published form in the *Dioptrique* of 1637. According to Descartes, all light sources consist of infinitesimal particles clumped together so tightly as to form a virtual continuum. These clumps rotate swiftly, imparting a strong centrifugal tendency to the particles on their surface. But every light source is embedded in an ethereal medium composed of tiny spherical particles that are perfectly inelastic and contiguous. Instead, therefore, of flying off, the surface particles of the light source can only push against the unyielding ethereal envelope. The result is an outward impulse propagated instantaneously in all directions through it. This impulse is light—or, rather, what we perceive as light—and each individual line of impulse constitutes a “ray.” What we perceive as transparency is nothing more than the capacity of ether particles to transmit light impulses. Color, for its part, is a function of spin imparted to the ethereal spheres by those impulses. The faster the spin, the more vivid the color as it verges from blue toward red—or, rather, what we perceive as blue and red. The epistemological implications of this account are clear. Since physical light and its perceptual effect are absolutely different in kind, there is no meaningful way of linking them through virtual representation. “Red” and “bright” are therefore not objectively real. They are epiphenomenal, mere figments of our imagination.

Light may not actually be a projectile for Descartes, but it acts just like one. Accordingly, as a case of virtual motion along a virtual trajectory, light radiation must follow the laws of actual motion. This notion underlies Descartes’s “proof” for the sine law of refraction, which is based on two fundamental principles: that, in rebounding from a reflective surface or penetrating a refractive medium, light loses none of its virtual motion, or “speed,” along the horizontal, and that in penetrating a denser refractive medium, light gains virtual motion, or “speed,” in proportion to the density. From this it follows that when light passes from one refractive medium to another, the ratio of the sines of the angle of incidence and the angle of refraction will be constant.

Descartes’s account of light enjoyed a mixed reception. The “Schoolmen,” who clung to medieval theory, rejected it outright. Among those who

accepted it, some, like Robert Hooke, took it more or less at face value. Others accepted it on principle, realizing nonetheless that it was deeply flawed. The most glaring problem, of course, is the apparent contradiction in supposing that instantaneously transmitted light impulses can somehow vary in virtual motion or “speed.” One obvious response to this problem is to assume that light radiation involves actual rather than virtual motion (an assumption that was eventually vindicated by Olaus Roemer’s demonstration in 1679 that light takes time to travel). This is the tack Christiaan Huygens took in the 1670s. Assuming with Descartes that light consists of impulses transmitted through contiguous particles of ether, Huygens parted ways with him by making those particles elastic rather than inelastic. He proposed, therefore, that the impulse passed into the ether causes its constituent particles to contract and expand in succession, the result being a spherical wave front of condensations and rarefactions passing outward seriatim from the light source. To justify this longitudinal wave model of light, Huygens used it to good effect in explaining double refraction in Iceland spar, a phenomenon first brought to light by Erasmus Bartholin in 1669.

While Descartes, Hooke, and Huygens placed the motion, whether virtual or real, in the ethereal medium, others placed it the light itself. By 1662, for instance, Pierre de Fermat perfected his least-time proof of the sine law, which treats light as a particle shooting through space. Upon entering a denser refractive medium, this particle is impeded and slowed down commensurately, so that of all possible trajectories the particle could follow, the one dictated by the sine law takes the shortest time to traverse. The crucial turn in the evolution of a particle theory of light came with the publication of Newton’s first paper on light and color in 1672. There Newton demonstrated experimentally that color is not a modification of white light, as Descartes would have it. On the contrary, being composed of all the colors in the prismatic spectrum, white light is a modification of color. Newton’s eventual explanation of this fact rested on the supposition that each color is associated with a particle of a specific size. Building on this supposition in the *Opticks* of 1704, Newton developed a coherent analysis of light and color based on the interaction

of color particles with gross matter as well as with exquisitely elastic ether particles—all such interactions being governed by attractive and repulsive forces. On this basis, Newton was able to explain an astonishing array of optical phenomena, ranging from simple reflection and refraction to double refraction, the formation of colored rings in thin glass plates (“Newton’s Rings”), and even diffraction. With the appearance of Newton’s *Opticks*, the theoretical lines were drawn for the rest of the eighteenth century. Huygens’s longitudinal wave theory was not abandoned altogether, but because of its superior explanatory power, Newton’s particle theory held sway until the early nineteenth century, when transverse waves became the wave of the future for optics.

Along with these theoretical developments, the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries witnessed a number of significant technical advances centering on telescoping and microscopy. The telescope, of course, found its first major publicists in Galileo and Kepler. Its close cousin the compound microscope found its key publicists somewhat later, first with the appearance of Robert Hooke’s *Micrographia* in 1665 and subsequently with the observations of Jan Swammerdam and Antoni van Leeuwenhoek. For both instruments, however, resolution was a serious problem, and although it was mitigated somewhat as lenses with greater focal lengths were produced to give greater magnification, the resulting increase in telescope length narrowed the field of view.

The two main obstacles to proper resolution are spherical and chromatic aberration. The first of these stems from the fact that spherical lenses (as well as spherical concave mirrors) do not bring light to true focus. This problem inspired both Kepler and Descartes to seek the precise curvature that would bring parallel rays to focus at a single point, Descartes basing his analysis on the newly established sine law of refraction. As Descartes eventually proved, either a plano-hyperboloidal or spherico-ellipsoidal lens will suffice, hence the continuing effort during the middle decades of the seventeenth century to grind plano-hyperboloidal lenses. As promising as that expedient may have been in theory, it was far less so in practice, and the effort was eventually abandoned as hopeless. Chromatic aberration went unrecognized until Newton realized that lenses have a prismatic effect that disperses the

light according to color, creating a sort of halo effect on telescopic images. To overcome this effect, he designed a reflecting telescope in which a concave spherical mirror serves as the objective. In fact, he constructed such a telescope and presented it to the Royal Society in 1671. But here, too, promise outstripped practicality, because it was all but impossible to keep the mirror from tarnishing or losing its proper shape.

The upshot was that over the later seventeenth and early eighteenth century, efforts were concentrated on improving the magnification of refracting telescopes and finding ways to widen the field of view in compensation. In addition, micrometers were added for greater observational precision, so that by the 1720s it was within around one second of arc. Eventually, however, the unwieldiness of such long telescopes coupled with improvements in the manufacture of concave mirrors led in the mid-eighteenth century to a renewed focus on reflecting telescopes. Steady improvements in such telescopes during the second half of the eighteenth century culminated with William Herschel's discovery of Uranus in 1781.

See also **Astronomy**; **Camera Obscura**; **Descartes, René**; **Galileo Galilei**; **Hooke, Robert**; **Huygens Family**; **Kepler, Johannes**; **Leeuwenhoek, Antoni van**; **Newton, Isaac**; **Scientific Instruments**.

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A. MARK SMITH

ORDERS, SOCIAL. See **Class, Status, and Order**.

ORPHANS AND FOUNDLINGS. The early modern understanding of an orphan was more inclusive than the contemporary definition, that of a child who has lost both parents to premature death. It encompassed as well children whose parents were either unable or unwilling to support them. Children could thus be left orphaned due to parents' economic hardship, extended military or naval service, debilitating illness, or widowhood, in addition to mortality. In particular, foundlings were those children who were left (often anonymously) by an incapacitated or unwilling parent to the mercy of charitable or civic resources. Many families hoped to reclaim such children when the crisis that precipitated family dissolution had been overcome. To this end it was not uncommon for foundling children to be left with some sort of cryptic identification, such as a piece of clothing or cloth or other family trinket that could eventually be used as identification to assist in the return of the child to its proper family.

Orphans and foundlings were understood throughout Christian Europe to be an important subset of God's poor (along with widows and the disabled), and therefore fully deserving of the succor of the community. Thus, the provision of charity to such individuals was efficacious for the preservation of the soul of the giver, and abandoned children were thought to play a vital role in the spiritual economy of Christendom. Nonetheless, the physical needs of the children posed a practical problem for society. Ideally, in the small rural communities of the medieval West, "fatherless" children would be cared for by extended family members or neighbors, or willing employers if the child was old enough to perform useful work. Such children could also be supported by religious communities devoted to the care of the poor.



Orphans and Foundlings. Engraving of the London Foundling Hospital, c. 1766. The hospital was founded by Captain Thomas Coram in 1739 to provide humane care for abandoned children. The buildings as depicted here were erected in 1745.

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With the expansion of towns, first in late medieval and Renaissance Italy and subsequently in the early modern trade centers of the northwest coast, care for orphans and abandoned children became increasingly institutionalized and ultimately secularized as well. In this new model, children were brought together under the single roof of a foundling hospital or orphanage, fed, clothed, and educated together, and upon reaching maturity, released to the community as marriageable girls with modest dowries, domestic servants, apprenticed craftsmen, or military and naval recruits. In both Catholic and Protestant Europe these institutions had religious affiliations of one kind or another, but they were nonetheless important components of the social and economic policy increasingly being enacted by civic governments. In the sixteenth century they were vital to efforts to suppress public begging, and from the seventeenth century onward they served as important regulators of local labor markets, especially in the emerging capitalist centers of the Low Countries, Germany, and England.

The life chances of an orphaned or abandoned child varied over time and geographical circumstance, but outcomes were highly correlated with the general economic prosperity of a community. If one considers mortality outcomes alone, a clear pattern of success and failure emerges. Orphans fared well in the well-endowed institutions of late Renaissance Italy—most especially in the Florentine Ospedale degli Innocenti during the latter fifteenth century—at Christ’s Hospital in London in the sixteenth century, and again in urban Dutch institutions for citizen children during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, most especially the Amsterdam Municipal Orphanage. In these places infant and child mortality were well within the norm for the community at large, reacting strongly to periods of epidemic but not otherwise justifying a reputation as houses of death. However, orphans in late-eighteenth-century Rouen, Paris, Moscow, and Madrid (to name those few places where data allows for detailed study) fared much worse, with infant and child mortality exceeding 80 percent even dur-

ing non-epidemic years. During the years of the French Revolution and the general European warfare at the turn of the nineteenth century, some institutions suffered mortality approaching 100 percent, and the orphanage became nothing more than a place for abandoned children to go to die. Even the once remarkably healthy Innocenti suffered infant and child mortality rates in excess of 70 percent during some periods in the eighteenth century—early success was no guarantee of continued success in the face of economic decline of the surrounding community.

For those orphans who survived the rigors of early childhood illness and communicable disease, information on final outcomes is even harder to come by than on the subject of mortality. Historical legend has it that orphanages were the breeding grounds for soldiers and East India Company sailors, with their concomitant high rates of early mortality, an association that is particularly strong in the Netherlands. While it is true that foundling hospitals in such large port cities as Amsterdam did send considerable numbers of male graduates into service on ships bound for the East Indies, particularly as native volunteer recruits became harder to find over the course of the eighteenth century, orphanages that housed citizen children, such as the Amsterdam Municipal Orphanage and the city orphanages (one Catholic and one Protestant) of Augsburg were much more likely to place their male graduates into the respectable artisan trades. For girls, domestic service and perhaps eventually marriage were the most likely outcomes, making theirs not easily distinguishable from the life trajectories of their non-orphaned peers. The orphanage need not have been a death sentence, in either the immediate or longer term, for those children placed in its care. However, only the most prosperous of societies were able to provide institutional care for parentless children that rivaled the care children might otherwise have received if their parents had been alive and able to keep them at home.

See also **Charity and Poor Relief; Childhood and Child-rearing; Poverty; Public Health; Youth.**

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ORTHODOXY, GREEK. The life of the Greek Orthodox Church (i.e., the Greek-speaking part of the Orthodox Christian Church) changed significantly when the Ottoman Turks captured Constantinople, the capital of the Byzantine Empire, in May 1453.

CHURCH AND STATE

The Greek Orthodox Church had not only been the official religion of the now defunct empire, it had identified with it so completely that it saw the Byzantine state as the political incarnation of the Christian church. Less than a century before the last Byzantine emperor died on the barricades in 1453 (and the empire with him), Patriarch Anthony of Constantinople, head of the Byzantine Church, had announced that it was impossible to have the church and not have the emperor. In an attempt to save the Christian empire, the hierarchy of the Byzantine church had even agreed to unite with the Roman Church, from which it had been separated for centuries, and to submit to papal authority in the vain hope of military aid to save the empire from the Ottoman Turks, but that union, angrily and almost universally condemned by the Orthodox faithful as well as by most of the bishops, was short-lived. Now the Orthodox Church had to contemplate life without a Christian emperor in an Ottoman Empire ruled by Muslims.

Not very long after the Ottoman Turkish sultan Mehmed II had taken possession of Constantinople (called Istanbul by the Turks) in 1453, he enunciated his policy of toleration for the existing non-Muslim communities. Greeks (also Armenians, Jews, and some other ethnic groups) were invited to take their places in the new empire, not in full equality with Muslims, for this was officially an Islamic state, but on a lower level, as protected minorities. Because non-Muslim religious affairs could not be judged according to Muslim religious law, Christians and Jews were made subject to their religious leaders in groups called *millets* (literally, ‘communities’), which were granted a certain amount of autonomy. The Muslim Arabs had used a similar system for ruling the non-Muslim populations of the lands they had conquered earlier. In 1453 Sultan Mehmed II himself invested a new patriarch of Constantinople, Gennadius (George) Scholarios, with his staff of office and put him in charge not only of the Greek population of the Ottoman Empire, but also of all members of the Orthodox Church in the empire, including the Serbs and Bulgarians, who had earlier had their own independent churches. Even the ancient patriarchates of Antioch, Alexandria, and Jerusalem and their Orthodox faithful were subordinated to the Constantinople patriarch for the convenience of the new government. The patriarch and his clergy were thus made responsible for police and legal matters among the Orthodox population and, importantly, for collecting their taxes, including the special tax that minorities paid in lieu of contributing otherwise to the defense of the realm. Because these were functions with which the Christian clergy had had no prior experience, they were forced to find laymen to do these jobs at all levels. These lay officials of the church, particularly the Phanariots of Constantinople, became very powerful. The Phanariots, so called because they tended to live in close proximity to the patriarchal headquarters, which eventually migrated to the Phanar (Turk. *fenar*, ‘lighthouse’) district, grew very wealthy by skimming from the taxes they collected, through bribes and trade, and as official administrators appointed by the Ottomans.

After the death of Sultan Mehmed in 1481, a system of bribes came to dominate all the higher clerical offices. Candidates for the patriarchal throne

vied with each other in making gifts to the sultan, and bishops in the provinces were forced to bribe local Ottoman officials. The money for these gifts and bribes had to be recouped by extorting money from the Christian *millet* or sought from foreign powers with an interest in supporting the church for their own reasons. Alms came in massive amounts from Orthodox Russia, for example, and in 1598 its church was recognized as an independent patriarchate. Ottoman officials quickly realized that the more often the patriarchal office changed hands, the more opportunities there were for receiving quite substantial “gifts.” Thus, in the hundred years between 1595 and 1695, the patriarchal throne changed hands sixty-one times (passing among thirty-one individuals). As a seventeenth-century English visitor to Istanbul put it, the continued existence of Orthodox Christianity in the Ottoman Empire, given the conditions under which it lived, was “a miracle.” The church fared somewhat better in the following century both because of a more efficient Ottoman state apparatus and the increased interest of the Russian Empire in the Orthodox Christians under Ottoman rule. Indeed, in 1774, the Russo-Ottoman treaty of Kuchuk Kainarji officially recognized Russia’s special interests in the Orthodox community of the Ottoman Empire.

Although, by definition, all of the people in the Greek Orthodox *millet* shared the same faith, there were clear tensions within the community. The Slavs included now in the patriarchate of Constantinople chafed under the Greek hierarchs appointed from Constantinople, and the Serbs and Bulgarians lobbied for independent churches. In 1557 the Serbs actually succeeded in obtaining an independent patriarchate in Peć, thanks to the influence of a Muslim grand vizier of Serbian background, but the Greeks eventually succeeded in having it reduced to a metropolitan province in 1755 and reintegrated into the Constantinople patriarchate in 1766. In the early eighteenth century, Arab Orthodox in Syria became so frustrated at cultural domination by the Greeks that many of them joined the Catholic Church as Uniates (the so-called Melkite Church). In general, however, there was considerable cultural unity in the Orthodox *millet*; the perceived distinctions were between subject Christians and privileged Muslims.

INTELLECTUAL LIFE AND THEOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT

With the exception of the urban elite of Phanariots, tax farmers, religious dignitaries, and Greek merchants in Istanbul and some port cities, the majority of the Orthodox community in the Ottoman Empire lived either in poverty or in modest circumstances at best. For the masses, schools essentially did not exist, or taught only the most basic literacy. The major exception to this rule was the constantly struggling Patriarchal Academy in Constantinople, which trained the higher clergy. International merchants, many of them from Phanariot families, of necessity learned foreign languages and traveled abroad, and were eventually responsible for the establishment of higher schools for the Greeks, most notably in the Romanian principalities, Moldavia and Walachia. Because these states had surrendered to the Ottomans instead of being conquered, they enjoyed considerable autonomy within the empire. Wealthy Greek families of Istanbul invested their money in these areas and intermarried with the local aristocracy until they came to dominate the economics and politics of the principalities and successfully sought the sultan's patent to rule there. Once in control, they founded schools for Greeks on the western model they had seen in their travels to western Europe. Particularly important in this regard was the Academy of Iași (Jassy). These schools supplied some young Greeks with a Western-style education, and these Western-educated Greeks would eventually inspire the Greek national revolution in 1821. The Romanian-based Phanariots also established Greek printing presses, which were less subject to the closures and restrictions that plagued the press in Istanbul. The few clergymen who had any significant secular education got it in European universities (most often Padua), often after temporarily converting to Catholicism. This was particularly true of Greeks from Crete and the Ionian islands, which were controlled by Venice.

The Protestant Reformation and the subsequent Catholic Counter-Reformation turned out to be important catalysts for intellectual developments among Orthodox Greeks. Both sides in the Protestant-Catholic debate sought support for their theological positions from the ancient church of the East. Such appeals for support awakened long dormant theological thinking among the Greeks. The end result of this religious confrontation was that

the Orthodox Church spelled out carefully the specifics of its beliefs and doctrinal system in a series of documents. For centuries the Eastern church had argued against a number of Roman Catholic teachings and practices—most notably, the Western addition of the words “and from the son” (*filioque*) to the description of the procession of the Holy Spirit in the Nicene Creed; the doctrine of purgatory; the use of unleavened bread in the Eucharist; withholding the cup from the laity; baptism by sprinkling, and, most importantly, the doctrine of papal supremacy, which countervailed the democratic-conciliar understanding of the nature of the church held by the Orthodox. The Protestant reformers thus tended at first to see in the Orthodox Church a possible ideological ally against Rome.

Already during the Hussite movement in Bohemia in the fifteenth century, tentative approaches were made to the Orthodox Church of Constantinople, but real dialogue came only with the advent of Lutheranism. By 1559, Philipp Melancthon, a close associate of Martin Luther, had forwarded a translation of the Augsburg Confession to the Greek patriarch, asking for his comments on the Lutheran faith enunciated therein. A response finally came in 1576 through Stephen Gerlach, an embassy Lutheran chaplain in Constantinople. In the name of the Holy Synod, the governing body of the patriarchate, the erudite Patriarch Jeremias II politely explained where the Lutheran confession of faith differed from the ancient beliefs of Orthodox Christianity. Besides the “errors of the Latins” that the Lutherans shared, such as a changed Nicene Creed and the use of unleavened bread in the Eucharist, Jeremias pointed out that among the Orthodox, not only faith, but also good works, were important for salvation; that Christ's body and blood were actually, not just symbolically, present in the Eucharist, and that there were seven, not just two, sacraments. He also rejected the implied doctrine of predestination in the Lutheran document, and endorsed the invocation of saints, particularly the Mother of God. The theological discussion between the Orthodox and Lutherans essentially ended there.

In the following century, Calvinism was more successful in its approach to the Orthodox Church in the Ottoman Empire. Indeed, Patriarch Cyril Lukaris (d. 1638) published a Calvinist Confession

of Faith that argued for predestination, justification by faith alone, the sole authority of the Scriptures in matters of faith, and the presence of Christ in the Eucharist depending on the faith of the recipient. He also railed against the veneration of images. Although Cyril had a degree from the University of Padua, he had become extremely anti-Catholic while fighting Catholic missionaries attempting to convert Orthodox Christians in Polish-run Ukraine. His exposure to Calvinism seems to have been the result of his long friendship with Cornelius van Haag, at one point the Dutch ambassador to the Ottoman Porte, and of a long correspondence arranged by van Haag with Calvinist divines in the Netherlands. Cyril's pro-Protestant stance was so obvious that the French embassy in Istanbul worked with the Jesuits in the city to have the sultan force his retirement. He was replaced (temporarily) by a pro-Catholic Greek bishop, thanks to bribes from the French and the Habsburgs, but soon returned to the patriarchal throne, probably because of bribes from the Dutch. Indeed, competing bribes from Catholic and Protestant powers determined much of the patriarchal succession in this century. Cyril's days as patriarch, however, were numbered. His enemies persuaded the sultan that Cyril had had treasonous contacts with Russia, and he was strangled at the government's order in 1638. His Confession, the first modern Eastern Orthodox attempt to enunciate clearly the content of the Orthodox faith, is distinctly Calvinist in much of its teaching, and was condemned as heretical by the Holy Synod of Constantinople and by several church councils.

Cyril Lukaris's Confession, however, inspired a series of such statements of faith that were, in fact, Orthodox in content and are recognized as such by the Orthodox Church to the present day. The first of these expositions of the Orthodox faith was written around 1640, not in the Ottoman Empire, but in Polish-controlled Ukraine, by a Romanian scholar, Peter of Mogila (Mohyla), who had become metropolitan (chief bishop) of the Orthodox Church in Ukraine. Intended as an aid to the faithful in combating Jesuit Catholic propaganda meant to destroy the Orthodox Church in Polish territory, Peter's *Orthodox Confession* was couched in the neo-Scholastic categories and vocabulary of Counter-Reformation Catholic thought. Although the apologetic usefulness of explaining Orthodox beliefs

within a Western philosophical system was seen as practical, outside of the areas where Western cultural influence was widespread, doing this was considered inimical to the apophatic spirit of Eastern Christian thought, which preferred to avoid unwarranted precision in explaining divine mysteries. Thus a revised edition of the Peter of Mogila's Confession was produced at a council in Iași (Jassy), Moldavia, in 1642. Thirty years later, the learned Patriarch Dositheus of Jerusalem reworked and expanded Mogila's Confession, excising Latin influences, and submitted his text to a church council called for that purpose in Jerusalem, where the document was promulgated as an authoritative statement of Eastern Orthodox beliefs.

POPULAR PIETY

The vast majority of the Greek people had no real contact with the intellectual movements discussed above. To them religion was essentially fulfilling the required rites of the Orthodox Church, and keeping the fasts and holidays. Church rituals seemed to have given meaning to the life of the peasantry during what they called the *Turkokratia* (Turkish rule). The community gathered together in its church each Sunday for the eucharistic liturgy; there also were performed the rites accompanying the birth, marriage, repentance, and death of each of the villagers and the community consecration of the planting and the harvesting. In the church, villagers offered their prayers and venerated the holy icons that played such an important role in their worship. Their spirituality was rife with superstition; folk customs intermingled with Christian traditions, which was not surprising given the rudimentary education of the country priest, a married villager chosen by the community to be their religious guide. Once chosen, he was sent off to an older priest or a monastery for a few months to learn the services (and often to learn to read). Preaching disappeared in the villages, to be replaced by processions and ceremonies to honor holy icons and sacred springs.

The spiritual heroes and guides for the people were monks and nuns. The Ottoman lands inhabited by Christians were dotted with monastic foundations, large and small, where ascetics devoted themselves to constant prayer. It was to such institutions that the faithful repaired for spiritual advice and solace, making pilgrimage to holy monks and

nuns and to the miracle-working icons that were so popular and were usually found in monasteries and convents. Eastern Christian monasticism had never emphasized scholarly activities, as was the case in the West; learning was seen as a distraction from prayer. The hesychast movement, which came to dominate monasticism in the last century of the Byzantine Empire's existence, with its emphasis on individual wordless contemplation of the awesomeness of the Divinity, led to the decline of communal life in the monasteries and an almost complete breakdown of intellectual life in monastic foundations. Uneducated monks clung to remembered tradition and stood only as a conservative force in the Greek Christian *millet*, preserving the faith as they understood it, but blocking development. By the eighteenth century, however, on Mount Athos, a colony of monasteries covering a peninsula north-east of Thessalonica, a revival of monastic thought began that saw, for example, the creation of an important collection of mystical writings of the fathers of the church, the *Philokalia*. But by that time the cultural schism between the Westernized elite of Constantinople and the Romanian principalities and the anti-intellectual monastic establishment held in such high regard by the common people was unhealable. The former were working for a modern Greek national state, the latter for restoration of a Christian Byzantine Empire.

See also **Orthodoxy, Russian; Ottoman Empire.**

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GEORGE P. MAJESKA

ORTHODOXY, RUSSIAN. When the East Slavs adopted Christianity in the tenth century, they acquired portions of Scripture, church services, and selected Byzantine religious writings from Constantinople (old Byzantium) that had already been translated into Slavic.

CHURCH SLAVONIC

Whereas Roman Christianity spread in Europe in the Latin language, Christianity emanating from the eastern regions of the old Roman Empire tended to spread not in Greek, the predominant language of Constantinople prior to the Turkish conquest in the fifteenth century, but in the local languages of the peoples being proselytized. Such are the origins of the "national" churches of the Georgians, Armenians, Russians, and so forth. Among the benefits of adopting Christianity, the East Slavic princes, beginning with Grand Prince Vladimir I of Kiev in 988/989, acquired a church system that gave some degree of cultural unity over a widely dispersed population practicing local paganisms. The Slavic language of this Christian cultural acquisition was South Slavic, essentially Bulgarian, which was at the

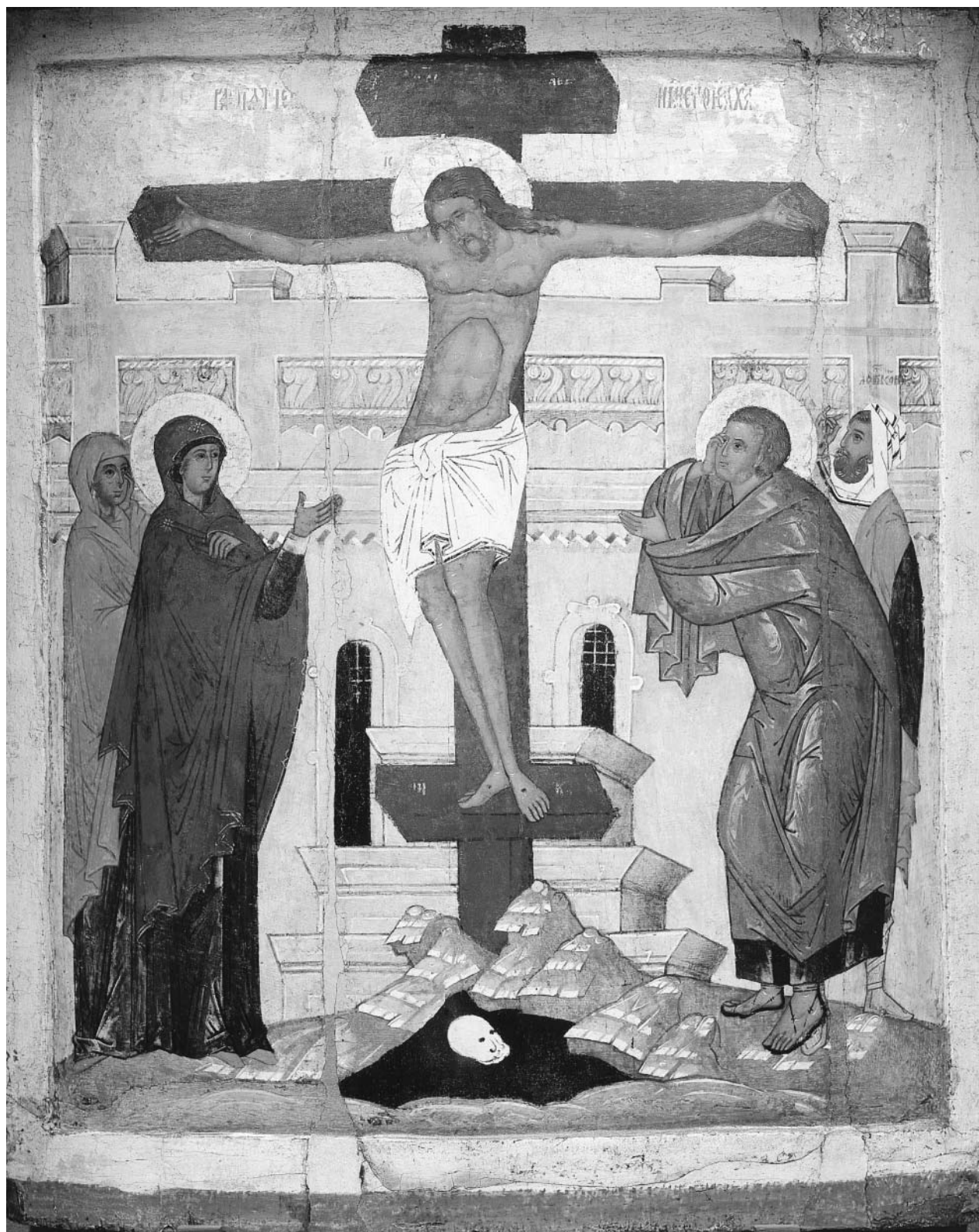
time close enough to the vernacular of the East Slavs to be understood. Subsequently, East Slavic vernacular languages evolved into Ukrainian, Belorussian, and (Great) Russian, whereas the language of the church, known today as Old Church Slavonic (or Slavic), remained fixed. Thus did the East Slavs adopt Christianity in a language that grew to be archaic in the early modern period. Both in church language and in vernacular, the East Slavs were religiously and linguistically separated from other East Orthodox churches, from the non-Slavic peoples of western and central Europe, and from the Latin Church of western Slavic neighbors such as Poland. In Muscovite Russia (the principality of Moscow) in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, few churchmen knew either Greek or Latin. The Muscovite Church therefore functioned without significant understanding of Greek textual sources, and most Christian scholarship was limited to examination of translated Slavic texts. In 1518 a monk from the monastic center of Mt. Athos, Maxim the Greek (c. 1475–1556), was imported to review Muscovite church texts, make corrections from Greek sources, and compose standardized Slavic texts. His recommendations, however, were not popular among churchmen, who were resistant to change, nor did he win favor in government circles when he opposed the divorce of Moscow Grand Prince Vasili III from his childless first wife in 1525. Most of Maxim's attempts to provide accurate translations of Greek and Latin Christian texts were ignored.

CHURCH GOVERNANCE AND CHURCH-STATE RELATIONS

Although various ecclesiastical jurisdictions arose among the East Slavs, the focus of this article is on the Russian Church headquartered first in Moscow (fourteenth to seventeenth centuries), then St. Petersburg (eighteenth century). With the official conversion to Christianity in the tenth century, Kievan Rus' (the first "state" of the East Slavs, tenth to twelfth centuries) acquired a metropolitan to head the church, appointed at first by the patriarch of Constantinople, who was senior among the four patriarchs of the eastern Mediterranean. Rus' metropolitans were, variously, Greek or Slavic. Beginning in the 1320s, and reflecting its rising power and wealth among East Slavic principalities and city-states, Moscow became the seat of the "all-

Russian" (all the Rus' territories) metropolitan. In the eleventh century, long-standing differences between Rome and Constantinople had resulted in a formal schism between Western and Eastern Christianity. The cultural and geographic distance between Moscow and Constantinople was exacerbated in the mid-fifteenth century when, under pressure from invading Ottoman Turks, the emperor and patriarch of Constantinople sought assistance from the West by agreeing to a union of Eastern and Western Christianity in which the Roman pope would be recognized as head of a single Christian Church. The Moscow metropolitan at the time, a Greek named Isidore, attended the Council of Florence-Ferrara in 1438–1439, accepted the union, returned to Moscow, and proceeded to pray for the Roman pope in Kremlin services. The Moscow political and ecclesiastical hierarchy, shocked by this intrusion of foreign elements, deposed Isidore and in 1448, without consulting the patriarch in Constantinople, elected as metropolitan the Russian Bishop Iona (Jonah) of Ryazan. With the fall of Constantinople to the "infidel" Turks in 1453, the Florence-Ferrara Union was renounced by all eastern parties, and the Muscovite Church achieved *de facto* autocephaly (independence). There was another attempt to unite Eastern and Western Christianity at the Union of Brest in 1596, wherein some Orthodox Christians of Poland-Lithuania accepted allegiance to the Roman pope in exchange for, among other considerations, the right to retain services in Slavonic and a married parish clergy. In 1589 the Moscow political and ecclesiastical authorities successfully manipulated all four eastern patriarchs to agree to the elevation of the Moscow metropolitan to the status of patriarch, thereby achieving the formal independence of the Russian Orthodox Church under the patriarch of Moscow.

As of the mid-seventeenth century, the Muscovite Church had one metropolitan, two archbishops, and seven bishops. Evidence is plentiful that the prelates (bishops and above) had relatively little control over church people and institutions within their vast eparchies (equivalent to dioceses in the Roman Catholic Church). Parallel with the secular government's Law Code of 1550, the church hierarchy attempted to extend its control more effectively throughout the large territories and widely dispersed population of Muscovite Russia. The



Russian Orthodoxy. Icon of the Crucifixion, sixteenth century, tempera on wood. THE ART ARCHIVE/MUSÉE DU LOUVRE PARIS/DAGLI ORTI

Moscow Church Council of 1551, in its protocols known as the *Stoglav* ('Hundred Chapters'), replicated some dozen provisions of the 1550 Law Code, particularly regarding collection of taxes and fees owed to, in this case, the prelates. The fact that many *Stoglav* rulings are frequently repeated later is testimony that the church, like the secular government, was not tightly organized or centralized.

Muscovy inherited Byzantine principles of harmony between church and state. Most scholars recognize that in Muscovy the church—though powerful in matters regarding marriage, family, wills, and contracts (which were frequently finalized by kissing a cross), and court cases involving church persons or peasants living on church lands—did not enjoy significant political authority. Moscow grand princes generally did not interfere in matters of faith (caesaropapism), but they frequently played a determining role in the hiring and firing of church prelates and abbots. An extreme illustration of secular power dominating the church occurred in 1569, when Moscow Metropolitan Filipp, who dared to criticize the policies of Tsar Ivan IV the Terrible's government, was assassinated, apparently on government orders.

CHRISTIAN VS. PAGAN BELIEFS AND PRACTICES

Much has been made in scholarly literature of the "double faith" in Russia of coexisting Christian and pagan beliefs and practices. Recent scholarship has deemphasized the uniqueness of the Russian experience, noting that all Christian societies retain pre- or extra-Christian beliefs, and that Christian and native beliefs tend to blend together rather than exist separately. Evidence of that blending is profuse in the 1551 *Stoglav*, in which the Church Council rails against pagan practices and superstitions not only among the laity, but also among the clergy. From the beginnings of Christianity among the East Slavs, resistance to Christianization was rare, at least in part because the church was not sufficiently unified and strong to eradicate and supplant local beliefs and customs. Heresies were rare within the church. Minor heresies surfaced in the commercial city-states of Novgorod and Pskov, which, until their absorption by Muscovy in the fifteenth century, were relatively independent and more exposed to ideas from western Europe through trade contacts. The "Judaizer" heresy in fifteenth-century Nov-

gorod was apparently rationalist, anti-Trinitarian, and anticlerical, but its suppression was so effective that little else about it is known.

SCHOLARSHIP AND EDUCATION

Theological scholarship and debate were largely absent in the Muscovite Church. Muscovy was untouched by the skeptical and questioning spirit of Renaissance scholarship. Indicative is the admonition in the *Stoglav* to study God's law in books, because "Books are created by the Holy Spirit," the *Stoglav* instruction to scribes to "copy only from good translations." As noted above, however, Muscovite scholars, lacking knowledge of Greek, were ill prepared to assess the accuracy of Slavic translations. When printing finally came to Moscow in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the first three books to be published—selected Acts of the Apostles, the Book of Hours, and the Psalter—were printed in Slavic without reference to Greek texts. The church clung to tradition and custom, as inherited from Byzantine Christianity and as interpreted by East Slavic experience. Innovative thought and critical scholarship were frequently and specifically condemned. Most rulings in the 1551 *Stoglav* are simply repetitions of previous documents of Byzantine and Slavic church sources.

Many clergy were only half-literate priests' sons who had memorized enough prayers and portions of services from their fathers to act as priests (parish priests were required to be married). There were no organized church schools until the mid-seventeenth century, and then only in Moscow and Novgorod. The latter was closed by Peter I the Great (ruled 1682–1725). The practice of the faith was largely ritualistic. Pastoral teaching through sermons was mostly absent in the Muscovite Church until the mid-seventeenth century, when Western influences entered from left-bank Ukraine, newly incorporated into Muscovy.

ORTHODOXY VS. ROMAN CATHOLICISM

Orthodoxy—in Russian *pravoslavie*, the 'true worship'—shares with Western Christianity basic Christian sources of the first millennium after Christ: the rulings of the Seven Ecumenical Councils, the canons and writings of the church fathers of approximately the second to the eighth centuries, and the Bible. Russians had no complete Bible until the 1490s, when the scholarly Archbishop Gennadii of

Novgorod oversaw the compiling of one; a handful of scholars was assembled who could translate from Greek texts to fill in what had until then not been available in Slavic translation. Orthodox liturgical and monastic traditions rely heavily on Basil the Great (c. 330–379), John Chrysostom (c. 347–407), and monastic rules of fifth- and sixth-century Constantinople and Jerusalem. Among differences with Roman Catholicism, Orthodoxy does not teach that there is a single moment of transubstantiation of the elements during the liturgy (Mass), rather that Christ is present at the Eucharist and the elements really change, but that the mystery of the transformation is, like the mystery of God Himself, ultimately unknowable (= apophatic theology). The Muscovite Church inherited, but did not debate until the seventeenth century under foreign influence, certain concepts that split the Christian Church in 1054—for example, the Filioque controversy, in which Eastern Orthodoxy rejected the Roman Catholic addition to the Nicene Creed that the Holy Spirit proceeds not only from the Father, but also from the Son (*filioque*, ‘and the son’). There are seven sacraments in Orthodoxy, but their identity and number have never been defined so precisely as in Roman Catholicism.

MONASTICISM

No separate “orders” evolved in Russian monasticism, although some prominent monasteries and abbots developed particular rules and customs that were emulated by other monasteries—for example, St. Sergii of Radonezh (c. 1314–1392), and his many disciples, who spread monasticism into remote territories to the north and northeast of Moscow. Two concepts of the purposes of monasticism, inherited from ancient and Kievan times, coexist in Russian monasticism, both modeled on Christ’s life: the first emphasizes prayer, contemplation, and non-involvement with the secular, material world; the second stresses social and community service. Somewhat related to these two trends are the three principal types of monastic organization: the first is eremitic, consisting of hermit monks who may live in close proximity; the second is cenobitic, or communal, in which monks live, work, dine, and worship as a brotherhood; the third is a combination of the first two and is called a skete, or idiorhythmic monastery, in which monks may live independently but come together for certain occasions like meals

and church services. Two famous representatives of allegedly opposing points of view on monastic life were Iosif of Volokolamsk and Nil Sorskii, both late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Iosif—labeled later by historians a “possessor” or “acquisitor”—argued that a monastery should be wealthy and on good terms with secular authorities, the better to serve the community. Nil—labeled later a “non-possessor” or “non-acquisitor”—stressed monastic poverty, independence from secular authority, and contemplative prayer. On the subject of prayer, Nil advocated continual repetition of the “Jesus Prayer” (some variant on the simple prayer, “Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, have mercy on me, a sinner”) and hesychastic (quiet, contemplative) prayer, both practiced at the time in monasteries at Mt. Athos, a Greek center of Orthodox monasticism. In fact, Iosif and Nil had much in common as sincere, devout monastics. Their differing emphases on monastic wealth versus poverty came to be exaggerated later in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, in the context of wealthy monasteries trying to protect their assets against government encroachment. Both Iosif and Nil were canonized as saints.

CLERGY

Priests—that is, churchmen ordained to celebrate the liturgy, or Mass, and deliver the sacraments—were (and are) of two types. The first is known as the “white,” or secular, clergy. The second is the monastic, or “black,” clergy (from the color of their robes); they are monks, called hieromonks, who conduct services in monasteries and also, as necessary, in parish churches. Prelates (bishops and above) can only come from the ranks of celibate monastics. Parish priests (the white clergy) must be married. Parish priests were typically barefoot peasants, like their parishioners, and unsystematically trained.

THE SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY CHURCH SCHISM

The relative unity of Muscovite Orthodoxy was shattered in the seventeenth century under pressures both domestic and foreign. Pressures included the government’s growing recognition, in the wake of disastrous defeats in the early seventeenth century by Polish and Swedish troops (during Muscovy’s “Time of Troubles”), that Muscovy needed to look

to western Europe for fresh ideas, at least in military strategy and ordnance. Some church leaders also saw the Time of Troubles as a wake-up call for fresh thinking: God had obviously not favored Orthodox Russia in the confrontation with foreign armies; it was time to examine and reinvigorate the Russian Church according to “true traditions.” A loose movement of so-called Zealots of Piety formed, consisting mostly of educated churchmen dedicated to reforming the tenets and practices of the faith. Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich (ruled 1645–1676), sympathetic to the Zealots, promoted one of its members, Nikon, first to be metropolitan of Novgorod, then patriarch of Moscow in 1652 (another example of the power of the state over the church). At the same time, Muscovy was incorporating left bank Ukraine, from which Orthodox clerics, many of them trained in Polish Jesuit seminaries and academies, began to appear in Moscow, their new capital, to seek their fortunes. Nikon turned to these Ukrainian clerics, who knew Greek and Latin, for advice on returning the Muscovite Orthodox Church to its “true” texts and rituals. Their advice in fact reflected current Ukrainian Orthodox practice more than it represented “original” Christian practice (however the latter might be determined). Nikon, unable to judge such distinctions, accepted their recommendations and forcefully introduced a set of reforms in church and liturgical practice. Traditional scholarship has pointed to the liturgical changes as catalysts for the Great Schism in the Russian Church, formalized by the Moscow Church Council of 1666–1667, in which those who refused to accept the liturgical changes were excommunicated and became known as Schismatics. In contrast to the Western Protestant Reformation, where the reformers split from the official church, it was the official church in Muscovy that instituted reforms, thereby separating itself from the traditionalist “Old Believers,” or “Old Ritualists,” who persist to this day.

Ironically, Patriarch Nikon himself was deposed by the same council that made his reforms official. Nikon’s political pretensions angered Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich, and Nikon’s inflexible insistence on his reforms alienated many in the church. The schism was in fact complex, reaching beyond liturgical reforms themselves. Recent scholarship has pointed out political and social aspects of the schism

as it played out in both Moscow and the provinces. However one interprets the Old Believer movement, the repression of a significant portion of devout Christians by the state (especially for resistance to paying taxes and serving in the military) marked a fundamental shift in the previous unity of Muscovite Orthodoxy.

PETER THE GREAT’S CHURCH REFORMS

Peter I the Great (ruled 1682–1725) ushered in an era in which the church was fundamentally transformed: church administration effectively became a government ministry, the church lost much of its landed wealth, and a system of clerical education was established for the first time in Russia. Tsar Peter inflicted numerous reforms on his country that were designed to create and pay for a new government and a military and naval system that would enable Russia to trade with, compete with, and, as necessary defend Russia’s European interests by force of arms. The ruthlessness with which he implemented his governmental and tax collection reforms, and the forced buildup of his new capital city, St. Petersburg, augured poorly for the independence of the church. When Patriarch Adrian (in office 1690–1700) died in 1700, Peter prevented the election of a new patriarch, and instead appointed Stefan Yavorskii as patriarchal “exarch,” or locum tenens. Yavorskii was a young professor from the Kiev Orthodox Academy who had trained at a Jesuit academy in Poland, and who argued in favor of a strong patriarchate and the independence of the church. Gradually Peter came to favor another professor from the Kiev Academy, Feofan Prokopovich, whose 1719 *Spiritual Regulation* argued in support of a Russian national church under the authority of the tsar as “supreme bishop” and argued that an ecclesiastical council would be more appropriate to govern the church than a single patriarch. In 1721 Peter established the Ecclesiastical College to govern the church (“college,” or *kollegia*, a word borrowed from the Swedish governmental system, was the term Peter used for his government ministries, each one headed by a committee instead of a single minister). The Ecclesiastical College was soon renamed the Holy Governing Synod, and was administered by a lay director, or *Oberprokurator*. The synod changed in composition over time, but basically it remained a committee of churchmen headed by a lay appointee of the

tsar/emperor (the title “emperor” was instituted in 1721).

THE CHURCH IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Under imperial state regulation, the church became less recognizably Muscovite. Most bishops and metropolitans appointed under Peter were Ukrainians or Belorussians. Monasteries lost territory and were more closely regulated, resulting in a reduction of monks and nuns from twenty-five thousand in 1734 to fourteen thousand in 1738. That we can begin in the eighteenth century to speak statistically about the church is in itself evidence of “modernization,” at least in terms of record keeping. The church—particularly monasteries—lost landed wealth gradually during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but under Empress Catherine II the Great (ruled 1762–1796) monastic lands were effectively nationalized, and some one million peasants on monastery land overnight became state peasants. A new ecclesiastic educational system was begun under Peter the Great and expanded to the point that by the end of the century there was a seminary in each eparchy. The curriculum of schools for youth and for the clergy was heavy on Latin language and subjects, close to the curriculum of Jesuit academies in Poland, and light on Greek language and the Greek Church Fathers, even light on the Russian and Church Slavonic languages. The result was that more monks and priests were formally educated than before, but their training was poor preparation for serving a Russian-speaking population and conducting services in Church Slavonic. Catherine the Great was inclined toward rationalist Enlightenment ideas, which included religious tolerance. Old Believers enjoyed a degree of religious freedom, although they continued to be taxed at a double rate. Under Catherine the various offices and institutions of the church—bishops, monasteries, seminaries, the twenty-six eparchies, and so forth—were placed under detailed regulations that governed appointments, conduct, and salaries.

See also Catherine II (Russia); Clergy: Russian Orthodox Clergy; Old Believers; Peter I (Russia); Reformations in Eastern Europe: Protestant, Catholic, and Orthodox; Russia; Time of Troubles (Russia); Uniates; Union of Brest (1596).

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JACK KOLLMANN

OTTOMAN DYNASTY. Osman I, the eponymous founder of the Ottoman dynasty, established a state in northwestern Anatolia in the late thirteenth century and was, according to later tradition, invested by the Seljuk sultan. This tradition formed part of the legitimation of the dynasty as successors to the Seljuk Turkish dynasty of Anatolia, while a genealogy tracing the family back to Oghuz Khan gave them an ancestry superior to their rivals. Very little is actually known, however, about the origins of this dynasty, which ruled for over six hundred years.

During the course of the fourteenth century, the Ottoman state, merely one of a number of Turkish principalities and by no means the largest or most important, swallowed up many of its Turkish rivals and emerged as the preeminent power. Quite why this happened is not clear. Many of the characteristics used to explain Ottoman success, such as the role of *gazi* (warrior for Islam) or commercial acumen, are equally attributable to other states. The Ottomans, however, do not appear to have had damaging internal power struggles, their early rulers were long-lasting and apparently talented, and the Ottomans may also have been particularly astute diplomats in their dealings with their neighbors.

SUCCESSION

Before the middle of the sixteenth century, succession did not pass automatically to the eldest son but

to the son who succeeded in a power struggle. This changed after the death of Suleiman I (ruled 1520–1566), with succession usually going to the eldest son and, from 1617, to the oldest surviving male of the family. By the seventeenth century what took a son to the throne was the success of a particular palace faction. Ahmed I (ruled 1603–1617), Mustafa I (ruled 1617–1618, 1622–1623), Osman II (ruled 1618–1622), and Ibrahim (ruled 1640–1648) all came onto, and on occasion off, the throne through factional intriguing, which also, in the cases of Osman II and Ibrahim, resulted in the murder of the deposed ruler. The systematic practice of fratricide, later justified as essential to safeguard the stability of the state, ended after the reign of Mehmed III (ruled 1595–1603), who on his accession in 1595 murdered his nineteen brothers.

WOMEN

While succession could pass only through the male line, women nevertheless played a major role in power politics of the dynasty. Kösem Mahpeyker, mother of both Murad IV (ruled 1623–1640) and Ibrahim, effectively controlled government until she was ultimately murdered in 1651, apparently at the instigation of Turhan Sultan, mother of Mehmed IV (ruled 1648–1687), herself a figure of political importance. Later in the century power passed largely from these women not to the sultan but to the grand viziers from the Köprülü family.

While the mothers of the sultans were mostly slaves, the early Ottoman rulers did marry but for political rather than reproductive purposes. Once the practice ceased to be of use, it was discontinued. The last marriage of an Ottoman ruler or son of the ruler to a foreign princess was that of Bayezid II (ruled 1481–1512). Initially princesses of the royal house were married to the sons of foreign royal houses, but the importance of such “foreign” marriages was limited. Women could not marry non-Muslims, which thus restricted their use politically, and any children from such marriages were not useful for any territorial claims the Ottomans might make as descent was through the male, not the female, line. From around the middle of the fifteenth century the princesses were married to men of the ruling elite within the empire, a system useful for the Ottoman dynasty as it tied those men more

TABLE 1

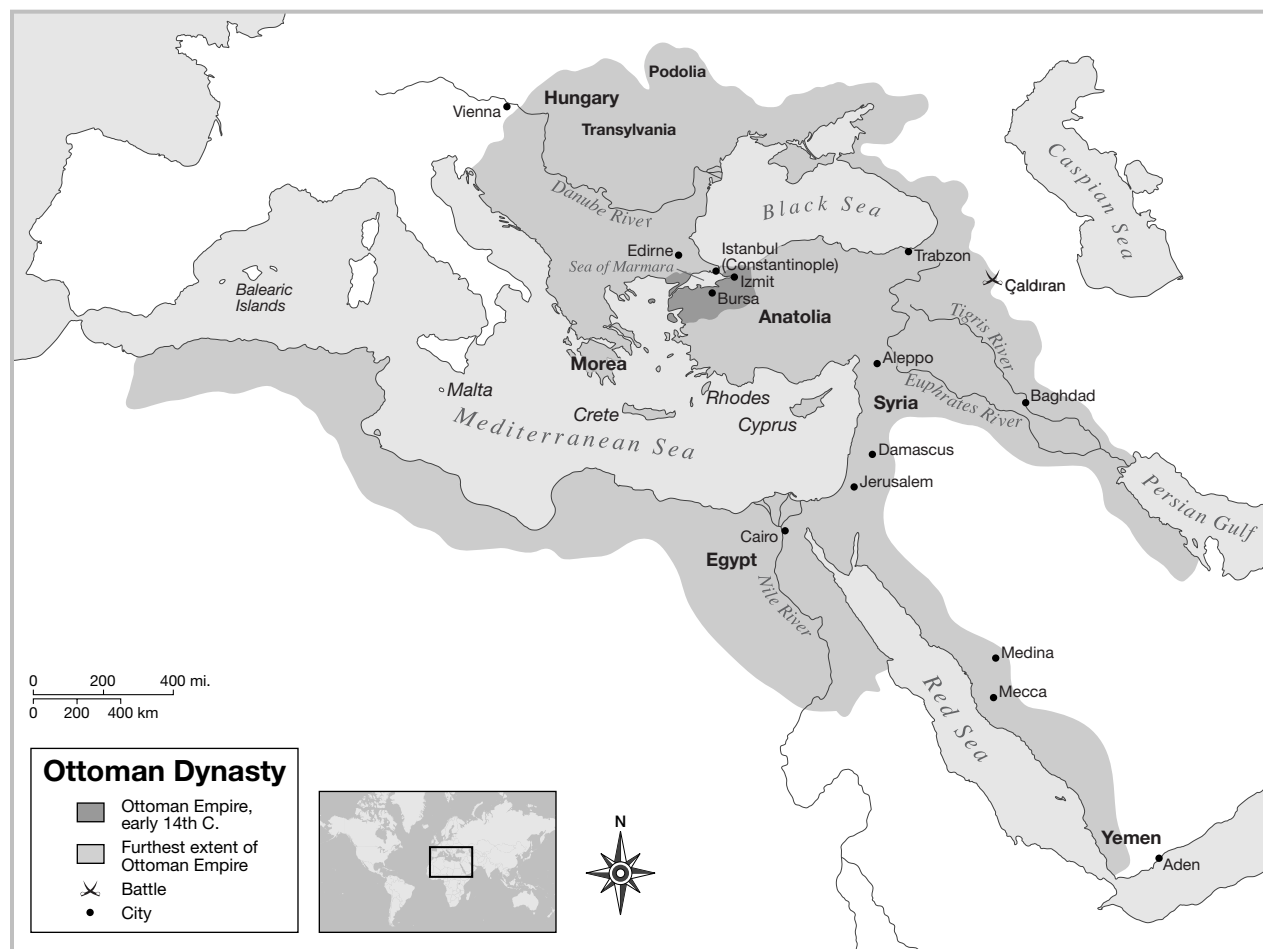
Ottoman Ruling Dynasties

- Osman (ruled ?–?1324)
- Orhan (ruled ?1324–1362)
- Murad I (ruled 1362–1389)
- Bayezid I (ruled 1389–1402)
- Mehmed I (ruled 1413–1421)
- Murad II (ruled 1421–1444)
- Mehmed II (ruled 1444–1446)
- Murad II (ruled 1446–1451)
- Mehmed II (ruled 1451–1481)
- Bayezid II (ruled 1481–1512)
- Selim I (ruled 1512–1520)
- Suleiman I (ruled 1520–1566)
- Selim II (ruled 1566–1574)
- Murad III (ruled 1574–1595)
- Mehmed III (ruled 1595–1603)
- Ahmed I (ruled 1603–1617)
- Mustafa I (ruled 1617–1618)
- Osman II (ruled 1618–1622)
- Mustafa I (ruled 1622–1623)
- Murad IV (ruled 1623–1640)
- İbrahim (ruled 1640–1648)
- Mehmed IV (ruled 1648–1687)
- Suleiman II (ruled 1687–1691)
- Ahmed II (ruled 1691–1695)
- Mustafa II (ruled 1695–1703)
- Ahmed III (ruled 1703–1730)
- Mahmud I (ruled 1730–1754)
- Osman III (ruled 1754–1757)
- Mustafa III (ruled 1757–1774)
- Abdülhamid I (ruled 1774–1789)

closely to the ruling house and lessened the possibility of rival households forming.

SULTANS

Although at first sons or brothers of the ruler apparently were involved in government, this soon changed as the sultan became the dominant figure. Young sons were sent as governors to the provinces to gain experience under the guidance of their tutors. This practice changed with the death of Suleiman I and was restricted to only the eldest son. From the end of the sixteenth century, sons were confined to the palace until one of them succeeded to the throne. Confinement produced, in general, sultans less able than their predecessors. There were, of course, exceptions, such as Murad IV, who became known for his great severity, avarice, and absolutist rule. According to the Venetian *bailo* at Istanbul, no other sultan attained such total dominance.



In a system where power was so highly centralized on the figure of the sultan, the character of the individual was of considerable importance. When the state was in the hands of competent rulers, the empire functioned well. But with the accession of sultans who were mentally unhinged, as in the cases of Mustafa I and Ibrahim, or of minors, such as Osman II and Mehmed IV, government could easily fall prey to palace intrigues and janissary revolts.

Initially great warriors who personally led their armies on the field of battle, the sultans after Suleiman I rarely set off to war. Such warlike qualities, important in the legitimation of the early rulers, became much less significant, and sultans after Suleiman I were not war leaders in the way their predecessors had been. However, both Mehmed III and Osman II sought to exploit the warrior image in a period when the empire's need for reform and restructuring was becoming evident. Mustafa II

(ruled 1695–1703) also took a more active military role.

Mustafa II also tried to wrest power away from the viziers and back into the hands of the sultan. He was unsuccessful, however, and the center of political power during the eighteenth century lay not in the palace but with the pashas. With effective control elsewhere, the Ottoman sultans sought other ways to maintain their position at the center of power and underline their legitimacy. Ahmed III (ruled 1703–1730) and the Grand Vizier Ibrahim Pasha (1718–1730), created a “court of consumption,” a world of lavish display, luxury, and cultural extravagance during what came to be known as the Tulip Era, in an attempt to put the court back at the center.

Political power and decision making, however, largely lay elsewhere through the eighteenth century as the empire struggled with ever less success to

face the growing economic, technological, and military threat from Europe.

See also Islam in the Ottoman Empire; Janissary; Mehmed II (Ottoman Empire); Ottoman Empire; Suleiman I; Sultan; Vizier.

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KATE FLEET

OTTOMAN EMPIRE. The Ottoman Empire emerged circa 1300 with the establishment by the first Ottoman ruler, Osman, of a small principality bordering on Byzantine territory in western Anatolia. It reached its greatest extent in 1590, when the empire comprised central Hungary, the Balkan Peninsula, Anatolia, Mesopotamia, Syria and Palestine, western Arabia, Egypt, and lands in the Caucasus and western Iran. In Europe, Transylvania, Walachia, Moldavia, and the Crimea were tributary principalities, while in North Africa, Tripoli, Tunis, and Algiers were semiautonomous provinces. Between 1603 and 1606, the Ottomans lost the lands in Iran and the Caucasus that had been ceded to them in 1590. In 1669, however, they took control of Crete.

By 1450, the Ottoman Empire was a regional power, comprising western and northern Anatolia and much of the Balkan Peninsula. Mehmed II (ruled 1451–1481) expanded and consolidated Ottoman rule in this region. His conquest of Constantinople in 1453 finally extinguished the Byzantine

Empire. In the Balkans, he annexed Serbia between 1455 and 1458, Bosnia in 1463, and, in 1466, defeated George Kastriote (Scanderbeg) in central Albania. In 1460 he removed the last two Byzantine rulers of the Peloponnese, and in 1461 conquered Trebizond, the last independent Greek city.

In 1463, fearing for its Greek colonies, Venice declared war. The war was fought in the Peloponnese, in Albania, and on the Aegean, the naval conflict encouraging the growth of the Ottoman fleet. Mehmed had used a fleet at the siege of Constantinople, and he inherited the naval dockyard at Pera when he annexed this Genoese colony in 1453. He used the fleet first against the Genoese, taking Enez and Phokaia in the 1450s, Amasra on the Black Sea in 1459, and Lesbos in 1462. The amphibious war with Venice culminated with the conquest of the Venetian island of Evvoia (Negroponte) in 1470.

To defeat the Ottomans, Venice allied with Hungary in 1464, with no results, and then with the Akkoyunlu Sultan Uzun Hasan, lord of much of Iran, Iraq, and eastern Anatolia. In 1467–1468, Mehmed had conquered and annexed the emirate of Karaman in south-central Anatolia, bringing him into dispute with Uzun Hasan, who also coveted the principality. The dispute led to war in 1473 and an Ottoman victory that secured Ottoman territories in Anatolia.

The removal of this danger allowed Mehmed to extend his conquests to the Black Sea. Using a dispute within the Tatar khanate as a pretext, in 1475 he sent a fleet to the Crimea, reducing the khan to the status of Ottoman tributary, and capturing the Genoese city of Caffa. An attempt to strengthen his domination of the region with an incursion into Moldavia in 1476 merely provoked a Hungarian counterattack. Two years later, Mehmed led an assault on Venetian settlements in northern Albania, persuading the Venetians to cede Shkodër and to conclude a peace in 1479. In the same year, the Ottomans occupied Cephalonia, Levkas, and Zante as a preliminary to capturing Otranto on the Italian mainland in 1480. Simultaneously, Mehmed's fleet unsuccessfully attacked Rhodes.

Mehmed's son Bayezid II (ruled 1481–1512) withdrew the garrison from Otranto and adopted a conciliatory policy toward the West. In 1482 his brother Jem had fled to Rhodes, and the threat to



foment civil strife in the Ottoman Empire by releasing him from captivity provided Catholic Europe with a new weapon. It was only after Jem's death in 1495 that Bayezid opened hostilities in the West. Before this, in 1483, he had attacked Moldavia, seizing the ports of Kilia and Akkerman, and, between 1485 and 1490, had waged an unsuccessful war against the Mamluks, rulers of Syria and Egypt since the mid-thirteenth century. In 1499, however, following the public burial of Jem's remains, Bayezid declared war on Venice, capturing several Venetian strongholds in the Peloponnese despite the formation of a Venetian-French-Spanish alliance.

During Bayezid's final years, the most significant political development was the unification of Iran under the Shi'ite Safavid dynasty, which claimed the religious and political loyalties of many Ottoman subjects and posed both an internal and an external threat. It was adherents of the Safavids

who formed the core of a rebellion that broke out in 1511 in southwest Anatolia. The rebellion, suppressed with great difficulty, coincided with a succession struggle between Bayezid's sons. It was the youngest who forced his father to abdicate and ascended the throne as Selim I (ruled 1512–1520).

THE EMPIRE AT ITS HEIGHT

After defeating and executing his brothers Korkud and Ahmed, Selim attacked the Safavids, routing Shah Isma'il I's army at Chaldiran in 1514. Over the next four years he expelled the Safavids from southeast Anatolia. This war led to a new conflict. Isma'il I had sought an alliance with the Mamluk sultanate, which by 1516 shared a border with the Ottomans in northern Syria. In 1516 Selim invaded and defeated a Mamluk army near Aleppo. In early 1517, he defeated a second Mamluk army outside Cairo, bringing the Mamluk domains, which included the Holy Cities of Mecca and Medina, under his control. Gunpowder technology was a signifi-

cant element in these Ottoman successes. A further addition to Selim's empire was Algiers, whose ruler Hayreddin Barbarossa, seeking protection against Spain, submitted voluntarily to Selim's overlordship.

Selim's son Suleiman I (ruled 1520–1566) opened his reign with the conquests of Belgrade in 1521 and Rhodes in 1522. The loss of Belgrade weakened Hungary's defenses and, in 1526, Suleiman invaded and killed the Hungarian king at Mohács. After the battle, he supported the newly elected John Szapolyai against the claims to the Hungarian throne of the Habsburg Ferdinand of Austria. In 1529, Suleiman expelled Ferdinand from the Hungarian capital Buda and unsuccessfully laid siege to Vienna. Peace with Ferdinand in 1532 allowed him to lead a campaign against Iran, which by 1536 had added Baghdad and Erzurum to the empire. During this campaign, in 1533, Suleiman invited Hayreddin Barbarossa to command the Ottoman fleet. The war at sea opened with the loss of Tunis to a Spanish force under the command of Ferdinand's brother, Charles V. The loss made Suleiman welcome the French king Francis I's proposal for an anti-Habsburg alliance. However, the plan for a Franco-Ottoman attack in 1537 on the Habsburgs' Italian possessions did not materialize. Suleiman instead unsuccessfully attacked the Venetian island of Corfu. In response, Venice allied with Charles V, Austria, and the pope. Barbarossa, however, defeated the allied fleet at Prevesa in 1538, and the war concluded with the cession to Suleiman of most of the Venetian insular and mainland possessions in Greece.

After 1540, Suleiman made no more major conquests. The death of Szapolyai in 1540 led to war as Ferdinand again tried to assert his claims to the Hungarian crown. Suleiman's response was to convert central Hungary to an Ottoman province, and to appoint Szapolyai's infant son ruler of Transylvania, the eastern part of the old Hungarian kingdom. A campaign in 1543 restored Ottoman authority in Hungary. Meanwhile, in 1541 Charles V had made an unsuccessful attack on Algiers, the war in the Mediterranean continuing in 1543 with the Franco-Ottoman capture of Nice. A treaty in 1547 between Suleiman and the Habsburgs Charles V and Ferdinand concluded the war in Hungary but, since Ferdinand still claimed the crown of Transylvania, hos-

tilities continued on a smaller scale until 1556, with Suleiman occupying Temesvár and Lipova in 1552. Immediately after 1547, however, his preoccupation was with Iran. Two expeditions in 1548–1549 and 1553–1554 brought no gains, and concluded with the treaty of Amasya in 1555, confirming the existing eastern border.

However, the war in the Mediterranean continued. In 1551, the Ottomans conquered Tripoli, and later in the decade they occupied Wahran and Bizerta, near Algiers. In 1560, the Admiral Piyale Pasha expelled the Spaniards from Jerba, off the Tunisian coast. Then, in 1565, Suleiman's fleet unsuccessfully attacked the Knights of St. John on Malta. Outside the Mediterranean, the Ottomans tried but failed to establish their power in the Indian Ocean and to control the trade coming from India and southeast Asia.

Suleiman died in 1566 on campaign in Hungary. As he had already executed one son, Mustafa, in 1553, and another, Bayezid, in 1562 following the latter's rebellion and flight to Iran, Selim II (1566–1574) came to the throne unopposed. The effective ruler throughout his reign was the grand vizier Sokollu Mehmed Pasha. Sokollu's plans to facilitate Ottoman navigation in the Red Sea and Indian Ocean by constructing a canal across the isthmus of Suez, and on the Caspian by constructing a canal between the Don and Volga rivers, both failed. Instead the major amphibious undertaking was the assault in 1570 on Cyprus. In 1573, and despite the rout of the Ottoman fleet off Lepanto in 1571, Venice ceded the island. Then in 1574 an Ottoman expedition expelled the Spaniards from Tunis. Ottoman expansion did not end with these wars. Taking advantage of Safavid dynastic problems, the Ottomans, in a war between 1578 and 1590, captured Safavid territory in the Caucasus and western Iran, bringing the empire to its maximum size.

THE TIMES OF TROUBLE

Following a series of incidents on the Bosnian border, in 1593 the grand vizier Koca Sinan Pasha successfully pressed for a war against Austria. Despite unexpected victories at Eger and Mezö-Keresztes in 1596, at Kanizsa in 1600, and the reconquest of Esztergom in 1605, the war showed that the Ottomans had lost their military superiority over the

Habsburg forces. Furthermore, they suffered from the defection of Walachia in 1595 and the uncertain loyalty of Transylvania. In 1606, the Treaty of Zsitva-Török brought the war to an inconclusive end. By this time, the Ottomans were fighting on three fronts. In Anatolia, a series of uprisings seriously shook Ottoman power. In 1603, war broke out with Iran, and by 1606, Shah Abbas had reconquered Erivan and Tabriz, and all the territories that Iran had lost between 1578 and 1590. To add to Ottoman troubles, the governor of Aleppo, Janbuladoghlu Ali, rebelled against the sultan Ahmed I (1603–1617), cooperating with the rebels in Anatolia. It was at this time too that Cossack raiders from the Ukraine began to launch attacks on Ottoman settlements on the Black Sea coast, which were to continue into the 1640s.

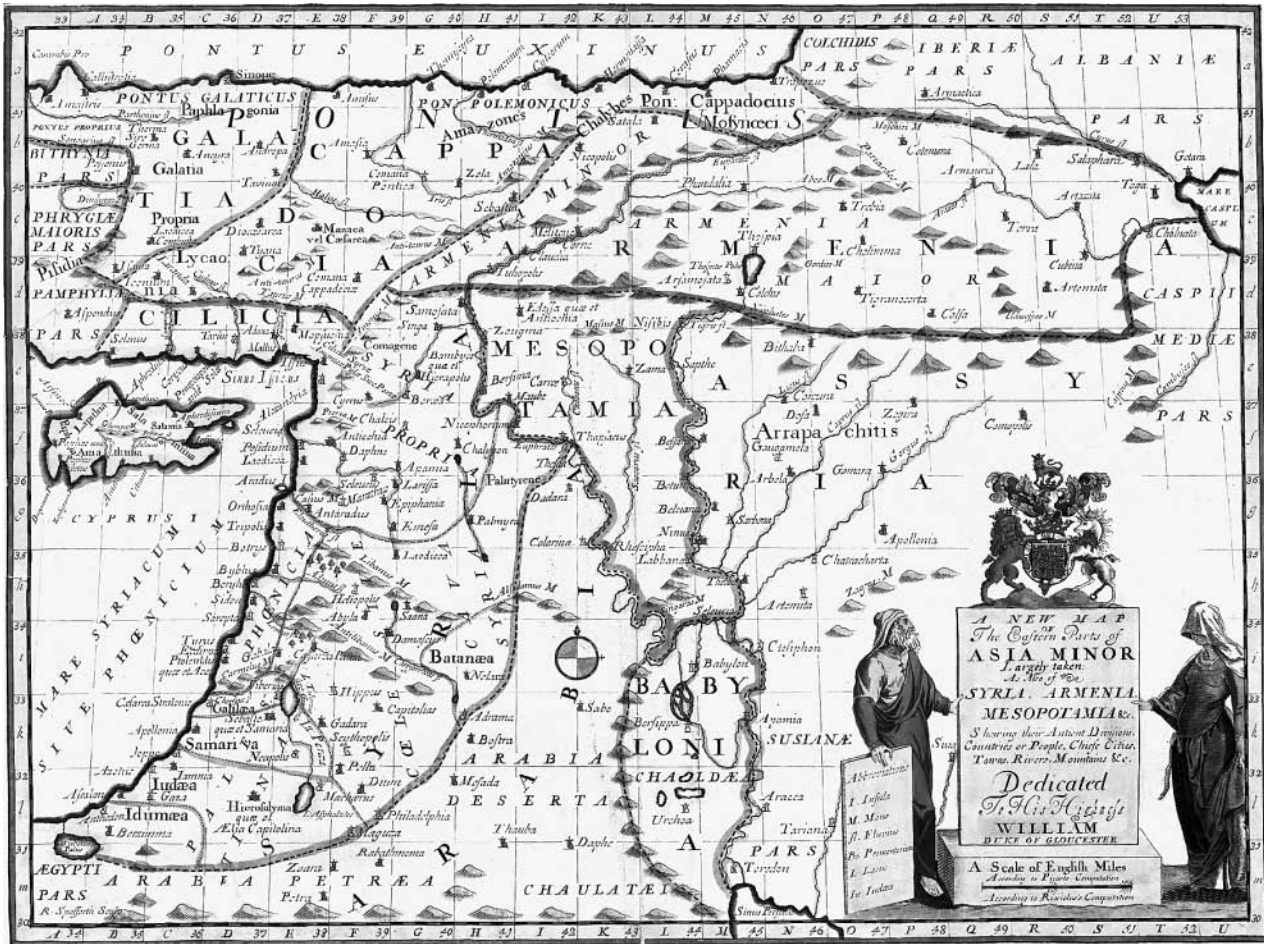
Between 1607 and 1609, the grand vizier, Kuyuju Murad defeated Janbuladoghlu Ali of Aleppo and the rebels in Anatolia. However, renewed war with Iran failed to recapture the territory lost to Shah Abbas, and the death of Ahmed I in 1617 precipitated another crisis. His successor was his mentally defective brother Mustafa (ruled 1617–1618, 1622–1623). Within a year a faction had deposed Mustafa and placed Ahmed's son Osman II (ruled 1618–1622) on the throne. Osman's declaration of war on Poland and his treatment of the janissaries during the unsuccessful siege of Chotin, and the suspicions of the janissaries that he wished to abolish the corps, led to a janissary insurrection, the reinstatement of Mustafa on the throne, and finally to Osman's murder. During Mustafa's second reign, unrest continued in the capital. In Anatolia the governor-general of Erzurum, Abaza Mehmed Pasha, rebelled, claiming to seek vengeance on Osman's murderers. Then Shah Abbas captured Baghdad. In 1623, Mustafa was deposed. His successor was the twelve-year-old Murad IV (ruled 1623–1640), with effective power going to his mother, Kösem Sultan.

Unrest continued for much of Murad's reign. Abaza Mehmed Pasha did not surrender until 1628, and campaigns against Iran in 1626 and 1630 failed to recapture Baghdad. In the early 1630s, the soldiery in the capital rebelled, with the agitations of fundamentalist preachers adding to the tense atmosphere. With the restoration of order, Murad led his armies against the Safavids, in 1638 recapturing

Baghdad, which was to remain in Ottoman hands until World War I. A treaty in 1639 fixed the Ottoman-Safavid border, essentially as agreed at the Treaty of Amasya. Murad IV died in 1640, having restored Ottoman military prestige, and having begun to reform the Ottoman fiscal system. The grand vizier Kemankesh Mustafa Pasha continued this work under Ibrahim I "the Mad" (1640–1648), also a son of Ahmed I and Kösem. In 1644, however, as Ibrahim's mental condition deteriorated, a faction gained power that catered to his extravagant whims. The invasion of the Venetian-held island of Crete in 1645 exacerbated the crisis. Despite the capture of Chania, Herakleion (Candia) and other fortresses resisted, while naval superiority allowed Venice to blockade the Dardanelles. In 1648, the crisis led to the deposition and execution of the sultan.

THE KÖPRÜLÜ VIZIERATE

The seven-year-old Mehmed IV (ruled 1648–1687) succeeded Ibrahim, with his mother Turhan Sultan as regent. Faced with political instability and a Venetian blockade of the straits, Turhan in 1656 invited a provincial governor, Köprülü Mehmed Pasha, to become grand vizier. Within a year, he had defeated the Venetians and reoccupied Tenedos and Limni at the entrance to the straits. By the time of his death in 1661, he had suppressed a rebellion in Anatolia, and reformed the financial system so that, for the first time in almost a century, income almost balanced expenditure. His successor was his son, Fazil Ahmed. His period of office opened with a war with Austria between 1662 and 1664 in support of the Ottoman candidate to the throne of Transylvania. Ottoman forces captured the fortress of Nové Zamky and, by the Treaty of Vasvar in 1664, retained it, despite a defeat at St. Gotthard. Fazil Ahmed next turned his attention to the war on Crete, completing the conquest with the fall of Herakleion in 1669. This new phase of expansion continued with the capture of Kamieniec in the Polish Ukraine, the call for assistance from the Cossacks of the Dnieper providing the pretext for war. Hostilities with Poland continued until 1676, the year of Fazil Ahmed's death. In addition to the conquest of Crete and strengthening the empire's northern frontier through intervention in Transylvania and the Ukraine, Fazil Ahmed continued his father's internal reforms.



Ottoman Empire. This unusual map was created by the Englishman Edward Wells for his 1701 atlas titled *A New Sett of Maps Both of Ancient and Present Geography*. Wells, a geographer and tutor to young William, duke of Gloucester, intended his atlas as a teaching tool and so included both historical and modern maps. This map shows the ancient divisions in the area of the eastern Ottoman Empire, which had reached its greatest extent by about 1700. MAP COLLECTION, STERLING MEMORIAL LIBRARY, YALE UNIVERSITY

THE YEARS OF DISASTER

Fazil Ahmed’s successor as grand vizier, Kara Mustafa Pasha, tried unsuccessfully to strengthen the empire’s northern border, and to reassert Ottoman power in Hungary. His campaigns between 1676 and 1681 against Russia in the Ukraine failed. The Treaty of Radzin, which concluded the war, was unfavorable, establishing the frontier along the the Dnieper and the Bug, forcing the Ottomans to recognize the tsar as sovereign of Russia and protector of the Orthodox Church in Jerusalem, and permitting the creation of a patriarchate at Moscow, as a rival to the patriarchate of Constantinople. However, it was Kara Mustafa’s ambitions in Hungary that led to catastrophe.

In support of the rebel Imre Thököly’s claim to part of Austrian-ruled Hungary, Kara Mustafa besieged Vienna in 1683. The failed siege led to his execution and, in the following year, to the formation of the Holy League of Austria, Russia, Poland, Venice, and the papacy. In 1686, Buda fell to the Austrians. Belgrade followed in 1688. In 1687, Venice occupied Athens and most of the Peloponnese. War taxes and harvest failure increased unrest among the sultan’s subjects, leading to the deposition of Mehmed IV in 1687. The measures of his successor, Suleiman II (ruled 1687–1691), and the grand vizier Köprülü Fazil Mustafa restored the authority of the government and the military position. In 1690, Fazil Mustafa recaptured Niš,

Smederovo, and Belgrade. However, in 1691, with the death of Suleiman II, and the defeat and death of Fazil Mustafa at the battle of Slankamen, the counteroffensive failed. So too did English and Dutch attempts to broker a peace, which would have enabled the Austrians to join a western alliance against France. Some successes against the Venetians followed the accession of Mustafa II (ruled 1695–1703), but the Russians took Azov in 1696, and the defeat in 1697 at Zenta forced the Ottomans to seek peace. By the Treaty of Carlowitz of 1699, the sultan ceded Hungary and Transylvania to Austria, Podolia and western Ukraine to Poland, Azov and part of Ukraine to Russia, and Athens, Corinth, the Peloponnese, and some sites in Dalmatia to Venice.

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

After the Treaty of Carlowitz, the grand vizier Amjazade Hüseyin Pasha reformed the fiscal system by lowering taxes, reducing expenditure by cutting janissary numbers, and controlling the grant of fiefs. A new stability in the currency is one indication of his success. However, the reforms made him enemies and forced both his resignation and the abdication of Mustafa II in 1703. His successor, Ahmed III (ruled 1703–1730), suppressed the rebellion, reestablishing the authority of the sultanate.

Encouraged by this new stability, the grand vizier Silahdar Ali Pasha, attempted to regain the losses of 1683–1699. The flight to the Ottoman court of Charles XII of Sweden after his defeat by the Russians in 1709 led to a war with Russia that, by the Treaty of Edirne in 1713, forced Peter the Great to cede most of what he had gained at Carlowitz. In 1714–1715, the Ottomans reconquered territories lost to Venice, and in 1716 attacked Austria only to lose Belgrade, northern Serbia, Temesvár, and western Walachia. The Treaty of Passarowitz of 1718 confirmed the Austrians in possession. Acknowledging Ottoman military weakness, the grand vizier Damad Ibrahim Pasha sought peaceful diplomatic relations with the European powers, in the 1720s sending embassies to Paris, Vienna, Warsaw, and Moscow.

In 1730, a rebellion—in part against the extravagance of the court—led by the janissary Patrona Halil secured both the execution of Damad Ibrahim and the abdication of the Ahmed III. His successor,

Mahmud I (ruled 1730–1754) suppressed the insurrection. Abroad, Mahmud faced a war in Iran. In 1723, the collapse of the Safavid dynasty had given the Ottomans the opportunity to occupy territory in the Caucasus and western Iran, but by the mid-1730s the consolidation of Nadir Shah's power in Iran led to their abandonment and a new peace in 1736. Another factor in Ottoman withdrawal was the Russian seizure of Azov in 1736. The sultan declared war, hoping to form an alliance with Austria. The Austrians, however, allied with Russia, launching attacks into Bosnia and Bulgaria. The Ottoman counteroffensive thwarted the allies, and the Treaty of Belgrade in 1739 restored to the Ottomans the territory lost at Passarowitz and maintained the status quo with Russia. The last war of Mahmud I's reign, against Iran, aimed to check the ambitions of Nadir Shah. The outcome was the treaty of 1746, reconfirming the treaty of 1639.

A rare period of peace followed, allowing the grand vizier Koca Ragib Pasha (ruled 1757–1763) to initiate military and fiscal reforms. The prosperity of this period tempted the grand vizier Silahdar Hamza Pasha in 1768 to respond to a Polish call for assistance by declaring war on Russia. The war was disastrous. The Russians occupied Moldavia in 1769 and Walachia in 1770. In 1769 the Russian Baltic fleet sailed to the Mediterranean but, despite destroying the Ottoman navy at Çeşme in 1770 and offering support to rebels in the Peloponnese and Egypt, achieved very little. On land the Russian advances continued into the Crimea, Walachia, and the Dobrudzha. In 1772, following failed peace negotiations, they crossed the Danube into Bulgaria. In 1774, the new sultan Abdülhamid I (1774–1789) sued for peace. By the Treaty of Küçük Kaynarca the Russians acquired Azov, the territory between the Dnieper and the Bug, and the districts of Kuban and Terek, while the Crimea became independent of Ottoman overlordship. Equally significantly, the Russians obtained the right to “protect” Orthodox subjects in Istanbul, and the right to navigate freely in the Black Sea and the Mediterranean.

Aware of the weakness in the army, Abdülhamid I retained the services of the Frenchmen De Tott and Aubert and the Scot Campbell to improve the Ottoman artillery and to reopen the school of military engineering that the Frenchman Count

Bonneval had established in 1734. Aware, too, of the forces of autonomy in the empire's provinces, the sultan attempted to reach personal agreements with the powerful notables. His reign, however, ended with further losses. By the treaty of Aynali Kavak in 1784, he recognized the Russian annexation of the Crimea. However, the Russian annexation of Georgia and establishment of naval bases on the Black Sea again led to war. The Treaty of Jassy, which ended hostilities in 1792, while less unfavorable than the treaty of 1774, confirmed Russian occupation of Georgia and the Crimea and placed the Ottoman Empire under increased Russian pressure.

By the end of the eighteenth century, therefore, the major themes of the later history of the empire were already visible: the threat of Russian expansion, contained as much by the opposition of European powers as by effective Ottoman resistance; the reform of the Ottoman armed forces; and internal political reforms intended to convert what was effectively a medieval empire into a modern state.

THE POLITICAL STRUCTURE OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

The Ottoman Empire was a multinational, dynastic state. Its territories comprised the inherited lands of the reigning sultan and, in addition, any that he may have won through conquest. From the beginning of the empire, Ottoman territory was indivisible. All male heirs were entitled to inherit and, since there was no law governing succession, from the fourteenth until the sixteenth century, whichever of the deceased sultan's sons defeated and killed his brothers occupied the throne. However, after the accession of Murad III (ruled 1574–1595) and Mehmed III (ruled 1595–1603)—both elder sons—seniority became the usual, although not invariable, mode of succession. The practice of automatic fratricide also came to an end with the accession of Ahmed I (ruled 1603–1617), as a reaction to the scandal caused by Mehmed III's execution of his nineteen brothers.

For most of the sultan's subjects, the primary focus of loyalty was to their own religious or other community, but the sultan alone was the single, if secondary, focus of loyalty for all the multifarious groups throughout the empire. Allegiance to the sultan was therefore the principle that gave the

empire its unity, a notion that found a practical expression in the system of appointments. The leaders of important institutions within the empire—for example, the Greek Orthodox and Armenian patriarchs, and the heads of urban craft guilds—held their positions by virtue of a sultanic warrant. The institutions themselves might be virtually autonomous, but their heads were always royal appointees. For most subjects the loyalty that the sultan demanded consisted simply of paying taxes in cash, kind, or services. He required, however, a more active allegiance—to the extent of submitting willingly to execution—from those who served him in political and military office. These men and their families, together with those who held judicial or religious office, had, by the mid-fifteenth century, come to form a distinct class of non-taxpaying royal servants. By 1500, members of this class—designated “military” (*askeri* or *askeriye*)—were subject to a separate jurisdiction from ordinary taxpayers.

At the pinnacle of the military class were the viziers—usually three or four until their numbers increased from the late sixteenth century—who sat on the sultan's Imperial Council (Divan). This met in the palace under the presidency of the grand vizier, and issued decrees in the sultan's name. By the second half of the fifteenth century, viziers had typically served as provincial governors before their elevation. Viziers, like the sultan himself, also served as military commanders. So too did governors of provinces and of sub-provinces (*sanjaks*), each *sanjak* consisting of the lands in a specific area distributed as fiefs to cavalymen, who fought in times of war under their *sanjak* governor. It was these cavalymen who made up the bulk of the military class. In addition, men holding Islamic judicial-religious posts were also designated “military.”

Between 1450 and 1600, the ways of recruitment to judicial, military, and political office were fairly clear. Graduates of Muslim colleges (*madradas*) received, with appropriate patronage, office as judges in the provinces, as madrasa teachers, or as imams, although the highest judicial offices, notably the two military judgeships with the right to a seat on the Imperial Council, became from the sixteenth century the preserve of a few elite families. The fief-holding cavalymen were mainly Muslim by birth, and the right to a fief was hereditary. However, the



Ottoman Empire. A map of the eastern part of the Ottoman Empire in the mid-seventeenth century, from Nicolas Sanson's atlas *Cartes generales de toutes les parties du monde* first published in 1658. At the time of this map, the Ottomans were engaged in a long war with Venice (1645–1669), which ended with their capture of Crete. MAP COLLECTION, STERLING MEMORIAL LIBRARY, YALE UNIVERSITY

viziers and provincial governors were usually converts from Christianity. In the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, a succession of viziers were scions of Byzantine or Balkan dynasties. For example, two of the viziers of Bayezid II (ruled 1481–1512), Mesih Pasha and Hersekzade Ahmed Pasha, were, respectively, members of the Byzantine imperial family and of the ducal house of Hercegovina. By conversion, therefore, the pre-Ottoman ruling class became absorbed into the Ottoman elite. From the mid-sixteenth century, more of the governing class entered the sultan's service through the *devshirme*, the system whereby the sultan made a levy within his own domains of Christian lads, usually peasants from the Balkan peninsula. After con-

version to Islam, most of these served in the janissaries, the sultan's household infantry. A select group, however, received an education in the palace and, after serving the sultan within the palace, received appointments as provincial governors. The most successful could then return to the capital as viziers.

From about 1580 this system began to change. The need to increase revenues raised the status of financial officers, who began sometimes to replace military appointees in governorships. At the same time, in the Austrian war of 1593–1606, the Ottomans encountered a new form of warfare, with larger armies and an increased use of infantry carry-

ing firearms. The need for more infantrymen led to a decline in the system of fiefholding, which had supported cavalry, and to the recruitment of more foot soldiers either as irregulars or as janissaries, whose numbers had risen to about forty thousand by 1609. With this expansion, their role as an elite corps ended, and the system of recruitment through the *devshirme* broke down. By the eighteenth century, the *devshirme* had ceased altogether. To pay for these troops, the government converted many former fiefs into tax farms.

These changes in the fiscal, military, and political structure of the empire affected the elite. Viziers were no longer typically recruited through the *devshirme*, although links with the palace remained essential to preferment. From the seventeenth century, viziers were usually of Albanian or Caucasian descent and, once in power, furthered the careers of their kinsmen from their native areas. The Köprülüs, who from 1656 established a vizieral dynasty, were Albanians. With the decline of the fiefholding cavalry, *sanjaks*, which had essentially been agglomerations of fiefs, and with them, *sanjak* governors, declined in importance, while the role of the governors-general of provinces expanded. A new land code, in force from the 1670s until 1858, acknowledged these changes. The increasing importance of tax farms from 1600 onward and the introduction in the eighteenth century of lifetime tax farms, allowed some holders to transform these into estates, which could pass to their heirs. In the eighteenth century these local “estate owners,” such as the Karaosmanoğlu family of Manisa, became local powers on whom the sultan relied for essential tasks, such as the levy of troops for war. Throughout this same period, however, the structure of the Ottoman legal establishment remained essentially the same as it had been in the sixteenth century, with the mufti of Istanbul and the two military judges at its head, and a network of Islamic courts throughout the empire. The efficiency of the legal system, which, by and large, enjoyed the trust of the sultan’s Muslim and non-Muslim subjects, was a factor that allowed the empire to survive in times of crisis.

EUROPEAN COMMERCE AND WESTERN PERCEPTIONS

In the mid-fifteenth century, the western European polities with the closest links to the Ottoman Em-

pire were the Italian city-states, particularly Venice and Genoa. These maintained fortresses and colonies in the Levant to protect trade routes, to serve as entrepôts, or for production. Genoese Caffa or Venetian Negroponte, for example, served as centers for the slave trade, while the Genoese produced mastic on Chios, alum in Phocaea (Foça), and salt at Enez. From 1451, Mehmed II began to occupy these enclaves, with a view to financial as much as territorial gain, the resulting loss of commerce being the major factor in Genoese disengagement from the Levant. The Venetian presence was more long-lived, but the loss of Levantine colonies was the major cause of the withdrawal of Venetian capital from maritime commerce. Venice nonetheless retained a commercial presence in the Ottoman Empire and, as spoils of war, even gained possession of the Peloponnese and of Athens between 1699 and 1715.

From the sixteenth century onward, the commercial power of western European states with an Atlantic seaboard began to be felt in the Ottoman Empire. During the sixteenth century, the Portuguese, having established themselves in the Indian Ocean, tried with partial success to gain a monopoly of the trade from southeast Asia to Europe, which had previously passed through Egypt and the Gulf and provided a source of revenue for the Ottoman sultans. Ottoman attempts to dislodge the Portuguese from Diu in Gujarat in 1538 and from Hormuz in 1552, and to encounter them in the open sea, failed. By the seventeenth century, when the Dutch, English, and French began to dominate long-distance trade in the Indian Ocean, the Ottoman presence was no longer significant. At the same time, the Atlantic powers came to dominate foreign trade within the Ottoman Empire itself, although without completely displacing Italian and other traders. Foreigners in the empire gained the right to trade through a grant of privileges from the sultan, the earliest such concessions being to Genoa and Venice. The French obtained a grant from the sultan in 1569, obliging the English, Spaniards, Portuguese, and others to trade under the French flag. The English negotiated concessions in 1583, and the Dutch in 1612.

These powers came to play an important role in the Ottoman economy, in the mid-seventeenth century even supplying coin to the Ottoman currency

market. The Ottoman government, for its part, was able to exploit these concessions to political ends. During the war of 1683–1699, the sultan granted new trading concessions to France in order to maintain her support, and after 1697 to England. After the Treaty of Passarowitz in 1718, the Austrian Habsburgs and later Russia obtained concessions, marking the beginning of a period when the European powers were able to use the concessionary regimes to exert political pressure on the weakened empire, and to treat it as an economic colony of western Europe.

Commerce and diplomacy both stimulated a European interest in the Ottoman Empire. In the sixteenth century, descriptions of the empire multiplied, outnumbering works on any other parts of the non-European world. These were often the product of diplomatic and commercial interest. The following of the French ambassador Gabriel d'Aramon, who departed for Istanbul in 1546, included the botanist Pierre Belon, the traveler Nicolas de Nicolay, and the scholar Guillaume Postel. The Habsburg ambassadors and their retinues, notably Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq who, between 1553 and 1562, negotiated a peace between Suleiman I and Ferdinand of Austria, were equally productive. This tradition continued in the following centuries: *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire* of 1668 by the English consul Sir Paul Rycaut, and the letters of Mary Wortley Montagu, wife of the English ambassador to Ahmed III in 1717–1718, belong to the same genre.

These books enjoyed an educated readership. They did not, however, form the popular European perception of the Ottoman Empire. The Ottomans entered the consciousness of Catholic Europe particularly after their defeat of crusading armies in 1396 and 1444, while the Ottoman assault on central Europe following the battle of Mohács in 1526 produced an apocalyptic fear of “the Turks.” In the German-speaking lands in particular, pamphlets and woodcuts circulated that place the Turkish threat in an eschatological context, drawing on Joachimite and other medieval prophetic traditions. This eschatological fear, spread through sermons, prints, and pamphlets, had a long-lasting and popular following, especially in central Europe, where it enabled the Austrian Habsburgs to justify their rule as “bulwarks against the Turk.” By the eighteenth

century, when Ottoman military power had declined, so did the apocalyptic vision. By the end of the century, the sultan’s palace even figured as the setting for popular entertainment. Nonetheless, hostility to the Ottomans persisted throughout western Europe. The Ottomans had, and still have, little place in Western cultural perceptions.

See also Austro-Ottoman Wars; Harem; Holy Leagues; Janissary; Mediterranean Basin; Ottoman Dynasty; Russo-Ottoman Wars.

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COLIN IMBER

OXENSTIERNA, AXEL (1583–1654), Swedish diplomat and statesman. The son of Gustaf Gabrielsson Oxenstierna and Barbo Axelsdotter

Bielke, and a contemporary of Richelieu and Mazarin, Oxenstierna was a major figure in Swedish history for over half a century. The leading member of the family in this period, he served as governor of several Swedish imperial territories in the Baltic region including Prussia, director of Sweden's war efforts in Germany, member of the council of state, head of the regency for Christina from 1632 to 1644, and chancellor from 1612 to 1654. During this time, Oxenstierna redefined Sweden's constitution through a series of documents and helped to design and implement reforms in almost every aspect of state affairs. His efforts contributed importantly to Sweden's successes in the seventeenth century.

Oxenstierna was the primary proponent of Swedish aristocratic constitutionalism during this period. His position was formalized in Gustavus II Adolphus's accession charter (1611), by which the king promised to "rule with the council's advice" and honor the legal, tax, property, and career privileges of the nobility, and in the 1634 Form of Government. Oxenstierna's views were also manifested in his definitions of the parliament, the estate of the nobility, the justice system, and provincial administration. He was most able to implement his views during the reign of Gustavus II Adolphus (1611–1632) and Christina's regency period (1632–1644).

Despite holding a constitutional view that, if carried to the extreme, would relegate the crown to the role of figurehead, Oxenstierna was able to work effectively (to varying degrees) in all manner of state business with Charles IX, Gustavus II Adolphus, and Christina. He established a truly remarkable partnership with Gustavus Adolphus in which the roles of leader and follower blurred and were often indistinguishable. They effected an end to the crown–noble conflict that had marred much of the sixteenth century, created a new high court system, regularized the makeup and roles of the parliament, systematized the central administration and revised regional government, reformed the military, made peace with Denmark and Russia, concluded a six-year truce with Poland, extended Sweden's holdings in the southeastern Baltic region, intervened in and made substantial gains for Sweden in the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648), and nurtured the devel-

opment of Sweden's economy and educational institutions.

During the years of Christina's minority, Oxenstierna was the most powerful person in Sweden and effectively its leader. It was then that he secured acceptance of the 1634 Form of Government, a sixty-five-paragraph constitutional document that defined Sweden's political system, probably written by Oxenstierna, which he claimed carried Gustavus Adolphus's approval. The king's right to rule was clear, and ordinary business was entrusted to the five great officers of state (chancellor, steward, treasurer, marshal, and admiral), each of whom headed one of the "colleges" (departments). The competencies and review procedures for each were defined. The parliament's place in the system was affirmed. Overall, it spelled out existing trends in political development and assured the continuance of government during the absence of a monarch or during a minority.

In this same period, Oxenstierna directed Sweden's involvement in Germany, negotiated new subsidies from the French, and engineered a brief war with Denmark (1644–1645). He also worked successfully to improve the state's economic situation, which was accomplished by encouraging the immigration of experts in banking, trade, mining, and manufacturing (many from the Netherlands), helping to found commercial companies (such as the New Sweden Company), supporting monopolies (such as those in the copper, iron, and grain trades), and revising the toll systems in Swedish-held ports in the Baltic to increase revenues.

During the last decade of his life, Oxenstierna's health and powers declined. Christina did not share his constitutional views, and she asserted her independence via court favorites and clever political manipulations. She opposed him on the war in Germany, financial policies, her marriage, and the succession issue. Her abdication and the accession of Charles X Gustav in 1654 were both defeats for the aging statesman.

Historians vary in their assessments of Oxenstierna. Some argue that he was power-hungry and wanted to create a dynasty, if not to gain the throne, then to control it. Others believe he hoped to make Sweden an aristocratic republic, on the model of Poland but more effective. There are also those who

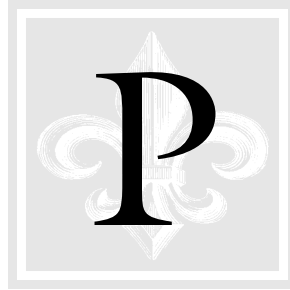
claim he epitomizes the selfless public servant working for the good of his state. There is no consensus, and the truth probably lies in a mixture of these views. Whatever his motives were, it is clear that he devoted his entire professional life to the development of Sweden.

See also Charles X Gustav (Sweden); Christina (Sweden); Constitutionalism; Gustavus II Adolphus (Sweden); Prussia; Sweden; Thirty Years' War; Vasa Dynasty (Sweden).

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BYRON J. NORDSTROM



PACIFIC OCEAN. The largest ocean, the Pacific covers one-third of the Earth's surface. People have lived with and sailed on its waters for thousands of years. European navigators only outlined its vastness between 1520 and 1799. Before the sixteenth century, voyagers from the Indonesian and western Pacific islands sailed into the central Pacific, establishing human settlements in even the most distant places, such as Rapa Nui (Easter Island) or Hawaii. Contact with South America even brought the sweet potato into Oceania. The deliberate voyaging of Pacific Islanders demonstrated practical knowledge of the major currents, wind patterns, and methods of island screens. Knowledge of the equatorial countercurrent, the great northern whirl, the great southern whirl, and forecasted wind seasons were part of their Oceanic expertise.

SPANISH AND PORTUGUESE EXPLORATION

In 1513 Vasco Nuñez de Balboa's (1475–1519) expedition left the Caribbean side of the Isthmus of Panama and crossed westward to the Pacific Ocean side, becoming the first Europeans to see the Great South Sea. In 1520 three ships commanded by Ferdinand Magellan (1480?–1521) sailed out of the stormy passage of the strait at the southern tip of South America into the Pacific Ocean and named it the peaceful, calm, quiet ocean. Magellan's voyage through the strait took three months and twenty days, and it weakened and dismayed the crew. With potentially thousands of islands in the Pacific to find, Magellan sailed by only three unpopulated is-

lets before he reached the Mariana Islands (so named in 1668) in March 1521. After killing some of the natives and decrying their thievery, Magellan sailed on, labeling the islands Ladrones, Spanish for thieves. The next three centuries of European exploration, conquest, and colonization brought more fierce encounters in Oceania.

The 1494 Line of Demarcation agreed upon between the monarchs of Portugal and Castile established boundaries in the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. Without exact chronometers, their determination of longitude was mere guesswork. Disputes between the two expansive powers about east-west position arose in the Philippine Islands and the Moluccas. The Portuguese were content to establish mercantile contacts and limited control in the Spice Islands of Southeast Asia. Meanwhile the Spanish tentatively explored the vastness of the Pacific Ocean. Magellan's voyages were followed by voyages from the western coasts of Spanish-conquered lands. The García Jofre de Loaysa expedition of 1525–1527 crossed the southern Pacific Ocean from east to west, establishing a brief Spanish presence in Tidore. Andrés de Urdaneta (1498–1568) sailed on the Loaysa voyage and learned about the winds and currents. Urdaneta survived the failed colonization effort and eventually showed how west to east voyages could occur. Under the command of Miguel López de Legazpi (c. 1510–1572), six vessels sailed from La Navidad Harbor in Mexico to settle the Philippines. As navigator, Urdaneta guessed correctly that from the Philippines a ship could sail north toward Japan and catch

the prevailing winds that would return it across the northern Pacific to the coasts of North America. The clockwise pattern of sailing across the Pacific functioned for the galleon trade from Manila to Acapulco and back until 1815. It was the only predictable connection for Europe in the Pacific Ocean until the exploratory voyages of the French and British navies in the latter half of the eighteenth century.

Spaniards also sailed from Callao, the port city of Peru. Álvaro de Mendaña de Neira (1541–1595) in 1567 sailed west from Peru into western Melanesia. The Spaniards named the islands after the biblical king Solomon in hopes of finding the legendary gold of King Solomon's mines. That they sailed through the waters of Polynesia is a remarkable fact of misguided yet dogged sailing. Almost thirty years later, in 1595, Mendaña equipped another four ships to sail west from Peru and this time landed on islands he named the Marquesas, after the wife of the viceroy of Peru. The Mendaña crew made it back to the Solomon Islands, but the colony failed again after Mendaña's death. Under Pedro Fernández de Quiros (1565–1615), the group sailed north to the Marianas and the Philippines. After provisioning in Manila, they returned by the established route to Mexico and back to Callao. In 1605 Quiros again sailed westward from Peru and came across the Tuamotu Islands, but the hope of finding the legendary great southern continent lured the two ships farther westward. His second in command, Luis Vaez de Torres (fl. 1606), sailed west from the Solomon Islands. The Torres Strait dividing New Guinea and Australia is named after him.

The annual Manila galleon trade left from the Philippines between May and September, hoping to cross the northern Pacific within six months and arrive in Acapulco by December. Upon arrival on the western shores of Mexico, the galleon's merchandise was off-loaded for sale and replaced with American silver, cacao, cochineal, oil, and wines in preparation for departure by March or April. The return voyage across the Pacific Ocean was expected to take three months, with a stop at the Mariana Islands for fresh water and supplies. The only long-lasting European outpost in Oceania existed on Guam, the largest of the Mariana Islands. The native Chamorros interacted with European ships

once a year, with a few sailors staying longer. In 1668 the Jesuits obtained support from Queen Mariana of Spain to convert the inhabitants to Christianity. The motivating figure behind the request was Diego Luis de Sanvitores (1627–1672). He had sailed to the Philippines but always remembered the Chamorros he had briefly seen from the decks of the galleon as it passed Guam. The Jesuits came to Christianize, but the unintended consequences were rampant disease, tragic warfare, and a legacy of colonial oppression.

As the Spaniards explored routes across the Pacific, English commanders sought to obtain the wealth aboard the Spanish vessels. Francis Drake (1540/1543–1596) sailed through the Strait of Magellan in September 1578. He filled his ship with booty from raids on Spanish colonies and ships and, avoiding capture, sailed westward across the Pacific, eventually circumnavigating the globe. In 1587 Thomas Cavendish (c. 1560–1592) was even more successful when he captured the Manila galleon *Santa Ana*, full of gold, pearls, and silks on its return to Acapulco. The Spanish managed to defend their trade, even capturing later English raiders, such as Richard Hawkins (c. 1560–1622), who surrendered to a Spanish fleet off the coasts of California in 1594.

DUTCH EXPLORATION

Dutch explorers also looked for profit in the Pacific. In 1598 five ships left Holland for the Pacific by way of the Strait of Magellan. The Portuguese and Spanish each captured a ship, the Japanese sacked another, and one was lost at sea. Only the ship *Faith* survived, returning to the Low Countries in 1600. Of the 491 original crew members, only 36 returned home. These losses were often expected when early modern Europeans sailed into the Pacific Ocean. In 1616 the Dutch ship *Eendracht*, commanded by Jakob Le Maire (1585–1616) and Willem Schouten (c. 1580–1625), pushed south far enough that they rounded the southern tip of South America and found a new way to enter the Pacific other than through the Strait of Magellan. As they sailed west, the Dutch sailors encountered islanders in the Tuamotus, Tonga, and New Guinea. Later Dutch explorers made other discoveries in the Pacific Ocean. In 1642 Abel Tasman (1603?–1659?) sailed from Batavia on the island of Java (modern-

day Jakarta, Indonesia) into the southwestern reaches of the Pacific. He named Van Diemen's Land (now Tasmania). He also named other lands after his Dutch states, including Staten Island (New Zealand). Sailing farther he came across the Tonga Islands of Haapai and later passed through the Fiji Islands. He can be credited as the first European explorer to enter the South Pacific from the west and to sail completely around Australia. In 1721 Jacob Roggeveen (1659–1729) hoped to discover the great southern continent. On Easter Day 1722 he landed at Rapa Nui (Easter Island), taking note of the tattooed inhabitants and large stone statues. He sailed back from the eastern Pacific, describing some of the northern Tuamotu Islands and the Manua Islands of Samoa. He made no permanent settlements.

BRITISH EXPLORATION

British explorations in the eighteenth century were reanimated by the spectacular success of George Anson (1697–1762) in 1742. When Anson captured another Manila galleon, the reported booty in silver amounted to 400,000 pounds sterling. Afterward the Royal Navy commissioned John Byron (1723–1786) with two ships to discover islands for British possession in the South Seas. In 1765 Byron sailed into the Pacific Ocean and declared that two northern Tuamotu Islands and Pukapuka in the northern Cook Islands were British possessions. He resupplied at Tinian in the Mariana Islands and then returned to the British Isles by May 1766. Immediately afterward Samuel Wallis (1728–1795) departed with three ships, entering the Pacific in April 1767. He sailed less to the north than previous explorers had and in his westward line came across the island of Tahiti on 18 June 1767. With the European discovery of Tahiti, eighteenth-century Europeans sustained the enticing image of the noble savage and interacted with the many islanders.

After Wallis's return home in 1768, Captain James Cook (1728–1779) sailed on his first voyage to the Pacific with specific orders to observe the transit of Venus from Tahiti. He also sailed for Tasman's Staten Island, sailing around it completely. In so doing Cook proved that the two islands of New Zealand were definitely not part of some larger southern continent. On his second voyage (1772–

1775) Cook proved that the southern continent did not exist, leaving the Pacific Ocean even larger than Europeans had thought possible. On his third voyage (1776) Cook sailed to the northwest coast of North America after visiting the familiar South Pacific islands. In December 1777 he sighted the island of Kauai in the eastern Hawaiian Archipelago. The islands of Hawaii were among the last of Oceania officially discovered by Europeans in the concluding years of the eighteenth century. Cook returned a year later to resupply after having had no success in finding the western end of the Northwest Passage. Hawaiians killed him at Kealakekua Bay in February 1779. Nonetheless other voyages by French and Spanish explorers followed in the wake of Cook.

The European exploration and intrusion into Oceania during the early modern era have diverging interpretations. The brave men, successful technology, and dogged persistence of Pacific exploration signaled a dynamic European desire to reach to every area of the world. The diseases, violence, and complex legacy of cultural contact in Oceania are the other side of the same coin.

See also Exploration; Magellan, Ferdinand.

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JAMES B. TUELLER

PACIFISM. The development of sentiments of peace arose in a period of religious and political turmoil and strife. This period of strife resulted from the Reformation and from the process that led to the emergence of sovereign states and a new international system characterized by anarchy. The various ideas, proposals, and peace movements can be divided into three categories. Pacifism, the rejection of all violence and war, initially on the basis of

religious doctrine or conviction, was exemplified in several Christian sects of the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries. Such pacifism manifested itself more in personal witness than in political movements. A second tradition, more avowedly political in orientation and origin, was that of the perpetual peace plans—proposals for the abolition of warfare through international organization. Virtually all such proposals, which flourished especially in the eighteenth century, contained provisions for the coercive exercise of power by the envisaged international authority; therefore these proposals were internationalist rather than strictly pacifist in nature. Even less pacifist was a third approach that emerged in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which attempted to regulate the relations between sovereign states through the development of a law of nations (for which Jeremy Bentham coined the expression “international law” in 1780). These three traditions have continued to develop and interact with each other and have shaped humanity’s thinking about war and peace up to the present. However, the start of the modern age witnessed a great flowering of antiwar writings that have continued to encourage critics of war and inspire dreamers of peace through the centuries.

ERASMIAN PEACE LITERATURE

Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam (1466?–1536), the “prince of humanists,” drew on both his theological and classical scholarship to ridicule and condemn war as stupid, costly, and unworthy of Christians and the human race in general. Writing at a time when Christian rulers (including the pope) were fomenting and fighting wars, Erasmus used wit and satire to depict the brutality and irrationality of such campaigns. Going against the conventions of his time, Erasmus argued that nothing was less glorious than war, which only brought death, destruction, and misery. He stressed constantly the far-reaching and long-lasting consequences and evils of war. The friend of princes and bishops throughout Europe, he urged them to adopt a saner and more Christian attitude. He argued that their duty was the safety and happiness of their people, not the wanton destruction of their lives and livelihood in incessant, senseless warfare. These themes are pervasive in his numerous writings, but are most fully and devastatingly addressed in *War Is Sweet to Those Who Do Not Know It* (*Dulce Bellum Inexpertis*,

1515) and *The Complaint of Peace* (1517). His best-loved book, *The Praise of Folly* (1509), contains a mocking criticism of war. The numerous translations and reprints of Erasmus’s antiwar writings are testimony to the fact that his glowing convictions and sharp pen have inspired the peace movement since his day.

Erasmus’s condemnation of war was shared by his friends, notably the English humanists John Colet and Thomas More, and the Spaniard Juan Luis Vives, whose writings also deglorified war and urged a more rational, humane, and Christian policy on the rulers they addressed. For Erasmus, in an age of absolute monarchy, the education of Christian princes along pacifist lines was indeed of critical importance. He treated the subject in *The Education of a Christian Prince*, and his advice was very different from that offered at the same time by Niccolò Machiavelli in *The Prince*. In the Erasmian literature there is little beyond these appeals to education, apart from the need to submit disputes to arbitration, as proposals for the avoidance of war. Erasmus was not an absolute pacifist, as evidenced by his discussion of whether war against the Turks was justified. Given the abuse of the traditional Catholic Just War doctrine, he took as his starting point the unchristian nature of war as shown in the teachings of Jesus in the Sermon on the Mount and thus shifted the balance of the argument away from justifying war to condemning it. Sebastian Franck’s *Kriegsbüchlein des Frides* (1539) contains elements of a very modern pacifism in its emphasis on personal responsibility and individual conscience. The greatest French writers of the sixteenth century, François Rabelais (1490–1553) and Michel de Montaigne (1533–1592), condemned and ridiculed war as evidence of human stupidity.

PACIFIST SECTS

The absolute rejection of war and the doctrine of nonresistance characterized the pacifist sects—some with roots in the heretical sects of the medieval world—that emerged at the time of the Reformation and the period leading up to it. In the middle of the fifteenth century, Bohemia became a center for the absolute renunciation of war through the teachings and writings of Petr Chelcicky (c. 1380–1450s). He influenced the emergence during 1457–1467 of the Bohemian or Czech Brethren,

who adhered to a literal interpretation of the Sermon on the Mount, preached a return to the teachings of Christ and his early followers, and rejected the state as an unchristian institution. Before the end of the century, the sect abandoned these absolutist views as a result of internecine struggles. However, they were adopted by the Swiss Anabaptists (or Brethren) under their leader Konrad Grebel (1498–1526) and also by the leader of the Dutch Anabaptists, Menno Simons (1496–1561), whose renewal of the sect was reflected in its new name, Mennonites. They secured the unprecedented right to an alternative civilian service in place of military service. Small Mennonite communities can still be found today in North America, where they continue to provide an active and living witness of Christian pacifism.

The largest of the Christian pacifist sects are the Quakers, who emerged in the 1650s in England, then in the throes of religious and political turmoil. Founded by George Fox (1624–1691), in 1661 the Quakers expressed their commitment to a renunciation of all violence and an individual witness against all war and all preparation for war in the Quaker Peace Testimony. From an initial refusal to take up arms, the Testimony has grown into a wide-ranging, active, and constructive program for the promotion of social and international peace.

Among early Quakers who worked for international peace were Robert Barclay (1648–1690), William Penn (1644–1718), and John Bellers (1654–1725). In 1678, Barclay addressed his “Epistle of Love and Friendly Advice” to the ambassadors of the several princes of Europe, who met at Nijmegen. He exhorted them to be guided by the divine light within and a peaceable spirit, which alone were capable of delivering a lasting peace settlement. Penn reacted to the wars of his time by proposing a European parliament in his *Essay Towards the Present and Future Peace of Europe* (1693). He argued that as civil war was prevented by just governance, so international war could be avoided by the creation of an international body entrusted with the just solution of contentious issues between its member states. In *Some Reasons for an European State* (1710), Bellers stressed that religious tolerance and liberty of conscience are essential prerequisites for European peace. It was precisely their absence in England that led Penn to

establish his “Holy Experiment” in Pennsylvania, which became a haven for his coreligionists and similarly persecuted Nonconformist sects from Europe. For some seventy years (1681–1750), his colony was a tolerant and peaceful community that, unusually, also lived in harmony with Native Americans. It has inspired many who have dreamed of creating an ideal society.

PERPETUAL PEACE PLANS

Constant European warfare, the result of political and religious disunity, inspired many peace plans whose real aims were frequently to favor the hegemony of one or other power, and to protect Christianity from the Turks. Among the earliest of these plans are the Universal Peace Organization (1462/1464) of King George Podebrad (ruled 1458–1471) of Bohemia and the Grand Design of Henry IV (1638). The latter was the work of Henry’s chief minister, Maximilien de Béthune, Duc de Sully (1559–1641), who attributed it to the king in his *Mémoires* in order to enhance its authority. A truly modern, universal plan for world peace is in *The New Cyneas* (1623), written by the Parisian monk Eméric Crucé (c. 1590–1648), which appeared in the middle of the Thirty Years’ War (1618–1648). It did not favor any particular power or religion and stressed the potential for world peace inherent in global free trade. Since Crucé wrote when the ruling economic doctrine was bellicose mercantilism, which held that trade between countries could only benefit one of them at the expense of the other(s), his ideas were too far ahead of his time to make an impact. He contrasted the old ideal of the destructive warrior with that of the productive worker and foresaw a global community of mutually stimulating peace and prosperity. The wars of Louis XIV (ruled 1643–1715) inspired plans for European peace such as those by Penn and the Abbé de Saint-Pierre (1713), whose voluminous *Project of Perpetual Peace* (1713–1716) was summarized by Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1761). Voltaire (1694–1778) shared Saint-Pierre’s abhorrence and condemnation of war, calling it a “plague and crime . . . which includes all plagues and all crimes.” However, he rejected as utopian Saint-Pierre’s remedy: a confederation of European states meant to perpetuate the status quo internally as well as internationally. Philosophes, such as Voltaire, condemned the dynastic wars of their time and

decried the fanaticism, despotism, and superstition that gave rise to war. Its elimination, they held, would come about through reason, tolerance, and social justice.

INTERNATIONAL LAW

The rise of independent, sovereign states, together with their discoveries and colonization of extra-European territories, necessitated agreement on the principles for governing the emerging international system. The theory of the existence of a natural law—which held that humanity had common bonds, and that there existed fundamental rights and obligations that were not grounded in theology—allowed the development of a new science of international law. While the Spanish theologians Franciscus de Vitoria (1480–1546) and Franciscus Suarez (1548–1617) prepared the ground, the secularization of international law was brought to fruition by the Italian jurist Alberico Gentili (1552–1608). Gentili influenced Hugo Grotius (1583–1645), whose *On the Laws of War and Peace* (1625) was the first comprehensive and systematic attempt to formulate the principles of the new science. The Dutch diplomat asserted that there existed a common law among nations, and that this law also applied in war. He rejected the popularly held view that in war, law was in abeyance, and he was much concerned with the rules governing the behavior of belligerents. Writing in the middle of the Thirty Years' War, Grotius agitated against the lawless practices that were only too evident and that, he noted, would have made even barbarians blush. The Peace of Westphalia (1648) that ended the war sanctioned the new system of independent states. Grotius's famous treatise provided a body of rules to govern their relations in both war and peace.

See also Erasmus, Desiderius; Franck, Sebastian; Grotius, Hugo; Law: International Law; More, Thomas; Quakers; Rabelais, François.

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PETER VAN DEN DUNGEN

PAINTING. Renaissance artists broke decisively from their medieval predecessors by looking to nature as their guide in the art of painting. Through observation and imitation, artists strove to construct a lucid depiction of their world. Mathematical principles were applied to establish a canon of proportions, aided immeasurably by the study of antique, classical sculpture. Painters experimented with perspective—the technique of depicting forms and their spatial relationships on a flat surface to create the illusion that the viewer is looking through a window—and brought it to ever greater levels of perfection.

In terms of technique, these illusionistic achievements were aided by the growing use of oil over tempera. The oil medium allowed the painter to apply pigment in a nuanced and fluid manner, with the added advantage that the transparency of the oil allowed for layering of color to describe light and shadow. Painting on wood panel continued to

be popular, especially in northern Europe. Canvas, however, was growing in favor as it was easier to size and prepare for painting. By the sixteenth century, some artists exploited the weave of coarse canvases to accentuate the reflection of light and the appearance of brushwork, as did painters in Venice. Copper, slate, and marble were also adopted as supports. Artists appreciated their ultrasoft surfaces and their ability to be fashioned into circular formats. These strictly pictorial skills were complemented by the growing sophistication of artists in animating figures through the use of gesture and expression. Painters increasingly looked to the devices of poetry for inspiration in creating an expressive pictorial language.

During the first three decades of the sixteenth century in Italy, referred to historically as the High Renaissance, the practice of observing and imitating the natural world expanded to include the emulation and idealization of the artist's experience of nature. Raphael (born Raffaello Sanzio), Leonardo da Vinci, and Michelangelo Buonarroti are the artists associated with the apogee of these developments in central Italy and Rome, and renowned for interpreting these achievements with their own distinct vision. The pictorial conventions of this fertile period of art established a classical ideal of beauty that endured for centuries. Florentine artists in particular regarded drawing, with its emphasis on line, as fundamental to the structure of a painting. In addition, drawing, or *disegno*, was believed to be the direct conduit through which an artist's intellectual concept for a painting was expressed. *Disegno* thus assumed an intellectual as well as practical importance.

Venice too was a highly important center of painting in the sixteenth century. Venetian painters adopted a practice emphasizing the sensual qualities of color and light. Brushwork or facture was paramount to these results. Titian (born Tiziano Vecellio), along with Paolo Veronese and Tintoretto (born Jacopo Robusti), are artists associated with creating this painterly idiom where subjects are treated with a breadth and liberty of execution. This intuitive and painterly approach, in which color serves to structure the painting, was known as *colore*. The controversy between Venetian *colore* and central Italian *disegno* was already acknowledged by the artists and theorists of the sixteenth century. These

two fundamentally distinct ways of seeing and reproducing the world in paint, one regarded as rational, the other as sensual and emotional, would compete for authority repeatedly in the theory and practice of painting.

By the end of the 1520s, a new style of painting, which has come to be known as mannerism (from the Italian *maniera*), presented itself. Mannerism was characterized by an appreciation for artistic invention and novelty. Artists employed charged, expressive colors in unusual combinations, elongated and unnatural proportions for the description of human form, and favored crowded, spatially compressed compositions. There are two prevailing interpretations of this style. One views mannerism as a reaction to the political and social instability in Europe at this time, including the Sack of Rome by King Charles V in 1527 and the trauma of the Reformation. Another interpretation sees mannerist artists pursuing a continuing refinement of the ideals of the Renaissance that became increasingly stylized and removed from nature in inspiration. Mannerism can perhaps be defined as the first, highly self-conscious art movement of the modern era. Jacopo da Pontormo from Florence and Girolamo Francesco Maria Mazzola of Parma, called Il Parmigianino, worked in this style. In northern Europe, subjects of an esoteric, titillating, and erotic nature were especially popular with mannerist painters, notably Joachim Wtewael from Utrecht and Haarlem-born Cornelis van Haarlem.

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

The seventeenth century witnessed major changes in the visual arts caused by a confluence of significant social, political, cultural, and economic events, which in turn contributed to the development of new styles of painting, often categorized into national schools. However, the pictorial devices European artists employed for structuring their paintings shared many characteristics that together suggested a period style historians called the baroque. For example, artists embraced naturalism with a new vigor. Bold experiments were carried out in the depiction of space, light, and the suggestion of time, all in the service of creating a pictorial illusion. Palettes deepened, assuming the warmer, saturated colors of autumn.



Painting. *Supper at Emmaus*, oil on canvas, 1601–1602, by Caravaggio. THE ART ARCHIVE/JOHN WEBB

Still life, landscape, and genre themes were embraced as worthy subjects independent of religious and historical painting. Scientific discoveries, trade with the East, and treasures from the New World provoked innovative ways of seeing and representing the world. States of mind, particularly transcendence, emotions such as fear, pain, and pleasure, all challenged artists' descriptive abilities. This dynamic period of pictorial innovation was driven by the desire to appeal directly to the senses, to close the gap between the illusion of the painting and the living world of the spectator.

Italy. The Catholic Church, which set out to reform itself in response to the Reformation, played an important role in the creation of this new baroque style of painting in Italy. Religious painting, as the visual manifestation of church doctrine, was also subject to reform. Two cardinals in particular, Gabriele Paleotti of Bologna and Federigo Borromeo of Milan, became actively involved in educating

artists about the proper interpretation of sacred imagery. Artists took up the standard to create paintings that were clear, emotive, and illustrative of the new Christian piety. The great reformers of Italian painting at the cusp of the seventeenth century were Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio, from the town of the same name in Lombardy, and Annibale Carracci of Bologna. Caravaggio's influence was immediate and profound albeit short-lived. Carracci created a new style that established the standards for baroque painting through the next century.

Caravaggio revolutionized painting by depicting powerfully naturalistic scenes, inspired by everyday reality, where neither figures nor place were idealized. Overtly dismissive of traditional pictorial conventions, he was considered by his peers to be what we would call in today's language "avant garde." *Supper at Emmaus* (1601–1602, National Gallery, London) illustrates his direct and clear narrative structure enlivened by the dramatic, almost

severe contrast of light and dark. Working from posed models, Caravaggio imbues his paintings with a vitality and naturalism that give them the impression of *tableaux vivants*. Settings are spare and participants common in type, suggestive more of genre painting than a religious episode of miraculous revelation.

Bold perspective devices implicate the viewer in the drama. In the immediate foreground, the edge of a realistically depicted basket of fruit sits partly off the table. One apostle's sharply foreshortened hand appears to reach out of the picture plane into the spectator's space. The intimacy of presentation invites an experience of surprise akin to that of the apostles as Christ reveals himself to them. In this regard, Caravaggio was a superior painter of Counter-Reformation subjects and a key innovator of the baroque style. So great and widespread was Caravaggio's influence over the next two decades that his many followers in France, Holland, and Spain have come to be known as Caravaggisti.

Carracci is credited with initiating the reform of painting in Italy and thereby creating a new and accessible pictorial language. His approach was to study nature, antique sculpture, and the achievements of his High Renaissance forebears. To this practice he added the theory of imitation and emulation, drawing on each category's perfections. With a sense of true historic awareness, Annibale synthesized the divergent regional styles in sixteenth-century Italy, including the competing aesthetic of central Italian *disegno* and Venetian *colore*. In so doing, he reshaped, with clarity and vigor, the great tradition of Italian painting and provided his contemporaries and followers with a means to achieve their own styles by using this method.

Carracci's fresco decoration for the Farnese Gallery in Rome (1597–1604) exemplified the new style in which he reinvented the classicizing idiom of history painting with wit and charm. His detailed preparatory drawings were of great pedagogical importance to contemporary artists for they indicated the necessity of drawing as professional practice, particularly in the composition of ambitious history paintings. The baroque illusionism introduced by Carracci reached its full potential a generation later in the ceiling fresco of the *Triumph of the Name of Jesus*, painted by Giovanni Battista Gaulli in 1676–

1679 at the Church of Il Gesù in Rome. Here the period taste for spectacle is realized through painted illusions of infinity. Celestial figures appear to descend from heaven's vault above into the spectator's space within the church, blurring the boundaries between the real and unreal.

Rome became a mecca for foreign artists who came to absorb its riches and return home to spread the new style. Secular and ecclesiastic commissions burgeoned. Sophisticated connoisseurs welcomed this new wave of artistic experiment and ferment. Two French painters, Nicolas Poussin from Les Andelys and Claude Lorrain (born Claude Gellée) from Nancy, enjoyed just such patronage. Though they spent the majority of their careers in Italy, they profoundly influenced the direction of seventeenth-century painting in their native France.

France. In France, patronage flowed from the court that cultivated a strict unity of style and content to extol the virtues of the monarchy. King Louis XIV (ruled 1643–1715), known as the Sun King, established in 1648 the Académie Française, which eventually institutionalized all art education and practice. A hierarchy of subjects suitable for an artist to paint was established, with history painting regarded as the highest form of intellectual expression. Genre and still life painting were relegated to the bottom of the list. Rationality, order, and harmony became hallmarks of the academic French style. Its champion was Poussin. Having experienced the heady mix of styles current in Rome, Poussin immersed himself in classical studies of art and literature. It was the consummate relationship of theory and practice in his art, based on composition and drawing, for which he was most admired. Great intellectual effort underlies the construction of Poussin's paintings, where every motif is calculated and planned and nothing is extraneous. Carefully placed vertical and horizontal accents lead the eye to the subject or serve as stately backdrops for its unfolding. Poussin's deeply reflective pictures, such as *The Finding of Moses* (1638, Louvre, Paris), are infused with the spirit of classicism in which the expression and mood of the subject are rendered with calm and grandeur.

Claude Lorrain, along with Poussin, created the tradition of the ideal landscape, a practice that endured until the nineteenth century. He specialized

in depictions of an idyllic Roman countryside in which pastoral and biblical themes are presented in a quiet and timeless manner. Lorrain's gifts as an illuminist are evident in the range of naturalistic light effects he produced. The sun, the source of light in his compositions, is placed just beyond the horizon to suggest a particular time of day. The frequent addition of ancient ruins in his compositions contributes to the impression of time and its passing. Above all, it is the beauty of nature that seems to be his subject.

The Netherlands. Violent political and religious conflicts during the sixteenth century fractured the Low Countries into two nations, a Protestant Dutch Republic in the north and a Catholic Flanders in the south that remained under Spanish political control. Despite these harrowing events, the two countries contributed mightily and imaginatively to the history of European painting in the seventeenth century. Flemish painters combined the dynamism of baroque art with the realism and primary palette that had characterized Netherlandish painting since Jan van Eyck. Peter Paul Rubens, from Antwerp, took these strengths of his homeland and combined them with an Italian love of form and composition acquired during eight years in Italy. His exuberant personal style, based on keen observation, a sensual, robust nature, and a deeply humanistic outlook, is joyous and uplifting. Rubens's confident brushwork contributed mightily to the vitality of his figures.

A devout Catholic, Rubens articulated the philosophy of the Counter-Reformation by creating works of immediacy, power, and beauty to strengthen the worshiper's faith and encourage devout conduct. Thus, Rubens portrayed in *Saint Ignatius Loyola* (1621–1622, Norton Simon Museum, Pasadena) the founder of the Society of Jesus as a Christian hero, caught up in a moment of rapture. Rubens was not limited to Catholic subjects, as he created dazzling allegories for sovereigns throughout Europe as well as portraits of great psychological depth.

Dutch painting presents a significantly different character and style from contemporary European painting. Because of its strict Protestant ethos that viewed religious imagery as idolatrous, Dutch art eschewed overtly religious themes in favor of a rich variety of subjects inspired by the immediate envi-

ronment, including landscape, still life, portraiture, and genre. Effectively separate from the Italian model of patronage, where artists worked primarily through religious or noble commissions, Dutch artists participated in an open market. Holland's prosperous international trade spawned a vital middle class, which sought to appoint its homes with art that was familiar and comfortable, that inspired pride and was appreciated for its verisimilitude. Style varied from the fine, almost scientifically descriptive paintings of Gerrit Dou to the more vigorous, impastoed expression of Rembrandt Harmensz van Rijn and his followers where the process of painting was evident. Recent scholarship has concerned itself with the degree to which Dutch painting was strictly mimetic or emblematic, that is, a vehicle for hidden symbolism that the consumer would have recognized.

Dutch painters tended to specialize in one genre but frequently made innovative contributions. Frans Hals of Haarlem, known for his energetic brushwork and unforgettable character portraits of smiling figures, brought a new look to the commemorative group portrait in paintings such as the *Banquet of the Officers of the St. George Militia Company* (1626–1627, Frans Hals Museum, Haarlem), where the scene is animated by the participants' gestures and expressions, and the dynamic accents of colored sashes and drapery. Occupations, leisure time, and domestic episodes provided endless inspiration to the witty pictorial observations of Leiden-born artists Jan Steen and Gabriel Metsu. Their Delft contemporary, Jan Vermeer, one of the greatest artists of the seventeenth century, took an approach to genre painting that was more about the art of painting than its anecdotal descriptiveness. Vermeer's use of camera obscura may have contributed to the simplification of form, light, and color that characterizes his carefully composed interiors in which the subject performs a task with quiet concentration.

Pictorially, the United Netherlands was well served by its landscape painters who sympathetically depicted its variety of dunes, canals, seascapes, and cityscapes. Jacob van Ruisdael from Haarlem created vast panoramas with emphatic horizons. In *View of Alkmaar* (1670–1675, Museum of Fine Art, Boston), banks of hedges slicing through the landscape are backlit by the sun, creating strong

contrasts of light and shade and a palpable illusion of space and depth.

Rembrandt, the greatest Dutch painter, was devoted equally to painting, printmaking, and drawing. His continuous practice of experimentation with each medium enabled him to surmount previous limitations, both practical and theoretical. From the 1630s and 1640s onward Rembrandt was the premier portraitist of Amsterdam. He captured the physical characteristics of his sitters, and his skillful manipulation of light added an expressive value and suggested mood. His keen sensitivity to human psychology manifested itself in his thematic works as well. In his mature paintings, which often depicted Old Testament stories, such as *Bathsheba* (1654, Louvre, Paris), he favored presentations that were highly naturalistic, unidealized, and intimate. Settings were minimal and extraneous details eliminated. He used light sparingly and dramatically to suggest the internal, mental state of the subject. More than simply presenting a pictorial narrative, Rembrandt managed to convey the complexity and pathos of the moment as it occurred to his subject. As he matured, he adopted an increasingly monochromatic palette with a thick, layered paint application that called attention to the process of painting and served to better express his individuality and creativity.

Spain. By the seventeenth century Spain wielded political power over Flanders and much of Italy. The ensuing diplomatic ties exposed Spanish artists to artistic exchange. Royal and private collections grew and provided examples of artistic developments elsewhere in Europe but above all from Italy. At the same time, Spain was a highly conservative Catholic country, and its zealous participation in the Counter-Reformation witnessed the birth of punitive tribunals such as the Inquisition. Such a social and cultural underpinning was not conducive to revolutionary picture making. Nevertheless, artists including Francisco de Zurbarán, Diego Rodríguez de Silva Velázquez, and Bartolomé Esteban Murillo created work of great feeling while drawing on the contemporary concerns associated with baroque art, especially that of involving the viewer in the subject of the painting and appealing to the emotions. Here, the Spanish predilection for intense physicality—an earthy quality with overtones of mortality—played an important role.

Spanish religious sentiment found significant expression in the austere religious mysticism of Zurbarán. Whether depicting saints in ecstasy or a simple still life, the resulting image was intense and realistic. He embraced the descriptive technique and pictorial devices of Caravaggio, placing his saints in dark, nondescript spaces where the strong, focused light accentuates plastic form and describes tactile values. The compelling emotional intensity of his paintings appealed to the monastic orders of Seville who provided the majority of his commissions and viewed his works as pictorial expressions of their religious vocation. Later in the century, Murillo's engaging and innovative approach to religious subject matter gave a more sensual and tender expression to Catholic art. He specialized in visionary scenes and images of the Virgin in which her beauty and compassion were stressed. He adopted a loose painting technique and lightened the dark Spanish palette. In his late work, transparent glazes were applied to enrich the effects of light.

Velázquez's early works in his native Seville, such as *An Old Woman Cooking Eggs* (1618, National Gallery, Edinburgh), were boldly naturalistic and palpably three-dimensional, enhanced by his use of strong contrasts of light and shadow. His career was tightly bound to the Spanish monarchy. Two voyages to Italy, in 1629–1631 and 1649–1651, made a great impression on him and had a liberating effect on his style as he adopted a freer paint application that, while it acknowledged the process of painting, did not reduce the semblance of his subjects. Indeed, he painted some of the most innovative and realistic portraits of the baroque era, including *Las Meninas* (The maids of honor; c. 1656, Prado, Madrid), the strikingly complex and unique family portrait of King Philip IV.

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The eighteenth century witnessed profound changes in politics and culture. The philosophy of Enlightenment thinkers and the development of modern science provoked a change of taste in literature and the visual arts. Institutional and court-based systems of patronage that had prevailed during the seventeenth century declined. In their place, a growing bourgeois culture exerted its influence and effected a corresponding change in the style and subject matter of painting. Baroque art's formality,

rhetorical gesture, and didacticism gave way to a taste that was tolerant, gracious, and lighthearted in conception. Dark palettes and dramatic light-dark contrasts were replaced with pastel colors and subtler approaches to illumination. Paint handling loosened in tandem with a growing appreciation for brushwork. Antiacademic theorists, including the French critic Roger de Piles, promoted the painterly colorism of Rubens over the cerebral emphasis on line represented by Poussin and all that those differences entailed. The resulting controversy between the Rubénistes and the Poussinistes, as it was called, would be reenacted in the nineteenth century by the French painters Eugène Delacroix and Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres.

The hierarchy of subjects, with history painting as the most elevated theme for an artist to paint, continued as a doctrine in the academies. However, themes of social and particularly domestic life were eagerly developed with great romantic and comic flair by painters including Antoine Watteau, Pietro Longhi, and William Hogarth. Pastoral idylls and mythological themes, especially those depicting amorous encounters, were popular. Portraiture, always in demand, assumed lyrical, even daring liberties of intimacy, as evidenced in one of François Boucher's most enchanting portrayals, *Madame de Pompadour* (1756, Alte Pinakothek, Munich). Rococo is the historical term for this eighteenth-century style.

Italy. Rome in particular and Italy in general continued to dominate the artistic culture of Europe. Tourists traveled to Italy to study its ancient and contemporary treasures. This popular sojourn, known as the “grand tour,” encouraged the purchase of souvenirs, often in the form of paintings. *Vedute* or view paintings were especially popular. They combined the recognizable cityscape and its monuments with the picturesque activities of the citizenry absorbed in their daily activities. Canaletto (born Giovanni Antonio Canal) and Francesco Guardi from Venice, and Giovanni Paolo Pannini from Rome were three of its most accomplished practitioners. In *View of the Molo toward the Santa Maria della Salute with the Dogana de Mare* (1770s, Norton Simon Museum, Pasadena), Guardi presents the glittering, ever-changing character of the Venetian lagoon with a silvery palette and lively brushwork composed of quick touches of paint on the surface. In the continuous sweep of sea and sky

and the activity of the boatmen, Guardi poetically suggests the Adriatic light that made Venice so beloved a destination.

Italian painters also traveled outside of Italy to accept commissions to decorate the various palaces of Europe. Giovanni Battista Tiepolo from Venice was the popular court painter to the monarchs of Europe, especially in Germany and Spain. He brought the tradition of grand ceiling paintings to audacious heights of creativity and illusionism. In his hands, the art of fresco painting achieved a technical brilliance that was unrivaled in Europe. Tiepolo's lofty gods and goddesses, airborne in painted kingdoms composed of sunlight and clouds, played the protagonists in complex pictorial narratives that proclaimed the nobility and inspiration of his patrons, as in the frescoes at the Kaisersaal of the Residenz at Würzburg (1750–1753).

France. In France, the death of King Louis XIV in 1715 and the royal court's move from Versailles to Paris heralded a new ease and willingness to pursue pleasure in both aristocratic and bourgeois society. This new spirit, which found expression in the elegant interiors of Parisian hotels and the paintings that hung there, is perfectly illustrated in the complex and charming paintings of Antoine Watteau of Valenciennes. In his celebrated “painted conversations,” graceful young couples, dressed in contemporary fashion, convene in fantasy garden settings. Rarely portrayed close-up, they are observed, but remain ambiguous. The impression conveyed is one of quiet reverie. Like Rubens before him, whom he much admired, Watteau relied on the suggestive and emotive qualities of color to achieve his effects. With deft brushwork, he describes the shimmering qualities of fabric, verdant foliage, and the soft illumination of the sun. The scenes are suggestive of a theatrical or operatic performance.

The overtly joyous and pleasure-loving character of the rococo finds expression in the work of Jean-Honoré Fragonard of Grasse. In the *Happy Lovers* (1760–1765, Norton Simon Museum, Pasadena), a young couple enjoys each other's company in a secluded, rustic retreat. The scene is embroidered with patterns of branches, leaves, and flowers that are as charming as the subject itself. Fragonard used a palette of pastel colors, applied thickly in full

strokes to create a voluptuous surface that is complementary to the subject.

Paris-born Jean-Baptiste-Siméon Chardin was the greatest painter of still lifes in the eighteenth century. His deceptively simple pictures composed of humble utensils and foodstuffs from the kitchen belie the carefully arranged visual relationships of the motifs. Their impression is one of casual informality. Chardin rendered objects as one might see them without attempting to make them pretty. He worked directly from the motif, varying his brushstroke to match the texture of each surface. Sharp dabs of his brush tip onto the surface of the canvas suggested the softness of rabbit fur. Indeed, the illusion of physicality in his objects stems in part from his brushwork that could be rough and scumbled in its application. His technique and choice of subject were a source of inspiration to nineteenth-century painters. Chardin also created some of the most intimate and touching views of the preoccupations of women and children. These tender and contemplative views of domestic life were unprecedented in France. *Return from the Market* (1739, Louvre, Paris) shows the quiet absorption of a lone maid who is completely unaware of and does not interact with the spectator.

England. England was a Protestant country ruled by a monarchy whose powers since the seventeenth century had been mediated by Parliament. The British saw themselves as pragmatic and unfettered by doctrines and superstitions that informed the conduct of other European cultures. To this end, they were sympathetic to the ideals of the Enlightenment. British paintings illustrate the belief in humankind's capacity to improve itself, and they celebrate a simple, natural way of life.

This said, a true national school of painting with recognizable characteristics was slow to emerge. Art production in England had been long dominated by foreign artists, beginning with the German Hans Holbein in the sixteenth century and later by continental artists including Anthony Van Dyck and Orazio Lomi Gentileschi from Italy, to name a few. Aristocratic and royal collectors sought the paintings of the most highly regarded artists of the Italian, French, and Flemish schools. They seldom commissioned works from their native artists. The grand tour, in which the well-to-do British ex-

tended their education by studying on the Continent, further contributed to the influx of foreign works of art in private collections.

In the eighteenth century a recognizable school of British painting finally asserted itself. Like the Dutch a century earlier, the English had no need for lofty allegory or religious subjects. Portraiture and the circumstances of daily life presented the greatest thematic interest. William Hogarth of London, for example, was mainly celebrated for his witty and satirical pictorial narratives in which the teeming life of London is the subject. This genre, which Hogarth himself identified as “modern moral subjects,” had its roots in the paintings of the Dutch school and in themes treated in contemporary British literature.

A consummate storyteller, Hogarth appropriated observable character types and described their rise and fall through greed, carelessness, and disease. His pictorial narratives developed in serial form, each canvas illustrating an episode. Each series carried a name, such as *Marriage à la mode* (1743–1745, National Gallery, London). The paintings are composed as though taking place on a stage with precisely described and crisply painted settings and costumes. Hogarth's main source of income from these paintings came from the copperplate engravings he based on them, which became immensely popular throughout Europe. It should be borne in mind that reproductive prints based on similar paintings were not only an important source of income for artists, but also a method by which artists advertised their style and creativity throughout Europe during this century.

Joshua Reynolds of Plympton and Thomas Gainsborough from Sudbury were two of England's greatest painters. Reynolds created a style of portraiture that resonated with the artist's study of and appreciation for the art of Italy, especially the masters of the High Renaissance. A supporter of the theoretical underpinnings of painting, he was the first president and cofounder of the Royal Academy of Art in England. Gainsborough pursued a more intuitive approach. Although his early landscapes reveal a strong Dutch influence, his palette was lighter and made liberal use of silvery tones in the highlights, as in the portrait, *Mr. and Mrs. Andrews* (1748–1749, National Gallery, London). Linear

rhythms throughout provide a sense of the life of nature. The artist's phenomenal range of light blues and grays, and his technical facility with the brush—lighter colors are scumbled over darker ones while maintaining their integrity on the surface—are characteristic of the ease and suavity of rococo painting. The informal presentation of the couple, whereby they appear comfortable and confident in their role as landed gentry, is well suited to the ideals of the age of Enlightenment.

Spain. In Spain, Francisco de Goya's career extended from the rococo to the beginning of the Romantic period in the nineteenth century. Like Rembrandt before him, his technical and imaginative powers as an artist found expression in drawing, painting, and printmaking. A gifted portraitist, Goya depicted the royal family and Spanish nobility with an unpretentious honest realism. Occasionally, his lack of flattery, as in the important painting *Charles IV and His Family* (1800, Prado, Madrid), assumes discomfiting overtones in its suggestion of ridicule. At the same time, he exploited the decorative possibilities of color and facture in describing the fabrics, medals, and jewelry with a flurry of brushwork that hints at abstraction. Goya's mature thematic repertoire, apart from portraiture, was revolutionary in its disregard for the hierarchy of subjects promoted by academies of painting. Instead, he portrayed the great passions of Spain like bullfighting, and the folly and irrational superstitions of his countrymen. He experimented with new pictorial structures. Tradition was sacrificed to achieve his personal artistic vision. In his wrenching depiction of Spanish rebels facing a firing squad of French soldiers during the Napoleonic invasion, *The Second of May 1808* (1814, Prado, Madrid), Goya brings the subject of history painting to the present with a realism and passion that introduce the modern era.

NEOCLASSICISM

The profound political and social changes wrought by the French Revolution impacted all institutions in France and sent shock waves throughout Europe. The delightful subjects and ornament of the rococo style of painting were replaced with sober themes of moral and civic purpose, and a structured style of painting that relied on the classic lines and proportions of Greek and Roman art. This style was in-

formed by the philosophy of the Enlightenment, which promoted rationalism and secularism, and by the renewed interest in classical art and history that was stimulated by major archaeological discoveries in Italy during the eighteenth century. This new artistic expression is known historically as neoclassicism.

See also Academies of Art; Art; Baroque; Britain, Art in; Florence, Art in; France, Art in; Mannerism; Naples, Art in; Neoclassicism; Netherlands, Art in; Rococo; Rome, Art in; Spain, Art in; Venice, Art in.

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PALATINATE. The Electoral Palatinate (*Kurpfalz*) was a historical German principality consisting of the “Lower Palatinate” on the Upper Rhine with its capital in Heidelberg and the North Bavarian territory known as the “Upper Palatinate” along the Bohemian border.

MEDIEVAL ORIGINS

The origins of the Palatinate lay in the medieval period, when the Lotharingian count palatine (Latin, *comes palatinus*; German, *Pfalzgraf*) secured a territorial base in the Upper Rhine region. The Wittelsbach dynasty acquired the Palatinate with the sanction of Emperor Frederick II in 1214. The Treaty of Pavia (1329) assigned control of the Lower and Upper Palatinate to the elder branch of the Wittelsbach family. (Their Wittelsbach cousins continued to rule over the duchy of Bavaria and would prove formidable rivals.) The Golden Bull (1356) sealed the right of the “count palatine on the Rhine” (henceforth known as the “elector palatine”) to take part in imperial elections. The elector palatine was the first secular prince of the empire and acted as vicar when the imperial office was vacant. The Palatinate housed the empire’s third oldest university with the foundation of the University of Heidelberg in 1386. With Rupert (ruled 1400–1410), the Palatine Wittelsbachs produced a Ger-

man king, but Rupert’s division of his patrimony weakened the electorate’s territorial base and created an abundance of cadet lines. Despite these alienations, vigorous electors such as Frederick I, the Victorious (ruled 1451–1476) augmented the Palatine territory. Heidelberg served as an epicenter of the humanist movement in Germany in the late 1400s. However, the Palatinate’s drive to emerge as the preeminent power in southern Germany stalled during the Bavarian Succession War (*Landsbuter Erbfolgekrieg*), 1503–1505.

REFORMATION

The military setbacks of the early 1500s determined the tentative role that Elector Louis V (ruled 1508–1544) would play in the early years of the Reformation. Although the Heidelberg Disputation (1518) won Luther many followers in the region, Louis remained loyal to the Catholic Church. Palatine forces played a significant role in putting down the Knights’ Revolt (1522–1523) and the Peasants’ War (1524–1525). Frederick II (ruled 1544–1556) first moved the Palatinate in a Protestant direction by promulgating a Lutheran church order in 1546, but the imposition of the Augsburg Interim in 1548 halted this development. The Reformation took root in earnest with the accession of Elector Otto Henry (ruled 1556–1559), a classic Renaissance prince and patron of the arts. He established Lutheranism but sowed the seeds of future discord by appointing professors of varying Protestant convictions to the resurgent University of Heidelberg.

The old electoral line died out with Otto Henry’s passing of the Palatinate to Frederick III, the Pious (ruled 1559–1576) of the cadet line Palatinate-Simmern. By converting to Reformed (Calvinist) Protestantism with the publication of the Heidelberg Catechism (1563), Frederick initiated the “Second Reformation” of the Palatinate. Though Emperor Maximilian II (ruled 1564–1576) sought to exclude Frederick from the religious peace, the 1566 Augsburg Diet sealed the de facto legality of the Palatine religious settlement. The University of Heidelberg became a leading intellectual center of Reformed Protestantism. The Palatinate played an increasingly militant role in European politics, and Palatine forces took part in the French Wars of Religion. Yet another confessional change occurred with the accession of Louis VI

(ruled 1576–1583), who reestablished Lutheranism. The Reformed faith survived in a small principality carved out of the electoral domains for Frederick's like-minded son John Casimir (d. 1592). After Louis's premature death, John Casimir emerged as the dominant figure in the regency government of Frederick IV (ruled 1583–1610) and returned the Palatinate to its Reformed activism.

THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR

The incompatibility of pairing an ambitious foreign policy with limited domestic resources reached its denouement during the reign of Elector Frederick V (ruled 1610–1623). In the years preceding the war, the Palatinate emerged as a militant Protestant power under the influence of Christian von Anhalt and organized the Protestant Union (1608), which was countered by the Catholic League (1609). When the largely Protestant Bohemian Estates revolted against the Catholic Habsburg King Ferdinand II, igniting the Thirty Years' War, Frederick accepted elevation to the throne of Bohemia (1619). The union of Bohemia and the Palatinate proved short-lived, as Bavarian and imperial forces defeated Frederick at White Mountain on 8 November 1620, earning him the moniker the "Winter King." Hostilities also ravaged the Palatine home territories, and Spanish and Bavarian troops occupied the Palatinate. Frederick went into exile, and Emperor Ferdinand II transferred the Palatine electoral dignity and the Upper Palatinate to Maximilian I of Bavaria. The Bavarians shipped the Bibliotheca Palatina, the famous library of the Palatinate, to the Vatican in 1622 as repayment for papal support. With the exception of a brief Swedish interlude in the early 1630s, the Lower Palatinate remained occupied by Bavarian and Spanish forces for the remainder of the war. The war had a devastating impact on the Palatinate; depopulation estimates in the range of 75–80 percent represented the highest losses of any major territory of the empire.

ABSOLUTISM AND TERRITORIAL DISSOLUTION

Frederick's heir Charles Louis (ruled 1649–1680) regained the Lower Palatinate and a compensatory eighth electoral vote in the Peace of Westphalia (1648), allowing the territory to begin to recover some of its lost prestige. Unfortunately, the mar-

riage of the Palatine princess "Liselotte" (Elisabeth Charlotte, princess palatine and the duchess of Orleans) into the French royal house later provided a *casus belli* upon the death of the childless Elector Charles II (ruled 1680–1685) and the contested succession of Philip William (ruled 1685–1690) of Palatinate-Neuburg. In the War of the League of Augsburg (Pfälzischer Erbfolgekrieg, 1688–1697) the French King Louis XIV's forces laid waste to the entire Palatine region. The war prompted another wave of emigration resulting in the resettlement of many "Palatines" to the mid-Atlantic colonies of British North America.

The Palatinate experienced a baroque cultural effervescence and a series of rapid dynastic successions in the eighteenth century. The accession of the Catholic house of Palatinate-Neuburg (1685), which also possessed the wealthy duchy of Jülich-Berg, led to the legalization of Catholicism, Lutheranism, and Reformed Protestantism. John William (ruled 1690–1716) promoted Jesuits at the University of Heidelberg and oversaw the physical division of many of the territory's churches. Friction with Heidelberg's Reformed burghers led Charles Philip (ruled 1716–1742) to move his court to Mannheim (1720), which emerged as a cultural magnet. Centuries of animosity between the sundry branches of the Wittelsbach dynasty ended with joint inheritance agreements in 1771 and 1774. However, the Palatinate became a backwater when Charles Theodore (ruled 1742–1799; after 1777 also elector of Bavaria) of Palatinate-Sulzbach moved the court and administration to Munich after inheriting Bavaria. Unsuccessful plans to exchange the Bavarian territories with Emperor Joseph II (ruled 1765–1790) for the Austrian Netherlands led to the War of the Bavarian Succession (Bayerischer Erbfolgekrieg) in 1778–1779. After frequent occupation by French troops in the revolutionary wars, the former territories of the Electoral Palatinate were divided between several neighboring principalities in the imperial recess of 1803.

See also Bavaria; Holy Roman Empire; League of Augsburg, War of the (1688–1697); Peasants' War, German; Thirty Years' War (1618–1648); Westphalia, Peace of (1648); Wittelsbach Dynasty (Bavaria).

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PALEONTOLOGY. *See* Geology.

PALESTRINA, GIOVANNI PIERLUIGI DA (1526–1594), Italian composer. Giovanni Palestrina was one of the most important composers of vocal music in sixteenth-century Italy. His name was synonymous with the Roman polyphonic style of composition that came to embody the musical goals and aesthetic ideals of the Counter-Reformation and the Council of Trent. The Palestrina style (*stile del Palestrina*) is characterized by a perfect sense of balance and equilibrium, a seamless marriage between intelligible text setting and rich vocal sonorities. Stress and accent follow the natural rhythms of the words, melodic motion and dissonance are carefully controlled, and his harmonic language is one of the finest expressions of the so-called old church modal system that would soon be superseded by modern tonality. As the music of Johann Sebastian Bach (1685–1750) serves as the model for the study of tonal counterpoint, the rules of counterpoint that have been gleaned from Palestrina's music have been used to teach modal counterpoint to the present day.



Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina. Woodcut of Palestrina offering his Mass to Pope Julian III, from the title page of the 1554 edition. ©BETTMANN/CORBIS

Although the name by which he is known comes from the town of his birth (Palestrina, near Rome), he almost always signed letters with his given name “Giovanni Petraloysio.” His birthdate cannot be definitively documented, but since the eulogy written at the time of his death in 1594 gives his age as sixty-eight, it can be safely ascribed to 1526.

Palestrina's first appointment was as organist of San Agapito in his hometown, on 28 October 1544. On 1 September 1551 he became *magister cantorum* (leader of the boy choir school) of the Cappella Giulia at St. Peter's in Rome, and he assumed the position of *magister cappellae* (leader of the chapel) in 1553. A year later he published the first book of polyphonic masses ever printed in Rome.

Palestrina was hired by the Sistine Chapel on 13 January 1555, but shortly thereafter the new pope, Paul IV, decided to reinstate the rule of celibacy for anyone working there, and Palestrina and two other married singers were forced to leave. On 1 October 1555 we find Palestrina as *maestro di cappella* of San Giovanni in Laterano, but he resigned in 1560. He then returned to the place of his early training, San

Maria Maggiori, and subsequently became director of the Seminario Romano.

During this period, the musical policies resulting from the Council of Trent—in particular the removal of “impure” or secular elements from the liturgy and the emphasis on intelligibility—proved to be both a challenge and a stimulus to Palestrina and his contemporaries. Palestrina’s reputation as the savior of polyphonic church music is likely somewhat exaggerated; nonetheless, at least some of his compositions (perhaps the famous *Missa Papae Marcelli* or *Pope Marcellus Mass*) were performed for Cardinal Vitellozzi, one of the overseers of the reform, to see if the words could be easily understood. His music was also frequently sung in the papal chapel.

Palestrina’s reputation was such that Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian II invited him to act as imperial choirmaster in Vienna in 1568, but he declined the offer. Palestrina returned to the Capella Giulia as choirmaster in April 1571 and remained there until his death. This was a time of personal upheaval for the composer; in addition to losing his two sons and a brother to the plague, his wife Lucrezia died in 1580, although he married Virginia Dormoli, the wealthy widow of a furrier, a year later. Nonetheless, the reign of Pope Gregory XIII (1572–1585) was particularly rich for the production of sacred music. In 1577–1578, Palestrina became deeply involved in the revision of the plainsong repertoire from the Roman Gradual and Antiphoner, a project that he never completed. Palestrina also assumed an active role in his new wife’s businesses, successfully investing in real estate and even selling altar wine out of his family vineyard.

Palestrina was among the most prolific composers of his age. His more than 300 motets, 140 madrigals, 104 masses, 72 hymns, 68 offertories, and 35 Magnificats far surpassed the output of his contemporaries. His followers included such masters as Tomás Luis de Victoria and Annibale Stabile, and his preeminence was well recognized during his lifetime. An anthology of vesper psalms composed by six notable composers was dedicated to him in 1592, complete with an effusive testimonial about his accomplishments. His compositions were often reprinted during his lifetime, and he was the first

composer of the sixteenth century to appear in a complete nineteenth-century edition.

Palestrina remained in memory far more prominently and persistently than any of his contemporaries. His compositions became a permanent part of the repertoire of the Sistine Chapel, a most unusual practice at that time. His carefully wrought counterpoint became identified with *stile antico* (old style)—as opposed to the *stile moderno* (modern style)—that came to be associated with notions of purity and spirituality. By the eighteenth century, Palestrina’s reputation was based less on a detailed familiarity with his music than his mastery of counterpoint. The preface to Johann Joseph Fux’s *Gradus ad Parnassum* (1725), the most important eighteenth-century treatise on Renaissance counterpoint, exemplifies the awe and devotion that Palestrina’s music inspired. Palestrina, the master of counterpoint, is “the celebrated light of music . . . to whom I owe everything I know of this art, and whose memory I shall never cease to cherish with feelings of deepest reverence” (Fux, *The Steps to Parnassus*, p. 16).

See also **Music; Reformation, Catholic; Victoria, Tomás Luis de.**

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WENDY HELLER, MARK KROLL

PALLADIO, ANDREA, AND PALLADIANISM. Andrea Palladio (1508–1580) was born Andrea di Pietro della Gondola, but he was given the name Palladio by an early patron and mentor. Despite his modest origins and unpromising apprenticeship as a stonemason, he went on to become one of the leading architects of the Renaissance and arguably the most influential builder of all time. By Renaissance standards, Palladio was something of an anomaly. He built nothing in Rome or Florence and comparatively little in Venice, most of his work being located in Vicenza and its surrounding countryside. Seemingly indifferent to the religious and political strife of the mid-sixteenth century as well, Palladio until the end of his life largely shunned the mannerist artifice of his contemporaries, creating designs more in tune with the idealizing principles of the High Renaissance than with the fashions of his own age. It is ironic therefore that his work so perfectly exemplifies the character of the Renaissance as a whole. His anti-quarianism, his rationalism, and his secularism together constituted the essence of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century humanism, and these were the very ideals that would later endear him to builders of the Enlightenment.

Palladio's architectural career began around 1537 at the villa of Gian Giorgio Trissino at Cricoli. The design of the villa originated with Trissino himself, a distinguished humanist and the aspiring architect's first mentor. Trissino bestowed the classical name "Palladio" on him and, more important, accompanied him on his first trip to Rome in 1541. Palladio's attraction to Rome's classical remains led him to return on four other occasions, the last time being in 1554, when he visited Rome in the company of another influential intellectual, Daniele Barbaro. Barbaro at the time was working on a translation and commentary on Vitruvius's *Ten Books of Architecture*, for which Palladio furnished the woodcut illustrations. It was through his associations with both Trissino and Barbaro that Palladio learned the grammar and syntax of classical architecture, lessons he never forgot in either his work or the renowned *Four Books of Architecture*, published in 1570.

During the 1540s and 1550s Palladio devoted himself exclusively to the design and construction of

secular buildings. With the exception of the Basilica or Town Hall in Vicenza and one or two other civic commissions, these were all private residences, for the most part villas in the Vicentine countryside. It is in these private commissions, and especially the villas, that Palladio's genius expressed itself with the greatest originality. Unlike earlier Renaissance villas like those of the Medici in Tuscany, Palladio's houses were not simply weekend retreats for the aristocracy, but rather working farms whose very existence was predicated on social and economic changes that favored the region's agricultural development.

Palladio's challenge in virtually all the villas—and there are nearly two dozen of them—was to reconcile his instinct for classical design with the practical needs of agrarian life. Only at the Villa Rotonda, his best-known but least typical country house, were the ideal demands of the structure uncompromised by utilitarian concerns. There a square, symmetrically divided ground plan is reflected in the equally regular exterior elevations. Each of the villa's four facades has the same projecting classical portico, while the roof is crowned with a cupola of the same diameter as that of the circular hall below. The formal consistency of this solution belies its audacious iconography, however, for both the portico and the cupola were forms that historically connoted sacred usage. Indeed, the Villa Rotonda appears to emulate the design of centralized churches from an earlier stage of the Renaissance. Although classical orders had occasionally embellished private dwellings since the fifteenth century, the cupola had not, and no Renaissance facade—sacred or secular—had ever employed a classical portico so boldly. Palladio was clearly conscious of these conventions of decor; despite its visual appeal, the Villa Rotonda was to remain his only residential building crowned with a dome.

Palladio's villas all tend to be blocklike with columnar porticos, but the functional demands of farming usually necessitated the addition of flanking wings at the sides. At the Villa Foscari at Malcontenta, the attached walls were so low as to hardly affect the overall prospect, but more typically, as at the Villa Barbaro at Maser, the wings are a prominent part of the exterior elevation. In nearly every instance, however, the wings and attached out-buildings confer frontality on the complex as a



Palladio and Palladianism. Facade of the Villa Foscari at Malcontenta, designed by Palladio and built 1559–1561. ©DAVID LEES/CORBIS

whole while emphasizing in their deference the grandeur of the residence itself.

Palladio's city dwellings play less dramatic roles in the urban landscape. Smaller for the most part than conventional palazzi in Venice or Florence, they are actually townhouses or *palazzetti* of the type popularized by Donato Bramante's Palazzo Caprini in Rome (c. 1510). Most are tucked into Vicenza's narrow side streets with facades designed to appear both monumental and at the same time sensitive to their site and surroundings. Facing on an open piazza, the Palazzo Chiericati was conceived with a bold, open columnar elevation more like that of the villas, while the exteriors of his street-facing palaces are, in turn, flatter and more densely articulated. The Palazzo Iseppo-Porto initiates the typological development beyond the Bramantesque prototype. Designed around 1550, contemporary with the Chiericati, the two-story elevation differentiates between a rusticated, arcuated lower floor and a trabeated piano nobile embellished with half columns. Like most of his more ambitious palazzi, the plan of Iseppo-Porto was designed in accordance

with what Palladio believed to be the style of the ancient Roman house with an atrium entrance and peristyle courtyard. None of his courtyards were ever completed according to plan, however, and only the buildings' inventive facades, with their novel variation in the use of the classical orders, preserve his original intentions. Significantly, not one of his executed palaces has a pediment or dome, a further indication of his respect for conventional decorum.

The Basilica and the Loggia del Capitaniato, both in Piazza dei Signori, Vicenza's main square, were Palladio's most important civic commissions. Conceived in 1549 and 1571, respectively, they together represent the consistent principles and the evolutionary nature of his personal style. For the Basilica he did no more than encase an existing medieval town hall within a two-story loggia, but the irregularities of the earlier structure made the creation of a uniform exterior challenging. Palladio's solution was to envelop the building in a series of superimposed serliane, the lintel-arch-lintel device now so closely associated with his work that it



Palladio and Palladianism. Chiswick House, London, designed by Lord Burlington and built in 1729. ©KIM SAYER/CORBIS

is customarily called the Palladian motif. By varying the interval between the columns and piers of the nine serliane that constitute the principal facade, Palladio disguised the dimensional defect and made

the elevation appear consistent. The rationality of this solution and the purity of its classical references were clearly shaped by his travels to Rome and by the knowledge of classical Vitruvian principles he

gained while working on the Barbaro edition of the *Ten Books of Architecture*.

The three-bay ceremonial Loggia is even more monumental with its use of the giant order. But here, later in his career, Palladio's commitment to Vitruvian correctness began to wane. The architectonic purity of the structure is compromised by an extensive overlay of sculptural relief and disjunctive relationships that exist among its various parts, particularly its front and sides. Affected perhaps only now by the uncertainties of his age, Palladio began to experiment with mannerist methods of design.

It was not until the second half of his career that Palladio designed for the church. His two most ambitious commissions—SS. Giorgio Maggiore, begun in 1565, and Il Redentore, begun in 1576—are both in Venice. Although Palladio devoted the last of his *Four Books of Architecture* to the design of ancient temples, the dictates of the Counter-Reformation so constrained church building in his day that classicizing ideals became all but impossible. Yet SS. Giorgio and Il Redentore together offer imaginative solutions to two of the principal challenges of late Renaissance church design, their plans and facades. Palladio's introduction of a composite ground plan afforded a compromise between the aesthetically desirable, if by then outdated, centralized plan and the more functionally and symbolically appropriate cruciform plan. His cloaking of these churches' facades with superimposed engaged temple fronts was just as brilliant, if slightly more idiosyncratic.

Palladio's influence was initially limited to the Veneto region, and it was only decades after his death in 1580 that the true Palladian revival began, not in Italy but England. Inigo Jones (1573–1652) was the first to “rediscover” Palladio, visiting Vicenza and Venice during his second trip to Italy in 1613 with a copy of *The Four Books* in hand. Jones's subsequent designs for the Banqueting House at Whitehall, the Queen's House in Greenwich, and the facade of St. Paul's, London (destroyed by fire in 1666), pay worthy tribute to their sources. Not surprisingly, it was Palladio's secular buildings that attracted English and eventually American patrons. Colen Campbell's treatise *The Vitruvius Britannicus* (1715–1725) along with Campbell's own

house at Mereworth (1722–1725) and Lord Burlington's at Chiswick (begun 1725) turned Palladio into an eighteenth-century icon, a circumstance substantially aided by the publication of the *Four Books of Architecture* in no fewer than four English editions between the years 1663–1738. American Palladianism quickly followed, the *Four Books* being particularly instrumental in disseminating a style of architecture throughout the southern colonies after the 1740s. Thomas Jefferson was the last important Palladian architect, his house at Monticello (1771–1809) perhaps being the true culmination of the Renaissance master's idealistic idiom. Significantly, Jefferson never visited the Veneto during his travels in Europe, but as his preparatory studies for Monticello indicate, Palladio's treatise provided all the initial inspiration he needed.

See also Architecture; Art: Art Theory, Criticism, and Historiography; Classicism; Jones, Inigo.

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JOHN VARRIANO

PAOLI, PASCAL. *See* Corsica.

PAPACY AND PAPAL STATES. “Pope” (from the Greek *papas*, Latin and Italian *papa*, ‘father’) was the title given clergy in the ancient church, which in the West eventually became the

exclusive title of the bishop of Rome, who was considered the successor of St. Peter and increasingly accepted in the West as head of the whole church. At the beginning of the early modern period, the papacy had so restored its institutional authority due to the healing of the Great Western Schism (1378–1417) and its increasing victory over conciliarism that Alexander VI (reigned 1492–1503) could divide the non-Christian world and assign sovereignty over it to Spain and Portugal (1493), and Julius II (reigned 1503–1513) could be hailed “master of the game of the world.” By the end of this period, however, the papacy had so sunk in prestige that on the death of Pius VI (reigned 1775–1799), a prisoner in Valence, France, the town prefect noted the demise of “Citizen Braschi, exercising the profession of Pontiff.” But if the political influence of the papacy had waned, its authority over doctrinal issues was supreme among Catholics.

THE PAPAL STATES

By gifts, purchases, and conquests, the popes became rulers over one of the oldest continuously functioning states of Europe, the Papal States, a territory that stretched from Rome and its environs northeastward to the Adriatic Sea. It was composed of six regions: Rome, the Campagna and Marittima, the Patrimony of St. Peter, Umbria, the Marches, and Romagna; it also included its vassal Ferrara in the Po Valley; two enclaves in the Neapolitan Campagna, Benevento and Pontecorvo; and territories in Provence, Comtat Venaissin and Avignon. Its economy was primarily agricultural (grains, olive oil, wine, and livestock) but also included the manufacture of woolen (Arpino) and silk (Bologna) textiles, ceramics (Ascoli), hemp products (Bologna), and paper (Fabriano), as well as the mining of salt (Cervia), sulfur (Montefeltro), iron (Narni), and alum (after its discovery at Tolfa in 1461). In the first-ever census of the Papal States, taken in 1656, the population was determined to be about 1.7 million. The most populous cities were Rome and Bologna; among those of middling rank were Orvieto, Spoleto, Perugia, Ancona, and Ravenna. The principal ports were Civitavecchia on the Tyrrhenian and Ancona, Rimini, and Pesaro on the Adriatic coast.

The public law of the Papal States was incorporated in the Egidian Constitutions (promulgated in



1357, in force until 1816), which governed the territories and regulated the local petty tyrants who were recognized as papal vicars. Many of these local rulers were eliminated in the fifteenth century. During the pontificate of Alexander VI, his son Cesare Borgia (1475 or 1476–1507) carved out for himself the duchy of Romagna by removing various local families from power. Julius II, who saw to the downfall of Cesare Borgia, brought many of these cities and territories under direct papal rule, allowing some families to return to power. In 1509 he forced Venice to return not only territories it had illegally occupied as Borgia’s control weakened, but also Ravenna, which it had ruled since 1441. Julius also succeeded in driving the Bentivoglio family from power in Bologna (1506, 1512) and the Baglioni family from Perugia (1506). His successors allowed the Baglioni family to return, until Paul III (reigned 1534–1549), in 1540 permanently excluded them and imposed direct papal governance. By conquest, Julius II took temporary control of Modena (1510–1511), which Leo X (reigned

1513–1521) purchased in 1514 but Clement VII (reigned 1523–1534) lost in 1527. Leo X conquered Parma and Piacenza in 1512, and Paul III invested his son Pier Luigi Farnese with both in 1545.

The elimination of local lordships in the Papal States, whether by escheat (failure of the ruler to produce a surviving legitimate male heir) or by the deposition of rebellious vassals and the conquest of their states, did not always result in direct papal rule. Some popes used the opportunity to install their relatives as the new lords. Pius V (reigned 1566–1572) in 1567 forbade this practice. As a result, the duchy of Ferrara came under direct papal rule with the death of Alfonso II d'Este in 1597, as did Urbino and Pesaro in 1624 with the renunciation of rule by Francesco Maria II della Rovere and his death in 1631. By the early seventeenth century, the process of centralizing power in the Papal States and ruling the major territories and cities directly through papal governors was almost complete. Minor feudal lordships continued, with popes purchasing them and conferring them on their relatives. Overseeing the governors and lords were the Consulta (a collective ministry of the interior headed by the secretary of state), the Buon Governo (which supervised local administrators), and the *Economica* (under the lifetime Camerlengo, who controlled budgets, agriculture, commerce, and public works). Scholars such as Jean Delumeau (1961) and Paolo Prodi (1968, 1982) see the popes as centralizing authority and providing a model of absolutist rule through their disregard of clerical immunity in the Papal States, while others such as Mario Caravale and Alberto Caracciolo (1978) and Hanns Gross (1990) note the persistence of local traditions, privileges, and administrative structures, with, for example, the oligarchic senate of Bologna enjoying effective autonomy.

The popes were elected, they were obliged to be merciful, and they lacked an effective police force and army; hence, they could never become strong despots. The attempt of Urban VIII (reigned 1623–1644) to confiscate the duchy of Castro because of the gambling debts of Odoardo I Farnese (1612–1646) led to a war (1641–1644) and ended in failure. The popes also lost territories; for example, Modena was lost to the d'Este family in 1527. This isolated the duchy of Parma and Piacenza from

the rest of the Papal States, and papal suzerainty became so tenuous that the death of Antonio Farnese (1679–1731) did not result in direct papal rule due to escheat, but rather in the installation by the great powers of a Spanish Bourbon regime, since Antonio Farnese's sister Elisabetta (1692–1766) had married Philip V of Spain. French rulers displayed their displeasure toward various popes by repeatedly occupying Avignon and Comtat Venaisin (1664, 1688–1689, 1768–1773), which the French Republic permanently annexed in 1791.

The popes saw the Papal States primarily as a guarantor of their independence and as a source of revenue. Some popes tried to improve the economy of their territory, Sixtus V (reigned 1585–1590) by ending brigandage and encouraging wool and silk production, Innocent XII (reigned 1691–1700) by enlarging the harbors of Civitavecchia and Nettuno, Clement XII (reigned 1730–1740) by stimulating commerce and manufacturing. Efforts to drain the malarial Pontine Marshes (a 300-square-mile coastal plain southeast of Rome, stretching from Nettuno to Terracina), especially under Sixtus V and Pius VI, produced little result.

POPES AND CONCILIARISM

The attempts to challenge the papacy for leadership of the church through general councils ended with the French- and imperial-sponsored Council of Pisa-Milan-Asti-Lyon (1511–1512), which was defeated by the rival papal Fifth Lateran Council (1512–1517). The appeal of Martin Luther (1483–1546) for a “free general Christian council in German lands” was initially rebuffed by the popes. When Paul III finally convoked the Council of Trent (1545–1563), he made sure that his legate presidents controlled its procedures and agenda. While the council made no direct pronouncements on the relationship between a pope and a general council, its willingness to allow the pope to resolve difficulties in interpreting its decrees led to the establishment in 1564 of the powerful Congregation of the Council, whose ever-expanding rulings bolstered papal power, led people to look increasingly to the papacy for doctrinal and disciplinary decisions, and eliminated for three centuries the need to call another council. In 1568 Pius V revised the text of *In Coena Domini* to excommunicate anyone who appealed to a council against a pope. The manda-

tory annual public reading of this bull lasted until 1770.

Conciliarist ideas, however, survived, especially at the University of Paris, where they combined with assertions of the independence of the French church and king from papal authority, a position known as Gallicanism. Paul V condemned it in 1613 and had its chief proponent, Edmond Richer (1559–1631), removed as syndic of the theological faculty. The Assembly of the Clergy in 1682 adopted the Four Articles, declaring that the French king was independent of papal authority in civil matters, that a council was superior to a pope, that the ancient liberties of the French church were to be safeguarded, and that papal decisions were not irreformable unless confirmed by a council. Innocent XI (reigned 1676–1689) in 1682 and Alexander VIII (reigned 1689–1691) in 1690 condemned those who subscribed to these articles, but Innocent XII in 1693 temporarily ended the conflict by getting the bishops to retract their signatures, while accepting Louis XIV's nominations to bishoprics and his rights to the revenues of vacant sees, as well as his right to appoint clerics to dependent benefices in them. The articles themselves were left intact.

Views similar to Gallicanism were advanced by the auxiliary bishop of Trier, Johann Nikolaus von Hontheim (1701–1790), in his work *De Statu Ecclesiae et Legitima Potestate Romani Pontificis* (1763; Concerning the state of the church and the legitimate power of the Roman pontiff), written under the pseudonym Justinus Febronius. His views were condemned by Clement XIII (reigned 1758–1769) in 1764, but they were implemented in 1781 by Emperor Joseph II of Austria (ruled 1765–1790) and hence known as Josephinism; they were also adopted in 1786 by the Synod of Pistoia under Bishop Scipione de' Ricci (1741–1810) and supported by Joseph's brother and successor Leopold II (ruled 1790–1792). Eighty-five articles extracted from the synod's decrees, which supported the papally condemned Four Gallican Articles and Jansenist positions and also exempted bishops from papal authority, were rejected as erroneous, heretical, and schismatic by Pius VI in 1794.

POPES AND CARDINALS

The early modern period witnessed some remarkable changes in the college of cardinals, the group of

prominent clerics who elected the pope and functioned as his official advisers and chief administrators. The concordats negotiated at Constance in 1418 and the decree of Basel in 1436 attempted to limit the number of cardinals to twenty-four, with no more than a third coming from any one nation, and required of them the minimum age of thirty and an advanced academic degree in Scripture or divine and human law, unless they were close relatives of a great prince. Popes, however, claimed that for the good of the church they needed to increase the number of cardinals. A large increase in the numbers occurred under Leo X in 1517, following a conspiracy on his life, when he promoted thirty-one cardinals at one time. Instead of using twice the number of Christ's apostles as the norm, Sixtus V in 1586 set the limit at seventy, the number of elders assisting Moses. Renaissance popes so advanced the Italianization of the college that only a third of its members were non-Italians, and these usually did not reside in Rome. While many cardinals were well-educated bureaucrats, others received the honor due to family or political connections, on the payment of large sums of money, and, in the case of princely pedigree, with little regard to the age requirement. Popes were also notorious for raising underage relatives to the cardinalate; for instance, Julius III (reigned 1550–1555) appointed as cardinals both his saintly twelve-year-old grandnephew Roberto de' Nobili (1541–1559) and his licentious seventeen-year-old adopted nephew Innocenzo del Monte (1532–1577). Innocent XII in 1692 issued a decree that a pope is allowed to appoint as a cardinal only one suitable relative, to whom could be given only a modest stipend. Pius VI, however, used his office to enrich his relatives.

At the beginning of the early modern period cardinals functioned as powerful, semiautonomous heads of bureaucracies and as protectors of the interests of various nations, religious orders, and factions. As the power of individual cardinals weakened with the increase in their numbers and the use of committees, the consistory, that is, the meeting of the college of cardinals to advise the pope on policy and appointments, eventually met only weekly, often to give perfunctory praise to decisions already made. Also diminishing the power of the cardinals was the rise of the offices of papal intimate secretary and cardinal-nephew. By the mid-seventeenth cen-

ture the intimate secretary had become the pope's chief adviser and minister, was known as the secretary of state, and had eclipsed the cardinal-nephew. Paul III set the college on a new course by appointing many reform-minded cardinals and instituting special congregations of cardinals to deal with specific issues, such as the Roman Inquisition (1542) and the Council of Trent (1545). Pius IV (reigned 1559–1565) set up the powerful Congregation of the Council (1564), Pius V that of the Index of Forbidden Books (1571), and Gregory XIII (reigned 1572–1585) the Congregation for German Affairs (1572). In 1588 Sixtus V rationalized the whole system by setting up fifteen permanent congregations (six for secular affairs, the others for spiritual), each staffed by three to five cardinals who would serve fixed terms and be rotated through the various congregations. As a result of such measures, cardinals became docile bureaucrats and fulfilled ceremonial roles at court and in the papal chapel. Even their power to elect the pope was *de facto*, though not *de jure*, limited by the “veto” that could be exercised by an ambassador of a major Catholic power (the Holy Roman Empire, France, or Spain) who personally attended the conclave and could exclude a candidate on the grounds of his unacceptability to that particular nation.

If the cardinals lost power over the early modern period, they managed to maintain their wealth. The reform decrees of the Council of Trent, which forbade the holding of multiple sees and required residence in the one held, forced the cardinals to find alternative sources of revenue in commendatory monasteries (monasteries whose administration was entrusted—“*commended*”—to someone other than an elected abbot, who was then entitled to the revenues of an abbot) and pensions drawn on multiple benefices. Cardinals from aristocratic families continued to enjoy private sources of income. And all cardinals were entitled to a handsome share in papal revenues. With such wealth, the cardinals resident in Rome maintained lavish palaces with households that varied in size but averaged about 150 persons. Cardinals so successfully used their positions of wealth and influence to promote their own and their colleagues' family interests, advancing the clerical careers of relatives and negotiating favorable marriages for others, that by the second half of the sixteenth century the college had become

one big extended family, with three-quarters of the cardinals related to each other by blood or marriage.

POPES AND BISHOPS

Early modern popes tried to assert their theoretical superiority to bishops while yielding to secular rulers greater influence in their selection. The papacy insisted on its prerogative to confirm the election of a bishop by the canons of a cathedral chapter or to make the appointment itself and to collect from the new bishop as a fee for this confirmation or direct appointment the first year's revenues from his diocese. The popes of this period frequently allied themselves with increasingly powerful local rulers in order to replace the traditional election of bishops by cathedral canons with the direct appointment by the pope of candidates nominated by the rulers. Such arrangements were incorporated into concordats. Bishops thus appointed tended to be very loyal to the rulers who nominated them, and the royal conscience determined in large measure the quality of the episcopate.

The Council of Trent raised the educational level of bishops by requiring of them advanced academic degrees in theology or law (1562), and it emphasized their pastoral responsibilities and hence the obligation of residency (1547, 1563). The national colleges the popes established in Rome (German, 1552; Greek, 1577; Hungarian, 1578, united with the German in 1580; English, 1578; Polish, 1583, 1600; Maronite and Armenian, 1584; Scots, 1600; Irish, 1628; and others) produced clergy who went on to become bishops in their native lands. To strengthen the ties between the pope and the bishops and to provide closer scrutiny of their ministry, Sixtus V in 1585 required all bishops to visit Rome every three to ten years, depending on the distances involved, and to submit regularly written reports on their dioceses. Gregory XIV (reigned 1590–1591) in 1591 ordered a stricter enforcement of the rules on episcopal qualifications and residency. Papal nuncios resident at courts kept watch over the local bishops and encouraged them to look to the pope as their protector and as head of the universal church. But local bishops could also protest papal intrusion into the affairs of their dioceses, as happened at the German archbishops' meeting at Ems in 1786.

THE ROMAN CURIA

The central administrative, judicial, favor-granting, and financial offices of the Catholic Church, under the supervision of the pope and the college of cardinals, was known in the Renaissance as the Roman Curia. Its departments, often headed by cardinals, employed hundreds of officials ranging from learned canonists to ignorant sealers of documents, men who composed documents, kept records, and collected fees. In the course of the Renaissance, the popes sought to increase their own income by multiplying the number of these offices and selling them for ever higher prices. Those who invested in these lifetime offices were entitled to an annual stipend (valued at 10–12 percent of the cost of office) paid by the Camera Apostolica (the chief financial office of the Papal States), and the third who actually functioned in their offices were additionally recompensed by their colleges or departments for the services rendered. Some officials sought to extract extra revenues from their office by engaging in questionable practices that earned the Curia much ill will.

The early modern popes inherited a bloated bureaucracy. In the quest for new revenues, Leo X so increased the number of venal offices that they doubled during his reign to over two thousand. The popes vigorously resisted any attempts by councils to reform the Curia, claiming that they would reform it themselves. Serious reform came gradually and slowly, given the entrenched interests and hostility of cardinals and curialists. Pressure by popes eliminated some of the venal offices, abusive dispensations, and other practices. But under Sixtus V, the sale of offices, even of major offices in the Camera (chamberlain, treasurer-general, auditor, etc.) became extensive, and the pope resold the offices when promoting their holders to the cardinalate. The value of the offices at the papal court at the end of his pontificate is estimated at four million *scudi*, with the obligation of paying out a half-million *scudi* every year in stipends to officeholders. By the early seventeenth century, the Curia, never radically reformed, had been reorganized and regularized, with most glaring abuses abolished.

PAPAL FINANCES

Throughout much of the Renaissance, papal finances were difficult to manage. The popes levied no annual income tax on church members but instead depended on a patchwork of traditional sources of

revenues. Among these were the fees charged for documents appointing or confirming officeholders, the principal fee being the annate or first year's revenue from that office. In 1521 these fees amounted to 13 percent of papal income. The Roman Curia produced almost half of the pope's income by the fees it charged to users of its various services. Fees paid for the composition of documents in the mid-sixteenth century accounted for one-third to one-half of the pope's disposable income. The sale of venal offices produced between 10 and 15 percent of papal revenues. The other major source of revenue was the Papal States. The pope's vassals, vicars, and subject communities paid annual tribute. Revenues also came from various taxes, monopolies, and the sale of shares in *monti*, or state bonds. In 1521 the Papal States produced about 37 percent of all papal revenues. It is estimated that between 1520 and 1605, when the inflation rate increased about 200 percent, the popes' income rose 255 percent, with temporal revenues rising by 397 percent and spiritual ones by 192 percent. The relative decline in spiritual income can be attributed in part to the loss of revenue from lands that became Protestant and to the elimination of abusive practices in the Curia. It is estimated that the Papal States accounted for 60 percent of papal fixed income under Sixtus IV (reigned 1471–1484) and 80 percent under Clement VIII (reigned 1592–1605).

Papal expenditures continued to rise during the early modern period. Almost a third of the annual budget went to paying annuities to holders of venal offices. Salaries paid to papal administrators in Rome and the Papal States accounted for another 20 percent. The cost of maintaining an army and building fortifications could consume upward of 60 percent of temporal revenues on occasion. The college of cardinals was entitled to half of the revenues derived from the Papal States. Maintaining papal ambassadors in fitting style at the courts of Christendom was also expensive. The papal court itself in Rome, with its numerous officials and the free meals it provided to them, its curialists, and others was a major annual expense. Popes spent significant sums on their relatives by way of gifts of money and lands, at times for dowries to contract aristocratic marriages. Huge drains on papal revenues were caused by wars—e.g., Venice (1509–1510), Urbino (1516–1517), the League of Cognac (1526–

1527), Florence (1530), Spain (1556–1557), Castro (1641–1644)—and by the subsidies popes paid in support of crusades against the Turks, Hussites, Lutherans, and Huguenots. Also costly were various building projects in Rome, such as the new St. Peter's Basilica, the Vatican, Quirinal, and Lateran palaces, the Roman College with its satellite national residential colleges for students, and various churches around Rome. The Council of Trent required large papal subsidies. Papal funerals, conclaves, and coronation ceremonies were periodic expenses. The burden of debt continued to grow in the seventeenth century, from about 17 million *scudi* in 1621 to 50 million in 1676, when Innocent XI finally cut back drastically on expenditures. Eventually about 85 percent of papal income was devoted to servicing debt. The enormous treasure of 3 million golden *scudi* and 1.2 million silver *scudi* that Sixtus V was able to amass to cover such emergencies as famine and war cushioned the papacy for two centuries but had the adverse economic effect of restricting economic growth by the removal of so much money from circulation.

PAPAL RELATIONS WITH SECULAR GOVERNMENTS

Early modern popes tried to maintain the claims of their medieval predecessors to rule not only over the spiritual realm, but also over the temporal order in certain circumstances. They claimed the right to approve the election of the Holy Roman emperor and to crown him personally. Leo X failed in his efforts to block the election of Charles V of Habsburg in 1519, and Clement VII crowned him in Bologna in 1530. No further emperors were crowned by popes, and Paul IV (reigned 1555–1559) seriously proposed deposing Charles V because of his formal toleration of Protestantism.

Popes did excommunicate kings and encouraged neighboring rulers to conquer their territories. Paul III excommunicated Henry VIII of England by a bull dated 1535 and promulgated in 1538, while Pius V excommunicated Henry's daughter, Elizabeth I, in 1570. Sixtus V in 1585 and Gregory XIV in 1591 both excommunicated the apostate Henry of Navarre (later Henry IV, ruled 1589–1610), lest this Huguenot become king of France. Paul V's (reigned 1605–1621) insistence on preserving clerical immunity and the church's right to acquire property and build churches led to his im-

posing an interdict on Venice in 1606, but in the compromise negotiated by France in 1607 the pope had to back down from his principles.

Urban VIII's support of France and, implicitly, of its ally Sweden, which helped prevent a Habsburg victory in the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648); his cynical criticism of Emperor Ferdinand II (ruled 1619–1637) for making the unavoidable Peace of Prague (1635); and Innocent X's (reigned 1644–1655) denunciation in 1650 of Emperor Ferdinand III (ruled 1637–1657) for agreeing to the Treaty of Westphalia (1648) weakened the legal and moral authority of the papacy. So politically powerless had the papacy become that when Innocent XI excommunicated Louis XIV and his ministers in 1688 for their support of the Gallican Articles, he did so secretly, and Innocent XII reconciled with the king in 1693 by granting him many concessions. Fear of alienating the Spanish prevented the papacy from having diplomatic relations with Portugal under the Braganza king John IV (ruled 1640–1656), thus leaving vacant many dioceses there. Clement XI's (reigned 1700–1721) flip-flops between 1700 and 1709 in supporting rival claimants to the Spanish throne alienated both the Bourbons and Habsburgs and led the great powers to ignore papal wishes. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries Catholic rulers increasingly and deliberately exercised their vetoes to prevent the election of strong personalities to the papal office, so as to dominate the popes more easily. The concordats they negotiated with popes gave them ever greater control over church offices and revenues in their realms.

So weak had the papacy become that it was eventually forced by Catholic rulers to suppress the Society of Jesus (the Jesuits), a religious order dedicated to service to the popes. Hostility toward the Jesuits had mounted due to jealousy over their influence in high circles, their stranglehold on Latin education in some countries, their anti-Jansenist stance, their involvement in commercial ventures to support their missions, conflicts with other religious orders, especially in the mission fields, and rumors of great wealth and resistance to the directives of popes and kings. Anticlerical Enlightenment figures who saw them as opponents of their ideas were especially keen on destroying them. Sebastião José de Carvalho e Mello (1699–1782), Marquês de Pombal, prime minister (1756–1777) of King Jo-

seph I of Portugal, succeeded in expelling the Jesuits from Portuguese lands in 1759 by accusing them of stirring up revolt among the natives of Paraguay and of involvement in an assassination attempt on the king. Louis XV expelled them from France in 1764. Clement XIII's (reigned 1758–1769) protest against these actions did not stop Charles III from expelling them from Spanish lands in 1767. Innocent XIII (reigned 1721–1724) tried to placate these Catholic rulers by forbidding the Jesuits to admit new novices for three years. But Charles III's threat to abolish all religious orders and break off diplomatic relations if the Jesuits were not suppressed throughout the church led Clement XIV (reigned 1769–1774) to issue on 21 July 1773 *Dominus ac Redemptor*, a draft of which bull was written by the Spanish embassy in Rome. In Orthodox Russia, where the document was not promulgated, the Jesuits survived with the secret approval of Clement's successor Pius VI.

POPES AS DEFENDERS OF ORTHODOXY

Early modern popes continued to exercise their traditional role, codified in canon law, as the ultimate arbiters of orthodoxy, issuing rulings on their own authority or with the backing of the council, after an examination by a theological commission. In such a way, Leo X issued at the Fifth Lateran Council bulls approving as not usurious the fees charged by public credit organizations (*montes pietatis*) for monetary loans (1515) and condemning the teachings that denied the human soul's multiplicity and immortality, the unicity of truth, and the creation of the world (1513). In 1520 Leo X condemned the teachings of two Germans; forty-one propositions extracted from the writings of Martin Luther (1483–1546) were deemed heretical, scandalous, and offensive to pious ears (15 June 1520), while eight days later the *Augenspiegel* (1511; Eye mirror) of Johannes Reuchlin (1455–1522) was declared offensive and scandalous and improperly favorable to Jews.

Because of the prohibitions in canon law against disputing with heretics, popes (except for Adrian VI [reigned 1522–1523]) were initially hesitant to support Catholic controversialist writers. But beginning under Sixtus V major responses to Protestant teaching were published with papal backing by Robert Bellarmine (1542–1621) and Cesare Ba-

ronio (1538–1607). The two most famous cases toward the end of the Renaissance involving doctrinal questions were the condemnation (8 February 1600) of Giordano Bruno (1548–1600) for his pantheistic and hermetical ideas and the rejections (1616, 1633) of the Copernican cosmology of Galileo Galilei (1564–1642). The dispute between Jesuit and Dominican theologians over the teachings of Luis de Molina (1535–1600), which focused on whether grace was efficacious itself or due to divine foreknowledge, was declared not ripe for resolution in 1607 by Paul V. The book *Augustinus*, written by the bishop of Ypres, Cornelius Otto Jansen (1585–1638), and published posthumously in 1640, was examined by a papal commission responding to the formal request of eighty-five French bishops, and the five propositions associated with the book's teaching that espoused extreme positions on grace and free will were condemned in 1653 by Innocent X in *Cum Occasione*.

The valid objection of the Jansenists that these propositions, as worded in the papal condemnation, were not to be found in *Augustinus* was rejected in 1665 by Alexander VII, who required all clergy to subscribe to a document denouncing these propositions. Similar papal condemnations followed in 1690, 1696, 1705, and 1708, culminating in the bull *Unigenitus Dei Filius* of Clement XI in 1713, which denounced as Jansenist errors 101 propositions extracted from the works of Pasquier Quesnel (1634–1719). In 1718 the pope censured the French bishops who had appealed to a general council against his bull. *Unigenitus Dei Filius* was confirmed by Innocent XIII in 1721, by Benedict XIII (reigned 1724–1730) in 1725, and by Benedict XIV (reigned 1740–1758) in 1756.

The Jesuit moral teaching known as Probabilism, which allowed one to adopt an ethical course of action supported by solidly probable arguments, also became the target of papal condemnations. Propositions considered too lax were censured by Alexander VII (reigned 1655–1657) in 1665–1666, by Innocent XI in 1679, and by Alexander VIII in 1690. A form of spirituality known as Quietism, based on the teachings of the celebrated spiritual director Miguel de Molinos (c. 1640–1697), who advised many prelates and nuns in Rome on how to achieve perpetual union with God through the annihilation of the will and avoidance of exter-

nals, and similar teachings by archbishop François de Salignac de la Mothe Fénelon (1651–1715) became the targets of papal censures from 1687 to 1699. Because of its secrecy, religious indifference, natural religion, and alleged threat to public order, Clement XII in 1738 and Benedict XIV in 1751 condemned Freemasonry. Writings of certain Enlightenment figures were placed on the papal Index of Forbidden Books, for example, *Esprit des lois* (1748; *The spirit of the laws*) by Charles-Louis de Secondat, Baron de La Brède et Montesquieu in 1752; *De l'esprit* (1758; *On the spirit*) by Claude-Adrien Helvétius in 1759; and *Émile* (1762) by Jean-Jacques Rousseau in 1763.

Early modern popes established procedures and institutions to deal with heresy. Inspired by the successes of the Spanish Inquisition, founded in 1478, Cardinal Giampietro Carafa (the future Paul IV) successfully urged Paul III to institute in 1542 the Roman Inquisition, to suppress Protestant ideas in Italy and elsewhere. Also known as the Holy Office, it soon became one of the most important papal bureaucracies. Pius IV in 1564 issued the so-called Tridentine Index of Prohibited Books, the first papal index with continuing authority. In 1571 Pius V established the Congregation of the Index, composed of six cardinals, to oversee the censorship of books. Crucial to the definition of Catholic orthodoxy was the work of the Council of Trent. Pius IV had the Council's central teachings incorporated into the Tridentine Profession of Faith (1564), which he required all bishops, religious superiors, and professors to subscribe to personally with an oath.

By their establishment of the Roman Inquisition and the Congregations of the Council and Index, early modern popes asserted in a striking way their authority to decide and enforce doctrinal orthodoxy. People looked increasingly to Rome for the resolution of doctrinal disputes. Supported by theological treatises and by popular devotion to the papacy, which was promoted by Jesuit sodalities, a belief in papal infallibility steadily grew despite disagreements over how it should be formulated.

POPES AND CRUSADES

The early modern papacy often assumed a significant role in the defense of Christendom from Islamic threats. The papacy often encouraged this ef-

fort by providing financial subsidies and sending its own troops, sailors, and ships to join in the expeditions. The efforts of Leo X to organize a united crusade against the Turks failed due to the rivalry between the Habsburg and Valois dynasties, which would hinder all serious coordinated efforts for the next forty years. The Holy League (the papacy, Spain, and Venice), which Pius V negotiated, scored a temporary naval victory at Lepanto (7 October 1571), but Cyprus fell permanently to the Turks in 1571. In the seventeenth century, popes continued to support efforts to defend Christendom, supplying ships and money for the failed attempt to save Crete in 1668–1669, helping to forge the military alliance of Catholic powers that scored a victory over the Turks at the Dniester in 1673, rescued Vienna in 1683, freed Hungary in 1686, and recovered Belgrade in 1688, and providing papal assistance to Venice in the 1690s and in 1714, which failed, however, to prevent Venice from losing all its possessions in the Peloponnese.

PAPAL EFFORTS TO RESTORE CHURCH UNITY

Early modern popes tried by various means either to bring heretics back to the church or to eradicate them. Leo X sent Cardinal Tamas Bakócz (1442–1521) on an unsuccessful peace mission to the Hussites in 1513. On urgings from Rome, Waldensian communities were forcibly eradicated from Calabria, gradually eliminated in Apulia, and ordered expelled from France and Savoy. The papacy tried to negotiate a reconciliation with Protestants by indicating a willingness to make various concessions in the area of church discipline and property, and it also participated through its representatives in the colloquies held between Catholic and Protestant theologians at Worms in 1540, Regensburg in 1541, and Poissy in 1561, which failed to resolve major differences. Paul III sent money and troops to aid Emperor Charles V against the Lutherans, while Pius IV and subsequent popes provided financial subsidies to the French kings and the Catholic League in its armed struggle with the Huguenots. During the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648), Paul V and Gregory XV (reigned 1621–1623) provided over two million florins to the Catholic League led by the Habsburg and Wittelsbach rulers, but Urban VIII secretly backed the French, who were allied with the Protestants, and withheld subsidies to the

Catholics until it was too late, thus preventing a Catholic victory. Louis XIV's revocation in 1685 of the Edict of Nantes, which had granted toleration to the Huguenots in France, was approved by Innocent XI, who, however, disapproved of the subsequent persecutions.

The popes also tried by means of diplomacy and missionary activities to win back to the church lands that had gone Protestant. Gregory XIII entered into detailed but unsuccessful negotiations to reconcile with Sweden. Clement VIII accepted the reconversion to Catholicism of Henry IV of France and absolved him of ecclesiastical censures (1595). The popes also entertained the hope of reconciliation with the Stuart monarchs of England but failed to give support to the Catholic James II (ruled 1685–1688), whose imprudent policies Innocent XI opposed. To train missionaries to work in German, English, and Scandinavian Protestant lands the popes established seminaries.

The popes also concerned themselves with restoring church unity with Eastern Christians. Through the work of the Franciscans, the Maronites of Lebanon made a formal obedience to Leo X at the Fifth Lateran Council (1516); by the efforts of the Dominicans the elected patriarch of the Assyrian Chaldean church, Yuhannan Sulaka (d. 1555), submitted in person to Julius III, who confirmed him as patriarch Simon VIII on 20 February 1553. Clement VIII supported the work of the Jesuits to bring the Syro-Malabar Christians of India into union with Rome but did not confirm the latinizing decrees of the Synod of Diamper (1599), and Benedict XIV in 1744 prohibited certain customs contained in the Malabar rite. Eighty years of papal backing for the Jesuit mission to the Orthodox Ethiopian church ended in failure in 1632 due to over-latinization.

Gregory XIII warmly received the emissaries sent in 1581 by Ivan IV (the Terrible), grand duke of Muscovy (ruled 1533–1584), who asked the pope to mediate a peace with Catholic Poland-Lithuania and suggested his own openness to a church union. Once the papal nuncio Antonio Possevino (1534–1611) had negotiated a truce in 1582, he discovered that the tsar did not want union with Rome. Fearful of Muscovite domination, the Byzantine rite bishops of Poland-Lithuania

requested union with Rome, which Clement VIII granted on 23 December 1595. The Greek Orthodox Rusyns in eastern Slovakia joined Rome at the synod of Uzhorod (1646), those in Transcarpathia (Ukraine) at Mukachevo in 1664, and those in Romania in 1713; together they constituted the Ruthenian Catholic church, given separate status in 1771. The papacy in the 1630s backed Cyril II Contares (d. 1640) in his opposition to the attempt of Cyril Lucaris (1572–1638) to introduce Calvinist doctrine into the Greek Orthodox Church. Through the efforts of Jesuit and Franciscan missionaries, a Melkite patriarchate in union with Rome was established in Syria under the leadership of archbishop Euthymius of Sidon and Tyre (1683–1723) with the conversion of patriarch Athanasius IV in 1724. The Armenian communities in Poland-Lithuania and Walachia joined Rome in 1635, while some in the Near East were accepted into union with the Catholic Church by Benedict XIV in 1742, who appointed Abraham Ardzivian (1679–1749) as their patriarch. The conversion of prominent Orthodox prelates led to the establishment of the Coptic Catholic Church in 1741 and the Syrian Catholic Church in 1782.

PAPAL SUPPORT FOR MISSIONARY ACTIVITIES AMONG NON-CHRISTIANS

The early modern popes were also concerned with the spread of the Catholic faith into non-Christian lands. Their chief allies in this task were the Iberian rulers, whose state-sponsored voyages of exploration opened up new lands for evangelization, and the religious orders whose members served as missionaries. By a series of bulls the popes conferred patronage rights and evangelization responsibilities. To aid the friar missionaries in the work of evangelizing America, Adrian VI in 1522 by the bull *Omnimoda* granted them many of the faculties of bishops. The Third Provincial Council of Mexico in 1585 adopted the decrees of Trent, curtailing these privileges, and Sixtus V in 1589 formally confirmed its decrees, subjecting the religious in these territories to episcopal control in their pastoral work.

The popes intervened on a number of other issues. Paul III by his brief *Pastorale Officium* (1537) condemned the enslavement of natives, a prohibition repeated in 1639 by Urban VIII. In his bull *Sublimis Deus* (1537), Paul III taught that the natives were fully human with rights of their own



Papacy and Papal States. A view of the colonnade designed by Gian Lorenzo Bernini and a portion of St. Peter's Basilica, Vatican City. ©MARK L. STEPHENSON/CORBIS

and could become full Christians. His bull *Altitudo Divini Consilii* (1537) required the traditional rites in administering baptism to converts and assured the converts the right to receive the Eucharist—both implicit criticisms of Franciscan practices. Leo X in his brief *Exponi nobis* (1518) urged that natives be trained and ordained as clergy. While the Portuguese followed Leo's ruling, the Spanish adopted a contrary policy, which the popes had difficulty trying to modify. French missionaries opened seminaries in Asia. The first Chinese bishop was the Dominican Lo Wen-tsao (also known as Luo Wenzao and Gregorio López; 1617–1691), who began ordaining native priests in 1688.

The foundation of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith (1622) indicated greater papal involvement in the missions. It tried to break the stranglehold of Portuguese and Spanish patronage over the missions by opening new mission fields, establishing many more dioceses and apostolic vicariates, bringing their bishops into closer contact

with Rome, and creating native clergy. Questions of missionary methodology were brought to it for resolution. By a series of rulings from 1615 to 1742, the popes approved the use of the vernacular in the liturgy in China and tolerated (as a private civil ceremony) but then condemned (as a pagan religious cult) the veneration of ancestors prescribed by Confucianism. The approach of Roberto de' Nobili (1577–1656) in his work among the Hindu Brahmins was approved by Gregory XV in 1623. In 1627 Urban VIII founded the Collegio Urbano in Rome to train missionaries, and popes supported the seminary of the Société des Missions Étrangères (Society of Foreign Missions) founded in Paris in 1663.

POPES AS PATRONS OF CULTURE

While most early modern popes were trained in canon law or theology and only a few in classical letters (among them Leo X, Paul IV, Urban VIII, and Alexander VII), they recognized the advantages of employing humanists as apostolic secretaries and

curial officials and encouraged writers and artists to use their skills in the service of religion. Leo X had as his private secretaries the famous humanists Jacopo Sadoleto (1477–1547) and Pietro Bembo (1470–1547), and he praised Desiderius Erasmus (1466?–1536) for his scholarly editions of scriptural and patristic texts. Humanist influence is evident in the more Ciceronic prose and clear script used in the chancery and in the classicizing, epideictic style of oratory in the papal chapel. Popes patronized both traditional scholastic theology and the new humanistic theology that borrowed Neoplatonic concepts, analyzed apostolic and patristic texts, and used Christian antiquity as a model for critiquing the current church. Popes generally supported the informal academies and literary circles of Rome, while churchmen and nobles acted as their patrons.

The popes founded new institutions of learning and supported existing ones. They were generous to the Vatican Library. Between 1587 and 1589 Sixtus V commissioned the architect Domenico Fontana to construct its present elegant quarters. Gregory XV added to it in 1623 the Palatine Library of the University of Heidelberg donated by Maximilian of Bavaria; Alexander VII added in 1657 the library of the dukes of Urbino; Alexander VIII purchased in 1690 the Reginensis library of Christina Vasa (1626–1689), a convert to Catholicism and former queen of Sweden (ruled 1632–1654) who retired to and died in Rome, and his own family's (the Ottoboni) library was added in 1748; and Clement XI added a rich collection of Oriental volumes. Paul V collected the archival material from the library and housed it separately as the Vatican Secret Archives.

Of the already existing universities in the Papal States (Rome, Bologna, Perugia, and Ferrara; Macerata was added in 1540), the university in Rome (known as the Sapienza since the time of Paul III) received special papal support. Leo X established new professorships, regulations, and a Greek college. Alexander VII finished building the university's quarters at Sant'Ivo and provided it with a library and a botanical garden on the Gianicolo Hill. The Jesuit Collegio Romano was founded in 1551; courses there in philosophy and theology were inaugurated in 1553. While some churchmen established private seminaries in Rome, Pius IV in 1565 founded the Roman Seminary, whose students at-

tended lectures at the Collegio Romano, for which Gregory XIII provided new quarters and endowments in 1572.

With the help of scholars, popes carried out a number of projects. They issued the Roman Catechism (1566) and corrected editions of the Breviary (1568, 1602, 1631; in 1741 Benedict XIV set up a commission to reform it again), the Missal (1570, 1604), the code of canon law (1582), the calendar (1582), the Roman Martyrology (1584), the Vulgate Bible (1590, 1592), the Pontificale (1596), and the *Rituale Romanum* (1614); they also set new rules governing canonizations (1625, 1734–1738). The Vatican Press was founded by Sixtus V in 1587, and a second press known as Polyglot, which had numerous oriental fonts, was established around 1627 by Urban VIII to assist the work of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith.

The popes of the *ancien régime* and the Enlightenment took various stances toward contemporary culture. While they embraced many aspects of Renaissance culture, they resisted the Enlightenment when it became separated from and critical of established religion. They were unable to harness the new forces that ultimately led to the French Revolution and its attempt to replace the church with a civil deistic religion. But the papacy survived and eventually adjusted to new circumstances, as it has throughout history.

See also Benedict XIV (pope); Gallicanism; Holy Leagues; Inquisition, Roman; Jansenism; Jesuits; Josephinism; Julius II (pope); Leo X (pope); Libraries; Missions and Missionaries; Paul III (pope); Paul V (pope); Pius IV (pope); Pius V (pope); Religious Orders; Sixtus V (pope); Trent, Council of; Urban VIII (pope).

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NELSON H. MINNICH

PARACELSUS (1493/94–1541), German physician and alchemist. Philippus Aureolus Theophrastus Bombastus von Hohenheim, who later gave himself the name Paracelsus, spent his early years in Einsiedeln (Switzerland) and Villach (Austria) before leaving home and wandering through much of Europe while visiting several universities. He gave his attention primarily to medicine but rejected ancient authorities in favor of a conception of medicine based in alchemical experience and a Hermetic view of nature. The principles of all things, Paracelsus believed, were the *tria prima* of salt, sulfur, and mercury, which separated initially from a prime matter, the *mysterium arcanum*, and gave rise thereafter to the four elements,

described as the material wombs of all the earthly, watery, airy, and fiery parts of nature.

Around 1520 Paracelsus composed the *Archidoxis* (the title could be translated as Ancient Teaching, or Deepest Knowledge), which focused on the extraction of the “mysteries of nature” (qualities, virtues, powers) from natural things. After brief residences in Salzburg and Strasbourg his reputation as a physician brought him, in 1527, to Basel as city physician and university lecturer. His teaching in German, as opposed to traditional Latin, and his condemnation of traditional medical authorities, led to sharp confrontations with the Basel community of physicians and prompted his flight from the city in 1528. Soon thereafter he composed two works dealing with syphilis in which he spoke out against the use of guaiacum (the wood from a West Indian shrub, a monopoly on the importation of which was held by the Fugger trading dynasty) and recommended instead a medicament made from mercury.

Paracelsus described the discipline of medicine as resting upon four pillars, namely philosophy, astronomy, alchemy, and the virtue of the physician. True philosophy, he argued, began with a knowledge of the *ars spagyria*, the alchemical art of separation. In a work called *Opus Paramirum* (or Work Beyond Wonder), this concept played a central role in helping him formulate a new conception of disease. In contrast to traditional humoral pathology, Paracelsus argued that each organ of the body contained an *archeus* (a kind of guiding spirit or principle) which acted as an “inner alchemist” and provided for the proper functioning of the organ by separating that which was good or pure from that which was impure or unnecessary. In many cases of illness, he thought, the separating function of the *archeus* was disturbed. Moreover, just as everything in nature was born out of the three corporeal principles of salt, sulfur, and mercury, diseases of the body were also born into these three cosmogonic categories and represented themselves as saline (for example, outbreaks of the skin), sulfurous (inflammations or fevers), or mercurial (diseases associated with excess phlegm or fluid). Diseases were thus not consequences of general humoral imbalance, as depicted in Hippocratic and Galenic writing, but specific entities with individual etiologies and characteristics located within particular parts of the

body. According to Paracelsus, specific remedies needed to match specific diseases, and physicians cured not by opposing qualities (hot to cold, or wet to dry) as in traditional therapies, but as a result of fashioning a medicine similar to the nature of the illness itself. Medicines could be prepared from anything, since the *tria prima* was to be found in every part of nature. The most effective medicaments, however, were prepared from minerals and metals, since these related best to the disease categories manifested as saline, sulfurous, or mercurial. In this way, like cured like. All of nature existed as a giant pharmacopoeia, and the alchemist-physician, guided by observation and experience, knew which of its parts related most closely to the various parts of the body. After selecting the appropriate material, the doctor needed to separate its purities from its impure and possibly poisonous parts. The spiritual powers thus extracted were then further ennobled and communicated as a medicine to a specific, diseased part of the body.

MICROCOSM AND MACROCOSM

The new therapy rested on what was actually a very old idea, namely that “the firmament is within man”; that is, there exist everywhere in nature analogies and correspondences between the macrocosm and the microcosm. Within this medical cosmology, Paracelsus believed that astral emanations impressed all earthly things and gave to them their divinely designated “signatures,” the material indications showing which parts of the body (microcosm) they could serve best as medicaments. Comprising the being of every person, he thought, was the mortal life of the physical body, the immortal life that corresponded to the soul, and a life derived from the heavens and which corresponded to an “astral body” or “sidereal spirit”—the essential middle link between mind and matter. While not everything in nature possessed a divine soul, all things—plants, animals, minerals, and metals—did possess an astral body, which originated in the stars and which specified for all things their form and function. It was this spirit, or, as Paracelsus refers to it, this *astra*, that penetrated matter, giving life to all growing things, including minerals and metals. He regarded it as “the secret forger” from which proceeded every form and figure, and the source of the motions and directed actions that accounted for the vitality of the body. Because of the fall of Adam,

impurities were mixed in with the *astra*, and these could sometimes also produce certain kinds of illness.

Since the human being was a condensation of the forces, elements, and creative principles of the entire universe, Paracelsus thought that an understanding of how the healthy universe of the body worked had to begin with an understanding of how the greater world functioned. The keys to doing this were to be found in philosophy and astronomy. Philosophy, however, was not the study of Aristotle, but the comprehension through experience of how the forces, virtues, and powers hidden in natural things operated to produce specific effects. Knowledge of astronomy was similarly based in experience of the world, being an understanding of how the powers and celestial virtues linked to the stars and planets affected the functioning of the human body.

Paracelsus's handbook of surgery, the *Grosse Wundartzney*, appeared at Augsburg in 1536. His *Astronomia Magna*, a summary of philosophical, anthropological, and cosmological opinions, was never finished, and other tracts representing his views in theology in addition to medicine and natural philosophy remained unpublished at the time of his death.

See also **Alchemy; Astrology; Astronomy; Hermeticism; Medicine.**

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BRUCE T. MORAN

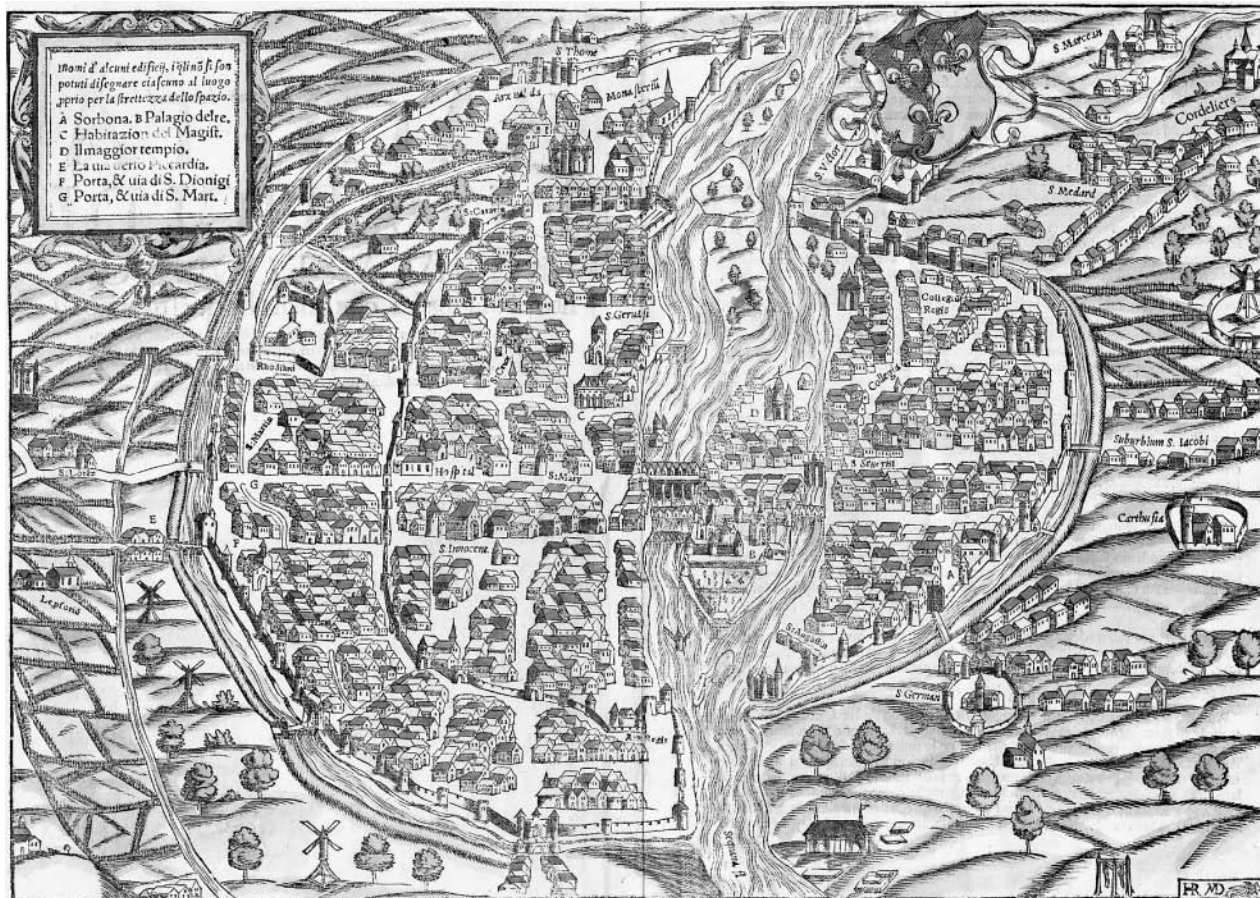
PARADES, PROCESSIONS, AND PAGEANTS.

See **Ritual, Civic and Royal; Ritual, Religious.**

PARIS. In the early modern period Paris became the city it has been for most of its modern history: the true capital of France, one of the great cities in the world, and a cosmopolitan center of European cultural and intellectual life. Before the sixteenth century, its profile was less grand. Besides its status as a legal and ecclesiastical center, dense with courts and churches, its main claim to renown was the Sorbonne, perhaps the leading university in all of Europe, which attracted students and scholars from far and wide. Though the political capital of the realm, it was not the primary residence of French kings, who mostly remained itinerant, preferring Fontainebleau or the royal castles of the Loire valley to Paris. This would change in the course of the sixteenth century. After 1528, Francis I (ruled 1515–1547) made Paris his principal place of residence. When Henry IV (ruled 1589–1610) triumphantly entered Paris in 1598 he proclaimed: “Only now am I king of France.” His reign would initiate a series of changes that set Paris on its modern course.

GOVERNANCE

Unlike other French cities, Paris was never granted a charter of liberties that guaranteed a measure of independence from the crown. Its very geography was dominated by seignorial powers: primarily the king, the archbishop of Paris, and the Abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, each of which had the right to exercise fiscal and legal control over parts of the city. Paris did have its own governing institutions, but even here there was division, competition, and overlapping jurisdictions. The main site of municipal government was the Hôtel de Ville, where the *prévôt des marchands*, along with four *échevins* (aldermen), sixteen *quarteniers* (district officers), and twenty-four city councillors exercised their power. The Hôtel de Ville regulated river traffic, collected rents from market stalls, and received various fees and duties from commercial transactions. It was rivaled by the Châtelet, which had jurisdiction over the city's courts and prisons. Although the Parlement of Paris had authority over a wide expanse of northern and central France, it paid partic-



Paris. A bird's-eye view from a mid-sixteenth-century edition of Münster's *Cosmographia*, showing the city divided into the three parts created during the Middle Ages. The walled city is bisected by the Seine River, which surrounds the Île de la Cité, the center of government and worship. The Left (or south) Bank was the location of the university, and the Right Bank served as the commercial center. MAP COLLECTION, STERLING MEMORIAL LIBRARY, YALE UNIVERSITY

ular attention to the city's affairs, frequently challenging the power of both the Hôtel de Ville and the Châtelet. Finally, a royal appointee, the *prévôt* of Paris, rendered justice in the king's name.

PARIS AND THE KING

Francis I's decision to reside in Paris symbolized the monarchy's renewed commitment to the capital, manifested by a new royal chateau in the Bois de Boulogne and the refurbishing of the Louvre. But it was not until after the Wars of Religion that the imprint of the royal hand began to be seen throughout in the city. Henry IV extended the Louvre, constructed the Place Royale (now Place des Vosges), and completed the Pont-Neuf, the major bridge across the Seine. His widow, Marie de Médicis, erected her own palace, the Luxembourg. She was emulated by Cardinal Richelieu, whose

Palais Cardinal became the center of a new area of urban development. The reign of Louis XIV (1643–1715) witnessed a veritable boom in public squares. Pioneered under the first Bourbon, they became emblematic of the monarchy's hold on the city, with their royal statues standing in the squares' center. Louis's personal dislike of Paris is legendary, but his minister Jean-Baptiste Colbert had visions of the capital as a second Rome. He demolished the old walls, graced the periphery with tree-lined boulevards, and installed new public fountains and street lanterns throughout the city.

Colbert's attempts at urban improvement were matched by royal intrusion into the city's governance. In 1666 he created the *conseil de police* and the following year the office of *lieutenant de police*, which exercised a broad range of policing activities.

Thus not only crime in its myriad forms, but also much of the city's daily life came under royal supervision and control, largely through the forty *commissaires de police* and a corps of inspectors who were responsible for patrolling Paris's neighborhoods. The *prévôt des marchands*, once elected from the mercantile elite, now tended to be chosen by the king from among his officials. The city's neighborhood officials were stripped of their former functions. In short, even though Louis XIV rarely set foot in his capital, monarchical authority prevailed over its municipal institutions as never before.

URBAN EXPANSION AND DEVELOPMENT

But other aspects of the city were in fact escaping royal control. Paris was growing and expanding, in part because of the enlarged royal administration, which fostered a steady increase in the number of officials, lawyers, judges, and aristocrats living in the city. Its population went from 250,000 in the mid-sixteenth century to nearly 700,000 on the eve of the Revolution. Much of that growth was in the burgeoning population of artisans and tradesmen who served the wealthy residents, catering to the varied tastes and expanding needs of urban consumers. In the early part of the seventeenth century, as part of the so-called Catholic Renaissance, the number of convents increased dramatically. The whole seventeenth century witnessed a building boom of aristocratic townhouses, with once marginal areas of the city, such as the Marais, transformed into choice neighborhoods for the elite. The poor too increased in number, attracted to the city by its charitable institutions. Urban growth began to run up against the obstacles of the city's traditional limits, something that the crown was intent on preserving. In 1638, an attempt was made to fix the city's boundaries by placing thirty-eight markers designating the limits of urban expansion, but to no avail. In 1670 Paris's city walls were finally torn down, a concession that its suburbs, especially those of Saint-Antoine, Saint-Denis, and Saint-Martin, were already part of the urban landscape.

In the eighteenth century Paris was second only to London in size among European cities. It had a reputation as a well-policed city, with its *commissaires* and police spies prowling its neighborhoods, backed up by the royal guard. It was also a city known for its amenities and improvements. In

the late seventeenth century gas lanterns were installed throughout the city. Some of the clutter and crowding, so characteristic of early modern cities, was steadily eliminated in the course of the eighteenth century. In 1756 shops and stalls were removed from the Pont-Neuf. After Anne-Robert-Jacques Turgot's reforms in the 1770s, the dead were no longer interred within the city limits; the Cimetière des Innocents, a gathering spot for all sorts of disreputable people, was closed in 1780, as was the Cour des Miracles, a notorious beggars' haunt. The Place Louis XV, soon to be known as the Place de la Revolution (now the Place de la Concorde), was constructed, offering Parisians a large expanse of open cityscape for strolling and congregating. The rue Royale, an extended boulevard, cut across a large swath of the city, connecting the newly constructed church of the Madeleine with the Place Louis XV. Although Baron Georges Eugène Haussman's great urban thoroughfares would only appear in the late nineteenth century, eighteenth-century Paris was already graced with several boulevards. The crown was still concerned with unauthorized urban growth, however. A series of edicts in the eighteenth century attempted to restrain the growth of Paris within fixed limits. And in 1780, the Farmers-General had a ten-foot wall constructed around the city to ensure the proper collection of taxes.

CAPITAL OF THE ENLIGHTENMENT

The royal court was at Versailles, but the city was the true center of the realm's cultural and intellectual life, especially after Louis XIV's death in 1715. It was the capital of print, with over 100,000 titles produced by its printing presses in the course of the century. The city's populace was relatively literate: in the latter part of the century, 90 per cent of the men and 80 per cent of the women signed their wills. Paris was Europe's prime theater venue, combining such establishment institutions as the Comédie Française and the Opéra with comic opera and a vibrant boulevard theater. It was a center of Freemasonry, with over one hundred lodges. A salon culture flourished among the city's cultivated elite in which ladies of fashion hosted gatherings that fostered the new sensibility of the Enlightenment. Art galleries, libraries, coffeehouses, and other meeting places abounded, many novel to the eighteenth century, which together served to create a kind of Pari-



Paris. Matthew Merian's bird's-eye view of the city as it looked in 1620 appeared in Martin Zeiller's *Topographiae Galliae* published in 1655. The map reflects the tremendous growth of Paris during the early modern period, as French kings poured resources into its development and many of the city's architectural monuments, including the Pont-Neuf across the Seine, the Tuileries Palace, and an expanded Louvre, were erected. MAP COLLECTION, STERLING MEMORIAL LIBRARY, YALE UNIVERSITY

sian public. At the top of the cultural hierarchy were the royal academies: the Académie Française, the Académie des Sciences, and the Société Royale de Médecine, which by the second half of the century had largely been conquered by philosophes of the Enlightenment. Indeed, enlightened men of letters such as Voltaire, Denis Diderot, and Jean-Jacques Rousseau were commanding figures on the Parisian public stage, rivaling royalty in renown and importance. Eighteenth-century Paris was rich in by-ways for the cultivation and circulation of new intellectual and cultural trends, making it not only the capital of the Enlightenment, but the creative center of European culture for the next century.

See also Academies, Learned; Cities and Urban Life; Colbert, Jean-Baptiste; France; Francis I (France);

Henry IV (France); Louis XIV (France); Salons; Universities; Versailles.

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PARIS, TREATY OF (1763). *See* Seven Years' War (1756–1763).

PARIS, TREATY OF (1783). *See* American Independence, War of (1775–1783).

PARISH MISSIONS. *See* Missions, Parish.

PARKS. *See* Gardens and Parks.

PARLEMENTS. Royal courts of law, numbering thirteen in 1789, the parlements stood at the peak of the judicial hierarchy in Old Regime France. Although they exercised some original jurisdiction, they judged mainly on appeal, both civil lawsuits and criminal offenses. If aggrieved litigants could prove good legal cause, the royal council might overrule their decisions, but normally the parlements judged in final resort. In addition, they exercised broad powers of public administration, such as setting grain prices, suppressing gambling, and controlling book publication.

Of more consequence, the parlements “registered” new laws issued by the king, the source of the law. At its simplest, registration meant that the tribunals transcribed statutes into folio registers, as a permanent record. But from about 1500 all the way to 1789, the parlements, supported by constitutional scholars, claimed that they had the duty to “verify” laws before registering them. Verification entailed deciding if new legislation agreed with divine, natural, and statute law and, especially, custom and precedent.

Any law could easily fail at least one of these tests, especially measures concerning controversial issues such as taxes, religious pacification, and judicial reform. A parlement might table disputed legislation indefinitely, weaken it with amendments, or issue a “remonstrance,” a formal protest, oral or written, to the king. Despite various forms of royal pressure, these tactics might well lead to a compromise and sometimes to outright victory for the parlements. As a last resort, the kings would themselves appear in a tribunal, usually the Parlement of Paris, to hold a ceremony called a *lit de justice*. There the monarch invoked his sovereign power and commanded the parlement to register his law at once. High officials, acting under royal orders, conducted involuntary registrations in provincial parlements, the equivalent of a *lit de justice*. But the tribunals regarded coercion as an abuse and resisted even the *lits de justice*, ignoring any troublesome implications about the integrity of royal sovereignty.

The kings, who had created the parlements, also created and sold the offices of the judges who served in them. Starting in the early sixteenth century, monarchs openly marketed new offices when they needed money and then permitted the judges to resell their offices to third parties or bequeath them to heirs. Venal office, the name for this form of property, made the magistrates virtually irremovable and figured prominently in their private wealth. Fearing that an oversupply would cause their offices to decline in value, they invariably opposed the king’s efforts to create new judgeships or otherwise to tamper with venality.

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Once France entered the Thirty Years’ War (1618–1648), Louis XIII (ruled 1610–1643) issued an abundance of new fiscal legislation. He created of-

ices in the parlements and tried to extract other monies from the judges. He established provincial intendants, their administrative rivals, almost everywhere. A long period of political tension got under way and rose in intensity even after the king died in 1643, as the regency government (1643–1651) of Anne of Austria increased fiscal and political pressure. The judges, fearing for the traditional political system, helped bring about the rebellion of the Parlement of Paris that led to the Fronde (1648–1653). Sympathetic disturbances erupted in several provincial tribunals, adding to the danger. Although the regency finally prevailed, it relaxed pressure upon the parlements for the rest of the 1650s, having learned not to provoke the tribunals unduly. Louis XIV (ruled 1643–1715) more or less adopted this approach in the first years of his personal rule, which began in 1661.

Already in the 1660s, however, the Sun King subordinated the parlements to the royal council for judicial purposes, replaced their historic appellation of “sovereign” courts with the neutral “superior” courts, and regulated the prices of parliamentary offices. The Ordinance of Civil Procedure (1667), moreover, limited the use of remonstrances and otherwise curtailed registration powers. In 1673, in a culminating edict, the king required the parlements to register all legislation virtually upon receipt, without amendments and before they could issue any remonstrances. The laws of 1667 and 1673, for the first time in the Old Regime, eliminated the legislative powers of the parlements. Louis XIV, unlike his predecessors, governed without caring much what the magistrates thought. He created a profusion of new offices in the tribunals, extracted forced loans from the judges, and afflicted them with such new taxes as the capitation and *dixième*. These expedients weakened the judges politically and economically as the eighteenth century began.

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Until mid-century the parlements generally accepted a subordinate role in state affairs, while royal ministers turned influential judges into well-compensated clients. From about 1756, however, the tribunals asserted themselves with more vigor, although never pushing things too far. An unappeas-

able Jansenist minority in the Parlement of Paris nevertheless longed for real confrontation.

In 1765–1770 that parlement sided with the Parlement of Rennes in the latter’s row with Emmanuel-Armand de Vignerot du Plessis de Richelieu (Duc d’Aiguillon), the royal commandant in Brittany, whom the king supported. As the “affaire de Bretagne” worsened, the old grievances of the Parlement of Paris assumed new importance, pro-Jansenist judges saw a Jesuit plot, and factions at Versailles took sides. Chancellor René-Nicolas-Charles-Augustin de Maupeou, heavily involved in factional politics, lost control of the affair and became an audacious, if accidental, reformer. In 1771 he remade the tribunals, suppressing three and drastically reducing the judicial competence of the others. He also cut the number of their judges, again drastically, and abolished venality outright. Louis XV (ruled 1715–1774) backed him unconditionally. This was either reform or despotism, as his critics had it.

Louis XVI (ruled 1774–1792), anxious for a fresh start with the political nation, which largely supported the parlements, reinstated them when he assumed the throne. Time proved this decision unwise. In 1787–1788 the Parlement of Paris, supported by the provincial tribunals, aggressively thwarted the king’s desperate efforts, in light of impending bankruptcy, to overhaul his fiscal system. They pressured him into convening the Estates-General, the national representative assembly, hoping that it would somehow liberalize the monarchy. The Estates, convening in 1789, launched the French Revolution and ironically abolished the parlements without regard for their eventful history.

In addition to the Parlement of Paris, by far the largest, the kings had created sister tribunals at Toulouse (Languedoc), Grenoble (Dauphiné), Bordeaux (Guienne and western Gascony), Dijon (Burgundy), Rouen (Normandy), Aix (Provence), Rennes (Brittany), Pau (Béarn and Navarre), Metz (bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun), Besançon (Franche-Comté), Douai (Flanders), and Nancy (Lorraine). In 1789 the number of judges had fallen to well under 1,000, down from a high of 1,290 under Louis XIV.

See also **Absolutism; France; Fronde; Law: Courts; Louis XIII (France); Louis XIV (France); Louis XV (France); Louis XVI (France).**

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PARLIAMENT. Between 1450 and 1700 the English Parliament developed from a medieval institution dominated by the monarch to one whose role, function, and procedure is still recognizable today. During this transition, Parliament developed omnicompetence in statutory matters; expanded its membership dramatically (particularly in the House of Commons); revived the early medieval process of impeachment; and became a permanent and essential part of the government structure in England. Parliament during the period of the English Civil War and Interregnum (1642–1660) assumed the role of the executive and ordered the trial and execution of Charles I (ruled 1625–1649) in January 1649 before internal dissension and political circumstances brought about the restoration of the monarchy in 1660. Although the Restoration Settlement again limited the power of Parliament, its growing role in fiscal matters and the highly charged political and religious atmosphere of the late-seventeenth century enabled it to play a role in deposing

another monarch, James II (ruled 1685–1688), in the Glorious Revolution of 1688. The subsequent passage of the Bill of Rights (1689) and the Triennial Act (1694) gave Parliament a more closely knit relationship with the monarchy and the governance of England. This period also saw the rise of the political parties and the increasing reliance of the monarch on Parliament for financial support.

ELECTIONS

Parliament was called and dissolved at the whim of the monarch until the enactment of the Triennial Act of 1641. Forty days before the start of the Parliament, individual writs of summons were sent to all the peers of the realm, except those disqualified by lunacy, poverty, or minority of age (usually under 21). Sometimes, as in 1626 with the case of the earl of Bristol, who was imprisoned due to his bitter dispute over foreign policy with Charles I, political confrontation with the monarch also determined whether a writ was received. The senior judges in the land were also summoned to act as legal advisers to the monarch. The membership of the House of Commons was determined by elections (under widely varying rules) held among the enfranchised in the constituencies. Towns and boroughs normally elected two members of Parliament (although a few single-member constituencies existed, primarily in Wales), while two Knights of the Shire were elected for each county. The elections were determined by the vote of 40-shilling freeholders—those men who were resident in the county and held 40 shillings per annum in freehold land. The borough franchise, however, was not so clear-cut and ranged from the most common, voting by the freeman of the borough, to oligarchic control of the town corporation, and on occasion only those resident in the borough. This led to a select few controlling the vote in certain areas. An extreme example of this was the Aylesbury, Buckinghamshire, election of 1572, where one person selected the two M.P.s. The elections were further complicated by the interference of both the crown and noble patrons. The crown certainly enjoyed considerable influence, particularly in areas in which it controlled the majority of the property, while powerful magnates, such as William Herbert, third earl of Pembroke, supposedly influenced favorably at least 98 seats between 1614 and 1628.

MEMBERS

Until 1540, membership of the House of Lords consisted of the nobility, bishops, and representatives of the regular clergy (abbots and priors). Throughout the early Tudor period the spiritual peers reached a maximum of 48, and they easily outnumbered the temporal peers, whose numbers fluctuated between 34 and 45. However, Henry VIII's (ruled 1509–1547) break with Rome in the mid-1530s signaled dramatic changes in membership. With the dissolution of the monasteries in 1540, the parliamentary careers of abbots and priors ended, thereby removing 27 spiritual peers. Even with the creation of six new bishoprics between 1540 and 1542, the temporal peers now outnumbered their spiritual colleagues—a situation that was never reversed. For the next 100 years, the nobility summoned to Parliament continued to fluctuate. Elizabeth I (ruled 1558–1603), who was notoriously parsimonious in handing out favors, only elevated two commoners to the peerage, and the natural attrition through the failure of peers to produce male heirs, as well as nobles executed for treason, actually caused the numbers to fall from 57 to 55 over the course of her reign.

The accession of James VI of Scotland to the English throne as James I (ruled 1603–1625) changed this situation dramatically. In part, James was anxious to make up for years of Elizabethan parsimony by creating new peers, but he also saw the peerage as a money-making device. Elevation through both deserving recognition and the sale of titles meant that by the end of James's reign in 1625, the peers eligible to attend Parliament numbered 104. This process continued under Charles I (ruled 1625–1649) until the nobility reached 123 at the start of the Short Parliament (April 1640). However, during the political turmoil of the early 1640s, Charles attempted to use the bishops to ensure he always had a loyal voting bloc. This led to the exclusion of the bishops in 1642, and the numbers of the nobility attending the Lords dropped even further when the Civil War broke out and Royalist peers deserted the Parliament. By late 1642, the number in the Lords had fallen to 30. In March 1649, after Charles had lost the Civil War and been executed, the monarchy and the House of Lords were abolished. With the Restoration in 1660, the Lords returned in its familiar pre-Civil

War guise with the bishops taking their place alongside the nobility. The temporal peerage continued to grow and exceeded 150 by the turn of the century.

Changes in the Commons membership were not as drastic as those in the Lords, except during the Civil War and Interregnum. Before 1640, the number of M.P.s steadily increased, from 296 in 1485 to 493 in 1628 and 513 in 1689. In a similar fashion to the Lords, the king's supporters deserted Parliament after 1642, and over 100 attended a rival Royalist Parliament that convened in Oxford in early 1644. The numbers dropped further in December 1648 when Colonel Thomas Pride, in what has come to be known as "Pride's Purge," arrested 45 members and excluded 186 more. Other M.P.s stayed away of their own volition, leaving the "Rump Parliament" with a little over 200. Further changes in membership occurred during the Protectorate Parliaments before the Commons was restored to its pre-Civil War state in 1660.

FUNCTION

The three major functions of Parliament were legislation, advice, and supply. To this may be added the revival in 1621 of Parliament as the highest court in the land. During the medieval period, Parliament had acted as a law court. This role fell into abeyance during the sixteenth century, but in 1621 charges of impeachment were presented against the Lord Chancellor, Sir Francis Bacon (1561–1626). This process continued throughout the 1620s and later. This role was supplemented by the like revival of the role of the Lords as the highest appellate court.

The legislative aspect of Parliament also changed. The medieval House of Commons was not an equal part of the parliamentary trinity of King, Lords, and Commons, but precedents in the fifteenth century saw it grow into a constitutionally equal partner. In 1489, the judges ruled that legislation did not have the force of law unless the Commons and the Lords assented to it. The Commons had the right to initiate legislation, like the Lords, and throughout the sixteenth century the three-reading procedure developed into the norm. This required each bill to be read three times in both the Lords and the Commons before it was presented for the monarch's assent, or, occasionally, veto. Equally, it became more common for each bill to be

committed for detailed scrutiny and amendment after the second reading. During the 1530s it was accepted that statute law could regulate every sphere of life, including religious and spiritual matters and property rights. This omniscience of statute law increased the monarch's need for Parliament through this extension of legislative jurisdiction.

Parliament's conciliar or advice function grew out of its origins in the king's great council, which was called together to advise the king on matters of national importance, such as war. Although Parliament was primarily called for matters of taxation, it also offered the governing elite a chance to present grievances to the king and to offer advice. For example, James I in 1624 asked Parliament to advise him on England's reaction to the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648).

The supply side of parliamentary operation was its most important role. During times of peace, monarchs were expected to live off their own revenues, although this became increasingly difficult after the inflationary years of the first half of the sixteenth century. In practice, monarchs became more accustomed to requesting taxes from Parliament for day-to-day fiscal matters. Supply was passed by act of Parliament in two distinct forms: lay and clerical taxation. The Clergy voted a clerical tax and the Commons initiated a tax based both on income and movable property. Both forms were enacted as statutes and required the assent of the parliamentary trinity. Because of drastic underassessment of income and the failure of an effective collection method, England remained one of the most lightly taxed nations in Europe, while the amount brought into the crown declined dramatically during the period.

HISTORIOGRAPHY OF CROWN AND PARLIAMENT

The relationship between the English crown and Parliament in early modern England has been the subject of major debate in British history. Until the 1970s, the dominant historiography saw the House of Commons marching onward from an embryonic power under Henry VIII to executive power in the mid-seventeenth century and then to a Glorious Revolution led by Parliament, before the late Victorian model of parliamentary government eventually

emerged. This Whig view of parliamentary history, most eloquently championed by S. R. Gardiner, was challenged first by Marxist historians, who viewed the Civil War and parliamentary tensions as a bourgeois revolution. However, the Marxist interpretation foundered because the Civil War can be better explained as an aristocratic and/or religious rebellion and because no widespread or lasting social revolution occurred. Furthermore, relations between Parliament and the crown returned in 1660 to their pre-Civil War status.

The more fundamental challenge to the Whig interpretation was led by a diverse group of revisionists, in particular, Geoffrey Elton, Conrad Russell, and Kevin Sharpe. They emphasized consensus, not conflict, as the primary mode of interpreting the relationship between crown and Parliament. Elton and Russell, especially, saw the Parliament as an effective, businesslike institution in which conflict was often more the result of misunderstanding than hostility or the competition for power. Sharpe, on the other hand, saw what conflict there was in Parliament as the result of competing factions. Since the late 1980s, this revisionist view has been nuanced by the work of scholars such as Thomas Cogswell, Ann Hughes, and Richard Cust. In their "postrevisionist" view, an underlying tension and conflict was ever present, but it usually only manifested itself in times of political crisis—for example, during the mismanagement of the war against France and Spain by Charles I in the late 1620s.

CROWN AND PARLIAMENT RELATIONS

Henry VII (ruled 1485–1509) and Henry VIII both needed Parliament to achieve their objectives. Henry VII solidified his hold on the throne by calling and consulting seven Parliaments between 1485 and 1509, while Henry VIII enacted the Reformation through Parliament. Although there was some parliamentary opposition to the policies of both monarchs, generally relations between the crown and Parliament in the early Tudor period were good. Henry VIII, in particular, adopted a style of personal intervention in parliamentary affairs, even appearing in the Commons on occasion to use his physical presence to sway M.P.s toward royal policies. There was opposition in Parliament, especially in the Lords, to the religious reformation of the 1530s, but this was defeated without a significant

crisis or breakdown in relations. The mid-Tudor Parliaments of Edward VI (ruled 1547–1553) and Mary I (ruled 1553–1558) likewise witnessed some opposition to the Protestant Reformation and Catholic Counter-Reformation (both carried out through parliamentary statute), but again those opposed to government policy were in the minority. That changes in England's official religion, including the introduction of the Protestant Book of Common Prayer (1549) and the return of England to Roman Catholicism (1553–1554), were enacted through Parliament was testimony to its increased role in the governance of the nation and the newfound awareness of the omnicompetence of statute.

Under Elizabeth I, both Parliament and the Privy Council attempted to persuade the queen to marry or, later, to name a successor. Elizabeth had no particular liking for Parliaments and avoided calling them whenever possible, and Parliament only assembled on 13 occasions between 1559 and 1601. Furthermore, these sessions were short and relatively harmonious. No constitutional crisis erupted during the period and Elizabeth effectively managed her Parliaments by curtailing discussions on her marital status and on further Protestant reformation. Although her policy of granting manufacturing monopolies to individuals and companies came in for severe criticism in the Parliaments of 1597, 1598, and 1601, her “golden speech” of 30 November 1601, in which she promised to abolish the monopoly grants, won her fulsome praise. At the end of the Tudor dynasty, relations between the Parliament and crown were in good shape.

The policies of the first Stuart monarch, James I and VI, did cause friction between the crown and Commons in his first Parliament (1604–1610). In particular, James's desire to enact a union between England and his native Scotland aroused the ire of many M.P.s, and anti-Scottish hysteria in the Lower House. James was forced to abandon his plans for union in 1607. Similarly, disagreement arose in 1610 over the Great Contract, a scheme to reform the English financial system, but neither the Commons nor James could agree to the terms stipulated by the other party. Relations between the king and Parliament sank lower in 1614, during the “Addled Parliament.” No legislation was enacted and a bitter session was dissolved by the king after claims of undue royal influence on the elections. Although

the Parliament has now been seen as an example of two factions competing for influence, it certainly discouraged James from relying on the goodwill of Parliament. In the next Parliament (1621), the king once again dissolved the Parliament in anger after it refused his decree regarding not meddling with foreign policy and the marriage of his son, Prince Charles. However, in the final Jacobean Parliament (1624), both the crown and Parliament worked together to enact legislation and debate the impending crisis with Spain.

This legacy of relative goodwill, if punctuated by friction and occasional moments of high tension, was rapidly dissipated by Charles I. His first Parliament of 1625 ended in acrimony over money and religion; the 1626 Parliament was dissolved in similar circumstances, and in 1628 both Houses forced Charles to accept the Petition of Right—a statement of the freedom, liberties, and privileges of Parliament. With relations at a low point in 1629, Charles vowed to live without Parliaments. The political reality of a Scottish army camped in northern England saw Charles once again turn to Parliament for financing to fight a campaign in 1640. However, he found Parliament even less inclined to his policies in 1640 than eleven years earlier. In the subsequent struggle between Charles and his Parliament, the king was forced to cede some of his authority to Parliament, but he refused to give up the right to control the army. The conflict culminated in war between Parliament and king—a war won by Parliament—and Charles was executed in 1649, the House of Lords was abolished, and a republic declared. The parliamentary trinity of King, Lords, and Commons had been destroyed.

Parliament during the 1640s had gradually assumed executive powers, taxing the populace, fielding an army, and effectively running the country. Parliament continued in this role and acted as the sole legal governing authority until 1653, when Oliver Cromwell (1599–1658) was named Lord Protector. After the establishment of the Protectorate, Parliament sat only intermittently until 1659. The relationship between Parliament and Cromwell was often fractious and they never managed to establish an effective working relationship. This contributed to the ineffectiveness of the republic, and Parliament finally voted in early 1660 for the restoration of the monarchy.

The next major constitutional crisis between Parliament and the crown arose during the Exclusion Crisis. Between 1679 and 1681, a majority in the Commons assisted by a substantial minority in the Lords attempted to exclude Charles II's brother, the Catholic Duke of York, from the succession to the throne. Although this movement failed, it left Charles at odds with substantial sections of his Parliament. The crisis spilled over into James's reign, and after a series of pro-Catholic policies championed by the king, an Assembly of Peers invited the Dutchman William of Orange (ruled 1689–1702) to take over the throne. James fled England, and when Parliament met in 1689 it enacted the Revolution Settlement. The situation was complicated by the emergence in the previous twenty years of embryonic political parties. The Whigs believed in a contractual form of government and the right to resist a tyrannical monarch. In contrast, the Tories favored the view of a monarch's divine right to rule, where civil authority descended directly from God. Negotiations between the two parties and the king led to a compromise in which William agreed to rule jointly with his wife, Mary Stuart (ruled 1689–1694). It also led to fundamental changes in the relationship between Parliament and the crown. The Bill of Rights (1689) stipulated the "undoubted rights and liberties" of Parliament and that it was required to meet frequently. The revised coronation oath stated that monarchs ruled according to the statutes made by Parliament and the Protestant religion established by law, thus excluding Catholics from the succession. Furthermore, the 1689 Mutiny Act established that a standing army could only be raised in the kingdom with the consent of Parliament. Finally, the financial settlement imposed on William and Mary ensured that the crown revenue was forever tied to parliamentary taxation. This in turn assured that Parliament would meet every year from 1689. The settlement witnessed the establishment of Parliament as a permanent institution of government, and in it we can see the structures and actions of the modern Westminster Parliament.

See also Charles I (England); Church of England; Cromwell, Oliver; Edward VI (England); Elizabeth I (England); England; English Civil War and Interregnum; Exclusion Crisis; Glorious Revolution (Britain); Henry VII (England); Henry VIII (England); James I and VI (England and Scotland);

James II (England); Mary I (England); Political Parties in England; Representative Institutions; William and Mary.

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PARMA. Located in the region of Emilia in northern Italy, Parma and its surrounding territory, never independent, became part of the Papal States in 1521. In 1545 Pope Paul III (reigned 1534–1549) created the duchy of Parma and Piacenza, a nearby town, and made his son Pier Luigi Farnese (1503–1547) the ruler. Paul III saw the duchy as a counterweight to Spanish power centered in Milan,



Parma. The gardens of the duke of Parma, late-eighteenth-century engraving. THE ART ARCHIVE/BIBLIOTHÈQUE DES ARTS DÉCORATIFS PARIS/DAGLI ORTI

while the Spanish viceroy in Milan, Ferrante Gonzaga, viewed it as a threat. In addition, some nobles of Piacenza saw Pier Luigi's rule as oppressive. So, with the support of Gonzaga, they assassinated Pier Luigi on 10 September 1547. In the settling of accounts afterward, the duchy remained in Farnese hands but under Spanish protection.

From that point onward, Farnese dukes pursued a cautious pro-Spanish foreign policy that kept them out of most conflicts and was sometimes accompanied by suppression of internal dissent. The city of Parma had 20,000 to 25,000 people in the sixteenth century, grew to 33,000 people in the early seventeenth century, declined to a low of 19,000 by 1650, and then rose again to about 35,000 in the eighteenth century. The duchy had 350,000 to 400,000 inhabitants in 1600.

Farnese dukes pursued a policy of support for education, the arts, and building projects, which won friendship and prestige outside the state. In 1601 Duke Ranuccio I (1569–1622; ruled 1592–1622) founded the University of Parma, the only Italian university to include members of the Society of Jesus as members of the faculty. Jesuit professors

taught the humanities, logic, philosophy, mathematics, and theology, while laymen appointed by the duke taught law and medicine, the larger part of the university. The University of Parma successfully competed for professors and students with older Italian universities.

Also in 1601 Ranuccio I founded a boarding school for boys of noble blood. It accepted boys between the ages of eleven and fourteen who might remain until the age of twenty. In 1604 Ranuccio awarded direction of the school to the Jesuits. In addition to the standard Jesuit curriculum of humanities, philosophy, mathematics, and religious instruction, the Parma school taught French, singing, dancing, designing fortifications, and horsemanship, and it charged high fees. The boarders could also hunt in the duke's preserve and received honored places at public events. The Parma school attracted noble boys from Italy and other parts of Europe, because it offered a curriculum designed for them and the opportunity to mix with peers. Enrollment climbed to a peak of 550 to 600 boys between 1670 and 1700 before a gradual decline set in. Parma's school for nobles had imitators across Europe.

Other Farnese dukes engaged in building programs. They began to erect a huge ducal palace in 1583, which was not finished until the next century. The Farnese Theater opened in 1628 and immediately became a preferred setting for plays, spectacles, and operas, including those of Claudio Monteverdi (1567–1643).

The Farnese dynasty ruled successfully and married well into other Italian ruling families and Spain. The dynasty ended when Duke Antonio (1679–1731; ruled 1727–1731) died without heirs in 1731. Because Elisabetta Farnese (1692–1766) was the wife of King Philip V of Spain, the duchy passed in 1732 into the hands of their son, Don Carlos de Bourbon (1716–1788; ruled Parma 1732–1736, ruled Spain as Charles III, 1759–1788). The duchy fell into Austrian hands from 1735 to 1748 but returned to the Spanish Bourbons in 1748 and remained there for the rest of the century. The most important figure of this period was Guillaume du Tillot, chief minister from 1749 to 1771. He brought with him French cultural influences and learning to the court, as well as French Enlightenment administrative reforms, agricultural methods, and restrictions on the rights of the church.

See also **Bourbon Dynasty (Spain); Jesuits; Papacy and Papal States; Universities.**

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PARMA, ALEXANDER FARNESE, DUKE OF (1545–1592), soldier and governor general of the Netherlands. Born in Rome to Ottavio Farnese, duke of Parma, and Margaret of Austria, the natural daughter of Charles V, Alexander accompanied his mother to Brussels in 1559 when Philip II of Spain appointed her regent of the Netherlands. Philip took his nephew to Spain for his

education in statecraft and service to the Habsburg dynasty, alongside Philip's son Don Carlos and half-brother Don Juan of Austria. Alexander returned in March 1565 to Brussels to marry Maria of Portugal, eldest daughter of Infante Dom Duarte. They returned to Parma in 1566 as troubles in the Netherlands worsened. In Parma the prince studied the art of war and fathered two sons, Ranuccio, his heir, and Edoardo, who became cardinal, and a daughter, Margherita, later duchess of Mantua. In 1571 he joined Don Juan to fight at the Battle of Lepanto, returning afterward to family concerns in Parma. In 1577, Don Juan, now governor-general of the Netherlands, begged Philip to send the prince of Parma, widowed that year, to the Netherlands with needed soldiers. Parma arrived in December and, with Don Juan, won the Battle of Gembloux in January 1578 over forces of the rebellious Estates-General (the Netherlands' parliament). After a fruitless summer campaign with an ill-paid army, Don Juan died, nominating Parma as his successor. Philip promptly confirmed Parma as governor and captain general of the Netherlands. His effective authority obtained only in the Walloon provinces (save for Tournai), most of Groningen and Drenthe, and Luxembourg. The remaining provinces were in the hands of the defiant Estates-General, which seemed firmly controlled by Prince William of Orange, but deep religious and provincial differences and personal rivalries made the Estates factious, and Don Juan had already won important Catholic nobles to Philip's side. Parma, using familiarity with the Netherlands acquired in 1565–1566, continued to exploit fissures in the Estates-General while he groomed his army. In 1579 he steered the southern Walloon provinces under his control to form the Union of Arras and declare obedience to Philip II, while skillfully employing his regrouped army to capture Maastricht and ensure communication with loyal strongholds in the northeast. In 1580 seven northern Dutch provinces, led by William of Orange and the Calvinists, formed the Union of Utrecht to oppose him, while the collapse of the peace conference at Cologne over religion brought most of the great Catholic nobles back to Philip's cause. In 1581, Parma captured Tournai.

When theocratic Calvinist militants seized control of the chief Flemish towns, including Ypres, Ghent, and Bruges, the middle classes flocked to



Alexander Farnese, duke of Parma. Undated portrait engraving. ©ARCHIVO ICONOGRAFICO, S.A./CORBIS

Parma. Divided, the towns fell, and, by the end of 1584, Parma was able to lay siege to Antwerp. The finances of his army having been put in order by Philip, Parma carefully ringed Antwerp with trenches and redoubts, and built a fortified pontoon bridge to cut it off from the sea. The famous “hellburner” of Italian engineer Giambelli briefly broke the bridge, but not the siege. Brussels and Mechlin had already submitted when, in August 1585, starved Antwerp surrendered, winning Philip’s grateful restoration of Piacenza, a contentious issue, to the Farnese family. Parma prepared next to subdue the Dutch provinces north of the Maas and Rhine rivers, leaderless since the assassination of Orange in 1584.

Regarding Parma’s successes as a threat to England, Queen Elizabeth openly allied with the Dutch and sent an army to aid them. Philip II decided on the Enterprise of England, for which he built the Spanish Armada, and ordered Parma to prepare to invade England with his army. For two

years the Enterprise preoccupied him, allowing the Dutch to recover ground under Maurice of Nassau, later prince of Orange (1618–1625). When Philip’s armada reached Calais in August 1588, to cover the invasion, Parma had just learned of its approach. He hastened to embark his army, but the English forced the armada away. Its officers claimed Parma was unprepared and lacking enthusiasm, raising doubts about him in Philip. Parma was left with insufficient funds, unruly troops, and new distractions.

In 1590 Philip ordered Parma to march into France in support of the Catholic League, then waging civil war to keep the Huguenot Henry of Navarre from the French throne. Parma broke Navarre’s siege of Catholic Paris and, in 1591, sparred with Maurice, to little gain, until ordered again into France. Wounded as he ended a successful campaign, he convalesced in his headquarters at Arras, where he died in December 1592, unaware that Philip had secretly ordered his recall.

Parma had saved what would become Belgium for Philip and Roman Catholicism. His son, Duke Ranuccio (1569–1622), whose strong claim to Portugal his father had not pressed, and who was bitter over Philip’s treatment of him and his father, soon broke with Spain.

See also Armada, Spanish; Dutch Republic; Dutch Revolt (1568–1648); Elizabeth I (England); Henry IV (France); Juan de Austria, Don; Netherlands, Southern; Parma; Philip II (Spain); William of Orange.

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PARTITIONS OF POLAND. *See* Poland, Partitions of.

PASCAL, BLAISE (1623–1662), French mathematician, scientist, religious polemicist, and apologist. Pascal was born in Clermont-en-

Auvergne, where his mother died when he was three. He was educated with his two sisters by his father, and the family moved to Paris in 1631. Finding that the young Blaise had worked out the principles of geometry up to Euclid's thirty-second proposition, his father took him to the mathematical academy recently founded in Paris by Marin Mersenne. Influenced by the encounters he made there, Pascal published his first mathematical paper, the *Essai sur les coniques* (Essay on conic sections) in 1640. In this year, Pascal's father was appointed royal tax commissioner for Normandy, and the family established itself in Rouen. Looking to help his father with his accounting, Pascal invented the calculating machine two years later.

Following an accident in Rouen, Pascal's father was treated by two members of the Jansenist religious movement (which followed the theologian Cornelius Jansen in teaching a strict Augustinianism), and the entire family was influenced by Jansenist ideas about grace and piety. Pascal nonetheless turned, following a period of ill health during which he returned to Paris with his sister Jacqueline, to the "worldly" entertainments provided by fashionable Parisian society. His father died in 1651, and when Jacqueline subsequently became a nun at the Jansenist convent Port-Royal, Pascal opposed such commitment vigorously. It was not until the night of 23 November 1654 that he underwent a profound spiritual experience, coming to the absolute conviction that God had been revealed to him.

After this *nuit de feu* ('night of fire'), Pascal undertook a retreat at Port-Royal-des-Champs, where he met Isaac Le Maistre de Saci (an account of their conversations was published posthumously in 1728 and is important for the insights it gives into Pascal's reading of the secular authors Montaigne and Epictetus). At this time, attacks on Jansenism were becoming increasingly frequent, with rival Jesuit theologians closely allied with the monarchy of Louis XIV. Antoine Arnauld was on the point of being condemned by the Sorbonne for his ongoing defense of Jansen's *Augustinus*. Certain other Jansenists (among them the philosopher Pierre Nicole) solicited Pascal's help; known only for his mathematical gifts, he was much less likely than they to be identified as the author of an attack on the Jesuits. Between January 1656 and March 1657 Pascal composed eighteen *Lettres provinciales* (Provincial

letters), which launched a vicious offensive against Jesuit morality. The first ten letters constitute a dialogue between a naïve enquirer (presented as the writer of the letters), a friendly Jansenist, and some Jesuit priests. Through Pascal's diffusely ironic manipulation of these different personae, the Jesuits come across as absurd figures clinging to doctrine that is theologically unsound, especially on the subject of grace. In letters eleven through eighteen, all pretense of an exchange is dropped, and Pascal's speaker responds directly to the counterpolemic precipitated by the first ten letters. The last two letters are targeted specifically at Louis XIV's confessor, the Jesuit François Annat. Official reaction to the letters was uncompromising (they were placed on the Catholic Church's Index of Prohibited Books in 1657), but general readers, unused to having complex theological debate laid out with such immediacy, were delighted and admiring.

Pascal reopened the main topic of the letters in four *Écrits sur la grâce* (Writings on grace) composed around 1658. During the same period, he gave an account to his friends at Port-Royal of a planned apology for the Christian religion. The fragments he jotted down, cut up, and arranged in bundles in preparation for this work, which he did not live to complete, are known as the *Pensées* (first edited and published in 1670). They are imbued with the Augustinian belief that the only way we can account for the dramatic contradictions found in human beings, who are wretched, yet capable of self-awareness, is through the doctrine of the Fall—once embodiments of divine perfection, humans distanced themselves from God at the moment of original sin. In the famous Fragment 199, "Disproportion of Man," which exploits the new science of the microscope and the telescope, humanity is depicted as lost between the infinitely large and infinitely small. *Divertissement* ('diversion') is any activity humanity turns to so as not to have to confront this metaphysical plight. The human faculty of reason can be useful (as evinced in the wager argument: we can deduce that we have nothing to lose by betting on the existence of God), but should accompany an awareness of its own limitations. Most important, these limitations can themselves be instructive, pointing to the need for faith. Pascal was fascinated by, rather than condemnatory toward, his fellow human beings and continually projected his

own authorial voice into their different positions on the spectrum of belief. Having dedicated himself, from the moment of his conversion, to the advocacy of Christian ideas, he died at the home of his sister Gilberte on 19 August 1662.

See also Jansenism; Jesuits; Mathematics; Mersenne, Marin; Philosophy.

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PASHA. *See* Vizier.

PASSAROWITZ, PEACE OF (1718).

This treaty between the Ottoman Empire, Austria, and Venice was signed at Passarowitz (Pozarevac, Serbia) in July 1718. Ottoman military confidence had begun to revive following the 1711 Ottoman victory over Russia at the Pruth River. The Sultan's son-in-law, Silahdar Ali Pasha, who had lost revenues from lands in the Morea (in the Peloponnese of modern Greece) when the Venetians occupied it in 1699 according to the Treaty of Carlowitz, began to lobby the Sultan to retake it. The Grand Mufti of Constantinople, the chief religious official in the Ottoman Empire, and the Chief Black Eunuch, who possessed great personal power as the overseer of the imperial harem and the superintendent of

important religious properties, supported him. Through various intrigues, Silahdar Ali Pasha became grand vizier in 1713 and put the Ottomans on the road to war with Venice. In early 1715, the Ottomans attacked Venice on the pretext that it had aided Montenegrin rebels against Ottoman rule. Over the next three years, the Ottomans took Morea and Crete back from Venice and won several important naval engagements against the Venetian fleet, including the battles of Cape Matapan (1717) and Cerigo (1718).

At first, Austria tried to stay out of this war because of its ongoing problems in Europe following the end of the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1714), but it was dragged into conflict with the Ottomans in 1716 because of concern about Ottoman advances into Dalmatia. In addition, it appeared that Austria might have to rescue Venice from financial and military collapse. Prince Eugene of Savoy (1663–1736), the renowned Habsburg commander, defeated the Ottomans at Petrovaradin in August, 1716, in a battle that killed many Ottoman leaders, including Silahdar Ali Pasha. Eugene took Temesvár and Belgrade over the next few months. In 1717, the new English ambassador to the Ottoman Empire, Sir Edward Wortley Montagu, joined with his Dutch colleague Count Jacob Colijer to press for an Austrian-Ottoman peace agreement. Their efforts helped to end a conflict that might have endangered the fragile new European political balance created by the Treaties of Utrecht and Rastatt (1713 and 1714). The treaty of Passarowitz, signed in July 1718, was written to reflect Eugene's 1716 victories and Austria's military triumph. The Ottoman Empire lost the Banat of Temesvár (the last Ottoman stronghold in Hungary), northern Serbia (including Belgrade), northern Bosnia, and Lesser Walachia to Austria. Venice had to cede to the Ottoman Empire all possessions in the Peloponnese and on Crete, retaining only what it held in the Ionian Islands and Dalmatia. Immediately after this agreement, the Austrians and Ottomans signed a commercial treaty that gave the Austrians a number of trading privileges in the Ottoman Empire and bolstered the Habsburg emperor's plan to create a new "Eastern Company" for Balkan trade based in his new "free port" in Trieste. A generation after Passarowitz, when hostilities between the two empires flared up again, the Otto-

mans recovered Belgrade and Lesser Walachia through the 1739 Treaty of Belgrade.

See also **Austro-Ottoman Wars; Habsburg Territories; Ottoman Empire; Serbia; Utrecht, Peace of (1713).**

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PASSIONS. In the twenty-fifth of his *Letters Concerning the English Nation* (1733), Voltaire took on the defense of human nature against the seventeenth-century philosopher Pascal's misanthropic vision, which was centered around the notion of original sin. Intellectual acuity and strong passions, said Voltaire, go together. Human beings have been given passions as a basis for action, and reason is the faculty that guides those actions. In particular, Voltaire defended the passion of self-love, duly channeled by the law and religion, as the basis of natural sociability.

PHILOSOPHICAL BACKGROUND

Since early Christianity, the passions had, at least in part, been strongly associated with suffering and sin—*passiones peccatorum*, *passiones carnales*—reflecting the term's derivation from the Latin *pati*, 'to suffer or undergo'. Voltaire's criticisms were emblematic of a certain shift from a dualistic Christian view in which man can only escape his fallen state through redemption, to an optimistic, secularizing view of humanity, based on notions of liberation, fulfillment, and happiness, and in many ways typical of Enlightenment thought. Attitudes toward the passions certainly changed very significantly in the early modern period, but there were also continuities. The Stoic notion that wisdom consists of rising above the passions and being unaffected by them remained influential, and when Voltaire spoke of the passions as the ground of human activity, but as a force still requiring the regulation of the will, he

was not as far as one might think from Thomas Aquinas's vision. Throughout the period—although this picture may have been fading in the eighteenth century as the power of dualism waned—the passions occupied an intermediary or transitional position between the body and the soul, a position that they shared in some respects with the imagination.

For the Christian philosopher Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274), who with Aristotle was at the heart of the Scholastic teaching that the young René Descartes received from the Jesuits in the early seventeenth century, the passions, together with sense perceptions, were modifications of the soul resulting from its union with the body. The seat of the passions was the sensitive appetite: the passions were the body's attraction to and repulsion from objects that were useful and harmful to it. In themselves, they were neither good nor bad: they represented the matter on which the virtues were exercised. The philosopher Étienne Gilson emphasizes that Thomism (the doctrines drawn from Aquinas) differs from Platonism in its "energetic affirming of the physical nature of the soul."

Descartes's *Treatise on the Passions of the Soul*, published in 1649 shortly before his death, can be seen as a crucial text, marked by Scholasticism but looking forward to future transformations. As for Aquinas, the passions were for Descartes the vector of the human animal's response to and manipulation of its environment, and reason had to play a role in regulating them. The etymology of the term remained visible in Descartes's distinction between the actions and passions of the soul: actions were initiated by the soul and therefore belonged in the sphere of human will and freedom, whereas passions were movements to which the soul was subjected by the body. Descartes's dualism and rationalism were visible in his general position that the will and rationality were always capable of triumphing over the passions.

Enlightenment political and moral philosophy did not speak with a single voice on the passions. The influential Scottish philosopher David Hume (1711–1776) defended the provocative view that "reason is, and ought only to be, the slave of the passions," an antirationalist position deeply at odds with Descartes. A strand of thought running from

Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679) to the French materialists Claude-Adrien Helvétius (1715–1771) and Paul Thiry, baron d’Holbach (1723–1789) saw the question of the passions essentially as one of self-interest. Human beings are naturally selfish, and the task of law and morality is to engineer society in such a way that human egoism is channeled into socially useful activities. Private vices can constitute public virtues, as Bernard Mandeville’s *Fable of the Bees* (1714–1728) put it. The relevance of this to the emergence of laissez-faire economics is obvious. On the other hand the moral sense tradition, initiated perhaps by Francis Hutcheson (1694–1746), believes that human beings have an inbuilt sense of moral rightness and benevolence toward others. Adam Smith’s *Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759) made greater concessions than Hutcheson to self-interest as a social motive. But both writers represented a very important eighteenth-century movement: the belief that human society was crucially built on feelings of sympathy and benevolence that were natural and in some sense involuntary. The German philosopher Immanuel Kant (1724–1804) saw the attempt to base morality solely on affections and sentiments as destructive of true morality. His categorical imperative was an attempt to base ethics on a universal principle of rationality.

If it is possible to generalize about the changing philosophical meaning of the passions over the early modern period, then it appears that empiricism, generally traced back to the figure of John Locke (1632–1704), was a turning point in that it rejected the Scholastic notion of innate ideas and tempered the Cartesian dualism of soul and body. In the eighteenth century, human nature appeared as a reactive potentiality rather than a set of givens, and the passions were part of that zone of reactivity that included the senses, imagination, symbolic thinking, and reasoning. In particular, the Enlightenment was interested in the social passions: sociability was what was natural to human beings. The other very significant change was that the notion of subjection inherent in the etymology disappeared. This was related to the decline of certain conceptual hierarchies within which the passions, as emanations of the body, occupied a lowly position: the gap separating the reigning category—Reason, God—from the human animal was reduced or canceled. Imma-

nence replaced transcendence in a movement of secularization.

PASSIONS IN LITERARY AND SOCIAL HISTORY

Let us turn now to the literary representation of the passions and their place in cultural and social history. Leaving aside the Passion of Christ, the most obvious kind of passion to be represented in literary texts is that associated with love and sexuality. It is probably anachronistic to speak of “romantic” passion before the second half of the eighteenth century, but as a literary theme it clearly stretches back as far as the courtly love of the Middle Ages and finds expression in Renaissance poetry (Pierre de Ronsard [1524–1585]), Shakespeare, and in the ethical conflicts between love and duty dramatized by the classical French playwrights of the seventeenth century. From the late seventeenth century onward, passion emerged as one of the central themes of the novel, including the novel in letter form or epistolary novel. The rise of the novel was linked to the spread of literacy and contributed to a certain democratization of subjectivity: reading novels was partly about sentimental education and self-exploration, perhaps especially for women. The passion of love was also linked to individualism and democracy in that it was frequently represented, especially in the eighteenth century, as a choice of the individual that defied parental strategies and cut across class boundaries and was therefore a progressive force. Even when, as in Rousseau’s *Nouvelle Héloïse* (1761), passion was finally tamed and social order restored, passion still reverberated as the central poetic message of the text. The dark side of sexual passion was not absent from the eighteenth-century view. The libertine heroes and heroines of French novelists like the Marquis de Sade (1740–1814) and Pierre Choderlos de Laclos (1741–1803), manipulated the passions of others for their own pleasure.

It was argued above that the sense of subjection inherent in the etymology of the word “passion” disappeared as we approached modernity. This now requires qualification. While passion came to be positively valued for its intensity and its role as a spur to action and was no longer seen as a base usurper of the prerogatives of the rational soul, it was in one sense still associated with passivity. Lovers did not love out of rational choice, but because it happened



Passions. The deathbed scene from Rousseau's novel *Julie; ou, La nouvelle Héloïse*. Julie has mastered her passion for an unacceptable mate in order to lead a respectable life, but on her deathbed she confesses her enduring love. ©GIANNI DAGLI ORTI/CORBIS

to them; and sentimental discourse gave a huge role to the topos of misfortune, dwelling endlessly on the moral status and internal life of victims. The Enlightenment was deeply interested in pre-linguistic, nonrational and involuntary states, which appeared quintessentially human because they revealed the bedrock of sense experience upon which sociability and ethics were built. Victims were temporarily in such a state, while it was a more permanent condition for nonrational subjects like children, the lower classes, and still, in some Enlightenment views, women (hysteria is precisely a case of loss of rational control of the body). A consequence of this was that if passion could not speak, it had to be read. Sentimental discourse was full of gesture, facial expression, and inarticulate cries: the work of the Swiss physiognomist Johann Kaspar Lavater (1741–1801) and the Austrian sculptor Franz Xaver Messerschmidt (1736–1783) reached back to the theories of the French painter

Charles Le Brun (1619–1690) and to Renaissance attempts to find animal analogies to human types.

GENERAL INTERPRETIVE QUESTIONS

Significant tensions underlie our understanding of the passions in early modernity. In one view, modernization had to do with the liberation of human potentiality, an unfettering that released, among other things, the passions. Another less optimistic view, associated most of all with Michel Foucault, emphasizes the growth of controlling and disciplinary procedures. According to this view, the whole investigation of interiority was a prelude to the medicalization of the passions in the form of psychiatry. Norbert Elias also emphasizes the increased control of the internal life associated with modernization: the social changes of the early modern period involved the privatization of affects and, consequently, a strategic need to read the external signs indicating the feelings and intentions of competitors and adversaries. Finally, we may note a current in contemporary moral philosophy that criticizes a disembodiment of humanity supposedly brought about by the philosophy of modernity and seeks to recover more integrated and holistic models, including Aristotelian ones.

See also Aristotelianism; Cartesianism; Descartes, René; Empiricism; Enlightenment; Hume, David; Pascal, Blaise; Rousseau, Jean-Jacques; Scholasticism; Sexuality and Sexual Behavior; Smith, Adam; Theology; Voltaire.

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PASTEL. The term "pastel" refers to a dry colored powdery artist's material, the stick or tool into which the material is formed, and the work of art executed with the stick. It also refers to an artistic practice that gives rise to a particular aesthetic approach, pastel painting. The term itself derives from the early modern European pastille (English), *pastel* (French), and *pastello* (Italian) used by grocers, apothecaries, and others to describe the various forms in which crushed or powdered substances, formed into viscous pastes, then shaped and dried, were dispensed.

Artists' pastel sticks may be differentiated from naturally available chalks by their constituents and the methods of their production. Natural chalks, amorphous minerals containing clay, have been mined from the earth from prehistoric times and used for drawing as extracted or with minimal shaping. Both fabricated chalks and pastel sticks are colored pastes of natural, fabricated, or synthetic pigments mixed with water-soluble binders and,



Pastel. Jean-Baptiste Simeon Chardin, *Self-portrait with Eyeshade*, 1775. ©ERICH LESSING/ART RESOURCE

when they are required to modify consistency and working properties, inert clay binders. Typically, these pastes are formed into cylindrical sticks and dried. Imprecision in identifying fabricated chalk and pastel in works of art results from the impossibility of distinguishing between the two with the unaided eye or low-power magnification; instrumental analysis, which may necessitate sampling, is required.

For a long period, fabricated sticks were probably made for or by artists on an ad hoc basis. In the seventeenth century, they came to be manufactured in commercially available sets that contained large arrays of colored sticks that could be used to produce pastel paintings in a full range of colors and tones. Significantly, sets of sticks were manufactured from mixtures of ingredients selected to ensure that pigments of widely varying physical properties functioned homogeneously in use. The letters of the Dutch poet and dramatist Christiaan Huygens (1629–1695) and his father Constantijn (1596–1687), the Dutch mathematician, physicist, and astronomer, recount the difficulties these inter-

ested amateurs experienced in making a set of pastel sticks for “face painting” (or portraiture) that handled consistently, suggesting that pastel painting was then a novelty.

These sets were used by artists to meet new needs in changing social and cultural contexts. Robert Nanteuil (1623–1678), the French engraver, practiced pastel painting as a substitute for oil painting to efficiently produce income-generating portraits, thus meeting the desire of status-seeking French professionals for ostentation and the competitive display of their images at the artist’s defense of his academic thesis. In a market already dominated by Nicolas de Largillière and Hyacinthe Rigaud, talented portrait artists who worked in oil, the French painter Joseph Vivien (1657–1734) first made his name painting portraits in pastel, then a relatively “new” technique. By 1710 Vivien had established a solid reputation and turned increasingly to painting in oil. The pastel portraits of the Venetian painter Rosalba Carriera (1675–1757) reflect most completely the aesthetic aims of pastel painting, gaining her Europe-wide commissions and the patronage of Pierre Crozat and the French court. The materials—shimmering areas of dense luxuriant pastel on soft pliant paper—contribute directly to the paintings’ cultural meaning, privileging an aesthetic of pleasurable illusion best characterized in the writings of Roger de Piles (1635–1709).

See also Carriera, Rosalba; Huygens Family; Portrait Miniatures.

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DOROTHEA BURNS

PATIÑO Y MORALES, JOSÉ (1666–1736), Spanish statesman and one of the major figures of enlightened reformism under Philip V. Of Galician origin, Patiño was born in the Duchy of Milan, then under Spanish sovereignty. He was educated by the Jesuits in his native city and enrolled in the Society of Jesus, although he was never ordained as a priest. The occupation of the duchy by Austrian troops during the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1714) caused him to move (in 1707) to the peninsula, where he began his career as an administrator in the service of the monarchy. Under the protection of Jean Orry (chief minister 1701–1706, 1713–1715) he was named intendant of Extremadura (1711) and superintendent of Catalonia (1713). Placed in charge of the provisional government of Catalonia, he served as the interim president of the Justice Board of the Principality (1714).

He became the main instigator of the Decree of Nueva Planta and implemented the property law or land tax, both approved in 1716. Giulio Alberoni’s ascent to power (1716–1719) led to Patiño’s transfer to the navy, where he came to occupy the post of president of the Casa de Contratación (a high tribunal trying cases involving trade with America), which had just been moved to Cadiz. He also became the head of the General Navy Intendancy, headquartered in the same city (1717). He remained the head of the latter institution intermittently until 1726. He began to reorganize the navy by assembling the bases for the future arsenal known as La Carraca (beginning in 1717); creating the School of Midshipmen (1717) for the formation of the officer corps (as instructed by his government in 1718); enacting legislation for the enlistment of seamen in the navy, to guarantee a sufficient crew for the Armada (1717, 1726; registration was voluntary until 1751); and writing the first instructions and regulations for the Armada (1726).

Patiño’s first stay in Cadiz was brief, since he was soon put in charge of organizing the fleet used during the re-conquest of Sardinia (1717) and Sicily (1718). He bore the weight of the war in the Mediterranean until the end of 1719, when he was arrested during the six months after the fall of Alberoni. An inquiry defended his management of the war, allowing him to rehabilitate himself

(1720). Again becoming head of naval affairs, he helped form an expedition to lift the siege of Ceuta (1720) and decisively supported Cadiz against Seville's pretensions to retake the lead in the race for the Indies (1722). Jan Willem Ripperda's ascent to power (1725–1726) resulted in Patiño's temporary departure from Spain (he was commissioned to Brussels), but the fall of that minister signaled not only Patiño's return but also his elevation to the highest government positions: secretary of the navy and the Indies, secretary of finance (both 1726), secretary of war (1731), and first secretary of state (1733). This accumulation of ministries made him into a power arbiter in Spanish politics for more than a decade (1726–1736).

As secretary of the navy and the Indies he was responsible for arsenals and naval construction as well as for privileges given to companies for trade with the Americas (particularly with the foundation of the royal *Compañía Guipuzcoana* of Caracas in 1728). In the Ministry of Finance (where he also headed the General Superintendency of *Rentas*) he published the famous memorandum of 1726 concerning the state of the royal finances, with suggestions for their recovery. In his capacity as secretary of state he retook the fortified towns of Oran and Mazalquivir in 1732. In the African sphere he put in place a policy intended to strengthen Spain's friendship with France and position against England, in order to revise certain clauses of the Utrecht Treaty of 1713. Thus, after signing the Seville Treaty (1729) with both powers, he hindered the presence of the British "vessel of permission" in America. Patiño also signed the second treaty of Vienna, which guaranteed to the infante Don Carlos (later King Charles III [ruled 1759–1788]) the Italian duchies of Parma, Piacenza, and Tuscany (1731). He participated in the War of the Polish Succession, signing the first Family Pact with France (1733), and he secured Naples for the infante (after the efficient occupation of the territory in 1734) through the signature of the preliminary peace of Vienna in 1735, clauses of which were ratified by the treaty of Vienna in 1738.

In the last years of his life, he had to defend himself against opposition, which manifested itself in the clandestine publication *El Duende Crítico* (1735–1736), written by the Portuguese activist Manuel Freire of the conservative group known as

El Partido Español (the Spanish Party). Nonetheless, his work in the service of the monarchy was finally compensated when he was granted the title of Spanish grandee in 1736.

See also **Philip V (Spain); Spain.**

CARLOS MARTÍNEZ-SHAW

(TRANSLATED FROM THE SPANISH BY CARLA RAHN PHILLIPS)

PATRIARCHY AND PATERNALISM. The patriarchal political theory is associated primarily with Sir Robert Filmer (c. 1588–1653), the English royalist who derived political authority from and founded political obligation on the fatherly power of Adam. While hardly unique, he was the most forthright and unyielding of the writers who expounded on the premises of patriarchalism, and it is appropriate that the doctrine be tied to his name. But the coupling of politics and the family was already well established when Filmer wrote; it had been a leitmotif in European thought at least since the time of the ancient Greeks.

ORIGINS

Aristotle (384–322 B.C.E.) asserts in the *Politics* that the state is a teleological outgrowth of the household, which is itself a natural society, and that the experiences of being ruled as a child and ruling as a parent are the best preparations for citizenship. In *De officiis*, one of the most widely read books in early modern Europe, Marcus Tullius Cicero (106–43 B.C.E.) calls the family the "seedbed of the state" (*seminarium re publicae*), a phrase that was often repeated without attribution. Translated into something of an anthropological theory—with or without its implicit determinism—and into an understanding of the biological household as the rudimentary and foundational social institution, Aristotle's twin dicta became commonplace notions. They were especially popular in the teachings of Roman Catholicism, finding expression in the writings of Saint Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274), Marsilius of Padua (c. 1280–c. 1343), and Scholastic theologians and theorists including, among others, the important English divine Richard Hooker (1553 or 1554–1600). But it was primarily as a secular doctrine that the appeal to the family acquired a political significance, and invariably, it

was the male-dominated patriarchal family that served as a political model.

Aristotle had drawn a sharp distinction between the “economic” relationships of the household and the political relationships that existed in the state, and his teleology was based on a fundamental transformation that occurred as the household grew into the state. The Aristotelian formula was accepted by the French jurist Jean Bodin (1530–1596)—subsequently famed for his conception of sovereign power as absolute, indivisible, and inalienable—who further argued in his *Six livres de la république* (1576) that the political community was a union of at least three families and that the powers of fatherhood were natural and God-given and carried with them the duties to nourish and educate one’s children. Johannes Althusius (1557–1638), Dutch theorist of federalism, agreed with Aristotle and in his *Politica Methodice Digesta* (Politics methodically ordered; 1603) used the distinction between familial and civil associations to fortify his conception of the state as a voluntary society. John Selden (1584–1654), Hugo Grotius (1583–1645), and Edward Coke (1552–1634), among others, all accepted this version of the origins of society, but none of them attempted to derive political obligation from the patriarchal origins of political authority. That move was first made by Filmer, but there was much that preceded him and that he incorporated into his theory.

From the time of Martin Luther, Protestant Christianity had utilized the Decalogue’s injunction of obedience to parents to undergird political duty. “Honor thy father and thy mother” (Exod. 20: 12)—the Fifth Commandment of Anglicanism and most other Protestant confessions (the Fourth for Roman Catholics and Lutherans)—was regularly expanded to justify the duties to obey all superiors, including masters, teachers, ministers, and magistrates. With the convenient omission of “mother,” this commandment became a common English shorthand for the duty to obey the king. The uniting of the biblical endorsement of paternal right with political duty was the doctrine of the catechism and frequently turned up in political tracts, legal documents, and theological writings. The political ideology was matched by the apparent social structure. In the increasingly popular literature on the household, the absolute power of the monarch was

often asserted to be parallel to the overarching authority of fathers in what was presented as the traditional, patriarchal family. The image conveyed was of a world in which household, economy, and polity were all in harmony. Coupled with the anthropological account of political origins borrowed from Aristotle, the patriarchal doctrine was nearly irresistible and was the backbone of the implicit belief system of Europe.

DEFENDING ROYAL AUTHORITY

Filmer brought all this to the level of consciousness in response to the social-contract, state-of-nature, and natural-law theories that were being used to attack royal authority in the mid-seventeenth century. His best known work, *Patriarcha*, was not published until 1680 although it was written forty to fifty years earlier. It was one of a number of tracts commenting on the leading political writers and theories of early Stuart England. In his *Two Treatises of Government* (1690) John Locke attacks Filmer’s works as “the Currant Divinity of the Times.” Filmer argues that fatherly power was conferred on Adam by God in Paradise and that all subsequent authority is patriarchal in nature and directly derived from that grant. A mixture of biblical history, social structural inferences from the nature of household governance, reasoned arguments and assertions, and interpretations of English constitutional practice, Filmer’s theories ultimately rested on a Bodinian conception of sovereignty. All authority, he insisted, was absolute and indivisible, owed its existence and nature to God, was passed on through the heirs to Adam’s original grant, and would still exist intact were those heirs known. After the division of the world among the sons of Noah, the subsequent establishment of separate nations at the Tower of Babel, and the eventual loss of the identities of the true heirs to these titles, all power—including that of successful usurpers—remains patriarchal in nature. This is continually reconfirmed by the biblical history of the Hebrews, by the secular practices and philosophies of ancient Greece and Rome, and by the political history of England.

Filmer’s argument is based on the presumed identity of patriarchal and political power rather than on a metaphorical or analogical use of fatherhood. That strict identity enables him to attack the state-of-nature and social-contract theories.

Those doctrines presumed that the “original” condition of humanity was one of natural freedom; government and politics were contrivances instituted either to remedy the defects of nature or to complete God’s plan. Filmer argues, on the contrary, that subjection to governance was the original human condition. Because people have always been and are naturally subject to the authority of fathers and because there is no distinction between paternal and political power, he claims, there never was the natural liberty that would have been necessary if people were to have instituted government by themselves. Accordingly, since government is a divine and not a human creation, it cannot be controlled by the “people.” Rulers are answerable solely to God, not to their subjects.

The widespread use of the familial or patriarchal conception of the origins of civil society to counter state-of-nature and social-contract theories and to defend divine-right absolutism in Stuart England marks the emergence of patriarchalism as a comprehensive theory of political obligation; it was that theory that was finally undone by the attacks of Locke and others, although the anthropological doctrine and the traditional structure of the household were immune to those criticisms. But political patriarchalism did not disappear after Locke’s onslaught. Charles Leslie, an English Nonjuror in the early eighteenth century, and Jonathan Boucher (1738–1804), an American Tory minister at the time of the Revolution, both defended Filmer, and a version of the patriarchal doctrine that could have rivaled Filmer’s was asserted by the French bishop Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet (1627–1704) in his *Politique tirée des propres paroles de l’Écriture Sainte* (1677–1679).

Locke’s principal conceptual task was to reassert the Aristotelian separation of familial from political authority, and he accepted a nonteleological version of that position. This modified “Lockean” account, which describes the anthropological emergence of politics from the primitive or “prepolitical” household, remained the standard account of governmental origins throughout the eighteenth century. It can be found in the writings of Francis Hutcheson (1694–1746), Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778), David Hume (1711–1776), and most other political theorists who wrote about the origins of the state. The full realization of Locke’s

accomplishment was at least a hundred years away, but in his response to Filmer, Locke provided a foundation for an understanding of government as an artificial human creation that could be subjected to constitutional limitations.

See also Aristotelianism; Authority, Concept of; Bodin, Jean; Bossuet, Jacques-Bénigne; Divine Right Kingship; Hume, David; Locke, John; Monarchy; Rousseau, Jean-Jacques; Sovereignty, Theory of; State and Bureaucracy.

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GORDON SCHOCHET

PATRIOT REVOLUTION. The Patriot Revolution (1786–1787) in the Dutch Republic was the first popular democratic revolution in continental Europe. The self-styled Patriot movement grew out of the political and economic crisis (brought on by Dutch involvement [1780–1784] in the American War of Independence), which began when the British discovered a secret commercial treaty between the city of Amsterdam and the rebellious colonies and declared war on the Dutch Republic. The Patriots eventually mobilized a broad interclass and interregional coalition around a program of political reform that demanded the institutionalization of popular sovereignty through electoral representation. The revolution began when the Patriots seized power locally in a series of municipal revolutions, beginning at Utrecht in 1786, and it came to a climax in the summer of 1787 when the Patriots, by virtue of such piecemeal local revolutions, controlled three of the Republic’s seven sovereign provinces (Holland, Overijssel, and Groningen), and divided power in two more (Friesland and Utrecht). The Patriot Revolution ended abruptly when British and Prussian military intervention restored the aristocratic Orangist regime in the fall of 1787.

Structurally, the Patriot Revolution mirrored the political decentralization of the Dutch Republic, and in the absence of a clear center of power, the revolution lacked the drama of a single, violent sei-

zure of power such as occurred in France just two years later. And since their movement was crushed by outside intervention, Dutch historians traditionally criticized the Patriots for being insufficiently “radical” or “revolutionary” to prevail against the aristocratic patronage regime that had centered on the princes of Orange since their hereditary appointment to the position of stadtholder in all seven provinces in 1747. More recent accounts have instead emphasized the breadth of the Patriots’ popular mobilization in voluntary militias and by means of citizens’ committees, following the American example, and credited them for their skillful use of the popular press to shift the focus of Dutch political debate from defense of Old Regime privileges to the assertion of civil and political rights under the constitutional umbrella of popular sovereignty.

Initially the Patriot reform movement attacked the military failures and alleged corruption of the patronage regime of William V of Orange (1748–1806) who, though a political appointee, closely controlled access to political office; in this early anti-Orange phase, the self-styled Patriots were led by political outsiders like F. A. van der Kemp, a Mennonite pastor from Leiden, and Joan Derk van der Capellen tot de Pol, a nobleman from the rural province of Overijssel, who in 1781 anonymously published the famous pamphlet *Aan het Volk van Nederland* (To the people of the Netherlands). The reform movement also booked its first political successes in the smaller cities, like Deventer, in the interior provinces—rather than in a metropolis like Amsterdam in urban and commercial Holland—by demonstrating the potency of popular petition campaigns led by special-purpose political associations. Eventually in the cities of Holland, too, the Patriots incorporated dissident members of the “regent” political elite into a revolutionary coalition that prominently included lawyers, merchants, shopkeepers, artisans, and even casual laborers.

In the final analysis, the Patriot Revolution brought profound changes to Dutch politics, despite the Orangist restoration in 1787. It permanently fractured the aristocratic political foundations of the Old Regime, taught valuable political lessons to a whole range of political actors who had previously been excluded from public politics, and thus laid the political-cultural foundations for the more successful Batavian Revolution, under French sponsorship, in 1795.

See also **Dutch Republic; Revolutions, Age of.**

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WAYNE TE BRAKE

PATRONAGE. Patronage ties and networks formed a quasi-universal system stretching across early modern Europe. Although the patronage system may have developed from feudal vassalage, patrons did not give their clients fiefs in return for service. Patron-client ties, which had appeared by the early fifteenth century, were based on more varied forms of reward than land, including money payments. Man-to-man personal ties of loyalty were still important in patronage, but there were no oaths of homage or fealty. Choice of patron was free, and obligations were not fixed. Patronage ties were more informal and their obligations less precise than those of feudal vassalage.

Great nobles at this time maintained large households of a hundred or more and sizable military retinues. Household members and military retainers were often clients, who received money payments and room and board for their service, but not land. In the 1530s the household of François La Trémoille (1502–1541) numbered between 90 and 100, of whom 27 were noble clients. In addition to room and board, they received substantial salaries with regular increases, gifts of cash and jewelry, annual pensions, clothing for special occasions, and money for traveling expenses. In 1507 the household of Edward Stafford, duke of Buckingham (1478–1521), numbered 130, of whom 100 ate prodigiously at his expense. The duke also clothed them, gave them occasional gifts, and employed their relatives, but he did not give them land.

Patronage was a system of personal ties and networks in which a patron or superior offered protection and support to an inferior or client, who

owed him loyalty and service in return. Patron-client ties were voluntary, emotional bonds of loyalty between unequals who were linked vertically in mutual-assistance relationships. The type of assistance varied, but a patron had to reward the loyal service of a client if he wanted to keep it, and a client had to repay his generosity with loyal service if he wanted to receive patronage in future. The obligatory reciprocity of the patron-client relationship was its definitive characteristic. Beyond this, however, there were no exact requirements about what was exchanged or when. A kinsman became a client when he joined a patron-client network headed by a family member on whom he was dependent for advancement and to whom he owed loyal service in return. Kinship and marriage ties reinforced the loyalty of patron-client ties, and kin were often clients.

When Ferrara became part of the Papal States in 1598, Pope Clement VIII (1536–1605) made every effort to win the loyalty of leading families by giving them favors and benefits, particularly promotions to the cardinalate. In accepting benefits without returning them, the recipients incurred a debt that had to be repaid, and so became clients. Influential members of the Medici family frequently recommended clients to the same friend at a foreign court for the same job, which usually led to a puzzled request for clarification as to which candidate really enjoyed Medici support, and who should be appointed to satisfy the appointer's obligations as a Medici client. Fourteen of twenty-three, or approximately 60 percent, of the most trusted provincial clients of Henri II d'Orléans, duc de Longueville and governor of Normandy from 1619 to 1622, were connected to him by kinship and marriage ties.

The terminology of patronage is sometimes ambiguous, especially in English. The French *patronage* and the Italian *patronato* denote a superior's protection and support of an inferior, as does the English word *patronage*. In addition, the English word has a whole series of meanings that never existed in, or have disappeared from, the French and Italian. Patronage in English may also mean a kindness done with an air of superiority or condescension, the power to make appointments to office, a mode of recruitment to officeholding; that is, offices distributed on the basis of patronage, and the offices so distributed. These meanings do not exist in French or Italian. There is no separate word in

English for cultural patronage, although the word in French is *mécénat*, in Italian *mecenatismo*, and in German *Mäzenatentum*. There is also some confusion about the meaning of the words *friend* and *friendship* used in a patronage context. Historically, the English word *patronage* refers to a system of personal ties and networks that was pervasive in early modern Europe. This system's effects on social mobility, cultural production, and political stability are discussed here.

ADVANCEMENT AND PATRONAGE

Patronage was necessary for advancement within the army, church, and government, and was essential to social mobility because the hierarchical societies of early modern Europe had limited advancement opportunities. Louis II de Bourbon, prince de Condé (1621–1686), who was Louis XIV's cousin, maintained at his own expense two infantry regiments, two ordinance companies, one cavalry company, and one guard company. His troops were incorporated within the royal army in which Condé himself held the rank of general. As a result, he appointed both the officers of his own troops and of the other troops under his command. From 1643 to 1648 he made recommendations for the promotion of thirty-five high-ranking army officers, and more than half his recommendations were accepted. Condé's patronage assured an individual of an army commission or promotion.

Family patronage was responsible for advancement within the papal states in the sixteenth century, both inside and outside the church. The Borghese family was the most influential, although popes during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries usually promoted their kinsmen, especially those who were clerics. Patronage was essential to clerical advancement. At the beginning of his ecclesiastical career, Jean Raymond de Boisgelin (1732–1804) sought the patronage of the Rohans, who were his family's traditional patrons. Louis Constantin de Rohan (1734–1803), bishop of Strasbourg, helped him to obtain his first position as grand vicar of the archbishop of Rouen in 1755. Boisgelin then went to the royal court, where he met the comtesse de Gramont and the prince de Beauvau, and through their patronage, he was named archbishop of Aix-en-Provence, an office which he held from 1770 until 1805.

Being appointed to the office of tax farmer general in eighteenth-century France was almost always the result of a recommendation by an individual with influence at court such as royal family members, royal favorites, ministers, and great nobles. Marie-Anne de Mailly-Nesle, the duchesse de Châteauroux (1717–1744), obtained a promise that the first vacancy of farmer general would be given to her client, Camuset, who finally received the office in 1749, five years after her death. Jeanne-Antoinette Poisson, the marquise de Pompadour (1721–1764), married a tax farmer general in 1741. She later became Louis XV's mistress and controlled most of the appointments to these financial offices until her death in 1764. Jean de Guillemain was named commander of the Paris city guard in 1703 through the patronage of a royal minister, the comte de Pontchartrain. In 1714 Guillemain became a defendant in a criminal trial before the judicial high court of the Parlement of Paris on charges of bribery and police brutality. Despite this, his son inherited his office in the same year through Pontchartrain's patronage. Patronage was essential to advancement within the government.

The distribution of patronage was an important rationale for the existence of princely courts, which served as meeting places for the nobility and the king. If an individual wanted patronage, he had to go where potential patrons gathered, and this was the court. The imperial court of the Habsburgs in Vienna, for instance, offered a range of patronage and advancement opportunities unavailable elsewhere in the empire. Courts were also centers for the consumption of elite culture, and thus vital to cultural production. Artists and intellectuals went to court hoping to secure employment and financial support in the form of commissions and patronage. They might be hired by a court noble whose hobby was building and decorating great houses, and who employed architects, mural and portrait painters, tapestry and furniture makers, sculptors, and musicians. Household service was a form of cultural patronage, and men of letters were employed in great households as secretaries, tutors, librarians, chaplains, readers, and almoners. Annual pensions providing financial support were the preferred form of cultural patronage, however, because they allowed the recipients to live independently.

At the English court of James I (ruled 1603–1625), famous art patrons included, besides the king himself, his oldest son Prince Henry, who died in 1612, the royal favorite, the duke of Buckingham, and the earls of Arundel, Salisbury, and Pembroke, who lavishly decorated great houses. Frederick II, king of Denmark and Norway (ruled 1559–1588), was known for his patronage of the astronomer Tycho Brahe, for whom he built a castle-laboratory on the island of Ven. Brahe was the son of the queen's mistress of the wardrobe, and Queen Sophia visited Ven several times. At Tycho's urging, she encouraged his friend, the historian Anders Sørensen Vedel, to gather together and publish a collection of old Danish ballads, which remain an important source of early Danish folk literature.

Artists seeking patronage usually approached a potential patron directly or through an intermediary. In 1474 it was rumored in Milan that the duke intended to have a chapel decorated at Pavia, and the duke's agent complained that every painter in Milan had asked him about it. In 1488 the artist Alvise Vivarini petitioned the doge to let him paint something for the Great Council Hall in Venice, as the Bellinis were doing, and in 1515 Titian made a similar request. Besides having a preference for a particular style, patrons chose an artist because of family connections or based on the advice of others, a low bid on a project, or the results of a formal competition. Giorgio Vasari (1511–1574) went to work for Alessandro de' Medici because Alessandro was a distant relative of Vasari's guardian, Cardinal Silvio Passerini, while Lorenzo the Magnificent (1449–1492) recommended the sculptor Guiliano da Maiano to Prince Alfonso of Calabria. The duke of Milan's agent, mentioned above, chose the artist who offered to do the work for 150 rather than 200 ducats. One of the most famous competitions was for the Baptistery doors in Florence, in which Lorenzo Ghiberti (c. 1378–1455) defeated Filippo Brunelleschi (1377–1446).

The uses of cultural patronage for self-advertisement and political propaganda were widely recognized, and patrons frequently suggested the theme, subject, or style of a work. Artists and men of letters often championed their patrons in print or in some other medium, and dedicated their work to them. After university teaching, Galileo Galilei (1564–1642) sought a position at the Medici and Gonzaga

courts. He finally secured one through the patronage of the young Cosimo de' Medici (1590–1621), whom he approached directly for the first time in 1605. Four years later Cosimo became duke and named Galileo court philosopher and mathematician. After Cosimo's death in 1621, Galileo went to the Roman court in search of a new patron, and secured the support of Prince Federico Cesi and Pope Urban VIII (1568–1644). His success, however, ended with his heresy trial in 1633. Galileo's father and older brother had been musicians at the Florentine court, and he had learned from them how to secure court patronage. He marketed his projects so that they were understandable and appealing, and emphasized that his success enhanced a patron's prestige. He flattered and complimented a patron, showed him deference, and graciously accepted his advice. At this time noble patronage of artistic and scientific projects was a popular hobby.

Italian humanists of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries tended to write civic propaganda rather than history because they were either employed in the household of a ruling prince, received a pension from him, or were employed in his government, which influenced what they had to say. Leonardo Bruni (c. 1370–1444) and Niccolò Machiavelli (1469–1527) are well-known examples. Unless they had financial means of their own, historians needed the support of patrons, and their continuing need for patronage influenced what they wrote. Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619–1683) decided to encourage the writing of history that praised Louis XIV's government by asking the Parisian literary critic Jean Chapelain (1595–1674) to make recommendations for state-funded appointments as royal historians, and for a list of men of letters who should be awarded royal pensions for work glorifying Louis's reign. Colbert's list in 1664 contained fifty-eight names for a total of 77,500 livres. The next year there were sixty-five names for a total of 82,000 livres, and in 1666, seventy-two names for a total of 95,000 livres.

GOVERNMENT AND PATRONAGE

The traditional view of the patronage system emphasizes its destabilizing political effects, holding it responsible for much of the factionalism and conflict disrupting early modern courts and governments. Competition for patronage created strife and

hostility, and increased corruption, favoritism, and nepotism in government. These deleterious effects caused political instability. A newer, revisionist view, however, insists upon the constructive effects of patronage because it provided early modern governments with a powerful weapon of manipulation and control. The king and his ministers used the personal bonds of loyalty created by patronage to ensure that their decisions were carried out. They created their own patron-client networks or mobilized existing networks, and used them to enforce their policies. They distributed patronage to political opponents and unruly nobles to encourage their obedience, and withheld it to punish disobedience, thus reducing political strife and conflict.

Philip II of Spain (ruled 1556–1598) was able to control the Spanish *grandees* because he had extensive patronage to distribute, including titles, lands, monopolies, annuities, and a multitude of posts in the army, government, and empire. During his reign, he gathered the flow of state patronage into his own hands, and carefully distributed it himself in contrast to his successor, Philip III (ruled 1598–1621), who used a favorite, the duke of Lerma, to distribute patronage to the nobility. Elizabeth I of England (ruled 1558–1603) had four recognized favorites, the earls of Leicester and Essex, Sir Christopher Hatton, and Sir Walter Raleigh, but she always distributed patronage herself, and she skillfully played off court and government factions so that she was always in control. By the eighteenth century, however, power had shifted from the English crown to the Parliament, so it became the battleground for patronage, which was used to control parliamentary elections. Patronage allowed the government and the opposition to influence who sat in Parliament, and thus to determine what Parliament said and did.

Cardinal Jules Mazarin (1602–1661) on his deathbed advised the young Louis XIV (ruled 1643–1715) to distribute patronage himself, so that the nobility would look to him for favors, a policy that would strengthen the government. Louis took his advice, and maintained close control over the distribution of patronage, demanding obedience from those who received it. He did not have favorites as a matter of principle, unlike his father, Louis XIII (ruled 1610–1643), whose celebrated ministerial favorite, Armand-Jean du Plessis, Cardi-

nal Richelieu (1585–1642), had ruled France with an iron fist. Richelieu's handpicked successor was Cardinal Mazarin, who was chief minister during Louis's minority. When Mazarin died in 1661, Louis vowed to rule by himself and did so. Both Richelieu and Mazarin had governed using clients whom they placed at the highest levels of royal government, which was permeated from top to bottom by patron-client ties and networks.

The careers of Henry Howard, earl of Northampton (1540–1614), and Honoré d'Albert, sieur de Luynes, demonstrate the constructive uses of political patronage. For decades Howard was a would-be client without a patron, unable to attend court or seek royal favor, frequently imprisoned for his support of Mary, Queen of Scots (ruled 1542–1587). This punitive treatment did not make him abandon her cause, however. His fortunes changed in the 1590s, after her death, when he became a client of Robert Devereux, earl of Essex (1566–1601), a favorite of Elizabeth I. Able to return to court, Howard was reconciled with the queen, although he remained a Catholic. In the last years of her reign, he became a close adviser of James VI of Scotland (ruled 1567–1625), who appreciated Howard's support of his mother. When James became king of England in 1603, he made Howard earl of Northampton, and in this capacity Howard became one of James's most important ministers. As a privy councillor, Howard was an active supporter of administrative reform, and he used patronage and his own extensive patron-client network to accomplish it. When he died in 1614, his clients controlled the distribution of most court patronage, and he had amassed a large personal fortune. Howard used patronage as a tool to pursue both personal profit and government reform.

Honoré d'Albert de Luynes was a client of the powerful governor of Languedoc, Henri de Montmorency-Damville, who appointed him governor of the royal fortress of Pont-Saint-Esprit in the 1570s. Luynes was ambitious, so he went to court in search of further advancement. He became a client of Henry III's brother, the duc d'Anjou. But his pursuit of court advancement cost him the patronage of Damville, who severed their ties and removed him as governor of Pont-Saint-Esprit. Luynes was reinstated by the king, however. Henry III regularly used the distribution of court patronage, especially

by his favorites the ducs de Joyeuse and d'Épernon, to manipulate and control the French nobility. Henry III distrusted Damville, who was known as “the uncrowned king of the south,” considering him an overmighty subject and a Protestant sympathizer. So, he reversed Damville's decision and reinstated Luynes, who was a staunch Catholic. Luynes promised to raise troops to drive Damville's Protestant governor from Pont-Saint-Esprit and did so. As a reward, he received the fortress governorship from the king. When the duc d'Anjou died, however, Damville removed Luynes from office again, and this time the king did not intervene. Although Luynes went to court in search of a new patron, he did not find one, and he received no more appointments. The king and Damville had used the bestowal of patronage to encourage obedience, and its removal to punish disobedience. Early modern governments used the selective distribution of patronage to enforce their policies and discipline unruly nobles. In this way, the patronage system helped to reduce strife and increase political stability.

See also **Aristocracy and Gentry; Art: Artistic Patronage; Court and Courtiers; Feudalism; Officeholding.**

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PATRONAGE, ARTISTIC. *See Art: Artistic Patronage.*

PAUL I (RUSSIA) (1754–1801; ruled 1796–1801), emperor of Russia. Like his father, Peter III (1728–1762), Paul I was assassinated by members of elite guards’ regiments, on 23 March 1801 (11 March, O.S.). Historians are divided as to what motivated his policies during his brief rule, and equally as to what brought about his demise. The most consistently repeated theme is Paul’s abiding



Paul I. Portrait by Pompeo Batoni. THE ART ARCHIVE/GALLERIA DEGLI UFFIZI FLORENCE/DAGLI ORTI (A)

dislike of his mother, Catherine the Great, and a wish to avenge his father, whose remains he had transferred to St. Petersburg’s Peter and Paul Fortress to lie next to Catherine’s. It is true that Paul exiled or dismissed many of his mother’s favorites, and he released from exile several prominent intellectuals and nobles who had incurred her wrath during the later 1780s and 1790s, including Nikolai Novikov and Aleksandr Radishchev. Within weeks of ascending the throne, Paul effectively decreed an end to the legacy of female rule by replacing Peter the Great’s law of succession (which had given the reigning monarch absolute authority to name an heir) with a system that gave preference to male heirs. Henceforth the eldest son would inherit the throne automatically, and the only opportunity for a woman to inherit power would be if the entire male lineage (other sons and brothers) generated no candidates.

Paul’s mercurial personality undoubtedly contributed to his unpopularity among the leading families at court. The question of royal madness lin-

gered throughout his reign, and several historians have concluded that he was indeed insane. He surrounded himself with a small coterie of advisers and established a series of ad hoc institutional barriers between himself and the leading servitors. Thus, the heads of Russia's civil administrations, or colleges, were placed under the close jurisdiction of the court. He also endeavored to impose restrictions on the exploitation of serf labor by pronouncing that landlords should demand only three days of *corvée* per week on their land. Three days were to be reserved for the peasants' own plots, and Sunday was to be observed as the Sabbath. This decree appears not to have significantly modified serf exploitation in the short run, and the secular shift from quitrent to *corvée*, begun in the mid-eighteenth century, continued apace until the abolition of serfdom in 1861, at least in the central heartland. But the decree constituted at least a symbolic challenge to noble serf owners, the very people who, through the early nineteenth century, dominated the upper rungs of the imperial service system known as the Table of Ranks. As several of Paul's forebears had learned, the emperor may have reigned supreme, but without the acquiescence of the guards' regiments and powerful clans at court he could not effectively rule.

Napoléon Bonaparte's emergence as ruler of France guaranteed that foreign policy would play an increasingly central role during Paul's reign, in particular the vaunted "Eastern Question" and Paul's Northern System. The latter plan briefly united Sweden, Russia—since the partitions of Poland firmly ensconced on the Baltic sea—and France in a revival of the League of Armed Neutrality, a naval alliance directed in large measure against Great Britain. The Eastern Question was more complex, but Paul believed that he could work with Bonaparte to advance into the Caucasus (annexing Georgia in 1801), the Black Sea, and at one point even India. Paul's southern ambitions led to his establishing a personal protectorate over the Knights of Malta, becoming their grand master. Like his mother he had designs on Istanbul, but these came to naught.

The coup that led to his murder repeated a well-worn pattern. A coterie of elite guards and Freemasons, led by Count Peter von Pahlen, the governor-general of St. Petersburg, and Platon Zubov, the last favorite of Catherine the Great, plotted the

coup. As before, the conspiracy endeavored merely to replace a despised monarch with a more acceptable ruler, in this case Paul's son, the future Alexander I. And, as in the past, the beneficiaries of the coup had been informed in advance of what was intended. Although murder had not been the intent—it never was—the coup did turn bloody, and Paul was killed.

See also Catherine II (Russia); Russia.

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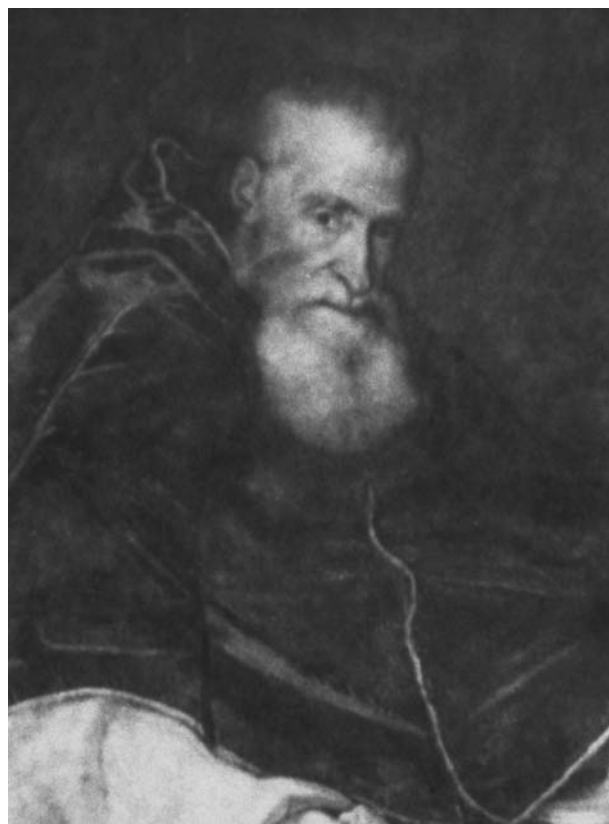
PAUL III (POPE) (Alessandro Farnese; 1468–1549; reigned 1534–1549), Italian ecclesiastic. Born 29 February 1468 at Canino in Latium of noble parents and in comfortable circumstances, Paul was educated in Rome by humanists Pompeo Leto and Giovanni Battista Pio and studied at the University of Pisa and at the court of Lorenzo the Magnificent. In 1493 Pope Alexander VI (reigned 1492–1503) elected him cardinal-deacon. He was ordained a priest in 1519, before which time he had four illegitimate children. He held bishoprics in Parma and Ostia, was made dean of the Sacred College by Leo X (reigned 1513–1521), and was elected pope on 13 October 1534. He died on 10 November 1549.

Paul's complex personality and decisions as pope typified a prince of the High Renaissance. Reflecting his sense of self-importance, his pontificate was given to the wholesale aggrandizement of his family: family members received key ecclesiastical positions, benefices, and lands. His pontificate

also occurred when the Roman Church instituted new measures to check Lutheranism in Italy and northern Europe. A shrewd administrator who selected many men of talent (among them, cardinals Gasparo Contarini, Reginald Pole, and Giovanni Morone), Paul grasped the urgency for ecclesiastical reform, especially after the devastating sack of Rome (1527). Early on, he set up a reform commission to identify abuses in the church “in head and members” (1537); its private memorandum (*Concilium de Emendanda Ecclesia*) fell into the hands of Protestants and caused embarrassment, but it identified key abuses the Council of Trent would later address (such as episcopal absence and plurality of benefices). Frustrated after sending legates to Regensburg (Ratisbon) in 1541 to debate with Lutherans on theological questions such as transubstantiation, free will, and justification, he took more direct action. In 1542, he established the Roman Inquisition to check the spread of Lutheranism in Italy. Foremost in his mind was a general council of the church to clarify doctrine and correct abuses; after numerous delays, the council opened at Trent (1545–1563); Paul saw completed the council’s first session (1545–1546).

Unyielding on papal authority, he gained a reputation early as an effective diplomat and negotiator for Julius II (reigned 1503–1513), Leo X, and Clement VII (reigned 1523–1534), distinguishing himself as a person acceptable to all political factions. As pope, he maintained frank and at times tense relations with Holy Roman Emperor Charles V (ruled 1519–1558), but supported him in his military efforts to defeat the Protestant princes, even allying with him in 1546 against the Protestant Schmalkaldic League. He kept up cordial ties with Francis I (ruled 1515–1547), king of France, throughout the latter’s perpetual antagonism with the emperor. Paul succeeded in bringing both parties to a truce long enough to open the Council of Trent. He urged a crusade against the Turks and chastised Henry VIII of England (ruled 1509–1547), though he grew frustrated after repeated efforts to resolve Henry’s break with Rome.

In 1540 Paul confirmed the Constitutions of the Society of Jesus (the Jesuits). He supported the work of new religious orders such as the Barnabites, Capuchins, Theatines, Ursulines, and Somaschi. He also urged relations with the Armenian and



Pope Paul III. Engraving after the portrait by Titian. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Maronite churches, supported missionary work in Africa and the Americas, and forbade enslaving the American Indians.

Paul III, a liberal patron of education and the arts, gave generously to both these causes by rebuilding the University of Rome, bringing in scholars (such as Romolo Amaseo, teacher of rhetoric), donating books and manuscripts to the Vatican Library, and commissioning urban renewal, buildings, and artistic works, most notably the Palazzo Farnese on the Via Giulia, the renovation of the Campidoglio, the Castel Sant’Angelo, and the frescoes of the Sala Regia and the Capella Paolina. He commissioned Michelangelo to paint the *Last Judgment* for the Sistine Chapel, and appointed him to carry on as architect of the new Saint Peter’s Basilica after the death of Antonio da Sangallo.

See also Inquisition, Roman; Papacy and Papal States; Rome, Sack of; Trent, Council of.

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PAUL V (POPE) (Camillo Borghese; 1552–1621; reigned 1605–1621), Italian pope. After receiving a doctorate in law at Perugia, Borghese, who was of Sieneese origins, was ordained at Rome and took curial positions. In 1593, Clement VIII (reigned 1592–1605) sent him as envoy to Philip II of Spain. Having served as bishop of Iesi (1597–1599), vicar of Rome, and inquisitor (1603), he was elected pope largely because of his neutrality toward Spain and France. He held strong views on papal authority and had able cardinals, Bellarmine and Baronijs, for support in controversies.

Paul's plea to James I (ruled 1603–1625) not to punish Catholics in England after the Gunpowder Plot (5 November 1605) brought Parliament to demand an Oath of Allegiance of Catholics, which abjured belief in the pope's power to depose rulers and withdraw their subjects' loyalty to them. Paul condemned this, but his ambiguous communications with James on the duties of Catholics toward their king and disputes among Catholics in England triggered harsh reactions against them.

Paul adopted a tenacious adherence to the principle of clerical immunity from secular jurisdiction. In 1606, this sentiment clashed with the Republic of Venice when two criminal clerics were prosecuted in secular courts in that region. Venice also had passed laws against appropriating immoveable property for the church and against constructing new churches without permission of the Republic. After Venice refused to repeal the laws and release these clerics, Paul excommunicated the doge and government of Venice, placing the city under interdict. In defiance, Venice held religious services and battled Rome in a pamphlet war. A year later, a compromise negotiated by France made clear the ineffectiveness of such sanctions as well as the papacy's weakened position against European powers.

In 1611 Paul condemned the theories of the Gallican church, which held that the king's power came directly from God and was not mediated through the pope. The French king eventually backed away from this position. In 1614, when the Estates-General banned publication of the decrees of the Council of Trent in France, many French prelates resolved to publish them in provincial synods.

In central Europe, tensions between Catholic, Lutheran, and Calvinist princes led to renewed hostilities in 1618 after the collapse of the Religious Peace of Augsburg (1555). Paul eventually gave weighty support to Emperor Ferdinand II (ruled 1619–1637) in this conflict, known later as the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648).

Paul promoted Tridentine reform by enforcing episcopal residency, safeguarding Catholic orthodoxy through the Inquisition and Congregation of the Index, and promoting the work of the newer religious orders (Jesuits, Theatines, Capuchins, and Oratorians). He enjoined both Dominicans and Jesuits to teach their positions on the question of free will and God's foreknowledge (Molinist Controversy) without accusing each other of heresy. He instructed Galileo Galilei (1564–1642) to refrain from teaching as truth Copernicus's theory about Earth's rotation around the sun. He approved the use of the vernacular language in liturgical services for missionaries in China and India, and he encouraged missionary activity in Canada, Japan, Ethiopia, Congo, and the Middle East. Paul canonized Carlo Borromeo (1610) and Francesca Romana (1614) and beatified Ignatius Loyola, Francis Xavier, Philip Neri, Teresa of Ávila, Isidore the Farmer (all canonized in 1623), and many others.

Paul enriched his family, especially his cardinal-nephew Scipione Borghese, who became a great patron of the arts by giving Gian Lorenzo Bernini commissions, constructing the Villa Borghese, and refurbishing churches in Rome. Paul renovated the Quirinal Palace and completed Saint Peter's basilica (and had his own name inscribed on its facade). He enriched the Vatican Library, created the Vatican Secret Archives, and restored the aqueduct of Trajan. In 1614, he published the reformed *Rituale Romanum*.

Paul suffered a stroke when celebrating the defeat of the Calvinist king, Frederick V of Bohemia, at the Battle of White Mountain (8 November 1620); he died shortly afterward. He is buried in the Borghese Cappella Paolina of Santa Maria Maggiore.

See also **Augsburg, Religious Peace of (1555)**; **Bellarmino, Robert**; **Gallicanism**; **Papacy and Papal States**; **Thirty Years' War (1618–1648)**; **Venice**.

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PAWNING. Pawning is the practice of taking a loan against an item of greater value than the amount of the loan. The lender may sell the item at the end of the loan's term if the borrower, whether deliberately or not, fails to repay both the principal and interest. Literary references testify to the importance of pawning in early modern Europe: in Shakespeare's *King Henry IV, Part Two* (1598), Falstaff, faced with arrest for a bad debt, tries to persuade Mistress Quickly to pawn her plate and tapestries on his behalf.

Through the fourteenth century, Christians, charging up to 80 percent interest per annum, dominated pawnbroking. Increasingly seen as usurious and subsequently prohibited by bankers' guilds, licensed pawnbroking in much of Europe became identified with Jews by the fifteenth century. Typical contracts between Jewish lenders and local authorities exacted a tax in exchange for the right to open pawnshops, and regulated interest rates: 20 percent in Rome, 15 percent in Venice. The perception that pawnbroking exploited poor Christians contributed to the debasement of Jews and sometimes sparked anti-Semitic outbursts, as in Frankfurt in 1614.

In mid-fifteenth-century Italy, Franciscans began advocating *monti di pietà*—charitable public pawnshops offering low-interest loans to the poor, displacing the Jews and their pawnbroking. The first *monte* was established in Perugia in 1462; others quickly followed. By the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Spaniards could seek loans at civic pawnshops (*positos*); residents of the southern Netherlands frequented local *monti*; inhabitants of Amsterdam and Stockholm brought pawns to their own municipal lenders; Protestant Frankfurt am Main established a community chest, modeled after the *monte*. Public pawnshops, however, could not accommodate all potential borrowers, a fact evinced in the sixteenth century by the Medici dukes' concessions to Jews of monopoly pawnbroking privileges in areas with no *monti*, and in the argument of a Venetian patrician against the expulsion of Jews on the grounds that pawnbroking was essential for the needy.

The wealthy, too, resorted to pawning, whether at pawnshops or other institutions, including international banks. Clients of Siena's *monte* included patricians, lawyers, and doctors. In Spain, Charles I (ruled 1516–1558; Holy Roman emperor as Charles V 1519–1556) secured loans by pledging income from unfilled benefices. The Venetian Republic pawned jewels from the church of San Marco against a loan from the banker Agostino Chigi (c. 1465–1520). In 1456 the banker Tommaso Spinelli lent Pope Calixtus III (reigned 1455–1458) nineteen thousand florins against a bejeweled tiara crafted by the sculptor Lorenzo Ghiberti (c. 1378–1455). The Medici bank's Basel branch took jewelry as pledges, revealing that the Medici occasionally served as glorified pawnbrokers to the rich and famous. In England, where Jews had been expelled in 1290, an act of Parliament in 1603 attempted to control the alleged criminal tendencies of pawnbroking, to which, nonetheless, the wealthy sometimes resorted for purposes like raising cash for their daughters' dowries.

Whether through pawnbrokers, institutions such as *monti di pietà*, or, more rarely, large banks, pawning offered the only ready source of loans for the needy during seasonal or unexpected crises, and allowed the powerful to obtain cash for valuables. It thus formed one of the financial strategies of rich and poor alike in early modern Europe.

See also **Charity and Poor Relief; Interest; Jews, Attitudes toward.**

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PEACE. See **Pacifism.**

PEASANTRY. The existence of a European peasantry did not change fundamentally between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, but during those three hundred years significant shifts in the status, occupation, and livelihood of peasants occurred at various times and places. Generally speaking, the fortunes of Europe's agriculturalists conformed to a cycle of upswing until the later sixteenth century, followed by depression or even crisis, which lasted in some parts of Europe until the late seventeenth century, to be succeeded by a recovery in the eighteenth. Although Europe's peasantries had been the prisoners of Malthusian checks—with war, famine, and disease serving to restore a population in danger of outgrowing available resources to a new homeostatic balance—by the eighteenth century substantial and sustainable population growth in the countryside was being achieved by means of improved crop rotations, the planting of new crops (not least potatoes, which in many instances replaced grain as the staple of subsistence), and some technological innovations. But the pace of change

was slow and incremental: there was no “agricultural revolution,” and it is doubtful whether changes in the rural economy were responsible in any direct fashion for the supposed industrial revolution of the nineteenth century. Rather, the increased stratification of rural society, above all the emergence of a sizeable class of cottars and landless, which is an almost universal feature of early modern Europe, created pressures for employment that were often satisfied by the rise of “proto-industries” based in the countryside; the alternative, especially in much of southern Europe, was seasonal mass migration into towns, with peasants returning to their fields during the months of plowing, sowing, and harvesting.

TENANCY AND INHERITANCE

Two contrary strands can be observed in the pattern of farm-holding peasants' stake in the land after 1500: their rights of tenancy became generally more secure, even if hereditary leases were often reduced to term-leases, but their possession of the land (outright ownership was rare) was progressively eroded by nobles' and bourgeois' acquiring extensive estates, on which the peasants might continue as rent-paying smallholders, but where they were frequently employed as wage-laborers or obliged to enter into sharecropping agreements. The classic instance is France, where generally favorable rights of tenancy were powerless to prevent a decline in peasant landholding in the face of purchases by the administrative nobility (*noblesse de robe*), so that by the eighteenth century peasants held no more than one-third of the land. A similar tale unfolded in southern Italy, though here it was nobles of the blood who became major *latifundistas*. On a parallel track, in Spain the common land (forest and pasture) at the disposal of the peasant community was sold to meet growing tax demands; after 1570, 40 percent of commons, known as *baldíos*, were alienated, ending up in the hands of the aristocracy or the church, which came to own two-thirds of all agricultural land in the peninsula. Secure rights of tenure were to be found in parts of the Holy Roman Empire (with peasants holding up to 90 percent of the land in western Germany, around 70 percent in Austria, and even 60 percent east of the Elbe River in Brandenburg), as well as in much of Scandinavia, or else—under a commercial agrarian regime—in parts of the Low Countries (where hereditary leases

were common, even if farms were often very small), and in Catalonia. In England, where the yeoman paying a market-determined ground rent to a capitalist landlord is supposed to have displaced the traditional peasant, customary tenures of manorial provenance in fact persisted well into the seventeenth century. The beginnings of capitalist agriculture were as likely to be driven by such peasants (who in any case had long been able to dispose of their customary tenancies on the open market) as by freeholders or “yeoman” leaseholders. Indeed, contrary to received opinion, security of tenure may have stimulated a land market and agricultural investment by peasants, as has been argued for western Brabant within the orbit of Antwerp, or for many areas of France, where village elites embraced specialized crops and complex crop rotations.

The efforts by landlords to shorten leases after 1500, however, can be seen in France, in Italy (where short-term contracts replaced customary leases), or in Spain (though emphyteutic leases, that is, perpetual leases at fixed rents, were common in the north), and, under a harsher sign, in the German lands east of the Elbe, where hereditary tenures were relegated to leases revocable at will. Although the boundaries between areas of partible and impartible inheritance customs throughout Europe barely shifted over the centuries, landlords in southern Germany, a region poised between the two, showed some willingness after 1500 to encourage impartibility in place of equal division of the farm and its inventory among the heirs, not least in order to underpin the peasantry as a fiscal and economic resource. An ideological variant of this policy was pursued by the Austrian Habsburg rulers of the Tyrol, who, in one alpine valley on the linguistic borderland with Italy, promoted impartibility among their ethnic German full-holding peasants in order to shore up their role as local agents of state policy, but who allowed their Romance-speaking subjects, an underclass of cottars and migrants, to cleave to partibility. Where partibility was practiced (as in all of Mediterranean Europe), the size of farms tended to decline; in France, most holdings were less than five hectares (about twelve acres), with up to 90 percent of the rural population having to seek alternative employment as manual laborers. But the consequence was not invariably the rise of a rural proletariat, as shown by the example of western Germany,

where the manpower required by agrarian regimes such as viticulture could absorb (at least seasonally) the labor of members of the peasant household otherwise destined for impoverishment.

SERFDOM

After 1500 the burdens and restrictions upon European peasants are held to have followed two sharply diverging paths: the disappearance of servile obligations in the west, whether negotiated or achieved by popular resistance (as in the *remenças* revolt in Old Catalonia before 1486), and their intensification in northeastern and east-central Europe. Although broadly accurate, this verdict is open to misinterpretation. It elides the distinction between personal and tenurial serfdom: even in England, where serfdom is supposed to have vanished by 1500, the East Anglian rebels in Kett's Rebellion of 1549 well knew the difference between bondmen and “bondy lands.”

Forms of tenurial unfreedom persisted in parts of northwestern Germany, while in southern Germany lords before and after 1500 deployed personal or residential serfdom as an instrument to consolidate small or fragmented territories. East of the Elbe, by contrast, a “second serfdom” became prevalent, whose hallmark has been taken as hereditary personal subjection, placing severe restrictions upon movement and marriage, ultimately coupled with onerous labor-services and the expropriation of peasant farms. In fact, the origins of a revived serfdom in eastern Europe were identical to those in the west: the lords' attempts against the background of the late medieval demographic and economic downturn to find tenants for abandoned farmsteads. Only gradually and much later, in the seventeenth century, did serfdom as a personal disability with degrading connotations become widespread, often, but not always, linked to the rise of large cereal-producing commercial latifundia under aristocratic control, which relied upon the *corvées* of unpaid (sometimes paid) forced labor. But a settled peasantry, working its own farms, by no means disappeared east of the Elbe; demesne farming, with attendant labor-services, was slow to develop, especially in Russia (in Belarus it was even abandoned in the later seventeenth century in the wake of the Northern Wars). Moreover, in the case of Denmark, labor services on demesne estates were embedded in

a form of personal subjection (*vornedskab*) that granted peasants security of tenure but no freedom to move.

PEASANT ECONOMIC ACTIVITY

The image of peasants as possessing tenants, farming their lands with family labor within a nuclear household, underwent much retouching in early modern Europe. In many areas peasants turned their hand to alternative employment such as rural crafts or petty dealing, to the point where, as with the maritime provinces of the northern Netherlands, a traditional peasantry is supposed to have disappeared—or, rather, to have subsisted as one rural class alongside other groups no longer defined by agricultural livelihoods. The marked recovery in European population from the late fifteenth century onward certainly put pressure on land and resources, squeezing the chances of heirs inheriting farms that were viable in their own right, yet the

spread of rural manufacturing and the growth of an underclass of landless or wage-working hired hands were not, contrary to expectations, seriously interrupted by the renewed economic and demographic calamities of the early seventeenth century. In some areas the need for peasant by-employment was obviously shaped by ecological constraints independent of secular cycles (the harsh climate of Scandinavia, for instance, or the poor soils of upland Castile). In others, such as many parts of Germany, France, northern Italy, and, somewhat later, Russia, a dense urban network together with constraints on manufacturing capacity within towns created a demand for goods that could be produced more cheaply and flexibly in the countryside, commonly through outwork by means of the “putting-out system.” Urban capitalists and entrepreneurs advanced money, raw materials, or tools of trade to dependent pieceworkers (“outworkers”) in return for delivery of finished or semi-finished goods. Such a system was



Peasantry. *The Corn Harvest*, 1565, by Pieter Bruegel the Elder. (See also the cover of Volume 1.) ©FRANCIS G. MAYER/CORBIS

particularly applied to the production of textiles—linen, fustian (a linen/cotton blend, which required merchants north of the Alps to supply Mediterranean cotton to peasants who locally could only grow flax), the woolen and worsted “new draperies,” or silk.

But a distinction needs to be drawn between such put-out by-employments, controlled by urban entrepreneurs, and the subsequent growth of genuine proto-industries in the countryside that were able to flourish precisely because they evaded urban supervision (as with Italian silk-weaving, or Bohemian and Silesian textile production). State authorities did not always look kindly upon unregulated rural manufacturing; in France, the textile boom of the sixteenth century gave way to decline in the seventeenth, as state manufactories were set up with strict quality controls. Nevertheless, no matter how far the peasant economy was penetrated by crafts and manufacturing, the essential structure of peasant society remained unaltered (barring the northern Netherlands, and ultimately, for different reasons, England). A switch to the secondary sector and production for market should not be taken as automatic solvents of the peasant household and economy; indeed, it has been argued (for France and the southern Netherlands, for instance) that such diversification provided the very safety-valve that allowed traditional peasant social structures to survive.

From the time of the late medieval economic depression onward, these influences set their stamp on the peasant economy as a whole. There were few regions of Europe that did not witness a diversification into new crops, especially fodder plants grown as catch crops (so-called green manures), which restored nitrogen to the soil, and the cultivation of industrial crops such as flax, dyestuffs (saffron and madder, but especially woad) and, by the seventeenth century, tobacco. The initiative for the development of commercial farming lay as often as not with the peasants themselves, especially in urbanized areas such as the Low Countries, where a ready-made consumer market and good communications (via canals, and latterly paved roads) enabled peasants with holdings of five hectares or less to survive and prosper, not least because they were able to raise crop yields appreciably. A similar story unfolded in Catalonia, where advanced agriculture

benefited from the stimulus of Barcelona as a major outlet. In both cases, the resilience of a diversified peasant agriculture was underpinned by long-term leases and moderate ground rents. The advantages of land drainage and reclamation, moreover, so evident in the Low Countries, were matched elsewhere, as in the Lombard plain, by irrigation systems that allowed peasants to dispense with fallowing altogether. The prevalence in much of northern Italy of intercropping or particulture (*coltura promiscua*), with grain, olives, and vines grown intermingled, allowed peasants to seize regionally or seasonally varying market opportunities and so to spread their risk.

Nevertheless, such agrarian regimes were often managed by sharecropping, in which a proportion of the harvest (usually half) was surrendered to a bourgeois or noble landowner. The general verdict on sharecropping, whether in France (where it was prevalent beyond the northern cereal-growing plains), Iberia, or Italy, is entirely negative: it is regarded as economically backward, encouraging risk-aversion, and a lack of investment and innovation. While it is possible to qualify this verdict (especially for parts of Lombardy), there is no denying that agricultural diversification as such, whatever its initial responsiveness to market demand, might in certain circumstances prove a blind alley. But it posed less of a hazard to the autonomous peasant household than the appearance in early modern Europe of latifundia, large estates devoted to agricultural specialization (usually a cereal monoculture), which sprang up in southern Italy, Iberia, and above all in east Elbia. Here large sections of the peasantry were reduced to the status of laborers, with little economic independence (though in Spain *latifundistas* also resorted to sharecropping), a development that might lead to enserfment (east of the Elbe), but need not (as in the Mediterranean). The fortunes of the peasantry of early modern Europe were in the end adversely affected, not so much by the accumulation of land in the hands of noble or ecclesiastical magnates as such, as by the latter's unwillingness to invest in their huge estates (unlike the aristocracy in England), preferring instead the life of the rentier, who viewed his lands as a vehicle of social prestige.

PEASANTS AND THE STATE

By the late sixteenth century, however, peasants in many countries of Europe were faced with an additional threat: the burden of state taxation. The costs of war, bureaucracy, and representation fell most severely on the mass of the population as peasants, except in England (where the aristocracy was not exempt from taxation) and the northern Low Countries (where commerce was taxed and towns obliged to purchase state loans). The level of public taxation was already rising before 1500 (provoking tax revolts in Italy, for instance), but it was in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that the state's fiscal appetite unleashed popular uprisings across a broad swathe of Europe—France, Italy again, the German lands (especially in the north), and Russia, where up to half the peasants' income was swallowed up by the state in the wake of Ivan the Terrible's wars. But there was another side to this coin. Rulers were often just as concerned to protect their peasants for reasons of state: *Bauernschutz*, the maintenance of viable peasant households with a measure of civil legal protection, was practiced by the Austrian Habsburgs, not least on their mortgaged estates where state revenues must not be allowed to diminish by destructive exploitation of the peasantry, and in Brandenburg-Prussia, notwithstanding the spread of serfdom. And that policy was extended to the peasant commune itself, which, contrary to older views, was far from crushed east of the Elbe; in Russia, it was actively promoted by the tsars as an agent of local policing in a country vast and difficult to govern. The peasant household and commune indeed became upholders of social discipline and morals at the village level, as the welter of "housefather" literature in western Germany attests. At all times in early modern Europe, lordship, state authority, could only be exercised effectively with, rather than simply over, peasants, who remained the bedrock of *ancien régime* society.

See also **Agriculture; Capitalism; Class, Status, and Order; Feudalism; Landholding; Rentiers; Serfdom; Serfdom in East Central Europe; Serfdom in Russia.**

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TOM SCOTT

PEASANTS' WAR, GERMAN. The German Peasants' War was among the most significant rebellions in modern European history. The political movements arising from the rebellion fit none of the stereotypes of Europe's peasant revolts. In 1524–1525 peasant armies briefly shattered the rule of countless lords, small princes, and urban governments in the southern and central parts of the Holy Roman Empire, creating the potential for revolutionary changes had the rebels' political programs been fully realized. The name of the rebellion is a misnomer as it was neither a strictly German affair nor a war involving only the peasants. The rebellion sprawled across southern and central Germany, parts of modern France, Switzerland, Austria, and northern Italy. The name that chroniclers and writers settled on after the rebellion also masked its strong urban and religious character. The rebel-

lion's ties to the Reformation and urban reform were therefore played down. Efforts to rename the revolt as "an early bourgeois revolution" or "the Revolution of 1525" have, however, been unsuccessful. While the rebel bands ultimately failed to realize their audacious political programs, the rebellion still bears comparison with the other great political upheavals of European history, such as the English Civil War, the French Revolution, the Revolutions of 1848, and the Russian Revolution of 1917.

NARRATIVE OF EVENTS

The Peasants' War is best understood not as a single revolt but as a set of five closely related regional revolts. The center of the rebellion lay in Upper Swabia in southern Germany. In the summer of 1524 peasant protests against the seigneurial burdens of the counts of Stühlingen and Lupfen spread quickly to nearby villages and lordships. By early March 1525 the rebellion, expanding with stunning speed, had engulfed the Klettgau, the Hegau, the Black Forest, and eventually much of the land between Lake Constance and the Danube River. Ties to evangelical preachers from Zurich were established. Even small towns went over to the rebels. By April, five well-organized bands, totaling 40,000 peasant soldiers, controlled much of Upper Swabia.

From there the rebellion spread north into Franconia and Thuringia, then into the rich lands along the Upper Rhine and the Palatinate. By late April and early May three well-led peasant armies dominated Franconia and won the most significant victories of the rebellion, including seizing the imperial city of Heilbronn, calling a Peasant Parliament, forcing the capitulation of the archbishopric of Mainz (the seat of the chancellor of the Holy Roman Empire), and temporarily capturing Würzburg from its bishop. The risings in Thuringia were more diffuse due to political fragmentation, weak organization, and narrow goals. The participation of many small towns also complicated the politics of rebellion. The Thuringian rebellion was noteworthy for the ideological leadership of the firebrand preacher Thomas Müntzer. In Alsace the rebellion was characterized by the strong role of religion in organizing rebel bands and the links made between the preaching of the Word of God and the rebel programs.

As these rebellions ended, disturbances broke out in the Alpine lands of Tyrol and the archbishopric of Salzburg. Rebels successfully brought their demands to the attention of the territories' diets or estates. In the meantime the army of the Swabian League under Georg Truchsess von Waldburg negotiated a peaceful end to the rebellion in Upper Swabia at Weingarten and then swung north to confront rebel armies in Württemberg and Franconia. The devastating defeats of peasant armies on 15 May at Frankenhausen and then 2 June at Königshofen crushed the rebellion for good. Punitive reprisals by lords and princes lasted into 1526 and 1527.

ORIGINS

Social and economic reasons alone fail to explain the rebellions. The roots were political, legal, and even religious in nature. Among the socioeconomic grievances, complaints against the burdens of lordship played a prominent part. Villagers complained of high rents, dues, labor services, tithes, fees, access to common resources, and serfdom. Some scholars characterize these grievances as a response to an "agrarian crisis" of the late Middle Ages. In Upper Swabia, for example, peasants resisted the lords' uses of serfdom to reduce mobility and control peasant marriages and labor. Population growth may also have exacerbated the competition for land and other resources in some regions. These conditions made small-scale revolts common before 1520. When local harvests failed in the early 1520s and lords dealt ineptly with peasants, the possibility of wider protests grew.

Political and religious tensions explain why the local protests of 1524 expanded quickly in scale and organization. The small revolts of the fifteenth century had broken out over the exercise of three different types of political powers. Clashes over lordship itself represented the most serious source of conflict. Lords viewed their rights and privileges as legitimate and just and expected loyal subordination from their subjects. Villagers, on the other hand, tended to view lordship as a reciprocal relationship in which loyalty was offered in exchange for protection and justice. Tensions also ran high over taxes and other burdens as states began to develop. When powerful lords, princes, and prince-abbots consolidated their lands and jurisdictions into more com-

pact territories in southwest Germany, a region of notoriously fragmented lands, the foundations of early modern states—and resistance to them—were laid. The development of courts and the imposition of Roman law also sparked conflicts.

Long-simmering conflicts involving small towns added to the potential for rebellion. Tensions between townsfolk and local government oligarchs formed one source of tension. Towns were also frequently at odds with overlords, local bishops, and the clergy over religious issues, legal privileges, and taxes. When the uprising spread in 1524 and 1525, these local conflicts easily spilled over into rebellion.

Anticlericalism also fueled the rebellion, especially when it mixed with the evangelical programs of the early Reformation. Many bishops, abbots, and abbesses combined formal political powers and lordship over the land in the core areas of the rebellion and provoked protests against ecclesiastical taxes before 1525. When these protests were added to demands to reform the clergy and the evangelical zeal for the Gospel after 1520, anticlericalism gained momentum.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION AND GOALS

In response to these challenges from feudal lords, rebel bands developed their own political organization, notably through communal assemblies. Village communes had long organized many vital local affairs: crop rotation, the division of labor, and access to common fields. While communes tended to treat their members as equals, creating powerful bonds of solidarity, these institutions were not democratic institutions. Women and those who did not hold property were excluded. Communal assemblies and village notables had experience imposing discipline on their neighbors, however, through customary law, courts of discipline, the parish church, and the local militia. In the century before the rebellion, communal institutions had become even stronger in the heartlands of the Peasants' War. Through them villages developed seasoned leaders, skill and experience in negotiations, and the means to organize marches and protests against lords. As the scale of rebellion grew, the commune provided the basis for larger political organizations: rallies, bands, and even federations. When seasoned by veteran soldiers from the militias

or mercenary armies, these peasant organizations could be formidable indeed.

The most impressive aspect of the rebellion was the way in which some well-led bands began to act like sovereign political organizations. This occurred when oaths of loyalty were imposed, ordinances issued, and constitutions drafted. Recognition came, often coerced, from local nobles and other political authorities. The most notable of these organizations was the Christian Union of Upper Swabia. In some areas, such as Tyrol and Salzburg, peasants worked through territorial diets or estates. When Archduke Ferdinand summoned the Tyrolean Estates in the summer of 1525, two hundred peasant delegates came. The whole proceeding was observed by representatives from Italian and German principalities. Rebels also forged alliances with small towns. Some towns, such as Memmingen in Upper Swabia, simply went over completely to the rebels. Most towns made alliances of convenience while pursuing goals quite different from those of their allies from the countryside. These were brittle alliances. In other cases peasants subjugated a town or city, as when the army of the Odenwald-Neckar Valley seized Heilbronn and made it the capital of the rebellion in Franconia. The challenge to the lords lay in the fact that the peasant armies undermined established loyalties, creating solidarity where it had not existed before and making large political associations and even revolutionary political programs possible. To some the possibility was not far-fetched that the lands between Lake Constance and the Danube might simply “turn Swiss,” successfully throw off their noble overlords, and assume federal forms of government modeled on the Swiss Confederation to the south.

No other peasant rebellion in Europe advanced political programs as original as those of the Peasants' War. The best known of these programs was the Twelve Articles of the Peasantry. As the program of the Upper Swabian rebellion, the Twelve Articles envisioned a radical restructuring of society that would acquire its legitimacy through the Gospel. Once considered a utopian program, the Twelve Articles are now seen to be a concise distillation of peasant grievances from across much of Upper Swabia. They were also widely adopted by rebel bands in the Black Forest, Franconia, Thuringia, the Upper Rhine, and Alsace. Other notable political

programs included Friedrich Weigandt's "Draft of an Imperial Reformation," Thomas Müntzer's "Eternal League of God," Michael Gaismair's draft constitution for Tyrol, and, later, Hans Hergot's utopian treatise on the transformation of Christian society. Scholars differ in their assessment of these programs. Some see them as conservative documents. Others stress their revolutionary potential.

The connections of the rebellion with the early German Reformation are now indisputable. For a long time scholars played down the association, stressing the socioeconomic nature of many grievances and the coincidental timing of the revolt with the early evangelical movements. How to assess the role of religion in the rebellion is difficult, however. Some scholars see in the revolt an explosive extension of the evangelical movements into the countryside and look upon 1524–1525 as a turning point in the Reformation as a whole. Certainly evangelical preachers preached to rebel armies and some helped draft lists of grievances. Other preachers provided ideological justification for the revolt in divine law and the Gospel. In Franconia preachers even formed up their own company of soldiers. Rebels who looked to Martin Luther, however, were disappointed. Luther condemned the rebels and, while blaming greedy and oppressive lords for the rebellion, appealed to the authorities to crush the rebellion without pity. In southern Germany, however, Huldrych Zwingli's theology inspired in part several political programs, including the Twelve Articles. There were also a few preachers who, like Thomas Müntzer, aroused millenarian hopes for the rebellion.

AFTERMATH AND CONSEQUENCES

One should not assume that the violent repression of the rebellion meant that it ended without consequences. In the short term the reprisals were harsh. Chronicle accounts emphasize how bloody and violent the reprisals were. Somewhere between several tens of thousands and 100,000 peasants lost their lives in the rebellion's aftermath. The authorities especially targeted leaders for trial and execution. Fines and other punishments were common. Not everywhere was the aftermath violent. The Upper Swabian rebellion ended through peaceful negotiations.

More difficult to assess, however, are the long-term effects on lord-peasant relationships in the Holy Roman Empire. Many lords and princes seem to have exercised more caution in their dealings with the peasantry after 1525 so that disputes might not escalate dangerously. In southern Germany serfdom weakened and ceased to expand. At the Imperial Diet of Speyer in 1526, the committee reviewing grievances of the common man recommended a return to customary levels of exaction and just treatment of peasants. A solid case can also be made that fears of another rebellion contributed to the tendency to channel disputes into the courts and commissions of arbitration, thereby giving the empire ways of defusing rural conflict through legal institutions. Popular support for the Reformation also waned in the aftermath of the rebellion as public authorities guided the evangelical movements into a "magisterial Reformation." In this way religion lost much of its capacity to legitimize radical political protest in the empire.

Views of the Peasants' War have naturally reflected political attitudes in modern Germany. In the nineteenth century Leopold von Ranke dismissed the rebellion as an event unworthy of serious analysis. Conservatives to this day play down the rebellion's political significance. By contrast Friedrich Engels saw it as a pivotal turning point in German history and laid down a socialist view of the event. Not surprisingly East and West German historians in the 1960s and 1970s clashed over the meaning of the Peasants' War. Marxists saw in it an "early bourgeois revolution" while some liberal West German historians viewed it as a "system conflict" or a revolution and high-water mark of a populist communal tradition. Given the importance of the war, it is likely to remain a controversial subject for historians.

See also Feudalism; Holy Roman Empire; Luther, Martin; Reformation, Protestant; Serfdom; Zwingli, Huldrych.

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THOMAS ROBISHEAUX

PEIRESC, NICOLAS-CLAUDE FABRI DE (1580–1635), French antiquarian. Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc was one of the most famous European scholars of the first half of the seventeenth century. Although he was largely forgotten after his death, his fame was kept alive in the circle of great antiquarians like John Evelyn and the Comte de Caylus, and his name remained a byword among historians of scholarship. In his 1962 Sather Lectures, Arnaldo Momigliano called him “that archetype of all antiquarians.”

Born in the town of Belgentier near Toulon, the young Nicolas-Claude Fabri was educated by the Jesuits at Avignon and then set out for Italy. The ostensible purpose of the trip, according to his father and uncle, both lawyers, was study at the famous law school at Padua. Peiresc used this freedom to pursue not law but the entire *orbs doctrinae*, or encyclopedia. These years from 1600 to 1602 laid the foundation for much later work on antiquities, Oriental studies, natural history, and astronomy. He also made friendships with fellow students Girolamo Aleandro the Younger (1574–1629), Lo-

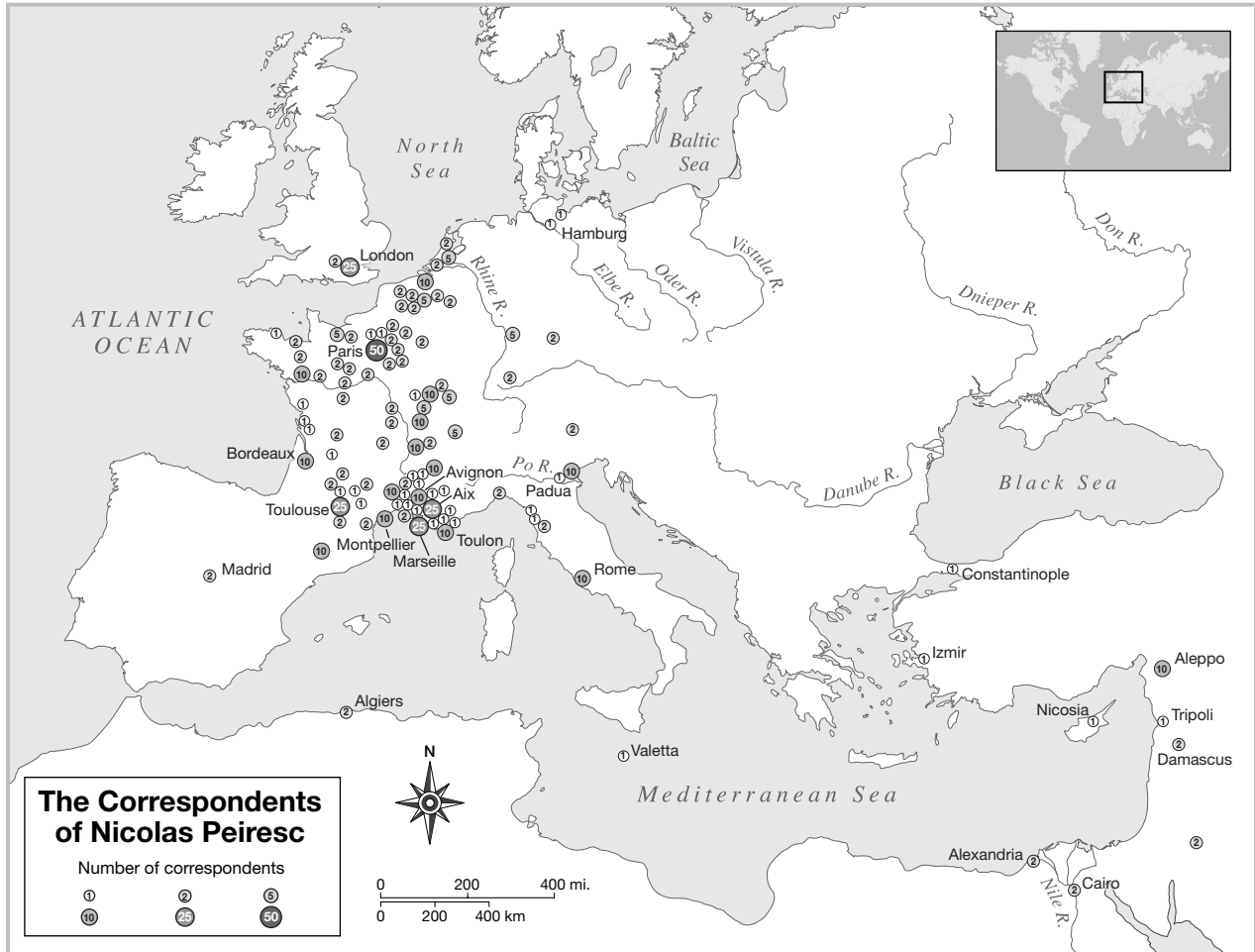
renzo Pignoria (1571–1631), and Paolo Gualdo (1553–1621) that lasted all their lives. In Padua, he frequented the circle of Gian-Vicenzo Pinelli (1535–1601), who served as a mentor and introduced him to Marcus Welser, Paolo Sarpi, Galileo Galilei, and, indirectly, Joseph Scaliger.

Back in France, Peiresc studied at Montpellier with the noted jurist Giulio Pace and took his law degree at Aix in 1604. This was followed by travel to the Spanish Netherlands, United Provinces, and England, where he visited with many scholars, including Abraham Gorlaeus, Scaliger, and William Camden. In Paris on the way home, Peiresc met the historian Jacques-Auguste de Thou and the circle around him.

In 1607 Peiresc took up his uncle's position as councillor in the parlement of Provence. He soon became the secretary of its president, the philosopher and orator Guillaume du Vair (1556–1621), and through him met the poet François de Malherbe (1555–1628). Peiresc followed du Vair to Paris when he was summoned to serve as keeper of the seals under the regency of Marie de Médicis. He was witness at close quarters to the rise and fall of Charles d'Albert, duc de Luynes, and Concino Concini, marquis d'Ancre, and the beginnings of Richelieu's ascent. Peiresc was a fixture in the learned Cabinet Dupuy where he met and befriended such visitors to the French capital as Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640) and Hugo Grotius (1583–1645).

Peiresc returned to Aix in 1623 (du Vair had died in 1621) and from then until his death in June 1637 never left Provence. His duties in the parlement absorbed most of his time, but his energies belonged to learning. His houses in Aix and Belgentier became centers for advanced study. Visitors plying the route from Rome to Paris, whether clergy, merchants, or diplomats, were frequent guests. Proximity to both Marseille and Toulon enabled Peiresc to insinuate himself into the far-flung network of Provençal merchants. Through them he was able to establish an extensive correspondence with the Ottoman world that made him among those Europeans best informed about the Levant.

During these last fourteen years of his life, Peiresc became one of Europe's leading scholars. His correspondence with Athanasius Kircher, Claude



de Saumaise, John Selden, and Cassiano dal Pozzo, among others, reflects the breadth of his encyclopedic pursuits. The Roman household of Cardinal Francesco Barberini (1597–1679), whom dal Pozzo served as secretary, was one of Peiresc's key centers—through it he reached also Giovanni Battista Doni, Lucas Holstenius, Jean-Jacques Bouchard, and Jean-Marie Suares, the latter two being placed there by Peiresc.

Peiresc published nothing, although there are many finished essays and countless drafts among his vast collection of papers. His contributions to astronomy, for example, were substantial—discovery of the Orion nebula and exact reproduction of Galileo's 1610 telescopic observation of the moons of Jupiter, eclipse observation, and mapping of the moon (with the engraver Claude Mellan [1598–1688])—but have remained for the most part buried in manuscript. This is true for some of his other interests as well, such as botany, glyptics, met-

rology, the history of Provence, and historical linguistics.

His correspondence has drawn much more attention. While some portion seems to be missing, about 10,000 letters do survive. In this case, we are not far off in declaring that the letters are the man, and yet here too, only about half have been published and no satisfactory catalogue of the correspondence exists. The full extent and detail of his intellectual life is, therefore, still hard to discern. But even the little we know is enough to justify Marc Fumaroli's description of Peiresc as the "Prince of the Republic of Letters."

See also **Galileo, Galilei; Gassendi, Pierre; Republic of Letters.**

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PETER N. MILLER

PEPYS, SAMUEL (1633–1703), English diarist and politician. Although Samuel Pepys spent fewer than ten years of his life keeping a daily record, his diary has become an extremely important source of information about Restoration England. The *Diary*, which begins on 1 January 1660 and ends on 31 May 1669, chronicles, with both exacting detail and stylistic flair, some of the most important events in seventeenth-century British history, such as the coronation of Charles II in 1660, the Great Plague of 1665, and the Great Fire of 1666. The *Diary* has also become an important primary text for historians of music and drama, as Pepys was an avid patron of the arts and wrote regular entries describing the performances that he attended. Much of what modern scholars know about the Restoration stage, from the physical construction of the theaters to the mannerisms of the actors and the audiences, comes directly from the observations of Samuel Pepys. Since its first partial

publication in 1825, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys* has been an invaluable historical record, a key example of early modern aesthetic criticism, and a valuable literary work in its own right.

Samuel Pepys was born in London in 1633. His father, John Pepys, was a reputable tailor with the means to provide his son with an education that included St. Paul's School in London and Cambridge University. Pepys came of age during the turbulent decades of the English Civil Wars, and his family was intimately involved in the political struggles that characterized the day. Samuel's father was a first cousin of Sir Edward Montagu, an important nobleman who initially supported Cromwell, but whose eventual conversion to the Royalist cause helped pave the way for the Restoration in 1660. After graduating from Cambridge in 1654, Pepys went to work as a minor functionary to his famous cousin. One year later, he married a French refugee named Elizabeth St. Michel and settled into a career as an English civil servant.

The first year of Samuel Pepys's *Diary*, 1660, is also the year of Charles II's coronation and the reestablishment of the monarchy in England. Edward Montagu's abrupt switch to the Royalist position after Cromwell's death placed Pepys in the center of the politics of the Restoration. In March of that year, Montagu asked Samuel to accompany him on a sea voyage to Holland to bring Charles II back to England as the king. Some of the earliest and best entries in the *Diary* consist of Pepys's firsthand observations of this momentous journey. Once returned to power, Charles rewarded Montagu's support by creating him the first earl of Sandwich; Montagu rewarded Samuel's service by helping him secure increasingly important positions with the Royal Navy. A skilled manager, Pepys eventually became the Navy's top administrator and is still credited with significant modernizations to its operations.

Believing that he was in danger of going blind, Pepys wrote his last *Diary* entry in 1669; however, he continued his career as a public servant for another twenty years. In 1673, he was elected to a seat in the House of Commons, which he held, with several interruptions, until 1687. Pepys's close political ties to the Stuarts brought him into conflict with the earl of Shaftesbury, who worked diligently

during the 1670s to prevent the succession of Charles II's Catholic brother, James, to the throne. In 1679, Pepys was briefly imprisoned in connection with the "Popish Plot," a manufactured conspiracy in which Jesuits and French sympathizers were supposedly planning to assassinate Charles II. When it became clear that the evidence against Pepys was entirely fabricated, he was released to resume his public career. In 1684, he was elected president of the Royal Society of London, where he oversaw the printing of Isaac Newton's magnum opus, *Principia Mathematica*, in 1687. After the Glorious Revolution of 1688–1689, Pepys retired from public life and wrote *Memories Relating to the State of the Royal Navy of England* (1690), the only work he published during his life.

According to the terms of Samuel Pepys's will, both his extensive book collection and his personal papers—including the *Diary*—were donated to Cambridge University after his death. As the *Diary* was written in shorthand, with foreign words often replacing English ones when the subject matter was sexual in nature, it was not immediately accessible to historians in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In 1825, a heavily edited, bowdlerized, and badly transcribed version of the *Diary* was published to widespread acclaim as *Memoirs of Samuel Pepys, Esq. F.R.S.* More complete versions were published throughout the nineteenth century, but the first complete and unabridged version was not available until 1983, when Robert Lathan and William Matthews completed their definitive eleven-volume edition for the University of California Press.

See also **Biography and Autobiography; Charles II (England); Diaries; English Civil War and Interregnum; English Literature and Language.**

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MICHAEL AUSTIN

PERFECTIBILITY. See **Progress.**

PERRAULT, CHARLES (1628–1703), French poet, literary theoretician, and fairy tale writer. Charles Perrault belonged to a family of middle-class government functionaries, among whom was his brother Claude, an architect best remembered for his remodeled columns on the Louvre. Charles began his literary career by writing satiric verse ("The Burlesque Aeneid," 1648) and gallant poetry while he was studying law. He developed his work under the patronage of Jean Desmarets de Saint-Sorlin, and wrote a forgettable Christian epic entitled "Saint Paulin." Perrault's shorter poetry was more noteworthy, and his poems praising the young Louis XIV (1638–1715) were well received at court. Nonetheless, at the time his influence on culture derived less from his verse than his position in the royal administration in the 1660s, where he served under the protection of Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619–1683). As general controller of buildings, Perrault sought to centralize efforts from the various academies, including the French Academy, of which he became a member and the secretary in 1671. With the death of Colbert, however, his influence at court declined, and he found himself in bitter literary arguments with Jean Racine (1639–1699) and Nicolas Boileau-Despréaux (1636–1711), historiographers of the king and staunch proponents of the "ancients." Boileau even mocked Charles' brother Claude.

Perrault's poem "Le Siècle de Louis le Grand" (The century of Louis the great), which he read aloud to his assembled fellow academicians in 1687 was both a panegyric to the king and a manifesto of the modernist position. While comparing Louis with Alexander the Great, he proclaimed that the French king's exploits surpassed those of Alexander and that progress was possible not only in politics, but in science, and even in the arts. The ideas and terms of the dispute were not new, but Perrault's poem synthesized them eloquently and launched an



Charles Perrault. Portrait painting by Philippe Lallemand.
THE ART ARCHIVE/MUSÉE DE CHATEAU DE VERSAILLES/DAGLI ORTI

intense quarrel that lasted seven years (and indeed, in various forms, into the following century). He developed his position at length in the prose *Parallèles des anciens et des modernes* (1688–1697; *Parallèles of the ancients and moderns*, 4 vols.).

As this phase in the quarrel subsided, he published three verse fairy tales (including “Donkey Skin”) in 1694, which were soon followed in 1697 by eight prose tales in *Histoires ou contes de temps passé: Contes de ma mère l’oye* (Stories or tales from olden days: Tales of my Mother Goose). The concisely written stories became an immediate and huge success and established Perrault’s literary reputation. Tales such as “Cinderella,” “Puss ’n Boots,” “Tom Thumb,” and “Bluebeard” had been staples in the oral folk tradition for centuries, and they now became written texts to be circulated and enjoyed among the bourgeoisie and nobility, both old and young alike. Fairy tales were a genre that had been popular in women’s salons since the mid-1680s, practiced by such writers as Mme Cath-

erine d’Aulnoy (c. 1650–1705), Mlle Catherine Bernard (1662–1712), and Perrault’s niece, Mlle Marie-Jeanne L’Héritier (c. 1664–1734). Perrault used the tales’ popularity to present stories that exemplified his own literary theories and taste. By their origin the tales are not part of the Greco-Roman tradition, and their subject matter of fairies, ogres, and magical objects removes them from the mythology of classical antiquity. Although he refused the canon of acceptable textual models, Perrault’s approach followed many of the tenets of French classicism in that he did not invent his material (with the exception of “Little Red Riding Hood”), and he expressed himself with an economy of language and stylistic devices. The role of magic in the tales is often minimal, and greater emphasis is placed on human nature and social conduct, both good and bad.

The tales exhibit a didactic intent, both within the stories themselves and in the explicit, verse “morals.” And even though the events are set “once upon a time” in a fictive land where animals talk and fairy godmothers wave magic wands, the tales are filled with references to seventeenth-century life and satiric commentaries on contemporary society. Perrault retained enough elements of archaic language, repetition, dialogue and dramatic tension to convey a sense of the oral tradition in his sparse, simplified narration. The tales appear as a synthesis, therefore, of both the oral and the literary, of classicism and an anticlassical verve. These competing forces give dynamism to these modern versions of old stories.

Readers today, who are more familiar with the versions of the fairy tales retold by the brothers Grimm, may find some striking, and brutal, points of contrast with the Perrault stories: Little Red Riding Hood is not saved in the end, and Sleeping Beauty marries her prince only to discover he has an ogre for a mother. The decorum demanded in the classical aesthetic did not extend to this new genre with its extremes of fanciful whimsy and cruel violence.

See also **Academies, Learned; Ancients and Moderns; Boileau-Despréaux, Nicolas; Classicism; Colbert, Jean-Baptiste; Folk Tales and Fairy Tales; French Literature and Language.**

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ALLEN G. WOOD

PERSECUTION. Life was difficult for almost everyone in early modern Europe. Malnutrition, grinding poverty, pervasive disease, and frequent warfare over much of the continent were commonplace challenges for early modern Europeans. Furthermore, most political systems oppressed at least some people to some degree, though the nature of that oppression changed over time and from place to place. In the context of such challenges, then, it is important to understand what persecution meant to early moderns themselves. Until recently, persecution was generally understood to apply to attacks made for reasons of religion. Individuals or groups persecuted those who, in the opinion of the persecutors, provided a particular challenge or threat to society and its underlying religious values. Thus, while in the twenty-first century people think of persecution as encompassing race, ethnicity, gender, and sexual orientation as well as religion, to early moderns persecution explicitly referred to oppression due to one's religious practices and faith.

CONFESSIONAL VIOLENCE

Confessional violence—that is, violence perpetrated by one religious group (adhering to one “confession” or denominational statement) against another—was the prototypical religious persecution of the early modern period. In the wake of the upheavals caused by Martin Luther (1483–1546), Huldrych Zwingli (1484–1581), John Calvin (1509–1564), and the radical reformers, debate over religious matters grew increasingly heated and violent. Political leaders in the Holy Roman Empire attempted to resolve the threat of religious violence

by mandating that each leader could choose one faith for his territory—either Catholicism or Lutheranism—and that all citizens would have to comply with that decision. This was at best a temporary and partial solution, however, since it took into account neither the newly emerging Calvinists nor the theologically diverse range of reform ideas brought together by the term *Anabaptists*, or radical reformers. Anabaptists suffered particularly in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as would Quakers at a slightly later date, for their stark rejection of conventional religious practices, social customs, and markers of political authority.

Confessional violence often was not instigated by elites, but rather was perpetrated by peasants and artisans against other peasants and artisans. Catholics and Protestants engaged in religious persecution through most of Europe. Some places, like the Dutch Republic, witnessed a relative paucity of confessional violence. Despite some outbreaks of iconoclasm (forcibly removing images from churches) the Low Countries won an early reputation as a haven for a number of religious adherents, both Christian and Jewish. Likewise, those countries with a largely homogenous religious population—Catholic Spain and Calvinist Geneva, for example—did not experience widespread mass confessional violence per se. Other countries were not so peaceful. Particularly infamous was France, where sporadic outbreaks of widespread violence marked the French Wars of Religion (1562–1598). The nadir of this violence came on St. Bartholomew's Day, 24 August 1572, when fears of a Huguenot (French Calvinist) plot against the Catholic crown led the king to order troops into Paris. A Calvinist noble and Huguenot leader was executed, and mass violence broke out, leading to the deaths of perhaps three thousand Huguenots in Paris. Over the next few days the violence spread to other French cities, and around twenty thousand more Huguenots were killed.

INQUISITIONS AND OTHER JURIDICAL ACTIVITY

The involvement of the French crown and Catholic nobility in the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre suggests that not all persecution took the form of popular mass violence, and indeed state, local, and religious officials also persecuted dissenters within their dominions. Adherents of minority Christian faiths,

heretics, and those accused of witchcraft were subject to a variety of legal proceedings designed to limit their influence or eliminate them entirely.

The early modern Inquisitions of Spain and Italy provided religious leaders with a means of discouraging popular practices, like bigamy, that went against church doctrine. It could also become a means through which people could accuse and harass their political rivals. In Spain, the Inquisition was established as an arm of the state by Ferdinand and Isabella with the approval of the pope. The first target of the inquisitors were Jewish converts to Christianity and their descendents, known as *conversos*. These *conversos* may or may not have been practicing Christians, but accused of “false and simulated conversions,” they were subject to whippings, exile, imprisonment, or execution. Later, the inquisitors turned their attention to “Lutherans” (Protestants), converts from Islam (known as *Moriscos*), and other heretics.

Protestant countries had their own legal methods of countering forbidden beliefs. Like the Inquisition, the Star Chamber in England and the Consistory in Geneva were concerned with determining the intentions of those accused, and then punishing them for wrong beliefs and intentions. But it was the Consistory that exemplified Protestant juridical attacks on heresy and other unapproved acts. The Consistory was a part of the ecclesiastic-political rule of Calvinist Geneva, designed by Calvin himself to help create a New Jerusalem. The Consistory was the organization concerned with oversight of behavior, and as such it monitored everything from gambling to heresy. Calvin was also responsible for the first execution of a heretic by a reformed church—Michael Servetus (Miguel Serveto, 1511–1553), who challenged the doctrine of the Trinity.

Witchcraft was also considered a dangerous challenge to religious orthodoxy and to the salvation of those involved, and so also faced considerable legal persecution. Although the precise genesis of witch-hunting is unclear, at the end of the Middle Ages thinkers began to associate certain folk practices with *maleficium* (evildoing) and with devil-worship. Like the Inquisition, witch trials could serve as a means of exerting control over the populace, particularly for local authorities attempting to retain their power in the face of increasingly power-

ful royal authorities. Religious leaders, both Catholic and Protestant, could also use witch trials to attack folk practices that challenged their authority as much as did other denominations. It also seems clear that women were a particular target of witch hunts. Women involved with issues of life and death, like midwives and healers, and women on the margins of society could potentially be brought back under control by an accusation of witchcraft. Whatever the reason, and whatever those accused thought they were doing, witchcraft accusations rose dramatically in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

PERSECUTION AGAINST JEWS AND MUSLIMS

Non-Christians were at times considered dangerous to political authorities, and were subject to frequent restrictions and persecutions. Jews had been expelled from most of northwestern Europe in the Middle Ages; in the late fifteenth century and early sixteenth century they were expelled from the Iberian Peninsula and parts of Italy and the Holy Roman Empire. However, Jews continued to live in other parts of Italy and the empire, and in eastern Europe. Jews were not citizens of the towns they inhabited and existed at the mercy of the authorities. Sometimes, as Gluckel of Hameln (1646–1724) writes in her autobiography, Jews were expelled from individual towns, only to be permitted to return at a later date during daylight hours to conduct business. In other places, most notably Venice, Jews were forced into walled communities or ghettos, in part to control their movements and in part to protect them from occasional mob violence. There were some exceptions to this grim picture; the Netherlands in the west and Poland-Lithuania in the east offered generally safe havens for Jews, and England readmitted Jews in the 1660s. Furthermore, conditions for Jews were much better in southeastern Europe under the rule of the Ottomans. Compared to Jews, there were few Muslims in Europe. The relatively large Muslim population of Spain was forced to convert in 1500, and their descendents faced occasional charges of heresy until they were expelled en masse in 1609–1613. Muslims in the east increasingly came under the protection of the expanding Ottoman Empire.

PERSECUTION AND TOLERATION

By the end of the seventeenth century, persecution was on the wane in Europe. There are several explanations for this. If persecution was a means for states to exert their authority, then the decline in persecution would suggest that states had found other means of keeping their subjects in line. Independent prosecutions by local authorities were increasingly constrained by growing state authority. Religious leaders also found new means of ensuring conformity, or in some cases stopped challenging rival beliefs and practices. In addition, there was decreased interest in pursuing religious minorities and witchcraft accusations, almost an exhaustion of zeal that some have attributed to a rejection of intense interest in religious matters after the violence of religiously motivated conflicts like the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648) and the English Civil Wars (1642–1649).

Moreover, the Enlightenment of the eighteenth century generated a new “toleration debate” among the educated, in which earlier ideas about the individual nature of religious belief reemerged, this time reasoned to the conclusion that religious belief could not be coerced. John Locke (1632–1704), for example, argued that religious belief was voluntary, and outside the control of civil authorities, with the exception of Catholics and atheists. Skepticism—about the efficacy of witchcraft and about the nature of religious belief itself—grew, as thinkers like Baruch Spinoza (1632–1677) published their ideas from the relative safety of Amsterdam. Finally, thinkers argued that political states could no longer afford to wage war over religion. Suppression of religious populations within a state, and religiously motivated wars with other states, had become so destructive that it was politically and economically unfeasible. Charles-Louis de Secondat, marquis de Montesquieu (1689–1755), and Voltaire (1694–1778) argued against the Inquisition as the epitome of an irrational, and economically counterproductive, denial of political liberty. Others pointed out that, by other names, Lutherans and Calvinists had instituted their own inquisitions that were equally dangerous. By the end of the eighteenth century, Europe had moved away from the religious persecution that had marked the beginning of the early modern period.

See also Anabaptism; Calvinism; *Conversos*; Ghetto; Huguenots; Inquisition; Jews, Attitudes toward; Jews, Expulsion of (Spain; Portugal); Law; Lutheranism; Moriscos, Expulsion of (Spain); Reformation, Protestant; St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre; Toleration; Violence; Wars of Religion, French; Witchcraft.

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GRETCHEN D. STARR-LEBEAU

PETER I (RUSSIA) (1672–1725; ruled 1682–1725), tsar of Russia. Peter I, who was formally known as Peter the Great after defeating Sweden in the Great Northern War in 1721, has long defined the transition from old to modern Russia in Russian historical consciousness. Although recent scholarship has modified this view somewhat, pointing out the antecedents of his reforms and the unchanged reality of Russia as a state built on the pillars of agriculture, elite service, and servile labor, few would challenge the defining character of the Petrine era for Russia's subsequent sense of its own modernity.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

By the time of Peter's accession in 1682, Muscovy had become a vast and sprawling realm, subsuming most of the east Slavic world, as well as the vast and barely explored Siberian expanse. It lacked access to the Baltic Sea to the north and the Black Sea to the

south and suffered on the southern steppe border from debilitating raids by nomadic and pastoral peoples. In pursuit of a Baltic presence, Peter clashed with the equally ambitious Charles XII of Sweden and became enmeshed in the Great Northern War, a conflagration lasting over two decades, ending victoriously for Russia only in 1721 with the Treaty of Nystadt. Simultaneously, Peter faced a southern war against the Ottoman Empire, allied with Sweden for most of the Northern War.

Unsuccessful battles at Azov against the Ottomans in 1695–1696 set Peter's drastic reform of state and military structures in motion, convincing him of the urgency of building a navy. After opening a shipyard on the lower Volga River, in Voronezh, he departed on his vaunted Great Embassy, an extended journey through Europe, traveling nominally incognito as a captain ("Peter Mikhailov") largely to avoid ceremonial obligations at foreign courts. He spent most of 1697–1698 abroad, in Holland, England, the Germanies, and France, observing trades and hiring hundreds of craftsmen and naval officers to work in Russia building and training a fleet. Upon his return he inaugurated a flurry of changes, mostly designed to build a formidable navy and maximize the number of men in arms. These included establishing a Navigational (later Naval) Academy and initiating a military draft to replace the outmoded mobilization of peasant militias. Beginning in 1705 one adult male in seventy was to be drafted, and, during the course of the Northern War, the ratio fell as low as one in twenty. Those drafted served for life, and their legal status became that of soldier. While the number of those in arms was not dramatically greater than before, perhaps a quarter million at its peak, these soldiers, organized into permanent regiments and detachments, were far better trained and equipped than their forebears.

The dual war against Sweden and the Ottoman Empire (and, at the end of the reign, against Persia) constituted an immense drain on resources and cost tens of thousands of lives. After succumbing to Sweden's superior forces at Narva, in contemporary Estonia, in 1700, Peter's forces slowly gained an upper hand, most spectacularly in the south at Poltava in 1709. A significant setback in 1711 at Pruth, north of the Caspian Sea, nearly cost Peter his life and much of his army, but they recovered,

and by 1714 the tide of war had turned decisively in Russia's favor. The final victory and Treaty of 1721 secured Russia's place in Europe's northern waters, and it began Russia's extended push to the south, a process not completed until the 1780s.

PERSONAL AND COURT LIFE

Biographies of Peter emphasize his untraditional upbringing in the suburban Muscovite village of Preobrazhensky. Removed from the confines of the Moscow Kremlin, he spent much of his boyhood playing at war, in the company of commoners and foreigners rather than with churchmen and the scions of aristocratic families, as had been the norm. Peter's height (over six-and-a-half feet tall) and energy, his unquenchable curiosity, in particular for practical technologies, and his bawdiness and impatience with the formalities of tradition also are invariably seen as embodying his differences from those who preceded him to the throne. This tendency toward earthiness manifested itself in drunken and debauched revelry with his confreres at court, Peter's so-called fledglings, but the Petrine "culture of laughter" had a political and ritualized side beyond the mere exercise of merriment. Peter created mock institutions, such as His Majesty's Most-Drunken Synod, as an antidote to the solemnities of the church hierarchy—to which he nevertheless regularly had to submit—as if to emphasize the tsar's independence of them and his devotion to this-worldly endeavors. He created the mock title of "Prince Pope," a playful alter ego sometimes termed the Russian John Barleycorn.

CULTURAL AND RELIGIOUS REFORM

Peter's cultural revolution often took on a decidedly coercive cast. Symbolic of his statist and modernizing vision was the establishment of a new capital, St. Petersburg, situated in the swampy territory of Ingermanland, on the site of a small fortress on the southeastern rim of the Gulf of Finland. First proclaimed in 1704, the capital's initial permanent structures were completed in 1707, when the government began to shift from Moscow. Situated far from the center of Russian population, with a German name, a decidedly un-Russian rectilinear street pattern, and distinctly European architecture, the new capital stood as a powerful statement of the massive Europeanization to which Peter meant to subject his realm.

Taxes on beards and sleeves, first imposed in 1699–1700, obliged serving men to break with Muscovite appearances and adopt European dress. The balls at court, culminating in the 1718 decree on “assemblies,” imposed a new Europeanized public sociability at court, one that commanded the visible presence of women as well as men at balls, formal dinners, and celebrations. The switch in 1700 to the Julian calendar (previously the new year had occurred on September 1), and counting the years from the birth of Christ rather than from creation, commanded nothing less than a *renovatio* of time. The imposition of a new “civil” alphabet in 1707, which over time became the orthography of officialdom and secularity, reinforced in highly visible ways the symbolic separation of the church’s spiritual realm (Church Slavonic and the religious calendar) from the state’s civic realm.

Peter’s determination to separate the church from and subordinate it to the state defined his entire approach to ecclesiastical authority, culminating in the elimination of the patriarchate in 1721 and its replacement by a governmental body, the Holy Synod. Peter’s relationships to church and religion were more complex than mere caesaropapism, however. Sincerely if eccentrically religious, he held redemption and salvation paramount, and he relied on clergy to help him rule and reign. Leading ecclesiastic officials, such as Feofan Prokopovich and Gavriil Buzhinskii (the first rector of the Alexander Nevski monastery), articulated the ideological legitimation for Peter’s reforms and produced the defining panegyrics of his reign and legacy. Parish clergy were required (at least by the terms of the Spiritual Regulation of 1721) to act as agencies of the law as well as of the soul, by reading aloud new decrees and keeping parish registries and confession lists. The large monastic clergy, whom Peter viewed as little more than parasites, experienced reform personally as Peter closed approximately two-thirds of Russia’s monasteries and submitted the rest to a test of their social utility.

SOCIAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE POLICIES

It would be a mistake to imagine that Peter’s reforms followed an orderly or systematic path. Nevertheless, a functionalist schema suggested by the early-twentieth-century historian Paul Miliukov effectively captures the dynamics of policy reform.



Peter I. A monument to Peter I created in 1782 by French sculptor Étienne Maurice Falconet stands in the Plaschad Dekabristov in St. Petersburg. The monument was commissioned by Catherine the Great. ©BRIAN A. VIKANDER/CORBIS

Military necessity drove technological and military reform, whose immense costs (commanding up to 90 percent of the budget) necessitated changes in taxation and in mass mobilization. Thus, Peter imposed numerous tariffs and luxury taxes before transforming direct taxation in 1724 from a household basis to a per capita “soul tax” of 74 kopecks, which counted adult males (with certain exemptions). He eliminated slavery, making all former slaves into serfs, who were thus subject to the soul tax and military recruitment. Changes such as these demanded comparable reforms in central and provincial administration, the conducting of regular censuses, and the overhaul of state service.

Peter’s interventions in the landed nobility were particularly momentous. Having done away with the last of the landed militias, and freed from the old system of precedence (*Mestnichestvo*), Peter pursued ad hoc strategies to make service more professional. As before, service remained compulsory, but it was

deemed a full-time, lifelong obligation, slowly transforming noble serving men into absentee landlords. Seeking to loosen the stranglehold of elite noble clans, Peter collapsed all forms of land tenure into hereditary land, and he elevated several foreigners and lowborn Russians to positions of authority, nominally on the basis of ability. This latter practice was institutionalized in 1722 with the Table of Ranks and Orders, which pegged specific work to specific ranks, salaries, and privileges. In addition to eliminating virtually all of the Muscovite terms of status, such as “boyar” and “boyar’s son,” the Table of Ranks created a mechanism of advancement, at least on paper, whereby untitled servitors could advance first to personal nobility and then to hereditary nobility. Peter also intervened directly in familial inheritance by abolishing partible inheritance in 1714 in favor of unigeniture, wherein one son would inherit the entire estate. Deeply resented by noble families, unigeniture was dropped in 1731 and partible inheritance returned.

To maintain administration during his frequent absences, he created the Ruling Senate in 1711, which had the power of decree in the tsar’s name. Originally composed of his closest advisers, the Senate took on a more bureaucratic cast toward the end of his reign, when Peter replaced the Muscovite system of ad hoc civil chancelleries with twelve functionally defined colleges, each of which was to be run by a council rather than by a single individual as in a ministerial system. Each college was represented in the revised Senate. Provincial government underwent a somewhat more modest reorganization in 1708 with the creation of eight vast territorial governments. These territorial governments had almost no direct contact with the populations over which they nominally ruled. As before, the exercise of governmental authority in the provinces relied mostly on a mixture of military presence and unpaid office holding. Exceptions to this rule were tax collecting and military recruitment, placed in the hands of a cadre of armed horsemen called fiscals, a group whose name became synonymous with violence and brute confiscation.

The disruptions generated by these widely unpopular policies engendered extensive popular resentment and periodic waves of armed resistance and defections from his ranks. These included rebellions by Moscow’s musketeers (*strel'tsy*) in 1697,

Cossack-led rebellions (Bulavin’s revolt in 1707 and Mazepa’s defection to the Swedes in 1708), and Old Believer riots (1703–1704 and later). Numerous elements of Russia’s population looked upon the era as one of oppression and betrayal and upon the tsar as a tyrant, usurper, and Antichrist. All such opposition met fierce repression; none elicited moderation or concessions.

SUCCESSION

A combination of familial rivalry (the disinheritance of his eldest son, Alexis, and his death in prison before his planned execution in 1718) and misfortune (the death of his youngest son, Peter, in 1716) deprived Peter of direct male heirs. In response, Peter decreed a new form of succession in 1722 in which the reigning monarch named the successor. This shortsighted decision virtually guaranteed periodic instability at court, especially when a ruler died without naming a successor, as was the case with Peter himself. Unintentionally, however, it opened the way for nearly a century of female rule by displacing the principle of father-son lineage. Peter’s widow, Catherine, thus became Russia’s first crowned female ruler in 1725.

See also Alexis I (Russia); Catherine II (Russia); Church and State Relations; Moscow; Northern Wars; Russia; St. Petersburg; Taxation.

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GARY MARKER

PETRUS RAMUS. *See* Ramus, Petrus.

PETTY, WILLIAM (1623–1687), English political economist. Born in Romsey, Hampshire, William Petty was the son of a tailor. At age thirteen, Petty became a cabin boy on a merchant ship. He broke his leg at sea and left the ship in Caen, France, where he enrolled in a Jesuit school and mastered Latin, Greek, and French. On returning to England, he joined the Navy, but in 1643, with the outbreak of the Civil War, he went to the Netherlands to study medicine at Utrecht, Leiden, and Amsterdam, and then to Paris, where he became acquainted with Thomas Hobbes and Marin Mersenne. In 1646, Petty returned to England and later studied medicine at Oxford, receiving his M.D. in 1649. He was appointed professor of anatomy at Brasenose College, Oxford, and then professor of music at Gresham College, London. In 1652, Petty became the physician-general to Oliver Cromwell's army in Ireland. Petty directed the famous Down Survey, using the army to map all Irish lands in just one year. In the process, he acquired an immense amount of property, especially in County Kerry. In 1661, Petty was knighted by Charles II. In 1667, he married Elizabeth Fenton and they had two sons and one daughter who survived to adulthood.

Petty was a virtuoso. In 1662, he became a charter member of the Royal Society in London. (He was also one of the founders and the first president of the Dublin Philosophical Society.) He is most famous for his contributions to economics and his promotion of a new science he called political arithmetic. The aim of political arithmetic was to treat political problems (broadly defined) mathematically. One of the most pressing problems for Petty was population. Petty viewed labor as essential to the production of wealth and advocated means to increase population and to measure it. To this end, he urged the English and Irish governments to col-

lect regular statistics on births, deaths, and total population. In his *Treatise of Taxes* (1662), he argued that the use of political arithmetic could rationalize tax collection and thus put the nation on more stable financial ground.

Petty was a close friend of John Graunt, who had pioneered the numerical study of society. Like Graunt, Petty investigated bills of mortality for a variety of purposes, ranging from determining the optimum number of physicians for England to demonstrating the superiority of England to France. In a series of pamphlets, Petty developed methods to estimate population from the number of houses and from the number of burials and christenings. He stated that the number of deaths due to contagious, acute, and chronic diseases would provide a measure of the salubrity, or healthfulness, of a specific parish. He compared the mortality rates at London hospitals with those of Paris hospitals and concluded that London's were lower.

Petty was a prolific writer and published numerous books, pamphlets, and articles. Many other writings were published posthumously. He has been regarded by later writers, including Karl Marx, as the founder of English political economy. More recently, historians have emphasized his contributions to the quantifying spirit of the eighteenth century and his advocacy of creating new methods of governance (especially statistics) that are characteristic of modern societies.

See also Census; Cromwell, Oliver; Graunt, John; Hobbes, Thomas; Public Health; Statistics; Taxation.

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ANDREA RUSNOCK

PHILADELPHIA. Established in 1682 by the Quaker aristocrat William Penn, Philadelphia became British North America's largest—with forty thousand occupants—and most diverse city by the middle of the eighteenth century.

Although Penn hoped to create a Quaker colony, his policy of open immigration meant that the Quaker majority of Philadelphia's early years gave way to a city of many languages, religions, and national identities. One of the largest immigrant groups was German Pietists, who established complex immigrant networks in Philadelphia. The colonies' second largest city (after Boston) in 1690, Philadelphia grew rapidly in the eighteenth century, surpassing all other colonial cities in population by 1743.

Philadelphia's involvement in colonial and transnational trade was perhaps more significant than that of any other North American city. It served as a center of both shipping and shipbuilding innovation. The city was most noted as a center of colonial culture, however. Replete with coffee-houses, philosophical and scientific societies such as the American Philosophical Society, museums, and stately homes, it embraced the intellectual and social trends of the eighteenth century with gusto. Its schools for children, especially the Philadelphia Academy, were considered the best in the colonies, while the College of Philadelphia (now known as the University of Pennsylvania) trained young scholars in Latin, Greek, medicine, mathematics, chemistry, physics and philosophy from its founding in 1755. Philadelphia's most famous eighteenth-century inhabitant, Benjamin Franklin, the originator of the idea for the college, is emblematic of this wide-ranging intellectualism, experimenting with electricity, optics, and thermal dynamics, founding the Library Company of Philadelphia and publishing *Poor Richard's Almanack*.

Of all its claims to fame, Philadelphia is most proud of its relationship to the Revolution. The birthplace of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution also served as the new nation's capital from 1790 until 1800.

See also **American Independence, War of; Boston; British Colonies: North America; New York.**

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FIONA DEANS HALLORAN

PHILIP II (SPAIN) (1527–1598; ruled 1556–1598), king of Spain. Philip, the firstborn of Charles V (ruled 1516–1556 as Charles I [Spain]; Holy Roman emperor, ruled 1519–1556) and Empress Isabella, was reared in Castile. The emperor's frequent absences limited Philip's contact with his father, and he was raised in his mother's court until her death in 1539. His tutor (1534–1541) was the future archbishop of Toledo, Juan Martínez Siliceo (1486–1557), while the Castilian nobleman Juan de Zúñiga (d. 1546) headed his household from 1535 and supervised his knightly training. Philip displayed reasonable aptitude in arms and letters alike, though historians have faulted Siliceo's narrow piety, and Philip for ineptitude in modern languages. Later he would study with more illustrious tutors, including the humanist Juan Cristóbal Calvete de Estrella (d. 1593). Philip was close to his sisters, María (1528–1603) and Juana (1535–1573), and to two pages, the Portuguese nobleman Ruy Gómez de Silva (c. 1516–1573) and Luis de Requesens (1528–1576), the son of his governor Zúñiga. These men would serve him throughout their lives, as would Gonzalo Pérez (d. 1566), his secretary from 1541.

Departing Spain in 1543, Charles V named Philip his Spanish regent, leaving him experienced advisors—notably the secretary Francisco de los Cobos (1477–1547) and the general Fernando Álvarez de Toledo, duke of Alba (1507–1582)—and written instructions emphasizing the defense of Catholicism on the one hand and mistrust of his advisors and personal intimacy on the other. Charles also arranged Philip's marriage to a first cousin,



Philip II (Spain). Portrait by Titian, 1551.

María Manuela of Portugal, who died in 1545 after the birth of Don Carlos (1545–1568). Philip acquitted himself well as regent, taking an increasingly active role when advisors such as Cobos and Zúñiga died. In 1548, he left Spain to visit his prospective Burgundian inheritance in the Netherlands. He met Charles in Brussels in 1549 and toured the Low Countries to be formally recognized as heir. Before returning to Spain, Philip attended the Imperial Diet of Augsburg (1550) and lingered while Charles negotiated the 1551 family agreement that would leave the Holy Roman Empire to his brother Ferdinand I (ruled 1558–1564); Philip would inherit Charles's other lands, then succeed his uncle as emperor. Subsequent reverses in Germany, however, invalidated this plan, and Philip renounced his claims to the empire in 1555.

Philip returned to Spain in mid-1551 and resumed his duties as regent. In 1553, in Brussels, Charles negotiated Philip's marriage to Mary Tudor of England (ruled 1553–1558) without consulting the prospective groom, who preferred a Portuguese match and had little interest in Mary or England. Nevertheless, Philip wed Mary in July 1554, receiving Naples and Milan from his father as wedding gifts. He spent fifteen frustrating months as consort in England before departing in September 1555 after Mary's pregnancy proved false.

Having resolved to abdicate, Charles relinquished the Netherlands to Philip in a Brussels ceremony (25 October 1555). A few months later (16 January 1556) Charles resigned Spain and its territories, subsequently transferring the Franche-Comté and—with dubious legality—imperial suzerainty in Italy to his son, now Philip II of Spain. The emperor retired to Castile, where he died in 1558. The young king was soon tested by his dynasty's enemies. War with Pope Paul IV (1555–1559) broke out in 1556, triggering a wider war against Henry II of France (ruled 1547–1559) in 1557. Alba quickly triumphed in Italy, while victories over the French at St. Quentin (10 August 1557) and Gravelines (13 July 1558) led to the 1559 Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis. Mary Tudor died in 1558, enabling Philip to seal the treaty by marrying Henry II's daughter, Isabelle de Valois.

INTERNAL POLICIES

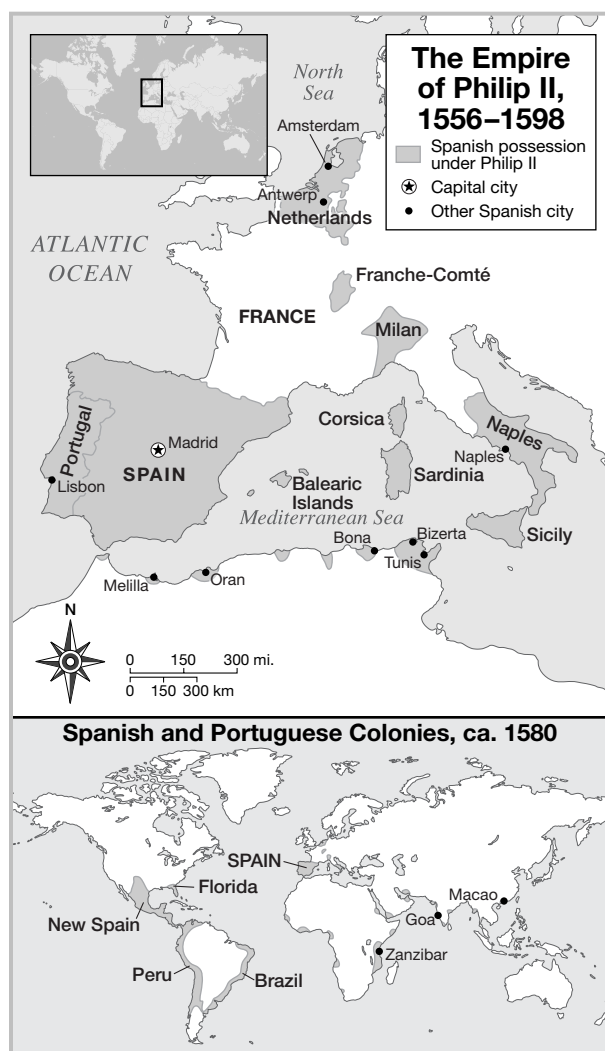
Philip returned to Castile in 1559, establishing his court permanently at Madrid in 1561. He would never again leave Iberia. During his first years in Spain the Inquisitor-General Fernando de Valdés (1483–1568) spearheaded a campaign against heterodoxy, rooting out Protestant cells within Castile and contriving to destroy his rival (and Philip's confidant), Bartolomé de Carranza (1503–1576), archbishop of Toledo. Philip's government strove to rebuild crown finances, crushed by decades of military expenditures, and succeeded by 1562 in increasing Castilian revenues by 43 percent. During this period rivalry between two principal ministers, Ruy Gómez de Silva (now prince of Éboli) and the duke of Alba dominated the court. By 1565, Éboli's influence waned while Philip elevated Diego de Espinosa (1502–1572) to president of the Council of Castile, inquisitor-general, and cardinal. Espinosa's repressive policies provoked the Granadine Morisco revolt (1568–1570), suppressed with difficulty by forces under Don Juan de Austria (1547–1578), Philip's illegitimate half-brother.

As Espinosa (1572) and Éboli died (1573), and Alba fell from grace, Philip governed more personally through secretaries such as Mateo Vázquez de Leca (1543–1591) and Antonio Pérez (1540–1611). Increasingly the king manifested the traits of a *roi casanier* ('stay-at-home king')—sedentary, obsessed with redacting state papers, and reclusive, retiring for months at a time to the Escorial and other palaces. Personal tragedy prompted some of Philip's introversion. His heir Don Carlos died insane under house arrest in 1568, soon followed to the grave by Queen Isabelle, who left Philip two daughters, Isabel Clara Eugenia (1566–1633) and Catalina Micaela (1567–1598). To secure the succession, Philip married his niece, Anna of Austria (1549–1580), in 1570. They had five children, including the eventual heir, Philip III (ruled 1598–1621). Philip's isolation allowed Antonio Pérez to embroil him in the 1578 murder of Don Juan de Austria's secretary, Juan de Escobedo. The unraveling of Pérez's plot forced him to flee to Zaragoza and caused the revolt of Aragón (1591). Philip sent Castilian troops to suppress the uprising, but afterward left most traditional Aragonese privileges intact.

Philip's reign in Iberia was marked by one great triumph—the annexation of Portugal and its empire in 1580–1581, following the death of his nephew, King Sebastian (ruled 1557–1578)—and also by the crown's worsening financial difficulties. Even unprecedented silver yields from America could not offset the expense of Philip's warlike policies. Four times—in 1557, 1560, 1575, and 1596—he suspended payments and renegotiated terms with his bankers. From 1590, the crown imposed the regressive excises known as the *millones* ('millions'). Royal debt—Castile's share tripled to 85 million ducats between 1560 and 1598—and mounting taxation contributed to Castilian economic deterioration, and eventually to the eclipse of Spanish power in Europe.

THE WARS OF PHILIP II

Constant warfare—against Muslims, rebellious subjects, and the Protestants of northwestern Europe—occupied much of the attention of Philip II, and in the long run overextended the resources of his realm. In the first decade of his reign, Philip's government faced acute threats in the Mediterranean from the naval forces of the Ottoman sultan Suleiman the Magnificent (ruled 1520–1566) and his North African clients. Spain was shocked by the loss of thirty galleys and six thousand troops at Djerba in 1560; combined with subsequent disasters, the king's fleet was reduced by 40 percent by 1562. Massive sums went into rebuilding the galleys by 1565, when García de Toledo (1514–1578) led them to the successful relief of the Turkish siege of Malta. That victory and the death of Suleiman provided some respite in the later 1560s, although the Morisco uprising excited fears of a Muslim invasion of Spain, while the Turkish assault on Cyprus in 1570 sharpened the threat to Venice. These anxieties fostered the brief and unstable Holy League, a naval alliance between Philip and the Venetians brokered in 1571 by Pope Pius V (1566–1572). Commanded by Don Juan de Austria, the Holy League inflicted a crushing defeat on the Ottoman fleet at Lepanto (7 October 1571), which would stand as the greatest victory of Philip's reign. The Holy League collapsed when Venice withdrew in 1573, but Lepanto opened a period of relative disengagement in the Mediterranean, as both Philip and his Ottoman counterparts attended to other affairs.



The early 1560s saw the progressive breakdown of religious unity and allegiance to the Spanish crown in the Low Countries as Calvinism made inroads in the southern towns, and the nobles grew restive under the government of Philip's half-sister Margaret of Parma (1522–1586) and Cardinal Granvelle (1517–1586). Philip worsened matters by appearing to relent in the face of noble protests in 1564–1565—he dismissed Granvelle, and excited false hopes of relaxed strictures on heresy—before his continued rigidity provoked open rebellion in 1566. After some hesitation, Philip opted for repression, dispatching Alba and a Spanish army to restore order in the Low Countries in 1567. The duke's harsh measures had nearly crushed the revolt when the diversion of Castilian resources to the Holy League, coupled with the assaults of the Sea Beggars (Dutch privateers who harassed Spanish

shipping), allowed rebellion to flare again in 1572. Alba was relieved of command in 1573. Despite following more flexible policies, his successors, notably Luis de Requesens (1573–1576) and Don Juan de Austria (1576–1578), could not fully restore crown authority. From 1578, Philip had a more adept governor in the Low Countries, his nephew Alexander Farnese, duke of Parma (1545–1592). Through shrewd diplomacy and military skill, Farnese forced the rebels onto the defensive, and perhaps only English intervention (negotiated in the 1585 Treaty of Nonsuch) thwarted Philip's reconquest of the Dutch provinces.

Elizabeth's (ruled 1558–1603) interference spurred a rapid deterioration in Anglo-Spanish relations, punctuated by the execution of the Catholic Mary Stuart (ruled Scotland 1542–1567), and Francis Drake's (1540?–1596) raids on Iberian ports in 1587. Provoked, Philip activated a plan for an amphibious invasion of England, the Enterprise of England, aborted by the disastrous voyage of the Spanish Armada in 1588. Primary responsibility for its failure rests with Philip, who named a naval tyro (the duke of Medina Sidonia) to command his great fleet, while persistently disregarding the difficulties of coordination that would frustrate the planned English Channel rendezvous between Parma's Army of Flanders and the Armada. Philip impassively shrugged off this setback but beyond its cost in treasure, matériel, and trained manpower, the defeat of the Armada proved a great psychological victory for Philip's Protestant foes.

Undeterred, from 1589 Philip intervened in the final phases of the French Wars of Religion, ordering Parma's army into France in a failed effort to unseat Henry IV (ruled 1589–1610), and perhaps dreaming of placing his favorite daughter, Isabel Clara Eugenia, on the French throne. This adventure too came to naught (and cost Farnese his life), and Philip II's long reign ended with his negotiation of the inconclusive Peace of Vervins with Henry IV in 1598. This treaty and Philip's designation of Isabel Clara Eugenia and her consort the Archduke Albert (1559–1621) as rulers of the Low Countries were intended to scale back the monarchy's commitments for the benefit of the king's callow heir, Philip III, but the costly and seemingly endless conflict in the Low Countries would bedevil the Spanish Habsburgs for another half-century.

REY PRUDENTE?

As the *bête noire* of late sixteenth-century Protestantism, Philip II acquired an odious reputation, which grew only more fearsome with the passage of time. His vexed and conflicted relations with several popes, however, belie any notion that he was a simple pawn of the church, while accusations of cruel treachery should be balanced against the conscientiousness attested by the king's work habits, and the concern for his subjects' welfare reflected in his 1559 instructions to a viceroy: "The first thing you must realize is that the community was not created for the prince but rather that the prince was created for the sake of the community."

Conversely, the traditional Castilian appreciation of Philip II as *el rey prudente* ('the prudent king') will not withstand critical scrutiny either. In crises, his vaunted deliberation in reaching decisions partook more of avoidance than prudence. Philip's bureaucratic and reclusive bent and his mistrust of his counselors led to decision making divorced from practical considerations. The king repeatedly privileged statecraft over politics, for example, in his choice to impose his will on the Low Countries by proxy rather than journeying north to conciliate his powerful subjects. A cleric excoriated Philip for "the manner of transacting business adopted by your majesty, being permanently seated at your papers . . . in order to have a better reason to escape from people." The Armada fiasco and the quixotism of the Spanish intervention in France testify to Philip's recklessness rather than prudence, while the lasting deleterious effects of his unrelenting wars arose largely from his lifelong inability to grasp the monarchy's financial circumstances or the consequences of his expenditures.

Throughout his reign, Philip II tenaciously guarded his territorial inheritance from Charles V and heeded the emperor's 1543 warning not to "allow heretics to enter into your kingdoms." The lingering quagmire of the Netherlands war was the principal legacy of the policies Philip learned from the father, whom he did not know well but extravagantly admired. Even on his deathbed, Philip continued to defer to his father, ordering the exhumation of Charles V so he might learn what a ruler properly wore to the grave, and grasping the emperor's crucifix as he expired at the Escorial in September 1598. Overmatched by his myriad re-

sponsibilities, during a long reign Philip did his duty, but failed to achieve his fondest goals.

See also Alba, Fernando Álvarez de Toledo, duke of; Armada, Spanish; Burgundy; Calvinism; Cateau-Cambrésis (1559); Charles V (Holy Roman Empire); Cobos, Francisco de los; Dutch Republic; Dutch Revolt (1568–1648); Éboli, Ruy Gómez de Silva, prince of; Elizabeth I (England); Ferdinand I (Holy Roman Empire); Granada; Henry II (France); Henry IV (France); Holy Leagues; Holy Roman Empire; Inquisition, Spanish; Isabel Clara Eugenia and Albert of Habsburg; Juan de Austria, Don; Lepanto, Battle of; Mary I (England); Medina Sidonia, Alonso Pérez de Guzmán, 7th duke of; Moriscos; Moriscos, Expulsion of (Spain); Netherlands, Southern; Ottoman Empire; Parma, Alexander Farnese, duke of; Philip III (Spain); Pius IV (pope); Pius V (pope); Portugal; Sea Beggars; Spain; Suliman I; Wars of Religion, French; William of Orange.

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JAMES M. BOYDEN

PHILIP III (SPAIN) (1578–1621; ruled 1598–1621), king of Spain; ruled Portugal as Philip II. Philip III had the misfortune to be the son of Philip II, and was saddled with the perhaps undeserved reputation of being an unprepared simpleton. He was the son of Philip II's fourth and last wife, Anna of Austria (1549–1580), and married a second cousin, Margaret of Austria (1584–1611), who bore him eight children by the time she died in childbirth at the age of twenty-six. If his abilities have never been celebrated, his devotion and upright behavior always have. The apt assessment by the count-duke of Olivares (Philip IV's powerful prime minister and court favorite in 1623–1643) was that his sins were those of omission, not commission. Upon taking the throne, Philip III took one look at his country's economic crisis and diplomatic entanglements, measured up his own abilities against his father's, and promptly withdrew from public life. He spent much of his reign leaving governance in the hands of others, most notably his court favorite, the powerful and scandalous Francisco Gómez de Sandoval y Rojas, marquis of Denia, duke of Lerma (1552 or 1553–1625).

In 1601 the king, following Lerma's advice, moved the court to Valladolid, where it stayed until 1606. The move was expensive and impractical, as the government remained in Madrid, 100 miles southeast of the court, whose ostentation seemed to defy the austere legacy of Philip II. Upon returning to Madrid, the king ordered Juan Gómez de Mora to commemorate the event by completing the rest of the Plaza Mayor, begun by Juan de Herrera in the 1560s. This grand plaza (finished 1619) is the most emblematic of seventeenth-century Spanish squares



Philip III. Equestrian portrait by Velázquez, c. 1631–1636. ©ARCHIVO ICONOGRAFICO, S.A./CORBIS

and is marked in its center by an equestrian statue of Philip III, modeled by Florentine sculptor Giambologna and cast by his student Pietro Tacca.

The sixteenth century was a time of expansion, but the boom ended by the 1590s, when birth rates began to fall and a plague epidemic ravaged most of the Iberian Peninsula (1596–1600). A further economic setback was the introduction of copper coinage to save silver (in short supply in Spain because of a decrease in trade with Peru and Mexico), which prolonged inflation and led to monetary instability. The depression that ensued prompted tract writers called *arbitristas* to inundate the uninterested king with proposals for economic reform that ranged from the exotic to the astute to the prescient. Those writings were consulted later in the eighteenth century and have been the subject of much attention in recent years.

Philip's father had left him a depleted treasury, an exhausted army, a swiftly diminishing tax base, and increasingly insecure shipments of silver from America. With a potentially dangerous succession about to occur in England after the death of Elizabeth I in 1603, Spain wanted peace. The so-called Pax Hispanica was the period between the wars of Philip II and those of Philip IV. Largely as a result of this lull, Spain lost no territory during Philip III's reign; he passed on to his son more or less what he had inherited from his father, who had laid a foundation of peace by securing a treaty with France in 1598, just before his death. This was extended by Spain's treaty with England in 1604 and the Twelve Years' Truce in 1609 with the Dutch, and was marred only by clashes with Savoy and Venice (1615–1617). During the peace, the European powers consolidated trade routes, rebuilt armies and navies,

and prepared for a new round of wars. Lerma fell from power in 1618, hastening the end of the peace in 1620.

On the domestic front, other than corruption, crisis, and opulence, Philip III is most remembered for having expelled the Moriscos, nominally Christian remnants of Iberia's Islamic population, who, despite having been forced to convert, still observed their cultural traditions. In Aragón, (northeastern Spain), they were protected because of their role in the agricultural economy, but the Moriscos of Castile were looked upon with suspicion, especially after they revolted against cultural restrictions imposed in 1568. They continued to speak Arabic and wear Arabic clothing and were thought to spend too little, work too much, and multiply too quickly, and new uprisings were feared. The expulsion, first proposed in the 1580s, was finally carried out from 1609 to 1614, and was opposed by Lerma, the Aragónese, and many royal advisers. The day of the expulsion order coincided with the signing of the Twelve Years' Truce, a fitting coincidence in that, for Philip, the alleged humiliation of the latter could be compensated by the glory of the former. In five years, close to 300,000 people were expelled, 200,000 of them from Aragón, although many would later return.

Spain's literary life reached its apogee during Philip III's reign, a period when Miguel de Cervantes (1547–1616), Lope de Vega (1562–1635), Francisco de Quevedo (1580–1645), and Luis de Góngora (1561–1627) were all writing. Quevedo wrote a brief hymn to the young king's prowess in 1603, but had little to say thereafter. Unlike his father and his son, Philip III was not an avid patron of the arts.

Philip died young, in 1621, near the beginning of the Thirty Years' War, while his monarchy was engaged in increasingly frantic efforts to tax its subjects, defend Catholicism, and maintain its realms. His sixteen-year-old son, Philip IV, inherited those onerous tasks.

See also Church and State Relations; Habsburg Dynasty: Spain; Lerma, Francisco Gómez de Sandoval y Rojas, 1st duke of; Monarchy; Moriscos; Moriscos, Expulsion of (Spain); Philip II (Spain); Philip IV (Spain); Spanish Literature and Language; Thirty Years' War (1618–1648).

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RUTH MACKEY

PHILIP IV (SPAIN) (1605–1665), king of Spain (1621–1665). Philip, his father Philip III (1578–1621), and his son Charles II (1661–1700) are sometimes known as the "minor Habsburgs" to differentiate them from their sixteenth-century predecessors. Studies have shown that the seventeenth-century Spanish monarchs did not deserve the pejorative term, though the reevaluation is due less to their abilities than to the events of their reigns, which have been the subject of important works of revisionist history.

Philip IV came to power as war between Spain and the rebellious Dutch recommenced after the expiration of a truce. In 1618 Spain had been drawn into what became the Thirty Years' War, and in 1628 it became ensnared in the so-called War of the Mantuan Succession, which turned out to be expensive and useless as it angered Spain's natural allies and gave a victory to France. There were a few early military triumphs, among them the 1624 surrender of Breda by the Dutch and the king's brother's victory over the Swedes at the 1634 Battle of Nördlingen, immortalized respectively by Diego Rodríguez de Silva Velázquez and Peter Paul Rubens. In 1635 Spain and France declared mutual war, which ended in 1659 with the Treaty of the Pyrenees (which included a double marriage that eventually served to hand the Spanish crown to the Bourbons). Philip also oversaw the increasingly fu-



Philip IV. Portrait by Velázquez. GETTY IMAGES

tile war with the Dutch, which ended with the 1648 Treaty of Münster and the independence of the United Provinces. In 1640 he endured rebellions by both Catalonia and Portugal. The former ended unsuccessfully for the Catalans in 1652; the latter ended in 1668, after the king's death, with the independence of Portugal.

Domestically Spain in the seventeenth century underwent a deep economic crisis. Demographic recession and dislocation, repeated epidemics, crop failures, industrial stagnation, and high taxation in Castile, all linked to the continual warfare, contributed to the famed "decline of Spain" which, though more nuanced than often depicted, was nonetheless indisputable and has become emblematic of Philip's reign.

Philip is best known for the men who surrounded him. Like his father, Philip had advisers who often were accused by jealous noblemen of usurping the throne. The greatest of these favorites was Gaspar de Guzmán, the count-duke of Olivares (1587–1645), whose rival and counterpart across the Pyrenees was Cardinal Richelieu (1585–1642) of the court of Louis XIII (ruled 1610–1643). Olivares trained and cultivated the young king, seeing in him the possibility of restoring Spain's fortune and reputation. Though Philip has been dismissed as a monarch who essentially abdicated, his correspondence shows he was not a puppet. He shared with the powerful Olivares a frantic desire not only to triumph on Europe's battlefields but to reform Spain from within, the latter desire fueled by the former. Philip spent his entire reign not only waging war on multiple fronts but balancing the competing interests of his vassals—the aristocracy, the cities, and the commoners—all of whom he was forced to negotiate with to obtain revenues to raise and maintain the military.

Philip's reign coincided with the Siglo de Oro, the golden age of Spanish art and literature. The king was an important patron of literature, the theater, and the fine arts. Chief among the era's painters was Velázquez (1599–1660), whom Olivares engaged in an important public relations campaign. Velázquez created a magnificent series of equestrian portraits of the royal family (now housed in Madrid's Prado Museum) for the Buen Retiro palace in Madrid, which J. H. Elliott has called "a

gigantic exercise in self-projection" that ultimately backfired because of the court's isolation (Elliott, 1989, p. 187). The playwright, poet, and satirist Francisco de Quevedo (1580–1645) was another great figure enlisted for propaganda purposes, though the relationship ended badly. Quevedo eventually was banished for championing the king over Olivares, whom he regarded as a tyrant.

Olivares fell from power in 1643, and his system of government was dismantled. That year Philip met and came under the influence of Sor María de Jesús de Agreda (1602–1665), a mystic with whom he corresponded for the rest of his life, receiving spiritual and political advice. Philip also acquired a new favorite, Olivares's nephew Luis de Haro (1598–1661), who presided over Spain's gradual disengagement from the European and peninsular conflicts. Spain's humiliations, for which Philip felt responsible, made the king's last years melancholy ones. Of equal concern was the absence of an heir. His first wife, Isabel of Bourbon, who died in 1644, had one son, who died in 1646 at the age of seventeen. Philip then married his niece, Mariana of Austria, whose second son, Charles, inherited the throne upon Philip's death in 1665. The frail four-year-old Charles was the last of the Spanish Habsburgs.

See also Olivares, Gaspar de Guzmán y Pimentel, Count of; Mantuan Succession, War of the (1627–1631); Thirty Years' War (1618–1648); Velázquez, Diego.

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RUTH MACKEY

PHILIP V (SPAIN) (1683–1746; ruled 1700–1724, 1724–1746), king of Spain. Philip V, born in Versailles in 1683, was the first of the Bourbon monarchs and the so-called Enlightenment reformers. The son of the grand dauphin of France and Maria Ana of Bavaria, he was the duke of Anjou and consequently received a meticulous education that inculcated him with religious fervor, a strict respect for conjugal faithfulness, and an enthusiasm for reading and other artistic pursuits, such as music. Appointed king of Spain by the will of Charles II (ruled 1665–1700), he made his first appearance in Madrid in 1701, only to leave immediately for Barcelona, where he was reunited with his wife, María Luisa of Savoy, and where he met with the local parliament or *corts*. This resulted in a good working relationship between the sovereign and the Catalan Estates.

When the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1714) erupted to dispute his kingship, Philip had to depart for Italy. He disembarked in Naples and personally took part in the battles that brought about the victories of Vitoria and Luzzara (1702) before returning to Spain, where he was actively engaged in the events leading up to the decisive battles of Almansa (1707), Brihuega (1710), and Villaviciosa de Tajuña (1710). His tireless energy earned him the nickname “El Animoso,” which he was called from then on. The Utrecht (1713) and Rastatt (Rastadt) treaties (1714) that ended the war forced the sovereign to accept the loss of the Low Countries and Italy, the amputation of Minorca (Menorca) and Gibraltar from the peninsula, and some concessions concerning the Americas. Widowed, Philip married Isabel Farnese (1692–1766) in 1714. After the war the king extended his reformist policies regarding government, economic development, culture, and revision of the harshest terms imposed by the Treaty of Utrecht. He relied on a number of notable ministers, including the Frenchmen Jean Orry and Viscount Amelot, the Italian Giulio Alberoni, and the Spaniards José Patiño y Morales, José del Campillo, and Cenón Somodevilla, marqués de la Ensenada.

Philip was not always able to carry on this ambitious program on his own, since he suffered from periodic bouts of melancholy, which led him to aban-

don some governmental matters and to avoid interaction with courtiers. These infrequent episodes also resulted in various other strange habits, including sleeping during the day and performing his ordinary activities at night. As a result of his inclination toward solitude, he abdicated in 1724, granting the crown to his firstborn son Luís I, who governed for only a few months before his premature death. The resulting constitutional crisis regarding the reassumption of the crown by Philip V was promptly resolved by the queen’s energy and the collaboration of supporting courtiers. Later, again with the purpose of alleviating the sovereign’s depression, the court moved to Seville during the so-called Royal Lustrum (1729–1733) before returning definitively to Madrid. There the king spent the rest of his life, alternating, as was the custom, with seasonal stays in the other royal palaces (*sitios reales*).

The reformist measures instituted during Philip’s reign included, in the administrative sphere, the “Nueva Planta” decrees, which established a new governmental regime for the states of the Crown of Aragón and subordinated them to royal authority; the creation of secretaries of state as an alternative to councils, which continued to coexist with the new institutions, except for the Council of Castile, at greatly diminished authority; and reinforcement and reorganization of the armed forces, with regiments replacing the traditional *tercios*, the creation of artillery and engineering corps, the refoundation of the Military Mathematics Academy of Barcelona, the establishment of a new recruitment system for draftees; the creation of the Royal Navy, the foundation of arsenals, the creation of a school for midshipmen in Cádiz, and new legislation regarding the enlistment of seaman.

In the cultural realm Philip V founded Cervera University and the Seminary of Nobles in Madrid. He also provided the impetus for royal academies of history, medicine, jurisprudence, and fine arts. Concerning economic development, he created various royal factories that produced cloth in Guadalajara, tapestries in Madrid, and glassware in San Ildefonso (La Granja). He also reorganized the trade with Spain’s American colonies, supporting the foundation of privileged companies, such as the Guipuzcoana Company of Caracas and the Havana Company. In foreign policy, the revision of the Peace of Utrecht led to the reconquest of Sardinia (1717)



Philip V. Engraving after a painting by Hyacinthe Rigaud, 1700. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

and Sicily (1718), which Spain had been forced to renounce in 1714; involvement in the War of the Polish Succession (1733–1738) and the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748); the first Family Pacts with France (1733 and 1743); and finally, the initiation of hostilities with England that opened a decadelong conflict (1739–1748). Before the end of the last war, Philip V died in Madrid, and his remains were interred in the Colegiata de la Granja de San Ildefonso near Segovia.

See also Academies, Learned; Austrian Succession, War of the (1740–1748); Ensenada, Cenón Somodevilla, marqués de la; Farnese, Isabel (Spain); Polish Succession, War of the (1733–1738); Spain; Spanish Succession, War of the (1701–1714); Utrecht, Peace of (1713).

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(TRANSLATED FROM THE SPANISH BY CARLA RAHN PHILLIPS)

PHILO-SEMITISM. *See* Jews, Attitudes toward.

PHILOSOPHES. Literary writers, scientists, economists, and political theorists, the philosophes of eighteenth-century France explored topics and issues that ranged across a broad spectrum of thought. Yet they shared the assumption that all beliefs and ideas had to be submitted to the test of rational examination, including those that were the most established and institutionally sanctioned. Their faith in human reason was unshakable, and they were confident that the scientific method could produce an accurate and useful understanding of the world and the individual's place within it. Committed to improving the secular order, the philosophes proposed social, ethical, and legal reforms to bring about greater happiness for the greater num-

ber. The more cautious, restrained tone of writers such as Voltaire and Montesquieu, who dominated the philosophe movement during the first part of the eighteenth century, gave way to more extensive and strident criticism. During the French Revolution of 1789, the more radical philosophes were viewed as having brought about the revolutionary upheaval. The philosophes were not radical revolutionaries, however, but, for the most part, liberal reformers who were committed to critical inquiry to promote a rational, progressive, and emancipatory reworking of the intellectual, social, and political order. As such they represent prototypical figures of the modern-day public intellectual.

PLACE IN SCIENTIFIC AND INTELLECTUAL HISTORY

In 1759 Jean Le Rond d'Alembert (1717–1783), mathematician and coeditor of the *Encyclopédie*, whose first volume appeared in 1751, called his age “the century of philosophy.” French writers had often before staked a claim for the modernity of their cultural moment and its break with past modes of thought, values, and forms of expression. In the seventeenth century, “ancients” debated fiercely with “moderns” over literary values. The eighteenth-century philosophes saw their own break with the past in an unstoppable spread of “philosophy,” by which they meant not a limited discipline but a more general mode of understanding, a new manner of organizing, producing, and using knowledge.

The philosophes drew the impetus for this new relationship to knowledge from the work of René Descartes (1596–1650). In *Discours de la méthode* (1637; Discourse on method) and *Meditationes de Prima Philosophiae* (1641; Meditations on first philosophy), Descartes proposed that radical doubt must winnow out received ideas and opinions, freeing thought from traditional intellectual authority, before true knowledge can be attained. Pierre Bayle (1647–1706) pursued this strategy in *Penseés diverses sur la comète* (1683; Miscellaneous reflections occasioned by the comet), affirming that human beings are not at the center of the universe and are incidental to any divine plan. Exemplifying a corrosive skepticism, Bayle's *Dictionnaire historique et critique* (1697; Historical and critical dictionary) employed a subversive technique of anecdote, quotation, and commentary to undermine orthodox

Christian beliefs. This technique was later adopted in many of the articles of the *Encyclopédie* and in Voltaire's *Dictionnaire philosophique* (1764; A philosophical dictionary).

The philosophes embraced Descartes's liberating skepticism, yet they rejected the idealist, metaphysical tendency of Cartesianism. They favored a more empirical and analytical approach, based on experimental investigation rather than on abstract speculation. Many of the philosophes had serious scientific interests or even substantial scientific training. Extending the implications of the scientific method of inquiry to aesthetics, social and political theory, and ethics, they helped solidify the cultural ascendancy of science in the eighteenth century. The influence of seventeenth-century English empiricism on the philosophes was considerable. Francis Bacon's (1561–1626) *Novum organum* (1620; New instrument) and Isaac Newton's (1642–1727) *Philosophia Naturalis Principia Mathematica* (1687; The mathematical principles of natural philosophy) were viewed as groundbreaking works in the advancement of a more experimental science, and John Locke's (1632–1704) *Essay concerning Human Understanding* (1690) helped shift theories of knowledge away from Cartesian idealism towards a sensationalist epistemology, which was more experiential, empirical, and ultimately materialist. Voltaire helped popularize Locke's ideas in France, as did Étienne Bonnot de Condillac (1715–1780), author of *Essai sur l'origine des connaissances humaines* (1746; An essay on the origin of human knowledge). Julien Offray de La Mettrie (1709–1751) developed sensationalism into a more radical and atheistic materialism in *L'homme-machine* (1747; Man, a machine). Claude-Adrien Helvétius (1715–1771) attacked the religious foundation of ethics and promoted a hedonistic sensationalism. Paul Thiry, baron d'Holbach (1723–1789), hosted a coterie of similarly radical thinkers. His *Système de la nature* (1770; The system of nature) and his *Système social* (1773; The system of society) argued that religion was harmful and untrue, that self-interest was the highest utilitarian duty, and that individuals were machines devoid of free will. Toward the end of the eighteenth century and into the nineteenth, the influence of the philosophes would be felt in the economic and social reforms of the Physiocrats and the ideologues.

MAJOR PHILOSOPHES

Author of many popular tragedies, epic poems, and histories, Voltaire (François-Marie Arouet; 1694–1778) was a tireless defender of human rights. Briefly imprisoned then forced into exile to England early in his career for expressing liberal opinions, upon his return Voltaire wrote *Lettres philosophiques* (1734; Philosophical letters), in which praise for English religious tolerance, science, and free commerce served as a critique of contemporary France. Voltaire's histories of Charles XII and Louis XIV helped found modern historiography. Employing biting wit and a masterful style, Voltaire wrote numerous satirical tales, such as *Candide* (1759) and *Micromégas* (1752), that treated moral and philosophical issues.

Charles-Louis de Secondat, baron de Montesquieu (1689–1755), was a nobleman and member of the parlement of Bordeaux. His *Lettres persanes* (1721; Persian letters) painted a satirical portrait of French society, and his *L'esprit des lois* (1748; The spirit of the laws) established his importance as a political philosopher. He viewed societies as organic structures, shaped and governed by a complex set of factors whose workings could be comprehended through examination and rational investigation. Opposed to the injustices of despotism and slavery, Montesquieu's thought influenced the conception of the Declaration of the Rights of Man, written during the French Revolution, as well as the Constitution of the United States.

Denis Diderot (1713–1784) was the chief editor of the *Encyclopédie* (1751–1772), perhaps the most significant work of the French Enlightenment. Promoting useful and productive knowledge, and advancing the philosophes' battle against entrenched powers in church and state, the *Encyclopédie* project was a catalyst for a cohort of reformist writers. Diderot wrote numerous novels, dialogues, and tales. Proponent of a materialist, atheist philosophy, his *Le rêve de d'Alembert* (1769; D'Alembert's dream) anticipates nineteenth-century evolutionary theory. His innovative dramatic reforms, including the new genre of the *drame bourgeois*, promoted ways to heighten theater's moral and social impact. Diderot has been hailed as the first modern art critic for his commentary on Parisian art exhibitions. His dialogue *Le*

neveu de Rameau (pub. 1821; Rameau's nephew) presents a cutting satire of contemporary society.

Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778) was an outspoken critic of the moral excesses of refined civilization. In *Discours sur les sciences et les arts* (1750; Discourse on the sciences and the arts), he argued that the arts have no beneficial effect on civilization, and in *Discours sur l'origine et les fondements de l'inégalité parmi les hommes* (1755; Discourse on the origin and bases of inequality among men) he maintained that increasingly complex social organization tends to promote increased inequality. Rousseau enjoyed considerable popularity through his opera and ballet, the novel *Julie, ou la nouvelle Héloïse* (1791; Julie, or the new Eloise), and his autobiographical *Confessions* (published in 1782 after his death). He wrote on pedagogical reforms in *Émile, ou de l'éducation* (1762; Emile, or on education), and on sociopolitical theory in *Le contrat social* (1762; The social contract), which greatly influenced political thinking during the French Revolution.

Marie-Jean-Antoine-Nicolas de Caritat, marquis de Condorcet (1743–1794), was an active participant in the *Encyclopédie* project, a leading member of numerous scientific and literary academies, and a fervent supporter of reformist views (concerning economic freedom, religious toleration, legal and education reform, and the abolition of slavery). He was active during the early phase of the French Revolution, presenting reform projects on state education and the constitution. Written in 1795 while Condorcet was in hiding during the Reign of Terror, the most radical phase of the Revolution, his *Esquisse d'un tableau historique des progrès de l'esprit humain* (Outlines of an historical view of the progress of the human mind) argued that the human race progresses continually toward perfection.

SOCIAL CONTEXT AND SIGNIFICANCE

The eighteenth-century philosophe emerged in part because of the absolutist state's decreasing will or power to control literary production and patronage. The philosophes did not generally advocate political equality, and they readily accepted the notion of royal sovereignty, as well as the tangible and symbolic privileges it bestowed. Their work contributed to producing a sphere of public discussion and critical debate not directly controlled by the state.

Members of regional and national academies, meeting to discuss intellectual matters in drawing rooms away from court, the philosophes believed themselves to belong to a republic of letters, a society of world citizens, as Immanuel Kant called it. They called for their ideas to be judged by the court of public opinion, whose pronouncements were reached through the use of critical reason. The philosophes defined their social, political, and intellectual relation to state institutions not in terms of absolute opposition but instead as a set of complex negotiations of dependency, autonomy, and resistance. As expressed in the *Encyclopédie* article "Philosophe," the philosophes' own image of themselves was that of spokespersons for reason, essentially sociable citizens who were useful to a productive and refined society whose collective welfare they both enjoyed and sought to promote.

See also Alembert, Jean Le Rond d'; Ancients and Moderns; Bacon, Francis; Bayle, Pierre; Condorcet, Marie-Jean Caritat, marquis de; Descartes, René; Diderot, Denis; *Encyclopédie*; Enlightenment; Helvétius, Claude-Adrien; Holbach, Paul Thiry, baron d'; Kant, Immanuel; La Mettrie, Julien Offroy de; Locke, John; Montesquieu, Charles-Louis de Secondat de; Newton, Isaac; Revolutions, Age of; Rousseau, Jean-Jacques; Scientific Method; *Voltaire*.

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DANIEL BREWER

PHILOSOPHY. In the sixteenth century, “philosophy” still meant Aristotelianism in its medieval Christian form, with Platonism and other ancient doctrines, including stoicism, Epicureanism, skepticism, eclecticism, and various occult traditions, remaining on the academic margins, though they were becoming lively topics of intellectual controversy. Philosophical practice of the period was increasingly devoted to the comparative study of these systems. Opposing these dogmatic (or skeptical) traditions, however, was the novel and unorthodox question posed by Tommaso Campanella (1568–1639), “whether it is useful for Christian philosophy to construct a new philosophy after that of the pagans, and if so, on what grounds.” This was a challenge taken up by a number of fifteenth-, sixteenth-, and seventeenth-century thinkers, including Marsilio Ficino, Pico della Mirandola, and other Neoplatonists; Lorenzo Valla, Desiderius Erasmus, and other humanists; Rudolphus Agricola, Petrus Ramus, and other reformers of rhetoric and logic; Jacopo Zabarella, Giordano Bruno, and other Italian natural philosophers; and Francis Bacon, Johannes Kepler, Galileo Galilei, René Descartes, Isaac Newton, and other champions of the “party of nature” and a self-proclaimed “new philosophy.”

The study of these and other philosophical movements beyond the academic mainstream has been pursued in the past two generations, especially by Paul Oskar Kristeller and his students. This has opened up new perspectives on the history of Western thought, even though the older traditions—which tend to jump from the medieval theologian-philosopher Thomas Aquinas (1224/1225–1274) and Scholasticism directly to Descartes (1596–1650), the French rationalist and metaphysician, and other seventeenth-century system builders—

have remained dominant in the modern philosophical canon.

THE BREAK WITH SCHOLASTIC PHILOSOPHY

According to convention, modern philosophy begins with Descartes and the English empiricist and philosopher of science Francis Bacon (1561–1626), pivotal figures who broke decisively with the intellectual system of the late medieval world and helped to articulate a new agenda for philosophy. This simplifies a complex story, as medieval philosophy gave way to early modern systems of thought slowly, across several generations. But Bacon and Descartes indeed helped to usher in a revolutionary period in philosophy, with upheavals in crucial areas such as epistemology, metaphysics, philosophy of science, ethics, and political philosophy.

At the start of the seventeenth century, the presumptive authority of time-tested ancient thinkers, particularly the towering figure of Aristotle (384–322 B.C.E.), still carried great weight in philosophy and the sciences. The overwhelmingly dominant philosophical system, firmly entrenched in the universities, was Aristotelian Scholasticism, a synthesis of Aristotle’s philosophy with Christian doctrine that had been forged by Aquinas. But modern philosophers such as Bacon and Descartes rejected this traditional deference toward Aristotle and other ancient figures of authority and broke with the Scholastic system. The decline in respect for traditional philosophical authorities had various sources. The religious crises of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation had shaken the presumption in favor of tradition, opening space for a more assertive questioning of received doctrine. Humanist scholars had unearthed and reintroduced lost systems of thought, such as ancient Greek atomism and classical skepticism, that presented alternatives to the theories of Aristotle, encouraging critical debate on the merits of all these competing systems. Developments in Renaissance science and the burgeoning scientific revolution were also exposing the fallibility of Aristotelian physics and cosmology. While Scholastic philosophy continued to dominate the universities through the seventeenth century, the main developments in modern philosophy came from thinkers operating outside of this old establishment, usually men of independent means or supported by aristocratic patronage rather than a professor’s sal-

ary. These philosophers typically addressed their works to the educated classes more broadly and wrote in the vernacular rather than the Latin of Scholastic academia.

In practice the break with the Scholastic intellectual system helped to reestablish philosophy as an autonomous discipline outside of theology. While most of the leading early modern philosophers were religious believers who sought to develop philosophical theories consistent with their religious commitments, nevertheless there was a marked shift toward the scientific study of human nature and the physical world, unmediated by an explicit emphasis on theological doctrine. The trend toward secularization encompassed even ethics and political philosophy, with philosophers such as Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679), David Hume (1711–1776), and Immanuel Kant (1724–1804) founding moral and political principles on reason or human nature, rather than the commands of God. (This “secularization thesis” is also part of the conventional story of modern philosophy, but it has been challenged by some recent scholars, most notably Hans Blumenberg.)

ASSOCIATION WITH THE NEW SCIENCE

The agenda of early modern philosophy was closely connected with the new scientific worldview pioneered by figures such as Galileo (1564–1642), Kepler (1571–1630), and Newton (1642–1727). Bacon, Descartes, and the philosophers who followed them were gripped by the explanatory range and power of the new science and were concerned to articulate, codify, and defend its methods and to explore its implications for metaphysics and epistemology. Several philosophers of the period were involved firsthand in the practice of science: leading examples include Descartes and the German philosophers Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646–1716) and Kant. Early modern philosophers would also self-consciously import the experimental method of the new science into the realm of philosophy, as in the theories of mind developed by the British empiricists John Locke (1632–1704) and Hume.

The new scientific worldview brought a fresh range of philosophical questions to the fore. First, there were questions concerning scientific method (a particular interest of Bacon, Locke, and Hume). How could inductive extrapolation from observed phenomena to unobserved cases be justified? Would

science ever show us the inner essence of things and explain their underlying causal powers, or was it limited to merely cataloging correlations and patterns among surface phenomena? Then there were the metaphysical questions. What did the success of the new mathematical, quantitative models of nature show us about the relationship between mathematics on the one hand and empirical reality on the other? In what sense were subjective features of experience like colors and sounds part of the material world? And, most pressingly, what was the status of human beings in the scientific world picture? Was there still room for free will, morality, religion, and the human soul in the vast, cold, deterministic world of the new mathematical sciences?

EPISTEMOLOGY

Early modern philosophy is justly famous for its reorientation toward epistemology, or the theory of knowledge. The examination of the processes by which we arrive at and justify knowledge claims took on a new primacy in the period, as philosophers such as Bacon, Descartes, Locke, Hume, and Kant each in their own way urged the importance of clarifying the nature and limits of our own cognitive faculties. Apart from the general wisdom of examining the sources and justifiability of our beliefs before boldly advancing theories on subjects that may exceed our capacities, the new emphasis on epistemology had several more immediate motivations. It was connected to the collapse in the prestige of traditional sources of authority such as Aristotle and church doctrine. If ancient authorities no longer commanded automatic deference, then who—or what—should a responsible thinker take as a legitimate source of knowledge? It was also related to the questions of method and scientific procedure raised by the achievements of the new science. Most famously, it was prompted by the skeptical onslaught of figures like Michel de Montaigne (1533–1592), the great French essayist and popularizer of ancient forms of skepticism, who argued that all the bases of our so-called knowledge are inadequate.

It is customary to distinguish between two main factions in early modern epistemology: the empiricists on the one hand and the rationalists on the other. The distinction can be overemphasized at the risk of falsely caricaturing the rationalists as hostile to empirical investigation, or of obscuring a com-

plex pattern of intellectual influences back and forth between the two groups. Nevertheless the distinction does capture an important difference in approaches to the theory of knowledge. The empiricists—led by Bacon, Locke, and Hume—argued that all our ideas are ultimately acquired in experience, and that the limits of experience set boundaries on our knowledge. The empiricist thus counsels a certain humility: our knowledge is forever limited to the patterns and regularities we witness among the empirically observable features of the world; metaphysical speculation about the inner nature of things transcends our capacities. By contrast, the rationalists—led by Descartes, the Dutch Jewish metaphysician Baruch Spinoza (1632–1677), and Leibniz—argued that our minds are innately furnished with certain ideas over and above those we acquire in experience. Using these innate ideas we can reason about things transcending experience. For the rationalist, this explains how we can have knowledge that goes beyond all possible empirical confirmation, either because of its universal nature (logic, mathematics, knowledge of the laws of nature) or because of its transcendent subject matter (God, the soul, morality).

METAPHYSICS

Early modern philosophers explored a wide range of issues in metaphysics (the study of the ultimate nature of reality), including, notably, problems of space and time, causation, the ultimate structure of matter, the nature of morality, and God. However, the most characteristic metaphysical questions of the period focus on the connection between the human mind or soul on the one hand and the physical world on the other. Clearly these issues were related to the epistemological turn, and in particular to Descartes's famous skeptical problem of how we can know that there is a physical realm beyond our minds at all. But such questions were also forced by reflection on the new scientific worldview. Advocates of the new science such as Galileo and Descartes argued that the objective, mind-independent world described by science could be exhaustively characterized in terms of mathematically tractable "primary" qualities such as shape, size, and motion. "Secondary" qualities such as colors, tastes, sounds, and smells were then downgraded to a derivative status and were in some sense observer-relative and mind-dependent, more a feature of subjective experience

than ultimate objective reality. This distinction had great appeal for most early moderns, but it would be challenged by figures such as the Irish cleric George Berkeley (1685–1753), Hume, and Kant, who pointed out that a clear distinction between mind-dependent and mind-independent properties is not so easy to draw. Kant argued that even space and time were mind-dependent or "ideal." For Berkeley the notion of any mind-independent reality whatsoever was fundamentally incoherent: all that exists are minds and their ideas.

Granted the existence of an objective material realm, the next question concerned the relationship between the mind and the physical body. Descartes developed the popular theory that the mind is an immaterial soul-substance over and above the material brain, arguing that this helped to explain the existence of consciousness and made room both for an afterlife beyond bodily death and for free will (as well as moral responsibility) outside the deterministic laws governing the material order. But others thought the theory raised more problems than it solved, including difficulties in accounting for the causal interaction between immaterial soul and material body. Materialists such as Hobbes and Spinoza insisted that the human animal, mind included, was just a complex material system; others such as Locke counseled a metaphysical agnosticism about the ultimate nature of the thinking self.

POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY

The medieval church and the Scholastic tradition had located the source of political legitimacy in implicit divine approval of established dynasties, a conservative doctrine that left little room for individual rights against the monarch or for systems of popular sovereignty. Leading Protestant theologians such as Martin Luther (1483–1546) reaffirmed the doctrine of divine right, although some of the more radical Anabaptist reformers preached against it. The main philosophical revolt against this medieval tradition came with the social contract theorists: the Dutch legal scholar and philosopher Hugo Grotius (1583–1645), Hobbes, Locke, and the Swiss-born social theorist Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778). These figures posited a hypothetical "state of nature" without government to explore the basic rights of the individual, and they argued that legitimate state authority was ultimately

derived from such foundational individual rights, transferred conditionally through popular (though perhaps implicit) consent. The corollary was that individuals retained certain inalienable rights against government, that state authority was in some (perhaps quite attenuated) sense contingent on popular consent, and that regimes in breach of the implicit contract were illegitimate and could be justly overthrown. Locke would extend the contract theory to argue for religious toleration (although Catholics and atheists were excluded as beyond the pale) on the basis of natural rights, adding arguments premised on general empiricist epistemic humility and on the involuntary nature of religious belief. Conservatives such as Hume and Edmund Burke (1729–1797) attacked the contract theory, arguing that there was in fact no popular consent; the foundation of natural rights was metaphysically dubious; and the doctrine threatened to destabilize the ancient political settlements that secured peace and civic order.

In the international arena the Florentine diplomat and political theorist Niccolò Machiavelli (1469–1527) notoriously endorsed realism, the harsh doctrine that there are no moral constraints governing relations between distinct states. Here he was followed by Hobbes, a skeptic about political morality in the absence of an overarching sovereign power to coercively enforce duties. Opponents of realism included Grotius, who developed a substantial system of international law and moral precepts on the basis of treaty, and Kant, who argued that reason prescribed a universal political morality transcending national jurisdictions and advocated the creation of a “league of nations” to enforce international law.

See also Aristotelianism; Bacon, Francis; Berkeley, George; Bruno, Giordano; Burke, Edmund; Descartes, René; Empiricism; Enlightenment; Epistemology; Erasmus, Desiderius; Free Will; Galileo Galilei; Grotius, Hugo; Hobbes, Thomas; Hume, David; Idealism; Kant, Immanuel; Kepler, Johannes; Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm; Locke, John; Logic; Machiavelli, Niccolò; Montaigne, Michel de; Moral Philosophy and Ethics; Nature; Neoplatonism; Newton, Isaac; Political Philosophy; Ramus, Petrus; Renaissance; Rousseau, Jean-Jacques; Scholasticism; Scientific Revolution; Skepticism, Academic and Pyrrhonian; Spinoza, Baruch; Stoicism.

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PHYSICS. Physics, as a structured mathematical and experimental investigation into the fundamental constituents and laws of the natural world, was not recognized as a discipline until late in the early modern period. Derived from the Greek word meaning ‘to grow’, in ancient and medieval times “physics” (or “natural philosophy”) was concerned with the investigation of the qualitative features of any natural phenomena (psychological, chemical, biological, meteorological, etc.) and was often guided by the metaphysical and epistemological tenets set out in the physical books of the Aristotelian corpus. These included the idea of the cosmos as a finite sphere in which no void or vacuum could exist, the division between the sublunary and celestial realms (each with its own types of matter and motion), the doctrine of the four sublunary elements (earth, air, water, and fire, each naturally moving either upward or downward), and a complex causal theory according to which any natural change requires the interaction of an agent that initiates the change and a patient that undergoes the change. As with many of the developments of the early modern period, modern physics defined itself in reaction to these received Aristotelian ideas.

This is not to say that Aristotle did not go unchallenged until the early modern period. In Hellenistic times, for example, Aristotle’s theory of natural motion was seen to need supplementation since it could not explain satisfactorily why a thrown object continued in projectile motion once separated from the cause of its motion (for example, a hand) instead of immediately resuming its natural motion downward. The concept introduced to explain this was impetus—a propelling, motive force transferred from the cause of motion into the projectile. Similarly, atomism posed a long-standing challenge to Aristotelian matter theory. According to atomism, the universe consisted of small material particles moving in a void, and all natural change could be explained by the particles coming together and separating in various ways.

The challenges reached their climax in 1277 as Archbishop Tempier of Paris issued a condemnation that forbade the teaching of Aristotle as dogma. Although other criticisms of Aristotelian philosophy continued through the fourteenth century and after, the basic Aristotelian ideas regarding the nature of motion and the cosmos persisted in European schools and universities well into the seventeenth century, albeit in Christianized forms. The critical treatments of Aristotelian philosophy became the seeds from which modern physics grew.

Many other social, economic, and intellectual events also were responsible for the birth of physics and modern science. The Reformation and its consequent religious wars, the voyages of exploration and exploitation, the rise of capitalism and market economies, and the geographical shift of power from the Mediterranean basin to the north Atlantic were of particular import. In a somewhat controversial fashion we might characterize these influences as promoting a social, economic, and intellectual sense of insecurity among the people of Europe and contributing to a concomitant rise in entrepreneurial and epistemic individualism. One important result of this was an increased skepticism both as an everyday viewpoint and, as in Michel de Montaigne’s (1533–1592) case, a full-blown skeptical theory.

The rise of printing is particularly important among the cultural changes leading to the birth of physics. The printed text allowed for wider distribution of recently resurrected and translated ancient

texts on philosophy and mathematics. Euclid's (fl. c. 280 B.C.E.) *Elements*, for example, was published in numerous modern editions, and the pseudo-Aristotelian *Mechanics* and the works of Archimedes (c. 281–212 B.C.E.) were brought to the Latin-educated public. These works formed the basis of the mixed or middle sciences (being both mathematical and physical) and provided the disciplinary form into which the new physics would fit. The use of diagrams and illustrations as teaching and learning devices was crucial to this revival of applied geometry. Books also allowed for a standardization of material that enabled widely dispersed individuals to study the same texts of classical and modern authors. In the sixteenth century, publications of how-to-do books and pamphlets brought mathematics and concerns about mechanical devices to a much broader public, including artisan and nonuniversity classes. However, the practical inclination toward mechanics was given theoretical credence by the anti-Aristotelian theory of atomism (reinvigorated in the Latin West by the early-fifteenth-century recovery of Lucretius's [c. 95–55 B.C.E.] *De rerum natura* [*On the nature of things*]) and philosophical criticisms of Aristotle's theory of causality, which took mechanical devices as exemplars of phenomena for which Aristotle's theory could not properly account.

The increased focus on the workings of the natural world led to the institution of societies dedicated to scientific learning. In 1603, for example, the Academy of the Lynxes (*Accademia dei Lincei*) was founded in Naples by Prince Federico Cesi (1585–1630). In 1662, the most influential of the new institutions, the Royal Society of London, was founded by Charles II of England (ruled 1660–1685). The society encouraged Christian gentlemen to study natural philosophy, held regular meetings, and published its proceedings. The Royal Society proved a venue for many amateurs to pursue science and may have created the first professional scientist by hiring Robert Hooke (1635–1703) as its curator of experiments.

THE NEED FOR A NEW THEORY OF THE NATURAL WORLD

The general attacks on the Aristotelian view of nature gained momentum through the pressing need to solve a set of particular physical problems that were largely intractable given Aristotelian premises.

In particular, demand for a revision to Aristotelianism was brought to crucial focus by Nicolaus Copernicus's (1473–1543) publication of *On the Revolutions of the Heavenly Spheres* in 1543. In it, Copernicus laid out an astronomical system based on circles and epicycles much in the same mathematical vein as Claudius Ptolemy's (c. 100–170), but shifted the sun to the mathematical center of the earth's orbit and made the earth move in a threefold manner (daily, annual, and axial motion to account for precession). The theoretical shift left a major conceptual problem for Copernicus's followers: namely, how to reconcile a physical description of the universe with Copernicus's new mathematical description of it. In particular, it became problematic to talk about the motion of bodies on earth if the earth itself was moving and also to account for the motion of the earth itself. Tycho Brahe (1546–1601) was one of the first to worry about physical cosmos, and based on his own marvelous celestial observations, devised his own compromise system. But Tycho's system was qualitative and never put into good mathematical shape, and, therefore, useless to professional astronomers. Nevertheless, his work on comets did away with the crystalline spheres in which planets were thought to be embedded.

The first to successfully challenge Aristotle on his physics, matter theory, and cosmology—and, in the process, vindicate Copernicus—was Galileo Galilei (1564–1642). Galileo was trained by artisans, and after dropping out of medical school, began to work on problems of mechanics in an Archimedean manner, modeling his proofs on simple machines and floating bodies. Contributing to Galileo's confidence in the Copernican system was the construction of his own telescope in 1609 (one of the first) and his consequent investigation of the moon, the sun, the Milky Way, and the discovery of four moons of Jupiter. These investigations were published in *The Starry Messenger* in 1610 and in the *Letters on the Sunspots* in 1613. They affirmed Galileo's conviction that the earth was a material body like the other planets, and that Copernicus's system was an accurate physical description of the universe. But he still lacked an account of how bodies moved on an earth that was itself moving.

Galileo's most influential book, *Dialogues concerning the Two Chief World Systems* (1632), was his

most elaborate defense of Copernicanism. In this book he argued most effectively that a theory of motion for a moving earth was not only possible but more plausible than the Aristotelian theory of motion. Specifically, he argued for a form of natural motion (inertia) where bodies moved circularly, and for the principle of the relativity of observed motion (which had been used before by Copernicus and others). This allowed him to claim that the motion of the earth was not perceptible since it was common to both the earth and bodies on it. At the end of the *Dialogue*, he thought he proved Copernicanism by claiming the earth's trifold motion could physically explain of the tides.

Galileo's condemnation for heresy under the papacy of his former friend Urban VIII was based on the *Dialogue*; he was put under house arrest for the rest of his life. During this time, he began work on his final publication, *Discourses concerning Two New Sciences* (1638). This work revived the Archimedean, mechanical physics he had virtually completed between 1604 and 1609. Here he argued for a one-element theory on which matter was to be understood solely by its mechanical properties, as Archimedean machines were understood, and for a theory of motion on which motion was essentially related to time. Particularly, he argued that falling bodies accelerate in proportion to the square of the time of their fall, and provided experimental evidence for this by measuring balls rolling down inclined planes. The emphasis on time as the important independent variable occurred to him from discovering the isochrony using pendulums, whose isochrony he discovered. As Galileo was working out the details of a new physics, Johannes Kepler (1571–1630) formed the world's first mathematical astrophysics. It was he who finally abandoned the principal assumptions of Ptolemaic and Copernican astronomy by introducing elliptical motion and demanding that astronomical calculation describe real physical objects. Although to his contemporaries Kepler was mostly known for producing the most accurate astronomical tables to date, his legacy lies in a reorientation of astronomy away from a predictive discipline aimed at mathematically “saving the phenomena” to one that combines observational predictions (how the planets move) with physical theory (why they move). For example, Kepler offered not only his so-called three laws describing

planetary motion, but also answered the causal Copernican problem by explaining that the planets were moved by a quasi-magnetic force emanating from the sun that diminished with distance and were hindered by their natural inertia or “sluggishness.” His integration of underlying physical mechanism and descriptive law, much in the same manner as Galileo's, was to become a hallmark of seventeenth-century science. It is in this sense that both thinkers built the foundation on which the mechanical philosophy was to rest.

THE NEW SYSTEMATIZERS

Although Galileo's and Kepler's works were complementary, neither thinker attempted to reformulate the whole of the Aristotelian natural philosophy. René Descartes (1596–1650), on the other hand, attempted to build a complete system to replace Aristotelianism and put philosophy, including natural philosophy and the science of motion, on a firm epistemic and theological basis (the Cartesian *cogito*—I think therefore I am—and that God is no deceiver; *Meditations on the First Philosophy*, 1641). Regarding motion, he shifted emphasis from Galileo's machines to collision laws and promulgated a version of straight-line inertia. Descartes's laws of collision combined with a belief in a corpuscular (if not strictly atomic) matter allowed him to consider many physical problems in terms of material contact action and resulting equilibrium situations. For example, Descartes attempted to account for planetary motion and gravity in terms of vortices of particles swirling around a center, pushing heavier particles down into the vortex while carrying others around in their whirl. The Cartesian program was laid out in its most complete form in *The Principles of Philosophy* (1644). There he used the vortex theory and the strict definition of place to placate the church and to show that Copernicanism was not literally true. Descartes hoped this book would become the standard text at Catholic schools, replacing even Thomas Aquinas, but it was placed on the Index of Prohibited Books in 1663.

Descartes's followers could be called “mechanical philosophers,” though in fact the phrase was coined later by Robert Boyle (1627–1691). Most notable among them was Christiaan Huygens (1629–1695), who, apart from making several important astronomical discoveries (for example, the

rings of Saturn and its largest moon, Titan), published works on analytic geometry, clockmaking, and the pendulum, and corrected Descartes's erroneous laws of collision. Huygens's laws were proven by using Galileo's principle of relativity of perceived motion in *On Motion* (published in 1703; composed in the mid-1650s). He forcefully championed Cartesian philosophy in his criticisms of Isaac Newton's (1642–1727) notion of gravity, rejecting it as a return to occult qualities and offering instead his own aetherial vortex theory in *Discourse on the Cause of Heaviness* (1690).

In England, Robert Boyle emerged as the most vocal champion of the new philosophy. Boyle wrote prolifically on physics, alchemy, philosophy, medicine, and theology, and approached all with a single and forcefully articulated mechanical worldview, though in practice he seldom rigorously applied it.

For Boyle, all natural phenomena were to be studied experimentally, and explanations were to be given by the configurations and motions of minute material corpuscles. Boyle's writings either argue for this view generally—for example, *The Origine of Formes and Qualities* (1666)—or by example, for example, *New Experiments Physico-Mechanicall, Touching the Spring of the Air and Its Effects* (1660). In the *Origine*, for example, Boyle argues against the Scholastic reliance on substantial forms, holding these to be unintelligible in themselves and useless for practical purposes. Instead he offers explanation using analogies for natural processes that were already well worn: that of the lock and key and that of the world as a clock. Boyle's criticisms were widely circulated both in England and on the Continent. (It is of note that Robert Hooke's work on springs was more rigorous and his version of the mechanical physics in terms of vibrating particles was later



Physics. *Experiment with an Air Pump*, 1768, painting by Joseph Wright of Derby. NATIONAL GALLERY, LONDON, U.K./BRIDGEMAN ART LIBRARY

to become more widely used than Boyle's.) Boyle, like some other seventeenth-century thinkers, was deeply committed to the use of mechanical science to further belief in God. This fact is important to note, as no great schism was felt in the seventeenth century between the findings of science and belief in the deity, although the charge of atheism was often leveled in battles between competing scientific schools, particularly against Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679), who may be the most coherent of all the mechanical philosophers, and who had the widest philosophical impact during the mid-century.

THE NEW PHYSICS

If the systematization of these modes of thought and physical problems into a coherent whole can be attributed to one man, it is Isaac Newton (1642–1727). In his *Mathematical Principles of Natural Philosophy* (1687), Newton combined the study of collision theory, a new theory regarding substantial forces and their the measure, and a new geometrical version of the calculus to draw consequences regarding motion both on earth and in the heavens. The book begins with the three laws of motion: the law of inertia, the force law, and the law of action and reaction. Although the law of inertia was first framed by Descartes, the latter two laws were Newton's stunning innovations. Of particular importance is the second law, in which Newton introduces a novel measure of force akin to the modern notion of impact (instantaneous change in momentum). Considering force in this way, Newton was able to treat the effect of any force as if it were the result of a collision between two bodies, thus reducing the variety of physical phenomena to cases of collision.

In general, the evolution of the concept of force in the seventeenth century constitutes a crucial feature in the birth of modern physics. At the beginning of the century, the term “force” was used with a variety of intuitive meanings. Lack of a precise concept was due, in part, to the fact that characterizations of force were derived from analyses of several different physical situations: equilibrium situations in terms of the law of the lever (where a specific weight was related to the force required to balance it), impact in collisions, and free fall. It was unclear how to relate these, which were all by the

Aristotelian tradition violent motions, that is, against a body's natural inclination. With Descartes's formulation of the principle of inertia, the mechanical analogue of Aristotelian natural motion, force came to indicate the cause of any deviation from (seemingly natural) inertial motion. By further fixing its meaning in all cases, Newton was able to provide a unified treatment of the physical situations mentioned above.

Newton also showed that the Cartesian explanation of planetary motion by an aetherial vortex was untenable. Moreover, using Kepler's laws and a host of other planetary observations, he demonstrated that the planets must be drawn toward the sun (as well as toward one another) by a force inversely proportional to their distance and directly proportional to their mass: by a gravitational force. This was Newton's most contentious discovery. Although his laws of motion were quickly recognized as correct, Newtonian gravitation, was dismissed by many as a “fiction” and a “mere hypothesis.” Put differently, since the gravitational force did not rely on the collisions or springs endorsed by mechanical philosophers, Newton's contemporaries perceived it as a return to recently banished occult Aristotelian properties. In general, since force (gravitational or otherwise) is not a directly perceivable property of matter, it seemed Newton was rejecting a mainstay of the mechanical philosophy by admitting ontologically gratuitous terms into his physical explanations. (George Berkeley [1685–1753] would try to recast Newtonian mechanics without force in his *On Motion* [1721].)

Newton's most powerful critic in this and other regards was Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646–1716). Although their antagonism originated with a priority dispute in the mid-1690s over the invention of the calculus—which Newton and Leibniz had actually invented independently—it ended with Newton's anonymous writing of the official opinion of the Royal Society in which it was declared that he, Newton, was the true originator. This tiff was continued in a protracted epistolary debate between Leibniz and Newton's disciple, Samuel Clarke (1675–1729), over the metaphysical and religious implication of Newtonian physics. Leibniz claimed that Newton's theory of gravitation not only did not explain anything (since the notion of gravitational action-at-a-distance was itself unintelligible), but

promoted atheism. The other key debate was over the nature of relative versus Newtonian absolute space. Similar debates between Newtonians and their detractors regarding the explanatory and theological significance of universal gravitation were to color the philosophical landscape well into the eighteenth century.

Most importantly, however, Newton's debates with Leibniz yielded Newton's most explicit characterizations of his scientific method, which were to serve as a basis for all later science. In warding off criticism, Newton often insisted that the notion of universal gravitation was not in the least hypothetical, but was securely and positively based on empirical evidence. His insistence that theoretical claims should be justified only by observations, even when dealing with properties not directly perceivable, contradicted the idea of some of his contemporaries, who were accustomed to deducing theoretical claims from higher-level metaphysical or theological principles. The reliance on observation and experiment, more than any of Newton's particular claims, quickly became a hallmark of science as a whole. The Royal Society, increasing professionalization, an experimental method, and a set of unique problems all testify to physics' emergence as its own discipline during the latter half of the seventeenth century.

RECASTING PHYSICS

Curiously, despite its numerous innovations, Newton's work was mostly written in an older geometrical style, not the differential calculus. The move away from geometry—which had dominated mathematical thinking since antiquity—was not completed until the middle of the eighteenth century, well after Newton's death, although it had begun in the early years of the seventeenth century with the work of François Viète (1540–1603), Thomas Harriot (c. 1560–1621), Descartes, and Pierre de Fermat (1601–1665) on infinitesimals and the algebraic treatment of curves. This new analytical treatment of mathematics was the cause of aforementioned dispute between Newton and Leibniz regarding the calculus: while Leibniz's version of the calculus was based on the algebraic techniques gaining strength at the time, Newton's version (at least as published during his lifetime) was a geometrical analogue. Leibniz's version was eventually

adopted, and by the mid-eighteenth century, virtually all developments of the calculus were undertaken in an algebraic style. The culmination of this movement was to come in Leonhard Euler's (1707–1783) *Mechanics or the Science of Motion Exposed Analytically* (1736) and Joseph-Louis Lagrange's (1736–1813) *Analytical Mechanics* (1788).

Finally, it remains to remark that Newtonian physics and Newton himself, by name if not by precise deed, was taken as exemplary for the age that followed. Numerous works for children and women, now thought fit for education, appeared in many languages; among such were E. Wells, *Young Gentleman's Course in Mechanicks, Optics, and Astronomy* (1714) and Francesco Algarotti's (1712–1764) *Sir Isaac Newton for Use of Ladies* (1739). More serious discussions and popularizations of Newton and his work were also numerous. To mention only a few, we find in the early eighteenth century John Theophilus Desaguliers's (1683–1744) *Course of Experimental Philosophy* (1744), Willem Gravesande's (1688–1742) *Mathematical Elements of Natural Philosophy* (1721), Henry Pemberton's *View of Sir Isaac Newton's Philosophy* (1728), and most impressive of all Colin Maclaurin's (1698–1746) posthumously published *An Account of Sir Isaac Newton's Philosophy* (1748). In France Newton also had his fame; Pierre Louis Moreau de Maupertuis (1698–1759) taught Newtonianism to Voltaire (François-Marie Arouet, 1694–1778), and to Madame du Chatelet (1706–1749), leading Voltaire to write the popular *Elements of Newtonian Philosophy* (1741), which is perhaps the best known but certainly not an isolated instance. Newton was seen during this time as the man who had brought modernity (and perhaps salvation) to England and to the world. The prevailing thought of the times was well summed up by Alexander Pope in his "Epitaph Intended for Sir Isaac Newton":

Nature and Nature's laws lay hid in night;
God said, "Let Newton be!" and all was light.

See also Academies, Learned; Astronomy; Berkeley, George; Boyle, Robert; Brahe, Tycho; Catholicism; Copernicus, Nicolaus; Descartes, René; Galileo Galilei; Huygens Family; Kepler, Johannes; Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm; Mathematics; Montaigne, Michel de; Newton, Isaac; Philosophy; Reformation, Protestant; Scientific Method; Scientific Revolution.

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PHYSIOCRATS AND PHYSIOCRACY. Physiocracy was an economic theory that flourished in France in the second half of the eighteenth century, and an important example of Enlightenment social science. In 1757 François Quesnay (1694–1774), the chief theorist of Physiocracy, met Victor Riqueti, marquis de Mirabeau (1715–1789), initiating a lifelong collaboration. Two years later, Quesnay published his *Tableau économique*, a work he and Mirabeau regarded as the foundation of Physiocracy. This was followed by Mirabeau's *Théorie de l'impôt* in 1760, and the *Philosophie rurale*, the first full exposition of physiocratic thought, in 1763. In the 1760s, Mirabeau and Quesnay recruited Pierre-Samuel Dupont (1739–1817), Guillaume-François Le Trosne (1728–1780), Nicolas Baudeau (1730–1792), J.-N.-M. de Saint-Péravy (1732–1789), and Paul-Pierre Le Mercier de la Rivière (1719–1801); the latter published the most complete account of the doctrine in his *L'ordre naturel et essentiel des sociétés politiques* (1767). Physiocracy also won converts in Sweden, Germany, Austria, and Italy, and Le Mercier de la Rivière traveled to Russia to consult with Catherine II the Great (ruled 1762–1796).

Physiocracy addressed critical problems of the French state in the aftermath of the Seven Years'

War (1756–1763). French statesmen wanted to understand why England had surged ahead of France in wealth and power, and they sought a program to reestablish French preeminence. The Physiocrats offered a diagnosis of French weakness: France had neglected agriculture in favor of commerce and manufactures. The central premise of Physiocracy is that agriculture is the sole source of wealth. Quesnay denied that commerce and manufacturing produce riches. The increase in value that manufacturing confers on raw materials, he argued, covers only labor and production costs, and a profit for the entrepreneur equivalent to a moderate interest on his capital. Agriculture, on the other hand, pays wage and production costs, a profit for the farmer, and still leaves a surplus—a “net product”—to pay a rent to the landlord. Quesnay argued that state-sponsored industrial development in France, combined with efforts to keep manufacturing wages low by regulating grain prices, had impoverished agriculture. The Physiocrats also criticized the fiscal system. They called for the abolition of existing taxes and their replacement by a single tax, which was to fall only on the net product. The net product represents the whole economic surplus of society, they argued; to collect tax on revenues other than the net product is merely to increase the costs of collection. To revivify the agricultural economy, and regenerate the nation, the Physiocrats sought to replace peasant cultivation with an English-style commercial agriculture. They also demanded the deregulation of the grain trade, including a relaxation of the laws against export, so that the price of grain could return to its natural level. The Physiocrats were doctrinaire advocates of free trade, rejecting the “balance of trade” theory, which held that statesmen must ensure that national exports always exceed imports. They regarded unfettered property rights as the foundation of prosperity, and they also argued in favor of absolute liberty to work, which led them to condemn the trade corporations that regulated the artisanal economy.

Although they identified the market economy as “natural,” the Physiocrats believed that vested interests had blocked its development. To override such interests, they proposed to establish “legal despotism,” a governing authority untrammelled by constitutional checks. By legal despotism the Physiocrats meant not arbitrary rule, but government

under laws derived from the “natural order.” Though they suggested that an independent magistracy and public opinion would watch over the acts of the sovereign, they expected self-interest to function as the principal check on its actions.

During the 1760s, with the enthusiastic support of the Physiocrats, the French administration committed itself to a program of economic reform, introducing domestic free trade in grain in 1763 and freedom of export in 1764. As grain prices rose between 1764 and 1770, deregulation was attacked. The Physiocrats defended the government in pamphlets and in the physiocratic journal, the *Éphémérides du citoyen*. They also supported the administration’s policy of ending the monopoly of the Indies Company in 1769. Whatever influence Physiocracy enjoyed in the 1760s, it lost with the fall of the reform-minded administration in 1770. The anti-physiocratic Abbé Terray reinstated regulation of the grain trade in 1770, and in 1772 closed the *Ephémérides du citoyen*. The Physiocrats enjoyed a resurgence when Louis XVI appointed Turgot, a physiocratic sympathizer, as controller general in 1774. The new minister reinstated free trade in grain, reestablished the *Ephémérides*, and moved against the trade corporations. However, the opposition Turgot’s reforms aroused swept him from office in 1776 and Physiocracy never again enjoyed the same prominence.

See also Agriculture; Enlightenment; Industrial Revolution; Industry; Taxation.

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PHYSIOLOGY. See *Anatomy and Physiology*.

PICTURESQUE. Use of the term “picturesque” has varied greatly since its emergence in the late seventeenth century, and its meaning has been frequently disputed. Ostensibly derived from the Italian *pittresco* or the French *pittoresque*, meaning “like a picture” or “as if by a painter,” the English version exceeded those meanings even in its earliest usage. For example, in notes to his translation of Homer’s *Iliad* (1715–1720), the poet Alexander Pope (1688–1744) used the word “picturesque” to signal descriptive passages that, when visualized, were particularly compelling. Until the last quarter of the eighteenth century, the term generally implied that the subject in question was to some degree in keeping with conventions of painting. However, that conformity might be deliberate or by chance and, consequently, the expression was equally applicable to designed and natural subjects: gardens and remote wilderness, artful compositions and haphazard arrangements, brushstrokes within a painting, and even paintings themselves.

During the last third of the eighteenth century, the meaning of “picturesque” became a major subject of debate among three theorists particularly interested in landscape: William Gilpin (1724–1804), Uvedale Price (1747–1829), and Richard Payne Knight (1750–1824). Central to the debate were questions about how and where aesthetic properties were constituted.

Gilpin was a rural schoolmaster and clergyman who believed that aesthetic qualities were based on

objective properties. He argued that the “picturesque”—defined in his *Essay on Prints* (1768) as “expressive of that peculiar kind of beauty which is agreeable in a picture”—referred to compositional formulas and textures such as those found in the landscape paintings of Claude Lorraine (1600–1682), Gaspard Dughet (called Poussin; 1615–1675), and Salvator Rosa (1615–1673), in which an open area seen from a low viewpoint was backed by a screening device and framed on both sides by wings, all painted in rough brushstrokes. Gilpin popularized his theory through a series of travel guides, published beginning in 1782, in which he pinpointed places from which to view “picturesque” scenes within rural landscape.

Price and Knight looked not to rustic scenery but to estate landscapes in their appraisals of the picturesque. Like Gilpin, Price believed that aesthetic qualities were objective properties. Influenced by Edmund Burke’s treatise, *A Philosophical Inquiry into the Origins of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (1757; revised 1759), however, Price also believed that perception of specific forms and textures could elicit specific thoughts and feelings within the mind of an observer. In his *Essay on the Picturesque* (1794), Price described the picturesque as an aesthetic category in which perceptions of roughness, irregularity, and unexpected variety could produce sensations of curiosity and pleasure. In “The Landscape” (1794), a poem dedicated to Price, and later in his substantial *Analytical Inquiry into the Principles of Taste* (1805), Knight differed from Gilpin and Price by suggesting that the picturesque was defined not by objective properties but by a mode of perception. More specifically, Knight proposed that the picturesque was an understanding produced in the mind of the observer through the association of ideas, and that individuals with higher levels of cultural education would be more inclined to experience it.

Despite theoretical uncertainties, the practice of configuring real space to resemble paintings became a vital aspect of garden and landscape design in eighteenth-century Britain, particularly in the work of William Kent (1685–1748), William Shenstone (1714–1763), and Lancelot “Capability” Brown (1715–1783). Price and Knight severely disapproved of Brown’s untextured designs and hoped, through their writings, to foster appreciation



Picturesque. View of the small Italianate temple and gardens at Stourhead Manor, Wiltshire, England, designed by Henry Hoare in 1741. Influenced by the paintings of Claude Lorrain, Hoare designed extensive gardens incorporating classical structures for his estate. ©CLAY PERRY/CORBIS

among estate owners of more variegated, “patinated” landscapes. On the Continent, picturesque composition played an important role in the emergence and development of irregular design, beginning in the 1760s in France and, subsequently, in countries as far separated as Italy and Russia.

See also **Art: Art Theory, Criticism, and Historiography;** **Burke, Edmund;** **Gardens and Parks;** **Painting.**

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PIEDMONT. See **Savoy, duchy of.**

PIETISM. Historians have had difficulty agreeing about a definition for Pietism. A major reason is that the term has been controversial since its first use in German Lutheran territories in the 1670s. Today historians debate how narrowly or broadly to define the subject. However, there is general agreement that, although in a narrow sense a Lutheran (and in part also a Reformed Protestant) phenomenon of the later seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries, Pietism had roots in the concerns of those sixteenth-

and seventeenth-century Christians who wanted to realize the ideals of discipline and godliness in their personal and collective lives.

This impulse developed in part out of a dissatisfaction with institutional, hierarchical Protestantism and its emphasis on salvation by faith alone. While pious theologians and laypeople usually agreed that faith was necessary for salvation, they insisted that sanctification was also essential. In other words, merely dogmatic religion was not enough, for on its own it could lead to moral decline and institutional complacency. True faith had to transform believers.

A wide range of Christians shared this kind of conviction before the rise of Pietism in the narrow sense. Among those who held a lasting influence for later Pietists were Catholic mystics, British Puritans, Protestant Nonconformists and spiritualists, and Dutch Reformed and German Lutheran clergymen concerned about moral reform.

THE “PIETISM” CONTROVERSIES

By the early 1690s the definition of “Pietism” had become a subject of heated public debate across Lutheran Germany. The Pietism controversies were important because with them godliness was transformed from a subject for a minority of Protestants to an issue that divided believers and resulted in deep and lasting changes in the character of Lutheranism and even Protestantism as a whole.

The roots of the controversy grew from the 1670s, and at their center was the Lutheran pastor Philipp Jakob Spener (1635–1705). In 1675, while based in Frankfurt am Main, Spener published *Pia Desideria* (Pious desires). In *Pia Desideria* Spener outlined a program to improve the quality of the clergy and the moral lives of believers according to a biblical model in the hopes of a better future for Christians. He did not intend his proposals to undermine the established orthodox Lutheran hierarchy; reforms, he felt, should take place within existing institutional structures and be led by ordained clergymen.

A key part of Spener’s reform plan involved the *collegia pietatis*, small devotional sessions held in addition to regular church services, during which participants prayed and read the Bible together to encourage one another to live upright lives. Spener had helped organize such meetings in Frankfurt as

early as 1670. With the publication of *Pia Desideria* and clerical networking, the movement to renew Christendom through moral reform spread throughout Lutheran Germany. Moderates like Spener tried to avoid unwanted conflicts with authorities by limiting and controlling lay participation in the Bible reading sessions.

Nonetheless, the spread of conventicles was ecclesiastically, politically, and socially contentious. Within a few decades conventicles had risen from a phenomenon of limited, localized popularity to the main form of pious sociability. As the conventicles spread, so too did the involvement of laymen and laywomen, as well as ecclesiastical and theological experimentation. Many orthodox clergymen and some secular rulers felt the devotional meetings were an unregulated breeding ground for sectarianism and political subversion. Therefore, numerous territorial rulers published edicts forbidding the private meetings, often to no avail.

The movement entered a new phase with the sudden upsurge in revivalist excitement between 1689 and 1693. Developments in Leipzig were especially important. During a controversy there about conventicles the name “Pietist,” which until then had been used only occasionally in Germany, became a widely recognized name for the supporters of reform. Enthusiastic theology students like August Hermann Francke (1663–1727) were among those forced to leave Leipzig when authorities banned the growing movement in 1690. These activists formed the core of the spreading popular movement. The reform message that had been championed since the 1670s predominantly by moderate clergymen was transformed into the message of a younger, more exuberant generation of Lutherans fired by missionary zeal.

In this new phase, intense conversion experiences, anticlerical tendencies, and apocalyptic expectations also became common among those who participated in conventicles. Particularly noteworthy were waves of lay prophecy that occurred in numerous German towns in the early 1690s; the most publicized cases involved women and caused public scandals. Thereafter, the moderates, including Spener and Francke, distanced themselves from the popular movement and eventually broke their connections with the pious conventicles. Another

important post-1689 development was a pamphlet war fought between reformers and their orthodox Lutheran opponents. Between about 1690 and 1720 hundreds of polemical pamphlets were exchanged on a range of issues, among them the definition of “Pietism.”

PIETISM AFTER THE 1690S

Despite opposition, Pietism flourished throughout the eighteenth century and was influential in Germany, the Netherlands, Switzerland, and Scandinavia, as well as in England and the North American colonies. There were Calvinist Pietists in the eighteenth century. Perhaps the most significant was Gerrit Tersteegen (1697–1769). However, when investigating eighteenth-century Pietism, historians commonly focus on several German Lutheran groupings.

One of the most significant institutional forms of Pietism was centered in Halle. Under the influence of Spener, the Prussian government established a new university there in the early 1690s. Several of the theology students who had been expelled from Leipzig in 1690 were on the faculty in Halle. Among them was Francke. In addition to professorial duties, he was instrumental in the foundation of a set of influential institutions. These included an orphanage and orphan schools (established 1695), and several domestic and international missionary organizations. One of the unique characteristics of Pietism based in Halle was the importance placed on repentance for sins and a personal experience of conversion to a godly life. While encouraging education in religion and practical sciences, Francke and other leaders also emphasized discipline among orphans and students. This became the model for educational reform in the Prussian state in the eighteenth century.

The other major officially sanctioned form of eighteenth-century Pietism was based in Württemberg. The church leader Johann Valentin Andreä (1586–1654) had promoted piety and discipline there. His lasting influence among members of the Lutheran church hierarchy made it easier for secular authorities after the 1690s to accept Pietist reforms. Although conversion experiences were not as central as in Halle, strict godly living became a widely accepted norm in Württemberg’s universities, churches, and households. Thus, unlike Pietists

in Halle and Prussia, who established close connections with the nobility, Pietism in Württemberg had a much broader social base. Also in contrast to Halle, Württemberg’s university elite encouraged not only useful skills and piety, but also academic theology and biblical scholarship.

While leaders in Halle, Prussia, and Württemberg discouraged conventicles as a main form of fellowship, the meetings of the pious were a central feature of Pietism based in Herrnhut. There in the 1720s the Unity of Brethren (also called Moravians), a group of lay Christians with pre-Reformation roots, came under the charismatic leadership of Count Nicolaus Ludwig von Zinzendorf (1700–1760), a former student at Halle. While he rejected the strict regimentation of life in Halle, Zinzendorf shared an emphasis on conversion. His willingness to ally himself with a nonconformist community is an example of the ecumenical attitude typical of this branch of Pietism. Its missionary communities established themselves throughout central Europe, as well as in North America in Georgia and Pennsylvania.

Zinzendorf was influenced not only by Pietism in Halle, but also by a range of nonconformists whose experiences had been shaped by the extraordinary events of the 1690s. Historians sometimes use the label “radical Pietism” to identify this diverse range of individuals and small groups. Radicals distanced themselves from institutionalized Protestantism, often going so far as to separate themselves from the official territorial church. Among the characteristics shared by many (but not all) in these circles were the centrality of conventicles and personal conversion experiences; lay as opposed to clerical leadership, with women often playing key roles; mysticism, apocalyptic expectations, and prophetic tendencies; innovations in sacramental practice; and unconventional attitudes toward sexual norms. Radical Pietism had no single representative, institution, or geographical center.

IMPACT AND COMPARISONS

Pietism’s impact on early modern European society is difficult to evaluate because it was so varied. Its adherents came from a wide range of social stations, and their actions and beliefs both supported and undermined established social and political norms. Philosophically Pietists participated in both the Enlightenment and the Romantic movement. Al-

though often vehemently antipapal, they contributed to the weakening of confessional boundaries, especially among Protestant churches. Protestant revivalism and evangelicalism of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries owe much to Pietist traditions.

The godly impulse so characteristic of Pietism was also shared by other religious groups in the eighteenth century. In Christian Europe these included Catholic Jansenists and Protestant Camisards in France, as well as English Methodists. Scholars could also find similarities (although not direct historical connections) with Jewish Hasidism in eastern Europe.

See also **Apocalypticism; Calvinism; Leipzig; Lutheranism; Moravian Brethren; Prussia; Puritanism; Zinzendorf, Nicolaus Ludwig von.**

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PILON, GERMAIN (1525/1527?–1590), considered the greatest French sculptor of the sixteenth century. Born in Paris to the sculptor Antoine Pilon, who is believed to have trained him, Pilon was chosen for the most prestigious commissions of Catherine de Médicis and her sons Francis II (ruled 1559–1560), Charles IX (ruled 1560–1574), and Henry III (ruled 1574–1589). Catholic and funerary subjects dominated his oeuvre as they did those of most of his contemporaries. The transcendent spirituality of Pilon's sculptures, however, was unequalled by any other artist of his time. His oeuvre combines traditional French prototypes (his *Virgin and Child* in Notre-Dame de la Couture in Le Mans, from 1570, for example, follows fourteenth-century models) with the breathtaking sophistication of a dying court style and the superhuman power of Michelangelo's figures, which must have been transmitted to him by Francesco Primaticcio (1504–1570).

None of Pilon's earliest documented works (nor any of his father's) has been preserved. It is logical, however, to suggest that he worked at Fontainebleau even before receiving the commission in 1561 for wood statues intended for the queen's garden there: not only would this contact have provided a fundamental inspiration for his elegant style, but it also would account for the fact that many of his earliest known extant sculptures were commissioned for projects overseen by the supervisors of royal architectural works, Philibert de l'Orme (1515?–1570) and Primaticcio. Among these early sculptures were allegorical figures of children holding inverted torches, symbolizing the extinction of life, commissioned in 1558 for the tomb of Francis I (Saint-Denis), but never included in that monument. A sculpture in the Musée National de la Renaissance (Écouen, France) is usually identified as the only one that remains today, but another can easily be attributed to Pilon among the three that were instead used for the monument to the heart of Francis II (Saint-Denis).

The reliefs of the evangelists, sorrowing putti, and the *Resurrection of Christ* (c. 1559) on the underside of the canopy of the tomb of Francis I can also be attributed justifiably to Pilon. Their exquisite chiseling in extraordinarily low relief shows a brilliance unknown in the technique of any of

PIETY. See **Religious Piety.**

Pilon's contemporaries, and the dimpling of the draperies occurs, without any other precedent, only in the three female figures carved for the monument to the heart of Henry II (Louvre, Paris), popularly called the *Three Graces*. This is Pilon's earliest (1560–1563) extant documented work, and his best known.

Pilon was among several sculptors chosen by Primaticcio to realize Henry II's tomb in Saint-Denis (1563–1570). Pilon's sumptuous bronze praying figures of the king and Catherine de Médicis are on the upper level of this two-tiered monument, while his marble sculptures of their corpses rest beneath. Four bronze *Virtues* stand at the tomb's corners; of these, *Justice* and *Fortitude* are Pilon's. The authorship of the four marble reliefs on the base of the tomb is still debated, although it is likely that Pilon carried out two of them: *Faith* and *Religion* (the relief traditionally believed to represent hope).

By 1572 Pilon had also completed the over-life-size marble *Resurrection* (Louvre), toward which the praying figures of the king and queen were oriented. This would be complemented by elaborate effigies (1583) of Henry II and Catherine de Médicis and the mystical *Virgin of Sorrows* (1586, marble example in Saint-Paul–Saint-Louis, Paris; terra-cotta in the Louvre), all intended for the Valois Chapel, the mausoleum envisioned by Catherine de Médicis.

Charles IX's unhappy reign brought commissions for a grand figure of a horse, known only through the posthumous inventory of Pilon's workshop; the gigantic decorative frame for the clock of the central courthouse in Paris; and appointment as overseer of the Paris mint. Only during Henry III's reign was the frame of the clock, renowned in its time as the *Horloge du Palais*, completed. (It was replaced in the nineteenth century.) Indeed, the most fecund period of Pilon's career coincides with the fifteen years of Henry III's desperate attempts to restore peace and religious toleration in France. Pilon was commissioned to do fifteen funerary monuments, ranging from a simple epitaph to the costly bronze and mixed-marble tombs of such courtiers as the chancellor René de Birague (1584, surviving elements in the Louvre) and the king's three favorites (1578, formerly in Saint-Paul, Paris),

which were destroyed in Pilon's own lifetime in a bloody uprising against Henry III.

Less than half of Pilon's work is preserved today, mostly in the Louvre. Nonetheless, his oeuvre not only constitutes the artistic apogee of the end of the Valois dynasty, but also marks a significant transition in style to the peculiarly disciplined restraint of French baroque sculpture of the seventeenth century. Pilon's influence, paradoxically, also brought a mannered classicism to the sculpture of the Low Countries and England.

See also Catherine de Médicis; Sculpture; Valois Dynasty (France).

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PIRACY. Piracy was a prominent feature of the Mediterranean world up through the nineteenth century. The relative poverty of the soil, the inviting expanse of the sea with its lively commercial life, and the many hiding places provided by the islets scattered across the area—particularly in the Aegean—ensured that the coastal inhabitants would always be tempted by the life of the pirate. Such low-level raiding, as constant and predictable as it was, is almost an environmental given rather than a phenomenon that begs the attention of the historian. At times, however, piracy spilled beyond such narrow limits and became a vital instrument of state building or state destruction. At such times in the Mediterranean, any explanation of historical change must include piracy in the narrative.

The early modern period in Mediterranean history—roughly the fifteenth through the eighteenth century—begins with the tapering off of one such period of piratical recrudescence. The final crumbling of Byzantine maritime power in the fourteenth century encouraged fierce competition between Latin Christians and Turkish emirs for

control of the Aegean and its vital trade links. Both sides built up their navies, raided each other's territory, and preyed on each other's shipping in pursuit of supremacy in the eastern Mediterranean. Both sides recruited pirates (conveniently called corsairs once they were serving a legitimate political entity) to help them achieve their goals. The Knights of St. John, for instance, captured the island of Rhodes in 1308 with the help of a Genoese corsair (Inalcik, p. 186). The eventual victor in this fierce competition was the Turkish side, specifically the Ottoman Turks whose original base was inland but who eventually expanded outward to become a maritime power of the first order. With the conquest of Constantinople (1453), the Ottomans became masters of the vital commercial routes that linked the Black Sea and the Aegean. In 1522 they vanquished one of their most persistent naval competitors when Suleiman the Magnificent captured Rhodes and forced the departure of the Knights. Venice continued to have possessions in the eastern Mediterranean, but the Ottomans steadily eroded her power as well.

Having thus established control over the area, the Sultans quite naturally no longer looked with favor upon piracy and punished pirates whenever they were able to do so. Those who could be absorbed into the state apparatus—as naval commanders, for example—enjoyed a new life as Ottoman officials. Independent actors, however, were no longer tolerated. In 1504 the Ottomans seized the ships of a pirate who had served as a corsair in the recent wars with Venice. When he continued his raids in peacetime, he lost not only his ships; the authorities burned his house to the ground and executed seventy of his men (Brummett, p. 99). Ottoman maritime supremacy, combined with the Venetian desire to protect her commercial interests, ensured that the eastern Mediterranean enjoyed a long hiatus from piracy in the sixteenth century.

Farther to the west, in North Africa, the picture was largely similar. The corsairing captains who had raided the Spanish coastland on behalf of the Ottomans now settled down to life as the rulers of the newly acquired territories in North Africa. The high level of hostility between the sultan and the Spanish kings, however, meant that piracy was more tolerated in the western Mediterranean.

Things changed again after the Ottoman defeat at the battle of Lepanto (1571). Revisionist histori-

ography has made it clear that this clash was not the watershed it was once presumed to be. It was important, however, in terms of piracy. The staggering and ever increasing costs of galley warfare convinced both the Ottomans and the Spaniards that it was best to turn their energies elsewhere. The Mediterranean was left to its own devices. The pirates once again took to the seas, and the seventeenth century was the golden age of the pirate republic. The slave markets of Algiers and of Valletta teemed with miserable captives from the other side, as both Muslims and Christians pursued their opponents with equal ferocity.

To a certain extent the pirates of the seventeenth century were operating on their own initiative and were motivated by the issues of economic scarcity that had always figured prominently. As with earlier centuries, however, shifts in the Mediterranean balance of power were working themselves out through piracy. It was in this period that northern newcomers—the Dutch and the English—put an end to Italian commercial supremacy in the Mediterranean and piracy was a vital instrument in this assault. The English pirate in his *berthon* became a hated and feared figure for the Venetian merchant. This northern invasion is only the best-known example, however. France backed Catholic pirates—particularly the Knights of St. John—as part of its ambition to replace the Venetians as the preeminent Catholic power in the eastern Mediterranean, and to hurt her economic competitors. The North African regencies of Tripoli, Tunis, and Algiers would prove similarly useful for English and French ambitions. Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries these two powers signed a number of treaties with the North Africans, agreements that were designed both to protect their own merchants from North African piracy and to encourage raids on their competitors' shipping. In the eighteenth century the power of the regencies dwindled as they themselves devoted fewer and fewer resources to such assaults and European supremacy became ever more evident. Nevertheless, remnants of the system were still at work as late as the American Revolution. Once the Americans declared their independence from the British, Lloyds of London discreetly informed the North Africans that American ships were no longer under the protection of the British navy. North African attacks on

the merchant shipping of the new republic predictably ensued.

In 1798 Napoleon Bonaparte captured the island of Malta and took the previously unimaginable step of freeing all the Muslim captives held by the Knights of St. John. His dramatic actions were an illustration of a more prosaic truth. By the end of the eighteenth century combatants in the Mediterranean were strong enough to fight their naval battles and conduct their trade without the help of Mediterranean pirates turned corsairs. Once the state turned its back, piracy never again achieved the international significance that it had enjoyed from time to time in the early modern period.

See also **Africa: North; Mediterranean Basin; Navy; Shipping; Suleiman I.**

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MOLLY GREENE

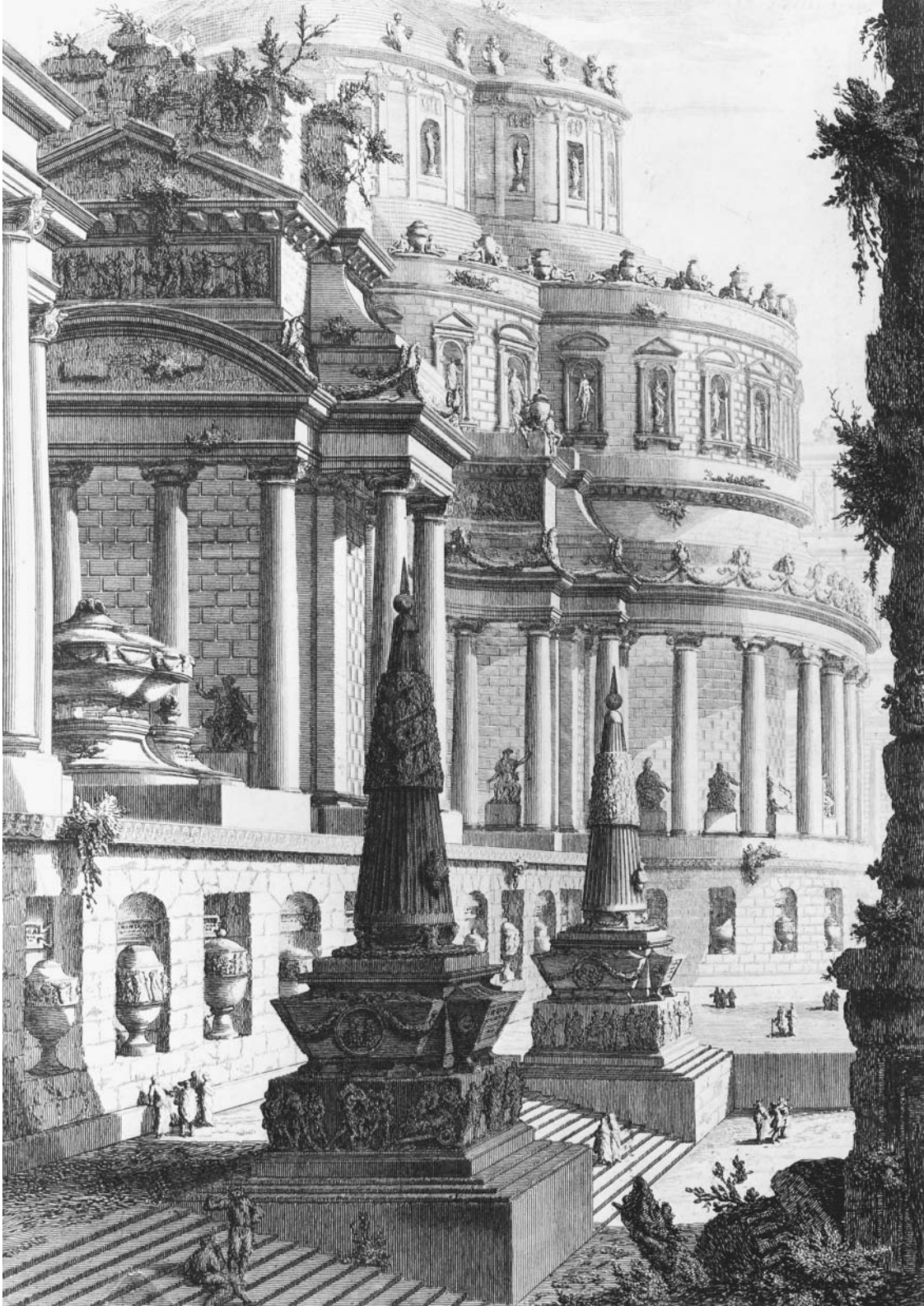
PIRANESI, GIOVANNI BATTISTA (1720–1778), Venetian architect, engraver, and archaeologist. By means of over a thousand etched plates and his theoretical defense of creative fantasy, Piranesi revolutionized the European perception of Roman antiquity and exerted a major influence on many of the leading architects and designers of European neoclassicism. The son of a stonemason and master builder, he spent his first twenty years in Venice training in architecture and stage design, and was strongly influenced by the local tradition of topographical art represented by Canaletto and the etched fantasies of Marco Ricci (1676–1729) and Giovanni Battista Tiepolo (1696–1770).

Moving in 1740 to Rome, where he spent the larger part of his life, a lack of practical commissions led him to develop skills in etching souvenir views,

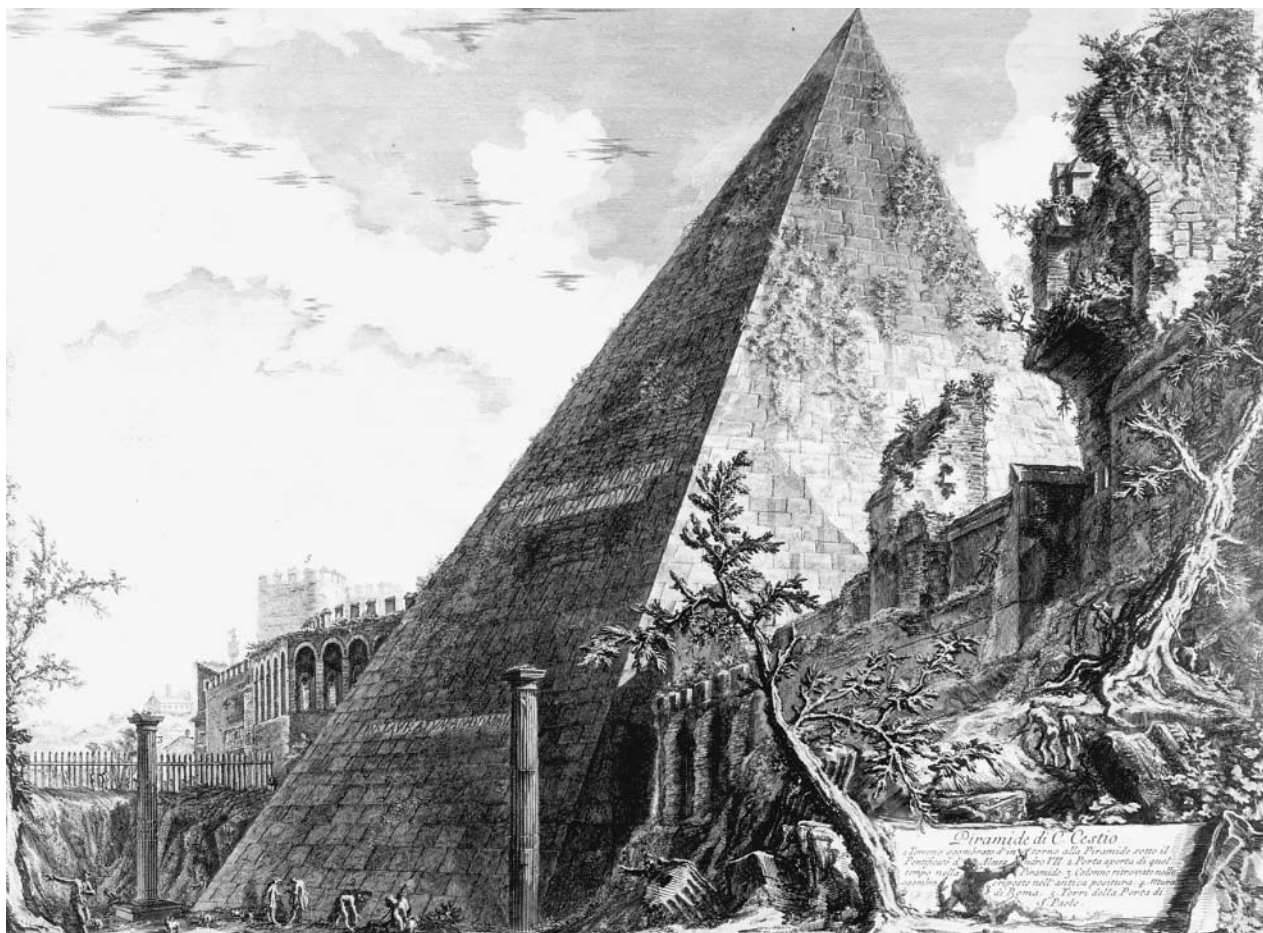
or *vedute*, for the grand tour market. As a graphic artist of genius he was to transform the mundane topographical view into a highly sophisticated means of architectural communication—based on a strongly practical understanding of ancient technology—as well as a vehicle of powerful emotional expression. Around 1748 he began to issue his magisterial views of Rome, *Vedute di Roma* (135 plates), which he published individually, or in groups, throughout the rest of his career. These theatrical images were to generate a highly charged emotional perception of the Eternal City and its environs that has lasted to the present day.

Piranesi's main creative energies were concentrated on developing the architectural fantasy, or capriccio, as a device for formal experiment, creative release, and a stimulus for contemporary architects, whose designs he thought had failed to measure up to the ruined grandeur around them. Such was the intention behind his first publication, *Prima parte di architettura e prospettive* (1743; Part one of architecture and perspectives) as well as a group of arcane prison compositions, *Carceri d'invenzione* (c. 1745; Prisons of the imagination). By these means Piranesi was to exercise a seminal influence on visiting artists, architects, and patrons in Rome over the course of nearly four decades. His personal contact with visiting designers such as William Chambers, Robert Mylne, George Dance, John Soane, and, above all, Robert and James Adam, enabled him to exert a critical influence on the development of avant-garde British architecture.

During the 1750s archaeology became increasingly important to Piranesi. His four-volume treatise, *Le antichità romane* (1756; The antiquities of Rome), pioneered new archaeological methods and techniques of illustration, and its publication quickly won him international recognition; he became a leading protagonist for Rome in the furious controversy provoked by the excessive claims of Hellenic originality by promoters of the Greek revival. With the election of the Venetian Pope Clement XIII (reigned 1758–1769), the 1760s became a golden age of patronage for Piranesi, who won financial support for a series of impressive polemical folios: *Della magnificenza ed architettura de' Romani* (1761; Concerning the magnificence and architecture of the Romans); *Il Campo Marzio dell'antica Roma* (1762; The Campus Martius of



Giovanni Battista Piranesi. *Mausoleo Antico (Ancient Mausoleum)*, etching, from *Prima Parte*, 1743. COURTESY OF JOHN WILTON-ELY



Giovanni Battista Piranesi. *Piramide di Cestio* (Pyramid of Cestius, Rome), etching, from *Vedute di Roma*, c. 1760. COURTESY OF JOHN WILTON-ELY

ancient Rome), and others. In response to criticism by the French critic Pierre-Jean Mariette, in 1765 Piranesi issued the manifesto *Parere su l'architettura* (Opinions on architecture), which advocated a highly eclectic system of design inspired by ancient Rome in contrast to the radically astringent taste supported by Greek revivalists such as Marc-Antoine Laugier, Julien-David Le Roy, and Johann Winckelmann. Through the pope and members of the Rezzonico family Piranesi received commissions to carry out these ideas in reconstructing the Order of Malta's church in Rome, Santa Maria del Priorato (1764–1765), together with designs for an unexecuted tribune for S. Giovanni in Laterano. He also produced various furnished interiors from which only two tables survive (Minneapolis, Institute of Fine Arts; Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum), complex marble chimneypieces (such as the one at Burghley House, Lincolnshire), and a pio-

neering painted Egyptian interior for the English Coffee House in Rome (destroyed in the nineteenth century). Many of these works were to be illustrated in his internationally influential folio, *Diverse maniere d'adornare i cammini . . .* (1769; Various ways of ornamenting chimneypieces . . .), which illustrated a range of his own designs for interior fittings, furniture, and decorative objects.

His closing years were involved in producing a quantity of imaginatively restored antiquities from excavated fragments, notably represented by large vases and ornamental candelabra primarily for the British market. Ironically, Piranesi's final work, completed and published posthumously by his son Francesco, was a potent contribution to the Greek revival in the form of etchings of the Doric temples at Paestum, south of Naples (1778). Perhaps the ultimate legacy of Piranesi's unique vision of antiq-

uity, however, is represented by the dramatically refashioned plates of the *Carceri* (2nd state, 1761)—a series of visual metaphors for the endless creative inspiration of the past, which had a profound impact on such leading figures of Romanticism as Samuel Taylor Coleridge and Victor Hugo, and which continue to inspire writers and poets as much as artists, architects, and film directors.

See also Art: Art Theory, Criticism, and Historiography; Rome, Architecture in; Tiepolo, Giovanni Battista.

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JOHN WILTON-ELY

PISCOPIA, ELENA LUCREZIA CORNARO. *See* Cornaro Piscopia, Elena Lucrezia.

PITT, WILLIAM THE ELDER AND WILLIAM THE YOUNGER (1708–1778; 1759–1806), English statesmen. The Pitts, father and son, are unique in eighteenth-century British political history for their success in fashioning and refashioning self-images of disinterested public service that captured the imagination of a nation. Both were consummate players of the Hanoverian political game who reached the highest rungs of power from unpromising backbench origins.



William Pitt the Elder. Mezzotint by Richard Houston, 1766. ©BETTMANN/CORBIS

Upon entering Parliament in 1735, the elder Pitt soon established himself as an eloquent critic of Court Whig government as established by the premiership of Sir Robert Walpole. While Pitt was by no means Walpole's only backbench critic, he was unique in his cultivation of an outspoken and haughty independence. Pitt was once widely regarded as a "commonwealthman," an exponent of a seventeenth-century English republican ideology that defined political virtue as the maintenance of continual vigilance against the twin evils of corruption and over-mighty executive power. To this—though Pitt's commitment to it has been questioned—has been attributed his support for avant-garde causes: parliamentary reform, an independent county militia, and the cause of the Thirteen Colonies against Britain.

There can be little doubt that Pitt was a master of public relations. When he first took office as paymaster general in 1746, he stood out for his refusal to enrich himself from the perquisites of office, a self-restraint that stunned contemporaries used to speculation in high places. In 1757, upon entering office in partnership with the duke of Newcastle as secretary of state for the Southern



William Pitt the Younger. Undated portrait. ©BETTMANN/
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Department, he insisted upon sole management of Britain's Seven Years' War (1756–1763) effort against France and Austria, thereby preserving his reputation for independence of thought and action. Pitt was a gifted military strategist who masterminded a series of bold and successful assaults on French possessions in India, Canada, and the Caribbean that began to establish Britain as the dominant European power in the wider world. When, in 1761, he resigned over George III's refusal to extend the war to Spain's maritime empire, he asked the crown to grant a peerage to his wife so that he could return as an independent M.P. to the House of Commons. His high-minded image was slightly compromised in 1766, when he finally accepted the earldom of Chatham, but many by that date thought a peerage no more than Pitt's due, and he remained a trenchant critic of British imperial policy until his death in 1778.

The Younger Pitt, a reserved workaholic, was very different in temperament from his flamboyant

father, but displayed a talent for self-representation from his earliest days at Westminster. Having inherited Chatham's persona as an independent and critical Whig, Pitt appeared in 1781 as a fresh face to a Parliament and public weary of a twelve-year-old government and an unsuccessful war in America. Following the fall of Lord North's ministry in 1782, he was courted by several opposition groups but renounced all his connections to lead a minority government at the invitation of George III in December 1783. This was a political gamble that could easily have ended in disaster but Pitt, banking on the support of the crown and its supporters, outaced his critics and was confirmed in power by a landslide general election victory in May 1784. He would not leave Downing Street until 1801, and returned from 1804 to 1806 to lead a second ministry.

The Younger Pitt's career has been traditionally divided into two halves: a liberal youth (1781–1791), in which he advocated parliamentary reform, the abolition of the slave trade, and religious toleration while inaugurating a kind of fiscal and administrative efficiency that established his reputation for honest, responsible government; and a conservative middle age (1792–1806), when he seemingly repudiated all the avant-garde causes of his youth to lead a war against revolutionary and Napoleonic France, in so doing suspending the civil liberties of Britons in the name of national security. Pitt is still remembered as the founding father of the modern British Conservative party for having overseen the transformation of Toryism from a traitorous Jacobite creed into a political doctrine that valued tradition and stability over speculative change. What really went on in Pitt's mind remains a bone of contention. Did he simply take fright at the coming of the French Revolution? Was his advocacy of enlightened policies during the 1780s merely a form of window dressing? Was he some sort of progressive conservative or, alternatively, a cautious liberal? Pitt's own followers were unsure for decades after his death, and all they could agree upon was the shining image of incorruptibility that he presented to the world.

See also George III (Great Britain); Parliament; Political Parties in England; Representative Institutions; Seven Years' War (1756–1763); Walpole, Horace.

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JENNIFER MORI

PIUS IV (POPE) (Giovanni Angelo de' Medici; 1499–1565; reigned 1559–1565), Italian pope. Born in Milan, Pius IV studied medicine at Pavia and received his doctorate in canon and civil law from Bologna. He entered papal service as a governor in the Papal States, then as apostolic commissary to the papal forces assisting the emperor in Transylvania and Hungary against the Turks (1542–1543), and afterwards as administrator in the papal states. In 1545, he was appointed archbishop of Ragusa, and in 1549 he was elevated to cardinal when the duke of Florence invited him to take the coat of arms of the House of Medici, though he was not related. He served as permanent prefect of the *Segnatura gratiae*, the supreme tribunal of the Roman curia for responding to appeals and supplications, under Julius III (reigned 1550–1555), but withdrew from service during the reign of Paul IV (1555–1559), whose anti-Spanish policies he rejected. In 1558, he left Rome for Tuscany. He was elected pope on 25 December 1559 as a candidate acceptable to all factions.

Pius's most notable achievement was to recall (and maintain control over) the general church council that had met at Trent (1545–1546 and 1552–1553) for its third and final period (1562–1563). On 4 December 1563, after completing work in its 25th session, the council was dissolved. Pius confirmed its decrees orally on 26 January 1564 and with the bull *Benedictus Deus* (30 June 1564). He asserted the right of the papacy to be final interpreter of the Tridentine legislation, which he entrusted to the Congregation of the Council of Trent. He carried out the council's directives promptly; among his first actions was an order that

all absentee bishops return to their dioceses. In 1564, he established the Congregation of the Index of Forbidden Books, which mitigated the Index of Paul IV. He allowed bishops to give the chalice to the laity in lands affected by the Reformation, but he deferred the question of married clergy. With Tridentine legislation as the touchstone of Catholic belief, he ordered all higher clergy and individuals holding ecclesiastical office to take the Profession of the Tridentine Faith, an oath made to the pope, which consists of the Nicene Creed and twelve additional articles reflecting the clarification of Catholic dogma at Trent.

Pius made his sister's son, twenty-one-year-old Carlo Borromeo (canonized in 1610), a cardinal and appointed him secretary of state and archbishop of Milan. Borromeo rendered heroic services to his uncle in reforming the Sacred College and the offices of papal administration at Rome (Chancery, Datary, Rota, Sacred Penitentiary, and Apostolic Camera), as well as carrying out papal policy in Europe.

In contrast to his predecessor, Pius maintained good relations with Philip II of Spain and Emperor Ferdinand I, but he faced extraordinary challenges in the spread of Lutheranism within the empire and of Calvinism throughout much of Europe. He offered financial support to the French monarchy in resisting the Huguenots, watched anxiously the measures Queen Elizabeth took in England after the death of Mary Tudor, and gave moral, but not financial or military, support to Mary Stuart in Scotland.

At Rome and in the Papal States, Pius worked to repair damages wrought by the overbearing policies of his predecessor. He appointed Cardinal Giovanni Morone, whom Paul IV had persecuted on suspicion of heresy, as president at the Council of Trent. He had a number of cardinals and nobles arrested for murder and improprieties, and approved the execution of cardinals Carlo and Giovanni Carafa and others involved. He limited the powers of the Inquisition and mitigated much of Paul IV's harsh legislation. Pius also promoted education and was generous to artists: He appointed Paulo Manuzio to head a new printing press at Rome for Christian texts, and he beautified the Vatican (with the Casino di Pio IV), Rome (with

Michelangelo's Porta Pia), and the church of Santa Maria degli Angeli in the Baths of Diocletian, where his remains were transferred in 1583.

See also **Bellarmino, Robert; Borromeo, Carlo; Papacy and Papal States; Trent, Council of.**

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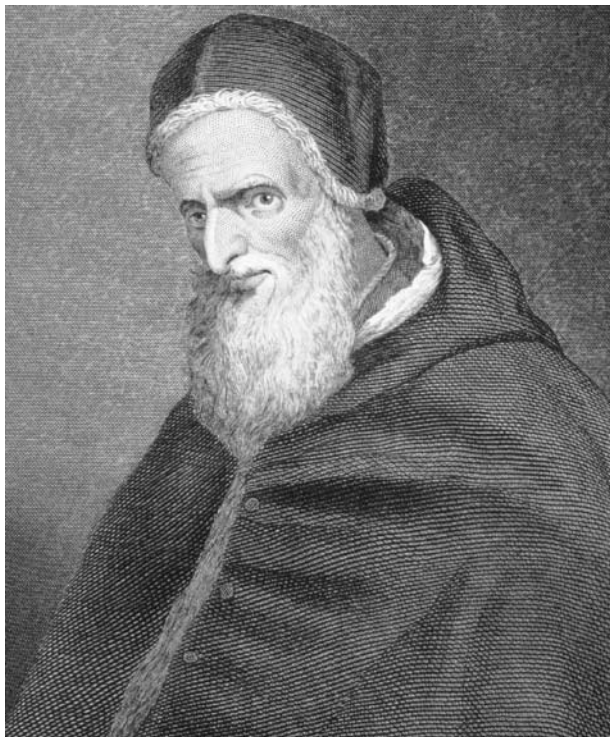
FREDERICK J. MCGINNESS

PIUS V (POPE) (Antonio Ghislieri; 1504–1572; reigned 1566–1572), born 17 January 1504 at Bosco Marengo, near Alessandria; elected pope 7 January 1566; died 1 May 1572; beatified 10 May 1672; canonized 22 May 1712. From poor circumstances, Antonio Ghislieri entered the Dominican Order at age fourteen at Voghera and changed his name to Michele. He studied at Bologna and Genoa, was ordained a priest in 1528, and taught philosophy and theology at Pavia until 1544, when he was made inquisitor for Como, and later Bergamo. Noted for austerity, intelligence, independence, incorruptibility, and rigorous fidelity to Roman Catholic orthodoxy, he was appointed to many offices within his order and soon found favor among cardinals urging strong measures to combat the Lutheran heresy in Italy. Appointed high commissioner of the Inquisition in 1551 by Julius III (reigned 1550–1555), Ghislieri would zealously promote its work until his death, prosecuting persons without respecting social or clerical status or privileges to ensure an Italy purified of heresy. Elected bishop of Sutri and Nepi in 1556 and made prefect of the Palace of the Inquisition, he was made cardinal and appointed Inquisitor General (Grand Inquisitor) of the Roman Church the following year (1557), but removed himself from Rome to the diocese of Mondovi upon the election of Pope Pius IV (reigned 1559–1565).

Elected pope in 1566 by the faction led by Cardinal Carlo Borromeo (nephew of Pope Pius IV), he set about implementing the decrees of the

Council of Trent, demanding that bishops reside in their dioceses and clerics in their ministries and that nuns and regular clergy be cloistered. He reformed many religious orders, and in the Papal States, he rigorously enforced the prohibition against the alienation of ecclesiastical properties. Responding to the Council of Trent's call for a catechism and standard liturgical texts, he had published the Roman Catechism (1566), the revised Roman Breviary (1568), and the Roman Missal (1570), and he set up the Congregation of the Index (1571) to examine books published in Italy. An extreme reformer of morality, he sought to cleanse Rome of blasphemy, cursing, adultery, witchcraft, sodomy, and all vestiges of paganism; he banished prostitution and outlawed bullfighting (without success in Spain). At the same time, he promoted constant preaching, the cult of Mary and the Rosary, and eucharistic devotion. Zealous to maintain a purified religion in the Papal States, Pius restricted Jewish merchants to their quarters at Rome and Ancona, expelling all others. Uncompromising with heretics and championing orthodoxy, he condemned seventy-six theses of Michael Baius (1567), and canonized Thomas Aquinas as the fifth doctor of the Latin Church, also seeing to the publication of his works.

Pius's rigor carried over into foreign affairs. He strongly supported Catherine de Médicis in France against the Huguenots in the Wars of Religion (1562–1598), but was angered at the tolerance later extended to Huguenots in the Peace of Saint-Germain (1570). He urged Emperor Maximilian II (ruled 1564–1576) to prosecute heretics vigorously in the empire, but was irate after receiving little satisfaction. He supported the Duke of Alba's efforts in the Netherlands to suppress heresy, but vigorously challenged King Philip II's efforts to exert control over the church in Spain. Other monarchs felt his fury. He ill-advisedly excommunicated and deposed Queen Elizabeth I with the bull *Regnans in Excelsis* (1570), demanding that Catholic subjects withdraw obedience from her under pain of excommunication; he received little support for this. Pius's unilateral, often counterproductive, actions in foreign affairs seemed to take little account of political realities. Yet he attained success on 7 October 1571: joining his naval forces with Venice and Spain under the command of Don John of



Pius V. GETTY IMAGES

Austria, he brought about the defeat of the Turkish fleet at Lepanto. Pius is said to have had a vision that Christian forces were victorious there. The failure to follow up this victory, however, would later prove a strategic mistake. Pius's remains lie in the Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore.

See also Borromeo, Carlo; Elizabeth I (England); Inquisition, Roman; Lepanto, Battle of; Papacy and Papal States; Religious Piety; Trent, Council of; Wars of Religion, French.

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FREDERICK J. MCGINNESS

PIZARRO BROTHERS. The Pizarro brothers, Francisco and his half brothers Gonzalo, Juan, and Hernando, were the conquerors of Inca Peru. Francisco (c. 1478–1541), the illegitimate son of Captain Gonzalo Pizarro and Francisca González, was a native of Trujillo in southwestern Spain and

received little formal education. In 1502 he sailed to the Caribbean with Nicolás de Ovando, the new governor of Hispaniola. Over the next two decades Pizarro helped explore and plunder Central America. He accompanied Vasco Núñez de Balboa's expedition that crossed Panama in 1513 and discovered the South Sea (Pacific Ocean). The infamous Governor Pedrarias de Ávila awarded him an *encomienda* (grant of indigenous tribute and labor) and made Francisco lieutenant governor of Panama.

Such rewards and status did not satisfy his ambitions. Francisco formed a partnership with Diego de Almagro and Hernando de Luque to investigate rumors of rich indigenous lands south of Panama. Two expeditions (1524 and 1526–1528) brought him to the city of Tumbes, in the northern Tawantinsuyu (Inca Empire). Returning to Panama, Francisco consulted with his partners and then went to Spain for royal authorization to conquer Peru. The Agreement of Toledo (26 July 1529) gave him overall command of the enterprise and left Almagro feeling cheated and bitter.

In Trujillo, Francisco recruited family and other adventurers for the foray. Three half brothers, all born after his departure in 1502, joined up: Hernando (the legitimate son of Gonzalo Pizarro and Isabel de Vargas [c. 1503–1578]); Juan (the illegitimate son of Gonzalo Pizarro and María Alonso [c. 1509–1536]); and Gonzalo (the illegitimate son of Gonzalo Pizarro and María de Biedma [c. 1512–10 April 1548]).

In Panama, the Pizarros outfitted an expedition and headed south in late 1530. They found Tumbes partially destroyed in a civil war between rival Inca factions headed by Huascar and Atahualpa. Receiving word that Atahualpa and his victorious army were inland near Cajamarca, Francisco took a small force of less than 200 into the Andes to meet the Inca ruler. They massacred Atahualpa's guard and took the overconfident ruler captive on 16 November 1532.

Spanish plunder of the Andes began. To ransom himself, Atahualpa offered to fill a room with gold and silver. Hernando Pizarro went to Pachacamac to seize gold at the shrine there. In Cajamarca the Spaniards divided Atahualpa's fabulous ransom, each Pizarro claiming great quantities of gold and silver. Francisco sent Hernando back to Spain with

the king's fifth of the treasure, executed Atahualpa on 26 July 1533, and then moved south to Cuzco, the Inca capital. There, Francisco set up a Spanish government but controlled the Andeans through a puppet ruler, Manco. He distributed *encomiendas* and lands to his followers, reserving many for his family. For better communications with Panama and Spain, Francisco established Lima on the coast on 18 January 1535. Meanwhile, Almagro remained resentful, particularly when Francisco placed Hernando, back from Spain, in command of Cuzco. In 1535, Almagro departed for Chile, futilely looking for rumored wealth, and Manco launched a massive uprising throughout the Andes. Juan Pizarro died in the fighting at Cuzco. Almagro's forces returned from Chile in 1537 to help lift the siege of Cuzco but then turned on the Pizarros, who defeated the Almagrists at the battle of Salinas (6 April 1538) and captured and executed Almagro.

The hatred between the Spanish factions brought Francisco to a violent end on 26 June 1541, when Almagrists murdered him in Lima. In his sixties by then, Francisco had risen from the shadows of illegitimacy and illiteracy to possess great wealth and govern a vast realm. The king had made him a marquis. With a sister of Atahualpa, Inés Huaylas Yupanqui, he had two children, Francisca and Gonzalo, although he recognized neither her nor them in his will. He conquered an indigenous empire of perhaps 14 million people through his own tenacity, factionalism among the Incas, superior Spanish weaponry and horses, and the inadvertent introduction of deadly diseases such as smallpox and typhus.

Little interested in living in the Andes, Hernando returned to Spain in 1539. Francisco's murder left Gonzalo to defend Pizarro interests in Peru. As governor of Quito, Gonzalo led an ill-fated search into the Amazon basin for the "Land of Cinnamon." After tremendous suffering, Gonzalo and part of the expedition struggled back to Quito; Francisco de Orellana continued down the Amazon to the Atlantic. In 1544 Gonzalo led a rebellion when Blasco Núñez de Vela, the first viceroy of Peru, attempted to enforce the New Laws of 1542, which would have stripped the conquerors of their *encomiendas*. Gonzalo was defeated and executed by royalist forces on 9–10 April 1548 near Cuzco.

Only Hernando died a natural death, long after violence claimed his brothers. In 1541 Almagrists secured his arrest in Spain for Diego de Almagro's murder and other crimes. Hernando spent the next twenty years imprisoned, although his wealth and fame enabled him to turn the time into a relatively comfortable existence. From his confinement he managed the family estate and in 1550 married doña Francisca Pizarra, Francisco's mestiza daughter, to unite and protect the family fortunes. He also built a great palace on Trujillo's central plaza before his death in 1578.

See also Colonialism; Cortés, Hernán; Exploration; Potosí; Spanish Colonies: Peru.

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KENDALL W. BROWN

PLAGUE. The first great plague pandemic (1347–1350) was the greatest single epidemic interval in European history, yet some of the plagues of the period from 1500 to 1750 witnessed catastrophic mortality, in some cases over 40 percent. However, there was no continent-wide plague during any three-year interval after the Black Death of the fourteenth century. While in particular times and places later epidemics were as great as those of the Black Death, the burdens of mortality and disruption to ordinary life events fell most heavily upon those who could not escape to safe locales. Privileged sectors of the population typically had choices among fairly reliable strategies for avoiding exposure to plague.

The losses and costs of great epidemics between 1500 and 1750 can often be documented because one of the strategies of the elite and of governments



Plague. A manuscript illumination from the fifteenth-century Toggenberg Bible depicts two plague victims. ©BETTMANN/CORBIS

representing them was to create surveillance systems that monitored urban mortality. After the invention of printing, local histories of plagues and plague treatises magnified the activities of urban administrators during mortality crises, reinforcing reams of correspondence and other non-printed records of church and state actions to minimize social and economic disruption from plague. In general, Italy and Spain led the rest of Europe in monitoring disease threats, relying upon trade and travel restrictions, urban boards of health, and hospital isolation strategies to segregate the ill from the well. All of these measures expanded bureaucratic surveillance and record keeping, and provided those with access to information a way to minimize the social and economic costs of plague. Collective governmental responses were more readily adopted in regions that remained Catholic. Protestants, instead, tended to encourage individual charitable care of one's afflicted neighbors, while retaining a strong sense that plague occurred as the result of God's moral

judgment on the sinful. Therefore, fleeing the plague, as one would flee sin, was also sanctioned. Because plague controls were bureaucratized in what became the Catholic countries, better documentation of plague losses and responses survives from the late Middle Ages. Protestant regions began parish-level registration of births, marriages, and deaths after Catholic reforms at the Council of Trent (1545–1563). Such records were created to reinforce the sense of community and responsibility among members of individual Protestant churches, but historical demographers have used them in modern times to provide documentation of mortality crises comparable to urban mortality registers.

The cause or causes of these recurrent epidemics is the subject of considerable recent debate. Most geographical, demographical, and epidemiological evidence available from rural continental Europe suggests a slow spread of human mortality across trade and travel routes, patterns consistent



Plague. *St. Charles Borromeo with the Plague Victim*, painting by Sigismondo Caula, seventeenth century. As archbishop of Milan in 1576, Borromeo organized the clergy to care for the victims of a plague epidemic which struck the city that year.

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with a rodent-borne bubonic plague. Great urban regions were served, however, by interregional trade, maritime and riverine, and were centers for distribution of infectious diseases. The practice of confining the ill and the well together in their homes or in vast pesthouses fueled morbidity and mortality during times of plague. The lazaretto of Milan, for example, held 12,000 to 15,000 people daily over the worst month of the murderous 1630 epidemic, in a complex that had a total of 256 enclosed rooms and minimal provision of clean water and medical care.

Recurrent plagues caused local population losses far steeper than chronic warfare or the burdens of other diseases. In the 150 years following the Black Death pandemic, the overall population of Europe fell 30 to 50 percent. Depopulation was especially dramatic in rural areas that had been culti-

vated during the High Middle Ages, leaving visible aerial traces of “deserted villages” and once-farmed land. As the overall population of Europe fell after the Black Death, the political and economic management of rural areas shifted to urban landowners, typically maximizing profits by turning the uses of the land to labor-conserving tasks, such as sheep-herding (in Britain) or cattle-farming (in German and eastern European regions). European population recovery in the sixteenth century still left cities unable to replace their numbers, even in non-plague years. Cities had to draw their labor forces from the countryside. Rural to urban migration fueled early urban industries, such as cloth manufacture. Mountainous regions exploited mining. The first 150 years of recurrent plagues in Europe intersected with the beginnings of print, guns, and global trade all orchestrated from urban monetary sources of

power, all requiring the move from agriculture to industry.

The economic costs of plagues in towns and cities increased over the early modern centuries, in part because of surveillance and isolation practices, in part because destruction of personal property dramatically impoverished survivors. Urban health boards devised mechanisms for sealing personal property within homes when early cases of plague were identified. With the seal unbroken, a closet or room could escape the fires and acids of disinfection procedures if plague subsequently entered the household. Maritime states meanwhile created the first international health procedures, codifying lengths of detention of people and goods in quarantine, mechanisms for disinfecting cargo, and the symbolism of a yellow flag, to indicate a ship that had “touched” plague.

Whatever the causes or the demographic and economic effects of recurrent plague, the methods of controlling both exposure to plague elsewhere and the unacceptable consequences of an epidemic locally established a tradition in epidemic management that is still very much a part of Western society. From particular urban plagues there also survives a legacy of literary and artistic production, of which Daniel Defoe’s 1722 *A Journal of the Plague Year*, about the 1665 Great Plague in London, and Alessandro Manzoni’s 1827 *I promessi sposi* (The betrothed), set in seventeenth-century Italy, are the two best-known novels. Plague art typically focused on divine retribution for sin, and the intervention of saints (especially St. Roch and St. Sebastian) to aid the plague-stricken, collective penance, and votive gifts expressing communal thanks for a specific plague’s ending were popular themes. By the seventeenth century, plague art often portrayed themes of religious devotion to the sick even amid a chaotic tableau of suffering.

Plague, whatever its cause or causes, receded from Europe during the reign of Louis XIV (1643–1715). The last plagues in northern Europe and Britain occurred in the 1660s; the last plague in southern Europe occurred in Marseilles in 1720–1721. Messina, in Sicily, was stricken in 1743 and during the later eighteenth century the Austro-Hungarian Empire devised an extraordinary thousand-mile-long cordon sanitaire, a military border

between Christian Europe and Muslim regions to the east. Whether through such aggressive measures to minimize all contact with plague in the Middle East and southern Russia, or because maritime trade was increasingly directed over the North Atlantic, commerce with regions that still experienced plague declined steeply. Local commercial barriers to the importation of plague certainly played a role in the plague’s disappearance. But so, too, did the widespread use of arsenic oxide, a colorless, tasteless rat poison, by the late seventeenth century. Some have further speculated that the disappearance of plague in the years from 1650 to 1750 may have been the result of global ecological changes, reflected in the cooler climate called the “Little Ice Age” and the absence of sunspot activity called the “Maunder Minimum.” The disappearance of plague, whatever its cause or causes, did coincide with the beginning of the modern rise of population throughout Eurasia and European domination of overseas trade.

See also **Public Health**.

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POISONS, AFFAIR OF THE. The greatest scandal of the reign of Louis XIV (1643–1715) of France, the Affair of the Poisons revealed that a

score of the king's highest-ranking courtiers, including his official mistress, Madame de Montespan (1641–1707), had ties to a flourishing criminal underworld that was dealing in magic. This loose network of sorceresses, magicians, and renegade priests peddled magical remedies, love charms, demonic rituals, and arsenic-based “inheritance powders” to a clientele drawn from all ranks of Parisian society. Determined to eradicate what he termed “this miserable commerce in poisons,” Louis XIV appointed a special judicial commission, the *Chambre de l'arsenal* (Chamber of the arsenal), in 1679 to try those accused. While the commission investigated over 400 suspects during its three-year tenure, approximately sixty of those arrested were never brought to trial. The Sun King considered their potential testimony regarding his mistress's patronage of the notorious sorceress La Voisin too incendiary to be heard. These unfortunates were instead placed in solitary confinement for the rest of their lives and forbidden to speak even to their jailors.

After Louis XIV dissolved the *Chambre de l'Arsenal* in July 1682, he issued a royal edict condemning both belief in magic and those who claimed to be able to practice it. All those alleging to perform “so-called acts of magic,” it declared, were simply frauds. All self-styled sorceresses and magicians were therefore to leave France within three days or face execution. The edict also instituted, for the first time anywhere in Europe, state regulation of the sale of arsenic and other poisons. And perhaps not coincidentally, Louis XIV took no other mistresses after the *Affair of the Poisons* had been brought to a close.

See also **Louis XIV (France); Magic.**

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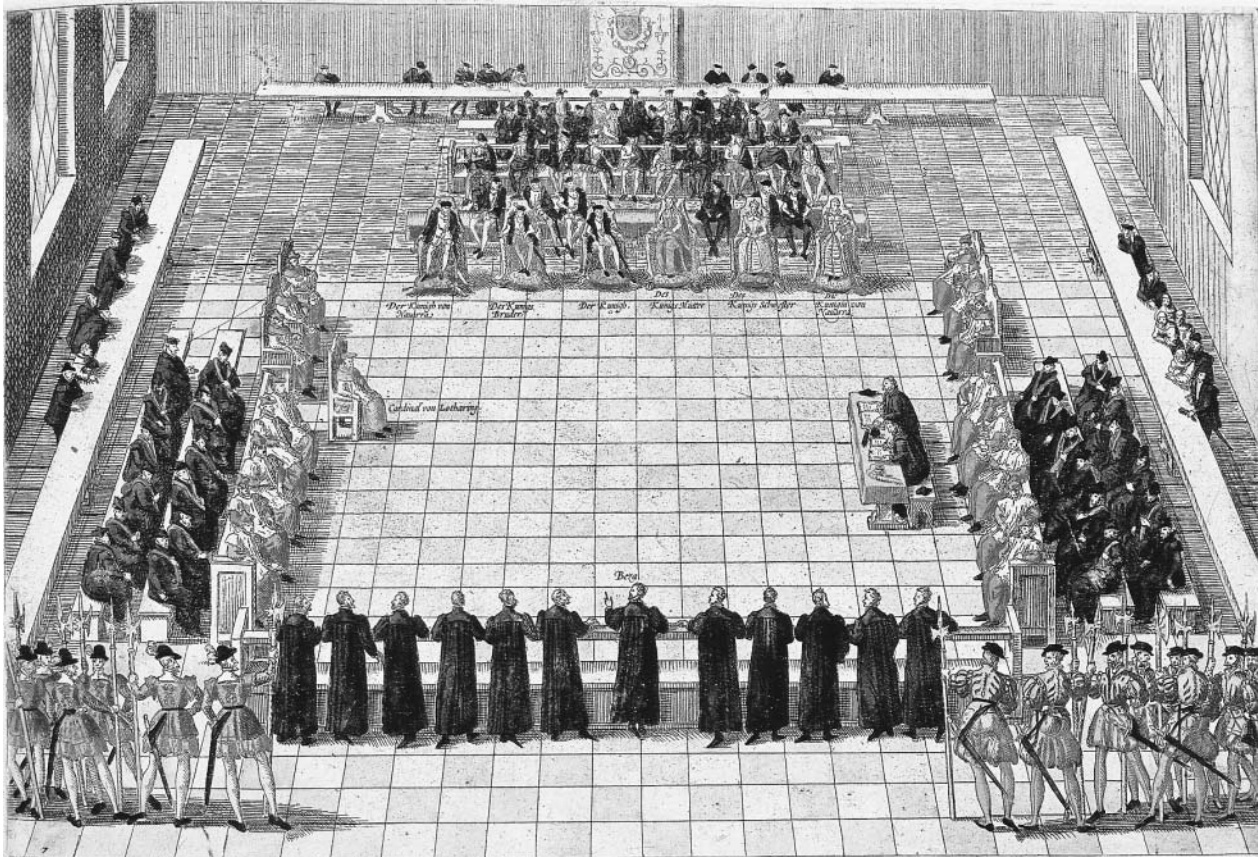
POISSY, COLLOQUY OF. On the eve of the French Wars of Religion (1562–1598), a con-

ference between Calvinist and Catholic theologians, aimed at religious reconciliation, took place outside Paris. The history of the Colloquy of Poissy, September–October 1561, was one of great hope, then failure, followed by the unprecedented destruction of civil war.

The calling of the colloquy was a clear indication of the royal government's intention to resolve religious problems in France on the national level. Catherine de Médicis, the queen mother and regent, wanted to ensure that the French church could reform itself without the intervention of the pope and the general council, the convocation of which had been announced in November 1560. The Colloquy of Poissy followed a national synod of the Gallican Church that had met at Poissy from July through August. This assembly had proposed a number of significant reforms affecting the clergy and further agreed on the annual subsidy of the clergy to the crown, known as the *Contrat de Poissy*. Now Catherine hoped to achieve theological agreement through the discussion between Protestants and Catholics.

The colloquy began on 9 September with a discourse by Théodore de Bèze, Calvin's alter ego. Bèze's presentation of the Reformed doctrine of sacraments, specifically its objection to Christ's Real Presence in the Eucharist, brought to the surface the most divisive issue in the colloquy. Bèze's remark that Christ's body was “as far removed from the bread and wine as is heaven from earth” prompted cries of blasphemy. Charles de Guise, the cardinal of Lorraine, delivered on behalf of the Catholics a fundamentally irenic speech. The cardinal pointed out, however, the disagreement of the German Protestants with the Reformed on the real presence in the bread and wine, and proposed on 24 September that Bèze subscribe to the Lutheran formula on the Eucharist.

The introduction by the cardinal of Lorraine of the Augsburg Confession, a moderate statement of Lutheran belief formulated in 1530, led contemporaries, including Calvin, as well as many historians, to question the cardinal's sincerity and good faith. Yet it is unlikely that the cardinal of Lorraine, the most ardent champion of the Colloquy of Poissy, was willing to risk the collapse of the colloquy simply to embarrass the Reformed party by pitting it



Colloquy of Poissy. Engraving by Hogenberg, late sixteenth–early seventeenth century. THE ART ARCHIVE/UNIVERSITY LIBRARY GENEVA/DAGLI ORTI

against the Lutherans. Rather, the cardinal at this point aimed at an interim religious settlement, such as the Augsburg Interim (1548), as a step toward restoring religious unity in France. On 1 October the theologians at Poissy, led by the moderate Claude d'Espence, came up with a common eucharistic formula. The assembly of the clergy refused its approval. Thus ended the Colloquy of Poissy.

What the organizers of the colloquy, including Catherine de Médicis, Chancellor Michel de L'Hôpital, and the cardinal of Lorraine, strove to achieve was a concord based on mutual concession between Catholics and Protestants. Concord, designed to bring all together in one Christian church, was different from toleration, because once concord had been established, the king would have forced all his subjects to conform to it. This effort at a religious compromise in the colloquy failed mainly because of the intransigence of both Protestants and Catholic extremists. The fiasco of the Colloquy of

Poissy ended any hope that a national synod would provide remedies for the religious schism in France. The government attempted toleration of Protestants with the Edict of January in 1562, but it could not prevent the Wars of Religion that began with the massacre of Huguenots at Vassy on 1 March 1562.

See also Bèze, Théodore de; Calvinism; Catherine de Médicis; Gallicanism; Guise Family; Huguenots; L'Hôpital, Michel de; Lutheranism; Wars of Religion, French.

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MARIE SEONG-HAK KIM

POLAND, PARTITIONS OF. The partitions of Poland, which ought to be known as the partitions of Poland-Lithuania, saw the removal from the map of one of Europe's largest states at the end of the eighteenth century (1772–1773, 1793, 1795). Executed by the Austrian, Prussian, and Russian monarchies, the causes and dynamics of the partitions have been the subject of debate in both Polish and European historiography. The Commonwealth of Poland-Lithuania had existed in dynastic union since 1385 under the Union of Krewo and in constitutional union since the Union of Lublin in 1569. However, the eighteenth century had seen the Commonwealth beset by problems, including the Great Northern War with Sweden (1700–1721), the War of the Polish Succession (1733–1738), and increasing international intervention in Polish and Lithuanian affairs. After the death of Augustus III (1696–1763; ruled 1734–1763; elected to the Polish-Lithuanian throne at Russian behest), Stanisław Augustus Poniatowski (1732–1798; ruled 1764–1795), the former lover of Empress Catherine the Great (1729–1796; ruled 1762–1796) of Russia, was elected king in September 1764.

There are two predominant schools of thought as to the causes of the partitions. The so-called Cracow school saw Poland-Lithuania's fate as inevitable, the result of the factors within the monarchy that had encouraged foreign interference. Debate usually centers around the role of the *liberum veto* (the need for unanimity when passing legislation in parliament), the preservation of magnatial and noble interests, and the inherent problems of an elective monarchy. In addition there were clearly internal conflicts between the Kingdom of Poland and the Duchy of Lithuania, fueled by the self-interests of their powerful magnates. The Warsaw school views the events as the destruction of a progressive state that was enacting far-reaching social, political, and cultural reforms, which reached its apotheosis with the constitution of 3 May 1791, the first freely adopted constitution in Europe. In the light of the French Revolution, the absolutist monarchs of Prussia, Russia, and Austria were swift to stamp out what they regarded as Jacobin ideas in Poland-Lithuania.

Plans to partition Poland-Lithuania had been formulated as early as 1656. Prussia had long wanted to join the territories of Brandenburg and ducal Prussia by obtaining the Polish territory of royal Prussia that lay in between. Russia had long coveted the eastern reaches of the Commonwealth but had contented itself with dominating the Commonwealth's political affairs by a combination of force and bribery. Russia brought its influence to bear upon the Commonwealth's confederate Sejm (parliament) of 1767–1768 to obtain equality for religious dissenters, to retain the *liberum veto*, and to secure a seat in the senate for the Orthodox bishop of Mohylew. In addition Russia declared itself the protector and guarantor of Poland-Lithuania's constitution and territory. In 1768 this provoked the establishment of the Confederacy of Bar (one of whose leaders was Casimir Pulaski [1747–1779]), which aimed to reverse the religious settlement, overthrow the king, and restore the Saxon Wettin dynasty to the Polish throne. Russia intervened to crush the confederacy, but its four-year struggle inspired civil war and unrest. Fortunately for Poland, the Ottoman Porte declared war against Russia in 1768, which diverted its attention for six years.

THE FIRST PARTITION, 1772–1773

In the five years preceding the first partition, Empress Maria Theresa (1717–1780) of Austria had annexed Polish towns in the Spisz region along the Carpathian border. In June 1771 the first partition was agreed in principle between Prussia and Russia, with Austria agreeing in Saint Petersburg in 1772. Empress Catherine the Great of Russia took extensive lands along the rivers Dvina and Dnieper, Austria took lands along the rivers Vistula and San, and Frederick II (1712–1786; ruled 1740–1786) of Prussia took the economically and perhaps strategically most important lands of West Prussia without the cities of Danzig (Gdańsk) or Thorn (Torun). In April 1773, Tadeusz Rejtan (1742–1780) blocked access to the parliament's debating chamber in protest as the Commonwealth was forced to ratify the partition (the subject of a famous painting by Jan Matejko in 1886). Three treaties of cession, signed in September 1773, deprived Poland of five million out of its fourteen million inhabitants and one-third of its richest territory.

Meanwhile Prussia had made overtures to the Poles and even encouraged them to rebel, promising troops in exchange for Danzig (Gdańsk) and Thorn (Torun). In 1781 Russia had renounced its alliance with Prussia, preferring to elicit the support of Joseph II (ruled 1765–1790) of Austria (Maria Theresa had died in 1780) in the fight against the Ottoman enemy. Russia annexed the Crimea in 1783, the Turks declared war in 1787, and again attention was diverted from the Polish question. By 1786 the Prussian throne had passed to Frederick William II, and in 1787 Poniatowski attempted a last rapprochement with Russia, proposing a Russo-Polish alliance against the Turks. This was refused, and Poniatowski, deprived of an international role, embarked upon a further round of reforms at home. Between 1788 and 1792 Poland-Lithuania convened the Four Year Parliament, which took over the running of the country and repudiated the 1773–1775 settlement. Significantly for its neighbors, it voted to increase the army fivefold. Sweeping reforms were also passed in the areas of administration, taxation, and diplomatic ventures, culminating in the constitution of 3 May 1791, which instituted a hereditary monarchy among other reforms. These achievements contributed to a tendency in Polish historiography toward a glorification of these reforms in the wake of the tragedy of the partitions.

This national revival was short-lived, as Russian troops, victorious after their defeat of Turkey, poured into Poland in 1792. Prussia refused to honor its defensive alliance on the pretext that it had brokered an agreement with a monarchy, not a republic. In the Russo-Polish War of 1792–1793 (the War of the Second Partition), Poniatowski, for reasons debated by all parties, ordered his troops to cease their fire against the Russians and declared his support for the Russian-backed Confederacy of Targowica. The army dispersed, and Warsaw was occupied. Popular debate continues as to whether Poniatowski, facing an enemy with a threefold numerical advantage, was acting to save lives or out of cowardice.

THE SECOND PARTITION, 1793, AND THE KOSCIUSZKO INSURRECTION

With the treaty of the second partition, signed on 4 January 1793, Russia took the remaining part of Lithuania, and Prussia annexed Danzig (Gdańsk),

Thorn (Torun), and Wielkopolska (Great Poland). Austria received nothing, and the small part of Poland that remained (with a population of four million) was under Russian protection. As previously, the Sejm was forced to ratify the partition and sign agreements with the partitioning powers. It met between June and October 1793 at Grodno (Hrodna), Lithuania, and enjoyed the distinction of being the last Sejm to meet in the Commonwealth. Under Russian threat, the constitution of 1791 was rescinded, the liberum veto was restored, the partition was approved, and cession treaties were signed. However, the reformers were not yet defeated. There was protest in the military, among local *sejmiki* (dietines), and in government throughout the winter of 1793–1794. Tadeusz Kosciuszko (1746–1817), who had trained in France and had won fame and glory as a hero of the American War of Independence, declared the fight for Polish independence on Cracow town square in March 1794. At the battle of Raclawice on 4 April 1794 Kosciuszko's forces, with a heavy peasant contingent, defeated the Russian forces under General Alexandr Petrovich Tormasov (1752–1819). Warsaw rose on Easter Thursday and expelled the Russians, and the Lithuanian capital Vilnius followed. An insurrectionary court was established, and collaborators were tried and executed along with those who had led the Confederacy of Targowica. In Warsaw the insurrectionary government took control, and in Vilnius the Act of Insurrection of the Lithuanian Nation was declared.

Kosciuszko continued to fight, and on 7 May 1794 he declared the Proclamation of Polaniec, promising to free the peasants in an effort to swell the ranks of the army and also because he was genuinely dedicated to the cause of personal freedom. However, this provoked discontent among the nobility, still committed to protecting its own interests. In anticipation of an attack by the Russian general Aleksandr Vasilyevich Suvorov (1729–1800), Kosciuszko attacked the Russian general Ivan Fersen's (1747–1799) corps at Maciejowice and was defeated. Praga (a suburb of Warsaw) was stormed by the Russians, and up to ten thousand are thought to have been massacred. Cracow and Vilnius were captured, Warsaw fell, and finally Kosciuszko was defeated. The king was captured

and deported, and the insurrectionary government was suppressed.

THE THIRD PARTITION, 1795

On 3 January 1795 Austria, Russia, and Prussia signed the final partition treaty in Saint Petersburg amid extremely cool relations between Prussia and Austria. Austria occupied a huge area around Cracow, and on 24 October 1795 it received Cracow from Prussia and renamed the area New Galicia. Prussia took over Warsaw, where its army replaced that of the Russians, and called the area New South Prussia. A month later Poniatowski abdicated, and he died in Saint Petersburg in 1798. A tripartite convention between the partitioning powers was signed two years later, and neither Poland nor Lithuania reappeared on the European map until the end of World War I in 1918.

See also Poland-Lithuania, Commonwealth of, 1569–1795; Polish Succession, War of the (1733–1738); Poniatowski, Stanisław II Augustus; Russo-Polish Wars.

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POLAND TO 1569. Before the Polish state was established, many impermanent tribal states existed in the territory of present-day Poland, the most important in the ninth and tenth centuries being those of the Polanie, in Great Poland around Gniezno, and the Wiślanie, in the basin of the upper Vistula. The territorial expansion of the Polanie led to the unification of most of the neighboring tribes in the tenth century and to the foundation of a state under the hereditary rule of the Piast dynasty. The first recorded Piast ruler was Mieszko I (d. 992), who, after assuming power, probably at the beginning of the 960s, adopted the Christian faith from Bohemia in 966 and obtained the right to establish a missionary bishopric in Poznań (968). Poland

thus joined the sphere of Western culture, and Catholicism began to play an essential role in her history.

Mieszko took over central Pomerania, reduced western Pomerania to submission, and successfully defended the country against German expansion with his victory at Zehde (Cedynia) in 972 and his repulsion of Otto II's expedition in 979. He also incorporated Silesia and Little Poland, with Cracow, into Poland around 990 and created a relatively centralized state. At the end of his rule he put the state under the protection of the pope in order to secure its political and ecclesiastical independence from Germany. Mieszko's policy of state consolidation and territorial expansion was continued by his son, Bolesław I the Brave (992–1025). During Bolesław's meeting with the Emperor Otto III in Gniezno (1000), an ecclesiastical metropolis, independent of Germany, was set up there, with bishoprics in Cracow, Wrocław (Breslau), and Kołobrzeg (Kolberg). Bolesław was crowned king in 1025. His death was followed by successive periods of internal disorganization and—from the middle of the eleventh century—of relative stabilization. After Bolesław III's death (1138), the state was fragmented (by the end of the thirteenth century) into numerous provincial duchies. The political situation of the weak and quarreling duchies was aggravated by the expansion of Brandenburg into Polish territories and by the invasions of the Lithuanians and Pruthenians. The German order of Teutonic Knights, installed in the Chełmno region (northwestern Mazovia) by Conrad of Mazovia in 1226, was to defend Poland. At the beginning of the fourteenth century, Władysław I the Short (who ruled as king 1320–1333) united the state, but a full consolidation was done by his son, Casimir III the Great (1333–1370), who interrupted the cycle of wars with the Czechs and Teutonic Knights (Peace of Kalisz, 1343). In 1340–1366 he waged victorious wars against Lithuania for Halicz and Vladimir (Red Ruthenia), incorporating large, ethnically non-Polish territories into Poland. At the same time, thanks to his fiscal and judiciary reforms and his support for the development of towns, the organization of settlement in rural areas, and the expansion of the state's defense system by building castles and town walls, Casimir ensured internal stability and economic development. By treaty with

the Hungarian Angevins (in 1339 and 1355), Casimir's nephew, Louis I the Great (ruled 1370–1382; king of Hungary 1342–1382) ascended the Polish throne after Casimir's death. In order to gain the consent of the Polish lords and noblemen to his daughter's succession to the Polish throne, Louis made the Pact of Koszyce in 1374, which strengthened the nobility's position and restricted the king's power. In 1384 Louis's daughter, Jadwiga, ascended the throne (1384–1399); to cement a treaty of union between Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (formalized by the Union of Krewo, 1385), Jadwiga married the Lithuanian grand duke Jogaila, who in 1386 was baptized (becoming Władysław Jagiełło) and crowned king of Poland, initiating the Jagiellon dynasty.

The basic problem facing Władysław II Jagiełło (1386–1434) was to halt the expansion of the Teutonic Knights; the victory at Grunwald (Tannenberg; 1410) marked the beginning of the decline of the Knights' state. Poland's bonds with the Grand Duchy of Lithuania were strengthened by the Union of Horodło in 1413. Jagiełło secured a guarantee of his sons' succession to the Polish throne by granting privileges to the nobility (1422, 1423, 1430). The reign of his son Władysław III Warneńczyk (1434–1444), who was also elected king of Hungary (1440), was short; he was killed in the battle against the Turks at Varna in 1444. His successor, Casimir IV Jagiellończyk (1447–1492), won favor with the noblemen by issuing the Privilege of Nieszawa (1454), which confirmed their old privileges and granted new ones; it also opened the way to the development of parliamentary rule, allowing the *sejmiki* (provincial diets) to raise new taxes. Casimir eliminated the Teutonic danger by defeating the Order in the Thirteen Years' War (1454–1466). By the Peace of Toruń (1466) Gdańsk Pomerania, the Chełmno lands, the regions of Malbork (Marienburg) and Elbląg (Elbing), called Royal Prussia, and Warmia (Ermeland) were incorporated into Poland; the Teutonic Knights' state became Poland's fief. The Jagiellon dynasty's position was strengthened when the king's son, Vladislav II, was crowned king of Bohemia (1471) and Hungary (as Ulászló II; 1490). The reigns of the next two Jagiellons, John I Albert (1492–1501) and Alexander (1501–1506), reinforced the position of the nobility through the privileges of

Piotrków (1496) and the Nihil Novi constitution of 1505, which specified that no new laws were to be made without the consent of the Sejm ('diet').

The sixteenth century was the period of the country's greatest development. The balanced foreign policy pursued by Sigismund I the Old (1506–1548) resulted in friendly relations with the Habsburgs (Treaty of Vienna, 1515); the secularization of the Teutonic Knights' state (henceforth called the Duchy of Prussia), leading to the homage paid by the Order's grand master, Albrecht von Hohenzollern, in Cracow in 1525 (the so-called Prussian homage); and the conclusion of a lasting peace with Turkey in 1533. On and off Poland and Lithuania fought wars with Muscovy, with varying success; the borderland with Moldavia was the main trouble spot. Mazovia was fully incorporated into Poland in 1529.

The king's reliance on the magnates (the wealthiest nobles, who held the highest senatorial offices and civil posts) pushed the remaining nobility into opposition and induced it to demand a program of far-reaching political and economic reform. This program was endorsed in 1562–1563 by the king's son, Sigismund II Augustus (ruled 1548–1572). The most important problem during his reign was the question of Livonia, which was attacked by Ivan IV the Terrible in 1558. When the Order of the Brothers of the Sword, which ruled Livonia, was secularized, Sigismund put Livonia under his protection and rule in 1561. In 1563 a war broke out with Russia; the protracted fighting was brought to a halt by a truce in 1570, but the conflict was not resolved. The most durable achievement of Sigismund Augustus's reign was the permanent constitutional union between Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, sealed by the Sejm in Lublin in 1569. The country also began to construct a navy and set up a standing mercenary army. The reign of the two Sigismunds is regarded as a golden age in Poland's history.

The consolidation of the state under Casimir III the Great and Louis I the Great was conducive to the emergence of an estate-based monarchy. After Casimir's death (1370) the throne became elective. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries royal power was weakened by the fact that public offices were held for life. A bicameral parliament or Sejm

came into being in the fifteenth century; it consisted of the king, church and lay dignitaries (members of the Royal Council who later became members of the Senate), provincial officials, noblemen who did not hold any office, and, initially, representatives of towns; the Sejm performed legislative functions and dealt with internal and foreign policy. Legislation relating to the judicial system came into the competency of the Sejm and the provincial *sejmiki*, which increased in importance.

From the middle of the fifteenth century, privileges, which at first were conferred on the nobility by the king, began to be conferred during Sejm sessions by the noblemen themselves. A period of noblemen's democracy set in, in which power was in the hands of both the king and the nobility. Legislative power was held by the Sejm (the Chamber of Deputies, the Senate, and the king) and by the provincial (or, in Lithuania, district) *sejmiki*; executive power was in the hands of both central officials (marshals, that is, chairmen of the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate, the chancellor, vice-chancellors, treasurers, hetmans) and local officials (*starostas*). The nobility kept strengthening its position in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, playing an increasingly important role in the exercise of political power through the *sejmiki* and the Chamber of Deputies. The influence of Polish noblemen's liberties and institutions spread to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and all legal differences between the Lithuanian and Polish nobility were abolished by the Union of Lublin, concluded in 1569.

The situation of the peasants deteriorated; they were gradually deprived of the right to leave their villages, and the amount of work they had to do for the landowner (*corvée*) steadily increased. The religious situation changed; the state, which was overwhelmingly Catholic at the beginning of Casimir the Great's reign, became a Catholic-Orthodox state when it enlarged its territory in the east, in particular after the union with Lithuania. The multi-denominational character of the country became even more striking in the sixteenth century as a result of the success of the Protestant Reformation, which found many adherents among the nobility and magnates and also among townsmen. The peasants remained, on the whole, faithful to the Catholic or Orthodox faiths. Although the Counter-Reformation, which grew in strength after the middle

of the sixteenth century, diminished religious toleration, it was officially reconfirmed by the Compact of Warsaw in 1573.

In the economic sphere, the increased demand for grain in Western Europe led to the development of manorial estates, large farms engaged in agriculture or stockbreeding, whose production was based mainly on the labor of serfs. Exports to the West increased, as grain and forest products were sent mainly by sea, and cattle and furs, by land. Gdańsk, Poland's largest and richest city, enjoyed great independence and handled most of the maritime trade with Western Europe. An increasingly important role in the economy was played by Jews, who flowed into Poland in large numbers in the sixteenth century, mainly from Germany. Cracow, Poznań, Lwów (Lviv), Lublin, Przemyśl, and Jarosław all had Jewish communities numbering in the thousands.

Culture flourished under the Jagiellons. The University of Cracow, set up in 1364 and reformed in 1397–1400, became an important center of science and culture; its influence penetrated to Lithuania, Ruthenia, and Silesia. The medieval historiographical tradition was continued by Jan Długosz in the second half of the fifteenth century, and sociopolitical writings reached a high level in the middle of the sixteenth century, above all in the works of Andrzej Frycz-Modrzewski. The ideas of Italian humanism began to filter into Poland in the middle of the fifteenth century; in the sixteenth century the Reformation influenced the development of literature and reading habits. Literary Polish was formed and developed by Mikołaj Rej and Jan Kochanowski; science was advanced by the work of Mikołaj Kopernik (Nicolaus Copernicus), the theologian and philosopher Mathew of Miechów, the physician Jan Struś, and the historian and geographer Bernard Wapowski. The royal court in Cracow and the courts of lay and church magnates became centers of Renaissance literature, art, and science.

See also Belarus; Cracow; Jadwiga (Poland); Jagiellon Dynasty (Poland-Lithuania); Jews and Judaism; Lithuania, Grand Duchy of, to 1569; Livonian War (1558–1583); Lublin, Union of (1569); Polish Literature and Language; Prussia; Reformations in Eastern Europe: Protestant, Catholic, and Orthodox; Serfdom; Sigismund II Augustus (Poland, Lithuania); Stephen Báthory; Władysław II Jagiełło (Poland).

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MARCIN KAMLER

POLAND-LITHUANIA, COMMONWEALTH OF, 1569-1795. The Union of Lublin, signed in 1569, joined Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania into the Commonwealth (*Rzeczpospolita*) of Both Nations, with one elected monarch serving as king of Poland and grand duke of Lithuania. Poland and Lithuania were to have a joint Sejm (parliament) while preserving separate (but parallel) administrations, treasuries, and armed forces. Lithuania gradually integrated with Poland culturally, and the legal status of its nobility was adapted to that of the Polish nobility, so that at the beginning of the seventeenth century there was no difference between the two groups. Lithuanian and Ruthenian noblemen adopted the Polish language and culture and, after some time, also the Poles' state consciousness. Royal Prussia, whose political system was at first distinct, was linked closely with Poland in 1569.

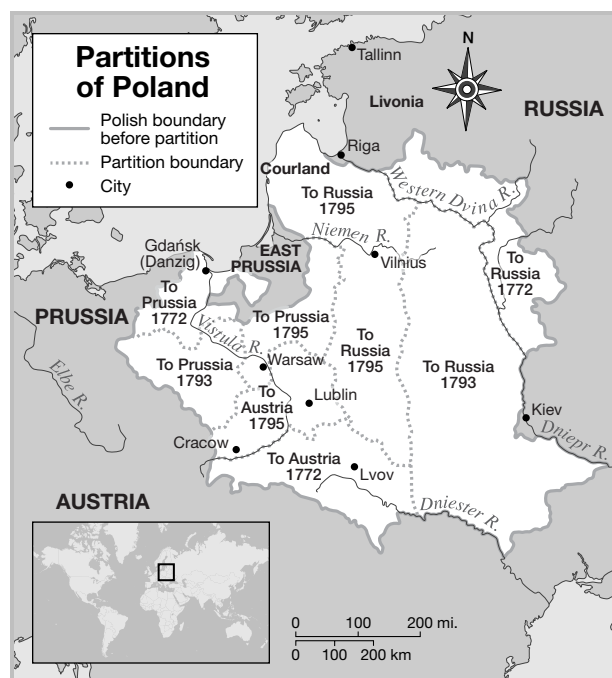
The childless death of Sigismund II Augustus (1572) ended the rule of the Jagiellon dynasty, and the subsequent kings were elected by all noblemen (*szlachta*) at an electoral Sejm or Diet (referred to as a *virilim* election). After the episodic reign of Henry of Valois (1573-1575), Stephen Báthory's ten-year reign (1576-1586) was marked by attempts to strengthen royal power, but at the same time concessions were made to the nobility, such as the establishment of the Crown Tribunal in Piotrków and Lublin in 1578 and in Lithuania (in

Vilnius, Minsk, and Nowogródek) in 1581. The endeavors to subordinate Gdańsk to the Commonwealth (the 1577 war) ended in only partial success, unlike the wars with Russia over Livonia (1579-1581), which were brought to an end by the favorable Treaty of Iam Zapol'skii (1582).

Claims to the Swedish throne raised by Báthory's successor, Sigismund III Vasa (1587-1632), drew the Commonwealth into a prolonged, unsuccessful armed conflict with Sweden in Livonia (despite Poland's glorious victory at Kircholm in 1605) and in Royal Prussia in 1626-1629. The attempt to win the Russian throne (the war of 1609-1618) failed, even though the truce concluded at Deulin in 1618 accorded large territorial gains to Poland. No more successful were the wars with Turkey, punctuated by Hetman Stanisław Żółkiewski's defeat at Cecora in 1620 and a successful defense of Chocim (Khotin) in 1621. The king's support of the Counter-Reformation and his aspirations to gain absolute power were opposed by the nobility and led to a civil war (Mikołaj Zebrzydowski's rebellion, 1606-1609), which ended in the king's victory but forced him to change his policy of absolutism. Soon after the rebellion (in 1611) the transfer of the king's residence from Cracow to Warsaw, begun in 1596, was completed. Władysław IV Vasa's plans (1632-1648) to resume the war against Sweden and later against Turkey did not gain the support of the magnates (the highest stratum of the noble estate) or the nobility.

DECLINE

The reign of John II Casimir Vasa (1648-1668; abdicated) was marked by many wars—Bohdan Khmelnytsky's Cossack uprising (1648-1654); the war with Sweden (the "deluge"; 1655-1660, terminated by the peace of Oliwa); the war with Russia (1654-1656 and 1659-1667), concluded by the truce of Andrusovo, which deprived the Commonwealth of vast territories in the east, including Kiev; and Jerzy Lubomirski's rebellion (1665-1666)—which resulted in the economic devastation and depopulation of the country, chaos in political life, loss of territory, and a substantial decrease in Poland's international importance. The lawlessness of the magnates and their political parties (pro-French and pro-Habsburg) increased during the reign of Michael Korybut Wiśniowiecki (1669-1673). The sit-



uation improved temporarily thanks to the splendid victories of John III Sobieski (1674–1696) over the Cossacks, Tatars, and Turks (at Podhajce in 1667, Chocim in 1673, Żurawno in 1676, and his relief of besieged Vienna in 1683). The king's plans to incorporate Ducal Prussia and strengthen Poland's position on the Baltic were, however, thwarted by the opposition of the magnates.

After John III Sobieski's death (1696) the Commonwealth became a pawn in the policies of the neighboring countries. The participation of Augustus II the Strong of the Wettin dynasty, the Saxon elector and king of Poland (1697–1706), in the Great Northern War (1700–1721) ended in his defeat and removal from power by the Swedes. The short reign of Stanisław I Leszczyński (1704–1709), raised to the Polish throne by the Swedes, came to an end when the Swedish king, Charles XII, was defeated at Poltava (1709). During the second part of his reign (1709–1733) Augustus II had to subordinate his activity to the will of Russia, Austria, and Prussia, who were interested in keeping the Commonwealth weak.

Meanwhile Polish and Lithuanian magnates clashed over their private interests, the Sejms were not held or were broken by means of the *liberum veto* (by which any one deputy was able to block a measure and have the Sejm dissolved), and the privi-

leged estates were reluctant to undertake any financial obligations to the state. Taking advantage of this situation, Russia successfully opposed all attempts to reform the Commonwealth's political system and, by guaranteeing the resolutions of the Silent Sejm (1717), which confirmed the state's old system and the nobility's rights and greatly reduced the size of the army, kept the Commonwealth weak and in a state of chaos. Poland's attempt, with France's help, to free herself from subordination to her neighbors through the reelection of Stanisław Leszczyński (1733) was thwarted by Russia's armed intervention. As a result, Augustus III Wettin was installed on the Polish throne (1733–1763). The country's sovereignty was curtailed still further, anarchy deepened, and an increasingly important role was played by antagonistic magnatial coteries of Saxon favorites and ministers, such as the Branickis, Count Heinrich von Brühl (the prime minister of Saxony), and Alexander Sułkowski.

PARTITION AND ATTEMPTS AT REFORM

In 1764 the strongest political party (called *Familia*, or 'the Family'), directed by the Czartoryskis, Poniatowskis, and Lubomirskis, put forward Stanisław II August Poniatowski as a candidate for the throne; his election (1764–1795), supported by the Russian Empress Catherine II, made it possible to carry out some limited internal reforms, with Russia's consent. In reply to these reforms, Russia's interference in the Commonwealth's internal affairs, and the king's pro-Russian policy, conservative noblemen and magnates set up an armed union called the Confederation of Bar in 1768; the confederates announced the deposition of the king and launched a bloody civil war (1768–1772), which spread over nearly the whole country. The fighting was suppressed by Russian troops, with the participation of some Polish royal forces and Prussian units.

The direct consequence of the Confederation of Bar was the first partition of Poland (1772), by which Austria, Prussia, and Russia annexed a total of a third of the Commonwealth's territory. Russian interference in the Commonwealth's internal affairs continued; it was effected mainly through the Permanent Council, a body set up in 1775 to deal with government and administration; while it was dependent on Russia, the council did useful work in the

administration of the country. Some reforms were initiated and supported by Stanislaus Augustus (although they were curtailed by Catherine II); for instance, in 1773 a Commission for National Education, a central office dealing with education and upbringing, was set up. But it was only during the Four-Year Sejm (1788–1792) that the patriotic party, which worked with the king, succeeded in carrying out many important reforms. The Sejm increased the size of the army, set up organs of local administration known as Commissions of Civil and Military Law and Order, increased the rights of townsmen, and, most importantly, adopted the Constitution of 3 May 1791, the first basic law in Europe.

These endeavors to reform the country were thwarted by the Confederation of Targowica, established by Polish magnates in St. Petersburg under Catherine's patronage in 1792, which called for Russian intervention, resulting in the Polish-Russian war of 1792. As a consequence Russia and Prussia carried out the second partition of Poland (1793). In 1794 an insurrection commanded by Tadeusz Kościuszko, attempting to save the remnants of Polish independence, ended in defeat, which led to the third partition of the country in 1795, again by Poland's three neighbors. The Commonwealth ceased to exist as a state and remained under foreign rule until 1918.

THE POLITICAL SYSTEM OF THE COMMONWEALTH

The political system formed during the Jagiellonian period survived until the collapse of the Polish state. But important changes in the makeup of the political forces in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries influenced the workings of the state apparatus. In the sixteenth century, alongside the monarch, the entire noblemen's Estate had a say in power. In the last two centuries of the Commonwealth's existence, however, the magnates gained the upper hand (hence the imprecise term "magnate oligarchy"). From the middle of the seventeenth century and, quite blatantly, in the eighteenth century, they exercised total control over all political matters in the country; under Stanisław August decisions were made by just a few families. An important factor that made it easier for the magnates to gain the upper hand was the noblemen's participation in the royal

election, adopted in 1572 (*viritum* election); the noblemen easily gave in to the magnates' pressure.

Royal power was weakened further by the duty of each elected king to swear fidelity to the Henrician articles (1573), which reasserted the basic principles of the Commonwealth's political system and allowed noblemen to refuse obedience to the king, should he violate these principles, and the Pacta Conventa, which listed the king's obligations with regard to foreign policy and financial matters. After the defeat of Zebrzydowski's rebellion (1606–1607) and even more so after Lubomirski's rebellion (1665–1666), the king's authority declined and so did the political importance of the middle nobility, while the magnates strengthened their position.

The state could not function properly, because parliament had to adopt all laws unanimously, and the deputies had to observe the instructions given them by the *sejmiki* (provincial diets). Sejm sessions dissolved when they failed to reach agreement on the submitted bills within six weeks or were broken (from 1652 on) by the *liberum veto*, which made it possible for a single deputy to invalidate all the laws the session had adopted. Between 1582 and 1762, 60 percent of all Sejm sessions were thus dissolved. The ossification of the political system caused by the nobility's insistence on its freedoms and privileges (the cardinal rights underlying their so-called golden freedom) and the unwillingness of most magnates and noblemen to undertake reforms resulted in the growing inefficiency of the state, particularly in financial and military matters. The Commonwealth was therefore unable to stand up to its much more powerful neighbors, Russia, Prussia, and Austria, which at first planned to incapacitate it and then sought to liquidate it outright. The reforms adopted by the Four-Year Sejm (1788–1792) and envisaged in the Constitution of 3 May 1791 were annihilated by the fall of the state.

ECONOMIC, RELIGIOUS, AND CULTURAL LIFE

The Commonwealth's economy began to decline in the 1620s. The fall in western Europe's demand for Polish grain and the inefficiency of an agricultural system based on serf labor undermined the manorial farms; the crisis also affected peasant holdings. Recession extended to towns, impover-



Commonwealth of Poland-Lithuania. This map appeared in the British periodical the *Gentleman's Magazine* in November 1772 at the time of the First Partition of Poland. The First Partition cost the country a third of its territory, and by the time of the Third Partition in 1795 the Poland-Lithuania Commonwealth ceased to exist. MAP COLLECTION, STERLING MEMORIAL LIBRARY, YALE UNIVERSITY

ishing the majority of townsmen. But it was the wars and epidemics of the mid-seventeenth century and the first twenty years of the eighteenth that had truly catastrophic results, leading to the depopulation and devastation of villages, towns, and cities and to a sharp and long-lasting decline of agriculture, handicrafts, and trade.

The first attempts to introduce changes in agriculture were made in the 1720s and assumed a larger scale in the second half of the century. Instead of the *corvée*, peasants began to pay rent for the land they tilled, manorial estates were parceled out, new crops came under cultivation (fodder crops and

then potatoes), and stock breeding was modernized. Handicrafts revived in towns under the Saxons, but a real breakthrough could be noticed only in the last decade of the eighteenth century, when many artisan workshops were set up, breaking the ossified guild system. But as long as the Commonwealth existed there was no real improvement in the situation of peasants or townsmen.

With regard to religion, an important event was the Union of Brest (1596), which was intended to unite the Orthodox and Catholic Churches in the Commonwealth, but in fact split the Orthodox Church into two opposed churches, Greek Catholic

(Uniate) and Orthodox, the latter not recognizing the Union. The loss of vast territories in the east (1667) weakened the Orthodox Church in the Commonwealth and led to the predominance over it of the Uniate Church by the eighteenth century. The ban on apostasy (which was punishable by death as of 1668) reflected the triumph of the Counter-Reformation and was a departure from Poland's previous religious toleration. Intolerance, which increased as the general crisis grew in the eighteenth century, was reflected in the fight against non-Catholics, in the ban on public Protestant services and on the construction of Protestant churches (1717), and in the formal exclusion of Protestants from state posts and the Sejm in 1733. The discrimination against non-Catholics gave Russia a pretext to interfere in the Commonwealth's internal affairs.

Political and economic disorganization led to the decline of learning in society in general, and to xenophobia, bigotry, and obscurantism. The noblemen's uncritical self-admiration laid the foundations for Sarmatism, an ideology according to which the origins of the Polish nobility were distinct from those of the peasants. High culture developed in magnates' courts and a few large cities, especially Gdańsk. The Enlightenment, which came to Poland during the reign of Stanisław August Poniatowski, sparked breakthroughs in education and arts and letters. The schools run by the Catholic Piarist order, which had been active in Poland from 1642, were thoroughly reformed in 1750–1755, while the king formed the Commission for National Education. Theater, music, fine arts, literature, and political writing flourished on the initiative and under the patronage of the king; his court and Warsaw as a whole became cultural centers that influenced the entire Commonwealth.

See also Belarus; Catherine II (Russia); Cossacks; Gdańsk; Jagiellon Dynasty (Poland-Lithuania); Khmelnytsky, Bohdan; Khmelnytsky Uprising; Lithuania, Grand Duchy of, to 1569; Livonian War (1558–1583); Lublin, Union of (1569); Poland, Partitions of; Polish Literature and Language; Polish Succession, War of the (1733–1738); Poniatowski, Stanisław II Augustus; Reformations in Eastern Europe: Protestant, Catholic, and Orthodox; Sigismund II Augustus (Poland, Lithuania); Stephen Báthory; 3 May Constitution; Uniates; Union of Brest (1596); Vasa Dynasty (Sweden).

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POLICE. Police, services composed of trained, full-time, paid officers dedicated to reducing the causes of crime, deterring its commission by regular patrols, and investigating lawbreaking and apprehending its perpetrators, are central to the operation of modern, bureaucratic, and centralized states. But at the start of the early modern period, most European states lacked effective professional police forces, and such agencies developed only slowly, in part because of the relative weakness of early modern state institutions and the fiscal limitations under which they labored. Also, the very word “police” described for early modern administrators all those institutions and regulations necessary to establish a well-ordered state, not just to fight crime. Thus officials encumbered some early police agencies with far more duties than those of their modern counterparts.

Everywhere too the effectiveness of early modern policing was limited by the reluctance of much of the population to have recourse to the police. Historians find this reticence revealed in several ways. Early modern Europeans often themselves regulated much of the behavior controlled by modern police. Among established populations, disputes that produce police action in modern societies often entirely escaped the attention of the authorities in the early modern period, when they concluded with subjudicial settlements mediated by priests, notaries, or local dignitaries. Additionally, interper-

sonal violence frequently resulted in vendettas that endured for years before coming to the cognizance of the authorities. Indeed, citizens sought state judicial and police authority only under certain circumstances. For example, local residents readily reported to authorities the activities of outsiders, like wandering vagrants, and they also sought the assistance of agents of the state against neighbors whose misdeeds transcended local thresholds of tolerable behavior. Early modern police agencies, both traditional institutions and newer forces that proved to be the precursors of modern policing, depended on such civilian cooperation for the limited effectiveness they possessed.

TRADITIONAL POLICE AGENCIES

When they did have contact with representatives of police authority, most early modern Europeans dealt with agents of seigneurial, municipal, or royal courts charged with executing arrest orders issued by magistrates in response to citizen complaints. On the Continent, larger courts often had paid officers for such duties, men bearing a variety of titles, including *sergents* in many French jurisdictions and *sbirri* in the Papal States. The numbers of such officers were always limited, and they were at a great disadvantage in the face of concerted opposition to the execution of their orders. In late-seventeenth-century Amsterdam, for example, the force of the *schout*, an official who functioned much like a public prosecutor and police chief, numbered only eighteen men in a city of 200,000 inhabitants. The same number of officers served the criminal court of Florence, the *Otto di Guardia e Balìa*, in the mid-sixteenth century when the city had sixty thousand citizens.

At even greater disadvantage were the unsalaried officers of justice common in several countries. In England, western Germany, Sweden, and much of the Dutch Republic, justice and policing were in the hands of unpaid citizens serving terms of office that punctuated their everyday occupations. Often without formal legal education, the justice of the peace of England, the *länsman* of Sweden, the *Schultheis* of Württemberg, and the judge of the Dutch *schepenbanken* sought execution of their orders by unpaid officers also drawn from the local community. These men, including the English constable and the Dutch *baljuw*, *ruwaard*, or

drossard, might sometimes be in considerable danger while fulfilling their duties because they usually acted alone. Their only possible aid might have been the citizen participation in a general hue and cry required by ordinances in England and many German jurisdictions.

In addition to these agents of the courts, most European towns had various forces that also performed police functions. Even small cities on the Continent possessed ceremonial municipal guard units composed of local citizens who turned out armed and uniformed on such occasions as a royal visit, but they were ill-trained and of little practical use for law enforcement. More common were various sorts of watch units enlisting men who sometimes drew municipal salaries, like those of the *guet* of Bordeaux in the eighteenth century. The Bordeaux watch was quite typical of many such units in its numerical weakness. It had but seventy men to patrol a city with a late-eighteenth-century population of about 100,000 persons. Night watch arrangements in England were even less formal and until the eighteenth century depended on the Statute of Winchester of 1285, which required individual citizens to take unpaid turns in nightly patrols of their local parishes.

TOWARD PROFESSIONAL POLICING

Only slowly did some European states manage to create full-time, paid, professional police forces, and France led in this process. France was the only European state to create and maintain a centrally administered agency of rural policing in the early modern period. That force, the *Maréchaussée*, originated in an armed military police force that not only maintained order along the army's line of march and pursued deserters but also had the power to try in its own courts those it apprehended. By the sixteenth century the French monarchy added to that force's military duties competence over a growing list of nonmilitary offenses, including highway robbery, vagabondage, popular disturbances, and other offenses that the crown viewed as fundamental threats to France's stability. Until the French Revolution the *Maréchaussée* retained its dual power to arrest certain kinds of criminals and to judge those it apprehended in military courts, whose verdicts were not subject to appeal.

The number of lawbreakers who experienced this summary justice of the *Maréchaussée* was limited chiefly by the force's manpower. By 1789 the *Maréchaussée* mustered only 4,114 officers and men assigned to outposts throughout the kingdom. Such numbers were inadequate for effective rural policing, and in the Bordeaux *généralité* in 1790, for example, only 111 mounted policemen patrolled 26,000 square miles of territory. Thus the blue-uniformed *Maréchaussée* officers must have been rare sights indeed in most rural hamlets, and their effectiveness, like that of more traditional police agents, ultimately depended on the cooperation of those they policed. Nevertheless, many French people recognized the importance of professional rural policing, and their demands (*cahiers de doléances*) for the Estates-General of 1789 frequently called for an improved force. As a result, legislation in 1791 created the *gendarmerie nationale*, an enlarged *Maréchaussée* deprived of its judicial authority, that still served rural France in the early twenty-first century.

France also led Europe in the creation of modern urban policing. In his edict of 15 March 1667 Louis XIV created the office of *lieutenant général de police de la ville, prévôté et vicomté de Paris*. The holder of this office was a magistrate who presided over a police court once weekly but, more importantly, was the administrator charged with maintaining all aspects of order in a growing capital city whose population reached 600,000 by the 1780s. The traditional early modern definition of police functions initially shaped the work of subordinates of the *lieutenant général*, and street lighting, trash collecting, firefighting, care of foundlings, building inspection, enforcement of commercial regulations, censorship, and other duties occupied many of them. But in 1788 the *lieutenant général* also commanded 1,931 men who did the work of a modern police force. He deployed various types of uniformed units for mounted and foot patrols of the city, coordinated the efforts of police investigators and spies, and administered police justice through his own court, aided by forty-eight commissioners (*commissaires*), magistrates stationed throughout the city and empowered to initiate criminal procedures and to order arrests.

The only other early attempts by a European central government at large-scale policing opera-

tions originated in the lands of the Spanish monarchy. In their Castilian lands, the Catholic monarchs Ferdinand and Isabella created the Council of the Holy Brotherhood (Santa Hermandad) in 1476 to consolidate locally funded militias into a federation of rural forces that had police and judicial powers, like the *Maréchaussée*, over a select group of crimes, including murder, rape, highway robbery, and rebellion. Founded in response to the disorders of the succession crisis of the early reign of Isabella in Castile and to lawlessness accompanying the Granada War of 1482–1492, these armed and uniformed forces never developed into a permanent national police. The monarchs never gave the council crown funding, failed to extend it to the rest of their Iberian territories, and disbanded it entirely in 1496 with the end of the Granada War. For over two centuries thereafter, rural policing responsibilities were entirely in the hands of local governments, not all of which had the will or means to fund forces. Even when the crown established a number of royal police units in the eighteenth century, these forces lacked central direction and adequate funding. Only in 1835 did Spain achieve national policing with the advent of the *guardia civil*.

Spanish monarchs also attempted to establish rural policing in their Netherlands territories. There, a force endowed with both police and judicial powers operated in Artois from about 1517 until the county's annexation by France in 1659. Other such forces emerged in the seventeenth century in the counties of Flanders and Namur, but all had limited effectiveness because of insufficient funding and manpower, problems that continued to hamper the work of police brigades functioning in these areas even after they passed to Austrian Habsburg rule in 1714.

Elsewhere in Europe efforts at improved policing, funded by growing state resources and driven by a rising fear of crime rooted in several developments, appeared only in the eighteenth century. Certainly the growth of a cheap popular press highlighted existing crime for government officials and encouraged them to improve police services. Officials also sought to bolster police resources in response to new threats to public order. Historians of British crime, for example, show that property crime increased in periods of economic distress, and these periods frequently followed the conclusions of the

century's many wars. Additionally, population growth and structural economic changes, like enclosure, everywhere produced large numbers of vagrants, who generated considerable fear in settled populations.

Greater London, Europe's largest metropolitan area, produced a number of developments in eighteenth-century policing. Composed of numerous independent municipalities, it presented significant problems in policing. Until 1735 the various municipalities of the metropolis attempted to meet their police needs within the provisions of the Statute of Winchester, that is, with constables and unpaid night watches whose authority ceased at individual parish or municipal boundaries. In 1735 two parishes, St. James, Piccadilly, and St. George, Hanover Square, secured legislation permitting them to levy local taxes to pay permanent, professional patrols for their jurisdictions. Other jurisdictions followed suit, and slowly thereafter local and national authorities created a variety of police units, including highway and river patrols, with general jurisdiction in the metropolitan area. One of these units, the Bow Street Runners, initially privately employed by the London magistrates Henry and John Fielding, was the prototype for the modern detective branch of policing. Only in 1829, however, did Parliament create the London Metropolitan Police, a unified force with jurisdiction encompassing all of Greater London.

The middle and late eighteenth century witnessed experiments in rural policing too, especially on the European continent. Southern German states, including Baden, Bavaria, and Württemberg, employed mounted police units called *Hatschiere*, composed of former soldiers, to patrol rural areas and especially to search for vagrants. These states also used hussars, cavalymen drawn from the regular army, for patrols and arrests, but neither these units nor the *Hatschiere* seem to have had sufficient discipline or numerical strength to provide effective policing. The same problems seem to have afflicted the mounted police units created by Victor Amadeus III of Piedmont-Sardinia in the 1770s and 1780s.

European police agencies remained relatively weak by modern standards through the late eighteenth century. Nevertheless, the foundations of

modern policing are evident in developments in the late early modern period.

See also **Crime and Punishment; State and Bureaucracy.**

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POLISH LITERATURE AND LANGUAGE. The “golden age” of Polish literature (1520–1620) arose out of modest medieval beginnings. Latin-writing historians (Gallus Anonymus, 1113–1115; Bishop of Cracow Wincenty Kadłubek, early thirteenth century; Jan Długosz, or Longinus, fifteenth century) produced chronicles of Polish events; churchmen wrote poetry, saints' lives, and theological and political tracts. Extant literature in Polish paints a still more modest picture. We have a Psalter translated for Queen Jadwiga (late fourteenth or early fifteenth century) and a Bible done for Queen Sophia (c. 1455); two collections of sermons (fourteenth and fifteenth centuries); a versified *Legenda o świętym Aleksym* (mid-fifteenth century; Legend of St. Alexis); *Rozmowa Mistrza Polikarpa ze Śmiercią* (late fifteenth century; Conversation of Master Polikarp with Death); Słota's didactic poem about table manners (early fifteenth century); a few secular songs and satires; some religious hymns, perhaps the oldest of which was an

invocation of the mother of God (“Bogurodzica”); and apocrypha, such as the fifteenth-century *Meditation on the Life of Lord Jesus*. Many of these works had Latin, German, and Czech models, and there are some indications that untranslated works of Czech literature (which experienced a flourishing in the mid-fourteenth century) may have found a Polish readership.

Humanist circles began to develop in the late fifteenth century around the courts of king, magnates, and bishops, and at Cracow’s university (founded 1364). The Italian political refugee and writer Filippo Buonaccorsi (Callimachus, 1437–1496) found haven at the court of Archbishop of Lviv Gregory of Sanok, before rising to become a royal secretary and tutor to the sons of King Casimir IV Jagiellończyk. One of these sons, King Sigismund I the Old (ruled 1506–1548), married an Italian (Bona Sforza) and presided over the rise of the Polish Renaissance. The Sodalitas Litteraria Vistulana, a loose grouping of humanistically trained writers, grew up around Bavarian poet Konrad Celtis (Pickel, 1459–1508), who studied in Cracow (1488–1491) and wrote of his Polish adventures in his *Quattuor Libri Amorum* (Four books of love) of 1502. A young Nicolaus Copernicus (1473–1543) studied humanities and mathematics at the Cracow Academy in this period (1491–1494).

RENAISSANCE

The Polish Renaissance was neo-Latin in its first phases. Maciej of Miechów (1453 or 1457–1523) introduced Poland to the humanistic world with his *Tractatus de Duabus Sarmatiis* (1517; Treatise on the two Sarmatias) and *Chronica Polonorum* (1519; Chronicle of the Poles), as did later Marcin Kromer (c. 1512–1589) with his *De Origine et Rebus Gestis Polonorum Libri XXX* (1555; Thirty books on the origin and affairs of the Poles) and *Polonia, Sive de Situ, Populis, Moribus, Magistratibus et Republica Regni Polonici Libri Duo* (1577; Poland, or Two books on the site, peoples, customs, magistracies, and republic of the Polish kingdom). A first generation of Polish humanist poets writing in neo-Latin included Paweł of Krosno (Paulus Crosnensis, 1470–1517), Jan of Wiślica (Joannes Vislicensis, c. 1485–c. 1520), Andrzej Krzycki (Cricius, 1482–1537), Jan Dantyszek (Dantiscius, 1485–1548),

Mikołaj Hussowczyk (Hussovianus, c. 1480–after 1533), and Klemens Janicki (Janicius, 1516–1543). Hussovianus, scion of a non-noble family likely from Belarus, was a client of Bishop of Płock Erazm Ciołek, whom he accompanied to Rome in 1521–1522. At his patron’s request, he composed an epic on the Lithuanian bison for Pope Leo X (*Carmen de Statura, Feritate ac Venatione Bisontis*, 1523).

Literature in Polish developed dramatically in the next generation. A precursor was the versified Aesop (1522) of Biernat of Lublin (c. 1465–c. 1529), who proclaimed reforming views on church, doctrine, and society in the years before Martin Luther. The Calvinist nobleman Mikołaj Rej (1505–1569), who proved to his countrymen that “Poles have their own, and not a ‘goose’s language’” (i.e., inarticulate noises) has long been considered the “father of Polish *piśmiennictwo*” (‘writing, literacy’), if not of Polish *literatura* (‘literature’; that honor goes to Jan Kochanowski). Among the most important works of this prolific writer were a Calvinist postil (1557; Lithuanian translation, 1600); *Wizerunk własny zywota człowieka poczciwego* (1558; Proper likeness of the life of the honorable man), written in imitation of the *Zodiacus Vitae* (early 1530s; Zodiac of life) of the Ferrara humanist Marcellus Palingenius Stellatus; and *Zwierzyniec* (1562; Menagerie).

The peak of the Polish Renaissance coincided largely with the reign of the last Jagiellonian king, Sigismund II Augustus (ruled 1548–1572). The humanist political thinker Andrzej Frycz Modrzewski (Fricius Modrevius, 1503–1572) was the author of the influential *Commentarium de Republica Emendanda Libri Quinque* (1551, 1554; Five books of commentaries on the reform of the republic), a Polish translation of which, by Cyprian Bazylik, was published by the Antitrinitarian Szymon Budny at Łosk in 1577. Łukasz Górnicki published his *Dworzanin polski* (Polish courtier), a translation and adaptation of Baldassare Castiglione’s *Il cortegiano*, at Cracow in 1566. (Where Castiglione urged the perfect courtier to avoid affectation by banishing Old Tuscan words from his speech, Górnicki admonished the Polish courtier to cease peppering his Polish with Czech.)

Polish humanistic prose reached new heights in the works of Stanisław Orzechowski (1513–1566),

grandson of an Orthodox priest from Red Ruthenia (Przemyśl), himself a Catholic cleric who argued against celibacy, married (in 1551), and went on to conduct polemics in support of gentry liberties and against Modrzewski and Reformation writers (he remained “Catholic”). *Żywoty świętych* (1579; The lives of saints) and *Kazania sejmowe* (1597; Sermons before the Diet) of the Jesuit court preacher Piotr Skarga (1536–1612), one of the chief architects of the Union of Brest (1596), attained the rank of best-sellers over the centuries. The standard Bible translation for Catholic Poles (first printed at Cracow in 1599) was the work of the Jesuit Jakub Wujek (1541–1597).

The poet Jan Kochanowski, proficient in several poetic genres, especially lyric and anacreontic, quickly achieved classic status and was the object of much imitation during the baroque period. His nephew Piotr Kochanowski provided the model for a Polish epic with two masterful translations, verse renderings of Tasso’s *Gerusalemme Liberata* (1618) and Ariosto’s *Orlando Furioso* (first twenty-five cantos first printed at Cracow, 1799).

BAROQUE

The *Rytmy, albo wiersze polskie* (Rhythms, or Polish verses) of Mikołaj Sęp Szarzyński (c. 1550–1581) were published posthumously in 1601. The poet’s topics (the inconstancy of the temporal world, the paltriness of man subject to the whims of fortune) and stylistic inclinations (ellipses, inversions, antitheses, oxymoron) made him the precursor of a highly developed Polish baroque. Leading practitioners of a European baroque style (*concettismo*) in Poland included Zbigniew (c. 1628–1689) and Jan Andrzej Morsztyn (1621–1693), two members of a prominent Antitrinitarian family that produced several poets (Jan Andrzej was also a translator of Giambattista Marino and Pierre Corneille); Szymon Zimorowic (1608–1629); and the neo-Latin poet Maciej Kazimierz Sarbiewski (Sarbievius, 1595–1640), known throughout Europe as the “Christian Horace.”

The Antitrinitarian poet Waław Potocki (1621–1696) produced an epic on the Chocim War of 1621 against the Turks, and Samuel Twardowski (c. 1600–1661), an epic on the 1648 Khmelnytsky Uprising (1660; *Civil War with the Cossacks and the Tatars*). An anonymous Tasso imitator (which

meant also a Piotr Kochanowski imitator) sang of the 1655 Swedish siege of Jasna Góra, the Pauline monastery at Częstochowa.

Hetman and Chancellor Stanisław Żółkiewski (1547–1620), the hussar Samuel Maskiewicz (c. 1550–c. 1640), and the soldier turned gentleman farmer Jan Chryzostom Pasek (c. 1636–1701) wrote memoirs. Sarmatian messianism found expression in the *Genealogy* (1633) of the Polish state by the Franciscan Wojciech Dembołęcki (1585–c. 1646), who proved (by etymology) that all languages, including and above all Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, derived from Polish. In his *Psalmodia Polska* (1695; Polish psalmody), Wespazjan Kochowski (1633–1700) sang in similarly messianic tones of King John III Sobieski’s 1683 relief of Vienna.

The decline of the Commonwealth that began in the mid-seventeenth century was accompanied by a decline in literary culture. Many works, even of the peak of Polish baroque literature in both its European and Sarmatian variants, long remained in manuscript, often seeing print only in the nineteenth century. (A good example is the work of Waław Potocki, an unusually prolific writer whose literary profile has only recently begun coming into focus.) This decay increased during the “Saxon Night” (the reigns of Augustus II and III of Saxony as kings of Poland, 1697–1764), a period high in quantity of literary production and low in quality. Worthy of note is one of Poland’s first women writers, Elżbieta Drużbacka (c. 1698–1765), who wrote lyric, satyric, idyllic, and epic poetry (the latter based on French romances) and was prized by Polish Enlightenment reformers for the richness and purity of her language. The same reformers rather disdained the work of Father Benedykt Chmielowski (1700–1763), whose *Nowe Ateny, albo Akademia wszelkiej sciencji pełna* (expanded edition in four volumes, Lviv, 1754–1756; New Athens, or the academy full of every sort of science) has often been held up as the epitome of late Sarmatian backwardness (and prized by historians for its window on a worldview).

ENLIGHTENMENT

Reactions to Sarmatism began in the Saxon period. The brothers Załuski, Bishop of Cracow Andrzej Stanisław (1695–1758) and Bishop of Kiev Józef Andrzej (1702–1774), were tireless collectors of books and manuscripts; they established Poland’s

first (and one of Europe's first) public libraries. During the reign of Poland's last king, Stanisław II Augustus Poniatowski (1764–1795), Sarmatism and Enlightenment trends continued their uneasy coexistence. The participants in the Confederation of Bar (1768–1772), which can be seen as the last defense of the Old Polish worldview or as the first modern Polish national uprising, wrote poetry in the Sarmatian baroque style. Meanwhile Bishop of Warmia Ignacy Krasicki (1735–1801) came to be regarded as the leading poet and novelist in the Enlightenment mode that was becoming dominant in Polish culture. His comic epics *Myszeis* (1775; Mouse-eat) and *Monachomachia* (c. 1778; War of the monks), together with his novel *Mikołaja Doświadczynskiego przypadki* (1776; The adventures of Nicholas Experience), provided critiques of Sarmatian religious and political obscurantism.

See also Baroque; Enlightenment; Humanists and Humanism; Kochanowski, Jan; Kollątaj, Hugo; Lithuanian Literature and Language; Poland-Lithuania, Commonwealth of, 1569–1795; Poland to 1569; Poniatowski, Stanisław II Augustus; Reformations in Eastern Europe: Protestant, Catholic, and Orthodox; Renaissance; Sarmatism; Ukrainian Literature and Language.

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DAVID FRICK

POLISH SUCCESSION, WAR OF THE (1733–1738).

In February 1733 Augustus II (1670–1733; ruled 1697–1704, 1709–1733), elector of Saxony, king of Poland, and grand duke of Lithuania, died, leaving the throne of the elective monarchy of Poland-Lithuania vacant. Two candidates emerged, backed by opposing European alliances in a war that became significant not only for Poland-Lithuania but also for the brokering of power in Europe. Augustus II had attempted to introduce a hereditary monarchy to safeguard the Polish throne for his son Frederick Augustus II (1696–1763; ruled 1734–1763). However, Poles and Lithuanians were reluctant to elect a third candidate from Saxony, confirming a hereditary precedent set by Augustus I (Sigismund II Augustus; 1520–1572; ruled 1548–1572) and Augustus II. Most of the nobility, whose duty it was to elect the monarch, supported the Polish candidate Stanisław I Leszczyński (1677–1766; ruled 1704–1709, 1733–1735), formerly elected king of Poland between 1704 and 1709 under a Swedish protectorate. Supported by his son-in-law the French king Louis XV (1710–1774; ruled 1715–1774) and the influential Polish Potocki and Czartoryski families, Leszczyński was elected king by the Polish-Lithuanian Sejm (parliament) on 12 September 1733. However, Russia and Austria, despite a previous secret agreement with Prussia in 1732 to exclude both candidates, pledged support for Augustus as the only pragmatic alternative. In addition the Saxon had promised the Duchy of Courland to Russia and to renounce his rights to any claims to the Habsburg throne.

At the election of Leszczyński, Russian and Saxon armies marched into Poland, and the nobility was forced to elect Frederick Augustus as Augustus III in December 1733. Leszczyński, supported by the Confederation of Dzików (led by Adam Tarło), was forced to flee to the city of Danzig (Gdańsk), which refused to surrender to the Russians. When Danzig fell to the Russians (despite what some would call half-hearted French military and naval aid), Leszczyński fled Poland. In 1736 the so-called Pacification Parliament succeeded in normalizing the situation in Poland and saw the departure of Russian and Saxon troops.

The War of the Polish Succession manifestly demonstrated the continuing interference in Polish-Lithuanian affairs by foreign powers, especially Russia. However, its significance was not confined only to the succession to the Polish throne; it had geopolitical consequences for other European states. France, allied with Spain and Sardinia, took the Duchy of Lorraine and made Leszczyński its nominal duke on condition that the duchy revert to France upon his death. Leszczyński also retained his royal title. In turn the deposed duke of Lorraine was compensated with the grand duchy of Tuscany upon the death of its last surviving Medici ruler. Spain had gained Austrian-ruled Lombardy, Naples, and Sicily, while Austria received the duchies of Parma and Piacenza. Importantly, France agreed to recognize the Pragmatic Sanction that guaranteed Maria Theresa's (1717–1780) succession to the Habsburg throne. Negotiations for peace began in Vienna in 1735, but a final treaty was not signed until 1738. Therefore some sources date the end of the War of the Polish Succession 1735, while others favor 1738. Retrospectively this war was seen by many as one of the precursory events to the partitions of Poland-Lithuania.

See also Augustus II the Strong (Saxony and Poland); Poland, Partitions of.

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POLITICAL PARTIES IN ENGLAND. There has been considerable debate over when political parties came into existence in England—whether it was during the Exclusion Crisis (1679–1681), when the terms Whig and Tory were first used as party labels, or not until after the Glorious Revolution (1688–1689)—as well as over the nature of the relationship between court and country identities and partisan political loyalties.

In England, rival political grouping, reflecting an intensifying conflict between court and country interests, can be detected from the mid-1660s through the 1670s, although these are normally thought of as factions rather than parties. Although

the court experimented with new forms of parliamentary management, political organization remained rudimentary and the unity of the court interest fragile; likewise, the country interest, although beginning to cohere around an ideological platform of opposition to the growth of popery and arbitrary government (especially from the mid-1670s, when Anthony Ashley Cooper, the first earl of Shaftesbury [1621–1683], emerged as the leading country spokesman), is best seen as a series of coalitions of place-seekers, back-benchers, and separate politician-connections with discrete political agendas who were temporarily united by a desire to bring down the ministry of the day.

The first age of political parties is usually dated to the Exclusion Crisis and the struggle between the Whigs—who sought to exclude the Catholic heir, the future James II (ruled 1685–1688), from succession on the grounds of his religion—and the Tories, who championed divine right monarchy and indefeasible hereditary right. However, some would maintain that while the first Whigs were a party, the Tories were not; others insist that neither grouping was a true party, since they lacked a recognizable leader and ideological coherence, and because political allegiances remained fluid throughout this period. The old view of a monolithic Whig party with Shaftesbury as its leader has long been discredited: The Whigs incorporated a number of discrete interests (Shaftesbury's being just one) and reflected a spectrum of belief from supporters of a strong, albeit Protestant, monarchy to those who wanted to reform the powers of the monarch to bring England nearer to a republic (some of whom preferred limitations on a popish successor to Exclusion). However, the Whigs did evince a degree of political organization that was impressive by the standards of the day: they had political clubs, to coordinate tactics and strategy; they employed electoral agents; they orchestrated a highly sophisticated propaganda campaign, deploying a wide range of visual, aural, and printed media; and they sought to mobilize the populace nationwide to support their platform through mass petition campaigns and political rallies. Although they might have differed over England's ideal constitutional settlement, all Whigs would have agreed that government existed to protect people's lives, liberties, and estates; they were also united in their condemnation of the religious

intolerance of the high Anglican establishment. To counter the Whig challenge, the Tories mimicked many of the Whigs' organizational and propaganda techniques, but rallied around a platform of commitment to the existing settlement in church and state (as established by law) and opposition to Protestant Nonconformists. If political parties are understood as organized groupings of people, with mass followings, that are united in the promotion of a series of principles that were intended for the public good, then both the Whigs and the Tories of that time would qualify.

Party identities were temporarily blurred in the aftermath of the Glorious Revolution. The dethroning of James II and his replacement by William III (ruled 1689–1702) seemed to have solved the issue that had given rise to party strife in the first place; moreover, the Whigs, who had started as a party in opposition to the executive, now found themselves in power, whereas the Tories, who had been the court interest, were now disfavored. Indeed, during the first half of the 1690s it is more accurate to see politics as dividing once more along court-versus-country lines. Historian Robert Walcott has even denied that parties existed during the reign of Queen Anne (ruled 1702–1714), insisting instead that political connections based on family ties were more important, though his views have been discredited. Division lists show that from the mid-1690s through the reign of Anne, most peers and members of Parliament voted consistently along party lines. Likewise, poll books reveal that the parliamentary electorate voted for party tickets (voters rarely split their votes between rival Whig and Tory candidates), while local research has demonstrated how many communities throughout the land were divided by partisan rivalries. From the mid-1690s through the end of Queen Anne's reign in 1714, the two parties had developed fairly sophisticated organizational structures to ensure unity: regular planning meetings, political clubs, circular letters and regional whips, electoral organizations, and extensive propaganda campaigns. Ideologically, the parties were divided over a series of issues. One was the conduct of foreign policy, specifically how to fight the wars against France (1689–1697 and 1702–1713) that England had become involved in as a result of the Glorious Revolution; the Whigs favored an all-out commitment to the Continental

theater, and the Tories a blue-water campaign with an emphasis on maritime and colonial operations. Another divisive issue concerned religious policy: The Whigs remained the party of the "Low Church," sympathetic to the plight of dissenters, whereas the Tories were the High Church party, convinced that the Anglican establishment was in danger of being undermined by the growth of Protestant heresy and the practice of occasional conformity, which had flourished in the wake of the Toleration Act of 1689. A third issue centered on the parties' respective attitudes toward the Glorious Revolution, with the Whigs believing that James II had been overthrown for breaking his contract, the Tories that the king had deserted and left the throne vacant, and therefore that no resistance had taken place in 1688. Although a few Tories remained loyal to the exiled Stuarts, the Tory party was not, on a whole, a Jacobite party, and most Tories were prepared to accept the Hanoverian succession in 1714. The implication of some leading Tory politicians in the Jacobite rebellion of 1715, however, split the Tory party and permanently discredited them in the eyes of the new Hanoverian monarchs, leading to Tory political proscription and the rise of Whig oligarchy under the first two Georges.

See also Anne (England); Church of England; England; Exclusion Crisis; Glorious Revolution (Britain); James II (England); Parliament; William and Mary.

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POLITICAL PATRONAGE. *See* Patronage.

POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY. At the dawn of early modern Europe, political philosophy had been largely shaped by the categories and language of Aristotelian thought as integrated into the Christian Scholastic framework during the preceding two centuries. According to Christian Aristotelians, political “science” constituted the highest form of practical knowledge, but ultimately was subordinate to the still higher forms of theoretical excellence and transcendent truth to be found in the pursuit of philosophical and theological wisdom. Scholastic political philosophy thus promoted government that comported with the virtue and salvation (and thus happiness) of members of the community. The Latin recovery of the main social writings of Aristotle (the *Nicomachean Ethics* and *Politics* as well as the *Economics* of Pseudo-Aristotle) in the mid-thirteenth century provided the framework within which medieval Christian political ideas were ultimately crystallized and systematized.

The history of political philosophy during the fifteenth and subsequent centuries should be recounted against this Scholastic backdrop, negatively as well as positively. Despite a renewal of Scholastic energy in the midst of the Counter-Reformation fervor of the sixteenth century, the political ideas

associated with Christian Aristotelianism served as targets of widespread attack throughout the early modern era. Yet at the same time, themes familiar to readers of medieval Scholastic writings recurred and refused to disappear entirely.

HUMANISM

Repudiation of Scholasticism commenced with the Italian Renaissance. The republican doctrines commonly associated with the so-called civic humanists of the Renaissance (especially in Italy) were not inherently antagonistic to Aristotle. Indeed, Latin translations of the *Politics* and the *Economics* produced by one of the pillars of Renaissance humanism, Leonardo Bruni (c. 1370–1444), converted Aristotle into an intellectual figure amenable to civic humanist values. Yet the humanists consciously rejected the methods of the Scholastics as well as the general perception of their civic disengagement. Without disputing or denigrating the Christian aim of salvation, the civic humanists stressed sacrifice for the sake of one’s fellow citizens and city as the fullest expression of a virtuous earthly life. Many famous humanists of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries themselves served as secretaries and diplomats in the service of Italian cities, so that their glorification of citizenship reflected their own civic commitments. Drawing upon the rhetorical style of the ancients, they praised urban life in general as well as the mores and physical assets of their own cities in particular. The humanists realized that the quality of civic life depended heavily upon the wealth generated by trade, commerce, and other economic activities. Hence, they lauded the enterprise of merchants and manufacturers, to the extent that Gian Francesco Poggio Bracciolini (1380–1459) contended that industriousness and self-acquired possessions constituted the foundation of morality and the greatness of the city.

There has been a tendency for scholars to equate Italian humanist political thought almost entirely with the civic version of humanism. Yet many leading humanists showed a notable preference for monarchy and even universal empire. Thus, Bartolomeo Sacchi, known as Platina (1421–1481), and Giovanni Pontano (1426–1503), among others, wrote treatises *de principum* (of principle) that praised kingship and advised rulers how to conduct themselves and display their majesty. Like

wise, Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini (1405–1464), who became the humanist pope Pius II (reigned 1458–1464), composed a defense of Roman imperial authority that nonetheless borrowed directly from the political concepts and categories familiar to humanism. It would be disingenuous to claim that such writings were somehow less authentically representative of humanist thought than tracts reflecting the urban ethos.

The migration of humanism over the Alps during the course of the sixteenth century underscores the adaptability of humanist learning to political affairs. The so-called northern humanists concentrated (sometimes critically) on the issues shaping the courtly life of the monarchies that ruled the emergent national territorial states of early modern Europe. In his pursuit of a spiritually revitalized Christian commonwealth, Desiderius Erasmus (1466?–1536) offered advice about the education of the Christian prince. Sir Thomas More (1478–1535) imagined a New World utopia where the ills of his modern, supposedly “civilized” society—war, greed, abuse of power—were unknown and human beings lived communally without conflict arising from political and economic inequality. Jean Bodin (1530–1596) proposed a definition of sovereignty as absolute and indivisible, so that the ruling power possessed sole final authority over the legislative, judicial, administrative, and military functions associated with the state. In formulating this conception of sovereignty, Bodin explicitly challenged many of the central tenets of Aristotle’s political science, such as the distinction between the governance of the family and the rulership of the state.

It is noteworthy that northern humanism spoke with a decidedly legal accent. A large number of the most prominent of the northern humanists received education in the law and often served as members of university law faculties. This legal inflection rendered humanist doctrines considerably more applicable to the political practices of the northern monarchies, which were organized around systems of royal courts and, increasingly, of legislative pronouncements. The emerging character of state power in sixteenth-century Europe may also help to account for the diffusion of the “Machiavellian” doctrine of *ragione di stato* or *raison d’état* (reason of state). From soon after the death of Niccolò Machiavelli (1469–1527) until the era of the French Revolution, Machia-

vellism formed a central feature of political theory, as well as of literary culture more generally.

Whether Machiavelli would have recognized himself in the Machiavellism of later times is an open question. The historical Machiavelli seems to have been a dedicated republican whose civic humanism, although tinged with the realism of a career politician, remained grounded in the values and principles espoused by the literature of Florentine political thought that preceded him. His *Discorsi sopra la Prima Deca di Tito Livio* (1514?–1518?) and other political writings testify to this consistent streak of republicanism. However, it was *Il Principe* (1513–1514), a short work that he seems to have composed in great haste, that earned him his later reputation. In it, Machiavelli overturns many of the standard conventions about the personal qualities necessary for rulers to conduct themselves effectively. He argues that politics is principally guided by considerations of self-interest. Hence, political success requires the capacity to use violence against one’s enemies, to engage in systematic deception, and to violate the tenets of religion—in sum, to do whatever is required to “maintain one’s state.” While he by no means rejects the practice of virtue in its ordinary sense when this does not interfere with the prince’s goals, Machiavelli insists that the ruler can only be assured of his supremacy when he possesses *virtù*, construed as the ability to adapt to political circumstances rapidly and without reference to moral standards or religious pieties.

THE PRIMACY OF POWER

Machiavelli’s emphasis on political success as the only standard for politicians appeared to substitute power for civic virtue as the decisive issue of public life. The political justification of violent acts, even those such as murder that are clearly criminal, became synonymous with his name. Subsequent authors who wrote in this intellectual vein were often called Machiavellians, but they generally rejected the label in preference to the phrase “reason of state.” This nomenclature seems to have crystallized by 1589, when Giovanni Botero (1540–1617) published *Della Ragione di Stato*. “Reason of state” was primarily applied to international relations, which supposedly constituted a special sphere of human conduct. Advocates of “reason of state” hold that appeals to justice or other moral values in deal-

ings between states have no efficacy. Rather, force, treachery, deception, and similar uses of power, regardless of moral worth, are considered legitimate in gaining the upper hand in intrastate rivalries. The appeal to the primacy of power fundamentally transformed political discourse in early modern Europe and paved the way for many forms of so-called political realism, seemingly devoid of moral content.

A clear example of this interest in power is found in the writings of Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679), especially his masterpiece, the *Leviathan* (1651). An avowed opponent of Aristotelianism and the Scholastic approach in natural philosophy as in political affairs, Hobbes proposed to create an entirely “scientific” and “mathematical” foundation for the study of human nature and of government. According to Hobbes, all human motivation may be reduced to the twin principles that people desire self-preservation and that they fear pain and especially violent death. Thus, he insists that our moral concepts and our political institutions are correctly arranged only when they are strictly derived from this postulate with Euclidean precision. The *Leviathan* itself purports to offer such a derivation.

Like Bodin, Hobbes insisted that the only justifiable form of sovereign authority is absolute and indivisible. Hobbes ascribed to human beings natural liberty and equality, which license them to undertake any actions necessary in order to preserve themselves and to avoid pain. He believed that the pursuit of self-preservation by free and equal creatures left to their own devices (the “state of nature”) logically leads to unceasing conflict and unremitting fear. Frustrated in their realization of their basic desires, human beings voluntarily exchange their chaotic natural freedom for peace and order by means of a social contract, the terms of which call upon the parties to renounce all liberties and rights they possess by nature (with the exception of self-preservation itself). Any contract that permits the retention of some rights and thus a limitation on the sovereign’s absolute authority will fail to achieve the peace sought and will eventually slip its members back into the state of nature. Power thereby replaces virtue as the central concern of the “science of politics.”

Hobbes also identifies religion as an especially fertile source of political conflict. To remedy the

divisive consequences of religion, he offers the rather extreme solution in the second half of *Leviathan* of strictly limiting the autonomy of ecclesiastical officials and offices and reinterpreting Christian theology in a manner consonant with his conceptions of human nature and sovereignty. While Hobbes’s Erastian proposals were highly unusual, his comments about the corrosive effects of religion on public order were widely echoed among other early modern philosophers. The success of Protestant reformers during the early sixteenth century in challenging the Roman Church’s monopoly over the interpretation of Christian doctrine and the maintenance of clerical obedience generated waves of violent persecution and suppression of religious dissent as well as forceful resistance by the oppressed confessions. Catholic princes and cities burned reformers of all stripes; Protestant rulers and communities did the same to Catholics as well as to members of other reforming sects. The state as an agent of confessional enforcement only reinforced the impression that effective use of coercion and violence (even if in the name of the salvation of souls) were the real qualifications for political leadership.

The controversial role of religion in public life in turn spawned major contributions to political philosophy. Authors began to argue for toleration of differences of conviction and rite. Sébastien Castellion (1515–1563) argued that coercion is an inappropriate tool for effecting a change of religious views since Christian belief must be held with sincere conviction. Hence, clerics and magistrates must refrain from persecution of convinced Christians who cling to doctrines that do not coincide with official teachings. Many important European philosophers came to the support of some principle of religious toleration. Without doubt, the most famous advocate of tolerance proved to be John Locke (1632–1704), who proposed to extend respect for liberty of conscience and worship to many Christian (and perhaps some non-Christian) confessions in his *Epistola de Tolerantia* (1689; A letter concerning toleration). Locke proposed that the magistrate should not concern himself with caring for the condition of human souls. Rather, political authority ought to be confined to the maintenance of public tranquility and the defense of individual rights. Locke was not, however, the first (or even the most extreme) defender of toleration during the

seventeenth century. In the writings of Baruch Spinoza (1632–1677), the right to liberty of thought and belief without interference from a sovereign power or a church was enunciated. According to Spinoza, no such “external” authority enjoyed the prerogative of determining the truth or falsity of one’s ideas. Similarly, Pierre Bayle (1647–1706) condemned the persecution of religious diversity, claiming that it encouraged hypocrisy and eroded social order. Bayle maintained that an erring conscience, if it be held in good faith, merited protection just as surely as a correct one. He even extended this principle to atheists, a view that Locke adamantly rejected.

THEORY OF RESISTANCE

Locke also stood at the culmination of another important line of early modern thought concerning the rights of populations to refuse obedience to tyrannical rulers, especially in matters of religion. Reforming Christians of a Calvinist persuasion led the way in articulating a theory of resistance to illegitimate applications of power. Initially, John Knox (c. 1513–1572) and other British exiles propounded the view that government has a responsibility to God to eliminate all forms of idolatry (the cipher for Catholicism). If the ruler refuses to act on this duty, then lesser magistrates and even the common people must step in to suppress idolaters and their sympathizers, that is, Catholic priests and their royal protectors. The Huguenot reformers of France developed this basic insight into a general account of resistance to an oppressive regime that aids, abets, and even guides the violent persecution of religious minorities. Authors including François Hotman (1524–1590) and Théodore de Bèze (1519–1605) produced a sizable literature combining traditional Christian prohibitions against popular rebellion with the view that so-called “intermediary” magistrates, officials in service to a prince, are obliged to repel and contravene commands by their superiors that require religious persecution.

In his *Second Treatise of Government* (published in 1689), Locke in many ways extended the application of Calvinist resistance theory. Arguing that a ruler who systematically violates the natural rights of subjects to life, liberty, and estate violates the bond of trust that authorizes his office, Locke insists that no one is obligated to obey his commands. If the

magistrate attempts to coerce their obedience, members of civil society may legitimately use force against him, just as they would in the case of robbery or assault. Locke’s argument is framed carefully so as to remain consistent with the general Christian view that active revolt against duly constituted authorities violates divine law. For Locke, it is the ruler who breaches the public trust, not the disobedient subjects.

The political philosophy of the eighteenth century witnessed the extension of the themes of constitutional limitation of power and the protection of individual freedom that had been pioneered in earlier centuries. In his *De l'esprit des lois* (1748; *The spirit of the laws*), Charles-Louis de Secondat, marquis de Montesquieu (1689–1755), examined issues surrounding the distribution of authority that had been previously left aside, including the separation of powers and the nature of political representation. Montesquieu thereby supplied many of the missing pieces of the puzzle of how power might be constrained.

Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778) raised more fundamental questions about the project in which modern political philosophy had been engaged. Reversing the standard view that civilized society had led to the enhancement of human liberties and capacities, Rousseau pointed out how humanity had in fact become enslaved by political, cultural, legal, and economic practices and institutions. Only the creation of a communal life, and an attendant system of law and government, consonant with the general will of all citizens, could rectify the oppressive character of modern civilization. Hence, Rousseau pioneered a synthesis between individualistic and republican conceptions of political power and its purposes, which pointed toward the extension of democratic rights that would occur in succeeding centuries.

See also Absolutism; Aristotelianism; Bayle, Pierre; Bèze, Théodore de; Bodin, Jean; Democracy; Divine Right Kingship; Equality and Inequality; Erasmus, Desiderius; Hobbes, Thomas; Humanists and Humanism; Knox, John; Law: Lawyers; Liberty; Locke, John; Machiavelli, Niccolò; Monarchy; Montesquieu, Charles-Louis de Secondat de; More, Thomas; Natural Law; Persecution; Resistance, Theory of; Rights, Natural; Rousseau, Jean-Jacques; Scholasticism; Theology; Toleration; Utopia.

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POLITICAL SECULARIZATION. The term “secularization” did not convey the same thing to early modern ears that it does to ours. The public today interprets it as a decline of religious influence that is characteristic of modern developed societies. To an early modern observer, it usually

meant the curtailing of an exclusively clerical privilege or institution, like the transfer of jurisdiction from religious to secular courts. The Reformation introduced a more unsettling connotation: the confiscation of church property by political authorities. The tendency of the new Catholic religious orders, like the Jesuits, to live in the world rather than apart from it, would also have been viewed as secularization. The possibility of a society in which religious life and thought occupied only a restricted sphere was envisaged before the mid-seventeenth century, but its real impact came later. It grew in importance, not as a result of freethinking or skepticism, but through the subordination of religion to secular political aims. Even at the end of the 1700s, however, politics remained closely entangled with religion in every European state.

The limited and uneven advance of political secularization can be examined as both an intellectual and a practical phenomenon, although these were aspects of a single process. For European intellectuals, secularization was chiefly shaped by the legacy of the ancient pagan classics. Aristotle (384–322 B.C.E.) was made compatible with Christianity, but this did not prevent his political thought from being discussed in essentially worldly terms by writers from Thomas Aquinas (c. 1224–1274) to Henning Arnisaeus (c. 1575–1636). Italian political thinkers of the Renaissance drew from the Romans a political morality that owed nothing to Christian revelation. Niccolò Machiavelli (1469–1527) went so far as to advise the prince to discard Christian morality in dealing with issues of state. In his *Discourses*, he imagined a political order that seemed entirely classical in derivation. Later in the 1500s, the virtuous principles of the Roman Stoics seemed to offer intellectuals in the Low Countries and France, such as Michel de Montaigne (1533–1592), a secular moral path out of the thicket of religious disputes. In the end, however, Neostoicism could not provide a stable basis for political action in nations that were torn by sectarian strife between Catholics and Protestants. Even Justus Lipsius (1547–1606), whose Neostoic works were read avidly by learned men of all religious persuasions, finally had to choose a side.

The fervor of the devout continued to be criticized in France by those called *politiques* or *bons français*, and in the Netherlands by Arminians, but

they were religious moderates rather than secularists. The idea of restricting the influence of religion became more acceptable only amid the turmoil of the 1640s and 1650s, especially in England. The most radical thinker along these lines, Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679), would be vilified as a materialist. God played no part in the formation of his commonwealth, which rested on fear of a malevolent human nature. The later chapters of his *Leviathan* espoused a stripped-down version of Christianity, bereft of divine atonement. By contrast, the political ideas of John Locke (1632–1704) rested on the assumption of a benign God who created a cooperative human nature. As with Hobbes, however, Locke's deity takes no direct part in political affairs. Other radical English thinkers, from Algernon Sidney (1622–1683) to John Toland (1670–1722), espoused various degrees of political separation from religion. These Englishmen had counterparts in the Netherlands and Protestant Germany, notably Hugo Grotius (1583–1645) and Samuel Pufendorf (1632–1694), who wanted to base political association on legal and ethical principles.

The Enlightenment intensified the trend toward secularized political thought. For many enlightened French thinkers, organized religion and even religious belief itself were seen as potential obstacles to political virtue. This was hinted at by Montesquieu (1689–1755), roared out by Voltaire (1694–1778), and accepted as a matter of fact by Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1788). Few went so far as to reject religion altogether; Voltaire dreamed that Confucianism might infuse correct political principles, and Rousseau argued for a civic religion consisting of belief in a supreme being and tolerance for all faiths. The enlightened critique of religious influence in politics often boiled down to an assault on “priestcraft.” Historical writing, however, struck out in more innovative directions. Voltaire and David Hume (1711–1776) wrote political histories that made no reference to divine Providence, and Edward Gibbon (1737–1794) turned the history of Rome into an argument against Christianity. The Neapolitan Giambattista Vico (1668–1744) envisioned a theory of politics based on secular history, in which religion was an aspect of social dominance.

By the late eighteenth century, many enlightened thinkers regarded the interference of religion

in politics as acceptable only insofar as it served the interests of the state. In this respect, they were aligned with broader developments. At first, secularism in practical politics had been associated with republicanism, because in contrast to monarchies, republics were not seen as resting on divine appointment. The Italian republics were characterized by a political culture in which the safety of the *civitas* seemed to override all other considerations. The coherence of the republican state was often maintained by a shared enmity toward religious authority, whether a local bishop or the Inquisition or the pope himself. At the same time, political ceremony in Florence and Siena, Genoa and Venice, was steeped in religion, from saint's day processions and the public veneration of relics to the burial of civic officers in the splendor of Renaissance churches. God sanctioned republics just as he did kings.

No Italian republic acted against church property, particularly monastic estates, with the audacity of the German Protestant princes or the Protestant rulers of Denmark, Sweden, Scotland, and England. At the same time, the old liturgical texts, which proclaimed the subjection of earthly rulers to the church, were rejected by Protestants. The Catholic reaction was to broach even further the barriers that separated religious from mundane affairs, a trend that can be observed in the spread of the preaching orders and the didactic efforts of the Jesuits. Yet the simultaneous Catholic elevation of the sacred (especially the Eucharist) into a higher, untouchable sphere, may have left believers with the impression that the divine no longer occupied so wide a space in the world.

The religious conflicts of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were important catalysts in the emergence of secularized politics because they demonstrated the political damage that could be done when denominational zeal was allowed to get out of hand. The result was the subordination of religion to the state. This can be observed in the English republic of 1649 and the Dutch republic of 1651, both of which allowed broad religious toleration, but it soon became typical of monarchical governments as well. We can point to certain landmarks in that development—Tsar Alexis's (ruled 1645–1676) church reforms, the Gallican Articles of 1682 in France, the abandonment of clerical Convocation in England, the self-crowning of Charles XII (ruled

1697–1718) of Sweden or Frederick I (ruled 1701–1713) of Prussia, the anticlerical *Pedimento* of Melchor de Macanaz (1670–1760) (although the Spanish minister was duly haled before the Inquisition). Secularization in monarchist regimes was marked by ironies. The persecution of Old Believers in Russia became the hallmark of Peter I's otherwise tolerant rulership. The great struggle of Catholic reformers in the eighteenth century was against the Jesuits, those early pioneers of secularism, who were now perceived as interfering too much in affairs of state. The abolition of the order in 1773 was a triumph for enlightened politicians like the Spaniard Pedro Rodríguez de Campomanes (1723–1802).

Yet the rulers of Europe would have shuddered at the thought of a secular constitution. With a few exceptions, like the abandonment of the royal touch by the Hanoverian kings of Britain, they were careful not to discard their own sacred characteristics. Even the dissolute Louis XV (ruled 1715–1774) touched against scrofula, and reverently bowed down in the street before the passing Eucharist. What historians have called “desacralization” seems to have been caused, in France at least, by disillusionment among members of the elite with a monarchy that held on to the sacred despite its pronounced secular fixations. In other realms, especially Spain and Austria, where rulers did not enjoy the same degree of divinity, secularization was less affected by such contradictions, and could advance under the auspices of a reformist Jansenism. In Russia under Catherine the Great (ruled 1762–1796), there was a revival of religious ceremonies that enhanced the sacrality of the empress.

French historians have sometimes observed a process of “dechristianization” among the privileged classes of the eighteenth century. Certainly, the spread of social clubs, debating societies, and Masonic lodges throughout Europe tended to foster a political culture that was secular in tone. It may be doubted, however, whether the common people were ever enthusiastic supporters of secularism. While they were often anticlerical, many were equally hostile to the cooption of religion by the state. In defiance of official toleration, furious sectarian riots continued to break out throughout the eighteenth century, for example in Poland in 1724 or in England in 1780. Resentment at Joseph II's (ruled 1765–1790) dissolution of monasteries

helped to fuel conspiracies and uprisings against his policies in Hungary and Belgium.

The fledgling American republic, fraught with sectarian divisions, first established a constitutional separation between the state and any particular church. The Civil Constitution of the Clergy introduced by the French revolutionaries in 1791 adopted a different yet more familiar solution: namely, state control over religious life. Although it was a disaster in the short run, causing widespread popular resistance, it pointed in the direction that most European regimes would follow in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The acceptance of such a degree of subordination by religious bodies has preserved their organizational significance in European society, while at the same time it has hastened the decline of their political influence over believers.

See also Enlightenment; Gibbon, Edward; Grotius, Hugo; Hobbes, Thomas; Hume, David; Jesuits; Lipsius, Justus; Locke, John; Machiavelli, Niccolò; Montaigne, Michel de; Montesquieu, Charles-Louis de Secondat de; Reformation, Protestant.

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PAUL MONOD

POMPADOUR, JEANNE-ANTOINETTE POISSON (1721–1764), artistic and political patron and favorite of Louis XV from 1745 to 1764 at the court of Versailles. Pompadour was born Jeanne-Antoinette Poisson to François and Louise-Madeleine Poisson in Paris. She was groomed for court by her uncle and alleged father, Lenormant de Tournehem, and, educated by the Ursuline order, became proficient in literature, mathematics, religion, history, the arts, and music and as an amateur artist and actor. Tournehem's ties to Parisian society opened doors for Pompadour to the celebrated salons of Mesdames Marie-Thérèse Geoffrin, Claudine-Alexandrine Guérin de Tencin, and Marie Vichy-Chamrond, marquise du Deffand. Pompadour's heritage connected her to the financial class of the farmers-general, and her background as a non-noble caused great resentment when she arrived at Versailles. Her portraits reveal her beauty and intellect; the iconography identifies her patronage of the arts and the Enlightenment.

Pompadour married Tournehem's nephew Charles-Guillaume d'Etoiles in 1741, and initially their stable union was founded on love. They had two children, a son, born in 1742, who died suddenly, and a daughter, Alexandrine, born in 1744. Alexandrine's death in 1754 from acute appendicitis and peritonitis shattered Pompadour. Marriage bound her forever to the tax farmers, and later questions about her financial ties advanced by her foes at court discredited her throughout her life. Tournehem, a prominent farmer-general, fashioned and educated Pompadour from her childhood for the intimate quarters of Louis XV, whose predilection for royal mistresses was legendary. What began initially between the king and Pompadour as flirtations on horseback and a tryst at a masked ball resulted in her marital separation and presentation at court in 1745. In that same year Louis XV conferred the marquisate de Pompadour on his new mistress, who shared the king's bed for nearly five years. In 1750 she began the transition from mistress to friend and remained at court for fifteen more years as the king's closest adviser and friend.

The extent of Pompadour's influence reaped high praise from her admirers as well as intense scorn from those who vilified her power during the period when France faced monumental challenges



Jeanne-Antoinette Poisson, marquise de Pompadour.
Portrait by Maurice Quentin de La Tour. ©ARCHIVO
ICONGRAFICO S.A./CORBIS

in the War of the Austrian Succession, 1740–1748, and the Seven Years' War, 1756–1763. The Children's Riots of 1750, the assassination attempt on Louis XV in 1757, and debates about moral reform dominated Pompadour's ascendancy from 1745 to 1764 and anticipated the French Revolution in 1789. Pompadour was part of these currents of intersecting artistic, political, intellectual, and moral change. Though she was initially dismissed as vain and frivolous by some historians, scholars have come to consider the discerning and influential nature of her impact on eighteenth-century culture. Pompadour played a key role in the arts and politics; to understand the sea changes of this period, one must consider her position within it.

As a political patron, Pompadour participated in the diplomacy surrounding the War of the Austrian Succession and the Seven Years' War, unprecedented for a king's mistress. Her connection to prominent generals demonstrated her keen input in military affairs. By 1756 she was a principal negotiator in the terms of the Diplomatic Revolution and

alliance between France and Austria. Pompadour's artistic patronage is seen through reform initiatives first instituted in 1745 at the French Academy of Painting and Sculpture under her appointees as director-generals of the royal buildings of the king, Tournehem, and her brother, the marquis de Marigny. From the rococo to the early stages of neoclassicism, Pompadour employed art as a force for change, patronizing artists and sculptors from François Boucher (1703–1770) to Jean-Baptiste Pigalle (1714–1785). One of her lasting contributions included relocating the Manufacture Royale de Porcelaine from Vincennes to its new site in Sèvres in 1756. Her advisory role at Sèvres and in other factories, including Beauvais, Gobelins, and Aubusson, revived the strapped coffers of France, reinstating governmental protection and ownership by 1759.

Pompadour endorsed the embattled *Encyclopédie* throughout the censorship of the 1750s. She hosted intellectual gatherings at Versailles and in 1762 wrote on behalf of the philosophe Jean Le Rond d'Alembert (1717–1783), one of the *Encyclopédie's* authors. She was ideologically aligned with the Physiocrats, providing fuel against the critics of economic, intellectual, and cultural change. The association Pompadour discerned between aesthetics and philosophy inspired her to express basic tenets of natural law through the art she favored, particularly chinoiserie (the decorative arts). Remarkably Pompadour's influence was greatest after she left the king's bed. A virulent street discourse relentlessly indicted her as complicit in the monarchy's failings, yet she defied her critics. It was observed that Pompadour had not been afraid to joke that, if the irate mudslingers were right in their opposition to the *Encyclopédie*, burn it; if not, burn the mudslingers. Her achievements resulted from collaborative political negotiations and numerous artistic commissions and the state institutions she supported. Deffand sadly wrote to Voltaire of the misfortune of Pompadour's impending death from bronchial pneumonia. She left Versailles in a solemn nighttime procession, with Louis XV grieving in her wake. The time line of France from 1745 to 1764 bears Pompadour's unforgettable purpose to serve Louis XV with loyalty and love.

See also Encyclopédie; Enlightenment; Louis XV (France); Physiocrats and Physiocracy; Versailles.

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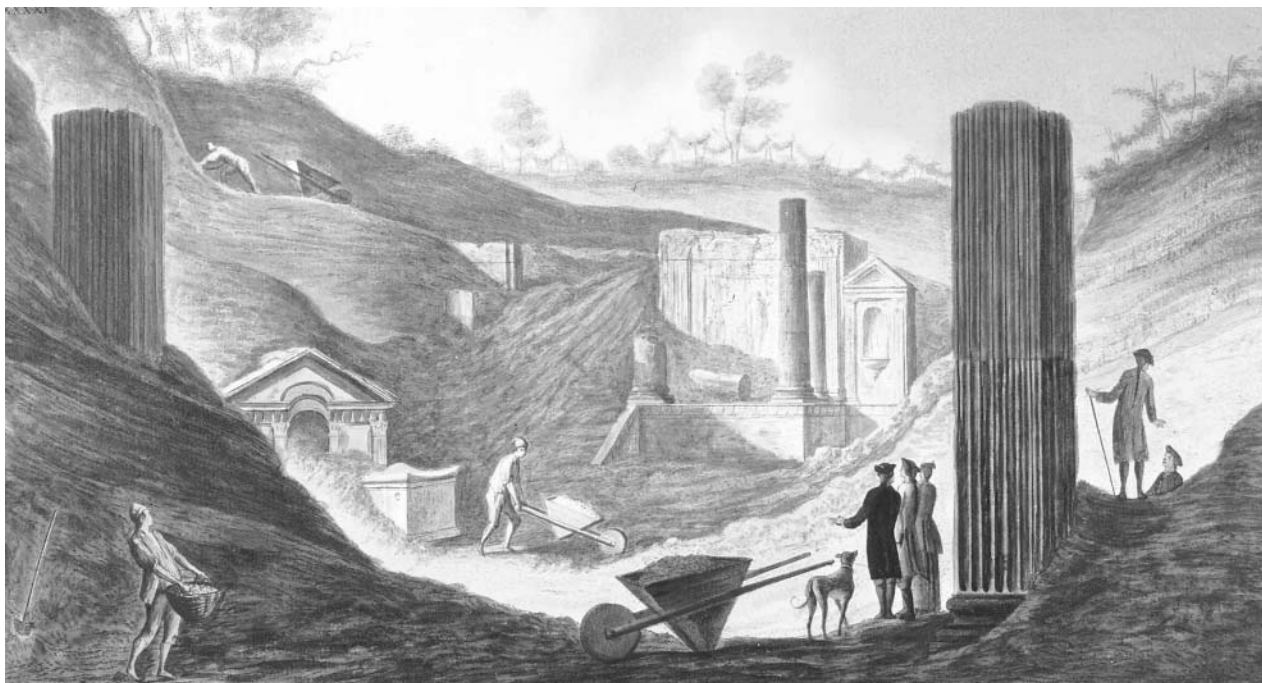
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ROSAMOND HOOPER-HAMERSLEY

POMPEII AND HERCULANEUM.

Prosperous Roman towns in the Bay of Naples, Pompeii and Herculaneum were destroyed by the eruption of Mt. Vesuvius in 79 C.E. and rediscovered under ash and hardened lava in the eighteenth century. The initial motivation for excavation was a search for sculpture and architectural marble. The excavations yielded well-preserved public and domestic buildings complete with painted decoration and furnishings; while works of art were eagerly gathered, the full range of artifacts of daily life, from graffiti to carbonized food, provided unparalleled evidence for the reconstruction of Roman daily life. The astonishing finds, the direct link with ancient authors (the eruption of Vesuvius was witnessed by Pliny the Younger, as described in his *Letters*), the drama of catastrophically lost ancient cities, and the possibility of walking along well-preserved Roman streets and entering Roman houses caused a sensation in eighteenth-century Europe. Visitors on the grand tour, however, were displeased to witness careless and destructive procedures on the sites; they encountered extraordinary security and were forbidden to take notes or draw objects. Comte de Caylus, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Horace Walpole, and Johann Joachim Winckelmann published complaints. A new awareness of the potential of excavation for historical understanding led some to suggest that all finds be left in place as a complete museum.

Chance finds at Herculaneum were made by Domenico Fontana in 1594 while supervising an engineering project, but the site was not exploited until 1709. More determined tunneling started in 1738, when the Spanish engineer Rocque de Alcubierre was assigned by the Bourbon King



Pompeii and Herculaneum. *The First Discovery of the Temple of Isis at Pompeii*, illustration from William Hamilton's *Campi Phlegraei*, 1776. THE ART ARCHIVE

Charles III of Spain (ruled Naples as Charles VIII, 1734–1759) to search for cut marble and statuary for the king's new summer palace, under construction nearby at Portici. Using deep tunnels and existing wells, artifacts and wall paintings were removed for Charles's palace. In response to complaints about the jealous secrecy surrounding the digging, in 1755 Charles founded the *Accademia Ercolanese*, whose members were charged with publishing findings from all the royal excavations in Campania. In 1750 the Swiss engineer Karl Weber (1712–1764) was hired to direct the excavations, and he soon discovered the *Villa of the Papyri*, which included a library of nearly two thousand carbonized papyrus scrolls, most of them works on Epicurean philosophy, and a large collection of bronze statuary. Weber's work was as systematic as his employer's impatience allowed, and it anticipated modern archaeological methods. Excavations at Herculaneum, rendered difficult because of noxious gases, seeping water, and cementlike pyroclastic lava fill, continued for several decades; later, excavations at Pompeii were favored, and work at Herculaneum continued intermittently for over two centuries thereafter.

Digging at Pompeii began in 1748, and the city's identity was established in 1763. Under the supervision of Weber, the excavation proceeded more systematically and with greater ease. Sir William Hamilton, the British envoy to Naples from 1764 and a notable collector and antiquarian, often conducted European visitors through the excavations and took an avid interest in the geology of Vesuvius, whose eruptions he documented. The finds from Pompeii and Herculaneum inspired neo-classical artists (including Antonio Canova, Jacques-Louis David, Anton Raphael Mengs, Angelica Kauffmann, Bertel Thorvaldsen, and Joseph-Marie Vien), architects (Giovanni Battista Piranesi, Robert Adam, John Soane), and ceramicists, and they directed fashionable taste for many decades. Pompeii and the eruptions of Vesuvius stimulated new objectives for the disciplines of archaeology and geology and a new concern for the conservation of antiquities.

See also **Archaeology; Architecture; Classicism; Grand Tour; Neoclassicism.**

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MARGARET M. MILES

PONIATOWSKI, STANISŁAW II AUGUSTUS (1732–1798; ruled 1764–1795), king of Poland. In his youth Poniatowski traveled across Holland, France, and England (1748–1754), learning much about the civilization and culture of these countries, which made him take a critical view of the situation in his own country. After his return, he became Poland's envoy in St. Petersburg (1757–1758), where he had a love affair with the Grand Duchess Catherine (later Catherine II the Great), wife of the heir to the Russian throne. He deluded himself into thinking that this would help him gain Russia's support in Polish matters. After his return to Poland, he became fully dependent on the powerful Czartoryski family; his uncle, Prince Michał Fryderyk Czartoryski, was vice-chancellor of Lithuania and leader of a powerful political party called *Familia*, or 'the Family'. After the death of King Augustus III, the Czartoryskis, with the support of the Russian Empress Catherine II, put forward Poniatowski's candidacy for the Polish-Lithuanian throne, secured his election (7 September 1764), and had him crowned on 25 November.

Having assumed power, the king, in defiance of his protectors' intentions, tried to reform the political system of the country toward a constitutional monarchy on the English model, with a strengthened executive, an efficient parliament (abolition of the *liberum veto*), and a satisfactory fiscal system. In

his view, it was necessary to raise the intellectual level of the Poles and Lithuanians and strengthen their sense of community if the state was to be reformed. While some small reforms were carried out in 1764–1766, they met with broad opposition from the magnates, who were supported by Russia and Prussia. The king's adversaries set up the Confederation of Bar (1768–1772) and opened hostilities against him and against Russia. The king's attempts to come to an agreement with them failed, and after four years of fighting the confederates were routed by Russian forces and, in the last stage, also by Polish royal troops. The fighting gave Russia, Austria, and Prussia a pretext to declare Poland a country of rampant anarchy and to carry out the first partition of Poland (1772), despite the protests of the king.

Even though Catherine greatly restricted the king's powers and put him under the control of her ambassador, Stanisław succeeded in implementing some of his plans, especially in the field of culture and education. Thanks to him a Knight's School was opened as early as 1765; later he supported the Piarist order's educational reforms and the establishment of a Commission for National Education (1773). He deserves credit for promoting literature (his famous Thursday lunches assembled many writers), the theater, and the visual arts. He initiated town planning projects and architectural work in Warsaw (rebuilding of the Royal Castle and constructing the Łazienki palace complex) and supported painting and sculpture, and he planned to set up academies of art, science, and literature as well as a national museum. He also protected mining and supported the establishment of factories; on his initiative a mint was built in Warsaw.

Under the tutelage of Russia, however, political life in the country stagnated. The king was at first opposed by the political elite. In about 1775–1778 he managed to set up his own party, rallying noblemen who freed themselves of magnates' domination. During the Four-Year Sejm (1788–1792) the king established close cooperation with the patriotic party, which entrusted him with drafting a plan for a new political system. This plan became the basis for the Constitution of 3 May 1791. The adversaries of the constitution formed the Confederation of Targowica (1792); Catherine demanded that Stanisław join the confederates, and he did so, convinced that



Stanisław II Augustus Poniatowski. Portrait by Marcello Bacciarelli. THE ART ARCHIVE/GRIPSHOLM CASTLE SWEDEN/DAGLI ORTI (A)

it was impossible to stand up to Russian military power. Despite some Polish military successes, the king ordered Polish forces to stop fighting. The constitution was rescinded, and Russia and Prussia carried out the second partition of Poland (1793).

After his capitulation to Catherine II's demands, Stanisław lost the popularity he had enjoyed during the work on the constitution. Though he joined the Kościuszko Insurrection (1794) against the partitioning powers, he was himself removed from power. After the fall of the insurrection, at Catherine's command, Stanisław went to Grodno (January 1795), where he abdicated on 25 November. After the death of the empress (1796) he left Grodno at Tsar Paul I's command, settling in St. Petersburg, where he died. He is one of the most controversial figures in Poland's history. His political activity still arouses emotions and conflicting

evaluations among historians, but the services he rendered to Polish culture are indisputable.

See also Catherine II (Russia); Poland, Partitions of; Poland-Lithuania, Commonwealth of, 1569–1795; 3 May Constitution.

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MARCIN KAMLER

POOR RELIEF. *See* Charity and Poor Relief.

POPE, ALEXANDER (1688–1744), English poet, translator, and critic. A celebrity not only in fact but also by profession, Alexander Pope was the unmatched superstar of English neoclassical literature and arguably the first author in England to make his living exclusively through literary talent. During a comparatively short life focused on literary and cultural activities, Pope alternately defined, improved, invented, satirized, critiqued, and reformed the genres and conventions of early-eighteenth-century British verse.

Born in 1688 amidst a “Glorious Revolution” that put an end to the absolutist claims of Stuart monarchs and set Britain on a course for a constitutional if not altogether secular government, Pope's life was characterized by the contradictions of new gentility and chastised affluence. Despite their urban origins and their mercantile vocation, Pope and his forebears drifted in Tory, royalist circles; despite physical deformity and entrenchment in the upper middle classes, Pope affected the stylish, rakish ways of high life; despite profiting handsomely from his publications and living like a conforming country squire on his suburban Twickenham estate, Pope persisted in Catholicism (enduring heavy economic and political sanctions) and enjoyed provoking persecution from an officialdom that was also his audience and customer. The story of Pope's meteoric rise—from the publication of his *Pastorals* (1709) at the age of twenty through the runaway success of

his versified critical treatise, *The Essay on Criticism* (1711), at twenty-three through his best-selling translations of Homer (1715–1726) through his unlikely versified philosophical hit, *An Essay on Man* (1733–1734), and on through his snarling but astonishingly successful *Dunciad* (1743)—may read like the contrived biography of some twentieth-century movie idol, but it also points up Pope's lucky historical position at a moment when an enlarged readership and an expanding urban culture were transforming the “literary career” from a private preserve for gentlemen to an open public spectacle. So powerful and pervasive was this new idiom of the public writer that Pope could maintain influential friends across the political and cultural spectrum, from the conservative Jonathan Swift to the snappy Joseph Addison and from Richard Boyle, the Whig-ish earl of Burlington, to Tory movers-and-shakers such as Robert Harley, earl of Oxford and Henry St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke.

Pope routinely presents himself as a conservative spokesman (and satirist) for sound common sense and as a sturdy pillar of English classicism. His works, however, are emphatically neoclassical. They stress what the period called “imitation,” a speculative, psychological, and altogether modern attempt to write “as if” one were an ancient author who happened to be living and writing in Augustan London. “Wit,” “genius,” “grace,” and other eighteenth-century literary values vie for hegemony with assorted classical “rules.” Pope's works advocate experimentation and adaptation, applying putatively classical norms to eighteenth-century contexts, topics, and genres. Pope's early *Pastorals* (1709) apply Virgilian techniques to English landscapes to produce a modern *Georgics*. *An Essay on Criticism* (1711) borrows from Horace's *Ars Poetica* (Art of poetry) to characterize and to spoof Augustan rhetorical miscarriages. *The Rape of the Lock* (1714) fuses contemporary mockery (as practiced by John Dryden, John Philips, Samuel Garth, and John Gay) with Homeric heroism to produce a ridiculous mock-heroic “epic” about domestic adventures in the boudoir. Not unlike the *Rape* is *Windsor Forest* (1713), a more sober but no less historically mixed attempt to combine Elizabethan versified history with Augustan heroic couplets to produce an epic story of the British monarchy, an

epic that somewhat preposterously culminates in the coronation of Queen Anne.

Pope's later works preserve his commitment to this unabashedly transhistorical classicism while also negotiating between the differing demands of moral, satiric, and heroic writing, three strands that intertwine but never completely braid in Pope's increasingly tense later verse. The *Essay on Man* (1733–1734) flutters nervously if brilliantly between versified popularizations of philosophical optimism (as preached by Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz and others) and broad satiric indictments of human shortsightedness. Several verse essays and epistles in imitation of Horace, collectively known as the *Moral Essays* (1733–1738), along with the companion *An Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot* (1735), tackle a range of philosophical topics, from architectural aesthetics to the character of women, in a sometimes theatrical, sometimes compassionate, sometimes deliberative, generally satiric voice. Pope's last large work, *The Dunciad* (1743), a re-issue and extension of his earlier *Dunciad Variorum* (1729), deploys crashingly gigantic heroic couplets to record, judge, and satirize a veritable encyclopedia of “dunces,” poetasters, and seekers after literary fame who, in Pope's mind, have succeeded only in sucking the life out of neoclassicism.

In addition to his poetic offerings, Pope made substantial contributions to literary criticism (mostly through the seemingly simple but always subtle witticisms in *An Essay on Criticism* [1711]), to the rise of bibliography and textual studies (through his not always competent production of an edition of Shakespeare [1725] and through his relentless, ravaging attacks on other editors), and to the rise of the private epistle as a literary form (through his audacious publication of his own correspondence [1735]). Pope was a major figure in the history of the print culture and of the publishing industry through his lively interactions with eighteenth-century publishing magnates such as Jacob Tonson, Bernard Lintot, and the scandalous Edmund Curll. Pope's opinions on naturalistic landscape gardening are definitive for their period. These and many other contributions mark him as a quintessential if not always representative figure in early eighteenth-century English culture.

See also Addison, Joseph; English Literature and Language; Glorious Revolution; Steele, Richard; Swift, Jonathan.

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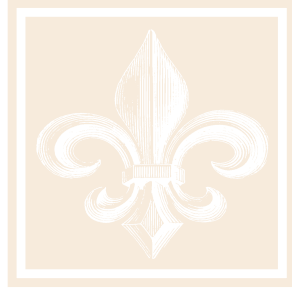
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KEVIN L. COPE

POPISH PLOT. See Exclusion Crisis.



Mannerism. *Minerva's Victory over Ignorance*, c. 1591, by Bartholomaeus Spranger, an example of mannerism in its later form. ©ERICH LESSING/ART RESOURCE, N.Y.



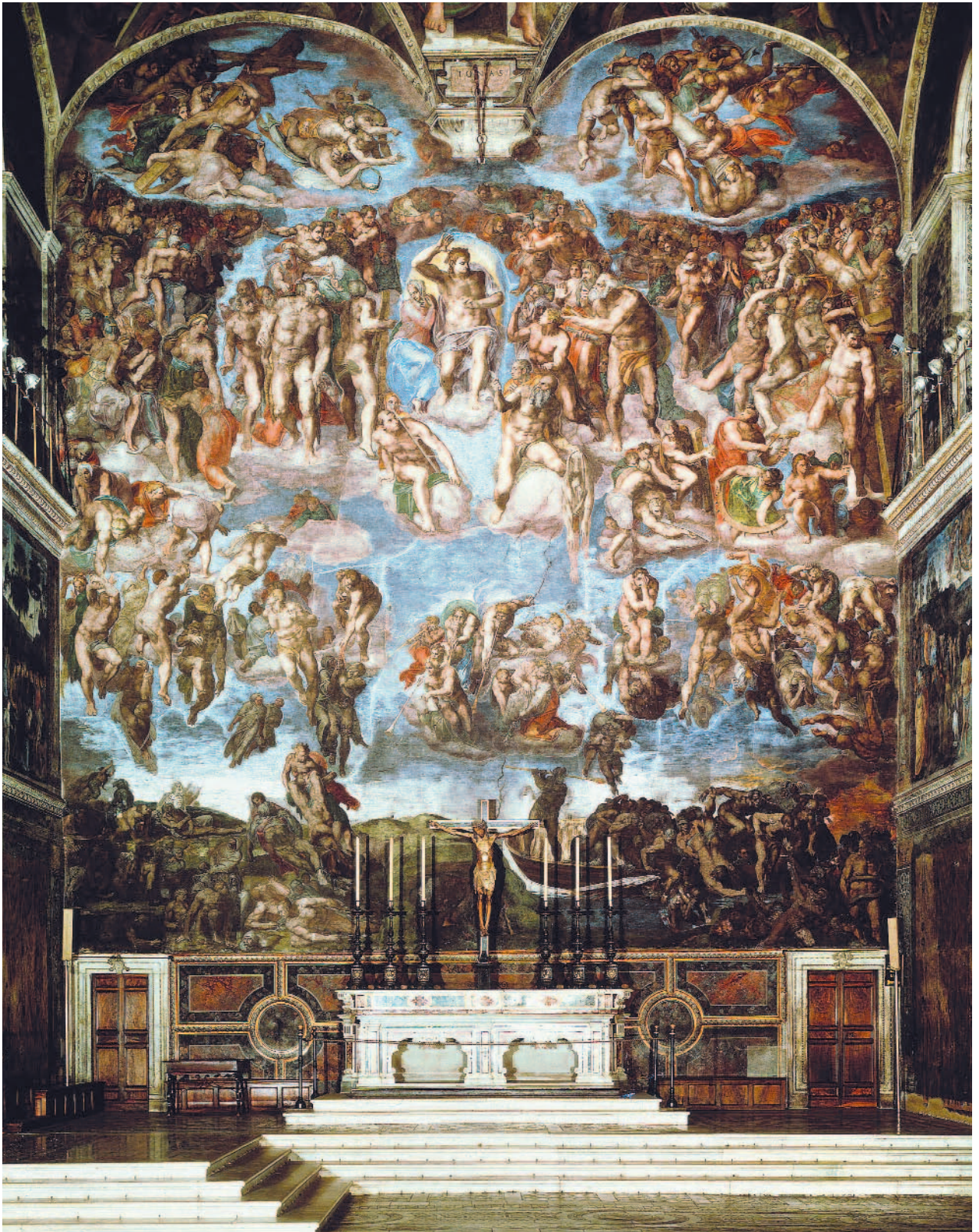
BELOW: Anton Raphael Mengs. Portrait of Pope Clement XIII. Mengs was among the most renowned European artists of the eighteenth century and a principal exponent of neoclassicism. He spent much of his career in Rome and Naples, executing a number of important commissions, including this portrait of the pope. ©CAMERAPHOTO ARTE, VENICE/ART RESOURCE, N.Y.

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OPPOSITE PAGE: Michelangelo Buonarroti. *The Last Judgment*, fresco in the Sistine Chapel, 1534-1541. Painted relatively late in the artist's career and nearly thirty years after the renowned ceiling frescoes, this work represents the increasing uncertainty of Michelangelo's mature vision in its apocalyptic imagery. THE ART ARCHIVE/ALBUM/JOSEPH MARTIN







RIGHT: Bartolomé Esteban Murillo. *The Virgin of the Rosary*, 1650–1655, an example of Murillo's beautiful and idealized religious paintings. THE ART ARCHIVE/MUSEO DEL PRADO MADRID/ALBUM/JOSEPH MARTIN

BELOW: Art in Naples. The church of the Certosa di San Martino. Originally constructed as a Carthusian monastery in the fourteenth century, the complex was renovated in the seventeenth century and features renowned decorative paintings and marble work. ©MIMMO JODICE/CORBIS

INSET, BELOW RIGHT: Art in Naples. Detail of marble inlay in the church at Certosa di San Martino. ©MIMMO JODICE/CORBIS





Art in the Netherlands. *View of Delft*, c. 1660–1661, by Jan Vermeer, considered one of the Dutch master's most accomplished works. THE ART ARCHIVE/MAURITSHUIS HAGUE/ALBUM/JOSEPH MARTIN





RIGHT: Opera. The first performance of an opera at the Teatro Regio in Turin, painted by Domenico Oliverio, eighteenth century. ©SCALA/ART RESOURCE

BELOW: Painting. *The Sunbeam* by Jacob van Ruisdael. Among the finest Dutch landscape painters of the seventeenth century, Ruisdael is known in particular for his ability to capture contrasts of light and shade. ©RÉUNION DES MUSÉES NATIONAUX/ART RESOURCE, N.Y.





Palladio and Palladianism. The Villa Rotonda, c. 1550, the best-known but least typical of Palladio's villas, is distinguished by its four classical porticoes and domed roof, echoing sacred rather than domestic architectural models. ©YANN ARTHUS-BERTRAND/CORBIS





Pastel. *Portrait of Felicita Santori*, c. 1730–1740, by Rosalba Carriera. Carriera is widely considered the most skilled creator of pastels. The ART ARCHIVE/GALLERIA DEGLI UFFIZI FLORENCE/DAGLI ORTI (A)



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USING THE ENCYCLOPEDIA

Tables of contents. Each volume contains a table of contents for the entire *Encyclopedia*. Volume 1 has a single listing of all volumes' contents. Volumes 2 through 6 contain "Contents of This Volume" followed by "Contents of Other Volumes."

Maps of Europe. The front of each volume contains a set of maps showing Europe's political divisions at six important stages from 1453 to 1795.

Alphabetical arrangement. Entries are arranged in alphabetical order. Biographical articles are generally listed by the subject's last name (with some exceptions, e.g., Leonardo da Vinci).

Royalty and foreign names. In most cases, the names of rulers of French, German, and Spanish rulers have been anglicized. Thus, Francis, not François; Charles, not Carlos. Monarchs of the same name are listed first by their country, and then numerically. Thus, Henry VII and Henry VIII of England precede Henry II of France.

Measurements appear in the English system according to United States usage, though they are often followed by metric equivalents in parentheses. Following are approximate metric equivalents for the most common units:

| | | |
|---------------|---|-----------------------|
| 1 foot | = | 30 centimeters |
| 1 mile | = | 1.6 kilometers |
| 1 acre | = | 0.4 hectares |
| 1 square mile | = | 2.6 square kilometers |
| 1 pound | = | 0.45 kilograms |
| 1 gallon | = | 3.8 liters |

Cross-references. At the end of each article is a list of related articles for further study. Readers may also consult the table of contents and the index for titles and keywords of interest.

Bibliography. Each article contains a list of sources for further reading, usually divided into Primary Sources and Secondary Sources.

Systematic outline of contents. After the last article in volume 6 is an outline that provides a general overview of the conceptual scheme of the *Encyclopedia*, listing the title of each entry.

Directory of contributors. Following the systematic outline of contents is a listing, in alphabetical order, of all contributors to the *Encyclopedia*, with affiliation and the titles of his or her article(s).

Index. Volume 6 concludes with a comprehensive, alphabetically arranged index covering all articles, as well as prominent figures, geographical names, events, institutions, publications, works of art, and all major concepts that are discussed in volumes 1 through 6.



MAPS OF EUROPE, 1453 TO 1795

The maps on the pages that follow show political boundaries within Europe at six important stages in the roughly three hundred and fifty years covered by this *Encyclopedia*: 1453, 1520, 1648, 1715, 1763, and 1795.



1453. In the years around 1450, Europe settled into relative political stability, following the crises of the late Middle Ages. France and England concluded the Hundred Years' War in 1453; the Ottoman Turks conquered Constantinople in the same year and established it as the capital of their empire; and in 1454 the Treaty of Lodi normalized relations among the principal Italian states, establishing a peaceful balance of power among Venice, Florence, the duchy of Milan, the Papal States, and the Kingdom of Naples.



1520. In 1520, the Habsburg prince Charles V was elected Holy Roman emperor, uniting in his person lordship over central Europe, Spain, the Low Countries, parts of Italy, and the newly conquered Spanish territories in the Americas. For the next century, this overwhelming accumulation of territories in the hands of a single dynasty would remain the most important fact in European international politics. But in 1520 Habsburg power already faced one of its most troublesome challenges: Martin Luther's Reformation, first attracting widespread notice in 1517, would repeatedly disrupt Habsburg efforts to unify their territories.



1715. The Peace of Utrecht (1713) ended the War of the Spanish Succession, the last and most destructive of the wars of the French king Louis XIV. The treaty ended Spain's control over present-day Belgium and over parts of Italy, and it marked the end of French hegemony within Europe. In the eighteenth century, France would be only one of five leading powers.



1763. The 1763 Treaty of Paris ended the Seven Years' War, a war that involved all the major European powers and included significant campaigns in North America and southern Asia, as well as in Europe. The war made clear the arrival of Prussia as a great power, at least the equal of Austria in central and eastern Europe.



1795. By 1795, French armies had repelled an attempted invasion by Prussia, Austria, and England, and France had begun annexing territories in Belgium and western Germany. These military successes ensured the continuation of the French Revolution, but they also meant that European warfare would continue until 1815, when the modern borders of France were largely established. Warfare with France did not prevent the other European powers from conducting business as usual elsewhere: with agreements in 1793 and 1795, Prussia, Austria, and Russia completed their absorption of Poland.



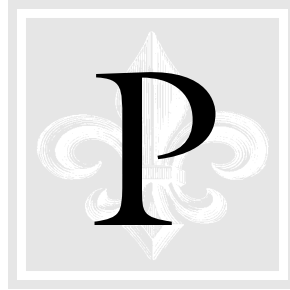
COMMON ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THIS WORK

| | | | |
|-----------|---|-------|--|
| A.D. | <i>Anno Domini</i> , in the year of the Lord | MS. | manuscript (pl. MSS.) |
| A.H. | <i>Anno Hegirae</i> , in the year of the Hegira | n.d. | no date |
| b. | born | no. | number (pl., nos.) |
| B.C. | before Christ | n.s. | new series |
| B.C.E. | before the common era (= B.C.) | N.S. | new style, according to the Gregorian calendar |
| c. | <i>circa</i> , about, approximately | O.S. | old style, according to the Julian calendar |
| C.E. | common era (= A.D.) | p. | page (pl., pp.) |
| ch. | chapter | rev. | revised |
| d. | died | S. | <i>san, sanctus, santo</i> , male saint |
| ed. | editor (pl., eds.), edition | SS. | saints |
| e.g. | <i>exempli gratia</i> , for example | Sta. | <i>sancta, santa</i> , female saint |
| et al. | <i>et alii</i> , and others | supp. | supplement |
| etc. | <i>et cetera</i> , and so forth | vol. | volume |
| exh. cat. | exhibition catalogue | ? | uncertain, possibly, perhaps |
| fl. | <i>floruit</i> , flourished | | |
| i.e. | <i>id est</i> , that is | | |

EUROPE

1450 TO 1789

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF THE EARLY MODERN WORLD



(CONTINUED)

POPULAR CULTURE. Few theoretical concepts are as value-laden as popular culture, and defining it can be likened to entering a minefield. And yet, it has proved a resilient and useful tool for assessing the attitudes and beliefs of the nonliterate masses in early modern society. From the onset, however, one should be aware of the limitations and theoretical problems associated with its use and misuse in the past.

THEORETICAL PROBLEMS

The term “popular culture” was not in contemporary use during the early modern period, when political and social structure was understood in reference to three orders or estates. The closest contemporary equivalent of “the people” would have been the Third Estate or the commoners, a social conglomeration of urban burghers and rural peasants, as well as any other persons belonging neither to the nobility nor the clergy. Reference was made to the common man or the community, and the elite/intellectual perception of their customs and practices ranged from the paternal curiosity of Michel de Montaigne (1533–1592) to the satire of artists like Peter Bruegel the Elder (c. 1525–1569) and the disdain of the moralist Sebastian Brant (1458?–1521), who presented a mirror of immoral behavior in a world gone mad in his *Das Narrenschiff* (1494; The ship of fools). One common allegory of contemporary social structure is the famous *Leviathan* of Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679), which depicted society as the torso of the king, itself composed of thousands of people, his subjects. In this

allegory, the rulers and clergy made up the head, the noble warriors the arms, and the masses the visceral lower body parts. After experiencing the horrors perpetrated during the wars of religion in the sixteenth century, the Neostoic author on statecraft, Justus Lipsius (1547–1606), wrote to compare the undisciplined mob to a headless body and popular protest to mass insanity.

The discovery (or “invention”) of the people as a group worthy of study is attributed to a group of German intellectuals at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries (Burke). One of the earliest philosophical justifications for a scholarly interest in the culture of the common people (*Kultur des Volkes*) was offered by Johann Gottfried Herder (1744–1803), who consciously juxtaposed it with learned culture (*Kultur der Gelehrten*). Widespread interest followed as European folklorists flocked to the countryside to save the oral tradition of the preindustrial peasantry from oblivion. In the process, Romantic scholars embellished the occasionally unsavory content of folk tales and songs. At the time, scholars also tended to conflate the early modern period with the Middle Ages, and traditional customs and rituals were dubbed “medieval.”

The ambivalent nature of the term “popular,” sometimes casually equated with populism, is highly controversial, and popular culture studies have regularly been hijacked for partisan political purposes. The long-standing identification of the popular will with national identity since Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778) has led to the exploitation of popular

culture studies by nationalists, racists, populists, and communists alike. The association of folk studies (*Volkskunde*) with the National Socialist dictatorship marginalized cultural anthropology and ethnography in post-war Germany. The Marxist Antonio Gramsci expressed faith in the culture of the people as a means to exercise discontent and protest against a hegemonic ruling elite. However, not until “pop” culture in art and music began to symbolize grass roots protest during the 1960s did popular culture studies succeed in entering into the mainstream of scholarly debate. Detractors have subsequently labeled radical research on popular culture “PC” in pejorative association with “political correctness,” originally a prejudicial policy to weed out the middle classes under Stalinism.

One crass example of the abuse of early modern popular culture studies is the case of nine million witch burnings. Briefly, in an attack on medieval barbarism, an enlightened archivist fancifully concocted a mythical figure of nine million people burned during the European witch craze. Anti-Catholic authors revived this fantastic claim during the nineteenth-century *Kulturkampf* in Germany. Later, credulous Nazi propagandists proclaimed that the statistic evidenced a racist persecution perpetrated on Nordic Aryan people by evil Mediterraneans through the office of the Holy Inquisition. During the 1970s, several authors and journalists uncritically cited the very same Nazi authors to denounce the slaughter of nine million innocent women at the hands of misogynist theologians. Today, scholars of popular culture have successfully revealed these claims for the groundless exaggerations they are (Behringer). In fact, we now know beyond a reasonable doubt that: (1) The vast majority of witch trials took place not in the Middle Ages but from 1560 to 1650, with legal executions continuing into the late eighteenth century; (2) Most trials were conducted by secular state officials, and persecutions were remarkably low in those few areas where an inquisition was present, like Spain and Italy, as it appears that the institution had a mitigating effect; (3) Trials were often instigated by popular pressure rather than official initiative, and most of the trials took place in central Europe; (4) Local women often accused other local women of witchcraft as the result of petty neighborhood disputes. The case of nine million witches demon-

strates the continuing importance of popular culture studies not only to correct the glorification of history from the top down, but also to avoid the pitfalls of hackneyed eulogizing of “the people” and romanticized history from the bottom up.

A further theoretical complication is that the term “culture” is also ambivalent. The original ideal of a collective group consciousness put forward by the French sociologist Émile Durkheim stresses the unifying aspects of culture, but it lacks an explanatory dynamic for historical change. A dialectic or conflict model is the most common method to overcome this inadequacy. As a representative of this dialectical tradition, Robert Redfield (1897–1958) emphasized the divisive nature of the “great tradition” (elite or official culture) and the “little tradition” (plebian or unofficial culture), echoing Herder’s distinction between popular and learned culture. The Jesuit Michel De Certeau (1925–1986) juxtaposed the relevant advantages and disadvantages facing the ruling elite and the ruled in a class-struggle model, employing the blatantly militant terms “strategy” (extensive application of great resources for long-term effect) and “tactics” (intensive maximization of limited resources with limited permanency). Modernist ethnographers tend to define culture in relational terms as a communicative system for the transmission of ideas, rather than enduring institutions or structures. In this sense, popular culture is viewed as one form of expressive culture that plays a crucial role in power struggles to negotiate meaning in everyday life (Little).

There are also many contradictory claims regarding the mechanisms of popular culture. Clearly, the view of early folklorists that popular culture is unchanging, not artificial and unadulterated by exogenous influence, is romantic and no longer tenable (Greenblatt). Proponents of dialectical materialism as well as supporters of the *Annales* paradigm (a historical movement in twentieth-century France) generally view even supernatural aspects of popular culture as contingent upon material circumstances (Scribner). Contrarily, Michel Foucault has reflected on the marginalization of folly and its transformation into madness as a product of discourses. He depicts the development of a system of social discipline, the “Great Confinement” of undesirables, as a power struggle played out in largely arbitrary and individualized discourses to gain con-

trol over cultural meanings. The Italian historian Carlo Ginzburg seeks the origins of early modern popular culture as an egalitarian tradition in the pre-Christian heritage of Indo-European languages, while the German historian Peter Blickle points to the late medieval origins of communalism. Again, popular culture studies serve to remind us that traditions evolve and culture is always changing in relationship to historical contexts.

Ultimately, the exact nature of popular culture is so difficult to pin down because it is applied in broad terms, to include ritual, art, literature, and cosmology. Many popular beliefs, rituals, and customs of the ordinary people were also shared by members of the social elite, clouding the boundaries between the two traditions. Tentatively, we can summarize popular culture as an expressive and shared system for the production, transmission, and consumption of cohesive yet simple values readily accessible to and accepted by most members of a given society at any given time, simultaneously fulfilling both normative and practical social interests. In the end, however, popular culture continues to elude precise definition. Perhaps the very ambivalence of the term renders it so theoretically flexible and at the same time dangerously seductive.

HISTORIOGRAPHIC HIGHLIGHTS

Without doubt, historians of the early modern period have paid more attention to popular culture than have any other historians. There are sound practical and methodological reasons for this. In comparison to the overwhelming documentary evidence available to historians of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, early modernists face source limitations that require them to approach their subject in a more circumspect manner. Because of this, they have proven particularly open to the interdisciplinary methods of cultural anthropology used to study comparable forms of culture in “traditional” societies. Nevertheless, the advent of printing and nascent bureaucracy coupled with a higher rate of documentary and artistic survivals offers early modernists a more satisfactory pool of evidence than is regularly available for the study of popular culture in earlier periods. Another major impetus has been the modernity thesis. In the nineteenth century, culture was generally equated with civilization and ranked according to a teleological (and Eurocentric) scale

of development. Following the rise of academic sociology and anthropology, the question of modernity also informed historical consensus on the pivotal status of the early modern period as an age of transition from feudalism to capitalism in which the power of the church waned and early modern states were formed. Hence, there has been an intense search for signs of modernity in early modern popular culture.

Since the birth of the academic disciplines of sociology and anthropology in the late nineteenth century, there have been many successful attempts to recover the mental processes whereby the European identity evolved from the later Middle Ages to the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The interdisciplinary study of popular culture has provided vital access to mentality of Europeans before industrialization and secularization. Through the encouragement of the early annalists, such as Marc Bloch and Lucien Febvre, historians’ attention began to focus on Durkheim’s concept of the collective consciousness and modify it to explain slow changes over time (*la longue durée*). Bloch’s account of popular perceptions of the magic touch of the king in the Middle Ages and Febvre’s study of disbelief in the Renaissance concurred that the mental equipment (*outillage mentale*) of our ancestors was radically different from our own. Historians often miss that point by commencing their research with “a poorly posed question” (*une question mal posée*). Developmentally, the Soviet literary critic Mikhail Bakhtin thought he had found the key to a lost golden age prior to modern social polarization in a his study of Rabelais. Bakhtin’s significant impact lies in his historical interpretation of the carnivalesque. For him, the spontaneity and laughter/ridicule of popular culture can be juxtaposed with the elite puritanical culture of Lent, the forerunner of modern bourgeois sentimentality. Similarly, the Dutch sociologist Norbert Elias charted the evolution of household manners as a “civilizing process,” a form of modern psychogenesis, literally a change in our patterns of thought through behavior modification. Elias focused his research on court society, which he viewed as the source of our modern social code of etiquette.

Since the 1960s, the trend has been less toward progressive and linear interpretations in favor of examining events, material circumstances, and ideo-

logical explanations of popular culture. One of the pioneering figures has been Natalie Zemon Davis. In 1975, she published a seminal collection of essays on a variety of topics from sixteenth-century France, such as rituals of violence and the *charivari*. *Charivaris* were a virtually ubiquitous and ritualized form of autonomous popular justice. In one form of *charivari*, youth abbeys—literally gangs of unmarried journeymen or peasants—staged public mockeries to punish local persons of ill repute and reinforce communal norms. Young artisans employed the *charivari* to regulate access to limited marriage prospects, targeting cuckolded husbands, widowed masters who married younger women, or widows of masters who refused to remarry. Peasants sometimes used the *charivari* to harass outsiders, protest perceived injustice at the hands of a local official, or punish an immoral village priest. *Charivaris* might begin during a festivity or a bout of drinking at a local tavern, when it was decided to punish a local “deviate.” The masked or costumed gang adjourned to the house of the person in question, harassing them with vulgar or obscene songs. When the target of abuse appeared, he or she was apprehended and humiliated—forced to ride backward on an ass, burned in effigy, or ducked in a pond. Ultimately, *charivaris* functioned as a method of resolving social conflicts through rough and ready communal consensus on propriety. In this and subsequent works, Davis dispenses with standard clichés and characterizes the human experiences in terms of identity formation. She has demonstrated the self-fashioning of pardon tales and the creation of identity in *The Return of Martin Guerre*, the subject of a French motion picture (1983) and a Hollywood spin-off, *Sommersby* (1993). Her historical actors are simultaneously faced with limitless individual possibilities and fettered by social constraints. Her work continues to influence an entire generation of scholarship.

In 1978, Peter Burke published what has become the standard text on early modern popular culture. Burke takes his cue from the dialectic models of the elite/popular traditions promoted by Redfield and Bakhtin. His developmental conception of popular culture is graphically illustrated by Bruegel’s famous painting of *Combat of Carnival and Lent*, a mock joust between a fat man astride a barrel and a thin woman seated on a chair (Burke,

p. 208). The Carnival season prior to Lent set the stage for a ritual inversion of normative values. In this “world turned upside down,” people cross-dressed, ate and drank excessively, engaged in blatant sexual innuendo, openly mocked the clergy, and elected a prince of fools who held court in the town square. During the period between 1500 and 1650, Europe entered into the first phase of the reform of popular culture by the culture of the godly, as the arbiters of morality set a more somber tone during the catastrophic years of the Protestant Reformation, Catholic Renewal, and wars of religion. Popular performances and carnivals were banned in many areas as the elite gradually withdrew from participation in the plebian culture of mockery and grass roots protest. From 1650 to 1800, popular culture was politicized, denigrated, and completely abandoned by the ruling elite until its rediscovery by nineteenth-century folklorists.

Since the publication of Burke’s text, there has been an explosion of interest in popular culture studies, many of which have introduced us to new and innovative ways of approaching the topic. Much attention has also been paid to the role of the print revolution as an innovative force during the early modern period. Roger Chartier and Robert Scribner have examined chapbooks and broadsheets and found evidence of a vibrant print culture with meanings influenced by popular consumption and appropriation. They also note how shifting demand acts as a driving force behind historical change. Individual case studies and village reconstitutions have also explored the contributions of popular culture to political and social change in early modern Europe. Chief among these has been the work of David Warren Sabeau, who conducted nearly two decades of research studying the inhabitants of the small Swabian village of Neckarhausen. Sabeau subtly employed a conflict model to interpret apparently minor incidents of ritualized tensions between rulers and subjects as another engine for historical change from below. Here again, historians have begun to pay more attention to negotiations and the fundamental role of transmission through cultural interlocutors.

SOURCES AND METHOD

Since early modern popular culture was primarily oral or performance-oriented, the paucity of docu-

mentary evidence of practices and beliefs has proven a difficult obstacle. The so-called superstitions and fleeting theatrics of everyday custom and ritual were seldom regarded as worthy of attention. Initially, much of the pioneering work in early modern popular culture involved the identification of useful sources to document a largely undocumented historical phenomenon. Gradually, however, certain types of evidence have been exploited with great success, and a standard repertoire of sources and methods has evolved. Current scholarship still benefits greatly from the work of folklorists and anthropologists. National and regional folklore collections and dictionaries of dialect from the early nineteenth century regularly provide valuable insights. Many folktales and folk practices have since been catalogued in standard guides to folkloric motifs and ethnographic encyclopedias, like Bächtold-Stäubli's *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* (Handbook of German superstition). These works allow the historian to critically cross-reference customs and practices that were glossed over in primary source documents, as their original meaning was largely self-evident to contemporaries but has since become lost. Early thesauruses and encyclopedias, themselves primary sources, continue to prove their worth. Some of these are now easily accessible online, such as Zedler's early-eighteenth-century *Universal Lexikon*, a virtual treasure trove of early modern thought. Nevertheless, one of the major attractions of popular culture studies remains the necessity to work eclectically and creatively, and historians still regularly locate hitherto unsuspected finds in the archives as the field continues to expand.

Scholars now regularly access a wide and sometimes unexpected variety of sources in their search for manifestations of popular culture. The role of cultural interlocutors, responsible for the recording and transmission of customs and traditions, is central in most of these transmissions. Standard sources include civic chronicles and diaries depicting events both everyday and unusual, such as carnivals or the elaborate Corpus Christi processions popular in Catholic urban areas. Illustrated broadsheets—the newspapers of the illiterate—depicted occurrences both mundane (the effects of drunkenness on the humors) and wondrous (monstrous births, comets, Marian apparitions, etc.). Broadsheets were the subjects of public readings by literate members of the

community, both in the privacy of the home and in taverns. The hub of the local communications network, the tavern was where people from every walk of life congregated to exchange news, conduct business, and, not infrequently, foment protest and revolt. Grievances, such as songs of protest or the famous Twelve Articles of the Peasantry issued during the German Peasants' War of 1525 by an artisan named Sebastian Lotzer and a pastor named Christoph Schappeler, both of Memmingen, also inform us of popular complaints against the ruling classes as well as utopian and communal aspirations and popular rituals of justice. In one popular ritual during the revolt of the Poor Conrad in 1514, for example, community members of Schorndorf put the devalued weights and measures introduced by Duke Ulrich the Mad of Württemberg (1498–1550) to the water test in a nearby river, claiming that if the weights floated, then they had passed the judgment of God.

However, official recorders of popular culture did not always play a positive or even a neutral role in its transmission and were prominently involved in elite attempts to suppress unofficial practices. Legal records—edicts, law codes, and criminal interrogatories—are another rich genre of documentation. In their attempts to enforce elite norms, early modern rulers released a plethora of edicts reviling impious deviations from religious orthodoxy and breaches of sumptuary and moral legislation—the wearing of prohibited clothing styles, lewd dancing, and excessive consumption at weddings. They attest to the rude nature of early modern sexuality, complaining of clerical concubinage, fornication between serving men and women, and clandestine marriages. One courtship ritual in particular, the nocturnal visit, was highly suspect. Reminiscent of the balcony scenes from *Romeo and Juliet* or *Cyrano de Bergerac* and practiced throughout Europe, nocturnal visits of suitors to unmarried women took the form of a non-coerced entry, generally through the window, whereupon the couple might sit and chat until the morning hours or, not uncommonly, sleep together chastely in the same bed, at times with the full consent of parents; naturally, accidents did occur, as the edicts take pains to remind us. All-too-frequent repetitions of prescriptive legislation suggest the nature, extent, and tenacity of popular practices throughout Europe de-

spite well-intentioned moral campaigns to eradicate them.

Inquisitorial sources provide important if somewhat less appealing information, especially in the realm of witchcraft studies. This is also the area where anthropological field research among traditional peoples, such as E. Evans-Prichard's 1937 study of witchcraft among the Azande in central Africa, has had its greatest impact. Records of interrogations are perhaps as close as we can hope to come to hearing the actual voices of ordinary individuals. They reveal a cleft between elite and popular perceptions of witchcraft. For example, the attempt to superimpose a cumulative or learned concept of demonology on the masses, replete with devil's pacts, copulations with paramours, and attendance at the Sabbath, proved alien to the popular consciousness. However, the records of criminal interrogations reveal much about the real and widespread practice of white magic—love potions, rituals to enhance fertility, talismans and charms to ward off illness in humans and animals, treasure-finding spells, counter-magic to relieve the enchanted, and so on—that persisted well into the age of the Enlightenment. Of course, it would be wrong to presume that even firsthand testimonies offered by illiterate peasants represent the unadulterated voice of the people without considering the actual circumstances of their production. Judicial confessions were exacted under duress or torture in answer to the leading questions of inquisitors and judges, only to be recorded by court scribes, who sometimes inserted their own confessions of bewilderment at certain popular beliefs and practices.

Public trials and executions were themselves a form of popular entertainment, as thousands of onlookers, hawkers, pickpockets, and prostitutes gathered in a festive mood to witness the spectacular brutality of contemporary justice. Audience participation, though not officially encouraged, regularly manifested itself as onlookers threw rotting vegetable matter at the delinquent as he or she was carted from the jail to mount the terrible stage of retribution. Of course, the presence of an audience at the official execution meant that events could take unexpected turns from the official script. Audience pressure and the threat of or actual recourse to violence effected a release if the verdict was vehemently in question or if the criminal was a local folk

hero. If the executioner gave a sloppy performance and failed to carry out sentencing in one blow, crowds were known to mob the scaffold, threatening to pummel or rend the headsman, who was forced to flee for his life. Naturally, for those unable to attend the execution of infamous villains in person, details were recorded and distributed in illustrated woodcuts and broadsheets. Nor was the death sentence necessarily the end of the criminal in the popular understanding of ritual justice. After the rotting corpse was put on display and ultimately removed for dishonorable burial, executioners, who operated thriving medical practices on the side, sold decomposed body parts (so-called mummy) for use as popular remedies.

In another type of method similar to the anthropological "thick-description" used by Clifford Geertz to document Balinese customs, practitioners of microhistory have descended to the level of ordinary individuals to rescue nonprominent persons from the dustbin of history, giving a voice back to them. By far the most successful example of microhistory is Carlo Ginzburg's study of the heresiarch (the creator of his own heresy) and Friulian miller Menocchio. Ginzburg began his career as a professor in Bologna, where he was closely associated with the author Umberto Eco and the historian Piero Camporesi. Ginzburg documents Menocchio's trial and execution for, among other things, maintaining that the Virgin Mary was a whore and that the universe arose as a waste product of a cheese-eating worm. Ginzburg concludes that Menocchio's fantastic cosmological theories were in fact the product of an unconscious filter of pre-Christian notions, part of a subculture shared by peasants from Italy to Lithuania. His continued detective work in search of clues of this common antihierarchical heritage has spawned a large following, and microhistory has since found a home in the Italian journal *Quaderni Storici*. There are those who argue that Ginzburg's net is cast far too broadly and that his claims about the common pagan origins of European popular culture are overgeneralized. Critics have focused on particular regional or local contexts, as in Wolfgang Behringer's microhistory of the Alpine herdsman Chonrad Stoeckhlin (1549–1587) or Richard Kagan's analysis of the political content of the dreams of Lucretia de Leon of Madrid, which at once empow-

ered and endangered her. Whether one agrees with Ginzburg's conclusions or not, the fact remains that his method of accessing contemporary cosmology through the experiences of one ordinary person has reached a large audience, reawakening interest in popular culture and generating lively and productive debate.

SOCIAL EXPERIENCES OF POPULAR CULTURE

The story of popular culture in early modern Europe is one of mounting social stratification and a concerted effort at repression by the political and religious elite. An interesting example of this is found in a series of questionnaires on communal religious practices distributed by Spanish officials under Philip II (ruled 1552–1598) in the sixteenth century. Communities had long associated themselves with local patron saints, who served as symbols of both internal unity and external competition. Communities entered into sacred contractual agreements with their saints, promising to honor them with lavish shrines, feast days, and votive offerings in return for agrarian fertility, economic prosperity, and protection from internal factionalism or natural catastrophes. Many of the saints operated as specialists, and localities often received outside pilgrims seeking types of assistance particular to their patron saint; some saints cured specific illnesses, others ensured good harvests, and so on. Spanish authorities in turn considered the plethora of local feast days and specialized saints as an obstacle to their campaign of centralization. Gradually, particularistic interests were countered through crown sponsorship of multipurpose cults associated with the ruling dynasty, especially the cult of the Virgin and the Bleeding Heart. Furthermore, the crown fought against popular disrespect for saints who failed to fulfill their local obligations. One such ritual included the ducking of a saint's image in a river or lake as an expression of communal displeasure. Analogous struggles occurred in other areas of Europe, as in seventeenth-century Bavaria under Duke Maximilian I, where ducking of saints' images was legally prohibited and local revolts over access to communal cemeteries were put down under threat of force. With the help of the Jesuits, the ruling dynasty gradually subordinated local saints in a regimented hierarchy to the Virgin Mary, a policy manifest in artistic representations as well as an offi-

cial sacred geography, the *Bavaria Sancta et Pia* (1615–1628) authored by the Tyrolian Jesuit Matthaeus Rader (1561–1634).

Hierarchical subordination had gender implications as well, the most prominent example being the rise and fall in the popularity of apparitions, sainthood, exorcism, and demonic possession. Once again in Spain, women initially availed of apparitions as a means of empowerment during the fifteenth century, but church authorities ultimately discouraged this practice. With this avenue closed to them, women like Teresa of Ávila and the Italian Angela Merici, founder of the Ursulines, sought recognition as holy women, and after their deaths their followers petitioned for their beatification and canonization. Church officials generally discouraged female incursions into the male-dominated realm of Catholic spirituality, though many succeeded through almost irrepressible popular support. Dynastic support for the cult of the Virgin had an ambivalent effect on the role of women in society, enabling empowerment only for exceptional figures while popularizing the image of merciful women as powerful and personal intercessors for those in need or seeking justice. At the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century, cases of demonic possession were clearly on the rise and opened another window of opportunity for women to enter the public domain. However, this means of access was fraught with danger, and it was not unusual for demoniacs to end their lives at the stake as accused witches. In one rare case, a peasant woman even achieved official recognition as an exorcist; during the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648), Rosina Huber survived sixteen weeks of severe torture, but was subsequently allowed to exorcise ghosts from prominent households in southern Germany.

Youth culture also found itself increasingly on the defensive as the representatives of established authority channeled youthful exuberance into officially sanctioned activities. The so-called youth abbeys and other such unofficial organizations of apprentices and journeymen were integrated into religious confraternities sanctioned by urban masters. This was part of a broader trend in political culture to limit guild participation in civic government in cities of the Holy Roman Empire after the Schmalkaldic War (1546–1547) and regulate coop-

tion into the ruling elite. Cooption into the large council in Venice or in German towns with a Venetian-style constitution, primarily a ceremonial body, provided a testing ground for the political reliability of up-and-coming town councillors and created a pool of future recruits for the small council, where true political authority lay. In the eighteenth century, male vagrants became the target of persecutions for witchcraft in Austria, as the gender stereotype of the witch shifted from the traditional image of the witch as an old hag to incorporate unruly gangs of young men.

The fight against superstitions and popular magic is one of the best-documented examples of the attempt of the mixed success of the ruling elite in limiting popular access to the supernatural. Initially, the ruling elite reviled superstitions as real and diabolical magic. In 1585, the papal bull *Coeli et Terri* condemned all forms of popular superstitions, including incantations, treasure finding, and necromancy, as covenants with Satan, “the Father of Lies.” The Flemish jurist and demonologist Martin Del Rio attacked magic and the veneration of evil spirits as vile superstitions—as dangerous and efficacious magic. Still, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, it was often difficult to differentiate between popular and elite superstitions since many attitudes remained shared. During the witch craze in Augsburg during the 1560s, the Jesuit Peter Canisius and the wealthy Fugger family supported a series of exorcisms that ended with accusations that Johann Fugger shared in an “old and damnable heresy” about demoniacs, which held that they were possessed by repentant souls from purgatory rather than by the devil.

Another common belief involved the fear that the interment of suicides in hallowed ground resulted in celestial displeasure, manifesting itself in the form of hailstorms that destroyed crops and livestock. In fact, this belief reveals that many popular superstitions had a sound empirical basis. For example, waves of suicides sometimes followed famine and plague, but the popular consciousness held the former responsible for natural catastrophes, in an inversion of cause and effect. In the sixteenth century, elites also shared similar fears about ghosts, but by the eighteenth century, the Enlightenment adopted a new method of combating them—derision. By then, superstitions were no longer

viewed as dangerous practices, rather as backward peasant ignorance and nonsense. Ironically, however, the victory of the Enlightenment over popular culture was short-lived. As folklorists reacted against pure reason, popular culture became the rallying point of nationalists and Romantics, who sought originality, purity, and the source of common aspirations in the simple culture of the common people of early modern Europe.

See also Brant, Sebastian; Catholic Spirituality and Mysticism; Enlightenment; Festivals; Hobbes, Thomas; Magic; Montaigne, Michel de; Romanticism; Songs, Popular; Witchcraft.

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DAVID LEDERER

POPULAR PROTEST AND REBELLIONS. In the early modern period, the vast majority of Europeans lacked a formal voice in the major governmental decisions that affected their lives. Kings ruled without much contact with their subjects, towns were governed by oligarchies of well-to-do families, and rural villages were run by a few of the richest landowners, who were often in league with the village lord. Ordinary people did have many opportunities for everyday sociability, such as parish committees, citizen militia forces, guild procedures, occasional convocations of all the heads of household, and festive celebrations. On rare occasions they might even see the monarch processing through their streets or attending a ceremonial Mass. But when taxes were raised, war was declared, property laws were modified, or food prices became exorbitant, most people had no formal channel for complaint.

Nevertheless, people did have opinions about how things ought to be done, and they were perfectly capable of taking matters into their own hands if justice was not carried out to their satisfaction. Lacking official input in the decision making process, people adopted a language of protest that mixed tradition and initiative, violence and restraint. This popular protest was a significant phenomenon all over early modern Europe.

Forming a precise definition of “popular” involvement is not easy. Ideally this concept should encompass movements in which everyday men and women expressed their own points of view. These would be instances when the commoners agitated on their own behalf, expressing moral indignation at the violation of community-held values or intervening through direct action to change the course of events. Such activity should be distinguished from upper-class rebellions, in which popular crowds played a subordinate role. Even genuine popular movements often had assistance from elite leaders. Thus there was no hard line between elite-inspired and autonomous popular protests; instead there was a spectrum of possible combinations. “Popular protest and rebellions” should be defined as attempts by ordinary people to influence, or comment upon, issues decided by governments.

DIFFERENT APPROACHES

Before the 1960s historians paid little attention to popular uprisings, with the exception of a few inescapable episodes such as the 1525–1526 German Peasants' War or the *Comuneros* Revolt of 1520–1521 in Spain. In their books, historians devoted a paragraph or two to such events, describing them as unfortunate excesses arising from desperation. The rebels were presented as ignorant, crude, and impulsive, or at the very least misguided, and history focused on the rich, the powerful, and the successful.

This picture has changed dramatically. A generation of historians has come to realize the importance of focusing on the history of the common people, not only because these people did most of society's hard labor, but also because the story of the past would be superficial without considering the impact of events on the largest segment of the population. The tide began to turn in the 1960s when a first wave of historians reexamined well-known historical episodes and learned more about people fighting back against their oppressors. As the historians looked deeper for new evidence, they found many instances of popular protest. Such uprisings were everywhere they looked, especially in England and France, where most of the early research took place. René Pillorget found 532 incidents of protest in the single French province of Provence between 1596 and 1715. Buchanan Sharp found more than 40 food riots in the west of England between 1586 and 1631. Pieter Bierbrauer identified 125 German peasant revolts between 1336 and 1789, more than half of which took place after 1525. Jean Nicolas and a team of French researchers located 8,528 incidents of protest in France from 1660 to 1789. The majority of these incidents were relatively minor in scope, but the everyday events were arguably just as influential as the major outbursts.

Historians first attempted to fit these episodes into the story of the developing bourgeois revolution. While virtually all of the protesters had succumbed to superior forces of repression, these "primitive rebels," historians argued, had made a difference by establishing traditions of resistance and by striking fear into the hearts of those in power. Their failure to prevail could be explained by a poorly developed class consciousness, by precocious timing, or by the rebels' inability to develop a

viable blueprint for bringing about social change. Conservative historians responded that this analysis was pure romanticism. Most revolts were openly led or encouraged by leaders from elite groups. Thus popular rebels were just pawns in their larger power games. Furthermore, the conservative historians argued that focusing on uprisings gave undue attention to exceptional cases and obscured the fact that, most of the time, people accepted the system and lived by it.

The grandfather of the analysis of popular revolt was Friedrich Engels (1820–1895), who wrote the classic Marxist account of the German Peasants' War. Writing in the wake of the failed revolutions of 1848, Engels argued that the Peasants' War had been a premature revolt against feudalism, which had failed because the German bourgeoisie was not prepared to lead the struggle. The issue was published in a major study by Günther Franz in 1933. But the real pioneers in the study of the rebellious crowd were Georges Lefebvre, who attributed a positive collective purpose to the crowds in the French Revolution, and Georges Rudé, who made a science out of crowd study by analyzing the social identity of those arrested. Rudé showed that eighteenth-century crowds were composed of respectable individuals from the urban lower classes: minor officials, artisans and their journeymen and apprentices, wives and children, laborers, and market women. Connected by local networks of sociability, crowds acted like an impromptu community and exercised rudimentary politics by focusing their attention on specific targets. This important insight was a reaction against the old theory that crowds were an irrational mob with a single mind bent on destruction. The studies of the crowd were an important step, but they had limitations. The sociology of the crowd is dependent on the occupational categories used in arrest records, and it fails to address the question of the actors' motivation and to explain the forms of action they chose to use.

In France in the 1960s the discussion of popular protest was the subject of a great debate about the nature of early modern social structure. A Soviet scholar, Boris Porchnev, who had access to a large collection of detailed letters written by the French king's provincial agents in the period 1620–1660, found in them evidence of widespread riots against tax collectors and other authorities. Porchnev used

this rich source to argue that these uprisings were an expression of class conflict in which a heterogeneous plebeian population was transferring its resistance from the local nobility to the representatives of the state because the state had taken over the nobility's role of extracting value from the peasants. Like Engels, Porchnev concluded that the essence of absolutist France was class struggle, and that the Revolution was only held off because of the cooption of the bourgeoisie by the absolute monarchy.

Roland Mousnier, a French expert on the seventeenth century, took up this challenge. Using similar documents, he attempted to demonstrate that there were in fact no classes at all in seventeenth-century France. Society was organized into "orders" and "estates," which were groups based on common levels of esteem. Whereas Porchnev said revolts were expressions of class difference, Mousnier argued that they were conflicts between the modernizing state and vertical alliances of nobles, commoners, and laborers defending traditional privileges. Porchnev saw the crowds as protesting spontaneously. Mousnier said that crowds were incapable of spontaneous revolt. Faced with a standoff between these contradictory interpretations, scholars did more research and concluded that the answer was not one or the other position, but rather a combination of both. This analysis of revolts as indicators of social structure produced much valuable research, but it drew attention away from the culture of the rioters themselves.

To avoid the classification of crowds by their occupational composition or their adherence to a certain kind of social relations, one must look at their behavior anthropologically, that is, as a language expressing a specific set of values and objectives, often in terms of symbolic meanings. Two practitioners of this approach stand out: E. P. Thompson, who analyzed the culture of the pre-industrial British working class of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in terms of the level of class consciousness it had reached; and Natalie Zemon Davis, who pioneered the study of popular rituals and their meaning. While Thompson saw grain riots, enclosure riots, and poaching in royal forests as forms of resistance to the rise of capitalism, Davis understood ritual behavior like *charivari* or Carnival as an expression of community values re-

lated to fertility, adolescence, and the purification of the community.

Another way of approaching the study of crowd actions is to use quantitative methods to find patterns in the location, time of day, type of complaint, size of group, or methods used by a succession of protest movements. To develop causal connections, these patterns can then be correlated with variables such as harvest yields, the incidence of warfare, or level of taxation. Many such studies have been conducted, and they generally confirm that popular protest was connected to hard times, and that its incidence was higher in some regions than in others. But without including other dimensions of the problem, such studies only illuminate the context of the protest and not its substance or why it took place where and when it did. A more promising approach is that of historical sociologist Charles Tilly. He was interested in linking the changing nature of crowd protest to what he called "large processes," namely the rise of capitalism and the rise of the modern state. By this interpretation, the "repertoires" of popular action, that is, the ways in which people protested, changed in response to the nature of the forces they were contesting.

A new wave of scholarship has abandoned symbolic meaning in favor of political expression, or "popular politics." This approach was pioneered in the German-speaking world and was heavily influenced by Jürgen Habermas's theory of the public sphere. Attempting to escape the rigid dichotomy of ruler versus ruled, these scholars, led by Swiss historian Peter Blickle, focused their attention on the ways ordinary people could become involved in the political process. This approach is particularly well suited to early modern Germany, where many small states had a variety of systems of consultation and representation. Blickle focused on the local and regional demands drawn up by the peasants in 1525. He asserted that they were inventing alternative political forms, which were derived from their experiences with existing representative bodies. Blickle also organized a program of international conferences, at which experts assessed the potential strength of popular politics under three related categories: communities, the strength of which provided the backbone for protest; representation, which took many forms and was often indirect; and rebellion, which could also be an effective resource.

Thus, recent scholarship has reacted against the idea of the people being powerless through its emphasis on multiple forms of interaction between rulers and people.

PEASANT REVOLTS

Popular protest was endemic throughout Europe, as Table 1 indicates. But lists cannot convey the wide range of styles, forms, and sizes of popular disturbances. It is useful to distinguish between peasant uprisings and urban revolts. Peasant uprisings involved thousands of angry men in military formations who ultimately would have to be put down by military force. Because peasants lived in dispersed villages, their uprisings were planned in advance. At the same time, their objectives had to be stated in writing and publicized for them to have any impact, since there was no immediately accessible individual on whom they could blame their grievances. So a set of demands would be drawn up at some kind of general assembly, often with the aid of literate allies. Examples are the Twelve Articles of the Upper Swabian Peasants in 1525 or the Manifesto of the Peasants of Angoumois in 1637.

The history of Hungary is filled with peasant revolts. In that country, resistance to the Turks and opposition to the Habsburgs was sometimes initiated by the peasants and sometimes led by the ferocious Magyar nobility. There were also recurring conflicts between lords and serfs. In 1514 peasants, artisans, and students were eagerly enlisting in a planned crusade against the Turks when the nobles, fearing a liberated peasantry, canceled the campaign. The peasants turned on their masters and raised an army of thousands that swept across the country capturing castles until it was stopped by a superior noble army. Their leader, Dosza, was burned alive, thousands of peasants were hanged, and the Hungarian diet passed a law binding the peasants perpetually to the soil. In 1672–1685 and in 1697 an army of warrior peasants rose again. In 1703 they initiated the uprising that became the unsuccessful war of liberation from the Habsburgs after its leadership was assumed by Ferenc Rákóczi.

An English example of a peasant insurrection was the Pilgrimage of Grace of 1536. Protesting the dissolution of the monasteries, high taxes, and general misgovernment by Thomas Cromwell (c. 1485–1540) and the ministers of Henry VIII

(ruled 1509–1547), the gentry of Lincolnshire and York began a rebellion that was joined by thousands of people from all walks of life who swore an oath to God and king and marched under the banner of the Five Wounds of Christ. The city of York was occupied by 30,000 disciplined soldiers who set up a dissident government of the north. They negotiated a truce with the king, then disbanded and went home. None of the royal promises were kept. Of note are the incredible orderliness of this movement, its elite leadership, and the participants' strong belief in the right of their cause.

Some peasant revolts took the form of waves of separate but related attacks on local objectives. The German peasants in 1525 and the French peasants in the Great Fear of 1789 attacked the castles of their lords. Letters from Brittany in 1675 convey the nature of the fear that swept the upper classes during such a movement: "These people are still very stirred up in Lower Brittany. They have killed a gentleman and burned the houses of others on pretext that they were extortionists. My lord, there is no safety in the countryside for anyone. The parishes are murmuring on all sides . . ." wrote an agent of the king. A priest sympathetic to the peasants reported that in one of "a thousand inhuman acts," they had dragged a noble out of a church by his hair and thrown him half dead into a ditch.

URBAN REVOLTS

Urban riots were shorter and more focused than peasant revolts. Because walled cities had crowded, narrow streets, urban rioters tended to go after specific targets that symbolized their grievances. Crowds would storm through the streets shouting slogans, attack persons or property, form armed companies, take hostages, occupy the city hall, or seize strategic towers. Along with the major urban uprisings came a host of lesser disturbances, and many signs of simmering discontent: the appearance of anonymous manifestos on doorways and public walls, muttering heard in the streets, sabotage of the work of detested officials, and passive resistance through noncompliance.

Urban crowds could form spontaneously, provided the participants shared a common set of values that they felt had been violated, and provided there was a specific incident or experience to set people off. Such an event would require considerable prep-

TABLE 1

| Selected Instances of Popular Protest and Revolt in Early Modern Europe 1500–1780 | | |
|--|--------------------------------------|--|
| Date | Location | Event |
| 1502 | Speyer, Germany | Bundshuhe revolt |
| 1513–14 | Berne, Lucerne | First war of Swiss peasants |
| 1514 | Hungary | Peasant army led by Dosza sweeps the country |
| 1515 | Carniola, Carinthia, Stryria | Peasant War in Inner Austria |
| 1517 | Baden, Alsace | Bundshuhe revolt |
| 1520 | Castile | Comuneros revolt (league of towns) |
| 1523–30 | Denmark | Peasants revolt against their new status |
| 1525 | Southern Germany | German Peasants' War: Peasants unite to overthrow government representatives |
| 1525 | Lavenham, England | Crowd of 4,000 demands tax relief |
| 1526 | Salzburg, Austria | German Peasants' War: Peasants revive their war |
| 1529 | Lyon, France | La Grande Rebeine: Attack on grain stores and houses of the rich |
| 1536 | North of England | Pilgrimage of Grace against Protestant religious reform |
| 1548 | Saintonge, Angoumois, France | Revolt of the Pitauds |
| 1549 | Midlands, East Anglia, England | Kett's Rebellion against enclosures |
| 1566 | Netherlands | Iconoclastic riots against Catholic images |
| 1569–70 | Hungary | led by George Karacsonyi |
| 1573 | Croatia | General revolt in Croatia and parts of Styria; 60,000 peasants demand rights, end of tithe, 4,000 executed |
| 1573 | Carniola, Carinthia, Styria, Austria | Peasant Uprising |
| 1573–75 | Norway | Peasants in revolt; uprisings in Trondheim province |
| 1579–80 | Romans, France | Carnival of Romans, peasant risings in region |
| 1579 | Normandy | Revolt of the Gautiers |
| 1585 | Naples | Urban bread riots crushed by Philip II |
| 1586, 1596 | Troyes, France | Two urban revolts against taxes |
| 1588 | Paris | Day of Barricades: Crowds support duke of Guise over King Henry III |
| 1588 | Steyer, Austria | Lower classes; spreads to countryside against lords |
| 1591–93 | Ukraine | Kosinsky leads rebellion around Kiev, Bratslav |
| 1593–95 | Limousin, Périgord, France | Revolt of Tard-Avisés (peasants) |
| 1594–95 | Upper and Lower Austria | Peasant Uprisings |
| 1594–97 | Reichstenstein, Austria | Lutherans against war tax; 4,000 peasants |
| 1596 | Midlands, England | Laborers rise |
| 1597 | Hungary | Peasants rise against demands of nobles, very orderly. |
| 1605–07 | Rettenberg, Augsburg | Peasant uprisings |
| 1607 | Midlands, England | Revolt against enclosures |
| 1607 | Hungary | 20,000 Haiduks (bandits) and serfs; against lords as part of rebellion against Habsburgs |
| 1626–27 | Upper Austria | "War" led by nobles against Catholic repression, death taxes; 12,000 peasants killed |
| 1627 | Troyes, France | Urban riot against the "gabelle" |
| 1628–32 | England | Skimmington revolts: 3,000 tear down forest enclosures |
| 1630 | Lyon, France | Urban riot of weavers |
| 1630 | Aix-en-Provence, France | Urban riot (Cascaveoux) |
| 1630 | Dijon, France | Urban riot by vinegrowers (Lanturelu) |
| 1632 | Lyon, France | Urban riot against taxes |
| 1632–36 | Machland, Austria | Martin Limbauer revolt; executions in Linz 1636 |
| 1633–34 | Benediktbeuren region, Upper Bavaria | 10,000 peasants put down by Swedish and Imperial troops |
| 1635 | Bordeaux, France | Urban riot against "gabelle" |
| 1635 | Agen, France | Violent urban revolt against tax farmers |
| 1636 | Saintonge, Angoumois, France | Assemblies of peasants |
| 1637 | Périgord, Quercy, France | Revolt of Croquants (peasants) |
| 1639 | Lower Normandy, France | Nu-pieds revolt |
| 1640 | Catalonia | Villages revolt against Castille |
| 1641 | Troyes, France | Urban riot against taxes on merchandise |
| 1642 | Stour Valley, Colchester, England | Crowd attacks houses of gentry |
| 1645 | Montpellier, France | Urban revolt: women and men riot against new taxes |
| 1645 | Wiltshire and Dorset, England | 4000 Clubmen and Levellers against royalist troops |
| 1647–48 | Naples, Palermo, and Sicily | Masaniello Revolt in Naples over bread, taxes, spreads to Palermo and Sicily |
| 1648 | Moscow | Crowds encouraged by Boyars sack government buildings, result is a new code of feudalism |
| 1652 | Granada, Cordoba, Seville | Crowds attack officials, establish a sort of commune |
| 1653 | Swiss Cantons | Conspirators hold meetings, then 3,000 march on Lucern; they swear a general oath, 250,000 men |

(continued)

TABLE 1—CONTINUED

| Selected Instances of Popular Protest and Revolt in Early Modern Europe 1500–1780 | | |
|---|-----------------------------|--|
| Date | Location | Event |
| 1657 | Châlons-sur-Marne, France | Urban riot against tax on serge |
| 1658 | Sologne, France | Revolt of Sabotiers |
| 1659 | Aix-en-Provence, France | Urban revolt, St. Valentine's Day Revolt |
| 1662 | Boulogne, France | Revolt of Lustucru |
| 1670 | Vivarais, France | Rural revolt led by Roure |
| 1675 | Bordeaux, France | Large urban uprising against new excise taxes |
| 1675 | Rennes, Brittany, France | Urban protest against excise taxes, peasant revolt against lords (Bonnets Rouges) |
| 1685 | England | Popular support for Monmouth to usurp throne |
| 1697 | Hungary | Peasant revolt in Tokaj region |
| 1703 | Hungary | Peasant war against serfdom becomes national liberation movement |
| 1710 | London | Sacherevell riots |
| 1736 | London | Rioting against hiring of cheap Irish workers |
| 1750 | Paris | Rioting over rumors that police were abducting children and deporting them to the colonies |
| 1766 | Spain | Uprising causes king to flee the capital for several months |
| 1766 | West of England | Waves of food riots |
| 1768 | London | Biggest of a series of Wilkite riots in favor of liberty and John Wilkes |
| 1775 | France, region around Paris | "Flour War," a wave of grain riots |
| 1780 | London | Gordon Riots against toleration act for Catholics |

SOURCE: Hughes Neveux, *Les Révoltes paysannes en Europe XIVE-XVIIe siècles* Paris, 1997, 292–98; Henry Kamen, *The Iron Century: Social Change in Europe 1550–1660*, New York, 1972, 331–385; William Beik, *Urban Protest in Seventeenth-Century France: The Culture of Retribution*, London, 1997; and diverse mentions.

aration, not in the form of conspiratorial planning, although this sometimes occurred, but in the form of talk: people complaining about the injustice of a current abuse until a consensus emerged regarding who was to blame and what should be done about it. The classic case is the British grain riot analyzed by E. P. Thompson, who inaugurated the concept of the “moral economy” of the crowd. When emerging capitalist market forces caused the traditional rules of the marketplace to break down, the crowd took matters into its own hands by confiscating the grain and selling it at a traditional price, then turning the proceeds over to the owner. The crucial elements here are belief in an accepted, traditional norm; intervention by the crowd to regulate the system, not to damage it; and attacks focused only on violators of the accepted norm, with no general, indiscriminate violence. Grain riots took place all over Europe.

This concept of moral economy has been extended to include any crowd motivated by moral indignation and measured objectives. In France this concept can be applied to the many revolts against tax collectors, who were often private contractors (*traitants*) collecting the king's special taxes for their own profit. Here the moral economy turns

into what can be called the “culture of retribution.” Rather than regulating an abuse, like a new tax, over which they had no control, crowds went after a person or object that symbolized the abuse, with the aim of inflicting punishment. If the movement continued to develop, the crowd's targets expanded to include the authorities responsible for the abuse or the rich citizens who backed it financially.

The violence of these riots was strictly measured, and its purpose was to humiliate the offender. In many cases he escaped with minor bruises, duly chastened. In some cases, if he were actually caught, he might be beaten or killed. Torture of a living person was rare, but a dead body was fair game for ritual mutilation, dragging through the streets, or dismemberment. All of these seemingly cruel measures mimicked official justice; thus they may not have seemed particularly brutal in the eyes of the perpetrators. Such acts were essentially attempts to humiliate and insult. In the largest revolts, an initial wave of attacks was followed by a strong counterreaction by the authorities. This, in turn, caused larger riots enveloping whole sections of the city, along with threats uttered against the city's elites or attacks on the jail to release the prisoners.

In Bordeaux in 1675, popular crowds angered at a tax on pewter attacked and destroyed the houses of two pewter merchants who were reported to have paid the new tax. They then accosted and beat to death a man who was said to be the assistant to the royal intendant in Bordeaux, and who may have provoked them. There followed a ritual parade, in which the rebels dragged the body up and down more prosperous streets of Bordeaux, knocking on the doors of royal officials, and culminating at the house of the man's supposed boss. There they placed the body in the boss's carriage and set fire to it while the entire building was pillaged.

In 1750 the people of Paris sent the same sort of symbolic message during riots sparked by rumors that the police were rounding up children of the poor and transporting them to the West Indies. A crowd murdered a man known to be a police spy and, after parading him through the streets, deposited his bloody body at the door of the police commissioner.

Actions like these were part of an international language of gestures, at least in southern Europe. In Naples in 1585 at a time of high bread prices, a crowd seized a man named Starace, who was supposed to represent them in the city council, and paraded him through the streets seated backward in a chair while crowds jeered. They then killed him, dragged his body through the streets by the feet, mutilated it, castrated it, sold off the body parts to the highest bidder, and pillaged his house.

English protests followed a similar pattern, although the English, who seemed to have more of a national orientation and more constitutional options for participation than the French, focused less on retribution and more on petitioning authorities. The Gordon Riots of 1780 in London are an example of this. These demonstrations were initiated by Lord Gordon, head of the Protestant Association, as part of a lobbying effort to get Parliament to repeal the 1778 Catholic Relief Act. On 2 June 1780, fifty thousand persons turned up in St. George's fields and marched peacefully to the Houses of Parliament to petition for repeal. When Parliament turned a deaf ear, the crowd became unmanageable and began acting on its own. Five days of rioting followed, in which hundreds of buildings were pillaged and major monuments, such as Downing Street,

Lambeth Palace, and the Bank of England, were threatened. Catholic chapels and schools were torn down, the houses of members of Parliament who were on the wrong side of the issue were targeted, and eventually the protesters besieged the prisons and released the prisoners. When troops were finally brought in to restore order, over two hundred people, including women and children, were shot in the streets. Despite the destructiveness of the riot, the crowd's behavior, as analyzed by Nicholas Rogers, corresponds closely to the expected model. The members of the crowd acted on their own. Except for some deterioration in the last phase, their actions were deliberate and focused. They limited themselves to targeting prominent Catholics and Catholic institutions, and they were well informed about which these were. The motive of the rioters was essentially political: to bring about a change in the law, not to attack all Catholics.

RELIGIOUS RIOTS

In addition to values relating to subsistence, survival, and tax extortion, crowds also protested troop disorders, arrests of criminals for whom the crowd felt sympathy, legal actions, and occasionally labor grievances. In England a very important objective was tearing down the hedges and filling in the ditches to stop enclosures.

Another source of conflict was religion. During the German Reformation, Protestant minorities frequently bore witness to their faith by gathering publicly to worship, occupying a church, or attacking symbols of idolatry, like statues of saints. The wave of iconoclasm that hit the Netherlands and the north of France in the summer of 1566 is a famous example. For months people had been flocking to incendiary sermons by Calvinist preachers in woods and fields outside the walls of cities. On 10 August in a tiny town called Steenvoorde, the audience stormed out of the church after a fiery sermon and broke into the nearby Abbey of Saint Lawrence, where they smashed pictures and statues. This first blow set off a wave of vandalism that swept across the region. On 20 August the cathedral in Antwerp was occupied by an enormous crowd of excited believers. Men started climbing up the pillars and making their way across the vaulted ceiling with hammers, smashing every image and dumping the broken pieces down into the nave.

The next day all the other churches in Antwerp were attacked. In two weeks almost two hundred churches and monasteries were attacked over the whole region.

Such movements might have enjoyed the support of sympathizers within the city council, or they might have represented a challenge to the constituted authorities. In France, where the Huguenots and the Catholics were forced by circumstance to live side by side, there were frequent confrontations over rituals and symbols. Quarrels arose over the deference shown to a statue of the Virgin Mary, the location of burials, and jurisdiction over the last rites of the dying. Each faith claimed to be purifying the community in the name of God by persecuting the other party. It is interesting to note that the punishments meted out by religious crowds were remarkably similar to the treatment of tax agents. When the duke of Guise, leader of the Catholic party in the French Religious Wars, assassinated Admiral Coligny and his followers on the night of Saint Bartholomew in 1572, the victims' bodies were seized by celebrating Parisians who triumphantly dragged them through the streets.

THE ROLE OF WOMEN

Women played a prominent role in most riots. They were closely associated with bread riots and other protests involving family and subsistence. But they also turned up everywhere except in formal military operations. Women served as the conscience and moral repository of the community. They were often the first to cry out publicly when an abuse surfaced, and many a riot was set off by just such a cry. Their boldness was partly predicated on the knowledge that as "weak and helpless" women, they could not be held responsible for their actions before the law. They could be seen encouraging the men wherever roofs were being stripped and rocks were being thrown. Women were active in every country, but they were especially strong in the Dutch Republic. When reminded that they had no vote, women demonstrating before the town hall in Rotterdam in 1747 snarled "Here we do!" In Oudewater in 1628, when a crowd chased a tax farmer into the city hall, women cried out "Let us sound the drum and send our husbands home. We will catch the villain and beat him, as we cannot be tried for fighting." At a demonstration in Rotter-

dam in 1690, women formed a female military contingent in front of the *stathuis* (city hall). They carried sticks and clubs on their shoulders and appeared "ready to storm the gates of Hell."

THE CLASSIC RIOT

All of these instances, rural and urban, admirably fit a classic definition of collective action. The participants had opinions about politics and they challenged authority in a logical, informed way. Their action was legitimized by widely held values that might even have been tacitly shared by local elites. The crowd always went after specific targets that were perceived as being either the real culprit or someone or something associated with him. The action was designed to correct the abuse or to punish the abuser. Their frame of reference was local. They did not generally question the king or the system in general. In fact, the demonstrators usually believed that the king would agree with them if only he knew their plight. Their punishments, though sometimes brutal, were extremely selective. They knew their enemy and they left other people alone.

COMPLICATING THE PICTURE

In recent years there have been a number of critiques of the kind of analysis outlined above. Critics argue that it is too simplistic to speak of the crowd as having a single voice and to attribute honorable motives to all its actions when different participants may have had different intentions. New studies are punching holes in the old generalizations by finding exceptions and by demonstrating the ambiguity and complexity of the participation and the motivation behind popular revolts. Some have cited cases that do not fit this mold, often using the intense scrutiny of a microhistorical approach. Others are looking critically at the nature of the discourses from which we get our information on popular rebellion.

For example, a study by Hughes Neveux questions the very concept of a peasant uprising, charging that it is a cultural construction imposed on a set of diverse episodes that have no common denominator. Another example is John Walter's intensive study of the well-known series of attacks by crowds on the houses of the English gentry in the Stour Valley in 1642. These attacks are usually cited as prime examples of class conflict. A crowd of poor,

angry commoners took the opportunity to attack the homes of the rich. In fact, this description, repeated by historians since the event itself, expresses the Royalist view of the Parliamentary opposition. Lucas was a Catholic and a Royalist who was rumored to be raising support for the king. His attackers came from nearby Colchester and may have been supported by the town corporation itself. In fact, the riots were the culmination of years of conflicts between the Lucas family and the town of Colchester. There were elements of anti-Catholicism and class hatred in these attacks, but there was a host of other reasons why the sides lined up as they did. Like many confrontations, this one had a long history that is not captured by studying the actions of the crowd alone.

Another example is David Martin Luebke's study of the peasant wars in Upper Austria between 1725 and 1745, called the Saltpeter Wars. The villages of the county of Hauenstein were struggling against the exactions of the powerful monastery of St. Blasien, which dominated the area. One might expect that this was a classic conflict of lord versus villagers, with the solidarity of the collective peasantry being a major source of strength in its struggles for independence. Instead, the community was split into two warring factions named the *salpeterisch* faction and the *müllerisch* faction. There was no identifiable economic or social difference between the two groups, but they attributed to each other completely different personalities and reputations derived from their different interpretations of the relationship of law and custom in their struggle with the monastery. Luebke's study thus calls into question the concept of community that is central to early modern social history.

These studies do not negate the fundamental insights of the previous analyses, but they do suggest pitfalls and avenues for further exploration. Whatever the approach, there is one central point on which there is now general agreement: that ordinary people were intelligent critics of the world around them. They were involved, they made themselves heard, and they did make a difference.

See also *Class, Status, and Order; Comuneros Revolt (1520–1521); Food Riots; Naples, Revolt of (1647); Peasants' War, German; Popular Culture; Pugachev Revolt (1773–1775); Rákóczi Revolt; Revolutions, Age of.*

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WILLIAM BEIK

POPULAR RELIGION. *See* Religious Piety.

POPULAR REVOLT. *See* Popular Protest and Rebellions.

POPULAR SONGS. *See* Songs, Popular.

PORCELAIN. *See* Ceramics, Pottery, and Porcelain.

PORNOGRAPHY. By the time the Marquis de Sade (1740–1814) penned his infamous *Philosopher in the Bedroom* (1795), there was little doubt that obscene, erotic, sexually explicit writing had become a well-established and profitable genre. Books, pamphlets, and prints were sold in the capital cities of Europe, and authors and publishers were occasionally prosecuted for the production of such lascivious material. Readers recorded their responses to such works and even joked about them, as the French philosophe Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778) would do in his *Confessions*, as books designed to be read with only one hand. The term *pornography*, however, had yet to be invented to describe this sort of material, though only a decade later the French bibliographer Étienne-Gabriel Peignot (1767–1849) would talk about “sotadic or pornographic” books when describing works that had been censured due to their moral impropriety in his *Dictionnaire critique, littéraire et bibliographique des principaux livres, condamnés au feu, supprimés ou censurés* (1806). The English equivalent of this work did not appear until the mid-

nineteenth century. The crystallization of a terminology for this kind of erotic and obscene literature and imagery at the beginning of the early modern era reflected the importance of the period in bringing such material into being.

The origins of pornography are highly debated, in part because determining such origins depends on our ability to find people in the past reacting negatively to the circulation of sexually explicit material. The erotic statuary and poetry of Greco-Roman culture, with its celebration of the god Priapus (identified by his large, erect penis) and its explicit depictions of male and female sodomy, became “pornographic” to a later age that saw them as the embodiment of a kind of sexual libertinism condemned by Christianity. Antonio Beccadelli’s *Hermaphroditus* (1425), for example, was burned in several Italian cities because its poetic dialogue between a penis and a vagina, dedicated to Cosimo de’ Medici, future ruler of Florence, was considered morally offensive. Renaissance humanists delighted in writing priapic poems in imitation of ancient erotic poetry; the twenty-two editions of the ancient *Carmina Priapea* in circulation by 1517 suggest how popular these writings were in the early days of printing. Yet the fact that such works were published in Latin generally made them socially acceptable because they were intended for an educated audience. By contrast, eighteenth-century invocations of priapic cults seem far more “pornographic” because they were written in more accessible prose accompanied by engravings that recreated vividly the ancient rituals of erotic worship.

In the early decades of the sixteenth century, two works composed by Pietro Aretino (1492–1556) challenged the humanist approach to ancient sexuality by bringing the discussion of sex and society into the marketplace. Aretino’s *Sonnetti lussuriosi* (Lecherous sonnets, 1527), written to accompany the engraver Marc’Antonio Raimondi’s sixteen images depicting different sexual positions, became the quintessential image of “Renaissance pornography” as a reinvention of ancient Greco-Roman paintings of whores coupling with their clients. Today only one copy of this text survives, although dozens of imitations of the “Aretine postures” competed with each other during the next two centuries, increasing the number of sexual positions to well over forty. More powerfully, Aretino’s

Ragionamenti (Dialogues, 1534–1536) invented the idea of erotic initiation as a conversation between an old whore and a young girl. Later works such as Ferrante Pallavicino's *La retorica delle puttane* (The whore's rhetoric, 1642) and John Cleland's *Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure* (1748–1749), more popularly known as *Fanny Hill*, elaborated on the theme that whores, as society's sexual experts, were best able to converse about this subject. Aretino's reputation as a pornographer grew steadily across the centuries. Eighteenth-century readers delighted in works such as *Aretinus Redivivus*—a book listed in a 1745 London indictment against a bookseller known for his stock of lewd books—*L'Arétin français, par un member de l'académie des dames* (The French Aretine, by a member of the ladies' academy, 1787), and *Le petit-neveu de l'Arétin* (Aretino's grandnephew, 1800).

The themes of early modern pornographic writing are, like most pornography, highly repetitive. The sodomitical rituals of the schoolroom, the sexual antics of convents, the amours of rulers, and, of course, whorish conversation defined the terrain. What changed primarily were the availability of this material to a reading public and the willingness of readers to talk about it. Renaissance pornography was defined by a handful of works, primarily associated with Aretino and his Venetian associates, and it was only retrospectively described as pornography. We need to contrast this situation with the dramatic increase in erotic publications in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Consider the famous case of the English diarist Samuel Pepys (1633–1703) who first saw *L'escole des filles* (1655), a popular French erotic work that chastely presented itself as a “school for girls,” at his bookseller's on 13 January 1668. He thought it was lewder than the popular *La puttana errante* (Wandering whore), often attributed to Aretino, and finally gave in to the temptation of buying it on 8 February. The next morning he read it at home, recorded its ability to arouse him, and then burned it. Pepys, in other words, was a connoisseur of erotic writing, even as he sought to present himself as a reader who ultimately did the right thing by refusing to keep such works at home. He knew where to find such works, he knew what to do with them, and he recorded his excitement and his shame.

By the late seventeenth century the publication of pornography shifted decisively from Italy to northern Europe. The English, Dutch, and French increasingly played a greater role in its production and dissemination. Early works were reprinted and translated, and new works reached a much wider audience. Pornographic writings did not remain entirely static in their content; they began to reflect new social issues. Popular French works such as Jean Barrin's *Venus dans le cloître* (Venus in the cloister, 1683) and the *Histoire de Dom Bougre, portier des Chartreux* (The history of Don Bougre, the gatekeeper of Chartreux, 1741), which recounted the lesbianism of the convent and the voracious sexual appetites of male clergy, respectively, took up the old theme of anticlericalism with new vigor in the post-Reformation era. Other works reflected the fascination with new philosophies, such as materialism, that allowed people to think about the human body as an anatomical machine, as was the case with the popular *Thérèse philosophe* (1748) and Cleland's controversial *Fanny Hill*. At the same time, pornography increasingly became a means of attacking political authority. The culmination of this final development can be found in the numerous pornographic satires of the sexual life of Marie Antoinette (1755–1793), wife of the French King Louis XVI (ruled 1774–1792) in the 1790s. The French queen was dead by the time Sade wrote his violent apotheosis of sexuality in the mid-1790s, thus he was left to imagine an impersonal world of sex and violence that sought to dissect virtually every pretension of earlier erotic works to offer a message beyond pure materialism. These were the books that Peignot had in mind when he talked about “sotadic or pornographic” works that had been condemned over the centuries.

See also **Sexuality and Sexual Behavior.**

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PAULA FINDLEN

PORTE. *Porte* or, more precisely, *the Sublime Porte* (*bab-i âli*) is a term used for certain Ottoman institutions connected with the imperial palace and the offices of the grand vizier and the state secretary, later foreign minister (*reisülküttab*). *Porte* has also been used as a synonym for Istanbul, the capital of the Ottoman Empire. The term entered the English language sometime about 1600, via the French (*la Porte Sublime*) and, ultimately, the Italian (*la Porta Sublima*). The literal meaning of the term is “elevated gate” or “lofty gate,” and “gate” here has deep symbolic and ideological meaning, mirroring the patrimonial character of the Ottoman state. It stands for household, sultanic or grand vizierial, and is the symbolic point of (non)acceptance, dividing the inner and outer worlds of particular households. To cross the threshold (*der*) of the house and to be allowed to enter the gate (*bab*, *kapi*) of the house were symbolic acts of someone’s acceptance into Ottoman soci-

ety. The same symbolism of the gate and threshold as terms for the ruler’s palace and the main administrative office of the state is encountered in the Pharaonic Egypt, ancient Israel, Sasanian Iran, Mamluk Egypt, and medieval Japan.

FROM PALACE TO GRAND VIZIERIAL OFFICE

From the mid-fifteenth to the mid-seventeenth century, especially in the earlier part of that period, the Sublime Porte predominantly meant the imperial palace, and particularly its official section (*divan-i hümayûn*, *bab-i hümayûn*). Gradually, the sultan’s role at meetings of the imperial council had changed. From being an active participant, the sultan became a spectator, and even later, his “spectator’s booth,” a small window overlooking the council chamber, was covered so that council members could never be sure whether or not the sultan was monitoring their deliberations.

In 1654, during the vizierate of Dervish Mehmed Pasha, a special building was assigned as a residence in which the grand vizier was to live and convene meetings of the imperial council. When Köprülü Mehmed Pasha, the founder of the mighty Köprülü vizierial family, was appointed vizier, this residence was given to him. By the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Ottomans had a clear notion of the office of the grand vizier as a space and institution independent of both the grand vizier’s private household and the imperial residence. This institutional independence came into being due to the spatial separation of the private residence of the Grand Vizier from the High Porte offices which took place before 1700. The building was destroyed twice by fire, in 1755 and 1808, and was a victim of subsequent fires during the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries.

THE RISE OF THE OTTOMAN BUREAUCRACY

The rise of the Ottoman bureaucracy is a phenomenon unprecedented in the history of the preindustrial world, from Scandinavia to Japan. The number of documents the Ottoman scribes produced is truly impressive, even if one counts only those still extant, leaving out all that has perished through the ages. Thousands of archival records, for instance, carefully noted the consumption of chewing gum in the harem, to cite only one of the more bizarre cases of scribal diligence. Still, in the time of Bayezid II

(ruled 1481–1512), the state and palace bureaucracies did not have a strong sense of forming a distinct social and intellectual stratum, nor were they numerically strong. In that era, there were not more than two dozen palace scribes, although there were, of course, additional ad hoc bureaucrats who came mostly from the ranks of religious scholars (*ulema*). However, by the end of the reign of Suleiman the Lawgiver (d. 1566), the court bureaucrats had become a large and defined body known as the “people of pen” (*kalemiyye*), who distinguished themselves from the military elites (*seyfiyye*) and religious intellectuals (*ilmiyye*). To become a bureaucrat, a boy needed to enter an apprenticeship between the ages of twelve and fourteen with one of the palace scribes and to work diligently on mastering Islamic calligraphy and the rules of a complicated Ottoman epistolography influenced by the Arab and Persian literary styles; he also needed to acquire specific clinical knowledge of certain specializations. Each scribal branch had its own trade secrets and peculiarities, including distinctive calligraphic codes. Some of the greatest Ottoman intellectuals before the Tanzimat reforms of the nineteenth century, such as polymaths Katib Çelebi (d. 1657) and Huseyn Hezarfenn Efendi (d. 1699), came from the scribal estate and not from that of the religious intellectuals.

The grand vizier would have under his auspices various chancelleries headed by high-ranking bureaucrats directly responsible to him. After the peace treaty of Karlowitz in 1699, the office of one of them, *Reisülküttab*, grew in prominence, with many eighteenth-century grand viziers rising to their post from that office. Two of the most famous were Rami Mehmed Pasha and Koca Ragib Pasha, both of whom showed exceptional diplomatic gifts in days that were precarious for the empire. Rami Mehmed, together with the Ottoman Phanariote Grand Dragoman Alessandro Mavrocordato, brokered the treaty of Karlowitz, and Ragib succeeded in keeping the Ottoman Empire out of the Seven Years’ War despite pressures from various European powers.

CONTACT WITH EUROPE AND EUROPEAN VIEWS OF THE SUBLIME PORTE

European attitudes toward the Sublime Porte as an institution began with an excessive admiration and ended in uncontrolled and ungrounded contempt.

While Niccolò Machiavelli, the Italian political philosopher, and the humanist Guillaume Postel had only admiration for the government of the Grand Turk, contempt was evident in the works of Charles-Louis de Secondat de Montesquieu and Edward Gibbon. The Sublime Porte considered all peaceful contacts with the European powers until 1699 as acts of Ottoman unilateral grace and saw war or truce—not peace or a diplomatic exchange based on equality—as a normal state of relations. This was mirrored in Ottoman ceremonies vis-à-vis European envoys. The Ottoman rulers’ title had been considered an expression of world order, and the Ottomans were therefore determined to preserve the notion of the exclusivity of the sultan’s title—Kayser-i Rum, or Caesar of the Roman (Byzantine) Empire—consistently denying the Habsburgs’ right to the same title.

The situation began to change after 1699, when the Ottomans had to accept the European powers as equals, at least in diplomatic exchanges. Still, there were many subtle games in which the Ottomans tried to win at least the ceremonial upper hand. This gave rise to what were, in their time, serious diplomatic incidents. For example, the sultan would not communicate directly with foreign envoys; he would instead give instructions via sign language to the grand vizier, who would speak to the envoy. In 1700 Charles de Ferriol, the envoy of the Ottomans’ long-time ally France, instigated a grave diplomatic and ceremonial incident when he refused to put aside his sword while in audience with Sultan Mustafa II. He finally had to leave the palace without completing the audience. The Ottoman chronicler Raşid called de Ferriol a “crazy envoy” (*deli elci*).

See also **Austro-Ottoman Wars; Gibbon, Edward; Machiavelli, Niccolò; Montesquieu, Charles-Louis de Secondat de; Ottoman Dynasty; Ottoman Empire.**

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NENAD FILIPOVIC

PORTRAIT MINIATURES. The portrait miniature was an art form that flourished from the sixteenth to the mid-nineteenth century. These small-scale portraits derived from the tradition of manuscript illumination, in which vellum pages with text decorated with images in watercolor were bound together to form a book. In the sixteenth century, these marginal images were adapted into a separate art form, usually a half-length or bust-length portrait, painted in watercolor on vellum. Ranging in size from an inch to five or six inches in height, the portrait would then be either housed in a metal locket, sometimes decorated with pearls or diamonds, which could be worn or carried on the person, or placed in a frame and displayed in the home. Hans Holbein (1497?–1543), a German painter working in England at the court of Henry VIII, and François Clouet (c. 1516–1572), a French painter at the French court, were the first prominent miniaturists, although their careers were not exclusively devoted to the form. Both artists produced striking likenesses set against solid jewel-tone backgrounds, usually blue. The art form be-

came most popular in England and developed into a distinct specialty for English artists, but was also practiced throughout continental Europe.

ENGLAND

Nicholas Hilliard (1547?–1619) became the first specialized practitioner in England. His career was tied to the Elizabethan court, where miniatures played a prominent role in court life, and he trained a number of prominent pupils, including Isaac Oliver, Peter Oliver, John Hoskins, and his own son, Lawrence Hilliard. Throughout the seventeenth century, miniaturists such as Samuel Cooper and his brother Alexander Cooper continued to serve the monarchy and aristocracy, and, during the Interregnum in England, Oliver Cromwell. Cooper's style departed from Hilliard's careful handling of watercolor with his freer use of brushstrokes. In the eighteenth century, the watercolor on vellum miniature was eclipsed by the new technique of painting in watercolor on ivory. Bernard III Lens (1681–1740) was the first miniature painter in England to adopt this technique, which had been invented in Italy by Venetian pastelist Rosalba Carriera. Watercolor on ivory soon replaced watercolor on vellum as the signature medium of the portrait miniature. The portrait would be painted on a thin slice of ivory, usually shaped in an oval but sometimes rectangular. The ivory was sanded down to make a rough texture that would catch the paint more easily. The watercolor, mixed with gum arabic, was then applied either in short, controlled brushstrokes or in dots of paint, called stippling. Enamel miniatures also enjoyed popularity in England, particularly in the first half of the eighteenth century, alongside watercolor on vellum, until eclipsed by watercolor on ivory. The most prominent practitioner in England was Christian Friedrich Zincke (c. 1683–1767) from Dresden, another enameler trained as a goldsmith.

With the new significance placed in the eighteenth century on affective relationships and emotions, demand for portrait miniatures expanded from the court circles of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to the middle and upper classes. The heyday of the miniature spanned the mid-eighteenth to the early nineteenth century. Miniatures played an important role in personal relations. They were exchanged as tokens of affection and love, and



Portrait Miniatures. Self-portrait by Nicholas Hilliard (right) and portrait of Richard Hilliard, the artist's father. THE ART ARCHIVE/VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM LONDON/SALLY CHAPPELL

as stand-ins for absent loved ones, or served as commemorations of the dead. The housing for the ivory portrait was often decorated with other elements that reinforced these functions, such as initials, woven hair, or symbols of love or mourning. Many portraits were painted posthumously to commemorate a lost loved one. They often included mourning imagery on the reverse, painted in grisaille with chopped hair dissolved into the watercolor, which might depict mourners at tombs inscribed with the loved one's name. Among the most prominent eighteenth-century English miniaturists were Jeremiah Meyer (1735–1789), John Smart (1743–1811), George Engleheart (1753–1829), and Richard Cosway (1742–1821). Although each miniaturist developed an individual style, eighteenth-century miniatures generally have in common a light palette of colors, monochromatic backgrounds, and brushwork that exploited the translucency of the ivory support.

CONTINENTAL EUROPE

The miniature tradition in continental Europe followed a trajectory similar to that in England but was never quite as popular. After Clouet's work in France, the miniature did not really have a resurgence there until the eighteenth century, and the

watercolor-on-vellum and watercolor-on-ivory techniques were not as common as in England. Instead, the medium of choice tended to be enamel. This choice ensured a different quality to the continental miniature because of the saturated, opaque colors and the techniques for painting enamels, resembling oil painting, in contrast to the light, translucent quality of watercolor on ivory. Enamels are produced by painting with metallic oxide paints on a metal plaque, usually made of copper, although other metals were used as well. The metal was prepared by being covered with a white enamel paste, made from ground glass. Each color was applied separately and then fired in a kiln or oven. Jean Petitot (1607–1691), one of the first masters of enamel painting in the seventeenth century, was trained as a goldsmith, as were most of the early enamellers, and most of his portraits were of royalty and court in both England and France. In the eighteenth century, several more enamellers rose to prominence by painting royalty and aristocracy. As in England the small-scale likeness became an important part of the everyday life of the middle classes, and the number of artists who specialized in the art form increased. Many artists, however, practiced both enamel and watercolor painting or other forms, such as pastel or drawing in ink or graphite.



Portrait Miniatures. Sir Frederick Augustus D'Este, by Richard Cosway. ©VICTORIA & ALBERT MUSEUM, LONDON/ART RESOURCE, N.Y.

Enamellers, moreover, also supplied enamels for watchcases and snuffboxes as well as separate miniature portraits. Although enamel miniatures were sometimes painted from life, they were often small-scale copies after oil paintings.

The portrait miniature continued to play an important role in the life of the middle and upper classes into the nineteenth century. But with the advent of photography, which made small-scale portraits available quickly, more cheaply, and on a much wider scale than before, the demand for painted miniatures gradually ceased, although it continued to be practiced as a polite accomplishment by amateur artists.

See also Britain, Art in; Carriera, Rosalba; Clouet, François; Holbein, Hans, the Younger; Painting.

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DIANE WAGGONER

PORT-ROYAL. *See* Jansenism.

PORTUGAL. In 1385 a new dynasty came to power in Portugal under John I (João of Avis; 1357–1433; ruled 1385–1433). With the capture of the last Muslim stronghold in 1249, Portugal, located on the southwest corner of Europe and bordered by Castile to the east, had achieved roughly its modern boundaries. Though hit hard by the Black Death in 1348–1349, its population a century later had recovered to about one million inhabitants.

But the year 1450 marked a critical time in Portuguese history. Eighteen-year-old Afonso V (ruled 1438–1481), grandson of the founder of the Avis dynasty, was on the throne. The previous year (1449) his uncle, father-in-law, and former regent, Prince Pedro (1392–1449), had been killed at the battle of Alfarrobeira, the victims of civil war. Afonso V's reign might be described as the last hurrah for Portuguese royal chivalry. It clearly was the high-water mark for Portugal's upper nobility and higher clergy, who were lavishly rewarded by the monarch. Afonso V was greatly interested in campaigning in North Africa, personally leading Portuguese forces there in 1458, 1463–1464, and 1471. With the death of Henry (Enrique) IV of Castile in 1474, Afonso V took his kingdom down a dangerous path as he tried to take advantage of Castile's many civil wars. He attempted to marry his niece and Henry IV's young daughter and heiress Joan (Juana) and eventually join the thrones of Castile and Portugal. The plan had both immediate and long-term disastrous results, leading to a destructive Portuguese-Castilian war in the first place and in the second a series of Castilian-Portuguese marriages that eventually resulted in Philip II of Spain becoming king of Portugal.

In the aftermath of his father's lax reign, John (João) II (ruled 1481–1495) asserted strong royal authority. In this he was backed by the Cortes (meeting of the Three Estates) in Evora in 1481–1482. He cowed the titled nobility by having Dom Fernando, third duke of Bragança and head of Portugal's most powerful noble family (1430–1484), executed for treason in 1483 and by personally stabbing to death his own first cousin and brother-in-law, Dom Diogo, duke of Viseu and master of the Order of Christ (1462/63–1484), the following year. John II strongly promoted Portuguese expansion and discovery down the west coast of Africa. During the last years of his reign, tens of thousands of Jews expelled from Spain in 1492 sought refuge in Portugal, doubling the number already there. In the meantime, beginning in the 1440s, increasing numbers of black slaves were brought to Portugal from sub-Saharan Africa. Though a large number of the slaves were sold to Castile and other European kingdoms, many remained in the southern part of Portugal. It is estimated that by 1550 African slaves made up 10 percent of Lisbon's population.

John II was succeeded by Manuel I (ruled 1495–1521), the duke of Viseu's younger brother. Manuel brought the Bragança family back into favor. To appease his future wife Isabella and his Spanish in-laws Ferdinand of Aragón and Isabella of Castile, Manuel in late 1496 and 1497 forced Jews in Portugal to convert to Christianity. When Isabella died after childbirth in 1498, Manuel married her younger sister Maria that year. Two of their sons, John (João) (1502–1557) and Henry (Henrique) (1512–1580), later succeeded to the throne. Toward the end of his life, Manuel in 1518 married Leonor, sister of Emperor Charles V (ruled 1519–1558). Manuel usually receives high marks for administration, and he seems to have healed some of the wounds opened by his predecessor. He undertook major legal reforms, issuing new town charters (*forais*) and updating the earlier crown legislation of the Ordenações Afonsinas with the Ordenações Manuelinas (Manueline Ordinances). Manuel presided over a Portugal making important and often prosperous overseas contacts in East Africa, India, Southeast Asia, and Brazil.

John III's lengthy reign of thirty-six years (1521–1557) has long been the subject of contro-

versy. Son of Manuel, he has been strongly criticized for establishing the Inquisition in Portugal beginning in 1536 and for inviting the newly founded Jesuits to Portugal in 1540. On the other hand, humanism reached its apogee in Portugal during his reign. The University of Coimbra was reformed, and the College of Arts was founded. However, John III was faced with a number of serious problems left behind by his father. Portugal, with a population of between 1 and 1.5 million inhabitants, was overextended and in serious financial difficulties, many caused by its rapid and widespread overseas expansion. The effects of the Council of Trent, 1545–1563, were also beginning to be felt.

John III was succeeded by his three-year-old grandson Sebastian (ruled 1557–1578), who required a double regency, that of his grandmother Catherine from 1557 to 1562 followed by that of his great-uncle Cardinal Henry (Henrique) from 1562 to 1568. Sebastian invaded Morocco twice, in 1574 and 1578. In August of the latter year he and more than seven thousand Portuguese nobility and soldiers died in battle. The childless Sebastian was succeeded by the aging Cardinal Henry, who died in January 1580. Though Dom António (1531–1595), prior of Crato, illegitimate son of Henry's brother Dom Luís (1506–1555), was acclaimed king of Portugal, the troops of Philip II of Spain (ruled 1556–1598) invaded Portugal, and the kingdom was acquired by conquest, inheritance, and bribery. Between 1580 and 1640 Portugal was under Spanish Habsburg rule, part of a dual monarchy. In 1581 at Tomar, Philip II swore to respect Portuguese sovereignty. Philip II spent less than two years in Portugal, and his son Philip III (ruled 1598–1621) visited briefly in 1619. Though most Portuguese seemed to accept Habsburg rule during its first few decades, economic crises and efforts at centralization by Gaspar de Guzmán y Pimental, count-duke of Olivares and chief minister of Philip IV (ruled 1621–1665), set the stage for Portuguese rebellion.

On 1 December 1640 John (João) (1604–1656), eighth duke of Bragança, was proclaimed King John IV (ruled 1640–1656). He married Luisa de Gusmão, daughter of Spain's eighth duke of Medina Sidonia. Generally well received as monarch, John IV encountered difficult times for Portu-

gal and its overseas empire, but he managed to thwart Spanish efforts to restore Portugal to Habsburg rule. There was a period of twenty-eight years of warfare before peace was signed in 1668. When John IV died in 1656, he left behind a sickly and disturbed heir, Afonso VI (ruled 1656–1683). Queen Luisa held the regency until 1662, when a palace coup headed by Luis de Vasconcelos e Sousa (1636–1720), third count of Castelo Melhor, brought the eighteen-year-old Afonso to the throne. Vasconcelos e Sousa became Afonso's key adviser and the dominant figure in Portugal. Afonso VI married the French Marie-Françoise of Nemours in 1666.

A second palace coup ousted Afonso VI in November of 1667 and replaced him with his younger brother Peter (Pedro) (1648–1706), who, in turn, married his sister-in-law (after she had received an annulment) the following year. Peter held the title of regent until his imprisoned brother's death in 1683, after which he became known as Peter (Pedro) II until his own death in 1706. The unorthodox removal of his brother from power placed Peter in a difficult position for his almost thirty-nine years of rule, forcing him into playing the "politics of the possible" and sharing power with the titled nobility. After the death of Maria-Francisca in 1683, Pedro in 1687 married Maria Sophia of Neuburg, daughter of the elector palatine. In this marriage was born John (João) V (ruled 1706–1750), who married Maria Anna of Austria, daughter of the Holy Roman Emperor Leopold I (ruled 1658–1705).

Though Portugal managed to stay out of the international conflicts of the late seventeenth century, the kingdom did become involved in the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1714). Initially allied with Bourbon France and Spain, Portugal soon sided with England and the Grand Alliance and backed the cause of Archduke Charles of Austria (future Holy Roman emperor Charles VI, ruled 1711–1740). Though Portuguese troops briefly captured Madrid, parts of Portugal were devastated by the war. The war's end ushered in more than half a century of relative peace for Portugal, though the Portuguese, in league with the papacy and Venice, were credited with the victorious sea battle against the Turks off Cape Matapan along the Greek coast in 1717. John V's reign saw a flood of wealth from

the Brazilian gold rush, and with this newfound wealth he attempted to imitate Louis XIV (ruled 1643–1715) and the French court. There was an important building and artistic boom, and Portugal's prestige rose at the courts of Europe, especially Rome, Paris, and Vienna. John V created a patriarchate in Lisbon and was granted the title of "Most Faithful" Majesty by Pope Benedict XIV (reigned 1740–1758). Voltaire remarked that when John wanted a building, he built a monastery, and when he wanted a mistress, he took a nun. John's son, Joseph (José) I (ruled 1750–1777), married Mariana Victoria, daughter of Philip V (ruled 1700–1724, 1724–1746) of Spain. Joseph's reign saw significant reforms, especially through the efforts of his chief minister, Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo (1699–1782), better known as the marquês of Pombal. In the aftermath of the catastrophic earthquake that hit Lisbon on 1 November 1755 and killed between five thousand and ten thousand people, Pombal consolidated his power. The controversial statesman is best understood as an economic nationalist who was also determined to subordinate the titled nobility and the higher clergy to crown control. He greatly reduced the power of the Inquisition, making it little more than a state tribunal. In 1759 he expelled the Jesuits from Portugal and the entire Portuguese world.

Joseph I was succeeded by his daughter Maria I (ruled 1777–1816). Her royal consort was her husband and uncle Pedro, known as Peter (Pedro) III (ruled 1777–1786), who died in 1786. Shortly after the French Revolution, Maria showed evidence of mental instability. In 1792 her son Prince John (João) (1767–1826) was named regent. After her death in 1816, he became John (João) VI of Portugal.

See also Lisbon; Olivares, Gaspar de Guzmán y Pimentel, Count of; Philip II (Spain); Portuguese Colonies; Portuguese Literature and Language.

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FRANCIS A. DUTRA

PORTUGUESE COLONIES

This entry includes four subentries:

AFRICA

BRAZIL

THE INDIAN OCEAN AND ASIA

MADEIRA AND THE AZORES

AFRICA

Portuguese colonial and trading ventures in Africa, whose beginning is conventionally dated from the conquest of Ceuta in 1415, continued with the gradual exploration of the Saharan and then West African Atlantic coastline from the mid-1430s to the mid-1480s. Having reached an early peak in the first three decades of the sixteenth century, the colonial enterprise stalled for the time being, as a result of defeats in Morocco and settlement setbacks in West Africa and Angola. The latter were partially offset, however, by the prosperity of the Cape Verde Islands and of São Tomé Island, as well as by commercial breakthroughs in West and East Africa. Subsequent economic stagnation, foreign competition, and the Dutch assaults and occupation of 1620–1648 helped to erode Portugal's African interests. New vigorous expansion followed, however, above all in Angola and Mozambique, from 1650 onward. Portuguese adventurers, entrepreneurs, and chartered companies maintained an important role in the trans-Atlantic slave trade and in Indian Ocean commerce throughout the eighteenth century, and swings in the prosperity of Brazil and in the attendant demand for slaves visibly shaped the economic fortunes of the African colonies.

MOROCCO

Between 1415 and 1521, Portugal occupied six Moroccan coastal towns (Ceuta, 1415; Ksar as-Saghir, 1458; Arzilla and Tangier, 1471; Safi and Azemmur, 1507–1513), and built six new strategic

forts along Morocco's Atlantic shore. Failing to tap into the trans-Saharan caravan trade, the outposts remained largely isolated, and maintaining them quickly became a serious burden. Following an era of neglect in the 1520s and 1530s, the outposts were repaired and new fortifications built by the early 1540s (particularly at Mazagan). A spirit of retrenchment nonetheless prevailed, and heavy losses between 1541 and 1550 reduced the Portuguese holdings to Ceuta, Tangier, and Mazagan. When Portugal reclaimed its independence from Spain in 1640, Ceuta pledged allegiance to Spain; Catherine of Bragança's marriage to Charles II gave Tangier to England in 1661; and Mazagan (modern El Jadida), a textbook early modern fortress town, surrendered to Morocco in 1769.

CAPE VERDE AND WEST AFRICA

Discovered around 1460, three of the Cape Verde Islands (Santiago, Fogo, and Maio) were quickly colonized and developed an economy buttressed by trade in slaves, cattle, salt, and dyestuffs. On the African mainland, a small fort was built at Arguim (Mauritania; c. 1450), but the key Portuguese footholds were the fort of São Jorge da Mina (Ghana; 1482), nearby Axim (1490s), and another outpost near Cabo das Redes (1500). A short-lived trading post was maintained at Ughoton (Benin) (1487–1507). An important seasonal station sprang up at the site of the native merchant fairs held at Kantor, on the upper Gambia River. Elsewhere, in Senegal, in Gambia, in the "Guinea Rivers" region, and farther on to Sierra Leone, Liberia, and Ivory Coast, as well as in the Bight of Benin, the Portuguese traded intermittently, often from shipboard. African gold, slaves, ivory, civet, wax, and spices—malaguetta (also known as "grains of paradise," the subtly pungent seeds of the West African plant *Aframomum melegueta*, belonging to the ginger family [Zingiberaceae]) and tailed pepper (the slightly bitter pungent seeds of so-called false cubeb pepper [*Piper guinense* or *Piper clusii*])—were exchanged for horses, European cloth, North African fabrics, Indian cottons, salt, hats, iron, brass, copper, and tin articles, beads, and cowrie shells.

Mismanagement, foreign interlopers (Spanish, French, English, and then the Dutch), policy failures, and African politics eroded trade profits after 1525. By the 1530s Arguim was in decline, and

Mina's gold exports tapered off after 1550. Military penetration into the hinterland of Mina failed, as did projects to establish a full-scale colony in the 1570s and 1590s. Cape Verde experienced some prosperity, but viable local export production was limited to horses, the violet dyestuff orchil (obtained from local lichens), salt, maize, and cotton. In the 1600s, mainland trading posts between Mauritania and Sierra Leone came to depend more heavily on Cape Verde, and the Portuguese asserted themselves between the Casamance and Geba rivers. The Mina gold trade recovered in the early 1600s, but after 1618–1619 its decline was precipitous. In 1620–1641, the Portuguese forts in West Africa fell to the Dutch, Mina capitulating in 1637 and Arguim in 1638. The losses were never recovered.

In 1680–1706, trade between Cape Verde and the African mainland was controlled by the Company of Cape Verde and Cachéu, a privileged exporter of slaves to Spanish America. The English, however, established a stake in the island trade after 1706. From 1757 to 1786, chartered companies, notably the Company of Grão-Pará and Maranhão, once again dominated Cape Verde and the Guinea coast. Reforms brought the demise of the last donatory privileges and the creation of a new Captaincy General of Cape Verde. The authority of the captains, however, was curtailed by the power of the companies, and new trading stations replaced only partially those lost by 1641. The most conspicuous addition was the fort of São João Baptista de Ajudá (1677–1680) in Dahomey, which became a hub of the slave and ivory trade. Subordinate to the Captaincy of São Tomé, Ajudá was controlled by the Company of Cape Verde and Cachéu until 1706. Subsequently, exports of slaves to Brazil secured maintenance subsidies from Bahia for the Ajudá fort.

SÃO TOMÉ AND PRÍNCIPE

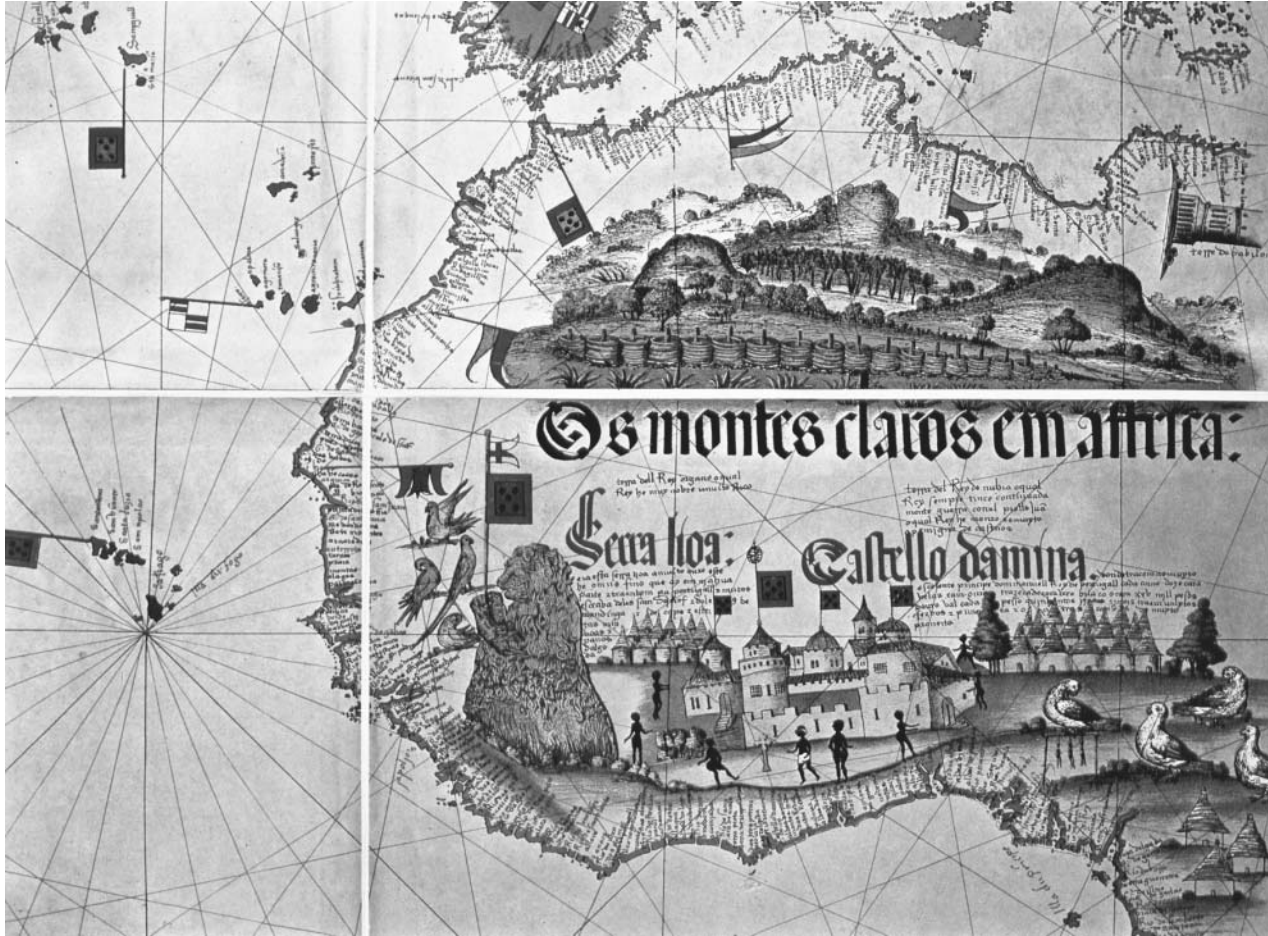
Following the discovery of the islands of São Tomé, Ano Bom, and Príncipe (originally Santo Antão) in 1470–1471, effective settlement was undertaken in 1486–1510. The already inhabited island of Fernão do Pó, by contrast, resisted colonization. São Tomé, populated by Portuguese, free Africans, and baptized Jews sent out by the crown, quickly became a slaveholding society geared toward sugar

production and the reexport of African slaves. By 1529, there were some sixty sugar mills on the island, but the heyday of sugar production was over by 1600, and internal unrest, Brazilian competition, sugarcane blight, and the emigration of planters to Brazil reduced São Tomé to dire straits by 1615. The island's role as a transit point for slaves also declined, and Dutch raids (from 1612 onward) culminated in the occupation of the island's strategic port in 1641–1644. Although sugar continued to be produced and the cultivation of ginger was attempted, by the 1670s São Tomé was only a modest hub of regional trade. Administrative reforms in 1753–1770 helped to improve conditions, but maintaining Portuguese control over all four islands was a burden. The treaties of San Ildefonso and El Pardo (1777–1778) ceded Fernão do Pó (now Fernando Pó) and Ano Bom (now Annobón) to Spain.

ANGOLA

Following a haphazard expansion of trade in the 1540s–1560s, a *doação*, 'crown donation', of land south of the Kwanza River was made in 1571 to Paulo Dias de Novais. The first settlement was organized in Luanda Bay in 1575, and the colony quickly became involved in slaving (exporting c. 10,000 slaves in the 1570s). The failure to extract concessions from the kingdom of Ndongo led to a series of wars (1579–1590), which the colonists at first fought in alliance with King António I of Kongo. Demographic losses to disease and warfare were severe, however, and by 1590 exhaustion and defeats stalled the inland expansion. The crown assumed direct control of the colony.

In the 1600s, commerce replaced raids and warfare as a source of captives in the Luanda hinterland. As Portuguese military influence revived, permanent slave market networks stretched eastward (to the Kwango and the middle Kwanza rivers) and, in 1617, fresh conquests were launched from the new coastal outpost of Benguela in central Angola. Raids yielded cattle, sheep, and cheaper slaves than those exported through Luanda. The Dutch occupation of Luanda (1641–1648) partly isolated the colony from the remaining Portuguese Atlantic networks, but slaving continued, based on the (Portuguese) loyalist refuge of Massangano. The liberation of Luanda by the Brazilian fleet of Salvador Correia de



Portuguese Colonies: Africa An early-sixteenth-century map of western Africa based on the voyages of Columbus shows the colony of São Jorge da Mina. BRITISH MUSEUM, LONDON, U.K./BRIDGEMAN ART LIBRARY

Sá reaffirmed the ties between Angola and its main outlet for slaves, Brazil.

Thrusting from Benguela into central Angola's highlands, dominated by the recently formed Ovimbundu kingdoms of Imbangala warlords, the Portuguese reached the upper Katumbela River by the 1650s, and the Kunene River by c. 1720. Here too, raiding gradually yielded to organized trade in slaves, and in the 1770s many of the Ovimbundu warlords were replaced with merchant rulers. In the north, campaigns were fought in 1744 against the kingdom of Matamba. The liberalization of trade in 1755–1758 could not halt a relative decline during the Brazilian depression of the 1760s–1770s, and attempts to stimulate settlement, agriculture, and manufacturing failed. The revival of Brazilian plantations in the 1780s and 1790s, however, brought

the trade in slaves to a new high, and fresh sources of slaves were tapped by Portuguese, Luso-African, and Ovimbundu traders as far east as the sources of the Zambezi River.

MOZAMBIQUE

Initial cautious contacts with the Muslim seaside towns of Sofala (Mozambique), Mozambique, and Malindi (Kenya), were followed in 1505 by conquest, in spite of the hostility of Mombasa (Kenya) and Kilwa (Tanzania). The Portuguese then penetrated up the Zambezi River, establishing a trading post at Sena in 1531, and reaching Tete shortly thereafter. The magnet that drew them was the gold and imaginary silver of the Karanga empire of Mwene Matapa (south of the middle and upper Zambezi River) and of its southern outliers (Manica and Butua), as well as the ivory traded in these areas

and in the Malawian realm of Kalonga. The military expeditions up the Zambezi and into Manica in the 1570s secured only mixed results, but by then tiny, yet tenacious, groups of Portuguese, Luso-African, and East Indian merchants had already scattered inland. Commerce shifted from Arab networks to Portuguese-dominated ones, with Portuguese India as the focal point and Goa as the administrative pivot.

At first hampered by ill-suited policies, the crown trade failed to prosper. Subsequently, corruption, smuggling, and lack of control over private traders made the Portuguese crown oscillate between direct administration and farming out all commerce to the entrepreneur Captains of Mozambique. Monopoly companies asserted themselves later on. By the 1650s, the inability of Mwene Matapa and Malawi to control dissident regions enticed Portuguese and other adventurers to become overlords or local protectors of large territories (*prazos*). At the same time, however, Arab resurgence in the north led to the loss of Mombasa and its dependencies, Pate (Kenya) and Zanzibar (lost in 1698, and then briefly recaptured and definitively lost in 1728–1729).

The heyday of the large *prazos* was over by c. 1730. Internecine warfare, the twists of African politics, and low production levels spelled their doom. Trade, tribute, and surface mining of gold, iron, and copper were by far the most lucrative activities. Despite state inducements and liberal reforms in 1755–1761, the much smaller, successor *prazo* estates of 1750–1800 never became effective producers of cash crops. The growth of the trade in slaves during the last decades of the eighteenth century, fueled by economic pressures, resurgent Brazilian demand, and the famines of 1792–1796 led to abuses that undermined the legitimacy and political stability of the *prazos*, initiating their decline.

See also **Slavery and the Slave Trade.**

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BRAZIL

On 22 April 1500 Pedro Álvares Cabral (1467 or 1468–1520), commander of the thirteen-ship fleet that was following up Vasco da Gama's (c. 1460–1524) epoch-making voyage to India (1497–1498), sighted Brazil or, more accurately, Portuguese America. In 1501 Gonçalo Coelho led an expedition that explored almost two thousand miles of Brazil's coastline. The following year Brazil was leased to brazilwood interests, and over the next few decades several trading posts (*feitorias*) were established. By 1516 King Manuel (1469–1521; ruled 1495–1521) was sending small coast guard fleets to patrol against French and Spanish interlopers in the region. On 3 December 1530 Martim Afonso de Sousa and his brother Pero Lopes de Sousa, with a fleet of five ships carrying almost four hundred settlers, sailed from Portugal to explore and colonize Portuguese America. They set up a colony at São Vicente in 1532. In 1534 King John (João) III (1502–1557; ruled 1521–1557) divided Brazil into fifteen captaincies stretching from the Amazon in the north to Sant'Ana in the south and granted them to twelve lord proprietors (*donatários*). The two most successful of these captaincies were Pernambuco in the northeast and São Vicente in the south.

In 1548 the administration of Portuguese America was placed in the hands of a governor-general. The first governor-general arrived the following year and made Salvador in Bahia his capital shortly after that captaincy came under royal control. As time went by an increasing number of other captaincies also became royal colonies. By 1540 there were an estimated two thousand Portuguese settlers in Brazil. By 1600 the number had risen to twenty-five thousand. By the middle of the seventeenth century the Portuguese population had probably reached fifty thousand.

Toward the end of the sixteenth century the most important captaincies in Brazil, ranked by wealth, mostly from sugar production, were Pernambuco and Bahia (the two having more than 80 percent of the wealth). The other captaincies included Itamaracá, Ilhéus, Espírito Santo, Rio de Janeiro, São Vicente, Porto Seguro, and Paraíba. Paraíba had been occupied by the Portuguese in 1584 as they expanded northward from Pernambuco. In 1599 Natal was founded in what became Rio Grande do Norte.

The late sixteenth century and the seventeenth century were the age of sugar in Brazil. The sugar industry required large amounts of capital and credit. One of its greatest demands was labor. Initially American Indians made up the workforce, but they were soon replaced by African slaves, who quickly became the most numerous part of Brazil's population. The best estimate is that during the years 1500–1800 more than 2.5 million African slaves arrived in Portuguese America, 1.7 million during the eighteenth century.

By the middle of the seventeenth century tobacco had become another important crop for local consumption, for export to Europe, and for use in the African slave trade. Cattle raising for food, transportation, and hides was another important part of the colonial Brazilian economy, especially on the various frontier regions.

In 1612 a fort was established in Ceará. By 1615 the French were ousted from Maranhão, and the following year the town of Belém do Pará was founded. In 1621 the state of Maranhão was created. Including Maranhão, Pará, and Ceará, this state was separated from the jurisdiction of the governor general in Bahia, and it remained separate for more than a century and a half. However, the European population remained sparse even into the eighteenth century. The economy depended heavily on Indian labor, and there were frequent clashes between missionaries (especially the Jesuits) and the colonists for such labor. Cacao, which grew wild, became an important product in Pará. Other extractive forest products contributed to the region's economy.

In the meantime, in the south São Paulo, founded in 1554 by the Jesuit Manuel da Nóbrega (1517–1570), became an important center for

expansion into land on the Spanish side of the line of the Treaty of Tordesillas (1494). By the seventeenth century *bandeirantes* were radiating from São Paulo, looking for precious minerals or for Amerindians to enslave or both. These *bandeirantes*, or *Paulistas*, pushed southward, reaching the province of Guairá and raiding Spanish Jesuit mission villages. They also pushed westward and northward, following the many tributaries of the Paraná-Paraguay and Amazon River systems.

In 1624 the Dutch captured the city of Bahia and held it for a year before being ousted by a joint Spanish-Portuguese armada. In 1630 the Dutch attacked and captured Recife and Olinda in Pernambuco and gradually expanded southward to Sergipe and northward to Maranhão. However, Brazilian and Portuguese resistance foiled Dutch efforts to establish themselves permanently in Portuguese America. In 1654, with the surrender of Recife, the Dutch presence in Brazil came to an end. Zumbi, head of the runaway slave community of Palmares, south of Pernambuco, was defeated and killed in 1695, bringing an end to almost a century of efforts to destroy the largest refuge of runaway slaves in the Americas.

Though some alluvial gold had been found in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, it was not until the early 1690s that major gold discoveries began to be made in what became the captaincy of Minas Gerais. In 1709 the captaincy of São Paulo and Minas Gerais was established in an attempt to bring order to that region and to better collect the crown's share of mining revenues. In 1722 gold was discovered further west in Goiás and Cuiabá. In 1729 diamonds were discovered in Serro do Frio in Minas Gerais, about 150 miles north of the first gold discoveries. The precious stones soon became a royal monopoly. Large numbers of slaves were imported into the mining regions from Africa, and by 1750 Minas Gerais was the most heavily populated captaincy in Portuguese America.

In 1680 Colônia do Sacramento on the east bank of the Río de la Plata was founded. An important center for contraband, it was frequently captured and later returned by Spaniards until it was ceded to them by the Treaty of San Ildefonso in 1777. In 1737 colonization of Rio Grande do Sul was begun. In 1748 the captaincy of Mato Grosso



Portuguese Colonies: Brazil. Panoramic view in Brazil by Jansz Post (1612–1680). NOORTMAN, MAASTRICHT, THE NETHERLANDS/
BRIDGEMAN ART LIBRARY

was created as the Portuguese sought to consolidate territory on what had originally been designated as being on the Spanish side of the line drawn by the Treaty of Tordesillas.

During the years (1750–1777) that the marquês of Pombal, Sebastião José de Carvalho e Mello (1699–1782), was in power as Portugal’s chief minister, the remaining captaincies under private control were royalized and absorbed by nearby crown captaincies. Brazil’s second High Court (*Relação*) was established in Rio de Janeiro (1751). In 1763 the capital of Portuguese America was moved to Rio de Janeiro, and Brazil was raised to the status of a viceroyalty. The captaincy of São José do Rio Negro was founded in 1755. In the early 1770s the state of Grão Pará and Maranhão was incorporated into the state of Brazil, and in 1772 Brazil was divided into nine captaincy generals, some of them with subordinate captaincies.

Estimates of Brazil’s population by the end of the eighteenth century vary greatly. An oft-cited statistic points to approximately 1 million whites,

1.5 million slaves, 400,000 free persons of African heritage, and several hundred thousand Brazilian Indians. Subsequent studies, however, suggest lower figures. What is clear, however, is that Brazil’s population increased significantly during the last half of the eighteenth century.

See also **Portugal.**

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THE INDIAN OCEAN AND ASIA

The Portuguese Asian Empire, known as the *Estado da Índia*, extended over the entire Indian Ocean littoral and well beyond it into the South China Sea. The Portuguese arrived in Asian waters in 1498 and established a series of islands and enclaves connected by maritime links to each other and to Goa, its administrative and religious center and largest city. This string of outposts and cities stretched from Mozambique Island, north along the African coast to Mombasa, farther north to Hormuz and Muscat, east to Diu and Daman in modern Gujarat, south to Bombay Island, Goa, Cochin, most of coastal Sri Lanka, across the Indian Ocean to Malacca, and beyond to Timor and Macau. Macau was the second city in this system.

FUNCTION AND INTERACTION

These critical outposts were positioned to maximize Portuguese control of Indian Ocean trade and direct it to areas for taxation. The idea was to tax the ancient and well-established Indian Ocean trade in goods such as rice, cotton textiles, horses, silks, and spices via a system of Portuguese-issued passes, called *cartazes*. Because the system depended on maritime strength to enforce it, it was only partially successful at best and only during its first century, from around 1520 to 1620.

Because of the tremendous distances and the loosely structured and fragmented nature of this empire, each area under Portuguese control developed local economic and social strategies to survive, if not prosper. These, in turn, shaped Portuguese activities in each region of the *Estado da Índia*, making it difficult to generalize about the empire as a whole. On Mozambique Island, the Portuguese developed a dense urban area trading in slaves, ivory, and gold. On the African mainland nearby, in the Zambezi River Valley, the Portuguese crown established land grants (known as *prazos*) based on matrilineal inheritance. In Mombasa, the Portu-

guese built the massive Fort Jesus and attempted to dominate the maritime trade along the Swahili coast. In Ethiopia, the Portuguese first made contact in 1541 and attempted to forge an alliance with this Christian kingdom, but were expelled in 1634. Muscat and Hormuz were fortified outposts intended to control the entrance to the Persian Gulf. Diu and Daman were on opposite sides of the Gulf of Cambay and were intended to direct the maritime trade with northern India. Bombay Island and the lands immediately around it were rich farmland, some of the most productive lands in the empire. Goa was a large urban area surrounded by farmlands, and Cochin and Macau were important urban centers. Sri Lanka, especially its coastal areas, was occupied, and revenues from its villages were awarded to a variety of Portuguese in a largely futile effort to colonize the island. Macau directed trade among southern China, Japan, and Southeast Asia and developed into a major city. A couple of smaller islands in what is now Indonesia (Flores, Timor) were reminders of the spices (nutmeg, cloves) that had originally attracted the Portuguese, and later the Dutch, to the region. Some outposts were abandoned or handed over to the Spanish once the demarcation line laid out in the treaty of Tordesillas (1494–1495) was established in Asian waters.

ADMINISTRATION

At the top of the system was the governor or viceroy in Goa. He was advised by councils of finance and state, as well as by justices of the Goan High Court and the powerful town council. Each of the outposts had a captain, and the towns were governed by their councils. Positions in this imperial administration were normally awarded for three years. The church had a parallel administration, with Goa being the seat of the archbishop primate of Asia. Bishops were present in the larger cities such as Cochin and Macau. Priests, both Jesuit and Franciscan, were active throughout the region, although the Jesuits were better known and active in both China and Japan (among other areas). In China they had limited success at conversion, but their scientific knowledge attracted the attention of the emperors. In Japan, they were more successful in converting larger numbers, but their efforts were viewed with alarm and suspicion, leading to their expulsion (as well as that of all Portuguese) from Japan in 1617. The most famous of these early



Portuguese Colonies: The Indian Ocean and Asia. Plan of the city of Malacca, c.1511, illustrated by Pedro Barretti de Resende. Strategically located on the Strait of Malacca, the city was a thriving seaport throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It was seized by the Portuguese in 1511 but lost to the Dutch in 1641. BRITISH LIBRARY, LONDON, U.K./BRIDGEMAN ART LIBRARY

Jesus was St. Francis Xavier, who died in Portuguese Asia and was later adopted as the patron saint of Goa, where he was buried.

INFORMAL COMMUNITIES

In addition to the formal regions under their political control, the Portuguese were notable for their ability to establish unofficial communities during this period, especially in South Asia. São Tomé of Meliapor (near modern Madras) and Hughly (near Calcutta) were two such places, but the Portuguese were scattered throughout the area and lived in Agra, Burma, Thailand, Yemen, and elsewhere. In South Asia, many of them were fugitives from Portuguese justice or soldiers seeking better pay or new careers. Elsewhere, many were freelance merchants. Thus, the Portuguese Asian Empire spread beyond simple political control to encompass these communities.

POPULATION

One often-cited figure for the Portuguese population in the Estado da India at its height in the late sixteenth century is 10,000. Because large sections of the archives in Lisbon were damaged in the earthquake and fire of 1755, the exact figure will never be known with certainty. Whatever the figure was, the Portuguese presence was a small fraction of the overall totals. In Goa itself, the Portuguese were rarely more than 2 percent of the population. Women, Portuguese as well as Asian, were a critical component in maintaining this empire around the Indian Ocean. Some Portuguese women, very limited in number, arrived in Asia, but much more common were marriages between Portuguese men and local women. The crown also went to great effort and expense to encourage two major convents for women in Portuguese Asia: Santa Mónica in Goa and Santa Clara in Macau. In addition, there

were a number of shelters established with assistance from the crown and local charities (known as the *misericórdia*) to assist orphaned girls and single women, and to reform prostitutes.

LONG-TERM PORTUGUESE INFLUENCES

The survival of these widely scattered outposts throughout the region depended on accommodating local interests through intermarriage and trade. That accommodation, in turn, explains much of the longevity of the Portuguese presence in Asia well after the decline of political or economic power. The missionary activities of the Catholic church in Asia further supported and helped to define the Portuguese in Asia.

Portuguese-speaking Christian African and Asian communities emerged in many of these towns and would act as cultural intermediaries for the Dutch and English who would follow. This was especially true in India, where Luso-Indian communities living near the future cities of Bombay and Madras would be a critical asset for the British administration.

DECLINE

By 1610, Portuguese control was slipping. By the 1640s and 1650s, many of their outposts had been lost to the Dutch (Malacca in 1641, Sri Lanka in 1658, and Cochin in 1662), the English (Hormuz in 1622), the Omanis (Muscat, Mombasa), or other rivals. A parallel struggle with the Dutch in Brazil and Africa drained Portuguese resources and forced the crown in Lisbon to sacrifice much of Portuguese Asia to save Brazil. The recapture of Brazil and the simultaneous loss of Sri Lanka to the Dutch in the years from 1654 to 1658 marked a critical turning point in the history of Portuguese Asia. In 1661, Bombay Island was given to the British as part of Catherine of Braganza's dowry for her marriage to King Charles II. By the late 1600s only Mozambique Island, scattered holdings in the Zambezi River Valley, Diu, Daman, Goa, Macau, and Timor were left of what had been a wealthy and powerful presence throughout the Indian Ocean region.

Portuguese continued to be a language of commerce in Asia well after the decline of Portuguese power, and pockets of Portuguese speakers continued in Sri Lanka and Southeast Asia until the twentieth century. The impact of the Catholic Church

was (and remains) widespread in many parts of India and elsewhere in Asia.

See also **Dutch Colonies: East Indies; Goa; Macau.**

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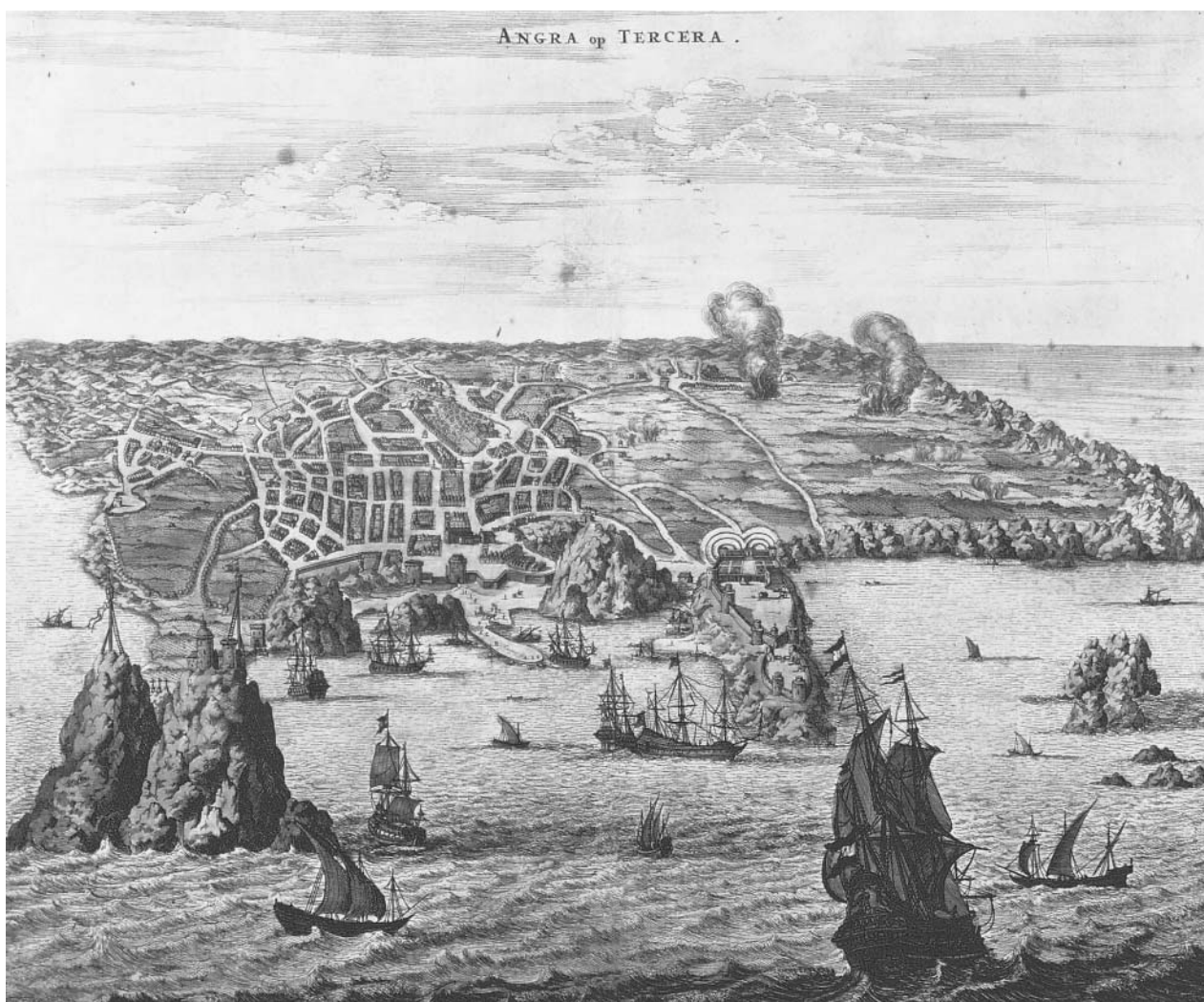
MADEIRA AND THE AZORES

The Madeira archipelago, located about 350 miles from the northwest coast of Africa and 520 miles southwest of Portugal itself, consists of the main island of Madeira and a smaller one, Porto Santo, twenty-five miles to the northeast. Though previously known, the islands were uninhabited when claimed by the Portuguese around 1419. The Portuguese began to settle them about 1425. Wood, especially cedar and yew, became important exports, along with such dyes as dragon's blood, orchil, and woad. The rich volcanic soil was made even more

fertile by burning much of the tree-covered island. Because Madeira was very mountainous, terraces had to be built. Wheat became an important earlier product. It is estimated that from 1450 to 1470 Madeira was producing 3,000 to 3,500 tons a year. Grapevines were planted, sugar was introduced, and by about 1452 Madeira had its first sugar mill. Soon sugar became the archipelago's main product and was sold throughout Europe. However, by the mid-sixteenth century the sugar boom was beginning to end, and wine gradually replaced it as the island's main export.

Sugar, of course, required a workforce. At first Guanches from the Canaries and Muslim slaves from North Africa were used, followed by black

slaves in the aftermath of voyages sponsored by Prince Henry (1394–1460). While sugar was king, the slave portion of the archipelago's population was approximately 10 percent. By the 1460s it was estimated that the Madeiras had two thousand inhabitants. By the early sixteenth century there were twenty thousand people living there, including about two thousand slaves. In the meantime, to encourage colonization, the main island of Madeira was divided into two hereditary lord proprietorships, Funchal and Machico, with extensive administrative, fiscal, and judicial privileges. The island of Porto Santo, with much less water and vegetation, was granted to a third lord proprietor. This lord proprietorship system was introduced to Brazil in the 1530s.



Portuguese Colonies: Madeira and the Azores. View of Angra, also called Tercera, an island in the Azores, seventeenth century. THE ART ARCHIVE/MARINE MUSEUM LISBON/DAGLI ORTI

By the early sixteenth century Funchal, the capital of Madeira, was large enough with five thousand inhabitants to be raised to the dignity of a city (1508). Six years later it became the seat of a diocese (1514) with jurisdiction over all the Portuguese Overseas. During this time the Madeira archipelago continued to be an important way station for ships sailing to and from the Canaries and along the west coast of Africa. By 1676 the population of Madeira reached fifty thousand, with ten thousand residing in Funchal.

The Azores seem to have been discovered in 1427 and were uninhabited. The two most easterly islands (Santa Maria and São Miguel) of the Azorean archipelago are about 840 miles away from Portugal and 420 miles from Madeira. At first animals (especially sheep and goats) were left on the unpopulated islands so that lost or shipwrecked sailors would have food. By 1439 seven islands were known, including the middle group of Terceira, Faial, São Jorge, Pico, and Graciosa, with Terceira seventy-five nautical miles from São Miguel. Finally the two most western islands (Flores and Corvo), located about 1,000 miles from Newfoundland and 375 miles west of Santa Maria, were discovered about 1450 by Diogo de Teive. The lord proprietor approach was also used in the Azores and may have been even more important than in Madeira. Wood and woad were early exports, then wheat became important, though woad and other dyestuffs were major exports until the late seventeenth century. Initial settlement was a slow process, but by the end of the fifteenth century all nine islands in the Azores were populated with settlers from Portugal, Flanders, and the Madeiras. By 1500 there were five towns. By 1550 there were two cities—Angra in Terceira and Ponta Delgada in São Miguel—and twelve towns. In 1534 Angra became the seat of a diocese with jurisdiction over all the Azores.

In 1582 (on São Miguel) and 1583 (on Terceira) the forces of Dom António (1531–1595), prior of Crato and pretender to the Portuguese throne, backed by the French, were defeated by Spain's Alvaro de Bazán (1526–1588), marquis of Santa Cruz. During the Spanish Habsburg period (especially the early years), the Azores were frequently attacked by English, French, and Dutch pirates and corsairs. By 1587 the archipelago had a population of thirty-three thousand, and by 1695

the number of inhabitants was estimated at eighty-five thousand. Throughout the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, large numbers of the surplus population of the Azores and the Madeiras migrated to the Portuguese overseas colonies, especially Brazil.

See also Portugal.

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PORTUGUESE LITERATURE AND LANGUAGE

OCEANIC PERSPECTIVES OF THE PORTUGUESE "SEABORNE EMPIRE"

Portugal contributed to the shaping of early modern Europe through voyages along the West African coast beginning in the mid-fifteenth century and by fulfilling oceanic perspectives implicit in Renaissance maps that depicted the Iberian Peninsula as the "head" of Europe and Portugal as its "face." Under Prince Henry the Navigator (1394–1460) during the late 1400s, African voyages initiated almost two centuries of overseas discoveries and maritime routes that built what historian Charles R. Boxer has termed the "seaborne empire." This vast network of outposts and enclaves, extending from Brazil to Japan, mythologized in the Western imagination by Vasco da Gama's voyage to India (1497–1499) and the voyage of Fernão de Magalhães (more commonly known as Ferdinand Magellan), who in 1519–1521 was the first explorer to circumnavigate the globe, shaped subsequent European literature. What particularly influenced those early writers were encounters with other regions and peoples, the linguistic contacts between Portuguese and indigenous languages, and the very materials and vocabulary of maritime travel and reporting. Portuguese travel literature became a principal source of knowledge, and the nature of that literature in its broadest dimensions would largely determine the form and content of knowledge itself well into the

seventeenth century. Oceanic perspectives enlarged the European imagination, transformed the meaning of distance and ideas about the sea, and for the first time placed Europe both in dialogue with and in opposition to other peoples, lands, and cultures. Echoing the title of a book by the historian A. J. R. Russell-Wood, Portuguese was “a language on the move” in Brazil, Africa, and Asia from 1450 to 1640.

Historiographical writings followed models of medieval prose. Chivalric and bucolic prose works evolved into moral and doctrinal allegories or long, sentimental monologues, such as *Diana* (c. 1559), a pastoral fiction by Jorge de Montemor (c. 1520–1561) incorporating intrigue, devices of classical comedy, and bucolic poetry, and *História da Menina e Moça* (1554; Story of the maiden and lass) by Bernardim Ribeiro (1482–1552), a sentimental novel of love and feminine psychology, which relates the tragic love of Binmarder for Aónia and of Avalor for Arima. The narrative cycle *Amadis de Gaula* (1508) and a cycle by Francisco de Moraes (c. 1500–1572) called the *Cronica do famoso e muito esforçado cavalleiro palmerim dinglaterra, filho del rey dō Duardos, Évora*, (1564–1567) continued the vogue of chivalric novels and ideals of gallantry, service to the monarchy, and crusades against Islam.

The variety of literary and dramatic genres increased rapidly as a result of the voyages, encompassing maps, letters, verses, essays, travel diaries, shipwreck accounts, religious theater, ballads, legends, vocabularies, grammars, routes, descriptions, itineraries, documents, designs, blueprints of forts, and portraits of viceroys and governors. Navigational and natural science were represented in travel routes and charts, such as the *Primeiro roteiro da costa da Índia desde Goa até Diu* by D. João de Castro (1538–1539; pub. 1843) and the log of Vasco da Gama’s voyage in 1497–1499 (pub. 1838). Garcia da Orta’s horticultural treatise, the *Coloquios dos simples, e drogas he cousas medicinais de India . . .* (pub. 1563; Colloquies on the simples and drugs of India), was the third book printed in Goa. The great mass of religious literature included letters from the religious orders and biographies (for example, *História da vida do Padre Francisco de Xavier* by João de Lucena, 1600).

The oral tradition, consisting of ballads, folk tales, popular and religious verses, aphorisms, riddles, and so forth, spread throughout the empire, at times becoming creolized with the contact languages. The *Cancioneiro geral* (1516; General songbook) compiled by Garcia de Resende (c. 1470–1536) is a collection of poetry by three hundred poets in regional Iberian forms, including *redondilhas*, *vilancetes*, and *cantigas*. Francisco de Sá de Miranda (1481–1558), who contributed to the *Cancioneiro*, later brought the Italian forms of the *dolce stil nuovo* to Portugal after a prolonged visit to Italy (1521–1526). His poetry—in Spanish and in Portuguese—treats Petrarchan love themes, applying a classical erudition critical of the court and praising the values of rural life. The lyrical works of poet Luís Vaz de Camões (c. 1525–1580) include traditional Iberian forms while perfecting the Italianate forms, particularly his sonnets, which remain among the best-known poems in the Portuguese language.

LINGUISTIC CHANGES: A LANGUAGE ON THE MOVE

The early development of Portuguese historiographical prose, beginning with the vivid chronicles of Fernão Lopes (c. 1380–c. 1460), was decisive in the evolution of the modern Portuguese language, which reached its modern form well before English did. Renaissance grammarians emphasized the close relationship between Portuguese and classical Latin. João de Barros (c. 1496–1570), for example, composed poetry that could be read as either language. During the sixteenth century, Latin dictionaries and grammars were compiled by Estêvão Cavaleiro (1516) and Jerónimo Cardoso (1570), and Portuguese literary language underwent a lexical and syntactical Latinization. The first Portuguese grammars, by Fernão de Oliveira (1536) and Barros (1539), as well as the orthographies by Magalhães de Gândavo (1562) and Duarte Nunes do Leão (1576), demonstrate that the Portuguese language was fully developed by the mid-1500s.

The dissemination of the Portuguese language in Asia and its contact with African and Asian languages has constituted one of the principal topics of research in linguistics. The Portuguese language contributed extensive vocabulary to contact languages in Africa and Asia, also making possible the development of creoles based on Portuguese. Por-

tuguese-related works printed in Asia include grammars, vocabularies, dictionaries, etymologies, glossaries, phrase books, and dialogues. The production of Portuguese grammars and vocabularies in various foreign lands from Brazil to Japan resulted in the creation of comparative linguistics, placing Portuguese alongside indigenous or local languages such as Konkani and Malay, or major languages of Asian cultures such as Tamil, Chinese, or Japanese. Important early works include the *Arte da grammatica da lingoa, mais vsada na costa do Brasil* by José de Anchieta (Coimbra, 1595); *Arte da lingoa canarim* by Tomás Estevão (Rachol, Goa, 1640); *Cartilha . . . em lingoa Tamul e Portugues* by Vicente Nazareth, Jorge Carvalho, and Thomé Cruz (Lisbon, 1554); and the *Arte da lingoa de Iapam* by João Rodrigues, S. J. (Nagasaki, 1604). A trilingual Portuguese-Latin-Japanese dictionary was published at the Jesuit press in Nagasaki before 1600.

The first comprehensive study of the vocabulary that passed from Portuguese to other languages is the *Vocabulário* (1913) by priest and Goan linguist Sebastião Dalgado (1855–1922). In 1919 Dalgado published the *Glossário Luso-Asiático*, in two volumes, in which he registered the terms in Asiatic languages that were absorbed into Portuguese and/or into other European languages. Derived from the study of more than fifty Asiatic languages, Dalgado's work was characterized as a monument of erudition. The bibliography includes more than five hundred works that he consulted on Asia, from sixteenth-century historiographical works to contemporary linguistic studies. The vocables and Anglo-Indian etymologies studied in the glossary of Anglo-Indian expressions by Henry Yule and A. C. Burnell, popularly known as the *Hobson-Jobson* (1886), reveal the extensive and extraordinary penetration of Asiatic Portuguese. The Portuguese language in Brazil quickly incorporated vocabulary from African languages—particularly Yoruba—and Brazil's indigenous Tupi language.

REPORTING TO LISBON: TRAVEL KNOWLEDGE

The celebration in Portugal of the five-hundredth anniversary of the overseas discoveries of Vasco da Gama, which included the publication of a substantial library of primary and secondary texts by the National Commission for the Commemoration of the Portuguese Discoveries, has brought the histori-

cal, literary, and intercultural perspectives of the Portuguese voyages to the forefront of Portuguese society. Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Portuguese ships and overseas outposts were manned by writers—whether scribes, priests, soldiers, or administrators—who reported to Lisbon or left valuable manuscripts about different areas of knowledge. Travel and knowledge were interrelated, just as writing, languages, cultures, historiography, religion, and early cultural anthropology coexisted in texts, experience, and the imagination of voyagers. Through Portuguese, Europe encountered its “other,” exemplified by such “exotic” visitors to Lisbon as indigenous Brazilians, Africans, South Asians, and Japanese, many of whom stayed. Emigration and settlement throughout the far-flung maritime routes created diverse racial, cultural, and linguistic communities; those that have survived in Sri Lanka, Malacca, and Korlai (the Kolaba District in India) are the recent subjects of ethnographic, ethnomusicological, and linguistic studies (by Jackson, Sarkissian, Clements). Contacts with previously unknown geographies, peoples, and cultures brought about by the maritime discoveries had a profound impact on literature, linguistics, and learning. A substantial literary tradition developed in Portuguese India.

Historiography drew on early chronicles of the nation's historical past and its literary traditions to compose epic relations of the voyages, writing characterized by a renewed assimilation and influence of Greco-Latin culture. The voyages to India and the Far East marked the life and works of many of the most prominent intellectuals, clerics, writers, and soldiers of the sixteenth century—Afonso de Albuquerque, Diogo do Couto, Gaspar Correa, Garcia da Orta, Fernão Mendes Pinto, St. Francis Xavier—culminating in the epic poem *Os Lusíadas* (1572; *The Lusíads*) by Luís Vaz de Camões, who spent seventeen years in Portuguese Asia, as well as Camões's lyrical poetry (including the meditation on exile, “Babel e Sião”) and his letters. All incorporated a vision of the Orient and a dimension of personal experience in their works, preserving the impact of the voyages on European writing and anticipating modern currents of orientalism and exoticism in Western literature.

João de Barros, reflecting the range of a Renaissance man of letters, and perhaps influenced by his

post in the Casa da Índia in charge of all commerce arriving from the overseas possessions, planned a monumental project: a geographical, economical, and historical account of Portugal's overseas expansion, to be called the *Décadas da Ásia* (Decades of Asia). He first wrote a chivalric novel, *Crónica do Imperador Clarimundo* (1522), celebrating the genealogy and aristocratic virtues of the heroes of the Portuguese monarchy, then a grammar, *Gramática da língua Portuguesa* (1539) and several moral dialogues, such as the colloquy *Ropica pñefma* (1532; Spiritual merchandise), which are comparable to works by Spanish humanist Juan Luis Vives (1493–1540). In *Ropica pñefma*, Reason defends orthodox doctrine amid the questioning of heretical voices and the calming reflections of Time, Understanding, and Will. Barros is most widely known as the chronicler of Portuguese expansion in Asia in the early sixteenth century. In the four volumes of the *Décadas da Ásia* that he completed (1552–1563), Barros refined the historiographical style that was established by Fernão Lopes in the first half of the fifteenth century and continued by Gomes Eanes de Zurara (c. 1420–c. 1474) and Rui de Pina, by placing this tradition in a broader perspective of regions and continents, linking history to geography, using the heroic and epic frames of classical rhetoric.

Humanist, scholar, and chronicler Damião de Góis (1502–1574) spent twenty-two years outside of Portugal, first as the representative of commercial interests in Antwerp and later as a student in Italy and France, a humanist and friend of Erasmus, and the author of Latin essays on topics including rituals of the faith. On his return to Portugal in 1545 as chief archivist of the Torre do Tombo, Portugal's national archive, Góis was denounced by the Inquisition, before which he defended humanist orthodoxy.

Francisco de Holanda (1517–1584), the son of a Dutch painter in Portugal, studied in Italy, as did Damião de Góis. Trained by his father as an illuminator, Holanda went to Rome in 1538 and became a friend and disciple of Michaelangelo. Holanda wrote a series of essays, *Da pintura Antiga* (1548), the first treatise on painting in the Iberian Peninsula, in which he considered the painter as an original creator, guided by divine inspiration.

Portuguese literature treated the history of the dramatic voyages and documented maritime, commercial, and military life in the empire. India became the center of attention, in the four volumes of *Décadas da Ásia* by Barros and the nine additional volumes by Diogo do Couto (the last one written in 1616); the *História do descobrimento & conquista da Índia pelos Portugueses* (1540) by Fernão Lopes de Castanheda (c. 1500–1559); and the *Chronica do felicissimo Rei Dom Emanuel* (1566–1567) by Damião de Góis, the *Commentarios* (1557) of Afonso de Albuquerque (1453–1515), and numerous works on the conquests of Diu and Goa. The description of lands, peoples, and cultures encountered by the Portuguese produced a literature of its own, including the *Livro das coisas da Índia* (1510, pub. 1889; an account of the countries bordering on the Indian Ocean) by Duarte Barbosa (1480–1521); the *Lendas da Índia* (1518, pub. 1858; Indian memoranda) by Gaspar Correia (1495–1561), with ink engravings by the author. The Portuguese wrote early descriptions of China (*Tratado das cousas da China* by Gaspar da Cruz, 1569) and were the first Westerners to enter Japan, producing a significant body of historical and descriptive literature (*Relação . . . de Iapam*, 1590), by Father Luís Fróis; writings of João Rodrigues Tçuzzu, S.J.).

Voyage literature included dramatic narratives of shipwrecks, documenting the tragic fate of one-third of the India fleets between 1552 and 1604, which were later collected in the *História trágico-marítima* (pub. 1735). The major prose work of the discoveries is Fernão Mendes Pinto's *Peregrinação* (pub. 1614; The travels of Mendes Pinto), a fantastic first-person account of his travels and adventures throughout Portuguese Asia and one of the most widely read books of the seventeenth century. The constant encounter between the Portuguese narrator and Asians, amounting to an early form of anthropology, enabled the narrator to objectify himself and the Portuguese from the other's critical point of view. Long considered to contain fabrications and intentional exaggerations, the *Peregrinação* has proved to be substantially accurate in the light of recent investigations. The novel contributed to the development of the picaresque or self-conscious hero and to narrative style.

THE MANUELINE STYLE: MANNERISM AND THE “DISCONCERT OF THE WORLD”

Tensions and conflicting perceptions in the Portuguese world, heightened by the establishment of the Inquisition in 1536, promoted the early development of mannerist and baroque qualities in art and literature there, as manifested in the Manueline style, named for Portugal’s king Manuel I (ruled 1495–1521). Humanistic and commercial perspectives made possible by the voyages conflicted with an ecclesiastical and orthodox social and religious background. “The Old Man of the Restelo” by Camões (*The Lusíads*, IV, 94–104) and the *Diálogo do soldado prático* (written 1590, published 1790; The experienced soldier) by Diogo do Couto (1542–1616) defended a humanistic outlook, questioning the ethics and the philosophy of a militant mercantile colonial system. In shipwreck narratives, Couto criticized the hubris of officials who threw their slaves and servants into the sea in a vain attempt to save themselves. The contrasts, oppositions, and impasses of this period shape the subsequent early modern development of Portugal. What Camões called the “disconcert of the world” in fact described a new epistemology. Diversity and change made possible new forms of knowledge through cross-cultural contacts in such fields as horticulture, pharmacology, and linguistics, whereas tendencies toward authority, conformity, and centralization dictated exclusion and inquisition. Throughout the maritime empire, satire became an antidote to doctrine and expansiveness to the locus of authority. Among the issues that Portugal faced as part of early modern Europe that remain pertinent today are the policy of miscegenation—promulgated in India in 1510 by Afonso de Albuquerque (1461–1515), which produced mixed-race peoples throughout the Portuguese settlements—and emigration, which has led millions of European Portuguese to the communities spread around the globe today. Portugal granted full citizenship rights throughout its empire, and movement throughout its possessions created one of the first modern global cultures.

Sixteenth-century Portuguese theater featured religious allegories staged on board ship, while court theater drew on popular characters and moral conceits. In the *Comedia eufrosina* (1560) by Jorge Ferreira de Vasconcellos (1515–1585), a letter from Goa was read onstage, representative of many

true letters commenting on the vicissitudes of life in India. Gil Vicente (c. 1465–c. 1536) wrote and produced some forty-four plays for the Lisbon court from 1502 to 1536, publishing only a few in chapbooks before the incomplete and defective edition compiled and published in 1562 by his son, who divided them arbitrarily into the categories of devotion, farce, comedy, tragicomedy, and lesser works. Characterized by poetic versatility, complexity, and variety of dramatic structure, Vicente’s plays satirize the clergy and nobility, as well as local administrators and artisans. The *Auto da Índia* (1509; Play of India) portrays a soldier’s wife who enjoys a free life in his absence, while in the farce *Quem tem farelos?* (1508; Who has bran?) the village girl Inês Pereira tries to change her condition through marriage to a feckless squire. In *Juiz da Beira*, an ignorant, half-mad peasant judges normal people, arriving at decisions that are the reverse of the law and the customs of the day.

António Ferreira (1528–1569) represents the apogee of literary classicism and humanism through his use of Italian poetic forms and his defense of the Portuguese language and historical themes. Ferreira’s tragedy *Castro* (1587) dramatizes the assassination in 1355 of Inês de Castro who, as lady-in-waiting to her cousin Constance, began an affair with Constance’s betrothed, Prince Peter, secretly married him after Constance died, and had four children with him; she was murdered for political reasons by the advisors of his father, King Alfonso IV. Ferreira recast this story with the classical dialogues and choruses of Greek tragedy.

Camões’s epic poem in ten cantos, *The Lusíads* (1572), draws together major conflicting forces in Portugal’s Renaissance in one of the classic works of Western literature. The theme is drawn from the history of Portugal, recited by Vasco da Gama during his voyage to India. Gama’s voyage becomes the advancing line of present time. Progress depends on intrigues among classical gods who observe the voyage, with Venus as protector of the Portuguese and Bacchus opposed. Action is advanced by magical devices, dreams, and intercession of the gods. The poem’s interior episodes of “Inês de Castro,” “Adamastor,” and the “Island of Venus” carry historical action to a pan-erotic plane, suggesting a journey to paradise through sensual desire. The voyage assumes universality as Tethys (wife of Oceanus)

and Gama survey the known and future world of the Portuguese from a mountain peak. Full of observation and prophecy, *The Lusíads* is also a naturalist encyclopedia of unusual phenomena. The poetry is dense in musical rhythm and imagery, recalling the visual richness of naturalist painters such as Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528). Achieving unity through diversity, Camões synthesizes the conflicts of a civilization in which he lived as a soldier-poet in Asia and that he incorporated into the ideals of his poetic art.

BAROQUE: BETWEEN SERMON AND SATIRE

The age and style of the baroque was decisive for Portuguese literature in view of the diversity of social forms, peoples, and styles in the overseas empire, whose intercontinental spaces, according to Portuguese literary historian Óscar Lopes, gave rise to an aesthetics of perspective, movement, color, ornamental profusion, modulation, pomp, and external grandeur. The gold and diamonds discovered in Brazil financed a society of spectacle, whereas the period of Spanish Habsburg rule (1580–1640) provided an incentive for popular satires, reaching an apex in the *Arte de furta* (fraudulently dated Amsterdam, 1652; Art of thieving), an unmasking of the court of John IV (ruled 1640–1656), and the *Obras do diabinho da Mão Furada*, attributed to António José da Silva, the picaresque portrait of a wandering soldier who is tempted by the devil. A cosmopolitan aristocrat, D. Francisco Manuel de Mello (1608–1666), was one of the most varied and versatile writers of his age, publishing lyrical poetry in Portuguese and Spanish, a narrative of the discovery of Madeira, moral works and guides about the ascetic life and duties of wives, as well as comedies and moral letters. He wrote the first critical review of ancient and modern authors and planned a library of modern authors, which was not produced until the following century. Though imprisoned and exiled to Brazil, he returned to represent Portugal in European diplomatic circles.

António Vieira, S.J. (1609–1697), the greatest figure of the era, born in Lisbon and raised in Bahia, Brazil, from the age of seven, won renown as a writer, rhetorician, Jesuit, and man of action. His sermons, in some twenty volumes, expound a brilliant formal rationalism based on biblical texts, with a tendency toward prophetic and messianic interpretations. He spoke out against the enslavement of

indigenous Americans, yet defended the unity of the Portuguese throne and church. Vieira's deft style was the most significant contribution to the Portuguese language since Camões.

Corte na Aldeia (1619) by Francisco Rodrigues Lobo (1580–1622) is the principal work on Portuguese baroque style, giving rise to numerous academies as centers of literary endeavor throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as in the Academia dos Singulares (1628). Lively doctrinaire panegyrics and allegorical theater by the nuns Sórora Violante do Ceu and Maria do Céu found their satirical counterpoint in the puppet theater of António José da Silva (1705–1739), who was condemned by the Inquisition to be burned in 1739. The great national literary collections of the baroque period are to be found in the first general Portuguese bibliography, compiled 1741–1759 by Diogo Barbosa Machado (1682–1772), and in two massive poetry anthologies, *A fénix renascida* (1716–1728) and *Postilhão de Apolo* (1761–1762).

ENLIGHTENMENT AND EARTHQUAKE

Struggling for liberalization, Portugal turned from its familiar oceanic perspectives to the “foreign” influences of Europe, engendering a new organization of knowledge and pedagogical reforms that pitted Enlightenment against Scholasticism. The great Lisbon earthquake of 1 November 1755 precipitated a massive reorganization and reconstruction of Portuguese letters and society, symbolized by the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1759 by Joseph I's chief minister, Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo (1699–1782), better known as the Marquês de Pombal, the de facto ruler of Portugal during that period. The founding of the Arcádia Lusitana in 1756 and the Academia das Ciências in 1779 and the creation of autonomous university chairs throughout the country in 1772 represented principal reforms. *Verdadeiro método de estudar* (1746; True method of study) by Luís António Verney (1713–92; pseudonym Barbadinho), after having been banned by its inclusion on the Holy See's *Index librorum prohibitorum* (List of forbidden books), arrived clandestinely in Lisbon in a new edition in 1751 to promote pedagogical reform. His ideas included grammatical analysis in Portuguese instead of Latin, abandonment of obsolete vocabulary, the study of modern languages, the opening of elementary schools, and

the teaching of women. The heroic-comic satires of Nicolau Tolentino (1741–1811) were matched by *Os burros ou, O reinado da Sandice*, a “heroic-comic-satiric poem in six cantos” by José Agostinho de Macedo (1761–1831), and by the burlesque poem *O reino da estupidez* (1819) by Francisco de Mello Franco (1757–1823). *Reflexões sobre a vaidade dos homens* (1752) by Matias Aires (1705–1763) addressed a crisis in sensibility and expressed skepticism about human nature. Arcadist poets, including Pedro Antonio Correia Garção (1724–1772), António Diniz da Cruz e Silva (1731–1799), and Francisco Manoel de Nascimento, better known as Filinto Elísio (1734–1819), preceded the Marquesa de Alorna (1750–1839), a celebrated literary muse in Lisbon during the late 1700s, and Manuel Maria Barbosa du Bocage (1765–1805), a poet-wanderer throughout the empire who initiated the modern current of return to the oceanic past.

See also Academies, Learned; Authority, Concept of; Camões, Luís Vaz de; Colonialism; Dictionaries and Encyclopedias; Drama: Spanish and Portuguese; Europe and the World; Exploration; Gama, Vasco da; Index of Prohibited Books; Inquisition; Jews, Expulsion of (Spain, Portugal); Magellan, Ferdinand; Missions and Missionaries; Portugal; Portuguese Colonies: The Indian Ocean and Asia; Scholasticism; Travel and Travel Literature.

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K. DAVID JACKSON

POSTAL SERVICE. *See* Postal Systems; Communication and Transportation.

POSTAL SYSTEMS. The communications revolution of the early modern period was the result of the first reliable infrastructure of communication introduced at the beginning of the sixteenth century in central Europe. Postal systems were basically systems of portioning the space to create reliable channels of communication. In Renaissance Italy, where messenger systems were developed further than anywhere else in Europe in the late Middle Ages, some princes started experimenting with a division of labor known only from ancient literature or from Marco Polo’s (1254–1324) report on China: couriers on horses that changed at regular intervals at fixed points, the posts, and followed fixed courses. However, postal lines were expensive and remained unstable. The most frequent data comes from the wealthier territory of Italy, the duchy of Milan under the Visconti. Milanese *corrieri* seem to have spread the art of effectively transporting information, first throughout Italy (Venice, the papal states) and subsequently throughout Europe. The lingua franca of European communications remained Italian well into the seventeenth century, and some Italian terms (*posta*, *pacchetto*, *franco*, *porto*) survive in many languages in the twenty-first century.

PUBLIC ACCESS

The decisive change came when Emperor Maximilian I (German king from 1486, Holy Roman emperor 1493–1519) commissioned the Taxis (or Tassis) family with establishing an effective communication system for the Habsburg dynasty. This proved to be a major challenge because of the far-flung Habsburg marriage associations. Maximilian married Mary of Burgundy (1457–1482), his son Philip I of Castile (ruled 1506) married the heiress of Castile and Aragón, and Maximilian's grandson Charles of Spain (king of Spain 1516–1556; emperor as Charles V 1519–1556) ruled over large parts of Europe from the Netherlands to Sicily with close links to the Austrian Habsburgs who had inherited Hungary and Bohemia.

Unlike in ancient Rome or China, no European ruler was able or willing to finance his or her own postal system. This tension between an obvious demand and a fragile budget was exploited by Francesco de Tassis (1459–1519), by then the head of the northern branch of the Taxis family from Cornello in Lombardy. This family had gained experience in the Milanese and Venetian courier business, the Roman branch actually running the papal messenger system. Francesco de Tassis managed to escape the control of the imperial administration by forging a link to Burgundy (1501) and turning the postal system into a private enterprise based upon a contract among the Taxis company and Burgundy (1505) and Spain (1516).

Unlike in France or England, from then on the postmasters—not the states—were in control of the channels of communication in central Europe and large parts of Italy. The decisive innovations took place there, most importantly that permanent post courses were established around 1510, the service was opened to the public, and periodical post riders were established in 1534 between Antwerp and Venice and three years later between Venice and Rome. The postal systems in Italy, Germany, France, England, and Spain were open to travel as soon as post houses, mostly existing taverns, were fixed. But only within the Holy Roman Empire was the postal system open to the general public. Everybody was entitled to use the post not by privilege but by paying a fee, the *porto*. The post houses, previously only places to change horses, were opened to the public as well and became post of-

fices, where mail, checks, or samples could be dispatched and collected. The postal lines thus became the veins of early capitalism. William Harvey (1578–1657), discoverer of the circulation of the blood, was the son of a postmaster.

Public access to these channels of communication triggered a series of innovations. Within a few years it revolutionized the daily routines of the educated, whose habit it became to use the post, according to its set schedule, for regular correspondence. Public access changed the terms of trade, diplomacy, and politics. From the 1560s weekly written reports were commissioned by princes and leading trading companies, like the Fugger business (collecting, for example, the *Fugger Newsletters*), and commercial newsagents and even news agencies emerged in the imperial city of Augsburg, which lay at the heart of the European postal system, midway between Antwerp and Venice. From the early 1580s these weekly reports were published as newsbooks for the book fairs in Frankfurt and Leipzig (in books called *Messrelationen*). In 1597 a newsagent failed in publishing a monthly newspaper. But in September 1605 Johann Carolus, a newsagent who had become a printer in the imperial city of Strasbourg, succeeded in establishing a weekly newspaper. Both Carolus's *Relation* as well as the second newspaper, the *Wolfenbüttel Aviso* (1609), depended on news from Augsburg delivered by the ordinary post riders of the imperial post.

The invention of the periodical press, a media revolution of prime importance, was thus part of a more general communications revolution. From about 1615 the media revolution gathered momentum, and newspapers were established in a good number of towns within the Holy Roman Empire, some in fact edited by postmasters directly. In 1618, when three publishers were already competing in the imperial city of Frankfurt, this innovation was adopted in the Netherlands. In 1622, presumably not by chance the very year a reliable postal service between Brussels and London was established, the first newspaper attempts started in England, largely depending on news reports from the Continent. Austria and Switzerland followed in 1622, France in 1631, Italy (Florence) in 1636, Sweden in 1645, and Spain and Poland 1661. Only after the collapse of the Licensing Act in 1642 did London become a news capital.

IMPROVED TRANSPORTATION

During the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648) the postal systems of France and England were opened to the general public, and postal networks were introduced in Scandinavia. Around 1630 France succeeded in creating an advanced postal network. The introduction of mail coaches instead of postal riders on all post courses triggered a series of spin-off benefits, such as official printed timetables and the first map indicating existing travel facilities.

Nicolas Sanson's map of 1632 provided the cartographic prototype for scores of postal maps, which were replaced only in the nineteenth century by rail maps and road maps. By 1700 postal maps existed for all European countries and for Europe as a whole, and they offer important insights into the kinds of infrastructures established in different countries. Clearly the postal networks in Italy, Spain, Austria, and Poland had stagnated, whereas in England, France, Belgium, and Germany densely woven networks signaled continuous improvement.

By 1750 European travelers admired the communications system of Britain, although stagecoaches were still run by private haulers and mail coaches were only introduced in 1784. However, the trusts of haulers and innkeepers functioned in a manner not dissimilar to the postal systems of the Continent. Not hampered by the transport of mail, the velocity of British stagecoaches was indeed higher, and new types of coaches were developed, owing to the achievements of the turnpike system of road construction. In contrast to riders, coaches required artificial roads, and systematic road construction was a necessary consequence of the introduction of mail coaches. The post office usually negotiated the building of roads and bridges, and in many countries postmasters were indeed employed as overseers of the roads.

By 1800 the postal networks represented fairly well the progress of industrialization in western Europe, followed by the American East Coast. However, eastern Europe was still undeveloped, and southern Europe had fallen behind. Postal systems also mirrored political structures. The networks in Britain and France were rigorously centralized in the capitals, whereas Belgium, Germany, Italy, and Switzerland were characterized by a more evenly distributed network. Absolutist territories within the Holy Roman Empire, such as Prussia, reveal a

centralized pattern also. At the end of the era, postal systems had reached the maximum of their capabilities in western Europe, with seven hundred mail coaches and thirty-three hundred stagecoaches serving in England alone. Clearly the subsequent railway networks were modeled after the postal networks and replaced coaches on the main routes in transporting mail and passengers. This, however, did not mean the end of the mail coaches. The number of mail coaches even rose, since all the rail lines needed reliable suppliers or shuttles. Railways and steamships became parts of the postal systems. However, the importance of the postal systems as institutions declined sharply. Once the universal means of communication, for travel as well as money and letters, the systems' functions disintegrated with the introduction of novel networks, such as telegraphy, railways, telephones, and later cars with motor engines. From about 1850 post offices merely bore the name of the formerly universal institution that had ceased to exist.

The early modern postal system was a reliable medium of communication that triggered a series of media revolutions. The scientific revolution, the industrial revolution, and the political revolutions in England, France, and America took place in the era of the early modern postal systems. The early modern period was a distinctive era in the history of communications molded by the particularities of its communications systems. If one adopts the notion of a communications revolution, one can explain the pattern of all subsequent changes in communication, even to the twenty-first century. The early modern postal systems represented a first universal Internet. Borrowing from Immanuel Wallerstein's description of a "European World System," the early modern postal system could be seen as the grandmother of the World Wide Web.

See also **Communication and Transportation; Industrial Revolution; Industry; Journalism, Newspapers, and Newsheets; Scientific Revolution.**

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WOLFGANG BEHRINGER

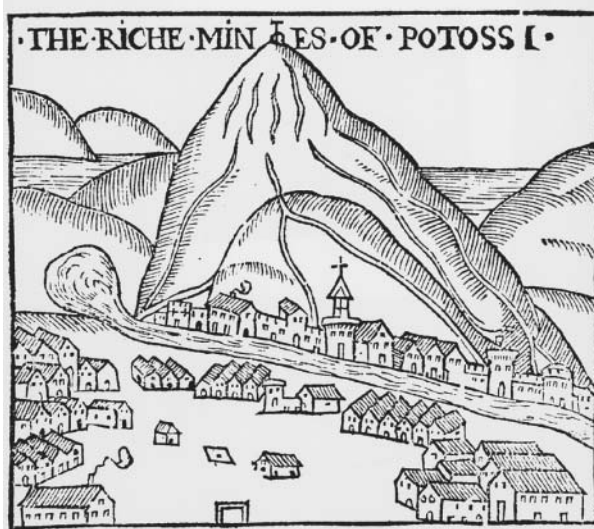
POTOSÍ. Potosí was a city and a region in Upper Peru (modern Bolivia) and was the most celebrated mining district in colonial Spanish America. With the discovery of silver at the Cerro Rico (Rich Hill) in 1545, Spaniards and Andeans rushed to exploit the fabulously rich ores, and the city of Potosí grew.

The first boom ended around 1560 with exhaustion of the rich surface ores that could be refined with indigenous smelting ovens (*guayras*). The next, from the mid-1570s until the early 1600s, began with the introduction of amalgamation, a new technology capable of profitably refining lower-grade ores. Official annual output reached 7 million ounces, and contraband refining added to that. *Vale un Potosí* (“It’s worth a Potosí”) came to mean something priceless.

To compensate refiners for the cost of underground mining, mills to pulverize ore, and mercury for amalgamation, in 1573 Viceroy Francisco de Toledo adapted the Inca system called *mita* of rotating forced indigenous labor, to provide workers for the mines. It provided Potosí with as many as 13,400 low-paid *corvée* workers per year. Mita workers probably made up half the labor force, with free laborers the remainder. Work at Potosí was dangerous and unhealthy, and the mita disrupted life in indigenous communities.

Despite its altitude, which made it necessary to import basic necessities and luxuries alike, Potosí had more than 100,000 inhabitants by 1600. As silver output declined after 1620 with depletion of its best ores, Potosí’s population dropped. After the crown halved the mining tax to a tenth, Potosí experienced a modest revival in the mid-1700s, but it only had 10,000 residents by the end of the colonial period.

THE
DISCOVERIE AND CONQUEST
of the Prouinces of PERU, and
the Navigation in the South
Sea, along that Coast.
And also of the ritche Mines
of POTOSI.



Potosí. The title page of a book printed by Richard Ihones in London, 1581, featuring a woodcut of Potosí. ©BETTMANN/CORBIS

Nonetheless, Potosí epitomized the grandeur and brutality of Spain’s colonial system. Its silver subsidized Spanish imperialism and helped monetarize the European and world economies.

See also **Coins and Medals; Colonialism; Exploration; Pizarro Brothers; Spanish Colonies: Peru.**

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KENDALL W. BROWN

POTTERY. See **Ceramics, Pottery, and Porcelain.**

POUSSIN, NICOLAS (1594–1665), French painter. Poussin is one of the artists most beloved by art historians because his slow but steadily developing talent, combined with his passion for historical accuracy and his reflections concerning the nature and practice of the art of painting that have been extracted from his letters and the comments of others produced profound and beautiful works that rapidly became models for those who followed. Giovanni Pietro Bellori (c. 1615–1696), the esteemed Roman biographer of seventeenth-century Italian painters who thought so highly of Poussin that he (exceptionally) included a study of his life among the Italians, noted that “. . . his words were very serious, and were listened to attentively; he often talked about art, and with such great knowledge that not only painters, but everyone with a cultivated spirit came to learn from his lips the highest meanings of painting. . . .”

Poussin was convinced that he wanted to study painting when Quentin Varin visited his native Les Andelys in 1612. He trained with Georges Lallemant in Paris, and during the early 1620s began his first journey to Rome—a trip that was aborted due to ill health after Poussin reached Florence. He made a second and successful attempt via Venice in the spring of 1624 in the company of the poet Giambattista Marino, who was returning to Italy after a visit to the French capital. Upon their arrival in Rome, Marino introduced Poussin to Cardinal Francesco Barberini and his circle. Poussin soon received a commission from one of the cardinal’s most distinguished retainers, the antiquarian Cassiano dal Pozzo, to make drawings after the antique for his celebrated Museo Cartaceo (“Paper Museum”). Cassiano could not have found a better candidate for the task, for investigation of this type of ancient detail would remain important to Poussin throughout his career. Except for a return to Paris for two years (1640–1642), forced upon him by Louis XIII of France and his prime minister, Cardinal Richelieu, Poussin, like his countryman Claude Lorrain, remained in the Eternal City for the rest of his life.

Poussin established his reputation in Rome with his splendid *Death of Germanicus* painted for Barberini in 1627 and delivered in January of 1628 (Minneapolis Institute of Arts), in which the figures

are arranged in a frieze-like pattern across the canvas around the draped bed of the dying hero in a spartan, but palatial, interior. By their gestures and expressions it is clear that each of the protagonists is either overwhelmed with grief, overcome with shock, or angrily proclaiming his forthcoming revenge. The historically researched costumes saturated with blues, reds, and yellows reflect the artist’s early attachment to Venetian coloring. The enormous success of this canvas led to the distinction of Poussin’s receipt of a papal commission for St. Peter’s, for which he painted his magnificent *Martyrdom of St. Erasmus* of 1629 (Pinacoteca Vaticana, Rome). After losing the commission to decorate a chapel in San Luigi dei Francesi, the French church in Rome, Poussin abandoned his ambitions to paint grand decorations and turned instead to smaller cabinet pictures, which he continued to produce for a limited number of amateurs in Rome and abroad for the rest of his career.

LATER LIFE AND INFLUENCE

During the 1630s, influenced by an interest in Stoicism, Poussin became increasingly attached to an ascetic way of life and a rigorously disciplined, central Italian approach to art and art theory. These tendencies reveal themselves in his work, where, eschewing the attraction of north Italianate *colore* evident in varying degrees in his earlier Italian works, he turned to a more sober and refined form of classicism that became increasingly distilled and cerebral throughout his maturity. This can be seen at its best in his series of bacchanals commissioned by Cardinal Richelieu (London and Kansas City, Mo.), a series of Seven Sacraments commissioned by Cassiano (Washington, D.C., and Belvoir Castle, Leicester), and in the static and imposing *Miracle of St. Francis Xavier* of 1641 commissioned by François Sublet de Noyers, Surintendant des batiments du roi, for the main altar of the new novitiate of the Jesuits in Paris (Musée du Louvre).

In order to construct his progressively classical compositions in the 1640s, Poussin relied heavily on his skills as a draftsman. As the renowned Poussin scholar Anthony Blunt has noted, Poussin’s drawing developed consistently, gaining in expressive power what it lost in elegance and culminating in an elliptical manner appropriate to the poetic and philosophic tone of his later works. Poussin’s *Moses*



Nicolas Poussin. *The Poet's Inspiration*. THE ART ARCHIVE/MUSÉE DU LOUVRE PARIS/DAGLI ORTI

and the *Daughters of Jethro* of c. 1647 (Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University), the final design in a series of studies executed over more than a decade for a lost painting, provides a perfect example of how his exacting and protracted process generated compositions that accentuated the salient didactic elements of a theme with a masterful economy of means. Here, in another frieze-like design, is a counterbalance between the columnar females on the left and the men in the disarray of battle on the right, underscored by the solid architecture on the left and the violent sky and terrain on the right. The careful juxtaposition of wash and blank portions of the sheet to construct their volumes reveals the results of the artist's continued use of props on a

miniature stage of his own construction for the study of physical expression, as well as light and shade. The gestures of the figures not only link the two groups and allow the viewer to read the action across the sheet, they also heighten the integrity of the scene by moving into the third dimension as each of these motions is echoed visually in the planes of the undulating landscape beyond.

Subjects like Poussin's *Infant Bacchus Entrusted to the Nymphs of Nysa* and the *Death of Echo and Narcissus* of 1657 (Fogg Art Museum), commissioned by his close friend, the painter Jacques Stella—a conflation of stories from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Philostratus' *Imagines*, and later studies of these texts in a dense allegory that contrasts

fertility and sterility—suggest his study of antique literature. Poussin's late landscapes, such as *Autumn* from the series *Four Seasons* of c. 1662 (Musée du Louvre) demonstrate his significant contribution to the classical mode of this genre. Although he clearly benefited from the study of the elements of landscape in the Roman countryside with Claude and others earlier in his career, the disciplined structure of Poussin's stoic vision of nature is markedly different from the sumptuous, pastoral, and idyllic classicism of his fellow expatriate.

The significance of Poussin's processes and achievements are such that it is possible to argue that he became the most influential French painter in history. His name is, indeed, synonymous with French classicism. His art and theories formed the doctrinal foundation of the new Académie, which he declined the offer to direct, and artists from Charles Le Brun and Jacques-Louis David in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres, Hilaire Germain Edgar Degas, Paul Cézanne, and Pablo Picasso in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have been compelled to confront his works and thoughts in order to produce a response of their own.

See also **Art: Art Theory, Criticism, and Historiography; Classicism; Claude Lorraine (Gellée); David, Jacques-Louis; Le Brun, Charles; Painting; Rome, Art in.**

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ALVIN L. CLARK, JR.

POVERTY. Poverty in early modern Europe was not well understood—at least outside of the biblical conception that the poor will always be with us—and the extent of poverty in the centuries leading up to the industrial revolution has not been well mapped—not by historians, and certainly not by the contemporaries who were confronted by the hungry and diseased, the homeless and fatherless, on their doorsteps. Yet there can be no doubt that both the threat and the reality of poverty were pervasive throughout the early modern period.

The material and spiritual needs of the poor were the subject of endless clerical rumination, which sometimes resulted in actual assistance. The needs of the poor likewise merited the extensive practical consideration of urban magistrates and rural nobility alike, whose best interests often dictated that they do something to lessen, or at least justify, the suffering that they saw around them. Poverty generated responses from the poor ranging from quiet acquiescence and submission to the mercy of God to the violent or coercive appropriation of resources, with a host of possibilities in between. One clear marker of the poor was the need to engage in behaviors intended to ward off hunger, cold, nakedness, or other material deprivation. It is not surprising, therefore, that when historians try to count the poor in early modern Europe, they inevitably begin with the lists of those who applied for and received charity: those who professed in the criminal court records that they turned to theft or prostitution out

of desperation; those who sought exemption from the payment of taxes and dues; and those caught participating in bread riots, or myriad other activities located firmly in what historians have to come to refer to as “the economy of makeshifts.”

TOWARD A DEFINITION

Any attempt to determine the number of poor in early modern Europe presumes that there exists a clear definition of poverty as well as widely agreed upon indicators of its extent and severity. This is not the case. At the most basic level, the poor were best defined by what they were not. Thus, in early modern Europe poverty could be characterized as the antithetical state either to that of being rich (the most common modern understanding) or that of being powerful (the more typical medieval conception). While power and wealth often travel together, they need not necessarily do so. Certainly the processes of commercialization and urbanization begun in the High Middle Ages and accelerated in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, concomitant with the expansion of capitalist economic attitudes and behaviors, worked to increase the importance of money, thereby giving the pecuniary definition of poverty greater cultural resonance over time. But the conflation of the poor with the weak persisted.

This lingering medieval resonance was facilitated in large part by the ongoing influence of the biblical categories of the poor, which consisted especially of widows, orphans, prisoners, and the disabled. All of these groups, which we might now classify as the “structural poor,” were likely to suffer from limited resources as well as wielding little political or social power. They are marked by their dependence on others (notably male, be they husbands, fathers, law enforcers, or doctors) for food and shelter, as well as for protection. And it was precisely this dependence that marked them as “deserving”; that is, worthy of receiving the love (*caritas*) of the community as manifested in material aid. The undeserving poor, by contrast, were believed to be those who were capable of work but who out of laziness or sheer malice refused to earn their own keep. To aid them was not only counterproductive to the health of the economic and social order, it was in fact a sin, and harmful to the soul of both giver and recipient. If the giving of aid indis-

criminally was ever practiced in the medieval past (the evidence is mixed), it was certainly no longer tolerated in the early modern period either by intellectuals or bureaucrats.

This is not to say, however, that exceptions were not made to the biblical rule that the able-bodied who do not work do not eat. Other categories of legitimated poor existed alongside those structurally dependent groups identified in the Bible. The most important of these were the voluntary poor, the shamefaced poor, and what we might now refer to as the cyclical poor. The voluntary poor were those individuals, usually acting in the context of well-established organizations or societies, who had renounced material comforts in favor of a life of humiliation following Christ. The most important of these groups were the mendicant monastic orders that came to prominence in the milieu of urban economic prosperity during the High Middle Ages, most notably the Franciscans and the Dominicans. Their renunciation of material possessions was supposed to be so complete that the only way individual friars could survive was to beg for their bread while they traveled about preaching to souls. The mendicant orders were the subject of heated debates about the spiritual legitimacy of their mission and the social impact of their method, both at the time of their establishment and in the context of the Reformation. Nonetheless, they survived, and even flourished in some parts of Catholic Europe following the Tridentine reforms, remaining an important part of the charitable landscape of early modern Europe.

A less contentious exception to the biblical rule that those who do not work do not eat were the so-called shamefaced poor. This group consisted of members of the ancient nobility who had fallen on hard times economically and could no longer afford the style of life that they were expected to maintain. In truly dire cases they could no longer afford even to support themselves at the margin of subsistence. The source of their distress was often a combination of overspending and the concomitant loss of family land, or the declining profitability of its exploitation by tenant farmers or wage laborers. Because the very definition of nobility precluded members of noble families from working their own land or marshaling their remaining resources to a trade or business, their impoverished condition could only be allevi-

ated by the charitable assistance of others. Moreover, such aid had to be dispensed with discretion in order to avoid any further embarrassment being heaped on the families concerned. In a world in which work was expected of all who were physically able, the shamefaced poor make for an odd exception from the modern perspective. For here was a group whose members were denied the opportunity to work on account of their social status and not their physical attributes. But with the exception of England and the Netherlands, which commercialized early (the Netherlands never having had a strong tradition of local nobility anyway), the shamefaced poor remained an important category of those receiving relief in Europe at least until the social disruptions of the French Revolution. And even in the decidedly bourgeois environment of the Dutch Republic, members of the middling classes (such as urban citizens with corporate rights and artisans with guild memberships) in straitened circumstances received more generous and reliable relief than did the very poor, who could not claim such corporate protections. Downward social mobility, regardless of the level at which one started, was something that all European societies tried to protect against, suggesting that poverty was understood at least as much as a relative state as an absolute one.

The cyclical poor were also made worthy of assistance on account of their changing status over time. Two kinds of cases are especially prominent in this regard. The first included those families that were in the early stages of their household life cycle, with (often many) young children to support and limited access to wage-earning labor. Women's work was poorly remunerated at the best of times, and when pregnant and nursing, women's wages could easily drop to zero. In B. Seebohm Rowntree's classic formulation, the most prosperous time in a family's life was following the mother's child-bearing years, when at least some of the children were old enough to earn wages but not yet old enough to have begun separate households of their own. The other vulnerable group included those families in which the primary wage earner was temporarily un- or underemployed because of either the natural rhythms of the work year or, increasingly, of the business cycle. Until the development of the electrified factory and all-weather transport, winter

was a season of slow work at best, not just in agriculture, but in urban crafts and trades as well. And as increasingly more individuals left farming for industrial and service sector occupations, the impact of trade cycles on employment became more severe. Guilds with cash reserves for emergency support were the primary means of defense against trade cycles, for those lucky enough to enjoy membership. The bread and cast-off clothing distributed during the severest parts of the winter had to suffice for the rest. Neither those with young families nor those with unemployed household heads could count on the unqualified charitable support of their larger communities, however. Then as now, families in such circumstances were subject to the moralistic assessments of those in a position to offer relief. Critics pointed to poor families with many children as evidence that the poor were sexually reckless, a view articulated most famously by the English economist Thomas Malthus (1766–1834). Likewise, the able-bodied unemployed generated a great deal of suspicion about how determinedly they were seeking work and whether they were being too choosy about the type of work they would accept, again not unlike the stigma faced by the unemployed in the modern world.

POVERTY AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Although, as stated earlier, there are no agreed-upon indicators of the extent and severity of poverty in early modern Europe, many historians have nonetheless felt confident in the belief that a great many Europeans lived either below the poverty line or in imminent danger of dropping below it. This confidence rests in large measure on a commonly shared assumption about the general poverty of all preindustrial economies, in which productivity is low and the probability of risks of all kinds is high. In such an essentially Malthusian world, in which the population constantly threatens to outpace the food supply, the cyclical reappearance of episodes of extreme poverty is guaranteed. Moreover, ways to insure against risk were few or nonexistent. However, despite the attractive logic of the presumption that poverty follows from economic underdevelopment, it suffers from one fundamental inconsistency with the facts: that is, poverty continues to exist in the highly developed, immensely productive, risk-averse, and decidedly non-Malthusian modern first world. Thus the classic narratives about

economic development are insufficient for a true understanding of poverty in early modern Europe.

One striking alternative to the view of poverty as solely a consequence of underdevelopment has been offered by the Marxist historians Catharina Lis and Hugo Soly, who argue that economic development has not only failed to eradicate poverty, it has actually increased the likelihood of it. Specifically, they maintain that the incidence of poverty spread as capitalism developed, first as an agricultural system and later as an industrial system, over the course of the early modern period. The key mechanism they see at work behind this process is that of proletarianization, or the increasing separation of workers from the means of production and thus their forced reliance on wages for their maintenance. They begin their narrative with a fairly dire medieval landscape in which “40 to 60 per cent of western European peasants disposed of insufficient land to maintain a family” (p. 15), and then chart from there what they understand to be the processes of further impoverishment over time: the long-term trend toward diminishment in the size of peasant holdings; the development of social policies that criminalized the poor, thereby permitting the better regulation of the labor market (most notably the Elizabethan Poor Law in England, statues against vagrancy and begging in both Catholic and Protestant Europe, and the institution of workhouses in towns both great and small); and most importantly, the massive shift of the labor force away from small independent holdings and craft workshops toward wage labor in commercial agriculture and industry. While they have supporting evidence of the hardship experienced by particular groups of people and sectors of the economy during this time of radical social and economic change, they fail to make a compelling case for an increase in poverty overall. The spread of capitalist enterprises certainly had its losers, but it had its winners as well. Simply documenting the former in great detail does not demonstrate that the scourge of poverty spread between the end of the Middle Ages and the dawn of the modern era.

Where the classic development story clearly neglects questions of distribution, the Marxist story downplays the importance of massive productivity gains in increasing the pool of material resources to be distributed. Both approaches, then, are inade-

quate to explain both the origins of poverty in the preindustrial past and its persistence in the face of rapid economic development. If we consider only the material facts of the share of food in the average household budget, lengthening life span, energy available per capita to provide light and heat and perform work, and the remarkable growth of consumables in both number and variety, there can be no doubt that poverty, as understood to be strictly a matter of material deprivation, has decreased precipitously over time, with many of the initial gains achieved over the course of the early modern period. However, poverty is also a relative condition, and it may well be the case that the massive increases in the size of the resource pool have had the counterintuitive effect of highlighting distributional inequities in ways that were not as obvious when the material basis of society was so much lower on average.

The experience of early modern Europe also suggests that poverty is a treatable condition, at least to some extent. Those places that experimented seriously with charitable social policies saw genuine improvements in overall well-being. Two notable examples will have to suffice as evidence for our purposes here. The first is the Tudor-Stuart program of food relief in seventeenth-century England, which demonstrably lowered the variance of wheat prices and contributed to lower levels of non-crisis mortality than in either of the periods before or after the policies were in effect. The second is the strong commitment shown by urban magistrates and guild members in the Dutch Republic to provide outdoor relief for those affected by the cyclical harbingers of poverty, as well as institutional care for the aged, the infirm, and the orphaned, facilitating when possible entry or reentry into the middling world of work. Visitors to the Dutch Republic from all over Europe remarked on the ubiquity and generosity of these institutions and their salubrious effect on the body social. In both of these examples, beneficent social policies traveled hand in hand with economic prosperity, probably as both cause and effect.

See also **Charity and Poor Relief; Orphans and Foundlings; Popular Protest and Rebellions; Public Health; Religious Orders.**

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PRAGUE. Prague was one of the largest and most influential cities in the Holy Roman Empire and central Europe in the early modern period. It was remarkable for its bilingual and multireligious population of Czech- and German-speaking Catholics, Protestants, and Jews; its distinctive geographic

and political landscape; and its Reformation and cultural achievements. It was also the site of events of central importance in the histories of both the Bohemian kingdom and the empire. In reality, Prague was a complex of four legally and politically independent though socially and economically linked cities. The Old and New Cities, on the right bank of the Vltava River, were the center of artisanal and commercial activities. The Castle Hill (autonomous since 1592) and the Small Side, on the left bank, were home to royal and estate governments and were the seat of an archbishopric.

In 1346 Charles IV (ruled 1355–1378), king of Bohemia and Holy Roman emperor, chose Prague as his imperial residence. In 1348 he founded the University of Prague, the first university in central Europe, and he expanded and renovated the city. The new construction included the first stone bridge across the Vltava River and the monumental Saint Vitus Cathedral, which became the seat of a newly established archbishopric. Fifty years later Prague became the birthplace of the religious reform movement centered around Jan Hus (c. 1372–1415), rector of the Bethlehem Chapel in the Old City. In 1419 the reform movement turned into a revolution when a mob threw anti-Hussite councillors out of windows of the New City government building (an event known as the first Prague defenestration). During the Hussite Revolution religious orders and German speakers were forced to flee the city, and churches, monasteries, and other structures were destroyed in direct attacks and battles between competing forces. In the wake of the revolution Prague came into the hands of an Ultraquist elite, a religiously and socially moderate group descended from the Hussites. Prague’s population began to grow again, and schools and literary brotherhoods flourished in parish churches. Under the reign of King Vladislav II Jagiellon (ruled 1471–1516) Catholic religious orders began to return to the city, and Renaissance architecture first appeared in Bohemia at the Prague Castle. In 1483 the installation of new councillors sympathetic to the king’s policies led to a revolt that culminated in a second defenestration of city councillors, this time from both the Old City and the New City government buildings. This revolt paved the way for the 1485 Peace of Kuttenberg, which established legal parity

between Roman Catholics and Utraquists (though it forbade other religious groups).

By the beginning of the sixteenth century Prague had a population of about twenty thousand. The arrival of Lutheran ideas in the 1520s assisted in the ongoing development of Utraquism. In 1526 Ferdinand I (ruled Bohemia 1526–1564; ruled the Holy Roman Empire 1558–1564) was elected king of Bohemia. The first years of his reign were marked by maintenance of the status quo in religion and politics. However, in 1547, when the Prague cities refused to send troops to support the Catholic imperial army in the Schmalkaldic War, Ferdinand punished them with sanctions and sent his son, Archduke Ferdinand of Tyrol, to reside in Prague as his viceroy. The residence of the viceroy helped draw Bohemian nobles, artisans, and some foreigners to the city. The mid-sixteenth century also witnessed a flowering of printing houses and literary societies and the spread of Renaissance innovations to noble palaces and burgher houses. In 1555 the first Jesuit college in Bohemia was founded, and in 1561 a new archbishop, who established the foundations of Catholic reform, was installed. In 1583 Rudolf II (ruled 1576–1612), Bohemian king and Holy Roman emperor, moved the imperial court from Vienna to Prague, making the city an imperial capital for a second time. At the Prague court Rudolf assembled a large array of foreign artists, artisans, and scientists. Among these notables were the astronomers Johannes Kepler (1571–1630) and Tycho Brahe (1546–1601), the painters Bartholomeus Spranger (1546–1611) and Giuseppe Arcimboldo (c. 1530–1593), and the sculptor Adriaan de Vries (c. 1560–1626). Rudolf's *Kunst-kammer*, located in the Prague Castle, was the largest art collection in the Europe of that day.

By 1600 Prague had become a major European center of late Renaissance culture and, with a population of about sixty thousand people, the largest city in the empire and in central Europe. Growing tension between Catholics and Protestants within the ruling elite led in 1618 to an Estates revolt, which culminated in a third defenestration. This time Protestant noblemen tossed two Catholic imperial governors from a window in the Prague Castle. Although the men were not badly hurt, this action was the catalyst for the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648). In 1620 the Bohemian

Estates and their Protestant allies were defeated by Catholic imperial troops at the Battle of White Mountain, just outside of Prague. A year later twenty-one leaders of the revolt were executed on Old Town Square, and their heads were displayed on the bridge, an event publicized throughout the empire. The Edict of Restitution in 1629 firmly entrenched Habsburg rule and the Counter-Reformation and resulted in property confiscations and the exile of Protestants from the city. At the same time Prague's baroque culture flowered, which continued into the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. During the reign of Empress Maria Theresa (ruled 1740–1780) a new wing was added to the Prague Castle. In 1781 the Edict of Toleration of Emperor Joseph II (ruled 1765–1790) brought with it the dissolution of cloisters and monasteries. In 1787 Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart came to Prague for the premiere of *Don Giovanni*, which was widely acclaimed and affirmed Prague's importance as a major cultural center.

See also Bohemia; Habsburg Dynasty; Austria; Holy Roman Empire; Hussites; Jagiellon Dynasty (Poland-Lithuania); Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus; Reformation, Protestant; Thirty Years' War (1618–1648).

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PRAGUE, DEFENESTRATION OF.

The humorously complex word *defenestration* simply means throwing someone or something out a window (Latin *fenestra*, 'window'), but in Prague this action came to symbolize a national reaction to foreign or illegitimate rule. The first Defenestration of Prague occurred on 30 July 1419, when radical Hussites, in an action to free several Utraquists imprisoned by the magistrates, killed seven city councillors by throwing them out of the window of the New Town Hall and into the midst of an angry

Hussite mob. Emperor Wenceslas (emperor 1378–1400; Wenceslas IV, king of Bohemia 1378–1419) was so enraged at this event that he died, perhaps of a heart attack. The next year Hussite rebels, led by Jan Žižka (c. 1376–1424), were victorious over the Roman Catholic king (later emperor) Sigismund (emperor 1433–1437; king of Hungary 1387–1437; king of the Romans 1410–1437; king of Bohemia 1419–1437; king of the Lombards 1431–1437) at nearby Vítkov Hill.

The Second Defenestration of Prague triggered the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648). During the stormy reigns of Rudolf II (ruled 1576–1612) and Matthias (ruled 1612–1619), the Bohemian aristocracy had extracted rights to Protestant worship and instruction, most notably the Letter of Majesty of 1609. But when subjects of the archbishop of Prague built a Protestant church at Klostergrab and others a church at Braunau, the archbishop ordered these churches closed. King Matthias brought this crisis to a head by ratifying the archbishop's order. In March 1618 a Protestant assembly protested the emperor's actions in stacking his council with staunch Catholics, but their protest was rejected. The Bohemian Estates, heavily Protestant and zealously protective of their rights to representation, stormed into Prague's Hradcyn Castle on 23 May 1618 and hurled two imperial governors, Jaroslav of Martinic and William of Slavata, along with their secretary out one of the castle windows. Their fall was cushioned by an accretion of refuse at the bottom of the castle wall, so they were not seriously injured by their fifty-foot fall. But peace was at an end. Within months the Estates had raised an army and ordered the exile of the Jesuits from Bohemia along with the confiscation of their property. They elected Frederick V of the Palatinate (elector palatine 1610–1623; d. 1632) as their king. In response, the Habsburg monarch, Ferdinand II of Styria (ruled 1619–1637), laid plans for the subjugation of Bohemia, a goal he effectively achieved at the Battle of White Mountain, 8 November 1620.

Defenestration continued to have such resonance in Czech history that other events, such as the death of Jan Masaryk (1886–1948), have sometimes been called “defenestrations.”

See also Bohemia; Hussites; Prague; Representative Institutions; Thirty Years' War (1618–1648).

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PREACHING AND SERMONS.

Preaching originates from the ministry of Jesus, the Word of God, and his mandate to “go and make disciples of all nations . . . teaching them to obey everything that I have commanded you” (Matthew 28:19). Saint Paul states, “Faith comes from hearing” (Romans 10:17); the Word is to be preached ceaselessly, “whether the time is favorable or unfavorable; convince, rebuke, and encourage, with the utmost patience in teaching.” (2 Timothy 4:2; cf. 3:16) Preaching is proclamation, it is the Good News of “the Kingdom” (Mark 1:14–15; 38–39); it is God's word in human speech.

FORMAT

Scripture provides no instruction on format for preaching but leaves this to the preacher. From the early church to the present, the two principal forms have been the homily (*homilia*), a simple exposition of Scripture at the liturgy or in private gatherings, used extensively by the Alexandrian theologian Origen (d. 254), and the sermon (*sermo, contio*), a more formal discourse on a scriptural topic, a religious mystery, theme, custom, event, or saint's life. Variations on these two formats could be considerable.

From the Middle Ages into the early modern era, the more customary form of preaching was the Scholastic, or thematic, sermon, whose intention was primarily teaching. It began usually with a “theme,” a short passage from the Gospel read at mass, which was divided into two or three parts, then a protheme, a brief statement of the theme to direct the audience's attention. After a prayer for divine assistance, a repetition of the theme, the preacher gave his sermon in two, sometimes three, parts (corresponding to the elements of the scriptural quotation). In these parts he might give definitions, make distinctions, support points with quotations from Scripture, the church fathers, or other authorities, and give examples. This was fol-

lowed by a conclusion. As formalistic as this appears, it could be used effectively. It was flexible and could be substantially modified for addressing fellow clergy and religious (*ad clericos*) or “the people” (*ad populum*). To assist preachers, homiletic materials abounded: sermon collections, *catenae* (compilations of biblical exegesis), florilegia of patristic writers, summae of virtues and vices, books of exempla, the famous *Legenda aurea* (Golden legend) of Jacobus de Voragine (1298), saints’ lives whose material preachers could repeat or adapt for preaching, and treatises on preaching (*Artes praedicandi*), for composing sermons according to the thematic method.

By 1500, the *Artes praedicandi* and the thematic sermon had begun to fall out of favor, or at least undergo significant changes. With the revival of Roman rhetorical education and the rediscovery of the classics, humanist-trained ecclesiastics understood preaching more broadly as “sacred eloquence” and saw it as falling into line with the three aims of classical rhetoric—to move, to teach, to delight (*movere, docere, delectare*)—topics discussed as well by Saint Augustine in book four of *De doctrina Christiana* (397–428). Good preaching was not a Scholastic disputation; it was scriptural, words that touched the heart, called to repentance, and taught matters necessary for salvation. This approach had solid medieval foundations. Franciscan preaching had eschewed the subtleties of Scholastic disputations to shake sinners out of their vices and instill virtue; it aimed at the spiritual needs of town dwellers, adopting their language, images, and stories, as Jesus had done with parables; it shunned “lofty words or wisdom” (1 Corinthians 2:1); it was brief, unostentatious, and scriptural, focused on basic Christian instruction (the Ten Commandments, the Creeds, the Our Father, etc.) and on virtues and vices.

OCCASIONS FOR PREACHING, 1500–1750

Preaching occupied a vast campus. Jesus said, “Wherever two or more are gathered in my name, I am there among them” (Matthew 18:20), and preaching could occur everywhere. In highly formalized settings, as before popes at Solemn High Mass, or before kings at state funerals, sermons marked grand occasions. Apart from regular liturgies, sermons occurred in open air, in city squares, on street corners, at assemblies, at funerals, at the

commemorations of saints, victories, and miracles, at Forty Hours (the exposition of the Blessed Sacrament for forty continuous hours in a church), in times of pestilence, famine, and war, in extraliturgical events during Advent and Lent, on holy days and fast days, and in confraternities. It was important that preaching abound. The English cleric Gregory Martin’s *Roma Sancta* (1581) describes late-sixteenth-century Rome as bristling with preaching in every church and crosswalk, thereby giving evidence of the city’s holiness and the effects of good preaching on a city that years earlier had been sorely criticized for sordid vices. In Protestant circles, the surest sign of the true church was where the Word was preached and baptism and the Eucharist were dispensed. Preaching was the vital activity demonstrating God’s intervention. Calvinist preachers preached in open fields and in private homes as well as in church. Because of the Reformation, good preaching became ever more credible evidence of the true church; preaching, too, was a competition, as every denomination knew that so much rested on the eloquence of its minister.

NEW DIRECTIONS IN PREACHING IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

Early-sixteenth-century writers commonly lamented the deplorable condition of sacred oratory, but their words more likely reflect the greater demand for good preaching among educated laity. Much good preaching, in fact, occurred, and ecclesiastical authorities continuously urged homiletic reforms. The Fifth Lateran Council’s (1513–1517) decree on preaching, *Circa Modum Praedicandi* (1516) acknowledged abuses, but articulated the direction preaching had already embraced when it demanded that clergy “preach and explain the evangelical truth and Sacred Scripture according to the declaration, interpretation and exposition of the doctors whom the Church or daily use has approved.”

The Council of Trent (1545–1563) was the watershed in the reform of Catholic preaching. It defined preaching as the “special duty of bishops” and enjoined them “to preach the holy Gospel of Jesus Christ, to feed the people entrusted to them. . . .” It urged bishops to establish programs for liberal arts and the study of Scripture in their dioceses, which would be the beginning of the seminary system of priestly education, and the formation of excellent

preachers. Trent's decree coincided with a revival in preaching that had already made a dramatic impact on Europe. Significantly, the new religious orders (Jesuits, Theatines, Capuchins, etc.) made preaching a priority and in this differed from most clergy. After Trent, few bishops could miss the idea that preaching was crucial; some issued "instructions for preachers" on preaching to the people (*ad populum*). In Protestant preaching, too, preparation of preachers in biblical studies and languages was paramount; it was the chief work of pastors.

FAMOUS PREACHERS

In the early sixteenth century, scathing criticisms abounded about poor preaching. Erasmus of Rotterdam's (1466?–1536) works, for example, suggest that nearly every contemporary preacher was incompetent or disgraceful. In fact, competent preachers abounded in every confession. Some of the more noted Catholic preachers were Gabriel Biel (d. 1495), Roberto da Lecce, (d. 1495), Girolamo Savonarola (d. 1498), Johann Geiler von Kaisersberg (d. 1510), Bernardino Ochino (d. 1564), Cornelio Musso (d. 1574), Francisco Panigarola (d. 1594), François de Sales (d. 1622), Jean-Pierre Camus, bishop of Belley (d. 1652), Nicolas Caussin (d. 1651), Gian Paolo Oliva (d. 1681), Paolo Segneri (d. 1694), and Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet (d. 1704). Some were known less for their eloquence than for the example they set as preachers, most notably Carlo Borromeo, archbishop of Milan (d. 1584), whose regular preaching made him a model Tridentine bishop.

In Protestant lands, numerous preachers acquired excellent reputations. Among the best known are Martin Luther (d. 1546), Huldrych Zwingli (d. 1531), Théodore de Bèze (d. 1605), John Calvin (d. 1564), Heinrich Bullinger (d. 1575), and William Perkins (d. 1602). Tragically, too few of their sermons survive.

INFLUENCE OF CLASSICAL RHETORIC ON SACRED ORATORY

By 1500, the homily and sermon found new life as humanist-trained preachers returned to the sources (*fontes*) of Christian tradition to acquaint themselves with the eloquence of the Greek and Latin Fathers (Origen, Gregory Nazianzen, Gregory of Nyssa, Basil, John Chrysostom, Ambrose, Augustine, etc.). New editions of the Fathers made clear

that the foundations of Christian eloquence lay in classical instruction and study of Scripture.

Erasmus of Rotterdam's groundbreaking and influential treatise on homiletics, *Ecclesiastes sive de Ratione Concionandi* (Ecclesiastes; or, On the Method of Preaching, 1535) codified a method for applying principles of classical rhetoric to preaching. The humanistic method of preaching had been in use at least since the mid-fifteenth century; but Erasmus's approach opened the way for others. Paradoxically, Erasmus himself fell out of favor in Catholic circles, as did his treatise, when his works were placed on the Index of Prohibited Books in 1559 and 1564. His work, however, stimulated a flurry of preaching manuals after the Council of Trent, the "ecclesiastical rhetorics" (*ecclesiastica rhetorica*), that set standards for preaching for generations, the best known being the *Rhetorica Christiana* (Christian rhetoric, 1579) of Diego Valades; the *De Rhetorica Ecclesiastica* (On Ecclesiastical rhetoric, 1574) of Agostino Valier, bishop of Verona; the *Rhetoricae Ecclesiasticae* (Ecclesiastical rhetoric, 1576) of Luis de Granada, the *Modus Concionandi: De Ratione Concionandi* (The Method Of Preaching, 1576) of Diego de Estella; the *Divinus Orator* (The Divine orator, 1595) of Ludovico Carbone; the *Orator Christianus* (The Christian orator, 1613) of Carlo Reggio; the *De Eloquentia Sacra et Humana* (On Sacred and human eloquence, 1617) of Nicolas Caussin.

Significantly, the new "ecclesiastical rhetorics" defined preaching as "persuasion" (*persuadere*) for moving the heart—instructing the intellect, bending the will, delighting the senses. They explained the genera of discourse—deliberative, demonstrative, and forensic oratory—which humanists saw as corresponding to three types of preaching: in deliberative oratory one urged the shunning of vice and growth in virtues; in demonstrative oratory one extolled the benefits of God, the wonders of the saints, the angels, and the mysteries of the Christian faith. On rarer occasions, a preacher might employ the judicial genus (the type of oratory characteristic of the law courts), though few writers found applications for this. The new manuals also elaborated on the three styles of speaking (the humble, middle, and grand), and on the ways these could be used appropriately; they discussed the parts of oratory, rhetorical devices, ornaments. Above all, they

stressed the essential differences between preaching and secular oratory, for in preaching the “salvation of souls” and “the glory of God” are at stake. Classical rhetoric could benefit preachers, but they were about the work of the Lord, not their own aggrandizement.

By 1600, preaching currents across denominations changed dramatically. What Marc Fumaroli has labeled an “Age of Eloquence” in France can rightly be extended to the whole of Europe and to lands beyond, where preachers labored to spread the Gospel.

See also **Rhetoric; Theology.**

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FREDERICK J. MCGINNESS

PREINDUSTRIAL MANUFACTURING. See Proto-Industry.

PRÉVOST D'EXILES, ANTOINE-FRANÇOIS (1697–1763), French ecclesiastic and man of letters. Prévost is best known as the author of the novel *Manon Lescaut* (1731), a love story with tragic overtones in which the hero and heroine, Des Grieux and Manon, are caught and ultimately crushed by the cruel, and at times sordid, social reality of early-eighteenth-century France. The son of a royal magistrate from northern France, Prévost entered the church in 1720 as a novice in the Benedictine congregation of Saint-Maur. His relationship to monastic life was conflicted almost from the beginning. In 1728 he asked to be transferred to a less severe branch of the order, but when his request was denied, he fled dressed as a layman.

The ensuing period of his estrangement from the church was extremely productive from a literary standpoint. Prévost published three volumes of his seven-volume novel, *Mémoires et aventures d'un homme de qualité* (1728–1731; Memoirs and adventures of a man of quality)—the work known today as *Manon Lescaut* is actually the last volume of this multivolume novel—as well as the first four volumes of his second novel, *Cleveland, le philosophe anglais* (1731–1739; Cleveland, the English philosopher), which, although read today only by specialists, also enjoyed great popularity in Prévost's own day.

The same period was disastrous, however, from a financial standpoint. Prévost sought refuge from his creditors in England on two different occasions, but when his financial situation continued to deteriorate, he returned to France in 1734. That same year Prévost formally requested and was granted absolution for his faults and authorized to transfer to a less severe branch of the Benedictine order.

Religion and morality are central concerns in much of what Prévost wrote, but both his contemporaries and his modern readers have tended to be drawn to other aspects of his work. In his *Confessions* (1782), Prévost's illustrious younger contemporary, Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778), the

PREGNANCY. See **Motherhood and Childbearing; Obstetrics and Gynecology.**

author of *Du contrat social* (1762; The social contract), wrote of how profoundly his early reading of *Cleveland* had affected him. Many of Rousseau's central themes—especially his views concerning the spontaneity of feeling and its role in defining human nature in ways that conflict with the dictates of social codes and hierarchies—resonate with the discourse and situations of Prévost's characters.

In the twentieth century the influential literary historian Eric Auerbach identified *Manon Lescaut* as one of the most important precursors of the literary realism of the nineteenth century. Other critics have taken up the question of the relationship between Prévost's life and work in order to emphasize the authenticity that they argue his tortured personal existence brought to his fiction. This approach has naturally led them to focus on the perspective and dilemmas of Prévost's male protagonists, but a newer generation of scholars has argued that this focus distorts the deeper implications of his fiction, especially *Manon Lescaut*. For them, the true protagonist of the novel is not Des Grieux but Manon, who seeks pleasure and freedom in a social world constructed on the basis of a hypocritical double standard with regard to women. From a literary standpoint, *Manon Lescaut* is without question Prévost's masterpiece, but his other works are also of interest in that they provide a fascinating depiction of Enlightenment culture, whose major trends they not only reflect but also influenced.

Prévost's knowledge of English and of English culture was virtually unique among his French contemporaries, and he exploited it in a number of ways. He is the author of the French translations of two novels by the eighteenth-century English novelist, Samuel Richardson—*Clarissa* and *Sir Charles Grandison*—which were to influence greatly the development of the novel in France. He edited and served as the major contributor to *Le pour et contre* (1733–1740; The pro and con), a review of English culture written for a French audience. But it was also through Prévost's English contacts that he became the French editor and translator, and eventually (when his English colleagues abandoned the project) the general editor, of the fifteen-volume *Histoire générale des voyages* (1746–1759; A general history of voyages), a compilation and presentation of virtually all the journals authored by the major European explorers of the world outside of Europe.

This highly influential work represented perhaps the most important precursor of Denis Diderot's better-known *Encyclopédie*. More recently, scholars have also insisted on its value as a synopsis of early European ethnography and an indication of the role played by an interest in non-European societies in the creation of the culture of the Enlightenment. It also reflects, however, an interest that was evident in some of Prévost's earliest work, especially *Cleveland*, which contains a detailed fictional portrait of the life of native Americans. Prévost's legacy thus lies not only in the individual works he authored but also in the links he helped establish between various aspects of Enlightenment culture and letters and perhaps, above all, between the exploration of the “inner” worlds of feeling, passion, and thought, and the “outer” worlds defined not only by French society and culture but increasingly by the “new worlds” outside of Europe, which in Prévost's lifetime Europeans were still only beginning to explore.

See also *Encyclopédie*; Enlightenment; French Literature and Language; Richardson, Samuel; Rousseau, Jean-Jacques.

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SUZANNE GEARHART

PRICES AND THE PRICE REVOLUTION. See Inflation.

PRIESTLEY, JOSEPH (1733–1804), English cleric, chemist, historian, theologian, philosopher, and social and political critic. Joseph Priestley, the eldest son of a maker and dresser of woolen cloth, was born in Fieldhead near Leeds, Yorkshire. As a boy, Joseph was exposed to strict Calvinism and tutored by local clergymen. Because his religious Nonconformity barred him from Oxford and Cambridge, his formal education was completed at the dissenting academy at Daventry. However, it was largely through his own efforts that Priestley learned Latin, Greek, French, Italian, German, Hebrew, Chaldean, Syriac, and Arabic.

Over the course of his life, Priestley's religious beliefs evolved from Calvinism to Socinianism (Unitarianism), but religion always remained of pivotal importance. His chief formal occupation was as a minister, and he served liberal congregations in various parts of England. In addition, he taught for six years at the dissenting academy in Warrington, and he tutored private students. During all this time, his prolific pen seldom stopped moving. His collected works fill over twenty-five volumes and include such titles as *A Chart of Bibliography*, *Rudiments of English Grammar*, *A Course of Lectures on Oratory and Criticism*, *An Essay on the First Principles of Government*, *History of the Corruptions of Christianity*, *Disquisitions Relating to Matter and Spirit*, *Institutes of Natural and Revealed Religion*, and *Experiments on Air*.

Although today Priestley is best known for his contributions to chemistry, he was only an amateur scientist. His first scientific publication, *The History and Present State of Electricity* (1767), was stimulated and encouraged by his friend Benjamin Franklin. Priestley reported in his posthumously published memoir that his interest in chemistry was a consequence of living adjacent to a brewery during his ministry at Leeds (1767–1773). His first publication on pneumatic chemistry (1772) provided directions for impregnating water with the “fixed air” generated by fermenting beer. In modern terms, Priestley described the carbonation of water. In addition, he isolated and identified ten gases, most of them previously unknown, and he discovered photosynthesis independently of Jan Ingenhousz.

Joseph Priestley's most famous discovery occurred on 1 August 1774, while he was serving as

the “literary companion” of William Petty, the second Earl of Shelburne. On that date, Priestley used a burning glass to focus the rays of the sun on a sample of the red calx of mercury, which evolved a colorless, odorless, and tasteless gas. He ultimately found that this new gas was “between five and six times as good as the best common air” in supporting combustion. The name he chose, “dephlogisticated air,” reflects the Phlogiston Theory, an explanation of combustion widely held in the eighteenth century. According to this theory, flammable substances contained phlogiston, the principle of combustibility, which escaped during burning. Air was necessary as a reservoir to absorb the escaping phlogiston, and when the air became saturated with it, burning ceased. Because the newly isolated gas had an enhanced capacity for supporting combustion, Priestley concluded that its phlogiston content must be lower than that of air.

Unbeknown to Priestley, Karl Wilhelm Scheele (1742–1786), a Swedish apothecary, had prepared the same gas in 1771. But the correct interpretation of the essential role of this gas in combustion and in chemistry was one of the major contributions of the French chemist, Antoine Laurent Lavoisier (1743–1794). Lavoisier gave the name “oxygen” to Priestley's dephlogisticated air and included it among the thirty-three simple substances listed in his *Elements of Chemistry* (*Traité élémentaire de chimie*, 1789). Oxygen was literally a key element in the revolution that transformed chemistry and established the modern science, but Priestley never accepted the new “French chemistry.”

Priestley's chemical conservatism seems to stand in stark contrast to his religious, political, and social radicalism. He was a severe critic of traditional Trinitarian Christianity, an outspoken advocate of freedom of religion and speech, and an ardent supporter of the American and French Revolutions. It was especially his espousal of the latter cause that led to criticism and caricature in the popular press and to the sacking of his Birmingham home in 1791. Continuing opposition in England contributed to Priestley's decision to move to Pennsylvania in 1794. He and his family settled in the village of Northumberland, where he lived quietly until his death in 1804.

Most modern scholars have found considerable consistency in the great diversity of Priestley's work. The unifying themes are his materialistic world view, his acceptance of a benign form of determinism known as philosophical necessity, his commitment to the power of reason, and his Unitarian beliefs. From this foundation Priestley inferred (in his own words) that "a wise Providence [disposes] everything for the best"; "the human species itself is capable of . . . unbounded improvement"; "the great instrument in the hand of divine providence of this progress of the species towards perfection, is society and consequently government"; and, "the good and happiness of the . . . majority of the members of any state is the great standard by which everything relating to that state must finally be determined." Ultimately, even Priestley's refusal to accept the chemical revolution that he helped start is consistent with his status as an "honest heretic."

See also **Chemistry; Lavoisier, Antoine; Petty, William.**

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A. TRUMAN SCHWARTZ

PRIMARY EDUCATION. See **Education.**

PRIMITIVISM. See **Noble Savage.**

PRINTING AND PUBLISHING. The shift from script to print in early modern communications was both dramatic and gradual. The invention of printing from movable type did produce many more books and led to a steep decline in the production of manuscripts by about 1475. Still, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, three or four hundred years after the introduction of movable type, manuscript was a legitimate form of publication in every field of scientific and literary endeavor. And while official communications from the political and religious spheres more and more began to take printed form, a lively network of clandestine manuscript production allowed unorthodox ideas to circulate outside the purview of the censors. Only by the turn of the nineteenth century did book production begin to assume its modern form. Then, the "typographical old regime," as the previous system is sometimes called, began to be replaced by the structure of an industry, divided into creative, editorial, and publishing sectors, that would emerge during the course of the century as capable of reaching the first mass audiences. Before then, individual entrepreneurs operated myriad relatively small firms in all the major cities without significant legal protection and under a regime of more or less strict political and ecclesiastical control. In spite of these conditions, printing and publishing exercised a profound influence on religious, intellectual, and political life wherever it flourished.

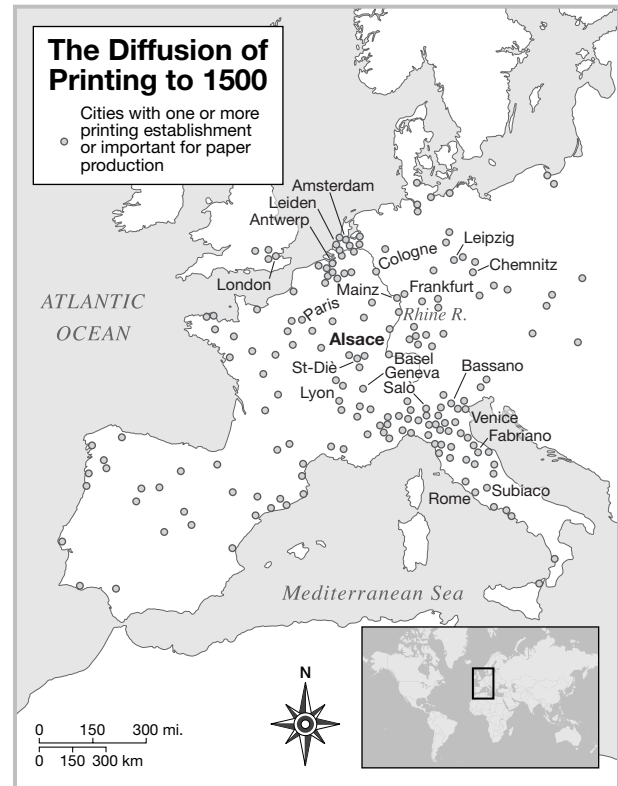
TECHNOLOGY AND MATERIALS

In the generation following Johannes Gutenberg, whose "forty-two-line Bible" was probably completed around 1455, the industry had already begun to take on the features that would characterize it for the next three and a half centuries. A typical operation, under the direction of a master printer, eventually included a compositor who was responsible for composing and justifying the lines of characters in his composing stick. He then tied up the page (i.e., the lead necessary to print a page) and imposed the pages of a sheet, situating the pages of lead so that the sheets would be printed correctly, with the chase and furniture around them, made up a form, and fixed the signatures so the sheets could be folded in an orderly succession when printed. A pressman and his companion were engaged in the actual printing of pages—one was responsible for

inking the forms with leather ink balls while the other placed the wet paper upon the tympan, turned the frisket down, moved the carriage in for the correct positioning of the platen, and then pulled the bar two times on one side of a sheet. The whole print run was repeated on the other side for perfecting the sheets. A corrector read proof in the lead characters and then sent his corrections back to the compositor, who reopened the form and reworked the lines. Sixteenth-century printers and publishers formed into guilds, which eventually sought to set standards for the quality of the product and the payment of workers, while governing relations between firms.

The cost of materials, coupled with a primitive system of exchange, powerfully conditioned the average size of pressruns. Well into the eighteenth century, accounts between authors and printers and between printers themselves, often at the trade fairs of Antwerp, Leipzig, Frankfurt, and Lyon, were still being settled by barter of books or paper. To save paper, pressruns rarely exceeded the thousand or so copies that were ordered by authors or their agents, or that printers could be certain of exhausting in a short time. Often this meant the quantity a good pressman could pull in twelve hours of work. Few printers had more than a few type fonts on hand, with rarely enough characters to compose more than a few pages of a book. After several pages had been printed up in predetermined quantities, forms were untied and the type redistributed in the fonts for composing successive pages. Second pressruns thus, in effect, almost invariably entailed new editions.

Established from the outset at a high level of sophistication, the technology of printing evolved slowly. As late as the seventeenth century, the main changes in the wood-and-metal press that had been used by Gutenberg some two hundred years earlier were metal rails to make the carriage slide in and out more smoothly and accurately, and brass bars to connect the platen more firmly to the hose. Type founding became an industry in itself, developed notably by Claude Garamond (c. 1480–1561) in the sixteenth century, whereas the chief advances in the eighteenth century came from such exceptional founder-printers as Giambattista Bodoni (1740–1813) and John Baskerville (1706–1775). The manufacture of paper was also a separate industry, mostly located away from the larger cities, on clear



streams and rivers, in towns like Fabriano and Salò in northern Italy, Chemnitz in Germany, Basel in Switzerland, and in regions like Alsace and the lower Rhineland. Already in the first decades of the sixteenth century, copper plate engraving began to take the place of woodcuts for illustrating works aimed at more cultivated audiences, although woodcuts did not disappear until well into the eighteenth century.

DIFFUSION OF PRINTING

From Gutenberg's operation in Mainz, whether by emigration of personnel or by emulation of technique, the industry soon spread. If Cologne, at least for sheer number of editions, soon emerged as one of the greatest centers in Germany, beginning with the shop of Ulrich Zell (d. 1507), powerful rivals soon appeared across the Rhine. The lure of scholarly publishing may well have inspired Guillaume Fichet and Johann Heynlin to organize production in Paris in 1470; the presence of a commercial fair eventually made Lyon the second printing center of France, beginning with Barthélemy Buyer in 1473. In Westminster, William Caxton brought his experience on the Continent to bear on the project for an

English press in 1476. Between 1465 and 1466 the first shops in Italy were opened in Subiaco outside Rome (Konrad Sweynheym and Arnold Pannartz) and in Rome itself (Ulrich Han). Three years later the debut of Johannes de Spira began the rise of Venice, which in the age of Aldus Manutius (c. 1450–1515) and the Gioliti family of the sixteenth century established its place as the undisputed leader among the 250 or so cities and towns where printing now existed.

By the second half of the sixteenth century, the printing epicenter of Europe began to shift northward. With twenty-four presses and over a hundred workers at the height of his activity, Christophe Plantin (1514–1589), who had offices in Antwerp, Leiden, and Paris, ran the largest printing firm of his age, occupied by, among other commitments, official work for the monarchy of King Philip II of Spain. With a complete type foundry attached to the printing operation, the firm was able to produce 2,450 editions in thirty-four years of activity. A former employee of Plantin, Louis Elzevier (1540–1617), subsequently dominated the market in Leiden.

CULTURAL IMPACT

The vast majority of book production in the early modern period was as uncontroversial as it was unliterary and unscientific. However, almost from the outset, printers became involved in the great cultural movements of the time. Aldus Manutius of Venice was by no means the only humanist who practiced the printing trade, although his case has become paradigmatic. Applying his scholarly knowledge of Latin and Greek, he produced a repertoire of products including the great works of classical antiquity, with text compressed by his innovative italic font, and one work of great beauty, the lavishly illustrated 1499 edition of Francesco Colonna's *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (Dream of Poliphilo). The Gioliti family, also based in Venice, contributed to the growing reputation of Italian literature with editions of such authors as Petrarch and Ariosto. In a slightly later period, Robert Estienne, of the Parisian family that moved in circles close to the humanist theologian Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples (c. 1450–1536), found himself in the midst of the contention between Protestants and Catholics in the Reformation. His celebrated polyglot New Testament, presenting the Vulgate (tradi-

tional Latin), the Greek text, and the Latin translation of the latter by Erasmus, eventually had to be produced in Geneva because of the controversies it aroused in France among authorities in the faculty of theology of the University of Paris.

Wherever important changes were occurring, from Renaissance humanism to the Protestant Reformation, from the birth of modern science to exploration in the New World, the specific role of the press could scarcely be distinguished from the role of other agents of change. Obviously, the printer's art, apart from advantages of speed and diffusion, could be particularly effective for delivering content when combined with various forms of illustration. Almost from the outset, the satiric print, political and religious, and often using primitive xylographic techniques, was a frequent accompaniment to text. Scientific illustration reached a peak of perfection in Basel in 1543 with the publication of Andreas Vesalius's *De Humani Corporis Fabrica Libri Septem* (Seven books on the structure of the human body), setting the standard for later productions such as those by Georges Louis Leclerc, Comte de Buffon (1707–1788). Mapmaking advanced from the *Cosmographiae Introductio* of Martin Waldseemüller, published in 1507 in Saint-Dié (Lorraine) along with a map showing the first depiction of America as such, to the projections of Gerhard Mercator (1512–1594), printed in Amsterdam, to the elaborate editions, printed by the Blaeu family in the same city in the 1640s–1660s, concerning every spot on the known globe.

In the realms of visual arts and music, mechanical reproduction contributed, in ways that still need further study, to education, to the introduction of new categories of leisure-time activities, and even to changing styles. Music printing constituted a particular challenge because notes and other symbols had to be superimposed over a fixed staff. Although the method of movable type, used to particular effect by Ottaviano dei Petrucci in Venice in the early sixteenth century, demanded the extra expense of plural impressions, it spread widely due to the absence of a workable alternative. The engraving of entire sheets of music, first tried in the early sixteenth century, eventually came to be preferred. Still in the eighteenth century, however, important English music publishers like Henry Playford (1657–1709) used the earlier method.

REGULATION

Regulatory mechanisms emerged slowly as officials in church and state began to recognize the potential of the press for ideological purposes—their own and others'. Each new press rule provoked authors, printers, publishers, and purchasers to conceive of new strategies of evasion. Books destined for more tightly controlled markets were shipped in via the free ports or smuggled across political boundaries in shipments of other merchandise. Few dared to suggest, with the early seventeenth-century Italian polemicist Ferrante Pallavicino (1615–1644), that censorship was an advantage; but no one could deny that the demand for certain works was inevitably enhanced by official sanctions.

Preliminary indices of forbidden books drawn up by the faculty of theology of the University of Paris (1540s) and by the Venetian government (1547) in the first decades of the sixteenth century were soon followed by those of Pope Paul IV and the Council of Trent (1564). By the time of the foundation of the Congregation of the Index in 1572, most civil governments had deputed various combinations of churchmen and government representatives to approve manuscripts for publication and oversee book imports.

Censorship was by no means exclusive to Roman Catholic areas, in spite of the relative press freedom advocated by John Milton in his pioneering tract, *Areopagitica*, in 1644. In fact, even in Milton's own thought, press freedom rarely extended to what were unanimously regarded as dangerous matters in religion and politics. Where pre-publication censorship went out of fashion, as it did in Britain after 1695, libel laws continued as an effective method of controlling ideas.

Printers and authors may have regarded piracy as being as serious a problem as censorship. They were fully prepared to protect their vested interest in intellectual property whenever they could. At the local level, they could count on applying for fifteen- or twenty-five-year exclusive privileges to print particular works, enforced by heavy punishments meted out by government agencies. They could also be sure that, if the work was successful, printers in other states would print it with impunity, as no rules had any application outside the state where they were issued. Juan Caramuel y Lobkowitz, Spanish-born cleric and correspondent of Pierre Gassendi

and René Descartes, in his *Syntagma de arte typographica* (1662; Collection concerning the typographical art), condemned the custom of seizing, using, and selling the writings of authors without their permission, citing the only international convention unequivocally binding all humanity—namely, the divine injunction against stealing. His appeal fell on deaf ears.

A WIDER MARKET

Throughout our period, the quantity of printed material increased in absolute terms as well as in proportion to the rising population of Europe. And apart from the now ubiquitous broadsheets in various combinations of text and illustration, new genres emerged for reaching larger audiences. In France, *bibliothèque bleue*, and in England, “chapbooks,” referred to cheaply printed pamphlets in small formats with primitive woodcut illustrations that were sold mainly by itinerant hawkers. The first newspapers were produced in Antwerp in 1605, and by mid-century they existed in every major city. Whether privately controlled (as in Germany and England) or sponsored by governments (as in France and certain parts of Italy), they spread widely. The eighteenth century added variety magazines to the growing repertoire of literature on which the middling ranks of people had begun to rely for instruction, information, and entertainment.

A veritable “reading revolution” has been attributed to the eighteenth century, entailing a shift from an “intensive” style (fewer books read carefully) to a more “extensive” style (more books, read carelessly). Whether this was actually true or existed only in the imaginations of contemporary observers and modern scholars is difficult to say. In any case, new genres aiming at larger audiences and new methods of distribution were accompanied by new practices of sociability, especially where coffeehouses, as exemplified in the pages of *The Spectator* (1711–1712) of Joseph Addison and Richard Steele, became places of discussion and cultural exchange. In London, the number of booksellers rose to some six hundred by the end of the century. In eighteenth-century Germany, reading societies and lending libraries fed the appetites of ever larger numbers of readers.

Industry growth and audience development pushed early modern structures to the limits. Sub-

scription publishing allowed printers to plan more carefully for the long term even where credit was tight. Some of the most important works of the eighteenth century were published by this method, including the *Encyclopédie* conceived by Denis Diderot and Jean d'Alembert (35 vols., 1751–1780). Works of imaginative literature were meanwhile published in weekly or monthly installments to sustain reader interest, with considerable influence on the history of the English novel. Freedom to innovate depended to some degree on the abrogation of guild privileges and, in many parts of Europe, the abolition of guilds. The Remondini firm of Bassano took advantage of its location outside the urban epicenter of the Venetian Republic in order to join papermaking operations with type founding, as well as to manufacture a wide variety of print products besides books, including prayer cards, games, and even wallpaper, in a vast strategy to undercut Venetian competitors.

EDITING AND PUBLISHING

By the end of the century, the figure of the editor/publisher, as distinct from the author and the master printer, began to emerge. Charles-Joseph Panckoucke, for instance, undertook such long-term projects as the reprint of the French *Encyclopédie* and the direction of the *Encyclopédie méthodique*, begun in 1781 as a continuation of the former and eventually completed in 166 volumes, along with several newspapers in and around Paris—all before finally purchasing a single press himself. And while John Bell exercised a similar entrepreneurial function in London, publishing several periodicals and newspapers, James Lackington in 1793 opened what may have been the largest book warehouse of the time, including over 500,000 volumes.

Even before mass literacy made a genuine mass market possible in Europe, the premises were laid for transition to a system in which the visual medium, mostly in the form of the products of the printing press, would take the place of speech as the premier method of communicating ideas. The way was prepared, to quote the McLuhanesque phrase, for the irreversible emergence of “typographical man,” with all the accompanying cultural consequences that came to define the mental orientation of the modern age.

See also **Antwerp; Bible: Translations and Editions; Caxton, William; Censorship; Dissemination of Knowledge; Encyclopédie; Gutenberg, Johannes; Index of Prohibited Books; Journalism, Newspapers, and Newsheets; Libraries; Literacy and Reading; Milton, John; Venice.**

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BRENDAN DOOLEY

PRINTS AND POPULAR IMAGERY

This entry includes two subentries:

EARLY POPULAR IMAGERY

LATER PRINTS AND PRINTMAKING

EARLY POPULAR IMAGERY

Graphic art is “popular” because it is relatively inexpensive and therefore available to a much wider

public than is true of paintings or sculpture. Woodcut, its oldest and most primitive technique, can simply be stamped or rubbed onto sheets of paper, and these began to appear in Europe almost simultaneously with the construction of the first paper mills in northern Europe (France, c. 1348, Germany, 1390), many printed in monasteries as prayer sheets or pilgrim souvenirs.

INDULGENCES, CULTS, AND BROADSHEETS

Indulgenced images were especially popular, since they were presumed to confer on the beholder benefits from the “treasury of grace” (excess grace earned by Christ and the saints) to buy released time from temporal punishment in purgatory. Martin Luther, in his Open Letter to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation (1520), railed against both the abuse of indulgences and the sale of pilgrim sheets: “Ofttimes they [the pope and Rome] issue an indulgence on this same pretext of fighting the Turks, for they think the mad Germans are forever to remain utter and arrant fools, give them money without end, and satisfy their unspeakable greed. . . .” He goes on later to say, “there is a little word commend, by which the pope entrusts the keeping of a rich, fat monastery or church to a cardinal or to another of his people . . . to install some apostate, renegade monk, who accepts five or six gulden a year and sits in the church all day selling pictures and images to the pilgrims, so that henceforth neither prayers nor masses are said there.”

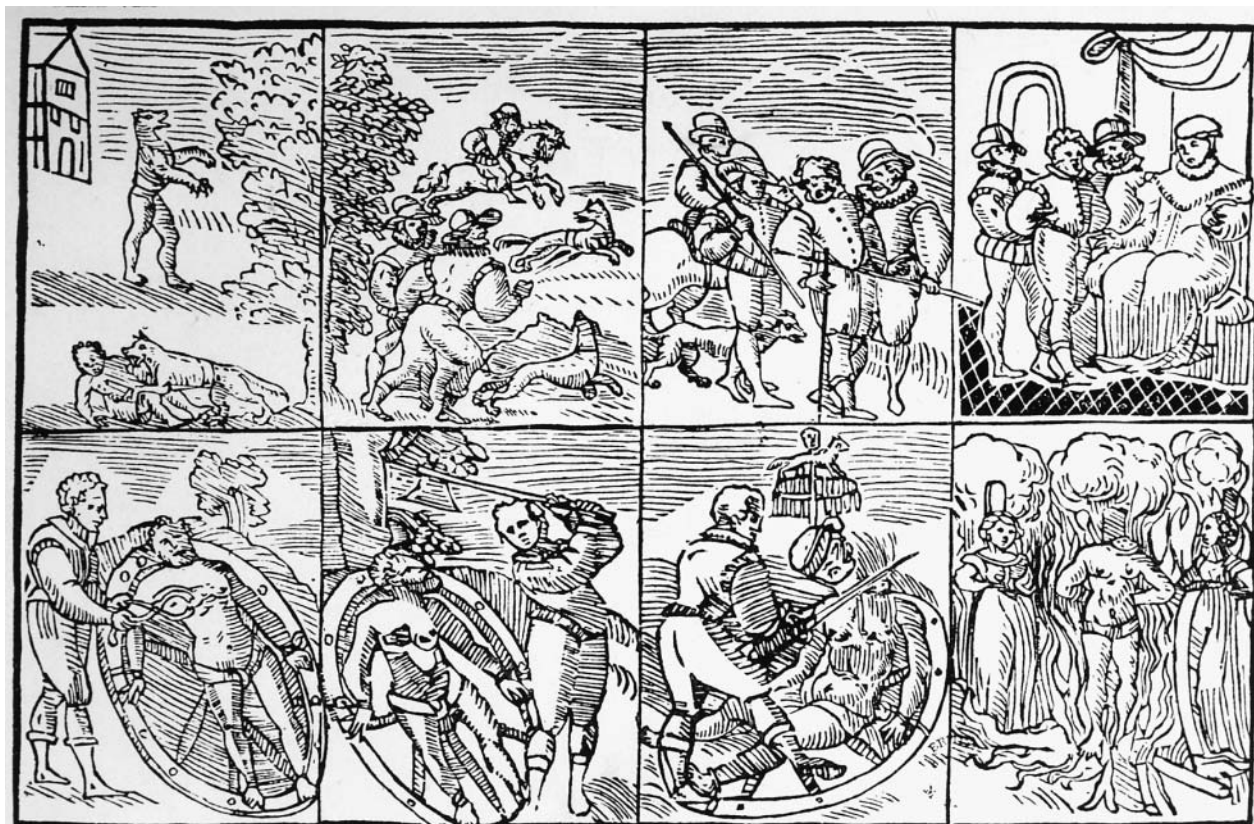
The majority of indulgenced images dealt with subjects actually approved by the papacy, for example the engraved pilgrim sheets in three different sizes and price ranges, made for the anniversary of the monastery at Einsiedeln, Switzerland, by Master E. S. (1466). The *sudarium* (veil of St. Veronica, believed to be imprinted with Christ’s face) was especially popular, and was depicted even by Albrecht Dürer (c. 1512) and Hans Burgkmair (c. 1505), as well as by Hans Sebald Beham as a close-up of Christ’s face alone (*Head of Christ*, 1520).

Well before 1500, however, unscrupulous print-makers were producing images of their own devising, complete with “statistics” regarding released time and/or miraculous effects. A Swabian woodcut of the *Sacred Heart* (Washington, D.C., National Gallery) depicts modules for calculating both “the true

length of Christ’s corpse,” as well as the wound in his side, and as a fringe benefit promises protection from the plague as well as seven years’ release from purgatory. Other images with extraordinary properties included depictions of St. Christopher, who could protect one from dying “an evil death” (that is, without the opportunity to make confession), or of the Fourteen Holy Helpers, each of whom was a specialist in protection against a different ailment or dilemma (for example, St. Denis for insanity, St. Erasmus for intestinal problems, and St. Vitus for epilepsy and dog bites). Images of one’s own patron saint or guild or city patron were talismanic as well, and depictions of the *noli me tangere* (Christ’s appearance to Mary Magdalene, saying “Don’t touch me”) have been found pasted into the lids of strongboxes and travelers’ trunks, where they evidently served as insurance against theft. Woodcuts of the Crucifixion were also pasted into the lids of such boxes, perhaps to serve as portable altarpieces for private meditation.

Practitioners of the *devotio moderna* (a fourteenth-century movement for the personal renewal of spiritual life) could choose from a variety of woodcuts depicting Christ carrying his cross alone—without the usual procession of soldiers, Pharisees and government officials—as a metaphor for patience in bearing one’s own burdens in daily life, as taught by Thomas à Kempis’s *Imitatio Christi* (Imitation of Christ, 1441). Popular eucharistic images included *Christ in the Winepress*, apparently based on a quotation from St. John Damascene identifying Jesus as “the grape of Life . . . squeezed in the winepress as the grape of the True Vine.” A related theme, the Host Mill, explained the miracle of transubstantiation in terms of a flourmill that processes grain into holy wafers. All of these, as well as images of the Mass of St. Gregory, during which the consecrated bread miraculously metamorphosed into the living image of Christ, and series prints of the Twelve Apostles, each labeled with his own supposed contribution to the wording of the Apostles’ Creed, were of particular value for the education of the new communicant. Rosary brotherhoods as well as practitioners of the cult of the Five Wounds (of Christ) were similarly educational.

Much less respectable was the short-lived cult of the Beautiful Virgin of Regensburg, whose chapel was built on the site of a synagogue razed in 1519



Prints and Popular Imagery. *The Life and Death of Peter Stump*, broadsheet, 31 March 1590. Thought to be a werewolf and mass murderer, Stump was apprehended, tortured, and executed in 1589. The sensational case is illustrated in this broadsheet. MARY EVANS PICTURE LIBRARY

and whose prayer sheet was an elaborate, multi-colored woodcut by Albrecht Altdorfer. Her votive offerings (workmen's tools, wooden legs, crutches, etc.) and ecstatic rites were depicted in a woodcut by Michael Ostendorfer, one impression of which bears an inscription in Albrecht Dürer's hand: "This spectre arose in Regensburg against Holy Writ . . . God help us that we may not dishonor His Holy Mother. Amen."

While prints of all kinds were much less numerous in Italy than in Germany, images of the newly canonized St. Catherine of Siena (1347–1380, canonized 1461) and of the "people's preacher," St. Bernardino of Siena (1380–1444, canonized 1450), and of the fictitious St. Julian the Hospitaller, supposed patron of innkeepers, ferrymen, and circus performers, were among the exceptions. Anti-Semitic woodcuts were produced on both sides of the Alps; those depicting the supposed ritual murder of young Simon of Trent by a group of Jews,

and those referencing "the Jewish sow" were two of the more popular themes.

Broadsheets and single-sheet woodcuts without text appealed both to the illiterate and the semiliterate and could be more or less informative—as in the case of Dürer's woodcut of *The Nativity of Syphilis*, which depicts a man with the symptoms of the new disease, but implies that it was caused by a conjunction of the planets.

Greeting cards constituted another category of popular print, with New Year's wishes showing the infant Christ holding a bird, riding a donkey, or seated inside an image of the heart being most frequently preserved. A unique woodcut is the famous "Power of Venus" valentine (c. 1460, Vienna), depicting a young lover's appeal to "Frau Venus" while surrounded by depictions of human hearts undergoing all sorts of tortures, and accompanied by some of the century's most truly dreadful poetry. This, however, is better classified among the numer-

ous “Power of Women” and “Battle of the Sexes” images that became popular in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Such themes include various combinations of unequal lovers as well as the more modern subject of the “Battle for the Breeches.”

Decks of playing cards were in great demand, but have survived only when not used for play (for example, the engraved sets by the Master of the Playing Cards, Master PW of Cologne, Telman de Wesel, and Peter Flötner). In some cases in sixteenth-century sets, the face cards included bawdy imagery, which added a new dimension to their use.

CARICATURE AND CONFESSIONAL SYMPATHIES

Signs of the imminent end of the world have always been of popular concern, and in the sixteenth century these included continuing interest in the late medieval concept of the Antichrist, and of the equally venerable theme of the World Upside-Down. The Antichrist survived the Reformation to emerge in Lucas Cranach’s Passional, *Christi and Antichrist*, with text by Philipp Melancthon. Comets were another ill omen, such as the one that marked the 1468 meeting between Pope Pius II and the emperor Frederick III, depicted in a political cartoon of the day. Other such ominous signs included both human and animal misbirths: the Siamese twins who shared a single leg, Dürer’s six-legged *Monstrous Sow of Landser*, and the supposed discovery in 1496 of a monstrous creature with a woman’s torso, the head of a donkey, one cloven hoof, and an eagle’s claw, immortalized in Wenzel von Olmütz’s engraving titled *Roma Caput Mundi*. After the dangerous year of 1500—feared by many as the possible end of the world—had safely passed, and been replaced by the issues of the early Reformation, this creature was recycled by the Cranach workshop as *The Papal Ass* (1523), and similar monsters were invented to accompany it, including *The Monk Calf* (*Das Munchkalb zu Freyberg*), *The Seven-Headed Dr. Martin Luther*, and *The Two-Headed Cardinal-Fool*. In a similar vein were caricatures of the pope riding a sow, or devouring the dead (gaining from endowed masses and indulgences), the pope as a wild man or as the Harlot of Babylon, and the devil playing a monstrous bagpipe—the tonsured head of a monk (London, British Museum). The time-honored image of the

Ship of Salvation (for example in Nuremberg, 1512) was parodied in imagery inspired by Sebastian Brant’s *Ship of Fools* (Basel, 1494) in an unflattering broadsheet, “The Catholic Church as Fishers of Men,” which depicts the laity as existing only to be exploited by Catholic clergy. Matthias Gerung (1540) contrasted *The Shipwreck of the Papal Church* with *The Ship of Christ* (London, British Museum). Alternatively, equally tasteless caricatures were produced in the Catholic camp, including *Luther as Winesack* (a rotund Martin Luther with a goblet in one hand, trundling his belly in a wheelbarrow—a reference to his advocacy of communion for the laity in both bread and wine), and *The Two-Headed Luther* (Strasbourg, 1522). When the head is inverted, a second head in a fool’s cap appears, in the spirit of Thomas Murner’s *Great Lutheran Fool*. A woodcut from the Cranach workshop, on the other hand, personifies Lutheranism by depicting Luther preaching while both bread and wine are administered to the laity, as simultaneously the Catholic clergy—including the pope—fall into a gigantic hell mouth. Trick woodcuts with movable flaps were produced by both Catholic and Lutheran sympathizers to produce indecent exposure on images of, respectively, Luther or a mendicant friar or nun. In addition to those made in Wittenberg under the auspices of the Cranach workshop, many anti-Catholic broadsheets and caricatures were produced in Nuremberg (which lay at the crossroads of the Holy Roman Empire) with the assistance of a ready-made distribution network, a paper mill, a sympathetic city council, and Germany’s largest publishing house.

PEASANTS AND SOLDIERS

Nuremberg was also a center of peasant imagery, premiered in its late-fifteenth-century carnival plays and transposed into woodcuts by, among others, the politically radical young Beham brothers. Too expensive by far for the actual peasantry to acquire for themselves, Sebald Beham’s *Nose Dance at Fools’ Town* (1534), issued with verses by Hans Sachs, his *Large Peasant Kermess* (1535; also known as *The Village Fair*) and *Peasants of Mögelsdorf*, and his brother Barthel’s *Peasant Holiday* call attention to inelegant behavior as well as to the consequences of excessive eating and drinking by the peasantry, newly rendered harmless by the suppression of the Peasants’ War (1525). Sebald Beham’s *Allegory of*

Monasticism, in which a monk rejects Poverty in favor of Pride, Luxury, and Avarice, and his *Christ and the Sheepfold*, with its text by Hans Sachs (based on John 10:1–10) leave no doubt as to the confessional sympathies of his buyers. Leonhard Beck's *The Monk and His Maid* (1523) and *The Monk and the Ass* (1523) make much the same point.

Images of mercenary soldiers, however, could be valorized by both camps, although the living soldiers most highly sought after were Swiss and Protestant. Scenes of mercenaries on parade or in recruitment were treated in sixteenth-century woodcuts, sometimes with Hans Sachs's texts, by Erhard Schön, Sebald Beham, Hans Holbein the Younger, and others, and were a specialty (together with depictions of the inevitable camp followers) of Urs Graf, who was himself a mercenary soldier. Niklas Stör depicted a cobbler and a tailor who each explain the reasons (economic) for deserting their trades in order to become mercenaries. (Urs Graf had been a goldsmith.) Martin Luther, who early on had been critical of the sale of indulgences to finance a papal crusade against the Turks, and who continued to maintain that Christians should not wage war in Christ's name, came to believe by the 1520s that it was fitting and proper that soldiers should go to war if ordered to do so by their ruler ("Whether Soldiers Too Can Be Saved," 1526; "An Army Sermon against the Turks," 1529). The graphic response was Hans Holbein the Younger's woodcut of *Martin Luther as the German Hercules* (1523, Zurich).

See also Caricature and Cartoon; Catholicism; Dissemination of Knowledge; Dürer, Albrecht; Humor; Luther, Martin; Lutheranism; Marvels and Wonders; Miracles; Peasantry; Popular Culture; Printing and Publishing; Reformation, Protestant.

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LATER PRINTS AND PRINTMAKING

Alongside the woodcut, engraving emerged in the fifteenth century as another technique for printing images on paper, but one with different historical roots. Engraving on metal for decorative purposes was very old when, some decades after the appearance of the first woodcuts, engraved lines were filled with ink and printed. Unlike woodcut lines, which are produced negatively by cutting away the wood between them, the engraved line is incised directly into a metal plate with a chisel-like tool known as a burin. The direct correspondence between the engraved and the printed line, as well as the greater flexibility and variety of its lines, made engraving more responsive than woodcut to the mimetic and aesthetic goals of early modern artists, and after initially being associated with goldsmiths, it was taken up by painters like Andrea Mantegna (1431–1506) and Martin Schongauer (c. 1430/50–1491). In its size, compositional complexity, and pictorial effects, Schongauer's *Bearing of the Cross* of c. 1475 more nearly resembles a small monochrome painting than a contemporary woodcut.

Although mostly portraying religious subjects, the secular and classical themes of early engravings, such as Mantegna's splendid *Battle of the Sea Gods* (printed from two plates and stretching to nearly three feet in length) point to a more educated and

affluent public than that aimed at by woodcuts. With Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528), however, who devoted greater attention to printmaking than any earlier artist, woodcut acquired the sophistication of engraving and engraving attained unprecedented pictorial and plastic force. Dürer's *Apocalypse* of 1498, which joined full-page, woodcut illustrations to the biblical text, was the first book to be designed and published by an artist, a practice also adopted by William Blake (1757–1827) for the pictures and poetry of his “illuminated” books. The *Apocalypse*, along with other sets of prints, as well as single-leaf woodcuts and engravings, were peddled from their native Nuremberg to fairs as far away as Frankfurt by Dürer's mother and wife. Easily transportable, these images on paper traveled widely, enhancing the artist's fame and becoming part of the first print collections.

Prints brought fame not only to their makers, but in an age before photography, to what they represented. Marcantonio Raimondi (c. 1480–c. 1534), who made pirated copies after Dürer's prints, later collaborated with Raphael to reproduce the artist's paintings in engravings. Such reproductive prints, which made an artist's ideas readily accessible to a distant audience, became an increasingly important part of printmaking and were soon joined by representations of architecture and sculpture. By the eighteenth century, cheap copies of reproductive prints were being produced, and William Hogarth (1697–1764) not only issued more expensive and less expensive versions of his works, but was also instrumental in the passage of the Engraver's Copyright Act of 1735, which enabled “Designers, Engravers, Etchers, &c.” to protect their work.

The technical mastery achieved by professional engravers like Cornelis Cort (1533–1578) and Hendrick Goltzius (1558–1617) in the later sixteenth century led to remarkable displays of virtuosity. In Claude Mellan's *Veil of St. Veronica* (1649) the swelling and thinning of a single, spiraling line beginning at Christ's nose models the entire face, and in Pierre-Imbert Drevet's *Portrait of Cardinal Dubois* (1724, after Hyacinthe Rigaud) the burin produces the most stunning effects of varied textures.

After the sixteenth century, most artists who worked their own plates preferred etching to engraving. Etched lines are bitten into the plate by acid after the artist scratches through a thin, acid-impervious coating to expose the metal below. The relative ease with which the metal is exposed imparts a greater freedom to the etched line than one finds in the necessarily more formalized and typically geometricized line produced by the engraver's burin. Although Dürer made three etchings and Albrecht Altdorfer (c. 1480–1538) and his followers used the technique for representing the larch-forested landscape of the Danube region, the first artist to exploit the pen-like spontaneity of the etched line was Girolamo Mazzola (called Parmigianino, 1503–1540), whose prints display much of the grace and fluidity of his drawings. Similarly personal and immediate are the open lines and dotted modeling with which Anthony Van Dyck (1599–1641) captured the likenesses of himself and a number of fellow artists (such as Jan Brueghel the Elder, Adam van Noort, Frans Snyders, and others) that later appear in the *Iconography*, a collection of engravings after his portraits of famous men.

More elaborate effects of depth and tone were achieved by Jacques Callot (1592–1635) through multiple bitings and the stopping out or recoating of areas of the plate to prevent further biting. The large number of plates etched by Callot embraces a wide variety of subjects from mostly small representations of beggars, dwarfs, and Morris dancers to more complex scenes of military depredation (*The Miseries of War*, 1633) and large, densely figured compositions like the *Fair at Imprumeta* (1620).

Although his early pure etchings owe something to Callot in subject and technique, Rembrandt van Rijn (1606–1669) created what his Italian contemporary, Filippo Baldinucci, described as his own “astonishing style of etching.” Through close hatching and the use of drypoint, in which lines are scratched directly into the plate to produce a particularly velvety and luminous tone, Rembrandt subtly modeled everything from his own face to the Dutch landscape, merging the deepest darks with the most brilliant lights of the unprinted paper. In the mid-1630s, in works like the *Annunciation to the Shepherds*, with its radiant glory of angels, dumbstruck shepherds, and stampeding animals, such effects intensify the melodrama, but by the

1640s, the chiaroscuro begins to figure in more interior narratives. In the so-called *Hundred Guilders Print* (c. 1647–1649, from Matthew 19) the sick and the lame stream out of the darkness groping for the light of Christ, while opposite them the Pharisees argue among themselves in the light of day, and in a fourth version of the *Three Crosses* (1653), the violent clash of light and dark at the cataclysmic moment of Christ's death is transformed into darkest mystery and tragedy. As in his paintings, Rembrandt reveals in his prints the utmost sensitivity to the emotional nuances of the narrative and an unequalled capacity for inventing the mimetic and formal means to realize them.

In the eighteenth century, the tonal effects pioneered by Rembrandt dominated printmaking. Although Giovanni Battista Tiepolo (1696–1770) produced lightly bitten, sun-washed fantasies at once classicizing and romantic, Giovanni Battista Piranesi (1720–1778) strengthened the chiaroscuro effect of his architectural views in the forbidding and gloomy interiors of his imaginary prisons (1750). In northern Europe, artists evenly and thickly nicked the surface of the plate, so that if printed it produced a uniform black; burnishing or scraping away the nicks produced lighter shades. These mezzotints, as they are called, were especially popular in England, where they were most often used for reproducing painted portraits and landscapes.

In etching, tone was achieved by biting through a porous, rather than continuous, acid-resistant ground. Perforating the ground in the crayon manner enabled the print to mimic the broken, textured line of the then highly popular chalk drawings, whereas in aquatint the ground itself was given an open, granular structure. Francisco de Goya (1746–1828) used the wash-like shades of aquatint to probe popular superstitions and the darker corners of the human mind in *Los Caprichos* (1799) and to modernize Callot with a surfeit of cruelties and terrors in *Los Desastres de la Guerra*, which were etched in response to the French occupation of Spain from 1808 to 1814. His famous print, *The Sleep of Reason Produces Monsters*, from *Los Caprichos*, illustrates in its aquatint shadows and multiplying night creatures both the Enlightenment's innocent faith in reason and its imminent collapse.

See also Callot, Jacques; Caricature and Cartoon; Dürer, Albrecht; Goya y Lucientes, Francisco de; Popular Culture; Rembrandt van Rijn.

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PRIVILEGE. *See* Equality and Inequality.

PROBABILITY. *See* Mathematics.

PROGRESS. The idea of progress, the view that human beings and civilization are improving and advancing toward a better goal, is a very old one. Over the centuries numerous individuals and groups have believed in some form of progress.

In the centuries between 1400 and 1800 many Europeans developed a view of secular progress somewhat different from previous views. This was a secular view of progress divorced from religious, eschatological, and teleological concerns. Intellectuals developed the idea that human civilization had improved intellectually, socially, politically, and in scientific accomplishments. They believed that their

own age had made considerable progress in comparison with past epochs and would continue to improve in the future. But there was no definite future point to be reached. Appreciation for the contribution that science had already made and confidence in the future contributions of science and technology played a role. Confidence in what humanity can learn was important, but Europeans had less respect for the achievements of the past. This new, secular, and somewhat different notion of progress was first tentatively formulated in the late Renaissance. It took on greater meaning in the seventeenth century and reached fruition in the eighteenth-century Enlightenment. At the same time, a number of intellectuals strongly denied that their age marked an era of progress.

ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL BACKGROUND

The Greeks and Romans saw their civilization as better than that of other peoples, whom they characterized as “barbarians,” because they lacked Greco-Roman achievements. They sought to spread their civilization to the rest of the world, and this could serve as justification for conquest. Ideas of eschatological religious progress were strong in the Judeo-Christian religious world. The Old Testament chronicled the words and deeds of Jewish prophets who looked forward to the coming of a Messiah, but what would happen then is unclear. One of the most influential expressions of teleological historical progress is found in the Book of Daniel 2:36–45, an historical prophecy of five successive kingdoms. In the view of medieval exegetes and historians, Daniel’s interpretation of Nebuchadnezzar’s dream indicated that the Kingdom of Babylonia would be followed by that of the Medes and Persians, then that of Alexander the Great (the bronze kingdom), the Roman Empire (called the kingdom of iron), and finally the kingdom of God. In like manner, a fundamental view of medieval Christianity was that history moved in a linear fashion from the birth of Christ to the end of the world. Another manifestation of the idea of religious progress was the New Testament command to teach all nations, which spurred Christians to spread God’s word throughout the world.

RENAISSANCE VIEWS

In contrast to medieval teleological ideas of progress, Renaissance intellectuals, especially humanists,

had enormous respect for the ancient world. They greatly respected the achievements of ancient philosophers like Plato (c. 429–347 B.C.E.) and Aristotle (384–322 B.C.E.), ancient scientists like the medical scholar Galen (c. 130–c. 200), and ancient writers such as Cicero (106–43 B.C.E.) and Virgil (70–19 B.C.E.). The humanists were convinced that scholars and even statesmen could achieve great things by carefully studying classical authorities and incorporating their teachings into their own activities. Of course, they knew that fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Europe was not ancient Greece and Rome. But they believed that they could make their own era better by borrowing from and emulating the ancients. In so doing, they held an implicit if incomplete idea of progress because they believed that they were making their own world better than that of the Middle Ages, which they often scorned. They believed that they were creating and entering a new age, a “Renaissance,” after the culturally dark Middle Ages. This idea was found in religion as well. The humanist and religious scholar Desiderius Erasmus (c. 1466?–1536) believed that contemporaries who studied the New Testament and the early church fathers such as Jerome and ignored the medieval Scholastic writers would become better Christians and would cleanse the Christian Church of its worldliness. Thus, many Renaissance intellectuals had a limited understanding of human progress, especially cultural and religious progress.

Some Renaissance thinkers went further. After assimilating classical learning in a way medieval scholars were unable to do, they realized that ancient authorities were not always correct. For example, the medical scholar and distinguished anatomist Andreas Vesalius (1514–1564) began as a fervent follower of Galen. But then his own anatomical research led Vesalius to criticize Galen on some points and to assert his own views. He did so, however, in the spirit of correcting with regret, not rejecting, a revered authority. In similar fashion, Nicolaus Copernicus (1473–1543) and Galileo Galilei (1564–1642) concluded that the ancient Greek astronomer Ptolemy (c. 100–170) wrongly stated that the sun revolved around the earth and proposed heliocentric alternatives. But none of these practical men of science formulated theories of progress.

The new understanding of periodization, historical distance, and anachronism of the humanists influenced some Renaissance men to think about progress. Renaissance historians realized better than their medieval predecessors the differences between ancient, medieval, and modern historical eras. Many saw the invention of the printing press as a very positive development of the modern age. Despite these developments, a notion of progress did not develop fully, mostly because of the great respect for the ancient world. The majority of Renaissance historians accepted a cyclical view of history inherited from the ancient world, that is, that history moved in cycles, that bad times followed good times in a regular pattern. This blocked the development of a theory of progress.

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

A new view began to emerge in the early seventeenth century. Francis Bacon (1561–1626) in his *Advancement of Learning* (1605, expanded edition 1623) and in other works rejected practically all forms of previous reasoning in favor of scientific knowledge discovered through observation and experiment. Scientific knowledge acquired in this way promised dominion over nature, which would be useful to human beings. Although he did not subscribe to a full theory of progress, Bacon was the first to link scientific advancement to utility, an important ingredient in the idea of progress. René Descartes (1596–1650) also enunciated new principles of science and rejected past approaches to science. Philosophy and science were charting a new course, superior to that of the past, according to the followers of Descartes. Admirers of Bacon and Descartes saw the growing number of scientific and technological inventions as signs of progress in civilization. Even more important, they saw the human ability to create inventions as evidence of growing human power over nature, another important theme in the idea of progress.

QUARREL OF THE ANCIENTS AND MODERNS

At the end of the seventeenth century, numerous men and women of letters and arts in France and England (where the quarrel was called “The Battle of the Books”) engaged in a spirited debate over the superiority of ancient versus modern authors. In contrast with their predecessors, many argued that

modern writers were superior to those of the ancient world. Bernard Le Bovier, Sieur de Fontenelle (1657–1757) in his *Digression sur les anciens et les modernes* (1688; Digression on the ancients and the moderns) saw the moderns as mature in culture and history without suffering a decline in quality. Charles Perrault (1628–1703) in short works of the 1680s and 1690s also argued that the moderns were superior. They did not have more natural talent and intelligence than the ancients. Rather, the moderns were superior because science and the arts depended on the accumulation of knowledge, and the moderns were able to profit from the knowledge acquired over the centuries.

For those who supported the view that the moderns were best, other key arguments were that national vernaculars, especially French, were to be preferred over Latin as the languages for literature and especially for philosophical and scientific communication. Modernist proponents (sometimes lacking knowledge of ancient Greek) attacked Homer for not measuring up to seventeenth-century standards of aesthetic beauty and for his alleged exaggerations and lies. The modernists also pointed out that the ancient world lacked opera, ballet, and the novel. The political and cultural primacy of France under Louis XIV (ruled 1643–1715), the ascendancy of the French language, and the European-wide prominence of French intellectuals lent support to arguments favoring the moderns.

The widely accepted theories of human psychology and development of John Locke (1632–1704) further encouraged many to believe in progress. According to Locke, a person’s knowledge depended on the sensations received. A child was an unformed being to be molded through sensory experiences imparted through education. With this view of human psychology, philosophes concluded that better social arrangements in education, social institutions, government, and the economy could make individuals and society better. They viewed human nature with optimism. Freed of the shackles of ignorance and superstition, especially those of organized religion, human beings would follow reason and do better for themselves and others.

ENLIGHTENMENT

While most of the elements—criticism of the past, assertion of the superiority of moderns over an-

cients, belief that science would improve the lot of humanity, viewing knowledge as cumulative—for a complete theory of secular progress had been proposed by 1700, eighteenth-century French philosophes and English economists, historians, and philosophers brought them together. They believed that reason applied to the problems of the world would yield solutions; they believed that progress could be achieved, was even inevitable; and they were convinced that progress would continue into the indefinite future.

Enlightenment philosophes believed that progress extended to all fields. They articulated a strong faith that reason could make humanity better. They offered concrete proposals for achieving progress, that is, through better education; different governmental arrangements; the spread of rational knowledge through such works as the *Encyclopédie, ou Dictionnaire raisonné des sciences des arts, et des métiers*, seventeen volumes of text and eleven volumes of plates, 1751–1772; and even through the free movement of goods. The Scot Adam Smith (1723–1790) argued in his *Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (1776) that individuals acting in their own self-interest will contribute to the general welfare of all. The rejection of a Christian afterlife caused Enlightenment thinkers to place their faith in progress in this life rather than in the next.

Anne-Robert-Jacques Turgot (1727–1781), philosophe and government official, sketched the most systematic argument for a secular and naturalistic theory of progress in works of 1750 and 1751. He brought everything—arts, sciences, government, economics—into his theory of progress. He situated his argument in a universal history, which became a treatise on social evolution. Referring to societies across the globe, he saw humanity's beginnings in barbarism, then steady progress to hunting and pastoralism, then an agricultural era, followed by a commercial-urban stage. Each stage had its own language, learning, and arts. He also charted the progressive development of government, from despotism to greater freedom. He argued that freedom was necessary for all human creativity, including the arts and sciences. Along the way Turgot offered judgments on peoples that had not made as much progress as Europeans, and listed the cultural and social reasons for their failures. Providence

played no role in Turgot's progress; everything came from human actions and occurred in this life. In his *Réflexions sur la formation et la distribution des richesses* (published 1769; Reflections on the formation and distribution of wealth) he argued for an economic system based on individual freedom unchecked by government restrictions.

Turgot had the opportunity to put his theories into practice as intendant of the district of Limoges from 1761 to 1774. He instituted tax reforms, abolished forced labor on the roads by peasants, and made other changes. When he became controller general, the chief financial officer of the monarchy, in 1774, he proposed many more reforms, including abolishing the guilds, liberalizing the grain trade, a system of national education, and assemblies of citizens to advise the government. However, his proposals provoked much opposition, and he was dismissed from government in 1776.

DOUBTS ABOUT PROGRESS

While many believed in progress, some prominent figures expressed doubts. Michel de Montaigne (1533–1592), always ambivalent and individualistic, hailed new inventions such as printing but doubted the ability of human reason to arrive at complete knowledge. In a famous essay *Des cannibales* (1579 or 1580; On cannibals) he noted that although Europeans called New World natives “savages,” civilized Europeans were much more barbaric in their behavior. He praised the simple, pure lives of uncivilized natives. The Italian philosopher Giovanni Battista Vico (1668–1744) in his *Scienza Nuova* (1725, revised edition 1730; New science) revived a cyclical view of history. He argued that all societies rise, mature, decline, and fall, in accordance to immutable laws of social development. Early in his career Voltaire (1694–1778) accepted the normative Enlightenment belief of continual secular progress. But in his amusing satirical novel *Candide ou l'optimisme* (published 1759; Candide or optimism) he expressed doubts. The chief characters in *Candide* very optimistically proclaim that the world is a well-ordered and rational place—even while suffering appalling calamities and unjust punishments caused by the misdeeds of eighteenth-century Europeans. Voltaire's doubts about whether history really gave evidence that mankind was making civilized progress grew in his last years.

Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778) was the most important philosophe to question and redefine progress. Rousseau saw civilization's artifacts, including scientific developments and government, as blocking the road to progress, which was the perfection of humanity. Reconstituting society on the basis of equality would lead to human perfection in his view. Rousseau did not advocate a return to a natural state devoid of civilization. But he wanted his readers to accept as a goal a different and freer human nature and to reorganize society in order to achieve this goal.

CONDORCET

Despite the doubts expressed, the majority of Enlightenment figures strongly believed in their conception of secular progress. The most enthusiastic was Marie-Jean Caritat, marquis de Condorcet (sometimes called Jean-Antoine-Nicolas Caritat; 1743–1794). Condorcet devoted his life and writings to every cause of the philosophes, from anticlericalism to the abolition of slavery and a call for public instruction. He proposed a system to help representative governments reach rational decisions. And he suited action to words by becoming a member of the National Assembly in the French Revolution. Condorcet sketched a complete theory of progress in his *Esquisse d'un tableau historique des progrès de l'esprit humain* (written 1793–1794, published 1795; Sketch for a historical picture of the progress of the human mind). Thanks to the growth of reason and scientific advances, humanity was enjoying progressive emancipation from the limits of its physical environment, the superstitions of the past, and ignorance, he wrote. Enlightened laws would eliminate conflicts between individuals and nations. Education would teach individuals their rights and give them the means of improving their lot. Progress would continue indefinitely. "Nature has set no term to the perfection of human faculties . . . the perfectibility of man is truly infinite; . . . the progress of this perfectibility . . . has no other limit than the duration of the globe upon which nature has cast us."

Condorcet wrote these words while in hiding during the Jacobin Reign of Terror of the French Revolution. Arrested on 27 March 1794, he was found dead in his cell two nights later. Despite what might appear to be evidence contrary to the idea of

universal progress during the French Revolution and the Napoleonic period, many European intellectuals of the nineteenth century reaffirmed the idea of inevitable and universal progress. The doubts also persisted. Nineteenth-century Romanticism, which sometimes took the form of nostalgia for the distant past of the Middle Ages, expressed ambivalence about progress. Belief in and pessimism about progress continue to this day.

See also **Ancients and Moderns**; Bacon, Francis; Condorcet, Marie-Jean Caritat, marquis de; Copernicus, Nicolaus; Descartes, René; Enlightenment; Galileo Galilei; Locke, John; Montaigne, Michel de; Perrault, Charles; Philosophes; Rousseau, Jean-Jacques; Smith, Adam; Vesalius, Andreas; Vico, Giovanni Battista; Voltaire.

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PAUL F. GRENDLER

PROKOPOVICH, FEOFAN (1681–1736), was the most influential ecclesiastical official of Russia's Petrine era, who rose to the position of archbishop of Novgorod and vice president of the new Holy Synod, from which he exercised immense authority on behalf of Peter the Great's reforms. One of several prominent Ukrainian clerics (he was born in Kiev) in Peter's service, he first came to Peter's attention as an engaging sermonizer in 1708, and he orated a dramatic panegyric to Peter after the victory at Poltava in 1709.

Feofan is best known for his panegyric sermons and his definitive tracts in defense of Petrine reforms, most famously his justification for Peter's new law on succession of 1722, *The Right of the Monarch's Will*, and the statute setting up the Synodal church, the *Spiritual Regulation*. Although doubts have been raised about Feofan's authorship of these and several other works, most historians attribute them to him. After the incarceration of Peter's son Alexis for treason and his subsequent death in 1718, the tsar was left with no adult male heirs. In response he modified the law to permit the sitting monarch to name a successor. Feofan defended this decision as being consistent with Orthodox principles, the will of God, and common sense.

The *Spiritual Regulation* codified the new administrative structure for the church, the elimination of the patriarchate (which had been vacant since the death of Patriarch Adrian in 1700) and its replacement by a collegial body, the Holy Synod, composed of a mix of clergy and laymen appointed by the tsar. The *Spiritual Regulation* explained what this change meant to the body of the church and to the clergy, especially parish priests, who now became de facto functionaries of the state, and monastic clergy, who saw their numbers and resources dramatically curtailed.

Feofan is also associated with catechization of the parish and parish clergy through the circulation of his booklet, *A Child's First Lesson*. Intended as a literacy primer and a catechism on the Ten Commandments, *A Child's First Lesson* was prescribed for use in the church service, replacing other non-obligatory texts such as those of Efraim the Syrian. This text bore the hallmarks of Feofan's approach to language. Here, and to a lesser extent in his sermons, he consciously adopted a simple and straight-

forward tone in place of the decorative baroque of high Church Slavonic prose. Writing in the vernacular, he endeavored to employ the language of everyday speech, so that whether spoken aloud or read, the meaning of the text would be accessible directly to the laity. Although it remains unclear whether *A Child's First Lesson* was widely used for literacy instruction, it did circulate very widely in the eighteenth century, running through over a dozen printings and tens of thousands of copies.

During Peter's last years and after his death Feofan played an instrumental role in court politics and may have been crucial in facilitating the elevation of Peter's wife, Catherine, to the throne, thus inaugurating a long period (until 1796) in which female rule was the norm rather than the exception in Russia. Feofan composed the official account of Peter's death and succession, elegies, and the primary panegyrics extolling the post-Petrine political arrangement. He also worked behind the scenes among Russia's fractious court parties and guards' regiments, on behalf of political stability.

See also **Autocracy; Orthodoxy, Russian; Peter I (Russia); Russian Literature and Language.**

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GARY MARKER

PROPERTY. In modern times, "property" generally refers to the ownership of an economic good, such as land or money. During the later Middle Ages and the early modern period, property encompassed a much wider variety of entitlements, including political powers, honorific and useful privileges, and tax exemptions. As one late-seventeenth-century dictionary defined it, property is the mastery of "the resource, the domain, the seigniorship of something" (cited in Kaiser, p. 302). Such language reflects the continued influence of later feudal law, which conflated wealth and status and regu-

lated the sale and disposition of property according to the legal standing of its owners and the nature of the property involved.

PUBLIC SEIGNIORY VS. PRIVATE SEIGNIORY

Although adumbrated in medieval jurisprudence, the distinction between public power and property rights, or what the influential early-seventeenth-century French jurist Charles Loyseau termed, respectively, “public seignior” and “private seignior,” had little practical meaning until a royal state emerged that drained away political powers previously held by noble lords, often referred to as *seigniors*. During the early modern period such a state did gradually emerge in western Europe. Royal legal systems eventually reduced the scope and importance of seigniorial justice, while royal armies grew so large that by 1700 the armed units equipped by and loyal to the lords ceased to pose a credible military threat and were disbanded.

Yet the distinction between public and private seignior by no means disappeared in western Europe, for noble landholders continued to exercise public functions in a variety of ways. In many areas courts run by the seigniors continued to hear cases, some of which involved contests between lords and tenants over land rights. In England noble landlords and their younger brothers translated territorial possession into political power through their heavy representation in Parliament, which after 1688 became the senior partner within the English state. In France the distinction between public and private seignior was muddled by venal office holding, that is, the practice of selling state offices, including judgeships in the kingdom’s superior courts, to private individuals. To be sure, most European peasant and middle-class property owners did not exercise direct political power, but the growth of commerce did expand their access to it, most notably through the purchase of noble landed estates by wealthy merchants. This trend so threatened noble status that kings across Europe outlawed the sale of seigniories to non-nobles, a restriction that was more effectively enforced in eastern Europe than in western Europe, where the middle class was larger and wealthier.

USUFRUCTUARY DOMAIN VS. DIRECT DOMAIN

Although non-landed property expanded greatly during the early modern period, most wealth in early modern Europe still took the form of land and buildings. In areas where Roman law remained strong, such as southern France, land was typically held as freehold, that is, as property that did not require payment of services or dues to a lord. But in most European countries, the majority of peasants held only usufructuary domain over their land, meaning that, even where they had escaped serfdom, as in almost all of western Europe, peasants owed services and dues to a seignior, whose rights over peasant land constituted their direct domain. Beyond direct domain strictly understood, seigniors enjoyed a variety of honorific privileges, such as the right to lead ceremonial processions, and useful privileges, such as the exclusive right to hunt in local forests. In return seigniors were expected to demonstrate paternal concern for their tenants by, for example, providing tenants with occasional gifts and sponsoring village festivals.

In western Europe property ownership became progressively more associated with usufructuary domain during the early modern period, and many labor services were converted into money payments. But these changes did not mean that peasant services and dues, which varied considerably in cost and nature from region to region, were negligible. Thus, whereas in France annual labor services typically required a mere two or three days of work on lands directly farmed by the seignior, in Germany some peasants were required to work for their lords more than three hundred days per year. Labor services in western Europe were usually less onerous than dues, which ranged from rents to obligatory fees for use of the lord’s oven and mill to payments on the transfer of land from one tenant to another. Tenants might also be required to pay for the drafting of detailed legal affidavits stipulating their obligations to their lords.

It is unclear whether and to what extent the burden of peasant dues in western Europe grew over the early modern period. But it does appear that western European seigniors became more adept at finding legal pretexts for squeezing more revenue from their tenants, thereby embittering lord-tenant relationships and dispelling the pater-

nalistic aura surrounding them. In England peasants also faced the loss of their land titles as a result of enclosure, the combining of smaller plots into larger, more efficient fields by landlords, a practice that escalated after 1750. Enclosure has been vigorously defended on the grounds that it raised living standards generally by lowering bread prices and that most peasants found new ways to earn a living. At the same time, by allowing larger landlords to dispossess smaller ones, enclosure deprived peasants of the one resource that cushioned them from the vagaries of the market, and it disrupted traditional rhythms of rural life.

In eastern Europe the condition of peasants—most of them enserfed over the previous three centuries—was surely worse than in the West, as evidenced by a wave of peasant rebellions during the later eighteenth century that swept over Bohemia, Russia, and elsewhere. Although the causes of these rebellions were multiple, they generally arose in response to seigniorial efforts to exact greater labor services and in some areas to state-supported seigniorial efforts to turn serfs into virtual slaves. For despite mild state efforts at moderating such abuses, Russian and Polish seigniors routinely deprived serfs of their land rights, sold them as chattel to other lords, and inflicted brutal corporal punishments and even death sentences upon tenants who resisted the loss of their rights.

WOMEN AND PROPERTY

As in so many other respects, women suffered disadvantages in the matter of property ownership. Generally, the property women brought into marriages and the money they earned as wages legally fell under the control of their husbands. Wives could not normally make binding contracts or sue in court without their husbands' permission. Longstanding misogyny lay behind these limitations, but the need to preserve family unity provided their chief justification, although significant restrictions on female property ownership were not universal. Thus, widows often received and disposed of income accruing from their dead spouse's property, while unmarried women, if the sole living heir, might inherit the estate of their parents. Furthermore, some marriage contracts stipulated that wives retained ownership of their dowries. Despite laws to the contrary, certain cities permitted women to

make investments on their own and conduct private businesses. Women also exerted some independence in the deeding of movable property (goods other than land or buildings) to their heirs. In short, despite major legal obstacles in the acquisition and disposition of property, women were by no means entirely dispossessed.

THE GROWING DEBATE ON PROPERTY

During the eighteenth century, seigniorialism became the object of a growing debate arising from new political conditions, especially the need for greater state revenues, and the birth of cultural movements, notably the Enlightenment. By 1750 it had become clear that the squeezing of peasants by the seigniors was seriously eroding the state tax base and reducing the incentive of peasants to produce. In some areas of Germany seigniorial authority was already declining with the growth of a large number of masterless, landless workers. Influenced by the liberal doctrines of the Enlightenment, German reformers tried to accelerate and regulate this process by limiting seigniorial dues and services in hopes that liberation from the most oppressive aspects of seigniorialism and a larger stake in the produce of a seigniory would encourage peasants to work harder. A similar attack on seigniorialism was launched in France by a group of influential political economists called the Physiocrats. The Physiocrats, too, advocated the gradual scaling back of seigniorial dues, as well as the elimination of state-imposed restrictions on the use and disposition of property, which they portrayed as impediments to expanding output. Although they did not deny the legality of seigniorial property outright, the Physiocrats undercut its legitimacy by representing seigniorial rights as the product of the lords' historic violence and tyranny over the peasantry. Defenders of seigniorial rights tried to turn the tables on the Physiocrats by contending that these rights were "natural" properties acquired legitimately through contracts freely entered into by tenants. This counterargument carried little weight after 1789, when the French Revolution, which proclaimed property as an "inviolable and sacred" right, radically scaled back peasant dues, transformed remaining ones into pure rents, and eliminated all the honorific privileges of the seigniors.

By the late eighteenth century, property in western Europe was gradually emerging from its seignorial cocoon, but this did not mean that it had lost all its political significance. On the contrary, as had been the case in England for a long time, property was considered an integral part of one's political personality, particularly insofar as it enabled its owners to resist corruption by "despotic" rulers. The late-seventeenth-century English political philosopher John Locke, in preaching the trinity of "life, liberty, and property" as natural rights of all people, helped make property holding a prerequisite for active citizenship in virtually all states until the later nineteenth century. It was only with the flood tide of democracy that property ownership became legally dissociated from political rights, a dissociation that has lasted until the present day.

See also Enclosure; Feudalism; Inheritance and Wills; Landholding; Peasantry; Physiocrats and Physiocrcacy; Serfdom; Serfdom in East Central Europe; Serfdom in Russia; Women.

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PROPHECY. Early modern Europeans inherited from their ancient and medieval forebears a vast and complex range of ideas and practices to which the term "prophecy" was, and still is, loosely applied. While prophecy often denotes simply the prediction of future events, the Greek *prophetes* referred more broadly to one who delivered divine messages. The Old Testament prophets warned and consoled through visions that encompassed past, present, and future. Christian prophecy had inherent (if often latent) apocalyptic tendencies, which surfaced when perceptions of crisis evoked urgent efforts to glimpse God's universal blueprint. Medieval and early modern prophecy also incorporated various forms of natural divination and the mantic, or prophetic arts. This entry highlights biblical and spiritual strains and the varied functions of prophecy.

Comprising both divine messages and their interpretation, prophecy was both an inspiration and an art. Prophetic forecasts did not need to be fulfilled in order to be regarded as true, nor did the failure of a particular prophecy make it false, for the prophetic spirit, by foreseeing events, also worked to influence and change them. As Jonah told the Ninevites, true repentance could sway God's will and hence turn away disaster (Jonah 3: 7–9). Here the outward failure of a prophetic expectation was proof of its deeper truth. The most significant and influential messages were at least implicitly connected with divine judgment and the "last things"; such associations allowed prophecy to function as both a weapon of dissent and a shield for the powerful throughout the early modern era.

SOURCES OF PROPHETIC AUTHORITY

The issue of prophetic authority was central to the establishment and maintenance of power well into the early modern period. The central fount of authority lay in Scripture, the interpretation of which could be seen as a prophetic act. In the late Middle Ages the main prophetic texts of the Bible became crucial battlegrounds on which established powers, both sacred and secular, were contested and defended. But the same was true of venerable ancient sources such as the sibylline oracles, numerous pseudonymous texts, and legends such as the predictions of Merlin. Nature presented another key source of prophecy. The reading of wonders, both celestial and terrestrial, became a major obsession by

the sixteenth century; almost anything unusual could be taken to herald war, rebellion, natural disaster, the death of a great prince, or even the Last Judgment. Attention to wonders overlapped closely the various arts of divination, the most pervasive of which was astrology. Moreover, the spirit could communicate to individuals through direct revelation, angels, dreams, or visions.

PROPHETIC HISTORY

The prophetic understanding of history was manifest in several competing schemes, such as the Augustinian six ages corresponding to the ages of man, and the Four Empires of the Book of Daniel. The triadic “Prophesy of Elias,” derived from the Talmud, posited three 2000-year periods before, under, and after the Law. More radical was the Trinitarian vision of Joachim of Fiore (c. 1130–c. 1202), in which the world-historical stages of the Father and Son would be followed by that of the Holy Spirit, a time of spiritual fulfillment before the Judgment. Through at least the seventeenth century, thinkers debated these schemes and their application with great intensity. Not only the outlines but also the details of prophetic world-chronology took on immense importance in efforts to legitimize governments, religious movements, and programs of reform.

REFORMATION PROPHECY

The late fifteenth century saw a surging confluence of older currents, evident for instance in the 1488 *Pronosticatio* of Johann Lichtenberger, a grab bag of biblical, astrological, Joachimist, and other ideas. Hopes and fears regarding the fate of the church, the empire, or Christendom fed on one another. Governments worked hard to control the spread of popular prophecies, volatile and dangerous as they often were. Nonetheless, growing lay involvement in all realms of culture brought a proliferation of competing claims to prophetic insight.

The religious explosion of the Reformation saw a dramatic escalation in this contest; the evangelical movement itself was interpreted by Martin Luther as a fulfillment of scriptural as well as extrascriptural prophecies. The reformers placed new emphasis on the prophetic dimensions of preaching and faith. At Zurich, Huldrych Zwingli (1484–1531) introduced a form of public biblical teaching, based on learned discussion, known as “the prophecy.” But

did the Spirit speak only through Scripture? The prophet Joel spoke of a general spiritual outpouring in the last days, and many souls felt the flow of a mystical spiritualism that challenged all limits on prophetic inspiration.

The emergence of confessional orthodoxies was partly a reaction to the threatening anarchy of prophetic voices; confessional identities reflected shared prophetic understandings. Protestants almost universally assumed that the Antichrist had been revealed in the Roman papacy. Among Lutherans, apocalyptic expectancy became virtually a mark of true gospel teaching; Luther himself, who denounced many of his enemies as false prophets, became widely viewed as a “last Elijah.” Calvinists, though often dispersed and embattled, took a more confident and aggressive stance, buoyed by a sense of God’s plan for the elect. Catholic orders such as the Franciscans found missionary inspiration in powerful traditions such as Joachimism.

Early modern concepts of rulership and nationhood had major prophetic dimensions. Well known is the image of Queen Elizabeth as Deborah, prophetess and savior of her people. Conflicts such as the Thirty Years’ War and the English Civil War evoked countless prophecies, both political and religious; in fact, the early and mid-seventeenth century appears to mark a peak of stridency in efforts to sanction political goals through Biblical prophecy. Calvinist millenarianism was among the most fertile breeding grounds for a variety of radical political programs.

THE SLOW RETREAT

During this same period, however, a reaction against prophecy set in, moderating this surfeit of the spirit. The slow demise of prophetic history had already begun in the 1560s when Jean Bodin (1530–1596) attacked the traditional scheme of world empires; the dismantling of this framework accelerated in the following century. By 1700 the traditional prophetic worldview was in rapid retreat, at least among intellectuals, along with belief in miracles and most aspects of medieval cosmology. Yet the break between that worldview and a more enlightened outlook was by no means complete. Millenarian hopes, for example, have been convincingly linked to modern conceptions of historical progress as well as to positive attitudes toward the

investigation of nature. Similarly, the transition from such prophetic notions as the Quaker “inner light” to the idea of natural reason was subtle, especially in an age when the distinction between nature and spirit was a matter of intense speculation.

While biblical prophecy was broadly attacked and ridiculed in the Enlightenment era, its retreat was both slow and stubborn. Isaac Newton was among the learned figures who worked to pare away the non-biblical accretions to prophecy in order to establish a purer science while preserving true prophecy. Major religious movements of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, including Pietism and Methodism, seethed with prophetic conviction. Eighteenth-century rulers and churchmen still had to reckon with perceptions based on long-standing prophetic traditions. The new age of reason was frequently understood in terms of prophetic fulfillment, even if the framework was often no longer biblical. The French Revolution was accompanied by a groundswell of prophetic interpretation and debate, much of which drew directly on the traditional biblical imagery. Certain prophecies had the potential to be self-fulfilling by creating a shared psychological readiness for the predicted outcomes.

Among European elites, however, spiritual prophecy was increasingly relegated to the subjective sphere, in which its public, political role was radically limited. In the eighteenth century spiritual inspiration was already frequently conceived in terms of artistic and literary genius. As biblical and supernatural imagery lost potency, Europeans encountered a world in which the realms of personal and political experience had lost their common prophetic ground.

See also **Apocalypticism; Astrology; Leyden, Jan van; Lutheranism; Magic; Miracles; Reformation, Protestant; Zwingli, Huldrych.**

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PROSTITUTION. Between 1450 and 1789, prostitution underwent dramatic changes in organization and policing. Criminalization replaced medieval toleration; a genuine police force appeared in the seventeenth century; and a new attitude toward sex emerged in the late eighteenth century, which pathologized the prostitute and associated her with disease and the urban proletariat.

In the late Middle Ages, prostitution was tolerated. Urban elites in France, Spain, and Germany established municipally owned brothels that were meant to preserve the honor of honest women by satisfying the sexual appetites of the city youth. In the sixteenth century an abrupt change occurred: The municipal houses were closed in Augsburg (1532), Basel (1534), Frankfurt (1560), Seville (1620), and throughout France (1500–1525). The appearance of syphilis (1494) in Europe certainly contributed to this change in attitude. But other forces must have determined it, for between thirty and fifty years elapsed between the arrival of syphilis and the closings of the brothels. Larger, professional armies, the growth of social distinctions, and the Protestant and Catholic Reformations probably led to the demise of toleration. More soldiers made the municipal brothels dangerous, and the strict morality advocated by pastors and priests made whoring shameful. Protestants, like Martin Luther (1483–1546), con-

demned prostitutes, as did reforming Catholics like Pope Pius V. At the same time, the growth of social distinctions and the spread of better manners caused elite men to seek more refined and exclusive prostitutes or courtesans.

The term “courtesan” originated in the late 1400s at the papal court in Rome, where celibate clerks sought refined female company. In the sixteenth century, Italy had the most accomplished and celebrated courtesans. Venice was famous for its courtesans, and many visiting dignitaries, like the French king Henry III (ruled 1574–1589), sought an evening with one of these beauties. Some courtesans, like the Venetian Veronica Franco (1546–1591) and the Roman Tullia d’Aragona (1510–

1556), frequented men of letters and published poetry in their own right. Others were simply decorative, but all promised a more intimate and socially superior experience to the new elites of Europe.

Paradoxically, at the same time that the courtesan appeared, prostitution was criminalized throughout western Europe. In France, the Orléans ordinance of 1560 made soliciting in Paris a crime. In Rome, Pius V (reigned 1566–1572) repeatedly banished prostitutes. In Spain, Philip IV (ruled 1621–1643) decreed prostitution illegal in 1624. But these new laws had little effect. Early modern monarchs had neither the means nor the desire to hunt down prostitutes. Consequently, prostitution flourished in early modern Europe.



Prostitution. *Transporting Prostitutes to Salpêtrière Prison*, painting by Étienne Jeaurat, 1757. THE ART ARCHIVE/MUSÉE CARNAVALET PARIS/DAGLI ORTI

Every European army had a host of camp followers, and each city unofficial “hot” streets where prostitutes plied their trade. The tavern was the most common site of prostitution, but soliciting also occurred on bridges, like the Pont-Neuf in Paris, in markets (like London’s Covent Garden), and near theaters and opera houses. Both men and women ran brothels, but procuresses were probably more common than pimps. Prostitutes were generally native girls, born within the city walls, between the ages of sixteen and twenty-nine. Some family disruption—the death of a mother or the remarriage of a father—often preceded a girl’s drift into prostitution, but the passage of an army was also a major factor. Many women’s occupations—linen mender, washerwoman, and street vendor—served as a “cover” for prostitution, and some occupations, like orange sellers in London theaters or bouquet vendors in Paris, were practically synonymous with prostitution. How many prostitutes lived in most early modern cities? It is impossible to say because no police force existed to count or monitor prostitutes.

In 1670, the king of France appointed the first Parisian police chief and gave him broad powers. Small at first, the Parisian police force grew, and by 1700 it was sufficiently large to have an impact on prostitution. Brigades of mounted policemen crisscrossed the city arresting as many as eight hundred women a year. With the Watch Acts of 1751, London too acquired roving watchmen who bound over for trial as many as fifty prostitutes in a night. The most visible form of prostitution, streetwalking, was the target, but the police also monitored brothels and taverns.

The years between 1680 and 1740 were a period of intense repression in cities like Amsterdam and Paris. Prevailing attitudes toward prostitutes remained highly negative: Hogarth’s six prints entitled *The Harlot’s Progress* (1732) shows the rise of Moll Hackabout, a girl on the town, who is imprisoned and then dies a lonely death of syphilis. The Abbé Antoine-François Prévost d’Exiles’s novel *Manon Lescaut* (1731) painted an equally bleak picture of a prostitute’s imprisonment and decline, but Manon differed from Moll in that she was the object of the hero’s love. Especially after Jean-Jacques Rousseau’s novel *Julie; or, the New Héloïse* (1761), Europeans came to view romantic love and sexuality

as the very core of the personality, the greatest self-fulfillment. These new attitudes worked against prostitutes, who now appeared to be selling something much more precious than a few moments’ pleasure.

While the old religious strictures against prostitution waned, new objections to venal sex emerged. A few authors, including Bernard de Mandeville and Restif de la Bretonne, argued for the legalization and regulation of prostitution, but most thinkers worried about its health consequences. Syphilis and prostitutes were increasingly equated, and physicians began to shape public policy. In 1803, the first dispensary—run by the Paris police—opened in Paris. Here, prostitutes had to register and endure compulsory pelvic examinations. The dispensary evolved into an elaborate and invasive regulatory system that allowed the police to monitor working-class women and incarcerate those, the “rebels,” who refused to be registered. In England, the authorities imported the Contagious Diseases Acts (1864, 1866, and 1869) from the colonies, subjecting working-class women in army garrisons and port cities to unprecedented surveillance and punishment. Similar sanitary measures appeared in Italy, Germany, and Russia. Prostitution was now regarded as “the” social evil, and prostitutes were subjected to arbitrary arrest and incarceration. By comparison, the episodic and unsystematic persecution of prostitutes in the early modern period looked benign.

See also Crime and Punishment; Obstetrics and Gynecology; Police; Public Health; Sexuality and Sexual Behavior; Women.

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KATHRYN NORBERG

PROTESTANT REFORMATION. *See* Reformation, Protestant.

PROTESTANTISM. *See* Anabaptism; Calvinism; Church of England; Clergy: Protestant Clergy; Dissenters, English; Huguenots; Lutheranism; Methodism; Moravian Brethren; Puritanism.

PROTO-INDUSTRY. The term “proto-industry” refers to a form of manufacturing production and organization, and the process of proto-industrialization refers to a historical process and to an economic theory of development. Historians have generally accepted the central features of proto-industrialization as an economic process with deep social ramifications that began around 1650 (there is much more disagreement about when it ended), but they have been more skeptical about the theory as an explanation for the emergence of the industrial revolution.

A SYSTEM OF RURAL MANUFACTURING

As a historical process, proto-industrialization refers to an intensification of rural manufacturing that occurred in various parts of Europe after 1650, above all producing textiles for national and international markets. In other words, quickening demand beyond the immediate vicinity of production, and even overseas, was the fundamental stimulus for expanded production. Production was organized in cottage workshops, and the primary unit of production was the household. Merchants distributed raw materials like wool or flax (for making linen) to peasants. Men and women would spin the raw material into yarn, and merchants would then put the yarn out to weavers working looms in their cottages to produce cloth. Merchants would then distribute the cloth to other cottage workers for bleaching and dyeing and collect it a final time for sale to a whole-

saler in a near or distant city. The peasant workers were paid piece rates.

This type of rural manufacturing, sometimes called “the putting-out system,” existed at least from the sixteenth century, notably in the Netherlands, as merchants sought cheaper labor than what was available in towns, where cloth workers were well organized to defend their economic interests. Initially peasants engaged in cottage manufacturing to supplement their income from farming, spinning, and weaving in their homes in the intervals between planting and harvesting. As demand for textiles grew after 1650 and above all in the eighteenth century, however, merchants sought more and more cottage workers to produce more and more goods. Proto-industrialization took hold often, although not exclusively, in areas with poor soil, hilly terrain, or concentration of land in a few hands. It reached an unprecedented scale in the eighteenth century, even dominating particular regions in the Netherlands, northern France, the German Rhineland, Belgium, and above all England. Proto-industrialization had important economic ramifications. It strengthened marketing networks as the volume of textiles multiplied and contributed to the accumulation of profit to entrepreneurial merchants who in turn sought further outlets for reinvestment. Moreover, because workers were paid cash for their products, they became increasingly integrated into a cash- and wage-based manufacturing economy. Each of these factors further prepared Europe to make the leap into industrialization.

Contributing to the expansion of proto-industrialization in the eighteenth century were population growth and an increased and better supply of food. More rural workers became available, and expanding commercial farming provided markets with food for them. Proto-industry employed far more people than the traditional cottage industry had, and in some areas peasants gave up farming entirely and became dependent upon “wages” paid by urban merchants. In some rural regions, a majority of the population worked for urban merchants. In England, as commercial and capitalistic farmers purchased and enclosed more and more fields, the population of propertyless rural workers grew more dramatically than anywhere else in Europe.

As proto-industrialization advanced, more peasants were driven into poverty, and landless peasants were more inclined to work for low wages than urban artisans. Merchants, driven by increasing competition in the market and the capitalistic motive to maximize profit by minimizing costs, exploited this source of cheap, unorganized labor. Some historians refer to this process as proletarianization, referring to the transformation of once independent farmer-manufacturers into a class of propertyless, impoverished wageworkers totally reliant upon the merchant-capitalist—and the vagaries of demand in distant markets—for their livelihood. Such developments had deep social, even demographic, consequences. Recent empirical studies show that populations in proto-industrial regions looked very different from those in other rural areas or towns. Marriage ages dropped lower in proto-industrial communities than anywhere else, and fertility rates rose the most and the fastest. Because of the impoverishment that came with proletarianization, poor public health, and rising levels of occupational disease, mortality rates were the highest among these communities as well.

A THEORY OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Proto-industrialization describes a historical process, but it also refers to a theory of economic development first advanced by Franklin Mendels in a seminal article in 1972. This theory, subsequently championed by such historians as Peter Kriedte, Hans Medick, and Jürgen Schlumbohm, argues that proto-industrialization had a direct and causal relation to the emergence of factory production, assumed to be the key characteristic of the industrial revolution. Moreover, it focuses almost exclusively upon the woolen, linen, and cotton industries. Empirical studies confirm, as the theory attests, that the first factories were in the countryside and often concentrated the decentralized cottage production in a single building. It is also true that in some areas proto-industrial merchants acquired substantial resources which they later invested in the building of new machines and factories. One can plausibly draw the conclusion, as the proponents of the theory of proto-industrialization have, that cottage manufacturing in both its small traditional form and as proto-industrialization was eventually replaced by factory production. And, of course, it is well known

that the cotton industry was the leader in factory-based industrial development.

The theory of proto-industrialization has as many critics as champions, however, among the earliest being Maxine Berg, Pat Hudson, and Michael Sonenscher. Recent research has demonstrated that industrialization was a slow and protracted process, certainly not complete by 1800, that it did not occur exclusively or even primarily in the countryside, and that it had multiple causes. Moreover, historians are much more inclined today to see the connections between proto-industry and factory production as more geographically limited than the theory originally asserted. Furthermore, studies of the economic functions of cities have shown that, contrary to the assumptions of the theory, cities and towns were not just centers of trade and finance, but were in fact also important manufacturing centers where productive artisans engaged in myriad industrial activities (increasingly supplementing their manual labor with mechanized sources of power as the nineteenth century unfolded), few of which were organized in proto-industrial fashion and even fewer of which evolved into factories.

Perhaps the weakest feature of the theory of proto-industrialization is its overemphasis on the factory in the emergence of industrialism. Research in the last ten years points out that it was only in the second half of the nineteenth century that factory production in textiles truly came to dominate, largely as a result of the widespread installation of power looms. In 1841 in England, for example, scarcely more than half (53 percent) of all cotton workers were employed in factories.

Recent empirical studies have prompted historians to conclude that there were many roads to industrialization, proto-industry and factory production in the countryside being but one, textiles being an important but certainly not the only industry. In fact, much industrialization occurred outside of the factory, notably in metal smelting and mining. A theory like proto-industrialization, therefore, is not so much wrong as limited in its applicability. Indeed, there were many areas of Europe where proto-industries thrived yet did not evolve into factories, nor did these areas sink into “deindustrialized” backwaters, the only two tra-



Proto-Industry. *Workshop of Weavers*, painting by Jacopo Bassano, Italian, sixteenth century.
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jectories entertained by the theory of proto-industrialization. Even as some textile manufacturing moved into factories, out-work or cottage work expanded as manufacturers sent work home to be done by workers' families. This was particularly the case in the garment industry, where women did fine needlework and cloth finishing in their homes. Moreover, many other industries besides textiles were proto-industrialized (notably in metalware production), and continued to thrive throughout much of the nineteenth century, even as factory-based industrialization took hold. Indeed, as late as 1851 in England, only 5 percent of the overall industrial workforce worked in factories. Artisanal workshops in the countryside continued to exist and even expand, often as ancillary businesses supplementing the work being done in factories. Skilled

machinists and tool and die makers, necessary for the functioning of the machines in the factories, are an illustrative case in point.

See also **Artisans; Capitalism; Commerce and Markets; Guilds; Industrial Revolution; Industry; Laborers; Poverty; Strikes; Textile Industry.**

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JAMES R. FARR

PROVIDENCE. Providence is God's foreknowledge, beneficent care, and governance over the universe at large and human affairs in particular. Providence also refers to God himself in his providential aspects, to a person who acts as the means of Providence, and to an act (favorable or unfavorable) witnessing or manifesting God's will. Providence is the hinge that explains and gives moral value to worldly events in terms of religious doctrine. The word derives from the Latin *providentia*, 'foresight'.

Christians, Jews, and Muslims of early modern Europe all prayed to an omnipotent Creator God and all therefore believed in divine Providence. Within this period, however, the concept of Providence was most contested and most invoked in the Latin West. Providence had always been important in Catholic theology, but it rose to greater prominence as the writings and theology of St. Augustine of Hippo (354–430) gained influence among many Catholic thinkers in the high and late Middle Ages. The Augustinian emphasis on the omnipotence of God brought with it linked beliefs that tied an emphasis on Providence to emphases on the importance of God's grace for the human soul's salvation and damnation, predestination, and God's positive responsibility for evil in the world. Augustine's influence was particularly strong among the members of the eponymous Augustinian monastic orders.

When the Augustinian monk Martin Luther (1483–1546) broke with Rome, he took his stand in large part on an Augustinian formulation of the sole power of God's grace to save souls. Huldrych Zwingli (1484–1531), John Calvin (1509–1564), and Théodore de Bèze (1519–1605) successively elaborated upon Luther's revolt by grounding sal-

vation absolutely on the logical sequence of God's absolute sovereignty, God's continuing and providential control of the world, and God's predestining salvation and damnation of human souls. For both Lutheran and Reformed Protestants, Providence therefore assumed a far more central role in their doctrine than it had held for even the most Augustinian of medieval Catholics; for the Reformed, Providence was at the very core of their beliefs. Some of the most intense believers among the Reformed, such as the English Puritans, came to believe that they could discern the predestinate fate of their souls and achieve assurance of salvation by careful scrutiny of the signs of God's Providence in the world. For them, "experimental providentialism" was not only a matter of intellectual doctrine but was also the emotional heart of their practical divinity.

For early modern Catholics, Providence continued to be an important part of their theology. In polemics against Protestants, Catholic controversialists often invoked friendly Providence. Spanish writers referred to Providence to explain their nation's conquest of its New World empire, while Gaelic bards explained the English conquest and settlement of Ireland as God's providential punishment of the Gaels for their sins. Contemplation of the sure working out of God's Providence, manifested in works such as Thomas More's (1478–1535) *De Tristitia Christi* (1535; On the sorrow of Christ), also served to console Catholics during their misfortunes. The Augustinian note resounded among Catholics from the Reformation to the French Revolution.

Yet among Protestants, particularly among the Reformed, providentialism was far more intense, and it permeated their thought and culture. Faith in God's Providence gave the Huguenots the patience to endure massacres and political defeats during the French Wars of Religion, and the Dutch and the English saw the preservation of their political independence and religious liberty through the age of religious wars as providential dispensations to elect nations. Providentialism also united nations internally. In early seventeenth-century England, a popular culture of providentialism united the different Protestant subcultures; likewise, a century later the depiction of the Glorious Revolution (1688–1689) and the Protestant Succession as providential events

underpinned the era's Whig political consensus. Providentialism also provided the material for much of the era's literature. Dutch travel accounts, Huguenot poetry, and English history plays—examples include Willem Ysbrantzoon Bontekoe's disaster thriller *The Memorable Account of the Voyage of the Nieuw Hoorn* (1646), Théodore-Agrippa d'Aubigné's epic recapitulation of the French Wars of Religion, *Les Tragiques* (1616), and Shakespeare's depiction of the triumph of Henry Tudor in *Richard III* (1594)—all manifest providential content and structure.

Providentialism could also be revolutionary, despite a tendency for all churches, states, and social orders to justify their establishment by claiming providential dispensation. The Scot John Knox (1506–1572) justified his resistance theory partly in terms of Providence; and a century later English Puritan saints-in-arms justified their actions promoting civil war, revolution, regicide, and an English republic with reference to the doctrine of Providence. Oliver Cromwell's (1599–1658) career provides an excellent case study of how providentialism could inspire military and political actions. Post-Restoration Puritans, chastened by the experience of political defeat, tended to a more fatalistic interpretation of Providence as they moved to the more passive politics of dissent.

Providentialism lessened in rough proportion to the general secularization of Western thought and was progressively supplanted by theories of causation that lessened or removed God's role in worldly events. In the scientific realm, chance, probability, and mechanical laws replaced concepts of providential causation: Pierre Gassendi (1592–1655), Robert Boyle (1627–1691), and Isaac Newton (1642–1727) successively distanced God from the day-to-day operations of the physical universe. In the realm of historical thought, providentialism had been fading since the Renaissance, when classicizing humanists such as Niccolò Machiavelli (1469–1527) reemphasized the pagan, profoundly unteleological concept of Fortune at the expense of Providence. The random purposelessness of history exemplified by Fortune would remain for historians after belief in the personified concept faded. Thomas More, Garcilaso de la Vega (1539–1616), Jacques Bénigne Bossuet (1627–1704), and Daniel Defoe (1660–1731) all upheld more providential

conceptions of history, but the disjunction of Providence from history would prove to be permanent and widening. Giovanni Battista Vico (1668–1744) retained a providential structure in his cyclical conception of human history, but removed it from the details of the historical narrative. Among Enlightenment historians, Voltaire (1694–1778) thought the philosophical historian, not God, gave history its structure and its moral purpose, while Anne-Robert-Jacques Turgot (1727–1781) substituted earthly progress for divine Providence, and thus bequeathed a this-worldly sublimation of providential history to Hegel and Marx.

With regard to Providence, Orthodox Christians responded with particular intensity to the new Protestant doctrines, and Jews with particular intensity to the claims of Newtonianism. Both, however, retained conceptions of Providence largely unchanged during this period.

See also Bèze, Théodore de; Bossuet, Jacques-Bénigne; Boyle, Robert; Calvin, John; Cromwell, Oliver; Defoe, Daniel; Gassendi, Pierre; Glorious Revolution (Britain); Knox, John; Luther, Martin; Machiavelli, Niccolò; More, Thomas; Newton, Isaac; Puritanism; Reformation, Protestant; Vico, Giovanni Battista; Voltaire; Wars of Religion, French; Zwingli, Huldrych.

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PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT. For the rulers of early modern Europe, maintaining control of vast and often distant territories was a complex task. Communications were slow and it could take weeks, months, or even years for the most basic instructions to be relayed from center to periphery. Indeed, even when orders arrived promptly, there could be no guarantee that they would be carried out by powerful provincial subjects, many of whom were accustomed to self-government and were determined to maintain their own privileges and interests. To ensure obedience and to secure the military, financial, and other resources they required, rulers were obliged to tread carefully, and any attempt to centralize power or to ignore provincial opinion risked provoking opposition and possibly revolt. In order to avoid these pitfalls, it was necessary to employ a variety of strategies, and despite the great increase in state power that was achieved during the early modern period, governing the provinces was still a delicate business on the eve of the French Revolution.

GOVERNORS AND VICEROYS

Although the methods employed varied widely, the key to successful provincial government was cooperation. A consensus was required that would balance the interests of the ruler with those of provincial elites. To achieve that end it was necessary to have effective representatives of princely authority resident in the provinces. Both branches of the Habsburg family faced an immense challenge as they sought to control the constituent parts of their composite empires. As many of these territories, such as Bohemia, Hungary, and Sicily, were kingdoms in their own right, their culture, languages, and institutions had to be treated with respect. Throughout the period it was standard practice for a junior, or female, member of the ruling house to be sent as regent or viceroy to oversee local government. Margaret of Parma, half-sister of Philip II, was thus installed as regent of the Netherlands from 1559 to 1566, while the archduke Leopold, brother of the emperor Joseph II, served as grand duke of Tuscany from 1765 to 1790. When a member of the ruling house was unavailable, the viceroy would be a member of one of the most distinguished aristocratic families from the courts of Madrid or Vienna.

Within the more geographically confined kingdom of France, it was common for the king's cousins, the princes of the blood, or aristocratic grandees to serve as governors of the provinces. Only those of the very highest social station could represent the king, and exalted rank was a necessary prerequisite because of the need for a governor to have higher, or at least equal, rank to that of the most distinguished provincial. To rule effectively, a governor needed to be able to attract the loyalty of local elites, and in this respect the control of patronage was vital. A whole variety of military and civilian offices were distributed with the aim of constructing a loyal clientele whose support would enable the governor to maintain order, collect taxes, and carry out the orders of the king. Ideally the governor was allowed to act with a degree of independence, seeking advice from local elites and wherever possible working with existing institutions. Success depended upon a variety of factors, notably a willingness to allow provincial magnates to participate in government and in the dispensation of patronage.

PROVOKING REVOLT

When rulers forgot or chose to ignore these golden rules, they courted disaster. The Dutch Revolt against Philip II of Spain, which began in 1565–1566, was caused, in part, by the exclusion of local magnates from the regency council. This, combined with the Spanish king's aversion to Calvinism, which was spreading among his Dutch subjects, did much to turn a revolt into a war of independence. Elsewhere Philip II proved more adept, and after securing the Portuguese crown in 1580, he was mindful of the need to woo his reluctant new subjects, whose authority and interests he respected. The lesson was later forgotten by his grandson, Philip IV, whose mishandling of the Portuguese grandees provoked a revolt (1640–1668) that again led to independence. The Austrian Habsburgs faced similar problems, especially when it came to dealing with the effects of the Protestant Reformation. Calvinism inspired the Bohemian revolt of 1618 that detonated the Thirty Years' War, and it contributed to periodic rebellions in Hungary throughout the seventeenth century. Novel religious ideas were not the only cause of dissent, and when Joseph II sought to impose reform upon the Catholic Church in the Austrian Netherlands (modern Belgium) in 1787 he provoked fierce resistance from a local

population that was determined to defend traditional practice.

In France, the immense power of the provincial governors could in itself become dangerous if they were tempted to use that authority against the king or his ministers, and between 1560 and 1653 the kingdom suffered periodic bouts of civil war led by aristocratic warlords such as the Condé, the Montmorency, and the Guise. They used their provincial power bases to supply the forces needed to pursue their religious and factional aims, and at times they threatened to tear the kingdom apart. Spain witnessed similar scenes during the reign of the feeble Charles II, and in 1676 a revolt of the *grandees* resulted in the overthrow of the government led by the queen mother's favorite, Fernando de Valenzuela.

The degree of conflict should not, however, be exaggerated, and revolt was nearly always the last resort, as failure could have very painful consequences. When Valencia and Catalonia rose against Philip V during the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1714), their subsequent defeat meant that they lost their cherished *fueros* (privileges) as a result. As for the leaders of failed provincial revolts, they often paid with their lives, and the great French aristocrat the duc de Montmorency was beheaded in 1632 after leading an unsuccessful uprising in Languedoc.

CENTRALIZATION

After 1650, the increasing cost and complexity of warfare made revolt a hazardous business, and as the power of the state expanded, the temptation to centralize decision making at the expense of the provinces increased. In France, this process was associated with the *intendants*, administrators appointed by the king and sent to the provinces with extensive powers to intervene in matters affecting justice, public order, and taxation. The attempt to exercise these responsibilities frequently brought the *intendants* into conflict with existing institutions and officeholders, but by 1689 an *intendant* was resident in every French province. Thereafter they gradually expanded their administrative authority, acting as the eyes and ears of the king, levying taxes, overseeing the lives of towns and villages, building roads, encouraging agriculture and commerce, and much else. The dedication of the *inten-*

dants provided the French crown with loyal and adaptable administrative agents, although to be really effective they were expected to work alongside the governor and to show sensitivity to provincial interests.

When Louis XIV's grandson became Philip V of Spain in 1700, he introduced the *intendants* as part of a plan to reform Spanish administration. As in France, existing local institutions proved hostile, and it was not until mid-century that the new system put down firm roots. Successive rulers of Russia were also attracted to the model of centralization, but they faced a particularly arduous task given the sheer size of their territories, a problem exacerbated by the almost complete absence of any tradition of independent provincial self-government. Despite the many fine words contained in the local government reforms introduced by both Peter I (ruled 1682–1725) and Catherine II (ruled 1762–1796), provincial administration in their empire consisted of little more than an arbitrary and often brutal struggle to maintain order and extract taxation.

REPRESENTATIVE BODIES

The desire to centralize decision making and to reduce the scope for opposition frequently brought rulers into conflict with the provinces because many possessed parliaments or estates to defend their interests. Most had been in existence since the Middle Ages, and they could usually cite charters or privileges granted by earlier rulers that enshrined the right to participate in government. As a result, such diverse regions as Brittany, Catalonia, Styria, and Zeeland could boast of their own "constitutions," and they claimed the right of consent on crucial matters such as taxation. Although not representative bodies in a modern democratic sense, being generally composed of the wealthy and powerful, they nevertheless defended local interests tenaciously, and their potential as an alternative source of political authority ensured that rulers were tempted to limit their influence or even to end their assemblies. During the seventeenth century, the provincial estates of Guyenne, Normandy, and Dauphiné ceased to meet, as did those of Brandenburg and Bavaria.

Over the period as a whole, the number of representative bodies was in decline, and those that survived have often been treated as medieval relics,

to be contrasted with the supposedly more modern centralized administration of the state. In reality, they were usually lively and vibrant institutions, which provided an important forum for negotiation between rulers and their provincial elites. One of the most successful states of the early modern period, the Dutch Republic, was in effect a federation of seven provinces, each with its own Estates that in turn sent representatives to the Estates-General. Local interests were defended fiercely and effectively, and concessions to the center required prior discussion and consent.

Provincial estates in France and the Austrian Habsburg empire were also powerful institutions that were entrusted with the crucial tasks of raising taxation, overseeing local administration, and conscripting men for the army. In Austria there was, however, a movement to strengthen the central authority of governors and their staffs after 1740 as part of a series of reforms designed to meet the challenge of Prussia, a process that accelerated during the reign of Joseph II. In France, on the other hand, the eighteenth century witnessed a movement in the opposite direction, and where Estates survived, as was the case in, for example, the provinces of Artois, Brittany, Burgundy, and Languedoc, they rapidly expanded their administrative competence, assuming responsibility for the tasks performed by the intendants elsewhere. Contemporaries were almost unanimous in declaring that those provinces administered by the Estates were better governed, and the public confidence they acquired proved to be a valuable resource for the state. In the century before 1789, they borrowed millions for the crown at a fraction of the interest rate that the king could command on his own account. Perhaps not surprisingly, there was increasing support for the idea of establishing provincial Estates, or assemblies, throughout France and local government decentralization, in the form of the *départements*, was one of the first and most impressive reforms implemented after 1789.

Other states were also willing to work with representative institutions in the provinces. The Spanish Habsburgs appointed governors to oversee their rule in Milan, but they were always careful not to interfere in the internal affairs of the patricians who dominated the Milanese senate. Their Austrian cousins were generally respectful of the rights of

their Hungarian subjects. Local administration in Hungary was controlled by the county assemblies (*congregationes*), where the nobility gathered to discuss public affairs. Austrian rule would have been almost impossible without their cooperation, and when Joseph II imposed a new system of local government that sharply reduced the authority of the county assemblies a major revolt was the predictable result. Finally, in Poland the very weakness of the central government ensured that the localities had considerable autonomy. The nobility regularly gathered in assemblies, known as the *sejmiki*, not only to elect envoys to represent them at the national diet, but also to attend to matters of local interest free of interference from an almost powerless crown.

See also Dutch Republic; Dutch Revolt (1568–1648); Habsburg Dynasty; Intendants; Representative Institutions; Spanish Succession, War of the (1701–1714); Thirty Years' War (1618–1648).

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JULIAN SWANN

PRUSSIA. Prussia has become a byword for Germany, but it originally developed on the southeastern Baltic shore distinct from the German-

speaking population of the Holy Roman Empire. Prussia's subsequent association with central Europe stems from the Hohenzollern dynasty, which came to rule both it and much of north Germany and helped forged these disparate possessions into a major European power.

CONFLICTING VIEWS OF EARLY MODERN PRUSSIA

Historical writing on Prussia is dominated by two related problems. First, there is the controversy surrounding the region historically known as Prussia that has become enmeshed in political and ideological struggles between Germans and Poles. Second, there is the ambiguous place of the state known more properly as Brandenburg-Prussia in the wider history of Germany and Europe. Historic Prussia lay on the Baltic shore east of the Oder River. German nationalist historians claimed this region for themselves, portraying its conquest by the Teutonic Order after 1222 as a victory for Christian civilization over pagan barbarism. In this story, Germanization was equated with modernization. Polish historians saw the same events as foreign conquest and the brutal repression of an indigenous culture and language. Thanks to its wider international dissemination, the German version of Prussian history remains the most widely known today, with most writers unwittingly adopting the nationalist geographical distinctions of East and West Prussia to label the two parts under German and Polish rule in the early modern period. These terms imply a false unity in the region and suggest the inevitability of German domination over the whole area that came after 1795 and lasted until 1918. While the Polish terms of Ducal and Royal Prussia are more appropriate, Prussian history cannot be interpreted entirely through the lens of later Polish nationalism and should be seen as something both distinct in its own right and intricately connected to the experience of the entire Baltic region.

Prussia's place in German and European history has also been subject to widely differing interpretations. Many German nationalist historians saw it as the embodiment of an ideal social and political order and interpreted all German history from a Prussian perspective. While not uniformly hagiographic, this approach was known as the "Borussian" school and generally stressed that historical events were made by "great men," such as rulers and statesmen.

Military power and authoritarian rule were regarded as essential for Prussia's survival within a hostile international environment and for its "historic mission" to unite the rest of Germany in the nineteenth century. Prussia's influence in the nineteenth century, when it controlled two-thirds of German soil, was projected back into the early modern period when its rulers governed only a tenth of the Holy Roman Empire prior to the mid-seventeenth century and still held no more than a fifth of the entire area in 1806. The empire was largely written out of German history, which was presented as a dualism between Prussia and Austria, prefiguring the struggles over national unification in the mid-nineteenth century. Religious history was woven into this political narrative, portraying Prussia as the Protestant champion against a backward and malevolent Catholic Habsburg Monarchy based in Austria. The experience of two world wars in the twentieth century encouraged significant revisions to this interpretation. Many writers retained the overall Borussian framework, but changed it from a success story to one leading to disaster. This school emphasizes the German *Sonderweg*, or 'special path', and presents Prusso-German development as deviating from a supposedly progressive European pattern and pushing German history down a separate militaristic and authoritarian route.

THE TEUTONIC ORDER

Prussia was not as powerful, advanced, or militaristic and repressive as these interpretations imply. Its early modern history was shaped by the legacy left by the Teutonic Knights. This aristocratic crusading order was founded in 1198 and was sponsored by Polish kings as well as medieval emperors. The Knights created a large state on the southeastern Baltic shore by the fourteenth century. Their conquests were not simply a process of Western Christian conquest since they relied heavily on a local population that was partially assimilated into the order's state. Sections of this population chafed under the Knights' increasingly arbitrary rule, leading to the establishment of the Prussian Estates, or representative assembly, in 1411, one year after the order's defeat by the Polish king at the battle of Tannenberg. Though the Prussian towns were represented, the landed nobility dominated the Estates. The order was unable to stem growing Polish influence and was defeated by a major rebellion after



1454, resulting in the partition of Prussia twelve years later. The western half became Royal Prussia under Polish sovereignty and included the important trading cities of Danzig (Gdańsk), Elbing (Elbląg) and Thorn (Torun). The order was left with the eastern half, covering 14,270 square miles (36,960 square kilometers), which contained few significant towns other than Königsberg (Kaliningrad). The order's last grand master, Albert von Hohenzollern, tried to reverse this in a new war against Poland from 1519, but only escaped total defeat by secularizing the order's state as a hereditary duchy under Polish overlordship in 1525. Hohenzollern rule lasted until 1918. A remnant of the Teutonic Order regrouped under a new Grand Master, Walter of Cronenberg, who established a new seat in Franconia with a residence in Mergentheim.

ROYAL PRUSSIA

Political separation gradually eroded ties between the two halves of Prussia. Royal Prussia became more closely integrated into the Commonwealth of

Poland-Lithuania in the sixteenth century, particularly after 1569 when its nobility secured representation in the Polish Sejm (diet). The three great royal cities of Danzig, Elbing, and Thorn refused to send deputies to the Sejm, but nonetheless saw the commonwealth as protecting their local privileges and autonomy. Together with the nobles, they sought to enhance this autonomy by making Royal Prussia an equal partner with Poland and Lithuania in the commonwealth, but were thwarted by the opposition of the king and the Sejm and had to be satisfied with their own provincial diet. Royal Prussia shared the general development of the commonwealth, participating in its period of cultural and political influence in the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries and then declining with the impact of external invasions after 1654. Like the Sejm, the Royal Prussian diet introduced the *liberum veto*, which meant that an objection from one deputy was sufficient to invalidate all legislation passed in one session. This hamstrung the diet between 1713 and 1728 and again between 1735 and 1763. External interference mounted, notably from

Hohenzollern Prussia, polarizing local politics. Self-styled patriots expressed a desire for greater autonomy and used the diet to block reforms proposed by the Polish Sejm after 1764, weakening the commonwealth and precipitating its total collapse between 1772 and 1795.

This collapse saw the reintegration of Royal Prussia into the area ruled by the Hohenzollerns. However, this area had changed fundamentally over the intervening three centuries. Hohenzollern rule was initially very weak. The Teutonic Order retained land within the empire and remained Catholic whereas the new Hohenzollern duke converted to Lutheranism. Because the Prussian lands were not part of the Holy Roman Empire, the empire offered no protection and Albert's possessions in Prussia were not joined immediately to those of the other branch of his family, which had ruled Brandenburg since 1415.

SOCIETY AND ECONOMY

These political divisions did not prevent Hohenzollern Prussia from participating in the general trend to the manorial economy (*Gutswirtschaft*), common to Royal Prussia, Brandenburg, and Poland from the early sixteenth century onward. Farms were consolidated into large estates worked by serfs who were obliged to produce grain that was exported for profit to western European cities. While harsh, this system still allowed limited autonomy to peasant households to organize daily life and labor. As in Brandenburg, the Hohenzollerns intervened from the seventeenth century to divert the lords' profits into their own treasury as taxes. Few nobles could afford to live on agrarian income alone, and most sought military, administrative, or clerical careers. While this inclined many to collaborate with the duke, it would be wrong to see Hohenzollern rule simply as a compromise between crown and nobility at the expense of serfs and urban burghers. Neither was it an exercise in the creation of an impartial, benign government as sometimes implied by Borussian historians. Instead it was a complex, shifting process of bargaining between the crown and key social groups, serfs and burghers included. Like their counterparts in Royal Prussia, the eastern Prussian nobles were not a homogenous social group. Comparatively few corresponded to the archetype of the *Krautjunker*, the boorish back-

woods nobleman who directly supervised his estates and spurned wider horizons. Many were at the forefront of agrarian development, particularly in the eighteenth century, when they saw the introduction of wage labor in place of serfdom as a way of boosting their profits. Some gravitated to the world of the Hohenzollern court, embracing Calvinism in the seventeenth century and supporting absolutism. Others favored continued ties to their cousins in Royal Prussia or Poland, sharing their notions of ancient aristocratic freedoms.

HOHENZOLLERN PRUSSIA

The Hohenzollerns made no headway amid this web of conflicting interests and loyalties. The eastern Prussian nobility cooperated with Königsberg in the duchy's own Estates to restrict the duke's income and insist that only locals be appointed to administrative positions. The foundation of a new university in Königsberg in 1544 did little to change this. Albert was bankrupt by his death in 1568 and was followed by the thirteen-year-old Albert Frederick. The new duke suffered from prolonged mental illness and lost control of the government to his Brandenburg relations, who took over as regents in 1605. Thanks to a dynastic inheritance treaty, ducal Prussia passed to Brandenburg on the duke's death in 1618. With the accession of George William in 1619, Brandenburg and Prussia had a common ruler and began their historic association.

Unfortunately for the Hohenzollerns, this coincided with the start of the Thirty Years' War in the empire and renewed conflict between Poland and Sweden. The dynasty was thrown on the defensive, and security rather than expansion remained its overriding concern into the eighteenth century. Their possessions fell into three unequal areas. In addition to ducal Prussia in the east and Brandenburg in the center, they now also held scattered lands in Westphalia close to the Dutch border. Though much smaller than Prussia, these western territories were potentially more important because of their comparatively large populations and active economies. George William's Brandenburg title of elector took precedence over his Prussian title of duke since it was more prestigious and gave him a role in imperial politics.

Borussian historians interpreted Hohenzollern policy as a coherent plan to unite these three areas



Prussia. A map from the April 1757 issue of *General Magazine of Arts & Sciences* showing the location of the action in the Seven Years' War. ("As, according to some late accounts . . . of the Disposition and Motion of the forces of the King of Prussia, we suppose it probable, that the Operations of War will be extended to the Kingdom of Poland. . . Will enable our readers to view the whole seat of war"). MAP COLLECTION, STERLING MEMORIAL LIBRARY, YALE UNIVERSITY

and establish a uniform, centralized administrative system. Certainly, the dynasty benefited from an unbroken succession of healthy, adult, and generally capable rulers. However, far from shaping history, these rulers responded to pressures that were largely beyond their control. Prussia's growth was uneven and largely unplanned. Its rulers shared the general belief that princes were bound by Christian duty to protect their subjects and promote their well-being. Yet their primary motive remained the enhancement of their dynastic prestige and influence. Territorial expansion was intended to provide security for existing possessions and to bring new titles and resources. The empire remained their primary area of activity until the later eighteenth century, and at no point did they see themselves as the future leaders of a united Germany.

George William was dragged into the Thirty Years' War by 1626. Once involved, he tried to

secure the duchy of Pomerania, whose ruling family had died out in 1637, but he was defeated by Sweden. His successor Frederick William (1620–1688; ruled 1640–1688), better known as the "Great Elector," was unable to change this situation after 1640 and was forced to accept Swedish control of the western half of Pomerania in the 1648 Peace of Westphalia. Hoping to deflect Hohenzollern ambitions, Sweden supported Brandenburg claims elsewhere in the empire, increasing the dynasty's territory by a quarter to 40,586 square miles (105,119 square kilometers) with 600,000 inhabitants in 1648.

ABSOLUTISM

Frederick William, the Great Elector, is a pivotal figure in Prussian history. Though not the far-sighted modernizer of Borussia legend, he nonetheless forged a minimal level of centralized rule



Prussia. From the *London Magazine* of December 1757, this map was designed to inform British readers of the situation in Prussia at the beginning of the Seven Years' War. MAP COLLECTION, STERLING MEMORIAL LIBRARY, YALE UNIVERSITY

necessary for future expansion. He was assisted by the disunity of his possessions, each of which had its own Estates that failed to make common cause with their counterparts elsewhere. By shuttling his troops and key negotiators from one province to another, the elector broke their resistance in turn between 1644 and 1663. The western enclaves and ducal Prussia offered the most resistance. In return for regular taxes, the Hohenzollerns largely left their western provinces alone after the 1660s and extended this light hand to the duchy of East Frisia, which they acquired in 1744, as well as the two margravates of Ansbach and Bayreuth in southwestern Germany, inherited in 1792. By contrast, Prussian opposition was crushed by force, with Königsberg twice being occupied by troops (1663, 1672). The reason for this different approach lies in the Hohenzollerns' relationship to their overlords,

the Holy Roman emperor and the Polish king. As electors under the empire, they enjoyed exclusive jurisdiction only over Brandenburg itself, where they were able to prevent their subjects from appealing to the imperial courts. The Estates in their other German provinces remained free to do this into the late eighteenth century, and while this became more difficult, all their German territories remained part of the empire until 1806. The elector could act differently in Prussia, because he skillfully exploited the Northern War (1655–1660) to force the king of Poland to renounce his sovereignty over ducal Prussia. Prussian nobles were unable to appeal to the commonwealth to protect their liberties after 1660.

Hohenzollern sovereignty over Prussia crushed its nobles' dreams of reunification with Royal Prussia but did not signal a reorientation toward Ger-

many. Instead, the Hohenzollerns drew on local traditions to foster a distinctly Prussian identity that regarded other Germans as “foreign.” This was used to support enhanced Hohenzollern status as an equal member of European royalty, no longer mere princes of the empire or vassals of the Polish king. The Great Elector’s successor after 1688, Elector Frederick III (ruled 1688–1701), pursued this by developing a lavish court culture in Berlin and his other chief cities. More fundamentally, he avoided challenging the Habsburgs in the empire and supported their claims to the Spanish succession. His reward came at the end of 1700 when Emperor Leopold I agreed that he could crown himself “king in Prussia.” Though ridiculed by his successors as an unnecessary extravagance, the lavish coronation ceremony in Königsberg in January 1701 was staged precisely because this new title lacked full international recognition. Now styled Frederick I, the new king continued to support the Habsburgs throughout the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1714) in order to win acceptance from the other European powers. Since his new royal title took precedence over that of elector, the Hohenzollern monarchy now became known as Prussia.

While minor gains pushed Hohenzollern territory to 46,617 square miles (120,272 square kilometers) by 1720, two-thirds of this still remained within the empire. Frederick’s policies reflected this as he looked primarily westward, despite his parallel involvement in the later stages of the Great Northern War (1700–1721) against Sweden. His representatives became more active in imperial institutions, notably taking advantage of the conversion of Elector Frederick Augustus of Saxony to Catholicism in 1697 to wrest the leadership of the German Protestants from the traditional heartland of the Reformation. His successors capitalized on Protestant sympathies in the empire to mobilize support against the Habsburgs, who suddenly realized they could not control their Hohenzollern protégé.

Religion also supplemented loyalty to the dynasty as a bond between the disparate provinces. Frederick and his immediate successor after 1713, Frederick William I (ruled 1713–1740), sponsored the Lutheran spiritual movement known as Pietism, whose values of thrift, obedience, and self-sacrifice dovetailed with their own agenda of a hard-working, loyal population. However, this “Prussian

ethos” was always contradictory and contested, appealing to both its martial king and its pacifist Pietist pastors. Moreover, the dynasty remained uncomfortable with any notion of nationalism defined by language or culture, particularly as their territorial expansion after 1740 added millions of Silesian and Polish Catholics to their subjects. The European Enlightenment took firm hold in Berlin after 1740, but after 1786 the religious establishment turned sharply conservative.

These acquisitions began during the reign of Frederick II, better known as Frederick the Great (1712–1786), who followed his father in 1740. Frederick inherited a kingdom that was still only partially centralized. His father had amalgamated several administrative institutions to form a General Directory as a central coordinating institution in 1723, but much administration remained in the hands of local nobles and magistrates. Later reforms failed to alter this, although the staff became more professional, adopting qualifying entrance exams for senior posts, as well as a more regular salary, promotions, and pension structure. However, Prussian government was not necessarily more advanced or efficient than those in many other German territories.

What impressed contemporaries most about Prussia was its army, which had been established by the Great Elector and increased by each of his successors. Frederick William I expanded it further with a form of limited conscription introduced by 1733. Men were inducted for basic training and then discharged back into the agrarian economy, apart from annual exercises. Many historians see this as the origins of later German militarism since it supported an inflated establishment and encouraged both subservience to authority and the acceptance of war as inevitable. This can be questioned, because the new system also civilianized soldiers, most of whom spent more time working in the fields or as day laborers in the towns than they did drilling on the parade ground.

Military expansion certainly gave Frederick the Great the means to challenge Austria after 1740. The Habsburg Monarchy was uniquely vulnerable in 1740, having just waged two disastrous wars that left its treasury empty and its army disorganized. Moreover, the death of Emperor Charles VI in Oc-

tober 1740 ended an unbroken succession of Habsburg emperors since 1438, opening an international conflict over the Austrian inheritance (War of the Austrian Succession) and denying the dynasty a legal claim on German resources through imperial institutions. Frederick profited from these circumstances to seize the Habsburg province of Silesia between 1740 and 1745. This move dictated policy for the rest of his reign that countered Habsburg attempts to either recover Silesia or find alternative territory elsewhere in Germany. Prussia now had little interest in preserving the empire beyond using it as a framework to immobilize the Habsburgs. While the acquisition of Silesia formally increased its territorial presence within the empire, it shifted Prussian political gravity eastward. This continued with the three partitions of Poland, in which Prussia joined Austria and Russia in annexing the entire Polish Commonwealth between 1772 and 1795. The Hohenzollerns acquired all of Royal Prussia, together with considerable land farther to the south, bringing their total possessions to 119,950 square miles (309,472 square kilometers) and 8.5 million inhabitants. This expansion coincided with ineffective involvement in the war against revolutionary France after 1792, leaving the crown barely able to suppress a Polish rebellion in 1794–1795. Prussia pulled out of the war in the west in 1795, having transformed a treasury reserve of 51 million talers into a debt of 48 million at a time when revenues totaled only 22 million. Discussion of internal reform intensified but failed to produce significant results before old Prussia collapsed in a new war against France in 1806.

See also Austrian Succession, War of the (1740–1748); Berlin; Brandenburg; Frederick I (Prussia); Frederick II (Prussia); Frederick William I (Prussia); Frederick William II (Prussia); Hohenzollern Dynasty; Holy Roman Empire; Northern Wars; Pietism; Poland-Lithuania, Commonwealth of, 1569–1795; Teutonic Knights; Thirty Years' War (1618–1648).

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PSYCHOLOGY. The term *psychology* first appears in the sixteenth century, denoting the study of the human soul (Greek *psyche*, 'soul'), a part of what was then called anthropology: the term is used thus in the first work to use it as a title, Rudolf Goclenius's *Psychologia* of 1594 (the title uses the Greek word). The term continued to be used in this way through the seventeenth century. Only in the early eighteenth century, with the publication of Christian Wolff's *Psychologia Empirica* (1732) and *Psychologia Rationalis* (1734), does it take on its modern sense, supplanting earlier terms like *scientia de anima* ('science of the soul'). The study of the soul, or the mind, did not, of course, begin in the eighteenth century. But it may, with some reason, be said to have begun again in the seventeenth.

ARISTOTELIANISM

From the mid-thirteenth century, when Aristotle's works became the basis of the baccalaureate curriculum in European universities, until the middle of the sixteenth, the starting point for the study of the soul was Aristotle's *De anima*. Hundreds of commentaries on it were published in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Often they included lengthy disputations on controversial topics, like the immortality of the soul and the nature of the rational soul. In the latter part of the sixteenth century the commentary form began to be abandoned in favor of the systematic textbook, of which Francisco Suárez's *De Anima* (1621; *On the soul*) is a note-

worthy example. A reader of these works would have encountered the major ancient, Arab, and medieval interpretations of Aristotle and a fair helping of empirical observations, mostly from ancient authorities like Pliny and Galen, but also occasionally from such recent authors as Andreas Vesalius (1514–1564), whose *De Humani Corporis Fabrica* (1543) superseded the ancients on anatomical questions.

The subject matter of *De Anima* is life and the functions of life. Aristotle treats not only sensation, memory, imagination, and the intellect, but also what would now be thought of as purely physiological functions like digestion and reproduction. The task of the science of the soul is to define the soul itself and the functions proper to living things, to describe the organs and mixtures of elements that subserve them, and finally to establish the principles on which a classification of plants and animals is to be based.

The soul is what Aristotle calls a "form": it confers on matter the characteristics proper to a certain species of thing—the human, say. Medieval authors called the soul a "substantial form," substantial because like the body it is the bearer of properties. It is not the eye, Aristotle says, but the soul that sees. Every material substance, living or not, has a form; the soul is defined among material forms as that of "an organic body potentially having life." Certain functions are found only in the things we call living; the soul is the form proper to them. Although the soul requires a particular composition and configuration of matter to perform its functions, and some materials like blood and bile are found only in living things, neither the soul nor its functions can be reduced to mere mixtures or concatenations of nonliving stuffs.

The functions of living things were divided into three groups: vegetative, sensitive, and rational. All living things nourish themselves, grow, and reproduce. Animals, but not plants, have senses and can move about. Humans can do all that animals do; moreover, they can reason and exercise free will. The soul is accordingly divided into three parts. Only for the rational part, peculiar to humans, can it be argued that its operations do not require a material organ, and that therefore it can survive the dissolution of the body.

The predominant theory of sensation among Aristotelians was “species theory.” Sensing consists in the reception of species (Latin *species*, ‘aspect’ or ‘appearance’) in the sense organ. Each sense has its own “proper sensibles”—there are species of color, sound, odor, and so forth. Species from the various senses are combined in the “common sense” (*sensus communis*) and then stored in memory (located in the ventricles of the brain), to be reactivated by recollection, imagination, or the “estimative power” (*vis estimativa*), which performs such tasks as recognizing that a predator is dangerous, or that grass is food. In humans, sensible species undergo further refinement (the “abstraction from matter,” for example, that Aristotle regards as characteristic of mathematics) and become “intelligible species,” the raw materials used by reason.

CARTESIANISM

The consensus, never total, established around Aristotle broke down in the early seventeenth century. The stoutest blow was dealt to it by René Descartes (1596–1650). With his work the science of the soul begins to divide into two disciplines: a psychology of ideas and a physiology of the nervous system.

The notion of “idea” and the beginnings of an analysis of ideas are put forward in the *Meditations* (1640). In the *Treatise of Man* (written 1631–1633, published in Latin translation 1662), on the other hand, Descartes, following closely the plan of the relevant parts of *De Anima*, attempts to demonstrate that all the functions hitherto attributed to the souls of animals and plants could be exhaustively accounted for in purely mechanistic terms. The *Description of the Human Body* (1640s, first published in Latin translation 1662) extends that account to reproduction.

The body is for Descartes a hydraulic machine—a connected assemblage of organs whose actions are coordinated by the “animal spirits” (a fluid composed of subtle, fast-moving particles or “corpuscles”) that course through the nerves and muscles. Seeing, for a cat, is a sequence of collisions of corpuscles, first of light particles on the nerve-endings in the retina and eventually of the animal spirits with the pineal gland, where they produce “impressions” that in a human body affect the mind to produce sensations of light and color. In human beings alone something more happens. The sight of

a rose gives rise to a “mode” or modification of the soul, which for Descartes is a separate, immaterial substance “tightly joined” with the body. If by “seeing” one means ‘having a visual sensation’, then the cat does not see, only human beings do. Similarly, if “feeling pain” means ‘having one’s soul modified in the manner we call pain’, then animals do not feel pain, only humans do. That consequence of Descartes’s dualism excited much controversy from 1650 to 1750, as did the denial of souls to animals.

The human mind is unique. Insofar as psychology is the study of the soul, “animal psychology” is an oxymoron. Psychology comes to devote itself to the study of the operations of the human mind—its faculties and the ideas with which they operate. The essence of mind, according to Descartes, is to think. Occurrent thoughts are modes of *res cogitans*, the “thinking thing,” and the “form” of such a mode is what Descartes calls an idea (see Hamilton, Dissertation G). That form can be described in terms of what the idea presents or represents to the mind. Ideas came to be thought of as akin to signs, “representing” concepts or things; whether Descartes and other early users of the term in its new sense regarded them thus is open to question (Yolton, 1984).

Cartesian psychology was not the only option in the seventeenth century. Pierre Gassendi’s revival of Epicurean atomism contrasted both with the philosophy of the Schools and with that of his friend and rival Descartes. He retained the notion of an animal soul and considered the human soul to consist effectively of a material soul, similar to those of animals, and an immaterial rational soul (Bloch, p. 368), a view more closely resembling the Aristotelian than the Cartesian, in which the cognitive functions of the sensitive soul are elevated to become part of the single, immaterial human soul.

LOCKE AND THE “WAY OF IDEAS”

The *Port-Royal Logic* (1662) of Antoine Arnauld and Pierre Nicole placed ideas at the center of the study of thought. An idea is simply that which is “in our mind” when we conceive something. To the logical notions of term, proposition, syllogism, and method, there correspond the mental operations of conceiving (an idea), judging, reasoning, and putting arguments in order. Thus the study of language

and thought were united into a new discipline at once concerned with the validity of arguments and the nature of the mind.

Cartesian physiology had failed conspicuously to live up to the promises made on its behalf by Descartes. Nicolaus Steno (*Observations Anatomiae*, 1662) and Thomas Willis (*Cerebri Anatomae*, 1664) had shown that Descartes's anatomy was grossly mistaken, and in particular that the pineal gland could not possibly have the functions he ascribed to it. Although anatomists in the early eighteenth century continued to map the brain and nervous system, and to make some headway in localizing functions, it is not surprising that philosophers should have taken to a method that did not require detailed knowledge of the "springs" of thought.

In Descartes's *Rules for the Direction of the Mind* (1626–1628, first published 1684), the "things" with which the philosopher deals are said to be simple or complex. That distinction, not entirely new, was applied to ideas: Arnauld and Nicole, and Leibniz shortly thereafter—both of them having access to the as yet unpublished rules—applied that distinction to ideas. Leibniz in particular is, in the 1670s, proposing the analysis of ideas into what he calls "primitive" ideas, not further analyzable. Locke's *Essay concerning Human Understanding* (1690) deals with the analysis of ideas, or the uncovering of the "original" ideas "from whence all the rest are derived" (p. 286). Those original ideas, few in number, Locke divides into ideas of sense, received from the body, and ideas of reflection, received from the mind.

The analysis and classification of ideas according to their composition from originals provided what could be called their "statics." The "dynamics" was based on the notion of the association of ideas. That one idea might call up another was not at all a new observation. Descartes had taken note of it, and Baruch Spinoza (1632–1677) adverted to it quite often. Locke's contribution was to make it fundamental to a theory of error. Not all connections among ideas arise from association. Some connections are natural (for example, between the idea of red and that of color). Some are artificial, forged by chance or custom, which can bind together any two ideas, however distant. Association became an im-

portant tool. George Berkeley (1685–1753), for example, explains depth perception by reference to a "habitual or customary" connection between the muscular sensations caused by positioning the eyes so as to maintain a single image of an object and the idea of the distance of that object from the viewer (*Essay toward a New Theory of Vision*, 1709).

Locke's *Essay* and the way of ideas were enormously influential through the eighteenth century. Condillac (Étienne Bonnot) in particular devoted his 1754 *Traité des sensations* (Treatise on sensations) to the study of a "statue" having only one of the five senses, and to the proposition that touch teaches vision how to recognize shapes and distances, the conclusion being that all the various faculties of the soul—judgment, reflection, the passions—are nothing other than "transformations" of sensation. (Destutt de Tracy, mentioned below, would later hold that all thought is feeling.) Condillac's claim that touch teaches vision was based in part on descriptions of the experiences of persons blind from birth who recovered their vision, including a famous case described by the London surgeon William Cheselden in 1728. That case seemed to provide an answer to William Molyneux's query to Locke, on whether a person blind from birth would recognize the objects previously known only by touch (see Degenaar).

David Hume (1711–1776) begins his *Treatise* (1739) with a distinction between "impressions" (unlike the impressions made by animal spirits on the pineal gland, these are in the mind) and "ideas," the difference being that impressions are, like Locke's "originals," not derived from other ideas. Ideas of substance and (most famously) cause are analyzed in terms of relations among ideas initiated by association (between resembling ideas) and confirmed into habit. The last concerted attempt to follow the way of ideas was the "ideology" of A. L. C. Destutt de Tracy, presented in his *Idéologie* of 1804. The political importance of Lockeanism is hinted at by noting that Destutt de Tracy was a deputy in the Estates General of 1789, who was arrested under the Terror but survived, and had his commentary on Montesquieu's *Spirit of the Laws* censored by the government of Napoleon in 1806.

MATERIALISM AND PANPSYCHISM

Eighteenth-century materialism was quite distinct from what is now called “physicalism.” The physicalist holds that the only properties possessed by concrete substances are those imputed to them by established physical theory. The eighteenth-century materialist, in agreement with the physicalist, denies that the mind is immaterial, but typically sensibility (the basic mental property, as in Condillac and Destutt de Tracy) is treated as a property additional to the basic physical properties of matter, and not reducible to them.

Many eighteenth-century philosophers, among them Denis Diderot (1713–1784) and Pierre Louis Moreau de Maupertuis, attributed a primitive sensibility to small particles of matter, “organic molecules” as Georges Louis Leclerc Buffon called them, from which the more complex capacities of animals and humans are derived. Julien Offroy de La Mettrie is another instance. The title of his best-known work, first published in 1747 (with a false date of 1748), is *L’homme machine* (Man a machine), but in the machine every fiber is endowed with a natural oscillation, proved by, among many other experiments, the continued beating of the hearts of animals after they are removed (1751/1987, 1:104–105; see also *L’homme plus que machine*, 2:159). In the *Rêve d’Alembert* (1769; Dream of d’Alembert), Diderot, following the physician Théophile de Bordeu, likens the organism to a swarm of bees—the “organic molecules.” Consciousness and will become “statistical” phenomena, like the changing sentiments of a crowd, a view reminiscent of certain much more recent theories of mental activity.

The end of the early modern period witnessed the discovery by Alessandro Volta (1745–1827) and Luigi Galvani (1737–1798) that nerves conduct electricity. That and the comparative studies of late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century anatomists, which established, among other things, the independent role of the spinal cord in reflex actions, laid the basis for a neuroscience recognizably like that of today.

Willis, in his “Anatomy,” writes that he “addicted my self to the opening of Heads especially, and of every kind” not only in order to found a “more certain Physiologie,” but also a “Pathologie of the brain and nervous Stock” (“Anatomy,” p. 53; quoted in Frank, p. 108). He

went so far as to regard every disease as neural in origin; the resulting “neural pathology” had adherents even in the mid-nineteenth century. At the very end of the period, Philippe Pinel, famous for supposedly setting free the inmates of the Salpêtrière asylum in Paris during the Terror (Weiner, p. 333), published his *Traité médico-philosophique sur l’aliénation mentale* (1801; Medico-philosophical treatise on mental alienation), one of the founding documents of the new discipline of psychiatry.

See also **Aristotelianism; Berkeley, George; Cartesianism; Descartes, René; Gassendi, Pierre; Hume, David; La Mettrie, Julien Offroy de; Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm; Locke, John; Madness and Melancholy; Mechanism; Medicine; Spinoza, Baruch.**

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DENNIS DES CHENE

PUBLIC HEALTH. Public health as a concept and as a program of coordinated state or communal action did not exist in early modern Europe. Not until the late seventeenth century did regimes and individuals begin to perceive the health of the population as an area of legitimate, ongoing government action. Such realizations eventually led to more concentrated efforts in formulating principles of public health and launching sustained programs designed to improve health and lengthen life. Governments before the eighteenth century were, of course, not oblivious to collective health, but public health initiatives were ad hoc and piecemeal in nature. Public health fell overwhelmingly within the purview of other aspects of governing: the regulation of markets; restrictions on the practice of obnoxious trades such as tanning or slaughtering; the prevention of fires; and the provision of poor relief—to name only the most obvious and significant. Repeated waves of epidemics, especially plague, but also smallpox, syphilis, dysentery, influenza, and perplexing incidents of considerable lethality such as the mysterious English sweat of the 1480s, caused governments to swing vigorously into action to combat them or prevent their spread.

Epidemics as a presence or a threat conditioned many early modern public health responses. The plague of the mid to late 1340s (known since the nineteenth century by the anachronistic name of the Black Death) played a major role in shaping policies. Equally influential was the appearance of syphilis in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. These two diseases produced a standard set of responses—quarantines, cordons sanitaires, avoidance, flight, closing public baths, shutting up infected houses, and banning assemblages of people—that persisted at least until the eighteenth

century and often considerably longer. The steps taken to fight or forestall pestilences depended to a large degree on how people understood their propagation. Since antiquity two concepts of how disease spread competed. Some believed in contagion—that disease circulated through contact with infected people or goods. Others adopted a miasmatic theory—that disease resulted from an insalubrious condition of the environment, a disturbance in the airs, waters, and places described in the ancient Hippocratic corpus. Whereas once historians argued that these two interpretations were mutually exclusive and antagonistic, it is now generally accepted that they could be combined and that both shaped (and still shape) responses to epidemic situations.

Western Europe lived beneath the shadow of plague until 1721 (Brockliss and Jones, 1997), and plague disappeared from eastern Europe and Russia only toward the end of the eighteenth century. Throughout early modern times, public health was intimately concerned with two measures taken to prevent the incursion or recurrence of plague: quarantines and cordons sanitaires. These methods required the coordination of government efforts often crossing territorial borders and covering huge stretches of land. While such cooperation was hardly perfect in an age lacking efficient police forces, evidence suggests that both measures could successfully retard the spread of disease. Once plague struck, however, cities constituted boards of health from their sitting magistracies (choosing, in other words, people with power and status but not necessarily those possessing medical experience or training) for the duration of the emergency. Physicians and surgeons were seldom members of such boards. Although granted wide and expansive powers for a time, boards of health tended to disappear once the threat vanished. Nonetheless, the ordinances that governed city life on a day-to-day basis continued to contain crucial elements of what would later be termed public health. Such regulations pertained not only to cities, of course. Still, evidence is more complete and available for urban sites than for the countryside and control was crisper within still-walled towns. This, too, would change in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Another institution that we today consider essential to public health is the hospital. Hospitals in early modern

times served as multipurpose establishments, although some were set up and run especially for particular patients: those suffering from plague or syphilis, for instance. Hospitals, however, functioned coterminously as places to heal the sick, as homes for the aged or chronically ill, and as refuges for the destitute (and thus, formed a central element of poor relief). Hospitals provided vital economic resources for a community as employers, but also as prominent landowners and even as moneylenders.

Beginning in the late seventeenth century, public health slowly developed a more comprehensive field of action and a more tightly defined program. As states centralized authority and as rulers gathered the reins of power more firmly into their own hands, they and their ministers began to envision the wealth of nations in broader ways. According to the principles of mercantilism and its sister discipline, populationism, the riches of a state could no longer be weighed merely in bullion. Rather the true strength of a polity lay in its productive potential, and that capacity itself depended on the presence of a large, healthy, and industrious population. Thus, advocates of what in German came to be known as *Medizinische Polizei* ('medical police'), denoting a series of policies rather than a police force), foremost among them, Johann Peter Frank (1745–1821), constructed broad programs of public health that ranged from traditional concerns with the fighting of epidemics, the maintenance of hospitals, and the provision of potable water supplies to far more ambitious social policies that included the early education of children and maternal welfare.

In order to formulate rational and purposeful policies, however, it was first necessary to understand which conditions promoted health or caused illness. Thus, medical police stimulated a political arithmetic that amassed and studied information pertaining to commerce, population, and natural resources, as well as vital statistics (birth, death, and morbidity rates). Cities had often collected mortality statistics, especially during epidemic outbreaks. The London Bills of Mortality from the Great Plague of 1665–1666 are perhaps the most famous (but by no means the only or earliest) example of this genre. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, however, the political arithmeticians, such as the Englishman John Graunt (*Natural and Political Observations on the Bills of Mortality*, 1662) or the

German Johann Süssmilch (*Die göttliche Ordnung in den Veränderungen des menschlichen Geschlechts*, 1775 [The godly order in human affairs]) sought to discover patterns of mortality as a basis for the rational planning of state affairs, including but not limited to public health. These advances in political economy paralleled other trends in the eighteenth century: a new valuation on individual worth and a greater tendency to view human happiness, including physical well-being, as a positive good. These perceptions laid the groundwork for the development of public health as a humanitarian enterprise and as an accepted program of state action. Still, it would take several decades and, to some extent, the impact of cholera in the nineteenth century for states to establish health departments as permanent agencies, staffed by professionals possessing strong executive powers, or ones that functioned on a national, rather than merely on a local or municipal level.

See also **Medicine; Plague; Poverty.**

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PUBLIC OPINION. In 1500, the term “public opinion” had no currency in any European language. By 1789, not only had the phrase entered the vocabulary of virtually every language in Europe, but conscious efforts to affect or even control public opinion had come to play a key role in some of the most crucial intellectual and political events of the epoch—the origins of the French Revolution itself being only the most famous case in point. It is hardly surprising, then, that both the idea and the reality of public opinion in the early modern period should have been the object of an exceptional amount of scholarly attention in recent decades.

PRE-HISTORY

The component parts of the term, noun and adjective, had long histories of their own, prior to their union in the modern concept. Descending from classical Latin, *opinio* and its cognates were burdened with a primarily pejorative connotation in the vocabulary of Renaissance humanism. Typically contrasted with “reason,” “opinion” tended to designate ungrounded belief, subject to the psychological distortions of the “imagination” and the “passions.” The widely circulated humanist cliché, asserting that “opinion governs the world,” was thus an expression of regret at the domination of the irrational in human affairs. This negative judgment persisted throughout the early modern period, though the eventual union of “opinion” with the adjective “public” weakened it significantly. “Public,” meanwhile, descended directly from the Latin adjective (*publicus*) and noun (*publicum*) used to refer to that which pertained to the state, as opposed to the private household—the collective body of its citizens or its property, above all. For obvious reasons, these terms and their cognates acquired a new currency with the onset of the modern processes of state-building at the end of the Middle Ages. No less important, however, was the eventual extension of the noun, in particular, beyond the boundaries of the state itself. By the end of the seventeenth century, it was possible to refer to a

variety of different “publics,” in the sense of a critical “audience”—as in the “publics” for plays, music, and novels. As for the actual term *public opinion* itself, finally, the first usages seem to have been in French, in the later sixteenth century: the phrase can be found, for example, in Montaigne’s *Essays*. Most authorities agree, however, that the term only really gained currency, in French and in English, about a century later.

PUBLIC OPINION AND THE “PUBLIC SPHERE”

What brought “opinion” and “public” together, to form a new concept? As it happens, nearly all recent research on the topic owes something to a seminal work of social theory that first appeared some forty years ago. *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* (1962) was the earliest major work of the eminent German philosopher and social theorist Jürgen Habermas. Its influence on German-speaking scholarship was immediate, but its greatest impact came with its long-delayed translations into French (1978) and English (1989). The appeal of Habermas’s book is not hard to explain, for it offered a sweeping and sophisticated interpretation of the history not just of “public opinion,” but of “publicity” itself, from the end of the Middle Ages to the present. A Frankfurt-school Marxist in intellectual background, Habermas traced the origins of a specifically bourgeois “public sphere” to the impact of the transition to market capitalism, on the one hand, and the emergence of the modern sovereign political state, on the other. It was between the two characteristic social institutions produced by these changes—the modern private or “nuclear” family and absolute or divine right monarchy—that a “sphere” for the free exchange of information and opinion developed, sustained by new technologies and institutions of communication, including the newspaper, journal, salon, and Masonic lodge. The heyday of the “bourgeois public sphere,” Habermas argued, came in the eighteenth century, when its promotion of the fundamental values of the Enlightenment—liberty, equality, fraternity—brought immense critical pressure to bear on the social and political institutions of the Old Regime. In the long term, however, success ruined the bourgeois public sphere. The spread of representative political institutions in the wake of the American and French Revolutions, and the rise of modern

mass media, combined to rob the public sphere of its capacity for autonomous criticism of society. Far from governing the modern world, Habermas concluded, “public opinion” was itself now fully subordinated to the routines of electoral politics and the blandishments of consumer advertising.

PUBLIC OPINION IN THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES

Not surprisingly, Habermas’s pessimistic account of the decline of the public sphere in the modern world has proved controversial. His description of its original emergence in early modern Europe, on the other hand, has met with far greater acceptance, although with significant alterations. For one thing, the confident Marxism of Habermas’s explanatory framework has tended tacitly to be set aside over time. The adjective “bourgeois,” assigning a central role in the story to an emergent social class, has all but disappeared from the recent literature on the “public sphere” and “public opinion.” At the same time, the result of several decades of research has been to assign both concepts a rather longer period of gestation than Habermas did in *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*. Habermas did in fact draw attention to the print revolution of the early sixteenth century as a crucial condition of possibility for the emergence of the public sphere. Today, it seems even clearer that both the print revolution and the onset of religious Reformation were watersheds in its development. The breakup of the ideological unity of Christianity unleashed propaganda campaigns, designed to sway opinion in one direction or another, on a hitherto unprecedented scale. The ferocious “religious” warfare that followed in Germany and France was accompanied by equally strenuous struggles in print. By the early seventeenth century, the most advanced political thought in Europe, the “reason of state” traditions in France and Spain, expressly recognized the power of public sentiment, which every ruler ignored to his or her peril. What were once theorized as the first of the great “bourgeois” revolutions—the Dutch Revolt and the English Civil War—brought propaganda warfare of this kind to an even higher pitch, far more explicitly tied to the fates of states than ever before. The condemned king of England made a powerful appeal to the “public” virtually from the scaffold. Less lethally, the end of the seventeenth century saw the arrival of a relatively novel phenom-

enon, secular intellectual controversies in a national context. “Public opinion” itself seems to have entered circulation, in France and England, in the midst of the ideological contests known as the *querelle des anciens et des modernes* in the first, the “battle of the books” in the second.

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY: INSTITUTIONS

Despite this long windup, however, Habermas was surely right to insist on the qualitative difference of the role of public opinion in the eighteenth century, when both idea and reality assumed unprecedented forms. Intellectually, there is little doubt that the impact of the Enlightenment was crucial in this respect. Educated elites in Europe were now far more willing than ever before to acknowledge the sovereign power of an anonymous public, in regard to the evaluation of everything from imaginative literature and music to governmental policy itself. At the same time, the expansion in the sway of public opinion in the eighteenth century depended not merely on ideological shifts, but also on the arrival of new modes of communication and social institutions. Probably the greatest contribution of Habermas’s work in the long run has been to inspire an extremely lively social history of the technological and institutional underpinnings of public opinion in the age of Enlightenment. On the one hand, the eighteenth century saw a vast expansion in both the production and the consumption of printed matter. The increase in volume was matched by variety, with the full maturation of new forms of literature, from the newspaper, *feuilleton* (serial publication), and periodical, to the novel. “Authorship” itself increasingly came into its own, under the protection of emergent copyright laws and other forms of recognition of literary property; for the first time in European history, the “writing public” came to include significant numbers of women. On the other hand, this whole spectrum of new “reading publics” was sustained by a set of “semi-public” social institutions. Three of these stand out, now the objects of a rich historical literature. One was the literary and intellectual salon, which descended from the Renaissance court to play a pivotal role in promoting Enlightenment values, in France above all; not the least striking feature of eighteenth-century salon culture was the central role assumed by women within it. Secondly, the

eighteenth century was the great age of the public drinking establishment, where the commingling of classes and consumption of stimulants encouraged a freer flow of ideas than ever before. The proliferation of taverns, alehouses, wineshops, and cafés was recognized by contemporaries as crucial to the formation of public opinion in the Enlightenment. The same went, finally, for a third institution, Freemasonry, whose spread across Europe in the eighteenth century created sites of egalitarian sociability and communication—with, on occasion, evidence of female participation as well.

PUBLIC OPINION IN ENGLAND

Steadily climbing literacy rates, multiplying reading publics, and the spread of salons, cafés, and Masonic lodges created the conditions of possibility for widespread appeals to public opinion across eighteenth-century Europe. Although few countries were untouched by these phenomena, England and France have attracted the vast bulk of scholarly attention—not least for the contrast between the two. Nearly all authorities agree that the idea of public opinion attracted far more attention in France, and played a more pivotal role in its political history in the eighteenth century, than it did in England. At first glance, the contrast might appear paradoxical. For not only had England made a successful transition from absolute to constitutional monarchy, transferring political sovereignty to a representative institution that, for all of its narrowness, certainly had no equivalent in contemporary France. England, too, enjoyed a far freer press in the eighteenth century, and pioneered many of the most characteristic social institutions of the Enlightenment, including newspaper, café, and Masonic lodge. In fact, the role of public opinion in the political culture of eighteenth-century Britain was far from negligible. Whig control over Parliament down to the 1760s provoked a lively political opposition, centered on a “country” or “patriotic” party, which made a central use of newspapers, periodicals, and books in its appeals to a “political public.” The ruling Whigs themselves, meanwhile, orchestrated powerful propaganda campaigns on behalf of British war efforts, promoting an incipient nationalism that reached a kind of climax with the Seven Years’ War (1756–1763). Public opinion in England then seems to have come of age with the political radicalism that flowed in the wake of that war, beginning in the 1760s. The Wilkesite

movement marked a watershed in the emergence of a popular radicalism, obsessively focused on manipulating public opinion for its ends. These currents were swelled by the publicity accorded political ideas during and after the American Revolution. By the end of the 1780s, the stage was set for the English reaction to the French Revolution, which involved unprecedented attempts to mobilize public sentiment for geopolitical ends. As many commentators have noted, a key feature of public opinion in Britain was the tendency toward xenophobia—all to be greatly enhanced in the 1790s, of course, by the onset of war with France.

PUBLIC OPINION IN FRANCE

It was in eighteenth-century France, however, that public opinion seems to have enjoyed the greatest fortune as idea—and perhaps as reality—in the early modern period. Everything suggests that this was related to the success of the Bourbon absolute monarchy in avoiding the political revolutions and religious reformation that had transformed its counterpart across the Channel in the seventeenth century. In the context of the High Enlightenment—whose capital, of course, was Paris—appeals to public opinion seem to have compensated for precisely the lack of representative political institutions and civic freedoms enjoyed by the English. In fact, a keen sense of the importance of public sentiment and support to the exercise of political power was a feature of early modern French political theory from the start—strikingly prominent within absolutist apology itself, from Jean Bodin to Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet. By the turn of the eighteenth century, direct appeals to public opinion were to be found in the literature of aristocratic opposition to the regime of Louis XIV. From here, it was a short step to the two major political theorists of the French Enlightenment, each of whom, in their different ways, insisted on the crucial importance of ideological power in political life. In *The Spirit of the Laws* (1748), Montesquieu advanced a theory of the subjective “principles” that gave life to the different forms of government; in *On the Social Contract*, Rousseau advocated a patriotic “civil religion.” Meanwhile, practice did not run far behind theory. By the time Rousseau wrote, the Bourbon court had long since begun to lose its grip on political life in France, as one kind of dispute after another spilled into the public sphere. Not all of the contention was

owing to the Enlightenment. In fact, the most serious political strife of the period resulted from collisions between the Bourbon monarchy and the parliaments or upper law courts, whose magistrates were fired by Jansenism, a crypto-Protestant tradition of resistance to absolutism (religion was a factor curiously marginalized by Habermas in his account of the public sphere). By the time the monarchy attempted—without success—to quell parliamentary resistance by brute force in the early 1770s, however, Jansenist sentiment and Enlightenment values had converged in a single, “patriotic” current of criticism. Far from staying above the fray, the Bourbon monarchy itself now went to the opposite extreme, vying with Jansenist and Enlightenment critics alike in appealing to French public opinion.

CONCLUSION

The most striking sign of the triumph of the idea of public opinion in eighteenth-century France came in 1781. Dismissed as finance minister to the monarchy, the Swiss banker Jacques Necker took the unprecedented step of publishing an account of the royal budget, in violation of every norm of absolutist secrecy. The meaning of this appeal to public opinion over the head of the king was lost on few observers. Eight years later, the bankrupt Bourbon monarchy confirmed this symbolic transfer of sovereignty by summoning the Estates-General, a representative assembly for the expression of public will that had not met for a hundred and fifty years. With the start of the French Revolution, the idea of “public opinion,” a gift of a long process of development in the early modern period, was ready to begin its modern career.

See also **Ancients and Moderns; Bourbon Dynasty (France); England; Enlightenment; France; Freemasonry; Jansenism; Journalism, Newspapers, and Newsheets; Salons.**

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PUBLISHING. *See* **Printing and Publishing.**

PUGACHEV REVOLT (1773–1775).

Emelian Pugachev (1742–1775), a Cossack from the Don region (in contemporary Ukraine), led what would be the last—and arguably the most explosive—of the great Cossack rebellions that plagued the Russian state during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Begun, like so many others, as a frontier rebellion, it engulfed large parts of southeastern Russia and staged a brutal and extended assault on the fortress town of Orenburg between October 1773 and February 1774, and at one point it threatened Moscow itself.

Much of Pugachev’s success derived from his use of the pretender myth, that is, his claim to be the avenging reemergent true tsar Peter III, who in reality had been murdered six months after ascending the throne in a coup that brought his wife, Catherine the Great, to power in 1762. Neither the first nor the last such pretender (some surfaced as far away as the Balkans), Pugachev insisted that he was the one true Peter III, who in myth had not died



Pugachev Revolt. A 1775 engraving depicts Pugachev confined in a cage and chained. ©BETTMANN/CORBIS

but had been rescued by loyal Christians. He assembled an army and even something of a campaign court. His goal was nothing short of entering the capital and claiming the Russian throne.

The revolt itself built on a mutiny of the Yaik Cossacks, begun and suppressed in 1772. Pugachev arrived in the Yaik region in November of that year, claiming to be Peter. Soon arrested, he was taken to the city of Kazan' on the Volga river, from which he escaped on 29 May 1773. By early 1774 he had assembled a loose coalition of Yaik Cossacks, Kalmyks, and Tatars, along with a growing number of discontented serfs. At its peak, his forces numbered twenty thousand, organized loosely into Cossack-style regiments. Although effective in the rough and wooded terrain of the Volga frontier, Pugachev's forces had little chance in the long run against the much larger and better-fortified imperial army. Over time this superiority proved decisive, and on 15 September 1774 he was handed over to the authorities by his own Cossacks. Taken to Mos-

cow in an open cage, he was publicly executed on 10 January 1775.

Part of Pugachev's unique appeal was social, in that he fomented a fluid kind of class warfare, pitting serfs against landlords, three thousand of whom are thought to have died during the revolt. Having freed the landlords from compulsory service in 1762, so he claimed, he had intended to free the serfs as well but had been prevented from doing so by disloyal and greedy noble landowners. This claim seems to have resonated with much of Russia's servile population, thus broadening the revolt's base beyond the Cossacks and borderland Turkic minorities, who had predominated in the earlier rebellions of Stepan Razin and Kondraty Bulavin, to include serfs, state peasants, and some homesteading free peasants.

The rebellion generated a new phase of state-building between 1775 and 1785, the period of so-called legisomania. The empress concluded that Russia required a more permanent and extensive administrative presence in the countryside, one that would not be so prone to periodic depopulation or reliant upon unpaid and informal service. The enabling legislation, the Reform of Provincial Administration (1775) and the Reform of Police Administration (1782), greatly increased the size of the standing provincial government, both civil and military, to one sufficient to keep local disorders contained.

See also Catherine II (Russia); Cossacks; Razin, Stepan; Serfdom in Russia.

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GARY MARKER

PUNISHMENT. *See Crime and Punishment.*

PURCELL, HENRY (1659–1695), English composer. Purcell was born in London in 1659, and died there on 21 November 1695, at the age of 36. His father, also named Henry, was a singer in the choirs of Westminster Abbey and the Chapel Royal. Henry junior was a boy chorister in the Chapel Royal, and his main teachers were John Blow and Christopher Gibbons; Matthew Locke was also a strong influence.

In the early part of his career Purcell was chiefly concerned with church music. He succeeded Blow as organist of Westminster Abbey in 1679 and became a “gentleman” (adult singer) of the Chapel Royal in 1682. In the last years of the reign of Charles II (1660–1685) he composed many “symphony anthems” (with string accompaniment) for use in the Chapel, such as the popular Bell Anthem, “Rejoice in the Lord alway” (1683). When in 1685 Charles II was succeeded by his Roman Catholic brother, James II, this part of Purcell’s activities came to a virtual stop and did not fully revive with the accession of the Protestant William and Mary in 1689. He did, however, continue to compose odes for royal events, as well as the moving funeral music for Queen Mary, “Thou knowest, Lord, the secrets of our hearts” (1695).

In 1689 Purcell wrote the miniature opera *Dido and Aeneas* for a girls’ boarding school, perhaps modeled on Blow’s *Venus and Adonis*, to words by Nahum Tate. This unique, all-sung masterpiece of moderate length and modest forces (voices, strings, and continuo) manages to convey a wide spectrum of human feeling. Dido’s tragic pride, already hinted at in her first entries, reaches the height of expression in her famous Lament (“When I am laid in earth”). Both her formal songs are examples of one of Purcell’s favorite procedures, the ground bass (a repeating bass on which variations are built). Aeneas’s weak indecision is brilliantly conveyed in his one brief dialog with Dido, and Belinda is a well-delineated soubrette. There is still room for extrovert humor (in the sailors’ song), tone-painting (in the royal hunt), and blood-curdling (in the witches’ scene).

From 1690 onward Purcell was heavily involved in music for the London theaters, composing four full-scale “semi-operas” (also termed “dramatic operas”): *The Prophetess, or The History of Dioclesian*



Henry Purcell. Portrait by John Closterman. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

(1690); *King Arthur* (words by John Dryden; 1691); *The Fairy Queen* (1692); and *The Indian Queen* (1695). They are hardly operas in the modern sense, for the principal characters speak rather than sing, and they afforded little opportunity for Purcell to develop the powers of characterization he demonstrated in *Dido and Aeneas*. Yet his music for the incidental songs, choruses, dances, and extended scenes is wonderfully fresh and inventive. The promise for a future development of English theater music was denied by his early death, leaving no successors of comparable stature, and by the growing popularity of Italian opera.

Purcell was a master of the English song, already well represented by earlier composers such as John Dowland and Henry Lawes. Many of his best-known songs are taken from his theater music, which included more than forty plays as well as the semi-operas. He wrote three *Odes for St. Cecilia’s Day* (for soloists, chorus, and orchestra), and his grand *Te Deum and Jubilate* of 1694 was also in

honor of Cecilia, the patron saint of music. He was in great demand as a teacher, and composed much domestic music. His chamber music embraces fantasies for viols, among the last of a genre highly esteemed and cultivated in English domestic circles, but also Italianate sonatas for the newly fashionable violin with harpsichord accompaniment. For drinking clubs he contributed glees (unaccompanied part songs) and catches (rounds), some with bawdy words, others reflecting the turbulent politics of the time.

Like other English composers of his era, Purcell was much influenced by French and Italian styles as well as by older English traditions. He is noted for strong, distinctive harmonies and for his exquisite sensitivity to the rhythms and stresses of the English language. The grand public style of his choral odes and other ceremonial works, such as the 1692 *Ode for St. Cecilia's Day* ("Hail, bright Cecilia") and the *Te Deum and Jubilate*, were certainly models for George Frideric Handel. Purcell challenges William Byrd, Edward Elgar, and Benjamin Britten for the claim of being considered the greatest of English composers.

See also **Handel, George Frideric; Music; Music Criticism.**

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NICHOLAS TEMPERLEY

PURITANISM. A movement within the Church of England, Puritanism called for the church's further reformation in accord with what was believed to be "the best reformed" tradition, which was taken to mean the doctrine and ecclesiology of Protestant Switzerland (Geneva, Zurich), of the Rhineland (Strasbourg in particular), the Palatinate, the Netherlands, and Scotland.

THE EMERGENCE OF THE PURITAN MOVEMENT

Puritanism was born out of dissatisfaction with the Elizabethan Settlement, the ecclesiastical order established by the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity

in 1559 by the young Queen Elizabeth (ruled 1558–1603) and her first Parliament. Many English Protestants who had survived the reign of Catholic Queen Mary I (ruled 1553–1558) and the persecution of Protestants that marked her later years, and many of the more than eight hundred clerics and laymen who had fled abroad, had hoped that Elizabeth would bring a return to the second (more Protestant) Book of Common Prayer of King Edward VI's reign (1547–1553) and to the Reformed Protestant momentum of that king's last years. Exiles, who had experienced the reformed Calvinist order of the churches in Frankfurt am Main, Arau, Strasbourg, Basel, Zurich, and Geneva, returned to England hoping that the English Church would now go beyond the Edwardian reformation and join the ranks of the "best reformed churches."

Although few quarreled with the doctrine set out in 1563 in the Thirty-Nine Articles (Articles XI, Of the Justification of Man, and Article XVII, Of Predestination and Election, were unambiguously in the Reformed camp), some did question whether the retention of the traditional disciplinary machinery of episcopacy and the episcopal and archidiaconal church courts really approximated the structure of the primitive church of the Book of Acts and the early church fathers. More objectionable were the Prayer Book rubrics requiring that parish priests officiate wearing a surplice rather than an academic gown, as worn by ministers in the Reformed Churches of the Continent, and the continued use of the cross in baptism and the ring in marriage. These were admittedly adiaphora (issues not central to a saving faith), but if so, many questioned why their use should be obligatory. Further, in a country that was still largely Catholic, it seemed a mistake to "symbolize" with the old faith, thus leading many of the laity to assume that no substantive change had occurred. Finally, the liturgy of the Book of Common Prayer, although largely written by Archbishop Thomas Cranmer (1489–1556), who was already a Protestant and moving in the direction of the Reformed churches when he wrote the 1552 Prayer Book, allowed little time for the sermon, and preaching had seemingly come to be central to inculcating a true saving faith: the Word preached, rather than the sacraments, was thought to be the principal vehicle of grace for those who were dissatisfied.

The first clash between the clergy who would come to be called “Precisions” or “Puritans” came over the requirement that the minister officiate in a surplice. Edmund Sandys, soon to be one of the new Elizabethan bishops, dismissed the rubric saying, “Our gloss upon this text is that we shall not be forced to use them,” but events belied his optimistic view. Although strict uniformity was not enforced at first, in 1566, under pressure from the queen, Archbishop Matthew Parker published his *Advertisements*, which called for decency and uniformity in worship. Ministers were not to preach without an episcopal license, and all ministers were required to wear the surplice when officiating. The Vestiarian Controversy followed, brought to a head by the bishop of London, who convoked the London clergy before him; thirty-seven of the ninety-eight clergy refused to conform and were suspended for refusing to wear what Robert Crowley called “the conjuring garments of popery.” As William Cecil (1520–1598), the queen’s secretary of state, complained, the consequence of silencing so many “godly men at one instant” was the “utter overthrow [of almost] all exercises . . . of interpretation of Scripture” within the city.

Many of those suspended were subsequently rescued by lay supporters who had the right of presentation to parochial livings, and in a sense the Puritan movement was born from that moment. In 1570 the conflict escalated. In that year, Thomas Cartwright’s divinity lectures at Cambridge on the Acts of the Apostles argued that the primitive church had a presbyterian structure and lacked bishops. The issue of governance was no longer academic when, two years later, two young London preachers, John Field and Thomas Wilcox, published *An Admonition to the Parliament*, which called for the abolition of episcopacy and the substitution of a presbyterian structure of church government.

Not all relations between the Puritans and the bishops were as contentious as these measures implied. An overriding problem was the inability of many uneducated parish priests to preach the kind of exegetical sermons many bishops as well as ministers believed the times required, and this perception led to officially sanctioned meetings of local clergy called “prophesyings.” During these meetings, typically, two skilled ministers preached upon a biblical

text before the assembled local clergy and interested laity, and afterwards the clergy withdrew to discuss the performance. Although Archbishop Edmund Grindal (c. 1519–1583) backed the prophesyings, saying “public and continual preaching of God’s word is the ordinary means and instrument of the salvation of mankind,” Queen Elizabeth preferred that ministers read the official homilies. Thus in 1576 she ordered Grindal to suppress the prophesyings. Nevertheless, preaching exercises in one form or another, sometimes with episcopal approval (approval of the bishop), survived in many localities into the seventeenth century.

Such cooperation between bishops and the Puritan clergy largely came to an end in 1583, when John Whitgift (c. 1530–1604) succeeded Grindal as archbishop of Canterbury. Whitgift was a disciplinarian after the queen’s own heart, and he promptly instituted the three articles of subscription as a means for suppressing Puritan nonconformity. The articles required the unfeigned acknowledgment of the royal supremacy in the church (few Puritans disagreed with that requirement), that the Thirty-Nine Articles were agreeable to the word of God, that nothing in the Book of Common Prayer was contrary to the word of God, and that it should therefore be used without alteration or abbreviation by all ordained ministers. More than three hundred ministers were suspended for refusing subscription, although many subsequently subscribed in some modified form sufficient for reinstatement.

Equipped with the prerogative Court of High Commission, over which Whitgift presided, and with the support of Queen Elizabeth, the archbishop set about enforcing conformity in a series of show trials: three who had separated from the established church in despair of reforming it were executed in 1593. The nascent presbyterian program organized by Field and Wilcox was at an end, and the Puritan clergy, whether supporters of a presbyterian church or not, lost their principal champions at court, including (among others) the earl of Leicester and his brother, the earl of Warwick; Sir Francis Walsingham, the queen’s secretary of state; and Sir Walter Mildmay, an old privy counselor, as the first Elizabethan generation died in the late 1580s and early 1590s.

Loss of support at court did not spell the end of Puritanism in the countryside, where many Puritan clergy found support among the local gentry and country peers. Robert Rich, the second earl of Warwick, and his gentry allies in two generations of the Barrington family and their kin turned Essex into one of the principal Puritan strongholds until the episcopal attacks of the later 1620s. These attacks prompted an exodus of clergy and their lay followers to Massachusetts Bay and southern New England. The Knightleys in Northamptonshire and Sir Robert Jermyn, Sir John Higham, and Sir Edward Lewkenor in Suffolk were patrons of Puritan ministers. In the west, Sir Robert Harley and his friends made part of Herefordshire a Puritan haven. In London, where most of the parochial livings were not in the hands of the laity, Puritans found a solution in the lectureship, a minister hired to preach either because the incumbent was not licensed to preach or because the parish vestry wished more sermons than the parish minister could provide. At one time more than one hundred London parishes had preachers paid to give these extra sermons, supported either by collections organized by the vestry or by endowments made by wealthy merchants.

THE PURITAN MOVEMENT IN STUART ENGLAND

When James I (ruled 1603–1625) succeeded to the throne of England, the Puritans briefly hoped for better times; after all, as James VI of Scotland, this king had been brought up in a Presbyterian church. The so-called Millenary Petition, calling for moderate reform, was promptly organized and purportedly signed by one thousand clergymen; James responded by summoning a meeting of bishops and Puritan ministers at Hampton Court. The king was sympathetic to the Puritan demand for a preaching clergy, but he had no sympathy for what he thought might be reform leading to a Presbyterian system in England. In the end, little came of Hampton Court except the new translation of the Bible published in 1611, the last official collaboration between Puritan and non-Puritan members of the Church of England. Richard Bancroft (1544–1610), who succeeded Whitgift as archbishop of Canterbury, was as rigorous a disciplinarian as his predecessor. He promulgated a revised set of canons for the church in 1604, which required subscription and conformity,

and in the ensuing five years more than seventy benefited Nonconformist clergy were deprived, including such Puritan luminaries as Arthur Hildersham and Ezechial Culverwell.

Two issues gained the Puritans support in the wider community in the course of James's reign. Many members of the church favored a rigorous Sabbath that was devoted exclusively to religious activities, and were shocked when King James issued the *Book of Sports* in 1618 in an effort to appease, as it seemed to many, Catholic sensibilities in Lancashire. The *Book of Sports* specifically forbade "Puritans and precisions" from discouraging any "lawful recreations" once the second service was completed on Sunday afternoons. Such lawful recreations included dancing, May games, Whitsun ales, and Morris dances, all of which could now legally take place in the churchyard.

More seriously, many, including Archbishop George Abbot (1562–1633), joined the more incautious Puritan preachers in criticizing King James's pursuit of a Spanish Habsburg wife for Prince Charles, particularly after 1618, when in the early stages of the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648) the Catholic armies of Spain and Bavaria invaded the Protestant Palatinate, the hereditary electorate of Frederick and his wife, Elizabeth, James's daughter. In 1622 James attempted to stop such preaching by promulgating his "Directions concerning Preachers," but in fact the preachers were doing little more than giving voice to popular opinion.

Catholic political and military successes on the Continent were one threat; the rise of Arminianism and ceremonialism at home was even more threatening, for to Puritans and to old-fashioned Calvinists like Abbot, these clerics seemed bent on subverting Protestantism from within. Puritans and non-Puritans alike had shared a common Reformed theology during most of Elizabeth's reign, but beginning in the 1590s anti-Calvinists appeared in the universities, arguing that grace was resistible, that salvation could be lost, which was a denial of predestination, and that the sacraments were more important vehicles of saving grace than the preached Word. Eight Arminians became bishops during James's reign, including his favorite court preacher, Lancelot Andrewes (1555–1626). After 1625, in the reign of King Charles I (ruled 1625–1649),

they rapidly came to dominate the church. William Laud (1573–1645) became Charles’s chief ecclesiastical adviser and rose to become bishop of London in 1628 and archbishop of Canterbury in 1633. Calvinists were now seen as Puritans, and Puritans as “Brownists,” separatists from the Established Church in tendency, if not yet in fact. As Laud preached in a court sermon in 1621, “nothing more needful for . . . State and Church, than prayer,” and the peace he sought when he came to power was the peace of silent pulpits.

In 1629 Thomas Hooker, the silenced lecturer at Chelmsford in Essex, preached in his farewell sermon: “God is going, his glory is departing, . . . England hath seen her best days,” and shortly after left for Massachusetts; forty-eight Essex ministers had petitioned Laud on his behalf, but to no avail. Others retreated to the Netherlands. Alexander Leighton, a Scottish minister and physician, was tried in 1630 before the Star Chamber for writing against episcopacy, had his ears cropped, and was imprisoned until released by Parliament in 1640; Henry Burton, a minister, John Bastwick, a physician, and William Prynne, a lawyer, suffered a similar fate in 1637. The *Book of Sports* was reissued in 1633 and was required to be read from every pulpit in the land; those ministers who resisted what many regarded as an invitation to profane the Sabbath were suspended from their ministerial duties.

THE PURITAN MOVEMENT AND THE ENGLISH REVOLUTION

The rebellion of the Scots in 1637 over the attempted introduction of an English-style Book of Common Prayer and the summoning of the Long Parliament in November 1640 following two disastrous so-called Bishops’ Wars, as Charles tried to bring his rebellious Scottish subjects to heel, brought the downfall of the Caroline regime. Laud was imprisoned in the Tower of London, and the House of Commons entertained petitions against parochial clergy who favored the Laudian regime and, after the civil war began in 1642, those who preached against Parliament and for the king. Puritan clergy who lost their livings behind royalist lines found new pulpits in London and those areas held by Parliament. As Richard Baxter (1615–1691), then a young West Country Puritan divine, later wrote: “Though it must be confessed that the public safety and liberty wrought very much with most,

especially with the nobility and gentry who adhered to the parliament, yet was it principally the differences about religious matter that filled up the parliament’s armies and put the resolution and valor into their soldiers.”

A church settlement proved more difficult for Parliament than military victory. As part of an agreement with the Scots Covenanters, Parliament had summoned the Westminster Assembly of Divines in 1643, but argument over the definition of “the best reformed church” soon revealed a split between the Presbyterian majority, champions of a national church to which all would necessarily belong (similar to the Scots), and the Independent minority (called Congregationalists in America), who insisted on autonomy for gathered, voluntary congregations. The latter had the backing of the Baptists, always outside the national church, and the sectarian radicals in some of the parliamentary regiments. After the creation of the New Model Army in 1645, its success in the second civil war in 1648 and the conquest of Ireland and Scotland, followed by Oliver Cromwell’s Protectorate in 1653, the survival of the Independents and the sects was guaranteed by the victorious army. The upshot was a Presbyterian structure without coercive sanctions, Independents and Baptists existing outside its purview, and in the 1650s these were joined by the Fifth Monarchists, Quakers, and other radical groups.

When the Restoration took place in 1660, in part due to the fear of sectarian anarchy, instead of a Puritan movement within the national church that had existed prior to 1640, denominations—Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists, and Quakers—came to exist as persecuted congregations on the outside, and Old Dissent was born. Yet it was in this period of defeat that the two great literary expressions of the Puritan ethos appeared: John Milton’s *Paradise Lost* (1667) and John Bunyan’s *The Pilgrim’s Progress* (1678).

Puritanism, if it failed to create the sought-after City on the Hill, nevertheless was to have a lasting influence on the primacy given to the Bible as the word of God and to a certain type of moral seriousness and Protestant culture pervasive, if not dominant, in the English-speaking world.

See also Baxter, Richard; Bible; Bunyan, John; Calvinism; Charles I (England); Church of England; Cromwell, Oliver; Elizabeth I (England); English Civil War and Interregnum; English Civil War Radicalism; Harley, Robert; James I and VI (England); James II (England); Laud, William; Milton, John; Star Chamber.

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PAUL S. SEAVER

PYRENEES, PEACE OF THE (1659).

The struggle between France and Spain that burst out into full-scale war in 1635 was not ended by the Peace of Westphalia in 1648. Instead, the French lost much ground when Spain took advantage of the Fronde, the French civil wars of 1648–1653. Eventually allied with the prince of Condé (1621–1686), one of the leaders of the Fronde, the Spaniards retook earlier French gains, such as Dunkirk, and ended the French-backed rebellion in Catalonia. The end of the Fronde brought little improvement in French prospects, and defeats in 1655–1656 led France to offer terms, only for Philip IV (1605–1665) of Spain to reject them. The French demand that the peace include the marriage of Louis XIV (1638–1715) with Philip's daughter Marie-Thérèse (1638–1683), then first in line in the succession, was unacceptable.

The war ended only after the intervention of English forces on the side of France, under an alliance signed in 1657, tipped the balance in Flanders. English units helped Henri de la Tour d'Auvergne (1611–1675), marshal Turenne, defeat the Army of Flanders at the Battle of the Dunes (14 June 1658). This transformed the strategic situation. Having exploited the victory to capture Dunkirk, Gravelines, Menen, and Ieper (Ypres), La Tour d'Auvergne could threaten an advance on Brussels, the capital of the Spanish Netherlands.

This led to the Peace of the Pyrenees of 7 November 1659, signed at the Isle of Pheasants at the western end of the mountain chain. Important French gains in the war, Artois in the Low Countries and Roussillon at the eastern end of the Pyrenees, were ceded by Spain. However, the peace was more of a compromise than is usually appreciated, and this reflected the outcome of the war. The French had failed to drive the Spanish from the southern Netherlands or Italy as had been planned, and as a result the Spaniards retained their territories in Italy as well as most of the Spanish Netherlands. The Spanish Empire remained the largest in western Europe.

The marriage of Louis XIV and Marie-Thérèse as part of the settlement was now acceptable to Spain because Philip now had a son, a reminder of the role of dynastic fortune. As an indication, however, of the extent to which policy was debated and

PUTTING-OUT SYSTEM. See Proto-Industry.

thus of the danger of treating states as unproblematic building blocks, the negotiations were opposed by the queen of Spain, who wanted Marie-Thérèse to marry Emperor Leopold I (1640–1705), and by courtiers concerned to secure better terms for Condé. Dunkirk, a major naval base on the North Sea, was ceded to England, but the recently restored Charles II (1630–1685) sold it to Louis XIV in 1662.

When Louis married Marie-Thérèse in 1660, she renounced the right of succession on the Spanish inheritance, both for herself and for her heirs. However, it was by no means clear how acceptable this was to Spanish custom and law. Indeed at the time of the marriage her renunciation was regarded as a matter of formality, entered into in order to allay international mistrust. It gave Louis and the Bourbon dynasty a claim to the Spanish inheritance, which was pushed when Philip IV died in 1665. Louis claimed Brabant, Antwerp, Limburg, and parts of Franche-Comté and Luxembourg from the inheritance, leading to the War of Devolution in 1667–1668. After gains then, including Lille and Tournai, he won more, including Franche-Comté and parts of the Spanish Netherlands, in the Dutch War of 1672–1678. More seriously, the death of Philip's son, Carlos II (1661–1700), led to the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1714) as the inheritance of the whole succession by Louis's second grandson, Philip V of Spain (1683–1746; ruled

1700–1746), was contested by Britain, Austria, and the Dutch.

The Peace of the Pyrenees is sometimes seen as setting the seal on the decline of Spain. This is misleading. It was no more than a stage in the long-running saga of relations. Spain proved a robust power possessing great resilience in the 1640s and 1650s. Subsequent Spanish difficulties owed more to contrasting domestic developments in the 1660s. The vigorous Louis XIV took personal charge of France on the death of Cardinal Jules Mazarin (1602–1661) in 1661, while in Spain the physically and mentally impaired Carlos II (ruled 1665–1700) could not provide the necessary leadership.

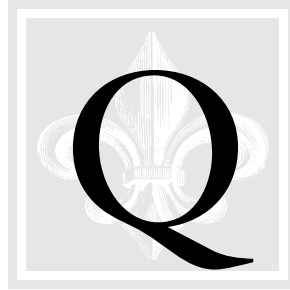
See also **Condé Family; Devolution, War of (1667–1668); Fronde; Louis XIV (France); Netherlands, Southern; Philip IV (Spain); Spain; Spanish Succession, War of the (1701–1714).**

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JEREMY BLACK

PYRRHONISM. *See* **Skepticism: Academic and Pyrrhonian.**



QUAKERS. Quakers (Religious Society of Friends) emerged in the north of England in the early 1650s as one of the many sects spawned by the Puritan revolution. George Fox (1624–1691), the most prominent early leader, after seeking for certainty among many religious groups, experienced what he and other Friends described as the Inward Light of Christ, an unmediated contact with God. Quakerism was an attempt to communicate and institutionalize this encounter with divinity that was available to all women and men. Worship consisted of meetings held in silence in an unornamented room with preaching or prayer spoken under the guidance of the Light. There was no educated and ordained clergy, no liturgy, hymns, or Bible reading to come between a person and God. Friends refused to pay tithes, take oaths, or show deference to social superiors and denounced all other forms of worship as corrupt.

Early Friends attracted the middling classes and few of the very rich and powerful or the poor. Traveling ministers (persons recognized as able to preach the new faith) brought the movement by 1654 to London, Bristol, and Norfolk and soon after to the West Indies, Ireland, and North America. The rapid spread and religious and social radicalism of many early Friends brought sporadic persecution, even under Oliver Cromwell (ruled 1653–1658).

The Restoration in 1660 brought twenty-four years of occasional persecution by royal and Anglican authorities who saw Friends as threatening reli-

gious uniformity and social order. Friends also experienced internal divisions occasioned by Fox's effort to organize a hierarchy of meetings, including separate gatherings for women. Robert Barclay's (1648–1690) *Apology for the True Christian Divinity* (1678) provided a theological framework, and William Penn (1644–1718) emerged as an advocate for religious toleration for all Dissenters and Roman Catholics.

After the Revolution of 1688, Friends repudiated their social radicalism and became respectable dissenters. No longer openly challenging church or state, Friends enjoyed toleration, accepted distraints for tithes, and sought to ensure their survival by concentrating upon family nurture and preserving distinctive customs of dress, speech, and endogamous marriage (that is, marriage with other Friends). Their primary impact on England came through innovations in technology, industry, and finance, for example the Darbys and Lloyds in iron and Barclays and Lloyds in banking.

Outside Britain, the primary concentrations of Friends were in Rhode Island, Maryland, and North Carolina, where inhabitants converted, and New Jersey and Pennsylvania, which were settled by Quaker immigrants. In 1681 William Penn obtained a charter for Pennsylvania, and colonization began the next year. Penn's law guaranteed religious liberty, created a representative assembly, ended capital punishment for most crimes, and instituted a strict moral code. Quakers dominated the assembly until the eve of the American Revolution. Conflict with the proprietors, first with Penn and

then with his sons, became characteristic as Quakers sought political power and won every assembly election until 1775 on a platform of low taxes, no established church, and no militia. Pennsylvania and Friends prospered, and Philadelphia became a cosmopolitan town with Quakers supporting the American Philosophical Society, the Pennsylvania Hospital, and the Library Company.

The French defeat of a British force in 1755 near present-day Pittsburgh brought a major transformation of Quakerism. Blaming the war on their own moral failures, Quakers now pronounced slavery a moral evil, initiated an Indian rights movement, questioned the legitimacy of their exercising political power and paying war taxes, and tightened the enforcement of testimonies on all Friends. The reform movement eventually spread to meetings throughout the colonies and Great Britain.

American Friends supported the protests against British taxation beginning in 1765 until they concluded that the agitation was leading to war. After 1774, Quakers began withdrawing from politics and opposing the movement toward independence. In 1776 they proclaimed neutrality between the two warring parties and noninvolvement in politics, required all members to free their slaves, and disowned members who served in the military or occupied political office. They also began the international antislavery movement taken up by British Friends after 1783. In the new Republic, Friends saw it as their role to be advocates for American Indians and African Americans.

See also American Independence, War of (1775–1783); Cromwell, Oliver; Dissenters, English; English Civil War Radicalism; Puritanism.

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J. WILLIAM FROST

QUEENS AND EMPRESSES. As women situated at the top of the social hierarchy, all of the queens and empresses of the early modern era were far from sharing the same fate. Depending on the state and the period, they could live relatively low-profile lives or, on the contrary, have a major political role to play. Although most of these women were the wives of kings or emperors, some of them nevertheless reigned in their own names whenever the rules of succession in their state authorized this, and they then conducted themselves as the equals of kings. It is therefore important to distinguish between kings' wives, whose titles as queen derived solely from their marriages and who generally lived apart from the political stage, and women who acceded to power by virtue of hereditary rights and exercised sovereign authority as head of state. Like all the empresses in the early modern era, the vast majority of queens fall into the first category, women who succeeded to the throne being quite rare.

RULES OF SUCCESSION

The living conditions of queens thus depended very largely on the rules of succession that determined the degree to which they enjoyed a share of power. Although all kingdoms show a marked preference for men in the line of succession, some admitted females when there were no males in the direct line. Most heads of state were therefore men, by virtue of natural law as the texts put it, but it was not unknown for a woman to take the throne. It happened in England with the reigns of Mary I (Mary Tudor, ruled 1553–1558), Elizabeth I (ruled 1558–1603), and Anne Stuart (ruled 1702–1714); in Scotland with Mary Stuart (1542–1587); in Sweden with Queen Christina (ruled 1632–1654); and in Hungary and Bohemia, two realms that were the hereditary dominions of the Austrian Habsburgs and to which Maria Theresa of Austria (ruled 1740–1780) acceded by virtue of the Pragmatic Sanction (1713) before becoming empress in 1745 with the election of her husband Francis I (ruled 1745–

1765). We find the same thing in eighteenth-century Russia: both Elizabeth Petrovna (ruled 1741–1762), the daughter of Peter the Great, and especially Catherine II (known as Catherine the Great; ruled 1762–1796), who took power to the detriment of her husband Peter III (1728–1762), had a profound effect on the age of Enlightenment. Denmark also allowed for female sovereigns and was ruled by queens in the Middle Ages, although it has always had male rulers in the modern era. Many small European states, minor independent principalities, similarly permitted female succession. They are not considered here because these women were not of royal status. However, the principles governing devolution of the throne, and the living conditions of women in these princely courts, were not fundamentally different from those of major states.

In certain monarchical states women were not allowed to rule but could nevertheless transmit their rights to the crown to their male descendants. Spain and Portugal underwent dynastic changes that were brought about by female transmission. The heads of state in these countries were necessarily men, but they nevertheless sometimes owed their throne to a grandmother: Spain fell into the hands of Philip V (ruled 1700–1746), a Bourbon prince, thanks to the rights of his grandmother Marie-Thérèse (María Teresa de Austria; 1638–1683); and Portugal was for a time united with the Spanish crown by virtue of the same principle. These rules of succession had an important role to play in the choice of partners because the marriage of every princess capable of passing on the crown meant that the throne could potentially pass into another family line. Foreign sovereigns sought marriage with crown princesses above all others.

That France was exceptional in this respect (Savoy alone was in the same situation, though not a kingdom) placed it in a position of power on the European scene. Salic law (the law of the French monarchy) totally excluded women from transmission; they could neither inherit the throne directly nor transmit it to their descendants. The marriage of a French princess thus implied no risk of transferring the crown to another family line, whereas kings could wed crown princesses and thus obtain new lands or even a new crown. The choice of alliances was directly conditioned by the laws governing succession.

ROYAL MARRIAGES

The priority that governments accorded to boys meant that girls became the object of matrimonial transactions; they were exchanged and, once married, had to leave their homeland to live in a new kingdom. Princesses by birth, they thus became the queens of countries to which their fate was intimately linked.

Three priorities governed the choice of a queen: ideally she should be a foreigner, a woman from a sovereign house, and an older daughter who was better placed in the order of succession. To the alliances contracted between states on the occasion of royal weddings we must also add dynastic considerations: as the daughters of kings, queens could bring the paternal succession in their inheritance. But although these young queens were generally foreigners, more often than not they were also cousins. Sovereign houses were none too plentiful, and social endogamy led to marriages between close relatives. It was not infrequent for the bride and groom to share at least one grandparent. Thus Louis XIV (ruled 1643–1715), an extreme case indeed, married his paternal and maternal first cousin Marie Thérèse.

The choice of a princess was not always an easy matter because eligible candidates were sometimes rare, particularly because, in addition to the social origins of the princess, her religion and age at time of marriage also had to be taken into account. Kings' daughters generally married quite young, but they had to have reached the age of puberty and thus be able to produce heirs rapidly. This consideration could even be decisive: Marie Leszczyńska, a minor Polish princess, was married to Louis XV of France (ruled 1715–1774) specifically because she came from a large family and was therefore expected to produce many children. Hopes for a long line thus compensated for the relative mediocrity of the match.

Dynastic questions were of primordial importance in royal marriages, with the arrival of a son guaranteeing the union of the paternal and maternal inheritances; it was through descendants that two crowns could one day be united on the same head. This explains why both sides discussed the terms of the marriage contract so carefully. For the queen, the contract was of decisive importance because it established the conditions of her future life: the

amount of her dowry, the constitution of her household, the dower she would receive in the event of being widowed were all defined on this occasion, as well as any rights to an inheritance from her parents. The wedding ceremony itself was nothing very spectacular. More often than not, the couple was united in a proxy marriage before they had even met, and the religious ceremony in the presence of the bride and groom reiterated the Christian principles whereby the union of two people made them into one flesh. On this occasion the princess contracted her husband's status, assumed the rank and title of queen, and in so doing passed from her father's authority into that of her husband. For the new queen, this stage was of fundamental importance because it sanctioned the passage from the state of daughter to that of wife, from princess to sovereign.

LIFE AT COURT

Transferred to a strange new house, a royal wife had to renounce her origins and erase all traces of her foreign extraction. The metamorphosis had to be all the more complete as it was, in theory at least, definitive. Only widowed queens with no children could conceivably return to their country of origin. Upon arrival in her new realm, the queen adopted the local customs and the language and etiquette of the court. Her role was essentially symbolic: as the incarnation of monarchical grandeur, she had to reflect it in the splendor of her household (consisting of hundreds of servants), the sumptuousness of her clothing, and the value of her jewelry. In this respect, she was treated magnificently well. The transition, however, was not always easy. Language, in particular, could continue to be an obstacle: Catherine de Médicis (1519–1589), an Italian princess who arrived in France at the age of fourteen, kept her strong accent throughout her life and continued to make mistakes whenever she spoke or wrote in French. Conversely, Catherine II of Russia, who was of German origin, very quickly adapted to the court of the tsars and soon spoke fluent Russian.

Although it is true that the importance accorded to the queen varied from one kingdom to another, she nevertheless always represented the monarchy, and the evolution of courtly life in Europe tended to place queens in the forefront of the royal stage. The majority of them were very well educated, particularly those who might be expected

to rule in their own name. Elizabeth I of England spoke no fewer than seven languages, including Latin and Greek. Christina of Sweden (ruled 1632–1654) corresponded with René Descartes (1596–1650), whom she invited to her court, and Catherine II maintained epistolary relationships with philosophers such as Voltaire (1694–1778) and Jean Le Rond d'Alembert (1717–1783).

As a focus of attention, queens had to be able to maintain a dazzling court: because political power was traditionally in the hands of men during the *ancien régime*, domestic activity, which bore on the organization of the royal court, naturally fell into the hands of women. The distribution of social space did not therefore deprive women of political responsibility: the splendor of the court was also an expression of sovereign power. Royal patronage, which queens exercised just as much as kings, was another reflection of this power.

MOTHERHOOD AND POWER

In addition to this symbolic role, it was the wife's duty to provide successors and to ensure the continuation of the family line. Mainly, she was expected to produce sons, but also daughters in order to negotiate dynastic alliances. Motherhood guaranteed the queen a stronger position in the court and a more reliable future in the kingdom. Although marriage was theoretically indissoluble, a sterile princess was always in danger of losing her eminent position. In France the marriage between Henry IV (ruled 1589–1610) and Margaret of Valois (1553–1615) was declared null for reasons of sterility, and queens Catherine de Médicis and Anne of Austria (1601–1666), both of whom were slow to produce offspring, were not secure in their royal position until they gave birth to sons. In England, the notorious memory of Henry VIII (ruled 1509–1547), who married no fewer than six wives in order to ensure his succession, demonstrates the importance of these questions. However, the arrival of a son transformed these princesses into full-fledged queens.

As the mother of the crown prince, the queen could wield power one day in the name of her son. This considerably increased her influence in the court. When the king was worried about maintaining political continuity, he sometimes even prepared her for this role. She was then introduced into the royal council in order to familiarize her with the

affairs of government. It is true, however, that by virtue of their influence over their husbands, some royal wives exercised political power while their husbands were still alive, regardless of whether they were mothers. By virtue of the role she played in the affairs of her husband, Sigismund I (ruled 1506–1548) of Poland, Bona, princess of Milan and Bari, introduced the Renaissance into Poland in the first half of the sixteenth century. In the seventeenth century Louise Marie de Gonzague-Nevers played an essential role: twice queen of Poland, thanks to her support, her brother-in-law John II Casimir Vasa, later her husband, was elected king of Poland (ruled 1648–1668). In Spain, Maria Anna of Bavaria Neuburg (1667–1740) took advantage of the weakness of her husband, Charles II (ruled 1665–1700), to favor Austrian interests in the matter of Spanish succession, and in France Marie Antoinette (1755–1793) was accused of giving bad advice to King Louis XVI (ruled 1774–1792). For better or worse, the political role of the wives of kings was generally not well known, except when a regency made it official.

REGENCIES

It was essentially by virtue of their being mothers that queens actually gained access to power in the event of a royal minority, in which case they ruled in the names of their sons. When a king died leaving an heir who was too young to govern, a regency was organized. The queen thus reached the peak of her glory, conducting affairs of state either alone or with the dignitaries and princes of the realm. Although regencies were theoretically a form of collective rule, they were very often personal in practice, the queen making it her business to rule without interference. Thus Catherine de Médicis, Marie de Médicis (1573–1642), and Anne of Austria, all three queens of France who are known essentially for their political action during royal minorities, eliminated all rivals to their authority as soon as their husbands died. Catherine de Médicis, mother of three successive kings—Francis II (ruled 1559), Charles IX (ruled 1560–1574), and Henry III (ruled 1574–1589)—managed to retain her power beyond the legal end of the royal minority (French kings reached their majority at the age of fourteen) by virtue of her influence over her children. Marie de Médicis also continued in government well beyond the majority of Louis XIII (ruled 1610–

1643). Anne of Austria, however, widow of Louis XIII, stepped aside in 1661 when her son Louis XIV decided to rule alone. He was already more than twenty years old, and the queen mother was prepared to relinquish the major political role she had played for nearly seventeen years. Other regencies were very long indeed: when the Scottish queen Mary of Guise (1515–1560) was widowed in 1542, her daughter Mary Stuart (1542–1587), heir to the throne, was only seven days old. When the little queen left Scotland to marry the French dauphin and future Francis II, her mother ruled as regent until her death in 1560, a period of nearly eighteen years. Mariana de Austria (1634–1696), widow of Philip IV of Spain (ruled 1621–1665), exercised power for ten years (1665–1675) in the name of her son, Charles II. In Sweden, Hedwig-Leonora, widowed at the age of twenty-four, found herself in charge of the government when her son, Charles XI (ruled 1660–1697), who was barely four years old, succeeded to the throne. The country had already been through a female regency some thirty years earlier when the young Queen Christina inherited her father's throne in 1632.

All of these examples, which are significant though not exhaustive, show that regency was a classic mode of administration in the absence of royal authority. The longest and most famous examples of female rule took place during royal minorities. A regency could also be organized in the absence of a king (away at war) or in the event of illness. The wives or mothers of the sovereign thus replaced the person who legally held royal authority but was unable to wield it. By doing so, they ensured political stability while maintaining dynastic continuity.

The political role of the wives of kings was therefore not negligible. Of course it did not compare with the role of queens reigning in their own name and inscribed in the long list of European sovereigns. But these regents also left their mark on their country of adoption. The same cannot be said for queens who disappeared without trace, dying young or widowed without children, and who hardly had the chance to exercise their political talents. Others had an even more tragic fate: Anne Boleyn (1507?–1536), queen of England, was condemned to death by her husband Henry VIII. Mary Stuart was executed by order of her cousin Eliza-

beth I of England; Marie-Antoinette, queen of France, died a victim of the French Revolution.

See also Absolutism; Anna (Russia); Anne (England); Anne of Austria; Catherine de Médicis; Catherine II (Russia); Christina (Sweden); Court and Courtiers; Elizabeth I (England); Elizabeth (Russia); Isabella of Castile; Marguerite de Navarre; Maria Theresa (Holy Roman Empire); Marie Antoinette; Marie de Médicis; Mary I (England); Regency.

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(TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH BY LIAM GAVIN)

QUIETISM. Quietism is a form of spirituality that emphasizes a direct relationship with God in a state of quietness of the soul (Latin *quies*). The ideas behind Quietism are to be found in many religions of the world. In the West, they influenced the mysticism of the Christian Middle Ages, notably that of the *devotio moderna* (modern devotion) movement. Quietist ideas reappeared during the sixteenth century in the *alumbrados* (illuminism) movement, which greatly worried the Spanish authorities. These notions reemerged in Italy in the 1680s when religious groups, self-proclaimed *quietisti*, promoted transformation in God and total spiritual passivity. The famous Spanish theologian Miguel de Molinos (1628–1696) encouraged these ideas in

La guida spirituale (1675; The spiritual guide), ideas that were soon condemned because they seemed not only to call into question the hierarchy, authority, and dogma of the Roman Catholic Church but also to tolerate a dangerous moral bent toward sin—for committing sin could not trouble Quietism’s intimate relationship with God. Molinos was tried by the Holy Office in 1685, and his teachings were condemned in 1687 by Pope Innocent XI for their Quietist negation of human powers and for what were regarded as their injurious theological and moral consequences. In Italy, works suspected of Quietism were included in the Index of Prohibited Books, and many trials followed. The hunt for *Quietisti* soon expanded all over Europe and contributed to the eighteenth-century waning of the mystical movement in France, Italy, and Spain.

In France, opponents of mysticism used the Roman condemnation to fight leading mystical figures such as Jeanne-Marie Bouvier de la Motte Guyon (Madame Guyon du Chesnoy; 1648–1717), the Barnabite preacher known as Father La Combe (1640–1715), and François de Salignac de La Mothe Fénelon, archbishop of Cambrai (1651–1715). They were all accused of suspicious links with the Italian *Quietisti*, of doubtful morality, and of disturbing theological concepts. First, La Combe was charged and imprisoned, then Guyon was condemned. Influenced by the Spanish mystic John of the Cross (1542–1591), Guyon actively promoted a mysticism based on the annihilation of the soul in *Les torrents spirituels* (1682; Spiritual torrents) and in *Moyen court et très facile pour l’oraison* (1685; Short and easy method to pray). Appealing at first to Parisian *dévot* circles and to the Marquise de Maintenon, the second wife of Louis XIV, she saw her writings condemned for their Quietism and found herself imprisoned many times between 1688 and 1703. Nevertheless, her ideas influenced various European audiences: Catholics and deists from France, Protestants from England, Scotland, and Switzerland, German Pietists, as well as the founder of Methodism, John Wesley (1703–1791), all claimed to be her disciples. The charges against Madame Guyon served also to put on trial Archbishop Fénelon to the point that his doctrine of Pure Love was equated with Quietism (he was on trial not only for being associated with Madame Guyon but also for political reasons). Fénelon promoted an uncon-

ditional love for God, so detached from any expectation of reward that one freely accepts to love God, even though convinced of one's own damnation. Fénelon, who had taken not only the side of Madame Guyon against her detractors, but also a political stand against Louis XIV's absolutism, was in turn accused of Quietism. Fénelon's formidable opponent, Bishop Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet, openly accused him of Quietist views and bad morality, leading to his condemnation and silencing in 1699. But, as French historian Jacques Le Brun notes, nothing was farther from Fénelon's austere doctrine of Pure Love and perfect charity than the accusation of total passivity.

See also Bossuet, Jacques-Bénigne; Catholic Spirituality and Mysticism; Fénelon, François; Index of Prohibited Books; Inquisition; Methodism; Pietism.

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DOMINIQUE DESLANDRES



RABELAIS, FRANÇOIS (c. 1483–1553), French writer. Little is known about Rabelais’s early life; even the year of his birth remains uncertain. He was born near Chinon, in the Loire valley, and refers affectionately to the region in his work. As a young man Rabelais joined the Franciscans (c. 1510), studied both theology and law, and frequented or corresponded with leading humanist scholars of the day. By 1521 he had become a priest and acquired the reputation of being both an excellent scholar of Greek and a troublemaker, as his Franciscan superiors confiscated his Greek books. By the early 1530s, having first left the Franciscans for the Benedictines, and then left monastic life entirely to become a secular priest, he was a prominent physician living in Lyon, the cultural (and publishing) capital of France at that time. There he took up a position at a hospital, began a correspondence with Desiderius Erasmus, and published several medical texts.

In the fall of 1532, Rabelais published a very different sort of text: *Pantagruel*, the first of the comic works to which he owes his fame. The book’s considerable commercial success did not keep it (or Rabelais’s subsequent works) from being condemned by the Sorbonne, whose faculty of theology acted as the church’s office of censorship. Nonetheless, Rabelais’s patrons shielded him well enough that he could follow up on *Pantagruel*’s success by publishing *Gargantua* in late 1534 or early 1535. *Gargantua* was in its turn both successful and highly controversial; Rabelais chose, in the increasingly dangerous politico-religious climate of the

mid-1530s, to publish less and to avoid France as much as possible. He spent a great deal of time in Italy in the late 1530s and early 1540s, often with members of the powerful du Bellay family, who continued to protect him. After twelve years of intermittent exile and silence, Rabelais published, in 1546, the *Tiers Livre*. Given the controversy it excited, Rabelais judged it prudent once again to leave town, taking refuge this time in Metz. In 1548 he returned to Rome at the request of Cardinal Jean du Bellay, along the way leaving an incomplete draft of the *Quart Livre* with his publisher in Lyon. The latter printed it immediately, perhaps to the annoyance of Rabelais, who did not produce the final version until January 1552. The *Quart Livre* was, like Rabelais’s previous volumes, promptly attacked by the Sorbonne, but thanks to the author’s fame and connections the censors could not prevent publication. Rabelais died in the early 1550s, probably on 9 April 1553. A *Cinquième Livre*, published several years after Rabelais’s death, in 1564, is of dubious, or at best partial, authenticity.

The four authentic books together constitute a comic masterpiece of the first order, unique in Western literature. *Pantagruel*, in appearance a mass-market book, a parody of popular chivalric romances filled with superhuman heroes, fabulous monsters, and often obscene humor, is in fact an immensely complex work, combining features of popular literature with deep learning, topical satire, and enthusiasm for the ideals of Renaissance humanism. *Gargantua*, the story of Pantagruel’s father, shares features (for example, its narrative tra-



François Rabelais. THE ART ARCHIVE/MUSÉE DU CHÂTEAU DE VERSAILLES/DAGLI ORTI

jectory) with its predecessor but is more sophisticated, eschewing at least some of *Pantagruel's* raw slapstick in favor of elaborate political and religious satire, a clearer commitment to a tolerant Erasmian Christianity, and a not entirely unironic reexamination of the humanist project. The *Tiers Livre* is the least overtly comic of the four books; it is dominated by the contrast between the humanist sage Pantagruel and his irrational, appetite-driven sidekick Panurge (from the Greek, in the sense of 'one willing to do anything'), who consults a series of more-or-less outlandish "experts" in order to find out whether he should marry. This opposition continues into the *Quart Livre*, in which Pantagruel, Panurge and his companions embark on a sea voyage to visit the oracle of the *Dive Bouteille* ('holy bottle'). The islands they visit are populated by a range of odd beings ludicrously secure in their own varieties of folly, and the voyage thus represents to the reader the limits of human understanding, and the consequent (and dangerous) absurdity of any claim to definitive interpretation or knowledge, especially in matters of faith.

Rabelais is perhaps the most difficult of French authors. His immense learning, richness of language, and intense engagement with the literary, religious, and political issues of his day produce a density and complexity of allusion and linguistic play that demand great effort from the reader. This was true even for Rabelais's contemporaries, most of whom nonetheless recognized him to be a writer of the first rank, although some were repelled by his uncompromisingly graphic humor. He fell from favor in the seventeenth century, not least because his linguistic exuberance was at odds with the more severe aesthetic of the day. For many in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries he was more talked about than read, a mere name representing at best drunken good humor, at worst coarse literary debauchery. The twentieth century saw a resurgence of interest in Rabelais, and, as a result of actually reading what he wrote, a truer appreciation of his immense accomplishment. As the twenty-first century begins, the enthusiasm and controversy excited by Rabelais show no signs of diminishing. In particular, the tensions between the serious and the comic in his work continue to provoke lively critical debate.

See also Erasmus, Desiderius; French Literature and Language.

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DAVID M. POSNER

RACE, THEORIES OF. After Portuguese, Spanish, Italian, and French sailors discovered in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries both hitherto unknown oceanic wind flows and how to find their bearings in the open sea, Europeans began to cross the oceans and interact with West African, South and East Asian, and American peoples—peoples of whom the ancient geographies had been ignorant or whom they simply disregarded or treated as monstrous races. Medieval accounts of fantastic beings located in faraway, mythical places receded, giving way to excruciatingly detailed descriptions of the mores and religions of African, American, and Asian peoples. Newly acquired ethnographic sensibilities stemmed from the need to rule colonies and conduct foreign business. Expansion overseas, however, overlapped with the consolidation of new, relatively large dynastic states such as England, France, and Spain. These states sought to introduce religious and linguistic uniformity into maddeningly complex and ethnically heterogeneous worlds. In early modern Europe, understanding ethnic distinctions overseas became as important as comprehending cultural variations at home.

Ancient and medieval categories helped early modern intellectuals grapple with their growing awareness of ethnic differences. To catalog these differences scholars turned to the age-old genre of “natural history.” Yet a commitment to the historicity and veracity of the Bible made it difficult to pigeonhole others as separate species (monstrous races, natural slaves) or to explain away differences simply as the result of independent godly creations (polygenism). Such restrictions forced intellectuals to find in Galenic and Hippocratic notions of temperaments and complexions, and in Aristotelian psychology and Ciceronian jurisprudence, the tools to make sense of bodily and behavioral differences between groups. Climate and the environment, it was widely believed, accounted for variations in political systems and skin color. Thus it was thought that, say, colder places made peoples dull, white, and democratic, whereas tropical ones rendered them

intelligent, dark, and subservient. Seemingly whimsical customs first introduced by cultural heroes, it was also argued, launched peoples into divergent paths of development. As these mores hardened over time into laws and traditions, peoples developed collective behaviors (“second nature”) that were almost impossible to transform.

Fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Europe was a harsh place for outsiders. Christians raided and enslaved Muslims from the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean (and vice-versa). Jews continued to be persecuted, and in Spain experienced mass expulsion. Enslaved blacks arrived by the thousands in European ports. Slavs on the eastern and Irish peoples on the western margins of the European continent continued to endure intolerable conditions. This harsh world, however, seemed not to have room for the concept of race. Cultural and bodily identities remained porous. As in the ancient Roman world, assimilation rather than exclusion was the norm. To be sure, some outsiders, particularly Jews, were deemed hereditarily prone to resist assimilation. Yet even boundaries between “black” and “white” bodies remained difficult to pinpoint. The age-old theory of cross-color generation, for example, held that white mothers, if exposed to certain thoughts and visions during copulation, could naturally have black children (and vice-versa). In this mongrel world, race was a category often used to discriminate against insiders, not outsiders. Early modern just as much as medieval Europe was a hierarchical society in which the nobility often took peasants to be an altogether different race.

These classical and medieval sensibilities gave way to new ideas as slavery, colonization, and state-building developed unrelentingly. Oddly, new concepts of race developed more rapidly in those societies that were more economically vibrant. One of the great paradoxes of the modern age is that some of the harshest forms of slavery ever witnessed existed in the colonies of those societies that enjoyed the “freest” labor markets at home. Although Iberians in the islands off the coast of Africa first introduced plantation economies, and although millions of African slaves wound up laboring and dying under miserable conditions in their American colonies, slaveholding was typical of both metropolis and peripheries in the Portuguese and Spanish empires. This contributed to keeping boundaries be-

tween blacks and whites porous (through manumission and miscegenation). In the British-American Atlantic, however, free labor became the rule in the metropolis while chattel slavery flourished on the periphery. The growing polarization between freedom and slavery led to the hardening of “white” and “black” identities, which came to be seen as fixed and inherited, as well as to a poverty of categories to deal with hybrid conditions.

The mounting popularity of the theory of polygenism typified this growth of white and black racialized identities. Over the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as the Bible steadily lost ground to more secular historical accounts, the idea that all human groups descended from a common ancestral pair (Adam and Eve) began to be called into question. The theory of polygenism held that different peoples had different primeval ancestors. Climate alone, it was now believed, could not explain the origins of differences in skin color. That blackness and whiteness were rapidly becoming rigid bodily and behavioral attributes was also reflected in the demise of theories of cross-color generation. By the eighteenth century it was no longer thought feasible that white mothers whose imagination had been jolted during copulation could have black children. The racialization of identities was also reflected in changing interpretations given to the biblical story of the curse of Ham. According to this story, Noah cursed the descendants of one of his sons, Ham, to a life of toil and slavery after the latter had found Noah naked and drunk. Since antiquity this story had helped justify the subordinate status of a variety of groups, particularly the European peasantries. Yet by the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the curse became firmly and exclusively associated with the fate of African blacks.

RACE AND EARLY MODERN SCIENCE

The coming of age of the concept of race has been attributed to the rise of new forms of science, particularly Enlightenment natural history. It is clear that in the eighteenth century naturalists were fond of devising new taxonomies to classify not only plants but also peoples. Collecting and measuring skulls and dissecting blacks and apes became fashionable in efforts to explain the origins of racial differences.

Scientific racism made further inroads in the nineteenth century as a result of major political transformations. As old political orders based on social estates, hereditary privileges, and religion came tumbling down in the age of revolutions, and as new social formations built on the principles of citizenship, natural rights, and secular political authority emerged, white European males located in science (of race and sex) the ideological justification to prevent women, Jews, slaves, and non-Europeans from sharing in their newly acquired political rights. This dominant account of the origins of scientific racism, however, is not entirely accurate.

The science of race arose in the seventeenth century in the New World. British colonists schooled in the new mechanical philosophy came up with representations of Indians’ bodies as innately inferior—weak and predisposed to diseases. Such scientifically racialized views helped colonists not only to explain the demographic collapse of native peoples in the wake of the arrival of new European diseases but also to claim for themselves the identity of Americans—individuals providentially destined to occupy the land that had once belonged to the now quickly disappearing Indians. Other forms of the science of race developed in the Spanish colonies. Here Creole colonists responded to disparaging European views on the climate and constellations of Spanish America as threatening and degenerating by suggesting that bodies were immune to climatic and environmental influences, thus rejecting long-held theories on temperament and complexion. Their new version of ancient astrological and medical theories also allowed them to claim that the natives were innately inferior. In this *ancien régime* colonial society Indians came to inhabit the same niche that peasants had long occupied in the imagination of the European elites—that is, they were an altogether different race.

See also Class, Status, and Order; Colonialism; Ethnography; Exploration; Slavery and the Slave Trade.

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JORGE CAÑIZARES-ESGUERRA

RACINE, JEAN (1639–1699), French playwright and author. Racine was born in La Ferté-Milon, northeast of Paris. His parents died when he was very young, and he was therefore raised mostly by his maternal grandmother, Marie Desmoulins. As his mother’s family had close connections with the Jansenists of Port-Royal, Racine came under their influence from an early age, and their rigorous Augustinian theology would be central to his work. After beginning his education at the Collège de Beauvais, he studied at the Petites Écoles de Port-Royal, where he absorbed both Jansenist doctrine and a solid classical education, becoming a particularly fine scholar of Greek. From 1658 Racine began to lead a more worldly life, rejecting his austere upbringing in favor of writing poetry and party-hopping with his cousin Nicolas Vitart, the writer of fables Jean de La Fontaine (also a distant relation), and other figures on the Parisian literary scene. His family sent him (1661–1663) to Uzès in an effort to make a churchman of him, but his letters from this time show us how little this sort of life appealed to him. By 1663 he was back in Paris, where he met Molière and Nicolas Boileau-Despréaux, and (de-

spite criticism from his family) began to write for the theater.

Racine’s first play to be produced was *La Thébaïde* (The Thebiad), which had its premiere on 20 June 1664, inspiring both popular and critical acclaim. This was followed by *Alexandre le grand* (1665), in whose preface Racine somewhat ungratefully repudiated his teachers at Port-Royal. The first few performances were given by Molière’s theater company; then, however, Racine took both the play and its leading lady, Thérèse du Parc, away from Molière, and arranged for further performances to be given by the rival troupe of the Hôtel de Bourgogne, a move that Racine thought (correctly) would augment both his fame and his box-office receipts. Such machinations made Racine few friends, and indeed he seems to have been, at least in his professional life, a difficult man: vain, humorless, quick to take offense, and ungenerous toward fellow artists, even if his scathing attacks on his enemies were sometimes justified.

There followed Racine’s first real masterpiece, *Andromaque* (1667, written for Du Parc); his only comedy, *Les plaideurs* (1668; The litigants); *Britannicus* (1669); *Bérénice* (1670); *Bajazet* (1672); and Louis XIV’s personal favorite, *Mithridate* (1673, the year in which Racine was elected to the Académie Française). Du Parc having died in 1668, by 1670 Racine had joined the crowd of lovers of another leading actress, Marie de Champmeslé, for whom he wrote the title roles of *Bérénice* and his two last plays on classical subjects, *Iphigénie en Aulide* (1674) and *Phèdre* (1677). After *Phèdre* he suddenly abandoned the theater, probably less because of any spiritual crisis than because Louis XIV made him (with Boileau, one of the few friends Racine had managed to keep) his official historiographer. He married Catherine de Romanet, a distant relation by marriage, and settled down to a life as a respectable courtier and the devoted father of seven children. For the next twelve years Racine busied himself with his official duties, only returning to the theater in 1689 at the request of Louis’s wife Madame de Maintenon, for whose girls’ school at Saint-Cyr he wrote *Esther* (1689) and *Athalie* (1691). In 1695 he produced his *Cantiques spirituels* (Spiritual songs), and thereafter entered semi-retirement, interpreted by some as the result of falling from Louis’s favor. After writing the *Abrégé de*



Jean Racine. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

l'histoire de Port-Royal (Summary of the history of Port-Royal), which was not published until 1767, Racine died on 21 April 1699.

Racine's theater uses extreme economy of means to generate an intensity of tragic feeling rivaled only by his classical Greek models and by Shakespeare. The unusually small vocabulary of the plays (just under 3,000 words) and his strict adherence to the three unities (codified by his rival Pierre Corneille) give his tragedies the sharpest possible focus. He is a poetic craftsman of the first order, and the austere, oblique elegance of his verse serves to heighten, through ironic contrast, the horror of his characters' torments. His themes and plots, too, while more varied than commonly supposed, are rigorously organized, and their inexorable unfolding shows how well he has absorbed both the theatrical technique and the tragic outlook of the Greeks; but the ruthlessness of his tragedy often surpasses even that of Sophocles or Euripides. This is because Racine adds to the tragic equation a harsh pessimism, derived from Jansenist theology, according to which humans are not merely liable to error, but doomed to self-destructive transgression. In the absence of redemptive grace, even the greatest and

noblest souls are driven by their own passions—incestuous lust, hunger for power, murderous vengefulness, sadistic cruelty—to crimes that destroy victim and perpetrator alike. Racine displays an almost clinical fascination with this process, especially as embodied in his tormented female protagonists. Of the sufferings of an Iphigénie or a Phèdre, perhaps none is more exquisite than their terrible lucidity, their claustrophobic awareness of a fate they can do nothing to avoid. The psychological complexity Racine gives to these roles has made them coveted by generations of actresses.

In the immaculate music of his verse, Racine expresses passions of a perverse, even blasphemous ferocity; the result is powerful theater that has continued to fascinate audiences and scholars alike from the seventeenth century to the present. Save for a period of disfavor in the nineteenth century, when the Romantics preferred Shakespeare, Racine's work has remained the benchmark for tragic theater, in France and elsewhere. He claimed to be writing for the sophisticated few, but his immense success belies his intention. The literature on Racine is enormous and still growing; historicists, Marxists, psychoanalytic critics, poststructuralists, and the philosophically or theologically inclined all find that Racine has as much to say as ever.

See also Boileau-Despréaux, Nicolas; Classicism; Corneille, Pierre; French Literature and Language; Jansenism; La Fontaine, Jean de; Molière.

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RÁKÓCZI REVOLT. After the reconquest of Hungary from the Ottomans in the war of 1684–1699, Vienna treated the Hungarians as unreliable rebels and their country as conquered territory that could now be integrated into the monarchy according to Vienna's design. However, the harsh measures to subdue, exploit, Catholicize, and Germanize the country triggered unrest that culminated in a full-scale uprising in May 1703. Led by Ferenc Rákóczi II (1676–1735), the wealthiest aristocrat in Upper Hungary, who had been raised as a loyal Habsburg subject by the Jesuits following his stepfather's (Imre Thököly) and mother's (Ilona Rákóczi) failed struggle against the Habsburgs, the insurrection aimed at restoring Hungary's independence. By early 1704, since the best of the Habsburg forces were occupied in the War of the Spanish Succession, Rákóczi controlled almost the entire country. However, the country was unable to finance the insurgent, or *kuruc*, army of 70,000 men, its generals were inexperienced, and Rákóczi, who was elected prince of Transylvania (1704) and of Hungary (1705), himself proved to be a better diplomat and statesman than a battlefield commander. After successive defeats, most of the aristocrats returned to the Habsburgs, deposed by the diet of 1707. While Rákóczi was seeking foreign aid in Poland, his general, Sándor Károlyi, signed the peace treaty of Szatmár (1711). Although accused of “treachery” by nationalist historians, Károlyi attained the best possible compromise, given the unfavorable military and diplomatic situation for the insurgents. While the Habsburgs reestablished royal authority over Hungary, the insurgents were given general amnesty and a pledge from their ruler that their constitutional and religious rights would be

restored. More importantly, the treaty opened the way for a peaceful reconstruction of the country after three decades of war. Rákóczi rejected the amnesty and died in exile in Tekirdağ (Rodosto), Turkey in 1735.

See also **Habsburg Dynasty: Austria; Hungary.**

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GÁBOR ÁGOSTON

RAMEAU, JEAN-PHILIPPE (1683–1764), French composer and theorist. For much of the reign of Louis XV (1715–1774), Rameau dominated the French musical scene: several of his contributions to the Opéra were the most successful of the time and continued to be performed long after his death. He was particularly favored by the court, and, as a “rationalist” thinker, he engaged vigorously in Enlightenment intellectual debates.

Son of an organist, Rameau early showed musical gifts. At eighteen he went to Italy for study, and on his return, he was appointed organist at the cathedral in Avignon and then in Clermont (1702). His surviving early compositions for the church, *grands motets*, and for the chamber, *cantates* and pieces for solo harpsichord, as well as later contributions in these genres and works for harpsichord and violin (or flute) and bass viol (or second violin), are popular with performers today.

After a brief stay in Paris (1706–1709), Rameau returned to Dijon (where he succeeded his father as cathedral organist) and then moved to Lyons before returning to Clermont in 1715. In 1722 he went back to Paris, where he published his second (1724) and third (1728) harpsichord books and his *Traité de l'harmonie* (1722; Treatise on harmony). He also held several posts as organist, but he was determined to conquer the operatic stage. After contri-

butions (now lost) to several *opéras-comiques* for Fair theaters, Rameau made a stunning debut—at the age of fifty—at the Académie Royale de Musique (the Opéra) with his *Hippolyte et Aricie* (1733). The public saw in it a direct challenge to the *tragédie en musique* as established by Jean-Baptiste Lully (1632–1687), whose works were still an important part of the Paris repertoire. Some, the “Lullistes,” were askance; others, “Ramistes,” or even more descriptively, *ramoneurs*, ‘chimney sweeps’, viewed Rameau’s heightened emphasis on the drama and a more direct presentation of emotions as positive.

Not content with reorienting conceptions of this genre, in his next work for the Académie, the composer turned his attention to the other genre that had been popular there from the time of the Regency: the ballet (now generally referred to as *opéra-ballet*, as it includes both dancing and singing). In *Les Indes galantes* (1735) Rameau (with the librettist Louis Fuzelier, who was one of his collaborators at the Fair) adopted the typical structure of prologue and acts, or *entrées*, each of which explored a common theme, in this case the imagined customs of love and courtship, and appealed to the audience’s interest in the exotic (Peru, Turkey, Persia). With its many revisions, including the addition of the act “Les sauvages” (set in the Americas and reflecting Rousseauesque Enlightenment views of the “noble savage”), it proved an enduring work. While magnificent and imaginative costumes and stage sets and impressive effects, such as the volcanic explosion in the act called “Les Incas de Pérou,” certainly contributed to its success, Rameau’s theatrical score surely takes pride of place.

Castor et Pollux (1737, revised 1754) differs from the great majority of *tragédies en musique* in that it celebrates not principally the relationship of two conventional lovers, but rather the strong bonds between brothers, each ready to sacrifice himself for the other. (This reflects a theme dear to Freemasons. *Zoroastre* [1749, revised 1756], among other Rameau works, also shows the influence of Freemasonry.) The choruses are unusually varied, from the people’s religious dirge at Castor’s death, “Que tout gémissé,” to the deliberately unmelodic demons of “Brison tous nos fers.” The *divertissement* in the Elysian Fields, featuring the Blessed Spirits in chorus and dance, achieved an



Jean-Philippe Rameau. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

appropriately ethereal quality admired by contemporaries and later by Gluck, as *Orphée et Euridice* (1744) makes clear. *Castor et Pollux* remained in the Opéra’s repertoire until 1785. In 1791, at the administration’s request, Pierre Candeille undertook a new setting, which retained the best-loved pieces of Rameau’s original, among them Télétaire’s moving lament, “Tristes apprêts,” though reorchestrated. In this guise, the Parisian public still heard some of Rameau’s music until 1817.

The composer also broke conventional genre boundaries at the Académie Royale in works such as *Platée*, a *ballet bouffon* (1745 at court, 1749 in Paris), whose heroine, an ugly nymph (*en travesti*), with her frog followers, and hero, Jupiter, whose transformations include becoming an ass and an owl, are hardly the typical depictions of gods and demigods expected there. Rameau exploited the element of farce to the full and often showed himself a remarkable orchestrator (even requiring violinists to slide quarter tones to imitate an ass and oboists, deliberately out of tune, to represent croaking frogs). In all, he wrote or substantially revised about

thirty works for the Paris Opéra in less than thirty years—works that constituted the core of the late baroque repertory there.

Rameau was also the court composer par excellence during the reign of Louis XV. He celebrated the king's victories (*Le temple de la Gloire*, 1745, and *Naiïs* 1749), the marriages of his son and heir (*La princesse de Navarre*, 1745, and *Les fêtes de l'Hymen et de l'Amour; ou Les dieux d'Égypte*, 1747), and, in his *Cantate pour le jour de la fête de Saint Louis* (1730s), the king's name day. The *concerts de la Reine*, under the aegis, of course, of Queen Marie Leszczyńska, frequently featured his music, and yet, he also pleased the *maîtresse en titre*, Mme de Pompadour, by writing *Les surprises de l'Amour* (1748), which featured her as an operatic performer, for the Théâtre des Petits Cabinets. He was well rewarded: he was named compositeur de la chambre du Roi in 1745 and ennobled shortly before his death (1764).

As a theorist, Rameau revolutionized the concept of chords by establishing the primacy of the triad and seventh chords whose roots became the *basse fondamentale* and relating the myriad of other chordal formations recognized in earlier thoroughbass manuals to inversions of the basic types. He also offered a more rational approach to harmonic progression. Influenced by René Descartes's mechanistic model, Rameau emphasized the importance of dissonance and resolution, strong bass movements, often by perfect fifth, and a hierarchy of cadences crucial to the structure of tonal composition. In his writings, however, the "scientific" approach and what he called "the judgment of the ear" were complementary. Early in his career influential philosophes supported him; Jean Le Rond d'Alembert, for example, presented his ideas in a more readable form in *Éléments de musique théorique et pratique selon les principes de M. Rameau* (1752), but they later parted company. The Rousseau-Rameau aesthetic debate over the primacy of melody (choice of the Italophile Rousseau) or harmony (Rameau's position) enlivened the mid-century *Querelle des Bouffons* (on the superiority of Italian *opera buffa* or French *tragédie en musique*). Nonetheless, Rameau's approach to chordal analysis, tonal definition, and other theoretical issues proved an enduring legacy.

See also Lully, Jean-Baptiste; Music; Opera; Rousseau, Jean-Jacques.

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M. ELIZABETH C. BARTLET

RAMUS, PETRUS (1515–1572), French humanist philosopher, educator, and communicator. A controversial figure in sixteenth-century Europe, Petrus Ramus used the lecture hall and the printing press to oppose the educational establishment of his day. His goals were to reform the teaching of grammar, redistribute and refashion the functions of logic and rhetoric, add physics and metaphysics to the liberal arts, and place more value on mathematics. Reconstructing the university curriculum, he argued with passion that all knowledge was available to those willing to use the correct method to obtain it. His message was that there was only one method in true learning, and that it was based on a new dialectic, his own. Challenging the authority of Aristotle, Cicero, and Quintilian, he furthered the

work of the Dutch philosopher Roelof Huysman (Rodolphus Agricola, 1443/44–1485) and the early humanists who sought to simplify the world of Aristotle’s dialectics.

Baptized Pierre de La Ramée, Ramus was born into a poor farming family at Cuts in the province of Picardy. He went to Paris as a valet for wealthy students in 1523, entering the College of Navarre in 1527. His M.A. thesis (1536) argued the falsity of Aristotle’s doctrines. Among his colleagues and friends were future bishops and cardinals, which figured in his appointment as an instructor at the College of Mans in 1537. His lectures were well attended and he quickly established a reputation as a vociferous critic of Aristotle. Moving to the College of Ave Maria around 1540, he worked with a team of colleagues who included Omer Talon, his major collaborator, and Nicolaus Nancel, his later biographer. In 1543 he published his two defining works: *Dialecticae Institutiones* (Training in dialectic) and *Aristotelicae Animadversiones* (Remarks on Aristotle). In 1544 a royal commission forced Ramus into a debate with Antonio de Gouveia, defender of the Aristotelian tradition. The commission denounced Ramus for attacking the art of logic accepted by all nations, and banned him from teaching. However, his friend Charles de Guise, cardinal of Lorraine, procured his appointment as principal of the College of Presles in 1545, and had the ban lifted by the new king, Henry II, in 1547.

Over the next quarter century Ramus gained in girth as in stature. Appointed royal lecturer at the College of France (the Sorbonne, Paris) in 1551, his lectures were said to have drawn thousands. Meanwhile, he continued to publish a work or two a year. A major event was his conversion to the Protestant faith in 1561, an act that broke his relationship with the church and with patrons. With the outset of the Wars of Religion in 1562, he withdrew to Fontainebleau with the king’s protection. The wars caused him to be on the move between France, Germany, and Switzerland, although he became dean of his college in 1565. During these turbulent years he published perhaps his greatest work, the *Scholae in Liberales Artes* (1569; Lectures on the liberal arts) in 1,166 columns. He returned to the College of Presles in 1570 and in 1572 was condemned by the Synod of Nîmes for advocating secular views of church government. That same year,

hunted by assassins hired by his longtime academic adversary Jacques Charpentier, he was murdered in his rooms on 26 August in the midst of the Saint Bartholomew’s Day Massacre.

Ramus was one of the most prolific writers of his time. He published over fifty works in Latin and French, and many unpublished manuscripts were looted from his study after his death. There were over two hundred editions of his *Dialectic* alone in the sixteenth century, in numerous languages and versions. Colleagues and devoted students typically worked with Ramus in his “laboratory” as unnamed collaborators, complicating the issue of authorship. In addition, Ramus frequently revised his books and papers. By 1650, there were over eleven hundred printings of his works in Europe, and hundreds of authors who wrote about him. The influence of his group spread to Germany, Switzerland, Denmark, Poland, the Low Countries, Scotland, and England by the early seventeenth century, and to New England.

The purpose of Ramism was to establish a Socratic superiority that would invalidate Aristotle and all of medieval scholasticism, supplanting it with a new and simple method that would be applicable to all the arts and sciences. Logic (dialectic) comprised the two functions of invention (finding arguments to answer problems) and judgment, or disposition (arranging arguments to reach conclusions). The result was a godly law of truth for each problem resolved.

The largest influence was in religion, literature, and the sciences; the wider goal was to spur people to challenge authority, and to think, write, and create in their own vernacular languages in an era when Latin still predominated. While Ramus may be remembered by academics as a key figure in the history of the new philosophy and Protestant theology, by linking philosophical to mechanical theory, he often saw his own legacy as one for astronomers, geographers, engineers, and mathematicians, as well as architects, carpenters, and carvers (one of his works, translated in 1636, is titled *The Way to Geometry*). He was, in this way, a child of the Renaissance.

See also **Aristotelianism; Humanists and Humanism; Logic; Mechanism; St. Bartholomew’s Day Massacre.**

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LOUIS KNAFLA

RAPHAEL (Raffaello Sanzio; 1483–1520), Italian painter and architect. The importance of the sixteenth-century artist Raffaello Sanzio to the subsequent development of European culture can be gauged by the fact that only three Italian artists were ever glorified by receiving anglicized versions of their names: Raphael, Titian (Tiziano Vecellio), and “Michael Angelo” Buonarroti. Raphael’s father, Giovanni Santi, worked as a court painter to the duke of Urbino; his colorful style owed a great deal to the area’s lush, hilly landscape and to the spiritual legacy of St. Francis, whose native Assisi bordered Urbino. Giovanni Santi also nourished literary ambitions (expressed in a long history written in vernacular verse) as did his talented relative Donato Bramante (1444–1514), a painter, architect, and musician who eventually moved to Milan. Raphael himself would one day try his hand at writing vernacular sonnets.

Raphael’s mother supposedly cared for her infant son herself rather than sending him out to a wet nurse, and the close relationship with his parents was invoked by contemporaries as the reason for his sweet disposition. Sweet he may have been, but he

was also talented to an extraordinary extent, with ambitions to match. He learned the elements of painting from his father and the local painter Timoteo Viti, but was soon apprenticed in Florence to Italy’s most successful painter of the time, Pietro di Vannucci, nicknamed Perugino (c. 1450–1523), “the man from Perugia.”

The Florence in which Raphael served his apprenticeship was a republican city (the Medici had been expelled in 1494) that celebrated its cultivation of ancient Roman virtues in diplomacy, in rhetoric, and in public works of art. The most famous of these is Michelangelo’s *David* of 1504. Among painters, Perugino stood at the height of a long, successful career, his soft, colorful Umbrian style underpinned by a stately grandeur that lent his paintings some of the authority of ancient Roman monuments. Perugino’s soft contours and bright primary colors had introduced what proved to be a popular contrast with the more linear “dry” style of Florentine painters like Botticelli and Pollaiuolo, and Raphael’s earliest work shows the strong influence of his master. In 1503 Raphael worked in Siena with another popular Umbrian painter, Bernardino Pinturicchio (c. 1454–1513), on the frescoed walls of the Piccolomini Library of Siena’s Duomo.

Already, however, the young painter stood out among these two established masters for his sheer dexterity: his brushwork was finer, his textures more meticulous, and his ability to suggest depth by layering different colors of paint was comparable only to the treasured oil paintings imported from northern Europe. Once again, the talented young painter contemplated a change of venue. This time the opportunity came from Rome, through the good offices of Bramante.

ROMAN COMMISSIONS AND MICHELANGELO

In 1507, Pope Julius II Della Rovere (reigned 1503–1513) decided to move the papal apartments upstairs and to commission a new decorative scheme for their walls; this was the commission for which Bramante procured Raphael’s participation as part of a team of painters drawn from all over Italy to work in competition with one another. Quickly, however, Raphael’s ability to put the pope’s ambitions into powerful imagery earned him the entire commission. This suite of rooms, now called the



Raphael. *Alba Madonna*, c. 1510. ©FRANCIS G. MAYER/CORBIS

Vatican Stanze, would occupy him for the next several years. At the same time, Raphael made several important contacts among the people who comprised the intimate circle of Julius II: his brilliant, eccentric librarian, Tommaso Fedro Inghirami, his banker, Agostino Chigi, and his favorite theologian, Egidio da Viterbo. Despite their widely differing roles in the Julian court, each of these men shared the pope's deep commitment to an ideal view of Rome as a renewed capital city for a renewed Catholic Church, and they worked with remarkable zeal to see that ideal made concrete. Raphael's own work reflects his contacts with each of them; Chigi soon became his most important private patron.

Raphael also confronted, for the first time, a serious rival to his skill. When Raphael arrived in 1508 to join the team of painters assigned to the Stanze, Pope Julius had entrusted the greatest painting commission in the city, the Sistine Chapel ceiling, to a sculptor, Michelangelo Buonarroti (1475–1564). By 1510, when Bramante procured Raphael entrance into the unfinished chapel, the young painter from Urbino took in all of Michelangelo's epic grandeur and strange, luminous color. Michelangelo would later claim that he himself had taught Raphael all he knew about painting. Still, when Michelangelo finished the chapel in 1512, the older painter hurried back to Florence, leaving

Raphael as Rome's undisputed master painter, just as Bramante had become the city's supreme architect.

By this time, however, Raphael had begun to diversify his operations. He became an early proponent of engraving as a new medium with potentially wide appeal, and he also began to work as an architect under Bramante's expert tutelage. The press of his commissions compelled him to assemble a workshop of variously talented assistants; he ran his artistic business with a good deal of the acumen gleaned from his patron Agostino Chigi.

The deaths of Julius II in 1513 and Bramante in 1514 led Raphael into ever closer collaboration with Julius's successor, Pope Leo X (reigned 1513–1521). Together with the venerable architect Fra Giovanni Giocondo (c. 1433–1515) and Bramante's young assistant Antonio da Sangallo the Younger, Raphael took over the post of architect for St. Peter's. Raphael and many of his associates, among them Tommaso Inghirami, Egidio da Viterbo, and Agostino Chigi, survived the transition from one papacy to the next and continued to exert their influence on their artistic friends and on the papal court. Raphael's circle of acquaintances widened to include Leo's private secretary, the Venetian writer Pietro Bembo, and the papal functionary Angelo Colocci, an antiquarian and book collector of deep learning. Raphael's most inspired work in this period was done not for the pope but for Chigi, whose fiscal genius was accompanied by a bold, innovative taste in art.

Unable to build a new Rome to rival the old, Leo instead commissioned Raphael to draw a reconstruction of the ancient city, which the artist undertook together with an investigation of the work of the Roman architectural writer Vitruvius. In this undertaking Fra Giocondo and Angelo Colocci would exert profound influence on the depth of Raphael's architectural insight, already refined by his long association with Bramante, who had been a remarkably insightful interpreter of ancient architecture.

With the spread of his own reputation, Raphael began to cultivate international connections, taking orders from the king of France and other heads of state. His death of a sudden fever on 11 April 1520, his thirty-seventh birthday, came as a surprise to

everyone. Four days later, Agostino Chigi followed him to the grave. Both men were mourned extravagantly in Rome.

Raphael's many unfinished projects were carried out by his efficiently diversified workshop; but not even the artist's most gifted associates could provide either Raphael's inventiveness or his painterly technique. Furthermore, they lacked their master's fierce dedication; their humor was more flippant, their monsters more monstrous, their conceits more conceited, their erotica more pornographic. As painters, engravers, and architects, Giulio Romano, Gianfrancesco Penni, and Marcantonio Raimondi owed an immense debt to Raphael, but the harmonious order of his style gave way to more extreme effects, presented most powerfully in the art of the elderly Michelangelo.

Already in their own day, Raphael and Michelangelo had acquired the personae by which they are still known today: Raphael as the angel called too early back to heaven, Michelangelo as the rugged, struggling hero. Their relative fortunes have varied somewhat with changing tastes, but their stature has never been seriously called into question. Each, however, partakes of the other: Michelangelo's *Pietà* is as intimately moving as a Raphael Madonna, and some of Raphael's frescoes show the muscular monumentality of Michelangelo.

See also **Art: Artistic Patronage; Florence; Florence, Art in; Julius II (pope); Michelangelo Buonarroti.**

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INGRID ROWLAND

RAY, JOHN (or Wray, 1627–1705), British natural historian and natural philosopher. The son of a blacksmith, John Ray was born in Black Notley, Essex. He received his early education at the Braintree grammar school and was admitted to Catherine Hall at Cambridge University in 1644. In 1646 Ray transferred to Trinity College, from which he graduated with bachelor's (1648) and

master's (1651) degrees; he was elected a fellow of the college (1649–1662). Ray, who was ordained as a clergyman in the Church of England (1660), resigned his fellowship in 1662 rather than take the oaths required by the Act of Uniformity. In 1667, he was elected a fellow of the Royal Society and continued his beloved studies of natural history through the generosity of his friend and patron, Francis Willughby (1635–1672).

Sometimes called the “father of natural history,” Ray was the most influential natural historian of early modern Britain. He was a leader in the establishment of an expert community of naturalists who had as their central aim the firsthand observation of creation and its systematic organization. Through his efforts, a technical vocabulary for communicating the increasingly specialized material for standardized plant descriptions was stabilized, and many of these terms are still used in botany. An array of observational practices, methodological techniques, and textual protocols were also introduced by Ray and became culturally dominant within the discipline.

Ray authored or edited numerous books that cover the full spectrum of natural history. However, it is as a botanist that he is best remembered; his three-volume *Historia Plantarum* (1686–1704) and his *Synopsis Methodica Stirpium Britannicarum* (1690) remained standard botanical texts in Britain for much of the eighteenth century. In his plant taxonomy, Ray sought to define obviously natural groups of species and to classify them according to their maximum natural affinities. Accordingly, members of any two groups of plants showing a high degree of similarity in an array of physical characteristics would be assumed to be related and would be grouped together. His first formal statement of plant classification, the *Methodus Plantarum Nova* (1682), assigned taxonomic standing to the number of seed leaves produced by the embryo, providing the foundation to distinguish the major classes of flowering plants into monocotyledons and dicotyledons. This innovation was adopted by Antoine Laurent de Jussieu in the *Genera Plantarum* (1789), which gradually replaced the artificial classification system of Linnaeus.

Ray's popular and frequently reprinted *Wisdom of God Manifest in the Works of Creation* (1691) and

his *Miscellaneous Discourses concerning the Dissolution of the World* (1692) are paradigmatic examples of British natural theology. Founding these on evidence drawn from his experience of natural history, Ray sought to provide rational arguments for the existence of God and to demonstrate God's providential activity in the world. Ray's natural theological works also served to publicize contemporary views on such controversial topics as spontaneous generation and the organic nature of fossils, which had theological implications as well as scientific importance in the early modern period. Ray's natural theology ultimately made the study of natural history an acceptable and pious practice for Anglican gentlemen and for Anglican divines.

See also **Botany; Church of England; Linnaeus, Carl; Natural History.**

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SUSAN MCMAHON

RAZIN, STEPAN (known as Stenka; 1630?–1671), leader of one of the more destructive Cossack rebellions in Russian history. Razin was born near Cherkassk on the southern Don around 1630. His father was a prominent figure within the Don Cossack Host, his mother a Turkish or Tatar captive; Host hetman Kornilo Iakovlev was his godfather. In 1658 Stepan Razin was among a delegation of Cossacks sent from the Host to the Ambassadors' Chancellery in Moscow. He subsequently played an important role in negotiations with the Kalmyks on behalf of the Host and the Ambassadors' Chancellery.

By the mid-1660s Muscovite military colonization of the southern frontier districts of the Belgorod Line had produced a cascade migration of thousands of deserters and fugitive peasants southward into the Don Host. Moscow's semiannual cash, grain, and gunpowder subsidies to the Host were not increased accordingly, however, and Cossack impoverishment on the upper Don was further exacerbated by harvest failures. Furthermore, the Don Host now faced fewer Moscow-sanctioned opportunities to plunder the Crimean Khanate and Ottoman towns on the Black Sea coast, for Moscow was trying to rein in the Host to convince the Ottoman Sultan to restrain the Crimean Tatars from further raiding in Ukraine.

In 1667–1669 some eight hundred Don Cossacks desperate for plunder defied Moscow's ban and followed Stepan Razin on a campaign of piracy in the Caspian and raids in Daghestan and northern Persia. They successfully overcame halfhearted attempts by Muscovite troops from the lower Volga garrison towns to block their access to the Caspian. This appears to have convinced Razin he was unlikely to receive the tsar's pardon, but also that he had little to fear from the weak Muscovite garrisons on the Volga.



Stepan Razin. A late-seventeenth-century print depicts Stepan Razin being conveyed to his execution. ©AUSTRIAN ARCHIVES/CORBIS

Upon his return to Cherkassk in April 1670 Razin defied efforts to arrest him, killed the Muscovite envoy to the Host, and exploited his newfound popularity among rank-and-file Cossacks to turn against Hetman Iakovlev and form his own renegade Host, which soon attracted about seven thousand followers. In March 1670 Razin's forces began pushing up the Volga; by autumn they had captured Astrakhan, Tsaritsyn (Volgograd), Saratov, and Samara. Razin's addresses to his council (*krug*) of Cossack lieutenants allegedly proclaimed his intention of marching on Moscow itself to punish particular powerful boyars and chancellery directors as oppressors of the people, and for a while he kept in his entourage a pretender tsarevich and impostor patriarch. His forces did find some support among the lower clergy, townsmen, garrison musketeers, burlak boatmen, peasants, and the Chuvash and Mordvin ethnic minorities. But Soviet historiography exaggerated in painting the Razin insurgency as an emerging general antifeudal class war; Razin's probable objective was, rather, to seize garrison re-

sources on the lower Volga and expand the scale of Cossack piracy in the Caspian region.

Razin's forces failed to take control of the Volga north of Samara; Simbirsk and Kazan' did not fall to them. Detachments under his brother Frolka unsuccessfully tried to carry the war to the eastern end of the Belgorod Line (September–October 1670). In late 1670 Stepan Razin fell back to the lower Don. He tried but failed to overthrow Hetman Iakovlev and bring the rest of Don Host under his control. Iakovlev's Cossacks finally captured Razin at Kagal'nik in April 1671. In June 1671 Razin was executed at Moscow.

See also Cossacks; Russia.

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BRIAN DAVIES

READING. See Literacy and Reading.

REASON. For many in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, reason was understood as "right reason." It was a human faculty, divinely founded, that uncovered the world by revealing it, because it was part of the world. Reason was an ontological property of a divinely ordered cosmos, an innate virtue that directed right behavior and served as the source for civil and social law and order. It was not an introspective activity separate from, and thus searching for, certain laws and principles about the world. This it was to become over the next two centuries as epistemology became separated from ontology, as knowing became separated from the world to be known. During this process, the history of the idea of reason became the history of a search for certainty and authority about the natural and, increasingly, also the cultural world. From being a human faculty that was ontologically part of God's world, reason was reconceptualized as a methodology that was epistemologically apart from the world.

An integral feature of this methodological transformation was widespread skepticism about the power of reason, even as reason began to serve, in one fashion or another, as the foundation for authoritative knowledge about the world. Recognizing reason's limits while searching for certainty furthered the secularizing process Europe underwent during these centuries. In the realms of religion, philosophy, and science, the power and limits of reason were constantly discussed and debated.

REASON AND SKEPTICISM

Perhaps the most famous opponent of reason at the beginning of the early modern period was the instigator of the Protestant Reformation, Martin Luther (1483–1546). A mighty haranguer, Luther often referred to reason as a "harlot" and spoke of Aristotle's works as either a scourge of God let loose

upon humankind, as punishment for its sins, or as the cunning ploy of the devil, meant to confound humans and steer them away from Scripture. Bombast aside, Luther built upon a tradition of thought that had been developing since the late Middle Ages, and which was most popularly identified with the English Franciscan thinker William of Ockham (c. 1285–1347/1349), who separated reason and faith according to the respective realms to which they applied, the earthly and the heavenly. Luther, and after him the French reformer John Calvin (1509–1564), sought to highlight the inadequacy of natural reason to comprehend God, especially God's actions. God was inaccessible by reason, and those who sought to reason their way to him would fail. All natural reason could do was to recognize God's omniscience and omnipotence. While it would always stop short of understanding God, Luther did not reject reason in all cases. Indeed, he advocated the use of reason—that is, deductive logic—as a tool to understand and evaluate the things of this world.

The separation of faith and reason, of the heavenly and the earthly, inspired various strategies for negotiating life. If Luther stressed faith, others focused more attention on this world. Skepticism about the ability of reason to attain certain knowledge characterized both approaches. At the end of the sixteenth century the French writer Michel de Montaigne (1533–1592), in a series of autobiographical essays (*Essays*, 1580–1588), promoted a cautious skepticism. Neither God nor the natural world could be known with certainty. With regard to each, Montaigne believed, reason teaches us humility and shows us its own limitations.

Montaigne was one of the first to see reason as a process of reasoning, and he also linked it to experience. It was still part of the given, natural world, but now both the world and reason were seen to be in flux, rather than displaying a static, divine order. Reason could not provide definitive conclusions; it could only guide us to assess our experiences and govern our natural passions. This, for Montaigne, was virtue. Montaigne sensed the psychological burden of negotiating an ontologically destabilized world. Faith provided security for some; the rest, he noted, were driven by a desire for knowledge. Yet given its nature, reason failed to offer fixed truths. Montaigne recognized that in such a world habit

accustoms people to change and variety, and that routine is practically reasonable.

REASON AND METHODOLOGY

The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries debated means for instrumentalizing reason and instituting it authoritatively in order to do just what Montaigne knew it could not: to discover definitive and fixed truths about the world. Such debates were primarily methodological and led to the establishment of reason as the foundation for knowledge. The important question was whether one should follow René Descartes (1596–1650) and reason to truth intuitively and deductively, or whether one should proceed inductively, as Francis Bacon (1561–1626) would have it, moving from “facts” gleaned about the natural world to general principles in order to come up with certain truths or natural laws. In either case, the world was epistemologically dualistic, with objective and subjective and external and internal realities that could only be reasoned about and known dialectically.

Descartes separated matter from mind, or what he called extension from thought, and based certainty upon the reasoning (that is, the doubting) self. Authority as rationalism was thus subjective; it moved from within to without. But even as this means of achieving certain knowledge deified reason and the power of the human mind, knowledge rested upon doubt and skepticism. Like Descartes, Bacon recommended starting out by doubting all previous knowledge, but he sought a more stable support structure than rationalism for building new truths. His goal was to connect human reason to accurate information about nature, to marry the rational and the experimental. As he opined in his essay “Of Truth,” “The first creature of God, in the works of the days, was the light of the sense; the last was the light of reason.” Ultimately, Bacon aimed at nothing less than the reformation of knowledge.

For Bacon, reason was not the traditional “right reason” that revealed and participated in the natural order. But neither was it fully a methodological intervention into a neutral, objective world. Bacon’s reason was, rather, a construction supported by observations about the natural world, and he believed that it could help reform the relation between mind and nature, between knowing and being, and consequently improve human life. Reason, then, was

becoming materialistic, becoming what mattered, so that if properly exercised, it could generate useful knowledge about nature.

The accomplishments of the seventeenth-century scientific revolution owed much to the combination of Descartes’s deductive, mathematical rationalism with Bacon’s inductive empiricism. The eighteenth-century Enlightenment, which popularized these accomplishments and applied their underlying premises to efforts at social and political reform, emphasized the Baconian tradition, especially as refined by John Locke (1632–1704). Locke’s epistemological arguments in fact made it plausible and useful to link Cartesian and Baconian methods. In his *Essay concerning Human Understanding* (1690), Locke established his sensory epistemology and his famous concept of the *tabula rasa*, the clean slate. Humans were born empty, so to speak, and objects from the natural world impressed themselves on their senses. Subsequently, the mind reasoned about these sensory impressions and through its reasoning established the probability or certainty of propositions deduced from them. Knowledge according to Locke was built upon such sensory impressions, and there were no innate ideas. Reasoning was concerned with a limited number of things and limited to objective reality.

Even though Locke referred to reason as “natural revelation” and concluded that it should be the “last judge and guide in everything,” he acknowledged its limits to a greater extent than did Descartes. By linking reason to mind and nature, Locke in effect built certainty upon reason’s very limits. Even as it doubts and criticizes, reason can only work upon received sensory impressions; in doing so it also recognizes, reflexively and self-evidently, its own methodological structure and truth. Locke rescued reason from uncontainable skepticism and thus provided the impetus for the Enlightenment’s methodological revolt against rationalism, a revolt waged in the name of reason.

REASON AND THE ENLIGHTENMENT

The Enlightenment was critical in furthering the process, begun three centuries earlier, that altered the understanding of reason and, by empirically connecting it to nature, established reason as the alternative authority to both Christian revelation

and speculative, metaphysical theory. The so-called Age of Reason may thus be described as a methodological revolution that, in effect, redeemed reason's authority by countering rationalism. Reason was set apart from the natural world so that it might observe and know it, and the method of knowing, in turn, was itself key in shaping the world one knew. More completely than before, Enlightenment thinkers separated the natural world, which they could observe, reason about, and know authoritatively, from the supernatural world, of which humans could have no certain knowledge. Authority, based on experience and a reason guided by the senses, was limited—or even, as some claimed, arbitrary—but it had thereby become less susceptible to skepticism.

As this new view of reason and knowledge developed, the modern sciences and social sciences began to establish themselves as sources of authority about physical, social, and even emotional reality and as means of furthering human progress. By practically combining British empiricism and French rationalism, Enlightenment thinkers sought to ascertain universal truths about human, social, political, and economic nature, cautiously expecting that they could then be used to ameliorate society. Reason would lead to truth, to natural laws that would serve as the foundation for a new political and social morality.

Used appropriately, reason was seen as an instrument of virtuous action, and it was thus linked to developing concepts of freedom and responsibility. As Immanuel Kant (1724–1804) argued in his essay *Was ist Aufklärung?* (1784; What is enlightenment?), the free and courageous use of reason was a sign of humanity's moral maturation. A free individual was a rational one, and in fact humans were obliged to exercise their reason in order to ensure their own freedom. The modern Western concept of rights rests upon this articulation of reason's ability to uncover natural laws. Voltaire (1694–1778) claimed in his *Traité sur la tolérance* (1763; Treatise on toleration) that reason builds virtue and motivates freedoms. Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778) maintained that rational principles provide the only proper foundation for social and political order. Denis Diderot's (1713–1784) essay "Natural Law," written for the *Encyclopédie* (1755), contained perhaps the clearest statement of

this position. According to Diderot, reason could uncover natural rights, and in fact humans had a moral obligation to use it to uncover such truths and then to help society conform to them.

REASON AND PROGRESS

Awaiting his death by decapitation during the French Revolution's Reign of Terror (shortly after the celebration in Paris of the Festival of Reason, 10 November 1793), Marie-Jean Caritat, the marquis de Condorcet (1743–1794) completed his multi-part *Esquisse d'un tableau historique des progrès de l'esprit humain* (1795; Sketch of a historical picture of the progress of the human spirit). Condorcet divided human history into ten stages, identifying the future—stage ten—as the age of the "liberated mind." In boldly reductive fashion he summed up his century's flirtation with reason as the instrument of human perfectibility and progress. Intoxicated with optimism, Condorcet imagined the future as a "heaven created by reason."

Earlier in the century, Rousseau had more soberly investigated the relationship between human reason and progress. In so doing he highlighted the complicated character of each and provided a framework for critical reflection on the emerging new concept of reason. For Rousseau, the more arts and sciences advanced, the more humans became corrupted. By corruption Rousseau meant the alienation or estrangement of humans from what characteristically makes them human. For Rousseau, what made humans human was their sociable and sentient nature, not their rationality. Reflection, Rousseau argued, was in fact antithetical to nature. It led one self-consciously to differentiate self from other, forming a false sense of identity premised upon individuality. Yet humans inherently sought improvement and perfectibility, as individuals and as a species. Thus Rousseau's argument incorporated a paradox. Rationalization led to specialization, which simultaneously marked indefinite progress and estrangement from nature.

Rousseau's criticism of reason and reflection needs to be considered in the context of the long and rich historical discussion about the power and limits of reason and its relationship to nature. As this discussion proceeded during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it increasingly became a methodological discussion, a debate about what humans

could know with any certainty, how they could best go about knowing, and ultimately, how such knowledge could be used to improve society. Rousseau's claims attacked the very reason that, separated from the natural world, was increasingly advanced as the authoritative source of knowledge.

At the same time a related critique emerged, which opposed reason's increasingly instrumental character. Building directly or indirectly on Rousseau's assertions, thinkers from Kant to the English Romantic poet William Blake (1757–1827) sought to resurrect humanity's sense of creative freedom and moral authority against the prevalent vision of a mechanistic universe running on rationalized, causal, and deterministic laws. The Scotsman David Hume (1711–1776) had challenged the confidence in reason by ascertaining that while empiricism was indeed the only method for gaining knowledge about nature, it was custom and habit rather than reason that made this method successful. Truth was wholly experiential and thus wholly arbitrary. For Kant, empiricism was an insufficient guide to either knowledge or morality. In his *Kritik der reinen Vernunft* (1781; Critique of pure reason) he began to establish his sense that a priori knowledge (knowledge that precedes experience of the world) existed in humans, and that without such knowledge empiricism would in fact be impossible.

By the end of the eighteenth century, reason's future was fairly well laid out. The Enlightenment had methodologically focused seventeenth-century attempts to gain knowledge about the world. Reason replaced revelation and tradition as the primary authority. In the process, it became disembodied and disengaged from the objective world, which it could now authoritatively know. As rational doubt increasingly undermined ontological security, instrumental reason was increasingly used in an epistemological attempt to establish control over the world. And at the same time, a tradition took root that highlighted the alienating consequences of using instrumental reason to negotiate social and emotional reality and criticized the reductive linking of morality and freedom with reason.

See also Bacon, Francis; Descartes, René; Empiricism; Enlightenment; Epistemology; Hume, David; Idealism; Kant, Immanuel; Locke, John; Philosophy; Scientific Revolution; Skepticism: Academic and Pyrrhonian.

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STEPHEN L. COLLINS

RECREATION. *See* Gambling; Games and Play; Popular Culture; Sports.

REFORMATION, CATHOLIC. In their attempts to characterize the nature of early modern Catholicism, historians have utilized the terms “Counter-Reformation” and “Catholic Reformation,” which convey different understandings of the church's attempts at reform in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The former term views religious renewal within Catholicism as a reaction against the challenges posed by the Protestant reformers. Consequently, the Counter-Reformation is understood as repressive, seeking to reemphasize Catholic dogma, to reassert Catholic liturgical life, and to win back those who accepted the Protestant faith. “Catholic Reformation” highlights the existence of a spontaneous reform within the church itself that sought to revitalize religious life through

the improvement and application of Gospel teachings to the life of both the individual and the institution. This movement predates Martin Luther and represents the culmination of medieval reform efforts. The goal of the Catholic Reformation was to reform the existing institutional church by fostering a renewal of its spiritual life and mission.

HISTORIOGRAPHICAL ORIGINS

Within Protestant scholarship, the term “Reformation” had, by the seventeenth century, become part of the vocabulary of historians. Consequently, Protestant historians began to look at sixteenth-century Catholicism from this perspective. The term “Counter-Reformation” was used for the first time by a Lutheran legal historian, Johann Stephan Pütter (1725–1807) in 1776 in his edition of the Augsburg Confession. By this phrase, Pütter meant the forced return of Lutherans to Catholicism in those regions that had accepted the Lutheran confession. As a result, the Counter-Reformation was associated with military and political measures utilized by Catholic princes against the German Lutherans. The term came into general historical use in the nineteenth century with Leopold von Ranke (1795–1886), whose use of the term suggested a unity within Catholicism that he saw emerging after 1555 from the Council of Trent, the Jesuits, and the papacy.

The term “Catholic Reformation” also originated within Protestantism. In 1880 the Lutheran Wilhelm Maurenbrecher (1838–1892) spoke of a Catholic Reformation when describing the various efforts at reform within the late medieval church. This understanding of Catholicism was given currency by Ludwig von Pastor (1854–1928), who demonstrated that Catholic reform was a spontaneous and independent movement, accelerated but not caused by Protestantism, because it arose and consolidated itself in areas where there was no religious dissent to react against.

Thus, the terms “Counter-Reformation” and “Catholic Reformation” derive from contrasting interpretations of the same historical process, and were often used to the exclusion of the other. This changed with the historian Hubert Jedin (1900–1980) who, in 1946, sought to bring some order to the debate over terminology. For Jedin, Catholicism in the sixteenth century could only be prop-

erly understood by utilizing both “Counter-Reformation” and “Catholic Reformation.” Catholic Reformation not only predated the Counter-Reformation but also for Jedin was its animating and motivating force. Jedin holds that the Catholic revival of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries sprang from two sources—the Council of Trent (which gave legislative form to reform) and the struggle against Protestantism (embodied in the work of the Jesuits). He calls the former “Catholic Reform” and the latter “Counter Reform.” However, they ought not to be seen as two separate realities, since Jedin sees them as closely interwoven in their historical evolution. Jedin considers the Council of Trent (1545–1563) and the Jesuits as much a part of the Catholic Reformation as they are of the Counter-Reformation. While the Catholic Reformation arose independently of Protestantism, Jedin also contends that it only won over the papacy and prevailed after Luther’s challenge, which awakened the leaders of the church to the urgency of reform. Consequently, the Catholic Reformation was able to extend itself throughout the church because it became in part a Counter-Reformation.

While Jedin’s understanding of these terms remains standard, the debate continues, giving rise to new terminology such as “Tridentine Reformation,” “Confessional Catholicism,” and most recently, “Early Modern Catholicism” advanced by John O’Malley.

THE NATURE OF CATHOLIC REFORM

At the end of the Middle Ages, the church was, institutionally and spiritually, in a state of decline. Corruption and abuse had set in on all levels—unworthy men held office in the church; politics came to dominate the papacy; bishops did not reside in their dioceses; priests were uneducated; monastic discipline was lax. It was clear that the church was in urgent need of reform, yet the cry for a “reformation in head and members” went unanswered “from above.” There was, however, a movement for reform “from below” led by individuals who sought not rebellion but restoration. These reformers, scattered throughout Europe, did not desire to inaugurate a new way but rather to return to the origins of the Christian religion. Regardless of the form that these individual efforts took, the aim

was the spiritual renewal of the individual and the purification of the church. Thus, the Catholic Reformation would be marked by reformed congregations of the leading monastic and mendicant orders; reform-minded bishops who resided in their dioceses personally looking after the religious lives of their flock; and groups of clergy and laity devoted to personal sanctification and the works of mercy.

Noteworthy among the reformers of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century was Cardinal Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros (1436–1517) of Spain. His reform efforts impacted the entire Iberian Peninsula. A member of the Franciscan order, Cisneros, from 1495 until his death in late 1517, restored discipline and enhanced the quality of the Spanish church. He enjoined his priests to high standards in their own lives, in caring for the souls entrusted to them, and in performing their duties to preach the gospel. The pastoral mission of the church was at the heart of his reform efforts. Cisneros, however, was not simply concerned with the immediate needs of the church, but rather recognized the importance of ensuring the future of the church by preparing its future leaders. Consequently, Cisneros founded the University of Alcalá de Hénarez in 1499 for the purpose of educating the clergy.

Italy also provides numerous examples of individuals who became leaders in the reform of the church. Foremost among these was the Venetian senator Gasparo Contarini (1483–1542), one of the most impressive personalities of the Catholic Reformation. He wrote several treatises calling for meaningful reforms and moral rejuvenation. His most significant treatise was *On the Office of Bishop* (1516). Based on patristic ideals, the first section of the treatise explained the virtues that a good bishop must possess, while the second illustrated how a bishop should conduct himself and carry out his duties. Contarini stressed the importance of residency for bishops and chastised bishops for neglecting their duty to preach.

Gian Matteo Giberti, bishop of Verona (reigned 1524–1543) embodied the ideas expressed in Contarini's treatise. His diocesan reforms and his role as a conscientious bishop were his chief contributions to the reform movement. Giberti revived the pastoral mission of the bishop who per-

sonally dedicated himself to the care of souls. Giberti's efforts led to a thorough renewal and reform of his diocese that proved to be a model and inspiration for later bishops. In addition, his diocesan regulations regarding clerical life served as a model for many of the reform decrees of the Council of Trent.

Religious orders also experienced a renewal that restored them to their original pristine state. The Benedictine abbot Gregorio Cortese (1483–1548) initiated a program of renewal that rested on the principles and ideals of humanism. The Franciscans, under the inspiration of Matteo da Bascio (1495–1552), saw the emergence of the Capuchins, who sought to return to the primitive simplicity and poverty of St. Francis of Assisi, while also devoting themselves to the work of preaching the gospel and caring for the poor and the sick.

Several brotherhoods devoted to regulating and spiritualizing the lives of the laity and the clergy alike emerged in the early sixteenth century. The earliest and most important was the Oratory of Divine Love, founded in Genoa in 1497 by Ettore Vernazza (1470–1524), who had been influenced by the charitable work of St. Catherine of Genoa (1447–1510). The fundamental aim of the members of the Oratory was the inner renewal of the self through the practice of good works on behalf of others, such as the care of the sick and orphans. The example of a life rooted in charity would pave the way for the reform of the church, since such reform emerged from personal sanctification. The most significant offshoot of the Genoese Oratory was the Roman Oratory, founded sometime between 1514 and 1517, which has often been seen as the initiation of effective Catholic reform within the church. This group dedicated itself to combating the abuses which had developed in Rome. The Roman Oratory gave birth in 1524 to the Theatine Order, priests who lived in community under a rule but also undertook an active apostolate.

The most significant of the new religious orders to emerge at this time was the Society of Jesus, founded by Ignatius Loyola (1491–1556). It was never the intention of Ignatius, nor the aim of the society itself, to defend the Catholic cause against Protestantism, although they did become involved in combating its spread. Rather, it was Ignatius's

aim to provide a spiritual ideal and method capable of changing lives that would bring about the personal reform of the individual. Based on his own experience of conversion, Ignatius hoped to effect a similar change of heart in others. The Jesuits sought to work for the advancement of souls in Christian life and doctrine wherever the need arose. Upon their approval in 1540 by Paul III (reigned 1534–1559), the Jesuits became involved in numerous religious and scholarly activities, all of which reflected a highly active spirituality. Some were missionaries, others theologians, still others schoolteachers, yet all sought to live a religious life based on an interior conversion to Christ and active service in his name.

Of equal importance was the founding of the Company of St. Ursula in 1535 by Angela Merici (1474–1540). Concerned primarily with the education of young girls, the Ursulines were the first teaching order of women to be established. While the nuns observed the canonical hours and took vows of chastity and obedience, they were not cloistered and often taught in the homes of their pupils. After Angela's death, the papacy introduced changes within the Ursulines, first requiring the nuns to wear a habit and second imposing enclosure. Nevertheless, Angela Merici set the pattern for the future education of young girls within the church.

PAPALLY SPONSORED REFORM

While the spontaneous reform “from below” was fruitful, its impact was limited. The scattered efforts of individual bishops, clerics, and laity were unable to effect a general reform of the church, which would only occur with coordination “from above.” In order for any reform effort “from above” to be truly effective, the head had to play a dynamic role. A pope was needed who would lead the reform movement himself. Many believed that Leo X (reigned 1513–1521), whose election was greeted with a renewed sense of hope by those desirous of reform, would be such a pope. He reconvened the Fifth Lateran Council (1512–1517), begun by his predecessor, which represented the last major effort at reform within the church prior to the Reformation. However, the decrees of the council failed to initiate any effective reform because of Leo X's lack of enthusiasm in their implementation.

In 1522 hope for a reform movement led by the papacy was rekindled with the election of Adrian VI. Adrian saw his task of initiating reform as a pastoral obligation intimately connected with his apostolic office. Unfortunately, Adrian died in 1523, before any effective reform could be initiated. His successor, Clement VII (reigned 1523–1534), spent most of his pontificate trying to avoid summoning a General Council, which was increasingly being called for by many within the church, including Emperor Charles V (ruled 1519–1556).

It was not until the election of Paul III in 1534 that strong leadership directed toward reform was restored to the papacy. Catholic reform came to pervade Rome during Paul's pontificate. The first papal-sponsored reform plans and projects were formulated and debated. Commissions dealing with specific abuses in the church were appointed. Outstanding men known for their support of reform were elevated to the college of cardinals and summoned to Rome to initiate and carry out reform. Recognizing the need for a General Council, Paul III created a nine-man commission in 1536 under the presidency of Gasparo Contarini to draw up a reform program that would serve as a foundation for conciliar discussions. The formation of this commission was a significant step toward Catholic reform as it sought to elevate the spiritual and moral life of the church and its clergy. In 1537, the commission issued its report, the *Consilium de Emendanda Ecclesia* (Advice on reform of the church), one of the great documents of Catholic reform. The document outlined in vivid frankness the problems and abuses in the church and clearly set forth recommendations to alter the existing conditions. The *Consilium* began by boldly affirming an exaggerated use of papal authority as the underlying problem in the church. Having stated this, the reformers highlighted specific abuses that they felt needed immediate attention, among them the state of religious orders and episcopal residency.

These first years of Paul III's pontificate witnessed the most earnest effort that was made to carry out a reform under papal initiative. With men such as Contarini in Rome efforts were made to reform the Curia, to renew theology and the life of the church, and to reconcile with the Protestants. These efforts failed, however, and in 1542 Paul III established the Roman Inquisition to check the

spread of Protestantism, almost exclusively in Italy. It also became clear to Paul III that the only means of reforming the church and answering the Protestant challenge was that of a council.

THE COUNCIL OF TRENT

In 1544 Paul III issued a bull that convoked a General Council to meet in Trent. The Council of Trent was in session, with two lengthy adjournments, between 1545 and 1563. The council had three main objectives—to effect needed reform within the church, to clarify and define disputed doctrine and condemn heresy, and to restore the peace and unity of the church. The council was unable to accomplish this final goal since the split between Protestantism and Catholicism was now too deeply rooted. Thus, the council was confined to the Catholic world and functioned not as an instrument of reconciliation or reunion, but as a body legislating and defining for those who continued to profess the Catholic faith. It undertook this task from the outset, treating questions of doctrine and reform simultaneously.

In the area of doctrine, the council reaffirmed the authority of apostolic tradition as well as that of the Bible. It also declared the authenticity of the Vulgate but did not forbid critical editions in the original languages or vernacular translations. The most important of the doctrinal decrees was that on justification. It declared that humans are justified and saved only through God's grace freely bestowed on those who are baptized and have faith, but it insisted that humans participated in the process through a disposition for grace and a voluntary reception of it. The decree stressed the need for good works and observance of God's commandments. The council also issued dogmatic decrees on the seven sacraments, the Mass, purgatory, and the invocation of the saints. The decree on the Mass, affirming its sacrificial character, is second in importance only to the decree on justification among the council's declarations.

In the area of reform, the council focused on four basic problems that touched upon the pastoral mission of the church—the training of priests, the duty of preaching the gospel, the jurisdiction of bishops, and the obligation of residency for bishops and pastors. These decrees were the chief contribution of the Council of Trent to Catholic reform.

Focusing especially on the role and responsibility of the bishop, the council affirmed the obligation of bishops to reside in their dioceses and gave bishops greater authority and powers over the clergy and religious orders in their diocese. The administrative responsibility of the bishop was substantially restored at the same time that his primary role as pastor and teacher of his flock was strongly emphasized. Bishops were also obliged to establish seminaries for the training of future priests.

The Council of Trent clarified and defined many disputed doctrines, legislated reforms, and strengthened the church. The implementation of the decrees was left to the papacy. Pius IV (1559–1565) in 1564 approved and published the Tridentine decrees and created a committee to oversee their implementation and interpretation. At the same time that he proclaimed the Tridentine Profession of Faith, he issued a revised Index of Forbidden Books, which modified the more severe and rigid index issued by Paul IV (1555–1559) in 1559. Pius V (reigned 1566–1572) completed the work of the council by issuing a standard catechism in 1566, a uniform Breviary in 1568, and a uniform Roman Missal in 1570. The strong leadership of Pius V, Gregory XIII (reigned 1572–1585), and Sixtus V (reigned 1585–1590), which spanned the years 1566 to 1590, firmly established the papacy as the agent of Catholic reform.

Implementing the Tridentine decrees on the local level was not always easy and met with frustration. While theologians and church leaders anticipated that the implementation of the council would be met with great enthusiasm, the reality was far different. This situation arose as a result of an erroneous assumption that Catholic Reformation Catholicism would supersede the distinct flavor and traditions of local Catholicism that had developed over centuries. While the church did achieve some success in implementing reform along Tridentine lines, Catholicism would retain an element of local flavor both in Europe and the New World.

CONCLUSION

Certain basic characteristics stand out in the Catholic Reform movement from the time of Cisneros to the end of the Council of Trent: awareness of the need for reform and the serious efforts made to achieve it; preoccupation with individual and personal reform; and concern for the restoration and

renewal of the Church's pastoral mission. Thus, Catholic reform was marked by a personal and pastoral orientation.

See also Ignatius of Loyola; Jesuits; Leo X (pope); Paul III (pope); Pius IV (pope); Pius V (pope); Trent, Council of.

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FRANCESCO C. CESAREO

REFORMATION, PROTESTANT. The term *Reformation* refers in general to the major religious changes that swept across Europe during the 1500s, transforming worship, politics, society, and basic cultural patterns. One key dimension was the Protestant Reformation, the movement that began in 1517 with Martin Luther's critique of doctrinal principles and church actions in Germany and that led to the establishment of new official churches—the Lutheran, the Reformed or Calvinist, and the Anglican. These were separate from the Latin Catholic Church in organization and different from it in theology. Many other dissident groups and individuals, collectively known as the Radical Reformation, also emerged during the turmoil of the 1520s and 1530s, building communities despite frequent persecution. Ongoing efforts to reform the old church took on new urgency in response to these challenges, leading to a distinct Catholic Reformation. The Protestant Reformation affected patterns of change in Europe through Protestant theology's shifting theological emphases, through Protestant piety's emphasis on reading and knowledge, and through new alignments between organized churches and politics.

Because of the complex course and multiple outcomes of the Reformation movements, historians today speak of multiple Reformations during the first two-thirds of the 1500s—the Protestant, the Radical, and the Catholic; the urban, the peasants’, and the princely; or the German, French, and British. The Protestant Reformation was embedded in larger processes that included the emergence of national states, new encounters with the outside world, and deep socioeconomic shifts. The breakdown of religious unity and the establishment of multiple churches in this era highlights the central role that religion played in early modern European self-understanding. Doctrinal and ceremonial changes had consequences for every aspect of society, from family life and gender roles to art and philosophy. As we learn more about different historical actors and their varying goals, we can no longer view the Reformation as a single conflict between Luther and the popes or as a single movement, positive or negative. Rather, we must approach the Reformation by looking carefully at the spiritual aspirations, the cultural frameworks, and the material circumstances of the people whose lives it transformed.

The idea of reformation had a long history in Western thought before 1500, with two main meanings: to modify in general (to reform) and to improve something by returning it to its original state (to re-form, or restore). St. Augustine’s statement that “man is not able to reform himself as he is able to deform himself” durably connected reformation with individual conversion and divine grace, although during the Middle Ages the word could refer to any systematic change. Because the term implied renewal or even rebirth, it could also be associated with the renaissance of classical learning. By the late 1300s, the “reformation” of monasteries became a central goal of the Observant movements that sought to restore the principles of their orders’ founders, and by the 1400s, calls for a “reformation in head and members” of the entire church had become loud.

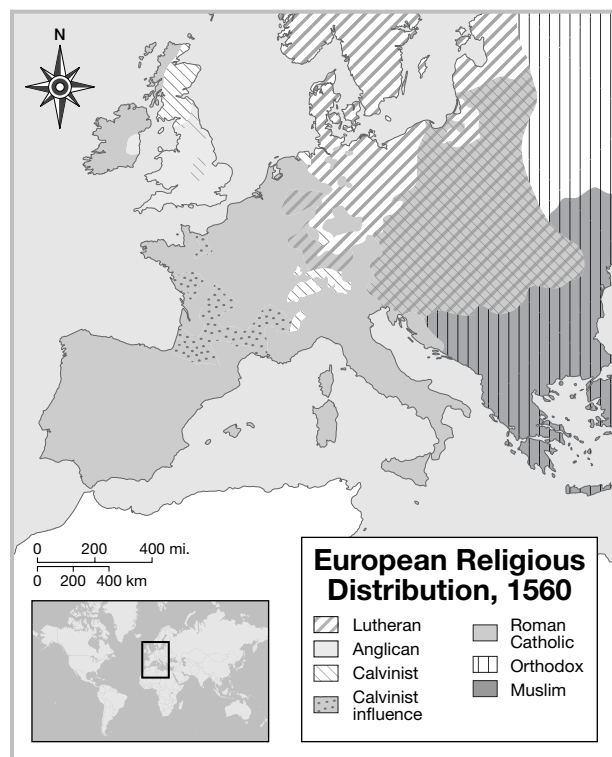
When evangelical thinkers in the early 1500s called for radical changes in the church, they too described their project as a “reformation,” as did those who sought to improve the church from within. Most sixteenth-century reformers hoped that a single purified church would be the outcome,

while others saw religious division as a sign of the imminent Apocalypse. Only after 1600, when it became clear that the division among western European Christians was permanent, did the term “Reformation” become the name for the movements that created the division as well as for the period during which the division took place.

ANTECEDENTS OF THE REFORMATION

Scholars have pointed to several developments during the 1400s as possible forerunners of the Protestant Reformation. Developments in formal theology, in broader cultural life, and in different European regions all confirm the continuity between the Reformation and earlier historical processes. For example, disputes among academic theologians raised issues similar to those later addressed by Luther and other Reformation thinkers. Late medieval followers of St. Thomas Aquinas’s *via antiqua* (‘old path’) argued against adherents of the *via moderna* (‘new path’) developed by William of Ockham (1280–1349), while mystical thinkers sought to bypass the confining procedures of Scholastic theology entirely. Particularly in the 1400s, learned churchmen disagreed about such fundamental issues as God’s sovereignty, the place of human effort in gaining salvation, and the effects of sin and grace on the human soul. With the growth of universities and the spread of printed books around 1500, many more thinkers became aware of these debates about the fundamentals of Christian faith, setting the stage for Reformation controversies.

Other scholars point to the Renaissance and particularly to humanist philology as preparing the ground for religious turmoil. Although few historians today see the Renaissance as the birth of modern individualism, the recovery of Greek and Latin texts on philosophy and philology during the 1400s did spur intellectuals to look at the writings of the church fathers and the Bible in new ways. Even when motivated by orthodox zeal, careful printed editions and new translations of sacred texts raised new questions about the way the church interpreted its mission. Italian humanists such as Lorenzo Valla led the way in applying the new philology to sacred texts, but the humanist with the greatest impact in northern Europe was Erasmus of Rotterdam. In addition to editing both classical literature and the church fathers, Erasmus in 1516 issued the first



printed edition of the New Testament in Greek, together with a new Latin translation that changed the meaning of several key passages. Erasmus was also a best-selling author of Latin textbooks—such as *Encomium Moriae* (1511; English translation, *In Praise of Folly*, published 1549)—that savagely mocked popular superstitions and greedy clergymen.

Finally, the Protestant Reformation shared important features with the Hussite movement that swept through Bohemia in the early 1400s. The teachings of Jan Hus contained several ideas that Luther later engaged: an emphasis on God’s grace over human works in salvation, a harsh critique of the papacy, and a call for lay Bible reading in local vernaculars. Moreover, Hus’s ideas gained support in Bohemia from a coalition of burghers, nobles, and peasants who combined Czech resentment of German dominance with aspirations for a just Christian society. Anger about the special privileges that priests enjoyed and about the fiscal impact of an international church on local societies heightened anticlerical feelings across Europe at this time. Luther’s recognition that he shared Hus’s ideas accelerated his break with the papacy, and Protestant propaganda later named Hus among its martyrs.

Although the Hussite movement was limited to Bohemia after Hus’s execution for heresy in 1415, it revealed how potent the combination of anti-clericalism, lay enthusiasm for new ideas, and effective preaching could be.

EARLY PROTESTANT MOVEMENTS IN GERMANY

All across Europe after 1500, reformist clerics sought to reform church organization, to purify religious practice, and to intensify individual piety. In Italy educated priests such as Gasparo Contarini combined prayer and study while organizing groups to improve church services for the laity. In France a group around Jacques Lefèvre d’Étaples also called for an evangelical renewal of the church. They, like John Colet in England, turned to the Epistles of St. Paul in their efforts to better understand God’s will, as would Luther. Among all these groups, humanist ideas and connections played an important role. Evangelical ideas were therefore widespread in Europe, yet the course of reform differed enormously from place to place. To understand this variation, argues historian Euan Cameron, we must analyze the different coalitions that formed and sometimes dissolved around evangelical ideas.

The emergence of separate Protestant churches could not have taken place without the movement’s early breakthrough in the Holy Roman Empire, where Martin Luther was the critical figure. Luther’s doctrinal views took shape during the 1510s, but the Protestant Reformation as a movement began with the response that he evoked among German clergy, nobles, and common people in the 1520s. This response grew rapidly because of the force of Luther’s writing and because evangelical texts were printed not just in Latin but also in pithy German summaries and in illustrated versions. Moreover, criticism of the Roman church was already widespread in Germany, as were lively popular piety and interest in correct religious practice. Many early adherents saw Luther as a German champion against a corrupt Roman hierarchy and its financial abuses, and approved of his attacks on the special status of the clergy; others found spiritual consolation in his understanding of salvation, thought that his calls for “spiritual freedom” would bring about a just world with lighter burdens, or shared his belief in an imminent Apocalypse. Luther’s precise theological arguments about justification and grace,

meanwhile, mostly influenced engaged clerics and other spiritually focused individuals.

After 1519 another evangelical center emerged in Zurich, where Huldrych Zwingli began preaching sermons that combined humanist critiques of the church and its ceremonies with theological ideas similar to Luther's. Zwingli's ideas quickly became popular in south German cities and in parts of the Swiss Confederation. Although the southern movement remained separate from Luther's, ultimately giving rise to the Reformed and Calvinist churches, both spread evangelical ideas throughout German society. The earliest representatives of the Radical Reformation also emerged during the early 1520s from the circles around Luther and Zwingli; while they joined Luther and Zwingli in attacking the existing church, they often called for radical reform of society and eventually diverged on key doctrinal issues as well.

Political and social tensions converged with new religious ideas to produce a mass movement in the empire, partly because many German and Swiss towns and even villages enjoyed considerable autonomy. During the decisive years between 1518 and 1521, moreover, political circumstances in Germany delayed action against Luther. Luther had powerful supporters among both churchmen and lay leaders, including his lord Frederick the Wise of Saxony, whereas the death of Emperor Maximilian and the struggle to elect his successor Charles V preoccupied the imperial authorities. By the time Luther was excommunicated in 1520 and banned by the empire in 1521, he had already become a national hero. The early Reformation coalitions in Germany thus included clergy, some nobles, and many townspeople and peasants.

After Luther refused to recant at the Diet of Worms in 1521, ordinary people in many German towns called for "preaching the pure Gospel." They enjoyed support from committed members of the local elites—often younger men with humanist educations. Through the 1520s, many German cities edged cautiously toward open rejection of Rome, and by 1530, a substantial majority had joined the Lutheran or Zwinglian "Reformation in the cities." It is striking how radically new converts during these years rejected practices such as the veneration of images, in which they had often participated right



Protestant Reformation. *The Pope/Antichrist Selling Indulgences*, woodcut by Lucas Cranach the Elder from Luther's pamphlet *Passional Christ und Antichristi*, 1521. ©THE PIERPONT MORGAN LIBRARY/ART RESOURCE, N.Y.

up to the introduction of evangelical ideas. Adopting the Reformation brought about sharp changes in daily ritual that everyone could see.

The German peasants also hoped that "Godly law" would help liberate them from their burdens. In 1525 during the German Peasants' War, many of them refused to pay dues, sacked monasteries and castles, and gathered into huge armed bands. Hundreds of peasant communes formulated demands that were ultimately distilled into the Twelve Articles of the Swabian Peasantry. These demanded the "pure Gospel," local election of priests, an end to serfdom, and free access to commons and forests. Specific Bible verses justified each of the articles, thus linking spiritual renewal to social change. Although poorer townspeople joined the movement in some areas, the German nobility brutally suppressed the uprising. Luther too condemned the peasants, although he had initially recognized the justice of some of their demands. The defeat of the "common man" in 1525 shifted Reformation coalitions

tions in Germany toward urban elites and the territorial nobility, decisively shaping later developments.

For defenders of the old church, the Peasants' War proved that the evangelical movement was subversive. Luther's supporters among Germany's princes and magistrates also sought to control popular turmoil. They faced the challenge of rebuilding territorial church organization in a way that reflected the new teachings while taking account of social and political pressures. This required both gaining legal recognition for their faith and establishing a clearer definition of what they believed. Luther and his key supporter Philipp Melancthon drew up a comprehensive statement of Lutheran principles, the Augsburg Confession of 1530, and published new catechisms to instruct the laity. The process of consolidation led to heightened repression against dissenters of all kinds. Fearing that Satan sought to destroy the Gospel by encouraging fanaticism, Luther supported the organization of new hierarchical churches under princely control.

After it became clear that neither church would gain a clear majority among the princes, prelates, and towns in the empire, both sides built up alliances, such as the Schmalkaldic League, which linked princely territorial ambitions with the defense of Lutheran doctrine. In 1546 the emperor sought a military solution in the Schmalkaldic War. The effects of his initial victory quickly evaporated amid political maneuvering, however, creating a deadlock that led to the Religious Peace of Augsburg in 1555. The peace decreed that political rulers within Germany could choose between the Catholic and Lutheran faiths for their entire territories: dissidents had to depart or face official persecution. The dynamic evolution of Reformation coalitions thus left the German-speaking world mixed in religious confession, with decisive power over religion in the hands of territorial rulers. Confessional division had a deep and lasting effect on German identity, churches, and politics.

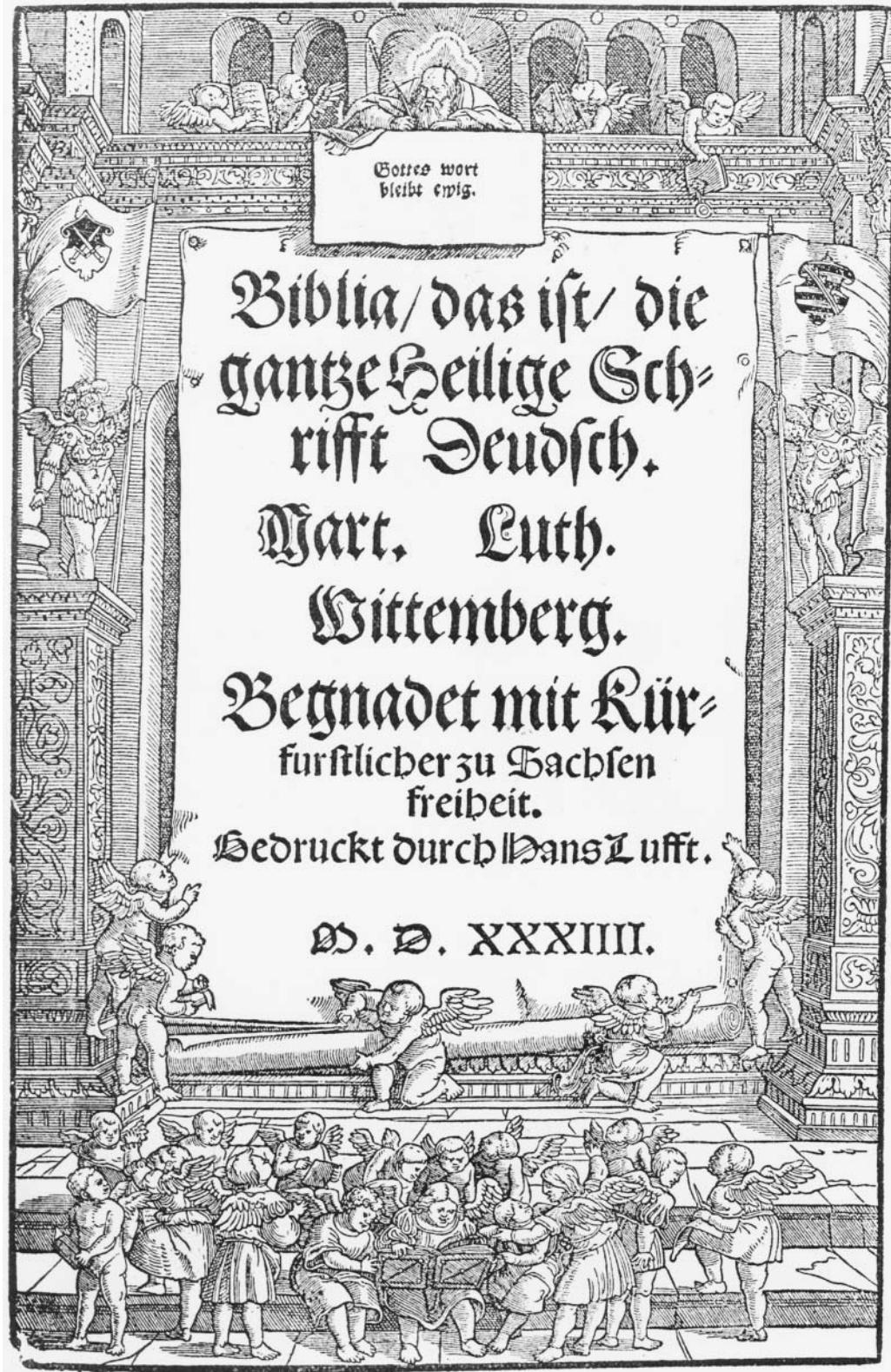
PROTESTANT MOVEMENTS OUTSIDE GERMANY

The Protestant Reformation followed diverse paths outside the Holy Roman Empire, generally as a minority movement. The first adherents were often intellectuals who read Luther's Latin writings. With

few exceptions, those in charge of both churches and governments remained hostile to the Reformation for at least a generation, rigorously persecuting those who sought to introduce it from Germany. Even where Roman authority was rejected early, as in England, Reformation coalitions appeared later, grew more slowly, and attracted fewer influential patrons than in Germany. Partly because of this delay, the form of Protestantism that had the greatest impact outside Germany was based on John Calvin's views rather than on Luther's.

The historian Heiko Oberman suggests that we view the Reformation outside Germany as a "reformation of the refugees," since so many leading figures had to flee from persecution. Calvin himself was a refugee who left France in 1534 during an early crackdown against French evangelicals. During stays first in Strasbourg and then in Geneva, he developed views that differed in important ways from the Lutheran tradition. Calvin shared Luther's belief in justification by faith but adopted a different interpretation of Communion. Calvin and his followers also wanted churches that were more independent from secular control than the Lutheran territorial churches. After Zwingli died in battle against the Catholic Swiss in 1531, his successor Heinrich Bullinger also sought to clarify the doctrine that separated the Zurich church from Catholics and Lutherans. Discussions among Bullinger, Calvin, and other Reformed theologians produced the Second Helvetic Confession of 1566 and the Heidelberg Catechism of 1562, important models for later Calvinist confessions of faith. In his *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, Calvin produced a systematic Reformed guide to doctrine. Calvinism expanded into France after the 1550s and spread through parts of Germany, the Netherlands, and eastern Europe. It also predominated in the theology (but not the organization) of the Anglican Church in England after 1558.

The emergence of new churches and the consolidation of a reformed Catholic Church confronted Europeans after the 1530s with a complex spiritual landscape. To understand how different Reformation coalitions formed, evolved, and sometimes collapsed, we need to consider the social position of early adherents, the political system, the nature of earlier heretical or anti-Roman ideas, and the international pressures each region faced. The



Protestant Reformation. Frontispiece for the 1534 Luther Bible by Hans Holbein the Younger. ©Foto MARBURG/ART RESOURCE, N.Y.

Reformation outside Germany generally lacked peasant participation. It was an urban and professional movement whose most important early activists came from the younger clergy. In France the decision of some nobles to protect Reformation thinkers allowed the movement to grow despite harsh persecution. However, noble support also entangled evangelical religion with factional political disputes that led to vicious religious wars after 1560. In northern Europe the attitudes of monarchs were critical: Henry VIII's decision to break with Rome opened the way for the later spread of Protestantism in England, as did Gustav I Vasa's combination of Swedish independence with Lutheran conversion. Elsewhere, kings suppressed the Reformation using mechanisms such as the Inquisition in Spain or special courts in France. The previous history of religious dissent and the vitality of local humanist movements also affected local Reformation coalitions. In Bohemia, for example, the surviving Hussite church made common cause with the Reformers. The strength of humanism in Italy ensured that serious consideration of evangelical reform within the church continued into the 1550s under the protection of humanist-influenced bishops. Finally, external circumstances shaped the different Reformation coalitions. In the Netherlands, Calvinism became part of a national war against Spanish rule, while the Reformation in Scotland depended on relations between England and France. In eastern Europe political opponents of the Habsburg dynasty often turned to the Lutheran or Calvinist faiths.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE REFORMATION

Scholarly views of the Reformation have often reflected religious and ideological perspectives. Protestant historians portrayed it as a moment of heroic recovery from medieval "corruption," while some Catholic historians attacked it as a catastrophic outbreak of undisciplined individualism. Nineteenth-century liberal descendants of Protestantism argued that Martin Luther's appeal to conscience represented the "birth of individual liberty," and saw the origins of the modern secular state in conflicts over the free practice of religion. Marxist historians argued that the popular appeal of Luther made him part of an "early bourgeois revolution," while the rebellious peasants were proletarians before their time.

Recent studies of the Reformation more often emphasize its social dimension, going beyond the doctrinal issues that divided Europeans. Because religion helped shape every aspect of European life, the practices of the new churches caused major changes. Sacramental ceremonies from baptism to last rites had long marked key moments in the lives and families and communities. By abolishing or changing the sacraments, Protestantism challenged the social meaning of these rituals. The Protestant attack on clerical celibacy emptied monasteries and nunneries and led to a married clergy. This shattered older understandings about sexuality and personal holiness and led to intensified debate about the role of women in society. New ideas about piety caused the abolition of many public festivals in Protestant regions, often against popular resistance. Poor relief and charity meant something different when they no longer served as rich people's way to perform penance.

In politics the fact that the church had been a political as well as spiritual power led to realignments at every level from villages to international diplomacy. Religious adherence became an important factor in political alliances until the end of the Thirty Years' War in 1648. The emerging Protestant states of northern Europe were strengthened by the windfalls of property they seized from their churches, and gained new authority over daily life through their tight control over the Protestant clergy. Current research concentrates especially on confessionalization, that is, the organizational consolidation of churches and identities along confessional lines. Of particular interest is the question of whether the Reformations—Catholic and Protestant—opened the way for European states to impose new standards of ethical and sexual behavior on their populations. Among intellectuals, debates among the emerging faiths challenged fundamental understandings about the relation of the individual conscience to God, about how sinful humans should live together in ordered societies, and ultimately about the sources of truth and authority. The confidence of the early reformers gave way later in the 1500s to bitter debates among theologians about ever smaller matters on the one hand, and to calls for the forcible reimposition of unity on the other. In contrast, arguments for greater toleration of dissent and skepticism about whether humans



Protestant Reformation. A woodcut from *Foxes Acts and Monuments of the Church*, 1583, depicts the execution of Hugh Latimer and Nicholas Ridley, English Protestant clergymen who refused to convert to Catholicism during the reign of Queen Mary. THE ART ARCHIVE

could really know God's will were met with repression throughout the 1500s.

Some thinkers have looked to the Reformation to explain the profound transformation of Europe between 1500 and the present. Notably, the sociologist Max Weber proposed that the religious culture of Protestantism, with its emphasis on Bible reading and ethical self-scrutiny, had produced habits that favored the emergence of modern capitalism, especially among Calvinists. Many other thinkers have probed the contrast between a Protestant "religion of the Word" and a Catholic religion focused on action and emotion, often suggesting that Protestant or radical views "disenchanted" the world to produce a more modern worldview. Today, most historians who study the cultures of Protestant and Catholic Europe are more cautious.

Major cultural changes did not correlate in a simple way with religious difference. Moreover, recent research has demonstrated that the larger population only slowly absorbed the formal agendas of Protestantism and renewed Catholicism. It therefore seems unlikely that differences in religious doctrine can entirely explain later developments. Instead, current research seeks to include both the spiritual meaning and the social consequences of Europe's Reformations in efforts to explain Europe's early modern history.

See also Augsburg, Religious Peace of (1555); Bullinger, Heinrich; Calvin, John; Calvinism; Charity and Poor Relief; Church of England; Clergy: Protestant; Huguenots; Inquisition; Luther, Martin; Lutheranism; Melancthon, Philipp; Peasants' War, German; Reformation, Catholic; Reformations in Eastern Europe: Protestant, Catholic, and Ortho-

dox; Schmalkaldic War (1546–1547); Theology; Thirty Years' War (1618–1648); Wars of Religion, French; Zwingli, Huldrych.

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RANDOLPH C. HEAD

REFORMATIONS IN EASTERN EUROPE: PROTESTANT, CATHOLIC, AND ORTHODOX.

The Reformation first came to Poland-Lithuania in its Lutheran form soon after 1517, finding sympathizers among the German burghers in the cities of Royal Prussia. By 1522 calls for the introduction of the new religion had arisen in Gdańsk against the background of social unrest. King Sigismund I the Old banned the possession and reading of Lutheran books in 1520, and in 1526 he restored order in Gdańsk, reiterating the ban, although some burghers may have continued to practice the religion covertly. In 1525 Königsberg, the capital of the newly secularized Ducal Prussia (a fief of the Polish crown), became a center for Lutheran propaganda in the area (print shop from 1530, university from 1544). Polish and Lithuanian students attended the university, and religious propaganda was printed in their languages. Polish magnates of Great Poland began to serve as patrons of Lutheranism in the 1530s, offering protection to non-nobles on their estates. A few individual voices were heard in Vilnius in the same decade, but pioneering Lithuanian Lutherans such as Abraomas Kulvietis and Stanislovas Rapalionis were forced to seek protection in Königsberg. Another center of the Polish Reformation grew up in the 1520s and 1530s around humanistic circles at the Cracow Academy, at the center of which stood Jakub of Ilza the Younger (member of the Collegium Minor 1518–1535; documented Reformation activity from 1528). It was here that conditions were created for the first propagation of the new religion in Polish society, and there is some justification in calling Little Poland the “cradle of the Polish Reformation.”

REFORMATION

All of these activities either remained largely covert or depended upon the protection of the nobles until the reign of Sigismund II Augustus (1548–1572), who, although remaining Catholic, was more open to the new ideas. He corresponded with Philipp Melanchthon and John Calvin (who dedicated his 1549 *Commentary on Hebrews* to him), and he appointed the patron of Lithuanian Calvinism, Mikołaj Radziwiłł the Black, as Lithuanian grand chancellor (1550–1565). The transformation of the Polish-Lithuanian Reformation from a clandestine



movement into an open, organized church with public services and synods dates from about 1550, when Protestant gentry began to form a majority in the lower house of the parliament. Protestant magnates were a majority in the upper house from the 1560s. Between 1552 and 1565, only Protestants were elected as marshals presiding over sessions of parliament. In 1552 the diet vacated decisions of the ecclesiastical courts against tithe-resisters and heretics, and in 1555 it declared a Polish interim, guaranteeing religious toleration for nobles until a general council could meet. In 1559 Sigismund II granted religious liberty to Prussian towns, approving the Augsburg confession that had been adopted by the Royal Prussian Diet.

In the years 1556–1560 a reformed church of Little Poland began to take shape as an overt organization, with a presbyterial governing structure and a

Calvinist-Zwinglian doctrine. Leaders of the movement included Francesco Lismanini (1504–1566), the Franciscan provincial of Poland and confessor of Sigismund II Augustus's mother, Queen Bona Sforza, and the Erasmian Jan Łaski (Joannes à Lasco, 1499–1560), who returned to Poland after a seventeen-year exile in December 1556.

The Reformation in Poland-Lithuania quickly underwent fragmentation. The Brest Bible—the first printing of the entire Holy Writ by Polish Protestants—was a joint project of the Reformed churches of Poland and Lithuania. Its financial patron was Mikołaj Radziwiłł the Black. By the time it was printed in 1563, many of its sponsors and translators, led by such Italian refugees as Giorgio Biandrata (c. 1515–1588), had made moves in the direction of Anti-Trinitarianism, forming a volatile

and loosely organized “Minor church” (as opposed to the still Calvinistic “Major church”).

In 1570 the Calvinists, Lutherans, and the Czech Brethren living in exile in Great Poland (the latter had been in communion with the local Calvinists since the Union of Kominek in 1555) met at a synod of concord at Sandomierz and produced a *Confessio Sandomirensis*, agreeing to hold joint synods, although they actually met jointly only four times between 1570 and 1595. The Minor church, which was excluded from those deliberations, experienced a period of great internal turmoil in the 1570s and 1580s. The social radicals of Little Poland established centers in Raków and Lublin. Their leaders, such as the “pope of Lublin” Marcin Czechowicz (1532–1613), argued for pacifism and a withdrawal from the state. Lithuanian Anti-Trinitarians, such as Szymon Budny (c. 1530–1593), wrote in defense of the *jus gladii* (‘office of the sword’) but took much more radical (“non-adorantist”) stances on Christological questions. Compromise positions were worked out by the Italian refugee Fausto Sozzini (Socinus), and the “Arians” at Raków published their *Confessio Racoviensis* in 1605, dedicating the work to King James I of England.

As the tiny but intellectually prominent groups of Polish Anti-Trinitarians were conducting their intensive debates on religion and society, the mainstream Reformation in Poland-Lithuania began to decline. The signs of weakness were already visible as the Polish Reformation reached its zenith in the 1573 Confederation of Warsaw. This document was worked out during the interregnum after the death of the last Jagiellonian king, Sigismund II (d. 1572), and from then on the elected kings of Poland were required to sign *pacta conventa* based on it and guaranteeing mutual toleration among dissidents in religion.

COUNTER-REFORMATION

In the original formulation of the Confederation of Warsaw, all, including Catholics, were seen as in a state of “dissidence.” Catholic clergy, however, opposed the Confederation and were soon mounting a successful restoration. Cardinal Stanisław Hosius, bishop of Warmia (1504–1579), had presided over the proceedings of the Council of Trent in 1562–1563. He introduced the Jesuit order into Poland

in 1564. Jesuit colleges quickly arose (Braniewo, 1565; Vilnius, 1570; Poznań, 1573) and became important tools in the Catholicization of Protestants and Orthodox.

Part of the weakness of the Reformation in Poland-Lithuania stemmed from its late introduction, internal fragmentation, lack of cadres of clergy and attractive schools, the general weakness of the cities, and the fact that it remained largely an affair of the nobles, for whom its use as a political tool may already have run its course by 1573. The fragmentation in mainstream Protestantism was between a largely German burgher Lutheranism and a Polish and Lithuanian noble Calvinism. But it was also between the Calvinist middling gentry and the magnates, whose mutual antagonism brought the latter more and more into political alliance with the crown. By 1582 the only remaining Protestant senators were from Lithuania. The practice of Sigismund III Vasa (ruled 1587–1632) of appointing only Catholics to office encouraged magnate reconversions. The Zebrzydowski rebellion of 1606–1607 marked the end of the widespread political influence of Protestant nobles.

ORTHODOX REFORM

Both Protestants and Catholics had made proselytizing among the Orthodox of Poland-Lithuania one goal of their confessional propaganda. The future Antitrinitarian Szymon Budny published a Ruthenian-language version of Luther’s catechism at Niasvizh (Nieśwież) in 1562. The Jesuits published a Ruthenian catechism at Vilnius in 1585. The Union of Brest of 1596 gave rise to a situation in which two Ruthenian camps laid exclusive claims to the patrimony of Kievan Orthodoxy, and both sought, using the tools of Reformation and Counter-Reformation—through brotherhoods, schools, printing houses, and monasteries—to restore the church to its pristine form. In addition to fearing loss of souls to the other side, Uniates and Orthodox were troubled by conversions from within their ranks in a trajectory that often led first to Calvinism and then to Catholicism (and later directly to Catholicism).

An Orthodox hierarchy was “illegally” restored in 1620. A decade of pamphlet wars, followed by the death of Sigismund III in 1632, led to the temporary consolidation of a Protestant-Orthodox

camp during the negotiations behind the election of the late king's son Władysław IV as king of Poland and grand duke of Lithuania. The new monarch recognized the status quo, granting legality to both Uniate and Orthodox hierarchies. On the eve of the Khmelnytsky Uprising (1648) we can discern three programs for a Ruthenian church and people: one Uniate and two Orthodox, the first orthodox program led by hierarchs such as Peter Mohyla and the nobles, and the second by the lesser clergy and Cossacks.

DENOUEMENT

By 1600 there was no Protestant church within the walls of Cracow. In 1627 the last urban Protestant church in the crown lands (at Lublin) was destroyed, as was the Anti-Trinitarian center at Raków in 1638. The wars of the mid-century with the Orthodox Cossacks, Lutheran Sweden, and Orthodox Muscovy helped to establish the equation of Pole and Catholic. In 1658 the Polish parliament made Anti-Trinitarianism illegal, giving the Polish Arians a choice of conversion to Catholicism or emigration. The Treaty of Andrusovo (1667) ceded Kiev and left-bank Ukraine to Muscovy, removing the Orthodox spiritual center and many Orthodox inhabitants from the lands of the Commonwealth. Nonetheless, Lutherans and Calvinists were still present, and Uniates and Orthodox still made up a considerable portion of the population in the eastern lands. And although the magnates were almost exclusively Catholic by around mid-century, all four non-Catholic confessions could still look to patrons among the middling gentry. Thus the story in Poland-Lithuania was one of a relatively peaceful Catholic restoration and a toleration of the other confessions, now rendered unthreatening through increasing restrictions, dwindling numbers, and growing incentives to conform to a Polish Catholic norm.

See also Belarus; Lithuania, Grand Duchy of, to 1569; Lithuanian Literature and Language; Orthodoxy, Russian; Poland-Lithuania, Commonwealth of, 1569–1795; Poland to 1569; Polish Literature and Language; Ukraine; Ukrainian Literature and Language; Uniates; Union of Brest (1596).

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DAVID FRICK

REFUGEES, EXILES, AND ÉMIGRÉS. Many of the most important changes of the early modern period—including the European discovery of America, the growth of the sovereign nation-state, the Protestant Reformation, and the rise of absolutism—led to migrations, both forced and voluntary. The phenomenon of removal and banishment of groups was already widespread during the Middle Ages, as in the case of the expulsion of the Lombards from France in 1268 and of the Jews from England in 1290. It intensified during the early modern period, when the rise of the territorial church and the nation-state spurred a large number of expulsions and migrations. Most significant among these were the 1492 expulsion of the Jews and Muslims from Spain, followed by the expulsion of the Moriscos in the early seventeenth century; the seventeenth-century migration from England to North America of Puritans, Catholics, and Quakers; and the migration of French Huguenots during the Wars of Religion (1562–1598), and after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685. Early modern Europeans conceived of church and state as integrally and inevitably united. The rise of the nation-state therefore often led to the exclusion—and in many cases expulsion—of those who seemed to disrupt this cherished unity.

The dramatic increase in forced and voluntary migration during the early modern period was tied closely to the development of absolutist regimes. The best example of seventeenth-century absolutism is Louis XIV (ruled 1643–1715), known as *le Roi Soleil*, or ‘the Sun King’. In such regimes as his, absolute sovereignty was invested in the person of the king, who was considered above the law (*princeps legibus solutus est*); the king’s will was in fact identified with the law. The absolutist aspirations of monarchs were compounded by the struggle between Catholics and Protestants, which during the Protestant Reformation grew out of the struggle between centralized regimes and the proponents of traditional, local liberties. During the Reformation in England Henry VIII abolished the local liberties and particular rights—financial, political, and social—of the clergy. The same applied to the Huguenots in France. Secular rivalries became inseparable from religious ones, and religious beliefs were closely intermingled with social and political ones. Hence the civil and religious wars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries—the French Wars of Religion (1562–1598) between Catholics and Huguenots; the English Civil War (1642–1651) between Puritans and Loyalists; and the Thirty Years’ War (1618–1648) between the forces of the Protestant and Catholic Reformations. All of these struggles and conflicts resulted in large numbers of refugees, exiles, and émigrés throughout Europe.

Absolute monarchs pursued policies of *une foi, un loi, un roi* (one faith, one law, one king), striving for complete social, political, and religious unification of their territories, driving out dissenting religious groups as well as alien ethnic groups who seemed to endanger their efforts at consolidation. The secular authority assumed religious functions and was thus responsible for religious unity, uniformity, and conformity within the realm, as can be seen in Spain after the Reconquista of 1492, in England after Henry VIII’s break with Rome in 1534, and in France after the Wars of Religion.

The Spanish monarchs Ferdinand and Isabella, after successfully accomplishing the Reconquista (reconquest) of Spain from Muslim rule in 1492, demanded that both Jews and Muslims convert to Christianity and forced those who refused into exile. Accordingly, between 100,000 and 200,000 Jews were forced to leave Spain in 1492. Later, in 1609–

1614, some 275,000 Moriscos, Muslims who had converted to Christianity, were likewise expelled—mainly for keeping their Muslim faith in secret. In England the absolutist policy of the Stuart kings, James I (ruled 1603–1625) and his son Charles I (ruled 1625–1649), drove some 20,000 Puritans into exile in New England during the 1630s; many Catholics and Quakers also left for North America, where they established, respectively, the colonies of Maryland (1634) and Pennsylvania (1681). Similarly, during the French Wars of Religion about 200,000 Huguenots (Protestants) fled the country; the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 by Louis XIV, which ended toleration of Protestants in France, led to further mass migrations, estimated at between 400,000 and 1 million Huguenots.

Geography had a significant impact on the fates of refugees, exiles, and émigrés in early modern period. Until European explorers reached the Americas, dissenting religious groups faced persecution or even annihilation, as was the case with the Waldenses, who fled to the Piedmontese Alps for shelter from the papal Inquisition and crusade in 1209, or the Albigenses of southern France, against whom the papacy launched a crusade in 1208–1218. The New World, and especially the English settlements in North America, opened up possibilities for many persecuted Christian movements to maintain their religious faith and practices by going into exile there. Thus Puritans, Catholics, Quakers, and Huguenots, to name only a few, found shelter and refuge in the British colonies in America.

In spite of the terrible agony and suffering on the part of the displaced peoples themselves, migration had a lasting influence on Europe’s historical development in the early modern and modern periods. The expulsion of Jews from Spain—once the world’s most vibrant Jewish center—led to the development of important Jewish centers in the Netherlands, Germany, Poland, and Italy, as well as in other parts of Europe and the Ottoman empire. The migration of Puritans, Catholics, and Huguenots greatly transformed the European colonial enterprise during the seventeenth century and contributed much to the rise and development of the Atlantic world during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Equally important, the flight of many dissenting religious groups to colonial British America during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries led to the rise of religious pluralism and eventually to the triumph of religious freedom and liberty in the United States. The religious map of British North America shows how the long struggle over religion in Europe led directly to the migration of wide range of religious groups. While European absolutist regimes did not allow religious freedom, in British North America religious liberty and pluralism became the norm from the outset, as Puritans, Catholics, Quakers, and other religious groups settled there and maintained their religious faith and practices in peace and liberty. This toleration was then enshrined in the constitution of United States, upon their independence from Britain.

Refugees, exiles, and émigrés greatly contributed to the establishment of European culture in countries outside Europe. Their physical displacement thus illuminates the important processes of transfer, diffusion, and accommodation of European culture throughout the world. For the people involved, displacement meant that, with regard to their mother country, their cause was lost; at the same time, they gained the opportunity to transfer their culture to new places, where they would be able to live according to their ideals. Thus, while English Puritan exiles lost the battle for the soul of the English people, in New England they were free to establish their grand vision of a godly, Christian society; similarly, only in Philadelphia were the Quakers able to realize their vision of a society built around “brotherly love.” Many other religious and ethnic groups, such as the Huguenots who emigrated to South Africa and colonial America in the seventeenth century and the Shakers in the eighteenth century, had analogous experiences of migration.

See also Absolutism; British Colonies: North America; Dissenters, English; English Civil War and Interregnum; Huguenots; Jews and Judaism; Mobility, Geographic; Moriscos, Expulsion of (Spain); Wars of Religion, French.

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AVIHU ZAKAI

REGENCY. A regent took the place of a monarch when the latter departed the realm, suffered incapacity, or succeeded to the throne at an age too young to rule. In the best circumstances, the king himself, prior to his final illness or on the eve of a departure, designated the regent, ordinarily favoring his mother or his queen or another close relative. In medieval England, however, even a high administrator or esteemed noble could serve. Although barons and royal councils in England and France, the most developed monarchies, might temper the regents' powers, tradition and precedent eventually accorded them the same powers as a king, no matter that they ruled temporarily. In early modern Europe, France experienced the most, and the most consequential, regencies, starting with the reign of Francis I (ruled 1515–1547). Preparing to wage war in Italy, Francis assigned the regency to his mother, Louise of Savoy, in keeping with what was then a long tradition. Louise served longer than Francis anticipated, because after his defeat at Pavia (1525), the king underwent captivity in Italy and Spain. Despite the ensuing pressure, Louise governed capably in 1525–1526, defending the realm against military threats and scoring diplomatic successes.

Catherine de Médicis, queen of France by virtue of her marriage to Henry II (ruled 1547–1559), became regent in 1560 when their son, and Henry's successor, Francis II (ruled 1559–1560), fell ill and died. Serving until 1564, when her second surviving son, Charles IX (ruled 1560–1574), came of age, she experienced a turbulent regency, marked by a deepening religious crisis, intensified by the court

struggles between such great families as the Catholic Guise and the Calvinist Bourbons. But she at least preserved the fullness of royal power during a difficult time.

Henry IV (ruled 1589–1610) named his queen, Marie de Médicis, as regent just before his planned departure for a military campaign in 1610. Her regency began almost at once, however, because Henry died unexpectedly at the hands of an assassin. Once again, domestic and international pressures threatened the kingdom, if not the monarchy itself. But Marie and her councillors improved relations with Spain, the strongest European power, gaining a respite from war; conciliated and bought off the great nobles, without yielding to their larger ambitions; and preserved royal power intact during the Estates-General of 1614–1615. The coup d'état of 1617 by which her son Louis XIII (ruled 1610–1643) terminated, and thus tarnished, her government, obscured her achievements among historians for some time.

As his death approached, Louis XIII established his queen, Anne of Austria, as the regent apparent. Her regency lasted from 1643 to 1651, although her son Louis XIV (ruled 1643–1715) left her and her first minister, Jules Mazarin, in charge of affairs until 1661. This regency, the most troubled in French history, coincided with the final stages of the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648) and then the domestic upheaval and civil war known as the Fronde (1648–1653), when the absolute monarchy teetered on the verge of collapse. But, once again, the resolution of the queen regent, and this time the cunning of Mazarin, brought the monarchy through another crisis.

Louis XIV outlived his queen, Marie-Thérèse, by thirty-two years and at his death in 1715 left the regency to his nephew, Philippe, duke of Orléans (1674–1723). In French history, this regency (1715–1723) stands out as the most successful and Philippe II as the regent par excellence. Philippe was articulate, affable, even irresistibly charming, and intellectually gifted. He was a discriminating connoisseur of painting and music and experimented with chemistry. Although physically unimpressive and acutely nearsighted, he proved his courage on the battlefield. Along with his gifts, however, Philippe suffered from the defect of irresolution that, more

than his sexual appetite, which he indulged to the point of debauchery, threatened his regency.

At the death of Louis XIV, France had just emerged from more than twenty years of ruinous war; and it remained to be seen if the recent peace was merely a truce. Because of the wars, Philippe inherited a depleted treasury and a mountain of debt. The Parlement of Paris, along with its provincial counterparts, had grown restless under the repression of Louis XIV and hoped for a political comeback. Religious tensions now centered upon Jansenism, a version of Catholicism that church authorities deemed heretical. Philippe himself, despite his personal charm, had over the years antagonized some very important people. Many of these, especially his great rival, Louis-Auguste de Bourbon, the duke of Maine, the natural son of Louis XIV, now sat on the regency council, where Philippe had to cope with factions arrayed against him.

Louis de Rouvroy Saint-Simon, his lifelong friend, whose memoirs of the late reign and ensuing regency retain their literary and historical value, at first feared that Philippe, uncertain and anxious to avoid conflict, underestimated the perils that he, and France, faced. In fact, the regent, rising early and working late, was supremely dedicated to his duties and to the five-year-old Louis XV. He soon displayed a resolution that shocked enemies and friends alike.

After a period of compromise and deference, which only emboldened the parlement, Philippe asserted his authority over the tribunal and frightened it back into political submission. At the same time, he drove Maine out of the regency council and overcame the opposition factions there. He restored the late king's unitary council, discarding his experiment with multiple councils (*polysynodie*) staffed by great nobles. After administering a near-bankruptcy, the regent gave control of finances and the economy to the Scottish financier John Law of Lauriston (1671–1729), whose experiment with paper currency and banking reform, despite its ultimate failure, lightened the debt load and prepared the way for the commercial prosperity of the new century. The regent, tolerant in matters of religion, dampened the Jansenist dispute. While he did fight a brief (and successful) war against Spain, he also

arrayed France diplomatically with the maritime powers Great Britain and the Dutch Republic, a new orientation.

Philippe died in 1723, leaving to Louis XV (1715–1774) a France in better condition than in 1715, as historians came to see. In addition to maintaining royal authority, Philippe's regency embraced economic and political ideas that pointed distinctly to the future. These achievements, in addition to the cultural glories symbolized by the mature work of the painter Antoine Watteau and the plays and poetry of the emerging Voltaire, best mark his regency.

See also Catherine de Médicis; France; Fronde; Henry IV (France); Louis XIII (France); Louis XIV (France); Louis XV (France); Marie de Médicis; Mazarin, Jules; Saint-Simon, Louis de Rouvroy.

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RELIGIOUS ORDERS. A religious order within the Catholic Church is an organization of persons, either men or women, who profess the three evangelical vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience and live that obedience under a superior within a community structure in accordance with a specific rule of life. Religious were frequently referred to as “regulars” from the Latin *regula*, ‘rule’, because they followed a specific rule. Benedict of Nursia (c. 480–547) is considered the father of religious life in the Western tradition, as all religious rules have been influenced in part by the rule he composed from 530 to 540. The many religious orders within the Catholic Church and their differ-

ent ways of life reflect the specific recommendations and practices suggested by their founders regarding the best way to live their vows in response to the needs and contingencies of the times. There were periods of great revival within religious life, such as the Cluniac reform of the Benedictines in the early tenth century and the creation of the Dominicans and Franciscans in the thirteenth century. The beginning of the sixteenth century saw another revival of religious life and the creation of new religious orders. It was also a time when the condition of clerics and religious life received its severest criticism, especially from evangelical reformers, who hurled their strongest diatribes against the wrongdoing within convents and monasteries. Catholic reformers likewise criticized those monastic communities that showed little regard for the vowed life.

Amid all this controversy a flowering of religious life also occurred, its growth nourished by roots that grew deep in the Middle Ages. The sources that nourished this revival included the Modern Devotion (*Devotio Moderna*) established by Gerhard Groote (1340–1384) and a mid-fifteenth-century book accredited to Thomas à Kempis (1379 or 1380–1471), *The Imitation of Christ*, which grew out of this tradition. Likewise, the Oratory of Divine Love, founded in Genoa in the late fifteenth century, gained inspiration from the Modern Devotion and encouraged many future reformers. These and other movements fostered a deeper devotion to the person of Jesus, greater participation in the sacraments of confession and Communion, an emphasis on techniques of prayer and Scripture reading, and an encouragement to perform corporal works of charity among the sick, homeless, and dying.

REFORM OF RELIGIOUS ORDERS FOR MEN

By the end of the fifteenth century several religious instigated reforms within their own orders. Luigi Barbo (died 1443) led a reform of the Benedictines that later became institutionalized through the creation of an alliance of communities known as the Cassinese Congregation (1515). The Augustinians experienced reforming fervor under the direction of Giles of Viterbo (1469–1532), who while prior-general of the Augustinians (1507–1518) enforced existing rules by establishing representatives with powers to remove ineffective superiors and to en-

force the rules of community life. Giles's inaugural address at the Fifth Lateran Council (3 May 1512) demonstrated that his concerns went beyond the specific needs of the Augustinian order when he raised issues that would be acknowledged at the Council of Trent thirty years later. Tommaso de Vio (1469–1534), known as Cajetan, while serving as master-general of the Dominicans (1508–1518), stressed reform, studies, and a greater adherence to the common life. The Franciscan community attempted reform, but disagreements concerning the interpretation of poverty culminated in 1517 with a division between Conventuals and Observants, who by that year numbered twenty-five thousand and thirty thousand respectively. Further desires for a stricter observance of poverty and greater reforms further split the Observants into four major Franciscan reform groups: the Discalced, Recollects, Reformed, and Capuchins, of whom the Capuchins exercised the greatest influence.

The Capuchin branch began in 1525, when the Observant friar Matteo Serafini da Bascio (c. 1495–1552) desired to live a more austere life, one he believed conformed to the original rule of Francis of Assisi (1181 or 1182–1226). Soon others joined him, among them Ludovico da Fossombrone (died 1555?), another Conventual. Thanks to the interest and insistence of Caterina Cibo, the second cousin to Pope Clement VII (reigned 1523–1534), Ludovico's codifications of Matteo's ideals received papal approval in 1528. In 1542 the famous preacher and vicar-general of the Capuchins, Bernardino Ochino (1487–1564), left the order and embraced Protestantism, causing the Capuchins to nearly collapse. Only after a few decades did the order regain the papacy's trust. Surmounting this and other difficulties, the Capuchins became one of the most important religious orders in promoting reform. The largest order, its membership numbered 8,003 in 1600 and 27,336 in 1700.

NEW RELIGIOUS ORDERS FOR MEN

New religious orders formed alongside the older, reforming orders. A technical point may be made that not all these groups, when first formed, were actually religious orders. True membership in a religious order, in its strictest sense, meant professing the evangelical vows and living under obedience to a superior other than a bishop. Some of the new

“orders” of the sixteenth century and early seventeenth century did not at their inceptions require their members to profess the evangelical vows; hence they were not strictly religious orders. This essay, however, considers the establishment of movements that eventually became orders, whether they were strictly “orders” at their foundations or not.

In 1524 Pope Clement VII approved the Congregation of Regular Clerics, established under the guidance of Gian Pietro Carafa (1476–1559), the future Pope Paul IV (reigned 1555–1559); Bonifacio de'Colli (died 1558); and Paulo Ghisleri (1499–1557). Carafa, the first superior of the group, was bishop of Chieti, *Teate* in Latin, hence the attribution of the more common name of Theatines to the group. These founders, deeply influenced by the spirituality of the Oratories of Divine Love, dedicated themselves to works of mercy, a rejection of benefices, and a revitalization of clerical life. By 1600 they numbered four hundred, and by 1700 they numbered seventeen hundred.

In 1530 Pope Clement VII approved a religious order founded by Antonio Maria Zaccaria (1502–1539). Abandoning the possibilities of a lucrative career as a medical doctor, Zaccaria worked with the poor, taught the catechism, and was ordained a priest in 1528. Officially named the Clerics Regular of Saint Paul, the group became known as the Barnabites, a name taken from their mother church of Saint Barnabas in Milan. The Barnabites, taking Saint Paul as their model, preached, heard confessions, and performed acts of public penance in an attempt to reform the corrupt morals of the time. In 1607 the group had 320 members; a century later it had increased to 726 members.

In 1540 Pope Paul III (reigned 1534–1549) approved the Society of Jesus—the Jesuits. Founded by Ignatius of Loyola (1491–1556), a Spanish Basque nobleman and former soldier, the Jesuits advanced reform by means of education and preaching in urban, rural, and foreign missions. The Jesuits were known as the “schoolmasters of Europe,” their system of education admired by Catholics and Protestants alike. By 1615 the Jesuits supported 372 colleges. By the first quarter of the seventeenth century Jesuit missionaries were located in North and South America, India, China,

and Japan. In all their ministries the Jesuits promoted a greater participation in the sacraments of confession and Communion, suggesting reception of communion twice a month, an extraordinary frequency for the times. The Jesuits played a crucial role in the implementation of the ideals of the Council of Trent, as they directed most seminaries in Europe, guided the consciences of many Catholic monarchs, and were influential preachers and educators. In 1600 there were 8,519 Jesuits; by 1700 their number had increased to 19,998.

In the same year as the official establishment of the Jesuits, Pope Paul III approved the Clerks Regular of Saint Maol. Jerome Emiliani (1486–1537) established this group initially for the care of orphans. Emiliani was the only founder of a religious order who lived and died a layman. Like other reformers of the period, Emiliani was a member of the Oratory of Divine Love. The order's members became known as the Somachi, named after the town of Somasca, Italy, where their founder died. In 1547 Pope Paul IV, the former Gian Pietro Carafa and cofounder of the Theatines, attempted to merge the Theatines and the Somachi into one group. The union lasted until 1555. An attempt was made to unite the Somachi with the Jesuits, but this also failed. In 1568 Pope Pius V (reigned 1566–1572) raised the status of the Somachi to a religious order. By 1600 they numbered 438 members, and by 1700 they numbered 450 members.

In response to the sickness and mortality rampant in late-sixteenth-century Rome, Camillo de Lellis (1550–1614) organized a group of men dedicated to the care of the sick and dying around the year 1582. In 1591 the papacy elevated the organization to a religious order. At the death of Camillo, the order had 330 members living in fifteen communities throughout Italy.

In 1588 Pope Sixtus V (reigned 1585–1590) approved the Order of Clerks Regular Minor, commonly referred to as the Caracciolins after one of their founders, Ascanio Caraccioli (1563–1608). This new order practiced works of charity and was especially active in promoting devotion and adoration of the Blessed Sacrament. By 1700 this order numbered five hundred.

John Leonardi (1541?–1609) founded the Clerks Regular of the Mother of God in Lucca,

Italy, in 1574 which received papal approval as an order in 1595. Leonardi advocated a way of life that promoted secluded contemplation and active works of charity. At the death of Leonardi, the order had only two communities, one in Lucca, the other in Rome. They did not extend beyond the Alps until 1800.

The Spaniard José Calasanz (1556–1648) in 1597 gathered a group of men, the Poor Clerks Regular of the Mother of God, who were approved by the church hierarchy as a religious order in 1617. The Piarists, as they became known, took as their only work the education of poor children. Although the Jesuits advanced free education, their emphasis on higher education and its necessary requirement of fluency in Latin made such an education impossible for the poor, who could not afford a good (Latin) grammar school education. The Piarists received official papal approval as a religious order in 1621. In 1646 the Piarists numbered five hundred in thirty-seven communities.

A former Portuguese soldier, John of God (Juan Ciudad; 1495–1550), established a hospital in Granada for the poor in 1537, and a community formed around this effort. After the founder's death, Pope Sixtus V approved the community as a full religious order in 1596. The Brothers Hospitallers, as they were known, expanded throughout Europe and Latin America. In 1600 they numbered 626 members; in 1700 there were 2,046 Hospitallers.

The Oratorians, founded by Philip Neri (1515–1595), were not established as a religious order. They were secular priests who formed a congregation (from the Latin *congregare*, 'to gather') for the purposes of spiritual growth and to serve as a model for other priests. Pope Gregory XIII (reigned 1572–1585) approved their rule in 1575. These associations or oratories became particularly strong in France, especially under the direction of Pierre de Bérulle (1575–1629), through his work in seminary education.

RELIGIOUS ORDERS FOR WOMEN

During the same time women reformed their existing religious orders and created new ones. In 1536 Teresa of Ávila (Teresa de Cepeda y Ahumada; 1515–1582) entered the Spanish Carmelite convent in Ávila. At this time Carmelite convents were

microcosms of Spanish society, with particular attention to title, wealth, and status. After twenty years Teresa rejected this style of living and advanced a stricter observation of the Carmelite rule. Fundamental in her reform was the removal of all the privileges of class status, the implementation of begging, and the elimination of all endowments that provided a stable income. As a symbol of this new austerity, the sisters wore sandals and thus were shoeless or “discalced.” To be discalced became synonymous with Teresa’s reform project. Although cloister was strictly enforced, Teresa recommended that the sisters’ prayer life have a missionary focus, the prayer of the contemplative providing spiritual support for missionaries and those working in Protestant countries. Teresa established the first convent manifesting these reforms in 1562. Inspired by her reforms, the Spaniard John of the Cross (1542–1591) established a discalced monastery for men in 1568. Both efforts at reform came under suspicion from religious and civil authorities, but the persistence of their founders extended the discalced reform throughout the Old and New Worlds.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries new religious orders for women were created, though they were not as numerous as their male counterparts. In 1535 Angela Merici (1470 or 1474–1540), on the feast of Saint Catherine Alexandria (25 November), gathered twenty-eight women around her under the dedication of Saint Ursula. They made private promises to live the evangelical vows and to perform works of charity. Identifying her group with Ursula (fourth century?), a female saint known and respected for her work outside the cloister wall, and Catherine of Alexandria (died early fourth century), who professed total dedication to the person of Jesus with the promise of chastity, Angela attempted to create a rule in which the women combined a celibate life with activities outside the cloister. At the founding of the order the Ursulines were not a religious order, as their promises were private and the organization not officially approved; the women lived at home under the protection of their parents. The idea of consecrated virgins outside of cloistered life did not appeal to church authorities, and after Merici’s death, and in spite of efforts by her followers to adhere to the original ideal, the church authorities implemented

Tridentine regulations concerning strict adherence to cloister for female religious.

Jeanne-Françoise de Chantal (1572–1641) established a way of life for women in France that was less cloistered and placed greater emphasis on the active apostolate. Under the spiritual direction of François de Sales (1567–1622), Chantal’s rule was a type of middle way for women who desired neither married life nor the rigors of strict monastic enclosure envisioned by the discalced reform. The Visitation sisters (Visitandines) did not take public vows; instead, they consecrated themselves as brides of Christ and lived under the authority of the local bishop. Such an arrangement did not meet with approval. Parents questioned the welfare of such an arrangement, since it lacked stability and financial security for their daughters’ futures. Church authorities disapproved of the looser interpretation of cloistered life. In 1618 the papacy legislated that the Visitation sisters embrace the rule of Saint Augustine and strict monastic enclosure. By 1700 there were sixty-five hundred sisters.

Mary Ward (1586–1646) in England advanced the most radical rule for women who desired to live the vowed life outside the cloister. Ward argued that English Catholics could be best served by women who could move about society freely and unrecognized by authorities and therefore could not live in a cloister or wear a habit. Taking as a model the Jesuits, the English Ladies—or the Institute of Mary—desired to have no authority other than the pope. The idea of uncloistered women religious moving freely across the English countryside did not sit well with the papacy. Although their foundation received papal approval in 1616, they were suppressed in 1631.

COMMON THEMES

Simple conclusions and summaries cannot be made concerning the religious orders of early modern Europe. Jesuits wanted to be known for their strict obedience, the Oratorians stressed individuality, and Teresa of Ávila espoused a “holy freedom” for her sisters in their selection of a confessor and spiritual guide. Some common themes, however, are discernable. All new and reformed orders found inspiration in late medieval spirituality, particularly the Modern Devotion. Religious embraced the vow of poverty with new vigor. These orders placed a

great emphasis on education and care for the sick, a response to the demographic increase in the sixteenth century and the growing poverty and illiteracy of the lower classes. All the new orders and some of the reformed desired to transcend the traditional monastic enclosure in some manner. This was particularly true of the Jesuits and other male religious and was attempted by female religious, such as Mary Ward and Angela Merici. Although women religious were subject to strict enclosure, Teresa of Ávila insisted that their prayers breach the convent wall in support of missionary efforts throughout the known world. Active life outside the cloister for women religious had to wait until after the French Revolution.

See also Catholic Spirituality and Mysticism; Clergy: Roman Catholic Clergy; Confraternities; Jesuits; Reformation, Catholic; François de Sales.

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RELIGIOUS PIETY. The word “piety” has its roots in the ancient Latin *pietas*, a term that implied filial duty and respect for elders, obligations that were religious duties in antiquity. The word has long been used as well to describe the rites and devotions people practiced in their daily religious observances in the medieval and early modern periods and to describe more specifically the ways in which they worshiped Christ and venerated the Virgin Mary and the saints.

PROBLEM

Scholars have long spoken of “Marian piety,” “christocentric piety,” or “saintly piety.” In tracing the contours of religious piety, historians have also been concerned to delineate the differences between the religion of Europe’s masses on the one hand and the official religion of the church on the other. Obvious differences have long been noted between these two kinds of religious experience. The official teachings of the medieval church were fashioned by highly literate elites who often shared a common outlook created by academic training in canon law and theology. The piety of Europe’s peoples, by contrast, was rooted in the concerns of village life and in the issues that surrounded an overwhelmingly agrarian existence. Beyond such distinctions the attempt to try to isolate a “popular piety” distinct from the official church is problematic since, at the dawn of the early modern period, elites and people shared many religious assumptions. The European clergy of the time was not a hereditary caste, but was recruited anew in each generation from the laity. For much of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, few clergymen had much formal theological training since the seminary came to play an important role in clerical education only at the end of the sixteenth century. Its rise helped to create a wider gap between the intellectually rigorous, highly structured religions promoted by the Protestant and Catholic Reformations and the cycles of religious rituals and beliefs that were popular in towns and countryside. This divide became one of the defining features of European life in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and helped to sponsor the notion of the “superstitious folk,” as well as the presumption that European history represented a gradual triumph of rationality and secularity over popular magic. For most of the early modern period

this thesis cannot be applied without significant cautions because, particularly in the years between 1450 and 1650, both elites and people appear, to modern observers, to share many superstitions. The thesis of gradual secularization and rationalization has, as a result, been more recently challenged even as historians have continued to be concerned with charting the importance of piety as a dynamic factor in forging early modern societies.

CHARACTER

In the early modern world religion was not a separate sphere or dimension of existence. While modern intellectuals assume a dichotomy between sacred and secular, religion functioned in premodern Europe as a “sacred canopy,” to use a term coined by the sociologist Peter Berger. Religious explanations for existence and its rituals permeated every dimension of life. At the dawn of the early modern period the church’s teachings provided an explanation for the sinner’s place in a larger drama of forgiveness and redemption in the afterlife. The piety of the people, on the other hand, was frequently more practical in orientation, concerned with the “here and now” instead of the hereafter. Under the best of circumstances, demographic, economic, and material realities were bleak for most Europeans in the early modern centuries, and scores of rituals were used to try to control life’s harsh circumstances. Many practices common throughout Europe explicitly violated longstanding church prohibitions against the use of magic, but they were, nevertheless, firmly ensconced in society through centuries of usage. Women fearing the pains of childbirth, for example, relied on amulets and spells to protect themselves as they approached the day of delivery. Peasants protected their livestock with similar practices, just as they tried to prevent headaches, toothaches, and all sorts of personal ills through various rituals. Rites intended to ensure the fruitfulness of the fields, the marriage bed, and the barnyard were common, just as specific feast days were considered auspicious times for gathering herbs and other plants for combating diseases and fashioning potions that might protect against bad weather. In these and many other ways people used rituals and objects to combat the evils that threatened everyday living. Even when these practices did not explicitly violate church prohibitions, they sometimes subtly altered Christian teaching to suit

purposes other than those originally intended. Examples of this tendency can be seen in the widespread popularity of sacramentals and benedictions in Europe around 1500. Sacramentals were lesser rites of the church that often had their origins in the sacraments themselves. They included a range of services like the blessing of water, a practice that originally developed from the sacrament of baptism; and the consecration of candles, palm leaves, and other objects used in church liturgies. These rituals were not sacraments per se, and thus were not dependent upon the ministrations of a priest. At the same time they were thought to be beneficial to body and soul, and for this reason laypeople adapted them for their own use. Peasants ground up consecrated bread, palm leaves, and other blessed objects, casting the residue on their fields, or they sprinkled holy water on their doorsteps, beds, and homes. Benedictions were another widely popular custom, with prayers commonly being offered to God and the saints to protect against threatening circumstances. Despite the attempts of early modern Protestant and Catholic reformers to curtail the abuse of many of these practices, they often persisted unchanged in European societies into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

THE SAINTS

Perhaps no other dimension of piety had such a long history as the veneration of the saints. From early Christian times the cult of the saints had played an important role in spreading Christianity, and the popularity of the saints had long been sustained through a steady stream of miracles. The missionaries who had journeyed to northern Europe in early medieval times often came with relics of the saints in hand and, until the twelfth century, the cult they nourished remained intently focused on physical objects. During the later Middle Ages (twelfth to fifteenth centuries) successive waves of change had introduced new subjective elements into Western religion as Europeans came increasingly to venerate images and statues of the saints alongside their ancient relics: the images were no longer the direct, physical relict of the saint but only represented the saint’s presence. Christians now focused their devotion more decidedly on the Virgin Mary and on saints common to the entire church rather than on the graves of holy men and women from their own regions. While this broad snapshot holds true gen-

erally, saintly veneration was amazingly complex and continued to display many local variations in the early modern period. Local saints and relic cults survived at this time, often flourishing alongside Marian shrines and international saints common to the entire church. In sixteenth-century Spain, for example, hundreds of shrines dedicated to the Virgin Mary and to local and international saints were present throughout the peninsula, and the power of the image, statue, or relic that was revered at each of these places was perceived to be distinctive, with the patron of a specific shrine often acquiring a special ability to combat certain diseases. Many people appealed to a broad spectrum of the saints for aid throughout their lives, and a rich lore circulated about local shrines as people traded tales of successful intercessions worked by a specific shrine's patron. The clergy fed a popular appetite for miracles by regularly publicizing intercessions the saints had worked. While most of the thousands of shrines that attracted the faithful in Europe were quite small and drew people from nearby, the faithful also traveled to great international shrines. Places like Santiago de Compostela in Spain, Mont Saint Michel in France, Canterbury in England, and, above all, Rome were great transregional centers of devotion. These sites became more important on the religious landscape during the fifteenth century as a result of the collapse of the Byzantine Empire and the rise of the Turks in the eastern Mediterranean, events that cut off the Holy Land as a destination for all but the most resourceful of European pilgrims.

THE CHURCH

While many rituals were practiced beyond its control, the church was nevertheless a vital force in the religious piety of Europeans around 1500. Through its system of seven sacraments the Catholic Church dispensed divine grace to the faithful, even as certain of the sacraments played a role in marking life's rites of passage. The sacraments of baptism, confirmation, and extreme unction (the last rites) were universally received by both laypeople and clergy alike, and while they were important religious ceremonies, these rituals also functioned with a large social purpose, admitting those who received them into new life stages. Rich traditions of godparentage, for example, had grown up over the centuries around baptism, and at the beginning of the early modern period the rite retained an important communal

dimension, as parents sometimes named scores of godparents for their children, hoping in this way to establish a protective network for them as they matured. The early modern world knew its share of lax or indifferent Christians. For most of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, most Europeans rarely received the sacraments of penance and the Eucharist more than once each year, although devout Christians attended the Mass and other services of the church more frequently, their attendance being a sign of their devotion. Even the devout, however, rarely received Communion more than two or three times a year. Instead, most practiced the custom of adoring the Eucharist at the moment of its consecration in the Mass, or in the tabernacles where it was kept in every church between services. This visual piety inspired the commissioning of enormous tabernacles for displaying the Eucharist, some of which rose to more than forty feet in Europe's major churches. The importance of viewing religious objects also nourished the custom of displaying saints' relics on important feast days. Passive activities like this were important to the devout, but late medieval and early modern religion also offered many opportunities for participation. Confraternities provided a vital avenue for those seeking to deepen their faith. These brotherhoods and sisterhoods of laypeople and clergy met regularly to say prayers and perform good works. Their members sometimes practiced ascetic regimens that imitated the disciplines of monastic life, including self-flagellation, the wearing of hair shirts, and other acts of self-denial that were designed to overcome the needs or desires of the body. Since the Mass was believed to be beneficial to the souls of both the living and the dead, the endowing of Masses was a pious good work, held in high repute throughout Europe. Fasting, dietary restrictions, and other good works like the giving of alms to the poor were also widely practiced by those anxious to live more perfect lives.

THE CHURCH AND SOCIAL LIFE

The church also played a key role in defining social life and in structuring the passage of time through the observance of its liturgical seasons and holidays. The penitential seasons of Advent and Lent were particularly important to those who were interested in a diligent observance of the church's teachings. In these seasons the devout abstained from sexual

activity, from the eating of meat and all its byproducts, while they intensified their prayers and attendance at Mass. For society at large, feasting was more cherished than fasting, and the often raucous celebrations of Carnival that preceded Lent were vital releases that prepared the way for the rigors that followed. Many religious holidays were commemorated each year, and they were commonly celebrated with religious processions, dances, and feasts. These celebrations were usually crowded into the late spring and summer months when the weather was more favorable for outdoor activity. The Feast of the Ascension and Pentecost (also called Whitsunday in England), the commemoration of the founding of the Christian Church, occurred in May or June, and were followed by the Feast of Corpus Christi, a celebration of the Eucharist and of Christian community as “the Body of Christ.” Huge bonfires lit on the Feast of St. John the Baptist in late June often became the scenes of revelry, dancing, and brawling, while the commemoration of the Assumption of Mary in mid-August rounded out the cycle of major summer religious observances before the harvests of the early fall. During the summer months many parishes and confraternities also made processions to local shrines, and in Europe’s villages, the season was often marked by the observance of the kermis or fête, an anniversary celebration of the local church’s consecration. Lay leaders in the parish staged these celebrations, and thus the kermis became an opportunity for them to demonstrate their important status in the community, even as the celebration provided all villagers with another occasion for entertainment.

REFORMATION

In the years following his 1517 attack on indulgences, Martin Luther developed a new theology centered on the concept of justification by faith alone. Luther’s doctrinal insight denied that good works played any role in human salvation, and as a result he came to reject many traditional religious teachings. During the 1520s he reduced the number of sacraments from seven to two (baptism and the Eucharist) and denied that the Mass was a sacrifice beneficial to the living and the dead. The beliefs in purgatory, the effectiveness of pilgrimage, and the intercession of the saints were similarly rejected; clerical celibacy and the many privileges long accorded the clergy were similarly abolished. The de-

veloping Reformation came to emphasize humankind’s utter helplessness in the process of salvation and the life-changing experience of a faith that was given as a free gift of God’s grace. In Germany, this new Evangel came to be the standard by which traditional religious practices were judged. Luther and his evangelical supporters were uncompromising in opposing those practices that seemed to promote a belief in the saving benefit of good works. At the same time they also tried to eliminate rituals intended to control life’s harsh circumstances and to secure earthly rewards, denouncing the seeming effectiveness of many of these practices as the “work of the devil.” While uncompromising in their attitude toward many longstanding customs, Luther and his followers permitted many traditional practices provided they were adapted to a church centered on the Gospel. Other reformers who rose to prominence around the same time did not share this tolerant attitude. At Zurich in Switzerland, Huldrych Zwingli promoted reforms that attempted to clear away more than a thousand years of religious rituals and to replace them with a dramatically simplified religion subjected to biblical teaching and the example of the ancient church. While he relied on governmental authority at Zurich to accomplish his reforms in an orderly fashion, radical reformers elsewhere nourished demands for social as well as religious change. Their demands erupted in the great Peasants’ War of 1524–1525, and in its wake, both religious reformers and state officials moved to institutionalize the Reformation and to adopt educational schemes to indoctrinate the young in the new teachings.

CATECHISM

The educational programs fostered by the Reformation were also inspired by a series of inspection tours of local religious life that were known as visitations. On their journeys through the German countryside, state and religious officials discovered a remarkably low level of knowledge about Christian doctrine among the people. State and church leaders came to concentrate their efforts on catechizing the young, a plan to which Luther himself contributed by the publication of his famous German catechism in 1529. In the coming decades his statement of key Christian teachings and evangelical doctrines was adopted in Lutheran Germany in many primary educational schemes, even as his practice of catechism

was soon to be imitated by all kinds of Christians, both Protestant and Catholic, anxious to foster a higher level of religious knowledge. Catechisms were usually taught to children in weekly sessions conducted by village priests and ministers. Their appearance was important because in the heated world of Reformation and Counter-Reformation debate, printed catechisms and other confessions of faith were seen as important ways to inoculate the laity against competing religious positions. But the long-term effectiveness of these campaigns remains highly debatable. Filled with dry formulas, the catechisms were often mastered merely through rote memorization. After a century of intensive efforts to educate the young, both Protestant and Catholic officials continued to discover remarkably low religious knowledge in the countryside. Yet at a more fundamental level the rise of catechisms and confessions points to a development that was to intensify in the coming centuries. Increasingly, church and state officials judged a person's mastery of doctrinal formulas as an indication of their piety and devotion. The notion that religion was an ideology that might be defined intellectually thus came to compete against the rich world of devotional and protective practices that had largely defined piety for most Europeans in 1500.

MORAL REFORM

Educational schemes were the first prong of Protestant and Catholic attempts to reform piety and were soon to be followed by a broad campaign to elevate moral behavior. In traditional religious life, festive and pious elements had long flourished side by side, with dancing, drinking, and revelry occurring along with the Mass and processions at the commemoration of major feasts and holidays. The religious life of Europe had long oscillated, moreover, between periods of self-denial and raucous celebration, with the festive releases of Carnival preceding the ascetic fervor of Lent. Now both Catholic and Protestant moralists came to promote a new serious moral tone they hoped might pervade the entire year, not just the penitential seasons long promoted by the church. The efforts to raise moral standards were most pronounced in those societies that adopted Reformed Christianity, the pattern of Reformation teachings that had first begun to emerge in the work of figures like Huldrych Zwingli, and which later came to be dominated by John Calvin's influence.

But in Catholic, Lutheran, and Anglican societies the campaign to raise moral standards was present as well, intensifying in particular during the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. At this time Protestant and Catholic Reformers set themselves with greater determination to the task of ridding the countryside of rites they judged magical and superstitious, even as they tried to enforce more uncompromising moral standards. In Calvinist, Lutheran, and Anglican societies prayer, frequent church attendance, Bible reading, and family devotions were imposed as replacements for traditional rituals, benedictions, and sacramentals. Among Catholics, attendance at Mass and frequent reception of the sacraments of penance and the Eucharist were intended to forge a similar determination to achieve moral perfection. The new puritanism of the age inspired many attempts to outlaw dancing, blasphemous language, and prostitution as well as all forms of sex outside of marriage. This moral order was best achieved on a small scale, that is, in a medium-size city like Calvin's Geneva, where religious and civic officials joined forces to scrutinize the populace's activities quite closely. Yet as territorial princes and their state and church officials adopted the heightened moral tone of the age, they tried to foster a similar observant climate in the countryside, often to the chagrin and outright resistance of rural people. The ideals of religious devotion these early modern moralists most often favored were a sober, prayerful attitude; a diligent observance of Christianity's moral teachings; and frequent worship and participation in the life of the parish. This emphasis on parochial life flourished in all the major religions that developed as a result of the sixteenth-century Reformations, and it spelled key changes for piety since it fixed people's attentions ever more intently on the local institutions of the church, rather than on the broad range of communal rites and personal rituals that had played such a large role at the dawn of the sixteenth century.

CULTURAL SYMBOLS

The processes unleashed by the Protestant and Catholic Reformations also heightened the importance that certain religious practices played in the creation of Catholic and Protestant cultural identities. The intense biblicism of Calvinism, for example, led outsiders to identify the religion's followers as a "people of the book" who favored restraint in

church decoration and an unadorned style of worship. By contrast, Lutherans and Anglicans retained much of the substance of the medieval Mass, while translating that service into the native tongue. In both these traditions a rich musical life was just one of the many new cultural developments that came to play a key role in sustaining the popular appeal of these religions and in creating their early modern identity. The singing of chorales and other musical innovations in Lutheranism afforded the laity a rich avenue of participation in the worship of the church, as did the service music and anthems of Anglicanism. For Catholics, many traditional rituals of the medieval church lived on, even as they came to be subjected to subtle modulations. The popularity of pilgrimage, the cult of the saints, and the intensely visual character of late medieval religion survived into the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries but were now subjected to the more vigorous disciplines of parish life, even as they were wedded to a heightened emphasis on penance and moral perfection. Devotion to the Eucharist and the Virgin Mary similarly intensified, even as new images of the Virgin like the Madonna of Victories came to express her increasingly important role as a triumphant standard bearer for Roman Catholicism. In these and numerous other ways the institutional changes in early modern religious life left their mark on European piety down to the present day. At the same time these forces proved insufficient to obliterate the rich, varied substratum of popular beliefs and rituals that had long played a vital role as a force for negotiating the problems of daily existence.

See also Calvin, John; Calvinism; Carnival; Catholic Spirituality and Mysticism; Church of England; Luther, Martin; Lutheranism; Magic; Pietism; Puritanism; Reformation, Catholic; Reformation, Protestant; Reformations in Eastern Europe: Protestant, Catholic, and Orthodox; Theology; Zwingli, Huldrych.

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RELIGIOUS SOCIETIES. *See* Confraternities; Jesuits.

REMBRANDT VAN RIJN (1606–1669), Dutch artist. Known for his portraits, history paintings, and graphic works that display an affecting empathy for his subjects, Rembrandt Harmensz van Rijn was born on 15 July 1606 in the university town of Leiden. The ninth child of a baker's daughter and the well-to-do owner of a malt mill, "De Rijn," the young Rembrandt must have attended the local Latin school because on 20 May 1620, at the age of 14, he enrolled at Leiden University, where he remained for only a short time. Rembrandt may have started his artistic studies with a Leiden painter unknown to us today. Between 1619 and 1622 he began a three-year apprenticeship with Jacob Isaacs van Swanenburgh (1571–1638) whose painted scenes of hell left no trace in the work of his famous pupil. In 1623 or 1624 Rembrandt moved to Amsterdam to study with Pieter Lastman (1583–1633), the city's leading history painter. After about six months Rembrandt left Lastman's studio and, rather than travel and study in Italy (as had van Swanenburgh, Lastman, and many of his fellow artists), he returned to Leiden as a master and prob-

ably moved into the studio of another Lastman pupil, Jan Lievens (1607–1674). Here Rembrandt began examining his face and emotional expression in painted and etched self-portraits and produced a series of small-scale history paintings in whose choice of subject matter and composition one can see both the influence of Lastman and an artistic dialogue with Lievens.

REMBRANDT'S EMERGING STYLE

Rembrandt's earliest known dated painting, *The Stoning of St. Stephen* (1625; Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyon), recalls the horizontal format and dramatic gestures of Lastman's work. It also shows evidence of his own emerging artistic qualities, including a greater focus on the central subject and a variety of emotional responses to an event. In his early twenties Rembrandt came to the attention of Constantijn Huygens, the influential secretary to Frederik Hendrik, prince of Orange. Huygens praised the dramatic emotional tenor of his *Repentant Judas Returning the Thirty Pieces of Silver* (1629; private collection, England). Over the course of the following decade he received through Huygens a number of commissions from Prince Frederick Hendrick, including a portrait of the prince's wife and a series of Christ's Passion.

EARLY YEARS IN AMSTERDAM

By about 1631 Rembrandt had begun receiving portrait commissions from prominent Amsterdam citizens, and in 1632 he moved to the thriving metropolis. As exemplified in the single-figured *Nicholas Ruts* (1631; Frick Collection, New York) and the *Anatomy Lesson of Dr. Nicolaes Tulp* (1632; Mauritshuis, The Hague), these works transformed the portrait tradition by displaying figures caught in actions that imply an inner life of thought and feeling. Rembrandt's history paintings from this period similarly show motion and psychological drama, from his lyrical *Danaë* welcoming Jupiter as a shower of golden light (c. 1636 and early 1640s; The Hermitage, St. Petersburg) to the high theatricality of *The Blinding of Samson* (1636; Städtisches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt) that depicts the gruesome moment a dagger is plunged into Samson's eye.

During his first years in Amsterdam, Rembrandt, lodged with the art dealer Hendrick Uylenburgh, who may have brokered some of the artist's early portrait commissions. In 1634 Rem-

brandt both joined the Amsterdam Guild of St. Luke and married Uylenburgh's niece Saskia, the daughter of a wealthy burgomaster of Leeuwarden. From early in his career, Rembrandt self-consciously fabricated an artistic persona. Throughout his life he produced an unprecedented number of drawn, etched, and painted self-portraits (of which about 80 survive), and even occasionally inserted his own face into his history paintings. Beginning in 1633, in contrast to most of his contemporaries, he signed his works with his given name, emulating such Italian predecessors as Raphael, Titian, and Leonardo. By 1639 Rembrandt could afford to purchase an expensive house, complete with studio.

Rembrandt's *Self-Portrait* of 1640 (London, National Gallery) depicts a self-confident artist at the height of his powers. Its pose and composition recall two Italian Renaissance portraits known to Rembrandt: Titian's so-called *Portrait of a Man*, at the time believed to represent the poet Ariosto (c. 1512; National Gallery, London), and Raphael's portrait of the courtier and author Baldassare Castiglione (c. 1514–1515; Musée du Louvre, Paris). In doing so, Rembrandt created a "paragone," a classic rivalry, between himself and his Renaissance forebears, two painters and two poets. In his most famous work, *The Militia Company of Captain Frans Banning Cocq*, better known today as *The Night Watch* (1642; Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam), Captain Banning Cocq strides beside his smartly dressed lieutenant and, gesturing with a sweep of his left hand, gives the order for his men to march out behind him. With its implied narrative, lively movement, and varied psychological response to the occasion, the conceit was unprecedented in Dutch group portraiture.

SETBACKS AND LATER SUCCESSES

Also in 1642, Rembrandt's beloved wife Saskia died. He took into his bed his son's nurse, Geertge Dircks, and subsequently Hendrickje Stoffels, who, pregnant, in 1654 was called before the Reformed Church council for "having committed whoredom" with the artist. About this time Rembrandt began to suffer economic setbacks, in part due to his own poor financial decisions and to the general economic slowdown that accompanied the Anglo-Dutch war of 1652–1654. On 14 July 1656, facing bankruptcy, the artist applied for a *cessio bonorum*,



Rembrandt van Rijn. *Bathsheba with King David's Letter*. ©GIRAUDON/ART RESOURCE, N.Y.

surrendering the control of his large house, its contents, and his possessions to the Chamber of Insolvent Estates. These stresses may be responsible, in part, for the intensely meditative turn of his works. His *Bathsheba with King David's Letter* (1654; Musée du Louvre, Paris) depicts the young woman in deep reflection, while his great *Portrait of Jan Six* shows the regent lost in thought as he pulls on a glove (1654; Foudation Six, Amsterdam).

Throughout his life, Rembrandt experimented with print media, from early studies of his face dating from the late 1620s through charming etchings of family life, landscapes, genre images, and biblical scenes—many displaying a beguiling intimacy, freshness, and spontaneity. He tried various effects of ink, pulled impressions on different kinds of paper, and avidly reworked his conceptions: Rem-

brandt developed his masterful drypoint *Ecce Homo* (also called *Christ Presented to the People*, 1655) through eight different states. The title later given to an image depicting several episodes from chapter 19 of the Gospel of Matthew, *The Hundred Guilder Print* (c. 1642–1649), attests to the value collectors attached to the master's prints.

His magnificent *Self-Portrait* of 1658 (Frick Collection, New York) presents the master as confident of his artistic powers. Gold light bathes a garment set off by a red sash. A fur-trimmed cloak drapes his shoulders, and he holds his painter's mahlstick as if it were a king's scepter. However, not all of the commissions he received during the last decade of his life were trouble-free. His *Oath of the Batavians to Claudius Civilis*, commissioned for the Amsterdam Town Hall, was removed after only a

few months (c. 1661–1662; Nationalmuseum, Stockholm). The taste of many Dutch patrons and art theorists had turned toward classicistic painting, while Rembrandt's work moved in another direction and featured freely worked surfaces, glowing colors, and profoundly contemplative subjects. Nonetheless, the fact that writers occasionally singled out the master for derision confirms the hold he and his work had on the century's imagination. Rembrandt continued to receive important commissions, including the *Syndics of the Drapers' Guild* of 1662 (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam), while his late history paintings, such as *The Return of the Prodigal Son* (c. 1666–1668; The Hermitage, St. Petersburg) are among the most personal and moving images produced in his time.

See also **Art: The Conception and Status of the Artist; Netherlands, Art in the; Painting; Prints and Popular Imagery.**

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RENAISSANCE. The Renaissance is one of the most interesting and disputed periods of European history. Many scholars see it as a unique time with characteristics all its own. A second group views the Renaissance as the first two to three centuries of a larger era in European history usually called early modern Europe, which began in the late fifteenth century and ended on the eve of the French Revolution (1789) or with the close of the Napoleonic era (1815). Some social historians reject the concept of the Renaissance altogether. Historians also argue over how much the Renaissance differed from the Middle Ages and whether it was the beginning of the modern world, however defined.

The approach here is that the Renaissance began in Italy about 1350 and in the rest of Europe after 1450 and that it lasted until about 1620. It was a historical era with distinctive themes in learning, politics, literature, art, religion, social life, and music. The changes from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance were significant, but not as great as historians once thought. Renaissance developments influenced subsequent centuries, but not so much that the Renaissance as a whole can be called “modern.”

THE RENAISSANCE VIEW OF THE RENAISSANCE

The term “Renaissance” comes from the Renaissance. Several Italian intellectuals of the late fourteenth and the early fifteenth centuries used the term *rinascita* (‘rebirth or renaissance’) to describe their own age as one in which learning, literature, and the arts were reborn after a long, dark Middle Ages. They saw the ancient world of Rome and Greece, whose literature, learning, and politics they admired, as an age of high achievement. But in their view, hundreds of years of cultural darkness followed because much of the learning and literature of the ancient world had been lost. Indeed, Italian humanists invented the concept of the “Middle Ages” to describe the years between about 400 and 1400. Scholastic philosophy, which the Italian humanists rejected, and a different style of Latin writing, which the humanists viewed as uncouth and barbarous, prevailed in the Middle Ages. But Italian humanists believed that a new age was dawning. In the view of the humanists, the painter Giotto (d. 1337) and the vernacular writer and early humanist Francesco Petrarch (1304–1374) led the rebirth or Renaissance. Most Italian intellectuals from the mid-fifteenth century on held these views.

Northern Europeans of the sixteenth century also reached the conclusion that a new age had dawned. They accepted the historical periodization of ancient, medieval, and Renaissance and added a religious dimension. Desiderius Erasmus (c. 1466–1536), the great Dutch humanist, and his followers looked back to two ancient sources for inspiration: the secular learning of ancient Greece and Rome, and Christianity of the first four centuries. The former offered models of literature, culture, and good morality, while the New Testament and the church fathers, such as Sts. Augustine (354–430) and Je-

rome (c. 347–419/420), combined pristine Christianity with ancient eloquence. But then barbarous medieval culture replaced ancient eloquence, and, in their view, the theological confusion of medieval Scholasticism obscured the message of the New Testament. Erasmus and his followers dedicated themselves to restoring good literature, meaning classical Greek and Latin, and good religion, meaning Christianity purged of Scholastic irrelevance and clerical abuses. They believed that Christians could best live moral lives and attain salvation in the next life by following both Cicero and the New Testament. They believed that there were no real differences between the moral precepts found in the pagans of ancient Greece and Rome and the Bible.

CHRONOLOGY

A cluster of dates marks the beginning of the Renaissance era. The majority of scholars view the early humanist and vernacular writer Petrarch as the first important figure. He strongly criticized medieval habits of thought as inadequate and elevated ancient ideals and literature as models to emulate. By the period 1400 to 1450 numerous Italian intellectuals agreed with Petrarch's criticism of the Middle Ages and support for a classical revival. The result was the intellectual movement called humanism, which came to dominate Italian Latin schooling, scholarship, ethical ideas, and public discourse and spread to the rest of Europe in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Both contemporaries and modern historians also see the Great Plague of 1348 to 1350, with its huge demographic losses (30 to 50 percent in affected areas) and psychological impact as another dividing point between Middle Ages and Renaissance. Next, a series of major political changes between 1450 and 1500 marked a new political era that was uniquely Renaissance. Spain, France, and England emerged as powerful territorial monarchies in the last quarter of the fifteenth century. Their quarrels with each other and interventions in the affairs of smaller states through the next 150 years dominated European politics. Finally, the invention of movable type in the 1450s by Johannes Gutenberg (c. 1398–1468) created a break with the medieval past in the production and dissemination of books that was so great that it is difficult to measure. By the end of the year 1470, some nineteen towns had printing presses; by 1500 some 255 towns had presses, and the spread of printing was far

greater in the sixteenth century. An efficient system of distribution and marketing spread printed books to every corner of Europe. The greater availability of books had an impact on practically every area of life, especially intellectual and religious life, so immense as to be beyond measurement.

HUMANISM

Humanism was the defining intellectual movement of the Renaissance. It was based on the belief that the literary, scientific, and philosophical works of ancient Greece and Rome provided the best guides for learning and living. And humanists believed that the New Testament and early Christian authors offered the best spiritual advice.

The nineteenth century invented the term “humanism.” But humanism is based on three Renaissance terms. *Studia humanitatis* meant humanistic studies, which were grammar, rhetoric, poetry, history, and moral philosophy based on study of the standard ancient authors of Rome and, to a lesser extent, Greece. This is the famous definition presented in 1945 by the eminent historian Paul Oscar Kristeller (1905–1999) and now widely accepted. The Renaissance also used and praised *humanitas*, an ancient Latin term meaning the good qualities that make men and women human. And the Renaissance invented a new term, *humanista*. It first appeared in Italian in a University of Pisa document of 1490. By the end of the sixteenth century it had spread to several European vernacular languages and was occasionally used in Latin. A *humanista* was a student, teacher, or scholar of the humanities.

Humanism became institutionalized in society as a new form of education. Around 1400 a number of Italian pedagogical leaders decided that the traditional medieval curriculum for Latin schools, consisting of studying medieval authors and a few ancient poetic classics, or portions of them, and learning to write formal letters in Latin according to nonclassical rules, was inadequate. They proposed a new curriculum and approach. Pier Paolo Vergerio (c. 1368–1444) wrote the first and most important humanist pedagogical treatise, called *De Ingeniis Moribus et Liberalibus Studiis Adulescentiae* (On noble customs and liberal studies of adolescents) in 1402 or 1403. He argued that the best way to foster good character, learning, and an eloquent Latin style in speech and writing was to teach humanistic

studies. He gave pride of place to history, moral philosophy, and eloquence, a novel emphasis. Boys trained in humanistic studies would be ready to become honorable leaders in society as adults. Vergerio's treatise had enormous resonance: More than one hundred manuscripts can be found in Italian libraries, and Italian presses produced more than thirty incunabular (printed before 1501) editions. It enjoyed similar diffusion in northern Europe.

Humanism was more than skill in Latin. It tried to teach the principles of living a moral, responsible, and successful life on this earth. Parents came to believe that a humanistic education would best prepare their sons, and a few daughters, for leadership positions, such as head of a family, member of a city council, judge, administrator, or teacher. Humanistic studies provided the fundamental education. Training in the specialized disciplines of law, medicine, philosophy, or theology came later for those needing them. By about 1550 the English clergyman, the French lawyer, the German knight, the Italian merchant, and the Spanish courtier shared a common intellectual heritage. They could communicate across national frontiers and despite linguistic differences. They shared a common fund of examples, principles, and knowledge derived from the classics. Humanism brought intellectual unity to Europe.

Humanism also included a sharply critical attitude toward received values, individuals, and institutions, especially those that did not live up to their own principles. The humanists' study of ancient Rome and Greece gave them the chronological perspective and intellectual tools to analyze, criticize, and change their own world. Humanists especially questioned the institutions and values inherited from the Middle Ages. They found fault with medieval art, government, philosophy, and approaches to religion. Once the humanist habit of critical appraisal developed, many turned sharp eyes on their own times. And eventually they turned their critical gaze on the learning of the ancient world and rejected parts of it.

SCIENTIFIC AND PHILOSOPHICAL LEARNING

Renaissance scholars inherited from the Middle Ages intellectual views and approaches in philoso-

phy, medicine, and science, and challenged almost all of them. In astronomy they inherited a conception of the universe originating in Ptolemy (c. 100 C.E.–c. 170 C.E.) of the ancient world that the sun revolved around the Earth. Nicolaus Copernicus (1473–1543) in his *De Revolutionibus Orbium Caelestium* (1543; On the revolutions of the heavenly orbs) argued the reverse, that the Earth and other planets revolved around the sun. Despite bitter opposition from both Catholic and Protestant religious authorities, his views prevailed with most astronomers by the early seventeenth century. Galileo Galilei (1564–1642) absorbed Aristotelian science and then rejected it in favor of a mathematically based analysis of physical reality, the modern science of mechanics. And along the way he offered evidence that Copernicus's daring view was not just mathematical hypothesis but physical reality. Another mathematical achievement affecting Europe and the rest of the world in future centuries was calendar reform. Renaissance Europe inherited the Julian calendar of ancient Rome, which was ten days in arrears by the sixteenth century. Pope Gregory XIII (reigned 1572–1585) appointed a team of scholars to prepare a new calendar and in 1582 promulgated the Gregorian calendar still used today.

Renaissance medical scholars inherited an understanding of the human body and an approach to healing based on the ancient Greek physician Galen (c. 129–c. 199 C.E.), Aristotle (384–322 B.C.E.), and medieval Arab medical scholars. But a group of medical scholars called “medical humanists” by modern scholars challenged and altered received medical knowledge. Led by Niccolò Leonico (1428–1524), who taught at the universities of Padua and Ferrara, they applied humanistic philological techniques and ideological criticism to both medieval and ancient medical texts, found them wanting, and proceeded to investigate the human body anew. As a result, Andreas Vesalius (1514–1564) through his anatomical studies, William Harvey (1578–1657) through his study of the circulation of the blood, and other scholars revolutionized medical research and instruction. Several Renaissance medical scholars gave their names to parts of the body; for example, the eustachian tube between the ear and the nose is named for Bartolomeo Eustachi (1500/10–1574), and the fallopian or uter-

ine tubes are named for Gabriele Falloppia (1523–1562).

Most of the innovative research in science, medicine, philosophy, and law came from universities. The Renaissance saw a great expansion in the number and quality of universities. It inherited twenty-nine functioning universities from the Middle Ages in 1400, then created forty-six new ones by 1601, losing only two by closure in between. This left Europe with sixty-three universities, more than double the medieval number. Demand for new universities came from several directions. Most important, increasing numbers of men wanted to learn. Society also needed more trained professionals. Monarchs, princes, and cities required civil servants, preferably with law degrees. A medical degree enabled the recipient to become a private physician, a court physician, or one employed by the town. The Protestant and Catholic Reformations stimulated the demand for theology degrees.

Universities provided stipends and other support for scholars. Since the universal language of learning was Latin and the printing press could publish new information, scientific communication was rapid and overcame the religious division of sixteenth-century Europe. University students to a lesser extent also crossed religious frontiers. The adoption of Roman law in central Europe created a demand for lawyers and judges trained in this field, which meant that both Catholic and Protestant Germans continued to study in Italian universities, the centers for the study of Roman law.

RENAISSANCE POLITICS

Renaissance states had three basic forms of government: princedoms, monarchies, and oligarchies, which the Renaissance called republics.

Princedoms. A prince was an individual, whether called duke, count, marquis, or just signore (lord), who ruled a state, usually with the support of his family. The term “prince” meant the authority to make decisions concerning all inhabitants without check by representative body, constitution, or court. But the source of the prince’s power and the nature of his rule varied greatly. He often had displaced another ruler or city council by force, war, assassination, bribery, diplomacy, purchase, marriage, or occasionally because the city invited him in

to quell factionalism. Most often a prince came to power through an adroit combination of several of these. Once in control, he promulgated laws of succession to give himself a cloak of legitimacy so that his son or another family member might succeed him. Indeed, some inhabitants of the state would see him as legitimate and be content to be ruled by him.

Princely power was seldom absolute. Most princes depended on some accommodation with powerful forces within the state, typically the nobility or the merchant community. Many small princedoms depended on the good will of more powerful states beyond their borders to survive, and this limited options in foreign policy. And the prince’s rule was always uneasy, which was one reason he relied on hired mercenary troops in war, instead of a militia created from his subjects. However achieved, what mattered most was that the prince possessed effective power to promulgate and enforce laws, to collect taxes, to defeat foreign invaders, and to quell rebellion. If the prince commanded the affection and loyalty of his subjects, this made his task easier. Italy and central Europe had an abundance of princedoms, including the states of Ferrara, Mantua, Milan, Parma, Piedmont-Savoy, and Urbino in northern Italy, and Bavaria, Brandenburg, Burgundy, Brunswick-Lüneberg, Luxembourg, the Palatinate, Albertine and Ernestine Saxony, and Württemberg in central Europe.

Monarchies. A monarchy was a princedom sanctioned by a much longer tradition, stronger institutions, and greater claims of legitimacy for its rulers. The majority of monarchies (for example, England, France, Portugal, Scotland, and Spain) were hereditary, while Poland, Hungary, Bohemia, and the Holy Roman Empire were elective. Monarchies typically were larger than princedoms and ruled subjects speaking multiple languages and dialects. Monarchies usually had developed laws and rules that determined the succession in advance. Only when the succession was broken through the lack of a legitimate heir, a bitter dispute within the ruling family, or overthrow by a foreign power was a monarch displaced by another.

Monarchies grew in power and size in the Renaissance. The creation of the dual monarchy of Ferdinand of Aragón and Isabella of Castile be-

tween 1474 and 1479 created a powerful Spain that ruled the entire Spanish peninsula except Portugal, and Portugal as well from 1580 to 1640. The Tudor monarchy of England (three kings and two queens from 1485 to 1603) made England, previously a small, strife-torn, and remote part of Europe, into a major force. After the conclusion of the Hundred Years' War with England (1337–1453), France under the Valois dynasty (ruled 1328 to 1589) became a powerful and rich state. Conflicts between territorial monarchies dominated international politics and war in the Renaissance.

Republics. The smallest and most unusual political unit was the city-state consisting of a major town or city and its surrounding territory of farms and villages. Oligarchies, usually drawn from the merchant elite of the town, ruled republics. Flanked by the professional classes, the merchant community first dominated the commerce of the city. Then in the Middle Ages they threw off the authority of prince, king, or emperor. In their place the merchants created a system of government through interlocking and balanced councils. Large deliberative assemblies, comprising of one hundred, two hundred, or more adult males, elected or chosen by lot, debated and created laws. Executive committees, often six, eight, or a dozen men elected for two to six months, put the laws into action. Short terms of office and rules against self-succession made it possible for several hundred or more adult males to participate in government in a few years. The system of balanced and diffused power ensured that no individual or family could control the city. It was a government of balanced power and mutual suspicion.

Borrowing terminology and legal principles from ancient Roman law and local tradition, the men who formed oligarchies called their governments “republican” and their states “republics.” They believed that their rule was based on the consent of the people who mattered. But they were still oligarchies, because only 5 to 20 percent of the adult males of the city could vote or hold office. Members of government almost always came from the leading merchants, manufacturers, bankers, and lawyers. Some republics permitted shopkeepers and master craftsmen to participate as well. But workers, the propertyless, clergymen, and other middle and low groups in society were excluded. Occasionally

the laws conceded to them extraordinary powers in times of emergency. Those living in the countryside and villages outside the city walls had neither a role in government nor the right to choose their rulers. Indeed, the city often exploited them financially and in other ways. Venice, Genoa, Lucca, Florence, Pisa, and Siena in Italy, and Augsburg, Nuremberg, Strasbourg, and the Swiss cantons were republics. Some city-state republics were small in comparison with monarchies and princedoms. But the Republic of Venice commanded an overseas empire of considerable size and commercial importance, while Florence's merchants and bankers played a large role in international trade, and the city participated forcefully in Italian politics.

Renaissance Europe presented a constantly shifting political scene. No government escaped external threats and very few avoided internal challenge. The numerous weak small states tempted powerful rulers and states. Despite their eloquent proclamations in defense of the liberty of states and citizens, republics were just as aggressive in conquering their weaker neighbors as were princedoms, while monarchies were always on the watch for another princedom, landed noble estate, or republic to absorb. It was the same within the state. Some powerful group or individual within the state would attempt through force or stealth to take control and change its nature. Many succeeded. The maneuvering for advantage, the shifting diplomatic alliances, plots, threats of war, and military actions made Renaissance politics extremely complex.

Two broad political developments prevailed. Princedoms grew in number and strength, and more powerful states, especially monarchies, absorbed smaller states. Republican city-states became princedoms, as a powerful individual or family within the city took control while maintaining a facade of republican institutions and councils. The gradual transformation of the Republic of Florence into a princedom ruled by members of the Medici family is the classic example. Meanwhile, princedoms fell into the hands of monarchies through military action or dynastic marriages. Three examples will suffice. France and the Habsburgs divided the Duchy of Burgundy between them when its duke, Charles the Bold, was killed in battle in 1477, leaving no male heir; Spain took control of the Kingdom of Naples by military force in 1504; and

Spain absorbed the Duchy of Milan as the result of an alliance when the Duke Francesco II Sforza died without an heir in 1535. Strong republics also grew at the expense of their neighbors. The Republic of Venice conquered almost all the independent towns and small princedoms in northeastern Italy in the first half of the fifteenth century in its successful drive to create a mainland state. Small states survived at the price of careful neutrality, which avoided giving offense to more powerful neighbors, or by aligning themselves with larger powers. Such alliances came at a price. The small state lacked an independent foreign policy and might itself become a victim if the larger state fell.

DIPLOMACY AND POLITICAL THOUGHT

The very complex and ever-shifting political reality stimulated the rapid development of diplomacy. The resident ambassador, that is, a permanent representative of one government to another, was a Renaissance innovation. He went to live in the capital city or court of another state where he conveyed messages between his government and the host government. Or to use the words that Sir Henry Wotton (1568–1639), the English ambassador to Venice, supposedly wrote in 1604, “a resident ambassador is a good man sent to tell lies abroad for his country’s good.” Perhaps more important than the messages, or lies, was the information that the resident ambassador and his staff gathered about the host country. Ambassadorial reports full of every kind of information are invaluable sources for modern scholars studying the Renaissance. The reports of papal nuncios and Venetian ambassadors are particularly useful.

The instability of forms of government, the many wars, and the fluidity of international politics stimulated an enormous amount of discussion about politics, including several masterpieces of political philosophy. Niccolò Machiavelli (1469–1527), having observed both, wrote about princedoms in his *Il principe* (*The Prince*, written in 1513), and on republics in *Discorsi sopra la prima deca di Tito Livio* (*Discourses on the first ten books of Titus Livy*, written 1514–1520). Numerous humanists wrote treatises advising a prince or king how he might be a good prince, work for the good of his people, and, as a result, see his state and himself prosper. Erasmus wrote the most famous one, *Insti-*

tutio Principis Christiani (1516; Education of a Christian prince). Jean Bodin (1530–1596) argued that state and society needed the stability that only a sovereign and absolute power can provide, and that this must be the monarchy, in his *Six livres de la république* (1576; Six Books on the commonwealth; in Latin, 1586).

VERNACULAR LITERATURE

Vernacular literatures flourished in the Renaissance even though humanists preferred Latin. In 1400 standard English, French, German, Portuguese, Spanish, and other vernaculars did not exist. People spoke and sometimes wrote a variety of regional dialects with haphazard spelling and multiple vocabularies. Nevertheless, thanks to the adoption of the vernacular by some governments, the printing press, and the creation of literary masterpieces, significant progress toward elegant and standard forms of modern vernaculars occurred.

German was typical. German-speaking lands inherited many varieties of German from the Middle Ages. In the fifteenth century some state chanceries began to use German instead of Latin. Hence, versions of German associated with the chanceries of more important states, including the East Middle Saxon dialect used in the chancery of the electorate of Saxony, became more influential. Next, printing encouraged writers and editors to standardize orthography and usage in order to reach a wider range of readers. Most important, Martin Luther (1483–1546) published a German translation of the Bible (New Testament in 1522; complete Bible in 1534), which may have had three hundred editions and over half a million printed copies by 1600, an enormous number at a time of limited literacy. And many began to imitate his style. Since he wrote in East Middle Saxon, this version of German eventually became standard German. Literary academies concerned about correct usage, vocabulary, and orthography rose in the seventeenth century to create dictionaries. A reasonably standardized German literary language had developed, though the uneducated continued to speak regional dialects.

Similar changes took place in other parts of Europe, with the aid of Renaissance authors and their creations. In Italy three Tuscan authors, Dante Alighieri (1265–1321)—medieval in thought but using Tuscan brilliantly—Petrarch, and Giovanni

Boccaccio (1313–1375) began the process. Literary arbiters, such as Pietro Bembo (1470–1547) insisted on a standard Italian based on the fourteenth-century Tuscan of Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio. Major sixteenth-century writers, including Ludovico Ariosto (1474–1533), Baldassare Castiglione (1478–1529), and Torquato Tasso (1544–1595), agreed. None of the three was Tuscan, but each tried to write, and sometimes rewrote, their masterpieces in a more Tuscan Italian. Then the *Accademia della Crusca* (founded in Florence in the 1580s) published a dictionary. Tuscan became modern Italian. William Shakespeare (1564–1616) and three English translations of the Bible, that of William Tyndale (printed 1526 and 1537), the Geneva Bible of 1560, and the King James Bible of 1611, had an enormous influence on English. The writers and dramatists of the Spanish Golden Age, particularly Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra (1547–1616), did the same for the Castilian version of Spanish.

ART

Art is undoubtedly the best-loved and -known part of the Renaissance. The Renaissance produced an extraordinary amount of art, and the role of the artist differed from that in the Middle Ages.

The Renaissance had a passion for art. Commissions came from kings, popes, princes, nobles, and lowborn mercenary captains. Leaders commissioned portraits of themselves, of scenes of their accomplishments, such as successful battles, and of illustrious ancestors. Cities wanted their council halls decorated with huge murals, frescoes, and tapestries depicting great civic moments. Monasteries commissioned artists to paint frescoes in cells and refectories that would inspire monks to greater devotion. And civic, dynastic, and religious leaders hired architects to erect buildings at enormous expense to beautify the city or to serve as semipublic residences for leaders. Such art was designed to celebrate and impress.

A remarkable feature of Renaissance art was the heightened interaction between patron and artist. Patrons such as Lorenzo de' Medici (1449–1492) of Florence and popes Julius II (reigned 1503–1513) and Leo X (reigned 1513–1521) were active and enlightened patrons. They proposed programs, or instructed humanists to do it for them, for the

artists to follow. At the same time, the results show that they did not stifle the artists' originality. Men and women of many social levels had an appetite for art. The wealthy merchant wanted a painting of Jesus, Mary, or saints, with small portraits of members of his family praying to them, for his home. A noble might provide funding to decorate a chapel in his parish church honoring the saint for whom he was named. Members of the middle classes and probably the working classes wanted small devotional paintings. To meet the demand, enterprising merchants organized the mass production of devotional images, specifying the image (typically Mary, Jesus crucified, or patron saint), design, color, and size. It is impossible to know how many small devotional paintings and illustrated prints were produced, because most have disappeared. Major art forms, such as paintings, sculptures, and buildings, have attracted the most attention, but works in the minor arts, including furniture, silver and gold objects, small metal works, table decorations, household objects, colorful ceramics, candlesticks, chalices, and priestly vestments were also produced in great abundance.

The new styles came from Italy, and Italy produced more art than any other part of Europe. Art objects of every sort were among the luxury goods that Italy produced and exported. It also exported artists, such as Leonardo da Vinci, who died at the French court.

The ancient world of Rome and Greece, as interpreted by the humanists, greatly influenced Renaissance art. Artists and humanists studied the surviving buildings and monuments, read ancient treatises available for the first time, and imbibed the humanist emphasis on man and his actions and perceptions, plus the habit of sharp criticism of medieval styles.

Stimulated by the ancients, Renaissance artists were the first in European history to write extensively about art and themselves. Leon Battista Alberti (1404–1472) wrote treatises on painting (1435) and on architecture (1452); Raphael wrote a letter to Pope Leo X (c. 1519) concerning art. Giorgio Vasari's (1511–1574) *Lives of the Artists* (first edition 1550, revised edition 1568) was a series of biographies of Renaissance artists accompanied by his many comments about artistic styles. It was the

first history of art. The silversmith Benvenuto Cellini (1500–1571) wrote about artistic practices and much more about himself, much of it probably fictitious, in his *Autobiography*, written between 1558 and 1566.

The social and intellectual position of the artist changed in the Renaissance. The artist began as a craftsman, occupying a relatively low social position and tied to his guild, someone who followed local traditions and produced paintings for local patrons. He became a self-conscious creator of original works of art with complex schemes, a person who conversed with humanists and negotiated with kings and popes. Successful artists enjoyed wealth and honors, such as the knighthood that Emperor Charles V conferred on Titian (Tiziano Vercelli, c. 1488–1576) in 1533.

SOCIETY

The Renaissance was a hierarchical age in which the social position of a child's parents largely determined his or her place in society. Yet it was a variegated society, with nobles, commoners, wealthy merchants, craftsmen, shopkeepers, workers, peasants, prelates, parish priests, monks in monasteries, nuns in convents, civil servants, men of the professional classes, and others. It was an age of conspicuous consumption and great imbalances of wealth. But Renaissance society also provided social services for the less fortunate. Ecclesiastical, lay, and civic charitable institutions provided for orphans, the sick, the hungry, and outcast groups, such as prostitutes and the syphilitic ill. Although social mobility was limited, a few humble individuals rose to the apex of society. Francesco Sforza (1401–1466), a mercenary soldier of uncertain origins, became duke of Milan in 1450 and founded his own dynasty. The shepherd boy Antonio Ghislieri (born 1504) became Pope Pius V (reigned 1566–1572).

UNITY AND DISINTEGRATION

Renaissance Europe had considerable cultural and intellectual unity, greater than it had in the centuries of the Middle Ages or would again until the European Economic Union of the late twentieth century. A common belief in humanism and humanistic education based on the classics created much of it. The preeminence of Italy also helped because Italians led the way in humanism, art, the techniques of

diplomacy, and even the humble business skill of double-entry bookkeeping.

The prolonged Habsburg-Valois conflict, often called the Italian Wars (1494–1559) because much of the fighting occurred in Italy, and, above all, the Protestant Reformation began to crack that unity. Moreover, many typical Renaissance impulses had spent their force by the early seventeenth century. The great revival of the learning of ancient Greece and Rome had been assimilated, and humanism was no longer the driving force behind philosophical and scientific innovation. Italy no longer provided artistic, cultural, and scientific leadership, except in music, as a group of Florentine musicians created lyric opera around 1600.

Europe began a new age on the eve of the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648). More powerful monarchies with different policies ushered in a different era of politics and war. Exuberant baroque art and architecture of the seventeenth century were not the same as the restrained, classicizing art of the previous two centuries. Galileo Galilei and René Descartes (1596–1650) discarded Renaissance Aristotelian science in favor of mathematics and mechanics. The universities of Europe were no longer essential for training Europe's elite and hosting innovative research. France would be the military, literary, and stylistic leader of the different Europe of the seventeenth century.

See also **Art; Bible: Translations and Editions; Cellini, Benvenuto; Copernicus, Nicolaus; Education; English Literature and Language; Erasmus, Desiderius; Galileo, Galilei; German Literature and Language; Humanists and Humanism; Italian Literature and Language; Leo X (pope); Medici Family; Monarchy; Political Philosophy; Printing and Publishing; Republicanism; Spanish Literature and Language; Universities.**

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RENTIERS. Rentiers—men and women who relied on government bonds and other securities for substantial parts of their incomes—became a significant social group in mid-sixteenth-century France, and they remained a presence in French society through the twentieth century. Comparable groups emerged everywhere in early modern Europe, but nowhere else did they have so profound an effect on their societies' economic values and political evolution. As a result, some historians have argued that the rentiers' taste for the low but safe returns offered by government bonds permanently diminished French economic dynamism. Although these claims seem overstated, a high percentage of early modern French capital remained tied up in long-term loans, and many French bourgeois preferred them to the perils of entrepreneurship.

The rentiers' emergence resulted from basic governmental needs. All sixteenth-century states had to raise more money than their predecessors, and with its grandiose international ambitions, France had especially pressing fiscal problems. Government borrowing offered a way to meet some of these, but kings were unattractive debtors. They had the power to manipulate currency values, thus unilaterally diminishing what they owed lenders, and royal bankruptcies were frequent; in any case lending at interest was condemned by the Catholic Church. In 1522 the government of Francis I (ruled 1515–1547) devised bonds guaranteed by the Paris city government (*rentes sur l'hôtel de ville de Paris*) as a way to meet all these objections. Against church prohibitions of usury, the *rentes* were defined not as a loan but as a sale of property. In exchange for a cash payment from the buyer-lender, the king was to make fixed yearly payments at an interest rate set out in the initial contract. So long as the interest was paid, reimbursement was entirely at the borrower's discretion, making the transaction a sale of income not unlike the fixed feudal rents found throughout

France. Against lenders' doubts about the king's reliability, the transaction used the city's good credit, and high interest rates—8.25 percent in Paris, 10 percent in some of the provinces—allayed fears of currency manipulation.

The *rentes* proved a popular device for many purposes beyond state finance. Often, through the mediation of local notaries, private borrowers made similar arrangements to meet cash flow problems, and families used them to ease transactions among heirs. Kings remained unreliable, occasionally defaulting on obligations or arbitrarily lowering interest rates on existing loans. But both public and private *rentes* were attractive enough that members of the middle class continued buying them, and the government could slowly lower interest rates; by 1665 *rentes* could find buyers at 5 percent, and most bourgeois portfolios included an array of them. The early eighteenth century brought shocks to this credit system. John Law's (1671–1729) introduction of paper money in 1717–1718 provoked a burst of inflation and allowed debtors to pay off loans with depreciated currency, and more flexible instruments of credit emerged. As a result, the classic *rente* tended to disappear. But the mind-set that it had engendered—a concern for safety and a willingness to tie up funds for long periods—continued to characterize the French bourgeoisie throughout the nineteenth century.

See also **Interest; Law's System.**

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JONATHAN DEWALD

REPRESENTATIVE INSTITUTIONS. Europe in the early modern period can be thought of as a patchwork of representative institutions—local, regional, and national—from parish vestries, juries, and village or town councils to parliaments, Cortes, *Stände*, *sejm*, diets, and *zemskey sobors*. The only part of the Continent where representative institutions were not important was the

Ottoman-ruled Balkans. This discussion is limited to the most politically significant bodies: Estates and city or town governments.

THE BUSINESS OF ESTATES

The regional and national assemblies collectively labeled Estates differed enormously. They included the Estates of tiny Gex, a poor territory on the French-Swiss border, and the Imperial Diet of the Holy Roman Empire, where electors and princes sat alongside the representatives of some sixty-six imperial cities. A few assemblies met almost annually, like the Polish *sejm*; the majority met intermittently, and might almost be called events rather than institutions. Most Estates had three houses—for clergy, nobles, and townsmen—but Sweden and the kingdom of Aragón had four; England, Ireland, Poland, and Hungary had only two; and Scotland's Parliament was unicameral. In Poland and Hungary, the upper house was reserved for magnates, the lower for gentry, while in England, whose legislature originated as a feudal court, the bishops (and some abbots, before the Reformation) were integrated into a House of Lords that met alongside a Commons dominated by lesser landowners. In the Estates of Holland, by contrast, the nobility were granted only one seat. Some Estates that are hardly remembered today—those of Sicily, Upper Austria, and East Prussia—were full of energy and initiative in the early modern period. By the eighteenth century, many Estates were moribund, but, with the exception of those of Scotland and the crown of Aragón, no national Estates were abolished before 1789.

The number and variety of the Estates of early modern Europe indicate that they did not have a common origin. They were established between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries because of particular circumstances such as fiscal or constitutional emergencies, and they served specific purposes. While they were often created at the command of a ruler, and could be seen as an extension of his or her council, the members of Estates in many parts of Europe did not hesitate to assert an authority that arose from society as a whole. So whom did they represent, and how?

Today, we see political representation as flowing from direct elections. In early modern Europe, however, representation was an amorphous state of

affairs in which an individual claimed to speak for others by virtue of some process of legitimation. None of the Estates was fully elective, and none was chosen by more than a small fraction of the population for which they spoke. The powerful provincial Estates of the United Provinces of the Netherlands were elected by 2,000 individuals. About 300,000 men voted for the British Parliament in 1714, but this was only 5.5 percent of the population. Everywhere in Europe, the vast majority of men excluded from voting were peasants or rural laborers. They had formal representation in a few places: the Alpine regions of Austria, Germany, and Switzerland (although Swiss townsmen began to chip away at peasant rights after 1653); in the Dutch province of West Friesland; in Denmark until 1627; in Sweden if they were living on royal estates; and in Russia's *zemsky sobor* if they paid taxes. Some constituencies of the French Estates-General allowed peasants to participate in 1560–1561, many more in 1789. A national system of universal male suffrage was not contemplated until the eighteenth century. As for female suffrage, it remained theoretically unthinkable.

Clearly, the Estates of Europe did not directly reflect the political will of the majority of the people, but were chosen by various types of privileged groups. What, then, set them apart from other nonelected assemblies or councils? It was not their purpose or their makeup. Rather, it was their legal, historical, or traditional claim to represent the nation or the people. Separately, they were the privileged few; collectively, they stood for the homeland or *patria*, an imagined community that might be a kingdom, a nation, or a province. Ideally, they spoke not for themselves but for the good of the whole.

The business of Estates was fiscal, legislative, and administrative. Many of them also retained judicial functions, such as receiving petitions, creating special courts, and giving pardons. The fiscal role of Estates, their ability to grant or refuse taxes, has rightly been considered crucial to their survival. It kept the Estates strong in Languedoc, where representatives not only voted on royal revenues, but also collected them; it weakened the Imperial Diet, which had too little authority to deliver on any promises of revenues it made to the emperor. Where fiscal control was lacking, as in Russia or the French

pays d'élection (provinces that had no Estates; instead, they had courts called Élections), it was not necessary to summon the Estates except in situations of political crisis.

The Estates with the greatest control over finances, however, were not necessarily the most likely to thrive. A strong monarchy would try to suppress them; a weak monarchy would be threatened by their power. The English Parliament, seen by many as the most successful of all Estates, was normally willing to compromise with the crown. After 1660, it granted an annual civil list to cover royal expenses. Parliament scrutinized accounts, but did not run the fiscal bureaucracy except during the brief Commonwealth period (1649–1660). The Castilian Cortes, on the other hand, made royal revenues conditional on mutual contracts, and itself administered the main excise tax, known as the *millones* because it was calculated in millions of ducats. The Cortes was too strong for a debilitated crown, which felt obliged to transfer the administration of the *millones* to city councils in 1658, and did not dare summon the Cortes of Castile again. By the late seventeenth century, in fact, many of the Estates of western and central Europe had been too successful for their own good in the sphere of fiscal control. Rulers had decided to cease consulting them and to live off revenues that did not require their approval. The Estates of Brandenburg, for example, became fiscally irrelevant after 1667 when the elector secured an excise tax with the support of the towns. To avoid begging favors from the tumultuous East Prussian Estates, the elector allowed the city of Königsberg to choose its own method of raising taxes.

The second important role of the Estates was legislative. Their approval for the promulgation of new laws was fixed in the privileges of the crown of Aragón, the 1505 *Nil in Novum* ('nothing new') constitution of Poland (which forbade the introduction of new laws without the approval of the *sejm* and senate), and the 1576 Union of Utrecht that created the United Provinces. In England, it became impossible, during the course of the seventeenth century, for the ruler to impose a law without consulting Parliament. James II tried this in 1687 with his Declaration of Indulgence (calling for religious toleration), and the results were disastrous. Legislation by the Estates was not fully established in Swe-

den until the reign of Queen Christina (1640–1654); it was then self-curtailed in 1680, revived in 1720, and revoked in 1772. Elsewhere, the Estates might be consulted on big changes—the Reformation and the Royal Law in Denmark, the Tridentine decrees (issued by the Council of Trent and central to the Counter-Reformation) in France, or the Russian legal reforms of 1648–1649—but new laws were not regularly submitted to them. The actions of the enlightened monarchs of eighteenth-century Europe were hardly ever approved by representative bodies. Joseph II (ruled 1765–1790), unlike James II (ruled 1685–1688), was not seriously challenged by the Estates of the Habsburg lands when he proclaimed his own Edict of Toleration in 1781. The emperor told the Estates of Brabant in 1789: “I do not need your consent to do good.”

The administrative role of Estates was significant in parts of France, Germany, and the Habsburg lands. There the Estates had their own salaried bureaucracies, which in the Austrian archduchies outweighed those of the ruler until the late eighteenth century. Throughout central Europe, local “dietines” (*sejmiki* in Poland, *landfridy* in Bohemia) were responsible for collecting taxes, maintaining roads and bridges, repairing fortifications, and even raising troops. In Bohemia after 1627, the dietines carried on these functions in the absence of the crown Estates. The Estates of Brittany actually increased their administrative duties in the eighteenth century. (Historians who argue for the decline of Estates should consider such activities more carefully.)

In general, the fiscal and legislative authority of European Estates peaked in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries as the result of dynastic changes, the Reformation, and the financial demands of monarchs. The huge costs of war and heightened religious tensions put enormous pressure on the Estates in the 1600s. Some failed to meet it and were no longer summoned; others rebelled, with mixed results. By the eighteenth century, they were either entrenched in power or viewed as useless.

Even the most abject of Estates, however, retained a ceremonial importance as the symbolic “point of contact” between ruler and people. The elaborate rituals that opened and closed their meetings served to emphasize the point. In addition,

their sessions usually entailed social events and conspicuous consumption that bound elites together and provided a healthy stimulus to the economies of towns in which they gathered.

ESTATES AND POLITICS

The Estates in many parts of early modern Europe played a vital part in governance. This was true in kingdoms where royal dominion was limited (where it was “political and regal,” to use the term coined by the English chief Justice Sir John Fortescue [c. 1394–1476]), but it also applied to purely “regal” kingdoms with no clear limits on royal power, like Castile or France. It was chiefly as a result of religious conflict that the Estates acquired a higher theoretical significance. The political writers known as “monarchomachs” claimed that the Estates exercised greater and more ancient authority than that of the king, and were usually ardent Calvinists; for example, François Hotman (*Francogallia*, 1573), Hubert Languet and Philip Duplessis-Mornay (*Vindiciae contra Tyrannos* [Revenge against tyrants], 1579) in France; Théodore de Bèze (*The Right of Magistrates*, 1573) in Geneva; and John Althusius (*Politics*, 1603) in Germany. They argued that rulers should be responsible to magistrates (Althusius called them “ephors,” using the term for the powerful ancient Spartan officials), and Hotman was explicit in identifying this sovereign body with the Estates-General of France. The aim of the monarchomachs was to question the authority of kings who were hostile to Calvinism; Hotman even changed his mind about the supremacy of Estates when a Protestant, Henry of Navarre (ruled 1589–1610), became heir to the French throne. Their opponents maintained that kings held sovereignty either by patriarchal right (Jean Bodin [1530–1596]) or by an irrevocable grant from the people (Hugo Grotius [1583–1645], Thomas Hobbes [1588–1679]). However, none of the critics of the monarchomachs went so far as to claim that representative institutions were unnecessary.

The monarchomachs had considerable influence on Dutch political writers, as well as on John Locke (1632–1704). Althusius was widely cited in Sweden. He influenced both the rebellious Lower Austrian Estates in 1618 and the authors of the 1638 Scottish National Covenant. Yet for most members of Estates, the theories of the mon-

archomachs were irrelevant. They had no intention of challenging the basis of royal authority, although they might oppose the ruler on specific points. The sort of political writing that most impressed them was not theoretical but historical, like John Selden's (1584–1654) researches into parliamentary privileges or Francisco Gilabert's (d. 1552) vindication of the constitutional autonomy of Catalonia. The investigation of the legal rights of the Estates of the Holy Roman Empire preoccupied generations of German public lawyers, down to John Jacob Moser (1701–1785).

When serious confrontations occurred between ruler and Estates, it was because some extraordinary factor had been introduced into their working relationship. In the revolt of the Netherlands against Philip II (ruled 1556–1598), the factor was religion. This also disturbed the French Estates-General that met at Blois in 1588. Dominated by the Catholic League, it bitterly opposed the succession of the Protestant Henry of Navarre. Five years later, the Estates-General were irregularly convoked by the league in order to sanction the choice of an alternative Catholic monarch. Not surprisingly, the Bourbons never regained confidence in the national legislature. The 1618 rebellion of the Bohemian Estates was largely inspired by religion, as were the English Civil Wars (1642–1651) between king and Parliament. The causes of the 1640 rebellion in Catalonia were primarily financial, although they were aggravated by Catalan patriotism. The *Diputació*, the standing committee of the Cortes, opposed the imposition by the crown of military billeting and sharing of the tax burden; it then summoned the Estates, which took the lead in a rebellion lasting twelve years. In contrast, in Sweden it was Queen Christina herself who encouraged the *Riksdag* to attack the authority of her aristocratic councillors in 1650.

The Estates did not always emerge weaker from these confrontations. The Dutch provincial Estates (which chose the Estates-General) became the most powerful element in the new national polity. A purged English Parliament put the king to death and governed a republic from 1649 to 1653; after the Restoration, in 1660, it recouped its strength as an ally of the crown and the established church. Its opposition to the succession of a Catholic heir allowed Parliament to become the mainstay of royal

government after the Glorious Revolution of 1688. The Swedish *Riksdag* cemented its relationship with the monarchy by supporting the *reduktion* ('restitution') of crown lands in 1680. Between 1720 and 1772, it exercised greater authority than the ruler, to the point of creating a secret committee to which the monarch had to report. In Catalonia, a major rebellion against the Spanish monarchy, led by the Cortes, broke out in 1640. Although it eventually failed, the *Diputats* ('commissioners') of the Cortes continued to play a crucial administrative role. They were abolished in 1716 after making the serious mistake of backing the losing claimant in the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1714). Even the French Estates-General were summoned again in the crisis of 1614; elections were held in 1649 and 1651, during the Fronde, but no further session took place until 1789. Only the Bohemian Estates lost completely: except for attendance at coronation ceremonies, they were not summoned by the Habsburg kings for the remainder of the early modern period.

Enough has already been said here to cast doubt on the thesis that the Estates were generally in decline. Yet by the eighteenth century many of them had ceased to meet (the combined Cortes of Castile and Aragón was summoned only three times after 1716), and others had become rubber-stamp assemblies, especially those whose authority was vested in a standing committee, as in Bavaria. Only a few, like the British Parliament, the Dutch Estates-General, the Swedish *Riksdag*, and the Polish *sejm*, continued to control finances and legislation. In the rest of Europe, rulers were able to override the Estates. Maria Theresa of Austria (ruled 1740–1780) completely ignored the Carinthian Estates in imposing a hefty annual contribution for the support of the army in 1750, and her military governors in Transylvania and Croatia ran roughshod over the Estates there. Nevertheless, the empress was careful to win passage of the contribution through the other Austrian Estates, which were more compliant, and she put up with a great deal of obstruction from the powerful Diet of Hungary. As always, monarchs were willing to consult Estates when they felt sure of a friendly reception, or were afraid to do without them. Frederick II (ruled 1740–1786) did not have to cope with Estates in his Prussian kingdom, but a nobleman once told him to his face that his refusal

to hold a diet did not mean he enjoyed unlimited power. The Estates of Königsberg were gone, but not forgotten. Representative bodies had not lost their legitimating power, as the autocratic Russian tsars were well aware. Peter I (ruled 1682–1725) brought into being a consultative Senate in 1711, and Catherine the Great (ruled 1762–1796) created provincial assemblies of nobles in 1785.

By the late eighteenth century, the threat to Estates came as much from patriotism as from monarchical despotism. Gustavus III (ruled 1771–1792) exploited patriotic sentiments in clipping the authority of the Swedish *Riksdag* in 1772. George III of Great Britain (ruled 1760–1820) also played the patriot king in challenging his faction-ridden Parliaments. Some of his subjects adhered to a patriotism that was critical of both monarchy and Parliament. These radical patriots began to demand reform of a legislative system that was seen as unrepresentative of the people. Inspired by writers such as James Burgh (*Political Disquisitions*, 1774–1775) and John Cartwright (*Take Your Choice!*, 1776), the reformers became more vocal during the crisis of the War of American Independence (1775–1783), and formed a network of associations that rivaled Parliament itself as a reflection of the national will. Similarly, in the United Provinces after the ousting of the *stadtholder* (leader of the United Provinces of the Netherlands) in 1785, and in Poland after the first partition, radical patriots began to discuss an assembly representing the whole people, but Prussian and Russian cannon silenced such proposals. Belgian patriots established an Estates-General early in 1789 and drew up a constitution based on the American Articles of Confederation. Democrats, led by the lawyer J. F. Vonck (1743–1792), called for suffrage reform, but they were suppressed by the clergy and the Habsburg authorities.

In France, the British model of representative government had been admired by Montesquieu (1689–1755) and Voltaire (1694–1778), although the latter gently mocked its partisan divisions. By the 1760s, the younger philosophes (French intellectuals of the French Enlightenment), like Denis Diderot (1713–1784) or the Swiss-born democrat Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778), had little good to say about the “corrupt” British parliamentary system. Rousseau argued for the sovereignty of a “general will” that was the sum of all individual

wills. Meanwhile, French politics was convulsed between 1749 and 1774 by the claims of the parlements, the supreme law courts, to represent the nation. In the early 1760s, the parlements backed the Estates of Brittany against an authoritarian provincial governor. Exhausted by such resistance, and facing bankruptcy, the ministers of Louis XVI (ruled 1774–1792) drafted a proposal to set up new assemblies in provinces that had none. The plan was rejected by the parlements, and the king was obliged in 1789 to convoke the national legislative body, the Estates-General of France. When it declared itself a national assembly, it sent a message to Estates throughout Europe that they must either represent the “general will” or admit that they were merely bastions of aristocratic privilege. Within the next century, all of them either reformed or became defunct.

CITY AND TOWN GOVERNMENTS

Alongside the Estates stood a vast range of municipal and communal institutions that can be regarded as representative of local interests. The most celebrated of them were the Italian city-states. While they did not adhere to a single form of government, most of the city-states combined aspects of the guild-based, quasi-democratic medieval communes with councils of wealthy citizens who regarded themselves as the equivalents of Roman senators. The political decline of the city-states was once a standard assumption among historians, but it has now been qualified. Those cities whose constitutions were revised in the early sixteenth century (Genoa, 1528; Venice, 1528–1529; Lucca, 1532; Florence, 1532; Milan, 1541) tended to survive in this form throughout the early modern period. Aspects of representative government through councils of leading citizens persisted even in Florence under the Medici dukes, or in Milan under its imperial governor. Throughout Italy, the representative principle continued to be important in town government, even in areas subject to the dominion of a hereditary prince. Towns from Vicenza to tiny San Ginesio in the Marche drew up constitutions for municipal governance that included representative institutions. Many were quite democratic. For example, in the Tuscan town of Montepulciano, all male heads of household who were natives or long-term residents were admitted to the *parlamento*.

In Germany, as in Italy, representative institutions endured in the cities and many small towns throughout the early modern period, but they became increasingly oligarchic. The Imperial Free Cities, which were subject only to the Holy Roman emperor, were governed by patriciates that dominated the municipal councils. At Nuremberg, a list of families whose members were eligible for civic office was drawn up in 1521 and adhered to thereafter. In smaller German cities, however, oligarchy did not preclude fairly broad representation. One in ten male citizens of Weissenburg served on the town councils during the eighteenth century, although the chances of serving were far higher if one's name was Roth, Preu, or Oberdorfer. Guilds were active in many small German towns (not at Nuremberg, where they had been abolished), and they were often formally represented on town councils. In some areas of Germany, representative institutions extended into the countryside as well. In Württemberg, after the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648), adult males in every village elected a *Schultheiss* ('chief administrator'), a *Bürgermeister* ('mayor'), a *Gericht* ('administrative committee'), and a *Rat* ('deliberative council'), along with representatives to the Estates. Württemberg's highly conservative governing bodies were intended mainly to preserve public order and moral discipline, yet in many respects the duchy became the most perfect example in Europe of a state based from top to bottom on representative institutions.

The German model of urban oligarchy, occasionally combined with guild representation, extended into the Baltic, Poland, Austria, Bohemia, the United Provinces, and Switzerland (at Bern, only 250 families were legally *regimentsfähig* ['qualified to rule']). It was in such self-governing towns that Protestantism, with its promise of release from clerical interference, made rapid gains in the sixteenth century. Capital cities within monarchical states, however, often endured more direct control from the ruler.

Stockholm, like any other German imperial city, had a burgomaster and council, but they were royally appointed. On the other hand, it also had an assembly of elders that could resist the crown's fiscal demands. In the countryside, moreover, the Swedish peasants could assemble at a traditional *häradsting* ('district court') at which jurymen, assis-

ted by the public, made decisions about issues of local concern.

The political institutions of English borough towns were uniquely linked to those of the central state, and depended on royal charters to escape the control of landowners. Their right to send representatives to Parliament meant that their affairs were always of interest to the crown. National events like the Reformation (sixteenth century), Civil Wars (1642–1651), Exclusion Crisis (1678–1683), or Glorious Revolution (1688) could result in wholesale changes in their governing personnel. It was not until the early eighteenth century that most English towns could sink into the political torpor that their leading families craved. Guilds were of little significance in England, with the notable exception of London, where company freemen elected a common council that shared power with an oligarchic court of aldermen. London was strongly parliamentary in the Civil War, and firmly Whig in 1688. Its politics thereafter were marked by factionalism, and after 1760 by the efflorescence of various radical movements, usually short-lived.

England had towns without royal charters where governance was essentially manorial or parochial. Scotland, too, had "private burghs," and in France many small municipalities remained in aristocratic control, such as Angers, where the *seigneur* ('lord') nominated the town council. Poland's "private towns" were created by noblemen and entirely lacked representative institutions. In contrast, Polish peasants had the right to elect village councils.

In France and Spain, town government was profoundly affected by the sale of offices. French magistrates could purchase their positions from the crown, and in some cases, such as Paris after 1581, they had the right to pass them on to their heirs. In Spain, resident aristocrats bought town offices and passed ordinances to prevent those of lesser status from sharing their power. They could also resign in favor of a designated successor. In both kingdoms, elections were usually held only for the lowest administrators, such as market or police officials.

However undemocratic they may have been, urban institutions did serve to protect municipal liberties and privileges. Such independence came under increasing attack after 1660. Louis XIV

(ruled 1643–1715) made a concerted attempt to transfer urban authority to provincial *intendants* ('administrative officials'). In newly conquered Alsace, the liberties of towns like Strasbourg were stripped away by the French government, and the Spanish Bourbons initiated a similar policy of appointing royal administrators to take charge of urban affairs. The Austrian Habsburgs took away the fiscal powers of Bohemian towns and shifted policing throughout the hereditary lands to the central government. In Prussia and Italy, bureaucrats increasingly usurped municipal duties or filled civic offices. Yet Peter I, who tolerated no challenges to his absolute authority, saw the lack of representative bodies in Russian towns as a weakness. He attempted, without much success, to create town councils in 1699 and 1721, in exchange for regular taxation. Finally, Catherine II decreed in 1785 that all chartered towns would have a council elected by male householders.

There was no real contradiction between the actions of the Russian tsars and those of the rulers of other lands. All monarchs perceived urban government as an administrative tool to be altered according to circumstances. Fiscal policies often required consultation with town magistrates; on other matters, they could be bypassed. Most civic leaders consented to this approach. They had little desire for town councils to become legislatures, or to provide a voice for the people.

Still, there were always those who felt that towns should represent more of their citizens. Whether motivated by religion or patriotism, egalitarianism or opportunism, complaints about urban oligarchy were consistently expressed throughout the early modern period. In Frankfurt, they resulted in a popular and anti-Semitic revolt in 1614 (the so-called Fettmilch uprising, named after its leader, Vincent Fettmilch), as well as a series of political confrontations in 1705–1732. Agitation against the ruling families of Geneva began in 1707 and culminated in a brief takeover by the opponents of oligarchy in 1782. Before 1789, however, no significant or long-lasting reform took place in civic institutions anywhere in Europe, with the exception of Russia, where it was carried out by the monarch. Urban democracy would begin with the communes of the French Revolution.

See also Democracy; Estates-General, French; Intendants; Law; Parlements; Parliament.

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PAUL MONOD

REPRODUCTION. *See* Sexual Difference, Theories of; Sexuality and Sexual Behavior.

REPUBLIC OF LETTERS. The "Republic of Letters" (*Respublica Literarum*), a term apparently coined by the humanist Francesco Barbaro

in 1417, was first intended to designate the community of early modern scholars who restored the ancient “Orators, Poets, Historians, Astronomers, and Grammarians” who would otherwise have been lost forever; but the term later encompassed other writers in the emergent public sphere of early modern Europe. Also connected to the term was the international network of the European university, which was a basically ecclesiastical foundation, but which, through the faculties of arts and law, contributed also to a large secular intelligentsia. Between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries, hundreds of thousands of students flocked to the eighty or ninety universities in Europe, thousands of them as foreigners in the “nations” of Paris, Bologna, Prague, Oxford, and Cambridge. For example, in Paris in the second quarter of the sixteenth century, 1,500 or more students registered annually in the arts faculty of the university there, including, contemporaneously, François Rabelais, John Calvin, and Ignatius of Loyola, who each had an extraordinary impact on public opinion in their century and long afterwards.

The humanist movement, which continued traditions of disputation and learned pilgrimages beyond the university, expanded this increasingly secular intelligentsia through book-hunting travels and epistolary exchange. The correspondence of Desiderius Erasmus and Nicolas-Claude Fabri de Peiresc, for example, added to and consolidated the information and “good letters” that print culture made available to the growing community of scholars. The printed book was at once a divine gift, invaluable for spreading religious truth, and a devilish invention, open likewise to the dissemination of heresy and treason. What mainly held this “republic” together was not virtue but learning, including a common language (a more or less classical Latin, with its treasury of topics and tropes), a common, if highly disputed, view of the Christian past, and a devotion to the literary tradition essential for communication and meaningful disputes between contemporaries and between “ancients and moderns.”

The Republic of Letters had its own special history and mythology. As Noel d’Argonne wrote in the seventeenth century, “The Republic of Letters is of very ancient origin . . . and existed before the Flood. It embraces the whole world and is com-

posed of people of all nations, social conditions, ages, and sexes, neither women nor even children being excluded. All languages, ancient and modern, are spoken. Arts are joined to letters, and the mechanical arts also have their place in it.” This republic was coterminous with Christendom, he continued, but differed from it in political as well as ecclesiastical terms. “The politics of this State consists more in words, in maxims and reflections, than in actions and in accomplishments. People take their strength from eloquence and reasoning. Their trade is entirely spiritual and their wealth meager. Glory and immortality are sought above all things. . . .”

That is not to say that he neglected the negative side of the Republic. In contrast to the medieval ideal of religious and political unity, d’Argonne argued, concerning the Republic of Letters, “its religion is not uniform, and its manners, as in all republics, are a mixture of good and bad, both piety and libertinage being found. Sects are numerous, and every day new forms appear. The whole State is divided among philosophers, medical doctors, jurists, historians, mathematicians, orators, grammarians, and poets; and each has its own laws.” For d’Argonne, most divisive of all was the art of criticism, which recognized no superior in things literary or philosophical, and which set itself up as the final arbiter of meaning: “Justice is administered by the Critics, often with more severity than judgment. . . . They cut, slice up, or add as they please, and no author can escape once he falls into their hands.”

The Reformation and Counter-Reformation exploited the printing press and promoted monumental works of cooperative scholarship as well as bitter controversies. Yet the negative and positive aspects of the new invention expanded the Republic of Letters through doctrinal debates, incentives to scholarship, and efforts to reach a wider public and popular culture. Though signaled normally by mastery of ancient languages, membership was eventually extended to writers in modern languages, since the community itself was referred to in the vernacular: “Deutsche Republik der Gelehrten,” “Republyk der Geleerden,” “Republique des lettres,” “República literaria,” and “Republic of Letters.” There were also analogous and overlapping learned international groups, such as the community of jurists (*respublica jurisconsultorum*), that



gave further coherence to the community of “intellectuals,” as it would be called in later generations.

The foundations of this international intelligentsia were laid by the media of largely printed communication, including correspondence, books, and especially journals, which represented the avant-garde as well as the rear guard of doctrinal and scholarly accomplishment and conflict. The *Journal des savants* (1665), the *Philosophical Transactions* (1665), the *Giornale de’ letterati* (1668), the *Acta Eruditorum* (1682), and especially Pierre Bayle’s *Nouvelles de la République des lettres* (1684) established the forum for exchanges among men and women of letters, from Lorenzo Valla and Erasmus to Voltaire, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, and Madame Necker. These periodicals contained not only articles but also book reviews, open letters, obituaries, and other genres of learned exchange, which, in the

face of growing practices of censorship and suppression, constituted the material base for the critical discourse of the Enlightenment and its revolutionary aftermath.

In the Republic of Letters the stress was normally on the “public” aspect of intellectual exchange and propagation of ideas, but the intimidation of authority and institutions of censorship encouraged another dimension of discourse: “forbidden best-sellers” (investigated by Robert Darnton) and especially “clandestine literature” (revealed by Richard Popkin and others). In recent years scholars have uncovered a vast amount of anti-Christian literature, in which skepticism, libertinism, free thought, naturalism, “atheism,” Judaism, and Spinozism commingled in a counterculture based on the circulation of published and manuscript materials—most spectacularly the quasi-legendary treatise on the “Three Impostors” (Moses,

Jesus, and Muhammad). This was a whole world of subversion in the Republic of Letters which is still in the process of being mapped, though the old questions remain, including (as Darnton writes): Do books cause revolutions?

See also Academies, Learned; Ancients and Moderns; Bayle, Pierre; Erasmus, Desiderius; Humanists and Humanism; Journals, Literary; Latin; Peiresc, Nicolas-Claude Fabri de; Public Opinion.

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DONALD KELLEY

REPUBLICANISM. Broadly defined, republicanism means a preference for nonmonarchical government and a strong dislike of hereditary monarchy. Narrowly defined, and in its early modern context, it means self-government by a community of citizens in a city-state.

Republicanism is a prominent concept in the history of political thought. Republican ideology claimed that citizens of republics enjoyed a liberty unknown to the subjects of monarchies because they were bound by laws that they themselves had made, not the personal whim of an individual monarch. In the early modern period, republicanism had special relevance in Italy (where Florence and Venice became the most famous republics in early modern history), Switzerland (a federation of autonomous rural and urban cantons that had never been effectively governed by a monarch), Germany (where many free imperial cities maintained a high degree of autonomy within the Holy Roman Empire), the Netherlands (where a new state, the Dutch Republic, was born in the sixteenth century out of a revolt against the Spanish monarchy), England (where, in the mid-seventeenth century, a revolt against the monarchy led to a short period of kingless government that paved the way for parliamentary government under a constitutional monarchy), and the United States of America (which revolted against the British monarchy and became a federal congressional republic in the 1770s). Early modern theorists whose writings are relevant to republicanism include Niccolò Machiavelli (1469–1527), Francesco Guicciardini (1483–1540), Thomas More (1478–1535), Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679), John Milton (1608–1674), John Locke (1632–1704), Algernon Sidney (1622–1683), Charles-Louis de Secondat de Montesquieu (1689–1755), and Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778). What follows is an introduction to republics and republicanism, not a survey of thinkers or their ideas. Three institutional levels within republican government will be distinguished: the voting assembly, the intermediate council, and the executive magistracies. The differences between three models will also be emphasized: direct democracy, republicanism, and parliamentary representation.

ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL BACKGROUND

Greek city-states, when not ruled by tyrants, governed themselves by some form of direct democracy: an assembly of all the adult male citizens, meeting and voting frequently to pass legislation, make decisions, act as a high court, and elect (from their own ranks) the short-term members of the intermediate councils and holders of magistracies and military commands. The Greek model of direct democracy was replicated in European history only at the village level, notably in Switzerland, and in the imaginations of Jean-Jacques Rousseau and the proto-Romantics.

In contrast, the Roman republican model became prominent in later European history. Compared to direct democracy, it was marked by greater social stratification and the dominance of (largely hereditary) elites. Livy's history of the early Roman republic depicted the foundation of the republic in 753 B.C.E. as a revolt in the name of liberty by members of leading families against a primeval monarchy. The earliest group of ruling families, and the clans they spawned, called themselves "patricians" and formed a hereditary status group that attempted to monopolize political power against the rest of the population—the plebeians. Livy records and dramatizes bitter social and political conflict between the patricians and the plebeians, but the latter succeeded over several centuries in breaking the patrician monopoly on the political institutions, so that the political elite included members of both groups.

Instead of a simple voting assembly, Rome had a complicated system of assemblies in which individual preferences were combined into bloc votes, with preponderant weight given to the blocs in which men of higher status and higher socioeconomic class were enrolled. There was a semi-formal nobility consisting of families whose members, past and present, patrician or plebeian, had competed successfully in the annual elections of magistrates in the assembly, and entry by "new men" (ones without an office-holding ancestor) into the nobility was possible, though never easy. The nobility governed the republic through an intermediate council that had no real precedent in Greek history and became one of the most famous political institutions of all time: the Roman Senate. All former magistrates were senators, and though they often stood for

election and left the Senate for a year to hold a magistracy or a military command, they always returned to it at the end of their term: membership was for life. The Senate was the locus of debate and decision making in Rome. Many of Cicero's most famous works are political speeches delivered during deliberations in the Senate or prior to a vote in one of the assemblies.

Social conflict never disappeared from the Roman republic, but that did not prevent its armies of citizen-soldiers from making it the greatest conquest state in European history. The Roman republic ended in chaos and was transformed into an empire ruled by a monarchical emperor, but the Senate survived for as long as the empire did; its members, though, became a hereditary status group, no longer the winners of electoral contests held in a voting assembly. The historian Tacitus (c. 55–c. 117 C.E.) vividly described the despotic behavior of the early Roman emperors, the corrupt courts that surrounded them, the servile and fearful behavior of the Senators, and the decline of free debate in the Senate.

The European cities of the medieval and early modern periods were born as communes: sworn associations of male heads of households who collectively claimed freedom from feudal overlordship. The primordial institution of the commune was the assembly of all the citizens, as in the ancient Mediterranean cities. Each commune was a small republic, and the story of republicanism in Europe is largely the story of Europe's cities. Europe was the only area of world civilization in which so many and such autonomous city republics emerged. In every communal city of Europe, as in the ancient Mediterranean, citizenship was a privileged hereditary status to which newcomers were not granted easy or automatic access. In each city, families belonging to the earlier strata tried to monopolize political power, like the Roman patricians, and were challenged from below by ambitious families and rising status and socioeconomic groups. In each there was a complex structure of councils and executive committees, but the primitive communal institution, the voting assembly of all the citizens, ceased to be summoned regularly in most cities.

The European cities were the motor of a dynamic European economy based on free rather than

slave labor; this was a fundamental difference between the city-states of the ancient world and the European cities. In Italy a number of cities (Milan was an example) went from republican (or “communal”) government to monarchical rule by a princely family at the close of the Middle Ages, but in others, like Florence and Venice, republican structures persisted. Florence and Venice were not the only republican city-states in Italy, but they were the only ones to conquer not just the adjacent countryside but many other smaller cities as well, thereby building up large territorial states.

Elsewhere in Europe, and even in some parts of the Italian peninsula, the feudal system was giving birth to a type of political institution unknown to the ancient world or the republican tradition: the feudal parliament or meeting of the Estates, an assembly of representatives delegated by the various social strata and localities in the lands of a monarch to represent them. But the conquered subjects of Florence and Venice were not represented in any parliament, and thus had no institutional recourse against harsh exploitation. Parliamentary government in nation-states was the way of the future; republican government in city-states had, by the close of the early modern period, come to the end of its historical course.

FLORENCE

Florence was one of the centers of Renaissance humanism, a movement that began in the late thirteenth century and flourished in the fifteenth, aiming to revive the use of classical Latin and knowledge of all aspects of Greek and Roman antiquity. The Roman writers with the greatest prestige and influence had lived in the late republic (Cicero, Sallust) or under the early empire (Livy, Tacitus), and this gave a superficial republican ethos to Renaissance humanism, which is seen in the realms of political thought and artistic imagery. The city of Florence took particular pride in regarding itself as the daughter and heir of the Roman republic and Roman liberty.

There are objective parallels between the history of the Roman republic and empire in the ancient world and Florence in the early modern period. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Florence, despite its wealth and control of much of Tuscany, was made turbulent by the struggle for political power

between older and more recent factions of powerful families and their clientele. Only adult male guild members were entitled to hold office, and the complex guild-based constitutional machinery of Florence produced the same result as the machinery of the Roman republic: a steep stratification of political power based on status and socioeconomic class. There was rapid rotation through the small executive committees in which the power of government was concentrated, and individuals were chosen to hold office randomly, through a lottery (the drawing of names from a bag of eligible candidates). Legislation was ratified in a couple of intermediate councils that also had rotating membership.

From the 1430s to 1494, the Medici family controlled Florence, although formally their status was no different from that of any other great family. They manipulated the constitution in at least three ways: by controlling the lottery process so that names were no longer drawn at random; by the abuse of emergency powers; and by creating new, smaller, more permanent councils whose members were carefully screened for loyalty to the Medici. The Florentines called this “narrow government.” From a favorable standpoint (that of the Medici, their clientele, and the top families allied to them), narrow government was more efficient and consistent than the “wide government” of the past, in which many more citizens had rotated through the offices, ruling and being ruled in turn. But “wide government” was traditionally seen as the essence of Florentine liberty, so from an unfavorable standpoint (that of the rival families excluded from power, as well as the many families of middling status whose ambition to participate in government was being frustrated), the Medici regime was an assault on Florence’s traditional republican liberty.

In the revolution of 1494 the Medici were driven from Florence. There followed a political struggle over the constitution, with the leading families striving to keep it as narrow as possible (aristocratic, but not princely), and a popular movement led by Girolamo Savonarola (1452–1498) that demanded a return to wide government. The latter prevailed, and thus there began a unique eighteen-year period in the history of Florence (and republicanism): the republic of 1494–1512. This republic was ended by the return of the Medici, who set about establishing princely rule. The Florentines re-

volted against them and revived the republic between 1527 and 1530, but after that the Medici proceeded to make themselves hereditary grand-dukes of Florence and Tuscany, in a historical parallel to the establishment of the Roman Empire on the ruins of the Roman republic. Niccolò Machiavelli, the first great political thinker of modern times, had all of his direct experience of political and military affairs as a senior administrator and diplomat for the republic of 1494–1512, and many other Florentines also participated in political life and composed political treatises (long and short, practical and theoretical) between 1494 and the 1530s. At no other place or time in Europe did political thought about republics (and the alternative form, monarchy, or as Machiavelli called it, “principality”) flourish with the same intensity.

In the Florentine republic of 1494–1512 and 1527–1530, the direct voting assembly of all the citizens was revived. Over 3,000 male scions of families whose members had held office in the past became permanent members of the assembly; although this was still only a fraction of the entire population, it represented an extraordinarily high degree of political participation in the context of Europe at that time. (The members of the Florentine voting assembly were not modern liberal democrats though, and like virtually every other status group that won political entitlement in the history of ancient and modern republics, they wanted admission to the assembly in the future to be limited to their own male descendants.) There was also an intermediate council, which in Florence had little importance, and the typical array of small executive committees. Throughout the period 1494–1512 the families of high status never ceased to press for more narrow government, in which their putative expertise and insight would prevail over the inexperienced and inept majority; their ideal was to govern aristocratically, like Roman senators. Many of these families defected from the republic and supported the return of the Medici in 1512, and again in 1530.

The internal politics of republican Florence were not Machiavelli’s main concern when, in forced retirement after 1512, he became a writer on politics. Machiavelli did not believe that the Florence he had served, or any other modern republic, was a model for imitation, because all had been corrupted by Christianity. His model for analysis

and imitation in his major work, the *Discourses*, was the Roman republic, where there had been a fruitful tension between the competitive drive of a small number of individual nobles to dominate their rivals and win glory, and the opposing desire of the mass of the citizens to enjoy the spoils of conquest and check the imperiousness of the nobles. It was this tension, directed outward against neighboring peoples, that had made Rome the greatest of all conquest states. Since Machiavelli believed that the same two conflicting impulses were present and active in all societies, whether they were governed as principalities or republics, his basic vision of political life was republican, even in his famous short treatise *The Prince*.

Many other Florentines did ponder the problems and fate of their own republic more closely than Machiavelli. One was Francesco Guicciardini (1483–1540), and another was Donato Giannotti (1492–1573), a strong proponent of wide government who wrote the treatise *Repubblica Fiorentina* in the 1530s to describe what had gone wrong with the Florentine republic and how it could have been preserved. Giannotti was also the author of an influential description of the Venetian system of republican government.

VENICE

Venice was the clearest example of the explicit hierarchical correlation between social status and political participation that differentiated republicanism from ancient (and modern) democracy, and was considered a miraculous example of social and political stability. In 1297 a group of Venetian families achieved what the patricians of ancient Rome and the politically active families of Florence had always dreamed of: a constitutional limitation of political participation to themselves and their male descendants. These families also came to be called “patrician,” and although new families were admitted in every generation, the Venetian patriciate was essentially composed of the same families for centuries. Not all of them were rich and powerful, but all enjoyed the same exclusive right to have their sons admitted to the voting assembly, which was roughly the same size as the one in Florence.

The offspring of the political elite, a small number of rich and powerful families, sought to ascend through elections held in the assembly to member-

ship in the intermediate council, the Senate—a locus of prestige and power comparable to the Roman Senate itself—and from there to the array of small committees that made up the executive. The head of state and government, the doge, was elected for life but did not have what we would call presidential powers, for the Venetian leadership was essentially collective. The most feared and powerful committee of the Venetian executive was actually the Council of Ten, which attended to state security. They worked in secret, received anonymous denunciations, had, or were believed to have, informants everywhere, and could make “enemies of the state” disappear. Hence there arose a “black legend,” a negative image of life in Venice that contrasted with the positive image of Venetian republican liberty.

PATRICIAN CITIES

Florence and Venice were exceptional because they were fully sovereign and were capitals of territorial states. But there were many other cities in Europe, especially in Italy and Germany, which never conquered large territorial states of their own, but which continued to govern themselves as republics while retaining a high degree of autonomy within larger (and by later standards, looser) state frameworks. Over the span of time from the Middle Ages to the early modern period, social and political mobility gradually dwindled in all these cities, and they evolved into patrician republics governed by narrow oligarchies. The families whose male members had a claim to a seat on the city council became a hereditary, and largely closed, status group, visibly distinguished by their style of dress, their titles, and their membership in exclusive dining and drinking clubs. Frankfurt, Augsburg, Nuremberg, and Hamburg were renowned patrician city-states in the Holy Roman Empire. There is a vast literature on these and many other European cities, tracing the social and political history of each in detail, and seldom making any reference to republicanism as a concept, although it is in these cities that republicanism lived out the last phase of its history. Internally there was little or no republican liberty left (no more freedom to participate in politics, that is, except for the patrician elite) but externally the patricians were adept at defending another kind of republican liberty (the local autonomy of their cities) against centralized control by the larger state structures into which their cities were integrated.

The city of Bologna, which was part of the large Papal State of central and northern Italy, is a good example: its liberty was based on the pact it made with Pope Nicholas V (reigned 1447–1455) when it submitted to the papacy in 1447. This was a contract that bound both parties and was renegotiated with every new papacy. The Bolognese patriciate used it to protect their autonomy for the next three hundred years, in what can be seen from one standpoint as stubborn particularism, preserving entrenched local privilege against the bureaucratic rationalization of the modern state, and from another as the proud defense of local tradition, local jurisdiction, and control of the local treasury against arbitrary centralism.

It was in defense of similar contractually protected local rights that the northern provinces of the Netherlands rebelled against Spain in the late sixteenth century and formed a new state, the Dutch Republic, that became a beacon for opponents of monarchy (republicans in the broad sense) during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The Netherlanders repeatedly fended off attempts by the house of Orange to establish a new regal dynasty, and adopted a confederal system of government with strong local autonomy and weaker authority at the higher levels. Towns governed by local patriciates dominated the provinces, there was a parliament (an “Estates”) for each province attended by local delegates, and there was an Estates-General for the whole federation, attended by provincial delegates. Thus the Dutch Republic was a fusion of the republican and the parliamentary-representative models.

ENGLAND AND THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Because the English civil war between parliamentary and royalist forces in the mid-seventeenth century led to regicide and ten years of kingless government, and because the United States of America was an antimonarchical offshoot of the civilization of the British Isles, there is a large scholarly literature attempting to trace the influence of republicanism in Britain and its rebellious colonies. Controversy and debate abound in this field, for in Britain there had never been an actual republican city-state, so scholars are left to deal with language, concepts, and ideas. Britain actually led European civilization down the road to a different destination: govern-

ment by parties holding parliamentary majorities, with loyal opposition from opposing parties—a structure of government foreign to the republican tradition. It also led Europe in the development of liberalism as a set of political and economic ideas, especially through the influence of John Locke. In eighteenth-century Britain and its American offshoot, republican ideas formed a counterpart to liberal ones in political thought, and republicanism and liberalism are seen as conflicting intellectual influences on the founders of the American republic. The values of liberalism include economic individualism and constitutional limitation on the power of government to invade the sphere of private life, while republicanism (in this context) stands for the disinterested devotion of individual citizens to the common good, and their willingness to set aside private concerns and participate in public debate and decision making.

See also American Independence, War of (1775–1783); Divine Right Kingship; Dutch Republic; Dutch Revolt (1568–1648); English Civil War and Interregnum; Florence; Free and Imperial Cities; Guicciardini, Francesco; Hobbes, Thomas; Locke, John; Machiavelli, Niccolò; Milton, John; Monarchy; Montesquieu, Charles-Louis de Secondat de; Parliament; Political Philosophy; Rousseau, Jean-Jacques; Switzerland; Venice.

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WILLIAM MCCUAIG

on the political, philosophical, and legal arguments of French authors during the religious wars in the sixteenth century. Their arguments in turn were a development of three earlier theories based on Roman, canon (church), and medieval law: the right to defend oneself and one's property, the contractual relationship between the ruler and the people, and the just war theory. The sixteenth-century authors took the earlier justification of an individual's right to use violence in self-defense, added just war theory, and turned them into a justification for using violence to resist the ruler's authority when he violated the contractual relationship on which he based his power.

RIGHT OF DEFENSE

The Roman law maxim *vim vi repellere licit* (force may repel force) formed the basis of the concept of justified defense against violence. Laws and statutes permitted violent defense against aggression because it was generally believed that both natural law (*ius naturale*) and human law (*ius gentium*) granted the individual a right to defense. Roman and medieval law limited this violence by requiring that the defense was immediate and the force used was moderate. Medieval scholars developed these two concepts of immediacy and moderation from simple self-defense into the area of defending one's property, including one's rights.

CORONATION: CONSENT AND CONTRACT

The idea of popular sovereignty had become increasingly common with the medieval revival of Roman law. Writers commenting on the Roman civil law interpreted passages of Justinian's Digest as meaning that the emperor's or king's authority originally came from the people. The sixteenth-century coronation ceremonies in many countries supported this interpretation because they contained a *consensus populi* (consent of the people) clause that suggested election. This was applied by proponents of the resistance theory.

Others saw the question not as one of elective elements in the coronation oath, but of contractual ones. The feudal contract, like any contract, carried rights and duties for all parties. As a contract between a king and his people, the coronation oath bound both parties. The king had to observe the oath unless the people released him from it. In this feudal view of kingship, royalty was not absolute

RESISTANCE, THEORY OF. The development of the theory of resistance in the early modern period was complex and was based in large part

and the king was only the administrator, not the owner, of the kingdom. In his coronation oath the king swore to obey the law, defend the faith, and protect his subjects and their property. The inclusion of his duty to defend the faith obligated him to fight heresy, which could also mean to maintain order, since heresy was seen as a threat to the peace of the kingdom. In addition, since the king was supposed to protect the faith, any challenge to that faith became a kind of treason. Numerous canon law precedents also justified the use of force against heretics and the confiscation of their property.

JUST WAR AND RESISTANCE

The Christian theory of just war was developed from the works of a number of medieval theologians, including St. Augustine (354–430) and St. Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274). In this theory there were three conditions necessary for a war to be a just war: a legitimate ruler had to order the war, there had to be a just cause (the enemy had to have done something wrong), and the declarers of the war had to have good intentions, to be fighting for the repression of evil, not for revenge. By the sixteenth century the king's commitment in his coronation oath to defend religion and the concept of the consent of the people led to the development that protecting religion was a legitimate reason for a just war.

FRENCH WARS OF RELIGION

The theory of resistance was developed fully by sixteenth-century French political theorists. Théodore de Bèze (1519–1605) implied in his *Du droit des magistrats* (1574; Right of magistrates) that the kingship still could be elective, and he reminded his readers that the French kings still took an oath when they were anointed at their coronation. In *Vindiciae contra Tyrannos* (1579; Judgment against tyrants) the pseudonymous author Étienne Junius Brutus (probably Philippe Duplessis-Mornay, but also attributed to Hubert Languet) claimed that a twofold covenant was made at the coronation: the first part among God, the king, and the people, and the second between the king and the people. The latter stipulated that the people would obey the king if he were a proper ruler. These oaths may have been more myth than history, as in the case of the Aragónese oath, “We who are worth as much as you, take you as our king, provided that you preserve our

laws and liberties, and if not, not,” but their power to influence the popular mind and political theory was strong nevertheless.

The sixteenth-century activists recognized the necessity of remaining within the prescribed limits of the law when advocating or using violence. The ethical and practical issues they faced paralleled those Roman law writers had raised concerning self-defense and canonists and theologians had raised while developing the arguments for just war. First the Huguenots in 1562 and then the Catholics in 1576 justified arming themselves against the king's will with the argument that they were taking arms not against the authority of the king, but against heresy and evil counselors of the king. They claimed to be doing this in defense of themselves, their property, their king, and their religion. They appealed to the king based on his legal duties and obligations under the coronation oath: his promises to obey the law, defend the faith, and protect his subjects and their property. A breach of those promises could, according to some theorists, justify correction of a ruler by the lesser magistrates (civil officials, including members of the city governments and officials of the central government) with the power to administer the law. The personal responsibility of the magistrates for their own actions as well as for those of the king seems to have been widely accepted during the sixteenth century, although earlier medieval theorists (such as Marsilius of Padua [c. 1280–c. 1343] and John of Salisbury [1115 or 1120–1180]) had not named any representative group as having such responsibility.

The massacre of Huguenots on St. Bartholomew's Day in 1572 forced the Huguenot theorists into a new position. They continued to use the constitutional and historical arguments and the legal precedents, but now they used the new arguments to reason that true sovereignty belonged to the community and enabled its representatives to discipline, depose, or even assassinate the ruler. In this way, Francis Hotman (1524–1590) in his 1573 work *Francogallia* reminded his readers that the Parlement of Paris had to approve the king's laws and edicts before they had any force, and Bèze claimed that it was the duty of the lesser magistrates to resist tyranny and safeguard the people until the Estates-General, or whoever held the legislative power of the kingdom, could provide for the public

welfare. Bèze went further and claimed that the Estates-General had the authority to appoint and to depose the chief officers of the crown, or at least to supervise the king in doing so. Arguing from the law of fiefs, Bèze declared that since a lord lost his fief for committing a felony against his vassal, a king must also lose his fief, or kingdom, for committing a felony against his subjects.

This feudal basis for forfeiture of the kingdom was repeated in *Judgment against Tyrants* and tied to the covenant made at the coronation ceremony. The author of *Judgment* took this another step toward legitimate resistance to and rebellion against the king when he claimed that a king who committed a felony against his people also committed treason (*lèse majesté*) against the kingdom and was no better than any other rebel. These ideas were not unanimously accepted. For example, Jean Bodin (1530–1596) argued in his *Les six livres de la république* (1583; Six books of the republic) that the king was restricted by natural law to respect his subjects' liberty and property, but his violations of these restrictions did not justify resistance by his subjects because the king answered only to God.

LATER DEVELOPMENTS

Hugo Grotius (1583–1645), a Dutch scholar and jurist, recognized in his 1625 work *De Jure Belli ac Pacis* (The law of war and peace) that the individual had a right to resist injury, but he also stated that society had an obligation to maintain order and could limit that right of resistance. Extreme cruelty or injustice could justify resistance by individuals or groups, but a primary consideration for him was whether that resistance itself would be more destructive or harmful to the state than the original injustice.

John Locke (1632–1704), on the other hand, argued in his *Second Treatise of Civil Government* (1690) that although the contract made between the sovereign and the people is binding, a ruler who misused the authority or broke the contract could be resisted, even to the point of removing that ruler and restoring the governing power to the people. A ruler who acted arbitrarily was not fulfilling his duty, and the people could assume governing power in order to restore their rights.

The theory of resistance has continued to develop. It remains an important part of modern popular revolutions and arguments for just war.

See also **Authority, Concept of; Bèze, Théodore de; Bodin, Jean; Grotius, Hugo; Law; Locke, John; Wars of Religion, French.**

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RESTITUTION, EDICT OF (1629).

See **Thirty Years' War (1618–1648).**

RESTORATION, PORTUGUESE WAR OF (1640–1668).

In December 1640 a palace coup in support of the duke of Bragança and his acclamation as King John IV restored the

Portuguese monarchy and ended sixty years of rule by the Spanish Habsburgs. From 1641 to 1668 the two nations were at war, with Spain seeking to isolate Portugal militarily and diplomatically and Portugal hoping to find the resources to maintain its independence through political alliances and colonial income.

The military aspects of the war fall into three periods: an early stage when a few major engagements demonstrated that the Portuguese could not be easily returned to submission; a long second period (1646–1660) of military standoffs characterized by small-scale raiding, while Spain concentrated on its military commitments elsewhere in Europe; and a final period (1660–1668) during which the Spanish king Philip IV unsuccessfully sought a major engagement that would bring an end to hostilities.

Spain in early 1641 faced a war with France as well as rebellions in both Catalonia and Portugal. Hoping for a quick victory in Portugal, Spain immediately committed seven regiments to the Portuguese frontier, but delays by the count of Monterey, a commander more interested in the comforts of camp than of the battlefield, lost any immediate advantage. A Portuguese counter-thrust in late 1641 failed, and the conflict soon settled into a stalemate, especially after a major column under the Neapolitan marquis of Torrecusa was stopped at Montijo in 1644 by the Portuguese under the Brazilian-trained Matias de Albuquerque, one of a number of experienced Portuguese colonial officers who rose to prominence during the war. Shortly thereafter, in November 1644, Torrecusa crossed from Badajoz in a rare winter campaign to attack Elvas, where he suffered heavy losses and was forced to retreat back across the border.

The war now took on a peculiar character as a frontier confrontation, often between local forces that knew each other well, but whose familiarity did not diminish the destructive effects on either side. The bloody nature of the combat was often exacerbated by the use of foreign troops and mercenaries. Incidents of singular cruelty were reported on both sides as the Portuguese settled old animosities, while Spanish commanders often took the view that their opponents were disloyal and rebellious sub-

jects, not an opposing army entitled to the rules of combat.

Three theaters were eventually opened, but most activity focused on the northern front and on the frontier between Portuguese Alemtejo and Spanish Extremadura. The southern front in Spanish Andalusia was a logical target for Portugal, but it never bore the full weight of Portuguese attack, probably because the Portuguese queen, Luisa de Gusmão (Guzmán), was the sister of the duke of Medina Sidonia, the leading noble of Andalusia. Spain at first made the war defensive. Portugal, for its part, felt no need to take Spanish territory in order to win, and it too was willing to make the war a defensive one. Campaigns typically consisted of *correrias*, or ‘cavalry raids’, burning fields, sacking towns, and appropriating large herds of enemy cattle and sheep. Soldiers and officers primarily interested in booty and prone to desertion were poor instruments for the conduct of serious war. For long periods, without men or money, neither side mounted formal campaigns, and when actions were taken, they were often driven as much by political considerations, such as Portugal’s need to impress its potential allies, as by clear military objectives. Year by year, given the transportation problems of campaigning in winter and the heat and dry conditions of summer, most fighting was limited to the spring and fall.

The war settled into a pattern of mutual destruction. As early as December 1641 there were Spanish complaints that “our Extremadura is finished.” Tax collectors, recruiting officers, the billeting of soldiers, and depredation by Spanish and foreign troops were feared as much by the Spanish population as the destructive raids of the enemy. In Extremadura, local militias bore the brunt of the fighting until 1659, and this was destructive to agriculture and local finances. Since there was often no money to pay or support the troops or to reward commanders, the crown turned a blind eye to the contraband, disorder, and destruction on the frontier. Similar conditions also existed among the Portuguese forces.

The war was also expensive. In the 1650s there were over 20,000 Spanish troops in Extremadura alone, compared to 27,000 in Flanders. Between 1649 and 1654 about 29 percent (over six million

ducats) of Spanish defense spending went to Portugal, a figure that rose during the major campaigns of the 1660s. Portugal was able to finance the war because of its ability to tax the spice trade from Asia and the sugar trade from Brazil, and because of support from the European opponents of Spain, particularly Holland, France, and England.

The 1650s were indecisive militarily but important on the political and diplomatic fronts. The death of John IV, the former duke of Bragança, in 1656 brought the regency of his wife, followed by a succession crisis and a palace coup (1662). Despite these domestic problems, the expulsion of the Dutch from Brazil (1654) and the signing of a treaty with England (1654) improved Portugal's diplomatic and financial position for a while and gave it needed protection against a naval attack on Lisbon. Nonetheless, the major goal of a formal pact with France continued to evade Portugal, whose weakness and isolation had been driven home by its virtual exclusion at the negotiations for the general European peace of Westphalia (1648). With that treaty and the end of hostilities in Catalonia in 1652, Spain was again ready to direct its attention against Portugal but faced a lack of men, resources, and especially good military commanders.

By 1662 Spain committed to a major effort to end the rebellion. Don Juan José de Austria, Philip IV's illegitimate son, led some 14,000 men into Alemtejo and in the following year succeeded in taking Évora, the major city of the region. The Portuguese under the marquis of Marialva and the German soldier of fortune Friedrich Hermann von Schönberg, the duke of Schomberg, who had been contracted along with other foreign officers to bolster the Portuguese forces, were able to turn the tide. They defeated the Spanish in a major engagement at Ameixial (8 June 1663), forcing Don Juan José to abandon Évora and retreat across the border.

The Portuguese now had some 30,000 troops in this theater, but they could not draw the Spanish into a major engagement until June 1665, when a new Spanish commander, the marquis of Caracena, took over Vilaviciosa with about 23,000 men, including recruits from Germany and Italy. The Portuguese relief column under Schomberg met them

at Montes Claros (17 June 1665). The Portuguese infantry and gun emplacements broke the Spanish cavalry, and the Spanish force lost over 10,000 men as casualties and prisoners. This was the last major engagement of the war. Both sides returned to skirmishing campaigns. Portugal, with the intercession of its English ally, had sought a truce, but after the Portuguese victory at Montes Claros and with the signing of a Franco-Portuguese treaty in 1667, Spain finally agreed to recognize Portugal's independence (13 February 1668).

The war proved costly to both sides. Portugal won its independence at a high price in terms of concessions it made to forge the alliances needed for its political survival. Its economy was damaged by reduced access to Spanish-American silver and colonial losses. The effect on Spain was difficult to calculate. The economy of Spanish Galicia and especially Extremadura were devastated, and the reputation of Spanish arms suffered badly. The war drained resources and men for almost three decades. It may well be true, as the historian R. A. Stradling has said, that the war with Portugal, "ended contributing more than any other single factor to the final dissolution of Spanish hegemony."

See also **Portugal; Spain.**

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REVOLUTIONS, AGE OF. At the end of the eighteenth century a series of revolutions broke out on both sides of the Atlantic. In the 1960s the

historians R. R. Palmer and Jacques Godechot argued that these were not discrete revolutions but manifestations of a single democratic revolution common to the entire Atlantic world. In fact, eighteenth-century revolutions shared a common language but little else, and each had significant unique features. Moreover, once the Revolution of 1789 broke out in France, the democratic features of this supposedly single Atlantic revolution ebbed away. The French Revolution was not inherently more radical than any of the others, but it did face entrenched and determined opposition from a very early stage, which forced the revolutionaries to violate their own principles and institute terror. Finally, once the French began to expand and annex surrounding countries and principalities, they transformed local democrats into unpopular collaborators and provoked much of the same kind of opposition as they had faced at home, and often for the same reasons. The repression in occupied territories was just about as brutal as anything that had been witnessed in France itself during the Terror. Such patterns of opposition and repression played themselves out throughout Europe, until the age of revolution ushered in an age of counterrevolution, a counterrevolution that was popular and enduring.

Partisans of change certainly had a common language, which had developed over the course of the eighteenth century, and a powerful sense of transnational solidarity. Phrases like “patriot,” “liberty,” “aristocrat,” and “democrat” and symbols like the liberty tree, the eye of vigilance, and so on, cropped up in most of these revolutions. There was also widespread sympathy among European intellectuals, and later among journalists, for the “patriots” in various struggles. Enlightenment writers such as Voltaire, Jean Le Rond d’Alembert and Jean-Jacques Rousseau all celebrated the revolution against the oligarchs in Geneva (1760s–early 1780s). The struggles of the Dutch patriots and certainly the American patriots also had extensive support. The journalist Camille Desmoulins (1760–1794) called his first newspaper *Révolutions de France et de Brabant* (Revolutions of France and Brabant).

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST OLIGARCHY

Palmer was certainly right to call attention to the eighteenth-century struggles against oligarchies in

various parts of Europe, but these oligarchies differed in their nature and in the ways they held power, and despite the common language of liberty among their opponents, the struggle against oligarchy took various forms. Geneva, whose revolution began in the 1760s, illustrates this point. By 1768, the majority *natifs* (those born in the city but with no political rights) had forced the ruling patricians to share power. By 1781 the citizenship was extended, again under pressure from the *natifs*—and under the banner of equality of rights. This was too much for the French, who intervened in 1782 to restore the settlement of 1768.

The struggles in Geneva reassembled those that broke out later in France itself over the issue of municipal citizenship and access to office. The conflict in the United Provinces, however, was more complex. Here the Amsterdam oligarchy of merchants, who called themselves “republicans” and later “patriots,” was pitted against the Orangist party, which supported the stadtholder and was backed by plebeian and noble elements as well as the more rural provinces. The Amsterdam merchants favored an alliance with France and, through France, support of the American rebels in their war for independence from Great Britain, while the Orangists favored the traditional alliance with Britain. In 1780 the merchants prevailed and went to war with Britain. Opinion blamed the stadtholder for the disastrous campaigns that followed. The fear of the prince’s army provoked the formation of the Free Corps, which soon numbered some twenty-eight thousand volunteers. At the same time many municipal councils revolted against the prince’s power of appointment, and some began to adopt the elective principle. The Prussians intervened in 1787 to restore the old order, while many patriots fled to the Austrian Netherlands or to France.

Meanwhile, the reforms of Holy Roman Emperor Joseph II (ruled 1780–1790) threw huge areas of the Austrian empire into turmoil. Like the other “enlightened despots,” Joseph was motivated in part by the desire to improve his finances and his military after Austria’s mediocre performance in battle under his mother, Maria Theresa. Unlike his “enlightened” counterparts, he did not believe that further exploitation of his subjects was desirable. Instead, Joseph’s policies borrowed from many of the nostrums of the intellectuals of his day. Thus his

tax reforms were based on a thorough land survey that evaluated real resources, and they also annulled the exemptions for nobles and certain corporate bodies. He promulgated religious toleration for Protestants (but not for Jews or Muslims). He also suppressed the contemplative orders of the Roman Catholic Church, which he considered useless, and seized their property.

These measures provoked massive disturbances throughout Joseph's realms. Peasants in the Tyrol rebelled against the suppression of their monasteries, while the Hungarian nobility flirted with treason over the loss of their privileges. The most prolonged resistance originated in the Austrian Netherlands (roughly modern Belgium), where the numerous provincial Estates were upset that the new tax reforms had been introduced without their consent. Eventually, the Estates were simply replaced with a set of "rational" administrative bodies responsible to the emperor's officials in Brussels. Meanwhile, peasants in the Flemish-speaking regions revolted against the religious reforms. The war on the Turks delayed repression, but when repression came in mid-1789, it was met with widespread resistance. In a phenomenon that became common elsewhere, excitable priests and monks did everything they could to stir up opinion by claiming that "religion" was threatened. The patriots' civilian militias—contemptuously referred to as the "Army of the Moon" by the Austrians, who grossly underestimated them—met with considerable success, and their victories encouraged further rebellion. Finally, having routed the Austrians, the Estates General declared independence and the formation of a United States of Belgium in December 1789.

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

It is seductive to see parallels between the revolution in France and the revolutions in these other countries. After all, as in the Austrian Netherlands, the government in France needed to reorganize the fiscal system in order to compete with its great-power rivals. In France as elsewhere, oligarchs struggled among themselves for control of state power. But in Belgium, traditional society exerted itself against princely power, and so privilege protected all of society against despotism. In France, patriots saw privilege and despotism as one and the

same. Furthermore, unlike in Geneva, the Dutch Republic, or Belgium, the repression from outside came very late in the French case, well after the revolution had defined itself. European powers initially interpreted the French Revolution as a collapse of French power and saw no reason to intervene; rather, they saw limitless advantage in letting France immolate itself. In short, because a revolution had broken out in a great power, other powers were bound to treat it differently. For that reason alone, the revolution in France followed a different course.

With the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen (26 August 1789) the Revolution declared its principles: liberty under the law, due process, religious toleration, and protection of property. It took more than a year to work out the implications of these principles, but they were by any standard a radical departure from the recent past. The Constitution of 1791 established a unicameral legislature elected by an indirect but very wide male suffrage. The king was to have extensive executive powers over foreign relations and the military, as well as a veto over any legislation, one that could not be overridden easily. The constitution failed to provide for a speedy resolution to a clash between the legislature and the executive, leaving force as the only solution should such a conflict arise.

By the new constitution, the old division of France into provinces was abolished and replaced by eighty-three territorial entities called "departments." Although theoretically responsible to the national government, the department administrators were not paid officials but elected volunteers. Government was henceforth in the hands of at least a million enthusiastic citizens, who often governed in their own way, frequently ignoring direct orders from Paris.

FISCAL CRISIS

The revolutionary crisis had begun over the insolvency of the crown, and the Constituent Assembly inherited huge problems of public finance. Its attempts to resolve these problems were disastrous. In a series of laws, the Assembly seized the property of the church and sold it at auction. But the church had much less property and many fewer resources than contemporaries imagined. Church land comprised about 3 to 4 percent of the national patri-



Age of Revolutions. Undated engraving of the Tennis Court Oath. Meeting in an indoor tennis court on 20 June 1789, the self-proclaimed National Assembly of France vowed not to disband until a constitution had been written and accepted by King Louis XVI. The king agreed but was ultimately overthrown as the revolution progressed to its anti-monarchical republican stage.

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mony, not 10 to 15 percent as had been thought. Moreover, the Assembly's decision to issue non-interest-bearing bonds (paper money, in other words) called *assignats* turned out to be calamitous. *Assignats* amounted to a loan that was supposed to be retired as the church lands (termed *biens nationaux*) were sold. But this did not happen. The economist and deputy Antoine-Laurent Lavoisier pointed out that *biens nationaux* were worth far less than they seemed, because the Assembly also assumed responsibility for the church's massive debt and the payment of clerical salaries. The value of the *assignat* against gold therefore began to fall almost immediately. There were more and more *assignats* in circulation that were not backed by the mass of *biens nationaux*. Thus in January 1791, the *assignat* had lost 10 percent of its value, and a year later, nearly 40 percent.

The consequences of this monetary disaster reverberated throughout the country and abroad. Farmers refused to bring grain to market if they were going to be paid in the deteriorating currency. The result was endless rioting from 1791 until 1795. Smart citizens paid their taxes in *assignats*, when they paid at all. Not only did the state lose, so did private individuals. Holders of government bonds, among whom the high nobility was well represented, had their fortunes wiped out. Landlords who received rents in cash were also big losers. The falling *assignat* even affected how the French fought their wars for the rest of the decade.

One of the biggest demands in the summer of 1789 was for fiscal equality. With the outbreak of the Revolution, the implicit assumption was that the destruction of fiscal privilege would lower the tax burden. This did not happen. Estimating whether the new regime's citizens paid more than the Old Regime's subjects is tricky, but it is certain that the Revolution did not effect much, or even any, transfer of wealth. By law, landlords were allowed to add the equivalent of the defunct tithe to leases. A rise in rents would have happened regardless—because of the intense land hunger in France—and the rise in rents exceeded the former tithe and former seigniorial dues combined. Indeed, the higher rents gave landlords some compensation for the loss of their fiscal privileges. But the state was the main beneficiary, since the increase in taxes gouged landlords. In Brittany, for instance, large landowners paid

roughly 15 percent of their incomes in taxes under the Old Regime, but 40 percent during the Revolution. Under Napoleon Bonaparte, this percentage was cut by half. No wonder the emperor was popular. Nobody had anticipated that fiscal equality would mean higher taxes.

It was in this context of monetary crisis, continuing economic inequality, and rising rents and taxes that the French were asked to express their loyalty to the Revolution, and the result in many areas of the country was disturbing to the new regime. The regime attempted to regulate the relations between church and state by means of a new law, the Civil Constitution of the Clergy (12 July 1790). Unlike the Americans, the revolutionaries in France did not believe in the separation of church and state. Instead, they envisioned the clergy as proselytizers for the revolutionary regime, and the Civil Constitution was supposed to promote this new role. When the upper clergy balked, the Constituent Assembly added an oath of loyalty to the Civil Constitution. About 60 percent of French parish priests took the oath, but in large parts of the country, especially in the west and south, huge numbers of clerics refused it. In many cases, they had the support of their parishioners, many of whom had gotten nothing from a revolution that had once been so promising. Many of the supporters of the refractories, as those who refused the oath were called, were women who had deep emotional attachments to their parish priests, many of whom had long attended to their families. Still others supported the refractories simply because these clerics were overtly defiant of the bourgeois revolutionaries who, many felt, had deceived them.

THE END OF THE MONARCHY

A Revolution that should have been over at the end of 1789 thus proved impossible to conclude because of the unforeseen consequences of the Constituent Assembly's policies. National politics aggravated this turmoil immeasurably. On 20 June 1791, Louis XVI and his family fled Paris for the eastern frontier. What the king hoped to accomplish is unclear, and perhaps he did not know himself. The next day he was apprehended at Varennes and brought back to Paris. The flight to Varennes had enormous consequences. At first the politicians in the Constituent Assembly were masters of the situa-

tion. They had no intention of deposing the king and preferred to believe he had been kidnapped. Their determination to preserve the monarchy probably cut short a drift to republicanism in the provinces, and in the capital republicanism was dealt a violent blow in the Champ de Mars massacre (17 July 1791).

Nonetheless, restoring Louis XVI to the throne was a huge error. Many disgusted patriots, including the radical journalist Jacques-Pierre Brissot, began to demand a war on the hereditary enemy, Austria, to smoke out, as they said, the “great traitors.” The question of war and the defense of the Revolution dominated the new Legislative Assembly (October 1791–September 1792). According to Brissot, war would define loyalties clearly, and Louis XVI had shown where he stood by vetoing several laws penalizing the refractory clergy and émigrés, those who had fled abroad.

The vetoes not only revived the democrats in Paris, who began to denounce the king; they also galvanized the provinces. Democrats in the provinces had expressed their dismay at the king’s betrayal following the flight to Varennes but had largely demurred on the issue of a penalty for his attempted escape. After the vetoes, many provincial administrations and many Jacobin clubs went far beyond the demands of the radicals in Paris. They illegally interned refractory priests, invoking a justification often heard later, during the Terror, that the safety of the people is the supreme law. They also demanded, well ahead of Paris, the suspension of the king. By mid-summer of 1792 dozens of National Guard battalions, including that of Marseille, converged on Paris, singing the hymn that later became the national anthem.

On 10 August 1792 the provincial National Guards, with some help from Parisian radicals, overthrew the monarchy. But this did not neutralize the immediate threat. The internal enemy—the supporters of the refractory priests—was as dangerous as ever. Furthermore, Brissot finally persuaded the Legislative Assembly to declare war on Austria (20 April 1792). Prussia soon allied with Austria, and the Prussians were indeed the first to cross the frontier. Shortly after the fortress of Verdun surrendered to the Prussians, the September Massacres (2–6 September 1792) began in Paris. About 1,400

people were murdered in this appalling episode, in which murderers methodically dragged prisoners from their cells, set up kangaroo courts, and murdered the “guilty” in the streets. The most prominent victim was the Princesse de Lamballe, an intimate of Marie Antoinette, whose head and body parts were paraded through the Marais section of Paris.

The overthrow of the monarchy was also the death of the Constitution of 1791. Consequently, a new body, the National Convention, was elected to replace the Legislative Assembly. The Convention declared France a republic on 20 September 1792. Military victories at Valmy and Jemappes forced the Prussians out of France and allowed the French to occupy Belgium. The Convention also decided to put Louis XVI on trial. It ignored the fact that he was immune for all political acts under the Constitution of 1791. Despite widespread charges that the king was guilty of treason (a charge that many historians continue to repeat), the Convention failed to produce any evidence that he had betrayed his country in wartime.

Even so, the Convention found Louis guilty, and he was executed on 21 January 1793. The men of the Convention were convinced that they were living through a great moment in human history. They were right, but not for the reasons they imagined. They thought they had founded the republic of universal happiness, that the sacrifice of their king had made them true republicans, that spilling the blood of Louis the Last had sacralized the republic. It did none of this. Indeed, the republic succumbed to a dictatorship eleven years later, in part because of what they had done. In effect, the execution of the king provoked the counterrevolution, in the person of the king’s brother, the new self-proclaimed regent. He vowed that a successful counterrevolution would demand the execution of the regicides. The execution of Louis XVI therefore rendered impossible any compromise between revolutionary and counterrevolutionary France.

THE CRISIS OF 1793

The death of the king solved none of the pressing challenges before the Convention. In February and March, the Convention declared war on Great Britain, Holland, and Spain. Every great power except Russia was now at war with France. Moreover, the

spring military campaign went badly. A renewed Austrian offensive forced the French into retreat. Worse still, one of the French generals, Charles-François du Périer Dumouriez, tried to turn his troops on Paris to “restore the sane part of the Convention.” He failed, but his treason fueled the revolutionaries’ already powerful conviction that conspiracy was everywhere and no one could be trusted.

The economy, meanwhile, teetered on the brink of collapse. By January 1793 the *assignat* was at half its original value. There were riots in several major cities, particularly in Paris, where journalists and demagogues demanded a law prescribing death to hoarders. The Convention balked at that, but it did decree a “maximum,” a law fixing the price of grain. The maximum did little for the cities, but it

did fix the price the government would pay for grain for the swelling armies of the republic.

Alongside foreign war and economic chaos, the third dimension of the crisis of 1793 was counter-revolutionary insurrection in the west of France. The first riots were spread over fourteen departments in Normandy, Brittany, Maine, Anjou, and Poitou. The revolutionary army and local National Guard put down most of the rebellion, but they failed to do so in four departments south of the Loire, known as the “Vendée *militaire*” or simply the “Vendée.” This was easily the most extensive and enduring peasant rebellion of the entire Revolution. It began as a protest over the recruiting law of 24 February 1793, whereby the Convention conscripted 300,000 young men into the army. But whole communities, upset over higher taxes, higher rents, and the disruption of their spiritual life by the



Age of Revolutions. A contemporary engraving depicts the execution of Louis XVI of France, 1793. ©BETTMANN/CORBIS

Civil Constitution of the Clergy, soon joined the young men. By July, noble leaders, often impressed into service by their former “vassals,” had formed a “Catholic and Royal Army of the West” and sent out emissaries to seek out British arms and money.

The Convention responded with the first steps toward the Terror. It established a Revolutionary Tribunal in Paris, whose initial purpose was to punish traitors like Dumouriez, and a Committee of Public Safety to take whatever measures were necessary to save the young republic. It also established revolutionary committees to arrest suspects, that is, anyone thought to be a potential enemy. And it passed the law of 10 March 1793, which established revolutionary tribunals that reduced enormously the protections for the accused as guaranteed in the Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen. Finally, it authorized its own members, known as “representatives on mission,” to fan out over the provinces to supervise conscription and the application of revolutionary laws in general.

These early measures of defense provoked widespread resistance, especially in the cities of the south. Because local Jacobins took these measures even further than the Convention intended and threatened a bloodbath of their enemies, many in the south rebelled under the banner of “federalism.” The federalists had little contact amongst themselves and not much of a program beyond resistance to the Jacobin vision of the future, but one by one they took over many cities in the region. These cities, Lyon, Marseille, Toulon, Bordeaux, and some smaller ones such as Arles and Aubagne, had all experienced lynchings the previous summer. Like the September Massacres in Paris, these lynchings had never been punished.

THE TERROR

Federalism and the Vendée were defeated, at least militarily, by the end of 1793. At the same time, the purge of Brissot’s friends from the Convention (31 May–2 June 1793), the accession of Maximilien Robespierre to the Committee of Public Safety (27 July 1793), and the murder of the journalist-deputy Jean-Paul Marat in his bath by Charlotte Corday (13 July 1793) all combined to ratchet up a will to destroy the enemies of the Revolution.

These events led France to the Terror, the most violent and also one of the most misunderstood

episodes of the Revolution. Most of the victims of the Terror were found guilty of counterrevolutionary acts, but in fact their trials were too short to establish guilt or innocence: in Marseilles they averaged twenty minutes each, in Lyon seventy-two seconds. Around Nantes, one tribunal passed 666 death sentences in three days. Among the victims were numerous women, priests, and children. In any case, the language of Terror was not defensive, and it was deliberately horrible and cruel. “The guillotine awaits its game birds,” said the representative on mission in Arras, Joseph Le Bon. According to the representatives in Lyon,

Our enemies need a great example, a terrible lesson to force them to respect the cause of Justice and Liberty. All right then! We are going to give it to them. . . . All their allies at Liberated City [Lyon] must fall before the thunderbolts of justice and their bloodied corpses, tossed into the Rhône, offer from its two banks until its mouth, under the walls of the infamous Toulon, to the eyes of the cowardly and ferocious English, the impression of horror and the image of the all powerful French people.

The Terror had many purposes, but one of the most common justifications at the time was that it was needed to purge the nation of corrupting influences and to regenerate the citizenry, to make it worthy of the egalitarian republic. Hence the necessity to make executions as spectacular as possible and hence, too, the frequent ceremonies, often known as dechristianization, to exorcize the Christian, royalist, and feudal past. The Terror was intended to purge the Old Regime from people’s minds.

The Terror as mass execution, of course, failed, and it formally came to an end with the execution of Robespierre and his faction on 28 July 1794. But the successor regimes, known as the Thermidorean Convention (after the month in the revolutionary calendar when the Terror ended) and the Directory (the government established by the Constitution of the Year III, or 1795) nonetheless remained revolutionary regimes. They, too, aimed to produce a new republican man animated by public virtue, through reforms in the school curricula and lengthy, didactic public ceremonies. They were enthusiastically anticlerical and maintained the death penalty for returned refractory priests and émigrés. Finally, they established exceptional military commissions from time to time, whose legal basis and procedures were

scarcely different from revolutionary courts of the Terror.

EXPORT OF THE REVOLUTION

Thus, when the French expanded into western Europe, they brought with them not the promise of 1789—a regime based upon the rights of man, fraternity, and limited government—but rather revolutionary regimes, which they imposed upon the newly liberated peoples. Moreover, they exported not only policies, but also stubborn habits of mind. French authorities viewed all opposition as the result of conspiracy, and religious dissidence as the work of refractory priests. They believed foreigners unworthy to receive the blessings of liberty, since they had been corrupted by centuries of despotism. The same attitudes had played themselves out in France itself; abroad, the result was the same: repression followed by resistance.

The pattern of repression and resistance appeared almost everywhere as people protested the French-imposed reforms of the Catholic Church. In France, strong anticlerical surges throughout the 1790s provoked an equally powerful response, including talk of apparitions of the Virgin in sacred oak trees, pilgrimages to holy fountains and wells to ward off divine wrath, stories about the end of days, pilgrimages to the Holy Land to establish the “Republic of Jesus Christ,” and so on. The rest of Europe was no different. On the left bank of the Rhine, for instance, although the monasteries were left alone for a while, the invaders imposed the revolutionary calendar, forbade pilgrimages, suppressed outdoor religious ceremonies, deported unruly priests, and took other similarly repressive measures. The response in the Rhineland was similar to that in France. Around Aachen, one widely distributed pamphlet denounced “all enemies of the saints, of their images and of their solemn veneration . . . all harbingers of the Anti-Christ . . . O Lord, be gracious unto us! At a time when many carry the mark of the beast.” In Italy, there were stories of miraculous appearances of the Virgin in lonely dilapidated chapels, stories of miraculous cures at her shrines, stories of her statues weeping, blinking, falling over, or speaking. The French, like the Tridentine reformers before them, deplored the reports as senseless superstition and tried to suppress them, but in driving such sentiments underground,

they made the faithful cling to their traditions even more. As in France, clerics who had once condemned such enthusiasms as aberrations began to see their value as stimulants to faith, and the church entered the new century with priests and laity more in harmony than they had been in centuries.

Another reason for discontent was that the French occupiers did not bring liberty to Europe’s oppressed for free. Not only did they expect the natives to sustain the occupation and tolerate pillage, they also expected indemnities. When the republican armies overran Belgium, the Dutch Republic, and the left bank of the Rhine in late 1794–early 1795, they made the price clear. In the former Dutch Republic they established the first of the “sister republics,” the Batavian Republic, and staffed it with Dutch patriots. But they also imposed an indemnity of 100 million florins, and over a fifth of the new republic’s expenditure was for the upkeep of French troops. One of the reasons for the invasion of Switzerland was to loot the treasury of the city of Bern in order to finance Bonaparte’s Egyptian campaign. General Guillaume Brune levied an indemnity of five million livres and took hostages among the patricians to ensure compliance. One commissioner threatened to toss the patricians into the nearby lakes as fish food. In the Kingdom of Naples, ordinary people welcomed the French because they believed their liberators would abolish all taxes. Instead, they levied an indemnity of 2.5 million ducats as well as a separate indemnity on Bari of 40,000 ducats. Royalist opponents of the French, in turn, got a great deal of traction by promising a moratorium on all taxes for ten years.

Resistance against the French emerged almost everywhere. Although the particular motivating factors varied from place to place, rebellion usually had to do with increased taxation, conscription, and religious innovation. In Belgium, for instance, the French definitively abolished the old institutions of estates and provinces that had recently defied the Austrian “despotism,” creating instead nine new subservient departments. Many priests refused yet another oath of loyalty, and nearly five hundred were deported to Guienne or the islands of Ré and Oléron off the Atlantic coast. In December 1798, a “War of the Peasants” broke out on both sides of the Flemish-Walloon linguistic line to protest conscription. Young men; the rural poor, now desper-

ate because of the abolition of traditional relief; and the socially marginal, including demobilized imperial soldiers and men the French called “brigands,” took up all manner of farm tools and tore down liberty trees, burned vital statistics registers, robbed tax offices, and welcomed refractory priests. One band called itself the “Catholic Army of Brabant,” while others shouted their support for George III, the prince of Orange, or the Austrian emperor. Many of these same people had rebelled against the innovations of Joseph II nine years before. French repression was far more successful than Austria’s had been; some five to ten thousand Belgians were arrested, and nearly two hundred were shot by military commissions.

In the vastly over-taxed Batavian Republic, the Dutch navy mutinied during the Anglo-Russian invasion of August 1799, but the rebellion did not spread, possibly because the Orangist pretender remained an uncompromising enemy of the former patriots, now Jacobins, just as he had been in the 1780s. There were also significant disturbances in Switzerland. Many could see little point in the “Helvetic Republic,” with its modern and expensive government, its requisitions, and its military drafts. People in the more remote cantons had never paid taxes of any sort and had certainly never been drafted (there were similar conditions in many of the tiny German statelets, where the knights of the Holy Roman Empire lived off their own resources and made no demands on their subjects). Everywhere the French tax system was disruptive, since the Swiss had never known a direct land tax. As in France and elsewhere, in Switzerland protests based on religion were dismissed as the work of fanatics, and in one rising nearly four hundred were killed.

In Italy there was counterrevolutionary resistance almost from the beginning of the French invasion in March 1796. There were irregulars operating against the Army of Italy in Lombardy, Liguria, Romagna, and Tuscany. The “Jacobins” who accepted positions of authority in the sister republics—the Ligurian (Genoa, June 1797), Cisalpine (Milan, July 1797), Roman (February 1798), and Parnethopean or Neapolitan (January 1799)—had very little popular following and were always threatened with insurrection. There was a major counterrevolutionary rising in the Ligurian Republic as early as September 1797, which the French saw as a

clerical and noble-inspired rising (like previous risings in France) to restore the Genovese oligarchy using religion as a pretext. In fact, French anticlericalism had outraged local religious sensibilities. Around Rapallo some peasants wished to plant “a tree with the banner of the Madonna” to counter the French liberty trees. Nearby, the “low people” decided to “raise the Genovese standard, reinforced with the image of the Immaculate Virgin.” In a rising in Ferrara, one rebel leader said he was a “captain of the Emperor.” In Nice and western Piedmont, a particularly vicious guerilla movement, known as the *barbets* or *barbetti*, murdered “the French” and bragged about eating their livers and bread soaked in their blood. They frequently decapitated their victims and took the heads with them.

There was a major insurrection in Rome on 25 February 1798, in which up to two hundred French may have been killed. Earlier, General André Masséna had been accused of being the Antichrist. On the eve of the declaration of the Roman Republic, “around 90,000 faithful, covered with the grime of penitents, implored divine help.” The occasion for the rising itself was the decision of the republic to abolish the Jewish ghetto and free Jews from the obligation to wear a yellow symbol. Jews could now wear the republican tricolor, which raised fear and suspicion that they supported the French. The rebellion was quickly suppressed and on 27 February alone, thirty rebels were executed after sentencing by a military commission. Over the next two years over eighty people were executed.

The year 1799 witnessed generalized insurrections throughout the peninsula. These had begun in Piedmont, in the valley of the Aosta, the previous December; in February 1799 they spread to the Neapolitan Republic, and they became general with the Austro-Russian invasion. The Russian commander Aleksandr Suvorov entered Milan on 28 April, whereupon the Cisalpine Republic collapsed. Turin fell a month later. This encouraged the counterrevolution throughout Italy. In the Alpine villages, the local captains of the irregulars were parish priests who had swords and pistols stuffed into their cassocks. The most dramatic and bloody rebellion occurred in the Neapolitan Republic. In February 1799, Cardinal Fabrizio Ruffo, a former official in the papal curia, set out from Sicily and

landed in Calabria with just four men. Gradually, he gathered more and more forces to his movement, the Santa Fede or 'Holy Faith'. Officially, he called his army the "Most Christian Armada of the Holy Faith," although it was less an army than a constantly changing series of formations of local irregulars. On 13 June, the Santafedisti entered Naples and began an orgy of revenge and bloodletting. Ruffo himself watched with despair. As an enlightened reformer, he had gnawing misgivings about the crude faith of his followers, but he contributed to the lawlessness by promising them confiscated Jacobin estates. Indeed, authority collapsed to such an extent, and the restored Bourbons and their advisor Lord Horatio Nelson were in such a vindictive mood, that the vendetta killings continued for another year. Brigandage remained a problem in the kingdom for decades afterward.

NAPOLEON AND THE END OF THE REVOLUTION

The French Revolution destroyed the ancient institutions of old Europe, institutions that had kept an uneasy and not always successful balance between despots and subjects. The consequence of this destruction was the Napoleonic despotism and, in response, a revival of the Catholic enthusiasm that the Tridentine reforms had tried to contain over two hundred years before. No one could have anticipated such an end to the Revolution back in the summer of 1789, amid the blissful hopes for a humanity reborn.

See also **American Independence, War of (1775–1783); Ancien Régime; Dutch Republic; Enlightened Despotism; Estates-General, French: 1789; France; Geneva; Italy; Joseph II (Holy Roman Empire); Louis XVI (France); Marie Antoinette; Patriot Revolution; Popular Protest and Rebellions.**

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DONALD SUTHERLAND

REYNOLDS, JOSHUA (1723–1792), English portrait painter and theorist. Sir Joshua Reynolds's critical role in the development of British art from the eighteenth century lay both in his painting practice and his position as the first president of the Royal Academy. As the leading painter of aristocratic and intellectual society in the second half of the eighteenth century, Reynolds looked to classical and Old Master models to endow his "great style" portraits and his own reputation with art historical seriousness. He articulated his method for raising

the social status of the artist in theoretical form with the fifteen lectures (known as the *Discourses on Art*) he delivered between 1769 and 1790 to the students and members of the Royal Academy that he helped found in 1768.

Born in Plympton, where his father, an Oxford fellow, was master of the local grammar school, Reynolds began his London career as an apprentice to fellow Devonshire-born portrait painter Thomas Hudson in 1740. After three years (although he had been indentured for four), Reynolds began his independent practice in London and Devonshire. To complete his artistic education, he sailed with his friend Commodore Augustus Keppel to Italy, where he studied in Rome between April 1750 and April 1752.

On his return to London at the end of 1752, Reynolds set up his studio near Covent Garden, the neighborhood then popular with artists. His second portrait of Keppel (c. 1753–1754; National Maritime Museum, London) in the pose of the Greek sculpture *Apollo Belvedere* demonstrates Reynolds's study of the antique statues in Rome, as well as the heroic figures of Michelangelo. As his future student James Northcote related, Reynolds's success was consolidated with his commissions of "several ladies of high quality, whose portraits the polite world flocked to see." Reynolds's hectic schedule of sittings (in 1758 he had sittings every day of the week) provided the income necessary for his move to a larger house in Leicester Fields in 1760.

That year also marked the initial exhibition of the Society of Artists, which was the first public exhibition of paintings to be held in England. Reynolds contributed four portraits, including the classicizing full-length portrait of Elizabeth Gunning, duchess of Hamilton (1758–1759; Lady Lever Art Gallery, Port Sunlight). Reynolds continued to exhibit at the Society of Artists; however, he socialized with men of letters, such as Samuel Johnson, Oliver Goldsmith, and Edmund Burke, and was a founding member of the Literary Club in 1764.

Soon after his two-month trip to Paris, the Royal Academy was founded, in December 1768, and Reynolds was elected its first president. It was for the academy rooms that he painted his only portraits of King George III and Queen Charlotte. Although he never succeeded in winning royal pa-

tronage, Reynolds was knighted in April 1769 and named principal painter in 1784 on the death of Allan Ramsay.

The following two decades of Reynolds's career revolved around his dual role as painter and theoretician at the Royal Academy. At the annual exhibitions, Reynolds displayed his most ambitious works, such as *Mrs. Siddons as the Tragic Muse* (1783–1784; Huntington Library Art Collections, San Marino, Calif.), in which the dramatic actress is seated in the pose of Michelangelo's prophet Isaiah from the Sistine Chapel ceiling.

Presented annually for the first five years and then every other year at the academy's annual awards ceremony, Reynolds's *Discourses on Art* were not only a prescriptive course of study for aspiring artists, but also presented the president's case for the intellectual status of the artist in society. In his stated theory of beauty in Discourse IX, Reynolds's emphasis on the cerebral is clear: "The beauty of which we are in quest is general and intellectual; it is an idea that subsists only in the mind."

Although Reynolds's dictate to artists urging inventiveness may seem at odds with his own borrowing of poses from antique sculpture and Old Master paintings, his allusions to great works from the past are in keeping with the theory he outlines in Discourse XII: "The daily food and nourishment of the mind of an Artist is found in the great works of his predecessors. There is no other way to become great himself." To this end, Reynolds recommends the "great style" of the Roman and Bolognese schools, as opposed to the "ornamental" approach of the Venetians.

Reynolds's own attempts to achieve the richness of color of Titian and the Venetian school led him to experiment with mixtures of varnish, turpentine, bitumen, and other unconventional ingredients that often caused irreparable damage to his paintings. To Northcote he confessed that "I had not an opportunity of being early initiated in the principles of Colouring." Reynolds stopped painting upon the deterioration of his eyesight in 1789. On his death in 1792, he was buried in the crypt of St. Paul's Cathedral. In his eulogy, Edmund Burke took up Reynolds's own insistence on the intellectual role of the artist, noting that "he was a profound and penetrating philosopher."



Joshua Reynolds. *Mrs. Siddons as the Tragic Muse*, in the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, California.
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See also **Academies of Art**; **Art: The Conception and Status of the Artist**; **Britain, Art in**; **Gainsborough, Thomas**.

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ELIZABETH A. PERGAM

RHETORIC. The term “rhetoric” refers to the art of persuasive discourse or to the presence of rhetorical elements in prose, poetry, or oratory.

THE HERITAGE OF THE MIDDLE AGES

As a discipline, rhetoric crowned education in the culture of ancient Greece and Rome and served in the Middle Ages as one of the three liberal arts of the *trivium*: grammar, logic, and rhetoric. Even though occasions for the practice of live oratory in judicial courts and political forums declined in the medieval period, rhetoric supplied theoretical principles for the arts of preaching, letter writing, and poetry.

RENAISSANCE RECOVERY OF CLASSICAL LITERATURE

Humanists in fourteenth-century Italy began to study newly recovered classical manuscripts, including previously unknown rhetorical works, histories, and other literary texts. At the same time the advent of printing carried forward the pedagogical influence of the most ubiquitous rhetorical manuals of Roman antiquity: *De inventione* (On invention) by Cicero (106–43 B.C.E.) and the anonymous *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (Rhetoric for Herennius). The recovery of *De institutio oratoria* (On the education of the orator) by Quintilian, a first-century Roman

teacher of rhetoric, reinforced and expanded the content of the early works. All of these depicted rhetoric as including five parts or canons: invention, arrangement, memory, delivery, and style; and all envisioned three kinds of oratory: political, judicial, and ceremonial (epideictic).

The discovery around 1400 of Cicero’s *De oratore* (On oratory), a dialogue, and many of his orations and letters to friends inspired scholars to imitate his Latin and to regard as inadequate the medieval form inherited from the Scholastics. Ciceronianism, as the new movement was called, had its critics, who argued against excessive imitation of the vocabulary and syntax of Cicero.

Interest in the language and literature of ancient Greece also arose in the fifteenth century when Greek scholars came to reside in Italy, bringing with them Greek manuscripts of works unknown for centuries. Among these scholars were Manuel Chrysoloras (c. 1353–1415), who taught Greek in Florence, and George of Trebizond (1395–1486), author of a popular rhetoric incorporating the Greek and Byzantine tradition and a translator of Aristotle’s *Rhetoric* into Latin. His was the first of many translations that made Aristotle’s teachings available once more.

Prominent among the manuals of rhetoric reviving the whole classical tradition were George of Trebizond’s *Rhetoricorum Libri V* (c. 1433; Five books on rhetoric); Guillaume Fichet’s *Rhetorica* (1471); Lorenzo Guglielmo Traversagni’s *Nova Rhetorica* (1478; New rhetoric); Johannes Caesarius’s *Rhetorica* (1542); and the Jesuit Cipriano Soarez’s *De Arte Rhetorica* (1562), which was reprinted continuously into the eighteenth century. Some very popular textbooks of the Renaissance were devoted entirely to invention and some solely to style.

THE CHIEF ELEMENTS OF RENAISSANCE RHETORIC

As occasions for the use of rhetoric in the city-states of Italy increased at the beginning of the Renaissance, so too did interest in the elements of the art. Invention, the technique of developing arguments on both sides of a subject, was deemed critical to persuasive speech or prose. Rhetoric shared with logic (or dialectic) the need for invention, but dialectic debated philosophical questions while rheto-

ric argued matters of public concern in order to persuade a general audience.

Invention aided orators in creating arguments when certain knowledge could not be attained, when one could argue only from what seemed probable. The ancient dialectical method of assessing probabilities, “the topics,” was used to probe a subject systematically by asking for its genus, species (or definition), accidents, and properties (and its similarities, opposites, and relationships). Rhetorical texts added to the topical lore of invention the topics of persons (ancestry, education, appearance, and character) and action (manner of life, deeds, words). Collectively these were referred to as “commonplaces” in English, *koinoi topoi* in Greek, and *loci communes* in Latin. In sixteenth-century England students kept “commonplace books” in which they recorded topical arguments, memorable sayings, and set pieces of eloquence. The topical method permeated creative efforts in poetry and literary prose as well as public discourse. Closely linked to the topics was the canon of style. Its concern with levels of discourse, tone, and the fecundity of figures of speech inspired even more interest than invention in the Renaissance. The figures or “colors” were exploited extensively in oratory, prose, and poetry to appeal to the emotions.

The lines between the provinces of dialectic and rhetoric began to break down in the sixteenth century when more and more philosophical subjects came to the attention of an increasingly educated public. The scope of rhetoric was thus widened beyond the three traditional kinds.

HUMANISM AND CURRICULAR REFORM

The recovery of Quintilian’s *De institutione oratoria* in 1416 confirmed humanists in their efforts to revamp the curriculum to emphasize both literary and practical concerns. The *studia humanitatis*, which soon replaced the *trivium* in most Italian schools, included grammar, poetics, rhetoric, history and moral philosophy. Logic was deleted from the new curriculum in reaction to what was deemed Scholastic preoccupation with syllogistic reasoning.

Among the later humanists, Desiderius Erasmus (1466?–1536) was probably the best known in his lifetime. His influence spread across the Continent to England, where his *De Ratione Studii*

(1512; On a course of studies) and *De Copia* (1512; On copiousness), a treatise on style, were adopted by John Colet (1467–1519) for use in St. Paul’s School in London. Juan Luis Vives (1492–1540), educated at the University of Paris, also carried humanist studies to England. Soarez’s *De Arte Rhetorica* (1562), mentioned earlier, circulated from Portugal to Italy and to Jesuit schools throughout the world. Philipp Melancthon’s (1497–1560) rhetorical works extended his humanistic approach to Germany and other northern areas.

RISE OF THE VERNACULAR

Although Latin remained the predominant language for scholarly communication, during the sixteenth century the vernacular increasingly became the preferred medium for familiar letters, preaching, publications, and oratory aimed at a general audience. As consciousness of national differences increased in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, so also did attention to the perfection of national languages and a desire to make them equal to classical Latin. Textbooks of rhetoric soon appeared in the vernacular, for example, Thomas Wilson’s *The Art of Rhetorique* (1553) in English and Bartolomeo Cavalcanti’s *La retorica* (1555) in Italian.

RAMISM

The Dutch humanist Rudolph Agricola (1444–1485) and the French scholar Petrus Ramus (1515–1572) suggested changes in the curriculum that reversed earlier humanist alterations. Teaching at the University of Paris, Ramus followed the lead of Agricola in returning attention to the study of dialectic, making it the master discipline. Attempting to eliminate overlap in the curriculum, he allocated invention, organization, and memory to dialectic and gave style and delivery to rhetoric. The effect was to attribute to dialectic his own methods of analysis and composition and to equate rhetoric with stylistic artifice, neglecting entirely its aim of persuasion. Ramism was most popular in northern Europe and England during the last half of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

SCIENCE AND RHETORIC IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

The rise of interest in scientific induction and experiment in the seventeenth century brought with it a concern for clearer, more succinct prose. Francis

Bacon (1561–1626) called for a more analytic approach to the coloration of meaning in expression. René Descartes (1596–1650) and John Locke (1632–1704) deplored stylistic artifice. Invention, which Bacon saw as primarily associated with science, diminished in importance. Emphasis in teaching style moved from stress on elegant figures and extensive elaboration to that on precision in diction and clarification of meaning in open, familiar expression.

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY TRENDS IN RHETORIC

Four major and enduring trends in the study of rhetoric can be discerned in the eighteenth century: neoclassicism, elocution, belletrism, and philosophical-psychological theory. Neoclassicism and elocution both flourished in the first part of the century. Neoclassicism called for renewed study of the Greek and Latin classics of rhetoric. Bernard Lamy (1640–1715) and François Fénelon (1651–1715) in France and John Lawson (1709–1759) and John Ward (1679?–1758) in England were foremost in this movement. Elocution, the old canon of delivery concerned with voice and gesture, came into vogue as a separate art because critics believed that proficiency in pulpit and political oratory had seriously declined. Thomas W. Sheridan (1719–1788) successfully promoted this new trend in education.

The latter half of the eighteenth century saw the rise of belletrism and the philosophical-psychological approach to rhetoric. Neither of these retained invention, their focus being analysis of the written word. Growing out of the Scottish Enlightenment, the belletristic movement engaged such disparate figures as Henry Home, Lord Kames (1696–1782), Adam Smith (1723–1790), Edmund Burke (1729–1797), Joseph Priestley (1733–1804), George Campbell (1719–1796), and Hugh Blair (1718–1800). They stressed interpretation of literary texts and such concepts as taste, the sublime, and the beautiful. George Campbell approached the study of rhetoric from the standpoint of the new theories of the human mind, termed faculty psychology. His *Philosophy of Rhetoric* (1776) treats the aims of discourse and the creation of effects on the mind. All four of these views of rhetoric were transported to North America.

See also **Descartes, René**; **Education**; **Erasmus, Desiderius**; **Humanists and Humanism**; **Locke, John**; **Melanchthon, Philipp**; **Ramus, Petrus**.

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RICHARDSON, SAMUEL (1689–1761), English novelist. Samuel Richardson was born at Mackworth in Derbyshire. His father was a joiner, and his family were farmers. Richardson's poverty precluded a classical education, and he went to a common school. Apprenticed for seven years to a printer, John Wilde, Richardson became a Freeman of the Stationers' Company and of the City of London in 1715. He married his employer's daughter, Martha, in 1721, and they had six children, all of whom died in childhood.

Hardworking and diligent, Richardson established himself as a prosperous stationer and printer in 1721 near St. Bride's Church off Fleet Street, London. Renowned for his charity and generosity, he printed the novels *Moll Flanders* and *Roxana* by Daniel Defoe, the duke of Wharton's periodical the *True Briton*, and works by the philosopher Francis Hutcheson. Characterized as an extreme Tory printer, he was impeached by the secretary of state in 1722. Two years after his wife's death in 1733, Richardson married Elizabeth Leake; they had four daughters, Mary, Martha, Anne, and Sarah. He moved his business to Salisbury Square, which be-

came his home until his death, and did not travel far outside of London.

Richardson's first work was *The Apprentice's Vade Mecum; or, Young Man's Pocket Companion* (1733), a book of letters of advice on model behavior for apprentices. Addressed to his own nephew and apprentice, Thomas Richardson, the book expounds on the importance of the moral duties between employer and employee, especially obedience and mutual respect. In 1735 he printed the pro-government *Daily Gazetteer*. Richardson's revisions and prefaces to Defoe's *The Complete English Tradesman* and *Tour thro' the Whole Island of Great Britain* display his interest in the cultural aspects of Britishness. Richardson was asked by the Society for the Encouragement of Learning to write a book of model letters on how to act morally in different situations.

Richardson's first novel *Pamela; or, Virtue Rewarded* (1740–1741) developed from a further morally improving project called *Letters Written to and for Particular Friends on the Most Important Occasions* (known as *Familiar Letters* and published in 1741). One of the letters, "A Father to a Daughter in Service, on Hearing of Her Master's Attempting Her Virtue," inspired Richardson to explore "practical examples, worthy to be followed in the most critical and affecting cases" (*Pamela*, Preface). Pamela writes to her parents about her master, Mr. B., who locks her up and tries to rape her. She evades this fate by marrying him. A critical success and praised for its heroine's steadfast virtue, *Pamela* was reprinted four times in 1741 and inspired imitations, a play by Henry Gifford, and Pamela merchandise including wax dolls. Novelist Henry Fielding, however, denounced *Pamela* as an opportunistic example of virtue and parodied the novel with *Shamela* (1741). Responding to this criticism, Richardson published *Pamela in Her Exalted Condition* (1741), but the sequel was less successful. That year also saw Richardson elected to the Court of Assistants of Stationers' Company.

Written "in a double yet separate correspondence," (*Clarissa*, Preface) Richardson's epic novel *Clarissa* (published in installments between 1747 and 1748) allows him as self-styled editor to effectively depict the subtleties of the voices of the four principal characters, reflecting their unfolding emo-

tional states. Begun in 1744, the novel explores the interior life of the bourgeois paragon Clarissa Harlowe, who is disowned by her family after not marrying the man of their choosing. Duped by the aristocratic rake Robert Lovelace, whom she loves, she believes she can "rescue" him to virtue, but he deceives her, imprisoning her in a brothel and raping her. Her hopelessness causes her death, and Lovelace dies in a duel with her cousin. Instantly successful, the novel was translated into French by writer and priest Abbé Antoine François Prévost d'Exiles; with *Pamela*, Richardson founded the sentimental novel.

Richardson encouraged women's writing among his fellow novelists and friends, Sarah Fielding, Frances Sheridan, and Charlotte Lennox, and engaged in extensive literary and moral debate with women. Shocked by female readers' attraction to the character of Lovelace, he revised the novel in the 1750s and extracted "instructive" passages from it for publication.

The History of Sir Charles Grandison (1753–1754), his last novel, creates a virtuous male equivalent of Clarissa, who is desired by two very different women. The novel's light satire of "vicious" individuals influenced novelist Jane Austen. Richardson died in July 1761 and is buried in St. Bride's Church in London.

See also **Advice and Etiquette Books; Defoe, Daniel; English Literature and Language; Printing and Publishing.**

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MAX FINCHER

RICHELIEU, ARMAND-JEAN DU PLESSIS, CARDINAL (1585–1642), French ecclesiastical and political figure. Richelieu was the youngest son of a middle-ranking noble family from Poitou, whose father enjoyed short-lived prominence as grand provost of France under Henry III (ruled 1574–1589), but whose early death and bankruptcy (1590) spelled possible disaster for his widow and young children. The support of patrons, new and old, and the goodwill of King Henry IV (ruled 1589–1610) enabled Armand-Jean, after foreshortened theology studies in Paris, to become a very young bishop of Luçon by 1606. Although a neglected and unattractive diocese with well-entrenched Protestant communities, Luçon could afford wider career prospects to an ambitious cleric. This and several years of active pastoral activity in Luçon gradually drew him into contact with the royal court during a time of political—especially ministerial—instability following Henry IV's murder in 1610. This context, rather than his role at the 1614 Estates-General, explains his appointment in 1615 as grand almoner to Louis XIII's (ruled 1610–1643) young queen, Anne of Austria, and then secretary of state in November 1616, but he was rapidly swept out of office (April 1617) with the assassination of his first patron, Concino Concini, the Italian favorite of the queen mother, Marie de Médicis. Alone among Concini's protégés to make a political comeback, Richelieu survived seven turbulent years during which he honed his political skills as he was successively sent into internal exile, recalled, and finally made a cardinal despite the deep-seated reluctance of Louis XIII and his ministers. Well before 1624, when he was made a minister again, he had become Marie de Médicis's right-hand man and the principal beneficiary of her insistence on playing a political role throughout the 1620s.

THE KING'S MINISTER

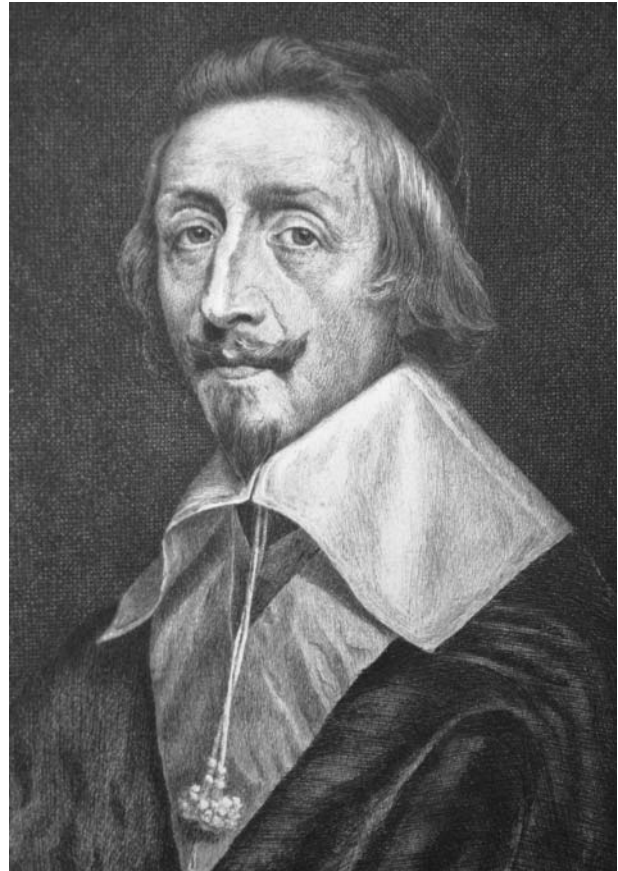
Richelieu's new position, which would gradually evolve toward that of a "principal" minister, struck most contemporaries as that of a conventional royal favorite. But despite the enormous power and influence he enjoyed until his death, he never became Louis XIII's favorite in the accepted sense. From the outset, his relations with Louis were tense and difficult, and they remained so even after the political ménage à trois with Marie de Médicis finally ended with her disgrace and exile abroad in 1630–1631. Until then, Richelieu's ministry had been highly vulnerable: he depended mainly on Marie and her supporters, the *dévots*, at a time when the overlapping of domestic and foreign questions created acute problems of political management. Protestant and aristocratic rebellion was an enduring feature of the 1620s, and could sometimes play havoc with pursuing a foreign policy that, because it aimed at containing Habsburg expansionism, required alliances with certain Protestant states. This required considerable dexterity, and laid Richelieu—a cardinal of the Roman church, after all!—open to accusations of being a disciple of Machiavelli. The ending of Protestant revolt in 1629 was the only major success of this period, while France's military efforts against the Habsburgs were limited to intervention in northern Italy, when the real threat was building up elsewhere, in the empire. King and minister agreed fully on the need to oppose it, but were wary of precipitous action while aristocratic revolt and provincial discontent were still serious domestic threats.

Richelieu, whose essential duty was to articulate and manage foreign policy, fell foul of Marie and her *dévo*t supporters, who were deeply hostile to Protestant alliances and wanted peace in order to pursue internal reforms. He barely survived the ensuing crisis, known as the Day of the Dupes (November 1630), although it took at least two more years to deal with the aftershocks from it. This partly explains the caution of foreign policy and the preference for fighting the Habsburgs using proxies like Denmark or Sweden. Thus full-scale war was postponed until it became unavoidable, in 1635. The king and minister's optimism about an early victory and peace was rudely shattered, so that the final years of Richelieu's ministry were dominated by the unending burdens of organizing and financing arm-

ies, coaxing allies, cajoling military commanders to fight—all with very mixed results—and, finally, framing plans for a peace that would only materialize in 1648.

THE PLENITUDE OF POWER

Richelieu's position as chief minister took final shape during the 1630s, when his attention was devoted primarily to war and foreign affairs. After Marie de Médicis's fall, he no longer needed to fear opposition within the ministry itself, since all of the ministers were now clients of his who could work well together and who recognized their dependence on him. Internal affairs were, consequently, largely devolved to them, and the main changes to royal government resulted more from the pressures of war than from conscious plans for reform or centralization, plans that Richelieu progressively jettisoned by the late 1620s. His relations with Louis XIII could still be strained, thus offering hope to assorted royal favorites and conspirators to plot his downfall. The last of these, the famous Cinq-Mars conspiracy (1642), may even have had some royal sympathy and ended only months before Richelieu's own death. But Louis's waverings were always effectively countered by Richelieu's astute realization that all important decisions be taken explicitly by the king, thus making it virtually impossible for him to disown them later. The main opponents of Richelieu's accumulation of power and influence came from within the royal family and certain great noble houses. But a general assault on them was scarcely possible, given the wider political context, and Richelieu himself was no sworn enemy of the higher nobility. The best he could do was to win over as many of them as possible through offices, military commands, or advantageous marriage alliances, but some, like the Guise and the Montmorency, would not play the game by his rules, and suffered disgrace, exile, or even execution. Moreover, this policy of "divide and rule" was itself limited in its potential scope: it worked far better in peacetime than during war, when the crown depended more heavily on aristocratic goodwill. Some of Richelieu's strongest enemies had to be given army commands after 1635, and at least one used his army to provoke a rebellion in 1641. The cardinal's most spectacular success lay in turning the previously rebellious Bourbon-Condé family into allies, even to the extent of securing the marriage of



Cardinal Richelieu. Engraving after the painting by Philippe de Champaigne. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

its heir, the future "great" Condé, to his niece in 1641. Richelieu made additional enemies and critics by the way he used his immense power to restore and extend his family's fortunes, a sometimes ruthless process in which his wealth consolidated his power, and vice versa. His power was not confined to the "four square feet of the king's study" or council chamber but extended into the provinces, thanks to provincial and town governorships as well as tenure of the admiralty of France. When he died, he was not only Louis XIII's richest subject, but he had secured three duchies for members of his extended family, who were now well integrated into the upper reaches of the French nobility.

POWER AND IDEAS

Richelieu's many offices, his great wealth (which included works of art, precious stones, and châteaux) and his many buildings (the Palais-Royal, Richelieu town and château in Poitou, the new Sor-

bonne college) all show him behaving as a Renaissance-style cardinal was expected to do. But neither wealth nor office alone could sustain political power, especially when it was as bitterly contested as his was. His early years in politics convinced him that cultural patronage, beginning but not ending with political propaganda, was indispensable.

From the early 1620s, he recruited writers into his service and initially used them to undermine existing favorites and ministers of Louis XIII—a dangerous game, which he learned to play effectively. Back in office, he needed propagandists to defend often unpopular policies. He quickly saw the advantages of crown-sponsored newsletters and gazettes, not to mention quasi-official histories of his own time. Thus, crown policies would be stoutly defended in print, successes publicly celebrated by every means available. Even the foundation of the Académie Française (1635) and Imprimerie Royale (1640), both important milestones in the French monarchy's attempts at cultural absolutism, were not divorced from such political considerations. Many of Richelieu's other projects, such as founding special academies to educate the nobility, were frustrated by the imperatives of war. Finally, as befitted a university theology graduate with enduring intellectual aspirations, he wrote extensively throughout his career on religious matters—pastoral instructions, a catechism, treatises on the conversion of France's Protestants and on Christian perfection. These works may not bear comparison with those of his greatest contemporaries (François de Sales, Pierre de Bérulle), but they show a genuine desire to apply religious precepts to the daily life lived by ordinary mortals. In theological terms Richelieu was essentially a Thomist who, despite being influenced by neo-Stoic ideas, never shared the Augustinian pessimism of contemporaries like Bérulle or Saint-Cyran. Psychologically and intellectually, he was comfortable with a relatively optimistic view of humankind as inhabited by a God-given reason. It may be claimed that his *Political Testament*, the most problematic of his works but not published in his lifetime, was itself typical of this lifelong didactic passion, and it was aimed at the Christian—as exemplified by his master, Louis XIII—rather than the Machiavellian prince.

See also **Absolutism; Louis XIII (France); Mantuan Succession, War of the (1627–1631); Marie de Médicis;**

Provincial Government; Thirty Years' War (1618–1648).

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JOSEPH BERGIN

RIGHTS, HUMAN. See *Rights, Natural*.

RIGHTS, NATURAL. The idea of natural rights is inseparable from the doctrine that all human beings, regardless of extrinsic differences in circumstance (nationality, class, religion) or physical condition (race, gender, age, etc.), share an identical set of powers, freedoms, and/or competencies. Scholars have customarily treated natural rights theory as a hallmark of modern legal and political thought, although one with roots in preceding intellectual traditions. In particular, the idea of natural rights has been contrasted with earlier teachings about natural law that were grounded in more robust principles of reason and natural or divine teleology. Many important thinkers of early modern Europe subscribed to a version of natural law without endorsing a doctrine of natural rights.

Central to the concept of natural rights is the view that every human being enjoys a complete and exclusive dominion over his or her mental and bodily facilities—and the fruits thereof—in the form of personal property. Thus, a natural rights theory entails a conception of private ownership grounded on the subjective status of the individual human being. The rights arising from such human subjectivity are

both inalienable and imprescriptible in the sense that any attempt to renounce or extinguish them would constitute at the same time the cessation of one's personhood. Thus, for example, natural rights theory renders incoherent arguments for slavery based on alleged natural inequalities of intellect or physique.

Consequently, an important feature of the fully developed idea of natural rights is its direct and immediate political bearing. Given that natural rights may not be curtailed or eliminated without the denial to a person of his or her very humanity, any government that attempts to suppress them without due process has no claim on the obedience of its citizens. Natural rights always take precedence over artificial communal or public rights that might be imposed by political institutions. In this way, the doctrine of natural rights circumscribes political power and may even generate a defense of resistance to or revolution against systems of government that violate the rights of individuals.

The assertion of the modernity of natural rights theory must be qualified by the recognition that many of its characteristic elements were present in and elaborated by earlier theorists. For instance, scholars have found in Aristotle (384–322 B.C.E.) the logical rudiments of natural rights theory, albeit imperfectly articulated and applied. The language of rights was first clearly expressed in the teachings of classical Roman lawyers, for whom *ius* ('right' or 'law') constituted the basis of law and persons were fundamentally bearers of rights derived from law. Likewise, medieval canon (church) lawyers and Scholastic philosophers insisted that God endowed human beings with basic rights to themselves and to those goods that they required to preserve their divinely created lives.

Many attempts have been made to identify the "first" theorist of natural rights. In addition to Aristotle, the Scholastic philosopher/theologians Jean de Paris (c. 1240–1306; also known as John of Paris), William of Ockham (c. 1285–1349), and Jean de Gerson (1363–1429) have been nominated. Several of the participants in the fourteenth-century controversy between the papacy and the members of the spiritual wing of the Franciscan Order over the status of voluntary ecclesiastical poverty also moved the debate about the naturalness of

property ownership in the direction of a theory of rights. Yet in each instance, some of the ingredients central to the fully "subjective" or individualistic doctrine of natural rights doctrine associated with modern thought are absent.

It is perhaps best to examine the development of the theory of natural rights after 1450 as an incremental process. Various thinkers contributed important dimensions to its history without necessarily enunciating the idea in its final form or perhaps even appreciating the wider significance of their particular contributions. One such source may be found in the work of a group of theologians of a Thomist orientation working at the University of Paris in the later fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, most prominently Conrad Summenhart (c. 1455–1502), John Mair (c. 1468–1550), and Jacques Almain (c. 1480–1515). In a number of writings, these authors equated *ius* with *dominium* ('lordship' or 'ownership'), which was understood to reside in people naturally and to license in them the power or faculty of acquiring those objects necessary for self-preservation. Their argument was as much theological as legal or philosophical: just as God enjoyed ultimate ownership of the earth and the rest of his creations by virtue of his will, so human beings, in whom God's image resided, could claim dominion over themselves and their property.

The Reformation brought further refinement and application of the idea of natural rights. On the Protestant side, rights theory became a major element of late sixteenth-century Huguenot efforts to ground the justification of resistance to governments that imposed doctrinal conformity upon religious dissenters. While the earliest generations of Reformers had looked toward duty to God in order to justify acts of political disobedience, a noticeable change in language and concepts occurred in the wake of the St. Bartholomew Day's Massacre of 1572. In their reactions to the massacre, Théodore de Bèze (1519–1605) and Philippe du Plessis Mornay (1549–1623; also known as Duplessis-Mornay), as well as the authors of a large body of anonymous texts, argued for a condition of natural liberty—a privilege of nature whose rightful withdrawal is impossible—that precedes the creation of political society. Hence, any subsequent government must result from, and must be consonant with, the basic natural state of humanity. And those who would use

political power to deny to human beings the exercise of their liberty—including the freedom of conscience to dissent from the established Roman Church—may properly and licitly be challenged with forms of resistance to their tyranny. The Huguenots stopped short, however, of advocating popular rebellion. Instead, they looked to so-called intermediary magistrates as the appropriate instigators of resistance to tyrannical conduct. Hence, in the hands of sixteenth-century Reformers, the idea of natural rights became a stimulus for a religio-political movement that directly opposed forms of religious intolerance and suppression of dissent.

The Counter-Reformation produced its own version of natural rights theory that developed out of the language and concepts pioneered by the Parisian theologians Mair and Almain. This is especially evident in the work of the so-called second Scholastic thinkers associated with the School of Salamanca, such as Francisco de Vitoria (c. 1480–1546), Domingo de Soto (1494–1560), and Francisco Suárez (1548–1617). Vitoria had been trained at Paris and returned to Spain to disseminate the ideas to which he had been exposed there. Although Vitoria himself wrote nothing, leaving only lecture summaries, his immediate students and their intellectual progeny produced some of the fullest and most enthusiastic elaborations of natural rights. In particular, Vitoria and de Soto explored the complexities of rights theories, moving away from the traditional Thomistic conception of rights as objective duties required by reason. Vitoria's work seems to have contained two differing conceptions of subjective natural rights—one connected with individual *dominium*, the other defined in relation to communal law. Each position involved notable limitations and flaws, a fact that led de Soto to attempt to resolve them into a coherent picture of rights that incorporated both public and private dimensions. Suárez added further to the picture by identifying *ius* with self-preservation and drawing from this some, albeit limited, political implications. He held that a natural right existed to resist extreme forms of tyranny, construed as those circumstances in which the survival of the community as a whole was endangered. Otherwise, the misbehavior of government was to be tolerated lest communal destruction result from acts of disobedience and resistance.

While the School of Salamanca remained steeped in the neo-Aristotelian doctrines of the medieval past, other thinkers attempted to replace this framework with a paradigm for natural rights rooted purely in legal principles. Especially celebrated in this regard were Hugo Grotius (1583–1645) and John Selden (1584–1654). Grotius proposed that rights should be grounded solely upon the universality of the propriety of human self-preservation, thus placing self-interest at the center of a natural system. He reasoned that human beings enjoy *dominium* over those goods that are immediately necessary in order to preserve themselves: rightful private ownership is directly licensed as a natural right. Moreover, he attacked the Aristotelian doctrine of the naturalism of political society. For Grotius, social order was voluntary, and the only reason that people joined into civil society was for self-protection. As a consequence, the individual does not surrender natural rights by entering into a communal arrangement and indeed might resist a direct attack on those rights by a magistrate. While Selden enunciated a sustained critique of Grotius, he ultimately embraced an account of natural rights derived from his adversary. Selden pushed the devaluation of reason understood as a moral force with the power to bind and compel the actions of individuals. Rather, he stressed that natural rights were directly correlated to natural liberty, such that the only basis for individual obligation could be free assent to contracts and compacts, which, once agreed to, had to be maintained without exception. Hence, for Selden, unlike for Grotius, natural liberty itself could be renounced by a valid act of human will.

Selden's best-known follower was Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679), who developed the insights of the former into a powerful individualist theory of natural rights. In his major works, culminating in *Leviathan* (1651), Hobbes ascribes to all human beings natural liberty as well as equality, on the basis of which they are licensed to undertake whatever actions are necessary in order to preserve themselves from their fellow creatures. Such self-preservation constitutes the indispensable core of human natural rights. Adopting a position radically opposed to the Aristotelian teaching of political naturalism, Hobbes maintained that the exercise of one's natural liberty leads directly to unceasing conflict and

unremitting fear, inasmuch as nature confers upon each individual the right to possess everything and no legitimate limitation on one's freedom to enjoy this right. Unalloyed nature yields a state of chaos and warfare and, as a result, a "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, and short" life, the avoidance of which leads human beings to authorize a single sovereign ruler in order to maintain peace. The exchange of natural freedom for government-imposed order, constructed through a social compact, requires renunciation of all claims on rights that humans possess by nature (except, of course, for the right of self-preservation itself) and voluntary submission to any dictate imposed by the sovereign. In this way, Hobbes seconded Selden's defense of absolute government, yet upheld the basic right to self-preservation. Moreover, under the terms of Hobbes's absolute sovereignty, the subject was still deemed to retain the right to choose for himself concerning any and all matters about which the ruler had not explicitly legislated.

John Locke (1632–1704) crystallized the preceding conceptions of natural rights into the quintessential statement of the modern idea. He began his major work of political theory, the *Two Treatises on Government* (written c. 1680; published 1689), with the postulation of the divinely granted natural rights of individuals, understood in terms of the absolute right to preserve one's life and to lay claim to the goods one requires for survival. Arguing against the patriarchal doctrine of Sir Robert Filmer (c. 1588–1653), Locke insisted that no natural basis—neither paternity nor descent—justifies the submission of one person to another. Rather, all people are deemed sufficiently rational, as well as free and equal, in their natural condition that they can govern themselves according to a basic cognizance of moral (natural) law, and thus will generally respect the rights of others. In contrast to Hobbes, then, Locke maintained that the condition of perfect natural liberty does not represent a state of war. In the state of nature, human beings can enjoy unimpeded rights to acquire private property, the ownership of which is asserted on the basis of the admixture of their labor (the natural talents and industry of their bodies) with the physical world. Indeed, Locke's state of nature resembles nothing so much as a fully functioning commercial society, which has introduced a system of exchange relations

and money, all perfectly consonant with the recognition of the natural rights of individuals.

For Locke, then, there is no pressing necessity for people living in the state of nature to eschew this condition for formalized communal life. Hence, should they choose to enter into bonds of civil society by means of a contract, the sole reason that they do so is to avoid the "inconveniences" and inefficiency of the pre-civil world. This does not require parties to the contract to surrender any of their natural rights. Indeed, the only government worthy of authorization is that which strictly upholds and protects the rights that persons possess by nature. According to Locke, any magistrate that systematically denies to his subjects the exercise of their natural rights to their life, liberty, and estate is tyrannical and unworthy of obedience. Locke closes the *Second Treatise* with a discussion of the dissolution of government. In his view, a regime that violates systematically natural rights places itself in a state of war with the members of civil society, who severally and individually may renounce allegiance to it and may vote to establish a new government. Some have viewed Locke as justifying revolution on the basis of natural rights, but his actual point seems to be less extreme: the retention of one's natural rights in civil society affords one the ability to protect oneself from those (whether housebreakers or magistrates) who would try to take one's property or limit one's proper sphere of liberty. Locke's resistance theory represents a chastened, but nonetheless genuine, defense of natural rights.

Locke's theory, then, stated an integrated position that drew upon many of the earlier strands of natural rights thought. In turn, the eighteenth century would see the extension, refinement and, in some respects, radicalization of the fundamentals of the Lockean doctrine. Locke's language was adopted, for instance, by both theorists and polemicists who sought to halt Europe's complicity in the global slave trade. Likewise, defenders of the equal rights of women to political and social power, such as Mary Wollstonecraft (1759–1797), framed their ideas in the language of rights. And critics of natural nobility and other claims to in-born human inequality invoked the universality of rights as the basis of their assertion of the equal worth and dignity of all people, regardless of birth, class, or occupation. The elaboration of the Lockean stance during the eigh-

teenth century perhaps enjoyed its European apotheosis in the Revolutionary French Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen. The Declaration, which forms perhaps the major source for all later declarations of human rights, proclaims that the aim of civil life is “the preservation of the natural and imprescriptible rights of man”—they nearly included woman, too—including political, economic, social, religious, and cultural rights as well as resistance to tyranny. Of course, Lockean natural rights received their share of criticism during the eighteenth century as well, whether from communalist democrats such as Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778) or from more individualistic proponents of political economy like Adam Smith (1723–1790). But in general, the 1700s may well be regarded as the European “century of natural rights.”

See also Enlightenment; Feminism; Grotius, Hugo; Hobbes, Thomas; Locke, John; Natural Law; Political Philosophy; Revolutions, Age of; Rousseau, Jean-Jacques; Salamanca, School of; Scholasticism; Smith, Adam.

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RITUAL, CIVIC AND ROYAL. The words “ritual” and “ceremony” are here used interchangeably because separating them would be anachronistic and would suggest distinctions that people did not make until near the end of the early modern period. By the nineteenth century, the words had come to denote the ostentation of power and superstitions and the exotica of non-Western or illiterate societies. The words first gained currency in the sixteenth century to disparage heretical religious and extravagant political practices. Before this time, rituals or ceremonials were not concepts as much as books of practices that gave some precision to the places, costuming, and gestures in processions and assemblies, as seen in the late-fourteenth-century Roman *clerici ceremoniarum* or the *Libro Ceremoniale* (1475) of Florence. Despite sixteenth-century print culture’s derogatory usage of the terms, cities and kingdoms staged lavish and magnificent processions and urban pageantry—productions in which hundreds and often thousands participated. These large-scale performances frequently placed religious, royal, and civic-legal rituals on the same plane.

With the growth of the state in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the most powerful element and participants were those intent on expanding their spheres of influence in the government. As arguments about national character and divisions of power continued, these interested parties invested in rituals to strengthen—or on occasion to question or to redirect—governmental authority and their status or rank within it. Courtiers, nobles, judges, wealthy townsmen, and others dependent on the resources and patronage of princes sought to define in their favor the overall meaning of ritual or ceremonial performances and to represent in them their personal or official status in the state. Thus, the terms “ritual” and “ceremony” came to describe the highest performances of princely and royal celebrations. By 1619, the French royal historiographer and parlementaire Théodore Godefroy entitled his collection of royal public performances *Le cérémonial de France*. In it, he published historical accounts of the ranking and actions of officials and courtiers in rituals-with-the-king, which he presented according to the prescriptions of an encompassing political theory of hierarchy and kingship. The collection also incorporated many el-



Civic and Royal Ritual. Charles V entering Bologna for his coronation by the pope, 1530, painting by Juan de la Corte. THE ART ARCHIVE

ements of traditional legal protocols and religious acts. In 1649 Godefroy, with the aid of his son Denis, expanded the work into the two-volume *Le cérémonial françois*. In these collections, rituals and ceremonies supplied essential cultural components for the practice of what we call “politics” and what early modern people thought of as mysteries of governance.

Rituals and ceremonies bound together the societies of medieval and early modern Europe; they occurred any place where a group of people claimed a particular purpose, legitimacy, and identity. Townsmen, judges, English common lawyers, and princes self-consciously expanded the scale, rhetoric, and publicity of civic and royal events as rites of passage and of government, which served for the sanctification, legitimization, and continuity of communal and national authorities. According to their needs and the circumstances, fifteenth- and

sixteenth-century governments appropriated ritual practices and ideas from religious, classical, feudal-military, and legal-constitutional traditions. Public participation—even in the roles of spectator or reader—was extended over time, space, and social groups through processional rankings, symbols, medallions, program books, special costumes, reenactments, and ritual theater. By 1600, and certainly under the influence of earlier Italian rulers (like the Sforza of Milan, the Medici of Florence, and the doges of the Venetian Republic), royal rituals in England, France, and Germany exalted the ruler from a symbol of state and society to its actual embodiment, and the ceremonies frequently equated these kings with pagan rulers or gods. In early-seventeenth-century Stuart England (1603–1649) and Louis XIV’s France (1643–1715), rituals were staged as dramas of state. They encouraged obedience within the political hierarchy and obligated nobles, royal officials, and subjects to act out their

parts in that order, and they centralized the king and his royal court as the source of privilege and honor. Similarly, in guild elections, funerals, or pageant-laden communal processions, western European cities staged rituals to reinforce sociopolitical hierarchies and to connect individuals to the larger community.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF A RITUAL MENTALITY

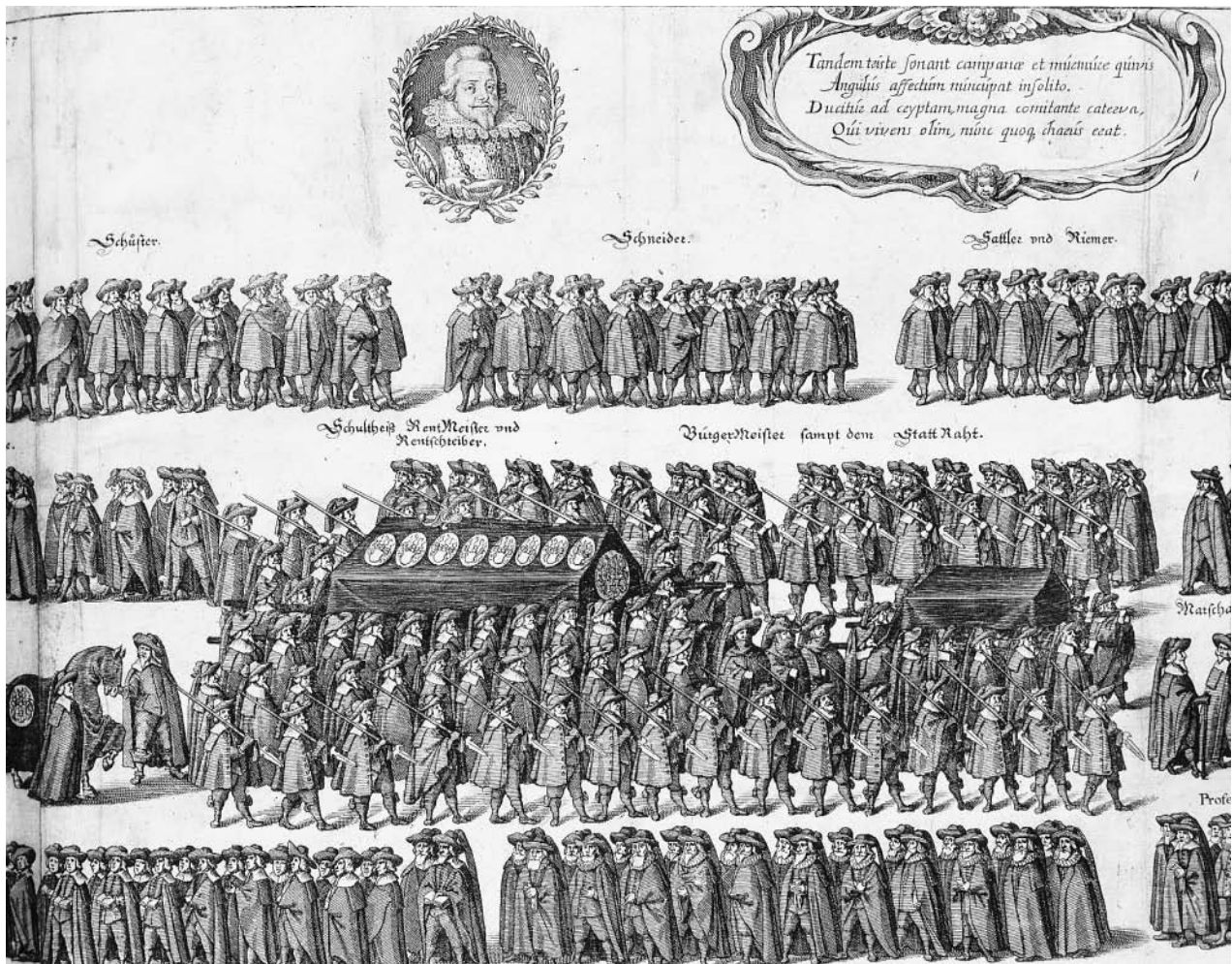
For royal ceremonies, the European monarchies, particularly those of France and England, perpetuated in a new key the medieval ritual expressions of Christian sanctity, while Renaissance Italy added strikingly new artistic and theatrical effects and iconologies. Many early modern Europeans held the medieval belief of the “king’s two bodies,” that is, kingship was represented in a unique royal person who possessed both a natural, mortal body and a mystical, immortal, political one. According to this belief, the king, in ritual, became the intermediary who joined God’s working in the world and his justice with the preservation of a people as a unique body politic. In studying the belief in French and English kings’ ability to heal scrofula by touching people with the disease, Marc Bloch’s groundbreaking study *The Royal Touch* traced how “rather vague ideas” based on a general belief in the supernatural character of royalty “crystallize in the eleventh and twelfth centuries into a precise and stable institution” that lasted for seven centuries. The ritual of the royal touch developed into frequent public demonstrations of the miraculous results of coronation rites, in which kings were both anointed with holy oil and crowned. Bloch traced the vicissitudes of the ritual among the divergent explanations of eight centuries of writers. By 1500, the coronation mattered less than the evidence of the king’s unique nature as a royal person. French kings performed the ritual until the Revolution; the practice ended in England with the death of Queen Anne in 1714.

The belief in the power of the royal touch emphasizes the notion that the king was a “mixed person”—part sacred and part layperson. Although the essentially religious attributes of this notion are related to the concept of the “king’s two bodies,” they should not be confused with it. The latter concept has a larger scope than the particular ambience and rites around the king’s person and finds its fullest development in juridical thought and

ceremonies that emphasized the king as image or embodiment of justice: justice being, after truth (religion in medieval Christian thought), a permanent part of God’s creation. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, lawyers, officials, and corporate bodies claimed rights in this divine creation according to the notion of legal fictions: that is, that towns or institutions have rights in law as do persons. Ceremonies with kings and princes articulated these rights and mirrored right order in secular titles, offices, and institutions. Among the people participating in political life, rituals complemented and represented constitutional developments over which the seventeenth-century French were best positioned to assert hegemony as model builders. Other national histories took different turns: in Spain the isolationist policies of the monarchy starting with Philip II (ruled 1554–1598) prevented foreign ideas and innovations in state rituals; in Germany independent imperial principalities limited the spread of royal ceremonies; in England royal ceremonies took shape bounded by the weakness of the monarchy and growth of parliamentary power; in Italy the Habsburgs, papacy, and princely dynasties favored the new inventions of political spectacles over rituals that contained residues of civic traditions; and throughout Europe Reformation and Counter-Reformation churches were attentive to maintain the purity of religious ceremonies from secular pollution. Through symbolic forms and performances, early modern rituals placed one’s sense of status and civic consciousness within a framework of loyalty to national monarchy or state identities.

RITUAL AS MODELS OF KINGSHIP

Ralph E. Giesey has argued that the ever-changing “event-filled [European] history” requires a constitutional explanation of rituals in contrast with the “affective comprehension of kingship that anthropologists apply so well when studying societies that have no thick transcription of their ‘constitution.’” Rituals are historical sources for a society’s temper, presenting comparative indices for understanding continuity and changes in the ways that societies constitute themselves around the central agent of legitimate power, the king. Four major French state ceremonies represent the models of European rulership. “Sacral kingship” associated with coronations was joined by the new form of “juristic kingship” as dramatized in royal funeral ceremonies.



Civic and Royal Ritual. A late-seventeenth-century German engraving depicts the funeral of a prince. THE ART ARCHIVE/
BIBLIOTHÈQUE DES ARTS DÉCORATIFS/DAGLI ORTI

Royal entries advanced a civic and secular model of “humanistic kingship.” The *lit de justice* ceremony with the king in solemn assembly with the Parlement of Paris portrayed “constitutional kingship.” By 1700, the court-centered “rites of personality” exemplified by Louis XIV (1638–1715) had depreciated these traditional ritual models for enacting kingship.

Each ceremonial model of rulership had its own forms and venue. The coronation took place in great churches where the clergy and magnates of the kingdom had major roles in the ritual drama, which was replete with royal paraphernalia including the crown, holy oil, scepter and sword of state, gloves, slippers, and robes. The ritual entailed an undressing, anointing, redressing, and crowning of

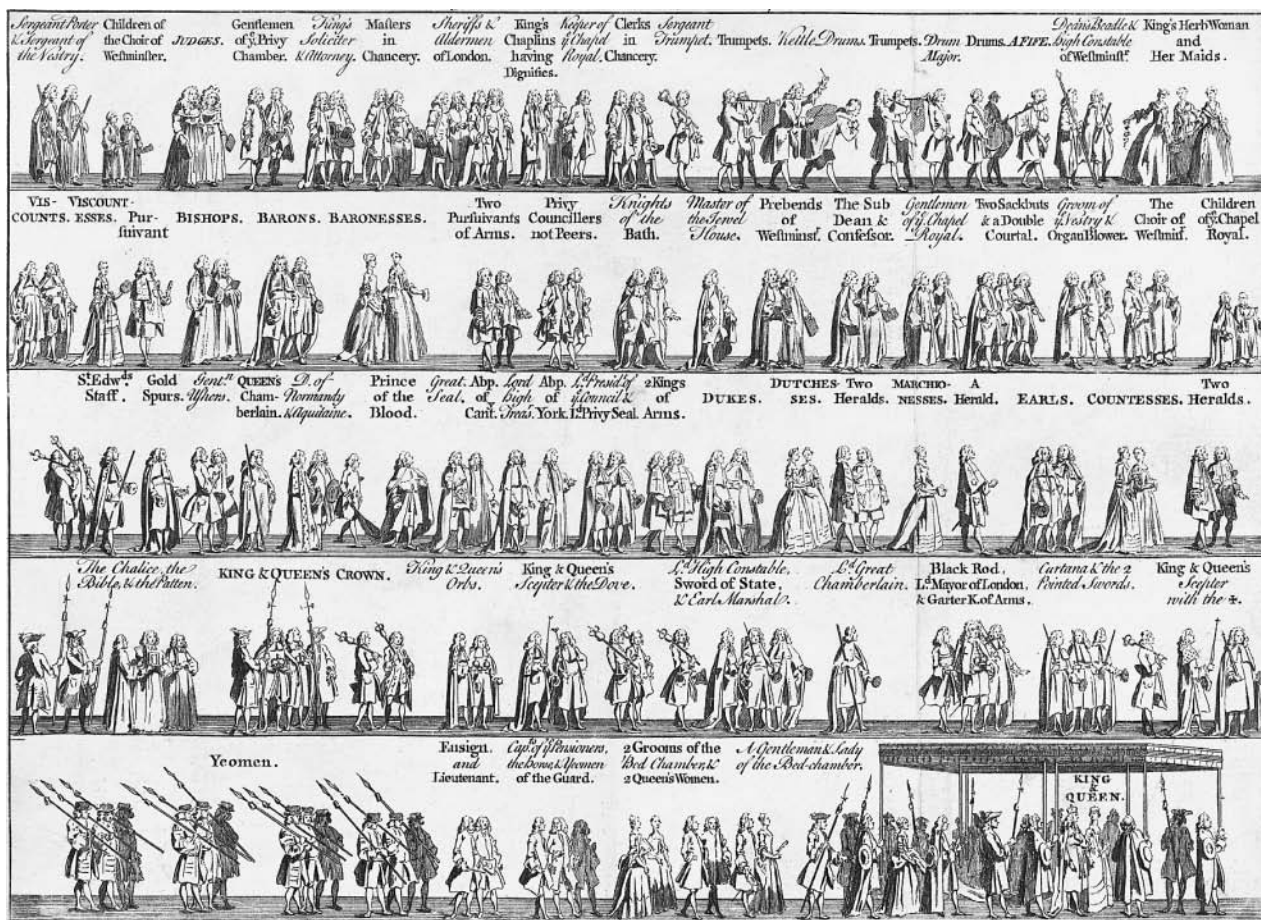
the king. The English Queens Mary (ruled 1553–1558), Elizabeth (ruled 1558–1603), Mary (ruled 1689–1694), and Anne (ruled 1702–1714) had coronations like kings, but issues of Protestantism and revolution—more than sex—gave occasion to changes in the liturgy, language, and scenic effects of the English ceremony. The Spanish did not have a coronation ceremony, since their king ruled over an Iberian monarchy with regional inaugural rites, of which the most noted in the early modern period was the Oath of Aragón. While Holy Roman emperors had elaborate coronations, imperial elections demystified the rituals and placed attention on politics of the empire. Through a combination of rituals, legends, and myths, the French king’s coronation came to be seen as sacred in character, ancient

in the continuity of its liturgy, and most prestigious in its divinely chosen dynasty.

In France, royal funeral ceremonies developed an influential style and unique interregnum practices, such as the display of a lifelike effigy along with the corpse in its coffin and the disappearance from public duties of the heir until after the funeral. This was done to call attention to the undying part of the king's two bodies as the source of justice. By the time of Philip II's 1598 funeral, the Spanish had fully accepted the notion of *rey muerto, rey puesto*, that is, after a king dies, another immediately replaces him. The funeral celebration focused on services before a magnificent catafalque with thousands of candles built within the church; the funeral served as an occasion for the court hierarchy to reassert itself in the form and order of its mourning. Other elite groups mourned in satellite celebrations

before catafalques in churches throughout the king's domain.

From the fourteenth century, royal entry ceremonies into cities gave kings and subjects occasion to acknowledge the reciprocal obligations between them, particularly the king's charge to preserve justice and confirm corporate liberties and the people's duty to demonstrate obedience and devotion. By the fifteenth century, Italian city-states such as Florence and Venice had appropriated processions to celebrate local saints into rituals that became "the principal mechanism for representing governmental authority," as Edward Muir writes. In London and Paris, royal entries were distinctly political by 1500. Their rites aimed to balance the tensions inherent between the dual desire to preserve local liberties and to give unconditioned loyalty to the sovereign. In London, guilds lined the streets in their livery as



Civic and Royal Ritual. Engraving showing the order of the coronation procession, Britain, eighteenth century. ©HULTON-DEUTSCH COLLECTION/CORBIS

the new ruler and his entourage viewed street plays while en route to the coronation at Westminster. In Paris, the king returning from his coronation appeared on horseback under a canopy carried by guild members. He processed with his royal robe, hat, helmet, gauntlets, and sword displayed before him. From 1484, the royal seal and the chancellor of France preceded the king to accentuate the legal nature of the ceremony. Likewise, the Parlement of Paris in robes of office closed the ranks of several thousand liveried urban groups. Thousands of splendidly costumed lords and nobles followed the Parisians as part of the royal procession. The Parisians had exited from the city to submit to the king and to lead the march into the city, where the king slowly made his way among *tableaux vivants* and street plays to a banquet at the Palais de Justice, residence of the Parlement of Paris.

Other towns staged entries and progresses, but metropolitan and royal ceremonies tended to establish the norm in terms of rank and privilege within kingdoms. In Italian cities, despots and princes transformed the style and ultimately the meaning of entry pageantry from reciprocal ceremonies between rulers and cities to celebrations of power. By the 1600s, northern cities appropriated Italian monumental architecture, classical symbolism, and awesome images of the Roman triumph to their royal entries. In the process, they replaced the ceremonial image of the ruler as judge and arbitrator of a unified body politic with that of sovereign and absolute ruler. In the fifteenth century, French kings replaced royal robes of office with armor of parade. By 1660, Louis XIV began his Parisian entry seated on an especially built royal throne to receive the kneeling representatives of all major Parisian institutions, including the Parlement of Paris. Like the submission of the Parlement of Paris in the entry, the *lit de justice* ritual came to dramatize the king's absolute power and not the court's pretensions of partnership in governing.

RITUALS, CIVILITY, AND MANNERS

Public political ceremonies declined after about 1650. In England after the Glorious Revolution of 1688 and the subsequent advancement of parliamentary power, royal ceremonies became shadows of their earlier magnificence and suggested constitutional restraints. The Spanish Habsburg Monarchy

since Philip II had eschewed public state ceremonies, and royal rituals were performances of conduct and protocol within the relative privacy of the Spanish royal court. By the eighteenth century, most European rulers followed France's example of emphasizing "rites of personality" and frequent ceremonies around the king's body to punctuate every royal accomplishment, such as awakening (*lever*), dining (*diner*), retiring (*coucher*), and other events in the life of the prince. If the ruler were sacred in one place, like the coronation, he was now seen as sacred in all places and at all times. Thus, with the centering of princely activities in their courts, particularly Versailles, the minutiae of daily rituals inundated and depreciated traditional one-time or occasional state ceremonies. Seventeenth-century ceremonial researchers culled the rules governing the ranks, protocol, and conduct of subjects and those in royal service from the historical records of monarchical ceremonies. In many cases these were precarious, occasional, and random examples of behavior or acts that promoters of monarchical absolutism succeeded in ossifying into rules of deportment in a society based on ranks, orders, and honors. Rituals performed very occasionally in past centuries supplied the foundations for a perpetual etiquette at the royal court.

Rituals that today appear to have been for minute distinctions—such as a system of seating and standing based on rank—were fundamental to the thought and habits of court and political society. The king's power to rule was partly grounded in the belief that he had a sacred duty to preserve the rituals that symbolized the honor and hierarchy of his nobility. Royal ceremonies marked the degree of honor possessed by any individual and his or her family. They set standards of deference for a code of courtesy, which guided both noble and bourgeois into new forms of civility. Ritual was refashioned into conduct, forms of association, and practices of disassociation.

See also Absolutism; Court and Courtiers; Festivals; Monarchy; Ritual, Religious; State and Bureaucracy.

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LAWRENCE M. BRYANT

RITUAL, RELIGIOUS. Ritual is one means by which a society expresses its beliefs both symbolically and explicitly. In the late medieval and Reformation era, the performance of religious rites reconfirmed traditional precepts and instructed each new generation afresh. Whatever a church's intentions were, such ceremonies did not remain static, but evolved. We can assume that as conditions changed the meanings that people attributed to such acts also altered.

Religious ritual and ecclesiastical ritual overlapped, but they were not synonymous. The former expressed people's views of the supernatural world and its bearing on daily life, as by praying and crossing oneself before going to bed or saying grace at the table. These might be far more than ritualized behaviors; they could be fairly elaborate and regular, like going on a pilgrimage to a nearby (or more distant) shrine in order to be healed of an illness. Ecclesiastical ritual was presided over by a priest or, later, a pastor and usually took place within or in proximity to a church. It adhered to more and more narrowly prescribed models. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Catholic and Protestant authorities strove for uniformity and precision in the rubrics they introduced.

Prior to the Reformation, the division between these two kinds of religious ritual was blurred. A great strength of the Catholic Church during the

centuries of its gradual conversion of most western Europeans was its tolerance of folkish elements and its willingness to express by means of its ceremonies the telluric concerns of the unlettered masses. It gladly lent the strength of the Mass, via the priest's blessing, to water, salt, wax candles, bread, and crops. People could bear the more portable items home to radiate their heightened benefits upon all who used or consumed them. In June, during Rogation Days, the priest led peasants out to their fields and blessed their crops. At other times, he sprinkled holy water on their houses, and in Germany, he often received a loaf of bread from each household in recompense. On Corpus Christi the elaborate circumambulation of parts of the city by clergy, magistrates, and guilds, besides displaying the Host, implicitly told the populace of the protective powers of the Body of Christ. No church building alone contained all ecclesiastical ritual.

In the performance of their holy ritual offices, priests were, and within Catholic Reform remained, charged personages. On those occasions when they said or sang a full Mass (rather than a so-called dry Mass or *missa sicca*), they entered the sanctuary in procession, garbed in vestments that were sometimes elaborately embroidered with symbols, with acolytes bearing the emblems of their functions and their special connection with God. Their signal capacity lay in transubstantiating the bread and wine, by means of the verbal formulae *Hoc est corpus meum* and *Hic est sanguis meus*, into the true body and blood of Christ. So potent was this veritable miracle that every person and object associated with the Mass acquired some degree of sanctity.

In a number of respects, the Protestant Reformation in its several salient forms has been shown to rely on late medieval precedents. This is only relatively true of the celebration of the Eucharist. To be sure, voices against the powers of the Mass could be heard in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, but they were muted. The Reformers as a group broke radically with the assumptions underlying the Mass. Because the messages it conveyed symbolically were now rejected, the symbolic acts and artifacts were themselves eliminated. Protestant groups as they emerged nevertheless took varying stances on particular aspects of the Lord's Supper. Luther's theology of consubstantiation left intact the Real Presence even as it demolished the priest's sacral power

of producing Christ's body for the communicants' ingestion. The sacral space, whether intentionally or not, remained quite highly decorated with biblically attested stories depicted in altarpieces and other paintings, colored windows, and crucifixes. Organists and choirboys, along with congregational singing, made a joyful noise, and church bells continued to toll. Luther himself permitted the elevation of the Host and the Chalice until 1542, and although he preferred a simple choir robe when presiding at services, by the end of the century Lutheran divines might again be decked out in admirable vestments even though not cloth of gold. By century's end, all pastors faced their congregations and had added Communion tables at the outer edge of the altar dais, from which males and females, at their respective corners, received the dual elements of the sacred meal.

Followers of Huldrych Zwingli and John Calvin—those of the latter including Puritans and Dutch Reformed—decisively rejected the doctrine of Christ's physical ubiquity and conveyed their conviction fittingly, in the radical simplification of ritual space. Zwingli's Eucharist was strictly commemorative, and Calvin wrote of spiritual nourishment. Determined to abolish "idolatry," the Genevan reformer followed Zwingli in recommending the removal of every possible decorative accompaniment to worship—statues, stained glass, paintings, altars together with their daises and niches, candelabra, monstrances, pyxes, thuribles, rich chalices and patens, baptismal fonts, church bells (except in France), organs, and all singing except the unison intoning of metrical Psalms. Occasionally, a tablet displaying the text of the Ten Commandments hung over the Communion table, which was now often at the foot of the pulpit. Where new churches could be built, their architecture avoided a place for an altar. The whitewashed walls in both old and new churches provided an interplay of light and shadow that attracted many painters of Dutch interiors. These seem to signify God as a spirit, for they offer no place for the eye to rest.

Protestant innovators retained baptism as the second biblically validated sacrament. Luther pared down but still retained exorcism, which some, but not all, of his followers abolished late in the century. Zwingli and Calvin removed this act from the rite, along with the sign of the cross, immediately. They

also insisted that infant consecration take place before the gathered congregation and that biological fathers be present beside the godparents. Luther advocated, but the Swiss reformers rejected, the emergency baptism of infants in the birthing chamber, and the same respective opinions determined the preservation or abolition of the churching of women after childbirth.

When the Reformation began, only nobles, magistrates, and sometimes nursing mothers and elderly women had seats in churches. Throughout the later sixteenth and on into the seventeenth century, pews appeared everywhere, including Catholic churches. They should be regarded as an aspect of ritual in that they held the people's bodies in place and directed their attention more pointedly to the drama of the ceremony, including preaching. Pews also expressed the new Protestant requirement that the laity attend church. Because people sat in the same places, any absence could be detected.

Binding all wings of the Reformation together, from Canterbury to Lund and from Geneva to Königsberg, was the centrality of the sermon. The preached Word took the place of the transubstantial moment as the ceremonial *pièce de résistance*. Pulpits replaced altars as the focal point in sanctuaries. By the seventeenth century, some formal training in homiletics, an extension of the humanist curriculum in rhetoric, was a requirement for entering the clergy. The hearing of the Word was often a prerequisite of enjoying Communion, having one's infant baptized, or getting married; visitation records and other assessments of lay behavior record people's coming to church only after the sermon, a serious but ultimately irremediable transgression. Preaching was regarded as crucial because it enabled the Holy Spirit to fructify the faith of the elect. Promoting this function was surely one factor encouraging the printing presses from the mid-sixteenth to the mid-eighteenth century to pour forth sermons in tangible, legible rather than audible form. Throughout northern and central Europe, households of adequate substance acquired small numbers of such books for the edification of their increasingly literate members, and for "house-fathers" to read in family devotions. Whereas the Mass had lent its power to the community by means of priest-blessed objects, the sermon extended its benefits via the printed book.

Post-Tridentine Catholicism adhered to medieval liturgical patterns even though, in 1588, the church founded the Sacred Congregation of Rites and Ceremonies. After 1614 and the publication of the *Rituale Romanum*, the central hierarchy urged adherence to its new standard upon all quarters. Regional and local tropes and altarpiece representations of unattested saints were to be cleansed from the churches. No study exists of the extent to which local and regional churches complied. Certainly there was much resistance, even if for political reasons, to the decrees of Trent. Carlo Borromeo (1538–1584), Archbishop of Milan (from 1560), provided detailed instructions for the administration and elaborate decoration of churches in his archdiocese. His influence, via his *Instructiones* and other writings, was broad. He urged catechetical instruction for all children, which might have provided the laity with a better basis for understanding Catholic ritual. He is credited with introducing the confessional box as we know it today and with promoting frequent confession.

The Catholic Church in the age of the baroque everywhere adopted a Protestant stress upon preaching. Even though the sacrifice of the Mass remained central, the proliferation of baroque high pulpits throughout Catholic Europe bears witness to the integration of the sermon into the service. Members of the Capuchin and Jesuit orders turned preaching into a high art, the outcome of concerted training in homiletics. In the Catholic world, too, the sermon gradually became a ritual artifact. Holy Week preaching marked the apogee of the annual cycle and was designed, along with the late-emerging Stations of the Cross, to move the faithful to tears. Ritual repentance as contained in the sacrament of penance was closely tied to this affect, for a sense of personal complicity in bringing about Christ's torment was to produce frequent—more frequent than the once-yearly enumeration of sins demanded by the Fourth Lateran Council—resort to auricular confession.

Catholicism continued to regard marriage, the anointing of the dying (extreme unction), and priestly ordination as sacraments. Confirmation, long officially of sacramental status yet neglected, underwent a revival as the church acknowledged the need to better inculcate its precepts via the catechism upon each new generation.

Nowhere were liturgical practices more contested than in the British Isles. The ambiguity of the Anglican Church's early history permitted varied preferences to be expressed. On the return of the Marian Exiles at the accession of Elizabeth, a so-called Puritan party gradually appeared with its pro-Genevan inclination toward spare and didactic liturgy. Puritan divines objected to the ornate traditionality (which is to say, at least the potential idolatry) of the forms provided in the Edwardian prayer books. They objected to the outpouring of cathedral music during the Restoration. Like their confreres on the Continent, they would not brook funeral sermons, for these elevated individual human beings, the deceased, to an undeserved height. They objected to clerical vestments, wedding rings, and churching. As heirs of Calvin, the Puritans stressed interiority and cared little for outward ritual acts. Their services intentionally bespoke the unworthiness of humans and the omnipotence and separateness of God. In Scotland, Presbyterian leaders, too, favored the utmost simplicity. Under pressure during the English Revolution, the Reformed creeds accepted compromise among themselves in adopting *A Directory for Publique Worship in the Three Kingdoms* (1644). Although disputed, in Low Church parishes this rubric would remain a basic guide for centuries. On the High Church side, the Book of Common Prayer of 1662 restored some of the language (priest instead of minister) and practice of Catholicism but avoided extremes. Owing to its bifurcated past, the Anglican Church down to today affords its adherents a spectrum of liturgical choices, from Protestant plainness to near-Catholic elegance.

Two contrasting trends characterize the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: the heightened mysticism visible in Pietism and the Catholic baroque, and the rational approach to religion claimed by leaders of the Enlightenment. Most ordinary Christians would not have been conscious of the qualitative changes effected at theologians' behest. Johann Sebastian Bach's (1685–1750) music finely embroidered Lutheran worship and moved hearts by its own devices; Philipp Jakob Spener (1635–1705) verbally urged the imitation of Christ and a heartfelt longing for moral improvement as a precondition of the experience of God's presence. Everywhere the states' ties to their territorial

churches found expression in the nobility's elaborate grave monuments within and near sanctuaries and in longer prayers for the well-being of rulers. Educated city dwellers of means could espouse Enlightenment calls for the daily, practical application of ethical and neighborly principles. This class might be persuaded by voices critical of the irrational, "superstitious" dimensions of all religion. However, the masses uncritically entered their local churches as always and participated in the ceremonial patterns established in the sixteenth century, or, in the case of Catholicism, long before. Eighteenth-century urban congregations did begin to feel the effects of the state's withdrawal as an enforcer of religious conformity. Increasingly, people could select from more than one theological position. Available positions were most immediately communicated by means of liturgy. Throughout the early modern period, ceremony informed even the unlettered laity and involved it in the tacit affirmation of the tenets on which it was based.

See also Calvin, John; Calvinism; Church of England; Luther, Martin; Lutheranism; Pietism; Puritanism; Reformation, Catholic; Reformation, Protestant; Zwingli, Huldrych.

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SUSAN C. KARANT-NUNN

ROBERTSON, WILLIAM (1721–1793), Scottish historian, clergyman, and educator. William Robertson was born on 8 September 1721 in Borthwick, Midlothian, where his father, William, was a parish minister in the Church of Scotland. The Robertson name was descended from the Robertsons of Gladney in Fifeshire and, more distantly, from the Robertsons of Struan in Perthshire. His mother, Heleanor, was the daughter of David Pitcairn of Dreghorn and Mary Anderson. The eldest of eight children, Robertson was educated in the Borthwick school and in nearby Dalkeith. In 1733, his father was called to Edinburgh as minister of Lady Yester's Church, and two years later Robertson entered the University of Edinburgh. According to his biographer Dugald Stewart, his dedication as a student was aptly demonstrated by his prefixing to his commonplace books the motto *vita sine literis mors est* (life without literature is death). As was typical of many students at the time, Robertson did not take a degree, but in 1740–1741 he studied divinity and subsequently took his examinations to become a minister of the Church of Scotland. In 1744 he was ordained minister of Gladsmuir, and seven years later he married his cousin Mary Nisbet, daughter of James Nisbet, minister of the Old Church, Edinburgh, and Mary, daughter of David Pitcairn. Together they had six children.

In 1758 Robertson, like his father, was called to Lady Yester's Church. Before arriving in Edinburgh, Robertson had already begun to establish himself as a leader in the church, joining a group of ministers, eventually to be known as the Moderates, who advocated church reforms, and publishing a well-regarded sermon, "The Situation of the World at the Time of Christ's Nativity" (1755), which prefigured his historical interests. He had also completed much of the work on his first book, *The History of Scotland during the Reigns of Queen Mary and King James VI*. Published in 1759, the book was a great success, going through some thirteen editions in his lifetime. As a result of this success, Robertson received several appointments, the most notable coming in 1762 when he was named principal of the University of Edinburgh, a post that he would hold until his death.

ROADS AND ROADBUILDING. *See* Communication and Transportation.

During his years as an administrator, Robertson made substantial contributions to the stature of the university, improving the library, strengthening the medical school faculty, and lobbying for new buildings (a dream that only became reality beginning in 1789). In assuming the position, Robertson relinquished some of his parish duties, though he remained a minister, moving from Lady Yester's to Old Greyfriars in 1761. Robertson also exercised leadership in the Church of Scotland's General Assembly during the 1760s and 1770s, championing the Moderate Party's often controversial policies of patronage and toleration, together with a demand for a more educated clergy.

In 1769 he published *The History of the Reign of the Emperor Charles V* in which he studied the development of the European state system and the concept of the balance of power by tracing the career of the most notable Habsburg ruler of the sixteenth century. He was unable to include discussion of the Spanish conquests in the Americas because he believed they would dilute the focus of his history, and this omission gave rise to his next project. In 1777 he published *The History of America*, describing the Spanish exploration of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in Mexico and South America. He had intended this history to be part of a general history of European colonization in the Americas, but after *America* he was only able to complete a small portion concerning English colonization (published posthumously in 1796). His work was interrupted by a physical breakdown, manifested in chronic congestion and increasing deafness during the late 1770s and early 1780s. He retired permanently from church leadership in 1780. By 1785, however, his health had revived sufficiently for him to undertake a complete revision of his historical works (published in 1787–1788) and to write *An Historical Disquisition concerning the Knowledge Which the Ancients Had of India* (1791), a discussion of European contacts with India up to the sixteenth century, with clear implications for contemporary British involvement in the area. In 1792, however, his health once again began to fail, and, after enduring considerable pain, he died on 11 June 1793. He is buried in Old Greyfriars churchyard.

See also Charles V (Holy Roman Empire); Edinburgh.

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JEFFREY SMITTEN

ROCOCO. A style of art characteristic of the eighteenth century, its focal point was France, where it was the dominant style during the first half of the century, although it enjoyed manifestations throughout Europe. Etymologically, "rococo" probably derived from a combination of the first two syllables of the French words *rocaille* (a form of rockwork found in architectural ornament and decorative arts) and *coquillage* (a shell motif that accompanied the *rocaille*). Coined in the 1790s by students of the neoclassical French painter Jacques-Louis David (1748–1825), "rococo" began as a pejorative expression. In an ironic twist of history, however, the earliest instance of the term's recorded usage applied it to David, rather than to a rococo artist properly speaking (such as Antoine Watteau, 1684–1721, or François Boucher, 1703–1770). A group of David's students (he called them his "Greeks"), finding his *Intervention of the Sabine Women* (1799) not Greek enough, judged his masterpiece "[Charles André] Van Loo, [Madame de] Pompadour, rococo." Originally then, the term was studio slang that involved critical judgments about aesthetic taste in general and about painting in particular, rather than a designation for stylistic tenden-



Rococo. The Würzburg Palace, designed by Johann Balthasar Neumann and built 1720–1744. THE ART ARCHIVE/DAGLI ORTI

cies in decorative arts, interiors, or architectural ornament (what the eighteenth century called *le rocaille* or *le genre pittoresque*, which rococo now denotes in its strictest usage). This account of the word's origin (which comes from David's student, Etienne Delécluze) also suggests that from the start "rococo" was a critical term bound up conceptually with issues of gender and class—hence the synonymy between rococo and Madame de Pompadour (1721–1764), the longtime favorite of Louis XV (ruled 1715–1774).

Until the end of the nineteenth century "rococo" was not widely used as an art historical term, except in Germany. For the French it remained a general label for the taste that was fashionable during the reign of Louis XV. As early as the 1840s the French also commonly applied it to anything that was old-fashioned, as did the English. By then Jacob Burckhardt had begun to use it as a generic art historical term for the decadent phases of all period styles (he described a "rococo" in Romanesque, Gothic, and Hellenistic art). Soon thereafter other German art historians began to use rococo as a formal classification of the general period and style of Louis XV, and it was they who inaugurated the first critical analyses of the style. Though recognizing rococo as a mode of decoration that originated in France, these scholars were concerned largely with theorizing the style in relation to baroque architecture in Germany and Italy. The Residenz in Würzburg, designed by Balthasar Neumann (1687–1753), is a magnificent example of German rococo architecture.

Since Fiske Kimball's foundational book, *The Creation of the Rococo* (1943), the term has been used most commonly to name an indigenously French style of decoration, marked by asymmetry and motifs both fanciful and naturalistic, that was distinct and separate from the baroque and was developed by a small number of designers, ornamentalists, and architects during the first half of the century (these included Gilles-Marie Oppenord, Nicolas Pineau, Juste-Aurèle Meissonier, and Jacques de Lajoüe). In the meantime, the word has continued to be used variously as a designation for a broad historical period spanning the decades from the Regency to the reign of Louis XVI (ruled 1774–1792), known as the "Rococo Age," or a pan-European style "capable of suffusing all spheres of

art." Some scholars have argued that it was the first "modern" style; others have denied that it qualifies as a style at all. Lately it has become possible to speak of rococo as a cultural mode of being, thought, and representation rather than exclusively as a formal idiom.

See also Baroque; Boucher, François; David, Jacques-Louis; France, Art in; Louis XV (France); Pompadour, Jeanne-Antoinette Poisson.

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MELISSA HYDE

ROMA (GYPSIES). The Roma, or Romani, entered southeastern Europe via the Byzantine Empire in the late Middle Ages from India. Early chronicles referred to the Roma as *AEgyptians*, hence the name *Gypsies*. However, in much of Europe they are referred to as *Zigeuner*, *cigán*, *cigány*, or *tsiganes*, which are derived from the Byzantine Greek word *Atsinganoi*, 'itinerant soothsayers and wanderers'. Most members of this diverse ethnic group prefer to be called Roma, 'group', or Romas, the adjectival form being Romani.

By the beginning of the early modern period, there were Roma scattered throughout the Balkans. While most lived as nomads, those in Walachia and Moldavia (modern Romania), traditionally the Eu-



Roma. *Washerwomen and Gypsies in a Grotto*, seventeenth-century painting by David Teniers II the Younger. THE ART ARCHIVE/
MUSÉE FABRE MONTPELLIER/DAGLI ORTI

ropean homeland of the Roma, had been enslaved by the boyars (nobility). Initially the Roma were respected for their skills as metalsmiths, gunsmiths, equine specialists, and musicians. As the Ottoman Turks gradually took over other parts of the Balkans, the Roma were subject to a growing body of prejudice that sought to restrict their settlement patterns or force them into a more permanent nomadic status.

Some Roma who tried to seek refuge in central and western Europe met with similar prejudice, particularly in the Holy Roman Empire. By the beginning of the early eighteenth century, Habsburg rulers threatened nomadic foreign Roma with branding, torture, and execution if they were caught. Such policies changed during the Enlightenment, particularly under Maria Theresa (ruled 1740–1780) and her son Joseph II (ruled 1780–1790). They adopted new policies designed to force the Roma to assimilate into Habsburg society; this included kidnapping Roma children, who were then placed into foster Catholic homes. They also ordered that wheels be taken off Roma wagons, and they limited the number of horses that a Roma family could own. Most of these policies failed, and many Habsburg Roma resumed their nomadic ways. One of the few good results of these policies was a series of extensive Habsburg Roma censuses detailing Roma life at the end of the Enlightenment.

The plight of the Roma in the rest of the Balkans was not much better, particularly in Walachia and Moldavia, where the Roma remained slaves until 1864. The Roma suffered from similar discrimination in other parts of Europe during this period. They had entered France as early as the fifteenth century and also moved out of the Balkans into the German states, Scandinavia, the British Isles, and Russia, although the bulk of Europe's Roma remained in the Balkans.

While most of Roma history in the early modern period tends to focus on various aspects of the discrimination they faced, the Roma contributed significantly to the history and culture of Europe during this period, particularly in the fields of music and literature. They formed the modern basis of Russian choral music and Spanish Flamenco and inspired some of Europe's most prominent writers.

See also Balkans; Holy Roman Empire; Persecution; Romania.

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DAVID M. CROWE

ROMAN LAW. *See* Law: Roman Law.

ROMANIA. The principalities of Walachia and Moldavia, formed in the fourteenth century, were the nucleus of what would become modern Romania in the nineteenth century. Their populations were ethnically the same, spoke the same language, and professed the same Orthodox faith; and their political institutions, culture, and historical development throughout the early modern period were similar. They were situated at the crossroads of East and West: their Latin heritage linked them to Rome; their religion drew them to Constantinople.

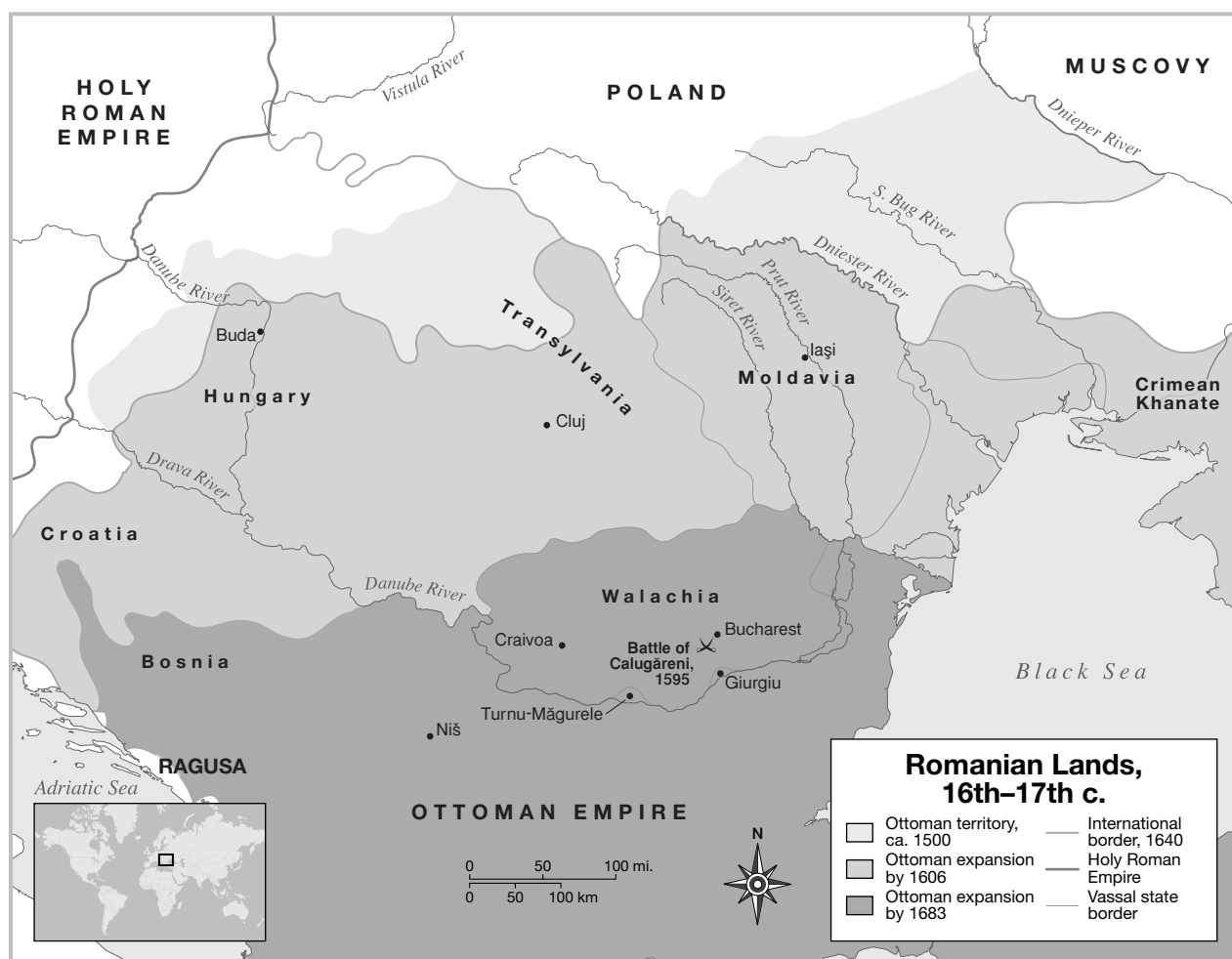
The decisive force in the international relations of the principalities from the middle of the fifteenth to the end of the eighteenth century was the Ottoman Empire. Despite the heroic efforts of princes such as Stephen the Great of Moldavia (ruled 1457–1504) to defend their independence, both countries were eventually forced to recognize Ottoman suzerainty, Walachia between 1420 and 1480 and Moldavia between 1484 and 1498. Under the terms of *ahd-names* (treaties) granted by the sultans, they accepted vassal status and agreed to pay an annual tribute, to participate in Ottoman military campaigns, and to sever direct political relations with foreign countries. But both principalities avoided occupation by the Ottoman army and the settlement of Muslims on their territory, and they preserved their political institutions, laws, and economic and social structures, thus escaping the incorporation into the Ottoman Empire to which the peoples south of the Danube had been subjected. Their relationship with the Ottoman Empire constantly evolved and became increasingly restrictive and burdensome. By the eighteenth century the sultans were treating the principalities as mere prov-

inces and their princes as Ottoman functionaries. Yet the heaviest burdens they bore were economic and fiscal, as the Ottomans continually increased the amount of the tribute, the number and size of bribes, and the quantities of foodstuffs to be delivered at fixed prices.

Opposition to the Ottomans was constant, but the majority of princes were realists. Aware that their countries were too weak to challenge Ottoman supremacy directly, they looked for support to Poland, the Habsburg empire, and Russia. Theirs was the classic strategy of playing powerful neighbors off against one another, thereby securing independence. One of the high points of this delicate game was the reign of Michael the Brave of Walachia (ruled 1593–1601), who allied himself with the Habsburgs and won several significant victories over Ottoman armies, notably at Calugăreni in 1595. He also brought Moldavia and the principality of Tran-

sylvania under his rule for a brief time, but his enemies prevailed, and the Ottomans regained their predominance over the principalities. Other significant attempts to throw off Ottoman rule occurred a century later. Constantin Brâncoveanu of Walachia (ruled 1688–1714) cooperated with Austria, and Dimitrie Cantemir of Moldavia (ruled 1710–1711) turned to Peter the Great of Russia to regain independence, but neither alliance was successful, and both princes lost their thrones.

The Ottomans, convinced that they could no longer trust native princes, dispensed with elections altogether and appointed princes mainly from among important Greek families of the Phanar (Lighthouse) district of Constantinople. During the so-called Phanariot regime, which lasted until 1821, Ottoman political interference in the principalities' internal affairs, economic and fiscal exploitation, and corruption reached its height. Yet it was also an



era of significant reforms under forward-looking princes such as Constantin Mavrocordat (ruled six times in Walachia and four times in Moldavia between 1730 and 1769), who reorganized administrative, judicial, and fiscal institutions and abolished serfdom in Walachia in 1746 and in Moldavia in 1749, and Alexandru Ipsilanti of Walachia (ruled 1774–1782, 1796–1797) and Moldavia (ruled 1786–1788), who introduced new governmental reforms and undertook the codification of laws. In the latter decades of the eighteenth century, the striving for independence became more intense and was led by the *boiers* (nobles). Their efforts coincided with Russia's own policy of aggrandizement against the Ottomans and brought an easing of Ottoman rule. The Treaty of Kuchuk Kainarji (1774) required the sultan to respect the autonomy of the principalities guaranteed in the *ahd-names* and enabled Russia to intervene regularly on their behalf.

The economy of the principalities rested on agriculture. Production was organized around large estates controlled by the *boiers* and the monasteries, which were worked by peasants, many of whom were serfs (before 1746 and 1749) or were dependent in some other way. There were also free peasants who had their own holdings, but their numbers steadily declined. Artisan crafts were practiced in villages as well as towns, where they were organized into guilds; production was mainly consumed locally. Local commerce was carried on by small merchants, artisans, and peasants, while long-distance and transit trade was mainly in the hands of foreign merchants. Among the main exports of the principalities were foodstuffs, timber, and salt, the bulk of it going to the Ottoman Empire, which monopolized their foreign trade.

Society was dominated by the *boiers*, who formed a hereditary estate and owed their status to control of land and to posts in government. The great majority of the population (about 600,000 in Walachia and 400,000 in Moldavia in 1700) consisted of peasants, who bore the greatest share of taxation and other public burdens but had few civil or political rights. The native middle class was small, mainly because of the modest level of urbanization, the artisan industry, and commerce, and it exercised little influence in public affairs. The clergy of the Orthodox Church, to which the great majority of

Walachians and Moldavians belonged, was the primary spiritual force, especially in the villages.

Cultural and intellectual life until the eighteenth century reflected the principalities' primary orientation toward the Byzantine-Orthodox world. Education was the province of the church, and monasteries were the centers for the copying and diffusion of manuscripts, which were almost all religious in nature. The majority of books, the printing of which began in 1508 with a liturgy book, were also religious. Slavonic persisted as the official language of the church and the princes' chancelleries until the seventeenth century. But influences came from the West, too. The Reformation stirred religious debate and hastened the replacement of Slavonic by Romanian. Contacts with Western scholarship helped transform chronicles into true histories, as in the works of Miron Costin (1633–1691), which revealed a new, secular consciousness of man's destiny. The Enlightenment brought the elites still closer to Europe and provided them with the analytical tools they needed to define their condition and chart their future. By the end of the eighteenth century, the transition from a medieval to a modern society was underway.

See also **Balkans; Habsburg Dynasty: Austria; Orthodoxy, Russian; Ottoman Empire; Poland; Russia.**

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KEITH HITCHINS

ROMANOV DYNASTY (RUSSIA). The Romanov family was one of the old boyar families in Moscow, but its fortunes really began in 1547,

when Anastasiia Romanovna Iur'eva married Tsar Ivan IV. Her relatives remained prominent boyars throughout the reign and suffered little from Ivan's suspicions and resultant executions. Anastasiia's nephew, Fedor Nikitich Romanov, received boyar rank in 1586 and played a major role in the politics of the court of Ivan's successor Fedor. The election of Boris Godunov as tsar in 1598 was a defeat for the Romanovs, and in 1600 Boris sent Fedor Romanov and his wife into exile. They were forced to enter monastic life, taking the names Filaret and Marfa. During the Time of Troubles Filaret as metropolitan of Rostov helped overthrow the first False Dmitrii (ruled 1605–1606) and fought against Tsar Vasiliu Shuiskii (ruled 1606–1610). He supported the election of Władysław, the son of King Sigismund III of Poland, to the Russian throne. When negotiations with Poland broke down in 1610, Sigismund threw Filaret in prison.

Back in Russia Marfa looked after their son Michael (born 1596) in Kostroma. The defeat of the Poles in 1612 led to the calling of an Assembly of the Land in 1613, which elected Michael tsar. He ruled until his death in 1645, at first under the influence of his mother and then after 1619 of his father Filaret, who was elected patriarch of Moscow on his return in that year.

In the reign of Tsar Michael Russia slowly recovered from the devastation of the Time of Troubles, repopulating the center and west of the country and expanding settlement south and east. The government returned to normal and slowly expanded in size, aided by the relative peace at court among the boyar factions. An unsuccessful attempt to regain losses to Poland in the Troubles was balanced by the successful construction of extensive fortifications and garrisons on the southern frontier that guarded against Crimean raids.

Michael's son Alexis Mikhailovich (ruled 1645–1676) was far more successful. The long war with Poland brought back the lost territories and also the Ukrainian Hetmanate as an autonomous unit within Russia. Internal disputes in the church led to much reform but also to the schism of the Old Belief by 1667. For most of his reign Alexis was content to balance the boyar factions and rule by consensus, a system interrupted by the ambitions of Patriarch Nikon (reigned 1652–1658), which led

to Nikon's eventual downfall. By the end of the reign Alexis relied more and more on his favorite, Artamon Sergeevich Matveev.

The male children of Alexis by his first wife Mariia Miloslavskaia, whom he married in 1648, were not a healthy lot. The first heir Alexis died in his teens, and his brother Fedor was ill (probably with scurvy) from childhood. A younger son, Ivan, was also sickly and partly blind. The daughters flourished, but according to Russian custom could not rule. The second marriage of Tsar Alexis in 1671, to Nataliia Naryshkina, produced another daughter but also a healthy son, the future Peter the Great.

At Alexis's death in 1676 the throne went to Fedor, who was too young and sickly to rule until 1680, two years after which he died. After the revolt of the musketeers in 1682, Alexis's daughter Sofiia ruled as regent for the young Peter and his brother Ivan. Peter and his allies at court overthrew her in 1689, inaugurating thirty-six years of deep transformation of the Russian state and Russian culture. By his death in 1725 Peter had made Russia a major regional power, built a European absolutist state, and brought Russia into the circle of European culture. He did not, however, secure the succession. The conflict in 1718 with his son Alexis led him to decree that the tsar could choose his successor, but he did not do so. Thus on his death the Russian elite chose his wife to rule as Catherine I.

The death of Catherine I in 1727 threw the succession back to Peter II, the son of the unfortunate Alexis Alekseevich. Peter II died suddenly of smallpox in 1730, and the elite this time chose Anna, the daughter of Peter the Great's co-tsar Ivan and widow of the duke of Courland, to be the empress. She ruled with the help of her Courland favorite Ernst Johann Bühren (known in Russia as Biron) until 1740. As she had no children, the succession was again in question. Anna's desire was to leave the throne to her infant grand-nephew in the maternal line, Ivan VI, the son of the duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg. The inevitable regency was unpopular, and in 1741 the ruling elite and the guards overthrew Ivan and his family and placed on the throne Peter's daughter Elizabeth.

Elizabeth restored a sense of legitimacy to the throne and the dynasty. She reestablished harmony

at the court by returning Anna's enemies from exile and pursued the building of the Russian state, economy, and culture, including the founding of Moscow University in 1755. Russia's armies defeated Frederick the Great of Prussia in the Seven Years' War (1756–1763). Elizabeth's secret morganatic marriage to Aleksei Razumovskii produced no heirs, so she arranged the succession of the duke of Holstein-Gottorp, the son of Peter the Great's daughter Anna. As Peter III he took the throne on Elizabeth's death in 1762, but he was soon overthrown in favor of his wife, Catherine II.

Catherine, born Sophie of Anhalt-Zerbst, ruled from 1762 to 1796 and was one of Russia's greatest rulers. Her defeats of the Ottomans, the attendant conquest of the north Black Sea coast, and the partitions of Poland made Russia a great power in Europe. At the same time her rationalization of provincial and town administration, with the granting of limited participation to merchants and gentry, strengthened legal order and added new dimensions to Russian administration. The Charter of the Nobility (1785) for the first time spelled out the rights and obligations of the gentry. Her promotion of education and Enlightenment culture spread new political ideas among the gentry. Later liberal opposition to the monarchy sprang from these ideas.

In her memoirs Catherine said that it was her first lover, Sergei Saltykov, rather than Peter III, who was the father of her son Paul. Paul came to the throne in 1796 during the European crisis sparked by the French Revolution. Alarmed by its success, Paul briefly joined the anti-French coalition and reversed many of his mother's reforms. Elite discontent led to his murder in March 1801. Ironically, his succession decree of 1797 allowed for an orderly succession to his son, Alexander I, for the first time in over a century.

See also Alexis I (Russia); Anna (Russia); Autocracy; Boris Godunov (Russia); Catherine II (Russia); Elizabeth (Russia); Michael Romanov (Russia); Nikon, patriarch; Old Believers; Orthodoxy, Russian; Paul I (Russia); Peter I (Russia); Russia; Russian Literature and Language; Russo-Polish Wars; Russo-Ottoman Wars; Sofiiia Alekseevna; Time of Troubles (Russia).

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PAUL BUSHKOVITCH

ROMANTICISM. According to most definitions, Romanticism begins sometime around or after 1789, the terminal date of this encyclopedia and the moment of the French Revolution. 1789 has been the key date in a good many historical narratives, the point at which everything is thought to have changed forever. But much of what we recognize as Romantic was in place before the Revolution. Confusion arises from the way in which scholars and critics have understood Romanticism as both a period (somewhere between 1760 and 1850) and an attitude or disposition whose priorities include (but are not limited to) emotionalism, excessive self-consciousness, respect for the dignity of childhood, a critique of neoclassicism, an interest in folk culture and primitive origins, a preference for rural life, and a high valuation of private reading over public performance. Artists or writers who foreshadow these concerns before 1789 are likely to be called “Preromantics” (Brown, 1991) or to be assigned to the “age of sensibility” (Hilles and Bloom). The poet George Crabbe (1754–1832) is squarely within the Romantic period but is anti-Romantic because he opposes the spirit of the age. Some writers, like Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749–1832), go through Romantic and anti-Romantic phases; others, like Lord Byron (1788–1824), appear throughout as excessively Romantic in some ways (the melodramatic hero) and doggedly antagonistic in others (the decision to use neoclassical rhyming couplets).

Romanticism can be politically radical and democratic (as it was held to be in Britain among the poetic avant-garde in the 1790s) or reactionary and traditional (as it mostly was in France). Often it can be somewhere in between, leading to a lively controversy about, for example, the politics of Wil-

William Wordsworth's (1770–1850) poetry. National chronologies also vary significantly. British and German Romanticisms are held to be well under way in the 1790s; French and other European Romanticisms come later, in the 1800s and after; and American Romanticism comes later still. Romanticism also varies according to the forms and genres we examine. Ludwig van Beethoven (1770–1827) and Franz Schubert (1797–1828) are Romantics; there are Romantic painters (Francisco Goya [1746–1828], James Mallord William Turner [1775–1852], and Eugène Delacroix [1798–1863]); but there is no familiar concept of Romantic architecture (Gothic revival comes closest). There is lots of Romantic literature, especially poetry.

Intellectual historians have often favored explanations relating both the Revolution and Romanticism to preexisting conditions, and in this they repeat a common assumption of the 1790s whereby massive historical changes were attributed to the power of ideas. Commentators of both left and right blamed or praised Voltaire (1694–1778), Denis Diderot (1713–1784), and Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778) for historical events that none of them lived to see. Many recent interpreters have assimilated Romanticism into a “long eighteenth century” starting around 1690 and extending well into the 1800s, making it central to our understanding of modernity as a whole. Others retain an allegiance to the idea of a clear break between a “classical” eighteenth century and a “modern” worldview. Michel Foucault took the second position in describing the emergence of the “sciences of man,” for which biocultural life is both the origin and the object of knowledge. The compulsive reflexivity and often anxious self-consciousness emanating from this sense of temporality can also be traced in historically earlier forms, though we might agree that it comes to be dominant and impossible to ignore in the Romantic period and the Romantic attitude. Debates between the so-called ancients and moderns throughout the eighteenth century had taken up the question of how much we could expect to understand in the literature of the past, given its different conditions of production and reception. Some felt that truth was transhistorical and natural, others that meaning could only be recovered by careful and patient research (Levine).

The 1700s also saw the emergence of a biblical hermeneutics (science of interpretation) concerned to establish the origins and relative authenticities of the various parts of the Bible (Frei): the sacred book was given human time and place. Again, the Romantic interest in folk and popular culture emerged from a preexisting tradition of antiquarianism that was already implicated in a nationalist-imperialist agenda, one that became even more urgent during the European and world wars that dominated the years between 1793 and 1815. Romanticism embodies a north European, Gothic primitivism that could be invoked to support both popular democracy and the monarchist alliance against Napoleon, as well as a liberal-classicist, cosmopolitan admiration of the pagan Mediterranean that was used to critique the restorations of 1815 (Butler, ch. 5). We can look to Romanticism as containing forms of resistance to the “civilizing process” described by Norbert Elias, evident, for example, in the revolt of Lord Byron, Robert Burns (1759–1796), and Gérard de Nerval (1808–1855) against the rituals of bourgeois self-discipline. However, it includes also those forms of acutely anxious self-examination, as in William Wordsworth's or John Keats's (1795–1821) poetry, which are so clearly coincident with the taming of social violence and the internalization of revolt that Elias traced in the evolution of modern manners.

Romanticism has mostly been a polemical and politicized construction, whether in the interpretations of latter-day scholars (Simpson, 1993, 2000) or in the earliest inventions of the category itself. Hegel gave us the most forceful early definition in positing Romanticism as marked by a turn from the external to the internal, spiritual world and the afterlife. He saw this beginning in the Christian Middle Ages and intensifying in later centuries. His Romanticism is thereby somewhat coincident with the royalist, Christian, antirevolutionary movement typified by François René Chateaubriand (1768–1848) and Victor Hugo (1802–1885). A chronologically more contained Romanticism has been based on the Byronic hero, with its obvious allusions to the figure of Napoleon in its liberating as well as its tyrannical incarnations. Still another can be based on the new interest in folk culture (Johann Gottfried von Herder [1744–1803], William Wordsworth, Robert Burns, and Sir Walter Scott

[1771–1832]). Romanticism has been identified with both religion (orthodox and nonconformist) and atheism, with the political right and left, with progressive optimism and besetting nostalgia, according to the needs of its various interpreters. It is perhaps best understood as an assembly of all of these tendencies (and others) within a loosely understood historical period, giving us the tools for setting about a study of individual artists or movements without imposing a prescriptive boundary.

See also English Literature and Language; French Literature and Language; German Literature and Language; Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von; Goya y Lucientes, Francisco de; Herder, Johann Gottfried von; Revolutions, Age of.

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DAVID SIMPSON

ROME. From 1500 to 1789, Rome’s population grew from about 50,000 to over 160,000. A small civic government maintained some autonomy well

into the seventeenth century, but the papacy increasingly controlled local and regional administration, even as its own role in European politics declined. As the center of Catholic Christendom, Rome remained the focal point for the church hierarchy, for numerous religious orders, and for pilgrims. From the 1540s on, concern for doctrinal orthodoxy circumscribed written and artistic expression, but for another two centuries the city of the popes remained a site of cultural creativity and accomplishment, particularly in architecture.

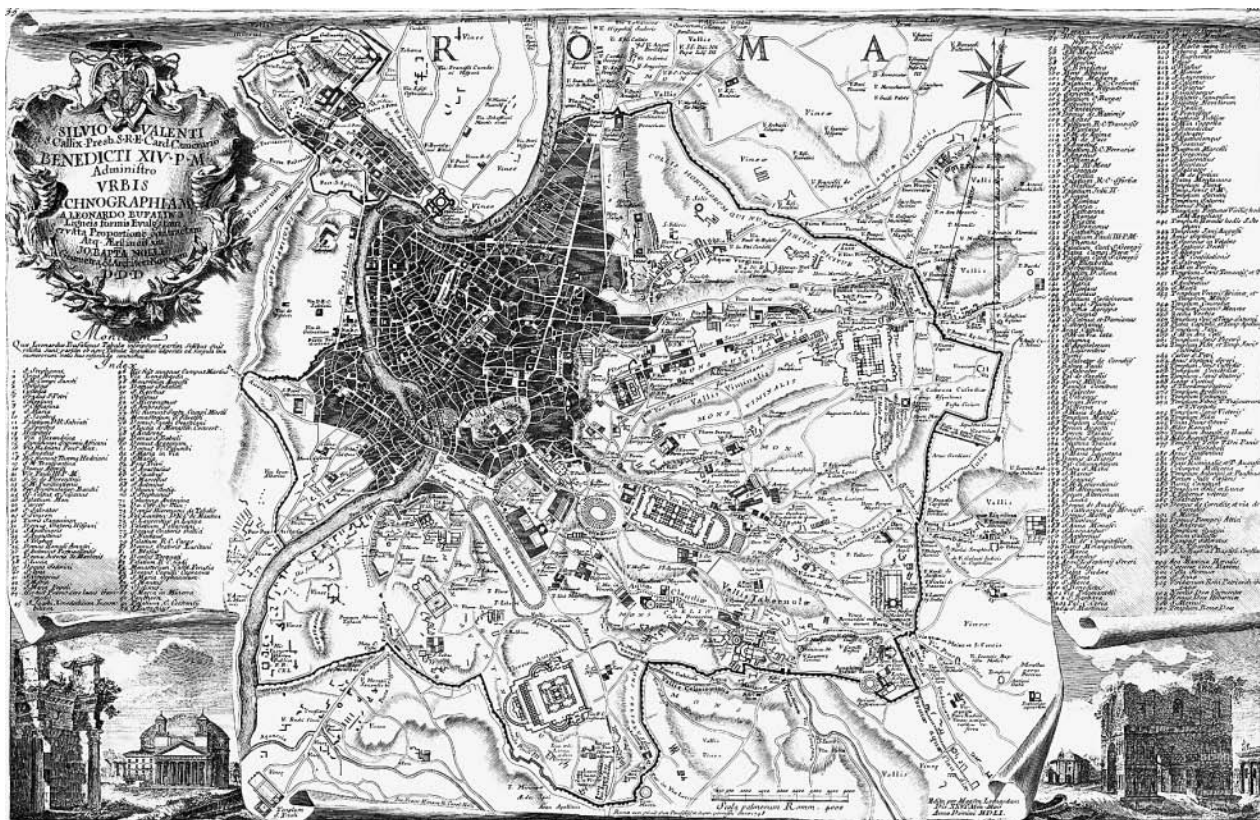
E C O N O M Y A N D G O V E R N M E N T

In 1500, papal revenues still came primarily from dioceses and church landholdings throughout Europe. After the Protestant Reformation diminished that source, the popes relied more upon heavy taxation of their territories in central Italy, known as the Papal States. A funded debt established in 1526 helped rationalize the curial economy. By 1600, Rome’s administration of its territories was arguably as sophisticated as that of any other European state, but its failure to develop new sources of wealth meant reliance upon deficit spending and foreign patronage. The economy of the city beyond the Curia, built largely around the annual influx of pilgrims, perennially lacked a strong industrial or agricultural base. Bad harvests could readily lead to famines, as happened in 1763–1764.

Whereas sixteenth-century popes such as Julius II (reigned 1503–1513) and Paul III (reigned 1534–1549) engaged in wars with powerful Roman families such as the Colonna, over time the local nobles were subsumed into the church hierarchy. A civic government, the Senate and People of Rome, retained some judicial powers and provided a forum for rallying public opinion. It had influence particularly during periods of vacant see (i.e., between popes). But by 1600 all top state officials were churchmen: a cardinal-chamberlain (*camerlengo*) headed administration of the papacy’s temporal domain, with cardinal-legates governing different regions and a cardinal serving as secretary of state. Thereafter, Roman nobles played an essentially ceremonial role, except to the extent that family members obtained high curial offices.

F O R E I G N R E L A T I O N S

By 1500, Italian politics were being transformed by the presence of French and Spanish armies. Pope



Rome. When Giambattista Nolli published his famous twelve-sheet plan of Rome in 1748 he included a reduced reproduction of Leonardo Bufalini's 1551 woodcut map of the city. Bufalini's map represented a major advance over its medieval and Renaissance predecessors, which were usually odd collections of buildings drawn in elevation or oblique view with inconsistent topography. The drawing here is meticulous and complete, with every street clearly depicted. MAP COLLECTION, STERLING MEMORIAL LIBRARY, YALE UNIVERSITY

Julius II played the two against each other while strengthening his economic and political hold on the Papal States. By the mid-1520s, however, the might of Spain and the Holy Roman Empire, united in the person of Charles V (ruled 1519–1556), became decisive. Clement VII (reigned 1523–1534) sought intermittently to form alliances to contain imperial power on the peninsula, but the League of Cognac (formed 22 May 1526), in which the pope joined forces with Venice and France, was too disunited in purpose to prevent an imperial army from sacking Rome on 6 May 1527. Clement VII ultimately made peace with Charles V, and he officially crowned Charles emperor in Bologna in February 1530.

Thereafter, Spanish sovereigns often proved critical in defending Rome and in furthering papal goals beyond Italy. Paul IV (reigned 1555–1559)

bucked this trend, forming with France an alliance designed to drive the Spaniards from Italy, but the strategy backfired when an imperial army under the duke of Alba encamped near Rome in 1557, forcing the pope to make peace. French defeats soon led to the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis (1559), following which Spain enjoyed a uniquely privileged relationship with Rome: Spanish kings exerted influence in the papal court and gained control over substantial church revenues in Spain. In turn, the kings generously endowed religious institutions in Rome and provided military support to the papacy. Meanwhile, the Vatican diplomatic service grew more complex and systematic, especially under Gregory XIII (reigned 1572–1585) and Clement VIII (reigned 1592–1605), and it came under official control of cardinals.

By the 1620s, the balance of power between Spain and France shifted temporarily in the direction of the latter, and Urban VIII (reigned 1623–1644) was elected pope with strong support of French cardinals. Spain remained influential throughout the century, particularly during the pontificate of Alexander VII (reigned 1655–1667). But following the Peace of Westphalia (1648), which ended the Thirty Years' War, religion became sharply less important in European politics, and so Rome ceased to be as critical to dynastic strategies.

THE URBAN LANDSCAPE

Although the building of Renaissance Rome was well under way by 1500, Pope Julius II gave it added impetus. Seeking to make the city suitably dignified for his ambitions, he sponsored construction projects including the Via Giulia and St. Peter's Basilica (begun 1506). Paul III enhanced the fortifications of the Vatican, employed Michelangelo to restore the city capitol (the Campidoglio), and saw to the construction of major urban thoroughfares. Subsequent pontiffs, notably Sixtus V (1585–1590), further edified and embellished the city. Classical models inspired both urban design and the building of suburban villas with gardens.

The seventeenth century saw the addition of massive baroque structures, many designed by Francesco Borromini (1599–1667) and Gian Lorenzo Bernini (1598–1680). Commissioned in 1638 to build the Church of San Carlo alle Quattro Fontane, Borromini later designed its imposing curved facade. Bernini's projects included overseeing the completion of St. Peter's and designing the colonnade that surrounds its square (completed 1667).

In the eighteenth century, elaborate new facades for churches and other buildings transformed the appearance of existing squares and streets. Wealthy families such as the Corsini and the Doria Pamphili commissioned private palaces whose facades vied for attention in the public theater of the city. There was more practical construction, as well: some structures were divided into private apartments of varying size to house the burgeoning ranks of mid-level papal officials, and new buildings were erected for oratories, monasteries, convents, and charitable institutions. By the later eighteenth century, construction was curtailed amidst economic crises, but there was by then a dense core of build-

ings in central Rome, surrounded on the outskirts by the villas of the wealthy.

RELIGIOUS AND CULTURAL LEADERSHIP

Although the Protestant Reformation cut into the papacy's prestige and revenues, Rome remained the world center of the Catholic faith. Starting in the pontificate of Paul III, it was also a center of reform. When the papacy convened the Council of Trent (1545–1563), which enacted extensive doctrinal and institutional reforms, new religious groups had already emerged, including the Capuchins (1528) and the Society of Jesus, or Jesuits (1540). The latter's zealous and at times controversial promotion of the faith, which could threaten secular rulers' prerogatives, led in 1773 to its temporary suppression by Pope Clement XIV (reigned 1769–1774). Beginning in the mid-sixteenth century, the Roman Inquisition and the Index of Prohibited Books (first promulgated in 1559) limited the scope of acceptable theological expression but did not entirely stifle other forms of intellectual creativity. The University of Rome, strong before the Sack of 1527, had to shut down for eight years. After reopening, it had mainly regional importance, educating lawyers, mid-level papal and civil officials, and some doctors. Bologna remained the premier university in papal territories. Within Rome, religious orders' schools, especially the Jesuits' Collegio Romano (established 1551), dominated theological education. Literary, scientific, and archaeological culture flourished in the later sixteenth century and beyond, when private collections of manuscripts and antiquities became increasingly fashionable. The constraints of orthodoxy limited radical religious expression, at times forcefully, as in the case of Giordano Bruno, who was burned at the stake in Rome in 1600. Philosophical, scientific, and literary pursuits that did not directly contravene church dogma flourished, especially in academies such as that of the Lincei (1603–1630) and the Arcadia, founded in 1690 by scholars who had enjoyed the patronage of Queen Christina of Sweden (d. 1689), who had converted to Catholicism.

The early sixteenth century, a peak period for artistic creativity in Rome, encompassed Michelangelo's painting of the Sistine Chapel ceiling (1508–1512) and Raphael's work in the Vatican stanze (begun 1509). Later influential contributions in-



Rome. *A View of Rome with the Bridge and Castel St. Angelo by the Tiber* by Gaspar van Wittel. ROY MILES FINE PAINTINGS/ BRIDGEMAN ART LIBRARY

cluded Michelangelo's *Last Judgment* (completed 1541), and around 1600 Rome still drew major painters like Annibale Carracci (1560–1609) and Caravaggio (1571–1610). Achievements in architecture reached new heights the following century in the works of Borromini and Bernini, the latter of whom also made enduring contributions to baroque statuary, notably his *Ecstasy of St. Theresa* (1652) in the church of Santa Maria della Vittoria, and the Fountain of the Four Rivers (1651) in the Piazza Navona. In the eighteenth century, public spaces were redesigned with an eye to theatricality. Major projects included the Spanish Steps (1723–1726), the Piazza Sant' Ignazio (1727–1735), and Nicola Salvi's design for the Trevi fountain (mid-1730s), which still today dominates its piazza.

By 1789, Rome had ceased to be a center even of architectural innovation. Still, prints designed and compiled by the architect and engraver Giovanni Battista Piranesi (1720–1778) helped disseminate abroad an appreciation for the city's cultural riches, as did its distinction as the final stop on European aristocrats' grand tour. Although Rome's cultural role had waned, the Renaissance, Reformation, and baroque ages would bequeath a rich legacy to future generations, much as the culture of antiquity had done for them.

See also Art: The Conception and Status of the Artist; Catholicism; Christina (Sweden); Jesuits; Papacy and Papal States; Rome, Architecture in; Rome, Art in; Rome, Sack of; Trent, Council of.

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KENNETH GOUWENS

ROME, ARCHITECTURE IN. In the early sixteenth century, the architectural development of Rome was spurred by a campaign to reclaim the city as the *caput mundi*, while the century closed with the more pragmatic goal of providing Catholic pilgrims with a coherent and forceful spiritual experience as they moved about the city. Early-seventeenth-century efforts celebrated what was hailed as a triumph for the Catholic Church over the Protestant Reformation, but by the early eighteenth century, as the power of the Church waned and the papal budget for building flagged, triumph turned to a hope that Rome would become a destination on the grand tour of Europe. On more than one occasion over this span of 300 years, observers commented that the city itself resembled one big construction site, as architecture became the visible sign of these shifting goals.

THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

Two projects—one sacred and one secular—spanned much of the sixteenth century. Reconstruction of the church of St. Peter’s began in 1506 at the command of Pope Julius II Della Rovere (reigned 1503–1513) on the design of Donato Bramante (1444–1514), who projected a Greek-cross plan with a massive central dome, a radical departure in design from the Latin-cross plan of the original fourth-century foundation of Old St. Peter’s marking the burial site of Peter, the first pope. The scheme was fantastic and promised to rival the scale of Roman imperial public architecture. Although the massive piers for the crossing were begun according to Bramante’s design, the plan was revised repeatedly after his death—by Raphael (1483–1520), by Baldassare Peruzzi (1481–1536),

by Antonio Giamberti da Sangallo the Younger (1483–1546), and finally, beginning in 1546, by Michelangelo Buonarroti (1475–1564), who simplified the plan by embedding the Greek cross in a square, capped with a magnificent double-shelled dome offering a striking skyline image for this, the city’s most important pilgrimage destination. The great sculptor turned architect was also responsible for the restructuring of the Campidoglio, the civic center atop the Capitoline Hill, close by the Tabularium and Forum Romanum of the ancient city. Beginning in 1539, the work was carried out in phases (Palazzo Nuovo was not even begun until 1603), but Michelangelo’s mark is apparent in the brilliant design of the oval space, focused on the ancient equestrian statue of emperor Marcus Aurelius and framed by the angled placements of the flanking structures.

Highlights of private building in the city include Bramante’s Palazzo Caprini (c. 1501–1510), an elegant townhouse design that spawned a new category of urban domestic architecture. In contrast, the majestic Palazzo Farnese, built over time on designs by Sangallo, Michelangelo, and Giacomo della Porta (c. 1537–1602), established the aristocratic Roman palace type. In the category of church building, noteworthy developments include experimentation with oval designs, such as S. Anna dei Palafrenieri, Vignola (begun 1565) by Giacomo Barozzi (1507–1573) and S. Giacomo degli Incurabili, Volterra (begun 1592) by Francesco Capriani (c. 1530–1594). In contrast, the newly sanctioned Society of Jesus, founded by Ignatius of Loyola and headquartered in Rome, built the church of Il Gesù (begun 1568), designed by Barozzi, financed by Pope Paul III Farnese (reigned 1534–1549) and responsive in its architecture to the reforms called for at the close of the Council of Trent (1563). Strategically located in the city center, the church is Latin-cross in plan, with a shallow transept and a broad nave, devoid of side aisles, but with a series of discrete side chapels. The unified interior space was to accommodate large crowds with good acoustics for preaching, while the side chapels provided individual altars for serving the requisite daily masses. Likewise, the facade, designed by Della Porta, established a new type of aedicular composition with two stories of unequal width reflecting the elevation of the church. The



Architecture in Rome. This is a reproduction of the lower-right corner of Giambattista Nolli's magnificent twelve-sheet 1748 plan, which also features elaborate symbolic scenes. In this scene, the Christian character of the city is emphasized. The inscription above the seated figure refers to Pope Clement XII (reigned 1730–1740), and the map was dedicated to his successor Benedict XIV (reigned 1740–1758); both did much to beautify Rome. Architectural monuments are also depicted. MAP COLLECTION, STERLING MEMORIAL LIBRARY, YALE UNIVERSITY

plan, the interior articulation, and the facade of the Gesù were widely imitated; notable among these offspring are the churches of S. Maria in Vallicella (begun 1575), S. Andrea della Valle (begun 1591), and S. Susanna (begun 1595).

In the same spirit of reform, the century drew to a close with the election of Pope Sixtus V Peretti (reigned 1585–1590) who instituted, with his architect Domenico Fontana (1543–1607), an urban scheme to unify the city by establishing a network of straight streets and vertical markers, ancient Roman commemorative columns, and ancient Egyptian obelisks, each topped with Christian symbols. The Sistine plan for the city, aimed at pilgrims in anticipation of the holy year of 1600, served to link the city center with the outskirts where the early Christian basilicas—obligatory stops on the pilgrimage route—were located. In this way, Sixtus stimulated growth of the city and established a framework for its later urban development.

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

The expansion of St. Peter's to form a Latin-cross plan and the completion of its facade, all at the direction of Pope Paul V Borghese (reigned 1605–1621) on designs by Carlo Maderno (1556–1629), opened the seventeenth century on a note of celebration. This tone is evident in both private and public architecture, where new forms and hybrid solutions abound. The grand tradition of Palazzo Farnese was transformed in the designs of Palazzo Borghese (Maderno; 1605–1614), Palazzo Barberini (Maderno and Bernini; 1628–1638), Palazzo Pamphili at the Piazza Navona (G. Rainaldi and Borromini; 1646–1647) and Palazzo Chigi-Odescalchi (Bernini; 1664–1667), each a palace of family members of the reigning pope. What had appeared as formidable blocks showing reserved faces to the city grew into organic structures with facades replete with arcades and orders orchestrating opened and closed wall segments in response to the immediate urban context and the larger



Architecture in Rome. *The Piazza San Pietro*, painting by Gaspare van Wittel, showing St. Peter's Basilica and the Bernini colonnades. ©CHRISTIE'S IMAGES/CORBIS

cityscape. Likewise, church architecture attained new levels of invention, both in plan as well as in elevation. Central plans attracted renewed attention, as for example in Pietro da Cortona's SS. Martina e Luca (begun 1635) and Francesco Borromini's S. Carlo alle Quattro Fontane (begun 1638). Facades that were planar as aedicular compositions (horizontal elements that support a vertical element), stemming from the Gesù, grew increasingly complex with heavily tectonic designs marked by a dramatic repetition of the columnar order in planes that break forward into space, as for example at SS. Vincenzo ed Anastasio (M. Longhi the Younger; 1646–1650), S. Maria in Campitelli (C. Rainaldi; begun 1662), and S. Marcello (C. Fontana; 1682–1683). These inventions, with their marked attraction to the dramatic in purely architectural terms, define what we mean by the term “baroque.”

Nowhere is this baroque mentality more apparent than in the architectural works of the triumvirate of design personalities—Francesco Borromini (1599–1667), Pietro da Cortona (1596–1669), and Gian Lorenzo Bernini (1598–1680)—and their papal sponsors, Urban VIII Barberini (reigned 1623–1644), Innocent X Pamphili (reigned 1644–1655), and Alexander VII Chigi (reigned 1655–1667). At S. Ivo della Sapienza (1640–1660), Borromini offers a purely architectural composition celebrating the theme of wisdom, appropriate to the

chapel of a university and revealed in the highly unusual star-hexagon plan, the undulating walls, the pleated dome, and the extraordinary lantern. Cortona's facade design for S. Maria della Pace (1656–1661) involved formation of an urban setting, a small polygonal opening carved into a dense neighborhood that not only facilitated access to the church by carriage, but also offered a dramatic setting for the semicircular portico of the facade that ironically seems to fill the open space as the church aggressively seeks its visitor. Bernini's S. Andrea al Quirinale (1658–1676) offers a stage like architecture that begins on the street with its grand, one-story aedicular facade announcing the aedicule of the altar opposite where the crowning pediment opens to reveal Andrew in his ascent to the heavenly dome where his fellow fishermen await him. The drama of the sculptural event in this small oval church highlights Bernini's role as impresario and his manipulation of the viewer for whom he stages spectacular events, whether in his design of the Baldacchino (1624–1633) at the crossing of St. Peter's, in the Cornaro Chapel (1645–1652) in S. Maria della Vittoria, or in the monumental Piazza S. Pietro (1656–1667). The Piazza S. Pietro, the crowning achievement of the papacy of Alexander VII, completed the campaign to rebuild St. Peter's. Here, the defining lines of the giant colonnades unite the opposing forms of the latitudinal oval, a gathering space for the faithful, and the trapezoid, a

funnel-like space leading to the church. These spaces also function to frame the ritual appearances of the pope in the Benediction Loggia at the center of the church facade and in his apartment at the upper story of the papal palace to the north. In each case the architects of baroque Rome focus on the participant and in so doing offer exciting challenges fraught with subtleties of scale, of surface, of space, and of time.

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Although the pace of building in Rome slowed at the end of the seventeenth century, the eighteenth century brought an interesting combination of architectural styles, stemming from the baroque, while also offering a contemporary aspect. The classical strain of architecture, employed for official commissions, recalls Bernini's (and even Michelangelo's) architecture and reflects the growing fascination among her tourists with Rome's ancient past. The more playful rococo style, apparent in urban planning and smaller church and domestic architecture and spawned by the fanciful creations of Borromini, offered an important foil, yet the two strains seem perfectly compatible. On the one hand, new facades for S. Giovanni in Laterano (Galilei; 1733–1736) and S. Maria Maggiore (Fuga; 1741–1746) demonstrate both the severity as well as the drama of the classical style in which the wall has been eliminated to reveal dark recesses in space while the order alone remains to define the skeletal structure of the whole. On the other hand, the curvilinear shapes of the open-air designs of the Spanish Steps (De Sanctis; 1723–1726) and Piazza S. Ignazio (Raguzzini; 1727–1735) offer an alternative sensibility of refinement and elegance suitable to a new leisure class of Romans as well as to tourists drawn to Rome to study both ancient and contemporary art and architecture. On occasion, the two styles merge in monuments such as the Fontana di Trevi (Salvi; 1732–1762), where the classical language furnishes a luxurious backdrop for the extraordinary sculptural display and waterworks, and the main facade of Palazzo Doria-Pamphili (Valvassori; 1730–1735), where the skeletal aspect of the classical conjoins with the decorative and curvilinear elements of the rococo.

The appeal of this architecture, beginning in the early sixteenth century and continuing well into the

eighteenth century, is its grandeur and drama, aspects that enjoyed success whether in the service of the church, of public institutions, or of individuals. The wonder of this architecture lies not only in the sheer number of buildings that were built, but also in the staggering variety of these buildings that together created Rome's marvelously variegated and unified urban fabric.

See also Architecture; Art: Artistic Patronage; Baroque; City Planning; Classicism; Grand Tour; Rococo; Sculpture.

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DOROTHY METZGER HABEL

ROME, ART IN. Like the art and architecture of the early modern city, the art of ancient Rome was largely produced by ambitious immigrants: ever since the legendary early days when Rome welcomed Etruscan kings and Sabine women, its culture had always been both international and eclectic. But art in early modern Rome was eclectic in a highly particular sense, incorporating influences from vastly different times as well as different cultures. Even after the Vandal invasions of the sixth century cut the ancient aqueducts and reduced the Roman population to a fraction of its million inhabitants, artists in Rome were compelled to face the imposing physical legacy of the ancient city: its monumental ruins, its fading frescoes, ancient

buildings that had never gone out of use (like the Pantheon, some early Christian basilicas, and many humbler structures), and a population of statues that sometimes rivaled the numbers of the living. The legacy of Roman grandeur and Roman style persisted in the work of later artists and architects, who often adapted a set of columns, a statue, or a marble inlay for their own projects. A pair of lions from the twelfth-century cloister of the basilica of Saint John Lateran feature Egyptian *nemes* head-dresses like those of the ancient sphinxes their sculptors must have seen in the ruins of the Temple of Isis. A statue of Saint Helen from the church of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, itself built into a vaulted hall of Helen's Sessorian Palace, has been cleverly recarved from an ancient image of the goddess Juno. Medieval Rome was filled with colonnaded porches, porphyry inlays, gilt mosaics and marble statuary all directly inspired by—and often made of—the physical remains of the ancient city. Medieval Roman painters like Pietro Cavallini (c. 1250–c. 1330) gave their figures the same majestic solidity they must have seen in ancient frescoes.

THE ALLURE OF THE ANCIENT

By Cavallini's time, however, the Roman economy lagged far behind that of emerging merchant republics like Pisa, Siena, and Florence; the presence of the pope and his curia could not compensate for the lack of a thriving merchant class to attract and nurture artists and architects with a range of plentiful, competitive commissions. Visitors described medieval Rome as a landscape of ruins: the Forum was called Campo Vaccino (cow pasture) and the Capitoline, site of ancient Rome's most glorious temple, had become Monte Caprino (goat hill). The huge basilicas of Christianity, themselves relics of late Roman antiquity, crumbled in squalor as vendors hawked souvenirs and straw pallets to the pilgrims who bedded down within their huge, shabby porticoes. Yet the columns and statues strewn among Rome's ruins also seemed to contain the mysteries of perfect proportion, known to the ancients and lost in later eras—a perfection based on the harmony between the human body and the divine cosmos. Ancient Latin and Greek inscriptions expressed their own version of this divine order in the stately forms of their lettering. Thus, in their tantalizing incompleteness, the monuments of Rome

came to excite the early modern artistic imagination, spawning ideas of a scope and daring that no “complete” city could ever have inspired. The idea of restoring Rome to its ancient splendor had seemed an impossible vision to Petrarch when he visited in the mid-fourteenth century. The papacy had recently moved to Avignon, further crippling the feeble Roman economy, and Petrarch worried that the spark of ancient inspiration had gone out for good. During the first half of the fifteenth century, however, the popes gradually returned from Provence, trailing cardinals, curates, and bankers. To reinforce the permanence of their return to Rome, the fifteenth-century popes and their courts began to speak openly about renewing the city or, more radically, fostering its rebirth. Because of Rome's unique political structure, its history, and its physical presence, this culture of renewal also took on its own distinctive characteristics. In the first place, the papacy, with its theocratic monarchy, deliberately drew inspiration from the ancient Roman Empire rather than from the preceding republic. When republican ideals took hold in Rome, as they did on occasion, the result, until the Italian unification late in the nineteenth century, was almost invariably chaos. Second, the brooding presence of ancient ruins gave Renaissance Rome's sense of the ancient past an urgent physical immediacy. The architects of Renaissance Rome could hardly resist emulating the grand proportions of ancient buildings. Through painstaking study, they eventually came to understand, and then to apply, the ancient Romans' subtle system of aesthetic refinement, deployed with their inspired sense of freedom, and governed by the same rigor. But they also looted the fallen portions of the Colosseum to erect the walls of *palazzi* whose forms were themselves eloquent reworkings of the Colosseum's facade. The sheer complexity of Renaissance Rome's position between ancient past and imaginative present meant that the city's revival fostered an unusual degree of collaboration. The culture that resulted from the collaboration of these sometimes unlikely groups of friends represented an unusually broad population by comparison with Florence, where the Medici dictated intellectual and artistic fashion for generations, or Naples, with its Spanish-centered court, or even Venice, with its broad-based but carefully regimented civic life. The cultural life of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Rome eventually thrived in a wide

variety of places such as the *palazzi* of cardinals, businessmen, and papal bureaucrats as well as the Apostolic Palace. For even if the popes commanded spiritual as well as temporal power during their reigns, the reigns were often quite short—popes, like Venetian doges, tended to be elected as old men. The cultural life of the city therefore became unusually adaptable and always maintained a certain degree of diffuse independence from its one dominant figure.

RENEWAL OF ROME

The initial stages of Rome's artistic renewal were dominated by Tuscan artists. (Tuscans also dominated the curia to the extent that the Roman dialect changed in these years from a distinctively southern to a central Italian vernacular.) Masolino da Panicale created a fresco cycle for the Dominican church of San Clemente in the 1430s. Twenty years later, Pope Nicholas V invited the Florentine painter Fra Angelico (Guido di Pietro, c. 1400–1455) to decorate his private chapel in the Vatican Palace. In both cases, the renowned Tuscan painters brought their native style to Rome, but Rome exerted its own suggestive power over that style; in the shadow of the Colosseum, the Palatine palace, and the great Roman baths, their work took on a new gravity, their compositions became more architectonic, and architecture itself came to figure prominently in the paintings. As late as 1481, when Pope Sixtus IV gathered a team of painters to decorate the walls of his new chapel in the Vatican, he summoned them from Florence. Yet the frescoes produced by that team of Florence-based Tuscan and Umbrian artists on the Sistine Chapel walls entirely reflected their Roman setting: triumphal arches and Roman-style basilicas dominate the background, and even the famously sinuous figures of Botticelli and Ghirlandaio acquired the grandeur of Roman historical relief. Melozzo da Forlì's (1438–1494) fresco honoring Sixtus's chartering of the Vatican Library in 1475 (finished 1476) ranges the pope, his librarian, and his nephews within a spacious marble hall. The most majestic of these figures, the cardinal Giuliano della Rovere (the future Pope Julius II) is ranged against a classical column as if he is literally a pillar of the library—as indeed he was. The bronze tomb designed for Sixtus by the Florentine artist Antonio Pollaiuolo reflects his acute awareness of Etruscan and Roman

bronzes. Similarly, the Florentine painter Filippino Lippi's frescoes for the chapel of Cardinal Oliviero Carafa in Santa Maria Sopra Minerva are focused compositionally on grand architectonic structures and move with the measured deliberation of an ancient Roman procession. Two Umbrian painters, Pietro Perugino and Bernardino Pinturicchio, and a Tuscan, Luca Signorelli, dominated painting in Rome at the turn of the fifteenth century. All three had been at work in Rome off and on since the 1480s, and for them the city's ruined buildings, statues, paintings, and stucco reliefs provided an inescapable stimulus to paint more grandly, with more clearly articulated spaces, more substantial figures, sturdier architecture. Pinturicchio's scenes from the life of Saint Bernardino of Siena for the Bufalini Chapel in Santa Maria in Aracoeli, his decorations for the Vatican apartments of Pope Alexander VI Borgia, and his ceiling for the choir of Santa Maria del Popolo are especially remarkable. Indeed, all three of these talented masters would have a far greater reputation today if it were not for what happened in Rome during the first decades of the sixteenth century. In December of 1503, Cardinal Giuliano Della Rovere was elected Pope Julius II (reigned 1503–1513), a man of enormous vision and implacable temper who took the project of Rome's renewal to heart with a vehemence that swiftly eclipsed the work of his active uncle Sixtus IV. He sought out Donato Bramante (1444–1514), a mature artist born in Urbino and recently arrived in Rome from Milan, who had begun to make his mark as an architect in the classical style. Together, the two of them embarked on an ambitious plan to raze the tottering early Christian basilica of St. Peter's, develop the Vatican Palace around a huge internal garden that would house the papal art collections, and transform the city itself into a model metropolis of broad, straight thoroughfares, glorious new buildings, and bustling river traffic. A perceptive collector of ancient sculpture, Julius also made contact with a young Florentine sculptor, Michelangelo Buonarroti (1475–1564), whom he set to work on designing his tomb beneath the crossing vault of Bramante's new St. Peter's. By 1507 Julius had decided to decorate his private apartments as well. Following the successful stratagem of Sixtus IV, he called in a team of illustrious painters from central Italy to execute the project, including a young relative of Bramante's named Raffaello

Sanzio (Raphael, 1483–1520). Raphael's first two frescoes proved so evocative, however, that Julius assigned him the whole commission. A host of other artists flocked to Rome in the early days of Julius's reign: the Tuscan sculptor Jacopo Sansovino, the dynasty of architects known as the Sangallo (after their neighborhood in Florence), the Tuscan painters Antonio Bazzi (called Il Sodoma) and Baldassare Peruzzi. Most of the Sangallo clan returned to Florence when it became clear how entirely Bramante would dominate architectural commissions in the city. Antonio da Sangallo the Younger, who remained in Rome, began to work his way through the ranks on the St. Peter's project in hopes of eventually setting up on his own. Pope Julius commissioned two elaborate marble tombs of Sansovino for the choir of Santa Maria del Popolo; one of these, the tomb of Cardinal Ascanio Sforza (1505), is remarkable for the lively reclining figure of that lean, sophisticated Milanese prelate. Other commissions followed from wealthy members of the curia. Sodoma and Peruzzi were taken up by the Siense banker Agostino Chigi, who was rich enough in 1503 to have provided Cardinal Giuliano Della Rovere with the bribe money that secured his election as pope, and who became richer than ever once he and Pope Julius began to pilot the economic course of the papacy. The unerring artistic instinct that prompted Julius II to see a painter in the sculptor Michelangelo inspired the irascible pontiff to push the equally irascible artist into replacing the gilt stars and blue background of the Sistine Chapel ceiling with a design that began as a depiction of the twelve apostles and eventually expanded dramatically to trace the history of the papacy back to the creation of the universe. It took Michelangelo only four years, from 1508 to 1512, to cover the chapel's ceiling with his broad, sure brushstrokes. Two muscular marble statues from the papal collections, the Belvedere Torso and the Laocoön (the latter discovered in 1506), inspired the epic physiques of Michelangelo's figures, but his extraordinary colors—purple and orange and sea green—seem to have been his own invention, and all at once they changed the palette of Italian art. Raphael, the most attentive of painters, had already absorbed Michelangelo's grand figure style and novel color schemes long before the Sistine Chapel ceiling was unveiled; Bramante, to Michelangelo's chagrin, had let him in for a preview. The results can

be seen in Raphael's *School of Athens* (1510–1511), his *Isaiah* in Sant' Agostino (1511–1512) and his *Galatea* (c. 1512–1514), painted for Agostino Chigi. When Julius died in 1513 and was succeeded by the Florentine pope Leo X, a distinctive Roman style had already been established in painting, sculpture, and architecture, characterized by powerful, elegant human figures, high contrasts of light and dark, strong architectural lines, mastery of space, and strange, brilliant colors. There was even a distinctive papal style for architecture: Doric triglyph-and-metope friezes, Tuscan columns, and rusticated masonry, devised by Bramante for St. Peter's and the unbuilt Palazzo dei Tribunali on the Via Giulia, one of the long, straight boulevards that formed an important part of the pope's city planning. Pope Leo and successors like his cousin Clement VII (reigned 1523–1534) and their contemporary Paul III (reigned 1534–1549) continued to foster this grand, colorful Roman style for projects like the Villa Madama, Palazzo Farnese, Michelangelo's Campidoglio, and the seemingly never-ending project of St. Peter's. Before his death in 1520, Raphael had established a flourishing workshop; furthermore, thanks to his association with the penetratingly insightful Bramante, he lent a strong theoretical instinct to the creation of art, so that onetime associates like Antonio da Sangallo the Younger, Perino del Vaga, and Giulio Romano could continue creating works of art and architecture along the same basic lines. In many ways, these were the same lines adopted by Michelangelo, an equally thoughtful student of ancient Rome—and an equally independent flouter of the compositional principles he observed in ancient art. Like the ancient Roman architect and writer Vitruvius, who used two-story columns to “lend authority” to the interior of the basilica he designed in the city of Fano, Bramante, Raphael, and Michelangelo all used giant orders of columns to bind together huge facades, none so brilliantly as Michelangelo for the Palazzo dei Conservatori (c. 1537) on the Capitoline Hill and for the exterior walls of St. Peter's. The dome of Hadrian's Pantheon inspired Bramante, Raphael, Michelangelo, and finally Giacomo della Porta in their successive designs for the dome of St. Peter's; it was della Porta who elongated the profile to its present graceful shape. Raphael's workshop's rediscovery of the formula for ancient stucco in about 1518 allowed architecture to merge with

sculpture, and sculpture with painting, as in Raphael's Vatican Logge for Pope Leo X, his workshop's Palazzo Madama, and his facade for Palazzo Branconio dell'Aquila. The melding of stucco work and architecture reached its apogee with the facade of Palazzo Spada in 1550.

By the middle of the sixteenth century, the Protestant Reformation had provoked Pope Paul III to convene the reforming Council of Trent, which closed in 1563 after a quarter century of wrangling. Its call for a newly persuasive religious art did not produce immediate effects on the look of art in Rome; the distinctive, sophisticated local tradition had become too strong to change immediately. In the very last years of the sixteenth century, however, a Milanese painter named Michelangelo Merisi da Caravaggio (1573–1610) suddenly gave forceful new expression to Trent's call for a simple, persuasive religious art: his paintings, with their dramatic contrasts of light and dark and their apparently down-to-earth figures (many of them drawn from ancient models) brought the stories of the Bible dramatically into the here and now. In their effect, they were sermons in paint, performing exactly the same devotional service as the priest's homily at mass. Roman painting now began to show an apparent split between dramatic, even grubby naturalism and sophisticated classical style, but these poles were never truly opposed. Caravaggio's *Deposition* in the Vatican (1602–1604), however dirty its figures' feet, adopts the poses of an ancient Roman sarcophagus, and there is no more grittily rustic peasant than the arch-classicist Annibale Carracci's *Bean Eater* (c. 1585) in the Galleria Colonna.

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Caravaggio's stark lighting affected later artists like Guercino (Giovanni Barbieri, 1591–1666) and Mattia Preti (1613–1699), their dramatically posed figures emerging from deep shadows; silvery flesh tones and a loose brushwork gave their large paintings an added vibrancy. The versatile Orazio Gentileschi (c. 1562–c. 1647) and his daughter Artemisia (c. 1597–after 1651) also worked occasionally in this style, as did the popular Guido Reni (1575–1642) for his *Crucifixion of St. Peter* in the Vatican Museum. Soon, however, the spareness and

restricted color of Caravaggio gave way in Rome to a more elaborate, colorful taste in painting.

The classical whimsy of Annibale Carracci's ceiling frescoes for the Galleria in Palazzo Farnese added new life—and lightness—to the stately, architectonic quality of monumental painting in Rome, so that an important commission like Pietro da Cortona's ceiling fresco for the grand entrance hall of Palazzo Barberini (1631) could amuse as well as celebrate the family by showing their coat of arms, a trio of gigantic bees, buzzing in formation into the heavens. The same kind of virtuoso whimsy assured the popularity of Gian Lorenzo Bernini (1598–1680), whose phenomenal ability to carve marble was matched by the fertility of his imagination. His series of early works for Cardinal Scipione Borghese, *Apollo and Daphne* (1622–1625), *David* (1623–1624), and *Pluto and Persephone* (1621–1622) seemed to turn stone into living flesh where Pluto's fingers press into plump Persephone, where Daphne's fingers sprout leaves and her toes take root, and where David (a self-portrait of the artist) bites his lip in concentration. Bernini's later commissions often combined sculpture with architecture, from the Baldacchino in St. Peter's (1633) to the Throne of St. Peter (1657) in the same basilica, to the tombs of Popes Urban VIII (1647) and Alexander VII (1672–1678), this last with a gilt skeleton struggling to free itself from a red jasper curtain that symbolizes—all too literally—the flesh. Bernini's sheer technical skill and his lively compositions set the standard for all other sculptors in Rome. His fountains still dot the city: the Fountain of the Four Rivers in Piazza Navona (1651) incorporates an ancient Egyptian obelisk into its complicated symbolism of life's instability and religion's offer of eternity, contrived with the help of the Jesuit scholar and philologist Athanasius Kircher (1601–1680). A century later, Nicola Salvi's Trevi Fountain (1732–1762) would look to Bernini's masterwork for its chief inspiration, just as Andrea Pozzo's altars to Saint Ignatius Loyola and Francis Xavier in the church of Il Gesù (1695) ultimately owe both the upward sweep of their design and the daring richness of their lapis lazuli decoration to Bernini's designs for St. Peter's and the Jesuit church of Sant'Andrea al Quirinale (1658–1670), where he designed both the architecture and the



Art in Rome. The Ganges sculpture of the *Fontaine of the Four Rivers*, created by Gian Lorenzo Bernini in the Piazza Navona, Rome, 1651. ©MIMMO JODICE/CORBIS

sculptural decoration, which merge into one another seamlessly.

The creation of art in seventeenth-century Rome was a matter of intense intellectual discussion, and conspicuously learned artists who worked there included the young Fleming Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640), destined to become both painter and diplomat after his studies in Rome in 1601–1602 and 1605, and the Frenchman Nicolas Poussin (1594–1665), whose theories about color and classicism injected a stately sobriety into the painting of his adopted city. Yet the same collectors who assembled Poussin’s myths and allegories also collected paintings of flowers, peasants, and landscapes, all separate genres in the burgeoning seventeenth-century art market (as was the venerable art of portraiture). Raphael had already excelled at por-

trait painting in the early sixteenth century, and his image of a pensive *Pope Julius II* (1511–1512) may have been in the mind of the Spanish painter Diego Velázquez when he created his glorious portrait of a gimlet-eyed *Innocent X* more than a century later (c. 1650). The contrast between Raphael’s meticulously fine brushwork and Velázquez’s commanding sweeps of raw paint could not be greater, but they share the gift of psychological insight. The eighteenth century in Rome would add a new kind of portrait to the traditional repertoire of churchmen, nobles, merchants, and courtesans: the so-called swagger portraits of English “grand tourists” who had begun to flock to Rome and felt that they could not leave until they had been immortalized, striking a pose in a recognizably Roman setting, by Pompeo Batoni (1708–1787).

Raphael also had been a pioneer as a print-maker, with the help of the engraver Marcantonio Raimondi, and as a result most painters and sculptors from the sixteenth century onward came to rely on prints as a vital means by which to illustrate works in other media as well as a cheap, attractive art form in their own right. But Rome had never seen anything like the prints that began to emerge in the eighteenth century from the burin of Giovanni Battista Piranesi (1720–1778): monumental visions of Roman ruins, intricate, surreal prisons (in his *Carceri d'invenzione*, 1749–1750), fireplace designs based on Egyptian and Etruscan as well as classical motifs, all executed with a sureness of touch equaled in the history of the medium only by Albrecht Dürer. Piranesi's exaggeratedly tiny human figures, his tempestuous skies, and the wayward smoke of his fireplaces give his designs a haunting immediacy.

In the eighteenth century, the aesthetic theories of Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717–1768), secretary in Rome to Cardinal Alessandro Albani, began to encourage painters like Anton Raphael Mengs (1728–1779) to work in a more restrained, classical style inspired by Raphael (for Mengs, the similarity in their names also acted as a stimulus); Winckelmann also amassed an impressive collection of ancient sculpture for the cardinal. In 1791, inspired by the same movement, the successful but restless sculptor Antonio Canova (1757–1822) undertook a design for the tomb of Pope Clement XIII in St. Peter's Basilica that was radical enough to make the apprehensive artist attend its unveiling in disguise. With its simplified neoclassical forms and its now-famous weeping lions, the massive white marble tomb marked a sharp departure from the legacy of Bernini. Canova had exchanged the rich textures and headlong movement of the baroque for the calm and clarity that he, like Winckelmann before him, had observed in ancient art. Canova quickly dropped his disguise; the Romans immediately loved his new work, indicating that their tastes, like those of Europe as a whole, were shifting toward a different understanding of the ancient classical ideal—neoclassicism—that would soon transform all the arts.

See also **Ancients and Moderns**; **Art**: **Artistic Patronage**; **Baroque**; **Bernini**, Gian Lorenzo; **Caravaggio** and **Caravaggism**; **City Planning**; **Gentileschi**, Artemisia;

Julius II (pope); **Michelangelo Buonarroti**; **Prints and Printmaking**; **Raphael**; **Rome**; **Rome, Architecture in**; **Sculpture**; **Winckelmann**, Johann Joachim.

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INGRID ROWLAND

ROME, SACK OF. The conquest of Rome on 6 May 1527 by troops of the Holy Roman emperor Charles V (ruled 1519–1556) has traditionally been viewed as a turning point in the history of papal Rome and in Renaissance culture. While recent research has highlighted economic, political, and social continuities between pre- and post-sack Rome, a consensus remains that the event, which occurred during the Italian Wars of 1494–1559, had cultural repercussions of lasting significance.

The conquest itself was brief. Around dawn on 6 May 1527, an imperial army composed primarily of Spanish and German troops besieged the poorly

defended city. Their commander, Charles de Bourbon-Montpensier (1490–1527), died in the initial assault, but by sunset virtually all of Rome had fallen to his men. His successor, Philibert of Orange-Châlon (1502–1530), could not control the victorious troops, who proceeded to spend months desecrating sacred objects, ransacking the city, and torturing its citizens in order to extract ransoms. Pope Clement VII (Giulio de' Medici; reigned 1523–1534), who had taken refuge in the Castel Sant'Angelo, formally capitulated on 5 June, and remained a captive there until early December. Only in February 1528 did the occupying army leave Rome.

The sack resulted most immediately from Clement VII's decision to join with Florence, France, Milan, and Venice in the League of Cognac (22 May 1526), an alliance formed to limit Charles V's power on the Italian peninsula. As Bourbon-Montpensier's army advanced southward, the particular goals of the Venetians and the French had come to outweigh the interests they shared with the papacy. In March 1527, the pope had agreed to a truce with Charles de Lannoy, the imperial viceroy of Naples, but Bourbon-Montpensier and his men had refused to honor it. Historians disagree about whether or not Charles V authorized the attack on Rome; certainly he abhorred the atrocities that followed. Meanwhile, Clement discovered that he could not count on the league's armies either to come to his rescue or to mount a coherent counteroffensive. Having been effectively abandoned, in 1529 the pope made peace with Charles V, whom he crowned as Holy Roman emperor in Bologna in February 1530. Thus, he adjusted with some success to the emperor's now decisive hegemony on the peninsula.

The cultural impact of the sack was felt acutely throughout Europe. Many artists and architects, including Rosso Fiorentino (Giovanni Battista di Jacopo, 1494–1540) and Sebastiano Serlio (1475–1554), sought safety and patronage elsewhere, and in so doing promoted the diffusion of High Renaissance Roman culture. In humanists' rhetoric, claims that the papacy would soon initiate a golden age perforce gave way to more modest expectations. Religious interpretations of the event varied, but there was a widespread consensus—shared even by Pope Clement himself—that moral failings of the

clergy were in part to blame for the catastrophe. His successor, Paul III (reigned 1534–1549), did much to restore the papacy's prestige, political influence, and cultural centrality, but any optimism was tempered by a new awareness of political contingency and by nostalgia for an idealized age of cultural efflorescence that was widely perceived to have already passed.

See also Charles V (Holy Roman Empire); Italian Wars (1494–1559).

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ROSICRUCIANISM. Rosicrucianism is the ideology of the Rosicrucians, a mysterious, possibly apocryphal, religious sect announced in early-seventeenth-century Germany. The existence of a secret Brotherhood of the Rosy Cross, the Rosicrucians, was proclaimed in *Fama Fraternitas* (Rumor of the brotherhood), a short treatise that circulated in manuscript several years before it was published by Wilhelm Wessel in Kassel in 1614. Further details about the brotherhood followed in the *Confessio Fraternitatis* (1615; Confession of the brotherhood), ostensibly the secret society's manifesto. A spate of "Rosicrucian" treatises ensued, written by a cadre of radical reformers associated with several princely courts and universities of Germany and published mainly in Kassel, Frankfurt, and Danzig.

Although these earliest treatises were anonymous, it appears that the *Fama* was written, perhaps as early as 1608, by Tobias Hess (1558–1614) and circulated by Adam Haslmayr (1588–1602) and Benedict Figulus (1567–1624). These three appear to have played key roles in codifying the fundamentals of Rosicrucianism from the philosophical and theological ideas of the German reformer Paracelsus, but drawing on material from John Dee (1527–1608), Cornelius Agrippa (1486–1535), and other “Hermetic” authors. The religious teachings of Paracelsus (1493–1541), who despaired of the institutionalized church and urged focus on a German mystical, inner realization of divinity, were especially amenable to Protestants who felt that the Reformation had stopped short and abandoned its original principles. This same impulse had produced numerous radical sects, but the especially attractive claim of the Rosicrucians was their call for a reform of all society to bring it a unified ideology based on a true, irenic (peaceful) religious movement, and a scientific and technological enlightenment.

Many of the Rosicrucian ideas and mode of expression are chemical in nature, clearly evident in Johan Valentin Andreae’s (1586–1654) *Chemical Wedding of Christian Rosencreutz* (1616; *Chymische Hochzeit Christiani Rosencreutz*) and blended readily with Hermetic philosophy and religion in treatises like the *Secretioris Philosophiae Consideratio Brevis* (1615; Brief consideration of the very secret philosophy) of Philip a Gabella (a pseudonym, possibly for Raphael Eglinus or Johannes Rhenanus), which was largely extracted from works by John Dee, Sendivogius (1556–1636), and other Paracelsian writers. The Rosicrucians’ calls for a refounding of society along radical Calvinist and natural philosophical lines struck a chord with a broad audience, piquing the curiosity of the Danish physician Ole Worm (1588–1654) and the Englishman Robert Fludd (1574–1637), a contemporary of William Harvey (1578–1657) and fellow member of London’s elite Royal College of Physicians. Men such as these sought further information about the brotherhood or, in the case of Fludd, promoted its aims through his own Hermetic publications and correspondence.

Soon, too, a number of condemnations arose, penned by those fearful that the Rosicrucians presented a real threat to the status quo, or merely

convinced that they were yet another heretical sect bent on contributing to Europe’s disquiet in the tumultuous years leading up to the Thirty Years’ War (1618–1648). Chief among these from the scientific community was Andreas Libavius (1560–1616), who attacked the Rosicrucians as heretics and proponents of false, Paracelsian chemical philosophy. But theological censure was particularly energetic, coming from all orthodoxies. A well-known episode, the “Rosicrucian furor” that erupted in Paris after the discovery of publicly posted Rosicrucian placards in the summer of 1623, is now known to have been the work of a cabal of French Jesuits, who sought to link dissident, free-thinking libertines with Hermetic and Rosicrucian heresies of the sort promoted by Rudolph Goclenius, Jr. (1547–1628), painting them as the dangerous devil-spawn of Lutheranism.

Efforts to see in the Rosicrucians a specific political movement centered on the Calvinist Palatinate aiming to wrest the kingdom of Bohemia from the Catholic Holy Roman emperor have now been discredited, as it is evident that the main actors were not in Heidelberg, but in other courts. The question of the Rosicrucians’ contribution to the development of modern science is still unresolved. While the Hermetic and Calvinist ideas they promoted encouraged the development and deployment of technology for social betterment, an idea taken up and publicized by Francis Bacon (1561–1626), the historical connections remain to be clarified. Likewise, their ideas on the importance of fathoming the divine mind by empirical study of creation and experimentation with natural processes must be discerned from contemporary attitudes among Lutherans and other denominations. Yet it is undeniable that many of the champions of scientific reform, particularly the influential Hartlib Circle (a group of scientists and philosophers that formed around Samuel Hartlib [1640–1656]) and its Continental correspondents were keenly interested in finding and studying the Rosicrucian tracts. Continuity between the seventeenth-century Rosicrucians and the eighteenth-century Freemasons and modern Rosicrucianism has been adduced, but the historical connections have not been convincingly teased out.

See also Alchemy; Bacon, Francis; Calvinism; Dee, John; Freemasonry; Hartlib, Samuel; Hermeticism; Mag-

ic; Occult Philosophy; Paracelsus; Reformation, Protestant; Theology.

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ROUSSEAU, JEAN-JACQUES (1712–1778), French philosopher and writer. Rousseau is widely viewed as the greatest social, political, and pedagogical philosopher of the French Enlightenment. He gives education the task of transforming naturally self-loving egoists animated only by their own “particular wills” into polis-loving citizens with a civic “general will” (“the will one has as a citizen”). For Rousseau, the “Great Legislator” (more accurately the great civic educator) must “change the nature of man” by turning self-lovers into “Spartan mothers” (who ask not whether their own sons have survived battles but whether the “general good” of the city still lives). Rousseau also insists that education, however “denaturing,” must finally produce autonomous adults who can ultimately say to their teachers (with Émile), “I have decided to be what you made me” (Foxley translation, p. 435).

Jean-Jacques Rousseau was born in the Calvinist stronghold of Geneva on 28 June 1712, the second son of the watchmaker Isaac Rousseau and his wife Susan; both were “citizens” of Geneva, and Rousseau styled himself *citoyen de Genève* until his final renunciation of citizenship in 1764. Rous-

seau’s mother died ten days after his birth. With his father the child read (and then perpetually cherished) *Plutarch’s Lives* of the greatest Greeks and Romans. Later he was brought up by a puritanical aunt who (he admitted in the *Confessions*) did much to warp his sexuality. In 1722 Isaac Rousseau fled Geneva after a quarrel, and the ill-educated Jean-Jacques had to be apprenticed, first to a notary, then to an engraver.

In March 1728 Rousseau missed the Genevan city curfew, found himself locked outside the gates, and wandered on foot to Annecy in Savoy, where he was taken in by Mme de Warens, who became his protector and then (1733–1740) his lover. In the provincial salon of Mme de Warens (“Les Charmettes”), Rousseau acquired the education he had lacked in Geneva (Plutarch apart). One gets some sense of his autodidactic passion from his poem, “Le Verger des Charmettes,” in which he declares his debt to Gottfried Wilhelm von Leibniz, Nicholas de Malebranche, Isaac Newton, and John Locke.

Mme de Warens, who specialized in finding Catholic converts, sent the young Rousseau to Turin, where he renounced his inherited Calvinism and converted to the Roman Church; he even briefly attended a seminary for priests, until a Catholic ecclesiastic attempted to seduce him. Returning to Les Charmettes, he lived with de Warens (“Maman”), completed his education, and undertook his earliest writings, including the remarkable *Chronologie universelle* (c. 1737), with its eloquent praise of Fénelon’s charitable moral universalism.

In 1740 Rousseau began to serve as a tutor, moving north to Lyon and living in the house of M. de Mably, whose children he instructed. However, in Lyon he met M. de Mably’s two elder brothers, Étienne Bonnot (later the Abbé de Condillac, with Voltaire the greatest “Lockean” in post-Regency France) and the Abbé de Mably. This was the beginning of Rousseau’s connection to the Paris philosophes, with whom he would later have a love-hate relationship. At this same time Rousseau became a considerable composer, music theorist, and copyist; in later years he would represent himself as a simple Swiss republican who earned a living as a musical craftsman.

In 1742 Rousseau moved definitively northward to Paris, carrying with him a new system of musical notation, a comedy, an opera, and a collection of poems. In Paris Rousseau eked out a precarious living by tutoring, writing, and copying music; for a brief period (1743–1744) he served, not very happily, as secretary to the French ambassador in Venice—an interlude that he described in his later *Lettres écrites de la montagne* (1764). He also met and befriended Denis Diderot, soon-to-be editor of the great *Encyclopédie*, who would ultimately commission Rousseau's first great writing on civic "general will," the *Économie politique* of 1755.

It was while visiting Diderot in prison (for alleged impiety) in 1749 that Rousseau decided to write an essay for a prize competition sponsored by the Académie de Dijon, dealing with the question whether morals had been harmed or advanced by the rebirth (renaissance) of the arts and sciences. Rousseau won the prize with *Discours sur les sciences et les arts* (Discourse on the arts and sciences), the so-called First Discourse, in which he defended Spartan-Roman civic *généralité* against the Athenian literary "tyranny" of poets and orators. The *Discourse* made his European reputation, even attracting the criticism of the king of Poland, and from this period forward Rousseau was a leading citizen, however reluctantly, of the *République des lettres* (as Voltaire maliciously reminded him).

In 1752 his opera, *Le devin du village* (The village soothsayer), was performed at the court of Louis XV at Versailles; at roughly the same time his black comedy *Narcissus, the Lover of Himself* was given in Paris at the Theatre français. As a good *citoyen de Genève*, Rousseau refused a royal pension, continuing his republican self-support as a musician by publishing *La lettre sur la musique française* (Letter on French music) in 1753, which, with its strong defense of Italian simplicity against French elaborateness, led to a collision with Jean-Baptiste Rameau, the greatest French composer of the day.

Rousseau's *Discours sur l'origine et les fondements de l'inégalité parmi les hommes* (Discourse on the origins of inequality among men) was completed in May 1754. The most radical of his works, this so-called Second Discourse urges that existing government is a kind of confidence trick on the part of the rich, who persuade the poor that it is univer-

sally and equally advantageous to be subjected to law and to political order. In June 1754 Rousseau left Paris for a visit to his native Geneva, where he reconverted to Calvinism and had his civic rights restored and where, in 1755, he published his *Inégalité* and the *Économie politique* (the Third Discourse). In 1756 he moved to the countryside, taking up residence at l'Hermitage, the country seat of Mme d'Épinay (inspiring Diderot's sarcastic epigram, "a fine citizen a hermit is"), a move that marked the start of the weakening of Rousseau's ties to the philosophes—a process accelerated by his 1758 *Lettre à d'Alembert*, which opposed the latter's scheme to found a theater in Geneva. (Platolike, Rousseau urged that such a theater would be inimical to civic virtue and good morals and that Molière's *Misanthrope* would have a deleterious effect.)

In 1758, too, Rousseau began *L'état de guerre* (The state of war), his most brilliant and scathing critique of Thomas Hobbes and Hobbism. Taking over observations first made by René Descartes and Gottfried Wilhelm von Leibniz (*Essais de théodicée*, 1710), Rousseau insists that Hobbes has simply mistaken badly socialized, ill-educated Englishmen for "natural" men, leading to Hobbesian unquestionable "sovereignty" as the only antidote to rapacious appetite: Looking out his London window, Hobbes "thinks that he has seen the natural man," but he has really only viewed "a bourgeois of London or Paris." Hobbes, for Rousseau, has simply inverted cause and effect, mistaking a bad effect for "natural" depravity.

In the late 1750s Rousseau labored on (but never published) the *Lettres morales* (for Sophie d'Houdetot) and then produced his vast epistolary novel, *Julie, ou la Nouvelle Héloïse* (published 1761), with its celebrated account of a small ideal society, Clarens, superintended by the godlike, all-seeing M. de Wolmar. The novel was a runaway best-seller, the greatest literary success since Fénelon's *Telemachus, Son of Ulysses* in 1699.

In May 1762 Rousseau brought out two of his greatest but most ill-fated works: *Du contrat social* (The social contract) and *Émile, ou Traité de l'éducation* (both focusing on transformative, "denaturing" education). Both were condemned and publicly burned in Paris at the behest of Arch-

bishop Christophe de Beaumont (and with the acquiescence of the Parlement of Paris); Rousseau, under order of arrest, fled to Geneva (only to find the same works condemned and burned there). Against charges of impiety leveled by the Genevan public prosecutor—alleging the danger of Rousseau’s “natural” theology in *Émile*’s “Profession of Faith of the Savoyard Vicar”—Rousseau composed and published his trenchant *Lettres de montagne* (Letters written from the mountain), in which he defended ancient “civic” religion and insisted that Christianity produces good men whose other-worldliness makes them “bad citizens.” This of course only increased the furor against him, and he took refuge in the Prussian enclave of Neuchâtel (Switzerland). Renouncing his Genevan citizenship definitively, Rousseau occupied himself by writing a constitution for recently liberated Corsica; increasingly threatened, his paranoia aggravated by genuine danger, Rousseau accepted the offer of British refuge from David Hume, although he soon came to see the benevolent Scot as part of the “league of malignant enemies” bent on his destruction. After an unhappy period in England, Rousseau returned incognito to France, living under the assumed name of Renou. While living under this name, Rousseau finally married his longtime companion, Thérèse Levasseur, by whom he had fathered—if the *Confessions* are to be believed—five children, all supposedly abandoned in a foundling hospital.

The *Confessions* themselves increasingly occupied Rousseau’s time, and he often read substantial fragments of this work in progress in sympathetic aristocratic salons. In 1772 he produced the remarkable *Gouvernement de Pologne* as part of an effort to avert partition by Prussia, Austria, and Russia; the book combines intelligent constitutional reforms with Rousseau’s most glowing account of Spartan and Roman-republican civic virtue. In the same year he wrote (without publishing) the brilliantly innovative *Rousseau juge de Jean-Jacques*, in which he bifurcated himself and had one half comment on the other half—schizophrenia turned into a literary genre.

In 1777 Rousseau wrote his last great confessional work, *Réveries d’un promeneur solitaire* (The reveries of a solitary walker), which begins with the celebrated words, “Here I am, then, alone on the Earth, no longer having any brother, or neighbor,

or friend, or society except myself.” A year later, while in refuge on an aristocratic estate at Ermenonville (north of Paris) and while engaging in his beloved botanical studies, Rousseau died quite suddenly on 2 July 1778. He was originally buried in a quasi-Roman sarcophagus on the Isle of Poplars at Ermenonville, but at the height of the French Revolution his ashes were translated, in a dramatic torchlight procession, to the Pantheon in Paris and placed next to the remains of his nemesis Voltaire (1794).

See also Diderot, Denis; *Encyclopédie*; French Literature and Language; Hobbes, Thomas; Philosophes.

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PATRICK RILEY

ROYAL TOUCH. See *Ritual, Civic and Royal*.

RUBENS, PETER PAUL (1577–1640), Flemish painter. Peter Paul Rubens became the most influential northern artist in seventeenth-century Europe. His prolific production included religious, historical, and mythological paintings as well as landscapes and portraits. In his idealized figural paintings Rubens brought the artistic traditions of the Netherlands, early modern Italy, and classical antiquity into an unprecedented harmonious synthesis.

BIOGRAPHY AND DEVELOPMENT

Rubens received his professional training in Antwerp, the art center of northern Europe, where his most influential teacher was the learned Otto van Veen. Stylistically, Rubens's works before about 1600 resemble his generalized forms. From 1600 to 1608 Rubens lived in Italy, where the stylistic diversity of his production testifies to his intense viewing of classical remains and works by Renaissance and contemporary artists (for example, Michelangelo and Titian, Caravaggio and Annibale Carracci). He also successfully pursued a professional career, working as court painter to the duke of Mantua, but also portraying nobility in Genoa and painting altarpieces in Rome (such as the prestigious commission for Sta. Maria in Valicella).

In 1608 Rubens hurried back to Antwerp at the belated news of his mother's fatal illness. He remained there, living in a splendid house that accommodated a large library, extensive art collection, and a spacious studio. Stylistically, Rubens shifted to a less individualized technique with smooth surfaces, clear contours, and local colors. This style looked more traditional to local patrons and also proved accessible to the studio assistants who helped with the execution of various paintings. With studio help Rubens carried out extensive commissions as court painter to the regents of the Southern Netherlands, Archduke Albert and Archduchess Isabella, and for other patrons in the Southern Netherlands, Spain, France, England, Germany, and Italy. An allegory about Europe's plight, *The Horrors of War* (1638; Florence, Pitti Museum), exemplifies how Rubens increasingly loosened his paint technique, which



Peter Paul Rubens. *The Miracle of Saint Ignatius Loyola*, oil sketch. This sketch served as a compositional model for the finished work, shown on p. 271. ©ERICH LESSING/ART RESOURCE, N.Y.

enabled him to suggest optical effects of soft light and atmospheric conditions.

During his last decade Rubens resided half of each year at his country house. There he painted more landscapes, such as the panoramic, light-filled *Landscape with Château Steen*, based on his own estate (circa 1631; London, National Gallery).

WORKING METHOD

The artist rightly regarded an ability to work on a huge scale as his special talent. "I confess I am by natural instinct better fitted to execute very large works than small curiosities" (letter, 13 September 1621). Yet despite this preference for a life-size or larger scale, Rubens believed in correlating subject matter with size. "As for the subject, it would be best to choose it according to the size of the picture" (letter, 25 July 1637).

The sensual impact of huge rippling forms and coloristic richness camouflages the intellectual component in works by this exceptionally erudite artist, who was respected as an equal by other scholars. Rubens's learning and intelligence are especially evident in his choice and interpretation of literary subjects for paintings, tapestries, and the title pages he designed in his free time for the Plantin-Moretus publishing house in exchange for books.

Rubens's deep familiarity with classical literature is matched by his intimate knowledge of classical art. Quotations from classical authors fit seamlessly into the content of letters written in Italian, French, or Flemish, and probably no other artist so frequently quoted or paraphrased figures from classical and early modern art, subtly using the associations that clung to the borrowing to amplify the meanings of his own works.

Some paintings are entirely autograph, such as *Pelzchen* (The fur coat; circa 1638; Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum), which portrays his young second wife as Venus. By contrast, pupils and assistants executed all or part of many large-scale paintings (for example, Medici cycle, circa 1622–1625; Louvre, Paris, originally Luxembourg Palace). For practical reasons, and to raise the status of his profession, Rubens organized his workshop to separate invention from much of the manual execution. He planned works by making compositional drawings and studies from the model, but also, untraditionally, through oil sketches on oak panels. The oil sketches served as both compositional models for assistants and colorful demonstration pieces for patrons. No previous artist had given such sketches a large role in the working process. Rubens often retouched finished paintings so that weaker execution by studio assistants did not spoil his invention, for example, in *The Miracles of St. Ignatius* (1617–1618; Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum). Both sketch and altarpiece originally hung in St. Charles Borromeo, the new Jesuit church in Antwerp. Although Rubens never worked as a sculptor, he furnished designs for sculptures, such as the reliefs on the facade of St. Charles Borromeo. Victory-like angels transform its doorway into a triumphal arch through which one originally entered an interior whose decoration included thirty-nine ceiling paintings by Rubens and his studio as well as two altarpieces in sculptural frames of Rubens's own de-

sign. The ensemble exemplified his persuasiveness as a propagandist for the Roman Catholic Church.

For economic and perhaps aesthetic reasons Rubens also worked extensively with collaborators who painted the landscapes and still-life portions in various works, such as the eagle in *Prometheus* (finished by 1618; Philadelphia Museum of Art) by the animal specialist Frans Snyders. When painting figures in landscapes and interiors by Jan Bruegel the Elder, however, Rubens adjusted his sweeping style to his older friend's miniaturized, delicate approach (as in *The Earthly Paradise*, circa 1625; The Hague, Mauritshuis).

Printmakers, among them Lucas Vorsterman, also played an important role because prints made after the paintings circulated Rubens's "inventions" through and beyond Europe.

SOCIAL HONORS

Ennobled in 1624 for his artistic achievements, Rubens received knighthood in 1630 from Charles I of England and in 1631 from Philip IV of Spain. Although he had carried out extensive commissions for both kings (ceiling paintings in Whitehall Banqueting House, London, circa 1629–1634; series for a hunting lodge, Torre de la Parada, circa 1636–1638, now in Madrid, Prado), they knighted Rubens explicitly for his political activity as a diplomat who worked to promote peace in Europe.

See also Bruegel Family; Caravaggio and Caravaggism; Michelangelo Buonarroti; Netherlands, Art in the; Titian (Tiziano Vecelli).

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Peter Paul Rubens. *The Miracle of Saint Ignatius Loyola*, oil on canvas, 1617–1618. ©ERICH LESSING/ART RESOURCE, N.Y.

RUDOLF II (HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE) (1552–1612; ruled 1576–1612), Holy Roman emperor and Habsburg monarch. Rudolf II was a controversial figure during his lifetime and has remained one for historians since. He has many claims to fame and infamy. His political and religious policies led to his ouster as ruler by members of his own family and contributed to the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648), one of the most destructive wars in European history. He became a believer in and practitioner of the occult, promoting alchemy, pursuing research into the Cabala, and seeking truth in various mysteries and superstitions. And he was one of the great patrons of the arts and letters, financing the work of scientists such as Tycho Brahe (1546–1601) and Johannes Kepler (1571–1630), commissioning artists and engravers of remarkable skill, and collecting fine works throughout Europe.

Rudolf possessed an unstable personality and suffered serious physical and psychological upheavals in 1578–1580 and 1599–1600. In response to the latter, Rudolf retreated to his castle in Prague and became somewhat of a recluse, focusing his attention on the occult. In some ways his breakdowns and his internal struggles can be attributed to the two heavy burdens that tormented his reign—the increasingly divisive struggle between Catholics and Protestants and the threat to his lands posed by the Ottoman Empire.

Regarding the first, Rudolf and his brothers were educated at the leading Roman Catholic center of power in Europe, the court of Philip II (ruled 1556–1598) of Spain, who was the cousin of their father, Emperor Maximilian II (ruled 1564–1576). In Spain they observed the implementation of Philip's belief that political and social strength can only come through religious conformity—in this case Catholicism—and likewise observed the destructive impact sectarian violence could have in the war in the Netherlands. Their father, unlike Philip, was perfectly willing to tolerate Protestantism, and some historians have argued that he was in fact a closet Lutheran. By the time Maximilian died, a majority of Habsburg subjects had adopted Lutheranism, and some had converted to Calvinism or one of the other Protestant movements. Likewise the

Estates of most of the Habsburg lands had become strongholds of Protestantism.

Scholars have argued that, given his upbringing, Rudolf believed it his task to restore Catholicism to his patrimony. He invited the Jesuits into his lands, and they worked hard to reconvert Protestants. That action got him into trouble with the Protestant Estates. In 1606 the Estates of Hungary, Austria, and Moravia voted to turn him out and recognized his brother, Matthias (ruled 1612–1619), as ruler. That in turn prompted Rudolf to issue in 1609 what became the famous Letter of Majesty to the Estates of Bohemia, promising them religious toleration if they would retain him as sovereign. That did not work, and just before Rudolf's death in 1612 the Bohemian Estates themselves recognized Matthias. The perceived infringement of the Letter of Majesty in 1618 inspired the Bohemian Estates to reject Habsburg rule altogether and to engage in those events that precipitated the Thirty Years' War.

Rudolf's foremost biographer, R. J. W. Evans, has argued that Rudolf's religious beliefs were by no means so solid. In fact he did not like Catholicism because of the power of its clergy, and he particularly distrusted the papacy. Yet he also had no affinity for Protestants because of their tendency to divide endlessly into sects and squabbles. In the end he was uncertain about religion and whether or not it did any good. Evans has argued that in many ways Rudolf reflected doubts about religion found elsewhere in Bohemia and has compared him to his distant successor Joseph II (ruled 1765–1790), who was a tolerant Catholic but suspicious of the church. Rudolf's doubts about religion encouraged his forays into the occult and the mysterious in hopes of finding a different truth that underlay life. Thus the Catholic-Protestant divide deepened not because of his actions but because of his inability to take action.

Rudolf's other deep concern was the threat from the Turks. In large part because of that threat, Rudolf moved the capital of the Habsburg lands from Vienna to Prague, which became under his aegis a cultural capital of Europe. Brahe and Kepler did their work there, and Rudolf employed many of Europe's brilliant architects and artists there. He brought much art to the city. His wars with the

Turks lasted until 1606, ending with the Treaty of Sitvatorok, an obscure treaty but the first in which the Turks acknowledged the Habsburgs as their equals in international diplomacy. By that time the radicalizing of the Catholic-Protestant split, Rudolf's seclusion, the growing opposition to him among the Estates, and the discontent of his family members had created an atmosphere that would no longer tolerate him as ruler. Stripped of power, Rudolf died in 1612.

See also Bohemia; Habsburg Dynasty; Holy Roman Empire; Matthias (Holy Roman Empire); Maximilian II (Holy Roman Empire); Prague; Thirty Years' War (1618–1648).

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KARL A. ROIDER

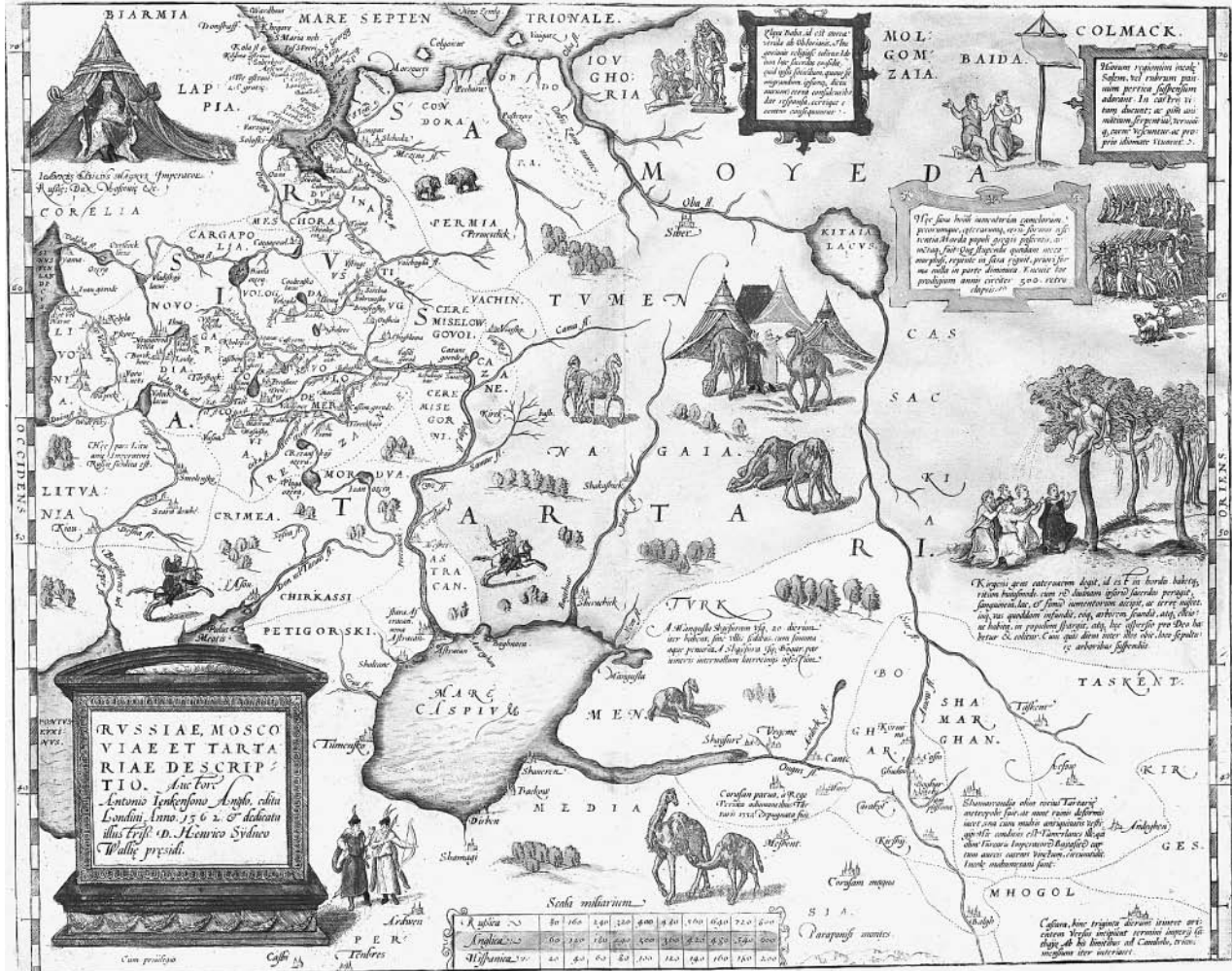
RURAL LIFE. *See* Agriculture; Peasantry; Villages.

RUSSIA. Russia emerged as a state at the end of the fifteenth century on the northeastern periphery of Europe, with a thin population spread over the forest belt of the east European plain. Never having seen either feudalism or serfdom, its society was different from that of western Europe. Its Christianity came from Byzantium, which further set it apart from its western neighbors. During the sixteenth to eighteenth century Russian society changed rapidly, with the appearance of serfdom, economic growth, and expansion south into the steppe and east to Siberia. The Russian state grew in size and sophistication, especially after the reign of Peter I the Great (ruled 1682–1725). Peter inaugurated a vast cultural revolution, bringing European secular culture to Russia and thus including Russia in the circle of European civilization.

GROWTH OF THE STATE

The core of the Russian state was the Moscow principality, which gained control of the original Russian ethnographic territory with the annexation of Novgorod (1478), Pskov (1510), and other neighboring regions. Essentially a household state managed by a few secretaries and the boyar elite, the Russian state began to acquire the trappings of state administration in the reign of Ivan IV, “the Terrible” (ruled 1533–1584). The growth of the state in the center was not matched by a corresponding development in local administration. The abolition of “feeding,” direct payments in kind from local areas to provincial governors, occurred in the 1540s. From then on the treasury paid local officials, but tax collection remained largely in the purview of the local communities, which collected the dues as a service to the crown. Thus the grand claims of the tsars to autocracy met very sharp limits in the small size and limited competence of administration, especially local administration.

In the seventeenth century the central apparatus grew swiftly, reaching some two thousand officials and scribes by the 1680s. Again provincial administration lagged behind, with huge areas managed only by a governor with a staff of some five to ten clerks and scribes and little or no armed force. Even the cadastres that registered landholdings and tax obligations of the rural population were compiled almost entirely on the bases of the village communities' own reports of their population and holdings. These cadastres allowed the state to collect an annual tax on peasant households, mainly to support the army. The collections were also in the hands of the village communities, which meant that collection was slow and often in arrears. The state did have some more effective tools for raising revenue, such as the sales tax and the vodka monopoly. Older systems persisted, such as the expectations that musketeers would live partly from trade and handicrafts and that the gentry cavalry would live from their estates, both serving in the military only during the summer months. These methods were enough to ensure Russia success in some wars and expansion to the south and east. At the same time the state had little effective control over the countryside. Confronted with popular unrest, as in 1604–1605, 1648–1650, and 1671–1672 (the great Cossack revolt of Stepan Razin), the tsar could do little more



Russia. This map, which appeared in editions of Abraham Ortelius’s *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* from 1570 to 1612, was based on a lost map by the Englishman Anthony Jenkinson, an agent of the Muscovy Company who traveled in Russia from 1557 to 1660. At that time Ivan IV (the Terrible) was gradually expanding Russian territory and had recently seized the southern Volga regions of Kazan and Astrakhan, providing Russia with access to the Caspian Sea. MAP COLLECTION, STERLING MEMORIAL LIBRARY, YALE UNIVERSITY

than call out the army and hope that it could restore order.

Administrative reform. Ultimately, the existing forms proved inadequate in the face of the larger aims of Peter the Great. Peter transformed the Russian state. After several experiments, he established the Senate to coordinate government and take the routine tasks away from the tsar, eleven colleges or ministries headed by a committee for central administration, a reorganized local administration, and the Table of Ranks (1722) to regulate promotions and status in the army and civil service. His army was a permanent body, living in barracks and ready to

fight at any time of the year. He shifted the burden of taxes further onto the peasantry by the introduction of the “soul tax,” levied on individuals, not households. He attempted to increase the size and effectiveness of provincial administration, but here he was less successful. Some of his measures in this area had to be rescinded as too complex and expensive.

Catherine II the Great (ruled 1762–1796) and her son Paul I (ruled 1796–1801) continued the reordering of the state along European lines. Catherine redrew internal boundaries into more easily administered provinces, increasing the size and ra-

tionalizing the structure of provincial governments. She also introduced modest participation by the gentry into the judicial system, as well as similar forms of participation in the courts for the urban elites. Her Charter to the Nobility (1785) specified the rights and obligations of the gentry, for the first time introducing such formulations into Russian legislation. The outcome was a great increase in efficiency in the provinces, but the neglect of the central administration. Her son Paul recentralized government in the 1790s. Both reigns prepared the way for a more modern central state after 1801. The result was a relatively modern government in St. Petersburg, still resting on thin foundations in the provinces. If to a lesser extent than in the sixteenth century, the autocracy of the tsars still meant grand claims and more limited reality. Society was only in part subject to state direction.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND ECONOMY

For the whole of the early modern period Russia remained an agrarian society. In the sixteenth century Russian peasants inhabited settlements often of two to four small households, widely scattered along the rivers and lakes of the central and northern forest zones. While the peasants of the center and northwest cultivated grain and raised livestock in modest quantities, northern peasants derived most of their livelihood from hunting and selling furs and obtaining other forest products as well as preparing salt from saline springs. The life of the Russian peasantry changed fundamentally at the end of the sixteenth century with the appearance of serfdom. Unfortunately little is known about the process and causes of enserfment. The law regulated only peasant movement, at first allowing landlords to bring back peasants who left the estates within five years, but by 1649 allowing them to do so in perpetuity. The restrictions on peasant mobility, though difficult to enforce in practice, corresponded to the state's need for a stable tax base and populated land to reward the gentry cavalrymen.

By the mid-seventeenth century a bit over half of the Russian peasants were serfs of secular landlords, about a fifth serfs of the monasteries and bishops, and another fifth, concentrated in the north, the Urals, the Volga region, Siberia, and the southern border, remained free and normally without gentry or ecclesiastical landlords. The north

prospered in these years, especially as the increasing trade with Holland and England opened new markets for furs and other forest products and the expansion of population in Russia itself meant a growing market for salt. The population of Russia grew rapidly after recovery from the Time of Troubles (1598–1613), reaching about eleven million by the 1670s. Much of the increase came from colonization of new land in the south and the Volga region.

Among the peasants of Russia who were not serfs, nearly half were also non-Russian in ethnicity. The largest groups lived in the middle Volga region, the descendants of the peoples of the Kazan' Tatar khanate. The Muslim Tatars lived in villages around Kazan', while the Bashkir pastoralists occupied the steppe to their southeast toward the southern Urals. To the north, east, and west of these Turkic-speaking peoples were other, smaller Turkic and Finnic groups, animists in religion. All of them paid a tax to the state called *yasak* and were not enserfed. Similarly, the incorporation of the Ukrainian Cossack Hetmanate into Russia as an autonomous unit brought in Ukrainian peasants who were legally free (mainly as Cossacks), and more than half of whom also owned their own land.

Among peasants and townspeople, households were small, comprising the nuclear family and occasionally a relative. Better-off townspeople and northern peasants might have a servant or two in addition, while the nobles maintained large staffs of house servants, artisans, and stewards. Some of the latter were bondsmen in the sixteenth and seventeenth century, a status that merged with serfdom in the early eighteenth century. The greatest aristocrats maintained huge establishments in Moscow, with hundreds of servants as well as a large body of administrators for their vast estates. Toward the very end of the seventeenth century the aristocrats began to build the first country houses, mostly within a few hours' ride of Moscow.

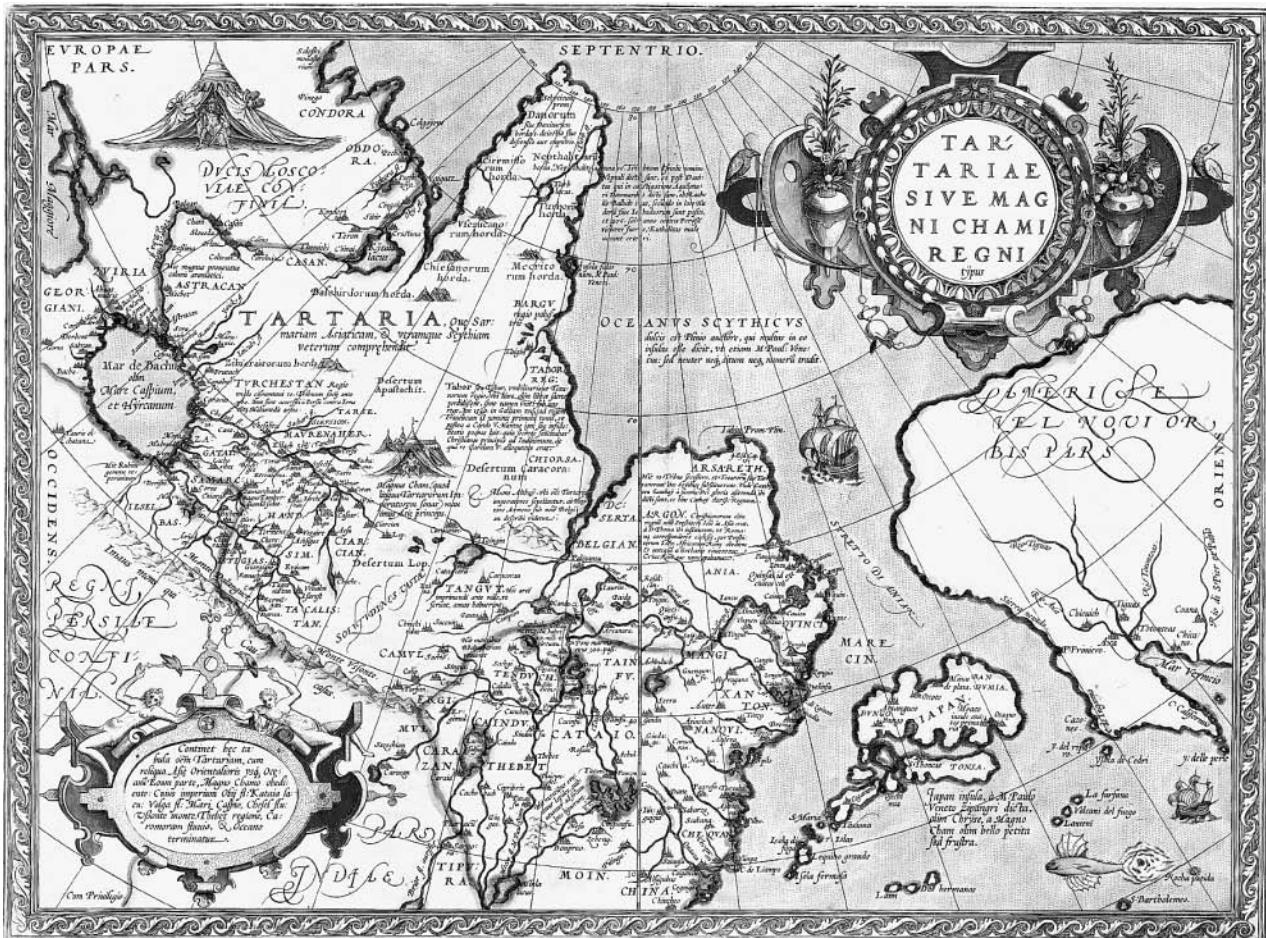
The ruling elite of Russia was organized in a system of court and military ranks, at the top being the Duma ranks—boyar; *okol'nichii*, a sort of junior boyar; Duma gentleman; and Duma secretary—in all about a hundred men from some two hundred families by 1600. They formed the pinnacle of the sovereign's court, and in turn the core of the Moscow ranked gentry. Below them were the provincial

gentry, organized for purposes of military service around provincial towns or forts, more or less coinciding with residence and landholding patterns. Men with Duma ranks, especially the two highest, held all important household positions at the court, military commands, and provincial governorships, and in the seventeenth century also headed almost all chanceries (*prikazy*). Immensely wealthy, the boyars also provided the inner circle of advisers, formally through the Duma or tsar’s council and informally as friends or favorites of the tsar. Other than the tsar’s relatives by marriage, powerful men from outside this circle were extremely rare.

In elite families women were secluded in separate parts of the houses and did not join in the all-

male banquets that were the staple of elite socialization. Women of all classes were expected to dress modestly, in the voluminous traditional Russian clothing and with their hair covered, and to obey fathers and husbands. But women also owned and managed property, including tax obligations to the state. This was particularly true of the mothers and wives of the gentry, whose men were often away with the army every summer for years in a row. In merchant families the men traveled to distant markets while the women stayed home and ran the business as well as the household.

Social control. The inability of the state to regulate social life to the extent of Western societies placed a premium on various forms of communal solidarity.



Russia. First published in Abraham Ortelius’s *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* in 1570, this map of “Tartary or the Land of the Great Khan” shows Siberia, China, and Japan, as well as the unexplored northwest coast of America. The Great Khan is shown in the upper left corner, seated in front of his splendid tent. Often considered the earliest printed map of Siberia, this is also one of the first depictions of the Strait of Anian between Siberia and North America. MAP COLLECTION, STERLING MEMORIAL LIBRARY, YALE UNIVERSITY

The urban and peasant communities collected taxes themselves and judged many petty crimes and civil disputes. The absence of any police or military force over large areas meant that even serious crimes (murder, rape, banditry) were often left to local communities, rather than to state authorities as required by law. The local communities had a conception of what sort of actions by administrators were incorrect and petitioned the tsar or revolted if these were violated. Sometimes state and community norms coincided. Many disputes over slander, verbal arguments, and insults were settled in state courts as disputes over honor. Everyone in the Russian state, even slaves and serfs, had honor, and an insult to that honor was punished by fines or, if the victim was higher in rank, by beating, prison, or various rituals of humiliation. Repeated violations of the community and state norms of honor put the offender outside the protection of his neighbors, as did witchcraft (the majority of accused witches were male).

RELIGION AND CULTURE

Until the very end of the seventeenth century, culture in Russia was essentially equivalent to religion. Though the predecessors of the Russian princes had received Orthodox Christianity from Byzantium, Russia did not inherit the secular culture of Byzantium, with its ancient Greek classics. The language of the church was not Greek but Church Slavonic, a dialect of early medieval Bulgaria. Thus the religious literature of Russia had its foundation in Slavonic translations of the church fathers and some later Byzantine theological and devotional literature.

Until 1448 the Orthodox church in Russia was under the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Constantinople, who appointed the metropolitan of Kiev and later of Moscow. Most of the metropolitans were thus Greeks or southern Slavs, and the Moscow princes had little say in their appointment. At the council of Ferrara-Florence (1438–1445), however, the Greek metropolitan of Moscow, Isidoros, went over to Rome, and the Russian church and the Moscow prince deposed him, appointing the Russian Iona in his place. The Orthodox church thus became in fact autocephalous. Even after the restoration of Orthodoxy in Constantinople, the Russians continued to select their own metropolitan.

Conflicts between the princes and tsars and the metropolitans were inevitable, especially as the tsars tried to increase their power over the church in the course of the centuries. If Metropolitan Makarii was an ally to Ivan the Terrible, his successors were expected to obey, and Metropolitan Filipp was murdered for opposing Ivan in 1569. The elevation of the metropolitan to the rank of patriarch by the Greeks in 1589 regularized Russia's relations with the Greek church, but the new patriarch, Iov, was very much the tsar's man.

Structurally the church in Russia differed in some ways from the Byzantine model. In place of the many small eparchies in the former Byzantium, the sees of Russian bishops were very extensive, and bishops were few in number and controlled little landed wealth, except for the metropolitan (later patriarch) of Moscow. The monasteries, in contrast, were as great and wealthy as those of the Greeks, if not more so. Collectively they were the lord of at least a fifth of the peasantry, more in central Russia. They were also the spiritual centers of Orthodoxy, producing almost all the saints and the devotional literature, original and translated from Greek. Only the metropolitan of Moscow himself, and to some extent the archbishop of Novgorod, had comparable spiritual authority and power at the start of the sixteenth century.

Laymen came to the monasteries for occasional spiritual advice, but also for pilgrimages to the burial places of holy monks and saints. They came for cures at the many shrines, both relics of saints and miracle-working icons. The elite and the provincial gentry tried to bury their dead in the monastery cemeteries and pay for liturgies for the dead. Particular monasteries became the objects of charity of particular clans and families, who endowed them with land, money, and valuable vestments, books, and even whole churches. Most larger monasteries enjoyed valuable immunities from taxation as well as from local judges and administrators. The parish clergy of the sixteenth century largely served churches created by private foundations and were subject to the founders' jurisdiction. They lived poorly on small parcels of land or meager income from services and gifts from parishioners. The clergy was not yet a hereditary caste, though most parish clergy were of humble origin, while monks were usually lesser gentry landholders. The ruling elite

almost never entered monastic life voluntarily, though they gave generously to support it and buried their dead at the great monasteries.

Religious life for the laity in the sixteenth century revolved around the celebration of the liturgy in daily life, observation of the many fasts, and processions and pilgrimages to local shrines and monasteries. Preaching was virtually nonexistent, and the spiritual and moral direction came mainly from the clergy as spiritual fathers of laymen, each parish priest and sometimes monks taking on a group of families to follow through life.

Reform within the church. In the seventeenth century the Orthodox church saw many changes. The increasing influence of Kiev and the Ukrainian church under Polish rule played a major role. The Orthodox church in Kiev retained its dogmatic beliefs but also began to present them in the neo-Scholastic forms of Catholic theology. The basis of learning was no longer the fathers but Latin grammar and the Jesuit curriculum in language and philosophy. Preaching became a prominent part of religious life, while miracle cults and shrines were secondary and mainly served the purpose of confessional propaganda. Simultaneously in Russia reformers among the parish clergy called for greater propagation of Orthodox teaching and stronger discipline, coming to influence Tsar Alexis I (ruled 1645–1676) on these matters. In 1649 the tsar invited the first of a series of Kiev-trained clergy to Moscow to aid in translation of religious texts. They also preached in and around the court, giving a strong impulse to native reformers.

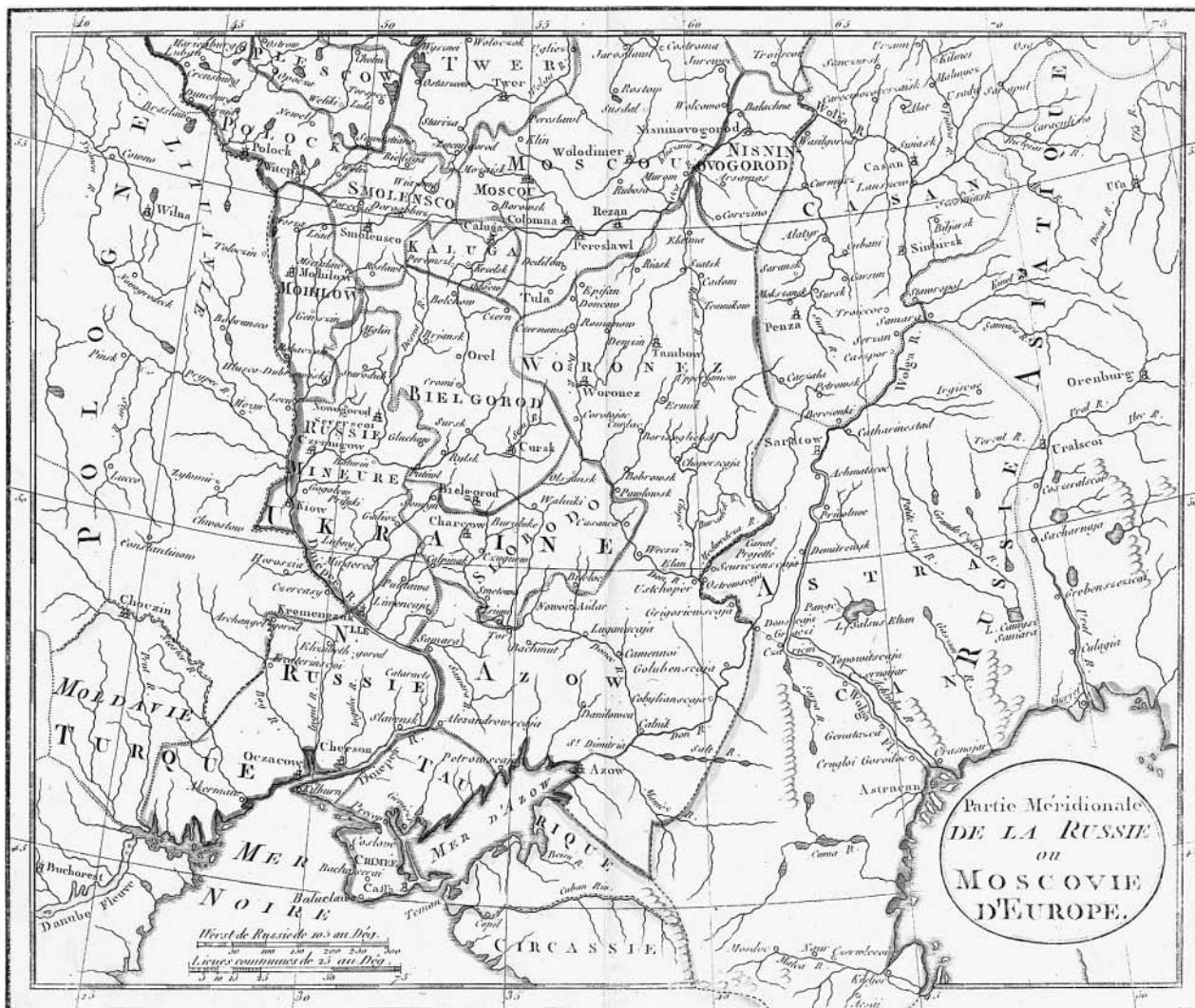
Earlier in the century Patriarch Filaret (d. 1633) had been a powerful figure, dominating his son, Tsar Michael (ruled 1613–1645), as long as he was alive, but his power came more from his position as the tsar's father than from his position in the church hierarchy. In 1652 Nikon, one of the reformers, was selected patriarch by the reformers in the church, with the informal pressure of the tsar. Besides taking a crucial role in secular politics, Nikon introduced liturgical reforms that ultimately caused a schism in the church. He left the office in 1658 over a quarrel with the tsar, a dispute only resolved by his deposition at the council of 1666–1667. The later patriarchs Ioakim (reigned 1674–1690) and Adrian (1690–1700) reinforced the power of the patriar-

chate and the clergy, striving especially hard and largely successfully to remove the parish clergy from the power of gentry church founders and place them under ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

In the later seventeenth century the impulses from Kiev grew stronger every decade, reinforced by the establishment in 1687 of the first real school in Russia, the Slavonic-Greek-Latin Academy in Moscow. Though its teachers were Greeks, they were Italian-educated and relied exclusively on Jesuit textbooks. These changes in the church, supported by the increasing flow of secular texts from the west, especially from Poland, changed the culture of the court and ruling elite, taking them away from traditional Orthodoxy with its monastic orientation toward a lay religion that included a much stronger moral element as well as some elements of secular culture. Greater changes were ahead.

Cultural change and secularization. These changes came from Peter the Great, who vastly accelerated the pace and scope of change. Culturally, his reign was a revolution. He sent young noblemen abroad to study languages, mathematics, and other subjects. He ordered the printing presses to produce a long series of texts basic to secular culture, elementary reading texts, introductions to history, architecture, mathematics, geography, and military sciences. He reoriented the ritual of the court away from the pilgrimages and virtually daily attendance at liturgy to secular celebrations of great victories and name-days and birthdays of the tsar's family and favorites. His new city of St. Petersburg was a port city with European-style architecture and only one monastery, in contrast to the dozens in and around Moscow. By the end of his reign the basic ideas of European politics, art, and learning were available in textbooks translated into Russian. In thirty-six years, the old exclusively religious culture came to an end.

The church also changed rapidly in Peter's time. At the death of Patriarch Adrian Peter appointed a Ukrainian, Stefan Iavorskii, as *locum tenens* of the patriarchate. Throughout his reign he preferred Ukrainians to Russians as bishops, a practice that continued until the 1760s. Eventually Peter abolished the patriarchate altogether and established in its place the Holy Synod, a board composed of laymen and clergy appointed by the tsar to run the



Russia. A late-eighteenth-century French map of southern European Russia during the reign of Catherine the Great (ruled 1762–1796). Under Catherine, Poland was partitioned, the Crimea was annexed, and vast territories in the south and west were taken from the Ottoman Empire, including Belarus, parts of Ukraine west of the Dnieper River, and the Black Sea shores. MAP COLLECTION, STERLING MEMORIAL LIBRARY, YALE UNIVERSITY

church. The monasteries came to play a very subordinate role. In the later seventeenth century their revenues had already been placed under state control, and Peter reestablished that policy, hoping to use them as hospitals and schools rather than centers of ascetic spirituality.

BUILDING A MODERN STATE

Peter's political and administrative measures were not as radical, but they nevertheless had major effects. They produced a European style of absolutism in the central government, though still without sufficient apparatus outside the capital. Combined with

victory over Sweden and the acquisition of a Baltic seacoast and new capital, Peter's state-building made Russia a major regional power, and one with a European culture. His successors in the eighteenth century continued to reorder and build the state, maintaining Russia's power as well. In the 1730s Empress Anna (ruled 1730–1740) upheld Russian influence in Poland and retained a foothold on the Black Sea. Russia was an active participant in the Seven Years' War (1756–1763), emerging with no concrete gains but considerable prestige owing to the defeat of Frederick the Great of Prussia. It was Catherine the Great who made Russia a great power

in Europe, with two successful Turkish wars (1768–1774, 1787–1792) and the partitions of Poland (1772, 1793, 1795). These victories moved Russia's borders far to the west, incorporating most of Ukraine, Belarus, and Lithuania and conquering Crimea and the whole of the northern Black Sea coast.

While the years from Peter's death until the middle of the reign of Elizabeth (ruled 1741–1762) were devoted to court intrigues and succession struggles, the 1750s saw the resumption of policies designed to modernize state and society. Under the influence of her favorite, Count Ivan Ivanovich Shuvalov, Elizabeth founded Russia's first university in Moscow (1755) and encouraged other cultural projects, such as Russian-language theater at court. Other measures included fostering trade and industry, the abolition of internal tolls, and other economic projects. Plans to free the nobility from obligatory military service and to confiscate monastery lands came to fruition only after Elizabeth's death.

Catherine's reign saw more extensive political projects in the Legislative Commission (1767) and reorganization of provincial as well as central administration. These measures included a certain element of participation by the nobility and urban elites, as well as the delineation of their rights and privileges in law. By the end of her reign the issue of serfdom arose, most sharply in the work of Aleksandr Radishchev, who condemned the institution on moral and economic grounds. Catherine herself was by then alarmed at the French Revolution and sent Radishchev to prison, but his ideas, like her own measures, were typical products of the European Enlightenment.

RUSSIAN CULTURE IN THE AGE OF ENLIGHTENMENT

The Enlightenment was the first European current of thought to be fully received in Russia. Peter's cultural revolution had laid a foundation not only by example but through new institutions as well. His plan for an Academy of Sciences was realized in 1725, after his death. The academy brought scientists and scholars of European reputation to St. Petersburg, where they not only pursued their researches but also taught Russian students. The Noble Cadet Corps, based on the European noble

academies, came into being in 1731, teaching young noblemen a curriculum that emphasized modern languages, law, history, and the sciences as well as proper behavior at court. Few formal schools followed its example, but private tutors among the gentry and private gymnasia supplemented the few state schools. The theater, dramatic and musical, flourished at the court, joined in the 1750s by a Russian-language dramatic theater and even theaters outside the capital. The Academy of Arts (1758) trained Russian painters to supplement the few Western and Western-trained artists already at work. Catherine founded a Society for the Translation of Foreign Books in 1768, which merged into the Academy of Letters in 1783. St. Petersburg evolved into a city of largely baroque and classical architecture, built by Italians and Germans. Even in Moscow and the provinces classical palaces sprang up alongside ancient churches and monasteries in the older Russian styles.

Both within the framework of these institutions and outside of them, Russians absorbed European thought and culture with great speed. Most of the well-known European writers of the time appeared in Russian translation—all of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, for instance, except *Du contrat social* (1762; Social contract), had appeared by 1780. Works that remained untranslated nevertheless circulated widely, since the elite generally knew either German or French by mid-century. Russia contributed little that was original to European culture in the eighteenth century. Its art and literature followed European patterns, as with Aleksandr Petrovich Sumarokov's (1717–1744) tragedies, based on the models of Jean Racine and Voltaire. Even the church followed European patterns, in spite of the turn toward Russian rather than Ukrainian bishops in the 1760s. Earlier in the century the seminaries and other church schools continued the seventeenth-century Jesuit curriculum inherited from Kiev, but gradually other trends emerged. Pietism was a major influence after about 1750, with Johann Arndt's *Vier Bücher vom wahren Christentum* (1605–1609; True christianity) a work widely read, even by such luminaries as St. Tikhon Zadonskii. The great preachers of Catherine's time, such as Metropolitan of Moscow Platon Levshin, followed Lutheran models, preaching a mildly rationalized Christianity and sentimentalizing morality.

Political thought stayed within the framework created elsewhere by Voltaire, Charles-Louis de Secondat de Montesquieu, and others, propounding ideas of enlightened absolutism, aristocratic rights and privileges, and the need to create legal order. Radishchev was unusual in his radicalism in the face of serfdom, but he too borrowed his theoretical arguments from European writers on slavery, such as the abbé de Raynal. The importance of the eighteenth century lay not in original contributions but in the thorough integration of European thought and art into Russian culture.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CHANGES AND IMPERIAL EXPANSION

Underneath the intellectual growth and ferment Russian society moved within the inherited framework of serf agriculture, but some new phenomena emerged. The settlement of the southern steppe with its rich black earth soil continued, especially after the Turkish wars and the defeat of Crimea. The southern steppe zone gradually became an area of great estates worked mainly by labor services, which diminished or disappeared in central Russia. The new ports on the Black Sea gave an outlet to grain from the steppe, while central Russia turned more to market gardening, crafts, and seasonal labor such as transport on the great rivers. The result was a boom for the gentry, who began to build great country houses on their estates, even those far from the cities. Nobles tried to use the latest ideas in European agrarian practices to enhance their incomes. In Peter's reign noblewomen had emerged from seclusion to mix freely with men and women outside the family at home and at court. They retained more property rights and played a larger role in estate management than women farther west. For non-elite women, however, little changed.

The serf peasants of central Russia found themselves neighbors of the "economic peasants" when monastic lands were confiscated in 1764 and put under the College of the Economy. Many of the former monastery villages were great centers of crafts and trade, producing dynasties of wealthy merchants. In these villages and those of great noblemen the crafts began to turn into more modern enterprises. In the Sheremetev villages of Ivanovo and Voznesensk serf entrepreneurs built cotton textile factories and hired their fellow serfs as laborers. The Urals, with more primitive technology but low

costs, became a major iron producer. By the 1760s St. Petersburg was the center of Russian trade in the Baltic, as Peter had hoped, becoming the home of an international business community of Russians, Germans, Swedes, Britons, Dutch, and other commercial peoples. In the Volga area the growing trade with Persia and Central Asia came to a large extent into the hands of the Kazan' Tatars, giving them a new significance in the area and incidentally a leading role among Muslims in Russia. The conquest of the south and the foundation of Odessa in 1794 gave rise to a new port and new trade, dominated by Greeks, Jews, Bulgarians, Poles, and even some Russians, exporting grain to western Europe and trading with the Ottoman Empire. In remote Siberia, the Russian-American Company entered the fur trade in Alaska.

Russia's population grew rapidly, reaching some thirty-six million by 1800, of which only about six million came from territorial annexation. This demographic expansion, which continued into the twentieth century, provided an important stimulus to economic growth and to colonization of the southern steppe as well as eastern regions. If the center and south of Russia prospered, the north went into decline, resulting from the decline of the northern salt industry and the shift of the fur trade ever farther east. The Siberian economy was hampered by low population, but the discovery of silver and gold in the 1720s laid the foundation for a new and increasingly important industry, one largely under state control.

The expansion of the empire brought in new peoples. The nomadic Bashkirs, Kalmyks, and Tatars were now fully inside Russian borders in the south. The partitions of Poland brought most of the Ukrainian people into Russia, as well as Lithuanians and Belarusians. In the vast formerly Polish territories the nobility was almost entirely Polish, and initially Russia maintained Polish local gentry institutions, placing them under Russian governors. The towns in this area were largely Jewish in population, bringing another new people into the Russian orbit. As with the Polish nobility, Russian policy initially preserved preexisting community structures. In the old Ukrainian Hetmanate, the defection of Hetman Ivan Mazepa to Sweden in 1708 led Peter to appoint his own hetman and later abolish the office. Local institutions and laws remained, however, until

the 1780s, when Catherine's reform of provincial administration meant the end of the Hetmanate's remaining autonomy. It also meant the integration of the Cossack nobility into the Russian imperial nobility, reflected in high positions in the army and government. Similarly, the German nobility of the Baltic provinces retained local rights and elected institutions until the 1780s, while Baltic German families played an increasingly central role in St. Petersburg. As many conservative Polish magnates chose to serve the tsars as well after 1796, the Russian ruling elite took on an increasingly multiethnic character, with Germans, Poles, and Ukrainians prominent in all spheres of the government and military services.

At the end of the eighteenth century Catherine's son Paul, frightened by the French Revolution, satisfied his conservative instincts by a re-centralization of government, paradoxically coupled with some restoration of local gentry rights in the Baltic provinces and elsewhere. His eccentric personality, however, led to his assassination on 11 March 1801, ushering in a new century and a return to more liberal measures under his son Alexander I. Russia's society, state, and especially culture changed rapidly in the early modern era, but not enough to erode the basic structures. Those would have to wait for more powerful forces still to come.

See also Alexis I (Russia); Anna (Russia); Autocracy; Avvakum Petrovich; Black Sea Steppe; Boris Godunov (Russia); Catherine II (Russia); Elizabeth (Russia); False Dmitrii, First; Fur Trade: Russia; Ivan III (Muscovy); Ivan IV, "the Terrible" (Russia); Law: Russian Law; Michael Romanov (Russia); Morozova, Boiarynia; Nikon, patriarch; Old Believers; Oprichnina; Orthodoxy, Russian; Paul I (Russia); Peter I (Russia); Pugachev Revolt; Razin, Stepan; Romanov Dynasty (Russia); Russian Literature and Language; Russo-Ottoman Wars; Russo-Polish Wars; Serfdom in Russia; Sofii Alekseevna; Time of Troubles (Russia); Vasilii III (Muscovy).

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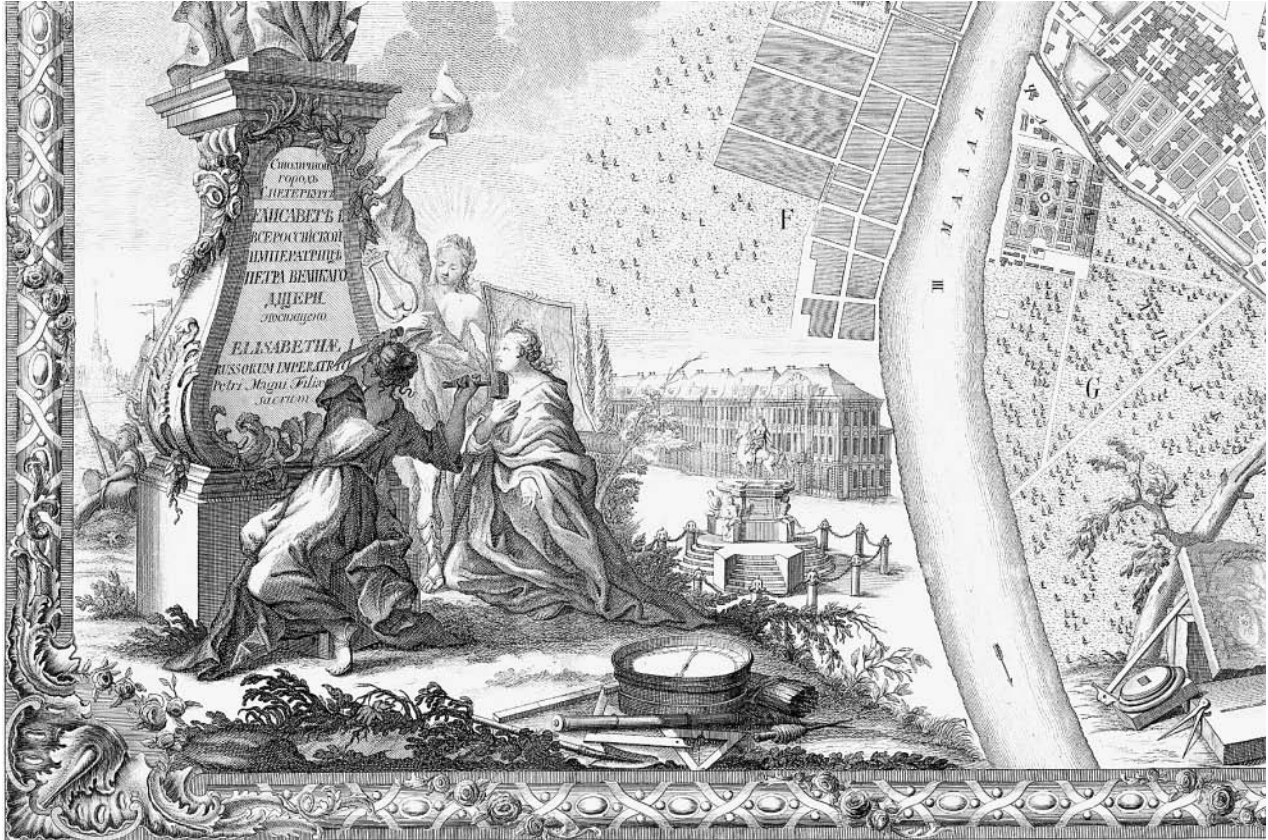
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RUSSIA, ARCHITECTURE IN.

Construction in old Russia was principally of horizontal logs from trees abundantly available in the forested zones where most Russians lived. Floor plans of log structures were typically combinations of square or rectangular cells, whether the structures were houses, palaces, fortification towers, or churches. In church architecture, carpenters reproduced the two basic plans inherited from Byzantine (Eastern Roman) Christian masonry churches: an extended east-west plan of sanctuary, nave, and narthex, or a centrally oriented plan of a square or octagon of logs, sometimes with extensions built around a central nave. Several open-air museums of



Architecture in Russia. This image is part of a very large and elaborately decorated nine-sheet map of St. Petersburg produced by the Russian Academy of Sciences in 1753. Dedicated to Elizabeth I, who reigned from 1741 to 1762, the sheet shows the base of a statue of the empress and some of the architectural features of the city. The inscription reads “Capital City of St. Petersburg. Dedicated to Elizabeth I, Empress of All Russia, Daughter of Peter the Great.” MAP COLLECTION, STERLING MEMORIAL LIBRARY, YALE UNIVERSITY

traditional wooden architecture have been established in Russia, among them Suzdal’, Novgorod, Kostroma, Kizhi, Arkhangel’sk, and Lake Baikal.

Wood and masonry architecture influenced one another in numerous ways. In wooden log churches, for example, the curve of a masonry apse is imitated by a half-octagon of shortened logs. The “storied” effect of some masonry churches (for example, the Church of the Intercession at Fili, 1690s, Moscow) is copied from log churches surmounted by tiers of receding log octagons (for example, the wooden Church of the Transfiguration, eighteenth century, Museum of Wooden Architecture, Suzdal’). Especially popular in village wooden church architecture was a tent-shaped superstructure, usually with eight slopes arising from an octagonal drum. The drum in turn was placed on one or more

square or octagonal bases (for example, the wooden Church of the Dormition from the village of Kuritsko, 1595, Novgorod open-air museum). A masonry imitation is the brick Church of the Ascension at Kolomenskoe, 1532, Moscow.

St. Basil’s Cathedral (sixteenth to seventeenth centuries) on Red Square in Moscow represents a sort of encyclopedic combination of elements from both wooden and masonry architecture. Its central chapel, for example, imitates a log tower/tent structure, topped by an onion dome. The Russian onion-shaped dome was functional in design—to shed rain and prevent snow buildup—and also symbolic; its shape was likened to a candle flame of faith reaching up to heaven. Among masonry influences, St. Basil’s has exterior ornamentation borrowed from the walls and churches of the nearby Italian-built Kremlin.

A major building project in Moscow in the late fifteenth to early sixteenth centuries was the reconstruction of the Kremlin, the central citadel of the city. Because of the lack of experience and skill among native builders, architects from northern Italy were imported for the task. Italians designed and built the present red brick-faced Kremlin walls, the Cathedrals of the Dormition and the Archangel Michael, the Palace of Facets, and the Great Ivan Bell Tower and adjacent Dormition Belfry. Least Italianate in the appearance of these structures is the Dormition Cathedral (1470s) by Aristotele Rudolfo Fioravanti, an engineer who copied—as instructed—the cubic mass surmounted by five domes of the twelfth-century Dormition Cathedral in Vladimir. Most importantly, Fioravanti and his colleagues introduced Russian builders to better brick and mortar construction techniques, making possible an unprecedented building boom throughout Russia in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Standing on Cathedral Square in the Kremlin, one can identify architectural elements that mirror the political and territorial rise of Muscovite Russia: architectural compositions and ornamentation from regions incorporated into Muscovy (Pskov, Novgorod, Vladimir), from village wooden architecture, and from Italy. In turn, given the prestige of major buildings in the capital city, Kremlin structures became models for buildings throughout Russia. For example, the Dormition Cathedral became an oft-repeated model for subsequent major cathedrals (Novodevichii Convent in Moscow, Vologda, Kostroma, the Trinity-St. Sergii Monastery outside Moscow, Rostov Velikii, and others).

THE BAROQUE AND WESTERN INFLUENCE

If Muscovite architecture achieved a synthesis of regional, village, and Italian influences in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, that synthesis was shattered in the seventeenth century when west European influences entered Russia from Ukraine, a portion of which was incorporated into Muscovy in the mid-seventeenth century. A so-called Moscow baroque decorative style characterized many churches and palaces in the second half of the seventeenth century (the Church of the Trinity in the Nikitniki Courtyard, mid-seventeenth century, Moscow, is an example), but aside from baroque

decorative elements, these structures show little of the balance and symmetry of the baroque style of Western Europe. Several regional centers developed their own schools of architecture, notably Iaroslavl', northeast of Moscow, whose seventeenth-century churches are crowned by elongated slender drums under the domes.

Building and design in Muscovy was typically a family affair: a builder would pass on his skills to his sons (although none of them might be literate) and design plans might not be drawn up in advance of a construction project. With the founding and buildup of St. Petersburg, beginning in the early eighteenth century, the old Muscovite building trade became the new “science” of *arkhitektura*, studied in special new schools where pupils were taught foreign languages, mathematics, and classical architecture. Teachers and textbooks first came from west Europe but were quickly followed by newly trained Russian masters and Russian translations. A Chancellory of Construction was established which supervised training and construction, first for St. Petersburg, then later in the eighteenth century for cities throughout the country.

Beginning with Peter I the Great (ruled 1682–1725), west European architectural trends determined the overall style of “high” architecture—almost all significant government and private construction—and the personal taste of the ruler determined the current style employed. Peter’s favorite architect, Domenico Trezzini, employed the restrained baroque of northern Europe, for example in his 400-meter-long Twelve Colleges Building, 1722–1742, St. Petersburg. The very existence of such a large government building, the likes of which did not exist in Moscow at the time, indicates a new and major investment by the government in an extensive administrative system. The planned design of St. Petersburg, with its neat grids and patterns of streets, regular building heights and setbacks, wide avenues, and huge squares and public spaces, brings to mind another eighteenth-century city planned from scratch and designed to impress citizens and foreigners alike: Washington, D.C.

Major architectural styles after Peter were a fancy baroque, or rococo during the reign of Elizabeth Petrovna (ruled 1741–1762), exemplified by the works of Bartolomeo Francesco Rastrelli (Win-

ter Palace, Smolnyi Convent, Catherine Palace at Tsarskoe Selo), and classical or neoclassical in the reign of Catherine II the Great (ruled 1762–1796), for example the Hermitage Theater by Giacomo Quarenghi, the Great Palace at Pavlovsk by Charles Cameron and others, and the Marble Palace by Antonio Rinaldi.

The “St. Petersburgization” of architecture in other cities—in particular, the dispersion of classical or neoclassical norms—gained momentum during Catherine’s reign and continued to influence Russian architecture throughout the imperial period. An early example of classical architecture in Moscow is the Pashkov House, attributed to V. I. Bazhenov (1780s), now a part of the Russian State Library, formerly the Lenin Library.

See also **Architecture; Baroque; Catherine II (Russia); City Planning; Moscow; Neoclassicism; Peter I (Russia).**

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RUSSIA, ART IN. Formal art in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Muscovite Russia (the principality of Moscow) was concentrated in the Russian Orthodox Church and consisted principally of icons, frescoes, and manuscript illuminations. Most artists were monks or closely associated with the church, typically trained in monastic painting workshops. To be an artist was considered a holy calling. Instructions for artists were essentially identical with those for scribes copying religious texts: “copy exactly from holy models, changing absolutely nothing.” And yet, no two painted scenes or hand-copied manuscripts are alike: local preferences varied in subject matter, style, and coloration; the availability of natural pigments varied locally; training was not standardized; no cartoon books existed before the seventeenth century (the “holy model”

at hand might vary drastically from place to place); and finally, each artist differed in taste and talent.

FROM BYZANTINE TO MUSCOVITE

A famous example of Byzantine art that influenced Russian art is the icon of the *Vladimir Mother of God*, thought to have been painted in Constantinople in the early twelfth century (State Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow), and often copied in Russia. From Byzantine and early Russian regional schools, notably that of Novgorod, Moscow synthesized artistic styles and subjects. As Moscow absorbed the other eastern Slavic principalities and city-states, it acquired the best of their art and architecture.

Two additional trends distinguished Muscovite art. First, the introduction of Moscow-specific themes, frequently imbued with political significance. Moscow was not the first to insert Russian themes into church art. The “schools” of the merchant city states of Novgorod and Pskov introduced local themes: a locally revered saint (for example, St. Paraskeva-Piatnitsa, patroness of Friday market day) or a local event (the miracle of the saving of embattled Novgorod by the palladium icon of Novgorod). The appearance of Russian saints (and the report of their miracles) in Russia provided artists with new material beyond the confines of Byzantine tradition, amplifying their role beyond that of mere copyists. One of the more notable examples of Moscow patriotic art is the 12-foot-long mid-sixteenth-century icon of *The Church Militant*, or *Heavenly Forces* (Tretyakov Gallery), thought to be an allegory of the conquest of Kazan’ (1552). It depicts the Moscow grand prince (possibly Tsar Ivan IV, “the Terrible”) and the Archangel Michael leading columns of current and historical Russian princes and troops toward the heavenly city, where the Christ child, sitting on his mother’s lap, hands out crowns of glory.

A second major trend in Muscovite art was the literal rise of the iconostasis. From the Byzantine and early Russian tradition of placing icons singly or in a row before the sanctuary, the Muscovite church expanded the icons upward and outward, creating a wall of images that reached toward the ceiling vaults and spread across the nave and into the side aisles. Standing before it, even the illiterate churchgoer is instructed visually in the teachings of the church,

because the meaning of each icon is explained in services on relevant days in the church calendar.

The “classical” period of Muscovite icon painting (late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries) is exemplified in works attributed to the monk and artist Andrey Rublyov (c. 1360/70–c. 1430), who was named by the 1551 Stoglav (“hundred chapters” church council) as a model for artists to emulate. The icon of the *Old Testament Trinity* (Tretyakov Gallery) attributed to him is especially harmonious, with its pastel colors and circular composition of the three angels who visit Abraham and Sarah (Genesis 18).

The Muscovite synthesis of regional themes and styles achieved in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was shattered in the seventeenth century. The acquisition of left bank Ukraine in the mid-seventeenth century led to an influx into Moscow of Ukrainian clerics and scholars who had been exposed to western European Renaissance, Reformation, and Counter-Reformation culture via Poland. Among changing trends in seventeenth-century Muscovite art were the following: western European post-Renaissance perspective and three-dimensional illusionism (for example, the use of chiaroscuro) began to supplant the traditional use of inverse perspective and two-dimensional treatment of figures and scenes; engravings in western European publications, such as the Dutch Piscator Bible, provided fresh subject matter and stylistic ideas to artists, notably teams of painters who created a remarkable series of frescoes in churches in Yaroslavl’, Rostov Velikii, Kostroma, Vologda, and elsewhere; icons began to be produced in small sizes (rectangles whose vertical height was frequently no more than twelve to sixteen inches) for personal and home use by individuals (for example, in the Stroganov School, commissioned initially by that wealthy family); Moscow political themes became more overt; the artist began to sign work which had previously been left anonymous, and increasingly it was expected that he would imbue his work with his own individual, recognizable style.

Of some 2,800 names recently published in a dictionary of Russian icon painters of the eleventh through seventeenth centuries, approximately 95 percent worked in the seventeenth century. Exem-

plary among these was Simon Ushakov (1626–1686). In his icon of the *Vladimir Mother of God and the Tree of the Muscovite State* (Tretyakov Gallery), Ushakov “updates” the twelfth-century icon with profuse references to the glory of Moscow; in his *Old Testament Trinity* (State Russian Museum, St. Petersburg), he alters the simplicity of Rublyov’s icon with extraordinary detail and the use of chiaroscuro to suggest three-dimensional faces on the three angels. Both works by Ushakov are signed and dated.

PORTRAITS AND SCULPTURE

Portrait painting arose in the seventeenth century, partly under Polish influence via Ukraine, but overtly western European post-Renaissance subjects and principles came to characterize Russian art only in the eighteenth century. Peter I the Great (ruled 1682–1725), who imported western European culture wholesale for his new city of St. Petersburg, had his portrait painted scores of times by foreign and domestic artists—and in oil paint, which lends itself better to chiaroscuro than does the egg tempera medium of traditional icons. European artists were imported to record the buildup of the city, decorate the interiors of buildings, and train Russian students. Some Russian art students were also sent abroad for training. During the eighteenth century, the Academy of Fine Arts, founded by Empress Elizabeth Petrovna (ruled 1741–1762) and funded significantly beginning with Catherine II the Great (ruled 1762–1796), dominated art training. Leading eighteenth-century Russian artists include Dmitry Levitsky (1735–1822), whose portraits of aristocratic girls at Catherine the Great’s Smolny Institute show great skill, Vladimir Borovikovskiy (1757–1825), who broke new ground with his relatively informal study of Catherine walking her dog in a park (copies in Tretyakov Gallery and State Russian Museum), and Ivan Argunov (1729–1802), who was born a serf yet rose to become one of the founders of the Academy of Fine Arts in 1758. His career demonstrates that in post-Petrine Russia advancement could be based on merit and not on privileged birth alone.

In sculpture, the adoption of western European neoclassical traditions paralleled developments in painting. Fedot Shubin’s (1740–1805) numerous plaster and marble busts of aristocratic patrons show



Art in Russia. An icon of the holy doors showing Metropolitan Peter and Alexius, with the Annunciation above, sixteenth century. THE ART ARCHIVE/KIZHI MUSEUM/NICHOLAS SAPIEHA

the fruits of his six years of study in Paris. St. Petersburg's most famous statue, the equestrian *Bronze Horseman of Peter the Great*, was commissioned by Catherine and designed by the Frenchman Étienne-Maurice Falconet (1716–1791) and his pupil and mistress, Marie-Anne Collot (1748–1821).

Space does not permit discussion of folk art, which flourished largely apart from the formal trends identified here. Folk art influenced formal art before the eighteenth century to some extent, but less so beginning with the westernization of formal art.

See also **Catherine II (Russia); France, Art in; Peter I (Russia); Russia.**

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RUSSIAN LITERATURE AND LANGUAGE. The category of “old Russian literature,” however enduring, constitutes little more than an omnibus retrospection of almost all prose native to Rus’ and written in Slavonic or Russian prior to the eighteenth century. It marks the mythic boundary between antiquity and modernity in Russian culture and includes heroic tales and epics, compendia of saints’ lives (*chet’i minei, prologi*, etc.), chronicles (*letopisi*), general Christian histories (*khronografy*), and numerous individual codices (*sborniki*) compiled from a wide range of materials, usually by anonymous monastic bookmen.

From the end of the twentieth century scholarship increasingly replaced this confining typology of an undifferentiated old Russian culture with more nuanced and fragmented constructs that posit inner tensions, regional variations, and epistemic shifts over the centuries between the fall of Kiev and Peter the Great’s assertion of Russian modernity. Such tensions and variations were particularly marked during the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries,

thanks in large measure to a cultural influx from Poland and Ukraine. Another major stimulus came from the schism within Russian Orthodoxy in the 1650s, out of which emerged the movement known as Old Believers or Old Ritualists. Edifying vitae soon appeared for many of the movement’s early martyrs, including Boiarynia Feodosiia Morozova, Ivan Neronov, and Iuliana Lazarevskaia. The most outstanding of these was the autobiographical account of the leader of the Old Believers, the archpriest Avvakum Petrovich. Told in earthy and vivid prose, *The Life of the Archpriest Avvakum* (1672–1673) marked the beginning in Russia of a vernacular form of autobiographical writing, penned by an identified author and directed at a broad literate audience who read outside of the church service. All of these lives were widely known, at least among religious dissenters, and their abiding tropes of civic powerlessness and suffering for one’s faith later became commonplaces of eighteenth-century memoirs and autobiographies.

At the same time Russia was developing a new “high” literature beyond the narrowly devotional, including highly literary sermons, religious poetry, drama, and an ever growing corpus of tales and fables, translated in large measure from Polish. Most scholars tie these innovations to the courts of Tsar Alexis I Mikhailovich (ruled 1645–1676) and, especially, his daughter Sofiia, who was the de facto regent between 1682 and 1689. Starting in 1672 the Muscovite court housed an intermittent theater whose repertoire mixed biblical tales (such as that of Artaxerxes) with Greek fables and dramas based on saints’ lives (for example, of St. Catherine).

Another important new genre of literary expression was the sermon, a rarity in Russian culture before the mid-seventeenth century. The central figure in this trend was the monk Simeon Polotskii, who moved from Belarus to Moscow in 1660. During the final few decades of the seventeenth and throughout the eighteenth century, several other religious hierarchs, almost all of them Ukrainians linked to the Kremlin or important monasteries near Moscow, were active in sermonizing. Although subject to severe restrictions in form, theme, and structure, sermons afforded these clerics the opportunity to create new texts, many of which were subsequently published in collections, and to be recognized as their authors.

CIVIL ORTHOGRAPHY, PRINT, AND THE NEW LITERARY LANGUAGE

Peter the Great's new civil orthography of 1707 and his aggressive deployment of print initiated new explorations toward a distinctly civil Russian (as opposed to Slavonic) literary language. Most scholars now believe that this discourse did not arise in a linguistic vacuum, but that the developments of the late-seventeenth century as well as the evolution of what is sometimes termed "chancellery (*prikaznyi*) writing" set the context for the reforms. During the 1730s, Vasili Trediakovskii, Antiokh Kantemir, and Mikhail Lomonosov debated furiously about the shape of this literary language. At issue were the use of arcane constructions and "pure" slavonicisms versus the construction of something more in line with contemporary European literature. All three of the principals, but especially Trediakovskii and Lomonosov, chose the medium of literary translation as their linguistic laboratory, often creating texts that were stilted and idiosyncratic but nonetheless literary. A noted example is Trediakovskii's rendering of Paul Tallemant's *Le voyage à l'isle d'amour de Lycidas*.

Along with the new orthography and the nascent literary language, the institutionalization of literature benefited from the proliferation of lay publishing, primarily at educational institutions. Drawing from a mixture of foreign scholars, professional translators, and a handful of brilliant former seminarians and cadets (including Trediakovskii, Lomonosov, and Sumarokov), the Academy of Sciences during the second quarter of the eighteenth century acted as midwife for the birth of a lay print culture, producing small runs of poetry, tales, and translated opera librettos. Exceedingly modest in volume when compared to the rest of Europe, this work was nonetheless momentous for creating what we would now call Russian literature, as a creative, public, accessible, lay discourse for private reading and pleasure.

Mid-century witnessed several new publishing houses, primarily at Moscow University and the Cadet Academies; together these presses provided an institutional setting for young—mostly noble—literati to engage in literary pursuits and develop a public voice. Virtually every luminary of the Elizabethan and Catherinian eras—including Mikhail Kheraskov (1733–1807), Denis Fonvizin (1745–

1792), Ippolit Bogdanovich (1744–1803), Gavriila Derzhavin (1743–1816), Aleksandr Radishchev (1749–1802), and several others—participated in this collective endeavor of literary and institutional creation. In most cases these writers earned little or nothing from their original works (a bit more from translations), and the great majority maintained commissions in state service. Derzhavin, for example, had been in an elite guards' regiment, and he ultimately became a full-time civil administrator, rising to the very high position of provincial governor. Some, however, including Nikolai Novikov (1744–1818) and Nikolai Karamzin (1766–1826), became something approaching professional intellectuals in that they devoted all their time to intellectual pursuits, sometimes, as with Novikov, resigning their commissions. During the last quarter of the eighteenth century the life of literature and literary production developed very rapidly, thanks to the growth in secondary education, both secular and religious, which produced an exponential rise in the number of writers and readers, as well as the easier access to print, especially after 1783, when the decree on private presses made publishing much simpler.

GENRES

In addition to the profusion of literary translation, poetry provided some of Russia's most important writing during this period. Especially significant were the lyric and religious poetry of Trediakovskii, the epic poetry of Kheraskov (the "Russian Homer" and author of the lengthy *Rossiada*), and, above all, the reflective and highly personal verses of Derzhavin. As was true throughout Europe, travel literature, recounting journeys both real and imaginary, proved to be a particularly effective medium for combining entertainment with cultural commentary. Karamzin's *Letters of a Russian Traveler, 1789–1790* (1797), although often fanciful, nevertheless offered entertaining glimpses of the mores Karamzin observed during his European grand tour of 1789–1790, and it situated Russia in the European context and oriented the reader's sense of national identity and civility. The genre also lent itself to severe social commentary, most famously in Radishchev's novel, *A Journey from St. Petersburg to Moscow*. Taking advantage of lax censorship, Radishchev published this savage critique of serfdom and Russia's lack of freedom in 1790, much to the

outrage of the empress Catherine II, who ordered all copies confiscated and the author jailed. Dramatic as this episode was, Radishchev's pained voice of political and social opposition remained the exception for the eighteenth century, as few of his contemporaries expressed—or apparently held—views in opposition to the political status quo.

Beginning in the mid-1750s and especially from the late 1760s onward, literary and philosophical journalism became the medium of choice among aspiring literati. Few of these ventures lasted longer than several months, and most could count their readerships in hundreds rather than thousands. But these journals came out frequently and regularly, and as one folded others took its place. Essayists and translators, as often as not still unidentified by name, could pool their resources and energies and use periodical publication to construct the rudiments of an engaged textual community, playing off of other journals to establish a clear field of discourse. The prime example comes from the so-called satirical journals of 1769–1774. During this period, journals linked to Novikov (*The Painter*, *The Drone*, *The Tattler*) parried with others associated with the empress (*Bits of This and That*), who was herself an avid author and essayist. As was true elsewhere, editors employed public subscription campaigns to generate a reader base and to inscribe a public onto their enterprises. Some of these campaigns, such as Novikov's solicitation for his pietistic journal *Morning Light* (1777–1780), were quite successful, generating hundreds of subscribers (who thereby subsidized Novikov's new charity schools) from towns throughout the empire and from social groups, such as clergy and merchants, well beyond the omnipresent cosmopolitan audience. Most journals, however, attracted several dozen to about a hundred subscribers, almost 90 percent of whom derived from the hereditary nobility.

MODES OF SOCIABILITY

The intimate and largely male world that produced Russia's lay literati led easily into a proliferation of small societies, translation groups, student seminars, private lending libraries, reading circles, and eventually salons, at which women often were in attendance. By far the most popular sites of sociability, though, were Masonic lodges, which in Russia were quintessentially masculine in outlook and

membership. During the Catherinian period as many as three thousand Russian subjects belonged to dozens of lodges, most of which combined a vaguely Neostoic sense of public improvement with the conviviality of brotherhood. Some scholars have seen the lodges as the beginnings of a Russian public sphere, while others have emphasized their secrecy, exclusivity, and sense of hierarchy. But there is no doubt that the lodges became centers of sociability that encouraged the fusion of literary activity and an increasingly ritualized politesse, which reached its apotheosis during the era of Aleksandr Pushkin in the 1830s. Although they were typically not oppositional, their combination of fraternity, secrecy, and commitment to moral improvement evoked periodic suspicion from officialdom, leading to periodic censure and closures in the latter fifteen years of the eighteenth century and again during the early 1820s.

See also Alexis I (Russia); Avvakum Petrovich; Catherine II (Russia); Enlightenment; Journals, Literary; Novikov, Nikolai Ivanovich; Old Believers; Orthodoxy, Russian; Peter I (Russia); Printing and Publishing; Sofia Alekseevna.

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GARY MARKER

RUSSIAN ORTHODOXY. *See* **Orthodoxy, Russian.**

RUSSO-OTTOMAN WARS (1710–1711; 1736–1739; 1768–1774; 1787–1792). The first Russo-Ottoman War of the eighteenth century occurred during the expansion era of Peter I, also known as Peter the Great (ruled 1682–1725), who stopped paying tribute to the Khan of the Crimea, an Ottoman vassal, when he became tsar in 1683. He staged attacks on the Perekop Isthmus in the 1680s and Azov in 1695 because the Russians viewed the Crimea as a haven for Tatars who continually raided Russian areas to seize captives, property, and livestock. In 1696, Peter mounted the first successful attack on Azov, using the new flotilla he had built. In a 1700 Russian-Ottoman peace treaty, Russia was permitted to keep Azov and had the cancellation of its tribute payment to the Crimean khans formally recognized.

RUSSO-OTTOMAN WAR OF 1710–1711

Sultan Ahmet III (ruled 1703–1730) initially looked favorably on the Russians because one of his grand viziers, Chorlulu Ali Pasha, cultivated good relations with them to prevent Ottoman entanglement in European politics. Russia's overwhelming victory against the Swedes at Poltava in 1709 has been attributed to the fact that Ali Pasha kept Crimean troops from intervening against Russia.

Ali Pasha was soon dismissed, though, when the mood of religious officials in Constantinople was swayed by the anti-Russian sentiment of the Crimeans. Also, the Swedish King Charles XII (ruled 1697–1718) had fled to the Ottomans from his failed encounter with Peter I and worked to stir up anti-Russian sentiments even more. When it appeared that after their Poltava triumph the Russians were getting ready to attack the Crimea, the Ottomans preemptively declared war on them. A Russian army led in person by Peter and his wife, Catherine I, invaded Moldavia for the first time in centuries,

attempting to secure it before Ottoman forces could arrive.

However, the Russians ran into severe food shortages there, and a large Ottoman army proved to be close by. When the Russians were suddenly surrounded at a place on the Pruth tributary of the Danube on 21 July 1711 by regular Ottoman forces on one side and Tatars on the other, they had to surrender to avoid annihilation. Peter agreed to give back Azov, demolish his fortresses in its vicinity, release Ottoman prisoners, and allow Charles XII safe passage to Sweden. This swift Russian agreement to favorable terms for a time convinced the Ottomans that the Russians were not a serious threat. The final peace treaty (1713) pushed the Russians back as far north as the Orel River and required Peter to evacuate Poland within two months. Its terms would constantly be challenged over the next few years as Peter continued to modernize and expand his nation, which aroused Ottoman suspicions of Russian intentions.

Notwithstanding these tensions, both took advantage of the turmoil produced by the 1722 Afghan conquest of Iran to occupy Iranian territory in Azerbaijan and the Caucasus. The Russians and the Ottomans signed an agreement in 1724 that recognized each other's recent acquisitions in Iran. The agreement called for the restoration of the Shi'ite Safavids instead of the Sunni Afghans as the rulers of Iran—a curious stance for the Ottomans, quintessential defenders of Sunni Islam against Shi'ism. This agreement, too, proved fleeting when a new Iranian monarch, Nadir Shah (ruled 1736–1747), drove both the Russians and the Ottomans out of their occupied territories.

RUSSO-OTTOMAN WAR OF 1736–1739

The next Russo-Ottoman conflict broke out in 1736, when Russia determined to put a stop to Crimean Tatar attacks on its territories and finally to establish a presence on the Black Sea. After Russia had resolved its then outstanding conflicts with other European nations, the tsar denounced Ottoman negligence of the Treaty of Pruth as a pretext for war. Encouraged by the French, the Ottomans declared war on both Russia and Austria in May 1736 to protest the placement of a pro-Russian candidate on the Polish throne.

The first result was that the Russians, who were better mobilized, invaded the Crimea and took Azov within three months. However, they soon had to withdraw because of poor logistics. Russia then shifted focus to Moldavia and Walachia when its ally Austria captured Niš in 1737. Soon, though, the Austrians were pushed back so decisively that they were forced to sign a treaty with the Ottomans in 1739 at Belgrade, giving up most of the territory they had been assigned at Passarowitz in 1718.

As this agreement was being signed, the Russians were in the midst of trying to incite a Balkan Christian revolt against the Ottomans, had advanced deep into Moldavia, and were preparing to conquer Walachia, but news of the treaty ended these plans. With Austrian assistance gone, the Russians also signed an agreement with the Ottomans and relinquished Azov again.

RUSSO-OTTOMAN WAR OF 1768–1774

In 1768, when Catherine II, also known as Catherine the Great (ruled 1762–1796), revived Peter's imperialist projects and began interfering in Polish affairs again, the sultan declared war on Russia. Because internal Crimean politics and severe logistical difficulties had greatly weakened the Ottoman military, the Russians advanced swiftly into Moldavia and Walachia. They decimated a huge Ottoman army at Kartal in 1770. The Russians also finally took Crimea and came to dominate naval warfare in the Black Sea and even in the Aegean. In this conflict, Austria actually restrained Russia because it worried about excessive Russian influence in Poland.

Following a significant number of Russian victories, the 1774 Treaty of Kuchuk Kainarji allowed the Ottoman sultan to remain the religious leader, or caliph, of the Crimean Muslims, who were declared politically autonomous. Russia then took much of the northern Black Sea coast and received a large war indemnity from the Ottomans. A Russian cathedral was built in Constantinople, which was later construed to mean that the tsar was the protector of all Ottoman Orthodox Christians.

RUSSO-OTTOMAN WAR OF 1787–1792

In 1787, Catherine developed a scheme to expel the Ottomans from Europe and divide their European territories between Russia and Austria. The Otto-

man reaction was to wage war to regain the Crimea. The war reached a critical stage in 1789 when the Austrians conquered Belgrade and the Russians took Walachia. Just as the two were set to advance on Constantinople, other European powers persuaded them to end the war in order to help contain the tide of revolution sweeping across Europe from France. The Russians finally signed the 1792 Treaty of Jassy, by which they extended their control of the Black Sea coast and declared that henceforth Russia was the sovereign of the Crimea. In effect, the Black Sea, too, now passed into Russian hands.

See also **Austro-Ottoman Wars; Catherine II (Russia); Charles XII (Sweden); Ottoman Empire; Peter I (Russia); Russia.**

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ERNEST TUCKER

RUSSO-POLISH WARS. From the 1480s to 1667 Muscovy fought a series of devastating wars along its western frontier, first with the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and then with the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Muscovy's wars with Lithuania had four principal causes: disputed claims over the right to collect tribute and taxes in border districts and competition for the fealty of influential Orthodox princes; the question of ecclesiastic jurisdiction over Lithuania's large Orthodox population; Muscovy's gradual absorption of the Republic of Novgorod; and involvement in the struggle between the Crimean Khanate and the Golden Horde over the Pontic Steppe.

The 1480s saw a series of border clashes between Lithuania and Muscovy, particularly along the Novgorod-Pskov front. The death of the Polish king and Lithuanian grand duke Casimir finally gave Muscovite Grand Prince Ivan III the opportunity to

launch a major invasion of Lithuania (1492–1494). Casimir's successor was forced to renounce his claims to Novgorod, Pskov, and Tver' and to cement the peace by taking Ivan's daughter Elena in marriage. But the peace did not last. In the Second Muscovite-Lithuanian War (1500–1503) Muscovite armies seized about a third of Lithuania—most of the former principalities of Chernigov (Chernihiv) and Novgorod-Seversk and about half of the Smolensk region. One crucial objective eluded Ivan III, however: the capture of the Lithuanian fortress of Smolensk, which commanded the roads and waterways to Moscow, Kiev, and Riga. Grand Prince Vasili III therefore resumed the struggle for mastery of Smolensk in a Third Muscovite-Lithuanian war (1512–1522). Smolensk fell to Muscovite forces in 1514, but the war wound down in stalemate.

The Muscovites invaded Lithuania again in the second phase (1563–1571) of Tsar Ivan IV's Livonian War. Ivan's objective was to seize control of the entire course of the Western Dvina in order to blockade Riga into submission, but he also hoped to force King Sigismund II Augustus of Poland to cede him the rest of Livonia in exchange for his withdrawal from Lithuania. The Muscovite invasion instead had the effect of finally pushing the Lithuanian nobility into accepting Sigismund's proposal for the union of Lithuania and Poland in a Commonwealth (1569). Sigismund's successor Stephen Báthory drove the Muscovites from Livonia and Lithuania (1579–1580) and invaded northwestern Muscovy, forcing Ivan to cede Livonia to the Commonwealth and Sweden in exchange for an armistice (1582, 1583).

Polish-Lithuanian intervention in Russia's Time of Troubles initially took the form of private adventurism by magnates and border governors who perceived in the political upheaval an opportunity to recover some of the borderlands lost in 1503 and 1522. They abetted the two False Dmitriis (1603–1606, 1607–1610). After the defeat of the second, his Muscovite supporters and some powerful boyars decided to overthrow Tsar Vasili Shuiskii and place King Sigismund III's son Władysław on the Russian throne. Shuiskii's overthrow in July 1610 permitted Polish forces to enter Moscow, but the resulting Polish military dictatorship provoked several Muscovite provincial governors and gentry leaders to

join with Cossack elements in a national liberation army, which defeated the Poles in October 1612. Three months later Michael Fedorovich Romanov was proclaimed tsar. Eventually the Treaty of Deulino (1618) established an armistice in exchange for the return of Smolensk, Chernigov (Chernihiv), and Seversk to the Commonwealth.

Michael's government, intent on recovering these territories, invaded eastern Lithuania in 1632 with an army of 33,000 men. This war (1632–1634) marked the largest experiment to date with Russian troops in reorganized Western-style "new formation regiments" trained and officered by Swedish, Dutch, and English mercenary officers. Some twenty towns fell to the Russian army, but their long siege of Smolensk failed and their commanders were forced to sue for armistice in exchange for safe evacuation.

From the mid-1630s Ukrainian churchmen and Cossack leaders had pleaded for Russian support for their rebellion against the Commonwealth. Moscow held back until 1654, when Bohdan Khmelnytsky agreed to place the Zaporozhian Host and the territories it held—Kiev and all Ukraine east of the Dnieper—under the tsar's protection. But the greater inducement to military intervention was the opportunity to recover Smolensk. The Treaty of Andrusovo, ending the Thirteen Years War (1654–1667), partitioned Ukraine along the Dnieper and restored the Smolensk region to Russia. This was the last great war fought between Russia and the Commonwealth, in large part because of the rising danger to both from the Ottoman Empire; the two signed an "eternal peace" in 1686.

See also Cossacks; False Dmitrii, First; Ivan III (Muscovy); Ivan IV, the "the Terrible" (Russia); Khmelnytsky, Bohdan; Khmelnytsky Uprising; Lithuania, Grand Duchy of, to 1569; Livonian War (1558–1583); Lublin, Union of (1569); Michael Romanov (Russia); Poland to 1569; Poland-Lithuania, Commonwealth of, 1569–1795; Russia; Sigismund II Augustus (Poland, Lithuania); Stephen Báthory (Poland); Time of Troubles (Russia); Ukraine; Vasili III (Muscovy).

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BRIAN DAVIES

RUYSCH, RACHEL (1664–1750), Dutch painter. One of the most successful women artists of early modernity, Ruysch was born in The Hague. While growing up, she assisted her father, Frederik Ruysch, a professor of anatomy and botany, by recording the appearances of the exotic plants he studied. The resulting works may have encouraged her father, who was also an amateur painter and collector, to apprentice his fifteen-year-old daughter to the Amsterdam still life painter Willem van Aelst (1627–c. 1683). While it was uncommon for a girl to train for a profession outside the home, painting still lifes posed fewer obstacles than other genres because, for example, she was spared drawing from nude models—an activity deemed inappropriate for women until well into the twentieth century.

In her earliest works, Ruysch closely followed the dramatically lit woodland scenes of the Dutch painters of the previous generation, Otto Marseus van Schrieck and Abraham Mignon (1640–1679). In paintings like *Arrangement of Flowers by a Tree Trunk* from the 1680s (Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum), Ruysch depicted forestal vignettes complete with small-scale creatures. Characteristically, Ruysch repeats Schrieck's motif of the lizard with a butterfly perched in its open mouth, but minimizes the menacing import of such a creature by reducing its scale and by relegating it to the fringe of the composition. Mignon's influence is more noticeable in *Floral Still Life* from 1686 (Memorial Art Gallery, University of Rochester), which replicates the right half of a Mignon painting in Vaduz Castle. Ruysch adopted Mignon's practice of placing cultivated plants in natural settings, but she omitted Mignon's signature goldfinches and other latent Christian symbols. By choosing to stress decorative effects over iconographic details in both the Glas-



Rachel Ruysch. *Bouquet of Flowers*, 1706. ©ALI MEYER/CORBIS

gow and Rochester paintings, Ruysch limits symbolic interpretations of her paintings.

In 1693 Ruysch married Mignon's adopted son, the portrait painter Juriaen Pool. Despite the demands of raising ten children, Ruysch remained active as a painter, becoming a member of the *Confretrie Pictura* in 1701 and later joining the painter's guild in The Hague in 1709. Shortly thereafter, Ruysch and Pool relocated to Düsseldorf, where they became court painters to the elector palatine John William.

In her mature works Ruysch increased the decorative and theatrical aspects of her compositions, presumably to suit her patron's sense of refinement. While her early endeavors represented floral groupings as they occurred in nature, she later experimented with juxtapositions of cultivated and wild plants in vased bouquets. Ruysch also explored fruit assemblages as pendants to her floral pieces. One sees all of these elements combined in *Fruit and Flowers in a Forest* from 1714 in Augsburg. This piece, which originally hung in the elector's bed-

room, shows Ruysch's skill in rendering the vibrant flowers' fragility to contrast with the lusciously firm fruits strung across the forest floor, a motif that recalls her earlier woodland vignettes. Ruysch deliberately composed the scene, imposing her own order upon the natural world with the floral arrangement occupying the upper register across the stone ledge, the fruit closer to the Earth, and the requisite insects and reptiles framing the scene from the periphery. In the Augsburg painting, as in her entire oeuvre, Ruysch retained the dark, moody lighting of her early manner, yet heightened the vibrancy of individual elements. For example, while at the elector's court, she began to employ the newly discovered pigment Prussian blue, an inexpensive means of summoning luminous blues. Similarly, Ruysch utilized a smooth touch to craft crystal-clear surfaces. When Ruysch and Pool returned to Amsterdam in 1716, Ruysch brought her aristocratically fostered aesthetic with her and continued to paint elegant still lifes such as *Still Life with Flowers on a Marble Table Top*, now in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. Here, Ruysch replicated the supple textures of the petals and crafted a subtle play of pinks against the dark backdrop and cobalt vase, as she had done in Düsseldorf, but restricted the scope to a moderately sized bouquet. Ruysch painted works of

this type for gentrified Dutch burghers until she was well into her eighties.

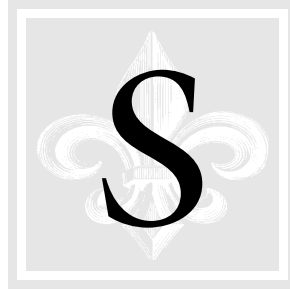
Ruysch's work found a receptive audience and contemporary writers praised her extensively. Such esteem was admirable for any painter, but especially so for a woman. As Johan van Gool wrote in *De nieuwe schouburg der Nederlandtsche kunstschilders en schilderessen* in 1750, her artfulness "was all the more astonishing and to be praised in women, who by nature are destined to other occupations" (vol. 2, p. 541). Despite such gendered trepidations, Ruysch earned international renown for her expertly wrought and pleasingly arranged creations.

See also Netherlands, Art in the; Women and Art.

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CHRISTOPHER D. M. ATKINS



SACHS, HANS. *See* Drama: German; German Literature and Language.

SACRAMENTS. *See* Ritual, Religious.

SADE, DONATIEN-ALPHONSE-FRANÇOIS DE (1740–1814), French writer. Belonging to one of France's most ancient noble families, the marquis de Sade attended Paris's rigorous Louis-le-Grand lycée as a youth and then a light cavalry academy that would steer him toward a military career. At the age of sixteen he was commissioned as a lieutenant and standard bearer in the Carabiniers, a prestigious military unit of armed officers, and he took part in the war against Prussia. By early 1759, when he was eighteen years old, Sade was nominated captain in the Burgundy cavalry. Early in his military career Sade had earned a reputation with his peers as a gambler and a ladies' man, and the young officer often lamented both his lack of motivation to do the things required to succeed and the absence of close, sincere friends in his life. When the Seven Years' War ended in 1763, Sade's family began marriage negotiations with the Montreuil family, petty nobility of the robe who were nevertheless extremely wealthy. Sade resisted his family's wishes that he marry, but when the woman with whom he was in love scorned him, Sade returned to Paris from Provence four days before his

wedding in May 1763 and married Renée-Pélagie de Montreuil, whom he did not meet until the day before the wedding.

Five months later, the marquis was imprisoned in the Vincennes dungeon for licentiousness and blasphemy. This first of his many incarcerations resulted from the violence he meted out to the young Jeanne Testard, whom he had paid to spend the night with him in small rented quarters in Paris which, like a number of aristocrats, the marquis kept for occasional trysts. During his encounter with Testard, the marquis first asked the young woman whether she believed in God, and then proceeded to desecrate a number of crucifixes and other religious objects. He asked the young woman to beat him with a red-hot whip and pressed her to choose the whip with which he would flagellate her. Testard made a deposition to the commissioner of police, Sade was arrested, and taken to Vincennes, an ancient fortress on the southeast edge of Paris. Sade remained there for less than a month, but would return to Vincennes or to the Bastille on numerous other occasions for similar acts of blasphemy and sexual violence. (He spent a total of about thirty years, including the years from 1801 to the end of his life, in prison.) Sade wrote most of the works for which he is best known while incarcerated. His first significant piece is the *Dialog between a Priest and a Dying Man*, probably composed in 1782 while he was imprisoned in Vincennes. The dialogue treats some standard eighteenth-century views on religion, philosophy, materialism, and reason, and the dying man concludes that it is the latter faculty,



Donatien-Alphonse-François de Sade. Engraving depicts a demonic young de Sade. ©CORBIS

more than faith in God, that leads to human happiness. Shortly after Sade finished the short philosophical piece, authorities confiscated all the prisoner's books because they appeared to give him inappropriate ideas. In the remaining years of the decade Sade wrote *The 120 Days of Sodom*, *The Misfortunes of Virtue*, and *Aline and Valcour*, a semi-autobiographical novel. Other major works consist of a number of short stories and plays.

The marquis de Sade's novels combine a philosophical interest in materialism, an intense examination of the extent and limits of human reason, and an extremely vivid, often overwhelming, depiction of graphic sexual violence. All of the major novels revolve around the planning, narration, and carrying out of elaborate, often implausible acts of torture and mutilation, many of which involve religious motifs. Most often, a sophistic diatribe

concerning, among other things, the absurdity of virtue in a class-based society accompanies the consummation of the violent acts. The libertines who inflict the violence in Sade's novels engage in a nonstop philosophical conundrum in which they attempt to locate the limits of language, power, bodily existence, and domination. Repeatedly attempting to physically and subjectively annihilate their victims, they rely all the more on those whom they would destroy for their own identities in their attempts to do, say, and be all. The dialectic Sade constructs throughout the better part of his fiction interrogates the possibility of unmediated access to such ostensibly natural phenomena as the body, pleasure, pain, and intersubjective violence.

Virtually all of Sade's works have been reviled and censored since their very first appearances, and even as late as 1956 the publishing firm Pauvert was fined for printing the complete works. Nevertheless, Sade has had considerable influence in artistic and philosophical circles. André Breton (1896–1966) and the surrealists, in particular, found in his work liberating ideas for thinking about reason and sexuality.

See also **Enlightenment; French Literature and Language; Pornography.**

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THOMAS DIPIERO

ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S DAY MASSACRE. Early on the morning of 24 August 1572 (St. Bartholomew's Day by the Catholic Church calendar), French Catholic troops began to slaughter unarmed Protestants who had gathered in Paris for a royal wedding. The wave of popular violence that followed resulted in the death of some two thousand persons in Paris and another three thousand in other French cities. Known collectively as the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre, these events constitute the most infamous episode in the French Wars of Religion and a turning point in these wars. Scholars continue to debate the questions of who authorized the killings and why, who took part in them, and what they tell us about the nature of religious intolerance.

Although some contemporaries believed the massacre to be the product of a conspiracy plotted during Queen Mother Catherine de Médicis's 1565 meeting with Spanish emissaries at Bayonne, most scholars now regard it as a more immediate response to deteriorating relations between Huguenots and

the crown in the aftermath of the Peace of Saint-Germain, which ended the third religious war in August 1570. Popular opposition to the measures of toleration accorded the Protestants made the peace difficult to enforce, and yet Protestant leader Admiral Gaspard de Coligny continued to press for full enforcement. He further irritated Catherine by attempting to convince her son, the young King Charles IX, to send troops to aid Dutch Protestants in their revolt against Spain. Some historians believe that Catherine, jealous of Coligny's growing influence over Charles IX, tried to have the admiral assassinated on 22 August 1572. Others have blamed members of the Ultra-Catholic Guise family for the attempt, which wounded but did not kill Coligny. This was the view of the Huguenot leaders, who had assembled in Paris to celebrate the wedding of Henry of Bourbon, king of Navarre, to the king's sister, Marguerite of Valois. Their demand for revenge appears to have sparked both a popular outcry and a defensive reaction on the part of the king and queen mother, who feared a Protestant coup.



St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre. Painting by eyewitness François Dubois. THE ART ARCHIVE/MUSÉE DES BEAUX ARTS LAUSANNE/DAGLI ORTI

A secret meeting in the Louvre on the night on 23 August resulted in the order to eliminate the Huguenot leadership. We do not know how many persons were to be killed or how willingly the king consented to the plot, but it is clear that in the aftermath of the order the killings took on a life of their own. The duke of Guise's men first dispatched the admiral and then hunted down other Huguenot leaders. Overhearing Guise remind his troops that they killed at the king's command, militiamen posted about the city to ensure its defense began to take part in the violence. Private citizens joined in, and the murders spread to encompass ordinary men, women, and children. Looting was common, and some of the victims' corpses were mutilated or subjected to crude parodies of judicial and religious rites. Some Protestants saved their lives by recanting their faith; others were hidden by charitable friends until they could secretly flee. It took more than a week to recover order in Paris, by which time the killing had spread to other French cities.

In some towns the killing began as soon as word arrived of the massacre in Paris. In other cases, a precarious peace was maintained until local events touched of a wave of murders several weeks later. At least twelve cities, including the provincial capitals of Lyon, Rouen, Bordeaux, and Toulouse, experienced significant levels of violence. All were predominantly Catholic cities that had once harbored sizeable Huguenot minorities, and all witnessed the same popular participation and ritualistic murders as Paris. In each, moreover, participants appear to have shared a common belief that the king had authorized the killing.

While surviving Protestant leaders fled to the west and launched a fourth religious war, Huguenot propagandists publicized the murders in order to gain international support for their cause. Articulating new theories of political resistance, François Hotman, Théodore de Bèze, and other Huguenot writers defended the right of subordinate magistrates to withdraw obedience from a tyrannical monarch who would permit such atrocities against his subjects. Shock and horror at the extent of the killing prompted some moderate Catholics to oppose the renewal of war and advocate further compromises in order to secure a lasting peace. Although this policy ultimately triumphed with the Edict of Nantes in 1598, the immediate result of the

moderates' defection was rather to encourage Ultra-Catholics to demand that the king act more decisively to eliminate the Protestant heresy. Saint Bartholomew's Day thus initiated the last, radical phase of the religious wars, at the same time that it seriously traumatized the Huguenot faithful and permanently undermined the Protestant movement in France.

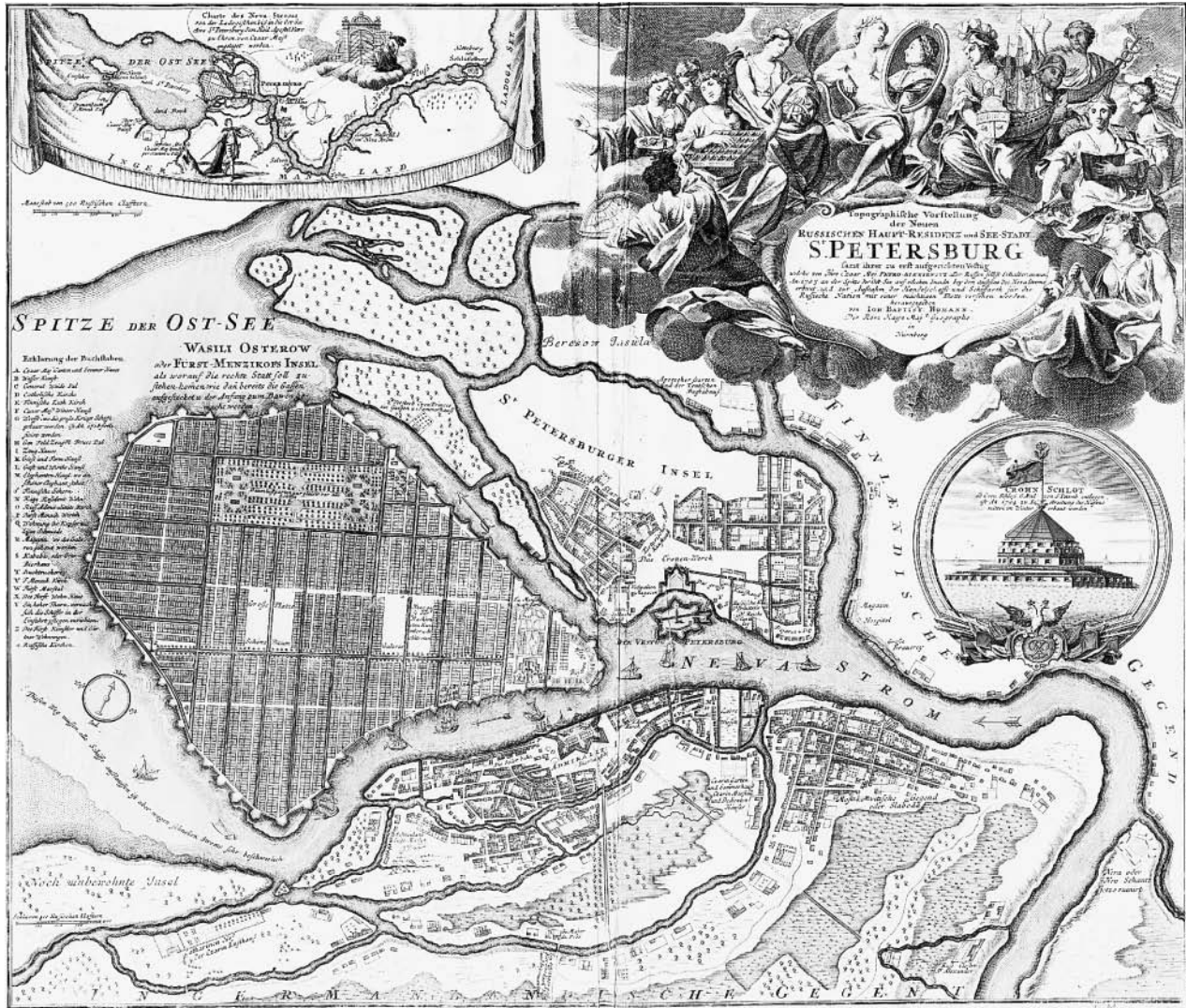
See also Bèze, Théodore de; Coligny Family; Guise Family; Henry III (France); Henry IV (France); Huguenots; Nantes, Edict of; Resistance, Theory of; Wars of Religion, French.

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BARBARA B. DIEFENDORF

ST. PETERSBURG. Founded in 1703 and by 1712 already the capital of Russia, St. Petersburg existed in the mind of Peter the Great (ruled 1682–1725) and on the planning boards of his architects almost before construction began—"the most abstract and intentional [or, 'premeditated'] city in the whole world," in the words of Dostoevsky (*Notes from Underground*, 1864). In contrast to Moscow, which grew organically over the centuries in concentric circles, St. Petersburg was planned from scratch (like Washington, D.C.) by west European architects who attempted to impose geometric street patterns on the swampy delta of the Neva River. Echoes of the city's planned origins are preserved in the not-so-romantic names of several north/south streets on Vasili Island: Second/Third Line Street, Fourth/Fifth Line Street, and so forth (each of these streets was originally intended to be a canal, with a numbered line of houses on each side of the canal).



St. Petersburg. Johann Baptist Homann's map appeared in 1718, not long after the city was founded by Peter the Great in 1703. It reflects the plan developed by French architect Jean-Baptiste Leblond who proposed making Vasileyev Island (on the left) the city center with a formal pattern of streets and canals. Instead only the right tip of the island was developed in the eighteenth century, and the whole map shows a St. Petersburg largely imagined, not as it really existed at this time. MAP COLLECTION, STERLING MEMORIAL LIBRARY, YALE UNIVERSITY

LOCATION

St. Petersburg is located far to the north, at about 60 degrees latitude, above the middle of Hudson's Bay in Canada and slightly above that of Juneau, Alaska. It is situated on the Gulf of Finland in the Baltic Sea in the delta of the Neva River, which flows from Lake Ladoga forty-six miles to the east. Though short, the Neva carries a large volume of water (sixth largest in Europe) and its currents are strong. Winding through St. Petersburg, the Neva divides at the tip (*strelka*, or 'arrow point') of Vasiliï Island, the Large Neva to the south, the Small Neva

to the right. Some one hundred islands dot the delta. The largest, Vasiliï Island, was originally envisioned as the future city center, but security and supply considerations prompted a shift to the left bank. The left bank itself is not "mainland": several rivulets, notably the Moïka and the Fontanka, flowed through the area and were preserved as canals in the city center. Because the flat territory of the city is close to the level of the Gulf of Finland (only six feet above it at the western end of Vasiliï Island), and because storms and tides sometimes combine to back up water in the entire delta, low-

lying areas of the city periodically flood. In 1703, as Peter the Great was starting to build the city's fortress (a not unwise choice, given that the area belonged to Sweden at the time), a flood carried off construction materials. In 1777 a major flood destroyed buildings and some fifty fountains in the Summer Gardens. The gardens were restored, but not the fountains; the adjacent Fontanka River/Canal was named for the fountains. Snow lies on the ground some five months a year, and the river and nearby gulf typically freeze over for two to four months each year. Nevertheless, prevailing winds from the west over the Baltic have a slight moderating effect on the climate. There is no good building stone in the area. In the early eighteenth century, a stone levy was placed on carts and boats entering the city, each one required to bring in stone for building foundations. As in Venice, many buildings in eighteenth-century St. Petersburg were set on wooden pilings driven into the mud.

PETER THE GREAT'S MOTIVES

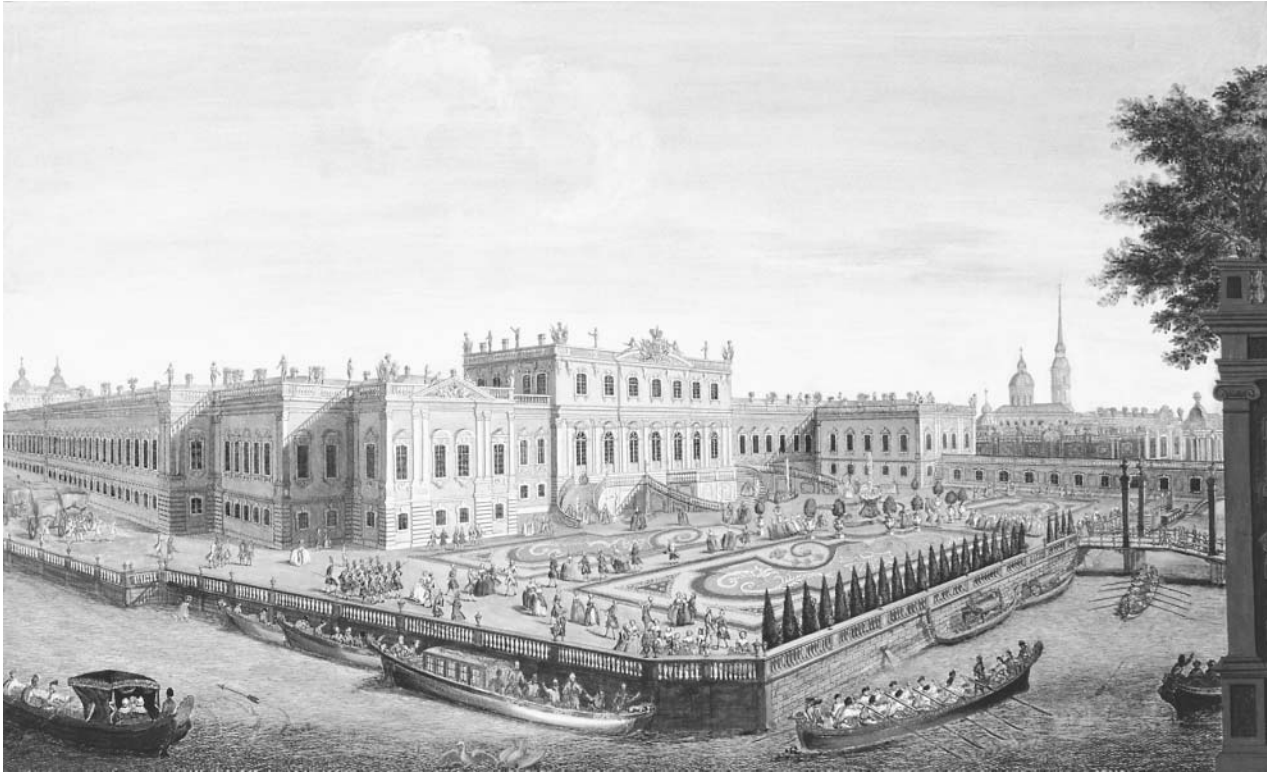
Why did Peter persist in building the city in this inhospitable location? He had first tried to gain access to the Black Sea in the south, but he failed militarily to hold a position there. In any case, the Neva and the Gulf of Finland promised more direct contact with the countries of northern Europe with which he wanted to communicate and trade. From his youthful experiences among foreigners in Moscow and his two trips to western Europe, Peter was enamored with the accomplishments of west Europeans in science, industry, military and naval technology and training, and political administration. Sea power and maritime commerce captured his attention, and he determined to gain access to the sea for Russia by establishing a port city like Amsterdam. Moscow, with its narrow winding streets of logs or mud, its buildings of wood that fueled the city's frequent fires, its traditional culture, was for Peter—to use a modern term—backward and underdeveloped. “Sanktpiterburkh”—as he named the city in a Germano-Dutch spelling—was his initial experiment in transforming Russia into a sea power and giving his new Russian Empire an impressive European capital. In the twenty-one-year-long Great Northern War (1700–1721), Peter defeated Sweden's army and naval forces and formally annexed territory on the Baltic.

ST. PETERSBURG IN 1725

The rapidity with which St. Petersburg was created is remarkable. As of 1703, when the city was founded, there was one Swedish fortress in the immediate area and a few modest fishing villages. By 1725, when Peter died, St. Petersburg had some forty thousand residents and over six thousand buildings. James Cracraft, in his authoritative study *The Petrine Revolution in Russian Architecture*, lists the reasons why the city was built up so quickly: the government commanded the resources of the entire nation to be devoted to the cause; conscripted and convict labor was used; foreign architects and artisans were imported; Russian students were trained in architecture and building in St. Petersburg and abroad; training and city planning were standardized and coordinated by newly established government offices; and factories were established for bricks and other building materials. The costs were high; thousands of laborers perished in the harsh conditions. While St. Petersburg acquired the epithet of “Venice of the north,” it was also described as “built on bones.”

ARCHITECTURE

For Peter, architectural style per se did not matter much, but he admired the sober practicality of north European restrained baroque, and he recognized that the Dutch use of brick as a construction material was appropriate for St. Petersburg. In any case, architecture was an integral part of the west European cultural package that he sought to implant in St. Petersburg (minus restraints on the ruler's authority). His chief architect, Domenico Trezzini, a Swiss-Italian, created most early structures: the Fortress of St. Petersburg (later called the Peter and Paul Fortress, after the name of its cathedral, which Trezzini also designed), the Summer Palace and Gardens, the Twelve Colleges government administrative building, the Alexander Nevsky Monastery, and others. Peter's daughter, Empress Elizabeth (ruled 1741–1762) and her favorite architect, Bartolomeo Francesco Rastrelli, added extravagant rococo concoctions (the Winter Palace, Smolnyi Convent, the Catherine Palace at Tsarskoe Selo). During Empress Catherine II the Great's reign (ruled 1762–1796), the city acquired numerous neoclassical ensembles designed by west Europeans, including the Hermitage Theater and State Bank by Quarenghi, the Marble Palace and



St. Petersburg. Engraving of the Winter Palace, built 1754–1762 as a royal residence for Elizabeth Petrovna, daughter of Peter the Great; it is now part of the Hermitage Museum. ©REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION OF THE STATE HERMITAGE MUSEUM, ST. PETERSBURG, RUSSIA/CORBIS

Sliding Hill Pavilion at Oranienbaum by Rinaldi, the Cameron Gallery at Tsarskoe Selo and Great Palace at Pavlovsk by Charles Cameron. In addition, Russian architects, trained in west European neoclassical principles, made contributions, notably I. E. Starov, who built the Tauride Palace and rebuilt the Trinity Cathedral in the Alexander Nevsky Monastery.

Catherine's most famous contribution to the city is the equestrian statue of Peter the Great, designed by the Frenchman Étienne-Maurice Falconet, later called the "Bronze Horseman," after Pushkin's poem (1833) of that name. St. Petersburg symbolizes Russia's turn to Western culture, and, as such, is a historic rival of Moscow, which symbolizes traditional Muscovite culture.

See also Catherine II (Russia); Elizabeth (Russia); Moscow; Northern Wars; Peter I (Russia); Russia; Sweden.

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JACK KOLLMANN

SAINT-SIMON, LOUIS DE ROUVROY (1675–1755), duke and peer of France, whose memoirs depict courtly life and politics during the reign of Louis XIV and the regency. Saint-Simon was the offspring of a favorite of Louis XIII.

Having lost his father at the age of eighteen, he served in the army and tried to gain prominence at the court. Soon, however, disappointed by Louis XIV's perceived neglect of the nobility, he retired from the military and incurred the king's disfavor. Instead of a promising career, he thus embarked upon the path of a clandestine and critical observer of the court.

Although removed from the king's favor, Saint-Simon had powerful allies and informants: his beloved wife, Marie-Gabrielle de Lorges, duchess of Saint-Simon, who remained in Louis XIV's closest circles in spite of her husband's precarious position, and to whom he owed regular invitations to the much coveted royal secondary residence at Marly; Philippe II, the duke of Orléans, the king's nephew and future regent; a state chancellor; several ministers who formed with François Fénelon the circle of Louis, duke of Bourgogne, heir to the crown and its would-be reformer. Thus Saint-Simon gained close knowledge of state politics in which he even participated briefly during the regency. Living at the court from 1691 through Louis XIV's death in 1715 to the regent's in 1723, he saw, listened, and took secret notes at night, in a small dressing cabinet behind his Versailles apartment. He composed numerous genealogies, timely memos to influence decisions of etiquette and rank politics, and even a bitterly critical anonymous letter to Louis XIV that he had the courage to circulate during the monarch's lifetime, in spite of a recognizable personal style of writing.

After he retired from the court, Saint-Simon came upon a detailed journal kept by the well-known courtier Philippe de Courcillon (the marquis of Dangeau). Shocked by its boundless flatteries and "lies," he reread and annotated it between 1729 and 1739 and, at the age of sixty-four, set out to write his own journal, a truthful "history of his time." His monumental *Mémoires*, 2,754 manuscript pages narrating court intrigues and crown politics over thirty-two years (1691–1723), encompass over seven thousand characters depicted with inimitable insight and wit, and lament the chaos introduced into the kingdom by absolutism and predict its demise. The narrative was destined by its author to "remain under the safest locks" for at least fifty years after his lifetime. His wish was granted: a first, incomplete, version was published

in 1788, and not until 1829–1830 did a first complete edition appear in French. By presenting a unique backstage view of Versailles, in spite of a certain partiality admitted by the author and due to his distinct noble ethos, his memoirs give an exact picture of daily life at court and of its factions and intrigues, and constitute an important source for court sociologists and historians. Testifying to Saint-Simon's unique vision and style, his memoirs have also inspired French novelists including Stendhal and Marcel Proust, and they remain a masterpiece of early modern French literature and of the memoir genre as a whole.

See also **Biography and Autobiography; Court and Courtiers; Louis XIV (France); Versailles.**

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MALINA STEFANOVSKA

SALAMANCA, SCHOOL OF. A group of sixteenth-century Spanish moral theologians, also sometimes called the Neoscholastics, centered at the universities of Salamanca and Alcalá de Henares. Largely members of the two most powerful religious orders, the Dominicans and the Jesuits, they were concerned with political rule, tyranny, morals, law, economics, and the justice of war and conquest. Their writings, though steeped in Aristotle, St. Augustine, and St. Thomas of Aquinas, engaged directly with the imperial, political, and economic challenges of the sixteenth century. The outstanding Neoscholastics were the Dominicans Francisco de Vitoria (1492–1546), Domingo de Soto (1495–1560), and Melchor Cano (1509–1560), followed a few decades later by the Jesuits Luis de Molina (1535–1600), Francisco Suárez (1548–1617), and Juan de Mariana (1535?–1624). Several of the movement's leading figures represented Spain at the Council of Trent.

The tension between the Gospel and the flow of silver and gold from America was important to the Dominicans, a mendicant order. Commerce seemed to be replacing land as the source of wealth, which some called ultimately impossible, and others called simply pernicious. The Dominicans believed economics was a human activity whose objective must be to satisfy needs without sacrificing morality. They were concerned not with how well the economy was running but with how fair it was, and some of their fiercest debates concerned price ceilings and the just price. Buying and selling, in short, were matters of justice and equality.

Vitoria, who taught in Paris, Valladolid, and Salamanca, is often considered to have established the foundations of international law, which later would be elaborated upon by Hugo Grotius (1583–1645). Vitoria's starting point was the conquest of America, a testing ground for *dominium*. In 1539, in lectures entitled *De Indis* and strongly influenced by Aristotle, Vitoria argued that the Indians were rational, and therefore the crown had no right of sovereignty or property rights over

them. Vitoria further rejected the notion that Indians were what Aristotle called slaves by nature. A public debate on the matter with one of his contemporaries, Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda (Charles V's tutor and his generation's supreme authority on Aristotle), was held in Valladolid in 1550–1551. It was also attended by the Indians' great defender, Bartolomé de las Casas (1484–1566), who proclaimed the Indians' innocence and their eagerness to become Christians.

In the political realm, the Neoscholastics elaborated upon natural law theory, building upon Aquinas and Aristotle to construct a plausible and moral basis for human law. In particular, Soto, in his six-volume *De la justicia y del derecho* (1556), offered guidelines for ensuring that justice and the common good were the ultimate arbiters of rule. All the Salamanca thinkers believed a king was bound by the rule of law, and at one time or another considered such controversial issues as tyrannicide and popular representation.

The Jesuits were less bound than the Dominicans to the teachings of Aquinas, and the two orders sometimes clashed on theological issues, particularly about metaphysics, predestination, and will. Both Molina's work on grace (1588) and Suárez's *Disputationes metaphysicae* (1597) were highly influential throughout Europe.

See also Grotius, Hugo; Las Casas, Bartolomé de; Sepúlveda, Juan Ginés de; Trent, Council of.

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RUTH MACKAY

SALONS. The salon was a venue for intellectual sociability that took form in the seventeenth century and flourished in the eighteenth but only acquired its name in the nineteenth, after it had been supplanted at the heart of the world of letters and ideas by more democratic, masculine, and politically oriented institutions. In the seventeenth century the gatherings later classified as salons were called *ruelles* (after the corridor beside the bed on which the hostess received her guests) or *réduits* (alcoves) or, as would be most common in the eighteenth century, were referred to simply by the day of the week on which they took place: Mademoiselle de Scudéry had her “Saturdays,” Madame Geoffrin her “Mondays,” and so on.

Those assemblies recognized in retrospect as “salons” differed from other forms of social and intellectual exchange in well-recognized ways: by gathering intellectuals and socially prominent men and women on a regular basis in a woman’s home for conversational exchanges on issues of mutual interest. But the fact that this venue for intellectual sociability lacked a name during the period when its importance was most evident and its influence strongest suggests some of the ambiguities attached to this unofficial social form.

Which among the assemblies that aspired to offer both pleasure and instruction should be considered salons? At what point did an assembly veer so far toward gaiety in one direction or high-mindedness in the other as to blur the boundaries with parties at one extreme or professional meetings at the other? How widespread was the phenomenon? Relatively few of these assemblies managed enough longevity and appeal to be truly important, but how many other salons or would-be salons met briefly or in obscurity, and to what effect? A salon was easy to establish—there being no formal prerequisites to meet or permissions to acquire—yet difficult to pull off. What blend of ingredients—the intangibles of the hostess’s personality and the participants’ chemistry, the tangible patronage available to be dispensed there—made for success? Though it was by definition hosted by a woman in her private quarters, how central or marginal was the *salonnière* (another term of nineteenth-century invention) to its intellectual pursuits? As in any leisure entertainment, the hostess was understood to direct her

guests’ activities, yet the serious business of the evening turned, as did the meetings of academies and male coteries, on the attending men of letters who were her guests. It might even turn on the husband in the late eighteenth century, when several salons were led by a married couple (Condorcet, Helvétius, Suard), though the fact that the masculine construction *salonnier* was never coined implies the continuing identification of the venue with its female host.

Salons flourished in France, especially in Paris, but they could also be found in the French provinces and elsewhere in Europe, notably in Berlin. For antecedents one can point in the sixteenth century to intellectual coteries surrounding Marguerite de Navarre and other learned women at the French court as well as to occasional urban literary circles such as the one held in Poitiers by Madeleine and Catherine des Roches. But the first fully developed salon is generally held to be that founded by Catherine de Vivonne, marquise de Rambouillet, in the 1630s at her home, the Hôtel de Rambouillet, in Paris. In her *chambre bleue* she orchestrated light entertainments, poetry readings, serious discussions, even dramatic productions.

Later in the seventeenth century, influential venues that likewise centered their sociability on literary pursuits were established by such talented women as Mademoiselle de Scudéry, Madame de La Fayette, Mademoiselle de Montpensier, Madame de La Suze, Madame de Sablé, and Ninon de Lenclos. Writers including La Rochefoucauld, Paul Pellisson, Gilles Ménage, Charles Perrault, and Charles de Saint-Évremond offered up their own works in these salons, and amateurs among the *gens de bonne compagnie*, men and women alike, tried their hand at composing literary pieces, often as a collective activity. Several original genres emerged in the salon to shape the development of French literature generally: the word portrait that was so influential in creating a new language of emotions and character psychology, *précieuses* verses and allegories (such as Mademoiselle de Scudéry’s *Carte de Tendre*) that enriched the French language with new concepts and purged it of old usages, neochivalric romances, and other brief fictional narratives that evolved into the modern novel.

The participation of women in these early salons reflected the vast expansion of the literary field effected by the new print capitalism. Women probably accounted for at least an equal proportion of the increase in readers and writers over the course of the century. As a cultural venue sharply divergent from the masculine world of humanist erudition, the salon seemed to promise that men and women would advance side by side as creators and interpreters of modern literature. Late in the century, however, as the literary field coalesced once again in a hierarchical and masculine structure, women were increasingly steered into minor genres (occasional poems, fairy tales) and into marginal roles as consumers rather than producers of culture, inspirations to creativity rather than the inspired.

The prominence of literary pursuits in the early salons has led some to see them, quite incorrectly, as apolitical and as distinguishable on those grounds from the overtly politically oriented salons of the eighteenth century. These early salons were deeply, though subtly, political in original ways. Intertwined with the new literary genres they pioneered, seventeenth-century salons incubated a discourse of innovative ideas—*honnêteté*, meritocracy, and feminism—that acknowledged and celebrated the distinctive kind of community they constituted and the transformations in social practice being effected by the dynamics of salon society. Both this discourse and those dynamics would have far-reaching consequences on social organization in the longer term. This tripartite discourse was political in the sense not of formal politics but of asserting claims about power relationships in the salons where they were articulated and, by extension, in the world of absolutist authority in which salons dwelt.

The ideal of *honnêteté*, ‘politesse’, prescribed a model of sociable behavior (*moeurs*) that was refined, orderly, moderated, lofty in spirit but (unlike family, state, and corporate society) nonhierarchical. Its quintessential discursive practice was reciprocal conversation among equals rather than disquisition or prescription by superiors. In the case of the *honnête homme* or the *honnête femme*, disciplined behavior emanated from inward character rather than being imposed by external constraint.

Within salons ruled by *honnêteté*, character and manners were said to count more than the criteria of

social status operative in Old Regime corporate society. The person of whatever rank or lineage whose personal and intellectual qualities (his or her “merit”) were pleasing in company was preferred to the person of even the loftiest birth but rough manners. This evocation of meritocracy expressed a reality of salon life. The women who hosted salons, as well as the men and women who attended them, might come from traditionally dominant noble families, but just as often they were recently ennobled or non-nobles who were distinguished for their wealth or wit. By mixing individuals of varied statuses, salons fostered a new pattern of egalitarian relations within the very heart of hierarchical society. Salons, then, provided a way for aristocratic society to absorb newly powerful individuals and families into the Old Regime elite without overturning established hierarchy.

A third discourse emerging from the very nature of the salon reimagined gender difference in ways that contested received notions of hierarchy between women and men, feminine and masculine. Some salon writings claimed that observable differences between men’s and women’s behavior were not innate or “essential” but merely socially prescribed, the effect of “custom.” Others accepted gender differences as “natural” but deemed them complementary in ways that advantaged women. Either way, women were seen as suited for spheres of activity broader than household and family.

Again, this discourse expressed a reality of salon life, for the salon was the one intellectual space to which women were admitted and in which they might exercise informal cultural authority. There, they read and wrote, voiced their judgments, granted or refused patronage to men and women of letters, contributed orally and through letter writing to networks of opinion. Women’s authority in salons was most commonly grounded in a gendered sense that feminine qualities—sensibility, delicacy, and intuition—grasped the rules of polite conversation and reciprocity better than masculine reason and so could insulate intellectual sociability from practices of contestation that structured male domains (intellectual and military).

The prominence of women in salons, however, generated tension within the world of letters and sociability about the part women should play in

society and culture. It made women vulnerable to insult or mockery, wrath or scorn from those who decried the three revisionary salon discourses and their revisionary social underpinnings. From Molière's *Les précieuses ridicules* (1659) through Nicolas Boileau's "Satire on Women" (1694) to Jean-Jacques Rousseau's *Émile* (1762), commentators denounced women who aspired to cultural authority as agents of corruption in the literary world, in society, and in their neglected families.

The renowned salons of the eighteenth century adapted the main structuring features of the early salons to evolving intellectual, social and political contexts. There were still salons, such as Madame de La Ferté-Imbault's, that played rhetorical and chivalric games. But as Enlightenment thought developed its critical edge, as the philosophes set out (in the words of the *Encyclopédie*) "to change the common way of thinking," discussions in salons turned critical as well. The marquise de Lambert, Madame Geoffrin, Julie de Lespinasse, Madame Du Deffand, Madame Necker, and Madame d'Épinay hosted centers where disparate philosophes could form an intellectual community with one another as well as a community of discourse and manners with persons of education and power. In salon conversations, reformist ideas were introduced, reshaped, and disseminated to those who might enhance them in theory or apply them in practice.

The ties between the Enlightenment and salons far transcended the mere presence of philosophes in them: new visions of society diffused by the Enlightenment bore the imprint of the sociable norms and social dynamics that lay at the heart of salon society from its beginnings. The salon norm of *honnêteté* and moderated exchanges of views broadened into a claim that civil society ought to conform to the practices and norms of sociability and that societies should be judged by the refinement of their *mœurs*, their "civilization." The meritocratic and universalistic rhetoric of the salons ripened into a new vision of social relations as egalitarian rather than hierarchical or corporate. In the privacy of the salon, outside the political space defined by absolutism, a reconfigured "public" learned to form and express opinions on political matters. In short, the salon emerged in the eighteenth century as one of the institutions of the "public sphere" that prepared a

new kind of political participation for an expanded elite.

Enlightenment salons continued to serve as places where women could educate themselves, participate in literary and intellectual life, and form networks of friendship and correspondence. The character of salons as women's networks became particularly salient in the *salonnière-protégée* networks that abounded there. Madame de Tencin initiated Madame Geoffrin, who trained both her own daughter, Madame de la Ferté-Imbault, and Madame Necker; the last apprenticed her own daughter, Germaine Necker, later to gain fame as the Romantic writer Madame de Staël. Yet one of the puzzles about salons as women's institutions is the fact that whereas the ideals of sociability ("fraternity") and social egalitarianism would be enshrined by the Revolution, neither gender equality nor the participation of women in the public political sphere would accompany those other major features of salons into the new social order.

The need to explain why women's roles in salons did not translate into rights of citizenship in the modern liberal state continues to prompt reexaminations of salon history: the extent to which the roles women played in salons were integral to the formation of opinion; how notions of gender difference, upon which women's authority in salons had rested, came to justify exclusion of women from modern politics; whether salons, despite their independence from absolutism's political space and despite their egalitarian rhetoric, were yet institutions bred by and limited to aristocratic forms of society that, like salons, fell to the margins as the eighteenth century came to an end. Such issues make the history of salons important for understanding both the Old Regime and the origins of modernity.

See also Enlightenment; Feminism; Geoffrin, Marie-Thérèse; Holbach, Paul Thiry, baron d'; La Fayette, Marie-Madeleine de; La Rochefoucauld, François, duc de; Marguerite de Navarre; Perrault, Charles; Philosophes; Scudéry, Madeleine de; Sévigné, Marie de; Women.

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SALZBURG EXPULSION. On 11 November 1731 Leopold Anton von Firmian, the Catholic archbishop of Salzburg (reigned 1727–1744), ordered the expulsion of all Protestants from the archbishopric. Poor and landless Protestants were ordered to leave within the week; householding Protestants were given two months. The order affected more than twenty thousand peasants, mostly from the Pongau region (about thirty miles south of Salzburg)—the largest religious deportation in early modern European history after the expulsion of Huguenots from France at the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685.

For decades Protestantism had flourished almost unencumbered among the peasants in the alpine valleys south of Salzburg. Not long after his election as archbishop in 1727, Firmian tried to exert stronger administrative and pastoral control over the remoter regions of his see. His efforts provoked resistance, which became widely publicized throughout Germany with the publication, in June 1731 in Nuremberg, of a document pur-

portedly stating the grievances of nineteen thousand oppressed Salzburg Protestants, a considerably larger number than Firmian had anticipated when he began his re-Catholicization campaign. The growing regional rebelliousness and the surprisingly large size of the Protestant minority prompted Firmian to turn to expulsion as a solution.

The first exiles left Salzburg at the end of November. They spent the winter wandering in southern Germany, unable to find a permanent home. When the bulk of the householders were expelled in April 1732, the king of Prussia offered his lands as a destination for the refugees. East Prussia was relatively unpopulated, and King Frederick William I (ruled 1713–1740) was happy to have immigrants to populate it. Prussia administered a convoy system to transport immigrants to their new homes. By 1734 twelve thousand refugees were settled in East Prussia.

One consequence of the expulsion was that Prussia solidified its identity as the political bulwark of German Protestantism, which it had first achieved by receiving Huguenot refugees in 1685. A massive outpouring of sermons and pamphlets by politically active Protestants drew attention to the plight of the emigrants as they made their way to Prussia. The expulsion was therefore a public relations disaster for political Catholicism in Germany. The “legend” of the Salzburg expulsion was as potent in the cultural clash between German Protestantism and Catholicism in the nineteenth century as it was in the eighteenth.

See also Frederick William I (Prussia); Nantes, Edict of; Prussia; Reformation, Catholic; Reformation, Protestant.

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JOHN THEIBAULT

SANITATION The word “sanitation” only entered the English language in the nineteenth century, and the term is inextricably linked with integrated water and sewer systems. Lacking such technologies, early modern Europeans are often

reckoned to have lived without sanitation. Their epidemiology of the time might seem to support this contention: three out of every ten babies born in Geneva between 1580 and 1739 died by their first birthday and the infant mortality rate in late seventeenth-century London was over one in four. Many of these deaths were caused by dirt-related infections like infantile diarrhea—what contemporaries termed “griping in the guts.” Moreover, there are many vivid complaints of noxious conditions in early modern cities—one account of 1670s Edinburgh, for instance, claimed that one could not step anywhere in the streets without treading on turds.

Appearing in an Englishman’s denunciation of all things Scottish, this claim was designed to promote prejudice. The charge also reveals how early modern people did indeed discriminate between cleanliness and dirt. Their sanitary technology rarely consisted of more than cesspits, chamber pots, and carts to carry ordure from their communities, but early modern Europeans possessed notions of public health and collective salubrity. Furthermore, scholars are now revealing the extent to which they sought to regulate and cleanse their environments.

URBAN DIRT AND URBAN ORDER

Such efforts were rarely entirely successful—early modern utopian writing appreciatively delineated the cleanliness of the ideal community—but civic authorities regularly commanded that streets be swept and nuisances removed. Such sanitary regulation was linked to wider conceptions of order. Noxious wastes shaped social and symbolic geographies. Offensive trades such as butchers and tanners were generally confined to particular districts, often downstream or outside city walls. In Paris the bodies of condemned criminals were buried in the municipal dump at Montfaucon. In central Europe the emptying of cesspits and the removal of waste were associated with other “dishonorable” trades. Between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries, for instance, the “night-king” (chief latrine-cleaner) of Augsburg had to share a residence with the city executioner. Furthermore, precepts for cleansing streets often coincided with drives to rid communities of vagrants and “disorderly persons.”

MIRE AND MEDICINE

Medical beliefs further encouraged sanitary care. Throughout the early modern period it was generally believed that plague and other epidemic diseases were caused or spread by corrupt airs or miasma produced by rotting organic matter. Environmental regulation thus sought to prevent evil smells. Perfumes and fumigants were used to purify infected spaces; street cleaning often intensified in periods of epidemic. In late-sixteenth- and early-seventeenth-century London, for instance, householders were required to sweep in front of their houses every morning and evening. During the early seventeenth century the boards of health of northern Italian states energetically sought to remove dunghills and other sources of miasma from the towns and villages under their jurisdiction.

Early modern doctors knew of “miasma” from a range of classical works, especially those of the ancient Greek physician Hippocrates. From the mid-seventeenth century medical authors became preoccupied with one strand of his work—the relation between epidemics and the airs, waters, and weather of particular places. Population statistics derived from bills of mortality and parish registers revealed geographical variations in the incidence of fevers and other fatal diseases; eighteenth-century analyses of air by natural philosophers like the English chemist Joseph Priestley sought to isolate mephitic substances that caused disease. Many eighteenth-century doctors proposed ways of reducing mortality by draining marshes, ventilating buildings, and reorganizing the environments and the ways in which people lived. Such interventions in the physical environment were often associated with proposals for the police of national populations. The term “police” had wider connotations than does its modern usage. It expressed a desire for the regulation of all aspects of life in order to achieve a smoothly functioning polity and (crucially) a healthy and productive population. The work of the German professor Johann Peter Frank exemplified the scale of this concept. His six-volume *System of Medical Police* (1779–1817) recommended the regulation of everything from midwifery and marriage to water supply and street cleaning.

The impact of medical police was less than the ambition of its advocates. Nevertheless, eighteenth-century Europe did see medically inspired reforms

of daily life. In the 1750s, for instance, the British physicians Stephen Hales and John Pringle oversaw the installation of ventilators in the notoriously disease-ridden London prison of Newgate. In the 1780s the French Royal Society of Medicine not only declared that the Cemetery of the Holy Innocents in Paris was so full that it was a threat to public health but also had it closed and all human remains removed from it. More generally there was a considerable extension of new forms of sanitation, bathing and hygiene in hospitals, barracks, and similar institutions.

WATER SUPPLIES

These reforms were restricted by the general scarcity of water in preindustrial Europe. Clearly, this was a pressing problem in arid regions like southern Spain, where elaborate systems of water regulation were developed during the Middle Ages. But water was also a limited and costly resource in northern European communities not associated with drought. In eighteenth-century Paris, for example, a cubic meter of water would have cost a laborer more than two days' wages. Households spent much time and energy fetching water from rivers, streams, and wells. Communal life literally revolved around water sources. In larger urban centers public authorities maintained wells and sponsored schemes to pipe water to public fountains or conduits. In 1585–1587, for instance, Pope Sixtus V established the Acqua Felice, redeveloping the waters of an ancient aqueduct, the Aqua Alexandrina, in order to supply the eastern districts of Rome. Princely and aristocratic fountains like those at Louis XIV's palace of Versailles were, by contrast, ostentatious displays of conspicuous consumption.

The comparative scarcity of water remained a structural characteristic of European society throughout the early modern period. However, the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries saw the establishment of the first water companies piping supplies to the houses of private paying customers. The London Bridge Water Company (established 1582) and New River Company, which began supplying London in 1613, were among the first such concerns. They soon had imitators. By around 1700 one could rent a piped water supply in nine of the ten largest English provincial towns. Such companies were unevenly spread across Europe—no water

company operated in Paris until after the French Revolution—and the supplies they offered were unreliable and intermittent. However, they did pioneer new technology. Eighteenth-century water companies were among the first users of steam power, and thus laid the foundations for the subsequent industrialization of urban water supplies. In the nineteenth century the intellectual heritage of medical police combined with such technological developments to produce the public reforms that are conventionally associated with the term sanitation.

See also **City Planning**; **Public Health**.

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SANTA CRUZ, ÁLVARO DE BAZÁN, FIRST MARQUIS OF (1526–1588), Spanish admiral. Born in Granada to Álvaro de Bazán the elder, who contracted and commanded both Atlantic squadrons and Mediterranean galleys, the younger Bazán began early to serve alongside his father and, in 1543, fought at Muros Bay against the French. In 1554, he sailed in the armada that took Philip II of Spain to his marriage with Mary Tudor of England. On the death of the elder Bazán in 1555, he assumed command of his Atlantic squad-

ron. With peace in 1559, Bazán took command of eight galleys to patrol the Strait of Gibraltar. In the war on corsairs, he closed the harbor of Tetuán, aided by engineers, and in 1564 participated in the capture of Peñón Vélez de la Gomera, an island off the coast of northern Morocco. In 1565 he joined García de Toledo's armada for the successful relief of Malta, under siege by the Turks. Philip II promoted Bazán to command the Neapolitan galleys, and in 1569 made him Marquis of Santa Cruz de Mudela. On his estates in La Mancha, Santa Cruz constructed at Viso del Marqués an Italianate palace decorated with murals of his naval triumphs.

At the Battle of Lepanto in 1571, Santa Cruz proved brilliant in command of the Holy League rearguard and countered an attempted Turkish rally to ensure the league's victory. In 1572 he captured a Turkish galley and liberated its slaves, an episode related in *Don Quixote* by Miguel de Cervantes, a Lepanto veteran who called Santa Cruz "that thunderbolt of war . . . and never defeated captain." Interested in shipbuilding, Santa Cruz designed six galleasses (large warships using oars and sails) for Naples.

In 1578 he took command of the royal galleys of Spain. His quick response to the defeat and death of Dom Sebastian in Morocco saved Portugal's remaining strongholds at Tangier and Ceuta. For Philip's annexation of Portugal in 1580, Santa Cruz assembled a vast armada at Cádiz for a joint campaign with the duke of Alba. Alba invaded from Badajoz and marched to the sea at Setúbal. Santa Cruz sailed with his armada, assisted the duke of Medina Sidonia in the subjection of the Algarve, and met Alba. He loaded Alba's army aboard his armada and landed them at Cascais, downriver from Lisbon. The forces of Dom António, Philip's rival, had to abandon their positions upriver to face the invaders. Alba, supported by Santa Cruz's galleys, routed them, capturing Lisbon and the Portuguese navy.

Backers of Dom António, with covert aid from France and England, gained control of the Azores, save for São Miguel. Terceira was their stronghold. In 1582 Santa Cruz assembled an armada against the Azores and in July sailed from Lisbon. Off São Miguel, he encountered French admiral Philip Strozzi and the Portuguese count of Vimioso with

thirty large and over thirty small armed vessels. He had twenty-five big ships, including two Portuguese galleons. After several days of maneuvering, on 26 July Strozzi forced the Atlantic's first big blue-water battle. After a hard fight, Santa Cruz emerged victorious. In 1583 he returned with an invasion force and conquered Terceira. Triumphant, he suggested that he invade England, which backed Dom António and Dutch rebels. Philip made Santa Cruz Captain General of the Ocean Sea and a grandee, but shelved the suggestion and allowed Santa Cruz's armada to dwindle.

In 1585 war erupted between Philip and England. Francis Drake attacked Vigo in Spain, then sacked Santo Domingo and Cartagena in the Caribbean. Philip ordered Santa Cruz to collect an armada of thirty-four ships to pursue Drake and asked him to submit a plan for the Enterprise (invasion) of England. Santa Cruz proposed an armada of more than 500 ships, large and small, to carry an invasion force from Spain. Philip decided on a smaller armada that would support an invasion army from the Spanish Netherlands.

In April–May 1587 Drake attacked Spanish preparations at Cádiz and the Algarve. Unprepared, Santa Cruz did not sail till July. He met the homeward-bound treasure fleets in the Azores, but on his return his armada was battered by storms. In Lisbon he found new orders to sail with 6,000 reinforcements to join Parma in the Narrows and cover his invasion of England. Storm damage, shortages, and foul weather held him to port, despite Philip's repeated demands that he sail. Under criticism and in failing health, he died on 9 February 1588. An aggressive and innovative commander, he might have succeeded, Spaniards believed, had he lived long enough to command the armada he had created.

See also Alba, Fernando Álvarez de Toledo, duke of; Armada, Spanish; Lepanto, Battle of; Medina Sidonia, Alonso Pérez de Guzmán, 7th duke of; Parma, Alexander Farnese, duke of; Philip II (Spain).

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SARMATISM. Sarmatism grew out of Renaissance theories about the genealogy of the Slavs. It developed into a peculiarly Polish-Lithuanian way of viewing the world and the place of the Commonwealth in it, and in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries it came to describe aspects of a way of life associated with the gentry. Sixteenth-century Polish historians, drawing on classical and medieval notions of geography and cartography, elaborated a myth of the Sarmatian homeland of the Slavs in general and the Poles in particular. The myth came to have several components; it identified Sarmatia with the Jagiellonian Commonwealth of the Two Nations and prized the Commonwealth's political system as superior to all others, and it limited the Sarmatian ethnogenesis to the political nation, that is, the gentry (or *szlachta*) of Poland-Lithuania, thus excluding the burghers and peasants, who were seen in extreme cases as members of another "nation."

Polish Sarmatism passed through a number of phases. In its initial period, from the reign of Stephen Báthory (ruled 1575–1586) to the death of Władysław IV (ruled 1632–1648), the original Renaissance components focusing on the historical genealogy of the Sarmatians were reworked in a new, baroque context. At first, Sarmatism—which divided the gentry from all other inhabitants of the Commonwealth—served to unite a multiethnic and multiconfessional "noble nation." We soon find, however, the beginnings of a new divide between the "foreign," cosmopolitan culture of the magnates and the nativist, peculiarly Sarmatian identity of the gentry, especially the middling and poorer gentry. This division would deepen in the second, peak period of the development of Sarmatism (from 1648 to the death of King John III Sobieski in 1696), with the growing servitude of the peasantry and the further weakening of the cities. In this period, the Sarmatian myth was consolidated, taking on mystical and messianic colorations. Sarmatism now became the way of life and the worldview of a traditional, exclusive, xenophobic, more decidedly

Catholic landed gentry. It emphasized gentry hospitality, patriarchal values, grandiloquence, and ostentation. There were certain paradoxes here; for one, a nation that saw itself as the bulwark of Christendom (*antemurale christianitatis*) eagerly adapted eastern (Turkish or Tatar) elements in custom, dress, lifestyle, and language.

The zenith of Sarmatism coincided with the beginning of the decline of the Commonwealth. In fact, some later blamed the fall of Poland-Lithuania on certain aspects of Sarmatian culture—gentry anarchy, the overly jealous defense of personal freedom at the expense of royal power and the commonweal, even gentry ostentation and love of speechifying. The rule of the Saxon kings Augustus II the Strong and Augustus III in Poland-Lithuania (1697–1763, a period later known as the "Saxon Night") was characterized by a certain "Sarmatian degeneracy." Reactions against Sarmatism that began in the 1740s (with Stanisław Konarski and other Piarists, as well as the Jesuit Franciszek Bohomolec) gained momentum under Poland's last king, Stanisław II August Poniatowski (ruled 1764–1795). There was a growing division between a western-looking reform movement, which followed models of the Enlightenment and included burghers and peasants in its purview, and a traditional, now backward, gentry, which still equated Sarmatian values with patriotism. The latter group was exemplified by the participants in the Confederation of Bar in 1768–1772.

Sarmatism lived on after the partitions, especially in petty gentry circles in the east (in Lithuania and Belarus, but also Ukraine), and it became the object of romantic nostalgia following the failed November Uprising (1830). Some still find elements of Sarmatian mentality in modern Polish worldviews.

See also **Aristocracy and Gentry; Augustus II the Strong (Saxony and Poland); National Identity; Poland-Lithuania, Commonwealth of, 1569–1795; Poland to 1569; Poniatowski, Stanisław II Augustus.**

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SARPI, PAOLO (PIETRO) (1552–1623), Italian theologian, scientist, and historian. Paolo Sarpi became notorious as the defender of Venice against the papacy during the Venetian Interdict of 1606 and as the author of a controversial history of the Council of Trent. Before 1606 he was an obscure ecclesiastic, a member of the Servite order; after 1606 he was known throughout Europe. Before this turning point, Sarpi was free to cultivate a range of intellectual interests, as his *Pensieri*, a collection of aphoristic notes on scientific and philosophical topics, demonstrate. The ones on religion are written from a notably detached and strictly philosophical point of view. The *Pensieri*, which only began to be studied thoroughly in the twentieth century (the complete corpus was only published in 1996), have had great influence on the scholarly interpretation of the “private” Sarpi. He was certainly abreast of the most advanced scientific and philosophical ideas of the time and was a leading member of the milieu of Galileo Galilei (1564–1642). He was also, to say the least, indifferent to formal religion except as an instrument of social and political organization, and many see him as a libertine and a virtual atheist.

In the 1590s and the early 1600s the level of jurisdictional and political conflict between Venice and Rome was rising. Venice claimed to control navigation in the Adriatic, Rome (backed by the Habsburgs of Spain and Austria) claimed freedom of navigation there; Venice had friendly contacts with non-Catholic states; in 1604 Venice forbade the construction of any new churches or shrines without permission from the state; in 1605 Venice forbade any further transfers of real property to ecclesiastical institutions without permission from the state; and in the summer and autumn of 1605 Venetian authorities arrested two delinquent clerics in mainland cities. In the late spring of 1606 Pope Paul V (reigned 1605–1621) excommunicated the Venetian leadership and interdicted all clergy in the Venetian dominion from performing their functions. Venice defied the interdict and ordered all clergy to continue in their duties, and the affair rapidly escalated into a European crisis. Sarpi was recruited by the Venetian government to act as adviser and publicist, and he wrote many effective memoranda and works for publication in defense of Venetian jurisdiction. After much hard negotiation,

in which Sarpi was closely involved, the interdict was lifted in April 1607. Sarpi was excommunicated in early 1607 and, targeted for assassination, was almost killed in October. But he retained his post and his influence on government policy for the rest of his life and became a prolific writer on church-state relations. He also maintained a network of epistolary and personal contacts with many influential individuals throughout Europe, Catholic and Protestant, as a way of acquiring support for Venice and reinforcing opposition to Rome and the Habsburgs.

As a young man Sarpi obtained firsthand information from a number of ecclesiastics who had participated in the Council of Trent (1545–1563) and had access to some of the private correspondence between Rome and the papal legates who had steered the sessions of the council, as well as other unpublished sources. Long before beginning his history of the council in the 1610s, Sarpi was convinced that the papacy had manipulated it to thwart Catholic sovereigns like Charles V (1500–1558), defeat the movement for internal reform, and reinforce its own preponderance in the Catholic world. Some historical narratives of the general history of the sixteenth century were in print, as were the decrees on doctrine and ecclesiology passed by the council. But the normal process by which these decrees would have been subjected to open debate and interpretation by competent specialists had been explicitly forbidden by Rome in 1564, as had the publication, which would also have taken place in the normal course of events, of the *acta*, or “acts,” of the council (the record of the deliberations and proceedings; publication of them began only in the late nineteenth century). In result the history of the Council of Trent was more or less an arcanum until the publication of Sarpi’s celebrated *Istoria del concilio tridentino* (History of the Council of Trent) in London in 1619. This work was considered poisonous and scandalous at Rome and has been challenged consistently by Catholic historiography. It is indeed moderately tendentious, as Sarpi fully intended it to be, but overall its veracity and its classic status are not in doubt. The influence it had on the perception of the papacy in Europe throughout the early modern period is incalculable.

See also Papacy and Papal States; Paul V (pope); Trent, Council of; Venice.

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SAVOY, DUCHY OF. Situated in the western Alps with its capital at Chambéry, the duchy of Savoy began as a county of the Holy Roman Empire in the Middle Ages. During the reign of Amadeus VIII (1391–1436), the duchy acquired significant territory in Piedmont, east of the Alps, and its ruler was promoted to the status of duke by the Holy Roman emperor in 1416. In the fifteenth century, the duchy of Savoy included both Nice and Geneva, but by the sixteenth century the focus of the duchy turned east of the Alps. Savoy and the other western territories were difficult to defend against the powerful neighbor state of France. The plains of Piedmont offered more fertile land, greater population, and more possibility of expansion. Turin, the largest city in Piedmont, became the capital of the duchy in 1560.

The survival of the duchy as an independent state was precarious throughout the sixteenth century. Riddled by factions of *savoïardi* and *piemontesi* internally, it was also subject to the whim of its more powerful neighbors, France in the west, and the Habsburg domains in the east. Although Savoy had strategic importance as the “gatekeeper of the Alps,” it could not stand up to the major powers by itself. Rather, it could only be a useful ally to further the aims of one or another power. In general, France and Spain recognized that Savoy provided an important buffer between their states, and the game

of diplomacy often worked well for Savoy. At others times, it caused disaster. During the Italian Wars of the sixteenth century, France overran and occupied the state in 1536. Duke Emanuel Filibert, through an alliance with Spain, managed to reconstruct the Savoyard state in 1559 in the peace of Cateau-Cambrésis. Subsequent dukes were less successful, and once again, Savoy was reduced to the status of a French satellite until the late seventeenth century.

The turning point for the state of Savoy in the early modern era was the reign of Victor Amadeus II (1675–1730). Not only did this ruler manage to reacquire the territories lost to Savoy-Piedmont in the preceding century, but he also carried out reforms that would make Savoy a model of efficient government in the eighteenth century. Due to his participation in the War of the League of Augsburg (1688–1697) and the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1714), Victor Amadeus II was awarded the island of Sicily in the Peace of Utrecht in 1713. Although Sicily was later exchanged for Sardinia, both islands brought the dukes of Savoy the title of king. In the nineteenth century, the western Savoyard territories were finally absorbed into the French state. The kings of Piedmont-Savoy would be compensated by the crown of the newly unified kingdom of Italy.

ECONOMY

As an Alpine region, Savoy lacked many natural resources and fertile land. Its main importance stemmed from the fact that it held the main mountain passes between France and the Italian peninsula. Although towns such as Susa and Chambéry were significant entrepôts between Italian and French cities, the majority of the revenue from this trade went to foreign rather than Savoyard merchants. The territories of Savoy on the western side of the Alps were economically backward throughout the early modern era. The economy there was primarily based on subsistence agriculture. In a mountainous environment, this meant frequent shortages. Feudal lords subjugated the peasantry. On the eastern side of the Alps, however, the territory of Piedmont had fertile plains and a significant silk industry in Turin. The main importance of Turin, however, was not economic but political. As the center of government, Turin held the most lucrative offices in the government administration.

Economic differences exacerbated social and cultural tensions between the two sides of the Alps. The old nobility of Savoy in the west spoke French and leaned toward France in alliances that often challenged the legitimacy of the central government. In contrast, most of the regions in the east spoke Italian, and often leaned toward the empire. Conflicts between the Savoyard nobility in the west and the central government in the east increased when Victor Amadeus extended greater state control over Savoy, abolishing ancient governmental institutions in Chambéry and ending feudal dues by the middle of the eighteenth century.

RELIGION

In terms of religion, the dukes of Savoy were loyal supporters of the Roman Catholic Church. One of the greatest figures of the Catholic Reformation, François de Sales, was a native of Savoy and became the archbishop of Geneva (situated in Annecy after the loss of the city). The author of the influential introduction to the *Devout Life*, de Sales worked ceaselessly to convert the Savoyard territories surrounding the Protestant Swiss cantons to Catholicism, advocating persuasion rather than force as a means of conversion. He was canonized in 1661. A noteworthy exception to the Catholic majority in Savoy was the enclave of Protestant Vaudois in the mountains outside of Turin. The remnants of the Waldensian heresy going back to the 1100s, the Vaudois were grudgingly tolerated with the exception of major persecutions in 1487, 1551, 1655, and 1663. Victor Amadeus II carried on a war of extermination against the Vaudois from 1684 to 1687, executing or exiling and dispersing the entire community, and resettling the area with Catholics. Despite the loss of many thousands, the community somehow managed to survive.

STATE BUILDING AND MILITARY CULTURE

The state of Savoy provides historians with an interesting example of absolutism and state building in the early modern era. Without an abundance of natural resources, the state survived through its ability to play the major European powers off each other in complex diplomatic maneuvering. However, the strength of the state was also due to its efficient centralization and peculiarly militaristic culture. Although the institutions of state were in large part established under Emanuel Filibert in the

late sixteenth century, the major phase of state building took place under the reign of Victor Amadeus II one hundred years later. An energetic ruler who led his troops into battle, Victor Amadeus mobilized his small state for war to an extraordinary extent. His reforms included tax reforms based on meticulous land surveys, and state-run systems of education and poor relief. He established an increasingly professional bureaucracy that included provincial intendants, government officials who made sure that the provinces were acting in accord with the central government. Such reforms ensured the greatest amount of revenue for the centralized state. The Savoyard government was admired as a model of efficiency throughout Europe. In addition, Victor Amadeus made Turin a showplace of state power. Miles of elegant baroque arcades linked the splendid royal palace to government institutions. The architect Juvarra was commissioned to build the great basilica of Superga, on the highest hill in Turin. Visible for miles, the enormous domed structure commemorated the victorious battle of Turin (1706) that ensured the survival of the state, and it stood as a monument to the glory of Victor Amadeus II and the house of Savoy.

The centralization of Savoy has been the subject of extensive historiographical debates. Jean Nicolas has seen it as a reaction to a resurgent aristocracy in the seventeenth century. Geoffrey Symcox attributes it to the desire of Victor Amadeus for absolute power. Others, such as Samuel Clark and Christopher Storrs, have seen Savoy as a perfect model of state building in the service of war. In their view, success in war ensured the continuation of the state, and the efficient mobilization of resources for war created state institutions that in turn were a by-product of the war effort.

Savoy was an unusually militaristic society. Per capita, it had the largest army of any major European state. From the sixteenth century on, it had conscripted a peasant militia with legal rights. The nobility, unique among Italian states, maintained its militaristic identity throughout the early modern era. Very often when the nobles were not fighting in the army of Savoy, they were fighting in the armies of foreign states. Contemporaries frequently noted the quality of Savoyard soldiers and their loyalty to the state. This militaristic culture, along with efficient administration and astute diplomacy contrib-

uted to the success of the Savoyards in maintaining an independent state throughout the early modern era.

See also Cateau-Cambrésis (1559); François de Sales; Italian Wars (1494–1559); League of Augsburg, War of the (1688–1697); Spanish Succession, War of the (1701–1714); Utrecht, Peace of (1713).

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SAXONY. The rise of Saxony dates from 1423, when the Holy Roman emperor Sigismund gave the electorate and duchy of Saxony to Margrave Frederick of Meissen of the Wettin dynasty. The gift was consequential, unifying the regions of Thuringia and Saxony under the House of Wettin. In return, the strengthened Wettin princes were to guard the Bohemian border during the Hussite wars and protect the Holy Roman Empire's northeastern frontier against the Ottoman Empire. Saxony also possessed parts of the province of Meissen, of the Vogtland, of the Ore Mountains, and that portion of Franconia south of Schwarzburg.

POLITICS

The elector of Saxony was one of seven princes with constitutional authority to elect new emperors and was also the imperial vicar and president of the Imperial Council of Regency, making him second only to the emperor in terms of constitutional power within the empire. Saxon rulers, possessing lucrative salt and mineral mining rights, became financially powerful in the early modern era. This wealth, combined with the Wettins' ability to inte-

grate lesser nobles and cities into their territorial system, made them the strongest of all north German princes by the late fifteenth century. Saxony's location on the northeastern fringe of the empire protected it from direct imperial and papal influence; indeed, the emperor and pope relied on Saxony to guard the Bohemian border.

Saxony was divided in 1485 by the ducal brothers Albert and Ernest. The partition left the dynasty in a perilous condition but can be explained by the fact that fifteenth-century princes regarded their lands as patrimonies and tended not to think territorially. The major towns in Albertine Saxony included Dresden, Leipzig, and Freiberg. Important towns located in the Ernestine portion included Zwickau, Torgau, and Wittenberg. During the sixteenth century none of these achieved a population over ten thousand. Because the electoral title was attached to the possession of territory around Wittenberg, the Ernestine branch retained (until 1547) the electoral dignity. Both lines passed laws that guaranteed the indivisibility of their domains and the succession of the eldest son. Neither line, however, was able to create an enclosed state. Contained within Saxon borders were a plethora of independent territories. These included the domains of the counts of Henneberg, Schwarzburg, and Mansfeld, the city of Erfurt, imperial abbeys, powerful monasteries, and wealthy bishoprics. Indeed, Lutheran visitation committees sent out in the 1520s to consolidate the Reformation often had to ask peasants whether their village lay within Saxony.

Ernestine Electors John the Constant (ruled 1525–1532), and his son, John Frederick the Magnanimous (ruled 1532–1547; died 1554), were devoted Lutherans who exercised less caution in the religious-political realm than had their predecessor Frederick the Wise (ruled 1486–1525), the elector famed for protecting Luther. At the Imperial Diet of Augsburg (1530), electoral Saxony led a group that presented a summary of Lutheran religious beliefs that is now called the Augsburg Confession. The inability of this diet to resolve religious differences and the perceived threat to national institutions within the empire encouraged John the Constant to form the Schmalkaldic League in 1531. This “defensive” league consolidated the gains of the Lutheran movement.

During the time of the league's ascendancy, the Holy Roman emperor, Charles V, had been preoccupied with external dangers presented by the Turks and by France. Peace with France (1544) and the Turks (1545), combined with a grant of money and troops from Rome, allowed Charles to confront the Protestant threat. In June 1546, Duke Maurice of Albertine Saxony, himself Lutheran, committed his domain and forces to the imperial cause against his cousin and rival. The decisive battle of the Schmalkaldic War (1546–1547), fought in April 1547 at Mühlberg, resulted in defeat for the league. The Wittenberg Capitulation (May 1547) transferred most of the Ernestine lands, and the electoral dignity, to Maurice. The Ernestine line was left scant territory around Weimar, Gotha, Eisenach, and Coburg, and a ducal title. Charles's decision to preserve the Ernestine line and his annexation of certain Wettin territories from Electoral Saxony indicated the rise of imperial might and foreshadowed the decline of Electoral Saxony as a political force.

In 1618 Elector John George I rejected approaches to become king of Bohemia. He continued instead a policy of helping the emperor maintain the empire's constitutional foundation, seeking to preserve his power as elector. As war loomed, John George, an enemy of Calvinism, pledged Saxony's support to the Catholic emperor. The first phase of the Thirty Years' War resulted in a persecution of Protestants throughout the empire. Though Saxony absorbed nearly 150,000 Bohemian refugees who had been forced into exile, its position within the Protestant world was compromised. In 1631 Saxony and Sweden allied against the empire, resulting in an invasion of Saxony. After a devastating defeat at Nördlingen, Saxony made peace with the empire in 1635. Saxony was not spared: until 1648 Swedish armies used it as their base and plundered it.

The Peace of Westphalia (1648) created a system that encouraged rivalries of power, and Saxony was quickly eclipsed by Austria, Bavaria, and Prussia. Both Frederick Augustus I (Augustus the Strong; ruled 1694–1733) and Frederick Augustus II (ruled 1733–1763) realized Saxony had to expand outside Germany to survive; each had himself elected king of Poland in an unsuccessful effort to broaden the Wettin dynasty's lands. The Saxon-Polish union did not elevate Saxony's power; rather,

its economy declined due to the cost of assuming the Polish crown twice and of establishing a permanent standing army. Saxony's involvement in eighteenth-century conflicts like the Seven Years' War exposed its military frailty and contributed to further decline. Under the regency of Maria Antonia (1763–1768) and during the reign of Frederick Augustus III (1763–1827), Saxony benefited from enlightened reforms, fiscal responsibility, and a prudent foreign policy based on maintaining deferential relations toward greater powers.

ECONOMY

Between 1300 and 1600 Saxony had a diversified and robust economy. Mining, metallurgy, and smelting were crucial industries. Cobalt, tin, zinc, bituminous coal, iron, silver—all indispensable commodities—were mined in the Ore Mountains (Erzgebirge). Copper was plentiful in parts of Thuringia, as was iron ore in eastern Saxony. The growing mining industry absorbed workers, sparing Saxony the destabilizing effects of the fifteenth century's rapid population growth. Sixteen new towns with populations over five thousand were founded in this era. A significant smelting industry existed in the Thuringian Forest. Merchants from southern Germany's wealthy cities were eager to invest in Saxony; the Fuggers of Augsburg established an important foundry at Georgenthal and a smeltery at Hohenkirchen. Lucrative salt mining operations also existed in Thuringia. Because mining in Saxony did not depend on a single mineral, the boom receded slowly.

Textile manufacturing provided another crucial segment of Saxony's economy. An internationally important flax and linen industry developed in southern Saxony, centered around Chemnitz. Over three hundred villages in Saxon-controlled Thuringia specialized in cultivating woad, a plant from which a valuable blue dye was extracted. These towns enjoyed a woad monopoly and, as a result, they prospered economically. A highly developed woolen industry also contributed to Saxony's economic strength. Moreover, Saxony was advantageously situated at the center of international trade routes. Leipzig emerged by the sixteenth century as the principal entrepôt in central Europe and hosted numerous international fairs. One of Europe's larg-

est international cattle markets took place at Buttstädt.

Several factors allowed Saxony to limit the social unrest that befell other parts of Germany in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Though impartible inheritance was practiced east of the Saxon Saale River, the mining boom minimized the economic difficulties that this custom generated elsewhere. Labor-intensive viticulture along the Elbe River around Meissen and along the Unstrut River also absorbed excess population. Saxony thus suffered less from the strains of overpopulation than did other German parts of the empire. The Wettin lords successfully subordinated local nobles into a network of territorial estates, forestalling potential rivalries, and concurrently expanding the state's administrative apparatus in the countryside. Saxony also benefited from an "intermediary" system of landlordship, one based on both wage labor from free peasants and forced labor services performed on large demesnes. This unique form of landlordship kept the organization of rural communes at a rudimentary level and served to mitigate conflicts associated with the "crisis of feudalism." With the noteworthy exception of mining areas in Thuringia and the Ore Mountains, Saxony escaped the violence generated by the Peasants' War of 1524–1525 and avoided the rural unrest that plagued Upper Germany after 1570.

CULTURE

Saxony possessed impressive educational institutions: influential universities at Leipzig (1409), Wittenberg (1502), and Jena (1588); a number of remarkable secondary schools (*Lateinschulen*) for the privileged and gifted; and, after the Reformation, schools throughout the land to teach every boy and girl reading and writing. Leipzig also was an early center for book publishing (1480s) and for book trading. Humanist circles, encouraged by Duke George of Albertine Saxony (reigned 1500–1539) and Elector Frederick the Wise, emerged in Leipzig and Wittenberg. Thinkers such as Martin Luther, Philipp Melancthon, and Agricola made Saxony a leading center for humanism in Germany. All these factors were instrumental in making Saxony the birthplace of the Reformation and the home to its crucial events. Early modern Saxony's contribution to world culture cannot be underestimated: Lucas

Cranach, Johann Sebastian Bach, George Frideric Handel, Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz, Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, and Johann Gottfried von Herder were either born in Saxon lands or developed their talents within them.

See also Augsburg; Augustus II the Strong (Saxony and Poland); Bach Family; Cranach Family; Dresden; Handel, George Frideric; Herder, Johann Gottfried von; Holy Roman Empire; Humanists and Humanism; Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm; Leipzig; Lessing, Gotthold Ephraim; Luther, Martin; Lutheranism; Melancthon, Philipp; Reformation, Protestant; Schmalkaldic War (1546–1547); Thirty Years' War (1618–1648); Universities; Westphalia, Peace of (1648).

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JAMES GOODALE

SCARLATTI, DOMENICO AND ALESSANDRO (Pietro) Alessandro (1660–1725) and (Giuseppe) Domenico (1685–1757), members of a renowned family of musicians, originally from Sicily. Alessandro has traditionally been credited as the founder of the Neapolitan school of opera; his son Domenico was a noted harpsichordist and composer. Not much is known about Alessandro's parents except that they were involved in Palermo's musical life and that his father, Pietro, was a tenor. Alessandro proved to be a gifted young musician and continued his studies in Rome, where he moved with his mother and several siblings in 1672.



Alessandro Scarlatti. ©BETTMANN/CORBIS

Alessandro cultivated his musical skills as well as an influential circle of friends in Rome. In April 1678 he married Antonia Anzaloni, and in the same year he was appointed *maestro di capella* of the church of San Giacomo degli Incurabili and also composed his first opera, an untitled work, for Filippo Bernini, son of sculptor Gian Lorenzo Bernini (1598–1680). Two years later, Alessandro's short comic opera *Gli equivoci nel sembiante* (1679) not only established him as one of Rome's leading operatic composers, but also introduced him to his most famous patron, Queen Christina of Sweden (ruled 1632–1654), who was living there in exile. He served as her *maestro di capella* until 1683, and she sponsored private productions of several of his operas. In Rome during this period, operas were presented only occasionally and in private to the aristocracy and to foreign ambassadors, since public opera and theater performances were banned under Innocent XI (reigned 1676–1689), who closed Rome's first public opera house three years after it had opened.

Desiring more artistic freedom, Alessandro accepted a commission from Domenico Marzio Carafa, the viceroy of Naples, and moved there in 1684, becoming *maestro di capella* at the vice-regal court at the age of twenty-four. The following year, his sixth child, Domenico, was born. As master of the royal chapel in Naples until 1702, Alessandro composed nine oratorios and sixty-five cantatas, and composed and produced more than eighty operas. His most successful operas from this period were *Il Pirro e Demetrio* (1694), his only opera to be produced internationally during his lifetime; *La caduta de' Decemviri* (1697), the first piece to employ a three-part rather than two-part Italian *sinfonia*; and *Tito Sempronio Gracco* (1702), one of his most financially successful endeavors. Significant during Scarlatti's tenure in Naples is the change from the five-act opera popular in Rome to works of three acts. He also maintained his contacts in Rome, returning there occasionally for performances of cantatas and oratorios and to put on new operas for private patrons such as Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni (1667–1740) and Cardinal Benedetto Pamphili. At the weekly concerts established by Ottoboni, he met virtuosos and composers including Arcangelo Corelli (1653–1713). One of Scarlatti's operas, *La Statira* (1690), was even given a public performance in Rome when Alexander VIII (reigned 1689–1691), Cardinal Ottoboni's uncle, reopened the theater that Innocent XI had closed; but Alexander's successor, Innocent XII (reigned 1691–1700) renewed the ban on public opera productions and finally dismantled the theater in 1697.

In 1702, with the position of the Neapolitan nobility becoming insecure due to the onset of the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1714), Alessandro and his family left Naples and went to Florence, where he sought work for himself and Domenico from Prince Ferdinand de' Medici. Receiving commissions for several operas but no full-time job there, he took his family back to Rome, where he accepted an appointment as assistant *maestro di cappella* at the church of Santa Maria Maggiore, composing motets and masses. He remained in Rome until 1708, supplementing his income with commissions from Cardinals Ottoboni and Pamphili, and from a new patron, Marquis Ruspoli, as well as from Prince Ferdinand. In 1706 he was elected, along with Corelli and Bernardo

Pasquini (1637–1710), to the Arcadian Academy, a circle of poets and musicians devoted to a classical aesthetic modeled on Greek antiquity, and he must have met George Frideric Handel (1685–1759) at one of the Arcadians' gatherings in 1707. With the papal ban on public opera still in effect in Rome, he concentrated on oratorios, serenatas, and cantatas, although he wrote four operas for Ferdinand in Florence during this period and in 1707 went to Venice to direct two new five-act operas, which were not successful there. He returned to Rome briefly as *maestro di cappella* at Santa Maria Maggiore, but when he was offered his old position in Naples in 1708 by the new Austrian viceroy there—that city having come under Austrian occupation—he accepted it. Naples remained his center of activity for the rest of his life, as a composer and a teacher (with such students as Hasse and Quantz), although he made periodic visits to his patrons in Rome, where he was able to produce some of his finest late operas, including his last, *La Griselda* (1721).

Oratorios at that time were a substitute for opera during the seven-week period of Lent, and Alessandro wrote approximately forty of them, including *La Giuditta* (1697), based on the biblical account of Judith of Bethulia. He also wrote at least twenty-two serenatas, large festive cantatas on secular themes, often political in nature, written to commemorate important events and performed in open-air theaters. Among the more politically oriented serenatas was *Pace, amor, e provvidenza* (1714), composed for the nameday of Emperor Charles VI to celebrate the 1714 Treaty of Rastatt, one of several treaties comprising the Peace of Utrecht, which ended the War of the Spanish Succession. The libretto's allegorical figures each claim responsibility for Charles's diplomatic triumphs. Among Alessandro's most celebrated compositions are his more than six hundred chamber cantatas, both sacred and secular, most set for solo soprano accompanied with basso continuo, with lyrical poetic texts frequently focused on the theme of love. Alessandro's church music, including masses, motets, and psalm settings, spans both the *stile antico* and the *stile moderno*. He also wrote purely instrumental music, including seven toccatas for harpsichord, and twelve concerti grossi in the style of Corelli.



Domenico Scarlatti.

Alessandro Scarlatti's reputation rests largely on his dramatic compositions for the stage. The opening sinfonias of these works are of particular importance. The majority of his approximately 114 operas can be categorized as *drammae per musica* (musical dramas); many are based on ancient history (sometimes apocryphal). Some use literary subjects as their basis, such as *La Griselda*, which draws its libretto from Boccaccio; others can be classified as *commedie in musica*, or *pastorales*. The three-part Italian sinfonia, consisting of an introductory Allegro, followed by a slower contrasting section, and concluding with a fast movement in triple meter, was the precursor to the classical symphonies of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756–1791) and Franz Joseph Haydn (1732–1809).

The most famous of Alessandro Scarlatti's children was Domenico, born in 1685, the same year as Handel and as Johann Sebastian Bach (1685–1750). His keyboard-playing talent was recognized at an early age; he may have studied harpsichord with Pasquini or Gaetano Greco (1657–1728) in

Rome. Alessandro helped him procure the position of composer and organist at the Cappella Reale in Naples in 1700 when Domenico was fifteen. After a brief period in Florence with his father, he returned to Naples to take over his father's duties for the 1703–1704 season while Alessandro was in Rome and then was sent by his father to Venice, where he was “escorted only by his own ability” (as Alessandro wrote to Ferdinand de' Medici in 1705). Domenico returned to Rome in 1707, where he is reported to have entered a keyboard competition under the auspices of Cardinal Ottoboni in 1708 or early 1709. Among the contestants was Handel, who was judged Domenico's equal on the harpsichord, but whose organ skills surpassed those of Scarlatti. In 1713 and 1714, Domenico was appointed to two of the most important positions in Rome: first as *maestro di cappella* in service to Maria Casimira, the exiled dowager queen of Poland, and then as chapelmaster of the Cappella Giulia at St. Peter's. Both titles afforded him financial security. In addition to the seven operas Domenico composed from 1710 to 1714 while in Rome, it is believed that he went briefly to England in 1719 to revise an earlier work, which Handel produced at Drury Lane in 1720.

In 1719, Domenico finally freed himself from his father's control when he was granted legal independence from Alessandro and resigned his positions in Rome. His most important position came soon after that, when he was appointed *mestre de capela* in Lisbon, where he also oversaw the education of John V's younger brother, Don Antonio, and John's daughter Maria Barbara. He returned to Rome for a visit in 1728 to marry the sixteen-year-old Maria Catarina Gentili. In 1729, when Princess Maria Barbara married the Spanish crown prince and became queen of Spain, Domenico followed her to Seville, and then in 1733 to Madrid, becoming her *maestro da cámara* and spending the rest of his life there. His wife died in 1739, and sometime before 1742 he married Anastasia Maxarti Ximenes.

Most of his approximately 550 keyboard works were written at the Portuguese and Spanish courts, and many of these reflect an influence of Iberian folk-music idioms. Known for his ability to improvise at the harpsichord, Domenico did not write down his compositions until 1738, when he published his first collection of keyboard pieces, thirty

Essercizi per gravicembalo. He was knighted by John V that same year, and in return he dedicated the *Essercizi* to the king.

Domenico organized a large number of his harpsichord works into two volumes (1742, 1749) and presented them to Maria Barbara. It was through this patron that he met the famous castrato Farinelli (1705–1782), who inherited several volumes of the composer's keyboard manuscripts after the queen's death. Between 1752 and 1757, Domenico composed an additional 200 keyboard suites (or sonatas, as he called them), which he compiled and edited for publication, possibly with the assistance of one of his students, Catalan composer Antonio Soler (1729–1783), as his copyist.

Domenico Scarlatti's compositions include fourteen operas, over seventy cantatas, several serenatas (of which only two have survived, including the *Festeggio armonico*, written in 1728 for the engagement of Maria Barbara to the Spanish crown prince), and various sacred pieces. He is best remembered for his large output of single-movement keyboard sonatas, which place him as one of the founders of modern keyboard technique. Scarlatti's sonatas are technically innovative in their use of hand crossings, quickly repeated notes, and wide leaps, requiring a high level of technical proficiency. The sonatas skillfully utilize the harpsichord to its fullest capacity and demonstrate the composer's gift of melodic and harmonic invention. The elegance and graceful ornamentation of these works epitomize the refined qualities of the early rococo style. The binary structure of Scarlatti's sonatas is noteworthy; an antecedent to sonata form, it is similar to the Italian sinfonias of his father, in that both were influential to the development of later Classical-period music. The sonatas have remained an integral part of the keyboardist's repertory.

See also Handel, George Frideric; Music; Opera.

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GREGORY MALDONADO

SCHILLER, JOHANN CHRISTOPH FRIEDRICH VON (1759–1805), German dramatist, poet, historian, and philosopher. Born on 10 November 1759 in Marbach, in Württemberg, the only son of a low-ranking army officer, Schiller was educated from 1773 to 1780 at the military academy founded by Karl Eugen, duke of Württemberg (1728–1793). His first play, *Die Räuber* (1781; The robbers), premiered at the Mannheim National Theater in 1782. Forbidden by the duke to pursue his literary work, he absconded from Württemberg later that year, and after serving as resident playwright at Mannheim for one year, he moved to Dresden and Leipzig and then in 1787 to Weimar, home of several leading literary figures, chiefly Johann Wolfgang von Goethe. In 1789 he was appointed professor of history at the University of Jena, on the strength of his *Geschichte des Abfalls der vereinigten Niederlande von der spanischen Regierung* (History of the revolt of the United Netherlands from Spanish rule, 1787).

Schiller married Charlotte von Lengefeld in 1790. After a serious illness in 1791 he remained a semi-invalid for the rest of his life. In 1794 he formed a friendship and alliance with Goethe based on shared convictions about the enduring validity of classical principles in art and about the centrality of art as a human activity. Their correspondence, along with their joint essays and projects, had a lasting impact on German literary debate and practice. In 1799 Schiller moved from Jena to Weimar, and he died there on 9 May 1805.

Schiller's work as a poet and dramatist falls into two distinct periods: before 1789 and from the mid-1790s to his death. His first three plays, *Die Räuber*, *Die Verschwörung des Fiesco zu Genua* (1783; The conspiracy of Fiesco at Genoa), and *Kabale und Liebe* (1784; Intrigue and love) owe much in style and spirit to the short-lived but influential avant-garde literary movement of the 1770s, the Sturm und Drang. Written in vigorous prose and showing the impact of the Sturm und Drang generation's

reception of William Shakespeare, the plays explore flawed idealism, the charismatic leader, social divisions, and the impatience of the young with the imperfections of the world. They also bear the imprint of Schiller's medical training at the military academy and in particular of his interest in the problem of mind-body relationships. His fourth play, *Don Carlos, Infant von Spanien* (1787; Don Carlos, infante of Spain), anticipates his later dramas in its use of blank verse and concern with historical and public themes.

The compositional difficulties Schiller encountered with *Don Carlos* provoked a creative crisis, and though he wrote two seminal poems in 1788, “Die Götter Griechenlandes” (The gods of Greece) and “Die Künstler” (The artists), he turned away for almost a decade from creative writing, with the purpose of clarifying his thoughts on art in general and tragedy in particular. In 1791 he turned to the German philosopher Immanuel Kant's philosophy. Kant's dualism, according to which human beings belong to the realm of nature but also partake through reason in the realm of freedom, became fundamental to Schiller's thinking on aesthetics, for he saw art as a means of reconciling the tensions between nature and reason. His theory of the sublime in tragedy claims that tragedy mediates an experience of transcendence derived from the awareness that human beings may assert their moral freedom even while being physically destroyed (see in particular “Über das Pathetische” [On tragic pity]). In his influential treatise *Über die ästhetische Erziehung des Menschen in einer Reihe von Briefen* (1794; On the aesthetic education of man in a series of letters), he argues that beauty as “living form” symbolizes and helps bring about the ideal harmony of sense and spirit to which human beings aspire. His notion of beauty as play and of aesthetic semblance have been important in later discussions of aesthetics. His final major treatise, *Über naive und sentimentalische Dichtung* (1795; On naive and sentimental poetry), defines the problem of the modern (“sentimental”) writer's divided consciousness.

During 1795 Schiller started again to write poetry. In 1799 he completed his greatest drama, *Wallenstein* (published 1800). A rapid succession of verse plays followed up to his death: *Maria Stuart* (1801; Mary Stuart), *Die Jungfrau von Orleans* (1802; The maid of Orleans), *Die Braut von*

Messina (1803; *The bride of Messina*), *Wilhelm Tell* (1804; *William Tell*), and *Demetrius* (unfinished). Each signals a new departure in style. Together they reflect Schiller's preoccupation with some of the pressing themes of the age of the French Revolution: legitimacy of government, conscience versus political calculation, and the individual within the tide of events. His later poetry encompasses the more popular in style (for example, his ballads and "Das Lied von der Glocke" ([The song of the bell]), but he also used poetry as a meditation on the nature of art (for example, in "Das Ideal und das Leben" [The ideal and life] and "Der Tanz" [The Dance]).

The action-filled plots, strong characters, and thrilling encounters of Schiller's plays have not only guaranteed their continued place on the world stage but have inspired numerous opera composers, Giuseppe Verdi being the most prominent.

See also **Drama: German; German Literature and Language; Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von.**

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LESLEY SHARPE

SCHMALKALDIC WAR (1546–1547)

The Schmalkaldic War (fought between July 1546 and April 1547) was a short-lived military victory by the Holy Roman emperor Charles V (ruled 1519–1556) over the forces of the Lutheran princes and cities of the Schmalkaldic League (1531–1547). The history of the league and the survival of Protestantism after such decisive military defeat reflect both the strengths and weaknesses of the Holy Roman Empire.

HISTORY OF THE SCHMALKALDIC LEAGUE

The Schmalkaldic League was a German Protestant military federation based on an agreement made at Schmalkalden in Thuringia in December 1530 and ratified in February 1531. The original members of the league included the two military commanders Elector John Frederick of Saxony and Landgrave Philip of Hesse; the northern princes of Anhalt-Bernburg and Mansfeld-Hinterort; the northern cities of Lübeck, Magdeburg, and Bremen; and the southern cities of Strasbourg, Ulm, Memmingen, Konstanz, Biberach, Lindau, and Isny. The presidency of the league alternated between the elector and the landgrave.

The league differed from previous federations, including the Swabian League (1488–1534), in both its defined purpose and scope. The purpose of the league was the defense of religion in addition to traditional aims of mutual defense. The defense of the evangelical movement brought together powers, such as the ruling families of Strasbourg and the elector of Saxony, who had no other interests in common. Unlike the Swabian League with its strictly upper German focus, the Schmalkaldic League was imperial in scope, eventually stretching from east to west from Pomerania to Strasbourg and from north to south from Oldenburg to Konstanz. Although the league tried to break out of the imperial borders through attempted alliances with Henry VIII of England and Francis I of France, these efforts ended in failure.

The league, originally formed for six years, ratified a fixed constitution at Schmalkalden on 23 December 1535, which was almost immediately revised in October 1536 because of the growth in league membership. The cities of Esslingen, Brunswick, Goslar, Einbeck, and Göttingen all joined the league between 1531 and 1535. In 1535 the dukes of Pomerania and Württemberg, the count of Pfalz-Zweibrücken, two princes of Anhalt-Dessau, and the cities of Frankfurt am Main, Kempten, Hamburg, and Hannover all joined the league. Under the new constitution the league was divided into two “circles”: a northern, “Saxon” circle and a southern, “upper German” circle.

The league faced the same political and constitutional problems that plagued the empire. The league’s tax structure and sole means for financing its military force mirrored the imperial tax structure. Despite the efforts of many leaders from the southern cities (in particular, Jakob Sturm von Sturmeck [1489–1553]), the league consistently defeated proposals to reform and streamline its collection of revenue.

The principle success of the league was its defense of the Protestant cause against the emperor, the Imperial Diet, and the Imperial Chamber Court. The league’s first victory was its successful campaign to suspend all suits by Catholic clergy for the restitution of ecclesiastical property seized by evangelical cities and territories. Charles V’s policy of toleration, however, required the league’s support for and participation in his wars with the French and the Ottoman Turks as well as a series of theological colloquies at Hagenau, Regensburg, and Speyer.

The league had no fixed seat but it did meet some twenty-six times over the course of its sixteen-year history, over a more extensive area than did the Imperial Diet (which met only once in the same period). The league also had no chancery or league court or any official means of mediating disputes among its members and was, therefore, unable to agree upon a common ecclesiastical constitutional, or liturgical, policy for ecclesiastical properties.

The politics of particularism also hindered the league’s effective unity—especially in the case of the northern cities (the southern cities largely continued their long-standing practice of mutual consulta-

tion). Originally possessing four of nine possible votes and later six of thirteen votes in the league, the cities in general also found themselves in a long familiar position of minority status in relation to the princes. The confessional nature of the league, based as it was upon the religious conflict between the Catholic and Protestant camps within western Christianity—and the distractions of Charles V in the Mediterranean and of Ferdinand I of Austria with his Jagellon territories and Turkish incursions—estranged the cities from their traditional alliances with the crown against the princes. For example, in 1534 Philip of Hesse was able to restore the (Lutheran) duke Ulrich of Württemberg in his territories with the support of Bavaria, France, and Strasbourg, over the opposition of the Saxon elector and most of the imperial and free cities.

CAUSES OF THE WAR

The underlying causes of the Schmalkaldic War were the ambitions of the leading princes of the league, particularly Landgrave Philip of Hesse and Elector John Frederick of Saxony, and the imperial effort to bring the territories and cities of the league to heel confessionally. The ambitions of the nobles and their limitations as political and military strategists can be clearly seen in the political offensive led by Elector John Frederick to secure the North German prince-bishoprics for the evangelical cause.

In 1542 the league successfully invaded the last remaining Catholic lay territory in northern Germany, the Duchy of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, but in 1543 the league failed to come to the aid of the elector’s brother-in-law, Duke William of Cleves-Jülich, against Charles V. The southern cities of the league viewed these campaigns as of little lasting value and approved the Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel campaign reluctantly. The perception among the cities that they were bearing more than their fair share of the costs of the league’s military operations began to foment open dissent, and left the league in enough political disarray that its reratification would have been in doubt even without its military defeat by the imperial forces.

The need to justify resistance to imperial authority was a standing issue for Protestant rulers and their advisers. As a result, beginning with Martin Luther’s own *volte-face* in 1531 in favor of active resistance against an unjust emperor, Lutheran the-

ologians, lawyers, and counselors were under constant pressure to portray their resistance against the empire in a positive light. By the time the city of Minden was outlawed in the autumn of 1538, Wittenberg theologians judged that a preemptive attack by the league in defense of Minden would be a “defensive” first strike under the terms of the league’s charter.

The Schmalkaldic League did not intend to undermine any territorial sovereign. In 1543–1544 the Protestant community of Metz in Lorraine petitioned the league for admission. Although Martin Bucer and the senate of Strasbourg supported the Metz Protestants, Elector John Frederick, on the advice of the Wittenberg theologians, blocked their bid for admission on the grounds that they were dissident subjects of a legitimate government. Nonetheless, the league ignored concerns for legitimacy in the case of the city of Brunswick when it admitted that city as a member even though it was still ruled by Duke Henry the Younger, a Catholic.

The proximate cause of the war was the rejection by the members of the league of the conditions under which Charles convened the Diet of Regensburg in June of 1546. The immediate circumstances that finally allowed Charles to act against the Lutherans were the conclusion of peace treaties with France (the Peace of Crespy on 18 September 1544) and with the Ottoman Turks (on 10 November 1545), the successful negotiation of the participation of papal troops in a campaign against the league, as well as free passage for these troops through the Bavarian territory of Duke William, and the tacit support of Duke Maurice of Saxony against his cousin John Frederick upon Maurice’s withdrawal from the league in 1542. Despite careful imperial preparations for a confrontation with the league, the initial league offensive caught Charles off guard in Regensburg with only a small number of Spanish and German troops.

PROGRESS OF THE WAR

Among the league’s initial advantages were successful attempts to reinforce its field army with experienced mercenaries, who had been released recently from French service, and the recruitment of the famous mercenary captain Sebastian Schertlin von Burtembach as a field commander. Official command, however, remained in the inexperienced and

clumsy hands of the princes, especially Elector John Frederick. The elector’s imperial counterpart, Fernando Álvarez de Toledo, duke of Alba, was one of the finest military commanders of the sixteenth century. In short, John Frederick was no match for Alba or Charles.

There were two distinct phases to the war. In the first phase, in the south, the imperial troops under Charles and Alba escaped from Regensburg by outmaneuvering the league’s forces and then joined forces with papal troops from Italy via Bavaria and with heavy cavalry from the Netherlands under Egmont, count of Buren. The indecisiveness of the league’s war council caused Schertlin to be called off just when he could have cut off the papal reinforcements in the mountains and destroyed them piecemeal. The ability of the imperial troops to avoid a decisive engagement along the Danube, coupled with the failure of John Frederick to seize the initiative, precipitated a financial and political crisis within the leadership of the league.

Duke Maurice’s attack on electoral Saxony began the second phase of the war and shifted the front to the north. Electoral troops broke off contact with imperial forces along the Danube and marched home, where they successfully counterattacked and overran much of Maurice’s ducal Saxony and defeated an imperial relief force under Albert of Culmbach. During this phase of the war, however, the revelation of Philip of Hesse’s scandalous bigamy effectively removed him from the military and diplomatic fray. Meanwhile, since most of the league’s forces were defending electoral Saxony, Alba and Charles were unopposed as they neutralized the southern cities and then moved north to reinforce Maurice on the northern front.

John Frederick’s fatal strategic miscalculation of advancing to the south away from easily defended locations proved to be the beginning of the end for the league. Upon realizing his error, John Frederick attempted to keep the Elbe River between the league’s forces and the imperial forces, but Alba’s scouts discovered a ford and the imperial infantry was able to force its way across the Elbe, across the Protestant line of retreat. During the battle on 24 April, now known as the Battle of Mühlberg, the imperial troops gradually destroyed the scattered Protestant formations and captured John Frederick.

PROTESTANTISM AND THE WAR

In the aftermath of his victory, Charles stripped both John Frederick and Philip of Hesse of their domains, installed Maurice as ruler of all of Saxony, and proclaimed the institution of Catholic religious conformity with the Augsburg Interim. However, Charles's triumph proved to be short-lived. After sixteen years of protection provided by the Schmalkaldic League, the Protestant cause was now strong enough to survive politically even after a sound military defeat.

The Gnesio-Lutheran stronghold of Magdeburg was a center of resistance after the league's defeat. Lutheran clergy (led by Nikolaus von Amstdorf, Matija Vlačić [Matthias Flacius Illyricus], and Nikolaus Gallus, among others) continued to develop a constitutionalist theory of resistance by so-called inferior magistrates against the empire. In both formal publications and pamphlet campaigns this political innovation proved to be influential in other confessionally based political resistance movements, such as the Huguenot Monarchomachs and the Reformed Dutch revolt against the Spanish, and among the English Marian exiles and political theorists opposed to the claims of absolutism, such as Johannes Althusius (Althaus).

The so-called Prince's Revolt and the Treaty of Passau in 1552 ensured the survival and even official recognition of the Lutheran cause. These events culminated in the Religious Peace of Augsburg (1555), which placed a territory's confessional allegiance squarely in the hands of its ruler.

See also Alba, Fernando Álvarez de Toledo, duke of; Augsburg, Religious Peace of (1555); Charles V (Holy Roman Empire); Lutheranism.

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SCHOLASTICISM. In the early modern period the term "Scholasticism" denoted the systematization of learning in schools and universities, mainly in philosophy and theology, occasionally extended to law and medicine. It may be characterized by its distinctive method and language and by its elaboration into competing systems of thought.

SCHOLASTIC METHOD

What is called "scholastic method" started with the disputations that were held in the schools of the Middle Ages. A disputation began with the posing of a question that could be answered either affirmatively or negatively. It involved two interlocutors, one on each side, and the method of arguing was basically that explained in the *Topics* of Aristotle (384–322 B.C.E.). The topics or problems were drawn from a teaching text, usually in philosophy or theology, and expressed in Latin. The rules of reasoning were those concerned with concepts, propositions, and arguments and contained in other logical works of Aristotle. The proponent of the affirmative, called the defendant, stated his thesis in the form of a proposition, and then proceeded to develop arguments that supported his thesis. In response, the proponent of the negative, called the objector, developed counterarguments that dis-

proved the defendant's thesis. To these counterarguments the defendant then replied by reformulating his initial arguments, introducing distinctions of meaning to meet the opponent's objections. The argument went back and forth in this form until either the objector was convinced that his difficulties had been met and he conceded the thesis, or the defendant was unsuccessful in his defense of the thesis and conceded defeat.

Scholastic method grew out of this procedure. Its basic instruments were definition, distinction, and argumentation, and its ideal goal was certain truth, although frequently it could reach only probable conclusions. By the time of the Renaissance a stylized format had been developed for meeting these objectives. First the thesis was stated, usually as a universal affirmative proposition. Then three steps were commonly envisaged, consisting of prenotes, proofs, and difficulties that might be brought against the thesis. In the prenotes the proponent provided definitions of the terms in the thesis, distinctions relating to them, and different positions being held on the thesis. Then various proofs were offered, first from authority, such as the Bible or a noted philosopher, then from reason, using varieties of argument. Finally, objections against the thesis were restated and resolved, usually on the basis of distinctions introduced earlier in the presentation.

MEDIEVAL SCHOOLS

The development of Scholasticism coincided with the founding of universities in the late twelfth century and of religious orders such as Dominicans and Franciscans in the early thirteenth century. In the universities newly translated texts of Aristotle provided the basis for a system of thought known as Aristotelianism. Additionally, religious orders had their favorite doctors, whose teachings were also systematized. Dominicans followed Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274), whose system was called Thomism, and Franciscans followed Duns Scotus (1266?–1308) and William of Ockham (c. 1285–1347), whose systems were called Scotism and Ockhamism, respectively. A feature of medieval universities was public disputations in which doctors of these schools debated before the student body. Different though their systems were, the discourse was made possible by the participants' reliance on Aristotle's method of logic.

The language of Scholasticism was a technical Latin, with specialized vocabularies suited to particular subject matters. Geographically, Scholasticism flourished in Italy and on the Iberian Peninsula, in France, Germany, the Low Countries, and in the British Isles. The leading schools were the University of Oxford, noted for philosophy, the University of Paris, for theology, and the University of Bologna, for law and medicine.

In the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries Augustinianism, a theological form of Neoplatonism advanced by Augustine of Hippo (354–430), was influential. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, Latin Averroism, a teaching of Averroës (Ibn Rushd; 1126–1198) that denied the immortality of the human soul, assumed importance, mainly at the University of Padua. Ockham's insistence that universal natures cannot be known in things, but only their names (*nomina*), led to his system's being known as nominalism. The opposing systems, which held that natures could be known to be real (*realia*), were then seen as various forms of realism. Debates between realists and nominalists were frequent in university disputations.

THE RENAISSANCE

Scholasticism reached its highest state of development during the Renaissance, roughly from about 1450 to about 1650. The first phase, to the mid-sixteenth century, was focused in Italy and Spain and is known to historians as "Second Scholasticism." The second phase saw its development by the Jesuits and its extension to the schools of northern Europe, Protestant as well as Catholic.

In the first phase Thomism, Scotism, and nominalism developed extensively. Thomism was advanced mainly by Dominicans, of whom the most significant were the Italians Tommaso de Vio Cajetan (1469–1534) and Giovanni Crisostomi Javelli (1470–c. 1538), and the Spaniards Francisco de Vitoria (c. 1486–1546) and Domingo de Soto (1495–1560). Cajetan was the most profound synthesizer of St. Thomas's theology, whereas Javelli is best known for his teaching manuals in philosophy. Vitoria and Soto worked extensively on social and political thought, arguing that natives in America had souls and therefore had the same rights as Europeans.

Scotism was largely the preserve of the Franciscans, who adopted Scotus as their order's doctor in 1539. Before that, a revival of Scotist teachings had been promoted by the French Peter Tartaretus (d. c. 1532), and the Italian Antonio Trombetta (1436–1517). Trombetta was a critic of Cajetan and is known especially for having combated Averroism at Padua.

A nominalist revival radiated out from the University of Paris to other countries, including Spain and the Low Countries. Its chief promoters were Gerard of Brussels (d. 1502) and the Scot John Major (1469–1550), both teaching at Paris, and Johannes Eck (1486–1543), whose career was mainly in Germany. Among Major's students were Pedro Ciruelo (1470–1554) and Gaspar Lax (1487–1560), the latter well known for his manuals in logic. Major's school made significant contributions to the study of motion and prepared the way for the scientific revolution of the seventeenth century.

The second phase of the Renaissance began with the founding of the Jesuit order in 1540. Jesuits blended humanism with Scholasticism and introduced methods of teaching that had profound effects throughout Europe. In general, they subscribed to Thomism but introduced variations within that system. Their most important school was the Collegio Romano, located in Rome, which was staffed initially by Iberians, notably Franciscus Toletus (1532–1596) and Gabriel Vázquez (1549–1604), who wrote influential textbooks. Their most outstanding teacher was Francisco Suárez (1548–1617), whose version of Thomism is referred to as Suarezianism.

Although Martin Luther (1483–1546) held a disputation against Scholasticism in 1517, it came to occupy a central place in Protestant universities within a hundred years. This was true whether the universities leaned to Calvinism, as in Heidelberg and Marburg, or to Lutheranism, as in Wittenberg, Altdorf, and Helmstedt. The basic approaches were those of Philipp Melancthon (1497–1560), who composed textbooks on physics, psychology, and ethics at Wittenberg, and Jacob Schegk (1511–1587), who commented on Aristotle's logic and natural philosophy at Tübingen.

For metaphysics, Jesuit textbooks, particularly Suárez's, were used initially but were later replaced by Protestant manuals. Johannes Caselius (1535–1613), working at Helmstedt, wrote early texts in the Aristotelian tradition pioneered by Schegk. Works showing Suárez's influence include those of Jakob Martini (1570–1649) at Wittenberg and Christoph Scheibler (1589–1653) at Giessen, the latter called the Protestant Suárez. For systematic thought, notable works are those of Bartholomaeus Keckermann (1571–1608), who taught at Heidelberg and Gdańsk and wrote manuals for all of philosophy and science. Johann Heinrich Alsted (1588–1638) followed Keckermann's teachings with his own *Encyclopediae* in 1620 and 1630. At Leiden, Franco Burgersdijk (1590–1635) wrote similar compendia for Scholastic philosophy that were widely used throughout Protestant Europe.

LATER PERIOD

By the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Scholasticism had run its course. The way of thought it had spawned, with its many “-isms,” had become overburdened and toppled of its own weight. Disputations that had earlier held great interest had by then degenerated into making subtle distinctions and quibbling endlessly over terms. Scholastic method continued to be employed in religious houses of study and in universities, however, though in the latter it gradually gave way to new methods based on experimentation and mathematical reasoning. This transition is seen graphically in the early writings of Galileo Galilei (1564–1642) and Isaac Newton (1642–1727). Galileo's Latin notebooks on logic and natural philosophy, written at Pisa between 1588 and 1592, were couched in the language of Scholastic disputations. The same can be said of Newton's Trinity notebooks, written at Cambridge in the early 1660s.

Scholasticism was transplanted to the New World by religious orders in time for the founding of institutions of higher learning in North and South America and the Philippines. Those in Mexico and the Philippines followed the teachings of Spanish Scholastics, mainly from Salamanca and Alcalá, whereas American colleges, such as Harvard, Yale, and William and Mary, reflected teachings current in Protestant universities in England, Scotland, Germany, and the Low Countries.

See also **Aristotelianism; Galileo Galilei; Humanists and Humanism; Jesuits; Newton, Isaac; Renaissance; Universities.**

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SCHÜTZ, HEINRICH (1585–1672), German composer. Heinrich Schütz was the most important German composer of vocal music in the seventeenth century. For much of his long career, Schütz was kapellmeister (music director) to the elector of Saxony at the Dresden court, as well as serving in the court of Christian IV of Denmark. A student of the Venetian masters Giovanni Gabrieli (1557–1612) and Claudio Monteverdi (1567–1643), Schütz synthesized Italian and German procedures in an unprecedented manner that was to have a profound influence on the course of German baroque music.

Schütz was born in Kösteritz near Gera (Saxony) and baptized 9 October 1585. At the age of four his musical talent attracted the attention of Landgrave Moritz of Hessen-Kassel, who persuaded Schütz's parents to send him to his court for

further education in music and art. He was an apt pupil who excelled in languages, and also studied law at the University of Marburg. However, with the landgrave's support, he traveled to Venice to study with Giovanni Gabrieli. Here he received training in Renaissance polyphony as well as the polychoral innovations favored at San Marco, and published a set of five-voice madrigals in 1611.

Upon his return to Germany around 1613, Elector Johann Georg I of Saxony requested Schütz's service for the Dresden court. Schütz obtained his release from Moritz after several years of complex negotiations, arriving in Dresden in 1615, becoming the vice-kapellmeister in March 1617 and kapellmeister in 1619, although he only received this title officially in 1621 after the death of Michael Praetorius (1571–1621). The Dresden court maintained a large musical establishment, and Schütz's extensive duties included the training of choirboys, hiring personnel, staffing, and the producing of secular and sacred music for all civic and religious occasions. Music in Dresden flourished prior to that city's belated involvement in the Thirty Years' War, as did Schütz's productivity and fame. His *Psalmen Davids sampt etlichen Moteten und Concerten* (1618), the first important collection of German church music, reflected the influence of Gabrieli's *Symphoniae Sacrae* and exploited the lavish vocal and instrumental resources at the Dresden court and the sonic potential of the elector's chapel. The originality of this enterprise is apparent in the detailed instructions included in the preface, which describes the proper size, makeup, and position of the forces, and other aspects of performance practice.

In addition to sacred compositions in a variety of genres, including biblical dramas and Latin motets, Schütz composed what is usually regarded as the first German opera, *Apollo und Dafne*, which has not survived. A second trip to Italy in 1628—and studies with Claudio Monteverdi—introduced Schütz to the most recent Italian innovations in dramatic music, in particular the techniques for expressive solo singing associated with the *seconda prattica* (second practice). Schütz's first set of *Symphonie Sacrae* (1629) integrates this revolutionary new approach to text setting with the impressive use of instrumental colors and vocal sonorities gleaned from Gabrieli.



Heinrich Schütz. GETTY IMAGES

The last decades of Schütz's career at Dresden were marked by the economic pressures of the Thirty Years' War, which Saxony entered in 1631, and the meager vocal and instrumental forces he used in the compositions from this period, such as the first two sets of *Kleine geistliche Konzerte* (Little spiritual concertos), dating from 1636 and 1639, reflect the severe economic conditions in Germany. He twice journeyed to Copenhagen to compose music for the court of Christian IV (to whom he would dedicate his second set of *Symphoniae Sacrae* [1646]) and served several other prominent North German courts. In failing health, Schütz was finally permitted to take partial retirement in 1656, although he continued to advise the court on musical matters as kapellmeister. During the 1660s, he also composed a biblical drama based on the Christmas story (*Historia . . . der . . . Geburt . . . Jesu Christi* [1664]) of three Passions: St. John, St. Matthew, and St. Luke, all performed in Dresden in April 1666. These intense, personal works are noteworthy because of their stark, highly dramatic quality, the fidelity to the text of the Gospels, and the use of a different mode for each to accentuate the individual nature of the utterances. Schütz died on 5 November 1672, and his funeral was held at Dresden's Frauenkirche on 17 November.

Although little of Schütz's secular music has survived, he left an impressive body of sacred works in numerous genres that range from sober expressions of Lutheran piety to full-bodied, dramatic manifestations of unmatched sonic splendor. The essence of Schütz's style is an extraordinary synthesis of German and Italian techniques—the grand approach of Gabrieli and the expressive text-setting and sense of drama that distinguishes Monteverdi's compositions, combined with the contrapuntal integrity and innate serious tone that was part of Schütz's German training and heritage. It is this genius that would find expression in the high German baroque through the music of Johann Sebastian Bach (1685–1750) and George Frideric Handel (1685–1759).

See also **Bach Family; Dresden; Handel, George Frideric; Monteverdi, Claudio; Music.**

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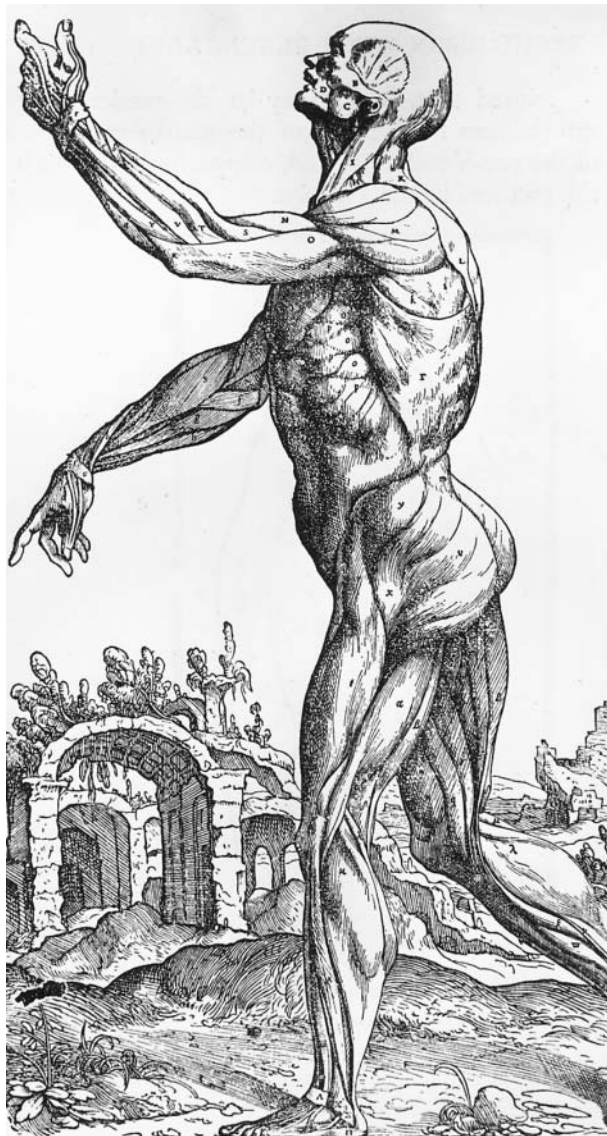
WENDY HELLER, MARK KROLL

SCIENTIFIC ACADEMIES. See *Academies, Learned.*

SCIENTIFIC CLASSIFICATION. See Linnaeus, Carl.

SCIENTIFIC ILLUSTRATION. The development of scientific illustration in early modern Europe paralleled a rising interest in studying, collecting, and classifying the natural world. These practices gave rise to new methods of documenting and displaying nature and its products. Although early modern European artists and naturalists did not deliberately set out principles or rules for creating scientific images, a common set of practices emerged during the period that formed the foundation of scientific illustration into the modern period.

From the late medieval period pictorial techniques designed to convince viewers that an image contained an exact record of the artist's observation were increasingly employed in the illustration of botanical and medical texts, as well as in illuminated manuscripts. To convey the impression of accuracy and lifelikeness, artists often depicted objects against a plain background and offered highly detailed renderings of surfaces and textures. Such images functioned variously as practical aids to identification and study, as delightful entertainments, and as symbolic representations of religious and philosophical ideas. The plants and other minute objects represented in the margins of illuminated books of hours inspired readers to marvel at both the complexity and beauty of the natural forms and the artist's skill. During the early modern period images of the natural world continued to be characterized by a dual capacity to delight and instruct the viewer. Leonardo da Vinci's (1452–1519) pen-and-ink studies of plants, animals, and the human body combined meticulous observation of natural structures with idealized forms and harmonious compositions. Albrecht Dürer's (1471–1528) plant and animal studies treated subjects similar to those found in the borders of illuminated manuscripts but focused on previously "marginal" subject matter as the main subject of the compositions. The two major botanical publications of the sixteenth century, *Herbarum Vivae Eicones* (1530–1536) by Otto Brunfels (c. 1488–1534) and *De Historia Stirpium* (1542) by Leonhard Fuchs (1501–1566), exemplify one of the central problems of scientific



Scientific Illustration. An illustration from *De humani corporis fabrica* by Andreas Vesalius, 1543. GETTY IMAGES

illustration. The illustrations in both publications rely on empirical observation but reflect differing ideas about the meaning of accuracy and lifelikeness in images. The images of plants in Brunfels are individualized portraits containing signs of decay and features unique to a particular specimen, whereas the images in Fuchs attempt to capture the general characteristics of the species by presenting perfect, idealized specimens.

Other early modern European artists highlighted the ambiguous relationship between visual images and the reality they purport to represent.

Joris Hoefnagel (1542–1600) often depicted imaginary creatures in a meticulous and convincing visual style, while the deep hues, intense luminosity, and sculptural forms of Jacopo Ligozzi's (1547–1627) botanical drawings create a profound material presence that in some cases may have surpassed that of the actual specimen. By the end of the seventeenth century, artists such as Maria Sibylla Merian (1647–1717) incorporated the meticulous style perfected by Dürer, Hoefnagel, and Ligozzi into vibrant compositions of living creatures in their natural habitats competing with one another for survival.

Scientific illustration in early modern Europe was closely connected to the collecting practices of the period, particularly in the field of natural history. Collectors such as Ulisse Aldrovandi (1522–1605) and Conrad Gessner (1516–1565) assembled exotic objects from the New World, Asia, the Middle East, and Africa into cabinets of curiosities, the forerunners of modern museums, and published copiously illustrated natural histories based on their collections. Illustrations were used to document and supplement existing collections, and in some cases functioned as collections in and of themselves.

Close connections between artistic and scientific practice were also evident in the area of anatomical illustration. Andreas Vesalius (1514–1564) worked with artists from Titian's (1488 or 1490–1576) workshop to produce the illustrations for his *De Humani Corporis Fabrica* of 1543, in which human figures in various stages of dissection were depicted in poses derived from ancient sculpture. Early modern scientific illustration also treated technical and mechanical subjects, making use of visual forms used in botany, natural history, and anatomy, as well as diagrams, used by astronomers and mathematicians to describe movement and abstract ideas. Over the course of the seventeenth century optical instruments such as the telescope and the microscope were used to investigate previously invisible structures and phenomena, and illustrations were used to communicate these discoveries to others. Galileo Galilei's (1564–1642) *Sidereus Nuncius* of 1610 made use of both diagrams and illustrations to convey new knowledge gained through the use of the telescope about the surface of the moon and the newly discovered moons of Jupiter. Robert Hooke's (1635–1703) *Micrographia* of 1665 presented readers with meticulously crafted illustrations of

magnified objects and creatures observed with a microscope.

See also **Anatomy and Physiology**; **Hooke, Robert**; **Merian, Sibylla**; **Museums**; **Natural History**; **Vesalius, Andreas**.

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SCIENTIFIC INSTRUMENTS. The early modern period saw the use of devices both to advance scientific research (such as the telescope and the microscope) and those of a more practical nature that embodied scientific knowledge (such as the astrolabe and the thermometer). Because scientific instruments are typically made by specialized craftsmen who produce improvements in design and effectiveness through technical means, their production may also be considered as a discrete technology.

Although in the Middle Ages there had been specialized craftsmen who made astrolabes and, later, clocks, the emergence of a specialized craft for the production of a line of scientific instruments with distinct functions first emerged (in England, at least) in the 1540s, in response to the need for more accurate measurement in navigation, surveying, and astronomy. In England, the multiple forces of population growth, agricultural expansion, and, later, the draining of The Fens, stimulated the development of professional surveying, which required in-

struments for making angular measurements. The age of discovery, moreover, expanded the market for navigational instruments at a time when the “lunar distance” method (involving difficult observations of the distance between the Moon and a designated star, the use of tables, and calculation) was the predominant method of navigation. At the same time, in the course of the sixteenth century, practical mathematics was developed and then diffused in printed manuals. The primary measurements involved in describing the use of such instruments themselves required instrumentation, as did the mathematical manipulation of observations made by using such manuals. The emergence of a scientific-instrument craft in the 1540s was the result of the interaction of all of these factors.

THE TELESCOPE

Once eyeglasses came into common usage toward the end of the thirteenth century, it was just a matter of time until two such lenses were combined to produce either a telescope or a microscope. That insight, however, took quite a long time to realize. The telescope is first documented in Holland in the fall of 1608, when at least three different craftsmen, including a maker of spectacles, were manufacturing them. Because the principles involved were widely known, the telescope is a good example of invention appearing simultaneously in different places. Galileo Galilei heard of the Dutch instruments by the summer of 1609 and made his own version, with a diverging eye lens and a converging (convex) object lens. These early examples had magnifications of two or three, but within a year Galileo, who ground his own lenses, achieved magnifications of twenty and thirty and objectives with increasingly long focal lengths. The Englishman Thomas Harriot heard of the Dutch instruments in the same period and was drawing maps of the Moon in August 1609, before Galileo’s most significant research had begun. Galileo published his first telescopic results in March 1610 in his famous *Sidereus nuncius* (Starry messenger) and by the end of the year Johannes Kepler had published two little books on the results of telescopic research, without having done any yet himself. (Kepler’s contribution was a telescope with both eyepiece and objective converging, which made it possible to create a real, though inverted, image and project it onto a screen beyond the ocular, which became the normal way of observ-

ing the Sun.) As is frequently the case with recognizably important inventions (the automobile, the airplane), the invention and innovation of the telescope caused a quickening of communication among scientists and stimulated simultaneous excitement in countries widely removed from one another.

Galileo’s earliest telescope observations—of the lunar landscape, the satellites of Jupiter, and the Milky Way—caused a sensation. The satellites of Jupiter, moreover, revealed that Earth was not the only planetary center of rotation, which worked against Aristotelian cosmology and in favor of that of Nicolaus Copernicus, as did Galileo’s subsequent description of the phases of Venus. The discovery of sunspots also contradicted the Aristotelian axiom of the unchangeable nature of celestial bodies. In the hands of Galileo alone, the telescope changed the nature of planetary astronomy, both how it was conceptualized and how it was observed.

One of the problems of early telescopes was that the objective caused the images to appear with extraneous colors. The solution was the achromatic lens, developed in England in the 1730s. To avoid such coloring and other distortions, seventeenth-century telescopes had very small apertures and long focal lengths. The eventual solution was a two-component objective, with two lenses of different density in contact with one another, worked out by Parisian craftsmen in 1763, and then by John Dolland in England. This was the most popular telescope until William Herschel (1738–1822), toward the end of the century, invented a reflecting telescope with a large mirror that made possible the gathering of enough light to be able to examine much fainter celestial objects.

The telescope’s impact was sudden, immense, and rippled across the length and breadth of cultures, affecting scientific theory and method, of course, but also theology, philosophy, literature, and art. In particular, Galileo’s depiction of a jagged, rough, and crater-pocked lunar surface threatened a whole range of entrenched cultural conventions, including the Aristotelian perfection of heavenly bodies and the pure, diaphanous quality of the Moon, which was theologically associated with the purity of the Immaculate Virgin. Galileo himself had had training in art and interacted with artists, many of whom had observed the Moon tele-



Scientific Instruments. Isaac Newton's telescope, the first reflecting telescope, made in 1668, in front of a corresponding drawing from the *Principia Mathematica*. ©JAMES A. SUGAR/CORBIS

scopically with reference to specific paintings. Ever since Plutarch wrote his essay on the face that seemingly appeared on the Moon's surface, it had been common to refer to the lunar facade as similar to the surface of a painting, and in the seventeenth century writers conventionally likened the dark and light sides of the Moon to painted pigments. The Virgin was, for theological reasons, conventionally painted in the presence of a crystalline moon. In his *Inmaculada* of 1619, Diego Velázquez depicted the Virgin standing on a textured moon, the image he had almost certainly seen for himself through a telescope in Seville.

THE MICROSCOPE

The success of the telescope and consequent diffusion of its optical principles led quickly to the appearance of the first compound microscopes between 1612 and 1618. Galileo himself had one, but until the second half of the seventeenth century they seem to have been more a curiosity than an active research tool. The main technical problems of microscopes were to illuminate the substance under observation effectively and to produce a small lens that could provide a sharp image. Large magnifications tended to yield blurry images. Microscopy really got under way with the publication of Robert Hooke's *Micrographia* (1665) and Jan Swammerdam's general history of insects in 1669. In the early 1670s they were joined by contributions from Marcello Malpighi (1628–1694) and Antoni van Leeuwenhoek (1632–1723).

The earliest microscopes looked like telescopes: the lenses were set in wooden rings mounted on the ends of cardboard tubes, the one that held the ocular fitting inside the tube with the objective. Hooke used a compound microscope with a double-convex lens objective and a complicated three-lens eyepiece. By this time, however, improvements in grinding techniques had produced simple microscopes with much higher powers of magnification, the kind used by Leeuwenhoek. Sold in large numbers at the end of the seventeenth century, this was the instrument that popularized microscopy.

NAVIGATIONAL, SURVEYING, AND PRACTICAL INSTRUMENTS

In the late Middle Ages and early modern times, the so-called mariner's astrolabe was used for telling time: by lining up the site with the Sun the user

could read the time of day directly from a dial on the instrument. But the device had no use in practical navigation. The most common nautical instruments were the cross-staff, the back-staff, and the quadrant, reasonably simple handheld devices for measuring the altitude of stars but which could not easily be used to measure the angle between two stars from a moving boat. These instruments were all abandoned in the 1770s, replaced by John Hadley's reflecting quadrant, or octant, which eventually gave rise to the sextant, still in use today. With it, the navigator could bring the Moon's reflection down to the horizon, where the image would remain immovable, no matter how violently the ship was rolling.

Folding rules could be used by surveyors, gunners, or carpenters for small-scale plotting of terrain, or to estimate heights and depths, and were engraved with useful information like timber and board measures. A sector was a jointed rule with two radial arms engraved with a graduated scale. With the invention of logarithms (1614), the sector gave rise to the slide rule. Such ruled instruments were only as accurate as their graduations. Various methods of graduation, constantly improved, such as subdividing a scale by transverse lines that could be read to the one-hundredth part of quite small units, depending on the quality of the engraving, allowed the direct reading of angles, to an accuracy of five or ten seconds. Such graduation schemes became increasingly geometrical in the course of the eighteenth century and finally machines were devised for engraving linear scales.

There were also instruments of a practical nature designed to be carried by ordinary citizens. One such was the compendium, a pocket-sized brass gadget made for personal use that typically included an equinoctial sundial, religious calendars, a table of latitudes, a magnetic compass, a nocturnal (to determine time at night), a tide computer, and a table for establishing ports.

PHYSICAL INSTRUMENTS

Thermometers based on a variety of principles and materials were built as curiosities in the seventeenth century. It was not until the German physicist Daniel Gabriel Fahrenheit began to use mercury systematically in the 1720s that the thermometer design stabilized, even though competing models used

other kinds of liquid. Most used alcohol, which was cheaper, but the reading of the scale varied with the concentration of alcohol. The Fahrenheit thermometer (with two fixed points, the freezing [32°] and boiling [212°] points of water, respectively) was adopted in England, Germany, and the Netherlands; France used René-Antoine Ferchault de Réaumur's scale, where 0° was the freezing point of water.

Robert Hooke devised a barometer to measure atmospheric pressure based on the variation of a column of mercury; Christiaan Huygens made a similar model but, following an idea of René Descartes, it used two liquids, mercury and water. The only barometer widely used around 1700 was that of Evangelista Torricelli, a tube plunged into a container of mercury. At issue was how to achieve consistent variations in the height of the mercury column, how best to contain the mercury, and what kind of scale could be devised (in the end, a metal casing placed around the glass tube bore the graduation marks). The hygrometer, to measure humidity, presented similar difficulties. The problem was to find an appropriate substance that was sturdy yet suitably sensitive to humidity. Finally, around 1783, Horace-Bénédict de Saussure perfected a model in which a hair held by a clamp at one end was attached at the other to a silver thread which, as it wound around a horizontal axis, caused a pointer to move across a 360° graduated dial. In the case of all three of these instruments, there was a century-long process whereby scientists devised workable instruments through the trial-and-error methods of empirical craftsmen.

ELECTRICAL MACHINES

Benjamin Franklin's discoveries made electrical machines and demonstrations fashionable after 1750. A variety of machines featuring the production of electrical current with a hand crank were made in the first half of the eighteenth century; but they were not generally produced until the English instrument maker Jesse Ramsden's plate machine of 1766, which was equipped with an electrometer to measure the charge produced. Subsequently, all such machines had electrometers because they were useful in measuring the shock applied to patients undergoing electric-shock therapy. Such machines could be connected to Leyden jars serving as batteries.

SPECIALIZED WORKSHOPS

Specialized workshops making and selling scientific instruments proliferated in England and in France in the eighteenth century. Some of the earlier ones specialized either in navigational or surveying instruments, on the one hand, or physical instruments, especially barometers, on the other. The first large instrumentation workshop in England was that of George Adams founded in 1735, identified by a sign of Tycho Brahe's head in Fleet Street, London. Brahe (1546–1601), of course, was a pre-telescopic astronomer famous for his design and use of huge, finely calibrated observational instruments using the unaided eye alone, and thus became an apt symbol for the craft of instrumentation. Microscopes were Adams's specialty, as well as mathematical instruments of all types. John and Peter Dolland, father and son, opened an optical shop in London in 1752. The Dollands made quadrants, telescopes, and other observational instruments in large numbers. Of all the English instrument makers of the period, Jesse Ramsden (1735–1800) was said to be the best mechanic and optician. He was famous for large-scale astronomical and geodesic instruments, built telescopes for European observatories, and was elected a fellow of the Royal Society. In Holland, Jan van Musschenbroek, himself an important popularizer of Newtonian physics, had a famous workshop (in which he made instruments for his brother Pieter), as did Fahrenheit, a German born in Danzig who lived and worked in Amsterdam. Fahrenheit specialized in glass instruments, particularly the thermometer whose scale he established, and the barometer.

In France, the great instrument makers of the late eighteenth century tended to work for institutions. The Mégnies (probably two brothers) were associated with the Academy of Sciences, where they built chemical apparatuses for Antoine-Laurent Lavoisier (1743–1794), as well as telescopes and other optical instruments. Étienne Lenoir (1822–1900) worked mainly for the Weights and Measures Commission, where he built the apparatus that French expeditionaries used to measure the meridian.

INSTRUMENTS AND IMPERIAL RIVALRIES

As the expeditions sent out by European powers to the Pacific came increasingly to focus on scientific matters, they began to take on the guise of floating

laboratories, equipped with instrument collections that increased in size with each succeeding expedition. In the last quarter of the eighteenth century, numerous expeditions tested the marine chronometer devised by John Harrison (1693–1776) for the determination of longitude at sea. The instrument was a matched set of clocks, one set to the prime meridian, the other to local time. The difference in hours multiplied by fifteen yields the degree of longitude. On his 1772–1775 voyage, Captain James Cook tested four English chronometers, one by Harrison and three by John Arnold. He quickly determined that with accurate chronometers longitude could be determined within 1.5 degrees of accuracy, and more importantly, he let it be known publicly that he was abandoning the complex and tedious “lunar distance” method for determining longitude in favor of chronometers.

The role that scientific instrumentation played in imperial rivalries of the late eighteenth century can be appreciated in the provisioning of the expedition that the Italian captain Alessandro Malaspina led for the Spanish crown between 1782 and 1794. For the procuring of scientific instruments, the Spanish navy had an agent in London and another in Paris. The instrument makers were anxious to place their wares on spectacular expeditions such as the one being planned, because the performance of the instruments was highly publicized after the voyage in the string of memoirs by officers and naturalists sure to follow. Malaspina carried seven sets of chronometers, four made by Arnold and three by Ferdinand Berthoud. Alexander Dalrymple, who supplied Malaspina with English instruments, had close connections with Arnold’s shop, as a result of which Malaspina offered to provide Arnold with systematic comparisons of the longitude results given by Arnold’s instruments and those obtained simultaneously by astronomical methods. In this way, detailed field results were fed back to the manufacturer, who could then make the necessary corrections in future models. Malaspina’s judgment was that an Arnold chronometer was the best of the six, a Berthoud almost as good; the others ran too fast. The rest of Malaspina’s apparatus was heavily English: an astronomical pendulum invented by George Graham, two Dolland achromatic telescopes with triple objectives, and thermometers from the houses of Nairne and Blunt, respectively.

INSTRUMENT COLLECTIONS

As a result of the scientific revolution, collections of scientific instruments emerged in all of the centers of the Western world. Some collections were formed at universities and other teaching institutions for didactic purposes; others fulfilled the whims of wealthy scientific amateurs. Popularizers of Isaac Newton, who diffused the results of the scientific revolution in public lectures in the early eighteenth century, required a large number of instruments with which to conduct experiments or illustrate scientific principles during their presentations. The prototypes of much of this Newtonian demonstration apparatus were built by Pieter van Musschenbroek at the request of Willem J. s’Gravesande. The entire collection, including pulleys, weights, pendulums, pumps, and machines for illustrating specific concepts of physics is still preserved in Holland. In the second half of the eighteenth century, electrical apparatus was added to the repertory of demonstration equipment. The reputation of lecturers on physics depended in great part on the quality of their apparatus. Instrumentation became so expensive that private institutions like the Royal Society were dependent on patrons to supply them with instruments. The collection of the German counts of Hesse in the early eighteenth century had 57 telescopes and 32 microscopes. To own such instruments was a mark of culture. The collection of the kings of France at Versailles contained 245 instruments, including 52 pieces of electric apparatus, at the time of its confiscation during the French Revolution. In Madrid, the Spanish crown established in 1791 a Royal Machine Museum (Real Gabinete de Máquinas), a collection of 270 models of different kinds of machines. Private collectors of the same period, whose collections we know through inventories included in their wills, inevitably owned electrical machines and air pumps. Franklin’s experiments had made the former a symbol of scientific progress, and air pumps, as a kind of prototypical machine, though of a size manageable for demonstrations, were a convenient symbol of the incipient industrial revolution and could be used to run a multiplicity of experiments.

See also Astronomy; Barometer; Biology; Brahe, Tycho; Chronometer; Copernicus, Nicolaus; Galileo Galilei; Hooke, Robert; Huygens Family; Lavoisier, Antoine; Malpighi, Marcello; Optics; Scientific Revolution; Shipbuilding and Navigation; Surveying.

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THOMAS F. GLICK

SCIENTIFIC JOURNALS. *See*
Communication, Scientific.

SCIENTIFIC METHOD. Methods for investigating the natural world were transformed in the early modern era, leading to a variety of approaches that emerged from diverse philosophical orientations. To call these diverse methodologies "scientific" is a convenience but one that entails anachronistic usage. The Latin word *scientia*, meaning, broadly, 'knowledge', has none of the methodological implications of the modern term *science*. Early modern investigators called themselves philosophers, natural philosophers, physicians, and experimental or mathematical philosophers rather than scientists. Methodological issues often were the focus of lively discussions and bitter disputes. By the end of the era, approaches to investigating the natural world had undergone profound changes that historians traditionally have called the "scientific revolution."

ARISTOTELIANISM

The predominant methodology inherited by early modern learned culture was Aristotelian. The writings of Aristotle became the basis of the medieval

university curriculum and remained so well into the seventeenth century. For Aristotle, knowledge (*epistēmē* in Greek, *scientia* in Latin) was universal and necessary. The goal of natural philosophy was to grasp the principles and natures of natural substances and to understand their causes. The method was a logical one based on syllogistic reasoning. If A equals B and B equals C, then A equals C. The four Aristotelian causes comprised the material cause (what a thing is made of), the formal cause (what kind of thing it is), the efficient cause (what made it), and the final cause (its purpose or goal), this last being most important. Demonstration was a process whereby a syllogistic proof of an effect was constructed through an analysis of its causes.

In the mid-sixteenth century at the University of Padua, traditional Aristotelian logic began to provide a renewed methodological basis for investigating the natural world. The most important figure in this development was Jacopo Zabarella (1533–1598). Remaining within an Aristotelian framework, the new logic asked how investigators got from sense perception to demonstrable truth. They discussed "demonstrative regress, a logical technique permitting the scholar to reason from an observed effect (fact) to its proximate cause and then to reason back (regress) from the cause to the effect where the reasoning began" (Grendler, p. 263). These methodological explorations influenced Galileo and other investigators until the mid-seventeenth century when Aristotelianism itself declined in influence.

HUMANISM AND NEOPLATONISM

Without replacing Aristotelianism, new approaches developed in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries that emphasized particulars. Humanism was a broad intellectual movement that engaged in the reform of Latin and the rediscovery of ancient texts. Humanists criticized the logical approach of Scholasticism and often focused upon individuals in specific times and places, utilizing the dialogue and letter as literary forms that allowed the expression of individual points of view. They also studied and edited ancient texts, many of which became significant for the investigation of the natural world.

Renaissance Neoplatonism emerged as a result of this humanist textual work. A key figure is Marsilio Ficino (1433–1499), who during the sec-

ond half of the fifteenth century translated and edited the writings of Plato, Neoplatonic philosophers such as Plotinus (205–270 C.E.), and the Hermetic corpus. The latter consisted of a group of writings actually dating from late antiquity that Ficino and his contemporaries believed were written before the time of Moses by one Hermes Trismegistus. They considered that the Hermetic corpus comprised a synopsis of ancient theology (*prisca theologia*). Ficino and his many successors in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries believed in the reality of magic and in occult powers because they viewed the universe as a spiritual unity connected in all its various parts by sympathies and antipathies. The magus or magician could influence remote parts of the cosmos by manipulating these connections, and he or she did so to influence worldly matters, such as sickness and health. The operational aspects of Neoplatonic magical traditions may have influenced the development of experimentation, a methodology that entailed the active manipulation of the natural world.

Neoplatonic doctrines also influenced notions about experience and its role in investigating nature. One example entails the doctrine of signatures and illumination. In one version, that of the sixteenth-century physician Paracelsus (1493/94–1541), experience is framed by the biblical context of the Fall. Humans after their expulsion from paradise no longer had direct access to the Word of God or direct knowledge of the world of nature. Yet because God had put the light of nature (*lumens naturalis*) in them they could overcome their fallen state. The light of nature awakened in their minds, so they were able to see signs stamped on natural things. Directly experiencing such things, they could thereby see God's "signatures," which were external signs that pointed to the internal nature of things.

MEDICINE AND ALCHEMY

Within the discipline of medicine, interest in particulars and a validation of individual experience developed in a variety of ways. In the fourteenth century a branch of medicine known as *practica* emerged that concerned the particulars of disease and treatments. By the sixteenth century the writings of the ancient physician Galen (129–c. 199 C.E.) had become widely influential, particularly with respect to

his empirical orientation and his practice of dissecting animals. Human dissection was taken up as part of the medical curriculum in the late medieval universities. Initially dissections were carried out in formal, public settings in which a high-status, learned doctor stood on a podium to read an authoritative text on anatomy, while a low-status person performed the handwork of dissection. In his famous *De Humani Corporis Fabrica* (On the fabric of the human body) published in 1543, Andreas Vesalius (1514–1564) advocated hands-on dissection by the high-status physician as well as careful observation and the visual depiction of body parts. Vesalius criticized but was also indebted to Galen. His famous treatise is part of a rich tradition of anatomical study that continued through the eighteenth century. This tradition notably includes the experimental work of William Harvey (1578–1657) in the 1620s on the circulation of the blood.

Alchemy represents a distinct discipline that developed in early modern Europe after the medieval transmission of key texts from the Islamic world. Alchemists often undertook hands-on, laboratory operations entailing separations, distillations, and the like. In the seventeenth century alchemy and related fields developed genuine experimental procedures. Jean Baptiste van Helmont (1579–1644) carried out numerous careful determinations of specific weights of substances he produced in his laboratory. George Starkey (1627–1665) undertook thousands of experiments to discover a single method of changing all sulfurs into medicines. The laboratory experiments of Robert Boyle (1627–1691) were influenced by this work. Scholars have investigated these seventeenth-century developments in detail and have traced their influence on eighteenth-century chemists, such as Antoine Lavoisier (1743–1794). This scholarship has brought into question the traditional sharp distinction between early modern alchemy and modern chemistry.

MECHANICAL ARTS

The mechanical arts entailed skilled craft work, including carpentry and weaving, but also arts that are now considered fine arts, such as painting and sculpture. The influence of artisanal craft values on early modern scientific methodology has been a long-standing topic of discussion in the history of science. The Viennese scholar and refugee Edgar Zilsel

(1891–1944) argued that artisanal values that appreciated hands-on experience and craft work influenced the emergence of an experimental methodology in the seventeenth century. Subsequent scholarship has shown that the fifteenth- and sixteenth-century proliferation of writings on mechanical arts transformed the practical knowledge of the crafts into discursive subjects worthy of the attention of learned persons. Painters and other practitioners wrote books in which they articulated the value of practice and direct experience as crucial for obtaining knowledge of the natural world.

MATHEMATICS AND MECHANICS

Practical problems in the mechanical arts increasingly came to be analyzed in mathematical terms. The ancient mathematician Archimedes (c. 287–212 B.C.E.), who had applied geometric analysis to problems of statics (the science of weights), came to be highly influential. In the sixteenth century Niccolò Tartaglia (1499–1557) published the first Latin treatises of Archimedes and also wrote books in which he mathematically analyzed practical problems, such as the trajectory of cannonballs. Later in the same century authors, such as the nobleman and patron of Galileo, Guidobaldo del Monte (1545–1607), wrote treatises on machines and mechanics in the context of theory and mathematics.

This sixteenth-century tradition preceded the development of the new science of motion developed by Galileo Galilei (1564–1642). Galileo worked out the mathematical kinematics of motion. Disregarding air resistance, he concluded that all bodies fall in uniformly accelerated motion and that velocity increases in proportion to time elapsed. He went on to deduce the mathematical results of this conclusion, for instance, that the distance increases in proportion to the square of time. Following Galileo, Christiaan Huygens (1629–1695) worked out the mathematics of the pendulum and of circular motion. Near the end of the seventeenth century, in *Philosophiae Naturalis Principia Mathematica* (1687; *Mathematical principles of natural philosophy*), Isaac Newton (1642–1727) created a system of terrestrial and celestial dynamics in which he demonstrated mathematically a large array of propositions concerning natural phenomena. In these and many other examples in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the aim of natural and experi-

mental philosophers was to describe motion by means of mathematics. This project was possible because of simultaneous developments within mathematics itself, culminating in the invention of calculus by Newton and by Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646–1716) at the end of the seventeenth century.

INSTRUMENTATION AND EXPERIMENTATION

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the use of instruments to measure and investigate the natural world came to be increasingly important. The Danish nobleman Tycho Brahe (1546–1601) is considered the greatest observational astronomer before the invention of the telescope. For twenty years, from his Uraniborg observatory, Brahe made systematic observations of the moon, the planets, and other phenomena, such as the comet of 1577. He used these observations not only to correct and improve available data but to investigate and develop theories about the nature of the heavens and the structure of the cosmos.

Observational astronomy changed with the invention of the telescope. With this new instrument Galileo made detailed observations of the moon and the stars of the Milky Way. He further discovered the four moons of Jupiter (the Medicean Stars). In *The Sidereal Messenger* (1610) he described these discoveries with both text and drawings. Galileo's conclusions were by no means instantly accepted. He had to persuade his contemporaries that his instrument produced valid data, not optical illusions. Like Brahe and others of his predecessors, Galileo produced new data, but he also used that data to make novel claims about the nature of the cosmos.

Instruments and devices became especially significant in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Among these devices were “philosophical” machines especially devised to investigate the natural world. A prominent example of such a philosophical machine was the air pump, used by Boyle to investigate the nature of air. The pump was difficult to build and to use. Nevertheless, it was key to a whole series of experiments concerning air carried out in the mid-seventeenth century.

In seventeenth-century England the notion of the reliable witness to experiments emerged. Such a witness was an honorable person, preferably a gen-

tleman (therefore immune from the self-interest of the artisan), who could attest to the accuracy of the stated results of a given experiment. Valid experimental results came to be tied to the social requirements of gentlemanly honor. By the eighteenth century, however, learned visitors interested in natural philosophy who came to London often visited the shops of instrument makers to purchase instruments but also to discuss philosophical and experimental issues. By this time the instrument maker's shop had become a space for philosophical discourse, while the status of certain kinds of craft practitioners had risen.

The use of instruments to investigate nature had important methodological implications because it challenged the notion of Aristotelian common experience. For Aristotelians common experience was valid because all reasonable people without question agreed that a particular claim was true. In contrast, truth derived from experimentation, and instrumentation depended on the manipulation of a device that was only available to particular individuals. Such individuals had to have access to the device itself and had to possess particular skills to use it. Aristotelian common experience and seventeenth-century experiment represented opposing methodologies. Further the use of instrumentation to investigate nature challenged the Aristotelian separation of the categories of *technē* (material production and reasoning about that production) and *epistēmē* (certain knowledge of unchanging truths).

BACONIAN EMPIRICISM AND NATURAL HISTORY

The English jurist and philosopher Francis Bacon (1561–1626) proposed a new methodology that aimed to bring about a continuous flow of new facts about the natural world. Bacon's most significant methodological work was *Instauratio Magna* (1620–1626; The great instauration), which included *Novum Organum* (1620; New instrument). Bacon rejected syllogistic logic, pointing out that the premises of the syllogism could be in error. His own method entailed gathering a large amount of data on a variety of subjects and applying that data to the development of axioms. His goal was to account for the many particular things in nature in all its diversity. Yet his method entailed more than the simple collection of sense experiences, for Bacon believed the senses could deceive. Rather, in the

creation of axioms he took into account the “maker's knowledge,” that is, the presuppositions necessary for the fabrication of a thing. To gather data, Bacon proposed a cooperative effort to write “histories of the trades,” detailed accounts of the essential operations of productive arts, such as silk textiles, mining, printing, papermaking, and agriculture, as well as “natural histories” on topics such as snakes, birds, and metals.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, particularly in Italy, natural history was the focus of growing interest. The creation of natural history collections by naturalists, such as Ulisse Aldrovandi (1522–1605) and Athanasius Kircher (1601–1680), and the intense study of the specimens in those collections became an important aspect of the investigation of nature. Museums became “laboratories of nature” (Findlen, p. 154), where investigations entailing testing, dissection, and distillation occurred. In some instances the collection of specimens was accompanied by the creation of detailed drawings based on careful observations. Collecting specimens, examining them, and having them drawn or painted became important modalities for the study of nature. Federico Cesi (1585–1630) and other members of the Academy of the Lincei, a scientific society founded in 1603, were particularly active in this form of investigation of the flora and fauna of Italy.

DESCARTES AND THE MECHANICAL PHILOSOPHY

The methodological writings of René Descartes (1596–1650) laid the foundations for the “mechanical philosophy.” Descartes's famous dictum “*Cogito ergo sum*” (“I think therefore I am”) is the basis for his notion that mind is a thinking substance and is to be excluded from the physical world entirely. That world, composed of particles of matter, is characterized by extension. These particles move only by virtue of mechanical necessity. Their motions produce all the variety of natural phenomena. Descartes eliminated spiritual or mental qualities from the material world, leaving the thinking subject (the “I” of the cogito) as the discoverer of the clear and certain truths of nature. That natural world, characterized by extension, is ordered by mathematical relationships. For Descartes certain knowledge could be obtained by applying mathematical rules to the world of nature.

CONCLUSION

Investigations of the rich methodological cornucopia that characterizes the early modern period have been guided by several general principles. First, early modern thought is studied on its own terms, not according to the values of modern scientific methodology. Second, the wide-ranging connections of methodological thought to contemporaneous language and meaning on the one hand and to social and cultural conditions on the other are being explored in depth. Finally, studies have followed the sources, whatever that content might be. As a result, natural history has taken its place beside physics. The doctrine of signatures has been studied as thoroughly as the laws of planetary motion. Such contextual approaches have greatly expanded knowledge of early modern methodologies for investigating the natural world.

See also **Alchemy**; **Aldrovandi, Ulisse**; **Astronomy**; **Bacon, Francis**; **Boyle, Robert**; **Brahe, Tycho**; **Descartes, René**; **Galileo Galilei**; **Harvey, William**; **Helmont, Jean Baptiste van**; **Hermeticism**; **Huygens Family**; **Kircher, Athanasius**; **Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm**; **Mathematics**; **Natural History**; **Nature**; **Neoplatonism**; **Newton, Isaac**; **Paracelsus**; **Scientific Revolution**; **Vesalius, Andreas**.

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PAMELA O. LONG

SCIENTIFIC REVOLUTION. The scientific revolution took place from the sixteenth century through the seventeenth century and saw the formation of conceptual, methodological, and institutional approaches to the natural world that are recognizably like those of modern science. It should not be seen as a revolution in science but a revolution in thought and practice that brought about modern science. Although highly complex and mul-

tifaceted, it can essentially be seen as the amalgamation of what was called natural philosophy with various so-called subordinate sciences, such as the mathematical sciences, astronomy, optics, and geography, or with separate traditions, such as those of natural magic and alchemy. The traditional natural philosophy, institutionalized in the universities since their foundation in the thirteenth century, was almost entirely based upon the doctrines of Aristotle and followed rationalist procedures. When those trained in natural philosophy began to recognize the power of alternative traditions for revealing truths about the physical world, they increasingly incorporated them into their natural philosophies. In so doing, these natural philosophers inevitably introduced different methods and procedures to complement and refine the earlier rationalism. To fully understand the scientific revolution, however, requires consideration not only of what happened but also of why it happened. Before looking at this, it is necessary to consider the status of the scientific revolution as a historiographical category.

HISTORIOGRAPHY AND THE SCIENTIFIC REVOLUTION

The *scientific revolution* is the historians' term and should be seen as a shorthand way of referring to a multitude of historical phenomena and processes, not all of which were directly related to one another. Although potentially misleading in so far as there were not, for example, defining moments when the revolution can be said to have begun or to have ended nor a recognizable body of revolutionaries who were all self-consciously affiliated with one another, it continues to be recognized as a valid label. The lengthy time span of this revolution might also seem anomalous, but this is easily outweighed by the undeniable fact that approaches to natural knowledge in 1700 were completely different from those deployed in 1500 and that there is no exaggeration in calling these changes revolutionary. Those historians who have chosen to emphasize the undoubted continuities between the thought of the scientific revolution and medieval thought nevertheless concede that, by the end of the period, things were completely different from the way they had been at the beginning. It is perfectly possible, for example, to see Nicolaus Copernicus (1473–1543), who first suggested that Earth was not stationary in the center of the universe but was re-

volving around the Sun, not as the first modern astronomer but as the last of the great medieval astronomers. Far from being an indefensible position, this is the only way to fully understand what Copernicus did and how he did it. Nevertheless it remains true to say that the switch from an Earth-centered universe to a Sun-centered planetary system had revolutionary consequences that cannot possibly be denied.

An important indicator of the persuasiveness of the notion of a scientific revolution is its role in one of the most influential works in the modern philosophy of science, Thomas Kuhn's (1922–1996) *Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (1962). Inspired chiefly by the Copernican revolution (which he made the subject of an earlier book) and its far-reaching aftermath, Kuhn developed a theory about the nature of scientific progress based upon radical innovations that mark a revolutionary disruption from earlier thinking. Kuhn's influence has been greatest among philosophers and sociologists of science concerned with understanding the nature of scientific innovation and advance, but his ideas were directly inspired by and modeled upon the historiography of the scientific revolution.

Given the importance of this historiographical category, it is hardly surprising that it has attracted a number of attempts to provide a simple key for understanding it. Two of the most serious attempts to explain its origins are the so-called scholar and craftsmen thesis and the Protestantism (or even Puritanism) and science thesis. Deriving essentially from Marxist assumptions, the scholar and craftsmen thesis takes for granted the idea that modern science is closer to the work of elite craftsmen and skilled artisans than it is to the ivory tower philosophizing of the medieval university. All that was required to bring about the scientific revolution therefore was a realization by educated scholars, provoked by the economic stimulus of the incipient capitalism of the Renaissance period, that artisans were producing accurate and useful knowledge of the physical world. This thesis is untenable on a number of grounds. Among the more wide-ranging are the fact that it pays insufficient attention to the continuities between the natural philosophy of the scientific revolution and medieval natural philosophy and the obvious fact that craftsmen and artisans do not, as a rule, rely upon, much less produce,

scientific thinking while doing their work. There is too much reliance in these Marxist accounts on glib talk to the effect that experimentation is manual work, craftsmen indulge in manual work, therefore craftsmen do experiments. Nonetheless it is certainly true that scholars began to pay attention to the work of technical artisans in the Renaissance, and this no doubt owed something to economic factors. But the scholars took this craft knowledge and turned it into something closer to modern science; the artisans themselves were not already in possession of scientific knowledge.

The Protestantism and science thesis, based more on statistical claims that Protestants play a disproportionate role in the development of modern science than on causative explanation, is also problematic but much harder to dismiss. Although it is quite clear that Roman Catholic thinkers, notably Copernicus, Galileo Galilei (1564–1642), and René Descartes (1596–1650), played a major role in the early part of the scientific revolution, the later period does seem to be dominated by developments in Protestant countries, even though the Protestant population as a whole remained the minority in Europe. Nevertheless the reasons advanced to explain why this might be so remain unconvincing. One of the most powerful refinements of this thesis, by the American sociologist Robert K. Merton (1910–2003), seeks to explain the culmination of the scientific revolution in late-seventeenth-century England, with the formation of the Royal Society and the appearance of its most illustrious fellow Isaac Newton (1642–1727), as the result of the rise of Puritanism in the civil war period. Here the statistics have proved much less satisfactory, since it is virtually impossible, without merely begging the question, to say who was a Puritan and who was not. Moreover the suggested reasons seem to apply equally to all English Protestants, not just Puritans, and indeed in some cases to European Catholics as well. The starting point for these explanations is the claim of the German sociologist Max Weber (1864–1920) that the “spirit” of capitalism is linked to the Protestant work ethic. Again it is difficult to accept the suggested reasons for this link, and yet, as a result of collective prosopography, a feeling remains that there must be some truth in it.

Another influential historiographical claim about the scientific revolution, but this time one

that does not seek to explain its origins but its cultural impact, links the development of the scientific revolution with a vigorous reassertion of patriarchal values and the subjection of women. Based on a historiography that presents premechanistic worldviews as holistic, organic, vitalistic, and feminine, the mechanical philosophy of the scientific revolution (see below), by contrast, is shown to be manipulative, exploitative, and aggressively masculine. Supported by pointing to the routine use of sexual metaphors by the new natural philosophers in which the investigator is recommended to subdue, constrain, and bind into service Mother Nature in order to facilitate penetrating her inner secrets, feminist historians have seen these attitudes as a reason for the gendering of science that persists into the twenty-first century. There seems to be a prevailing assumption that science is a masculine pursuit and that women are somehow mentally unsuited to it. This is a legacy not of the ancient period or of the Middle Ages, feminists claim, but of the new approach to the natural world developed during the scientific revolution. Although there is some interesting and undeniable evidence for this general view, the claim that earlier natural philosophy was in some way feminine or feminist seems merely tendentious. The magical worldview, for example, was exploitative and manipulative for centuries prior to the scientific revolution. What’s more, traditional natural philosophy excluded women throughout the Middle Ages.

If the historians’ concept of a scientific revolution remains indispensable for understanding the origins of modern science, it raises another important set of historiographical issues. Why did the scientific revolution occur when it did (at the end of the Renaissance and the beginning of the early modern period)? Why did it occur only in western Europe? More to the point, why did it not occur in ancient Greece, early imperial China, medieval Islam, or Byzantium, where there is enough historical evidence to suggest it might have occurred? To what extent was the scientific revolution responsible for the subsequent cultural dominance of the West? Debates on these issues continue in the twenty-first century. Requiring a wide-ranging familiarity with the history of diverse cultures as the basis of comparison and an enlightened caution against chauvinistic assumptions that Western culture is somehow

innately superior, there has so far been little or no consensus. It seems likely, however, that this aspect of the historiography of the scientific revolution will grow as awareness of the need for multicultural perspectives to reach a full understanding of the past increases.

THE RENAISSANCE AND THE SCIENTIFIC REVOLUTION

In its origins the scientific revolution can be seen as another outcome of that sea change in European life and thought known as the Renaissance. In particular the new emphasis by intellectuals on the *studia humanitatis*, the ‘study of humanity’, with its concomitant concern for the *vita activa*, the ‘active life’ lived for the public good, as opposed to the traditional religious emphasis upon the contemplative life, stimulated new attitudes toward natural knowledge. Traditional natural philosophy had always been seen as a “handmaiden” to theology, the queen of the sciences, and as such it was a contemplative pursuit concerned with understanding God’s creation for its own sake. The Renaissance humanists, concerned with living the active life, increasingly looked to alternative intellectual traditions with more pragmatic aims, in particular the mathematical sciences and the traditions of what was called natural magic.

These changes in attitude toward knowledge and what it was for went hand in hand with revelations emerging from the rediscovery of ancient wisdom. Humanist scholars systematically searched monastery libraries all over Europe for any surviving copies of ancient Roman and subsequently ancient Greek writings. Previously the only body of writing on natural philosophy available to Western scholars was that of Aristotle (384–322 B.C.E.), but for the first time it was possible to read the works of Plato (c. 428–348 or 347 B.C.E.), Epicurus (c. 341–270 B.C.E.), the Stoics, various Pythagorean or Neoplatonic writers, and others. Plato proved especially influential, and this boosted the importance of the later Pythagorean and Neoplatonist writers who were seen to be his followers. Since these writers tended to see mathematics and especially geometry not merely as human constructs but as reflections of the divine mind, the principles of which had been built into the world in Creation, they stimulated humanist scholars to see mathematics as a legitimate and powerful means of discovering truths about the

natural world. This was in stark contrast to the prevailing Aristotelian view of mathematics, which was dismissed as essentially irrelevant for understanding nature because it was abstracted from physical considerations and did not provide explanations in terms of causes.

Similarly, the discovery of a body of writings attributed to Hermes Trismegistus (Thrice-Great Hermes), who was assumed to be an ancient sage deified by the Greeks, gave a new legitimacy and intellectual kudos to magical traditions. Although actually written in the second and third centuries C.E., the Hermetic writings were assumed to be contemporary with Moses and his writing of the Pentateuch. Since these works were highly magical, it now seemed that magic was part of ancient wisdom, the wisdom known to Adam that gradually became forgotten after the Fall. Throughout the Middle Ages the church had condemned magic, declaring it to be entirely dependent upon demonic intervention. After the discovery of the Hermetic writings, for a brief period magic was seen as a powerful system of knowledge that exploited the natural qualities and powers of bodies to recover the dominion over all things that God had offered to Adam (Genesis 1:28).

The elevation of the intellectual status of mathematics and natural magic had far-reaching effects. Large numbers of mathematical practitioners of various kinds were quick to extol the virtues of their practice in terms of its certainty (unlike the speculative natural philosophy) and its pragmatic usefulness. The result was an increasing mathematization of the world picture, culminating at the end of the seventeenth century in the supreme achievement of Newton. The title of his great book, *Philosophiæ Naturalis Principia Mathematica* (1687; The mathematical principles of natural philosophy), still widely regarded in the twenty-first century as one of the most important scientific books, sums up the change from an Aristotelian natural philosophy where mathematics had no role to a physics dependent upon mathematics. Other salient points in this transformation were Copernicus’s insistence in 1543 that Earth must move, in spite of the lack of compelling physical reasons for its movement, simply because the mathematics of a heliocentric system was more elegant and coherent, and the belief of the astronomer Johannes Kepler (1571–1630) that the

world can be understood in geometrical terms because “Geometry, which before the origin of things was coeternal with the divine mind and is God himself . . . supplied God with patterns for the creation of the world” (1619; *Harmony of the World* [*Harmonices Mundi*], p. 304). The great Italian mathematical physicist Galileo claimed that the book of nature “is written in the language of mathematics . . . without which it is humanly impossible to understand a single word of it” (*The Assayer*, 1622, in *Discoveries and Opinions*, p. 238).

The increased concern with the practical utility of knowledge of the Renaissance humanists ensured that practitioners of occult arts, like alchemy, astrology, sympathetic magic, and what was called “mathematical magic” (the construction of technological devices and machines—regarded as occult because their operations could not be explained in Aristotelian terms), also earned enhanced intellectual status. The most important outcome of the rise of magic was an appropriation of one of its chief methods of exploration—the experimental method—and a far-reaching reassessment of the concept of so-called occult qualities.

The use of the experimental method in natural philosophy is undoubtedly a characterizing feature of the scientific revolution, but the method itself was not newly invented in this period. It was simply incorporated into the previously entirely speculative natural philosophy from the natural magic tradition. Alchemists and those seeking supposed sympathetic effects of one substance on another, in order to bring about desired ends, had long since developed and continued to use techniques of experimental manipulation. The most prominent figure in the scientific revolution responsible for promoting the experimental method was the English statesman and philosopher Francis Bacon (1561–1626), but it is perfectly clear that he took his inspiration from the magical tradition. Similarly William Gilbert (1544–1603), an English physician and author of a seminal book on magnetism generally seen as the first scientific book based almost entirely on the experimental method, was directly influenced by a medieval magical treatise. It used to be assumed by historians that Gilbert’s *De Magnete* (1600; On the magnet) took its experimental method from craftsmen and artisans working with iron or manufacturing magnetic compasses, but all the features of his

experimental method are in a *Letter on the Magnet*, written by the natural magician Petrus Peregrinus de Maricourt (fl. 1269) and first published in 1558.

The issue of occult qualities came to prominence as a result of increasing dissatisfaction with Aristotelian matter theory and emerging awareness of alternative magical accounts. The aim of Aristotelian natural philosophy was to explain everything in terms of easily understood and obviously true factors. Accordingly, it tried to account for physical changes in terms of changes in the four manifest qualities, hot, cold, wet, and dry, all of which were obvious to the senses. In many cases, of course, a certain amount of ingenuity was required to refer changes back to these four qualities. A change from roughness to smoothness, for example, would be explained as a change from dryness to wetness. When ingenuity failed, however, there was often nothing for it but to admit that occult qualities were at work—qualities that could not be referred back to the manifest qualities but whose effects were undeniable to the senses. The classic occult quality is magnetism—the lodestone’s ability to attract iron does not seem to be reducible to the action of heat or any other manifest quality, but its effect, the movement of a piece of iron, is visible for all to see.

It was common in the magical tradition to assume that some bodies could act upon others by inherent sympathies or antipathies, a notion that was dismissed by Aristotelians as an “asylum of ignorance” because it explained nothing. As the experimental method became increasingly accepted as a legitimate aspect of natural philosophy, however, it became possible to demonstrate the operation of sympathies or antipathies experimentally (consider any of the phenomena, for example, that modern chemists refer to as elective affinities between chemical compounds) and to consider them as operationally defined. This in turn led to speculations about causes. Either bodies could act on one another at a distance, or there was some form of invisible interaction. For some, particularly those in England who were influenced by Bacon’s emphasis upon experiment devoid of speculation, it was possible to accept action at a distance merely on empiricist grounds and forego further speculation. For others, however, this was too magical to concede, and it was assumed that effects must be brought about by invisibly small particles streaming between

bodies. This strategy was favored by those aware of the alchemical tradition, which had a long history of explanation in terms of invisibly small corpuscles, and was further reinforced by the revival of ancient atomism as the result of the rediscovery of the writings of Epicurus and of the summary of Epicurean principles by Lucretius (c. 100 or 99–c. 55 B.C.E.) in his *De Rerum Natura* (On the nature of things).

At its extreme the attempt to explain all physical phenomena in terms of the interactions of invisibly small particles led to a vigorous denial of occult qualities. Descartes, the French mathematician and philosopher, believed that his system was capable of explaining all phenomena without recourse to occult qualities and that all occult qualities themselves, including magnetism, were reducible to the motions of invisibly small particles. In England, by contrast, the Cartesian system was seen as unacceptably speculative and not always supported by the evidence. This was particularly apparent in what would now be thought of as chemical reactions (about which Descartes was largely silent) and in the case of gravitational attraction. If gravity was caused, as Descartes suggested, by continual streams of descending particles pushing things to Earth, why was it not possible to shield a body from these streams and keep it suspended? It is surely historically significant that the universal principle of gravitation, seen as an occult force capable of acting across vast distances of empty space, was developed by an English alchemist working within the tradition of Baconian empiricism—Newton.

The new importance of matter theory in understanding the nature of the physical world is another characterizing feature of the scientific revolution. These variations on the use of invisibly small particles, their motions, and their interactions were generally referred to as the mechanical philosophy, a term first coined by the English experimental natural philosopher Robert Boyle (1627–1691). Although only the systems developed separately by Descartes and Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679) could be said to be strictly mechanical in the sense that they assumed particles of matter to be completely passive, capable of acting only by virtue of impact in collision with other particles, there was a range of other mechanical philosophies, such as those of Pierre Gassendi (1592–1655), Robert Hooke (1635–1703), and Newton, where particles were

held to be endowed with various inherent principles of activity (“seminal powers” or “internal faculties” in Gassendi, for example, and gravitational attraction in Newton).

The mechanical philosophy went hand in hand with two other innovations still seen as characteristic of modern science. Although the concept of laws of nature is as old as natural philosophy itself and can be found among the ancient Greeks, they were only invoked in a nonspecific, even vague way as principles of regularity in nature. The sun rises, for example, in accordance with a law of nature. Because Descartes was concerned with explaining all phenomena in terms of the motions of invisibly small particles out of which all gross bodies were composed and those motions were said to be the result of earlier collisions and could only be passed on by further collisions, he needed to be able to codify precisely how motions were passed on. This need for precision was also inspired of course by his background in mathematics and the rise in the belief that the world itself was mathematical through and through. Accordingly Descartes based his system of natural philosophy on three precise and carefully defined laws of nature supplemented by seven rules of impact (to clarify exactly what happens in different kinds of collision). Although now seen to be misconceived, Descartes’s laws had an enormous influence and seemed to his contemporaries to be the major factor in radically transforming natural philosophy from a speculative to a certain, physically and mathematically grounded enterprise. This confidence in the new mechanical philosophy was fully justified not long after, when Newton’s *Principia* established three revised laws of motion, which proved to be the correct basis for a highly successful mathematical physics until the advent of relativity and quantum theories in the early twentieth century.

Descartes was also aware that, in stark contrast to Aristotelian philosophy, which was supposedly based on common sense, his philosophy explained the world in ways that were not only contrary to sense impressions but were in principle undiscoverable by the senses. What the senses revealed was mere appearances; the underlying reality was one of crowding and jostling particles too small ever to be seen. Even light itself, according to Descartes and the other mechanical philosophers, was not

what people might think. Either pressure pulses in the intervening medium between the eye and the thing observed or streams of invisible particles flowing into the eye, light and color were subjective experiences, the reality of which was different. This fundamental belief was open to different interpretations and gave rise to differing opinions. Where Descartes believed people could infer the reality underlying appearances by essentially rationalist procedures, others took a more skeptical line. Out of these debates the English philosopher John Locke (1632–1704) initiated the philosophical position known as British empiricism. Locke insisted, against Descartes, that one can never be sure about the nature of the substance underlying the subjective experience of reality and must rely on empirical investigation rather than potentially misleading rational reconstruction. Subsequent thinkers took even more radical positions. For instance, the Anglo-Irish philosopher and divine George Berkeley (1685–1753), later bishop of Cloyne, said that all people can know is what they perceive, and they cannot even know that there is an underlying reality. British empiricism is a movement in philosophy rather than in science, but the distinction between what are called primary qualities (the qualities of the invisibly small particles, like size, shape, motion) and secondary qualities (subjective qualities, like taste, color, temperature) remains an important distinction in modern science.

THE WIDER CULTURE AND THE SCIENTIFIC REVOLUTION

Although it is possible to present the major innovations of the scientific revolution, that is, the mathematization of the world picture, the experimental method, and the concern for a practically useful knowledge, as well as their development into the mechanical philosophy, as direct outcomes of the humanist movement in the Renaissance and its concern with the active life, there were other important elements in the historical context. As is well known, the Renaissance was also the period that saw the rise of city-states and regional and national principalities, to say nothing of wealthy mercantilist corporations, all of whom had not only the wealth but also their own reasons for patronizing various enterprises. The role of patronage in the fine arts is well known, and its effects on the more realist nature of Renaissance art compared to medieval art and its

frequently more secular subject matter are plain to see. The role of secular patronage in changes in natural philosophy has not yet been fully explored, but it is already clear that this played a major part in the emphasis upon practically useful knowledge.

Royal courts employed mathematicians and natural magicians before they employed natural philosophers. Furthermore this kind of patronage led to the establishment of the first alternative institutional setting for learning about the natural world since the formation of the universities. At the Platonic Academy in Florence, under the patronage of Cosimo de' Medici (1389–1464), Marsilio Ficino (1433–1499) first translated not only the works of Plato into Latin but also those works attributed to Hermes Trismegistus. Subsequently, royal patrons began to support academies devoted directly to the investigation of the natural world, such as the *Accademia dei Lincei* (Academy of the Lynxes) supported by Federico Cesi (1585–1630) that grew around the famous natural magician Giambattista della Porta (1535?–1615) but later included Galileo among its members.

The importance of these academies and of the individual patronage of leading thinkers like Galileo (by Grand Duke Cosimo II de' Medici, 1590–1621) or Kepler (by the Holy Roman emperor Rudolf II, ruled 1576–1612) can be seen from the fact that virtually every conceptual or methodological innovation in the scientific revolution was introduced by thinkers working outside the university system. The most successful of these scientific research institutions were the Royal Society of London, founded in 1660, and the *Académie des Sciences* in Paris, set up in 1666, both of which consisted of the leading natural philosophers in their respective countries.

The universities should not be overlooked entirely, however. Although there was little innovation in the arts faculties where natural philosophy was taught, it was sometimes different in the medical faculties, where there was always a greater concern with the practical usefulness of knowledge. Most famous is the medical faculty at Padua, where Andreas Vesalius (1514–1564) revolutionized the traditional teaching of human anatomy by performing the dissections himself. More usually a lower-status surgeon performed the dissection for the class

while the medical professor simply read from the relevant work of the ancient medical authority Galen (c. 130–201 C.E.). By performing the dissections himself, Vesalius claimed to have discovered over two hundred errors in Galen's anatomical works. In particular Vesalius established that there was something seriously wrong with Galen's account of the heart and the movement of the blood. This led to the discovery of the lesser circulation of the blood (its circulation from the right ventricle to the left ventricle of the heart by crossing the lungs) by another professor at Padua, Realdus Columbus (1510–1559), in 1553 and the discovery of the full circulation by William Harvey (1578–1657), a former student at Padua, in 1628.

The medical faculties sometimes provided the institutional setting for advances in knowledge about the so-called *materia medica*, medicinal minerals, plants, animals, or parts of animals, although they had to compete for honors with the so-called cabinets of curiosities gathered by wealthy collectors that can be seen as the origins of modern museums. In many cases a wealthy patron not only set up a cabinet of exotic specimens from the natural world but also employed a learned curator, who then became well placed to revise current knowledge of flora and fauna. For example, Pierandrea Mattioli (1500–1577), curator of Archduke Ferdinand of Tyrol's (1529–1595) collection, became one of the leading naturalists of the age.

Generally speaking, of course, university-trained medical practitioners were able to make a good living, and many were able to pursue further study independently. Medical practitioners form the single biggest group of contributors to the scientific revolution. But it was not always university men who made the greatest contributions. The itinerant Swiss autodidact who called himself Paracelsus (c. 1493–1541) developed a new system of medicine and therapeutics based on assumptions about the alchemical nature of the whole of Creation, the macrocosm and the microcosm of the human being. Physiological processes were seen as alchemical processes within the body, and it was assumed that alchemically produced medicines could be as efficacious as traditional herbal remedies if not more so. Accordingly Paracelsians used far more mineral-based medicines than had been usual previously. Although Paracelsian methods were always contro-

versial, some notable therapeutic successes (and the inadequacy of traditional cures) ensured that it was widely adopted by numerous followers throughout Europe.

Responses to Paracelsianism point to another important aspect of the reform of natural knowledge. For many contemporaries the radical and iconoclastic nature of Paracelsianism was seen as subversive of orthodoxy. Traditional Galenic medicine, like Aristotelian natural philosophy, was seen as guaranteeing what were regarded as traditional verities enshrined in university curricula and confirming the old authorities. More to the point, it was seen as all of a piece with orthodoxy in religion. In Catholic countries Paracelsus was regarded as the Luther of medicine, as subversive to the health of the body as the religious reformer Martin Luther (1483–1546) was to the health of the believer's soul. Paracelsianism tended to flourish therefore in societies riven by religious and concomitant political factionalism. In France it was promoted by the Protestant Huguenots, in Germany it flourished in the Protestant states, and in England after the Civil War it was promoted by parliamentary physicians, who saw Galen as a tyrant in medicine who had to be deposed as Charles I (ruled 1625–1649) had been.

The most famous aspect of the alliance between traditional authority in natural knowledge and orthodox religion is, of course, the alliance between Aristotelianism and Roman Catholicism, particularly as manifested in beliefs about the stationary position of Earth. But the situation was significantly different from the response to Paracelsianism. Perhaps because astronomy was of less concern to people in their everyday lives than was medicine, little attention was paid to the innovations of Copernicus when they were first published in 1543. Only after Galileo widely publicized discoveries he had made by turning the newly invented telescope to the heavens in 1610 did the Catholic Church begin to take notice. Galileo's telescopic innovations could do nothing to prove the truth of Copernican astronomy, but they could and did show that Aristotle's ideas were significantly wrong. Galileo used his considerable rhetorical skills to imply that Aristotelian cosmology should be replaced by Copernicanism. Unfortunately, Galileo's rhetorical strategy included a widely circulated letter to Grand Duchess Christina (1615; the dowager duchess was the

mother of Galileo's patron Cosimo de' Medici) in which he suggested that certain biblical passages should be reinterpreted to make them compatible with Copernican theory. The Catholic Church could not let this intervention by a layman into matters of scriptural interpretation pass and made a ruling in 1616 that confirmed the traditional, geostatic interpretation of Scripture and condemned Copernicanism as erroneous and heretical.

It is significant that the Protestant churches, usually more concerned with biblical literalism than the Catholic Church, took no comparable action against Copernicanism. The fact that the Catholic Church took no action until Galileo made the religious implications of Copernicanism highly public, some seventy years after the publication of Copernicus's book, suggests that analyses that have emphasized the local contingencies in the Galileo affair are correct and that it is wrong to use this affair to argue that science and religion are irreconcilable world-views.

Indeed, most of the evidence from the scientific revolution points the other way, showing a strong alliance at this period between science and religious belief. The end of the sixteenth century saw the beginnings of atheism in Europe, arising at least partly out of a skeptical crisis among intellectuals as a result of the newly discovered alternatives to Aristotle from ancient thought, including ancient skeptical writings. It seems clear that early atheists (for the most part they covered their tracks well—atheism was, after all, a capital offense) used their interpretations of natural philosophy (at first Aristotelianism and subsequently the mechanical philosophy) to promote irreligion. Nevertheless, all the major contributors to the development of the scientific revolution seem to have seen themselves as “priests of the Book of Nature,” to use Kepler's phrase. The starting point of Descartes's system of natural philosophy was an argument he saw as undermining any skeptical position, his famous argument, “I think, therefore I exist.” And his next move was to prove the existence of God before going on to build up his rational system of nature. Once again the culmination of this line is in the work of Newton, who privately admitted, “When I wrote my treatise about our system, I had an eye upon such principles as might work with considering men for the belief of a Deity; and nothing can

rejoice me more than to find it useful for that purpose” (Letter to Dr. Richard Bentley, December, 1692, in *Papers and Letters*, p. 280). Accordingly, in the second edition of the *Principia* (1713), he publicly declared that “to treat of God from phenomena is certainly a part of natural philosophy” (p. 943).

If modernity is associated with the advent of secularism, therefore, the role of early modern science is by no means unambiguous. On the one hand, the tradition of natural theology, that is, using the principles of science and close observation of the natural world to suggest that the world shows signs of intelligent design, can be seen as an attempt to resist secularization of the world picture. On the other hand, however, this same movement led believers away from Scripture and revelation to a rationalist and intellectual approach to God that ultimately came to seem indistinguishable from a science-based atheism. Similarly, although some early modern scientists used the limitations of the mechanical philosophy to point to the need to accept the existence of a spiritual realm, using accounts of witchcraft and ghosts to make their points, others insisted on the reality of the immaterial rational soul but proceeded to explain as many mental phenomena as possible in terms of a material “animal soul.” Eventually the new science contributed to the movement toward secularization, but the process was not fully accomplished until the Enlightenment, the age succeeding that of the scientific revolution.

See also Bacon, Francis; Berkeley, George; Boyle, Robert; Copernicus, Nicolaus; Descartes, René; Galileo Galilei; Gassendi, Pierre; Gilbert, William; Harvey, William; Hermeticism; Hobbes, Thomas; Hooke, Robert; Kepler, Johannes; Locke, John; Matter, Theories of; Nature; Newton, Isaac; Paracelsus; Scientific Method; Vesalius, Andreas.

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JOHN HENRY

SCOTLAND. In 1500 Scotland was a small, poor, and peripheral country on the northern fringe of Europe. Its economy was largely agricultural, its religion unremarkably Catholic, its political leanings toward France, its military and commercial significance minor, its people largely illiterate. By 1800 Scotland was a European leader in the fields of agriculture and commerce; it had long been self-consciously, perhaps aggressively, Protestant; its philosophers had changed the face of European thought; its inhabitants, by now among the best educated in Europe, saw themselves as Scots, but also as Britons; its people, practices, and ideas had left a stamp on the whole British, European, and Atlantic world.

RELIGION AND POLITICS

The first step in this progression was the Reformation. Politically it was made by Scotland’s separate Parliament, at grass roots principally by urban middle classes, and in popular memory by John Knox (1513–1572). Where the Scandinavian and German lands espoused the Word according to Martin Luther, Scotland followed the Swiss model of John Calvin, which also appealed to the northern Netherlands and certain parts of what is now France. To make a political statement against Mary Queen of Scots (1542–1587) and her French connections, Scotland’s Parliament introduced in 1560 an assertive Calvinist Confession of Faith. Within a generation or two, Protestantism’s institutions were firmly established in the Lowlands, and within three or four generations it had become the faith of most of the country.

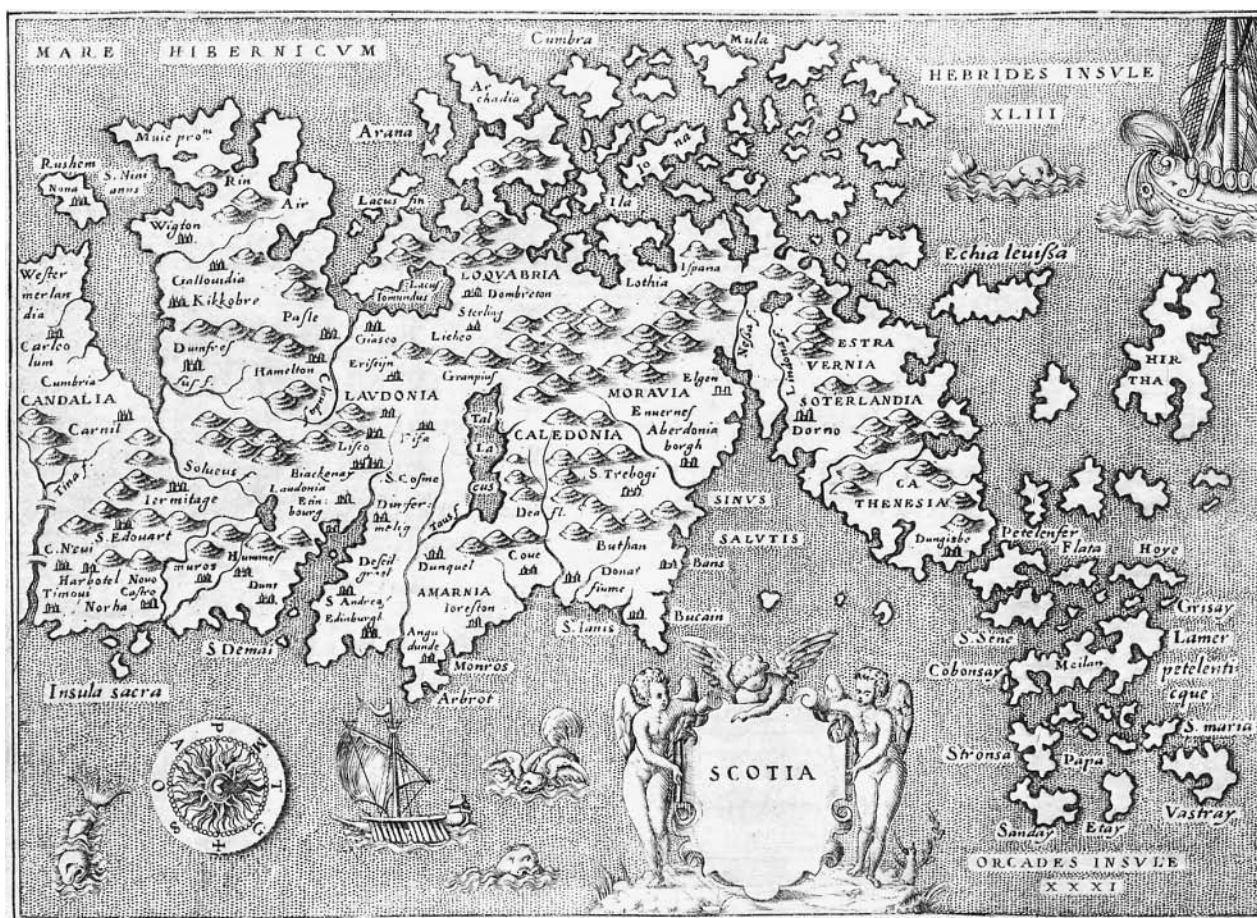
Pockets of Catholicism survived into the eighteenth century, but the principal religious battles in the generations after the Reformation were fought over church organization: should it be presbyterian

or episcopalian? Bishops and presbyteries coexisted unhappily from 1560 until 1689. The Scottish Revolution of 1638, which eventually led to an invasion of England and the overthrow of Charles I, and the “Glorious Revolution” of 1688–1689 were sparked by Presbyterians; powerful ties existed between Scottish Presbyterians and radical English Puritans in the period up to 1646. Late-sixteenth- and early-seventeenth-century Scotland was a hotbed of revolutionary religious and political ideas.

The political origins and standing of the Church of Scotland gave it power almost unique in Europe, for example allowing it to control the moral and religious behavior of all Scots through parish “kirk sessions.” Yet this was fatally weakened by a Toleration Act in 1712 and by further splits between Protestant denominations (for example, in 1733), which

continued to fragment the faith into the mid-nineteenth century. Vocal and sometimes violent anti-Catholicism also persisted throughout the early modern period.

Calvinist reformers placed education at the top of their agenda. A national system of parish schools was established by Parliament during the seventeenth century, giving Lowland Scots among the highest literacy levels in Europe by the mid-eighteenth century. Scots came to value education highly. Around 1790 Scotland had the highest ratio of universities per million inhabitants in Europe (3.3 per million; the figure was 0.2 for England, Wales, and Ireland, 0.9 for France). Early growth in university numbers was fueled by demand for training in Protestant theology, while its eighteenth-century expansion was principally associated with legal and medical education—Scotland’s universi-



Scotland. A miniature map of Scotland originally engraved for Thomas Porcacchi's *Isole piu famose del mundo* [The most famous islands of the world] first published in 1572. MAP COLLECTION, STERLING MEMORIAL LIBRARY, YALE UNIVERSITY

ties produced nine out of ten British medical graduates between 1750 and 1800. Student numbers rose from just over 1,000 to 4,400 between 1700 and 1820. Young men were attracted to Scotland's institutions of higher learning by important changes in teaching methods and curricula, and by the fact that Scotland was almost the only country in Europe where it became cheaper in real terms to attend university over the course of the eighteenth century. Thus Scotland's universities were much less elitist than Oxford or Cambridge and were becoming more socially inclusive during the eighteenth century.

Scotland's eighteenth-century universities represented the country to the world. Yet from the 1707 Union of Parliaments until 2000, Scotland had no representative assembly. At one level the Union of 1707 was part of a process of growing

integration with and dependence on England. Links with England, regarded since the Middle Ages as the "auld [old] enemy," had been enhanced by the Union of the Crowns in 1603. James VI of Scotland (ruled 1567–1625) became James I of England (ruled 1603–1625) after the extinction of the Tudor dynasty with the death of Elizabeth I. James left the old royal palace of Holyrood in Edinburgh for the decidedly more lavish setting of London. From 1603 to 1714 the house of Stuart reigned over Scotland (as it had since 1371), England, Wales, and Ireland, albeit with a shift in the line of succession in 1689 when James VII of Scotland (James II of England) fled to France. The Union of the Crowns brought about important changes in the status of the border counties of England and Scotland, pacifying and integrating them into unified government structures, but in all other regards the nations remained distinct. The most important



Scotland. This is another miniature map from Porcacchi's book, showing northern Scotland and the Hebrides and Orkney Islands. MAP COLLECTION, STERLING MEMORIAL LIBRARY, YALE UNIVERSITY

event integrating them was the Union of Parliaments in 1707.

Earlier attempts at integration, for example by the crown with its disastrous attempt to impose an Anglican prayer book on Scotland in 1637–1638 and by the Republican Oliver Cromwell with his forced union in the 1650s, had met with failure. In the early 1700s the mood of Scots remained decidedly Anglophobic, and the Union was constructed by elements of the ruling elite. “We are convinced that an Union will be of great advantage to both. The Protestant religion will be more firmly secured, the designs of our enemies effectually disappointed, and the riches and trade of the whole island advanced.” So argued supporters of the Union. In exchange for giving up their own Parliament, they got 45 members in the 513-strong House of Commons and 16 representative peers in the House of Lords, both in London. Scotland was thereafter part of the “United Kingdom of Great Britain” and was managed by a succession of aristocratic patrons, notably the dukes of Argyll. For all that Scots prized an egalitarian ethos, theirs was not a politically democratic society. Scotland had only 3,000 county electors in 1788, and the burgh franchise was confined to town councils; Edinburgh’s member of Parliament was elected by just thirty-three men.

While Queen Mary (wife of William of Orange and co-ruler with him 1689–1702) was a Stuart, the change of monarch in 1689 left many Scots (and some English) uneasy, feelings accentuated by the arrival of a Hanoverian monarch (George I) in 1714. This discontent provided support for the Jacobite rebellions of 1715 and 1745. Glorious failures as they may have been, the rebellions bound Scotland ever more closely into the political, military, and imperial destiny of her nearest neighbor.

SOCIETY

The defeat of the ’45 also signaled important social changes. Lowland society had long been a “modern” one. Landowners were the elite. Landownership was concentrated in a few hands, and the “lairds” dominated the hierarchies of wealth, status, and political power. The men who attended Scotland’s Parliament until 1707 were members of the landed nobility. Beneath them in the social hierarchy came the tenant farmers, along with their subtenants or “cottars” and servants, who worked

the land that provided the bulk of wealth and well-being. In the Lowlands approximately a fifth of late-seventeenth-century rural dwellers were craftsmen and tradesmen. Until the eighteenth century the “middle class” was made up of prosperous tenants and small landowners in the countryside and the merchants of the larger towns. Then professionals came into their own—lawyers, doctors, and educators—along with the increasingly confident merchants and manufacturers spawned by the industrial and commercial revolutions.

Highland society was distinctive until the eighteenth century. The structure of landholding was superficially similar, but Highland society was based on very different premises, which were increasingly alien to Lowlanders and to the English. Highland nobles were not just landlords, but also chiefs, in charge of clans built on the bonds created by feuding and feasting. The crown used clan rivalries to extend its hold on the Highlands, most notably in the notorious massacre of MacDonalds by Campbells at Glencoe in 1692. Weakened by political and economic change since the sixteenth century, the cultural framework of clans was not finally dismantled until after the failure of the 1745 Jacobite rising. In its aftermath the wearing of Highland dress and the carrying of bagpipes were banned, except for Highland regiments abroad.

The early modern Highlands were densely peopled, and indeed the distribution of Scotland’s population was very different from that of the present day. As late as the mid-eighteenth century more than half of Scotland’s people lived north of an imaginary Highland Line drawn from just south of Aberdeen to just north of Glasgow. In common with most northern Europeans except the Dutch, Scots were country dwellers. Just 3 percent lived in towns of 10,000 or more in 1500. However, the rate of urbanization was the fastest in Europe in the eighteenth century. Just one Scot in twenty lived in a large town in 1700, compared with one in six by 1800. The most rapid eighteenth-century growth occurred in Glasgow and neighboring towns in the west-central Lowlands, the former on the back of the colonial tobacco trade, the latter mostly thanks to textile manufacturing.

Until the eighteenth century population figures are largely guesswork. Scotland may have had

700,000 people around 1500 and perhaps one million by about 1700, though most of the growth probably took place between about 1540 and 1640; the first accurate census in 1801 showed there were 1.6 million people. Scotland's population growth rate was slower than elsewhere in the British Isles—strikingly so in the eighteenth century because Scottish women married later than did their English and Irish counterparts, and a larger proportion never married during their childbearing years. Slow growth occurred despite the fact that adults began to live much longer in the eighteenth century. Life expectancy at the age of twenty-five years rose from twenty-eight years in the early seventeenth century to thirty-eight years by the end of the eighteenth century. Apart from low fertility and high mortality, the other reason was substantial emigration, this usually of young men for military or mercantile service. The North Sea and Baltic countries had always been important destinations for Scots (as had England), but the main goal in the seventeenth century was Ireland and in the eighteenth the Atlantic and Caribbean colonies.

The redistribution of population to the west central Lowlands in general and the rise of Glasgow in particular marked a profound shift in the economic focus of Scotland's wealth and overseas trade. In the Middle Ages both had centered on the east coast, Scots looking to the North Sea and the Baltic; then the emphasis changed to the west, focusing on the Atlantic economies. Scotland's agriculture had always been less developed than that of England, but the second half of the eighteenth century saw dramatic improvements in arable farming, which brought rural productivity onto a par with the best in Europe. Industry, until then located mainly in the countryside, became more identifiably urban and began to diversify from textiles and other "organic" economies (using, for example, leather and wood) into mineral-based production of coal and metals. Scotland had already become more dependent on her southern neighbor for trade by the end of the seventeenth century, and experienced agricultural and industrial revolutions at the same time as England a century later.

Yet for all the convergences of experience, Scotland was in many ways a very different country from England even in 1800. There was fiscal integration with England from 1707, but Scotland's legal sys-

tems, educational framework, religious establishment, and even currency—the pound (£) Scots was worth about one twelfth of the pound (£) sterling and the Bank of Scotland was a separate foundation in 1695. The trading privileges of her royal burghs were preserved distinct from England's at the Union of Parliaments. Key social institutions also differed. For example, poor relief was discretionary and recipients had less clearly defined rights than in England; it was usually supplementary and therefore meager; there were fewer institutions like workhouses, which existed mainly in some of the larger towns.

CULTURE

Within Scotland's borders considerable social and cultural diversity also persisted. Highland literacy was much lower than Lowland because most people there spoke Gaelic, not Scots (a West Germanic tongue similar to English). Gaelic was the first language of half of Scotland in the fifteenth century, a third in 1689, but just a fifth in 1806. Linguistic variety did not end there, for all of Scotland was becoming more Anglicized. Scots itself had flourished as a literary medium in the late Middle Ages (c. 1480–1520) but was in retreat thereafter as standard court Scots fragmented into regional dialects after the departure of James VI in 1603. Anglicization of language and culture proceeded in the eighteenth century. The literati of Enlightenment Edinburgh aspired to pronunciation and orthography that conformed to the best London practice, and it was English rather than Scots that became the tongue of Scotland's landed, professional, and aspirant mercantile classes.

Edinburgh was the crucible of the Scottish Enlightenment, which also flourished in the universities, drawing rooms, and clubs of Glasgow and Aberdeen. Scotland's enlightened thinkers and writers—Adam Smith and David Hume, to name but two—were of worldwide significance, bound together by a shared faith in the improvability of individual and society through education, reason, and discussion. They celebrated and promoted commercial change, including an early consumer revolution, by arguing that economic cooperation and exchange would promote sociability, refinement, and "taste." Scotland's Enlightenment was

far more vigorous, socially diverse, and influential than England's.

While Scotland ended the early modern period closely integrated with England and tied up in its industrial, commercial, and imperial future, its independent evolution and effects on England (and Ireland) in the early modern period illustrate that different parts of the United Kingdom influenced each other's development. Through contacts with Europe and the Atlantic world, Scotland also exerted a wider influence over space and time. Aspects of the educational system developed in the seventeenth century, political theories expounded at the Reformation and after, the ideas aired in the Scottish Enlightenment, and Scotland's interpretation of Calvinist theology and some of the practices of church organization and discipline are all examples of an enduring international impact of her early modern development.

See also Calvinism; Edinburgh; England; Hume, David; Knox, John; Jacobitism; James I and VI (England and Scotland); Puritanism; Smith, Adam; Stuart Dynasty (England and Scotland).

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R. A. HOUSTON

SCUDÉRY, MADELEINE DE (1607–1701), French novelist, philosopher, and moralist. One of five children born in Le Havre to a noble family of relatively modest means, Mlle de Scudéry was one of the most influential and popular novelists of the seventeenth century. She spent most of her youth in Rouen, where she received a better education than that of most girls of her social background and time. In 1637 she joined her brother Georges in Paris, and together they frequented the thriving literary salons of the Marais district. The two siblings worked together on works of fiction that enjoyed immediate success. In 1641 Madeleine published her first novel, *Ibrahim ou l'illustre Bassa*, under her brother's name. This practice of using the name of her brother as her pseudonymous signature was one that she continued for most of her prolific career as a

writer, despite the fact that her own authorship was openly acknowledged in the gazettes, memoirs, and letters of the time. Although the precise nature of his contributions is uncertain, Georges did clearly collaborate to some extent with his sister in the writing of her novels, and he wrote the prefaces to several of her books.

Artamène, ou Le Grand Cyrus, Madeleine de Scudéry's second novel, published in ten volumes between 1649 and 1653, assured her celebrity both in France and abroad. It was translated into English, German, Italian, and Arabic. The French civil wars known as the Fronde were coming to a close during this same period, and Scudéry dedicated the novel to the duchess of Longueville, who had been a leader in the uprisings against the throne. Although its characters were drawn from historical sources and the setting was remote, *Artamène, ou Le Grand Cyrus* was a roman à clef in which most of the major characters could be identified with real people among Scudéry's contemporaries. She included a character sketch of herself as the Greek poet Sappho, expounding with her friends on platonic love and the life of the intellect. While she was writing the novel, Scudéry established her own literary coterie known as the *samedi*, named for the day of the week on which she received her guests, and modeled after the famous Rambouillet salon gatherings that Madeleine and her brother had frequented in the 1630s.

In her later works Scudéry focused increasingly on the philosophical discussions of salon society. The most famous episode in her third novel *Clélie, histoire romaine*, published between 1654 and 1660, concerns an allegorical map of the human heart, called the *Carte du pays de Tendre* (Map of the land of tenderness). The conversations generated by the map elaborate a theory of love that values reason over passion and discourages marriage. This led to Scudéry's novels being labeled as subversive by some, including the theorist of neoclassicism Nicolas Boileau-Despréaux, who published a harsh satire on novels in which *Clélie* and the *Carte du pays de Tendre* were targeted as fostering waywardness among women and contributing to the decline of marriage as a social institution.

In the 1660s Scudéry moved away from the heroic novel genre and turned to shorter narrative

forms, publishing three novellas, *Célinde, nouvelle première* (1661), *Mathilde d'Aguilar* (1667), and *La promenade de Versailles* (1669). These works were more realistic than her novels and were situated in modern times, and their action took place in locations that would have been familiar to her readers. But Scudéry continued to portray characters who themselves were captivated by the epic plots of heroic novels, thus focusing on the strong influence of novels on the collective imagination of her own social world. The 1660s were difficult years for many of Scudéry's circle, following the disgrace of her protector and patron Nicolas Fouquet, the superintendent of finances (1615–1680). Madeleine and her friend the historian Paul Pellisson (1624–1693) were among the small number of authors who dared to write appeals to Louis XIV on behalf of Fouquet, and Pellisson was imprisoned from 1661 to 1666. Although in 1671 Scudéry received the first prize awarded to authors by the Académie Française, she ceased to publish for the next nine years, until the appearance of the first of her collections of conversations, *Conversations sur divers sujets* (1680).

The last phase of Scudéry's career as a writer was devoted to ten more volumes of collected conversations, many of them excerpted from her novels. These were regarded by her contemporaries as representing the best of her writing, and unlike her earlier works, they were published under her own name. They reflected the collective efforts of Scudéry's milieu to cultivate the art of talk and develop a new aesthetic and practice of conversation. Translated almost immediately into English, they contributed to a body of literature describing new "French" styles of living that were imitated by elite circles in England, Germany, Italy, and Spain.

See also Bossuet, Jacques-Bénigne; French Literature and Language; Fronde; Salons.

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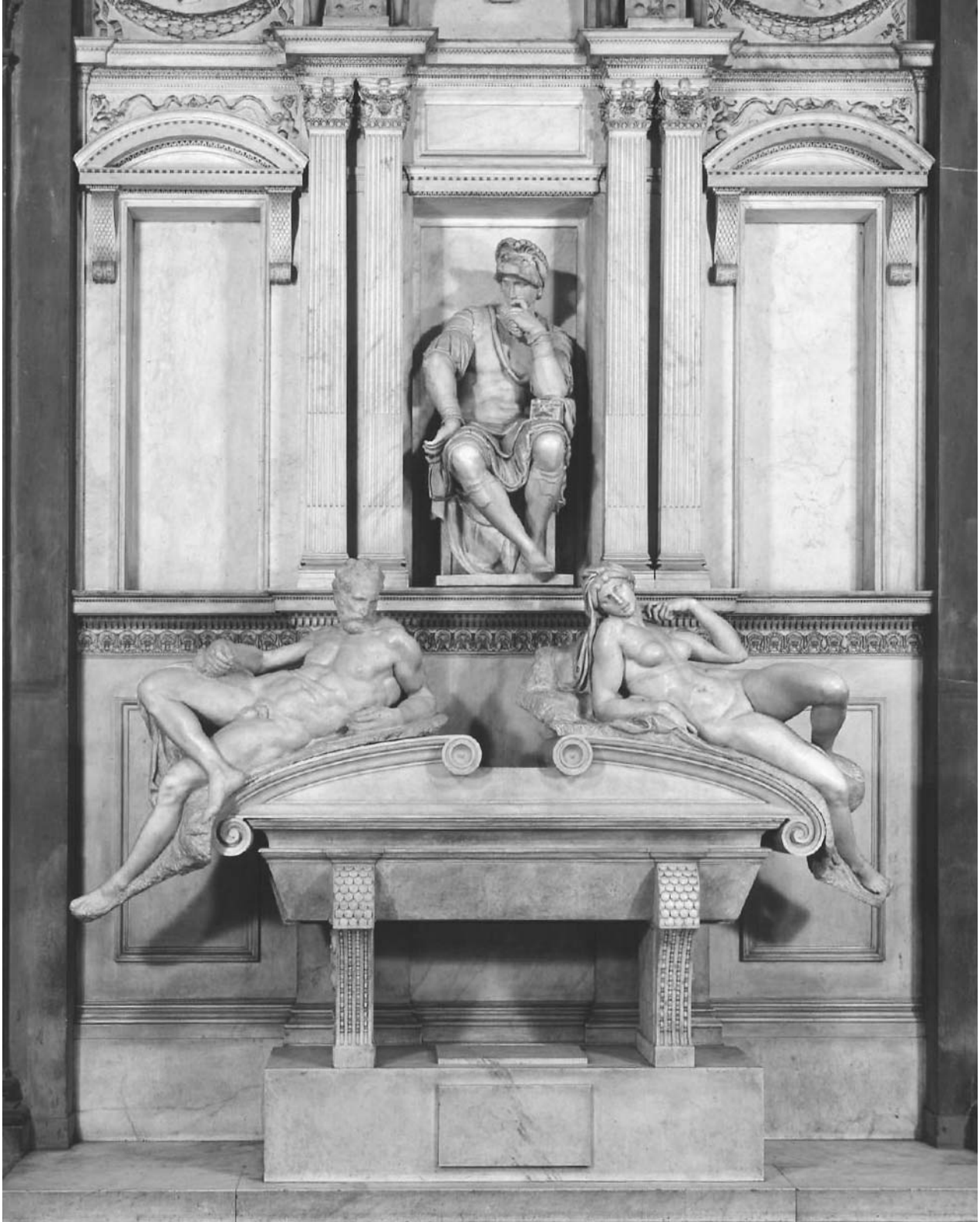
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ELIZABETH C. GOLDSMITH

SCULPTURE. By 1500 in Italy, the recovery of classical antiquity permeated all aspects of art and culture. In Padua, Mantua, and Florence, sculptors like Riccio, Antico, and Verrocchio revived the small bronze in exquisite tabletop figures of satyrs, gods, goddess, emperors, and heroes of ancient Rome that evoked the ethos of antiquity. In Rome, however, the Renaissance manifested itself on a larger scale. Here, the young Michelangelo Buonarroti (1475–1564) carved a remarkable life-sized marble statue, *Bacchus* (1496). Not even in antiquity had the god of wine been shown like this: pudgy, tipsy, lascivious, mouth open and eyes glazed in Dionysiac abandon, the very embodiment of wine's intoxicating effects and the ancient world's appeal to the carnal senses. If *Bacchus* represented the epitome of worldly classical values, then Michelangelo's *Pietà* (1499) in St. Peter's was its Christian counterpart. The young Madonna looks down pensively at the nude, lifeless body of her crucified son. Carved to anatomical perfection and brought to a high polish, the body of Christ holds an irresistible appeal for the beholder. The *Pietà* was recognized both as a masterpiece and a powerful spiritual icon created in the new idealized vocabulary of classical antiquity, yet infused with Christian piety.

POWER AND THE FORMS OF SCULPTURE

Both sculptures were created in Rome, capital of the ancient Roman Empire, seat of the papacy, and center of humanistic literary and artistic study. Pope Julius II della Rovere (reigned 1503–1513) accelerated earlier campaigns of urban renewal in his strong desire to return the Eternal City to its ancient glory. During his reign, Julius II also ruthlessly reestablished the papacy as a major secular power by militarily reuniting far-flung papal territories. Yet consolidation of political power and association with the prestige of imperial Rome was the goal not only of Spanish, French, and English monarchs but that



Sculpture. The tomb of Lorenzo de' Medici in the San Lorenzo church, Florence, sculpted by Michelangelo, c. 1520–1534.

©SCALA/ART RESOURCE

of the Holy Roman emperor as well. These rulers sought to express their power and garner prestige in major sculptural projects meant to glorify their persons and dynasties.

In Germany, Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I (ruled 1493–1519) gave sculptural form to his political, dynastic ambition with plans for a colossal, multi-figured bronze tomb begun in 1502. Despite its medieval style, its size and conception rivaled the tombs of the ancient Roman emperors. Maximilian planned to erect this monumental structure in a specially designed church in Innsbruck. It featured a bronze, life-sized kneeling effigy situated atop a large, high free-standing rectangular structure decorated around the sides with reliefs showing important events from his life. In it, forty life-sized bronze statues of Maximilian's ancestors (both men and women, beginning with Julius Caesar and ending with Ferdinand and the Catholic of Spain), thirty-four bronze busts of Roman emperors beginning with Julius Caesar, and a hundred statuettes of Habsburg saints were to accompany the emperor. The ambitious program, only partially realized, genealogically linked the Holy Roman emperor, his ancestors, and his future heirs to the imperial legacy and glory of Emperor Julius Caesar.

However, Pope Julius II's commission for his tomb to Michelangelo (1505) unified in form and content the legacy of ancient art with the pope's dynastic, political, and spiritual needs. Designed as a huge, freestanding three-storied marble structure (roughly 23 by 36 feet), with niches for statues and terms on the first level in front of which were bound prisoners, the plan called for forty allegorical marble statues and numerous bronze reliefs celebrating the pontiff's achievements and virtues. Now only the statue of *Moses* on the much-reduced tomb in San Pietro in Vincoli provides a clue to its original splendor. Formally it evoked not so much the tombs of Julius's papal predecessors as ancient Roman imperial monuments. Although never realized on this scale, the *Julius Tomb* nonetheless set an ambitious standard for dynastic sepulchral monuments.

The return of the Medici to power in Florence in 1512 and the election of Giovanni de' Medici as Pope Leo X in 1513 (reigned 1513–1521) led to a Medici funerary chapel at San Lorenzo, Florence, designed by Michelangelo (1519–1534). The pope's

dream of dynastic supremacy in Italy, and the end of foreign intervention, was shattered by the premature deaths of the young Lorenzo and Giuliano de' Medici (1519, 1516). In their marble effigies, seated pensively above sarcophagi upon which recline representations of the times of day, Michelangelo subtly transcended dynastic panegyric, creating a poetic meditation upon the meaning of life, fame, and art itself.

In 1529, Henry VIII of England commissioned from the Italian sculptor Benedetto da Rovezzano (1474–1554) a tomb with numerous bronze statues and statuettes, one of the most ambitious sculptural projects ever conceived (abandoned in 1536). Later, Henry II of France planned at St. Denis a great chapel and tomb dedicated to the Valois dynasty. However, Philip II of Spain erected the most majestic tomb of all by building the Escorial (1563–1584), thus fulfilling his father's request (Holy Roman Emperor Charles V, reigned 1519–1556). At the sides of the Capilla Mayor's high altar, Leone Leoni's (1509–1590) over-life-sized gilt bronze and enameled effigies of Charles V, Philip II, and family members kneel facing the chapel's majestic sacrament tabernacle in perpetual adoration. Here was an eternal demonstration of Habsburg piety, sacramental devotion, and divine dynastic favor.

Throughout the sixteenth century, sculpture embellished civic spaces throughout Italy. The first and most important example is Michelangelo's colossal marble *David* erected in 1504 outside the Palazzo Vecchio, Florence. The *David* represented not only an emblem of republican liberty but also a fundamental psychological shift that merged Christian spirituality with worldly, man-centered values of antiquity. After the return of the Medici to power in Florence, Baccio Bandinelli carved his muscular, marble giant *Hercules and Cacus* to flank the *David*, an authoritarian antidote to *David's* republican sentiments. Cellini's bronze *Perseus and Medusa* soon rose on the Loggia dei Lanzi along with Giambologna's serpentine, three-figured group *The Rape of the Sabines*. Giambologna's elegant, mannered style was disseminated throughout Europe via exquisite small bronzes frequently presented as diplomatic gifts establishing him as the most influential artist of the last third of the sixteenth century. His legacy was carried forward by Antonio Susini and Adrien de Vries.



Sculpture. *Samson Slaying a Philistine*, by Giambologna, c. 1578.
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Sculpture. *Pluto and Proserpina (The Rape of Persephone)*, 1622, by Gian Lorenzo Bernini. ©SCALA/ART RESOURCE, N.Y.

BERNINI AND ROME

Widespread political and religious conflicts generated by the Reformation and the Catholic Counter-Reformation wracked Europe, and Renaissance worldly values ebbed in favor of a purified Christian spirituality. In the arts, the Catholic Counter-Reformation spurred the reform of Italian painting toward the end of the sixteenth century. However, sculpture awaited the appearance of Gian Lorenzo Bernini (1598–1680) who became the most renowned artist of the seventeenth century. During the course of his long and incredibly productive career, Bernini changed Rome through commissions for churches, palaces, fountains, statues, chapels, monuments, and tombs. Orchestrating a small army of artists and workmen, Bernini dominated the artistic scene. His combination of painting, sculpture, and architecture into one unified and dramatic whole was a major influence in the

development of the baroque style that soon spread throughout Italy and Europe.

Like Michelangelo, the young Bernini immersed himself in the study of ancient sculpture. His first large-scale statues for Cardinal Scipione Borghese reflected years of intense analysis. These dramatic marbles stunned Bernini's contemporaries. *Pluto and Proserpina* (1621–1622, Galleria Borghese, Rome) presents an explosive combination of motion and emotion. The large, muscular Pluto, inspired by the ancient Roman *Hercules and the Hydra* (Museo Capitolino, Rome), hefts the distraught and struggling girl on his hip as he strides vigorously forward across the threshold of the underworld symbolized by the snarling, three-headed dog Cerberus. Proserpina's soft flesh yields to the god's violent grasp, her braids spin out into space, and marble tears course down her smooth cheeks. The over-life-sized group's startling impact and compelling naturalism is all the more remarkable as Bernini set it on a low pedestal against a wall, creating a commanding frontal view and strong physical presence directly to the viewer.

Apollo and Daphne (1622–1624, Galleria Borghese), inspired by a passage in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, represents the instant that the fleeing Daphne's prayers are answered and she is turned into a laurel tree as she tries to escape the pursuing Apollo. The startled god (inspired by the *Apollo Belvedere* in the Vatican but in this instance running madly) appears as amazed as we are to witness the transmutation of Daphne's flesh (marble) into leaves, roots, bark, and cloth. This hallucinatory realism was made all the more shocking by the way that Bernini orchestrated the visitor's perception of the group. When in its original position in the villa, the approaching viewer saw only Apollo's back. As the visitor moved into the room, the drama unfolded in real time and space until reaching its crescendo. In this way, Bernini controlled the viewer's experience, as he did on a much larger scale in St. Peter's.

It is at St. Peter's that Bernini's mark is firmly implanted. The church is defined from beginning to end by Bernini. St. Peter's Square and the curved *Colonnade's* embracing arms greet the visitor; at the crossing, under the dome in four pier niches, colossal marble saints—Longinus, Andrew, Veronica,

and Helen—activate the crossing by looking upward or seeming to move toward the immense bronze *Baldachin*, whose four spiral bronze columns and canopy mark the high altar and the tomb of the First Apostle. In the apse, the majestic bronze reliquary containing the throne of St. Peter—the *Cathedra Petri*—has descended from heaven accompanied by the Holy Spirit and its golden light burst. Cloud-borne and surrounded by a host of angels, the *Cathedra Petri* hovers miraculously above the apse altar, steadied by colossal bronze statues of the two Greek and two Latin church fathers. A shimmering apparition, the *Cathedra Petri* is a dramatic artistic culmination of the church’s image and visible proof of the papacy’s divinely endowed power.

The *Triton Fountain*, the *Elephant Obelisk*, and the stupendous *Four Rivers Fountain* at the center of Piazza Navona are but three of Bernini’s best known sculptural landmarks, each offering novel interpretations of well-known types. However, it is the Cornaro Chapel (1647–1652, Santa Maria della Vittoria) that remains Bernini’s most famous and potent symbol of seventeenth-century spirituality. Cardinal Federigo Cornaro commissioned a funerary chapel to commemorate seven other members of his family and to honor St. Teresa of Avila, the sixteenth-century Spanish mystic and reformer canonized in 1622. Into the existing architecture of the left transept chapel Bernini wove a related order of pilasters and entablature. Above the altar he placed a pedimented tabernacle framed by double columns into which the marble group of St. Teresa and the angel was set below a hidden window providing illumination. The altar frontal is decorated with a gilt bronze relief of the Last Supper; in choir boxes at each side, four members of the Cornaro family are engaged in discussion, or reading. Two skeletons in roundels on the floor look upward in prayer and wonder as they seemingly rise from their graves. At the apex of the vault is a fresco of the dove of the Holy Spirit, accompanied by a multitude of cloud-borne angels. The frescoed clouds cover a portion of the vault window and the actual architecture of the chapel, creating the illusion of an arriving heavenly host. This unity of painting, architecture, and sculpture focuses on the altarpiece, the *Ecstasy of St. Teresa*. Here Bernini depicted her rapture: the moment when an angel appeared with a golden



Sculpture. Bust of Molière by Jean Antoine Houdon, 1778.
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spear with a point of fire. In her own words, “. . . With this he seemed to pierce my heart several times so that it penetrated to my entrails. When he drew it out, I thought he was drawing them out with it and he left me completely afire with a great love for God.” In his sculpture, Bernini alluded to other mystical events described by Teresa (and others) in their writings: her levitation upon receiving the Eucharist, her mystic marriage to Christ, and her death when, though old, she became young and lovely.

Indeed, the entire program revolves around the action taking place at and above the altar. The dead rise ecstatically from their graves through the chapel floor; members of the Cornaro family bear fervent witness to the portentous significance of this proof of divine love; the Holy Spirit and angels descend into the chapel in celebration of Teresa’s union with God. The banderole carried by angels at the apex of the chapel bears God’s message: “If I had not created heaven, I would create it for you alone.” Teresa appears as an example of faith, as

intercessor and emblem of God's love for all mankind, and of his promise of eternal salvation through the Eucharist. Bernini's seamless visual logic gathers and unites the spiritual themes into an instant of stunning clarity focused on St. Teresa and the angel. This programmatic and aesthetic unity represents the culmination of Bernini's career, a perfect unity of form and content, and the artistic zenith of the Counter-Reformation.

Although Bernini's chief rival, Alessandro Algardi (1598–1654), labored in his shadow, he was an artist of immense talent. As a portraitist, Algardi was much admired for the sensitive handling of marble and the psychological depth he imparted to the sitters. The monumental marble relief in St. Peter's, *The Encounter of St. Leo the Great and Attila* (1646–1653), a sculptural tour-de-force, initiated a new genre for baroque art that would be emulated into the eighteenth century. The doubled life-sized marble group the *Beheading of St. Paul* (1634–1644, San Paolo Maggiore, Bologna) is set above the altar and seen in the round. The composition captures the moment before the executioner's raised sword strikes and displays Paul's peaceful, spiritual resignation in the face of imminent death.

The influence of Bernini's baroque style extended to the end of the seventeenth and well into the eighteenth century. The *Altar of St. Ignatius Loyola* at the Gesu in Rome (1695–1699) was designed by Andrea Pozzo and executed by a number of sculptors including Pierre Legros. A marble, gilt bronze, and frescoed confection on a truly monumental scale, it was designed to overwhelm by size, opulence, and the extravagant use of colored marbles. Herein lay the seeds of the decline of the baroque style, for the deep personal piety that vivified Bernini's art was not evident in that of his followers. With the advent of the Age of Reason in the eighteenth century and the concomitant decline in the status of the church, art theorists scorned baroque illusionism and its exuberant emotionalism as an affront to reason.

Slowly taste turned, favoring the restrained aesthetic of ancient Greek art for what Johann Joachim Winckelmann called its "noble simplicity and calm grandeur." Rome still attracted sculptors from all over Europe but they began to seek different ways

of expressing the time's new ideas. The young Jean-Antoine Houdon's statue *St. Bruno* (1766–1767, Santa Maria degli Angeli) pointed the way with still, smooth vertical draperies, a closed profile, and placid, meditative calm. His portrait busts are a marvel of natural observation that ennobles the sitters' intellectual traits. Yet it was an Italian sculptor, Antonio Canova (1757–1822) who created what we now think of as the first neoclassical sculpture, *Theseus and the Minotaur* (1781, Victoria and Albert Museum, London). His subsequent works, such as *Cupid and Psyche* (1787–1793, Louvre, Paris), *Perseus* (1804–1806, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York), *Paolina Borghese as Venus Victorious* (1804–1808, Galleria Borghese) and *The Three Graces* (1815–1817, London), recouped the artistic and ethical purity of Greek art and inspired artists on two continents, initiating the century-long reign of neoclassicism.

See also **Baroque; Bernini, Gian Lorenzo; Michelangelo Buonarroti; Rome; Rome, Art in.**

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MICHAEL P. MEZZATESTA

SEA BEGGARS. The Sea Beggars were pirates who made a living in the 1560s from capturing North Sea shipping. On 1 April 1572, six hundred Sea Beggars seized by surprise the small harbor city of Brill. It turned out to be a turning point in the history of the Netherlands, the beginning of what

later nationalist historians have coined the “heroic phase of the Dutch Revolt,” with its epic sieges of Haarlem, Alkmaar, and Leiden. The Sea Beggars were thus inextricably bound up with the genesis of the Dutch nation. Until 1572, they had been ordinary privateers, confining themselves to disrupting maritime traffic, raiding the coast of the Netherlands, plundering monasteries, and pillaging supplies of the Spanish troops, but with their seizure of Brill and its aftermath, they had become part of national history and memory.

In May 1568, during his invasion of Friesland, Louis of Nassau (1538–1574), the youngest brother of William of Orange (1533–1584), needed a small fleet to defend his supply routes to Emden. He called on the assistance of John Abels, a local corsair, and formed a fleet of fifteen ships. The military role of these newly formed Sea Beggars was, however, short-lived. After the failure of Louis’s invasion in July 1568, because they lacked a harbor of their own, they were forced to piracy. William of Orange discerned their importance for his own military plans but could not afford to pay them properly. Instead, he provided them with letters of marque, which allowed them to attack hostile ships. Operating out of the communities of exiled Calvinists from the Netherlands in Emden and the English Channel ports, the Sea Beggars performed their acts of piracy and planned their raids of the Netherlands. In the spring of 1571 their force amounted to some thirty ships.

Their disruption of maritime traffic, however, more and more annoyed the authorities in Emden and England. On 1 March 1572, Queen Elizabeth I denied them admittance to English ports. Cruising aimlessly in the English Channel, they decided to seize Brill, hoping to find a new base for their undertakings. The news of the seizure took William of Orange by surprise and complicated his own plans for an invasion of the Netherlands. In the following months, however, one after another the towns of Holland and Zeeland opened their gates to the Sea Beggars. At last, William of Orange had his base in the Netherlands.

The Sea Beggars never proved to be a reliable armed force. Consisting mainly of fortune seekers and Calvinist exiles and commanded by such first-generation rebels as Lumey van der Marck and Wil-

liam Blois of Treslong, who had consciously broken with their pasts to revolt, the Sea Beggars cultivated an ethos that differed markedly from that of professional soldiers. They believed themselves to be God’s elect and fought with the bitterness of the exile, and this made them hard to control. Their military advance in Holland and Zeeland was accompanied by the murder of priests, raping of nuns, and plundering of monasteries. Fearing that this behavior would alienate the moderate citizenry and town councils, William of Orange dismissed obstinate commanders such as Lumey and incorporated the ordinary men into a new, more professional army.

See also **Dutch Republic; Dutch Revolt (1568–1648); Elizabeth I (England); William of Orange.**

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PAUL KNEVEL

SECRETS, BOOKS OF. One of the most popular genres in early modern science publishing, the collections of recipes known as “books of secrets” began to stream from the presses in the mid-sixteenth century and were printed continuously down to the eighteenth century. These popular works contained hundreds of medical recipes, household hints, and technical recipes on metallurgy, alchemy, dyeing, and the making of perfume, oil, incense, and cosmetics. The books of secrets supplied a great deal of practical information to an emerging new middle-class readership, leading some historians to link them with the emerging secularist values of the early modern period and to see them as contributing to the making of an “age of how-to.”

However, the books of secrets were not merely “how-to” books. They were also intended as serious contributions to the study of natural philoso-

phy, as science was then called. Underlying the books of secrets was the premise that nature was a repository of hidden forces that might be discovered and manipulated by using the right techniques. Unlike the recondite contemporary treatises on magic and the occult arts, the books of secrets were grounded upon concrete, experimental trials. At the same time, the books of secrets popularized the emerging experimental method and attitudes to the lay public.

The most famous sixteenth-century book of secrets was a work attributed to Alessio Piemontese, *I Secreti del reverendo donno Alessio Piemontese* (1555; The secrets of Alessio). Alessio's *Secreti* went through more than a hundred editions and was still being reprinted in the 1790s. The humanist Girolamo Ruscelli (1500–1566), the real author of the *Secreti*, reported that the work contained the experimental results of an “Academy of Secrets” that he and a group of humanists and noblemen founded in Naples in the 1540s. Ruscelli's academy is the first recorded example of an experimental scientific society. The academy was later imitated by Giambattista Della Porta, who founded an *Accademia dei Secreti* in Naples in the 1560s.

Alessio Piemontese was the prototypical “professor of secrets.” The description of Alessio's hunt for secrets in the preface to the *Secreti* gave rise to a legend of the wandering empiric in search of technological and scientific secrets. Its enormous popularity made the work play a key role in the emergence of the conception of science as a hunt for the secrets of nature. The concept of science as a hunt pervaded experimental science during the scientific revolution.

In the books of secrets, experimental science shaded into natural magic. Giambattista Della Porta's famous *Magia Naturalis* (1558; Natural magic) deployed practical recipes in an effort to demonstrate the principles of natural magic. Other books of secrets, such as Isabella Cortese's *Secreti* (1564), a compilation of alchemical recipes, disseminated experimental techniques and practical information to a wide readership. Recent research has suggested that the books of secrets played an important role in the emergence of early modern experimental science, acting as intermediaries between the private and esoteric “secrets” of medieval alche-

mists and magi and the public Baconian “experiments” that characterized the research programs of the Royal Society of London and other seventeenth-century experimental academies.

See also Alchemy; Astrology; Magic; Medicine; Natural History; Scientific Revolution.

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WILLIAM EAMON

SEIGNEURIALISM. *See* Feudalism.

SEMINARY. The Council of Trent (1545–1563) required the creation of diocesan seminaries with the canon *Cum Adolescentium Aetas*, adopted during the council's twenty-third session in 1563. It became compulsory for every diocese to erect a seminary for the purpose of educating the local clergy.

Some historians claim that this legislation was fundamentally a return to the concept of cathedral school, where, from the beginning of Christianity, young men were prepared for priesthood. It was thus conceived as a restoration and renovation of the traditional way in which priests received their training. In its original design, the Tridentine seminary legislation was influenced by three factors. First, petitions coming from Italy, France, and the Holy Roman Empire had highlighted abuses in the education of the clergy, and had proposed either the reformation of cathedral schools or the erection of special schools attached to cathedral churches. Second, the Society of Jesus insisted on the necessity of providing adequate means for clerical education, and had already pursued this aim in founding and running colleges, including the famous Germanicum, founded in Rome by the Jesuit Claude Le Jay in 1552. Finally, the synodal legislation, promulgated for England by Cardinal Reginald Pole (1500–1558) in his *Reformatio Angliae* (1556), was taken as a model. Pole's solution was to cure the

carelessness of the clergy by erecting seminaries at every cathedral church. This directly inspired the fathers of the council in their writing of the Tridentine decree.

According to this decree, the diocesan colleges were to be *seminaria* ('breeding grounds') for the future priests. The students were to be adolescents at least twelve years of age, who were born of lawful wedlock and were already able to read and write. They also had to show a sincere desire to dedicate themselves to the service of the church. Under the local bishop's control, students were to receive a liberal education first, then an ecclesiastical one. The young men were thus to study letters, humanities, chant, liturgy, sacred scripture, and dogmatic, moral, and pastoral theology. Their spiritual formation included daily attendance at Mass and monthly confession. However, the decree did not specify that all priests should pass through the seminaries. On the contrary, the seminary seemed rather a means to help poor but deserving young people to become priests. The rich could be admitted on the condition that they paid for their education. In fact, what is most important in this decree is that it placed the formation of future priests, or at least a good number of them, under the direct responsibility of the bishops. The local bishop, as the chief administrator of the school, had to have an eye on the content of the courses and the quality of the professors who provided them. The rest of the diocesan clergy was also closely associated in the project. Not only was it asked to finance the seminary, in paying a special tax imposed on its revenues, but it also had to delegate four of its members to help in the administration of the new institution.

The creation of seminaries became the main concern not only of the popes attached to the Catholic Reformation, such as Pius V and Gregory XIII, but also of the political powers (principally the Catholic sovereigns and sometimes the local authorities) who saw in this measure a good way to reinforce the expansion and the control of higher education. The number of seminaries expanded quickly in Europe under these conditions. Two small Italian dioceses disputed the honor of having founded the first Tridentine seminary in 1564, Larino in Umbria and Rieti in the kingdom of Naples. The seminary of Milan, founded by Archbishop Cardinal Carlo Borromeo, followed shortly,

a year before his uncle Pope Pius IV founded the Collegio Romano. A great many seminaries were created in Italy but their spread was uneven. In fact, certain large dioceses, such as those of Genoa and Florence, had to wait until the seventeenth and even the eighteenth century before being endowed with a seminary.

Pope Pius IV and his successors worked hard to implement the Tridentine decision in countries where Catholics were in a majority. Thus, from 1564 onward, the number of seminaries spread quickly. In the German countries, seminaries were founded in Eichstätt, Breslau, Würzburg, Bamberg, Trier, Salzburg, Gurk, and Graz. Poland opened its first seminary in 1564 (Poznan, Warmia) and Hungary in 1567 (Tyrnau). However, the colleges established in Rome such as the Germanicum and the Hungaricum (united in 1580) had more impact on the formation of priests than the diocesan seminaries created in central Europe.

In the Netherlands, the development of seminaries progressed more slowly because of the 1566 uprising against the religious policies of Spanish king Philip II. These troubles led in 1579 to the revolt of the Calvinist provinces of Holland and Zeeland against Spanish domination and ended in 1609 with the independence of the United Provinces. Tridentine seminaries were thus erected almost exclusively in the southern provinces, in cities such as Ypres (1565), Namur, Bruges, Liège, and Malines.

Contrary to other countries, Spain had already secured training for its priests through a solid network of university colleges. Some of them, such as those of Grenada, Malaga, and Sigüenza, were used as diocesan seminaries. However, most of the Spanish bishops were willing to obey the Tridentine decree. At least twenty new seminaries were founded from 1565 onward, among them Burgos (1565) and Teruel (1566). In 1651, twenty-six out of fifty-four Spanish dioceses had a seminary. However, the expansion was not without difficulties. Because of hostility from the local chapters, many seminaries were short of financial and human resources. The need for training of the local clergy was also felt in the Spanish colonies. It took only ten years before the first seminary was founded in Antequera in Mexico (1574). Before the end of the sixteenth century,

under the initiative of Saint Toribio, archbishop of Lima, the seminaries of Santiago de Chile, Lima, Bogota, Cuzco, and Sucre were created.

It is clear that there was a great desire among European bishops to apply the decree of the council, even in France, which had not yet officially accepted the council's decisions. In effect, many French bishops bypassed the official position against Rome and tried to implement the Tridentine Reformation, especially the decree concerning the training of the local clergy. This explains why as early as 1567, Charles de Guise, the cardinal of Lorraine, founded the first seminary in Reims. However, because of the Wars of Religion, it was difficult to gather the necessary money for the founding of seminaries. After the wars ended, competition with colleges (which had chairs of theology) and universities impeded the growth of seminaries, which still remained optional for the aspiring priests. All this explains why, between 1580 and 1620, only sixteen seminaries were created in a country that counted 108 dioceses. The number increased from 1641 onward, however, and in 1790, most French dioceses had a seminary. This development was due to astounding founders of new orders for secular priests, such as Pierre de Bérulle, Vincent de Paul, Jean-Jacques Olier, and Jean Eudes, who founded, respectively, the seminaries of the Priests of the Oratory, the Lazarists, the Sulpicians, and the Society of the Sacred Heart. These institutions were to have considerable influence later in the erection of similar houses in the British Isles, Canada, and the United States.

Most of the Tridentine seminaries were modeled on that created in Milan by Cardinal Borromeo. He first opened a major seminary, that of St. John the Baptist, with facilities for 150 students. But recognizing that all candidates did not have the intellectual capacity to be admitted to this institution, he established La Canonica, a preparatory school for about sixty students who would receive a basic education about the care of souls, through classes on holy Scriptures, cases of conscience, and Roman catechism. He then founded three preparatory seminaries: one for younger boys, another for adolescents, and a third for older students. From these three institutions the candidates were to pass either to the major seminary or to La Canonica. Borromeo also wrote rules dictating students' life

and piety, which were adopted by almost all the European seminaries. Most of them also adopted the Milanese way of giving the management of the study program to the Jesuits. In reality, the majority (excepted that of Pavia) were closely associated with the local Jesuit college. They ended up being boarding houses that lodged a rather small number of young men (sometimes fewer than ten, through lack of money) who attended classes with the Jesuits. In fact, the existence of these first seminaries was often brief and always difficult because of financial and political problems. In the seventeenth century, their failure was imputed to the young age of the students. Catholic reformers such as Vincent de Paul promoted the education of adults rather than that of adolescents with the "seminaries for ordinands," centered on a more practical religious education and destined for grown men ready to take the orders.

In fact, if the intellectual and moral qualities of the European clergy were stronger in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, that strength was due less to the Tridentine seminary training than to a better selection of candidates and better control of the local priests (by the bishop's visit and by the frequent holding of synods). Above all, the improved qualities were due to the Jesuit colleges, who trained a growing part of the European clergy. A strict schedule, tamed behavior and attitudes, the practice of prayer, the conferences about piety and spiritual examinations, the weekly confession and communion, all this prepared the priest to live and behave as dictated by the Council of Trent.

See also Clergy: Roman Catholic Clergy; Education; Jesuits; Reformation, Catholic; Trent, Council of.

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DOMINIQUE DESLANDRES

SENSATIONALISM. See **Empiricism**.

SENSIBILITY. During the eighteenth century, cultures of sensibility came into general existence in several European countries and colonies; they persisted well into the nineteenth century, and while they have been fragmented as coherent middle-class cultures, the values they embodied have persisted into the twenty-first century. In their intense interest in the operation of the mind and in interpersonal relations, these cultures displayed the rise of what we think of as modern consciousness and, within it, psychology. Their context was the time and space that newly developing consumer economies first afforded significant numbers of women and men, and they were preoccupied with pleasure and pain, as more and more people found themselves able to choose more of the former and to transcend more of the latter. How widespread the culture was in any nation depended, therefore, on the extent of the consumer revolution in the eighteenth century and thereafter. Cultures of sensibility existed in such urban centers as Edinburgh and Paris, but appear to have been most widespread in England, Holland, and the British colonies that

became the United States. They both displayed transnational characteristics (among multilingual and often well-traveled elites) and reflected local ones, as people drew upon their language and other modes of expression—tears above all, but other physiological signs (legible to other people of sensibility), such as blushes and trembling—in response to their own thoughts, to interpersonal exchanges, to the “distress” of others, and to “sublime” natural phenomena.

The word “sensibility” denoted the receptivity of the senses and referred to the psycho-perceptual scheme systematized in the late seventeenth century in the nerve theory of Isaac Newton and the environmental psychology of John Locke, both of whom were influential, not only in their native England, but in European philosophical thought in general. Sensibility (and “sensible” and “sentiment”) connoted the operation of the nervous system, the material basis for consciousness. By the mid-eighteenth century, “sensibility” stood for a widely held body of beliefs signifying a particular kind of heightened consciousness of self and others, and incorporating a “moral sense”—a conscience, but also something thought to be an equivalent of the other senses, like sight and touch. The coexistence of reason and feeling was assumed, but the proportion of each was endlessly debated, above all because of what many saw as the dangers of unleashed feelings.

Notable eighteenth-century expositions of sensibility’s operation ranged from the philosophical publications (1711) of the third earl of Shaftesbury (1671–1713) and those of his disciple, the Scot Francis Hutcheson (1694–1746), in the 1720s; to Abbé Prévost’s novel *Manon Lescaut* (1731); to the internationally influential novels of Samuel Richardson (1689–1761), published 1740–1754; to the neurology (published 1751) of another Scot, Robert Whytt (1714–1766), and that (published 1753) of the Swiss, Albrecht von Haller (1708–1777); to *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759) by Adam Smith (1723–1790); to *Julie, ou la Nouvelle Héloïse* (1761) by Jean-Jacques Rousseau; and to Johann Wolfgang von Goethe’s *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers* (The sorrows of young Werther, 1774). The latter two demonstrated the sexually subversive possibilities in the responsiveness of sensitive nerves and the aggrandizement of feeling. Much the same can

be said of two playful novels by Lawrence Sterne, *The Life and Opinions of Tristram Shandy* (1759–1767) and *A Sentimental Journey* (1768). The consequences of these sexual potentials were emulation and recoil, heightening tensions over the value of sensibility. From the 1740s the boundaries of sensibility and satire were crossed and recrossed frequently.

The French Revolution was a turning point in the history of sensibility because its opponents attributed it in part to the emotional abandon of Rousseau. Indeed, its ideology, like that expressed by the American Declaration of Independence (1776), did manifest some of sensibility's values. The debate over the proportions of reason and feeling in persons of sensibility was politicized, and the need for women to channel their feelings toward moral and domestic goals was reemphasized. The word "sentimental," which had been used positively, became a label for "excessive sensibility" and self-indulgence.

Sensibility and sentimentalism continued to flourish at all levels through the nineteenth century, both on the Continent and in the New World, developing into or accompanying Gothic, anti-Gothic, romantic, and realistic forms through the nineteenth century. The tradition extended through antislavery narratives and sentimental novels (Harriet Beecher Stowe), reform-oriented novels (Charles Dickens), and in popular and religious forms (Gustave Flaubert). While there were significant changes in the language of sensibility over time, its major terms and values were still important to the exquisitely conscious upper-class Europeans and Americans described by Henry James at the turn of the twentieth century. Mark Twain continued to place central value on heightened consciousness and on the morality of inner feeling even while he replaced the language of sensibility with fresh democratic forms.

The continuing persistence of this tradition through the nineteenth century, however, is remarkable only if one neglects its deep popular appeal and its links to consumerism. As the word "culture" implies, the phenomenon was by no means limited to intellectual and literary expressions. Its different origins had included the code of behavior of the Renaissance courts of Italy and France, subsequently

imitated by aristocrats and would-be aristocrats throughout Europe, then absorbed by upwardly mobile groups below them in the social pile, in accordance with "the civilizing process" described by Norbert Elias. Also key had been changes of religious thought (to which Newton and Locke were connected) in England, as well as in France and Holland. Some of the ideals and corresponding behavior were absorbed by evangelized working-class audiences, as well as by the increasingly literate bourgeoisie. That the culture's chief feature was the elevation of pleasurable feelings meant that it held appeal for all, including those who had been denied literacy, let alone formal theological and intellectual training—those who now found value in the "heart" alone, and an empowering sense of victimization and of moral superiority. Thus sensibility can be detected in overlapping Christian, bourgeois, and reformist ideologies and identities, as well as in mere fashion, but could also sponsor, even revolutionize, individual consciousness.

SENSIBILITY, RELIGIOUS BELIEF, AND CONSUMERISM

Both elite and popular thought reimagined God to reflect the more positive reconceptualization of human nature that had arisen amid gentler material circumstances. God was now seen to be benevolent and responsive to the same signals of human wishes and needs as men and women of sensibility, although representations of the older God of inflexible justice and condemnation persisted. Religious campaigns for "the reformation of manners," from the later seventeenth through the nineteenth centuries, aimed at inculcating, in objects from upper-class debauchees, working-class males, and uncouth frontiersmen to frivolous women, the non-European colonized, and the enslaved, the habits Max Weber (1864–1920) was to call the "Protestant ethic" (although subsequent scholars have pointed out such an ethic was not limited to Protestants). During the eighteenth century one sign of such reformation was a feeling heart. Colin Campbell has shown that the religious traditions explored by Weber had in fact incorporated the emotional materials from which sensibility and consumer psychology were developed; complacent religious feelings, first stimulated by a sense of religious goodness, were extended to embrace the pleasures derived from consumer goods.

“Taste” in goods expressed sensibility (and was identified with morality), but unsuccessful struggles by elites to maintain standards demonstrated that aesthetic dikes could not prevail against the flood of consumer and producer desires. Home was where new objects (from novels to tea sets, more elaborate cuisine to chamber pots) were primarily enjoyed, and where their owners expressed the feelings with which they were invested. Sensibility was generated in more sentimental families, where children were nurtured in more indulgent, future-oriented ways. Women became more central as consumers as well as mothers; their demand was crucial to the new economies. But new male capitalists had their own interests (in addition to religious imperatives and those emanating from their wives and mothers) in internalizing, or at least displaying, sensibility as they pursued commercial ends rather than the warrior and knightly ideals of the feudal past. Liberated commerce was seen as a reform integral to the “civilizing process,” albeit susceptible to the corruptions of ambition, greed, and insincerity at the hands of unfeeling men. Extending from cities to international and imperial horizons, it required the reputation and trustworthiness manifested by sensibility, although men might feel threatened in that sensibility by the charge of effeminacy, to which they were vulnerable because they now shared much with women. Their new, related republican ideologies embodied values that overlapped with those of cultures of sensibility.

SENSIBILITY, WOMEN, AND HUMANITARIANISM

The empowerment of bourgeois women extended from home to public heterosocial spheres beyond the traditional churchgoing to shopping, visits, assemblies, dances, and even masquerades, where fashions and manners transmitted sensibility. In entering the new culture women were not limited by class (although enjoyment of the range of possibilities was); in daily working relations with employers, in their exposure to sensibility’s religious outlets, and motivated by their own interests at home, particularly in the challenge of reforming men, they seized new opportunities. Increasingly women became literate, writing in a wide range of forms, from private letters to published poetry and novels, specializing in the sentimental.

These and other kinds of female self-assertion provoked powerful opposition. Sensibility was thus of ambiguous value to women; it could be deemed the cause of nervous disorders and sexual corruptibility as well as the source of moral superiority. A major symbol of sensibility was the often feminized figure of “virtue in distress,” archetypically Richardson’s heroine in *Clarissa*, drugged and raped by Lovelace. Women and their male allies elevated sensibility as a standard, demanding that unfeeling men of archaic or new, competing cultures, reform themselves and their treatment of women. If one root of feminism lay in that empowering sense of victimization and the “relief” (a common term in women’s sentimental writings) brought out by its private and public expression, another lay in criticism of the disabling effects of gendered sensibility exaggerated at the expense of intellect. The most developed argument here was Mary Wollstonecraft’s (1759–1797) *Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792), which aimed to reform women’s manners, which she said were utterly sensitized to pleasing men.

We can see the efforts to soften men as women’s chief expression of the application of sensibility to reform. But both sexes also worked (although usually separately) in humanitarian efforts. “Humanity” became synonymous with the sympathy automatically stimulated in the nervous system of people “of feeling,” and it was a nongendered term; indeed, it was a term intended to undermine all invidious distinctions, even though humanitarians often marked their efforts with condescension and racism. “Humanitarianism” is an umbrella term for a startling variety of reforms, some of which had been attempted from the very beginning of the eighteenth century. Most of these focused on the abuses of the bodies of human beings (some were concerned with animals, too); this preoccupation mirrored the physicality of the sensibility of the reformers themselves. Instances of humanitarian targets were the physical abuse of enslaved Africans, the flogging of children, sailors, and criminals, judicial torture, and the seduction and abandonment of women.

The sympathy that cultivators of sensibility felt for such victims (Adam Smith’s 1759 *Theory of Moral Sentiments* took for its opening model the irresistible sympathy he argued human beings felt

for their “brother” on the rack) was the expression of the transcendence of age-old deprivations and sufferings on the part of those who were now consumers. An essential condition for the rise of cultures of sensibility, however, was the unevenness and inequity of the consumer revolution—indeed, that it depended on the exploitation of others. If eighteenth-century people, developing their consciousnesses and indulging their delicate feelings in conditions of comfort, remained aware at some level of the harsh circumstances of their predecessors, more immediate was the contrast between prosperous consumers and those around them still living in misery. Contrasts were central to the self-conception of women and men of sensibility and included art versus nature; rural life versus the city; the past versus the present; private, domestic retreats versus the bustling, public “world”; and most fundamental, pleasure versus pain. All of these contrasts stimulated feelings of sensibility, from *schadenfreude* (taking pleasure in another’s pain) to nostalgia, from self-indulgence to sympathy. Men and women of feeling, finally, were preoccupied with their own sincerity and insincerity—a debate over the culture of sensibility that continues today.

See also Consumption; Goethe, Johann Wolfgang von; Haller, Albrecht von; Locke, John; Newton, Isaac; Passions; Prévost d’Exiles, Antoine-François; Revolutions, Age of; Richardson, Samuel; Rousseau, Jean-Jacques; Sade, Donatien-Alphonse-François de; Smith, Adam; Sterne, Laurence; Sublime, Idea of the; Women.

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G. J. BARKER-BENFIELD

SEPÚLVEDA, JUAN GINÉS DE (1490?–1574), Spanish humanist scholar and philosopher. Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda was a distinguished university professor possessed of a mastery of Latin style. In 1515 he moved from Córdoba to Italy, where he was accepted into the Spanish College in Bologna. Working under the direction of the eminent Pietro Pomponazzi (1462–1525), Sepúlveda developed into one of the leading scholars in Italy. By 1526 he had become the official translator of Aristotle’s writings for the papal court. During his twenty years in Italy he worked to recover the “true” Aristotle. He compiled and published in Paris a Latin translation of the *Politics* that for centuries was an indispensable work. Upon his return to Spain he translated Aristotle’s *Ethics* into Castilian for the Habsburg Monarchy.

In 1542 the king of Spain, Charles V of the Holy Roman Empire (ruled 1519–1556), signed the “New Laws,” which prohibited the enslavement of Indians. The king ordered in 1550 that conquests in his name cease until the Council of the Indies should decide upon the justness of Spain’s conduct. Sepúlveda’s opinions were solicited by the president of the Council of the Indies. Sepúlveda was an ardent nationalist, much impressed by his compatriots’ conquests in the Americas described in Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo’s (1478–1557) writings, which belittle aboriginal peoples. Never having visited the territories under question or having met a native, Sepúlveda had no personal or fiscal stake in his theoretical arguments.

Sepúlveda produced *Democrates Alter sive de justiciis belli causis apud Indios* (Concerning the just cause of the war against the Indians; first published in Latin 1545 with a Spanish apology published in 1550 and the definitive version finally published in 1554). In this dialogue, Demócrates, a spokesman for the author, convinces Leopoldo, a German with Lutheran tendencies, that war against Indians is the

just and necessary preliminary to their conversion. Sepúlveda's request that the Latin manuscript be published was denied, and the university faculties of Alcalá and Salamanca also recommended against granting permission. A committee of government officials, scholars, and theologians was formed in response to Sepúlveda's insistence that there be a debate over the merits of his argument. The committee's deliberations at Valladolid began in 1550 and reconvened the following year.

To Sepúlveda the Spanish were obviously champions of an advanced civilization. He believed that hierarchy, not equality, was the natural condition of human society. This argument mirrors Aristotle, who maintained, rather inconsistently, that some humans are by nature slaves and others masters. Natural slaves are persons of inborn rudeness and inhuman and barbarous customs, and those who exceed them in prudence and talent, even if physically inferior, are their natural lords. Sepúlveda's variant is: "If you know the customs and nature of the two peoples, that with perfect right the Spaniards rule over these barbarians of the New World and adjacent islands. . . . There is as much difference between them as there is . . . between apes and men And if they refuse our rule, they may be compelled by force of arms to accept it" (*Demócrates Secundus*).

Sepúlveda claimed that every native was barbarous. Thus their natural condition was to obey a superior because they committed crimes against natural law by eating human flesh, offering human sacrifice, and worshipping "demons." War may thus be justly waged and should be waged against these infidels in order to prepare the way for preaching the True Faith.

Sepúlveda next abbreviated his principal arguments for his *Apología* (1550). This time he focused on the bulls of Pope Alexander VI (reigned 1492–1503), which he claimed gave Spain entire authority over the Indies. According to the laws of both nations and Nature, to the victor belong the spoils. Although Sepúlveda published the *Apología* in Rome, it was never made widely available in Spain, where it was confiscated by royal authority.

The committee next heard from Father Bartolomé de Las Casas, who took five days to read from an enormous manuscript. One of the committee's

members then condensed the long argument for Sepúlveda, who wrote a point-by-point refutation of the positions held by the Dominican "Defender of the Indians." The two contenders did not debate face to face, and the proceedings proved inconclusive since the committee never produced a final report.

Sepúlveda's views about the inferiority of the Indians became well known and largely prevailed in the Western Hemisphere, where his stance was popular with the colonists. The municipal council of Mexico City sent Sepúlveda a letter of congratulations and thanks. From a theoretical viewpoint, however, Sepúlveda lost the debate because his manuscript was not published in Spain, where the government rejected his central argument that it was just to wage war against the Indians.

See also Colonialism; Las Casas, Bartolomé de; Natural Law; Natural Rights; Spanish Colonies; Toleration.

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SERBIA. The kingdom of Serbia disappeared from the map of Europe in the fifteenth century, following defeats at the hands of the Ottoman Empire beginning with the Battle of Kosovo in 1389. The Ottoman conquest socially leveled Serbia. The Serbian aristocrat either converted to Islam, lost his lands and privileges, or was killed. The result was a society consisting of peasants. However, the memory of independence was kept alive by the Serbian

Orthodox Church. A Serbian archbishopric had been founded in 1219 thanks to the initiative of the monk Sava (Rastko Nemanjić, a son of Nemanja, the founder of the Nemanjić dynasty). The archbishop had been raised to the level of patriarch by Stefan Dušan in 1346. Although this patriarchate did not survive him, a Serbian church remained and continued to define the Serbian population culturally. The Ottomans restored the Serbian patriarchate in 1557 at Peć, a city in modern northwestern Kosovo. It lasted until 1766, when fears of collusion with Ottoman enemies convinced the government to abolish it. The church, ministering to its peasant flock via its peasant clergy, nourished the continued existence of a Serbia not as a state, but as an identity.

SERBIA UNDER THE OTTOMANS

Most of medieval Serbian territory fell to the Ottoman province of Rumeli, which extended from the Peloponnese to the Danube; Serbian populations also inhabited the provinces of Bosnia, Kanije, and Temeşvar, until the latter two were taken by the Habsburg Monarchy in wars of the seventeenth century. The notable towns of the Serbian kingdom now became Ottoman garrisons. Belgrade, not a part of Stefan Dušan's Serbia in any case, had up to 40,000 inhabitants in 1632, but was down to 15,000 in 1838. Niš, Kruševac, Peć, and other important towns in Serbia withered. As inhabitants of the Ottoman Empire, Serbs both suffered and benefited. Many Serbs chose to convert to Islam, in which cases they instantly became members of the favored faith and thus part of the ruling class. It is true that Orthodox Christian Serbs were subject to taxes and levies that Muslims did not pay, but those burdens were potentially balanced by the fact that Christians did not have to fight in Ottoman armies. Above all, though, the fact remains that the Orthodox Christians of the Ottoman Empire were administered via the millet system, by which they were governed by their own church hierarchy.

The millet system was established in 1453 as a result of a decree by Sultan Mehmed II (ruled 1444–1446, 1451–1481). It reflected the Ottoman belief that one's identity is fundamentally religious. Thus, while one had the option to convert to Islam and enjoy the fruits of that conversion, one also had the right to maintain one's faith. Thus, the Ottomans administered their subjects as religious

beings, and the Orthodox patriarch in Istanbul was given responsibility for the Orthodox Christians of the empire. On the local level, where contact between the believer and the church was most common, the parish priest was of the ethnicity of the flock. The church was made responsible for marriage, divorce, and the collection of dues to the church as well as to the state. The millet system thus ameliorated some of the effects of the Ottoman conquest. Serbian statehood was gone, but a Serbian, Orthodox Christian identity was maintained through what many Serbs see as a "dark age" thanks to a system that allowed a degree of self-administration.

Over the course of the Ottoman conquest and in subsequent centuries, many Orthodox Christians migrated northward and westward under the pressure of the Ottoman advance. Thus, a large Serbian presence was established in the Habsburg Monarchy. Population movements began in earnest after the Battle of Smederevo in 1459, and by 1483, up to two hundred thousand Orthodox Christians had moved into central Slavonia and Srijem. The final major population shift occurred in the 1690s, following an Austro-Ottoman war, when at least 30,000 Orthodox Serbs, led by Patriarch Arsenije III Crnojević, made their way from Kosovo north to southern Hungary. The center of authority in the Serbian Orthodox Church moved with the migrants. The Patriarchate at Peć, which would finally be extinguished by the Ottomans in 1766, was essentially replaced by the Metropolitanate of Sremski Karlovci, in Croatia. Through the late nineteenth century, two institutions, the military frontier and the metropolitanate, would define Serbian life in the Habsburg Monarchy. The military frontier would exist until 1881. The Orthodox Christians who had made their way from Ottoman territories to the Habsburg Monarchy were given certain privileges, usually including a plot of land, freedom from taxation by the local aristocracy, and freedom of worship, but they paid for these privileges with military service in times of crisis. Individual agreements, the most famous of which was the *Statuta Valachorum*, issued in 1630 by Emperor Ferdinand II (ruled 1619–1637), regulated the obligations of the Orthodox Serbian population. Settlement patterns, with Banija, Kordun, and Lika in the west, and parts of Slavonia in the east, heavily

populated by Serbs, were a result of these agreements.

ORIGINS OF THE INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT

Although the Serbian population of the Habsburg Monarchy was more advanced economically and educationally, the origins of a modern Serbian state can be traced to the late eighteenth century in the *pašalik* (Turk., *pashalik*) of Belgrade, the northernmost reach of the Ottoman Empire in Europe. This region, south of the Danube and Sava rivers and east of the Drina River, would become the geographic core of modern Serbia. The first stirrings of rebellion among the Serbs of the region followed the Austro-Ottoman War of 1788–1791, during which Serbs had fought for the Austrian empire. Thereafter, the Serbs of the region were left to their own devices by the Austrians, who had lost the war. In spite of their disloyalty to the sultan, the Serbs as well as the Ottomans desired stability in the region. However, in the ever-weaker Ottoman Empire, the borderlands had come under the sway of local janissaries, and the *pašalik* of Belgrade was no exception. The sultan and his Serbian subjects had a mutual interest in destroying the destabilizing influence of the janissaries, and the roots of the Serbian independence movement were thus paradoxically to be found in an alliance of local Serbian headmen with the Ottoman central government. The revolution of 1804 thus began as a movement for economic and political stability within the Ottoman Empire rather than as a romantic-nationalist movement for independence.

See also **Austro-Ottoman Wars; Balkans; Ferdinand II (Holy Roman Empire); Ottoman Empire.**

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forced dependence on seignorial overlords. Serfdom could be an inherited, personal status (serfs of this sort were known as *neifs* in English, *hommes de corps* in French, and *Erbuntertanen* in German) or the consequence of the tenure of servile land (serfs of this sort were known as *villeins* in English, *serfs de la glèbe* in French, and *Gutsuntertanen* in German). During the early modern period serfdom encompassed a wide variety of conditions and social relations. Generally speaking, however, serfdom was a more recent, more widespread, and more onerous phenomenon in eastern than in western Europe, although even here there were important regional variations.

West European serfdom was of diverse and often obscure origin. In some places it developed out of the late Roman colonate (peasant tenants who were legally tied to the land during the fourth and fifth centuries); in others it was the result of self-commendation by peasants to powerful landlords in exchange for protection. Particularly important was the extension of the private jurisdictions of landlords at the expense of public systems of justice during the tenth and eleventh centuries, a process often accompanied by the imposition of fees and labor services on the peasantry. Finally, at the frontier between Christendom and the Islamic world, serfdom was also spread through military conquest. Thus in Sicily, which was seized by Norman adventurers between 1061 and 1091, most serfs were Muslims.

LEGAL STATUS OF SERFS

By the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, serfdom in western Europe had acquired a more precise legal definition, and was associated with a fairly standard series of legal disabilities. Particularly prominent was the obligation to provide *corvées*, or labor services, for the lord, ranging from a few days a year in southern France and the Mediterranean to one to two days every week on the northern European plain and in England. Serfs were forbidden to live outside the seignorial territory, and had to pay fines to marry the serf of another lord (*merchet*, *formarriage*, *Ungenossame*). Serfs were also subject to a characteristic set of fees, including poll taxes or annual recognition fees (tallage, *chevage*), fees at the commencement of tenancy (entry fines, *Handlohn*, *Erdschatz*), and death duties (heriots, *mainmorte*,

SERFDOM. Serfdom was a status of legal bondage, almost invariably referring to peasants in en-

Todesfalle). Finally, serfdom often entailed disqualification from public office or exclusion from public jurisdiction.

Nevertheless, serfs were not slaves, but persons with rights in law. Only rarely could serfs be sold apart from their land; most “sales” of serfs in western Europe represented only the transfer of jurisdictional rights from one overlord to another with no physical movement of the peasants concerned. Moreover, de facto control of the means of production (the tenanted land) gave the serf leverage to bargain, and over the course of the Middle Ages, most of the rents, fees, and charges associated with serfdom became fixed by custom, while labor services tended to be commuted into cash payments. Serfs always retained extensive potential to resist seignorial pressure, either actively, through negotiation, protest, flight, and revolt, or passively, through foot-dragging and pilfering. Western European serfs also became adept at manipulating royal courts and other systems of public justice, despite seignorial efforts to impede their access to external legal authorities. Furthermore, it should be kept in mind that the serf’s material circumstances were by no means necessarily inferior to those of the free peasant, as the legal encumbrances of servility were often counterbalanced by the greater size of servile, as opposed to free, landholdings. The English “Hundred Rolls” of 1279–1280 indicate that the average villein landholding was twice the size of its free counterpart, and similar patterns emerge from mid-sixteenth-century Swabian tax registers.

Serfdom was never a universal condition of the West European peasantry. It was insignificant in Scandinavia and most of the Iberian Peninsula (Catalonia being the main exception). Even in England, where servility assumed much greater significance, free peasants made up fully 50 to 60 percent of the rural population during the High Middle Ages. Furthermore, from the thirteenth century serfdom began to decline in significance throughout western Europe. Sometimes this happened through formal decrees of enfranchisement, as at Bologna (1257) and Florence (1289), or through mass sales of freedom, as in the Paris region from 1246. During the later Middle Ages serfdom also became a subject of several peasant protest movements, most notably the so-called *Jacquerie* in northern France (1358), the Peasants’ Revolt of 1381 in England, and the

German Peasants’ War of 1524–1526. Almost all of these uprisings failed to secure a formal abolition of servile status, and instead were brutally suppressed by the authorities. The one great exception to this pattern occurred in Catalonia, where a series of revolts beginning in the 1370s culminated in the Peasants’ War of 1462–1486 and ended with the suppression of serfdom by the Sentence of Guadalupe (1486). Despite the limited immediate successes of these rural rebellions, serfdom was in fact fatally undermined in western Europe by the plagues of the fourteenth century and by the ensuing late medieval agrarian depression.

The wave of epidemics that commenced with the Black Death of 1347–1351 and persisted into the fifteenth century created an acute labor shortage throughout the European continent, and the peasantry was able to capitalize on this situation by extracting major concessions from overlords. Initial efforts to enforce strict pre-plague wage and labor conditions, such as the English Statute of Laborers (1351) and the German Golden Bull of Charles IV (1356) foundered on economic realities and peasant resistance, and serfdom began to wither away through the practical modification of tenurial arrangements, rather than through formal abolition (that serfdom declined primarily in this way underscores the fact that most west European peasants incurred serfdom through villeinage rather than neifty). Landlords began to abandon the direct exploitation of seignorial reserves, which had required the mobilization of considerable labor services, and instead began parceling out their demesnes to the peasants in tenancy. Labor services and servile disabilities were gradually abandoned or (more commonly) commuted into fixed monetary payments and made incidents of land tenure, while peasant property rights grew more secure and increasingly heritable. In England, where the phenomenon has been particularly well studied, bondland was transformed over the course of the later Middle Ages into secure “customary” tenure, with robust rights of inheritance, conveyance, and mortgage. The tenant’s rights were formalized in the manorial court roll, and a copy of the entry was issued to the tenant (hence the alternative appellation “copyhold” tenure). From the fifteenth century disputes over copyhold land could be appealed to royal courts, and by the 1580s English common law even

upheld the copyholder's right to sublet such property to third parties. A similar pattern obtained in Germany, where the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries saw the spread of heritable tenancy (*Erblehenrecht*) with extensive rights of conveyance, and guaranteed by the issue of parchment charters authenticated by seal.

By the beginning of the sixteenth century, therefore, the burdens of servility had been "tenurialized" in most of western Europe, thereby disarming serfdom as a status of legal bondage. In France, even tenurial serfdom was largely confined to the eastern regions of Burgundy and Franche-Comté, where one-third to one-half of the population remained serfs until the institution was abolished by the French revolutionaries on 3 November 1789. In England, serfdom was still mentioned in the grievance lists of Kett's Rebellion (1549), and crown serfs were manumitted as late as 1575, but as far as contemporary commentators like Thomas Smith (1581) and William Harrison (1577) were concerned, neifty had ceased to exist, while villeins were "so fewe . . . it is not almost worth the speaking" (quoted in Hilton, 56). The most significant exceptions to this trend in western Europe were the German-speaking lands of the Holy Roman Empire, where serfdom remained a vital institution throughout the early modern period.

The persistence, indeed intensification, of serfdom in Germany at the end of the Middle Ages was in part a reaction to the late medieval agrarian crisis. Thus, in the German southwest, ecclesiastical lordships in particular began to impose new mobility restrictions and extend the scope and weight of death duties during the later fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries in order to retain control over the thinning ranks of the tenantry. This seignorial reaction ultimately collapsed because of determined peasant resistance—most spectacularly the aforementioned Peasants' War of 1524–1526—and most lordships came to an accommodation with their subjects guaranteeing peasant inheritance rights and capping the disabilities imposed by servility. More significant changes flowed from the second impetus for the revival of serfdom in Germany (again, especially in the southwest), namely the drive for territorial centralization. During the later fifteenth and well into the sixteenth centuries, rural lordships, territorial princes, and even free imperial

cities began systematically exchanging rights with neighboring territories over "foreign" serfs in order to create exclusive jurisdictions free of legal claims from external authorities. Territorial serfdom of this sort did also entail some fiscal burdens and marriage and mobility restrictions, but the former were not especially onerous and the latter could always be waived for a moderate fee. By the early seventeenth century serfdom had ceased to occasion widespread complaint in Germany (with the notable exception of a protracted conflict in Hauenstein, in the southern Rhine Palatinate, between 1725 and 1745), and the institution persisted in its tenurial and territorial forms until abolished in the various German states over the years between the revolutions of 1789 and 1848.

EASTERN VERSUS WESTERN EUROPEAN SERFDOM

In eastern Europe serfdom had a rather different history from patterns in the west, although historians now characterize the east-west contrast as a gradual and varied transition, rather than in terms of a sharp demarcation along the river Elbe. Serfdom appeared only at the end of the fifteenth and especially during the sixteenth century in Eastern Europe, and was closely associated with intensified seignorial jurisdiction (often called *Gutsherrschaft*) and the spread of vast demesnal economies predicated on large-scale inputs of labor service (often called *Gutswirtschaft*). Explanations for the rise of *Gutsherrschaft* and *Gutswirtschaft* remain controversial, but most accounts stress a combination of factors, including the relative sparseness of population (which increased the appeal of a dependent labor force), the sixteenth-century boom in cereal prices as a result of both local and international demand, and the relative weakness of village communities, which were less able (though by no means utterly incapable) of resisting seignorial pressure than their counterparts in western Europe.

Eastern European serfs were subjected to the same kinds of disabilities as in the west, including the obligation to provide labor services, and restrictions on mobility and outmarriage. Eastern European serfdom also recognized the distinction between tenurial and personal serfdom, with the former pattern predominating in the lands of the Austrian Habsburgs and Prussian Hohenzollerns, and the latter obtaining in Poland, Hungary, and

Russia. On the other hand, serfdom tended to be introduced in eastern Europe by governmental decrees forbidding peasants from leaving the jurisdiction or territory of their landlords, rather than spreading piecemeal as a result of the policies of individual overlords (as in the west). Decrees of this sort were first passed in Bohemia (1487) and Poland (1496), and thereafter in Hungary (1514), Prussia (1526), Brandenburg (1528), upper Austria (1539), Pomerania (1616 and 1645), Russia (1649), and Mecklenburg (1654).

Eastern European serfdom has often been characterized as more oppressive than its western counterpart because of the intensity of labor services demanded (three, four, and in some cases up to six days of work per week), the denial of a serf's right of appeal against the lord to royal or other public courts, and the fact that serfs could be sold apart from their land in the east (thousands of such cases have been documented for Poland alone). Although this contrast is broadly true, it is subject to important qualifications. First of all, a great deal of time often elapsed between a royal proclamation of serfdom and the full elaboration of seignorial jurisdiction and demesne economies. In the Russian case it seems that it was only in the later eighteenth century that the system of servile dependency implied by the 1649 law code was actually enforced. Moreover, in some parts of eastern Europe (in particular Prussia and the Austrian Habsburg lands), the steady intrusion of royal courts into seignorial jurisdiction during the eighteenth century created a significant avenue for the mitigation of serfdom, as peasants were able to appeal to the crown for redress. Nevertheless, serfdom lasted much longer in eastern than in western Europe, and was only abolished over the course of the nineteenth century, beginning in Prussia (1807), and then later Austria (1848), Hungary (1853), Russia (1861), and Romania (1864).

See also Agriculture; Class, Status, and Order; Enclosure; Feudalism; Laborers; Landholding; Peasantry; Peasants' War, German; Plague; Serfdom in East Central Europe; Serfdom in Russia.

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SERFDOM IN EAST CENTRAL EUROPE. From the sixteenth to the seventeenth centuries, peasants in Poland, Ukraine, Hungary, and Bohemia were gradually subjugated to their landlords. This subjugation, usually referred to as the "second serfdom," had three aspects: economic, by virtue of the peasant's use of the lord's land; judicial, whereby peasants fell under the landlord's jurisdiction; and personal, in that peasants now needed their lords' permission in order to leave their villages. Enserfed peasants owed goods and services to their lords, including tribute in kind (usually grain, dairy products, or poultry), rent in money, and above all labor, or *corvée*, on the lord's lands (the demesne or *folwark*). Beyond the above-mentioned countries, aspects of the "second serfdom" were also seen in Russia and Prussia.

As landlords expanded their demesnes during the early modern period, *corvée*, initially limited to several days a year, increased to a few days a week. Peasants worked their lord's estates using their own plow oxen and farm implements or, lacking those, simply their hands and bodies. *Corvée* often involved the most arduous work of farming a large

estate, and eventually the burden of the demesne's production costs was shifted onto the peasants' shoulders. Serfs were also bound to do additional work, such as providing transport and helping during the harvest. They were often also constrained by the landlord's monopoly on the production and/or sale of wine, beer, and spirits. The monopoly gave landlords an outlet for excess grain when market conditions were unfavorable, as in the second half of the seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth centuries, as well as providing additional income from the sale of alcohol. Peasants were in most cases forbidden to produce alcohol themselves, and they were required to purchase it at their lord's tavern. In Hungary, while peasants were allowed to produce wine, they could sell it only to their lords. The limitation on the peasant's right to leave the village was also often extended to his family. In some cases serfs were de facto bought and sold, as when an estate or part of an estate was sold along with its residents, or when a landlord who had taken in a runaway peasant offered monetary compensation to the original owner in lieu of returning the runaway.

The "second serfdom" has been variously interpreted. Some scholars have stressed the legal aspects of enserfment, while others have analyzed the social or economic aspects. Some of the interpretations put forward have had a distinctly ideological character. Marxist historiography (especially in Soviet-bloc countries) saw the enserfment of the peasantry in the early modern period as contributing to a "refeudalization" of society and sometimes even the return to a natural economy. The "second serfdom" was, according to this view, a return to the most primitive form of peasant service (*corvée*) and a retreat from a market-based and money-based economy. Marxist historians further argued that it led to the gradual destruction of both peasant and urban economies, because by hampering the growth of an affluent rural population and by fostering the self-sufficiency of landed estates, it deprived urban craftsmen of markets for their products. Generalizations about "refeudalization" have not gained lasting acceptance, but historians continue to react negatively to the second serfdom, particularly when comparing developments in eastern Europe with the social and economic structure of western European countries during the same period. The second

serfdom is seen to reflect the underdevelopment of eastern Europe.

One can date the beginning of the second serfdom in Poland to the end of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth, when the first limits on a peasant's right to leave the village were imposed (1496) and a parliamentary decree mandated one obligatory day of *corvée* a week from each full peasant allotment, or *laneus* (1520). One can also connect the beginnings of enserfment with the 1423 decree giving landlords the right to buy the office of village administrator (Latin *scultetus*) and subordinate villages directly to themselves. It is generally held that these developments were related to the enlargement of the landlord's demesne, as landlords sought to produce more grain to meet market demand. The growth in grain exports through Gdańsk, along with the price revolution in Europe, created greater opportunities for landlords to sell their grain. From the sixteenth to the first half of seventeenth century the burden of *corvée* grew significantly heavier. By the second half of the sixteenth century it had reached three to four days a week per allotment, even though most peasants had only half of a full allotment (*laneus*). The peasant could, however, realize substantial profits as the result of the growth of grain prices and the lease of supplementary lands (without giving *corvée*); he could also send his servants (farm hands) to implement the *corvée* on the landlord's demesne.

The burdens entailed by enserfment and the deficit of manpower in the country were such that the frequency of peasant flight increased steadily in this period. Ukraine was a particularly popular destination, as services were less burdensome there, and landlords rarely demanded *corvée*. The situation of the peasantry took a sharp turn for the worse after the wars of the mid-seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Peasants' farms grew smaller, the grain market shrank, and the landlord's demesne asserted an ever tighter monopoly over the production and sale of beer, the staple drink of the region. The effort to replace *corvée* with rent during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries failed. But reforms granting peasants personal freedom, independent jurisdiction, and even the right to vote were introduced after the second (1793) and third (1795) partitions of Poland in the territories annexed by Austria, Prussia, and Russia.

In Hungary, after the 1514 peasant uprising led by György Dózsa, the parliament consolidated the lord's right to land and introduced an obligatory *corvée* of one day per week. Although Hungarian landlords were unable to export grain, their demesnes started to develop markedly between 1530 and 1540 (in Slovakia c. 1550). *Corvée* reached two to three days a week only in the second half of sixteenth century, and it became widespread in the seventeenth century. Because of the Turkish conquest and the ravages of war, the agrarian economy was forced to evolve; the steppe regions shifted from grain to cattle breeding and the export of livestock, while the northern regions moved to viticulture. In these conditions, and because the agrarian economy was more diversified, serfdom could not be fully enforced. Landlords tried instead to take over peasants' wine production. In Hungary the heyday of the second serfdom was the seventeenth century, and it can be said to have ended in 1767, when the empress Maria Theresa limited peasants' labor services. Her son Joseph II went further in 1785 when he abolished the personal subordination of peasants to their lords.

In Bohemia early steps toward enserfment were taken in the fifteenth century. The parliament limited the peasant's right to leave the village, and later in the century it passed further regulations against peasant flight. But historians consider the years 1530–1540 to be the beginning of the development of the demesne and the concomitant intensification of enserfment. Since the market for Bohemian grain was limited to Bohemia's urban population, landlords looking for additional revenue tried to take over and monopolize the production and sale of beer and to breed fish on their demesnes. In such conditions the demand for peasant labor services grew rather slowly. In some places *corvée* reached two to three days a week by the second half of the sixteenth century, but this became common only after the defeat at White Mountain in 1620. In 1680 *corvée* was fixed at three days a week from each allotment (*lanens*). Thus in Bohemia the second serfdom did not fully establish itself until the seventeenth century. Its end came with the peasant uprising of 1775 and the abolition of personal serfdom by Emperor Joseph II in November 1781.

The notion of the “second serfdom” is misleading, for it gives the impression that east central European peasants had been relatively free during the late Middle Ages—while their counterparts in western Europe toiled under the “first” serfdom. According to this view, before the early modern imposition of the “second serfdom,” east European peasants enjoyed the right to leave the village, rendered their services in money instead of *corvée*, and were under the jurisdiction of village administrators who represented the village self-government rather than the lord. But a closer look at these circumstances undermines the notion that late medieval east European peasants were free. The right to leave the village was in fact limited, because labor was more valued than land. Even in free villages, the village administrator was the lord's official and judged on his behalf, not on behalf of the community. Finally, it can be doubted that peasants ever paid services in money (“rent”), since there were few cities where peasants could sell their goods to obtain money. The earlier serfdom did lack the extended labor services that characterized serfdom in the early modern period, but this was because landed estates were autarkic and could serve the landlord's community without recourse to the market. The relation between these estates and the larger economy changed, and early modern east European serfdom should thus be seen as not a new, “second” serfdom but rather as a continuation of medieval serfdom, as adapted to the conditions of the agrarian market economy that arose during the period.

See also **Agriculture; Bohemia; Hungary; Peasantry; Poland-Lithuania, Commonwealth of, 1569–1795.**

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SERFDOM IN RUSSIA. The origins of serfdom as a form of migration control can be seen in mid-fifteenth-century documents that restricted peasant movement to the period on or around St. George's Day in November. By the early 1580s decrees proclaiming "forbidden years," which prohibited all peasant movement for specific periods, were already functioning in certain districts, and they were extended to the rest of the realm in the reign of Fyodor Ivanovich (ruled 1584–1598). By 1597 the state instituted central registration of deeds and documents—*kreposti*, the root of *krepostnichestvo*, or 'serfdom'—regulating various kinds of dependency. Although Muscovite slavery was also regulated by government officials, slaves belonged to a separate juridical category denoted by the Russian term *kholop*, which could refer to various forms of indentured servitude and debt bondage as well as to chattel slavery. The majority of slaves were Russian males of diverse social origins, primarily employed in nonagricultural occupations.

Serf legislation developed primarily in the core lands of the Muscovite state in order to secure labor for estates belonging to elites and military servitors. Beginning in the sixteenth century the majority of dependent peasants came under the control of individuals and families in state service. Two forms of landholding predominated in the rural economy of early modern Russia. Hereditary properties

(*voitchina*) could be sold or transferred to kinsmen, while usufruct or conditional land grants (*pomest'e*) were revocable grants of lands and their revenues awarded to individuals in return for fulfillment of military service. In order to preserve their revenue and military potential, conditional lands could not originally be donated to the church or sold, nor could they be passed on to heirs without government authorization.

The supply of service lands expanded as Moscow conquered neighboring political structures, most notably Novgorod in 1478 and Kazan' in 1552. Lands annexed along the southern steppes also fueled the growth of a significant class of provincial cavalymen supported by the labor of a small number of dependent peasant households. By the mid-sixteenth century retention of all lands was made contingent upon service, and by the early decades of the seventeenth century the stark distinctions between the two forms of landholding were eroding, and service tenure lands were being acquired, exchanged, and passed on to heirs like hereditary lands. The combining of both forms of landholding into a single category was recognized de jure in 1714.

Competition for a limited supply of peasant labor and endemic peasant flight and relocation drew the government into recording, regulating, and policing the relations between agricultural laborers and their masters. Decrees specifying a limited period of years (five at the turn of the seventeenth century and ten by mid-century) after which peasants could not be returned to their former masters particularly hurt provincial gentry. As early as 1637 they petitioned for an end to such restrictions, and in January 1649 the limitations on returning fugitives were abolished throughout Russia. By the turn of the eighteenth century serfs could be moved, bought, and sold, and by the 1720s the legal distinctions between serfs and slaves were eliminated.

At the end of the first quarter of the eighteenth century, the overwhelming majority of peasants were enserfed to private masters. Many landowners merely extracted resources from their serfs, allowing serfs to work only their own lands or ply other trades in exchange for cash (*obrok*) payments. Others sought to develop their estates by issuing

detailed instructions on the management of their properties to stewards and attempting to control various aspects of the rural serf economy, from land tenure to marriage. Around the same time formerly free groups of militiamen from the southern frontier and some non-Russian groups were equated in status with the tax-paying (*chernososhnye*) peasant communities of the Russian north and Siberia and were reclassified as state peasants. By the mid-eighteenth century over fifty thousand state peasants were forced to work in factories in the Urals region and Siberia, and a growing number of private serfs were also put to work in industrial enterprises.

Under serfdom the peasant commune (*mir*) coalesced into a distinct labor and fiscal unit. The available evidence does not clearly outline the features of the peasant commune until the seventeenth century. Institutions of community suretyship over and collective responsibility for the actions and obligations of individuals were a significant feature of the early modern Russian rural economy. Government taxation and fiscal policies also significantly shaped household and village structures. By the last decades of the seventeenth century sources record certain contours of the *mir* and its communal gathering (*skhod*) that show how it assigned lands and apportioned shares of the collective fiscal burden to its individuals. In the first half of the eighteenth century, elected representatives of the *mir* often worked jointly with government officials and landowners to ensure that villages and their inhabitants fulfilled their economic obligations to the state and/or to their landlords, in addition to providing recruits for the army. The *mir* could function as both a rapacious institution of communal control over individuals and a vehicle for negotiating communal interests and voicing them to the wider world. Active resistance by serfs was primarily realized through flight, suggesting that the government's attempts to wholly regulate movement were not always effective in practice. Serfs frequently joined rebellions instigated by Cossacks along the southern frontiers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

See also **Landholding**; **Peantry**; **Pugachev Revolt (1773–1775)**; **Razin, Stepan**; **Russia**; **Slavery and the Slave Trade**.

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SERVANTS. Domestic service, often ignored in the first decades of research into the social history of early modern Europe, has recently benefited from greater scholarly attention. Investigation has made it clear that a knowledge of master-servant relations provides essential insights into the larger relationships of elite and popular classes and into the unexpected elasticity of the boundaries of public and private spheres in this period. Since servants were considered part of the family, at least until family values began to emphasize privacy and affection around the middle of the eighteenth century, their history also adds depth to efforts to understand the evolution of family structures over time. Yet far more is unexplored than is known about the domestic servant population, particularly since most researchers have focused on England and France, with some initial surveys of Renaissance Italy and the Dutch Republic.

The major obstacle to achieving a better understanding of the roles of servants in the past is the difficulty of finding documentary sources with useful information. Servants were not members of a corporate group that might have maintained records on their numbers, their wages, or the terms and conditions of hire. In a time when censuses were rarely taken, the presence of servants in a household was seldom systematically noted. They were occasionally considered a luxury item and hence taxable, notably in Holland in the 1740s and in England in 1777. Despite this, government records rarely provide much data on the servant population. Servants produced little in the way of autobiographies, and any letters they might have written were not addressed to families that had the resources to preserve them. While criminal court records do contain some interesting information, they cannot support conclusions about the larger population of law-abiding servants. The picture we have of servants' lives then

is based on a diverse assemblage of household account books, wills, servants' ordinances, and similar local records. These establish that servants' experiences varied not only over time but according to the sizes of the households in which they worked, the households' wealth and location in urban or rural settings, and the work servants were expected to do.

FUNCTIONS OF DOMESTIC SERVICE

Servants were a practical necessity in an era before labor-saving appliances; they freed the mistress of a household to cultivate social networks or to participate in the family business. Domestic service enabled poor and unskilled people to survive. It was usually a temporary occupation, especially for women, who might save their wages toward the dowries that would enable them to make respectable marriages.

But as an institution, domestic service filled many more roles in early modern Europe. It bridged the worlds of workers and elites. Servants initiated into the manners, the values, and the fashions of the elites transmitted that culture to the laboring classes. They were the most regular contacts members of the middling and elite groups had with working people, so such relationships helped form class attitudes. In supervising domestics, bourgeois housewives learned managerial skills. And retinues of liveried men were a public and visible sign of wealth and status for members of the nobility.

HOUSEHOLD AND HOUSEWORK

Contemporaries certainly noticed the ubiquity of servants in their communities. In his *Letters on the Importance of the Rising Generation of the Laboring Part of Our Fellow-Subjects* (1767), Jonas Hanway estimated that one in thirteen Londoners was a domestic, and Sébastien Le Prestre de Vauban gave the same figure for France in *Projet d'une dixme royale* (Plan for a royal tithe) in 1707. Historical demographers have confirmed the guesses made by an earlier generation. Most studies have concluded that servants comprised roughly 7 to 15 percent of the population.

Servants were so important in early modern Europe that they were employed in any household that could afford their upkeep. Indeed possessing at least one live-in domestic acted as a marker indicating that a family could claim respectability and status in

the community. Estimates of the percentages of households employing servants hover around 23 percent, though it could range much higher in towns that were judicial or administrative centers.

The most common form of domestic servant was a maid of all work, often the only servant in a household, whose work included whatever errands, cleaning, food preparation, or child care tasks a family required. The larger the establishment, the more specialized the servants became, as families hired cooks, coachmen, valets to attend to the masters' wardrobes and personal needs, dress maids to do the same for the mistresses, nursemaids, governesses and tutors, and ultimately platoons of male lackeys, postilions, and footmen, whose presence shielded employers from contact with commoners. The establishment of any truly grand seigneur required some fifty servants, according to Audiger's *La maison réglée et l'art de diriger la maison d'un grand seigneur & autres* (1700; *The ordered house and the art of directing the house of a great lord and others*).

In the countryside servants in husbandry added to the variety of occupations considered domestic service. A dairymaid was a servant even if the family marketed its cheese. Indeed Europeans did not make sharp distinctions between workers hired for domestic labor on the one hand and for productive labor on the other until the eighteenth century—and in some places well beyond that time. An apprentice might be required to accompany his or her mistress to market, while a girl hired to keep the family home tidy might find herself scrubbing the shop floor as well as the kitchen floor. The salient feature that defined the nature of domestic service to contemporaries was dependence. From an archbishop's secretary to an orphaned scullery maid, all were dependents and hence servants.

WHO BECAME SERVANTS?

Much of the evidence to date has concluded that the majority of servants were young, unmarried migrants who traveled from rural villages to larger towns and cities for work. Some were poor relatives of their employers. Historians of domestic service have engaged in a debate over the ratios of men to women employed as household servants. Some have identified a process of "feminization" of domestic service, in which the numbers of men employed as

domestics declined in relation to the numbers of women during the course of the eighteenth century. Two trends are said to have produced this shift. As middle classes or bourgeoisies replaced the aristocracies in roles of political and economic leadership, status markers no longer emphasized splendor and public display. The demand for male servants decreased. At the same time, changing attitudes about gender roles emphasized independence and autonomy for men, making service less desirable for them.

Other historians, however, have challenged feminization as a means of analyzing shifts in the structure of domestic service. The majority of domestic workers were always women, they argue. The apparent trend is the result of a focus on researching the largest establishments of the wealthy, which gives too much importance to the roles played by menservants. The boundaries of the public sphere or of the domestic sphere were perpetually shifting, so what appears to be feminization could be more the result of a redefinition of work roles than it was of occupational demographics.

“Live-in” servants were not married. Employers wanted people in their service who would surrender their own interests to those of the household, and married couples did not meet that condition. At the same time, early modern servants rarely saw their jobs as lifetime occupations. The point of entering service was to escape from it. Women sought marriage with a partner who offered financial security and a home of their own. Men looked for the contacts who could provide them a means of earning an independent living. But there were no guarantees that such ambitions could be fulfilled, particularly when employers restricted their servants’ opportunities of meeting people outside the household.

CONDITIONS OF SERVICE

Servants who lived under the same roofs as their employers had little in the way of private lives. Their time was not their own. They were expected to be working before their employers rose from bed, and those in attendance on their masters or mistresses had to remain awake late into the night if their employers had gone out to a social event. Time off was a matter of individual arrangements; some servants might receive an afternoon once or twice per

month, while others had to apply for each rare hour off. Many had no leisure time at all. Employers discouraged servants from socializing in their homes. Local laws in some parts of the Dutch Republic actually made servants’ social use of their employers’ food a criminal act. Employers considered their domestics’ time to be their property, and unauthorized socializing represented the theft of that property. Socializing also provided opportunities for domestics to spread gossip about the family and might lead to maidservants becoming pregnant out of wedlock. Hence many elite employers absolutely refused to give their domestic workers any leisure time.

Wages earned by servants were low. Very young, inexperienced, or unskilled servants might receive only room and board. Domestics received their earnings no more frequently than semiannually and in many cases received nothing until they left the household. Wages varied by location, and they varied depending on the skill level of the worker. Male servants were always paid more than female ones, even when the type of work was the same. (Cooking and gardening, for example, were less sex-linked than other tasks.)

But historians have emphasized that the rewards of service included far more than the wages paid. Room and board itself might be of better quality and quantity than that which a servant who otherwise would have been a pauper might have enjoyed. During inflationary periods such payments-in-kind meant that servants’ remunerations effectively kept pace with the rise in prices, something wageworkers did not enjoy. Custom called for servants to be remembered in their employers’ wills, although the tradition was not universally honored. Other rewards included cash gifts at holidays, tips, and “vails”—guests staying for a holiday at an upper-class home in England were expected to provide gratuities to their hosts’ servants when they departed. Servants who accompanied their employers in public wore liveries, uniforms decorated to indicate the identities of their masters. Personal domestics so often received their employers’ hand-me-down clothing that many considered it a “right,” according to their testimony before courts when they were prosecuted for theft after they had helped themselves to items they thought were worn out. The maids and valets who obtained the fine clothes

of their employers—either with or without their approval—could supplement their income by reselling the articles through second-hand clothes dealers.

Sexual harassment represented one of the greatest perils of service. Young, unmarried girls, isolated from family and friends, were vulnerable to their employers, their employers' sons and male guests, as well as to male servants. Whether quartered in common areas or attic rooms, they could not put a locked door between themselves and sexual predators. Gentlemen seeking a sexual outlet found their household domestics convenient, easy to pressure or to seduce using threats or promises. A maidservant who became pregnant, whether as the result of rape or a voluntary relationship, faced disaster: immediate dismissal without the good reference that any other employer would require and, as a woman who had lost her virtue, little or no prospect of making a respectable marriage. Yet it would be a mistake to believe that all sexual relationships involving female domestics were the result of rape or harassment. Deliberately confined in their workplaces, some maidservants found sex within the household offered their only opportunities for affection and physical relief and so undertook such relationships willingly.

SHIFTING ATTITUDES: THE QUESTION OF PATERNALISM

Prescriptive literature in household manuals, confessional guides, and religious tracts defined an ideal of master-servant relations that historians have termed “paternalist.” Linked to the authoritarian stage in the evolution of the family among Europeans, the paternalist ideal defined a standard of reciprocal obligations between masters and servants in which servants were bound to loyalty, obedience, and diligence in the service of their masters, while the latter were held responsible for the moral and physical welfare of their domestic workers, just as they were responsible for their own children's welfare. This ethos required employers to care for servants who became sick, to support those who had grown old in the service of their masters, and to provide for all servants' religious educations. As a set of values governing master-servant relations, the paternalist ideal had disappeared by the early nineteenth century if not before, replaced by a contract mode of relations based on the exchange of work for

money. But historians still debate the timing and the causes of this shift, which varied from one location to another. These arguments notwithstanding, other historians doubt that reciprocity was ever characteristic of the reality of most master-servant relationships.

CONCLUSION

Two decades of efforts to rescue the domestic servant from historical oblivion have demonstrated that there are few if any features that can be considered universal of the institution in early modern Europe. Researchers have grown quite critical of work that accepts stereotypes and generalizations about servant and employer demographics, the sexual division of labor, and overall trends in the evolution of master-servant relationships. Only with additional research will enough data emerge to support broad generalizations about servant life in early modern Europe.

See also **Aristocracy and Gentry; Class, Status, and Order; Family; Serfdom.**

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MARYBETH CARLSON

SEVEN YEARS' WAR (1756-1763).

Encompassing conflict in Europe, North America, the Caribbean, and India, the Seven Years' War resulted from a collision between two very different international problems. First, there was the growing colonial and imperial friction between Britain and France, which became acute in the early 1750s as the French authorities and the British colonists in North America began staking out rival claims to the Ohio River Valley. Open warfare then erupted in the backcountry during 1755, and this was followed by repeated British seizures of French shipping in the North Atlantic. In response Louis XV despatched Louis Joseph, marquis of Montcalm, with reinforcements for the French colonial forces, to take military command in New France (Quebec) in April 1756.

Second, the Seven Years' War stemmed from Austria's refusal to accept the loss of Silesia to Frederick II of Prussia during the War of the Austrian Succession, and from Russian determination to humble Prussia. The Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748) had merely suspended Austro-Prussian conflict over Silesia. While Austria carried out internal reforms to her administration, Count Wenzel Anton von Kaunitz, one of Maria Theresa's inner councillors who became chancellor in 1753, pursued the possibility, remote at first, of a French alliance against Prussia. Nevertheless, during 1755-1756 his patience and hard work began to pay dividends. Great Britain, anxious about the security of George II's German domains and no longer able to rely on Austrian support, secured Russian guar-

antees in September 1755 for George's electorate of Hanover in exchange for promised subsidies. This Anglo-Russian agreement in turn prompted a fearful Frederick II of Prussia to manage a reconciliation with Britain in January 1756 in the shape of the defensive Convention of London. But the unforeseen consequence was the "diplomatic revolution." A furious Russia all but repudiated her agreement with Britain and tightened her alliance with Austria, and both powers prepared for a combined war against Prussia. Now bereft of allies, Louis XV took up Kaunitz's proposal of an end to 250 years of Franco-Habsburg antagonism, and on 1 May the defensive first Treaty of Versailles was signed between France and Austria (Russia acceded to this treaty in January 1757). Two weeks later, after France invaded British-ruled Minorca, war broke out between the two states. Frederick II, now acutely aware of the forces gathering against him, felt he had no choice but to launch a preemptive strike in August to seize Saxony and take over its army, causing France to activate its Austrian alliance.

PRUSSIA'S STRUGGLE FOR SURVIVAL

Not until the summer of 1757 did the triple alliance launch an assault on Prussia, after France and Austria concluded the offensive second Treaty of Versailles (1 May) with the purpose of dismembering Frederick's state. Frederick's invasion of Bohemia was halted, and the Russians invaded East Prussia, but more damaging was the neutralization of the trapped Anglo-Hanoverian army by the French at Kloster-Zeven in early September. In the face of such a crisis, Frederick fought a campaign of strategic brilliance. First he crushed the poorly commanded and logistically weak Franco-Imperial army at Rossbach (5 November), deploying the greatly improved Prussian cavalry under Friedrich Wilhelm von Seydlitz and moving his infantry swiftly across the battlefield in echelon, rather than linear, formation. Then he followed this up with the defeat of the Austrians at Leuthen, two hundred miles to the east and exactly a month later, using the "oblique order" in an attack on the enemy right flank. After Rossbach, George II repudiated the convention of Kloster-Zeven, and Anglo-Hanoverian operations resumed under the command of Frederick's protégé Ferdinand of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel. Moreover, thanks to William

Pitt's return to power in June 1757, Britain began subsidizing both the Hanoverian forces and, from April 1758, Frederick's Prussia. With the odds evened up, Austria henceforth sought to wear Prussia down by a process of attrition, but this presupposed a certain strength within the triple alliance that itself was fading.

In 1758 the French were pushed back over the Rhine by Ferdinand, while the emerging dominance within the French government of Étienne-François, duke of Choiseul, produced in March 1759 the third Treaty of Versailles, in which France reduced her role in the continental war to that of an Austrian auxiliary, and concentrated instead on trying to force Britain into peace. Yet when the French returned to Westphalia in 1759, Ferdinand of Brunswick smashed them at Minden on 1 August. The principal burden of attacking Prussia had in fact passed in 1758 to the Russians, a symptom of their growing strength and stamina. Königsberg, in East Prussia, was captured in January, forcing this kingdom under Russian occupation for the rest of the war. However, in his Brandenburg heartland, Frederick II defeated the Russians in the bloody battle of Zorndorf in August, while an Austrian surprise attack at Hochkirch in October failed to loosen his control of Saxony and Silesia. Despite the apparent stalemate, the Austrians and Russians made a further joint offensive against Prussia during 1759, in which Frederick suffered his worst defeat ever, at Künersdorf, forcing him to abandon Saxony and Silesia. The following year saw victories on both sides, but Frederick's success against the Austrians at Torgau was bought with greater casualties than were suffered by the vanquished (3 November), and Russian troops even reached Berlin and held it to ransom.

How was it, though, that the three greatest military powers on the Continent failed to crush Frederick's Prussia? To begin with, Austria and Russia both suffered from sluggish systems of planning and logistics that impeded offensive operations. Furthermore, their leading generals were cautious, unimaginative, and relatively uncooperative, and in the French case frequently incompetent. Maria Theresa and her advisers displayed poor strategic sense, waging a war of aggressive intent in a largely defensive and attritional fashion that allowed Frederick to deal with his enemies in turn in each campaign.



Elizabeth of Russia was similarly unable to provide clear strategic direction after her stroke in 1757 allowed a major split to open up in her council. Related to this, the aims of the three powers diverged sufficiently to impede any overriding common purpose of destroying Prussian power. All this combined to prevent Frederick's enemies from holding the initiative for any length of time, and from following up their military successes.

The weaknesses of the triple alliance were matched by the remarkable resilience of Prussia. Britain's financial support of Prussia and Anglo-Hanoverian military protection of Brandenburg from the west enabled Frederick to concentrate his forces against only two enemies after late 1757: Austria and Russia. Frederick's strategic, operational, and tactical skill, while by no means flawless, enabled a united Prussian command, and a heavily centralized and obedient state, to take full advantage of the deficiencies in the triple alliance's war effort. If Prussia was exhausted financially and materially, with underage and substandard recruits filling the army's ranks by 1760, the Austrians and the French were also incapable of further offensive action.



THE ANGLO-FRENCH IMPERIAL STRUGGLE 1755-1760

While the war in Europe produced stagnation, the Anglo-French conflict was vastly more decisive, in large part because Pitt was determined to destroy as much of France's overseas power as possible. In India, Robert Clive's skillful handling of indigenous auxiliary troops and combined operations with the navy allowed him to recapture Calcutta from the Nawab of Bengal in March 1757 after its loss the previous year; and he followed this by gaining control of all Bengal after his victory at Plassey (26 July). But in North America things were going considerably less well for the British. Montcalm made much progress in the backcountry in 1756-1757, but this only forced the British commanders to reconsider their strategy and plan instead for a full assault on New France up the Saint Lawrence River, for which they requested massive land and sea reinforcements from London.

They were fortunate that Pitt endorsed their request, and in early 1758 the issues that had bedeviled relations between the regular forces and the colonies were resolved to the satisfaction of the colonists, unlocking colonial military resources im-

mediately. As if to prove the need to attack New France by sea, in July 1758 Montcalm blocked the British advance at Fort Ticonderoga at the foot of Lake Champlain, but the same month the French were unable to prevent a British amphibious seizure of their fortress of Louisbourg on Cape Breton Island. Four months later the British also reduced Fort Duquesne at the forks of the Ohio, and the cumulative effect of these successes was to neutralize the American Indian nations, who now came to an accommodation with the British colonial authorities. In the meantime, during 1758 Pitt launched a series of diversionary amphibious attacks on the French Atlantic coast, the mere threat of which pinned down French forces so they could not be deployed either against Hanover or in the colonies.

Worse was to come for Louis XV in 1759. Montcalm's forces in New France were suffering from a lack of supplies and dwindling manpower, in spite of the mass mobilization of the colony's adult males. Britain, by contrast, sent out eight thousand fresh troops under James Wolfe, who in June sailed up the Saint Lawrence with twenty-two ships of the line to Quebec City, which soon found itself cut off and with dwindling supplies. While Amherst cap-

tured Ticonderoga, securing New York and Massachusetts, in September Wolfe provoked Montcalm into a battle just outside Quebec where both commanders were killed, but the British were victorious. Although Quebec surrendered, remnants of the French army managed to escape, and, reinforced to seven thousand men, marched on Quebec to attempt its recapture in April 1760. Yet Lévis's victory over a British force just outside the city walls could not prevent the abandonment of the siege in the face of British relief, and in September the French governor, Pierre François de Rigaud, marquis of Vaudreuil, surrendered the rest of New France. But in spite of this vigorous campaign, the outcome in North America had, in reality, been determined the previous year at sea, when the British had destroyed one French battle fleet off Lagos (Portugal) on 17 August, and defeated the other at Quiberon Bay off the coast of Brittany (20 November). Not only did

this dash Choiseul's serious hopes of an invasion of Britain; it also assured Britain command of the Atlantic and English Channel, allowing the blockade of French ports and cutting off the French overseas from the homeland. In June 1761 Britain even managed to capture Belle-Isle, dominating the southern coast of Brittany.

DOMESTIC POLITICS AND THE ENDING OF THE WAR

However, by the end of 1760 there was a general war-weariness among all the belligerents, even the British, whose economy was flourishing. Indeed, during 1761 Anglo-Prussian relations deteriorated largely because Frederick II refused to consider any concessions to his enemies, culminating in the curtailment of British subsidies in April 1762. All this notwithstanding, the hostility of Elizabeth of Russia to Frederick II, and Pitt's determination to wring a "Carthaginian peace" out of France pro-



Seven Years' War. A map from John Entick's *General History of the Late War*, a British account of the Seven Years' War, showing the theater of war in the German states. The battles marked with a "K" indicate the presence ("The King in Person") of Frederick II the Great of Prussia. MAP COLLECTION, STERLING MEMORIAL LIBRARY, YALE UNIVERSITY

longed the conflict. What pushed the great powers toward peace was not victories or defeats but rather changes in their domestic political configurations.

George III's accession in October 1760 produced a notably more pacific tone in the British government, driving Pitt out of the ministry a year later. France sought to profit from this, ratcheting up demands in peace negotiations. Louis XV forged a third Family Compact in August 1761 with the anglophobe Charles III of Spain, who had acceded to his throne in 1759. This produced in January 1762 a Spanish declaration of war against Britain, ostensibly to protect Charles's New World economic interests, but Charles's rash decision was soon repented, as Britain captured both Havana (August) and Manila (October) in successful amphibious operations. That same year, the British also captured the islands of Martinique, Saint Lucia, Saint Vincent, Grenada, and Tobago from France, to add to earlier seizures of Guadeloupe in 1759 and La Gorée in West Africa (1758). The Franco-Spanish position at the end of 1762 was worse than it had been a year earlier. Nevertheless, John Stuart, earl of Bute, now directing the British government, concluded the unnecessarily lenient Peace of Paris (10 February 1763) in which Martinique, Guadeloupe, Saint Lucia, and La Gorée were returned to France. All of New France, except Saint Pierre and Miquelon and fishing rights off Newfoundland, was retained by the British, and in India France was permitted to retain only the five trading posts held in 1748; Minorca was returned to Britain in exchange for Belle-Isle. To recover Cuba and Manila, Spain ceded Florida to Britain, receiving compensation from Louis XV in the form of Louisiana. Britain had shattered the French empire, and France had seen her armies humiliated (with serious domestic political consequences), but the French territories George III handed back to Louis XV were the most productive.

Prussia's survival intact, with peace concluded at Hubertusburg (15 February 1763), equally owed much to changes in domestic politics: the death of Tsarina Elizabeth in January 1762, and Peter III's immediate withdrawal of Russia from the triple alliance. Catherine II, after her usurpation of the throne six months later, maintained Russian neutrality but refused to assist Frederick as her husband had wished to do. With the treaty, Europe reverted

to the status quo ante bellum. By merely carrying on the war, and regularly defeating his enemies against massive odds, Frederick II acquired the sobriquet "the Great" for himself and Prussia's recognition as a great power by the other states. Austria had failed dismally in the attempt to regain Silesia, prompting a further bout of administrative reform that, in less than a decade, increased the quality and quantity of her armies. Yet Russia, in spite of making no territorial gains from the war, emerged as the arbiter of eastern Europe, in part through her military performance but also thanks to the new tsarina, Catherine II, who was determined that Russia would henceforth act to maintain its newly acquired pivotal role.

See also Austrian Succession, War of the (1740–1748); British Colonies: The Caribbean; British Colonies: North America; Catherine II (Russia); Elizabeth (Russia); Frederick II (Prussia); French Colonies: The Caribbean; French Colonies: North America; Louis XV (France); Maria Theresa (Holy Roman Empire); Pitt, William the Elder and William the Younger; Prussia.

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GUY ROWLANDS

SÉVIGNÉ, MARIE DE (Marie de Rabutin-Chantal, marquise de Sévigné; 1626–1696), French letter writer. Madame de Sévigné occupies a special position in the history of French literature. She is one of the best-known writers in the language, but she never wrote anything intended for publication. Her fame derives exclusively from her correspondence, made up of thousands of letters that were first published after her death. She was born in Paris to a mother from a wealthy bourgeois family and a father who was a titled nobleman from

Burgundy. Orphaned at a young age, she grew up in the large and affectionate household of her maternal grandparents. She received an education under their guardianship that emphasized broad readings in French and Italian literature and in religion. Her paternal grandmother was Jeanne de Chantal, founder, with François de Sales, of the religious order of the Visitation.

After her marriage in 1644 to Henri de Sévigné, a young nobleman, Marie had two children: Françoise-Marguerite, born in 1646, and Charles, born in 1648, and the family moved to the Sévigné estate in Brittany. She was widowed after seven years of marriage when her husband was killed in a duel fought over a mistress. She then moved back to the Marais district in Paris, where she had spent her youth, and where she was quickly assimilated into the elite social circles of court and city. As a widow of some means who enjoyed the support of her extended family, Madame de Sévigné had considerable freedom in the conduct of her life. She never remarried, but enjoyed a lifetime of close friendships with many of the principal figures on the French literary, cultural, and political scene: Marie de La Fayette, Madeleine de Scudéry, François, duc de La Rochefoucauld, Jean François Paul de Gondi, cardinal de Retz, and Jean de La Fontaine. Sévigné's close ties with the circle patronized by Nicolas Fouquet (1615–1680), minister of finance in the first years of Louis XIV's reign, drew her into the debates that polarized Parisian high society during Fouquet's trial for treason in 1664. Her letters written during the trial offer a subtle interpretation of political events and a lively, dramatic narrative.

As time went on, Sévigné was to see other close friends suffer disgrace or exile. Her letters invited her far-flung correspondents to continue their participation in social conversations and remain, at least through writing, on the “inside.” In her letters to her cousin Roger de Rabutin, comte de Bussy, who spent most of his adult life trying in vain to regain favor at court, she regularly reported how his letters were read aloud, absorbed into social dialogue, and given real power in a world where gossip and political action were never very far apart. To other correspondents who spent periods away from the capital she became a prized source of information, and her own letters were circulated, read and admired by many readers, who valued them for their witty and



Marie de Sévigné. Portrait by Claude Lefevre. ©ARCHIVO ICONOGRAFICO, S.A./CORBIS

conversational style as much as for the news they contained. Sévigné's principal correspondent was to be her daughter, Françoise-Marguerite, who in 1671 moved to Provence with her new husband, the comte de Grignan. Three-fourths of the letters of Madame de Sévigné that we know today were written from mother to daughter. They reveal an intense, often contradictory relationship. Madame de Grignan's move to the provinces precipitated a profound sense of isolation in her mother, an experience that was new to this woman known by all to be a paragon of sociability. In the process of building her correspondence with her daughter, Sévigné discovered her vocation as a writer. Her letters written from Paris are rich personal chronicles of behind-the-scenes events in an extremely volatile social milieu. Her letters written from her family property in Brittany evoke more intimate memories that she can share with her daughter. She fills her descriptions of the woods and the familiar property with allusions to their shared taste for pastoral romance, and invites her correspondent to imagine herself with her in the same stable company of their

favorite landscapes and books. During the winter and spring of 1696, while Sévigné was visiting her daughter in Grignan, Françoise-Marguerite suffered a lengthy illness. Her mother exhausted herself in attending to her. In April the older woman fell ill, and died two weeks later.

Mother and daughter visited each other for lengthy periods, but their repeated experience of separation and reunion inspired Sévigné's ongoing struggle as a writer to find words to express her passion. The theme of the inadequacy of language for communicating love recurs throughout Madame de Sévigné's correspondence. To put her maternal feeling into words, she drew on a multitude of discourses from her culture—the language of prayer, erotic love, and myth—and in so doing she designed an image of a mother's passion that has become an important model for literary, historical, and psychological discussions of the mother-daughter bond. As the intimate and articulate record of a long life fully lived, Sévigné's letters have been the favorite reading of great writers from Voltaire to Virginia Woolf.

See also François de Sales; La Fontaine, Jean de; La Rochefoucauld, François, duc de; Scudéry, Madeleine de.

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ELIZABETH C. GOLDSMITH

SEVILLE. The Andalusian city of Seville, located fifty-four miles inland from the Atlantic Ocean, was the hub of the Spanish empire for much of the early modern era. In 1503, Isabella of Castile and Ferdinand of Aragón established the Casa de Contratación (House of Trade) in Seville and

thereby launched the ascent of this provincial capital. The number of households doubled between the censuses of 1534 and 1565, and the local population was amplified by droves of foreign traders, sailors, and slaves. The population peaked at over 100,000 at the end of the sixteenth century, making Seville one of the three largest metropolises of Europe and the single most populous city in Spain. A catastrophic plague in 1649 reduced that population by almost half, and it would not recover until the early 1800s. Seville's preeminent position within the empire formally ended in 1680 when the monarchy named the coastal city of Cádiz as the official port for the Indies trade. In its imperial heyday, Seville was notorious for its ostentatious public displays and for the active underworld described so vividly in Golden Age classics by Mateo Alemán (*Guzmán de Alfarache*, 1599), Miguel de Cervantes (*Rinconete and Cortadillo*, 1613), and Tirso de Molina (*El burlador de Sevilla*, 1630).

Seville lies along the east bank of the southwesterly flowing Guadalquivir River, which empties into the Gulf of Cádiz. A countryside rich in natural resources produced high-quality olive oils, wines, and citrus fruits for export to Europe and the Americas, while pine trees provided raw materials for local shipbuilding. The main industries of early modern Seville—soap and ceramics—were located in Triana, a neighborhood across the river, connected to the city center by a single wooden bridge laid atop a string of boats. Triana also housed the castle of the Inquisition, which was founded in Seville in 1480. In the eighteenth century, tobacco production flourished at Seville's Royal Tobacco Factory (1757), the setting for Bizet's *Carmen* (1873–1874) and the current site of the University of Seville.

Royal interests were represented in Seville by an official called the *Asistente* and by a royal tribunal (*Real Audiencia*). Honored by four royal visits in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Seville was transformed into the court for five years under the first Bourbon, King Philip V (ruled 1700–1746). Local government was led by an aristocratic *ayuntamiento* ('city council') comprising thirty-six *veinticuatro*s and fifty-six lesser-ranked *jurados*. The council's jurisdiction extended over many neighboring towns and villages, although Seville's territory shrank considerably as the Habsburg kings sold independent status to many of those towns and



Seville. A late-sixteenth-century engraving by Braun. THE ART ARCHIVE/MUSEO DE LA TORRE DEL ORO SEVILLE/DAGLI ORTI

villages for much-needed cash. The most serious challenge to local authority took place in 1652, when a popular uprising began with bread riots and ended in a bloody crackdown. Seville was the seat of a wealthy archbishopric and a powerful cathedral chapter, and perpetual tension existed among the city's religious, municipal, and royal authorities.

Seville's enormous Gothic cathedral (completed 1506) dominated urban life, and its Giralda—a minaret redesigned as a bell tower—symbolized the city. Until the 1500s, Seville had retained its medieval Islamic character, but the urban fabric changed dramatically as the imperial metropolis burst the seams of the old medieval city. New neighborhoods developed outside the old walls, city gates were expanded, and wide, straight avenues replaced narrow, twisting lanes. In 1572 the Casa Lonja (House of Trade, the present-day Archive of the Indies) was built to store New World goods. The Lonja joined the cathedral, Alcázar ('royal palace'), and archbishop's palace as the physical center of power. The Plaza de San Francisco was another important urban nucleus, as the site of the main Franciscan monastery (now destroyed), the Royal Audiencia, the city jail, and the town hall

begun in 1527 in the elaborately decorative Plateresque style. Seville's sixteenth-century humanists found inspiration in the Roman ruins of nearby Itálica, and grand urban projects (notably the Casa de Pilatos and the Alameda de Hércules) completed Seville's conversion from an Islamic to a Renaissance city.

Urban development was predominantly religious in the 1600s, a century marked by the founding of dozens of new religious institutions, by the growing popularity of Holy Week and Corpus Christi, and by wide popular support promoting the cause of the Immaculate Conception. The baroque church of San Salvador was begun in 1674, and the 1670s also saw the construction of two spectacular hospitals for the poor, the Hospital de los Venerables and the Hospital de la Santa Caridad, both founded by noble patrons with fortunes from New World trade. The new architecture of Counter-Reformation Seville was filled with masterworks by the local painters Francisco de Zurbarán (1598–1664), Bartolomé Murillo (1617–1682), and Juan de Valdés Leal (1622–1690) and the sculptors Juan Martínez Montañés (1568–1649) and Pedro Roldán (1624–1700).

See also Cádiz; Cervantes, Miguel de; Ferdinand of Aragón; Inquisition; Isabella of Castile; Murillo, Bartolomé Esteban; Zurbarán, Francisco de.

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AMANDA WUNDER

SEXUAL DIFFERENCE, THEORIES OF. Historians agree about two things: that sexual differences were carefully marked in the early modern period, and that theories of difference underwent significant changes in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. How these differences were marked and how they changed, however, are the subject of much scholarly debate.

For much of the early modern period, theories of sexual difference derived from those of classical antiquity. Humoral theory, the basis of learned and lay medical thinking, explained that everyone was made up of four humors (yellow bile, black bile, phlegm, blood), but that men and women differed constitutionally. Men tended to be hotter and drier than women. Two strands of classical thought described the creation of sexual difference. Aristotle argued that male seed acted on female matter in the womb to create a new being. Because matter strove toward perfection, the ideal was always male, but sometimes inadequate heat or weak seed resulted in a female. In this model, males are the default setting and females are the result of some failure or deficit. The Hippocratic model was more generous: males

and females contributed seed to make a new being, and the shape of the resulting offspring was due to the interaction of both seeds.

Galen's (129–c. 199 C.E.) ideas about sexual anatomy also portrayed the male as the more perfect specimen. Male and female reproductive parts were the same, but located in different arrangements in the body. The penis and the scrotum were like the womb and vagina turned inside out; the male body's greater heat and perfection pushed these internal organs outside. Renaissance anatomists highlighted these similarities in their illustrations. The historian Thomas Laqueur has described this as the "one-sex" model, meaning that sexual difference was a matter of degree rather than kind. He has emphasized that male and female sexual desire and fulfillment were thought to be necessary for reproduction; only in the heat of orgasm could a new person be created.

If male and female bodies were thought to be so similar, Laqueur argues, then the burden of difference was borne by gender, that is, by social and cultural arrangements. Biblical authority was constantly invoked to remind women that they were the daughters of Eve, and legal proscription attempted to constrain the desires of what was thought to be the lustier sex. Women's history provides a wealth of examples to illustrate the maintenance of difference by means of patriarchy. In England, for example, men who murdered their wives were guilty of homicide and hanged, but women who murdered their husbands were guilty of the far more serious crime of petty treason and burned at the stake.

Historians have argued about the extent to which Laqueur's model truly dominated discussions of sexual difference. Lyndal Roper, for instance, has highlighted the significance of maternity, arguing that the corporeality of women's repeated experiences of pregnancy and lactation emphasized the radical differences between male and female bodies to both sexes. Recent work has also suggested that Renaissance anatomists were fascinated by manifestations of sexual difference, although they often highlighted sexual dimorphism in features that we no longer see as sexually specific.

By the end of the eighteenth century, ideas about sexual difference had changed. Broadly speaking, historians agree that by the late eigh-

teenth century differences rather than similarities between male and female bodies came to be emphasized; that women were no longer thought to be the lustier sex; and that sexual difference permeated the entire body, not just the arrangement of the genitals.

Laqueur dates this larger shift as occurring around 1780–1820, and he connects the development of the “two-sex” model to social and political change. He suggests that contract theories of government and redefinitions of the political subject created an imperative to define women as categorically different from men. He emphasizes the work of thinkers such as Jean-Jacques Rousseau, who declared in 1762 that a man is only a man occasionally, but a woman is a woman for her whole life, by which he meant that men usually functioned as gender-neutral subjects while women were constantly marked as different and, therefore, as incompetent to function as political subjects.

Anthony Fletcher dates this shift toward greater difference earlier in England, describing a move from scriptural to secular patriarchy. By the later seventeenth century, Fletcher suggests, gender difference was rooted in beliefs about women’s innate modesty and godliness, rather than the older view that saw them as sinful and disorderly. Female chastity was the natural result of women’s lack of sexual desire and their investment in motherhood rather than passion. For Fletcher, such differences were understood in bodily terms—women were “naturally” different from men—but those corporeal differences were not highly articulated.

Randolph Trumbach complicates this picture by reminding us that same-sex desire shaped ideas about gender relations. He suggests that with the late-seventeenth-century development of “molly houses” in Amsterdam and London—clubs frequented by men who had sex with other men—masculine and feminine roles became more tightly defined as a third sex—the molly, or effeminate man—was imagined, represented, and lived. Such a suggestion resonates also with the work of Henry Abelove, who suggests that the range of usual sexual behaviors between English men and women narrowed to focus on the reproductive act sometime in the early eighteenth century.

Other interpretations focus on changing views of the nervous system. Popular medical works by the physician George Cheyne (1671–1743) and novels by Samuel Richardson (1689–1761), grounded in John Locke’s psychological theories, portrayed the human body as a creature of sensation. Nerves mediated a person’s relationship to his or her surroundings, but nerves were not gender-neutral. Women’s nerves tended to be finer and more delicate than those of men, whose grosser nerves demanded more stimulation (often in the form of sex and alcohol). Women’s more refined nerves made them the moral center of the domestic sphere, but also made them prey to a range of ailments.

All of these interpretations suggest that difference became more fully embodied in the eighteenth century. None of these, however, grounds that change in scientific developments. Instead, historians see scientific work as culturally shaped, part and parcel of larger social changes.

See also Citizenship; Education; Equality and Inequality; Feminism; Gender; Homosexuality; Literacy and Reading; Locke, John; Marriage; Medicine; Midwives; Obstetrics and Gynecology; Passions; Prostitution; Richardson, Samuel; Rights, Natural; Rousseau, Jean-Jacques; Scholasticism; Sexuality and Sexual Behavior; Virtue; Witchcraft; Women.

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SEXUALITY AND SEXUAL BEHAVIOR.

Since the 1970s, new approaches to the history of sexuality have combined to transform understanding of early modern sexual practices and beliefs. Social historians began by recovering sexualized aspects of the life cycle such as marriage and childbirth. Historians of women and gender examined longstanding patterns of sexual socialization relative to such issues as coerced sex and arranged marriage and the patterns of community response to such sexually marked populations as prostitutes and nuns. Michel Foucault’s *Histoire de la sexualité* (1978; *History of sexuality*) provided a new intellectual framework for sexuality studies by arguing that modern sexuality ought to be understood as discursively organized and marked by technologies of power. That is, patterns of language such as confession and silencing around sexual acts operate in complex ways within structures of power (such as the family, church, state, and science) to form sexual identity. Foucault’s work stimulated and reformulated questions and approaches to the history of sexual behavior even as he was criticized both for the lack of historical specificity in his account of ancient sexuality and for contending that the beginning of the modern notion of sexuality was fundamental to identity in eighteenth-century Europe.

Since Foucault, much empirical historical work on sexuality has filled gaps in his chronology and challenged a number of his particular assertions. Nonetheless, the work of historians of sexuality on such issues as birth control, prostitution, pornography, and homosexuality remains indebted to Foucault for his insights regarding the patterns of meaning and significance with respect to sexuality and sexual behavior. What follows takes into account both the empirical and the discursive understandings of the history of sexuality and sexual practices in early modern Europe. For purposes of clarity, “sex” throughout refers to sex acts, while “biological sex” refers to male or female bodies.

“Sexuality” refers to the complex of ideas associated with sex and often inflected by “gender,” by which is meant the cultural meanings attached to biological sex.

SEXUAL PRACTICES

From the emergence of Catholic Christianity in late antiquity, suspicion of corporeal matters as detracting or distracting from the Christian’s duty to focus on eternal salvation was especially strong with regard to sex. Procreation was permitted, but pleasure was generally frowned upon by the church. Persistent beliefs and strictures indicate that fears of sexuality remained very much in play throughout the Middle Ages. Theologians were adamant that sex was primarily procreative and ought to be confined to legitimate marriage. In general, any sort of sex in which procreation was impossible (anal, oral, homosexual) or even made difficult (by means of withdrawal, for instance) was regarded as “against nature.” Although other factors were not entirely excluded, strictures regarding marital sex reflected the predominance of procreation to the exclusion of other factors. Couples were not supposed to have sex when the woman was already pregnant, since the sexual act could not possibly produce children. Men were supposed to be on top during the act in part because of the belief that if the woman was on top, the man’s seed would spill out, preventing conception. As long as procreation was the aim and a reasonable expectation, sex was permissible.

Procreation as the goal did not eliminate the understanding that sex was an important form of marital intimacy. From St. Paul and medieval theologians, early modern Europeans inherited the concept of the marriage debt, which was seen as a crucial element in the maintenance of marriage. Tensions over the marriage debt are manifest in the extensive discussions about mutual obligation and exceptions to it. While both partners were expected to provide sex on demand, most assumed that men would be more demanding, despite the widespread cultural belief that women were the lusty sex because of their inferior capacity for reason. The marriage debt was enforceable, but it also could be evaded. Women resisted unwanted marital sex by observing church-defined days and periods of abstinence. Three days of abstinence were required on either side of participation in the sacrament of Com-

munion. The penitential season of Lent was a period of sexual abstinence. Sexual relations were also forbidden before a woman was blessed by a priest after childbirth in a “churching” ceremony. These evasive strategies functioned in effect as birth control and supported the cultural climate that regarded sex as inferior to chastity and devotion to God.

Sex and medicine. Medical knowledge about sex was largely organized around procreation. The understanding and treatment of diseases of both men and women centered around making certain that their bodies were properly balanced for insemination, conception, and pregnancy. Ancient medical authorities remained a significant source of (often dubious) knowledge about sexuality in the early modern period. Greco-Roman humoral theory continued to dominate thinking about conception and pregnancy, with women described as cold and wet, while men were dry and hot. Following Galen in particular, early modern medical practitioners believed that failure to conceive was often the result of an imbalance in the fluids—blood, black bile, bile, and phlegm—that corresponded to the humors (hot-wet, cold-dry, hot-dry, and cold-wet, respectively). Medical intervention for complaints such as irregular menstrual cycles, improper configuration of the womb for conception, and lack of sperm of the proper consistency and potency was organized around making certain that the humors were properly balanced within each partner and between the partners. While historians have been careful for lack of direct evidence, Roy Porter and Lesley Hall have argued that sex advice was used both positively and negatively. An explanation of the best conditions for conception, for instance, implied that the converse might prevent conception. Advice to prevent miscarriages by avoiding spicy foods, heavy lifting, and jumping suggested what exactly to do in order to induce a miscarriage.

Humoral theory was combined with assumptions about gender hierarchy inherited from the ancients as well. From elaborate potions and poultices to reminders that women should lie on the right side and avoid sneezing after intercourse, advice manuals, herbal recipe books, and medical texts were replete with ways to facilitate conception. Since Aristotle had defined male qualities as superior, and because men were generally considered more valuable and of higher status than women,

many questions about sex revolved around making certain that proper humoral balance would result in male children. Failure to conceive, in the Aristotelian tradition was entirely the woman’s fault, but popularizers of medical knowledge in the Renaissance were not so certain. Experts contended that factors such as uterine environment, physical conditions during intercourse, and frequency of intercourse could influence the biological sex of the child. While medical writers such as Laurent Joubert (*Erreurs populaires* [1578; Popular errors]) and Giovanni Marinello (*Delle medicine partinenti all’infermità delle donne* [1563; Medicine for the infirmities of women]) debated who was responsible for the biological sex of the offspring, they accepted the Aristotelian claim that only men produced seed thought to produce the infant’s soul. Women were thought to provide only the matter necessary to produce the baby. Others agreed with Galen that women provided a necessary seed of their own that joined with the male seed to form a fetus.

Information about dysfunction was abundant; consensus was not. Consider impotence, a topic of central importance, as family lineages depended on successful reproduction. Causes and cures of impotence, male and female, filled thousands of pages of commentary. Numerous, exceedingly complicated recipes claimed to help men enhance desire, sustain erections, and produce high quality sperm. Following humoral theory quite literally, some thought excessive coldness or dryness in a man caused impotence, and advised adding heat or moisture. If the specified imbalance was corrected and the impotence remained, perhaps the problem was a penis either too short or too long. For the latter condition, the advice was to choose a tall bride. No advice was forthcoming for the man with a small penis. Others looked to the *Malleus Maleficarum* (c. 1486; The hammer of witches), blaming witchcraft for male impotence. For women too, the range of possibilities was vast. Diets, baths, and douches in a bewildering array were prescribed for sterile women. If these remedies were unavailing, one might try remedies to alter the shape or orientation of the uterus. Issues of sexual mood and timing mattered as well: if the woman was not sufficiently aroused, her seed would not be released. The husband was advised to engage in foreplay to make certain that this did not happen. The air of des-

peration in the range of remedies was in part because failure to reproduce disrupted social norms. But the remedies themselves—both in their complexity and their vast number—only increased anxiety about sex.

Indeed, the failure of medical authorities to reach consensus contributed to the development of scientific efforts around sexual issues. While physicians like Leonardo Fioravanti in his 1564 *Dello specchio di scientia universale* (Mirror of universal science) started publicly rejecting the established medical wisdom about sex, others sought to utilize debate to further sexual knowledge. Anatomists, for instance, engaged in controversies, particularly over female sexual anatomy: whether the womb was stationary or mobile; if it could be influenced by smells; whether the hymen existed; and also whether the penis was made of ligaments, muscles, or cartilage. As strictures on dissecting human bodies loosened, such questions could increasingly be answered by reference to empirical evidence. Gradually, such empirical efforts started to replace the medieval and Renaissance habit of fitting observed data into predetermined frameworks formulated by ancient authors and shaped by the need to reconcile pagan knowledge with Christianity.

One key idea that shifted with the development of science was about the relationship of the biological sexes. Thomas Laqueur has argued that medieval Christians generally accepted the Aristotelian hypothesis of one sex—male—with women as inferior and inverted versions of men. Anatomists and physicians beginning in the early modern period increasingly allowed that men and women were sexually distinct. Some contended that men and women constituted two sexes designed to complement each other. This more egalitarian image of sexual biology competed with the older, hierarchical model until the Enlightenment, and even then, remnants of the one-sex model remained. Laqueur's account has been criticized as overly schematic. But as with other aspects of sexual knowledge, the lack of fixity about sexual difference prompted investigations that increased the information available about male and female sexual anatomy.

Disease and adultery. The gradual increase of knowledge about sex and sexuality was slow to allay everyday sexual anxieties and ambiguities. While sex

was believed to have positive effects—doctors allowed that sex combated melancholy and stimulated the senses—commentators were in rare agreement that too much sex was harmful. Frequent intercourse supposedly drained a man of his vital fluids, resulted in weak or degenerate offspring, and even caused death. For women, too much sex could contribute to excessive moist, cold humors. There was, however, little consensus on what was meant by “frequent.” Similarly, old people were told to avoid sex for the most part, but texts rarely agreed on what constituted “old” and varied on whether sex ought to stop entirely or just happen less often. With the emergence of syphilis in the late fifteenth century, anxiety about venereal disease ran high as well. As the origins of syphilis were unclear, national groups blamed each other for the disease (the French called it the “Neapolitan pox,” and the Italians, the “French pox”), and some claimed women who mixed the seed of several men in their wombs were responsible for the disease.

By far the most prominent anxiety was the fear of adultery. Fictional texts, legal tracts, and abundant case law warned that uncontrolled female lust could destroy the household: the wife would exhaust her husband, and then seek her pleasures elsewhere. Early modern commentators maintained the story from Hippocrates that women imprinted what they saw on the child developing in the womb. A woman could get pregnant by any man and pass the child off as her husband's as long as she thought about her husband during intercourse. As the jurist Jacques Buchereau noted in his 1580 commentary on the Institutes of Justinian (*Les Institutes impériales de Justinian*), adultery provisions in legal codes typically penalized adultery with confiscation of goods, corporal punishment, and banishment. These penalties weighed more heavily on women, however, because of their more limited resources. Jurists considered the disproportional punishment of women to be reasonable because women could introduce illegitimate offspring into the family lineage.

GENDER ASYMMETRY

That the penalties for male cheating were rarely so severe points to the enormous asymmetry in power relations between men and women where sex was concerned. Seemingly benign manifestations in-

cluded the tendency to sequester women in the home, with greater seclusion for women of higher socioeconomic status. In Venice, respectable middle-class and noble women left their homes to go to church, but otherwise hardly at all. Lower-class women could move more freely but were often subject to sexual violence. In some Italian cities, gangs of young men raped unprotected women, and isolated peasant women in the countryside were similarly vulnerable to sexual violence. Sexual honor for women centered on chastity and sexual fidelity, while (in addition to factors such as prowess in war) male honor included acquiring and maintaining sexual mastery over women. Sexual insults, even if completely untrue, could destroy a woman's reputation and make her effectively unmarriageable. Slander cases often included disputes over one party calling a woman a whore or a slut. Sexual honor, lost through words or deeds, might be regained if a woman could prove she had been tricked into sexual relations, but generally only if the man married her. Men lost some sexual honor if they were thought to be out of control sexually or if they allowed themselves to be treated as the passive partner. A man who was thought a cuckold was regarded as having failed to control, or worse, having failed to satisfy his wife sexually. These were serious complaints, but where sexual honor was primary to a woman's reputation, it was only one of several components of male identity.

The combination of cultural anxiety, increased availability and spread of information, and lack of consensus about sex figured prominently in the early modern organization of families. Freedom in terms of choosing marriage partners was virtually nonexistent for men, but was especially unavailable for women. As Christiane Klapisch-Zuber noted regarding Renaissance Florence, men defined membership in "houses," or families. This was true throughout Europe, as male family members controlled most aspects of economic, legal, and political life. Women brought goods into the family lineage in marriage, managed the household, and were necessary for reproduction, but the family lineage passed through husbands and fathers to sons, rather than to daughters, who married into other families. One implication of this configuration was the sharp difference in age of marriage: men were often in their late twenties or thirties, while women were

usually in their teens when first married. Men had to be relatively secure financially to start a new household, while the desire to be certain of chastity and purity made early marriage more likely for women. Women who survived childbirth were often widowed, and often while still young and with small children because of the age differential at marriage. Whether a woman could remarry was determined by negotiation between her marital family and her family of birth. Especially if she had children, the marital family would try to keep the woman and her dowry within their family, but the birth family might return her to the family home and seek a new marital alliance with another lineage.

The sexual pressures on women were in many ways far more extensive than those on men. A woman could lose her sexual honor even if she was raped, especially if she got pregnant: common belief held that conception was only possible if the woman felt pleasure. Finally, female sexuality was heavily subject to familial strategies organized by male family members, often throughout a woman's life cycle.

DISCIPLINE AND DEVIANCE

Catholics and Protestants alike measured sexual transgressions against a combination of theological and communal standards upheld by church courts, the family, and state institutions. Together these loci of power defined sexual behavior in such a way that non-normative sexual behavior was subject to scrutiny and even criminal penalties.

Catholic theology as confirmed at the Council of Trent (1545–1563) retained marriage and holy orders as sacraments, and the notion that marriage was the best state for those who did not take vows of celibacy remained implicit in Catholic belief. Protestants rejected both holy orders and marriage as sacraments on the grounds that they lacked scriptural warrant, but the main Protestant groups (Lutherans, Calvinists, and Anglicans) continued to emphasize marriage as a means of controlling sexuality. More radical sects (such as Anabaptists) were sometimes persecuted because of their rejection of the dominant sexual mores. Catholic ecclesiastical courts and Calvinist consistory records are among the richest sources regarding regulation of sexuality. Fornication was especially prominent in these records, but issues surrounding marriage, illegitimacy, and sexual violence also appear regularly.

The immediacy of the parish in the life of virtually all Europeans meant that religious courts and strictures had much more influence than state efforts to regulate sexuality, but states engaged in efforts to control sexuality as well. The patriarchal and hierarchical structure of society meant that state legislation and jurisprudence tended to uphold paternal power in matters of sexuality. The most common areas of state intervention were around clandestine marriage, adultery, rape, fornication, and prostitution. Across Europe, parental consent was generally required for marriage. The French monarchy produced a series of ordinances against clandestine marriage, beginning with Henry II's 1556 edict condemning it as a crime against God and king. In 1579, the penalty was changed from disinheritance to death for those convicted of "rapt" (abduction or seduction of a minor for purposes of clandestine marriage). Ordinances in 1639, 1697, and 1730 upheld the state's interest in marriage, utilizing the language of the king's sacred authority, even as the monarchy encroached on areas traditionally reserved to the church and its courts.

State intervention in cases of rape and fornication tended to vary by social status, marital status, and reputation. Seduction of a woman of high status typically received greater penalties than if the woman was of lower status. Virginity raised the stakes, with jurisdictions often willing to force the man either to marry the deflowered woman or provide her with sufficient dowry to enable her to marry respectably. Monetary penalties in many Italian cities were graded explicitly by social status, with the most vulnerable population—female servants—virtually unprotected. State authorities generally did not intervene when men attacked women who were at a comparative social disadvantage.

The efforts of the state with respect to prostitution were often complicated by the mixed inheritance from the Middle Ages and the practical needs of particular jurisdictions. While the church regarded sex as distracting from salvation, it grudgingly allowed unmarried men recourse to prostitutes on the grounds that fornication under controlled circumstances was less sinful than allowing sexual urges to spill over into violence. Because women were regarded as lustier by nature than men, prostitutes were often seen as women indulging their carnal desires. Few recognized the economic

pressures on poor women. Many municipalities, moreover, regarded brothels as revenue sources. Brothels and prostitutes were regulated by such measures as special clothing to distinguish prostitutes from "respectable" women, limits on access to prostitutes, and bans on freelance prostitution. As Reformation and Catholic Reformation rhetoric about morality took hold, municipal brothels gradually disappeared, while religious foundations to redeem repentant prostitutes, such as the Convertite House in Venice (founded in 1552) and the Magdalen Hospital in London (founded in 1758), sprang up.

State attempts to control prostitution were generally ineffective. The focus on the prostitute as a fallen moral agent rather than on the economic problems that produced prostitution, combined with the inattention to male customers, ensured that prostitution flourished. The major change resulting from state antipathy was the decline in management of prostitution by women and the rise of the pimp. This made prostitutes increasingly vulnerable to violence and economic exploitation. States often accepted more or less open prostitution in less respectable parts of towns. To satisfy moral crusaders such as the Society for the Reformation of Manners (founded in the early 1690s in London), states engaged in or allowed occasional raids of such areas, but generally allowed business as usual, as long as order was not routinely disrupted. Higher class prostitutes (courtesans) were often prominent culturally as mistresses of kings and courtiers. Vulnerable to the vagaries of favor, such women were hardly subject to state pressure. By the outbreak of the French Revolution (1789), prostitution was much more "illegal" than it had been at the beginning of the Renaissance, but it remained a prominent feature of the sexual landscape.

Cross-dressing, infanticide, and sodomy were also subject to state regulation. While early modern jurists did not use the vocabulary of gender, these crimes were all violations of gender norms. Cross-dressing threatened the social hierarchy that presumed that men and women were in a stable relation to each other by virtue of biology. Men who cross-dressed were deemed effeminate, while women who did so were regarded as unnatural and were pressured to conform. By the eighteenth century, cross-dressing men who frequented private

clubs, notably in London, were subject to police harassment and prosecution. Prison terms, fines, and periods of standing in the pillory were often the penalties for those caught and convicted. Infanticide was punishable by death, but lesser penalties (fines, banishment) were often substituted. Women accused of infanticide were regarded as unnatural mothers who violated the primary purpose of their sex. Statutes required unmarried women to declare their pregnancies or risk being charged with infanticide if the baby died. Many women convicted of infanticide had tried to hide their pregnancies with the help of clandestine networks in larger European cities.

Sodomy was more complicated in that it meant a number of things. Sodomy was “sinning against nature,” and it encompassed nonreproductive sexual techniques such as masturbation, sex between two men, between human and animal, or between a man and woman in such a way that conception was impossible. Sodomy was associated with weakness, and passive male sodomy was often seen as resulting from a deficiency of proper male gender characteristics. But male homosexual sodomy, as Michael Rocke has argued, was a significant mode of political socialization in Renaissance Florence, and the efforts to prosecute it suggest that it was widely practiced. Officially, sodomy often carried the death penalty, but this seems to have been carried out primarily against socially disadvantaged individuals. By the eighteenth century, the state occasionally attempted to disrupt the meeting places of “sodomites,” particularly when pressured by moral crusaders. The social pattern of prosecutions persisted as members of the elite caught in raids were usually fined, while harsher penalties were reserved for poorer men.

While Foucault asserted that sexual identity categories only developed in the nineteenth century, historians such as Alan Bray have argued that the earlier emergence of identifiable homosocial institutions such as “molly houses” (private residences where men could meet other men for sex) created a sense of sexual difference. Where Foucault contended that Europeans thought in terms of sexual acts rather than identities marked by systematic sexual preferences, his critics argue that institutional settings, linguistic practices such as pet names for those “in the know,” and sartorial indicators

formed basic elements of sexual identity. In the face of official hostility, deviant practices had some organizational structures that made it easier for those who participated in them to recognize themselves as different from the dominant sexual ethos.

THE MEANINGS OF SEX

Both church and state maintained that sex was procreative in purpose, but sex had a number of other meanings. The infusion of classical texts in the Renaissance increased the prominence of secondary meanings. Over the course of the early modern period, these additional ideas threatened aspects of the religious and cultural hegemony of Christianity.

The association of sex with pleasure was not new in the early modern period, but the idea that pleasure was a positive good received several endorsements, beginning in the Renaissance. The revival of Plato, especially by Marsilio Ficino (1433–1499) and his followers, suggested that sexual pleasure was an important aspect of love. Since Neoplatonic theory held that love was the means to salvation, carnal love had a significant role to play. While most Neoplatonists tried to downplay the corporeal elements, every important thinker who advocated Neoplatonic notions of love addressed pleasure as an element of sex and love. Protestants such as Lutherans, Calvinists, and Anglicans allowed that sexual pleasure within marriage created stronger emotional ties between husband and wife. Rather than distracting from salvation, in Protestant thought sexual pleasure facilitated harmonious relations that enabled men and women to focus on matters of grace, faith, and scriptural knowledge. The Protestant rejection of non-biblical sources of doctrine downplayed the ascetic tradition that regarded pleasure as dubious.

The printing revolution was crucial to Renaissance humanism and the Protestant Reformation, but it also played a significant role in disseminating ideas regarding sexual pleasure. Sexual poetry and prose were not invented in the Renaissance, but both the recovery of ancient writers of sexually explicit material such as Catullus and Juvenal and the development of hermeneutical techniques that allowed for new readings of old texts brought the issue of pleasure to the fore. Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* had been read allegorically before Renaissance humanists developed critical techniques to situate an-

cient texts in context and recover the range of explicit sexual behavior in antiquity. Figures like Pietro Aretino (1492–1556), notorious for sexually explicit poetry and ribald dialogues, took advantage of the openness of humanist culture to ancient sexual ideas and texts. Aretino utilized the print medium to disseminate erotic and pornographic materials, and generations of imitators produced images and texts in the same vein. “Aretino’s Postures” (c. 1524) —sexually explicit engravings by Giulio Romano based on ancient images to which Aretino appended even more explicit, very raunchy sonnets—took the “high culture” of humanism and put it in the comparatively accessible format of the cheap print. Often regarded as a precursor to modern pornography, Aretino’s work loomed large throughout Europe as the paradigm of sex emphatically devoted to pleasure. Audience demand for explicit sexual material grew to such an extent that novels like John Cleland’s *Fanny Hill, or Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure* (1748–1749) remained perennial popular sellers despite official censorship.

The valorization of pleasure had proponents whose ideas expanded into a full-scale challenge to Christian orthodoxy, with sexual pleasure as a core element. Libertines as described by Molière in his 1665 play *Don Juan* were amoral and atheistic. The title character married or promised to marry women indiscriminately, and left one as soon as another caught his eye. Don Juan’s pursuit of pleasure leads to his death in Molière’s play, and more famously in Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart’s opera, *Don Giovanni* (1787). Libertine men who rejected the notion of familial domesticity in favor of homosocial gatherings that celebrated sexual pleasure often also rejected Christian sexual mores. Groups like Sir Francis Dashwood’s Dilettanti Society (established in 1732) were organized ostensibly to share research about ancient Greece and Rome. Members of the society undertook to reconstruct the supposed rites of Priapus, a minor Roman deity famous for his oversized, perpetually erect penis. Libertine organizations remained small in size, but their ideas about sexual pleasure in place of marriage and advocacy of pagan sexual ideas over Christian ones impressed and shocked mainstream European society. The fear of libertine influence often made their ideas more prominent because of their shock value.

The early Enlightenment libertines like Dashwood still drew on Renaissance modes of producing meaning. That is, they looked to the ancients for information and for authority for their own ideas. Later Enlightenment libertinism, partly in reaction to the growing popularity and hegemony of sentimental domesticity, advocated most famously by Jean-Jacques Rousseau (*Émile*, 1762), made a rather different case for libertine sexual ideas. Following the lead of materialist philosophers like the physician Julien Offray de la Mettrie (*L’homme machine* [1747; Man a machine]), pornographers increasingly described sex through reference to materialist philosophy, which posited that everything, including human beings, was simply matter. The extreme version of this tendency is exemplified in the works of the Marquis de Sade. His *Philosophy of the Bedroom* (1795) took Enlightenment language about reason and nature to the logical extreme. Any form of pleasure, even if it involved pain or death, was justified as reasonable and natural. Because pleasure was naturally occurring, Sade explicitly rejected any other criteria for evaluating sexual acts. Sade was, and to many still is, outrageous for his exploitative view of human behavior and sexual violence, in part because he effectively yoked sexual pleasure to reason and nature within an Enlightenment intellectual scheme.

The significance of libertine discourse in early modern Europe underscores the shift between the Renaissance and the Enlightenment in terms of the meanings of sex. In keeping with the larger cultural understandings of the production of knowledge, Renaissance advocates of pleasure as a central meaning of sex looked to the ancients. Enlightenment thinkers, generally dubious about tradition as well as religious belief, framed sexual pleasure in terms of reason and nature. Sade’s version was extreme to be sure, but the notion that pleasure was a natural part of sex permeated much Enlightenment thinking.

The other side of Enlightenment thinking about sex—the association of sexuality with gender roles in ways that presume men to be sexually aggressive and women passive—has remained more prominent. The Enlightenment inheritance has in fact included both the assumptions about gender roles and the multiple logics that resulted from the application of reason to nature and sexuality. The family, church, state, and science were not replaced

by Enlightenment reference to reason, but rationality, largely envisioned on a personal level, shifted assessments of sexual behavior to the individual. Sexuality as a matter of preference or desire could then much more easily be imagined as integral to the self. But modern sexual identity was, and is, clearly built on the structures and habits of early modern European society.

See also **Biology; Divorce; Enlightenment; Family; Gender; Homosexuality; Humanists and Humanism; Marriage; Medicine; Pornography; Prostitution; Rousseau, Jean-Jacques; Sade, Donatien-Alphonse-François de; Sexual Difference, Theories of; Women.**

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KATHERINE CRAWFORD

SHABBETAI TZEVI (also Sabbatai Sevi, Zevi, or Zebi, 1626–1676), Jewish rabbi of the Ottoman Empire whose messianic claims and abrupt conversion to Islam in 1665–1666 convulsed Jewish communities in Europe and the Near East. The widespread appeal of his messiahship establishes the movement as the most significant millenarian outpouring in modern Jewish history. The crypto-Jewish sect known in Turkish as *Dönme*, ‘convert (to Islam)’, refers to a minority of devotees who clung to belief in Tzevi as messiah and followed his lead in converting. Although “Shabbetean” principally denotes believers in Tzevi’s messiahship, the term also can apply to currents and sympathies among nonadherents, especially regarding the movement’s mystical (Cabalist) conceptions.

FAMILY AND EARLY CAREER

Many of the details of Shabbetai Tzevi’s life have been clouded by partisanship and Tzevi’s own self-representations. He was born in Ottoman Izmir (Smyrna) in 1626, the son of Mordecai Tzevi, a merchant broker recently arrived from Salonika. Both his mother, Clara, and his father died before his famous movement. After a period of study in Izmir, Tzevi was ordained as a rabbi when he was eighteen (Scholem, p. 111). Tzevi’s early inclinations toward Cabala, or Jewish mysticism, are unclear. In his subsequent travels, he studied the Lurianic teachings (after Isaac Luria, 1534–1572) that permeated contemporary Cabalism. The reve-

lations and prophecies of his eventual movement are deeply imprinted with Cabalist thought. He was pious and ascetic for the most part, but his behavior could also be bizarre and unpredictable. Observers saw in his eccentricities everything from madness and blasphemy to genius and divine blessing. In 1648, his behavior, which included messianic utterances, led to chastisement by the rabbinic authorities and, in the early 1650s, expulsion from Izmir. His transgressions at the time are not known, but in the following years he was reprimanded for saying aloud the divine name and for parodying religious rituals.

FROM OUTCAST TO MESSIAH

For a number of years Tzevi lived in a succession of Jewish communities in Ottoman Europe, but he was expelled from both Salonika and Istanbul and returned to Izmir in 1658. After three years he decided to travel to Palestine. However troubling his reputation may have been at this point, when he arrived in Jerusalem in 1662 he was well received by the rabbinic leadership and was even employed as their agent to gather Egyptian contributions for the city. In Egypt in 1664, Tzevi married Sarah, a young woman who had been orphaned by the massacres in Poland of 1648–1649. Until then his messianic claims had been cryptic and inconsistent, but that changed in 1665 when he formed a relationship with a famed Cabalist, Nathan Ashkenazi of Gaza. Buoyed by Nathan's zeal, Tzevi proclaimed himself messiah in May 1665 (Scholem, pp. 220–221) Nathan's letters of announcement and the rumor of miracles soon stirred messianic fervor from Gaza deep into Europe. The promise of imminent redemption and retribution took on a life of its own. European Christian millenarians shared in the enthusiasm, predicting the fall of the Ottomans and Islam. Given the recent Jewish massacres in Europe and the memory of the expulsion from Spain, the movement's own retributive focus fell more on Christendom than on Muslims or the Ottoman Turkish Empire (Scholem, pp. 349–350).

In December of 1665, Tzevi and his adherents fought their way into the main opposition synagogue in Izmir, and the movement had its greatest triumph to date. Congregations all over the eastern Mediterranean were in an uproar. As Tzevi attempted to land at Istanbul in February 1666, the

Ottomans arrested and imprisoned him, first at Istanbul, then later and more comfortably at Gallipoli. Tzevi's opponents and the rabbinic authorities in the capital, skeptical of Tzevi and fearful of repercussions from the Ottomans, no doubt had a role in his detention, but the movement among the masses continued to grow. With pilgrims from as far away as Poland converging upon Gallipoli and partisan clashes disrupting life in the cities, the central government acted again. In September 1666 Tzevi was brought to the imperial palace at Edirne for interrogation by the grand vizier Ahmed Köprülü and Mehmed IV's chief preacher Vani Efendi, among others. Faced with the prospect of execution, probably for encouraging mayhem, Tzevi denied his messianic mission and, to gain the sultan's mercy, agreed to convert to Islam. With a new name (Aziz Mehmed), a Muslim turban, and a paid appointment in the palace service, Tzevi was pardoned. His renunciation of Judaism was a calamitous shock to the Jewish community, especially when Tzevi began to proselytize on behalf of Islam.

Although some Shabbeteans, including Tzevi's wife, also converted, Tzevi was not a convincing Muslim for long. In 1672 he was banished to Dulcigno in Albania, where he died in 1676. Many believers clung to the hope that his conversion had been part of the messianic plan or a sacrifice in their interests. In the 1680s and 1690s, hundreds of Jews converted to Islam, most of them as members of the Donme sect. The rabbinical leadership sought to restore the community by erasing memory of the episode, but its effects were too profound to forget.

See also Jews and Judaism; Messianism, Jewish.

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MADELINE C. ZILFI

SHAKESPEARE, WILLIAM (1564–1616), English playwright, poet, and actor. Shakespeare is universally recognized as the foremost writer in the English language to date. The thirty-seven plays associated with his name, including the major tragedies *Hamlet*, *King Lear*, *Othello*, and *Macbeth*, and his romances and comedies, *Twelfth Night* and *A Midsummer Night's Dream* among them, have been translated into many languages and have crossed all kinds of cultural divide. His poetry, in particular his intricately woven and fiercely passionate love sonnets, have stirred the senses of reader and critic alike for generations past and will do so for generations to come.

Shakespeare was born in Stratford-upon-Avon in Warwickshire, England, and he was probably educated in the 1570s at the free grammar school there known as the King's New School. His father, John Shakespeare, has been described as a glover or whittawer, which means someone who works with animal skins. Shakespeare's mother, Mary Arden, was from a noted local family, the daughter of Robert Arden, John Shakespeare's landlord. At some point, perhaps in 1568 when his father was high bailiff (mayor) of the town and responsible for Stratford's entertainment, Shakespeare must have first seen actors perform as traveling players visiting on tour.

In about 1582, Shakespeare married Anne Hathaway, a rich yeoman's daughter. The marriage was undertaken during a notable downturn in the affairs of Shakespeare's father. Having been a respected and confident town official during Shakespeare's earliest years—initiating an application for gentry status in 1576, for example—during 1586 John Shakespeare's alderman status was withdrawn. Although controversy surrounds the possible reasons for Shakespeare's marriage to a woman who was eight years his senior, three children were produced from the marriage. Susanna was the first-born in 1583 with a pair of twins produced in 1585—a son, Hamnet, who died in childhood, and a daughter, Judith.



William Shakespeare. AP/WIDE WORLD

LONDON ACTOR, PLAYWRIGHT, AND POET

Whether Shakespeare had to leave Stratford for some reason, or whether he joined a visiting touring company such as the Queen's Men, we first hear of him as a London playhouse personality seven years after the birth of the twins. This is when he is mentioned in a pamphlet called *A Groatsworth of Wit Bought with a Million of Repentance* (1592) written by a writer and playwright named Robert Greene. This text was written while the writer knew that he was dying, and in it he urged his fellow well-educated peers, Christopher Marlowe, Thomas Nashe, and George Peele, to forsake the stage. "For there is an upstart crow, beautified with our feathers," Greene wrote, "that with his 'Tiger's heart wrapped in a player's hide' supposes he is as well able to bombast out a blank verse as the best of you, and [. . .] is in his own conceit the only Shakespeare in a country." We know this allusion is directed toward Shakespeare, not only because of the play on his name and profession as a "Shake-scene," but also because of the misquotation from one of his *Henry VI* plays: "O Tiger's heart wrapped in a woman's hide!" (Part III, act 1, scene 4, line 138).

By this time, scholars believe that the player Shakespeare had not only embarked on his English

history cycle with the three *Henry VI* plays, but had also presented the highly successful if violent *Titus Andronicus* as well. In this play a woman is raped, has both her hands cut off and her tongue cut out, and a queen unknowingly eats her own children, baked in a pie. However, in a matter of a few years Shakespeare was also provably capable of writing the extraordinarily poised and tragic *Romeo and Juliet*. Here two young lovers, divided by their families' antagonism to one another, meet, marry, and die while speaking the most beautiful words of love written for the English stage.

By 1595, Shakespeare, as a sharer member of the acting company called the Lord Chamberlain's Men, was entitled to a portion of the company's takings. This status was acquired through his investment in things for the company like costumes, playbooks, and props. However, there is some evidence to show that Shakespeare wanted to be perceived more as a serious poet than as either an actor or a playwright. In 1593 and 1594 he published his two narrative poems, *Venus and Adonis* and *The Rape of Lucrece*, both dedicated to his supposed patron Henry Wroithesley, 3rd earl of Southampton. This period also marks the time when it is believed he had begun his 154 sonnets, published as a collection in 1609, with Southampton a candidate for the "Fair Youth" to whom the first 126 possibly allude. The fourteen-line sonnet, quietly evolving in form since its first emergence in fourteenth-century Italy, had reached England through poet-courtiers such as Sir Thomas Wyatt and the earl of Surrey earlier in the sixteenth century. In the hands of Shakespeare, many sonnet conventions were challenged, questioning the poetic expectation of comparing one's lover to nature, for example. "My mistress' eyes are nothing like the sun" is the bold opening of Number 130, for example. Thus Shakespeare chose to use the sonnet to engage, not only with the passions and intellect of the person to whom the sonnet is addressed, but even with poetry itself. It is interesting that Greene chose to mark out Shakespeare's verse as his primary objection to him as an "upstart." Shakespeare indeed wrote much of his drama in blank verse, the flexible iambic pentameter form of unrhymed poetry, again used by Henry Howard, the earl of Surrey, and taken on by dramatists such as Christopher Marlowe. However, Shakespeare's energy when approaching his plays

did not hold back on inventiveness and variety. The blank verse form reached its apotheosis with Shakespeare, but a few of his early plays contain sonnet moments too. The Prologue to *Romeo and Juliet*, given by the Chorus, is a sonnet, and later in this lovers' play, one is interwoven through the dialogue when the protagonists first speak together (act 1, scene 5, lines 90–113).

By the turn of the seventeenth century, the Lord Chamberlain's Men had rebuilt their Shore-ditch amphitheater (called the "Theater") as the Globe on London's Bankside (the south bank of the Thames). They were now the most well established of the city's playing companies. By this time Shakespeare had begun to write his heavyweight tragedies for them, beginning with *Hamlet* published in 1603. If *Titus Andronicus* was violent, and *Romeo and Juliet* tragically romantic, *Hamlet* was Shakespeare's play concerned with the human mind. The eponymous prince of Denmark, whose father's ghost tells him how he was murdered by Hamlet's uncle, sets out on a course of revenge, while at the same time, as the philosopher prince studying at Wittenburg University, he questions life and death and any decision involving them. Shakespeare is creative with the revenge tragedy form, using the vengeful mindset of the main character to explore highly philosophical questions. "What a piece of work is man!" (act 2, scene 2, lines 293–300) and "To be, or not to be, that is the question" (act 3, scene 1, lines 58–90) are two lines from speeches of profound mental depth. *Hamlet* is the most widely quoted and most investigated of Shakespeare's plays, attracting a phenomenal amount of scholarly study, just as much because of the questions it poses as because of the answers it fails to give.

THE JACOBEAN SHAKESPEARE

In 1603, after the death of Queen Elizabeth and the accession of James I, the company were renamed the King's Men, acquiring royal patronage status. In 1608 they also acquired a new, small, more select playhouse known as the Blackfriars that was to be used alongside the Globe, the public playhouse. Shares in this venture, which company members were given, were very lucrative acquisitions for the actors—including Shakespeare. This period marked the writing of plays such as *Othello*, first performed 1603–1604 and published in the 1620s, *King Lear*

of 1606, published in 1608, and *Macbeth*, again c. 1606 but first published in the collected First Folio of Shakespeare's works of 1623. The plot lines and characters of these tragedies continued to demonstrate the extraordinary range of Shakespeare's mind as he dealt with, for example, jealousy and deception in *Othello*; madness, mercy, and true filial love in *King Lear*; and the dangers of encouraged ambition in *Macbeth*. In about 1613, however, at the peak of his writing powers, Shakespeare was to give up his career on London's stage.

SHAKESPEARE THE STRATFORD MAN

By 1616, Shakespeare had returned to Stratford and the substantial home called New Place that he had bought for his family. It was there that he was to die in 1616 of a fever, reputedly after a rowdy visit from his friend and colleague Ben Jonson. He died where he began, therefore, not in London where he made his name, but in the Stratford of his birth. Back in 1596, gentry status had finally been achieved for his family, and the payee for this was likely to have been William. He died, therefore, not only rich, but respected and esteemed in his community, to become later in the minds of many the man most associated with the finest use of poetic English.

In the historical context of his day-to-day existence as an actor and a companyman, Shakespeare's significant output as a dramatic writer can be interpreted as simple good business sense that resulted in his family's bettered status at home. By writing good plays he drew audiences to playhouses in which he had financial interests. Shakespeare's plays did not, in fact, belong to him, but were the property of his company. Despite evidence that Shakespeare was involved in the printing of his poetry, there is no proof of authorial concern with the printed publication of his plays. His dramas were only collected as serious "works" seven years after his death in 1623 for what we now know as Shakespeare's "First Folio," put together by his fellow actors. A man of extraordinary talent, however, at a time when there were no rulebooks for the English language or its lexicon, his contribution to what we now perceive as beauty through dramatic story and words is inestimable.

See also Beaumont and Fletcher; Drama: English; English Literature and Language; Jonson, Ben; Marlowe, Christopher.

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EVA GRIFFITH

SHERIDAN, RICHARD BRINSLEY

(1751–1816), Irish playwright, theater manager, and politician. Sheridan was born in Dublin shortly before 4 November 1751, the day when he was baptized. His father was Thomas Sheridan, an Irish Protestant actor and theater manager; his mother was Frances Sheridan, who became well known as a writer of novels, including *The Memoirs of Miss Sydney Biddulph* (1761) and the Oriental tale *The History of Nourjahad* (1767).

The family moved to England, where Sheridan attended, and disliked, Harrow School, until 1770 when he left and moved, again with his family, to Bath. Early efforts at writing included *Jupiter*, a farce that prefigures *The Critic* and that was rejected for production by Sheridan's future colleague David Garrick; verse for the *Bath Chronicle*; and fragments of political essays. In Bath he met and eloped with the singer Eliza Linley (1754–1795), but the validity of their marriage was contested by both families and by another admirer of Linley's with whom Sheridan fought two duels. Although the families eventually dropped their opposition to the marriage, Sheridan remained very short of money, having moved to London to study law in 1773.

His first play was the comedy *The Rivals*, staged at Covent Garden in January 1775. It is a polished and urbane “comedy of manners” whose satirical targets include the corruption of language by Mrs. Malaprop (who famously describes another character as “as headstrong as an allegory on the banks of the Nile”), and the corruption of morals in the contemporary cult of “sentimentality.” After a near failure on the first night, it went on to achieve spectacular success and to bring Sheridan both money and aristocratic contacts. Sheridan went on to write a string of brilliant and successful comedies: The farce *St. Patrick’s Day* was produced in May 1775 and *The Duenna*, an operatic play, followed in November 1775. In 1776 Sheridan became manager and part-owner of the Drury Lane Theatre. *A Trip to Scarborough*, a loose adaptation of John Vanbrugh’s comedy *The Relapse*, was staged there in 1777, followed in May of that year by the classic comedy *The School for Scandal* in which a hypocritical “man of feeling” is contrasted with his rakish but good-hearted younger brother in a comedy set in the world of newspaper columns and society gossip. In 1779 Sheridan became the sole owner of the Drury Lane Theatre, where he produced *The Critic, or A Tragedy Rehearsed* in the same year.

1780 marked a turning point in Sheridan’s career: he spent over £1000 securing election as a member of Parliament for Stafford and ceased to write for the theater. A political ally of Charles James Fox and the Whigs, he joined the government in 1782 as the undersecretary of foreign affairs, and in 1783 became secretary of the treasury. His most famous parliamentary interventions, however, related to the impeachment of Warren Hastings, governor of India. A particular facet of the case related to the Begums of Oude, whom Hastings was alleged to have unlawfully deprived of their property: Sheridan discussed the case in a five-hour speech on 7 February 1787 that even his opponents acknowledged as “the most splendid display of eloquence and talent which has been exhibited in the House of Commons during the present reign” (Bingham, p. 237). Politically, Sheridan also argued against the Act of Union, and against press censorship.

However, Sheridan himself was sinking into debt. The Drury Lane Theatre was declared unsafe in 1792 and had to be demolished; Sheridan himself

borrowed the money for the building of a new theater on the site. After the death of his first wife, Sheridan married in 1795 the nineteen-year-old Esther Ogle, daughter of the dean of Winchester. In 1799 Sheridan even returned to dramatic writing, and his tragedy *Pizarro*, an adaptation from August Friedrich Ferdinand von Kotzebue’s *The Spaniards in Peru*, earned enough money to gain him a brief financial reprieve; but in 1802, with debts on all sides, the Drury Lane Theatre went into receivership. At the same time, his political career was stalling.

In the 1806 “ministry of all the talents,” Sheridan was made treasurer of the navy, but this relatively minor post did not carry cabinet rank. In 1809 the new Drury Lane Theatre burned down. Although, characteristically, he was able to joke about it—he is said to have watched from a nearby coffeehouse, remarking, “a man may surely be allowed to take a glass of wine by his own fireside”—the fire made his financial ruin unavoidable and marked the end of his ownership of the theater. Sheridan had been a friend of Prince George (later King George IV) and should have benefited from George’s elevation to Prince Regent in 1811, but the prince’s favor proved short-lived. The following year Sheridan lost his seat in Parliament, and although the prince supplied him with £3000 to buy his way back in, Sheridan spent the money clearing personal debts. In 1813 Sheridan was again imprisoned for debt. He lived in poverty and alcoholism until his death on 7 July 1816.

See also **Drama; English; English Literature and Language; Hastings, Warren.**

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MATTHEW STEGGLE

SHIPBUILDING AND NAVIGATION. A revolutionary change in the design and construction of seagoing sailing ships occurred around 1400. The two established European shipbuilding traditions, one Mediterranean and the other northern, merged in the production of the full-rigged ship. From the north the rounded tubby hull form of the cog, the sternpost rudder, and the large square sail for driving the ship were combined with the abutting or carvel hull planking and the lateen sail of the south. Full-rigged ships carried three masts with a large square sail on the mainmast, a triangular lateen sail on the mizzen, and a small square sail on the foremast to balance the lateen at the stern. The square sails provided power while the lateen made the ship more maneuverable. Relying on the internal frame for strength—necessary if the hull planks did not overlap but instead abutted one another—made for lower initial construction costs, though such a hull required more repair and maintenance.

The carrack was the most prominent example of the new type, but there were smaller versions that were also capable of more reliable passages and over longer distances at lower cost than before. The higher carrying capacity per sailor gave these vessels much more range than did any of their predecessors, while the rig made it possible for them to survive more dangers. The most impressive accomplishment of the new merged type was its ability to carry Europeans on voyages across the oceans and, ultimately, around the world.

The change in construction also meant a change in the organization of work in shipbuilding. There was a growing distinction between the master builder, who drew the lines, and so designed the ship, and the carpenters who formed the wood according to his directions. Once established, the design of the full-rigged ship was far from static. Shipbuilders experimented with variations and explored the potential of the new design.

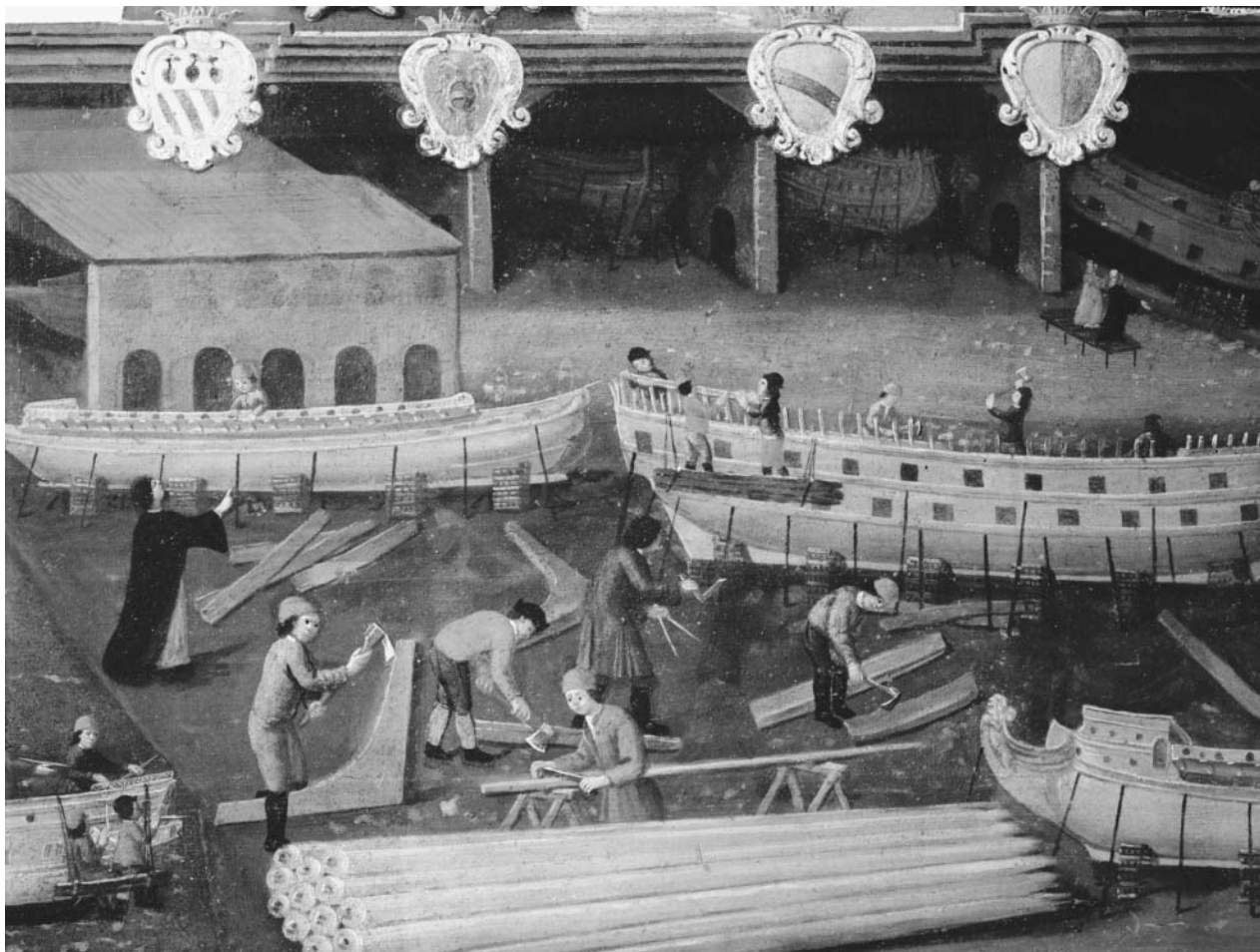
Late medieval northern European cargo ships were about three times as long as they were wide,

and deep, with high freeboard. The tendency through the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was to reduce height while increasing length. Oared ships—galleys—did not disappear and their length-to-breadth ratios of 6:1 or more probably served to influence the design of cargo ships. In the state shipyards of the Mediterranean region, most notably the Arsenal at Venice, oared ships such as the heavy galleass and the more common light lower galley continued to be produced. Only governments built those types, for use against similar ships in war, because they were no longer useful for carrying cargo.

Oared warships changed in response to the introduction of gunpowder arms on board. The galleon, built in a number of places in southern Europe from the 1530s on, may have been an effort to get the most from both the new full-rigged design and heavy cannon. The type had a low beak and carried heavy armament in the bow like a galley, but the rest of the ship was like other full-rigged ships, the exception being a relatively high length-to-breadth ratio. Modified over time, the galleon proved to be an effective carrier of expensive goods. In some cases builders added a fourth mast, a bonaventure mizzen, with a second lateen sail to increase speed and maneuverability.

The galleon and other similar sixteenth-century types proved that the future of naval warfare belonged to the sailing warship armed with cannon. There would be mistakes in developing and exploiting the new technology, mistakes that now provide invaluable information through the work of underwater archeologists. The English *Mary Rose* sank in 1545 when the overmanned vessel took in water through gunports no one had thought to close, despite what was an obvious danger. The Swedish *Gustavus Vasa* sank in Stockholm harbor in 1628 on a shakedown cruise, one that the builders did not want to attempt because they knew the ship was unstable and needed modification. Political authorities insisted on the ill-fated voyage because the warship was a symbol of royal power as well as a vehicle for battle at sea. In each case the difficulties of dealing with novelty were obvious.

The diffusion of new techniques was often slow. The durability of medieval types of construction features continued into the eighteenth century. Ship-



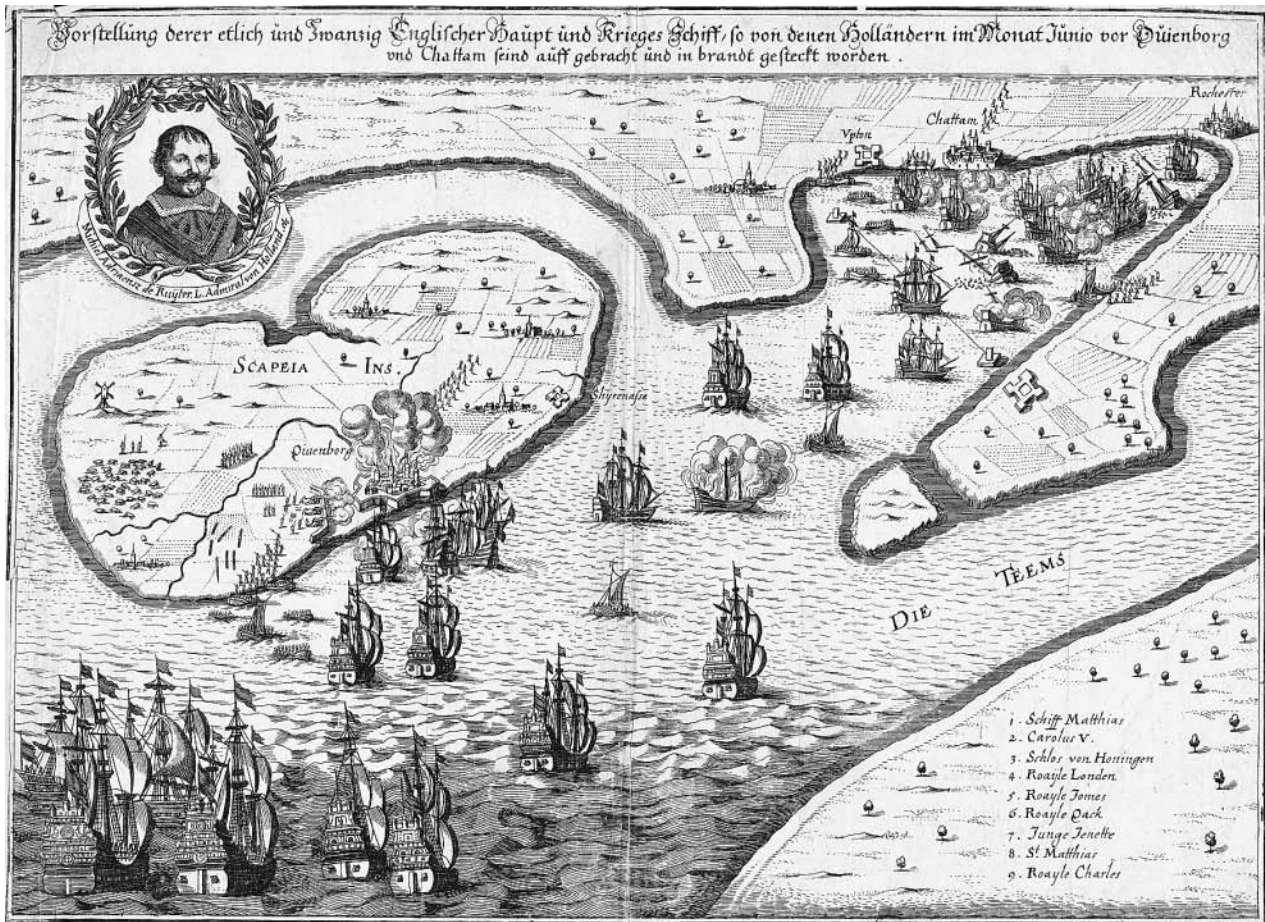
Shipbuilding and Navigation. *Table of the Mechanical Arts: Shipbuilders for the Arsenal of Venice*, seventeenth-century Italian painting. ©ARCHIVO ICONOGRAFICO, S.A./CORBIS

building was typically conservative, given the high cost of error, so shipbuilders were often reluctant to adopt new methods. Old designs and types persisted for centuries, especially in smaller craft and riverboats. New composite or bastard types appeared when builders tried to exploit some of the advantages from the new improvements without giving up what they knew.

Builders and captains changed the sail plan of the full-rigged ship further, exploiting the advantages of combined rig. The general tendency was toward a more divided sail plan. They added new sails, a square sail above the mainsail and a square sail under the bowsprit, and even a square sail above the square sail on the foremast. The greater number of sails meant that sailors could work on each one separately. Captains enjoyed greater choices in de-

ploying canvas and owners enjoyed lower labor costs. Because the individual sails were smaller than the single mainsail on the mainmast had been, the maximum effort required to handle sails decreased, and with it the size of the crew needed to man the vessel. To further reduce crew, masts were made simpler and rigging reduced so that more of the work of handling the sails could be done from the deck. That, in turn, reduced dangerous time aloft for the crew and further decreased the labor requirement.

The advances in the building of cargo ships came together in the highly efficient *fluyt*, developed in Dutch yards in the late sixteenth century. It had a length-to-beam ratio of 5:1 or 6:1 and a low bow with a tapered or fluted stern. It carried little or no armament and a simplified rig. The vessel was



Shipbuilding and Navigation. In June 1667, at the end of the Second Anglo-Dutch War (1665–1667), Dutch admiral de Ruyter conducted a daring raid on the English fleet at Chatham, near the mouth of the River Thames, destroying several British ships and capturing the flagship Royal Charles. This map, with a portrait of De Ruyter in the upper left, shows the Dutch fleet and the attacks on Queenborough and Sheerness on the Isle of Sheppey, as well as the action off Chatham. MAP COLLECTION, STERLING MEMORIAL LIBRARY, YALE UNIVERSITY

suiting for the carriage of bulk goods such as grain and salt between the Baltic and western Europe. Because it traveled in peaceful waters, it required a smaller crew. The *fluyt* was slow but it offered relatively low costs, and it became a critical factor in the rapid growth of Dutch shipping and trade in the seventeenth century.

Builders modified the *fluyt* for use in different waters or for special purposes, and in its various forms the *fluyt* was widely used throughout Europe. Cargo ships required protection in wartime, so the diffusion of the *fluyt* promoted the use of convoys and an enduring distinction between ships for trade and ships for fighting. Because the number built was so large, Dutch builders were, to some degree, able to standardize parts. They also centralized much

new construction in shipyards along the Zaan River just to the north of Amsterdam, where the wharves were permanent. The presence of a sizable skilled labor force and of complementary industries—such as sawing and canvas and rope making—made it possible to produce ships quickly and less expensively. The pattern in the Zaanstreek was followed, perhaps to a lesser extent, in a number of places such as the lower Thames in England and the lower Tagus in Portugal.

For many trade routes in the eighteenth century, the sailing packet proved superior, especially for transporting more costly goods over long distances. The packet carried full rig, although on the mizzen there was now a spritsail, a true fore-and-aft sail, which was easier to handle than a lateen.

Whereas the giant carracks that the Portuguese used for trade to India in the sixteenth century reached 2,000 tons and more, the *fluyt* proved that for most trades the most efficient size was significantly smaller. The packet was typically about 500–600 tons, the optimum economic and technical size for a sailing cargo ship.

There were variations in size and in design to suit specific trades or functions. There were lighter variants for safe trades similar to the *fluyt* and its descendants, and there were heavier variants such as the East Indiaman produced by the yards of the national trading companies in the Dutch Republic and England, which carried enough weaponry to make them similar to warships. Competition for the packet in the north came increasingly from two-masted ships such as brigs and snows. Builders found ways to make those types larger, nearly the optimum size of a full-rigged ship, while reducing crew size. Two-masted ships became especially popular for regional trades. In the Mediterranean, smaller types, for example, the polacre and the felucca, which retained traditional triangular sails, survived in short distance and coastal commerce. State shipbuilding yards in the south still produced galleys at the end of the eighteenth century, but their numbers were small and declining.

At the same time that oared ships were disappearing, improvements in metallurgy—among the first signs of the industrial revolution—led not only to better and more reliable tools for shipbuilding but also to the introduction of iron for major framing and supports. Such composite construction was the first step toward the iron, and then steel, ships of the nineteenth century. Like cargo ships, warships tended toward greater standardization over time. With vessels built to fight, government agencies made the decisions about design so that limitations on design were much stricter. By the eighteenth century, navies had their vessels divided into specific rates, each with its own form of hull and rig and level of armament. The distinction between warships and cargo ships was by 1750 virtually complete, in sharp contrast to the years through about 1600. With no value as traders, warships were built exclusively in government yards that also typically served as bases with all the necessary stores and spare parts needed for the operation of those ships.

In the late Middle Ages sailors came to use a method of finding their way at sea that relied on the use of compass bearings and estimates of speed. Such dead reckoning could replace the traditional combination of experience, some stargazing, and the use of lead and line to find out about depth and the nature of the bottom. Portolan books, available in several languages by the sixteenth century, were compilations of data on sailing along coasts with directions, distances, and warnings about dangers. The pilots who worked along portions of coast in the Mediterranean and western Europe used them. From the thirteenth century they also had portolan charts, which visually represented the knowledge in the books. It is likely, though, that pilots and captains did not abandon the use of stars as a guide. Dead reckoning made possible impressive navigational feats. Long-distance voyages across the open sea, far out of sight of land and around the world, presented very different navigational problems from sailing along or near coasts. Still, navigators like Columbus found their way to, and, more importantly, their way back from, sites consistently, all that before the growth in astronomical knowledge that precipitated and was part of the scientific revolution. The influence of the new knowledge on navigation in the short term was small. It did, however, generate increasing interest in research on the movement of the stars and planets and in the potential of using observations of the heavens to aid navigation. For most of the voyages undertaken in early modern Europe, however, other information, such as prevailing wind directions or dangers of specific coastal features, was more critical for sailing.

As part of the exploration of the west African coast, Portuguese sailors developed ways to measure latitude—the distance they were south of Lisbon. Already discussed and formalized in the fifteenth century, the measurement of latitude was normal by the eighteenth century. What was lacking was a way to measure longitude. It was not until the perfection of an accurate chronometer by John Harrison in the second half of the eighteenth century that it was possible to establish the position of a ship at sea with accuracy. The diffusion of the more sophisticated navigational techniques was slow and, in 1800, sailors still commonly used lead and line and dead reckoning to find their way at sea, especially on shorter voyages in smaller vessels. Even if old tech-

niques persisted in both shipbuilding and navigation into the nineteenth century, advances from the late Middle Ages on made possible the massive increase in trade and commerce that was the hallmark of the society and economy of early modern Europe. They also made possible the sharp increase in the productivity of workers on board ship, a success that translated into improvements in welfare, not just for sailors but for all people touched by waterborne transportation.

See also Astronomy; Atlantic Ocean; Barometer; Cartography and Geography; Chronometer; Clocks and Watches; Commerce and Markets; Communication and Transportation; Consumption; Earth, Theories of the; Engineering: Military; Europe and the World; Exploration; Galleys; Industrial Revolution; Industry; Navigation Acts; Navy; Pacific Ocean; Scientific Revolution; Shipping; Technology.

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SHIPPING. Shipping went through a radical transformation between the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries, a transformation that eventually had extensive influence on most aspects of the lives of Europeans. Shipping was the economic activity of the period with the greatest potential for growth. The merchant marine experienced a rise in tonnage per capita of more than 400 percent from 1500 to 1800. The productivity of sailors manning that tonnage rose dramatically, faster than in virtually all other major occupations. The range of government efforts to promote shipping, a bundle of policies often lumped together under the omnibus term

“mercantilism,” indicates that Europeans realized the possibilities created by improvements in water, especially ocean, transport. It was not just the increasing scale but also the scope of shipping that made it so important to early modern Europe. Adam Smith (1723–1790) in the late eighteenth century attributed some of the greatest strides in improving the wealth of nations to shipping, both over short distances and across the Atlantic. Even in art and literature there was recognition that shipping was a part of life going through dramatic changes and thus worthy of consideration. Seascapes became standard fare for painters, and by around 1800 the romance of ships and sea travel had made its way into fiction.

VESSELS, ROUTES, AND CARGOES

Beginning in the late thirteenth century Europeans were at last able to connect the shipping regions of the Mediterranean on the one hand and the North and Baltic Seas on the other. The contrary currents and winds of the Strait of Gibraltar had made sailing out into the Atlantic from the Mediterranean all but impossible before around 1270. It was then that ships from Italy made regular voyages back and forth between the north and the south. Great galleys with two or three triangular lateen sails were the vehicles for the scheduled trips by Venetians and later by Florentines. Large tubby two-masted carracks, principally from Genoa, soon joined the galleys. This new type combined the hull form of the northern cog with the abutting hull planking of Mediterranean ships. It also combined the large square sail on the mainmast with a lateen sail on a second or mizzenmast. The carrack was more maneuverable, and the addition of a small square sail on a foremast to balance the lateen mizzen created an even more versatile vessel. The new full-rigged ship, also called a carrack in its largest version, made possible the efficient carriage of luxury goods in ever-increasing volume between northern and southern Europe.

The development of the full-rigged ship also made possible the opening of new all-sea routes outside of Europe at the end of the fifteenth century. Christopher Columbus (1451–1506) had intended to open direct trade with Asia by sea but instead found lands to colonize. In the New World, he quickly adopted the model of settlement and

exploitation already established on Atlantic islands like the Canaries and Azores, which Iberian sailors had opened to shipping over the previous 150 years. As in those cases, trade with the New World soon developed in colonial agricultural goods. They were followed by shipment to Europe of the products of mining. The direct sea route to India, first exploited by Portuguese sailors making trips contemporaneous with Columbus's voyages, proved to be extremely long. The distances involved and the routes chosen meant that shipping around the Cape of Good Hope was slow to develop in the sixteenth century. Alternative routes overland in Asia and then by water from the eastern Mediterranean to Europe proved to be as effective in getting such oriental goods as spices to Europe.

While the fifteenth century was characterized by revolutionary changes in ships and routes, the sixteenth century was a period of gradual exploitation of those revolutionary changes. The tonnage deployed and volume of goods transported along internal European routes expanded in the wake of growth in population and in the production of goods. Contributing the most to increased tonnage and the increase in the average size of cargo ships during this time was the rise in the carriage of bulk goods, that is, those with low value for each unit of volume. The most obvious case was the rising trade in grain. While the shipping of wheat from Crimea to Italy, a route in place in the High Middle Ages, might have decreased because of wars generated by Turkish expansion, the carriage of grain from the Baltic to northwest Europe grew dramatically as the century went on. Supplies were large enough and shipping efficient enough that by around 1600 Dutch shippers carried Baltic grain to Italian ports in years of shortage in the Mediterranean. The carriage of other bulk goods, like fish, cured and packed in barrels, salt, and wood for building, also contributed substantially to the growth in shipping through the sixteenth century. The result within Europe was an increase in the volume of shipping and an even greater increase in the exchange of knowledge. Avenues for the transfer of commercial information became more plentiful and, along with the rise in the volume of trade, led to the more efficient exploitation of ships. Those valuable capital goods could be kept at sea for a greater part of the year if captains knew when and where they could

find cargoes. That knowledge generated a greater return on the sizable investment that was the cargo ship. To meet the need to carry bulk goods in northern Europe, shipbuilders developed new types of vessels, often elaborating on existing designs. The most obvious case was the *fluyt*, a relatively long three-masted ship with a boxlike cross section, first built in the Netherlands at the close of the sixteenth century. It was well suited to shipping cargoes back and forth between the Baltic and western Europe; variants soon emerged that were designed for moving wood from Norway or traveling to the Mediterranean from the Low Countries.

European shipbuilders designed special vessels to deal with the various distances and dangers involved. The giant carracks of Portuguese trade to India were the largest wooden ships ever built. The galleons, originally warships for battles in European waters, were adapted to handle the carriage of silver from the New World to Spain. While emphasis within Europe was on shipping bulk goods, in extra-European trade the cargoes were typically luxury items. Among the luxuries shipped were tropical goods that could not be produced in Europe. Human beings as settlers or slaves were taken to the New World, and soldiers, merchants, and officials were taken to Asia. The volumes of goods shipped were small compared with those carried over much shorter distances in and around Europe. Trade outside of Europe tended to be controlled and regulated by governments, which directed investment and routes used. Shippers had to sacrifice flexibility but received in exchange security and some predictability of profits in trade that involved high levels of risk.

In the seventeenth century, shipping continued to evolve along established lines, but there were some setbacks. The grain trade from the Baltic expanded, reaching its peak in mid-century, but stabilization, or in some regions a fall, in population led to a shrinking demand for food grains and so in turn in demand for transportation. Efficiency improvements in shipping largely compensated for those pressures in the second half of the seventeenth century. There were no major changes in ship design nor the opening of any new categories of trade, factors that had been the basis for earlier growth. The use of routes through the southern Indian Ocean made possible faster and more frequent trips

to the Far East, engendering increased shipping to Asia. The agents of that growth were the Dutch and English East India Companies, which made even more clear over time that ships and shipping were the foundations of European colonization. Meanwhile, within Europe, the elaboration of earlier practices, both in shipping and shipbuilding, laid the groundwork for the great expansion in shipping that was to occur in the eighteenth century.

The pattern of trade established in the Baltic and North Seas in the sixteenth century—the carriage of bulk goods and the reliance on agents to assemble cargoes and pass along commercial intelligence—spread throughout the world from the late seventeenth century on. Shipbuilders found ways to get the most from the three-masted ship, constructing a packet boat in the range of 500 to 600 tons, a size found to be the optimum for most long-distance trades. A vessel of that size and design could carry out a range of tasks and do so at lower risk. Two-masted vessels like barks and snows came to compete with the three-masted sailing ships for the carriage of bulk goods in regional trades, such as moving grain, wood, and coal around the North Sea. The rapid growth in English coal production and the rising demand for the fuel in urban centers made a significant contribution to the growth in shipping and to the use of barks and other colliers. The two-masters, larger than in the past, needed fewer sailors per ton than three-masted ships and increased flexibility in deploying shipping services. As in the north, in the Mediterranean two-masted ships or ones smaller than the sailing packet, like the polacre and the felucca, found increasing use in regional trades. The rising exchange in bulk goods like fish between northern and southern Europe, however, generally meant employment for three-masted ships. Large three-masters in trade to the Far East, the East Indiamen, proved effective in carrying the increasing volume of goods imported into Europe. The volume of shipping in extra-European trades in general and to the New World in particular increased dramatically in the eighteenth century. Improvements in production as well as falling shipping costs led to a collapse in prices of sugar, followed by coffee, tea, tobacco, rice, and other agricultural products most economically grown in the New World or South and Southeast Asia. Lower prices, in turn, led to dramatic increases in demand

in Europe. Both the quantity and the range of commodities shipped grew. That made possible the regular and predictable marshaling of goods to be sent out. Though such changes may have decreased the urgency of gaining commercial information, the greater frequency of travel and the development of newspapers, often created for people involved in shipping, made access to the latest news easier. The larger populations of Europe, the increasing production of goods, the greater demand for commodities, and especially the rapidly falling shipping costs of the late eighteenth century led to more rapid and dramatic growth in the shipping sector than ever before.

COMMERCE AND WARFARE

Shipping was not merely about the carriage of goods. There were always many interconnected activities that depended on and facilitated shipping. That became most obvious in the eighteenth century with the overall growth in commerce. The trading markets, the bourses for exchange of various goods, were also sites for arranging the financing and insurance of shipping. Shipbuilding and ship repair and related industries like rope and sail making were necessary to shipping. More generally, the growth in the size and wealth of port towns in early modern Europe indicated the long-term success of shipping and the interconnected nature of the shipping enterprise. In itself shipping was not the largest sector of the economy. That was always agriculture. But the contribution of shipping to the economy was sizable and growing throughout the period. Its value was not just in opening new possibilities but also in its rapid development, probably more rapid than any other sector.

By the late eighteenth century, European shipping encompassed interconnected routes around the world. There were regular sailings with something close to predictable travel and movement of what was, compared with earlier years, a mass of a broad range of goods. Governments relied heavily on the income generated by taxes on shipping and commerce. Political and economic advantages fell to states that enjoyed the most successful shipping sectors. Venice and Genoa set the pattern first in the late Middle Ages. Spain and Portugal followed in the sixteenth century and then the Dutch Republic in the seventeenth. The success of France in the

eighteenth century, thanks to government promotion of shipping, and of the Scandinavian kingdoms at end of the century was eclipsed by the even greater success of Great Britain. It was no coincidence that some wars of the eighteenth century were fought by navies over the control of shipping routes. Improvements in the sailing qualities of warships in Europe paralleled those in cargo ships. The introduction of cannons on board beginning late in the thirteenth century led to the building of specialized warships by the sixteenth century. The process of division between fighting ships and cargo carriers was expedited by the falling prices of guns and their increasing reliability in the second half of the sixteenth century. The protection of shipping with warships built for that purpose became a proper function of government. By the end of the eighteenth century, the quality of one's navy could mean the difference between winning and losing a war. The ability of a state to protect its shipping was vital to its ability to wage war, if for no other reason than that government needed the income from shipping to sustain any military effort.

CONCLUSION

Shipping changed probably more than any other sector of the early modern European economy. Technical changes improved the ships. Organizational changes on shore in the assembling, handling, and distribution of cargoes created greater efficiencies. Developments in shipping made significant contributions, most obviously to the economy in increased production, but also in lowering costs of supplies to producers as well as opening new markets for their goods. Improvements in shipping expanded the scope of goods available to consumers and allowed governments to extend their authority. Much of the transformation of the economy and many aspects of politics and to a lesser extent society in Europe can be traced to changes in shipping between 1450 and 1789.

See also **Commerce and Markets; Communication and Transportation; Mercantilism; Navy; Shipbuilding and Navigation; Trading Companies.**

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SHOPS AND SHOPKEEPING. In the late seventeenth century, it is estimated that there were about forty thousand shopkeepers in England and Wales, most of them based in towns. Though identified as grocers or drapers, they operated what were, to judge from their inventories, general stores, selling whatever they could. So understood, shopkeeping is a form of retailing: the selling of merchandise in individual units or small lots by a business established for that specific purpose. In the broader sense of a full-time mercantile activity, its history reaches into the past to peddlers hawking their wares and marketplaces drawing sellers and buyers together. In the narrower sense—retailing carried out in a specialized, permanent structure—its history is relatively limited.

Whichever sense—narrow or broad—is preferred, the origins of shopkeeping are unknown. The first shopkeepers to sell from permanent structures, thus competing with marketplaces and fairs, were probably artisans. Producers sold their products from the windows of their workshops in the intervals between market and fair days. Such sales are probably as old as artisanal production itself. Most European cities reveal traces of this activity in their topography. Shops—and, therefore, the trade in certain goods—tended to cluster in particular neighborhoods, leaving traces in the architecture

and names on the streets. Baker Street and Tanners Alley are not uncommon examples.

The first true shopkeepers appear somewhat later, perhaps as early as the eleventh century. They were not producers but rather middlemen of exchange between producers and consumers, who confined their activities to buying and selling. Throughout the Middle Ages, shopkeeping was distinct from other forms of retail. Peddlers walking the streets or vendors setting up stalls in marketplaces carried out the majority of retail selling. According to the 1296 City Law of Augsburg, for example, the sale of goods that “one must weigh with a scale,” apart from the annual markets, was open only to shopkeepers operating out of permanent shops. This law captures a tension that was present and that created conflict in all towns and cities in the Middle Ages as well as the early modern period, the distinction and competition between shops and marketplaces on the one hand and between specialized and nonspecialized shops on the other hand. Being bound to stable structures in fixed locations separated these merchants from itinerant peddlers and other vendors. Market vendors were allowed to erect their stalls only in areas designated as marketplaces. Certain trades, for example, bakers and smiths, congregated in particular neighborhoods, often located on the edge of the city, for safety reasons or because such locations made it easier to get needed supplies. Shopkeepers, in contrast, scattered freely, and opened their doors anywhere and everywhere in the city.

Their shops offered a variety of goods to a variety of customers. Some sold necessities of limited value, catering to the needs of a poorer clientele. It is thought that the well-to-do of medieval cities visited local markets to purchase from foreign merchants, who could supply higher-quality goods in larger quantities over longer periods of time. Some shopkeepers, however, imported wares of various sorts: spices, wax, metalwares, faience, and silks. Their shops tended to be general stores that offered luxury commodities to wealthier patrons. The tremendous variation in quality and quantity of wares led to a no less tremendous variation in income and status among the shopkeepers of any given city. In Augsburg, once again, analysis of tax records from the early seventeenth century indicate that shopkeepers were distributed evenly across the economic

scale, from 13 percent reckoned “have-nothings” to 11 percent reckoned wealthy. A similar range of income distribution has been identified for shopkeepers in seventeenth-century Dutch cities, including Amsterdam, as well as mercers in eighteenth-century Paris. It stands to reason that shops providing luxury goods to elite customers would be more profitable than their common counterparts, trading in daily or popular items. Nor would such distinctions be limited geographically.

Given the wide variation in degrees of prosperity among shopkeepers, it is not surprising to find hierarchies developing among them. Nor were these limited to their wealth or the quality of their wares and patrons. Unlike many craft and trade guilds, shopkeepers were a diverse group. Economic development during the late Middle Ages and early modern period created ever more distinctions based on ever-greater specialization. In general, there was a clear line of demarcation between shopkeepers and grocers, retailers who trafficked in foodstuffs. Shopkeeping tended to resolve itself further into various subspecialties based on types of commodities: those who trafficked in herbs and spices, in cloth and clothing, or in iron and metal. They began to discriminate among themselves according to sale by weight as opposed to measure. Further divisions arose between those who sold new and those who sold used goods. This internal differentiation, which becomes visible in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century, eventually separated the various specialty shops from one another, ironmongers from apothecaries and so forth. The tendency toward specialization should not distract from the general observation that most early modern shopkeepers, whether rich or poor, sold whatever they could.

Generally speaking, however, whether a shopkeeper was impecunious or prosperous, his wares cheap or expensive, his customers poor or rich, his specialty one thing or nothing, he was not allowed to sell locally produced goods, a ban that preserved the rights of local producers to sell their own products. This prohibition was commonly placed on shopkeepers and indicates the near universal competition between local producers and retailers, a competition that led to frequent conflicts in the late Middle Ages and early modern period. The necessary engagement of some shopkeepers in the import trade, to say nothing of the relative prosperity some

achieved, has led some scholars to postulate the origins of international commerce in domestic shopkeeping. Superior shopkeepers, acting for themselves or as factors for consortia of shopkeepers, visited foreign marketplaces and fairs to buy goods wholesale while other household members minded their shops.

Shops and shopkeeping expanded significantly in the early modern period, a reflection of the general development of the economy toward increased production, distribution, and consumption of goods that has led scholars to speak of a retail revolution or a consumption revolution in early modern Europe as a whole. The increasing number of shops was often the most tangible evidence of economic growth and social change to early modern Europeans. In 1606, the Spanish playwright Lope de Vega's observation that in Madrid "everything has become shops" took note of this development. In London, Daniel Defoe observed that "merciers" (sellers of expensive fabrics) had increased "monstrously" from roughly fifty to as many as four hundred in the second half of the seventeenth century. By 1789, excise commissioners reckoned that Britain possessed over 141,000 retail outlets, of which all but 21,600 were located in London. In 1774, Justus Möser cited the increase in the number of merciers in the German city of Osnabrück by a factor of three, while the number of artisans had decreased by half, as evidence of economic modernization, the transition from an economy marked by local self-sufficiency to one of market connection. Similar increases occurred in Holland and France, more specifically Amsterdam and Paris.

This growth has attracted new attention and appreciation among scholars. The growth of the European population spurred a corresponding growth in the European economy. As the supply of goods and the number of consumers increased, retailers recognized the advantages of fixed points of distribution. These made possible longer business hours, stable customer relations, and improved business communication, among other things. As a result, distribution networks became more extensive and the distribution of goods became more intensive. Abraham Dent of Kirkby Stephen in Westmorland, for example, drew goods from 190 suppliers in 51 locations. By so doing, he and his peers throughout Europe provided access to goods

and services that would otherwise be available only in major cities. As John Brewer noted, "Shopkeepers linked market towns and local communities to a network of markets that stretched beyond the nation's boundaries and across oceans and continents." Shops and shopkeeping contributed directly, therefore, to the growth of the European economy by providing sales outlets for increasingly efficient forms of production and by promoting consumption even at the lowest levels of society. They provided the necessary infrastructure for a consumer revolution that reached all parts of early modern Europe and linked those parts to a wider world.

They provided another crucial service as well. Shopkeepers were an essential source of credit for individual consumers. Indeed, they existed in a unique credit nexus. On the one hand, shopkeepers received credit from wholesalers, whom they paid in installments for purchased inventories. At the same time, they granted credit to customers, who were forced to run a "tab" between paydays. Living on and off credit made shopkeeping a risky business. Should a customer fail to pay on time, or a distributor demand payment in advance, the entire fragile complex could come crashing down. There is some evidence to suggest that many early modern bankruptcies involved shopkeepers caught in such ruptures. Shops and shopkeeping nonetheless played a crucial role in supplying credit to consumers who might otherwise have been unable to make purchases. By so doing, they further increased the speed and extent of the circulation of goods. Yet next to nothing has been written about it. As important as they are now understood to be in the larger history of European economic development, as crucial as they were in promoting demand—that is, in shaping taste—shops and shopkeeping await a history of their own. Too little is known about the wholesale networks that supplied these fixed points of sale. If these shops trafficked only in imported goods, in order to protect local producers, who were the wholesalers and what was their place in local and regional economies? Too little is known about the expansion of shopkeeping itself. The established explanation reads like the triumph of modern consumption and convenience. Could the rise of shopkeeping have another side?

Shopkeeping was a far easier trade to enter than other sectors of the manufacturing economy. Because it required no artisanal skills, no laborious period of training and certification was necessary, and little start-up capital was needed. Any ground-floor space, including a rented room, might serve, and inventories could be obtained with no money down and payment by installments. And, it required a relatively low level of experience to operate, though a great deal of experience to operate successfully, allowing a shopkeeper's family to lend a hand in a wide range of shopkeeping activities. The efforts of women and children, often extended by the presence of servants in the more prosperous houses, kept the shops running in the all-too-frequent absence of the shopkeepers. Shopkeeping provided, therefore, an important by-employment for many households. In Holland, sailors' families often ran shops to provide income while their men were at sea. Likewise, it provided a source of employment for households headed by females. Studies of eighteenth-century Amsterdam reveal that one in seven households were headed by women, some 30 percent of whom were shopkeepers. Taking these conditions into account might explain why the trade of shopkeeping expanded so rapidly. In a growing economy that displaced so many people, retail selling attracted many economically marginal individuals. They could afford it: they needed no particular skills, no particular resources. That same marginality may explain the extraordinary number of failures. They could not afford it for long without good skills and good fortune: the least bad luck or bad management could drive them into default.

The general rise of shopkeeping—whether the result of economic growth or ease of access or both—meant that the number of shopkeepers rose in most cities and towns. Numbers gave them a political potency beyond the relative prosperity of individuals. In many cities, shopkeepers, together with members of other trades that involved more specialized forms of retailing, such as the hatters, cutlers, purse makers, lace makers, and brush makers, formed one of the largest and, therefore, most influential guilds. Paris on the eve of the French Revolution was home to no fewer than four thousand mercers. Nor was their political role necessarily limited to guild representation or population size.

General stores served a social as well as an economic function. People gathered in them not only to buy but also to meet. They took care of their daily needs and exchanged the daily news. Shops provided a place for a wide range of interaction and exchange, including political discussion. It should not be surprising, therefore, if shopkeepers played a prominent role in the rebellions and revolutions that rocked early modern Europe. The sans-culottes, for example, recruited heavily from among Parisian shopkeepers during the French Revolution. Although the political function of coffeehouses and taverns is well known, a corresponding history of shops and shopkeeping has yet to be written.

See also **Artisans; Capitalism; Clothing; Commerce and Markets; Consumption; Guilds; Mobility, Social; Political Secularization; Sumptuary Laws; Trading Companies.**

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THOMAS MAX SAFLEY

SICKNESS AND DISEASE. *See* **Medicine; Public Health.**

SIDNEY, PHILIP (1554–1586), English poet, courtier, and statesman. Born at Penshurst (Kent) to Sir Henry Sidney, viceroy of Ireland, and Lady Mary Dudley, sister of Queen Elizabeth's favorite, the earl of Leicester, Sidney was educated at Shrewsbury and Christ Church, Oxford, and then sent on a three-year tour of the Continent in 1572. In Paris he made the acquaintance of Sir Francis Walsingham, the English ambassador (whose daughter Frances he was to marry in 1583), and of Hubert Languet, an older Huguenot political observer who became his friend and mentor. Narrowly escaping the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre of 24 August 1572, Sidney spent a year at the University of Padua, and then traveled the Continent from Florence to Cracow.

Back in England (1575), he represented his father at court, and in 1577 was chosen to head a congratulatory embassy to the new Emperor Rudolph II, secretly exploring possibilities for a Protestant coalition against the pope's Holy League. That project came to nothing, but Sidney acquitted himself brilliantly.

The next few years saw him cutting a dash at court and writing a masque, *The Lady of May* (1578), with Queen Elizabeth in a deciding role (the masque was written in such a form that at the end the queen was given the role of deciding which suitor the Lady of May should accept). When in 1579 Spanish successes revived the project of the queen's French marriage, the court's alarmed Prot-

estants chose Sidney to write an open letter dissuading her from wedding the duke of Alençon. He also quarreled with the dissolute earl of Oxford, one of the marriage's supporters, was rebuked by the queen on grounds of rank (even though Sidney was in the right, in a quarrel with an earl, a mere gentleman should give way), and withdrew for a year to Wilton, the country manor of his sister Mary, the countess of Pembroke. Here he began his three major literary works, the treatise *A Defence of Poesy*, the prose romance *Arcadia*, and the sonnet sequence *Astrophil and Stella*. ("Astrophel" is the spelling long used, but the consensus among most modern scholars is that the double pun of "Astrophil" is too good not to have been intended. He is the "Astro-phile"—the Star-Lover—and his name is "PHIL-ip.")

The graceful *Defence* (c. 1580, published 1595; also called *The Apologie for Poetrie*) adapts Continental literary concepts to English conditions. Imitating a legal speech for the defense, it claims for "poesy" (imaginative writing) the highest role in moral education, and passionately defends the poet's faculty of "invention" which makes poesy, alone among human arts and sciences, the equal of creating Nature, under the overall authority of God.

Astrophil and Stella (c. 1581, published 1591), based upon but not tied to Sidney's love for Penelope Devereux, Lady Rich, uses the *Defence's* principle of *energia* (liveliness or poesy's power to "move" its readers) dramatically to revive the 250-year-old Petrarchan sonnet sequence. Its rhetoric movingly dissects the way esteem becomes love, love becomes desire, and desire eventually undermines true love. Its vitality created a wave of English sonnet sequences and influenced John Donne (1573–1631) and his followers George Herbert, Henry Vaughan, Richard Crashaw, Thomas Traherne, Thomas Carew, and Andrew Marvell.

The *Arcadia*, begun in 1580 and written initially for his sister Mary, also adapts Continental models, especially Jacopo Sannazaro's "Arcadia" (1504) and Jorge de Montemayor's "Diana" (c. 1559). Its adventures of two princes, Musidorus and Pyrocles, in combat and in love (with the princesses Pamela and Philoclea), are interspersed with eclogues in which shepherds' singing matches become virtuoso poetic experiments. This first ver-

sion, now known as the *Old Arcadia*, only circulated in manuscript, and was then lost until 1908.

Sidney's later revision, now known as the *New Arcadia*, remained unfinished at his death. It was subsequently completed with the ending of the old and issued as a composite (1593): this became the *Arcadia* read until the twentieth century. The *New Arcadia* consistently moves toward greater narrative complexity and less frivolity: it is a more "serious" work, concerned with principles of both public and private (self-) government.

The early 1580s saw Sidney engrossed in preparations for war with Spain and writing more religious works: he versified the first forty-three Psalms (later magnificently completed by his sister Mary), and began a translation of Guillaume de Salluste du Bartas' *La semaine* (1578; The week) on the Creation (since lost), as well as an English version of his French friend Philippe Duplessis-Mornay's work *The Trewnesse of the Christian Religion* (completed by Arthur Golding).

As Spain advanced in the Netherlands, Elizabeth finally sent troops; in return for English military aid, the queen and her government asked for three forts and fortified towns to be garrisoned by English troops and held as sureties for the repayment. In 1585, Sidney was made governor of Flushing, chief of these three cautionary places. With Prince Maurice of Orange, Sidney stormed the town of Axel, and in the autumn of 1586 helped besiege Zutphen, on the Spanish supply corridor that ran from Franche-Comté through Burgundy to the Netherlands. On 22 September 1586, against heavy odds the English attacked a Spanish column that was coming to relieve Zutphen. Sidney was wounded in the thigh, and three weeks later, at the age of thirty-one, he died of gangrene at Arnhem. He became an instant hero and in February 1587 was buried in St. Paul's Cathedral in London, receiving the grandest funeral of any private Englishman until Winston Churchill's in 1965.

Sidney, the statesman, courtier, and convinced Protestant, is most remembered as a poet. He was a profoundly serious man, yet of great charm; a passionate man, yet deeply religious and filled with the morality of politics; a reflective man, yet a skilled and daring soldier when the occasion came. His

friend Duplessis-Mornay's motto *Arte et Marte* ("by art and Mars") applies equally to Sidney.

See also **Elizabeth I (England); English Literature and Language.**

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ROGER KUIN

SIGISMUND II AUGUSTUS (POLAND, LITHUANIA) (1520–1572; ruled 1530–1572), last of the Jagiellon kings of Poland and grand duke of Lithuania (from 1529). Under pressure from his parents, King Sigismund I the Old and Bona Sforza, Sigismund was made grand duke of Lithuania and elected king of Poland (coronation on 20 February 1530) in his father's lifetime, which was contrary to the law then in force. In 1543 he was married to Elizabeth of Habsburg (daughter of the emperor Ferdinand I), who suffered from epilepsy and died childless in 1545. In 1543–1548 he stayed in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, dealing with the problems of that country and hunting with relish. It was then that he fell in love with Barbara Radziwiłł and married her secretly (1547), which provoked a hostile response in the country. After the death of his father (1548) he returned to Cracow and took up his royal duties. At the Sejm held in 1548–1549 a conflict arose between the king and

some magnates and nobleman over his marriage to Barbara.

Throughout the 1550s the king, supported by the most powerful magnate families, opposed the nobility's call for the enforcement of laws demanding a ban on the holding of multiple public offices by one person (the so-called *incompatibilitas*); the return of royal estates given away or pawned by previous rulers, mainly to magnates (which had impoverished the state treasury and led to the amassing of enormous fortunes); freedom of religion; and the unification of the laws of Poland and the Grand Duchy. The king was also against a stronger union between Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. It was only in the 1560s that he changed his internal policy; this was partly due to the impending war with Russia, which required joint Polish-Lithuanian military measures and the support of the nobility. From 1562 to 1569 the Sejm, supported by the king, passed several significant resolutions: most importantly, it concluded a Polish-Lithuanian Union (1569); other resolutions provided for the return of royal estates, reformed the financing of the standing army, and curbed the holding of multiple offices of state.

Sigismund also concurred with politicians and humanists who proposed to guarantee religious toleration; this was reflected in the edict banning trials for heresy (1570) and, after the king's death, in the Compact of Warsaw (1573), which guaranteed peace between followers of different religions and granted dissidents equal rights with Catholics. Sigismund was the first European ruler to accept the decisions of the Council of Trent (1564), although the Sejm did not confirm them until 1577. He also deserves credit for a great land reform carried out in the royal estates in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in 1557–1566.

Sigismund strengthened relations with the Habsburgs by the treaty of Prague (1549) and in 1553 concluded a peace with Turkey. Livonia became an important question for the king's policy; after the secularization of the Order of the Brothers of the Sword, which ruled there, he took Livonia under his rule and protection. In 1563 a war for Livonia broke out with Russia; it was brought to an end by an armistice (1570), but the conflict was not resolved. Sigismund also took part in the rivalry for

the Baltic, and during his reign the nucleus of a royal navy was created, and a Maritime Commission, the first Polish maritime office and law court, was set up (1568). Sigismund committed a grave mistake, however, and one with far-reaching consequences, when he granted the Brandenburg line of the Hohenzollerns the right of succession to the Duchy of Prussia (1563).

Sigismund Augustus was a patron of writers, a music lover, a collector of arrases, and the founder of the first large royal library in Poland. After the early death of Barbara (1551), the king, pressed by advisers who wanted to see an heir to the throne, married Catherine of Austria, daughter of the emperor Ferdinand I; this was an unhappy, childless marriage, ending in separation in 1563. Sigismund's death meant the extinction of the male line of the Jagiellonian dynasty. He was buried in the cathedral on Wawel Hill.

See also Jagiellon Dynasty (Poland-Lithuania); Livonian War (1558–1583); Lublin, Union of (1569); Poland-Lithuania, Commonwealth of, 1569–1795; Reformations in Eastern Europe: Protestant, Catholic, and Orthodox.

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MARCIN KAMLER

SILESIA. Because of their considerable regional variety, the principalities of Silesia became important locations for power politics, and Silesia played an integral role in the political, economic, and cultural systems within the lands governed by the crown of Bohemia. It is possible to understand many of the integrating and disintegrating trends in European history through the example of Silesia. Its history contains many parallels with the development of Bohemia, but it also has important differences. For a long period the interests of the Piast, Jagiellon, Přemysl (Opava), Luxembourg, Habsburg, and Hohenzollern dynasties in the region

complicated Silesia's relationship with the Bohemian crown.

In the late Middle Ages the seemingly marginal Silesian territory demonstrated its economic and strategic importance and highlighted the extent of the religious and political changes taking place in the northern part of the Czech state. Many Silesians wielded extraordinary political influence in central Europe (for example, Prince Casimir II, duke of Teschen; Victor, duke of Münsterberg; Frederick II, duke of Legnica; George, duke of Brandenburg-Ansbach-Krnov; George John Brandenburg-Krnov; John II, duke of Opole; Charles, duke of Münsterberg). On the other hand, the princes of Silesia were feudal subjects of the Bohemian king, and at times their differences with the crown drew them into the camp of Bohemia's Czech adversaries. In the sixteenth century a clear turn took place in the policy of Silesian princes and estates in their relations with the kingdom of Bohemia and the margravate of Moravia, leading to various kinds of cooperation. By compromising on religious differences (there was a religious allowance between Catholic Silesia and Hussite Bohemia), Bohemia gradually escaped from its post-Hussite provincial isolation in all spheres of life. In the power struggle against Hungarian and Polish interests, Silesia in the end maintained its constitutional place among the lands of the crown of Bohemia.

The turbulent social and political history of the estates of Bohemia involved Silesia as well. The tensions between the Habsburg Catholic minority and the Protestant opposition of the estates found expression in nearly all of the Silesian principalities, and as a result the traditional hierarchical principles of Bohemian and Silesian society and the rules of political engagement were disrupted. When Ferdinand I mounted the throne of Bohemia in 1526, Silesia was undergoing a wave of religious reformation, which, unlike the Hussite movement, was fully accepted by the majority of the population. A major role in this process was played by certain princes (the Krnov Hohenzollerns and the Piasts of Legnica-Brzeg), who through the descendants of George of Podebrady (ruled 1458–1471) aspired to the throne of Bohemia. In 1537 they concluded an important family contract with the Hohenzollern elector of Brandenburg to secure inheritance and cooperation in protecting the Protestant religion.

After 1523 the Breslau town council also introduced Lutheran preachers into the town's churches. Considered politically, these religious changes aligned Silesia with the Bohemian "heretics."

Of the Silesian princes, by the mid-sixteenth century only the bishop of Breslau, resident in Nysa, remained loyal to the Catholic faith, and he mainly concentrated on the struggle with the Polish churchmen in Gniezno to achieve the independence of his diocese. In competition with the Protestant princes, the bishops of Breslau lost their position of power at the turn of the seventeenth century, and it was only after the Thirty Years' War that they regained their preeminence.

After the uprising of the Bohemian estates in 1618–1620 (the Bohemian War that marks the beginning of the Thirty Years' War), and especially after the Danish units were defeated in Silesia, major social changes erupted, even at the periphery of a Bohemia that was now dominated by Habsburg absolutism, centralism, and Catholicism. The new Silesian power elites were recruited from the bureaucracy, the army, and the imperial court (such as Charles, duke of Liechtenstein; John Weikhard, duke of Auersperg; and Albrecht Wallenstein/Waldstein). For more than a century the tone of political life was set by representatives of these newly successful noble families, who patiently built up their wealth and who even more importantly had no ties to the rebellious and centrifugal noble estates of prewar Silesia-Bohemia.

From the late Middle Ages on, the cultural and religious development of Silesia was strongly influenced by German scholars and artists and by those from other neighboring countries, including Martin Luther, John Calvin, Philipp Melancthon, Balthasar Hubmaier, and Jan Hus. A decisive role was also played by the economic and social network of an area which, along with the regional capital of Breslau, was one of the most important parts of the Czech state. A wide range of religious opinions existed side by side, along with a rich variety in the realms of art and literature based on the cultural maturity of the German, Jewish, Polish, and Czech populations. Silesia's literary and artistic production testified to the fact that its society was open to the outside world, enabling it to contribute considerably to the treasury of European civilization.

The margraves and electors of Brandenburg introduced a split in Silesia during the early modern period. The Hohenzollerns of Brandenburg wanted to rule Lower Silesia and the region of Crossen, while the Ansbach line of the same house struggled to form a family enclave in the territory of Upper Silesia, especially in the regions of Opole, Racibórz, Krnov, Bytom, and Bohumín. The creation of Hohenzollern possessions in Silesia and their stabilization alongside the properties of the Opava Přemysl family, the Saxony Wettins, the Silesian Piasts, and the descendants of King George of Poděbrady became a political reality. In the first half of the sixteenth century, it could not have been foreseen that the existence of the Hohenzollern power in the Oder region would become a stepping-stone for Prussian militarist expansion in the eighteenth century under Frederick II and would eventually lead to the division of Silesia after 1740 in the Wars of the Austrian Succession.

See also **Bohemia; Frederick II (Prussia); Hohenzollern Dynasty; Hussites.**

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RADEK FUKALA

SILESIA WARS. See **Austrian Succession, War of the (1740–1748).**

SINAN (Sinan bin Abdulmennan, c. 1489–1588), chief court architect of the Ottoman dynasty from 1538 until his death; his works defined the architectural style of the Ottoman Empire in the sixteenth century. Born to Greek parents in a central

Anatolian village, he converted to Islam and was recruited into the elite Ottoman janissary corps in the 1510s and trained as a carpenter. In his autobiography he noted that the military campaigns he took part in founded his architectural knowledge. In these campaigns he worked on the construction of several military structures, and he learned from the architectural monuments he encountered.

The fifty years that composed Sinan's career as chief court architect correspond to the reigns of three sultans, Suleiman (ruled 1520–1566), Selim II (ruled 1566–1574), and Murad III (ruled 1574–1595), and to the peak of Ottoman political power. As builder of the major architectural monuments of the Ottoman dynasty and ruling elite, he helped to create and spread the imperial court culture that was consolidated throughout the second half of the sixteenth century.

As chief architect, Sinan was designer and overseer of all building activity of the centralized Ottoman court, hence the large number of buildings (between 344 and 422) he claimed to have built. Although Sinan's many imperial, religious, educational, commercial, and civic structures were dispersed throughout the vast empire and made a myth out of his long career, his major works are located in Istanbul, the Ottoman capital, and in Edirne and Damascus, cities of importance to the dynasty.

Ottoman architecture inherited architectural typologies from the medieval Islamic world. It also reflected aspects of the Greco-Roman and Byzantine architectural legacies of western Asia Minor from the previous two centuries: a cellular and additive notion of design, based on domed cubic volumes, shaped buildings of ashlar (a type of hewn stone) and masonry in various scales. Sinan transformed this legacy. His centralized schemes integrated various volumes through a complex interplay of architectural elements. A hemispherical dome supported by half domes, smaller domes, and vaults defined the superstructure; this system of vaulting determined the external massing and the interior space of the building. A masterly use of windows allowed natural light to accentuate all of these features. Externalization of the structural order and exploration of the plastic possibilities of stone marked important Sinan buildings.

The three buildings that Sinan singled out as his masterworks also marked important stages in his career; these buildings exhibit Sinan's relationship with a series of architectural traditions and concepts of design. The Şehzade Mosque (1548–1549), built for the crown prince Mehmed, son of Suleiman the Magnificent, features a perfectly centralized scheme of a square prayer hall covered by a hemispherical dome rising on four half domes in a quatrefoil design reminiscent of Leonardo da Vinci's drawings for centralized churches. The mosque of Suleiman the Magnificent (1557), centerpiece of the largest socioreligious compound in Istanbul, is an Ottoman interpretation of the Hagia Sophia. The Selimiye Mosque in Edirne (1574–1575), with its immense dome held by an octagonal support system, sums up a career of explorations with domed spaces wherein attached or freestanding piers disengage a domed canopy from surrounding walls, turning the latter into luminous membranes pierced by numerous windows.

While monumental mosques were the primary symbols of Ottoman power, and therefore constitute Sinan's primary works, a series of lesser structures embody other aspects of his architectural style. Dynastic mausoleums exhibit novel interpretations of polygonal, double-shelled commemorative structures from the early Islamic era and medieval Iran; a hospital and a college, built for Suleiman's wife Haseki Hurrem and the grand vizier Rustem Pasha, interpret a fifteenth-century scheme with an octagonal courtyard. A number of aqueducts reflect Sinan's engineering skills and mastery in sculptural articulation. The Çoban Mustafa Pasha Bridge in Svilengrad (1529) and the Drina Bridge in Visegrad (1578) are among his important engineering works in the Balkans.

Sinan's contribution to the urban environment was his method of relating buildings to their immediate urban context as well as to the larger cityscape. His building complexes were laid out in multiaxial arrangements that offered multiple views of urban space, creating varying spatial experiences and dramatic encounters with buildings. These buildings also contributed to the creation of Istanbul's imperial image, as the city's famed silhouette was consolidated through these constructions.

Sinan was called the "Euclid of the times" by his contemporaries. Modern commentators have noted the rational architectural sensibility and predilection for centralized schemes he shared with architects of the Italian Renaissance.

See also Constantinople; Janissary; Ottoman Dynasty; Ottoman Empire.

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ÇİĞDEM KAFESCIOĞLU

SIXTUS V (POPE) (b. 1520, reigned 1585–1590), Felice Peretti, born 13 December at Grottammare, near Montalto, March of Ancona. A farmer's son, educated by the Conventual Franciscans at Montalto, he joined the order at age twelve and received training at Fermo, Ferrara, Bologna, Rimini, and Siena before his ordination in 1547; he received a doctorate in theology from Fermo in 1548. Peretti's Lenten preaching at Rome in 1552 brought him notoriety, and he entered papal service as a member of Paul IV's (pope 1555–1559) reform commissions. During his service as inquisitor for Venice (1557–1559), he so vigorously enforced the Index of Prohibited Books of Paul IV that he was forced to flee the city. Appointed consultor of the Roman Inquisition in 1560, made vicar-general of the Franciscans and bishop of Sant'Agata dei Goti in Benevento in 1566, he was elevated to cardinal by Pius V (pope 1566–1572) in 1570 and transferred to become bishop of Fermo (1571–1577). Because of disagreements with Gregory XIII (reigned 1572–1585), Peretti (now known as Cardinal Montalto) withdrew to the Esquiline Hill, where he worked in obscurity on an edition of St. Ambrose's writings.

Supported by a strong minority of reform-minded cardinals, he was elected pope on 24 April 1585.

Sixtus's five-year pontificate was significant internationally for his support of Catholic monarchs against Protestantism and for rallying (unsuccessfully) Christian princes against the Turks to recapture the Holy Land. He promised Philip II of Spain (ruled 1556–1598) monetary aid for his invasion of England, but after the Armada's ruin in 1588, he reneged and battled him, diplomatically at least, until the end of his life. Sixtus refused to recognize the right to the throne of French king Henry of Navarre (Henry IV, ruled 1589–1610), whom he excommunicated in 1585, as long as the king remained a Huguenot; Sixtus later encouraged Henry to return to Catholicism to resolve the religious wars in France. In Poland, he assisted Stephen Báthory (ruled 1575–1586) against Russia, and Sigismund III Vasa (ruled 1587–1632) of Sweden as Báthory's successor. His relations with the Holy Roman emperor Rudolf II (ruled 1576–1612) deteriorated, though he succeeded in putting in place a plan for the restoration of Catholicism in the empire.

Sixtus ruled the Papal States with severity, extirpating bandits, executing them publicly and punishing their protectors; but his severity also roused the anger of many fellow Franciscans, clergy, Romans, and others. He established public funds (*monti*) for carrying out public works; he drained swamps, promoted the wool and silk industries and agriculture, increased taxation, and reduced expenses. At his death he left over five million *scudi* in the papal treasury.

Sixtus is perhaps best remembered for his reorganization of the administration of the *Curia Romana* into fifteen congregations (nine for the spiritual affairs of the church, the others for the administration of Rome and the Papal States). He fixed the number of cardinals at seventy. The result made clear that the Sacred College's function was to offer advice and help, not to corule with the pope. Sixtus mandated that bishops visit Rome and submit regular reports on their dioceses. At Rome, his massive public works included road construction linking the seven pilgrimage churches, setting them off with obelisks crowned with crosses, the most prominent being that erected in Saint Peter's

Square by Domenico Fontana (1586). He continued work on Saint Peter's Basilica, refurbished the Lateran Basilica and the Quirinal Palace, built the new wing for the Vatican Library, rejuvenated the University of Rome (Sapienza), repaired the aqueduct of Alexander Severus to bring fresh waters (*aqua felice*) to the Esquiline, and saw the completion of Michelangelo's dome for Saint Peter's. Sixtus died on 27 August 1590. His remains lie in the Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore, where they were translated on 26 August 1591.

See also **Index of Prohibited Books; Inquisition, Roman; Papacy and Papal States.**

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FREDERICK J. MCGINNESS

SKEPTICISM: ACADEMIC AND PYRRHONIAN.

Skepticism dogged claimants to knowledge and truth throughout early modern Europe. In its most general sense it refers to uncertainty, doubt, disbelief, suspension of judgment, and rejection of claims to knowledge. It is characterized by its opposition to dogmatism, which means the holding of firm beliefs (from Greek *dogmata*) about truth and reality. As a philosophical stance it is best understood as the outcome of two traditions in ancient Greek philosophy. Academic skepticism was attributed to Socrates and to Plato's successors at the Academy in Athens (fifth to second centuries B.C.E.), and Pyrrhonism was traced back to Pyrrho of Elis (c. 365–275 B.C.E.).

ACADEMIC SKEPTICISM

Roman statesman and philosopher Marcus Tullius Cicero (106–43 B.C.E.) is our chief source for Academic skepticism. In his *Academica* (45 B.C.E.) he reported on the teachings of Arcesilaus (315–240 B.C.E.) and Carneades (214–129 B.C.E.), who were heads of the Academy, and he claimed allegiance to the Academic school. St. Augustine's earliest extant work was entitled *Contra Academicos* (386 C.E.;

Against the academics), and this polemic was an important source of knowledge about Academic skepticism.

Placing Socrates at the origins of skepticism turns on the argument that he only asked questions and did not teach positive doctrines. Plato and Aristotle strayed from the path when they claimed to know the truth. Arcesilaus gave renewed vigor to skepticism, arguing against the opinions of all men, as Cicero put it. But he also showed that skeptics could make choices by relying on the *eulogon* (the reasonable) in the absence of truth. Carneades, who was also a master of arguing on both sides of every issue, refined this into the standard of the *pithanon* (the credible). In Cicero's translation into Latin, this became *probabile*, which set the stage for the skeptics' claim to live by the probable in the absence of truth.

Cicero's *Academica* was read by some thinkers in the Middle Ages but does not seem to have had a major impact. It was first printed at Rome in 1471, and numerous commentaries and annotations followed. More than one hundred editions had been published by 1600.

One of the first to take Academic skepticism seriously was Dutch Humanist Desiderius Erasmus (1466?–1536), who expressed admiration for the Academics in his *Praise of Folly* (1511), provoking opposition from Christian scholars like Philipp Melancthon (1487–1560). Gianfrancesco Pico della Mirandola's *Examen Vanitatis* (1520) drew on both Cicero and Sextus Empiricus. Omer Talon emphasized the philosophical freedom from dogmatism of the Academics in his *Academia* of 1547, and Petrus Ramus praised their style and rhetoric in *Ciceronianus* of 1557. Both of these were attacked by Pierre Galland and Guy de Brués. Giulio Castellani defended Aristotelianism against Academic skepticism in *Adversus . . . Ciceronis* (1558), partly by showing empirically that disagreement was not as widespread as the skeptics claimed it was. Johannes Rosa published the most substantial early commentary on the *Academica* in German-speaking Europe in 1571, and Pedro de Valencia reconstructed Academic skepticism in his own *Academica* of 1596, showing that these ideas were available in Spain.

The publication of the works of Sextus Empiricus in the 1560s replaced Cicero's writings as the

chief source of knowledge about ancient skepticism. In the following centuries most authors drew their inspiration from both sources to the extent that it is hard to speak of purely Academic skeptics after that point. One exception is David Hume (1711–1776), who has sometimes been called an Academic skeptic because—among other reasons—one of the characters in his *Dialogues concerning Natural Religion* (1779) takes the role of an Academic. There has also been scholarly debate about whether other individual early modern figures were Academic skeptics or Pyrrhonians, but in this period the two traditions were often run together, and few, if any, authors made a clear distinction between them.

PYRRHONISM

Our chief source for ancient Pyrrhonism is the work of the Alexandrian Greek physician Sextus Empiricus (second century C.E.), including *Outlines of Pyrrhonism* and *Against the Mathematicians*. A few manuscripts of Latin translations of Sextus Empiricus existed in medieval collections, and more came from Byzantium in the mid-fifteenth century. Florentine religious reformer Girolamo Savonarola (1452–1498) used Sextus to combat pagan philosophy. But the printing press made for the most influential dissemination of these texts. Latin translations by Henri Estienne (Stephanus) (1562) and Gentian Hervet (1569) provided the stimulus for a widespread “skeptical crisis.”

As Sextus explained it, skepticism was not a philosophy but rather a way of life in which one opposed all philosophical claims with equal opposite claims (equipollence). He laid out standard tropes or formula arguments which could be used against any certainty or truth and which he attributed to Greek philosophers Aenesidemus (first century B.C.E.[?]) and Agrippa (first century B.C.E.[?]). The result was that one would suspend judgment and then find oneself in *ataraxia* or tranquillity, no longer disturbed by philosophical disputes. One would live in accordance with the phenomena or appearances without taking a stand on the truth or reality behind them, and one would follow one's natural impulses as well as local customs and laws.

Michel de Montaigne (1533–1592) was the most influential of the early writers to draw on the writings of Sextus, in his *Essais* (1580–1595). In a long chapter entitled “Defense of Raymond

Sebond,” Montaigne retailed most of the skeptical tropes and all of the skeptical vocabulary from Sextus Empiricus. Here and in other essays he demolished any pretensions to human knowledge and argued both sides of almost every issue. And yet he never despaired; rather, he showed people how to live a happy life in the face of skepticism, which may explain why his writings were so popular.

Later philosophers often started from Montaigne. One who went far beyond in posing questions of skepticism was René Descartes (1596–1650). Without specific sources in the ancient materials, he set out to answer the skeptical idea that there could be an all-powerful *malin genie* or evil demon that controls our perceptions and reasoning and fools us about the world. His conclusion was that we know we exist because we can think—the famous “I think therefore I am.” Pressed for an explanation as to why our perceptions of thinking could not be a deception, Descartes asserted that God would not allow such deception. Thus, religion is invoked to certify truth. Later skeptics would worry about a deceiving God.

Bishop Pierre Daniel Huet (1630–1721) and Huguenot refugee Pierre Bayle (1647–1706) have been described as the “master skeptics.” Huet invoked Sextus Empiricus in great detail against Descartes and many other dogmatic philosophers in his *Traité de la faiblesse de l'esprit humaine* (1723; Tract on the weakness of the human mind). Bayle’s massive works attacked all previous philosophy and historical scholarship.

David Hume expressed the skeptical challenge in ways that made him central to philosophical discussion up to and including our own day. His *Treatise of Human Nature* (1739–1740) argued for skepticism about both facts and reason. His critique of our ideas of causation reduces them to little more than a habit based on constant conjunction. And yet in typical skeptical fashion he showed how people could live with skepticism on the basis of probabilities and custom.

Immanuel Kant (1724–1804) was called the “all-destroyer” in his own day because of his rejection of so many other dogmatic philosophies. He adopted skeptical Greek vocabulary when he argued that we could have no knowledge of the noumena—the reality behind appearances—but

only of the phenomena. He saved free will and morality from scientific determinism only by reducing our knowledge of them to faith rather than knowledge. Other skeptics writing in German in his time included Salomon Maimon (1753–1800) and Gottlob Ernst “Aenesidemus” Schulze (1761–1833). When Carl Friedrich Stäudlin’s *Geist und Geschichte des Skepticismus* (History and spirit of skepticism) of 1794 showed Hume facing Kant on the title page, it became clear these two thinkers had posed the skeptical challenge for the age: Stäudlin decried an unphilosophical skepticism even as he showed that the philosophical skeptics could not be refuted.

SKEPTICISM IN SCIENCE AND MEDICINE

Francis Bacon (1561–1626), who was chancellor of England from 1618 to 1621, served as a spokesman for early natural philosophy, convinced that the experimental method would produce absolute certainty. Skeptics like François de La Mothe le Vayer (1585–1672) used many of the skeptical tropes to show that science could not produce certain knowledge. Other natural philosophers such as Marin Mersenne (1588–1648) and Pierre Gassendi (1592–1655) in France dispensed with the need for absolute certainty and defended experimental science on the ground that it could produce useful knowledge, in accordance with the phenomena, even without certainty. This attitude prevailed at the Royal Society in London as well. Skepticism could be used to sweep away the pretensions of Aristotelians and other dogmatists while leaving experimental scientists free to continue their work. In this spirit Robert Boyle (1627–1691) named his spokesman “Carneades” in *The Sceptical Chymist* (1661), and Joseph Glanvill (1636–1680) titled one of his books *Scepsis Scientifica* (1665).

Of all the fields that we now consider sciences, medicine was especially intertwined with skepticism. Sextus Empiricus was a practicing physician whose work influenced his philosophy, and each of the ancient schools of medicine had taken positions for or against philosophical dogmatism or skepticism. Ancient Hippocratic sources stressed the importance of skeptical observation and experience and the dangers of dogmatic theory in medicine. In early modern Europe the writings of Hippocrates (c. 460–c. 377 B.C.E.) and Galen (c. 129–c. 200

C.E.) were an important part of medical studies, and they introduced the student both to dogmatic medicine and to the skeptical critique.

Several prominent early modern physicians contributed to the literature on skepticism and medicine. Toulouse professor Francisco Sanches (c. 1550–c. 1623) called himself “Carneades philosophus” and attacked Aristotelian science in his book *Quod Nihil Scitur* (1581; That nothing is known). The English physician and philosopher John Locke (1632–1704) may have picked up some of the skeptical elements in his philosophy from skeptical physician Thomas Sydenham (1624–1689). Martín Martínez (1684–1734), royal physician and president of the Royal Academy in Seville, was the author of *Medicina Sceptica* (1722–1724), which attacked dogmatic Galenism, and *Philosophia Sceptica* (1730), which introduced Gassendi and Descartes to Spain. Ernst Platner (1744–1818) was a German physician whose skeptical writings were influential in Kant’s time.

SKEPTICISM, HISTORIOGRAPHY, AND POLITICAL THOUGHT

Especially in the seventeenth century, skepticism made its way into historiography as writers began to question the received accounts of history. La Mothe le Vayer’s *On the Small Amount of Certainty in History* (1668) and Pierre Bayle’s *Historical and Critical Dictionary* (1697–1702) brought numerous historical errors to public attention. The only lasting solution was to learn to live with the appearances and accept lower standards for practical purposes instead of absolute certainty, as in natural science.

Throughout the early modern era skepticism was used to justify a wide variety of political stances, from quietist conservatism to radical activism.

SKEPTICISM AND RELIGION

The historical scholarship of Isaac la Peyrère (1596–1676), Baruch Spinoza (1632–1677), and Richard Simon (1638–1712) contributed to skepticism about the Bible. In response, throughout the early modern period it was common to accuse skeptics of atheism, libertinism, and immorality. But skeptics were not necessarily atheists. In fact, one of the most common uses of skepticism was its use by the self-described orthodox against pagan claims to

truth, by the Lutherans and Calvinists against Catholic claims to infallibility, and by Catholics against Protestant claims to truth. Many religionists believed that their own truth was immune from skepticism, but one argument was that if all claims to truth can be demolished, one should accept traditional religion on faith. This position is known as fideism.

Various versions of fideism were widespread. Thinkers from Montaigne to Huet and Bayle to many figures in the eighteenth century wrote that skepticism cleared the way to faith by removing rationalist objections. Blaise Pascal (1623–1662) in France in the seventeenth century and Jean de Castillon (1709–1791) in Berlin in the eighteenth century Christianized skepticism by showing that, properly understood, it set the scene for Christianity. In the *Critique of Pure Reason* Kant famously wrote that he had had to deny knowledge in order to make room for faith (Preface to Second Edition [1787], B, xxx). Whether each such figure was sincere or was using fideism as a defense against possible persecution for heresy has been the subject of debate ever since.

See also Atheism; Bayle, Pierre; Descartes, René; Humanists and Humanism; Hume, David; Kant, Immanuel; Montaigne, Michel de; Pascal, Blaise; Spinoza, Baruch.

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JOHN CHRISTIAN LAURSEN

SLAVERY AND THE SLAVE TRADE.

Slavery has existed throughout history. Most societies have made provisions for it within their struc-

ture, and most peoples have been sources of slaves at one time or another. The expansion of slavery was often a by-product of empire building as a dominant power turned its prisoners of war into slaves through conquest. However, from empire to empire there was considerable variation in slaves' legal status and prospects for incorporation into the polity; likewise, within a given society or state, there could be a wide range of status, labor, and opportunities among different slaves.

Indeed, a precise definition of slavery that will fit all societies is difficult to present. Most forms of slavery share the following characteristics: (1) slaves are obliged to live their lives in perpetual service to their master, an obligation that only the master (or the state) can dissolve; (2) slaves are under the complete power of their masters, although the state or community may impose certain restrictions upon the master's treatment of the slave; (3) slaves are property, which may be sold or passed along as an inheritance at the master's discretion; and (4) the condition of slavery is transmitted from parent to child.

Historians often distinguish between "slave societies" and "societies with slaves," based upon the centrality of slavery to the economy. Ancient Rome and the plantation colonies of Brazil, the Caribbean, and the American South were "slave societies"; during the early modern period, most European countries and many Latin and North American colonies were merely "societies with slaves."

The question of who can legitimately be enslaved in any society often boils down to a definition of who constitutes an "insider" and who is fundamentally excluded from a society. Over the course of the early modern period, these lines shifted from religious to somatic categories, thus creating the relatively new category of "race." Thus, fifteenth-century Christians justified the enslavement of non-Christians on fundamentally religious grounds. In some contrast to the Russian and Ottoman empires, by the seventeenth century all western European powers defined Africans as peculiarly destined to enslavement, an opinion that was often justified by the biblical account of the curse upon Noah's sons. As Enlightenment secularism and materialism became influential in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, a new, biologically justified discourse of

racism was buttressed by the pronouncements of science. Some theorists, including those in nations with no direct ties to the slave trade, embraced these attitudes. For example, the German Enlightenment thinker Immanuel Kant cited with approval David Hume's characterization of blacks as highly superstitious, overly talkative, lacking intelligence, and ungifted in the arts. Various forms of racism—scientific, institutional, and cultural—outlived the institution of slavery and persist in Europe today.

ROOTS OF EARLY MODERN SLAVERY

While slavery was a significant feature of ancient Greek and Middle Eastern societies, the direct roots of Europe's early modern traffic in slaves can be traced to ancient Rome and to early Islam. At the height of its power (c. 200 B.C.E.–200 C.E.), the Roman republic depended upon perhaps 2 million slaves (or about a third of its population) to perform every kind of labor, from agricultural production and domestic service to military command and political advising. Many of these slaves were taken from the communities and cultures at the empire's periphery and pressed into service where, through trade networks, they relocated throughout the lands under Roman imperial control.

With the collapse of the Roman Empire in the late fourth century, slavery became much more marginal in most European regions. While some families continued to maintain small numbers of slaves, often as domestic servants, widespread agricultural slavery generally gave way to serfdom, especially in northern and western Europe (including England, Scandinavia, and France). The chief difference between serfs and slaves was that serfs were bound to the land—they could not be traded away from the manorial estate to which they were born. Slaves, by contrast, were chattel property that could be bought and sold; their legal existence was mediated through their masters. By 1086, when William the Conqueror ordered the survey of the lands of England commonly known as the Domesday ("Doomsday") Book, only about 10 percent of the English population was counted as slaves, and the proportion continued to decline after that. Regions with stronger ties to the Byzantine Empire (for example, Russia) and Muslim northern Africa (for example, Sicily) had greater access to slave markets, and slav-

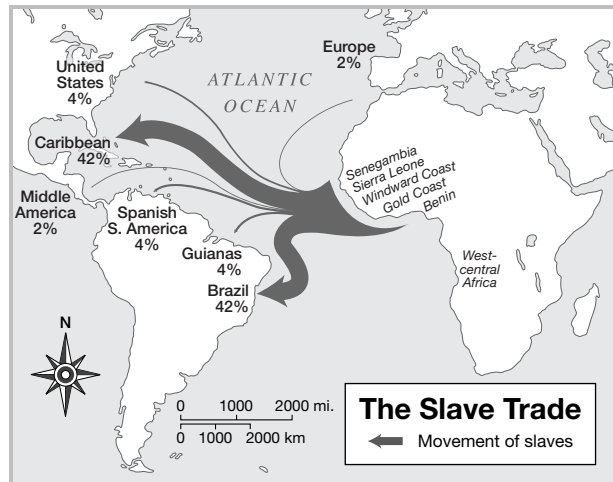
ery continued as a minor but persistent feature of southern and eastern European medieval societies.

Islam, being religiously and linguistically distinct from Christian Europe, expanded a preexisting slave system in the seventh and eighth centuries during its major conquests from Europe's Iberian Peninsula (Spain and Portugal) to the frontier of China. The Islamic empire, like Rome, allowed for the integration of conquered people into its own population through various assimilation mechanisms, including slavery. The Arabic language—the dominant language of the original Muslims—provided bureaucratic and cultural unity to elites while many vernacular languages and customs persisted. Yet the religion of Islam gave legal, cultural, and linguistic unity—at least at the elite administrative level—to a diverse and cosmopolitan empire.

Slavery under Islamic regimes, however, differed from Roman slavery in certain ways. First, it was not a central feature in agricultural production, as slavery had been to the Italian peninsula; most slaves held by Muslims were employed in domestic service. Second, the great majority of slaves in early Islamic states were women and children—male prisoners of war who resisted were more likely killed than enslaved. However, male slaves came to be used by the thousands as soldiers and administrators in later empires, like those of the Mamluks of Egypt and of the Ottomans.

Another important feature of Islamic slavery, from the perspective of early modern Europe, is the development of trans-Saharan slave routes and an emerging discourse associating blackness with slavery. While Muslims enslaved an extremely diverse range of peoples, from the blond and blue-eyed Caucasians to the ebony-skinned Zanj of East Africa, a literary trope emerged around 675–725 under the Umayyad dynasty, connoting inferiority to those with dark skin. The Muslim world also supplied the Iberian Peninsula with slaves, so that by completion of the Reconquista in the fifteenth century, there was a stable community of several thousand blacks of sub-Saharan African descent in the major cities of Portugal and Castile.

Constantius II (ruled 337–361), the Christian emperor of Rome, had decreed in 339 that Jews were not permitted to hold Christians as slaves. During the Middle Ages a new policy barring the



enslavement of fellow Christians—possibly in imitation of similar Muslim prohibitions against the enslavement of coreligionists—served to win pagan converts to the expanding Christian feudal order. Most of the western European languages' words for slave are etymologically related; “slave” (English), *Sklave* (German), *esclave* (French), *esclavo* (Spanish), *schiaivo* (Italian), and even the Arabic *sagaliba* are all based upon the ethnic term “Slav” and refer to the southern Balkan peoples who were one of the chief sources of slaves during the ancient and medieval periods.

EUROPEANS AS SLAVES

Europeans were not only slaveholders in the early modern period; they were also slaves. From at least the sixteenth century, thousands of Europeans were captured by Muslim privateers in or along the coasts of the Mediterranean Sea, Atlantic Ocean, or North Sea and sold into slave markets from Alexandria, Egypt to Meknes, Morocco. Seamen, fishermen, traders, travelers, and soldiers were the most vulnerable to seaborne raiders. On land, with the expansion of the Ottoman Empire into Europe, peasant families were just as subject to enslavement as were combatant soldiers. Some Christian captives converted to Islam and made new lives for themselves, others were ransomed by their relatives, escaped, or died in captivity. Some were pressed into service as galley slaves on Muslim ships. Many observers noted that their treatment there was better than on the French, Italian, or Spanish galleys. In general, slavery in the Ottoman Empire was reportedly

milder than slavery elsewhere, and manumission (the individual freeing of slaves) was a common, even expected, form of charity for observant Muslims.

In the second half of the seventeenth century, Jean-Baptiste Colbert, the chief minister to France's king Louis XIV (ruled 1643–1715), expanded a system of galley slaves as punishment for many different kinds of crimes. More than 1,500 Protestant dissenters were condemned to the French galleys. During the same period, the Habsburg emperor Leopold I (ruled 1658–1705), in conjunction with Louis XIV, suspended the religious freedom guaranteed by the Hungarian constitution and sent some sixty Protestant ministers to be sold to the Spanish galleys; twenty-six surviving prisoners were released in 1676. The French galley penal system continued until 1748.

In the same period, from the end of the seventeenth century until the end of the eighteenth, the seizure of war captives for ransom or labor became a fixture of warfare between the Russian and Ottoman empires. However, in contrast to the Ottomans, whose slaves were overwhelmingly non-Muslim outsiders, Russia drew most of its slaves from its own domestic population, many of whom sold themselves to escape famine or destitution.

Slavery persisted in Russia until the early eighteenth century, when the tsarist state redefined domestic slaves as serfs so that they might be taxable. The line between serf and slave, however, was often blurred in practice. Slavery in Ottoman Europe continued in reduced form through the nineteenth century until its formal abolition at the end of the century.

EUROPE AND THE TRANSATLANTIC SLAVE TRADE

The roots of Europe's slave colonies in America can be found in Portugal's fifteenth-century exploration of the western coast of Africa. Upon conquering the Muslim fortress of Ceuta in North Africa in 1415, Portuguese rulers turned their attention to the trade goods being delivered across the Sahara desert. By skirting the coast, royally sponsored explorers hoped to trace the supplies of gold and other precious goods to their source, thus bypassing the costs of the middlemen traders. By the mid-1450s, the Portuguese had begun to purchase slaves along the

West African coast, establishing contracts with Wolof, Mandinga, and Bati rulers to exchange gold, cotton, ivory, and slaves for horses, red cloth, and iron. In the 1480s, the Portuguese established the entrepôts of São Tomé and Elmina to serve the regular trade routes from Congo and Benin. At the same time, following the medieval model of sugar production in North Africa and several Mediterranean islands, the Portuguese established plantations on the Atlantic islands of Madeira, the Cape Verde islands, and the Canaries, and they increasingly worked them with slaves imported from Africa.

Though some African slaves arrived in America along with Spanish conquistadors as early as 1502, most early colonial labor needs in the New World were initially met by Amerindians. The Spanish rulers replicated the feudal tribute system of *encomienda* in their New World colonies, compelling Amerindians to produce staples such as corn, beans, and cotton, as well as luxury products, including gold and silver. Due to this exploitation, susceptibility to Old World diseases, and perhaps, in some regions, an environmental crisis of soil depletion, native populations died at appalling rates: in the highly populated Mexican basin, 90 percent of the population died within a century of conquest. A confluence of this labor shortage with ready supplies of African slaves from the entrepôts in the western and central African regions of Senegal, Elmina (along the Gold Coast), Angola, and Congo facilitated Spanish colonies' experimentation with the importation of African slaves to the Caribbean, Mexico, and Peru. By 1580, some 74,000 Africans had been shipped from Africa for the Americas, while some 232,000 Spanish and Portuguese left for the Americas during the same period.

From 1580 until 1700, the relative proportion of emigration from Africa and Europe reversed. Approximately 1,531,000 Africans left Africa for the Americas (though an average of 20 percent perished during the grueling Middle Passage), while during the same time only about 944,000 Europeans ventured out for the New World, primarily to Spanish and British colonies. Key in this transformation was the introduction of sugar cultivation, first in Portuguese Brazil, then in the Caribbean. Unlike tobacco, another exotic product grown in America for export to Europe, sugar required a large labor force to process the ripe sugarcane on site before it rotted.

Colonial planters sought economy of scale by consolidating large plantations, with gangs of 20 to 200 slaves staying up through the night to feed the proto-industrial sugar mills and tend the refining vats.

Also in the seventeenth century, the Dutch took over much of the Portuguese empire, conquering trading posts in Africa and Brazil and confiscating the lucrative transatlantic slave trade. Meanwhile, English and French colonists began to encroach on the Iberian colonial monopoly in North America, the Antilles, and coastal Guyana. At first, the favored commodity in Virginia and the Caribbean was tobacco, grown primarily with indentured servants from Europe, but gradually this was overtaken in the tropics by sugar and indigo, and it was supplemented by coffee and cotton. These crops accelerated the colonial demand for slave labor so that from 1700 to 1760, some 2,775,000 Africans were shipped for the New World, while only 891,000 Europeans departed for the same destination.

In this way, a “triangle of trade” emerged, linking the continents of Europe, Africa, and the Americas. Slave traders from Portugal, the Netherlands, England, and France brought raw and manufactured materials (such as iron, glass, guns, cloth, and horses) to African traders. African rulers profited from this trade, waging war on neighbors or requiring tribute in the form of slaves, which they, in turn, bartered to Europeans for the exotic luxury items they supplied. European traders packed slaves into sailing ships for the notorious Middle Passage, which averaged two to three months in the sixteenth century but could be completed in as little as 20 to 40 days by the nineteenth century. Survivors of the transatlantic voyage were sold to slaveholders for sugar, gold, tobacco, and rum, which in turn were sold in Europe.

The royally sponsored Portuguese trade was eclipsed in the seventeenth century by the Dutch, English, and French trading companies, each with exclusive national privileges, or charters, to trade between specific regions. Yet many colonists chafed against these mercantilist restrictions, and smuggling was widespread, especially outside the central commercial hubs. By the mid-eighteenth century, the English and French dominated the Atlantic slave trade.

SLAVERY AND THE ECONOMY OF EUROPE

The effect of Atlantic slavery on Europe’s economies has been a matter of considerable debate since the 1944 publication of Eric Williams’s *Capitalism and Slavery*. As part of his argument about the rise and fall of Atlantic slavery, Williams asserted that the Atlantic slave system created the export demand, the trading network, and one of the main streams of capital that fueled England’s industrial revolution. Williams’s claims have been challenged, however, by a generation of historians, such as Roger Anstey and Seymour Drescher, who have argued that profits from the slave trade were never sufficient to be a significant source of capital for the industrial revolution, and that the slave colonies, rather than generating substantial profits, were actually a net loss for the metropole.

Still, the complex economic relationships established within and between Europe, Africa, and the Americas during the early modern period make it difficult to isolate Europe’s economic developments from the American slave complex. Some historians continue to argue that African slaves were responsible for about 75 percent of the American products that fed the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century commercial revolution, which in turn contributed to Britain’s urbanization, creation of markets, export manufacture, and shift to industrial production after 1750. Others suggest that the concentration of capital, technological innovation, and organization of labor for efficiency in the colonial sugar plantations were models for the industrialization of the European textile industries.

SLAVERY AND THE LAW

Slave law, as with law more generally, encompasses positive law (statutes), jurisprudence (legal philosophy), and case law. While knowledge of the statutes is necessary to know the prescriptive status of slaves in any given jurisdiction, a better understanding of their actual condition in any community can be found through an examination of the judicial cases concerning slaves, as well as those concerning former slaves or “freedmen.”

Roman slave law, codified in Justinian’s sixth-century *Corpus juris civilis*, influenced most continental European legal systems, although as slavery became economically important to American colonies the law was modified to reflect local interests.

Several characteristics of Roman law were fundamental to later jurists, including manumission practices, civil status, and criminal law. For some purposes, the law treated slaves as though they were human beings, for others, as things.

Roman law facilitated manumission, or individual freeing of slaves, and slaves' entry into the populace as citizens. Although manumitted slaves did not enjoy all the rights of freeborn Roman citizens, their freeborn children did. Slaves, like freeborn sons or daughters of Roman citizens, could not own property in their own right until the death of the master/patriarch. However, Roman law allowed for the creation of a savings fund, or *peculium*, which—though technically the property of the master—was administered by the slave within the constraints dictated by the master. Thus slaves were permitted to purchase their freedom through accumulated savings, with the permission of, and at the price set by, the master.

The emperor Justinian introduced a range of procedures that, if enforced, would moderate the slave system from the point of view of the slave. For example, Justinian's code held that a master could not kill his slave with impunity and, in cases of extreme abuse, a slave could seek the protection of the emperor or the church. And while the late Roman republic (c. 50 B.C.E.) had recognized only three avenues to freedom—manumission by enrollment on the census, manumission by testament, and proceedings whereby liberty was restored to a free person who had been wrongfully held as a slave—under Justinian, additional means of manumission were recognized, including a letter signed by five witnesses, manumission in the Christian church, and official recognition by a master that a slave was his son.

Yet under Roman law, slaves could not be parties to civil lawsuits, nor accusers in criminal cases, nor under Roman law could they marry. Their testimony could, under certain conditions, be accepted, but not against their masters. In those instances where their testimony was authorized, they were required to undergo torture. At the same time, it was perfectly legitimate to try slaves as defendants in criminal cases. Escaped slaves were not punished by the state, but, if caught, were subject to the master's discipline.

Most of the judicial courts of western Europe absorbed Roman law as part of their legal culture, yet innovated according to their own customs and conditions through the medieval and early modern eras. For Castilian Spain, *Las siete partidas*, a compilation consolidated under Alfonso X (ruled 1252–1284) around 1265 (and promulgated in 1348) integrated Roman features with Visigothic codes and medieval practices. The new Spanish law recognized slave marriages, even over a master's opposition, and masters would be penalized for fostering a clandestine marriage between their own slave and that of another. Portugal's *Ordenações Filipinas*, promulgated by Philip II (ruled 1556–1598) and confirmed by the Portuguese king John IV (ruled 1640–1656) in 1643, established general slave laws for Portuguese territories past Brazilian independence in 1822, but these were supplemented explicitly by the *Corpus juris civilis* until 1769, when Roman precedents were discarded for natural law principles of the Enlightenment. In many regards, including manumission, Portugal's laws were therefore identical with Rome's. While France's *Code noir* of 1685 strongly reflected Louis XIV's desire to make Catholicism the sole religion of the kingdom (an innovation over Roman traditions), many of the French law's provisions mirrored the ancient Justinian code.

Despite these continuities with Roman law, the new Atlantic slave experience generated new legal customs and, eventually, statutes. In French Caribbean colonies, the *Code noir* contained a provision, apparently following local custom but no doubt sanctioned by the church, to the effect that any master who sired a child with his slave concubine would bear a hefty fine and the slaves would be confiscated for the state, unless the master married the slave in question, whereupon both mother and child would be thereby recognized as free. When the *Code noir* was reissued for the new colony of Louisiana in 1724, however, this provision was omitted and a new one explicitly forbade marriages between whites and blacks.

The most striking innovations were apparent in England and its colonies, where neither Roman legal traditions, nor the practice of enslavement, carried through the Middle Ages into the early modern period of Atlantic colonization. England's colonial assemblies were authorized to make local law dis-

tinct from that of the metropole; hence each colony developed its own unique statutory and case law with regard to the status and treatment of slaves and freedmen. During the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, British American colonies passed increasingly harsh measures regulating slaves and free blacks. For example, a Virginia statute of 1682 held that if a slave died resisting the force of his master, the master would not be liable for felony charges since “it cannot be presumed that [premeditated] malice should induce any man to destroy his own estate [property].”

The written law of Spain mutated further in the colonial settlements of the New World. For example, slaves were sometimes permitted to testify in court and a master’s privilege of re-enslaving an ungrateful freedman fell into disuse. One of the most significant customary innovations in slave law was the practice of *coartación*, which developed in eighteenth-century Spanish America. On the basis of *coartación*, a slave who presented a fair price to his master could achieve his freedom—with or without the master’s consent. This factor, along with demographics, economic conditions, and cultural reasons, helps to explain why people of color made up a larger proportion of the free population in many Latin American colonies.

ANTISLAVERY AND ABOLITION

The movement to abolish slavery has roots in European urban culture, elite European religious and intellectual movements, and African-American slave resistance. Yet it was not until the late eighteenth century that all of these forces combined to create a sustained attack on the institution of slavery itself, and not until the nineteenth century that the Atlantic slave trade, and then American slavery, were finally abolished.

Since at least the thirteenth century, urban centers in France, such as Toulouse and Pamiers, became refuges from the most extreme forms of bondage by adopting charters that freed slaves upon entrance to the village. In England, a Russian slave was freed in 1567 on the grounds that “the air of England is too pure for a slave to breathe.” In seventeenth-century France, local traditions supporting liberty were extended to the French kingdom in the maxim, “All persons are free in this

kingdom; and as soon as a slave had arrived at the borders of this place, being baptized, is freed.”

As the Atlantic slave system began to expand, some critics argued for limitations on the excesses of slavery and the slave trade throughout the early modern period. In sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spain and Spanish America, some Catholic clergy voiced their concerns, including Bartolomé de Las Casas (1474–1566), who opposed the enslavement of Indians, and Tomás de Mercado and Alonso de Sandoval, who challenged the most extreme cruelties of the slave trade. In 1646, the Capuchin missionary order was expelled from the French Antillean colony of Saint-Christophe, allegedly because they preached the idea that once baptized, blacks could no longer be held as slaves since “it is an unworthy thing to use one’s Christian brother as a slave.” In 1688, several Dutch-speaking Quakers of Germantown, Pennsylvania, chastised their coreligionists for owning and trading slaves, for they “have . . . as much right to fight for their freedom as you have to keep them as slaves.” Yet many Christians also stressed the virtue of slaves’ obedience to their masters, and the suspension of reward until the hereafter, thus implicitly sanctioning slavery and inequality in the here and now.

In the eighteenth century, more secular voices began to critique slavery on the grounds of natural law and the linkage of personal slavery with political despotism. Scottish Enlightenment writers Francis Hutcheson and George Wallace were among the first to attack both slavery and the slave trade as violations of “natural justice” and “humanity.” French philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778) drew directly from Wallace to challenge the right of slaves to sell themselves into bondage in his *On the Social Contract*. By 1762, there was a sufficient body of antislavery thought for the Pennsylvania Quaker Anthony Benezet to publish the first title devoted solely to the abolition of slavery and the slave trade, a collection he titled *A Short Account of That Part of Africa Inhabited by Negroes*, which was widely read on both sides of the Atlantic.

The third source of abolitionism was the actions taken by slaves themselves to resist slavery. In the Americas, slaves who ran away, known as “maroons,” established independent communities in

the regions beyond direct colonial power, such as the canyons of Jamaica, the mountains of Guadeloupe, the *sertão* of Brazil, and the swamps of Florida. Some of the maroon communities were so powerful militarily that they established treaties with the local European colonial powers, as in Surinam.

From as early as 1527 and throughout the expansion of plantation slavery in the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries, slaves plotted and revolted against masters. Most such revolts were small-scale events, with the aim of seeking local justice. Whether they were enacted on the individual or communal scale by the maroons, or in the wider arena of revolt or revolution, slaves overcame tremendous odds in seeking autonomy for themselves and, when possible, in extending that freedom to others. The 1791 slave revolt in northern Saint Domingue that escalated into the Haitian Revolution articulated a strong antislavery ideology and effected the first universal emancipation (of French colonies, in 1794) and the first independent republic established by former slaves (Haiti, 1804).

The end of the eighteenth century also marks the beginning of the bourgeois Atlantic abolition movements. Granville Sharp, an eccentric and pious Englishman, took up the cause of a slave who had been kidnapped and beaten by his master in England in 1765. Sharp's research into the law convinced him the English constitution was antithetical to slavery. English abolitionists had their first major success when they rallied to the support of the slave Somerset, whose master attempted to expel him from England on a ship bound for Jamaica in 1772. Though the extent of Judge Mansfield's decision in the *Somerset* case has been debated by historians, it was widely interpreted at the time as effectively abolishing slavery within England, and Scottish courts soon followed suit with an even broader pronouncement against slavery in 1778.

In North America, patriots of the American Revolution equated British political tyranny with slavery and offered proposals to ban the slave trade. Some extended the critique to slavery itself, though antislavery and antiblack sentiments were sometimes intertwined. Vermont prohibited slavery in its 1777 constitution while Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and Connecticut all adopted emancipation statutes. Judges in Massachusetts and New Hamp-

shire issued decisions similar to England's *Somerset* decision, thus establishing these territories as free states. In the North, only New York and New Jersey, both with sizable slave populations, maintained a legal apparatus permitting the continuation of slavery, yet these states also generated active, if elitist, abolitionist societies.

Sharp was soon joined by other antislavery activists in England, including the Methodist founder John Wesley, who preached against the evils of slavery on both sides of the Atlantic. Quakers, Methodists, Sharp, and others formed the Society for Effecting the Abolition of the Slave Trade in 1787 and set about lobbying the British Parliament for their cause. Thomas Clarkson was the society's full-time organizer and propagandist. Within months, the group had collected more than 10,000 signatures on an antislavery petition from the city of Manchester alone, comprising half of the adult male population. Former slaves, including Olaudah Equiano (Gustavus Vassa) and Ottobah Cugoano penned their life stories and went on the lecture circuit to rally audiences to the cause. William Wilberforce, an influential member of Parliament, translated the antislavery sentiment into legislative initiatives. The first of these was defeated by pro-slavery opponents in 1791. Petition drives increased, with nearly 400,000 signatories in 1792. At this same time, the Danish government announced that it would abolish its own slave trade within ten years.

In France, the outbreak of the French Revolution in 1789 and the Saint Domingue slave revolt of 1791 made it expedient for the French antislavery association, the Amis des noirs, to focus on mulatto rights. In 1794, the French Convention ratified the republican commissioners' offer of freedom to slaves who would fight against the royalists in Saint Domingue, and they extended it as a universal emancipation to slaves in all other colonies still under French control. However, Napoleon's forceful reimposition of slavery to the Caribbean colonies in 1802 precipitated Haitian independence and postponed French abolition until 1848.

The French and Haitian revolutions proved a setback to the British abolitionist movement, as conservative forces asserted that the popular classes were incapable of self-rule. It was not until 1808 that the Atlantic slave trade was formally abolished

by Britain and the United States, with Britain policing the seas in an attempt to prevent Spanish and Portuguese trade to the Caribbean and Central and South America. It would take another thirty years for Britain's abolitionists to eliminate slavery within its remaining colonies (for example, Jamaica and Barbados), and not until 1888 was slavery abolished within the last American state, Brazil.

Though slavery was officially abolished in the Americas in the nineteenth century, it expanded in some parts of Africa as a direct result of Euro-American abolition. Slavery and related forms of coerced labor still exist today in many countries of the world. Women and children are especially vulnerable.

See also Africa; Equality and Inequality; Industry; Laborers; Race, Theories of; Serfdom; Servants.

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SUE PEABODY

SLEIDANUS, JOHANNES (Johannes Philippi; 1506–1556), German historian. Johannes Sleidanus was a diplomat, scholar, translator, historian, and finally official historiographer of the Lutheran party—that is, of the Schmalkaldic League—who left the most authoritative account of the Lutheran Reformation in its political as well as religious aspects.

Johann Philipson (son of Philipus, a merchant), was born in 1506 in Schleidan and, along with his friend Johann Sturm, studied first at the school of Johann Neuburg in that Rhineland town, then in Liège with the Brothers of the Common Life and at the academy of Cologne, later rejoining Sturm at Louvain. Sleidanus served Count Dietrich IV of Manderscheid, a moderate Catholic, as tutor to his son. In 1533 Sleidanus moved to France, where he remained until 1542, studying law briefly at the University of Orléans, publishing a translation of Jean Froissart's *Chroniques* (1537), and entering into the service of Cardinal DuBellay, who was engaged in pressing the German Protestants into an alliance with King Francis I. In this cause Sleidanus, in the company of Lazare de Baif, attended the religious colloquy in Hagenau in 1540, but his mission was unsuccessful, as were those to the colloquy of Regensberg the next year, to England in 1545, and to the Diet of Augsburg in 1547. Sleidanus was in a difficult position, poised between Emperor Charles V and the French king (who had only a political interest in the Lutherans and who had begun to persecute the French Protestants), and in 1544 he returned to Strasbourg, where he continued his scholarly as well as his political work, beginning with his "Zwei Reden an Kaiser und Reich" (Two orations on the emperor and the empire.) In 1546 he was married to Iola Nidbruck, who bore him three daughters, and he was appointed a "civil servant" to the Strasbourg council, a post that included being liaison to the French population as well as composing his history.

Throughout his intellectual life Sleidanus was interested in the writing of contemporary history. He expressed this first in his Latin translations of Philippe de Commynes's *Mémoires* (1537), of Froissart's chronicles, and of Claude de Seyssel's *Monarchy of France* (1548), dedicated to King Edward VI of England, but most comprehensively in his extensively documented history of the Reformation. In 1545, with the support of Martin Bucer (1491–1551) and Jacob Sturm, he began negotiations with the Schmalkaldic League for this project, which he had begun as early as 1539. This book Sleidanus had first conceived as a "history of the restored religion" (*historia restauratae religionis, histori der erneueter religion*), but he later included the political dimension as well. "In the history of religion," Sleidanus wrote in the preface to his *De Statu Religionis et Reipublicae Carlo Quinto Caesare Commentarii*, "I would not omit what concerned the civil government because they are interwoven with the other, especially in our times, so that it is not possible to separate them." In this effort Sleidanus was diligent in the collecting of manuscript and archival as well as published materials and careful to preserve an impartial stance, as befitting a moderate Protestant, residing in Strasbourg and situated between German, French, and English parties. Published in 1555, the work offered a comprehensive survey of European history from All Saints' Eve 1517 to February 1555, that is, from Luther's appearance on the public scene at Wittenberg on All Saints' Eve 1517 to the retirement of his great nemesis Charles V in February 1555. His last major topic was the Diet of Augsburg of 1555, which put an end to the first phase of the Reformation, but the book (translated soon into English, French, and German) was extended in later editions, from Sleidanus's own notes, to September 1556, when the author died.

Sleidanus was a major contributor to the Renaissance "art of history." As a larger background to his epic survey Sleidanus also published a small textbook surveying "the first four great empires of the world," of which, through the principle of *translatio imperii*, Sleidanus's own sovereign, Emperor Charles V, was the last beneficiary. Reactions to Sleidanus's work were extreme, ranging from the adulation of friends, Calvinists as well as Lutherans, to the denunciation of enemies, Protestants as well

as Catholics. Sleidanus answered with an “apology,” which posthumously made public his historiographical confession of faith and in which he concluded by declaring that “I am the enemy of all falsehood and do not boast when I affirm that I would rather die than say, still less write, anything without proof.” Leopold von Ranke (1795–1886), though not impressed with Sleidanus’s critical abilities, would not object to his claim to be the “father of Reformation history.”

See also Charles V (Holy Roman Empire); Historiography; Reformation, Protestant; Schmalkaldic War.

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DONALD KELLEY

SMITH, ADAM (1723–1790), Scottish economist. Along with figures like his teacher Francis Hutcheson (1694–1746) and his best friend David Hume (1711–1776), Smith was one of the principals of a period of astonishing learning that has become known as the Scottish Enlightenment. He is the author of two books: *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759) and *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (1776). His first book brought him considerable acclaim during his lifetime and was quickly considered one of the great works of moral theory—impressing, for example, such people as Immanuel Kant (1724–1804), who called Smith his *Liebling*, or ‘favorite’, and Charles Darwin (1809–1882), who in his *Descent of Man* (1871) adopted some of Smith’s argument and

called his moral thought “striking.” The book went through fully six revised editions during Smith’s lifetime. Since the nineteenth century, however, Smith’s fame has largely rested on his second book, which must be considered one of the most influential works of the past millennium.

Smith matriculated at the University of Glasgow at the age of fourteen in 1737. He considered his instruction at Glasgow, which was heavy in the classics, quite good; the influence of Hutcheson—whom Smith later referred to as “the never to be forgotten Dr. Hutcheson”—was pronounced. After Glasgow, Smith studied at Balliol College, Oxford, with whose level of instruction Smith was not so impressed: “In the university of Oxford, the greater part of the publick professors have, for these many years, given up altogether even the pretence of teaching” (*Wealth of Nations*, Liberty Fund edition, p. 761). Smith made good use of the libraries at Oxford, however, studying widely in English, French, Greek, and Latin literature. He left Oxford and returned to Kirkcaldy in 1746.

In Edinburgh (1748) Smith began giving “Lectures on Rhetoric and the *Belles Lettres*,” as Kames’s biographer Alexander Tytler reports, focusing on literary criticism and the arts of speaking and writing well. It was during this time that Smith met and befriended Hume, who was to become Smith’s closest confidant and greatest philosophical influence. Smith left Edinburgh to become professor of logic at the University of Glasgow in 1751 and then professor of moral philosophy in 1752. The lectures he gave there eventually crystallized into *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*.

In his *Theory of Moral Sentiments* Smith argues that human beings naturally desire a “mutual sympathy of sentiments” with their fellows, which means that they long to see their own judgments and sentiments echoed in others. Because we all seek out this “sympathy” or harmony, much of social life is a give-and-take whereby people alternately try to moderate their own sentiments so that others can “enter into them” and try to arouse others’ sentiments so that they match their own. This market-like negotiation results in the gradual development of shared habits, and then rules, of judgment about moral matters ranging from etiquette to moral duty. This process also gives rise,

Smith argues, to an ultimate standard of moral judgment, the “impartial spectator,” whose perspective we routinely seek out in judging both our own and others’ conduct. When we use it to judge our own, it is what constitutes our conscience. We consult the impartial spectator simply by asking ourselves what a fully informed but disinterested person would think about our conduct. If such a person would approve, then we may proceed; if he would disapprove, then we should desist.

Morality on Smith’s account is thus an earthly, grounded affair. Although he makes frequent reference to God and the “Author of Nature,” scholars disagree over to what extent such references do any real work in his theory—and thus to what extent Smith’s theory of moral sentiments is a relativistic account, eschewing reliance on transcendent, objective rules of morality.

In 1763, Smith resigned his post at Glasgow to become the personal tutor of Henry Scott, the third duke of Buccleuch, whom Smith accompanied on an eighteen-month tour of France and Switzerland. It was during his travels with the duke that Smith met François Quesnay (1694–1774), Jacques Turgot (1727–1781), and others in France called Physiocrats, who were publicists arguing for a relaxation of trade barriers and for laissez-faire economic policies. Although Smith had long been developing his own, similar ideas, frequent conversations with the Physiocrats no doubt helped him refine and sharpen his ideas. In 1767, Smith returned to Kirkcaldy to continue work on what would become his *Wealth of Nations*.

In *The Wealth of Nations* Smith argues against the mercantilists that wealth is not mere pieces of metal: it is rather the ability to satisfy one’s needs and desires. Since each person wishes to “better his own condition,” the argument of *The Wealth of Nations* is that those policies should be adopted that best allow each of us to do so. It turns out, Smith argues, that markets in which the division of labor is allowed to progress, in which trade is free, and in which taxes and regulations are light are the most conducive to this end. Smith argues that in market-oriented economies based on private property, each person working to better his own condition will increase the supply, and thus lower the price, of whatever good he is producing; this means

that others will be in a better position to afford his goods. Thus each person serving his own ends is led, in Smith’s famous phrase, “by an invisible hand” simultaneously to serve everyone else’s ends as well. Much of *The Wealth of Nations*’s 1000-plus-page bulk is concerned with providing historical evidence supporting this theoretical argument.

By the middle of the nineteenth century, *The Wealth of Nations* was regularly cited in the British Parliament—for example, in the Corn Law debates—and its recommendations of free markets and free trade went on to have great influence in the subsequent political and economic developments not only of the British Isles, but also of most of the Western and even parts of the Eastern world. Smith’s influence on the founding of the United States was also great. Among his readers were Benjamin Franklin (1706–1790), George Washington (1732–1799), Thomas Paine (1737–1809), and Thomas Jefferson (1743–1826). When compiling a “course of reading” in 1799, Jefferson included *The Wealth of Nations* along with John Locke’s *Second Treatise of Government* (1690) and Marie-Jean Caritat de Condorcet’s *Esquisse d’un tableau historique des progrès de l’esprit humaine* (1793; Sketch of the progress of the human spirit) as the essential books. The English historian Henry Thomas Buckle (1821–1862) wrote that *The Wealth of Nations* “is probably the most important book that has ever been written,” including the Bible. Today most countries in the world either rely on some version of Smithian market-based economies or are in the process of creating them.

Smith remained in Kirkcaldy until 1777, when he left to become commissioner of customs in Edinburgh. During this time he visited regularly with friends—including Edmund Burke (1729–1797), the chemist Joseph Black (1728–1799), the geologist James Hutton (1726–1797), the younger William Pitt (1759–1806), and Lord North (1732–1792)—and he took active roles in learned organizations like the Poker Club and the Oyster Club. He also extensively revised his two books for new editions, while additionally working on a “theory and history of law and government.” The latter work was never published, however. One week before he died, Smith summoned Black and Hutton to his quarters and asked that they burn his unpublished manuscripts, a request they had been resisting

for several months. This time Smith insisted. They reluctantly complied, destroying sixteen volumes of manuscripts. It is probable that Smith's theory and history of law and government were among the works that perished in that tragic loss.

Smith was a true polymath: he was master of several languages and their literatures, a historian of the ancient and modern worlds, a philosopher in his own right, and a brilliant observer of human society and behavior. Although he is known today principally as the father of the discipline now known as economics, given the scope and breadth of his work, he is probably better considered the father of sociology.

See also **Capitalism; Enlightenment; Hume, David; Liberalism, Economic; Physiocrats and Physiocracy; Scotland.**

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JAMES R. OTTESON

SMOLLETT, TOBIAS (1721–1771), Scottish novelist, translator, and periodicals editor. Smollett is perhaps best known as the author of the hugely successful picaresque novel *Roderick Random* (1747), as an editor of the monthly magazine *The Critical Review*, and the patriotic periodical *The Briton* (1762–1763), and the xenophobic travel book *Travels through France and Italy* (1766), which details his own experiences of traveling in Europe. He was born Tobias George Smollett in Dumbarton, the son of a Scottish laird, attended Glasgow University to read medicine, and was subsequently apprenticed to a surgeon to learn the trade. In 1741 he traveled to the West Indies as a surgeon's mate in the navy, where he met his wife, Anne Lassells, the daughter of a wealthy plantation owner in Jamaica. He returned with her to London in 1744 to establish himself as a surgeon in Downing Street.

Smollett's career as a surgeon did not flourish. In order to supplement his income, and to satisfy an urge that had inspired him to produce the play *The Regicide* in 1739, he undertook editing, translating, and, subsequently, writing. In 1746 he produced "The Tears of Scotland," a poem in support of Scottish tolerance after the Jacobite uprising of 1745. As a Scot and lifelong supporter of the British union, Smollett was not afraid to court controversy or to be outspoken in his opinions. Indeed, he declared in the preface to his first novel that his "avowed purpose" in writing was to arouse "generous indignation against cruelty and injustice" wherever possible.

Smollett anonymously published his first novel, *Roderick Random* (2 volumes), in 1747 to enormous public and critical approval. As a picaresque tale, a form that Smollett himself believed to be best for a novel, *Roderick Random* has a rambling struc-

ture detailing the life of a hapless, outcast naval surgeon seeking his fortune and a wife, who ultimately emerges at the end of the novel wealthy and married, despite an eventful and at times violent series of events. Following Smollett's success with this novel, he wrote two more tales in a similar style, including *The Adventures of Peregrine Pickle* (2 volumes, 1751 and 1758), which contained many savage caricatures of contemporary figures, including Henry Fielding; and *The Adventures of Ferdinand Count Fathom* (2 volumes, 1753), the story of a charming but treacherous con man in search of a fortune. Neither of these tales enjoyed the success of his first novel, however, leading him to engage in other literary ventures in addition to writing novels.

In 1755, Smollett translated Cervantes's seventeenth-century romance *Don Quixote*, and, in the following year, cofounded *The Critical Review*, which, though not a commercial success, ran for seven years and placed Smollett at the heart of literary London. In the late 1750s, Smollett turned his attention to nonfiction and published *A Compendium of Authentic and Entertaining Voyages* (7 volumes, 1756) and his own *A Complete History of England* (4 volumes, 1757–1758), which sold well and made him financially secure. His fourth novel, *The Adventures of Sir Launcelot Greaves*, appeared serially in *The British Magazine* in 1760.

In the 1760s, after he had suffered with consumption (tuberculosis) for a number of years, Smollett's health began to deteriorate. Despite his ill health, however, he embarked on a new project, *The Briton*, a pro-union periodical that he wrote and edited in the years 1762–1763, but that was eventually killed off by a rival publication, the satirical *North Briton*, edited by John Wilkes. In the same year that his periodical was taken off the press, his only child died suddenly, and Smollett headed for France and Italy, hoping the change of climate would restore both his mind and body. Returning to London in 1765, he published the story of his journey through Europe as a series of anonymous letters in *Travels through France and Italy* (1766), a book that was condemned for its xenophobic portrayal of the French, and prompted Laurence Sterne to rename its author Smelfungus in 1768, but also admired for its frank reporting of his own experiences and his detailed observations of life in the French town of Nice. Smollett returned to France in

1768. Before his death in Livorno in 1771 he wrote and published two further novels, the anonymous and bizarre *The History and Adventures of an Atom* (1786) and, perhaps his most respected work, *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker* (1771), a comic epistolary novel that tells the story of a family's tour through Great Britain.

See also Burney, Frances; Defoe, Daniel; English Literature and Language; Fielding, Henry; Jacobitism; Scotland; Sensibility; Sterne, Laurence.

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ALISON STENTON

SMOTRYTSKYI, MELETII (c. 1577–1633), Orthodox archbishop of Polatsk, bishop of Vitsyebsk and Mstsislaŭ, archimandrite of the monastery of the Vilnius Orthodox Brotherhood of the Descent of the Holy Spirit; subsequently, following his conversion to the Uniate church, archbishop of Hierapolis and archimandrite of the Uniate monastery in Volhynian Derman'; philologist and polemical writer.

Smotrytskyi was born into one of the first documented families of a burgeoning Ruthenian Orthodox intelligentsia: his father Herasym, a client of the palatine of Kiev Kostiantyn Ostrozkyi, was one of the editors of the 1581 Ostrih Bible, the first printing of Holy Writ in Church Slavonic. Meletii's educational path took him from the Orthodox "Academy" at Ostrih to the Jesuit Academy in Vilnius (late 1590s), and then to Protestant universities of western Europe (including Leipzig and Wittenberg in the years around 1606, when he served as preceptor to a young Orthodox nobleman).

Smotrytskyi likely experienced the Union of Brest (1596) while a student of about nineteen years at the Vilnius Jesuit Academy, and his entire career unfolded in the context of the debates that agitated Rus' and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the early seventeenth century. He had returned to Lithuania by 1610, when his *Threnody* appeared at the Orthodox Brotherhood press in Vilnius. The work became a battle cry for the Orthodox, and it brought about royal warrants to arrest the anonymous author and printer and close the Vilnius printing shop.

In the 1610s Smotrytskyi worked on two major projects of "national education," a Ruthenian-language Homiliary Gospel, a sort of Orthodox postil intended to supplant existing Protestant and Catholic versions in Polish (1616), and a grammar of Church Slavonic (1618–1619), the liturgical language of the Orthodox Slavs, which would be supplanted as a textbook only at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

By 1618 Smotrytskyi had become a monk at the Vilnius Orthodox Brotherhood Monastery of the Descent of the Holy Spirit, and in 1620 he was made archbishop of Polatsk, when Patriarch Theophanes of Jerusalem, returning home from a sojourn in Muscovy, consecrated seven bishops to "vacant" Orthodox sees. The sees were in fact occupied by bishops who had joined the Union in 1596, and thus the consecrations were viewed as illegal by Polish-Lithuanian authorities. From his seat in Vilnius (he had also become archimandrite of the influential Brotherhood Monastery in 1620), Smotrytskyi became the leading spokesman in defense of the new Orthodox hierarchy, publishing five lengthy polemical tracts in the years 1621–1623.

From 1623 to 1625, Smotrytskyi made a controversial pilgrimage to the Holy Land, where he encountered Kyrillos Loukaris, one of his former teachers (perhaps at Ostrih), now patriarch of Constantinople. After returning to the Commonwealth, Smotrytskyi began seeking ways to reunite the "Ruthenian nation," and he became a covert Uniate. He was "unmasked" at a Ruthenian Orthodox Church synod held in Kiev in August 1628. He retreated to his new seat as archimandrite of the Volhynian Derman' monastery, where he wrote four major polemical works in the years 1628–1629, now propagating the Union as true Ruthenian Orthodoxy and unmasking the Orthodox intellectual elite (including his own former literary incarnations and Loukaris) as heretics and even crypto-Protestants. On 5 June 1631 Pope Urban VIII made Smotrytskyi archbishop of the "Church of Hierapolis, which is *in partibus infidelium*, under the patriarchate of Antioch." Smotrytskyi died at Derman' in December 1633.

See also Mohyla, Peter; Orthodoxy, Russian; Poland-Lithuania, Commonwealth of, 1569–1795; Reformations in Eastern Europe: Protestant, Catholic,

and Orthodox; Ukraine; Uniates; Union of Brest (1596).

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SMYRNA (İZMİR). İzmir (the Greek Smyrna), nestled at the eastern end of a gulf along the central western Anatolian coast, remained the only port town to escape the Ottoman ruler Bayezid I's hands when he conquered the rest of western Anatolia in 1390. It was not until 1424 that the Ottomans finally absorbed the town. In the subsequent five centuries, İzmir became transformed several times.

A combination of events and structural changes caused these dramatic alterations. In the years immediately before the Ottoman takeover, İzmir was a town divided between a Turkish-Muslim settlement in and around a hill castle, Kadifekale, and a Latin Christian settlement in the small harbor below. In such circumstances, the site could not thrive, and the Ottomans inherited an almost deserted place in 1424. Nor, without a potent navy, could the authorities do much to revitalize the port thereafter. A Venetian raid in 1474 exposed its vulnerability.

The creation of an eastern Mediterranean Pax Ottomanica in the early sixteenth century did little for İzmir. The conquest of Constantinople in 1453 had led to an Ottoman policy that envisioned western Anatolia as a provisioning zone. As part of its strategy, the government discouraged international commerce in İzmir. A reflection of this policy was an almost exclusively Turko-Muslim population of no more than two thousand in 1575.

The combination of new European trading companies and Ottoman political decentralization in the seventeenth century stimulated İzmir's growth. The weakness of the Ottoman center eased foreign manipulation of provincial economies and societies in general. İzmir itself became a "new port city," created by the combined interests of foreign traders and local Ottoman elites. By 1630, İzmir's diverse popu-

lation of perhaps fifty thousand Turkish-Muslims, Armenians, Jews, Greeks, and foreigners had fashioned a cosmopolitan frontier entrepôt, whose wealth was based upon trade in silk, dried fruits, grains, and other goods.

The Ottoman government set out to tame the place. In about 1659, the grand vizier Köprülü Mehmed had a castle, Sancakburnu Kalesi, built at the narrow entrance to the Gulf of İzmir in order to oversee naval activity and shipping. During the following decades, his successors constructed a customs shed, aqueducts, public bath, and other edifices. İzmir maintained much of its autonomy, however. French, English, Dutch, and other foreign communities had carved out such a strong presence in the town that not only did its most vital district become known as "Franks Street," but foreign representatives also shared more and more municipal power with town notables.

The city quickly rebuilt after a calamitous earthquake in 1688. In the eighteenth century, French and British traders used the influence of their ambassadors in Istanbul to hold the central Ottoman government at bay, and negotiated with local notables and native merchants to better their positions in İzmir and its hinterland. As the century progressed, İzmir became a nexus of Mediterranean and European commerce and culture. Its population also remained diverse, and its physical appearance more and more resembled other world cities.

İzmir is at the center of several historiographical debates. Among these are the causes for the city's sudden emergence in the early seventeenth century, its characteristics as an Ottoman, a Mediterranean, or a world city, and its role in the "world economic system."

See also Mediterranean Basin; Ottoman Empire.

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SOCIAL MOBILITY. *See* *Mobility, Social.*

SOCIAL STATUS. *See* *Class, Status, and Order.*

SOCIETY OF JESUS. *See* *Jesuits.*

SOFİIA ALEKSEEVNA (1657–1704; ruled 1682–1689), regent of Russia. The daughter of Tsar Alexis I and his first wife Mariia Miloslavskaia, Sofiia spent her life until 1682 in the privacy of the women’s quarters of the Kremlin palace with her sisters and aunts. She seems to have been well educated by the standards of the time for women. She emerged into view during the confusion after the death of her brother Tsar Fedor III in 1682. The boyars and the patriarch had proclaimed Peter Alekseevich (Peter the Great) tsar over his sickly elder brother Ivan. The musketeers objected and rioted, killing Peter’s uncle and several other boyars. Sofiia emerged as the central figure among Peter’s opponents, as the representative and leader of the Miloslavskii clan, the family of her mother and of Tsar Ivan V (d. 1696). The struggle ended when both boys were proclaimed co-tsars, with Sofiia as regent. In the course of the summer of 1682, she managed to neutralize and suppress a bid for power by the favorite of the musketeers, Prince Ivan Khovanskii, whom she arrested and executed in the fall. For the next seven years she ruled the country as de facto regent with her favorite, Prince Vasilii Vasilevich Golitsyn. Peter’s mother Nataliia Naryshkina and her clan remained unreconciled to the new regime, providing a source of instability at court.

Sofiia was the first woman to rule Russia, if only as regent. In decrees and official rescripts her name came after those of Ivan and Peter, but from 1686 she, too, was usually accorded the title “autocrat.”

Beginning with the audience for the Swedish ambassador in May 1684 she took a more public role in political matters. The exact nature of her personal relationship with Golitsyn has been the subject of romantic fancy, but evidence is sparse. What is certain is that she, not the favorite, made the final decisions.

Sofiia maintained peace with Sweden, and her emissaries negotiated the treaty of Nerchinsk with China, setting the border in Siberia for the next century and a half. After complex negotiations, Russia joined the Holy League of Poland, Austria, Venice, and the papacy against the Ottoman Empire, completing the transition of Russian policy away from concentration on the rivalry with Poland. Two Russian military expeditions against the Crimean Khanate in 1687 and 1689 were unsuccessful and ultimately led to Sofiia’s downfall. In the meantime, her government continued most of the policies of her predecessors.

One exception was in religious affairs. The penalties for religious dissidents (the Old Believers) were drastically strengthened, and the Protestant mystic Quirinus Kuhlmann was arrested and condemned to death. In contrast, foreign Catholics received permission for the first time ever to open churches and bring priests to Russia. Two Jesuits were allowed to come to Moscow to serve the various needs of the foreign Catholic community (Protestant foreigners had long had these rights). The price of these concessions was the alienation of Patriarch Ioakim, the powerful and vigorous head of the church. Ioakim pursued his own agenda of elevating the educational level of the clergy and ultimately secured Sofiia’s support for the Slavonic-Greek-Latin Academy, founded in 1687. Nevertheless, the patriarch remained a supporter of Sofiia’s opponents, the Naryshkin clan and its allies.

Sofiia’s brief regency was also a period of incipient cultural transition, as baroque architecture, knowledge of Polish and Latin, and an acquaintance with the religious culture of Ukraine began to spread among the elite. Sofiia and Golitsyn both encouraged these trends.

The failure of the Crimean campaigns undermined the credibility of Golitsyn and Sofiia, and after the return of the army in 1689, the Naryshkins saw their moment. By that time not only Ioakim

supported them, but also the court of Tsar Ivan. Fearing a possible plot against him in August, Peter and his court went to the Trinity Monastery, where their allies joined them. Peter's camp blamed the secretary Fedor Shaklovityi for this alleged plot and demanded his arrest. In the course of the next weeks Sofia realized that her support among the boyars and the army had evaporated, and by early September she surrendered. Shaklovityi was executed, and Sofia was sent to the Novodevichii convent. There she remained until 1698, when Peter interrogated her about the musketeer revolt of the previous summer. Peter believed that she had been involved in the rebellion, and from then on until her death, Sofia lived in virtual isolation from her sisters and associates. Her irregular status as regent and Golitsyn's military failures ensured her fall.

See also Alexis I (Russia); Old Believers; Peter I (Russia); Russia.

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SONGS, POPULAR. The popular song in early modern Europe was a melody, usually widely known in society, that was set to a poetic text and communicated either in private or public performance or in print. The melodies had origins variously in folk music, tavern singing, comic opera, or vaudeville, all-sung opera, or even hymn singing. In fact, they moved back and forth between such contexts, being set to new words. In this period “vaudeville” had different meanings in different countries, referring to courtly songs in France and “country” ballad or song in England.

Here “popular” should be taken to mean “general” culture, part of what almost everyone was assumed to know, rather than an idiom that was

distinctive of the lower classes or was seen on a lesser cultural level.

In such countries as France, England, and Germany, popular songs were disseminated during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries chiefly by men who both sang and sold them in fairs, most notably on the Pont-Neuf in Paris. The *chansonnières* were part of the *charlatans*, unlicensed trades such as jugglers, magicians, or vendors of medical or cosmetic items. Essential to the *chansonnières*' business was the maintenance of a wide network of connections and news by which to write ballads on topics of general interest. They also formed part of small companies that put on skits in fairs. Editions of songs, which were numerous beginning in the early seventeenth century, became closely linked with political dispute, as in the *Recueil general des chansons de la Fronde* (General collection of songs of the Fronde) of 1649.

In the early eighteenth century the song became institutionalized within the musical theater known variously as opera buffa, *opéra comique*, vaudeville, *Singspiel*, and what was called either English or ballad opera. Their productions combined songs with a spoken text, the latter usually linked to the former in mood rather than plot line. The same songs were attached to dramas in the licensed theaters; by 1700 London playwrights had become concerned that much of the public went to Drury Lane more for the songs than the plays. In both Paris and Vienna some works in these idioms—most notably *Die Entführung aus dem Serail* and *Die Zauberflöte* by Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart (1756–1791) and *Le Déserteur* by Pierre-Alexandre Monsigny (1729–1817)—were by 1789 thought to stand on a level of sophistication equal to that of all-sung opera.

Writing texts for songs became an extremely important aspect of both amusement and politics during the eighteenth century. Robert Darnton shows that chansons evolved in a process of successive, collective authorship that was deeply rooted in aspects of sociability. It served as a central means by which news was spread, became interpreted, and thereby influenced public life anew. A leading aficionado of chansons was Jean-Frédéric Phélypeaux, comte de Maurepas (1701–1781), minister to Louis XV; his collection was published in Émile Raunié's *Chansonnier historique du XVIIIe siècle*

(1879–1884). Some men of letters, most notably Charles Collé (1709–1783), made a career out of writing chansons.

By 1750 editions of the songs in a well-known work that had been done by a famous singer became a major commercial component of music publishing. Tendencies of mass marketing can be detected by 1800 in the production of songs designed to be easy to appreciate by the expanding ranks of people playing and singing at home. Publishers in Britain and Germany pressured composers to write songs on supposedly Irish or Scottish themes that came to be seen as mere fashion and hype in some quarters.

See also Hymns; Mozart, Wolfgang Amadeus von; Music; Popular Culture.

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SOUTH SEA BUBBLE. *See* Economic Crises.

SOVEREIGNTY, THEORY OF. The modern concept of sovereignty owes more to the jurist Jean Bodin (1530–1596) than it does to any other early modern theorist. Bodin conceived it as a supreme, perpetual, and indivisible power, marked by the ability to make law without the consent of any other. Its possession by a single ruler, a group, or the entire body of citizens defined a commonwealth as monarchy, aristocracy, or popular state. Without it a commonwealth was not properly a state at all. In his *Six livres de la république* (1576; Six books of the commonwealth) Bodin came to favor absolute monarchy, but the legacy of medieval juristic ideas and the political conflicts of his time led him into some contradictions and changes of front.

In the sixth chapter of his *Methodus ad Facilem Historiarum Cognitionem* (1566; Method for the easy comprehension of histories) Bodin first discussed the nature of sovereignty, which he called in Latin *soverénitas*. Using a comparative historical method, he classified past and present states and empires and reviewed the opinions of Roman law jurists on the meaning of such terms as *summum imperium* (the highest authority) and *merum imperium* (unqualified authority). He insisted that the mixed state was an impossibility, but at this stage he did not stress the legislative function. It was listed as only the second of five functions of sovereignty, the others being creating magistrates, declaring war and peace, hearing judicial appeals in the last resort, and deciding on life or death where the latter was the prescribed penalty. In *The Commonwealth* making and unmaking law became the sole function, engrossing all the rest. Here Bodin was influenced by Roman law traditions that saw legislative power as command or will, as expressed in the maxim "what pleases the prince has the force of law" (*quod principi placet legis vigorem habet*). His term for sovereignty became *souveraineté* in French and *majestas* in Latin.

The main reason for Bodin's change of heart was probably the desire to outflank theories of legitimate resistance to the French crown advanced by Protestant writers in the contemporary civil wars. However, he did suggest certain limitations on the power of what he termed "royal monarchy," as distinct from lordly and despotic types of rulership where power knew few or no boundaries. In a royal monarchy, such as France, England, Scotland, and Spain, the sovereign was bound to observe divine and natural law; he could not tax his subjects without their consent; he should keep contracts with his subjects; and he was unable to alter certain fundamental laws, such as the laws of succession to the throne. Despite these limitations, the power of a royal sovereign was termed "absolute," and this is not surprising, since Bodin undermined most of these constitutional reservations. The sovereign was the sole judge of divine and natural law; he could tax without consent in emergencies; and he could decide that contracts were no longer operative when, in his view, a subject had ceased to benefit from them. An additional novelty was introduced in *The Commonwealth*. While continuing to insist on the

indivisibility of sovereignty and the impossibility of the mixed state, Bodin made a distinction between the form of the state and the method of its administration. A sovereign might choose to administer his realm using officials of aristocratic or popular origin, thus giving the false impression of mixture.

BODIN'S INTERPRETERS

In the seventeenth century Bodin's idea of absolute sovereignty became influential throughout most of Europe. In France it was absorbed into the prevailing doctrine that kings were appointed by God and responsible to him alone, but its juristic elements remained important and were even strengthened in some respects. The jurists Charles Loyseau (1564–1627) and Cardin Le Bret (1558–1655), for example, eliminated Bodin's view that the sovereign should normally obtain consent to taxation in their respective treatises *Traité des seigneuries* (1608; On lordships) and *De la souveraineté du Roi* (1632; On royal sovereignty). Le Bret invented the celebrated phrase that sovereignty was as indivisible as a point in geometry.

Bodin, whose *Commonwealth* was translated into English in 1606, was often cited in political discourse in England during the early part of the reign of Charles I (1625–1648), but it was not until war broke out between the king and the Long Parliament in 1642 that his concept of sovereignty seemed relevant to English conditions. The militant pamphleteer who later made his peace with the Stuarts, William Prynne (1600–1669), adapted Bodin to claim sovereignty for Parliament without the king in *The Sovereigne Power of Parliaments and Kingdomes* (1643). He also enlisted French sixteenth-century resistance theorists in the parliamentary cause, associating the underlying authority of the people with sovereign power in a way that would have been anathema to Bodin. Opposing polemicists referred at times to Bodin in support of Stuart absolutism, but the general policy of Charles I's advisers was to assert that it was Parliament that had broken the mixed English constitution by asserting a superior authority.

In Germany Johannes Althusius (1577–1638), professor of law at Herborn (Nassau) and syndic of Emden, had close ties to the resistance to Spanish rule in the Netherlands and sympathized with French resistance literature. Like Prynne forty years

later, he linked these ideas with the Bodinian definition of sovereignty, but in a much more logical fashion. His *Politica Methodice Digesta* (1603; Politics systematically analyzed) concluded that in every state Bodinian sovereignty reposed inalienably in the community as a whole, and that rulers and magistrates were mere delegates of the people. This, he asserted, was what Bodin had implied when he held that fundamental constitutional laws belonged to the sovereignty and not to individuals who ruled in name.

Other German jurists resented Bodin's classification of the Holy Roman Empire as an aristocracy and of the emperor as no more powerful than the doge of Venice. Some ingeniously exploited Bodin's qualifications to his theory to make it fit the complexities of the German constitution. Henning Arnisaeus (1576/1579–1636), a physician who acted as political adviser to the king of Denmark, criticized Althusius and defended monarchical sovereignty in a manner closer to Bodin's intentions. His best-known theoretical work, *De Jure Majestatis* (1610; On the right of sovereignty), not only defended Bodin's denial of the mixed state, but refused to admit its equivalent through Bodin's distinction between form of state and method of government. However, the complications in imperial institutions led Arnisaeus to suggest that the attributes of sovereignty could be distributed among several authorities.

Another German theorist, the Hebrew scholar Bartholomäus Keckermann of Gdańsk (1571–1608), used the distinction between form and method to argue in his *Systema Disciplinae Politicae* (1606; System of political science) that the empire was monarchic in form but aristocratic in governance. Perhaps the most discerning German commentator on Bodin's theory of sovereignty was Christoph Besold (1577–1638), who taught jurisprudence at Tübingen and Ingolstadt. He adopted the theory of double sovereignty, in which personal sovereignty (*majestas personalis*) resided in the ruler or in a corporate entity of unequal parts (such as the emperor and the diet), while real sovereignty (*majestas realis*) lay permanently in the community as a whole. The latter, however, could only be exercised as a constituent power when government collapsed and a new constitution was needed. These views were expressed in *Politicorum Libri Duo*

(1618; Two books on politics). Besold also remarked that, if personal sovereignty was shared among several persons in an aristocracy, it was pointless to deny the possibility of the mixed form.

GROTIUS AND PUFENDORF

The idea of constituent power was also implied by the influential Dutch statesman and jurist Hugo Grotius (1583–1645). Although he had some constitutional reservations, Grotius strongly admired Bodin's view of monarchical sovereignty. His best-known work was *De Jure Belli ac Pacis* (1625; On the law of war and peace), in which he preferred the Roman law term *summum imperium* to *majestas*. He suggested two possessors of sovereignty, the proper owner (*subjectum proprium*) and the communal owner (*subjectum commune*), but denied that the latter could be invoked to support resistance. It resembled a theory propounded by Arnisaeus, who held that the whole community or *civitas* existed as a latent corporation to protect property rights.

In 1672 Samuel Pufendorf (1632–1694), a Saxon jurist at Heidelberg who entered the service of the king of Sweden, published his *De Jure Naturae et Gentium* (Of the law of nature and nations), a book comparable with Grotius's *War and Peace*. A student of the German constitution, he was more critical of Bodin than was Grotius, and he generally found German institutions too complex to fit the straitjacket of any political theory. Nevertheless, he described sovereignty in terms of a legal fiction as “a composite moral person (*persona moralis composita*) whose will . . . is deemed the will of all; to the end that it may use and apply the strength and riches of private persons towards maintaining the common peace and security.”

HOBBS, BOSSUET, AND ROUSSEAU

Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679), perhaps the most logical of all the theorists of sovereignty, achieved a level of abstraction in his masterpiece, *Leviathan* (1651), which ignored historical facts and previous thinkers with equal disdain. Superficially, Hobbes's concept of sovereignty appears similar to Bodin's in terms of absolute power, indivisibility, and the voluntarist view of law, but its premises are entirely different. Human beings were not, in terms of Aristotelian organicist imagery, by nature social and political animals: they were egotistical beings whose

mutual hostility had created a savage state of nature from which they were obliged to escape by agreeing with each other to surrender all their rights to a sovereign for the sake of security. Thenceforth the sovereign represented all citizens separately, and in a sense they became the authors of all his acts. They could not, it is true, renounce the right of self-defense, but all the corporate resistance and contract theories of the past were refuted by this new and ruthless doctrine of absolute sovereignty.

The personal rule of Louis XIV (ruled 1643–1715; took personal charge of the government of France from 1661) seemed to contemporaries to incarnate absolute monarchical sovereignty. Indeed the king himself, preparing his memoirs in 1666, said that kings were absolute sovereigns controlling all the property of their subjects, whether clerical or lay, for the needs of the state. Elements of the juristic tradition of sovereignty lay behind this attitude, but the ideology that dominated the reign was that of the divine right of kings. Its principal spokesman was Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet (1627–1704), bishop of Meaux. His *Politique tirée des propres paroles de l'écriture sainte* (composed 1670, published 1709; Politics drawn from the very words of Holy Scripture) expounded this doctrine, but also stressed that the king owed a duty to his subjects and pointed out that his power was absolute but not arbitrary.

In the eighteenth century the concept of absolute sovereignty began to be replaced by a theory of checks and balances defined by Charles-Louis de Secondat, baron de La Brède et de Montesquieu (1689–1755). However, a new kind of sovereignty was devised by the proto-Romantic writer Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778) in *Du contrat social* (1762; The social contract). Rousseau had read Hobbes closely and, like him, based his doctrine on multiple agreements between primitive people to escape the state of nature. At the same time Rousseau detested both Hobbes's premises and his conclusions. Instead of postulating a presocial people involved in a brutal war for survival, Rousseau believed moral sentiment and a desire for the common good had moved humankind to renounce the state of nature. Instead of agreements to surrender individual rights to an absolute ruler, Rousseau proposed primeval agreements to merge all particular rights in a democratic corporate community whose

general will (*la volonté générale*) was the sovereign. Since the general will was always devoted to the common good, its decisions must always be morally right: "Now, as the sovereign is formed entirely of the individuals who compose it, it has not, nor could it have, any interest contrary to theirs. . . . The sovereign by the mere fact that it is, is always all that it ought to be."

Rousseau's formula bore the shades of earlier theorists of sovereignty. It reflected Bodin's indivisibility and legislative power, Althusius's communal sovereignty, and even Pufendorf's "composite moral person whose will is deemed the will of all" (see above). The problem was that Rousseau had no clear idea of how the general will could be determined. He did not believe in representation, and he regarded majority decisions with suspicion. His theory seemed to make sense only in the context of an ancient Greek city-state society, where the free citizen could realize his full potential. This was not the way his ideas were applied in the French Revolution, where Jacobin demagogues declaimed that they alone were the bearers of the nation's general will.

See also **Absolutism; Aristocracy and Gentry; Authority, Concept of; Autocracy; Bodin, Jean; Bossuet, Jacques-Bénigne; Democracy; Divine Right King-ship; Grotius, Hugo; Hobbes, Thomas; Law; Louis XIV (France); Monarchy; Montesquieu, Charles-Louis de Secondat de; National Identity; Natural Law; Political Philosophy; Republicanism; Rousseau, Jean-Jacques; Tyranny, Theory of.**

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J. H. M. SALMON

SPAIN. Although the term "Spain," from Latin *Hispania*, had long been used to refer to the greater part of the Iberian Peninsula, that nation did not become a political reality until the marriage of Isabella of Castile (1474–1506) to Ferdinand of Aragón (ruled 1479–1516) united the kingdom of Castile and León with the crown of Aragón. Castile added the Canary Islands during the fifteenth century, Granada in 1492, Melilla in 1497, and most of Navarre after 1512. The crown of Aragón possessed the kingdoms of Aragón and Valencia, the county of Barcelona (Catalonia), and the Balearic Islands. Between 1707 and 1716, Philip V (ruled 1700–1746), first king of the Bourbon dynasty, unified these regions into the single kingdom of Spain, with its sole capital at Madrid.

Prior to the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1714), the crown of Aragón also held the Mediterranean kingdoms of Sardinia (after 1323), Sicily (from 1409), and Naples (from 1443). Castile, beginning in 1492, acquired a vast empire in the Americas and the Philippine Islands, along with a few towns and forts on the North African coast.

GEOGRAPHY

Spain occupies 85 percent of the Iberian Peninsula. It borders France to the north, the boundary defined since 1659 by the crest of the Pyrenees, following Spain's cession to France of Roussillon and most of Cerdagne. To the west Spain borders Portugal, with the boundary running through rugged, sparsely inhabited country save in its southern reaches, where the Rio Guadiana defines it. For the rest, Spain is surrounded by sea: its northwest and southwest coasts face the Atlantic, its east coast, the Mediterranean. Some eleven miles of the Strait of Gibraltar separate Spain from North Africa.

Spain is mountainous, and its climate, apart from the rainy northwest, ranges from Mediterranean to semiarid. Much of Castile is a high tableland, known as the *meseta*. Barely half Spain's terrain was historically productive, only a fraction rich. Four important rivers, the Duero, Tagus, Guadiana, and Guadalquivir, flow west to the Atlantic. None is navigable for other than small craft until it nears the sea. Each defines a valley with mountains separating it from the others. Of the rivers that flow east, only the Ebro is long, allowing barge traffic in its lower reaches. Shorter rivers that flow east water fertile soils in Catalonia and Valencia and irrigate semiarid *vegas* ('fertile plains') in Murcia and eastern Granada.

For most of the early modern period the historic kingdoms and principalities of Spain defined its political geography. The largest kingdom, Castile, incorporated many others: Galicia in the northwest; the principality of Asturias and the Basque lordships of Vizcaya and Guipúzcoa facing the bay of Biscay; a third Basque lordship, Álava, inland of them; León and Old Castile in the Duero valley; the kingdom of Badajoz, today's Extremadura; New Castile, often called the kingdom of Toledo; the kingdoms of Jaén, Córdoba, and Seville along the course of the Guadalquivir; and, in the mountainous southeast, the kingdoms of Granada and Murcia. The Bourbon King Ferdinand VI (ruled 1746–1759) replaced Castile's historic kingdoms with twenty-four provinces in 1749, each based in a populous capital. In 1799, further subdivision increased the number to thirty-two.

POPULATION AND LANGUAGES

The first attempt at a modern census occurred in 1768. Earlier population figures derive from counts of heads of household (*vecinos*), usually undertaken by bishops. Sometimes their figures are precise, more often they are rounded guesses. Demographers use multipliers that range from 4 to 6, with 4.5 most common. Philip II (ruled 1556–1598) undertook a detailed census, the *Relaciones topográficas*, but data for only a few regions were actually collected. His counselors thought Castile had about 1,250,000 households. Around 1500 there may have been 6,000,000 Castilian subjects, another 100,000 in Navarre, 300,000 in Aragón, 400,000 in Catalonia, and 600,000 in Valencia. Most were Roman Catholics. In 1492 at least 40,000 Jews, of a population that had numbered over 200,000, chose to leave rather than accept Christianity. The rest became or had earlier become "New Christians," mainly under pressure, and were known as *Conversos*. Many Muslims left after 1500, when Islam was proscribed; most, however, some 400,000, remained and accepted Christianity, as often as not superficially, and became Moriscos.

During the sixteenth century Spain's population grew until checked in the late sixteenth century by agrarian crises and recurring epidemics that decreased it by as much as 20 percent by 1660. In 1609–1611, over 200,000 Moriscos were expelled to North Africa. Economic shifts depopulated many northern Castilian cities, even as Madrid and Seville grew. Emigration to the Americas attracted a few thousand each year, while endless foreign wars took more. Growth in population did not return till after 1680, and the 7,500,000 estimated for the early eighteenth century matched the figure for the sixteenth. By the end of the eighteenth century, Spain's population had reached 11,000,000, with much of the growth in Catalonia, Valencia, the Basque Country, and Andalusia. Apart from the overpopulated capital of Madrid and its vicinity, the Castilian heartland recovered more slowly.

Spain's people spoke several languages. Castilian in its several dialects prevailed in Old and New Castile, Andalusia, Murcia, old Aragón, and most of Navarre. In Galicia people spoke Gallego, a dialect very close to Portuguese. In Catalonia, Valencia, and the Balearics, people spoke Catalan. All these were Romance languages and mostly mutually intel-



ligible. In the Basque Country and parts of Navarre, people spoke Basque, a unique language with no relation to the Romance languages. At court, for government, in correspondence, printing, and literature, Castilian came to dominate. Antonio de Nebrija published a grammar for Castilian in 1492, but, until the establishment of the Royal Academy in 1713, spelling continued to vary widely. Catalan and Galician literature, rich in the Middle Ages, would experience a revival in the nineteenth century.

ECONOMY

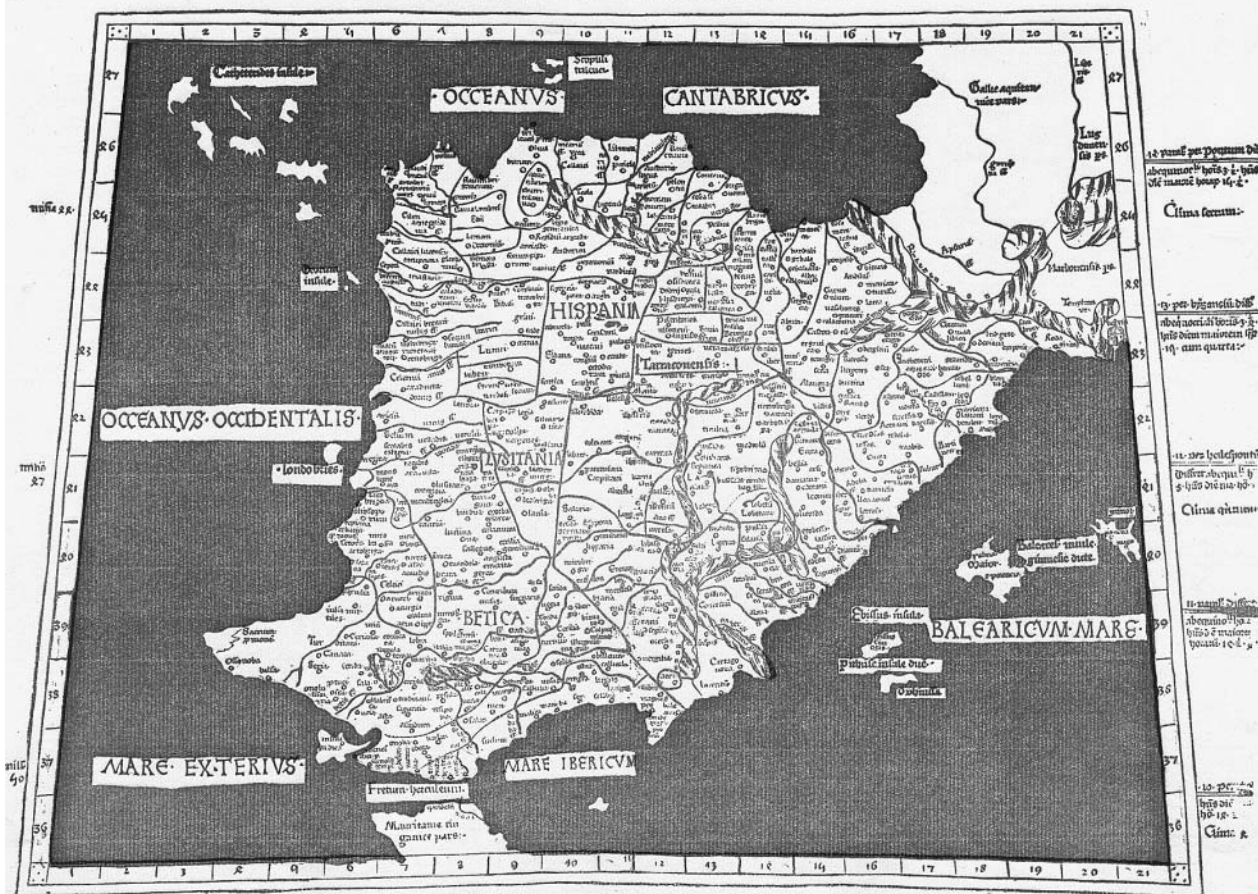
Most Spaniards worked the soil and lived at a subsistence level. They dwelled communally in villages, towns, and cities. Many peasant proprietors were found across northern Spain, but in the south large estates (*latifundia*) prevailed, owned by a few and

worked by landless laborers. In the seventeenth century high taxes and hard times forced many from the land, and Spain had a conspicuous number of vagabonds. Where lands were arable, cereal crops predominated, save in Valencia, where rice provided an alternate staple. Maintained close to dwellings, gardens provided vegetables and fruit, and poultry provided meat and eggs. Orchards were widespread and Spanish citrus fruit, fortified wines, and olive oil proved profitable exports. While scrub woods suited pigs, much of Spain's land was suitable only for grazing cattle and sheep. Wool provided a major export. Each year vast flocks of sheep walked from winter pastures in southern New Castile and Andalusia to summer pastures in Spain's northern mountains. In a trade that had its ups and downs, Burgos became the center for shipping wool to the

Primer Mapa conocido de España

Cl. Ptolomeo, Siglo II. Impreso en Ulm, 1482

Es de notar en la parte sur de este mapa, la ciudad de Asil (Fernandob), actualmente llamada Ceuta, hacia las costas españolas de Marruecos y sus correspondencias, plantadas en España la religión, las artes y las ciencias y las lenguas de los hebreos. [San Gregorio VII].



Spain. A reproduction of the first printed map of Spain, from the 1482 edition of Ptolemy's *Geographia* published in Ulm, Germany. It was the first edition to contain woodcut maps, which were drawn by Nicolas Germanus, a Benedictine monk. Ptolemy's work was translated from Greek to Latin in 1406 and disseminated throughout Europe. Early Renaissance geographers used it as their model, adding new maps to the Ptolemaic maps of the classical world. MAP COLLECTION, STERLING MEMORIAL LIBRARY, YALE UNIVERSITY

mills of northwest Europe. Wool shipments to Italian looms were also considerable.

Given Spain's topography, cities of 20,000 people and more, or towns greater than 10,000, generally stood thirty to forty miles distant from one another. Each served as the economic, political, and ecclesiastical hub for its surrounding villages, and provided a focus for the larger regional economy. The lack of navigable rivers and the many mountain barriers limited long-distance transport as well as communication. Most transported goods rode the backs of pack animals. Before the serious improvement of roads in the eighteenth century, wagon

transport seldom left its home region. Until that century, little was done for inland water traffic, despite discussion and periodic planning.

The chief regional economies were those of the major river valleys, the valleys of Catalonia and Valencia, and the maritime economies of the north coast, the gulf of Cádiz, and the coasts of Granada, Murcia, Valencia, and Catalonia. Barcelona, a great medieval commercial center, had been devastated by fourteenth-century plagues, and not till the eighteenth century did it reach its former prosperity. Until that century, local privilege in Castile and the Aragonese realms added further restrictions to in-

ternal commerce. Thereafter, Spain's maritime regions became more closely linked, with a revived Catalonia and the Basque Provinces leading.

Manufacture was chiefly limited to local markets. In ironware, military hardware, and shipbuilding, the Basque Provinces dominated, although ships were built along the entire north coast. Old Castile for a long time had a lively textile industry, but that declined in the seventeenth century because foreign goods were cheaper. In the eighteenth century textiles revived, but mainly in Catalonia and Valencia. Catalonia also built ships, though primarily for the Mediterranean. In the sixteenth century Barcelona's arsenal built Spain's Mediterranean galleys, and Málaga founded bronze cannon.

With the opening up of the Americas, their commerce became an important element in Spain's economy and fed many exaggerated notions of Spain's wealth. The crown made Seville the center of American commerce in 1503, but it soon became a clearinghouse. The influx of treasure in the sixteenth century drove Spanish prices up till Spain could only compete through tariffs and restrictions. Other parts of Europe, with longer experience and better resources, produced cheaper goods that came to dominate the American trade, so long as they cleared Seville. By the mid-seventeenth century, Spain could not even provide sufficient shipping for its American trade.

The European wars of the Habsburg dynasty, a heavy tax burden, and the diversion of treasure, goods, and people to warfare abroad, were the chief causes of Spain's economic woes. In the seventeenth century, inflation was compounded by the debasement of currency. In finance and banking, foreigners, above all the Genoese, supplanted less-experienced Spaniards and took their cut. Though popular theorists known as *arbitristas* proposed plans for economic reform, many of them harebrained, little was achieved before the eighteenth century, when Spain made a remarkable economic recovery under more efficient government, even if its Bourbon rulers continued to go to war.

The recovery was most marked on the periphery, where population and industry grew in what became a relatively free market. Influenced by Enlightenment ideas, many of Spain's elite formed societies of *amigos del país* ('friends of the country')

and stimulated improvements in education, local industry, and agriculture, while the crown promoted agricultural colonies in long-deserted areas. Economic recovery enabled Spain to tighten control over commerce with its empire, which, along with positive results, bred Spanish-American resentment and inflamed aspirations for independence after 1800.

SOCIETY

Spanish society was based on the three Estates: clergy, nobles, and commoners. The clergy was entered by vocation, the others by birth, although service or money might bring a commoner noble status. Spanish religious life was strong, and the church rich, attracting some 200,000 men and women to the clergy at any time. For ambitious people of humble origins, it offered an avenue to fortune and power. In annual income Spain's primate, the archbishop of Toledo, was second only to the pope.

Perhaps 400,000 Spaniards claimed noble status. At the top stood the *grandees*, whose number grew from twenty-five in 1520 to 119 by 1787. With great wealth and often great debts, they maintained their domains through *mayorazgo* ('primogeniture'), and dominated provincial life. Like the number of *grandees*, the number of other nobles with titles grew from perhaps a hundred in 1500 to 585 in 1787. The Bourbon monarchs after 1700 opened a new round in the creation of titles to reward those who served them. With few exceptions, Spanish titles were personal, usually based on one of the holder's domains. Alba de Tormes, from which the duke of Alba's title comes, is simply a lordship, not a duchy. Many without titles possessed domains and were known simply as *señores de vasallos*, 'lords of vassals'. The term *vassal* in Spain, where vestigial feudalism was limited to Aragón and Catalonia, meant anyone under a lord's jurisdiction.

For those claiming noble status, but without domains, the terms *hidalgo* ('nobleman') and *caballero* ('knight') were loosely applied. One was born a *hidalgo*; the king could create a *caballero*, most often as a reward for military service. All natives of some regions, most notably Guipúzcoa, Vizcaya, and Navarre, claimed *hidalgo* status.

Most Spaniards, at whatever economic level and whether they lived in town or country, were com-



Spain. This Ptolemaic woodblock map of Spain is from Sebastain Münster's 1542 edition of the *Geographia*. At the time of this map, Spain was completing a long process of unification. The last Moorish kingdom, Granada, was conquered in 1492 and the expulsion of the Jews followed soon after. The "Lusitania" on the map is the historic name for Portugal, independent since the twelfth century but claimed by Spain during the Spanish Captivity of 1580–1640. MAP COLLECTION, STERLING MEMORIAL LIBRARY, YALE UNIVERSITY

moners. Unlike the clergy and nobility, they were subject to direct taxes and were often referred to as *pecheros* ('taxpayers').

GOVERNMENT

A monarchy, Spain came under royal jurisdiction. The crown provided justice, made law, organized defense, upheld the church, and collected taxes. From the early sixteenth century, Spanish rulers resided chiefly in Castile and appointed viceroys to their Aragonese and other dominions. To assist the sovereign at court, a system of councils developed that continued through the seventeenth century. The Council of State advised on high policy for all the sovereign's possessions. For Spain there were

councils for Castile and Aragón that dealt with administration and law. The Council of War handled military and naval matters. Spain's overseas empire was the business of the Council of the Indies. As Castile provided most of the revenues, its Council of Finance set fiscal policy, largely a matter of struggling with crown debts. The poorer Aragonese realms contributed little, and that with strings. A Council of Military Orders, of which the king became grand master, managed the orders' properties. Most notorious was the Supreme Council of the Inquisition, established in 1480, with jurisdiction over Christians throughout Spain, an organization suspected of being used for political as well as religious ends.

Spain's Bourbon kings after 1700 eliminated the councils, regarded as clumsy and dilatory, save for an honorific Council of State. In their place they appointed responsible ministers for justice, finance, foreign affairs, interior, army, navy, and overseas possessions. Captains general replaced viceroys in the former Aragonese realms and Navarre. In Castile, hereditary offices were suppressed and captaincies general of maritime regions became appointive.

If the sovereign ruled all Spain, at the bottom, in villages, towns, and cities, noble and taxpaying householders elected councils on which both commoners and nobles served. While female heads of household with underage children might not hold office, they enjoyed limited voting rights until they remarried or a son came of age.

Into the major cities of Castile that came directly under its jurisdiction, the crown sent *corregidores* ('magistrates') to look after its interests. Most *corregidores* were well trained in law, and tended to dominate elected counselors, part-timers who had their own private interests to look after. In fortress towns, the *corregidor* was often a soldier, who was assisted by a legist (a specialist in civil law). In the Aragonese kingdoms cities retained greater autonomy until Spain's Bourbon rulers introduced *corregidores* into them. Everywhere they increased *corregidores'* powers, and later appointed intendants (governors) to each province with even greater authority.

Smaller towns and villages might come under the crown's jurisdiction, or that of an ecclesiastical or secular lord, or the nearest city. It was jurisdiction that defined a seignorial domain and produced income through offices, taxes, dues, and fines. Both jurisdictions and offices were often for sale. The lord of a domain, whether king, churchman, or noble, usually owned some lands and businesses in it, but hardly all. Most belonged to vassals, whether noble or common. Much land, especially pastures and woods, was considered common, and there were understood rights to grazing, cutting wood, hunting, and fishing. In Castile *señores* might appoint their own *corregidores* to villages. Villages often sought greater liberty with payments to crown or lord.

In the provision of justice and making of law, Spain's sovereign was in theory absolute, bound only by divine and natural law, and the fundamental laws of Spain, such as the right of female succession. Legal advisers assisted the sovereign. Two chancelleries, in Valladolid and Granada, served Castile as high appellate courts, with broad authority to supervise municipal and seignorial courts. *Audiencias*, lesser appellate courts, existed in Seville and elsewhere. The Aragonese realms had their own appellate system, and Aragón itself had a *justiciar*, who might challenge the king's rulings. After the Chief Justiciary in Saragossa joined a revolt in 1590, the office was suppressed. Under the Bourbon dynasty, Spain's court system was centralized and further refined.

The church served in many respects as a branch of government. The pulpit was the surest way to reach the entire population. The church was also a great landholder. Churchmen served in high office for the crown. Through concordats with the papacy, the crown gradually gained the right to nominate Spain's bishops for papal approval. Education, hospitals, and feeding the poor were the church's business. In theory, Spaniards tithed, though a third of the tithe went to the crown.

For revenues the crown derived many rights from Roman law, including customs and the royal fifth of minerals, which extended to the gold and silver mines of the Americas. Some rights to salt flats and customs duties had been transferred to nobles during the later Middle Ages, but from the reign of Philip II the crown gradually recovered them. Much of the historic crown domain had been transferred as well, but by Ferdinand and Isabella's acquisition of the grand masterships of the Military Orders of Santiago, Calatrava, Alcántara, and Montesa, the crown regained extensive, though seldom rich, domains. These soon became encumbered with debts.

On Castile, richer than the Aragonese realms at the time of union, fell the chief burden of direct taxes till the advent of the Bourbons. After 1538 nobles no longer sat in the Castilian Cortes ('parliament'), which voted subsidies and approved tax increases. Only thirty-six delegates, two each from eighteen royal towns, attended. While stubborn, they generally yielded to the crown's demands.



Spain. This curious map of the Iberian Peninsula is from Edward Wells's atlas *A New Sett of Maps Both of Ancient and Present Geography* published in a number of editions in the early eighteenth century. An Oxford geographer, Wells intended the atlas as an instructional tool for students, perhaps explaining the stylized printing and relative lack of interior detail. Wells was also a tutor to young William, duke of Gloucester, hence the dedication in the title cartouche. MAP COLLECTION, STERLING MEMORIAL LIBRARY, YALE UNIVERSITY

From Moorish times the crown held the right to the *alcabala*, in theory a ten-percent tax on sales and business transactions. Its actual rate was lower and required bargaining with the Cortes for its collection by municipal corporations, and increasingly by royal tax collectors and agents of creditors. Only reluctantly, because of mounting debt and repeated bankruptcies, did the crown agree to levies on basic foodstuffs. The Cortes also granted periodic subsidies in addition to the sums raised through the *alcabala*. As the delegates to the Cortes largely came from the elite, the tax burden fell unduly on the poor. Church wealth provided another big source of royal revenue, mainly arranged through

the papacy, on the argument that Spain crusaded against infidels and heretics.

The Bourbon dynasty, which summoned the Cortes only to acclaim succession to the crown, proved unable to overhaul the Castilian tax structure, but, by eliminating regional privileges in the Aragonese realms, it increased revenues from Catalonia and Valencia as prosperity returned to those areas. From the mid-seventeenth century, corporations of tax farmers undertook much of the revenue collection. Beginning in the early eighteenth century, government finances improved and debt began to decline. Ferdinand VI, whose reign was peaceful, saw a surplus. Mexican silver financed the

wars of Charles III (ruled 1759–1788), but with the coming of the French Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars, debt mounted and government finances turned chaotic.

EDUCATION AND CULTURE

Education was in the hands of the church. Colleges and universities, established in the Middle Ages, concentrated on theology and canon and civil law. To career-oriented students law had the greatest appeal. Science was pursued largely outside the university. Interest in navigation led to an academy of mathematics in Madrid in 1582, while the exotic plants of empire encouraged botanical studies. Though Philip II brought anatomist Andreas Vesalius (1514–1564) to Spain, Spanish medicine remained undistinguished before the work of Andrés Piquer (1711–1772) at the University of Valencia.

Spanish literature of the “Golden Age” peaked with *Don Quixote* by Miguel de Cervantes (1547–1616). Theater flourished with Lope de Vega (1562–1635), Tirso de Molina (1583–1648), and Calderón de la Barca (1600–1681), poetry with St. John of the Cross (1542–1591) and Luis de Góngora (1561–1627). Tomás Luis de Victoria (c.1548–1611) proved a giant of Renaissance music. The Cretan El Greco (1541–1614) caught Spain’s religious fervor in paint, while Diego de Velázquez (1599–1660) took painting to unsurpassed levels. For all its renewed prosperity, however, the eighteenth century produced little remarkable, apart from the powerful art of Francisco de Goya (1746–1828), and some good music, with that of Antonio Soler (1729–1783) perhaps the best.

POLITICAL HISTORY, 1474–1516

Ferdinand and Isabella put an end to endemic civil war, restored government, and in 1492 completed the seven-hundred-year “reconquest” of Spain from the Moors with the conquest of Granada. They expelled Spain’s Jews, avowedly to prevent those Jews who had become Christian from backsliding. Also in 1492 Isabella commissioned Christopher Columbus to seek Asia by sailing west. His discoveries brought an American empire to Spain.

Rebellion by the Muslims of Granada brought expulsion after 1500 of those who did not accept

Christianity. Perhaps 400,000 remained in Spain as New Christian Moriscos, suspected nevertheless by Old Christian Spaniards of insincerity and collaboration with Barbary corsairs and the Ottoman Turks.

Ferdinand’s foreign policy led to the dynastic marriage of Princess Joanna to Archduke Philip, son of the Habsburg Holy Roman emperor Maximilian I. The deaths of her only brother Juan, older sister Isabel, and Isabel’s infant son made Joanna her parents’ heir. When Isabella died in 1504, Queen Joanna (1504–1555) and her consort, Philip I, succeeded to Castile. Philip died in 1506 and Ferdinand became regent for Joanna, who was known as *la loca* (“the Mad”), deemed unfit to rule and confined to a palace at Tordesillas.

HABSBURG SPAIN, 1516–1700

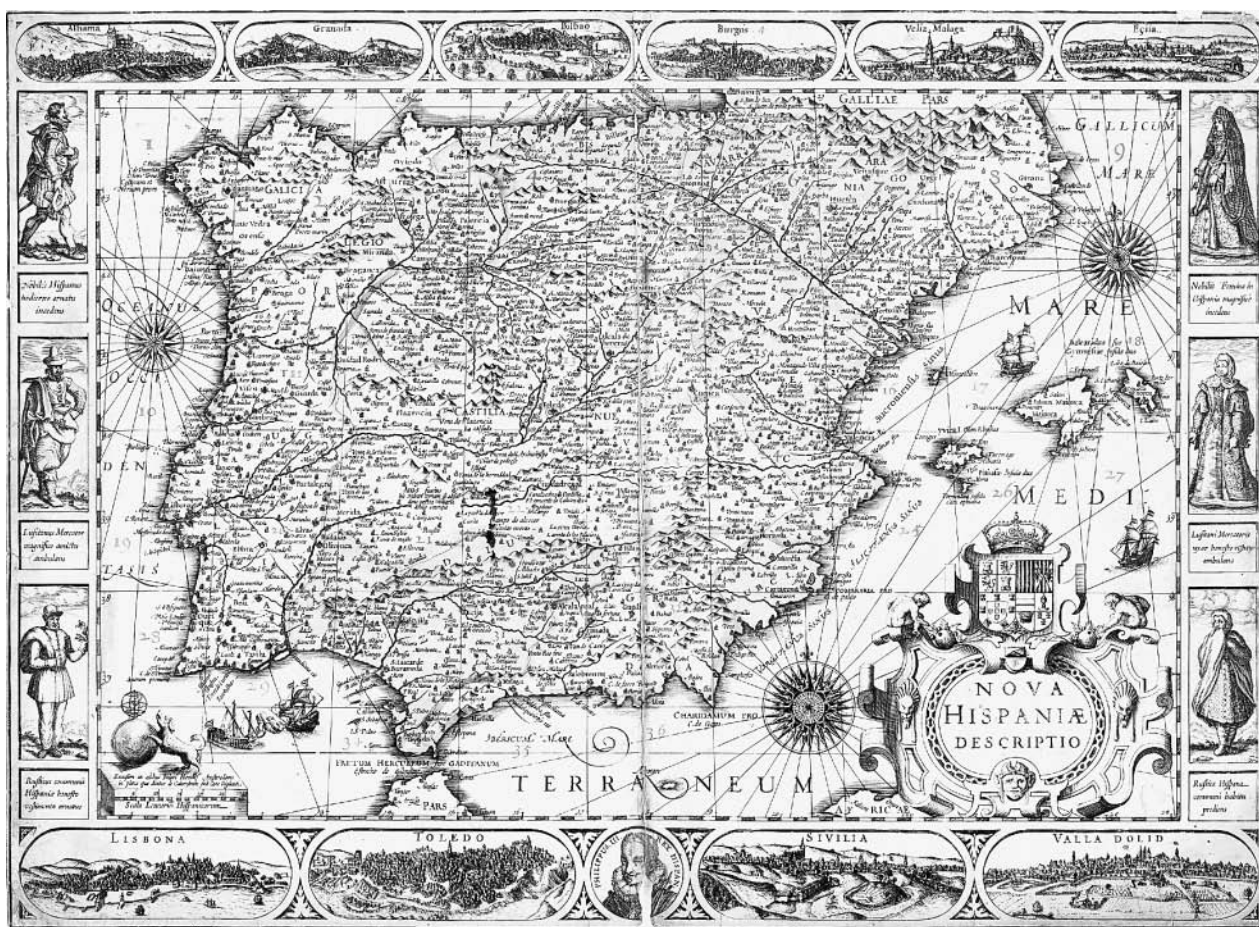
When Ferdinand died in 1516, Joanna’s Habsburg son Charles (Carlos I, ruled 1516–1556) succeeded to Castile, Aragón, and the Italian possessions. Born in the Low Countries, which he inherited from his father, Charles also inherited the Austrian lands on Maximilian’s death in 1519, and was elected Holy Roman emperor Charles V (ruled 1519–1558). Dunning Spain for money, Charles hurried to Germany in 1520, provoking many Castilian towns to rise in the revolt of the *Comuneros*. Feeling threatened, the landed nobility rallied to Charles and crushed the revolt. A revolt in Valencia that mixed urban grievances and hostility to Moriscos was also crushed by the nobility.

Charles bequeathed his Austrian inheritance to his brother Ferdinand in 1522 and returned to Spain to restore his rule, yet after 1530 he spent little time in Spain. Wars with France in defense of his Low Countries and Italian possessions, with German Lutherans and the Ottoman Turks, drained his energies and increased Spain’s debts. In 1556 he abdicated to his Spanish-born son Philip II (ruled 1556–1598). Philip wished to improve government in Spain, but became embroiled in foreign wars. He began his reign with a bankruptcy in 1557 that allowed him to renegotiate his debts. Gaining an edge on France at the battle of St. Quentin (1557), he achieved a favorable peace at Cateau-Cambrésis (1559). Both he and the king of France feared the spread of Protestant heresy. Extirpated by the Inquisition in Spain, Protestantism would prove the

chief issue in the Low Countries, where growing unrest led to open revolt in 1568. By 1580 the Low Countries had divided into a Protestant, Dutch-dominated United Netherlands in the north and the “Spanish” Netherlands in the south. Battling the Dutch Revolt proved a drain on both the Spanish treasury and manpower.

In the same years, Ottoman Turkish ambitions fired conflict in the Mediterranean, and in 1568–1571 the Moriscos of Granada rebelled. Though Philip’s half-brother Don Juan of Austria crushed the Morisco revolt and, in league with the pope and Venice, defeated the Turkish navy at Lepanto (1571), Philip could not sustain simultaneous wars in the Mediterranean and Low Countries. In 1575 he declared bankruptcy again, and in 1578 achieved a truce with the Turks.

In 1580 he annexed Portugal when its legitimate male line died out, and acquired Portugal’s Asian empire with its African way stations. Increasingly fearful of his power, both Protestant England and Catholic France fed the Dutch revolt and attacked Philip’s overseas empire and treasure routes. In 1588 Philip launched his great armada to overthrow Queen Elizabeth and restore England to Roman Catholicism, or at least compel her to cease aiding the Dutch. The armada was defeated, but an English attack on Portugal in 1589 also failed. That year Protestant Henry IV succeeded to the French throne. Philip encouraged Catholic rebels and sent his army of Flanders into France against Henry. In 1590, local issues led to a brief revolt in Aragón. By 1595, Philip was at war with the Dutch, England, and France. In 1596 an Anglo-Dutch fleet sacked



Spain. This map was published by Jan Jansson in Amsterdam about 1626. Around the top and bottom borders of the map are several views of Spanish cities (and a portrait of Philip III), while the side borders contain illustrations showing the dress of the Spanish nobility, merchant class, and peasants. MAP COLLECTION, STERLING MEMORIAL LIBRARY, YALE UNIVERSITY

Cádiz. Philip vainly counterattacked with armadas in 1596 and 1597, and again declared bankruptcy. In 1598 he made peace at Vervins with Henry IV, now Catholic, and tried to separate the Low Countries from Spain by bestowing them on his daughter Isabel and her husband, Archduke Albert.

Though disease and famine racked Spain in 1599–1601, Philip III (ruled 1598–1621) persisted in war with England and the Dutch. Winning no advantage, he made peace in 1604 in London with James I of England, and in 1609 accepted a Twelve Years' Truce with the Dutch, but refused to relinquish his claims on their lands. Blame for Spain's shortcomings fell on his *valido* ('favorite'), Francisco Gómez de Sandoval y Rojas (1553–1625), duke of Lerma. Unsuccessful abroad and facing economic problems at home, Spain's government expelled the Moriscos, who did not seem sufficiently assimilated and were suspected of conspiring with North Africa. In 1618, war in central Europe involving the Austrian Habsburgs sucked in Spain as well.

In 1621 Philip III died, the Low Countries reverted to the Spanish monarchy when Albert died childless, and the truce with the Dutch expired. Sixteen-year-old Philip IV (ruled 1621–1665) ascended the throne, while a new *valido*, Don Gaspar de Guzmán (1587–1645), count-duke of Olivares, acquired direction of policy. He determined to make Philip IV the greatest of sovereigns, though most Spaniards had become disillusioned by endless wars, heavy taxes, and relentless recruiting. Olivares knew that Castile bore a disproportionate share of the monarchy's burdens and called for a Union of Arms, which would require more from the Aragonese realms and Portugal. Opposition proved immediate. After early victories, the tide of war turned against the Spanish and Austrian Habsburgs. In 1628 the Dutch captured a treasure fleet, impairing Spain's credit even as Olivares pushed into the Mantuan succession crisis that brought war to Italy. In 1635, France openly joined the anti-Habsburg forces it had long aided, and in 1639 the Dutch shattered Spain's last great armada in the battle of the Downs.

Early in 1640 Olivares's policies provoked rebellion in Catalonia. At the end of that year Portugal, its empire savaged by Spain's Dutch foes, de-

clared independence under John IV of Braganza. The growing cry for Olivares's removal succeeded in 1643, when Philip dismissed him. Don Luis de Haro took over direction of policy and sought peace. In 1648 Philip conceded Dutch independence at Münster, but war with France continued over holdings both crowns claimed. Even as Philip recovered Catalonia in 1655, England joined France against Spain. Beaten, in 1659 Philip signed the Peace of the Pyrenees, which both ceded territory and gave his eldest daughter Maria Teresa as bride to Louis XIV of France. Though she renounced all claims to Spain's throne for herself and her heirs, most jurists held that she could not bind them. When Philip IV died in 1665, his sickly four-year-old son Charles II (ruled 1665–1700) became king. Charles's sister, Margarita, married Emperor Leopold I (ruled 1658–1705).

The reign of Charles proved the nadir of Spain's fortunes, though after 1680 there was some faint hope for recovery. Always sickly, he sired no offspring. Bourbon Louis XIV and Habsburg Leopold I each sought to win Spain's throne for a candidate of his dynasty, while Louis nibbled at Charles's possessions that bordered France. In Spain Juan José de Austria (1629–1679), Philip IV's bastard, and the count of Oropesa, chief minister (1685–1691), struggled to maintain government while England and the Dutch tried to arbitrate the anticipated Spanish succession by partition of the inheritance among rival candidates. But Charles rejected partition and Spaniards supported him. Irritated by the Habsburg party at court and aware that France, not Austria, had a navy, Charles's counselors, led by Cardinal Portocarrero of Toledo, persuaded Charles to will his inheritance to Philip (1683–1746), duke of Anjou, grandson of Maria Teresa and Louis XIV, who became Philip V of Spain.

BOURBON SPAIN, 1700–1808

On Charles's death (1 November 1700), Louis accepted Charles's will and dispatched Philip V (ruled 1700–1724, 1724–1746) to Spain. Leopold declared war and claimed Spain for his younger son Charles. In 1702 England and the Dutch joined Leopold in the War of the Spanish Succession. When it ended in 1713, Philip retained only Spain and its overseas empire. Aided by Frenchman Jean Orry, dedicated ministers undertook fruitful re-

forms. In 1724 Philip abdicated to his son Luis, who quickly died, and Philip resumed the throne. His second wife, Elisabeth Farnese, involved Spain in wars that successfully won the Two Sicilies for her son Charles and Parma for her son Felipe. Philip and his son Ferdinand VI (ruled 1746–1759) continued to enjoy the services of ministers committed to improvements, such as Zenón de Somodevilla (1702–1781), marquis of La Ensenada. As Ferdinand was childless, Charles III (ruled 1759–1788) came to Spain from the Two Sicilies.

His enlightened reign saw Spain prosper, after the so-called Esquilache riots of 1766, spurred by the high cost of bread, prompted further reform. Modernizing ministers included the counts of Aranda, Campomanes, and Floridablanca, and Gaspar de Jovellanos (1744–1811), the most renowned. Threatened, the church and old nobility opposed many reforms, and in 1767 Charles expelled the Jesuits, but the Inquisition, an embarrassment to many, survived. Spain allied with France against Britain in the war of American Independence. With Louisiana ceded to Spain by France in 1763, and California opened to colonization, the empire reached its greatest extent.

A year after Charles IV (ruled 1788–1808) succeeded his father, revolution erupted in France. Spain joined the antirevolutionary coalition and went to war. When the regicides who guillotined Louis XVI were overthrown, Spain made peace with France. Manuel de Godoy (1767–1851), Charles's chief minister and purported lover of Queen Maria Luisa, came to dominate the Spanish government and renewed the French alliance. War as France's ally, however, proved disastrous. The battles of Cape St. Vincent (1797) and Trafalgar (1805) destroyed Spain's navy. Napoleon coerced Louisiana from Charles and sold it to the United States. Spaniards demanded peace and at Aranjuez in 1808 popular riots forced Charles IV to abdicate to his son Ferdinand VII (ruled 1808–1833). Napoleon promptly invaded Spain, imprisoned Charles and Ferdinand in France, and put his brother Joseph Bonaparte on Spain's throne. Spain's war of Independence (1808–1813) followed, leaving Spain devastated and its American empire in revolution. The restoration in 1814 of the absolutist Ferdinand quashed the effort of the 1812 Cortes of Cádiz to make Spain a constitutional monarchy, and created

a state of political instability that racked Spain during the nineteenth century.

See also Armada, Spanish; Barcelona; Bourbon Dynasty (France); Bourbon Dynasty (Spain); Cádiz; Catalonia; Cateau-Cambrésis (1559); Cervantes, Miguel de; Charles III (Spain); Charles V (Holy Roman Empire); Charles VI (Holy Roman Empire); Columbus, Christopher; *Comuneros* Revolt (1520–1521); *Conversos*; Dutch Revolt (1568–1648); Ferdinand of Aragón; Ferdinand VI (Spain); Góngora y Argote, Luis de; Goya y Lucientes, Francisco de; Habsburg Dynasty; Inquisition, Spanish; Isabella of Castile; Joanna I, “the Mad” (Spain); Juan de Austria, Don; Leopold I (Holy Roman Empire); Lepanto, Battle of; Lerma, Francisco Gómez de Sandoval y Rojas, 1st duke of; Louis XIV (France); Madrid; Mantuan Succession, War of the (1627–1631); Maria Theresa (Holy Roman Empire); Moriscos; Moriscos, Expulsion of (Spain); Netherlands, Southern; Olivares, Gaspar de Guzmán y Pimentel, Count of; Philip II (Spain); Philip III (Spain); Philip IV (Spain); Philip V (Spain); Pyrenees, Peace of the (1661); Spain, Art in; Spanish Colonies; Spanish Literature and Language; Spanish Succession, War of the (1701–1714); Thirty Years' War (1618–1648); Utrecht, Peace of (1713); Vega, Lope de; Wars of Religion, French.

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PETER PIERSON

SPAIN, ART IN. In 1469 the marriage of Ferdinand of Aragón and Isabella of Castile united their respective territories, giving form to what was, even in the fifteenth century, identified as “Hispania.” Their reign saw the surrender of Granada, which brought an end to a seven-century-long campaign to regain the Iberian Peninsula from

the Moors who had invaded in 711; it also saw Christopher Columbus’s voyage to America. The reign of these monarchs—known as the Catholic kings—has long been seen as a “golden age” in Spanish history.

As the monarchs solidified their powers, the court of the Catholic kings was continually on the move. The historian J. H. Elliot sees in this a certain cultural advantage: Isabella, who enjoyed a European reputation as a patron of learning, brought distinguished scholars to her court, whose ideas were disseminated as the court moved about the Iberian peninsula. However, a peripatetic court is not conducive to patronage of painting or collecting. Thus, the monarchs made no effort to encourage training or patronage of native artists and often turned toward Northern Europe to fulfill their needs, which included court portraiture. Such patronage continued a trend famously illustrated by Isabella’s father, John II of Castile, who had founded the Carthusian monastery of Miraflores near Burgos in 1442 and donated an altarpiece by Rogier van der Weyden, described in contemporary documents as “Master Rogier, the great and famous Fleming” (Staatliche Museen, Berlin).

Yet the Catholic kings’ patronage of nonnative artists, such as the Estonian Michel Sittow or the Flemish artist simply known as “Juan de Flandes” (John of Flanders), introduces a trend that is seen throughout the history of painting in early modern Spain, namely, royal patronage of non-native artists whose style then influenced the work of other painters. In the coming centuries, Philip II commissioned from Titian several mythological paintings, known as the *poesie* and illustrating stories from Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*, and Philip IV would commission of Peter Paul Rubens several works, including a series of mythological subjects to decorate his hunting lodge, the Torre de la Parada. And when, in 1701, the Bourbons replaced the Habsburgs on the Spanish throne, they looked to France and Italy for artists to fill the demands at court. The history of painting in Spain is thus a history of cross-currents and international influences, and it is misleading to reduce the story to a strictly nationalist concept of “Spanish” painting.

The influence of Flemish artists is seen in the early works of Pedro Berruguete (1450s–d. by 6

January 1504) but is tempered by lessons learned during the artist's trip to Italy sometime prior to 1483. One of Berruguete's best-known works is a series of paintings for the main altarpiece of the Dominican monastery of St. Thomas in Ávila, several panels of which hang today in the Museo del Prado, Madrid. One of these is a multifigured scene, showing Saint Dominic presiding over an auto-da-fé. While the linear rendering of the figures betrays lessons gleaned from Flemish art, the complex space of the painting, with its stairs and various platforms, suggest the artist's interest in addressing issues of perspective possibly learned in Italy.

In 1519 the grandson of Ferdinand and Isabella came to the Spanish throne as duke of Burgundy and Charles I of Spain, and would ultimately become Charles V, Holy Roman emperor. His need to oversee and protect his vast dominions, which added to the Iberian territories Burgundy, the Netherlands, Austria, Naples, Sicily, and Sardinia, meant that his court was, like that of his grandparents, peripatetic. He nevertheless met Titian in 1529, and from that developed a relationship of patron and artist that would continue until Charles's death in 1558. When Titian joined the emperor in Augsburg in 1548, the result would be a key painting in monarchic iconography that also captures the militaristic nature of his reign: the equestrian portrait *Charles V at the Battle of Mühlberg* (1548; Museo del Prado, Madrid).

PAINTING UNDER PHILIP IV

In 1561 Charles's son Philip II, who had reigned for five years, made the decision to move his court from Toledo to Madrid, perhaps because the winding, narrow streets and medieval infrastructure of Toledo could no longer accommodate Philip's growing retinue. In Madrid, the court would reside in the Moorish fortress of the Alcázar, which would be continually renovated and serve as the residence of Spanish kings until it was destroyed by fire in 1734. Perhaps because the Alcázar no longer exists, Philip II has become more closely identified with the palace-monastery at the Escorial, where the court would reside during Holy Week and on other major church feasts.

The Escorial, commissioned by Philip and built during his reign, is a unique complex encompassing apartments for the royal family and court, a semi-

nary, a monastery, a royal basilica, and a royal tomb. Begun by the court architect Juan Bautista de Toledo (d. 1567), the project was taken over after his death by Juan de Herrera (c. 1530–1597). In 1576 Juan Fernández de Navarrete (c. 1526–1579) was contracted to paint forty altarpieces to decorate the basilica. These were to represent paired saints, and their iconography reconfirmed the validity of the veneration of saints as well as the use of devotional images, both tenets reconfirmed by the Council of Trent (1545–1563). Three months before his death, Navarrete received the commission for the high altar of the basilica. Padre de Sigüenza, a prior of the Escorial who in 1605 provided an invaluable account of its history, wrote that had Navarrete not died, Spain might have been spared the incursion of Italian artists who subsequently took over the decoration of the complex. The main Italian contributor was Pellegrino Tibaldi (1527–1596), who after his arrival in 1588 directed a team of artists to paint the murals in the library and also painted the main altarpiece for the basilica. But the Escorial also lured a painter destined to become far more closely identified with painting in Spain, Doménikos Theotokópoulos, more commonly known as El Greco (1541–1614).

El Greco had arrived in Toledo in 1577, where he was commissioned to paint *The Disrobing of Christ* (1577–1579, Cathedral Sacristy, Toledo) and the main altarpiece of Santo Domingo el Antiguo, the central panel of which depicts the Assumption of the Virgin (1577; The Art Institute of Chicago). In both works, vibrant colors, fluid brushwork, and complex compositions of gesticulating, elongated figures attest to lessons learned during the Greek native's sojourn in Venice and Rome (1568–1577). In the case of *The Disrobing of Christ* several iconographic details met with the disapproval of El Greco's patrons, suggesting that the artist brought with him from Italy a strong sense of artistic license to which Spanish patrons were unaccustomed. The artist's creativity also may have worked against him when, in 1580, he received a commission to paint *The Martyrdom of Saint Maurice and the Theban Legion* for the chapel at the Escorial (1580–1582; the Escorial Museum). In the final painting, El Greco goes against Counter-Reformation dictates, relegating the scene of martyrdom to the distance, while placing in the fore-

ground the consultation among the soldiers that led to the martyrdom. This order was reversed in a second version of the theme, painted by Romulo Cincinato, which was displayed in the chapel; El Greco's painting was relegated to the chapter house of the monastery.

Having failed to win his bid for royal patronage, El Greco returned to Toledo, where he would establish his reputation among a learned group of private and ecclesiastic patrons. Here he would paint what is perhaps his greatest achievement, *The Burial of the Count of Orgaz* (1586–1588, Santo Tomé, Toledo) to decorate the count's refurbished burial chapel. The subject of the painting is the 1323 funeral of this distinguished and charitable citizen of Toledo, at which Saints Stephen and Augustine miraculously appeared to lower him into his grave. El Greco includes portraits of his contemporaries attending the funeral, as the count's soul is taken to the heavens, depicted in the upper half of the painting. Here, weightless and elongated figures are perched on the clouds, likewise witnessing the miracle.

PAINTING IN SEVILLE

During the last years of the sixteenth century, the southern port city of Seville became increasingly important, enriched by trade with the New World. Art patronage often follows wealth, so it is not surprising that the first half of the seventeenth century finds in Seville the young Diego de Velázquez (1599–1661), who would soon move to the court of Madrid and will be discussed in the context of his career there; Francisco de Zurbarán (1598–1664); and Bartolomé Esteban Murillo (1617–1682). Zurbarán and Murillo worked mainly for religious patrons, although we should not overlook the masterful still-life paintings of Zurbarán, or the genre scenes of young children by Murillo, which were the first works by the artist admired widely outside of Spain.

Zurbarán's mature style is characterized by a realism and intense chiaroscuro that give his otherworldly figures a sculptural presence in the here and now. Although these traits might recall the work of Caravaggio, Zurbarán's style is far less Italianate in its absence of mathematical perspective and rendering of volumes. Examined closely, we find his figures to be linear and somewhat flat, traits

countered by the hyperrealistic shadowing. Yet, the absence of Italianate principles does not compromise the power of his figures, exemplified by the almost life-size *Christ on the Cross* painted for the Sevillian monastery of San Pablo el Real (1627; The Art Institute of Chicago). Here, the painter's precise handling and dramatic chiaroscuro demand our attention—as it forced the monastic viewer to contemplate the humanity and sacrifice of Christ. Anatomical correctness is secondary to the overall impact: Christ's arms are too long for his form, and his body, despite its surface modeling, appears without volume in space.

By the 1640s Zurbarán's dominance of painting in Seville would be challenged by the younger Murillo, who soon moved away from a Caravaggesque realism to depicting more idealized figures in a softer, more painterly idiom. It has often been suggested that Murillo's more tempered style provided an aesthetic antidote to the troubles that ravaged Seville at midcentury, as New World trade moved south to the port city of Cádiz. Certainly, the beautiful Madonnas who float in the heavens in Murillo's images of the Immaculate Conception would support this theory. But even in narrative images, such as *The Return of the Prodigal Son* painted for the Hospital of Charity in Seville (1667–1670; National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.) realism is tempered, and the theme of love and forgiveness emphasized.

PHILIP IV AND VELÁZQUEZ

Meanwhile in Madrid, Philip III died prematurely at the age of forty-three in 1621, leaving the throne to his sixteen-year-old son, Philip IV. The young Philip did not come alone to power but was accompanied by an Andalusian aristocrat, Gaspar de Guzmán y Pimental, better known as the count- duke of Olivares. Assuming the role of the royal favorite—that is, close adviser and confidant of the king—the count- duke was also loyal to his native Seville. This connection explains the arrival at court in 1623 of the twenty-four-year-old native of that city, Velázquez.

Soon after his arrival, Velázquez established himself as a court portraitist, painting the king, his brother (Don Carlos), and the count- duke. But equally important, his presence at court led him to study the royal collection—rich in works by



Art in Spain. Still life by Francisco Zurbarán, c. 1633. ©FRANCIS G. MAYER/CORBIS

Titian—and also to meet Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640), who visited the court in 1628. It was perhaps this encounter that led Velázquez to attempt his first mythological subject, *The Feast of Bacchus* (1628, Prado). The painting marks a breakthrough in Velázquez's work, as he creates a multifigured scene, centered on the partially nude figure of the god. Perhaps, too, it was Rubens who inspired Velázquez to undertake in 1629 his first journey to Italy, following an itinerary that would take him to Venice, Rome, and Naples.

During the 1630s Philip IV undertook the construction and decoration of a new pleasure palace in Madrid, to become known as the Buen Retiro. He would commission twelve artists—among them Velázquez and Zurbarán—to paint scenes commemorating recent military triumphs for the ceremonial hall known as the Hall of the Realms. Velázquez's contribution, *The Surrender at Breda* (1634–1635, Prado), shows the degree to which his style had matured since his arrival at court. On a canvas measuring ten feet in width, he portrays the surrender of the Dutch general Justin of Nassau to Ambrogio Spinola. Figures from both armies surround their leaders in a foreground set against a panoramic landscape that is made luminous by the liberal use of white underpainting, covered by glazes of color.

Unlike many court patrons, Philip IV apparently did not limit the range of Velázquez's work and may well have encouraged his experimentation. To be sure, Velázquez continued to paint portraits of the royal family. But he also took up other themes, including portraits of court jesters and dwarfs, mythological subjects, and complex compositions that blend mythology and contemporary genre (*The Fable of Arachne*, c. 1655, Prado). His greatest achievement, blending narrative, theater and portraiture, is *Las Meninas* or *The Maids of Honor* (c. 1656, Prado).

On one level, *Las Meninas* is a portrait of the Philip's daughter, the Infanta Margarita, attended by her retinue. But looking to the left, we find Velázquez painting at his easel and, like the infanta, looking in our direction. Although the object of his gaze is uncertain, it may well be the king and queen, who are reflected in the mirror at the center of the back wall in the painting. Some scholars have suggested that the royal couple has just entered the room, which explains why some of the figures in the painting are aware of their presence and others not. But if this is the case, what is Velázquez painting?

Velázquez marks the zenith of painting at the Habsburg court, and his capable contemporaries and successors at court are diminished by comparison. As a result, such painters as Juan Carreño de



Art in Spain. *The Surrender at Breda* by Diego Velázquez, 1635. THE ART ARCHIVE/MUSEO DEL PRADO MADRID/THE ART ARCHIVE

Miranda and Claudio Coello, who painted during the reign of Charles II (ruled 1675–1700), have not received the attention they deserve.

ART AT THE BOURBON COURT AND GOYA'S BEGINNINGS

On the death of Charles II, it was decided that the grandson of Louis XIV would accede to the Spanish throne. Although this succession was challenged by England, Austria, and the Netherlands, the death of their candidate in 1711 led to the Treaty of Utrecht, which gave the Spanish throne to the Bourbons, who reign to the present day.

This change in dynasty signaled a major change in patronage, as the Bourbon monarchs brought to

Spain Italian and French painters, sculptors, and architects, such as René Carlier, who in the 1720s designed the rococo gardens of the palace at La Granja outside Segovia. Adopting French models, the Bourbons also founded establishments for the manufacture of luxury goods needed by the court, including porcelains, silks, and tapestries. Painters, like the architects and designers brought to Spain by the Bourbons, introduced a radical stylistic change, epitomized by the group portrait *The Family of Philip V* (1743; Prado) by Louis Michel van Loo (1707–1771). Here, members of the court, including Philip's second wife, Elizabeth French, pose in French costume before a draped colonnade that opens onto a park. The Bourbons also encouraged



Art in Spain. *The Family of Carlos IV* by Francisco Goya, 1801. ©ART RESOURCE

new genres, including scenes of life at court, and views of the royal palaces created by Michael-Ange Houasse during the 1720s.

The major artistic undertaking of the mid-eighteenth century was the building of the royal palace, to replace the Alcázar, destroyed by fire in 1734. The Italian Giovanni Battista Sacchetti (1690–1764) worked on the project until 1760, when the new king, Charles III (himself recently arrived from Naples) replaced him with Francisco Sabatini (1721–1797). It was during Sabatini's tenure as first court architect that Anton Raphael Mengs and Giambattista Tiepolo arrived in Madrid to paint ceiling frescoes within the palace. Mengs, in turn, trained Spanish artists, including Francisco Bayeu y Subías, who, as court painter, would proba-

bly introduce his brother-in-law, Francisco Goya y Lucientes, to court in 1774.

Although Goya is more often linked to Velázquez than to any other painter, we should not underestimate the extent to which the cosmopolitan patronage of the Bourbons informed his training. His early training in Saragossa was with a Neapolitan-trained painter, and he traveled to Parma and Rome in the early 1770s, developing a late baroque figural style seen in religious paintings done on his return to Saragossa in 1772. When he was invited to Madrid in 1774, it was to create designs, or cartoons, for tapestries to be woven by the Royal Tapestry Factory of Santa Barbara—one of the luxury goods factories established by the Bourbons. Although his first series, done under the supervision of Francisco Bayeu, were rather staid

hunting scenes, he soon received permission to conceive scenes of “his own invention.” The impetus for the innovative nature of these scenes of life in and around Goya’s Madrid has never been explained but may be indebted in part to the work of French genre painters, such as Houasse (whose works were in the royal collection) or Jean-Antoine Watteau (whose works Goya might have known through engravings).

When Goya turned to portraiture in the 1780s, he worked in a very detailed and descriptive style inspired by Mengs, as illustrated by *The Marquesa de Ponteijos* (1786; National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.). The marquesa stands against a pastel landscape, wearing a dress of gauze decorated with flowers and ribbons, in a work whose tones and compositions recall the portraits of Mengs.

In April 1789 Goya won the long-sought position of court painter. But with the downfall of the Bourbons in France, Goya’s patrons would demand an independent identity and iconography. Goya himself would create this identity, as in his royal portraits of the late 1790s—including *The Family of Carlos IV* (1800–1801; Prado); he looked back, not to the French artists brought to Spain under the Bourbon court, but to Velázquez, whose somber palette and painterly style he now emulated. Thus the artist creates a “Spanish tradition” in his quest to define the Spanish identity of his patrons. It is at this point that we can begin to speak of Spanish painting as a willed construction rather than a historical fact.

See also Art: Artistic Patronage; Bourbon Dynasty (Spain); El Greco; Ferdinand of Aragón; Goya y Lucientes, Francisco de; Painting; Philip IV (Spain); Velázquez, Diego; Zurbarán, Francisco de.

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JANIS TOMLINSON

SPANISH ARMADA. *See* Armada, Spanish.

SPANISH COLONIES

This entry includes six subentries:

AFRICA AND THE CANARY ISLANDS
 THE CARIBBEAN
 MEXICO
 OTHER AMERICAN COLONIES
 PERU
 THE PHILIPPINES

AFRICA AND THE CANARY ISLANDS

The geographic frontier between the Iberian Peninsula and North Africa is well defined by the Strait of Gibraltar. However, the cultural and religious frontier between those geographical areas has not always been so clear. For five centuries (the eighth to the twelfth centuries) Muslim invaders from North Africa ruled more than half the territory that now defines Spain and Portugal. Thereafter the Christian kingdoms in Portugal and Spain took advantage of factional strife in Al-Andalus—as the Muslims called their Iberian lands—to make rapid territorial gains. Once the great cities of Cordoba (Cordova) and Seville fell to Christian troops in 1236 and 1248, respectively, Castilian armies pushed southward against the remnant of Muslim territories.

The final assault against the Nasrid kingdom of Granada in 1492 completed the Spanish Reconquista. Thereafter the “Catholic monarchs” Ferdi-

nand of Aragón (ruled Castile 1474–1504; ruled Aragón 1479–1516) and Isabella of Castile (ruled Castile 1474–1504; ruled Aragón 1479–1504) established several strongholds on North African shores, forming a new frontier against the kingdom of Morocco and the Ottoman regencies set up in Algiers and Tunis. In geopolitical terms the most dynamic forces were driving from north to south instead of from south to north, as they had in medieval times. Nonetheless, despite the differences in religion and economic outlook that divided the peoples on opposite sides of the frontier, they should be considered as parts of the same complex Mediterranean civilization, as Ferdinand Braudel so eloquently argued. Scholars have traced the divergent history of the eastern Mediterranean (the Maghreb) and the western (the Iberian Peninsula), so a few centuries later Latin Catholics and Sunni Muslims living at opposite ends of the Mediterranean seemed to have little in common.

Regardless of scholarly controversies about the matter, it seems obvious to most observers that the union of the crowns of Castile and Aragón in 1479 and the overseas discoveries from 1492 on impelled Spanish naval and commercial interests to establish several strongholds along the northern coast of modern Maghreb: Melilla in 1497; Oran, Bejaïa (Bougie), and Tripoli in the first decade of the sixteenth century; and finally Ceuta, which had been in Portuguese hands since 1415, in 1580. Thereafter for the rest of the early modern period these and other forts along the Mediterranean and Atlantic coasts of North Africa formed a Christian frontier against Islam.

Exerting an attraction for kings, sailors, and adventurers from both Spain and Portugal, these strongholds also might have served as springboards for further conquests into Africa but for several historical developments. First, the development of Spain's American colonies and Portugal's Asian colonies exhausted most of the energy and resources they had available for overseas development. Second, the strong resistance of local peoples and their Muslim leaders thwarted Christian attempts to capture substantial territory in the Maghreb. The disastrous defeat of Portuguese forces at the battle of Al-Qasr (Al-Kasr Al-Kabir) in 1578 proved to be a powerful deterrent to Iberian ambitions across the Strait of Gibraltar for the rest of the early modern

period. Those ambitions were only renewed in the halcyon days of empire building in the late nineteenth century.

The military conquest and administrative inclusion of the Canary Islands within the crown of Castile took place over the course of the fifteenth century—in other words, as Iberian mariners and adventurers explored into the western Mediterranean and Atlantic Ocean with royal backing. Although such adventures became possible during the last two centuries of the Christian Reconquest of the peninsula from the Muslims, it was by no means easy due to the remoteness of the Canary Islands from mainland Europe and the strong resistance of the native Canarians (Guanches). Eventually, as Iberian colonies were settled on each of the seven islands, a new society began to evolve but largely in a random and unplanned manner. Although precise statistics do not exist, many scholars think that most of the native population succumbed to European diseases and warfare and that those remaining intermarried with their conquerors. For all practical purposes they ceased to exist as a distinct group. By the end of the sixteenth century the whole Canarian archipelago probably held about fifty thousand people.

From the late fifteenth century to 1821 the Canaries underwent a process of increasing assimilation into Spanish political and cultural norms, despite periodic attacks from North Africa and from Dutch and English privateers and pirates in the seventeenth century. By the early twenty-first century the Canary Islands still formed part of the Spanish state, included in the 1978 constitution. Ceuta and Melilla were the last remnants of Spain's colonial presence in North Africa. They were also part of the Spanish state, their position defined by the 1978 constitution and by negotiations in the 1980s.

See also Colonialism; Exploration; Ferdinand of Aragón; Isabella of Castile; Spain.

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VÍCTOR MORALES LEZCANO

THE CARIBBEAN

Historiography often renders the Spanish Caribbean islands of the early modern period either as mere backwaters, the initial significance of which was rapidly overtaken by the much larger and more lucrative colonies of New Spain and Peru, or as the "Caribbean experiment," the sites where insular colonialism was first tried before being perfected on the continents. However, from the very first moment of contact the encounters and clashes between Spaniards and native peoples of the Caribbean forged the intellectual and cultural template for Spain's subsequent colonial rule in the rest of the hemisphere. Though the major colonies of Cuba, Puerto Rico, and Hispaniola became the imperial periphery after the conquest and colonization of the mainland empire, they remained strategically important as a periphery that Spain nonetheless defended fiercely. Thus Spain's Caribbean colonies must be understood as integral parts of the early modern colonial system.

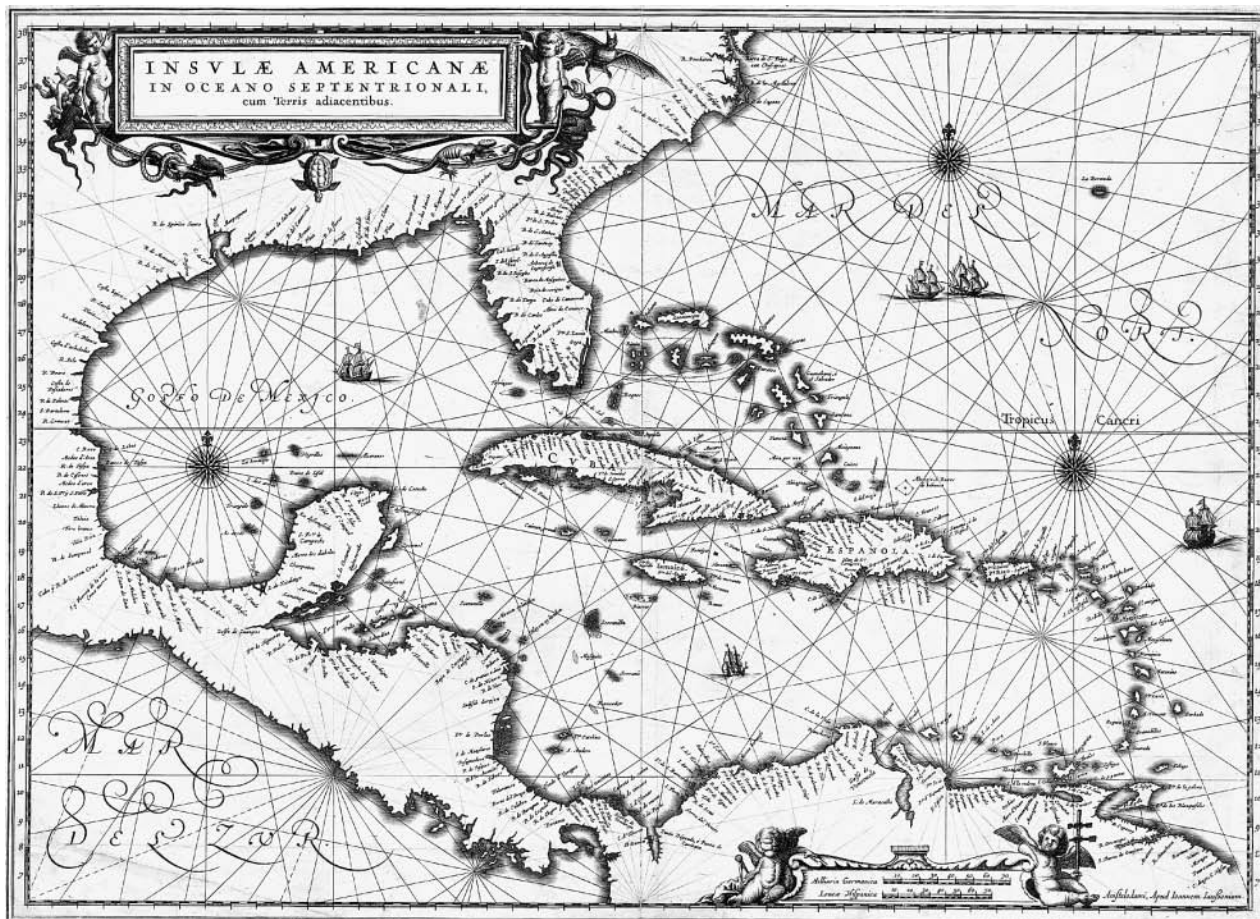
CONQUEST AND COLONIZATION

When the inhabitants of the Caribbean islands first laid eyes on Christopher Columbus and his men in 1492, they could not have known that they were witnessing the creation of the modern world. Nor could Columbus himself have understood the fundamental difference of the world that lay before him, as evinced in his assertion, in his famous letter of the first voyage, that Cuba was part of mainland Asia, a continent already known to Europe. The *Capitulaciones de Santa Fe*—the contract between Columbus and the Catholic monarchs of Spain Ferdinand (ruled 1474–1516) and Isabella (ruled

1474–1504) for dividing the imagined spoils of his first voyage, which was typical in form and content to other commercial contracts of its time—also points to the extent to which the monarchs imagined a purely commercial enterprise, not the spiritual and military conquest that New World colonization would become. The necessity of this transformation quickly became apparent with Columbus's return with "Indian" slaves in tow as a gift to the queen. This act, by proving the existence not of the "human monsters" predicted by medieval lore but rather of souls thought ignorant of the word of God, immediately transformed the venture into one of colonization. It also presented a first challenge to the ways in which the world was understood, especially through the Bible, as a known, closed system. Notable among early attempts to recuperate the newly found peoples into received understandings of history include that of Hernán Pérez de Oliva. Despite having never seen the new possessions himself, he wrote a florid account of the meeting of Columbus with the Arawak *cacique*, 'chief', Guarionex in Hispaniola, in which both protagonists deliver stately speeches in the rhetorical style of classical Roman history writing, as exemplified by Cicero. Pérez de Oliva followed classical rhetorical style because it defined historical truth in late antiquity; eyewitness accounts from the New World would fundamentally alter this definition of historiographic authority.

The realities of cultural clash and adaptation on the new colonial ground were far more complex than anything Pérez de Oliva could imagine, and constructing eyewitness accounts of them was a much more compelling exercise for Europeans actually present in the Caribbean. The Caribbean gave rise to the first ethnographic treatise of the modern world, in Fray Ramón Pané's *An Account of the Antiquities of the Indians*. Pané, a friar who accompanied Columbus on his second voyage, was charged by the admiral with learning the religious practices of the inhabitants of Hispaniola. His account, in a form as garbled as Pérez de Oliva's was logical, highlights his constant struggle with cultural understanding, particularly his failed attempts to grasp the structure and function of Arawak narrative style.

These problems of cross-cultural communication were not benign; rather, they directly contributed to the enormity of violence inflicted on the



Spanish Colonies: The Caribbean. This map, which first appeared in a Dutch atlas of 1636, was based on a rare chart of the Caribbean by Hessel Gerritsz compiled several years earlier. In 1628 Gerritsz sailed to South America and the West Indies, charting many of the islands in the area. His influential map was widely copied by other mapmakers. MAP COLLECTION, STERLING MEMORIAL LIBRARY, YALE UNIVERSITY

native inhabitants of the new colonies. The link between the pretense of linguistic comprehension and violent conquest is present in the ritual, unique to Spanish colonialism, of the *requerimiento*, ‘requirement’. Conquistadores were legally bound to read this document aloud, in the original Castilian, to natives to announce the act of colonization. Once the native peoples were thus conquered, native territories would be subject to the *repartimiento*, the “allocation” of a *cacique* and his people to a particular conquistador, the abuses of which were one of the key factors in the demographic collapse of the native population. In addition, the first systems of anthropological classification of Caribbean peoples, as either Caribs or Taínos (known today to ethnologists as Arawaks), also set the stage for violence. While Taínos were thought docile, Caribs—

said to be ethnologically distinct from Taínos—were considered fierce, wild, and subject to conquest. Peter Hulme’s textual analysis of contemporary Spanish documents, however, shows that this distinction was highly fluid and selectively applied to meet the political and strategic needs of a particular moment. Indeed, one of the key traits meant to distinguish one group from the other was its reaction to conquest: those whose response was deemed peaceful could be designated Taíno, while those who showed signs of resistance risked being classified as Carib.

The combined effects of the *repartimiento*—forced labor, population dislocation, and epidemics (particularly of smallpox in 1518–1519)—led to the demographic collapse of the native populations of the Caribbean. Natives on Hispaniola alone, of

whom Massimo Livi-Bacci estimates there were up to 300,000 before the arrival of Columbus—numbered only 60,000 by 1508; by 1520 they were well on the road to extinction. Yet while the Caribbean saw the birth of genocide and violent conquest in the Americas, it also was the source of the first colonial critiques. Bartolomé de las Casas (1474–1566), who would become the most passionate defender of Indians throughout the Americas, witnessed the conquest of Cuba firsthand as a colonizer before a religious conversion left him a fierce opponent of colonial abuse. While he later catalogued (and some say exaggerated) maltreatment from many colonies, it was his initial witness in the Antilles that served as the template for the moral outrage and rhetorical power that made his most famous work, *Short Account of the Destruction of the Indies*, so influential in its day.

OUTPOSTS OF EMPIRE

After the conquest of New Spain (1521) and Peru (1532), the importance of the Caribbean islands shifted: no longer the principal site of Spanish colonization, they became a colonial periphery. Although the islands had been “granted” to Spain by papal bull, rival imperial powers fiercely contested Spain’s initial dominance in the New World. Although Columbus had in theory claimed all the islands he laid eyes on for the Spanish crown, in practice, significant settlement was limited to Cuba, Puerto Rico, and eastern Hispaniola, leaving many islands underdefended and open to being claimed by rival powers in the early modern period. Thus Jamaica, initially settled by Spaniards in 1509, was captured by the British in 1655, while in 1697 the western portion of Hispaniola, the island that had seen Spain’s first settlement in the Americas, was ceded to France for what would become its most lucrative colony, Saint Domingue. The remaining major colonies—Cuba, Puerto Rico, and Santo Domingo—became the gateway to an empire and were of enormous strategic importance to Spain as it continually fought off the English, French, and Dutch. Havana and San Juan became highly fortified cities, particularly in response to the presence in the Caribbean of British corsairs (Sir Francis Drake was defeated outside San Juan in 1595).

Though now a periphery with the shift of the center of empire to New Spain, the Caribbean colo-

nies were still a part of the colonial system. Havana, because of its role as an entrepôt in the fleet system that lay at the heart of Spanish mercantilism, became a bustling port by the end of the sixteenth century. Because the fleets departed only twice a year, and because the Caribbean colonies were not as self-sufficient as New Spain and Peru, the islands necessarily depended on illegal trade with foreigners. The Bourbon reforms of the eighteenth century, which liberalized colonial trade within Spain and reorganized the empire’s bureaucratic structure, meant a political and economic restructuring for the whole of the empire. For the Caribbean islands the Bourbon reforms marked economic growth and demographic change—the latter due to peninsular immigration and the slave trade—that would not be complete until the full flowering of the plantation societies of the nineteenth century and the return of these colonies to the center of a greatly reduced empire.

See also **British Colonies: The Caribbean; Colonialism; Columbus, Christopher; Dutch Colonies: The Americas; French Colonies: The Caribbean; Las Casas, Bartolomé de; Slavery and the Slave Trade.**

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JAVIER MORILLO-ALICEA

MEXICO

The Spanish presence in Mexico began in 1519 when Hernán Cortés and his companions landed on the mainland of North America and established a permanent Spanish presence there. The Spanish called the colony the viceroyalty of New Spain. The name of the principal Aztec city—Tenochtitlán—eventually became Mexico (today Mexico City), and this was later applied to the whole territory. The viceroyalty originally covered the whole of what is now Mexico and Central America, as well as much of the Caribbean and the American Southwest. With the growth of Spanish population and the conquest and pacification of more regions, the Spanish divided New Spain, creating additional territories including Guatemala, which consisted of Central America and parts of what is now southern Mexico, and New Galicia, which included the northwestern parts of modern Mexico and the American Southwest, with its capital in Guadalajara.

A viceroy based in Mexico City oversaw the government of the region. Appointed by the Spanish crown, he exercised the administrative function and served as a physical embodiment of the monarch. Each division of the region (Mexico, New

Galicia, and Guatemala) had a high court of justice or *audiencia*. Judges appointed by the king served on these courts and heard cases on appeal from lower courts throughout the colony. In the absence of the viceroy, and in the two inferior territories (Guatemala and New Galicia), the court also exercised some administrative functions. Local magistrates administered smaller internal territories. These magistrates, known as *corregidores*, *alcaldes mayores*, or *gobernadores*, had many duties and obligations, most importantly the collection of taxes and the maintenance of order. The crown occasionally appointed local magistrates, but normally that authority fell to the viceroy or *audiencia*. Within New Spain there were over 200 local magistrates. The towns and cities, governed by municipal councils, constituted the lowest level of government. The councils consisted of aldermen, either elected to long terms by the citizens of the city or appointed to life terms by the king, who also appointed two justices or *alcaldes ordinarios*, who served one-year terms.

Native communities occupied a complex place in Spanish colonial administration. On the one hand, they were subject to Spanish royal authority. On the other hand, the Spanish recognized their preexisting right to self-government, provided that their laws and customs did not violate Christian principles. Native communities, then, had both traditional leaders and a government imposed by the Spanish. Traditional leaders, who might be chosen from any of a number of members of a ruling family, tended to conform eventually to Spanish inheritance patterns, the eldest male heir taking precedence. Native peoples participated in elections for town council members, but these positions too came to be associated with various families and clans.

New Spain’s society consisted of a complex scheme of different castes, each legally defined and occupying a specific place in society. The Spanish occupied the pinnacle of society. Internally a distinction was drawn between Spaniards native to the Iberian Peninsula, called *peninsulares*, and those born in the New World, known as *creoles*. The native peoples, at least in legal theory, consisted of an independent, self-governing republic, the *república de los indios*. Along with these groups, the Spanish brought African slaves. Free persons of color, at

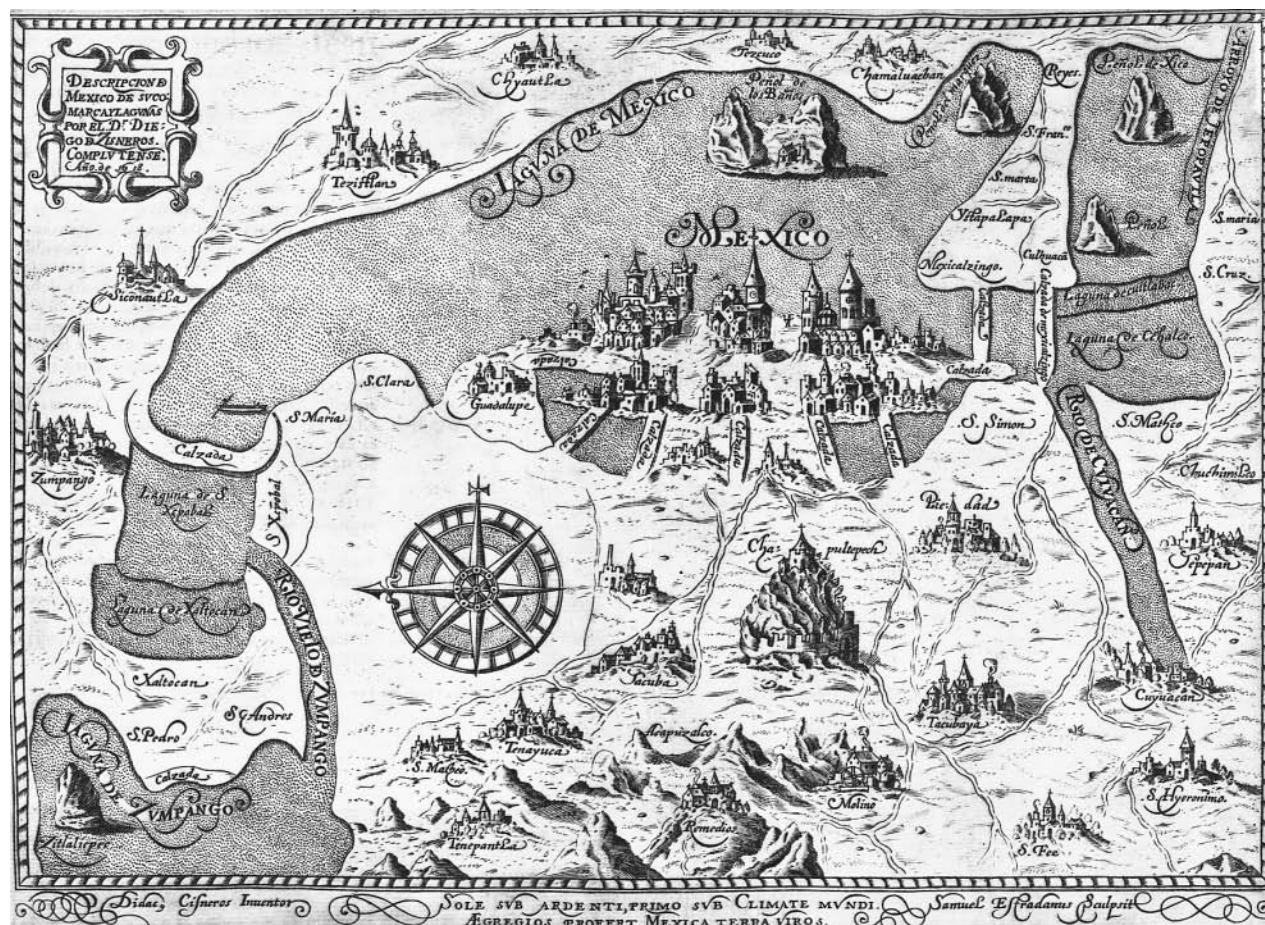
least initially, formed part of the Spanish caste. With the passage of time, mixed groups emerged: *mestizos* (Spanish-Indian offspring), mulattoes (Spanish-African offspring), and *zambos* (Indian-African offspring). Each came to be identified as a caste. With the emergence of other mixtures, the caste system became nearly unworkable. Eventually a middle group of *pardos* (persons of color) emerged to encompass all of the mixed groups, as well as free persons of color and natives who had abandoned native customs, dress, and other cultural attributes.

The ecclesiastical territory contained seven dioceses. Each of the major cities of the region—Mexico, Puebla, Valladolid (modern Morelia), Guadalajara, Oaxaca, Mérida, and Guatemala—had a bishop exercising episcopal control with an archbishop reigning in Mexico. But the evangelization of Mexico largely fell to the religious orders, not to the secular clergy. As the religious orders arrived,

they tended to concentrate their missionary efforts in different parts of the region. The Franciscans, who arrived in 1524, just a few years after the conquest, tended to dominate the central and western region. The Dominicans, who arrived in 1528, focused their efforts on the central and southern region. In 1533 the Augustinians arrived, concentrating their efforts on the western region and filling various gaps in the central zone. Lastly, the Jesuits arrived in 1569, and while they established colleges in the major towns and cities, they focused their missionary efforts on the northern frontier.

THE ECONOMY OF COLONIAL MEXICO

The colonial economy quickly came to depend on the extraction of natural resources, principally silver and gold, and on agricultural production and commerce. Mexico has large silver and gold deposits. The climate of the region varies from dry, desert-like conditions in the northwest, to a temperate



Spanish Colonies: Mexico. Map of Mexico City and environs, engraving by Didac Cisneros c. 1618. ©CORBIS

climate in the mountain valleys of the central region, to hot, humid coastal areas. This allowed for the production of a wide range of agricultural commodities. The mining and agricultural industries were highly interdependent. The crown taxed gold and silver production at 20 percent (the royal *quinto*, or fifth). Much of the gold and silver ended up going to Spain, either as tax remittances or as payment for finished goods imported from Europe. A small part remained to circulate in the local economy, having been minted into coins in Mexico. While nearly every region had some mining, the silver mines were largely at various points along the western cordillera (mountain range). Principal mining districts included Zacatecas in the near north central region in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and Taxco, in the south central region, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Pachuca, immediately north of Mexico City, was a steady producer throughout the colonial period. After the first high-quality ores had been extracted, miners had to deal with poor-quality ores that defied simple refining processes. In the sixteenth century the Spanish introduced the amalgamation process, in which ores are combined with mercury in a chemical reaction to better extract the silver. This increased production, but the cost of the mercury also increased production costs. The crown declared a monopoly on both salt and mercury, two elements essential to the process; in so doing it could easily regulate overall production of silver, since that production was based on proportions of salt and mercury consumed in the amalgamation process.

Agricultural production fulfilled two major functions. On the one hand, it provided many of the raw materials for mining and the small industrial sector. On the other hand, it produced goods destined for export. Among the agricultural products in highest demand were wool, sugarcane, and cattle. The wool went to local mills, or *obrajes*, which supplied the local economy. The cattle provided hides for export, tallow, bone, and other products for local industry and consumption. Sugarcane was processed by refineries (*ingenios*) and then exported. Niche products included cochineal (a dye-stuff), pulque (a mildly intoxicating beverage made from the maguey [agave]), and silk, until that indus-

try was destroyed by regulations and cheaper Asian imports.

Major agricultural areas developed in colonial Mexico. The lowlands became focal points for sugarcane and other tropical products. The temperate zones with sufficient water specialized in the production of cereal grains, fruits, and vegetables. The dry areas of the north central region specialized in livestock production. It was in this last area that the large landed estate, the hacienda, developed, characterized by livestock production and a moderately large fixed labor force. Nevertheless, similar large-scale ranches and farms also developed to produce cereal grains and sugar. In the case of sugar production, the operations were heavily vertically integrated, with the largest producers owning both production land and the sugar mills.

The commercial sector of colonial Mexico was of tremendous importance. Commerce linked the colony to Spain. Pedro Menéndez de Avilés (1519–1574), captain general of Spain's Indies fleet, organized the annual convoys from Spain to the New World and back in the mid-sixteenth century. Under this system, all ships sailing to New Spain departed from Seville at the same time, and sailed in a fleet to the Lesser Antilles. There the fleet divided, with some ships proceeding to Panama, others to Hispaniola, and the largest part on to the port of Veracruz, in Mexico. Similarly, ships returning to Spain would rendezvous in Havana, Cuba, and sail as a fleet back to Europe. This allowed the Spanish government both to protect the convoy from pirates and to closely monitor all goods and people sailing to or from New Spain. As a result, commercial goods from Europe all landed in Mexico at the same time. The Spanish merchants' guild or *consulado* controlled transatlantic trade. After about 1570, transpacific trade developed between Manila in the Philippines and Acapulco in southern Mexico. This became an important source of exotic goods in the Mexican market, and evolved to such a degree that the *consulado* feared Asian goods would cut into the market for European products. As a result, by the early seventeenth century all Asian goods had to be shipped to Spain before returning to Mexico, though smugglers often avoided the requirement.

MEXICO'S NATIVES IN DECLINE

One of the important features of colonial Mexico was the dramatic decline in the native population. Estimates of the population before the arrival of the Spanish vary, but modern consensus holds that about 25 million natives lived in the region encompassed by modern Mexico. Within 125 years of the conquest, the population had declined to approximately 1.5 million people. The dramatic decline was a result of several factors, most importantly warfare and diseases imported from the Old World to the New. Many natives perished either directly as a result of war or indirectly in the chaos that followed. Among diseases, smallpox, measles, plague, and malaria lead the list of probable pathogens. Added to these factors, the Spanish treatment of the natives also influenced levels of mortality, along with disruptions of social structure, of modes of production, and environmental change.

Immediately after the conquest, the Spaniards sought to control the two most important limited resources: land and labor. The use of natives for the purpose of labor service was important among the rewards provided to the conquerors. Based vaguely on a peninsular Spanish precedent, the institution known as the *encomienda* allocated the labor of a specific population of natives to a conqueror. Although legislation provided for a quasi-contractual arrangement between the natives and the Spaniards, in reality the native peoples fell under the effective control of the Spaniards. As a result of abuses in the system, and other examples of poor treatment of the natives, the crown, spurred on by the Dominican friar Bartolomé de las Casas (1474–1566), eventually placed severe limits on the *encomienda* and set forth a program for its ultimate abolition in a set of decrees known as the New Laws (1542). The crown then moved toward a policy of incorporating the native peoples into a system of free wage labor: that is, natives would contract independently for their services. The crown provided a transitional process called the *repartimiento*, wherein natives were required to perform labor services on a rotational basis, but were paid at an officially established rate. The funds would go to the native community in order to pay taxes back to the state and its designees. In this way the natives would slowly enter into the money economy. By the early seventeenth century, the *encomienda* was rapidly disappearing, and the

repartimiento reached its peak. Neither institution fully disappeared, but continued to decline into the eighteenth century. The final coercive labor institution was debt peonage, which grew consistently through the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Under debt peonage a Spaniard would make a small cash advance to a native in return for future labor services. Once engaged, the native could not successfully work off the debt and thus became permanently tied to the Spanish employer.

The eighteenth century saw dramatic changes in New Spain. With the change in ruling houses in Spain, administrative changes followed; the colony fell under more direct royal supervision as a result of reforms implemented by Bourbon rulers. The old system of over 200 *corregidores* was abolished in favor of a dozen or so well-trained *intendants*. The military, which had never played a significant role in the colony, was organized and greatly augmented; militias and new royal units were created. The fleet system disappeared in favor of individually licensed vessels. Control over trade passed from the Spanish merchants' guild to new guilds created in various ports. The crown authorized intercolonial trade. The church lost some of its independence and fell more under the control of the crown, especially as the crown attempted to take over lands and investment capital held by the church. In 1767 the Jesuit order was expelled from the Spanish colonies. These and other reforms served as the impetus for creole dissatisfaction with the Spanish crown, leading eventually to the wars of independence in the early nineteenth century.

See also Colonialism; Cortés, Hernán; Las Casas, Bartolomé de; Mexico City; Missions and Missionaries; Spanish America; Shipping.

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JOHN F. SCHWALLER

OTHER AMERICAN COLONIES

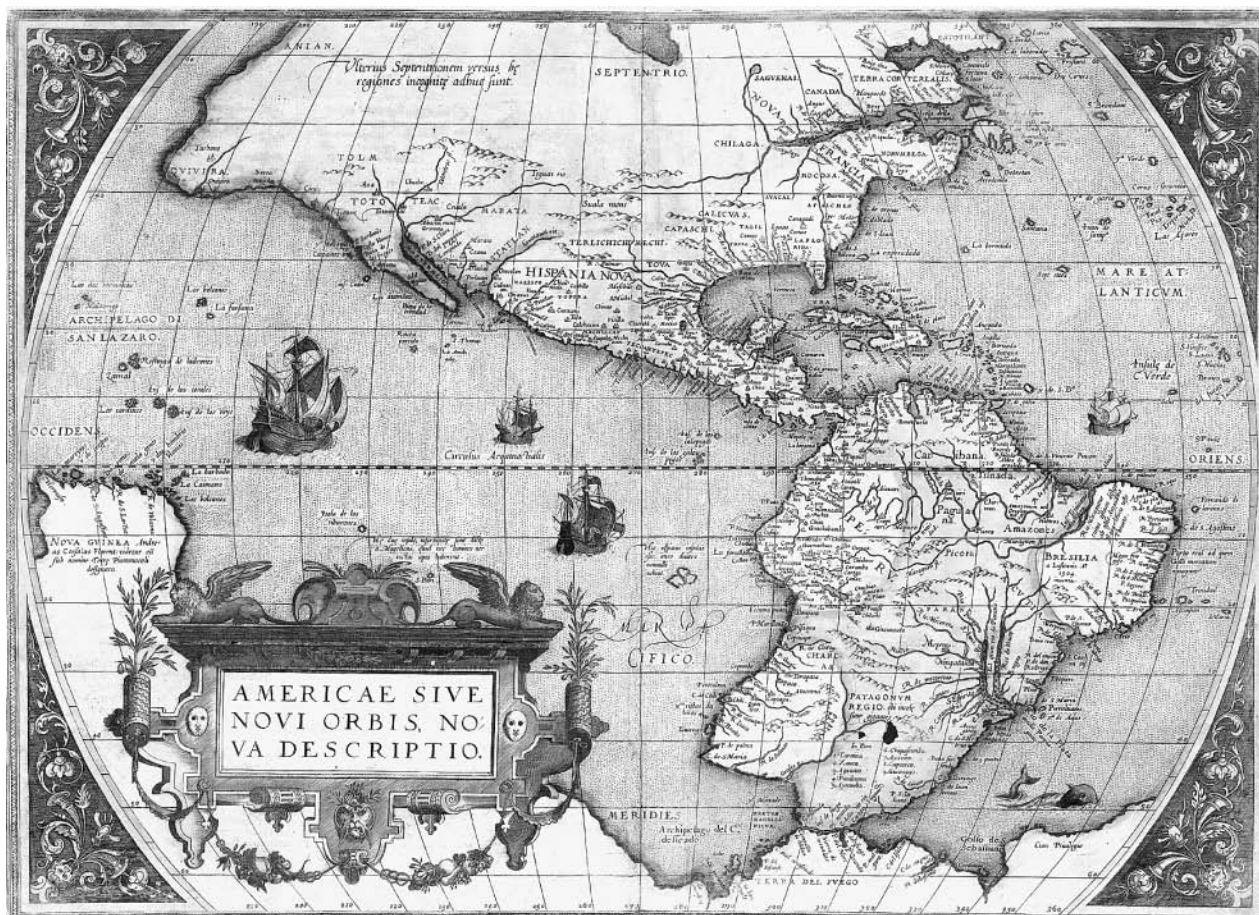
The initial phase of Spanish imperial activity in the Americas involved finding, subjugating, and then exploiting nucleated Native American settlements. Later, Spaniards developed mechanisms for creat-

ing nucleated settlements from semi-nomadic Native American groups, gangs of enslaved Africans, and free Hispanic labor. Subjugation was followed by limited Spanish immigration. In the parts of North America that became the United States and Canada, these early purposes were soon expanded to include defensive ones as Spain tried to protect the Bahama Channel and Gulf of Mexico trade routes and, later, to create remote frontiers to protect the mines of northern Mexico from its European imperial rivals.

EXPLORATION AND SETTLEMENT

The Spanish explorers of the coasts of southeastern North America (the area that became the United States)—Francisco Alvarez de Pineda, Diego de Miruelo, Juan Ponce de León, Pedro de Salazar,

Pedro de Quejo, Lucas Vázquez de Ayllón, Pánfilo de Narváez and Alvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca—found a coastal zone lacking nucleated settlements except for the areas around Sapelo Sound (Georgia) and the Caloosahatche River (southwest Florida). Ayllón and Narváez, in Georgia and Florida, and Cabeza de Vaca, in the Rio Grande valley, picked up hints of nucleated settlements in the interior. Hernando de Soto's epic peregrination in the southeast checked on the former, while Fray Marcos de Niza and Francisco Vázquez de Coronado examined the latter, in each case reporting not only the hardships of their journeys but also the existence of towns of sedentary Indian agriculturalists. Explorations on the coasts of Baja and Alta (U.S.) California failed to find nucleated settlements.



Spanish Colonies: Other American Colonies. This map of the Americas appeared in Abraham Ortelius's *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, the first modern atlas, published in many editions between 1570 and 1612. It was more accurate than other contemporary maps, especially in regard to the Caribbean and Central America. The odd-looking bulge in the west coast of South America was corrected in later editions after 1587, but the northwest coast remained unexplored and unknown. MAP COLLECTION, STERLING MEMORIAL LIBRARY, YALE UNIVERSITY

The Tristan de Luna expedition (1559–1562) to the Mobile-Pensacola area was intended to follow up de Soto's findings with conquest and exploitation of the interior chiefdoms of Coosa and Cofitachequi, but it failed to do so. Supply problems led to a mutiny, and Philip II (ruled 1556–1598) ordered most of the men removed to the Point of Santa Elena (Tybee Island, Ga.); this was in response to what he believed was a French plan to occupy a port on the Atlantic coast and thereby attack the vital Bahama Channel sailing route.

Thus diverted to the east coast and as a counter to French designs, Spanish imperialism in the American southeast took on the defensive posture that would characterize its later actions in North America. French colonies at Charlesfort (Parris Island, S.C., 1562–1563) and Fort Caroline (near modern Jacksonville, Fla., 1564–1565) resulted in the founding of St. Augustine in 1565. It remained the anchor of Spain's southeastern presence until the eighteenth century and the acquisition of Louisiana.

An effective sequel to Coronado's discoveries of the pueblos of the upper Rio Grande Valley was delayed until Juan de Oñate took up the task beginning in 1598. Several earlier efforts had failed.

MISSIONS AND PRESIDIOS: THE MATURE COLONIAL SYSTEM

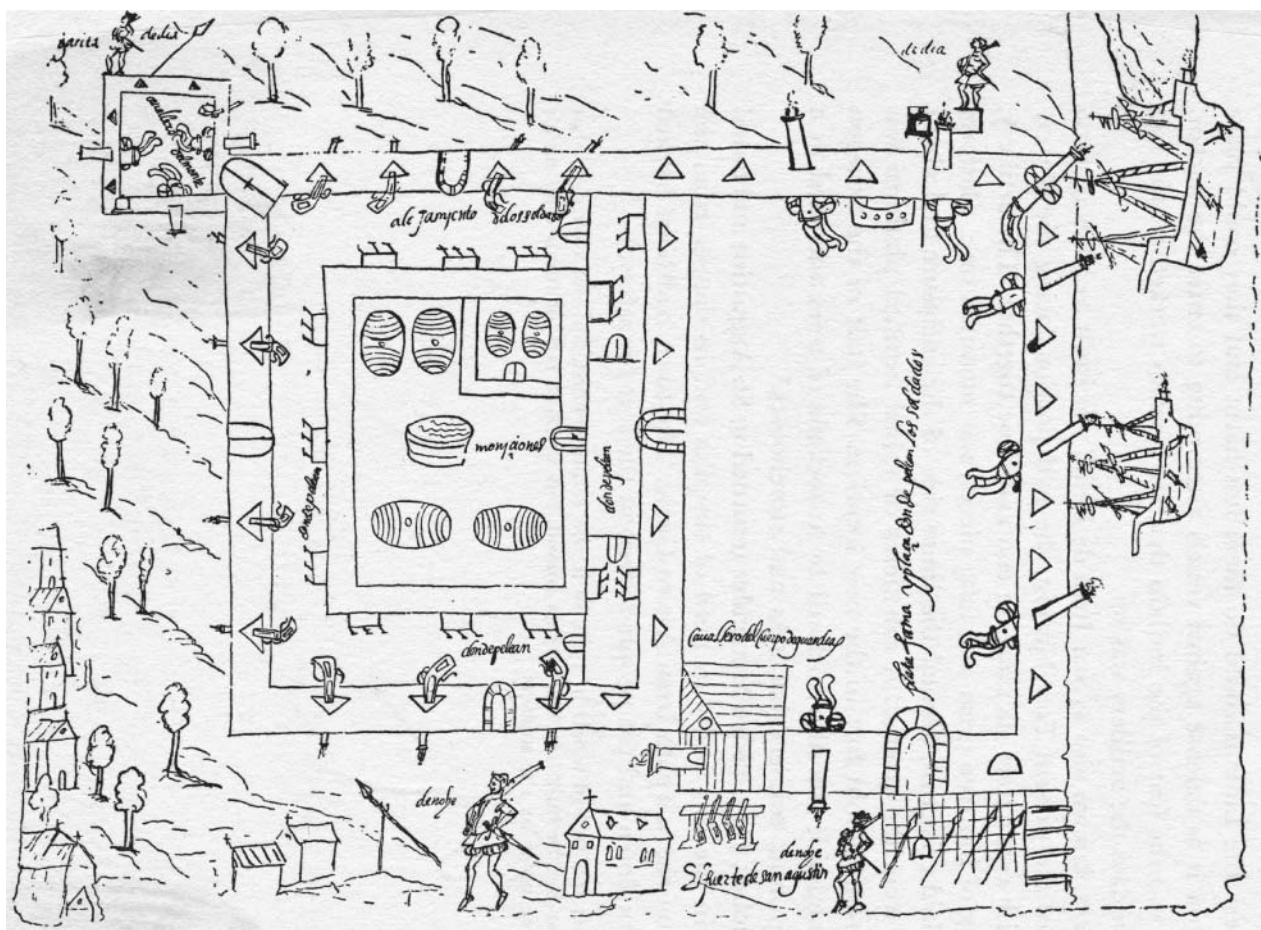
By the time New Mexico was being subjugated, the Spaniards had worked out the mission-presidio system for inducing semi-sedentary peoples to accept life in nucleated agricultural communities. Offering food, clothing, tools, and protection from raiders (the ostensible reason for the garrison) to gather a population, the mission sometimes used coercion to retain it. Baptisms of the gathered Native Americans provided a justification for continued royal support when the crown, during the years 1600–1608, considered withdrawing the garrison at St. Augustine, the Florida missions, and Oñate's colony. Thereafter, defense against European rivals (in Florida) and Native American raiders of New Mexico again brought the defensive rationale to the fore, even as the missionary impulse continued.

For the balance of the seventeenth century and into the early eighteenth century, the mission-presidio system expanded in both Florida and the southwest whenever the Franciscan friars who manned it could persuade the crown to allow, and pay

for, new ventures. In Florida that meant missions in the nucleated settlements of coastal Georgia and northeast Florida, then inland along the central Florida Ridge, and then in the area of modern Tallahassee after 1633. The Franciscans claimed in excess of 35,000 converts at the height of the missions' population. As Old World diseases reduced Native American populations, the friars relocated the people of outlying settlements into the central mission towns. The Hispanic population numbered less than 3,000. The next extension of the Florida missions would have been into the Creek towns in the Chattahoochee River drainage had not Englishmen from Charleston offered the Creek better prices and products and no overt political or religious control, beginning in 1685. In New Mexico, the nominally converted Indian population was some 17,000 on the eve of the Pueblo Revolt of 1680; there were some 2,500 Hispanic residents there at that time. The Spanish reoccupation of 1693–1694 was followed by less energetic missionary work. Warfare against raiders such as the Comanches and Navajos began long before 1680 and continued after 1694. New Mexico lived a precarious existence but grew to have a population of 19,276 Hispanics and 9,732 Puebloans in 1800.

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY CHALLENGES

The dawn of the eighteenth century brought new international challenges and a new focus on defensive reasons for Spanish imperial activity in North America. In 1704 a Creek–English force destroyed the Florida missions and effectively confined the Spanish presence to St. Augustine. Farther west, the development of French La Louisiane (1699) provoked the extension of Spanish missions into eastern Texas (San Antonio) and western Louisiana (1690–1693 and after 1716), supposedly to stop smuggling as well as to save souls, although they did little of either. Then in 1763 French Louisiana (population about 10,000) was divided into the British West Florida, along the Mississippi south of modern Vicksburg (and Indian territory between West Florida and the Appalachians), and Spanish Louisiana, which embraced the “Isle of Orleans” and all of the land west of the Mississippi. Viewed from the beginning as a remote defense of Mexico, much as Texas had been, Louisiana became, with Havana, the basis for the Spanish conquest of British West Florida in 1779–1781, as Spain sought to restore its control of



Spanish Colonies: Other American Colonies. An early pen-and-ink sketch of the fort at St. Augustine, built c. 1565.

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the entire Gulf of Mexico as a defense for its economic interests in Mexico. The peace treaties of 1783 ratified that conquest and restored East Florida to Spain (it having been lost in 1763).

In the 1770s on the west coast of North America, rumors of Russian and British interest in sea otter pelts seemed to pose a threat to the use of harbors in California as emergency ports for Spain's Manila galleon trade. Beginning in 1769, the Spaniards built a string of mission-presidios in California as far north as San Francisco, ultimately embracing twenty missions and more than 21,000 converts. In the 1780s Spaniards began to assert their claims as far north as Nootka Sound, on Vancouver Island. The result was the Nootka Sound crisis of 1789–1790, which almost brought Spain and Great Britain to war. Spain backed down because of general naval and military weakness and because Revolu-

tionary France was unwilling to honor the Franco-Spanish alliance against Great Britain. By agreement, in 1795 both Spaniards and Englishmen abandoned permanent camps at Nootka Sound.

THE EBB OF SPANISH IMPERIALISM IN NORTH AMERICA

The Spanish retreat at Nootka Sound marked the beginning of what proved to be a general retreat of imperial activities in the Mississippi Valley and the southeast in the face of growing U.S. demands that Spain recognize the Mississippi River and 31 degrees north as the western and southern boundaries of the United States. Although supportive of the major Native American nations in the southeast in their struggles against American encroachment and instrumental in increasing Louisiana's francophone population, Spain failed to develop a large, loyal Hispanic population in Louisiana and so lacked the



Spanish Colonies: Other American Colonies. Illustration from Arnoldus Montanus's *Unknown New World*, published in Amsterdam in 1673, depicts Spanish settlers arriving in St. Augustine. ©BETTMANN/CORBIS

local means to defend the colony. In 1803, the population was about 50,000, half of them African slaves. Moreover, Louisiana and Florida rapidly became economic dependencies of the United States despite Spanish efforts to foster trade within their own empire and with France (before 1793). Pinckney's Treaty of 1795, the Treaty of San Lorenzo of 1800 (the conditional retrocession of Louisiana to France), and the transfer of Louisiana to France in November 1803 marked the steps in Spain's retreat. The Adams-Onís treaty of 1819, effective in 1821, conveyed the Floridas to the United States and set the western boundary of the Louisiana Purchase, preserving Texas (population of about 2,500) as a Spanish province. The Mexican Revolution for Independence of 1821 removed Spanish control of the southwest, ending over three centuries of imperial activity in the areas that became the United States and Canada.

See also Colonialism; Exploration; Spain.

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PAUL E. HOFFMAN

PERU

The viceroyalty of Peru covered virtually all of Spanish-speaking South America, an area that today encompasses all or part of Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, Chile, Argentina, and Paraguay. Its topography and climates vary, from the deserts of coastal Peru and Chile to the rainforests of the upper Amazon basin, the Mediterranean climate of Chile's central valley, and the glaciated Andean peaks and nearby alpine meadows. The unifying element is the

Andes Mountains, which stretch down the western coast of Central and South America from Panama to Tierra del Fuego.

GEOGRAPHICAL SETTING

The Andean mountain range extends south 4,971 miles (8,000 km) from northern Colombia to Tierra del Fuego. In Chile the range is narrow; in Bolivia it is broadest. South of the Gulf of Guayaquil the mountains seem to rise abruptly out of the Pacific, and there is a deep-sea trench along the coast. The highest summits approach 22,966 feet (7,000 m). The vertical distance from the deepest part of the trench to the Andean peaks reaches 45,931 feet (14,000 m). Numerous volcanoes—active, dormant, and extinct—occur throughout the chain, and there are frequent earthquakes. Although ferrous metals and coal are absent, there is abundant mineral wealth, and for centuries deposits of gold, silver, copper, lead, and zinc have been exploited.

The cold-water counterclockwise Humboldt Current sweeps northward along South America's coast; in northern Peru it curves westward. This current, with its prevailing southwesterly winds, provides a temperate climate—even near the equator—and is responsible for the desert conditions of coastal Peru as well. During El Niño periods, the current shifts, and a warm coastal countercurrent from Ecuador filters southward. Rapid increases in humidity, heavy rainfall, and flooding along the normally desert coast occur, causing catastrophic damage. The Humboldt Current also nurtures rich marine life, providing a staple food in communities along the western coast of South America.

PRECONQUEST PERU

When the Spanish arrived in the sixteenth century, the population was spread over the region, on the coast, highlands, and upper Amazon basin. Andean peoples were settled agriculturalists, supplementing their diets by fishing and hunting. In desert coastal valleys some had developed highly sophisticated irrigation and terrace agriculture. There is debate over the number of Amerindians when the Spanish came; 14 million in the polity established by the Inca is generally accepted as a reasonable estimate. That population was composed of several dozen ethnic entities. Quechua and Aymara were the principal language groups, and there were many dialects and other discrete languages. Under Inca Pachacuti

in the mid-1400s, the Quechua-speaking Inca united many Andean ethnic groups in a period of rapid expansion from their base in and around the Cuzco Valley. This relatively recent empire was in turn quickly conquered by a small group of Europeans under Francisco Pizarro.

EUROPEAN CONQUEST AND SETTLEMENT

In contrast to Mexico, where Spanish conquest and stable political organization came quickly, Peru's first years were characterized by native resistance, rebellion, and internal strife among the conquerors. A division of authority among partners Francisco Pizarro, Diego de Almagro, and Panamanian cleric Hernando de Luque (acting for a silent investor) led to dissension. Pizarro conducted most of the exploration along South America's west coast, Almagro supplied men by sea, and Luque handled affairs in Panama.

Hardships were extreme and many explorers died. The halting second expedition (1526 to mid-1528) reached the mid-coast of Peru, where they first encountered conclusive evidence of wealthy populations. The partners agreed to return Pizarro to Spain to report and secure royal authorization for conquest and settlement. The contract with the crown (26 July 1529) provided Pizarro with the lion's share as governor and captain general, leaving Luque bishop of Tumbes, and Almagro the administration of its fortress.

The suspicions of the partners in Panama were realized—Pizarro was untrustworthy—and future interactions among the men were based on distrust and greed. Almagro's complaints to the crown ultimately led to his appointment as governor of the land south of Pizarro's jurisdiction, but the boundaries and wealth of the territory were unclear.

The third and final voyage of discovery began in December 1530. Much time was wasted in coastal Ecuador, with the result that it was not until September 1532 that San Miguel de Piura was founded as a Spanish town on Peru's north coast. At San Miguel, Pizarro left the ill and old and marched toward the Inca heartland. There were only 168 Spaniards, but they took Indian allies with them. The Inca Atahualpa was resting with a large army near Cajamarca, following victories over his half-brother Huascar. Both had contested the succession after their father Huayna Capac succumbed to



Spanish Colonies: Peru. This bird's-eye view of the Inca capital of Cuzco in Peru was published in Braun and Hogenberg's *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* not long after the Spanish conquest. Supposedly based on travelers' accounts, the plans of Cuzco and Mexico City were the only views of New World cities to appear in this famous collection of urban plans. MAP COLLECTION, STERLING MEMORIAL LIBRARY, YALE UNIVERSITY

smallpox in the mid-1520s. Atahualpa was surprised, taken captive by the Spanish, and forced to rule as a puppet until his execution (26 July 1533). The Spanish were offered a ransom—Atahualpa promised to fill two large rooms, one with gold, the other with silver—but, in spite of his compliance, he was killed on the basis of dubious charges.

The Spanish then marched southward through the Andes toward the Inca capital, and finally entered Cuzco (14 November 1533). Native resistance was modest; not all Andean ethnic groups rallied to the Inca cause. Pizarro, as the expedition's governor and captain-general, held extensive political authority. His contract with the crown empowered him to distribute treasure, provide the conquistadors with tributary grants (*encomiendas*, a system that gave the Spanish control over native populations and required those populations to pay tribute to them), establish cities, and distribute unclaimed lands. His power was checked only by Spanish custom and the presence of a royal legal agent and treasury official.

Spanish cities were quickly founded: Cuzco (23 March 1534), Lima (6 January 1535), with Trujillo, Puerto Viejo, and Guayaquil before year's end; Chachapoyas and La Plata in 1538, Huamanga in 1539, and Arequipa in 1540. Personal rivalries and the internecine fight for spoils, however, prevented the early creation of a stable administration. To summarize a complex series of events: Almagro set out from Cuzco to explore his supposedly rich domain to the south in July 1535. Shortly thereafter a generalized rebellion against Spanish rule in the Andes, extending from north of Lima to Lake Titicaca, erupted under the leadership of Manco Inca. Cuzco was besieged by thousands of natives and communications were cut between the Spanish camps. Almagro returned from his disastrous reconnaissance of Chile in 1537 and helped lift the siege. He now claimed that Cuzco lay within his jurisdiction and captured Hernando Pizarro. But at the Battle of Las Salinas (26 April 1538), Almagro was captured, tried, and subsequently executed by Pizarro. Three years later (26 July 1541), a group of Almagrists under Almagro's mestizo son, Diego de Almagro the Younger, surprised and assassinated Francisco Pizarro in Lima and took control of the realm. The crown already had sent a new administrator, Cristóbal Vaca de

Castro, who carried orders to investigate the problems besetting Peru and bring to justice those implicated in Pizarro's death. In the ensuing Battle of Chupas (16 September 1542), Governor Vaca de Castro defeated Almagro the Younger, who was later captured and executed.

At this juncture one might expect that royal authority had been fully established. Indeed, by the New Laws of 1542, the viceroyalty of Peru was created, and its *audiencia* (royal court) authorized. Both the justices (*oidores*) and the first viceroy, Blasco Núñez Vela, were authorized to sail to Peru and to found a government in the coastal capital of Lima, but the New Laws also included important provisions for the protection of Amerindians living under the *encomienda* regime. Most devastating for settlers hoping to establish American dynasties, the grant was to be only temporary. In Mexico, Viceroy Antonio de Mendoza suspended enforcement of the legislation pending review of its impact, thereby avoiding rebellion.

In Peru, Núñez Vela made clear his intent to enforce the new order no matter the consequences. Not surprisingly, the *encomenderos* (the Spaniards who collected tribute from the Indians) resisted. Their captain was a reluctant Gonzalo Pizarro, another Pizarro sibling. The new viceroy's arrogance and his involvement in the killing of a royal official convinced wavering colonists to join the movement. The viceroy was imprisoned and shipped to Spain, but escaped in Ecuador and collected a royalist force. The rebels under Pizarro defeated the viceroy at the Battle of Añaquito near Quito (18 January 1546), and the viceroy was killed.

Aware of the deteriorating situation in the Andes, the Council of the Indies named cleric Pedro de la Gasca president of the *audiencia*, gave him broad powers, and sent him to inspect the land and reestablish royal authority. Armed with blank papers signed by the king, he reached Panama in August 1546 and slowly began to collect adherents by issuing pardons and rewards. In spite of their rebellious nature, the Peruvian elite largely supported the monarchy; there was, after all, no alternative example of an independent Andean realm under European leadership.

There were two important battles. In the first, the Battle of Huarina (21 October 1547), royalists

were soundly defeated by Caravajal's effective use of artillery. Pizarro, however, was unable or unwilling to complete his victory, and he moved southward toward Lake Titicaca instead. In the Battle of Xaquixahuana (9 April 1548), near Cuzco, Pizarro's supporters deserted and crossed the field to the side of La Gasca. Pizarro was taken and executed, along with Caravajal and other ringleaders, a few days later. This victory largely brought the Spanish settlers under royal authority, although there would be brief, weak uprisings in the mid-1550s.

ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANIZATION

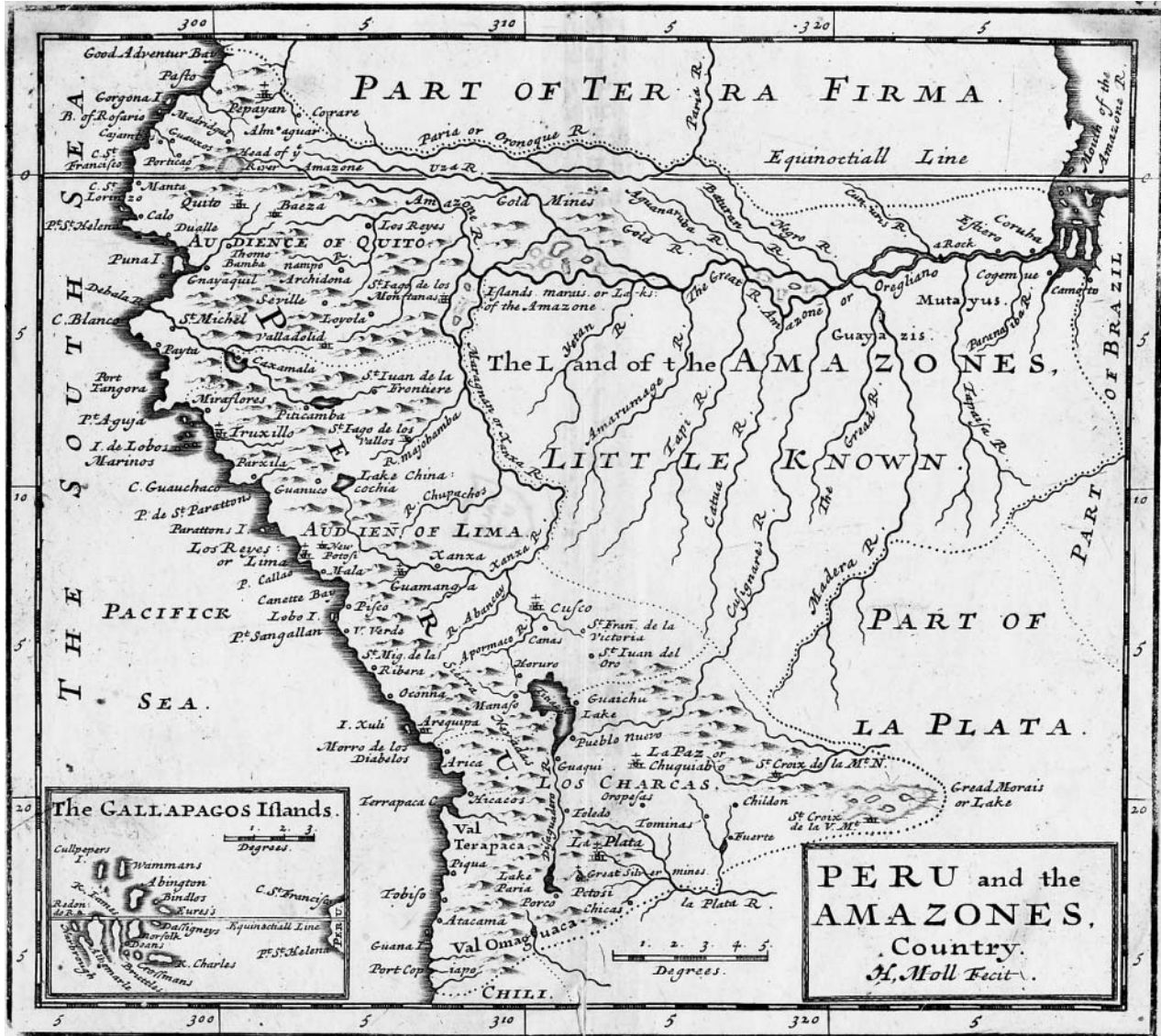
By the early 1560s the administrative superstructure was largely complete and the vicerealty system seemed firmly established. Lima was the capital. The viceroy, sometimes a relative of the royal family, who by birth and education could command respect, was appointed in Spain by the Council of the Indies. The viceroy's arrival in Peru with his large retinue of extended family and other officials was celebrated with festivities and civic displays. There were twenty-three Peruvian viceroys under the Habsburg dynasty; their average tenure was eight years. Frequently, they first served as viceroy of New Spain, a less prestigious post. The viceroy was the chief military and administrative officer: he sat as president of the *audiencia* when it was in session, appointed lesser officials and supervised administration, and was responsible for defense in times of emergency. His power was checked only by treasury officials with a direct link to the Council of the Indies, and individuals who were willing to communicate directly to the crown to voice their concerns. This occurred surprisingly frequently, for subjects could always directly petition the king. There could be open or secret investigations (*visitas*) of his administration, and, at the end of his term, he was subject to review (*residencia*).

The *audiencia* in the viceregal capital took precedence over lesser courts. *Audiencias* were established in Panama (1538), Lima (1542), Santa Fe de Bogotá (1549), Charcas (1559), Quito (1563), Chile (1565, 1609), Buenos Aires (1661, reverted to Charcas in 1671), and finally Cuzco (1787). The president presided with four to a dozen *oidores* ('chief justices'), depending on the period and importance of the jurisdiction. The president was usually the oldest *oidor*, and, when a viceroy died or was

absent for some reason, the president of the *audiencia* served as chief official. In its normal activity as a court, the *audiencia* met several times weekly. Appeals of the court's decisions went directly to Spain's Council of the Indies. There were several associated officials of the court including a secretary, a recorder, a solicitor (*procurador*), a chaplain, and the crown's attorney (*fiscal*). Almost all the higher officials came from Spain.

The closest experience to local rule in the vicerealty was the town councils (*cabildos*). The *cabildo* had jurisdiction over all the territory from the boundary of one Spanish city to another. Officials came from the local elite, those with land and Indian *encomiendas*; they were named by the leader when the town was founded. Pizarro, for example, founded towns such as Lima and Trujillo, and made the original land grants, both urban plots and rural agricultural lands, and named local officials. Afterward, the city, as a corporation, assumed the right to sell or rent lands, levy taxes, regulate trade and prices, oversee the markets and construct bridges, public buildings, and a water supply. The council met regularly. In the first meeting in January the body elected officials such as the two *alcaldes ordinarios* ('town magistrates'), the *regidores* ('town councilmen' or 'aldermen'), the *alguacil mayor* ('sheriff'), a jailor, and inspectors of weights and measures and other officials. The number of *regidores*, usually four to eight, depended on the importance of the place. Under the Habsburgs the crown sold many offices to relieve financial strain. The *cabildo* could act as a minor court in lesser crimes. According to Viceroy Francisco de Toledo's Ordinances, Indian towns had a similar administrative structure.

At first, control of the native population of the countryside was left to *encomenderos*, but because of their abuses of power this quickly changed. In the mid-1560s Governor Cristóbal Garcia de Castro introduced the *corregimiento* system that divided the vicerealty into several dozen units under an Indian agent called a *corregidor*. By then the *encomenderos* were forced to reside in the nearest Spanish city rather than in their *encomienda*. The *corregimientos*, often composed of several *encomiendas*, paralleled Andean ethnic units or Inca provinces. The *corregidores* collected tribute in goods and cash, administered justice as judges in



Spanish Colonies: Peru. A map of Peru and the Amazon watershed, identified as "The Land of the Amazones, Little Known," from an early-eighteenth-century edition of Herman Moll's *The Compleat Geographer*. MAP COLLECTION, STERLING MEMORIAL LIBRARY, YALE UNIVERSITY

minor cases, supervised local church activities, and provided security. They also disbursed funds to pay the salaries of local leaders and teachers of religion, and doled out to the *encomenderos* their share of the tribute. Their term of office averaged three to five years, and, in order to avoid corruption, they were to come from the outside and not have relatives in the same district. There were frequent abuses, however, because their salaries were insufficient and there were numerous ways in which an enterprising *corregidor* could supplement his income.

THE COLONIAL ECONOMY

The colonial Andean economy was based on three pillars: a largely Amerindian labor force; mining, principally silver and, concurrently, mercury, which boosted silver output; and agriculture. Several economic cycles operated. In the first months and years the economy was blatantly exploitative; the goal of most Spaniards was to extract the maximum amount of wealth as quickly as possible and return to Spain. The sacking of local leaders and despoliation of burial sites went on as long as the treasures, amassed

over generations, could be easily expropriated. Incredible riches were despoiled: 168 men, for example, shared the booty of Atahualpa's ransom. The astute and fortunate quickly returned to Spain. Unfortunately, the men who arrived earliest had control of the lion's share of the treasures. One quickly sought-out source of wealth and power was the *encomienda*, which provided a cash tribute payment plus access to labor in return for bringing Christianity and "good government" to the Indians. A large *encomienda* permitted a life of leisure for the Spanish recipient, so grants were worth fighting for. The first systematic distribution of *encomiendas* by Pizarro occurred in 1538, although he had made grants earlier when the first Spanish cities were founded.

Another avenue to wealth came through land. In early colonial Peru a land grant without laborers was almost worthless. Here the Spanish attitude of *hidalguía* ('nobility') prevailed: a gentleman did not labor with his hands. As long as there was an ample native population, or, later, African slaves, there was no problem, but the number of Amerindians began to decline steadily. Around 1560, however, land became a viable source of wealth and power; by then all the available Indians had been granted in *encomienda*. Outright enslavement of Indians was prohibited by the crown, and, except for a trickle of captives taken during rebellion or in frontier regions, Indian slavery did not provide labor for the colony.

The state played little economic role in the conquest; the enterprise was largely left to individuals or family investors, who pooled resources to join in the expeditions. Spain merely authorized the actions, naming someone to be the principal leader, and then made certain that royal treasury officials were present to take the king's share. At first the most important revenue for the crown was the *quinto*, or fifth, that the government received for any mineral wealth, precious stones, and other key products. With the mines, the crown received a stable and reliable source of *quinto* revenues for many decades. The crown also administered part of Indian tribute. The sales tax, or *alcabala*, was collected on petty commerce in the Spanish cities, but not in the barter economy of the rural countryside. There were many other minor sources of revenue: government monopolies on playing cards, ice, and stamped paper;

taxes on the sale of slaves; and special taxes to assist in paying costs for transportation and defense. In the seventeenth century, the crown increasingly resorted to the sale of public offices.

Much gold was taken during the first years of the colony, with much of it being plundered. Gold was also extracted in many places in the viceroyalty; for substantial production, placer mining in riverbeds that carried alluvial gold dust and nuggets was preferred. Unfortunately, the costs of placer mining, which required a large labor force, often consisting of expensive imported slaves, were too high to warrant exploitation, save for a few very rich gold sources such as Carabaya in the upper Amazon basin or Colombia's Atrato River.

Silver ore, on the other hand, was ubiquitous, and silver mining was the key to the economy of colonial Peru, and, indeed, fueled Spanish imperial activities. There were dozens of quickly exploited mines. The most famous was Potosí; the mountain, which had been known by native miners, was "discovered" by Spaniards in April 1545. Within months there were more than a dozen significant mine operators, each vying to secure the richest veins and competing for laborers. A principal problem was extracting the silver from the crushed ore, which required substantial heat. There was no coal, or even wood for charcoal, at Potosí's elevation of 13,123 feet (4,000 m). Native technology relied on small puna-grass-fired blast furnaces located on the top of slopes where wind was strong and predictable. Such a method of combustion functioned only while the supply lasted. Fortunately, it was discovered that mercury has an affinity for silver, and under the right conditions combines with it, extracting silver from crushed ore. The amalgam can be heated at relatively low temperatures, the mercury comes off as a gas, and the molten silver remains to be poured into a mold to form an ingot. One of the world's richest sources of mercury was discovered at Huancavelica in Peru's central Andes in 1565.

With the technical problem of production solved, the labor supply once again became the primary issue. Viceroy Toledo solved that dilemma with the *mita* system. By his order, one-seventh of the tributary population of sixteen Indian provinces near Potosí was required to work in the mines one

month each seven years as *mitayos*. It was paid labor, and there was a daily stipend and travel allowance, although the amount was less than the market price. Toledo partly borrowed the idea from the Incas, who used *mitayos* on great public works projects. Under Toledo, *mitayos* were also used in Spanish cities for the *mita de plaza* to help build churches, city offices, bridges, and water systems, and they were also used in other essential activities. Such labor demands could disrupt native subsistence activities, with damaging consequences. Furthermore, work in the mercury mines was unhealthy, and there were constant fatalities associated with all mining efforts: cave-ins, flooding, and dangerous gases.

Although colonial mining was the economic engine supporting Spain and her imperial demands in Europe, agriculture also played a role in the viceroyalty of Peru. Herding and the associated production of wool were a constant in the Andean highlands. The animals could be native llamas and alpacas, or imported sheep, and woolen cloth was required as part of the Indian tribute payment in wide sectors of the Andes. Production tended to be in the hands of families, with women doing most weaving, similar to “cottage production” in pre-modern Europe. Here, however, it was not for profit, but tribute payment. The amount varied, but was usually not more than one piece per adult male tributary each year. Quality also varied, with substantial cloth production consumed internally rather than being sold for export. In some regions small textile mills (*obrajes*) were established by European entrepreneurs, with production for export in mind. Indians worked in these—those in the *audiencia* of Quito district were famous for their blue wools—and female and child labor caused cries of alarm by those witnessing abuses.

Wheat was introduced and proved adaptable to highland production. At first wheat production tended to be cultivated near Spanish cities, for the European populations, but by the eighteenth century much wheat produced in the viceroyalty was grown in the central valley of Chile. The native population continued to prefer native staples: corn, potatoes, quinoa, or, in warm humid areas, corn and manioc. Of course there were a host of native plants that had been domesticated that continued to be preferred by the autochthonous population. Europeans introduced grape and olive cultivation, but

these products competed directly with Andalusian wine and olive oil shipped by Sevillian merchants, and regulations against American production, coupled with technical difficulties, meant that they never achieved true export status in the colonial period.

For alcoholic beverages the native populations used *chicha*, a light corn beer, or *aguardiente*, produced from sugarcane. Sugarcane was introduced into some of the irrigated valleys of north and central coastal Peru, and by the early seventeenth century was produced in quantities ample for local supply. In Paraguay, however, sugarcane was planted for export. Jesuits often participated in the direction of the plantations in both locales.

THE SOCIAL ORDER

Colonial society was hierarchical, with clear distinctions, making it possible to identify one’s position in society. At the same time there was a near caste order, with the blocks of Amerindians, Europeans, and sub-Saharan Africans providing the human material for an evolving colonial society. Although the social groups were initially separate, the evolution was toward a mestizo world.

When the Europeans entered the Andean world, indigenous ethnic peoples varied; there were dozens of separate linguistic groups, with a wide range of possible cultural characteristics. The Inca empire covered much, but not all, of the territory that would be called the viceroyalty of Peru. The Inca had accepted and maintained local folkways, even as they were attempting administrative uniformity, religious acceptance of a general Inca cult, and the use of the Quechua language. The Spanish continued Inca policies, including quechuaization, with Christianity replacing the imperial cult. The common division of native society was between commoner and leader, called a *kuraka* (‘chieftain’). Leadership was usually not hereditary, but based on merit, although the tendency was for leadership to be held within certain families. There was always a group of elders that commanded respect and was involved in any important community decisions. In Andean societies there was rough gender equality, with parallel inheritance. The fundamental social unit was the *ayllu*, an extended family unit that understood itself as having a common ancestor, generally not identified as a person, but as a physical

place, such as a volcano, spring, or lake. The *ayllu* shared resources and production, and collaborated on various activities necessary for group survival. It was not a money economy; products were exchanged as needed among *ayllu* members on the basis of customary value equivalencies. In the central Andes there was also a moiety-like structure, with divisions into halves called *saya*. There is considerable debate about the nature of both *ayllu* and *saya* among ethnohistorians. There was competition between the *saya*, some of it ritualized, which may have contributed to community stability.

The Spanish adopted these rather complex structures as they set up the viceroyalty of Peru. They ruled in conjunction with the local *kurakas*, giving them a special status, permitting them to wear silk, bear arms, and ride horses, normally prohibited for the Indian commoners. The *kuraka* helped collect tribute for the Spanish officials, they chose the *mitayos*, and they helped maintain community solidarity. Although all Amerindians could participate in agricultural activities, there was specialization of labor.

Hierarchy also existed within the African community, and the legal condition of slave or free marked the first boundary. Africans came on the earliest expeditions, and their number increased rapidly after the Spanish began to found cities. The number of free blacks engaged in the trades was initially small, and they clustered in skills such as blacksmithing and tanning. Successful wealthy conquerors often purchased household slaves, who provided a status symbol representing conspicuous consumption, since slaves were costly in the early colony. With the collapse of the Amerindian population along the viceroyalty's coast, increasing numbers of slaves were imported to labor on coastal sugar and cotton estates. The Jesuits came to use large numbers on various plantations. Slaves were also used in placer gold extraction in the Esmeraldas district of coastal Ecuador and in rivers of the upper Amazon basin.

Labor conditions were so harsh in some of these that numerous slaves escaped and set up runaway communities of their own. Those of coastal Colombia and Ecuador are particularly well-documented. The Catholic Church viewed the soul of the African to be just as valuable as the soul of anyone else. As a

result, the question of the immorality of holding another person in bondage worried the Spaniard, and manumission was viewed positively. There were frequent manumissions of slaves by their masters at important life events, such as a marriage, birth of a child, or the approach of death. The demographic consequence within the viceroyalty was a continuously growing population of free blacks, who tended to cluster in the Spanish cities, especially along the coast. Within that free black community there was also a hierarchy, with some slaves also owning slaves.

There were two principal elements in the European group, the *peninsulares*, those who were born in Europe, and the creoles, those born in the New World. The *peninsulares* usually held the political appointments, whereas the creoles tended to be wealthier. It is no surprise that there was friction between them. The European social ladder was based on wealth; nonetheless all Europeans, no matter how poor they might be, saw themselves as superior to the other groups. Hence, Spaniards of lesser status, including miners, artisans, and craftsmen, as well as drifters in search of fortune, attempted to throw off their low-status baggage and emulated the lifestyle of the elite. Although it was difficult to convince other Spaniards of their new status, the Indians, blacks, and mestizos had little choice but to suffer their overbearing ways. Given that only the first conquerors had any real chance of success in securing an *encomienda*, the newcomer might make it through trade, perhaps first as a merchant's factor, or in mining, given technical knowledge. Any excess capital would be invested in land, which provided the foundation for social recognition.

Preferred marriage was within the group. Although families played a large role in the selection of a spouse, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries there was a remarkable degree of individual choice. The Spanish woman was expected to uphold all the Christian virtues and to be an emblem of the family; beyond this there was a remarkable range of possibilities. The married Spanish woman could expect to have a household servant or even a slave, which was less likely for her female relative in the peninsula. In the absence of a male in the household, either by death or prolonged absence, the woman assumed the full range of economic activi-

ties, administering the household, supervising business, even buying and selling properties. The Spanish pattern of inheritance was for equal distribution of the estate, which provided the daughters with virtually the same capital as their brothers. Only the very rich with an entailed estate (*mayorazgo*) provided the eldest son with the major property and title.

The process of mixing the three primary ethnic populations began immediately and continued throughout the colonial period. From the European standpoint the mixture was most pronounced in the first decades when there were few Spanish women. Francisco Pizarro, Diego de Almagro, and other leaders set the example. The mixed offspring foreshadowed the future population, but their access to high social standing was frustrated. In the first place

many, if not most, were illegitimate. Many conquistadores took Indian women or black slaves as concubines and produced numerous progeny, only later to discard the mother and her brood and marry a Spanish woman. In some cases elite native women, for example the Inca princesses (*ñusta*), or daughters of *kurakas*, who brought land, livestock, and other sources of wealth into the relationship, might secure legal matrimony. There are several well-known cases of such matches, perhaps the best-known being the marriage of *ñusta* doña Beatriz Coya, one of the granddaughters of Inca Huayna Capac, to Captain Martín García de Loyola, a relative of the founder of the Jesuit Order. The possibility for social advancement of the mestizos was limited, for they were between worlds. Raised by their mothers and too often rejected by their fathers, they



Spanish Colonies: Peru. *Corpus Christi Procession, Cuzco*, detail showing Inca princes, eighteenth century. THE ART ARCHIVE/MUSEO PEDRO DE OSMA LIMA/MIREILLE VAUTIER

were portrayed in the popular literature as shifty, untrustworthy, and volatile. The church might have provided an avenue of social mobility for them, but after several notorious cases of misbehavior by mestizo clergy, the church rejected the idea. The church also rejected an Indian clergy. Not all mestizos were unsuccessful, however, and many gained status and recognition as majordomos, muleteers, petty merchants, and miners.

SPIRITUAL CONQUEST

The process of effective Christianization of Andean South America was slow and required generations. Hernando de Luque, one of the three original participants in the conquest of Peru, was named “Protector of the Indians” and bishop of Tumbes in 1528, although he never reached his post. The first clergyman in Peru was friar Vicente de Valverde, who confronted the Inca Atahualpa with religious text in hand at the square of Cajamarca in 1532. The encounter boded ill for Christianization. Efforts to bring Christianity to the Indian populations were at first left to the leading figures. Pizarro invited clerics and friars, and with grants of *encomiendas* the Spanish recipients were initially required to find someone to catechize their Indian charges. By the 1540s representatives of the principal church orders were present: Dominicans, Franciscans, Mercedarians, and the Augustinians. The Jesuits arrived in 1569 and soon played a major role in educating the children of the region’s elite. Much of the conversion of Indian parishes (called *doctrinas*) was left to the friars; the secular clergy preferred to work in the churches of the Spanish cities where opportunities for advancement were greatest. Soon convents were established in the major centers for daughters of the conquistadores and the native elite; Cuzco alone had the convents of Santa Clara (1558), Santa Catalina (1605), and finally Santa Teresa (1673).

The church’s administrative hierarchy evolved rapidly. In 1538 Dominican friar Vicente de Valverde became first bishop of Cuzco, a diocese that extended from modern Colombia to Chile. Lima became the seat of a bishopric in 1541, under the leadership of another Dominican friar, Jerónimo de Loaysa, and by 1549 it had become an archbishopric holding spiritual jurisdiction over all Spanish South America. By the early seventeenth

century, bishoprics were seated in Charcas, Paraguay, Buenos Aires, Tucumán, Santiago de Chile, and Concepción. For effective conversion it was necessary for the clerics to learn Amerindian languages, and dictionaries and grammars prepared by missionaries quickly began to circulate in manuscript form. The first book published in South America was the *Doctrina Cristiana*, a trilingual text in Spanish, Quechua, and Aymara, published in Lima in 1584.

There were several general church councils to oversee the Andean mission. One of the most important was the Third Lima Church Council of 1583, which resulted in the standard catechism, in conformity with the precepts of the Council of Trent. Purity of the faith of the Amerindians was handled by religious inspections ordered by the bishops, a principal task being to extirpate idolatries. The natives were exempt from the Inquisition, however, introduced into Peru by Viceroy Francisco de Toledo in 1570. During its active years, between 1573 and 1773, thirty people were condemned and executed for a variety of offenses, from witchcraft to Protestantism of various sorts to “converted” Jews who practiced Judaism in secret. Hundreds of others received lesser sentences, and the institution successfully checked the spread of nonconformity in the colony, as it reinforced respect for authority. Although the conversion of Andean peoples was largely successful, native traditions were deeply embedded and quickly blended into the daily practices of the colonial church.

See also Buenos Aires; Colonialism; Lima; Missions and Missionaries; Spanish America; Pizarro Brothers; Potosí.

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NOBLE DAVID COOK

THE PHILIPPINES

The powerful nations of Europe undertook a global project of imperialism and colonization in the late fifteenth century. Spain and Portugal, followed by other European states, used religion as a motivating force for economic expansion. As a result of Europe's conquests and attempted conquests, the

Americas and large segments of Asia were eventually subjugated and annexed as European possessions or outposts. Following Columbus's expeditions to America, Cortés's conquest of Mexico in 1519, and Magellan's "discovery" of the Philippines in 1521, a series of unsuccessful Spanish attempts to colonize the Philippine archipelago took place. It was not until 1565 that the first permanent Spanish settlement succeeded under Miguel López de Legazpi, a minor Spanish official in Mexico. It remained part of the Spanish empire until 1898.

On 13 February 1565, an expedition set out from New Spain (Mexico), reaching Gamay Bay off Samar Island, then proceeding to touch at Leyte, Camiguin, Bohol, and finally Cebu on 27 April. In May 1571 the group of settlers moved to Manila. Thereupon, Juan de Salcedo conducted an expedition of conquest around Laguna de Bay and down the Cagayan River. Martín de Goiti and one hundred soldiers penetrated the center of the island of Luzon. After 1571, Manila became the center of Spanish colonization. The original Spanish incentives to occupy the Philippines were control of the spice trade and control of Pacific trade routes. However, the Philippines were too far from the spice routes, and other European powers never acknowledged Spanish hegemony in the Pacific Ocean.

The Spanish home government set up a jurisdiction that placed the Philippines under the rule of the viceroy of Mexico. Like the Americas, the archipelago had a governor-general, an *audiencia* ('advisors and court'), and a *cabildo* ('town council') for the city of Manila. In the areas outside of Manila, *alcaldías* ('provinces') were organized, with an *alcalde mayor* ('provincial governor') as head.

What proved to be the major cultural force in the archipelago were the religious orders. Augustinians, Jesuits, Dominicans, and Franciscans were the frontline representatives of Western culture who indoctrinated and converted local peoples. They were followed by the secular clergy, who gradually took over the task of ensuring that the new converts to Christianity did not "relapse." Although the archipelago consists of almost seven thousand islands, not all were inhabited or came under Spanish rule. The southernmost parts of the archipelago were Muslim and remained so throughout Spanish occupation. As Christianity was extended throughout

the islands, the Western value system it represented was incorporated into the native Malay society.

Local income from the tribute taxes imposed by the Spaniards was so low that it soon became clear that the maintenance of the Philippine archipelago as a colony in the Pacific was a financial drain on the Spanish Empire, and retaining the colony as the only Christian outpost in Asia became the new motivating force. The economy of the islands was in the hands of the “Manila Galleon,” merchants who loaded a large ship with Asian luxury items each year and sold them in Acapulco, Mexico. On its return the Manila Galleon carried silver pesos.

In the latter part of the eighteenth century, a concentrated effort was made to develop agriculture and mining under the Bourbon dynasty. In the nineteenth century the external trade of the islands grew considerably, sparked by capital growth, large-scale imports of raw materials, and a rising population. English and American vessels unloaded wines, copper, nails, oil, and other manufactured goods, and in return carried away hemp, sugar, tobacco, and rice.

Spain’s long colonial rule produced deep-rooted changes in Philippine society. Christianity, foreign commerce, and new political and economic relations, as well as new concepts of land use and land distribution, affected native society profoundly.

See also Colonialism; Dutch Colonies: The East Indies; Magellan, Ferdinand; Manila; Pacific Ocean.

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NICHOLAS P. CUSHNER

SPANISH LITERATURE AND LANGUAGE. Spanish thought in the early modern

period was greatly influenced by Renaissance humanism, the Counter-Reformation, the growth of the Spanish empire, and the institutionalized persecution of Jews and their descendants. The high-water mark of Spanish letters is said to have ended in 1681 with the death of the dramatist Pedro Calderón de la Barca. Spanish literature faded in the eighteenth century, and the Spanish version of the Enlightenment can properly be considered as a reflection of, or a reaction against, French influence.

LANGUAGE AND EMPIRE

In 1492—the year of the conquest of Granada, the expulsion of the Jews from Spain, and Columbus’s first voyage to the New World—Elio Antonio de Nebrija published *Grammatica Castellana*. The momentous events of 1492 heralded the advent of a new world empire, and Nebrija explicitly wished his book—the first grammar of a modern European language—to be an instrument of that empire. Addressing Queen Isabella the Catholic in his prologue, Nebrija wrote:

Most noble Queen, when I ponder upon and contemplate the antiquity of all the things that were written for our memory, I come to one certain conclusion: that language was always the companion of empire, and accompanied it in such a way that together they began, they grew and flourished, and afterwards together they fell.

Nebrija believed the codification of a nation’s language was a necessary step in the development of a great power.

By Nebrija’s time, Castilian had already progressed from being simply one of many Latin-derived dialects spoken on the Iberian Peninsula to the legal and administrative language of the most powerful kingdom in Spain. The language of Castile now became the administrative and literary language of her colonies. In time, the predominant language of the kingdoms of Spain became known simply as Spanish.

THE CRITIQUE OF EMPIRE

The conduct of the Spanish conquistadores in the New World has been rightly criticized over the years. One of the remarkable aspects of the whole endeavor, however, was the open and lengthy debate that took place in Spain over the proper handling of the conquest. Almost from the very beginning of the conquest, intellectual opinion in Spain

had been divided over what should be the goals of the adventure and what should be the empire's policy toward the natives. Following Aristotelian precepts, some scholars argued that Indians were naturally subhuman and, by nature, were designed to be the slaves of their Spanish betters. Wars against them were therefore justified. The other argument held that the Indians were well adaptable to Christianity and ought to be won over to the faith by persuasion and gentleness. The fact that they were barbarians did not mean that they were incapable of rational thought or that they were incapable of being good Christians. Spain was the first imperial power in history to publicly agonize over the rights of the conquered.

One of the most powerful advocates for the natives was Bartolomé de Las Casas. Las Casas first traveled to the New World in 1502. There, on the island of Hispaniola, he lived as a gentleman planter. The future defender of the American natives even owned slaves. In 1515 he had a change of heart, gave up his property, and dedicated the rest of his life to working for the benefit of the Indians. During his long life, he produced voluminous writings in both Latin and Spanish decrying the treatment of the Indians by the colonists and advocating for their rights. A pivotal moment came in 1550 when he disputed with Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda, who advocated the position that the Indians ought to be exploited. Against Sepúlveda, Las Casas argued that the Indians were rational people. He went on to write some of his most important work, including the *Brevísima relación de la destrucción de las Indias* (1552). This tract caught on with Spain's enemies and was partially responsible for the Black Legend, which consisted of the often wildly exaggerated tales of Spanish perfidy embraced by anti-Spanish and anti-Catholic propagandists from the Renaissance up to the present day.

FIFTEENTH-CENTURY COURT CULTURE

The enthusiastic Renaissance culture sponsored by the court of Ferdinand and Isabella did not arise in a vacuum. Court culture during the earlier reign of John II had fostered poetic trends that embraced not only traditional Spanish poetic forms, but also was influenced by Italian humanism. Many in the nobility were themselves poets. Among these was Íñigo López de Mendoza, the Marqués de

Santillana (1398–1458), an accomplished wielder of traditional verse forms, who also tried his hand at Italian-style sonnets. Jorge Manrique (c. 1440–1479), meanwhile, marshaled a host of classical tropes to lament the death of his father in “Coplas por la muerte de su padre.” Santillana and Manrique were among the many poets who were anthologized in the *cancioneros* (songbooks) of the fifteenth century. As the name suggests, the *cancioneros* were devoted to lyric poetry on a wide range of subjects, from love to satire. In addition to the poetic wordplay of the *cancioneros*, reading tastes ran to sentimental romance, such as the elaborate love allegory *Carcel de amor*, and early versions of chivalric romances, the genre that Cervantes would later parody so successfully in *Don Quixote*. The fifteenth century also saw the first time that the traditional Spanish ballads, or romances, were anthologized. Often derived from medieval epics, ballads related tales of history and heroic deeds.

The University of Alcalá, founded by Cardinal Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros, confessor to Queen Isabella, archbishop of Toledo, and later grand inquisitor, made an early and lasting contribution to humanistic studies with the publication in 1522 of the Complutensian Polyglot Bible, a six-volume critical edition that placed the Hebrew, Chaldean, and Greek texts of the Bible in parallel columns with the Latin Vulgate.

JEW, CONVERSOS, INQUISITION

While the court of Ferdinand and Isabella sponsored Renaissance openness and reform, their reign is also notable for increasing animosity toward the Jews. This culminated in the establishment of the Spanish Inquisition by 1480 and the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492.

Relations between Jews and their Christian neighbors had begun to deteriorate rapidly in 1391 with a series of pogroms that shook the long-established Jewish communities of Spain. This was the first large-scale violence against the Jews in Spain, and its immediate effect was a massive demographic shift, as Jews from established communities in the cities began to relocate to the relative safety of the smaller towns. Another effect was the conversion of many Jews to Christianity.

The pogroms of 1391 and the mass conversions that followed added a new element to Spanish life:

the *converso*, or convert. *Conversos*, also called New Christians, soon found themselves at odds with so-called Old Christians, and as New Christians achieved positions of greater prominence, Old Christians began to doubt the sincerity of their conversions. Because *conversos* who returned to their former faith were seen as dangerous to the health of the church and the society, Ferdinand and Isabella sought and received in 1478 papal permission to establish an Inquisition in Spain. Unlike the earlier medieval inquisition, which was subordinate to the papal authority, the Spanish Inquisition became an arm of the government, with the monarchs themselves retaining the right to appoint inquisitorial officials.

Many scholars have suggested that the tensions inherent in the *converso* experience inevitably created a sort of conflicted *converso* identity, and that out of this identity crisis sprang the intellectual fervor of the early Renaissance, as well as many—if not most—of the great literary works of Spain's Golden Age. Under this thesis, almost any Spanish voice supporting church reform or any kind of upending of the social order must arise from the conflicted tensions of the *converso* writer. While it is undeniable that many of the great writers of the Golden Age had Jewish roots, and some of them explored new forms of social realism, there is no evidence to attribute their writings as a group to a specific *converso* experience.

The undisputed masterpiece of the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, however, was indeed written by a *converso*, and it also represented an antidote to the cultural pretensions of court literature. Written by Fernando de Rojas, and first published in 1499, the *Tragicomedy of Calisto and Melibea*, also known as the *Celestina*, tells a sordid story of sexual transgression, seduction, and suicide. The work breaks new ground in both form and content. It is written in dialogue, but is clearly not a play. Instead, it seems to occupy a middle ground between drama and novel. The story concerns the efforts of a young nobleman, Calisto, to seduce a young woman, Melibea. His servant Sempronio helps him secure the services of a go-between, the old crone Celestina. Celestina is a procuress, and her task in life is to arrange liaisons between lustful young men and the often reluctant objects of their affection. The seduction succeeds, but also sets in motion a series

of events that ends in the deaths of all the principal characters of the story. The book puts an ironic twist on the conventions of courtly love and intersperses this with something new to literature: the wily and unscrupulous servant. Instead of patiently and faithfully serving their masters, the servants in this work criticize and conspire against them, motivated by a lust for money in much the same way their masters are motivated by sexual lust. Through the *Celestina*, the reader can catch a realistic glimpse of class relations during the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella. This peek from the margins can be considered a precursor to the squalid realities depicted in that most Spanish of genres, the picaresque novel.

THE PICAESQUE

While stirrings of the form appeared earlier in the century, the first great picaresque work was *Lazarillo de Tormes*, published in 1554. The book narrates in the first person the adventures of a young boy set loose on the world and the life lessons he learns from a succession of employers. Through the eyes of Lazarillo, the reader is able to see the hypocrisies of Spanish society laid bare. Lazarillo serves, in turn, a blind beggar who abuses him, a priest who allows him to starve, and a minor nobleman whose misplaced pride in his status prevents him from seeking gainful employment that might keep him from starving. The rest of Lazarillo's employers throughout the course of this very brief book are churchmen of varying degrees of venality. Lazarillo's prime motivation through all of this is hunger: hunger to improve his own position in the world, and, in the process, keep himself from ever having to go hungry again. The subversive nature of the book led to its being placed on the Inquisition's Index of Prohibited Books in 1559, and some scholars have assumed from the fierce criticism directed at church officials that this anonymous masterpiece was written by a *converso*.

Lazarillo—the young, aimless rogue—is the quintessential *pícaro*, and his story is the first good example of picaresque fiction: episodic adventures reflecting society's various social strata, related by a less-than-reliable, first-person narrator. The next important picaresque novel, *Guzmán de Alfarache*, by Mateo Alemán, was published in two parts in 1599 and 1604. Francisco de Quevedo, one of Spain's two greatest baroque poets, also wrote a

very funny—and very bitter—picaresque novel known today as *El Buscón*, published in 1626.

THE ITALIANATE REVOLUTION

The political connections between Spain and Italy eventually led to the conquest of Spanish poetry by Italian literary forms. This permanent infiltration of Italian literary forms into Spanish letters largely occurred through the efforts of two poets: Juan Boscán (1493–1542) and Garcilaso de la Vega (1503–1536). Boscán wrote that he was prompted to attempt writing Spanish poetry in the Italian style through a direct challenge from the Venetian ambassador to Spain. The challenge lay in adapting Italian meter to the rhythms of Spanish. Boscán accepted the challenge and also prevailed upon his friend Garcilaso to try his hand at Italian-style poetry as well. The efforts of these two poets permanently altered the literary landscape of Spain. Boscán was a competent poet, but Garcilaso de la Vega was the true genius of the two. In many ways the quintessential Renaissance poet, Garcilaso died in battle in 1536.

THE COUNTER-REFORMATION

If the reigns of Ferdinand and Isabella, and later of Charles V, represent an early embrace of Renaissance values, the reign of Philip II proved to be very different. After the Council of Trent and the beginning of the Counter-Reformation, Philip began to transform Spain into a closed society. Philip believed Spain to be the last line of defense for the Catholic world and that it needed to be guarded from foreign influences. Students studying at foreign universities were recalled, and foreign books were banned, along with many literary works from Spain's earlier and more open Renaissance. Scientific inquiry also suffered in the Spain of the Counter-Reformation, although there was considerable interest in applied science and technology, including ballistics and navigation.

LUIS DE LEÓN

The climate created by the Inquisition and the Counter-Reformation had an impact on Spanish letters. One scholar to come under suspicion was Fray Luis de León, a professor at the University of Salamanca. Born in 1527, Fray Luis was of *converso* heritage and had a background in Hebrew scholarship. Luis de León came under suspicion partly be-

cause of his desire to use Hebrew in his commentaries. Not content with the Latin biblical tradition, Luis de León wished to resort to Hebrew to settle theological questions. He was imprisoned by the Inquisition in 1572 for publishing and commenting on the Song of Songs in Castilian and was detained by the Inquisition for five years. Once he was set free, he returned to his post at the university. Tradition holds that he began his first lecture in Salamanca after five years imprisonment with, “As we were saying yesterday, . . .” He died in 1591.

Fray Luis is known today as one of Spain's greatest Renaissance poets. His work is distinctly Neoplatonic in tone. His poetry extols the virtues of simple living, away from the tumult of society, and expresses the belief that art can lift the spirit to a higher sphere of consciousness and closer to communion with God.

MYSTICISM

While not a true mystic, Fray Luis shared with the mystics an intense desire to liberate the soul from the shackles of the world and move toward a higher plane of experience. True mystics seek a union of the soul with God. This union is the essence of the mystical experience, and arises out of the ecstatic experience of the pure love of God. Marriage and sex become useful poetic metaphors for ecstatic union.

The most well-known mystics of Golden Age Spain were Saint Teresa of Ávila (1515–1582) and St. John of the Cross (1542–1591). Born Teresa de Ahumada in Ávila in 1515, Teresa entered the Carmelite order in 1534 and later gained fame through her efforts to reform the order. Of her many prose works describing her mystical experiences, the most important is *El castillo interior* (1577). A close associate of St. Teresa was Juan de Yepes, who was later canonized as St. John of the Cross. Born in 1542 in the province of Ávila, he entered the Carmelite order in 1563. He was twice jailed for his reforming activities, and much of his writing seems to draw from the experience of having been imprisoned. St. John sought to express his mysticism through highly charged, complex poetry. He often compared the relationship of the soul to God with that of a wife and her husband. His most famous poem is the “Noche oscura del alma.” Here the soul's search for union with God is figured as a young girl

waiting until the house is quiet so she can sneak out and meet her lover. Their sexual rendezvous represents the moment of the soul's union with God.

CERVANTES

Golden Age Spain's most renowned writer was, without a doubt, Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra. Born in Alcalá de Henares in 1547, he was the son of an unsuccessful barber-surgeon. When young, he enlisted as a soldier and fought in the battle of Lepanto in 1571. There he received a wound that rendered his left hand useless to him. On the return trip to Spain in 1575, he was captured by pirates and taken to Algiers, where he was held captive for five years. Upon his ransom and return to Spain in 1580, he worked a series of low-paying jobs and began his writing career. He finally received a government post, but discrepancies in his accounts led to his being jailed twice in Seville. Cervantes dabbled in the major literary genres of the age. Although he tried his hand at theater and poetry, his fame rests on his prose works, principally the *Novelas ejemplares* and his masterpiece, *Don Quixote*.

Critics have been debating *Don Quixote* for close to four hundred years and will surely continue to do so. The work that many consider Western literature's greatest novel started out as a broad parody of the novels of chivalry that had been in vogue throughout the sixteenth century. *Don Quixote* is an impoverished gentleman from a forgotten corner of Castile who goes mad from too much reading and comes to believe he is a knight errant. Clad in rusty antique armor, he ranges the countryside—first alone, and then in the company of his trusty peasant “squire” Sancho Panza—attempting to right wrongs and live the code of chivalric honor. Even to Cervantes's readers, an armor-clad knight errant was a laughable anachronism, and the humor of the book arises from the incongruities of a daft, idealistic knight set loose on modern and more cynical society. *Quixote* is often said to represent idealism, and Sancho the realism of the world he butts up against.

Published in 1605, *Don Quixote* was a huge success, but Cervantes did not profit from it. The success of the first book led Cervantes to publish a very popular sequel in 1615, the year before he died.

BAROQUE

Spanish baroque literature is characterized by elaborate style and often by excessive metaphors. Two poetic movements in particular stand out: *culturismo* and *conceptismo*. Both were intellectual movements that emphasized extreme use of language. *Culturismo* sought to create a highly intellectual poetic language that looked to Latin as its model. It used neologisms, extreme metaphors, and greatly contorted syntax. The representative poet of *culturismo* was Luis de Góngora y Argote (1561–1627). Góngora wrote poetry in traditional Spanish as well as Italian forms, with his later work tending to be highly artificial and, consequently, much harder to understand than his earlier work. His long poems “Polifemo” and the unfinished “Soledades” do not lend themselves easily to casual reading, but can nevertheless be extremely rewarding. *Conceptismo*, epitomized by Francisco de Quevedo (1580–1645), stressed the creation of audacious poetic conceits. Although poets from the two schools bickered—often writing withering satires about one another—the two are not mutually exclusive, and there was much overlap. Quevedo today is remembered as a writer of cutting satire and one of the great picaresque novels, *El Buscón*. Góngora fell into disfavor, but was rediscovered by Spain's poetic Generation of 1927.

LOPE DE VEGA AND THE COMEDIA

Cervantes's lack of success as a dramatist was more than compensated by that of Felix Lope de Vega Carpio. Cervantes himself called Lope a “freak of nature” and blamed him for altering the theatrical landscape and changing public taste to the point that his own plays could not be successful. Lope did not invent theater in Spain, but he transformed it to such a degree that he is considered the creator of the Spanish national theater. Born in 1562 in Madrid, Lope was a true literary phenomenon. He claimed to have written more than 1,800 plays, in addition to lyric poetry, epic poetry, and novels. Some five hundred of Lope's plays still survive.

If Lope's plays seem a little formulaic, it is because they are. Lope sought to make his plays appeal to a wide public, and he was not ashamed to admit that he loaded them with elements designed to make them popular. He codified his dramatic theory in *Arte nuevo de hacer comedias en este tiempo* (1609), where he specified a three-act structure. According

to Lope's plan, the first act should set up the argument, the second should develop the tension, and the third should bring a swift and unpredictable conclusion after a period of heightened suspense. Lope lived a dissolute personal life, but his plays are essentially conservative reaffirmations of society's mores. For example, *Fuenteovejuna*, about a real peasant uprising in 1476, becomes an apology for the policies of Ferdinand and Isabella. The citizens of Fuenteovejuna rebel against and murder their lord and then collectively take responsibility for the action, saying that Fuenteovejuna itself committed the crime. The lord in question had fought against Ferdinand and Isabella in the recent civil war, and when the Catholic Monarchs eventually forgave the town, the action could be taken as an affirmation of royal authority.

The other great dramatists of the Golden Age were Tirso de Molina (1583–1648) and Pedro Calderón de la Barca (1600–1681). Tirso, the pen name of Gabriel Téllez, is principally remembered today as the first dramatist to treat the Don Juan theme, in *El burlador de Sevilla y convidado de piedra*. Many critics consider Calderón a greater dramatist than Lope, if not in quantity, then at least in quality. His finest achievement was *La vida es sueño*, which pulls out all the stops in its exploration of the fine line separating dreams from reality.

THE ENLIGHTENMENT

Spain's literary Golden Age ended with the death of Calderón in 1681. But while literature may have been moribund in the eighteenth century, the situation for other intellectual pursuits was not as dire. Spanish scientists had been isolated from the rest of Europe, but changes did begin to seep in. Medical thought began to drift away from strict adherence to Aristotelian precepts, with some physicians accepting William Harvey's theories of blood circulation. Renewed interest in medicine and science in Spain led in 1700 to royal recognition for the Royal Society of Medicine, one of the first of the learned academies that would spring up during the Enlightenment.

With the advent of the Bourbon dynasty in Spain in 1700, Spanish culture began to be heavily influenced by French thought. The Enlightenment emphasis on scientific categorization led to the founding of the great national academies. In addi-

tion to the Royal Society of Medicine, another important academy was the Royal Spanish Academy, founded in 1714. This academy focused on purity of the language and produced within a short time its six-volume *Diccionario de autoridades*.

In literature, the essay form dominated. The premiere essayist of the first half of the eighteenth century was Benito Jerónimo Feijoo (1676–1764). His eight-volume *Teatro crítico universal* contained learned essays on a wide variety of subjects, from science to superstition. Gaspar Melchor de Jovellanos (1744–1811) was another essayist who sought to reform Spanish society and letters. Whereas there was a new openness to science and learning, art and literature in Spain stagnated in the eighteenth century, characterized by largely imported and derivative production.

See also Calderón de la Barca, Pedro; Cervantes, Miguel de; *Conversos*; Drama: Spanish and Portuguese; Exploration; Góngora y Argote, Luis de; Jews, Expulsion of (Spain; Portugal); Las Casas, Bartolomé de; Portuguese Literature and Language; Sepúlveda, Francisco de; Spanish Colonies; Teresa of Ávila; Vega, Lope de.

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MICHAEL HAMMER

SPANISH SUCCESSION, WAR OF THE (1701–1714). The succession to the extensive Spanish empire had been a live issue since the 1660s, when rumors spread that Philip IV's (ruled 1605–1665) only surviving son, crowned Charles II in 1665, was unlikely to survive childhood.

PARTITION TREATY OR INTEGRAL INHERITANCE?

The assumption that the new reign would be short motivated the first partition treaty between the head of the Austrian branch of the Habsburgs, Leopold I (ruled 1658–1705), and Louis XIV (ruled 1643–1715) of France in January 1668. This treaty remained a dead letter since Charles II, though not siring an heir, survived the next three decades and only finally weakened during the 1690s. During this time the issue of the Spanish succession had not become less contentious. After the War of the League of Augsburg (1688–1697), Louis believed that France could not afford another major conflict. But this new realism about military resources was counterbalanced by considerations of dynastic honor and future French security; Louis could not accept that the entire Spanish inheritance might pass to the Austrian Habsburgs. This, however, was precisely what Leopold I now wanted, and, thanks to his conquests in Ottoman-controlled Hungary and his successful leadership of a substantial coalition of German princes in the recent war, he was unprepared to discuss partition. Louis nonetheless found an apparent ally in his previous archenemy, William III (ruled 1689–1702), king of England and de facto ruler of the Dutch Republic. William

was equally anxious to avoid another costly war and had no wish to establish the same branch of the Habsburg family across western and central Europe. Bilateral negotiations in the summer and autumn 1698 proposed the exclusion of both Habsburg and Bourbon dynasties from the full succession, nominating instead Joseph Ferdinand, young son of the Bavarian Elector, as heir to most of Charles II's inheritance. As compensation it was proposed that Louis's son would receive the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, and Milan would go to Leopold's second son, Archduke Charles. The sudden death of Joseph Ferdinand in 1699 annulled the plan, and Louis XIV's diplomats now proposed that France, Britain, and the Dutch Republic should sponsor a simple partition: France would receive all of Spanish Italy but would allow the rest of the empire to pass to Leopold I's son, Archduke Charles. Despite the apparent generosity of the offer, the Austrians realized that without the linchpin of Milan, the two Habsburg dominions could never function together, and the security of much of the Spanish inheritance would be jeopardized. Nevertheless Louis and William signed this new partition treaty in March 1700, hoping that Leopold would follow. Leopold had still refused to sign on 1 November when Charles II finally died. Against expectations—though rumors had been flying around the Spanish court for the previous month—Charles II's final will did not name Archduke Charles as his universal heir of choice. Giving priority to maintaining the territorial integrity of the empire, Charles II's councillors had persuaded him to make over the entire inheritance to Philip of Anjou (1683–1746), Louis's second grandson.

Historians have long debated Louis's decision to accept the will in the name of his grandson, but it is difficult to see that he could have done otherwise. Leopold had refused to ratify the partition treaty; if Louis rejected the Spanish offer, Charles II's testament then offered the entire inheritance to Archduke Charles. Louis could call on the military support of the English and the Dutch to make good his claims under the partition treaty, but there was little chance that either would act to uphold French dynastic rights. France would be left to fight the combined Habsburg powers to try to prize Italy from their grip. In contrast, by accepting Charles's will Louis would ensure that Spain and her territories

would be his allies in any confrontation with the Austrian Habsburgs.

Louis's real error lay in the inability to see that consolidating the position of his grandson without provoking European war required qualities of restraint and empathy in dealing with other states. Leopold soon declared war, but so long as the Maritime Powers were reluctant to intervene, any conflict might be contained by France. Yet a succession of preemptive moves and provocations turned an ambiguous situation into one in which France was again faced by a hostile alliance of major powers. By moving French troops into the Spanish Netherlands and occupying the "barrier fortresses" garrisoned by Dutch troops since 1697, Louis undermined the key Dutch gain from the treaty of Ryswick (1697). Granting French merchants exclusive trading advantages in the Spanish New World antagonized both the Dutch and the English, while Louis's refusal to explicitly repudiate Philip's position in the French order of succession caused widespread consternation. By the time Louis formally recognized James II's son as James III of England and Scotland, the process of alienation had already led to renewal of the military alliance between the Austrian emperor, the English, and the Dutch (September 1701), and there was no turning back.

THE COURSE OF THE WAR

Louis was initially optimistic that France's situation was better than it had been in the previous conflict: France would fight beside Spain and the Spanish empire, whose subjects had acclaimed Louis's grandson as Philip V and accepted French support to preserve the integrity of the kingdoms; Portugal, Savoy, and Bavaria were initially also allies of Louis XIV. But defeating the coalition would depend on rapid French military success, and despite some striking achievements in the first two years of war, this proved elusive. In 1703 the opportunity to launch a Franco-Bavarian campaign against the Austrian lands was lost. Meanwhile, English naval success at Vigo Bay (1702) was instrumental in persuading Portugal to abandon the French alliance, while Victor Amadeus II of Savoy (1666–1732) saw the north Italian operations of the imperial general, Prince Eugène (1663–1736) of Savoy, as an opportunity to slip out of his own commitment to France. The critical reversal came in August 1704 when

allied armies under the Duke of Marlborough and Eugène annihilated the Franco-Bavarian forces at Blenheim and removed any prospect of knocking the Austrians out of the war. The subsequent four years of conflict saw a few successful French initiatives and some capacity to recover ground lost after the hammer-blows of subsequent allied victories at Ramillies (1706), Turin (1706), and Oudenarde (1708), but the balance had tipped toward the assertive, battle-seeking strategies of Marlborough and Eugène. The situation in Spain appeared even worse as allied forces acting in the name of Archduke Charles, now proclaimed Charles III of Spain, had by 1706 occupied Madrid, Barcelona, and other major cities.

The situation stabilized to some extent when French forces imposed huge casualties on the allies as the price of their victory at Malplaquet (1709); military affairs had been improving in Spain since 1707, above all because the population remained fiercely loyal to Philip V. But apparent revival was offset by domestic crisis in France, where a miserable harvest followed by the bitter winter of 1708–1709 led to catastrophic mortality, mass starvation, and tax failure. As in the 1690s, France lacked the resources to continue the war; faced with collapse at home not counterbalanced by overwhelming success in the field, Louis's diplomats began to negotiate for a settlement on allied terms.

PEACE NEGOTIATIONS AND FRENCH RECOVERY

Allied demands in the spring of 1710 were as harsh as France's worst expectations: Philip V would be ejected from the Spanish throne; France would relinquish most of her territorial gains since 1648. Yet Louis was desperate to extricate France from a war that threatened invasion and disintegration at home. Only the imputation that France should act alone in removing his grandson from Spanish territory finally led Louis to break off negotiations. The allies continued to take fortresses and breached the French frontiers in 1710, and once again managed briefly to expel Philip from Madrid. But beneath this success the allied coalition was cracking; the English, and to some extent the Dutch, recognized that they could now get everything they demanded in terms of security and economic advantage while the French military humiliation rendered France less prepared to sanction a Habsburg-dominated Eu-

rope. The fall of the Whig government in Britain signaled the end of Marlborough's political and military ascendancy. Soon after, the sudden death of Joseph I (ruled 1705–1711), ruler of the Habsburg lands and Holy Roman emperor since the death of his father Leopold in 1705, left Archduke Charles in 1711 as successor to his eldest brother in central Europe and allied claimant to the Spanish inheritance. During 1711 the English effectively withdrew from the war effort and drew up a bilateral peace with France. This winding-down of the war was abruptly halted by the sudden deaths of three of Louis XIV's direct heirs in the winter of 1711–1712, leaving the French succession to the two-year-old duke of Anjou and, after Anjou, to Philip V. But the dangerous issue of the separation of the Bourbon crowns was finally resolved through a further and explicit renunciation of the French throne by Philip. English forces once again withdrew from the conflict, and in July 1712 a French victory at Denain permitted the recapture of crucial frontier fortresses, blocking further allied incursions into France. The main settlement between France and the Maritime Powers was made at Utrecht in the first months of 1713. France escaped lightly, the peace being bought by Spanish concessions in Europe and the Americas. Britain in particular gained substantial colonial and commercial benefits from Spain's transatlantic empire. Archduke Charles, now Emperor Charles VI, held out to the end of 1713, but French successes in the empire persuaded him to settle at Rastatt in November, gaining Milan, Naples, and the Spanish Netherlands in return for accepting Philip V and the Bourbon succession to Spain. The settlements were finally ratified in 1714.

See also Bourbon Dynasty (France); Bourbon Dynasty (Spain); Charles II (Spain); Habsburg Dynasty; League of Augsburg, War of the (1688–1697); Leopold I (Holy Roman Empire); Louis XIV (France); Philip IV (Spain); Philip V (Spain); Spain; Utrecht, Peace of (1713); William and Mary.

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DAVID PARROTT

SPAS AND RESORTS. Water therapy and visiting spas had a long history in Europe, especially in areas where the Roman legacy was deeply ingrained. There was growing interest in hydropathy in late medieval Italy, in some cases using bathing facilities that survived from the Roman era, and in fourteenth-century Hungary the granting of town status to a settlement frequently prompted the erection of a bathhouse.

THE PATTERN OF DEVELOPMENT

The tradition of the spa may have been less strong on the western edges of Europe. Not until the late

sixteenth century did visiting spas became fashionable in France and Britain. Under the influence of royal and aristocratic patronage, and stimulated by professional promotion, a series of centers emerged in France, but only three of these—Bourbon, Vichy, and Forges—were consistently patronized by the elite. Prior to the French Revolution, most Gallic spas remained small in size and appear to have focused on their medicinal roles, eschewing the formation of sophisticated social facilities.

Events took a different course in Britain. The late Tudor and early Stuart phase of growth, which saw important investment in Bath and Buxton and the discovery of Tunbridge Wells, was curtailed by the political instability of the years surrounding the Civil Wars (1638–1660). After the Restoration, however, the discovery and formation of spas accelerated. Many served a local or regional market, such as the cluster of semirural centers—including Epsom, Islington, Hampstead, and Sadler’s Wells—that sprang up on the edge of London. A few spas catered to a national clientele, and in 1700 Tunbridge and Bath were the market leaders.

Change forged ahead faster in Britain than France. A key factor was that, whereas in France the state kept a tight rein on development, a resident *intendant* (‘superintendent’) controlling the pace and character of new initiatives and keeping the emphasis firmly on health, in Britain no such regulatory framework existed. Competition and commercialization were given full play. Such was the level of demand in Britain that it spilled over to the Continent. Although spas in France and Italy were visited by Britons in the eighteenth century, the principal destinations were Spa and Aachen, which offered an engaging social life, including opportunities for intensive gambling. Some Britons also traveled to the many spas in central Europe (such as Baden, which capitalized on the demand from Vienna), many of which possessed several baths that catered to a range of social classes.

The rising level of demand in Britain also led it to pioneer what was to prove a critical diversification in water cures, the development—particularly in the coastal counties closest to London—of the seaside resort, a trend clearly underway by the 1750s. Serious investment in continental coastal resorts only began to occur from the 1790s. Parallel with the

emergence of the seaside resort, and as a consequence of economic growth in the English Midlands and North, a second wave of spa development began, which stimulated both the expansion of Bath (to the point where, by 1800, it was among the top ten or so cities in England), and the rise of spas like Cheltenham, Malvern, Buxton, Matlock, Harrogate, and, later, Leamington.

RESORT CULTURE

Central to the character of spa and resort culture were the waters themselves. Popular interest in holy wells, sacred springs, and sea bathing was long established, but elite involvement stemmed from two factors. First, there was in the early modern period a growing fascination with and sympathy for the natural world as a whole. This expressed itself in areas such as gardening (which combined water and horticultural elements) and the picturesque and romantic movements, and led to the reconceptualization of the sea as a phenomenon to be admired and enjoyed rather than feared and avoided. Second, emphasis on the curative chemical properties of water was closely aligned with the rise of natural philosophy and science, and the shift from sacred and magical forms of health treatment to a regime based on rational “scientific” principles. In playing to the agendas of nature and science, water therapy articulated two of the principal themes of the Enlightenment, and demonstrated itself to be as much a cultural as a medical phenomenon.

One aspect of this was that spas and resorts became centers of pleasure as well as of health. In Britain the watering places were one of the key factors in an urban renaissance which, from the later seventeenth century, helped elevate the cultural status of the town. The water resorts acquired an ensemble of social facilities that included assemblies, theater, concerts, gambling, walks and pleasure gardens, sports like bowling and horse racing, and circulating libraries, together with a range of luxury shops and services. The scale and sophistication of this package would vary according to the importance of the resort, but its standardized character was striking. So also was the highly formalized daily routine that bound together the various parts of the package and propelled visitors into contact with each other. As one account of 1737 put it, “you cannot well be a free agent, where the whole turn is

to do as other people do; it is a sort of fairy circle; if you do not run round in it, you cannot run at all, or are in everybody's way." This holiday camp mentality placed a huge premium on corporate behavior, and it is clear that one of the functions of the watering places was to weld together the members of the ruling order who flocked to them. In Britain the boundaries of this elite were expanding to accommodate a growing middling order of professionals and businessmen, and the resorts—particularly in their function as marriage markets—played an important role in merging old and new social groups. Such a process was tenable so long as the expansion of the middling order remained within certain limits. However, by the late eighteenth century such was the growth within this sector of society that spa life began to fragment, with social events becoming increasingly cliquish and privatized, and many among the landed elite vacating the big spas for smaller, exclusive coastal resorts.

See also **Aristocracy and Gentry; Gambling; Sports.**

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PETER BORSAY

SPENSER, EDMUND (1552 or 1553–1599), English poet and author. Born in London, perhaps at East Smithfield, Spenser was educated at the newly founded Merchant Taylors' School and at Pembroke Hall, Cambridge. His family may have been related to the Spencers of Althorp. As both politically engaged author and dutiful state servant, he first came to public notice in 1569. In that year, he translated verses by Petrarch (1304–1374) and

Joachim Du Bellay (c. 1522–1560) for *A Theatre for Worldlings*, an English version of a work by the Dutch Calvinist Jan van der Noot (c. 1540–c. 1595)—a key text for the reforming tradition of militant Protestantism to which Spenser belonged—and was paid on 16 October for bearing letters from Tours in France for Sir Henry Norris, English ambassador there, to Queen Elizabeth—the beginning of a long secretarial career.

At Cambridge he began a long-lasting friendship with fellow scholar Gabriel Harvey. He received his B.A. in 1573 and his M.A. in 1576. After a few years in which little is known of his activities or whereabouts, Spenser exploded onto the literary scene in 1579 with *The Shepheardes Calender*, a pastoral poem in the form of a collection of "eclogues," or conversations among shepherds. Much more than a publication, it was a literary event. *The Shepheardes Calender* founded the myth of Gloriana, contributing to the cult of Elizabeth at the very moment when Spenser, frustrated in his efforts to secure preference at court, was seeking his fortune abroad. Despite its panegyric to the queen in the April Eclogue, it contains a covert critique of church and state. Like his later work, it contests the very authority to which it apparently commends itself.

Published anonymously, but carefully timed to coincide with correspondence with Harvey containing clues to its authorship, *The Shepheardes Calender* came complete with the kind of editorial apparatus associated with classical texts by canonical authors, yet was illustrated with woodcuts, and contained dialogue written in the language of ordinary country folk. This mix of playfulness and purposefulness, with its inventive and often subversive borrowing from high and low culture, is characteristically Spenserian. *The Shepheardes Calender* was dedicated to Sir Philip Sidney, earning Spenser a mention in Sidney's *Apology for Poetry* (1595).

In 1580 Spenser became secretary to the new lord deputy of Ireland, Arthur, Lord Grey de Wilton. Ireland remained Spenser's home until his death. Having presented himself as the most promising poet of his generation with *The Shepheardes Calender*, Spenser failed to publish for a decade, busy both with the writing of his epic poem, *The Faerie Queene*, and with his role as secretary. From

1588, he occupied an estate of three thousand acres at Kilcolman, County Cork, one of many parcels of land seized from the late earl of Desmond as part of a government plan to settle lands in Munster with English tenants. This earned him the title of gentleman and provided a base from which to pursue his literary projects. He associated with Sir Walter Raleigh (1554–1618), who was a neighbor.

In September 1598 Spenser was appointed sheriff of Cork. Weeks later, Kilcolman was razed as part of a popular uprising. Spenser fled to Cork City, and from there to London, carrying a letter from the provincial president, Sir Thomas Norris, to the Privy Council, outlining the plight of the settlers. This last commission came thirty years after the performance of a similar duty for Norris's father. Spenser died in London on 13 January 1599.

THE FAERIE QUEEN

The first three books of *The Faerie Queene* appeared in 1590. A heady brew of Italianate romance, classical epic, and indigenous idioms inspired by Geoffrey Chaucer, John Gower, William Langland, John Lydgate, and John Skelton, its verbal density and formal difficulty marked a radical break with English poetic form, impacting later developments in poetry. Its sheer ambition coupled with an intimate attachment to landscape inspired poets from John Milton, John Dryden, and Alexander Pope, to Samuel Taylor Coleridge, William Wordsworth, John Keats, and Seamus Heaney. Its greatest innovation was the Spenserian stanza, a nine-line fusion of French "rhyme royal" and Italian "ottava rima," eight pentameters ending on an alexandrine, with a rhyme scheme of ababbcbcc. The second part of *The Faerie Queene*, books 4–6, appeared in 1596. Critics detect a darkening of purpose in the later books, as the allegory becomes more historical and political, especially in book 5, "The Legend of Justice." The "darke conceit" of *The Faerie Queene* shadows—and shares in—the dark doings of the English in Ireland, from martial law to massacres. Cowardice was not part of Spenser's makeup. Those who condemn his role in the government's violent suppression of resistance to colonization in Ireland respect a writer who had the courage of his convictions.

Spenser's work retained its critical edge right to the end, whether published in his own lifetime or in

posthumous parting shots, from the anticourtly sentiments of *The Shepheardes Calender* and *Colin Clout's Come Home Againe* (1595) to the sharp criticisms of government that litter the prose dialogue *A View of the State of Ireland* (1596; published 1633), and, in *The Faerie Queene* itself, from the provocative account of the trial and execution of Mary, Queen of Scots (1542–1587), in canto 9 of book 5—which so enraged her son, James VI (ruled 1567–1625), that he asked for the poem to be destroyed and the poet punished—to the sniping from the margins in the "Mutabilitie Cantoes" that form a fragment of book 7 (unpublished until 1609).

Spenser lacked the means—perhaps even the muse—to write in England the national epic he was able to forge freely in Ireland. Born and buried in England, his career and corpus were made in Ireland. Spenser's colonial status both empowered and impaled him. His Irish experiences continue to engage and enrage critics in equal measure. For some, Spenser's astonishingly varied and vibrant literary output remains unbound by any context, historical or political. For others, the poetry, like the prose, is tainted by the world of violence from which it sprang. But where Ireland was once associated with the burden of history in Spenser studies, it has recently opened up his work to new readerships and new readings. Given his location between two cultures, as an imperial servant who became increasingly attached to his adopted country, it is no surprise that Spenser has received attention from postcolonial critics. His fusion of forms has attracted others who see him as an early postmodernist. One thing is clear: studying Spenser is, like his writing itself, an endless work.

See also **Elizabeth I (England); English Literature and Language; Ireland; Patronage; Sidney, Philip.**

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SPINOZA, BARUCH (Benedictus de Spinoza; 1632–1677), Dutch philosopher. Baruch Spinoza's radical metaphysical, theological, moral and political ideas made him one of the most vilified thinkers of his day. Spinoza was born in Amsterdam to a Portuguese-Jewish family. He was raised and educated within the city's community of Sephardic Jews, many of whom had once been forced converts (*conversos*) to Christianity in Spain and Portugal. At the age of twenty-three, however, Spinoza, now a young businessman, was expelled from the congregation. The writ of *cherem*, or ban, the most vitriolic ever issued by the community's leaders, speaks only of his "abominable heresies and monstrous deeds," and the specific reasons for his expulsion remain vague. It is fairly certain, however, that among the offenses for which Spinoza was punished were his ideas on God, Jewish law, and immortality.

Spinoza's earliest philosophical writings, dating from the late 1650s and early 1660s, include the *Treatise on the Emendation of the Intellect* and the aborted *Short Treatise on God, Man, and His Well-Being*. He first came to public attention with the publication of a critical exposition of Descartes's *Principles of Philosophy* (1663). It was the anonymously published *Theological-Political Treatise* of 1670, however, that brought him great notoriety. The reaction to this stunningly bold work of Bible criticism and political thought was immediate and harsh; it was banned by numerous political and religious authorities, and its author was excoriated as a blaspheming atheist. As a result of the outcry, Spinoza decided not to publish his philosophical masterpiece, the *Ethics*; it did not appear in print until after his death, together with other unpublished writings, including *A Compendium of Hebrew*

Grammar, some correspondence, and the never-completed *Political Treatise*.

In the *Ethics* Spinoza rejects the traditional providential God of the Jewish and Christian religions. The notion of a benevolent, wise, purposive, judging God is, he insists, an anthropomorphic fiction, one that gives rise only to superstition and irrational passions. God, according to Spinoza, is nothing but the active, generative aspects of nature. In an infamous phrase, Spinoza refers to *Deus sive Natura* (God, or Nature), and identifies it with the substance, essential attributes, and causal principles of the universe. All beings are "in" God, but only in the sense that Nature is all-encompassing, and nothing stands outside Nature's laws. Everything happens in Nature with a deterministic necessity. Even human beings, often (he alleges) regarded as autonomous creatures whose freedom puts them outside Nature's dominion, are a part of Nature and thus subject to its rigorous determinism. Some measure of freedom or "activity" is obtainable for human beings but only insofar as they can achieve an intellectual understanding of Nature and themselves and thereby exercise control over their passions. Spinoza adopts a Stoic conception of human well-being. Happiness is the result of virtue and consists in success in the pursuit of knowledge and self-mastery. Moreover, the rewards of virtue are to be found in this life. While human beings do "participate" in eternity, particularly through the knowledge they acquire, there is no personal immortality. Spinoza's metaphysics, epistemology, and moral philosophy reveal a variety of influences, especially Descartes, medieval Jewish philosophy, and ancient sources. However, there can be no denying the originality of his thought.

In the *Theological-Political Treatise* Spinoza turns to a critique of organized religion and an investigation into the status, history, and interpretation of the Bible. He begins with a deflationary account of prophecy (the prophets, he insists, were simply people with highly active imaginations) and a denial of the possibility of miracles (since Nature's laws admit of no exceptions). He insists, moreover, that Jewish ceremonial law was only of temporary validity (that is, during the Temple period) and is no longer binding on contemporary Jews. His most stunning theses, however, concern Scripture. Spinoza argues that the Bible is not literally of



Baruch Spinoza. Undated portrait engraving. ©BETTMANN/CORBIS

divine origin and that its first five books (the Pentateuch) are not the writings of Moses. Rather, Scripture as we now have it is simply a work of literature, a compilation of human writings passed down through generations and edited in the Second Temple period. Others before Spinoza had suggested that Moses was not the author of the entire Pentateuch, but no one had taken that claim to the extreme limit that Spinoza did, arguing for it with such boldness and learning and at such length. Nor had anyone before Spinoza been willing to draw from it the conclusions about the interpretation of Scripture that Spinoza drew. The meaning of Scripture is to be sought not by appeal to theological dogma or to demonstrated truth—after all, the authors of Scripture were neither theologians nor philosophers—but by a close examination of the texts themselves and by a historical investigation into the backgrounds and intentions of its authors. If there is a universal truth conveyed by Scripture, it is a simple moral principle: love God and your neighbor.

Spinoza's discussion of Scripture takes place in the broader political context of his argument for a liberal, tolerant secular state, one in which the freedom to philosophize is defended against attempts to make it conform to so-called religious truth. For it is the "excessive authority and egotism of preachers," he tells one of his correspondents, that most threatens the freedom "to say what we think." The key to diminishing the undue influence of the clergy, who justify their abuses by appealing to the holiness of a certain book as the Word of God, is to demonstrate the true nature of Scripture and its message and eliminate the "superstitious adornments" of popular religion. By naturalizing Scripture, Spinoza hopes to redirect the authority invested in it from the words on the page to its moral message; and by formulating what he takes to be the proper method of interpreting Scripture, he seeks to encourage his readers to examine it anew and find therein the doctrines of the true religion. Only then will people be able to delimit exactly what needs to be done to show proper respect for God and obtain blessedness.

See also **Atheism; Bible: Interpretation; Conversos; Descartes, René; Stoicism.**

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STEVEN NADLER

SPORTS. Sport was an essential and socially significant pastime in the early modern world, an arena in which individual identity and ability were expressed by king and milkmaid alike. Capable sportsmanship at tennis, jousting, and even wrestling were increasingly perceived as the markings of a strong monarchy, which determined the athletic displays and rites of passage that prevailed in an aristocratic

court. The sporting culture, in turn, was philosophically sanctioned by many humanists who extolled the “gentlemanlike pastimes” of swimming, archery, swordplay, and horseback riding as valuable components of any elite education.

Peasants and those of the lower orders also engaged in sport for their own purposes, reinforcing community cohesion by carving out their own particular spheres of play. Not all sport was universally embraced, however, and over the course of the period Puritans and others began to lament the “devilish” activity that joined other activities such as drinking, gambling, and dancing to produce “moral degeneracy.” Nevertheless, sport prevailed against these assaults and emerged from the period more varied and popular than ever.

In the *Book of the Courtier* (1528), Baldassare Castiglione (1478–1529) set the tone through his admonitions regarding proper court behavior and etiquette, in which sport occupied—at least for males—a central and elevated position. Sport, however, was conceived by such writers in very different terms than those who came before (or perhaps since). For them, personal skill at a game such as archery was offset by the concept of *Fortuna* (‘Lady luck’), a capricious goddess who determined the tides and turns of one’s own personal luck. Sport was also imbued with a humanist regard for man, his body as well as his soul. According to Castiglione, the perfect man at court was “well built and shapely of limb,” and displayed his physical capabilities by excelling at games of war—archery, horsemanship, and swordplay—as well as less martial physical activity, notably swimming, running, throwing, and jumping. Especially in games of mock war, such as jousting, the point was to achieve individual distinction on a physical level, as one performed on a stage that recalled traditions of military triumph. Even kings entered the game in this sense, as was the case with the famous encounter on the Field of the Cloth of Gold in 1520, when Henry VIII of England engaged Francis I of France in a wrestling match, alongside other gaming activities.

Despite its dangers and the increasing obsolescence of mounted and armored warfare on the battlefield, jousting sports continued to flourish in the form of fencing, which witnessed a shift to the long thin-bladed rapier and the use of point and the

lunge, and with it an increasing emphasis on speed, dexterity, and technique. Another sport in which actual weapons figured prominently was archery, which sustained its popularity even as the bow and arrow became increasingly archaic in war. According to Roger Ascham (1515–1568) in 1546, “How honest a pastime for the mind [is archery]; how wholesome an exercise for the body; not vile for great men to use, not costly for poor men to sustain.” Finally, horses also continued in their martial importance, as they were used in the hunt, and in races such as the Italian *palio* and in England during annual competitions. Dressage, which was an extremely difficult, technical, disciplined—and time-bound—form of classical riding, was undertaken by military academies, though it, too, enjoyed a reputation as a more elevated sporting spectacle, and one that reinforced and perhaps played out social hierarchies in presenting the mounted rider—according to one Tudor writer—as a force of “majesty and dread to inferior persons.” At the same time, the increasing precision of horsemanship, in the form of dressage, reflected a greater emphasis on uniformity and mathematical rules, as reflected in the writings of Descartes or by the early modern military shift to the use of drill.

Other activities enjoyed by the upper levels of society included tennis, which became the sport of kings such as Henry VIII, most notably, and was referred to in the writings of Erasmus, More, and Montaigne (with the latter’s brother dying after being hit in the head with a tennis ball—no trivial accident when balls were frequently decried as too hard). After 1600, however, tennis declined in popularity, though it continued to ebb and flow in the elite consciousness alongside the new sport of golf.

Meanwhile, though football and related communal games tended to be spurned by elites and their writers, the similar game of *càlcio* (‘soccer’) flourished in Italy, allowing gentlemen, in the words of Cardinal Silvio Antoniano, to appear “more erect and more eager, and [enabling] them to meet sadness and depression with unruffled brow.” Like other sports of the day, *càlcio* was affected by increasing bureaucratic intervention and mathematical quantification, as rules were drawn up to establish standards of play as well as objective and (increasingly) recorded scoring systems.

While sport among the elite was lauded by religious and secular leaders, sport among the lower orders was subject to greater condemnation on the part of authorities, who might have feared the disruptive and violent potential it could contain. The church and civic officials had long attempted to curtail football and other peasant games, with writers such as Sir Thomas Elyot (1490?–1546) advocating that football, in particular, be “put in perpetual silence.” Urban footballers, or those who practiced their exertions near churches, were particularly odious to churchwardens, city administrators, and other leaders, who understandably feared the destruction of property. The “bloody and murdering” practice of football continued, however, in spite of Puritan hostility and denunciation, and despite the increasingly restricted fields that were fenced in after the enclosure movement in England. While games were allowed within proscribed time periods and special festival occasions such as Shrove Tuesday or May Day, the community- and identity-reinforcing benefits of sports proved too enticing for villagers and townspeople alike.

Such attachments were due in part to the fact that certain sports were so embedded in the peasant tradition, where football—usually involving two opposing teams that kicked or threw the ball against the opponents’ goals—extended back centuries. In England the game had mythical origins, with claims that it had originated among Roman legionnaires in Britain, or later, among Saxons. Whatever the truth, the term *football* first appears in records of the fourteenth century, with indications that the sport had already existed for a while. Similar to football, but more like modern-day soccer, was the game known in France as *la soule à pied*, which also extended back to the Middle Ages and involved opposing villages or specifically designated individuals competing to propel a leather ball forward by feet alone. *Shouler à la crosse*—which would evolve, with American Indian contributions, into modern lacrosse—involved similar feats using sticks, while the stick-based game of hockey—derived either from the French *hocquet*, meaning ‘shepherd’s staff’, or the Anglo-Saxon *hoc*, meaning ‘hook’—also originated in the Middle Ages.

Less physically taxing than fencing or football, though perceived as sport by upper and lower orders alike, were gambling games and related pas-

times such as cockfighting. Though an ancient and universal game, dicing in early modern Europe continued its popularity and used the familiar cubed objects rather than the original knucklebones, though some dice were carved in the image of men or beasts. German mercenaries called *landsknechts* (literally, ‘servants of the country’) were particularly renowned dicing gamblers of the time, while knights and ladies, along with children and villagers, also continued to participate. Not surprisingly, objections were raised by Puritans, although enforcement of prohibitions was uneven. Gambling was not simply a “profane exercise” but also quite clearly a sin and banned in places such as John Calvin’s Geneva. As one epigrammatic writer put it in 1636, the banning of sport and games resulted in “dull iron times” that made one long for “the Golden Age’s Glories.” Restrictions were subsequently eased, however, in reaction to the failed suppression of sport; partly as a result, the eighteenth century witnessed a veritable explosion of games and gambling, which continued, as they already had, to provide a sphere in which to exhibit, perform, show off, display physical prowess, and fashion one’s identity through the kick of a ball, the lunge of a sword, or the roll of *Fortuna*-imbued dice.

See also **Aristocracy and Gentry; Castiglione, Baldassare; Cities and Urban Life; Court and Courtiers; Enclosure; Festivals; Gambling; Games and Play; Humanists and Humanism; Hunting; Peasantry; Popular Culture; Puritanism; Tournament.**

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SPRAT, THOMAS (1635–1713), author of *The History of the Royal Society of London, for the Improving of Natural Knowledge* (1667), an impor-

tant document for those interested in Baconianism, the nature and program of the early Royal Society, and the development of English prose style. Educated at Wadham College, Oxford (B.A. 1654; M.A. 1657) and patronized by John Wilkins (1614–1672), the warden of Wadham College and an important figure in the founding of the Royal Society, Sprat appears to have been groomed for a clerical and literary career. His first publication was a panegyric to Oliver Cromwell (1659).

Commissioned by the Royal Society in 1663 to publicize and defend its aspirations, methods, and accomplishments, Sprat's *History of the Royal Society* was guided by a society committee and by John Wilkins. Scholars differ as to whether the sentiments expressed should be considered those of Sprat or Wilkins and the extent to which it represents the "official ideology" of the society. Sprat's *History* offers a Baconian vision of a useful, experimental, natural philosophy, although it accepts mathematics and hypothesis to a greater extent than Bacon did. Like Bacon's *Advancement of Learning* (1605), it argues that the pursuit of natural philosophy was not politically, socially, or religiously dangerous. Publication of the *History* was delayed by the plague and the fire in London. In the interim Sprat defended English science from the critique of Samuel Sorbiere (1615–1670).

The *History* is prefaced by a laudatory poem by Abraham Cowley (1618–1667) praising Bacon, the efforts of the Royal Society, and Sprat's literary style. Soon after, Sprat supervised the publication of Cowley's works and provided an account of his life and writing. Book I of the *History* is an outline of the history of learning, giving special attention to the defects of the Scholastic method and to the society's "new way of Inquiry." The accomplishments of the ancients are admired, but their authority rejected. Sprat emphasizes the detrimental effects of religious controversies and the need for peace if knowledge is to flourish.

Book II contains a description of the Royal Society's origins, its constitution, and legal structure. Although the society is characterized as open to men of all religions, nations, and professions, the role of gentlemen is particularly emphasized. Sprat notes the society's avoidance of politics, morality, oratory, and religion and describes its method of

inquiry, highlighting the role of experiment, its preference for cooperative over individual investigation, and its rejection of the Cartesian method. It also includes a survey of the society's experiments and activities.

Book III, more apologia than history, defends experimental philosophy, emphasizing the society's hostility to religious fanaticism and other varieties of dogmatism. Sprat argues that experimental natural philosophy is not injurious to traditional education and its disciplines, altering only natural philosophy. Although the society did not meddle in spiritual things, its investigations supported natural religion, Christian belief, and the Church of England. The experimental approach also benefited the manual arts, the nobility and gentry, and wits and writers as well as encouraging the spread of civility and obedience to civil government. The *History* was attacked by Henry Stubbe (1632–1676), and modern scholars have questioned the accuracy of Sprat's account of the society's origins, the degree to which it represented accurately the society's methodology and goals, the extent of society supervision, and whether the *History* should be considered a latitudinarian document.

The best-known portions of the *History*, those advocating a plain, unadorned prose style devoid of metaphor and other figures of speech, have been central to discussions of scientific writing and prose style more generally. Sprat suggests that eloquence ought to be banished from civil society and that ornaments of speech are opposed to reason. The society therefore resolved "to reject all the amplifications, digressions, and swellings of style: to return back to the primitive purity, and shortness, which men delivered so many things, almost in an equal number of words." Sprat supported creation of an academy to polish the English language.

Sprat was a popular preacher and participant in high-church politics, holding a number of clerical posts before becoming bishop of Rochester in 1684. He defended the doctrine of the divine right of kings, wrote against the Whigs and the Rye House Plot, and served on James II's (ruled 1685–1688) ecclesiastical commission. Although willing to read James's *Declaration for Liberty of Conscience* from the pulpit, Sprat resigned from the commis-

sion, refusing to prosecute those unwilling to do so. Sprat accepted the Revolution of 1688.

See also Bacon, Francis; Cartesianism; Church of England; Communication, Scientific; Descartes, René; Divine Right Kingship; Empiricism; James II (England); Johnson, Samuel; Scholasticism; Scientific Method; Wilkins, John.

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STAR CHAMBER. The court of Star Chamber took its name from the Camera Stellata in Westminster where its sessions were routinely held. The term does not appear to have been used before 1550 and only became popular in 1618 in Ferdinand Pulton’s *Collection of Sundrie Statutes*. The court grew out of the medieval practice of the king’s council hearing cases by petition, an alternative to the cumbersome process of the common law courts. Under Cardinal Wolsey’s chancellorship (1515–1529), these legal functions of the council were separated from its administrative functions and the business of the court increased tenfold. Privy councillors, sometimes joined by the leading common law judges and lawyers, heard petitions and passed judgment. Most of the court’s business in the early sixteenth century was civil, but by the 1560s an increasing number of criminal cases were heard. From 1566 the court also dealt with sedition, and its reputation for hearing politically sensitive cases increased. The court’s business declined under the early Stuart kings, but its unsavory reputation for summary trial without jury and use of arbitrary power by the crown increased. Political show trials, such as those of the Puritans Alexander Leighton in 1630 and William Prynne, John Bastwicke, and Henry Burton in 1637, and the cruel and unusual punishments inflicted meant that Star Chamber became a prime target of opponents of Charles I in 1640–1641. On 5 July 1641, the Long Parliament abolished Star Chamber along with that other symbol of prerogative justice, the Court of High Commission.

See also Charles I (England); Law: Courts.

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DAVID GRUMMITT

STATE AND BUREAUCRACY. The years between 1450 and 1789 were crucial in the development of the modern European state and state system. Political communities became increasingly centralized, territorialized, and bureaucratized. In much of Europe, state sovereignty displaced imperial and feudal conceptions of authority. These changes meant a reduction in the number and variety of actors participating in what we would now call “international politics.” Familiar notions of statecraft, such as the importance of the “balance of power” and “reason of state,” gained widespread acceptance, and by the latter part of the seventeenth century, religion was no longer a major factor in interstate relations.

Despite these trends, the states of early modern Europe were very different from our own. Dynastic notions of legitimacy contoured both domestic and interstate politics; the scope of the state’s authority remained limited and fragmented by the standards of contemporary advanced industrialized countries. Nationalism and the goal of national self-determination did not emerge as significant forces in European politics until after the French Revolution. Yet many scholars believe that developments in the early modern period explain patterns of authoritarianism and democratization into the early twentieth century.

A number of factors share responsibility for the significant changes in European political institutions that took place in the early modern period. Among these, three kinds of large-scale processes were particularly important. First, frequent and increasingly expensive warfare placed great fiscal pressures upon states and their rulers. These pressures produced political bargains, administrative adaptations, and social struggles that altered the scope and nature of state power. Second, changes in the European economy associated with the rise of preindustrial capitalism and the development of direct trading connections—often through imperial expansion—with Asia, Africa, and the Americas brought about shifts in the relative influence and resources of different social actors and, at the same time, led to new sources of revenue and power for many rulers. Third, new ideas and ideologies, particularly those connected with the Protestant Reformation and the

Enlightenment, played important roles in shaping and justifying new and old forms of state power.

THE CONCEPT OF THE STATE

It was not until the end of the sixteenth century that the word “state” became a common term to describe governments and their territories. Used in late medieval Europe to refer to the standing of a ruler or the state of his realm, the term gradually came to encompass the territories held by a political community and then the political community itself. The fact that “state” took on its now familiar meaning at the start of the early modern period suggests that the state—as an institution—emerged at roughly the same time.

Our contemporary understanding of the state derives directly from these conceptual innovations and the ways in which they were consolidated in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The “state” may be taken, at a minimum, to refer to the combination of a government, the people it governs, and its territories. Such a thin concept of the state allows analysts to speak of a variety of different kinds of states. For example, Florence, Venice, and Genoa are often called “city-states,” although each came to control subservient cities and regions. Some historians—perhaps misleadingly—have referred to the monarchies of medieval England and France as “feudal states.” Many scholars now use the term “composite state,” coined by H. G. Koenigsberger, to describe the patchwork quality of early modern states. States have been, and still are, organized in a variety of ways; the states of late medieval and early modern Europe had quite different characteristics from those associated with modern, particularly industrialized, nation-states.

Contemporary accounts of the development of the European state and state system rely heavily upon the work of the German social scientist Max Weber (1864–1920). According to Weber (pp. 55–56), the modern state is “an administrative and legal order subject to change by legislation, to which the organized activities of the administrative staff, which are also controlled by regulations, are oriented.” A key feature of the modern state is that rule is impersonal. Political authority derives from the office, not from the person occupying that office. The consistent application of the legal code takes priority over personal relationships, and rulers

may only change law through settled procedures. These features entail the rise of professional and meritocratic forms of administration at the expense of patrimonial office holding. In patrimonial systems, offices are “owned” by individuals and their families, who occupy them by right rather than by merit.

Weber also argued that the modern state “claims binding authority, not only over the members of the state, the citizens, most of whom have obtained membership by birth, but also to a very large extent over all action taking place in the area of its jurisdiction. It is thus a compulsory organization with a territorial basis.” Indeed, “today, the use of force is regarded as legitimate only so far as it is either permitted by the state or prescribed by it. . . . The claim of the modern state to monopolize the use of force is as essential to it as its character of compulsory jurisdiction and of continuous operation.” The modern state exercises territorial sovereignty. No other actor may claim the right to make or enforce rules within the boundaries of a state—at least without the express permission of that state. States also enjoy autonomy with respect to their external relations, exercised through the sole right to make treaties, declare war, and regulate their borders for themselves and their citizens.

Despite the influence and insightfulness of Weber’s discussion of the characteristics of the modern state, we need to be careful about how we use it in analyzing historical processes. Indeed, some historians question the usefulness of Weber’s definition. They argue that it promotes teleological accounts of European state formation, blinding analysts to the variety of manifestations of the state that have existed over the last few hundred years. It also, critics contend, leads scholars to overestimate the true power that expanding central bureaucracies actually wielded. The existence of an extensive bureaucratic infrastructure does not necessarily indicate a high degree of practical centralization and state power.

Such problems often plague analysis of state formation, but they should not lead us to abandon Weber or his definition of the state. Weber’s discussion of the nature of the state is what he calls an “ideal-typical” construction, not a description of actual states. No political community, in any period

of human history, has ever perfectly fit his definition of the state. Ideal types are the starting point of discussion and analysis, not descriptions of concrete reality. If we keep this fact in mind, Weber’s understanding of the state remains a valuable tool for understanding the development of states in early modern Europe.

STATE FORMATION IN EARLY MODERN EUROPE

The most important source of variation in early modern state formation into the seventeenth century was created by the uneven expansion of princely, or dynastic, power. Trends in this direction date back into the fourteenth century, but their contours began to take shape in the late fifteenth century. In western Europe, particularly in England, France, and Castile, princes expanded their control at the expense of the autonomy of other concentrations of power, such as towns, nobles, and the church. The result, by the beginning of the sixteenth century, was the formation of what some historians call the “new monarchies” of western Europe. At the same time, territorial princes in Germany were in the process of appropriating legislative power—with mixed success—into their own hands. The trend toward princely power was not limited to kingdoms and principalities. In Italy, where city-states rather than kingdoms predominated, great families were busy establishing their own dynastic control over most formerly independent communes and republics. In all three cases, princes were able to expand their power by successfully manipulating divisions between other political actors, mostly within the nobility and the towns, while also tying the fortunes of both to princely authority.

Elsewhere, attempts to expand princely power met with rather different fates. Until the second half of the seventeenth century, the Danish nobility successfully curtailed princely authority—a situation dramatically reversed in 1660 when an alliance between the Danish King Frederick and the non-noble estates (burghers and clergy) led to the establishment of an absolutist system of government. An open succession in Hungary in 1439 allowed its national assembly to reassert the elective principle of that kingdom’s monarchy. Baronial interests ultimately thwarted attempts at centralizing reforms. After the division of the kingdom between the Habsburgs and the Ottomans stabilized in 1541,

the relative power of the Habsburgs remained comparatively weak. The ascendancy of the nobility was even more pronounced in Poland, where the powerful diet checked monarchial authority; Poland became a “republic of nobles” with little centralized power.

Variation in the expansion of princely and dynastic power had an impact across three directions of state formation. The first was the eclipse of the influence of nondynastic pathways of state formation. With the exception of the Dutch Republic and the Swiss Confederation, city-states and urban federations gradually ceased to be major players in international politics. The second was the loss of international influence of alternative centers of power within dynastic states, such as cities and nobles. These two trends were related: the same factors that oriented actors’ struggles for influence toward the states in which they resided also undermined the viability of nondynastic states. The third trend involved the balance between agglomerative and consolidative impulses in dynasticism, and the ultimate rise of consolidation as the most effective pathway of state formation.

THE RISE OF DYNASTIC STATES

The expansion of princely authority in many regions of Europe made dynastic states the crucial players in European power politics. City-states, city-leagues, and the majority of nobles—in other words, those who were not directly implicated in dynastic politics—saw a corresponding reduction in their independent international influence. The crucial question for most of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was not whether dynastic states would expand their preeminence over international politics, but what kinds of dynastic states would predominate in Europe: the relatively—with an emphasis upon “relatively”—more centralized, territorially compact dynastic states represented by the English and French monarchies, or the confederal and more expansive forms of dynastic states represented by the Habsburg monarchies.

To understand the significance of this transformation, we need to consider that there were a number of different kinds of international actors contending for power from the late medieval into the beginning of the early modern period. In addition to powerful nobles and towns within kingdoms and

principalities, there were a variety of nondynastic states active in international politics. Like dynastic states, most of these were “composite states,” cobbled together from heterogeneous institutions, regions, and linguistic groups.

One important type was city-states. These were composite polities dominated by a single urban community. Although the name suggests a city whose borders were coterminous with a state, in reality city-states were, at minimum, made up of a city and attached—usually dominated—regions. Most German city-states were of this type, but their Italian cousins had, by the late medieval period, come to control a number of formerly independent communes. These dominated entities retained their distinctive legal and institutional personalities and were usually accorded some degree of autonomy over certain spheres of rule. In other words, city-states were really empires run by an urban core. This is particularly apparent if we consider the great Italian city-states, such as Venice, that controlled and fought over maritime empires in the Mediterranean.

By the end of the fifteenth century, Venice was the only Italian city-state that had not become integrated into, to borrow a phrase from Richard Mackenney, dynastic micro-empires headed by powerful Italian families such as the Medici. This process was reinforced after the French invasions of Italy began in 1494 and the peninsula became the focus of dynastic competition between the French Valois, on the one hand, and first the Aragonese Trastámara and then the Habsburgs on the other. The growth of princely power in much of Europe combined with the standard operating procedures of dynasts—based upon marriage alliances and dynastic claims—to empower dynasts even in those regions where princely power was less well developed, not only in Italy but in the elective monarchies of eastern Europe. Most German city-states had the status of imperial cities, and their fate was tied up in the consequences of the Protestant Reformation.

Another alternative to dynastic states was federative polities. Federations often had strong urban components, but they also included rural regions and even, as in the case of the German Swabian League (founded in 1385), small principalities, knights, and monasteries. Federations originated as alliances motivated by the commercial and security

concerns of political actors unable to fulfill those needs through their own recognizance. Although many federations originated in the Middle Ages, they enjoyed a resurgence in the face of dynastic consolidation in the early modern period. A number of federations, including the Hanseatic League and the Swiss Confederation, amounted, unlike the Italian city-leagues, to more than temporary balancing alliances.

The fate of federations was a bit more complex than that of city-states. The Swiss remained viable in this period and were joined by the Dutch in the latter part of the sixteenth century. In general, the fate of most federations was directly linked to that of princely power. The territories of many federations overlapped with those under the titular rule of princes. As princely power expanded, the relative influence of independent and quasi-independent federations, particularly urban federations, declined. In essence, they were absorbed into consolidating dynastic states. The same trends that favored princely power directly undermined the autonomy of federations. The Hanseatic League, for example, scored its last major victory when its principal city, Lübeck, helped secure Swedish independence from the kingdom of Denmark in 1522–1523. By the end of the Thirty Years' War in 1648, the league was in precipitous decline.

CONSOLIDATION AND AGGLOMERATION

The rise of dynasticism in this period still left a great deal of room for different manifestations of dynastic states. The expansion of dynastic authority occurred through two processes: consolidation and agglomeration. The former involved the integration of dynastic holding and the latter the accumulation of holdings under a single dynastic line.

The accumulative potential of dynasticism stemmed from the significance of marriage in cementing alliances and brokering relations between different families. Decades, and sometimes centuries, of strategic marriages between important European families and dynastic lines led to intricate webs of hereditary claims to kingdoms, counties, and principalities. Since there was little legal basis by which a dynast could renounce a familial claim to a particular territory, an heir could always invoke such a claim as a justification for political loyalties or outright conquest. For example, long after the English

had been routed at the end of the Hundred Years' War, Elizabeth I's royal title still referred to her as the "king of France."

The processes of integration and accumulation interacted in a variety of ways to produce different dynastic configurations. The addition of new holdings brought new institutional arrangements under the auspices of a dynastic line, and could therefore increase the heterogeneous character of a dynastic state. For instance, from 1369 to 1477 the dukes of Burgundy created a "middle kingdom" by conquering or accumulating parts of modern-day Belgium, Luxembourg, France, Germany, and the Netherlands. The majority of those territories subsequently transferred to Habsburg hands as a result of marriage and inheritance. Early modern France was itself the product of a period of reconstitution and expansion during the later stages of the Hundred Years' War. There, dynastic practices produced a complicated array of institutions and jurisdictions with different rights and exemptions vis-à-vis the monarchy.

But the most profound transformation resulting from the agglomerative possibilities of dynasticism was the sudden creation of a vast confederal empire united through the person of Charles of Habsburg (Emperor Charles V). Starting in 1517, Charles became ruler of a large swath of territories in western, central, and southern Europe. In only a few years, the Habsburg line amassed unparalleled power in sixteenth-century Europe. As Holy Roman emperor and the dynastic head of a vast and heterogeneous collection of territories, Charles's position revived the prospects for universal empire in Latin Christendom. After he abdicated his various titles between 1556 and 1557 (see below), Charles's holdings were divided between his son Philip II of Spain (ruled 1556–1598) and his brother, Ferdinand I (king of Bohemia and Hungary, 1526–1564; Holy Roman emperor, 1558–1564). The rump Habsburg lands of the Spanish monarchy still made Charles the most powerful international actor in Christendom until the dénouement of the Thirty Years' War. Ferdinand also controlled a formidable, and formidably heterogeneous, agglomeration including Austria and the remnant of the Kingdom of Hungary. In the eighteenth century, Austria would emerge as a great power in its own right.

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the crucial question of state formation was whether the Habsburg model would prove more significant and enduring than the more compact alternative represented by the French monarchy, or indeed how the balance between consolidation and agglomeration would play out in dynastic states in general. In the end, consolidation, along with a movement toward sovereign territoriality, became the preponderant pathway of state formation in most of Europe.

PROCESSES OF CHANGE

A combination of three factors influenced the rise of princely power: transformations in the conduct of warfare, developments in the art of rule, and economic changes. The first undermined the ability of towns and lesser nobles to mount effective opposition to princely authority, the second helped to transform social relations and the balance of influence among different groups within states, and the third led to new coalitional possibilities for princes. These factors varied in their configuration, orientation, and timing in different places in Europe. They also interacted with preexisting institutions to produce different results; this helps to explain why some polities saw a decline in princely authority instead of its expansion.

Developments in the nature of warfare had a profound influence on state formation in the entire period under consideration. These changes involved the increasing importance and sophistication of gunpowder artillery in conjunction with new organizational tactics—most famously associated with the Swiss pike square—and the rise of new fortification techniques designed to cope with the impact of gunpowder artillery on siege warfare. Together they are sometimes called the “military revolution,” but more recent scholarship suggests that the changes in warfare in early modern Europe were more evolutionary, and hence more complicated in nature. Two key changes associated with the military-technical revolution, the rise of mercenary forces recruited by independent and quasi-independent contractors and the decline in importance of feudal levies in warfare, actually began in the medieval period, although their importance only grew over time. The development of the revenue expropri-

ation apparatus needed to finance mercenary armies also predates the early modern period.

The introduction of combat-effective handheld gunpowder artillery in the fifteenth century combined with the continued shift toward mercenary armies gave important advantages to those with the power to extract and wield greater fiscal resources. Simultaneously, these changes began to undermine the kinds of armies fielded by lords and their retainers. In practice, the advantage went to princes and regional magnates, but large cities with high concentrations of wealth could also afford to hire mercenaries. Meanwhile, the castles and fortifications of the lesser nobility were obsolete in the face of new siege techniques that made use of gunpowder.

The new reality was that most cities and nobles simply could not, on their own, amass the concentration of wealth and manpower necessary to mount forces capable of challenging princes. If princes could exploit the divisions inherent in composite dynastic states—between regional interests and social classes—they were relatively insulated from successful challenges to their power.

To aid them with this task, dynasts had new ideologies and techniques of rule at their disposal. With the growth of patronage as the basis for durable political ties—itsself connected to economic changes discussed below—heads of state, particularly in those kingdoms already marked by comparative centralization aided by hereditary rule, found themselves situated at the top of a complex network of patron-client relations. Their prerogatives made a great many of their subjects ultimately dependent upon them for continued financial and status perquisites. This, combined with increasingly sophisticated propaganda drawing upon theories of royal authority, gave princes ideological and material resources with which to prevent the formation of effective coalitions against them.

Finally, economic changes had a crucial impact. Growth in the European economy in the Middle Ages, particularly with respect to long-distance trade, had already contributed to the rise of towns. Where rulers had successfully pivoted between burghers and nobles—as in France, Aragon, and England—they had already done much to build a position of comparative strength. Population pressures,

economic growth in the sixteenth century, the influx of silver from the newly discovered Americas, and numerous other causes of the “price revolution” that accompanied the expansion of preindustrial capitalism in early modern Europe, played a decisive role in accelerating the breakdown of what was left of feudal forms of loyalty. New sources of wealth, changing social classes, and diverging economic interests increased the distributional role of the state in the allocation of money and prestige.

Moreover, these developments generally favored entrepreneurial merchants and the higher nobility. The latter not only benefited from the increasing price of agricultural goods, but could also derive income from patronage and military activity. In western Europe this made them more dependent on the crown, not only with respect to patronage but also because monarchical brokerage became essential to the ability of large landowners to raise rents and squeeze profits from the peasantry. In contrast, lords in northeastern Germany and Poland were particularly powerful and held extensive lands, which meant they did not need to become dependent upon their titular rulers. Indeed, such nobles were able to institute a neo-serfdom far more burdensome than the older variety, and these regions became the principal exporters of grain for an urbanizing western Europe.

As this last point suggests, the conjunction of economic and military factors also exerted strong influence over the early development of bureaucratic elements in state administration. In general, significant aspects of bureaucratic administration first appeared in dynastic holdings that contained concentrations of capital resulting from urban trade, where rulers already had some relative advantage over their domestic competitors, and where rulers were engaged in intensive warfare utilizing newer, more expensive recruitment techniques and military technology. The first two factors provided the means to expand tax collection and the administration of debt, while the last provided the impetus for increasing royal control. Thus, western European kingdoms such as France and Castile developed early aspects of bureaucratic governance. These techniques were insufficient to finance the debts incurred by conflict, and periods of war making were abruptly halted by financial pressures and outright bankruptcies. But the management of debt

itself provided a crucial impetus to the kinds of ad hoc administrative arrangements that laid the seeds for later bureaucratization.

Even in the new monarchies of the early sixteenth century, princes were not as strong as their propaganda and their increasingly extravagant court cultures sought to suggest. The smooth functioning of their authority depended upon the cooperation of regional magnates and urban centers, and on preventing coalitions against princely authority from forming between various regional and local actors. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, resentment against the centralizing tendencies of dynasts mixed with religious dissent to plunge large swaths of western and central Europe into political conflict and civil war.

THE EMERGENCE OF A MULTISTATE, SOVEREIGN-TERRITORIAL EUROPEAN POLITICAL ORDER

The Protestant Reformation and the Peace of Westphalia of 1648, which marked the end of the Thirty Years' War, were once seen as watersheds in European history that ended the prospects for an intra-European universal empire and established a sovereign-territorial, multistate system. Although some scholars defend qualified versions of this interpretation, there is very little evidence to suggest that the Reformation and Westphalia led directly to the modern state system. In fact, even before the Reformation, the position of the church in many dynastic states was becoming subordinate to the interests of secular rulers.

A more balanced understanding of the role of the Reformation in the emergence of a multistate, sovereign-territorial European order is that it accelerated some trends already caused by military-technical and economic change, while undermining others, particularly aspects of the more confederal, dynastic agglomerative pathway of state formation. In this way, it tilted the balance toward a sovereign, multistate system but was not decisive in its development.

Thus, in the German regions of the Holy Roman Empire, the rise of Protestantism ultimately enhanced the importance of territorial principedoms. Charles V's unwillingness to engage in a long-term compromise on the issue of religious belief convinced many of the princes that they could only

preserve Protestantism by relying on self-help. Their eventual victory over Charles led to his abdication and the 1555 agreement at Augsburg that specified, with some qualifications, that each prince would determine the religion of his territory. Augsburg led to a period of confessionalization, in which hardening doctrinal divisions between different sects of Christianity tended to coincide with territorial boundaries.

Some scholars argue that confessionalization, whether through processes of the Reformation or Counter-Reformation, played a major role in expanding the scope, nature, and territorial authority of the state not just in Germany, but throughout Europe. For instance, the state took on oversight of responsibilities such as social welfare concerns that had been largely local and ecclesiastical in the medieval period. Although some of these claims are exaggerated, it is clear that confessionalization forwarded existing trends in those directions.

For its part, the spread of Calvinism into France and the Netherlands temporarily worked to undermine the advantages gained by princes as a result of military-technical change and political institutional effects. Calvinism provided a basis for cooperation that transcended regional and class differences. These differences were crucial components of the divide-and-rule strategies used by dynasts and institutionalized in dynastic composite states. Moreover, the organizational abilities and transnational connections afforded by Calvinism—and by militant Catholicism in France—allowed nonstate actors to gain access to sufficient resources to mobilize competitive military forces.

The Dutch Revolt, in which religious tensions played a decisive role in escalating other grievances against Habsburg rule, led directly to Spanish strategic overextension and contributed a great deal to Spain's eventual failure to maintain European primacy. Moreover, major innovations in fiscal administration developed in Holland during Habsburg rule were expanded during the Dutch Republic's war for independence against Spain (1568–1648). The Dutch were forced to field continuous and substantial military forces on a predominately mercantile financial base.

In contrast, the French Wars of Religion (1562–1598) were, in the short term, much more

devastating to France's cohesion and international position. Yet they also revealed the advantages that more compact dynastic states had in the context of religious strife—even when the Huguenots established a “state within a state,” secession from the French crown was never a serious option. The experience of the wars provided added impetus for the expansion of sovereign authority in the kingdom, and, somewhat paradoxically, thus led to the growth of a more integrated, centralized state.

The religious conflicts that engulfed various parts of Europe between the promulgation of Martin Luther's Ninety-Five Theses in 1517 and the end of the English Civil War in 1648 played some role in important conceptual changes in European statecraft. Their most direct impact can be found in developing ideas about sovereignty. The experience of religious civil war led directly to Jean Bodin's (1530–1596) and Thomas Hobbes's (1588–1679) different formulations of sovereignty, as well as to new syntheses of ideas about the right of resistance to unlawful or unjust rulers. These debates, and those that followed from them, were pivotal in making questions about state sovereignty—who ultimately holds it and what its limits are—a central element of political theorizing.

Religious conflicts also made a significant contribution to the (largely implicit) adoption of Italian notions of “reason of state” in Europe. Reason of state, or, more frequently, “necessity,” was the justification for reconciling temporary accommodation of confessional differences or even putting aside religious differences in the support of enemies of one's own dynastic opponents. Of course, it was generally the opponents of religious compromise who accused moderates of adopting Machiavellian attitudes or “politique” positions, but the processes of making these decisions involved formulating the antecedents of ideas about state interests.

Religious struggles were less important in the emerging notion of the “balance of power,” which owed more to the propaganda campaign inspired by fears of Habsburg primacy. Since the Habsburgs were the main dynastic backers of the Catholic cause, these debates were often tinged with religious concerns, but the more important concern was the possibility of a more robust Habsburg hegemony or even a Habsburg universal empire in which

the other princes of Europe would be subordinate players. The threat of Habsburg hegemony led to a critique of empire that served as a justification for defensive aggression: lesser powers could engage in proactive strategies—from alliances to warfare—to prevent one actor from accumulating an imbalance of power. These arguments were refined during the wars of Louis XIV in the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Indeed, France admitted in the 1713 Treaty of Utrecht that it was fear of French power that motivated the War of the Spanish Succession—the first mention of the balance of power in a European peace treaty.

CONSOLIDATION AND BUREAUCRATIZATION

The conflicts of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries forced those states that had not been subject to the same opportunities and pressures that initially favored bureaucratization in western Europe to launch their own administrative reforms. In general, states such as Sweden, Brandenburg-Prussia, and Austria lacked the kind of access to domestic capital sources that played an important role in early European bureaucratization. Where princes were comparatively strong, particularly in Prussia, in some of the German principalities, and for more contingent reasons, in Sweden, they built extensive bureaucracies capable of extracting enough resources to compensate for their comparatively poor access to trade revenues. In Poland, by contrast, patrimonial administration persisted and ultimately led to the demise of the commonwealth. Indeed, some argue that the ways in which states financed warfare in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries determined whether they became, in the nineteenth, moderately democratic or authoritarian.

In general, state formation in the second half of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was characterized by a decisive shift toward territorial sovereignty and greater bureaucratization of the state's financial and administrative activities. Enlightenment ideas of rationality and the obligation of rulers to subjects provided an important impetus to these developments, although financial pressures and political interests played perhaps a more decisive role.

A major impetus to additional bureaucratization came from the replacement of mercenary forces with professional militaries. Professional armies and

navies were usually recruited from within the state and were always integrated into the state's institutional structure. This greatly expanded the fiscal and administrative costs of warfare, but also increased the reliability of military forces. It was this transformation that placed the means of organized violence beyond the reach of citizens and subjects.

Although these changes meant greater centralization of authority, they did not necessarily lead to particularly efficient or coherent bureaucratic structures. The sale of offices for revenues, problems with particular administrative bureaucracies, and other factors often led to duplicative governmental activity. France developed such patchwork institutions. Indeed, local revolts against royal demands for revenue and greater authority continued to plague French administration in the decades before the French Revolution. Britain, borrowing directly from Dutch innovations and with the advantage of parliamentary oversight, was more successful at creating an efficient fiscal-administrative system.

Brandenburg-Prussia is usually taken to be the most extreme case of this fusion of military and administrative centralization. Prussia's reliance on centralized, coercive fiscal-military institutions stemmed from its precarious geographical position, expansionist foreign policies, and the fact that its resource base lacked extensive trade and capital endowments. These factors meant, initially, that expansion, such as the seizure from Austria of Silesia, and foreign subsidies were crucial to Prussia's ability to sustain its great-power status. Such pressures also led to a bureaucratic framework that lacked the functional specialization found in other European states.

If Prussia represents one extreme, then Austria might be considered another divergent case. Austria remained a relatively confederal dynastic agglomeration. In fact, it had come close to collapsing in 1618–1620 under the pressure of religious contestation and local rebellion. However, after the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1714), the Austrian dynastic empire controlled more territory in Europe than the Spanish monarchy ever had. Starting in the middle of the eighteenth century under Maria Theresa, Austria's Habsburg rulers began to make real progress in administrative reform. But these successes were often checked by assertive local actors,

particularly the nobility. Austria's rulers could often squeeze more revenue from their heterogeneous domains, but they generally could not overcome their dependence on cooperation from local elites.

Throughout Europe, direct and indirect rule continued to coexist; by and large, the expansion of bureaucratic administration was often more impressive in a formal sense than a practical one. The erosion of patrimonial officeholding in many parts of Europe did not prevent bureaucratic officeholders from seeking to enrich themselves at the expense of the state. In France, and even at some points in Prussia, rent seeking emerged as an enormous problem for the new bureaucracies.

The early modern period witnessed a decisive transition to territorial sovereignty within Europe, and it saw the emergence of robust bureaucratic forms of governance and the expansion of state administration into a variety of new areas, but it did not mark the triumph of the Weberian bureaucratic state. However, such states, to the extent that they ever existed, were a result of the transformative effects of nationalism and industrial capitalism upon the institutional infrastructures and international political practices developed between 1450 and 1789.

See also **Absolutism; Aristocracy and Gentry; Authority, Concept of; City-State; Divine Right Kingship; Hansa; Military; Monarchy; National Identity; Officeholding; Provincial Government; Sovereignty, Theory of.**

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DANIEL NEXON

STATISTICS. The word statistics comes from the German *Statistik* and was coined by Gottfried Achenwall (1719–1772) in 1749. This term referred to a thorough, generally nonquantitative description of features of the state—its geography, peoples, customs, trade, administration, and so on. Hermann Conring (1606–1681) introduced this field of inquiry under the name *Staatenkunde* in the seventeenth century, and it became a standard part of the university curriculum in Germany and in the Netherlands. Recent histories of statistics in France, Italy, and the Netherlands have documented the strength of this descriptive approach. The descriptive sense of statistics continued throughout the eighteenth century and into the nineteenth century.

The numerical origins of statistics are found in distinct national traditions of quantification. In England, self-styled political and medical arithmeticians working outside government promoted numerical approaches to the understanding of the health and wealth of society. In Germany, the science of cameralism provided training and rationale for government administrators to count population and economic resources for local communities. In France, royal ministers, including the duke of Sully (1560–1641) and Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619–1683), initiated statistical inquiries into state fi-

nance and population that were continued through the eighteenth century.

Alongside these quantitative studies of society, mathematicians developed probability theory, which made use of small sets of numerical data. The emergence of probability has been the subject of several recent histories and its development was largely independent of statistics. The two traditions of collecting numbers and analyzing them using the calculus of probabilities did not merge until the nineteenth century, thus creating the modern discipline of statistics.

The early modern field of inquiry that most closely resembles modern statistics was political arithmetic, created in the 1660s and 1670s by two Englishman, John Graunt (1620–1674) and William Petty (1623–1687). Graunt's *Natural and Political Observations Made upon the Bills of Mortality* (1662) launched quantitative studies of population and society, which Petty labeled political arithmetic. In their work, they showed how numerical accounts of population could be used to answer medical and political questions such as the comparative mortality of specific diseases and the number of men of fighting age. Graunt developed new methods to calculate population from the numbers of christenings and burials. He created the first life table, a numerical table that showed how many individuals out of a given population survived at each year of life. Petty created sample tables to be used in Ireland to collect vital statistics and urged that governments collect regular and accurate accounts of the numbers of christenings, burials, and total population. Such accounts, Petty argued, would put government policy on a firm foundation.

Political arithmetic was originally associated with strengthening monarchical authority, but several other streams of inquiry flowed from Graunt's and Petty's early work. One tradition was medical statistics, which developed most fully in England during the eighteenth century. Physicians such as James Jurin (1684–1750) and William Black (1749–1829) advocated the collection and evaluation of numerical information about the incidence and mortality of diseases. Jurin pioneered the use of statistics in the 1720s to evaluate medical practice in his studies of the risks associated with smallpox inoculation. William Black coined the term *medical*

arithmetic to refer to the tradition of using numbers to analyze the comparative mortality of different diseases. New hospitals and dispensaries such as the London Smallpox and Inoculation Hospital, established in the eighteenth century, provided institutional support for the collection of medical statistics; some treatments were evaluated numerically.

Theology provided another context for the development of statistics. Graunt had identified a constant birth ratio between male and females (14 to 13) and had used this as an argument against polygamy. The physician John Arbuthnot (1667–1735) argued in a 1710 article that this regularity was “an Argument for Divine Providence.” Later writers, including William Derham (1657–1735), author of *Physico-Theology* (1713), and Johann Peter Süssmilch (1707–1767), author of *Die Göttliche Ordnung* (1741), made the stability of this statistical ratio a part of the larger argument about the existence of God.

One final area of statistics that flowed from Graunt’s work and was the most closely associated with probability theory was the development of life (or mortality) tables. Immediately following the publication of Graunt’s book, several mathematicians, including Christiaan Huygens (1629–1695), Gottfried Leibniz (1646–1716), and Edmund Halley (1656–1742) refined Graunt’s table. Halley, for example, based his life table on numerical data from the town of Breslau that listed ages of death. (Graunt had to estimate ages of death.) In the eighteenth century, further modifications were introduced by the Dutchmen Willem Kerseboom (1690–1771) and Nicolaas Struyck (1686–1769), the Frenchman Antoine Deparcieux (1703–1768), the German Leonard Euler (1707–1783), and the Swede Pehr Wargentin (1717–1783). A French historian has recently argued that the creation of life tables was one of the leading achievements of the scientific revolution. Life tables were used to predict life expectancy and aimed to improve the financial soundness of annuities and tontines.

The administrative demands brought about by state centralization in early modern Europe also fostered the collection and analysis of numerical information about births, deaths, marriages, trade, and so on. In France, for example, Sébastien le Prestre de Vauban (1633–1707), adviser to Louis XIV

(ruled 1643–1715), provided a model for the collection of this data in his census of Vézelay (1696), a small town in Burgundy. Although his recommendations were not adopted, a similar approach was pursued decades later by the Controller-General Joseph Marie Terray (1715–1778), who requested in 1772 that the provincial intendants collect accounts of births and deaths from parish clergy and forward them to Paris. Sweden created the most consistent system for the collection of vital statistics through parish clerks in 1749. Efforts in other countries failed. In England, two bills were put before Parliament in the 1750s to institute a census and to insure the collection of vital statistics. Both bills were defeated because of issues concerning personal liberty. While these initiatives enjoyed mixed success, they all spoke to the desire to secure numerical information about the population. Regular censuses, which would provide data for statistical analysis, were not instituted until the nineteenth century.

See also Accounting and Bookkeeping; Census; Graunt, John; Mathematics; Petty, William.

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ANDREA RUSNOCK

STEELE, RICHARD (1672–1729), English essayist and dramatist. Steele's name is associated with that of Joseph Addison, with whom he collaborated. Born in poor circumstances in Dublin, Steele was brought up by his aunt and uncle, Lady Katherine Mildmay and Henry Gascoigne. His extended family were influential Protestant gentry, but little is known of his parents. At fourteen, Steele went to the Charterhouse School, where he met Addison.

In 1689 Steele went to Oxford University, where he did not take a degree but joined the second troop of Life Guards in 1692. His first publication was a poem on the death of Queen Mary II in 1694; it was dedicated to Lord Cutts, colonel of the Coldstream Guards, who rewarded him with the rank of captain and made him his secretary. Steele had a daughter with Elizabeth Tonson. He did not acknowledge the fact at first, but later brought the child up in his home. While stationed in Suffolk as commander of a garrison, he composed *The Christian Hero* (1701). In this reforming tract and moral manual, Steele contrasted the passion and universal heroism of Christianity with his perception of the

false reasoning of Stoicism of the Roman emperors. Steele wrote his first play, *The Funeral, or Grief à la Mode*, the same year. A didactic satire on hypocritical undertakers and dishonest lawyers, it was praised by William III. Unfortunately, the king died before conferring any favors on Steele. Finding promotion in the army increasingly difficult to achieve without powerful connections, Steele left in 1705 to pursue success as a writer. In his second play, *The Lying Lover* (1702), he continued his didactic dramatic vision, portraying virtuous characters as models for audiences to emulate, as opposed to the predominantly “immoral” characters on the Restoration stage.

In 1705, Steele married Margaret Ford Stretch. Because of his theatrical success, he was well acquainted with London society and became involved in Whig politics. He was appointed gentleman waiter to Prince George of Denmark, Queen Anne's husband, in 1706. Engaging in the pamphlet war with satirical essayist Jonathan Swift, his public opponent, Steele wrote *The Crisis*, attacking the Tory ministry for its unenthusiastic support for a Protestant successor to the throne. In 1707, after his first wife's death, Steele married Mary Scurlock. At this time he was editor of the *London Gazette*, the official government periodical.

Steele's fame rests on his founding of *The Tatler* (1709–1711) and *The Spectator* (1711–1712), forerunners of modern journalism, which he wrote anonymously with Joseph Addison with the object of targeting the intellectual and political melting pots of London's coffeehouses and bookshops. *The Tatler*, a series of thrice-weekly papers in which Steele planned to educate “Politick Persons,” was addressed predominantly to fashionable society, whereas *The Spectator* appealed to a wider audience. Using the idea of a club of different personalities, politics, culture, and foreign and domestic topics were explored in *The Tatler*. Steele used the figure of Isaac Bickerstaff, created by Jonathan Swift, to satirize the annual almanacs. Steele's fundamental purpose was moral didacticism: he wished to inculcate a practical morality in an accessible style. Swift, however, attacked Steele's loose use of syntax and the use of juxtaposition in his writing.

Published daily, *The Spectator* developed from *The Tatler* and included essays on relationships be-

tween the sexes, manners, London life, taste, and politics. *The Spectator* assembled a club of narrators whose personalities, eccentricities, and political viewpoints were revealed in concrete detail. Led by Mr. Spectator, the narrators included the Tory country squire Sir Roger de Coverly, and Sir Andrew Freeport, a Whig mercantilist. Steele's contribution to *The Spectator* is distinguished for his use of the letter form and the dialogue between either fictional personae or a writer and a reader (real or imagined). His essays on women such as "The Education of Girls" (no. 66, 16 May 1711) reveal both his sentimentalism and his open, sympathetic stance towards women's social and sexual status.

Steele's desire to be more politically outspoken against the Tory ministry produced two anti-Tory periodicals, *The Guardian* (with Addison's help) in 1713, and *The Englishman* (1713–1714), as well as several pamphlets and short-lived periodicals. Elected as M.P. for Stockbridge in 1713, his position in the House of Commons was disputed, and a Tory majority expelled him. Steele was granted a governorship of Drury Lane Theatre in 1714 to, as he expressed it in his pamphlet *Town Talk*, "Chastise the Vices of the Stage, and promote the Interests of Virtue and Innocence." In 1715, he was knighted by George I, and made a surveyor of the royal stables. Steele argued publicly with Addison in 1718 over the peerage bill, an incident that led to the revocation of the Drury Lane patent. He then began a biweekly paper called *The Theater* and later issued pamphlets about the South Sea Bubble. His last play, *The Conscious Lovers* (1722), was based on Terence's *Andria*; in it Steele portrayed ideals of male and female manners and began the tradition of the sentimental comedy. The play's success enabled him to settle his debts. Steele retired in ill health to his estate in Wales and died in Carmarthenshire in 1729.

See also Addison, Joseph; English Literature and Language; Journalism, Newspapers, and Newsheets.

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MAX FINCHER

STENO, NICOLAUS (Niels Stensen; 1638–1686), Danish anatomist, paleontologist, and geologist. Born 11 January 1638 to a Copenhagen goldsmith, Steno attended the University of Copenhagen from 1656 to 1660, where he studied medicine and anatomy with Thomas and Erasmus Bartholin. Moving on to Amsterdam and Leiden from 1660 to 1664, he made several important discoveries concerning glands, which were a new field of investigation. Inspired by René Descartes's *Treatise on Man* (published posthumously in Leiden in 1662), Steno began studying the physiology of the heart, and he came to argue, against both Descartes and William Harvey, that the heart was not a specially endowed organ but merely a muscle. Failing to secure a position at the University of Copenhagen, Steno traveled to Paris, came under the patronage of Melchisedec Thevenot, and continued his anatomical studies. He gave a lecture on the brain in 1665 in which he took further issue with Descartes's theories of brain function, and he argued that ideas about brain physiology should be grounded in the results of detailed dissection. This lecture was published four years later as *Discourse on the Anatomy of the Brain* and was the most influential of his anatomical works.

Continuing his slow journey south, Steno spent some time in Montpellier in 1665, and in 1666 he arrived at Pisa and the summer court of the Medici family of Florence. He was invited to join the circle

of the Accademia del Cimento, and he readied for publication a study of muscle anatomy. His career abruptly changed course when he was given the head of a giant white shark to dissect by the grand duke, Ferdinand II. Steno was indeed interested in the muscle anatomy of the shark, but he was even more fascinated by its teeth, which closely resembled the fossil objects known as *glossopetra* or tonguestones. Tonguestones, and nearly all other fossils, were commonly regarded as mineral objects that grew in the rocks where they were found and were not thought to have an organic origin. Steno considered the problem and offered compelling reasons why tonguestones must have once been sharks' teeth. When he published his *Elements of Myology* in 1667, he appended to it a short treatise, "The Dissection of the Head of a Shark." This essay marks the beginning of the science of paleontology.

Steno then addressed the more general problem of ascertaining the history of rock formations by examining the clues within them. He formulated principles by which he could determine if formations had been moved or altered after they had been laid down and which formations had been deposited first. Within eighteen months, he had completed his major geological treatise, *Prodromus to a Dissertation on Solids Naturally Contained Within Solids*. Steno argued here that rock strata are like the pages in a book of history, and that proper understanding of the principles of stratigraphy will allow that book to be read. The *Prodromus* marks the beginning of historical geology.

Steno resumed his travels in 1668, touring much of central Europe; he returned to Florence in 1670 for two years and then was invited back to Copenhagen in 1672, where he was royal anatomist until 1674. But his interest in anatomy had been waning for some time. Steno had converted to Catholicism in 1667, and he gradually turned his attention to religious and churchly matters. He returned to Florence in 1675 to be ordained a priest; in 1677 he was appointed apostolic vicar of the northern missions (Germany), and shortly thereafter became the titular bishop of Titiopolis. He spent the last nine years of his life in Hanover, Münster, and Hamburg, trying to bring the followers of Luther back into the Catholic Church. He died on 5 December 1686 in Schwerin. The grand duke of Florence, Cosimo III de' Medici, had Steno's body brought back to Flor-

ence, where he was buried in the cathedral of San Lorenzo. About three hundred years later, on 23 October 1988, Steno was beatified by Pope John Paul II.

See also **Anatomy and Physiology; Descartes, René; Florence; Geology; Harvey, William; Scientific Revolution.**

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WILLIAM B. ASHWORTH, JR.

STEPHEN BÁTHORY (1533–1586; ruled 1576–1586), king of Poland and prince of Transylvania (from 1571). Báthory was brought up at the imperial court in Vienna, was well educated, and knew several languages. In 1559 he was appointed commander of the Wardar fortress, took part in John Sigismund Szapolyai's struggles against the Habsburgs, participated in peace negotiations with the emperor in Vienna, and was interned there for several years. As prince of Transylvania he had to acknowledge his subordination to both Turkey and the emperor; he organized a mercenary army, reformed education, and upheld the principles of religious tolerance.

After Henry of Valois's flight from Poland (1574), Báthory submitted his candidacy for the Polish throne and expressed his intention to marry Princess Anna Jagiellonka. Despite the fact that the primate, Jacob Uchański, proclaimed the emperor



Stephen Báthory. Sixteenth-century portrait engraving.
©BETTMANN/CORBIS

Maximilian II king of Poland (12 December 1575), many magnates (including Jan Zamoyski), clergymen, and a majority of the nobility supported Báthory, who was proclaimed king on 15 December 1575. On 1 May 1576 Báthory married Anna and was crowned in Cracow. The former followers of the Habsburg candidate gradually came over to his side. Báthory launched a campaign against Gdańsk, which had supported the emperor, and after a lengthy blockade and siege, a compromise agreement was reached (12 December 1577), in which Gdańsk recognized Báthory's election, agreed to pay a high contribution to the royal coffers, and preserved its extensive autonomy.

In his internal policy Báthory, backed by Chancellor Zamoyski's advice, sought to strengthen royal power and did not shrink from overcoming the opposition of magnates and noblemen by force (for instance, in the execution of Samuel Zborowski in 1584). However, when Livonia was threatened by Russia, the king, wishing to start war preparations, made some concessions to the nobility, as its consent to additional taxes was indispensable in order to pay the army. He gave up some of the royal

judicial prerogatives and set up supreme courts of appeal in Poland (1578) and Lithuania (1581). He pursued a policy of religious toleration, observing the provisions of the Compact of Warsaw (1573), which guaranteed freedom of religion and equal rights to Catholics and dissidents. In 1578 he transformed the Jesuit college in Vilnius into a higher school, the Vilnius Academy.

Báthory's military reforms were of great significance: he organized (1578) an infantry composed of peasants from the crown estates (the so-called selected infantry), furnished the cavalry with lighter protective equipment and firearms, strengthened the artillery, introduced pontoon bridges, and brought over specialists in the construction of fortifications. Having assembled a nearly 30,000-strong army, he attacked Russia. In three victorious campaigns (1579–1581) he defeated the forces of Ivan IV the Terrible, took Polotsk and Velikiye Luki, and laid siege to Pskov. In the armistice concluded at Iam Zapol'skii (15 January 1582) Ivan gave up Polotsk and land and castles in Livonia, while the Poles returned Velikiye Luki to Russia. Báthory's ambitious plans to conquer Russia and launch an expedition against Turkey (supported by papal subsidies) were interrupted by his death. Báthory was one of Poland's most prominent rulers and an excellent military commander. Despite his attachment to Hungary, he was motivated in his work by Poland's *raison d'état*—but he never learned Polish. He was buried in the cathedral on Wawel Hill in Cracow.

See also **Livonian War (1558–1583); Poland-Lithuania, Commonwealth of, 1569–1795.**

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MARCIN KAMLER

STERNE, LAURENCE (1713–1768), English novelist. Sterne is perhaps most famous as the author of *Tristram Shandy* (1759–1767), his serially published comic novel that propelled him from his quiet life as an Anglican clergyman in Yorkshire to the heart of London's literary society. The son of an infantry ensign, Sterne grew up living in army barracks in England and Ireland before attending

school in Yorkshire at the age of ten. From there, Sterne went to Jesus College, Cambridge, and in 1738 took holy orders, obtaining a living (an endowed ecclesiastical position) at a country parish church near York with the help of his uncle, an influential church lawyer. His career in the ministry was made more lucrative when, in the 1740s, he was employed by his uncle to campaign on behalf of the Whig party in local county elections. In return for this, Sterne received ecclesiastical preferment, becoming a prebendary (recipient of a stipend given to a member of the clergy) of York Minster.

Marrying Elizabeth Lumley in 1741, Sterne added the living of Stillington to his ministerial duties and lived a relatively quiet life in Yorkshire until 1759, when he published his first imaginative prose, *A Political Romance* (also known as *The History of a Good Warm Watch Coat*). This satire on local ecclesiastical courts included uncomplimentary and thinly veiled portraits of Minster clergy and was ordered by the archbishop of York to be burned.

In the same year, and with more success, Sterne also published the first two volumes of *Tristram Shandy*. This serialized novel tells the life story of its eponymous hero, beginning with the exact time of his conception, and including long, often absurd or bawdy, digressions about his family, especially his flamboyant father Walter and his soldier brother Toby. Volumes 3 and 4 were published in 1761, 7 and 8 in 1765, and the last volume, 9, in 1767. In the final volume, a conversation between Tristram's mother and the parson Yorick about Walter's bull seems to sum up the entire story inadvertently: "'L-d!' said my mother, 'what is all this story about?'—'A COCK and a BULL,' said Yorick—'And one of the best of its kind I ever heard.'" When Sterne visited London in 1759, shortly after the first two volumes had gone on sale, he discovered that his novel was an immediate success and had sold out at the booksellers. Declaring that he wrote "not [to] be fed, but to be Famous," Sterne nevertheless capitalized on his success with *Tristram Shandy* by persuading his London bookseller to publish a selection of his sermons in 1760.

With his literary reputation established and his financial position secure, in 1762 Sterne headed for France and Italy. For many years, Sterne's wife Eliz-

abeth had suffered from mental illness (at her worst, she believed herself to be the queen of Bohemia); Sterne had suffered with consumption (tuberculosis) since his days at Cambridge, and the trip to Europe was hoped to be beneficial for both. Finally returning to London in 1767, Sterne began an affair with Elizabeth Draper, the wife of an official in the East India Company. When she was forced to move to India with her husband, Sterne began his *Journal to Eliza* (also called the *Bramine's Journal*), which he kept for six months, and which was discovered in 1851. In 1768, Sterne published his next, and final, novel, *A Sentimental Journey in France and Italy*, which drew on his own experiences of touring in Europe and resurrected the impulsive parson, Yorick, from *Tristram Shandy*, as its protagonist. As with *Tristram Shandy*, which satirized the conventions of the contemporary "Life of . . ." narrative (or novel), *A Sentimental Journey* satirized the conventions of travel writing by claiming to be a journal of a grand tour (a tour of the Continent traditionally undertaken by young Englishmen) and "a quiet journey of the heart in pursuit of NATURE," with comic, and famously bawdy, encounters.

As the author of *Tristram Shandy*, Sterne is credited with being the originator of the "stream-of-consciousness" novel, influencing modern authors Virginia Woolf and James Joyce in particular. Even in its day, this book was celebrated because it brought a new level of consciousness to the developing novel by satirizing the manipulation of fact for the purpose of fiction, and by casting comic doubt on the idea of capturing a life in writing. In his own life, Sterne also trod a fine line between fact and fiction, living in "Shandy Hall" and writing to friends under the name of "Yorick." A month after the publication of *A Sentimental Journey*, Sterne died in his lodgings in London; the *Journal to Eliza* was published for the first time in 1904.

See also Burney, Frances; Defoe, Daniel; English Literature and Language; Fielding, Henry; Richardson, Samuel; Smollett, Tobias.

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ALISON STENTON

STOCK EXCHANGES. Stock exchanges are formally organized secondary markets for financial assets that have already been issued in primary capital markets. Stock markets have become the hallmark of successful modern capitalist economies, despite the frequency of volatile price movements that lead to excessive speculation followed by panics and despite repeated scandals. They play an important role, however, for both the primary capital market and the mobilization of bank credit within any economy, basically by providing liquidity for the initial investors in government or corporate debt or in corporation stock. The assurance that a ready market exists for the sale of an investor's holdings in case of second thoughts, emergencies, or better alternatives for investment makes it easier to place debt or equity in the first place on the primary capital market. The daily pricing of all such financial products on a stock exchange also makes them ideal instruments as collateral for loans. In sum, stock exchanges are important complements to the efficient operation of the rest of an economy's financial sector.

The historical development of worldwide stock exchanges shows that three features are essential for their long-term success: a large stock of homoge-

neous, readily identified financial assets available to the public; a numerous and diverse customer base that is aware of the financial assets available; and a set of trustworthy intermediaries to handle trades of the various financial products among the customers.

The first feature arose with the creation of large-scale government debt, initially by Italian city-states such as Venice, Florence, and Genoa in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. While a secondary market of sorts existed, the city debts do not appear to have been widely held, as they took the form of forced loans from the wealthiest merchants and gentry. The second feature appeared with the creation of the joint stock of the Dutch East India Company or VOC (Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie) in 1602, which was a forced amalgamation of a series of trading ventures organized within six different cities of the United Provinces. The existing shareholders were numerous and varied greatly in wealth and investment objectives; many were unhappy at the forced amalgamation and loss of voice in the management of the company. Active trading in the shares arose soon afterward, and a group of specialists in trading VOC shares appeared on the Amsterdam Beurs, which was the general wholesale market for commodities. According to de le Vega, these traders met in a corner of the exchange when it was open and continued business after hours in nearby coffeehouses. But this grouping does not appear to have had a formal organization or many other trading opportunities in other securities. Even though each city and province in the Netherlands issued large amounts of debt, each issue was closely held and seldom traded outside the city or province of origin. Not until 1795, when the Batavian Republic instituted reforms inspired by the French Revolution, did a regularly printed list of stock prices appear in Amsterdam, even though Dutch newspapers had reported prices of the leading securities since at least 1723.

In 1688, when Dutch financial techniques were grafted onto the English system of central government with parliamentary control over a constitutional monarch, the new British governments rapidly increased both their debt and the transferable stock of corporations holding government debt, such as the Bank of England, the New East India Company, and the South Sea Company. Despite the general collapse of share prices after the South

Sea Bubble of 1720, the customer base for English securities was large and increasingly diverse, comprising foreigners as well as provincial customers throughout England. Dedicated professional traders appeared who usually acted as brokers and often as dealers holding stock on their own account as well. Not until 1773, however, do we find documented evidence that they had a formal organization to assure confidence in trading with each other and on behalf of the general public.

With the substantial increases in government debt during the Napoleonic Wars, however, a formal exchange was created: the London Stock Exchange, with its self-regulated set of trading rules and information system. In response, the Paris Bourse, which had come under strict government control in 1726 after the collapse of the Mississippi Bubble in 1720, and then fell into disuse during the financial disruptions caused by the French Revolution, was revitalized by the French government and maintained under Napoleon. In the United States, the creation of federal debt in 1790 led to the appearance of the New York Stock Exchange, as well as other exchanges in Philadelphia, Boston, and elsewhere, eventually leading to over two hundred regional exchanges in the United States by World War I.

See also Banking and Credit; Capitalism; Commerce and Markets; Interest; Trading Companies.

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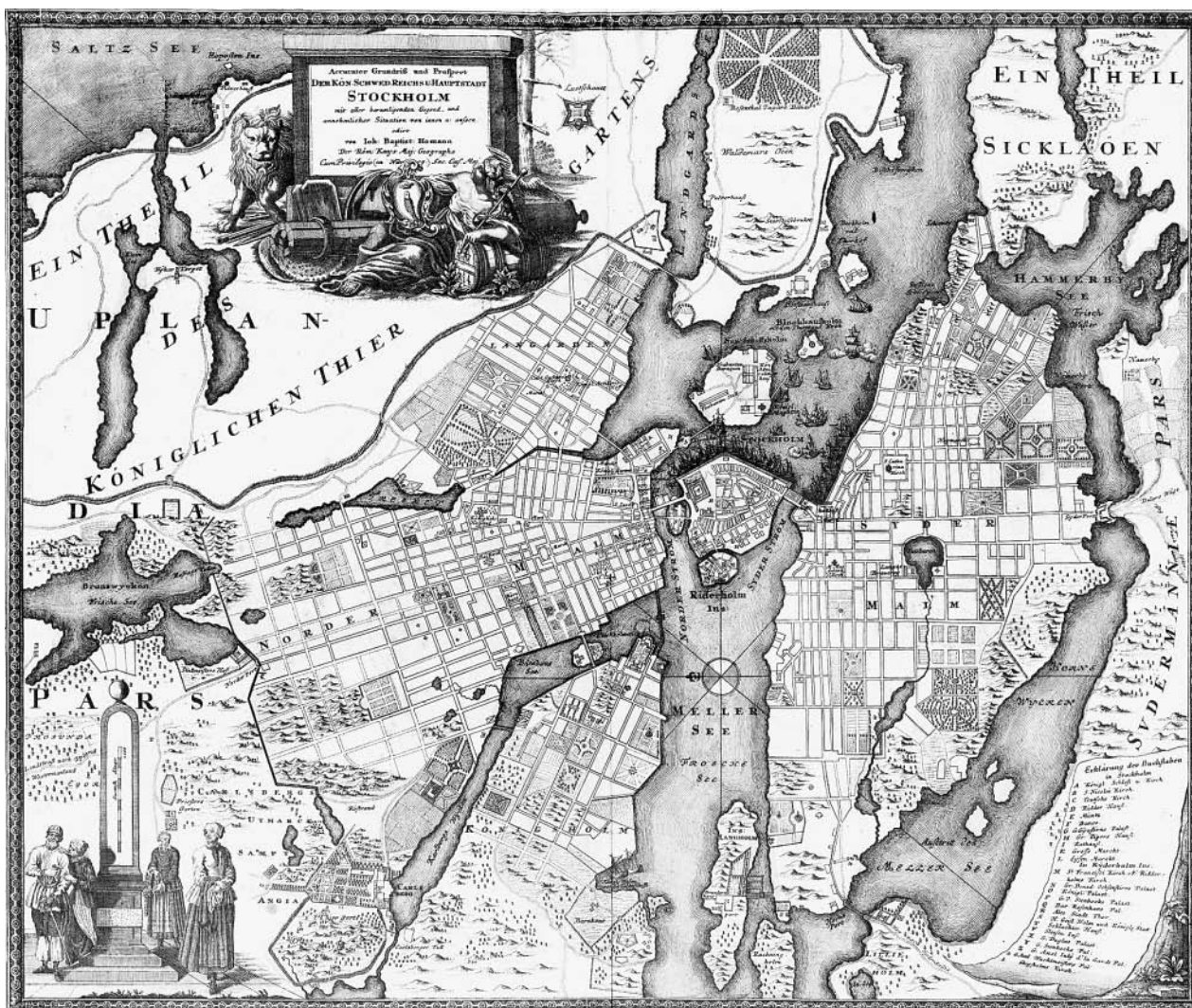
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LARRY D. NEAL

STOCKHOLM. The capital of Sweden, Stockholm originated as a fortress on a small island (*holme* in Swedish), part of an archipelago on the Baltic Sea at the mouth of Lake Mälaren. Tradition attributes construction of the fortress to Birger Jarl, one of Sweden's early kings, and dates it about 1250. Its strategic location helped protect against attacks by sea; it served as a lock on the entry to the navigable waters of Mälaren as well as a transit point for export of iron and copper from inland provinces. By the mid-fifteenth century, Stockholm was already referred to as Sweden's capital, although it was not yet the permanent residence of the monarch. With about six thousand inhabitants, mostly merchants and artisans, Stockholm was an important Baltic trading center. About half the population consisted of German merchants from cities such as Lübeck.

In the late fifteenth century Stockholm was besieged on several occasions, primarily during conflicts with Denmark. After a definitive split from the loose union that had governed Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, Sweden became a nation-state with a more powerful monarchy. Under Gustav I Vasa (ruled 1523–1560), Stockholm began to change from a self-governing town to *Hans Nådes stad* (the city of His Grace, the king) and became the seat of royal authority. Stockholm's development since then has always been linked to the state. Whereas the city had previously been dominated by merchants, the percentage of the population engaged in government administration increased significantly by the reign of Gustav I's son, John III (ruled 1568–1592).

Physical changes to the city came about in connection with the Reformation and Gustav I's subsequent appropriation of Catholic church property, including the tearing down of cloisters and churches. Stockholm was still, however, a city within walls, mostly confined to the area now known as Gamla Stan (the Old Town). In the seventeenth century Stockholm entered a period of expansion related to Sweden's emergence as a European military power under Gustavus II Adolphus (ruled 1611–1632). The city's population grew from about 10,000 in 1620 to more than 40,000 by 1660. City authorities drew up new street plans during the 1630s, and the Swedish nobility used for-



Stockholm. Johann Baptist Homann's detailed early-eighteenth-century plan clearly shows the expansion of the city from its original nucleus of three islands in Lake Malar. This expansion was accelerated during Sweden's Age of Greatness, from the reign of Gustavus II Adolphus (1611–1632) through that of Charles XII (1697–1717). MAP COLLECTION, STERLING MEMORIAL LIBRARY, YALE UNIVERSITY

tunes secured in foreign wars to build palatial residences. One result of these changes was the disappearance of most of the city's medieval towers and walls.

New economic policies encouraged trade through Stockholm's ports. The city also became the center of military production in support of Sweden's aggressive foreign policy. While Sweden was unable to establish a monopoly over Baltic trade, Stockholm did have a virtual monopoly on the export of tar, produced in the extensive forests of Sweden and Finland, which was still part of Sweden at this time.

During Queen Christina's reign (1644–1654) the royal court resided more or less permanently in Stockholm for the first time. Christina's diverse intellectual interests helped make Stockholm, rather than the university towns such as Uppsala, the center of literary activity. Artists began to produce paintings and engravings showing views of the city during this period. The most complete pictorial record of Stockholm at this time is Erik Dahlberg's (1625–1703) book of engravings, *Suecia Antiqua et Hodierna* (Sweden ancient and modern), first published in its entirety in 1716. In 1697 a fire ravaged the royal castle, allowing extensive reno-

vation of the antiquated building in the classical style by the architect Nicodemus Tessin the Younger (1654–1728). These renovations were not completed, however, for almost fifty years.

Population growth stalled after 1705 as the city entered a period of stagnation, due in part to the many wars of the period; from over 55,000 in the 1680s, the population declined to about 45,000 by 1720. An outbreak of plague in 1710 also claimed a third of the population. Political changes after the death of Charles XII (ruled 1697–1718) led by the 1730s to protectionist economic policies that promoted manufacturing (especially of textiles) while restricting imports drastically. These policies tended to favor Stockholm over other parts of Sweden, which resulted in an increase in the city's population, to about 70,000 by 1760. Most of this population growth came from immigration, however, as the mortality rate in Stockholm was very high; one in three children died in the first year of life.

After 1760, political changes led to a decline in manufacturing subsidies, slowing Stockholm's development. The city lost its privileged trading status in the Baltic, and the west coast city of Göteborg began to develop as a port. Though Stockholm remained by far the country's largest city, and the only one with over 10,000 inhabitants, the percentage of Swedish citizens living in Stockholm, about 4 percent in the mid-eighteenth century, declined over the following century.

See also Baltic and North Seas; Charles XII (Sweden); Christina (Sweden); Gustavus II Adolphus (Sweden); Sweden; Vasa Dynasty (Sweden).

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physics, and ethics. The study of logic taught the recognition of truth and the avoidance of error, preparing the mind to understand the physical construction of the world and to engage in ethical behavior. The Stoic cosmos was an organic unity that unfolded according to the *logos* or plan of a universal mind or soul. The physical basis for the universal mind was the *pneuma*, an all-pervasive animating spirit. At the beginning of each cosmic cycle, the *pneuma* condensed, producing the terrestrial elements of earth, water, and air at the center of a spherical universe but continuing to pervade the heavens as life-giving fire. The planets were regarded as the natural creatures of this celestial region: they burned fuel provided by transporting terrestrial elements into the heavens. When this process had exhausted the finite supply of terrestrial elements, the cosmos returned to its primordial state and the entire cycle repeated. Within this cosmos individual entities, including human beings, were defined by the portion of the universal *pneuma* that animated them, and they played roles in the history of the cosmos completely controlled by the *logos*.

For the Stoics, ethical action accorded with the steadily unfolding plan of the cosmos. But the cosmos frequently unfolded in ways that were painful or frustrating to human beings. The Stoics believed that control over nature was illusory except for the contents of the human mind. Practically, they taught the cultivation of *apatheia*, a state of mind permitting the tranquil disregard of suffering, and *autarcheia*, or self-sufficiency. Equally indifferent to wealth and poverty, fame and disrepute, Stoic sages were rendered immune to the vicissitudes of human life. Drawing all three aspects of philosophy together, they were expected to carry out their ethical duty, following the physical plan of the cosmos as revealed by logic, regardless of personal cost.

THE RENAISSANCE REVIVAL OF STOIC ETHICAL AND POLITICAL DOCTRINES

Although Roman authors like Cicero and Seneca examined all aspects of Stoic doctrine, later writers, for example Epictetus (fl. 90–115 C.E.) and Marcus Aurelius (emperor of Rome, 161–180), were primarily interested in the ethical teachings. Their works were known in various forms throughout the Middle Ages but received new attention when humanist philological skills were applied to newly

STOICISM. In the century after Aristotle's death, the Greek founders of Stoicism recognized three interrelated constituents of philosophy: logic,

available Greek texts during the Renaissance, and the recovery of Diogenes Laertius provided new information on both Stoic doctrines and the biographies of the founders. Early modern interest in Stoicism developed from an initial phase, in which Stoic ideas were combined eclectically with other doctrines, until writers like Justus Lipsius (1547–1606) attempted to renovate the Stoic doctrines as a distinct school. Parallel to this later stage, Stoic physical ideas were briefly important in debates on the nature of the heavens and planetary motion.

Throughout this period Stoic doctrines entered humanist literature, although they were limited and conditioned by the authors' Christian opinions. Petrarch (1304–1374) advocated an essentially Stoic scheme for the subjugation of the passions in *De Remediis Utriusque Fortunae* (Remedies against good and ill fortune) and became the first of many Renaissance writers to borrow Stoic providential design arguments to prove the existence of God. Politian (Angelo Ambrogini; 1454–1494) translated Epictetus's *Enchiridion* (Handbook) into Latin; Politian's translation appeared in 1497, and the work was published in Greek in 1528. François Rabelais's *Pantagruel* stories appeared between 1532 and 1564. Later books in the series presented central characters who exemplified the virtues of Stoic sages and a Stoic worldview identifying God and nature as a single, all-pervasive creative principle. However, Desiderius Erasmus and later Michel de Montaigne denied that a Stoic sage could achieve happiness without divine assistance, while Philipp Melancthon criticized the Stoic ambition to achieve by human reason what can only be achieved with God's assistance, although he freely used the same Stoic proofs of God's existence that had attracted Petrarch.

The most important reviver of Stoic doctrines was Lipsius, who taught at Louvain. In 1584 he published *De Constantia* (On constancy), the title indicating a form of *apatheia* that would help its readers cope with the religious and civil strife of their times. Lipsius attempted to collate the surviving fragments of Stoic doctrine in ancient literature in his *Manuductionis ad Stoicam Philosophiam* (1604; Guide to Stoic philosophy). In his *Physiologiae Stoicorum* (1604; Physiology of the Stoics) he attempted to reconcile Stoicism with Christian

doctrine. At about the same time, translations of Epictetus appeared in France, England, and Spain.

THE REVIVAL OF STOIC PHYSICS

Stoic physical ideas reappeared later than Stoic ethics. A renewed interest in Pliny revived the doctrine that the substance of the heavens was a fluid through which the planets moved themselves. An early endorsement came from Jacob Ziegler (1531). The Parisian mathematician Ioannes Pena (Jean de la Pène; 1528–1558) derived the same idea from Cicero. Pena explained the apparent failure to observe the bending of light rays as they entered the atmosphere from the ether above by denying that there was any sharp boundary between the earth and the heavens, which were occupied by Stoic vital air. Writing in 1586, the German astronomer Christoph Rothmann borrowed Pena's arguments to explain why comets were able to move freely in regions that should have been impenetrable ether according to Aristotle. Rothmann corresponded with the Danish astronomer Tycho Brahe (1546–1601), who saw these ideas as the solution to a central problem facing the cosmology he favored, in which the sun went round a central earth, but the planets went round the sun. In this system the spheres supporting the sun and Mars interpenetrated in ways forbidden for the Aristotelian celestial substance. Brahe adopted a fluid heavens and redefined the celestial spheres as geometrical boundaries in it (1588). Johannes Kepler (1571–1630) adopted the latter view in a sustained defense of heliocentrism (1596), although he later rejected the Stoic view that the planets moved themselves and was led thereby to introduce a force, emanating from the sun, to do the same work.

Early in the seventeenth century, the revival of atomism and the appearance of the mechanical philosophy limited the development of exclusively Stoic physical ideas, although they remained influential in alchemy and chemistry throughout Isaac Newton's lifetime. But Stoic ethical doctrines held a continuing appeal, as shown by the favorable treatment of Stoicism in Ralph Cudworth, new editions of Epictetus, and Thomas Stanley's 1655–1662 history of philosophy, which allots more space to Stoicism and its rival Epicureanism than to the philosophies of Plato and Aristotle.

See also Astronomy; Brahe, Tycho; Cosmology; Humanists and Humanism; Kepler, Johannes; Lipsius, Justus; Philosophy; Rabelais, François; Scientific Revolution.

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STRASBOURG. Founded in 16 C.E., the Alsatian city of Strasbourg owed its subsequent prosperity and influence to its situation on the left (western) bank of the Upper Rhine, where it commanded the last bridge over that river before its mouth. The city's trading network extended north and south along the Rhine, as well as east deeper into the Holy Roman Empire, and west into France. Though an annual fair was held beginning in 1228 and the city became a regional banking center by 1500, it failed to develop an indigenous manufacturing sector beyond cheap woolen goods known as "Strasbourg gray." The city remained vulnerable to external pressures that threatened to disrupt its livelihood and food supply.

The most important of these pressures was the local prince-bishop, who initially controlled the city, but was ejected by its inhabitants in 1262 and took up residence in Dachstein castle, about 10 miles (16 kilometers) to the west. Though the city was now a self-governing free city, the bishop still exercised jurisdiction over its clergy, convents, and the huge cathedral that was never finished. The bishop was a prince of the empire with a voice in imperial institutions and his own territory extending across 276 square miles (715 square kilometers) of land to the west, south, and southeast and populated by around sixty thousand people by the late eighteenth century. Strasbourg itself had sixteen thousand inhabitants in 1444, rising to between twenty and twenty-five thousand by the early sixteenth century. The population thereafter remained stable, reflecting the city's declining influence and economic stagnation that set in from the 1550s. There were another ten thousand or more peasants outside the walls who lived under the city's jurisdiction.

Urban government was transformed by a series of violent protests between 1332 and 1449 that secured representation through the city's twenty guilds, but the patriciate gradually hardened into a new oligarchy of thirty to forty families who controlled the key decision making committees. This process was not yet complete by 1522 when many

councillors accepted the Reformation. Strasbourg intellectual life had been stimulated by local humanist scholars, including Jacob Wimpfeling (1450–1528), Johann Geiler von Kaysersberg (1445–1510), and Sebastian Brant (1458?–1521), who helped make the city an important publishing and educational center. However, their attempt to reform local spiritual life contributed to the already strong tradition of anticlericalism left by the earlier struggles against the bishop. The Reformation was introduced with popular support but passed swiftly into the hands of the magistrates, who ensured a moderate course after 1529. The chief reformer was Martin Bucer (1491–1551), who sought a theological compromise between North German Lutheranism and Swiss Zwinglianism; in this Bucer complemented the council's strategy, guided by its leader Jacob Sturm (1489–1553), of negotiating a broad Protestant urban alliance. The city was drawn into the Schmalkaldic League and suffered from its defeat by Emperor Charles V in 1547. Conservatives controlled the council until 1562, when Calvinist influence grew and radicals again called for a more energetic external policy, culminating in armed intervention in the bishop's affairs in 1593–1594. Moderates regained control and reaffirmed orthodox Lutheranism in 1598. Though Strasbourg joined the Protestant Union in 1608, it remained neutral after 1618 and avoided further political ambitions. Johannes Sturm (1507–1589) made a lasting impact on Protestant German education and also founded a grammar school in 1538 that became the University of Strasbourg in 1621. Johann Wolfgang von Goethe was a student there and received a law degree, but the university was closed by the French revolutionaries in 1793 and not reopened until 1872.

New defenses, built 1633–1680, failed to save Strasbourg from French annexation in 1681 as the magistrates surrendered rather than face a bombardment. The bishop also acknowledged French jurisdiction over his lands west of the Rhine and was allowed to return to the city. Sébastien Le Prestre de Vauban strengthened the fortifications 1682–1690, and Strasbourg became a major French garrison, held by ten thousand mainly German-speaking soldiers. Urban self-government remained while the economy revived, and the population grew to fifty thousand by 1789. French became the second lan-

guage, and half the population converted to Catholicism. Strasbourg became a symbol for early German national sentiment, but little effort was made to recover it, although in 1697 the French were obliged to surrender the small fort of Kehl, built at the eastern end of the Rhine bridge between 1683 and 1688. The empire failed to maintain Kehl, which the French periodically recaptured (1703–1714, 1733–1735), and the place was abandoned in 1754. The bishopric remained formally part of the empire, but in 1682 the emperor refused to acknowledge the election of the French candidate, Wilhelm Egon von Fürstenberg, and his successors after 1704 were appointed from Paris. Strasbourg's full incorporation within France only came after 1789, while the bishopric maintained a precarious existence in its lands east of the Rhine until these were annexed by the state of Baden in 1803.

See also Brant, Sebastian; Free and Imperial Cities; Holy Roman Empire; Reformation, Protestant; Schmalkaldic War (1546–1547).

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STRIKES. Collective work stoppages, or “strikes” (a modern term), have been part of the industrial landscape since the Middle Ages, although their frequency increased during the early modern centuries. Such stoppages occurred for many reasons stemming from conflicted relations between employers (master artisans) and employees (increasingly the trained workers who came to be called journeymen). Workers’ strikes centered on such issues as hiring practices, wage rates, piece rates, the duration of the workday, and the freedom to come and go as workers pleased, but resistance always began in one way or another with journeymen’s demands to work according to the rhythms of life that structured their existence and framed its meaning. This understanding entailed an assumption about freedom of movement in and out of shops and worker discretion about the pace of work.

Directly or indirectly, work practices reflected a certain relationship between labor and time. Workers often understood the relationship one way and masters another. The craft economy of the early modern centuries was increasingly dynamic, diversified, and specialized, and demand for craft products grew, at certain times and in certain places, dramatically. Masters responded to the pressure on production schedules by trying to extend the workday and by keeping workers on the job more continuously than had been customary. Moreover, more and more masters combined a new morality of industriousness with this imperative about time and production, and disparaged uncooperative workers as not only insubordinate but lazy.

PRE-EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY STRIKES

Workers defending a customary labor regimen often resisted the more disciplined scheme of their employers. Until the eighteenth century, examples of resistance in the form of work stoppages were most evident in the manufacturing sectors such as

printing and, above all, textiles, where substantial demand was regularly exerted upon production practices and schedules. In the sixteenth century in the printing industry, to maintain or increase profits in an expanding and increasingly competitive market, master printers tried to reduce wages and increase working hours. An especially well documented strike in the printing industry occurred in Lyon in 1539, when the work stoppage was orchestrated by a “company” of journeymen pressmen, typesetters, correctors, and proofreaders called the Griffarins. In response to masters’ attempts to eliminate the customary arrangement of monetary wage plus meals at the master’s table, the Griffarins coordinated an industrywide strike throughout the city that lasted almost four months. The Griffarins physically assaulted any journeymen or apprentices who tried to work, and so solidarity within the ranks of the strikers was maintained. In the end the journeymen forced their employers to reinstate the customary food and wage arrangement for another thirty years.

In the textile industry, especially in the Low Countries, between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries the most effective weapon for workers was the *uitgang*. In this practice, laborers collectively left town if employers did not meet worker demands. This happened in Leiden in 1478, when all the fullers left after their thirty-four demands went unsatisfied. This was certainly not the first *uitgang*, for they referred to similar walkouts “staged by our forefathers.” Nor was it to be the last, for the weavers of Amsterdam staged an *uitgang* in 1523, and the shearers of Leiden in 1643. In the seventeenth century, however, the *uitgang* gave way to the strike, and a wave of the latter in the mid-seventeenth century shows that the coordination of the workers’ activities spanned cities. From 1636 to 1639, for example, strikes led by shearers were staged in Haarlem, Hoorn, Gouda, and Rotterdam, and strikers held clandestine meetings to coordinate their actions and blacklist strikebreakers. Leiden, the clothmaking center of Europe and home in 1670 to 45,000 textile workers out of a total population of 70,000, was also the scene of frequent strikes during the turbulent seventeenth century, occurring in 1619, 1637, 1644, 1648, 1700, and 1701.

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY STRIKES

Until the eighteenth century work stoppages largely occurred in industries that most felt the pressure of demand. During the eighteenth century, with the stimulus of the “consumer revolution,” however, this pressure spread to many more trades than ever before and the number of strikes increased proportionally. At times the number of striking workers was enormous; twenty thousand silk workers shut down production in Lyon in 1779. In France alone between the 1720s and 1780s, work stoppages and boycotts occurred in more than sixty towns. In Paris more than fifty incidents of strikes took place, involving, for example, the stocking-cap makers in 1724, the blacksmiths in 1731, the locksmiths in 1746, the cutlers in 1748, the hatters in 1764, the bookbinders in 1776, and the masons and stonecutters in 1785.

Workers in most trades called strikes all over Great Britain as well—373 between 1717 and 1800, with 120 in London alone. Wool workers in various cities and regions struck sixty-four times, ship’s carpenters thirty-seven, and tailors twenty-two. Weavers, too, were ready to protest, largely against wage reductions. In the late 1720s striking wool-weavers from Wiltshire, calling themselves “regulators,” descended upon some employers’ houses in the town of Frome in Somerset and presented a list of wage demands. If an employer rejected the demands, “the windows paid for it,” as a local commentator put it.

Early modern laborers, mostly journeymen who were organized into brotherhoods and thus could coordinate their actions more effectively than the unorganized simple wage earners, struck over many issues—manipulation of the relationship between the length of the workday and the daily wage, depressed or stagnant wages in the face of rising prices, denser working days, or, increasingly in the eighteenth century, over payment in kind or “truck,” whereby masters overvalued the goods and so effectively depressed wages. Whatever the cause, long before the industrial revolution of the nineteenth century and the “labor movement” emerging at that time, workers in Europe had discovered the power of collective action and work stoppage to redress common grievances.

See also **Guilds; Industrial Revolution; Industry; Laborers; Textile Industry; Wages.**

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STUART DYNASTY (ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND)

The Stuart dynasty was descended from Marjorie, daughter of Robert I (the Bruce) by her marriage to Walter Stewart. Their son, Robert II, became king of Scotland in 1371, but the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries saw a succession of weak monarchs, four minors, and a polity dominated by rebellious nobles. James IV (ruled 1488–1513) was killed fighting against the English but had, in 1503, married Margaret Tudor, daughter of Henry VII (ruled 1485–1509). Thus the Stuarts had a legitimate claim to the English throne. This became especially important during the reign of Mary, Queen of Scots (ruled 1542–1567), a feckless schemer who was deposed by her subjects in 1567. Her scheming to depose Elizabeth I of England led to her execution in 1587, but her son, James VI of Scotland, succeeded Elizabeth in 1603 as James I of England. The Stuart dual monarchy never came to terms with ruling two very different realms, and James’s son, Charles I, was executed by his English subjects in 1649. The Stuarts were restored in 1660 but both Charles II (ruled 1660–1685) and his Catholic brother, James VII and II (ruled 1685–1688), proved less than effective rulers. James was deposed in 1688 and replaced by William III (ruled 1689–1702) and Mary II (ruled 1689–1694). William, the Dutch prince of Orange, was the grandson of Charles I, and Mary was the daughter of James II, but, more importantly, they were Protestants. William and Mary had no children, and the thrones of England and Scotland passed to Anne (ruled 1702–1714), younger

daughter of James II. Anne also died childless, and while the English succession had been settled in 1701 on the Protestant Sophie of Hanover, granddaughter of James VI and I, many Scots continued to support the exiled Catholic descendants of James VII and II. In 1714 Sophie's son, the Hanoverian George I, became king of the United Kingdom of Great Britain, thus ending the rule of the Stuarts. The Stuarts still pressed their claim to the throne; however, any pretensions were effectively ended when the pretender Charles Edward Stuart, "Bonnie Prince Charlie," was defeated at the Battle of Culloden in 1746.

See also Anne (England); Charles I (England); Charles II (England); England; Hanoverian Dynasty (Great Britain); Jacobitism; James I and VI (England and Scotland); James II (England); Scotland; Tudor Dynasty (England); William and Mary.

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SUBLIME, IDEA OF THE. The sublime (from the Greek *hypsous*) entered the language of aesthetic theory from its use in the treatise *Peri hypsous* (On the sublime). The unknown author of this work has been called by tradition "Longinus," and its probable period of composition is the first half-century C.E. Longinus associates the sublime with the feeling of surpassing glory that powerful words may impart. This glory becomes for a reader the evidence of a great soul—the writer's soul, of course, but also the reader's own. The peculiarity of the sublime is that it overwhelms the ordinary distinctions of sense. Its effects come only at moments, even in the greatest writing. It "scatters everything before it like a thunderbolt."

Much of Longinus's book is devoted to analysis of some characteristic verbal traits of sublimity. The exuberance of a great soul may show itself in irregular syntax, and Dionysius of Phocaea is praised for the inversion of logical order in the phrase "Our fortunes are on the razor's edge, men of Ionia," which arrests attention by giving the metaphor be-

fore the circumstance it evokes. The sentence from Genesis, "Let there be light, and there was light," is cited as an instance of a tremendous effect that suggests a tremendous cause, the power of words here becoming indistinguishable from the power of a deed.

The modern revival of Longinus dates from the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. The writings of Nicolas Boileau-Despréaux (1636–1711) and Alexander Pope (1688–1744) reflect much of the new emphasis, and Pope adapted a Longinian sentiment when he wrote in his "Essay on Criticism" (1711) that genius may "snatch a grace beyond the reach of art." The sublime now came to stand at the center of a larger riddle about art: it gives pain as well as pleasure; and yet, knowing this, we are eager for the sensations of art. Edmund Burke (1729–1797) in *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (1757) explicitly links the sublime with pain. The passion that corresponds to the sublime is astonishment, or "that state of the soul, in which all its motions are suspended, with some degree of horror."

The sublime for Burke is an idea and not a property of objects themselves. Yet certain attributes are consistently associated with the sublime, among them obscurity, power, vastness, and infinitude. Like Longinus, Burke draws his literary illustrations eclectically, from Homer, the book of Job, William Shakespeare, and John Milton. Unlike Longinus, he places the natural on a par with the man-made sublime: a soulless thing may yield as vast an idea as an oration; prominent examples are the sight of the ruins of a great city after an earthquake and the spectacle of the hanging of a state criminal. Burke's *Enquiry* initiated the discussion of the moral and nonmoral foundations of taste that occupied many of the subtlest minds of the later eighteenth century. In response to Burke's sensational and nonmoral theory, Immanuel Kant (1724–1804) in the *Kritik der Urteilskraft* (1790; Critique of Judgment) undertook to relate the sense of the sublime to all that finally exceeds understanding in the experience of human autonomy.

See also Art: Art Theory, Criticism, and Historiography; Boileau-Despréaux, Nicolas; Burke, Edmund; Kant, Immanuel; Pope, Alexander.

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SUGAR. The expansion of European involvement in the sugar industry mirrored western Europe's expansion and domination of the Atlantic basin. Sugar, which had long been considered a luxury available only to the elites of medieval and renaissance Europe, was transformed into a household staple by the colonization of the New World. The combination of conquered tropical and subtropical lands, African slave labor, and capital advanced by northern European merchants transformed the European diet. Furthermore, sugar's importance to overseas trade is reflected in contemporary observations that proclaimed the sugar industry to be at the heart of national wealth; it was often noted that the plantation trade created enormous profits for sugar planters and merchants, employment for European laborers, and significant tax revenues for the mother countries. Although it is clear that sugar did indeed dominate colonial policy of the major powers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, economic historians have recently questioned the extent to which sugar generated national riches.

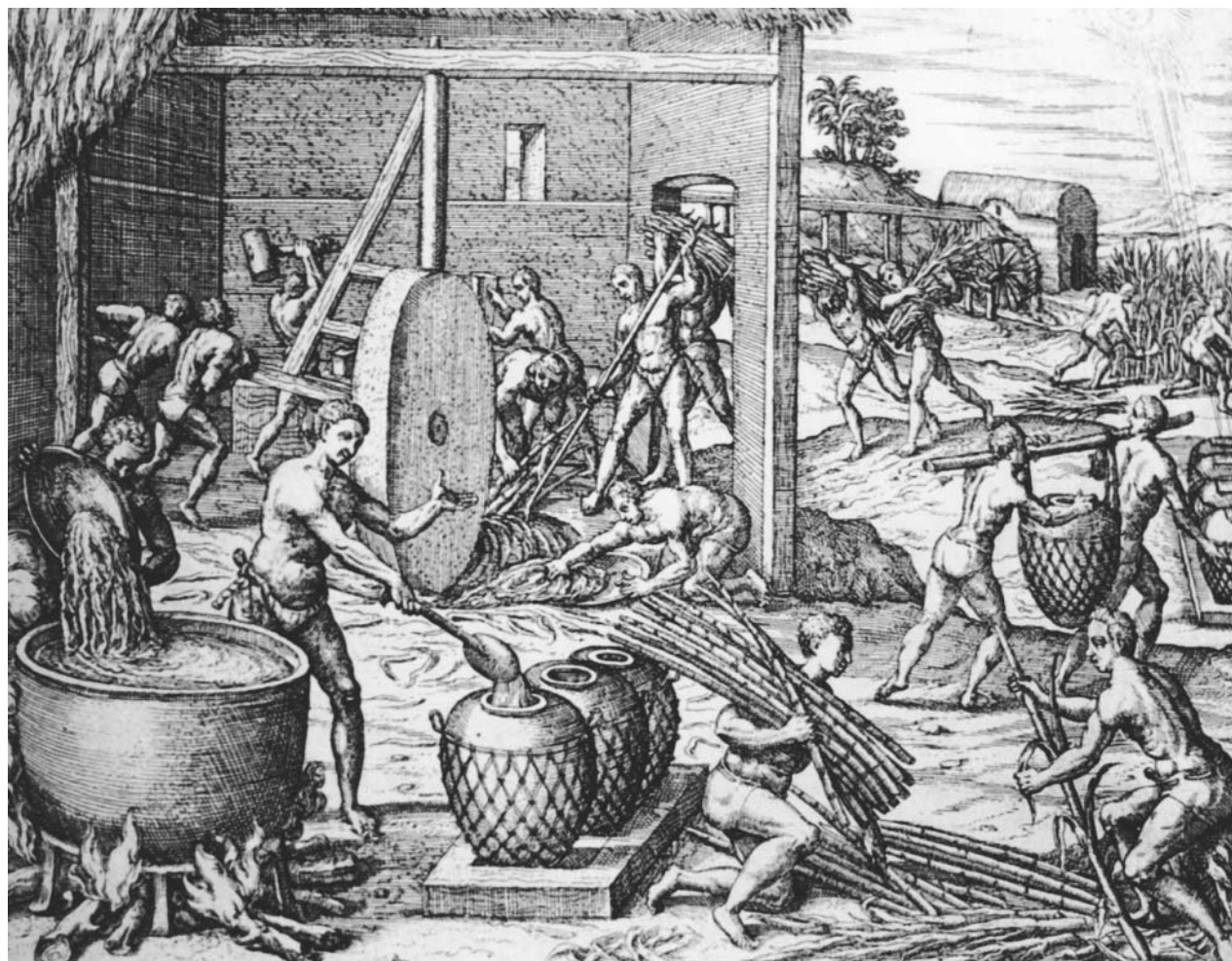
Muslims first introduced sugarcane to the Mediterranean region in the seventh century. While the soils of the Levant, Sicily, Cyprus, Crete, and Malta supported this early cane cultivation, the actual export of sugar to Continental markets did not take place until the Crusades, when Venetian merchants provided the capital and mercantile connections required for regular trade. The historian Noel Deerr has suggested that this coordination of European credit and trade "may be seen [as] the germ of the

colonial system" that was fully developed in the Americas during the early modern period.

The center of the European sugar supply moved west with Portuguese exploration of the Atlantic basin. Iberian settlers on the island of Madeira established commercial sugar production in 1432, as well as on the African coastal island of São Tomé, where African slave labor was used exclusively to produce sugar in the early sixteenth century. During the next hundred years, Portuguese settlers in Brazil replicated this slave-based business plan after briefly experimenting with indigenous labor. With the assistance of Dutch financiers, the Portuguese planters and mill owners of northeastern Brazil developed the most productive sugar-producing region in the world. This symbiotic relationship between the two imperial powers helped generate the lion's share of sugar consumed in Europe, but in 1624 the Dutch gained tighter financial control over the industry by using military force, capturing the richest sugar-growing regions of Brazil. Although the Dutch were eventually expelled, the chaos inflicted by war disrupted Brazilian sugar production, thereby providing an opportunity for English and French West Indian sugar growers to emerge as important competitors in supplying Europe's increasing demand for sugar.

The leading sugar-producing nations expended tremendous resources protecting their colonists and their plantation trade. Laws similar to Britain's Navigation Acts or France's Colonial Pact were implemented by every colonial power as a means of ensuring that the benefits of imperialism would be maximized. Adherents to this political philosophy believed that the colonists' role in the larger economy was subordinate to the home country's drive for riches and power. Thus, each nation's set of mercantilist laws was designed to control colonial trade so that the commerce from the colonies would provide home governments with valuable tax revenues while stimulating each respective nation's merchant navy.

The major sugar-planting zones of Brazil and the Caribbean littoral had an enormous appetite for slave labor. The growing demand for sugar in Europe, combined with the negative natural population growth, fueled an unprecedented demand for labor. Throughout the early modern period, Euro-



Sugar. An engraving from Theodore de Bry's *Grand Voyages*, 1590–1597, shows a colonial sugar processing operation using native labor. THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

pean planters expanded total production while simultaneously ignoring the poor nutrition, disease-infested living conditions, and excessive work endured by their slaves. The relatively low cost of importing new African slaves permitted planters to maintain healthy profits despite the regular loss of life. To illustrate the human cost of supplying the European craving for sugar, over half of the 5.7 million slaves transported to the Americas during the eighteenth century were destined to work in the cane fields or in related branches of the industry.

The sheer volume of the slave trade, the capital-intensive nature of sugar planting, and the contemporary assumptions about the importance of sugar colonies have led some modern historians to conclude that sugar and slavery were essential to the economic development of the metropole. Eric Wil-

liams, an Oxford-trained West Indian historian, did the most to promote this thesis in *Capitalism and Slavery* (1944). In this monumental work, Williams argued that the demand for sugar created a highly profitable colonial trade, which enabled slavers from Bristol and Liverpool to dominate the forced migration of Africans during the peak years of the slave trade. He posited that the slave trade generated an important stream of British capital accumulation, and that these funds, combined with the profits generated from the sugar industry, fueled Britain's industrial revolution.

Scholarship since *Capitalism and Slavery* has revised Williams's estimate that the slave trade produced 30 percent returns to investors. Although there were, indeed, examples of slave traders earning significant sums of money on individual

voyages, the slaving business was a very risky and competitive lottery, with many investors losing money. If, therefore, one considers the whole range of returns on slave trading, the average is calculated to have been somewhere between 5 and 10 percent during the eighteenth century. With this more realistic view of slave-trading profits, the economic historian Stanley Engerman calculated that the net national return on the British slave trade represented less than 1 percent of total British income. This deflated view of the slave trade's importance to the British economy has been matched by more moderate assessments of the effect the total sugar industry had on the home country. The most recent research describes the colonial sugar industry as an important sector that contributed to the economic growth of the major sugar-growing nations, but was not essential to the industrial transformation of England or Europe.

See also Portuguese Colonies: Brazil; Slavery and the Slave Trade; Trading Companies; Triangular Trade Pattern.

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DAVID RYDEN

SUICIDE. When early modern authors and intellectuals considered the topic of suicide, they started out with one salient contrast in mind: Whereas the ancient Greeks and Romans had often approved of suicide, Christians did not. For many, this contrast illustrated the superiority of Christian thinking, but throughout the Renaissance and into the seventeenth century, some who admired the ancients drew a more nuanced set of conclusions.

Thomas More's *Utopia* (1516), for example, presents voluntary euthanasia for the terminally ill in a favorable light, although More condemned suicide vigorously in other works. The bishop of Guadix, Antonio de Guevara, took inspiration from the heroic suicides of classical antiquity (for example, Cato, Diogenes, Zeno, Lucretia, Seneca) and praised the nobility of barbarians who did not overvalue life in this world. Similarly, Michel de Montaigne touched on the question of suicide repeatedly and in “A Custom of the Island of Cea” considered the topic at considerable length, thoughtfully assembling moral, religious, social, and legal views. Although he admired the deaths of the noble ancients, he was reluctant to give his blanket approval to all who sought to escape shame or pain through suicide, and in the end he thought one might kill oneself only as a last resort to avoid intense pain or torture.

Shakespeare's characters commit suicide with remarkable frequency (there are fifty-two cases in his plays), and Hamlet's soliloquy (“To be or not to be”) dwells on the topic, presenting arguments both for and against (although ignoring specifically Christian objections), before concluding, famously, that the future was too murky to make self-murder a safe option. In other plays Shakespeare presents suicide as the result of tragic misunderstanding (*Romeo and Juliet*) or as grand examples of freedom or despair (*Julius Caesar*, *Antony and Cleopatra*, and *Othello*). In 1610 John Donne went further, arguing in *Biathanatos* that sometimes suicide was justified or at least excusable. He did not proceed, as others had, from the example of ancient worthies but specifically considered the Christian grounds for condemning suicide. In a nutshell, he concluded that suicide did not necessarily and always violate the laws of nature, reason, or God. Despite the daring independence of this view, Donne forbade the publication of his book, and it only appeared in print in 1647, sixteen years after his death. This fact illustrates the ongoing and deep anxiety early modern Christians felt about suicide as both a crime and as the result of despair, the ultimate sin. Usually Protestants and Catholics united to condemn “self-murder” and to depict the devil as the prime mover or inspiration for most cases of self-destruction. As a result, throughout early modern Europe, suicides were denied burial in hallowed ground and often

suffered desecration of their corpses. The worldly goods of suicides were sometimes confiscated by the crown, as was the case in England and Scotland.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, however, this legal and moral position decayed, not so much because suicide became positively defensible but more commonly because it seemed increasingly to be the result of melancholy madness. Moralists and theologians had regularly made provision for a sort of insanity defense of suicide. They viewed both sin and crime as actions that proceeded from free and voluntary decisions; condemning actions one could not prevent or avoid did not seem to make moral sense. Indeed, Martin Luther had carried this point so far that he thought suicides were driven to their deaths by the devil, thus extinguishing human responsibility: "I have known many cases of this kind, and I have had reason to think in most of them, that the parties were killed, directly and immediately killed by the devil, in the same way that a traveler is killed by a brigand." Most theologians, however, understood the role of the devil as that of a tempter or seducer, and therefore left ample room for the harsh condemnation of suicide, as long as it seemed clear that the victim had acted deliberately, intentionally, or voluntarily.

THE SECULARIZATION OF SUICIDE

By the late seventeenth century, suicide began to seem so alien to right reason, so much the product of melancholy or delusion (what we might call acute depression), that coroners, villagers, pastors, and magistrates were prepared to grant decent (even if quiet) burials inside the churchyard. Townspeople and villagers alike might also (as in England and Scotland) unite to portray a suspicious death as the result of illness or accident in order to circumvent the crown's efforts to confiscate a victim's estate, a move that usually added to the burdens on local poor relief. Thus from about 1650 onwards, we can mark the "secularization of suicide," that is, the development of medical or other naturalizing explanations and excuses for suicide. This evolution of public sentiment was supplemented during the eighteenth century by the moral philosophizing of the Enlightenment. Montesquieu's *Persian Letters* (1721), for example, sharply criticized the condemnation of suicide. Voltaire went further and saw suicide as a question of liberty. It could not harm

God or society, in his view, to exit the world when one could no longer enjoy life or contribute to the welfare of others. David Hume also defended an individual's absolute right to suicide. Despite hesitations and equivocations, however, many philosophers were drawn to the medical conclusion that suicide was usually the result of madness or bodily disturbances.

THE SOCIAL HISTORY OF SUICIDE

Broadly speaking, this array of opinions on suicide has been well known and well described for several generations. In recent years, scholars have renewed their attention to suicide and have made several noteworthy contributions, not so much to high religious or intellectual history, but to the sociology or social distribution and cultural understandings of suicide. In this work they have often taken inspiration from the foundational work of Émile Durkheim, *Le suicide* (1897), which tried to demonstrate that social dynamics account for almost all the statistical variations in suicide found in modern countries. Roughly stated, Durkheim held that higher rates of suicide were prompted by increasing conditions of social isolation, so that tight webs of social support served to protect populations from the effects of urbanization, individualism, migration, and other conditions of modernity. It seemed to make sense, from this point of view, that Protestants (as part of a "modern," "secularizing," and "individualizing" movement) should always and everywhere have higher rates of suicide than presumably more traditional and more socially cohesive Catholics. This schema has inspired a great deal of modern sociological investigation, and recently scholars have extended these efforts to the early modern period. However, one supreme difficulty has been that neither the numbers of suicides nor early modern populations were reliably recorded, making the calculation of a suicide rate (the number of suicides per 100,000 population) doubly problematic.

Suicide in Britain and Germany. After an extraordinary and energetic attempt to count the number of suicides in early modern England, for example, Terence Murphy and Michael MacDonald abandon the task of calculating the varying suicide rate from place to place and from time to time, turning instead to an examination of the varying

meanings of suicide. In an excellent study of suicide in far northern Germany, Vera Lind draws similar conclusions, heaping criticism on those who have imagined that medieval or early modern rates of self-murder could be calculated unproblematically. In a vast and complex survey, Alexander Murray draws the same conclusion with respect to medieval Europe, but then curiously hazards the guess that whatever the medieval rate may have been, suicide became far more common in the sixteenth century.

Suicide in Switzerland. The most impressive recent attempt to scrutinize all the suicides in a fairly controlled population is Jeffrey Watt's study of early modern Geneva, where suicide remained rare until the end of the seventeenth century and then increased slowly in the early eighteenth century. After 1750, however, the rate jumped up by a factor of five or more, and it went even higher after 1780. Watt has been careful to count not only those cases regarded as suicide by the Genevan authorities, but to look for "disguised" suicides as well, deaths from falls or from drowning that may well have been self-inflicted even if contemporaries declined to label them self-murder. Watt's evidence is so rich and so complete that, at least for this city, a genuine suicide rate can probably be calculated. Recognizing a dramatic escalation after 1750 seems unavoidable. Rejecting an easy equation of Calvinism with higher rates of suicide, however, Watt points out that Geneva during the Reformation had promoted just as tight an integration of society as in any Catholic city or principality. Yet by the late eighteenth century, Genevans from top to bottom had grown more secular in their attitudes, abandoning belief in the devil and often in hell as well. These processes may have developed more quickly or more profoundly for men than for women, which might explain why the disproportion of male suicides became even more pronounced after 1750. On this reading, growing secularization accomplished more than just the decriminalization or medicalization of suicide; increasingly a more secular society relaxed its supportive web as well as its sanctions against self-killing. Taking one's own life became far easier to contemplate.

This finding runs counter to the conclusion of a study of suicide in Zurich, in which Markus Schär connects the rapidly escalating numbers of self-inflicted deaths in the eighteenth century not with

increasingly secular attitudes but with the growth of acute religious despair among people who doubted that they could ever gain God's mercy. Oddly enough, however, both Watt and Schär agree in emphasizing the importance of religious and cultural changes, rather than social changes (such as demography, economy, and urbanization), as crucial stimulants to suicide.

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

As far as eighteenth-century Europeans were concerned, England was the classic land of melancholy and suicide. In the absence of reliable comparative studies, it is not clear that this stereotype was fully deserved. It does seem certain, however, that suicide notes and newspaper publicity about recent suicides first proliferated in England, for reasons well explored by Murphy and MacDonald. In Germany, the popularity of Goethe's *Sorrows of Young Werther* (1774) led to a wave of widely publicized suicides supposedly inspired by the romantic death of that lovelorn protagonist. By the late eighteenth century suicide had been common enough that it seemed symptomatic of the cultural and social disruptions endured by nations undergoing rapid urbanization, industrialization, or secularization.

See also **Death and Dying; Madness and Melancholy; Religious Piety.**

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H. C. ERIK MIDELFORT

SULEIMAN I (1494/95–1566; ruled 1520–1566), tenth Ottoman sultan, born in Trabzon, the son of Hafsa, a Crimean Tatar princess, and the future sultan Selim I (ruled 1512–1520). Under Suleiman, the Ottoman Empire became the Islamic world's Sunni exemplar. Suleiman spent his childhood in Trabzon, where Selim was governor. As a prince, Suleiman himself received the governorship first of Kefe (Fedosiya) and then, in 1513, of Manisa. In 1514–1515 he acted as regent during his father's campaign against Iran. In 1516–1517, he oversaw the defense of Edirne while his father campaigned against the Mamluks in Syria and Egypt.

Suleiman succeeded to the throne in September 1520. In Syria, he immediately suppressed the revolt of a former Mamluk governor, Janberdi Ghazali, and then, using as a pretext the Hungarian maltreatment of his ambassador, he attacked Hungary in 1521, capturing Belgrade. In 1522, he conquered Rhodes, allowing the Knights of St. John to depart freely. In 1526 he invaded Hungary again, defeating and killing King Lajos (Louis II) at Mohács. Following Suleiman's departure, the Hungarian Diet elected János Szapolyai (John Zapolya) as king of Hungary, but later in the year, the Diet of Bratislava elected the Habsburg counter-claimant, Ferdinand of Austria. In 1529, Ferdinand occupied Buda. Suleiman, however, expelled him from Buda, re-enthroned Szapolyai, and unsuccessfully besieged Vienna, the highwater mark of Ottoman expansion efforts. In 1530, Ferdinand again besieged Buda, and Suleiman again invaded, forcing Ferdinand to an agreement that left Szapolyai as king of central and eastern Hungary and himself as king in the west and north, both ruling as Suleiman's tributaries.

The truce freed Suleiman to attack the Shi'ite Safavids of Iran, for which a series of defections on both sides of the frontier gave a pretext. In 1533, Suleiman's grand vizier Ibrahim Pasha reoccupied Bitlis, whose lord had defected to Shah Tahmasb. Next year he occupied Tabriz and, after the sultan

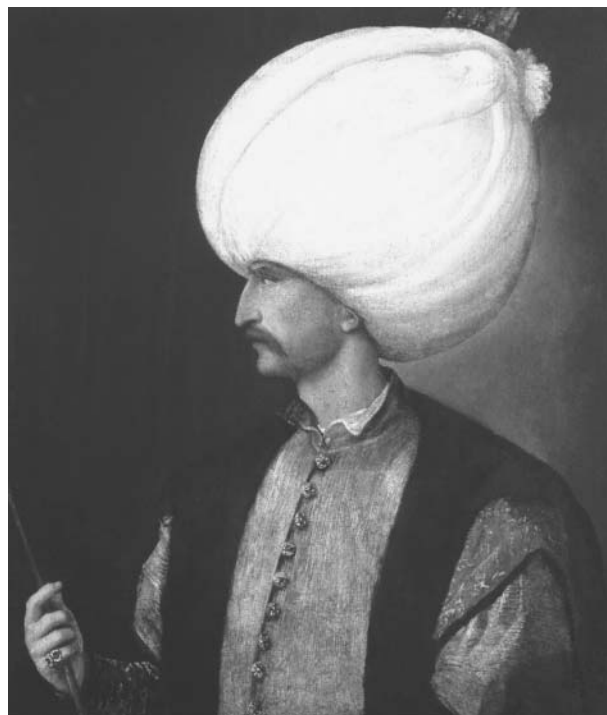
had joined him, Baghdad. By 1536, the sultan had added Baghdad, Erzurum, and, temporarily, Van to his empire. In 1533, recognizing the need to counter the threat especially of Spanish power in the Mediterranean, Suleiman had appointed as admiral the privateer-ruler of Algiers, Hayreddin (Khayr ad-Dīn) Barbarossa, admiral of the Ottoman fleet. The Spanish threat materialized with the conquest of Tunis by Charles V—king of Spain, Holy Roman emperor, and brother of Ferdinand—in 1535. This was a factor persuading Suleiman to agree in 1536 to an anti-Habsburg alliance with France, which lasted until the Franco-Spanish treaty of 1559. A proposed Franco-Ottoman campaign in Italy in 1537 failed to materialize. Instead Suleiman unsuccessfully besieged Venetian Corfu. In 1538, by contrast, Barbarossa captured most of the Venetian islands in the Aegean and defeated a combined Spanish, Venetian, and papal fleet in the Gulf of Prevesa. The war ended in 1540, concluding the period of Suleiman's major conquests.

In Hungary, meanwhile, Szapolyai's death activated Ferdinand's claim, and in 1541 and 1542 he besieged Buda. Suleiman responded by converting central Hungary to an Ottoman province and Transylvania in the east to a kingdom under Ottoman suzerainty for Szapolyai's infant son, John Sigismund. In 1543, he led a campaign to Hungary, securing a line of fortresses along the western border. The war ended in 1547, but Ferdinand's claim to Transylvania continued. It was not until 1556, following campaigns in 1551 and 1552 and the Ottoman occupation of Temesvár, that the king and his mother could return to the kingdom. In the Mediterranean, too, the war with the Habsburgs continued. Charles V's failure to capture Algiers in 1541 encouraged Francis I to renew the Ottoman alliance, and in 1543 a Franco-Ottoman force stormed Nice. The Spanish occupation of Monastir and Mahdia on the Tunisian coast in 1550 encouraged further cooperation, but when in 1551, the French fleet failed to appear for a joint campaign, the Ottoman admiral, Sinan Pasha, instead seized Tripoli from the Knights of St. John. Ottoman expansion in North Africa continued with the capture of Wahran and Bizerta in 1556–1557 and the expulsion of the Spaniards from Jerba in 1560. However, Suleiman's last major naval campaign against the Knights on Malta, in 1565, was a failure.

Immediately after 1547, Suleiman's main concern was the eastern front and Iran. In 1548, the flight of Shah Tahmasb's brother to Istanbul gave Suleiman the opportunity to invade, but again without conquest apart from the recapture of Van. A third Iranian campaign in 1553–1554 was equally unproductive, concluding with the treaty of Amasya in 1555, fixing the borders between the two empires. After 1564, the sultan's attention turned to Hungary again. With the bulk of Ottoman forces at Malta, Ferdinand's son Maximilian pressed his claim to Transylvania: Suleiman's response was to launch a major campaign in 1566. In September 1566 he died during the siege of Szigetvár.

During his reign, Suleiman had added central Hungary, Iraq, and territories in eastern Anatolia, the Aegean, and North Africa to the Ottoman Empire, while from the 1530s his fleets dominated the eastern Mediterranean. The kings of France, Muslim rulers in India, and the sultan of Aceh (Sumatra) sought him as an ally, emphasizing his stature as ruler of a world empire. His reach into the western Mediterranean, however, depended on cooperation with the French and the semiautonomous Algerians. After 1540, Habsburg power in central Europe and the Mediterranean, and the Safavids on his eastern border, together with geographical constraints, limited the scope for further conquest and, in the age of Iberian maritime empires, the Ottoman Empire remained essentially land-based. Despite a memorandum of 1525 urging Suleiman to establish an Ottoman hegemony in the Indian Ocean, efforts to disrupt Portuguese shipping at sea and to dislodge the Portuguese from Diu in 1538 and Hormuz in 1552 were unsuccessful.

Despite incessant warfare, the reign was a period of prosperity in the Ottoman Empire. Tax censuses indicate a rising population, with an increase in the number and size of settlements. The treasury remained in surplus, and the standard of the silver currency relatively stable. There were, however, discontents, particularly in Anatolia, leading to a series of popular revolts in the 1520s. In particular, the Safavid shahs made messianic claims, and their many adherents in the Ottoman East posed a constant threat of rebellion, which the sultan controlled through a network of informers.



Suleiman I. Contemporary Venetian portrait. ©ALI MEYER/
CORBIS

Suleiman's reign brought conflict within the dynasty. The royal family reproduced through concubines: the practice of marriage, abandoned after 1450, had served political, not reproductive ends. It had also been customary to limit each concubine to one son, with civil war and fratricide deciding which one was to succeed. As an only son, Suleiman had succeeded to the throne unchallenged. However, early in his reign Suleiman became infatuated with his Slavic concubine Hurrem (known as Roxelanna in the West) who bore him more than one son and, in 1534, became his wife. In 1553, when rivalry for the succession increased, Suleiman, probably with the collusion of Hurrem and her faction, executed Mustafa, his son by the concubine Mahidevran, leaving Hurrem's sons Bayezid and Selim as sole contestants. After her death in 1558, Bayezid rebelled. Suffering defeat in 1559, he fled to Iran, where, after Shah Tahmasb had extracted a peace agreement and a payment from Suleiman, he was executed, leaving Selim as sole heir.

Suleiman was intensely conscious of his image. A number of European engravings, all deriving from a single original, give a sense of his appearance,

which he clearly tended, applying make-up in his old age to hide blemishes. To his ordinary subjects, however, he would appear only occasionally as a distant figure in a magnificent cavalcade. More enduring are his titles. To Europeans, he is “the Magnificent” in reference to the extent of his empire, and to his youthful ostentation, best known to the Venetians in his commission of a bejewelled triple tiara in 1532. To Muslims he is “the Lawgiver,” a title first attested in the eighteenth century, but presumably used earlier. This reflects his promulgation of a new recension of the “feudal” code compiled circa 1500, under Bayezid II, but more importantly his co-operation with the chief mufti, Ebu’s-su’ud, in systematizing some areas of Islamic law, and Ebu’s-su’ud’s reformulation of “feudal” land law in Islamic terms. It was under Ebu’s-su’ud’s influence that Suleiman became conspicuously pious in the second half of his reign. Suleiman was the first Ottoman sultan to adopt formally the title of caliph, implying leadership of the Islamic world. The impetus for the claim came from his overwhelming power, his status as guardian of the Holy Cities, and the need to counter Safavid claims and to emulate Charles V’s status as Holy Roman emperor. After the Ottoman-Habsburg treaty of 1547, where Charles V no longer used the title “Emperor,” Suleiman also adopted the epithet “Caesar” or “breaker of Caesars.” In the same year, he began the construction of the Suleimaniye Mosque in Istanbul, a masterpiece of his chief architect Sinan, as a monument to his imperial pretensions. Its completion in 1557 coincided with Bayezid’s rebellion, an event that undermined his caliphal-imperial image. Nonetheless, his death on the battlefield secured him the posthumous title of “Holy Warrior and Martyr.”

See also Levant; Mediterranean Basin; Ottoman Dynasty; Ottoman Empire; Piracy.

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COLIN IMBER

SULTAN. Sultan, which originally meant ‘power’ or ‘authority’, evolved by the tenth century to its present meaning of the holder of that authority, such as a ruler, lord, or monarch. The most spectacular sultans of history were those of the Ottoman dynasty, who ruled most of the territory of the Middle East and North Africa, as well as large parts of eastern Europe, from 1300 to 1923.

Origins of the term are somewhat obscure. Probably Akkadian, and Syriac, the word appears in Arabic in the Koran with the meaning of empowering of someone over another, and connoting magical or moral authority such as possessed by prophets, or by Satan. In early Islamic societies, “sultan” came to convey political power, and was often applied to lesser rulers who shared power with the caliphs, who were presumed to be the religious head of the community, and, at least until around 1000 C.E., to be descended from the Prophet Muhammad. The hadith, or stories of the prophet, generally employ the word “sultan” for governmental or political power, but occasionally for the power of God. As governance became more complicated in early Islamic societies, and disputes emerged about the rightful leaders of the Muslim community, the term became an honorific, or personal title, most consistently, although not exclusively, applied to rulers of Turkic or Persian stock, and Central Asian origins. Ibn Khaldun, writing just as the Turkic dynasties began to populate and usurp power in much of the Arab and Persian lands, noted with disdain their appropriation of honorifics such as “sultan.” Such was also true, by his account and others, of the Barmakids, an extremely powerful Persian family under the Abbasid caliph Harun al-Rashid (786–809). Most contemporary sources point to Mahmud of Ghazna (998–1030) as the first independent sovereign to be called a sultan by the Abbasid caliphs. Whether or not the caliph conferred the title, it appears certain that after the fall of the Abbasid dynasty in 1258, “sultan” had acquired the meaning of independent sovereign. Thus the Mamluks, a slave elite of Turkish, Circassian, and

Georgian origins, who ruled Egypt from 1250–1517, were so labeled. All such independent dynasties were champions of Sunni Islam, and it is no coincidence that a revitalized Muslim orthodoxy emerged in the eastern Mediterranean in response to the threat, first of all, of the sectarian Shi'ites, but also of the crusaders, whose ventures in the Levant began in 1096. Sunnism was reinvigorated by the Seljuk kingdoms of Turkey and Iraq, between 1051 and 1300. Muslim theorists had by that time evolved a philosophy of rule that designated the Mamluks and their rivals, including the Ottomans, as sultans, the “Shadows of God on Earth,” or the “Caliphs of God on Earth,” in matters of government.

OTTOMAN SULTANATE, 1453–1566

The Seljuks—after 1071 there were two centers of overlapping power, one in Baghdad, and the other in Konya and Alanya—created a courtly style and manner of governance that was Central Asian and Muslim in flavor but influenced by the Byzantines, and was adopted by the later Ottoman Empire. Of the Ottoman sultans prior to 1453, Bayezid II (1481–1512) is said to have requested the title of sultan from the titular caliph in Cairo. Mehmed II (also known as Fatih, ‘conqueror’, of Istanbul, 1451–1481), adopted the title sultan as his own. Nonetheless the preferred term continued to be *padishah*, Persian for supreme sovereign, and sultan generally topped an increasingly long list of titles in official documents.

By the time of the death of Suleiman the Magnificent in 1566, the Ottomans had conquered Egypt and the sacred cities of Mecca and Medina, subdued and colonized Hungary, and threatened the walls of Vienna. Ottoman sultans recast their legitimacy in canonical Islamic terms, as promoters and defenders of Islamic law (*shari'a*), and created an immense religious hierarchy run by the grand mufti (Turk., *Şeyhülislâm*), as he came to be known in Europe. In Turkish, Suleiman acquired the epithet “Law-Giver” precisely because of his consolidation of the imperial offices and law codes. By the time of the conquest of Baghdad by Murad IV (ruled 1623–1640), the Ottoman sultan styled himself “the most glorious Padishah who is the Defender of the faith, whose Majesty is as great as that of Solomon, who is the substitute of God in the

world, and who has justified the maxim that ‘An equitable Sultan is the shadow of God on earth’ . . . the supporter of Islamism and Muslims, the exterminator of heresies and of the polytheists, the Sovereign of the two Orient and the two Occidents, the servant of the two Holy Cities, the Treasure of Mankind and the apple of the age, who is protected by the Supreme Being whose divine assistance men implore, and favoured by the most High and propitious God” (quoted in J. C. Hurewitz, *The Middle East and North Africa in World Politics*, 2nd ed, vol. 1, p. 25).

Suleiman’s long reign (1520–1566) roughly coincided with that of the Habsburg emperor Charles V (ruled 1519–1556), as well as that of Francis I (ruled 1515–1547), and Henry VIII (ruled 1509–1547), and contemporaries equated the terms sultan and emperor as imperial rivals. In this period, lasting impressions of real Ottoman Turkish (Muslim) power were embedded in the European psyche, as well as imaginative, largely fictive representations of imperial institutions such as the harem. “Sultan” thus came to represent absolute power in its most exoticized version, especially in Paul Rycout’s *Present State of the Ottoman Empire* (1660).

Suleiman’s age became the idealized gold standard for subsequent eras, often referred to as the “classical age” of the empire. In later reigns, the striking change was the withdrawal of the sultan into palace precincts, with weekly highly ritualized journeys to Friday prayers. The “sultanic” presence became iconographic and theatrical, as his deputy, the grand vizier, took his place in public spaces, such as on the battlefield, and as head of the Imperial Council (Divan). While that is characteristic of the seventeenth century, in the eighteenth, another change occurred, with the reassertion of power by sultans such as Ahmed III (1703–1730) and Selim III (1789–1807), both of whom, it should be noted, were removed from their thrones by widespread resistance to their attempts at invigorated leadership and reform. Eighteenth-century Europe, especially France, made of the sultan the worst exemplar of the despotic, in the debates on the excesses of the Bourbon monarchy. Creative productions such as Mozart’s *Abduction from the Seraglio*, or Montesquieu’s *Persian Letters*, cemented the im-

age and continue to exert their influence even in contemporary histories of the empire.

See also **Ottoman Empire; Vizier.**

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VIRGINIA H. AKSAN

SUMPTUARY LAWS. Sumptuary laws regulated clothing, ornamentation, food, drink, and other forms of luxury, imposing a hierarchy of consumption. These laws prohibited certain ranks of persons from wearing specified cloths, garments, or ornamentation. Typically, the rarest furs were reserved for royal families, lesser furs for nobles, and inferior furs for commoners. An English proclamation of 1559 stipulated: “None shall wear in his apparel any cloth of gold, silver, or tinsel; satin, silk, or cloth mixed with gold or silver, nor any sables; except earls and all of superior degrees.”

HIERARCHICAL REGULATION OF CONSUMPTION

Sumptuary laws can be traced back to antiquity, but they proliferated rapidly during the later Middle Ages and Renaissance. These laws embodied a paradox: they distributed luxury by rank by imposing constraints on luxury. They focused on rank, specifying the apparel thought to be appropriate to each social class, at the same time moralizing about the vanity of luxury. Such laws were found throughout Europe and were, despite the repeal of all extant sumptuary legislation in England in 1603, taken by the colonists to the New World, where the critique of luxury was endorsed by Puritan sentiment and

expressed itself in dress rules and injunctions against “tippling” (idle drinking, the enemy of work), testimony to the widespread moralizing linkage of luxury with idleness.

There was a marked variation in the extent to which sumptuary laws targeted the two sexes; in some periods males were the primary target; at other times it was women’s dress. In medieval sumptuary law, men’s apparel was the subject, but with the rise of urban mercantile classes, the focus of sumptuary law shifted to women’s dress. However, the pattern was complex. For example, the period of sharpening tension between old and new wealth in mid-sixteenth-century England was precisely the time when women were exempt from sumptuary restrictions. Both men and women, however, were subject to respectability regulation: female décolletage and male codpieces attracted the legislators’ attention.

Attempts to regulate female dress employed contradictory tactics. The first played on the distinction between the respectable woman and the whore, denying fashionable dress to prostitutes to decrease the attraction of prostitution as a way of life while “rewarding” virtuous women by granting them access to fashionable attire. The second tactic reversed the first: it allowed fashion and luxury to prostitutes in the hope that respectable women would be discouraged from emulating their sinful sisters.

EARLY MODERN SUMPTUARY LAWS

There was much continuity in sumptuary regulation through the Middle Ages into the early modern period, but by the end of the eighteenth century only sparse instances of sumptuary laws remained. However, some significant developments occurred during that time. The sumptuary ethic was strongly implicated in some of the most crucial phases of the expansion of urbanization and the transition from mercantile to manufacturing capitalism. The most extensive and intensive phase of sumptuary law was to be found not only in the great Italian mercantile cities of Venice and Florence, but in the German, Dutch, and English cities as they became the key sites of capitalist development.

Sumptuary regulation came to embrace a variety of objectives in addition to hierarchical ordering, captured in the standard preamble to a number of sixteenth-century English statutes: “the

commons of the said realm, as well Men as Women, have worn and daily do wear excessive and inordinate Array and Apparel to the great Displeasure of God, and impoverishing of this realm of England and to the enriching of other strange Realms and Countries to final the Destruction of Husbandry of this said Realm.” This statement combines issues of luxury, economic protectionism, and a counterposing of consumption and production with a moral admonition.

A new feature of sumptuary discourses also emerged in the sixteenth century: legislators voiced anxieties and complaints about the difficulty of distinguishing the social rank of individuals. In 1530 the Augsburg Diet drew up clothing regulations “to ensure that each class should be clearly recognized apart.” A Nuremberg law of 1657 bluntly stated: “It is unfortunately an established fact that both men and womenfolk have, in utterly irresponsible manner, driven extravagance in dress and new styles to such shameful and wanton extremes that the different classes are barely to be known apart.”

The attempt to regulate appearance came up against the slow but inevitable increase in consumerism. As fashion became accessible to more people, the possibilities of competitive consumption increased. An English proclamation of 1575 reveals a certain desperation by prohibiting anyone from “devising any new forms of apparel.” In the “world of strangers” of urban settings, not being able to “read” rank from apparel must have been perplexing. This has been described as a crisis of recognizability: in a social terrain of competition, the rising bourgeois classes sought to secure their identities in the process of distinguishing themselves from others, while those above them sought to resist their challenge. This strife resulted in still more overtly urban regulation, and new laws included dress rules for burghers (members of the urban middle class) and merchants, and imposed rules that maintained a visible separation between ladies and their maidservants by specifying the length of headdresses and the width of sleeves.

Attempts to promote the work ethic and to further the Protestant Reformation unleashed enormous legislative energy intended to restrain feasting, drinking, and other indulgences. The contemporary importance of sumptuary law is attested by

the fact that the Diet of Worms in 1521, at one of the critical turning points in the political realignment of Reformation Europe, took the time to articulate the urgent need for sumptuary legislation in order to maintain the visibility of social status in attire. When bourgeois interests secured power, they used it to impose sumptuary restrictions or fiscal burdens on the patrician classes, for example, restricting expenditures on weddings, feasts, and funerals; these efforts were also linked with struggles to regulate the size of dowries. Although there is little evidence regarding the degree of enforcement, it is worth noting that a number of Italian cities had officers specifically appointed to enforce sumptuary laws.

It was in Italy that another significant form of regulation, one that had long existed in Florence, spread: it became easier to purchase a license of exemption from sumptuary rules, the harbinger of a shift toward an increasingly fiscal approach. While licensing remained important in Italy, elsewhere economic protectionist motives became increasingly mixed into sumptuary regulation. Protectionism was at the heart of the economic debates during the mercantilist period and sumptuary laws and discourses were increasingly part of these wider economic debates. Hostility to “foreign” goods was woven into sumptuary discourses with the imposition of luxury taxes or prohibitions on the import and sale of foreign goods.

Sumptuary laws did not so much “die” as undergo a process of metamorphosis such that the original is barely recognizable in the result: luxury taxes and import restrictions are the legacy of sumptuary laws. Such laws can perhaps best be regarded as inhabiting the threshold of modernity, without themselves being an active feature of modernity.

See also **Capitalism; Class, Status, and Order; Clothing; Commerce and Markets; Consumption; Equality and Inequality; Law; Mercantilism; Mobility, Social; Prostitution; Puritanism; Reformation, Protestant; Women.**

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SURGEONS. The period between the Renaissance and the Enlightenment witnessed slow, then accelerating progress in surgery. Surgeons made advances in controlling hemorrhage; devised simpler and safer dressings for battle wounds; and improved methods and invented new instruments for amputating limbs, cutting for stone of the urinary bladder, operating for hernias and dilatations of arteries, combating the hazards of giving birth, and repairing certain deformities. In the 1740s, the time-honored procedure of couching for cataracts of the eye gave way to modern extraction, a rare example of radical innovation. Greater attention to cleanliness may have reduced infection, although the unsanitary conditions under which surgery was performed, especially in many hospitals, remained appalling even by standards of the time. Likewise, the pain of operations was likened to torture, even though it was masked in part by suffering due to the ailment. Skilled surgeons needed to work with great dexterity and speed to complete major procedures in just a few minutes. Only relatively few dared to undertake these high-risk interventions, and then infrequently, compared with ordinary tasks—bloodletting, incision of boils, treatment of skin and venereal diseases, reducing dislocations, setting fractures—that made up the ordinary barber-surgeon's stock-in-trade.

Progress in the social status and scientific knowledge of elite surgeons in large cities moved at a much more rapid pace than technical change. By the end of the eighteenth century, surgical guilds in Paris, London, Edinburgh, Madrid, Vienna, Copenhagen, and elsewhere had evolved into professional bodies with distinctive liberal institutions: colleges for education and academies for advancing knowledge. Major surgery in the sixteenth century remained the preserve of exceptional individuals of humble backgrounds—the renowned French barber-surgeon, Ambroise Paré, was the outstanding example of this sort—or bold itinerants, and family

dynasties like the Chamberlens, French/British Huguenots, who managed to keep the secret of their obstetrical forceps for well over a century. By the High Enlightenment, organized professionals shared a repertoire of surgical knowledge and practices. Expertise in the craft conferred exclusively by formal regulation, as well as custom, to guilds, appropriately known as “mysteries,” began to be the province of new, more open institutional structures concerned with scientific progress. Academic surgical societies used publications and correspondence networks to share and propagate their work.

The centralized European state fostered the professionalization of surgery. In France, Louis XIV's surgeon used the occasion of his successful anal fistula operation on the king in 1686 to gain benefits for the guild of barber-surgeons. At the time, the status of royal surgeon was little more than that of a domestic servant. But during the Regency period (1713–1723) the office of premier surgeon to the king assumed an increasingly important professional leadership role. Georges Mareshal and François de la Peyronie, successively premier surgeons to Louis XV, consolidated centralized jurisdiction over guilds throughout the kingdom, established a central school of surgery in Paris in 1724 and a Royal Academy of Surgery in 1731, and secured legislation in 1743 requiring a university degree of surgeons and separating the company or college of surgeons from the barbers' guild. The precedent was emulated by larger provincial communities.

In Great Britain, the surgical profession developed in less centralized fashion. To be sure, kings lent their patronage to the London barber-surgeons guild, as depicted in Holbein's portrait of Henry VIII presiding over the union of the two guilds in 1540. And the London surgeons separated from barbers in 1745, just two years after their Paris counterparts. Capital cities in Prussia, Spain, and Russia followed suit. In Dutch and most German and Italian centers, barber-surgeons' guilds survived, but their members no longer did barbers' work, and they too enjoyed upward social mobility. Rembrandt's collective portrait of the Amsterdam guild in his *Anatomy Lesson* (1632) bears witness to their academic pursuits and bourgeois status.



Surgeons. *The Anatomy Lecture of Dr. Nicolaes Tulp* by Rembrandt, 1632. Tulp was a prominent Amsterdam surgeon who commissioned the renowned Rembrandt to create this portrait. It was Tulp's idea that he should be depicted delivering an anatomy lecture. The Surgeons Guild at the time permitted one public dissection per year and stipulated that the cadaver must be that of an executed criminal. ©FRANCIS G. MAYER/CORBIS

During the second half of the eighteenth century, elite surgeons across Europe achieved a rank in society comparable to that of medical doctors. Since medieval times, medical superiority had derived from the educational attainment of physicians and their collective status alongside law and theology in the university. In principle, and by statute, the medical faculty had jurisdiction over surgical instruction, licensing, and practice. All this came under question and successful challenge when educated surgeons set up autonomous institutions. Surgeons gained admission to prestigious scientific academies in numbers equal to, if not surpassing, physicians. As classical humoral theory, along with the Latin language of medical discourse, declined, surgical

knowledge anchored in sensory experience and anatomical pathology took the ascendancy. Anatomy was the surgical science par excellence. Surgeons performed dissections on the cadaver for various purposes: research, training—especially in private courses where students could purchase cadavers for hands-on learning—and forensic autopsies seeking to reveal the causes of death. Surgical knowledge was associated with empirical epistemology, pathological anatomy, and a localist conception of disease, while medical knowledge, when not abstract and purely theoretical, could point only to chemistry for scientific validation. Given these contrasts, it is not surprising that the eighteenth-century philosophes extolled the practical usefulness of the surgi-



Surgeons. *A Barber Surgeon Tending a Peasant's Foot*, seventeenth-century painting by Isaack Koedijk. ©CHRISTIE'S IMAGES/CORBIS

cal side of medicine. Diderot's *Encyclopédie* reproduced illustrations of operations and instruments recently published by the Academy of Surgery, while the Academy's secretary, Antoine Louis, contributed some seventy articles on his field to the encyclopedia project.

In smaller towns, villages, and the countryside, surgeons were the only licensed medical practitioners available to serve people of modest means. Fragmentary evidence indicates that rural master surgeons, surprisingly numerous in proportion to the population, faced stiff competition from a variety of illegal healers, whose ranks included roving journeymen, empirics and "charlatans," women healers and midwives, clergy, and army and naval surgeons. Surgical guilds, in principle, but not often in practice, had licensing authority over midwives and so-called specialists: oculists, hernia experts, bonesetters, and tooth pullers, who had experience only in their particular craft skill.

At the level of country surgeon, distinctions drawn between external surgical diseases and internal medical ailments had little meaning. Surgeons

and barber-surgeons did not hesitate to dispense purges and other medical remedies. Phlebotomy (bloodletting), for prevention as well as treatment of most ailments, was a mainstay. A medical recourse common to both barbers and surgeons, bloodletting helped perpetuate the link between the two crafts in continental Europe. In Great Britain, apothecary-surgeons, rather than barber-surgeons, took care of the medical needs of common folk.

As in other craft guilds, apprenticeship, followed by a period as a journeyman, constituted the core of training for barber-surgeons. By the eighteenth century, practical experience began to be supplemented by formal courses. In France, during the second half of the century, vast numbers of aspiring young surgeons (*garçon chirurgiens*) from all over the realm attended courses at the Paris surgical school.

Hospitals increasingly became a site for practical training for surgeons as these church foundations for poor relief came under secular administration and adopted medical objectives. Surgeons worked, learned, and sometimes resided in hospitals, where they displaced clerical healers and constituted an elaborate hierarchy of responsibility for patient care. Medical students and physicians seldom took on hospital employment. A similar preponderance of surgeons characterized medical services in European armies and navies. In public health matters, notably in the organized response to plague and other epidemics, surgeons outnumbered their medical counterparts, especially at the grassroots level.

The eighteenth century saw the rise of a subcategory of surgeons, known as man-midwives, who began to preside over childbirth in well-to-do families. To some extent, fashion paved the way for obstetricians (*accoucheurs*) to displace traditional midwives. But men also legitimated their takeover of this lucrative practice by means of demonstrably superior knowledge in anatomy, displayed in magnificent atlases of the stages of pregnancy, and their use of new techniques and instruments for delivery, notably the obstetrical forceps. Because of their systematic exclusion from surgical guilds as well as university medical faculties, women healers could only practice illegally. However, guild custom permitted widows of master surgeons to lease to journeymen the practice of their deceased husbands.

The prevalence of religious and magical healing is difficult to assess. Evidently, it persisted in the eighteenth century and beyond. Among the surgical elite, such beliefs and practices clearly declined. In the sixteenth century, Ambroise Paré had described monsters and marvels, attributed birth defects to maternal impressions, acknowledged witchcraft, and naively repeated accounts of travelers' sightings of mermaids. His eighteenth-century successors adopted a more critical, often skeptical, attitude. By the Academy of Surgery's rigorous criteria, medical miracles were judged to be either errors, products of religious fanaticism, or frauds. Surgical power, based upon pathological anatomy, could explain and often cure conditions heretofore ascribed to supernatural forces. Operations repaired the congenital deformity of harelip, restored sight to those blinded by cataracts, and cured impotence resulting from anatomical lesions of the urogenital organs.

Surgical progress, and more specifically, the social ascension of surgeons in urban centers of early modern Europe, paradoxically, planted the seeds of the demise of surgery as an autonomous profession. Success narrowed the social and cultural gap with physicians and introduced a more empirical and anatomical orientation to medicine in general. Suggestive analogies likened hidden, poorly understood internal ailments to familiar external lesions. Post-mortems took on instructive significance for physicians. By the eve of the French Revolution, reformers had called for the abolition of separate institutions and the unification of medicine and surgery into a single profession. Future practitioners were to be trained in a common "school of health" and to practice the healing art as a whole. Country surgeons would be replaced by a subordinate level of health officers. In 1794 the National Assembly instituted the new professional order, a pattern that was subsequently adopted in other European countries.

See also Academies, Learned; Anatomy and Physiology; Magic; Medicine; Midwives; Obstetrics and Gynecology; Public Health; Scientific Revolution.

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SURVEYING. Surveying, initially the geometrical and legal description of local lands and county seats, gained importance throughout the early modern period as legal and economic arguments came to rely on accurate descriptions and, increasingly, on measurement and "plotting." By the late seventeenth century, surveying included the mapping of larger political units; by the eighteenth, military leaders and colonial governors, as well as landed individuals, employed surveyors and cartographers. Techniques and instruments developed throughout the period produced a coherent body of theory and practice used for imperial mapping in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

At the end of the fifteenth century, surveying consisted largely of written descriptions of fields and estates based on visual inspection of an area. Although landmarks and natural division points were more crucial for determining land ownership, these methods were often accompanied by some sort of measurement. In the first half of the sixteenth century, surveying was often restricted to "viewing" or chain-measuring, and the chain often symbolized the surveyors' profession. As the century progressed, and more standardized techniques of measurement were developed and surveying moved from linear and geometrical methods to those based on angular or trigonometric measurement, surveyors began to produce maps or "plots." Although such advanced mathematical methods were devel-

oped by the end of the century, chain-measuring continued to be used into the eighteenth century.

The introduction of triangulation methods, the plane table, and the theodolite, as well as rules of acceptable practice, transformed surveying into an exact art. Leonard Digges's *Pantometria* (1571), for example, introduced these techniques and instruments into England. Throughout the seventeenth century the new surveying instruments were refined, a number of surveying manuals were published, and surveyors were increasingly trained in mathematics and astronomical techniques. Surveying, unlike mapping on a larger scale or the later colonial and country surveys, such as the Ordnance Survey of Ireland (1824–1846), did not require longitude and latitude placement, and therefore did not use astronomical observations in order to achieve accuracy.

Part of the transformation in surveying that took place during the early modern period was related to the changing awareness on the part of landowners of the desirability of surveying and mapping their lands. As surveyors gradually convinced their patrons of the utility of scale maps, this cognitive shift led to a cartographic revolution. Carefully measured and drawn maps (as opposed to earlier sketch maps) began to be used by landowners as evidence in court cases, by generals planning their military strategies, and by governors interested in inventories and tax collecting. All of this was symptomatic of the developing map culture, driven in part by the increasing study of geography at schools and universities.

By the end of the early modern period, Europeans were surveying their own lands and the other parts of the world they were conquering. They believed that, through measurement and cartographic depiction, they could control the land and the people who lived there. Only the impressive developments of surveying instruments and techniques, and the conceptual acceptance of the scale map as an objective and controllable representation of the land, made that idea plausible.

See also Astronomy; Cartography and Geography; Colonialism; Earth, Theories of the; Engineering; Civil; Exploration; Landholding; Mathematics; Property; Scientific Instruments; Taxation.

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SWEDEN. The early modern period was particularly important in the formation of Sweden as a state. During this time Sweden played a central role in northern European power politics for more than a century, the country's economy grew in scale and complexity, and it became more closely integrated into the mainstreams of European cultural and intellectual development.

Early modern "Sweden" was not what one sees today on a map. In 1500, the southern provinces of Skåne, Blekinge, and Halland belonged to Denmark, and the border areas of Bohuslän, Jämtland, and Härjedalen were parts of Norway. (Norway gradually lost its status as an independent state in the fifteenth century, and from the mid-1530s was, in all but name, a territory of Denmark.) Northern Sweden was sparsely settled and loosely controlled. Finland, smaller than it is today, was an integral part of the country. The borders of current Sweden date mostly from 1658/60 and 1809. In addition, Sweden, in a broad sense, included a Baltic empire that was built and then lost in this period. In population the country numbered, without Finland, less than a million in 1500 and around two million in 1800.

POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

In 1397, a federation of the medieval kingdoms of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden was established, called by posterity the Kalmar Union. Denmark was its most powerful member. At several times during the fifteenth century, Sweden broke with the union, and a series of rebellions and wars of reunion punctuated the years down to the early 1520s. The last of these union wars began in 1521 and was led by Gustav Eriksson Vasa. Within three years the Swedes had established their independence, aided by the Hanseatic League and a revolt in Denmark.

Gustav was elected king as Gustav I Vasa in 1523. Since then, Sweden has had an unbroken history of independent development.

Sweden's history was not, however, free of internal conflict. As elsewhere in Europe, a basic constitutional struggle ran through the entire early modern period between crown and nobility, between monarchy and aristocratic constitutionalism. Kings wanted to be kings; nobles wanted to preserve their historic rights and liberties and at least share power with the crown.

A third factor in this history was the Parliament (*Riksdag*), which began to develop in the fifteenth century. Called by kings or factions of great men, it dealt with matters of war, peace, taxation, and succession. Usually, a meeting included representatives from each of the four principal "estates": clergy, nobility, burghers, and freehold farmers. Over time the frequency of meetings increased, procedures were formalized, and its prerogatives grew. It was least important during the absolutist period (1680–1719) and most important during the Era of Liberty (1719–1772).

In a series of episodes that has been likened to a swinging pendulum, Sweden experienced times of strong monarchy, times of balance, and times of noble ascendancy. Gustav I Vasa was able to advance royal power, aided by the fact that many of his likely noble opponents had been executed on order of the Danish king, Christian II, in the so-called Stockholm Bloodbath in 1520. Gustav was a very able politician who played the Parliament to achieve his ends, exploited the Reformation, used the new church as a means of royal propaganda, and enhanced state finances by confiscating church lands. His sons Erik XIV (ruled 1560–1568), John III (ruled 1568–1592), and Charles IX (ruled 1599–1611), as well as his nephew Sigismund I (ruled 1592–1599), were less successful. Each antagonized factions of the nobility. Charles IX was the most ruthless, executing five noble opponents at Linköping in 1600. A new phase began with the succession of Gustavus II Adolphus (ruled 1611–1632). In order to secure the throne, he was compelled to promise to respect the privileges of the nobles. Until his death in 1632 a remarkably amicable cooperation developed between crown and nobility. Each needed and used the other to run

the affairs of state at home and to fight wars abroad. Noble importance grew under Christina, during both her minority (1632–1644) and her active reign (1644–1654). Charles X Gustav (ruled 1654–1660) was an absolutist at heart, but he was unable to accomplish very much during his short reign (1654–1660). During the minority (1660–1675) of Charles XI (ruled 1675–1697), the high nobility recklessly ran the affairs of state. Charles was able to change the system fundamentally, however, by exploiting social discontent between commons and nobles and within the nobility. Between 1680 and 1693, Sweden was transformed into an absolutist state. Although privilege was not challenged, the crown recovered most of the domain lands donated away since the late sixteenth century and asserted the right to rule without either the nobility's advice through the council or that of the Parliament.

Absolutism lasted only until 1719. The enormous costs of war, the obsessive leadership of Charles XII (ruled 1697–1718), and an uncertain succession allowed leaders of the nobility to dictate a new constitution. The order of primacy was inverted during the so-called Era of Liberty (1719–1772). For much of this period the nobility dominated through the council and the Parliament. Toward the end the burghers and farmers played increasingly important roles. From about 1740 to 1772 a fascinating political life developed, centered on two conflicting factions, the Caps and the Hats, which resembled modern political parties. The more reform-minded Hats advocated changes that were revolutionary for the time including press freedom, laissez-faire economics, and an end to privilege. As interesting as this period was, it was fraught with problems. Some of the ideas advanced were simply too radical. More important, political strife was viewed as a way to keep Sweden weak and was encouraged through bribes and influence buying by Russia, France, and England. Gustav III (ruled 1771–1792) ended the experiment in August 1772 with a bloodless palace coup, and strong monarchy returned. Gustav was not content to play a minor role in anything and dreamed of restoring Sweden's greatness. An adventuresome foreign policy was coupled with a drift back toward royal absolutism, and irate nobles conspired to assassinate the king in 1792.

Despite these shifts in power and constitutional balance, Sweden developed as a reasonably well run state. Beginning around 1620, an administrative system was adopted under which responsibilities were assigned to five “colleges,” each headed by one of the “great officers” of state (chancellor, treasurer, steward, marshal, and admiral). This was most clearly spelled out in the 1634 Form of Government and was likely the collaborative work of Gustavus II Adolphus and his chancellor, Axel Oxenstierna. The country’s court system went through several reforms in the seventeenth century and a new national law code was promulgated in 1734. The beginnings of a national bank were created in 1668. Regional government was organized around counties (*län*) headed by governors. Responsibility, accountability, and reporting were standardized. Although the nobility retained its privileged claim to offices and officer appointments, ability and education were factors in selection, especially in the eighteenth century.

Sweden also went from a “domain state” to a tax and/or warfare state during this period. Before the Reformation, the crown owned only about 5 percent of the land and was expected to live from this, in theory at least. There was never enough money, however, and a system of regular taxes, primarily on the lands of freehold farmers, dates from the Middle Ages. (Noble and church lands were exempt.) The crown increased its holdings through confiscations in the Reformation, and Gustav I actually left his sons a budgetary surplus. Fiscal problems grew from the 1560s, driven by foreign policy. Concurrently, the crown’s domain position worsened through donations to the nobility. By 1660, the crown held less than 10 percent of the land, while the nobility held over 60 percent. The state was forced to turn to higher taxes and more effective tax extraction from the commons, which, in turn, undercut the economic position of the freehold farmers. Sweden was spared a social-economic revolution by the radical reduction (reclaiming) of noble holdings carried through by Charles XI after 1680. During the Great Northern War (1700–1721) taxes rose again. They remained high for much of the eighteenth century, while crown holdings diminished through direct sale.

EMPIRE

The imperial phase in Swedish history lasted from about 1560 to 1721. Growth defines the first one hundred years, decline the last sixty. In the growth phase Finland was enlarged, Kexholm, Ingermanland, Estonia, Livonia, Pomerania, Wismar, and Bremen-Verden were added, and the Danish and Norwegian territories bordering the kingdom were annexed. During the 1650s, Sweden also operated a trade fort at Cape Coast (Ghana), and it maintained a colony in North America between 1638 and 1655. The high point in the empire’s history was reached in 1658. Small losses were incurred in 1660. The worst came in the last decade of the Great Northern War (1700–1721), when, except for Pomerania, Wismar, and most of Finland, all the Baltic territories were lost. More of Finland was taken by Russia in the 1740s. In the closing decades of the century, Gustav III dreamed of restoring the empire and Sweden’s importance. A war against Russia in 1788–1790 gained nothing. Finland became a Russian grand duchy in 1809.

The imperial chapter in Swedish history has long attracted the attention of historians. Why did the leaders of this poor and sparsely populated country choose to build and maintain an empire, and how did they manage to do so? Sweden’s assets, relative to the weaknesses of the competitors, made possible its expansive policies. Once begun, the empire became a kind of imperative and for a time even paid for itself. International rivalries also encouraged the establishment of imperial outposts. For survival in a competitive state system, Sweden needed to have places and resources outside the country proper to support its security. There were also economic motives. Merchants sought to control the lucrative Baltic trade, while Sweden’s acquisitive nobility found in the empire a setting for military careers and a source of spoils. In addition, the personal fortunes and careers of individual nobles, support of the Lutherans in Germany and fears of the Catholic Counter-Reformation, exploitation of the empire to enhance the status of the crown, and the competitive nature of the European state system are cited.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

For the most part Sweden was and remained a poor agricultural state throughout the early modern period. Except for the far south and the area around



Lake Mälaren, soils were generally poor. Tools and methods were centuries old. Yields could be pitifully small. Crop failures and the ensuing famines were frequent. Grains, livestock, milk, butter, and cheese

were the main products. Many farmers supplemented their incomes by working in the forests, mining, or fishing. Whether held by the crown, nobility, or commons, agricultural life was organized around

villages. Land was “owned” in small strips and worked collectively. In a few areas single-owner farmsteads prevailed. Some important changes were initiated in the eighteenth century. Cultivation of the potato became increasingly common after about 1750. Its adoption had important dietary results and symbolized a growing willingness to experiment with new crops. At the same time, an effort to consolidate the small strip holdings of many farmers into fewer fields and to break up the old agricultural villages was begun. This would take nearly a century to complete.

Sweden possessed four great assets beyond its arable land: the riches of the inland lakes and rivers and the seas surrounding the country, coniferous forests (sources of timber, charcoal, and tar), iron ore from the Bergslagen region of east-central Sweden, and copper chiefly from the great mine, Stora Kopparberget, at Falun. These resources were essential to Sweden’s achievements in the period. Herring, bar iron, smelted copper, masts and spars, and tar were vital products in European markets and Sweden’s most important exports. For part of the seventeenth century, Sweden was Europe’s leading supplier of copper. Bar iron became more important in the eighteenth century. Also, these resources attracted technology and investment and stimulated domestic shipbuilding, finished metal production, and armaments industries. The state played important roles in developing and controlling all of these activities through licensing, subsidies, granting monopolies, encouraging immigration, oversight, and direct participation.

Trade operated on four levels: internal, Baltic, European, and global. Internal was the most limited and the most restricted. Baltic and European commerce were inseparably linked, and the struggle for dominance in this sphere is one of the main themes of the period’s history. To control the flow of salt, grains, timber, metals, and other products that flowed through the ports of the Baltic was to become rich. Denmark, Sweden, Russia, the Dutch Netherlands, Poland, and England were some of the players in this competition. Sweden never actually gained control of the trade, but it did control many of the ports that fed it from around 1630 to 1720. In the global economies of the early modern period, Sweden was a minor actor. Hopes of gaining a place in the Africa trade lasted only through the 1650s,

when Sweden maintained a fort at Cape Coast (Ghana). The New Sweden colony, established along the banks of the Delaware River in 1638 on the basis of hopes for a lucrative trade in furs and tobacco, was never profitable. The Swedish East India Company (1731–1813) was more successful.

Connected to the economic and political developments of the period was a gradual trend toward urbanization. Most important was Stockholm. Founded in the mid-thirteenth century, its population grew from around 6,000 in 1500 to nearly 90,000 in 1800. In addition to serving as the capital, it was a center for manufacturing and the country’s most important trade port. From the early seventeenth century, Göteborg developed as an important commercial center. A conscious policy of urban development was pursued, and twenty-eight new towns were founded in Sweden (and Finland) in the seventeenth century.

CULTURE AND INTELLECTUAL DEVELOPMENT

Sweden’s cultural and intellectual life was influenced by growing ties with Europe, a conservative Lutheran church, and the country’s relative poverty for much of the early modern period. In 1500 Sweden was on the fringes of Europe. Except for churches and a network of medieval royal castles, architecture was at best rustic. Schools were few, and the country’s one university at Uppsala, founded in 1477, virtually ceased operation in the late sixteenth century.

Although Sweden never became a leader in cultural or intellectual activity, much of this backwardness faded over the course of the early modern period, and the country produced a number of important scholars, writers, and artists, especially in the eighteenth century. Court life was modeled on European standards from Gustav I on, and was especially vibrant under Christina during the 1640s and Gustav III from 1772 to 1792. Royal palaces copied continental styles. Drottningholm was built between 1665 and 1703. Fire destroyed the centuries-old Three Crowns Castle in Stockholm in 1697, and work began almost immediately on a new rococo palace designed by Nicodemus Tessin the Younger. During the middle decades of the seventeenth century, Sweden’s aristocracy built and furnished fine city and country residences in European

styles. Court painters like David Klöcker (ennobled Ehrenstrahl) produced superb portraits from around 1650; and the eighteenth century saw the work of such masters as C. G. Pilo, Pehr Hilleström, and the sculptor J. H. Sergel.

From the early seventeenth century, education received greater attention. New secondary schools (*gymnasia*), an academy at Åbo; (1640), and new universities at Dorpat (1632) and Lund (1668) were established. Uppsala University received more regular support. It was home to Olof Rudbeck the Elder (1630–1702), a co-discoverer of the lymphatic system and an exponent of Gothicism, an interpretation of Sweden's history that tied it to ancient biblical tribes and linked the country's monarchs to Noah's son Magog. These ideas were first expressed in the fifteenth century and developed most fully in Johannes Magnus's *Historia de Omnibus Gothorum Sveonumque Regibus* from 1554. Placing Sweden at the center of Western cultural development and regarding it as the site of the lost city of Atlantis, Gothicism was used to legitimize both the Swedish nation and the monarchy. In the eighteenth century Sweden produced a number of distinguished scientists including the botanist Carl Linnaeus (Linnaeus; 1707–1778), the physicist and mathematician Anders Celsius (1701–1744), and the multitalented mystic Emanuel Swedenborg (1688–1772).

See also Charles X Gustav (Sweden); Charles XII (Sweden); Christina (Sweden); Denmark; Gustavus II Adolphus (Sweden); Kalmar, Union of; Linnaeus, Carl; Lutheranism; Northern Wars; Oxenstierna, Axel; Stockholm; Swedenborgianism; Swedish Literature and Language; Thirty Years' War (1618–1648); Vasa Dynasty (Sweden).

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BYRON J. NORDSTROM

SWEDENBORGIANISM. A religious movement based on the revelations of Emanuel Swedenborg (1688–1772), an eighteenth-century Swedish scientist and religious visionary. The son of a Swedish Lutheran theologian and bishop, Swedenborg was educated at Uppsala, and then traveled through the Continent and England. A visionary theoretical scientist, Swedenborg anticipated many later scientific discoveries, but gradually became convinced that material nature had an essentially spiritual foundation. His religious visions, which began in 1736, climaxed with a vision of Jesus in 1744, and from then on he devoted himself to his extensive spiritual writings. The essence of his thought centered around a correspondence between the physical and spiritual worlds; life on earth is merely preparation for a heavenly existence. The New Jerusalem Church, of which he was the prophet, would be the world's ultimate religion. Swedenborg did not intend, however, to form a separate church, but a fellowship of like-minded individuals. His thought had the most influence in England, where two Anglican priests, Thomas Hartley (d. 1784) and John Clowes (1743–1831), were early disciples. In 1787, a separate New Jerusalem Church was founded in London by former Wesleyan pastors, an organization that now has branches worldwide, mainly in English-speaking countries.

Swedenborg's thought and visions affected several major artists and writers; William Blake was a follower, and Swedenborgian influences have been seen in the works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge and Honoré de Balzac, among others. Immanuel Kant was an early critic of Swedenborg and wrote his "Dreams of a Spirit-Seer" (1766) as a scathing polemic against his thought.

See also Catholic Spirituality and Mysticism.

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MARK GRANQUIST

SWEDISH LITERATURE AND LANGUAGE. In 1500 the Swedish language had relatively low standing as a vehicle for literature. Latin was the language of the church and of scholarship and would be used as an academic language until the end of the eighteenth century. The Reformation was key to the development of Swedish as a literary language; in Sweden as elsewhere in Europe, it created a need for Scriptures in the vernacular. Foreign influence on Swedish language and literature continued to be strong, with German serving as an important source of loanwords in the 1500s and 1600s, after which French became more influential, especially among the aristocracy. In the sixteenth century, Swedish literary production was centered around the Reformation. During the following century, Sweden's military campaigns and emergence as a major European power provided a focus, with most literary activity in service to the state. And in the eighteenth century, Swedish literature became imbued with Enlightenment impulses imported from France and England.

In 1523 a revolt led by Gustav I Vasa led to the dissolution of the Kalmar Union, which had linked Denmark, Norway, and Sweden since 1397. Gustav I Vasa quickly consolidated his authority, appropriating church property and establishing a state-controlled Lutheran church. Out of these drastic changes came a milestone in Swedish literary history: the translation of the New Testament into Swedish in 1526. It is not known who was responsible for the translation, but Laurentius Andrae and Olaus Petri, both important advisers to Gustav I Vasa, were involved. The translation, based on Desiderius Erasmus's Latin translation of 1516 as well as Martin Luther's German translation of 1522, proved to be crucial for the development

of modern written Swedish. A translation of the entire Bible, popularly known as Gustav I Vasa's Bible, was published in 1541. Revised somewhat in 1618 and 1703, it remained the standard version in Swedish until 1917, and it is the most important Swedish literary work of the sixteenth century. The Reformation also fueled a short-lived burst of literary activity in the form of polemical writings in support of the new Lutheran church (exemplified by Olaus Petri) and hymns, often based on German models.

The brothers Johannes and Olaus Magnus wrote two significant humanistic historical works, both of which were originally written in Latin and later translated into Swedish. Both brothers lived in exile in Rome due to their continued allegiance to the Catholic Church. Johannes Magnus wrote *Historia de Omnibus Gothorum Sueonumque Regibus* (1554; History of all the Gothic and Swedish kings), while Olaus Magnus produced *Historia de Gentibus Septentrionalibus* (1555; History of the Nordic peoples). These complementary works were highly regarded in continental Europe, as well as by seventeenth-century Swedes, who sought evidence of past greatness in the legendary Goths. While most of the writing in schools and universities was in Latin, attempts were made to create dramatic works in Swedish. The most ambitious of these "school dramas" were the plays of the controversial historian Johannes Messenius (1579?–1636).

LITERATURE DURING THE "PERIOD OF GREAT POWER" (1630–1718)

The cultural climate in Sweden improved somewhat under Gustavus II Adolphus (ruled 1611–1632). The country's military successes during the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648) meant the acquisition of important manuscripts as well as renewed contact with European culture, belatedly bringing Renaissance ideas to Sweden. Gustavus II Adolphus died on the battlefield in Germany. His daughter Christina became queen in 1644 but ruled only ten years before abdicating the throne. During her reign the royal court became a center of intellectual activity.

The major literary figure of the time was Georg Stiernhielm (1598–1672), known as "the father of Swedish poetry." Stiernhielm composed works in Swedish during a relatively short period of his life;

like many others of the time, he wrote mainly in Latin and other languages. His major work is *Heracles* (1658), a long hexameter poem based on the mythological motif of the hero at a crossroads in life; it is primarily a dialogue between Fru Lusta and Fru Dygd (Madam Desire and Madam Duty), who represent opposing moral principles. Important figures of the generation after Stiernhielm include Samuel Columbus, author of *Odae Sueticae* (1674; Swedish odes), and Haquin Spegel, author of *Guds Hverk och Hwila* (1685; God's work and rest), both of which proclaim new ideals for Swedish poetry.

Most Swedish literature of the 1600s and early 1700s falls into the category of "occasional poetry"—poems produced for weddings, funerals, or other occasions. Two colorful individuals stand out among the authors of the thousands of poems printed in this genre. Lars Wivallius (1605–1669) was an adventurer and occasional author of songs, such as the well-known "Klagovisa över denna torra och kalla wåhr" (1642; Lament over this dry and cold spring); he composed many of his songs during various prison terms. Lars Johansson (pseudonym "Lucidor"; 1638–1674) was a bohemian figure, a prolific author of wedding and funeral poems, and one of the few who attempted to make a living, albeit meager, from his writing. Gunno (Eurelius) Dahlstierna's *Kunga Skald* (1697; Hymn to the king), written at the death of Charles XI, exemplifies the important genre of panegyric. A type of occasional poem cultivated at court, the panegyric could serve both as political propaganda and as homage to a royal benefactor. Dahlstierna was the foremost Swedish representative of the ornate baroque style then popular in Europe.

The first woman in Sweden to be a professional author, Sophia Elisabet Brenner, (1659–1730) also wrote Sweden's first feminist work, *Det Qwinliga Könetz rättmätige Förswar* (1693; The righteous defense of the female sex). Letter writing, diaries, and autobiographies were increasingly important as a means of expression, though they were seldom printed. A notable example of this type of writing is the autobiography of Agneta Horn, written about 1657.

Most books printed during this period were devotional, while the number of books intended solely for recreation remained small. From the early 1600s

Stockholm's printers were under the watchful eye of an inspector. Censorship of all printed materials was instituted in the 1660s, and the office of *ensor librorum* was established in 1686, hampering the spread of reading material for pleasure rather than for religious or other instruction. The first official hymnbook, compiled by Jesper Swedberg (father of Emmanuel Swedenborg), appeared in 1694 but was immediately withdrawn and revised for republication in 1695. Examples of hymnbooks from religious movements outside the state church include the Pietist hymnbook *Mose och Lambses wisor* (1717; Songs of Moses and the Lamb) and the Moravian *Sions sänger* (1743–1745; Songs of Zion).

ENLIGHTENMENT AND THE GUSTAVIAN ERA (1730–1809)

The death of Charles XII in 1718 signaled the end of the Swedish "Period of Great Power." The period from 1718 to 1772, marked by the change from an absolute monarchy to a parliamentary system, is often called the "Era of Freedom," and it coincides with an influx of Enlightenment ideas, especially from France and England, leading to a cultural renaissance in Sweden by the end of the century.

The use of a simpler, conversational style in written Swedish can be seen in the work of Olof von Dalin (1708–1763). His 1740 political allegory *Sagan om hästen* (The tale of the horse) became a Swedish classic. Previously, from 1732 to 1733, Dalin had published an influential newspaper, *Then swänska Argus* (The Swedish Argus), modeled on Joseph Addison and Richard Steele's *The Tatler* and *The Spectator*. In the pages of his newspaper, Dalin criticized foreign influence on the Swedish language, as had Stiernhielm in the previous century. Most novels in Sweden at this time were foreign imports, but a notable exception was the high-spirited *Min son på gallejan eller en ostindisk resa* (My son on the galley, or An East Indian journey), by a ship's chaplain named Jacob Wallenberg (1746–1778).

In the spirit of the Enlightenment, various learned societies were formed for the advancement of science and the arts. Vitterhetsakademien (Academy of Letters), founded by Lovisa Ulrika in 1753, was a precursor to the Swedish Academy established by her son, Gustav III, in 1786. Literary societies

were organized on Masonic models. Tankebyggargården (Thought Builders), established in 1753, included important poets such as Hedvig Charlotta Nordenflycht (1718–1763), Gustaf Fredrik Gyllenborg (1731–1808), and Gustav Philip Creutz (1731–1785), whose works appeared in the society's publications. The naturalist Carl Linnaeus (1707–1778) wrote his scientific works in Latin, but his accounts of exploratory journeys to various Swedish provinces were written in Swedish. His students continued his work, publishing reports of their far-flung travels, which helped establish the travel account as a popular literary genre in Sweden.

Gustav III was keenly interested in theater and served as a patron of the arts. Many of the most notable poets of the era collaborated with him on works for the theater and opera. Among these was the poet and critic Johan Henrik Kellgren (1751–1795), who also edited the newspaper *Stockholms Posten* for several years. A frequent, though anonymous, contributor to *Stockholms Posten* was Anna Maria Lenngren (1754–1817), whose poems show a keen eye and a satiric edge. Sweden's most popular poet of all time, Carl Michael Bellman (1740–1795), took the popular practice of musical parody (setting words to familiar melodies) to unparalleled heights in the collections *Fredmans epistlar* (1790; Fredman's epistles; with a famous preface by Kellgren) and *Fredmans sånger* (1791; Fredman's songs).

The era of Enlightenment came to a definitive close in 1809. In politics, its end was marked by Sweden's defeat in the Napoleonic Wars and the subsequent loss of Finland to Russia; in literature, it was heralded by the appearance of the Romantic movement.

See also **Bible: Translations and Editions; Censorship; Christina (Sweden); Enlightenment; Gustavus II Adolphus (Sweden); Journals, Literary; Linnaeus, Carl; Reformation, Protestant; Sweden; Vasa Dynasty (Sweden).**

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PAUL NORLÉN

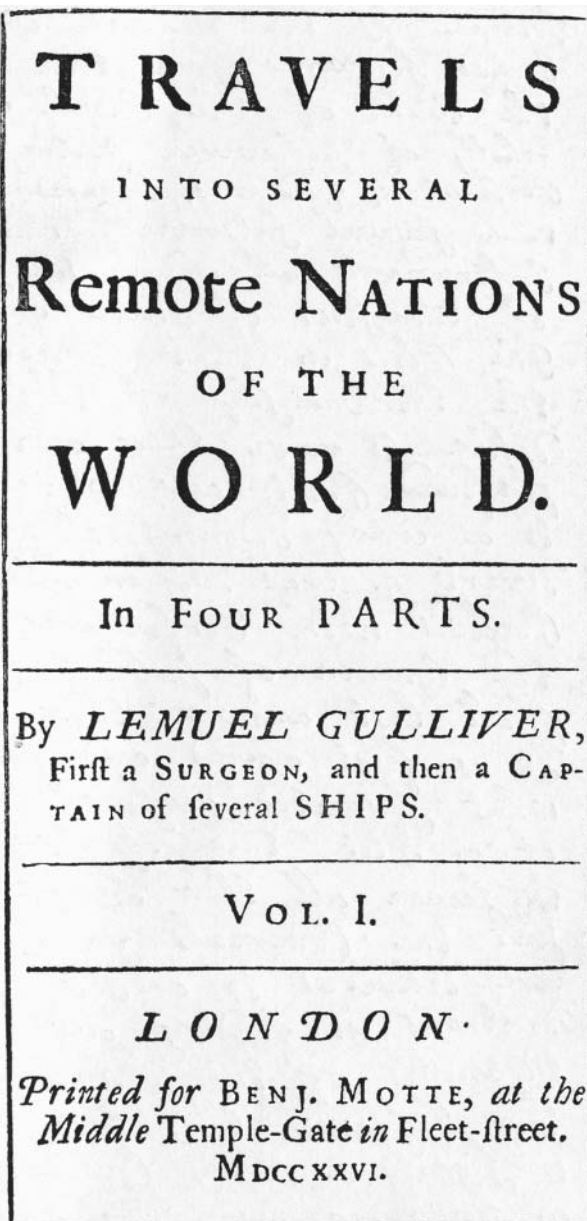
SWIFT, JONATHAN (1667–1745), English satirist, poet, and clergyman. Swift was born in Dublin to English parents, Jonathan and Abigale Erick (or Herrick) Swift. His father had died before Swift's birth, and he was raised by his father's family from the age of three when his mother returned to Leicestershire in England. He attended Kilkenny Grammar School, where William Congreve, the future dramatist, was a fellow pupil, and went on to Trinity College, Dublin, where, because of his infractions of discipline, his degree was conferred on him only by "special grace" in 1686.

Swift went to England in 1689 and became a secretary to the retired statesman Sir William Temple at Moor Park in Surrey. It was here that he met Esther Johnson ("Stella"), who was nine at the time, and became her tutor. They were lifelong friends, and she was the "Stella" of his *Journal to Stella*, written 1710–1713. (Some believe that they were secretly married in 1716, but the evidence is inconclusive.) In 1689, Swift suffered an attack of Ménière's disease, which affects the inner ear and causes vertigo and nausea; the affliction was to plague him for the rest of his life. Swift had taken an M.A. at Oxford, which provided him with the necessary qualification for ordination, and after leaving Temple's service in 1694, he went to Ireland, where he was ordained in the Anglican division of the Irish church and received the small prebend of Kilroot, near Belfast. In 1696 he returned to Moor Park, where he edited Temple's letters and wrote his first important prose works, *The Tale of a Tub* and *The Battle of the Books*, both of which were not published until 1704. The former is an allegorical satire attacking corruption in the church and scholarly pedantry, the latter a mock-heroic satire ridiculing the controversy about the ancients and the moderns that was raging at the time.

After Temple's death in 1699 left him homeless and without a patron, Swift went to Ireland where he received a prebend in St. Patrick's, Dublin, and the living of Laracor. On frequent visits to London he met Joseph Addison, Richard Steele, and Alexander Pope and associated with various Whig writers. During this time he wrote several defenses of Christianity (such as *An Argument against Abolishing Christianity*, 1708), vicious lampoons of public figures, and satirical essays under the pseudonym of "Isaac Bickerstaff" (1708–1709). In 1710 Swift traveled to London to petition against a tax crippling the Irish clergy and remained there for three years. Disenchanted with Whig policies, especially the party's association with Dissenters and what he regarded as its animosity toward the Anglican Church, he became an advocate for Tory politics and edited the party's newspaper, *The Examiner*, in 1710–1711. He also contributed to *The Tatler*, *The Spectator*, and *The Intelligencer* and wrote *The Conduct of the Allies* (1711), a treatise that outlined the Tory plan for ending the War of the Spanish Succession. Swift participated in the intellectual debates and lampoons of the Scriblerus Club, formed with Alexander Pope, John Arbuthnot, John Gay, Thomas Parnell, and Robert Harley, earl of Oxford.

Swift had alienated the establishment in England, and it appears that the influence of his friends in high places was not sufficient to secure his advancement. Bitterly disappointed, he returned to Ireland. He had been awarded a Doctor of Divinity in 1701 and was appointed dean of St. Patrick's Cathedral in Dublin in 1713; except for brief absences, he remained in Ireland for the rest of his life. Biographical detail between 1715 and 1720 is sketchy. In 1708 he had met Esther Vanhomrigh ("Vanessa"), who had fallen in love with him; she followed him to Ireland, where she was disappointed by Swift's lack of response to her feelings for him. His own feelings are reflected in *Cadenus and Vanessa*, a pastoral and comic self-reflection that he wrote around 1713, though it was not published until 1726, three years after Vanessa's death.

The Whigs had returned to power in 1714, and Swift began writing attacks on their unfair policies toward Ireland. His patriotism emerged with the enormously popular *A Proposal for the Universal Use of Irish Manufacture* (1720), a lampoon that



Jonathan Swift. Title page to the first edition of *Gulliver's Travels*, 1726. ©BETTMANN/CORBIS

attacked the England treatment of the Irish poor. Along with *The Drapier Letters* (1724), an exposé of a patent to introduce a new copper coin that would have devalued Ireland's currency, it established Swift as a national hero.

In 1726 Swift spent the summer with Alexander Pope at Twickenham and published his most popular work, *Gulliver's Travels*. An anti-Whig satire, a dazzling adventure story, and a narrative that per-

ceives humanity from four different viewpoints through Gulliver's voyages to Lilliput, Brobdingnag, Laputa, and Houyhnhnmland, the work has profound political implications. Swift's financial security was assured by this time, but ill health and mental problems manifested themselves in the late 1720s, especially after the death of Stella in 1728. In 1729, his bitter and ironic *A Modest Proposal* appeared; it is a parody and an indictment of the amoral economic utilitarianism of the Whigs. The 1730s also saw Swift writing elegiac poems to Stella, and scatological poems such as "Lady's Dressing Room." Between 1730 and 1735, he published *Rhapsody of Poetry* and *Verses on His Own Death*. He also continued to correspond with friends in London. Bookseller George Faulkner published a complete edition of Swift's works, including a corrected edition of *Gulliver's Travels*, in 1735. In the late 1730s, Swift wrote *A History of the Peace of Utrecht* and *Directions to Servants*, both of which were published posthumously.

Swift's great popularity with Dublin's population was secured through his preaching and his writings on the unfair treatment of Ireland, but especially through his generous contributions to charity; at his death he left £11,000 to found a hospital for the mentally ill. His health deteriorated seriously and that, plus memory loss, affected his writing. Beginning in 1742, he suffered from dementia; he died 19 October 1745. He was buried next to Stella at St. Patrick's and was universally mourned by Dublin.

See also Addison, Joseph; Ancients and Moderns; Dublin; English Literature and Language; Ireland; Pope, Alexander; Steele, Richard.

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MAX FINCHER

SWITZERLAND. The region and the state known as Switzerland took shape during the late medieval and early modern periods. Before 1300, the country north of the central Alps simply lay within the Swabian and Burgundian parts of the Holy Roman Empire. By 1789, in contrast, the Swiss Confederation possessed a distinct national identity and enjoyed sovereignty under international law. The confederation included thirteen self-governing *Orte* or cantons, several subsidiary but autonomous allies, and various subject territories. Geography played a considerable role in shaping Switzerland over these centuries. The region's central location, spanning western Europe's major language boundaries and containing mountain passes used by traders and travelers, ensured that the Swiss experienced all of Europe's major political and cultural movements. Yet the difficult terrain of the Alps and the area's relative poverty also left Switzerland marginal to Europe's great centers of power and wealth.

Modern Switzerland is known for being multilingual, democratic, neutral, and wealthy. The early modern confederation acquired these characteristics only slowly. All but one of the ruling cantons were German-speaking, although they did have French- and Italian-speaking subjects. Voting by male citizens played an important role in some cantons, but political control mostly rested with a few families, while the subject territories and many areas outside city walls had limited political rights. Especially be-

fore 1550, the confederation was also warlike, playing a major role in the Burgundian Wars of the 1470s and the Italian Wars after 1494. Finally, most early modern Swiss were poor, and even the richest had only modest fortunes by European standards.

POLITICS

Three related processes shaped the Swiss Confederation during the late Middle Ages: the growth of overlapping alliances among the cantons and their associates, the consolidation of internal regimes that controlled well-defined territories, and the development of shared responsibilities and institutions. Switzerland's development also depended on changing relations with the Holy Roman Empire, the Habsburg family of dynasts and emperors, and powerful neighbors to the west and south. The local economy rested on agriculture (including cattle and dairy products for export), transit, and mercenary services; by the eighteenth century, proto-industrial production of textiles and other goods provided further sources of wealth.

The confederation acquired its thirteen full members in two major waves, one before 1360 and the second after 1480. The first took place in an era of weak imperial authority and constant feuding among the region's nobility. This spurred communities to form alliances that could defend the public peace and increase local autonomy. The earliest known Swiss alliance linked Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden in 1291; though unusual in having only rural members, it resembled similar leagues across the region. Further alliances with Lucerne in the 1330s and with Zurich, Zug, Glarus, and Bern in the 1350s produced a substantial confederation of rural and urban communities that proved its significance by defeating the key regional dynasts, the Habsburgs, in the Sempach war of 1386.

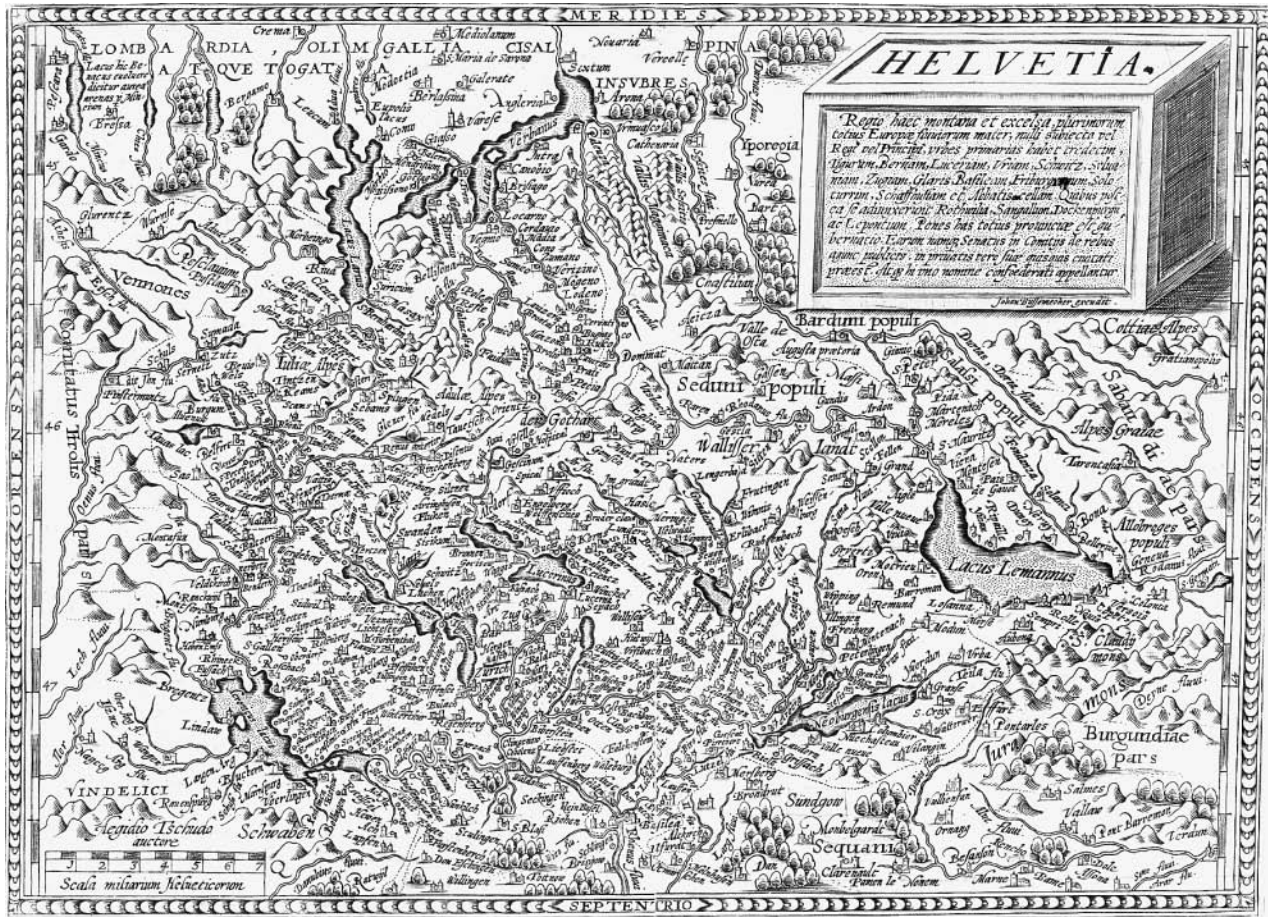
Internal consolidation in each canton accompanied the growth of the Swiss system. In the rural cantons, the political base broadened as local nobles yielded power to communal assemblies after the 1360s. In Zurich and Basel, guild regimes took power; various accommodations widened political participation in other towns as well. Across the countryside during the 1400s, peasant communes became better organized and increased their economic and judicial authority. Both the urban and rural cantons sought to expand their influence,

though they used very different strategies. Towns like Zurich and Bern became lords over the countryside outside their walls through purchase, mortgage, or conquest. The rural cantons, above all Schwyz, allied themselves with regional peasant movements against lords, notably in Appenzell, thus gaining allies for further expansion. The two methods came into conflict in the 1440s, when the confederation nearly collapsed during a bitter territorial war between Zurich and Schwyz.

The growth of shared institutions helped mute such rivalries. In 1415 and 1460, the Swiss seized the Aargau and the Thurgau from the Habsburgs. Shared rule over these territories led to intensified interaction among the cantons, as did military efforts to expand south of the Alpine passes. Regular meetings of a diet, the *Tagsatzung*, began after the 1430s. Although the diet had little power to enforce its decisions, it did provide a forum for negotiation as the confederation faced new challenges. The alliance's growing power also attracted five new cantons in the late 1400s (Schaffhausen, Fribourg, Solothurn, Basel, and Appenzell) as well as a series of "associates" ranging from rural valleys to the Abbey of St. Gallen. Tensions between the urban and rural cantons led to a 1481 agreement, mediated by Switzerland's later patron saint, Niklaus von der Flüe (1417–1487), that guaranteed each canton's internal autonomy and provided for mutual support in case of social turmoil.

In the late 1400s, a national mythology of liberty and community emerged in Switzerland, centered on the figure of William Tell. In songs, chronicles, popular dramas, and stained-glass decorations the Swiss celebrated how they had expelled their corrupt lords during the 1300s. Often bitterly critical of aristocracy, the liberation sagas praised peasant liberty and virtues and expressed loyalty to the empire. No historical evidence supports Tell's existence, nor did Swiss calls for peasant liberty lead them to abolish serfdom among their own subjects. Nevertheless, this historical mythology reflected a growing awareness that the confederation differed fundamentally from the princely states taking shape around it.

Between 1460 and 1513, Swiss troops played an important role on Europe's battlefields. Unbeatable during the Burgundian Wars (1474–



Switzerland. Helvetia, the Latin name for Switzerland, is derived from the Celtic Helvetii who inhabited the area in ancient times. This often-reproduced map by Aegidius Tschudi, originally compiled in the mid-1500s, is from the *Geographisch Handbuch* of Mathias Quad, published in Cologne in 1600. MAP COLLECTION, STERLING MEMORIAL LIBRARY, YALE UNIVERSITY

1477), they were in high demand as mercenaries during the Italian Wars (1494–1559). In the Swabian War of 1499, a string of Swiss military victories ended Habsburg ambitions south of the Rhine and brought outlying regions such as Graubünden and the Valais closer to the confederation. The Peace of Basel in 1501 also confirmed that the Swiss were exempt from most imperial laws and courts. Military and political developments after 1500 soon reduced Switzerland’s international importance, however, even as long-term treaties with France and the Habsburgs stabilized Switzerland’s place in the international system. After 1530, moreover, the Swiss split into Catholic and Reformed parties that threatened to tear the confederation apart. From the 1520s until 1798, therefore, Swiss politics were dominated by internal social and religious conflict, while the confederation withdrew

from foreign entanglements. Although tempted to help coreligionists on both sides, the cantons managed to stay out of the Thirty Years’ War, unlike their allies in Graubünden. The Peace of Westphalia in 1648 formally recognized the cantons’ sovereignty within the Holy Roman Empire, and neutrality became their official policy during the long wars that followed—easier to maintain because of the declining importance of Swiss mercenaries. The pre-modern confederation was finally conquered by the French in 1798.

Switzerland became an early center of the Protestant and the Radical Reformation after Huldrych Zwingli (1484–1531) began preaching in Zurich in 1519. Zwingli’s theology rested on evangelical ideas similar to Martin Luther’s, but he also stressed the reform of Christian society along communal lines, in keeping with the region’s values. In the

confederation, he called for an end to mercenary service and rejection of the pensions that foreign rulers paid Swiss politicians. Zwingli quickly gained adherents in many Swiss and south German towns; his ideas spread to Bern, Basel, and Schaffhausen during the 1520s, and gained support in many allied towns and rural areas. Some of Zwingli's associates sought even deeper changes in church and society, laying the groundwork for the early Anabaptist movement. However, the rural cantons in central Switzerland, together with Lucerne, opposed the Reformation. The population there valued the old ceremonies and had confidence in their locally appointed clergy, while their magistrates resented Zwingli's attacks on a main source of their income, foreign pensions.

Zwingli's efforts to evangelize the subject territories provoked rising tensions within the confederation. Civil war was delayed by a 1529 religious peace, but finally broke out in 1531. Lukewarm support from its allies led to Zurich's defeat at the Battle of Kappel, where Zwingli lost his life. The Second Religious Peace of Kappel in 1531 created a lasting framework for religious coexistence. The thirteen ruling cantons and their self-governing allies could choose between Catholic and Reformed adherence; in the subject territories, existing Reformed congregations were tolerated although Catholic worship was often restored. Ultimately, four cantons and two half-cantons became Reformed, while seven and two halves remained Catholic. The close coexistence between two faiths that followed produced endless wrangling that sometimes threatened the confederation's survival. In 1656 and 1712, local conflicts led to significant religious wars. The first preserved the status quo of 1531, but a Reformed victory in the second increased Zurich and Bern's influence.

Religious struggles coincided with growing social tensions in Switzerland. In both cities and countryside, a minority of families increasingly monopolized wealth and political participation. Oligarchy was most visible in the cities, where ever fewer families qualified to sit in the city councils. City authorities also eroded the autonomy of peasant communes under their lordship, despite occasionally violent resistance. In the countryside, high citizenship fees barred many residents from voting or using communal economic resources. In 1653, peasants

around Lucerne and Bern rose up against urban domination, calling for a new "peasant's league" to combat their rulers. The urban elites in Reformed Zurich and Bern and Catholic Lucerne cooperated fully in suppressing the peasant movement.

CULTURAL MOVEMENTS

Swiss thinkers absorbed the main intellectual movements of early modern Europe. Renaissance humanism appeared late in the 1400s. Authors such as Albrecht von Bonstetten (c. 1442–1504) and Felix Hemmerli (c. 1388–1458) described the confederation's political system by mixing humanist-style historiography with the region's rich chronicle tradition, while later Swiss humanists such as the two Glarus scholars Heinrich Loriti ("Glareanus," 1484–1563) and Aegidius Tschudi (1505–1572) wrote polished Latin treatises based on classical sources. Meanwhile, the confluence of Basel's thriving printing industry, its university, and the city's trade links made it the only canton where humanism really flourished, as illustrated by Erasmus of Rotterdam's choice to live there.

The Reformation disrupted the confederation politically and forced thinkers and artists to choose between the faiths. In St. Gallen, the well-known humanist and physician Joachim Watt ("Vadianus," 1484–1551) returned home to lead the local Reformation, while the painter and playwright Niklaus Manuel (c. 1484–1530) of Bern dedicated his work to the cause. In Basel, the Reformation divided the humanists after the city turned Protestant in 1528. Both Erasmus and Glareanus chose to leave, but the city's intellectual life later benefited from learned Protestant refugees such as Sebastian Castellio (1515–1563). Religious questions fully occupied Swiss intellectuals by the mid-1500s as Heinrich Bullinger in Zurich and John Calvin in Geneva struggled to define Reformed Protestant doctrine. Their efforts shaped the Second Helvetic Confession of 1566, and helped make Switzerland an important center for the Reformed church. English, Polish, and Hungarian scholars studied there, often in exile, while Italian dissidents escaped persecution by fleeing through Switzerland.

Increasingly rigid social and religious boundaries after 1600 stifled cultural innovation until the early 1700s, when Swiss thinkers began receiving Enlightenment ideas. Zurich authors such as

Albrecht Haller (1708–1777) and Johann Jakob Bodmer (1698–1783) participated actively in the literary debates of the German Enlightenment; Geneva social philosophers such as Jean-Jacques Burlamaqui (1694–1748) and, above all, Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778) made major contributions to the French Enlightenment. The presses of French Switzerland became a major source for books banned by French censors, and French intellectuals such as Voltaire found refuge in the Vaud when threatened by the French authorities. Within Switzerland, Enlightenment ideas eventually undermined the barriers between Catholic and Reformed elites through the formation of the Helvetic Society, a forum for intellectual discussion that met annually in Bad Schinznach after 1761.

SWITZERLAND AND EUROPE

Switzerland's existence puzzled many early modern Europeans. Jean Bodin condemned it as anarchic and disorderly, while Niccolò Machiavelli saw it as a model for free and armed city-states. After Swiss troops killed and despoiled Charles the Bold of Burgundy in 1477, aristocratic thinkers encouraged criticism of the “cow-Swiss” who dared to violate the natural order of lords and subjects. In the end, however, Switzerland was less important as a model, positive or negative, than as a crossroads. Neutral, divided by religion, and fragmented politically, the Swiss Confederation offered a haven to many refugees and dissidents, most notably the founders of the Reformed movement. Even if little of what passed through seemed to rub off on the Swiss, the confederation still went through changes parallel to

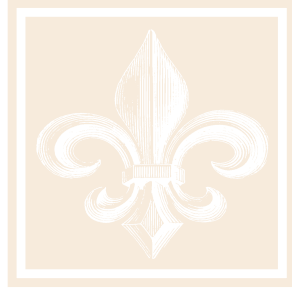
the ones that transformed all of early modern Europe.

See also Calvin, John; Enlightenment; Geneva; Habsburg Dynasty; Austria; Reformation, Protestant; Thirty Years' War (1618–1648); Westphalia, Peace of (1648); Zwingli, Huldrych.

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RANDOLPH C. HEAD



Nicolas Poussin. *The Death of Germanicus*, 1627, reflects Poussin's passion for historical accuracy. This painting, completed during his early years in Rome, established his reputation there and led to a papal commission. ©ERICH LESSING/ART RESOURCE



RIGHT: Raphael. *Veiled Woman (La Velata)*, c. 1513. Rivaling Michelangelo as one of the most talented artists of the High Renaissance period, Raphael executed a number of portraits which are considered to have set the standard for subsequent Renaissance portraiture. ©SCALA/ART RESOURCE, N.Y.

BELOW LEFT: Raphael. *The Transfiguration*, 1519-1520. Left unfinished at his death, this altarpiece is one of Raphael's many explorations of the meaning of the Incarnation. ©SCALA/ART RESOURCE, N.Y.

BELOW RIGHT: Renaissance. *The School of Athens*, mural in the Vatican Palace by Raphael, c. 1509. This section of the mural, considered a masterpiece of perspective drawing, reflects the burgeoning interest in classical learning typical of the period. ©ERICH LESSING/ART RESOURCE, N.Y.





Rembrandt van Rijn. *Self-Portrait Aged Thirty-Four*, 1640. Renowned for his skilled and sensitive portraiture, Rembrandt here depicts himself as a confident artist at the height of his powers. ©NATIONAL GALLERY COLLECTION; BY KIND PERMISSION OF THE TRUSTEES OF THE NATIONAL GALLERY, LONDON





ABOVE RIGHT: Joshua Reynolds. Portrait of Sir Banastre Tarleton, 1782. Reynolds was the first president of the Royal Academy of Art and the leading painter of aristocratic London during the second half of the eighteenth century. His numerous portraits reflect classical and Old Master models. ©NATIONAL GALLERY COLLECTION; BY KIND PERMISSION OF THE TRUSTEES OF THE NATIONAL GALLERY, LONDON/CORBIS

BELOW RIGHT: Rococo. *The Rape of Europa* by François Boucher, 1747. Boucher's rococo style is here exemplified in exuberant use of color and playful eroticism. THE ART ARCHIVE/MUSÉE DU LOUVRE, DAGLI ORTI (A)





LEFT: **Art in Rome.** The Prophet Ezekiel, detail of the Sistine Chapel ceiling painted by Michelangelo, 1508-1512. ©SCALA/ART RESOURCE, N.Y.

BELOW: **Art in Rome.** The Expulsion from Paradise; detail of the Sistine Chapel ceiling painted by Michelangelo, 1508-1512. ©SCALA/ART RESOURCE





RIGHT: Scientific Illustration. Albrecht Dürer's *Large Piece of Turf*, watercolor on paper, 1503. ©ERICH LESSING/ART RESOURCE, N.Y

BELOW: Peter Paul Rubens. *The Horrors of War*, 1638. This allegory of the plight of Europe, torn by religious and political conflicts, is representative of Rubens's style in its massive figural forms and rich colors. ©NIMATALLAH/ART RESOURCE

OPPOSITE PAGE: Rachel Ruysch. *A Carnation, Morning Glory, and Other Flowers* is representative of the later works of Ruysch, who was one of the most successful women artists of the early modern period. ©CHRISTIE'S IMAGES/CORBIS







RIGHT: Art in Spain. *The Immaculate Conception*, 1676–1679, by Bartolomé Esteban Murillo. Murillo painted in Seville, and by the 1640s he had become the dominant artistic figure in that city. His works were created primarily for religious patrons and appealed in their idealized depictions to the religious imagination of his society. ART ARCHIVE/MUSEO DEL PRADO MADRID/DAGLI ORTI (A)

BELOW: Suleiman I. *The Seige of Vienna*, 1529, as depicted in *Hunername*, a 1588 manuscript written by Sayyid Lokman, one of Suleiman's official court historians. ©GIRAUDON/ART RESOURCE, N.Y.



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Jonathan Dewald, Editor in Chief

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USING THE ENCYCLOPEDIA

Tables of contents. Each volume contains a table of contents for the entire *Encyclopedia*. Volume 1 has a single listing of all volumes' contents. Volumes 2 through 6 contain "Contents of This Volume" followed by "Contents of Other Volumes."

Maps of Europe. The front of each volume contains a set of maps showing Europe's political divisions at six important stages from 1453 to 1795.

Alphabetical arrangement. Entries are arranged in alphabetical order. Biographical articles are generally listed by the subject's last name (with some exceptions, e.g., Leonardo da Vinci).

Royalty and foreign names. In most cases, the names of rulers of French, German, and Spanish rulers have been anglicized. Thus, Francis, not François; Charles, not Carlos. Monarchs of the same name are listed first by their country, and then numerically. Thus, Henry VII and Henry VIII of England precede Henry II of France.

Measurements appear in the English system according to United States usage, though they are often followed by metric equivalents in parentheses. Following are approximate metric equivalents for the most common units:

| | |
|-----------------|-----------------------|
| 1 foot = | 30 centimeters |
| 1 mile = | 1.6 kilometers |
| 1 acre = | 0.4 hectares |
| 1 square mile = | 2.6 square kilometers |
| 1 pound = | 0.45 kilograms |
| 1 gallon = | 3.8 liters |

Cross-references. At the end of each article is a list of related articles for further study. Readers may also consult the table of contents and the index for titles and keywords of interest.

Bibliography. Each article contains a list of sources for further reading, usually divided into Primary Sources and Secondary Sources.

Systematic outline of contents. After the last article in volume 6 is an outline that provides a general overview of the conceptual scheme of the *Encyclopedia*, listing the title of each entry.

Directory of contributors. Following the systematic outline of contents is a listing, in alphabetical order, of all contributors to the *Encyclopedia*, with affiliation and the titles of his or her article(s).

Index. Volume 6 concludes with a comprehensive, alphabetically arranged index covering all articles, as well as prominent figures, geographical names, events, institutions, publications, works of art, and all major concepts that are discussed in volumes 1 through 6.



MAPS OF EUROPE, 1453 TO 1795

The maps on the pages that follow show political boundaries within Europe at six important stages in the roughly three hundred and fifty years covered by this *Encyclopedia*: 1453, 1520, 1648, 1715, 1763, and 1795.



1453. In the years around 1450, Europe settled into relative political stability, following the crises of the late Middle Ages. France and England concluded the Hundred Years' War in 1453; the Ottoman Turks conquered Constantinople in the same year and established it as the capital of their empire; and in 1454 the Treaty of Lodi normalized relations among the principal Italian states, establishing a peaceful balance of power among Venice, Florence, the duchy of Milan, the Papal States, and the Kingdom of Naples.



1520. In 1520, the Habsburg prince Charles V was elected Holy Roman emperor, uniting in his person lordship over central Europe, Spain, the Low Countries, parts of Italy, and the newly conquered Spanish territories in the Americas. For the next century, this overwhelming accumulation of territories in the hands of a single dynasty would remain the most important fact in European international politics. But in 1520 Habsburg power already faced one of its most troublesome challenges: Martin Luther's Reformation, first attracting widespread notice in 1517, would repeatedly disrupt Habsburg efforts to unify their territories.



1648. The 1648 Peace of Westphalia ended the Thirty Years' War, one of the most destructive wars in European history. The peace treaty formally acknowledged the independence of the Dutch Republic and the Swiss Confederation, and it established the practical autonomy of the German principalities—including the right to establish their own religious policies. Conversely, the Holy Roman Empire lost much of its direct power; although its institutions continued to play some role in German affairs through the eighteenth century, the emperors' power now rested overwhelmingly on the Habsburg domain lands in Austria, Bohemia, and eastern Europe.



1715. The Peace of Utrecht (1713) ended the War of the Spanish Succession, the last and most destructive of the wars of the French king Louis XIV. The treaty ended Spain's control over present-day Belgium and over parts of Italy, and it marked the end of French hegemony within Europe. In the eighteenth century, France would be only one of five leading powers.



1763. The 1763 Treaty of Paris ended the Seven Years' War, a war that involved all the major European powers and included significant campaigns in North America and southern Asia, as well as in Europe. The war made clear the arrival of Prussia as a great power, at least the equal of Austria in central and eastern Europe.



1795. By 1795, French armies had repelled an attempted invasion by Prussia, Austria, and England, and France had begun annexing territories in Belgium and western Germany. These military successes ensured the continuation of the French Revolution, but they also meant that European warfare would continue until 1815, when the modern borders of France were largely established. Warfare with France did not prevent the other European powers from conducting business as usual elsewhere: with agreements in 1793 and 1795, Prussia, Austria, and Russia completed their absorption of Poland.



COMMON ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THIS WORK

| | | | |
|-----------|---|-------|--|
| A.D. | <i>Anno Domini</i> , in the year of the Lord | MS. | manuscript (pl. MSS.) |
| A.H. | <i>Anno Hegirae</i> , in the year of the Hegira | n.d. | no date |
| b. | born | no. | number (pl., nos.) |
| B.C. | before Christ | n.s. | new series |
| B.C.E. | before the common era (= B.C.) | N.S. | new style, according to the Gregorian calendar |
| c. | <i>circa</i> , about, approximately | O.S. | old style, according to the Julian calendar |
| C.E. | common era (= A.D.) | p. | page (pl., pp.) |
| ch. | chapter | rev. | revised |
| d. | died | S. | <i>san, sanctus, santo</i> , male saint |
| ed. | editor (pl., eds.), edition | SS. | saints |
| e.g. | <i>exempli gratia</i> , for example | Sta. | <i>sancta, santa</i> , female saint |
| et al. | <i>et alii</i> , and others | supp. | supplement |
| etc. | <i>et cetera</i> , and so forth | vol. | volume |
| exh. cat. | exhibition catalogue | ? | uncertain, possibly, perhaps |
| fl. | <i>floruit</i> , flourished | | |
| i.e. | <i>id est</i> , that is | | |

EUROPE

1450 TO 1789

ENCYCLOPEDIA OF THE EARLY MODERN WORLD

Europe, 1450



ATLANTIC OCEAN

North Sea

Baltic Sea

Mediterranean Sea

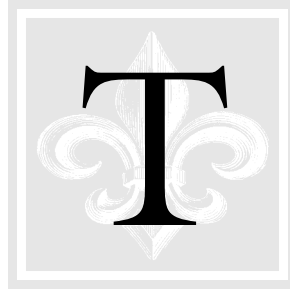
Black Sea

Caspian Sea

CAUCASUS MTS.

ASIA

0 200 400 mi
0 200 400 km



TASSO, TORQUATO (1544–1595), Italian poet. Tasso was born in Sorrento, where his father Bernardo was serving as secretary to the prince of Salerno. Like many courtiers, Bernardo had a peripatetic career, and Torquato's childhood included stays in Naples, Rome, Bergamo, and Pesaro. In 1560 Tasso entered the University of Padua to study law, but soon dedicated himself to philosophy and literary pursuits; two years later he transferred to the University of Bologna, but left when he was held responsible for a lampoon identifying homosexual students and faculty. Tasso returned to Padua in 1564 and entered the service of Cardinal Luigi d'Este, brother to Alfonso II, Duke of Ferrara. In 1572, the poet entered the duke's service and took up residence at the d'Este court.

Tasso's first years in Ferrara were happy and productive. His pastoral play *Aminta* was performed at court to great acclaim in 1573, and by 1575 he had largely completed the epic poem on the First Crusade on which he had been working for over a decade. The poem was eagerly awaited, not least by the duke, but Tasso had doubts about its acceptability on both literary and religious grounds, and sent drafts to several prominent intellectuals, soliciting their suggestions. Hoping for reassurance, Tasso instead received detailed criticisms, which exacerbated his doubts. He became bogged down in revising the poem, and during this period his mental health deteriorated sharply. He grew increasingly paranoid and irascible and was tormented by religious anxieties. In May 1577 Tasso turned himself

in to the Ferrarese Inquisition for spiritual examination; in June he attempted to stab a servant whom he suspected of spying on him. After this incident, Alfonso imprisoned him within the ducal palace; Tasso escaped and spent the next two years traveling around Italy. In 1579 he returned to Ferrara, but after he directed an abusive outburst at the duke, Alfonso had him locked up in the hospital of Sant'Anna, where he was confined for the next seven years. During Tasso's confinement, a pirated, incomplete text of his epic was printed. Tasso subsequently oversaw the publication of a corrected text, published as *Gerusalemme liberata* (Jerusalem delivered) in 1580 and in many editions thereafter. The poem was an immediate pan-European success, although Tasso himself was never satisfied with the *Liberata* and continued to revise his epic until 1593, when he published a substantially new poem entitled *Gerusalemme conquistata* (Jerusalem conquered). The *Conquistata* has never met with the *Liberata's* success. After his release from Sant'Anna in 1586, Tasso spent his final decade in the courts of Mantua, Florence, Naples, and Rome, never remaining long in one place. He died in the monastery of Sant'Onofrio in Rome shortly before he was to be crowned poet laureate.

Tasso wrote prolifically throughout his life. His works include an early chivalric epic, *Rinaldo*; a pastoral drama, *Aminta*; a philosophical poem, *Il Mondo Creato*; two treatises on poetics, twenty-eight dialogues, and hundreds of lyrics; in addition, over a thousand of his letters survive. It is the *Liberata*, however, that secures Tasso's reputation as



Torquato Tasso. Title page from *Gerusalemme liberata*, 1590, with portrait of Tasso.

the greatest Italian poet of the latter sixteenth century. In his poem Tasso strove to reconcile Virgilian epic, chivalric romance, and Counter-Reformation Catholicism; the *Liberata* achieves an uneasy but remarkably successful balance of these three elements. From the moment the *Liberata* appeared, it has been compared to the other great sixteenth-century Italian epic, Ludovico Ariosto's *Orlando furioso* (1516). Since Tasso admired and emulated Ariosto's poem, it is misleading to view them as polar opposites, but they do offer different pleasures. Tasso lacks Ariosto's sense of humor and delight in intricate, multiplotted storytelling; but Tasso reaches greater heights of lyricism, and draws his characters with greater psychological subtlety. Whether one prefers Ariosto or Tasso, the *Liberata* counts among the handful of Renaissance epics of lasting impact. It served as an important model for the two major English Renaissance epics, Edmund

Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* (1590, 1596) and John Milton's *Paradise Lost* (1667).

Apart from his literary influence, Tasso's life became the stuff of romantic legend. A play on "Tasso's Melancholy" was performed in London in the 1590s; Goethe and Byron wrote poetic versions of his story, both attributing the poet's mental disturbance to a hopeless love for Duke Alfonso's sister Eleonora. (Tasso's only definitively attested love affairs were with men.) Even stripped of romantic myth, however, Tasso's career makes a poignant story: that of an immensely talented poet who suffered personally and artistically from the insecurities of a life of courtly dependence, and from the chilly cultural climate of the Italian Counter-Reformation.

See also **Italian Literature and Language; Milton, John; Spenser, Edmund.**

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TOBIAS GREGORY

TAXATION. Early modern Europe was home to a bewildering array of taxes. The church collected tithes, lords exacted feudal dues, towns imposed

customs duties, and rulers levied state taxes. Although there were multiple channels by which fiscal resources were extracted and redistributed throughout society, this essay will focus on state taxation, which expanded most dramatically in this period. To meet growing costs of war and debt, rulers across Europe raised taxation to unprecedented levels, forming what historians call “tax states.” The tax state was not wholly powered by a modern centralized bureaucracy, but it had a profound effect on early modern politics and society. On the one hand, it reinforced social inequality, as rulers created fiscal alliances with elites and levied taxes on the common people. On the other hand, the tax state shaped early modern politics, as revenue-hungry sovereigns clashed with representative institutions and provoked popular tax rebellions. Even as popular tax revolts subsided in the eighteenth century, ideas linking taxation, citizenship, and political representation fueled revolution in the British colonies and in France.

THE RISE OF THE TAX STATE

Taxation was essential to the development of the modern state. In the Middle Ages, kings mainly “lived of their own,” that is, supported themselves with revenues from the royal domain, which included income from crown lands and various feudal and regalian dues. Over the early modern period, however, European monarchies expanded beyond the medieval domain to levy taxes. Tax revenues mounted steadily across Europe in the sixteenth century, even taking high population growth and inflation into account, and soared to new heights in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Not all European countries followed this trend; Brandenburg-Prussia relied heavily on domain revenue as late as the eighteenth century. But the overall pattern is clear: the early modern tax state eclipsed the medieval domain state and considerably expanded the financial resources of rulers.

The tax state was a child of war. In this period of “military revolution,” as armies grew spectacularly in size and required increasingly intensive training and elaborate supply networks, the costs of war skyrocketed. French military expenses increased five to eight times during the seventeenth century; Spanish war expenditure peaked in the 1650s; the English budget increased, in real terms, at least six-

teen-fold between the late sixteenth and early eighteenth centuries; expenditure in Denmark and the United Provinces also accelerated dramatically. Consequently, rulers across Europe scrambled to find revenue by increasing “ordinary” taxes and creating new “extraordinary” ones that, with time, would be deemed ordinary as well. Monarchs became keenly aware of the fact that projecting power abroad depended on financial strength at home.

For ambitious sovereigns, however, there seemed never to be enough tax revenue available to finance military campaigns. Thus, in the city-states of Italy and the Netherlands, and then in unified monarchies, rulers began to borrow and accumulate debt. This recourse to credit, in turn, contributed to the growth of taxation, because short-term war debt was often consolidated into long-term debt serviced with tax revenue. If, in the sixteenth century, taxes were used principally to pay for burgeoning state administrations as well as war, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the vast majority of tax revenue was spent on military campaigns and the increasingly large debts they generated. As a result, belligerent states in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries confronted a spiral of war, debt, and taxation that, as we shall see, profoundly shaped the political life of the age.

Although the fiscal weight of the state grew rapidly in the early modern period, it should not be inferred that states developed modern centralized bureaucracies of the kind associated with “absolutism.” Today, historians stress the limits of the absolute state and emphasize how powerful monarchs like Louis XIV (ruled 1643–1715) had to negotiate with elites and regional and local institutions.

In practice, even “absolute” sovereigns could not tax at will. Although there was little theoretical recognition of the citizen’s right to consent to taxation before the eighteenth century, rulers regularly sought the consent and cooperation of corporate institutions to reduce resistance to the tax levy. In addition to dealing with law courts, church organizations, and municipal governments, monarchs consulted with a host of representative bodies that flourished in the early modern period. The Spanish monarchy negotiated with the Castilian Cortes; the Holy Roman emperor dealt with the Imperial Diet



Taxation. A 1468 painting by Sano di Pietro shows two men paying taxes in Siena. ©ARCHIVO ICONOGRAFICO, S.A./CORBIS

(just as territorial princes in the German lands worked with provincial diets); French kings summoned the Estates-General and provincial Estates; and the English crown consulted Parliament. Representative bodies haggled over the weight and form of taxes but usually found it in their interest to compromise with monarchs, who rewarded their acquiescence with fiscal and administrative privileges. Representative institutions were also willing to compromise at times, because the elite social groups they represented (clergy, nobility, urban notables) were heavily invested in state debt and did not want to interfere with taxes that funded their interest payments. In this respect, there was an inherent tension between the financial interests of ordinary taxpayers, who wished to minimize the tax burden, and those of wealthier state creditors, who feared that poor tax yields might jeopardize returns on their investments.

Negotiations between rulers and corporate bodies did not, however, always run smoothly. In seventeenth-century England, fiscal strife combined with religious conflict to produce a constitutional crisis and civil war. When the early Stuart kings sought to levy new subsidies, forced loans, and ship

money, Parliament reacted by asserting its right to consent to taxation. In 1640, after Charles I refused to work with Parliament, the crisis turned into a bloody civil war in which the king was executed. Ironically, the English Civil War and the Glorious Revolution of 1688, both of which secured for Parliament a central role in the English constitution, ultimately made it easier for the English state to raise taxes. Eighteenth-century England and the Netherlands experienced the highest rates of taxation in Europe, owing in large part to the sense of legitimacy that representative institutions in both countries bestowed on tax levies.

Elsewhere in Europe, the relationship between monarchs and corporate bodies evolved differently. In the Fronde of 1648, the Parlement of Paris challenged the fiscal policies of the crown, but it was not nearly as successful as the English Parliament. The French monarchy not only quelled the Fronde, but stopped calling the Estates-General after 1614–1615 and replaced many provincial Estates with more easily controlled royal officers. But even in “absolutist” France the monarchy did not completely prevail, for the surviving provincial Estates (in Languedoc and Brittany, for instance) continued to drive hard bargains with kings and to administer taxes in their regions down to 1789. Yet another scenario unfolded in Castile, the heart of the Spanish empire, where the once instrumental Cortes faded from power in the seventeenth century as the Spanish monarchy grew weaker.

Just as we should be careful not to infer that the rise of the European tax state automatically reflected the development of absolutist institutions, we should not assume that rising tax levels were the result of increasingly efficient and centralized administrations. On the contrary, early modern tax systems were extremely fragmented. Many rulers relied on tax farming, a practice whereby taxes were franchised to semiprivate financiers who paid fixed sums of money in return for the right to collect taxes. These tax farmers were allowed to pocket the difference between the amounts of revenue they collected and the lump sums they had advanced. Not all taxes were farmed. Rulers also entrusted the task of levying certain taxes to official state administrators, but even in this case administrators could not collect taxes without the active participation of villages and local heads of household. Consider the

example of the *taille*, the main direct tax in France from the fifteenth century to the French Revolution. Every year, the global sum of the *taille* was divided among the kingdom's parishes. Each parish was assigned a lump sum of money and was held responsible for collecting and forwarding that sum to tax receivers. Royal financial officials supervised the levy, pressuring recalcitrant villages and adjudicating disputes, but the crucial tasks of drawing up tax rolls and collecting revenue were left to parish assessors and collectors appointed by local village assemblies. Without the participation of thousands of village assemblies across France, even the mighty French crown would not have been able to levy the *taille*.

FORMS AND SOCIAL INCIDENCE OF TAXATION

The burden of the tax state was not shouldered equally by all social groups. Although it is difficult to determine with precision who paid taxes in early modern Europe, it is safe to say that the two main types of taxes, direct and indirect, were generally regressive. In both cases, common people—the peasants and artisans who made up the majority of the population—paid higher proportions of their income than did wealthy elites.

Indirect taxes, which many monarchs and town magistrates preferred because they were less intrusive than direct taxes, predominated in urban and commercial areas of Europe such as England, Italy, and the Netherlands. Taking the form of tolls, excise taxes on consumer goods, and taxes on salt, tobacco, and other goods sold by state monopolies, indirect taxes fell on consumers in a highly regressive fashion. Levied on such staples as grain, meat, beer, wine, and salt, indirect taxes imposed a proportionally heavy burden on urban workers who had to purchase basic commodities with relatively little disposable income. In the towns of Castile, where excise taxes on wine and oil could double the price of such goods, wage earners suffered a reduction of purchasing power on the order of 30–50 percent. In Paris, whose residents enjoyed privileges with respect to direct taxes, indirect taxation was rather heavy. It has been calculated that in 1789, the average Parisian head of household needed fifty-six days to work off his taxes. During periods of economic growth, indirect taxes were easier to bear,

but in bad times, when wages stagnated or unemployment rose, they could become quite oppressive.

Levied on landed income and property, we might expect direct taxes to have been less regressive. But this was not usually the case, because the wealthy and powerful often held the privilege of exemption. Consider once again the example of the principal direct tax in France, the *taille*. The most remarkable feature of the *taille* was the number of people who did not have to pay it. In much of France, clergymen, nobles, bourgeois, venal officeholders, royal administrators, and residents of certain provinces and towns enjoyed at least partial exemption from the *taille*. This meant that the weight of the tax fell overwhelmingly on the peasantry. It has been estimated that in the late seventeenth century the *taille* and other direct taxes absorbed on average one-fifth of the peasantry's gross production. Wealthier peasants appear to have carried most of this burden, but the poorest peasants had a difficult time scraping together enough cash to pay even the tiniest assessments. In a hierarchical society riddled with privilege, the *taille* was so closely associated with low status that Cardinal Richelieu (1585–1642) believed it unwise to relieve the common people of this burden because “they would lose the mark of their subjection and consequently the awareness of their station.” Similar sentiment existed in Sweden, the German lands, and Castile, where the payment of direct taxes was also a sign of common birth.

If regressive taxation reflected the steep social hierarchy of the early modern period, so too did the ways in which the state spent the tax revenue it collected. As historians have recently emphasized, monarchs not only drew the lion's share of tax revenue from peasants and artisans but, with state spending, redistributed that revenue up the social hierarchy to nobles, officeholders, and other elites. In seventeenth-century Languedoc, as much as a third of the province's tax revenue passed directly to regional notables in the form of pensions, salaries, and interest payments. Extracting and redistributing tax revenue on a massive scale, early modern states doubly reinforced the social inequalities of the age.

POPULAR TAX REVOLTS

Given the weight and incidence of taxation, it may come as no surprise that levies encountered a good deal of popular resistance in the early modern period. The medieval notion that a king was supposed “to live of his own” did not quickly fade, leading many to believe as late as the seventeenth century that regular taxation was a dangerous innovation. In such a climate, any attempt to create a new tax or increase an old one, even when the justification of military defense was invoked, could be met with great skepticism. Ever dubious and resourceful, taxpayers found ways to evade or at least minimize their fiscal obligations. Heads of households escaped full liability for direct taxes by hiding or falsely reporting their wealth or, in the case of powerful individuals, by exerting influence over local tax assessors. As for indirect taxes, smugglers formed vast underground networks that circumvented customs and excise taxes to supply consumers with untaxed commodities at lower prices.

Resistance could also take the more direct form of open revolt. In addition to, and sometimes linked to, the challenges to taxation mounted by representative institutions, popular tax revolts broke out sporadically across Europe throughout the early modern era. From the late sixteenth to the mid-seventeenth century, when intense warfare was coupled with economic and demographic crisis, a particularly destabilizing series of tax rebellions erupted in the German lands, Spain, Portugal, Naples, England, and France. It is important to note that these revolts were not irrational explosions of violence carried out by the hopelessly poor. Rather, as recent research emphasizes, revolts were deliberate political acts in which a variety of social groups participated.

The revolts that shook France in the first half of the seventeenth century are particularly well studied, and they suggest how and why uprisings occurred. It should be stated at the outset that rebellions in this period were not aimed solely at taxes; crowds also gathered to protest military conscription, the billeting of troops, high food prices, seigniorial dues, and religious heresy. But from 1630 to 1660 tax revolts were by far the most prominent form of protest in France. In this period of economic, military, and fiscal turmoil, taxpayers assembled on numerous occasions to submit petitions for

tax relief to authorities. When such acts of protest proved unsuccessful, crowds gathered to keep tax officials at bay—by force if necessary. Moved by a sense of communal justice, taxpayers enacted mock trials and burned tax officials in effigy, broke into or burned down tax collectors’ houses, and verbally or physically harassed collectors to run them out of town. Although the most violent incidents of collective action involved beating or stoning officials, such activity was not revolutionary in the modern sense of the term. Appealing to God, king, and custom rather than revolutionary principle, crowds believed that their attempts to block new taxes (or sudden tax increases) were part of a larger plan to restore the traditional order. “Long live the king without the salt tax,” French protesters cried, looking backward to a time when the crown supposedly did not impose harmful fiscal innovations. Just because revolts were backward-looking, however, does not mean that they failed to achieve practical results. Revolts did achieve temporary successes, when tax collectors were chased out of town or when controversial tax initiatives were withdrawn. But revolts were just as likely to provoke brutal repression by the royal army.

One of the most extraordinary features of tax revolts was the participation of different social groups. It is not surprising that destitute peasants, artisans, and day laborers joined the fray, since taxation threatened to take what little cash they possessed. But in seventeenth-century France, wealthier peasants and artisans, local elites, and even nobles were similarly moved to participate in revolts or at least abet them from behind the scenes. Wealthier peasants paid the bulk of direct taxes and so had a strong interest in stopping tax increases. Noble landlords saw rebellion as a means to retain regional liberties and expand their power, but they, too, had a financial interest in tax revolts, for they competed with the crown for the economic surplus produced by the peasantry. Although nobles paid comparatively little in taxes, they understood that higher taxes on the peasantry would lead to lower rents and feudal dues. Thus, when Louis XIII (ruled 1610–1633) dramatically increased taxes in the 1620s and 1630s, many nobles supported popular sedition. Not all joined in, for some elites feared that revolt would cut off royal revenue and endanger the financial perquisites they received from the

crown, but for many the prospect of losing revenue from their land outweighed other considerations.

REFORM AND REVOLUTION IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Although traditional tax revolts died down in the eighteenth century, taxation became a key issue in the American and French Revolutions. In both cases, revolution stemmed from the tremendous fiscal burden that weighed on Britain and France as the two countries engaged one another in a series of protracted, global, and costly wars that have been likened to a second Hundred Years' War. For both countries, the financial response to the burden of war would have far-reaching political consequences.

From the Glorious Revolution of 1688 to the defeat of revolutionary France in 1815, Britain ascended to great power status on the wings of a "financial revolution" in which Parliament guaranteed the security of a permanent and rapidly expanding national debt. Although historians once believed that the spectacular growth of English public credit compensated for the country's supposedly weak tax system, today they attribute much of the success of English credit to the efficiency and reliability of taxes. At bottom, England's tax system was effective because elites consented to taxation through their representatives in Parliament. In the 1690s, for example, Parliament agreed to the levy of a land tax on the propertied classes that would spare no landowner, be he gentleman or cleric. The land tax was significant not only because it touched elites and provided an important source of revenue, especially to 1714, but also because it secured the political power of Parliament—and the landed gentry that the institution represented—in a new constitutional order. The English monarchy learned that it had much to gain financially by consulting Parliament; Parliament learned to tolerate the fiscal and administrative expansion of the English state in return for the right to scrutinize public finances. At the end of the eighteenth century, Parliament replaced the land tax with a modern income tax, a remarkable innovation that required all heads of household with annual incomes above fifty pounds to declare their wealth for assessment.

We should be careful, however, not to exaggerate the fiscal generosity of English elites. The land tax, which Parliament never allowed to be adminis-

tered by a royal bureaucracy, was applied unevenly and fell dramatically over the century in proportion to total tax revenue. Likewise, the income tax was quickly repealed once France was defeated. The two taxes demonstrate that while English elites were willing to contribute direct taxes to a state in which they enjoyed representation, they did not intend to pay too much for this political privilege. Indeed, despite notable innovations in direct taxation, crown and Parliament ensured that indirect taxation, in particular the regressive excise tax, would become the true backbone of the eighteenth-century English fiscal system. Climbing to dizzying heights over the century, the excise tax raised the vast majority of the revenue that funded the loans of the Seven Years' War (1756–1763) and the American War of Independence (1775–1783). Backed by parliamentary statute and staffed by an astonishingly modern bureaucracy, the excise administration made English consumers pay for the nation's international power.

If Britain excelled in the fiscal rivalry that characterized eighteenth-century international relations, it did so despite the rebellion of its North American colonies. In light of the critical role Parliament played in lending legitimacy to English taxes, it is not all that surprising that North American colonials balked when the crown attempted to impose new taxes in the wake of the costly Seven Years' War. In the absence of colonial representation in Parliament, and with the elimination of the French threat in North America, colonials perceived the new taxes and duties of the late 1760s and early 1770s as the work of a despotic government. "No taxation without representation," they exclaimed, insisting that all British taxpayers had a right to national political representation. With the spread of such constitutional ideas, what began as a tax revolt quickly turned into republican revolution.

Taxation was also an important cause of the French Revolution. Because French kings periodically repudiated debts (and were therefore known as risky borrowers), the French royal debt was more expensive to service than English national debt, putting additional stress on the French tax system. As in England, France increasingly relied on indirect taxes over the eighteenth century, but French indirect taxes never reached the proportions of total tax revenue that English indirect taxes did. Direct taxes

remained essential in France, and it was here that the French crown initiated its most ambitious reforms. The crown not only conducted land surveys in certain provinces to improve the repartition of the *taille*; it also created new universal taxes (the *capitation*, *dixième*, and *vingtième*) aimed at individuals, including nobles, who had formerly enjoyed the privilege of tax exemption. (The creation of universal taxes in France was part of a general trend among eighteenth-century European governments to end noble tax privileges; similar reforms were instituted in Artois, Flanders, Luxembourg, Savoy, Holland, and Prussia). Although French universal taxes bolstered direct tax revenues, they were woefully inadequate to the task of funding military expenditure and debt. Even when combined with rising indirect tax revenue, they did not substantially raise the incidence of real, per capita taxation.

Looked at another way, however, the new universal taxes proved all too successful. Because they did indeed strike nobles and other privileged groups, they alienated elites who, unlike their counterparts across the channel but much like Britons in North America, did not enjoy representation in a national legislature. As a result, French courts of law became increasingly sensitive to the issue of taxation and publicized the need for an institutional bulwark against the monarchy. Seeking to fend off increases in universal taxes from the Seven Years' War on, courts disseminated subversive concepts of national sovereignty, political representation, and the rights of citizenship. In 1789, revolutionaries drew on this and other fiscal-political rhetoric to launch both a constitutional revolution, in which a National Assembly would seize the power to tax from the monarchy, and a social revolution, in which the Third Estate would claim political rights based on its tax contributions to the state. Once in power, revolutionaries abolished indirect taxes, expunged vestiges of privilege from direct taxation, and formally linked taxation and citizenship by extending political rights to taxpayers. By the late eighteenth century, taxation had become invested with revolutionary significance.

See also **Absolutism; Military; Popular Protest and Rebellions; Representative Institutions; Revolutions, Age of; State and Bureaucracy.**

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MICHAEL KWASS

TECHNOLOGY. Early modern Europeans paid new attention to the machines and technical processes that created most of their material goods. Appreciation of rapidly advancing arts and inven-

tions was not particularly new—the Middle Ages also having been an era in which myriad new technologies appeared in Europe. What was becoming noticeably different by the middle of the fifteenth century was that new technologies were becoming a force in the shaping of Europeans’ intellectual framework—just as they shaped social frameworks through the expanding manufactories in mining, ordnance, papermaking, printing, and textiles. Both the material and the mental landscapes of early modern Europe were dramatically reconfigured over these centuries, and in a very self-consciously interdependent way.

HOMO FABER

“Technology” did not really exist as a concept until at least the seventeenth century; what we see in the early modern period is the attempt to create a realm that constantly straddled growing scientific thought and developing industrial practices. Technology continues today to ambiguously refer both to the practices and tools of material construction, and to the knowledge (the *-ology*) about how these practices and tools operate. In the centuries spanning the invention of the printing press and the first experiments with electricity, technology gave rise to a particular vision of human effort and learning, one whose central image was that of “progress.”

Mechanical arts in the ancient and medieval period had often been disregarded by scholars and philosophers and by the makers of literate culture. To a large extent, the name “mechanic,” because associated with manual labor, remained tainted throughout the early modern period (and remains so today). However, starting in the Renaissance, Europeans began to reframe their concept of learning around the study of human productivity. This reframing contributed significantly to the restructuring of the existing system of Aristotelian natural philosophy. The knowledge of machines and technical processes became clues to the natural forces that govern both natural and artificial processes. Galileo Galilei’s (1564–1642) formulation of kinematic motion, for example, was completed at the end of long years studying projectiles in the context of military engineering. Early modern theorists of science and enlightenment articulated the faith that philosophical knowledge can be derived from technical arts, and then reapplied to organize the techni-

cal world in a more efficacious way. They did not so much dignify craftsmen as seek to appropriate from craftsmen universal principles by which the arts could be directed. The capture of those principles became a major goal of scientific enquiry and underwrote a new professional engineer with status and learning meant to distinguish him from the mere craftsman.

WONDERS OF THE AGE

By 1548, the French physician and astronomer Jean Fernel (1497–1558) could proclaim the inventions that testified to “the triumph of our New Age”: the compass, the cannon, and the printing press. Of these, the printing press, nearly one hundred years old, was the newest. The full impact of the compass, cannon, and printing press was not obvious until the end of the fifteenth century and depended on the development of other technologies.

Compass. The introduction of the magnetic compass gave mariners not only a new way of navigating in open sea, but, perhaps even more importantly, a means of recording their journeys in a readable and fairly precise way. The portolan map, fully developed by the fifteenth century, was produced by drawing coast lines and islands according to constant lines of compass bearing. The remarkable advance this offered can only be appreciated visually. In the middle of the fifteenth century, this advantage to navigation was joined by a new ship design that allowed greater maneuverability. The medieval carrack was replaced by the three-masted ship, which offered more sail area, the ability to sail windward, and larger sterns for cargo and crew. By 1488, Portuguese sailors, who were also learning the system of winds, were able to circumnavigate the Cape of Good Hope. Oceanic voyages quickly opened up new prospects for trade with the East, and, after 1492, a New World.

Cannon. The development of gunpowder artillery changed the balance of power both between Europeans and other peoples, and, intermittently and temporarily, between the emerging nation-states of Europe. Invented sometime in the early fourteenth century as a rather cumbersome, if effective, bombard, gunpowder artillery underwent a great deal of development throughout the fifteenth century. Europeans learned to cast and bore cannons (rather than barrel together hoops of forged metal) to spe-

cific calibers; they designed gun carriages for better mobility; they learned to make nitrates for the saltpeter necessary to gunpowder production, and to corn (or ball) the gunpowder for better storage. The main effect the advent of widespread cannon warfare had on noncombatants was to change the faces of their cities. Older town walls (and often a number of townsmen's houses) were demolished for newer, lower, and thicker geometrical circuits. Polygonal, bastioned fortifications, the *trace Italienne*, were built around numerous continental European cities. A secondary effect of military engineering concerns was to focus attention on the problems of projectile motion, impact, and the resistance of materials—all areas of concern in the establishment of a new physics.

In the field, the integration of small arms worked to further alter the conduct of open battle. The shoulder-carried harquebus or musket, already in use by the 1480s, developed into a common weapon of the infantry, even if pikemen continued to be of essential importance into the seventeenth century. A more sudden transformation took place in the cavalry as a result of the spread of the wheellock pistol in the mid 1500s. Employed by mounted German *Reiters*, and further developed as a cavalry weapon by the French under Henry IV (ruled 1589–1610), the adoption of the pistol led to the dethroning of the armored lance, and “the end of knighthood.”

Printing press. The political theorist Jean Bodin (1530–1596) wrote, “The art of printing alone would easily be able to match all the inventions of the ancients.” Printing had transformed intellectual life. Before its advent around 1450, a personal library of fifty volumes was considered sumptuous; by Bodin's writing, noblemen routinely collected hundreds; pamphlets and other cheap print were available to most literate people.

The printing press relied on a set of standardized raised letters, cast in a matrix that had been impressed with the letter's impression by a steel punch, and then set into a form. The system of punches, matrices, and forms was the most significant (and expensive) aspect of the invention, and established printing as the first industry to employ interchangeable parts. The success of the print trade relied on the earlier development of paper technol-

ogy, which in the previous 150 years had largely replaced parchment (scraped animal skins) and greatly reduced the expense of books. It also depended on sophisticated metallurgy; steel was difficult to produce, and the metals used had to perform properly.

Other arts. Aside from these “revolutionary” technologies, a host of smaller-scale innovations enriched domestic interiors between 1450 and 1550. Venetian glassmakers pioneered a refined clear glass in the late fifteenth century, and Italian potters began to manufacture brightly painted majolica. The European silk industry expanded greatly. In the sixteenth century, the French potter Bernard Palissy (1510–1589) formulated a pure white glaze in imitation of porcelain. All these products offered domestic alternatives to goods that had previously been imported from the Middle or Far East. Meanwhile, techniques for quicksilvering mirrors and the development of oil paints that could capture dramatic lighting effects offered new adornments.

With printing, the techniques of numerous arts were recorded in printed books. By the end of the sixteenth century, books were available on the employments, tools, and “secrets” of trades as diverse as fishing, pyrotechnics, metallurgy, and architecture. Many were written by practicing artisans and mechanics. Some of these books amounted to little more than lists of recipes, while others eloquently discussed the relationship between art and nature, and insisted on the need for both theory and practice in the proper execution of crafts. These discussions offered an alternative discourse on these subjects to that available through elite education. Later promoters, apologists, and organizers of technological knowledge drew heavily on this vast literature.

ARCHITECTS AND HUMANISTS

Renaissance artists created some of the most impressive engineering feats of their day. Filippo Brunelleschi (1377–1446) awed his contemporaries with the construction of the enormous *duomo* atop the Florentine cathedral. The dome was constructed without centering or beams by connecting eight spears above the cathedral. Even Brunelleschi's scaffolding and lifting machine designs were copied by other artists. The most developed mechanical knowledge available was no doubt cultivated by architects. This was particularly obvious in Italian

cities, where architects and other artists were highly trained in practical mathematics, and constantly experimented, at least in sketches, with various combinations of machine elements. Leonardo da Vinci's (1452–1519) well-known breadth of interests—stretching from his designs of ingenious devices to sculpture to painting—was not uncommon. Francesco di Giorgio (1439–1502) also developed great expertise in the fields of engineering and hydraulics, along with his more decorative work. Architects directed sometimes dramatic refigurement of major cities. Rome was largely rebuilt in the sixteenth century and Paris in the seventeenth. Architects also designed dams and waterways, fortifications, and stage machinery.

As works of architecture and engineering gained greater cultural capital as markers of status and power, scholars and patrons themselves often came to seek the knowledge of the architects and to share their literate culture. Leon Battista Alberti (1404–1472) was a humanist who carved a new role for himself as the technical counselor to powerful men. His treatises detailing mathematical and conventional rules for painting, sculpture, and architecture became classics even in manuscript. Cooperation between elites and architects centered on military engineering and the study of ancient technical texts, works that promised the secrets of recreating the splendid world of the ancients. The duke of Urbino, Federigo Montefeltro (1422–1482), himself tried to aid Francesco di Giorgio in a translation of *De architectura* by the Roman architect Vitruvius. Alberti had given up making sense of this text, but the first editions came from practicing architects: Fra Giovanni Giocondo da Verona's (c. 1433–1515) Latin text of 1511, and Cesare Cesariano's vernacular edition in 1521. Other texts considered clues to ancient marvels of engineering were also routed to prominent architects and painters by their patrons. Texts of Archimedes, the hydraulics of Hero, and the mechanical collections of Pappus were books examined by scholars of both elite and artisanal status.

By the end of the sixteenth century, mathematicians such as Federico Commandino (1509–1575) and Guidobaldo del Monte (1545–1607) had developed their own elaboration of a classical rational mechanics. This work remained rooted to the world of the mechanic, but began to address a new sort of

engineering professional that was just then beginning to emerge.

NATURAL MAGIC AND ALCHEMY

No easy category existed during the late Renaissance in which to place figures who performed technological feats. The Syracusan Archimedes (c. 287–212 B.C.E.), for example, was famous as the maker of a wooden bird that flew all by itself, and as the engineer whose special mirrors burned Roman ships in the harbor—both accomplishments that early modern engineers attempted to recreate well into the eighteenth century. In the language of Renaissance Neoplatonism, the term *magus* often served best to characterize such figures. The magus was figured as a wise man whose knowledge of occult (hidden) natural properties allowed him to unleash operative forces and create amazing effects. Scholars of magic—among the most learned of the age—developed a doxography that linked magical, philosophical, and religious figures in historical progressions: from the legendary Egyptian magus Hermes Trismegistus, to Moses, to Pythagoras, to Platonic and Aristotelian philosophers, to Ptolemy as a judicial astrologer, and thence to the Hellenistic mathematician and reputed engineer Archimedes.

Meanwhile engineers themselves, military engineering writers such as Conrad Keyser (1366–1405) and Giovanni da Fontana (1395?–1455?), had cultivated a mixture of technology and magic. “Natural magic” pointed to the operative power inherent in technology, and offered a framework outside that of Aristotelian causality. By the turn of the seventeenth century, discussions of technology often adopted the name “magic” as “the practical part of natural philosophy.” Influential writers such as Tommaso Campanella (1568–1639) and Giambattista della Porta (1535?–1615) continued to configure technological work as natural magic. Della Porta in particular had himself demonstrated success experimenting with lenses and was a key member of the Accademia dei Lincei before Galileo, with his mathematical-philosophical approach to technology, gained center stage among the academicians. In England the connection remained intact through Robert Fludd (1574–1637), whose work explicitly drew together mechanical technologies and divinatory arts within a mystical Christian framework. The work of John Wilkins (1614–

1672) is a late echo of the connection between mathematics, technology, and magic. His compendium of the most current work in rational and practical mechanics was entitled *Mathematical Magic*, but the “magic” was completely removed from occult overtones, and merely captured the transformative power of technology.

Another tradition of natural magic ran from Hermes to alchemical thinkers such as the medieval Islamic alchemist Geber and the learned friar Roger Bacon (c. 1220–1292). Alchemy was a repository of knowledge for a variety of distillation and metallurgical techniques. Before a more rationalized nomenclature could be instituted, alchemical lore was often veiled in occult language and bizarre images. Alchemy enjoyed something of a vogue in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and occupied some of the finest minds of the age, including the twenty-year concentrated studies of Isaac Newton (1642–1727). Alchemy consisted of distillation and metallurgical techniques, and created seemingly new substances through the combination and heating of reagents. These practices were often conceived within a theory of metals and a religious-spiritual view of nature and human labor. Probably due to the shapes of mineral veins, metals were believed to grow inside the earth; over long periods of time all metal would mature into gold. Alchemy was the art and labor by which nature could be hastened and perfected. While alchemists did indeed believe it was possible to turn base metals into gold, the operations of alchemy also provided both consumable products and an observable, experimental analog to the processes of nature. Metallurgists utilized the literature and techniques of alchemy, and Paracelsus (Philippus Aureolus Theophrastus Bombastus von Hohenheim, 1493–1541) developed a chemical medicine and alchemical view of nature that found numerous followers throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

BACONIANS AND THE DIRECTION OF PROGRESS

Francis Bacon (1561–1626) spent much of his forced retirement from politics writing on a reform of knowledge that would account for and extend the success of technological traditions but avoid the drawbacks of its current practices. His *Novum Organum* (1620; New organon) detailed both criti-

cisms of the current state of knowledge and remedies. Bacon advocated the redirection of philosophy away from erudition and logical terminology, toward experience and the advancement of material wealth. Mechanics, mathematicians, physicians, alchemists, and magicians, Bacon noted, had hands-on knowledge of nature, “but all [have met with] faint success.” Bacon had patience neither to wait for the happenstance of a lucky discovery or invention, nor to suffer the “fanciful philosophy” advanced by alchemists and others who presumed too much based on a narrow base of technical knowledge. “Knowledge and human power are synonymous,” he proclaimed. While he advocated a program of experimentation, he was decidedly more articulate about a more descriptive collection of facts from the natural and technological worlds. For example, from a “history of trades” that would chart information from all manner of tradesmen, the philosopher would draw out axioms of principal import. The axioms could then be used to organize and further the trades.

Bacon’s program, with the approach of the 1640 Puritan Revolution, appeared to some to offer the prospect of a “new Albion,” an Edenic England created through technology in a great reform of religion, mind, and social organization. Samuel Hartlib (c. 1600–1662), for example, worked toward such a vision. Hartlib was in fact central to the circle of men who later founded the Royal Society.

The Royal Society, founded on explicitly Baconian inspiration, at first tried to fulfill the role of collectors of histories of trades. While this project was not successful, the society often centered around the experiments made by its curator. Information on mines, machines, and other technological news was assiduously collected along with accounts from physicians, mathematicians, and naturalists, and was printed in the *Philosophical Transactions*. Exhaustive histories of trades were finally realized at the end of the eighteenth century in France. The overt Baconians Denis Diderot (1713–1784) and Jean Le Rond d’Alembert (1717–1783) and the more staid Académie des Sciences both produced encyclopedias of arts and trades in the decades before the French Revolution.

TECHNOLOGIES FOR SCIENCE; SCIENCE FOR TECHNOLOGIES

While Bacon had fully recognized the mutual relationship between the reform of natural philosophy and the progress of the arts, he had paid relatively little attention to the technologies that were themselves transforming the practices of science. While mechanics, architects, and craftsmen had always used mathematical measuring instruments in their work, and these themselves underwent great refinement in the sixteenth century, the new scientific instruments of the seventeenth century—the telescope, microscope, air pump, and to a lesser degree thermometers and barometers—depended on technologies and offered possibilities on a whole new level. The telescope and the microscope extended human vision enormously and produced experiential evidence in debates such as that over the Copernican hypothesis. The air pump, as it was developed by Robert Boyle (1627–1691) and his mechanic-client, Robert Hooke (1635–1703), consisted of a ratchet and piston system that could evacuate a glass receiver one cylinder-volume at a time. This served as a stage of observation for an artificial environment of evacuated air and allowed Boyle to make claims concerning the nature of the tiniest units of matter. This was a sort of instrument that had never been used in natural philosophy before. Such instruments were difficult to get to work dependably, and often relied on the skills of a mechanic like Robert Hooke.

Meanwhile, both elite and practical mathematicians developed mathematical skills that were meant to aid the design of ever more complicated technical tasks. Vernacular editions of Euclid had been available since Niccolò Tartaglia's (1499–1557) 1543 Italian edition. Above all, these editions spread and popularized geometrical proportioning techniques. Simultaneously, in the early seventeenth century the Scottish nobleman John Napier (1550–1617) and the Swiss watchmaker Joost Bürgi (1552–1632) developed logarithms that would make trigonometrical computations much easier. Napier in particular drew explicit attention to the ways logarithms would ease tasks in military engineering and survey. Napier also employed the decimal notation developed by the Dutch engineer and counselor to Maurice of Nassau (1567–1625), Simon Stevin (1548–1620). Decimal notation eased work with fractions. Proportional compasses and calculating sectors also

eased practical calculations. The foundations of algebraic analysis were meanwhile made by Pierre de Fermat (1601–1665), and a century later the use of analysis became essential to the cadets of France's technical institutes, and made possible a new style of engineering. Meanwhile, projective geometry, always to some extent a tool of architects and engineers, had been highly developed and integrated into perspective by Gérard Desargues (1591–1661). Descriptive geometry was institutionalized in technical drawing, again at the French *écoles*, by Gaspard Monge (1746–1818).

PROJECTORS, ARTIFICERS, AND THEIR PATRONS

In his fable of the ideal technological and moral society, the *New Atlantis* (1627), Francis Bacon had presented a kind of intellectual mirror opposite of mercantilist programs. In his imaginary Benthalem, technological secrets were constantly imported by explorers and developed by technicians; no technologies, however, would be exported to other nations. This speaks both to concerns about industrial espionage and difficulties caused by undeveloped patent laws that infected all states in Europe. It also indicates some of the enthusiasm political and cultural leaders had in the wholesale collection of technical knowledge, and their reliance on mechanical workers to feed their interests.

European rulers had long tried to prohibit the export of technologies on which their economies depended. Venice, for example, forced glassmakers to swear they would not take their art outside of the city's dominion. The importance of technological transference through the migration of skilled persons is most forcefully demonstrated in the case of Lucca's silk-throwing machine, the *filotoio*. Anyone carrying knowledge of this machine outside the confines of the city was threatened with death. Meanwhile, a design of the machine had been publicly available for years in Vittorio Zonca's *Novo Teatro di Machine et Edificii* (1607). It was not until the eighteenth-century industrial spy John Lombe spent two years studying the machine in Italy that the machine could be reproduced and operated.

Semi-itinerant mechanics often haunted baroque courts. Mechanics such as Dutch-born Cornelis Drebbel (1572–1633) attracted attention

in England (and for a short time in Prague) with perpetual motion machines, inventive skills for such devices as diving bells, and technical know-how for such major works as the draining of fens. As a projector in various German courts, the alchemist and mechanic Johann Joachim Becher (1635–1682) rose to something of a patron himself. He solicited secrets from a range of artificers, and probably used his alchemical skills to advertise his ideas for a new political economy based on trade and technology rather than agriculture. Numerous enthusiasts and scientific gentlemen cultivated relationships with their own artificers to construct machines.

CLOCKS AND WATCHES

The first town clocks were constructed in the Middle Ages, usually as way of letting workmen know when shifts should change in new textile factories. While watchmakers themselves continually refined methods of gear-cutting throughout the period, scientists dramatically innovated clocks in the mid-seventeenth century. Clocks became more accurate and more convenient and promised a solution to the problem of determining longitude at sea—one of the most long-standing obstacles to navigation—as well as offering advantages to positional astronomy. If one could accurately keep track of the time of the home port and local time, longitude could easily be calculated. In 1656, the Dutch scientist Christiaan Huygens (1629–1695) designed a clock using a pendulum oscillator with a tautochronic, one-second period. The pendulum clock, however, proved inappropriate for the pitching deck of a ship. In the mid 1660s, Huygens turned to oscillators formed of a spiral hair spring—just as Robert Hooke was also investigating the use of a hair spring. This gave rise to a bitter, ultimately unresolved controversy over patents. However, neither watch proved accurate enough to serve the purposes of a marine chronometer. The government prize for the solution of the longitude problem, £20,000, was finally awarded in 1765 after the Yorkshire watchmaker John Harrison (1693–1776) improved accuracy through advances in workmanship rather than design.

AUTOMATONS AND POPULAR DEMONSTRATIONS

In the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, mechanical devices for delight had largely been cul-

tivated in personal collections and gardens. Self-moving statues, ingenious fountains, and hydraulic devices designed by architects like Salomon de Caus (1576–1626) delighted visitors. Mechanical marvels were often placed next to exotic naturalia and antiquities. In the eighteenth century, automatons, such as those designed by Jacques de Vaucanson (1709–1782), were exhibited in shows and fairs.

More serious forms of enlightened infotainment were provided by popularizers of Isaac Newton's work. Jean Theophilus Desaguliers (1683–1744), for example, offered ten-week courses at a cost of two guineas a head. Demonstrators of "Newtonian" devices showed their wares from town to town. The abbé Jean-Antoine Nollet (1700–1770) made presentations of the new physics, and was a favorite in French salons. These popular mechanical demonstrations and lectures were probably one of the best venues in which to learn about applied mechanics. The automatons and demonstration devices, however, belonged to a larger cultural context in which machinery powered more tasks, and automation of labor was becoming more prevalent.

MILLS: AGE OF WATER AND WOOD

If the nineteenth century was predominantly an age of coal and iron, the preceding centuries were largely characterized by water and wood. The vertical water wheel and the windmill were both imported to the Latin West in the Middle Ages. By 1450, these sources of power were already applied to brewing, hemp production, fulling, ore stamping, tanning, sawmills, blast furnaces, paper production, and mine pumping. Their use and development continued throughout the early modern period. The principle of translating circular wheel motion into other forms of translational motion was also applied through human or animal labor. Concern for milling and water-lifting machines is testified by the printed machine books of Agostino Ramelli (1531–c. 1600), Jacques Besson (1540–1576), and Vittorio Zonca (born c. 1580). These books present the intricate connection of wheels, gears, cams, and winches. Concurrent with the pressing need for machines to power manufactories was the need for machines that could pump or raise water. The latter were everywhere employed for

drinking-water, for evacuating deep mines, for draining swamps, and for building canals.

The Netherlands, not surprisingly, led Europe in these technologies, both because of the superabundance of water and the need to drain the land and dredge ports. Because prevailing westerlies dependably blow over its lands, the Dutch also perfected windmills. Top sails could be rotated (either because mounted on a rotating cap or because the bottom of the tower could be rotated on wheels) to face wind. The *Wimpolen* drove bucket chains that drained water from the soil, then dumped it into the canals, and was part of land reclamation projects. Dutch experts in water reclamation and water wheel machinery were in high demand throughout the seventeenth century.

The main drawback of these early modern machines was that they were made of wood. By the late sixteenth century, Europe had been largely deforested, and wood became increasingly expensive. Wood also was a material in which precision tooling was limited, and which broke easily and required much maintenance.

TEXTILES

Textiles were among the first products to be produced on a large scale through division of labor and mechanization. Important textile manufactories were well established in Italy and the Netherlands by the thirteenth century. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, modest mechanized advances in ribbon weaving were introduced. In the 1730s, John Kay's (1704–1764) “flying shuttle” made weaving much faster and allowed broader cloth. This invention was soon followed by methods that mechanized jacquard weaving and repetitive pattern weaving.

Increased speed in weaving put heavier demands on the spinning of the yarns. Richard Arkwright (1732–1792) became one of the richest men in late-eighteenth-century England by mechanizing the spinning process of newly exploitable cotton imports. Arkwright's “waterframe” managed to imitate the touch of spinning and drawing out yarns by hand. Cotton fibers were drawn along through three pairs of rollers, each pair spinning at an increasingly faster rate. Arkwright began a spinning mill powering his invention with one horse in 1769, but established a water-powered mill only two years

later. He continued to mechanize the industry with carding machines and a drawing frame.

MINING, METALLURGY, AND THE STEAM ENGINE

With a demand for more intensive mining, and often entrepreneurial investment, sixteenth-century mining employed a vast array of machines and techniques, including the first form of the railroad. These were detailed in the elaborately illustrated volume *De Re Metallica* by the humanist Georgius Agricola (1494–1555). Deep ore deposits required pumps to evacuate water; the ore had to be raised; it was then roasted to make crushing easier. By the sixteenth century, most crushing was done by power-driven stamping mills. Ores were then fired in a blast furnace to extract the metals, and finally refined through a variety of metallurgical techniques, depending on the metals present.

The blast furnace was introduced by the beginning of the sixteenth century, and adopted across Europe. It was larger than its predecessor and required mechanical power to work the large bellows that provided the “blast” of hot air across the smelting metals. The furnace also had to be kept going around the clock. These alterations meant that blast furnaces needed to be built where there were plentiful supplies of water to run the water wheel, timber to make charcoal and fuel the furnace, plentiful labor, and exploitable ores. The blast furnace also made possible a new product: cast iron. While cast iron, particularly English cast iron, had a use in the making of ordnance, most cast iron was formed into wrought iron in a secondary process.

The iron trade was freed from the expense of charcoal fuel and the necessity and drawbacks of water-driven wheels in the mid-eighteenth century by the innovations of Henry Cort (1740–1800) and James Watt (1736–1819). Henry Cort developed a new style of furnace that made possible the use of coal in smelting iron by designing a way in which the sulfurous coke was kept out of direct contact with the metal. Watt improved the Newcomen steam engine used in mine drainage so that it was far more powerful. Thomas Newcomen's (1663–1729) steam engine was itself a variation of a philosophical curiosity invented by the mechanic Denis Papin (1647–1712?). The principle of both was to raise a piston in a cylinder by forcing it up with

steam, then allowing condensation to create a vacuum so that atmospheric pressure would push the piston down. Watt added a separate condenser and a steam jacket around the cylinder, thus creating a far more rapid and powerful engine. Watt's steam engine was later adapted for use in many other manufacturing, notably in textile and brass production, and made possible many new technologies. By the end of the eighteenth century, an average furnace consumed at least 2,000 tons of coke, processed 3,000 to 4,000 tons of iron ore, and produced 1,000 tons of iron per year.

ENGINEERS, ENTREPRENEURS, AND ENLIGHTENMENT

As a generalization, one might say that the Renaissance gave rise to the great Italian architect-engineers; the baroque hailed the itinerant skilled mechanic from German and Dutch lands; and the Enlightenment saw the development of the highly trained French engineer and fostered the activities of the English entrepreneurial engineer.

By the end of the seventeenth century, Edmond Halley (1656–1742), otherwise beholden to various patronage networks and government service, set up his own ship-salvaging firm based on his innovative diving bell and diving suit. James Watt was one of the most successful (in part due to his association with Matthew Boulton [1728–1809]) and prominent of a number of engineers and inventors whose businesses flourished in eighteenth-century England. His association with the Birmingham “Lunar Society” is also instructive: a group composed of Watt, Boulton, the ceramics manufacturer Josiah Wedgwood (1730–1795), the botanist Erasmus Darwin (1731–1802), chemists James Keir (1735–1820) and Joseph Priestley (1733–1804), among others. These men saw the power of the connection between science and industry, and its possibilities for the improvement of society. They themselves had become engineers, curators of craftsmen, and scientists in eighteenth-century England's free mix of popular science and artisanal mechanics; however, they advocated a more rigorous scientific education for following generations. Whatever the workers in the mills, mines, and manufacturing might have thought, members of the Lunar Society saw the values and products of science and technology as those most likely to lead to the moral, intellectual, and material liberation of hu-

manity. This ideology they shared with many French Revolutionaries. Indeed, their forces were scattered in 1791 when a mob sacked the house of Priestley and others for their support of the French Revolution.

See also Academies, Learned; Alchemy; Architecture; Artisans; Cartography and Geography; Ceramics, Pottery, and Porcelain; Chronometer; Clocks and Watches; Communication, Scientific; Design; Education; Engineering; Enlightenment; Firearms; Guilds; Industrial Revolution; Industry; Libraries; Magic; Medicine; Monopoly; Nature; Optics; Physics; Printing and Publishing; Scientific Instruments; Scientific Method; Scientific Revolution; Shipbuilding and Navigation; Textile Industry.

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MARY HENNINGER-VOSS



Teresa of Ávila. Sixteenth-century gouache portrait. THE ART ARCHIVE/CARMELITE COLLECTION CLAMART/DAGLI ORTI

TELESCOPE. *See* Scientific Instruments.

TERESA OF ÁVILA (1515–1582), founder of the Discalced Carmelites and a patron saint of Spain. Teresa of Ávila was born Teresa de Cepeda y Ahumada in Ávila, Spain, to Beatriz de Ahumada and Alonso Sánchez de Cepeda. Her mother came from an Old Christian family with a small estate in Gotarrendura, a village near Ávila. Her paternal grandfather, once a prosperous textile merchant in Toledo, moved to Ávila after the Inquisition convicted him of Judaizing, or practicing the Jewish religion or customs after having converted to Christianity, and sentenced him to a humiliating public ritual of penitence that usually resulted in loss of social reputation and business failure. In Ávila, Teresa's grandfather and his sons employed legal and financial routes to establish their right to the privileges of gentlemen, including a tacit agreement to overlook their genealogy. Teresa's contemporaries would have known of her *converso* heritage, but it was not publicly acknowledged until 1946. Teresa was the third child and first daughter born to Alonso and Beatriz, whose ten children joined two surviving offspring from Alonso's first marriage.

Teresa came to her career as a religious reformer relatively late in life. She joined the Carmelite Convent of the Incarnation just outside Ávila in 1535 and took vows in 1536 as Teresa of Jesus. In the *Book of Her Life* (1562–1565) she wrote that she withheld her wholehearted consent to the vocation until 1556, when she had two spiritual experiences that definitively turned her away from secular life. For these twenty years of irresolution, during which she suffered serious illnesses and experienced frightening visions that some confessors attributed to the devil, Teresa blamed the mitigated or relaxed rule in Carmelite convents, which among other liberties permitted nuns to come and go freely and to receive unlimited visitors. In condemning such lapses in monastic enclosure, Teresa participated in sixteenth-century movements to reform the Roman Catholic Church from within, or the Counter-Reformation. In 1560 Philip II (ruled 1556–1598) called on Spanish monasteries to contribute to his war against the Protestant Reformation by intensifying religious discipline.

On 24 August 1562 a house in Ávila was consecrated as the Convent of Saint Joseph under a constitution Teresa based on the 1247 formulation of Carmelite rule requiring strict asceticism and complete poverty. For the austere dress Teresa designed—habits of coarse fabrics and straw sandals—initiates were labeled Discalced (Barefoot) Carmelites. The new convent faced immediate threats to its existence. Some church officials considered that Teresa, known to practice a spirituality based on contemplation, might lead her nuns to abandon vocal prayer for mental prayer, which threatened both ecclesiastical authority and ecclesiastical income. Municipal officials of Ávila brought a lawsuit that was probably motivated by concern that a convent without an endowment could become dependent on civic financial resources.

Teresa's project of religious reform brought her allies as well as enemies in the church, monastic orders, and aristocracy. Giovanni Battista Rossi (1507–1578), the Carmelite prior general from Rome, found Saint Joseph's so impressive on his 1567 supervisory visit that he gave Teresa permission to found monasteries throughout Spain, with the explicit exception of Andalusia. Having secured this credential, Teresa began her travels around Spain in horse-drawn wagons. She eventually founded fifteen convents and monasteries herself and authorized other Discalced Carmelites to found two more. Teresa garnered much of her financial support and numerous recruits from *converso* families, who found most monastic orders, including the Carmelites after 1566, closed to them.

Teresa also continued to provoke controversy. Rossi eventually had to reprimand her for making foundations in Andalusia at Beas and Seville. By late 1575 the Inquisition was investigating her on several charges, and Carmelite officials had divested her of all leadership roles and had ordered her to stay in a Castilian convent. She probably owed permission to make more foundations, which came with the 1580 recognition of the Discalced as a separate province, to aristocratic friends holding high church and state positions.

Around 1562, Teresa began writing prolifically, both at the command of confessors and for her own purposes: first, the autobiographical *Book of Her Life* (composed 1562–1565; published 1588), fol-

lowed by the devotional instruction in *Way of Perfection* (composed 1566–1569; published 1588), descriptions of her mystical experiences in *The Interior Castle* (composed 1577; published 1588), a chronicle of the origins of the Discalced Carmelites in *The Foundations* (composed 1582; published 1610), and several short works and numerous letters.

Teresa probably would be remembered only as a charismatic reformer but for reports that her body, when exhumed nine months after her death, had not deteriorated. Stories of other miracles accumulated, and in 1591 the bishop of Salamanca initiated the process that in 1622 made her a saint. In 1970 she became the first female doctor of the church.

See also Catholic Spirituality and Mysticism; Conversos; Reformation, Catholic; Religious Orders.

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CAROLE SLADE

TEUTONIC KNIGHTS. The Teutonic Order was founded as a hospital in Acre (now 'Akko) in 1190. It became a military order in 1198 and expanded rapidly, particularly under the leadership of Hermann von Salza (1210–1239). In 1226 Frederick II's Golden Bull of Rimini granted Prussia

to the Teutonic Order and this, together with the bulls of Gregory IX in 1230, laid the basis for the order's territorial power. Wars of conquest continued throughout the thirteenth century, and by 1290 the order had subjugated both Prussia and Livonia. After the fall of Acre in 1291 and the loss of the Holy Land, the order's headquarters moved to Venice, and then in 1309 to Marienburg. During the fourteenth century the focus of warfare switched to Lithuania, ruled by Grand Duke Gediminas (ruled 1315–1341) and his successors, and the order consolidated its power, which reached its apogee under Grand Master Winrich von Kniprode (1351–1382).

Prussia became the main resort for members of the European nobility intent on continuing the crusading tradition, notably King John of Bohemia in 1329 and Henry Bolingbroke (later Henry IV of England) in 1390 and 1392. By the end of the fourteenth century, however, the order was faced with rising unrest in the towns in Prussia, while the wars against the Turks, which began in 1396, diverted the flow of crusaders away from northern Europe. The baptism of Gediminas's grandson, Jogailo, and his election as Władysław II Jagiełło of Poland (1386–1434), saw the beginning of an attack by Poland and Lithuania on the order's territorial expansionism and on the legitimacy of the concept of military orders as such. The conflict culminated in the order's decisive defeat at the battle of Grünwald (Tannenberg) in 1410. The treaty of Toruń in 1466 compelled the order to return to Poland all the land on either side of the Vistula that it had conquered since 1309 and parts of Prussia conquered since 1250, including its headquarters at Marienburg. The remnants of East Prussia were ruled from Königsberg, but the grand masters had to swear an oath of allegiance to the kings of Poland. Finally, in 1525 the Grand Master Albert of Brandenburg implemented Luther's recommendation that he should establish a secular duchy in Prussia and that the knights there should renounce their vows and marry. A Catholic remnant of the order regrouped in Franconia with a new grand master and a residence in Mergentheim.

The order survived in Livonia until 1562, but the impact of the Reformation meant the loss of much of its land and infrastructure in the empire. During the second half of the sixteenth century it

began fighting the Turks from its commanderies in eastern Austria, notably under Grand Master Archduke Maximilian of Austria (1585/1590–1618). However, the order suffered further losses in Alsace and Lorraine during the French Revolution and was abolished at the Peace of Pressburg in 1805. It was revived in Austria in 1834 and took on a charitable role, providing field hospitals and convalescent homes for soldiers until 1918. Following the collapse of the Austrian monarchy after World War I, it was recognized as a spiritual order by the Austrian state and the papacy, and it survives in that form.

See also Lithuania, Grand Duchy of, to 1569; Poland to 1569; Prussia; Religious Orders.

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TEXTILE INDUSTRY. Between 1450 and 1800, textile production was second only to agriculture in economic importance. It employed more people and produced more profit than any other manufactured product. Production and trade existed at two levels. Everywhere peasants and villagers turned locally grown wool and flax into fabric and clothing for themselves and their neighbors. The cloth they produced was of poor quality and not designed for export to distant markets. On top of this local market sat a large and lucrative luxury trade in silk, wool, linen, and (eventually) cotton fabric, the most important of which were heavy woolens. The customers for these fabrics were wealthy landowners, government and church officials, merchants, financiers, aristocrats, and master craftsmen in Europe, Asia and the Levant.

Ireland and the Baltic region supplied much of Europe's flax, although it was widely grown and available. In the sixteenth century, Venice and other Italian cities acquired silkworms and mulberry trees, and began silk manufacturing. From there, the silk industry made its way north to Holland, Zurich,

Lyon, Cologne, and Spitalfields (East London), England. At the same time, cotton thread and fabric began to arrive from India and became wildly popular.

Most important of all the textile industries was the trade in raw wool and wool fabric. Sheep raising abounded everywhere. In the fifteenth century, the best fleeces came from England. In the sixteenth century, Spanish merino sheep knocked English sheep into second place. French sheep were considered to produce the third best wool. Two types of wool fabric were produced in Europe—woolens and worsteds. Of the two, the market for woolens was by far the larger. Woolens were made from short-staple wool fibers that were swirled together before spinning. The cloth had a soft-textured appearance and feel. Worsteds were made from long-staple wool and had a harder, smoother finish. Soft woolens were considered far more desirable than the harsher worsteds and dominated the wool trade.

Turning raw wool into fabric was a long, complicated process. The sheep's fleece was sheared in one continuous piece, rolled, sacked, and sold to merchants (drapers) or clothiers or their agents. The fleeces were dirty and greasy, not uniform, and far from ready for spinning and weaving. Fleece breakers opened up the fleece and removed the large pieces of debris that were caught in it. The fleece was then pulled apart, and the wool was sorted into three or four grades. Next, the sorted wool was cleaned. Any remaining debris was removed from the fleece by beating it with sticks, and then it was washed in alternating hot and cold, soapy and clean water. Some fleeces were dyed at this point, but dyeing raw wool produced dull colors, and it was common to dye fabric after it was completed rather than when the wool was raw. Whether it was dyed or not, the fleece was now lubricated with butter or oil to make it easier to work.

After breaking, cleaning, and oiling, the wool passed into the hands of combers and carders. Their task was to convert a mass of tangled, curling wool into long, straight, smooth fibers for worsteds by combing, or into a smooth ball of short wool fibers for woolens by carding. Spinners converted the combed or carded wool into continuous lengths of yarn by pulling, twisting, and turning it into a thin, continuous thread. This was the most labor-inten-

sive part of the process. Estimates vary, but six spinners (or more) seem to have been required for every loom that was in operation. Yarn that was spun with a drop spindle was stronger than wheel-spun yarn and was used for the looms' warps. Wheel-spun yarn was wound onto bobbins and used for the weft.

Weavers usually wound their own warps and prepared their own bobbins for the loom. The best woolens were woven on broadlooms that produced fabric that was $1\frac{1}{4}$ meters wide and 22 to 23 meters long. It commonly took two men and one child (most often, probably, a boy in training) to operate a loom and weave the cloth. Once the woolen cloth was woven, it passed into the hands of fullers who cleaned and softened it by dunking it in water that contained various kinds of detergents and soaps that dissolved or absorbed the fat that had been added to the wool before it was carded or combed. Lye, stale human urine, ashes, and fuller's earth were commonly used. Fullers placed the folded cloth in a vat and trod on it with their feet, periodically removing and refolding the cloth so it would be evenly full.

After fulling, the cloth was dried, stretched, bleached, and perhaps dyed. Teaselers raised the nap by brushing the cloth with the burr of the teasel plant to impart a soft finish. It was clipped smooth by shearmen, pressed, and returned to the merchant for sale. The entire process involved twenty people (not including dyers) for each piece of cloth produced and took at least six weeks. Women worked as carders, combers, and spinners, while men performed most of the other tasks. The finer the cloth, the larger the labor force and the longer the time it took to produce it. (More finely spun yarn required more spinners, for instance). The finishing of worsteds was much simpler (they did not require fulling, teaseling or shearing, for instance), but the market for them was much smaller.

In the fifteenth century, textile manufacturing was an urban industry, controlled by wealthy merchants (drapers) who purchased raw wool, had it turned into cloth, and then sold it, often to other craftsmen who performed the final finishing steps, including dyeing and teaseling. These were capital-intensive crafts, and cloth merchants often preferred not to be involved in them. Before the seventeenth century, most English cloth was dyed and finished in Holland. In England, in addition to merchants

who only bought and sold, clothiers, themselves often master weavers, controlled a great deal of the woolen trade.

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, textile workers dominated the population of towns like Venice and Leiden. By the sixteenth century, however, merchants had discovered that they could avoid the high wages, labor shortages, and quality controls imposed by urban guilds and governments by hiring peasants to do manufacturing work in their homes. Urban merchants continued to control production, but much of the work force was spread out through the countryside. Alternately referred to as the putting-out system, cottage manufacturing, and the *Verlag* system, merchants (*Verlagers*) found they could save money (rural workers could work for less because they produced much of their own food) and increase production at the same time. Trained cottage workers could be as skilled as urban workers, but many alternated farming and manufacturing and produced goods of lesser quality. The high-end woolen trade remained important, but many merchants began to reorient their businesses away from the luxury market and toward lower-quality, lower-priced, and more rapidly produced goods.

The building of fulling mills (first mentioned in accounts c. 1000) that beat the woven cloth with hammers raised by water wheels to replace the labor-intensive hand (or foot) fulling provided another incentive for merchants to put work out into the countryside and was a major determinant of the location of woolen production. In the eighteenth century, when merchants expanded employment to increase production, many rural villages became as much, or even more, dependent on the textile industry as they were on farming. Following the lead of Franklin Mendels, historians now call this intensification of cottage industry proto-industrialization to distinguish it from its earlier, perhaps more benign, manifestation, when cottage workers toiled fewer hours and produced goods for local markets.

NEW MARKETS AND NEW FABRICS

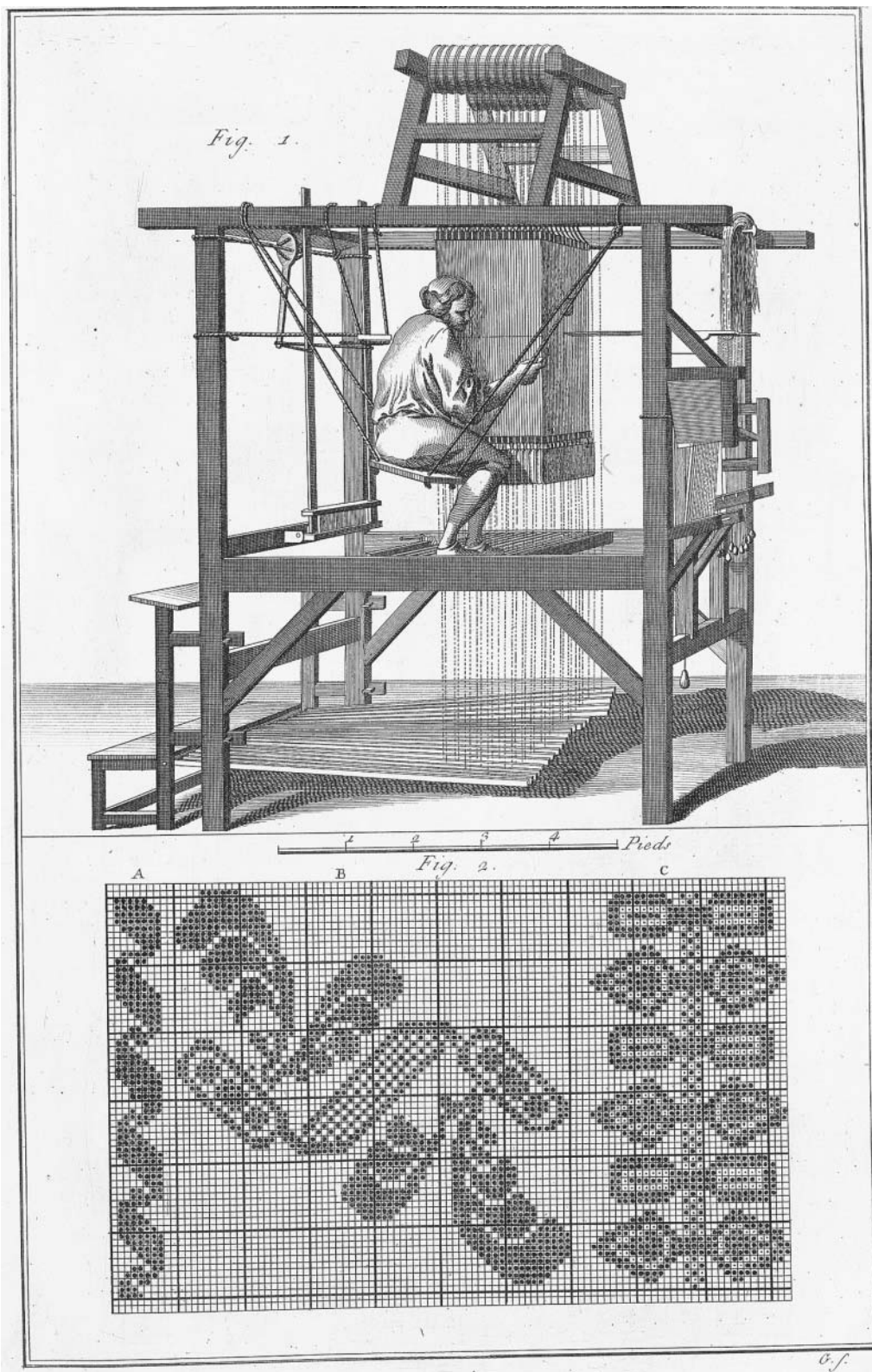
Success in the textile industry was never permanent in the early modern world, and even the seemingly most secure industrial cities could watch their predominance and control of trade decline precipitously. Survival and growth depended on a host of

factors: access to raw materials, including raw wool and chemicals for dyeing; labor supply; access to trade routes and transportation systems, including ships and overland carriages; changing political allegiances; warfare; access to water for washing and fulling; demographic growth or stagnation; consumer demand; government laws and guild regulations; entrepreneurship; and fluctuating international markets.

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, combinations of these factors inaugurated a series of important changes in the textile industry. Flanders, northern Italy, and southern Germany lost their dominance of woolen production to England, the Netherlands, and the Walloon region between the Meuse and Rhine Rivers. The woolen industries of Lille and Hondschoote disappeared rapidly. Venice, the largest producer of luxury broadcloths in the sixteenth century, saw its woolen industry wither away. One region's loss was often another's gain. England's woolen and worsted industries grew markedly with the government's decision to stop exporting wool fleeces in 1660. Leiden, adapting to a growing demand for lighter-weight fabrics, grew from a town of 12,000 in 1600 to a city of 80,000 in 1640, and then was outstripped by the nearby cities of Liège and Verviers, where labor costs were lower.

Often, the key to success was adaptability, especially in the eighteenth century. The economic downturn of the seventeenth century and changing consumer tastes had dampened demand for luxury woolens. Regions that had access to a variety of wool thread and flax or cotton began to produce "the new draperies," hybrid cloths made of both long and short staple wool (serges and says), wool and flax, wool and cotton, and cotton and flax (fustians and siamoises—that is, cotton and linen fabric produced in Normandy). Worsteds production also profited from the demand for lighter-weight cloth.

Cotton fabrics from India and the Levant arrived in Europe in the sixteenth century or earlier. By the eighteenth century, the Dutch and English East India Companies began to import substantial amounts of pure cotton cloth (calicoes) from India and the Levant to Europe. To protect the woolen industry, England forbade the importation of pure cotton cloth in 1700. Other countries followed suit.



Textile Industry. An illustration of a loom for making passementerie lace and a template for a lace pattern, from the *Encyclopédie*, 1751–1772. Lace became popular in the mid-sixteenth century; by the mid-seventeenth century it was being produced commercially and was a particularly important textile product in several regions of France. THE ART ARCHIVE/DAGLI ORTI (A)

Raw cotton and cotton thread continued to arrive, however, imported not only from the Middle East and India, but also, beginning in the early eighteenth century, from the West Indies. The woolen industry remained the largest of the textile industries throughout the eighteenth century, but the market for cotton and linen fabric grew as fast as or faster than the supply of raw cotton. (Europeans were unable to spin cotton thread that was strong enough for warp threads until the introduction of the spinning frame in the 1770s.) The markets for these hybrid cloths of relatively modest quality were substantially different from those for woolen broadcloths. Many cloths were sent to Africa; others were purchased by European peasants, farmers, and urban workers. In both cases, the more brightly colored the cloth, the more it resembled the illegal calicoes and the more popular it was.

In English and Continental cities, woolen and worsted production continued to increase in the eighteenth century, despite the competition of the new draperies. In England this growth was fostered by the creation of urban cloth halls where the clothiers who oversaw the manufacturing of cloth sold their wares to merchants who, in turn, oversaw the finishing, transportation, and marketing of them. The most dynamic sector of the textile industry, however, was in cotton. The supply of raw cotton was far more elastic than the supply of wool and hence less expensive to purchase even though it had to be imported from Asia or the Western Hemisphere. The bulk of the heretofore untapped markets for European textiles lay in warm or temperate zones with hot summers—North America, Africa, south and east Asia, and the West Indies, where lightweight cloths were clearly more desired than heavy woolens.

NEW TECHNOLOGIES

As the eighteenth century progressed, the invention of machines designed primarily to increase both the quantity and quality of cotton yarn made the manufacture of pure cotton fabric possible. Textile machines were not new in the eighteenth century. In 1598 William Lee invented a stocking frame for knitting. By the end of the seventeenth century, it had all but eliminated hand knitting. In 1604 William Dircxz van Sonnevelt invented a ribbon frame that allowed one person to weave twelve ribbons at

a time, and in the 1600s, Italians invented a machine for throwing silk that revolutionized silk manufacturing. At considerable risk, the plans for these machines were smuggled into England in 1717. Not all machines were immediately successful. John Kay's flying shuttle (1733) was slow to catch on because it speeded up weaving, which already consumed yarn faster than women could spin it. John Wyatt's and Lewis Paul's spinning frame (1738) was equally unsuccessful, but by mid-century the cultural climate was ready for innovation. The carding machines invented by Paul and others in the 1750s, James Hargreave's jenny (1765), Richard Arkwright's spinning frame (1769) (also known as the water frame), and Samuel Crompton's mule (1779) made it possible to produce stronger and finer cotton thread than ever before. With machinery came factories and the growth of cotton cities. Between 1760 and 1830, for instance, the population of Manchester, England, increased from 17,000 to 180,000. Edmund Cartwright devised a power loom in the 1780s, but its advantages over hand weaving were slight, and adoption of mechanical weaving came much more slowly than the adoption of mechanical carding and spinning. Finishing processes were also transformed. Chemicals replaced the sun as bleaching agents (sulfuric acid in 1756; chlorine in the 1790s) and cylinder printing replaced the old block press (1783).

Almost all of these machines were invented for the cotton trade, but they could be and were adapted for use in the production of wool fabric. Worsteds adapted more easily to the new technology than woolens did. The spinning frame was used to spin long-staple wool for worsteds. Short-staple wool used in woolens was more fragile and much more difficult to spin by machine, although it, too, was being spun by jennies by the 1780s. The same was true of mechanical weaving when it spread in the nineteenth century. Stronger threads made it easier to weave worsteds than woolens.

At the end of the eighteenth century, the textile industries of Europe were moving rapidly into the industrial era. The era of cotton had begun; worsteds were outpacing woolens; factory production was returning manufacturing to the cities; and markets had expanded well beyond the luxury trade of the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries.

See also **Capitalism; Clothing; Commerce and Markets; Enclosure; Industrial Revolution; Industry; Proto-Industry.**

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GAY L. GULLICKSON

THEATER. See **Drama.**

THEOLOGY. The common impression that the theological climate of late medieval and early modern Europe was monolithic is far from the reality. On the eve of the Renaissance and Reformation, theology was marked by a pluralism that created a state of ambiguity. The various theological schools of the day—nominalism, Scotism, Thomism, Augustinianism, Franciscanism, humanism, and

others—vied for influence and dominance. On many levels, the differences among these schools were minimal, while on others they were profound, resulting in significant disagreements over church teaching.

As the changes of Renaissance society began to take hold, the theological approach of the Middle Ages no longer met the needs of the times and the spiritual longings of the people. The spirit of renewal that characterized the Renaissance called for an adaptation of traditional teaching, an appreciation of the historical context in the study of the Scriptures and the church fathers, and the application of the Gospel to the personal needs of the faithful. Scholasticism, which sought to bridge the gap between faith and reason by bringing reason to bear on theological matters, seemed to many in the Renaissance to be out of touch with contemporary realities. As Scholasticism immersed itself in dialectical speculations, it became more irrelevant, failing to move individuals to a more genuine living out of their Christian commitment. It was Scholasticism’s orientation toward the abstract that drew the criticism of Renaissance thinkers such as Francesco Petrarch (1304–1374) and Desiderius Erasmus (1466?–1536), who proposed the “New Learning” associated with humanism as a means of revitalizing theology. For Erasmus, learning was to lead to virtue, scholarship to God, and thus, the restoration of theology was to be the means toward the revival of a living and lived Christianity.

THOMISTIC REVIVAL

Besides the humanist critique, Scholasticism also came under assault by the Protestant reformers. The *Summa Theologica* of Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274) was criticized for its treatment of Aristotle and the Holy Scriptures. Ironically, the polemical engagement with Scholasticism that came to characterize the Renaissance and the Reformation resulted in a rehabilitation of Thomism itself. Leading this rebirth of Thomism was the Dominican Jean Capréolus (c. 1380–1444), whose defense of the theology of Thomas sparked a new interest in his thought in the late fifteenth century. More important for this revival of Thomism was the work of another Dominican, Tommaso de Vio (1469–1534), known as Cajetan. Between 1507 and 1520 Cajetan wrote what was to become an extremely

influential commentary on the *Summa Theologica* of Thomas, which exhibited a refreshing originality.

Thomism received a powerful stimulus and a wide dissemination from the Salamanca School, especially with the work of the Spanish Dominican Francisco de Vitoria (1486?–1546), who based his teaching largely on the *Summa Theologica*. Vitoria evolved his own method by considering questions rather than particular sayings of the *Summa Theologica*, initiating a new school of Thomistic thought. The popularity of his lectures and conferences allowed him to have far-reaching influence.

The new Scholasticism that resulted from the revival of Thomism sought, like its medieval counterpart, to reconcile faith and reason. But, unlike the abstractions and speculations of late medieval Scholasticism, it sought a theology that was simpler, clearer, and more relevant to the lives of people. In many ways it was more practical as it reexamined the method of theological proof, confronted the issues raised by the reformers, sought answers to the ethical issues raised by the colonization of the New World, and emphasized popular religious instruction and preaching. By the middle of the sixteenth century, Thomism seemed to have triumphed over other theological schools. Not only did Thomists dominate the Spanish universities, but at the Council of Trent (1545–1563), Thomism was clearly in ascendancy. Many of the Tridentine decrees reflected the teaching of Thomas, as did the Roman catechism and the theological manuals used by the seminaries. Many of the new religious orders of the period, especially the Society of Jesus, declared Thomas to be their official teacher. The constitutions of the society legislated Thomas, along with the Bible, as the basic text in theology. Given this Thomistic emphasis within the Society of Jesus, many of the leading Thomists of the late sixteenth-century were Jesuits—Robert Bellarmine (1542–1621), Francisco de Toledo (1515–1582), and Francisco Suárez (1548–1617). The climax of this Thomistic revival came with the declaration of Thomas as a “Doctor of the Church” by Pope Pius V in 1567.

DOGMATIC THEOLOGY

Humanism’s critique of Scholasticism along with its desire for a scripturally based theology led to the development of dogmatic theology as a distinct

theological discipline. The major figure in this development was the Dominican theologian Melchior Cano (1509–1560). In his *De Locis Theologicis* (1563), he put forth the essential role of what he called *auctoritates* (‘positive sources’) in the work of theology—Scripture, the church fathers, and the councils. He demonstrated that theology took its principles from these sources. Thus, the quality of the conclusions in theology was determined by the quality and certitude of these sources. Cano’s work looked to formulating these sources, establishing the criteria for assessing their value, and to positing the conditions under which they best served their purpose. The work created a theological methodology that was decisive in the development of a dogmatic theology that was positive in nature.

Dogmatic theology received an important impetus from the Council of Trent, which saw the need to provide an organized body of common doctrine. This need, together with the concern for the sources and the strong sense of dogma emerging from Trent, constituted the first stage of a recognizable dogmatic theology. The first aim of such a theology was to present the actual teaching of the church together with the theological note proper to it, followed by the exposition of that teaching. Hence its aim was pedagogical.

PATRISTIC AND BIBLICAL THEOLOGY

Humanism’s call for a return to the sources opened up new possibilities for theology. The importance placed on the study of the Bible, along with the revival of the writings of the church fathers, had a significant effect on theology in the Renaissance and the Reformation. In the Scholastic approach to theology, the Scriptures had lost their centrality and were relegated to an arsenal of evidence called upon to buttress the speculative arguments of the theologians. However, for the humanists, the concern was to restore Scripture to its place of centrality from which theology itself would emerge. For this to happen, theology needed to rely not on the Latin Vulgate, but rather on the original text of the Scriptures. Erasmus, in *Education of a Christian Prince* (1516), argues that the great weapon of the Christian is the knowledge of Holy Scripture, since it is the wellspring of Christian piety. Through a return to Scripture, theology would be reformed. In turn,

this scriptural revival would lead to a reform of Christian life and society.

The recovery of the patristic sources was an equally important contribution of humanism to theology. Here again, Erasmus played a significant role. He saw the fathers as engaged in genuine theology as opposed to the theologians of the day. Their authority derived from their closeness in time as well as in spirit to the divine source, and their chief value lay in their interpreting and helping to understand the Scriptures. Moreover, the writings of the fathers instructed and inspired individuals in living a Christian life. This reflects Erasmus's understanding of theology as practical in nature, as a guide to life rather than a subject for debate, and as a matter of transformation rather than speculation. Since Erasmus saw in the church fathers a more authentic and effective transmission of the teachings of Christ, he sought to make them better known through his patristic editions.

Besides the restoration of theology, the writings of the church fathers became the arsenal for controversial theology. This form of theology, which was seen as a first step toward the renewal of Catholic theology, developed as an answer to the doctrinal novelties of the reformers. The fathers provided the necessary witnesses for those aspects of Catholicism that were being challenged by the reformers. Controversial theology set a clear line of demarcation between the Catholic faith and the teachings of the reformers. Consequently, the teaching of theology entailed discriminating the true from the false—that is, that which is Catholic from that which is heretical—in order to prepare for the battle against the adversary. Controversialists rose up not only in Germany with Johann Eck (1486–1543) and Peter Canisius (1521–1597), but also in England with John Fisher (1469–1535) and Cardinal Reginald Pole (1500–1558). The most famous of the controversialists was Robert Bellarmine, who held the chair in controversial theology at the Roman College run by the Society of Jesus. Bellarmine's method was highly influential as he surveyed the whole field of Protestant-Catholic differences. A similar approach was employed by Francisco Suárez, who also taught at the Roman College. Suárez made clear distinctions between traditional church teachings and the novelties of the reformers. Suárez, along with Bellarmine, came to symbolize the long

line of controversialists who championed the cause of the Counter-Reformation.

MYSTICAL THEOLOGY

Another offshoot of the return to the sources was the deepening of mystical theology. The renewed interest in Pseudo-Dionysius (c. 500 C.E.), along with the scriptural revival, particularly of the Old Testament, fostered the mystical theology of the Renaissance. The mystical theologian focused on those Christians who, having conquered sin and its evil inclinations, and having grown in grace, drew near to Christ and were united to him. Mystical theology was not concerned with the good or the better so much as what was the best, which consisted in intimate union with God. Thus, mystical theology emphasized conforming the human will to the will of God through the successive stages of purgation, illumination, and contemplation. Mystical theology was especially vital in the life of St. Teresa of Ávila (1515–1582) and St. John of the Cross (1542–1591).

MORAL THEOLOGY

Throughout the Middle Ages practical handbooks for confessors were always available to assist the faithful in the living out of a good life. The Thomistic revival of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was a step of considerable importance in the evolution of moral theology, which differed from its medieval counterpart. Moral theology came to be understood as the science of Christian life and action. It treated of the last end of the human person, of the morality of human acts, of natural and positive law, and of ecclesiastical sanctions within the context of theological reflection. Thus, it became a science distinct from dogmatic or speculative theology, embodied in a new literary genre, the *Institutiones morales* (Moral instructions).

Distinct from moral theology is ascetical theology, which is less concerned with the good and the evil, the licit and the illicit, the permitted and the forbidden, but is more interested in the greater and lesser good. The proper function of this branch of theology is to deal with the illuminative way.

MARTIN LUTHER (1483–1546)

Overthrowing the Scholasticism that he knew, which was mostly nominalist in orientation, Martin Luther went back to the Scriptures to rediscover the

message of salvation. Distrustful of human reason in fallen humanity, he sought to substitute for Scholastic theology a theology that was devout and scriptural. Proceeding from the authority of Augustine, Luther initiated a movement for reform of Christian doctrine and life that shattered the unity of Christendom.

The theological reformation initiated by Luther resulted from a rediscovery of God through Christ in the Scriptures. This rediscovery culminated in the twin banners of the Protestant Reformation—*sola fide* (by faith alone we receive Christ and his righteousness) and *sola scriptura* (authority resides in the Bible alone). The problem that plagued Luther was the concept of the *iustitia Dei*, which he understood as a punitive justice. In his view, God was a stern judge who weighed merit against sins. It was impossible, in Luther's mind, for sinners to stand before God in righteousness. This was the theological dilemma that culminated in the tower experience, so called because his new insight into the Gospel came to him in the tower of the Augustinian monastery in Wittenberg. The insight he gained in this experience led Luther to understand God's righteousness not as a demanding justice, rather as his mercy. The righteousness of God is no longer a demanding justice before which an individual may stand by virtue of his or her own good works and the forgiving grace of God. The righteousness of God is now primarily the grace which transforms and makes one righteous. Human activity no longer has any part in the ultimate determination of one's destiny. Grace alone enables one to stand before the righteousness of God. Humanity is righteous before God because of the atoning sacrifice of Christ. Belief in that act makes one just.

The essence of Luther's theology rested upon a different conception of the relationship between God and humanity. From his view of salvation based on faith grew most of the other doctrines of Protestantism. Good works played an important role in Luther's theology, but always as a result of faith, not the cause of it. Faith frees the individual by separating works from salvation. Once freed from the continual concern over salvation, the true believer could devote his or her life to doing good out of gratitude to God and not because it would contribute to salvation. Therefore, faith is not the end of Luther's theology, rather its beginning. From faith

grows love, the active expression of the true Christian's faith. Thus, many elements of Catholicism were rejected as unnecessary.

JOHN CALVIN (1509–1564)

The heart of John Calvin's theology, the core of which he acquired from Luther, was belief in the transcendent majesty and absolute sovereignty of God. The knowledge of God was the ultimate aim of life for Calvin. This knowledge was not an abstract knowledge, rather knowledge of God in relation to humanity; it could be acquired through creation and through Scripture. In the Scriptures we know God through Jesus and thus, Calvin understood the Bible as the only authority for our knowledge of God, which reveals all that should and can be known about Him.

However, Calvin insisted that the essence of God is inscrutable and that an infinite chasm separates the divine from the human. Due to the Fall, all humanity is corrupt and spiritually deformed. Therefore, humans are worthless in the sight of God. Yet, despite humanity's depravity, God did not abandon humans. The only mediator possible between God and humanity is Jesus. Through his atoning death on the cross, reconciliation was made possible. Through the redemptive grace of Christ and the gift of faith received from the Holy Spirit comes a spiritual union with Christ. This union brings about a regeneration or sanctification that renders the believer "born again," becoming a new creature in Christ and the inheritor of salvation. This results not from any human merit or effort but from faith in Christ.

Calvin took this idea one step further. The justifying grace of Christ is not for everyone, only for those whom God preelects. God's word germinates only in the elect, those whom he has already chosen for salvation even before their creation. Only on these individuals does Christ's redemption have any effect. The rest of humanity is predestined to perdition.

CONCLUSION

Despite the critiques launched against the church by many Renaissance humanists, most remained within the institutional framework of Catholicism. Lutheranism and Calvinism diverged from the mainstream of the Renaissance when it exaggerated the Augus-

tinian focus on the depravity of humanity and the servitude of the human will.

See also Bellarmine, Robert; Bible; Calvin, John; Calvinism; Catholicism; Catholic Spirituality and Mysticism; Church of England; Erasmus, Desiderus; Humanists and Humanism; Luther, Martin; Lutheranism; Methodism; Pietism; Reformation, Catholic; Reformation, Protestant; Scholasticism.

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FRANCESCO C. CESAREO

THIRD ESTATE. *See* Bourgeoisie; Estates-General, French.

THIRTY YEARS' WAR (1618–1648).

The Thirty Years' War was one of the greatest and longest armed contests of the early modern period. Some historians have argued that it was a series of separate wars that happened to overlap in time and space rather than one coherent sequence of military campaigns in which a clearly defined set of issues

was at stake throughout. If one looks at the Thirty Years' War in a European context, there is some truth in this argument. However, in central Europe, in particular in the Holy Roman Empire, the military and political events of the thirty years between the defenestration of Prague in May 1618 and the signing of the Westphalian peace treaties in October 1648 formed one continuous conflict and were in fact already perceived as such by most contemporaries.

THE CAUSES OF THE WAR

For the outbreak of the war the deepening crisis of the Holy Roman Empire was of crucial importance. The crisis had a constitutional and political as well as a religious dimension. The emperor's prerogatives had never been clearly defined; a ruler who knew how to exploit his considerable informal powers of patronage could enjoy a great deal of authority, but a weak monarch could easily be reduced to a mere figurehead. This was very much Rudolf II's (ruled 1576–1612) fate during the last decade of his reign. The aging emperor, who was increasingly mentally unstable, was distrusted by both Catholics and Protestants. Moreover, he had managed to antagonize his own family. The power vacuum created by the collapse of his authority enabled ambitious princes such as Maximilian I, the duke of Bavaria, or Frederick V, the elector palatine, to pursue their own agenda. Their attempts to exploit the simmering religious conflict in Germany, which found its expression in the foundation of the Protestant Union, led by the Palatinate, in 1608 and the Catholic League (*Liga*), led by Bavaria, in 1609, were bound to undermine peace and stability. Germany had in the past been largely spared the horrors of religious warfare, thanks to the Religious Peace of Augsburg (1555). However, many problems had been left unresolved in 1555, such as the status of the ecclesiastical principalities that were ruled by Protestant prince-bishops, and of ecclesiastical property confiscated and secularized after 1555. The status of the Calvinists, who almost all Catholics and many Lutherans wanted to exclude from the benefits of the peace settlement as heretics, was also controversial. Initially the Imperial Chamber Court (*Reichskammergericht*)—one of the two highest law courts in Germany—had managed to settle disputes between the religious antagonists, but from the 1580s onward it became increasingly paralyzed, and the Im-

perial Diet (*Reichstag*) equally failed to provide a forum for compromise. The confessionalization of politics, culture, and society in the later sixteenth century had in fact created a climate of all-pervasive distrust that made such a compromise almost impossible. The enthusiastic adherents of both Counter-Reformation Catholicism and the eschatological worldview that most Calvinists and some Lutherans subscribed to saw the outbreak of armed conflict in the long run as both inevitable and even to some extent desirable.

However, whereas such mental attitudes were an important ingredient in the generally belligerent atmosphere that formed a crucial precondition for the outbreak of hostilities, their more immediate cause was the confrontation between the emperor and the Estates of Bohemia and its neighboring principalities, in particular Moravia and Upper Austria. Whereas Emperor Matthias (ruled 1612–1619) and his advisers wanted to recover the ground that had been lost by the Catholic Church and the ruling dynasty alike in the preceding years of domestic crisis, the Protestant opposition emphasized the elective character of the monarchy in Bohemia and its subjection to the control of the Estates. They vigorously defended the privileges of the Protestant Church that had been confirmed and extended during the last years of Rudolf II's reign. Reacting to the relentless Counter-Reformation offensive, which had, by a combination of missionary activity, generous imperial patronage for converts, and brute force already been successful in Styria, Carinthia, and elsewhere, they decided to kill the emperor's governors in Prague in the spring of 1618 by throwing them out of the windows of the imperial palace during a meeting of the Estates. The governors miraculously survived this defenestration, but armed conflict had now become unavoidable. Soon both sides tried to find allies both in Germany and in Europe. In Spain the fall of the duke of Lerma as royal favorite in 1618 marked the victory of those factions at court that favored a more assertive and warlike policy in central Europe, whereas at the same time in the Netherlands the adherents of rigid Calvinism and of an aggressively anti-Spanish policy gained the upper hand in 1618–1619 during and after the Synod of Dort (Dordrecht). Thus a renewal of the twelve-year truce between Spain and the Netherlands that had been signed in 1609 be-

came unlikely at the very moment when the Bohemian Estates rose against the Habsburgs. A war in Bohemia and Germany was therefore bound to become part of a wider European conflict sooner or later.

THE FIRST DECADE OF THE WAR

In August 1619 the Estates of Bohemia deposed Ferdinand II, who had officially succeeded Emperor Matthias as king of Bohemia in March, and elected Frederick V, elector palatine, the leader of the Calvinists in Germany, in his stead. However, Frederick's rule was short lived. In November 1620 his army suffered a crushing defeat in the Battle of the White Mountain near Prague against the emperor's army, which had been reinforced by troops from the Bavarian-led Catholic League and by Spanish regiments. Whereas the Catholic League had decided to support Ferdinand, the Protestant Union preferred to stay neutral and was soon dissolved. In fact, some Protestant rulers, in particular John George of Saxony, openly supported the emperor. The fact that Ferdinand had managed to have himself elected emperor in the summer of 1619 gave him an authority that few German rulers dared to challenge openly for the time being. The next years were marked by an almost unbroken series of Catholic victories in central Europe. The Palatinate was occupied by Bavarian and Spanish troops in 1622, the palatine electoral dignity was transferred to Maximilian of Bavaria, and the army of the Catholic League led by Count Johann Tserclaes of Tilly threatened to dismantle the remaining Protestant strongholds in northern Germany. The troops of the Dutch Republic were too busy defending their own country to intervene in Germany. In fact, the important Dutch fortress of Breda had to surrender in 1625 to Spanish troops, a victory immortalized by Velázquez in his famous painting, *La rendición de Breda* (1634–1635; The surrender of Breda). However, King Christian IV of Denmark, who was also, as duke of Holstein, a prince of the empire and who hoped to acquire various prince-bishoprics in northern Germany for members of his family, decided to stop Tilly's advance in 1625. Hoping for financial and military support from the Netherlands and England—Charles I of England was the exiled elector palatine's brother-in-law—he mobilized the Imperial Circle (*Reichskreis*) of Lower Saxony for the Protestant cause. However, he had not antici-



pated that the emperor would raise an army of his own (counting initially 30,000 soldiers and growing fast), commanded by Albrecht von Wallenstein, a Bohemian nobleman and the greatest military entrepreneur of his age. Christian's troops were routed at Lutter am Barenberge (1626). Christian's ally Charles I of England was equally unsuccessful in his fight at sea against Spain, and France, which might have given support to the opponents of the Habsburgs, was paralyzed by a Protestant revolt during the years 1625–1628, in which England became involved in 1627. Thus Ferdinand II was able to crush his enemies. Christian had to withdraw from the conflict and signed the Peace of Lübeck in 1629, giving up his claims to several prince-bishoprics in northern Germany but retaining Holstein and Schleswig. However, Ferdinand failed to exploit his success adequately. His allies in Germany, in particular Maximilian of Bavaria, were, in fact,

increasingly apprehensive about the predominance of Habsburg power and the close cooperation between Ferdinand II and Spain. Moreover, they resented the arrogant and ruthless behavior of Ferdinand's commander-in-chief, Wallenstein, who had imposed enormous financial burdens on friend and foe alike, raising contributions for his 100,000-man army almost everywhere in Germany. Wallenstein had to resign in 1630 under pressure from Maximilian of Bavaria and other princes. Ferdinand tried to rebuild a united Catholic front in 1629 by passing the Edict of Restitution, which was designed to give all ecclesiastical property secularized since 1552/1555 back to the Roman Catholic Church. The potential consequences for Protestantism were disastrous. Protestantism was not outlawed but was likely to be reduced to the status of a barely tolerated and marginalized religious community in Germany.

FROM CATHOLIC AND HABSBERG TRIUMPH TO ABORTIVE COMPROMISE, 1629-1635

At this stage, however, the Habsburg ascendancy in Europe, successfully reasserted in the early 1620s, was seriously challenged by France and Sweden. In 1628 La Rochelle, the stronghold of the French Huguenots, had been taken by a royal army led by Louis XIII and the prime minister, Cardinal Richelieu, in person. France was now free to intervene in central Europe. Initially, however, French troops confronted Spain only in Italy (the War of the Mantuan Succession, 1628-1631). Here they defied Spanish attempts to occupy the Duchy of Mantua after the main line of the native dynasty, the Gonzaga, had died out in 1628. The emperor had sent troops to northern Italy to help Spain, but withdrew these troops in late 1630. The troops were now badly needed in Germany itself, where Gustavus II Adolphus of Sweden landed his army on the coast of Pomerania in July 1630. Sweden felt threatened by plans to build an imperial fleet in the Baltic and by Habsburg support for its old enemy Poland. Moreover, the fight for Protestantism was an essential part of the claim to legitimacy of the Swedish dynasty, the Vasas, which had won the crown in the 1590s by ousting the older, Catholic branch of the family, which continued to rule in Poland.

The Edict of Restitution had antagonized even those Protestants who had preferred to stay neutral or had in fact supported the emperor for most of the 1620s. Their last doubts were dispelled when Magdeburg, a town of great symbolic importance to Protestants (it had resisted a long siege by Catholic armies in the late 1540s) was besieged by Tilly, taken by assault, sacked, and set on fire in May 1631. Brandenburg and Saxony now joined the king of Sweden in the fight against the Catholic forces. Having lost the battle of Breitenfeld in Saxony in September 1631, Tilly retreated to southern Germany and was decisively beaten at Rain am Lech in April 1632. Even Munich was now briefly occupied by Swedish troops, and an army from Saxony evicted the imperial garrisons from Silesia and Bohemia. In despair Ferdinand II decided to recall Wallenstein to reorganize his army. In the battle of Lützen in November 1632, Gustavus Adolphus won a last victory against Wallenstein but died in action. Sweden, however, maintained its superiority for a further two years. In 1634 Spain sent a fresh army to Germany across the Alps under the com-

mand of one of Philip IV's brothers, the Cardinal Infante Ferdinand. In February Wallenstein, who was reluctant to cooperate with Spain and was suspected of treasonous dealings with the enemy, was assassinated in Eger on the emperor's orders. Together with the future Emperor Ferdinand III, the Cardinal Infante inflicted a crushing defeat on the Swedes at Nördlingen in southern Germany in September. As far as Germany was concerned, Nördlingen might have been the end of the war. Ferdinand II did not repeat the mistakes he had made in 1629 by pursuing an Ultra-Catholic policy. Instead he reached a compromise with the moderate and essentially loyal Lutherans led by Saxony. The Peace of Prague (1635) did not revoke the Edict of Restitution, but suspended it for forty years. The position of Protestantism in northern and eastern Germany was now reasonably safe once more. However, no satisfactory settlement was reached in the Palatinate, in Hesse, or, for the time being, in Württemberg. In constitutional terms the emperor's authority had been considerably strengthened. He was now officially commander-in-chief of all armed forces in the empire. The Catholic League was dissolved, and only Saxony and Bavaria continued, with the emperor's permission, to maintain armies, which remained semi-independent. This change in the constitutional balance, however, was silently resented by many German princes and duly revised in 1648. In any case the Peace of Prague was deficient because it had failed to make provision for buying off the Swedes, who still maintained troops in many parts of Germany—in particular in the north—with territorial or financial concessions. In fact, the settlement of 1635 proved abortive, as it was rejected by both Sweden and France.

THE LAST PHASE OF THE WAR AND THE ROAD TO SETTLEMENT

France was now faced by the prospect of a Spanish offensive supported by the emperor's army against the garrisons it had placed beyond its frontiers, in Lorraine, Alsace, and along the upper Rhine and Moselle rivers in the preceding years. In answer to an attack on the prince-bishop of Trier, who had become a French ally and client in 1632, Louis XIII declared war on Spain in May 1635. With the emperor's own declaration of war on France in March 1636, the war in Germany had, it seemed, finally

fused with the all-European conflict between Spain and its enemies, which had already decisively influenced events in the empire in the past. Whereas French financial subsidies helped Sweden gradually recover from the defeat of Nördlingen, Spanish resources became increasingly inadequate to finance the worldwide war effort of the monarchy in the early 1640s. Spain suffered important naval defeats against the Dutch off the English coast in 1639 (Battle of the Downs) and near Recife in Brazil in 1640. Moreover, in 1640 both Catalonia and Portugal revolted against Castilian rule in an attempt to shake off the fiscal and political burden imposed on them by warfare. Spain did not recognize Portugal's independence until 1668 and managed to reconquer Catalonia in the 1650s. Nevertheless, it was no longer able to launch major offensive operations in central Europe. Emperor Ferdinand III (ruled 1637–1657), reluctantly supported by the majority of the German princes, was now virtually on his own in his fight against both France (which had committed a major army to operations in southern Germany) and Sweden. Nevertheless, the war dragged on for another eight years.

The logistics of warfare in a country that had been utterly devastated by continuous fighting and lacked the most essential provisions proved a major obstacle to large-scale offensive operations. For this reason, victories won in battles could rarely be fully exploited. Moreover, a war between Denmark and Sweden (1643–1645) gave the emperor's army time to recover after the devastating defeat it had suffered in the second battle of Breitenfeld in November 1642. However, in March 1645 the Swedes beat the imperial army decisively at Jankov in Bohemia. Although Ferdinand III was able to buy off Sweden's ally Transylvania, which had once more, as in the 1620s, intervened in the war (supported halfheartedly by the sultan), by territorial and religious concessions in Hungary, he was now forced to come to terms with his opponents. His allies in Germany became increasingly restless and either withdrew from active participation in warfare altogether or insisted on ending the war. Reluctantly the emperor entered into negotiations with Sweden in Osnabrück and with France in neighboring Münster in autumn 1645. Against his wishes, the German princes and Estates were allowed to participate in the peace conference, sending their own

envoys to Westphalia. Partly because Ferdinand hesitated to abandon his old ally Spain, it was nevertheless three years before a settlement was reached. Peace between France and Spain proved elusive. So when the peace treaties were signed at Münster and Osnabrück on 24 October 1648, the Franco-Spanish conflict was deliberately excluded from the settlement. The treaties, known as the Peace of Westphalia, therefore failed to provide the basis for a truly European peace. The complicated legal arrangements that dealt with the various constitutional and religious problems of the Holy Roman Empire, on the other hand, proved remarkably long-lasting and stable, being invoked right up to the end of the empire in 1806.

THE NATURE AND IMPACT OF WARFARE

Most countries—the Dutch Republic, which benefited from a flourishing economy in the midst of military conflict, was probably one of the few exceptions—waged war between 1618 and 1648 with financial resources that were grossly inadequate. Some countries such as Sweden nevertheless managed to finance their armies for long periods of time primarily out of contributions raised in areas under military occupation. Others tried, with limited success, to rely on taxation. France, for example, managed to double its income from domestic revenues in the 1630s and early 1640s. However, the enormous fiscal pressure provoked a series of popular revolts in France that prevented further increases in taxation and finally led to bankruptcy and civil war in 1648–1652. Most participants in the war entrusted the raising and maintaining of troops at least to some extent to military entrepreneurs who had their own sources of income and credit, thereby complementing the insufficient resources of the state. These entrepreneurs hoped to recoup their investments and to make a profit by extorting payments, not to mention downright plunder and confiscation, from occupied provinces. The hardship this involved for the civilian population was considerable. France, however, which was reluctant to rely on military entrepreneurs because of the dangerous domestic implications of such a system, was hardly more successful in asking noblemen to pay for the units under their command partly out of their own pockets without giving them, in compensation, full legal ownership of their regiments. Spain initially had a fairly sophisticated state-controlled system of

organizing and financing warfare, but gradually more and more responsibilities such as the recruitment of soldiers were delegated to local magnates and urban corporations, and thereby decentralized. This phenomenon may be seen as a wider-ranging process of administrative refeudalization, as some historians have argued.

The often chaotic way in which armies were recruited and financed was at least in part responsible for the widespread lack of discipline among soldiers often remarked upon by contemporaries. Although some of the accounts of wartime atrocities, such as most or all tales of cannibalism, for example, have to be dismissed as unreliable, the excesses soldiers regularly committed when dealing with the local population in friendly as much as in enemy provinces were sufficient to severely disrupt civilian life. Combined with the rapid spread of infectious diseases among soldiers and civilians alike and the partial breakdown of trade, commerce, and agriculture, these effects of warfare had serious demographic consequences. This was true in particular for the Holy Roman Empire but to a lesser extent also for some areas of northern Italy and of France. In the empire population figures were reduced by at least 25 percent and possibly by up to 35 to 40 percent (about 6 million) during the course of the war. Some regions in northeastern Germany such as Pomerania and parts of Brandenburg, but also Württemberg in the southwest, had hardly more than a third of their prewar population in 1648. It took Germany almost a hundred years to recover demographically from the war. Nevertheless, older accounts that have seen the war, and also the Peace of Westphalia, as responsible for a general decline of the Holy Roman Empire and the German states no longer command widespread assent. Not only did the empire survive as a political and legal system providing reasonably effective protection and security to its members, but the rise of the Habsburg Monarchy after 1648, for example, and the flourishing baroque culture of many German courts in the later seventeenth century, show that in some areas at least the war had brought about changes that stimulated rather than stunted new growth once peace had been regained.

See also **Augsburg, Religious Peace of (1555); Bohemia; Dort, Synod of; Dutch Republic; Ferdinand II (Holy Roman Empire); Ferdinand III (Holy Roman**

Empire); France; Gustavus II Adolphus (Sweden); Habsburg Dynasty; Habsburg Territories; Holy Roman Empire; La Rochelle; Louis XIII (France); Mantuan Succession, War of the (1627-1631); Military; Netherlands, Southern; Palatinate; Richelieu, Armand-Jean du Plessis, cardinal; Rudolf II (Holy Roman Empire); Saxony; Spain; Sweden; Tilly, Johann Tserclaes of; Wallenstein, A. W. E. von; Westphalia, Peace of (1648).

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RONALD G. ASCH

THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES. See *Church of England*.

THOMASIVS, CHRISTIAN (1655–1728), German philosopher. Christian Thomasius was the leading legal theorist and university reformer in Protestant Germany during the early Enlightenment. A self-consciously controversial figure who built on the writings and influence of his mentor Samuel von Pufendorf (1632–1694), he developed a new philosophical outlook, eclecticism, which united all of his contributions to many intellectual fields. It also underpinned his high-profile assaults both on the outmoded Scholastic pedantry of German university life and on several contemporary instances of what he took to be intolerance and superstition in wider society, notably witchcraft prosecutions and the use of torture to extract confessions.

He was the son of Jakob Thomasius, himself an influential Aristotelian moral philosopher of the Altdorf School, which sought to introduce some of the ideas of Francisco Suárez (1548–1617) into German Protestant Scholasticism. Trained and educated at the Universities of Frankfurt an der Oder and Leipzig, he was a product of the intellectual synthesis between Lutheran Protestantism and Scholastic Aristotelianism, which had been brokered originally by Philipp Melancthon (1497–1560). But Thomasius broke decisively with this intellectual orthodoxy when appointed as a young *Privatdozent* at Leipzig in the 1680s: he was the first academic to regularly give lectures in German as opposed to Latin, a practice he later carried through into his published writings. He was required to leave Leipzig in 1690 and sought employment in Prussia at the newly founded University of Halle, where he went on to hold senior chairs in philosophy and law. During this transitional period he developed his "practical philosophy" and initial proposals for reform of the traditional university curriculum. In a series of works, notably *Institutiones Jurisprudentiae Divinae* (1688; Institutes of divine jurisprudence) and *Introductio ad Philosophiam Aulicam* (1688; Introduction to court or civil philosophy) he transformed the innovative epistemological insights of Samuel Pufendorf's *De Jure Naturae et Gentium* (1672; On the law of nature and of nations) into a radical separation of moral philosophy from theology.

What drove this program was not a commitment to "Enlightenment rationality," as has been argued anachronistically by some historians, but a perception that the mingling of theology and moral and political sciences within the framework of metaphysics had produced a fundamental form of institutionalized corruption that was damaging both to true religion and to healthy philosophy. Only by separating theology and ethics could religion be saved from mere dogmatism, and a useful preparatory curriculum devised that would produce the jurists, administrators, and pastors appropriate for a coherently governed and properly ordered absolutist state. Educational reform, stemming from a revision of the traditional responsibilities of the faculties of philosophy, law, and theology, would thus usher in substantial changes for ecclesiology, political responsibility, and confessional coexistence. On this

account Thomasius offered a powerful program for completing the desacralization of state forms, a process left incomplete in the political and philosophical debates that had followed the Peace of Westphalia in 1648. Yet this was undertaken not on behalf of the cause of secularization but rather so that Protestant Christianity could acquire once more a purified spiritual identity free from the accretions of “priestcraft.” True religion was to be a matter of promoting the inward relationship of the individual with Christ in the manner of the early church. At first, these convictions naturally drew Thomasius close to the contemporary doctrines of the Pietists. However, he and his followers drew back from this assimilation once it became clear that Pietism would not accept his radical reduction of the state’s right to intervene in religious affairs to the minimal level of threats to civil safety. In this respect too, Thomasius went well beyond the more conservative positions of Pufendorf.

Thomasius was considered as a thinker of weight and significance for much of the eighteenth century, and until the 1750s his views were propounded at German universities against the doctrines of Christian Wolff (1679–1754), Leibniz’s most distinguished follower. However, the restriction of the publication of many of his works to German limited his intellectual influence beyond German borders, as was not the case with Pufendorf’s Latin texts. Moreover, the antisystematic, practical, and problem-solving bias of his work left it more vulnerable to supercession once the debates of his own day had faded from the forefront of political and intellectual discussion. In sum, Thomasius can be considered as one of the first writers in Germany to place the individual at the heart of moral and legal theory, although he did not draw the same liberal consequences for political theory as were extracted elsewhere by John Locke (1632–1704) and other contemporary philosophers. In this respect, together with other thinkers in the German Enlightenment, he did not substantially shift his account of sovereignty far from that of Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679), a balance that emphasizes his transitional status between the thought-world of the baroque and the fully mature Enlightenment.

See also **Enlightenment; Melancthon, Philipp; Pietism; Universities.**

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TIMOTHY HOCHSTRASSER

3 MAY CONSTITUTION. The first Polish constitution was adopted by the Four-Year Sejm (parliament) on 3 May 1791. It was the first such basic law in written form in Europe and the second in the world after the constitution of the United States (1787). The Constitution of 3 May was drafted at the Four-Year Sejm (1788–1792) by reformers led most actively by King Stanisław II August Poniatowski, Hugo Kołłątaj, and Ignacy Potocki. The constitution was preceded by two acts regarded as integral to it: the Reorganization of the *Sejmiki* [provincial diets] Act (adopted on 24 March 1791) and the Act on the Status of Towns and Townsmen’s Rights (18 April).

In accordance with Enlightenment ideas, the Constitution and these two related documents introduced the principle of the nation’s sovereignty and the separation of the legislative, executive, and judicial powers. Landless noblemen (usually dependent on magnates) were excluded from the Sejm and the *sejmiki*, and townsmen were given the opportunity to acquire nobility through the purchase of a landed estate or by virtue of services rendered to the country or professional work. The citizens of royal towns were guaranteed personal immunity and were granted the right to purchase landed estates and hold junior official posts. The towns received the right to send their representatives to the Sejm, where they would have an advisory voice on matters concerning towns. State protection of the Jews was confirmed. The constitution maintained serfdom, but peasants were to be put under the protection of the law and the government, *inter alia* with regard to contracts concluded with landowners.

The constitution abolished the election of kings; after the death of the current king, the throne

was to be hereditary in the Saxon dynasty. Legislative power was vested in a bicameral Sejm (with a Chamber of Deputies and a Senate), which was to be responsible for legislation and taxation and would have broadly conceived control over the government as well as jurisdiction in offenses against the nation and the state. Laws were to be adopted by a majority vote; the deputies (204 plus 24 plenipotentiaries of towns) were to be elected for a term of two years. The competency of the Senate was restricted to a suspensory veto; if the Chamber of Deputies upheld its decision, the bill became law without the consent of the Senate. The role of the *sejmiki*, and indirectly also of the magnates, was restricted. The executive was strengthened: confederations (a form of legal rebellion) were banned and the *liberum veto* (the principle of unanimity that allowed a single deputy to dissolve the Sejm and invalidate its decisions or even to prevent it from assembling) was abolished.

The Council of Ministers, called the Guardians of the Laws, was to be the highest executive body. It was to be composed of the king, who had the decisive voice, the primate, and five ministers, and was to direct the central administration and supervise five commissions (ministries)—education, foreign affairs, justice, war, and treasury. The monarch was responsible to no one, while the ministers were responsible to the king and the Sejm for their policies and could be brought before the Sejm court if they broke the law—this was thus the world's first legally formulated principle of ministerial responsibility. The reform of the judiciary united the various noblemen's judicial courts into uniform collegiate country courts of first instance; courts of appeal were set up in towns. The constitution was a great step forward toward a centralized government. It laid the foundations for cooperation between landowners and rich burghers and opened possibilities for the further political and legal transformations that would be indispensable for the development of Poland's fledgling capitalism.

The Constitution of 3 May was supplemented on 20 October 1791 by the Mutual Pledge of the Two Nations, which emphasized the federal character of the state and the equal status of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Polish Kingdom. The Duchy was to have the same ministerial posts as Poland, and it retained its separate system of laws.

This was a compromise between the Lithuanians' aspiration for sovereignty and reform of the political system, on the one hand, and the tradition of union between the two states and the preservation of the Commonwealth's federal character, on the other. The constitution gained the support of the majority of the nobility, townsmen, and many magnates. In 1792 its opponents set up the Targowica confederation in defense of the old system and asked Russia to intervene militarily. The achievements of the Constitution of 3 May were canceled by the fall of the Commonwealth with the Third Partition in 1795.

See also Catherine II (Russia); Lublin, Union of (1569); Poland, Partitions of; Poland-Lithuania, Commonwealth of, 1569–1795; Poniatowski, Stanisław II Augustus.

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MARCIN KAMLER

TIEPOLO, GIOVANNI BATTISTA (1696–1770), Italian painter, master of Venetian school. Tiepolo was famous in his own lifetime as a superb painter in fresco and a brilliant draftsman. A highly inventive artist, he could create spectacular effects in difficult sites, from the narrow gallery at the patriarchal palace at Udine in the mid-1720s to the vast staircase ceiling in the Residenz at Würzburg in the early 1750s. Contemporaries recognized his spirited, dynamic approach to subject matter and his frankly sensuous manner of painting. Tiepolo is comparable in his restless energy and imaginative power to Peter Paul Rubens, and essentially he worked with a similar baroque language of myth, allegory, and history, which he infused with a sense of freshness and modernity. His approach to religious art is characterized by candor and naturalism, while he was responsive to the different concerns of patrons and viewers at a time when the church was faced with new kinds of devotion and

criticism. With the advent of neoclassicism, Tiepolo's art fell from favor: In an age that prized archaeological correctness, rationality, and ideals of improvement, his witty, Veronese-inspired conception of historical or classical subjects seemed frivolous, while his visually seductive qualities were seen as inimical to the serious intellectual aims of the new art. Nevertheless, his drawings and oil sketches continued to appeal to collectors, including Antonio Canova.

The son of a Venetian shipping merchant, Tiepolo was apprenticed in 1710 to Gregorio Lazzarini (1655–1730), an artist of international reputation patronized by prominent Venetian families. Before becoming an independent master, he worked in the household of Doge Giovanni Corner; members of the Corner family were to be his most steadfast and liberal patrons. Lazzarini encouraged his pupils to study Venetian sixteenth-century art, and Tiepolo made drawings of some famous works for publica-

tion in Domenico Lovisa's *Gran Teatro di Venezia* of 1717. His early involvement with the thriving Venetian engraving and publishing world was renewed in 1724 when he made drawings of antique sculpture as illustrations for Scipione Maffei's *Verona Illustrata*, an experience that gave Tiepolo an imaginative empathy with fragmentary antique remains, which recur in his drawings, etchings, and paintings. As well as studying the art of the past, Tiepolo looked to the tenebrism of Federico Bencovich (1677–1753) and the realism and monumentality of Giovanni Battista Piazzetta (1682–1754). In 1719 Tiepolo married Cecilia Guardi, with whom he was to have nine children. By then, the artist was working for a network of mercantile and noble patrons on religious and secular subjects.

Tiepolo's reputation was assured, however, with the success of his employment by Patriarch Dionisio Dolfin on a complicated iconographic program of fresco decoration at the patriarch's palace in



Giovanni Battista Tiepolo. Apollo and Europe, detail from the fresco cycle *Apollo and the Continents* in the main staircase at Würzburg Palace, created 1753. ©SANDRO VANNINI/CORBIS

Udine around 1725–1727; other members of the family commissioned a series of large oil paintings on martial Roman themes for the Ca'Dolfìn in Venice, painted in 1726–1729. A variety of commissions followed in the north of Italy, with fresco decoration at the Archinto and Dugnani palaces in Milan (c. 1729–1731) and at the Villa Loschi near Vicenza (1734) of particular importance, generating further commissions from Milanese and Vicentine patrons. By 1736 Tiepolo was sufficiently renowned for the Swedish ambassador in Venice to invite him to decorate the new royal palace in Stockholm. Both local and foreign clients appreciated how his distinctive qualities of lucidity, gracefulness, and spirited handling contrasted with Piazzetta's more intense and rugged style. Thus, the newly elected archbishop elector of Cologne, who visited Venice in 1734, was to commission altarpieces from both artists. Among Tiepolo's celebrated works in Venice are the frescoes of 1737–1739 at the Dominican church of S. Maria del Rosario, and those of 1743–1745 at the Discalced Carmelite church of S. Maria di Nazareth (later destroyed), together with the decoration of the grand salon at the Palazzo Labia (c. 1746–1747) with sumptuous scenes from the story of Antony and Cleopatra. Francesco Algarotti became a close friend in the early 1740s, commissioning paintings and seeking his artistic advice; they shared a passion for the art of Paolo Veronese (born Paolo Caliari). Around this time, Tiepolo worked on two series of etchings, the *Vari Capricci* and the *Scherzi di Fantasia*, which contemporaries compared to the work of Rembrandt and Giovanni Benedetto Castiglione. He ran a busy studio, with his sons Giovanni Domenico (1727–1804) and Lorenzo (1736–1776) gradually taking on important roles.

In late 1750 Tiepolo traveled to Würzburg with Domenico and Lorenzo, working over the next three years on fresco decoration at the prince-bishop's residence and on a variety of altarpieces and cabinet paintings. After his return to Venice, Tiepolo's achievements included fresco decoration at the Villa Valmarana near Vicenza in 1757, where he painted themes from epic poetry, side by side with son Domenico's enchanting genre scenes, and the large, majestic Saint Thecla altarpiece (1759) for the cathedral at Este. Invited to Madrid in 1761 to decorate the throne room of the new royal palace at

a time when he had numerous commissions in hand, Tiepolo was pressed by the Venetian government to accept. With Domenico and Lorenzo, he worked on various frescoes at the royal palace from 1762, and on religious commissions, until his death in Madrid in 1770.

See also **Baroque; Rubens, Peter Paul; Venice, Art in.**

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CATHERINE WHISTLER

TILLY, JOHANN TSERCLAES OF (1559–1632), general of the army of the Catholic League (1620–1632). Johann Tserclaes of Tilly was probably born in February 1559 (we do not know the precise date) in Brabant (in the Spanish Netherlands), the son of Martin Tserclaes and Dorothea von Schierstädt. Because his father had been involved in the uprising of the Dutch noblemen (known as the "Gueux") against the Spanish crown, he spent his early years in exile. With his brother Jacob, young Tilly attended the Jesuit College at Cologne for a brief period. He did not join the order, but became a fervent supporter for the rest of his life.

After his family reconciled with the Habsburgs, Tilly entered military service. He began as a private but soon rose to higher ranks. Having fought under Alexander Farnese, duke of Parma, against the rebellious Dutch, he went to Hungary and led an imperial regiment against the Turks. He supported Rudolf II (ruled 1576–1612) in his struggle with his brother, Archduke Matthias (who succeeded Rudolf as emperor in 1612 and ruled until 1619), but in 1610 he left Prague and entered Bavarian service. Duke Maximilian I of Bavaria made him general lieutenant—commander in chief. In the Thirty Years' War, Tilly led the army of the Catholic League, while Maximilian was its political spirit.

Although we know little about his early years, the details of Tilly's life become more accessible with the beginning of the Bohemian campaign (1620). In the 1620s his victories helped to establish the military and political dominance of the imperial-Catholic rule throughout most of the Old Reich. He won the Battle of White Mountain (at Prague, 8 November 1620), had several encounters with Ernst of Mansfeld (he lost at Wiesloch/Mingolsheim, 27 April 1622, but won at Wimpfen, 6 May 1622), crushed the army of Christian of Brunswick twice (Höchst near Frankfurt am Main, 20 June 1622, and Stadtlohn near the Dutch border, 6 August 1623), forced the Danish King Christian IV (ruled 1588–1648) to retreat (Lutter am Barenberge, 27 August 1626), and gained control of northern Germany. After A. W. E. von Wallenstein's dismissal in 1630, he took command of the imperial troops as interim general. In the Swedish campaign of 1631 he captured Magdeburg (20 May), but lost the battle of Breitenfeld against Gustavus II Adolphus (17 September). Trying to stop the Swedish invasion of Bavaria, he was defeated again at Rain am Lech (15 April 1632), where he was fatally wounded (he died at Ingolstadt on 30 April 1632).

Tilly's fame as a general derived from his successful campaigns throughout the 1620s, when he developed a unique battle-seeking strategy. The disastrous outcome of the Swedish war, however, tarnished his military reputation. Though he is normally characterized as belonging to the Spanish school (regarded as obsolete at the time) of military strategy, his failure against the Swedish cannot be adequately explained by invoking the more modern

tactics of the Swedish army. Those defeats were at least partly due to the political tensions within the Catholic party, which prevented him from executing his planned offensives.

Tilly was also blamed for the sacking and burning of Magdeburg (20 May 1631), a catastrophe that did not reflect well on his military skills. Contemporary critics held him responsible for this disaster, but modern historians have refuted this verdict, pointing out that he would never have willingly destroyed a stronghold of such importance to his forthcoming campaigns.

Tilly can be regarded as a transitional figure, balanced between the classic type of military enterpriser and the emergent type of modern officer. Along with Wallenstein, he developed into one of the most successful enterprisers to make his fortune in a time of war. For his services, Tilly was remunerated with money and property (the most important was Breitenegg, a lordship in the Upper Palatinate), and in 1623 he was made a count. In contrast to Wallenstein, he confined himself strictly to military affairs and did not try to gain political influence. He remained absolutely loyal to his prince and was willing to obey even in controversial matters. Maximilian of Bavaria, as the undisputed political leader, and Tilly, as successful military commander, formed one of the most successful teams in the Thirty Years' War.

Because he never married and remained childless, Tilly's nephew Werner von Tilly continued his line in Bavaria.

See also **Gustavus II Adolphus (Sweden); Matthias (Holy Roman Empire); Parma, Alexander Farnese, duke of; Rudolf II (Holy Roman Empire); Thirty Years' War (1618–1648); Wallenstein, A. W. E. von.**

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MICHAEL KAISER

TIME, MEASUREMENT OF. From being important in the mid-fifteenth century only to structured communities (monasteries, military camps, universities) and large-scale industrial undertakings (quarries, building sites, textile manufacturing), measured time by the late eighteenth century had become the fundamental structural element of European social life. If the incidence of time control was felt more strongly in towns and industrial units than in the country, the sonorous hour indications of village church bells nonetheless brought it even to remote agrarian regions. This extension of time control in society was paralleled by major advances in the reliability and precision of time-measuring machines, but the causal relationship between the two is complex and only beginning to be investigated.

Time measurement was available in early modern Europe through the use of shadows (sundials and moon dials), gravity (water clocks, sandglasses, weight-driven clocks), or artificial force (spring-driven clocks and watches). Sundials and waterclocks derived from antiquity, mediated by humanist scholars; weight-driven clocks were an invention of medieval craftsmen, probably in the mid-thirteenth century. Spring-driven timekeepers can be claimed as an early modern invention, a response in the mid-fifteenth century to need for a portable timekeeper comparable with pocket sundials, which, known since antiquity, multiplied from the fourteenth century onward. Sandglasses were probably invented in Europe at about the same time as weight-driven clocks, in the mid-thirteenth century. For all, the ultimate time standard was that determined by the Earth's movements in relation to the Sun.

The various time-measuring instruments available had complementary functions. Sundials find time and display it; even if interrupted in their operation by lack of sunshine, they will immediately show time again once sunlight reappears. Weight-

and spring-driven clocks and watches are timekeepers and time showers. Once set functioning, they count and display time without interruption. If deranged, however, they cannot of themselves find time again, but have to be set against a sundial. Throughout the early modern period, therefore, there was an essential complementary relationship between clocks, watches, and sundials, which are frequently found combined, or in close proximity to each other. Sandglasses are timekeepers but restricted to specific short periods, usually up to sixty minutes. They were used for measuring the often predetermined length of tasks such as university lessons, sermons, naval or military watches, and industrial activities.

Technical innovations in time-measuring machines during this period were many and fundamental. Although the usefulness of the force exerted by a coiled metal strip was recognized from at least the thirteenth century, it was not until the invention in the mid-fifteenth century of devices such as the fusee and the stackfreed, which equalized the force exerted as the spring uncoiled, that it could be useful in time measurement. Despite this, the behavior of sixteenth-century clocks and watches was affected by so many mechanical insufficiencies as to be highly erratic if not closely surveyed by the clock keeper, who was a regular appointment in towns and royal and noble establishments. Watches in the sixteenth century were as much valued as jewels as timekeepers, and public clocks were as important as symbols of social and economic status and for the astronomical/astrological indications they offered as they were for telling time. Indeed their behavior in the latter respect is frequently criticized in late-seventeenth and eighteenth-century literature.

The mathematical analysis of natural phenomena that characterized seventeenth-century research into the natural world, however, led to important innovations. Galileo (1564–1642), having recognized the isochronous nature of a pendulum, also recognized its potential as a controller for clock mechanisms and produced initial designs. Concurrently, but probably independently, Christiaan Huygens (1629–1695) produced different designs for this purpose and not only published its theory in his *Horologium Oscillatorium* (1672) but in 1676 revealed the isochronal properties of a flat spiral spring when applied to a watch balance.

These two fundamental innovations reduced the running error of clocks and watches from some twenty to thirty minutes a day to only a few minutes. Such precision allied with increased reliability in the performance of timekeepers, resulting from improvements in lubrication, bearings, and tooth profiles, meant that timekeepers now became viable machines for use in longitude determination, a task that had been proposed for them as early as 1532. Although immense technical difficulties remained to be overcome, by the 1780s viable longitude timekeepers existed and could be simplified for general use. Similarly, in the late eighteenth century, newly reliable timekeepers became an integral part of the development of timed industrial activity, and of the development of interlocking, time-tabled transport systems. None of this affected the watch as a status symbol, but it did transform its appearance as emphasis shifted from the watch as conspicuous jewel to the watch as elegant precision timepiece. Precision in the eighteenth century became the hallmark of quality, the equitable operation of the new timekeepers, of which Paris, London, and Switzerland were the chief producers, being both source and reflection of a new, absolute, Newtonian time.

See also Calendar; Clocks and Watches; Galileo Galilei; Huygens Family; Newton, Isaac; Scientific Instruments.

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A. J. TURNER

TIME OF TROUBLES (RUSSIA). The Time of Troubles (1598–1613), a complex political crisis manifested in repeated palace coups, civil war, and foreign occupation, nearly resulted in the shattering of the Muscovite state. The Time of Troubles (*smutnoe vremia*) had three interconnected causes.

The first and most crucial cause was the temporary delegitimation of royal authority following the extinction of the Riurikid dynasty in 1598, when Tsar Fedor Ivanovich died without an heir. Fedor's successor, Tsar Boris Godunov (ruled 1598–1605), was never able to fully legitimate himself because of court factionalism, his failure to marry into an eminent boyar family, and the suspicion that he had engineered the mysterious death of Tsarevich Dmitrii Ivanovich in 1591.

A second cause was economic dislocation and social unrest in Muscovy's northwestern and southern provinces. In the northwest, the Livonian War, border wars with the Swedes, and overtaxation had stripped the gentry of most of their peasant tenants. This greatly hampered Moscow's ability to mobilize troops from this region, traditionally the largest reservoir of military manpower. By contrast, the entire southern frontier from Seversk in the west to the Volga in the east was experiencing accelerated military colonization to protect against Crimean Tatar raids. Because the colonists were given smaller land and cash entitlements than prevailed in central Muscovy and because they settled among state peasants on crown frontier lands who paid *corvée*, considerable social discontent arose on the southern frontier. The upper stratum of the middle service class in Riazan' region was also increasingly alienated from Godunov's government because it felt denied the precedence honor and promotion opportunities due it.

The third cause was Muscovy's vulnerability to entanglement in the conflict between Sweden and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. War between King Sigismund III Vasa of Poland and Charles IX of Sweden (ruled 1604–1611) had broken out in 1600. This war eventually spilled over into northwestern Muscovy, because that region had been weakened during the last Livonian War and because of the growing weakness of Boris Godunov's regime.

The first phase of the Troubles (1598–1606) was primarily a dynastic crisis after the death of Tsar Fedor and took the form of boyar intrigues and then mass revolt against the "usurper" Boris Godunov. The spread of famine and banditry in 1601–1603 finally provided Godunov's old enemies—the Romanovs, Nagois, and other boyar clans—with the

opportunity to turn the populace against him. They began circulating rumors that Tsarevich Dmitrii Ivanovich had not after all perished at Uglich in 1591 but had escaped Godunov's assassins and was returning to reclaim the throne. In 1603 a pretender Tsarevich Dmitrii surfaced in the grand duchy and received recognition and military support from several powerful Polish and Lithuanian magnates. This False Dmitrii invaded in 1604 and quickly won support across the southern frontier and into central Muscovy. When Tsar Boris died suddenly in April 1605, his generals came over to the False Dmitrii, abandoning Boris's heir Fedor Borisovich and allowing the False Dmitrii to take the throne in June 1605. The First False Dmitrii ruled less than a year. In May 1606 the boyar Vasiliu Shuiskii, the Golitsyns, and Metropolitan Hermogen incited riots in Moscow against the presence of the large Polish retinue of Dmitrii's bride, Marina Mniszech, and in the course of these disorders Dmitrii was assassinated.

The second phase of the Troubles (1606–1610) was marked by a series of regional outbreaks against Tsar Vasiliu Shuiskii, which ultimately provided both the Swedes and Poles grounds for military intervention. The first such insurrection began in Seversk in 1606 and spread across the south and into central Muscovy, much like the movement that had supported the late False Dmitrii. Although led by Ivan Bolotnikov, a former military slave, and involving a significant number of peasant insurgents, it was not a “peasant war” but included many gentry. Bolotnikov was defeated at Tula in 1607, but his forces regrouped and joined with Cossacks and Polish and Lithuanian mercenaries to form a new army under the nominal leadership of a Second False Dmitrii. After an unsuccessful siege of Moscow, they established a rival government at nearby Tushino (1608). Several powerful boyars, most significantly the monk Fedor Romanov (who had been tonsured under Boris Godunov), abandoned Tsar Vasiliu and went over to the Tushinites. Vasiliu responded by launching a counteroffensive using troops levied from Novgorod and the far north and a large number of Swedish mercenaries. The Second False Dmitrii was put to flight. But by inviting in Swedish mercenaries Tsar Vasiliu had now given King Sigismund III pretext to invade Muscovy and place Smolensk under siege. Fedor Romanov and

those surviving Tushinite elites unwilling to seek Vasiliu's forgiveness entered into negotiations with Sigismund and invited him to send Crown Prince Władysław to rule Muscovy. A Polish army under Hetman Stanisław Żółkiewski routed Tsar Vasiliu's Russo-Swedish forces at Klushino (June 1610). The next month Vasiliu was deposed by the Golitsyns, Riazan' gentry leaders, and agents of Fedor Romanov.

After the overthrow of Tsar Vasiliu a council of seven boyars holding power in Moscow accepted the bargain offered by the Tushinites and Polish commanders and invited Władysław to rule on the condition that he take the Orthodox faith. But instead of Władysław they were sent a Polish occupation army. In this third phase of the Troubles (1610–1613) no tsar ruled in Moscow, but rather a Polish military dictatorship under siege by a succession of national liberation militias raised by Muscovite provincial elites (military town governors, wealthy merchants, Riazan' gentry) in uneasy alliance with cossack leaders. Smolensk fell to King Sigismund; a Swedish army occupied Novgorod. The Second False Dmitrii was assassinated by his own lieutenants; more new pretenders appeared (including an Infant Brigand, the son of the Second False Dmitrii and Marina Mniszech) but were unable to attract large followings. In 1611 a liberation militia led by Prince Dmitry Pozharsky established a provisional government at Iaroslavl; with Cossack support it finally drove the Poles from Moscow in October 1612. An Assembly of the Realm (*Zemskii Sobor*) in early 1613 elected Fedor Romanov's sixteen-year-old son, Michael, as tsar.

Incursions by Polish forces acting in the name of Władysław continued for another five years. An armistice signed at Deulino in 1618 required that Smolensk and parts of Seversk and Chernigov be restored to the commonwealth. Karelia was ceded to Sweden in return for the recovery of Novgorod. Much of northwestern and central Muscovy had been depopulated, and political reconstruction was hampered by the loss of several important chancellery archives in the great conflagration at Moscow in 1612.

The Troubles did not permanently alter the political and social order, however. The consultations of Tsar Michael with the *Zemskii Sobor* did not mean

that patrimonial autocracy had given way to estate-representative monarchy; the power of the boyar elite had not declined, and there was no “ascendancy” of the provincial middle service class. Reconstruction (under the guidance of Tsar Michael’s father, now patriarch) involved the expansion and refinement of mid-sixteenth-century institutions: the central chancelleries, the military town governors, and the *pomest’e* system of service-conditional land tenure.

See also Boris Godunov (Russia); False Dmitrii, First; Livonian War (1558–1583); Michael Romanov (Russia); Romanov Dynasty (Russia); Russia; Russo-Polish Wars; Sigismund II Augustus (Poland, Lithuania); Vasa Dynasty (Sweden).

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BRIAN DAVIES

TINTORETTO (Jacopo Robusti; c. 1518–1594), Italian painter. Jacopo Tintoretto was easily the most prolific painter in late-sixteenth-century Venice. The son of a Venetian cloth dyer, he advertised the fact in his professional nickname. Unlike certain other leading artists of the time, Tintoretto—“the little dyer”—did not seek to conceal his lower-class social origins. He was trained in an unidentified Venetian workshop during the 1530s. Early reports that he was summarily ejected from Titian’s shop may represent nothing more than flattering legend. But the older master’s professional hostility is nonetheless corroborated by a number of other early sources and was probably an important shaping factor in Tintoretto’s career.

In very early works, such as the dramatic *Christ among the Doctors* (c. 1541–1542, Museo del Duomo, Milan), Tintoretto’s style and technique pointedly depart from Titian’s long-established naturalistic idiom. Forms twist and writhe in arbitrary fashion within a vertiginous spatial recession that relegates the protagonist to the far distance. In many of his earlier works, the painter’s debt to the art of central Italy, and particularly to Michelangelo,

is evident. But Tintoretto’s conceptual and formal individualism, like his penchant for leaving the broad (although thinly loaded) marks of his brush exposed on the picture surface, took his art beyond such sources and also beyond anything yet seen within Venetian Renaissance art. His production of paintings at high speed and in great volume, and his readiness to offer them at a low price, quickly became notorious. But the strategy proved very successful at a time in which demand for paintings was rapidly increasing.

Tintoretto did not select between patrons as Titian did: rather than prioritizing prestigious foreign clients, he concentrated on fulfilling local demands. By 1560 he was already the dominant painter across the city. From this point onward, he was almost constantly at work in the Ducal Palace. Following two disastrous fires in the palace (1574 and 1577), Tintoretto and his workshop undertook a series of large-scale commissions, culminating in the vast *Paradise* (c. 1588–1590) for the main State Room. He also produced many paintings for the city’s non-noble lay confraternities (the so-called *Scuole*, or Schools). In 1548 he made his name with the startling *Miracle of the Slave* (Accademia, Venice) for the Scuola di San Marco, and between 1564 and 1588 produced more than sixty paintings for the meeting house of the Scuola di San Rocco.

These included wall paintings showing scenes from the Life of Christ and the Virgin, and typologically related scenes from the Old Testament on the ceiling of the upper room (Sala Superiore). The enormous *Crucifixion* (1565) is the most important work of Tintoretto’s maturity, painted in an epic narrative style that brilliantly combines passages of earthy naturalism with more idealized formal sequences. In later paintings such as *The Baptism* and *The Agony in the Garden* (both 1578–1581), complex formal masses are cloaked in brownish shadow, illuminated only at certain points by angled shafts of golden light, which imply the immanent presence of the divine. But this spiritualized schema is brought alive by the inclusion of startling passages of naturalism, for example in the extraordinary *Annunciation* (1581–1582). The unprecedented formal manipulations exacted at San Rocco reflect Tintoretto’s mature commitment to an ideal of sacred poverty, which brings together the selfless spiritual ideals of the commissioning confraternity with



Tintoretto. *The Crucifixion*, 1565. ©ARTE & IMMAGINI SRL/CORBIS

those of the wider Catholic Counter-Reformation, but also refers to his own lowly artistic identity as the “little dyer.”

Tintoretto’s dynamic manner dominated for only a short while in Venice: Veronese and even the old Titian were influenced by his art in certain ways, while El Greco and Palma Giovane were probably members of his workshop. After his death in 1594, the Tintoretto workshop continued to operate into the 1630s under the control of his painter sons, Domenico and Marco. But Tintoretto’s artistic individualism, particularly in matters of technique, meant that his style was not easily emulated, and it was increasingly perceived as antithetical to the classicism of European artistic tradition. Despite John Ruskin’s ecstatic appreciations in the post-Romantic era, Tintoretto has continued to be an elusive figure in the history of art. Recent attempts to see his work as mannerist typically founder on the passionate drama of his style and the radical abbreviations of his brushwork. And while his exposed paint surface owes something to the earlier Venetian Renaissance tradition of coloring (*colorito*), his ap-

proach is very different from that of artists such as Giorgione or Titian. It is, though, the very resistance of Tintoretto’s manner to an easy integration within artistic tradition that makes it so interesting for the contemporary viewer.

See also **Painting; Titian; Venice, Art in.**

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TOM NICHOLS

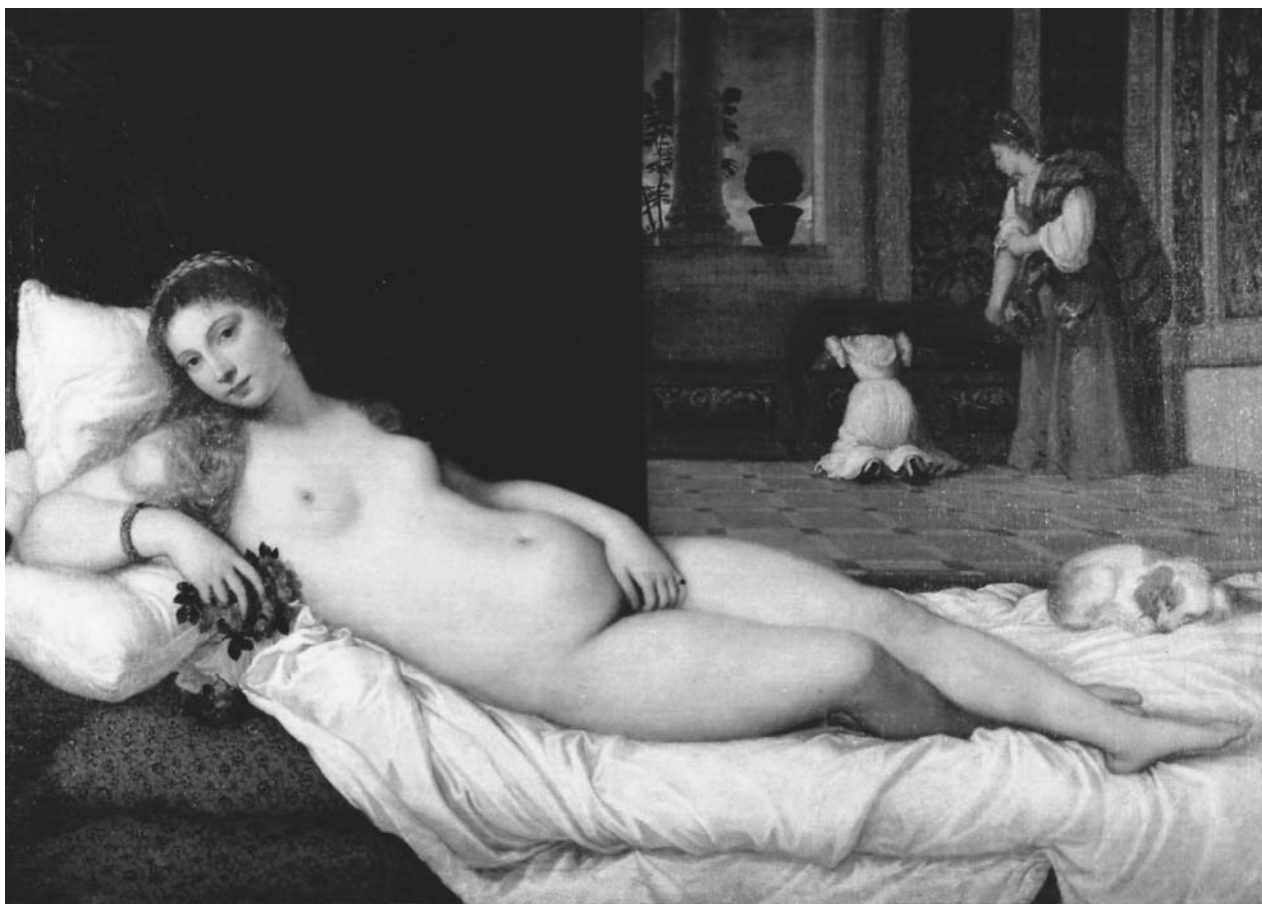
TITIAN (Tiziano Vecelli; 1488/1490–1576), Italian painter. Born in the Dolomite village of Cadore about 1490, Titian was trained in the Venetian workshops of Gentile and Giovanni Bellini in the early years of the sixteenth century. It was, however,

the younger and more progressive Giorgione who had the greatest influence on his development. Titian's early paintings (for example, *Three Ages of Man*, c. 1512–1513, National Gallery, Edinburgh) are often set in lush pastoral landscapes and have a brownish Giorgionesque tonality. Titian also adopted Giorgione's improvising approach to painting, exploiting the special translucency of oil paint in building up forms and colors. Titian did, on occasion, make drawings, but typically preferred to work out his compositions in color on the picture surface.

Despite the similarities, Titian's early paintings are increasingly distinct from Giorgione's in their muscularity of form, clear placement of figures in space, and typically precise definition of surface texture. In the great altarpiece showing the Assumption of the Virgin (1516–1518, Sta. Maria dei Frari, Venice), the bulky forms of the protagonists recall the idealized figure types of Michelangelo and Raphael. But the intense vibrancy of Titian's color,

based on subtle modulations of red, gold, and silvery gray, nonetheless controls our apprehension of form. Titian went on to revolutionize the Venetian altarpiece in a sequence of outstanding paintings, culminating in the lost St. Peter Martyr altarpiece (1526–1530, destroyed 1867; formerly SS. Giovanni e Paolo, Venice). In the Pesaro altarpiece (1519–1526, SS. Giovanni e Paolo), he subverted the standard Venetian type of the *sacra conversazione* (sacred conversation) by making the donor family central to the iconography and spatial organization.

Between 1518 and 1524 he completed three so-called Bacchanals (*The Worship of Venus*, *The Andrians*, both Museo del Prado, Madrid; *Bacchus and Ariadne*, National Gallery, London) for Alfonso I d'Este, duke of Ferrara. The paintings were conceived as re-creations (*ekphrases*) of classical works of art described in literary texts by Philostratus, Catullus, and Ovid, and feature complex



Titian. *The Venus of Urbino*, 1538. ©ERICH LESSING/ART RESOURCE, N.Y.

nude or seminude figures that insistently recall classical friezes and relief sculptures. The antique world is here imagined as a place of sensual delight, the lighthearted tone owing little to the learned allegorical approach to mythological painting championed by earlier masters such as Sandro Botticelli or Andrea Mantegna.

It was Titian's brilliant transformation of the field of portraiture, however, that made his name with the aristocratic and royal houses of Europe. In portraits such as *Federico II Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua* (1529, Prado) Titian depicted his high-ranking sitter with an unprecedented degree of intimacy, showing him gently caressing a favored pet dog. Pendant portraits such as *Duke Francesco Maria della Rovere, Duke of Urbino* and his wife, *Eleonora Gonzaga* (both 1536, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence) were more formal. But the duke's son Guidobaldo also acquired a mysterious erotic painting known as *The Venus of Urbino* (1538, Uffizi). Titian here referred directly to Giorgione's *Sleeping Venus*, a painting he himself had completed about 1510. But in the Urbino painting, the reclining woman is relocated to a contemporary bedroom, her knowing glance at the viewer and the bravura painting of her exposed flesh combining to generate an image of unprecedented erotic immediacy.

The painting is typical of the confident originality that characterizes Titian's mature work. In paintings such as *The Vendramin Family* (1545–1547, National Gallery, London) and *The Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence* (1547–1556, Gesuiti, Venice), Titian refers to existing visual and iconographic types in Venetian painting. But these are transformed by the master's brilliant awareness of the expressive possibilities of oil paint, and the sensual and emotive power of color. In the same period, Titian also worked for the Holy Roman emperor, Charles V (as in *Charles V at the Battle of Mühlberg*, 1548, Prado), and the patronage of the Habsburg family increasingly came to dominate his career. In 1551 Charles's son (the future king of Spain, Philip II) commissioned Titian to paint a series of mythologies (known as the *poesie*) based on Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. The resulting paintings are among the masterworks of sixteenth-century painting. But their relation to one another and their more precise meaning remain unclear. It appears that Titian enjoyed an unusual degree of autonomy in fulfilling

Philip's commission, and this may have encouraged him to take an open-ended approach in which the free "poetic" association of ideas is preferred to more traditional iconography.

The paintings are loosely conceived in pairs, showing contrasting views of female nudes. But rather than being simply erotic, the *poesie* draw attention to the pain and suffering associated with sexual desire and love. This is the case, for example, in the extraordinary *Venus and Adonis* (1551–1554, Prado), in which the traditionally supine goddess of love turns puce-faced in restraining her mortal lover from his doom. As in many of the other *poesie*, her figure is modeled directly on a classical relief, yet the translation of the form into paint yields a new expressive intensity to her straining posture. Titian's abandonment of the Renaissance sense of the classical world as a place of innocent sensual delight is also evident in the *Diana and Acteon* and *Diana and Callisto* (both 1556–1559, National Gallery, Edinburgh). Here the dire consequences of crossing (even inadvertently) the goddess of chastity are made apparent. And yet these paintings possess an existential force that takes them beyond the redemptive schema offered by orthodox Christianity.

The two Diana paintings, along with subsequent *poesie* such as *The Rape of Europa* (1559–1562, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston) and *The Death of Acteon* (c. 1560–1562, National Gallery, London) are painted in a remarkable summary manner that threatens to dissolve form into a myriad dabs of broken color. The mosaiclike effect provides a kind of technical analogue to the process of cataclysmic physical and emotional change described in the paintings. But Titian also used the technique in his religious imagery and portraiture from about 1560 onward (for example, *Portrait of Jacopo Strada*, 1567–1568, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna; *Pietà*, 1575–1576, Accademia, Venice). Despite doubts about the status, or even the very existence, of Titian's "late style," it seems clear that it is best taken as a kind of intensification of the *colorito* (coloring) he had long practiced. The style developed organically as a result of his deepening response to the subject matter of his paintings.

Titian, who died in 1576, was easily the most successful painter in sixteenth-century Venice. The



Titian. *Assumption of the Virgin*, 1518, Santa Maria Gloriosa dei Frari, Venice.

international scope of his patronage meant that his influence was quickly transmitted across Europe, and his work had a major impact on painters as different as Peter Paul Rubens, Nicolas Poussin, Diego Velázquez, Rembrandt van Rijn, François Boucher, and Sir Joshua Reynolds. In the age of modernism, Titian's popularity has hardly diminished, the sensuous and emotional naturalism of his style, along with his experimentalism in matters of technique, assuring that his paintings continue to speak to a very wide audience.

See also **Giorgione; Painting; Poussin, Nicolas; Rembrandt van Rijn; Rubens, Peter Paul; Velázquez, Diego; Venice, Art in.**

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TOM NICHOLS

TOBACCO. Tobacco first attracted attention in Europe as an Amerindian curiosity. Christopher Columbus, Amerigo Vespucci, Jacques Cartier, and other European explorers reported the apparently omnipresent but varied use of a green herb by the people they encountered. For recreational, spiritual, and medicinal reasons, tobacco was externally applied to wounds, chewed (alone or with other substances), inhaled as a powder, or smoked (through canes, as rolled up leaves, or stuffed into a reed or a pipe). In the mid-sixteenth century, European scholars described the strange New World plant as part of the botanical renaissance. By the late 1560s, tobacco's medicinal properties were being widely investigated by people such as Conrad Gessner in Zurich, Pietro Mattioli in Bohemia and, most famously, by the French ambassador to Lisbon, Jean Nicot. In 1571, Nicolás Monardes, a physician of Seville, presented an influential assessment of the medical use of *Nicotiana*. His text, the English translation of which was entitled *Joyfull Newes out of the Newe Founde Worlde* (1577), became a standard medical textbook across Europe. Monardes told

physicians that tobacco had antiseptic and analgesic properties and could tackle a host of conditions from chilblains to intestinal worms and from halitosis to gout. Tobacco was used in a variety of ointments and poultices, formulas, and concoctions.

SMOKERS AND SMOKING

While European science was discovering the medicinal potential of tobacco, Europeans in the New World were experimenting with more medicinally ambiguous patterns and modes of ingestion by smoking, snuffing, and chewing tobacco as part of their everyday lives. By 1550 smoking was prevalent in Spanish, Portuguese, and French colonial outposts. Sailors and adventurers returning from the New World brought their tobacco-consuming habits back with them to European ports. Particularly in London in the 1590s, putting dried leaves from a faraway land “in a pipe set on fire and suckt into the stomacke, and thrust foorth again at the nostrils” became a popular pastime (Gerard, p. 287). Smokers such as Sir Walter Raleigh and Christopher Marlowe made smoking fashionable, particularly in male society. Numerous depictions of smoking soon appeared in poems and plays, such as Ben Jonson's *Every Man out of His Humour* (1600), in which smoking was often seen as a gentlemanly recreation. Perceptions of women smoking were generally negative but, as numerous seventeenth-century Dutch paintings, and plays such as Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair* (1611) illustrate, some women did smoke.

Smoking spread in England as a social activity (often in alehouses) and was commonly referred to as “drinking” tobacco. The practice quickly became controversial, prompting a medical and moral debate in the early seventeenth century. Smokers proclaimed tobacco's medicinal benefits: “nothing that harmes a man inwardly from his girdle upward, but may be taken away with a moderate use of Tobacco” (Chute, p. 19). Critics such as King James I & VI, who wrote *A Counterblaste to Tobacco* in 1604, condemned smokers for their wanton abuse of the new medicine and for their patently non-medicinal, wasteful, and apparently compulsive consumption. Smoking had been identified as a vice. English physicians, while confirming the medicinal power of tobacco, warned against unnecessary and excessive smoking because it could disrupt humoral

balance, provoking death “before either Nature urge, Maladie enforce, or Age require it” (Gardiner). Some commentators argued that smoking bred soot and cobwebs in the body, leading to enfeeblement, infertility, and a thirst for alcohol.

Despite such warnings, in the first half of the seventeenth century smoking and other recreational forms of tobacco use continued to spread in England and across Europe. The Dutch were particularly avid smokers and were soon growing tobacco and manufacturing distinctive pipes, such as the meerscham. In France, state-regulated tobacco cultivation supplied French smokers and snuff-takers. By 1650, the use of tobacco as a medicine was widely accepted throughout Europe, but in many countries attempts were made to curb its recreational use. In Sicily, the pipe was declared illegal. In Denmark, Sweden, parts of Germany, Switzerland, Austria, and Hungary attempts were made to prohibit smoking, prevent tobacco cultivation, and inhibit its importation. The Russian patriarch considered smoking a deadly sin and in 1634 banned it on pain of execution for persistent offenders. In 1642, following a complaint by the dean of Seville that the entrance to his church was being defiled by tobacco juice, Pope Urban VIII threatened both clergy and congregation with excommunication if they smoked, chewed, or snuffed tobacco in church. Pope Innocent X issued another antismoking bull in 1650.

TOBACCO AND ECONOMIES

Persistent and growing demand for tobacco in Europe promoted increasing crop cultivation in the New World. Spanish, Portuguese, and English colonies thrived by exporting vast quantities of the plant grown by slaves and indentured servants on large plantations. In 1626, 500,000 pounds of Virginia tobacco reached England. By the late 1630s, millions of pounds of tobacco were being shipped each year from Virginia, Maryland, and the English Caribbean, much of it re-exported to mainland Europe and beyond. As production increased, prices fell, making tobacco more readily available to all social classes. The growing international trade in tobacco attracted mercantile investment and presented governments with tax-raising opportunities. In England, where tobacco growing had been prohibited since 1619 (to aid colonial producers), substantial

revenues were generated from customs and other duties on tobacco. Ongoing complaints about the dangers of smoking to body and soul were subsumed by the vested interests of the governments, colonists, and merchants responsible for supplying tobacco to consumers.

Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Europeans continued to find medical uses for tobacco and to consume it for pleasure. Ornate tobacco pipes and snuffboxes were produced, offering opportunities for the display of status and refinement. In eighteenth-century England, snuff became particularly popular. Later, the cigars favored by Spanish consumers distinguished the gentlemen from the more plebeian smokers of clay pipes. Whatever the status of the consumer or the mode of ingestion, tobacco had become as integrated into European culture and society as it had been in pre-Columbian America. Like tea, coffee, and sugar, tobacco had become an integral part of European lifestyles.

See also **British Colonies: North America; Commerce and Markets; Consumption; Medicine; Public Health.**

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A. R. ROWLEY

TOLEDO. Toledo was an important city of Spain for much of the early modern period. Symbolic of this prominence are the large fortress (alcázar) built by the monarchs, the vast and richly decorated cathedral, and the impressive archdiocesan palace built by the prelates of Toledo, primates of the Spanish church.

Toledo's importance owes much to its geographic location. Security from outside attacks was enhanced by the deep, fast-flowing Tagus (Tajo) River, which offered a natural protective border on two-thirds of the city's perimeter and amplified the resistance offered by sturdy city walls and the heights of the interior space. Also, Toledo was at the center of the Iberian Peninsula, so it was a natural stopping-off point for travelers and merchandise, whether from Lisbon to the west or on the north-south routes in the crown of Castile. Within the region of New Castile, Toledo was the largest city and dominated the economy for much of the sixteenth century. This changed after Philip II (1527–1598) settled his court in the nearby city of Madrid in 1561. By the 1580s the two cities were competing for grain in local villages, and in the 1630s they competed over rights to plant vines and sell wine.

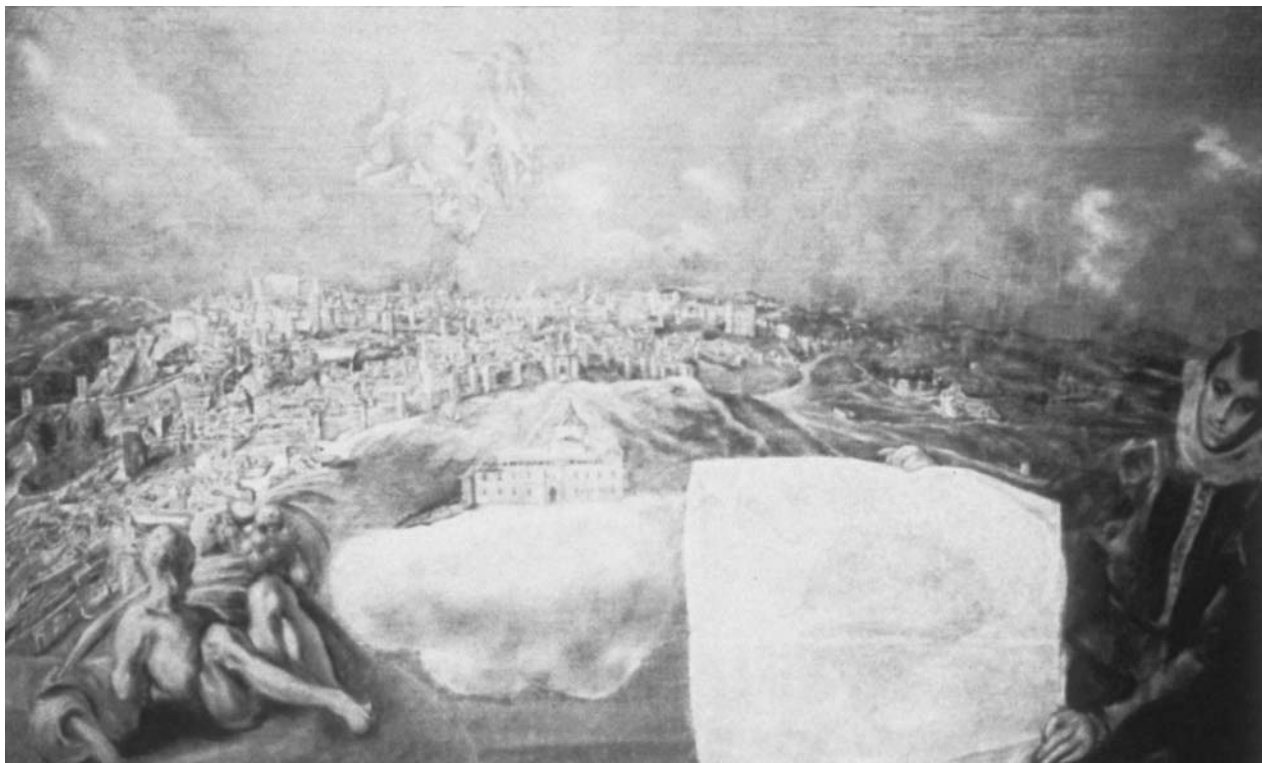
The population of Toledo expanded during the first three-quarters of the sixteenth century. According to the first census of 1528, some 30,000 people (5,898 households) lived in Toledo, and this figure doubled to approximately 62,000 people (12,412 households) by 1571. This appears to be the high point of the city's demographic expansion, as in 1597 only 54,665 people (10,953 households) were recorded. Baptismal records indicate a decreasing number of births in the first decade of the seventeenth century, when the city was struck by plague and then a subsistence crisis in 1605–1606. Population was also lost through emigration, especially to Madrid. Finally, among the city's wealthy families, fewer marriages were celebrated, in part because the crown's chaotic monetary policies ruined many and in part because numerous individuals of both sexes preferred celibacy and a church career. By 1632 the population had contracted to only 22,686 inhabitants, fewer than those recorded in the first census of 1528.

The oligarchy that governed Toledo consisted of a council of *regidores* and another council of

jurados, both of which were supervised by a crown-appointed *corregidor*. The *jurados* did not vote on issues, but they could protest to the crown about injustices. They formed part of the small committees that did much of the actual work for the city, and they were entitled to supply one of the two deputies who attended the Castilian Cortes, the representative assembly. The *regidores* were divided into two benches, citizens and the more prestigious nobles, and into two factions according to the side on which they sat, the Silva on the right and the Ayala on the left. Frictions between the two benches and the two factions were constant, although after the *Comuneros* Revolt, which took a heavy toll on the Ayala faction, the battles were largely verbal and legal rather than physical. The crown added yet another division among the *regidores* in 1566, when a pure-blood statute was imposed on the citizens' bench. This ruling was directed against *conversos*, Jews who had converted to Christianity, whose bloodlines were seen as impure. Many citizen *regidores* were *conversos*, and a few openly protested to the crown about the new ruling, but to no avail. By 1639, however, the citizens bench was abolished, thus eliminating two of the three divisions that had previously divided the *regidores*.

Toledo had an active *converso* population that was especially visible in certain occupations. They accounted for two-thirds of the public notaries, probably a majority of the city's *jurados*, and certainly a majority of the local merchants and tax farmers. They built up the textile industries, most prominently silk and wool, of their native city. Many merchants kept a flock of sheep, and wool was sold to Toledo weavers, including cap makers, whose products were sold locally and were exported. Some merchants traveled to local fairs to buy wool cloth woven by villagers, which they took to Toledo to be finished. But Toledo is best known for the manufacture of silk products. Toledo families farmed the royal tax levied on Granada silk, and this post afforded Toledo merchants the opportunity to obtain the best silk of the Iberian Peninsula, although silk was also bought in Murcia and Valencia. In 1562 the master silk weavers of Toledo numbered 423. Unfortunately Toledo's textile industries followed the same downward path as the population.

See also *Conversos*; Madrid; Spain.



Toledo. *View of Toledo*, 1604, by El Greco.

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LINDA MARTZ

TOLERATION. Toleration (or its cognate, tolerance) denotes the readiness of an individual or a community to permit the presence and/or expression of ideas, beliefs, and practices differing from what is accepted by that individual or by the dominant part of the community. Toleration demands forbearance only; it does not require approval or endorsement of the tolerated ideas, beliefs, and practices. A tolerant person respects differences between him- or herself and other people; a tolerant

community respects differences between groups and/or among individuals within the social totality. Toleration is thus antithetical to the persecution or repression (systematic or individualized) of ideas, beliefs, and practices that differ from one's own. Indeed, a tolerant person or society will protect the ability of such ideas, beliefs, and practices to persist even while acknowledging disagreement with them.

In early modern Europe, the main object of toleration in reality and as an ideal was difference of confession among religious communities, all of which claimed to be Christian. The Protestant Reformation had fragmented—permanently, as it turned out—the institutional and doctrinal unity of the Latin Christian Church that the faith had supposedly upheld since the time of St. Paul. During the sixteenth century, under the impact of Lutheran and Calvinist condemnations of the impurity of the visible Roman Church, not to mention the English Church's institutional break with Rome and the emergence of extreme sects such as the Anabaptists, Christianity was forced to reinvent itself as a creed united in faith but divided in rite. This situation has commonly led scholars to conclude that only in the

post-Reformation context did the ideal vision and real conduct of tolerance enter into Europe, expressed by various proclamations of toleration as well as by the theoretical statement found in the *Epistola de Tolerantia* (1689; Letter on toleration) of John Locke (1632–1704).

Yet the assertion of the singular modernity of toleration, arising in the aftermath of the Protestant Reformation, masks the complexity of its history. Prior to the sixteenth century, certain voices at the core as well as on the periphery of European society were prepared to countenance the presence of dissenters and even heretics within Christianity as well as the existence of various non-Christian convictions. Moreover, other important issues, such as the discovery of the New World with its large population previously unexposed to the Christian faith, also drove the debate about the extension of forbearance to cultures and religious rites utterly alien to Europe. Finally, no particularly compelling evidence suggests that the desire to persecute forms of difference and dissent—in religion as in other fields of human endeavor—abated with the rise of modern Europe. Even those prepared to tolerate certain divergent Christian confessions were equally ready to exclude and brutally suppress other self-identified Christians—Roman Catholics, Anabaptists, Hutterites, millenarians—not to mention deists, atheists, and similar free thinkers.

This context needs to be considered when assessing the strengths and weaknesses of the modern European approach to toleration. Even before the monk Martin Luther (1483–1546) nailed his Ninety-Five Theses to the church door at Wittenberg in 1517, Europeans were grappling with the consequences of their encounter with the indigenous peoples of the Americas following the discoveries of the 1490s. Spain and Portugal in particular sought and received the authorization of the Roman Church to conquer and settle the lands of the Caribbean and Central and South America under the guise of evangelizing and converting the native populace. Some thinkers recoiled with considerable horror from the slaughter and enslavement that ensued. The towering figure of the School of Salamanca, Francesco de Vitoria (c. 1486?–1546), objected to the appropriation of the Aristotelian categories of barbarism and slavery by nature. Following de Vitoria, the Dominican bishop and former con-

quistador Bartolomé de Las Casas (1476–1566) composed a series of writings in Spanish as well as Latin defending the rights of the native population to maintain their cultural, political, and religious traditions and practices—even such controversial rites as human sacrifices, not to mention refusal of Christian missionaries and resistance to conquest. In a famous debate with the Scholastic advocate of Spanish dominion over the Indians, Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda, held at Valladolid in 1550, Las Casas used the materials of Aristotle’s corpus, Thomism, and canon law to refute the assertion by the Spanish crown of its right to impose religion and civilization at swordpoint upon indigenous Americans. Rather, a Christian attitude toward the Indians—rooted in divine and natural law as well as the teachings of the pagan philosophers—demanded forbearance of their way of life, even if Europeans found their faith and rituals abhorrent.

At one time, scholars viewed the Reformation as a singularly positive stimulus to the promotion of toleration. It is true that Martin Luther, at least in some contexts, appears to defend tolerance on the grounds that the magistrate should be concerned only with the care of the body and does not have the tools at his disposal to control or alter the state of a person’s soul. But other reformers, most notably John Calvin (1509–1564), were inclined to deny any measure of forbearance for religious positions that did not strictly conform to their new orthodoxy. Indeed, one of the important early defenders of toleration during the sixteenth century, Sebastian Castellio (or Sébastien Châteillon) (1515–1563), published pseudonymously a treatise entitled *De Haereticis, an Sint Persequendi* (‘Of heretics, whether they should be persecuted’) in reaction to Calvin’s instruction to the city of Geneva in 1553 to burn a visiting Spanish heretic theologian, Michael Servetus, who opposed the doctrine of the Trinity. Castellio argued that coercion is an inappropriate tool for effecting a change of religious views, since Christian belief must be held with sincere conviction. Hence, clerics and magistrates must refrain from the persecution of convinced Christians who cling to doctrines that do not coincide with official teachings. While Castellio did not go so far as to license broad dissemination of heterodox theology, he maintained that a Christian’s duties extended to tolerating the free and honest faith of fellow be-

lievers even in the face of disagreements of understanding and interpretation.

In the short term, voices such as Castelleo's went unheeded. Rather, in places such as France and Germany, where the Reformation enjoyed greatest support, violent harassment of religious minorities—Catholic or Protestant—persisted and often threatened to erupt into full-scale religious warfare. It is true that some rulers and regions found ways to stamp out conflict, either by fiat or by negotiation. The most famous resolutions, such as the Religious Peace of Augsburg (1555) and the Edict of Nantes (1598), tended to be short-lived. But in Switzerland, where Reformed and Catholic communities often lived side-by-side, accommodation concerning the sharing of power and mutual respect for different rites succeeded in eliminating persecution in many areas. The Dutch Republic managed to achieve a similar arrangement, as did a number of eastern European states, including Poland, Transylvania, and Moravia.

These tolerant practices were certainly approved by many thinkers who subscribed to a range of confessions. Desiderius Erasmus (1466?–1535), one of the leading humanists of the age and a Catholic who nonetheless sympathized with the cause of reform, promoted a vision of toleration that he derived from the principles of classical rhetoric. According to Erasmus, violence was an inadequate, as well as un-Christian, means of dealing with unbelief. Only by speech might those who strayed from truth be convinced of the error of their ways. And both preaching and conversation—the two predominant ways in which the orthodox express truth to the errant—demanded that one tolerate the heterodox, if only in order to achieve conversion. Another humanist, Jean Bodin (1529/30–1596), pushed this discursive paradigm of tolerance even further. In his *Colloquium Heptaplomeres de Rerum Sublimium Arcanis Abditis* (1588; Colloquium of the seven about secrets of the sublime), Bodin adapted the standard literary genre of the interreligious dialogue, in this case between advocates of the major world religions and of various philosophical interpretations of divinity. Unlike previous texts of interreligious dialogue, however, Bodin's discussion produced a stalemate: no one changed his mind and no conversions occurred. Bodin's point has been understood as the promo-

tion of tolerance, either because the relative merits of creeds cannot ultimately be demonstrated or because dialogue makes us realize that all religions have their merits and demerits. The text of the *Colloquium* was passed around secretly in manuscript for centuries, none daring to publish until the middle of the nineteenth century such a reputedly notorious challenge to the self-evident superiority of Christianity.

The cause of toleration became more visible as a political and intellectual force during the seventeenth century. As a practical aim, the Levellers in England during the 1640s made freedom to dissent from the established religion a central plank of their political program. Likewise, major figures in European philosophy weighed in on the side of freedom of religion. Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679) recognized the mischief that religion caused to the maintenance of public peace and order. His solution to the potential for religious conflict was not persecution of dissent but acknowledgment that, since faith was an inward matter, coercion of belief pertained to neither church nor state. So long as one's convictions about God and the afterlife did not produce external political dispute, Hobbesian logic required that the sovereign permit subjects to embrace whatever confession they liked. Baruch Spinoza (1632–1677) followed Hobbes in recognizing the inability of the government to control the inward faith of individuals. He therefore claimed a broad application for a right to liberty of thought and conviction without inference from a sovereign's (or a church's) determination of the truth or falsity of an individual's ideas. On the one hand, Spinoza proposed to employ the armed might of the state to rein in the activities of intolerant clergymen and mobs. On the other hand, he set clear limits on the power of the magistrate to persecute all forms of religious and intellectual dissent. The German jurist Samuel Pufendorf (1632–1694), too, advocated the protection of religious freedom in the name of the interests of the state. The sovereign must exercise control over the affairs of religion, not in order to impose “true” religion, but in order to ensure that “hotheads, pride, fame, and ambition” do not lead to civil conflict and sedition.

When viewed from the perspective of this intellectual backdrop, the concept of tolerance proposed by John Locke does not appear especially innovative

or creative. Locke built his theory on a clear distinction between the aims of the church and the purposes of government. The church seeks to care for souls, whose condition cannot be changed by force but only by persuasion. Since the role of government is the protection of the life, liberty, and estate of subjects, its work cannot extend to the business of religion. For Locke, the magistrate should maintain public tranquility and defend individual rights. Thus, liberty of conscience was justified in the case of most Christian (and perhaps some non-Christian) rites. Of course, Locke insisted that government must take an appropriate interest in religious ideas and rites when they were capable of undermining social trust and political obedience. For this reason, he sought to exclude atheists and to ban any religious institutions that taught the superiority of the church to the temporal magistrate in civil affairs.

While Locke's account of toleration has received by far the most attention, the version proposed by the pre-Enlightenment thinker Pierre Bayle (1647–1706) is perhaps the most consistent and thoroughgoing of the late seventeenth century. Bayle is sometimes termed a *Calvinist* advocate of tolerance. Seeking to refute a range of arguments for persecution, Bayle baldly asserted that all forms of suppression of religious diversity encourage hypocrisy and erode social order. Indeed, to harass religious dissenters constitutes an affront to God. An erring conscience, if it be held in good faith, deserves as much protection as a correct one—a principle that Bayle extended even to atheists. Unlike many of his predecessors, he did not embrace a strict distinction between the inward and the outward, and he thus took seriously the ability of the threat of coercion to weaken the beliefs of individuals. But should a person be forced to surrender his or her inner convictions, an act of sacrilege has been committed because God forgives error on account of the purity of the intention. A false belief sincerely held was regarded by Bayle to be superior in the eyes of God to a true conviction held only as a result of external compulsion. Bayle did admit that rites which are likely to detract directly from civil order may be constrained or excluded, but his main concern seems to be fanatical sects that inspire their adherents to engage in conduct that endangers the health and well-being of other inhabitants of the community.

The themes highlighted by seventeenth-century proponents of toleration received further elaboration during the eighteenth century, in particular, the problem of balancing personal liberty of conscience against the need for public order and obedience. For instance, the journalist and novelist Daniel Defoe (1660–1731) railed in his writings against conformity, and he was only too happy to satirize the foibles of the persecutorial impulse. Although a dissenter himself, he once dared to publish a hoax pamphlet, “The Shortest Way with Dissenters” (1702), purportedly written by a High Church spokesman, that called for the hanging en masse of religious nonconformists.

The two most intellectually powerful eighteenth-century proponents of toleration were Christian Thomasius (1655–1728) and Immanuel Kant (1724–1804). Thomasius, a central figure of the so-called “civil Enlightenment,” adopted a jurisprudential approach according to which all supposed heresies were framed in a historical light, and the charge of dissent was viewed simply as a means for different sects to vilify one another. Theological and metaphysical questions should be set aside in favor of a prudential law of religion (*Staatskirchenrecht*) that permitted and regulated expressions of religious diversity. Like Hobbes, Thomasius showed how an absolutist conception of government might yield a thoroughgoing principle of tolerance. Kant was certainly the more famous figure in the promotion of tolerant attitudes. His essay *Was ist Aufklärung?* (1784; What is enlightenment?) pronounced a human duty to become liberated from self-imposed mental chains and to develop an independent capacity for critical reflection. This requires a public sphere that is fully tolerant of differences in thought and action among individuals. Yet Kant also asserted the overriding duty that each person has to obey government, so that the subjects of a ruler have a supererogatory responsibility to refrain from public expression of ideas or doctrines that might promote disobedience to the sovereign will. For Kant, too, toleration did not necessitate the institutional primacy of rights associated with political liberalism.

Despite Kant's insistence upon obedience, a considerable number of Enlightenment thinkers in fact defended various forms of toleration in the eighteenth century. Thomas Paine (1737–1809)

dismissed the terminology of “toleration” itself as inherently intolerant, since it depended upon the grant of the state, preferring to speak of basic rights associated with freedom of conscience and thought. The French philosophes, who were the main champions of enlightenment, likewise announced themselves to be defenders of tolerance. But perhaps it was with the “Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen,” approved by the National Assembly of France on 26 August 1789, that such a basic liberal conception of liberty of belief and worship received its characteristic statement.

See also **Anabaptism; Bayle, Pierre; Bodin, Jean; Calvin, John; Defoe, Daniel; Dissenters, English; Enlightenment; Erasmus, Desiderius; Hobbes, Thomas; Jews, Attitudes toward; Kant, Immanuel; Las Casas, Bartolomé de; Locke, John; Luther, Martin; Nantes, Edict of; Philosophes; Reformation, Protestant; Revolutions, Age of; Salamanca, School of; Spinoza, Baruch; Thomasius, Christian.**

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CARY J. NEDERMAN

TOPKAPI PALACE. The palatial complex built by the Ottoman Turkish sultan Mehmed II (ruled 1444–1446 and 1451–1481), completed in 1465, Topkapi occupied the site of the ancient acropolis of Byzantium at the northeastern tip of the Istanbul peninsula. Designed as the administrative center of a highly centralized imperial polity and as a royal residence, the Topkapi was inhabited by the Ottoman dynasty until the 1850s.

Located within a walled enclosure, Topkapi was built around three consecutive courtyards, each of which was entered through a monumental ceremonial gate. The layout and architecture of the structure were determined by several factors: notions of imperial seclusion, which underlined the divine and absolute authority of the sultan, and division of the structure into outer (public) and an inner (private) spaces, with strict rules governing the uses of all rooms and spaces. The administrative buildings in the second court, the council hall, the chancery, and the public treasury housed the government offices; architecturally these spaces bespoke the administration of justice by the sultan’s extended household. Beyond the northern gate lay the inner palace, which featured the sultan’s audience hall, the palace school and the dormitories for pages, a mosque, the privy chamber, and a treasury-bath complex where a lofty gallery offered spectacular views of the city. Lacking a strictly axial, geometric layout, Topkapi conveyed messages of imperial power through the use of symbolic elements such as the monumental



Topkapi. Aerial view of the palace. ©YANN ARTHUS-BERTRAND/CORBIS

gates and the belvedere tower, through the strictly codified and hierarchical use of space, and through rooms that commanded sweeping views, reflecting the monarch's dominion over the territories of the empire.

The main layout of Topkapi changed little throughout the following centuries. Nevertheless it became a repository of styles that reflected the changes in tastes and structure of the Ottoman house. The privy chamber was remodeled after 1517, to house the relics of the prophet Muhammad and his companions brought to Istanbul following the Ottoman conquest of Egypt. The expansions of the harem section during the reigns of Suleiman and Murad III corresponded to the royal family's move into the palace and to the growing role of women in the political realm. New kiosks and seaside residences were built beyond the central core, and former ones were replaced with more lavish structures, from the later sixteenth century onwards. In 1719 Ahmed III built a library in the third court, to house the palace's manuscript collection. The eclectic and westernized taste of the eighteenth

century was reflected in the extensive redecorations of this period. After being converted to a museum in 1924, Topkapi now also houses the palace archives and library.

See also Constantinople; Mehmed II; Ottoman Empire; Suleiman I.

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ÇİĞDEM KAFESCIOĞLU

TORTURE. Torture (in Latin: *quaestio*; in German: *peinliche Frage, Folter*, or *Marter*; in French: *la question, gehene, gene*) was an integral part of medi-

eval and early modern criminal procedure. Because a voluminous body of law covered every stage of torture, the system is called judicial torture. During the early modern period torture gradually lost its importance, and it was finally abolished at the end of the period.

THE BACKGROUND OF JUDICIAL TORTURE

Judicial torture was no medieval or early modern invention. The Roman third-century lawyer Ulpian defined torture as “the torment and suffering of the body in order to elicit the truth.” The actual jurisprudence of torture, however, only developed in connection with the twelfth-century “legal revolution,” as the revival of Roman law at the newly founded universities of Northern Italy is often called. Before this, crimes were mostly prosecuted privately, with no public officials taking an active role in criminal investigations. The predominance of private prosecution came under threat as popes, kings, and princes increasingly centralized their political authority in the twelfth century. The process began in Northern Italy in the twelfth century and gradually spread to most other parts of Europe in the remaining centuries of the Middle Ages.

The inquisitorial procedure (*inquisitio*), as against the older accusatorial procedure (*accusatio*), was introduced to papal legislation as a means of controlling errant churchmen in the late twelfth century. In the inquisitorial procedure, the initiation of an action was entrusted to the court official, and the judge was actively involved in the investigation of the case. Inquisitorial procedure had been used in ancient Rome, and Charlemagne had also made use of it, but this type of procedure had fallen into disuse since the ninth century. In the thirteenth century, inquisitorial procedure was soon extended to the crime of heresy and other serious canon law crimes and soon spread to secular crimes as well. A parallel development (although not as yet thoroughly researched) was that serious crimes were categorized as exceptional (*crimen exceptum*), to which the normal rules of procedure did not apply.

The early medieval law of proof had left difficult cases to be decided by ordeal, oath, and judicial combat. Behind these archaic, “irrational” modes of proof lay the belief that God continuously intervened in the lives of the people and would let truth prevail in court as well. Leaving judicial problems

for God to decide, however, ill suited the emerging conception of a rational, hierarchically organized judicial system. The result of the ordeal could not be challenged, nor could it be changed by the higher courts. The centralization of political power undermined the old European judicial systems, replacing lay judges with professional jurists. These professional judges were learned in Roman and canon law, distinct and alien from the system of proof based on ordeals, oaths, and combat. Many judges were probably familiar with formal logic and saw it as a basis for all legal decision making and law drafting. One of the most widespread forms of medieval legal scholarship became the so-called *ordines iudicarii*, manuals of procedural law, in which both civil and criminal procedure, including the law of proof, were laid out in the minutest detail. The new procedure was based on learned law and written documents.

TORTURE AS PART OF THE STATUTORY THEORY OF PROOF

A new law of proof emerged, then, as part and parcel of these developments. The Roman canon law of proof drew its elements, like medieval Roman law in general, from the materials of Emperor Justinian’s *Corpus Juris Civilis* (*Corpus of Civil Law*; also spelled *Corpus Iuris Civilis*), which had originated in the sixth century. In canon law, ordeals were expressly prohibited at the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215. The building blocks of Roman law were combined with those produced by the emerging canon law to build what has been called Roman-canon law of proof, or the statutory or legal theory of proof. The theory then came to circulate as part of the European *ius commune*, ‘common law’, in the procedural law treatises of writers such as Albertus Gandinus (d. c. 1310) and William Durandus (c. 1237–1296). In contrast to the archaic system of oaths, ordeals, and combat, the new system assigned the decisions on evidence to human judges, not God, thus placing decisive emphasis on judicial torture. However, the change from one painful stage of criminal procedure to another—from ordeal to torture—may not have seemed as significant to ordinary people as it was to the theoretician.

Because the statutory theory of proof reached its maturity in the thirteenth century and remained virtually unchanged until the early modern period, it is convenient to describe the theory as it appears in sixteenth-century jurisprudence and legislation.



Torture. Engraving c. 1500 shows a prisoner being tortured on the wheel by clerics of the Spanish Inquisition. In this version of the widely used torture method, a fire below the wheel is used as the source of pain and injury. In other versions, the wheel was used simply to hold the victim while torturers beat him or her with metal bars. In some cases, the wheel was fitted with spikes. GETTY IMAGES

Among the many influential writers on criminal evidence embracing the statutory theory were the Italian Prosperus Farinaccius (1544–1618), the Dutchman Joost van Damhouder (1507–1581), and the German Benedict Carpzov (1595–1666). All these writers further elaborated and refined the theory of torture. The last important doctrinal defense of judicial torture was written by a Frenchman, Pierre François Muyart de Vouglans (1713–1791), in 1780.

Statutory theory of proof, as it was received from medieval literature in the works of Farinaccius, Damhouder, Carpzov, and their colleagues, was based on the notions of full proof, half proof, and

circumstantial evidence (*indicia*). Full proof could consist only of the statements of two eyewitnesses or the defendant’s confession. Circumstantial evidence, no matter how plentiful, could only amount to partial proof, and combination of one eyewitness and circumstantial evidence did not constitute full proof. Without full proof, however, the accused could not be convicted of a capital crime.

Sacramental confession had gained significance in the twelfth-century canon law and had been made an annual obligation on all Christians at the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215. Because of its increased cultural significance, it is no wonder that confession had become “the queen of proofs” (*re-*

gina probationum) in criminal procedure as well. The problem, however, was how to obtain full proof if no eyewitnesses were available. This is where judicial torture offered a solution. Judicial torture was never evidence in itself, but was a means of acquiring evidence in the form of confession.

THE THEORY OF JUDICIAL TORTURE

At the beginning of the early modern period, the *ius commune* theory of torture was basically the same as it had been in the works of Gandinus and Durandus. The basic rules were similar across Europe. The use of torture was confined to capital crimes, for which the death penalty or mutilation could apply. Torture was intended as the last resort in situations in which no other means of gathering evidence was available. If there was already full proof in the form of two eyewitnesses or voluntary confession, torture was not necessary. The accused was to be threatened with torture before it was actually applied, for instance, by showing him the instruments of torture. The investigating judge was to follow the accused to the torture chambers and interrogate him as he was being tortured, while a notary recorded the findings. Sometimes a doctor's presence was also required; no advocate, however, was allowed for the accused.

Torture was meant to establish whether the accused had committed the crime, the commission of which (*corpus delicti*) had already been established by other means. This legal safeguard did not, however, apply to witchcraft cases. They were regarded as *crimina excepta*, 'exceptional crimes', in that their "traces disappeared with the act" (*facti transeuntis*). The law excluded certain classes of people from liability to judicial torture. Pregnant women, children below the age of twelve or fourteen, and old people (if torture might put their lives at risk) could not be tortured. Noble persons, public officials of a certain standing, clergy, physicians, and doctors of law were exempt from torture in some parts of Europe. Torture could not take place on Sunday or other legal holidays.

The most important legal safeguard in restricting the use of torture had to do with the amount of circumstantial evidence required to initiate it. According to the law, half proof in the form of the testimony of one eyewitness or a sufficient amount of circumstantial evidence was necessary to initiate

torture. Both in theory and in practice it was, however, largely left to the judge's discretion to determine when there was enough circumstantial evidence, although literature provided examples and guidelines. Compared to modern standards of proof necessary for conviction, the standard of evidence required for torture was often higher.

Other safeguards were provided to help material truth prevail as well. Contemporaries were well aware of the dangers that torture entailed from the point of view of finding out what had actually happened. Leading questioning was thus prohibited, and the confession extracted under torture was to be repeated in court within a certain time limit. Only the voluntary confession given thereafter, within twenty-four hours or so, served as proof, and not the confession given under torture. The practical significance of this safeguard was seriously undermined by the fact that the accused could be taken back to the torture chamber should he or she decide to recant the confession. Much of the literature recommended the practice of verifying the information obtained through torture, but many legal experts complained that courts paid too little attention to verification in practice. If the accused, nevertheless, managed to resist torture and did not confess, he or she had to be acquitted, at least until new incriminating evidence appeared.

The statutory theory of proof, together with judicial torture, was not only limited to legal literature but was incorporated into some of the major European legislative pieces of the early modern period, for example, the *Constitutio Criminalis Carolina* of imperial Germany (1532), the French *Ordonnance Royale* (1539) and *Grande Ordonnance Criminelle* (1670), and the *Nueva Recopilación* of Spain (1567). In some parts of Europe torture was used not only on the accused, but also on those against whom full eyewitness proof had already been produced. The idea was to secure confession, considered necessary for salvation, or to obtain evidence about possible accessories.

The legal literature was not greatly concerned with the form that judicial torture could take; this was largely a matter of local custom. In each case, the individual judge selected the method of torture, supposedly taking into consideration the seriousness of the charge. The most widespread torture

device was the *strappado (corda, cola)*, “the queen of torments,” in which the accused’s hands were tied behind the back, and he or she was lifted up with a rope, sometimes with weights attached to the ankles. Or metallic devices, such as leg-braces, leg-screws, and thumbscrews, were used to press the accused’s limbs or fingers and to crush them. Other widely used methods included keeping the accused awake; being stretched on the rack; and inducing the sensation of drowning by wetting a rag stuffed into the accused’s throat.

THE DECLINE OF TORTURE

In the seventeenth century, the system of judicial torture began to lose its practical significance, although it formally remained part of the law in most European countries until the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. An important reason for its gradual disappearance was the erosion of its theoretical basis, the statutory theory of proof. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, new forms of punishment were introduced as alternatives to death to cope with serious criminality, the most important being the galley, the workhouse, and the practice of exile and transportation. The new punishments called for more discretion in choice of punishment and sentencing. When the increased range of punishments and sentencing was combined with the different amounts of evidence available in practice, a revolution in the law of proof occurred. As John Langbein has shown, the “punishment upon suspicion” or “punishment for lying” (*Verdachtstrafe, Lügenstrafe*) developed as a result of this. For lesser evidence, a lesser punishment now followed. Although the death penalty still required full proof, both executions and incidents of judicial torture decreased from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in many European regions.

Thus, Sweden, where the statutory theory of proof was only adopted in the seventeenth century, and in its already changed form, could always boast of not having accepted judicial torture. In practice, however, torture was not completely unknown there. The same can be said of Aragón, another state that did not formally allow the use of torture. The English experience demonstrates particularly clearly the close connection between torture and the law of proof. The English jury system began to develop before the reception of Roman law in Europe. It

was thus the jury, not the Roman canon law of proof, that replaced the archaic modes of evidence in the Middle Ages in England. The jury developed considerable freedom in evaluating evidence and condemning on circumstantial evidence, making torture to extort confessions unnecessary. A regularized system of judicial torture thus never developed, and its use was limited to political cases. Another reason for England’s rejection of torture was that, unlike the Continent, England’s judicial system developed on the basis of unpaid lay judges, to whom it would have been dangerous to entrust a system of torture.

THE ABOLITION OF TORTURE

When Muyart de Vouglans wrote his treatise on criminal procedure in 1780, the medieval law of proof that had formed the basis of judicial torture had been eroded, and the philosophical and legislative attack on torture was already well under way. The best known critique of torture is Cesare Beccaria’s (1738–1794) *On Crimes and Punishments* (1764), to which Muyart de Vouglans’ work was in fact a response. Voltaire (1694–1778) joined Beccaria in fiercely condemning torture in some of his essays. According to the philosophes, torture could not secure correct judgments, since so much depended upon the ability of the accused to resist the physical pain involved. Torture was also wrong because it inflicted pain on people who had not been shown to deserve it. However, as Piero Fiorelli has demonstrated, these arguments were not the discoveries of the eighteenth-century philosophers, having been voiced by individual critics since the Middle Ages. Recent scholarship, especially the works of Fiorelli, Langbein, and Peters, has indeed shown that the historian of torture must look beyond the writings of the Enlightenment philosophers to understand why judicial torture was abolished.

European states abolished torture from their statutory law in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Prussia was the first to abolish it in 1754; Denmark abolished it in 1770, Austria in 1776, France in 1780, and the Netherlands in 1798. Bavaria followed the trend in 1806 and Württemberg in 1809. In Spain the Napoleonic conquest put an end to the practice in 1808. Norway abolished it in 1819 and Portugal in 1826. The

Swiss cantons abolished torture in the first half of the nineteenth century. By the mid-nineteenth century, European legislators had thus harvested the fruits that the early modern revolution of proof, followed by Enlightenment philosophy, had produced. As Langbein and Peters observe, the final abolition of torture occurred gradually and in close connection with a general revision of criminal law. Legislative reforms took place partly simultaneously with, but in general slightly after, the Enlightenment philosophers' attack on judicial torture.

See also **Crime and Punishment; Inquisition; Law; Star Chamber.**

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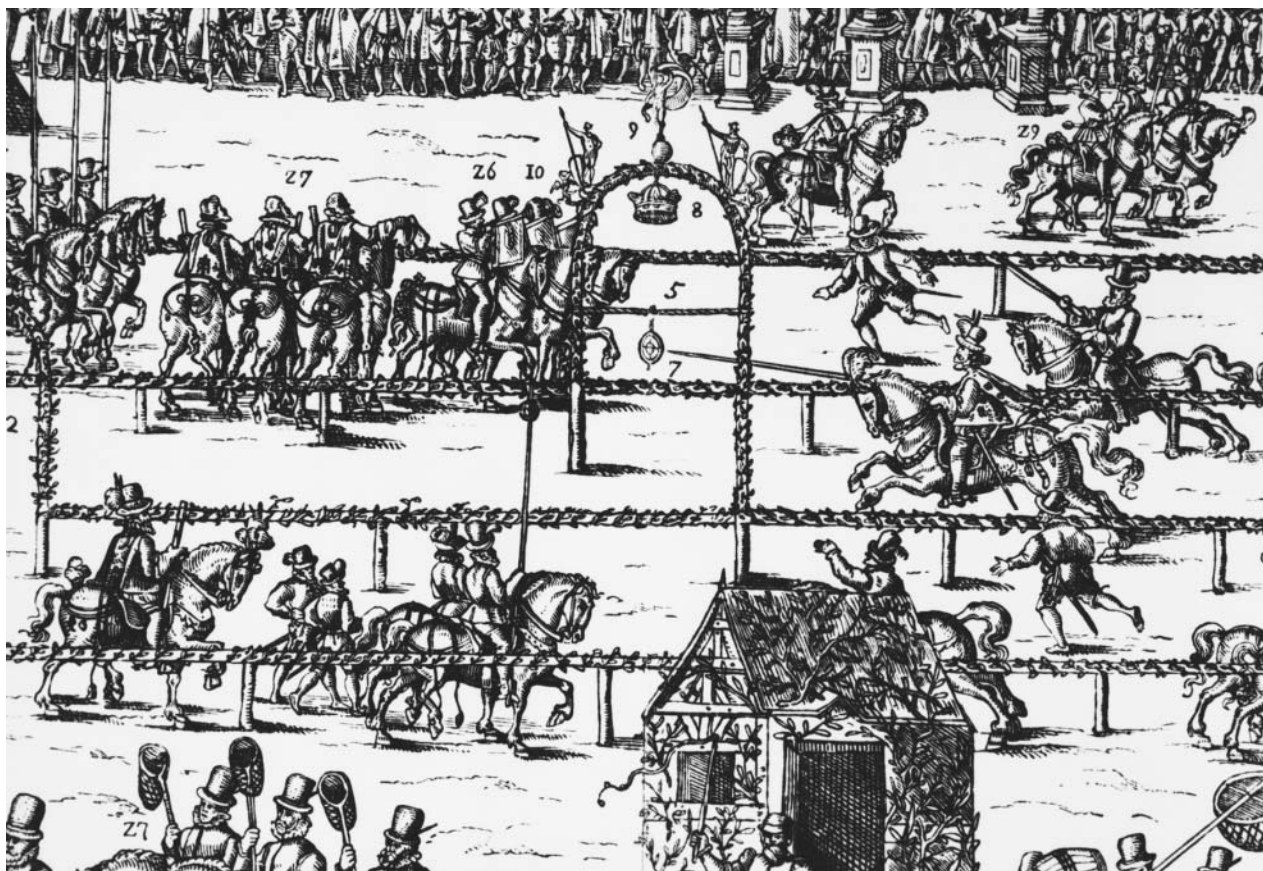
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HEIKKI PIHLAJAMÄKI

TOURNAMENT. Medieval tournaments had originally been serious exercises in martial training. As the introduction of firearms into warfare gradually made knightly armor obsolete, however, jousting lost much, although not all, of its practical rationale. The 1559 tilt at Paris in which French King Henry II received a fatal blow was already a



Tournament. Woodcut of knights practicing in the tilting ring, 1592. ©BETTMANN/CORBIS

somewhat archaic contest. Although tilts and other man-to-man encounters (often with blunted lances) continued to be held here and there into the eighteenth century, noncombative contests, such as runnings at the ring or at the head, became more common. With the decline of serious martial encounters, the medieval tournament tradition gave birth to several new theatrical genres that would flourish in early modern times.

The new genres, meant almost exclusively for courtly, aristocratic circles, may be said to have come into being by way of chivalric literature, whose popularity was undimmed by the progress of classical revival. Romances such as Sir Thomas Malory's *Le morte d'Arthur* (1485; *The death of*

Arthur) and Ludovico Ariosto's *Orlando furioso* (1515–1533; *The madness of Roland*) included episodes of jousting or tilting at the barrier. Planners of new, less earnest tournaments began to imitate situations or plots like those of the romances, so there were many variations on chivalric themes. For example, at Whitehall in 1581, courtier and poet Sir Philip Sidney (1554–1586) and three other knights apparently acted out a prearranged failure to capture the Fortresse of Perfect Beautie, which symbolized Queen Elizabeth's virginity and integrity. In 1605, after a poetic debate between allegorical ladies representing Truth and Opinion, sixteen knights who supported the proposition that marriage is superior to the single life tilted on foot across a barrier with sixteen others championing the opposite view. This



Tournament. Painting of a tournament in Turin by Antonio Tempesta, seventeenth century. ©ARCHIVO ICONOGRAFICO, S.A./CORBIS

English contest was planned by the poet Ben Jonson (1572–1637) and the architect Inigo Jones (1573–1652) as the second part of a whole entitled *Hymenaei: or the Solemnities of Masque and Barriers at a Marriage*. On the first day of the grand 1664 entertainments at Versailles, remembered as *Les Plaisirs de l'Île Enchantée* (Pleasures of the Bewitched Island), a troop of actors and dancers, including the young King Louis XIV, interpreted a chivalric episode of Ariosto's *Orlando*. The Versailles entertainments were apparently inspired in part by others held two years earlier at the court of Bavaria, the planners of which had been, in turn, inspired by Italian examples.

Despite such cross-influences, the evolution of tournament forms varied enormously across Europe. There were dramatic or literary tournaments, operatic tournaments, and many hybrids of tournament and ballet, including horse ballets, in which specially bred and highly trained horses executed graceful movements that sometimes simulated combat. Two of the most elaborate performances of the last kind, both of them put on at the Medici court in Florence during 1616, are handsomely represented in engravings by the artist Jacques Callot (1592–1635). By now, the grandest theatrical tournaments, having been extremely expensive to produce, were usually recorded in engravings and published accounts. There were also books on the art of planning such fêtes, the best-known of them being Claude-François Ménéstrier's *Traité des tournois* (1669; Treatise on tournaments).

See also **Festivals; Louis XIV (France); Prints and Popular Imagery; Versailles**.

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BONNER MITCHELL

TRADING COMPANIES. The early seventeenth century saw the foundation of Dutch and English trading companies with exclusive rights over vast areas in various parts of the globe. These organizations were essentially merchant guilds that represented an "institutional innovation" that enabled them to conduct large-scale trade with distant shores. They came to exercise functions that were usually the prerogative of national states. The main companies were the East India Company, or EIC (1600–1858), the Hudson's Bay Company (founded in 1670 and still active) and the Royal African Company (1672–1750), all English, as well as the Dutch East India Company, or VOC (Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie, 1602–1799) and the Dutch West India Company, or WIC (1621–1791). Imitation companies were established in numerous states, including Denmark, France, Genoa, Portugal, and Sweden.

The commercial success of Dutch fleets in Asia led to the foundation of the two foremost East India companies. The return of four Dutch ships from the Indian Ocean in 1599 laden with spices prompted the English Parliament to award a monopoly of trade with the East Indies to the EIC (31 December 1600). Whereas the English Russia and Turkey Companies had previously failed to get access to spices through the Asian land routes, the English would henceforth use only the route around the Cape of Good Hope. Across the English Channel, the so-called pre-companies, regionally based Dutch organizations that had actively traded with

the East Indies since 1595, were liquidated to make way for the VOC. On 20 March 1602, the Dutch States-General granted the VOC a national monopoly that was similar in nature to that of the EIC.

THE EAST INDIA COMPANIES

The Dutch and English East India Companies followed in the footsteps of the Portuguese merchants in Asia and learned from their experiences. Adopting the model that the Portuguese had successfully pioneered, the VOC created a string of “factories,” fortified trading posts defended by garrisons, from Java to Japan and from Persia to Siam. These posts were linked by a regular exchange of information and commodities. The EIC established its own factories across a more limited area.

The EIC and VOC were not the first companies to enjoy national monopolies, but as chartered companies they did display some novel features. Investment in long-distance trade was no longer limited to overseas traders, as had been the case with regulated companies such as the Turkey Company, but the charters allowed domestic merchants to take part as well. What is more, the chartered companies evolved into joint-stock companies. This meant that shares were freely alienable and merchants no longer raised capital for one voyage, but created a permanent capital committed to the enterprise. Long-term considerations thus determined marketing policies. Nor was the working capital of the companies limited to their capital stock, since both resorted to the capital market to finance their operations.

A sound commercial policy underlay the VOC’s remarkable performance. By minimizing its dependence on markets that it did not control, and becoming the largest buyer and seller, the company drastically reduced its risk. Success did not come overnight, but took decades to achieve. The company benefited from the general commercial crisis rocking Southeast Asia in the mid-seventeenth century, just as the Dutch partly owed their commercial hegemony in Europe to the prevailing regional political and economic crises. Yet the VOC was not universally successful. Its huge overhead costs proved detrimental when competing with Indian traders who operated at low cost and could accept a lower profit margin.

Military expenditures were one factor that raised overhead costs. From the outset, the VOC used force to further its objectives vis-à-vis Moluccan natives, Indian merchants, and Portuguese and English rivals to secure footholds, preempt foreign European settlement, and obtain spice monopolies. Superior military strength enabled the Dutch to conquer the spice islands, seize Portuguese forts, and oust the EIC from the Indonesian archipelago around 1623, the year in which the Dutch governor had ten English nationals tortured and executed. This “Amboina massacre” was a popular English propaganda tool against the Dutch in the years to come. Other noneconomic means helped the VOC to achieve near-total control of the production and marketing of nutmeg, mace, and cloves by the late 1660s. Clove production was, for instance, restricted to the island of Amboina, and trees and surplus stocks were destroyed. The spice monopoly, which enabled the VOC to fix prices, left the company with huge profits. By contrast, pepper remained elusive, since it was cultivated over a vast area. Besides, local princes did not always honor their agreements.

For lack of sufficient financial means, the EIC operated in the shadow of its Dutch counterpart for most of the seventeenth century. Its directors, however, made the best of the EIC’s removal from the Spice Islands by concentrating operations on India, where the VOC’s presence was small. While the VOC achieved some of its original aims, the EIC proved masterful in reinventing itself. In the eighteenth century, it discovered the marketability in Europe of Indian cloth and Chinese tea. In military matters, the EIC underwent a similar metamorphosis. Founded not as a war instrument like its Dutch rival, its fleets were relatively poorly equipped and offensive actions against Asians or Europeans virtually impossible. However, the company’s new charter of 1661 stipulated that it could make war or peace with non-Christian princes or people, and very gradually, a more assertive line was adopted, in particular on the Indian subcontinent. By the 1760s, the EIC may be said to have assumed the role of a nation-state in India. It is debatable whether this expansion was based on a master plan, or whether the company was sucked into local power politics. The theory of reluctant imperialism has also been applied to the VOC, which was unable

to achieve its objectives on Java without involving itself in a complex indigenous power struggle.

Wherever the chartered companies conducted a profitable trade, fellow nationals tried to benefit as interlopers. Exchanging goods from one part of Asia in another, EIC factors and private individuals carved out a niche for themselves. Although the EIC initially forbade such trade, considering those involved as rivals of its own intra-Asian trade, the costs that it entailed made the company withdraw from the trade, and its attitude toward the interlopers changed accordingly. “Free” merchants could begin to settle in port cities under English rule, after the EIC issued a series of indulgences, starting in 1667. Subsequent English commercial success in Asia cannot be understood without taking into account private “country trade.” The VOC showed no such lenience, despite a statement by the secretary of its largest regional body, the Amsterdam Chamber, in the 1650s that intra-Asian trade were better left to private traders, whose overhead costs were modest compared with the company’s, with its heavily armed ships. Not until 1742 did the VOC allow breaches in its monopoly. On the other hand, company employees enriched themselves by conducting private trade side by side with official company trade. Fraud and corruption were rampant in the Dutch factories.

In intra-Asian trade, the Portuguese had shown the way. Their country trade was more important than their trade to Europe. Like the Portuguese and the English private merchants, the VOC became active in this trade. Between 1640 and 1688 the Dutch company procured substantial amounts of Japanese silver and Taiwanese gold for the purchase of Indian textiles, which were then exchanged for Indonesian pepper and other spices, although some were sent to Europe. Most pepper and other spices were also sold in Europe, but a certain percentage was invested in Persia, India, Taiwan, and Japan. The profits made in the intra-Asian trade paid for Asian products, the sales of which in Europe yielded more than the dividend that the VOC paid to its shareholders in this period. The company’s role in intra-Asian trade was eroded in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, when Indian merchants emerged as serious rivals in the trade to Java, Sumatra, and the Malay Peninsula. In addition, Japanese authorities curbed Dutch trade, effectively ending

the VOC’s role as chief supplier of precious metals in various Asian markets. Still, while the English became the main nation involved, the VOC easily remained the leading European company participating in intra-Asian trade.

What was the relationship between private trading companies and the home governments? Local magistrates were closely connected to VOC affairs in the United Provinces. They elected the directors of the regional chambers from among the principal investors. The States-General, for its part, had not only delegated sovereign powers to the VOC at the company’s inception, but financially supported it afterward in time of need. This aid proved crucial in the VOC’s early years, enabling the struggling company to make long-term investments in infrastructure and in military, maritime, and commercial affairs, which eventually paid off. The British government, on the other hand, arbitrarily exploited the financial resources of the EIC on several occasions. At the same time, it grew increasingly alarmed about the way the EIC conducted itself in India. Concluding alliances and treaties with native princes, and leading territorial expansion, the company resembled more a sovereign state than a trading company. Warfare was also thought to cut into profits from Asian trade, which was supposedly the company’s chief business. The Dutch also debated the advantages of territorial expansion, but here it was the VOC’s central board, not the States-General, that challenged the wisdom of company employees on the ground in Java.

Both companies contributed to national prosperity by employing thousands, stimulating the domestic shipbuilding and textile industries, and offering investment outlets. British financial leaders became involved in the EIC, while company men advised the British government on financial affairs. No such systematic crossovers occurred in the Dutch Republic, not even when the VOC faced serious financial problems in the second half of the eighteenth century. The fourth Anglo-Dutch War (1780–1784), in particular, had disastrous financial consequences. The curtain finally came down for the VOC following the French invasion of the Dutch Republic (1795). On 1 March 1796 a Committee of East Indian Trade and Possessions replaced the company directors. The EIC did not emerge as the great beneficiary of its rival’s demise.

Not only had the French and Danish East India Companies emerged as competitors, the home front grew increasingly critical of the company's moral and economic record. In 1813 the British government stripped the EIC of all its monopolies, except for the tea trade with Canton, and in 1833 all company trade ceased. After the Great Rebellion in India (1857–1858), the British state assumed the company's affairs.

THE ATLANTIC WORLD

Very different conditions obtained in the Atlantic world, where plantation companies such as the Virginia Company, licensed to establish colonies, were more prominent than pure trading companies, although in actual practice it is difficult to distinguish between the two. In 1621 the Dutch West India Company received privileges similar to those the VOC had in Asia. Founded expressly as a war machine that targeted Spanish and Portuguese ships and settlements, the WIC attracted little investment, as Dutch citizens feared the risks to which the company ships were exposed. They were proven wrong in the company's early days, in particular after the celebrated capture of the Spanish silver fleet of 1628, when the company paid a 50 percent dividend to its shareholders.

Soon, however, financial problems troubled the WIC and proved almost insurmountable. The company faced entirely different circumstances in the Atlantic from those experienced by the VOC. The creation of an intricate network of factories did not make sense in the Atlantic world. There was no Atlantic counterpart to the centuries-old intra-Asian trade in which to participate. Nor was the WIC able to obtain monopsony of the New World commodity it prized most: sugar. Not even the occupation (1630–1654) of northeastern Brazil, the world's largest producer, helped the company achieve that goal. The Dutch discovered that marketing Brazilian sugar was more difficult than was the case with East Indian spices, precisely because of the competition from other areas of sugar cultivation, including Java, Bengal, and the island of São Tomé off the African west coast.

Unlike its Asian counterpart, the WIC was unable to combine a vigorous commercial enterprise with warfare. The costly war with Habsburg Spain over Brazil, which began in 1630, forced the com-

pany to abandon some of its monopolies. By 1638, only the export of slaves from Africa and ammunition from the Netherlands, and the import of Brazilian dyewood, remained in company hands. Private merchants soon dominated the Brazil trade, although the dividing line between company interests and private concerns was, once again, not as clear as might be expected; WIC directors were among the principals of the free traders.

One argument used by advocates of the liberalization of trade was the need to people Dutch Brazil. The immigration of “free” settlers—artisans, merchants, and other colonists not in company service—so the argument ran, did more to guarantee the survival of a colony than the presence of soldiers. Besides, without trade the military was bound to become a liability, since soldiers' salaries and rations would eat away the company budget. A “free” population would create economic activity and pay import and export duties, as well as bear the burden of the soldiery. Free trade was also necessary to lure free settlers from the Dutch Republic.

At a slightly earlier stage, a similar discussion had erupted over New Netherland, the company's colony in North America. After the WIC assumed control of the colony in 1623, Manhattan and Fort Orange (now Albany) were established as trading posts to tap the vast hinterland for peltries. These posts resembled the VOC factories in Asia. A factory would seem to rule out large-scale migration, if only to curtail defense expenditures, as one company faction argued. Advocates of migration among the WIC directors emphasized the positive long-term effects of investments in agriculture and settlement. Their arguments carried the day, and by 1640 the company's fur monopoly was abolished.

The WIC remained in chronic financial trouble, as the war with the Iberian countries dragged on. In 1644 even a merger with the VOC was discussed, but the VOC refused, although it was forced by the States-General to pay its counterpart 5 million florins. In 1674, the WIC went bankrupt and was replaced by a new one with capable directors, recruited from the ranks of the shareholders. Outstanding shares and bonds were converted into new shares at a small percentage of their nominal value. In the eighteenth century, the WIC was transformed into an organization that managed the

Dutch colonies, after it lost its last monopolies, including the slave trade.

Whereas the WIC originally monopolized commerce in several products in the Atlantic world, monopolies in England were granted to various corporations. The English slave trade was exclusively conducted by the Royal African Company from 1672 until Parliament in 1698 yielded to the demands of other merchants and opened the slave trade to everyone. The Hudson's Bay Company started out as a fur-trading enterprise before undergoing a peculiar metamorphosis. It took up exploration on the west coast of North America and in the Arctic, branched out into land development and real estate, and remains to this day one of Canada's largest retailers.

IMITATION COMPANIES

If the Dutch and the English invented the typical chartered company, other Europeans were not far behind. Drawing inspiration from the pioneers, they imitated their examples down to the last detail. For example, the management of the Danish East India Company, founded in 1616, was entrusted to nine directors who received the Dutch title *bewindhebbers*. What may help to account for the adoption of Dutch terms was the role played by immigrants from Amsterdam and Rotterdam in establishing the Scandinavian companies. Nor was imitation confined to northern Europe; the Dutch West India Company served as the model for a Spanish privileged trading company, which was discussed at various times during the seventeenth century.

The imitation companies had one element in common. Their founders were obsessed with the particular structure of the English and Dutch models. They found to their cost that elaborate government initiatives only paid off when buttressed by mercantile activities. The latter, however, were often conspicuously absent. And even where there was sufficient support from merchants, undercapitalization prevented the companies from yielding the expected profits. In either case, private traders were allowed to break up the company monopolies within a few years.

What also stood in the way of success was the large degree of royal control over the imitation companies. The French East and West India Com-

panies, in particular, were designed to increase state power abroad instead of running a business enterprise. The Portuguese East India Company (1628–1633) faced another problem. While the Dutch and English companies had set up the administrative apparatus in Asia from scratch, Portuguese company officials had to defer to existing authorities. They were forced to operate in a trading empire that had functioned for more than a century under its own political and military administration, which was not going to yield.

See also **British Colonies; Dutch Colonies; Dutch Republic; French Colonies; Fur Trade: North America; Portuguese Colonies; Shipping; Spanish Colonies.**

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WIM KLOOSTER

TRANSPORTATION. See **Communication and Transportation.**

TRAVEL AND TRAVEL LITERATURE. Travel writing was perhaps the most diverse genre of literature in early modern Europe. A single travel account contained nautical information including wind direction and speed, ocean depth, latitude and longitude, astronomical observations, and distance traveled each day. Coastlines were mapped, interiors explored, exotic plants and animals described for the first time by Europeans, or the observations of previous explorers confirmed. Accounts contained military intelligence regarding city fortifications, water supplies, populations, points of dissent that might be exploited, and notes on local commerce. Of great interest to European audiences were the customs and manners of indigenous populations encountered. All of this was rolled together and given a narrative form combining both adventure and philosophical reflection on Europe in the mirror of the other. European audiences were enthralled. Travel literature was the second-best-selling genre in the early modern era, behind only history.

Already in the sixteenth century enterprising editors began collecting the accounts of navigators and voyageurs. Richard Hakluyt's (1552–1616) *Principal Navigations, Traffiques and Discoveries* (1589) celebrated the English maritime tradition from the sixth to the sixteenth century; in a second edition he expanded his collection to include translations of French and Italian voyages as well. It is only through Hakluyt's edition that Sir Francis Drake's report of his privateering and circumnavigation of the globe survives, as the original report disappeared without being published shortly after he submitted it to Queen Elizabeth I. Hakluyt him-

self drew on the English precedents of Richard Eden's *Decades of the New World or West India* (London, 1555), which had been revised and expanded by Richard Willes in *The History of Travayle* (London, 1577). These in turn can be traced to the Italian collection by Giovanni Battista Ramusio, *Navigazioni et viaggi* (Navigations and voyages, 3 vols; Venice 1550–1556). Hakluyt inspired several other collections and continuations of travel literature over the centuries, and in the nineteenth century a “Hakluyt Society” was founded, dedicated to the history of navigation and discovery, which exists to this day.

Useful for popular entertainment, moral edification, and scientific inquiry, travel literature also exerted direct influence on national policy. While neither Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca's (c. 1490–1557) urging of the Spanish crown to take a greater interest in proselytizing in Central America nor Sir Walter Raleigh's (1552–1618) advocacy of British exploration in greater Guiana were of direct consequence to national policy, other authors managed to get their message heard. William Dampier's *A New Voyage round the World* (1697), *Voyages and Descriptions* (1699), and *A Voyage to New Holland* (1704) were instrumental in directing England's attention to the Pacific, which previously had been ceded to the Spanish and the Dutch. John and Awnsham Churchill's *Collection of Voyages and Travels* (1704), modeled on Hakluyt and inspired by Dampier's commercial success, was a comprehensive plan for establishing naval bases in the Pacific for further exploration, commerce, and warfare. As the influence of Holland and Spain declined in the Pacific in the eighteenth century, England and France enjoined rivalry over Pacific hegemony.

England and France raced to be the first to discover the *Terra Australis incognita*, the southern continent believed to be a geographic necessity to balance the landmass of the northern hemisphere. In the late 1760s the British and French happened upon Tahiti nearly simultaneously. In 1767 Samuel Wallis landed on the islands first, but Louis Antoine de Bougainville was in the area also from 1766 to 1769. He dispatched his scientific team to collect plant and animal specimens from the islands, and he even brought a native Tahitian named Ahutoru back to Paris. Immediately upon his return to France in 1769 Bougainville announced the discov-

ery of the islands he named New Cythera, after the Aegean island where the goddess Venus first washed ashore. The discovery showed that the French navy could still compete with the British in the wake of the Seven Years' War (1756–1763), and thus it occasioned a great deal of national pride. The British responded with James Cook's first voyage (1768–1771), underwritten by the Royal Society, and in a separate expedition in 1774 Tobias Furneaux brought to London the Tahitian Omai, in answer to Ahutoru. Whether French, British, or Spanish, the voyages of discovery were always patriotic endeavors in addition to having geopolitical, military, and economic significance.

Travel literature created an odd association between men of action and men of letters. Shakespeare set his *Tempest* (c. 1611) on a spooky island, perhaps inspired by William Strachey's "True Repertory of the Wracke and Redemption of Sir Thomas Gates" in Bermuda (written 1610, published 1625). Strachey's shipmates initially found the island a desert, "onley fed with raine water, which neverthelesse soone sinketh into the earth and vanisheth away." Other places were populated by bats and indigenous people who did not respond well to the castaways' kindnesses. Shakespeare's "island seem to be a desert," (II. 1), Sebastian proposed to "go a bat-fowling" (II. 1), and the native Caliban returned Prospero's generosity by attempting to rape his daughter Miranda (I. 2). Even the sprite Ariel appeared in Strachey's account of "an apparition of a little round light, like a faint starre, trembling, and streaming along with a sparkeling blaze, halfe the height upon the Maine Mast, and shooting sometimes from Shroud to Shroud, tempting to settle as it were upon any of the four Shrouds." It remained half the night and finally disappeared at dawn. Nevertheless Strachey wanted to disabuse the English of the image of Bermuda as islands that "can be of no habitation to man, but rather given over to devils and spirits"—but this is precisely the legend Shakespeare built upon.

In 1708–1711 one of the most influential travel writers, William Dampier, circumnavigated the globe with the privateer Woodes Rogers, who returned with both ships intact and his holds filled with exotic and expensive items, matching the success of Sir Francis Drake a century and a quarter earlier. Along the way they rescued Alexander

Selkirk, who had been put ashore in the Island of Juan Fernandez in 1704 and marooned there for five years. They found Selkirk clothed in goat skins, looking "wilder than the original owners of them." He had survived by hunting and fishing and had passed the time "reading, singing Psalms and praying, so that he said he was a better Christian while in this solitude, than he ever was before." Selkirk was hailed in William Cowper's 1782 poem "The Solitude of Alexander Selkirk:" "I am monarch of all I survey." Selkirk's experience also formed the outline of one of the first English novels, Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* (1719). Selkirk's island, some 500 miles west of Santiago, Chile, is still officially named Isla Robinson Crusoe. Even Samuel Taylor Coleridge's "Rime of the Ancient Mariner" (1798) has a core of truth, adopted from an episode described by George Shelvocke (*Voyage round the World*, 1726) of being stuck in the doldrums off Cape Horn, the only sign of life "a disconsolate black albatross, who accompanied us for several days, hovering about us as if he had lost himself, till Hatley, my second captain, imagining from his color that it might be some ill-omen, after some fruitless attempts, at length shot the albatross, not doubting, perhaps, that we should have a fair wind after it." Instead that minor atrocity brought Hatley no better luck than Coleridge's ancient mariner.

James Boswell caught the travel bug while speaking with Captain Cook between Cook's second and third voyages in 1776. He told Samuel Johnson that "while I was with the Captain, I caught the enthusiasm of curiosity and adventure, and felt a strong inclination to go with him on his next voyage. JOHNSON: 'Why, Sir, a man does feel so, till he considers how very little he can learn from such voyages.' BOSWELL: 'But one is carried away with the general and distinct notion of A Voyage Round the World.' JOHNSON: 'Yes, Sir, but a man is to guard himself against taking a thing in general.'" (Boswell, *Life of Samuel Johnson*, 3 April 1776)

"The enthusiasm of curiosity and adventure"—these were the allure of travel literature in the early modern period. Hardship and desperation brought out the best of human perseverance and intrepidity, whether it was the drama of Cook's crew desperately bailing water while trying to hoist the *Endeavor* off the Great Barrier Reef in 1771 or the exhilaration of William Bligh's arrival at Timor after

sailing 1,200 leagues across the South Pacific with seventeen men in a twenty-three-foot open boat, after having been cast adrift by a mutinous crew of the *Bounty*. Just as exciting was George Anson's four-year *Voyage round the World* (1748), fraught with near disaster at every step. Storms off Cape Horn reduced a fleet of six raiders to one; raids on Spanish settlements on the west coast of South America as part of the War of the Austrian Succession (1740–1748) were beaten back; a treasure ship was captured; typhoon winds were so fierce that men lashed themselves to the fore-rigging to serve as sails, and one of the best was blown overboard and last seen treading water in the distance with no chance of rescue; advanced scurvy was healed with miraculous swiftness by fruit and fresh water on a South Pacific island. In scene after scene voyage accounts were a read as engaging as any modern thriller.

Only in rare cases like Dampier and Sir Walter Raleigh did men of action double as men of letters. Usually accounts of voyages around the world were ghostwritten (if not overtly so) by another author, and in the eighteenth century it was the policy of the British Admiralty board to confiscate the captains' logs and other officers' journals and turn them over to an author who collated the information and turned it into literature. In 1771, for example, John Hawkesworth was given a £6,000 advance to compile the scientific journals of Joseph Banks and Daniel Solander and Cook's logs in order to produce "the official" account of the voyage. J. Reinhold Forster thought he bore the right to fill Hawkesworth's role on Cook's second voyage for which he himself was the chief science officer, but after Hawkesworth's performance was panned in the British press, Cook asserted control over his logs and produced his own account. But even here the naval captain had considerable help from John Douglas, a canon of Windsor, in composing the narrative. Richard Owen Cambridge was assigned by the Admiralty to assist Forster, but Forster pulled out of the deal and turned his notes and journals over to his son George, who had also sailed with his father and Cook.

Not all travel in the early modern period involved overseas navigation, and many overland expeditions were specifically scientific in intent. Scientific travel marks a major change between the

curiosity cabinets of the seventeenth-century collectors and the eighteenth-century project of botanical and zoological (and human) taxonomy. Following the lead of his teacher Olof Rudbeck, who in 1695 had made an overland journey to Lapland, in 1732 Carl Linnaeus crossed the Arctic Circle to the north coast of Norway, chiefly in search of plant specimens, the results of which were published as *Flora Laponica* (1737). Several of Linnaeus's students traveled the globe in the taxonomic effort: Daniel Solander explored the South Pacific on Cook's first voyage; on his second voyage Cook picked up Anders Sparrmann at the Cape of Good Hope and took him around the world; Karl Peter Thunberg was the first European to visit Japan in over a century, where he offered medical information to the Japanese and took home numerous plant specimens; and Peter Forskål, traveling with a Danish Hebrew scholar and a German geographer funded by the Danish crown, sent home drawings and specimens from Egypt and Arabia before the expedition was wiped out by malaria in Yemen. J. G. Gmelin spent ten years (1733–1743) observing the flora and fauna of Siberia on the Russian payroll and published both a travel narrative and a scientific treatise, each in four volumes. The French also sent an expedition to Lapland in the 1730s, led by Pierre Louis Moreau de Maupertuis (1698–1759) not to collect plant specimens but to make astronomical observations to confirm the theory that, due to its rotation, the Earth is slightly flattened at its poles. These observations were coordinated with a simultaneous expedition to equatorial Peru led by Charles Marie de la Condamine (1701–1774). Most of the research journeys were government-funded and of national interest to the funding monarch, implicitly pitting the scientists against one another in competition. Yet there was a clear sense among the scientists themselves that they were members of an international republic of letters, and through their published travel narratives they shared their findings with each other.

As the volume of travel literature increased rapidly in the late eighteenth century, scholars began to put it to systematic use. Here the observations of travelers constituted the raw scientific data of geography and climate, of flora and fauna, and of human society and customs. In France Abbé Guillaume Thomas François Raynal (1713–1796) assembled a

philosophical and political history of the settlements and trade of the Europeans in the East and West Indies on the basis of travel literature. Earlier in the century Anton Yves Goguet (1716–1758) brought a wealth of anecdotes from modern travelers to bear on ancient authors to construct a history of humanity in its earliest stages. Montesquieu's *Spirit of the Laws* (1748) was heavily dependent on travel reports. In Britain Henry Home, Lord Kames (1696–1782) and William Falconer (1744–1824) produced histories of global humanity from travel reports. In Germany the first glimmer of modern anthropology emerged in the reading of travel literature by Isaac Iselin (1728–1782), Johann Gottfried Herder (1744–1803), and Christoph Meiners (1747–1810), whose *Grundriß der Geschichte der Menschheit* (1785; Outline of the history of humanity) contained an eighty-page bibliography of cited travel literature.

See also Botany; Cartography and Geography; Colonization; Ethnography; Europe and the World; Exploration; Herder, Johann Gottfried von; Linnaeus, Carl; Montesquieu, Charles-Louis de Secondat de.

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MICHAEL CARHART

TRENT, COUNCIL OF. Considered the nineteenth general council of Western Christendom, the Council of Trent met after much delay in response to the call of both Lutherans and Catholics at the Nuremberg Reichstag of 1524 for “a general free Christian council in German lands” to reform the church. Paul III (reigned 1534–1549), having failed to assemble a council in the imperial city of Mantua in 1537 due primarily to inadequate security arrangements and in Venetian Vicenza in 1538 due to the attendance of only five bishops, ordered the council to meet in 1542 in Trent. This Holy Roman Empire city had a population of about six thousand, of whom a quarter were German-speaking, was ruled by a prince-bishop, and was situated on the Italian side of the Alps about eighty miles south of an imperial residence in Innsbruck. Hostilities between France and the empire delayed the opening of the council until 1545.

GOALS AND SESSIONS OF THE COUNCIL

The goals formally assigned to the council by Paul III in 1542 were to define doctrine, correct morals, restore peace among Christians, and repel infidels. Pius IV in 1560 made explicit the goal that “schisms and heresies may be destroyed.” The pope initially gave priority to a clarification of Catholic doctrine,



Council of Trent. Painting by Hermanos Zuccarelli, c. 1560–1566. ©ARCHIVO ICONOGRAFICO, S.A./CORBIS

the emperor to a reform of abuses. The compromise was to treat simultaneously the removal of any abuses related to a teaching that was defined.

Period I. The council can be divided into three periods. Period I, under Paul III, consisted of sessions 1 to 8 (13 December 1545 to 11 March 1547), which met in Trent. Claiming an outbreak of typhus, the pope had the council transferred to Bologna in the Papal States despite the opposition of the 27 bishops from Habsburg lands, who remained in Trent. Sessions 9 and 10 (21 April and 2 June 1547) issued no doctrinal or disciplinary decrees, and after the general congregation of 29 February 1548 the council was suspended. In subsequent periods the council would return to Trent. In

the first period, attendance varied from about 30 to 70 prelates per session; in all there were about 100 members with a deliberative vote: 5 cardinals, 12 archbishops, 76 bishops, 3 abbots, and 6 generals of religious orders, plus two procurators of absent German bishops who had only a consultative voice. Most prelates were Italians, the Spanish were well represented, and only a few came from other Catholic lands. During this period the prelates focused on the teachings of Martin Luther (1483–1546), Huldrych Zwingli (1484–1531), and their followers in Germany and Switzerland.

Period II. Period II, under Julius III (reigned 1550–1555), included sessions 11 to 16 (1 May 1551 to 28 April 1552). Attendance varied between

44 and 51 prelates, with a total of about 59 prelates. As many as 13 German bishops were represented, including the personal presence of the powerful electoral archbishops of Mainz, Cologne, and Trier. Lutheran states agreed to send delegations: that from Brandenburg accepted the authority of the council and was incorporated at the 13th session; those from Württemberg and the imperial cities led by Strasbourg were allowed to read their mandates at the general congregation of 24 January 1552. Hopes that agreement could be found with so many Germans present were dashed by the reopening of military conflict.

Period III. Period III, under Pius IV (reigned 1559–1565), consisted of sessions 17 to 26 (18 January 1562 to 3–4 December 1563) and was noteworthy for the arrival of a delegation of 13 bishops, 3 abbots, and 18 theologians from France and for the increased attention to the teachings of John Calvin (1509–1564) and the situation in France. There were 117 prelates at the 17th session, which rose to 228 at the 24th. About 270 bishops in all attended during this period, the vast majority being Italians (187), but Spanish (31) and French (26) were also well represented, and bishops from other Catholic lands attended too. The final decree was signed by 255 prelates and procurators. Altogether, the council sat for five years and one month.

ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE AND ATTENDEES

The organizational structures given to the council allowed it to achieve most of its goals. The popes were usually represented by cardinal legates, who served as council presidents and were in regular communication with the pope and congregation of cardinals in Rome, who set the agenda and at times made crucial decisions. “The Holy Spirit arrived in the saddle bags of papal couriers,” quipped the historian Paolo Sarpi (1552–1623). The most important presidents were Cardinals Giovanni Maria Ciocchi del Monte (1487–1555, Tuscan canonist, administrator, and future Julius III), Reginald Pole (1500–1558, cousin of Henry VIII, friend of Sir Thomas More, conciliatory theologian, and archbishop of Canterbury under Mary Tudor), Girolamo Seripando (1493–1563, Neapolitan, conciliatory theologian, reformer, former general of the Augustinian friars, and archbishop of Salerno),

Stanislaus Hosius (1504–1579, Polish controversialist theologian and bishop of Warmia), and Giovanni Morone (1509–1580, Milanese diplomat, conciliatory theologian, former bishop of Modena, and target of the Roman Inquisition, whose diplomatic skills rescued the council after the deadlock over episcopal residence in 1563). The council presidents had the difficult task of resolving disputes—traditionalists versus conciliationists, papalists versus conciliarists and episcopalists, curialists and exempt religious versus diocesan bishops, Scholastics versus humanists, Scotists versus Thomists versus Augustinians, and rival national delegations eager for uniformity in teaching and practice (Spanish and Italians) or for reconciliation with the Protestants in their lands (Germans and French) or for preserving their ruler’s patronage rights and prerogatives (Spanish, Portuguese, and French).

Among the other leading prelates at the council were the Italians: Pietro Bertano, O.P. (Fano), Tommaso Campeggio (Feltre), Giulio Contarini (Belluno), Cornelio Musso, O.F.M. (Bitonto, then Bertinoro), and Tommaso Stella, O.P. (Salpe, then Lavello, and finally Capodistria); the Spanish: Martín Pérez de Ayala (Guadix, then Segovia), Pedro Guerrero (Granada), Pedro Pacheco (Jaen), and Melchor Álvares de Vozmediano (Guadix); the Portuguese Bartolomé dos Martires, O.P. (Braga) and João Soares, O.E.S.A. (Coimbra); the Frenchmen Antoine Filheul (Aix), Charles de Guise (Reims), and Nicolas Psaume (Verdun); the Germans Friedrich Grau [Nausea] (Vienna) and Julius von Pflug (Naumburg); the Scot Robert Wauchop (Armagh); the Croatian Georg Draskovich (Pécs); the Moravian Anton Brus von Müglitz (Prague); and the exiled Swede Olof Månsson Store (Uppsala).

Theologians, who had only a consultative vote in the proceedings, were sent by the pope and Christian rulers or brought along as advisers (*periti*) by the bishops and generals of religious orders. Known as “minor theologians” (*theologi minores*) to distinguish them from prelates who were also theologians, the vast majority were members of religious orders, and of these over half were Franciscans and about a quarter Dominicans. In the first period they numbered about 35; their numbers rose until in the last period there were about 100, of whom only 34 were allowed to speak on a topic, for a half-

hour each; the others could submit their thoughts in writing prior to a debate. Among the leading theologians were the Jesuits and papal theologians Diego Lainez and Alfonso Salmeron; the Dominican Thomists Melchor Cano, Domingo de Soto, Bartolomé Carranza de Miranda, and Ambrogio Catarino (Lancellotto de' Politi); the Franciscan Scotists Alfonso de Castro and Andrés Vega; and the secular priests Johann Gropper, Francisco de Torres, and Ruard Tapper.

The council developed its own organizational structures. It began with classes or group meetings in which bishops and theologians together debated the theological issues, frequently in the form of suspect quotations extracted from the writings of the Protestants. When the bishops soon came to hate this procedure (*odiossima*), the legates had the theologians debate the topics on their own with the bishops listening. Once ideas were clarified and a consensus emerged, the bishops met on their own in particular congregations to draw up draft decrees. Reform decrees were drafted by commissions (nominated by the legates and approved by the prelates) from various proposals submitted by bishops and ambassadors. Drafts of decrees were debated in general congregations, where they were modified and approved. Formal approbation was done at a session, a liturgical ceremony with a mass, sermon, and formal vote on the decree. The decrees were issued in the name of the council with the papal legates presiding and not in the name of the council representing the universal church, as the more conciliarist types preferred. Beginning with the fifth session, the council condemned certain theological statements as anathema (contrary to Catholic teaching and practice) and then gave the reasons for the condemnation. From the sixth session onward the doctrinal decrees began with chapters that stated positively the Catholic position and ended with canons that condemned unacceptable teachings. The canons had the greater doctrinal weight.

DECREES

The council issued a number of important doctrinal decrees. It affirmed that all the books of the Bible, including the Apocrypha or deuterocanonical books not found in the Hebrew bible and rejected by Luther, were inspired and that the Vulgate version was “authentic,” that is, could be used in sermons

and disputations. Critical editions and translations were subject to ecclesiastical censorship. The Bible was to be interpreted according to the sense given to it by the church over the centuries. Unwritten apostolic traditions, whether dictated orally by Christ or by the Holy Spirit, were also a source of saving truths and rules of conduct. It restated the teaching of the Council of Orange (529) on the existence, nature, and effects of original sin, rejecting both Pelagian optimism and Lutheran pessimism. It taught that justification, whereby one's sins were remitted and one became just and could grow in holiness through good works “done in God,” was an unmerited gift of God, but that those with the power of discretion must freely cooperate with grace. The traditional seven sacraments (baptism, confirmation, Eucharist, penance or reconciliation, extreme unction or anointing of the sick, holy orders, and matrimony) were taught as having been instituted by Christ (whether immediately or mediately is not defined), to contain the graces they signify, and in the case of baptism, confirmation, and holy orders to leave an indelible mark on the soul so that they could not be repeated. Baptism by water even of children was necessary for salvation. In the Eucharist the bread and wine were changed into the true Body and Blood of Christ (transubstantiation), the pope was to decide when and where it was prudent to allow reception of the Eucharist under both forms, the Mass was a sacrifice, auricular confession of one's mortal sins to a priest was required, and marriage to be valid was henceforth to be contracted before a priest and witnesses. The existence of purgatory and the veneration of saints, relics, and sacred images were also decreed.

Among the principal reform decrees were those requiring a bishop to preach and reside in his diocese. A bishop was to conduct a visitation of his diocese and celebrate a synod annually. He was also to establish a lectureship on the Bible and to see that catechetical instruction was provided for the laity in parishes and that his clergy were properly trained in ecclesiastical disciplines in colleges—this led to the establishment of seminaries. Parish churches (and not confraternity churches and private chapels) were to be the settings for the laity's regular religious worship and instruction. Books were not to be published until their orthodoxy had been determined by the local ordinary or pope—this led to the issu-

ance of lists or indices of forbidden books. Religious art was encouraged as a means for instruction and incitement of piety, but care was to be exercised that no false doctrine or unbecoming and confusing scene was depicted and no superstitious practices allowed. Avoiding more restrictive prescriptions, the council decreed that music was allowed in church provided it was not “base and suggestive,” and it ordered seminarians to be taught to chant. The council entrusted to the pope the completion of a number of tasks it was unable to finish, and asked him to confirm its decrees.

By the bull *Benedictus Deus*, dated 26 January 1564 but issued on June 30th, Pope Pius IV confirmed all the decrees of the council unaltered and ordered their implementation. The first official edition of the decrees had been printed in Rome by Paolo Manuzio on 18 March 1564. The pope forbade the publication of any glosses or commentaries on them and established the Congregation of the Council on 2 August 1564 to interpret them. The principal doctrinal teachings of the council he summarized in the *Professio Fidei Tridentina*, to which all university professors (10 November 1564) and prelates (13 November 1564) were required to swear. Support for implementing the decrees was sought and secured from the rulers of Catholic states: Spain, Portugal, Venice, and Poland-Lithuania in 1564, the Catholic Swiss Cantons in 1565, and the Catholic Estates of the Empire in 1566. When the king and Estates-General of France repeatedly refused to confirm the decrees of Trent, French bishops met on their own and did so in 1615. Provincial councils applied Trent’s decrees on the local levels. The decrees of the six Milanese provincial councils (1565–1582) held under Carlo Borromeo (1538–1584) and published together in 1582 as *Acta Ecclesiae Mediolanensis* became the model throughout Catholic Europe for much of the implementing legislation on the provincial and diocesan levels. The papacy brought to completion the tasks assigned to it by the council, issuing revised indices of forbidden books (1564 and 1596), the first Roman Catechism (1566), and corrected editions of the Breviary (1568) and Missal (1570). The decisions of the Congregation of the Council imposed on Catholicism a uniformity and passive deference to Rome that became known as Tridentinism. The implementation of Trent’s decrees

on the local level, pushed forward by papal nuncios, reforming bishops and religious, and dedicated Catholic rulers, took many generations to effect.

See also **Bible: Interpretation; Borromeo, Carlo; Catholicism; Clergy: Roman Catholic Clergy; Index of Prohibited Books; Jesuits; Lutheranism; Marriage; Paul III (pope); Pius IV (pope); Reformation, Catholic; Religious Orders; Ritual, Religious; Sarpi, Paolo (Pietro); Seminary.**

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TRIANGULAR TRADE PATTERN.

The transatlantic slave trade involved more than the European purchase of slaves in Africa and their sale in the New World. Historians have identified as a triangular trade pattern a typical voyage of a slave ship consisting of three distinct legs: in the first, the ship would sail from a European port to coastal Africa and exchange its goods for slaves, who were then taken to the New World and sold for colonial produce. The ship then returned home to Europe laden with colonial cash crops, completing the triangle. The triangular trade found its classic, although not its original, expression in Eric Williams's seminal *Capitalism and Slavery* (1944). Williams argued that the triangular trade was Great Britain's primary trade in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and gave a triple stimulus to British industry. British manufactures were used to buy slaves in Africa, and once the slaves were put to work on American plantations, they were dressed—along with their owners—by British industries and fed by New England agriculture and Newfoundland fisheries. Finally, the New World commodities that the slaves produced were processed in Britain, thus giving rise to new industries.

Williams went on to suggest that this multiple stimulus was so significant that the British triangular trade paved the way for the industrial revolution. There was a link, he argued, between the capital accumulated in the slave trade of Liverpool, Britain's largest slave-trading port, and the emergence of manufactures in Manchester. Up to 1770, one-third of Manchester's textiles exports went via Liverpool to the African coast, and one-half to the American and West Indian colonies. Other historians have pointed out that long-term credits from Manchester manufacturers were used to finance Liverpool's trade. However, it has not been possible to determine the extent to which industrial development was linked directly to the slave trade.

Africa was always the first stop in the triangular trade, and the Europeans quickly learned that they needed a variety of goods in order to do business there. The specific merchandise brought to barter differed according to the place of trade, and it was important for slaver merchants to keep up with local demand. European goods were highly valued in the local African economies, both for their usefulness

and their exchange value. Cloth, for example, was popular in Senegambia (the area of modern day Senegal and Gambia), because it could serve as a kind of money or be made into clothes. The same was true of iron, which had a high exchange value but could also be made into tools, utensils, and weapons.

For lack of facilities to intern the slaves on the coast, the European purchase of slaves could take a long time. The average slaving vessel spent several months in Africa, the captain sailing up and down the coast or traveling inland until the ship's hold was filled. Once the so-called Middle Passage (the Africa-Americas run) had been completed, the slaves were sold. Payments were a perennial problem in the New World, since ships often arrived outside of the harvest season and, even when they arrived at the opportune time, most of their customers were heavily indebted planters. Due to the delay of payments, slave merchants were frequently compelled to advance credit to the planters, the interest for which was credited to the slave trader. Under this system, slave factors—traders in the employ of European merchant houses—served as intermediaries between the trader and the planter by arranging for the sale of slaves. In the British slave trade, the debt problem led to the adoption of a new system of remitting the proceeds of slave sales to England. This system, first introduced in the Caribbean in the 1730s, forced the slave factors to pay outstanding debts at specific times and to remit the proceeds of the slave sales in either cash, produce, or bills of exchange, effectively shifting the burden of supplying credit from the trader to the planter. If the factor cleared a debt with a bill of exchange, it had to be drawn against a British mercantile firm or guarantor.

Slave traders relied increasingly on these bills of exchange, as well as on the transport of produce on board ships other than slavers. The third leg of the triangular trade thus deviated from the model in that slave vessels did not usually carry large amounts of slave-produced goods from America to Europe. Many of the ships returning to the United Provinces from Suriname sailed in ballast, weighed down by sand and water. On the other hand, it was exceptional for slave vessels returning to British ports from Virginia and Jamaica to sail in ballast. Overall, it is hard to establish what percentage of the goods

carried back represented payment for the slaves, although it is clear that the volume of goods that slavers transported from the New World to Europe was relatively small.

SHUTTLE OR ROUND-TRIP VOYAGES

In Atlantic trade generally, it was actually not the triangular trade that predominated, but the shuttle (also called round-trip) voyage, which did not include the New World–Europe leg of the triangle trip. Round-trip voyages produced experienced captains and increased the chance of a punctual delivery and of a landing around harvest time. By the last quarter of the seventeenth century, the transport of African slaves in the South Atlantic was partially a shuttle trade, in which the tobacco planters near Brazil's capital of Bahia exchanged their crop for bonded Africans on the Gold Coast. A similar bilateral trade developed between Rio de Janeiro and Angola. The largest of all slave trades, that of Brazil, was therefore not triangular at all.

Nevertheless, although the African slave trade was often conducted separately from the trade between Europe and the Americas, the services it supplied to the latter were indispensable. And while doubt has been cast on the overall effect of the triangular model on British industrialization, the triangular trade pattern forms part of the web of dependence that connected Europe, Africa, and the New World in the age of the slave trade.

See also **British Colonies; North America; Commerce and Markets; Slavery and the Slave Trade.**

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WIM KLOOSTER

TSERCLAES, JOHANN. *See* Tilly, Johann
Tserclaes of.

TUDOR DYNASTY (ENGLAND).

Henry Tudor (ruled 1485–1509) traced his royal blood through his mother, Margaret Beaufort, who was a descendant of John of Gaunt, the younger son of Edward III (ruled 1327–1377). After the death of Henry, Prince of Wales, son of Henry VI (ruled 1470–1471), in 1471, Henry Tudor was the surviving male heir of the house of Lancaster. In 1485 he deposed the usurper, Richard III (ruled 1483–1485) at the Battle of Bosworth Field, and was crowned Henry VII. Henry survived numerous plots early in his reign but seemed secure on the throne by 1500. His heir, Prince Arthur (born 1486) died in 1502 and his brother, Henry, duke of York, succeeded to the throne in April 1509 as Henry VIII, shortly after marrying his brother's widow, Catherine of Aragón. Henry's desire for a male heir led him, in the late 1520s, to seek a divorce from his wife. This could only be achieved by breaking with the Roman Catholic Church and thus heralded the beginning of the English Reformation.

Henry died in 1547, leaving the throne to Edward VI, his nine-year-old son by his third wife, Jane Seymour. Edward actively supported Protestant reform but on his premature death in 1553, the throne passed to his elder sister, Mary, the daughter of Catherine of Aragón, despite efforts to place the Protestant Lady Jane Grey on the throne. Mary restored Catholicism and in 1554 married the Spanish prince, who became King Philip II in 1556. Mary died childless in 1558 and the throne passed to Elizabeth, Henry VIII's daughter by his second wife, Anne Boleyn. Elizabeth again broke from Rome and asserted her authority by refusing to marry or name her successor. The second half of Elizabeth's reign was dominated by war with Spain from 1585 over English support for Philip's rebellious Dutch subjects. Elizabeth survived the plots of her Stuart rival, Mary, Queen of Scots (whom she had executed in 1587) and the Spanish Armada of 1588. Despite a decade of war, factional intrigue at court, and economic crisis, it was Elizabeth's greatest achievement to pass the throne peacefully to her

chosen successor, James VI of Scotland, who became James I of England in 1603.

See also Church of England; Edward VI (England); Elizabeth I (England); England; Henry VII (England); Henry VIII (England); James I and VI (England and Scotland); Mary I (England); Stuart Dynasty (England and Scotland).

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TULIP ERA (OTTOMAN EMPIRE).

Lasting from 1718 to 1730, the Tulip Era was a transitory period in the Ottoman Empire that was marked by cultural innovation and new forms of elite consumption and sociability. The Tulip Era (in Turkish, *Lâle Devri*) coincides with the latter half of the reign of Sultan Ahmed III (ruled 1703–1730), specifically the twelve-year grand vizierate of Ahmed's son-in-law (*damad*), Nevşehirli Ibrahim (d. 1730). The period is known for several breakthrough achievements, including the first Muslim printing press in the empire, various innovations in the arts and urban design, and the first cultural embassies to Europe. It is also remembered for the extravagance of the imperial court and the emergence of a Western-inspired, elite pleasure culture. The period gets its name from court society's passion for tulips, which were especially prized as a cultivar and artistic motif. Grandees imported tulip bulbs at great expense, experimented with hybridization, and, planting them by the thousand, celebrated their blooms in candlelit "tulip illuminations" in gardens throughout Istanbul.

COURTING EUROPE

In both domestic and foreign affairs, the sultan followed the lead of his grand vizier. Since the empire's disastrous defeats at the end of the seventeenth century, the Ottomans had been obliged to recognize the importance of diplomacy. Under Ibrahim's leadership, the regime pursued a policy of peace on the western front. Diplomatic relations with Europe were expanded, and European delegations in Istanbul were allowed to circulate more freely in Otto-

man society. The vivid account of Ottoman women by Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (1689–1762), wife of the British ambassador, is based on her unusual access to the harems of privileged Ottomans when she was in Istanbul with her husband, 1717–1718. It was France, however, that the regime regarded as a kindred state and looked to as a model during this period. The empire's most important embassy, to France in 1720, created a sensation in Paris—one of the earliest demonstrations of European "turcomania." In a reciprocal effect, the Ottoman court flirted with European exotica. Among the wealthy, and to some extent in society at large, there was experimentation with European entertainment styles and clothing fashions. The changes that Ottoman women introduced into their outdoor attire seemed minor to outsiders, but they provoked criticism in conservative circles, including the established guilds.

FROM OPPOSITION TO REBELLION

The return of the Paris embassy fed the court's consumerist appetites with luxury goods, reports of French manners, and drawings of palaces and waterworks displays. Some features of the pleasure culture were extended to the larger public, which was treated to new amusement parks and new, non-religious holidays on which to enjoy them. As with clothing fashions, the spread of public entertainments—in particular women's presence in mixed company—led to moralist objections. In 1727, prior to establishing the first Ottoman Muslim press under the direction of a Hungarian convert to Islam, Ibrahim Müteferrika (1674–1745), Ahmed III and Ibrahim took care to obtain an authorizing *fetva* ('edict') from the chief *mufti* ('judge') in order to hold down opposition to their innovation. In a further compromise, the press was restricted to publishing nonreligious works, such as historical chronicles, maps, and dictionaries. The regime's unpopularity increased during the late 1720s. The court's spending habits and social style became more and more contentious as economic problems worsened and the empire became enmeshed in war with Iran (Persia, as it was known to Westerners). When the empire suffered a military defeat on the eastern front and the government failed to act in 1730, there was a seditious uprising led by an Albanian seaman, later a bath attendant and janissary, Patrona Halil, and the regime was overthrown. The

sultan was forced to abdicate, and along with his family was put under house arrest; Ibrahim and his closest associates, the main targets of the rebellion, were killed. The excesses of court society served as rallying cries for the mob, but the regime's other ventures—ill-conceived reforms and wartime misadventures—had already created important enemies, particularly within the military. Ahmed's successor, Mahmud I (ruled 1730–1754) all but closed the Tulip Era's cultural openings. Further experimentation with Europe as a cultural site would have to wait until the end of the century.

See also Harem; Islam in the Ottoman Empire; Janissary; Ottoman Dynasty; Ottoman Empire; Paris; Printing and Publishing; Tulips; Vizier.

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TULIPS. The tulip made its first impact on European history in 1389 in Kosovo, when the son of the Ottoman sultan rode into battle against the Serbs wearing a shirt embroidered with tulips. The tulip is a plant native to Turkey and much revered in that country, where it is known as *lâle*. The Western name probably derives from a mispronunciation of the Turkish word *tulband*, 'turban', which was reported back by early travelers as *tulipam*. It is possible that the similarity of the shape of the turban and the flower caused the linguistic confusion. In 1559 a Swiss physician and botanist, Conrad Gessner (1516–1565), published the first account and the first picture of tulips in western Europe.

In the sixteenth century tulips were cultivated in Europe by a mere handful of botanists. Most notable among them was Charles de L'Écluse, or Carolus Clusius (1526–1609), a native of Arras in the



Tulips. Illustration of *Tulipa gesaeriana* by Jacopo Ligozzi (c. 1547–1632). ©SCALA/ART RESOURCE, N.Y.

Habsburg Netherlands. Clusius helped establish the Imperial Botanical Garden at Vienna at the behest of Emperor Maximilian II and then created another botanical garden in Frankfurt before his appointment as Horti Praefectus at the recently established University of Leiden in the Netherlands in 1592. Clusius had the largest collection of tulip bulbs in Europe and ensured that the university's botanical garden included numerous varieties of tulips.

By then the tulip had already become a fashionable item in aristocratic gardens; in the Dutch Republic it was to become a truly popular flower. In 1612 Emanuel Sweerts (1552–1612) of Amsterdam published his *Florilegium*, the first sales catalogue that included tulips. Dutch agriculture was already highly commercialized and quick to pick up this new product. As it was, the soil directly behind the dunes in the vicinity of Haarlem proved exceptionally suitable for the growing of bulbs. The interest in tulips reached fever pitch during the 1630s, when a single bulb could change hands for the price



Tulips. *Flower Bouquet with Tulips*, painting by Ambrosius Bosschaert, 1609, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.
©ERICH LESSING/ART RESOURCE, N.Y.

of a sizable house on one of Amsterdam's fashionable canals. Especially in demand were the so-called broken varieties, which displayed flamed patterns of many colors, instead of the more common solid coloring. Twentieth-century laboratory tests would reveal that breaking occurred as the result of a viral infection of the bulb. In the seventeenth century it was only understood that the broken varieties were rare, and therefore valuable. Of the *Semper Augustus*, perhaps the rarest of them all, only twelve bulbs were known to exist, and at a certain point they were all owned by Adriaen Pauw (1581–1653), who was the pensionary, the most important civil servant, first of Amsterdam and later of Holland.

In 1637 the tulip bubble burst, and it took the Dutch authorities years to sort out the financial

mess, which left numerous people bankrupt. Although observers at home and abroad insisted it had taught the speculators a lesson, the tulip mania turned out to be a publicity scoop. It would establish in the public mind, for centuries to come, the closest possible connection between Holland and bulbs. Thanks to its flowers, Dutch agriculture is still one of the largest exporters in the world.

See also **Botany; Commerce and Markets; Dutch Republic; Gessner, Konrad.**

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TURKISH LITERATURE AND LANGUAGE.

The term *Turkish literature* refers to the literature produced in the Asian and Eastern European lands of the Ottoman Empire and composed in the Western Turkic, Oghuz-Turcoman dialects, of which the literary languages were Ottoman and Azeri Turkish. *Ottoman literature* here refers to the high-culture literature of the Ottoman period (c. 1326–1860). During early modern times, the Eastern Turkic, Kipchak-Chaghatai dialects produced their own distinctive literature, which flourished in Central Asia and the eastern parts of the Middle East. This literature is conventionally referred to by the general term *Turkic literature*, of which the predominant high-culture manifestation is called *Chaghatai literature*.

OTTOMAN ORIGINS

Late in the eleventh century, Muslim Oghuz-Turcoman armies coming from the East had driven the Byzantines out of much of Asia Minor and established the Persianized sultanate of the Seljuks. In the aftermath of the Mongol invasions of the thirteenth century, Seljuk hegemony ended, and Asia Minor disintegrated into a hodge-podge of fiefdoms headed by local dynasts who favored the Turkish culture of their nomadic power base rather than the Persian high-culture focus of their Seljuk predecessors. The early Ottoman state originated in

western Anatolia on the borders of Byzantium during the late thirteenth century as an assemblage of Turcoman seminomads under the command of a chieftain named Osman (Arabic *ʿUṯmān*, from which the name “Ottoman” derives). Successful incursions into Byzantine territory brought a flood of recruits into the Ottoman army and expanded Ottoman domination throughout western Asia Minor and into eastern Europe. With the capture of Constantinople (Turkish, Istanbul) in 1453, the Ottomans stood poised on the threshold of becoming the largest and arguably the most powerful empire of early modern times.

LITERARY CURRENTS

Implicit in the origins of the Ottoman state are linguistic, literary, and cultural currents that resonate through almost six hundred years of Turkish literary history. The Turkic peoples who entered the Middle East in migratory military waves from Central Asia brought with them traditional literary forms, which had taken on an Islamic overlay. The territories they entered were dominated by a Perso-Arabic high culture that had developed in concert with the expansion of Islam. Legitimacy for any ambitious ruler depended upon his being perceived as the defender of the Islamic community and its traditions, which included Islamic high culture and its canonical languages—Persian and Arabic. Thus, the early Turkish rulers of Asia Minor drew their military support from the nomadic Turcoman tribes and therefore needed to speak their language and respect their traditions. However, as their domains extended, successful Turkish rulers came under increasing pressure to conform to the cultural norms associated with Islamic monarchical models.

As a result, Western Turkish literature diverged early onto two main trajectories. The leadership—the court, the court-dependent elites, the educated, educating, and administrative classes—adopted the genres, forms, themes, and rhetoric of the Islamic Perso-Arab tradition. Educated people were often trilingual and tended to think of the elite literary culture of what they called “the three languages” (Arabic, Persian, Turkish) as a single global culture with three voices. Ottoman poets wrote verses in Persian and Arabic as well as in Turkish, and the Ottoman court was lavish in its support of visiting Persian poets. Elite literature extensively employed

Arabic and Persian vocabulary and elements of syntax within an overall Turkish grammatical scheme. As the Ottomans expanded into the Balkans and Greece, Turkish became a European language and imported some vocabulary from the many languages of the empire. Although a number of conquered Europeans adopted Ottoman language and culture, and former captives became noted Ottoman poets and authors, literary influences coming directly from Europe are impossible to trace with any certainty. The common people—villagers, nomads, urban non-elites, low-level military—continued a popular tradition of Central Asian Turkic literatures that was generally monolingual (Turkish), largely oral, most often sung, conservative, and local or tribal. However, despite the differences between these two trajectories, differences exaggerated by the tendency of academic institutions to distinguish between “literature” and “folklore,” there was continual commerce between them, as exemplified by poet-musicians (*aşik*, ‘lover’), who performed in both villages and urban areas, composing relatively accessible verses that moved easily between the forms, styles, themes, and base vocabulary of both traditions.

THE POPULAR TRADITION

The literature of the village, the countryside, and the lower classes was based on a long tradition of Turkic poetry predating Islam. Popular poetry employed “syllable counting” rhythms (in Turkish, *parmak hesabi*, or ‘finger counting’), which identified groups of syllables separated by minor caesuras (for example, the pattern 4 + 4 + 3 syllables). The folk poet (*aşik*, or *ozan*) most commonly composed in stanza forms, which were sung to the accompaniment of the “long lute” or *saz* and were often extemporized. The elite poetry of the Turks was urban and set in private gardens, parks, and taverns, while the popular poetry sang of mountains, forests, and fields, where a wandering minstrel sought his dream beloved and flirted with enticing village maids or sought mystical union with the Divine, who was imagined as a coy and inaccessible beauty. Popular literature included love songs, folk songs particular to various regions, poems about military heroism, religious verses reflecting the popular mysticism of villagers and nomads, songs of passages such as weddings and death, and a host of oral prose tales. The folk poet’s verses had a counterpart in the prose

of the *meddah* or ‘storyteller’, who enthralled audiences in villages, coffeehouses, bazaars, and taverns with a repertoire of tales in a variety of rhetorical styles. Although it is possible to discern when the elite early modern Ottoman literary tradition gave way to a distinctly modern literature, much of the popular tradition persisted substantially unchanged into the modern period, where it had a profound influence on the language, style, and themes of modern authors and poets who turned from the elite tradition.

THE ELITE TRADITION: OTTOMAN LITERATURE

To the Ottoman elites, “literature” was, first and foremost, poetry. The elite literature adopted the genres of the Perso-Arab poetic tradition, including the rhythmical scheme, called *aruz*, which, via Persian, depended on metrical feet formed by the regular alternation of “long” and “short” syllables, which do not exist naturally in Turkish. A “long” syllable consists of either a consonant and a long vowel or a “closed” syllable (consonant-vowel-consonant); a “short” syllable is an “open syllable,” a consonant, and a short vowel. The metrical feet are conventionally expressed as mnemonic word forms derived from the Arabic root meaning “to do.” For example, one common metrical foot is symbolized by the word *fāilātun* (fā’i-lā-tun, long, short, long, long). The basic formal unit of elite poetry is the couplet (*beyt*), which is composed of two hemistiches (*misra*), based on set patterns of metrical feet. The most common rhyme scheme for lyric poetry and its relatives is a monorhyme with a rhyming first couplet (aa, ba, ca, da, etc.). There also exist stanzaic forms, which are thought of as expansions of couplets created by adding hemistiches to a base couplet. Longer narrative poems were written in rhyming couplets (aa, bb, cc, etc.). It was the custom for a poet’s work, exclusive of narrative poems, to be collected into a single volume called a *divan*, which would contain hundreds and often thousands of poems. For this reason, elite Ottoman poetry is often referred to, especially in modern Turkey, as “Divan Poetry.”

The dominant poetic genre of Ottoman literature was the short, approximately sonnet length (most often ten or fourteen hemistiches, five or seven couplets), erotic (and erotic-mystical) love poem called the *gazel* (Arabic, *ghazal*). A respected

poet’s collected works (*divan*) would commonly contain from a few hundred to thousands of *gazels*. Rooted in a generic Islamic mysticism expressed in the Neoplatonic imagery and understanding of love—differing only in minor details from what one would find, for example, in Ficino’s *De Amore*—*gazel* poetry features a love-crazed, melancholic lover tormented by desire for a cruel and indifferent beloved who is at times a beautiful boy or (far less often) a beautiful girl, at times a beloved patron or ruler, at times God in the form of the mystical Divine, and many times a conflation of all three. The interactions of lover and beloved are carried out and reflected in conventional settings with a conventional cast of characters. Typically, there is a wine party, attended by a group of close friends who share an esoteric understanding of the universal, mystical meaning of the intoxications of passionate love and wine, which are misunderstood by ignorant and censorious outsiders. In the party, the carouser is served wine by an attractive boy in a tavern or in a secluded garden where each flower and tree, bird and animal also acts out the drama of lover and beloved. Beneath the esoteric and mystical pretenses of *gazel* poetry, however, lay direct connections to the actual erotic lives and entertainments of educated urban elites. Many *gazels* were composed to honor or attract famous beautiful boys. Poets caroused in taverns run by Jews or Europeans, who were not bound by Islamic prohibitions against wine.

The *kaside* (Arabic, *qasīdah*) is a long (often running to more than one hundred couplets), monorhyming, occasional poem, usually in praise of God, the Prophet Muhammad, the monarch, a highly placed official, or a patron. In addition, some *kasides* were composed to commemorate holidays, festivals, military victories, weddings, circumcisions, deaths, or buildings and monuments. A *kaside* usually begins with a prelude referencing a theme from erotic love poetry: love, a garden, a wine party, the heavens, a festival, and so forth. It then makes a transition linking the prelude to praise, which is followed by mention of the poet and, in many cases, by a specific request for favors. The *kaside* was expected to be a tour de force and *kasides* formed the second largest section in a poet’s *divan*.

The narrative poem is known generically as *mesnevī* (Arabic, *mathnawī*), which means “rhym-

ing couplets” and distinguishes this kind of poem from the monorhyming genres. Narrative poems in rhyming couplets told and retold the classical romantic tales of the Perso-Arab tradition, most of which, by Ottoman times, had taken on a distinct mystical, theosophical overlay. Poets also composed works such as verse histories, mystical and theological treatises, Islamic legends and tales of the Prophet, didactic works, and advice for princes in *mesnevî* form.

The minor genres of poetry included satire and invective, religious verse, riddles and enigmas, war poetry, and chronograms (verses in which the numerical values of Arabic script letters add up to a target date). Prose genres, like the poetry, contained a heavy burden of Persian and Arabic vocabulary and were generously larded with poetic interpolations. Some of the prominent prose genres were historical works, biobibliographical compendia, travel literature, legendary tales, interpretation of the Koran, essays, manuals on style, and treatises on religious, scientific, ethical, political, geographical, grammatical, and philological topics.

HISTORICAL TRENDS

Mehmed II (the Conqueror, ruled 1451–1481) initiated a practice of lavish support for poets and litterateurs. He not only supported Ottoman poets but also is known to have patronized the master poets of the Timurid court in Herat: the Persian poet Djami and the famed Chaghatai poet Mir Ali Şir Nevayî. Through the early glory years of the reign of Suleiman (the Magnificent, 1520–1566), support for literary art remained high and literary talent was a key to upward mobility. For example, Necatî (d. 1509), considered the first great voice of Ottoman *gazel* poetry, began as a slave. One of Necatî’s contemporaries was a woman named Mihrî (d. 1512), whose poems—delivered to the court by male intermediaries—won substantial cash rewards from the royal treasury. Bakî (d. 1600), the sixteenth century “sultan of poets” and model of rhetorical complexity for subsequent generations, was a low-level mosque functionary’s son who became a chief magistrate. Hayalî (d. 1557), whose *gazels* married mysticism, eroticism, and libertinism, started as a mendicant dervish youth and ended a provincial governor. The reach of Ottoman literature is attested to by the case of Fuzulî (d. 1556), an attendant of a shrine in Iraq,

who is considered today as one of the greatest Ottoman poets. Fuzulî compiled major poetry collections in Persian and Arabic and wrote in the Azeri dialect of Western Turkish.

The latter half of the sixteenth century and the early years of the seventeenth saw extensive regularization of appointments to the bureaucracy, economic crises, and social unrest, all of which served to lessen opportunities for literary talents from outside the educated and bureaucratic classes. This was the age of the greatest of the Ottoman court panegyrist, Nef’î (d. 1635), whose magnificent *kasides* could not save him from being executed for indulging in the vicious lampooning of powerful courtiers. During the seventeenth century, the center of literary production moved from the court in the direction of the dervish lodges and the educated elites. High-culture poetry tended toward the complex mystical esotericism of the Persian “Indian Style,” exemplified by the poetry of Na’ilî (d. 1666) and away from the cultural synthesis and public entertainments of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries that had seen beloved shop boys and young soldiers as the recipients of rhetorically refined love poems. The synthesis was left to the burgeoning number of popular *aşiks* who performed in coffeehouses and taverns in both the elite and folk styles. During the so-called Tulip Era of the early eighteenth century—named after the tulip craze that swept the Empire—the court attempted to recapture the earlier synthesis and the support of a growing class of wealthy entrepreneurs by patronizing lavish entertainments, pleasure parks, and the work of such poets as the brilliant Nedim (d. 1730), who moved easily between the elite style and genres that reflected popular verses in simpler Turkish. The latter years of the eighteenth century saw the last great original mystical narrative poem *Beauty and Love* by Sheyh Galip, a Sufi master extensively patronized by the court. For the Turkish literature of the elites the early modern period does not end until the middle of the nineteenth century, when Ottoman intellectuals begin to adapt to European modernism.

See also Ottoman Empire; Suleiman I; Tulip Era (Ottoman Empire).

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TUSCANY. *See* Florence.

TYNDALE, WILLIAM. *See* Bible:
Translations and Editions.

TYRANNY, THEORY OF. The characteristics of tyranny were defined by Aristotle (384–322 B.C.E.) in his *Politics*. Tyranny was seen as a corrupt form of monarchy where the ruler acted despotically and preferred his own profit and pleasure to the common good. Tyrants were reputed to be greedy, lustful, and distrusting. They provoked flattery and conspiracy and employed foreign guards.

Among medieval thinkers whose writings on tyranny remained influential in early modern times were the jurists Bartolus of Sassoferrato (1314–1357) and Baldus de Ubaldis (1327–1400); the papal agent John of Salisbury (1115/1120–1180), whose *Policraticus* (1159) made the important distinction between a tyrant-usurper and a legitimate king who chose to rule by force rather than law; and the great Dominican theologian St. Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274), who allowed tyrannicide in extreme cases, but only if the consequences were likely to be better than the preceding oppression. A

less inhibited attitude to tyrannicide was held by another Dominican, Jean Petit, who justified the 1407 murder of Louis of Orléans, brother of Charles VI of France. Petit's assertions were criticized by the chancellor of the University of Paris, Jean Charlier de Gerson (1363–1429), who persuaded the ecclesiastical Council of Constance (1414–1418) to ban tyrannicide except in the circumstances outlined by Aquinas.

THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

Little was said about tyranny in the century following Petit, but the doctrine again became important during the Reformation, even though Martin Luther (1483–1546) taught that a tyrant was God's punishment for a sinful people, who should suffer and obey. Two Protestant exiles during the restoration of Roman Catholicism in England under Queen Mary I (ruled 1553–1558) had a different view. John Ponet, bishop of Winchester (1514–1556), was the author of *A Short Treatise of Politic Power* (1556), and Christopher Goodman, professor of divinity at Oxford (c. 1520–1603), wrote *How Superior Powers Ought to be Obeyed* (1558). Ponet answered his own question "whether or not it is lawful to depose an evil governor and kill him?" in the affirmative, and Goodman expressed similar views. A tyrant was defined not only as one who despoiled the people and refused them justice, but also as one who broke divine law.

Another advocate of tyrannicide was the Scottish Presbyterian humanist George Buchanan (1506–1582), who composed *De Jure Regni apud Scotos* (1579; Concerning the law of the kingdom among the Scots) when Mary, Queen of Scots, was deposed in 1567. Buchanan repeated the Aristotelian marks of tyranny and defined the concept as the treatment of a free people as if they were slaves. Among his classical authorities was Marcus Tullius Cicero (106–43 B.C.E.). His examples of tyrants were drawn from the Old Testament and Scottish history. In his posthumous *Rerum Scotticarum Historia* (1582; History of Scottish affairs), he made much of the deposition and killing of Scottish tyrants. He described tyrants in general as predatory wolves that any private individual could put to death.

During their armed resistance in the 1560s, the Huguenots made little use of the rhetoric of tyr-

anny. However, their foremost polemicist, the Calvinist jurist François Hotman (1524–1690), employed such language against the Ultra-Catholic statesman Cardinal Charles de Lorraine in his *Epistre envoyée au tigre de la France* (1560; Letter sent to the tiger of France). In the late 1560s he drafted his celebrated *Francogallia*, demonstrating the long continuance of an ancient constitution in which the assembly of the realm could judge and depose tyrannical kings. Hotman cited several Frankish depositions, but his principal tyrant was a more modern king, Louis XI (ruled 1461–1483), who had allegedly subverted the constitution. When the *Francogallia* was published in 1573, the year after the massacre of St. Bartholomew, he added a preface listing the tyrants of classical antiquity and suggesting the relevance of tyranny to his own times.

The massacre of the Huguenots endorsed by Charles IX shifted their theory of resistance into a radical phase. However, the two other best-known works in this vein, *Du droit des magistrats* (1574; The right of magistrates) by Calvin's lieutenant Théodore de Bèze (1519–1605) and *Vindiciae contra Tyrannos* (1579; The defense of liberty against tyrants) by the Huguenot statesman Philippe Duplessis-Mornay (1549–1623), both displayed some caution about tyrannicide. Although Bèze said he would not discuss the Old Testament idea of God summoning an individual to kill a tyrant, he did provide some examples to this end. He distinguished between the tyrant-usurper and the legitimate king who became a tyrant, but he insisted that private individuals could not act without the leadership of lesser magistrates. In the case of the usurper, however, they might take arms if the magistrates failed to do so. Mornay's argument was similar in many respects. His greater juristic subtlety was probably due to the influence of Bartolus. While he stressed the need for collective action, he allowed greater freedom to private individuals under the natural right of self-defense.

Other Huguenot tracts responding to the massacre were less reticent about tyrannicide. The many-authored *Le reveille-matin* (1574; Alarm bell) directly attacked Charles IX as a tyrant and compared his mother, Catherine de Médicis, to Jezebel in the Old Testament, who had been killed by Jehu, the instrument of God in several tyrannicides.

The Italian queen mother was also denounced for introducing the supposedly perfidious doctrines of Niccolò Machiavelli (1469–1527), whose *Prince* was seen as a guidebook for tyrants. Perhaps the most remarkable tract on tyranny at this time was the *Discours de la servitude volontaire* (Discourse on voluntary servitude, also known as the *Contr'un*) by Michel de Montaigne's friend, Étienne de La Boétie (1530–1563). La Boétie's humanist essay was composed well before the religious wars. It was called into the service of Huguenot propaganda when it was published in part in the *Alarm Bell* and in full in a collection of resistance tracts titled *Mémoires de l'estat de France sous Charles neufiesme* (1576; Memoirs of the state of France under Charles IX). La Boétie rehearsed the vices and cruelties of the tyrants of antiquity, concentrating on the Roman tyrants portrayed by Cornelius Tacitus (c. 55–c. 120 C.E.).

In the second half of the religious wars the Holy Catholic League replaced the Huguenots as the main opponent of the French crown. After the murder of its leaders in 1588 by Henry III, the league's polemicists became enthusiastic proponents of tyrannicide. The league's best-known work on the theme was *De Justa Henrici Tertii Abdicatione* (1589; The just deposition of Henry III) by Jean Boucher (c. 1548–1644), rector of the Sorbonne. Apart from its religious and secular arguments about tyranny, the book was a violent personal diatribe against the last Valois king, who had in fact been assassinated by Jacques Clément shortly before it was published. In 1594 Boucher came out with his *Apologie pour Jean Chastel* (Apology for Jean Chastel), who had failed in his attempt to kill the next king, the Bourbon Henry IV. At this time the Jesuits were somewhat unjustly accused of preaching tyrannicide. The practice was, indeed, endorsed by the independently minded Spanish Jesuit Juan de Mariana (1536–1624) in his *De Rege et Regis Institutione* (1599; On the king and the education of the king). Henry IV was to be murdered by a fanatical believer in the doctrine, François Ravailac, in 1610.

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

The next notorious regicide was the execution of Charles I of England in 1649. The theory of tyranny, however, was seldom invoked against him before his trial, although it received mention in

general works on political authority. Some so-called “Levellers,” such as John Lilburne (1615–1657) and William Walwyn (1600–1680), made use of the concept, but they applied it to all and sundry—king, Parliament, church, and Cromwellian army council. In his *An Arrow against All Tyrants* (1646), for instance, Richard Overton (c. 1600–c. 1664) chose as his main targets the House of Lords and the Presbyterian clergy.

The strongest attack upon Charles I as a tyrant came from the pen of the republican poet John Milton (1608–1674). His *Tenure of Kings and Magistrates* (1649) was followed by his *Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio* (1650; Defense of the people of England), written in answer to the justification of Charles I by the French scholar, Claude de Saumaise (1588–1653). Milton discussed the tyranny and deposition of other kings, including those listed in the *Francogallia*, but his venom was reserved for Charles I and his champion.

In the next generation two renowned Whig republicans discussed tyranny in the context of the attempt to exclude Charles II’s brother, the future James II, from the succession because of his Catholicism. *Plato Redivivus* (1680; expanded in 1681) by Henry Neville (1620–1694) and *Discourses concerning Government* (composed 1681–1683, first published 1698) by Algernon Sidney (1622–1683) showed familiarity with the Aristotelian tradition and the French resistance literature of the preceding century. They supported what had become known as “the Gothic constitution,” based on Hotman’s idea of the control of government by the sovereign assemblies of the Germanic peoples who had invaded France, Spain, and England in the fifth century. Like Milton, they both cited Hotman on the subversion of the ancient French constitution by Louis XI. They saw the tyranny of Charles II and his brother as likely to lead England to a regime comparable with Louis XIV’s in France. Sidney had long been obsessed with tyranny. In 1660 he had inscribed the visitors’ book at the court of Denmark with his Latin motto: “This hand, opposed to the sword of tyrants, seeks peace under liberty” (frontispiece to *The Works of Algernon Sidney*, 1772). Peace was not his forte. In 1683 he was tried and executed for plotting the assassination of Charles II, leaving to posterity the manuscript of his summa-

tion of the long tradition of the Aristotelian concept of tyranny in his *Discourses*.

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

In the eighteenth century it was the writings of John Locke (1632–1704), rather than those of Sidney, that influenced the political thought of the Enlightenment. Locke described the tyrant as one “whose commands and actions are not directed to the preservation of the properties of his people, but the satisfaction of his own ambition, revenge, covetousness, or any other irregular passion” (*Two Treatises of Government*, 1690). However much they admired Locke, the French philosophes tended to discuss the theme with a certain irony. In his *De l’esprit des lois* (1748; Spirit of the laws), Charles-Louis de Secondat, baron de Montesquieu (1689–1755) suggested that there was another kind of tyranny beside monarchical oppression: the force of cultural tradition. Voltaire (1694–1778) declared in an entry on tyranny in his *Dictionnaire philosophique* (1764; Philosophical dictionary) that there were no tyrants left in the Europe of his day, and in any case he preferred a royal tyrant to the tyranny of an assembly.

Thomas Paine (1737–1809) took tyranny more seriously in the context of the American and French Revolutions. His *Rights of Man* (1791) reduced all governments to two types, the hereditary ruler and the representative assembly. All hereditary government, he argued, was intrinsically a tyranny that had repressed natural rights in past centuries. Far more extreme were the ferocious accusations of tyranny leveled by the Jacobins Antoine Saint-Just (1767–1794) and François-Maximilien Robespierre (1758–1794) against Louis XVI in the proceedings that led to the king’s execution in 1793. In the following year the accusers were themselves labeled tyrants and sent to the guillotine, an event that rendered Voltaire’s preferences prophetic.

See also Absolutism; Authority, Concept of; Autocracy; Bèze, Théodore de; Catholic League (France); Charles I (England); Democracy; Divine Right Kingship; English Civil War Radicalism; Henry IV (France); Law; Liberty; Locke, John; Machiavelli, Niccolò; Mariana, Juan de; Milton, John; Monarchy; Montesquieu, Charles-Louis de Secondat de; Natural Law; Political Philosophy; Reformation, Protestant; Republicanism; Revolutions, Age of; Rights, Natural; St. Bartholomew’s Day Massacre;

Sovereignty, Theory of; Voltaire; Wars of Religion, French.

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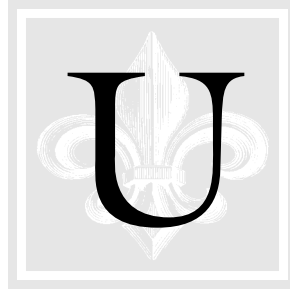
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J. H. M. SALMON



UKRAINE. Ukraine entered the fifteenth century with no independent state of its own, as the formerly powerful principalities of Galicia and Volhynia—heirs of the once mighty Kievan Rus’—succumbed to the rule of the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. While the Rus’ elites of the Galicia and Kholm regions, annexed by Poland in 1387, played little if any role in the political life of the Polish state, their counterparts in the rest of the Ruthenian (Ukrainian and Belarusian) territories, which were taken over by the Lithuanian princes in the course of the fourteenth century, became the most influential political force in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Their political clout was translated into cultural dominance, which was reflected in the status of the Ruthenian as the official language of the realm and in the conversion of numerous members of the Lithuanian ruling dynasty to Orthodoxy. The political, economic, and cultural dominance of the Ruthenian elites in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was, nevertheless, short-lived, as Lithuania, threatened by its northern and eastern neighbors, strengthened its ties with the Kingdom of Poland.

A number of agreements proclaiming the union of the two states opened the door to growing Polish political, religious, and cultural influences in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The Union of Lublin (1569) concluded the process of the amalgamation of the two polities into one state, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The union was opposed by the Ruthenian princes, as it significantly curtailed

their traditional powers in the region. It was supported nevertheless by the nobility, which as a result of the union received same political status as the Polish nobility (*szlachta*). After the conclusion of union, the Kingdom of Poland effectively took control of most of Ukraine, adding to its earlier Ukrainian possessions the Podlasia, Volhynia, Kiev, and Bratslav regions. All of the Belarusian lands remained within the boundaries of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The border between the new Commonwealth partners, in the Pripet River basin, laid the foundations for the modern Ukrainian-Belarusian border. One of the consequences of the union in the cultural sphere was the gradual replacement of Ruthenian as the official language of the area by Latin and Polish. The Union of Lublin increased the Polish presence in Ukraine, as kings granted large latifundia there to Polish nobles. It also helped to initiate a mass migration of the Jewish population into central and eastern Ukraine.

From the late sixteenth century, the union of the Orthodox and Catholic Christians of the Commonwealth became the leitmotif of a controversial government policy. The union was proclaimed at the church council of Brest in 1596, and it provoked a strong negative reaction on the part of Ruthenian princes, Orthodox brotherhoods, and the majority of the monastic clergy. These groups had, in the decades leading to the Union of Brest, worked hard for the revival of Orthodox religious tradition and culture. The leading role in promotion of Orthodox learning was played by Prince Kostiantyn Ostrozky, who founded the Ostrih Academy (c. 1576) and



sponsored the publication of the Church Slavonic Bible in 1580–1581. The Union of Brest provoked the rise of religious polemics in Ukraine. The writings of Catholic authors, among whom Piotr Skarga was most prominent, and Uniate writers, led by Metropolitan Ipatii Potii, were countered by Orthodox polemicists, who included the author of the first Church Slavonic grammar, Meletii Smotrytsky. In 1620 the Orthodox managed to restore their church hierarchy, and by 1633 they assured its recognition by the authorities. Peter Mohyla, the first “legitimate” Orthodox metropolitan of Kiev since the proclamation of the Union of Brest, played a leading role in the reform of Orthodox Christianity. He helped establish the Kiev College to raise the educational level of the clergy, standardized liturgical practices, and sponsored the composition of the Orthodox confession of faith, which was approved by the eastern patriarchs in 1643. The Kievan met-

ropolitanate under Mohyla led the entire Orthodox Church along the way to confessionalization.

THE COSSACKS

An important role in the Uniate-Orthodox conflicts of the first half of the seventeenth century was played by the Ukrainian Cossacks, whose military clout assured the restoration of the Orthodox hierarchy in 1620. The Cossacks, whose existence is first recorded in historical sources at the end of the fifteenth century, grew by the mid-seventeenth century into an influential military and political force, which often raised the banner of Orthodoxy in its fight against the authorities. The growth of Cossackdom was closely associated with the colonization of the steppe areas of Ukraine, the construction of border castles and towns, and the advance of the magnates’ latifundia, which resulted in the gradual enserfment of the peasantry. The transformation of Ukrainian Cossackdom from bands of fishermen,

hunters, and freebooters to military formations in the service of Polish kings and a new social group striving for recognition on a par with the nobility was marked by a number of violent conflicts with the authorities. The latter tried to limit the number of Cossacks in the royal register and thus to curb the access of burghers and peasants to this socially and economically privileged group. Another reason for the authorities' desire to curb the growth of Cossackdom was constant Cossack interference in international affairs. The Cossacks' seagoing expeditions to the Ottoman possessions of the Black Sea littoral, their raids into the Crimea, and their interference into the internal affairs of Moldavia put the Commonwealth on a collision course with the High Porte and forced the Polish authorities to take a hard line against the Cossacks.

Between 1591 and 1638 there were five major Cossack uprisings against the Commonwealth and a number of smaller conflicts. By far the largest Cossack uprising started in the spring of 1648 under the leadership of the Cossack officer Bohdan Khmelnytsky. As with many earlier revolts, this one began at the Zaporozhian Sich—the Cossack headquarters in the lower Dnieper area. In a surprising move, the Cossacks united their forces with their traditional adversaries the Crimean Tatars and in the course of 1648 and 1649 scored a number of impressive victories over the armed forces of the Commonwealth. The Cossack military successes were accompanied by the massacre and expulsion of the Polish and Jewish population from the Cossack-controlled territories, as both groups were viewed by the rebels as close associates of the oppressive regime in Ukraine. In August 1649, after a successful battle against Commonwealth forces at Zboriv, the Cossacks made an agreement that recognized their control over three eastern palatinates of the Commonwealth and led to the foundations of a Cossack state known as the Hetmanate. Khmelnytsky's search for allies in his struggle with the Commonwealth led him first to the formal acceptance of Ottoman suzerainty in 1651. When the sultan failed to deliver the expected military assistance, Khmelnytsky turned to a Muscovite protectorate in 1654. He also sought other allies in his war against the Commonwealth, establishing especially close links with Sweden.

Khmelnytsky's policy of conducting an independent foreign policy irrespective of the wishes of Muscovy culminated during the tenure of his successor as hetman, former General Chancellor Ivan Vyhovsky. Disappointed with Muscovite policy, Vyhovsky turned to the Commonwealth, signing an agreement in September 1658 at Hadiach. This "union" would introduce the Ruthenian nation as a third partner in the Commonwealth, along with the Poles and Lithuanians. It expressed the strivings of the Ukrainian nobility but did not sit well with the Cossack rank and file. And the Polish side was not ready to accept the rebellious Ruthenians as equals. Both factors led to the collapse of the Hadiach agreement and the loss of power by Vyhovsky in 1659.

"RUIN"

The new hetman, Bohdan Khmelnytsky's son Iurii, initially sided with Muscovy, but in 1660 switched allegiance to the Commonwealth, thereby creating a split within the Cossack officer stratum. Some, led by Colonel Iakiv Somko, denounced the younger Khmelnytsky and remained loyal to the tsar. What followed was the period which in Ukrainian historiography is known as the "ruin." Muscovy fought Polish-Lithuanian and Ottoman armies, each side assisted by competing Cossack factions led by their own hetmans. The signing of Andrusovo agreement (1667) between Muscovy and the Commonwealth effectively divided Ukraine into two parts: territories on the left bank of the Dnieper together with Kiev (first temporarily and then permanently) went to Muscovy, while the rest of Ukraine remained under Polish control. An attempt to reestablish Cossack control over both parts of Ukraine was led by Hetman Peter Doroshenko, who relied on Ottoman help to achieve this goal. His attempt ended in failure in 1676 when Doroshenko was forced to abandon his office and surrender to the pro-Muscovite hetman of Left Bank Ukraine. The decades of continuous war brought devastation to Ukraine. The Right Bank, which was turned into a battleground between the competing Ottoman, Polish, and Cossack armies, suffered especially. Between 1672 and 1699 Podillia and parts of Right Bank Ukraine were ruled by the Ottomans, but they then returned to Polish control.

Cossack statehood and autonomy survived only in Muscovite-controlled Left Bank Ukraine. The relative security and stability of the region attracted numerous immigrants from Right Bank Ukraine. Among these was the Cossack officer Ivan Mazepa, who became hetman in 1687. Mazepa's name is linked to the Hetmanate's last attempt to play an independent role in international politics. Unhappy with the policies of Peter I of Russia, which aimed to further limit the Hetmanate's autonomy, in 1708 Mazepa joined the invading army of Charles XII of Sweden. Only part of the Cossack officers followed their hetman, and the defeat of Charles XII and Mazepa's forces at the hands of the Russian army in the battle of Poltava in 8 July (27 June o.s.) 1709 firmly reestablished Russian control over Left Bank Ukraine. Mazepa's "treason" was used by Peter to launch a decisive attack on the remnants of the Hetmanate's autonomy. The capital of the Hetmanate was moved closer to the border with Russia, the tsar took over the right to appoint Cossack colonels, his representative took up permanent residence at the hetman's court, and eventually the office of the hetman itself was abolished and replaced in 1722 by the rule of the Little Russian Collegium.

ABSORPTION INTO RUSSIA AND THE RISE OF "LITTLE RUSSIAN" IDENTITY

In the course of the eighteenth century the Left Bank Cossack officer stratum developed a new identity, defined by loyalty to the "Little Russian" nation. That identity was deeply rooted in the loyalty to the Hetmanate's political traditions and institutions. It stressed cultural differences between Russia and Ukraine, but in most cases complemented the all-Russian identity of the Hetmanate's elite. The sons of Little Russia were among the architects of the all-Russian identity through most of the eighteenth century, and although they resented the abolition of their autonomy, after Mazepa they were reluctant to rebel against the tsar. Taking advantage of the change of rulers in St. Petersburg, the Cossack officers managed to restore the hetman's office twice, in 1727–1734 and 1750–1764. Nevertheless, these temporary successes in preserving the symbol of Cossack statehood could not reverse the slowly but evenly advancing process of the imperial absorption of the Hetmanate. This process culminated under Catherine II, who in the 1760s–1780s permanently abolished the hetman's office; liqui-

dated the Zaporozhian Sich, an autonomous Cossack Host in Lower Dnieper; and finally liquidated the Hetmanate altogether.

The successful wars with the Ottomans in the second half of the eighteenth century and the annexation of the Crimea by the Russian Empire in 1783 opened the steppes of southern Ukraine to further colonization and brought numerous settlers of Russian, Serbian, German, and Mennonite extraction into the region, apart from Ukrainian Cossacks and peasantry. The partitions of Poland (1772–1795) brought under Russian control most ethnic Ukrainian territories, with the exception of Galicia, Bukovina, and Transcarpathia, which were ruled by the Habsburgs. The Russian Empire took over territories settled mostly by Ukrainian and Belarusian peasants, the majority of whom adhered by that time to the Uniate church and were ruled by Polish, or heavily Polonized, Roman Catholic nobility.

See also Andrusovo, Truce of; Belarus; Cossacks; Hetmanate (Ukraine); Khmelnytsky, Bohdan; Khmelnytsky Uprising; Lithuania, Grand Duchy of, to 1569; Lithuanian Literature and Language; Lublin, Union of (1569); Mazepa, Ivan; Orthodoxy, Russian; Poland to 1569; Poland-Lithuania, Commonwealth of, 1569–1795; Reformations in Eastern Europe: Protestant, Catholic, and Orthodox; Russia; Ukrainian Literature and Language; Uniates; Union of Brest (1596).

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UKRAINIAN LITERATURE AND LANGUAGE. The history of a literary language in Ukraine begins with the Christianization of Kievan Rus' about 988 and the adoption of the Church Slavonic language for use in liturgy and literature (chronicles, saints' lives, sermons). The Mongol Tatar destruction of Kiev in 1240 and the fourteenth-century partition of Ukrainian lands, chiefly among Lithuania and Poland, had profound effects on the development of languages and literatures in the area. In 1433 the Polish king Władysław II Jagiełło introduced Polish usage in Galician chanceries (at first Latin, then Latin and Polish) for court records and documents of state. In the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, on the other hand (which included what would become the Kiev Palatinate at this point), Ruthenian (*ruskii*) was employed in the chancery. Although the language came to have Belarusian features at its base, it tolerated Ukrainian dialect features as well and could serve as the “vulgar tongue” (*prostyi iazyk, prostaiia mova*) for a “Ruthenian nation” that had not yet differentiated into Ukrainians and Belarusians.

After the “silence” of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, Ukrainian intellectuals helped to mount a Ruthenian revival. These activities came in reaction to the confessional and cultural challenges posed by the Reformation and Counter-Reformation in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Among other things, the then Calvinist (and future Antitrinitarian) minister Szymon Budny

had published a Ruthenian catechism at Niasvizh (Nieśwież) in 1562. The architect of the Union of Brest, the Polish Jesuit Piotr Skarga, had asserted in 1577 that only Greek and Latin could function as languages of learning and religion, because only they possessed grammars and lexicons and thus “are always the same and never change.” Responses came from centers in Ostrih (the Slavic-Greek-Latin Academy) as well as Lviv, Vilnius, and Kiev, where brotherhoods, schools, and printing presses were employed in the “national” cause.

Ruthenian scholars sought to answer Skarga's challenge by writing grammars and dictionaries of Church Slavonic, in which they wished to see a Ruthenian Latin. First attempts to produce a grammar (*Adelphotīs*, a Greek grammar with facing Slavonic translation, 1591; Lavrentii Zyzanii's *Slavonic Grammar*, 1596) culminated in Meletii Smotrytskyi's *Collection of Rules of Slavonic Grammar* (1618–1619), which served as the norm throughout the Orthodox Slavic world until the early nineteenth century. Pamvo Berynda (1627), Iepifanii Slavynetskyi (1642), and Slavynetskyi together with Arsenii Koretskyi (1649) would offer lexicons and dictionaries.

Editions of Holy Scripture and liturgical books were a part of the revival. The Peresopnytsia Gospel (1556–1561), a sort of Slavonic-Ruthenian hybrid, remained in manuscript form. A Church Slavonic apostol (Acts and Epistles) was printed at Lviv in 1574, and a Bible, the first complete printing in the language, at Ostrih in 1580–1581. Metropolitan Peter Mohyla directed a project of correction and edition of Church Slavonic liturgical books in the 1630s and 1640s.

With the growth of Catholic and Protestant confessional propaganda and devotional literature (in both Polish and Ruthenian) came attempts to establish Ruthenian as a “national” vulgar tongue. Borrowing the argumentation of Protestant and Catholic discussions on the licitness and range of uses for popular languages, Meletii Smotrytskyi motivated his decision in 1616 to offer a Ruthenian translation of the old Slavonic Homiliary Gospel (a collection of sermons he hoped would stand in as an Orthodox postil) with the argument that, although he would rather use “the more noble, beautiful, concise, subtle and rich Slavonic language,” he had

listened to St. Paul and offered the work now in the “baser and more vulgar tongue,” since “it is a more useful thing to speak five words in an intelligible tongue, than ten thousand in an unknown tongue (especially for the instruction of the people)” (1 Cor. 14:19). Although a certain number of works related to confession and devotion continued to appear in Ruthenian, Polish soon dominated in these areas of Ruthenian letters. The effects of the increasing Polonization that followed the Union of Lublin (1569) can be seen clearly in the history of the polemic leading up to and following the Union of Brest (1596). In the early stages, Orthodox, Uniates, and Catholics often employed Ruthenian in their tracts, sometimes issuing parallel Polish versions. By 1597 the Orthodox side had issued a first polemical treatise in Polish, and after 1628 all sides used Polish exclusively.

Thus by the early seventeenth century Ukrainians were using three literary languages: Church Slavonic in its new Meletian codification, Polish, and Ruthenian. Ruthenian usage began to accept more and more recognizably Ukrainian features; at the same time, Ruthenian texts came to look more and more like Polish written with Cyrillic letters. The program of Smotrytskyi and others had been to set Church Slavonic on a level with Latin as the language of Ruthenian culture, education, and high literature (including poetry), and to set Ruthenian next to Polish as a “vulgar tongue” with a wide range of usage in literature and private devotion. The program reached far beyond practice. Nonetheless, literature in Ruthenian experienced a modest flourishing in the seventeenth century. The archimandrite of the Kiev Caves Monastery Zahariia Kopystenskyi produced a monumental statement of the Orthodox position on the confessional debates in his *Palinodia* of 1620–1624, which, however, remained in manuscript until 1894. Monk Ivan Vyshenskyi used Ruthenian in the polemical tracts and epistles he sent to Rus’ from Mt. Athos. The churchmen Leontii Karpovych, Meletii Smotrytskyi, Kyrylo Trankvilion-Stavrovetskyi, Ioannikii Haliatovskiy, Antonii Radyvylovskiy, Lazar Baranovych, Dmytro Tuptalo, and Stefan Javorskyi published Ruthenian sermons, individually and in large collections. Among exemplars of Ruthenian baroque poetry we may note Kasiian Sakovych’s *Verses on the Sorrowful Funeral of the Noble Knight,*

Petro Konashevych-Sahaidachnyi, Hetman of the Zaporozhian Army of His Royal Grace (1622), as well as the many encomiastic poems with which Ruthenian churchmen and scholars prefaced their works. Among Cossack histories, the *Eyewitness Chronicle* (late seventeenth century) and the works of Hryhorij Hrabjanka (after 1709) and Samiilo Velychko (c. 1720) deserve mention. Ruthenian was also used in school dramas and intermedia. Still, it is important to note that Polish continued to function as a literary language for Ruthenians, even for the Orthodox: it was in this language that Mohyla printed Sylvester Kosiv’s version of the lives of the Kievan Caves Fathers (1635) and Afanasii Kolnofoiskiy’s collection of miracles connected with the Caves Monastery (1638).

Ukrainian Ruthenian was employed in the chancery of the Cossack Hetmanate, but its use declined in all areas with the now increasing Russianization of left-bank Ukraine and the continuing Polonization of the right bank. With Hetman Ivan Mazepa’s defeat at Poltava in 1709, the Hetmanate became more and more a Russian province. In 1720 Tsar Peter I banned printing of church books in Ukraine. In 1723 the Cossack state lost the right to choose hetmans. In 1775 the Zaporozhian Sich was liquidated; in 1783 serfdom was introduced; and in 1785 the Cossack *starshyna* was incorporated into the Russian nobility. Church Slavonic was eventually replaced (except for liturgical uses) by the Slaveno-Russian that Ukrainian philologists helped to create. The Ruthenian vulgar tongue continued to find some use in Ukrainian administration until about 1780, during the reign of Catherine the Great; from that point the language would be relegated to mostly private use, allowed, with the advent of classicism’s theory of the three styles, to function only in the “lowest” genres of belles lettres.

See also Lithuanian Literature and Language; Mohyla, Peter; Polish Literature and Language; Reformations in Eastern Europe: Protestant, Catholic, and Orthodox; Smotrytskyi, Meletii.

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UNIATES. Throughout the early modern period, the papacy received into communion with the Roman Catholic Church groups of Eastern Christians that retained their ecclesiastical structures and local practices. Unlike Protestants, whom the papacy viewed as break-away believers organized in sects devoid of sacraments and who should be reintegrated as individuals into the Latin Church, Orthodox and Oriental Orthodox Christians were considered bearers of the apostolic succession of bishops and valid sacraments; thus, these Christians could retain their traditions and ecclesiastical structures when reconciled with the Catholic Church. In contrast to the attempts for a universal union with the Orthodox Church attempted at the Second Council of Lyons (1274) and the Council of Florence (1439–1442), the unions of the early modern period were local unions of hierarchies, bishoprics, and even groups of believers. Post-Tridentine Catholicism viewed these groups not as local churches, but as Christians following specific rites that could be retained after proper submission.

The major stimuli for the unions were the policies of Catholic states that ruled over Orthodox and Oriental Christians, the desire of Eastern Christians to improve their situation under Catholic or even Islamic rulers by receiving the support of the papacy or Western Christian powers, and the attraction to the well-organized and dynamic Latin Christian world at a time of relative stagnation in Eastern Christendom. In most cases, programs for union initiated by either Rome or Eastern Christians were rejected by at least part of the clergy and laity, giving rise to competing ecclesial structures and fierce polemics. Orthodox responses to unionizing attempts

often constituted a sharper definition of ecclesial traditions and dogmas, at times by adopting the tools and methods of their opponents.

The first and major union of the early modern period was that at Brest in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in 1596. Initiated by the metropolitan and bishops of the Kyiv metropolitanate, the Union of Brest held forth the promise of improving the situation of the Ruthenian (Ukrainian-Belarusian) Church in a Catholic-dominated state. Although supported by the monarch Sigismund III Vasa (ruled 1587–1632), the Uniates were unable to win over all the bishops to the union synod and were opposed by powerful nobles, the urban brotherhoods, numerous monasteries, and the Cossacks. They also suffered from the derisive attitude of many Latin clergy, who preferred outright conversion. Increasingly dependent on the civil authorities and Rome to combat the Orthodox opposition, the Uniates took on the spirit and institutions of the Latin Church, especially through the training of clergy in Roman and central-European seminaries. Led by dedicated hierarchs such as Metropolitans Ipatii Potii and Iosyf Rutsky and the Basilian Order, established in 1613 from the monastics who accepted the union, the Uniates survived the reestablishment of the Orthodox Metropolitanate in 1621 and the compromise of 1632, in which the state recognized the legality of the Orthodox and tried to divide the eparchies and churches between the two metropolitanates. The 1623 murder of Iosafat Kuntsevych, the archbishop of Polatsk, by the burghers of Vitsebsk who resisted his attempts to impose the union gave the Uniates a martyr and cult figure.

The Khmelnytsky Uprising, which began in 1648, put the very existence of the Uniate Church in question: in 1650, the king promised the rebels to return eparchies and churches to the Orthodox. Its situation worsened in 1654, when Muscovite and Ukrainian Cossack armies invaded the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and destroyed many Uniate centers on Belarusian territories. From 1655 to 1665 the Uniate Kyiv metropolitan see was left vacant; during the negotiations for the Union of Hadiach (1658) the Ukrainian side demanded the commonwealth abolish the union. Yet with the support of Rome and the restoration of Polish rule in the Belarus and right-bank Ukraine, the Uniates

survived and increased in number in the late seventeenth century. By the turn of the century all the western Ukrainian eparchies accepted the union, and at the Synod of Zamość of 1720 the church's structure was strengthened, though Latinized at the same time. In the eighteenth century the Uniates comprised the overwhelming number of Eastern Christians in the commonwealth (approximately 4.6 million in the 1770s) and maintained a well-developed network of schools and printing presses. The partitions of the commonwealth in 1772, 1793, and 1795 radically worsened the Uniates' situation. Most came under Russian rule, and Catherine II (ruled 1762–1796) persecuted the church. Her successors in the nineteenth century abolished all the Uniate eparchies and converted all believers to Orthodoxy. In the western Ukrainian lands that went to the Habsburgs in 1772, the Uniates benefited from grants of equality with the Latin Church and were renamed the Greek Catholic Church and reorganized in the metropolitan province of Galicia in 1808. In the seventeenth century the Armenian archbishop of Lviv also entered into union with Rome.

The extension of Habsburg rule into central Europe and the Balkans created numerous Uniate communities. In 1610 a bishop was designated for Uniates in Croatia, and in 1646, at the Union of Uzhhorod, the Ukrainians of Hungary became Uniate. The most significant union was that of the Romanians of Transylvania at Alba Julia in 1700. Under the distinguished leadership of Bishop Ion Inochentie Micu-Klein (bishop 1729–1751), the church played a major role in defending Romanian cultural and political rights. Not all Transylvanians accepted the union, and Maria Theresa (ruled 1740–1780) was forced to permit them to have their own bishop in 1759.

In western Europe the major Uniate group was the Italo-Albanian, which was formed by the migration of Orthodox Albanians to southern Italy in the fifteenth century and later. In 1717 the Uniate Armenian Mechtarist fathers took up residence in Venice. Uniates also emerged in European colonies; one of the most important Uniate communities originated with the Christians of St. Thomas in the Malabar area of India, who were subordinated to the Latin Church by the Portuguese in the late sixteenth century. Missionary activities, some dating

back to the Middle Ages and renewed in the early modern period, resulted in unions and the creation of ecclesiastical structures for Orthodox and Oriental Orthodox Christians, such as the union of parts of the Assyrian Church of the East in 1553, the election of a Catholic patriarch among the Syrian Orthodox 1662, the creation of an Armenian Patriarchate in Cilicia in 1742, and the creation of the Melkite Catholic Church in the early eighteenth century.

Current Catholic thinking has rejected the early modern form of conversion through union in deference to ecumenical contacts with the Orthodox. Nevertheless, Uniate groups have proved resilient in the Middle East and especially in eastern Europe, where they have reemerged after suppression by Communist governments. Most of these groups now view the term *Uniate* as derogatory.

See also **Khmelnysky Uprising; Polish-Lithuania, Commonwealth of, 1569–1795; Reformations in Eastern Europe: Protestant, Catholic, and Orthodox; Ukraine; Union of Brest (1596).**

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UNION OF BREST (1596). The Union of Brest (Berestia) constituted the adherence of a major part of the hierarchy and part of the clergy and faithful of the Kyiv metropolitan see to the Church of Rome and its dogmas on condition of retaining its rites and elements of autonomy. In the late sixteenth century the Orthodox Church in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth consisted of a Kyiv metropolitan subordinate to the patriarch of

Constantinople and seven bishops who had vast dioceses with millions of faithful. The subject of discrimination and of proselytization by Catholics and Protestants, the church was losing elements of its essential protectors, the Orthodox magnates and princes, to other creeds.

The arrival of Jesuits into the commonwealth in the 1560s revived discussion of church union, last attempted at Florence in 1439, prior to the fall of Constantinople. At the Florentine Union the Orthodox Church had accepted Roman dogmas on purgatory, the *filioque* (the procession of the Holy Spirit through the Son), the primacy of Peter's see, and the legitimacy of the form of Latin Communion but retained its ecclesiastical structure and rituals. The Florentine Union failed largely because it did not bring promised Western Christian support for beleaguered Byzantium. Temporarily accepted in the Ukrainian and Belarusian lands of the kingdom of Poland and the grand duchy of Lithuania but rejected in the Muscovite state, it resulted in the division of the Kyiv metropolitan see, with a separate metropolitan created in Moscow and the Russian church breaking away from the patriarchate of Constantinople. The calls of the Jesuits Piotr Skarga (1536–1612), Benedykt Herbst (c. 1531–1598), and Antonio Possevino (1533–1611) to make up Catholic losses to the Reformation by converting Eastern Christians found more favorable resonance at the court with the election of Sigismund III Vasa (ruled 1587–1632) as Polish king in 1587. At the same time the Orthodox bishops found themselves increasingly challenged by their laity (above all by newly forming urban brotherhoods) and by the interventions of the mother church, especially after the trip of Patriarch Jeremiah II (c. 1530–1595) through Ukraine and Belarus on his way to Moscow in 1588–1589, where he healed the breach with the Russian church and declared the Moscow see a patriarchate.

Religious ferment also followed the introduction of printing of Eastern Christian religious books (including the Ostrih Bible in 1580–1581) and the formation of an Orthodox academy under the patronage of the Volhynian magnate Prince Kostiantyn Ostrozky (1526–1608), who was open to the idea of ecumenical discussions among the churches. In the 1590s the Orthodox bishops met at a number of reform synods and, led by Bishops Ipatii Potii

of Volodymyr (1541–1613) and Kyrylo Terletsky of Lutsk (d. 1607), conceived a plan for strengthening the church and the role of the hierarchy within it through union with Rome. All hierarchs signed a letter to Pope Clement VIII (reigned 1592–1605) empowering the two bishops to negotiate for them in Rome.

After the bishops' profession of faith, the papal bull *Magnus Dominus* of 23 December 1595 declared the acceptance of the bishops and their flock, and the bull *Decet Romanum Pontificem* of 23 February 1596 guaranteed the terms. In return for accepting the Catholic interpretation of the *filioque* and purgatory and the primacy of the pope, the rites and traditions of the Ruthenian Kyivan Church, including the Slavonic liturgical language, married clergy, and local election of bishops and metropolitan, were permitted. Rome undertook to become an advocate for the Eastern Church to attain equality with the Western Church in the commonwealth, including admission of the Ukrainian-Belarusian bishops into the senate. While in practice the Union of Brest was a union of a local church with the see of Rome, post-Tridentine Rome's understanding of it was as a reception of a lost and sinful flock into the church, with a beneficent church permitting certain local customs.

The bishops from the first faced opposition to the union. Two of their ranks had earlier withdrawn their support when it became clear that Prince Ostrozky was opposed to any negotiations that did not include the patriarch of Constantinople and other Eastern churches. The Eastern patriarchs expressed their opposition, as did the urban brotherhoods and many monastic communities. Thus the council called to Brest in October 1596 soon split into two factions, one supporting and one opposing the union. The king's confirmation of the union and the presence of Roman Catholic bishops as papal emissaries did not intimidate the opposition, and the two opposing councils (synods) anathematized each other. Conflict between those who accepted the union, or Uniates, and those Orthodox who rejected it went on for generations, but through periods of advance (the late seventeenth century and early eighteenth century) and regress (the mid-seventeenth century and late eighteenth century) the union remained an enduring element in East

European church affairs and created the largest Eastern Christian community in union with Rome.

See also Khmelnytsky Uprising; Orthodoxy, Russian; Reformations in Eastern Europe: Protestant, Catholic, and Orthodox; Ukraine; Uniates.

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FRANK E. SYSYN

UNITAS FRATRUM. *See* Moravian Brethren.

UNITED PROVINCES OF THE NETHERLANDS. *See* Dutch Republic.

UNIVERSITIES. Universities played a vital role in the intellectual life of Europe from 1500 to 1789. They educated the intellectual elite and professional classes of Europe. An enormous number of political and religious leaders obtained university degrees or studied in universities without taking degrees even though the percentage of the population attending universities was extremely low. Universities provided the institutional home in which scholars carried on advanced research and created most of the humanistic, medical, legal, and scientific advances. The period from 1500 to 1650 was an era of unprecedented achievement for universities. They remained important, but to a lesser degree, from 1650 through the end of the eighteenth century.

CHARACTERISTICS

A university had several linked components. Professors conducted research and taught theology, canon

law, civil law, medicine, and the arts subjects of grammar, rhetoric, the classics of ancient Rome and Greece, logic, philosophy, mathematics, and astronomy, plus other subjects on occasion, such as medical botany and Hebrew. Written statutes told them which texts and disciplines to teach. A limited formal academic structure provided rules for instruction and student conduct. Students came, lived, studied, and obtained degrees. The university awarded degrees certifying that the recipient had a high level of expertise in a discipline with the approval of a supreme legal authority, such as emperor, pope, or the ruler of the state in which the university existed.

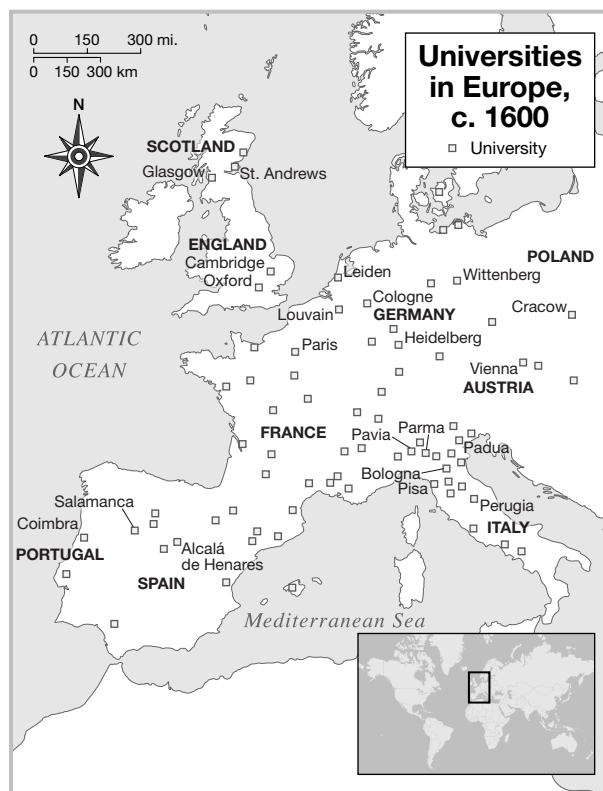
Europe had forty-seven universities in 1500, then added another twenty-eight new universities that survived by 1650. Thereafter the number of new university foundations slowed considerably, while some older ones were closed or merged. The net gain between 1651 and 1790 was ten, making a total of about eighty-five European universities in 1790. The lands that are now Germany, Italy, France, and Spain had, in that order, the largest number of universities, while another fifteen were to be found in the rest of Europe. Although any designation of the most important universities is open to disagreement, the list would include Bologna, Padua, Pavia, and Pisa in Italy; Paris in France; Cologne and Heidelberg in Germany; Vienna in Austria; Louvain in Belgium; Leiden in the Netherlands; Oxford and Cambridge in England; St. Andrews in Scotland; Alcalá de Henares and Salamanca in Spain; Coimbra in Portugal; and Cracow in Poland.

Universities were not the same across Europe. Universities in northern Europe and Italy differed greatly in the importance given to different disciplines, the level of instruction, and the age of students. Paris and Oxford, the prototypical northern universities, emphasized instruction in arts and theology. Most northern European universities had a majority of young students fourteen to eighteen or nineteen years of age studying for the bachelor's degree in arts, plus a smaller number of advanced students, often future clergymen seeking master's and doctoral degrees in theology. They had a handful of students studying for doctorates in law and medicine. Most northern European universities, es-

pecially those in German-speaking lands, had only one or two professors each for medicine and law.

Italian universities emphasized law and medicine at an advanced level and had many professors for these subjects. For example, the University of Bologna had an average of forty professors of law and twenty to twenty-five professors of medicine in the sixteenth century. They taught arts subjects such as logic and philosophy as well as preparation for medicine and law. But they taught little theology and did not award bachelor's degrees. The greatest number of students obtained doctorates in law, the next largest number doctorates of medicine, followed distantly by students winning doctorates of arts or theology. The master's degree with the right to teach was awarded with the doctoral degree without a separate examination. Students at Italian universities were typically eighteen to twenty-five years of age. Because of the emphasis on law and medicine at the doctoral level, many northern Europeans, especially Germans, obtained bachelor's degrees in the north, then came to Italy to obtain doctoral degrees in these disciplines.

The size of universities varied greatly, partly because the age of students differed. Paris, with an estimated 12,000 to 20,000 students, most of them young, was undoubtedly the largest university. Up to 500 teachers, the vast majority in arts instructing younger students while studying for advanced degrees, taught at Paris. Salamanca also had several thousand mostly younger students. The University of Bologna, the largest Italian university, had about ninety professors and 1,500 to 2,000 students, all studying for doctorates, in the sixteenth century. But the vast majority of universities were smaller: thirty to forty professors taught 300 to 800 students. Some universities had only ten to twenty professors teaching 100 to 300 students. Student enrollment fluctuated from decade to decade as war, disease, and the presence or absence of a famous professor caused students to move from one university to another. Students frequently began at one university and took a degree at a second or third. They could do this easily because the texts studied were the same from university to university, and all lectures, texts, disputations, and examinations were in Latin.



A course met five days a week, typically Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday, with the professor lecturing for an hour or longer. In a typical lecture, the professor began by reading a section from a standard authority, such as a scientific work of Aristotle, a medical text of Galen (c. 130–c. 200), a legal passage from the *Corpus iuris civilis*, the collection of ancient Roman law, or the New Testament for theology. The students sitting on benches normally had copies of the text or passages. The professor next delivered a detailed analysis of the text, explaining how it should be interpreted, rejecting some interpretations, reconciling others, bringing to bear other texts, and explaining its larger meaning. He might range far beyond the original text. This was the heart of university instruction. In due time the professor published these detailed analyses of authoritative texts. Other professors used them in their own research and teaching or published contrary interpretations. Students taking notes and annotating the passage in their own copies had useful professional information, such as a full explanation of a legal text and guidance about how it might be used in cases. The lecture concluded with questions and answers between stu-

dents and professors. They sometimes moved into the piazza or atrium for this less formal part of teaching.

Another important academic exercise was the disputation. A student or professor posted a notice announcing that he would defend a series of positions in his discipline at a certain time and place. Anyone was free to come and argue. Disputations offered practice in learned argument, which was considered a valuable skill in all disciplines and professions. For medical students, the annual public anatomy was also essential. Students stood in tightly packed rows to watch as a dissector cut open a body as a professor explained the organs. Public anatomies were scheduled for the coldest time of the year and went on without stop until the body putrefied days and weeks later.

After three or four years of study, the student presented himself before a committee of examining professors as a candidate for the bachelor's degree. Examinations for the doctoral degree were more complex. After four to seven years of additional study, the candidate presented himself to an examining committee, appointed by a college of doctors of law, medicine, arts, or theology. Colleges of doctors consisted of professors and other local men holding doctoral degrees in a subject. A typical examination required the student to explain several passages (called *puncta* or points) chosen at random from the required texts in the discipline, followed by wide-ranging questions from the examiners. A candidate for a medical degree might also be required to give his opinion on a medical case proposed to him. Students who satisfied the examiners of their competence were awarded doctoral degrees recognizing them to be experts in a subject and authorized to teach it. The degree was conferred in public ceremonies marked by much rejoicing and considerable expense.

HUMANISM

The introduction of humanism was the most important curricular change in the sixteenth century, and it involved much more than teaching the literary and historical classics of ancient Rome and Greece in their original languages. Humanists and professors with humanistic training transformed the study of several disciplines because they used their linguistic and historical skills and critical outlook of hu-

manism in their research and teaching. The use of the Greek text of Aristotle and ancient commentaries in place of medieval commentaries offered new insights in philosophy. The rediscovery of ancient mathematical texts aided mathematicians, including Galileo Galilei (1564–1642), a professor of mathematics at the University of Pisa (1589–1592) and the University of Padua (1592–1610). Applying the techniques of humanistic textual criticism to the *Corpus iuris civilis* led to a better understanding of the historical context of Roman law. Called humanistic jurisprudence, this new approach had great influence in French and German universities but little in Italian universities.

Humanism had the greatest impact in medicine through a series of developments sometimes called “medical humanism.” Professors of medicine used humanistic skills to examine the medical texts of Galen and other ancients in the original Greek. They found the medieval Latin translations of Galen wanting, so they produced better Latin translations for classroom use. Their enhanced understanding of the texts soon led them to find fault with Galen himself. The medical humanists also placed greater emphasis on anatomical study achieved through more frequent and more knowledgeable dissections of human bodies. Italian universities added professorships of medical botany in order to improve the study of the medicinal properties of plants. The universities of Padua and Pisa simultaneously founded the first university botanical gardens in 1543. Henceforward, students came to the garden in springtime to examine plants and learn about their medicinal properties. Clinical medicine began in the 1540s when a Paduan professor took students to hospitals in order to lecture on a disease at the bedside of the ill patient. Even though universities remained dedicated to lecturing on authoritative texts, these innovations gave greater emphasis to hands-on study, a tendency that continued in the following centuries. Universities in Italy, especially Padua, pioneered the changes in teaching and research, while universities elsewhere quickly followed.

In many northern European universities, especially in Germany, the introduction of humanists and humanistic studies into universities at the beginning of the sixteenth century produced bitter conflict with theologians. The fundamental issue

was, how should the sacred texts of Christianity be studied and interpreted? The theologians answered by traditional medieval Scholastic methods, using the tools of logic, the philosophical framework of Aristotle, and guidance from Thomas Aquinas, Duns Scotus, and other great medieval theologians. Only in this way could God's truth be uncovered and error avoided. The humanists answered, not through Scholasticism and medieval commentaries, but through careful linguistic, grammatical, and rhetorical analysis of the texts in their original language, Latin, Greek, or Hebrew. This enabled man to understand God's personal message and to be persuaded to follow him. The two sides fought bitterly. The humanists heaped scorn on university theologians for confusing the word of God with man's interpretations, while the Scholastic theologians dismissed the humanists as grammarians lacking the theological training to understand what they read. The differences were great, because the stakes were university positions in this life and salvation in the next. The advent of the Protestant Reformation exacerbated the conflict as many, but not all, younger German humanists joined Luther while older humanists and most Scholastic theologians remained Catholic. In Italian universities, by contrast, humanists and the few theologians who taught in universities there mostly ignored each other.

The sixteenth was a century of enormous achievement for universities. It is difficult to name another century in which university professors produced so much important scholarship. Numerous major religious leaders also held university professorships. Martin Luther (1483–1546), professor of theology at the modest, newly founded (1502), and geographically isolated University of Wittenberg, began a religious revolution. His chief lieutenant, Philipp Melancthon (1497–1560), was a professor of Greek at Wittenberg. And many of their Catholic opponents were professors. Leaders with university training from other areas of life were equally important.

The eruption of the Protestant Reformation had both negative and positive impact on universities. Enrollment initially dropped sharply in German universities, especially those in lands that became Lutheran. But enrollment recovered by the end of the sixteenth century, and a few new universities, both Catholic and Protestant, were established. De-

spite their differences, students continued to move from university to university across religious boundaries. For example, German Protestant students continued to study and to get degrees in law from the Italian universities in Bologna, Padua, Pavia, and Perugia because the most famous professors of law taught there and because Italian civil governments protected them from prosecution for their religious beliefs.

DECLINE: 1650 TO 1790

Universities continued to lead Europe in research and training leaders into the seventeenth century. But then new and different institutions of higher education rose to challenge them.

Protestants needed schools to train their clergymen in the new doctrines. Catholic universities obviously would not do this, and establishing new Protestant universities was difficult and expensive. Hence, small schools for theology and arts sprang up in the Protestant world. The Calvinist Genevan Academy (founded in 1559) was a famous example. It had seven or eight teachers for theology, Greek, Hebrew, arts, and law. The majority of the graduates became ministers. Some of these new schools sought to become universities teaching a broad range of subjects, but few succeeded.

In the Catholic world the new religious orders of the Catholic Reformation, led by the Jesuits, did the same on a much larger scale. The Society of Jesus, founded in 1540, originally established schools to train boys aged ten to sixteen in the humanities. A handful of Jesuit schools began to add upper-level classes in philosophy and theology in order to train members of the society. These schools, which were open to lay students, proved to be very popular because the Jesuits were excellent scholars and teachers and because the schools were free. Thus, a growing number of Jesuit schools with classes in logic, metaphysics, natural philosophy, mathematics, and theology appeared. Occasionally a Jesuit school also offered an introductory law course. Other religious orders of the Catholic Reformation followed the lead of the Jesuits.

Prodded by princes, the Jesuits also established boarding schools for noble boys and youths from about the ages of ten to twenty. These schools added classes in French, dancing, and horsemanship, all necessary skills for sons of the ruling classes,

to the humanities, philosophy, and religion classes. Schools for nobles offering the opportunity to mix with peers attracted students who would otherwise have attended universities. They were expensive, but so were universities. Other Catholic Reformation religious orders again imitated the Jesuits.

Religious order schools offered a structured education in a morally upright and safe environment. By contrast, universities had loosely organized curricula, a licentious life style, and brawling students. Most university students carried swords, and many carried firearms. It is small wonder that many parents preferred religious schools, especially the boarding schools, for their sons. For example, the school for nobles at Parma, founded in 1601, rose from 550 students in 1605 to 905 in 1660, and a minority of the students were non-Italian. Approximately one-third of the students attended the higher classes, which duplicated the first year or two of university studies. Every young male from the ages of eighteen to twenty who attended a religious order school was a possible enrollment loss for universities. Protestant lands also established numerous highly regarded and socially selective schools that taught part of the arts curriculum of universities.

Learned societies offered intellectual and financial competition to universities needing scholars. A famous example was the Royal Society of London for the Advancement of Natural Knowledge, founded in 1662. Financially underwritten by member subscriptions, it supported scientific research, provided opportunities for contacts with other scholars, and published the results of research. Learned societies proliferated. Most Continental societies received funding from governments; some offered salaries to members who carried on studies in mathematics, astronomy, chemistry, and other subjects. And they did not have to teach. Overall, scientific societies offered attractive nonuniversity alternatives to scholars needing support. Scientific societies created an international network enabling scholars in a discipline to communicate their research.

The philosophes of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment attacked universities as not useful to society. They judged the traditional university curriculum to be incapable of training citizens to contribute knowledge to improve the state. So they per-

sueded rulers to create new, specialized institutions of higher learning to teach practical subjects, such as agricultural technology, engineering, military tactics, surgery, even the fine arts. These highly specialized and practically oriented schools competed with universities for students.

Some of the criticism of the philosophes was justified, but much was not. Universities had kept up with innovations in learning. Although Latin remained the common language of instruction and writing, and universities continued to teach traditional subjects, they had added professorships in new subjects such as history and geography. They had discarded Aristotelian science in favor of Galileo's mathematical physics and had then adopted experimental science, all in the course of a century. And university research in medicine continued to lead the way, as university professors produced all of the important medical advances of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Professors in traditional subjects produced nontraditional works of scholarship. For example, Adam Smith (1723–1790), who taught logic and moral philosophy at the University of Glasgow from 1751 to 1764, produced *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* in 1776. Universities continued to award degrees certifying that the lawyer, judge, physician, clergyman, teacher, and civil servant were qualified to practice their professions. Learned societies, religious schools, and specialized schools could not do this. Overall, universities played essential intellectual and social leadership roles in European life that no other institution could replace.

See also Academies, Learned; Classicism; Clergy; Education; Enlightenment; Humanists and Humanism; Latin; Law; Literacy and Reading; Medicine; Printing and Publishing; Reformation, Protestant.

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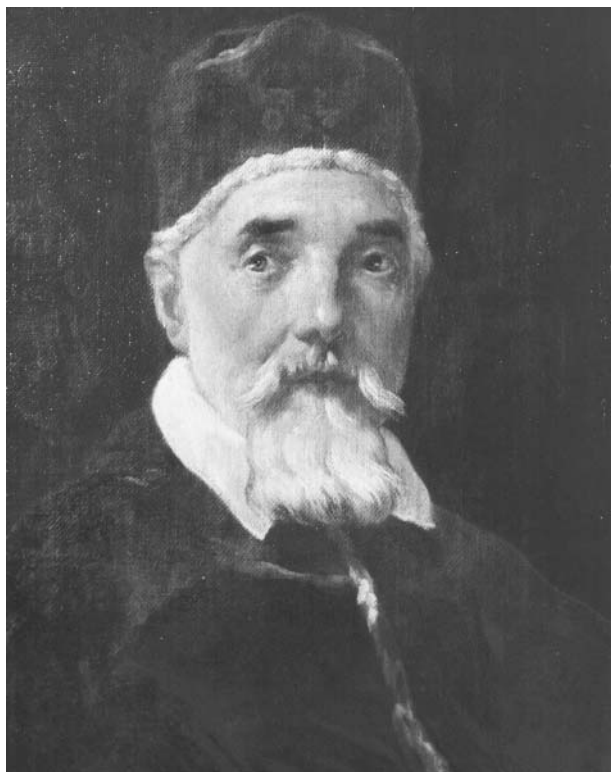
PAUL F. GRENDLER

URBAN VIII (POPE) (Maffeo Barberini; 1568–1644; reigned 1623–1644), Italian pope. After studies at Jesuit schools in Florence and Rome, he read law in Pisa (doctorate “in utroque jure” [both canon and civil law] in 1588), and entered the Roman prelature, backed by his uncle Francesco Barberini. He worked at the *Signatura* Tribunal, becoming prothonotary apostolic upon his uncle's resignation (1593) and then clerk of the Apostolic Chamber (1599). In 1592, his countryman Clement VIII appointed him governor of Fano, sending

him later on important diplomatic missions. In 1604, he was consecrated titular archbishop of Nazareth and sent as nuncio to Paris. In this capacity, he was able to gain support for the Jesuits in France, but could not secure acceptance of the Tridentine decrees. Created cardinal by Paul V in 1606, he returned to Rome (1607), soon to be appointed bishop of Spoleto, a charge he held until 1617, adding for a time (1611–1614) the legation to Bologna. In both positions, he showed himself a strict administrator and a diligent reformer. In 1617, he resigned his diocese and returned to Rome as prefect of the *Signatura* Tribunal. A member of several important Roman congregations, he was also active in the intellectual and artistic circles of the city. His election to the papacy in the summer of 1623 was the result of a compromise between the different factions that supported stronger candidates, although he was perceived as favorable to France.

Soon after his elevation to the see of Peter, he manifested his intention to take charge as both a spiritual and a secular leader. This he achieved through nepotism, elevating to the cardinalate his brother Antonio and his nephews Francesco and Antonio, and giving administrative positions to his brother, Carlo, and his nephew Taddeo. As “Cardinal Nephew,” administrator of the pontifical state, Francesco Barberini was to exert a great influence under the strict control of his uncle. Urban VIII was an absolute pope who wanted to ignore the college of cardinals, which he viewed as overly influenced by European powers (to compensate, the cardinals received the title of “Eminence” in 1630). In order to foster the independence of the Holy See, he strengthened the Papal States, building the stronghold of Castelfranco near Bologna, reinforcing Castel Sant'Angelo in Rome, and fortifying Civitavecchia's harbor. He was able to annex (1625–1631) the duchy of Urbino; however, his attempt to take over neighboring territories in Parma and Piacenza were thwarted by an Italian coalition (1644) that forced him to surrender the cities of Castro and Montalto, which had been occupied by papal forces in 1641.

Urban VIII's pontificate coincided with the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648). From the beginning of his pontificate, he had attempted to maintain a strict neutrality between the Habsburg and the Bourbons (Valtelline War, 1624–1626, War of



Pope Urban VIII. Portrait by Gian Lorenzo Bernini. THE ART ARCHIVE/PALAZZO BARBERINI ROME/DAGLI ORTI (A)

the Mantuan Succession, 1627–1631) as “Common Father” of all Catholics. During the war in Germany, he refused to support the imperial armies, seeking through his representatives to influence and control the process of re-Catholicization. Only in 1632 did he intervene by offering limited financial support and seeking diplomatic action. But the Holy See’s efforts were hindered by the French alliance with Protestant powers and Urban’s rejection of direct negotiation with heretics; on the eve of his death, the pope was able to foster a peace conference at Münster (1644).

On the religious level, Urban VIII took several important decisions. Probably the most famous one was to have his former friend Galileo Galilei prosecuted by the Roman Inquisition in 1633. He had to recant his heliocentric theories and was kept under house arrest until his death in 1642. By the bull *In Eminenti*, dated 1642, but published in 1643, Urban initiated a series of papal interventions in the Jansenist conflict, proscribing both Cornelius Jansenius’ book *Augustinus* and the Jesuit theses that attacked it. The Barberini pope is associated with

the reform of the liturgical books (Breviary, Martyrologium, Missal, Pontifical); by revising the beatification and canonization processes he rendered sainthood more difficult to achieve. Urban VIII strengthened and expanded the competence of the *De Propaganda fide* congregation, giving his name to the college established to educate priests for mission territories.

More a prince than a pastor, Urban VIII was criticized during his lifetime for his visions of grandeur as manifested in the art work he commissioned (exemplified by Bernini’s baldachin in St. Peter’s). He was above all a political pope, whose goal was the independence of the Holy See through a strong papal state and active diplomacy. This goal was not achieved because of Urban VIII’s resistance to confessional divisions in Europe and his deep misgivings about Habsburg Spain and Germany.

See also Mantuan Succession, War of the (1627–1631); Papacy and Papal States; Rome; Thirty Years’ War (1618–1648).

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JACQUES M. GRES-GAYER

URBAN LIFE. *See* Cities and Urban Life.

URBAN PLANNING. *See* City Planning.

USURY. *See* Interest.

UTOPIA. The impulse to wonder about a more perfect world is at least as old as Gilgamesh's search for the garden of Dilmun (c. 2500 B.C.E.). The dream of an earthly paradise seems to be widespread among the peoples of the earth, as a way of both imagining the ideal and expressing dissatisfaction with the here and now. Gilgamesh's perilous journey is prompted by his shock at the loss of his boon companion Enkidu and his own looming mortality. The propensity for utopian speculation is in part nostalgia for an idealized human existence, believed in the Islamic and Judeo-Christian tradition to have once existed in a paradise now lost. In times of social and political upheaval, such as existed in early modern Europe, authors also used the ideal for satiric purposes. As a result, utopian literature has flourished as a genre.

The first and most significant work of this kind is Sir Thomas More's *Utopia*, published in Latin at Louvain in 1516 (1551 in the first English translation). In letters to friends, More called his planned work "Nusquama," from the Latin adverb for 'nowhere'; however, when he chose the title, he transliterated the Greek negative *ou* into the Latin *u* and combined it with the Greek *topos* to create a new word, "utopia," or 'nowhere'. In the commentary letters from his humanist circle printed with early editions of the work, several observed that this country also ought to be called "Eutopia" (from the Greek *eu* for 'good'). Thus "utopian" was seen at once as an intriguing but impossible ideal.

More (1478–1535), who served Henry VIII as an adviser and became chancellor in 1529, wrote his classic in the turbulent years just before the beginning of the Reformation. He cast his imaginative flight in the form of a dialogue, a rhetorical strategy that allowed him to express dissatisfaction with current social conditions while maintaining a comfortable distance rhetorically from such dangerous ideas as the abolition of private property. The first part is a discussion between Raphael Hythloday ('babbler of nonsense'), a mariner who had chanced upon a fabulous land where all goods were held in common, and More himself, about the problems of Christian Europe, which was plagued by greed and corruption. Part two (which was written first) is the actual discussion of the ideal society, where Christianity takes root among the Utopians with surprising ease because it is so consistent with the Utopians' communal way of life. At the end, the character More finally admits that he would like to see some aspects of Utopian society put into practice in England, but states that he believes it is unlikely ever to happen. Ultimately, *Utopia* attempts to negotiate a course between the ideal and the actual and implicitly recognizes that, given the fallibility of mankind, perfection is impossible.

In the aftermath of *Utopia*, which earned great renown for More, other descriptive works appeared that made use of some of the same literary devices: a shipwreck or other chance encounter with an ideal community, followed by a return to Europe. Ortensio Lando and Anton Francesco Doni's collaborative *Eutopia* in 1548 (its full title is *The Newly Discovered Republic of the Government of the Isle of Eutopia*) reverses this scenario by having a Eutopian citizen visit Italy to comment directly upon its excesses, which sparked interest in other utopian imitations.

CHRISTIAN UTOPIAS OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

In the seventeenth century Francis Bacon's (1561–1626) advocacy of a "new" science based on inductive reasoning led others to dream of synthesizing human knowledge with religion to produce a universal knowledge, or "pansophia." This "utopian" myth became the driving force for a new vision of a Christian commonwealth. Bacon's utopian work, *The New Atlantis* (written c. 1614 and published posthumously in 1627) was a coda to *The Great*

Instauration (1620). It took the form of a voyage to the island of Bensalem, the centerpiece of which is Salomon's House, a research college where the new scientific method leads to discoveries and inventions that greatly enrich the commonwealth. A belief in pansophia had similarly inspired Tommaso Campanella (1568–1639) to put forth his vision of *The City of the Sun* (1623), a sea captain's account of an ideal Christian community, where a single ruler named Sun is assisted by three aides, Power, Knowledge, and Love (with an obvious indebtedness to the Christian Trinity of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit). The role of science is paramount, with the seven concentric walls that ring the city displaying pictorially the unity of all knowledge. By naming these walls for the seven planets orbiting the sun, Campanella clearly stands with Copernicus on the most important scientific debate of the age.

The vision of a Christian commonwealth founded on scientific principles is at the heart of one of the century's more influential utopianists, Johann Valentin Andreae (1586–1654), a Lutheran churchman who produced several works, notably *Christianopolis* (1619, published as *Reipublicae Christianopolitanae Descriptio* [Description of a Christian republic]), which garnered praise from learned readers such as Robert Burton. Framed as a traveler's tale, it describes a Christian city in which an elite brotherhood possesses a secret wisdom and oversees the further exploration of nature's secrets through scientific experimentation. Andreae had been part of a youthful circle at the University of Tübingen that had produced a series of utopian pamphlets around 1610 (*Fama Fraternitatis* and the *Confessio Fraternitatis* [The Fame of the Fraternity and the Confession of the Fraternity]), advocating a Protestant brotherhood to bring about reform within the Lutheran church. These pamphlets caused an extraordinary sensation when published in print, often called the Rosicrucian furor. Andreae's ideas greatly influenced the Moravian reformer Jan Comenius (c. 1592–1670) and passed into England through Samuel Hartlib (c. 1600–1662), who brought out an English translation of another treatise by Andreae (*A Modell of a Christian Society* [London, 1647]) to help reform England in the aftermath of the Civil War. With some justification, the Royal Society (founded in 1660) can be

considered the fruition of the dream of a Baconian research college to aid the commonwealth.

UTOPIAN THOUGHT AMONG THE PHILOSOPHES

The rationalists of the Enlightenment who helped prepare the way for the revolutions of 1776 and 1789 did not produce any recognized utopian classics. There were, however, utopian elements in various works, such as Fénelon's *Adventures of Telemachus* (1699), Montesquieu's *Persian Letters* (1721), the sketch of El Dorado in Voltaire's *Candide* (1759), and Condorcet's *Esquisse* (1794), that were influential at the time.

See also Bacon, Francis; Condorcet, Marie-Jean Caritat, marquis de; Fénelon, François; Montesquieu, Charles-Louis de Secondat de; More, Thomas; Philosophes; Progress; Rosicrucianism; Voltaire.

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DONALD R. DICKSON

UTRECHT, PEACE OF (1713). The Peace of Utrecht consisted of twenty-three treaties and conventions that ended the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1714). Most, but not all, were signed in Utrecht in the Netherlands in 1713.

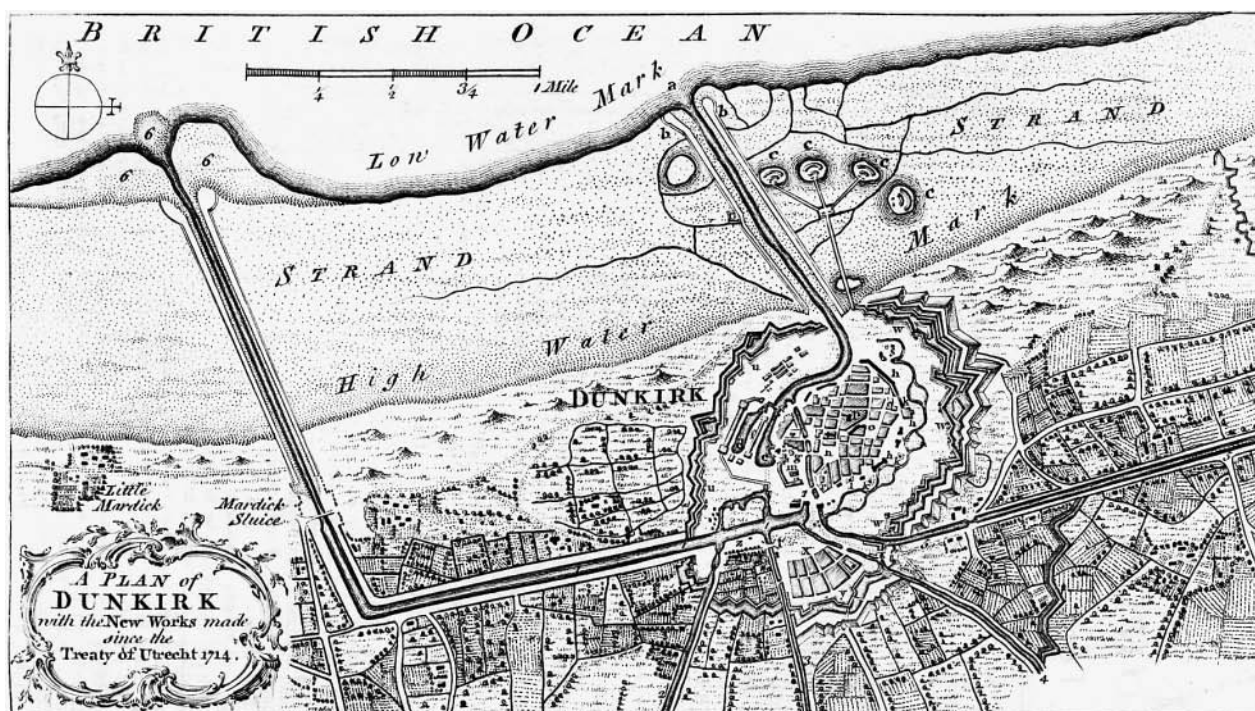
France and Austria ended hostilities with the Treaty of Rastatt in March 1714; the Treaty of Baden (September 1714) ended war between France and the Holy Roman Empire; Portugal and Spain concluded negotiations in Madrid in February 1715. Austria and the empire did not sign treaties with Spain until 1725, despite the cessation of fighting a decade before, largely because of Habsburg unwillingness to concede the Bourbon succession in Spain.

The contested Spanish succession fed fears of French hegemony after a Bourbon prince, Philip d'Anjou, grandson of Louis XIV, became Philip V of Spain in 1700. A Grand Alliance, comprising England, the Dutch Republic, Austria, and many smaller European powers, commenced war against France and Spain in 1702. Particularistic complaints underlying the allies' shared concerns made peace elusive. The French troops' occupation of towns in the southern Netherlands in 1701 threatened the security of the Dutch Republic. The English and Dutch feared French trade restrictions in Spanish

America after France received an *asiento* ('contract') to supply slaves to Spanish colonies, in 1701. An Austrian Habsburg prince, Archduke Charles, second son of Emperor Leopold I (ruled 1658–1705), was Philip V's chief rival for the Spanish throne.

Attempts at peace commenced in 1706 but faltered repeatedly. Negotiators failed to craft terms acceptable to multiple parties, and the fickle fortunes of war frequently reconfigured bargaining positions. In 1710, a change of government in Britain broke the impasse. War-weary Britons voted out the Whigs, and a Tory ministry headed by Robert Harley assumed power. Henry St. John, a new secretary of state, abandoned multilateral negotiations for bilateral negotiations with the French, and soon Britain and France had cut deals that promised peace but compromised the interests of Britain's allies.

On 29 January 1712, an international congress convened in Utrecht to negotiate a general peace between France and some members of the Grand Alliance. St. John wanted the semblance of a general



Peace of Utrecht. Under the treaty, France promised to demolish the fortifications at Dunkirk which were used as a base for attacks on English and Dutch shipping. This map from the October 1758 issue of *London Magazine* accompanied an article that accused the French of violating the treaty by refortifying the city: "It is too notorious, with how much chicanery they have been stealing work upon work, at this place, contrary to the most solemn engagements to the contrary." MAP COLLECTION, STERLING MEMORIAL LIBRARY, YALE UNIVERSITY

settlement, even if most negotiating was bilateral rather than in congressional sessions. One of Britain's war aims was a balance of power in Europe, a goal that St. John suspected the French did not heartily support. A general peace between France and the allies, he believed, would forward that goal more than would a separate peace between France and Britain. By early 1713, the plenipotentiaries of Britain, the Dutch Republic, Savoy, Portugal, and Prussia had agreed to terms with France, and on 11 April signed treaties ending their participation in the war.

Spanish involvement in the congress was delayed until the April treaties acknowledged Philip V and his delegates' rights to negotiate for Spain, but treaties with some allies soon followed. Representatives from Austria and the empire left Utrecht without treaties because of unresolved differences with France or Spain. The Spanish succession remained their primary stumbling block, but its context had changed dramatically between 1702 and 1713. During those years, two Austrian emperors had died, Leopold I in 1705 and Joseph I in 1711. Archduke Charles, the contender for the Spanish throne as Charles III, was crowned Emperor Charles VI. In the Bourbon line, deaths claimed the French dauphin in 1711, putting Philip V of Spain fourth in line for the French throne. Two Bourbon deaths in 1712 left only a sickly boy between Philip and the French throne. These untimely deaths left both Charles and Philip with multiple dynastic claims, which, as the primary Spanish claimants, made them unattractive to many powers unless they renounced some of them. In 1712, Philip V renounced his French claims, which five allies, but not Austria and the empire, recognized in 1713.

The Peace of Utrecht redefined numerous dynastic conflicts. In addition to Philip V of Spain's renunciation of his French claims, the dukes of Berry and Orléans and their heirs were excluded from claims to the Spanish throne, thus precluding a future royal union of France and Spain. International acknowledgment of Philip V effectively ended a possible Habsburg union of Austria and Spain. France recognized the Protestant succession in Britain and agreed that the Stuart Pretender, James Francis Edward Stuart, and his heirs could not live on French soil. Frederick William I was acknowledged as king of Prussia. The house of Savoy re-

ceived Sicily from Spain (despite Austria's claim), and assurances that, if the Spanish Bourbon line failed, the Savoy line would succeed it. Emperor Charles VI received the other Spanish territories in Italy and the Netherlands. These arrangements curbed the hegemonic tendencies of dynastic unions, elevated state and national interests, and made a balance of power a shared European objective, if not a reality.

Colonial and commercial issues figured prominently in the Peace of Utrecht. France returned Rio de Janeiro in Brazil to Portugal and agreed to clarify the border between Portugal's and France's American claims. Rather than cede Iberian border towns, Spain gave Sacramento in South America to Portugal and acknowledged its Brazilian claims. France ceded Newfoundland, Acadia, St. Christopher, and the Hudson Bay territory to Britain, but insisted on exclusive seasonal shore rights in Newfoundland to exploit the cod fishery. The Anglo-Spanish treaty protected Spain's interest in the Newfoundland fishery. Spain transferred the *asiento* from France to Britain for thirty years, and allowed British trading stations on the Río de la Plata in South America. Gibraltar and Minorca, former Spanish possessions, guaranteed British commercial access in the Mediterranean.

Despite the achievements of the Peace of Utrecht, British machinations by Henry St. John, backed by Robert Harley, haunted European affairs for decades. In Britain, vitriolic criticism of St. John and Harley's treatment of allies forced both men into exile. British disregard of Dutch interests probably sped the Dutch Republic's decline as a European power. British abandonment of the Catalans left them vulnerable to Philip V's revenge for their support of the Grand Alliance. Newfoundland fishing concessions incensed opposition critics in Britain, and created international tensions that continue to the present. A fortified barrier in the southern Netherlands failed to hold back French forces in 1745, and festering boundary disputes in the colonies fueled the conflicts leading to the Seven Years' War. All contributed to the contested legacy of the Peace of Utrecht.

See also Bourbon Dynasty (France); Bourbon Dynasty (Spain); Charles III (Spain); Frederick William I (Prussia); Habsburg Dynasty; Philip V (Spain);

Seven Years' War (1756–1763); Spain; Spanish Succession, War of the (1701–1714).

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ELIZABETH MANCKE



VAGRANTS AND BEGGARS. With the increase in the ranks of paupers in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, contemporary legislation began to discriminate between the deserving and the undeserving poor. The definition of the “true” poor (children, the aged, the sick, and the infirm) reflected the new policy of early modern governments all over Europe of refusing to recognize unemployment per se as an excuse for beggary. The magistrates held that, apart from those who were rendered incapable of earning a living by age or physical condition, all who begged should be considered willful idlers and treated severely. It was therefore declared that the beggary of the able-bodied poor was criminal. The intention was to help those unable to take care of themselves, whereas able-bodied persons unwilling to work were not entitled to poor relief, but, on the contrary, were subject to a variety of disciplinary measures. The dangerous poor were, according to a stereotype that developed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, typically rootless, masterless, and homeless. The beggar who took to a life of crime, and abused the conventions of a Christian society of “orders” and “callings,” became defined as a member of a deviant subculture, who had to be punished. In its justification of these punishments, which became even more severe during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, governments stressed the connection between beggary and criminality.

The equation between begging and crime became a commonplace in poor law legislation from

the sixteenth century onward. It was used to justify harsh but futile measures against those who supposedly showed an ingrained laziness and a stubborn preference for living from charity, and, inevitably, went astray, becoming used in the end to a disorderly and criminal style of life (vagrancy, theft, smuggling, and prostitution).

THE GROWING NUMBERS OF BEGGARS AND VAGRANTS

Vagrancy was a socially defined offense that reflects the dual problem of geographical and social mobility in early modern Europe. Offenders were arrested and punished not because of their actions, but because of their marginal position in society. The implication was that vagrants were not ordinary criminals but were regarded as a major threat to society, and therefore pursued by all authorities and stigmatized as deviants. The offense of which they were accused posed a serious challenge to the moral and physical well-being of the Christian commonwealth. Vagrants should not be confused with the outsiders known in medieval Germany as *fahrende Leute*, ‘wayfarers’. Those included a variety of people, from wandering scholar to minstrels and knifegrinders. Many of them were engaged in itinerant trades or professions whose form of work involved wandering (entertainers, transient healers, hawkers, tinkers). They were also despised, ridiculed, stigmatized, and marginalized, but not prosecuted for their deviant way of life.

During the course of the fifteenth century a new social phenomenon grew up alongside these tradi-

tional “vagrants”: the fraudulent beggar and the idle, sturdy vagabond. Their advent caused governments to react accordingly. In early modern Württemberg, for example, all officials were put on alert for idle vagrants from 1495, and by 1508 those arrested were increasingly charged with “suspicious wandering.” The legal concept of vagabondage is based on the distinction between able-bodied and “impotent” poor, which had been propagated by the critiques of the traditional view of poverty since the later Middle Ages, but was only fully accepted by governments of all persuasions from the sixteenth century onward. The ideological underpinning was provided by the rhetorical flourishes of humanists and preachers and the attacks upon vagrants in popular literature.

The omnibus statutory definitions of vagrancy, and even those found in the learned or popular tradition, were not purely theoretical. Not every offender, of course, showed all the characteristics of the stereotype, nor were these traits absolutely necessary for prosecutions or arrests to take place. According to contemporary sources the number of vagrants had been increasing over the sixteenth century, but it is difficult to substantiate these estimates statistically. The clearest evidence of a real growth in vagrancy during the early modern period is the figures that refer to people who were arrested, convicted, or punished for vagrancy alone, and not for any other crime. In late-sixteenth-century England, vagrants numbering only in the hundreds were found in the special searches after the Rising in the North (1571–1572), while sixty years later reports to the Privy Council recorded the local arrest and punishment of many thousands of wandering rogues and sturdy beggars (nearly 25,000 in thirty-two English counties between 1631 and 1639). It is likely that the number of people that could be labeled as vagrants continued to increase well into the seventeenth century, not only in England but also in other European countries. But there was worse to come. In the eighteenth century vagrancy was exacerbated not only by deteriorating demographic and economic conditions but also by growing government efforts to eradicate the problem. Comparative statistics for the total number of vagabonds in various European countries are complicated by the variety of ways in which vagrants could be punished. Despite numerous uncertainties, it is possible, for

example, to compare the number of people detained as vagrants (broadly defined) and interned in “houses of correction” or *dépôts de mendicité* in England and France, respectively, in the later eighteenth century. While in England three to four thousand vagrants and idlers were interned annually, the French police arrested in the same period (1770s and 1780s) between ten and thirteen thousand vagrants each year. Comparing the rates of internment for every 10,000 inhabitants in the two countries, shows that, as far the repression of vagrancy was concerned, the French government was obviously more successful and its police more efficient in enforcing the vagrancy laws that had been in force in both countries since the sixteenth century. These numerical results are thus quite significant in terms of the capabilities of the two most powerful eighteenth-century European states and their respective policing organizations, but there can be no doubt that other countries made similar efforts to suppress vagrancy.

THE STRUCTURE OF VAGRANCY

The sources also tell us something about the structure of vagrancy. Vagrants were more mobile and traveled longer distances than other migrants. According to an English study, the large majority of apprentices and journeymen moved less than forty miles, while among the vagrants whose place of origin can be determined, more than seventy percent had gone farther; a substantial number of them (22 percent) had even covered a distance of more than one hundred miles. It is often impossible to state the average age of those arrested as vagrants, because of the incompleteness of the data. The few statistics that we have for the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, however, leave no doubt that vagrancy was mainly a young person’s crime. In Tudor and Stuart England the proportion of vagrants below age twenty-one declined from 67 to 47 percent in the years 1623–1639 as compared to 1570–1622, but was still rather high. Most vagabonds were single and male. That is precisely the group that is underrepresented in listings of the resident respectable poor. The vagrants were distinguished from the latter also in being predominantly young.

Almost unanimously, contemporary observers and legislators assumed that vagabonds chose to be unemployed. The evidence of vagabonds’ previous

and present occupations suggests that unemployment was a growing problem and that opportunities were contracting, and that as a result the poor were taking up less secure positions such as casual labor, soldiery, and entertainment, which had at that time close links with vagabondage. According to a study on the profile of vagrancy in England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, roughly one-third of all vagabonds who could report work histories were engaged in the production of food, leather goods, or cloth and metal wares, or in mining or building; at least one-quarter were servants, apprentices, journeymen, laborers, and harvest workers; almost one-fifth were petty tradesmen and tinkers; and one-tenth were soldiers and mariners. This profile of occupations is strikingly similar to that established for vagrants arrested in eighteenth-century Bavaria. The other major group that figures prominently in the German reports of arrest was a medley of tramping artisans and members of “dangerous trades,” consisting largely of flayers and knackers’ men and their families.

All these features and social traits provided ample grounds for abhorrence of the idle rogue and sturdy beggar and for his accidental confusion with the simple migrant or pauper.

STIGMATIZATION

In early modern legislation the sturdy beggar was characterized as the incarnation of idleness. Flogging, branding, hard labor in the galleys, and all other penalties introduced against begging and vagrancy that involved public disgrace, were justified because they were meant to constrain the poor from following their unlawful and unchristian inclinations and impel them toward their moral and social duty, that is, to work. Branding and ear boring were ritual punishments that left everlasting marks of infamy on the body of the offender. According to the Edwardian statute of 1547 vagrants were to be branded with a V on their breasts. Ear-boring is first mentioned in a statute passed in 1572. In France beggars and vagrants brought to court were subjected to the ritual of corporal punishment including branding (M for *mendiant*, V for *vagabond*) and public flogging. Both police and judges examined suspects’ bodies for the marks of branding and whipping when they took their disposition. Sometimes the most obscure mark (e.g., the fact that a patch of skin on the

shoulder was lighter and of different texture from the rest) was used as proof of a criminal record.

Further forms of corporal punishment for deviant paupers included hair polling, the pillory, and ear cropping. Each of these rituals implied various degrees of public disgrace. The pillory, for example, had been employed against fraudulent beggars since the late Middle Ages. Other forms of degrading punishments for vagrants were of local origin, as for example the “ducking-stool,” which was in use in some early modern English towns. This was a special instrument of punishment for prostitutes or dishonest tradesmen but also for other offenders, consisting of a chair in which an offender was tied and exposed to public derision or ducked in water.

Whipping, branding, and ear boring were for a long time and until the eighteenth century the easiest way of dealing with sturdy beggars and vagabonds. Whether these corporal punishments alleviated the problem of poverty and its concomitant, vagrancy, is doubtful. But it had at least one great advantage: it gave the local governments the feeling that they were at least doing something against the rising number of “masterless men” on the road.

EXPULSION

Local authorities rather seldom used their legislative powers to lock up the wandering or deviant poor (confinement) or to restrict their freedom to move within the municipal area (segregation). More often than not, magistrates turned to the ancient remedy of expulsion. There was almost no town in early modern Europe that at one time or another did not prohibit begging and order the removal of all sturdy beggars and vagabonds. Gatekeepers and constables were admonished to redouble their efforts in order to keep the unwelcome poor outside the city. Some municipalities (e.g., Cologne and Bordeaux) were less successful in barring foreign beggars from entering the city because of the lack of police forces and gaps in their fortification systems. Other European cities managed better in keeping an eye on the floating populations.

In view of the various weaknesses connected with the expulsion or mass banishments of beggars, national governments tried more effective forms of removal for outcast rogues and sturdy beggars. In England the transportation of vagabonds to the colonies dates back to Elizabeth I’s reign. The Va-

grancy Act of 1597 stipulated that dangerous rogues should be banished overseas. A Privy Council order of 1603 mentioned various destinations: Newfoundland, the East and West Indies, France, Germany, Spain, and the Low Countries. Most of those exiled for vagrancy and other crimes were, however, sent to the American colonies.

THE GREAT CONFINEMENT

Compared to stigmatizing corporal punishment and other traditional measures of social control such as expulsion and transportation, a new reformatory policy of punishment in the form of so-called proto-penal institutions offered the authorities a kind of control over the offender without abusing his body. One should not forget, however, that despite this humanitarian impetus, in most “bridewells,” houses of correction, or similar institutions founded in many European countries during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, chaining and beating of the inmates were common practice until the end of the *ancien régime*.

The most distinctive product of early modern thinking on social welfare was the creation of a new kind of hospital. The practice of confining beggars in jail-like institutions certainly gained favor in the eighteenth century, but as a means of providing work for the needy and punishing the disreputable and deviant, it had a long history, dating back to the second half of the sixteenth century. In 1553 Edward VI, influenced by Bishop Nicolas Ridley, conveyed an old, decayed palace, the Bridewell, to the city of London, for the purpose of safekeeping, punishing, and setting to work the idle poor and vagabonds. Other English towns (such as Norwich and Ipswich) followed in the 1560s. The poor-relief act of 1576 ordered the establishment of so-called houses of correction in all counties and corporate towns of the realm. In this prototype of an institution that was later to become known as the “workhouse,” punishment by imprisonment was given a new importance. This means that labor was, for the first time, introduced as corrective discipline. The English statutes of 1576, 1597, and 1610 all listed punishment, work, and discipline as reasons for the establishment of such houses.

At about the same time when Bridewell became the English model for a new type of institution to combat vagabondage, the magistrates of the city of

Amsterdam decided to establish a *tuchthuis* for men, to be followed by a similar institution for women known as a *spinhuis*. The name of the institution derived from the type of labor the inmates were compelled to perform. The men were forced to chop and rasp Brazilian dyewood, while the women and young children were required to spin, knit, or sew. The reformatory program attached great importance to personal hygiene, industriousness, and piety.

The foundation of the Amsterdam *tuchthuis* was a landmark in the history of a vast program of social engineering, known since Michel Foucault’s work in this field as “the Great Confinement.” Whether or not one agrees with Foucault’s theory of continuity of incarceration and the common disciplinary features of workhouses, asylums, prisons, and factories, there can be little doubt that all those institutions attempted to repress vagrancy and mendicity by segregating and putting to work those caught begging without permission. In the sixteenth century, labor still had strong religious-moral connotations as a remedy against sinful idleness. By the seventeenth century, when the workhouse movement had gained momentum all over Europe, the earlier quality of labor as the means to fight the supposed main cause of poverty (idleness) had been overlaid by a more pragmatic concept in which confinement and compulsory labor were seen as the appropriate instrument to punish and correct beggars and other deviants. Consequently, the workhouse became the distinctive feature of poor relief right to the nineteenth century, even if this English institution and its European adaptations and mutations failed to meet the high expectations of contemporaries.

See also **Charity and Poor Relief; Crime and Punishment; Poverty.**

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ROBERT JÜTTE

VALOIS DYNASTY (FRANCE). From its accession to the French throne in 1328 through its end in 1589, the Valois dynasty included thirteen kings: Philip VI (ruled 1328–1350); John the Good (1350–1364); Charles V (1364–1380); Charles VI (1380–1422); Charles VII (1422–1461); Louis XI (1461–1483); Charles VIII (1483–1498); Louis XII (1498–1515); Francis I (1515–1547); Henry II (1547–1559); Francis II (1559–1560); Charles IX (1560–1574); Henry III (1574–1589).

Over this period, the dynasty presided over some of the most violent years in French history. Its reign included the Hundred Years’ War (1337–1453) and the Wars of Religion (1562–1598), two periods in which it seemed that France itself might break apart; and from 1495 through 1557 there were a series of wars with the kings of Spain, with each side seeking hegemony in Italy. The sixteenth-century Valois also confronted the advent of Protestantism, and their response to it continued to influence French society well into the nineteenth century. Despite the advantages that converting to Protestantism might have offered, Francis I and Henry II vigorously prosecuted all forms of heresy; and Charles IX endorsed the St. Bartholomew’s Day Massacre of Protestants in 1572. As a result, to the end of the Old Regime the French monarchy would remain closely allied with Catholic ritual and belief.

The Valois included colorful characters to match the dramatic times in which they ruled. A patron of the arts and ambitious warrior, Francis I was a Renaissance monarch well suited to compete with his contemporaries Henry VIII of England (ruled 1509–1547) and the Emperor Charles V (ruled 1519–1556). But several other members of the dynasty showed signs of mental instability, and in both the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries these had dire political consequences.

See also Charles VIII (France); France; Francis I (France); Henry II (France); Henry III (France); Louis XII (France); St. Bartholomew’s Day Massacre; Wars of Religion, French.

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JONATHAN DEWALD

VAN DYCK, ANTHONY (1599–1641), Flemish painter. Born in Antwerp, Anthony van Dyck divided his career between his native Southern Netherlands, Italy, and England. Before he died at the age of forty-two, he had become the most influential portraitist in Europe. His portraits evoke the sitters' actual or desired rank as well as a sense of individuality, despite their idealization. Although he remains best known for his portraits, Van Dyck's ambition and talent extended to more prestigious history subjects, including religious and secular narratives in which he emphasized psychological states and relationships (for example, *The Mystic Marriage of the Blessed Herman Joseph*, 1630, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum). Throughout his career Van Dyck departed from gender stereotypes more often than other artists, favoring subjects with passive men, and innovatively portrayed several women as glancing down at the viewer (for example, *Marchesa Elena Grimaldi*, 1623, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.).

The son of a silk merchant, Van Dyck began his professional training at the age of ten with Hendrik van Balen, the most expensive figure painter in Antwerp. While still in his teens he produced accomplished works and apparently even ran his own studio at the age of sixteen before officially becoming a master in the Guild of St. Luke. Because the young Van Dyck shifted easily between different styles, the dating of his early works remains disputed. He could adapt to the style of the older Rubens, in whose studio he worked as an assistant helping in the execution of such works as the cartoons for tapestries illustrating the history of the Roman general Decius Mus. In such cases he applied paint smoothly and depicted massive, muscular figures in a more ambiguous space than was typical of Rubens. Spatial ambiguity remained a stylistic characteristic throughout Van Dyck's career as a means of intensifying his emphasis on psychological rather than corporeal presence. Early paintings done in his own style, with oil paint applied in broader, looser strokes, reveal his lifelong admiration for the work



Anthony Van Dyck. Self-portrait, c. 1630. HERMITAGE, ST. PETERSBURG, RUSSIA/BRIDGEMAN ART LIBRARY

of Titian (*Betrayal of Christ*, Prado, Madrid). Multiple versions exist of several early narrative subjects, the betrayal of Christ being a case in point. In planning such compositions, he made drawing after drawing to test alternative possibilities.

Portraits painted in Antwerp before 1620 (and again in 1628–1632) tend to be three-quarter length or smaller, a size suitable for the dwellings of Flemish burghers (*Frans Snyders*, The Frick Collection, New York). Props such as columns and flowing drapes, however, evoke the palatial settings of nobility, a status to which many of his fellow citizens aspired.

By the time Van Dyck left Antwerp in 1620, his works were as highly valued as Rubens's. He first went to England but by the end of 1621 had moved to Italy, remaining there for seven years and traveling extensively. His sketchbook (London, British Museum) records that he paid special attention to Titian. In Genoa, where he spent the most time, Van Dyck portrayed the city's nobility, such as Marchesa Elena Grimaldi (1623, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.). Often shown full-length, they look down at the viewer, increasing the

sense of elevated rank suggested by their reserved demeanor. Faces and hands stand out against the tonalities dominated by rich reds and blacks.

In 1628 Van Dyck resettled in his native Antwerp. Visitors to his house mention a “Cabinet de Titian” in which he displayed originals by and copies after Titian. Working with softer value contrasts, Van Dyck expanded his repertoire of portrait poses for compositional reasons and to characterize sitters more fully. This is especially evident in the *Iconography*, a print series portraying selected European notables, including heads of state, military leaders, scholars, and, unprecedentedly in such a prestigious context, fellow artists such as Jan Brueghel the Elder. At first Van Dyck etched the portraits himself, but had the prints made by engravers after his models.

In 1632 Van Dyck moved once again to England, where art patronage now flourished at a court ruled by Charles I, a discriminating and avid art collector. The king appointed Van Dyck his “principalle” painter and knighted him, raising the artist’s status closer to that of the nobility he portrayed as well as entertained. The English portraits (*Portrait of King Charles I*, 1635, Louvre) differ from their Genoese counterparts in having a brighter palette, a tendency to more relaxed poses, and occasional pastoral associations. They were to have an enormous influence on later English painting. In 1634–1635 Van Dyck considered resettling permanently in Antwerp but returned to England, where he lived the rest of his short life. His works remain as integral to the history of painting in England and in Italy as in his native Southern Netherlands.

See also **Britain, Art in;** **Charles I (England); Netherlands, Art in the; Painting; Rubens, Peter Paul.**

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ZIRKA ZAREMBA FILIPCZAK

VASA DYNASTY (SWEDEN). The Vasa Dynasty, which ruled Sweden from 1523 to 1654, included Gustav I Vasa (Gustav Eriksson), Erik XIV, John III, Sigismund I Vasa, Charles IX, Gustavus II Adolphus, and Christina. During their reigns, Sweden left the Kalmar Union and became an independent state, adopted Lutheranism, developed a more complex economy, built a Baltic empire and a place of importance in European affairs, and became increasingly European culturally. (The Vasa name derives from the *vase*, a sheaf of grain in the family’s insignia or shield. The family’s noble roots lie in the fourteenth century.)

Gustav I Vasa (ruled 1523–1560) established the dynasty. Aided by the Hanseatic League and important elements of the Swedish commons, he led the last of Sweden’s rebellions against the Danish-controlled Kalmar Union. He became king in June 1523, and for thirty-seven years worked diligently and ruthlessly to ensure Sweden’s independence and development. He made and maintained peace with Denmark, encouraged the Reformation, expropriated the properties of the Catholic Church to the crown’s benefit, supported economic developments, built up a modest army and navy, curbed the Hanseatic League’s influence, used the Parliament to ratify his actions, made Sweden a hereditary monarchy (1544), crushed domestic disturbances, and fostered the growth of a central administration. One of Europe’s “new monarchs,” he enhanced the power of the crown and curbed that of the nobility. Following his death in 1560, many of his achievements were eroded by the half-century of internal turmoil and foreign wars initiated by his sons Erik, John, and Charles.

Erik XIV (ruled 1560–1568) was temperamental, suspicious, and mentally unstable. He squandered the fiscal and political assets his father had bequeathed him. He launched Sweden’s age of imperial adventures in the Baltic, helped to precipitate the Northern Seven Years’ War (1563–1570) with Denmark, and even sought the hand of Elizabeth I of England. He also engaged in a running conflict with his half-brother, Duke John, who, from his duchy in Finland, acted like a king in his own right. This conflict peaked in 1568, when John, with the aid of their brother Charles, deposed Erik and imprisoned him in Gripsholm Castle, where he died in 1577.

John III (ruled 1568–1592), more stable, cultured, and politically astute than Erik, worked to restore peace and stability. His efforts were undermined by religious strife. His marriage to Catherine, daughter of Sigismund II Augustus of Poland, led to a drift towards Catholicism, and this was reinforced when their heir, Sigismund, who was raised a Catholic, became king of Poland as Sigismund III Vasa in 1587.

When Sigismund (ruled Sweden as Sigismund I Vasa 1592–1599) succeeded his father as king of Sweden, a political arrangement was forged to balance the interests of the crown, those of the last of the Vasa sons (Charles), and those of the high nobility. Fear of the king's Catholicism led to a reaffirmation of Lutheranism at Uppsala in 1593. Sigismund stacked the administration with his favorites, which alarmed Charles, and civil war erupted in 1597. Sigismund was defeated at Stångebro the following year and deposed in 1599. He remained king in Poland, however, until his death in 1632, and for over half a century the two lines of the Vasa dynasty were in conflict.

Charles IX (ruled 1599–1611) acted as regent until 1604, and he was not crowned until 1607. He ruthlessly eliminated his opponents (Linköping Bloodbath, 1600) and ruled personally or through favorites. He ignored complaints that he was violating the nobility's privileges. Following his death in 1611, the nobles took their revenge. Charles's heir, Gustavus II Adolphus, was only seventeen, and the price of his recognition was an accession charter that guaranteed noble power in the country.

Until relatively recently, Gustavus II Adolphus (ruled 1611–1632) has been viewed as one of Sweden's greatest kings—architect of Sweden's age of greatness; author of creative and positive developments in government, administration, economics, and education; one of history's best military leaders; and the man most responsible for the survival of Lutheranism in Germany. This interpretation usually paired him with his adviser and chancellor, Axel Oxenstierna. More recent assessments tend to assign greater influence to Oxenstierna in political, economic, and administrative matters. In military matters he was less a creative thinker than an efficient and effective applier of ideas originating elsewhere. Gustavus II Adolphus spent almost his entire

reign at war (successively with Denmark, Russia, Poland, and the Catholic-Imperial forces in Germany). He died at the Battle of Lützen on 6 November 1632.

Christina (ruled 1632–1654), Gustavus II Adolphus's only legitimate heir, was six when her father was killed. Power therefore passed to a regency dominated by Axel Oxenstierna, and for the next twelve years the influence of the nobility was enhanced. Christina's personal rule covered a decade, and her importance has been variously interpreted. Oxenstierna's influence declined, and she effectively played competing factions against each other to achieve her desire for peace in Germany and the recognition of her cousin, Charles X Gustav, as her heir. Unwilling to marry, she abdicated and left Sweden in 1654. She converted to Catholicism and lived the rest of her life in Rome, where she pursued her cultural interests and dabbled in politics. She died in 1689.

The Vasa dynasty ended with Christina's abdication, as the crown passed to Charles X Gustav (ruled 1654–1660), son of Gustavus II Adolphus's half-sister, Katherine, and John Casimir of Pfalz-Zweibrücken.

See also Charles X Gustav (Sweden); Christina (Sweden); Gustavus II Adolphus (Sweden); Kalmar, Union of; Oxenstierna, Axel; Sweden.

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BYRON J. NORDSTROM

VASARI, GIORGIO (1511–1574), Italian biographer, painter, and architect. Born in the Tuscan town of Arezzo, Giorgio Vasari was brought in his early years to Florence, where he eventually became a prolific painter and highly accomplished ar-

chitect. As an artist he is best known for his extensive historical and allegorical fresco decorations in the Palazzo Vecchio, made to celebrate the ruler of Florence, Duke Cosimo de' Medici. As an architect his most celebrated building is the Uffizi, the government "offices" built for his Medici patron.

Vasari's art and architecture are eclipsed, however, by his work as a writer. His monumental *Lives* (commonly known as *Lives of the Artists*), was first published in Florence in 1550 and was reprinted in a much revised and amplified version in 1568. Composed as a series of biographies, Vasari's book is a history of the progress of art, after its "rebirth," from Cimabue to the perfection of Michelangelo. Considered to be the first "history of art" as such, the *Lives* powerfully shaped the emergence of art history as a scholarly discipline in the modern era. Vasari's book is also a rich source of information about Renaissance artists and the world in which they worked. It is a valuable font concerning the theory, practice, criticism, and techniques of art.

Given the vast amount of attention Vasari's writing has received, what is still underestimated at this late date is the status of Vasari's book as an enduring masterpiece of imaginative literature and of historical art. Literary scholars have been insufficiently attentive to Vasari's relations to Homer, Ovid, and Virgil, to Dante, Petrarch, and Giovanni Boccaccio, to Politian, Marsilio Ficino, and Ludovico Ariosto, to Baldassare Castiglione, Pietro Bembo, and Pietro Aretino, and art historians are totally indifferent, if not hostile, to the literary virtues of the *Lives*.

Writing before the modern distinction between scientific history and historical fiction, Vasari produced a book that combined both—fables and *novelle* on the one hand and "factual documents," as we might call them, on the other. Although scholars have become increasingly attentive to the fictive character of the *Lives*, they have remained remarkably insensitive to the virtues of such fiction. Sometimes they still ignore or refuse to acknowledge the presence of fiction in Vasari's book, as when, for example, they treat his fable of Leonardo's fabulous buckler or his tale of Michelangelo's smiling faun made in the Medici garden as true stories, as documentation of what really happened. What is lost here is an adequate critical appreciation of Vasari's

art, the poetic art and inventiveness of these and other stories.

The blind reading of Vasari, which talks around the fiction of his book or refers to it only as "poetic embellishment" when it is far more than that, is based on the misguided belief that history is an accumulation of facts when it is, in fact, shaped or formed, hence "fictive" in the root sense of the word. Fiction in Vasari is inevitably written in the service of the historical truth. Vasari reports, for example, that Piero di Cosimo was a "wild man," a fiction that is true to the character of the artist's primitive subjects, which are the inventions of a highly cultivated artist. The power of Vasari's fiction is so great that even modern scientific art historians have imagined him as a kind of caveman. Although Piero becomes a fictional character in the pages of Vasari, he is obviously not an invented character. Rather, he is a real person whose life is poetically imagined.

The poetry of Vasari endures in the modern fable of art, in Honoré de Balzac's *The Unknown Masterpiece*, the tale of a painter whose inability to complete a masterpiece echoes Vasari's portrayal of Leonardo's unfinished work. Vasari is alive in Robert Browning's poems on Fra Filippo Lippi and Andrea del Sarto, and in George Eliot's portrayal of Piero di Cosimo in *Romola*. The extent of Vasari's influence on the modern imagination is far greater than the provincial historiography of art history allows. Vasari's book is a classic of world literature in which the mythologized Piero di Cosimo, Leonardo, Raphael, and Michelangelo are characters of historical fiction who take their place as the subjects of history and the modern novel alike. Vasari often appropriated materials from other writers, far more than is generally realized; but, in the end, he was the superintending intelligence responsible for the making of a great literary and historical masterpiece, which will forever remain "Vasari's *Lives*."

See also **Art: Art Theory, Criticism, and Historiography; Biography and Autobiography; Florence, Art in.**

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Giorgio Vasari. Title page from *Lives of the Artists*, 1568. YALE CENTER FOR BRITISH ART, PAUL MELLON COLLECTION

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PAUL BAROLSKY

VASILII III (MUSCOVY) (1479–1533; ruled 1505–1533), grand prince of Muscovy. Vasilii III Ivanovich was the second son of Ivan III. His mother was the Greek princess Sofia Paleologue. Coming to the throne in 1505, he pursued his father's policy of expansion and consolidation of territory. In 1510 he annexed the trading town of Pskov and in 1514 captured Smolensk from Poland-Lithuania. In 1520–1521 Vasilii imprisoned the last Ryazan prince for treasonous relations with the Tatars and absorbed his territory. Repeated raids by the Crimean Tatars on the southern border posed serious problems but did not prevent him from repeatedly trying to establish his candidates as khans of Kazan' on the Volga. A truce with Lithuania in 1522 allowed him to consolidate his gains, establishing Russia's western frontier for a century.

Internally Vasilii inherited the apparatus of his father's state and maintained it, at the same time asserting control over the small appanages of his junior kinsmen. His marriage to Solomoniia Saburova, the daughter of an important boyar clan, produced no heirs in twenty years, and in 1525, with the support of the church, Vasilii dissolved the marriage and forced her to become a nun. He quickly married Princess Elena Glinskaia, the daughter of a refugee prince from Lithuania whose uncle, Prince Mikhail Glinskii, had led a revolt against his sovereign, Sigismund I of Poland-Lithuania, in 1508. The Glinskii family were great magnates of Tatar origin who came to play an important role at the Russian court.

Religious issues intertwined with court rivalries marked the politics of Vasilii's reign. In 1507 Vasilii took Joseph of Volokolamsk and his monastery under his personal protection and supported Joseph in his conflicts with the church hierarchy. From 1509 Joseph's critic, the monk Vassian Patrikeev, son of the exiled prince Ivan Patrikeev, was also prominent at court, and he remained influential until about

1522. In those years Vasilii and Metropolitan Varlaam brought Maximus the Greek (Michael Trivolis, c. 1480–1556) to Russia to correct the Slavonic translations of Greek liturgical texts. Maximus combined philological skills acquired in Venice and Florence with traditional Orthodox belief, but he and Vassian both fell afoul of the new metropolitan, Daniil (1521–1539). Maximus was tried for heresy as well as for political comments in 1525 and again, with Vassian, in 1531, after which both were removed from their positions and sent into monastic exile. Maximus left a large body of devotional and theological writings. Though he was critical of excessive monastic wealth, his views remained within conventional teachings. During the same period Vasilii exiled several prominent boyars, the princes Shuiskii, Vorotynskii, and others, and Maximus's ally Ivan Nikoforovich Bersen'-Beklemishev was executed in 1525 for criticism of both the metropolitan and the grand prince.

The birth of an heir, Ivan Vasil'evich—the future Ivan IV, the Terrible—in 1530 ensured the succession, but Vasilii died in 1533. A regency, with its accompanying political instability, followed his death.

See also Ivan III (Muscovy); Ivan IV, “the Terrible” (Russia); Russia.

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PAUL BUSHKOVITCH

VAUGHAN, THOMAS (Eugenius Philalethes; 1622–1666), Welsh alchemist, Rosicrucian, Hermeticist, and Paracelsan. Twin brother of the poet Henry Vaughan, Thomas Vaughan was born in Newton, Wales. He studied at Jesus College, Oxford, graduating with a B.A. in 1642. Thereafter he became rector of Llansaintfraid and supported the Royalist cause in the Civil War. Ejected from his living by a parliamentary commis-

sion in 1649, he practiced as an alchemist, or chemical philosopher, in London. He published several books under the pseudonym Eugenius Philalethes: *Magia Adamica* (1650), *Anthroposophia Theomagica* (1650), *Anima Magica Abscondita* (1650), and *Lumen de Lumine* (1651). He was also responsible for publishing an English translation of the Rosicrucian manifestos *Fama* and *Confessio* in 1652. During the 1650s he became acquainted with Samuel Hartlib and two future fellows of the Royal Society: Thomas Henshaw, dedicatee of *Anima Magica Abscondita*, and Sir Robert Moray, with whom he conducted alchemical investigations. Vaughan is best remembered for his controversy with Henry More, who attacked him under the pseudonym *Alazonmastix Philalethes*. The vituperative character of the exchange can be gauged from the titles of Vaughan's replies: *Man-Mouse Taken in a Trap* (1650) and *The Second Wash, or the Moore Scour'd Once More* (1651).

See also **Alchemy**; **Hartlib, Samuel**; **More, Henry**; **Rosicrucianism**.

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SARAH HUTTON

VEDUTA (VIEW PAINTING). The golden age of *Vedutismo*, the art of painting views of Italian cities, towns, and villages, falls with some precision within the confines of the eighteenth century. The roots of the genre lie in printed and drawn topographical images produced in the previous century, particularly in Rome, of which the Flemish artist Lieven Cruyl produced an impressive series of drawings in the 1660s, and where landscape painters such as Paul Bril (1554–1626) and painters of ruins such as Viviano Codazzi (1603/4–1670) had important sidelines painting views of real locations. It was appropriately in Rome that the first specialist view painter, and the founding father of the Italian school of view painting, Gaspar van Wittel (1652/53–1736), known in Italy as Gaspare Vanvitelli, settled in the 1670s, and produced his first views, in gouache and oil, in the 1680s. Born at Amersfoort in Holland, Vanvitelli shows a Dutch sensitivity to light, meticulous technique, and delicacy in the treatment of detail, combined with a convincing perspective, which distinguish it from earlier, isolated examples. He also worked in Naples and Venice, where he similarly inspired the emergence of indigenous schools of view painting.

All the main practitioners of *Vedutismo* were also involved in the painting of *capricci*, imaginary assemblages of buildings, especially classical ruins, and it was from this tradition that Vanvitelli's greatest successor in Rome, the neoclassicist Giovanni Paolo Panini (1691–1765), emerged in the 1730s as the leading Roman view painter of his generation, his work being especially popular among the French. In addition, Naples had a significant school of view painters, unusual in that not only were few of its members Neapolitan by birth but many were not even Italian. Vanvitelli's views, second only to those he made of Rome, were followed by similar series of the city by the Modenese Antonio Joli (c. 1700–1777), the most widely traveled of all the Italian eighteenth-century view painters, and of towns on the Bay of Naples by the German Jakob Philipp Hackert (1737–1807).

It was in Venice that, following a visit by Vanvitelli in the 1690s, the one truly native school of view painting grew up. Luca Carlevaris (also Carlevaris; 1663–1730), born in Udine but Venetian by adoption, published an influential set of 104



Veduta. *The Arch of Constantine* by Gaspar van Wittel. ©CHRISTIE'S IMAGES/CORBIS

engravings of Venetian views in 1703, and during the first decade of the century he painted a number of often large representations of particular events, the grandest form of view painting, for foreign visitors to the city. From this moment on, the development of view painting in Venice is inextricably linked to the demand for such work by foreign visitors, especially Englishmen on a grand tour. The career of Canaletto (born Giovanni Antonio Canal, 1697–1768) was established in the 1720s through his links with the Irish impresario Owen McSwiney, and above all with the English merchant banker, and later British consul, Joseph Smith, who was to be his greatest patron as well as his agent, ideally placed to organize commissions for souvenirs from eminent visitors to the city. By the late 1720s Canaletto had abandoned the vivid brushwork and dramatic light effects of his early work in favor of more precisely defined scenes invariably bathed in warm sunshine, presumably to cater better to his clients' tastes, and his tendency to work on an increasingly small scale was also motivated by commercial concerns. Much has been made of Canaletto's use of the camera obscura, but evidence of

this is limited, and Canaletto's views, despite appearances, often involve extensive distortions and lack topographical accuracy.

Although Canaletto showed a reluctance to leave his native city, he did visit Rome in his youth (1719–1720) and spent nine years in England (1746–1755). His nephew Bernardo Bellotto (1720–1780), no less an artist although one of a very different character, also left Italy in the 1740s, but in his case this was to be permanent. The cold light and dark brooding quality of his paintings, even his early views of Italy, were particularly well suited to his views of the northern cities, which he portrayed in series of large canvases during his residence at the courts of Dresden (1747–1758 and 1762–1766), Vienna (1759–1760), Munich (1761), and Warsaw (1767–1780). With the early death of Michele Giovanni Marieschi (1710–1743), the most talented of Canaletto's rivals in the 1730s, and the departure of Bellotto, Venice found itself without a significant view painter during Canaletto's years in England. It was left to Francesco Guardi (1712–1793), the last of the great Venetian view painters who only turned to view painting in

the second half of the 1750s, to develop a highly individual new style, one of dramatic atmospheric effects over topographical representation, that carried the genre through to its conclusion on the eve of the fall of the Venetian Republic in 1797.

See also **Grand Tour**; **Netherlands, Art in**; **Painting**; **Rome, Art in**.

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CHARLES BEDDINGTON

VEGA, LOPE DE (1562–1635), Spanish dramatist. Lope Félix de Vega Carpio, the best-known and most influential dramatist of Spain's Golden Age of literature, was known as the "Freak of Nature" for the astonishing quantity and quality of his poetry, drama, and prose. His greatest legacy was to establish the genre of the *comedia*, a secular three-act play that reached enormous popularity on the public stages of Spanish cities in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

Though Lope's family origins were humble, he soon drew attention for his unusual talents, being able to read Latin and compose poetry at an early age. He studied with the Jesuits in Madrid and at the University of Alcalá, served in a series of military expeditions, and performed occasional secretarial duties for a variety of marquises and dukes. Defining himself above all as a writer, he was one of the first Spanish playwrights to make a living from his art, although it generally brought him more fame than fortune.

Lope's life contained as much romance, adventure, and conflict as that of any of his fictional characters. He engaged in a series of tempestuous relationships, many of them adulterous, the earliest of which resulted in his exile from Castile for two

years. He served on the ill-fated Armada expedition against England in 1588 and not only survived but composed poetry throughout the voyage. As a young man, Lope had considered the possibility of a religious calling, and he finally entered the priesthood in 1614 after the death of his second wife. He also served as an officer of the Inquisition and earned the favor of Pope Urban VIII. Passionately sensual and deeply religious, Lope often suffered the contradictions of his own personality. After his ordination, he continued to have a series of highly publicized affairs, and was said to have been in the habit of furiously scourging himself in penitence. He married twice and fathered more than a dozen children (legitimate and illegitimate). The turbulence of his life was echoed in his family: his last mistress suffered from blindness and fits of insanity, one of his daughters was seduced and abandoned, and a son who demonstrated great poetic talent suffered an untimely death at sea.

However unfortunate, the intensity of his personal experiences enriched Lope's art. Nearly all of the women with whom he was involved appeared in some incarnation in his poetic works: the "Filis" of his ballads was his first love, Elena Osorio; his first wife, Isabel de Urbina, appeared in verse as "Belisa"; Micaela de Luján, a longtime mistress, was immortalized in his sonnets as "Lucinda"; and "Amarilis" represented his last great love, Marta de Nevares. Lope's spiritual anguish was expressed most beautifully in his collection of sacred sonnets, *Rimas sacras* (1614; Sacred verses), and his best prose was encompassed in the largely autobiographical novel *La Dorotea* (1632).

As Lope's personal life was closely interwoven with his art, so was his literary career inseparable from the rise of the dramatic genre known as the *comedia*. Drama in sixteenth-century Spain had roots in a variety of traditions including classical Latin plays, medieval liturgical ceremony, folk traditions, and the Italian *commedia dell'arte*. Lope drew on all of these to create the *comedia*, mixing popular and erudite elements, favoring action and clever dialogue over character development, and disregarding the traditional distinction between comedy and tragedy. Though he was well trained in traditional literary techniques and the classic unities of time, place, and action, he argued that these were irrelevant to audiences who simply wished to be enter-

tained. In 1609, he published *The New Art of Writing Plays in Our Time*, a tongue-in-cheek treatise written for the Academy of Madrid in which he criticized the uneducated tastes of the common people but argued that the style of popular drama must yield to the “tyranny of the audience.” This approach was scorned by those who defended the Aristotelian precepts of drama, but it won Lope the adoration of the public. His dramatic career coincided with the opening of a number of public stages in cities across Spain, and under his guidance, the *comedia* gained enormous popularity and became the standard dramatic form of the Golden Age.

Lope claimed to have written nearly two thousand *comedias*, of which approximately five hundred survive. With a rich variety of subjects drawn from history, romance, religion, mythology, and adventure, their themes always reflected the principal concerns of early modern Spaniards: the tensions between love and honor, power and responsibility, and the individual and society. In a world very sensitive to status, Lope frequently demonstrated his sympathy for those who were excluded from the ranks of wealth and power. *Fuenteovejuna* (1614; *The sheep well*), *Peribáñez* (1621) and *El mejor alcalde, el rey* (1621; *The best magistrate, the king*), all portrayed the dignity and honor of rural villagers struggling against the tyranny and corruption of the nobility. Similarly, in plays such as *El perro del hortelano* (1613; *The dog in the manger*), Lope’s spirited female characters resisted the expectations of the patriarchal world in which they found themselves (though his conclusions always reinforced the necessity of socially acceptable marriage). All of Lope’s plays dealt with these themes in a vivid, energetic, and spontaneous style, demonstrating his preference for the passions and conflicts of real life over the academic abstractions and ideals favored by many of his contemporaries.

Lope’s genius was best expressed in drama and lyric poetry, but he composed in nearly every literary genre, including sonnets, epic poems, prose, fables, treatises, short stories, and novels. In spite of his talent, his humble origins (and perhaps his scandalous behavior) prevented him from earning the patronage of the court that he had always hoped for, and he faced financial difficulties throughout his lifetime. This talent did, however, earn him the love of his audiences, both in his own time and in the



Lope de Vega. ARTE PUBLICO PRESS ARCHIVES, UNIVERSITY OF HOUSTON. REPRODUCED BY PERMISSION

centuries since his death, and it has guaranteed him a place among the greatest figures in literary history.

See also **Drama: Spanish and Portuguese; Inquisition, Spanish; Spanish Literature and Language; Urban VIII (pope).**

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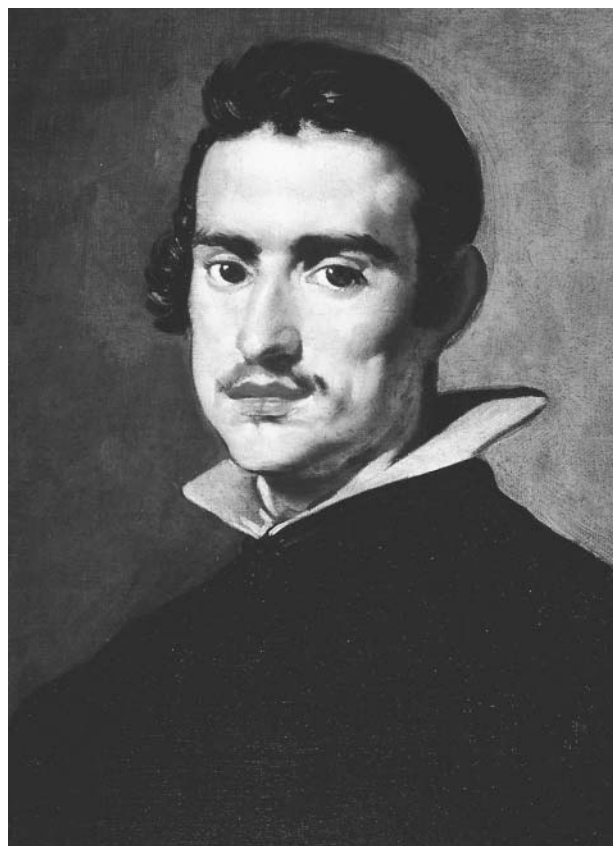
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JODI CAMPBELL

VELÁZQUEZ, DIEGO (Diego Rodríguez de Silva y Velázquez; 1599–1660), the most important artist of the Spanish Golden Age. The son of parents of the lower nobility, Velázquez was born in Seville, where he lived until he was twenty-four. Between 1610 and 1616, he studied with Francisco Pacheco (1564–1654), the leading painter of the city. In 1618, he married Pacheco's daughter, Juana. Although profoundly influenced by Pacheco's commitment to the ideal of the learned painter, he did not imitate his master's dry, Italianate style.

His early genre scenes, including *An Old Woman Cooking Eggs* (1618, National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh) and *Waterseller* (1619, Wel-



Diego Velázquez. Self-portrait, 1623. ©ARCHIVO ICONOGRAFICO, S.A./CORBIS

lington Museum, London), constitute the first coherent group of secular figural paintings by a Spanish artist. These works probably were influenced by pictures of religious subjects with elaborate still life details by Flemish and north Italian artists such as Pieter Aertsen (c. 1508/09–1575) and Vincenzo Campi (1536–1591). However, in contrast to these prototypes, Velázquez reduced the scenes to their essentials and focused upon a few naturalistically rendered figures and objects, strongly illuminated against a neutral background. The quiet dignity of the figures, and the monumental nature of the compositions, endow these images with a sense of transcendent importance.

In 1623, aided by courtiers from Seville, he obtained the opportunity to execute a portrait of Philip IV (ruled 1621–1665), which he revised a few years later (1623–1626, Museo del Prado, Madrid). Velázquez avoided the appearance of pomp so typical of baroque court portraiture of the time. The elegant pose, aloof gaze, and smooth, even illumination suffice to indicate the dignity of a king. Philip immediately appointed Velázquez royal painter; during subsequent decades, the two developed a close friendship, unprecedented between an artist and a Spanish monarch.

Interaction with Peter Paul Rubens (1577–1640) during Rubens's visit to Madrid in 1628–1629 decisively influenced the young artist, who sought to emulate the example of the painter-courtier. Rubens stimulated Velázquez's interest in the royal collection of Venetian paintings and encouraged him to expand his range of themes. Velázquez's first history painting, *The Feast of Bacchus* (1629, Museo del Prado, Madrid), introduced an unexpected melancholy note into the popular mythological subject. The beggar, seeking alms from the peasants gathered around Bacchus, evokes the transience of the pleasure of wine. Despite its originality, the uncertain definition of space and the overcrowded composition reveal artistic deficiencies.

To give him the opportunity to improve his skills, Philip sent Velázquez to Italy for over a year (1629–1630). In Rome, he met leading artists and studied ancient and Renaissance works. *The Forge of Vulcan* (1630, Museo del Prado, Madrid) demonstrated mastery of fundamental qualities of the Ital-



Diego Velázquez. *Las Meninas* (The Family of Philip IV). ©ERICH LESSING/ART RESOURCE, N.Y.

ian classical tradition, including accurate anatomy, dramatic expressions and gestures, and spatial perspective. Also in Rome, he produced two views of the gardens of the Villa Medici (both 1630, Museo del Prado, Madrid), among the first European paintings to have been created directly from nature. Superimposing “broken” brushstrokes over a reflective lead-white ground, he infused these seemingly casual images with a sense of atmosphere.

Returning to Madrid in 1631, Velázquez began the most productive decade of his career. By mid-decade, he had devised a highly original method of creating optical effects through the application of short, thick strokes of endlessly varied shapes and sizes. Thus, for example, when viewed from a distance, the jumbled brushwork covering the king’s garments in *Philip IV of Spain in Brown and Silver* (1635, National Gallery, London) becomes resolved into a convincing record of the appearance of embroidered fabric. Although enlivened by free handling of paint and a brighter range of colors, the later royal portraits retain the directness and naturalness of his first works at court.

Throughout the 1630s, he supervised important decorative projects at royal palaces. For the Hall of Realms in the Buen Retiro, Madrid, he devised a coherent program of battle paintings, mythological images, and portraits. For this series, he produced the *Surrender of Breda* (1635, Museo del Prado, Madrid), the masterpiece of the period. By depicting the Spanish general with his arm upon the shoulder of the defeated Dutch leader, he visualized the ideal of mercy in victory, treated in several contemporary works by the court playwright Pedro Calderón de la Barca (1600–1681). Velázquez carefully studied portraits, battle plans, and other documentation in order to endow this imaginary conception of the event with an aura of authenticity. His paintings for the Torre de la Parada, a hunting lodge near Madrid, included two sympathetic and psychologically insightful portraits of dwarfs, Francisco Lezcano and Diego de Aceda (both 1636–1640, Museo del Prado, Madrid). Also created for the Torre, *Mars* (1640, Museo del Prado, Madrid) wittily depicted the ancient god of war contemplating his frustrations in love.

In the last two decades of his career, Velázquez reduced the scope (though not the quality) of his

artistic production as he devoted himself to personal service to the king. His *Venus and Cupid* (c. 1648, National Gallery, London) is one of the few female nudes by a Spanish artist of the early modern era. The sensual pose, provocative use of the mirror image, and rich, luminous colors contribute to the erotic allure of this image. Between 1649 and 1651, Velázquez traveled in Italy to purchase art for the royal collection. His *Innocent X* (1649–1650, Galleria Doria-Pamphili, Rome) expressed the intense psychological energy of the aging pontiff. At the 1650 exhibition of *Congregazione dei Virtuosi* in Rome, he exhibited the recently completed *Juan de Pareja* (1650, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York). Utilizing compositional formulae associated with aristocratic portraiture, he emphasized the dignity of his Moorish servant.

The exceptionally large *Las meninas* (1656; Maids of honor, Museo del Prado, Madrid) is regarded as the quintessential expression of his artistic aspirations. Velázquez depicted himself standing confidently at his easel, in the company of Princess Margarita and her attendants. Reflected in the mirror on the back wall are the king and queen, whose visit to his studio signifies royal approval of his art.

Intrigued by *Las meninas*, Pablo Picasso (1881–1973) created forty-four variations upon it in 1957 (all in Museo Picasso, Barcelona). Édouard Manet (1832–1883) is among the many other modernist artists who found inspiration in Velázquez’s works.

See also Calderón de la Barca, Pedro; Philip IV (Spain); Rubens, Peter Paul; Spain, Art in; Titian.

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VENALITY OF OFFICE. *See*
Officeholding.

VENICE. One of the first cities in Italy to engage in international commerce after the devastations of the early Middle Ages, Venice established a maritime empire by 1300 and a territorial empire from the early 1400s. Its unique form of government, although not as perfect as its apologists claimed, was a model of a “mixed” constitution for the early modern world. Adapting to changing circumstances, its economy remained vibrant into the seventeenth century. It experienced little social turmoil, while its literary and artistic achievements were rivaled only by those of Florence and Rome. For most of its thousand years of existence, Venice

was free and independent. One of the most successful states in Europe, it fell at last to Napoleon in 1797.

MARITIME EMPIRE

Venice's unusual location and circumstances permitted its enterprising merchants to build a maritime empire by 1300. It was founded in the sixth and seventh centuries by refugees from the mainland, who had been forced by the invasions of the Germanic Lombards to flee northern Italian towns. They settled on a cluster of low, sandy islands in the Adriatic, where they were protected by the sea yet had access in their boats and barges to the river mouths that led to inland cities. Primarily fishermen, they also traded locally in fish and salt, which they manufactured from seawater. During the era of the Crusades (eleventh through fourteenth centuries), Venice (as well as Genoa, on the western coast of the Italian Peninsula) entered into Mediterranean commerce, establishing merchant depots on islands and seacoasts along the route to the Levant (Near East). In the late fourteenth century the rivalry between Venice and Genoa exploded into war. Venice



was victorious and retained mastery of its maritime empire.

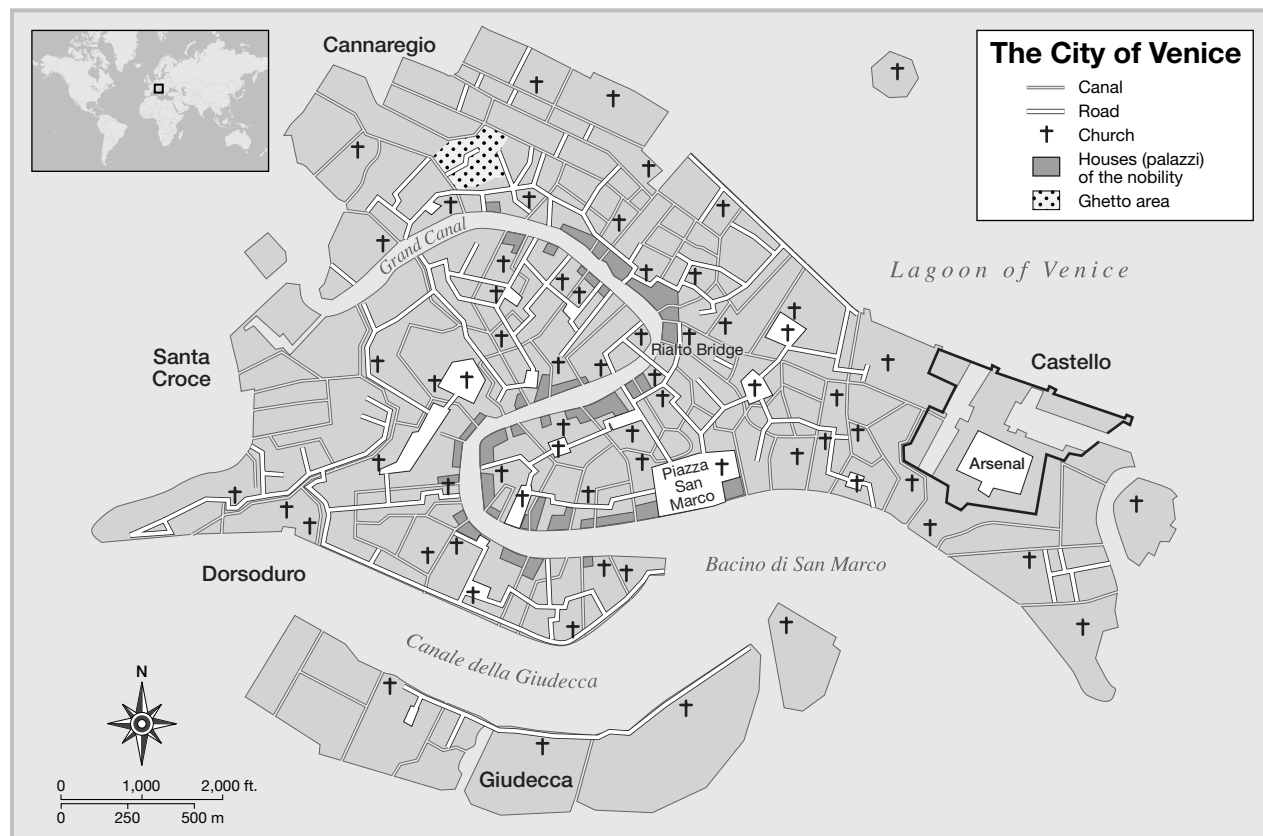
The Ottoman conquest of Constantinople in 1453, however, signaled the beginning of the decline of Venice's maritime enterprise. Despite the victory by Venice and allies at the Battle of Lepanto (1571) against the Turkish fleet, the city's seaborne commerce was gravely injured. It was a commerce, moreover, based on the import of luxury goods from Asia, especially spices. By 1600 the tastes of European consumers were shifting. Sugar, tea, and tobacco became, more than pepper, the staples of world trade. In those markets Venice had no role.

TERRITORIAL EMPIRE

In the meantime, however, Venice had won a territorial empire, beginning with the conquests of nearby Padua and Verona in 1405. By 1454 Venetian conquests reached far west on the Lombard Plain of northern Italy to Bergamo and Crema, almost to Milan, and northeast along the arc of the Adriatic Coast to Friuli and beyond to Dalmatia (modern Croatia). These territories included wealthy trading centers, drawing on the fertile lands

bordering the Po River, and gateways to the passes over the Alps and the commercial possibilities of the north. These conquests were made possible by the admirable military organization Venice developed. Heretofore, with only a maritime empire, Venice had provided both commanders and sailors, who also served as armed marines. On land Venice did not attempt to raise a citizen militia. Instead, it hired the best of the mercenary commanders (*condottieri*) then available but coordinated and systematized their efforts through a network of supervisors (*proveditori*) drawn from the governing elite. Venice was thus a pioneer of the rethinking of military organization that, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, is sometimes considered a "military revolution."

The Peace of Lodi (9 April 1454) put an end, for the moment, to the rivalries among the great Italian powers, Venice, Milan, Florence, Naples, and the papacy, that had emerged from the crucible of warfare. The Italian League of the following year sought to maintain peace for a renewable twenty-five-year term by establishing a balance of





Venice. A sixteenth-century German bird's-eye view of Venice, with many buildings identified. The city, known as Queen of the Seas, reached the height of its commercial power in the fifteenth century, and at the time of this map was at the peak of its artistic glory. At the top of the map is the island of Murano, then, as now, the center of the Venetian glass industry. MAP COLLECTION, STERLING MEMORIAL LIBRARY, YALE UNIVERSITY

power. Some historians note that this agreement foreshadows the peace sought by the Congress of Vienna in 1815. Venice continued to seek commercial and political advantage where it could and fell into a damaging war with Ferrara (in the Papal States) from 1481 to 1484 that confirmed the impression of the larger city's aggressive behavior. When French, imperial, and Spanish armies began their long invasion of Italy in 1498 (with a pause in 1530 and no final resolution until the Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis in 1559), Venice shifted its allegiance from side to side, attempting at times to maximize its advantage, at others simply to preserve the state.

In 1508, at the nadir of these conflicts, Venice faced the League of Cambrai. All of its sometime friends and enemies—France, Spain, the pope, and

the empire—were united against the crafty republic. During a war that lasted from 1509 to 1517, Venice lost but then regained all of its mainland territories. It was saved by the commitment of its own people and the loyalty of mainland subjects. When the fog of war lifted at mid-century, Venice alone of the Italian states was capable of proceeding briskly to assume its accustomed preeminence. Venice withstood the Reformation and Counter-Reformation alike, weathering a papal interdict in 1606–1607. It remained an international power, although a waning one, until its 1797 demise.

Venice's success was due in part to its unique location and its energetic people. But it was the result as well of its system of government, which was sufficiently inclusive and sufficiently just to win the broad support of the citizenry.



Venice. *The Return of the Bucintoro to the Molo on Ascension Day*, by Canaletto. In an annual ritual, the citizens of Venice celebrate their close ties to the sea with a symbolic “marriage.” The Bucintoro is the large boat at right which carries the doge.
©ALEXANDER BURKATOWSKI/CORBIS

GOVERNMENT

By 1000 C.E. Venice’s island communities had united into a single state ruled by an elected doge, whose election was a central part of Venetian political ritual. Soon thereafter the nominal obedience the Venetians paid to their presumed overlord, the Byzantine emperor, dropped away. By the thirteenth century the *Maggior Consiglio*, or ‘Great Council’, of prominent families made major decisions and limited the doge’s effective power. In 1297 those families declared the *serrata*, or ‘closing’, of the Great Council. By that move, which took decades more to take full effect, they instituted a hereditary nobility of about 1,200 adult males (from some 150 families) with exclusive access to political power. With the exception of some eighty families admitted for exceptional service in 1388, there were no additions to the roster of noble fami-

lies until the seventeenth century (when nobility could be obtained by purchase).

The Great Council elected members from the same noble stratum to a senate, and the council or the senate elected members to a number of other councils, including the “Forty” of justice and the “Ten” for state security. They also elected the *avogadori di comun* (state attorneys), ambassadors, and military and other *provveditori*. Venetian government had many branches. A large part of the nobility spent a significant part of its time on the business of government, while a smaller elite of perhaps one hundred to two hundred exceptionally powerful men rotated in high office.

This government structure was by no means democratic. Yet it was admirable in many regards. It included elements of monarchy, of aristocracy, and

of republican process. In the 1490s, when Florence was redesigning its government, it imitated the Venetian Republic, which also inspired English statesmen in the seventeenth century and even some of the American founders in the eighteenth century. Exaggerated statements of the justice and serenity of the Venetian state were made by proponents of the “myth of Venice” beginning in the fifteenth century. At the same time there prevailed a countermyth, voiced by the enemies of Venice, about that state’s unique duplicity and cruelty.

VENETIAN SOCIETY

A unique state was based on a unique society, of which no feature is more striking than the role of the nobility. From 1300 to 1500 the number of adult male nobles ranged from twelve hundred to twenty-five hundred and constituted 6 to 7 percent of the city’s population. The population of Venice dipped to 50,000 after the plague of 1348 and reached a high of 190,000 around 1570, after which further rounds of epidemics took severe tolls. A secondary elite of *cittadini originari* (‘original citizens’, either native-born or so ranked by grant of privilege) provided the huge numbers of bureaucrats and secretaries (as well as merchants and pro-

fessionals) that a city of the complexity of Venice required. The artisan stratum was grouped in guilds that were less powerful than in some other cities but that were an important force for social cohesion. In addition the *scuole*, a uniquely Venetian version of the confraternity, provided charity and consolation for both members (of all social classes) and outsiders. A large pool of workers was employed by the Venetian state shipbuilding industry of the *Arsenale* (Arsenal). Below the strata of ordinary workers were the groups of prostitutes, beggars, and the poor found in most early modern cities. In addition Venice had a large population of resident foreigners, merchants in transit, visiting scholars, travelers, and refugees.

Women in Venice, as elsewhere in Italian society, were expected to obey their fathers and their husbands and dedicate themselves to childbearing, charity, and piety. Women of the middle and lower social ranks had more freedom than those of the nobility and high bourgeoisie. They were able to own property, participate in the public life of the marketplace, and defend themselves in court. Prostitutes and courtesans were numerous in a city with a large and mobile population, a large group of



Venice. A small engraved view of Venice as it was in 1765, from an early-nineteenth-century book published in New York. MAP COLLECTION, STERLING MEMORIAL LIBRARY, YALE UNIVERSITY

foreigners, and an elite of unmarried noble males (who remained bachelors so family wealth would flow to the next generation undivided). Venice also had a large number of women, committed nuns (including many forced as children into the convent as a cheaper alternative to marriage), abandoned children, widows, and former prostitutes, who lived in convents.

In this heterogeneous society there were also present those who dissented from the majority established religion, Catholicism. During the sixteenth century Venice was in many ways tolerant of heterodoxy. Its bookshops and taverns were homes to forbidden ideas. Venice cooperated with the Inquisition yet insisted on retaining its own investigators of religious dissent. In sum, in a diverse society the repressive hand of the Counter-Reformation was seen in Venice but could not act unrestrainedly.

INTELLECTUAL AND ARTISTIC ACTIVITY

During the same centuries of religious exploration, economic innovation, and empire building, Venice also was a center of intellectual and artistic activity. Historians, philosophers, mathematicians, and even humanists flourished from the fifteenth through the seventeenth century, although it was a humanism less critical of traditional structures of power than elsewhere. Venice became the major printing center of Italy, which means the most important printing center anywhere in the early years of that technological explosion. The work of Aldus Manutius (also Aldo Manuzio) (1449–1515), who opened his print shop in Venice in the 1490s, is especially notable. Among the many elegant Aldine editions are those of Greek and Roman authors thus printed for the first time anywhere in formats that made them accessible to scholars and amateurs. Venice participated in the artistic Renaissance in its own way, blending Gothic and classical styles in architecture and remaining loyal to traditional genres until fairly late. From the late fifteenth century to the sixteenth century, however, the Venetian masters Giovanni Bellini (c. 1430–1516), Giorgione (c. 1477–1511), Titian (1488 or 1490–1576), Tintoretto (c. 1518–1594), and Paolo Veneziano came to the fore with their characteristic sensitivity to color and light. In music, where Italy generally was laggard in the fifteenth century, needing to import composers and musicians from the Netherlands, Venice took a

leading role from the sixteenth century. The city itself was a work of art. Its unique cityscape of breathtaking beauty, its ritual displays, and its interplay of costume and performance during the season of Carnival were magnets for all of Europe.

See also Cateau-Cambrésis (1559); Genoa; Italy; Lepanto, Battle of; Printing and Publishing; Venice, Art in.

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VENICE, ARCHITECTURE IN.

According to Giorgio Vasari, the first historiographer of Italian Renaissance art, the modern era penetrated into Venice only with the arrival of the Florentine Jacopo Sansovino in the 1520s. Indeed, together with the Veronese Michele Sanmicheli and the Bolognese Sebastiano Serlio, who also arrived in the capital of the Venetian republic in the wake of the Sack of Rome of 1527, these architects were responsible for its Roman Renaissance. This is not to say that later fifteenth-century Venetian architects had not aspired to create a style *all'antica* or sought to bring glory to the city by emulating the

architecture of the ancients. However, in its close trading ties with both Byzantium and the Levant, it is to Constantinople, as the second Rome, that Venice had traditionally looked. If the proud display of *spolia* such as the horses from the Hippodrome (looted from Constantinople and placed on the facade of San Marco) represented this veneration of antiquity, the lacy and ornate late Gothic style nevertheless persisted into the fifteenth century (Ca' d'Oro, begun 1421). This survival was due to a taste for rich materials and lavish decorations that was imported from the East and to the practices of stone masons imported from the West who had been trained in the tradition of a flamboyant Lombard Gothic style. Such was the case with architects like Mauro Codussi (St. Michele in Isola and the clock tower in the Piazza San Marco) and Pietro Lombardo (Santa Maria dei Miracoli), who were responsible for some of the most original buildings of the late fifteenth century in Venice.

SIXTEENTH CENTURY

It is against this tradition favoring lavish surface decoration, colorful marble veneers, and effects of light and shade that the work of the great sixteenth-century architects must be understood. Although the fifteenth century saw the rise of Venetian economic power and the zenith of its maritime influence and the sixteenth the beginning of its gradual decline (after the wars with and defeat by the League of Cambrai between 1508 and 1529), it is paradoxically in the latter period that the most important monuments of the republic were built. The state sponsored major building campaigns—among which the complex surrounding the Piazza San Marco was the most conspicuous and important—precisely with the object of maintaining morale and projecting an image of security, power, and wealth at a difficult moment in its history. The architect of this *renovatio urbis* was Jacopo Sansovino (1486–1570), whose Zecca (the mint, begun 1536), Library of San Marco (begun 1537), Loggetta facing the Doge's palace (begun 1538), and Fabbriche Nuove di Rialto (market buildings, begun 1554), with their opulent and assertive classical style, displayed convincingly the importance and stability of the republic. The palaces he built for the patrician families (Dolfin, begun 1538, and Corner, begun 1545) as well as those by his contemporary Michele Sanmicheli (1484–1559) (Palazzo Grimani, begun

1556) which similarly relied on sequences of columns, tall facades, rich ornamentation, and equilibrium between horizontals and verticals, extended this image into the private domain.

In a city that had taken an early lead in the book publishing industry and where most of the principal Renaissance architectural treatises had first seen print (commentaries of *De architectura* by Vitruvius, the books on the orders and antiquities by Serlio, the treatises of Andrea Palladio, Giovanni Antonio Rusconi, and Vincenzo Scamozzi), patrons were both knowledgeable in matters of “modern” architecture and eager to see it built. This enthusiasm was reflected not only in the city but also in the countryside, toward which the patrician economic interests had turned after the mercantile fortunes of the republic had been threatened. Starting in the sixteenth century, the construction of villas, both as rural retreats and centers of estate management, rose dramatically. It is in villas such as Emo and Badoer, with their arcaded granaries flanking frescoed and meticulously proportioned central blocks set on a podium, that the Vicentine architect Andrea Palladio (1508–1580) consecrated the confluence of working farm and classical allusion that characterized the genre thereafter. Palladio's restrained interpretation of the temple front as church facade (San Giorgio Maggiore, begun 1566, and Il Redentore, begun 1577) also set the stamp on Venetian religious architecture of the late Renaissance and provided a model for churches into the eighteenth century. His intervention must be seen in contrast to the tradition of flamboyant facades particularly associated with the seats of lay confraternities attached to churches, such as the Scuola di San Rocco by Bartolomeo Bon and Antonio Scarpagnino (begun 1515).

BAROQUE AND NEOCLASSICISM

If in the sixteenth century Venice was a center of architectural innovation and learning that could boast a great number of prominent architects, in the seventeenth century the uncertain fortunes of the elite and of the state led to something of a slowdown. Scamozzi, who succeeded Palladio, taking on the role of chief architect of the city, completed the remaining side of the square of San Marco with the Procuratie Nuove (the seat of the administrators of San Marco). Indeed, it was mainly the state and a



Architecture in Venice. *The Redentore Viewed from the Giudecca Canal*, by Canaletto. ©CHRISTIE'S IMAGES/CORBIS

few of the richest families who commissioned buildings of importance in this period. In this context the work of Baldassare Longhena, architect of Santa Maria della Salute (begun 1631) and of the Pesaro and Rezzonico palaces (begun 1652 and 1667, respectively), towers above the rest. His vocabulary drew on the Venetian traditional love of surface ornament and displayed rich sculptural decoration, heavy rustication, balustrades, masks, volutes, and keystone heads as well as dramatic effects of light and shade. Nevertheless, his architecture remained disciplined (drawing on Sansovino and Palladio) and resisted the scenographic effects associated with the Jesuit-inspired ecstatic religiosity current in Rome. His successor, Giuseppe Sardi, took the church facade type inherited from Palladio and re-fashioned by Longhena to an extreme of excessive ostentation from which no further development was possible (Santa Maria degli Scalzi, begun 1672, and Santa Maria del Giglio, begun 1678).

In the eighteenth century the economic fortunes of patrician families continued to decline and important architectural commissions came mainly from religious orders such as the Carmelites, Do-

minicans, and Jesuits. This reduction in wealth also led to a restraint in architectural vocabulary. Unlike other European countries where the baroque gave way to the rococo, in the Venetian republic this was only true of interiors. Their architecture, however, became increasingly sober and simple, and architects and theoreticians reacted more and more vociferously against the excesses of the baroque. Author-architects such as Antonio Visentini and Tommaso Temanza initiated a tradition of criticism as well as a renewed interest in the work of the great Renaissance architects. This Palladianism flowed easily into an incipient neoclassicism and marked the work of architects like Andrea Tirali, Giovanni Scalfarotto, and Giorgio Massari. Their buildings (San Nicolò da Tolentino, begun 1706, San Simeon Piccolo, begun 1718, and the Palazzo Grassi, begun 1748, respectively) display a move toward rationality, rigor, rules, and simplicity not only in the handling of ornament but also in floor plans and volumes.

Simultaneous with this trend was a rise in interest in the science of architecture. The tradition of military engineering (going back to the maritime

power of the republic) and the work of Sanmicheli on the Arsenal, as well as the importance of hydraulic engineering in the city, contributed to this development. The work of Carlo Lodoli and Giovanni Poleni promoted an understanding of building science that ultimately saw a standardization of architectural training in Venice (as well as in Verona and Padua) and the development of a corps of military engineers educated on a model drawn from the French *École des Ponts et Chaussées*. Gianantonio Selva's theatre of La Fenice (finished 1792), severe and heavily dependent on the aesthetic of the plain wall, thus closes the century as a perfect illustration of the new classical sobriety and rationalism that pervaded both theory and practice.

See also **Architecture; Baroque; City Planning; Neoclassicism; Palladio, Andrea, and Palladianism; Venice.**

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ALINA PAYNE

VENICE, ART IN. In about 1500 Venetian art bore an intimate relationship to its economic and political context. The traditional society of the Republic of Venice remained tied to the past, its conservative ideology reflected in well-established artistic conventions. Leading painters such as Giovanni Bellini (c. 1438–1516) worked mainly for local patrons, producing predominantly religious paintings of well-defined types (such as half-length devotional paintings and altarpieces). Their work was essentially public and patriotic in nature and reflected the nexus of religious and political values common to

the wider populace of the city. The Venetian painter or sculptor was understood less as an individualistic genius than as a respectable civil servant. To a greater extent than elsewhere in Renaissance Italy, his professional life was controlled by the twin agencies of family workshop and guild. Certain of these traditional “core” conditions for the activity of artists in Venice did not change much over the following centuries (it is significant that a Venetian academy of painting was not founded until as late as 1754). And yet the history of Venetian art from 1500 onward must nonetheless map the gradual breakup of the integrated relationship between art and society in the city.

Giorgione (c. 1477–1511) was the first Venetian artist to radically challenge the traditional model for artistic activity in Venice. The small body of highly original paintings he produced in the first decade of the sixteenth century opened a new world for a generation of younger painters, including Palma Vecchio (c. 1480–1528), Vincenzo Catena (c. 1470/80–1531), Lorenzo Lotto (c. 1480–1556), Sebastiano del Piombo (1485–1547) and Titian. Perhaps most significant in this regard was Giorgione's partial withdrawal from the kind of painting that had previously tied Venetian artists to the cultural mainstream. Working primarily for a narrow elite of high-ranking patrons, Giorgione produced sophisticated “private” paintings, in which meaning was frequently rendered deliberately opaque or ambiguous. Giorgione's creation of a more intimate and secular kind of painting proved immediately inspirational. Artists made “portraits” of classical goddesses and courtesans in states of erotic dishabille (Palma, *Flora*, c. 1520–1525, National Gallery, London), or arcadian landscapes peopled by poeticized figures. A new type of Giorgionesque devotional imagery emerged, showing the Holy Family or *sacra conversazione* (sacred conversation) in wooded landscapes, often with a donor in attendance (Titian, *Madonna and Child, Saint John Baptist, and a Donor*, c. 1515, Alte Pinakothek, Munich). Titian, in particular, responded to Giorgione's exploitation of the special potentials of oil paint, adopting a similarly spontaneous approach, which ignored preparatory drawing on paper in favor of the manipulation of paint on the picture surface. It was through this special emphasis on coloring (*colorito*) that Venetian paint-



Art in Venice. *Bacchanal: The Andrians*, by Titian, painted c. 1516–1518. ©ARCHIVO ICONOGRAFICO S.A./CORBIS

ing of the early sixteenth century increasingly differentiated itself from that practiced elsewhere in Italy.

Titian, though, quickly developed a figure style that demonstrated his understanding of the monumental classicizing form of High Renaissance art in contemporary Florence and Rome. His frequent reference to antique and contemporary works in three dimensions may in part have been intended to show the ultimate superiority of painting to sculpture. But in works such as the *Bacchanals* (1518–1523, Museo del Prado, Madrid; National Gallery, London) he also responded to the developed classical taste of his high-ranking patron, Alfonso I

d'Este, duke of Ferrara. Titian's interest in classical form was fully shared by Tullio and Antonio Lombardo (c. 1455–1532; c. 1458–c. 1516), younger representatives of the family that had dominated the field of Venetian sculpture since about 1470. In a number of double bust-length portraits of young couples, for example, Tullio effectively bridged the gap between Giorgione's poetic mood and the revival of antique types: his so-called *Bacchus and Ariadne* (c. 1500, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna) was clearly inspired by Roman reliefs. Antonio, meanwhile, carved more than thirty marble reliefs with classical subjects for Alfonso's private

apartments in Ferrara (c. 1506–1516, State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg; Bargello, Florence). These works may not have been intended for the so-called Alabaster Room housing Titian's *Bacchanals*, but they are very similar in their attempt to revive an antique form of domestic decoration.

The d'Este commissions at Ferrara indicate that the developing interest in classicizing form was closely linked to the expansion of artistic patronage beyond the confines of Venice itself. The new type of courtly portraiture that Titian developed in the 1520s and 1530s was dependent on his contact with an increasingly international clientele of high-ranking aristocratic and royal families. But the new cosmopolitanism in Venetian art was certainly not confined to the work of Titian. Peripatetic painters such as Lotto and Pordenone (c. 1483–1539), who arrived in the city in 1527, brought styles that integrated formal ideas from other parts of Italy with more local conventions. The repeated references to antique sculpture and steep formal foreshortenings in Lotto's *Portrait of Andrea Odoni* (1527, Queen's Collection, London) reflect his experience of the art of central Italy, although the soft handling and warm palette recall the recent portraits of Titian. Pordenone's *Blessed Lorenzo Giustiniani* (c. 1532–1535, Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice) refers pointedly to the quattrocento Venetian tradition of the *sacra conversazione* altarpiece. But Pordenone, who became an aggressive rival to Titian's hegemony in Venetian painting during the 1530s, shrinks the pictorial space and exaggerates the bodies of the main actors in a manner that pointedly recalls the Michelangesque art of contemporary Florence and Rome.

The work of Jacopo Sansovino, the Florentine sculptor and architect who immigrated to Venice in 1527, owes relatively little to the kind of meticulous and prosaic classicism practiced by the Lombardi family in Venice in the early decades of the century. In works such as the bronze classical gods erected on the Loggetta in St. Mark's Square (1537–1542), Sansovino's manner is closer to the delicate and sophisticated mode of his Florentine contemporaries. Moreover, from about this time onward Venice was flooded with reproductive prints and statuettes after famous works by Raphael, Michelangelo, Parmigianino, and others. Perhaps inevitably, a "mannerist" phase followed, with even Titian's

painting briefly affected. But it was in the work of young painters such as Jacopo Bassano (c. 1510–1592), Andrea Schiavone (c. 1510–1563), and Jacopo Tintoretto that the mode really took root. These painters developed aggressively unorthodox styles, featuring complex, twisting figure groups, decentralized compositions, and heightened, sometimes non-naturalistic colors (Schiavone's *Adoration of the Magi*, c. 1547, Pinacoteca Ambrosiana, Milan).

It is no accident that this new intensity of response to foreign models coincided with the first concerted attempts to define a specifically "Venetian" tradition of art. Writing in response to the Tuscan Giorgio Vasari's disparagement of Venetian art in his *Lives of the Artists* (1st ed., Florence, 1550), local patriots such as Paolo Pino (fl. 1534–1565) and Ludovico Dolce (1508–1568) sought to define the local tradition. In his *Dialogue on Painting* (Venice, 1557), Dolce argued that Venetian art was quintessentially naturalistic and that this was achieved through the special skill of the city's painters in the use of color (*colore*). But while the idea of Venetian tradition as internally coherent and as essentially independent of the more idealizing design-based art of central Italy has often been restated, it does not really account for the wider diversity of manners practiced in the city after 1550. Tintoretto's work was deeply influenced by the formal idealism of Michelangelo, and careful preparatory drawings were central to the restrained manner of Veronese. Titian himself was soon to develop an unprecedented "late" style in which naturalistic features such as correct perspective and anatomical proportion were increasingly abandoned.

Many artists in mid- and later-sixteenth century Venice were visual opportunists, readily modifying their manner according to patron or picture type. Bonifazio de Pitati (1487–1553), for example, who ran a busy and influential workshop from the 1530s onward, took a pragmatic approach to painting in which consistency of style was sacrificed to flexibility. As the demand for visual imagery of all types increased (the vast majority of Venetian households possessed visual images by 1600), so artists diversified their products and devolved responsibility within their workshops to maximize production. Sansovino's own part in his later sculptural commissions was small: after sketching in clay, he typically



Art in Venice. *View of the Canal in Front of St. Mark's* by Canaletto. ©ARCHIVO ICONOGRAFICO S.A./CORBIS

left the execution to his pupils, Alessandro Vittoria (1525–1608) and Danese Cataneo (c. 1509–1572). In like manner, Tintoretto employed specialist assistants to paint landscapes, still lifes, and even figures in his paintings as the scale of his pictorial commissions increased in the 1570s and 1580s. Artists, increasingly, marketed their work: Tintoretto may even have used his professional identity as “the little dyer” in this way, to suggest his readiness to paint for less prestigious patrons.

Two disastrous fires in 1574 and 1577 destroyed the main state rooms in the Ducal Palace and their pictorial decoration, resulting in an enormous commission for replacement ceiling and wall paintings for the workshops of Veronese and Tintoretto during the later 1570s and 1580s. But their work on this patriotic commission, devoted to the

“myth” of Venice as home of justice, peace, and liberty, ran alongside an increasing demand in the city’s churches and lay confraternities for sacred imagery stressing the centrality of Christ and his sacraments to the faith. Under the impact of the Catholic Counter-Reformation, there was a marked upturn in commissions for paintings showing the heroic martyrdom of the saints or their acts of charity (Titian, *The Martyrdom of Saint Lawrence*, c. 1547–1556, Gesuiti, Venice; Bassano, *Saint Roch Healing the Plague-Stricken*, c. 1570–1573, Brera, Milan). In these works the Tridentine theologians’ call for greater clarity of presentation was only partially answered. But the fiery spirituality of the imagery nonetheless reflects the deepening Catholicism of the age. Dramatic reduction in color, a lowering chiaroscuro, and a rough or unfinished painting sur-

face combine to obscure all worldly form, as if to deny the viewer any enjoyment in mere external display.

The massive oeuvre of Palma Giovane (c. 1548–1628) is dominated by religious paintings. In works such as the cycle for the Oratory of the Crociferi hospital (1583–1592), Palma combined Titianesque naturalism in portraits and landscape with more idealized forms for the allegorical and sacred actors based on Tintoretto. Palma's stylistic pragmatism, like his constant reference back to the older generation of painters, was destined to become a kind of leitmotif of Venetian art in the seventeenth century. Pietro della Vecchia (1603–1678) made his name producing mock "Giorgionesque" paintings for collectors (*The Concert*, undated, Gemäldegalerie, Berlin), while the Fleming Nicolas Régnier (Niccolò Renieri, 1591–1667) combined painting with art dealing and collecting. But the internationalism of Venetian art also greatly intensified. The fame of the city's artistic tradition attracted important painters such as Bernardo Strozzi (1581–1644) from Genoa, along with Germans such as Johann Liss (c. 1595/1600–1631) and Johann Carl Loth (1632–1698). Strozzi and Liss, who arrived in the 1620s, used strong and varied color to produce an emotive stylistic hybrid of Venetian colorism and the international baroque. Later, in the 1660s, Loth, along with Giovanni Battista Langetti (1635–1676), introduced a darkened tenebrist manner, probably derived from paintings in Venice by Luca Giordano. But this in its turn quickly gave way, on the one hand, to the studious academism of Gregorio Lazzarini (1655–1730), and on the other to the decorative early rococo of Sebastiano Ricci (1659–1734).

The resulting stylistic potpourri has usually been seen as a reflection of the decline of Venetian artistic authority relative to other centers such as Bologna, Rome, and Naples. But art in Venice had long been responsive to other traditions, and the evident decline in quality in the seventeenth century had deeper causes. The aesthetic malaise reflected a more general social and economic one and is characterized by a kind of intense but ultimately debilitating retrospectivity. Early in the seventeenth century, Sansovino's pupil Vittoria was already busy collecting self-portraits of the famous Venetian masters, and later painters such as Carlo Ridolfi (1594–

1658) and Marco Boschini turned their efforts to writing ecstatic histories of the great Venetian tradition. The glorification of the Renaissance meant that the present constantly had to defer, and to this extent Venetian art of the seventeenth century became the victim of its own celebrated past.

If Venetian art had previously enjoyed a vital relation to the communal institutions and ideologies of the Republic, this was increasingly not the case. It is symptomatic that painting of the eighteenth century was dominated, on the one hand, by view painters working for a predominantly foreign clientele; and on the other, by those working in a decorative style in which form was more significant than content. The brilliant naturalism with which Giovanni Antonio Canaletto (1697–1768) and Francesco Guardi (1712–1793) represented Venice nonetheless served a growing pan-European idea of the city as a kind of miraculous survival or relic from a past age, whose special allure lay precisely in its "otherness." The intensely decorative paintings of Ricci, Giovanni Battista Piazzetta (1683–1754), and Giovanni Battista Tiepolo (1696–1770) similarly work their magic by detaching the viewer from the real and the present. Like their seventeenth-century predecessors, these artists were, in an obvious sense, deeply retrospective, their intense color harmonies referring back to the art of the Renaissance past, especially to that of Paolo Veronese. But in the case of Tiepolo, at least, the result was an art of revision rather than reversion, which transformed the conventions of Renaissance naturalism into an intensely self-contained decorative idiom that had no real precedents in Venetian art. In his vast decorative scheme for the Kaisersaal and grand staircase of the prince-archbishop's palace at Würzburg (1750–1753), Tiepolo's aesthetic dominance over the pretensions of his subject matter seems directly to anticipate the artistic autonomy of the artist of modern times.

See also **Painting; Tiepolo, Giovanni Battista; Tintoretto (Jacopo Robusti); Titian (Tiziano Vecelli); Vasari, Giorgio; Veronese (Paolo Caliari).**

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TOM NICHOLS

VERMEER, JAN (or Johannes, 1632–1675), Dutch painter. In 1653, Vermeer entered the Delft Guild of St. Luke as a painter, joining his father, who had registered with the guild as a picture dealer in 1631. It is not known with whom Vermeer learned his craft, but scholars have speculated that he studied either with Leonard Bramer (1596–1674) in Delft or with one of the Dutch followers of the Italian master Caravaggio who were active in Utrecht.

Only months before joining the guild, Vermeer married Catharina Bolnes (c. 1631–1688), a Roman Catholic from a distinguished family in Gouda. Vermeer, who was born to Protestant parents, probably converted to Catholicism at this time. *Allegory of Faith* of c. 1672–1674 is Vermeer's only painting with a specifically Catholic message. Here, the personification of faith takes communion before a painted crucifixion. An apple (signifying original sin) and a snake crushed by a stone (emblematic of the victory of Christ, the cornerstone of the church, over Satan) lie at her feet. As this work was likely tailored to adhere to the taste of the Catholic patron who commissioned the work, it is unwise to ascribe the meaning of the image to Vermeer's personal beliefs. It is not clear what, if any, impact Vermeer's religious orientation had upon his work.

The classical subject and large format of Vermeer's early *Diana and Her Companions* of c. 1655 suggest that Vermeer initially aspired to become a history painter, but by the late 1650s he shifted his focus to the genre interiors that would dominate his mature works. Vermeer first calmed the boisterous tavern scenes and curtailed the overtly sexual overtures of musical companies pictured by earlier Dutch genre painters. The girl in *Officer and Laughing Girl* (Frick Collection, New York), for example, sits calmly cupping her beverage in both hands; only her broad smile, and the soldier's bravura body language, indicate any attraction in this encounter. Similarly, Vermeer dispensed with melodramatic lighting in favor of more subtle plays of light. Many of Vermeer's early genre paintings are heavily dependent on the work of Pieter de Hooch (1629–after 1684), who was active in Delft until c. 1661. Vermeer followed de Hooch's innovative and illusionistic spatial recessions and surface effects sculpted from natural light before developing a personal aesthetic in the late 1660s based upon abstracted light and coolly crafted distances between viewer and subject. These later works, such as *Lady Writing a Letter with Her Maid* (National Gallery of Art, Dublin) that focus on women in domestic interiors seemingly provide entrée via the empty foreground but pen the figures behind middle ground obstructions. The light that pours in from the window fails to warm as it illuminates opaque, porcelain features and cool gray-green fabrics that hang straight in crystalline folds while it dissolves the table carpet into pools of unmodulated color. In this way, Vermeer gradually traversed the gulf between illusion and artifice.

Responses to Vermeer's paintings have focused most frequently on moralizing interpretations. Suspended from a larger narrative context, Vermeer's figures have been seen as behavioral models. Vermeer's women who entertain men away from Dutch society's watchful eye, like those in *The Concert* (Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston) may have been examples of unacceptable behavior, while his solitary, domestic women like *The Milkmaid* (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam) may have been viewed as what Wayne Franits termed "paragons of virtue." Readings of this kind gain credence when positioned in relation to Vermeer's *Woman Holding a Balance* of c. 1662–1664, in



Jan Vermeer. *The Concert*. (See also the cover of Volume 5.) THE GRANGER COLLECTION

which the subject's ordinary activity takes on moral implications: her action is overshadowed by the representation of the biblical weighing of souls pictured immediately behind her.

Modern scholars have been as interested in how Vermeer painted as they have been in what he painted. Vermeer's spatial compressions and blurred perimeters suggest the influence of the camera obscura, a device that translated, but could not record, three-dimensional vignettes into two-dimensional reflections. Scholars concur that Vermeer was familiar with the device's optical effects, but a debate has arisen around the extent of Vermeer's use of the instrument. Some argue that Vermeer reproduced the camera's image in paint, while others have stressed a less dependent relationship. Delft was a center of optical experimentation due in part to the presence of the scientist Antoni van Leeuwenhoek (1632–1723), but as seventeenth-century Dutch art theory encouraged verisimilitude to be combined with artfulness, it seems unlikely

that an artist of Vermeer's stature merely replicated what was before him. In either case, Vermeer's canvases exhibit a meticulous buildup of forms and tones executed with a highly controlled brush.

Vermeer may have been able to practice such a labor-intensive method because he benefited from patronage, a rarity for Dutch painters of the period. John Michael Montias posited that as the Delft citizen Pieter Claesz van Ruijven (1624–1674) owned twenty of the approximately thirty-five known paintings by Vermeer, van Ruijven must have functioned as at least a de facto patron. He might, for example, have paid Vermeer for the right of first refusal on the artist's paintings. Such economic support would have freed Vermeer from the demands of the open market by enabling him to labor over each painting, confident that he would be adequately compensated for his efforts. Vermeer may have supplemented whatever income he generated from his painting by operating as an art dealer. These reasonably reliable sources of income would

also explain Vermeer's extremely limited output, as he must not have felt pressure to produce his paintings in volume for the market.

The benefits of patronage apparently were not able to see Vermeer through the recession that followed the French invasion of the Netherlands in 1672. In 1676, a year after his death, his widow testified to her husband's creditors that Vermeer had amassed considerable debt in the 1670s because he had been unable to sell either his own paintings or those by other painters. She also stated that supporting their eleven children, all still minors, had exacerbated the family's financial situation. Like his fellow painters Rembrandt and Frans Hals, Vermeer apparently died in the throes of financial turmoil.

See also **Camera Obscura**; **Leeuwenhoek, Antoni van**; **Netherlands, Art in the.**

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CHRISTOPHER D. M. ATKINS

VERONESE (PAOLO CALIARI) (1528–1588), Italian painter. Paolo Veronese (alongside Titian) was the most influential painter of the Venetian Renaissance. Trained in the 1540s in his native Verona by Antonio Badile and Giovanni Caroto, Veronese moved to Venice about 1551. He brought with him an intimate understanding of both Andrea Mantegna's spatial and structural precision in painting and Giulio Romano's more contemporary decorative mode (which drew heavily on the art of High Renaissance Rome, especially that of Raphael). These influences are already at play in early works such as *The Temptation of Saint Anthony* (1552–1553, Musée des Beaux Arts, Caen). But Veronese also proved immediately responsive to local artistic tradition in Venice. His first major commission in the city (the Giustiniani altarpiece of c. 1551, S. Francesco della Vigna, Venice) was

modeled directly on Titian's Pesaro altarpiece, and many of his subsequent paintings of this type continue to refer to this seminal work. A few years later Titian recognized Veronese's deferential attitude by awarding him a golden chain for his contribution to a ceiling in the newly built Marciana Library (*Music*, 1556–1557).

Veronese quickly won favor with leading families among the Venetian nobility, and it was probably this connection with the upper classes that led him to change his name from Spezapreda (stonecutter) to Caliari (the name of a leading aristocratic family in Verona). His sensitivity to the values of Venetian patricians is evident in such portraits as *Giuseppe da Porto with His Son Adriano* (c. 1556, Contini-Bonacossi collection, Florence), which is characterized by a restrained magnificence. About 1560 the patrician brothers Daniele and Marcantonio Barbaro invited Veronese to fresco their new country villa at Maser, recently built by Andrea Palladio. Linking his images to one another—and also to the real space of the villa—by means of fictive architecture, Veronese provided a modern reconstruction of the kind of pictorial decoration found in ancient Roman country villas. To the somewhat obtuse allegorical program of his patrons, Veronese applied his usual light touch. His imagery manages to allude to all the main cultural, social, and economic functions of the house: as place of rural retreat, intellectual contemplation, family life, and agrarian productivity. But this content is constantly enlivened by playful trompe-l'oeil effects, intimate human and animal portraits, and humorous visual asides. The overt reference to classical models of domestic decoration is constantly underpinned (although never undermined) by the painter's special understanding of Venetian naturalism.

Between 1555 and 1565 Veronese worked on a series of paintings for the Hieronymite church of S. Sebastiano in Venice. Taken together, this ensemble (ceiling paintings, wall paintings on canvas and in fresco, painted organ-shutters, and an altarpiece) represents Veronese's masterwork in the field of sacred imagery. The nave paintings, showing scenes from the Book of Esther, offer a tour de force in illusionism and perspective foreshortening, but the tone remains festive and triumphal, and despite their religious content the compositions could serve well as models for subsequent works in a secular



Veronese. *Donna Giustiniani Barbaro with Old Nurse*, from the fresco cycle at Villa Barbaro, c. 1561. ©ARALDO DE LUCA/CORBIS

context. Veronese himself drew on these paintings in his later work for the Ducal Palace (for example, *Faith*, 1575–1578), while Peter Paul Rubens, Giovanni Battista Tiepolo, and many other painters over the next two centuries used the S. Sebastiano ceiling as a model.

Veronese's confident elision of secular and sacred modes in his paintings is most evident in privately commissioned works such as *The Supper at Emmaus* (c. 1559–1560, Musée du Louvre, Paris) in which patronal portraits crowd around the sacred figures under a Palladian loggia. In *The Marriage at Cana* (1562–1563, Louvre) for San Giorgio Maggiore, Veronese produced a scene of lavish contemporary feastmaking in an idealized Palladian setting. Among the group of finely dressed musicians are portraits of leading Venetian painters: Veronese shows himself (playing a viol) as prominent, along-

side the elderly Titian just to the right (playing a viola da gamba).

But such playful visual asides soon threatened to get the painter into trouble with the religious authorities. His inclusion of buffoons, dwarves, and German soldiers in the foreground of his *Last Supper* of 1573 (Gallerie dell'Accademia, Venice) landed him in front of the Catholic Inquisition who questioned the decorum of such additions. In response, the painter merely added an inscription identifying the subject as a less important one (the *Feast in the House of Levi*) and did not remove any of the offending figures.

Veronese's visual flamboyance did not markedly diminish in the 1570s, and it was only in the last decade of his life that he moved toward a more emotionally expressive approach (for example, *The Last Communion of Saint Lucy*, c. 1585–1586, Na-

tional Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.). But it was the integrated compositions of his earlier manner that were destined to be so influential on European artistic tradition over the following centuries. His sumptuous approach to picture making, underpinned by a clear grasp of perspective construction, offered a vital bridge between the scientific and naturalistic art of the early Renaissance and the decorative manner of the baroque and rococo periods. From the outset of his career, his pictorial lucidity reflected his special capacity for the absorption and integration of differing stylistic tendencies, and this gift for stylistic synthesis never deserted him.

See also Venice, Art in.

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TOM NICHOLS

VERSAILLES. The seat of the French monarchy from 1682 to 1789, Louis XIV's chateau at Versailles had its origins in a modest hunting lodge built in 1623 for his father, Louis XIII. When Louis XIV (ruled 1643–1715) assumed personal control of the government in 1661, he embarked upon a building program at the site that continued almost unabated until his death. Versailles was first an intimate retreat for the king and then a royal residence for a still itinerant court before it became the permanent seat of the French royal family, court, and government in 1682. Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619–1683), Louis XIV's indefatigable finance minister, was responsible for procuring the staggering sums needed to build the chateau that became the model for royal palaces across Europe.

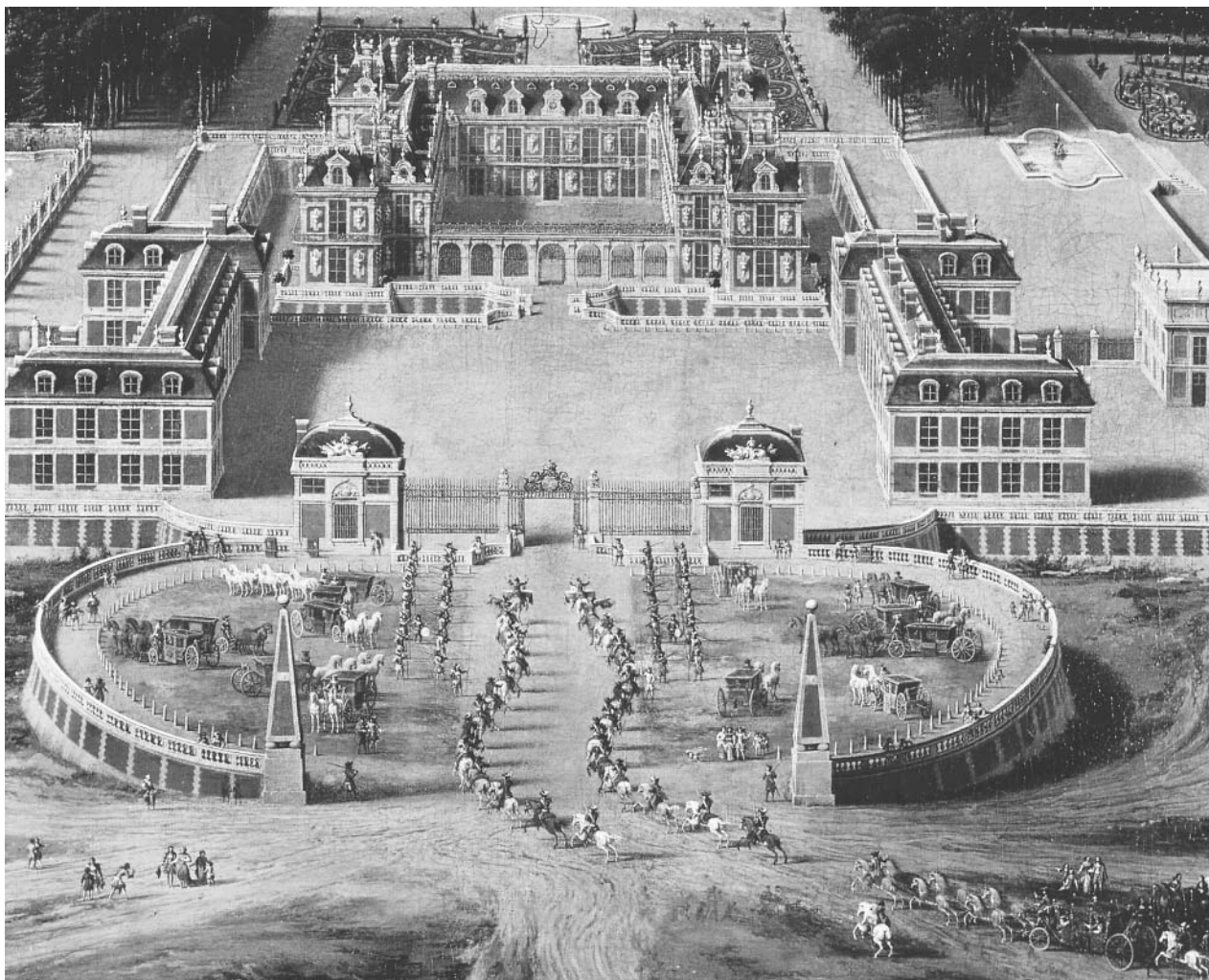
ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY

Louis XIV's magnificent chateau evolved in three major phases. The Sun King first intended Versailles to be a retreat from the responsibilities of government. Between 1661 and 1668, the architect Louis

Le Vau (1612–1670), the gardener André Le Nôtre (1613–1700), and the painter Charles Le Brun (1619–1690) collaborated to create a palace suitable for the Sun King to entertain favored courtiers. When Louis XIV decided in 1668 that Versailles was to become a royal residence, able to house his full court for months at a time, he ordered extensive additions. Le Vau drew up plans to frame the Old Chateau in a terraced “envelope” of white stone. The envelope included state apartments for the king and queen, the salons of which were each dedicated to one of the seven planets known to orbit the sun. The king's own bedchamber, echoing the theme articulated in the chateau's gardens, depicted scenes from the myth of Apollo.

Work on the chateau and its gardens was by no means complete when Louis XIV permanently installed his family, court, and government at Versailles in 1682. Jules Hardouin-Mansart (1646–1708) oversaw the final enlargement of the palace and adjacent buildings that would eventually house five thousand courtiers and as many government officials, guards, and servants. It was Mansart who designed the legendary Hall of Mirrors. Running almost the entire length of the chateau's western facade, the gallery was sheathed in mirrors, furnished with solid silver chandeliers, and crowned by ceiling panels by Le Brun that depicted pivotal episodes from the Sun King's life. Meanwhile, Le Nôtre continued to expand the gardens, adding grottoes, ornamental lakes, and a Grand Canal so vast the navy could perform maneuvers on it. Construction on Louis XIV's palace ceased only with the completion of the Chapel Royal in 1710.

The exterior of Versailles changed little over the course of the eighteenth century. Louis XV (ruled 1715–1774) came to loathe his great-grandfather's formal palace and added little to it. Although he commissioned the Royal Opera designed by Jacques-Ange Gabriel (1698–1782), he was far more interested in increasing the privacy of his own apartments. Louis XVI (ruled 1774–1792), the last of the Bourbons to rule at Versailles, also concentrated on interior renovations. His queen, Marie Antoinette (1755–1793), concerned herself with the Petit Trianon, a bucolic palace on the grounds of Versailles. After a revolutionary crowd triumphantly carried the ill-fated king and his family back to Paris in 1789, the chateau fell empty. The history



Versailles. Detail of a 1668 painting of the chateau and entrance court by Pierre de Patel. (See also the cover of Volume 6.)
THE ART ARCHIVE/MUSÉE DU CHÂTEAU DE VERSAILLES/DAGLI ORTI

of Versailles as the residence of the French kings officially ended in 1837, when Louis-Philippe declared that the royal chateau was to become a museum celebrating “all of France’s glories.”

TOWN OF VERSAILLES

The fortunes of the town of Versailles waxed and waned with the presence of the court. Louis XIV razed the original village to make room for his chateau’s grand avenues and parks. He rebuilt the town on a new site, decreed that it was to become “the most frequented and flourishing in the world,” and strictly regulated even the colors of building materials and decorations for its houses. With the court in permanent residence, Versailles became the administrative capital of France, the seat of all branches of

government except the judicial. By the end of the seventeenth century, the town’s population—swelled by those whose occupations or interests brought them to court—stood at over 30,000, and its inns could house hundreds more. With the death of Louis XIV in 1715, the court departed for Paris, and Versailles soon became a ghost town. It enjoyed a revival after 1722, when Louis XV returned to his great-grandfather’s palace. Versailles lost its position as the administrative capital permanently in 1789 with the forced departure of Louis XVI for Paris.

NOBLE LIFE AT COURT

For many years, Versailles was seen as a gilded theater upon whose stage an all-powerful absolute



Versailles. The Galerie des Antiques at the Chateau of Versailles, c. 1688, painting by Martin des Batailles. THE ART ARCHIVE/
MUSÉE DU CHÂTEAU DE VERSAILLES/DAGLI ORTI

monarch entertained a captive audience of domesticated aristocrats. Recent research has shown, however, that Louis XIV could not arbitrarily dominate his subjects. His rule was limited by the fundamental laws of the realm, tradition, and the practical difficulties of enforcing his will on an extended country of twenty million people. Furthermore, without a police force or a standing army, the king relied upon his noble subjects to ensure order in the

kingdom. Louis XIV's reign was consequently marked by cooperation with, rather than control over, the aristocracy. Similarly, the court of Versailles was a site of mutually satisfactory exchange between king and nobility. The king required the great nobles to attend court because he sought to ensure their loyalty. They came because they considered it their right and privilege and because they received social and material rewards for doing so.

The vast majority of the French nobility did not live at Versailles. Only the *grands*, the highest-ranking French nobles, were in residence. Even at the peak of noble attendance, the ten thousand court nobles represented only 5 percent of the hereditary nobility. Attendance was on a system of quarters that entailed residences of three months, twice a year. The privileged among this number were granted rooms within the chateau itself (which contained 220 apartments and 450 surprisingly small rooms); the less fortunate lived in the town of Versailles or were forced to travel back and forth to Paris each day. At the palace, the Sun King provided a continuous whirl of ballets, operas, fêtes, plays, and thrice-weekly gambling nights. While Louis XIV prevented members of the hereditary nobility from participating in affairs of state, courtiers did have more to do than attend entertainments, for many held offices in the royal households.

The primary duty of every courtier, however, was to attend the king. Accompanying the king conferred prestige but, even more important, allowed nobles to gain access to royal patronage. To secure the allegiance of his nobility and to prevent anyone else from gaining too much influence and power, Louis XIV distributed all royal patronage personally—no chief minister had control over the treasury, the distribution of estates, or the assignment of lucrative church posts or military commands. Those nobles who did not attend court seldom received any reward. Louis was known to say, when solicited for a favor on behalf of a noble who did not come to Versailles as often as the king liked, “I do not know him.”

Louis XIV subjected his courtiers to a strict etiquette that governed their comportment, manners, and dress. This precisely graded code meted out privileges according to a noble’s position in the court hierarchy. It determined, for example, who was allowed wear a hat and when, and who could sit in the presence of the royal family. The sociologist Norbert Elias has famously argued that the intricate rules and rituals that governed the members of Louis XIV’s court facilitated the creation of the modern centralized state. The ordered society of Versailles became the European ideal of the well-run state.

Louis XIV performed the role of sacred kingship like an actor who never broke character. He calibrated his movements, gestures, and expressions at all times. The activities of his day—waking, dressing, socializing, eating—all followed a regimen so exacting that his every gesture took on a ritual status. This ceremonial elevated the status of the monarch at the same time that it limited access to him. The *lever*, the king’s ceremonial awakening, serves as an example. During this daily “kingrise,” six strictly designated sets of noblemen entered the royal bedchamber to dress the monarch. The highest-ranking noble present received the greatest privilege, that of handing the king his shirt. Courtiers vied to attend the *lever* (or its evening counterpart, the *coucher*) because it provided an opportunity to ask favors of the king. Those excluded could importune the monarch only as he traveled in his ritualized orbit from bedchamber to chapel to council chamber over the course of the day.

Without a monarch dedicated to the public performance of monarchy, the court of Versailles could not function so effectively as an instrument of rule. Through force of personality (and a renowned capacity for hard work), Louis XIV created a court that was simultaneously an irresistible social center for the high nobility and a seat of government for his ministry. This system, however, was largely dependent on the personality and abilities of the ruler. Louis XIV tirelessly performed the rituals of kingship, but neither Louis XV nor Louis XVI was willing to maintain such strict ceremonial. They also proved less able to divert members of the high nobility away from affairs of state or to maintain as effective a control over their ministers and state policies. Over the course of the eighteenth century, the court of Versailles, which had once been a celebration of divinely appointed monarchy, instead came to represent a center of despotism.

See also Absolutism; Colbert, Jean-Baptiste; Court and Courtiers; France; Louis XIV (France); Louis XV (France); Louis XVI (France); Marie Antoinette; Monarchy; Saint-Simon, Louis de Rouvroy.

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LYNN WOOD MOLLENAUER

VESALIUS, ANDREAS (1514–1564), Belgian anatomist. Born in Brussels, Vesalius came from a family of physicians with professional links to the courts of Austria and Burgundy. Between 1530 and 1536 he studied at the universities of Louvain and Paris. He acquired skill in the technique of dissection and a thorough comprehension of Galenic anatomy in Paris, where a deep philological and hermeneutical reassessment of the Galenic corpus was under way. Due to the outbreak of the war between Charles V and Francis I, Vesalius returned to Louvain in 1536, and there he published the *Paraphrasis in Nonum Librum Rhazae* (Paraphrase of the ninth book of Rhazes). After a brief stay in Venice as a surgeon, he settled in Padua, where he took a degree in medicine in 1537. In the same year he was appointed lecturer of surgery. As a teacher, he combined in a revolutionary way the functions of lecturer, demonstrator, and dissector. Between 1538 and 1539 he published the *Tabulae Anatomicae Sex* (Six anatomical plates), a set of six large sheets of anatomical woodcuts accompanied by brief explanatory notes, and the so-called Venesection letter, a defense of the humanist and Greek view on bloodletting against medieval and Arab interpretations. On the basis of both his outstanding knowledge of Galen’s texts (Vesalius also collabo-

rated to the Giunta edition of Galen’s *Opera Omnia*, published between 1541–1542) and his anatomical findings, he wrote *De Humani Corporis Fabrica Libri Septem* (Seven books on the structure of the human body), published in Basel by Joannes Oporinus in 1543. After the publication of the *Fabrica*, Vesalius sought employment in the imperial medical service. He became military surgeon and personal physician to Emperor Charles V (ruled 1519–1556). Between 1543 and 1544 he returned briefly to Italy, giving public anatomies in Padua, Bologna, and Pisa. In the *Epistola Rationem Modumque Propinandi Radicis Chynae Decocti* (1546; Letter on the manner of administering the china-root), he investigated the therapeutic value of the china-root. After Charles V’s abdication in 1556, he was appointed physician to the Netherlanders at the Spanish court by Philip II. In the same year he published a revised edition of the *Fabrica* containing some relevant additions on cardiovascular physiology. He died in 1564 during a pilgrimage journey to Jerusalem.

De Humani Corporis Fabrica represents an extraordinary intellectual accomplishment that combines anatomical investigation, artistic ingenuity, woodcut craftsmanship, and typographical expertise. Vesalius’s intention was to give a most detailed and reliable account of the human body, an account purged of previous errors, based on direct reference to cadavers, and corroborated by the use of animal vivisection and comparative anatomy. The *Fabrica* can be viewed as both the foundation of modern anatomy and as a reference handbook for those practitioners who could not have direct access to dissection material. The anatomical illustrations were in all likelihood the product of artists and draftsmen from Titian’s studio. Vesalius planned the enterprise and directed the execution, and it can be assumed that he had some share in the actual draftsmanship.

The *Fabrica* is more a correction of errors in Galen than it is an announcement of revolutionary discoveries. Vesalius was a formidable teacher and an outstanding performer of anatomical demonstrations, capable of entrancing observers with his manual dexterity. The importance of his work lies in his advanced pedagogical techniques and in his methodological views about anatomy. He introduced the use of anatomical drawings as a teaching device,

mnemonic aid, and alternative source of information in the absence of a sufficient supply of cadavers. He revolutionized anatomical practice by establishing a reliable correspondence between the dissected body, the text of reference, and the illustrations. He contributed significantly to the standardization of anatomical nomenclature. From the religious point of view, Vesalius's work touched on some highly critical points in contemporary theological debates, such as the location of the faculties of the soul, the physical similarities between human and animal brains, the existence of the reticular plexus at the base of the brain, and the manufacture of animal spirits.

See also **Anatomy and Physiology; Medicine; Scientific Illustration; Scientific Method; Surgeons.**

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GUIDO GIGLIONI

VICO, GIOVANNI BATTISTA (Giambattista Vico; 1668–1744), Italian philosopher of history, law, and culture. Vico was born in Naples on the eve of the Feast of St. John the Baptist (23 June). He lived all his life in and near Naples, where his father was the proprietor of a small bookshop, above which the family lived in a single room. Vico's mother was illiterate. In a society dominated by wealth, political power, aristocracy, and clergy, Vico was self-made and self-taught. From grammar school on he spent only short periods in formal instruction. The center of his mature education was a self-devised program of reading the ancients against the moderns, carried out while tutoring the children of the Rocca family for nine years at Vatolla (1686–1695). In 1699 he

won the concourse for the professorship of Latin eloquence (rhetoric) at the University of Naples, a position he held until succeeded in 1741 by his son Gennaro. As part of his duties Vico presented a series of orations to inaugurate the academic year, the two most prominent being "De nostri temporis studiorum ratione" (1709; On the study methods of our time) and "De mente heroica" (1732; On the heroic mind). This series of orations taken collectively constitutes a full doctrine of pedagogy.

In 1710 Vico published *De Antiquissima Italorum Sapientia* (On the most ancient wisdom of the Italians), the first part of a system of philosophy directed against Cartesianism. (The planned second and third parts were never completed.) The work contains one of Vico's best-known principles, "that the true is the made." He first applied this as a principle of mathematical reasoning; later he applied it in his science of history—because human beings make history, they can make a complete knowledge of it. In 1720–1722 Vico published a large, three-part work, *De Universi Juris Uno Principio* (Universal law), in anticipation of qualifying for a university chair in civil law. In 1723 he suffered the greatest disappointment of his career, his failure to succeed in the concourse for this position, described in his *Autobiografia* (1728–1731).

Universal Law was a prelude to his magnum opus, *Principi di una scienza nuova d'intorno alla comune natura delle nazioni* (1725, 1730, 1744; Principles of new science concerning the common nature of the nations). Failure of the concourse left him free to develop the versions of this work. Through an analysis of Roman law begun in *Universal Law* and in particular the concept of *ius gentium* (the law of the peoples)—that part of Roman law which it has in common with the laws of all other nations—Vico developed his conception of "ideal eternal history," according to which all nations develop through a natural law of three ages. The age of gods, in which all of nature and basic social institutions are ordered in terms of gods, is followed by the age of heroes, in which all virtues necessary to society are embodied in the character of the hero, followed by the age of humans, in which custom is replaced by written law and thought becomes abstract and rational.

This ideal eternal history stands against the seventeenth-century natural-law theories of Hugo Grotius (Huigh de Groot [1583–1645]), Samuel von Pufendorf (1632–1694), John Selden (1584–1654), and Thomas Hobbes (1588–1679). In place of a state of nature, from which human beings form a covenant, passing from a state of war of all against all to a state of rationally governed civility, Vico formulates his conception of “poetic wisdom” or, in modern terms, “mythical thought.” Societal life first depends upon the human power of *fantasia* (imagination) to narrate the meanings of events through myths. From mythical commonalities, rational forms of understanding gradually develop. Against the Enlightenment principle of progress, Vico sees history as cyclic, that is, each nation passes through a *corso* (course) of the ages of ideal eternal history and falls, only to rise again in a *ricorso*.

Vico’s influence on later thinkers is sporadic. Johann Gottfried von Herder (1744–1803), Karl Marx (1818–1883), Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1772–1834), and William Butler Yeats (1865–1939) discovered Vico and realized their connection to him after their own views were largely formulated. The major figure of the nineteenth century fully influenced by Vico was Jules Michelet (1798–1874), who translated Vico’s works into French, making them the basis of his own philosophy of history. The two figures most influenced by Vico in the twentieth century and who in turn introduced Vico to many readers were Benedetto Croce (1866–1952) and James Joyce (1882–1941). Croce merged Vico’s conception of history and society with his own philosophical idealism, making Vico into the Italian Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770–1831). Joyce was influenced by Vico throughout his career. Most prominently Joyce based the cycles of *Finnegan’s Wake* (1939) on Vico’s *New Science*, as he had based *Ulysses* (1922) on the ports of call of Homer’s *Odyssey*.

See also **Cartesianism; Grotius, Hugo; Herder, Johann Gottfried von; Philosophy; Political Philosophy.**

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DONALD PHILLIP VERENE

VICTORIA, TOMÁS LUIS DE (1548–1611), preeminent composer of the Spanish Renaissance. Rivalled only by Giovanni da Palestrina and Orlando di Lasso among his European contemporaries, Victoria produced an important body of work that was widely distributed, often reprinted, and highly praised from his time to ours. He is not only the most famous of the sixteenth-century Spaniards such as Cristóbal de Morales and Francisco Guerrero, but is arguably the most famous Spanish composer of all time.

An apparently proud Ávilan, who appended his name with “Abulense” in his publications, Victoria received his early musical training as a choirboy at Ávila Cathedral under Gerónimo de Espinar and Bernardino de Ribera. He may have known the illustrious organist Antonio de Cabezón during his Ávilan residence. With the help of his patron Cardinal Otto von Truchess of Augsburg, he went to Rome to study music and theology at the Collegium Germanicum in 1565. Four years later, he took charge of music at the Aragonese Church of Santa Maria di Monserrato, and soon afterward he took up positions at the two Jesuit colleges: the

Collegium Germanicum (1571) and the Collegium Romanum (1573, where he succeeded Palestrina, whom he knew and with whom he possibly studied), thus situating him at the intellectual and artistic heart of Jesuit activity during the height of the spiritual renewal sparked by the Council of Trent (1545–1563). His compositional and directorial activities in Rome and his association with Palestrina have led many historians to classify him as a “Roman School” composer, while others have emphasized his Spanish identity.

In 1572, Victoria published a collection of motets that would establish his fame, including “O magnum mysterium,” “O vos omnes,” and “Vere languores.” His early motets were reprinted several times in his own lifetime. Ordained to the priesthood in 1575, he joined the Congregazione dei Preti dell’Oratorio (Congregation of the Oratory), and from 1578 to 1585 served as chaplain of S. Girolamo della Carità, where, free from the demands of a musical position and supported by lucrative Spanish benefices provided by Pope Gregory XII, he published several important collections of music while living in daily contact with Rome’s great pastor, St. Philip Neri, for five years.

Victoria returned to Spain in 1587 to take up the position of chaplain to the Dowager Empress Maria at the Monasterio de las Descalzas de Santa Clara de la Cruz in Madrid, to which he was appointed by Philip II. He spent the rest of his life at the monastery, first as *maestro di capilla* and, after Maria’s death in 1603, as organist. His return to his Castilian homeland saw him turn down prestigious positions at Spanish cathedrals in favor of his position at the royal monastery, where his music was performed by an expert choir and where he was allowed to oversee his publications abroad. He died in Madrid in 1611.

Victoria’s reputation is based mostly on a somber collection of motets, a collection of music for Holy Week, and his Office for the Dead. These paint an unfairly morose picture of the composer whom some would regard as typically Spanish. His Masses paint a very different picture, being mostly based on motets with exultant texts. His cycle of sixteen Magnificats puts him in league with other Spaniards, such as Morales, Guerrero, and Alonso Lobo, who were unmatched in their attention to

the Canticle of Mary. His *Officium Hebdomadae Sanctae* (Office of Holy Week) was the first of its kind, and the Passions of Saints Matthew and John it contained were in constant use by the papal chapel into modern times. It also included his well-known *Lamentations of Jeremiah* and eighteen responsories for Tenebrae.

Like Claudio Monteverdi, Victoria stands at the end of the Renaissance and the beginning of the baroque period. His writing contains (indeed, exemplifies) much of the traditional church polyphony, consisting of several melodies that intertwine in a complex, harmonious web, but he also wrote simple psalm settings in the *falsobordone* style (such as Psalm 50 in the *Officium Hebdomadae Sanctae*) and polychoral works such as the *Missa Pro Victoria* (for double choir), which show the emergence of the baroque style with its emphasis on pitting parts of the ensemble against other parts. Beginning in 1600, he became the first significant composer to write independent keyboard accompaniments, anticipating the publications of the Venetian Giovanni Gabrieli by fifteen years. His later progressive compositions never achieved the fame of his early works, with the exception of the beloved *Officium Defunctorum* (Office of the dead, 1605), written upon the death of Empress Maria.

A genuinely religious man, Victoria wrote only sacred works. His output, while often understood as reflecting the mystical spirituality of El Greco and his fellow Ávilan St. Teresa de la Cruz, might be better understood in relation to the popular devotional spirituality of Neri and the Council of Trent’s program of spiritual renewal, which was promoted with special zeal by the Jesuits who were responsible for his intellectual and musical formation.

See also Catholic Spirituality and Mysticism; Jesuits; Monteverdi, Claudio; Music; Palestrina, Giovanni Pierluigi da; Trent, Council of.

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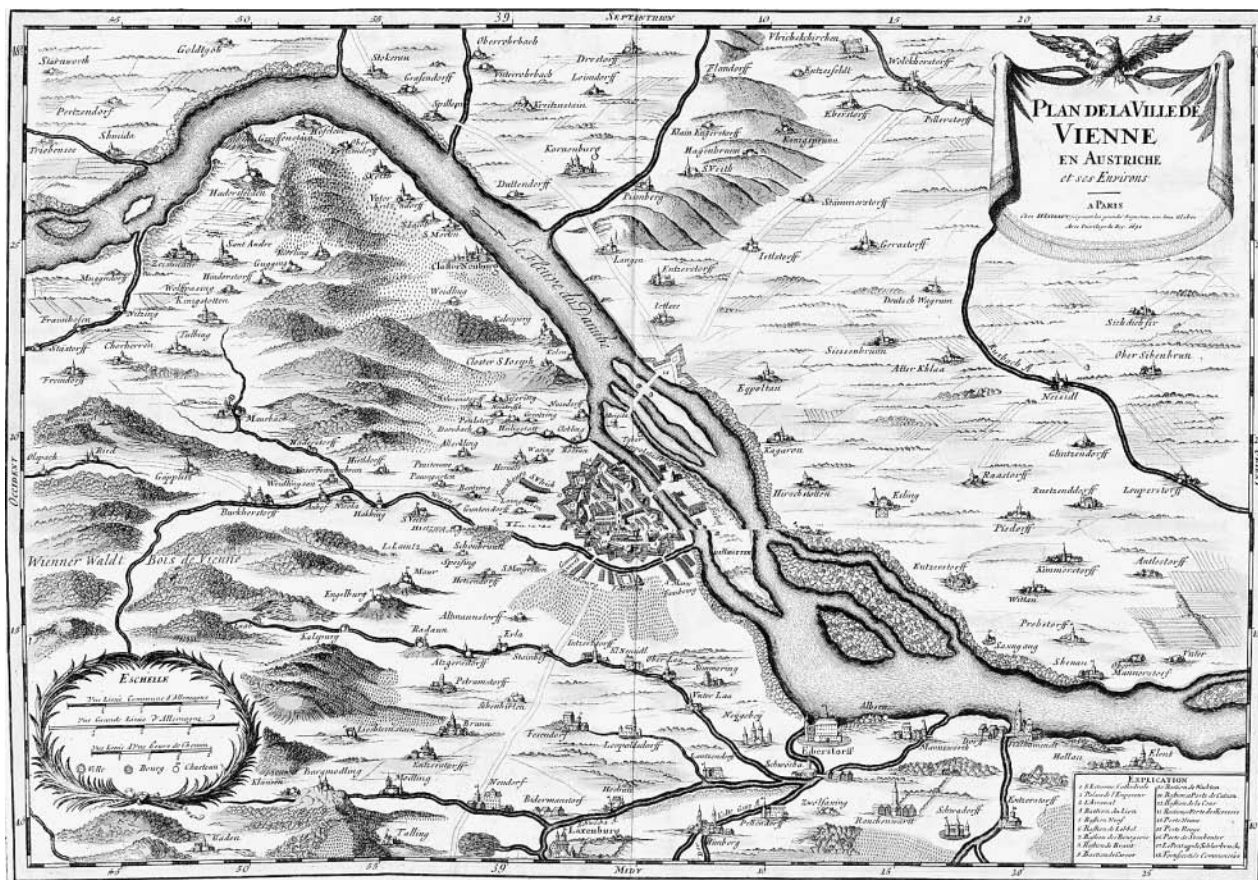
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LEE MATTHEW ESCANDON

VIENNA. From the later thirteenth century, when Vienna and its surrounding territories were claimed by the Habsburg Dynasty, until the mid-fifteenth century, the Habsburgs slowly built up the old residence of their predecessors, the Babenbergs, and the one-time Roman legionnaires' camp into a sizable city complete with a church dedicated to Saint Stephen as well as a university and a castle residence built next to one of the old Roman roads leading to this important Danube River crossing. By 1500 the city may have had a population of approximately twenty to thirty thousand.

For some time during the fifteenth century, the Styrian branch of the Habsburg Dynasty held the upper hand among the Habsburg relations in central Europe, and their city, Wiener Neustadt, was the preferred residence of many of the Austrian dukes, including the important Habsburg Duke Frederick who was crowned Holy Roman emperor in Rome by Pope Nicholas V in 1452 and ruled until 1493. The emperor was able to achieve the long-standing Habsburg goal of elevating their church in Vienna, St. Stephen's, to episcopal status through papal permission in 1469. (The rival residence city of Wiener Neustadt was similarly honored in the same year.) Now Vienna would be not only a trading city, university town, and sometime archducal residence. It was the center of a modest ecclesiastical jurisdiction as well, one which often unhappily shared religious responsibilities with its



Vienna. A view of the city and the surrounding area based on a map by Nicolas Sanson, from a French atlas issued in 1692. The map shows the city's strategic location on the Danube, and identifies the neighboring cities and towns. Long the seat of the Habsburg Empire, Vienna had recently survived a bitter siege by the Ottoman Turks in 1683, and it was later transformed into a city of palaces and stately homes. A second line of fortifications was built in 1704–1706. MAP COLLECTION, STERLING MEMORIAL LIBRARY, YALE UNIVERSITY

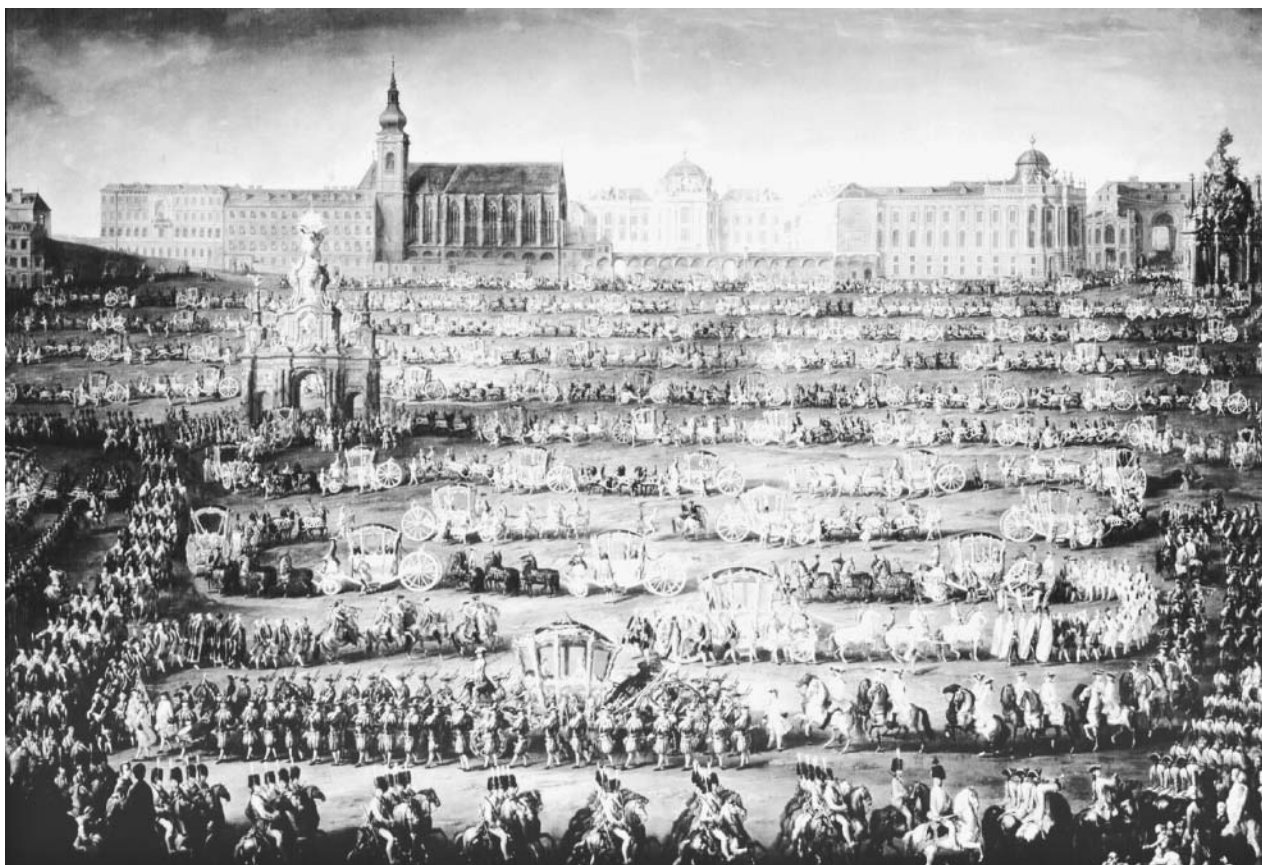
much more powerful neighbor, the Diocese of Passau, which also had administrative offices in Vienna.

For Vienna, the later fifteenth century meant a change in regimes: renewed claims over this area by the kings of Hungary led to an occupation of the city by the Hungarian King Mathias I (“Corvinus”) Hunyadi beginning in 1485. King Mathias died in the city in 1490. The turbulent and multifaceted relationship with Hungary is an important aspect of Viennese history in this period.

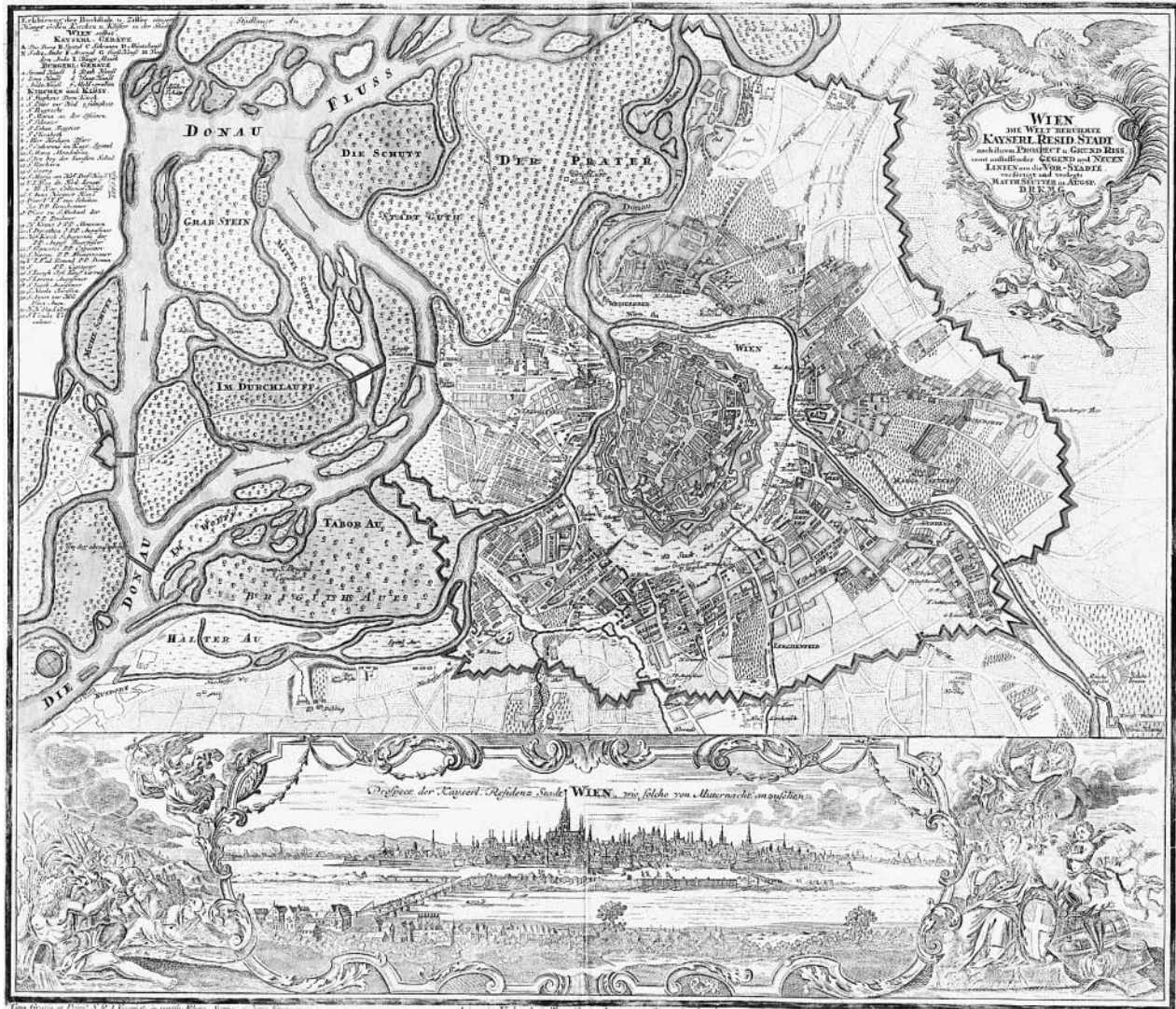
The city on the Danube was again brought under Habsburg control through the efforts of Emperor Frederick’s son, Archduke and later Emperor Maximilian I (ruled 1493–1519), who spent much of his time arranging Western marriages and residing in the Habsburg city of Innsbruck in Tyrol, among many other locations. For some time, the exact position of Vienna in the Habsburgs’ plans was unclear. The Iberian and Burgundian inheri-

tances engineered by Maximilian necessarily meant that the dynasty’s representatives were more tied to cities such as Ghent or kingdoms such as Castile than to the rather forgotten city on the Danube River.

When Maximilian’s grandson and younger brother of Emperor Charles V, the Spanish-born Archduke Ferdinand (who ruled 1558–1564 as Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand I) chose Vienna as his residence, the city fathers had already established a local regime with its own sense of autonomy. In the 1520s this urban regime was harshly suppressed by the archduke and his officials, and the city administration was reorganized under stricter dynastic control. Ferdinand had arrived in the city with a sizable retinue of Iberian nobles, military personnel, and other assorted hangers-on, and the Spanish-speaking community in the city and at the court endured at various levels for two centuries,



Vienna. *The Ceremonial Entry into Vienna of Isabella of Parma, Bride of Emperor Joseph II*, eighteenth-century painting by Martin Meytens. ©ERICH LESSING/ART RESOURCE, N.Y.



Vienna. A striking map from Mathaeus Seutter's 1745 *Atlas Novus* showing the imperial city of Vienna, the official residence of the Habsburgs. At bottom is a view of the skyline from across the Danube River. The new circle of fortifications around the outskirts of the city was built in the early eighteenth century; to the left of the old walled city is the Leopoldstadt, or second district, the center of Vienna's large Jewish community. MAP COLLECTION, STERLING MEMORIAL LIBRARY, YALE UNIVERSITY

reflecting the resident rulers' close ties to their dynastic kin in the West.

One of the pivotal years for the history of early modern Vienna was 1529, when Ottoman troops besieged the city, following on their successful campaigns of the previous years, which had succeeded in defeating the Hungarians and in advancing the Ottomans' control well into that nearby kingdom. The siege was successfully resisted, but the results of the destruction in the suburbs and the economic dislocation the siege had brought lasted for much of the century. The economic foundations of many of the

city's religious houses, which controlled properties outside of the old city walls, for example, were wrecked, and this, together with the increasing popularity of the teachings of Martin Luther and his followers, made the culture of the city increasingly Protestant, much to the dismay of Archduke Ferdinand, who resided in the Hofburg, the fortified Habsburg residence in the city.

Following the extinction of the Hungarian ruling dynasty in 1526, Habsburg claims to the Hungarian crown meant that Vienna maintained a certain dynastic importance because it was located so

near to Bratislava, the newly relocated capital of Hungary, just down the Danube River. Military operations in the Hungarian kingdom were planned and administered from Vienna, even while the Habsburg rulers themselves increasingly gave in to the allures of Vienna's long-time rival, Prague, as their preferred place of residence. (Ferdinand and his two successors as Holy Roman emperor, Maximilian II and Rudolf II, were all buried in St. Vitus's cathedral in that Bohemian capital.) Ferdinand's grandson, the emperor Rudolf II (ruled 1576–1612), officially moved his residence up to the castle in Prague in the 1580s, leaving his brother Archduke Ernst and his sister Archduchess Elisabeth, the widowed queen of France, to reside in Vienna and attempt to regulate the increasingly unruly and Lutheran city population.

Conflicts over the Habsburg succession in Bohemia and Hungary eventually degenerated into the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648), but they had little direct effect on Vienna. For the most part, the fighting took place well away from the city, although in its earliest stages in late 1618 and early 1619, enemy troops reached the city's vicinity, as did Swedish troops in 1645. The continued rather uncertain status of Vienna in its rulers' imaginations was reflected in the decision of Emperor Ferdinand II (ruled 1620–1637) to return to his ancestral homeland, Styria, to be buried in 1637.

The true blossoming of Vienna as the baroque capital of central Europe and the undisputed capital of the Habsburg Dynasty came only later, in the eighteenth century. The city was once again besieged by Ottoman troops in 1683 and once again successfully withstood their attacks, with the help of King John III Sobieski of Poland. Unlike the aftermath of 1529, however, subsequent Habsburg military campaigns pushed the Ottoman frontier well into Hungary and farther to the southeast. Vienna changed in character from a border fortress to a centrally located administrative and trading center, well located on the Danube for trading downstream with the newly conquered Hungarian territories. The Habsburgs' loss of their Iberian inheritance through the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1714), as well as their earlier setbacks in the Holy Roman Empire during the Thirty Years' War, combined to redirect the dynasts' attention toward the

south and east. Vienna was well situated to benefit from this reorientation.

The alliance of the Habsburgs and their supporters with a reinvigorated Roman Catholicism during the Counter-Reformation also provided an ideology and a cultural program that were physically reflected in the triumphant, new post-1683 city. New convents and monasteries abounded, and a much more extensive (although less militarily effective) wall (the 1704 *Linienwall*) was constructed. Noble palaces and Habsburg summer residences were constructed outside the confines of the walls as well, reflecting a new optimism and sense of security that would only be challenged when Napoleon's troops neared the city in the early nineteenth century. Vienna was now the capital of one of Europe's most important powers. It remained so until the demise of that power in the early twentieth century.

See also Austria; Ferdinand I (Holy Roman Empire); Ferdinand II (Holy Roman Empire); Frederick III (Holy Roman Empire); Habsburg Dynasty: Austria; Holy Roman Empire; Hungary; Maximilian I (Holy Roman Empire); Prague; Rudolf II (Holy Roman Empire); Vienna, Sieges of.

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JOSEPH F. PATROUCH

VIENNA, SIEGES OF. The city of Vienna was the object of two unsuccessful sieges by Ottoman forces during the early modern period.

THE FIRST SIEGE, 1529

When, at the battle of Mohács in 1526, the troops of Sultan Suleiman I (ruled 1520–1566) wiped out the Hungarian army and killed King Louis II, they cleared the way to the Hungarian throne for their main rival, the Habsburgs. After Suleiman's protégé, János Szapolyai (ruled 1526–1540), was ousted from Hungary by his rival, Ferdinand I of Habsburg, also elected king of Hungary (1526–1564), Suleiman was eager to redress the unintended consequences of his victory at Mohács. The Ottoman army of 80,000 to 100,000 men retook Buda, Hungary's capital, from the Habsburgs in September 1529 and gave it back to their ally János. Suleiman, however, wanted to resolve the Habsburg-Ottoman rivalry in Central Europe by conquering Vienna, the capital of the Habsburgs' Danubian Monarchy. Vienna was defended by some 18,000 to 25,000 soldiers under the able leadership of Niklas Graf zu Salm and Wilhelm Freiherr von Roggendorf, who had ordered the city's medieval and obsolete defenses substantially strengthened. The siege lasted for some two weeks (27 September–15 October 1529). The Ottoman bombardment was not effective, for the attackers had had to leave their siege artillery in Bulgaria and Hungary owing to unusually rainy weather and muddy roads. The defenders discovered or disarmed most of the Ottoman mines, and when some mines did succeed in opening significantly large holes, the attackers were repulsed by pikemen and harquebusiers. With winter approaching, the Ottomans raised the siege. After another failed attempt in 1532, when the small Hungarian castle of Kúszeg (Güns) stopped Suleiman's army, the sultan and Ferdinand accepted the status quo in Hungary.

THE SECOND SIEGE, 1683

In 1683 Vienna was besieged for the second time by the Ottomans, who by 1541 had conquered central Hungary, bringing the frontier dangerously close to the Austrian capital. The 1660s saw new Ottoman conquests in Hungary (1660 and 1663), Crete (1669), and Poland-Lithuania (1672 and 1678) under the able leadership of the Köprülü grand viziers. The recent revival of Ottoman military fortunes, the renewed Franco-Habsburg rivalry, and, more importantly, the weakness the Habsburgs had shown in Hungary against Imre Thököly's *Kuruc* insurrection (1681–1683), persuaded Kara Mustafa

Paşa, the ambitious grand vizier (1676–1683), that the time had come to conquer Vienna. With the auxiliary troops of Crimean, Walachian, Moldavian, and Transylvanian vassals, the army that reached the outskirts of Vienna by early July numbered some 150,000 men, although only 40,000 were central troops of the standing army and although, as in 1529, the Ottomans lacked heavy siege artillery. Count Ernst Rüdiger von Starhemberg ably directed the 15,000-strong defense forces, but by early September heavy Ottoman bombardment and mining opened numerous breaches in the walls, and the defenders were running short of supplies. The fifty-nine-day siege ended with the arrival of the imperial and Polish relief army under the command of Charles V, duke of Lorraine, and King John III Sobieski (ruled 1674–1696) on 11 September 1683. The decisive battle of Kahlenberg, at the edge of the Vienna Woods, took place the next day when the relief army of 75,000 destroyed the unprotected attackers' camp. Kara Mustafa and his army fled, leaving rich booty for the Christians. Vienna was saved by a coalition of Central European countries, whose army proved to be tactically superior and was, for the first time in the history of Ottoman-European confrontations, able to match the Ottomans in terms of deployed manpower and weaponry, as well as in logistical support.

See also Ottoman Empire; Suleiman I.

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GÁBOR ÁGOSTON

VIÈTE, FRANÇOIS (1540–1603), French mathematician. Viète is widely viewed as the founder of modern algebra. Born in Fontenay-le-Comte in the province of Poitou, he studied law at the

University of Poitiers and received his degree in 1560. Shortly thereafter he entered the service of the noblewoman Antoinette d'Aubeterre and served as legal adviser as well as educator of her daughter, Catherine of Parthenay (later Rohan). His position in the household of this leading Huguenot family involved him with increasing prominence in the tense religious rivalries of the time. In 1573, following several years in Paris, he was appointed counselor to the Parlement of Brittany in Rennes by King Charles IX, and in 1580 he became a member of Henry III's privy council. Following a period of political eclipse in the late 1580s, he was recalled to court in 1589 and served as counselor to Henry III and Henry IV until his death on 23 February 1603. During his years as royal counselor Viète specialized in cryptanalysis, becoming one of the leading code breakers in Europe. His success in decoding secret Spanish communications famously brought upon him the accusation of being in league with the devil.

Despite his active career at court, Viète found time to research and publish an impressive number of mathematical works in a range of different fields. His most influential work, however, was undoubtedly in algebra. The field known as “algebra,” he contended, was not, in fact, an achievement of Arab mathematicians, but was a corruption of the ancient “Art of Analysis” which was known in classical times. Unlike synthesis, which begins with self-evident assumptions and proceeds deductively to necessary conclusions, analysis proceeds in the reverse direction. In analysis, one assumes that the desired conclusion is true and then proceeds to deduce the implications of this assumption. If this leads to a known true relationship, it is a good indication (although no proof) that the original assumption was true. The mathematician can then reverse course and use the analysis as a guide for a synthetic proof of the theorem. If, on the other hand, the assumption leads to a falsehood, it is also necessarily false.

Classical mathematicians, Viète believed, used analysis extensively in their research. Unfortunately, as they only considered synthetic proof to be proper and incontrovertible, they proceeded to suppress the analytic part of their research in their published works. This left their modern-day successors with beautiful and elaborate synthetic constructions, such as can be found in the writings of Euclid and

Archimedes. The method used by the ancients to discover their theorems—namely analysis—appeared to be lost. Viète set out to correct this unfortunate state of affairs by recovering the ancient “Art of Analysis.” Beginning with his *Introduction to the Analytic Art* of 1591, and continuing in a series of subsequent works, he laid down the basic outlines of the ancient method as he perceived it.

Viète's fundamental insight was that the “Art of Analysis” was none other than the algebra. In algebra, he pointed out, one proceeds analytically: when presented with a mathematical problem, one assumes that the solution has already been found, and sets up a mathematical relationship accordingly. One then proceeds to analyze this relationship, arriving ultimately at a true solution if such exists. This, he claimed, was precisely the approach used in ancient analysis.

Viète realized, however, that the algebra of his time was inadequate to the task. It consisted of a long and increasing list of solutions to specific problems and practical rule-of-thumb methods to help with the solution of others. This, for Viète, was evidence of the corrupt state of algebra and the need for restoration. He therefore sought to replace the haphazard algebraic practices with general rules of analysis that would guide the solution of all problems.

To accomplish this, Viète proposed a novel system of notation. For the first time, he distinguished between the given magnitudes of a problem and the unknown ones, which must be sought out. The given magnitudes, he proposed, should be signified by consonants (B, C, D, F . . .) and the unknown ones by vowels (A, E, I, O, U, Y). This simple innovation enabled Viète to write down not just specific linear, quadratic, and cubic problems, but general types of linear, quadratic, and cubic equations. Consequently, once a general type of equation was analyzed and solved, any particular instance of this type could be solved as well. With considerable justification, Viète referred to his “recovered” Art of Analysis as “the doctrine of discovering well in mathematics” (*doctrina bene inveniendi in mathematicis*).

In addition to algebra, Viète contributed to numerous other mathematical fields including trigonometry, conic sections, and astronomy. His endur-

ing reputation, however, rests firmly on his algebraic work. Despite his claim that he was merely recovering an ancient method, his approach was in fact very different from the geometrical analysis practiced in antiquity. It is ironic, but telling, that Viète, who sought to replace the corrupt “algebra” with pure “analysis,” has become known to subsequent generations as the father of modern algebra.

See also **Henry III (France)**; **Henry IV (France)**; **Mathematics**.

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AMIR ALEXANDER

VIGÉE-LEBRUN, ELISABETH (1755–1842), French painter. Known primarily for her portraits, Vigée-Lebrun was a favorite artist of aristocratic patrons throughout Europe at the end of the eighteenth century, the most famous of whom was Queen Marie Antoinette of France (1755–1793). Vigée-Lebrun was born in Paris, the daughter of a hairdresser from the province of Luxembourg, Jeanne Maissin, and a minor portraitist, Louis Vigée, who was a member of the Académie de Saint-Luc. Her father gave her drawing lessons in his studio when she was twelve, although he died shortly after they began. She then studied drawing with two minor artists, Blaise Bocquet and Gabriel Briard. By her own account, she was largely self-taught, copying Old Master paintings in private collections she visited in the company of her mother. By the age of fifteen, she had established herself as a professional portraitist but practiced without a license. In 1774, after her studio had been seized by officers of the Châtelet (royal tribunal in Paris), she applied for membership in the Académie de Saint-

Luc, exhibiting several works in the Salon de Saint-Luc that same year. Her ambition, however, was to be received as a history painter by the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture.

During the late 1770s, Vigée-Lebrun completed several history paintings but remained barred from acceptance into the Académie Royale because of the commercial dealings of husband, Jean-Baptiste-Pierre Lebrun, an art dealer. Upon Marie Antoinette’s intervention, however, the honor of full membership was granted on 31 May 1783. (Her reception piece, *Peace Bringing Back Abundance* (1780), is now in the collection of the Louvre Museum). The minutes of the meeting at which Vigée-Lebrun was accepted for membership state that the academicians acted to execute “with profound respect the orders of its Sovereign.” However, her painting was assigned no category.

Although Vigée-Lebrun was never apprenticed to a master painter and was prohibited by her sex from becoming a student at the Académie Royale, she nevertheless profited from her study of leading artists from the French school. She was greatly influenced by Jean-Baptiste Greuze (1725–1805), particularly in terms of her technique, which uses a buildup of transparent glazes to generate highly polished surface textures in areas of flesh and drapery. As with Greuze, her lack of academic training contributed to this reliance on the use of color, rather than line, to define form. Her approach to composition in many of her large state commissions, such as the *Portrait of Marie Antoinette* (1778; Musée national du Château de Versailles) follows the illustrious examples of portraits by Hyacinthe Rigaud and Jean Marc Nattier, favorite court artists during the reigns of Louis XIV and Louis XV, respectively.

Vigée-Lebrun’s debt to the Old Masters is evident in her highly sought-after *maternités* (mother and daughter images), which register a direct lineage back to the Madonnas of Raphael, and in her *Self-Portrait in a Straw Hat* (1783; National Gallery of Art, London), which deliberately quotes a portrait by Peter Paul Rubens. While some scholars consider this work to be a straightforward tribute to the celebrated courtier-artist, others regard it as a clever assertion on the part of Vigée-Lebrun of her ability to assume a similar place in history. Indeed,



Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun. Marie Antoinette with her children, 1787. THE ART ARCHIVE/MUSÉE DU CHÂTEAU DE VERSAILLES/DAGLI ORTI (A)

her aspirations to enjoy the elevated status of a history painter would be satisfied not by following the usual paths of academic progress, but through her novel conceptions in the realm of portraiture that challenged notions of conventional subject hierarchies and divisions between genres.

PATRONAGE AND PRESTIGE

Vigée-Lebrun received her first royal commission in 1776, executing several portraits of the king's brother, the comte de Provence (whereabouts unknown). Two years later, she was called upon to paint the queen. Marie Antoinette had been searching for an artist who would best capture her likeness, and she responded to Vigée-Lebrun's singular ability to lend an informal air to the requirements of royal portraiture. Her *Portrait of Marie-Antoinette with Her Children* (1787; Musée national du Château de Versailles) is a brilliant combination of tradition and innovation. In this painting, Vigée-Lebrun follows the conventions of state portraiture by looking back to Nattier's portraits of Queen Marie-Leczinska and Madame Adélaïde (the wife and daughter of Louis XV) in the construction of her composition; however, she adds a contemporary reference to the popular idea of the "good mother" by merging the ceremony of state with the intimacy of family. This painting also transcends the limitations of a single genre by treating the portrait as both a history painting and a scene of everyday life.

Equally novel was the *Portrait of Marie-Antoinette* (1783; private collection, Germany) *en chemise* in which the sitter wears a simple, sheer white muslin dress and straw hat. This remarkably casual portrait caused a sensation at the salon, where it was said that the queen appeared in her underwear. While many critics commented on the impropriety of such a representation, which was not formal enough to suit contemporary standards, this painting and others like it influenced the course of costume development in France. Such portraits popularized a new look of loosely constructed garments, unpowdered hair, and natural curls—as opposed to the conventional French dress that required corsets and ornate wigs.

In addition to her activities as a painter, Vigée-Lebrun hosted one of the most fashionable salons in Paris, where music, literature, and the arts were topics of conversation. Her famous *souper grec*

(Greek supper) took place in 1788, an impromptu event inspired by literary recitations at which guests donned Greek attire and dined on a menu prepared from ancient recipes, served on a collection of archaic pottery. The entire affair was orchestrated by Vigée-Lebrun and took on the character of a *tableau vivant* (living painting). The expense of the event was greatly exaggerated by rumors, resulting in her vilification in scandal sheets. In the late 1780s, she increasingly became a figure of controversy.

A staunch royalist throughout her life, Vigée-Lebrun profited from her service to the French court, but this allegiance also forced her into exile during the Revolution of 1789, accompanied by her only child, Jeanne Julie Louise (born 12 February 1780). Her prestigious reputation did not fail her, and she continued to work in aristocratic circles, traveling first to Italy, then Austria, Germany, and Russia. She enjoyed great success at these foreign courts, securing her fortune before she was repatriated in 1801. While she continued to paint late in life, the energies of her last years were devoted to composing her memoirs, the first installment of which was published by Hippolyte Fournier in 1835. Vigée-Lebrun died in Paris at the age of eighty-seven.

See also Art: Artistic Patronage; France, Art in; Marie Antoinette; Women and Art.

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JENNIFER D. MILAM

VILLAGES. The village, alongside the parish and the family, was the most widespread unit of social organization throughout the early modern period. There were well over 130,000 villages in western Europe, each a largely self-sufficient rural community with a population that averaged between 100 and 500 inhabitants. Flexibly adapted to a wide range of state structures and environments, villages often enjoyed high degrees of self-government. Many also performed essential state services, including tax collection, poor relief, and the maintenance of order. Although far from democratic in modern terms, village assemblies at times displayed the most broad-based political participation of any governing institution in western Europe. Villages were anything but static communities; rates of mobility and exogamy were significantly higher than once thought. This mobility in turn reflected major changes in land exploitation patterns and in world markets, which permanently altered the economic balance of communities between 1450 and 1789. By 1550, the polarization of villages into a minority of prosperous peasants exploiting large holdings and a majority of nearly landless rural laborers had dramatically changed the social landscape. By the end of the seventeenth century, the economic division of Europe into regions closely connected to the Atlantic and world economies and regions left behind affected patterns of wealth and power within villages.

VILLAGE ORGANIZATION AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Social hierarchy in the village was well defined in most regions. As serfdom or villeinage declined by 1450, a new pyramidal social structure had emerged over a broad swath of western Europe. At the base of the peasantry were landless day laborers, joined by cottagers who rented or sharecropped less than enough land to live on in bad years. In many regions they constituted 50 to 60 percent of the village population, and increasingly depended upon weaving and cottage industry to eke out a subsistence

living. One grade above were those who leased, rented, or sharecropped a self-sufficient holding. In upper Normandy, a relatively prosperous region, these modestly independent farmers represented only about 20 percent of the village households in the late seventeenth century, and they leased fewer than twenty-five acres apiece. But this middling sort (in England, husbandmen) were universally shrinking in numbers. Provinces as diverse as Languedoc and Normandy in France, as well as much of England and Scotland, the maritime provinces of the Dutch Republic, and northwestern Germany, all experienced significant losses of middling peasantry beginning in the mid-fifteenth century.

At the pinnacle of village society a new peasant elite had fully developed by 1550, composed of large leaseholders (copyholders) or freeholders (owners). Known as *laboureurs* in France, yeomen in England, or *Vollbauern* in Germany, they typically owned their own plow and team, employed other villagers as day laborers, and exploited a minimum of about 50–100 acres. Strongest in wealthier regions along the cereal plains of Europe and in England, these substantial peasant exploiters typically represented between 5 and 15 percent of village households. But they were surprisingly evident in poorer regions as well; they made up nearly 10 percent of the population in parts of Naples, for example. This peasant elite was essential to the stability of the community as a whole. They often lent seed, livestock, and cash to their poorer neighbors, though often at ruinous interest rates. Landless villagers in turn depended upon casual wage labor from wealthy peasants and landlords for their survival. In larger villages, the nucleus of cultivators and laborers was complemented by a small group of rural artisans (especially coopers and blacksmiths) and service providers (millers and innkeepers).

This core of peasants, artisans, and wage laborers was topped by a thin layer of privileged rural elites. These were men (and occasionally women) who were of the village, but not entirely in it. Noble lords or seigneurs resided in some villages, although they were increasingly absentee landlords by the seventeenth century. Their estate stewards and seigneurial court judges, along with well-to-do landlords who were not yet noble (gentry or *sieurs*), priests and pastors, royal judges, and rural merchants all exercised substantial control over land use



Villages. *A Village Street with Peasants and Travelers, a Canal Beyond*, by Jan Brueghel the Younger. ©CHRISTIE'S IMAGES/CORBIS

and wages in the village. This group also collectively controlled civil, canon, and customary laws; criminal punishment; public works; and some poor relief—powers that affected villagers on a daily basis.

The physical maps of western European villages varied greatly, but tended to fall into two main patterns. Across the broad band of open cereal plains like the Beauce, the nucleated village with its outlying fields cut up into plow strips or furlongs was typical. In wooded areas like Shropshire, England, or mountainous regions like the Pyrenees, Alps, and Apennines, isolated farms and scattered hamlets were common. They enjoyed some of the highest levels of autonomy and self-government, remote as they were from the central state. But these scattered settlements were intimately tied together by common social institutions, particularly the parish church, the local market, and the law courts.

From the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries, however, the twin processes of enclosure and engrossment (consolidation) of fields wrought sig-

nificant changes in village land-use patterns. The English enclosure movements of the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, like the notorious highland clearances in Scotland, fenced off common lands for sheep runs or agricultural improvements. Engrossment allowed larger blocks of fields to be brought under the management of one owner or lessor, which made enclosures easier. The social consequences were often dire: increasing pauperization or flight of villagers who no longer had crucial access to the common lands. Even without these new stresses, village communities were the sites of a delicate balancing act between resources and population throughout the early modern period. Late marriages, low rates of illegitimacy, and limitation of family size were the key factors that allowed villages to survive under near-subsistence conditions.

Despite their small size, there was a high degree of social and economic mobility bubbling below the surface of western European villages. Some was downward mobility, driven by growing rural stresses from the mid-sixteenth to the eighteenth

century. Economic polarization that pushed more peasants into the landless category, population growth that overburdened villages, and the enclosure and engrossment of land caught many in the economic downdraft. Villages across Europe expressed increasing concerns about (and often a hardening of attitudes toward) vagabonds, “sturdy beggars,” and the settled poor. Expanding cities like London and Paris were one of the safety valves for the rural needy. The resultant rates of mobility are sometimes striking: One English village in Northamptonshire experienced a 52 percent turnover in households in just the twenty years before 1638.

Upward mobility was still in the grasp of other village groups, however. Prosperous peasants became the feeder school for the gentry. Those who had acquired roughly a hundred acres or more could begin the delicate process of insinuating themselves into the landlord class of the village by ceasing to work with their hands, educating sons in the law, marrying into gentry families, and having themselves duly noted down in the parish records as *sieurs* or “gentlemen.” Indeed, the wealthy peasantry and the gentry often formed a kind of social convection zone in the village, where gentry who failed to maintain their position sank back into the peasantry, and careful peasants moved up to replace them. In the parish of Myddle in seventeenth-century England, only half the gentry were able to maintain their status over two or three generations; the rest were replaced by yeomen and merchants. The most difficult step upward was from the day laborer or cottager class into the ranks of the wealthy peasantry. One expert has estimated that it required an English day laborer’s wages for a hundred years to acquire a self-sufficient farm holding. Moreover, the numerous advantages held by village elites made it difficult to become a self-sufficient landowner. Through strategic marriages, command of property law, control of the village assembly and common lands, and usurious loans secured by farms, land was magnetically attracted toward those who already had land.

COMMUNAL BONDS

The organization of western Europe into villages, as opposed to tribal or kinship organization, was based on neighborhood solidarities among distinct fami-

lies. This sense of neighborhood emerged in the language as *voisinage* in France and *Nachbarschaft* in Germany, and it was cemented by a number of institutions and traditions. At the center was the parish church, which united even scattered farms and hamlets into the village community. (In many regions parish and village boundaries were largely coterminous, but they were not always so.) Sunday services were only one of the occasions for creating parish bonds. Religious confraternities, celebrations of holy days, marriages, and baptisms all helped to cement communal bonds across family lines. The parish church, in tandem with the village assembly, organized poor relief for the community. Even the arrangement of the church served to remind villagers of their assigned place in the social hierarchy: church benches, for those important enough to sit during services, were strictly arranged according to rank.

Beyond the doors of the parish church, taverns, alehouses, and weekly markets served as vital centers of sociability. On winter evenings, villagers often congregated together to save light, repair tools, and tell stories. Seigneurial and royal assizes regularly brought villagers together to resolve (or occasionally inflame) their disputes in court. Many of these institutions and traditions cut through social hierarchies and regularly brought poorer and wealthier members of the village into contact with each other. But villages were also arenas of conflict, which was expressed in endemic lawsuits, physical violence, *charivaris*, and witchcraft accusations. The inherent tensions created by wide gulfs in economic, honorific, and power status were always latent. Even a relatively small community of forty or fifty families might encompass a family of supernova aristocrats and landless paupers.

The village in turn was more deeply embedded in larger economic and social circuits than was once believed. Annual fairs brought into the village country dwellers from a wide circumference, as well as merchants from urban areas; in France these often included theater troupes and peddlers of cheap popular books (the famous *Bibliothèque Bleue*). Royal courts on the Continent, and circuit assizes in England, drew university-trained lawyers and judges into the countryside. English justices of the peace, drawn almost exclusively from the rural gentry class, had become fixtures in the House of Commons by



Villages. A seventeenth-century engraving depicts commercial activities at the edge of a village. THE GRANGER COLLECTION, NEW YORK

the seventeenth century and were expected to help control elections to Parliament in the county. Aristocrats and nobles took rural servants, particularly women and girls, into the cities with them; many of them returned to the village as young women with dowries. In transhumance areas and coastal regions, it was the young men who typically left home for months at a time, to follow herds of sheep or to fish as far away as Newfoundland. Above all, the production of both bulk goods and luxury goods for the Atlantic trade tied villages into global cycles of boom and bust. Production of cotton, linen, and flax, the weaving and dyeing of fabric and lace, cheese making, wine making, and glassmaking became central to village economies from the Veneto in Italy to western France to Flanders and the Dutch Republic. As both the state and impersonal economic forces made a wider impact on village life, they became the source of new discontents.

Their solidarity helped to make villages the natural locus of rural riots and protests against these wider powers. Enclosure riots in England and Scotland, periodic tax and bread riots, and poaching and smuggling everywhere expressed the villagers' firm sense of their customary rights against landlords, tax

officials, and grain suppliers. One need only think of the German Peasants' War of 1524–1525, the revolt of the Nu-Pieds in Normandy in 1639–1640, or the rebellion of the *Bonnets Rouges* in Brittany in 1675 to see that grievances over seigneurial exactions and innovative tax schemes were always simmering in rural communities. Moreover, these disturbances were almost never led by the landless poor, but rather by those who had something to lose in the village: the natural peasant leadership.

VILLAGE GOVERNMENT AND FUNCTIONS

Villages were composite entities made up of overlapping institutions, above all the family, the parish, the seignior (or lordship), and the village assembly. This last institution is what gave the village community its formal coherence; it developed special characteristics in the West. In France, village communes or assemblies (*communautés, assemblées*) had received formal charters by the thirteenth century in some areas; in others, they remained informal but recognized institutions. They were composed of heads of households, since the household, not the individual, was the fundamental social unit. But within the assembly, the hierarchical village social

structure was instantly apparent. The households of *laboureurs* or yeomen normally dominated land-use issues, tax matters, and village offices. Assemblies were predominantly male, although evidence indicates that widows with substantial holdings were sometimes admitted.

Although the constellation of powers in any given village was unique, their local functions were quite similar. The *Gemeinde* in northwestern Germany, like the assembly in England and the commune in France, met periodically after Mass to elect syndics or council members and other minor officials. They managed most communal aspects of life, from grammar schools to ale quality, by appointing schoolmasters, aleconners, shepherds, and harvest guards. Through the *fabrique* (vestry), they jointly shouldered responsibility for the upkeep of the parish church. Above all, the assembly controlled crucial aspects of land use and labor. They set the dates of the grain or wine harvest, fixed wages for day laborers, and controlled the sale, lease, or rental of the common lands. Waters, woods, wastelands, and meadows were collectively managed, which provided a crucial margin of survival for many villagers.

The village assemblies also performed critical functions for the early modern state, which had only a thin presence at the local level. By far their most contentious task in regions like France and the Italian city-states was apportioning and collecting royal taxes in the village. In France, the community was then burdened with collective responsibility for making up any shortfall in uncollected taxes. Villages often exercised important legal and policing powers at the local level. Some German assemblies were allowed to set their own weights, measures, and prices. French assemblies increasingly used lawsuits in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to contest their rights with other villages, their lords, or even with royal officials. Drunken or disorderly behavior, domestic fights, scolding, and marketplace fraud were typically handled through local seigneurial courts, in petty sessions, or by village arbiters.

While communes or assemblies provided a significant measure of self-government under normal conditions, they were nevertheless sharply circumscribed in their ability to protect the village from environmental or political disasters. Cycles of fam-

ine and disease, escalating tax demands from the central state, and marauding armies spawned by the civil, religious, and international warfare of the age regularly decimated individual villages. Nevertheless, villages collectively remained a resilient and adaptable social unit throughout the early modern period, and one on which the wealth of most of Europe depended.

See also Agriculture; Landholding; Mobility, Geographic; Mobility, Social; Peasantry; Peasants' War, German; Popular Protest and Rebellions; Wages.

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ZOË A. SCHNEIDER

VILNIUS (Polish, Wilno; Yiddish, Vilna). Vilnius was the capital of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, thus the second capital of the Commonwealth of Poland-Lithuania. Established at a crossroads between East and West, it imported Muscovite furs and reexported them, along with local forest products, by river to the Baltic (Königsberg, Riga, and Gdańsk were among its trading partners), whence it imported fabrics, salt, spices, fruit, and metals. Vilnius received the Magdeburg Law for municipal self-government in 1387 following the Grand Duchy's acceptance of Christianity and entry into federation with Poland. The city had long had a mixed population (pagan Lithuanians, Orthodox Ruthenians [Ancestors of Ukrainians and Belarusians], Catholic Germans). In 1536 a royal decree established "Greek" and "Roman" parity for elections to the magistracy. Lutherans (largely burgher and German in origin) date their continuing presence from 1555, Calvinists (led by increasingly Polonized nobles) from the 1560s, and Greek Catholics from the Union of Brest (1596). Islamic Tatars had settled in the Lukiškės (Łukiszki) suburb around 1400. Jews came relatively late, receiving their first privilege for settlement within the walls in 1593.

All five recognized Christian confessions competed for office in the magistracy under Greek (Orthodox and Uniate) and Roman (Catholic, Lutheran, Calvinist) rubrics until 1666, when a royal decree limited membership in the ruling elite to Catholics and Uniates. "Dissidents" (Orthodox, Lutherans, Calvinists) remained a significant presence in the merchants' and artisans' guilds, where parity arrangements mirroring those of the magistracy continued to function without the new restrictions. The competing Uniate and Orthodox confraternities made the city an early center of a Ruthenian spiritual and cultural revival. Jews governed themselves autonomously through their *kahal* and the *vaad* or Council of the Chief Lithuanian Communities. Tatars went to their mullah for decisions on internal affairs. Both Jews and Tatars turned to the nobles' Castle Court (rather than the burghers' magistracy) for law in cases involving the Christian world.

Although Vilnians spoke Polish, Ruthenian, Lithuanian, German, and Yiddish, Polish was the

city's lingua franca by the early seventeenth century, and all Christians (and some of the Tatars who tended toward assimilation) felt the draw of Polish cultural norms.

Lutherans and Calvinists established schools in the middle of the sixteenth century, but the Jesuits (introduced here in 1569) soon offered effective competition. Stephen Báthory made their *collegium* (established in 1570) into an academy in 1578. It would become Poland-Lithuania's second university (after Cracow), eventually bearing the name of its royal founder. The academy welcomed the sons of the grand duchy's "dissidents" and played an important role in the Catholicization of society in the seventeenth century.

Vilnius was home to early Cyrillic printing houses (the earliest that of Francysk Skaryna, in 1524), and a Calvinist shop (Daniel of Łęczycza) functioned in the years 1581–1607. Here, too, the Jesuits' Academy Press (1592–1804) soon took over the local market, also printing for Vilnius Uniates. Vilnius became a center of Jewish culture in the eighteenth century, during the life of the Gaon Rabbi Elijah (1720–1797).

The general decline of Vilnius began with the Muscovite occupation of the city (1655–1661) and was deepened with the depredations of the Northern War (1700–1721). Vilnius's status as capital of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania ceased with the third partition of Poland (1795), when it became a provincial city of the Russian Empire.

See also Belarus; Jews and Judaism; Lithuania, Grand Duchy of, to 1569; Poland-Lithuania, Commonwealth of, 1569–1795; Poland to 1569; Reformations in Eastern Europe: Protestant, Catholic, and Orthodox.

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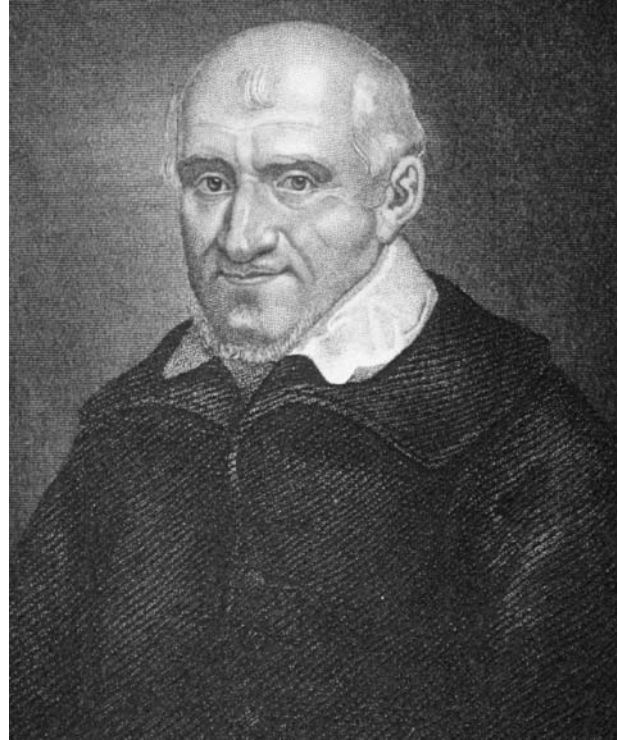
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DAVID FRICK

VINCENT DE PAUL (1581–1660), founder of the Congregation of the Mission and of the Daughters of Charity. Vincent de Paul was not only one of the main figures of the Catholic Reformation but also one of the most popular French saints of the seventeenth century. His reputation as philanthropist and pragmatic protector of the underprivileged, already secured during his life, somewhat overshadows the political, spiritual, and mystical aspects of his life, revealed in his extensive correspondence.

Born in 1581 in a modest peasant family of Pouy (Aquitaine), Vincent found in the church the most likely means of social promotion. Subsidized by the judge of his hamlet, Monsieur de Comet, he was sent to the Cordeliers' college of Dax (1595–1597). In 1600, he was ordained priest and in 1604, he vanished for two years. Many historians speculate on this disappearance. According to what Vincent de Paul himself wrote to his protector Comet, during a sea trip from Marseille to Toulouse, he was captured and sold as a slave in Tunis, where he stayed for two years. He managed to convert his slave master, a renegade, and to flee with him back to France. After traveling to Rome and Avignon, he finally settled in Paris in 1608, was made chaplain to the queen Marguerite de Valois (1610), and began to move in the *dévo*t circles, becoming very close to Pierre de Bérulle and the Oratorians. In 1612, he became the parish priest of Clichy, following the post-Tridentine line: renovating the church, catechizing its people, erecting the Confrérie du Rosaire (brotherhood of the Rosary). A year later, he became chaplain to the family of Philippe-Emmanuel de Gondi, and his life changed.

In 1617, Vincent de Paul was shocked by the deep ignorance of the faith he found among the inhabitants of the hamlet of Folleville, on the domain of De Gondis's family. This awareness, described by many as a true conversion, seemed to dictate his calling. He decided to instruct the poor and become a missionary. Contrary to Pierre de



St. Vincent de Paul. Nineteenth-century portrait engraving. GETTY IMAGES

Bérulle and François de Sales, whom he considered his most influential masters, Vincent de Paul was less speculative and more inclined toward action. He considered that true Christian perfection did not consist of mystical ecstasies but of charitable field enterprises. With De Gondi's financial help, Vincent de Paul founded the Congregation of the Mission. The so-called Lazarists (named after the priory of Saint-Lazare where the community settled in 1632; approved by pope Urban VIII in 1633) devoted themselves to the parish missions (described by Vincent de Paul in his letters as "the salvation of the poor people of the countryside") and to the training of the local priests, for it was seen "necessary to maintain the people and to keep the fruit of the missions made by good ecclesiastics, imitating in this the great conquerors, who leave garrisons in the places they take, by fear to lose what they have acquire with so much effort." To this end, the Tuesday Conferences were launched in 1631—a kind of continuing education for priests that allowed them to reflect, pray, and work in common and that gathered the elite of the Parisian clerics. The same ideal guided the opening of the Lazarist

seminary for ordinands in 1642 in the College des Bons Enfants. The idea was less to give a high theological culture than to give a solid moral, spiritual, and pastoral education to the future priests who would be called, as Vincent de Paul wrote in his *Colloquium to the Missionaries*, “to preach simply and familiarly as did the apostles.” The expansion of the Lazarists was remarkable, first in France (in 1660, 131 priests and 52 coadjutors lived in 25 residences and had organized some 840 missions in the countryside) then in the field of the foreign missions (Madagascar in 1648), for the Lazarists added to their former objectives the conversion of the “pagans.”

From the beginning, each Lazarist mission concluded with the creation of Confréries de Charité (Brotherhoods of Charity), which gathered and organized local noblewomen to care for the poor. In 1633, Vincent de Paul and his closest collaborator, the widow Louise de Marillac (1591–1660), founded the Daughters of Charity in order to support the Brotherhoods of Charity and to achieve charitable work on a larger scale, combining spiritual salvation with material help in keeping with the recommendations of the Council of Trent. Non-cloistered and dressed as peasant women, the “grey nuns” contributed to implement in France the basis of health and social service (there were sixty houses in 1659). Similarly, Vincent de Paul founded L’Oeuvre des Enfants Trouvés (Care of Foundlings), which aimed to rescue abandoned children, and he supported various charitable undertakings for the sick, the disabled, and beggars, activities that were centralized in the network of the general hospitals that developed in the 1650s.

Until his death in 1660, the influence of “the father of the poor” was considerable. He was associated with the main *dévo*t circles, in the secret Compagnie du Saint Sacrement (Company of the Holy Sacrament), and in the Visitation Sainte Marie (where he replaced François de Sales as superior). Queen Anne of Austria chose him as her confessor and placed him in 1643 at the Council of Conscience initiated by Cardinal Richelieu, who, like King Louis XIII, had held him in great esteem. Since he avoided the various spiritual conflicts of his time, he managed to stay close to parties who were adversaries: the old families of the Catholic League such as the Marillacs, the abbot Saint-Cyran (1581–

1643)—though he vigorously condemned his Jansenist ideas—and the Jesuits, with whom he never hesitated to collaborate and among whom he found inspiration.

See also **Bérulle, Pierre de; Catholic League (France); François de Sales; Jansenism; Reformation, Catholic; Religious Orders; Trent, Council of.**

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DOMINIQUE DESLANDRES

VIOLENCE. Violence was endemic in early modern Europe, from Scandinavia to the Mediterranean, and from the Urals to the British Isles. Serfs and peasants wielded knives and staffs, most gentlemen and merchants wore swords and/or pistols, and nobles and their numerous retainers were similarly armed. Even teenaged students carried knives in their schools, brawled in the streets, and operated as gangs. The weapons used were often determined by class, as were the instruments of public death. Thus while serfs and peasants were hanged, the aristocracy had the privilege of death by the sword; women were burned alive or drowned. Tempers were short in this society, and weapons were easy to hand. The propertied classes, especially, lacked self-

control until the waning of the seventeenth century. They encouraged gangs of retainers or hired thugs, or they formed groups of brigands, to assault enemies in paying off grudges or pursuing local or political power.

Rates of violent activity that can be quantified from official records in western Europe suggest a large rise from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries, followed by a long decline to the late eighteenth century. Rates of violent crime based on indictments and inquests rose sharply from the 1560s to the 1620s, peaking at the turn of century at ten per hundred thousand. They then declined greatly in the mid-seventeenth century, when they reached six per hundred thousand, drifted lower in 1700, when they reached three per hundred thousand, and then declined significantly in the mid-eighteenth century, when they reached two per hundred thousand. In all countries, however, rates were highest in the borderlands and lowest in central urban areas.

PERSONAL VIOLENCE

The sixteenth century represented the apex of a long-term acceleration in personal violence that began in the decades following the Black Death of the mid-fourteenth century. Social, economic, and religious conflict nurtured violent solutions in an age where there were few institutions to control human activity. Thus personal violence rose in the midst of the decline of medieval institutions and the cobbling together of new ones that would form the early modern state. Personal violence, whether reactive, instinctive, or ritualized, became an acceptable form of human behavior.

However, a growing intolerance of brutality marked a shift in social psychology that developed in England, the Low Countries, Scandinavia, France, and Switzerland, and which later spread first throughout western Europe, and more slowly across the Mediterranean, in the course of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. An increasingly civilized and sophisticated view of the behavior of middle class citizens, together with a stronger sense of “the peace of God” in Catholic and Protestant churches of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation, caused a movement away from violence as a means for the resolution of personal quarrels and disputes. Distressed by sensa-

tionist literature boasting graphic representations of murder and mayhem, the aristocratic and middle classes of Europe began to reform their behavior in what Norbert Elias termed “a civilizing process.” Without social support, many traditional forms of personal violence inevitably declined. At the same time, growth in the state’s control of violence through policing (particularly in France and Spain) and weapons licensing had a profound effect on communities, limiting opportunities for violence. Finally, with the decay of a popular culture grounded in violence and new expectations of social comportment enforced by the state’s judicial system, both group and interpersonal violence receded into the background.

However, perceptions of violence were not easily changed. The late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries witnessed a surge of popular literature in the form of pamphlets and ballads that told gruesome tales of horrid violent acts; these materials were republished throughout the eighteenth century. This perception was also promoted by women who wrote best-sellers on sensational and scandalous violent acts by women, which became stereotypes in the literature of the era. Moreover, while group violence at the hands of the aristocracy was in decline, the rise of the duel among aristocrats came into vogue in the course of the seventeenth century, most significantly in France, Italy, and England, in spite of the admonitions of churchmen, lawyers, judges, and moralists. And while plebeian and gentlemanly delinquency was on the decline, individual aristocratic delinquency in the form of sexual and roisterous debauchery was on the rise. Thus while interpersonal violence had declined sharply in the overall population by the mid-eighteenth century, in its growing absence the public appetite for stories of violence had increased dramatically.

Much violence, however, was spontaneous. The Paduan artist Niccolò Pizzolo was murdered in a quick-tempered argument; the Mantuan painter Andrea Mantegna hired thugs to beat up rivals who pinched his designs; the Swiss artist Urs Graf displayed bouts of brutal beatings; the sculptor-painter Michelangelo of Florence had his nose broken in a fight with a fellow sculptor; and Christopher Marlowe was stabbed to death in a tavern brawl, as was the actor Gabriel Spencer by the London playwright Ben Jonson. Fencing grew in popularity in the six-

teenth century as the rapier became a favourite weapon of fashionable society because of its more flexible and lightweight qualities in violent confrontations. Many towns enacted legislation to ban the carrying of arms in public places, all to little avail. But most standards of behavior were flaunted, especially by youths at a time (late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries) when male adolescents and young bachelors comprised a significant proportion of the population increase.

Violence was also embedded in the extreme passions of the fifteenth century, which continued into the sixteenth. Rapes, murders, fisticuffs, and knifings followed adulteries or rejections, as recounted in the stories of Margaret of Angoulême, Queen of Navarre, in the 1530s and 1540s. These passions also influenced perceptions that violent crime was “situationally determined”: they can be seen in the activities of cunning women in England, *muchachos* and *caballeristas* in Spain, *strollica* in Italy, *znakhar* in Russia, and *charivari* in France. They also can be found in the activities of people on the margins, such as suicides and witches, and the unrecorded inhabitants of marshes, forests, and moors.

Other examples of personal violence were clearly ritualized. These included, for continental Europe, punching a debtor until he agreed to pay, hiring assassins in family vendettas, and gathering armed bands to redress wrongs real or imagined. In German towns, initiation riots for journeyman aspirants to the Hanseatic merchant guilds included being hanged from a chimney until out of breath, thrown three times from a boat in the harbor and pushed back into the sea upon climbing in each time until the last, and being whipped bloody in the guildhall. Erasmus noted from his enlightened Rotterdam and Paris that the initiation ceremonies for schools were “fit for executioners, torturers, pimps or galley-slaves.”

Youth were often regarded by authorities as primary agents of personal violence. In Swiss and Italian towns, youthful vigilantes used violence upon older citizens who committed immoral sins such as gambling and the ostentatious display of wealth. In French towns, intervillage combat games led to beatings and killings, which were regarded as part of the culture of sport. In England, there are recorded examples of youthful cricketers beating one another

with their bats, and a statute from 1563 stated that a man under age twenty-four “is wild, without judgment and not of sufficient experience to govern himself.” Much of this violence was conditioned by their exposure to extreme cruelty early in life. Throughout Europe, cats were stoned to death, and bulls and bears were baited and maimed, as were individuals accused of criminal offences. It was not unusual for crowds to see impaled men on stakes thrown to the ground to be eaten by dogs and crows. As Juan de Mariana of Toledo wrote in 1599, killing beasts brutally was a short step from killing men.

Finally, women throughout Europe were responsible for their own violent acts. These acts were accepted because of the perception of sex: women, ruled by their physical body rather than by rational capacity, and aggressive in their actions, possessed magical powers over men. This was seen in the role of women in murder, rape, and suicide in contemporary writing, prose fiction, and drama. Sexual violence became a defining element in male-female relations through rape, ravishment, and seduction. Older women were also active in violence, especially in Ireland, Holland, and France in riots and rebellions against communities and the state. In Germany they were as apt as men to be tortured by church or state for acts as of ill conduct. Their violence, however, was more pronounced in towns than in the countryside.

STATE-SPONSORED VIOLENCE

Meanwhile, institutions of the state, through war, interrogation, and the courts, became major players in dispensing acts of violence against their own and neighboring peoples. While unquantifiable, it would be safe to assume that interpersonal relations became more peaceful in the course of the early modern era, especially in the second half of the seventeenth century, but that society as a whole became more violent with the actions of city- and nation-states from the late sixteenth to the early eighteenth centuries.

The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were a time of ubiquitous violence unleashed by new nation-states. This was violence inflicted upon civilians by employed or discharged soldiers living in their midst; institutionalized violence such as torture and execution; violence associated with extra-legal dis-

pute resolution in the form of duels, feuds, and arbitration; interpersonal violence as assault, homicide, domestic violence, rape, and infanticide; group violence in the rituals of youth gangs, carnival, and sports; popular protest displayed in enclosure, food, and tax riots; and the organized crime of bandits and highwaymen. In the end, violence was never far from the consciousness of early modern Europeans.

War could be especially violent for civilian noncombatants. As Francesco Guicciardini wrote in 1525, “all political power is rooted in violence.” In the Schmalkaldic War of 1546–1547, Spanish troops suspended male civilians by their genitals, then tortured them to reveal where they had hidden their money and valuables; women and girls were raped. The link between personal and public violence was well expressed by Pierre de la Primaudaye in 1577: out of quarrels and dissension come sedition, civil, and open wars, and men, under the influence of war, “become savage.”

Violence was also a result of the growth of wealth in the era as it came to a few, while poverty worked its way into the many. Enclosure and the commercial cultivation of land caused rural depopulation and dearth, while swelling populations in towns and cities caused job competition and low salaries in an age of rising prices for food. Thus Leonardo da Vinci’s plan for an ideal town had upper walks for the gentility to protect them from the plebs. This idea came to symbolize one of the primary aims of the new seventeenth-century state: the suppression of disorder and the monopolization of violence in the form of ritualized public punishment. It proved workable in the new monarchies of France, Netherlands, and the British Isles, moderately feasible in Italian and German areas, and only partly possible in the Iberic world, Helvetic cities, and Nordic countries.

In the end, the dawn of the modern era of violence occurred in the late eighteenth century with the disintegration of monarchical governments and the rise of secular nation-states, organized bandits and brigades, and modern warfare. These institutions precipitated a professional police, central courts, and the prison as the royal power of the early modern era gave way to the state power of modern times. Thus the growth of the modern state from the sixteenth to the early eighteenth century con-

tributed to a shift in violence from personal to state controlled.

REGIONAL VARIATIONS

Europe comprises an area of diverse regions, and its geography has led to the work of the Annales School of quantitative research that has included violence as one of its subjects. In France and Italy, each region has a research leader and team. In other regions the focus has been on towns, as with the Burgundian, Flemish, Helvetic, Dutch, German, and Swiss. In the British Isles and Scandinavia, it has been a combination of both regions and towns. Most of the published research, however, has been on Italy, France, the Netherlands, Swiss and German towns, the British Isles, and Nordic countries. Results reveal that England, France, and the Netherlands were the most violent societies from the sixteenth to the mid-eighteenth century.

In England, there were various high points from the alleged execution of 70,000 rogues during the reign of Henry VII to the “crime wave” of the early 1600s. While criminal gangs were being eliminated and the violence of private warfare waged by the nobility was replaced with war in the courts (litigation), petty violence seems to have continued unabated, stimulated by the social and economic dislocations of the first agricultural and industrial revolution beginning in the late sixteenth century. In criminal acts, there was also a significant change from violent acts against persons (personal crime) to acts against property (property crime). But while noble violence was diluted by resort to the courts, violence was waged incessantly among the peasantry.

In Scandinavia, violence stemmed from personal conflicts, as is visible in the famous witch trials of the 1660s and 1670s that involved mostly old women. Here, in the Nordic countries, crimes of violence, especially lethal violence, underwent a major decline during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. As in England, violence became more tied to economic disputes, both rural and urban. Much of the violence caused by “honor” disappeared as disputes came to be resolved in nonviolent ways. However, by the late seventeenth century women came to be charged with one-third of all offenses because of sexual crimes that were first prosecuted during Reforma-

tion efforts to curb extramarital sex, infanticide, and witchcraft. Violent offenders were often goldsmiths, shoemakers, peasants, and farmhands; only soldiers were overrepresented after wars.

In poor and isolated regions of France, violence was directed downward, rarely upward, in the social order. Much of the violence was that of a riposte—informal justice administered by someone provoked into violent action. Here magistrates showed little interest in investigating popular traditions of “self-help.” A similar situation existed in Italy with the popular vendetta. This was demonstrated by the Zambardini family, who turned their victims into “dogmeat.” They dismembered corpses, leaving them unburied to be consumed by dogs or pigs, thereby denying their victims the rites of Christian burial and the hope of eternal salvation.

Regional variations also involved distinctions between violence in rural and urban settings. In the county of Essex, England, for example, the rate of interpersonal violence has been estimated as three times the national average. However, that may be due to the fact that Essex was the center of the Puritan movement, where local clergy were vigilant in having acts of violence reported, and where human acts previously regarded as nonviolent (such as child- and wife-beating) were now regarded as violent in nature and to be strongly condemned and eliminated. In major urban areas such as London, however, local authorities took a strong hand in highlighting major violent acts and creating institutions to reduce violence. Therefore, Londoners came to recognize the limits of terror with a new concern over violence associated with public hangings and their processions and public whippings in the streets; Londoners thus became advocates of the end of state-sponsored violence.

CONCLUSION

The historiography of violence has seen parallel developments with social history since the mid 1970s, where there are distinct typologies linked to politics and society and integrated into the wider historical context. Currently, there is an outpouring of theses, mostly on violence associated with homicide, infanticide, sexual offences, gender, dearth, and forms of punishment. Recent publications emphasize the role of the state, the deployment of central authority, and ideology. But there are few studies of vio-

lence from the view of the perpetrator, apart from London historians who have interpreted violent acts as strategies of the poor to aid their quest for survival in the eighteenth-century city.

See also **Assassination; Cities and Urban Life; Class, Status, and Order; Crime and Punishment; Duel; Passions; Police; Torture.**

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VIRTUE. Virtue refers to a valued human characteristic or to excellence, or to the sum of such qualities. Hence, the term has an inherently normative or evaluative connotation, since it selects out forms of knowledge and action that are approved and commended. The notion of virtue in Western thought stems from the Greek word *arete* as translated into the Latin *virtus*. The concept has a long history in Europe and was widely employed in a

number of contexts—social and political as well as moral—during the early modern period.

In its earliest Greek expressions, “virtue” denoted the superlative prowess of the heroic warrior and thus possessed both highly individualistic and gendered implications. Although the latter never fully disappeared (hence the etymological connection between virtue and virility, both derived from the root *vir*, ‘man’), the former was subsumed into the communal sphere with the rise of the classical polis. Virtue and the virtues came to be regarded in the city-states of the ancient world as coordinate with the laws and customs of a given community. Thinkers as diverse as Pythagoras, Plato, and Aristotle agreed that the moral character of the individual constituted a microcosm of the political character of the city. The Greeks commonly identified four so-called cardinal virtues—courage, wisdom, justice, and temperance—although they also upheld the worthiness of many other qualities.

The ancient Romans and the European Christians generally embraced both the private and the public aspects of virtue. The popularity of philosophical schools such as Stoicism and Epicureanism among cultivated Romans and the other-worldliness and asceticism of Christianity tended to locate forms of virtue in the individual and to promote the priority of personal happiness over public good. Yet the Romans (particularly in the period of the Republic) also hailed the sacrifices of leaders and fellow citizens who were motivated by purely civic goals. Likewise, medieval Christians expected that government would be conducted by rulers whose actions fully accorded with standards of earthly rectitude, justice primary among them. To the list of cardinal virtues came to be added the so-called Christian or theological virtues of faith, hope, and charity.

The conventional wisdom about the fate of virtue in modern Europe charts an arc of its repoliticization during the Renaissance (in the guise of so-called civic humanism), followed by a period of redefinition and disappearance from the public sphere occasioned by the Protestant Reformation, the emergence of liberalism, the rise of commercial society, and the spread of Enlightenment values. This interpretation requires some qualification, however, inasmuch as the process was less one of

straightforward decline than of complex transformation.

The association of the Renaissance itself (especially in Italy) with the glorification of civic-minded virtue—the ethos of sacrifice for the sake of one’s fellow citizens and city—shared by members of a community (the so-called “civic humanism” thesis pioneered by Hans Baron) has come under serious and deserved challenge. While it is true that many of the greatest humanists of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries embraced citizenship as the fullest expression of a virtuous human life, taking the Roman statesman-orator Cicero as their exemplar, others adopted alternative views. Praise of Caesar and the Roman Empire, and hence devaluation of civic virtue, was quite common among leading humanists. A further group of Renaissance thinkers maintained a more orthodox Christian account of virtue as essentially a mark of God’s grace or a trait that demonstrated one’s worthiness for salvation. Moreover, there was nothing essentially urban about the idea of public virtue as the foundation for a good state; such a view was as widespread at the courts of territorial monarchs as in the cities of the Italian peninsula. Conceptions of virtue in Renaissance thought simply lacked the uniformity implied by the civic humanism thesis as commonly stated.

Early modern Europe witnessed numerous attempts to redefine, challenge, or criticize both conventional public and private ideals of virtue. Perhaps the most famous example of this is Niccolò Machiavelli (1469–1527), who enjoys an infamous reputation for his attack on virtue, especially in its standard classical and Christian versions. In his *Il principe* (1513–1514; *The prince*), Machiavelli argues that virtue as taught by ancient philosophers and preached from pulpits is very often incompatible with effective use of political power. A ruler who seeks to govern according to the cardinal and theological virtues will lose his office, since others who are prepared to employ tactics that lack moral sanction will oust him in their own quest for position and glory. Machiavelli peppers his little book with tales of virtuous magistrates who have been ruined and vicious ones who have succeeded. According to Machiavelli, the only assurance that the prince can overcome the vicissitudes of politics is a readiness to act in a manner inconsistent with virtue when circumstances require it. The Machiavellian ruler is not

above counseling murder, deception, manipulation, and nearly every other mode of conventionally immoral conduct, if these acts prove efficient in maintaining hold on the levers of power. Machiavelli calls this moral flexibility *virtù* (the standard Italian word for ‘virtue’), thus apparently turning the conventional discourse of ethics on its head.

Yet Machiavelli is not guilty of “teaching evil,” despite the accusation made against him. In fact, his conception of *virtù* suggests that the ruler should always act according to commonplace virtue whenever he can do so without undermining his own power. Conventionally evil means should only be used when absolutely necessary, and even then the prince must do his best to ensure that people do not perceive him to be acting immorally, lest his reputation be harmed. Moreover, Machiavelli seems to think that this advice pertains only in the case of holders of public office; Machiavellian *virtù* is, one might say, a distinctively political way of acting, not to be commended to private persons in their interactions with one another. Nor ought it be forgotten that in his own political loyalties and other political writings, Machiavelli stood for a republican conception of civic virtue that lauded the sacrifice of personal goals and desires for the sake of attaining the communal glory of one’s city.

Machiavelli was not alone among early modern European authors in reformulating ideas about virtue inherited from the classical and Christian past. For example, many humanists posed questions about the connection between virtue and nobility as it had customarily been conceived. In this period, as in early times, blood and birth were regarded as bestowing nobility upon an individual, and nobility in turn qualified a person to wield power and rule over natural inferiors. But humanist writers proposed that virtue alone prepared men for political office, since those who were most virtuous were most likely to act for the common good. Hence, it was the virtuous who possessed true nobility (*vera nobilitas*), and virtue was by no means coextensive with paternity and landed wealth. In Italy and even more noticeably in northern Europe, invocations of virtue could easily be translated into challenges to the cherished principle that some people were “naturally born” to rule.

Another modification of traditional conceptions of virtue came with the continuing commercialization of European economic relations and social values. Whereas for the ancient philosophers and medieval Christian theologians the private accumulation of liquid wealth had been widely viewed as incompatible with virtue, early modern authors began to reevaluate this doctrine. Some thinkers, such as the Italian civic humanists Leonardo Bruni (c. 1370–1444) and Gian Francesco Poggio Bracciolini (1380–1459), contended that citizens should proudly acknowledge industriousness and self-acquired possessions as the foundation of morality and the greatness of their cities. Other authors went further. The Dutch-born Bernard de Mandeville (1670–1733) proposed in his *Fable of the Bees* (1714/1729) the famous principle that private vices yield public goods, which is to say that the pursuit of personal gain, and indeed the desire for comfort and luxury, lead directly to the enrichment of society as a whole and the consequent benefit of all its members.

In spite of recent claims that the Enlightenment project of grounding morality on human reason alone led to the erosion of virtue-based ethics, thinkers of the eighteenth century continued to uphold virtue as central to the worthwhile human life. The central document of the Enlightenment, the *Encyclopédie* (1751–1758) compiled by Denis Diderot and Jean Le Rond d’Alembert, treated virtue as an indwelling sense given to all members of mankind universally and without exception and thus invariable in its content across time and place. While the *Discours sur l’origine et les fondements de l’inégalité parmi les hommes* (1755; Discourse on the origins of inequality) and the *Émile* (1762) of Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778) seem to treat the conventional virtues as affectations imposed artificially and detrimentally upon naturally good humanity, their author still insisted upon virtue as indispensable for a free society. Using language that any civic republican might endorse, Rousseau stipulated in *Discours sur l’économie politique* (1755; A discourse on political economy) that virtue is realized when citizens conform their particular wills to the determinations of the general will. While the discourse of virtue may have been further transformed during the early Enlightenment, it by no means disappeared.

See also *Encyclopédie*; Enlightenment; Machiavelli, Niccolò; Political Philosophy; Rousseau, Jean-Jacques.

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CARY J. NEDERMAN

VITALISM. See Matter, Theories of.

VIVALDI, ANTONIO (1678–1741), Venetian composer and violinist. Vivaldi produced numerous instrumental and vocal works during his lifetime, but he is best known for his concertos for a diverse group of instruments. An important and influential musician during his career, his music figured prominently in the baroque revival of the 1950s and 1960s.

Born in Venice on 4 March 1678, Vivaldi suffered from what was described as *strettezza di petto* (tightness of the chest), which was probably bron-



Antonio Vivaldi. Portrait by an unknown artist. DAMIANO/GETTY IMAGES

chial asthma. This illness plagued him throughout his life and exerted a strong influence on his personal and professional behavior. Vivaldi studied the violin with his father, and he was also trained as a priest, but his asthma prevented him from effectively saying mass. Because of the red hair he inherited from his father, Vivaldi was known throughout his career as *il prete rosso* ('The Red Priest').

In September 1703, Vivaldi accepted his first position, as *maestro di violino* for the Pio Ospedale della Pietà, one of four "hospitals" established in Venice to care for poor orphaned children, and he would remain intermittently associated with this institution for much of his career. Musical training was an integral part of the curriculum for the young girls at all of the *ospedali*, and Vivaldi's responsibilities included teaching violin, buying new instruments, and maintaining the collection. He was dismissed from this position on 24 February 1709—the first of several dismissals and rehiring, largely the result of the precarious financial conditions at the hospital—but used the freedom to meet both

George Frideric Handel (1685–1759) and Domenico Scarlatti (1685–1757), who were in Venice at the time, and to begin writing operas. He returned to the Pietà in 1711, becoming *maestro de' concerti* in 1716, and successfully produced sacred and instrumental music, including trio sonatas, violin sonatas, the set of twelve concertos for one, two, and four violins called *L'estro armonico* (1711), and the oratorio *Juditha Triumphans* (1716).

Vivaldi spent 1718–1720 in Mantua, devoting himself to opera composition, and later traveled to Rome to produce three operas for the 1723 and 1724 carnivals, but he also wrote 140 concertos for the Pietà. Among these are *Il cimento dell'armonia e dell'invenzione* (in which we find his most famous work, the violin concerto *The Four Seasons* [*Le quattro stagioni*]), *La Cetra*, flute and string concertos, and *Il pastor fido*.

Vivaldi's questionable relationship with the singer Anna Girò and her half-sister Paolina dates from this period. Vivaldi vigorously denied all accusations of sexual impropriety, but the widespread rumors had a detrimental effect on his career and reputation.

Between 1729 and 1735 Vivaldi traveled widely to Vienna, Prague, and several Italian cities to supervise productions of his operas, and he ultimately returned to Vienna at the age of sixty-two, in the hope of securing patronage from Charles VI. His efforts met with limited success, and he died on 28 July 1741, receiving a pauper's funeral at Vienna's Cathedral of St. Stephen.

Vivaldi was extraordinarily prolific, producing over five hundred concertos for almost every combination of instruments, solo and trio sonatas, instrumental sinfonias, and an impressive body of sacred music, including oratorios, masses and motets. Twenty-one of his operas have survived, at least in part, although their full artistic and dramatic power has yet to be evaluated.

Vivaldi's highly distinctive and recognizable musical style had a profound impact on his contemporaries and future composers such as Giuseppe Tartini (1692–1770). His greatest influence was in the development of the concerto. Vivaldi has been credited with inventing or at least regularizing “ritornello form,” usually employed in fast movements, in which a “refrain” played by the full en-

semble alternates with freer, modulatory episodes played by the solo instruments. His deft coordination of melody and harmony was much admired by Johann Sebastian Bach (1685–1750), who absorbed Italian style through his study and transcription of Vivaldi's concertos and trio-sonatas; this influence is particularly apparent in Bach's *Brandenburg Concertos*. Other distinctive elements of Vivaldi's style include a fluid alternation of major and minor tonalities, a highly progressive use of dissonance and rich harmonies, and an innate melodic gift, particularly in slow movements. His vocal music has been criticized for perfunctory text-setting and violinistic vocal writing, but there are examples of great skill and inspiration in this genre, such as his *Gloria* (RV 588) or *Magnificat* (RV 610), and his virtuosic and highly expressive motets for solo voice. Vivaldi was unquestionably a master orchestrator who explored the idiomatic potential of the many instruments for which he wrote. *The Four Seasons*, for example, not only illustrates his skill in writing for the virtuoso violinist, but also his ability to depict extramusical or programmatic ideas in a manner that anticipates the Romantic era.

See also Bach Family; Music; Venice.

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WENDY HELLER, MARK KROLL

VIVES, JUAN LUIS (1492–1540), sixteenth-century Spanish humanist. Juan Luis Vives spent most of his life outside Spain. Born in Valencia to a family of Jewish converts to Christianity, Vives began his studies in his native city but eventually chose to move to Paris in 1509, possibly fearing the Inquisition, whose severity would eventually take a toll on his family. In Paris he studied in the colleges

of Beauvais and Montaigne along with other Spanish scholars like himself. In 1512 Vives left Paris and settled in Bruges, which he would call his home for the rest of his life. In 1516 the scholar from Valencia met Erasmus of Rotterdam, an encounter that initiated a decades-long association between the two and helped bring Vives into the circle of humanist thought.

In 1519 Vives was teaching at the University of Louvain, where, under Erasmus's influence, he undertook one of his most important works, a commentary on St. Augustine's *City of God*, published in Basel in 1522 and dedicated to Henry VII of England. It seems Vives's fame was extensive, for that same year he was offered a chair at Spain's prestigious University of Alcalá, recently vacant due to the death of the godfather of Spanish humanists, Antonio de Nebrija. He refused the honor and instead found himself one year later in England, teaching at Corpus Christi College, Oxford. He was named tutor to the princess Mary and reader to the queen, Catherine of Aragon, by Henry VIII. In 1523 he dedicated his *De Institutione Feminae Christianae* (On the education of a Christian woman) to the queen. His relationship with the royal family would become complicated, however, when he sided with Catherine in the dispute over Henry VIII's wish to divorce her for Anne Boleyn. Although he did not lose his life, as did his friend Sir Thomas More, Vives was eventually banished from England by the king. By then a married man, Vives returned to Bruges in 1528, where he would remain until the end of his life, resuming his post as professor at Louvain.

A prolific writer, Vives focused his formidable intelligence on a wide range of subjects. He had specific ideas about education, to which he devoted a number of works, railing against the utilitarian concept of knowledge as information as well as the idea of studying in order to obtain fame. In *De Institutione Feminae Christianae*, he defended the education of women, but it would be an exaggeration to label him a proto-feminist. Perhaps one of the best-known traits of Vives's thought is his criticism of a type of Scholasticism that had degenerated into a fixation on dialectics and syllogisms. In his monumental encyclopedia *De Disciplines Libri XX* (1531; Twenty books on the disciplines) Vives insisted that dialectics be subordinated to the other



Juan Luis Vives. Anonymous sixteenth-century portrait.
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branches of philosophy such as morals and metaphysics. He also leveled frequent criticisms at his contemporaries' slavish reliance on ancient philosophical authorities to the detriment of the exercise of human reason, though he always did so with a genuine respect for Aristotle and his commentator Thomas Aquinas.

Vives's treatise *De Anima et Vita* (1538; On the soul and life) is recognized as a foundational text in the study of the inner life of the human being. In Vives's view, in order to know the soul, one must study its operations and functions, a study that is founded on a thorough knowledge of earthly life in its different forms. The third book of *De Anima et Vita*, an examination of the passions, takes much of its inspiration from the Scholasticism of Thomas Aquinas, but it has also gained Vives a place among the precursors of modern psychology, thanks to its employment of introspection and self-observation.

Thoroughly interested in the affairs of his times, Vives was an avid letter writer and corresponded with kings, cardinals, and emperors. Later dubbed a pacifist because of his desire for peace among peo-

ples and his special concern for ending the fratricidal wars afflicting Europe, Vives also pointed out the threat to Christendom posed by Turkish expansion in the Mediterranean in works such as *De Conditione Vitae Christianorum sub Turca* (On the conditions of Christians under the Turks).

Though an educator by vocation, Vives was also a commercially successful author, and some of his most popular works were dedicated to the subject of Christian apologetics and devotion. His last book, which he was working on at the time of his death in 1540, was entitled *De Veritate Fidei Christianae* (On the truth of the Christian faith).

See also Erasmus, Desiderius; Henry VIII (England); Humanists and Humanism; More, Thomas; Scholasticism

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VIZIER. Vizier, ‘helper’ or ‘deputy’, a term first employed in the Koran, evolved to mean ‘chief minister’ in early Islamic history, possibly becoming an office of Arab administration with the Abbasid Caliph al-Mahdi (775–785). The title vizier was applied widely as an honorific for representatives of the caliph or sultan. The term “grand vizier” denoted those chief, or prime, ministers who served the Ottoman sultans from 1300 to 1923.

ORIGINS OF THE INSTITUTION

The Perso-Turkish word vizier (also “vezir,” or “vizier”) originates in the Arabic *wazīr*, and appears in the Koranic verse “We gave Moses the book and made his brother Aaron his wazīr,” (Koran, chapter XXV: 35), denoting a helper. Viziers quickly assumed the role of second-in-command in early Islamic history, the most famous among the Abbasids being the Barmakid family of advisers and secretaries under Caliph Harun al-Rashid (786–809). By the eleventh century, the power and obligations of the vizier were delineated in Muslim administrative manuals, which frequently described the office as subordinate only to the caliph or sultan. Vizierial households, in imitation of those of caliph or sultan, became centers of tremendous wealth, ostentation, and intellectual and artistic patronage. The tension between the two most powerful figures of Muslim courts, the ruler and his vizier, is one of the most common struggles represented in early histories and transmitted into western literature, as Shakespeare’s *Othello* attests.

The title of vizier could be differentiated, as it was under the Fatimid dynasty in Egypt (969–1171), and was sometimes carried by military officials, who developed an independence of action in the latter years of that dynasty. In Muslim Spain (Andalusia), where the term *bājīb* was the equivalent of vizier, multiple viziers abounded, with as few as ten or as many as twenty-nine in place at one time

In Persia, viziers were perceived as servants of the ruler rather than the state, and often they were charged with overseeing financial affairs. Mahmud,

founder of the Ghaznavids (998–1030), had six viziers, of whom three were dismissed and died violently, two were dismissed and stripped of their wealth, and the sixth executed; such treatment was testimony to the hazards of the position. Inheritors of Ghaznavid court practices, both the Seljuk and the Ottoman dynasties maintained the office as a well-defined and extremely powerful position. Of special note is Nizam al-Mulk (vizier 1063–1092), who served two Seljuk sultans and exercised the greatest of powers of any vizier up to that time. Beyond tending to the general affairs of the sultan, Nizam al-Mulk was also responsible for religious affairs and for diplomatic relations with foreign rulers. He also on occasion led the army on campaign. Nizam al-Mulk amassed legendary wealth and armies of slaves, founded an educational system known as the Nizamiya, and compiled one of the best-known pre-Ottoman manuals on administrative practice, *Siyasetname* (The Book of government).

GRAND VIZIERS UNDER THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

Historians have made much of the Seljuk and Ottoman practice of staffing the administration from non-Turkish stock, as was the case with Nizam al-Mulk. The Ottomans, especially after the conquest of Istanbul in 1453, were also inclined to choose the grand vizier from its officials who had been conscripted and converted from the Christian populations of the Balkans (called *kul kapikulu*, ‘slaves of the court’); these were mainly Albanian or Serbian peoples. After the 1550s, when the Ottomans colonized Hungary, Croats and Hungarians populated the *kul* ranks. Similarly, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, sultans Selim III (ruled 1789–1807) and Mahmud II (ruled 1808–1839) preferred Georgians or Circassians for their grand viziers, since the trans-Caucasus region was then a ready source of slaves. Ethnic preferences may have influenced the sultans’ choice of servants, but at least in the early days of the empire, the administrative experience of the non-Turkic populations was especially valued. In any case, unquestioning loyalty was seen as more forthcoming from slave converts than from freeborn Muslims.

Under the Ottomans, as elsewhere, the title of vizier distinguished lesser officers of the empire, often in hierarchical order (as part of the *erkân-i*

devlet, ‘pillars of the state’, of the *divan-i hümayun*, ‘imperial council’), but grand vizier or *sadrâzam* (also *vizier-i azam*) was the most powerful officer after the sultan. Before 1453, the grand vizier was appointed from among the religious class and was often a judge (*kadi* or *kazi*). Between 1385 and 1453, the Candarli family held the office, and all were judges. After 1453, the *kul*, military rather than religious men with expertise in financial and chancery affairs, dominated the office (Inalcik, p. 195). Palace factions of new sultans tended to influence the appointments of the grand vizier, and there was frequently a complete restaffing of the bureaucracy after a new accession. In the second half of the seventeenth century, a severe crisis led the sultan to grant Grand Vizier Mehmed Köprülü extraordinary powers, and a separate administrative office, the Babiali (the Sublime Porte), was created to restore the stability of the empire. For half a century, the Köprülü family dominated the office, reorganized the economy, restored order throughout Ottoman territories, and dealt increasingly with foreign affairs. Grand viziers in the eighteenth century were often appointed after serving as *reisülküttab* (head of the chancery, later foreign affairs minister). Especially notable was Koca Ragib Pasha (ruled 1757–1763), who served two sultans after negotiating earlier treaties with Nadir Shah of Persia and the Habsburgs at Belgrade in 1739. Koca Ragib associated with a large circle of intellectuals and built his personal library, which was opened to the public and still operates in Istanbul.

The grand vizier led all military campaigns after 1700 and served as head of the imperial council, where he and the other viziers, as the primary representatives of the sultan’s authority, discussed state affairs. Many viziers married daughters and sisters of the sultan and were subsequently called *damad*, ‘bridegroom’, acquired rights to revenues of vast estates, and were granted stature matched only by that of the royal house. Some, such as the famous Damad Ibrahim Pasha, who was grand vizier to Suleiman the Magnificent (ruled 1520–1566) from 1523 to 1536, lost their lives when they overstepped their bounds in emulating the sultan. The office was always precariously secured and held and very often ended with confiscation of wealth, exile, and/or death. By the mid-nineteenth century, the power and prestige of the vizier had declined; the

office had assumed the proportions of a modern-day minister.

See also **Ottoman Empire; Sultan.**

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VIRGINIA H. AKSAN

VOLTAIRE (François-Marie Arouet; 1694–1778), French philosopher, historian, dramatist, and poet. Voltaire was born in Paris 21 November 1694, the son of a successful notary. A prolific philosopher, historian, and writer in numerous genres and a tireless champion of freedom of thought and expression, no figure better represents the spirit of the French Enlightenment than Voltaire.

Three years after the death of his mother (née Marguerite Daumard), Voltaire entered the Jesuit Collège Louis-le-Grand in Paris, in 1704, where he spent the next seven years. Following his studies, Voltaire frequented the libertine society of the Temple and began to exercise his literary talents by composing satirical light verse as well as his first play, *Oedipe*, completed in manuscript in 1715. In 1716 Voltaire was exiled from Paris because of an epigram against the regent, and in May 1717 was sent to the Bastille, accused of further inflammatory writings. Shortly after his release, *Oedipe* was staged

in November 1718, its brilliant success making him an overnight celebrity, considered France's preeminent poet. It was at this point that he adopted the name Monsieur de Voltaire, not only a *nom de plume* but also an index of his lifelong aristocratic aspirations.

The self-styled nobleman received a harsh but transformative lesson in 1726, when following a quarrel with the chevalier de Rohan, Voltaire once again found himself imprisoned in the Bastille and then was exiled to England for two years. Rightly or wrongly, Voltaire saw in England a model of political freedom and, above all, religious tolerance, which was to result in his hugely popular and influential *English Letters* (published first in England in 1733, in English and French versions, then in France in 1734). During his British sojourn, Voltaire, having acquired reasonable competence in English, read numerous English writers and thinkers, but it was above all the works of John Locke and Isaac Newton that earned his enduring admiration.

While a number of biographers and critics have overstated the intellectual impact England was to have on Voltaire—his deism and skepticism certainly predated his exile—it is clear that England had the effect of consolidating his militant opposition to intolerance and dogma in politics and religion, and just as importantly, made him a partisan of British sensualism (in Locke), and the "new philosophy" of scientific method (in Newton and his precursor, Francis Bacon). In France Voltaire became the greatest popularizer of Newtonian physics (publishing *Elements of Newton's Philosophy* in 1738) and a driving force behind the Enlightenment's anti-metaphysical, positivistic, and scientific bent in which the Cartesian rationalism of the French classical age gave way to the influence of English empiricism.

The English exile set the stage not only for Voltaire's abiding philosophical concerns but also for a life spent mostly outside Paris. From 1734 he lived at Cirey with his mistress, Émilie du Châtelet, until her death in 1749. For a number of years prior to her death, Frederick the Great of Prussia (ruled 1740–1786) had sought to bring Voltaire to Potsdam and Berlin, and in 1750 Voltaire took up the offer; but the nearly three years he spent with Frederick ended in bitter disillusionment for both par-



Voltaire. Portrait after Maurice Quentin La Tour. THE ART ARCHIVE/MUSÉE DU CHÂTEAU DE VERSAILLES

ties. After five years moving from one side of the Franco-Swiss border to the other, in 1759 he purchased the chateau of Ferney, just outside Geneva, which over the years he built into a sprawling estate, home to various cottage industries that added to his already considerable fortune, and a cultural crossroads where Voltaire hosted innumerable guests. He lived and worked there until the last year of his life. In February 1778, he returned to Paris to produce his last play, *Irène*, and his triumphant return to the capital was a legendary moment in French cultural history, so overwhelming that the eighty-four-year-old Voltaire remarked that he was being “killed with glory.” After a long life of notorious ill health and hypochondria, he died during the night of 30 May.

Today Voltaire is read above all as a philosopher—in the restricted sense that word had in the French eighteenth century—and as an acerbic social critic who railed against injustice, metaphysical absurdity of every ilk, clerical abuse, prejudice, and superstition. Those threads came together bril-

liantly in his 1759 philosophical tale, *Candide*, in which he lambasted the idealist doctrine of pre-established harmony and the “best of all possible worlds” promulgated by Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz and his followers Alexander Pope and Christian Wolff. *Candide* was written largely in response to the death of thirty thousand victims of the 1755 Lisbon earthquake and as an exposition of the problems raised in his hastily drafted 1755 *Poem on the Lisbon Disaster*. In response to the question of evil, Voltaire abandoned any claim on a metaphysical explanation of human affairs, proposing instead that we “cultivate our garden,” that is, that we focus on local and practical concerns, faced with an order of experience that may in some sense be providential but whose mechanism escapes our reason. Voltaire had explored the problem of theodicy and providence in his earlier tale, *Zadig* (1747), which along with *Micromégas* (1752) and more than twenty other philosophical tales, made Voltaire the master of one of the French Enlightenment’s most fecund and innovative literary forms.

Yet Voltaire thought of himself perhaps more as a poet, playwright, and historian than as the mordant satirist acknowledged today. His career began and ended with the theater; in between, he produced a dozen or so plays, with varying degrees of success. Today they are rarely read or staged. From the light verse of his youth to the epic *Henriad* and the bawdy *Maid of Orleans*, the epicurean *Mondain*, and his *Poem on Natural Law*, among many others, poetry also held a central place in his oeuvre. In the domain of history, Voltaire (who was appointed royal historiographer in 1745 and elected to the French Academy in 1746) composed works on Charles XII, Louis XIV, and Louis XV. As with his plays and poetry, these books are today little read. Other works of nonfiction have fared better: the *Essay on Manners* (1754), the *Treatise on Tolerance* (1763, written after Voltaire had intervened in the Calas affair, in which a Protestant man was wrongfully executed on the charge of killing his son who wished to convert to Catholicism), and the *Philosophical Dictionary* (first volume published 1764) remain enduring classics.

Voltaire’s overwhelming importance and influence in the eighteenth century lie in his promotion of the force of reason and justice, his ironic wit, and his unparalleled skills as a propagandist of the ideals

of the Enlightenment. In a career ranging from the end of the reign of Louis XIV to the reign of the last king of the *ancien régime*, Voltaire was France's clearest, most prolific, and most enduring voice of dissent.

See also *Encyclopédie*; Enlightenment; French Literature and Language; Philosophes.

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VOUET, SIMON (1590–1649), French painter. Since the late seventeenth century, most historians of French art have justifiably considered Vouet to be the founder of the early modern school of French painting. Born in Paris, the son of a minor court painter and grandson of the Master of the King's Falcons, Vouet was a child prodigy who was perfectly situated to receive the best possible exposure to great works of art, and the best training, which probably began with his father. At the age of fourteen he was already recognized as a successful portraitist, and at the age of twenty-two he was

selected by the crown to travel to Constantinople with the French ambassador to paint portraits of important foreign dignitaries.

On his return from the Near East, Vouet traveled through Italy and settled in Rome, which was at that time the center of the art world. There, like so many artists of his generation, he painted in a Carravaggesque mode, but one that sought to infuse this tenebrist approach with delicacy and refinement (*St. Jerome and the Angel*, c. 1622, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.). His commissions at this time included altarpieces or complete decorations for the Raggi Chapel of the Gesù in Genoa, the Alaleoni Chapel in St. Lorenzo in Lucina in Rome, and the Charter House of St. Martin in Naples. He achieved so much success in Rome that in 1624 he became the first non-Italian to be elected director, or prince, of the Accademia di San Luca, where his insistence on a solid grounding in principles of good draftsmanship—that is, figure drawing—was greatly admired. Cardinal Richelieu and Louis XIII kept a close watch on this precocious talent by supporting him in Rome, and by 1626, he was offered a *brevet du roi*, accompanied by a lucrative pension and suitably noble housing in the Louvre for himself, his family, and his atelier.

Upon his return to Paris in late 1627, knowing that Carravaggio (1571–1610) and his followers were never really appreciated in the French capital, Vouet gradually altered his manner. During his four-month stop in Venice on his return journey from Rome, he modified his heavy chiaroscuro with the grace, fluidity, and color of northern Italian painting. As a result, Vouet became unequaled in Paris for grand decorative painting, where slightly elongated monumental figures with swirling draperies slowly float across the surfaces of his large canvases (*Allegory of Wealth*, Louvre, Paris). His manner was an astute blend of sixteenth-century mannerist French court art at Fontainebleau, the Romano-Bolognese classicism of the Carracci, the naturalism of Carravaggio, and the extravagant color, lively facture, and dazzling light of sixteenth-century Venetian artists. The genius of Vouet's elegant inventions was conveyed by the power of his draftsmanship, as is evident in the numerous drawings that survive. Most of them are elegant figure studies that reveal his use of firm, sweeping contours



Simon Vouet. *St. Jerome and the Angel*, c. 1622. NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART, WASHINGTON, D.C.

that effortlessly render the human form in motion. Only a small number of composition studies enable us to comprehend the genesis of his designs.

Vouet's ever-increasing success led to numerous ecclesiastic commissions for altarpieces (St. Nicolas-des-Champs, St. Eustache, and the Novitiate of the Jesuits), and an even greater number of royal and private commissions for both religious and secular decorations at the Louvre, the Palais Royal, the Palais du Luxembourg, the Hôtel Séguier and the chateaux at Chilly, Chessy, Fontainebleau, Poitou, Rueil, Saint-Germain-en-Laye, and Wideville. Being in such demand required an increasing number of skilled hands in a remarkably organized studio. His extraordinarily busy atelier utilized, trained, and influenced more than a generation of painters and printmakers. These artists included François Perrier, Nicolas Chaperon, Charles Poërsen, Pierre Daret, Michel I Corneille, Noël

Quillerier, François Bellin, Pierre Patel l'aîné, Eustache Le Sueur, Michel Dorigny (1616–1665), and François Torteбат (1616–1690). These last two became his sons-in-law and made etching or prints of many of his works. As each of these artists matured, they actively participated in the master's vast decorative campaigns. A generation later, the possibilities of this well-run enterprise would be taken to even greater heights by his most famous student, Charles Le Brun, in the service of Louis XIV.

Unfortunately, most of Vouet's decorative ensembles have been destroyed or dismantled. However, well aware of his posterity, Vouet owned his own printing press and was granted a royal privilege to replicate his designs. This encouraged an atmosphere of experimentation with printmaking that led Perrier, Dorigny, Torteбат, and others to inter-

pret in etchings and engravings a large portion of his most celebrated commissions.

See also Caravaggio and Caravaggism; Carracci Family; Le Brun, Charles; Louis XIII (France); Mannerism; Painting; Richelieu, Armand-Jean Du Plessis, cardinal.

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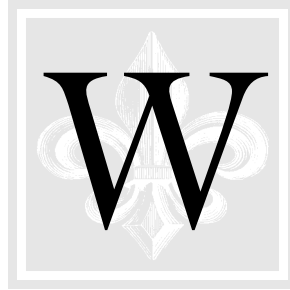
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WAGES. The history of wages in early modern Europe is a study of contrasts. To begin with, most people toiled on family farms or in family enterprises. Hence wages were a dominant part of income for only a small fraction of the population. Nevertheless, hiring workers for wages and working for someone else part of the time were extremely common. The tension between these two facts has informed the two key debates about wages in the early modern period. The first debate, accepting the ubiquity of paid labor, uses wages to infer standards of living and thus examine Malthusian cycles. The second debate involves both the extent of wage labor and the institutions that made it respond or not respond to the laws of supply and demand.

In 1798, the British social theorist Thomas Malthus (1766–1834) argued that in agrarian economies (agriculture absorbed two-thirds of all workers in nearly all European regions prior to 1800) incomes depended on the ratio of land to population. More land allowed higher output per person; more people drove down the output per person. Because land rents increase when land is scarce, wages are even more sensitive to scarcity than output per person. This narrative has been adopted, with slight variation, by many different scholars who believe that these iron laws held firm for millennia. For some, these shackles were eventually broken by the increased use of coal, for others by access to the agricultural output of the New World, or even by technical change broadly defined and dated to sometime in the mid-eighteenth cen-

tury. From the time of the Black Death (mid-fourteenth century) to the 1750s, wage series did follow a broad Malthusian pattern. In England, for instance, wages started from a low in the mid-1300s, rose for nearly a century and a half in response to the epidemic's massive mortality rate, then fell for an equally long time, bottoming out in the seventeenth century. The rise of wages in the eighteenth century was not pronounced, but wage stability in the face of massive population growth was nonetheless an important achievement. Bits and pieces of this story can be seen in all European countries, though each in its fashion raises questions about the standard Malthusian model.

In recent years, Malthus has been under strong challenge. First, as Van Zanden states, wages are not income. At the individual level, nonwage compensation—from common rights, or home manufacture, for instance—was an important element of most families' income in the early modern period. At the national level, earnings from land, capital, skills, and entrepreneurship were of considerable value, even though their distribution was quite different from that of wages. As the recent historical record suggests, economies can experience massive growth without witnessing much real wage increase for the unskilled. In the past as in the present, one should investigate wages with some concern for inequality.

Second, and more problematic, is the evidence that comes from examining regional patterns in wages. Regional variation in wages at any point in time is of the same order of magnitude as the two-

century variation in wages of a local Malthusian cycle. If we compare high wage regions to low wage regions Malthus's theory fails again. In fact, high population areas did not have low wages. On the contrary, economically leading areas were most often very densely populated relative to the European hinterland. Northern Italy, the Low Countries, and England all were or became densely populated in their period of economic leadership; and they were all also high wage economies. Economic historians now argue that Malthus's emphasis on endowments and demography explained in part the evolution of economies and wages. Political institutions and economic institutions have at least as much importance.

The second debate arrays two sides. On one side scholars argue that families in the early modern era preferred self-sufficiency to the uncertainty or unfairness of market interaction. Therefore they avoided labor markets. These scholars also argue that, unlike in modern society, workers and their employers were enmeshed in a web of social relations that only capitalism would break. In this view, labor exchange was relational rather than market-driven. In such a situation, one would prefer to employ an acquaintance at a higher wage rather than hire an outsider for less. In contrast, the argument continues, modern factory workers have no social relations either with management or with the distant shareholders of the corporation they work for; hence wages are free to reflect the iron law of supply and demand.

That view has come under repeated challenge. In part, this is because the arguments that seek to differentiate early modern from modern labor markets have been made on unsound quantitative evidence and are based on a very naive view of how labor markets operate. When scholars take into account that labor markets are always imperfect, differences between those of the preindustrial and contemporary eras cease to be differences in kind.

The market-avoidance argument fails for empirical reasons: only a small fraction of farms and enterprises were the right size to have an exact balance between their labor demand and their family labor supply. Imbalances arose for different reasons, including seasonal peaks in labor demand at harvest, the demographic cycle in crafts, and the difficulty of adjusting farm size to family size. Therefore many,

probably most, families either bought or sold days of labor, earning or paying wages. These wages did reflect supply and demand, rising in summer as demand for labor increased, and falling when population growth was rapid and during bad harvests, when the amount of work was reduced, and so on.

There were some important exceptions. For instance, in eastern Europe the strengthening of serfdom stymied labor markets. But there were other areas, like the Low Countries, where wage labor was quite prevalent by the end of the Middle Ages. Overall, the extent of wage labor seems to have paralleled the extent of markets in general: where trade and commerce were more active, one could observe more active labor markets.

See also Capitalism; Commerce and Markets; Laborers; Servants.

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WALLENSTEIN, A. W. E. VON (originally Waldstein; 1583–1634), Bohemian noble, soldier, and statesman who played an important role in the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648). Albrecht Wenzel Eusebius von Wallenstein was born in Bohemia (today the Czech Republic). Given a Protestant upbringing, he converted to Catholicism in 1606. In 1609, his Jesuit confessor arranged his marriage to a wealthy widow who may have been some ten years his senior. When she died in 1614, he inherited all her estates. During the Bohemian rebellion that began in 1618, he remained loyal to the ruler, the Holy Roman emperor Ferdinand II (ruled 1619–1637), and profited enormously from the latter's victory over the rebels. He was appointed governor of the kingdom of Bohemia and bought up a large number of confiscated estates so that he came to possess most of northeastern Bohemia. These estates were consolidated into Friedland, of which he became duke in 1623.

In 1625, when the emperor decided to raise an army of his own to counter the threat from Christian IV of Denmark (ruled 1596–1648), Wallenstein was the obvious choice to be commander in chief; he was appointed on 7 April. It is often said that he raised and paid for this army at his own expense, and there is certainly some truth to it: he was able to put together a force of over 24,000 without recourse to the imperial treasury. His great

personal wealth and his ability to obtain loans were important factors, but Wallenstein's primary aim was to sustain his forces with requisitions from any territory they occupied. He also used his duchy of Friedland as a source of supplies.

During the Danish phase of the war (1625–1629), Wallenstein enjoyed considerable military success. He defeated the Protestant commander, Count Ernst of Mansfeld, at Dessau in 1626, and early in 1627 he marched into Holstein and Jutland (the Danish mainland) before turning east into Mecklenburg and Pomerania. The dukes of Mecklenburg had supported Christian IV, so the emperor deprived them of their titles, transferred their confiscated estates to Wallenstein (February 1627), and the following year made him the sole duke of Mecklenburg (January 1628). This arbitrary move caused some disquiet among all hereditary rulers.

The campaign of 1628 was anticlimactic. The complete defeat of Denmark turned out to be an impossibility: although the emperor appointed Wallenstein "General of the Oceanic and Baltic Seas" in February 1628, without a fleet the Danish islands were beyond his reach. He attempted to capture the port of Stralsund in the summer of 1628 (May–July), but without success. Although he defeated Christian again at Wolgast in September, Wallenstein warned the emperor that if peace were not made, Sweden might undertake a full intervention. He also warned that the cost of maintaining his 100,000-strong army was placing an intolerable burden on the north German states. Peace was made at Lübeck (July 1629).

Wallenstein's success and his financial exactions from friend and foe alike created enormous resentment and, with the coming of what was thought to be peace, the princes turned on him at the Electoral Diet in Regensburg and made a formal request for his dismissal on 16 July 1630. Surprisingly, Ferdinand agreed to comply; the general was dismissed on 13 August. Equally surprising was the fact that Wallenstein also complied. Indeed, it would appear that he had come to feel that the maintenance of such a large army was unsustainable and greeted the end of his responsibility with relief. Although there are some indications that Ferdinand had come to distrust his general, his dismissal deprived the em-

peror of military power just as he faced invasion from the Swedish king, Gustavus II Adolphus.

The success of Gustavus II Adolphus in 1631 forced the emperor to recall Wallenstein, and he was appointed commander in chief (with considerable powers) once again in April 1632. Although he was not victorious at the Battle of Lützen in November, the death of the Swedish king in that battle created a new political situation. Surprisingly, Wallenstein did not go on the offensive, but sought to conduct negotiations with all concerned parties in an effort to bring peace (and probably to obtain territory and titles for himself). However, his independence, his alleged double-dealing, his reliance on astrological predictions, and his bizarre behavior (it was asserted that on arrival in any town he ordered all dogs and cats to be killed because he did not like the noise they made) undermined his credibility with everyone. By now he had become a liability to the emperor, who saw him as a traitorous conspirator (and dispensable now that Spanish aid was imminent). Accordingly, in January 1634 he ordered Wallenstein's capture (or liquidation), and the following month he was assassinated—by an Englishman, an Irishman, and a Scotsman.

Wallenstein was the most important military entrepreneur in the Thirty Years' War, and his alleged treason and murder have overshadowed the considerable success he had in his first imperial generalship (1625–1630), when he raised the emperor to the zenith of his power. An enigmatic figure, his life became the subject of a dramatic trilogy by the German poet, Johann Christoph Friedrich von Schiller.

See also Ferdinand II (Holy Roman Empire); Gustavus II Adolphus (Sweden); Lübeck; Schiller, Johann Christoph Friedrich von; Thirty Years' War (1618–1648).

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GRAHAM DARBY

WALPOLE, HORACE (1717–1797), English statesman and man of letters. Although Horace Walpole sat in the House of Commons from 1741 to 1768, he did not pursue an orthodox career as a statesman. An intense and acutely sensitive man, Walpole was temperamentally unsuited to the cut and thrust of political battle, and preferred to work behind the scenes as a pamphleteer, a gossip, a networker and, ultimately, a historian.

Walpole was fiercely loyal to his family and friends, and herein lies the key to all his politics. He never failed to support his friend and cousin, Henry Seymour-Conway, while disliking all critics and enemies of his father (Sir Robert Walpole). All but one account of Horace Walpole's political career have been marred by a failure to recognize his homosexuality, without which it is impossible to understand the depth of his hatred for Henry Pelham and the duke of Newcastle, the brothers of Catherine Pelham, whose arranged marriage to Walpole's one-time lover Henry Fiennes-Clinton, earl of Lincoln, took place in 1744.

Horace Walpole's hostility to the Pelhams has usually been explained in terms of his belief in their disloyalty to Robert Walpole, whom they "deserted" when his ministry began to crumble. Although the Pelhams succeeded Robert as leaders of the Court Whigs, Horace did not join them after his father's death, aligning himself instead with Richard Rigby and Henry Fox. When Fox joined a ministry in partnership with Newcastle in 1756, Walpole operated behind the scenes to annoy and frustrate both while remaining on ostensibly

friendly terms with Fox. Walpole's unsuccessful attempt to prevent the execution of Admiral John Byng for failing to prevent the loss of Minorca may have been partly motivated by the desire to embarrass Fox and Newcastle, suspected by many of having found a scapegoat for a more serious error of military judgment. At any rate, Walpole's *Letter from Xo Ho, a Chinese Philosopher at London, to his Friend Lien Chi at Peking* (1757), which pithily summarized the hypocrisies of Byng's impeachment, established Walpole as a witty and dangerous pamphleteer.

Walpole was most active from 1763 to 1767, when he acted as a political mentor to Conway. Both men had voted against George Grenville's ministry to defend the freedom of the press, then threatened by government action against the opposition M.P. John Wilkes, an outspoken critic of the crown, and the *North Briton*, a newspaper that printed his articles. George III, angered by what he perceived as insubordination, ordered Conway's dismissal from his regiment and court position, whereupon Walpole joined the opposition and began intriguing to bring down the Grenville ministry. When the Rockingham Whigs took office in 1765, Conway became secretary of state for the Southern Department and leader of the House of Commons. Walpole, however, was offered nothing, and a brief estrangement took place between the two. In April 1766, he resumed his place as Conway's adviser, notwithstanding the latter's cooling enthusiasm for politics, and became an inside observer of the Rockingham and Chatham ministries. When Conway decided to resign the lead in the Commons at the end of 1767, Walpole also decided to leave political life, and returned to his other occupations as author, publisher, art critic, and antiquarian.

Although Walpole is one of England's greatest letter writers, whose correspondence is an invaluable source for the political, social, and cultural history of mid-Hanoverian England, his *Memoirs of the Reign of George II* and *Memoirs of the Reign of George III*, written for posterity and published after his demise, provide a lively narrative of political events and personalities from 1751 to 1772. Both were much maligned—unjustifiably so—by nineteenth-century critics. Of the two works, the *Memoirs of the Reign of George III*, written between 1766 and 1772, are the more valuable, for they describe



Horace Walpole. Portrait engraving by J. McArdele after a painting by Sir Joshua Reynolds. ©BETTMANN/CORBIS

events in which Walpole was a central participant. Although the *Memoirs of the Reign of George II* are less reliable, they still constitute the most important source in existence for the parliamentary debates of 1754–1761.

The memoirs are not without bias. Walpole's loathing of the Pelhams manifests itself in the representation of the Duke of Newcastle as a time-serving incompetent. Henry Fox was traduced as a greedy and unscrupulous careerist. Walpole was also responsible for creating the myth of a sinister plot hatched by the princess dowager and Lord Bute, George III's first prime minister, to revive the royal prerogative and employ it against opponents of the crown. The memoirs, in effect, encapsulated the Whig perspective on crown and Parliament usually attributed to English historians of the nineteenth century.

See also English Literature and Language; George II (Great Britain); George III (Great Britain); Parliament; Pitt, William the Elder and William the Younger; Political Parties.

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JENNIFER MORI

WARFARE. *See* Military.

WARS OF RELIGION, FRENCH. The rapid growth of Protestantism in France that began in the 1530s reached a climax around 1560, when roughly one in every twenty French men and women had converted to the new faith. This extraordinary growth resulted in a predictable backlash by French Catholics, whose church and monarchy declared all Protestants—and in France they were overwhelmingly Calvinists, who came to be called Huguenots—to be heretics. For Catholics, Protestants living in their midst not only threatened their eternal souls, but were believed to threaten their earthly existence as well. In an age when every major outbreak of plague, famine, and disease tended to be interpreted as a sign of God's punishment for their sins, most French Catholics believed that heresy within their midst was an open invitation for God's wrath to be visited upon them. Thus, the majority of French Catholics were openly hostile to the Reformation. These popular feelings were reinforced by the French monarchy, as kings Henry II (ruled 1547–1559) and Francis II (ruled 1559–1560) sought to eliminate heresy in their kingdom via both persecution and prosecution. The surge in Protestant growth in the late 1550s, however, meant that the official royal policy of suppression was never likely to succeed. And when the Huguenots seized several major towns by force in 1561–1562, it was clear that suppression had not worked.

Moreover, by 1562 several key members of some prominent noble families such as the Bourbons and the Albrets had converted to the new religion, further exacerbating political tensions and rivalries at court. Their chief rivals, the Guise family,

had long championed the Catholic cause; and since the young King Francis II's wife was Mary Stuart of Scotland, whose mother was Mary of Guise, the Guises found themselves in a position of authority during Francis's reign. When the king died of an ear abscess in December 1560, however, his successor was his nine-year-old brother, Charles IX (ruled 1560–1574). The unwritten French constitution required a regent to be appointed until the young king reached his fourteenth year, when he could then govern in his own right. Catherine de Médicis, Henry II's widow, as queen mother of both Francis II and Charles IX, accepted this position, and it was she who had to face the prospect of dealing with the Protestant problem, given that suppression as a policy had simply not worked. Although she was not in favor of religious toleration in principle—indeed, it was very difficult in the sixteenth century even to imagine such a concept—Catherine attempted to work out some kind of limited coexistence. First, she called together leaders of both the Huguenot and Catholic churches at the Colloquy of Poissy in 1561 to see if a compromise were possible. But both the cardinal of Lorraine on the Catholic side and Théodore de Bèze, Calvin's lieutenant from Geneva on the Protestant side, recognized that significant compromise on either the doctrinal or liturgical issues that divided them was impossible. Despite the lack of success at Poissy, however, Catherine went ahead and issued an edict in January 1562, recognizing the legal right of French Protestants to exist and even worship in a few limited areas of the kingdom for the first time. This milestone was far from religious toleration, but it marked a sharp break with the previous royal policies of persecuting Protestants as heretics. French Catholics, however, refused either to accept or enforce the edict. When the prince of Condé, a Protestant member of the Bourbon family, raised troops to enforce the edict on his own, civil war was the result. Over the next thirty-six years, not only did French Huguenots and Catholics raise armies to fight each other on the battlefield, they also fought each other as civilians in towns and cities across the kingdom. Thus, violence in the streets among civilians became a hallmark of the French Wars of Religion for an extended period, imposing on France an experience unmatched by other territories affected by the Reformation: two generations of civil war.



French Wars of Religion. The massacre of Huguenots by Catholics in Sens, Burgundy, April 1562; engraving by Hogenberg, late sixteenth–early seventeenth century. THE ART ARCHIVE/UNIVERSITY LIBRARY GENEVA/DAGLI ORTI

The outbreak of civil war in the spring of 1562 began a long series of armed conflicts, followed by brief periods of siege or battlefield confrontation between the two armies, and concluded by extended peace negotiations and a peace treaty. Each of these successive civil wars followed a similar pattern. While one side might manage to defeat the other's army on the battlefield, there was no way that either could effectively administer a heavy enough defeat to disarm all the civilians and nobles on the other side, much less occupy its opponent's cities and towns. Thus, each successive peace treaty had to be a forced compromise, offering very limited rights and legal guarantees that were never enough to provide complete security and freedom of worship for French Protestants. But even limited rights were far too numerous for French Catholics, and each period of peace was soon followed by

another outbreak of war. In all, France was to suffer through eight separate civil wars between 1562 and 1598.

THE ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S DAY MASSACRES

The first major turning point in the religious wars came in August 1572 with the massacres in Paris that began in the early morning hours of 24 August, St. Bartholomew's Day. Two days earlier, members of the Guise family, probably with the tacit support of Catherine de Médicis, had come to the decision to assassinate Gaspard de Coligny, admiral of France and the military leader of the Huguenots, because of fears of a Huguenot military reprisal in Paris, where many Protestant nobles had gathered for the royal wedding between the king's sister Margaret and Henry of Navarre, son of the Protestants Anthony de Bourbon and Jeanne d'Albret, king and

queen of Navarre. Though there was no Protestant coup being planned by Coligny, the assassination attempt nevertheless took place. Because it failed, however, only seriously wounding Coligny, the many Huguenot nobles in Paris began to fear for their lives. This only exacerbated the fears of the Guise family and the queen mother, who managed to persuade the king, Charles IX, and the rest of his council on 23 August to undertake another murder attempt on Coligny, this time accompanied by the killing of roughly two dozen of the leading Huguenot nobles in Paris. When these murders were duly carried out in the early morning hours of 24 August, the feast day of St. Bartholomew, many Catholics in Paris misunderstood the killings as a sign that the king wished all Huguenots in Paris to be killed. Since there had already been violence between Protestants and Catholics in Paris the previous year, it did not take much to set off widespread attacks against all Huguenots in the capital. Over the next two days Parisian Catholics killed upwards of 2,000 French Protestants. The events in the capital sparked similar massacres in a dozen provincial towns across the kingdom over the next few weeks. By October 1572 as many as six to eight thousand Huguenots had been killed. These massacres marked an end to Protestant growth in France, not so much because of the loss of life, as considerable as it was, but because of the chilling symbolic impact of the massacres. It appeared to many that the crown had returned to a policy of cruel suppression, while many Huguenots saw the massacres as a sign that God had abandoned them. A significant number of them began to abjure their religion and convert to Catholicism as a result. Most Huguenots did not convert, however, and the intermittent cycle of war and peace soon commenced once again.

THE CATHOLIC LEAGUE

The second major watershed in the civil wars occurred in June 1584 when the last surviving Valois heir to the throne, Francis, duke of Anjou, died from tuberculosis at the age of 29. King Henry III (ruled 1574–1589), who had succeeded his brother Charles IX two years after the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacres, was childless. The death of his younger brother Anjou, who was the last and youngest of Catherine de Médicis's and Henry II's four sons, meant that the next in line to the throne was Henry of Navarre, a Protestant. This unfortunate conse-

quence resulted in the Guise family's organizing a Holy Catholic League, backed by money and troops from King Philip II of Spain, to pressure the king to disavow Navarre, who, despite his legitimacy as heir by birth, was rendered illegitimate because of his religion. The political pressure mounted by the league was so great, in fact, that in 1585 these militant Catholics even managed to get Henry III to issue an ordinance making it illegal to be Protestant in France, revoking all the limited rights of existence that Huguenots had won since Catherine de Médicis's original edict in January 1562. It certainly appeared that the policies of suppression of the 1550s had returned once again. Moreover, when Henry, duke of Guise, entered Paris against Henry III's will in May 1588, Guise's reception was so warm and his popularity among the Parisian people so great that the king was forced to flee his own capital. He gained his revenge by having Guise and his brother murdered in December 1588. Victory was only temporary, however, as Henry III himself was murdered the following August by a disgruntled Catholic monk. Thus, from August 1589 Henry of Navarre was recognized as the legitimate king of France—as King Henry IV (ruled 1589–1610)—only by French Protestants and a small minority of Catholics who were willing to place his legitimacy by birth above his Calvinist religion. The overwhelming majority of French Catholics, however, urged on by the league, refused to accept Navarre's claim to the throne and held out against him. The cycle of civil war was destined to continue.

THE EDICT OF NANTES

The final watershed in the French Wars of Religion occurred in July 1593, after four long years of indecisive fighting between the armies of King Henry IV and the Catholic League. The city of Paris had been besieged by the royalist forces of the king in 1590, and some Parisians even starved to death in a long, ruinous summer. The turning point came when Henry made the decision to abjure his Protestant religion and take instruction in the Catholic faith. It was certainly not a cynical decision, as his enemies claimed, nor one made lightly. Henry had been a devout Calvinist ever since he was first instructed in the faith by his mother. He was forced to recognize, however, that the French constitution required the king to be Catholic. To resolve the long religious conflict and bring the disorders in the kingdom to



French Wars of Religion. Assassination of Duke Henry of Guise by the guard of King Henry III, 23 December 1588, engraving by Hogenberg, late sixteenth–early seventeenth century. THE ART ARCHIVE/UNIVERSITY LIBRARY GENEVA/DAGLI ORTI

an end, Henry publicly converted to Catholicism in the summer of 1593. When the pope formally absolved the king shortly thereafter, the many nobles and towns loyal to the league began to submit to his authority and accept him as their new monarch. But Henry IV still faced the same problem as all his predecessors: how to produce a peace treaty that was acceptable to both sides with a chance of survival. The Edict of Nantes, published in the spring of 1598, looked on paper to be very similar to many of the numerous earlier edicts of pacification, none of which had proved very durable. France had suffered horribly during the wars of the league, however, as increased warfare combined with economic and agrarian crises in the 1590s to create loud demands from within various elements of the population to stop the fighting. Bands of armed peasants in

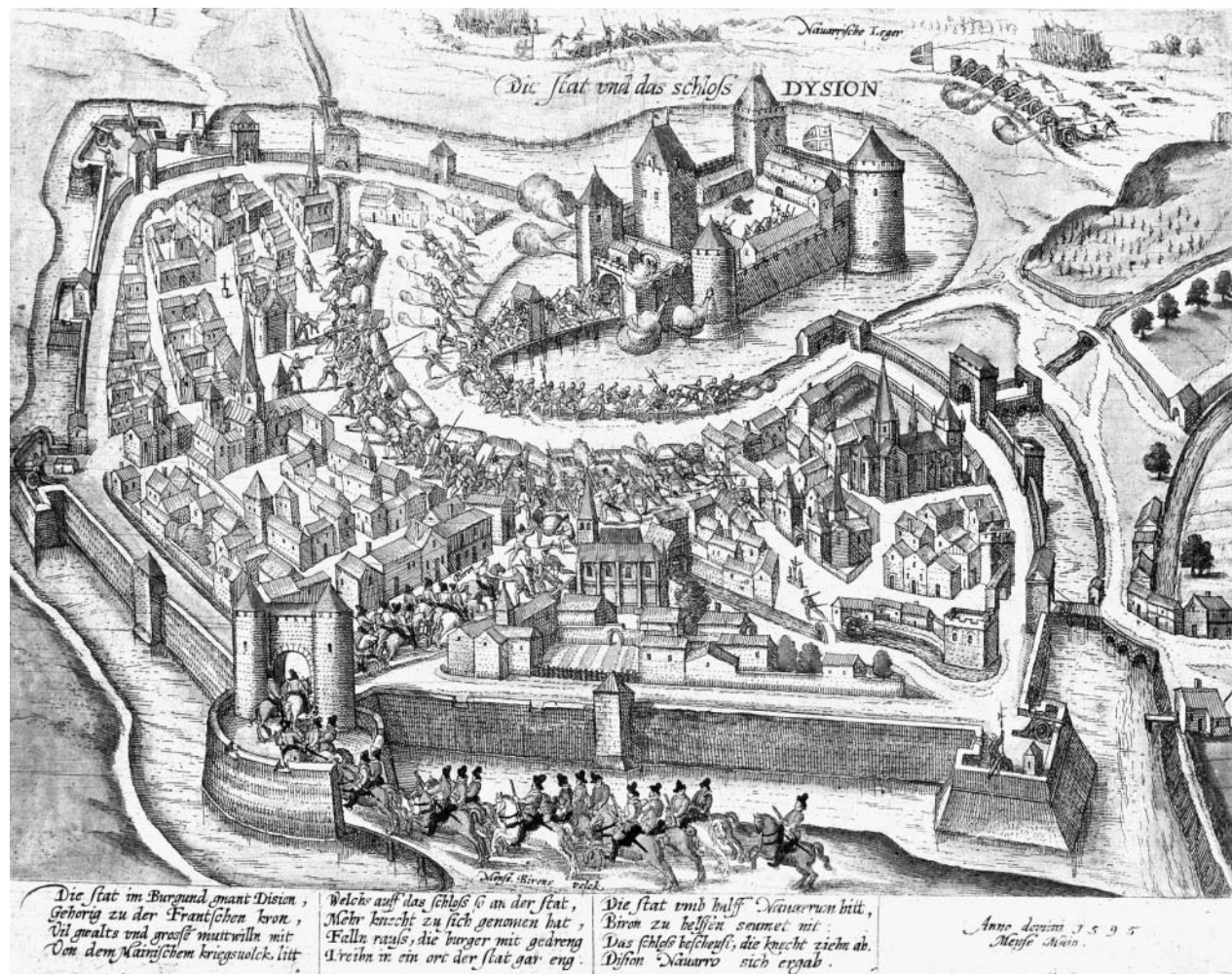
Burgundy, Perigord, and Limousin, some of whom may have been organized by elites, organized to keep soldiers out of their villages whether they were Huguenots or Catholics. Thus, the situation was very different from the earlier peace edicts, as the entire kingdom's resolve to continue to wage war in such dire economic circumstances began to waver.

Another principal difference between the Edict of Nantes and the seven earlier edicts of pacification is that Henry IV explicitly appealed to both sides. To the Catholic majority, he promised in the preamble of the edict that France would forever remain a Catholic country, and that one day God would bless his kingdom by reuniting all French men and women in the one true Catholic faith. The various articles of the edict spelled out that the monarchy, the state, and all French institutions would also

remain Catholic, thus ensuring that Catholicism would never be jeopardized as the official religion of the kingdom. The edict also restored the Catholic Mass in all Protestant areas where it had been banned, introducing it into some areas for the first time in forty years. In addition, the edict required all Huguenots to begin paying the ecclesiastical tithes to the Catholic Church, just as their Catholic counterparts had always done, in order to provide for the salaries of parish priests throughout the kingdom. On the surface, then, the Edict of Nantes was meant to appease French Catholics, especially those former members of the league who had opposed the king prior to his conversion.

On the other side, the edict made clear that Huguenots had freedom of conscience in France,

meaning they would not be persecuted for simply being Protestant. Their right to freedom of worship, however, was severely restricted, limited to those towns mainly in the south of France already under Huguenot control in August 1597. Moreover, all former Catholic churches in these areas were to be turned back over to the French Catholic Church. The Huguenots would have to build their own churches, or worship in private (meaning largely aristocratic) homes in the towns they controlled. But the king also granted the Huguenots concessions not made public in the edict. First, they were given a special subsidy to pay the salaries of their ministers, offsetting the ecclesiastical tithes required in the edict itself. More importantly, Henry granted the Huguenots the right to garrison troops in the towns they controlled, thereby guaranteeing



French Wars of Religion. Dijon, Burgundy, surrenders to King Henry IV, May 1595, engraving by Hogenberg, late sixteenth-early seventeenth century. THE ART ARCHIVE/UNIVERSITY LIBRARY GENEVA/DAGLI ORTI

their own safety and defense. Thus in a variety of ways, while the Edict of Nantes initiated a period of religious coexistence, it was far from a policy of religious toleration. And for most among the French Catholic majority, even this religious coexistence was thought to be only temporary, until those remaining Protestants might be won back to the true faith, following the example set by King Henry IV. For them, the future of France was as a kingdom of Catholic uniformity of religion. The Huguenots, however, recognized that their gains in the edict would last only as long as they were loyal to the crown and only as long as their newly converted king chose to enforce them. Henry's son Louis XIII (ruled 1610–1643) sought to dismantle the subsidies and military protection of the Huguenots, while Henry's grandson Louis XIV (ruled 1643–1715) revoked the Edict of Nantes altogether in 1685.

See also Catherine de Médicis; Catholic League (France); Coligny Family; Condé Family; France; Guise Family; Henry IV (France); Huguenots; Nantes, Edict of; St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre.

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MACK P. HOLT

WARSAW (Polish, Warszawa). A small late medieval settlement on the left bank of the middle Vistula, Warsaw became the capital of the Principality of Mazovia during the reign of Janusz I the Elder (ruled 1374–1429). “Old Warsaw” was founded c. 1300 on the escarpment overlooking the Vistula, just north of an existing castle. By 1408 a “New Warsaw,” lying due north of Old Warsaw, had established its own autonomous municipality, with a separate magistracy and market square. Old Warsaw was the more populous and affluent, with the bricked houses of the patriciate and wealthier tradesmen. Artisans, shopkeepers, and small farmers occupied the mostly wooden structures of New Warsaw.

The last Mazovian prince, Janusz III, died in 1526, and from that time Mazovia and Warsaw came under the Polish crown. No longer the small capital of an independent principality, Warsaw nonetheless continued to grow modestly, thanks partly to its expanding ties with Cracow and the kingdom. In 1527 and 1529, Sigismund I (ruled 1506–1548) granted charters to eleven Warsaw guilds, removing them from the jurisdiction of the Cracow brethren. By 1564, Old Warsaw encompassed 486 stone houses, New Warsaw 204 still mostly wooden houses. Jews were expelled from Warsaw in 1483, and a privilege *de non tolerandis Judaeis*, granted its burghers in 1527, forbade Jewish settlement in the town itself, relegating them to the suburbs for most of the early modern period.

Warsaw grew quickly in significance toward the end of the sixteenth century. From 1569 it was the site for meetings of the General Parliament, and from 1573 for the Election Parliaments that chose the kings of Poland and the grand dukes of Lithuania. A fire in the Wawel Castle in Cracow in 1596 moved Sigismund III Vasa (ruled 1587–1632) to begin expanding the Warsaw castle and to make it into the residence of Polish kings and their courts beginning in 1611. (Cracow would remain the capital and coronation city.) With the transfer of the royal court to Warsaw, the city began to draw magnates and gentry, who established residences in privately owned suburban “jurisdictions,” which formed a chain of autonomous towns around Old and New Warsaw and offered competition to Warsaw's patriciate and guild artisans. The right-bank

Praga suburb, the site of breweries, warehouses, and granaries, received its municipal privilege in 1648.

The wars of the mid-seventeenth century interrupted Warsaw's rapid growth from modest sixteenth-century numbers (its population had reached 20,000 by 1655). Swedish and Transylvanian armies finally left the city on 23 June 1657, and the rebuilding of Old and New Warsaw was largely completed by 1670. Under John III Sobieski (ruled 1674–1696) the center of gravity moved to the west, beyond the old walls, and settlement expanded into the magnates' suburban jurisdictions to the north and south along the river. The city again rebuilt after the Northern War (1700–1721). Warsaw became the center of Polish commerce and enlightenment under the last Polish king, Stanisław II Augustus Poniatowski (ruled 1764–1795). A "Black Procession" of burgher leaders to the Royal Castle on 2 December 1789 paved the way for belated urban reform in the Commonwealth of Poland-Lithuania. The autonomy of the "jurisdictions" was finally abolished, and Old and New Warsaw, plus the suburbs, now formed one urban legal unit. Warsaw's growth (to 110,000 in 1792) was delayed with the sacking of Praga by Russian armies on 5 November 1794 and the third partition of Poland (1795), which initially gave part of Mazovia, including Warsaw, to Prussia. In 1799, the city's inhabitants numbered 64,000.

See also Jews and Judaism; Northern Wars; Poland, Partitions of; Poland-Lithuania, Commonwealth of, 1569–1795; Poland to 1569.

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DAVID FRICK

WATCHES. *See* Clocks and Watches.

WATTEAU, ANTOINE (born Jean-Antoine; 1689–1721), French painter. Antoine Watteau was born in Valenciennes in northern France in

humble circumstances. By the end of his short life (he died at 32 of tuberculosis), he was a celebrated painter in Paris. Today, he is generally considered to be the father of the rococo style because he developed the *fête galante*, 'gallant party', as a subject; it became a hallmark of the era's painting. Watteau's work in particular, and the rococo style in general, reflect a major transformation of the French art world. At the beginning of Watteau's lifetime, King Louis XIV (ruled 1643–1715) controlled the production of culture through the establishment of academies and state-supported patronage of the arts. By the time of his death, patronage of the arts had shifted to private individuals who were no longer interested in the highly didactic and often propagandistic art demanded by royal patronage. Although Watteau was a member of the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture, it was a group of private collectors who collected his work and cultivated his reputation.

The *fêtes galantes* were contemporary scenes of elegant men and women, usually in an outdoor setting and sometimes dressed in masquerade, engaged in conversation, flirtation, music making, and dancing. Watteau's *fêtes galantes* were intimate in scale; the pictures were the appropriate size to be enjoyed in a private space, rather than the monumental paintings of subjects taken from classical mythology and history that decorated the public spaces of Louis XIV's palaces. The *fêtes galantes* mirrored the kinds of social activities enjoyed by Watteau's elite collectors and also reinforced their image of themselves.

The appearance of some figures dressed in theatrical costumes and others in contemporary everyday garb is another trait of Watteau's *fêtes galantes*. Watteau absorbed the theatrical milieu under the tutelage of his first teacher in Paris, Claude Gillot (1673–1722), who illustrated theatrical troupes. Claude Audran (1658–1734), who did decorative painting in the homes of Parisian high society, taught Watteau his highly ornamental style and introduced him to his future patrons. Watteau himself later had two students, Nicolas Lancret and Jean-Baptiste-Joseph Pater, who also specialized in *fêtes galantes*.

Perhaps Watteau's most famous *fête galante* is *Pilgrimage to Cythera* (1717, Louvre). The painting



Antoine Watteau. *The Pilgrimage to Cythera*. ©ARCHIVO ICONOGRAFICO S.A./CORBIS

represents a lighthearted topic that was popular in theatrical and musical performance—a pilgrimage to Venus’s Island of Cythera, where everyone would fall in love. In Watteau’s painting, a statue of Venus indicates the pilgrims are on the island of Cythera. Three couples are arranged on a hillock and this can be read as a narrative of departure. The couple closest to the statue is most fully under Venus’s spell of love; the next couple to the left is getting up, emerging from the spell of love; and the third couple is already standing. The woman glances back, as if wistfully remembering the spell of love already gone. On the other side of the hillock, a group of people heads toward a boat. Their pilgrimage is over and they will return to the real world. Watteau’s *fêtes galantes* have often been characterized as melancholy, containing a subtext that alludes to the passing of love and of life.

The passing of the era of King Louis XIV is represented in another of his celebrated works, *The Signboard of Gersaint* (1721, Staatliche Museum,

Berlin). This work shows the interior of the shop of Watteau’s friend, the art dealer Edmé Gersaint. On the left side, workmen pack away a portrait of Louis XIV, and the walls are covered with paintings representative of an older style associated with his reign. On the right side, elegantly dressed customers admire paintings representative of the new, or rococo, style preferred by elite private patrons. This painting also celebrates the collection and enjoyment of art, which had become part of the social rituals enacted among the elite.

Watteau’s paintings are often very witty. In *The Signboard of Gersaint*, the painting of Louis XIV being stored not only represents the passing of an era, but is also a visual pun, referring to the name of Gersaint’s shop, “The Grand Monarch.” In *Pilgrimage to Cythera*, the cherubs who flutter above the ship cavort erotically, perhaps acting out what the more decorous pilgrims below are thinking about. Wittiness, whether in art or in conversation,

was a trait much esteemed in eighteenth-century high society.

Today, as in the eighteenth century, Watteau's works are highly prized. He managed to combine superb draftsmanship with deft painting to subtly represent facets of both the complex social life and the attitudes of those who came to dominate early modern European society.

See also France, Art in; Louis XIV (France); Rococo.

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JULIE ANNE PLAX

WEALTH. *See* Aristocracy and Gentry; Class, Status, and Order; Consumption.

WEATHER AND CLIMATE. The history of the climate during the early modern age is largely centered on the climatic deterioration known as the “Little Ice Age.” Much evidence testifies to a significant degradation of atmospheric conditions from the perhaps uniquely favorable circumstances of the High Middle Ages to the cooler, wetter, and less stable weather of the early modern period. No consensus exists with regard to the nature or the chronology of this phenomenon, the value of the sources available to investigate it, or its impact upon European societies. Nevertheless, the recognition of the importance of climate as a historical factor has led researchers to revisit many well-traveled paths of European history. Their efforts have become particularly relevant considering twenty-first-century fears of global warming.

The sources that historians draft to document the climate of the fifteenth to eighteenth centuries may be arranged in two main categories: literary and

iconographic documents and serial and/or quantifiable data. In turn, this second group of sources may itself be divided into direct and indirect records. The value and the limitations of all relevant sources are still debated. References to weather conditions are found in many diaries, almanacs, chronicles, letters, professional accounts, and scientific and military logs. Yet this information is very heterogeneous and thinly and unevenly distributed across the continent and the centuries. It is inevitably subjective and likely to recall extreme or rare occurrences (similar comments may be directed at the pictorial records that testify to various effects of the weather). More systematic and more intentional direct records of weather conditions are rare, particularly early in the period. Their great merit is to enable the construction of data series, yet the lack of standardized measures of temperatures and other climatic variables greatly complicates the task of researchers.

To complete this rich yet insufficient medley of references, historians turn to indirect evidence. Some of it requires refined scientific analyses, ranging from the mapping of tree rings to carbon dating and the assaying of soil or ice cores. A second category of proxy sources includes evidence of weather-dependent economic output, principally crops. Municipal rolls of market prices, institutional accounts of harvests, church tithes registers, or seigneurial records may all reflect variations in local weather conditions. However, both agricultural production itself and the transactions that produced these records were also shaped by economic, political, and cultural tensions. (Agronomists also warn of the intrinsic complexity of the relation between weather and output.) For instance, the dates of grape harvests have always been linked to competitive pressures and evolving tastes as well as spring and summer conditions, just as flood reports are shaped by water levels but also by demographic pressures, hydraulic works, or fiscal imperatives. Increasingly rigorous standards have been applied to the reconstitution of early modern climates, demanding advanced dissections of the effect of weather upon the documented variables and sophisticated statistical testing of the resulting figures.

Several significant cross-disciplinary collaborations substantiate the existence of a negative turn in the weather during the early modern era and also expose its complexity. Its outside limits range from

the fourteenth to the nineteenth centuries, although its beginnings are obviously less documented than its end. Naturally, no uniform weather pattern stretched across this long period or across all regions of Europe; this calls for the study of fine regional and chronological distinctions. Temperatures are perhaps better known than precipitation amounts, and great variability as well as episodes of extreme weather are emerging as key findings. Charts of growing seasons and growing ranges have been drawn and compared with the more favorable conditions of the High Middle Ages and the well-documented contemporary era. To date, the geography and chronology of the early modern climate “pessimum” (severe deterioration) remain the object of much valuable work.

Historians speculate on the origins of this climatic deterioration, notably turning to factors such as solar, volcanic, or even human activity, but they are chiefly interested in its consequences. Its impact upon food production is at the center of many debates, because of its crucial importance to many aspects of early modern social, economic, and even political life. Inquiries into the demographic impact of the Little Ice Age continue to enrich our understanding of related subjects such as famines, epidemics, and epizootics. Increasingly, historians separate the consequences of sharp and brutal but short events from those of medium-term, interannual, and decadal or secular trends and underscore the distinctions to be made between the great climatic zones of Europe. They also contrast the impact of weather in secure agricultural areas with that in marginal lands of all sorts and have started to acknowledge the importance of microclimates. New knowledge of climatic patterns is also being applied to many long-standing historical concerns: the “general crises” of the fourteenth and seventeenth centuries; large-scale migration patterns, and, occasionally, the disappearance of whole communities; popular rebellions; economic trends ranging from the southward retreat of vineyards to the shifting of fishing grounds and the great inflation of the sixteenth century; and some of the key advances of the early modern age, such as the agricultural revolution. Finally, climate history has also entered the field of cultural studies, with explorations of the role of climate in shaping popular beliefs and traditions

reflected in language, ceremonies, superstitions, and even witch-hunts.

The implications of research on the history of climate are many. Even those who remain skeptical of the solidity of such probes will agree that they serve to highlight and explain the importance and the diversity of human responses to environmental challenges. Research devoted to the early modern climate can also speak to early modern communities’ ability to diversify their crops, their landholding patterns, the attempts of authorities to mitigate the impact of brutal episodes, the role played by growing commercial networks and related levels of specialization, the flexibility or rigidity of certain social structures, and the reasons behind important evolutions of landscapes. In the course of these investigations, several fundamental assumptions have been questioned, such as the vulnerability of preindustrial communities to climatic fluctuations, and even the stability of the natural environment in which they functioned.

The strongest objections to the work of climate historians revolve around the value of the data and methods used. But there are also regular denunciations of the risks of determinism associated with these (and other) probes into environmental history. This is particularly so because of a long-standing tradition linking the supposedly favorable climate of Europe with the successful projection of European power across the oceans. Many aspects of the European environment have been and are still advanced to justify what has been called the “European Miracle,” ranging from its (mostly) temperate nature and the (relative) absence of large-scale destructive episodes, to its very diversity. All such theses stand accused of ignoring or underestimating the historically crucial element of human agency and, most significantly, of simplifying the great complexity of climate patterns and their impact upon land and people.

Such Eurocentric interpretations of the influence of climate upon societies are not new. Emboldened by the growing reach of their information networks, early modern thinkers linked geography and climate with social and cultural development in several ways, just as they started to reflect on the possibility of climatic variations over time. These reflections could join speculations on the relative

merits of ancient and modern societies, or the clustering of geniuses. They could also enter the realm of religious thought, through hypotheses on “geological times” or the universal decline of the earth’s ability to support life, as well as daring interpretations of some key episodes of the Scriptures; those, on the contrary, who argued the immutability of climate opened the door for more enlightened plans for improving lives. The same period also marked the beginnings of a more systematic and more scientific interest in recording weather patterns. This trend made clear the need for more reliable thermometers and other instruments and heralded the eventual science of meteorology, although, as is common during the early modern era, cultural groups other than the elite of princely scientific societies remained active in their own ways. The interest in climate, like that in many other aspects of nature, helped mark social and regional identities. Late in the period, attention turned to the potential impact of human activities upon the natural environment and climate. Large-scale or particularly acute instances of deforestation fueled the theory of desiccation, predicated upon the idea that forests attracted, retained, and redistributed atmospheric moisture. Some applied it on a grand scale, speculating, for instance, on the decline of Classic societies or the future of the North American climate after settlement. Others turned to the small but revealing scale of tropical islands. In these settings, free of some of the traditional bounds that had developed in Europe, novel measures emerged that may be seen as forerunners of the science of ecology and the protectionist measures that would grow in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Research in climate history is an established component of environmental history. Like other aspects of this new field, it calls for decidedly multidisciplinary approaches, and it struggles to overcome the fundamental objections associated with the ever-recurrent temptation of deterministic interpretations of history. In the context of an early modern era rich in sources, it greatly enriches our understanding of material and social life and contributes to the development of ever more refined models of the links between nature and culture.

See also Agriculture; Environment; Forests and Woodlands; Scientific Instruments.

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PIERRE CLAUDE REYNARD

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES. Weights and measures throughout Europe during the early modern period were characterized by complexity and confusion and dominated by customary practices. Numbering in the hundreds of thousands, they arose originally from Greek, Roman, Celtic, Germanic, Slavic, and other roots and multiplied on local, regional, and state levels at a rapid pace after 1450. Among the principal causes for this proliferation were economic development, commercial competition, population growth, urbanization, taxation manipulations, territorial expansion, and technological progress. Contributing also were ineffective governmental decrees and legislative acts, the paucity and inferior workmanship of the physical standards manufactured to serve as prototypes, and the overwhelming number of poorly trained officials entrusted with inspection, verification, and enforcement duties.

Central governments contributed to weights and measures proliferation by promulgating multiple state standards for individual units, depending on where they were used and by whom. Sizes of units in capital cities were often different from those in the provinces or in rural areas. They even differed among social classes. On the other hand, common local units occasionally became so popular that they

gained unit standardization. They then competed with state units, producing further confusion.

With the rapid growth of cities, weights and measures frequently separated into different standards depending on whether they were employed within the cities or outside their walls. A sharp division arose between urban and suburban measures. Similarly, some measuring units differed according to their use on land or on sea. A general rule throughout Europe was that measures always increased in size or distance once land was no longer in sight.

Product variations were the most important source for metrological proliferation. Those based on quantity measures varied by number or by an odd assortment of human, animal, and other capabilities. Even when these measures had standardized counts, capacities, or weights, the actual sizes depended on the characteristics of the products involved. Compounding this situation was the centuries-old practice of dividing existing units into halves, thirds, and fourths or into an irregular assortment of diminutives. Similar problems were assigning the same name to different units, basing one unit on a multiple or submultiple of another, bestowing more than one name on the same unit, and authorizing various methods of submultiple compilations for a given unit.

Further examples were units of account that were simply computational units for record keeping and other business purposes. Similarly, there were measures reserved for wholesale trade that referred to any number of other better-known units without any correlation to existing standards. Measures were also based on the monetary values of coins, on units of income derived through production, on crop yields and tax assessments, and on work functions, dimensions, and time allotments of humans and animals. The sizes of such units rested on a myriad of imprecise factors.

Regardless of such conditions, Europe in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries produced a climate of change ushered in by the age of science and the Enlightenment. During this critical period, a number of developments occurred that altered metrological history profoundly, and eventually led to the creation and implementation of the metric

system in France in 1793 and the imperial system in England in 1824.

First, there was the dynamic of scientific and technological invention and innovation that overthrew the rigid reliance on past traditions. The introduction of numerous new concepts, instruments, and procedures linked theoreticians with craftsmen for the first time and led to profound advancements in lenses, magnification glasses, microscopes, navigational, astronomical, and triangulation instruments, and clocks. These and hundreds of other breakthroughs, spearheaded chiefly by English, French, and Italian scientists, played a critical role in the reformation of weights and measures.

Second, many of these successes received stimulus and support from the European scientific societies that developed rapidly during the 1600s. By the end of the century, most serious scientists in Europe had become members of these societies, and their journals disseminated knowledge of new discoveries and inventions. In Italy the Roman Accademia dei Lincei and the Florentine Accademia del Cimento made significant scientific strides, the latter especially in its technological apparatus.

The most important societies for the future development of metrology, however, were the Royal Society of London and the Academy of Sciences of Paris and their offshoots, the Greenwich and Paris observatories. The English organizations cast their scientific net far and wide and made giant advancements in physics, astronomy, chemistry, and natural science which, coupled with their pioneering work in technological instruments, helped create a new era in weights and measures. Even more important were the Parisian groups whose scientists introduced the practice of using telescopes in conjunction with graduated circles for the precise measurement of angles. This led to measurements of the meridian arc and the computation of the radius of the Earth. This seminal work provided metrologists with possibilities for a natural physical standard that eventually became the basis for the metric system.

These and other advances led to the creation of hundreds of metrological reform proposals. In England the pendulum was given special emphasis. Since the second unit (of time) is determined by the motion of the earth, it was believed that the length

of the second's pendulum in a given latitude would be an invariable quantity that could always be recovered or duplicated. Others proposed altering the existing system to conform to a decimal scale, eliminating all units except for a select few, and coordinating all units to a strict series of ratios. Unfortunately, the revamped English system of 1824 excluded any natural standard and opted only for streamlining the old system and establishing more accurate physical standards. The French proposals concluded far more successfully. After numerous experiments, France settled on a standard determined by the triangulation measurements of that portion of the meridian arc that ran from Dunkirk through Paris to Barcelona. In the process they established a new measure—the meter—as one ten-millionth of the distance from the North Pole to the equator. Even though there eventually were some problems with the final measurements, a new era in world metrology had begun.

See also **Enlightenment; Mathematics; Scientific Instruments.**

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RONALD EDWARD ZUPKO

WESLEY FAMILY. The Wesley family included John Wesley (1703–1791) and his brother Charles Wesley (1707–1788), leaders in the eighteenth-century evangelical movement in England called Methodism. The Wesleys' ancestry included Puritans and Nonconformists on both sides, although their parents were staunchly committed to the Church of England. Their paternal great-grandfather Bartholomew Westley (c. 1596–1671), grandfather John Westley (c. 1636–1770), and maternal grandfather Samuel Annesley (c. 1620–1696) were clergy removed from their positions after the Restoration because they were Anglican dissenters.

The parents of the brothers were Samuel Wesley (1662–1735) and Susanna Annesley Wesley (1669–1742). An ordained Anglican priest, Samuel Wesley became rector of Epworth parish in Lincolnshire in 1695. Although he was a talented scholar and poet, he was unpopular with his parishioners because of his strict demands that they live holy lives. It is believed that disgruntled parishioners, among other spiteful acts, set fire to the rectory in 1709. The building was destroyed with no loss of life.

The Wesley family included nineteen children, ten of whom lived into adulthood. With a large family, life in the Epworth rectory was busy. Susanna Wesley possessed considerable intellectual ability and skillfully managed the household. She supervised the children's earliest education, teaching each how to read and write. Circumstances for Susanna became quite difficult in 1705, when Samuel was imprisoned for several weeks in Lincoln Castle for debt he could not pay. Both parents instructed their offspring in the essentials of the Christian faith, including respect for the Bible and the traditions and practices of the Anglican Church. It would be difficult to underestimate the lasting influence of Samuel and Susanna on their children.

The three sons Samuel Jr., John, and Charles were ordained into the ministry of the Church of England. They were graduates of Christ Church College, Oxford University. After service on the staff of Westminster School in London, Samuel Jr. was named headmaster of Blundell's School in Tiverton. John, who was elected a fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford, in 1726, also served as his father's

parish assistant and was a missionary to the American colony of Georgia in 1736–1737. His ministry among the settlers and Native Americans was disappointing. He returned to England in 1737 in spiritual despair. His despondency ended with his evangelical conversion on 24 May 1738. Charles accompanied John to America and for a short time was secretary to General James Oglethorpe (1696–1785), Georgia's colonial governor. Ill health and misunderstandings with the governor and colonists forced Charles to return to England in 1736 and laid the groundwork for his conversion on 21 May 1738. In the months that followed their religious renewals, John and Charles became principal leaders in that part of the evangelical revival known as Methodism.

The lives of the seven daughters, Emilia, Susanna, Mary, Mehetabel, Anne, Martha, and Kezia, were mostly marked by difficulty and unhappiness. Mehetabel, or Hetty, the most talented of the daughters, published poetry in various magazines. The Wesley family was noteworthy in eighteenth-century England largely through the evangelical ministry of John Wesley and Charles Wesley.

See also Church of England; Methodism.

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CHARLES YRIGOYEN, JR.

WESTPHALIA, PEACE OF (1648).

The Treaties of Münster and Osnabrück, which ended the Thirty Years' War, are known collectively as the Peace of Westphalia. The main obstacles to a general peace in Germany after 1635 were the ambitions of France and Sweden and changing military fortunes. Sweden wanted territorial and financial

compensation while France, under the cardinals (Richelieu to 1642, Mazarin thereafter), envisaged something altogether more ambitious that involved a considerable reduction in both Spanish and Austrian Habsburg power. In addition, matters were complicated by the individual ambitions of various German princes and separate negotiations between the Spanish and the Dutch. Ultimately, 176 plenipotentiaries representing 196 rulers attended the peace negotiations.

Despite these problems, talks began in 1643 at Münster and Osnabrück, the two cities specified for negotiations by the Franco-Swedish Treaty of 1641. France, Spain, and the other Catholic participants were based at Münster, Sweden and her allies at Osnabrück. Although Emperor Ferdinand III (ruled 1637–1657) initially delayed negotiations, the collapse of his military position in 1645 forced him to undertake serious discussions in 1646. However, that a settlement was not reached until the autumn of 1648 was largely due to Mazarin rather than the emperor. In fact, the war only really came to an end at that time because of France's inability to carry it on.

NEGOTIATIONS

With so many participants and so many conflicting interests, it is hard to discern any pattern of negotiation, but the aims of the major participants can be identified. The emperor clearly wanted a full and final peace settlement. Because his situation was desperate, he was prepared to make far-reaching religious and territorial concessions if necessary. Mazarin's wish for a universal peace was scuttled by the collapse of negotiations with Spain in 1646. The Spanish preferred to work out a deal with the Dutch (achieved in January 1647, ratified at Münster in January 1648) and keep fighting. As far as Germany was concerned, France wanted to destroy the emperor's influence by strengthening the autonomy of the individual princes and by replacing the existing imperial institutions with a French-led federation. However, these plans were unpopular with the German princes, who valued the Holy Roman Empire and preferred an emperor limited in authority to dominance by France and Sweden. Count Maximilian von Trauttmanssdorf, the imperial envoy, had little difficulty in resisting these French demands. French demands for most of Alsace and parts of

Lorraine, on the other hand, were quite modest because France mainly wanted Spanish territory. Mazarin was able to obtain Habsburg domains in Alsace in return for 1.2 million thalers in a deal with the emperor in September 1646.

The Swedes were prepared to compromise because Queen Christina was eager for a quick settlement. In any event her erstwhile allies, the French, did not want to see Sweden become too powerful. Accordingly, Mazarin decided to build up Brandenburg as a counterweight to Swedish power, and in February 1647 the Swedish envoys were persuaded to agree to a partition of Pomerania with the elector. Trauttmansdorf was able to exploit this tension between the allies in other ways, too. For instance, Sweden demanded religious toleration within the Habsburg lands, for the Bohemians in particular. Knowing that the French had little sympathy for Bohemian Protestants, and would not support Sweden on this issue, the emperor resisted this demand quite firmly.

As far as religion was concerned, matters of territory and allegiance had been addressed in the Peace of Prague and at the Diet of Regensburg, but the status of Calvinism and secularized lands still had to be resolved. Although the delegates were divided according to confessional lines, even within the same denomination there was no agreement. However, because the Protestants proved to be more united overall, the final agreement on religious issues reached in March 1648 was more favorable to them.

Final agreement was postponed because Mazarin, unnerved by Spain's deal with the Dutch (which he had tried to sabotage), decided to increase French demands. This rekindled the war, though with the onset of civil unrest in France in the summer of 1648 (the Fronde), Mazarin reluctantly changed his tune and by August was convinced of "our need to make peace at the earliest opportunity." Consequently, he dropped his extra demands and agreed to a settlement (though the emperor did agree not to aid his Spanish cousin).

TERMS

The Peace of Westphalia was signed simultaneously at Münster and Osnabrück on 24 October 1648 and consisted of 128 clauses. The main parts can be summarized as follows:

1. The principle of *cuius regio, eius religio* ('whoever rules the territory determines the religion') was reaffirmed, but construed to relate only to public life.
2. Calvinism was finally recognized within the Confession of Augsburg and, except within the Bavarian and Austrian lands (including Bohemia), Protestant retention of all land secularized before 1624 was guaranteed.
3. In matters of religion there were to be no majority decisions made by the diet. Instead, disputes were to be settled only by compromise.
4. To all intents and purposes, the separate states of the Holy Roman Empire were recognized as sovereign members of the diet, free to control their own affairs independently of each other and of the emperor.
5. Maximilian of Bavaria (1573–1651) retained his electoral title and the Upper Palatinate.
6. A new electoral title was created for Karl Ludwig (1617–1680), the son of the former elector palatine, on his restoration to the Lower Palatinate.
7. John George of Saxony, a leading German Protestant prince who had supported Ferdinand, was confirmed in his acquisition of Lusatia (a region of eastern Germany and southwest Poland).
8. Frederick William of Brandenburg (1620–1688) acquired Cammin, Minden, and Halberstadt, along with the succession to Magdeburg.
9. The emperor's claim to hereditary rights in Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia was established. The Habsburg Sundgau was surrendered to France.
10. The Peace of Westphalia confirmed Swedish control of the river mouths of the Oder, the Elbe, and Weser—virtually the entire German coastline—by the occupation of western Pomerania, Stettin, Stralsund, Wismar, the dioceses of Bremen and Verden, and the islands of Rügen, Usedom, and Wollin. Sweden was also paid an indemnity of 5 million thalers.
11. France acquired Habsburg territory and other jurisdictions in Alsace. Other acquisitions included Pinerolo in Savoy and Breisach and Philippsburg on the right bank of the Rhine.
12. The United Provinces of the Netherlands (Dutch Republic) were declared independent of both Spain and the Holy Roman Empire (Switzer-

land was also acknowledged as independent of the empire).

13. No prince of the empire, not even the emperor, could ally with the Spanish monarchy.

ASSESSMENT

An overall assessment is not easy to make. By and large the treaties defused those problems largely responsible for the war. Although confessional loyalties remained important, the age of religious wars was over in Germany. The religious settlement proved to be realistic and lasting, though the pope, Innocent X (reigned 1644–1655), was unambiguous in his condemnation. Whether or not this was the “last religious war,” as some claim, and whether or not religion ceased to be so important in political and international affairs after this war, are moot points.

As far as the political settlement is concerned, the peace was remarkably conservative and legalistic. It was intended more as a restatement of old rights than as anything new. Much that had been a matter of fact or common practice, such as the autonomy of the princes, was now *de jure* (legal). Of course, that is not to say there were no innovations—the creation of an eighth electorate was new, the first extension of the number of imperial electors since 1356—but established custom and legal rights were usually preferred.

Within the empire, Saxony, Bavaria, and Brandenburg had all grown in size and importance. The tendency was toward fully sovereign independent states. However, these larger states were still not a match for the emperor, who among other things retained the prestige of precedence. Ferdinand III undoubtedly lost power—for instance, he lost the right to levy taxes outside his homelands and to declare war without the consent of the diet—but he remained the foremost prince in Germany. Moreover, many of the smaller states were too small to exploit the rights and liberties they had been granted; they preferred the security of the Holy Roman Empire. They relied on the emperor and were happy to seek his protection, particularly now that he could not be a predator. For these reasons Franco-Swedish attempts to destroy imperial institutions had been resisted. After 1648 the imperial bureaucracy became more cumbersome and made Habsburg control less practical; however, recent re-

search is beginning to question the idea that Westphalia fixed the empire’s constitution in its final form. It is now thought to have been more adaptable to change, and, in fact, imperial policy continued to be decided by the emperor.

The emperor himself was now very much strengthened within his hereditary territories: both religious and political opposition in Bohemia and Austria had been crushed and the hereditary lands were now ruled as a single unit. Accordingly, the emperor was in a far better position than he had held in 1618. Of course, compared with the dizzy heights of 1629 there had been reverses—Ferdinand III had undoubtedly lost the last part of the war—but he managed to retain some of his father’s early successes. Given his dire military situation at the end, the final settlement was not completely unfavorable to him; he had, in fact, gotten off quite lightly. The failure of many Habsburg objectives during the war, together with the (allegedly) improved position of the princes following the Westphalian settlement, used to be taken as evidence for the general decline in imperial power and as an explanation for the emperor’s apparent growing concentration on purely dynastic interests. However, scholars are beginning to call this reasoning into question, although this debate has just started. The Holy Roman Empire was far from moribund after 1648. It not only survived but revived during the long reign of Leopold I (ruled 1658–1705).

Despite huge expenditures and much effort, France had achieved little. Mazarin failed to reduce the power of the emperor significantly, and he failed to increase French influence in Germany to any degree. Some historians gloss over this by suggesting that Mazarin laid the foundations for future success by obtaining territory with ill-defined jurisdictions over adjacent lands. Still others praise him for excluding Spain from the settlement, but this was not the case, because Spain had not wanted to be part of the treaty anyway. Mazarin himself was clearly disappointed with the peace; he wanted the war to continue. The real reason for the hurried nature of the settlement was the collapse of governmental authority and the outbreak of civil disorder in France itself, events for which Mazarin must, to some extent, take the blame. As far as Sweden was concerned, Queen Christina’s desire for a quick set-

tlement did undoubtedly lessen her country's chances of a satisfactory outcome, but compared with, say, Swedish aims in 1630 or the difficult times between 1634 and 1638, the outcome was highly satisfactory. Sweden was now more secure, although it could be argued that Christina had simply extended her responsibilities and given herself more problems. The Peace of Westphalia created a loose framework for religious and political coexistence in Germany that stood the test of time remarkably well, though after 1648 Germany was further away than ever from economic and political unity (if that was a desirable, or even desired, outcome). Clearly, whether or not the Thirty Years' War retarded German development is itself a moot point. Political divisions were perpetuated and, religiously, Germany was divided roughly into a Protestant north and a Catholic south (although Münster and Cologne in the north and Württemberg in the south were major exceptions). In the process Protestantism had survived and the Counter-Reformation had been checked.

The Peace of Westphalia was actually innovative in many ways. It was the first pan-European peace congress, and there was a genuine attempt to resolve a multitude of disputes in the hope that there would be a general settlement and lasting peace. Most experts believe it was a success.

See also Austria; Bohemia; Catholic League (France); Christina (Sweden); Counter-Reformation; Dutch Republic; Ferdinand III (Holy Roman Empire); France; Frederick William (Brandenburg); Fronde; Habsburg Dynasty; Holy Roman Empire; Leopold I (Holy Roman Empire); Mazarin, Jules; Palatinate; Richelieu, Armand-Jean Du Plessis, cardinal; Spain; Sweden; Thirty Years' War (1618–1648); Tilly, Johann Tserclaes of; Wallenstein, A. W. E. von.

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GRAHAM DARBY

WIDOWS AND WIDOWHOOD.

Vedova, viuda, veuve, Witwe, widow: all are words derived from the Indo-European base meaning 'to separate', and early modern Europeans were very familiar with the grief of a separation by the death of one's spouse. But these words also represent something else about widowhood. They are female forms, for widowhood affected women far more than it did men. Male words for widowhood—for example the English *widower*—derived from the female form and were infrequently used in the early modern period. Widows always outnumbered widowers: in Castile by up to 12 to 1, in Tuscany by more than 5 to 1, in England by 2 to 1. Wives, generally younger than their husbands, usually outlived them, and the dangers of childbirth were more than balanced by violence and occupational hazards experienced by men. Widowers were also at least twice as likely to remarry, and remarry quickly, driven by the domestic problems consequent on the absence of a wife. Their marital status was rarely remarked in literature and legal records, their occupational, financial, and public roles little altered by bereavement.

On the other hand, great cultural and economic change usually marked a woman's transition to widowhood. Widows were a large, identifiable, and problematic social group. In fifteenth-century Florence, for example, a quarter of females over age twelve were widows. Even in England, where age differences between husbands and wives were usually relatively small, widows constituted almost a tenth of the female population.

CULTURE AND IDEAS

For a few of these women, widowhood conveyed wealth and independence; for most, it meant increased poverty. But whether rich or poor, widows challenged the fundamental premise of patriarchal order. Not only did every widow remind each man of his own mortality, a widow heading her own household also represented a lapse of the universal idea that women should be controlled by men. There were alternatives to this dangerous independence. Where Roman law was influential, widows sometimes, at least in theory, continued under male guardianship of father or brother or brother-in-law. Traditional Christian admiration for celibacy extended to chaste widowhood, and some Catholic widows took the opportunity of bereavement to enter (and in the case of some wealthy widows, to found) religious houses to secure an honorable home. Remarriage was another solution, but it suggested disloyalty to the dead husband, threatened his property and his children, and was generally criticized except for young childless women. The remarrying widow was a standard subject for jokes, satire, and gossip. But widows who did not marry were equally subject to criticism: as sexually rapacious, as subversive advisors to potentially rebellious wives, as aggressive and irritating borrowers and beggars, or, at best, as pathetic objects of charity. In the eighteenth century this last idea developed into the sentimentalized image of the permanently grieving and helpless widow, replacing the disorderly crone. Works of advice for widows prescribed a private life of chaste loyalty to the dead husband as the only defense against these negative images.

PROPERTY AND WORK

Of course, most widows did not and could not retire into helpless passivity. How did they live? Across Europe, most widows had some rights by law or custom, but variations were complex. One factor was the nature of conjugal estate in the area. Where tradition emphasized the separated unit of husband, wife, and children, the widow was more likely to succeed to headship of an independent household, with all the opportunities and problems that implied; where integration of the conjugal unit into a lineage was stronger, the widow would more likely make her home with her dead husband's successors, or return to her own male kin. Widows' rights to the

couple's property also varied. At one extreme, a wife's estate (that is, the wealth she brought to the marriage as dowry, the parallel gift from her husband's family to her, and what she earned) remained all or partly under her own control during and after the marriage. Wives who traded in their own right in London, women in the Netherlands who chose to manage their own wealth (like many Jewish and Muslim women), and noble wives in Russia who gained the right to acquire their own lands during the eighteenth century probably experienced very little economic change in the transition to widowhood. In other systems, for example in Valencia, the property that a bride brought to her marriage remained hers but under her husband's control, until his death allowed the wife/widow to reclaim her contribution. In Florence a widow could, if she chose, take her wealth back and return to her own kin. But her children, part of her husband's lineage, stayed with his family, and by retrieving her wealth, she was potentially depriving them of both herself and her wealth. Even where, as in England, the wife's contribution in cash or goods belonged, notoriously, to her husband, some latent tradition remained by *legitime* of a guaranteed customary widow's share of the husband's goods. A widow could also claim a share of his real property (one-third by common-law dower, sometimes more, according to local custom). It was hers for life, but she could not sell it or bequeath it by will. An English husband had a corresponding right to his dead wife's real property, provided a child had been born to the couple. Similar rules of life estate have been studied in Paris, in parts of the Netherlands, and in Poland and elsewhere. For many wives the crucial document was the husband's will. A large, but declining, proportion of husbands conveyed substantial control by making their wives executors; but a will could also be used to reduce customary rights. Indeed, during the early modern period, widows' traditional rights tended almost everywhere to become more attenuated, sometimes replaced by negotiated contractual protections. Historians have been surprised by the energy with which widows used the courts, often successfully, to defend their customary or individual rights.

Rural widows thus sometimes had access to land and continued to farm. In some localities, up to a quarter of the land might be under widows' control.

In towns and cities, wives of craftsmen and merchants also commonly carried on their husbands' businesses. Glikl bas Judah Leib of Hameln, whose memoirs have made her one of the best known of early modern widows, continued her Jewish family's trade in jewels during her first widowhood. Tax records and family letters reveal the lives of many other economically active widows. Even where there was no custom of wives' separate trading, most women had their own occupations that they continued in widowhood. Access to work encouraged widows to migrate and perhaps discouraged make-do remarriage; thus, the proportions of widows in lace-making communities, for example, tended to be higher than in other parts of rural France. But like rights of succession to land, widows' rights to practice their husbands' trades became more circumscribed through the period, and women's opportunities to be trained for a profitable separate occupation were also reduced.

HOME AND CHILDREN

The presence or absence of children made a huge difference. The desire to protect children's inheritances sometimes discouraged widowers from remarrying, despite the problems of single parenthood. Although patriarchal ideals theoretically favored a dying husband's right to control the guardianship of his children, in practice, respect for mothers' capabilities and high male mortality meant that widows often found themselves responsible for at least some young children, for educating them and arranging good marriages. It might be presumed that adult children would ease a widow's problems, but widows competed with children for resources, residence in a child's home was not necessarily attractive, and in the mobile early modern world adult children were often far away.

Widow-headed households were common (almost 14 percent in fifteenth-century Florence, 12 percent in sixteenth-century Paris, 13 percent in England) and although very few widows acquired any public authority by their headship (royal widows such as Catherine de Médicis and Anne of Austria were uniquely famous exceptions), having her own home could give a widow a novel opportunity for informal power in her family and community. But most widows succeeded to little property. If they headed their own households, they would

inevitably be poor, and widow-headed households are overrepresented among the poorest groups in most communities for which we have records.

POVERTY

However much widows were vilified in popular literature, in practice, early modern societies generally also regarded poor widows as deserving objects of charity and relief. Asylums and almshouses were endowed to care for them; giving charity to one's widowed neighbor was a duty. Where state-funded poor relief was established, widows were among those deemed, almost by definition, eligible recipients, and they dominated the relief lists. While wills, deeds, tax lists, and the records of law courts record the lives of propertied widows, the lives of the poorest are documented in the records of the asylums that gave them shelter or in the tiny sums doled out week after week to support a few widowed men, and a vast group of widows. These records evoke the generosity of early modern communities and, at the same time, mark the consequences of patriarchal structures that subordinated women and made most widows poor and vulnerable.

See also Family; Inheritance and Wills; Marriage; Patriarchy and Paternalism; Poverty; Women.

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BARBARA J. TODD

WIELAND, CHRISTOPH MARTIN

(1733–1813), German writer, publisher, and classicist and one of the most influential literary figures of the German Enlightenment. The son of a Lutheran minister, Christoph Martin Wieland was born in Oberholzheim, Upper Swabia, near the imperial city of Biberach on 5 September 1733. At the age of thirteen, after attending the local public school of Biberach, Wieland was sent to Klosterbergen in the vicinity of Magdeburg, one of the most prestigious boarding schools of the time. Already an avid reader, Wieland acquired the reputation of a freethinker and, not surprisingly, his literary interests proved stronger than his dedication to his law studies at Tübingen (1750–1751). From 1752 to 1759, he was a student of the literary polemicist Johann Jakob Bodmer (1698–1783) in Zurich. After working as a private tutor in Bern (1759–1760) and as a professor of philosophy at the University of Erfurt (1769–1772), Wieland became the tutor of Karl August, the future duke of Weimar, in 1772.

Many of Wieland's works reflect his love of the classics and his profound knowledge of European literature, both of which become evident through his numerous commentaries and his often-criticized Shakespeare translations. Influenced by Bodmer (the teacher of the German poet Friedrich Gottlieb Klopstock [1724–1803]), Wieland's early works such as *Die Natur der Dinge* (1751; The nature of things) are profoundly religious in character, whereas his later works become more frivolous and suggestive in tone. Autobiographical elements appear with striking frequency in most of Wieland's writings. From 1760 to 1769, for example, Wieland

served as municipal administrator in Biberach. Some of his experiences as a public administrator reappear in comic form in his later work *Die Geschichte der Abderiten* (1781; translated as The republic of fools, 1861), which belongs to the category of fools' literature and pointedly ridicules bourgeois pettiness and the fruitlessness of religious quarrels. Probably the first socially critical novel, *Die Geschichte der Abderiten* systematically portrays life in the Republic of Abdera, the ancient Greek symbol of folly, where things happen in reversal of what one would consider normal. His earlier works *Der Sieg der Natur über die Schwärmerey, oder die Abenteuer des Don Sylvio von Rosalva* (1764; translated as Reason triumphant over fancy, exemplified in the singular adventures of Don Sylvio de Rosalva, 1773) and *Der goldene Spiegel* (1772; The golden mirror) reveal Wieland's potential as a future novelist. Scholars view his most famous work, *Die Geschichte des Agathon* (1766/1767; The history of Agathon), which appeared in several revised editions between 1773 and 1793, as the first and one of the finest examples of the genre of the Bildungsroman (novel concerned with the intellectual or spiritual development of the main character). Influenced by Euripides's play *Ion*, *Die Geschichte des Agathon* uses a classical setting and focuses on the discrepancy between youthful idealism and the harsh realities of life. Kidnapped by pirates from his sheltered home at Delphi, its hero Agathon, who arguably could be seen as a reflection of Wieland's own youthful self, endures a long odyssey of fruitless searching for wisdom and happiness. As a disillusioned old man, Agathon eventually realizes that human beings rarely act the way they should and that the purpose of life must be to find a compromise between head and heart, which means between rational thought and human passions.

Many of Wieland's works, such as his *Die Geschichte der Abderiten*, first appeared as sequels in his own literary journal *Der teutsche Merkur* (The German Mercury). Wieland had cultivated the idea of creating a literary journal for a considerable time and was able to realize this goal with the help of the Jacobi brothers in 1772, during his time in Weimar. Wieland's presence at Weimar contributed to the duchy's rise to prominence as Germany's cultural capital because it attracted figures such as Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749–1832) and Friedrich

von Schiller (1759–1805) as well. Wieland's relationship to Goethe and Schiller became strained over the years and eventually culminated in a polemic campaign against the aging poet. Proponents of the Sturm und Drang (Storm and Stress) movement initiated the campaign against Wieland and were joined at a later stage by adherents of the rising Romantic movement. Nonetheless, during his final years, Wieland's residence at Weimar became a place of pilgrimage for Germany's most noted and promising writers.

Wieland's reputation as one of the most prominent writers of his age is probably best illustrated by the poet's decoration with the Cross of the Legion of Merit in 1808 by Napoleon Bonaparte. Celebrated as the "German Voltaire" during his lifetime, Wieland's literary contribution fell into near oblivion in the nineteenth century, and scholars have only recently come to view him as one of the most important literary figures of the German Enlightenment as well as a precursor of German classicism and Romanticism.

See also **Enlightenment; German Literature and Language.**

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ULRICH GROETSCH

WILKINS, JOHN (1614–1672), an important figure in the history of science, religion, literature, and linguistics. As his many publications suggest, Wilkins possessed a wide-ranging intellect. His contributions to natural philosophy include the popularization of science, development of English scientific organization, creation of a universal language, and demonstration of the compatibility of religion and science. *The Discovery of a World in the Moone* (1638) and *A Discourse concerning a New World and Another Planet* (1640) introduced lay readers to Copernicanism and the implications of Galileo's telescopic observations, but literary figures satirized his speculations about the possibility of lunar flight and lunar inhabitants. He also proposed solutions to possible conflicts with Scripture, which he suggested God had "accommodated" to the capacity of the common people. Natural knowledge was determined by "Sensible Experiments and Necessary Demonstration"; science was an independent body of knowledge verifiable by its own standards of investigation. *Mercury, or the Secret and Swift Messenger* (1641) explores the nature of codes and secret communications and proposes a "Universal Character" and language. *Mathematical Magick, or the wonders that may be performed by mechanical geometry* (1648) explains fundamental principles of mechanics and suggests both practical and fanciful devices utilizing these principles.

While warden of Wadham College, Oxford, Wilkins defended universities against the attacks of Thomas Hobbes and the radical sects, and insisted that the universities were hospitable to recent developments in natural philosophy. He recruited to Wadham a group of naturalists of differing religious and political persuasions to pursue a wide-ranging, cooperative, and experimental program that was the forerunner of the Royal Society, which he helped to found, serving as one of its secretaries and supervising the composition of Thomas Sprat's *The History of the Royal Society* (1667). His long-standing interest in language and linguistics culminated in *An Essay towards a Real Character, and a Philosophical Language* (1668), which describes a universal language he designed to facilitate scientific communication and trade and reduce religious misunderstanding.

Wilkins also made important contributions to religion and wrote frequently reprinted works on the organization and presentation of preaching and prayer. In *A Discourse concerning the Beauty of Providence and All the Rugged Passages of It* (1649) he advised acceptance of recent political changes. During the Restoration he became a key figure in the development of latitudinarian theology and natural religion and a staunch advocate of comprehension, a policy intended to broaden the established church. His adoption of an epistemology that emphasized the probabilistic nature of human knowledge led him to advocate tentativeness and moderation in both religion and natural philosophy, and he expounded these views from the pulpit of St. Laurence Jewry, London, as Dean of Ripon and as Bishop of Chester, and in his *Sermons Preached upon Several Occasions before the King at White-Hall* (1677) and *Of the Principles and Duties of Natural Religion* (1675), completed by his son-in-law, John Tilotson.

Wilkins's diverse interests made him a significant figure in the intellectual and cultural life of his time, and his contributions to Interregnum and Restoration natural philosophy and scientific organization remain important. Historians interested in the relationship between religion and science have investigated his religious views, variously identified as Puritan or latitudinarian, while literary scholars and linguists read his work in connection with the development of prose style and linguistics.

See also **Academies, Learned; Astronomy; Bible: Interpretation; Copernicus, Nicolaus; Galileo Galilei; Hobbes, Thomas; Philosophy; Preaching and Sermons; Scientific Method.**

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BARBARA SHAPIRO

WILLIAM AND MARY (William III, 1650–1702; ruled 1689–1702), king of England, Scotland, and Ireland; (Mary II, 1662–1694; ruled 1689–1694), queen of England, Scotland, and Ireland. William III of Orange, stadtholder of the United Provinces, was born 4 November 1650, the son of William II of Orange (1626–1650), who died shortly before the birth, and Mary Stuart (1631–1660), eldest daughter of Charles I of England. Fiercely anti-French, the future William III led the Dutch in the war against France of 1672–1678 following the revolution of 1672 that revived the stadtholderate. The future Mary II was born on 30 April 1662, the eldest daughter of James, duke of York (James II; ruled 1685–1688), and his first wife, Anne Hyde (1638–1671). William and Mary were married on 4 November 1677 as part of the scheme of Thomas Osborne (1632–1712), earl of Danby, to move England out of the French orbit and to secure the Protestant succession in the wake of York's conversion to Catholicism. At the time Mary was second in line to the throne after her father, and William was fourth.

Alarmed by political developments under James II after 1685 and determined to bring England into

his anti-French alliance, William offered to invade England by April 1688 if he could be assured of the necessary support. The birth of a Prince of Wales to James II's second wife on 10 June 1688, however, provided the immediate cue for action. A group of seven Whig and Tory politicians sent William a signed invitation to come to England's rescue. William, using the rumor that the baby was not really the queen's but had been smuggled into the bedchamber in a warming pan as a pretext, alleged that James therefore was guilty of trying to defraud William and his wife of their inheritance rights. The Glorious Revolution of 1688–1689 that followed resulted in the overthrow of James II and the installation of William and Mary as joint sovereigns of England, Scotland, and Ireland, though with full regal power invested in William alone.

William's accession brought England into the Continental alliance to prevent the expansionist ambitions of Louis XIV (ruled 1643–1715) in Europe. William first secured Ireland, defeating James II's Franco-Irish army at the River Boyne on 1 July 1690 (though Jacobite resistance in Ireland did not finally collapse for another year). William then led the Continental campaign in the Low Countries, but the War of the League of Augsburg (1688–1697) ended inconclusively with the Treaty of Ryswick (Rijswijk) in 1697, leaving the crucial question of the fate of the Spanish inheritance undecided. In 1698–1700 William negotiated two treaties with France to partition the Spanish empire upon the death of the Spanish king Charles II (ruled 1665–1700). But when Charles died in October 1700, leaving his entire empire to Louis XIV's grandson Philip of Anjou (ruled 1700–1724, 1724–1746 as Philip V), Louis reneged on the agreement, prompting William to forge a new Grand Alliance (August 1701) to secure partition by force. The War of the Spanish Succession (1701–1714) broke out shortly after William's death.

The expense of war necessitated a financial revolution and the establishment of the Bank of England in 1694. Setting up the national debt, which needed to be serviced by regular grants of parliamentary taxation, did more than anything else to make the English monarchy dependent on Parliament. William's reign also saw the passage of the Triennial Act in 1694 (guaranteeing new Parliaments every three years) and the lapsing of the Licensing Act in 1695

(thereby establishing freedom of the press), while William's repeated absences in conducting war on the Continent led to the beginnings of the cabinet system of government. However, Mary was not a complete political nonentity. An act of May 1690 made her regent during her husband's absences, and she showed considerable adroitness in dealing with various crises that emerged until her premature death from smallpox in December 1694. Mary died childless, and her sister Anne's sole surviving child, the duke of Gloucester, died in 1700. Consequently in 1701 Parliament passed the Act of Settlement, which conferred the succession on the house of Hanover once the Protestant Stuart line died out, established that future monarchs had to be communicating members of the Church of England, and placed limits on the crown's ability to involve England in war fought in defense of the monarchy's possessions abroad.

In Scotland, William achieved notoriety for authorizing the massacre of the MacDonald clan at Glencoe in 1692, when the clan accidentally missed the deadline for swearing allegiance to the new regime by five days. In Ireland, William's regime presided over the passage of a series of penal laws designed to strike at the Catholic faith that were in clear breach of the Treaty of Limerick, which had ended the Jacobite War in 1691. With his health already deteriorating—he had long suffered badly from asthma—William fell and broke his collarbone when his horse stumbled on a molehill in Hampton Court Park on 20 February 1702. He died from pleurisy on 8 March. Jacobite legend attributes his demise to “the little gentleman in black velvet.”

See also Church of England; Glorious Revolution; Jacobitism; League of Augsburg, War of the (1688–1697); Louis XIV (France); Spanish Succession, War of the (1701–1714); Stuart Dynasty (England and Scotland).

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TIM HARRIS

WILLIAM OF ORANGE (1533–1584), Dutch statesman, leader of the Dutch Revolt, and founding father of the Dutch Republic. Also known as William the Silent, William of Orange was the oldest son of the German count of Nassau, William the Rich, and Juliana of Stolbergen. His life was changed by the cannonball that killed his childless uncle René of Chalons during the Habsburg siege of the French town of Saint-Didier in 1544. As the last representative of the house of Nassau-Breda, Chalons had appointed his young nephew as his heir. The heritage included not only large possessions in the Netherlands, but also the principality of Orange in southern France. From now on, William was no longer the son of an insignificant German count, but a prince by blood. Emperor Charles V (ruled 1519–1556) summoned the young boy from his family’s castle at Dillenburg to the Netherlands, where he became a page at the imperial court and was raised as a loyal and Catholic nobleman. The years that followed saw the remarkable transformation of the son of a Lutheran German count into a French-speaking Burgundian *grand seigneur*, ready to serve the Habsburgs. A brilliant career followed, with honorable military charges, an appointment in the Council of State, admittance to the Order of the Golden Fleece, and, in 1559, the office of governor or stadtholder of Holland, Zeeland, and Utrecht. William of Orange had become one of the wealthiest and mightiest noblemen in the Netherlands. His 1558 marriage to Anna van Buren of the Egmont family confirmed his new standing.



William of Orange. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

In the 1560s, under the regime of Charles V’s successor, Philip II of Spain (ruled 1556–1598), everything changed dramatically. From being a central pillar of royal authority, William of Orange became the leader of an armed opposition to Habsburg rule in the Low Countries. In hindsight, it is clear that the split between Orange and the regime started in 1561, with William’s second marriage to Anna of Saxony, the niece of the elector of Saxony. It was a prestigious but hardly tactful marriage. Anna had many powerful relatives, but they were all Lutherans, and most of them were old enemies of the Habsburgs. In order to profit fully from his new German connections, Orange was, according to some historians, forced to become more critical of the persecutions and executions of Protestants in the Netherlands and, in the end, of Catholicism itself. Certainly, the marriage heightened the suspicions in government circles concerning the prince’s religious loyalty. Lacking strong commitment to any confession, Orange himself became more and more convinced of the disastrous consequences of Philip II’s stubborn religious policy. Instead, he championed a policy of religious compromise. In December 1564, in a famous speech to the mem-

bers of the Council of State, Orange criticized frankly those rulers who sought to force the consciences of their subjects.

In politics William of Orange was above all an ambitious nobleman, seeking power and prestige. And as a natural advisor in military and political issues, he felt himself under the new regime more and more excluded from all-important decision making. In the figure of Philip II's new right-hand man in Brussels, Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle, Orange and his noble friends found their *bête noire*. For a traditional nobleman such as Orange, Granvelle was nothing more than an upstart civil servant from the Franche-Comté, an example of the rising new bureaucrats of non-noble background. And as the new archbishop of Malines, he was the personification of the new bishoprics, by many falsely associated with the Spanish Inquisition.

Orange and other nobles formed an anti-Granvelle league. By the end of 1563 Granvelle had lost the game in Madrid, and on 13 March 1564 he left the Netherlands. But William of Orange and his fellow noblemen never managed either to overcome the paralysis into which the government had fallen or to moderate Philip's policy. In the end, the king's reinforced religious persecutions sparked rebellion: in 1566 the Netherlands witnessed a profound political crisis, with rebellious Protestant members of the middling and lower nobility (the League of Compromise), a wave of iconoclasm (the *Beeldenstorm*), and military actions of the league of armed nobles known as the *Gueux* ('beggars').

As a *politique*, 'mediator between extremes', Orange tried to steer a middle course during the upheaval. He supported the political opposition but tried at the same time to prevent social unrest and chaos and to maintain good relations with the government. His attempt failed. Both sides mistrusted him. In April 1567, with the opposition in the Netherlands losing momentum and Don Fernando Alvarez de Toledo, third duke of Alba, at the head of ten thousand Spanish troops on the way, William of Orange fled to the Dillenburg to find rest and peace among his friends.

He was not to find it. His property was confiscated when he refused Alba's summons to appear before the Council of Blood, and his eldest son, Philips William, had been seized by the royalists at

the university town of Louvain and taken to Spain. William of Orange had become a dishonorable exile. In an attempt to redeem his lost reputation, and that of the house of Nassau, Orange decided on armed opposition to Habsburg rule in the Netherlands, and in 1568 he launched a military campaign. It was accompanied by a stream of well-crafted propaganda, elaborating on "Spanish cruelty" and tyranny, and stressing the godliness and heroism of William of Orange. In military affairs, however, Orange was no match for Alba. The campaign was a failure, and in the years that followed Orange was unable to mount further large-scale invasions to save the "worthy inhabitants who enjoyed freedom in former times from unbearable slavery," as he had promised.

On 1 April 1572, however, six hundred Sea Beggars, pirates carrying letters of marque by William of Orange, seized the small port of Brill. In the months that followed, one town after another in Holland and Zeeland opened its gates for Orange and the Sea Beggars, with the notable exception of Amsterdam, which stayed in the royalist camp until 1578. Alienated by Alba's tax policy and unwilling to billet Spanish garrisons, the citizenry choose what they thought was the lesser of two evils. At least the troops of the Sea Beggars included some countrymen and exiled townsmen who had fled the Netherlands in 1567. The Estates of Holland took matters into their own hands. On 19 July the Orangist Holland towns assembled at Dordrecht and accepted William of Orange as their stadtholder, recognizing him "in the absence of His Royal Majesty" as "Protector" of the Netherlands as a whole. In exchange, Orange promised through his secretary Philips Marnix, Lord of St. Aldegonde, that he would not govern Holland without the consent of the States. In the autumn of 1572, Orange, whose own efforts to stir up the cities of Brabant and Flanders had failed, decided to withdraw to Holland, convinced that he would find his grave there.

Dark years of civil war followed, including religious cleansing, mutual atrocities, and massacres of nuns, monks, and priests. Orange was powerless to prevent the elimination of Catholicism in Holland and Zeeland as an officially tolerated church, in spite of his own tolerant attitudes in religion. In the autumn of 1573 he became a Calvinist.

As a political leader, however, William of Orange experienced his finest hour. He proved to be a charismatic leader, pragmatic, keen, unwilling to compromise, and provided with an unflagging faith in God. It was largely as a result of his leadership that the rebels overcame their differences and continued their military struggle. Seizing the opportunities caused by the large-scale mutinies of the unpaid and unsupplied Spanish troops, the rebellious provinces of Holland and Zeeland in 1576 signed a treaty with the States-General, the Pacification of Ghent. It seemed a victory for Orange, the first step toward a reunification of the Netherlands under a new constitution. In September 1577 Orange entered Brussels in triumph, as a new “messiah.” But the new coalition was too fragile; Orange never managed to overcome the differences between Holland and the moderate noblemen in the south, or to moderate the demands of the radical Calvinists in Brabant and Flanders. In the end, north and south drifted apart, as was illustrated by the two “Unions” concluded in 1578: the Union of Arras, which aimed to reconcile the State of the Catholic-dominated provinces in the southern Netherlands with the king of Spain, and the Union of Utrecht, which was meant as a military alliance among the rebellious provinces “for all time.”

In September 1583 William of Orange returned to Holland from Antwerp. Declared a traitor and outlawed by Philip II, who had in 1581 promised a reward for the assassination of the prince, and confronted by the steady military advance of the new governor-general, Alexander Farnese, duke of Parma, Orange faced an insecure future. He defended himself in a fierce *Apologia*, but his popularity had reached rock bottom, largely because of his disastrous pro-French policy. He had always been convinced that the revolt could only succeed with the help of the French and had in 1580 offered the governor-generalship of the Netherlands to Francis, the duke of Anjou and Alençon, who was the brother of the French king. The eventual result was political crisis and mutinous soldiers (the French Fury of January 1583). Orange’s pro-French politics was symbolized in his private life by his marriage with Louise de Coligny in 1582. It was his fourth marriage, after Anna van Buren, the disastrous affair with Anna of Saxony, from whom he was divorced in 1575, and Charlotte de Bourbon. Louise de Col-

igny would give birth to Frederik Hendrik, Orange’s youngest son, after Philips William from his first marriage and Maurice from his second. He had six daughters with Charlotte de Bourbon.

When on 10 July 1584 the French Catholic zealot Balthazar Gérard fired his fatal pistol shots in Delft, the realization of Orange’s goals for the Netherlands seemed farther away than ever. No wonder therefore, that an English visitor, Fyne Moryson, described the original grave of the prince as “the poorest that ever I saw for such a person, being only of rough stones and mortar, with posts of wood, colored over with black, and very little erected from the ground” (quoted in Swart, forthcoming). It was only some twenty years later that the newly founded Dutch Republic erected the monument that William of Orange deserved as the founding father of a new state and the advocate of religious tolerance—Hendrick de Keyser’s monumental tomb in the Nieuwe Kerk in Delft.

See also Alba, Fernando Álvarez de Toledo, duke of; Charles V (Holy Roman Empire); Dutch Republic; Dutch Revolt; Huygens Family; Oldenbarneveltdt, Johan van; Philip II (Spain); Sea Beggars.

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PAUL KNEVEL

WILLS. *See* Inheritance and Wills.

WINCKELMANN, JOHANN JOACHIM (1717–1768), German art historian, archaeologist, and philosopher of aesthetics, and one of the leading proponents of neoclassicism. Winck-

emann is regarded as the first modern historian of art for his systematic treatment of ancient art as an expression of historical conditions, rather than as a tradition of artistic skills and ideas passed from one generation of artists to the next, which was the art-historical approach practiced by Giorgio Vasari (1511–1574), Karl van Mander (1548–1606), and Giovanni Pietro Bellori (1613–1696) in their *Lives* of artists.

Winckelmann was born on 9 December 1717 in Stendal, a town between Hannover and Berlin. The son of an impoverished cobbler, he sought, as a young man, to better his conditions through devotion to academic study, and fell in love with the literature of classical antiquity. In hopes of securing a measure of financial security, and on the advice of his father, Winckelmann pursued a course of study in theology, mathematics, and medicine, as well as Greek and Latin, at the Universities of Jena and Halle. At Halle, Winckelmann was a student of Alexander Baumgarten (1714–1762), the founder of

modern aesthetics, and developed his own philosophy of beauty, involving the direct experience of beautiful objects, in reaction to Baumgarten's rather cold (in Winckelmann's own opinion) philosophical formalism.

Not finding theology or medicine his calling, Winckelmann left the university and continued to pursue the study of ancient literature and contemporary aesthetics privately, while serving in various positions as a tutor and schoolteacher. A student tutored by him, F. W. Peter Lamprecht, became one of the great loves of his life and followed him to Seehausen after Winckelmann accepted a position as a teacher of Classics there in 1743. In 1748 Winckelmann left Seehausen to work as a librarian and researcher for Count Heinrich von Büнау in Nöthnitz, near Dresden. Lamprecht did not follow, although Winckelmann would continue to lavish his affections upon his former student in private correspondence for years to come. In 1754 he moved to Dresden to work as librarian to Cardinal Passionei, a position that afforded him access to works of literature, art objects, and contemporary cultural debate previously unavailable to him in the provinces where he had been raised and schooled. It was during this period in Dresden that Winckelmann wrote what would, in retrospect, count as the manifesto for the rest of his scholarly life: the brief but powerful and influential essay *Gedanken über die Nachahmung der griechischen Werke in der Malerei und Bildhauerkunst* (1755; Reflections on the imitation of the painting and sculpture of ancient Greeks). The essay took up a long-running debate in eighteenth-century European intellectual circles, called “The Battle of the Books” in London and the “Querelle des Anciens et des Modernes” in Paris, about which culture was superior—ancient or modern—and why. Winckelmann argued that ancient art was clearly superior and that, for the moderns, the only art worth making is the imitation of the art of the ancients, but added (in a rhetorical flourish typical of Winckelmann's style of argument) that the art of the ancients is so superior to the moderns that it is inimitable. He therefore counseled his artistic contemporaries that, since they are doomed to the ineradicable falseness of painting and sculpture in modern times, they should imitate that which is inimitable. Winckelmann reinforces his valuation of the impossible imitability of the Greeks by



Johann Joachim Winckelmann. LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

being the first art historian to discriminate between Greek originals and their inferior Roman copies.

Winckelmann's *Reflections* were quickly translated into several languages and found a wide audience. In 1755, with his intellectual reputation established, Winckelmann, encouraged by a group of Jesuit dignitaries visiting Dresden, moved to Rome, where he would be able to pursue his studies and personal inclinations more freely. By 1763, with Cardinal Alessandro Albani (1692–1779), the Vatican's chief librarian and a leading patron of the arts, as his sponsor and confidant, Winckelmann became papal antiquary, a position that included escorting visiting dignitaries through Rome's art and antiquities collections. In Rome, Winckelmann set to work on his most important book, *Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums* (1764; The history of ancient art), an ambitious, multivolume account of the art of antiquity in Egypt, Greece, and Rome, written in a style that mixes the sentimental with the clinical and the platonic. Winckelmann narrated the course of each of these cultures as a kind of life cycle showing "the origin, progress, change and downfall of art, together with the different styles of nations, periods and artists," and drew for his studies upon the concentrations of collections of antique art and artifacts in Rome. Elaborating on the thesis first offered in his *Reflections*, he argued that the felicitous cultural situation of ancient Greece—including political freedoms and unfettered opportunities to view and appreciate the naked body—could not be repeated in modern times. Following a logic reminiscent of the Socratic doctrines of love and beauty, he lamented the passing of Greek art and the beautiful male bodies that inspired it, but found consolation in the historian's ambition to know about it.

Winckelmann met with an untimely death at the hands of an unemployed cook and thief, Francesco Arcangeli, in a hotel in Trieste on 8 June, 1768, while on a diplomatic mission. The motive for the murder was never determined, although speculation about this and other details of Winckelmann's very public private life has inspired numerous literary treatments and plays.

See also **Ancients and Moderns; Art: Art Theory, Criticism, and Historiography; Dresden; Early Modern Period: Art Historical Interpretations; Neoclassicism; Rome, Art in; Sculpture.**

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KEVIN PARKER

WITCHCRAFT. Despite a generation of excellent research, the history of witchcraft remains bedeviled by a host of misperceptions. Ordinary readers often assume that the major witch-hunts occurred in the Middle Ages, that they were conducted by the Catholic Church, and that they reflected the prescientific notions and sexual fantasies of fanatics and neurotics. Elsewhere one can read that huge chain reaction witch trials constituted a "women's holocaust" accounting for millions of deaths, and that the witch-hunters especially targeted midwives and female healers. All of these conclusions are both wrong and misleading. The great age of witchcraft trials came after 1430, and primarily after 1570. The prosecuting magistrates were almost always secular officials, imbued with the best thinking of prominent theologians, philosophers, and even scientists. The numbers of those executed have often been exaggerated by a factor of one or two hundred. Men made up perhaps a quarter of those executed, and there is little evidence that midwives or healers were singled out for suspicion anywhere. But historical prejudices are hard to uproot.

UNDERSTANDINGS OF WITCHCRAFT

Depending on one's definition, various histories of witchcraft are defensible. It was once common, for example, to understand the crime of witchcraft as consisting essentially of having a pact with the devil, an agreement in which one exchanged one's eternal soul for monstrous powers. Such a crime of diabolism had not existed in the ancient world and only slowly emerged from the medieval campaign against magic and heresy, especially against medieval heretics such as the Cathars and Waldensians, groups who challenged both Catholic doctrines and papal jurisdiction. By the late fourteenth century, however, canon lawyers, prominent inquisitors, learned academics, and several popes came to agree that by means of a contract with the devil, whether explicit or only implicit, a magician might work genuine harm in this world. These theorists also gradually worked out a composite view of all the different sorts of crimes and activities their heresy involved. It was increasingly believed that witch-heretics flew off to a "sabbath" where they renounced their Christian faith and baptism, worshipped the devil, danced together, and enjoyed a cannibalistic feast, devouring children whom they had killed while using their fat or other body parts to make loathsome potions. They were also thought to receive instruction in working harmful magic by which they might destroy their neighbors' crops, interfere with the fertility of their cattle, and with the sex lives of those around them. Most luridly, witches were thought to have sexual relations with the devil or with lesser demons. During the fifteenth century large numbers of heretical "witches" or sorcerers began to be discovered, and increasingly they were women.

Another definition of witchcraft emphasizes the continuity of magical practices that witches had used in the West ever since classical times and the similarities between such practices and those found all around the world. On such an understanding, witchcraft is the belief in and use of unusual, secret, or even supernatural forces in order to force or promote specific desired ends. The ancient Greeks had believed in such magic but had not seen it as much of a daily threat. They originally thought that "magic" (*mageia*) was the strange, foreign religious practice of Persian priests (the magi) and of beggars or other dishonorable Greeks. Magic

seemed both alien and disreputable. In Greek literature, the figure of the witch included characters such as Circe and Medea, women who used destructive magic to express their anger, lust, and frustration, but magic does not seem to have been a prominent fear among the Greeks. With the ancient Romans, however, harmful magic (*maleficium*) was forbidden in the earliest set of laws (the Twelve Tables, 451 B.C.E.) and was punished with increasing severity. The Roman historian Livy (*History* 39.41.5 and 40.43.2f) recounts episodes when apparently thousands of persons were executed by jittery judicial officials, and, in the late first century C.E., the Romans began to crack down on fraudulent *magicae vanitates* ('worthless magic'), practices that included healing, divination, and astrology. Thus, this understanding of witchcraft did not require a devil or a pact but insisted on the dangers lurking in the hidden practices of lustful and vengeful witches.

A third notion of witchcraft may be found in the injunctions of the Old Testament, in which the authors of Exodus, Leviticus, Deuteronomy, and Kings, for example, forbade necromancy and divination, practices that competed with the rituals of the Levites and sacrificial priests while also challenging God's sovereignty over the dead and the future. From this point of view, witchcraft represented not diabolism or a physical danger but an abomination, not a conspiracy in league with the devil but impiety, a denial of God's omnipotent control over blessings, punishments, and history (and hence the future as well); such witchcraft constituted an attempt to gain knowledge or advantages that were for God alone. Over time the Israelites intensified their prohibitions against magic, sorcery, divination, and consulting the dead (necromancy), which all hinted at popular polytheism during the exilic and post-exilic period.

All of these notions of witchcraft blended together in various proportions during the late Middle Ages and early modern periods. Some jurists and demonologists were more concerned about a supposed Satanic conspiracy, whose goal seemed to be the destruction of humankind and Christianity. Others remained convinced that witches were primarily a physical danger to their neighbors. Still others were inspired by the image of idolatrous or irreligious magicians who did not constitute a physi-

cal danger to anyone and were not members of some hideous conspiracy, but were committed to “heathenish practices” and to foretelling the future by means of astrology, numerology, or other illicit means. In the seventeenth century some writers began to think that the basic crime of witchcraft consisted in being antisocial, regardless of any actual harm done or religious error.

THE GROWTH OF FEARS OF WITCHCRAFT

In the early Middle Ages, these components had not yet blended to any extent, and so one finds approaches to the crime of witchcraft concentrating on the old Roman or Germanic fear of harmful magic, while churchmen felt free to express deep skepticism about other elements of witchcraft. In perhaps the most important early medieval text, the *Canon Episcopi* (c. 910; “Bishops,” a title taken from the first word of this admonition), Regino of Prüm condemned *maleficium* (‘wrongdoing’) and *sortilegium* (harmful magic and ‘fortune-telling’) harshly in his first paragraph, but also went on to express deep doubts about the stories told of women who supposedly went out at night to ride on the backs of beasts with the goddess Diana. Such persons were dreaming or hallucinating, he thought, and any Christian who believed these tales was guilty of conceding too much power to a pagan goddess. This canon found a prominent place in Gratian’s *Decretum* (1140; Resolution), the most important medieval codification of canon law. From then on, all commentators had to concede that anyone who thought he or she flew might well be deluded.

Following the notion of witchcraft as diabolical heresy, one can trace the rise to prominence of an ecclesiastically flavored fear of a new and growing sect of witches. In the early fourteenth century, Pope John XXII (reigned 1316–1334), for example, repeatedly condemned his enemies for using charms, wax figures, and incantations in their efforts to kill him. In a couple of papal bulls aimed at combating these threats, Pope John widened the understanding of heresy to claim that sorcery involved heresy and a pact with the devil. It was once thought that his reign also witnessed the beginnings of large-scale witchcraft trials with hundreds of executions in southern France, but research in the mid-1970s established that the sources purportedly de-

scribing these trials are in fact nineteenth-century forgeries. Consequently, historians over the past twenty-five years have relocated the beginnings of major witch-hunts to the fifteenth century, and especially to the 1430s.

THE EARLIEST WITCHCRAFT TRIALS

The earliest trials seem to have sprung up around Lake Geneva, to the east in the Valais and Vaud, to the north in Fribourg, Neuchâtel, and Basel, and to the southeast in Leventina (Ticino) and Valle d’Aosta (Italy). During that decade, several authors elaborated the notion of the witches’ sabbath and expressed a sharpened sense of the dangers of a witches’ conspiracy. For example, the Dominican Johannes Nider (c. 1380–1438) wrote extensively in favor of church reform and against witchcraft. Although he maintained a skeptical attitude toward the flight of witches, he helped propagate the view that witches assembled for dancing, feasting, and sexual orgies and for murdering babies and eating their flesh. Gradually the notion took hold that witches gathered regularly at meetings called *sabbaths* or *synagogues*, terms that make the parallel with Jewish assemblies obvious. Frequently, however, these newly detected witches were seen as analogous to medieval heretics, especially to the Cathars and Waldensians. One treatise (c. 1450) described the “heresies” of the witches under the title *Erroris Gazariorum* (The errors of the Cathars, referring to the dualist heretics), while many texts referred to fifteenth-century witches as Vaudois (Waldensians, another prominent medieval heresy). Although the concept of witchcraft drew on ideas of how medieval Jews and heretics were organized, there is no credible evidence that the European witchcraft trials were actually directed at Jews or surviving pockets of heresy or paganism.

THE MALLEUS MALEFICARUM

By the late fifteenth century many ecclesiastical writers had concluded that witchcraft was a fairly new heresy with its origins in the 1380s. In 1484 Pope Innocent VIII (reigned 1484–1492) issued a papal bull, *Summis desiderantes affectibus*, reporting the wide extent of the threat and authorizing two Dominicans, Jacob Sprenger (c. 1436–1495) and Heinrich Kramer (for centuries called *Institutoris* [Latin for ‘merchant’]; c. 1430–1505) as inquisitors to root out the heretics, especially in southern

Germany and in the alpine regions of Tyrol. Secular magistrates were to cease obstructing their efforts and offer their assistance. Despite the bull, Kramer continued to have trouble prosecuting witches, partly because of continued secular and ecclesiastical resistance to his haughty and brutal methods. In the diocese of Constance, Kramer seems to have overseen the conviction and execution of at least forty-eight women, but at Ravensburg he secured the conviction of only two, while many other suspects were released. In 1485, Bishop Georg II Golser of Bressanone quashed Kramer's investigations at Innsbruck and exiled Kramer, noting that he seemed credulous, unethical, and perhaps crazy in his use of torture and in his wild imaginings of what witches did.

While licking his wounds, Kramer composed what is perhaps the most famous treatise on witchcraft, the *Malleus Maleficarum* (late 1486 or early 1487; The hammer of witches), in an effort to justify his fear that witchcraft was gaining ground against Christendom and that lustful women were naturally attracted or seduced into a life of devil worship, demonic sex, and harmful magic. Historians have often thought that the more distinguished Cologne theologian and coinquisitor, Jacob Sprenger, was the coauthor of this book, but the evidence for this collaboration is thin. It is worth noting that Kramer's *Malleus* never embodied accepted Catholic doctrine and that Kramer himself, after being banned from Innsbruck, was rusticated to the mission fields of Bohemia, where he died in obscurity in 1505.

In the *Malleus* Kramer laid out both the new theological understanding of witchcraft and the harsh inquisitorial methods by which one could force suspects to confess and to implicate others in their heresy-crime. Kramer also pleaded successfully for the intervention of secular officials in the prosecution of witchcraft, and, indeed, after 1500 most of the trials north of the Mediterranean were run by secular magistrates and according to secular laws. The vast majority of witchcraft executions came at the hands of ordinary secular magistrates who enforced secular laws and did not follow the prescriptions or share the peculiar phobias of the *Malleus*.

HERESY OR HARM?

Those who define *witchcraft* as a sort of heresy have often argued that by the end of the Middle Ages the construction of the crime was complete and that the great witch-hunts that followed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were only the automatic result of this late medieval construction. On this view, common among certain medievalists, the "great witch craze" merely combined this fantastic crime with the supposedly relentless procedures of the Inquisition. Those who have emphasized the nature of witchcraft as harmful magic, however, have thought that the emphasis on heresy and inquisition seriously underestimates the fear of witchcraft among humble villagers, who were always more concerned about their crops, herds, and families than any supposed deviations in belief, and point to the slow adoption of witchcraft statutes by the civil authorities of northern Europe. Emperor Charles V's (ruled 1519–1556) imperial penal code (*Constitutio Criminalis Carolina*, 1532; The criminal code of the Emperor Charles), valid for the whole Holy Roman Empire, described the crime in these words: "When someone harms people or brings them trouble by witchcraft, one should punish them with death, and one should use the punishment of death by fire. When, however, someone uses witchcraft and yet does no one any harm with it, that person should be punished otherwise, according to the custom of the case" (Article 109). There was no mention of pacts with the devil, no sabbath, cannibalism, flight, or heresy. This secular code was obviously most concerned with *maleficium*, 'harmful magic'.

A similar emphasis is visible in the English statute of 1563, which threatened the death penalty for any witchcraft, enchantment, charming, or sorcery if it resulted in the death of a human being; but if these dark arts were less successful (if the victim was maimed or if animals were killed), the witch was to be punished with only a year's imprisonment. Reduced penalties were introduced for the lesser crimes of using magic to find lost or stolen goods, or to incite someone to illicit love. Other secular states also continued to consider witchcraft as first and foremost an attack on others by magical, supernatural means; it was only in the seventeenth century that some of these northern European states finally adopted a fully diabolized understanding of witch-

craft, one that made it a capital crime to “consult, covenant with, entertain, employ, feed, or reward any evil and wicked spirit to or for any intent or purpose,” as the English statute of 1604 put it. Just as most secular states in northern Europe continued to place *maleficium* at the heart of witchcraft accusations, so too most jurisdictions under an ecclesiastical law (for example, the Mediterranean regions of Italy, Spain, and Portugal) persisted in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in seeing witchcraft mainly as a spiritual offense. But that did not mean that the inquisitorial regimes were fiercer. Rather, it meant that throughout southern Europe the scrutiny of witchcraft rumors, accusations, and confessions was more intense, and executions for the crime of witchcraft correspondingly scarce.

VARIATIONS IN TIME AND SPACE

The wave of recent research into witchcraft trials across Europe has underscored dramatic variations from time to time and from place to place. No region was ever subject to a hundred years of terror; the worst witch-hunts came in waves or spasms, starting in the 1560s and 1570s in southern Germany and in Lorraine, rising again in the 1590s, again in the 1610s and late 1620s, and coming to an end in the 1660s. Across the Holy Roman Empire, the largest persecutions occurred in smaller territories, especially those under the secular jurisdiction of a prelate, an imperial abbot, or some other ecclesiastical administrator. The bishoprics and archbishoprics of Trier, Mainz, Cologne, Augsburg, Würzburg, Bamberg, and Eichstätt were among the fiercest in all of Europe, while the Duchy of Lorraine was perhaps the worst secular territory. Together they accounted for about 10,000 executions.

It was not only Catholic territories that proved to be zealous prosecutors of witchcraft. The Swiss territory of Vaud (under the general control of Bern) conducted perhaps the most extensive witchcraft trials in any Protestant land (perhaps 2,000 executed in all), but the reformed courts of Scotland probably executed 1,000 witches as well. Lutheran Mecklenburg, a land of splintered jurisdictions and widespread noble autonomy, may well have executed 2,000 of the approximately 3,700 persons tried there for witchcraft. In these large persecutions, village accusations of witchcraft usually proliferated in the wake of some climatic disaster, a late

frost or a cold, rainy summer that ruined crops, as was common in Germany in 1626, “the year with no summer.”

Magistrates responded to local pressures demanding punishment for the witches thought responsible for these disasters; by the seventeenth century some magistrates were ready to interpret such crop failures and the resulting famine as the consequence of a satanic conspiracy. Thus, village suspicions were reinforced by elite fears. In general, however, it appears that larger secular territories with better-developed appeals courts were able to contain the panic of witchcraft more effectively. The Electoral Palatinate, for example, never carried out witch-hunts of any magnitude, and Bavaria after the 1590s also displayed an increasing skepticism. The Parlement of Paris, the appeals court responsible for a huge jurisdiction that took in most of northern France, became increasingly skeptical from the 1580s onward and, after 1624, made the prosecution of witchcraft almost impossible. After a high point in much of Central Europe in the 1620s, another wave of witchcraft trials erupted in the 1660s from Germany north to Sweden, but then became rare except in Poland, where trials continued until about 1725. By then, witchcraft trials were long over elsewhere. It was long supposed that the last German execution for witchcraft occurred in 1775 in Kempten, but it is now known that the suspect there, though condemned, was not actually executed. In 1782 the Protestant canton of Uri executed a woman as a witch, and a few Polish trials resulted in executions even after that.

Witchcraft remained a crime mainly prosecuted in Catholic and Protestant Europe. The thoroughly developed notion of the pact with the devil was never introduced into the lands of Eastern Orthodoxy, so there were basically few trials (and no massive chain-reaction trials) in Russia. Even in Catholic Poland it appears that earlier accounts of huge witchcraft trials are seriously exaggerated. Suspicions of magic and a variety of other popular spiritual beliefs remained common among the Russian peasantry, however, right down to the twentieth century. Altogether, for all of Europe and over a period of about 300 years, scholars now estimate that perhaps 40,000 to 50,000 people were executed for the crime of witchcraft, a large number to be sure, but small compared to estimates that sug-

gest nine million executions, a number for which there is no basis.

Variations in the severity of witch-hunts and punishments imposed on those accused of the crime-heresy of witchcraft seem to have depended on whether local convictions could be appealed to a distant (and usually more skeptical) court. Where local courts could act autonomously, local excesses were difficult to moderate. It may even be that the term *witch-hunt* is misleading because, in many of the worst cases, magistrates were not actively hunting anyone but were, instead, responding to accusations that bubbled up from neighborhood suspicions. In a surprising number of cases, the original accusations were launched by village women against one or more other women suspected, sometimes for decades, of causing local harm.

WITCHCRAFT AS “SUPERSTITION”

The third definition of *witchcraft* as impiety surfaced in early modern Europe among magistrates who reacted in horror at the “superstition” of common villagers whose impious attitudes, magical practices, illicit charms, and devotion to local magical healers or shamanlike prophets seemed to prove their adherence to irreligion and witchcraft. Such “superstitious” peasants seemed to deny God’s omnipotence, omniscience, and sovereignty over the future and over all blessings and troubles. From this point of view, witchcraft accusations seem connected to efforts of churchmen and magistrates to enforce severe reforms of parish and devotional life. This pattern has been found in Friuli, north of Venice, among villagers who confessed that some of their neighbors regularly went forth “in the spirit” at night to combat the witches who threatened their fields.

Another study has examined the similar case of an alpine horse wrangler who confessed that he traveled with the “phantoms of the night” to learn the secrets of life and death and to gain healing powers. Pastors and priests, however, complained that their parishioners were too quick to blame their pains on witchcraft instead of recognizing the ways that God tested and punished them for their deviation from the devotion expected of them. So the common notion that ordinary people were “superstitious” did not automatically lead to charges of witchcraft among them. Instead, it often happened

that elite judges sitting in provincial or national capitals disdained to take seriously accusations or convictions at the village level.

SOCIOLOGY OF WITCHCRAFT TRIALS

Much recent research has concentrated on the sociology of the victims of witchcraft trials. The old notion that midwives and popular healers were singled out for repression has faded in the light of evidence that most of those convicted were more often women and men who failed in their neighborly obligations. The fantasies and tensions that led some women to accuse other women of witchcraft, for example, have been examined. In the German lands and in Britain about three-quarters of the executed were women, but elsewhere the proportion of men could be higher. In northern France men and women seem to have been executed in about equal numbers, while in Iceland and Finland men made up the majority of convictions. It was once held that women were the targets of misogynistic (and supposedly celibate) inquisitors, but it has become clear that most magistrates responded to pressures for witch trials from below and that the Mediterranean lands of the Inquisition (together with Ireland) were among the safest places to suffer local suspicions. There is also little evidence that those suspected of witchcraft were mentally ill or “hysterical.” Many of those convicted may, however, have seemed like “bad neighbors,” quarrelsome or dangerous, isolated and suspected of harboring vengeful feelings toward fellow villagers.

THE RISE OF SKEPTICISM

There was never a time when “everyone believed in witchcraft.” Even at the height of witchcraft trials, some people expressed doubts about the crime itself, about details (for example, whether witches could really fly to the sabbath), or about judicial procedures (whether torture could reliably force suspects to confess the truth). Johann Weyer (Wier; 1515–1588), personal physician to the Duke of Jülich-Cleves-Berg, reacted to the renewal of witchcraft trials by publishing *De Praestigiis Daemonum* (1563; On the deceits of demons), which questioned whether the crime of witchcraft was even possible. Although Weyer conceded large powers to the devil, in his view magic could never be effective (and therefore *maleficium* could never harm anyone); no one could really have a binding pact with

the devil, and so confessions of guilt suggested that the suspected witch (usually an old woman) was actually melancholy (mad). In 1584 Reginald Scot (1538?–1599), a Kentish gentleman, published his *Discoverie of Witchcraft*, an even more radical rejection of witchcraft that questioned even the power of demons to produce wonders or harm of any sort. During the seventeenth century these sorts of skepticism were reinforced by a growing procedural skepticism of the sort expressed anonymously by Frederick Spee, S.J. (1591–1635), in his *Cautio Criminalis* (1631; A warning concerning criminal cases). Spee movingly criticized the brutal employment of torture, the reliance on perjured testimony, and twisted interpretations of the law, so that in his view no one once accused could expect to escape conviction. Doubts like these finally made an impression all across northern Europe, so that the secular courts there became as skeptical as the Roman and Spanish Inquisitions had been ever since the mid-sixteenth century. Only after witchcraft trials had almost died away did a more fundamental skepticism spread, a philosophical or theological doubt that spirits of any sort could have any physical effects in this world. Here we may point to the example of Balthasar Bekker (1634–1698), the Dutch reformed theologian, whose *Betoverde Weereld* (1691; The world bewitched) did not challenge the existence of demons but tried to show that they could not affect human affairs or the natural world. In his view the doctrine of demons had crept into Catholic Christianity from the pagans and needed to be thoroughly reformed. Christian Thomasius (1655–1728), a celebrated jurist of the University of Halle, took a similar position in *De Crimine Magiae* (1701; Regarding the crime of magic).

It is noteworthy that witchcraft remained controversial, at least among theologians, well after the crime of witchcraft was essentially no longer pursued. The Netherlands had ceased prosecuting this crime around 1600 and the Parlement of Paris had made witchcraft hard to prove by the early seventeenth century, but it was not until 1682 that King Louis XIV (ruled 1643–1715) prohibited witchcraft trials in France, while England did not abolish the crime until 1736, and Austria and Hungary waited until 1755 and 1768, respectively, for this step. Even after these legal reforms were imposed,

certain theologians and many villagers continued to believe in magic and to fear the powers of witchcraft.

See also Astrology; Charles V (Holy Roman Empire); Crime and Punishment; Folk Tales and Fairy Tales; Inquisition; Magic; Midwives; Popular Culture; Religious Piety; Thomasius, Christian; Women.

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H. C. ERIK MIDELFORT

WITT, JOHAN AND CORNELIS DE (Johan 1625–1672; Cornelis 1623–1672), Dutch statesmen and patriots. The de Witt brothers, leading statesmen of the Dutch Republic and opponents of the House of Orange from 1653 to 1672, were born in Dordrecht, a city in the south of the province of Holland, where their father, Jacob de Witt, had already served several times as alderman and burgomaster. Together Johan and Cornelis went to the Latin School and studied law at the University of Leiden. They completed their education with a grand tour through France and England. About this time it was evident that Johan possessed extraordinary mental powers, notably in the field of mathematics. In the course of his busy life he would find time to publish a pioneering work on geometry, *The Elements of Curved Lines* (1659), and his masterpiece, *The Worth of Life Annuities Compared to Redemption Bonds* (1671), which is regarded today by historians of insurance as the foundation of modern actuarial science.

The brothers started their careers in a turbulent time when international developments and national events created unprecedented opportunities. First there was the Peace of Westphalia (1648), which ended the wars the Dutch had fought for eighty years (1568–1648) against the Spanish oppressor. The treaty was an official recognition of the Dutch territory as the United Provinces. The treaty also brought peace, and it was precisely this peace that caused havoc. The princes of Orange had led the army against the Spanish, and the cities had provided the funds, but now the peace broke up their confluence of interests. The merchants wanted to reduce the army budget and use their money for investments in trade and for the reduction of their enormous debts, but the young prince of Orange, William II (1626–1650), could not accept the prospect of being stripped of this glamorous part of the family heritage.

The second development took place across the English Channel, where Oliver Cromwell had put an end to the kingship of Charles I, William II's father-in-law. When Charles was beheaded in 1649, William wanted to bring the Stuarts back to power, which meant starting a new war. This was anathema to the regents of Holland, the wealthy non-noble patricians of the cities. The conflict between the prince of Orange and the cities of Holland therefore escalated rapidly. In 1650 William incarcerated several leading regents, one of whom was Jacob de Witt, and tried in vain to conquer Amsterdam. William died of smallpox that same year, and a collective aversion to monarchical power surfaced among the regents. This mood was not tempered by the birth of William III eight days after the death of his father. Holland and the six other provinces decided that the Dutch Republic could do without a singular authority, that the state would be governed by the city aristocracies, and proudly called this "True Freedom" (*de Ware Vrijheid*). Along with it came a tolerant attitude toward various religious groups and a keen eye for the connection between peace and prosperity. Of this set of values Johan de Witt became the eloquent spokesman.

Johan and Cornelis went separate ways, but both achieved powerful positions. Cornelis became a foremost member of the administration of his hometown of Dordrecht and married the daughter of an important aristocrat from Rotterdam. With the help of his brother, he became chief justice of a large area. Johan's star rose higher. On 30 July 1653, at the age of 28, he was appointed *raadpensionaris* or grand pensionary of Holland, chairman of the assembly of the States of Holland. Because this province was by far the wealthiest and most powerful of the Dutch Republic, it dominated the assembly of the States-General, so Johan became in fact the political leader of the nation. In 1655 he married Wendela Bicker, whose father was the most influential regent of Amsterdam and had been the leader of the resistance against William II.

Before Johan started his term as grand pensionary, the First Anglo-Dutch War (1652–1654) broke out. Johan managed to strengthen the navy and to conclude the war as quickly as possible, but he paid a high price for the peace: the Act of Seclusion (1654), a secret concession to Cromwell, which stated that no prince of Orange was to be

stadtholder or captain-general. When the other six provinces learned about it, a storm of indignation came down on Johan's head. Much of the hatred that was later directed at him originated from this act. During the twenty years of his rule, Johan tried to curtail the power of William III. But the older the prince became, the more difficult it was to contain support for him. The gap between the proponents of the "true freedom" and the supporters of the prince, many of whom saw him as a kind of messiah, became unsurmountable.

The Restoration (1660) in England brought Charles II, William's brother-in-law, to power. Charles grew into a dedicated enemy of the Dutch Republic and of Johan personally, whose domestic position he tried to undermine by persuading the Orangist party that the grand pensionary had denied William his family rights. When the Second Anglo-Dutch War (1665–1667) broke out, Johan sailed several times with the fleet to encourage the commanders to take offensive action. In the summer of 1667 Cornelis de Witt executed a bold plan devised by Johan: with a flotilla he raided the Chatham Dockyards and not only destroyed the biggest ships, but also towed home the *Royal Charles*. After this humiliation, Charles was forced to sign the peace, the Treaty of Breda.

Meanwhile, Louis XIV of France was usurping large parts of the Spanish Netherlands in the War of Devolution; this was the territory that Johan wanted to keep as a buffer against mighty France. On 23 January 1668 he concluded the Triple Alliance with England and Sweden, and the war ended with the Treaty of Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle) in May 1668. But two years later Louis and Charles entered into the secret Treaty of Dover, by which the latter promised the former to assist in a full-scale attack on the Dutch Republic.

For more than a year Johan did not recognize the bad omens. He was too much of a rationalist and counted completely on the balance of power, believing that both France and England would be at a disadvantage when the other got hold of the United Provinces. He was incapable of understanding that the French and English kings would work together in destroying the Dutch Republic, because he thought it would be fatal to their own interests. He also did not grasp the fact that kings could start

wars out of injured pride. When the assault came in June 1672, it was too late. Louis XIV invaded Holland and began the third of the Anglo-Dutch Wars. The Dutch defeated the English and French navies, but the immense French army crushed its opponent in a matter of weeks. Panic raged through the republic and a hunt for scapegoats ensued. Popular feeling suddenly turned in favor of William III, and he was made stadtholder by popular acclaim. Hatred against the De Witt brothers resulted in an attempt on Johan's life and the detention of Cornelis, who was accused of planning to assassinate William III. On 20 August Johan, who was visiting his brother in prison, and Cornelis were lynched by the people of The Hague; in the frenzy the bodies were mutilated, bowels were eaten, and fingers and tongues collected as souvenirs. Among scholars it is still a matter of dispute whether Prince William III was behind the bloodbath.

See also **Anglo-Dutch Naval Wars; Devolution, War of (1667–1668); Dutch Republic; Louis XIV (France); Netherlands, Southern; Westphalia, Peace of (1648); William and Mary.**

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LUC PANHUYSEN

WITTELSBACH DYNASTY (BAVARIA). The Wittelsbachs were one of the more important dynasties in European history. They ruled Bavaria (1180–1918), the Palatinate (1214–1918), and Electoral Cologne (1583–1761), as well as half a dozen prince-bishoprics (Freising, Liège, Münster, Osnabrück, Paderborn, and Regensburg), and they held up to three electoral votes in the Holy Roman Empire during the early modern period. Three Wittelsbachs were elected Holy Ro-

man emperor (1314–1347, 1400–1410, 1742–1745), some ruled as counts of Holland and Friesland (1349–1425), one became king of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway (1440–1448), two became kings of Bohemia (1619–1620, 1741–1745), four succeeded to the throne of Sweden (1654–1720), and one was made king of Greece (1832–1862). An attempt to succeed the Habsburgs in Spain failed in 1699, as did other attempts to assume the status of a major dynasty. The Wittelsbachs rose to princely status as supporters of the Hohenstaufen dynasty in the twelfth century, deriving their name from the tiny castle of Oberwittelsbach in Bavaria (in the district of Aichach, near Augsburg).

THE BAVARIAN WITTELSBACHS

The Wittelsbachs molded the history of Bavaria, which they ruled as dukes (1180–1623), prince-electors (1623–1806), and later kings (1806–1918). Otto I von Wittelsbach, appointed by Emperor Frederick I Barbarossa in 1180, and his son Louis I, who received the Palatinate in 1214 from Emperor Frederick II von Hohenstaufen, were the founding fathers of the dynasty. The Wittelsbach coat of arms, assembled during this period, includes the Hohenstaufen lion as well as the colors white and blue from the counts of Bogen, inherited through Ludmilla of Bogen (daughter of Frederick Přemysl, duke of Bohemia), and Elisabeth of Hungary, the wife of Louis I.

The first Wittelsbach emperor, Louis IV (ruled 1314–1347), attracted Franciscan celebrities and philosophers like William of Ockham and Marsilius of Padua to his court at Munich; Pope John XXII disdainfully branded him *Ludovicus Bavarus* (Louis the Bavarian). The emperor married Margaret of Holland, and his numerous children married into the dynasties of Lancaster, Cleves, Denmark, Mecklenburg, Poland, Brzeg, Bohemia, Hungary, Nuremberg (the Hohenzollerns), Hohenlohe, Lower Bavaria, the Tyrol, Verona (the della Scala, or Scaliger, family), and Sicily. The emperor's attempt to spread Wittelsbach rule over large parts of Europe—with his sons ruling over Holland, Zeeland, Friesland, Hainaut (Hennegouwen), Brandenburg, Bavaria, and the Tyrol—failed, but Louis's legacy influenced Bavarian politics in the early modern period, raising ambitions and inspiring historiography.

More concretely, the Treaty of Pavia (1329), in which Louis divided the Wittelsbachs into a Bavarian and a Palatine branch, actually maintained dynastic unity in order to secure mutual succession, concluding with the unification of the house of Wittelsbach in 1777 and 1799.

Throughout the early modern period the Bavarian Wittelsbachs based their politics on their core territory, securing it carefully with dynastic and religious alliances. They managed to bring about sustained development and to create not only a modern territorial state, but even a Bavarian nation. Albert IV the Wise of Bavaria-Munich (ruled 1465–1508), married to a Habsburg princess, obtained territorial unity in the Bavarian War of Succession (1504) and by issuing a law of primogeniture (1506). William IV (ruled 1508–1550) molded a policy of absolute Catholicity in the period of the Reformation. Bavarian princes married exclusively Catholic princesses, primarily of the houses of Habsburg, Lorraine, and Savoy. The dynastic alliance of Albert V (ruled 1550–1579) and Anna of Austria guaranteed an austere Counter-Reformation. Catholicism was indeed transformed into a state ideology. William V the Pious (ruled 1579–1597) compensated for his weak character with religious determination, guided by Jesuit advisers. He intervened in the Cologne War (1583), leading his territory close to bankruptcy, and had to resign. However, he secured the Bavarian secundogeniture in the Lower Rhine region and Bavarian rule over the ecclesiastical lands of Cologne, Münster, Hildesheim, Paderborn, Osnabrück, Liège, and the abbacies of Stavelot and Malmedy.

Maximilian I (ruled 1597–1651) was the most powerful of all the Wittelsbachs. Like his Lorraine cousins in France, he managed to assume leadership, and he forged a Catholic League in Germany (1610). He defeated his Wittelsbach cousin in Bohemia (1620), gained the Palatine dignity of prince-electors (1623), and annexed the Upper Palatinate (1628), leading his country through the horrors of the Thirty Years' War and eventually supporting the Peace of Westphalia. His son Ferdinand Maria (ruled 1651–1679) consolidated the country during the postwar depression and introduced the culture of the baroque, together with his wife Henriette Adelaide of Savoy. Maximilian II Emanuel (ruled 1679–1726), the “blue prince,” fought

successfully in the wars against the Turks and served as a governor in the Spanish Netherlands from 1691, but failed in his aspirations to secure the Spanish succession for his son by Maria Antonia of Spain, prince Joseph Ferdinand (1692–1699), who died at the most unfavorable moment. Charles Albert, Maximilian II's son by a Polish princess, was elected king of Bohemia and became Emperor Charles VII (ruled 1742–1745), his rule marked by war and financial exhaustion. Maximilian III Joseph (ruled 1745–1777), an enlightened prince and astute reformer, became the last prince-elect of the Bavarian line. According to the Treaty of Pavia (1329), he was succeeded by a Palatine prince.

THE PALATINE WITTELSBACHS

The history of the Palatine Wittelsbachs is much more complicated and confused, as their territory remained fragmented throughout the early modern period, and the dynasty suffered from endless divisions. This creative chaos had its positive sides, as it guaranteed a plurality of voices and eventually secured the survival of the Wittelsbach dynasty. The Wittelsbach electoral vote was given to the Palatines by the Golden Bull of 1356. Rupert III managed to become German king (Rupert I von der Pfalz, or 'of the Palatinate'; ruled 1400–1410). As in the case of the Bavarian emperor, after his death the land was divided into four lines—the electoral line (*Kurpfalz*, or Electoral Palatinate), Palatinate-Neumarkt, Palatinate-Simmern, and Palatinate-Mosbach—with a good number of subdivisions. Of growing importance were the line Palatinate-Simmern, which succeeded to the electoral line with Frederick III (ruled 1559–1576), and its sideline Palatinate-Zweibrücken (founded 1459), which branched out into Palatinate-Neuburg (1614), Palatinate-Zweibrücken-Birkenfeld (1569), and Palatinate-Sulzbach (1614).

Some of the Palatine Wittelsbachs adopted Protestantism, and the elector palatine assumed leadership of the Protestant party (Heidelberg Catechism, 1563) in the Holy Roman Empire. The Calvinist Frederick V (ruled 1610–1632), son-in-law of James I of England through his 1613 marriage to Elizabeth Stuart, was elected king of Bohemia (4 November 1619) but—despite Dutch, English, and Danish support—was deposed by his Bavarian cousin in 1620; he is thus remembered as the

“Winter King.” His son Rupert (1619–1682) fought as a general in the English Civil War, became privy councillor to Charles II, and discovered Rupert's Land (the drainage basin of Hudson's Bay) in Canada. The Palatine Wittelsbachs won back their territory in 1648, along with an additional (eighth) electoral vote. Charles I Louis (ruled 1648–1680) introduced toleration, admitting Lutherans, Mennonites, Jews, and Catholics to the Palatinate. His son remained childless, however, and his daughter Elizabeth Charlotte's (1652–1722) marriage to Duke Philip I of Orléans was utilized by France as a pretext to invade and devastate the Palatinate in the War of the Palatine Succession (1688–1697).

In 1685 the Electoral Palatinate was inherited by the Catholic Palatinate-Neuburg line. Wolfgang William of Palatinate-Neuburg (ruled 1610–1653), who had been raised as a Lutheran, had maintained his claims in the Jülich-Cleves Succession War and converted to Catholicism after marrying a sister of Maximilian of Bavaria in 1613. The new Palatine ruler in Düsseldorf, the ruler of the duchies of Jülich and Berg, married a princess of Palatinate-Zweibrücken, confirming his line's claim of succession in the Electoral Palatinate. The Neuburgers eventually succeeded to the main electoral line in Heidelberg in 1685/1699 with Elector Philip William. Their policy of re-Catholicization drove many subjects to emigrate, some to North America. When the Neuburger line ended with Elector Charles III Philip in 1742, they were succeeded by the princes of Palatinate-Sulzbach, a sideline of the Neuburgers, famous for their Rosicrucian commitment under Prince Christian August (1622–1708). Although married to a Calvinist princess of Nassau, Christian August personally converted to Catholicism but admitted all confessions and invited the Jews into his territory.

The Sulzbacher elector palatine Charles Theodore (ruled 1743–1799) inherited Bavaria in 1777 and shifted the Palatine court to Munich, but he remained childless. In the end the count of the tiny Palatinate-Zweibrücken-Birkenfeld inherited not only all the Palatine lines (1795 Zweibrücken, 1799 Electoral Palatinate), but also the throne in Munich. For the first time since 1329 all the Wittelsbach territories were united under one single ruler, after 470 years. After the collapse of the Holy Ro-

man Empire in 1806, Maximilian IV Joseph (ruled 1799–1825), supported by Napoleon I, gained territorial independence and became King Maximilian I Joseph of Bavaria. His descendants stayed in power in an enlarged kingdom of Bavaria (with added lands from Swabia and Franconia) until the revolution of 1918. The Wittelsbach family, despite the official abolition of nobility, is still honored by the Bavarian government to the present day.

An offshoot of the Palatine Wittelsbachs became kings of Sweden in the seventeenth century, when the younger son of the Calvinist prince John I of Palatinate-Zweibrücken, John Casimir of Palatinate-Kleeburg in Alsace, married Catherine, a daughter of King Charles IX of Sweden. After Queen Christina Vasa converted to Catholicism and abdicated in 1654, the son of John Casimir and Catherine, educated as a Lutheran, came to the Swedish throne as Charles X Gustav (ruled 1654–1660). Under the Wittelsbach ruler Charles XI (ruled 1660/1672–1697) Sweden became the hegemonic power in northern Europe, ruling over Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Livonia, and Pomerania. Charles XII (ruled 1697–1718) maintained this position in the Great Northern War, but remained without an heir and was briefly succeeded by his sister Ulrika Eleonora (ruled 1718–1720). Her husband Frederick of Hessen-Kassel (ruled as Frederick I, 1720–1751) was elected Swedish king in 1720. All Wittelsbach rulers, even the Swedish kings, shared the titles of duke of Bavaria and Count Palatine of the Rhine.

See also Bavaria; Charles X Gustav (Sweden); Holy Roman Empire; Palatinate; Reformation, Catholic; Reformation, Protestant; Thirty Years' War (1618–1648).

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WOLFGANG BEHRINGER

WŁADYSŁAW II JAGIEŁŁO (POLAND) (Lithuanian: Jogaila; c. 1351–1434), grand duke of Lithuania (1377–1401) and king of Poland (1386–1434); son of Grand Duke Algirdas of Lithuania (d. 1375) and Yuliana, princess of Tver; and founder of the Jagiellon dynasty in Poland. In 1382 Jogaila imprisoned his uncle Kęstutis, with whom he had ruled jointly, and assumed full power in Lithuania; he later had Kęstutis murdered. That same year, threatened by the Order of Teutonic Knights, he concluded an armistice with them on the Dubysa River, in which he gave up the western part of Samogitia and promised to adopt the Christian faith. The agreement was broken in 1383 and Jogaila, seeing that a union with Poland would give him support against the Teutonic Knights, negotiated a union between the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and Poland at Krewo (14 August 1385). In return for the hand of Queen Jadwiga of Poland, he promised to Christianize the Grand Duchy, associate (*applicare* in Latin) its territories with Poland, and recover the territories lost by Poland (Gdańsk, Pomerania, Kujavia, Silesia, Halicz Ruthenia).

In 1388 Jogaila, now King Władysław Jagiełło, restored Mazovia's feudal dependence on Poland. From 1388 to 1392 he waged war against the Teutonic Knights and their ally, his cousin Vytautas (Witold). The war was brought to an end in 1392 by an agreement making Vytautas viceroy of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The Teutonic Order's attempts to conquer Lithuania and sever its union with Poland achieved partial success when Vytautas gave up Samogitia in 1398 (confirmed by treaty at Raciąż in 1404). In 1409 the Teutonic Knights resumed the war but were routed by Polish-Lithuanian forces under Jagiełło's command at the battle of Grunwald (Tannenberg; 15 July 1410). Even though the Poles did not take advantage of their victory militarily or politically (the Treaty of Toruń, concluded in 1411, was unfavorable to Poland), the battle marked the beginning of the decline of the Teutonic state's power. The fighting against the Teutonic Knights in the years that followed proved successful for the Polish-Lithuanian side.

The childless death of Queen Jadwiga (1399) weakened Jagiełło's position as king of Poland and made it necessary to renew the union with the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and settle the question

of succession to the throne. The Treaty of Vilnius (1401) confirmed the union of the two states and recognized Vytautas as grand duke of Lithuania; the union was further strengthened by a new treaty concluded at Horodo on 2 October 1413. Jagiełło's second marriage, with Anna, princess of Cilli (1402) and granddaughter of King Casimir III the Great, was meant to strengthen his legal position in Poland.

In 1421 the Hussites urged Jagiełło to accept the Bohemian throne, but he declined the offer and in 1424 issued an edict condemning Hussitism and threatening severe punishment for its believers and adherents. Having no male heir (Anna died in 1416, and his third wife, Elizabeth Granowska, died in 1420), Jagiełło contracted a fourth marriage (1422) with Sophia Holszańska, who bore him two sons, who became Władysław III Warneńczyk (ruled 1434–1444) and Casimir IV Jagiellończyk (ruled 1447–1492). In order to gain the nobility's support and secure the throne for his dynasty, the king confirmed the nobles' privileges in an act signed at Jedno (1430). In addition to his successes in foreign policy, Jagiełło also deserves credit for the restoration of the university in Cracow (1400). He was buried in the cathedral on Wawel Hill.

See also Jadwiga (Poland); Jagiellon Dynasty; Lithuania, Grand Duchy of, to 1569; Lublin, Union of (1569); Poland to 1569.

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MARCIN KAMLER

WOLFF, CHRISTIAN (1679–1754), German philosopher. Born on 24 January 1679 in predominantly Catholic Breslau, Silesia (now Wrocław, Poland), the son of a Lutheran tanner who wanted him to become a minister, Wolff soon developed an interest in philosophy. After receiving a solid grounding in Scholasticism and Cartesianism under Jesuit supervision at the local *Gymnasium* (college preparatory school), Wolff began to study theology, mathematics, and philosophy at the University of Jena. He eventually earned his master's degree from the University of Leipzig in 1703, where his interest

had shifted increasingly toward mathematics and philosophy, both of which he regarded as useful disciplines to solve religious disputes. His dissertation, *De philosophia practica universali methodo mathematica conscripta* (1702; Practical philosophy according to mathematical methods), drew the attention of Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz (1646–1716), whose letter of recommendation helped Wolff secure a professorship in mathematics at the University of Halle in 1706.

Although officially a professor of mathematics, Wolff lectured on experimental and theoretical physics, metaphysics, moral philosophy, and logic. At Halle, he published his most important works in philosophy including *Vernünfftige Gedancken von den Kräfte des menschlichen Verstandes* (1713; Rational thoughts on the powers of human understanding), *Vernünfftige Gedancken von Gott, der Welt, und der Seele des Menschen, auch allen Dingen überhaupt* (1720; Rational thoughts on God, the world, and the human soul, and all things in general), and *Vernünfftige Gedancken von der Menschen Thun und Lassen, zu Beförderung ihrer Glückseligkeit, den Liebhabern der Wahrheit mitgetheilet* (1720; Rational thoughts on human conduct for the purpose of their happiness, told to those who love the truth), all of which were written in German. Ever since, Wolff has been regarded as the founder of a German philosophical language. His fame, however, did not save him from attacks by leading Pietist members of the theological faculty at Halle, such as Joachim Lange (1670–1744), who viewed Wolff as an advocate of a deterministic universe and as a potential danger to Christian dogma. The conflict escalated on the occasion of Wolff's public lecture, "De Sinarum philosophia practica" (1721; On the practical philosophy of the Chinese), which emphasized that revelation was not essential for arriving at sound moral principles. His opponents successfully appealed to King Frederick William I of Prussia (ruled 1713–1740), who issued an official warrant on 8 November 1723, demanding his departure from Halle within forty-eight hours under the threat of death by hanging. Wolff subsequently accepted a position as professor of philosophy at the University of Marburg until 1740, when the new King Frederick II of Prussia (ruled 1740–1786) invited him to return to Halle. At the time of his death on 9 April 1754, Wolff held the position of

chancellor of the University of Halle and was privy councillor of Prussia, vice president of the Academy of St. Petersburg, and baron of the Holy Roman Empire.

Wolff's philosophical system builds on mathematical principles. He regarded the "mathematical method" as a guarantor for clarity because it connected premises and deductions into a chain of closely intertwined demonstrations. Although his philosophy was labeled as "Leibniz-Wolffian" as early as 1724—probably by one of his students, Georg Bernhard Bilfinger (1693–1750)—Wolff himself rejected this adjective without denying Leibniz's profound influence on him. He surpassed his famous predecessor by developing a more comprehensive system of philosophy, thereby linking all the individual disciplines with each other. He viewed philosophy as the science of all possible things. By *possible* Wolff meant anything that does not contain a logical contradiction, which is a lack of sufficient reason. In contrast to theology, which concerns itself with the supernatural, philosophy represents world wisdom. This marked a shift away from his predecessor Leibniz, who had always tried to prevent philosophy and theology from going their separate ways. Because, according to Wolff, attributes of the visible world proved God's existence, one branch of theology, the *theologia naturalis* ('natural theology') can, in accordance with the laws of reason, engage in determining God's qualities. Although he asserted that Christianity is based on the only true revelation, he nonetheless claimed that, at least in theory, certain standards must apply as well in order to distinguish it from false revelation. By making this suggestion, Wolff laid the foundation for a critical (rational) examination of revealed religion.

Christian Wolff was certainly the most important German philosopher between Leibniz and Immanuel Kant (1724–1804). In his *Kritik der reinen Vernunft* (1781; Critique of pure reason), Kant praised him as the "founder of the spirit of thoroughness in Germany." Wolff was the first modern thinker to write extensively in German. The rigor and clarity of his methodology helped emancipate philosophy from theology as an independent discipline. Wolffian principles, such as his emphasis on sufficient reason, encouraged radical biblical critics such as Johann Lorenz Schmidt (1702–1749) and

Hermann Samuel Reimarus (1694–1768) to examine and reject Christian revelation by subjecting Scripture to its rational principles. Nonetheless, one should not forget that Wolff's incorporation of Scholastic elements in his system and his conservative metaphysics made his philosophy equally appealing to Protestants and Catholics alike, both of whom viewed it as a useful defense against atheism and deism.

Wolff's influence reached even beyond the German territories. The concept of philosophy, as it appears in Diderot's and d'Alembert's *Encyclopédie*, can almost be called a precise copy of his definition of philosophy from his *Discursus praeliminaris de philosophia in genere* (1728; Preliminary discourse on philosophy in general).

See also **Alembert, Jean Le Rond d'; Atheism; Cartesianism; Deism; Descartes, René; Diderot, Denis; Encyclopédie; Enlightenment; Frederick II (Prussia); Frederick William I (Prussia); Kant, Immanuel; Leibniz, Gottfried Wilhelm; Logic; Mathematics; Philosophy; Physics; Pietism; Theology.**

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ULRICH GROETSCH

WOMEN. As they have in all the world's cultures, women made up about half the population in early modern Europe, and their experiences were thus nearly as varied as those of men. Like those of men, women's experiences differed according to social class, geographic location, religious affiliation, ethnicity, and rural or urban setting. The life of Queen Elizabeth of England—probably the most powerful and famous woman from this period—was far more like that of her male relatives than like that of a peasant woman in Poland or the Ottoman Empire, or even a peasant woman on one of Elizabeth's own estates. She was highly educated, spoke many languages, held legitimate authority over many people, ate well, and lived quite comfortably, while peasant women—and men—had none of these advantages.

The great changes of the period had widely varying effects on women, creating greater opportunities for some women in some places while lessening opportunities for other women elsewhere. The expansion of rural cloth production, for example, created better-paying work for single women in parts of France, but lessened the demand for cloth made by married Irish women. Leaders of the Protestant Reformation supported teaching girls to read the Bible, but also advocated the closing of convents that provided a place where learned women could study and teach. Urban women in western Europe were increasingly able to obtain cheaper and more diverse consumer goods, but these were often produced in Europe's overseas colonies by men and women working in horrific conditions.

Despite this variety, however, all women in Europe lived in a society that regarded women as inferior to men. This idea undergirded and shaped legal systems, family relationships, inheritance patterns, religious doctrine and institutions, educational opportunities, and structures of work throughout all

of Europe. Even Queen Elizabeth was not excluded from this, for her life—and the course of English history—would have been very different had she been a man. Many women, from Queen Elizabeth on down, were able to shape their lives to a great extent despite restrictive ideas and systems, but their actions did not upset the underlying hierarchy of gender. This essay will first examine trends in the way that women's history of the early modern period has been conceptualized and studied, and then explore three realms of life that were especially important in shaping early modern women's situation and experiences: legal systems, work, and religious life.

EARLY MODERN WOMEN'S HISTORY

Intensive study of women in the early modern period, as in most periods, began in the 1970s by asking what women contributed to developments regarded as central to the period, such as the Renaissance, the Reformation, the development of capitalism, the creation of colonial empires, or the rise of the centralized state: Who were the great women artists/musicians/scientists/rulers? How did women's work serve capitalist expansion? What was women's role in political movements such as the English Civil War or other seventeenth-century revolts? Along with this, historians investigated what effects the developments of the early modern period had on women: What was the impact of the Reformation on women's lives? How did the scientific revolution or the Enlightenment shape ideas about women's place? What new products or opportunities were offered to women because of overseas empires?

Both these original lines of questioning continue, particularly for parts of Europe or groups of women that were slower to be studied, such as eastern Europe, Jewish women, or peasant women. They have been augmented more recently by quite different types of questions, as historians have realized the limitations of simply trying to fit women into historical developments largely derived from the male experience (an approach rather sarcastically described as “add women and stir”). Such questions often center on women's physical experiences—menstruation, pregnancy, motherhood—and the ways in which women gave meaning to these experiences, and on private or domestic mat-

ters, such as friendship networks, family devotional practices, or unpaid household labor. Because so little of this was documented in public sources during the early modern period, this research has required a great amount of archival digging and the use of literary and artistic sources.

To these older and newer lines of inquiry historians have also added questions about the symbolic role of gender, that is, how qualities judged masculine and feminine are differently valued and then used in discussions that do not explicitly relate to men and women, but that still reinforce women's secondary status. Investigations of the real and symbolic relations between gender and power have usually not been based on new types of sources, but have approached some of the most traditional types of historical sources—political treatises, public speeches by monarchs, state documents, religious tracts, and sermons—with new questions.

Taken together, these investigations have resulted in hundreds of books and thousands of articles on many aspects of the lives of early modern women. This is still far less, of course, than the number of books and articles on men, but it has created a much more complex—and interesting—picture than historians of women could have imagined thirty years ago and has changed the way we view many features of early modern life.

LAW AND LEGAL SYSTEMS

Traditional medieval law codes in Europe accorded women a secondary legal status, based generally on their inability to perform feudal military service; the oldest legal codes required every woman who was not married to have a male legal guardian who could undergo such procedures as trial by combat or trial by ordeal for her. This gender-based guardianship gradually died out in the later Middle Ages as court proceedings replaced physical trials, and unmarried women and widows generally gained the right to hold land on their own and to appear in court on their own behalf. In most parts of Europe, unmarried women and widows could make wills, serve as executors for the wills of others, and serve as witnesses in civil and criminal cases, though they could not serve as witnesses to a will.

Limitations on women's legal rights because of feudal obligations thus lessened in the late Middle Ages, but marriage provided another reason for

restricting women's legal role. Marriage was cited as the key reason for excluding women from public offices and duties, for their duty to obey their husbands prevented them from acting as independent persons; the fact that an unmarried woman or widow might possibly get married meant that they, too, were included in this exclusion. A married woman was legally subject to her husband in all things; she could not sue, make contracts, or go to court for any reason without his approval, and in many areas of Europe could not be sued or charged with any civil crime on her own. However, Russian law codes and Islamic law in the Ottoman Empire recognized women's right to sue and be sued as well as certain property and inheritance rights. In many parts of Europe, all goods or property that a wife brought into a marriage and all wages she earned during the marriage were considered the property of her husband, a situation that did not change legally until the nineteenth century.

The husband's control of his wife's property could be modified somewhat by a marriage contract that gave her legal ownership of the dowry she brought into the marriage, or, in some cities, by her declaring herself unmarried (*femme sole*) for legal purposes, such as borrowing and loaning money or making contracts. In the sixteenth century, wives were also gradually allowed to retain control over some family property if they could prove that their husbands were squandering everything through drink, gambling, or bad investments. In addition to these exceptions provided through law codes, it is clear from court records that women often actively managed their dowry property and carried out legal transactions without getting special approval. The proliferation of exceptions and the fact that women were often able to slip through the cracks of urban law codes began to bother jurists who were becoming educated in Roman law with its goals of comprehensiveness and uniformity. Roman law also gave them additional grounds for women's secondary legal status, for it based this not on feudal obligations or a wife's duty to obey her husband but on women's alleged physical and mental weaknesses, their "fragility, imbecility, irresponsibility, and ignorance," in the words of Justinian's sixth-century code. Along with peasants and the simple-minded, women were regarded as not legally responsible for all of their own actions and could not

be compelled to appear before a court; in all cases their testimony was regarded as less credible than a man's. These ideas led jurists in many parts of Europe to recommend, and in some cases implement, the reintroduction of gender-based guardianship; unmarried adult women and widows were again given male guardians and were prohibited from making any financial decisions, even donations to religious institutions, without their approval. In many parts of Europe, women lost the right of guardianship over their own children if they remarried.

Increasing restrictions on unmarried and married women continued throughout the early modern period. In 1731, for example, the Paris Parliament passed the *Ordonnance des donations*, which reemphasized the power of the husband over the wife; its provisions limiting women's legal rights later became part of the *Code Napoléon* of the early nineteenth century. The fact that court records show that fewer and fewer women appeared on their own behalf indicates that male guardianship was enforced. Governments generally became less willing to make exceptions in the case of women, as they felt any laxness might disrupt public order.

The spread of Roman law thus had a largely negative effect on women's civil legal status in the early modern period because of both the views of women that jurists chose to adopt from it and the stricter enforcement of existing laws to which it gave rise. Its impact on criminal law was less gender-specific, as was criminal law itself. In general, women throughout Europe were responsible for their own criminal actions and could be tortured and executed just like men. Women were often executed in a manner different from men, buried alive or drowned instead of being beheaded, largely because city executioners thought women would faint at the sight of the sword or ax and make their job more difficult. In Germany, a wife was often included in her husband's banishment for criminal actions—including banishment for adultery!—while the opposite was not the case. In Russia under Ivan the Terrible (ruled 1547–1584), the execution of a husband or father usually meant death for the victim's wife and children as well.

Along with concepts of feudal obligation, wifely obedience, and Roman law, one additional idea was

essential in shaping women's legal rights in early modern Europe—the notion of honor. Honor in this period was highly gender-specific, and for women, honor was largely a sexual matter. In most parts of Europe, women of all classes were allowed to bring defamation suits to court for insults to their honor, and it is clear from court records that they did this. Because of ideas of female sinfulness, irrationality, and weakness, however, women, particularly those in the middle and upper classes, were never regarded as able to defend their own honor completely without male assistance. Lower-class women might trade insults or physically fight one another, but middle- and upper-class women were expected to internalize notions of honor and shame and shape their behavior accordingly, depending on male relatives to carry out any public defense of their honor.

WORK

Though the actual work that men and women performed in the early modern economy was often very similar or the same, their relationships to work and their work identities were very different. Male work rhythms and a man's position in the economy were to a large degree determined by age, class, and training, with boys and men often moving as a group from one level of employment to the next. Female work rhythms were also determined by age and class, but even more so by individual biological and social events such as marriage, motherhood, and widowhood, all of which were experienced by women individually and over which they might have little control. Women often changed occupations several times during their lives or performed many different types of jobs at once, so that their identification with any one occupation was not strong.

Women rarely received formal training in a trade, and during the early modern period many occupations were professionalized, setting up required amounts of formal training and a licensing procedure before one could claim an occupational title. Thus in the Middle Ages both male and female practitioners of medicine were often called “physicians,” but by the sixteenth century, although women still healed people, only men who had attended university medical school could be called “physicians.” This professionalism trickled down to occupations that did not require university

training; women might brew herbal remedies, but only men could use the title “apothecary.” Professionalization did not simply affect titles, but also the fees people could charge for their services; a university-trained physician, for example, could easily make ten times the annual salary of a female medical practitioner.

During the early modern period, gender also became an important factor in separating what was considered skilled from what was considered unskilled work. Women were judged to be unfit for certain tasks, such as glass cutting, because they were too clumsy and “unskilled,” yet those same women made lace or silk thread, jobs that required an even higher level of dexterity than glass cutting. The gendered notion of work meant that women’s work was always valued less and generally paid less than men’s. All economies need both structure and flexibility, and during the early modern period these qualities became gender-identified: male labor provided the structure, so that it was regulated, tied to a training process, and lifelong; female labor provided the flexibility, so that it was discontinuous, alternately encouraged or suppressed, not linked to formal training, and generally badly paid. Women’s work was thus both marginal and irreplaceable.

Despite enormous economic changes during the early modern period, the vast majority of people in almost all parts of Europe continued to live in the countryside, producing agricultural products for their own use and for the use of their landlords. Agricultural tasks were highly, though not completely, gender-specific, though exactly which tasks were regarded as female and which as male varied widely throughout Europe. These gender divisions were partly the result of physical differences, with men generally doing tasks that required a great deal of upper-body strength, such as cutting grain with a scythe; they were partly the result of women’s greater responsibility for child care, so that women carried out tasks closer to the house that could be more easily interrupted for nursing or tending children; they were partly the result of cultural beliefs, so that women in parts of Norway, for example, sowed all grain because people felt this would ensure a bigger harvest. Whatever their source, gender divisions meant that the proper functioning of a rural household required at least one adult male and one adult female; remarriage after the death of a

spouse was much faster in the countryside than in the cities. Women’s labor changed as new types of crops and agricultural products were introduced and as agriculture became more specialized. Women in parts of Italy, for example, tended and harvested olive trees and grape vines, and carried out most of the tasks associated with the production of silk: gathering leaves from mulberry trees, raising the silk cocoons, and processing cocoons into raw silk by reeling and spinning. Women also worked as day laborers in agriculture; from wage regulations, we can see that female agricultural laborers were to be paid about half of what men were, and were also to be given less and poorer quality food.

Women also found work in rural areas in non-agricultural tasks, particularly in mining in central Europe and by the sixteenth century in domestic industry. In mining, women carried ore, wood, and salt, sorted and washed ore, and prepared charcoal briquets for use in smelting. In domestic industry, they produced wool, linen, and later cotton thread or cloth (or cloth that was a mixture of these), and were hired by capitalist investors, especially in parts of France, southern Germany, and northern Italy, as part of a household or as an individual. In areas of Europe where whole households were hired, domestic industry often broke down gender divisions, for men, women, and children who were old enough all worked at the same tasks; labor became a more important economic commodity than property, which led to earlier marriage, weaker parental control over children, and more power to women in family decision making. In parts of Europe where women were hired as individuals, men’s agricultural tasks were more highly paid, so men continued to make most of the decisions in the family, and there was little change in women’s status.

In the cities, domestic service was probably the largest employer of women throughout the period. Girls might begin service as young as seven or eight, traveling from their home village to a nearby town. Cities also offered other types of service employment on a daily or short-term basis. Many of these jobs were viewed as extensions of a woman’s functions and tasks in the home—cleaning, cooking, laundering, caring for children and old people, nursing the sick, preparing bodies for burial, mourning the dead. The hospitals, orphanages, and infirmaries run by the Catholic Church were largely

staffed by women, as were similar secular institutions that many cities set up beginning in the fifteenth century. In most parts of Europe, women continued to dominate midwifery, the one female occupation whose practitioners developed a sense of work identity nearly as strong as that of men.

The city marketplace, the economic as well as geographic center of most cities, was filled with women; along with rural women with their agricultural and animal products there were city women with sausage, pretzels, meat pies, cookies, candles, soap, and wooden implements they had made. Women sold fresh and salted fish that their husbands had caught or that they had purchased from fishermen, game and fowl they had bought from hunters, and imported food items such as oranges, and, in the eighteenth century, tea and coffee bought from international merchants. Women also ran small retail establishments throughout the city. They made beer, mead, and hard cider, and ran taverns and inns to dispense their beverages and provide sleeping quarters for those too poor to stay in the more established inns. Among Muslim populations in Ottoman urban centers, a number of women vendors, many of them Christians and Jews, catered to upper-class harem women.

Domestic industry provided employment for increasing numbers of urban as well as rural women, particularly in spinning. Early modern techniques of cloth production necessitated up to twenty carders and spinners per weaver, so that cloth centers like Florence, Augsburg, or Antwerp could keep many people employed. The identification of women and spinning became very strong in the early modern period, and by the seventeenth century unmarried women in England came to be called “spinsters.”

Women increasingly turned to spinning as other employment avenues were closed to them, particularly in craft guilds, which continued to dominate the production and distribution of most products throughout the early modern period. There were a few all-female guilds in cities with highly specialized economies such as Cologne, Paris, and Rouen, but in general the guilds were male organizations and followed the male life cycle. One became an apprentice at puberty, became a journeyman four to ten years later, traveled around learning from a number of masters, then settled down, married, opened

one’s own shop, and worked at the same craft full-time until one died or got too old to work any longer. Women fit into guilds much more informally, largely through their relationship to a master as his wife, daughter, or domestic servant. Masters’ widows ran shops after the death of their husbands, and were expected to pay all guild fees, though they could not participate in running the guild. As the result of economic decline, the competition of rural and urban proto-industrial development, the increasingly political nature of the guilds, and notions of guild honor, even this informal participation began to be restricted in the fifteenth century on the Continent, however, and women largely lost this relatively high-status work opportunity.

RELIGION

In Christianity, Judaism, and Islam, the early modern period was a time when the domestic nature of women’s acceptable religious activities was reinforced. The proper sphere for the expression of women’s religious ideas was a household, whether the secular household of a Jewish, Orthodox, Catholic, Protestant, or Muslim marriage, or the spiritual household of an enclosed Catholic or Orthodox convent. Times of emergency and instability, such as the expulsion of the Jews and Muslims from Spain, the first years of the Protestant Reformation, the English Civil War, or the Schism Crisis in Russia, offered women opportunities to play a public religious role, but these were clearly regarded as extraordinary by male religious thinkers and by many of the women who wrote or spoke publicly during these times. Women who were too assertive in expressing themselves during more stable times, or who were too individualistic in their ideas, risked being termed insane or being imprisoned by religious or secular courts.

Christianity, Judaism, and Islam all contain strong streaks of misogyny and were in the early modern period totally controlled by male hierarchies with the highest (or all) levels of the clergy reserved for men. In all three, God is thought of as male, the account of Creation appears to ascribe or ordain a secondary status for women, and women are instructed to be obedient and subservient; all three religious traditions were used by men as buttresses for male authority in all realms of life, not simply religion. Nevertheless, it was the language of

religious texts, and the examples of pious women who preceded them, that were used most often by women to subvert or directly oppose male directives.

Before the Reformation in western Europe and throughout the early modern period in eastern Europe, the most powerful and in many ways independent women in Christianity were the abbesses of certain convents, who controlled large amounts of property and often had jurisdiction over many subjects. Convents had widely varying levels of religious devotion and intellectual life; many were little more than dumping grounds for unmarriageable daughters, while others were important centers of piety and learning. In the fifteenth century many underwent a process of reform designed to enforce strict rules of conduct and higher standards of spirituality. These reforms put convents more closely under the control of a local male bishop, taking away some of the abbess's independent power, but also built up a strong sense of group cohesion among the nuns and gave them a greater sense of the spiritual worth of their lives. In addition to living in convents, a number of women in the late Middle Ages lived in less structured religious communities, supporting themselves by weaving, sewing, or caring for the sick.

Like Christianity itself, the Protestant Reformation both expanded and diminished women's opportunities. The period in which women were most active was the decade or so immediately following an area's decision to break with the Catholic Church, or while this decision was being made. In Germany and many other parts of Europe, that decision was made by a political leader—a prince, duke, king, or city council—who then had to create an alternative religious structure. During this period, many groups and individuals tried to shape the new religious institutions. Sometimes this popular pressure took the form of religious riots, in which women and men destroyed paintings, statues, stained-glass windows, or other objects that symbolized the old religion, or protected such objects from destruction at the hands of government officials; in 1536 at Exeter in England, for example, a group of women armed with shovels and pikes attacked workers who had been hired by the government to dismantle a monastery. Sometimes this popular pressure took the form of writing, when women and men who did not have formal theologi-

cal training took the notion of the "priesthood of all believers" literally and preached or published polemical religious literature explaining their own ideas.

Women's preaching or publishing religious material stood in direct opposition to the words ascribed to St. Paul (1 Timothy 2:11–15), which ordered women not to teach or preach, so that all women who published felt it necessary to justify their actions. Once Protestant churches were institutionalized, polemical writings by women (and untrained men) largely stopped. Women continued to write hymns and devotional literature, but these were often published posthumously or were designed for private use. Women's actions as well as their writings in the first years of the Reformation upset political and religious authorities. Many cities prohibited women from even getting together to discuss religious matters, and in 1543 an act of Parliament in England banned all women except those of the gentry and nobility from reading the Bible; upper-class women were also prohibited from reading the Bible aloud to others.

Once the Reformation was established, most women expressed their religious convictions in a domestic, rather than public, setting. They prayed and recited the catechism with children and servants, attended sermons, read the Bible or other devotional literature if they were literate, served meals that no longer followed Catholic fast prescriptions, and provided religious instruction for their children. Women's domestic religion frequently took them beyond the household, however, for they gave charitable donations to the needy and often assisted in caring for the ill and indigent. Such domestic and charitable activities were widely praised by Protestant reformers as long as husband and wife agreed in their religious opinions. If there was disagreement, however, most Protestants generally urged the wife to obey her husband rather than what she perceived as God's will.

The Protestant rejection of celibacy had a great impact on female religious, both cloistered nuns and women who lived in less formal religious communities. In most areas becoming Protestant, monasteries and convents were closed; nuns got very small pensions and were expected to return to their families. In parts of Germany where convents had

long been powerful, nuns became the most vocal and resolute opponents of the Protestant Reformation; the nuns' firmness combined with other religious and political factors to allow many convents to survive for centuries as Catholic establishments within Protestant territories or even as Lutheran institutions, redefined as educational centers for young women.

The response of the Catholic Church to the Protestant Reformation is often described as two interrelated movements, a Counter-Reformation that attempted to win territory and people back to loyalty to Rome and prevent further spread of Protestant ideas, and a reform of abuses and problems within the Catholic Church that had been recognized as problems by many long before the Protestant Reformation. Women were actively involved in both movements, but their actions were generally judged more acceptable when they were part of a reform drive; even more than the medieval crusades, the fight against Protestants, which was generally couched in very military language and could involve secret missions into "enemy" territory, was to be a masculine affair. Women who felt God had called them to oppose Protestants directly through missionary work, or to carry out the type of active service to the world in schools and hospitals that the Franciscans, Dominicans, and the new orders like the Jesuits were making increasingly popular with men, were largely opposed by the church hierarchy. The Council of Trent, the church council that met between 1545 and 1563 to define what Catholic positions would be on matters of doctrine and discipline, reaffirmed the necessity of cloister for all women religious, though enforcement of this decree came slowly. The only active apostolate left open to religious women was the instruction of girls, and that only within the convent. No nuns were sent to the foreign missions for any public duties, though once colonies were established in the New World and Asia cloistered convents quickly followed.

Some analysts see the period of the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries as a time when western European religion was feminized, as large numbers of people turned to groups that emphasized personal conversion, direct communication with God, and moral regeneration. Many of these groups were inspired by or even founded by

women, and had a disproportionate number of women among their followers. Women prophesied, published religious works, and even occasionally preached during the English Civil War, and also organized prayer meetings and conventicles in their houses. Quaker women preached throughout England and the English colonies in the New World, and were active as missionaries also in Ireland and Continental Europe well into the eighteenth century. Jansenism, a movement primarily within the French Catholic Church that emphasized personal holiness and spiritual renewal, attracted many women, and the convent of Port-Royal in Paris became the movement's spiritual center. In Germany, Pietism developed as a grass-roots movement of lay people who met in prayer circles and conventicles, among which were many women.

Judaism and Islam were minority religions in western Europe and Russia in the early modern period, and Jewish and Muslim women, along with men, were often the targets of persecution. Jewish women as well as men were questioned, tortured, physically punished, and in some cases executed by the Inquisition in Spain, leading Jews in other parts of Europe to make special efforts to help women of Jewish ancestry leave Spain and Portugal. Jewish women were excluded from public religious life, but they did have specific religious duties relating to the household and special prayers to say when they carried out these duties. Like Jewish women, Spanish Muslim women (termed "Moriscas") carried out religious rituals in their homes and taught them to their children. According to the records of the Inquisition, Moriscas observed the Muslim holy month of Ramadan, performed daily prayers, hid religious books and amulets written in Arabic in their clothing and furniture, taught Muslim ideas and practices to Christian women who married Muslim men, and organized funerals, weddings, and other ceremonies.

Women's lives involved much more than legal systems, work, and religious life, of course, but it is as impossible to cover all aspects of their lives in a relatively brief article as it would be those of men's lives. In fact, including a separate article on women—without a corresponding article on men—goes to some degree against recent research, which has emphasized the diversity more than the commonalities in women's experience across Eu-

rope. Even the experience of the relatively small group of women who held political power was diverse. Elizabeth I's situation was very different from that of queen mothers in France such as Marie de Médicis, female rulers of eastern Europe such as Maria Theresa, tsarinas such as Catherine the Great, or mothers of the sultans (known as the *valide-sultan*) in the Ottoman Empire. Thus perhaps the only generalization safe to make is that gender shaped the lives of all early modern Europeans in complex ways, and that every development of the period was shaped by, and in turn shaped, ideas about or structures of gender.

See also Bassi, Laura; Behn, Aphra; Catherine II (Russia); Concubinage; Cornaro Piscopia, Elena Lucrezia; Divorce; Elizabeth I (England); Feminism; Gender; Gentileschi, Artemisia; Harem; Inheritance and Wills; Jansenism; Maria Theresa (Holy Roman Empire); Marie de Médicis; Marriage; Midwives; Motherhood and Childbearing; Pietism; Quakers; Quietism; Reformation, Catholic; Reformation, Protestant; Salons; Widows and Widowhood; Witchcraft; Women and Art.

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MERRY WIESNER-HANKS

WOMEN AND ART. Although women certainly produced art in previous centuries, it is in the sixteenth century that we first find strong biographical information on female artists. In the second edition of his *Lives of the Artists* (1568), Giorgio Vasari mentions a number of Flemish and Italian female artists, including the Bolognese sculptor Properzia De' Rossi (c. 1490–c. 1530), Sister Plautilla (1523–1588; prioress of the Florentine convent of Santa Caterina da Siena), a Madonna Lucrezia, wife of Count Clemente Pietra, and Sofonisba Anguissola (1527–1625). Nonetheless, the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries also witnessed a progressive exclusion of women from membership in guilds and the newly established art academies. The latter elevated painting, sculpture, and architecture above the status of craft by linking them to fields of knowledge—mathematics, geometry, human anatomy and study from living models, as well as a deep understanding of classical literary and visual sources—largely inaccessible to women.

FATHERS AND DAUGHTERS

Until the modern period women rarely achieved success in sculpture or architecture, although De' Rossi, who won a reputation for miniature curiosities comprising elaborate scenes carved on peach stones and later received public commissions in stone for the Church of San Petronio in Bologna, is a notable exception. Vasari emphasizes her accomplishment in household management and her physical beauty along with her artistry as a carver. According to Vasari, her relief of *The Temptation of Joseph by Potiphar's Wife* (c. 1526–1530), was “esteemed by all to be most beautiful,” emphasizing that “the wife of the Pharaoh's Chamberlain” is seen stripping Joseph's garment from him “with a womanly grace that defies description.”

Occasionally, educated aristocratic women achieved great success as courtiers and artists. The career of Sofonisba Anguissola is, in this regard, paradigmatic. She was the daughter of a noble family of Cremona. Her father, Amilcare Anguissola, educated all his seven children in music, painting, and Latin. He also sent Sofonisba, together with her sister Elena, to spend three years (1546–1549) in the household of the painter Bernardino Campi, and she subsequently studied with another Cremonese painter, Bernadino Gatti. Sofonisba, in turn, trained three of her sisters—Lucia, Europa, and Anna Maria—to paint. Anguissola was celebrated for her informal portraits and self-portraits, singled out by Vasari as “breathing likenesses.” An extraordinary painting depicting three of her sisters playing chess while a maid looks on (1555, *The Chess Game*) stands out for its striking attention to detail and for its natural rendition of physiognomy and gestural expression. While still in her twenties, Anguissola was invited to join the retinue of Philip II in Madrid, where she resided for over ten years (1559–1573), working as court painter and lady-in-waiting to Queen Isabel of Valois and subsequently Queen Anne of Austria.

Although some aristocratic women, like Anguissola, received an education that prepared them to pursue a career in the arts, more often than not the women who achieved success as artists benefited from a relative in the trade. Antwerp artist Catharina van Hemessen (1527/28–after 1566?), court painter to Mary of Hungary, came to be known for her small panels of religious subjects in the mode of

her father, the artist Jan van Hemessen. Levina Teerlinck (c. 1510–1576) followed the profession of her father, the miniaturist Simon Bining (or Bennick), and was called to the court of Henry VIII. Barbara Longhi (1552–1638), painter of small-scale devotional images, was trained by her father, Luca, in Ravenna; similarly, Venetian Marietta Robusti (1560–1590) was a vital member of the workshop of her father, Jacopo Robusti (called Tintoretto, c. 1518–1594). The Bolognese artists Lavinia Fontana (1552–1614) and Elisabetta Sirani (1638–1665) were also taught by their fathers, Prospero and Giovanni Andrea, respectively. Bologna, in fact, appears to have been an environment marked by progressive attitudes toward women in general (its university admitted female students already in the thirteenth century) and by its relative openness to female professional artists: no fewer than twenty-three female painters are recorded as active in Bologna during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Sirani even opened a school for female artists in her native Bologna, allowing the possibility for women of non-artistic families to pursue a career in the arts.

SELF AND OTHERS

These forms of alternative education became more widespread in the following centuries. Yet with the powerful presence of the art academy in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and the limitations placed on female admissions, it was still very difficult for women to study art and therefore to become professional artists. Women could hardly aspire to produce the highest genre within the academic hierarchy, history painting, since they were barred from the life classes where the nude (and especially the male body) could be studied. This form of study was perceived as a prerequisite for the complex figurative compositions that history painting demanded. One way to circumvent this limitation was by copying from casts, statues, and skeletons, with which most studios were equipped. In a striking self-portrait of 1579, Lavinia Fontana shows herself seated with an air of intellectual seriousness at her desk, surrounded by a small nude figure and casts of body parts. Fontana, who in her lifetime amassed an impressive collection of antiques, gained success as a portraitist but also became known for her many ambitious religious and mythological scenes. Her marriage and eleven children did not hinder her



Women and Art. Properzia De' Rossi, *The Temptation of Joseph by Potiphar's Wife*, marble relief, Bologna, Museo di San Petronio. ©ART RESOURCE, N.Y.

career; she became official painter at the court of Clement VII and was elected to the Roman Academy. Her history paintings include a large-scale altarpiece of the *Consecration of the Virgin* (1599) and the full-length nude depiction of *Minerva Dress-*

ing Herself (1613) commissioned by the major Roman art collector Cardinal Scipione Borghese. This image of the goddess-warrior and patron of the arts is the first documented single-figure painting of a female nude by a female artist.

Another female artist who managed to produce a large body of work, including history paintings, was Artemisia Gentileschi (c. 1597–after 1651). Trained in the style of Caravaggio by her father, Orazio Gentileschi (c. 1562–c. 1647), and by Agostino Tassi, Gentileschi produced a great number of mythological and biblical scenes for patrons in Florence, Rome, Naples, and London. Products of one of the most powerful of female artists, Gentileschi's impressive heroines have been linked to her own biography, particularly with regard to the assault she suffered at the hands of her teacher Tassi. Her *Judith Decapitating Holofernes* (1615–1620; Pitti Palace, Florence) shows a dramatic nocturnal scene: the Old Testament heroine Judith has secretly entered the enemy camp and, with the help of her maid, cuts the throat of the Assyrian general. Although this iconography was painted by many of Gentileschi's contemporaries—including Caravaggio, Sirani, and her own father—no other artist achieved such a convincing rendition of sheer bodily force and psychological tension. We know from surviving letters that Gentileschi privately hired female models. The first extant studies of a male nude by a female artist are, however, a series of exquisite drawings by the Venetian painter Giulia Lama (1681–1747) and the roughly contemporary life studies by Susanna Maria von Sandrart (1658–1716), a graphic artist from Nuremberg.

Female artists often turned their attention to the mimetic genres of portraiture and still life painting, where academic training mattered less and which permitted women to work in the privacy of their own homes. In these fields, female artists were often highly innovative. Dutch artists such as Clara Peeters (1594–after 1657) and Rachel Ruysch (1664–1750) specialized in still life painting. Ruysch's marvelous, minutely rendered flower pictures were much sought after and fetched more than double the price of what Rembrandt could ask for his canvases. With her meticulous and painstakingly detailed renditions of insect specimens and plants in watercolor on vellum, the German-born Maria Sibylla Merian (1647–1717) contributed fundamentally to the fields of entomology and botany. Born in Frankfurt am Main and living much of her adult life in the Netherlands, Merian spent two years with her sister in the Dutch colony of Suriname in South America, where she catalogued indigenous

insects, plants, and animals. Other female baroque still life painters include the Italian Giovanna Garzoni (1600–1670), who became a member of the Academy of Saint Luke in Rome, Josefa de Obidos (1630–1684) in Portugal, and the Parisian child prodigy Louise Moillon (1615/16–after 1674), known for her imaginative combining of genre and still life scenes.

As a painter of intimate domestic genre scenes, Judith Leyster (1609–1660) deserves special mention. She presumably studied painting in the workshop of Frans Pietersz de Grebber, a renowned portrait painter in Haarlem, before becoming a member of the Haarlem Guild of St. Luke in 1633. The membership in the painters' guild enabled Leyster to establish her own studio, to which she also admitted a number of male students. Her paintings have often been confused with those of her contemporary Frans Hals. Leyster's successful career ended when she married an artist colleague and became a mother.

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The belief that women's ability to bear children paralleled their ability to reproduce nature mimetically bears upon the products of women artists throughout early modernity. From the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries, female artists were particularly prized as portraitists. Mary Beale (1633–1699), England's first documented professional female artist, made a name for herself as a prolific painter of clerical portraits in the London of Charles II, competing with Peter Lely and Godfrey Kneller. A generation later, the Venetian Rosalba Carriera (1675–1757), who began her career illustrating snuff boxes, won international repute for her skillful portraits in pastels. Her light and effervescent manner not only helped raise pastel to a fine art, but—following her visit to Paris in 1720–1721 (on the invitation of the important patron Pierre Crozat)—her technique and style also had a decisive impact on the development of the rococo. Carriera captured her sitters in flattering portraits of brilliant luminous color and introduced a degree of informality that suited the taste of her international clientele and was quickly emulated by other artists throughout Europe. She became the first foreign woman to be elected to the French Academy of Fine Arts. Felicità Sartori, Carriera's best student, also

won international acclaim; she worked for August III, elector of Saxony and king of Poland, at his court in Dresden. In France, many female artists achieved success in and around the Bourbon court and in the Paris salons, including Anne Vallayer-Coster (1744–1818), Adélaïde Labille-Guiard (1749–1803), Marie Gabrielle Capet (1761–1818), the sculptor Marie-Anne Collot (student of M. E. Falconet), and the German painter Anna Dorothea Lisiewska-Therbusch (1721–1782).

But the most successful female French artist of the late eighteenth century was undoubtedly Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun (1755–1842). One of the foremost painters of her time and court painter to Queen Marie Antoinette, she is remembered for her animated portraits and her equally lively autobiographical *Souvenirs* (1835–1837), which describe her coming of age in the *ancien régime*, her European travels, and her life in Napoleonic Paris. In this book, Vigée-Lebrun records her awareness of female artists both past and present: she notes studying works by Carriera in Venice and expresses pride at seeing the *Self-Portrait* of Angelica Kauffmann (1741–1807) in the Uffizi gallery. Indeed, during the second half of the eighteenth century Vigée-Lebrun's fame was matched only by the Swiss-born Kauffmann, who lived most of her life in Italy, but who spent a productive decade and a half in London. In 1768 Kauffmann became one of only two female founding members of the British Royal Academy, along with Mary Moser (1744–1819), a flower and subject painter. Kauffmann was enormously successful as a history painter of ambitious ancient and modern themes, while many of her smaller allegorical and mythological subjects were picked up by the print trade and reproduced on furniture, wall panels, and fabrics, causing one critic to exclaim that “the whole world is Angelicamad.” It was, however, through her portraits that Kauffmann, like Vigée-Lebrun and Carriera, secured an international clientele. Capitalizing on contemporary notions that promoted women's “sensibility,” Kauffmann's portraits came to be seen as particularly profound comments on the sitters' interior states.

Given that female artists had to negotiate their identities in a profession that for the most part shunned them, it is perhaps not surprising that as a group they produced such a large number of self-

portraits. One of the earliest known self-portraits by a female artist is that by a young Dutch woman, who emerges from a dark background holding a thin brush in her hand. The painting is inscribed “I, Catharina van Hemessen, painted myself in 1548 at the age of 20.” Sofonisba Anguissola's father sent out some of his daughter's many self-portraits to patrons as advertisements of her beauty and her talent, and Clara Peeters sometimes captured multiple self-reflections, holding brush and palette, in the surface of shiny objects in her meticulous still lifes. With the advent of the public art market and the unavoidable visibility of artists in the competitive annual academy exhibitions, self-portraiture had, by the eighteenth century, become a vital genre for female artists. It allowed them to craft public personae in a time when invisibility and private virtues (associated with modesty and domesticity) constituted ideal femininity. In the year that Vigée-Lebrun exhibited her monumental portrait of *Marie Antoinette and Her Children* (1787), an effort to counter the slander identifying the queen as a “bad mother,” the artist also showed her own *Self-Portrait with Daughter Julie*. Emulating a Madonna painting by Raphael, Vigée-Lebrun advertises her role as mother while simultaneously competing artistically with her celebrated male predecessor.

It also became a matter of pride—and self-advertisement—for professional women to show themselves with their female students, as in Carriera's *Self-Portrait* in which the artist works on a pastel portrait of her sister, whom Carriera had trained as her assistant. The accomplished painting by Marie-Victoire Lemoine (1754–1820), *Atelier of a Painter, Probably Mme Vigée Le Brun and Her Pupil* (1796), shows the artist as a student, learning to draw under the guidance of her celebrated teacher. After 1780, Vigée-Lebrun's chief female competitor and co-academician in Paris, Adélaïde Labille-Guiard, ran a private studio for women and in September 1790 approached the academy to raise the established quota of four female academicians. In her celebrated painting *Self-Portrait with Two Tulips*, Labille-Guiard depicts herself life-size in a dazzling dress at work on a monumental canvas, framed by attentive pupils Marie Gabrielle Capet (d. 1818) and Garreaux de Rosemond (d. 1788).

THE SALON: PATRONAGE AND PERSONALITIES

Since the appearance of Baldassare Castiglione's *The Courtier* (1528), the idea of art as a component of ideal feminine comportment had become widespread, reaching its greatest extent in the eighteenth century when the status of the amateur artist became broadly accepted as a norm. It was common practice for female artists to instruct aristocratic pupils, thereby cultivating a network of female patrons. Indeed, many female artists found particular success with powerful female patrons. This was certainly true for Vigée-Lebrun, Kauffmann, and Labille-Guiard, all of whom prospered from female protectors. There was, in fact, a long tradition of female aristocratic patronage, from the voracious collector and patron Isabella d'Este in sixteenth-century Ferrara to Rubens's great patron, Marie de Médicis, in seventeenth-century Paris. It was, however, in the eighteenth century that female patrons emerged as a powerful force in determining the development of art. For example, the extensive patronage of Catherine II the Great of Russia (ruled 1762–1796) helped transform St. Petersburg into a European city. In France, the sociable patronage of Jeanne Antoinette Poisson, Dame Le Normant d'Étioles, Marquise de Pompadour (1721–1764) deserves mention. The mistress of Louis XV, Pompadour shaped the cultural life of France between 1744 and her death in 1764. She collected art, commissioned paintings, and influenced the king's architectural patronage. By promoting certain artists, notably François Boucher, Pompadour supported the novel rococo forms, which defined the art of her age. Pompadour was also at the vanguard of what was to become the public expression of the new theory of aesthetics: the private salon. In line with contemporary notions privileging the cultivation of taste, salons were social gatherings staged for the polite cultured exchange that was increasingly thought to represent the foundation of civilized society. Women, long associated with the private sphere, played a major role in this development. Important salons were held by Marie de Rabutin-Chantal Marquise de Sévigné, Marie-Madeleine Marquise de La Fayette, Anne (called Ninon) de Lenclos, Claudine Alexandrine Guérin de Tencin, and Jeanne Françoise Julie Adélaïde Récamier. Germany lacked the cultural and social climate of France but similar attempts to institute salons were

made by Dorothea Caroline Albertine von Schelling (later Schlegel) and Henriette Julie Herz. These informal social gatherings also often provided the space for artistic expression by women; for example, Emma Hart (later Lady Hamilton) became famous throughout Europe for her performance of “attitudes,” a series of poses emulating different ancient works of art.

When the female body entered representation in the early modern era, it often negotiated a long tradition of accepted figural, social, and moral models. Given prevailing Christian conceptions of female virtue and vice in representation women were often seen to embody the virginal/maternal qualities of Mary or the seductive worldliness of Eve. Early modern portraits of female sitters—almost always patrician or aristocratic—shift between these two poles, with images of courtesans enticing assumed male spectators on the one hand, or, on the other, enacting the roles of “happy mothers” who appear to embrace a domestic ideal. This ambivalence runs through all genres and media. It is made more complex by the enduring fascination with Greco-Roman mythology. The reclining female nude, a staple of Renaissance, baroque, rococo, and neoclassical art, produced an alternate moral axis. For while the woman represented might be a courtesan elevated to the status of Venus, the mythological guise could also be donned by aristocratic women—but referring only to their beauty, not to their moral state. In fact, given the ease with which the female body could pass into abstraction, many representations of women in early modernity tend to fluctuate between fixed reference to a particular individual and/or character, and an embodiment of an abstract principle. This is perhaps most evident in the baroque art associated with the courts of Rome and Paris in the seventeenth century, but it also can be seen in contemporary Dutch paintings of domestic scenes. The women represented within the apparently unpretentious Netherlandish interiors are taken by some scholars as images of actual women, while other scholars insist that these women are types, operating within various moralizing tales.

Although often hindered by misogynistic opinions and obstacles, women in early modern Europe were active as artists and patrons, contributing decisively to the development of major artistic move-

ments. The work they produced is, in fact, intriguing in part on account of the manner in which these women responded to the complex restrictions they faced.

See also Anguissola, Sofonisba; Art: The Conception and Status of the Artist; Art: Artistic Patronage; Art: The Art Market and Collecting; Baroque; Carriera, Rosalba; Early Modern Period: Art Historical Interpretations; Gender; Gentileschi, Artemisia; Kauffmann, Angelica; Merian, Maria Sibylla; Painting; Ruysch, Rachel; Salons; Vigée-Lebrun, Elisabeth; Women.

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ANGELA H. ROSENTHAL

WOODLANDS. See Forests and Woodlands.

WORK. See Artisans; Laborers; Peasantry; Wages.

WREN, CHRISTOPHER (1632–1723), English architect. Sir Christopher Wren was an English scientist and architect, important for confirming, in what later was jokingly referred to as the “Wrenaissance,” a tradition of classical architecture in England in the seventeenth century that lasted for two centuries. His father was a distinguished cleric, and Wren was well educated, coming into contact while a student at Oxford with a group of scientists who were later, in 1661, to found the Royal Society. His interests at this time were science and astronomy; after receiving his degrees, he was elected a member of All Souls College and in 1661 he became the Savilian professor of astronomy at Oxford.

Gradually, however, Wren became interested in architecture, then considered a part of mathematics. When in 1663 his uncle, the bishop of Ely, asked him to design a chapel at Pembroke College, Cambridge, he was able to produce an adequate design, simple and classical in its forms. A year later he began the Sheldonian Theatre, Oxford, a complex structure, taken as to be expected from the design of



Christopher Wren. St. Paul's Cathedral, London, view from the northwest. ©DAVID REED/CORBIS



Christopher Wren. The Wren Library, Trinity College, Cambridge. THE ART ARCHIVE/JARROLD PUBLISHING

classical theaters, but roofed with a new truss system without columns, based on a floor plan devised by John Wallis, formerly professor of geometry at Oxford. It was in 1665 that Wren made his only visit abroad, to Paris, where he visited the new classical buildings and met, if briefly, the Italian architect Gian Lorenzo Bernini.

On his return to London, Wren began further restorations at St. Paul's Cathedral. But in 1666 came the Great Fire, and with it an opportunity for him not only to rebuild the fabric of the cathedral, but also to redesign the whole city of London on a regular and ordered plan. As one of the commissioners appointed to survey the areas destroyed, Wren was very much involved in the restoration of London; when in 1668 he was also appointed surveyor general of the king's works, he resigned from Oxford and turned all his attention to architecture. Of the project for London, which was taken from some of the new plans for Rome, little was realized, commerce and expediency requiring that everything

in the city be quickly rebuilt along the existing patterns of streets. Wren was also involved in rebuilding more than fifty local city churches. Their designs, varied and distinct as they were in their plans, established a new form for the Protestant church, with open galleries inside and bell towers outside, often set apart from the basic structure and effectively recalling, in all their classical details, the spires of the older medieval churches that had earlier been present at the same sites.

Wren's design for St. Paul's Cathedral was equally important. Its great dome, with the colonnade running around the drum, taken from a design by Donato Bramante for St. Peter's, was a model for many later buildings—such as the Capitol in Washington, D.C.—where a dome was to be used for purely secular buildings. Wren also worked on several projects for King Charles II. Although many of his designs for Winchester Palace, Whitehall, and Hampton Court were never realized, at the Royal Hospital, Chelsea (begun in 1682), and at the Royal

Hospital for Seamen, Greenwich (1696 onward), he defined an ideal of monumental architecture, deeply influential on architects of the next generation. In addition, Wren again worked for the universities, notably at the library of Trinity College, Cambridge (1676–1684) and at Tom Tower at Christ Church, Oxford (1681–1682), which, following what he called customary rather than natural beauty, was constructed in a Gothic style to complement its older architectural surroundings.

The last years of Wren's life were not happy. His supervision of the Office of Works became haphazard, and in 1718 he was dismissed, retaining only his surveyorship at St. Paul's and at Westminster Abbey. It was then that the Palladian group, led by Lord Burlington, took charge of this office, arguing for a new native style of architecture, based on the theories of Andrea Palladio and Inigo Jones, to replace the more pragmatic baroque style of Wren and his followers. But what Wren had done was of immense importance. And if his designs never reached the quality of those executed by Sir John Vanbrugh and Nicholas Hawksmoor, who had begun his career in Wren's office, his ideas about his work, carefully preserved by his son, served to demonstrate, in ways now compatible with the experimental approaches he learned as a scientist, how architecture and its history could be seriously thought about and seen as part of a design tradition that dated back to Italy and antiquity.

See also **Britain, Architecture in; Classicism; Jones, Inigo; London; Palladio, Andrea, and Palladianism.**

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DAVID CAST

WÜRTTEMBERG, DUCHY OF. Early modern Württemberg had a flourishing agricultural economy, a highly developed administrative structure, and superb cultural achievements, yet its prime location in the southwest corner of the Holy Roman Empire also made it a target for imperial ambitions and invasions. For administrative and taxation purposes, the territory of almost 3,500 square miles (9,000 square kilometers) was divided up into districts (*Ämter* or *Vogteien*) that varied greatly in size and whose number rose from thirty-eight in 1442 to fifty-eight by 1600. Württemberg's total population during the sixteenth century was between three and four hundred thousand, with 70 percent of the populace living in the countryside and 30 percent in the towns. The capital was Stuttgart, the largest town by far with a population of about nine thousand inhabitants. Württemberg's economy rested primarily on wine, rye, barley, hay, and oats, although its merchants also traded in wood, wool, cloth, linen, glass, and metal. Small property ownership by landlords who charged their tenants rent (*Grundherrschaft*) remained the rule, rather than the large landed estates (*Gutsherrschaften*) common in other German territories.

A series of wars during the seventeenth century and the early eighteenth century had a devastating impact on the region's social, economic, and cultural life. While the duchy was at first little touched by the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648), large-scale invasions by imperial troops following the Battle of Nördlingen in 1634 led to a decline in the duchy's population from 415,000 to 97,000 by 1639. The wars of Louis XIV (ruled 1643–1715) continued to suppress population levels, and it was not until the Treaty of Utrecht of 1713 that an era of relative peace and prosperity ensued.

GOVERNMENT

Territorial administration existed on several levels. Rulers came from the House of Württemberg, which had governed the territory since the eleventh century. Count Eberhard im Bart ("the Bearded," 1445–1496) became a duke following the elevation of Württemberg to a duchy by Emperor Maximilian I (ruled 1493–1519) at the Diet of Worms in 1495. For advice on policy, subsequent dukes surrounded themselves with burgher and noble councillors,

many of whom were educated at Tübingen University, founded in 1477.

The majority of councillors came from the urban notables (*Ehrbarkeit*), a relatively diverse administrative group holding positions at the local and district levels. Most local positions, such as village mayor (*Schultheiss*), burgomaster, and town clerk, arose during the thirteenth century. At the district level the position of the commissioner (*Vogt*) split into two separate positions, junior commissioner and senior commissioner (*Untervogt* and *Obervogt*), by the late fifteenth century. The junior commissioner, typically a burgher, worked with the district court to maintain law and order and supervise taxation, whereas the senior commissioner, almost always a noble, had a military role, although this position became essentially honorary by the early seventeenth century.

The notables also dominated the Estates, which first met in 1457 and comprised the territory's representative body. With 75 percent of the representatives coming from the towns, the Estates comprised lesser nobles, burghers, and prelates and served as a counterbalance to the higher nobility, the knights (*Reichsritter*), who gradually exempted themselves from Württemberg's state control. While the ruler had to call the Estates to assembly, two committees, the Small and Large Committees, could convene on their own authority. The Estates claimed some early victories, such as the 1514 Treaty of Tübingen that affirmed citizens' privileges, but it rose to even greater heights during the seventeenth century, particularly following the Thirty Years' War, when the duke needed the Estates to raise more revenue. A combination of the diversity and power of the notables, the long-term presence of the Estates, and rigorous Lutheran reforms contributed to the relative unity of Württemberg's territories over time.

RELIGION AND CULTURE

After fifteen years of Austrian occupation, Württembergers witnessed two seminal events: the triumphant return in 1534 of Duke Ulrich (1487–1550) with the aid of Landgrave Philip of Hesse (1504–1567) and the Schmalkaldic League, and the ushering in of the Lutheran Reformation. A confiscation of church property ensued, which initially brought in over 100,000 gulden annually, although the monasteries were not dissolved. The

principal reformer, the humanist scholar and theologian Johannes Brenz (1499–1570), cofounded the visitation to instruct the faithful and enforce church discipline. The church council (*Kirchenrat*), created in 1553 under Duke Christoph (1515–1568), subsumed these and other duties, such as collecting rents from church lands, distributing loans or grants to the poor and to university students, and paying the salaries of court musicians.

The Pietist movement, based on the theology of Johann Valentin Andreae (1586–1654) and Philipp Jacob Spener (1635–1705), arose during the 1680s and 1690s, when the Württemberg court moved toward a hedonistic lifestyle patterned after Versailles and reveled in opera, dance, and Carnival. Pietism offered a “passive, antiabsolutist” stance and provided a corollary to English Puritanism but was less political in its manifestations. Pietists' disapproval of the court increased strongly while Württemberg had Catholic dukes from 1733 to 1797, beginning with Carl Alexander (1684–1737), who had converted in 1712 and established close ties with the Habsburgs. His son and successor Carl Eugen (1728–1793), who ruled for almost fifty years, seemed to personify the “petty absolutist” and was in continual conflict with the Estates. Court life inspired the territory's greatest Enlightenment figure, Friedrich Schiller (1759–1805), who attended the duke's military academy and rebelled openly against the pomposity and vainglory of the age through drama and verse.

Notable achievements in the fine arts included the establishment of a music ensemble (*Hofkapelle* or court chapel) in 1496 under Duke Eberhard II (1447–1504). Consisting at its peak of fifty-nine instrumentalists and a boys' choir, the music ensemble became renowned throughout Europe during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and performed at both sacred and secular occasions. It attracted many foreign musicians, including the English lutenist John Price (d. 1641) and the Hungarian composer Samuel Capricornus (1628–1665), who served as music director (*kapellmeister*) from 1657 to 1665. The territory's most famous artist, Hans Baldung-Grien (c. 1484–1545), was an apprentice to Albrecht Dürer (1471–1528) before he moved to Strasbourg to become one of the leading figures of the northern Renaissance. In his paintings, stained glass, drawings, woodcuts, and engrav-

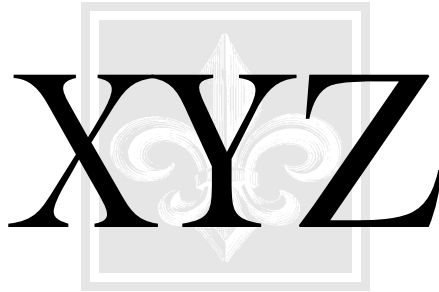
ings, Baldung depicted a broad array of subjects, from traditional Christian iconography and secular portraiture to witchcraft and death.

See also Maximilian I (Holy Roman Empire); Pietism; Reformation, Protestant; Representative Institutions; Schiller, Johann Christoph Friedrich von; Thirty Years' War (1618–1648).

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YOUTH. The transitional phase of life between childhood and adulthood in early modern Europe is not easily fixed chronologically. Traditionally childhood ended around age seven, but since full adulthood was usually marked by marriage, “youth” (Latin *iuventus*) could last as little as ten years and as long as twenty-five or more years. Consequently, terms for male youths, such as lad or knave, *garçon* (French), or *Knabe* (German), could refer to someone as young as seven years old or as old as thirty-five. The same is true of the female maid or maiden, *jeune fille* (French) or *Jungfrau* (German), as well as the forms of address of Miss, Mademoiselle, and Fräulein. Early modern legal codes similarly varied widely on the age of majority, ranging from twelve in canon law to twenty-five in Roman law and its later imitators.

The onset of youth, on the other hand, enjoyed broader consensus in European societies and was reinforced by the ecclesiastical tradition established by Lateran IV (1215) of establishing seven as the age of discretion (Latin *anni discretionis*), when a child was intellectually and morally competent to receive the Eucharist. Puberty certainly fell within this life stage but was rarely a formalized marker within itself, not only because of its individual character but also because the average age of menarche was at least sixteen or seventeen, and many males continued to grow physically into their twenties. Occasionally, certain rituals marked the transition from childhood to youth, such as the bestowing of a knife or sword on a boy, or distinctive jewelry,

headwear, or a new hairstyle among girls. In general, though, early modern “youth” is best measured in chronologically flexible terms of an individual’s position in various groups, principally relating to his or her immediate family, employer, and peers.

WORK AND SCHOOL

Most boys and girls left their homes at some point before marriage for apprenticeships or domestic service positions with relatives or strangers. Few departed before the age of seven and some not until their late teens. By the time youths had reached their early twenties, though, at least two-thirds and sometimes three-quarters of them had left their parents’ homes. Ostensibly the main purpose of the arrangement, typically lasting three to seven years, was for a boy to learn certain marketable skills and for a girl to earn the money for her dowry. The sojourn away from home, however, also had the effect of reducing a household’s expenditures while the child was away. Some returned at the end of their contractual period, awaiting an inheritance (in the case of a son), a dowry and/or marriage prospect (in the case of a daughter), or a new position. The same expectations held for the large number of youths who had never left home in the first place (particularly in the countryside) and who in the meantime worked to contribute to the family’s income. Meanwhile, the remainder had married and usually set up their own households, a universally recognized sign of adulthood.

Education received a powerful boost from both the Renaissance and Catholic and Protestant Refor-

mations, but schooling remained a minority experience among European youths until at least the eighteenth century. The majority of those boys and girls who did attend school usually received no more than a few years of instruction from parish or private schools in basic vernacular literacy and some fundamental arithmetic. Well-to-do and intellectually gifted boys were able to attend Latin grammar schools, with many continuing their studies at a university. Often, pupils, like apprentices, moved into the homes of their masters. Among the wealthy, either tutors took up lodging with their students' families, instructing their charges in a variety of subjects, or teenagers attended exclusive boarding schools. In Catholic countries, the new religious orders of the Catholic Reformation, notably the Jesuits, Barnabites, Piarists, and others, offered free education in Latin schools found in every major city and many towns. Those boys who were able to continue their studies at a university were forbidden to marry before completing their degrees and were controlled in other ways by their masters, who acted in loco parentis and continued to set strict rules and discipline with the rod.

One of the initial benefits of the Reformation for girls was the opening of many mixed and single-sex schools that they might attend in Protestant lands. Among Catholics, new teaching orders such as the Ursulines undertook a similar mission to educate girls and young women. In addition, in Catholic countries many girls received educations as long-term boarders in convents or as novices (future nuns). The majority received limited vernacular reading and writing skills plus sewing and singing lessons. A few convent boarders and future nuns received good Latin educations. Unfortunately, both movements coincided with a greater restriction against and eventually prohibition of non-accredited "cranny schools," the more affordable and thus more common site of education for early modern girls. The reforms and advances among Protestants must also be weighed against the closure of all convent and other girls' schools run by nuns. Consequently, only a minority of girls enjoyed the fruits of the education boom of the early modern era and even those who did, with the exception of the privileged few, gained little more than the most fundamental of literary and mathematical skills.

GROUP ACTIVITIES

Rural fraternities or youth groups were known by a variety of names: *iunores* (Latin), *Bürschen* (German), *garçons de village* (France), *gioventù* (Italian). All were exclusively male, rarely accepted anyone younger than sixteen, and sometimes required experience as an apprentice or soldier. Their leaders might be known as "abbots" (in the case of France's *abbayes de la jeunesse*, or 'youth abbies'), "captains," "kings," and so forth. Initiation usually involved some sort of extended and humiliating hazing, after which new members swore their allegiance to the group and received their own secret nicknames. Some fraternities maintained their own written law as well as primitive courts for handing out fines and other punishments. As everywhere in early modern society, a strict hierarchy ruled, with older boys at the top charged with introducing younger males to the adult male culture. Drinking, gambling, and cursing constituted the main pastimes, but the principal focus of such groups was the regulation of sexual activities in the community. For the most part this meant finding eligible girls for one another and possibly organizing dances. However, such bands of rural youths also ritually harassed other members of the community who had transgressed local mores (such as widows who remarried too soon or shrewish wives), failed sexually (presumed impotence or sterility), or were beginning a sexual union (newlyweds). The youths' loud verbal abuse, lewd songs, and crudeness—known as *charivaris*, 'rough music', or *Katzenmusik* (German)—served an important communal function of expressing popular approval or disapproval of what modern people would consider private matters. Surviving modern customs, such as putting tin cans and signs on the groom's car, have largely lost such meaning in the contemporary world but continue to survive as obscure relics of communal approval of some sort.

In cities, male youths could join a number of groups. The best organized were probably the journeymen's associations (German *Gesellenverbände*; French *compagnonnages*), distinguished by craft. Like rural fraternities, these groups were characterized by prolonged hazing and other mischief as well as drinking and gambling. Because of their extensive European networks as well as growing association with assorted acts of violence, journeymen's associa-

tions were banned in France in the early sixteenth century and were prohibited in the Holy Roman Empire in 1730.

University fraternities were also a prominent part of urban life, with students originally divided into “nations” (based on common languages), but by the eighteenth century organized by a variety of purposes and identities, including religious groups such as the John Wesley’s Holy Club at Oxford, derided by other students as “Methodists.” In Britain the college constituted a central corporate identity for most students and continues in this role to a lesser degree today, albeit with an increasingly heterogeneous undergraduate population. Still another type of young male organization were the secular fool societies (French *sociétés joyeuses*), groups that played key roles in all secular pageantry (especially at Mardi Gras) and reveled in mocking their elders and playing pranks on them. The most famous of these was the Parisian *Enfants sans souci* (‘carefree children’), closely rivaled by the Kingdom of Basoche, composed of the clerks of the Parlement of Paris.

Male groups tended to gather at local inns as well as at private homes or barns. In addition to their *charivari* activity, they were especially visible during public holidays, when they would engage in various ball sports, archery, wrestling, boxing, card-playing, cock fighting, and dog tossing. Often competitions became quite heated and led to serious injuries and occasionally deaths. In England Guy Fawkes Day (5 November) was renowned as the prompter of many violent town versus gown riots in Oxford and Cambridge. Ritualistic raids on brothels were also common, though more so at the beginning and end of the early modern period.

Single-sex gatherings of young women, by contrast, were both less formalized and less publicly visible than those of their male counterparts. This reflected the typical public-private expectations in gender relations. Among Catholics, convent schools and cloisters themselves were the most obvious centers of exclusively female societies, in both instances removed from the public sphere. Some Protestant girls formed prayer groups, particularly during the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Otherwise, spinning at home with female relatives or communally with other women provided opportunities for young women to become accul-

tured to their society’s expectations of them as adults. Such gatherings also provided important companionship and conversation with peers, without any of the prolonged rituals of initiation or formalized aggression of male groups. On the other hand, segregation of teenage boys and girls shared one important goal, the finding and securing of an acceptable mate, an objective that simultaneously reinforced and (if successful) undermined the coherency of single-sex groups.

RELATIONS BETWEEN THE SEXES

The numerous festivals and wedding feasts provided a host of opportunities for young men and women to meet and court. In addition to local village or town holidays, youths were especially prominent in the festivities of St. Valentine’s Day (England), Shrove Tuesday (Mardi Gras), May Day, Midsummer (June 24), and Christmas. According to the historian Michael Mitterauer, “These were social institutions which virtually forced adolescents into contact with the opposite sex.” Males were almost always expected to initiate contact with the opposite sex, though in a few cases girls were customarily allowed to organize dances and collect boys, such as the St. Catherine’s Day Ball in France (25 November) and the German *Jungferntanz* (‘maidens’ dance’). In rural Bulgaria, the feast of St. Lazarus, before Palm Sunday, marked the ritual transition of young girls (*lazarki*) into eligible young women, known as *lazarouvané*. Following a collective withdrawal of adolescent girls from the village, they would return to sing outside the house of every bachelor, donning new festive dresses that signified their right to take part in all of the village’s public festivities. More typically, teenage boys and girls met under more informal circumstances: through relatives, in the marketplace, or (especially in the case of domestic maids and males of the house) in the home. In fact this last pairing—including masters, their sons, and male servants—accounted for more of the illegitimate children born than any other type of relationship. Sometimes the sex was consensual; often it was coerced, either through threats of dismissal or outright rape. It rarely resulted in marriage and usually meant dismissal and disgrace for the pregnant young woman. As in cases of incest between stepfathers and stepdaughters, we have no reliable statistics on the actual frequency of

such situations since families usually shrouded themselves in conspiracies of silence.

After first contact, youths normally began a courting process, varying in formality by social status, whose ostensible final goal was marriage. Throughout Europe, we hear of the practice of youths visiting girlfriends in their bedrooms at night, a custom variously known as “night visiting” in the south of England and “sitting up” in the north, “nights of watching” in Wales, *Kiltgang* (‘dusking’) or *Fensterln* (climbing in through a window) in German lands, and *nattelöpere* (‘night-runners’) in Norway. Sometimes these visits involved kissing, petting, or even intercourse, but given the possibility of parental interruption, sex was not always involved. Parental attitudes toward this ubiquitous practice varied widely, with some mothers and fathers turning a blind eye if they thought the two youths well-matched for marriage, while others (particularly in Scotland) strongly condemning such meetings on moral and religious grounds. The same divergence characterized parental attitudes toward premarital sex in general, with most of Europe’s parents apparently tolerant even of premarital cohabitation as long as they were assured that a suitable formal union and public ceremony were forthcoming. If parental disapproval was known or feared, young people might meet at the homes of friends, secluded places, or the boisterous gatherings known as “spinning rooms” (German *Spinnstuben* or *Gunkeln*; French *veilles*; Russian *posidelki*), smoky rooms at private residences or inns where women of all ages gathered in the evening to spin cloth and gossip, visited by young men who drank, sang, and occasionally danced with their female counterparts. Often such encounters led to engagement and eventually marriage; other times they could result in unwanted pregnancy and rushed marriage, abortion, abandonment, or infanticide.

“MASTERLESS YOUNG PEOPLE”

Complaints about “youth these days” are as old as civilization itself. The early modern period was no exception, with unceasing laments from every region about a world “full of ill-advised and ill-nurtured youth” (Griffiths, p. 111). Some of these concerns may be tied to the attempted Protestant and Catholic reforms of morals through cate-

chization and other educational means. It is thus difficult to assess whether there truly were more problems with young people or simply higher expectations. Clearly, economic instability during the entire early modern period also contributed to the perceived laziness of youths at any given time. Changes in the common practice of tramping (German *Wanderjahre*; French *tour de France*), for instance, illustrate some of this transformation at work. Since the Middle Ages, most young journeymen spent their late teens and twenties traveling the countryside, sometimes staying at established houses of call for their profession (referred to in France as “mother houses”), but more often renting a small room or bed and getting by on whatever work was available. Ideally, those already trained in crafts would be accordingly employed, but by the late sixteenth century such temporary positions were increasingly difficult to find, and becoming a master was a near impossibility for someone without family connections. Instead, many youths turned to day labor or, what was more lucrative still, begging. Countless ordinances throughout Europe complained of a pandemic of “able-bodied beggars,” whose tactics were often quite physically aggressive and extortionate of passersby. References to what we might call “gangs” of youths had been common since at least the late Middle Ages, but during the early modern period scuffles increasingly went beyond turf battles. Violence could also be turned against property, yielding vandalism such as breaking or stealing street lanterns, damaging conduits, rolling timber onto the highways, and committing widespread graffiti. Some of these unemployed and “masterless” youths made the more serious turn to professional crime, principally burglary and robbery, but occasionally arson and murder.

In response, some parents succeeded in having their unruly children incarcerated in new “bridewells” and workhouses. During the seventeenth century, punishment of both juvenile delinquents and sturdy beggars grew in intensity, with magistrates increasingly relying on chain gangs, galley sentences, military impressments, and “transportation” to foreign colonies. Repeated petty thefts were also often treated as capital offenses. Despite such extreme measures, the number of “masterless” young people continued to grow in Europe, particularly in burgeoning cities. Philanthropic endeavors approached

the problem from a different perspective and had some successes but were no match for the enormity of the economic and social crisis underway.

CONCLUSION

While early modern youths throughout Europe shared many experiences, it would be misleading to speak of a uniform youth culture. Friends and other peers were merely one of several social groups to which a young person belonged, and their influence—admittedly strong during the teens and early twenties—was not the only shaper of individual identity and values. The transition from childhood to adulthood involved many biological, cultural, economic, and political changes that occurred at different ages for each youth. Some events, such as entering the world of work or school, proved more significant in the social development of some young people than others. Only marriage could be described as a universally recognized sign of adulthood, and even here an independent household might still be years away. Thus while clearly an important stage in every individual's life cycle, the phase known as youth often remained ambiguous as to both rights and responsibilities—a situation not completely unfamiliar in the modern West.

See also **Childhood and Childrearing; Crime and Punishment; Education; Family; Festivals; Guilds; Marriage; Sexuality and Sexual Behavior; Vagrants and Beggars.**

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ZINZENDORF, NIKOLAUS LUDWIG VON (1700–1760), poet, preacher, theologian, and religious leader. Count Zinzendorf was a controversial figure within German Pietism in the first half of the eighteenth century. He advocated a nonrational approach to Christianity that he called “religion of the heart.” In addition to being a creative theologian and author, he was the founder of a dynamic religious community known as the Brüdergemeine (Community of Brethren, now commonly called the Moravian Church) that established communities on four continents.

Zinzendorf was the son of George Ludwig von Zinzendorf, a counsellor in the court of the king of Saxony, and Charlotte Justine von Gersdorf. Because of the early death of his father, Zinzendorf was raised primarily by his grandmother, Henrietta Catherine, Baroness von Gersdorf (1648–1726), who was closely connected to the leaders of the Pietist movement, Philipp Jacob Spener (1635–1705) and August Hermann Francke (1663–1727).

When he was ten, Zinzendorf was sent to Francke's school in Halle, where he developed a strong interest in the Pietist program. He was then sent to the University of Wittenberg for advanced education to broaden his perspective, but Zinzendorf devoted himself to theological and religious pursuits rather than to politics and law.

After his marriage to Erdmuth Dorothea von Reuss (1700–1756) in 1722, Zinzendorf became deeply involved with a group of Protestant refugees from neighboring Moravia who claimed to be a remnant of the Unitas Fratrum (Unity of Brethren), a pre-Reformation Protestant church with roots in the Hussite movement. In addition to offering the Moravians protection from persecution, Zinzendorf organized their village of Herrnhut as a unique religious community.

The Brotherly Agreement of 1727 subordinated secular activities to a religious mission. Women assumed leadership roles almost equal to those of men. Artisans held leadership posts alongside nobles. Several distinctive Moravian practices originated in Herrnhut, such as the Daily Texts drawn from the Bible, making or confirming decisions through the lot, the Easter dawn confession of faith, foot washing, and love feasts. Through schools, publications, and Herrnhut-style communities, the Moravians established a strong presence throughout Protestant Europe, especially in Germany, Switzerland, the Baltic, the Netherlands, and the British Isles.

In 1735 Zinzendorf was ordained as a Lutheran minister, although he never held an official position in the church. Also in 1735 he arranged for the ordination of one of his Moravian followers as a bishop of the nearly defunct *Unitas Fratrum*. In 1737 Zinzendorf was consecrated a Moravian bishop.

Inspired by Zinzendorf, the first Moravian missionaries left for Saint Thomas (Virgin Islands) in 1732. Soon mission work was established among the Inuit in Greenland and Labrador, the Khoi Khoi in South Africa, the Delaware in British North America, and many other tribal peoples in the Atlantic world. On his voyage to Georgia, John Wesley (1703–1791) met Moravian missionaries and became interested in Zinzendorf's theology. Zinzendorf's writings played an important role in the early development of the Methodist movement.

Controversy swirled around Zinzendorf throughout his career. In 1736 he was exiled from Saxony because he sheltered religious refugees from Habsburg lands. Subsequently Zinzendorf traveled extensively, including two trips to North America, where he preached to slaves and tribal people.

During the 1740s Zinzendorf developed some of his most creative and controversial ideas. Among them were the "choir system" that replaced traditional family structures in Moravian communities with groupings according to age and gender. He also promoted a positive attitude toward sexuality. For instance, he argued that the incarnation of Christ made both male and female genitalia holy since Christ was born of a woman and had male organs. He also taught married couples to view sex-

ual intercourse as a sacramental act symbolizing the mystical union of the soul with Christ. In addition, Zinzendorf encouraged his followers to worship the Holy Spirit as "Mother," and he maintained that all churches are expressions of the true, invisible church. Most controversial was his promotion of a Lutheran "theology of the cross" through a highly evocative worship of the wounds of Christ.

In 1747, Zinzendorf's banishment from Saxony was lifted and the following year, the Moravians received official recognition in Saxony because they had proven to be good subjects. In 1749 Zinzendorf persuaded the British Parliament to recognize the Moravian Church as "an ancient and apostolic church," paving the way for further mission work in the British colonies.

Also in 1749 Zinzendorf experienced the greatest blow to his work when Count Ernst Casimir of Ysenburg-Büdingen (ruled 1708–1749), the secular overlord of the Moravian community of Herrnhag in the Wetterau, died. His son and successor Gustav Friedrich Casimir (ruled 1749–1768) ordered the Moravians in his realm to swear their fealty to him and repudiate their allegiance to Zinzendorf. Reports of eroticism connected to the veneration of the wounds of Christ among the Single Brothers in the late 1740s (the so-called Sifting Time) may have contributed to this crisis. Over a thousand Moravians chose to relocate in 1750 rather than reject Zinzendorf. They were forced to abandon Herrnhag's expensive buildings, and the resulting financial crisis nearly destroyed the church.

In 1755 Zinzendorf returned to Herrnhut, where he edited and republished his works. Following the death of Erdmuth in 1756, he married his lifelong co-worker Anna Nitschmann in 1757. Zinzendorf's death in 1760 was a severe blow to the church. Under the leadership of August Gottlieb Spangenberg (1704–1792), the church became increasingly conservative in orientation.

Zinzendorf left a multifaceted legacy. He was a forerunner of the modern subjective theology exemplified in Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768–1834), and he was an early Romantic poet. Moreover, his unusual understanding of race, gender, sexuality, and society attracts attention and even admiration. He established important Moravian

communities in Bethlehem, Pa., and Salem, N.C., that continue to be centers of Moravian work in America. By the early twenty-first century the bulk of his followers were in eastern Africa, thanks to the Moravian mission effort.

See also **Methodism; Moravian Brethren; Pietism.**

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for their symbolic or allegorical meaning. Medieval bestiaries, based on the *Natural History* of Pliny and the encyclopedic works of such early church fathers as Isidore of Seville, mingled naturalistic description, uses, and symbolic significance in their accounts of animals, and did not clearly demarcate real from mythological beasts. Conrad Gessner's *Historia Animalium* (Description of animals) of 1551, the era's most comprehensive text on animals, continued this mode of description, still evident fifty years later in Edward Topsell's revised translation, *A History of Four-Footed Beastes* (1607). Animals were classified in hierarchical terms centered on the notion of the great chain of being. However, the voyages of discovery and the intellectual changes associated with the scientific revolution began to strip away the layers of symbol and allegory from animals and made them objects of study in themselves.

Animals had been used as surrogates for humans in the training of physicians and surgeons since the twelfth century. Even after human dissection began to be practiced in the fourteenth century, medical schools continued to use animals, especially pigs, dogs, and cats, to teach human anatomy by means of both dissection and vivisection. The beginnings of comparative anatomy are usually dated to the appearance in 1551 of Pierre Belon's (1517–1564) work on the anatomy of cetaceans, soon followed by his comparison of a human skeleton to that of a bird (1555). Volker Coiter (1534–1576) established comparative anatomy as an autonomous field of study in the 1570s, and while animals continued to function as human proxies, numerous works appeared on animal anatomy and physiology as well.

Exotic animals were a form of diplomatic exchange dating back to Roman times. Medieval monarchs established menageries such as that at the Tower of London, which during the sixteenth century included lions, leopards, a tiger, a lynx, an eagle, and a porcupine. Animals in menageries were often used for sport in the form of animal combats or baiting. Louis XIV of France established a menagerie at his palace at Versailles; when the animals died, they were dissected before the Paris Academy of Sciences, and many of them were described in Claude Perrault's (1613–1688) *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire naturelle des animaux* (1671–

ZOOLOGY. For much of the sixteenth century, as in earlier periods, animals were valued for use or

1676; *Memoirs for a natural history of animals*). After death, these animals graced natural history cabinets (among which Gessner's was famous), which also included plants, antiquities, minerals, and curiosities. These predecessors of the modern natural history museum attempted to make sense of a rapidly expanding world by means of analogies, etymologies, and seemingly odd juxtapositions and also served important social and cultural roles in an aristocratic society based on status and patronage.

The work of Perrault's team and others such as Edward Tyson (1651–1708) made great strides in comparative anatomy. However, the main use of animals in science from the end of the sixteenth century onward was to demonstrate aspects of human (and animal) anatomy and physiology, for instruction and especially for research. William Harvey (1578–1657) demonstrated the circulation of the blood, published in 1628, by means of hundreds of experiments on live animals ranging from fish to dogs. Experimenters in universities and academies all over Europe embraced Harvey's experimental techniques, which included injection and inflation as well as vivisection. Notable examples included the work of Marcello Malpighi (1628–1694) on the structure of the lungs and the capillary circulation, Robert Hooke (1635–1704) on the process of respiration, Regnier de Graaf (1641–1673) on the glands, and Nicolaus Steno (1638–1686) on the structure of the muscles. Hooke and Robert Boyle (1627–1691) placed small animals in a vacuum pump of their design and demonstrated the body's need for fresh air to sustain life. Antoni van Leeuwenhoek (1632–1723) revealed the possibilities of the microscope, also used successfully by Malpighi and Hooke.

Most seventeenth-century natural philosophers regarded animals as machines, although few went as far as René Descartes (1596–1650) in denying their mental capacity to experience pain. Vitalist philosophies revived in the eighteenth century, although the mechanical philosophy continued to influence views of animal function. The work of Stephen Hales (1671–1767) on blood pressure was mechanistic, but by mid-century, Albrecht von Haller (1708–1777) exemplified the new emphasis on vital function with his work on the sensibility and irritability of the nerves. At the beginning of his 1752 treatise on this topic, Haller also displayed a new

sensibility toward animals when he apologized for causing them pain.

By the end of the seventeenth century, concepts of classification had reached a crisis. The seemingly chaotic organization of cabinets and collections reflected a lack of consensus on classification schemes. The great influx of animals from the New World and other areas disrupted the old notion of a chain of being that was both full and complete, but there was little agreement about what might be a proper criterion for classification. Although Aristotle had attempted to establish a natural system of classification based on essential features and natural affinities, he also believed in a natural hierarchy. Various theories of plant classification multiplied, but the classification of animals lagged behind. At the end of the seventeenth century, John Ray (1627–1705) attempted a natural classification of animals, but its complexity did not bode well for future endeavors. In 1735, Carl Linnaeus (1707–1778) described a classification of plants based on sexual parts in his *Systema Naturae* (System of nature), which also presented a scheme for classifying animals, organizing them in six broad classes. In the 1779 edition of *Systema Naturae*, he described nearly six thousand species of animals. His system was artificial, aimed at establishing order rather than reproducing nature's plan, and its use of the binomial nomenclature was widely adopted.

Linnaeus's system of classification was challenged by Georges-Louis Leclerc, comte de Buffon (1707–1788), whose *Histoire naturelle* (1749–1788; *Natural history*) was the most comprehensive (and best-known) work on natural history in the eighteenth century. Buffon argued that any system of classification was by definition arbitrary and artificial, and that reality resided in individuals, not in species. While he modified his views over the course of his life, adopting many Linnaean categories, Buffon is especially important for introducing the concept of time into the discussion of taxonomy, finding variability of species over time but constancy of form at higher taxonomic levels.

By the end of the eighteenth century, animals had lost much of their earlier symbolic meaning. But in both laboratories and natural history museums they were, more than ever, objects of scientific scrutiny.

See also Academies, Learned; Biology; Botany; Boyle, Robert; Buffon, Georges Louis Leclerc; Descartes, René; Harvey, William; Hooke, Robert; Leeuwenhoek, Antoni van; Linnaeus, Carl; Louis XIV (France); Malpighi, Marcello; Medicine; Natural History; Ray, John; Scientific Instruments; Scientific Method; Scientific Revolution.

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ANITA GUERRINI

ZURBARÁN, FRANCISCO DE (born Francisco de Zurbarán Márquez [or Salazar]; 1598–1664), Spanish painter. Francisco de Zurbarán was born in Fuentedecantos (Extremadura), an agricultural village. At considerable expense, his father, a shopkeeper, sent him in 1614 to Seville, where he was an apprentice to Pedro Díaz Villanueva, an obscure artist. In 1617 he established a workshop in Llerena, a large Extremaduran market town; no paintings before 1627 have been located. By 1630 he was living in Seville.

In 1626 Zurbarán contracted with the Dominican monastery of San Pablo el Real, Seville, to produce twenty-one paintings for the relatively modest sum of 4,000 reales. Displayed in an oratory chapel of this monastery, *Christ on the Cross* (1627, Art Institute of Chicago), his earliest dated painting, made him famous. Against the dark background, strong illumination accentuates the sculptural qualities of the naturalistically rendered figure. The exceptional stillness of the body indicates death, but dramatic tension is introduced by its leftward sag, which causes Christ's head to fall against his shoulder. Zurbarán probably developed

his distinctive style by studying the work of the Italian painter Caravaggio (born Michelangelo Merisi, 1573–1610) and the Spanish sculptor Juan Martínez Montañés (1568–1649).

From 1628 until approximately 1640, Zurbarán was regarded as the leading artist of Andalusia, and he received commissions from monasteries and convents throughout Spain. Apparently jealous of his success, officers of the painters' guild, led by Alonso Cano (1601–1667), ordered him on 23 May 1630 to take the examination for master painters in Seville. Zurbarán appealed to the city council, which denied the guild's authority on 8 June 1630.

Many of Zurbarán's major pictorial programs concern the lives of the most famous saints of the monastic orders that had commissioned them. Thus, for the Monastery of the Merced Calzada, Seville, he produced twenty-two paintings that illustrate the life of Saint Peter Nolasco, the founder of the order. *Saint Peter Nolasco's Vision of the Crucified Saint Peter the Apostle* (1628, Prado, Madrid) eloquently reveals his ability to make the supernatural seem believable. Zurbarán's eight paintings for the Sacristy of the Monastery of Saint Jerome, Guadalupe (1638–1639; still in situ), were unusual because they all depicted residents of that house, such as Bishop Gonzalo de Illescas. His commission for the Carthusian Monastery of Jerez de la Frontera included four large altarpieces depicting Christ's early life. In *Adoration of the Magi* (1639–1640, Musée du Peinture et de Sculpture, Grenoble), he created spectacular effects through the use of glowing colors and lavish still life details.

In 1634 Zurbarán went to Madrid in order to undertake a royal commission, which had been awarded to him through the intervention of Diego Rodriguez de Silva Velázquez (1599–1660). For the Hall of Realms in the Buen Retiro Palace, he painted ten pictures of the Labors of Hercules and a battle scene, *The Defense of Cádiz against the English* (all in the Prado, Madrid). In contrast to most seventeenth-century painters, Zurbarán did not base his images of Hercules on famous classical statues. Instead, he infused Hercules' Labors with an earthy vitality by depicting Hercules as a rugged, awkward man of exceptional strength.



Francisco de Zurbarán. *Christ on the Cross*. ©CHRISTIE'S IMAGES/CORBIS

In addition to large-scale programs, Zurbarán also produced many single paintings, including over forty images of Saint Francis of Assisi. As does *Saint Francis in Meditation* (c. 1635–1640, National Gallery, London, National Gallery), most prominently feature a skull, a symbol of penitence; upturned eyes and open mouth express the saint's mystical ecstasy. The “close-up” depiction of the isolated figure against a neutral background still makes a strong impact. In his few still life paintings, such as *Still Life with Lemons, Oranges, and a Rose* (1633, Norton Simon Foundation, Pasadena, Calif.), Zurbarán endowed humble objects with transcendent importance.

After 1640 Zurbarán's career underwent an irreversible decline. The collapse of the Spanish economy greatly limited the expenditures of Spanish monasteries and convents, his primary clients. Moreover, his austere style did not correspond with the increasing emphasis on tender piety in Spanish religious life. To compensate for the loss of clients in Spain, Zurbarán expanded his workshop's production of images for export to the Americas. Moreover, he responded to the changed spiritual mood by creating images such as *Christ Carrying the Cross* (1653, Cathedral at Orléans) that invokes the pity of its spectator. In 1658 Zurbarán moved to Madrid, where he imitated Velázquez's style in portraits such as *Doctor of Laws* (c. 1658–1660, Gardner Museum, Boston).

In 1838 the modern revival of interest in Zurbarán's work resulted from the display of eighty of his paintings in the Galerie Espagnole of the Louvre. His paintings were copied by Édouard Manet (1832–1883) and many other nineteenth-century artists.

See also Spain, Art in.

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ZURICH. Although there is evidence of settlement around Zurich from the Bronze Age, the Romans were the first to fortify the site and named it Turicum. The legend of the city's foundation dates from the martyrdom of Felix and Regula, Roman Christians and the patron saints of Zurich, who fled to the city from the massacre of their legion in Valais in the third century C.E. They were martyred by decapitation for refusing to pray to Roman gods, whereupon they picked up their heads and carried them up the hill to the spot where they wished to be buried. The Wasserkirche in Zurich marks the spot where they are thought to have been executed. During the eleventh and twelfth centuries, Zurich's traders exploited the favorable location of the city between the Alpine passes and the Rhine to build the city's wealth from textiles, such as wool and silk. In 1336 the Bürgermeister Rudolf Brun led a revolt that shifted power from the patrician families into the hands of the thirteen guilds. Shortly thereafter, in 1351, still under Brunn's direction, Zurich joined the Swiss Confederation, though it remained an imperial city under the direct authority of the emperor. During the fifteenth century Zurich repeatedly attempted to centralize the Confederation under its control, and the result was civil wars such as the Old Zurich War (1439–1450).

Although it lay in the vast diocese of Constance, Zurich was fairly independent of the bishop and had three major ecclesiastical bodies: the Grossmünster, the Fraumünster, and St. Peterskirche. Huldrych Zwingli (1484–1531) arrived in Zurich in 1519 and gradually built a reform movement that gained minority, although influential, support from leading families and the guilds. In April 1525 the Reformation was formally adopted and the Reformed church established. It was an institution that remained under the control of the magistrates throughout the early modern period. Zurich developed provision for higher education, but not a university. It remained an important center of trade and a key member of the international Reformed church, but during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries

Zurich was a provincial city with little influence beyond the Swiss Confederation.

See also **Switzerland**; **Zwingli, Huldrych**.

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ZWINGLI, HULDRYCH (1484–1531), Swiss reformer and church leader. Born into a peasant family in Toggenburg, an Alpine valley in the eastern part of modern-day Switzerland, Zwingli studied at the universities of Vienna and Basel (1498–1506), where he was exposed to the major currents that would shape his theology: late medieval Scholasticism and humanism. Research beginning in the late twentieth century has pointed to the particular importance of Desiderius Erasmus (1466?–1536) and John Duns Scotus (c. 1266–1308) to his theological formation. Zwingli was ordained to the priesthood and served first in Glarus, one of the smallest cantons of the Swiss Confederation, before going to the great Benedictine monastery of Einsiedeln (1516), whose rich library resources afforded the young priest the opportunity to deepen his knowledge of patristic and medieval writers. He preached at the yearly official pilgrimages made by the citizens of Zurich to the Black Madonna of Einsiedeln, and his sermons made him well known in the city. In 1519 he was called to the Grossmünster in Zurich as a stipendiary priest.

Zwingli's preaching, in which he denounced corruption and called on the people to purify themselves before God, created the mood for reform, but it was a small circle of like-minded priests, printers, and magistrates who pushed the movement forward. Events took shape around two disputations in 1523 for which Zwingli wrote his *Sixty-seven Theses*, his first major work. Zwingli sought to reform church and society, but he recognized that to do this he required the support of Zurich's magistrates, who in turn needed to be reassured that reform did not imply social revolution. His vision of Christian

government was drawn from the Old Testament, with the prophet (Zwingli) advising the ruler (the Zurich town council), who was responsible for enforcing the laws of the state.

Zwingli's position in Zurich was never wholly secure. The establishment of the new Reformed order in Zurich at Easter 1525 was largely due to the influence of a couple of key magistrates who backed Zwingli. At the center of Zwingli's vision was the reform of worship, and the Reformation commenced in Zurich with a celebration of the new liturgy of the Lord's Supper. His reforms, however, revealed a mixture of late medieval and Erasmian impulses; institutional changes, as well as moral legislation, were drawn from the reform councils of the fifteenth century, and, like Erasmus, Zwingli believed that education was the key to the creation of a Christian society.

Institutional reform under Zwingli was halting, largely because from 1525 until his death he was involved in a series of heated polemical exchanges. Zwingli faced opposition from Catholics, his former mentor Erasmus, the so-called Anabaptists, and most famously, from Martin Luther. Virtually all of Zwingli's theological writings were hastily compiled responses to particular crises or attacks. Thus his work cannot be treated as systematic theology. The three major events in Zwingli's career after 1525 were the Baden disputation (1526), which he refused to attend for fear of being arrested and executed, the Bern disputation (1528), which saw the Reformation adopted in major parts of the Swiss Confederation, and the Colloquy of Marburg (1529), where he and Luther came face to face. Zwingli's desire to bring the Reformation to the rest of the Swiss Confederation led to alliance building that made war with the Catholic states probable. This led to the disastrous First and Second Kappel Wars of 1529 and 1531. Zwingli was killed in a surprise attack on the night of 11 October 1531.

On account of their acrimonious falling out with respect to the celebration of the Lord's Supper, specifically the nature of Christ's presence in the Eucharist, the question of Luther's influence on Zwingli has remained, for confessional reasons, highly contentious. Certainly Zwingli keenly followed the "Luther affair" of 1517–1521, and read all the German reformer's works, which were being

printed in Basel. On key theological points, such as “faith alone” and “scripture alone,” they were in agreement, but Zwingli had an entirely different agenda, which led to a theology of a different character. Zwingli’s theology was shaped by two crucial aspects: first, his experience of serving in military campaigns (1513–1515) and observing with horror the effects of the mercenary trade on the Swiss; and second, the form of Christian humanism prevalent in southwestern Germany and the Swiss lands. The type of humanism that shaped Zwingli’s thought concentrated on the practical Christian life and reform of the church, emphasizing the role of the Old Testament. To this we can attribute most of the major themes in Zwingli’s thought: the utter sovereignty of God, the covenantal nature of God’s relationship with humanity, God’s demand that his people be “pure,” and the centrality of ethics and the life of the regenerated Christian.

Zwingli was not a national reformer; his cause was closely linked with the particular aspirations of Zurich. Nevertheless, the clarity of his thought carried his ideas across Europe, and there can be no doubt that he was the founder of the Reformed tradition.

See also Bullinger, Heinrich; Erasmus, Desiderius; Luther, Martin; Lutheranism; Marburg, Colloquy of; Reformation, Protestant; Zurich.

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SYSTEMATIC OUTLINE OF CONTENTS

This outline provides a general overview of the conceptual scheme of the *Encyclopedia*, listing the titles of each entry and subentry. Because the section headings are not mutually exclusive, certain entries in the *Encyclopedia* are listed in more than one section. Monarchs of the same name are listed first by their country, and then numerically. Thus, for example, Henry VII and Henry VIII of England precede Henry II of France.

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Weights and Measures

Europe, 1789



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(Denmark)

NORWAY
(Denmark)
Christiania

FINLAND
(Sweden)

DENMARK
Copenhagen

NETHERLANDS
Amsterdam

PRUSSIA
Berlin

POLAND
Warsaw

RUSSIAN EMPIRE
Moscow

GREAT BRITAIN
London

HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE
Vienna

HABSBURG POSSESSIONS
Vienna

FRANCE
Paris

SWISS CONFED.

VENICE
Venice

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Vienna

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Buda

MOLDAVIA

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Madrid

SARDINIA

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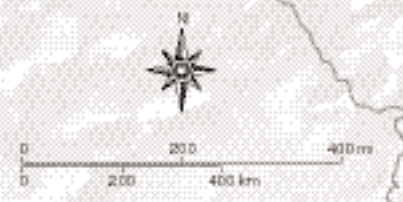
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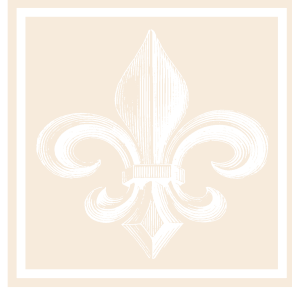
VENICE
Venice

OTTOMAN EMPIRE
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ASIA

AFRICA





Giovanni Battista Tiepolo. Mercury, messenger of the gods, detail from ceiling fresco in the staircase of the Residenz, Würzburg. ©ERICH LESSING/ART RESOURCE, N.Y.



RIGHT: Titian. *Bacchus and Ariadne*, one of three “Bacchanals” created by Titian between 1518 and 1524, all of which portray the classical world as a place of sensual delight. ©ERICH LESSING/ART RESOURCE.

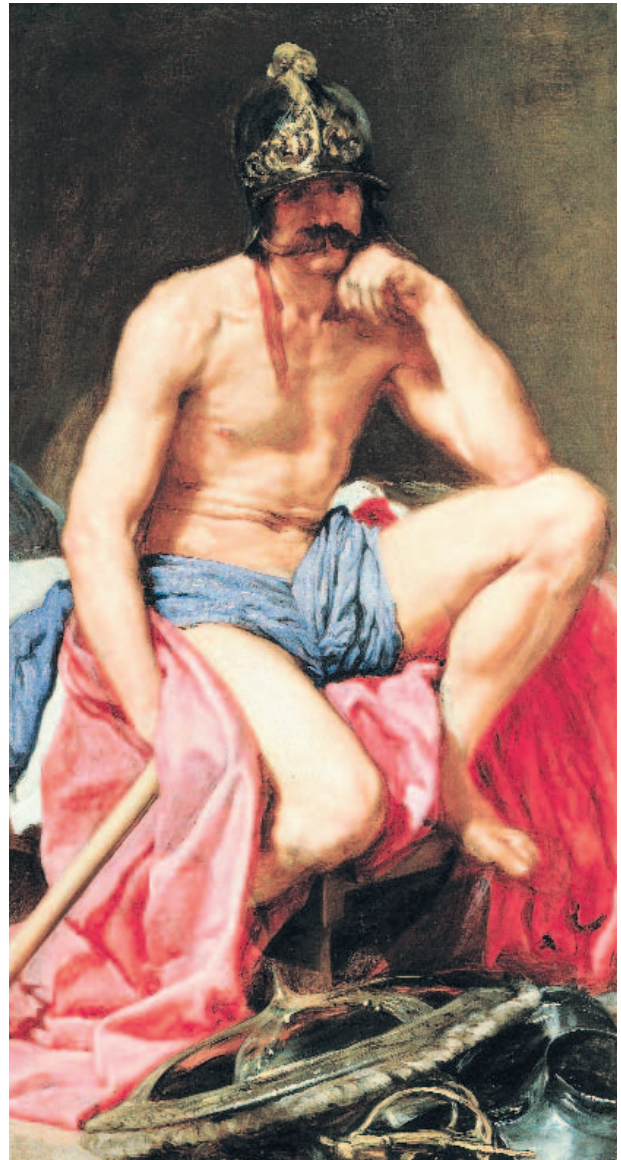
BELOW: Jacopo Tintoretto. *The Annunciation*, 1581-1582. This masterpiece of the artist’s maturity beautifully illustrates his use of naturalism to create realistic scenes that powerfully suggest the presence of the divine. ©CAMERAPHOTO/ART RESOURCE, N.Y.





LEFT: **Anthony Van Dyck.** Portrait of Countess Helena Grimaldi, 1623. During his lifetime, Van Dyck was the most influential portraitist in Europe. THE ART ARCHIVE/NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART WASHINGTON/ALBUM/JOSEPH MARTIN

BELOW: **Diego Velázquez.** *Mars*, c. 1639. Velázquez wittily depicts the ancient god of war contemplating his frustrations in love. THE ART ARCHIVE/MUSEO DEL PRADO MADRID/ALBUM/JOSEPH MARTIN







OPPOSITE PAGE: **Jan Vermeer.** *The Milkmaid* is typical of Vermeer's intimate interiors.

LEFT: **Art in Venice.** *Apotheosis of Venice*, 1585, by Veronese, painted on the ceiling of the Sala del Maggior Consiglio in the doge's palace, Venice. ©SCALA/ART RESOURCE, N.Y.

BELOW LEFT: **Veronese.** The coronation of Esther as Queen of Ahasuerus, ceiling decoration in the Church of San Sebastiano, Venice, painted c. 1556. ©CAMERAPHOTO/ART RESOURCE, N.Y.

BELOW RIGHT: **Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun.** Portrait of Marie-Antoinette, 1788. Vigée-Lebrun was favored by the queen for her ability to lend an informal air to royal portraits; this is one of several portraits of the queen painted by Vigée-Lebrun between 1778 and 1793. ©GIRAUDON/ART RESOURCE





ABOVE RIGHT: **Simon Vouet.** *Allegory of Riches*, c. 1640. Vouet is considered the founder of the early modern school of French painting, combining naturalism with extravagant use of color, as in this painting. THE BRIDGEMAN ART LIBRARY

BELOW RIGHT: **Jean-Antoine Watteau.** *Gilles*, 1717. Although typical in style, this later depiction of a standard commedia dell'arte character reflects the artist's more mature vision in the contrast between the character's festive dress and melancholy expression. THE ART ARCHIVE/MUSÉE DU LOUVRE PARIS/DAGLI ORTI (A)





LEFT: Women and Art. Angelica Kauffmann, *Self-Portrait*, 1787. An enormously successful artist, Kauffmann was one of only two women among the founders of the British Royal Academy. ©ARTE & IMMAGINI SRL/CORBIS

BELOW LEFT: Women and Art. Clara Peeters, *Table with Pitcher and Dish of Dried Fruit*. THE ART ARCHIVE/MUSEO DEL PRADO MADRID

BELOW RIGHT: Women and Art. Adélaïde Labille-Guiard, portrait of Marie Adélaïde of France, 1787. A noted portraitist, Labille-Guiard ran a studio for women in Paris and at one point asked the French academy to raise the quota of four female academicians. THE ART ARCHIVE/MUSÉE DU CHÂTEAU DE VERSAILLES/DAGLI ORTI





Francisco de Zurbarán. *St. Peter Nolasco's Vision of the Crucified St. Peter*, 1628. Many of Zurbarán's paintings depict the lives of notable saints. Here he shows his ability to make the miraculous seem eminently real. ©ERICH LESSING/ART RESOURCE, N.Y.

